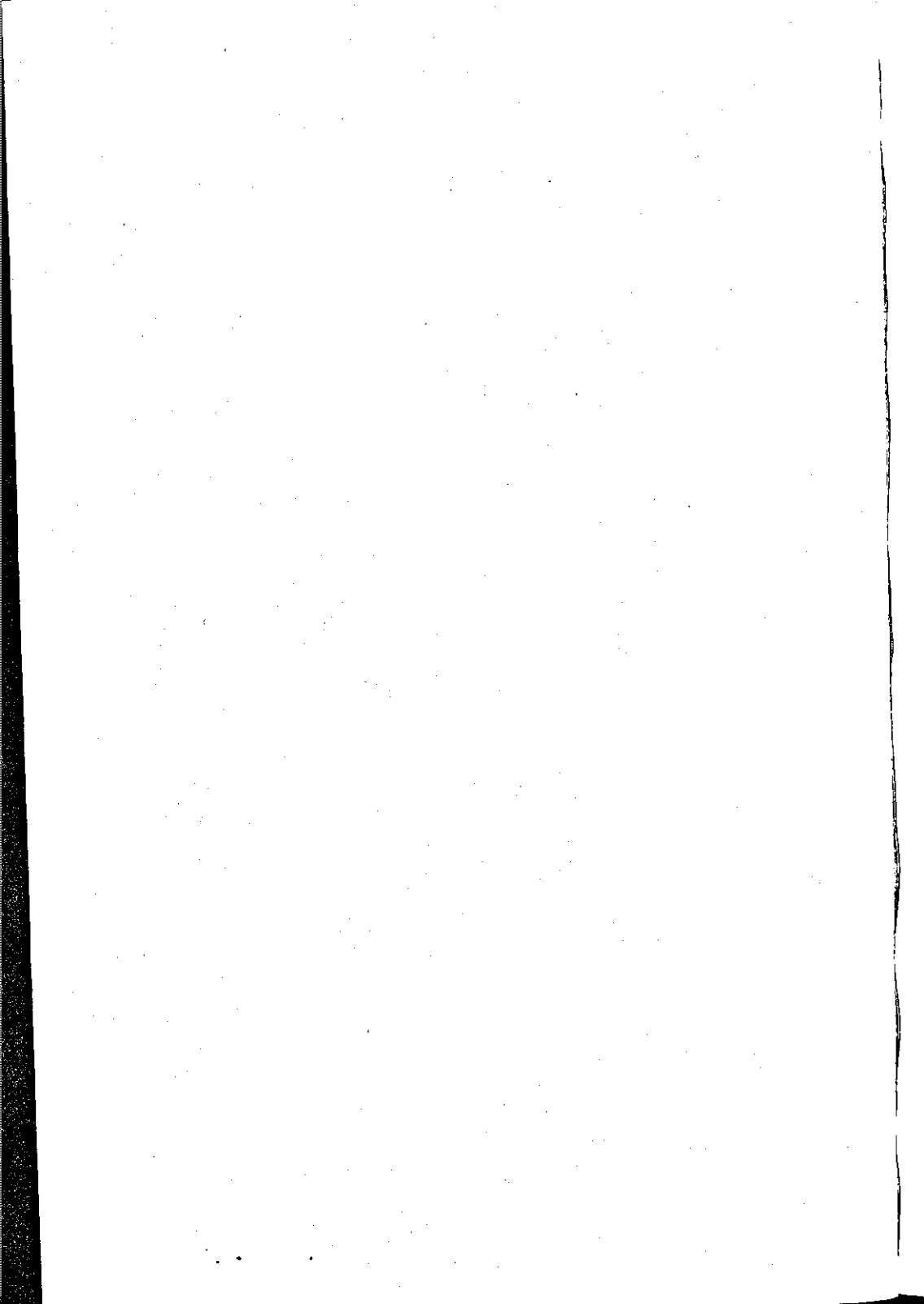


SKETCH GRAMMAR OF THE KARLONG  
VARIETY OF MONGGHUL, AND DIALECTAL  
SURVEY OF MONGGHUL

FAEHNDRICH, BURGEL R.M.

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SURVEY OF MONGGHUL

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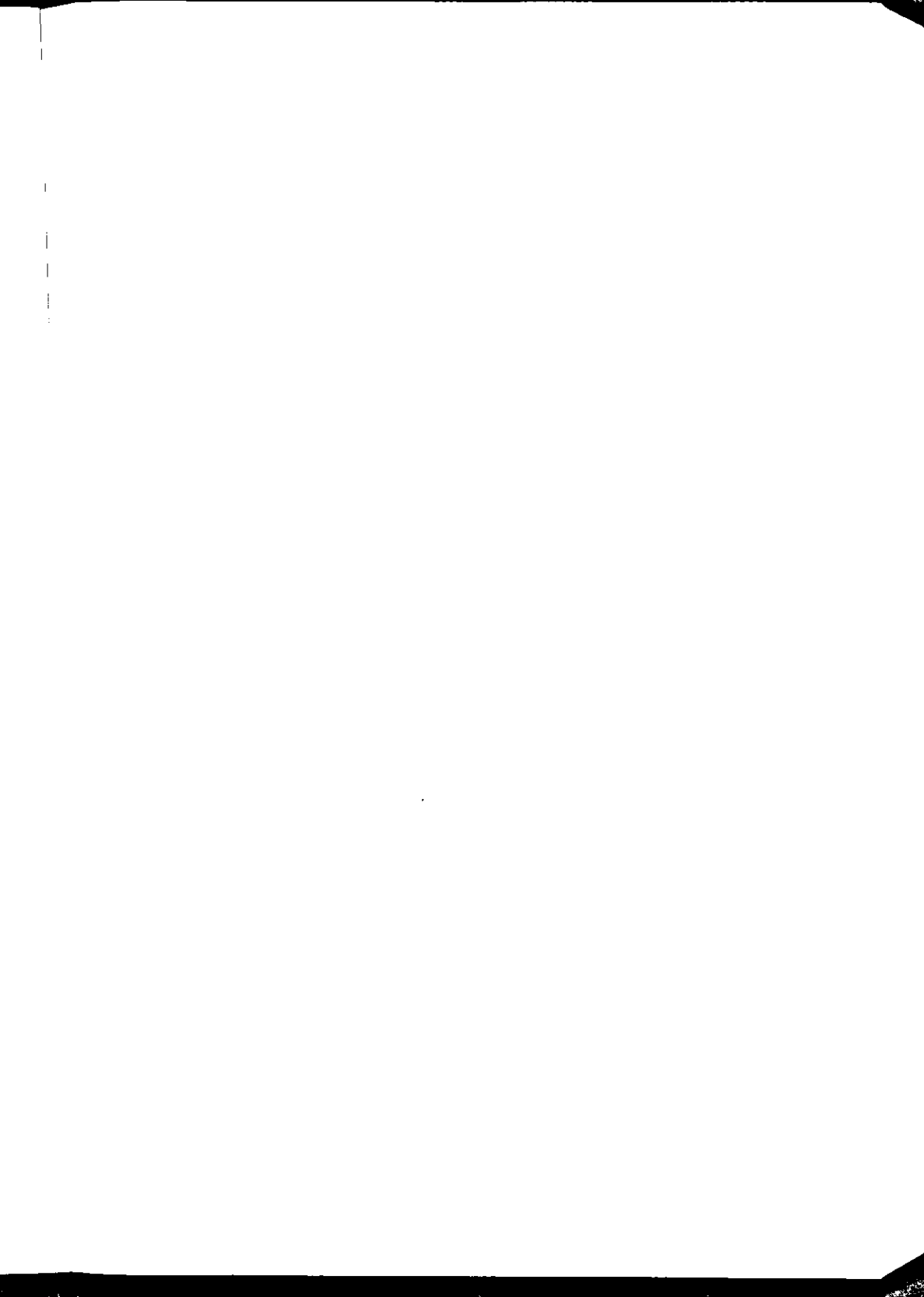
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## ABSTRACT

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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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

//	Short pause
///	Long pause
§	Syllable boundary
—	No data available; no correspondence
1p.	1 <sup>st</sup> person
1PL	1 <sup>st</sup> person plural pronoun
1SG	1 <sup>st</sup> person singular pronoun
2PL	2 <sup>nd</sup> person plural
2SG	2 <sup>nd</sup> person singular
3PL	3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural
3SG	3 <sup>rd</sup> 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

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

HIG	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

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
PRIIB	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

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 1 <sup>st</sup> person
WM	Written Mongolian
WT	Written Tibetan
Zhao	Huzhu data from Zhaonasisu 1981

## 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 *Tüzüiyü* (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 Wutum, 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

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<sup>1</sup>) 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<sup>2</sup>) 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.

<sup>1</sup> Information from Limusishiden, email December 22, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

### 1.1.2 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<sup>3</sup> (age: 42, female) is originally from Xishan, Hongyazigou township, Huzhu county, Qinghai province. Lamikar<sup>4</sup> (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 from 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 Gendenshija<sup>5</sup>, 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<sup>6</sup>, age 57, and Li Dujicirang<sup>7</sup>, age 50, speak Mongghul, Qinghaihua, and Putonghua, and received schooling in Chinese. Li Young Sheng<sup>8</sup> 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 Dawan village, Tiantang township, Tianzhu county, Gansu province. The youngest speaker<sup>9</sup> is a 20-year old female who speaks Mongghul, Putonghua, Qinghaihua<sup>10</sup>, some Tibetan and a little Qinghaihua. She received formal schooling up to the level of Dazhuan (two years of study to

---

<sup>3</sup> Speaker code 13.

<sup>4</sup> Speaker code 20.

<sup>5</sup> Speaker code 23.

<sup>6</sup> Speaker code 24.

<sup>7</sup> Speaker code 25.

<sup>8</sup> Speaker code 26.

<sup>9</sup> Speaker code 1.

<sup>10</sup> Qinghaihua is spoken in Tiantang, Gansu, which borders Qinghai.

become a teacher, added after completing several years of study equivalent to high school, but more career oriented<sup>11</sup>) 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<sup>12</sup>, and edited using Audacity<sup>13</sup>. 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, Üjjiyediin (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

<sup>11</sup> Thanks to Kevin Stuart for explaining this to me.

<sup>12</sup> Many thanks to Kevin Roddy for his help with the Marantz recorder.

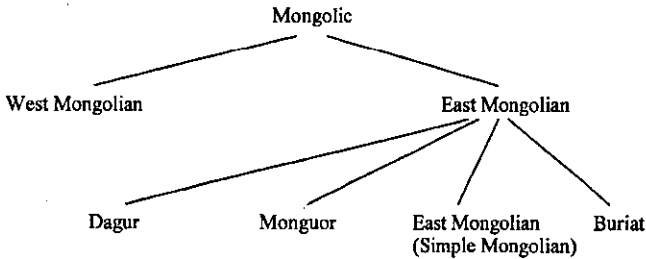
<sup>13</sup> Software for editing audio. I used it only for cutting, copying, and pasting.

“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.

**1.1.4.1 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<sup>14</sup>), Aragwa, San-ch’uan<sup>15</sup>, Santa, Shera Yögur<sup>16</sup>, Shirongol<sup>17</sup>.



**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

<sup>14</sup> Traditional term for Mongghul, according to Georg (2003:286).

<sup>15</sup> Region in Minhe territory.

<sup>16</sup> Shira Yughur.

<sup>17</sup> 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).

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

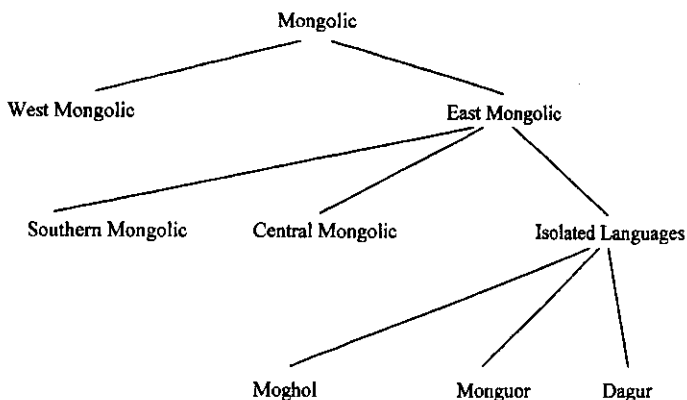


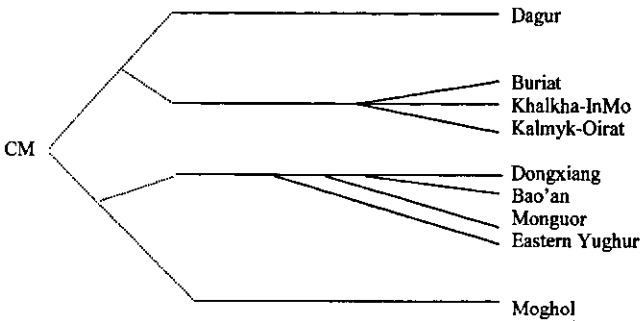
Figure 2. Doerfer's (1964) Classification of Mongolic Languages

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 *ᠮᠢᠴᠢᠨᠭᠣᠷ* (this river is most likely the *beichuanhe* 北川河). The next author to mention them is Sinor (1952), who mentions "l'aragwa" 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

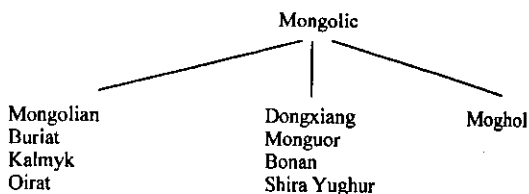
a “Shirongol” subgroup of Mongolic, consisting of Monguor, Bao’an, and Dongxiang, with Bao’an and Dongxiang more closely related to each other than to Monguor. This group is separate from a Shera Yogur subgroup, but both of them belong to a Qinghai-Gansu subgroup.

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.



**Figure 4. Iakhontova (1997) Classification of Mongolic Languages**

According to Slater, Monguor is a subgroup of the Mongolic language family in the southeastern, 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).

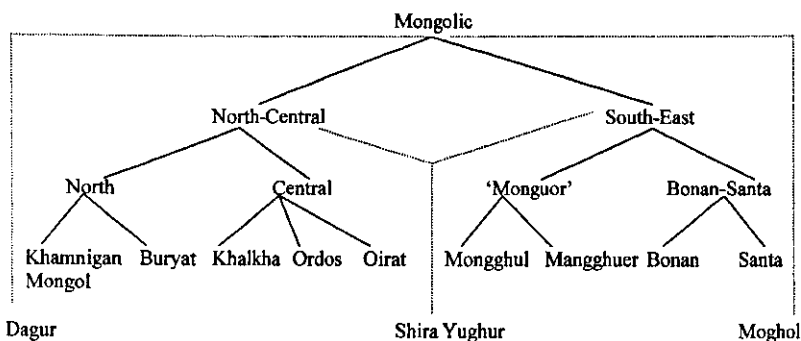


Figure 5. Rybatzki (1997) Classification of Mongolic Languages

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<sup>18</sup> lists Monguor as a language with two major dialects: Huzhu and Minhe.

Another classification is given by EMELD<sup>19</sup>. 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<sup>20</sup>.

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

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_language.asp?code=mjg](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=mjg), accessed 12/4/07.

<sup>19</sup> Electronic Metastructure for Endangered Languages Data, <http://emeld.org/goals/languages.cfm>, accessed 12/4/07.

<sup>20</sup> <http://cf.linguistlist.org/cfdocs/new-website/LL-WorkingDirs/forms/langs/get-familyid.cfm?CFTRREETEMKEY=ATAAB>, accessed 12/4/07.

[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.

#### *1.1.4.2 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<sup>21</sup> are agglutinating and SOV, while Chinese is isolating and largely SVO. Tibetan is SOV and uses suffixes.

---

<sup>21</sup> Mongolic and Turkic are by some people considered to be members of the Altaic language family.

### 1.1.5 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*<sup>22</sup>, and the *Linguist List*<sup>23</sup>. EMELD<sup>24</sup> 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.

#### 1.1.5.1 *Previous Classification of Mongghul Varieties*

SM (1964:x) list Halchighol, Fulaan Nura (Karlöng), 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’<sup>25</sup>. Halchighol, Fulaan Nura (Karlöng), 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”.)

<sup>22</sup> [http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_language.asp?code=mjg](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=mjg), accessed 12/4/07.

<sup>23</sup> <http://linguistlist.org/forms/langs/LLDescription.cfm?code=mjg>, accessed 12/4/07.

<sup>24</sup> <http://emeld.org/goals/languages.cfm>, accessed 12/4/07.

<sup>25</sup> *говоря*

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<sup>26</sup>, 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 nor 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<sup>27</sup>, and Wutun dialects that, while sharing commonalities, are mutually unintelligible".

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

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<sup>26</sup> Karlong

<sup>27</sup> 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).

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<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> (spoken in Donggou, Donghe, Halazhigou, Dongshan<sup>30</sup> 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 (Karloug) (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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<sup>28</sup> <http://cf.linguistlist.org/cfdocs/new-website/LL-WorkingDirs/forms/langs/LLDescription.cfm?code=mjg>, accessed 12/4/07.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

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

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.

### 1.1.6 Discussion of Mongghul Varieties

#### 1.1.6.1 *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.

### 1.1.6.2 *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 Zhaonasiu (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 Üjjiyediin 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.

### 1.1.6.3 *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<sup>31</sup> 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).

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<sup>31</sup> Limusishiden, p.c., email, 12/22/2005.

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

#### *1.1.6.4 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.

#### *1.1.6.5 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

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 it was most likely a variety of Huzhu Mongghul.

#### *1.1.6.6 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.

#### *1.1.6.7 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.

## **1.2 HISTORY**

According to most accounts, the Monguor arrived in the Qinghai region in the 13<sup>th</sup> 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 Kukuror 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.

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.

## 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

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,<sup>32</sup> 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.

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

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 (Karlöng), as well as quite a bit of data from Minhe. Todaeva (1973) also contains texts and a short dictionary.

The short grammar by Zhaonasiu (1981) and the comparative grammar by Chingeltei and Li Keyu (1988)<sup>33</sup> 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)<sup>34</sup> and Kakudo (1989)<sup>35</sup>.

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.<sup>36</sup>

## 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).

<sup>33</sup> Both Zhaonasiu (1981) and Chingeltei and Li Keyu (1988) contain comparisons with Mangghuer.

<sup>34</sup> He discusses "subjective and objective mood" (perspective).

<sup>35</sup> He discusses the suffix "-ngge" [-ŋge].

<sup>36</sup> 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.

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"<sup>37</sup> (*xoni*), a number of Mangudze<sup>38</sup> 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.

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

<sup>38</sup> 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.

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-Idan-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).

## 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"<sup>39</sup>. 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<sup>40</sup>. 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).<sup>41</sup> 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 &

<sup>39</sup> 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.

<sup>40</sup> Krippes (1992:37) states that the informants are from the following places: Köke nagur province, Dongwezhen county, Ma rcnsu county, and Qiaozheliang county.

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

m ~ n: čamtoġ 'half' (hg., fn.), čantog (ng.)

v ~ b: lavtġi 'foliage' (hg.), labtġi (fn.), labfčġi (ng.)

n ~ l: noġdo: 'bridle' (hg., ng.), loġdo: (fn.)

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

t ~ tġ: ntera: 'sleep' (hg., ng.), 'nġa: (fn.)

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

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

The dictionary in the back of Zhaonasiu (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."<sup>42</sup>

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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<sup>42</sup> "viel Eigenartiges, wahrscheinlich Türkisches, enthalten aber auch tibetische und chinesische Worte."

Róna-Tas (1960)<sup>43</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> century, and most of them were borrowed after the 16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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)

<sup>43</sup> 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.

<sup>44</sup> 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).

(1998:685). He further notes that Uygur (Chagatay) traders have also had 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<sup>45</sup> 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.

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<sup>45</sup> He does not state what this article is, but it is likely to be *-ŋge*.

## 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"<sup>46</sup>). 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)"<sup>47</sup>. 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.

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.neh.gov/news/archive/20050505.html>, accessed 12/4/07.

<sup>47</sup> information from Dwyer's NSF proposal, page 6, available at <http://www.neh.gov/GRANTS/guidelines/delsamples/mongour.pdf>, accessed 12/4/07.

## 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 (Karl原因 has fewer diphthongs).

Karl原因, 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 Karl原因 (and Mongghul as a whole) as been strongly 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 Karl原因 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<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>, ts<sup>h</sup>, and tɕ<sup>h</sup>], and b, d, g, and ɟ 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

transcription 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-Idan-bkra-shis 1996 and Li Keyu 1988). De Smedt and Mostaert (1929-1931) use a phonetic transcription 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) 3<sup>rd</sup> reprinting, with the following exceptions: Lessing 'x', 'z' and 'c' are in this dissertation written using 'q', 'ᠳ', and 'ᠲ' respectively. The sources not using IPA do not give IPA equivalents, (although Dpal-Idan-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.

Table 1. IPA Equivalents of Consonants in Cited Sources

IPA	Pinyin-based Orthography	SMN	TDV
p <sup>h</sup>	p	p'	п
b	b	B	б
m	m	m	м
f	f	f	ф
v			в
t <sup>h</sup>	t	t'	т
d	d	D	д
ts	c	ts'	
dz	z	Dz	дз
s	s	s	с
n	n	n	н
r	r	г	р
l	l	l	л
tɕ <sup>h</sup>	q	tɕ'	
ç	j	Dž	
ç	x	ç	
j	y	y	й
tʃ			ч
ʃ			дж
f			ш
tʃ <sup>h</sup>	ch	tʃ'	
dʒ	zh	Dz	
ʃ	sh	s	
z		z	
k <sup>h</sup>	k	k'	к
g	g	G	г
x	h	X	х
ŋ	ng	ŋ	н
w	w	w	
ɣ	gh	ɣ	б

Table 2. IPA Equivalents of Vowels in Cited Sources

IPA	Pinyin-based Orthography	SMN	TDV
i	i	i	i
y		ü	
u		u	
u	u	u	y
e	e	e	e
ɛ		ɛ	
ə		ɛ	
o	o	o	o
æ		ö	
a	a	a	a
i:	ii	ī	ī
y:		ü	
u:		ū	
u:	uu	ū	ū
e:		ē	ē
ɛ:		ē	
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.

### 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	ŋ
affricate			ts ɕ	tʃ ɕʃ	tʂ ɕʂ		
fricative		f	s	ç	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.

### 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 *baga* ~ *piġa* 'hit, beat', DH *pugha*, TDV *baga*, LK *bagha*, SMN *baga*.

### III.2.2.3 /b/

/b/ is a weak bilabial stop.

b → v / #\_ (optional)

E.g. *e*: /budagula/ [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 /ç/ within dialects. /b/ and /ç/ 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	tebċin	tebxin	tebċċin <sup>48</sup>	— <sup>49</sup>	tebjen	teġsi
leaf	laxji	labċæ	laxji	labċċi	laċċi ~ labċċi	labtji	nabtji/n <sup>50</sup>
button	texji	teċċæ	tebji	tebċċi	—	—	tobtji
thumb	—	—	gebqi ~ gexqi	ċgeċċi ċgabċi	geċċi çuri	—	—

There is at least one instance where different varieties of Mongghul show /b/ vs. /w/ vs. /m/: KL *mauaxi*<sup>51</sup> 'wall', DH *walighasi*, LK *walghasi*, *balghasi*, SMN *baga:se* ~ *baŋa:se*, TDV *balga:se*, WM *balyasu/n* 'id'.

<sup>48</sup> S26 /teċċim/

<sup>49</sup> The em-dash means that there is no data available, or that there is no correspondence in that variety.

<sup>50</sup> "/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.

<sup>51</sup> Also note the lack of /l/ in KL.

/b/ can be in free variation with /p/ in some words, and /p/ and /b/ also correspond to each other in different dialects, e.g. KL *paxi* 'stand', SMN *bose*, TDV *bose*, Zhao *posa*, LK *posi* ~ *bosi*, WM *bagesy/n* 'id'. Also, KL *paga* ~ *baga* 'hit', DH *pugha*, TDV *baga*, LK *bagha* 'id', and KL *pasigwa* 'threshold', Zhao *bosgo*, DH *puzigha*, LK *posghu* ~ *pusghu*, SMN *bosguo*, TDV *bosgo*, WM *bosuya* '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	xueidi a:ma ~ xuiti a:ma	—
cold	kuiden	keiiden	kuiden	kui:ten	kui:diaen	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.

### 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 → γ / \_ # (optional)

E.g. /ndog/ [ntoγ] ~ [ntok] 'color'

γ → x / \_ # (optional)

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

Since /g/ can also become [x] at the end of the word (see below), it is not always possible to distinguish between /g/ and /g/ 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 /g/

/g/ is a weak uvular stop.

g → χ / # \_ (optional)

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

g → ø / x \_ (optional)

E.g. /xgei/ [xej] ~ [xqej] 'pig'

g → γ / V \_ V

E.g. /magaçi/ [mɑγɑçi] ~ [mɑgɑçi] 'tomorrow'.

$a \rightarrow x / \_ \#$

E.g. /radag/ [ratax] 'hunt'.

In some words, /ga/ [qa] varies with /gua/ [qwa], e.g. /xurgua/ [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<sup>h</sup>] in the data. In most cases, [ts<sup>h</sup>] varies with either [s] or [tɕ<sup>h</sup>]. For example, 'blood' can be both [ts<sup>h</sup>itsi] or [tɕ<sup>h</sup>itsi], and 'barley' can be either [spi:] or [ts<sup>h</sup>pi:]. Only in two words does [ts<sup>h</sup>] not vary with other sounds: /ntsua/ [nts<sup>h</sup>ua] 'lake' (WT *mtsho*, 'id') and /ntsowa/ [nts<sup>h</sup>owa] 'area' (WT *rtswa* 'grass' + *-ba* 'place').<sup>52</sup>

#### 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*<sup>53</sup>. 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 /tɕ/

/tɕ/ is a weak alveolar affricate. It can vary with /s/ in a number of words, e.g. /tɕadzi/ [tɕ<sup>h</sup>atsi] ~ [tɕ<sup>h</sup>asi] 'snow'.

<sup>52</sup> As Robert Blust points out, it is likely that if /s/ did occur after /n/ in this context, most likely a /t/ would be inserted between the two sounds.

<sup>53</sup> Georg (2003) uses a transcription based on pinyin for his data. Cf. discussions of pinyin-based transcriptions in section III.1.1.

III.2.3.4 /dʒ/ - Comparative data

According to Georg (2003:290), /dʒ/, like /tʃ/, "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 *ʦadzi* 'snow', *xuʎdzi* 'bamboo', and also in Chinese loans, e.g. *dʒe:la* 'welcome', Chinese *jiē* 接 'id', *ʎaŋʎaŋdzi* 'basket', Chinese *lánzi* 蓝字 'id', and in Tibetan loans, e.g. *səder* 'gold', WT<sup>54</sup> *gver* 'id', *neʦdʒa:* 'dinner', WT *nub-za* 'id'.

/dʒ/ and /s/ vary within dialects, and also correspond to each other across dialects, e.g. KL *ʦadzi* 'snow', Zhao *ʦasa*, D11 *qasi* and *qaci*, LK *qasi*, SMN *ʦiæse*, TDV *ʧasi*, WM *ʧasu/n* 'id'. According the Zhao (Halchi), the environment for /dʒ/ ~ /s/ variations is before /ə/.

III.2.3.5 /tʃ/

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

III.2.3.6 /tʂ/ - Comparative data

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

III.2.3.7 /dʒ/

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

<sup>54</sup> Written Tibetan (Literary Tibetan) as given by Róna-Tas (1966).

### III.2.3.8 /dz/ - Comparative data

As for /ts/, /tʃ/, and /dz/, Georg (2003:290) lists /dz/ 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 /tʃ/

/tʃ/ is a strong alveo-palatal affricate. In some cases /tʃ/ is in free variation with /dʒ/, for example ‘old’ is both /xu:tʃin/ and /xu:dʒin/.

### III.2.3.10 /tʃ/ - Comparative data

In general, /tʃ/ in Karlong corresponds to /tʃ/ in other Mongghul varieties. However, there is at least one instance where /tʃ/ in other varieties corresponds to [ɕ] in Karlong: ‘yesterday’: KL *ɕgud̩r̩*, Zhao *tʃigudur*, DH *quguduri*, LK *qigu dur*, SMN *tʃigudur*, TDV *tʃigudur*, WM *əʃygedyr* ‘id’. Most likely /tʃ/ becomes [ɕ] in Karlong because the vowel between /tʃ/ and /g/ has been deleted, and /tʃg/ sequences are not permissible in Karlong. The affricate-stop sequence /tʃg/ dissimilates to a fricative stop sequence /ɕg/.

### III.2.3.11 /dʒ/

/dʒ/ is a weak alveo-palatal affricate.

dʒ → ø / ɕ\_ (optional)

E.g. /ɕdʒo:si/ [ɕtʃo:si] ~ [ɕo:si] ‘tree’.

### III.2.3.12 /dʒ/ - Comparative data

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

Table 6. /tə/ ~ /tʰ/ Variations

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM	WT
old (things)	—	xauuɕin	hauqin	xu:ɕin ~ xu:ɕin	χu:ɕin	xuɕin	qayufin	—
cheek	—	xackar	hajar	xɕer	χackiær	xatjir	qatjar	—
speech, language	hgaqa	—	gaqaa	xgacka:	gadza ~ sgeɕiæ	gaŋa	—	skad- ŋha

### 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 xgær and sgær. It can also vary with /dz/, e.g. /dabsi/ [tapsi] ~ [tapsi] 'salt'. See section III.2.3.1 on /ts/ for discussion of /s/ ~ [ts<sup>h</sup>] variations.

#### 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 /ʒ/ and /fu/, e.g. KL *sɬu* 'water', DH *sɬu*, Zhao *sɬu*, LK *fuzu* ~ *szu*, SMN *fudɬu*, TDV *fudɬu* ~ *sɬu*, WM *usu* 'id'.

#### III.2.4.5 /ʒ/

/ʒ/ is a strong retroflex fricative.

ʒ → s / \_ ɬ (optional)

E.g. /ʒɬin/ [stsɪn] ~ [ʒtsɪn] 'nine'.

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

#### III.2.4.6 /ʒ/ - Comparative data

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

There is also at least one case with a variation between /ʒ/ and /f/ in Karlong: [ʒtsi:] ~ [ftsɪ:] 'dust'

#### III.2.4.7 /ɕ/

/ɕ/ is a strong alveo-palatal fricative.

#### III.2.4.8 /ç/ - Comparative data

Generally /ç/ in Karlong corresponds to /ç/ 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  $h \sim x$  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 /ç/, /s/, or /t/) which correspond to Written Mongolian words without the fricative, e.g. WM *altan* 'silver', Monguor *xarDən*<sup>55</sup>, or WM *øki/n* 'girl', but Monguor *fuDZün ~ sDZün* (Karlöng *çäkun*). 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'<sup>56</sup> in Karlöng, WM *burqan* 'Buddha', Karlöng *pirgax:n* 'god'.

<sup>55</sup> Khelimskiy is using data from de Smedt & Mostaert (1933).

<sup>56</sup> This example is not from Khelimskiy.

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 *kʰəiʰen* 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 \**təʈʰin* vs. Monguor *tʰičin* 'forty' (2003:7). In addition, citing Khelimskiy (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.

### III.2.5.2 /m/

/m/ is a (voiced) bilabial nasal.

$\emptyset \rightarrow b / m \_ l$  (consonant cluster created by vowel deletion): /amila/ 'apple' becomes /ambila/ [ampla] (S26).

Final /m/ can vary with final /n/ for different speakers of Karlong, e.g. /ni:ta:m/ [ni:r<sup>h</sup>am] 'wei' (S13 /ni:ten/, S20 /ni:tan/).

### III.2.5.3 /n/

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

$n \rightarrow m / \_ \text{labial C}$  (optional)

E.g. /handi/ [handi] ~ [hamdi] 'together'.

$n \rightarrow \eta / \_ \text{velar C, uvular C}$

E.g. /t<sup>h</sup>axei/ [t<sup>h</sup>axei] 'shoes', /dangual/ [taŋqual] 'earth clod'

$n \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ \#$  (optional)

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

### III.2.5.4 /ŋ/

/ŋ/ is a (voiced) velar nasal.

$\eta \rightarrow n / \_ \text{alveolar}$

E.g. /caŋt<sup>h</sup>u/ [cāntsu] 'soap'<sup>57</sup>. That the nasal here is underlyingly /ŋ/ and not /n/ is shown by the change to the preceding vowel: /a/ becomes [ā] only before /ŋ/.

$\eta \rightarrow \emptyset / \bar{a} \_ \#$

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

<sup>57</sup> Chinese *xīangzào* 香皂.

### 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 *yulir*, but Karlong *guri*, 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 *anila* and Tianzhu *anila*, 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 *oo: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 [ʒ] (/ʒire:/ [ʒize:] 'table with short legs for the kang'), or as a retroflex approximant between a [ɪ] 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 [mori] as well as [mo.ɹi] by the same speaker.

r → ʂ / V \_ d, ɕ

E.g. /gacɕer-di/ [qacɕeʂ-ti] 'on the ground' (ground-DAT), /ko:rdɕix/ [k<sup>h</sup>uaʂtsix] 'foam'

r → ɕ, ʂ / V \_ ɕ

E.g. /gur-ɕa/ [kuɕ-tɕa] ~ [kuʂ-tɕa] 'braided', /rdɕa/ [ɕɕa] 'look', /rdɕawu:/ [ɕɕawu:]

'emperor'.

In slow speech the first part of [ʒ] before /d/ or /dʰ/ can stay a retroflex liquid, or can even be a pronounced trill, e.g. /tar-da/ [tʰaʒ-ta] 'throw (a stone)', /gur-dʰa/ [kurʒ-tʰa] 'braided'.

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

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

Initially, /r/ contrasts with /ʒ/ before /d/, cf. /rde/ [rte] 'eat' and /ʒde:/ [ʒte:] 'mend'.

### III.2.6.3 /r/ - Comparative data

Janhunen (2001:66) states that for Mongghul (and Bonan) "the phonological distinction between the preinitials [ʒ] 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 /ʒte:/. 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, 拉) and *lacəŋ* 'temple' (Tibetan *lha-khai*).

### 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 *waxer* 'city', DH *baxari*, Zhao *baxar*, LK *baxar*, SMN *baxar* ~ *waxar*, TDV *baxar*, WM *basar* 'id', and also within varieties, e.g. 'tie' Karlong *baŋla* ~ *waŋla* ~ *aŋla*, LK *bangla* ~ *wangla*, Chinese *bāng* 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. /j/ or /w/ in another variety. In all cases, the corresponding sound in WM is /b/.

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

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
grass	vesə	wusi	yesi ~ usi ~ wesi	jesi	jese ~ wese	jese ~ wese	ebesyn
wife	beere	yiri ~ beeri	beeri	jeri	jeri ~ bieri	beri ~ veri ~ jeri <sup>58</sup>	beri
horn	ver	yari	yer ~ wer	jer	ujer	ver ~ jer	eber
knee	vudeg	yudog	udig ~ idag	jedig	udig ~ idig	vedeg	ebydyg
pain	ida	-	udi ~ idi	jedi	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 /g/ 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 /g/ 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).

<sup>58</sup> невестка 'bride'

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

In Tianzhu, /G/ 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	xGuar	hguari	hughur	xGuar	xuGuor	xugor	oqur
throw	—	hgala	hghala ~ hgala	xGala ~ xgala	xaGala	xaGala	—
wash	ŋGuaa	gua	nghua	ŋGua:	ŋGua:	ŋGua:	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 [i] does not have a long counterpart.

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

### 11.3.1 Vowel Inventory

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

i	ɪ	u	ɪ	u:
e	o	e:	o:	
ə			ɛ:	

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

### 11.3.2 Short High Vowels

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

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

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

hi V → glide / \_ non-rounded V

E.g. /guan/ [kwa] 'not', /gui/ [kwi:] 'run', /noxuei/ [noxwei] 'dog', /fi:lio/ [fi:ljo:] 'fertilizer'

The vowel [i] never occurs before another vowel.

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

E.g. /tɕura/ [tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɥra] 'cheese', /xudɕi/ [xɥtɕi] 'lips', /pidɕig/ [p<sup>h</sup>tɕik] 'book', /tidɕin/ [t<sup>h</sup>tɕin] 'forty', /kidi/ [k<sup>h</sup>ti] 'how, many', /tsidɕi/ [ts<sup>h</sup>tsi] 'blood', /tɕiga:n/ [tɕ<sup>h</sup>qa:n] 'white', /ɕini/ [ɕini] 'new'. An exception to this rule is /ɕimi/ [ɕimi] 2SG.DAT. It is possible that in other words [i] is devoiced in this environment. However, it is very difficult to distinguish between [j] and [i].

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. /dira:la/ [tra:la] 'love', /bili:/ [pli:ʰ] 'child', /bira:ga/ [pra:qa] 'finish', /kile/ [kʰle:] 'speak')

stop \_ fricative (e.g. /pisc:/ [pʰsc:] 'belt')

fricative \_ nasal (e.g. /çine/ [çne:] 'laugh')

fricative \_ liquid (e.g. /çilar/ [çlaŋ] 'night, evening', /fila:n/ [fla:n] 'red', /fire:/ [fre:] 'seed', /turgu/ [tʰrgu] '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 Zhaonasiu (Halchi) and Li Keyu (mostly Naringhol). In these cases, the consonant preceding the /i/ in DH is in most cases /t/, /l/, and in some cases /s/. The consonant following /i/ is in most cases /g/ or /c/ (in the following syllable), and often the /i/ is at the end of the word. Sometimes /i/ is followed by /ɬ/ or /d/.

Some examples are listed in the following table.

Table 9. /i/ in DH

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM	WT
lamb	hurigha	xurgan	hurgha	xurga	xorga	xurga	quraya/n	—
push	turigu	turgu	turghu	turga	turga	turgu	tyri	—
iron	timuri	təmur	tumur	timir	timur	temur	temyr	—
left (side)	sulighui	solguai	solghui	salguei	sorgue:	solgue:	soluyai	—
winter	rguli	rgul	rgul	rgul	ugur	rgul	—	dgun
borrow	asighua	—	asghu	asgua	asgu	—	aʏsu	—
ice	malizi	molsə	molsi	malsɨ	mordze	molse	məlsy/n	—
fight	beghalidi	—	baghaldu	bagaldi	bagardi	—	—	—

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 /ɣ/ 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	ɕeni	fəni	sine
yellow	xra	ɕira	xira	ɕira	ɕira	fira	sira
laugh	xnii	ɕinee	xinee	ɕine:	ɕenie	—	inje

### 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. /çɕun/ [çɕyn] 'girl'<sup>59</sup>. A complication is presented by the word 'milk' /sun/. In some recordings the pronunciation is close to [çyn]. The [ç] is not expected here, since WM has /s/, and there are no other cases of WM /s/ developing into KL /ç/. However, once the consonant is ç, fronting of the vowel is expected. Interestingly, WM has *syn*. However, fronted round vowels

<sup>59</sup> Apparently [y] may then be unrounded to [i], as in the optional variant [ççindu:] 'younger sister'.

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 [u]. It also becomes [y] after /ɕ/, e.g. ɕɕyn 'girl'. Ha and Stuart (2006:55)<sup>60</sup> note that in Tianzhu, /u/ is deleted at the end of the word.

Many cases of /u/ in other dialects correspond to [i] in Karlong (see section on [i]). /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	ayula/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 [i]

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

<sup>60</sup> 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.

It is not clear whether in Karlong this sound is an allophone of another phoneme or other phonemes, or a separate phoneme. Zhaonasiu 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 [i] varies with /i/ or /u/ for the same speaker, e.g. /te:ru/ [t<sup>h</sup>erɪ] ~ [t<sup>h</sup>eru] 'hold in one's arms', with the latter appearing in careful speech.

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

	[i]	[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 _ ɸ _ #	Never after /t/  n _ ɸ _ m _	b _  No instances of [mu]  No instances of [fu]
Word initial closed syllable	p _ r n _ m	n _ ŋ ɸ _ 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 [i] 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

the sound is [ī] or [i]. Some words have [ī] in most cases, but [i] before an alveo-palatal sound, e.g. [çini] 'new', but [çini jeri] '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 [ī]. Especially the difference between [i] and [ī] is often unclear in this environment.

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

### III.3.3.1 [ī] - 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 [ī] (see table below for examples). [ī] in KL often corresponds to /ə/ in Zhao (Halchi), where /ə/ is a separate phoneme with the following allophones<sup>61</sup>:

ə → ɿ / ɕ, ts, s \_ C

ə → ɿ, ə / ɕ, ts, s \_ (optional)

ə → i / alveo-palatal \_ C

ə → ʏ / elsewhere

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

<sup>61</sup> A similar variation may exist in KL. For example, the sound after ç in *labçi* 'leaf' is definitely higher than the sound after n in *bogoni* 'low'.

Table 13. Correspondences with Karlong [i]

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	DM	WM
eye	nudu	nudi	nudu	nidi	nudu	nudu	nudu	nidy/n
seed	fure	furai	furée	fire:	furie:	furie:	huru	yre
fox	funəɣc	finiga	funige ~ hunige	finiga	funige	funige	—	ynegen
blood	kwisə	qizi	qisi	kwidi	tsedzu	fwisc	chuzi	fwisu/n
smoke	funə	funii	funə ~ funi	fini	funi	—	humi	unijar ~ ynijer
finger	xurə	huri	huri	xuri	xuri	xuri	khuru	qurayun
play	naadə	nadi	naadi	na:di	na:di	na:da	nadu	nayadu
ride	funə	—	funi	fini	funi	—	—	unu
write	ɕiuurə	jiuri ~ juri	juuri	ɕu:ri	ɕiu:ri	ɕuri	zhuru	ɕuri
flour	curəl	ghurili	ghuril	goril	gurir	guril	ghuru	ɣulir
deaf	dəlɪi	dili	dulii	dili:	duli:	duli:	dula	dylei
know	mude	mude	mude	mida	mudie	mude	miedie	mede
front	—	muxi	muxi	miçi	mieçe	meje	mieshi	emyne
l	bu	bu	bu	bu ~ bi	bu	bu	bi	bi
tooth	gde	shdi	shdi	ɕdi	ɕdi	fdi	shudu	sidy/n
hold in arms	—	—	teeri	te:ru ~ te:ri	—	—	—	—

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

The following correspondences can be found:

Table 14. Correspondences with Karlong [i] - Summary

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

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 [i], 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):

∅ → glide / \$ \_ hi V: (optional)

E.g. /i:gua/ [ji:kwa] ~ [i:kwa] 'every, all', /u:/ [wu:] ~ [u:] 'wide', /rd̥au:/ [ɹ̥t̥ɕawu:] ~ [ɹ̥t̥ɕau:] 'emperor'

hi V: → hi V<sup>aspiration</sup> / \_ # (optional)

E.g. /dali:/ [tali:ʰ] ~ [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 [ç] after /i:/, and [x] after /u:/.

#### III.3.4.1 /i:/

A near minimal pair for /i/ vs. /i:/ is /d̥ila:/ 'lamp' vs. /d̥i:la/ 'hate'.

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

#### III.3.4.2 /u:/

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

In some cases [u:] of S20 and S26 corresponds to [i:<sup>h</sup>] or [u:<sup>h</sup>] of S13, for example /du:/ 'younger sibling' S13 [tu:<sup>h</sup>], S20 and S26 [tu:], /lu:xan/ [lu:<sup>h</sup>xan] vs. [lu:xan] 'husband'<sup>62</sup>. Generally [u:<sup>h</sup>] in S13 corresponds to /u/ 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. /teŋgeri/ [t<sup>h</sup>ɛŋkəri] 'sky' in S13; in S20 this sound is more like [a]: [t<sup>h</sup>ɛŋkəri].

e → ɛ, æ, a / \_ (C)#

E.g. /nige/ [nike] ~ [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 [je] 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/, /miɛŋgu/ [mjeŋku] 'silver', and there are no occurrences of [e] after /m/. There is one instance of [je] after /t/, /tier/ [t<sup>h</sup>jeɾ] 'Tibetan', but there are also many cases of [e] after /t/, e.g. /teŋgeri/ [t<sup>h</sup>ɛŋkəri] 'sky'. There is one instance of [nje], in /niexaŋ/ [njeɣǎ] 'kitchen', but there is also, for example, /neɕɕa:/, [neɕtsa:] 'dinner'.

<sup>62</sup> also 'crow' [tɕaŋtu:<sup>h</sup>]

In Tianzhu, /e/ is generally realized as a sound intermediate between [e] 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]<sup>63</sup>.

### 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 [qoril], S20 [quřil], S26 [qoril] 'flour'. It is possible that the /u:/ - /o:/ distinction is being neutralized in Karlong.

### III.3.5.4 /o/ - Comparative data

According to Zhaonasiu (1981:4), /o/, like /a/ becomes [ã] 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 [ãŋ] and [ã] (see section III.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 ʃaŋ/, DH *udeshang*, LK *ude shong*, SMN *ʃoŋdæ* 'id'. Also: Karlong *warəŋ* 'right', Zhao *varəŋ*, LK *barəŋ* ~ *warəŋ*, SMN *baro:ŋ* ~ *waro:ŋ*, TDV *barəŋ*, WM *barəŋun* 'id'.

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

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

<sup>64</sup> 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.

Table 15. /o/ - /ua/ Correspondences

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM	WT
foot	kol	kol	kol	/kual/ [k <sup>h</sup> wal]	kuor	kol	køt	—
hole	noko	nukua	nuko	/nukua/ [nuk <sup>h</sup> wa]	nukuo	noke	nyke/n	—
freeze	—	kuara	kori	/kuari/ [k <sup>h</sup> wari]	kuori	—	køry	—
fog	—	—	sumuko	/semagua/ [semakwa]	sumukuo	—	—	smug- po
monastery	—	—	rgomba	/ŋguamba/ [ŋkwamba]	rguomba	ŋguo	—	dgon- pa
bluc	kugo	—	kugo	/kuguo/ [k <sup>h</sup> 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. /gde:/ 'mend'.

e: → je: (optional), e.g. /çine:/ [çinje:] 'laugh', /fire:/ [firje:] 'seed'.

#### III.3.6.2 /e:/ - Comparative data

/c:/ 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	xnij	çinee	xinee	çine:	genie	—	inije
wet	neeten	niiten	necten	ni:ten	ni:tiæn	ni:ten	noitan
seed	fure	furai	furee	fire:	furie:	furie:	yre

### 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:ldʒa-/ 'vomit' for S13 and S20, but /bu:ldʒa-/ for S26.

o: → ua (optional, except for final syllables closed by /n/), e.g. /to:la/ [t<sup>h</sup>uala] ~ [t<sup>h</sup>oala] '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 is 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 [oə]. /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 Halehi reflected in DII.

Table 17. Karlong /o:/ Correspondences

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
dry	huusinmi	xoosǎn	hoosin	xo:sin [xuasin]	—	—	qayurai
fat (n.)	ooku	fuugu	foogi	/fo:gu/ [fuaku]	fo:ke	—	øgeky/n
green	nogoon	nughuun	nughoon	/nogo:n/ [noquan]	nogo:n	nogo:n	noyuyan
feather	fooda	fuudi	foodi	/fo:di/ [fuati]	fo:di	—	ødy/n
oil	toosa	tuusi	toosi	to:si [tuasi]	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 /tʰogo:n/ [tʰokuan] 'few', DH *quguan*, Zhao *tʰoon*, LK *qoogon*, SMN *tʰo:n* ~ *tʰo:guæn*, Todaeva *fio:n*, WM *føgyken* '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 *doluyʷn* in WM, /dalo:n/ [talu:n] 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:si/ [tʰuasi] 'oil', WM *tosu/n*.

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

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

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
count	—	—	toola ~ tooo	/to:ia/ [t <sup>h</sup> ua]	to:ia	to:ia	to:ia
vornit	boo'dko	bo'ija	boo'jo	/bo:ika/ [puat <sup>h</sup> ea]	bo:rd <sup>h</sup> kae	bo:rd <sup>h</sup> kae	bogel'd <sup>h</sup> i
star	foode	—	foodi	/fo:di/ [fuati]	fo:di	fo:di	o:du/n
feather	foode	fuadi	foodi	/fo:di/ [fuati]	fo:di	—	ødy/n
louse	boose	bosi	boosi	/bo:si/ [puasi]	bo:se	—	bogesy/n
oil	toosa	tuusi	toosi	/to:si/ [tuasi]	to:se ~ to:dze	to:dze	to:u/n
kidney	booro	bora	booro	/bo:ra/ [puara]	bo:ro	bo:ro	bogere
throat	xoolo	huula	hoolo	/ho:ia/ [huala]	xo:lo	xo:lo	qoyulal
few	qoon	quguan	qoogon	/tso:gon/ [t <sup>h</sup> o:kuan]	t <sup>h</sup> o:n ~ t <sup>h</sup> o:guan	t <sup>h</sup> o:n	t <sup>h</sup> o:yan
two	goor	ghoori	ghoor	/go:r/ [quar]	go:r	go:r	qojar
soft	doolon	julan	jiloon	/d <sup>h</sup> o:lon/ [t <sup>h</sup> ulan]	d <sup>h</sup> o:luon	d <sup>h</sup> o:lon	zogelen
wood	—	muudi	moodu	/mo:di/ [muati]	mo:di	mo:di	modu/n
road	moor	moori	moor	/mo:r/ [muar]	mo:r	mo:r	m <sup>h</sup> r
fat (n.)	ooku	fuugu	foogi	/fo:gu/ [fuaku]	fo:ke	—	g <sup>h</sup> eky/n
green	nooon	nughuun	nughoon	/no:gon/ [noquan]	no:gon	no:gon	noyuan
seven	doloon	—	duloon	/dalo:n/ [talan]	dolo:n	dolo:n	doluya/n
six	d <sup>h</sup> iroon	—	t <sup>h</sup> urghoon	/d <sup>h</sup> iro:n/ [t <sup>h</sup> irquan]	d <sup>h</sup> iro:n	d <sup>h</sup> iro:n	d <sup>h</sup> iryuya-n

### III.3.7 Short Low Vowel

#### III.3.7.1 /a/

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

ia ⇒ a:

E.g. /nidi amsɣua/ [nita:mɣua] 'eyebrows, eyelashes', or /tini a:ba/ [tʰina:ba] 'your father',  
/bi xurqanɟi awua/ [pi xurqanɟa:wua] 'I bought a lamb', /tɕi anɟi su:ɕi/ [tʰa:nɟi su:tɕi]  
'where do you live'. In fast speech, this process can make it difficult to make certain grammatical  
distinctions. For example, whether [nta:ni xɕeina:lata] is /nda:ni xɕeina: alaɕa/, '(someone)  
killed my own pig', or /nda:ni xɕeini alaɕa/, '(someone) killed my (accusative) pig'.

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

E.g. /maɕi/ [miɕi] ~ [maɕi] 'read'.

a → a / \_ ɔ, x \$

E.g. /maxdir/ [maxtir] 'blunt', /relaɔ/ [relaɔ] 'stick'.

a → e, æ / \_ n \$ (optional)

E.g. /kuitan/ [kʰuitʰæn] ~ [kʰuitʰen] ~ [kʰuitʰan] 'cold', /ju:tan/ [ju:tʰæn] ~ [ju:tʰen] ~ [ju:tʰan]  
'narrow', /tandi/ [tʰænti] ~ [tʰenti] ~ [tʰanti] 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 → ǎ / \_ ŋ \$

E.g. /tɕanɟaŋ/ [tʰǎŋgǎ] 'window' (Chinese *chuānghu* 窗户)

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

same word, the /a/ preceding the /ŋ/ changes to [ä] as expected. However, the nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant: /ɕaŋdzu/ [ɕäntsü] ‘soap’. This means that the rule changing /aŋ/ to [äŋ] 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 /ɕ/, /tɕ/, and /ɕ/. I have not been able to observe this for Karlong. In Karlong, [a] follows /ɕ/ in *xuɕadi* ‘sharp’, *nɕasi* ‘plow’, and *a:ɕa* ‘older brother’. It follows /tɕ/ in *tɕaɕi* ‘snow’, *xguatɕa* ‘boy’, and *ntɕa* ‘sleep’. It follows /ɕ/ in *ɕa:ɕi* ‘sand’.

The change of /a/ to [ä] 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 [k<sup>h</sup>uit<sup>h</sup>æŋ] ‘cold’ SMN *kui:diæn*, KL [ju:t<sup>h</sup>æŋ] ‘narrow’ SMN *ju:tæn*, KL [niŋkæŋ] ‘thin’ SMN *niæŋgæn*, KL [ni:t<sup>h</sup>æŋ] ‘wet’ SMN *ni:tiaæn*. 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<sup>65</sup>.

In some words where other dialects of Mongghul have /a/, Karlong has /e/, e.g. *szær* ‘gold’. It is *szæri* in DH, and *szar* in Li Keyu (LK). In addition, there are variations between /i/ (or [i]) and /a/ in the different dialects, e.g.: Karlong [nara] ~ [nira] ‘name’, *nære* 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’.

<sup>65</sup> Thanks to Davied Stampe for pointing this out.

### 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' /dʰi:la/ vs. 'lamp' /dʰila:/.

#### III.3.8.2 /a/ - Comparative data

Dialects of Huzhu do not always agree on /a:/ in terms of quantity, for example 'play' KL *na:di*, Zhao *na:di*, DH *na:di*, LK *na:di*, SMN *na:da*, TDV *na:di*, WM *na:du* '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 *na:du* 'id', or Karlong *ɕine*: 'laugh', WM *ini:je* '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 *fi:re*: 'seed', WM *ɣre* 'id', or Karong *to:st* '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.

Table 19. Back vowels

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
left (side)	sulighui	solguai	solghui	salguei	sorgue:	solgue:	soluyai
ice	malizi	molsə	molsi	malsi	mordze	molse	mølsy/n
head	tulighui	tolguai	tolghui	talgui:	torgue:	tolgue:	toluyai
read	muxi	moçə	moxi	maçi	moçe	moje	ungsi

### III.3.11 Diphthongs

There are seven diphthongs in KL. They are /ui/, /ui:/, /uei/, /uo/, /ua/, /ie/, and /ia/. Halchi according to Zhaonasiu 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), *tʃui* 'hammer' (Chinese *chui* 锤) but also in *xuiñ a:ma* 'step-mother'. The long diphthong /ui:/ is much more common, e.g. *mogui:* 'snake', *salgui:* '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/. /a/ 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].

Table 20. [wai] ~ [wel] ~ [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	qanghai	—	qanghai	qanxci	—	—	—
pig	hgai	xgai	hghai	xgei	xage:	xage:	yaqai
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 *gelian* 'dried barley bread', *lian* 'quantity, measure', *lian* 'two', and *nianqā* '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. *guoqā* 'country' (Chinese *guójiā* 国家 'id'). Sometimes it also appears as a variant of [ua], e.g. /trua/ [t<sup>h</sup>ruo] ~ [t<sup>h</sup>rua] 'in'.

### III.3.11.6 /ɛ/

The diphthong /ɛ/ appears in words of Mongolic, Chinese and Tibetan origin. Examples are *mieŋxan* 'thousand' WM *mitɣa/n* 'id', *ɕɛixunla* 'get married', Chinese *jiéhūn* 结婚 'id', *niexaŋ* 'kitchen', WT *mye-khaŋ* '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 [u:<sup>h</sup>] 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	niyur
today	niuduri	niuudur	niudur	nu:dir	niu:dur	—	ønygedyr
younger sibling	diu	diuu	diu	du:	diu:	diu:	deggy

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	jju	ɕjauu	jau	ɕju:	ɕju:	ɕju:	ɕjaju

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 *auu*, with WM *uu* and *ɣuu* 'id'.

### 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: *pircan* 'god', *bagaldı* 'fight', *to:la* 'count', *de:l* 'garment, clothes', *ki* 'wind', *giga* 'small', *garan* 'three'. /p/ occurs medially only in two cases: *nimpda* 'spit' and *nimpıdı* 'tear (n.)'. /c/ appears only before non-front vowels, e.g. *garan* 'three', *mogoli* 'round', and *gal* 'fire', with one exception: *ǰalci* 'path'. The range of vowels that can appear after /k/ is also limited: /a/ or /a:/, e.g. *karda* 'domesticated animal', /i:/ as in *ki* 'wind', [i], in the suffix -ki which is added to loanwords to form verbs, e.g. *la:ki* 'pull' (Chinese *拉* 'id'), and /u/ or /u:/ as in *kuri* 'arrive', and *ku* 'son'. /k/ never occurs before mid vowels<sup>66</sup>. For a discussion of /ko/ sequences in other dialects of Mongghul, see section III.3.5.4. /g/ never appears before /o/<sup>67</sup>.

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. *mha* 'right', *ndur* 'high', *ngan* 'he', *ngua* 'wash'. All of them except /g/ can be preceded by /ʃ/, e.g. *ʃbatŋ* 'grass sod', *ʃdur* 'long', *ʃgei* 'leg'. All of them except /d/ can be preceded by /s/, e.g. *sbi* 'barley', *sgi* 'wait', and *scal* 'beard'. /d/ and /g/ can be preceded by /r/, e.g. *rde* 'door' and *rgul* 'winter'. /g/ and /c/ can be preceded by /x/ and /ɕ/, e.g. *xgac̣ka* 'language', *xgei* 'pig', *ɕge* 'big' and *ɕcei* 'leg' (as a variant of *ʃgei*).

#### III.4.2 Affricates

All affricates can occur syllable-initially before vowels, e.g. *taɕi* 'snow', *ɕicasi* 'fish', *ɕsuan* 'ship', *dzidɕuan* 'thick'. All affricates except /dz/ can also occur word-initially. /ts/ occurs word-

<sup>66</sup> One possible exception is: S13 [ko:gi] 'knock', Chinese *kou* 扣 'id', however, the vowel here may be [ou] or [u:].

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

initially only in one case, where it varies with /tʰ/: /tʰidzi/ [tʰ<sup>h</sup>itsi] or [tʰ<sup>h</sup>itsi] 'blood'. /ts/ and /tʃ/ never occur word-medially. No affricates occur syllable-finally. All affricates except /tʃ/ can appear in consonant clusters. Of the consonants that can appear in consonant clusters, only /dz/ can not be preceded by /n/: *ntsua* 'lake', *ntʃa*: 'sleep', *ndʒasi* 'plow', *ndʒawa* 'guest'. /dʒ/ and /dz/ form consonant clusters with preceding /ç/: *çdʒun* 'girl', *çdzi*: 'dust'. /dʒ/ can form consonant clusters with /x/ and /t/: *xdʒer* 'face', *rdʒe* 'look'. /dz/ can form consonant clusters with /ʒ/ and /s/: *ʒdʒin* 'nine' and *sdʒu* 'water'.

### III.4.3 Fricatives

All fricatives can appear syllable-initially before vowels, e.g. *fɪni* 'smoke', *se:gan* 'beautiful', *ʃaŋul* 'noon', *çambalçdʒi* 'butterfly', *xura* 'rain'. Only /s/ and /ç/ appear word-medially, e.g. *razi* 'skin', *ça:çi* '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 /ç/, e.g. *soal* 'beard', *ʒçei* ~ *ççei* 'beard', *xçei* 'pig'. All fricatives that form consonant clusters except /x/ appear with /dz/, e.g. *sdʒu* 'water', *ʒdʒin* 'nine', *çdʒi*: 'dust'. /s/, /ç/, and /x/ can form consonant clusters with /g/, e.g. *sge* 'see', *çge* 'big', *xgatʃa* 'language'. /ç/ and /x/ can form consonant clusters with /dʒ/, e.g. *çdʒun* 'girl' and *xdʒer* 'cheek'. /ʒ/ and /x/ form consonant clusters with /d/, e.g. *çda*: 'cook' and *xdan* 'hard'. /s/ can form the most varied consonant clusters, appearing also with /b/, /n/, and /l/, e.g. *sbi*: 'barley', *snagwa* 'rainbow', and *slançwa* 'rainbow'.

In almost all instances the vowel following /f/ is either a rounded vowel or [i]. 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', *ŋçwa*: 'wash'. All nasals can appear word-finally, e.g. *pirçan* 'god', *rlan* 'cloud'.

Word-final /m/ are infrequent, but do occur, in Tibetan and in Mongolic words, e.g. *kadam* 'wolf' (Tibetan *khadam* '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', *ntsa*: 'sleep', *ntsua* 'lake' *ndzasi*, 'plow', *ndige* 'egg', *nguxi* 'fur'. In addition, /n/ can form a consonant cluster with a preceding /s/: *snagua* '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 sounds 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' nguamba 'monastery'
n	s	tʃ, tʃʰ, d, dʃ	snagua 'rainbow' ntsa:- 'sleep' ndzasi 'plow' ndasgu '(hot) drink' bambandzi 'board'
ŋ	--	g, g, x, l, r	ngua:- 'wash' nguamba 'monastery' mierɣan 'thousand' darɣur 'lantern' saɣra: '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/, /tʃ/, and /l/, e.g. *rde* 'eat', *rgul* 'winter', *rdzi*:

'wing' and *rlaŋ* 'cloud'. /l/ can only form a consonant cluster with a preceding /t/ or /s/, e.g. *rlaŋ* 'cloud', *slaŋgwa* 'rainbow'.

#### III.4.6 Glides

Glides can appear syllable-initially before a vowel, e.g. *wakter* 'city', *wir* 'steam', *wosgu* 'lungs', *gawer* 'mud', *jaxi* '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	ɕ, ɟ, g, n, l
ʃ	d, ɕ, ɟ
ç	dʒ, ɕ, ɟ
m	b
n	d, tɕ, ɕ, ts
ŋ	g, ɟ
r	d, l, ɕ, ɟ
x	d, ɕ, ɟ, ɟ

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

In order to avoid trans-syllabic consonant clusters that are not allowed, consonants can be deleted at a morpheme boundary, e.g. *xarən* 'ten' and *ʃdzin* 'nine', but *xarəʃdzin* '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, tʃ, tʃʰ
b	l, r
t	r
d	r
k	l
f	l, r
ɕ	n, l

### 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	uɕe	uje ~ rje	uje	rɕa	uɕiæ	uɕe	uɕe	—
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 *zæŋ* 'side' DH *rog*, LK *rog* ~ *xog* ~ *yog*, SMN *rog* ~ *jog* ~ *ɕiæŋ*, TDV *rog* ~ *jog* 'id', WT *logs*.

Janhunen (2001:66) notes that rather than assuming that consonant clusters were 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 *ɕina* ~ *nɕina*. This happens especially when

words are elicited in isolation. In some cases the nasal is not optional, e.g. *ŋGwa* 'wash', *ndasi* '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	ŋGuaa	gua	nghua	ŋGua:	ŋGua:	ŋGua:	uya
fur, wool	ŋGuaasə	ghuasi	nghuasi	ŋGuaɕi	ŋGuaɕe	ŋGua:ɕe	ungyasu/n
plow	ndkasə	jasi	njasi	ndkasə	ndkɕasə	ndkɕasə	andɕisu/n
egg	ndage	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 *andɕisu(n)* 'plow' does have a nasal before the consonant, but WM *uya* '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', *ʈɕi:ca:n* 'white', *xɕei* '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: *ʈɕuan* 'ship' (Chinese *chuàn* 船 'id'), *niangɕa* 'home of married woman's parents' (Chinese *niángjia* 娘家 'id') /dalo:n/ [taluan] 'seven'. Even in loanwords, there seems to be a tendency to avoid diphthongs in syllables with

codas, e.g. *juanwei* 'official' appears as both [juæŋweɨ] and [jæŋweɨ]. 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/, /ŋ/, 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. *dabst* 'salt', /d/ can occur word-finally as a variant of /t/, e.g. *nad* ~ *nar* 'sick', /ŋ/ can appear word-finally: *bo:daŋ* '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<sup>68</sup> (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: /xgal<sup>1</sup>di-~~ɬ~~-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

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<sup>68</sup> "ударение падает в последний слог слова"

on the last syllable of the stem<sup>69</sup>. Sometimes the evidence whether a certain suffix can carry stress is unclear, e.g. /lanjanɰdzi-ŋge/ 'basket-SG', but /tir'ge-ŋge/ 'basket-SG'.

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

Stress on final syllable of word: /ɰu:-ɰ-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	namba	ninba	nimbaa	mba:	numba:	numba:	nimba

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 alternations 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:

<sup>69</sup> 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.

*gax̣er* 'city' + *-ri* LOC is *gax̣eri*

*ngan* 3SG + *-ni* GEN is *ngani*

*moŋɣual* 'Monguor' + *-la* INST is *moŋɣuala*

### 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 /ɕ/. For example, *jeri* 'find' + *-ɕi* (imperfective) becomes *jeɕɕi* (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/, /ɕ/, /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' + *-ɕi* IMPERF becomes *jeɕɕi* (with assimilation of the /r/ to the following /ɕ/).

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

*tari* 'plant' + *-ɕ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *təɕɕa*.

*təi* 'plant' + *-gun-a* GEN.FUT-OBJ becomes *tərguna*.

### III.7.3.3 Stems in -i (high vowel)

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

*xudali* 'cut' + *-ɕ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *xudalɕa*.

*uli* 'become' + *-ɕ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *ulɕa*.

### III.7.3.4 Stems in -e (high vowel)

*ci* 'go' + *-gu* PART.FUT becomes *ɕgu*.

*ci* 'go' + *-ɕ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *ɕɕa*, but 'go' + *-iga* CAUS becomes *ɕilga*, 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. /tʰ/ ~ /t/, and variations between retroflex and alveo-palatal, e.g. /ɣ/ ~ /ç/. Differences between Karlong and other dialects of Mongghul include 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 Mongghul 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.

### III.9 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The status of [i] 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.

## CHAPTER IV. NOMINALS

### IV.1 INTRODUCTION

Karlöng, 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 Karlöng: 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 discuss the remaining parts of speech.

### IV.3 NOMINALS

Karlöng 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*

'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 (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup>) 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 *ndɕina*: ~ *ɕina*. 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

usage. Adjectives can be modified by the adverb *xudi* '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-postpositions" 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 *dɔ:ŋge* 'a lantern'. However, *-ge* can also appear with nouns ending in vowels, e.g. *dza:ŋge* 'our crops'.

-nge with word ending in a vowel:

1. a: di: **jeri-nge** i:-gun-a  
INTJ then woman-SG COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ  
Ah, then there was a woman.

2. bi hulidzi laŋlaŋdzi-nge aw-ua  
1SG bamboo basket-SG buy-PERF  
I bought a bamboo basket.

-ge with word ending in a consonant:

3. nda:-ni **ɕɕildɕa** alag **de:l-ge** aw-ɕa  
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: xgei da gaga: **xgei-ge** tiɕe: ʂda-ɕin draŋ ju: ... tio:ɕen  
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 -nge ~ -ge and nige never appear with the same noun in the same sentence:

5. bi ŋgaŋ-di **fu:-nge** ɕ-wa  
1SG 3PL.OBL.STEM-DAT book-SG give-PERF  
I gave them a book.
6. bu ŋgaŋ-di **nige** fu: ɕ-wa  
1sg 3PL.OBL.STEM-DAT one book give-PERF  
I gave them a book.

(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:    *ɕu:*    fuzu   *ɕa-di*        da    and*ɕ-i:*        *ɕu:si*    gada-sa  
INTJ   just   rich   family-DAT   and   where-SUBJ   just   outside-ABL  
xargal-ge        tungu-*ɕ-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        malga-*na:-ŋge*    *ɕo:-ja*  
INTJ   INTJ   hat-REFL-SG    put.on-VOL1

Yeah, yeah, let me put on **my** hat.

9.    ja    ja        *ɕaŋxei-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:

10. do bida-ŋgula li:la-san                      kun-si      da      ɕinxu: eimi  
 now 1PL              be.left.over-PART.PERF    person-PL    also    after    children  
 ɕu: xo:lai-la-gun-i                      di:      dzuɕum-ni      sge-di-ɕ-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-ɕ-a                      xa      nda:ni                      bili:-si      ɕuetɔŋ-sa  
 dark become.PERF-OBJ    PTCL 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN    child-PL    school-ABL  
 ri-ɕ-a  
 come.PERF-OBJ

When it got dark, my children came home from school.

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

12. xgeila su:-sa                      bili:-aŋla    i:gua-la      ɕuetɔŋ-di      ɕari      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 *ŋgani* 'he', *ŋganiŋula* ~ *ŋaniŋla* 'they'.

13. bida-ŋla            ne    gugutɕa:ar-i    su:-san-a            tigi:    ɕendʒin  
 IPL.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 *-mange* is used to express plural with the meaning 'and things like that', e.g.,

14. ɕu:-mange    war-ɕ-a    bei  
 sew-PL            do-PERF-OBJ PTCL

(I) did some embroidery and things like that.

15. do    sdzun-di        ɕu:    ɕge    piɕag-mange    sarimsag-mange    tar-ɕ-a  
 now water-DAT    just big bean-PL    garlic-PL            plant-PERF-OBJ  
 di:    ɕu:    ɕaɕindi    ɕu:    bu:di    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-di                ɕu:    ka:ɾda    xo:lama    xgei    xo:lama    gi:dzi-mange  
 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.

17. a:ga:du: gura:n i:

brother three COP

(I) have three brothers.

18. dalo:n aji:l-di dalo:n ku: xuaɖi 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-rí 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?<sup>70</sup>

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: *-gula*

Duals are marked with *-gula*, from *go:r ~ gu:r* 'two' + the instrumental-comitative suffix *-la*. In extremely careful speech, only in isolation, dual personal pronouns have a form with *-gu:rla*, e.g. *bidagu: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-gula ninge leki-di-ɖ-a

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

Eh, then we two divorced.

<sup>70</sup> The solution to the riddle is *nu:r* 'face'.

21. do da-gula ja:n-i: şan-ki-ldi-ja dzaŋɕa 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. mcnszen da a:ma-gula-na: kunan a xa, eŋisan-di  
 menzhen and mother-DL-REFL difficult COP PTCL twentythree-DAT  
 dzuja a:nie da:bila guli nig:ɕe lidan 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 ege da maŋli:-sa do:ra-ɕi danlur-la  
 then grandmother-DL big door lintel-ABL go.down-IMPERF lantern-INST.COM  
 nige i:-sa-nge // jeri-nge sara su: ge-ɕ-a be:  
 one look-COND-SG // woman-SG month sit put-PERF-OBJ PTCL  
 ege 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 eɕɕundu:-gula-na: rd-ua  
 1SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.sister-DL-REFL eat-PERF  
 I ate with my younger sister.

The suffix *-gula* can be attached to singular forms and to plural forms of the personal pronouns, for example *tɕi bidagula* 'you (sg.) and I', *bu tɕicula* 'I and you (sg.)'. It is interesting here that while *tɕi* is the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun, *bida-* is the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural stem.

25. maɣaçi    tçi    bida-ɣula    handi-la    utçi-ja<sup>71</sup>

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

Let's eat<sup>72</sup> together you and I tomorrow

26. bi    tçi-ɣula    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, *-ɣula* 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, Zhaonasiu 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' (Karloug *wulan*, WM *olan*).

<sup>71</sup> The word *utçi-*, literally 'drink', is often used to mean 'eat a meal'.

<sup>72</sup> The verb *utçi* 'drink' is often used with the sense 'to eat a meal'.

Table 29. Number Suffixes

Function	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964 (Naringhol)	Todaeva 1973	Zhaonasiu 1981 (Halchi)	Georg 2003 (Halchi)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)
Singular	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
Singular Plural	-ŋge -sɣi	-hɣina (personal pronouns)	-sɣi	-ŋge ~ -ge (p. 43) -sge (HG) -sge, -se (FN) -sge (-hge) (NG)	-ŋge (p. 18) -sge (p. 18)	-ŋge ~ -ge -sge ~ -sɣi (Halchi) -hɣi (Naringhol) (p. 295)	-ɣɔ / -ŋɣɔ (p. 5) -sɣɔ / -xɣɔ (p. 5)
Plural	—	—	-s (with dative and ablative) (p. 12)	—	—	—	-s (p. 5)
Plural	-si	-hina	—	—	—	—	-si (p. 5)
Plural	-ŋula	—	—	-ŋgula (HG) -ŋgula, -ŋgu (FN)	-ŋgula (p. 18)	-ŋu ~ -ŋgu ~ -ŋula ~ -ŋgula (p. 295)	-ŋgula / -ŋgula / -gula (p. 5)
Plural	-mange	—	—	—	—	-maje (p. 295)	—
Plural	-ŋgula (-ja)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Plural	-sila	—	—	—	—	—	—
Plural	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Plural	—	-luena	—	—	—	—	-tang (p. 5)

#### IV.4.2 Case Marking

Karlong has seven cases: nominative ( $\emptyset$ ), genitive (-*ni*), dative (-*d̥i*), accusative (-*n̥i*), locative (-*ri*), ablative (-*sa*), and instrumental-comitative (-*la*).

##### IV.4.2.1 Nominative: - $\emptyset$

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

27. simɕanjla noxuel ɕɕu:gun-a

careful dog bite-GEN.FUT-OBJ

Be careful, **the dog** will bite.

28. bi tɕandzar-i su:-ɕ-i:

1SG Qianzuo-LOC sit-PERF-SUBJ

I live in Qianzuo.

29. lian ku:dzi nd̥igila-ɕi 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 xgaɕa mba: sa:

young.woman language correct PTCL

**Young woman**, are (my) words true?

32. a:die die 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-~~di~~ juanwei-ni den-di gi~~g~~-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 xgara:-~~di~~-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:-~~di~~-i:  
 1SG this house-DAT sit-PERF-SUBJ  
 I live in this house.

37. e: moriŋqan xa di: te gual-di gdara wa  
INTJ Morigang PTCL then that valley-DAT water.mill COP

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

38. di: te sxu:-di ne anɕi:-di do:ŋu: ne nige ŋenlin di: dum  
then that time-DAT this where-DAT everywhere this one forest then east  
san ɕi san i:gua fi: bi kile su:-ɕ-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 ga-di do si:n a  
this time-DAT now good COP

Nowadays (things) are good.

40. ne-sa miɕi-ni itɕien-gula-di-ni i:-n-a  
this-ABL before-GEN early-INTENS-DAT-POSS COP-NPT-OBJ

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

41. ŋanmaŋ xaran ni:man dur-di go: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 ɕuetan-di ɕi-ma  
3SG daily school-DAT go-ASSERT

S/he goes to school every day.

43. xgeila su:-sa                    bili:-agla   i:gua-la   ɕuetan-di   gari   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-gula                    juen   truo ...   kudi-na:                    juendi-di                    bu:                    ɕge  
 grandmother-DL   garden inside ... home-REFL   garden-DAT   go.down   big  
 da-na:                    ne:   ninge   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 *kudi* '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:-ni                                    **kudi**   nu:dir                    xgilanɕin-ge                    ri-ɕ-a  
 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN   home   today   beggar-SG   come-PERF-OBJ  
 A beggar came to my house today.

46. ta-ŋla                                    nda:-ni                                    **kudi**   utɕi-ɕ-a  
 2PL.STEM-PL   1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN   home   drink-PERF-OBJ  
 You ate at my house.

47. ŋgan   **kudi**   ɕda:-la                    ɕ-ɕ-a  
 3SG   home   cook-PURP   go-PERF-OBJ  
 She went home to cook.

Recipient:

48. bi tɕim-i nige fu: g-wa  
1SG 2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT one book give-PERF

I gave you a book.

49. bi nda:-ni du:-di-na: fu-ŋge  
1SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.brother-DAT-REFL book-SG

gua-di-wa

give-COMPL-PERF

I gave a book to my younger brother.

50. nda: kurge:-tala nda:-ni a:mani nda: nige  
1SG.ACC get.married-TERM 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN mother-POSS 1SG.DAT one

ɖil bagu:r g-ɖ-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-di ɕge ger-ge i:-n-a  
3SG-DAT big house-SG COP-NPT-OBJ

He has a big house.

52. *ɔ̃aŋ-ge*      *kun-di*      *nige pi:se: i:*      *ja:n-i:*  
 hundred-SG    person-DAT    one belt    COP      what-SUBJ

A hundred people have one belt. What is it?<sup>73</sup>

53. *di:*    *gan*    *kile-san-a*      *gan-di*    *ɔ̃apu*      *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*      *sgc-n-a*      *be:*  
 what-DAT    see.NPT-OBJ    PTCL

(We) see all kinds of things.

55. *bu*    *ɔ̃im-i*      *sgc-wa*  
 1SG    2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT    see-PERF

I saw you.

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

56. *bu*    *ŋgan-i*      *sgc-wa*  
 1SG    3SG-ACC    see-PERF

I saw him/her.

Accusative is also used with 'see' for the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural: *bu ɔ̃aŋlaŋi sgewa* 'I saw you', *bu ŋgaŋnani sgewa* 'I saw them'.

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

<sup>73</sup> The solution to the riddle is *mani* 'prayer beads'.

57. nga-ŋla           nda:           sge-č-a  
 3PL.STEM-PL 1SG.DAT/ACC see-PERF-OBJ

They saw me.

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

58. bu    ta-ŋ-di                   sGa-ja  
 1SG 2PL.STEM-PL-DAT ask-voll

Let me ask you.

Dative case with the verb *čkiefaŋ/a* 'liberate':

59. e:    tigi:ŋge-la                   su:-č-a           tani           zč-i-gu           nda:  
 INTJ like.that-INST.COM sit-PERF-OBJ 3SG-ACC look.PART.FUT 1SG.DAT/ACC  
 xu:le:   čkiefaŋ-la-di                   niŋge   a:   do   č-u:   nara  
 after   liberate-VRBL-COMPL then   INTJ also just sun  
 bu:-di-č-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:   dzuči    č-u:si   wanmin-di   čkiefaŋ-la   di:   niŋe   di:   č-u:  
 Mao chairman exactly people-DAT liberate-VRBL then one then just  
 si:na-la-di-č-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



63. **kudujer-ni**      **tari-di-sa**                      **ta:win d̥irgo: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.

64. **maxa-ni**      **aw-d̥i**      **ra**  
**meat-ACC**    **take-IMPERF**    **come**

Come take the **meat**!

65. **ne fu:-ni**      **maçi**  
**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**                      **t̥ural 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**    **gda:n-i**  
**winter-DAT**    **cattle dung**    **burn-NPT-SUBJ**

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

69. ngan moadi jeç d̥i                      ç̥i niŋge gal d̥a:la-ma  
 3SG wood collect-IMPERF go after fire make.fire-ASSERT  
 After she 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. ngan ç̥i-gu                      d̥ira:la-sa                      ŋgan-i      ç̥i-ŋa  
 3SG go-PART.FUT like-COND                      3SG-ACC go-CAUS  
 If he wants to go, let him go.

71. gan-i      dze:la-ga      ş̥da-n                      gu-a                      xa mei li      caŋ  
 3SG-ACC receive-CAUS can-SUBORD NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCLcoal inside hide  
 d̥in gi-d̥i  
 gold QUOT-IMPERF

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

#### IV.4.2.5 Locative: -ri

Location in space and goal can be marked by the locative suffix *-ri*, as well as by the dative *-di*. Compared to *-di*, which can also be used for recipients, possessors, location in time, and the object of certain verbs, the uses of *-ri* 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. gajer      c̥d̥o:si-ri      na:dzi      caç-d̥-a  
 spring tree.LOC bud come.out-PERF-OBJ

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

73. bi    tɕandzar-i    su:ɕ-i:  
 1sg. Qianzuo-LOC    sit-PERF-SUBJ

I lived in Qianzuo.

Goal:

74. kidi    fan    ku:-la    ningge    di:    i:xge    wadzer-i    garçi    ra  
 several    year    son-INST.COM    after    then    only.then    city-LOC    go.out    come  
 durdindi    ɕu:    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    ningge    jaŋ    ku:-la    nige    liam    mu:ni-gula  
 Qianzuo-LOC    go    after    again    son-INST.COM    one    luck    bad-EMPH  
 ɕu:    ningge    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    gadin-di    tɕandzar-i    ɕ-ɕ-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.

11.4.2.6 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.<sup>74</sup> It is also used to mark the complement of some verbs.

Locational source, e.g.

77. gan te ger-sa ri-~~ç~~-a  
 3sg. that house-ABL. come-PERF-OBJ

He came **from** that house.

78. bi fulan nira-sa ri-wa  
 1SG Fulaan Nara-ABL. come-PERF

I am **from** Fulaan Nara (place name).

79. di: a:nie-gula ege da maŋli:-sa do:ra-~~ç~~i danlur-la  
 then grandmother-DL big door lintel-ABL go.down-IMPERF lantern-INST.COM  
 nige i:-sa-nge  
 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-nge sara su: ge:-~~ç~~-a be: ege da busgua-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.

<sup>74</sup> In Tianzhu, comparisons optionally use the Chinese *bǐ* (比) [*bɿ*]: *nje bo bɿ gesa boɣwanə* 'This tree is smaller than the house'.

Temporal source:

80. e: di: xuina-sa cađin-di tãandzar-i ç-dã-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 eŋi tien tiga:nge di: tar-sa di:  
Qingming-ABL before twenty day that.much then plant-COND then

di: baŋɕan 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 miçi-ni i:tɕien-gula-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 çge wa  
2SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-ABL big COP

You are taller than me.

84. nanige çɕo: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.

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: lisa-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 instrumentally or as comitative.

Instrumental function:

88. ŋgan xgei-ni tɔdaɣu-la ala-di-ɕ-a  
3sg. pig-POSS knife-INST.COM kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

He killed the pig with a knife.

89. fila:n ɣda: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: moŋɣual a xa moŋɣual xgatɕa-la-na:  
1NJ Monguor COP PTCL Monguor language-INST.COM-REFL

Aya, if (you) are a Monguor, (speak) with our Monguor language.

Comitative function:

91. ngaj-la buda-ŋla-la utçi-č-a  
3SG-PL 1PL.STEM-PL-INST.COM drink-PERF-OBJ

They ate **with** us.

92. kidi fan ku:-la ninge di: i:xge wadzer-i garçi ra  
several year son-INST.COM after then only.then city-LOC go.out come  
durdindi ču: 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. gada-gu kun-la nige rin taŋca:-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:gua-la* 'all', *hamdi ~ hamdila* 'together'.

94. i:gua-la nda: du:ra:-č-a sila:-č-a  
all-INST.COM 1SG.ACC imitate-PERF-OBJ water-PERF-OBJ

Everybody imitated me in watering (their fields).

95. e: gečto:men i:gua çinjaŋ-la-di-č-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 *-luqa / -lüge*), is used with nouns denoting time to express the meaning 'during', e.g. *dur* 'day', *durla:* 'during the day'.

96 dur-*la*:      *maxa* *tilim* *xarauldi* *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?<sup>75</sup>

#### 11.4.2.8 Case - Comparative and historical data

On the whole, case marking in Karlong is not very different from case marking in other Huzh 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), Tixlaeva (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) (*-dæ*) 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 the data 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 [ə] 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 *-ni* for genitive and accusative case together. Chaolu Wu (1994:5) only gives the genitive case

<sup>75</sup> The solution to the riddle is *ʁaŋxɛi* 'shoes'.

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".

Table 30. Case Suffixes

Function	KL	Tianzhu	SM (1964:15-27) (Nanninghol)	Todaeva (1973:47-55) (Hatchi)	Zhaomasitu (1981:18-21) (Hatchi)	Georg (2003:295) (Hatchi)	Chaolu Wu (1994:5) (Hatchi)
Nominative	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø		ø
Genitive	-ni	-ni -nə -na	-ni (-n)	-ne (HG, FN)			-nə (-na/-no/le/-re/-ni)
Connective							
Dative	-di	-də	-du	-de	-nə (郵寄格) -də	-ni -di -du (NG)	-de/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 (comitativ-sociatif))	-la (соединительный падеж) -de: (совместный падеж) (HG)	-dii (連同格)	-dii	-di:
Locative	-ri	-lra	-re	-ra (-re)		-ri	-rə
Directive	—	—	—	—	—	-ji	-qə
Limitive	—	—	—	—	—	—	-xəp/-lən/-dəp

#### 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 *-sgĩ*, another with *-silã*<sup>76</sup>, and a third with *-ngula*. In all cases the suffixes are attached to the following stems: 1<sup>st</sup> person: *bidã*, 2<sup>nd</sup> person: *tã*, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person: *ngãm*.

The plural pronouns formed with *-ngula* are often reduced, as can be illustrated with the example of the first person plural: [bidangula] ~ [bidãngula] ~ [bidãŋla] ~ [bidãŋla]. 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 causes 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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<sup>76</sup> This form was elicited only from S26.

Table 31. Kartong Personal Pronouns

CASE	1SG	2SG	3SG	IDL	1PL	2DL	2PL	3DL	3PL
NOM	bi bu	ʔi	ʔgan ta tanige	bidaʔria bidaʔula bida daʔula	bidaŋgula bidaŋ bidaŋgi bidaŋsia daŋʔa	tacuria tacula	taŋgula taŋgi taŋsia	ʔgaŋʔria ʔgaŋʔula	ʔgan ʔgaŋgi ʔgaŋsia taŋgula
GEN	nda:mi mini	ʔini tani	ʔgani tani	—	bidaŋni bidaŋgula	—	taŋni taŋgulaŋi taŋni	—	—
DAT	nda:	ʔimi	ʔgandi tandi	—	bidaŋdi bidaŋgulaŋi	—	taŋgulaŋi taŋdi	—	ʔgaŋdi
ACC	nda:	ʔimu	ʔgani tani	—	—	taʔumi	taŋgulaŋi	—	ʔgaŋnani
ABL	nda:sa	ʔimisa	ʔgansa	—	—	—	taŋsa	—	ʔgaŋsa
INST.COM	—	ʔimila	ʔgaŋʔa	—	bidaŋgulaŋa	—	taŋʔa	—	ʔgaŋʔa

#### IV.4.3.1 1<sup>st</sup> person singular

The forms of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular are based on two forms: *bu* ~ *bi*, and *nda*, with the latter based on Common Mongolic dative \**nana-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 [mɨn] 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 dʒu: ra-di-sa do lamantʃuŋ*

this 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home just come-COMPL-COND now excellent

*gui:ren-ge gi-dʒi*

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: gura:n a:dʒa i:*

1SG.DAT three older.brother COP

I have three older brothers.

#### IV.4.3.2 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular

The nominative form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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*                      jec-ɕi      ul-ua  
1SG    2SG.OBL.STEM-ACC    find-IMPERF    become-PERF

I found **you**.

#### IV.4.3.3 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular

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

Accusative case:

103. bu    ŋgan-i    sge-wa  
1SG   3SG-ACC   see-PERF

I saw him/her.

Dative case:

104. tan-di    cge    nige    cɛn    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 *budacu:rla* (or *budacula*, but cf. section IV.4.1.3 on *-gula*) and *daçula*. For the second person, the form is *taçu:rla* (or *taçula*). The third person dual is *ŋgajçu:rla* or *ŋgajçula*. 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 *-çu:rla*. *-çu:rla* is composed of *ço:r* 'two'<sup>77</sup> and *-la*, the instrumental-comitative suffix. Only first person dual pronouns appear in the data in connected speech:

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<sup>77</sup> 'Two' is *ço:r*, *çu:r* or *çuar*, but the dual marker is clearly *-gula*.

106. magaçi tçi buda-gula handila utçi-ja  
tomorrow 2SG 1PL.STEM-DL together drink-VOL1

Let's the two of us eat together tomorrow.

107. a:ga di: da-gula ja: şan-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 1<sup>st</sup> person plural

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

Nominative case:

108. e: do bida li dça kun  
INTJ now 1PL Li family person

Yeah, now we are Li family people.

109. taş-gu gadi-n-i bei da-ŋla tar-la ç-ç-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 gual 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:

111. bida-ŋ-di            d̥apu            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    ege    wa  
 2PL-PL 1SG-PL-ABL body big COP

You are taller than us.

#### IV.4.3.6 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural

The stem for the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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            ut̥i-d̥-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    g-wa  
 1SG 2PL.STEM-PL.DAT book-SG give-PERF

I gave you a book.

#### IV.4.3.7 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural

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

116. *ŋga-gla ju:di niŋge gundzuo-la-di-d̥-a*  
 3PL-STEM-PL go-COMPL then work-VRBL-v.s.-PERF-OBJ

They went and worked.

117. *nda: c̥ɕundu: ou:r i: ta-ŋla xudzu su:-d̥-a*  
 ISG.DAT younger.sister two COP 3PL-STEM-PL Huzhu sit-PERF-OBJ

I have two younger sisters. They live in Huzhu.

#### 11.4.3.8 Personal pronouns - comparative and historical data

The main difference between Karlong and other dialects of Huzhu is that in Karlong the 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *ŋga-* for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, as opposed to the demonstrative pronoun *te*.

Table 32. Tianzhu Personal Pronouns

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	bu	t̥i	te	da:hina	tahina	tjehina
GEN	mini muni	t̥ini t̥ina	tjeni	da:higini da:hgina	t̥ihgini tigini tahina tagini tiginin	tjehgini tjegini tahina tagini tiginin
DAT	da:	t̥imi:	tjedi tjendi	da:gidi	tigidi	tigidi
ACC	da:	t̥imi:	tjeni	da:hinani	tahinani	tjehinani
ABL	da:sa	t̥imi:sa	gansa			tjehgsa
INST.COM		t̥imila	tjela	da:hgila	tahgila tahinala	tjehinala

In Tianzhu, there is some overlap between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural in the genitive and dative cases. This could be due to the phonological similarity: the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural stem is *ta*, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural stem is *tje*.

Compared with Karlong, there are also some other noticeable differences. For one, *gan* for the third person surfaces only in one case (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular ablative). In all other cases the third person is represented by *tje* (or *t̃*). The plural is always marked by *-hgina* (or the shortened or reduced *-hgini*, *-gini* or *-hina*). In the dative, ablative, and sometimes in 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	t̃gi	tie	buda budasgi	ta tasgi	tiesgi
GEN	muni	t̃gini	tieni	nda:ni (nda:sgini, budasgini)	tani (tasgini)	tiesgini
DAT	nda:	t̃gimi:	tiedu	nda:sdu (nda:sgidu) budasdu (budasgidu)	tasdu (tasgida)	tiesgidu
ACC	nda:	t̃gimi:	tieni	nda:sgini budasgini	tasgini	tiesgini
ABL	nda:dza	t̃gimi:dza	tiedza	nda:sdza (nda:sgidza) budasdza (budasgidza)	tasdza (tasgidza)	tiesgidza
INST	nda:ra	t̃gimi:ra	tiera	nda:sgira budasgira	tasgira	tiesgira
COM.SOC	nda:la	t̃gimi:la	tiela	nda:sgila budasgila	tasgila	tiesgila
LOC	munire	t̃ginire	tiere	nda:nire	tanire	tiesgire

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 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun, but does not provide its declension. Most likely the declension is regular in Halchi. He also states that the form of it in earlier Mongghul sources is *rge* ~ *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).

Table 35. Halchi Personal Pronouns - Zhaonasiitu (1981)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	bu	ṭə	te rgen	buda budangula, budasge ndaangula, ndaasge	ta tangula tasge	tenggula, tesge rge(n)nggula, rgensge
GEN	muna	ṭəna	tena rgena	ndaana budangulana, budasgena ndaangulana, ndaasgena	tana tangulana tasgena	tenggulana, tesgena rge(n)nggula-na, rgensgena
DAT	nda	ṭəmu (ṭəmii)	tenda rgenda	budangulada, budasgeda ndaangulada, ndaasgeda	tanggulada tasgeda	tenggulada, tesgeda rge(n)nggulada, rgensgeda
ACC	nda	ṭəmu (ṭəmii)	tena rgena	budangulana, budasgena ndaangulana, ndaasgena	tangulana tasgena	tenggulana, tesgena rge(n)nggula-na, rgensgena
ABL	ndaasa	ṭəmusa	tensa rgensa	budangulasa, budasgesa ndaangulasa, ndaasgesa	tanggulasa tasgesa	tenggulasa, tesgesa rge(n)nggulasa, rgensgesa
INST	ndaala	ṭəmula	tenla rgenla	budangulala, budasgela ndaangulala, ndaasgela	tanggulala tasgela	tenggulala, tesgela rge(n)nggulala, rgensgela
COM	ndaadii	ṭəmudii	tendii rgendii	budanguladii, budasgedii, ndaanguladii, ndaasgedii	tangguladii tasgedii	tengguladii, tesgedii rge(n)ngguladii, rgensgedii

On the whole, the pronouns found in Zhaonasiitu (1981) are the same as those described by Georg (2003).

Table 36. Halchí Personal Pronouns, Todaeva (1973)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	bu	tʃi	te	buda budasge, budangula nda:sge, nda:ngula	ta tasge tangula	tesge, tengula
GEN	mune	tʃine	tene	nda:ne budasgene, budangulane nda:sgene, nda:ngulane	tane tasgene, tangulane	tesgene, tengulane
DAI	nda:	tʃimi	tende	budasde budasgede, budangulade nda:sde nda:sgede, nda:ngulade	tasgede tasgede, tangulade	tesgede, tengulade
ACC	nda:	tʃimu	tcne	budasgene, budangulane nda:sgene, nda:ngulane	tasgene, tangulane	tesgene, tengulane
ABL	nda:sa	tʃimusa	tensa	nda:sa budasgesa, budangulasa nda:sgesa, nda:ngulasa	tasgesa, tangulasa	tesgesa, tengulasa
INST.COM	nda:la	tʃimula	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).

#### 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      t̥p̥ire:-ni      ne  
that-GEN edge-POSS this  
This is the edge of that one.

Case markings precede the possessive marker:

119. t̥pi      ŋgan-ni      tada-sa-ni      ju:-di-ɕ-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      it̥pien-gula-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. t̥pi      bida      gur-ni      ɕɕpi:-di-na  
2SG 1PL two-GEN middle-DAT-POSS.COP  
You are between the two of us.

#### 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  
 ɕil    baɣu:r    ɠ-ɕ-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*)ɕina: 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      nɕina:                      xgei-na:      ala-di-wa  
 1SG   REFL.PRON   pig-REFL   kill-COMPL-PERF  
 I killed **my own** pig.
125. naŋ      fire: tɕi    i:ɣua-na:    nɕina:                      lu:ki-ɕ-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:

126. ndɕina: nige piɕig 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 gua-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. tiɕu: xudɕi-la-na: nda:-ni gar ɕu:gi-ɕ-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 gar-ga  
 livestock stable-ABL-REFL one come.out-CAUS  
 letting the livestock out of the stable,

Reflexive suffix with dual suffix:

130. bu nda:-ni ɕɕundu:-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:

131. ja ja malga-na:-nge dɔo:-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 *malga* 'hat' as an example.

Table 37. Reflexive Marker - Case Combinations

Case	Form
Nominative	malgana:
Genitive	malgan:ni
Dative	malgan:di
Accusative	malgan:ni
Ablative	malgan:sa
Instrumental-Comitative	malgan:la
Locative	malgan: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:l-la:l-ra:*.

Todaeva gives the reflexive suffix as -*na:* (1973:58), and the reflexive pronoun as *ndjie:na:* (1973:86).

In Tianzhu the reflexive pronoun is *dzi:na:(na:)*. For example: *bu dzi:na:na: xceini alagwi*, 'I am going to kill my own pig'. It is not completely clear what the -*na:* attached to *dzi:na:* is. Possibly *dzi:na:* has been reanalyzed as non-reflexive, and the -*na:* is added to make it reflexive.

#### IV.4.6 Interrogative Pronouns

Karlong has the following interrogative pronouns: *kani* / *kana* 'who', *and̥i:* / *and̥a* 'where', *ja:ni:* / *jana* 'what', *kidi* 'how many', *tigan* 'how much', *ali* 'which' (e.g. *alixu:di* 'when', 'at what time'), *kpe:* 'when', *an̥gidi:* 'how'. Some of these pronouns (e.g. 'who', 'where', 'what') distinguish between subjective and objective perspective.

*kani* 'who':

132. a:die die ger-di ra **kan-i**  
grandfather house-DAT come **who**-SUBJ  
Grandfather, **who** is coming to the house?

*and̥i:* / *and̥a* 'where':

133. *ti* su:-san-i **and̥-i:**  
2SG sit-PAST-SUBJ **where**-SUBJ  
Where do you live?

134. *ti* **and̥-i:** su:-**d̥-i:**  
2SG **where**-SUBJ sit.PERF-SUBJ  
Where do you live?

135. *ŋgan* **and̥-a**  
3SG **where**-OBJ  
Where is s/he?

*jani* 'what':

136. *ti-ni* nara **ja:n-i**  
2SG-GEN name **what**-SUBJ  
What is your name?

*kidi* 'how many':

137. *tɔi kidi nasi wa*  
 2SG how.many age COP

How old are you?

138. *tɔim-i kidi bili:*  
 2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT how.many child

How many children do you have?

*tiga:n* 'how much':

139. *do tɔi le: tigi:ŋge do tiga:n gaɔɔer tari-n-i*  
 now 2SG PTCL like.that now how.much field plant-NPT-SUBJ

Now how much field area do you plant?

*kɔe* 'when':

140. *ŋgan kɔe ra-sa-ni bu mide-ɕi 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 ɕge wa*  
 that house big COP

That house is big.

142. bi ne ɔdɔ: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 ngan wadzer-i  
this one 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.brother COP 3SG city-LOC  
su:ɔ-a

live-PERF-OBJ

This (one) is my younger brother. He lives in the city.

144. bi ta nige-di fu:ŋge g-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 ɔge nige ɔken 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:

146. nɣan gda:-san            nɛfɔza:    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 *nasi:la* '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 *-li*, whether or not the word in question is a verb in Chinese. For example, Chinese *jiéhūn* 结婚 'to get married' becomes *dziehunla* 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 *beihuacifajla*, from Chinese *bāihuā qifàng* 百花开放 'a hundred flowers bloom'.

*nasi* 'age', and *nasi:la* 'to be a certain age', 'to be X years old':

147. bu      tidɕin    gu:r    nasi-la-ɕ-a  
 1SG    forty    two    age-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

I am forty-two years old.

*ɕu:di:n* 'dream', and *ɕu:di:la* 'to dream':

148. ku:-nɣe    to:ra-ɕ-a                    truo    yanweidzi    mide-ɕi            gu-a  
 son-SG    give.birth-PERF-OBJ    inside    official    know-IMPERF    NEG.AUX-OBJ  
 ɕu:di-la      ɕu:ne  
 dream-VRBL    just this

(When she) gave birth to a son, the official inside did not know, (but) he just dreamed, this (dream).

The following example illustrates both *-la* and *-ki*:

149. ndʒasi-na: dan-la i:gua-na: wari ka:ɾda-na:  
 plow-REFL carry.on.shoulders<sup>78</sup>-VRBL all.REFL do livestock-REFL  
 la:-ki tari bira:-na  
 pull<sup>79</sup>-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 from nouns, e.g. *gal* 'fire', *galda* 'to make fire'.

150. e: xo:di di: ɕe: xo:di-ri ri-ɕi e: gal galda  
 INTJ fireplace then PTCL fireplace-LOC come-IMPERF INTJ fire make.fire  
 gal-ge ɕala-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, *gadagu kun*, 'the person/people who is/are outside'.

<sup>78</sup> Chinese: 担 *dān*.

<sup>79</sup> Chinese: 拉 *lā*.

152. gada-gu      kun-la                      nige    rin      taŋça:-la  
 outside-n.s.    people-INST.COM    one    moment    chat-VRBL

chat a moment with people outside,

153. rlaŋ    ɕu:ro-gu    nara    xalaŋ    xuiti    a:ma-ni    xalga    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. gari-sa                      gar    tiGa:n            ndur-gu            rgu-di  
 come.out-COND    hand    that.much    high-n.s.    tie.up-COMPL

ɕu:    gar-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.

#### IV.4.8.5    *Suffix -ra-, -ro:*

These suffix creates verbs from adjectives, e.g. *xu:ɕin* 'old' - *xu:ɕira:* 'to get old', *nogo:n* 'green' - *nogo: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 -ɕi*

Nouns describing occupations are formed by attaching the suffix *-ɕi* (nomen actoris) to the verbal stem, e.g. *xonima:ɕi* 'shepherd', *gundzuotɕi* '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.

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:        gu:r    bill:    i:  
 1SG.DAT    two    child    COP  
 I have **two children**.

156. nige    kun-di        nige    ɕʌŋ    pi:se:    i:-gun-a  
 one    person-DAT    one    hundred    belt    COP-GEN.FUT-OBJ  
 One person has **one hundred belts**.<sup>80</sup>

157. nda:        gura:n    a:ɕʌ        i:  
 1SG.DAT    three    older.brother    COP  
 I have **three older brothers**.

Numeral following noun:

158. nda:        ɕɕʌndu:    gu:r    i:  
 1SG.DAT    younger.sister    two    COP  
 I have **two younger sisters**.

159. ɕɕʌndu:    gu:r-ni    kurge:-di-ɕ-a  
 younger.sister    two-ACC    marry-COMPL-PERF-OBJ  
 The **two younger sisters** are married.

<sup>80</sup> The solution to the riddle is *mani* 'prayer beads'.

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	gu:r	12	xaran gu:r	20	xorin
3	gura:n	13	xaran gura:n	30	xučin
4	dere:n	14	xaran dere:n	40	tičin
5	tawun	15	xaran tawun	50	tajin
6	čirgo:n	16	xaran čirgo:n	60	čiren
7	dalo:n	17	xaran dalo:n	70	dalan
8	nimen	18	xaran nimen	80	najen
9	šdzin	19	xara šdzin	90	jerin
10	xaran			100	nigečon
				1000	nige mienxan

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-di                      šijt    mu    gačer-ge    tari-ma  
    mountain-DAT    eleven mu    field-SG    plant-ASSERT

On the mountain (we) plant an 11 mu (亩) field. (Chinese: *shiyi mu* 十一亩<sup>81</sup>)

<sup>81</sup> Chinese land measure.

161. cɕu:si di: ... ɕu: ji liɑŋ tɕien kwei tɕa:ŋge ɣda-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. sanmaŋ-sa tɕe:n eŋɕi tien tɕa:ŋge di: tar-sa di:  
 Qingming-ABL before twenty day that.much then plant-COND then  
 di: baŋɕan 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. *ɕen*, used as a measure word for buildings, Chinese *jiān* 间.

Classifier following the numeral and preceding the modified noun:

163. ŋgaŋ-la nige ɕen ger pas-ga-ɕ-a  
 3PL.STEM one CL house stand.up-CAUS-PERF-OBJ  
 They built a house.

Numeral and classifier following the noun:

164. nda: ege ger nige ɕen i:  
 1SG.DAT big house one CL COP  
 I have a big house.

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. Guar    **ɕen**    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: gadu:    **go:r-la**            **ɕiehun-la-di-ɕ-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<sup>82</sup>:

167. bida            **gura:-la**  
           IPL.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: *dalɔ:-la* 'seven-COLL'.

<sup>82</sup> 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.

#### IV.4.10 Adjectives

Adjectives can be used attributively and predicatively. When used attributively, they always precede the noun they modify:

168. *fila:n* *ɟda: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*    *ɟge*    *ɟɟo:si-di*    *daldi*    *bi:ra-ɟ-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?<sup>83</sup>

When used as a predicate, adjectives appear after the noun and are often followed by the copula

*wa*, e.g.:

171. *ne*    *ger*    *ɟge*    *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.

---

<sup>83</sup> It is the *ji:kag* 'kang' (with a black firehole and the 'red child' the fire inside).

173. *ku ot ku dōwa maadi 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 *maadi* 'very' has already been illustrated in example 172. The suffix *-gula* can also be used:

174. *teŋgeŋ wa n a* *kudan-gula*  
 sky rain-NPL-OBJ cold-INTENS  
 It is raining (and) it is very cold

175. *gdima (kaŋ) la-tala* *wu r ege-gula*  
 bread steam VRBL. IFRM steam big-INTENS  
 When (you) steam bread, there is a lot of steam. (lit. 'the steam is big')

176. *ne geŋ-di* *kaŋgaŋ 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.

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 (*hén* 很), can be used:

177. e: *na-sa* *kaŋiŋ xen kunan a*  
 INTJ this-ABI. 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: *kaŋiŋ* 'family' (Chinese *jīating* 家庭) and *kunan* 'poor', 'difficult' (Chinese *kunnān* 困难). There is only this one instance of *xen* being used as an intensifier.

#### 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', *gada* 'outside', *hueina* ~ *hui:na* 'behind', 'after', *miçi* 'in front', 'before', *hamdi* ~ *hamdi* 'together', *çkidi* 'between', *xula* 'far from', *du:ra* 'under'.

*tada* 'near' (ablative case and possessive suffix, with a genitive noun):

178. *çi ngan-ni tada-sa-ni ju:-di-çk-a*  
 2SG 3SG-GEN near-ABL-POSS walk-COMPL-PERF-OBJ  
 You walked away from him.

*gada* 'outside' (ablative case, without a noun):

179. e: *çu: fuzu çka-di da andç-i: çu:si gada-sa*  
 INTJ just rich family-DAT and where-SUBJ just outside-ABL  
*xarçal-ge tunçu-çk-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 fur du:ra talçuei mirçu-wa*  
 1SG grave under head bow-PERF

I kowtowed at the grave. (lit. under the grave)

The postpositions *hueina* ~ *hui:na* 'behind', 'after', and *miçi* '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**    **dzou**    **ɕa**    **su:-gun-a**                    **waŋ**    **ɕa**  
 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**    **miçi-ni**    **itɕien-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* ~ *handi* 'together' (with instrumental-comitative suffix, and with a nominative noun):

183. **ŋga-ŋgula**    **hamdi-la**    **uɕi-ma**  
 3PL.STEM-PL    **together-COLL**    **drink-ASSERT**

They ate together.

*handi* ~ *handi* '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 *ɕu:ra* 'between'.

*trua* 'in' (nominative case and possessive suffix, with a genitive noun):

185. tigi: gual-ge-ni trua-ni bili:-nge çulça-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?<sup>84</sup>

186. da:jen-i dera-ni laŋxo dzaŋ-la-ç-i:  
saddle.bag-GEN in-POSS bottle put.in-VRBL-PERF-SUBJ

(We) put a bottle in the saddle bag.

*çu:ra* 'between' (nominative case, with genitive noun):

187. e: tigi:ŋge xa ne çdara-ni amagiça gi-sa  
INTJ like.that PTCL this mill-GEN how QUOT-COND  
çu:ra-ni do lamantçun bo:çun çari ç-ç-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. fila:n gual-ge trua-ni nige ban tçiga:n xurca kide:  
red valley-SG inside-POSS one group white lamb lie.down  
su:-ç-i: ja:n-i:  
sit-PERF-SUBJ what-SUBJ

In a red valley a group of white lambs are lying down. What is it?<sup>85</sup>

*dera* 'in', 'on' (nominative case, with genitive noun):

<sup>84</sup> The solution to the riddle is 'uvula'.

<sup>85</sup> The mouth with the teeth.

#### 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 choice 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.

## 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. *lakí* '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 *cuə* '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.

### 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: *gi-* and *do-*.

### V.1.2 Morphophonologically irregular verbs

There is only one verb in this class: *Gua* '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 (*-ki*, *-la*) + caus. + *-di*<sup>86</sup>] + 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 *-lfi*. There are no instances in my data where this suffix occurs word-finally.

<sup>86</sup> For a discussion of *-di*, see section V.1.1.

## 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<sup>87</sup>, 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 (*-ǎ-i/-ǎ-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 *-ǎ-*, 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.

<sup>87</sup> Chaolu Wu (1994:6) distinguishes between subjunctive and objective mood. I assume that "subjunctive" is a misspelling of "subjective".

Table 39. Neutral, Subjective and Objective Forms

LABEL	Base	Karlong	Georg (2003:302)	Todaeva (1973:122)	Zhaonasiu (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)	-ɕ-i: / -ɕ-a	-j-i / -j-a	-ɕi / -ɕa	-ɕ(ə) ii / -ɕ(ə) a	-ɕi / -ɕa
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	-ɕjini / -ɕjina	-ɕjin ii / -ɕjin a	-ɕjini / -ɕjina

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 *-ɕ-* of the non-neutral forms of the perfective come from Common Mongolic durative *\*-nA* and resultative *\*-ji* respectively, or from the forms of modal verb *\*-n* and the imperfective verb *\*-ji* respectively, combined with the two different copulas.

Zhaonasiu (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.

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 1<sup>st</sup> person subjects, and most instances of objective forms occur with 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects.

Subjective form with 1<sup>st</sup> person subject:

189. **nda:**      **bi:jan** **gu-i:**

1SG.DAT coin    NEG.AUX-SUBJ

I don't have coins.

190. **nda:-ni**                      **kudi** **ca:** **gu:r** **ti:ke:-ɬ-i:**

1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home deer two feed-PERF-SUBJ

(I) fed two deer at my home.

Objective form with 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject:

191. **ɬi** **ɬina:**                      **xgei-na:** **ala-di-ɬ-a**

2SG REFL.PRON pig-REFL kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

You killed your own pig.

192. **ta-ŋgula**                      **ŋga-ŋgula**                      **handi**                      **utɬi-ɬ-a**

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

You ate together with them.

193. **ɬi** **ŋgan-ni**                      **tada-sa-ni**                      **ju:-di-ɬ-a**

2SG 3SG-GEN near-ABL-POSS walk-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

You went away from her.

Objective form with 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject:

194. **ɬi:ŋa:ɬa:ŋ** **mini**                      **gar-di**                      **nige**                      **ɬu:-ɬ-a**

ant 1SG.GEN hand-DAT one bite-PERF-OBJ

An ant bit my hand.

195. xara-ul-~~č~~-a                      xa      nda:-ni                      bill-si    čuetarj-sa  
 dark-become-PERF-OBJ   PTCL   1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN   child-PL school-ABL  
 r-~~č~~-a

come-PERF-OBJ

(When) it became dark, my children came from school.

196. tengularj    šda:si    tčida-~~č~~-a  
 spider      thread      pull-PERF-OBJ

The spider made a web. (Lit. 'pulled threads'.)

Since subjective forms are usually associated with 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> person subject:

197. e:      čxin      tio:      č-čxi                      gu-l:  
 INTJ   gold   CL   give-IMPERF   NEG.AUX-SUBJ

"Yeah, (I) didn't give (you) any gold."

198. rgul-di              a:si      basi      šda:-n-l  
 winter-DAT      cattle      dung      burn-NPT-SUBJ

In the winter (we) burn cattle dung.

Objective form with covert 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject:

199. di:      xarili      č-gun-a  
 then      return      go-NARR.PAST-OBJ

So (he) gave it back.

200. xgile-~~ci~~    juanwei-ni    den-di    gi~~c~~-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.<sup>88</sup>

While use of the subjective form with the 1<sup>st</sup> person and objective form with the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> person subjects when there is some degree of uncertainty, e.g. in questions (only one example in the data):

201. bi    draŋ    war-gua-a    nu:  
 1SG    also    do-GEN.FUT-OBJ    INTERR

Should I continue doing (this)?

Generally, the subjective form appears with 2<sup>nd</sup> 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    fãre: tci    i:gua-na:    nci:na:    lu:ki-~~ci~~-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.

<sup>88</sup> Thanks to Robert Blust for pointing this out.

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. t̥i i:ngela-san-i ja:n-i:  
 2SG carry.in.clothes-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring in your clothes?

204. t̥i and̥-i: su:-d̥-i:  
 2SG where-SUBJ sit.PERF-SUBJ

Where do you live?

205. do t̥i le: tigi:ngge do tigan gad̥er 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. t̥i nda:-ni kudi ci-m bi ta-ni kudi ci-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?<sup>89</sup>

207. nige bambandzi-ti 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?<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> The solution to the riddle is *xamt̥i* 'sleeves'.

<sup>90</sup> The solution to the riddle is *nu:r* 'face'.

208. *d̥aŋ-ge*      *kun-di*      *nige* *pi:se:* *i:*      *ja:n-i:*  
 hundred-SG   person-DAT   one   belt   COP   what-SUBJ

A hundred people have one belt. What is it?<sup>91</sup>

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 1<sup>st</sup> person subjects:

209. *bi*      *k̥e:-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*      *ti:k̥in*      *gu:r*      *nasi-la-d̥a*  
 1SG   forty   two   age-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

I am forty-two years old.

211. *bi*      *t̥i:rgua*      *nige*      *sa:gaŋdzi*      *sana-d̥-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 1<sup>st</sup> 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.

<sup>91</sup> The solution to the riddle is *mani* 'prayer beads'.

212. c:    **buda-gula**    **nigge**    **leki-di-č-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-č-i**    **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    **gungulag-ni**    **xgal-di-č-a**  
 1SG    bottle-ACC    break-COMPL-PERF-OBJ  
 I broke the bottle.

Use of subjective perspective with a 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. c:    **na**    **dalo:n**    **a:Gadu:**    **dalaŋ**    **su:-san-i**    **gi-č-i**  
 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*

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 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person (1989:73). In Chingeltei's approach, objective mood used for the third person denotes that something is a fact known 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.

### 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 (1 <sup>st</sup> 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
-dɛ-l / -dɛ-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
-sani / -san-a	Past tense subjective and objective	PAST-SUBJ, PAST-OBJ
-ma	Assertive	ASSERT
-g!	Future	FUT

#### V.2.3.1 *Imperative: -ø*

In Karlong, the verbal stem functions as the imperative:

216. wari bira:ga ninge utpi-la ra  
 work finish then drink-PURP come  
 Finish your work and come eat!

217. mila: de:l<sup>92</sup>-na: misi-la ra  
pants-REFL put.on-PURP come  
Come put on your pants!

218. ne fu:-ni maçi  
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. çi nda: gua  
2SG 1SG.DAT give  
You, give (it) to me!

220. çi 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 1<sup>st</sup> person is formed by attaching the suffix *-ja* to the verb. The meaning is close to 'let me' or 'let us'.

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<sup>92</sup> The word *de:l* means 'garment, piece of clothing', *mila: de:l* means 'pants, trousers' (lit. 'small garment').

222. buda-ŋgula      tan-dí      sga-ja  
 1PL.STEM-PL    3SG-DAT    ask-VOL1

Let us ask him.

223. a:diediepo:po:    ninge    kilc-ja  
 a:diediepo:po:    then    say-VOL1

Let me tell (you) about "A:diediepo:po".

224. ja      ja      pise:-na:-ŋgc    pise:-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. magaci      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. tengeri    ura-sa                      buda-ŋla      gaç-dži:    li:      ç-i-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.

227. i: xgila-m  
 NEG want-NPT  
 (I) don't want (it).

Present:

228. ge:bian-la nige and-i:-mada-di ċira:-m gu-a  
 change-VRBL one where-SUBJ-any-DAT burn-NPT NEG.AUX-OBJ  
 ċenzai dangual  
 now earth.clod

(Things) change, now (they) don't burn earth clods anywhere.

229. xana xa:dzi-ni ama-ni-ni 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?<sup>93</sup>

230. ċenzai-ni gar-ga-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.

<sup>93</sup> The solution to the riddle is *ndige* 'egg'.

Present tense:

231. buda-ŋla      nessa:      utpi-n-i  
1PL.STEM      dinner      drink-NPT-SUBJ

We are eating dinner.

232. ji:      liatj      tpien      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      tiga:ŋge      mu:ki-n-i  
right      that.much      seek-VRBL-NPT-SUBJ

Right, we are seeking that much.

233. tigi:      gual-ge-ni      trua-ni      bili:ŋge      ɕulɕa-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?<sup>94</sup>

234. ne      ga-di-ni      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      bida-ŋla      kudi-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.

<sup>94</sup> The solution to the riddle is 'uvula'.

### 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. *ɬi kidi sdzu sila:-wa*  
2SG how.many water water-PERF  
How many (fields) did you water?

237. *bi i:ɬudir 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 lanlanɟzi-ŋge aw-ua*  
1SG bamboo basket-SG buy-PERF  
I bought a bamboo basket.

### V.2.3.7 *Perfective subjective and objective: -ɬɛ-i / -ɬɛ-u*

Like the neutral perfective suffix, the subjective and objective versions of this suffix are used to indicate past tense, completed events.

240. ta mini xurga-na: aw-~~ç~~-a  
3SG 1SG.GEN lamb-REFL buy-PERF-OBJ

He bought my lamb.

241. e: sara su:-di-~~ç~~-a ku:-nge tora-~~ç~~-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: tırğa-nge ri-~~ç~~-a  
1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN village-DAT small car-SG come-PERF-OBJ

A small car came to our village.

243. mendzen da a:ma-gula-na: do çaver-la nige surg-~~ç~~-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:-~~ç~~-ı:  
1sg. this house-DAT sit-PERF-SUBJ

I live in this house.

245. amila bal-**č**-a

fruit ripen-PERF-OBJ

The fruit ripened / is ripe.

246. **č**asi **č**indire:-**č**-a

snow thaw-PERF-OBJ

The snow has thawed.

There are also some instances of [-hča] and [-čča] in the data (primarily in elicited sentences). However, it is not clear when the [h] or [č] is inserted. Zhaonasitu (1981: 13) mentions that the sequence /sə/ in a verb stem may become [č] before suffixes beginning in /č/, resulting in a [čč] 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:-ni xgei-na: ala-**č**č-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 *či*- 'go' functioning as an auxiliary of manner.

### V.2.3.8 *General future tense subjective and objective: -gun-ɪ / -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.

Future:

248. ŋgan magaçi 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 xgei-la çi-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 nɬa:-ɕi 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: çin-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.

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. *d̥u:di:n-di*      *bu:-san-a*

dream-DAT      come.down-PAST-OBJ

It was revealed in a dream.

256. *bagaldi*      *nirge di:*      *ju:ren*      *sgc-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*      *ɕapu*      *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-t̥ja*      *aw-ɕi*      *ri-san-i*      *ja:n-i:*

2PLSTEM-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. *t̥pi*      *su:-san-i*      *and̥-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.

1.2.3.10 *Assertive: -ma*

This suffix occurs in the data only with 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject; event happens regularly, as a rule:

260. ŋgan guadindi ɕuetəŋ-di 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 tɕaldzi duidzi naga-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 talɕuei durdindi jedi-ma  
 1SG.GEN head every.day pain-ASSERT

My head hurts every day.

263. sdzu urasi-ma  
 water flow-ASSERT

Water flows.

*-ma* with expressed 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject (ongoing event):

264. gada ki: бага-*ma*  
outside wind blow-ASSERT  
Outside the wind is blowing.

265. ɕaŋ nara Gaç-ɕi 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 gaɕter-di ɕu: rgu-ɕi  
scatter then then just field-DAT just carry.on.back-IMPERF  
gar-ga-*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: ɕdima-ri ɕu:  
dry-COMPL-PART.FUT grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC just  
niŋge saŋ niŋge 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. ɕɕu:si di: ... ɕu: ji liaŋ tɕien kuei tiga:ŋge ɕda-*ma* niŋge 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.

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    tɕinagda                    a:ma-na:                    i:ɕi-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    fila:n tirima:-la                    xumi:                    ɕaŋ-la-gi  
1SG   red turnip-INST.COM   steamed.bun   steam-VRBL-FUT

I will make steamed buns with carrots.

271. i:ɕi-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.

Table 41. Non-Finite Verbal Suffixes

Morpheme	Label	Function
-gu	Future Participle	PART.FUT
-gula	Successive	SUCC
-san	Perfective Participle	PART.PERF
-čin	Agentive Participle	PART.AG
-a	Gerund of absolute subordination	SUBORD
-tala	Terminative	TERM
-sa	Conditional	COND
-sada	Concessive	CONC
-la	Purposive	PURP
-či	Imperfective	IMPERF
-di	Completive	COMPL
-ga / -lga	Causative	CAUS
-ldi	Reciprocal	RECIP
-tge	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. ngan ɕ-gu            dira:la-sa            njan-i            ɕi-lga  
 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            ninge    di:    ɕdima-ri    ɕɕu:  
 dry-COMPL-PART.FUT grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC just

nige saɟ nige saɟ 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.

275. tag-gu                      gadi-n-i                      bci    da-ŋla    tar-la                      ɕ-ɕ-a  
 plant-PART.FUT harvest-NPT-SUBJ    PTCL    IPL.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    gar-gula                      bi    ɕda:-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    ɕda:-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    ɕɪnxu:    eimi  
 now    1PL                      be.left.over-PART.PERF    person-PL    also    after    children  
 ɕku:    xo:lai-la-gun-i                      di:    dzuɕkun-ni    sge-di-ɕ-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.

279. da dzifaŋ su:-san di: gen ɕeŋɕin 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: -ɕin*

To form the agentive participle, *-ɕin* 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-ɕin 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: xgei da gaga: xgei-ge tiɕe: ʂda-ɕin draŋ ju: ... tio:ɕen  
 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: gal-ge  
 INTJ some family-GEN then this fireplace-DAT-LOC 3SG small fire-SG  
 di: ʂda-ɕin do ɕu: 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.

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. nɣan    tɕiɣra:-n            tɕiɣra:-n            nefdza:    ʃda:-ɕɔ-a  
           3SG    sing-SUBORD    sing-SUBORD    dinner    cook-PERF-OBJ  
           S/he cooked the food *singing*.

284. tɕim-u                            xɣila-n                    xɣila-n                    tora-sa  
           2SG.OBL.STEM-ACC    beg-SUBORD            beg-SUBORD            give.birth-COND  
           na:    ɣiɕɕi  
           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:                    kurgɕ:-tala                    nda:-ni                    a:mani                    nda:                    niɣe  
           1SG.ACC    get.married-TERM 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN mother-POSS 1SG.DAT one  
           ɕɕil    baɣu:r    ɣ-ɕɔ-a  
           kind    bracelet    give-PERF-OBJ  
           When I got married, my mother gave me a bracelet.

286. ʃdima    ɕɕaɣ-la-tala                    wu:r    ɕɕe-gula  
           bread    steam-VRBL-TERM    steam    big-INTENS  
           When (you) steam bread, there is a lot of steam.

This suffix can also take case marking, in one sentence in the data it appears with the locative case marker:

287. bi    nefdza:    ʒa:-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 *-tala* 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    ɣ-gu                    dira:la-sa                    ŋgan-ni                    ɕi-lga  
 3SG    go-PART.FUT    like-COND                    3SG-ACC                    go-CAUS

If he wants to go, let him go.

289. tci mini            sdzer-ni i:    xari-sa                    bi tci dci:la            dzo:  
 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            gar    ci-sa                    fangtu:    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. Gari-sa                                    gar    tiGa:n    ndur-gu                    rgu-di  
 come.out-COND                    hand that.much high-n.s.                    tie.up-COMPL  
 dku:    gar-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:dci-sa                    de:lge    wa  
 1PL-PL look-COND                    coarse.rope COP

When we look it is a coarse rope.

V.2.4.7 *Concessive: -sada*

This suffix is used to express the meaning 'although':

294. noxui: xudʒa-sada kun-ni li: dʒu:-m  
 dog bark-CONC person-ACC NEG bite-NPT

Although the dog barks, it will not bite people.<sup>95</sup>

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: dʒa:l-di nde: dʒa:l-di ɕen sin anɕi:  
 then two there law-DAT here law-DAT township province where  
 dʒa-sada gan janwei rin-ki-dʒi gu-a na  
 look-CONC 3SG official admit-VRBL-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ this  
 mendzen gen ne nige sdzer-ni li: ʒu: 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":

<sup>95</sup> I elicited this sentences based on the example given by Georg (2003:301) for Halchi: *nohui huja-sa=da kuni li juum* 'although the dog barks, it will not bite people'. The shape of the sentence is identical in Halchi and Karlong.

297. e: sge-sada    pidɔg-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    ninge    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    tɕinaɔda    a:ma-na:    xɕɕi-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    tɕensi-ni    i:-la    ri-wa  
       1SG    city-ACC    look-PURP    come-PERF

I came to look at the city.

### V.2.4.9 Imperfective: -*ɕi*

Like *-gu*, *-ɕi* 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 *-ɕi* modifies the main verb, the construction 'v-*ɕi* V' expressing the meaning 'to do V while v-ing', or 'to V v-ing'. For *-ɕi* 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. ɕa:la niŋge di: i:xge ɕaɕer-di ɕɕu: rgu-ɕi  
scatter then then just field-DAT just carry.on.back-IMPERF  
gar-Ga-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-ɕi 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.

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 *-ɕi* to link clauses which succeed one another in time, Karlong also uses the verbal stem without verbal suffixes.

305. sdzu Gu:r dan-la-*çi* ra // naŋsa:-na: *şda:*  
 water two carry.on.shoulders-VRBL-IMPERF come// breakfast-REFL cook  
*ça:dzi-na: çu: // i:gua-na: tui-la niŋge // ka:rda*  
 courtyard-REFL sweep // all-REFL clean-VRBL after // livestock  
*paŋ-sa-na: niŋge ɣar-ɣa // ɣaɕer ra ɣaçi çì-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. xgei-na: *tiɕe: // neçdza:-na: şda: // utçi // toa-na: ɣgua: ɣada*  
 pig-REFL feed // dinner-REFL cook // drink // dish-REFL wash outside  
*xarj niŋe rendzi // çirçe ɣaçi ç-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. *ɣuadi* '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:

307. nda:      cɔ̃kundu:      gur:      i:      ta-ŋla xudzu su:-ɔ̃k-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-ɔ̃k-a      ku:-ŋge tora-ɔ̃k-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. kuduŋer-ni      tari-di-sa      ta:wɪn ɔ̃ŋirɠuan sara  
 fenugreek-ACC plant-COMPL-COND five six month  
 ul-sa      ɠari      ra-n-a bei  
 become-COND come.out come-NPT.OBJPTCL

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

310. xana      xa:dzi-ni      ama-ni-ni      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?<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup> The solution to the riddle is *ndige* 'egg'.

311. hana ili la nanige go.nien-la-sa  
 everybody all-INST.COM thus one celebrate.new year.VRBL-COND  
 bi:ri-ri-na: draŋ ci ŋla:n tɕaldzi dɕidzi naga-ma  
 frame-LOC-REFL also go red paper lucky writing glue-ASSERT  
 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  
 return-COND official NEG admit-VRBL-NARR.PAST INTJ 2SG-DAT  
 g-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. xgeila su:-sa bili:-anla i:gua-la cuetan-di cari ci-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 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects.

-di with first person subject and intransitive verb:

314. e: buda-gula ninge leki-di-ɕ-a  
 INTJ IPL.STEM then divorce-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

Eh, then we two divorced.

-di with second person subject and transitive verb:

315. *ŋi* *ɕina:* *xgei-na:* *ala-di-ɕ-a*  
 2SG REFLPRON pig-REFL kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

You killed your own pig.

*-di* with third person subject and intransitive verb:

316. *a:gadu:* *go:r-la* *ɕiehun-la-di-ɕ-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. *ɕige* 'live', or *na:* 'fall'. However, *-di* is not an agentive or volunative suffix, since there are other non-control verbs which regularly appear with *-di*, e.g. *marda-di* 'forget-COMPL', *jerä-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-ɕ-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-ɕ-a*  
 INTJ belly-DAT hurt-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

Yeah, (her) belly hurt.

319. *bi* *kce: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: *-ɕ-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

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                      nidi                      ninge di:      şdima-ri      dşu:  
 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. bi      niu:-di-gi  
 1SG hide-COMPL-FUT

I will hide.

322. ta-ni      war-di-n-a                      timir çindir-la                      baŋ-la      ge:-ç-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'

*hualadiija* 'get broken' vs. *huali* 'break'

*bangladii* 'bind', and *bangla* 'bind'

*hujadii* 'tie' (vs. Karlong *huc̣ar* '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 c̣u: ra-di-sa do lamanṭuŋ  
this 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home just come-COMPL-COND now excellent  
gui:ren-ge gi-c̣i  
important.person-SG QUOT-IMPERF

"If he comes into my house, this is an excellent guest", he said.

324. ṭi ŋgan-ni tada-sa-ni ju:-di-c̣-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.

V.2.4.12 Causative: *-aa / -laa*

The causative morpheme attaches directly to the stem, before tense inflections, but after derivational suffixes such as *-la* and *-li*. The causative suffix gives the verb the meaning 'to cause V', and also 'to let V'. The causative suffix has two forms: *-laa*, which is used with verbs ending in vowels, and *-aa*, 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 *-aa*, e.g. *gari* 'come out', *garga* 'let out, make come out' and 'take out'. The agent of the action that is being caused (the causer) is in the accusative case.

Causative with the meaning 'let':

325.	ngan	ɕ-gu	dira:la-sa	ngan-i	ɕi-laa
	3SG	go-PART.FUT	like-COND	3SG-ACC	go-CAUS

If he wants to go, let him go.

Causative with the meaning 'make':

326.	gda:si-ni	pi:-ki-laa-nge
	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:laa* 'dry' (tr.).

Also:

327.	ngan-la	nige	ɕen	ger	pis-ga-ɕ-a
	3PL.STEM-PL	one	class	house	stand-CAUS-PERF-OBJ

They built a house. (Literally: 'they made the house stand up.')

V.2.4.13 *Reciprocal: -ldi*

Reciprocity is expressed with the suffix *-ldi*, which is attached directly to the stem. It expresses the meaning 'each other' or 'with one another'.

328. e:    nienbi:    çen-i        fudzi        bida-ŋla        xamdi    hansini        liçi  
 INTJ Nianbai town-GEN vice.leader 1PL.STEM-PL together also        history  
 şajke-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. gda:si-ni        pi:-ki-lca-ŋge  
 thread-ACC    match-VRBL-CAUS-SG

Make the threads match.

Both instances of *tiŋfu* 'to hear told' (Chinese *tingshuō* 听说) in the data occur with *-ŋge*:

330. bi        tigi:        tiŋfu:-ŋge  
 1SG like.that hear.told-DIM

I heard it like that.

331. ndɕina: nige piɕig 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 xcei-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-gula ɕge da maŋli:-sa do:ra-ɕi daŋfur-la  
 then grandmother-DL big door lintel-ABL go.down-IMPERF lantern-INST.COM  
 niŋge 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,

jɕri-ŋge sara su: gɕ:-ɕ-a be: ɕge da busgua-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.

Table 42. Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonastu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Haichl) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Haichl)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
Imperative	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø (imp., imp.)	-ø
Voluntative I <sup>a</sup> person	-ja	-je	-ja	-ja	-ja	-ya (vol., vol. 1p.)	-ja (imp., vol.)	-y-a, -y-e (voluntative I <sup>a</sup> person plural)
Hortative	-laxgi		-ragi	-gc -laxge	-lage	-la(h)gi (vol., conc.)	-laxge/-lage (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)

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)	-va (TA, past)	-ba(j), -be(j) (past tense, perfective referring to recent past)
Perfective, subjective and objective	-ᠳᠢ-i: / -ᠳᠢ-a	-ᠳᠢ / -ᠳᠢe	-ᠳᠢ / -ᠳᠢa	-ᠳᠢ / -ᠳᠢa	-ᠳᠢ (ə) ii: / -ᠳᠢ (ə) a	-j-i / -j-a (term. subj./obj., res.)	-ᠳᠢa/-ᠳᠢi: (TA, perfective)	— (Georg: Common Mongolic resultative *-ji, or imperfective converb *-ji + copulas) (Zhaonasitu: imperfective) (SM: preterite imperfective, from imperfective -ᠳᠢi)
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 / -kū (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. -ysan / -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 / -kū (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., successive)	-gula / -kūle (SM: nom de future + comitatif- sociatif -luya)
Perfective participle	-san	-san	-dzan	-san (HG) -dzan (NG)	-san	-san (-zan) (part.perf., perfective)		-ysan / -gsen (nomen perfecti, completed past action)
Agentive participle	-ᠳᠢin	-ᠳᠢin	-ᠳᠢin	-ᠳᠢin (-ᠳᠢin)	-ᠳᠢin	-jin (part.ag., habitive)		(SM: from WM -ᠳᠢ; suffix denoting person acting)

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Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonasiu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
Gerund of absolute subordination	-n	-n	-n	-n (HG, NG) (-nerge) (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)	-ra (converbum finale, purpose of action)
Imperfective	-dzi	-dzi	-dzi	-dzi (HG, NG, FN) (соединительное деепричастие)	-dzi	-ji (conv.imperf., anterior)	-dzi (conv., imperfective)	-ju, -ju (converbum imperfect, action simultaneous with main action)

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Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonasiu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
Causative	-lga/-ga	-ga	-ga-, -rga-	-lga/-ga	-lga	—	-lga/-ga (causative voice)	-ya-, -ge-, -lya-, -lge- (factive verbs, "to cause to do something")
Reciprocal	-ldi	—	-rdi ~ -di (p. 96)	-lde (-de) (p.102-103)	-lde	—	-lde/-ldu (reciprocal voice)	-ldu-, -ldü- (reciprocal)
Diminutive	-nge	—	—	—	—	—	—	nige/n
Nomen actoris	-tci / -dzi	—	-tci, -tcin	—	—	—	—	-ci (names of vocations)
Completive	-di	-di	—	—	—	—	—	—
(Dubitative)*	—	—	-gu-dziæ	—	—	-gu(l)jee (dub., dub.)	-gudce:/ -guidce: (imp., dub.)	—
(Final converb)	-gunda is not accepted by Karloug speakers, who use -la instead.	—	—	—	—	-gun-da (part.fut. + refl.dat., final converb)	—	—

\* Labels in parenthesis are taken from Georg (2003).

Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonasiu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
(Agentive participle, subj. and obj.)	—	-ɕina (habitual)	-ɕini / -ɕina	-ɕini / -ɕina (-ɕini / -ɕina)	-ɕin ii / -ɕin aa	-jin-n-i / -jin-n-a (part. tag. subj./obj.)	-ɕinni/-ɕinna (TA, habitual)	—
(Perfective converb)	According to Karloug speakers, the form in -nu is not used in KL, only in Halchi	-wana	-a:	-a:, -a:nu -va:, -va:nu (HG, NG) -s:, -s:d (FN) (ja:, ja:nu) (MG) (соединительное деепричастие)	-aa ~ -aana / -cc ~ -ccna / -oo ~ -oona / -vaa ~ -vaana	-aa (-aaru) (conv. perf., anterior)	-a: / -c: / -o: / -a:ne / -c:n / -o:ne / -va: / -va:ne (conv., perfective)	—
(Atemporal converb)	—	—	—	—	—	-saat (conv. abtemp. progressive)	-sa:ɽ (conv., abtemporal)	—
(Terminative converb)	-ɕela: not accepted by Karloug speakers.	—	-ɕela: (-ɕela:)	-ɕela: (HG, NG) (FN) -ɕela:ŋge (-ɕela:ŋge) (деепричастие предела)	-ɕelaa	-ɕelaa (conv. term., simultaneous)	-ɕela: (conv., terminal)	—

### V.26 Potential

Potential or ability is expressed with the verb *ɕda* '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: bag-sa tu: ɕi-m tɕabɕi-ɕi sala ada-m  
wind blow-COND blow go-NPT cut-IMPERF separate cannot-NPT

jan-i:

what-SUBJ

The wind can blow it away, but you cannot cut it off. What is it?<sup>97</sup>

335. bi tɕura: da ada-n-a

1SG cheese eat cannot-NPT-OBJ

I cannot eat cheese.

Examples of *ɕda*:

336. rendun tiga:ŋce ɕu:la ɕda-n-a

average.person that.much have.income can-NPT-OBJ

The average person can make that much (money).

337. ɕdu:si di: ... ɕu: ji liaŋ tɕien kuci tiga:ŋce ɕda-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 sarimsag-ŋge taŋ-di nigi:ɕe kuri ɕda-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)

<sup>97</sup> The solution to the riddle is *fini* 'smoke'.

### 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:            ege   nige   dæn   ger   i:<sup>98</sup>  
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-*dzi* + *i:gun-a* is X-{*dzi:gun-a*).

341.                    a:die   no:ri                    nŋca:-dzi   i:-gun-a  
grandfather   sleep   sleep-IMPERF   COP-GEN.FUT-OBJ

Grandfather has already gone to sleep.

<sup>98</sup> Tianzhu: *bu ŋge ge veina* 'I have a big house'

The examples below illustrate the use of the copula *wa*.

Copula use with adjective:

342. *dudu:sa nem gge wa*  
one-clove.garlic price big COP  
One-clove garlic is expensive.

343. *ne xaxxuar 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 d̥u: nige ne jaŋ d̥a 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 /t/, /l/ and /n/:

347. *ne ger gdur a*  
this house high COP  
This house is tall.

348. di:     baŋɕan     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), Zhaonasiu (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*.

Zhaonasiu (1981:42) lists the following copulas: *ii*, *a-wa*, and *wa-i*. He shows that verbal endings in *-ii* and *-a* respectively are formed by adding the particles<sup>99</sup> *ii* and *a* to the ending (1981:38).

Todaeva (1973:138) lists the copulas (*заголовки-связки*) as *i:-* and *we:-*, 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 /t/.

<sup>99</sup> Zhaonasiu (1981:42): *zhùcǎf* 助词.



353. *çendzai-ni gar-ga-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 taraxçi:-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 uçı-n gu-i:*  
 1SG butter-ACC drink-SUBORD NEG.AUX-SUBJ

I don't eat butter.

356. *ku:-nge tora-çka truo yanweidzi mide-çı gu-a*  
 son-SG give.birth-PERF-OBJ inside official know-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ

*çı:di-la çı: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. *liar ku:dzi nçigila-çı 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 *puçi:* and *puça* ('not, no') in this category.

Table 44. Negative Auxiliaries - Comparative Data

Negative Auxiliary	Karlong	Zhaonasiu (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	—	puçii	buçi:	—
NEG.AUX-OBJ	puça	puça	buçia:	—

### V3.1.5 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. çira:-sa	şbaŋni	manta	nige	ç̣u:	tigi:	çge-ni	gar-ga
burn-COND	grass.sod	dig	one	just	like.that	big.ACC	go.out-CAUS
<i>ge</i> :n-a	bci						
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	çinçir-la	baŋ-la	ge:-ç̣-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:

360. *fila:n*    *gual-ge*    *trua-ni*    *nige*    *ban*    *tʃiga:n*    *xurɣa*    *kide:*  
 red    valley-SG    inside-POSS    one    group    white    lamb    lie.down  
*su:-ɕ-i:*    *ja:n-i:*  
 sit-PERF-SUBJ    what-SUBJ

In a red valley a group of white lambs are lying down. What is it?

*çi* 'go', expressing movement away from the speaker, appears with a bare verbal stem as its complement:

361. *ki:*    *baɣ-sa*    *tu:*    *ɕl-m*    *tʃabɕi-ɕi*    *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?<sup>100</sup>

362. *ŋgan*    *kudʒa:*    *landzu:*    *gari*    *ɕ-ɕ-a*  
 3SG    already    Lanzhou    go.out    go-PERF-OBJ

He already went to Lanzhou.

363. *o:*    *ne-ni*    *i:-sa*    *di:*    *tʃida-ɕi*    *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 *-ɕi*.

364. *sdzu*    *gu:r*    *dan-la-ɕi*    *ra*  
 water    two    carry.on.shoulders    come  
 (I) bring in (carry) two (buckets of) water on (my) shoulder.

<sup>100</sup> It is *fɪni* 'smoke'.

365. bu-**di**                    **ra**    nige dc    ut*çi*  
 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    *ç*irgo: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**    **e-ç**-a  
 3SG    mountain-DAT    climb    go.up    go-PERF-OBJ

He climbed up the mountain.

368. nige    maçi    **gari**    **ri-ç**-a  
 one    read    go.out    come-PERF-OBJ

One (of them) has come out from reading (i.e. has finished going to school).



370. gan-i dze:la-ga      şda-n      gu-a      xa      mei li      şaŋ  
 3SG receive-CAUS can-SUBORD NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL coal in hide  
 şin gi-đi  
 gold QUOT-IMPERF

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

371. ne nda:n-ñi      kudi      đu: ra-di-sa      do lamantşur  
 this 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home just come-COMPL-COND now excellent  
 gu:ren-ge      gi-đi  
 important.person-SG QUOT-IMPERF

"If he comes into my house, this is an excellent guest", he said.

372. e: tigi:ŋge xa      ne şdara:ni      amagiđa      gi-sa      đu:ra-ni  
 INTJ like.that PTCL this mill-GEN how QUOT-COND between-POSS  
 do lamantşun bo:đun      gari      ş-đ-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-đin      gi-san      tigi:ge      đa-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 *đo:* is almost entirely restricted to occurring with verbs of verbal activity:

*kila* 'say', *xe:la* 'cry (as a bird)', *du:la* 'sing', *đi:* 'announce'. *đo:* takes the bare stem of the verb as a complement.

374. ja bi nantar-ge kila      đo:      a:  
 INTJ 1SG story-SG say QUOT PTCL

Yeah, I will tell a story. / Yeah, let me tell a story.

375. ja do bi kilc dɔ: a:  
 INTJ now 1SG say QUOT PTCL

Yeah, now I will tell (it).

376. tɕi mini a:ma-di kila dɔ:  
 2SG 1SG.GEN mother-DAT say QUOT

You will tell my mother.

377. ja:n-i: dandog di: xe:la dɔ:  
 what-SUBJ matter then cry (as a bird) QUOT

What will (you) sing about?

There is one sentence in the data where *dɔ:* appears with a word other than a word of speech:

378. tɕi mini sdzer-ni i: xari-sa bi tɕi dɔ:la dɔ:  
 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 morphological 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-dɔ-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 volitive suffix, the stem is *go-*: *go-ja* 'let me/us give' (give-VOL1).

379. bi tɕim-i nige fu: g-wa  
 1SG 2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT one book give-PERF

I gave you a book.

380. bu gan-di nige pidɕig ɣ-dɕ-a  
1SG 3SG-DAT one book give-PERF-OBJ

I gave him a book.

381. bi nda:ni du:-di-na: fu-ŋge ɣua-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 ɰim-i ɣo-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: -ɰi

This non-finite form is used to create words for professions, e.g. *gundzuo-ɰi* 'worker', *da:l-ɰi* 'merchant'.

383. nige xonima-ɰi  
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

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 *-ta/a* 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).

## 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.1.1 Conjunction

Karlong uses the connective *da*, 'and', 'also'.

#### VI.1.1 Interjections

Interjections appear at the beginning of a sentence and express a state of mind.

#### VI.1.1 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.

### VI.2.1.1 Locational adverbs

The following locational adverbs occur in the data: *ndre*: 'here', *tre*: 'there'.

Examples:

384. bi i:ɕuɗir nde: ri-wa  
1SG day.before.yesterday here come-PERF

I came here the day before yesterday.

385. kuduɗer 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', *malay* and *maɓaɓi* 'tomorrow', *ɕuɗir* 'yesterday', *naŋ* 'this year', *ɕdanay* 'last year', *ɕinacda* 'day after tomorrow', *i:ɕiɗir* 'day before yesterday', *durɗindi* 'every day', *guadiɗi* 'daily', *ɕde ~ ɕda* 'early', and *wuri*: 'late'.

Examples:

386. bi kɕe:ɗiɗa 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 xgilanɕin-ge ri-ɕ-a  
1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home today beggar-SG come-PERF-OBJ

A beggar came to my house today.

388. naŋ fire: ɕi i:ɓua-na: nɕkina: lu:ki-ɕ-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?

### VI.2.1.3 *Manner adverbs*

The following manner adverbs occur in the data: *tĩngĩdĩ* ~ *tĩgĩ:ŋge* ~ *tĩ:ŋge* ~ *tĩgĩ* ~ *tĩ*: 'like that', *i:dĩŋ* 'certain(ly)'.  
 Examples:

389. bida-ŋla ne gugutɕa:ɕa:r-rĩ su:-san-a tĩgĩ: ɕendɕĩn  
 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: tĩgĩ:ŋge do tĩga:n ɕaɕer 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: tĩgĩ:ŋge xa ne ɕdara:-ni amagĩɕa gi-sa ɕu:ra-ni  
 INTJ like.that PTCL this mill-GEN how QUOT-COND between-POSS

do lamantɕun bo:ɕun gari ɕ-ɕ-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 tĩɕe: ɕda-ɕĩn draŋ ju: ... tĩo:ɕen  
 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.

393. çargarj-ge da şda-çï gu-a be:  
 shrine-SG also can-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL

(They) also couldn't (build) a shrine for the god.

394. menşzen da a:ma-gula-na: kunan a xa erşisan-di  
 menşzen and mother-DL-REFL difficult COP PTCL twenty-three-DAT

dzuja a:nie da:bila guli nigi:ççe lidarj da gu-a

kitchen god offer say a.little gift also NEG.AUX-OBJ

Menşzen 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. mendşzen da a:ma-gula-na: do çaver-la nige surg-ç-a be:

Menşzen and mother-DL-REFLnow mud-INST.COM one smear-PERF-OBJ PTCL

Now Menşzen 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.)

397. e: moritqan xa di: te gual-di şdara wa  
 INTJ Moriçang PTCL then that valley-DAT water.mill COP  
 Yeah, then, (about) Moriçang (place name), there is a watermill in that valley.

398. e: la-di sdzun-di tiga:n gaçer 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-nge i:-gun-a  
 INTJ then woman-SG COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ  
 Ah, then there was a woman.

400. a: ten-sa hueina do dzou çfa su:-gun-a warj çfa  
 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:ngge-la su:-ç-a tani rçki-gu nda:  
 INTJ like.that-INST.COM sit-PERF-OBJ 3SG-ACC look.PART.FUT 1SG.DAT/ACC  
 xu:le: çiefan-la-di ningge a: do çu: nara  
 after liberate-VRBL-COMPL then INTJ also just sun  
 bu:-di-ç-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.

*ja~ja:'yeah'.*

402. ja ja gaç-d̥i ra-n-i  
INTJ INTJ go.out-IMPERF come-NPT-SUBJ  
Yeah, yeah, I am coming out.

403. ja bi nantar-ge kila d̥o: 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 d̥o: a:  
INTJ now 1SG say QUOT PTCL  
Yeah, now I will tell (it).

405. a:ga di: da-gula ja: ʃan-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 tiga:ŋge mu:ki-n-l  
right that.much seek-VRBL-NPT-SUBJ  
Right, we are seeking that much (money).



Final particle *sa* used in imperative:

411. tar-la                      tarda    sa  
stone-INST.COM    throw    PTCL  
Throw a stone.

412. çira:            sa  
bake            PTCL  
Bake (it).

*sa* used to make a polite request:

413. ne-ni    do    çu: a:die            tçi    nda:            tçi    nige    şaŋ-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. dzaŋdza-na:-ge    şaŋ-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                      tçi    çin    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).

be used to elicit agreement.

47. fi: banqian      a      ba  
then approximately COP PTCL

(That's) about it, isn't it?

be used to politely express an opinion:

47. te: pǎoda 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:

47. eap: fire: xi      t: gua-na:      ndina:      lu: ki-~~de~~-t:      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.

47. xgle-dji      juanwei-ni      den-di      gic-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:

47. e: do      cendzai-ni      xudjinto:      dzuci      su:-~~de~~-a      xa      do      ta  
NTJ now current-GEN Hu Jintao chairman sit-PERF-OBJ PTCL now that

menxinren-ni      do      amin      dju:      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.

421. gan-i dze:la-ga gda-n gu-a xa mei li caŋ  
 3SG-ACC receive-CAUS can-SUBORD NEG.AUX-SUBJ PTCL coal inside hide  
 d̥in gid̥i  
 gold QUOT

(The official) could not force him to receive (gifts), (so he) said "hide gold in coal."<sup>102</sup>

422. da busgua-ni dirle-d̥-a xa limendzen a  
 door threshold-ACC use.as.a.pillow-PERF-OBJ PTCL Li Menzhen COP  
 gid̥i juanwei çasa nca 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 t̥aŋgaŋ 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 emphasize the statement.

424. firi d̥u: nige ne jaŋ d̥a 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.)

<sup>102</sup> The official then goes on to hide some gold in seed grains that he loans to the reluctant beneficiary.

425. jeri-ŋge sara su: ge:-ɕ-a be: ɕge da busgua-ni  
 woman-SG month sit put-PERF-OBJ PTCL big door threshold-POSS  
 ko:-la niŋe  
 lean-VRBL one

A woman had just given birth, leaning on the threshold of the front gate.

426. ne:dzaŋ ɕa deidu: wa be:  
 poor family most COP PTCL

Most families were poor.

427. di: xgei da gaga: xgei-ge tiɕe: ʂda-ɕin draŋ ju: // tio:ɕen  
 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. ɕinkuei fuzu ɕilai-la-ɕ-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 ɕe dzuakiɕi 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 *呢*:

431. tɕi le:

2SG PTCL

How about you?

432. ɕɔ:si le: nige fan tigan da:ldi sdzer ɟan-a

trec 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<sup>103</sup> are particles which modify the verb in some way e.g. *jaŋ* 'again', *draŋ* 'also', 'still', *hansi* 'still', *ɕu:* 'just'. Their position in the sentence is fairly free.

*jaŋ* 'again':

433. tɕandzar-ri ɕi nige jaŋ ku:la nige liam muni-gula

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

ɕu: nige 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?

<sup>103</sup> I am using this term following Slater 2003:149.

*draŋ* 'also':

435. bida-ŋla      xaran    kidi      nasi-ni      gadi-ni      draŋ dangual  
1PL.STEM-PL    ten      several    age-GEN    time-POSS    also earth.clouds

çira:-ni-i

burn-NPT-SUBJ

When I was about ten years old, we also burnt earth clouds.

*draŋ* 'still':

436. nda:-ni                      a:nie      draŋ    dige-ç-a  
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    fin    fila-gun-a                      dzuja a:nie-di    tçi  
INTJ    now    all-COLL    order    order-NARR.PAST-OBJ    kitchen.god-DAT    2SG  
tienkum-di    gaç-ççi                      sa    njonçça    sa    e:    si:    xgaçça-ni  
heaven-DAT    go.up-IMPERF    PTCL    niangjia<sup>104</sup>    PTCL    INTJ    good    word-ACC  
e:    nigi:ççe    şanki-sa                      da    mu:    xgaçça    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."

<sup>104</sup> Chinese: *niàngjiā* 娘家, home of married woman's parents.

Negative particle *li*: with finite verbs:

438. *teŋgeri ura-sa buda-ŋla gaç-çhi: li: ç-i-m*  
sky rain-COND IPL.STEM go.out NEG go.NPT

If it rains, we will **not** go out. / If it rains, we are **not** going out.

439. *noxui: xuča-sada kun-ni li: çku:-m*  
dog bark-CONC person-ACC NEG bite-NPT

Although the dog barks, it will **not** bite people.

440. *li: oɣua-n-i*  
NEG give-NPT-SUBJ

(They) **don't** give (it to me).

441. *o: ne-ni i:-sa di: tçida-çhi li: ç-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?

Negative particle *i:* with non-finite verb:

444. nige gundzuo-ni i: dira:la-ɕin kun  
 one work-ACC NEG love-PART.AG person  
 a person who does not like to work

445. ʔi mini sdzer-ni i: xari-sa bi ʔi ɕi:la ɕo:  
 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)	Zhaonasiu (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.

Interrogatives with interrogative particle only:

446. ɕge pi: sge-ɕ-a nu: tɕi  
big belt see-PERF-OBJ INTERR 2SG

Have you seen a big belt?

447. sge-ɕi gu-a nu:  
see-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ INTERR

(You) haven't seen (one)?

448. ɕda ul-ɕa nu:  
early become-PERF

449. tɕi bida-ŋ-ni sge u:  
2SG 1PL.STEM-PL-ACC see INTERR

Did you see us?

450. tɕi ɕiehun-la u:  
2SG marry-VRBL INTERR

Are you married?

Interrogatives with interrogative particle and negative auxiliary:

451. tɕi 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: pɕi: ju: bi je wabiɕin  
true correct INTERR wrong INTERR 1SG also not.clear

I am also not sure whether it is true or not.

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, nambii, and puçii)	-yu ~ -yu: (after -i)	yuu (after copulas)

#### VL2.4.6 Discourse particles

These are words which connect sentences and clauses within a conversation or story. Among them are *do* 'now', 'also', *di*: 'then', *ninge* 'then, after', *ɕu*: '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', *ninge* 'then, after, while', *nige* 'one' and *ɕu*: 'just' in one utterance:

453. e:    tigi:nge-la                    su:-ɕ-a                    ta-ni                    rɕi-gu                    nda:
- INTJ like.that-INST.COM    sit-PERF-OBJ    3SG-ACC    look.PART.FUT    1SG.DAT/ACC
- xu:le: ɕiefan-la-di                    ningge a:    do    ɕu:    nara    bu:-di-ɕ-a                    be:
- after liberate-VRBL-COMPL then    INTJ also just sun rise-AG-PERF-OBJPTCL
- Yeah, things were like that, compared to that after we were liberated, then (it was like) the sun rose.

mo: dzu:ci dzu:si wanmin-di dʒiefan-la dl: nige dl: dʒu:  
 Mao chairman exactly people-DAT liberate-VRBL then one then just  
 si:na-la-di-dʒ-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-nja-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 dʒo: a:  
 INTJ now 1SG say QUOT PTCL

Yeah, now I will tell (it).

456. do tʃi le: tigi:nge do tigan caʒer 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 *nigge* is used for actions which happen in a sequence, or at the same time. When there is only one clause in the sentence, *nigge* means 'then':

457. e: buda-gula nigge leki-di-dʒ-a  
 INTJ 1PL.STEM-DL then divorce-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

Eh, then we two divorced.

Todaeva (1973:129) gives *-nege* as the Fulaan Nura equivalent of the Halchi modal converb<sup>105</sup> in *-n*. She explains the shape of the suffix as *-n* + inserted *-e-* + singular suffix *-nge*. She gives the following example: *te uroʒi renege su:va*, 'he sat down, as soon as he entered the house.'

<sup>105</sup> Todaeva (1973) calls this form *сумное деенриачтисе*.

In most cases, *nigge* in my data behaves very similarly as *-negge* described by Todaeva. For example:

458. wari bira:ga nigge utci-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 *nigge* is the same as Todaeva's modal converb. For one, in some sentences in my data, *nigge* connects two clauses which do not have the same agent. The modal converb always connects two clauses which have the same agent.

459. bacaldi nigge 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 *nigge* is not restricted to immediately after the verb. *nigge* can appear in almost any position.

460. e: buda-gula nigge leki-di-~~ci~~-a  
 INTJ 1PL.STEM-DL then divorce-COMPL-PERF-OBJ  
 Eh, then we two divorced.

461. xo:-di-gu nidi nigge di: şdima-ri ~~ci~~:  
 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.



### 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 place. 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.

## 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     g-wa  
      1SG 2PL.STEM-PL.DAT book-SG   give-PERF

I gave you a book.

Adverbs generally precede the verb:

470. bi     i:ɬudir                 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. kdujer     tari-n-a                 buda-ŋ                 tre:  
      fenugreek   plant-NPT-OBJ   1PL.STEM-PL   there

We plant fenugreek there.

In sentence 472, the direct object follows the verb:

472. ge:bian-la    nige    anɕ-i:-mada-di    ɕira:-m    gu-a  
change-VRBL one    where-SUBJ-any-DAT burn-NPT    NEG.AUX-OBJ  
ɕenzai    dangual  
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. ege    pi:se:    sge-ɕ-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    xgei-ni    tɕidaɣu-la    ala-di-ɕ-a  
3SG    pig-ACC    knife-INST.COM    kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

He killed the pig with a knife.

475. ŋgan    tɕidaɣu-la    xgei-na:    ala-di-ɕ-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    nɛ:dɛr    li:sa    wulan    wari-wa  
1SG    today    work    much    work-PERF

I did a lot of work today.

477. ŋgan magaçi ju:-gun-a

3SG tomorrow go-GEN.FUT-OBJ

He will leave tomorrow.

478. bu tɕinagda a:ma-na: i:ɕi-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:ɕudir nde: ri-wa

1SG day.before.yesterday here come-PERF

I came here the day before yesterday.

480. bi kɕe:dida ja:ŋe-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. magaçi tɕi bida-gula handi-la utɕi-ja<sup>106</sup>

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: nɕina: lu:ki-ɕ-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.

<sup>106</sup> The word *utɕi*, literally 'drink', is often used to mean 'eat a meal'.

### VII.1 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.

## 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<sup>107</sup> 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 (*拉* 拉 + KL *-ki*)

*ca:ci* 'sand' - Chinese (*沙子* 砂子 or QHH)

*pu:da* 'shoot' - Chinese (*炮* 炮 + KL *-da*)

*giga* 'small' - Chinese (QHH *ga*)

*tso:ki* 'stab' - Chinese (*戳* 戳 + KL *-ki*)

*ci:ki* 'suck' - Chinese (*吸* 吸 + KL *-ki*)

*wajla* 'tie' - Chinese (*绑* 绑 + KL *-ki*)

*a:di* 'older sister' - Chinese (QHH *adi*)

*di:ofi* 'swim' - Chinese (QHH *di:ofi*)

*andi* 'where' - Chinese (QHH *andi*)

*cu* 'bird' - Chinese (QHH *cu*)

<sup>107</sup> Like Nugteren (1998) I am not counting Turkic loanwords which are found in all Mongolic languages.

*taqi* '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*                      *nigge di:*                      *gdima-ri*                      *dɔu:*  
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'.

484. bei      d̥a      dzenmin-la-di-d̥-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    gur    dan-la-d̥i                                      ra // naŋsa:-na:      ḡda:  
 water two carry.on.shoulders-VRBL-IMPERF come // breakfast-REFL cook  
 ɕa:dzi-na:      ɕu: // i:gua-na:    tui-la      ninge // ka:rd̥a  
 courtyard-REFL sweep // all-REFL clean-VRBL after // livestock  
 paŋ-sa-na:      ninge    ɕar-ɕa      // ɕaɕer    ra      ɕaɕi    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 *naŋ-zə*, WT *khəl-rtə* '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: *dzuən* (Chinese *zhūāng* 庄) and *ɕil* (WM *ɕyl*), both 'village'.

The following sentences were uttered by the same person within the same conversation:

486. e:      ɕu:    fuzu    d̥a-di      da      and̥-i:      ɕu:si    ɕada-sa  
 INTJ just rich family-DAT and where-SUBJ just outside-ABL  
 xarɕal-ge      tunɕu-d̥-i:                      ɕu:ɕi    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.

487. c: 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:ɕin do ɕu: 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.

## 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.

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 Limushiden. 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,

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<sup>108</sup>.

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 than 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, Nianduhu/Baoan and Wutun have to be viewed as separate languages. This matches with Ha and Stuart (2006:46),

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<sup>108</sup> Limusishiden. 2004. *Mongghulla Sman Wuile Surighuaguni - Teaching Basic Health Education in Mongghul* - 土语基础医学和识讲座。

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 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.

## 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.

### X.3 COMPARING PHONOLOGY

Although there are differences between the varieties reflected in DH, Zhaonasiu, 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	solguai	solghui	salguei	sorgue:	solgue:	serghai	soluyai
ice	malizi	molsə	molsi	malsi	mordze	molse	mersi	məlsy/n
flour	gurəl	ghurili	ghuril	goril	gurir	guril	ghuru	yulir
head	tulighui	tolguai	tolghui	talgui:	torgue:	tolgue:	terghai	toluyai
vomit	booldəo	bolija	booljo	bo:ldəa	bo:rdɣjæ	bo:ldɣe	berjie	bəgelɣi
foot	kol	kol	kol	kual	kuor	kol	khuer	kəl

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.

Table 49. Karlong /ua/ and SM /uo/

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM	WT
foot	kol	kol	kol	kual	kuor	kol	køi*	—
hole	noko	nukua	nuko	nukua	nukuo	noke	nyke/n	—
freeze	—	kuara	kori	kuari	kuori	—	køry	—
fog	—	—	sumuko	semagua	sumukuo	—	—	smug-po
monastery	—	—	rgomba	nguamba	rguomba	nguo	—	dgon-pa
blind	sughua	sugor	sughur	scuar	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 Janhunén, 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, Wei yuan region), but is a little

\* Middle Mongolian: *kol* (data from Haenisch 1939).

\*\* *koko* (Haenisch 1939)

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.

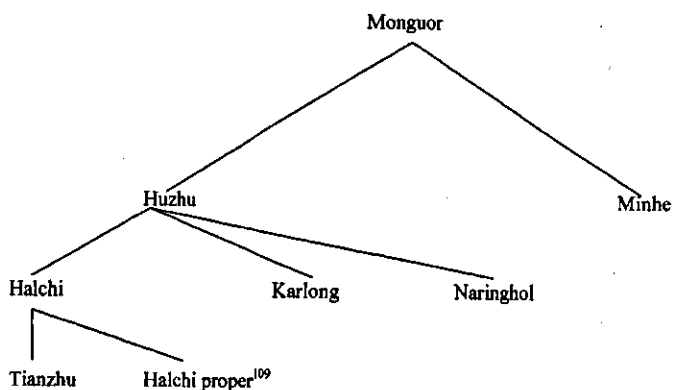
Karlong and Halchi are also not clearly separated geographically. There are villages in the Halchi region where Fulaan Nara is spoken (Limusishiden, p.c.).

## 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.



**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 /t/ where Minhe also has /t/ and the other dialects of Huzhu have /l/. Karloug is intermediate between Naringhol and Halchi.

<sup>109</sup> I am using the term "Halchi proper" to mean Halchi spoken in the Halchighol area.

## 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

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-Idan-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.

## 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 [tǔzúyǔ]
- 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 (Нус 1850)
- Monguol (Schröder 1959)
- tsigan Monguol ("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".

- 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”)

## 1.2 MONGUOR LANGUAGES

### 1.2.1 Mongghul

- Huzhu (county in Qinghai)
- Хуузү
- 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”<sup>128</sup>)
- Wu-yang-pu (Potanin 1893). Same as Wei-yüan-bu?
- Wēiyuǎn 威远

### 1.2.2 Mangghuer

- Minhe
- Минхэ

<sup>128</sup> <http://fallingrain.com/world/CH/6/Weiyuan.html>, 01/03/2007

- Minhe Mangguer
- Minhe Mongguor
- 民和 [minhé]
- Minho (Schröder 1964)
- Min-ho (MS 1964:x)
- According to Dr. Li (pc), Minhe Monguors are also called *Shantung*

### L3 MONGGHUL VARIETIES

#### L3.1.1 *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)
- hardki guor (SM 1929-1931:125)
- Ha la tcheu keou (SM 1929-1931:125)
- 哈拉直沟乡 Halazhigou

#### L3.1.2 *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)

- Naringol (MS 1964:x)
- narin goul "narrow valley" (Schram 1954)
- нарингол
- Nariŋ guol (Schröder 1964)

### ***1.3.1.3 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 紅崖子溝 [hóng yái zi gōu]
- fula:n nura guor (SM 1929-1931:125)
- Houng ngai tseu kcou (SM 1929-1931:125)

### ***1.3.1.4 Datong***

- 大通 [dátōng]
- Tatung (Schröder 1964)
- Tat'ung (Schram 1954)
- Датун

- According to Dr. Li (p.c.), Datong Monguors are also called *Serkung*
- Xilog (Li Keyu 1988:643)

### 13.13 *Tianzhu*

- Monguors originally from the Huzhu area, now living in Gansu province
- According to Dr. Li (p.c.), Tianzhu Monguors are also called *Jilaged*
- County in Gansu province

## 14 MANGGHUER

### 14.1 *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)

## 15 OTHER GANSU-QINGHAI MONGOLIC LANGUAGES

### 15.1.1 *Santa*

- Dongxiang
- Dunsyan
- дунсянский
- Dungsinyang
- Tung hsiang
- Toung-hiang (MS 1964:ix)

- 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]

**1.5.1.2     *Shira Yughur***

- Shira Yughur (Georg 2003)
- Shera Yöğur (Poppe 1955)
- East Yugur (Linguist List)
- Eastern Yugur (Nugteren 1998)
- Shera Yogur (Nugteren 1997)
- Ougour Jaunes (MS 1964:xiii)

**1.5.1.3     *Bao'an***

- Bao'an (c.g. Nugteren 1997)
- Bonan (c.g. Janhunen 2003a)
- баоаньский
- Tongren
- Pao-ngan (MS 1964:ix)
- T'oung-jen
- 同仁 [tóngrén]
- 保安 [bǎoān]
- Тунжэнь

**1.5.1.4     *Aragwa***

- Poppe 1955, a variety of the Monguor group

- 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)

- Kan-sou (MS 1964:ix)

#### ***1.7.1.2 Xining***

- river in Qinghai
- capital city of Qinghai province
- Hsining (Schram 1954)
- Hsi-ning (Mostaert 1931)
- Sining

#### ***1.7.1.3 Shdarzi***

- sda:rdze guor (SM 1929-1931:125)
- Chouci mouo keou (SM 1929-1931:125)
- Shuimogou [水磨沟]

#### ***1.7.1.4 Maqang***

- maŋqɑŋ
- moritqɑŋ
- 马羌 and 马昌 (Li Keyu 1988)

#### ***1.7.1.5 Xonitsi paŋ***

- Yang-chūan (Schröder 1964)
- also: xonitʃi guor (SM 1929-1931:125)
- lang kiuen keou (SM 1929-1931:125)

#### ***1.7.1.6 Alima Hangshar***

- Alima xaŋʃar (Mostaert 1933, MS 1964), according to MS (1964:vii) in Naringhol, north-east of Xining.

- southeast of county center of Huzhu (Georg 2003:287)

#### **L7.1.7**     *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

#### **L7.1.8**     *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

#### **L7.1.9**     *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

## 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. taş-gu                      gadi-n-i                      bei    da-ŋla    tar-la                      ɕ-ɕ-a  
plant-PART.FUT    harvest-NPT-SUBJ    PTCL    1PL.PL    plant-VRBL    go-PERF.OBJ  
We planted and harvested, planted.

2. ta    ger-di-ni                      bu    xgaxeila    su:-n-i:  
that    house-DAT-POSS    1SG    alone                      sit-NPT-SUBJ  
I lived alone in that house.

3. xceila su:-sa                      bili:-aŋla    i:gua-la    ɕuetəŋ-di    gari    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.

4. gari    ɕi-sa                      bu    xga:la tarla    sa  
go.out    go-COND                      1SG    alone    manage    PTCL  
When (they) go out, I alone manage (everything).

5. ɕdala-ɕi                      pas-ɕi                      gaɕ-ɕi                      ri-gu  
early-IMPERF    stand.up-IMPERF    go.out-IMPERF    come-PART.FUT  
In the morning (I) get up and go out,

6. sɔzu gu:r dan-la-ɕi ra // naŋsa:-na: ɟda:  
 water two carry.on.shoulders-IMPERF come // breakfast-REFL cook  
 ɕa:dzi-na: ɕu: // i:ɟua-na: tui-la niŋge // ka:ɾda  
 courtyard-REFL sweep // all-REFL clean-VRBL after // livestock  
 paŋ-sa-na: niŋge ɟar-ɟa // ɟaɕɕer ra ɟaɕi 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.
7. ɟurɕiŋ-na: waɕ-ɕi ɟaɕi ɕi ɟuari:-na: saɕi ɕi bu:-ɕi 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:-ɕi ra niŋge de utɕi  
 go.down come one food drink  
 (I) come home and eat a meal,
9. xuafi:-na: ɟurɟe:-ɕi ɕi i:ɟua-na: ɟaɕɕer-i saɕi ra  
 chemical.fertilizer take.to-IMPERF go all-REFL field-LOC strew come  
 (I) take the chemical fertilizer and strew it all on the field,

10. bu:-ɕi ra nɕasi-na: dan-la i:ɡua-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<sup>110</sup>-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:-ɡu ɡaɕer-na: mo:la // kalag-na: baga  
 plant finish-PART.FUT field-REFL harrow(?) // earth.clods-REFL beat

bu:-ɕi ra // ka:rda-na: la: xucɕi ɕa: // jesi-ŋge  
 go.down-IMPERF come // livestock-REFL pull tie.to tie // grass-SG

ɡua // jesi-ni rde ba:ɡala-ɡu nige sula: // ɕi:xu: //  
 give // grass-ACC eat finish-PART.FUT one water // after //

di: i:xge kudi-ɡu-na: jaŋ xgei noxuei-na: tiɕe:-ɕi //  
 then only.then home-n.s.-REFL again pig dog-REFL feed-IMPERF //

ɕirua xara ul-ɕ-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.

<sup>110</sup> Chinese: 拉拉

12. xgei-na: tidɛ: // neɛdza:-na: ʒda: // utɕi // toa-na: ŋɔua: gada  
 pig-REFL feed // dinner-REFL cook // drink // dish-REFL wash outside

xaŋ nige rendzi // ɕirgɕe gaɕi 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 gaɕi ɕi // gada-gu kun-la nige rin taŋɕa:-la  
 walk.around go.out go // outside-n.s. people-INST.COM one moment chat-VRBL

// ura-ɕi ra // ɕu:-mange war-ɕ-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. ɕusi-na: wari nu:ɕ ʒ-gu no:r ntɕa:-ɕ-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 *xiangdòu* 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 sɕa gu-i:  
 INTJ 1SG 2SG ask NEG.AUX-SUBJ

(1) How should I ask you?

16. kudujer      tari-ma-n-i                      gu-a                      xensi    g-ɕi  
 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:wɪn    ɕi:rgo:n      sara  
 fenugreek-ACC    plant-COMPL-COND    five    six                      month  
  
 ul-sa                      ɕari                      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. ɕari-sa                      ɕar    tiɕa:n      ndur-gu    rgu-di  
 come.out-COND                      hand    that.much    high-n.s    tie.up-COMPL  
  
 ɕu:    ɕar-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.

21. nige ŋgua: xo:-lga nige  
 one wash dry-CAUS one

(13) Wash it and dry it a little.

22. xo:-di-gu nidi ninge di: ʂdima-ri ɕu:  
 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. tingidɕe kungo:dzima ɕira:-gu ɕaŋ-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).

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: dajhuei çira:-n-a gi-çï 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 miçi-ni itçian-gula-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-ηla xaran kidi nasi-ni gadi-ni drag dangual  
 1PL.STEM-PL ten several age-GEN time-POSS also earth.clods  
 çira:-n-i  
 burn-NPT-SUBJ  
 When I was about ten years old, we also burnt earth clods.
29. çira:-sa şbaηni manta nige çu: tigi: çge-ni gar-Ga  
 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.

30. gar-ga-di-sa                      di: xo:-di-sa                      rd/aj-tit  
 go.out-CAUS-COMPL-COND      then    dry-v.s.-COND                      basket-ACC
- rgu-d*i*                      *ci* ninge gader do:ra-d*i*                      // te-la  
 carry.on.back-IMPERF    go then    field    go.down-IMPERF // that-INST COM
- ninge lo:-la                      ninge dalan gar-ga                      di: te-ni                      *çira*.  
 after    stack.up-VRBL    then    while    go.out-CAUS    then    that-ACC    burn
- fili-ga-di-sa                      // *ça:la* ninge di: i:xge gader-di d*ku*:  
 red-CAUS-COMPL-COND    // scatter then    then just    field-DAT just
- rgu-d*i*                      // gar-ga-ma                      fili:io:                      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. *çendzai-ni* gar-ga-m                      gu-a  
 now-ACC    go.out-CAUS-NPT    NEG.AUX-OBJ  
 Nowadays (we) do not take (it) out.

32. ge:bian-la                      nige and*i*:-mada-di                      *çira*:-m                      gu-a  
 change-VRBL    one    where-SUBJ-any-DAT    burn-NPT    NEG.AUX-OBJ
- çendzai* dangual  
 now    earth.clod  
 (Things) change, now (they) don't burn earth clods anywhere.

#### 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. gual gual du:di dalan najan saŋ tɕa: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?

pudzɔŋdzi

Firecracker

34. nige kun-di nige ɕaŋ pi:se 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: gual-nge-ni trua-ni tɕiga:n xurga du:ru su:-ɕ-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?

a:ma, ʒdi

Mouth and teeth.

36. fila:n bili: 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:dzi-ni ama-ni-ni 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: gual-ge-ni trua-ni bili:-nge ɕulɕa-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.

## II.5 RIDDLES AND PROVERBS

These riddles are from the other language consultant from Fulaan Nura (20).

39. nige bāmbandzi-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. ɕaŋ-ge kun-di nige pi:se: 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 xaraulɕi 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?

ɕaŋxei

Shoes.

42. fila:n gual-ge trua-ni nige ban wiga:n xurga kide:  
red valley-SG inside-POSS one group white lamb lie.down

su: ɕ-i: ja:n-i:

sit-PERF-SUBJ what-SUBJ

In a red valley a group of white lambs are lying down. What is it?

a:ma, ʒdi

Mouth and teeth.

43. ki:      bac-sa                      tu:   ʒi-m      tʃabɕi-ɕi    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?

fi:ni

Smoke.

44. tʃi    nda:-ni                      kudi   ʒi-m      bi    ta-ni                  kudi   ʒi-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?<sup>111</sup>

xamɕi

Sleeves.

45. nu:      nu:      ʒi-sa                                      i:      nu:      bi:                  nu:      bi:      nu:  
 touch   touch   QUOT-COND                      NEG   touch   PRHB    touch   PRHB   touch

ʒi-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?

<sup>111</sup> xamɕi 'sleeves'

xuđi

Lips.

46. tşuendzi jur-di wa:r ala-đ-i: ja:n-i:  
tilebetween-LOC tile scatter-PERF-SUBJ what-SUBJ  
Between the rafters there are tiles. What is it?

xuri, tşimdzi

Fingers and fingernails.

47. dur-la: ul-sa i 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?

amđax

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?

rda ʃaŋ

Door bolt (longish piece of wood that hang down on a rope during the day).

49. rlaŋ dʒu:ro-gu nara xalaŋ // xuiti a:ma-ni xalga 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 sgiŋ go:ra // moguei go:ra-ni dʒalgi: 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 dʒo: a:  
INTJ 1SG story-SG say QUOT PTCL  
Yeah, I will tell a story. / Yeah, let me tell a story.

52. a:diediepo:po: nigge kile-ja  
a:diediepo:po: then say-VOL1  
Let me tell (you) about "Aadiediepoopoo".

53. a:die-ŋge i:-gun-a // bu:dʒa 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 Buija.

54. a: di: jeri-nge i:-gun-a  
 INTJ then woman-SG COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ  
 Ah, then there was a woman.
55. a:die no:ri nta:-ɕi i:-gun-a  
 grandfather sleep sleep-IMPERF COP-GEN.FUT-OBJ  
 Grandfather has already gone to sleep.
56. ja do bi kile ɕo: a:  
 INTJ now 1SG say QUOT PTCL  
 Yeah, now I will tell (it).
57. a:diedie po:po: alag noxuei xucɕa-ma ɕira buru:  
 a:diedie po:po: multi.colored dog bark-ASSERT yellow calf exist  
 jo: gu-i:  
 NEG.AUX-SUBJ  
 Aadediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.
58. ja ja de:l-a:-nge masi ɕo: a:  
 INTJ INTJ garment-REFL-SG put.on QUOT PTCL  
 Yeah, yeah, let me put on my clothes.
59. a:diedie po:po: alag noxuei xucɕa-ma ɕira buru:  
 a:diedie po:po: multi.colored dog bark-ASSERT yellow calf exist  
 jo: gu-i:  
 NEG.AUX-SUBJ  
 Aadediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

50. ja ja mla: de:la-ŋge mi:si-ja  
 INTJ INTJ small garment-SG put.on-VOL1  
 Yeah, yeah, let me put on pants (lit. 'small garment').

61. a:diedie po:po: alag noxuei xudʒa-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.

62. ja ja pi:se:-na-ŋge pi:se:-la-ja  
 INTJ INTJ belt-REFL-SG belt-VRBL-VOL1  
 Yeah, yeah, let me put on my belt.

63. a:diedie po:po: alag noxuei xudʒa-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.

64. ja ja malga-na-ŋge dʒo:-ja  
 INTJ INTJ hat-REFL-SG put.on-VOL1  
 Yeah, yeah, let me put on my hat.

65. a:diedie po:po: alag noxuei xudɕa-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.

66. ja ja ɕaŋxei-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: alag noxuei xudɕa-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.

68. ja ja ɕaɕ-ɕi ra-n-i  
INTJ INTJ go.out-IMPERF come-NPT-SUBJ

Yeah, yeah, I am coming out.

69. a:diedie po:po: alag noxuei xudɕa-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.

70. ojo: gaç-d̥i            r-ua            gi-d̥i  
 INTJ go.out-IMPERF come-PERF QUOT-IMPERF  
 "Oyo, I am out", he says.
71. buru: gu-a            da    gi-d̥i  
 calf NEG.AUX-OBJ also QUOT-IMPERF  
 "The calf is not here", he says.
72. a:die:die    ger-di    ra    kan-i: //    bu:ɕa a:gu i:  
 grandfather house-DAT come who-SUBJ  
 Grandfather, who is coming to the house? It's Aunt Buuja.
73. bu:ɕa    ra    sa  
 buuja come PTCL  
 Buuja, come!
74. noxuei    ɕɕu:-n-a  
 dog bite-NPT-OBJ  
 The dog will bite.
75. kalag-ula            tala    gda    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.

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. tɔi    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    gdima    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).

84. cal gu-a  
fire NEG.AUX-OBJ  
(I) have no fire.
85. xgila-la çi sa  
ask.for-PURP go PTCL  
Go ask for it.
86. li: oGua-n-i  
NEG give-NPT-SUBJ  
(They) don't give (it to me).
87. ɬi su:-da-sa nu: ja.n-i:  
2SG armpit-n.s.-[?] INTERR what-SUBJ  
What are you holding in your armpit?
88. mu: nɪk: i:  
bad fur.coat COP  
(I) have a bad fur coat.
89. masi sa  
wear PTCL  
Wear (it).
90. bo:si i:-n-a  
louse COP-NPT-OBJ  
There are lice (in it).

91. ala sa

kill PTCL

Kill (it).

92. nidi ma: wa

eye blind COP

(My) eyes are blind.

93. tigu:-di tengu-lga sa

chicken-DAT collect-CAUS PTCL

Let the chicken eat them (lit. let the chicken collect).

94. tigu: i: tengu-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 Gendenshija (speaker 23).

95. mi mendzen-ni kile-gu

1SG Menzhen-ACC speak-PART.FUT

I will speak about Menzheng.

96. na: mi ncr-sa kile-gu

INTJ 1SG this-ABL speak-PART.FUT

I will speak from here.

97. e: i:ʔɛn ne nige ɕu:si nda:-ni                      moŋɕuol-ɩ      ɕɕɕun-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:ʔɛn do di: tende: nde: kuan xueidɕin 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-ɕɕi da-ni gi do be:  
 then beg-IMPERF eat-NPT QUOT now PTCL  
 Then (she has to) beg for food.
100. xgile-ɕɕi 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-ɕɕ-a  
 INTJ belly-DAT hurt-COMPL-PERF-OBJ  
 Yeah, (her) belly hurt.
102. e: di: janwei-ni ɕge da busgua-ni dirle ningɕe  
 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-ɕɕ-a                      ku:-ŋge tora-ɕɕ-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.

104. ku:-ŋge tora-ɕa                      tuo      yanweidzi   mde-ɕi      gu-a  
 son-SG give.birth-PERF-OBJ    inside    official    know-IMPERF    NEG.AUX-OBJ

ɕu:di-la      ɕu: 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. ɕu:di-la-di-sa                      nda:-ni                      ɕge 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    mǎni-ge      dirle                      su:-ɕ-a      mǎni  
 tiger    young    young    1SG.GEN-SG    use.as.pillow    sit-PERF-OBJ    1SG.GEN

i:diŋ      si      ge      gui:ren                      nǐmba:    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      jantɕuen    daŋlur-ge    da:le    nige    a:niɕ-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.

108. d̥e gula ne ger maŋli:-sa do:ra-d̥-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-d̥i 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 ɕu:-gula bi: ɕ-ga 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 d̥u: ra-di-sa do lamant̥uŋ  
 this 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home just come-COMPL-COND now excellent  
 gui:ren-ge gi-d̥i  
 important.person-SG QUOT-IMPERF

"If he comes into my house, this is an excellent guest", he said.

112. d̥u:diŋ-di bu:-san-a  
 dream-DAT come.down-PAST-OBJ  
 It was revealed in a dream.

113. di: a:nie-gula      ɕge da maŋli:-sa      do:ra-ɕi      danlur-la  
then grandmother-DL big door lintel-ABL go.down-IMPERF lantern-INST.COM

nige i:-sa-ŋge      // jeri-ŋge      sara su: ge:-ɕ-a      be:  
one look-COND.SG // woman-SG month sit put-PERF-OBJ PTCL

ɕge 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.

114. o: ne-ni      i:-sa      di:      ɰida-ɕi      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-gula      juen truo      // kudi-na:      juendzi-di      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...

117. sara su-sa jerl 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: ngan-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  
 dzo:gu:-la-ɕ-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 sin-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 ɕa wa  
 ISG hear-PAST-OBJ Li family COP  
 I heard (she) is (from the) Li family.

123. huina nige kun    tʃaŋla-san-a    tʃi-ni    hualioma ly dʒa    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    wabitʃin  
 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    tʃaŋla-san-a            li    dʒa            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    dʒa            wa    xa    ne-nige    li    dʒu: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    busgua-ni            dirle-ɕ-a                      xa    limendʒen    a  
 door threshold-ACC use.as.a.pillow-PERF-OBJ PTCL Li Menzhen COP

giɕi    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.

128. linendzen giga: sxu:di a:ma do dzu:si dei-la-ɕ-i:

Li Menzhen small time-DAT mother now exactly take.care-PERF-SUBJ

juanwei-ni xudu gua-ni dzan-ki-ɕ-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. nigicɕe cge ul-ɕ-a dzanɕu:ge dunɕi-la-ɕ-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:-ni tɕu:sin ja: tɕu:sin a

1PL.STEM-GEN domestic.animal what domestic.animal COP

"Which animals are our animals?"

131. a:ba di: // kan-a gi-ɕi 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: tɕu:sin-a ...

INTJ then domestic.animal ...

Yeah, their domestic animals...

133. *tɕim-u*                      *xgila-n*                      *xgila-n*                      *tora-sa*  
 2SG.OBL.STEM-ACC beg-SUBORD beg-SUBORD give.birth-COND

na: *gicɕi*

INTJ QUOT

"When I gave birth to you begging (for food)" she (the mother) said.

134. *tigi:nge*    *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:nge*    *dzo:gu:-la-ɕ-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:*                      *njan-i-ni*                      *negicɕi*    *de-ɕi*                      *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

*serɣxu:*    *uli-ja*                      *be:*

life obtain-VOL1 part

Now, although we live in his house, we will have our own life.

13. dzan-da da de-ja  
beg-IMPERF also eat-VOL1

We will beg for food.

14. dzan-da da nigidje gi-ja  
NTJ crops also a.little do-VOL1

We will do a little farming.

15. dzan-da ma da gi-d-a  
then crops PTCL also do-PERF-OBJ

Then (they) did (some) farming.

16. xila-di-d-a de-d-a  
beg-COMPL-PERF-OBJ eat-PERF-OBJ

(They) begged for food.

17. dzan-da nigidje g-san dirani gan jan gi-d-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.

142. *nigi:ɕe fire: bu:di fire:-ŋge jeɕ-ɕi li: ul-gun-a xa*  
 a.little seed wheat seed-SG find NEG become-NARR.PAST-OBJ PTCL  
*jaŋ janwei-ni baɕie-la-ɕ-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 ɕeŋ-ge nige*  
 1SG.DAT/ACC wheat seed-REFL now three five CL-SG one  
*asgua-ɕi gi-sa bu gaɕer nigi:ɕe-ge tari-ja*  
 borrow-IMPERF QUOT-COND 1SG field a.little-SG plant-VOLI  
 "If I ask to borrow three to five shang<sup>112</sup> of wheat seeds, I can plant a little in the field."

144. *feŋxu: da gudi<sup>113</sup> 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 dzo: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 ɕda-n gu-a xa mei li caŋ*  
 3SG-ACC receive-CAUS can-SUBORD NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL coal inside hide  
*ɕin gi-ɕi*  
 gold QUOT-IMPERF  
 (The official) could not force him to receive (gifts), so (he) said "hide gold in coal."

<sup>112</sup> Chinese *shāng* 蔞, 'area that can be sown in one day'.

<sup>113</sup> 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.

① nige bu:di-ri bu:di fire: wa be:  
 one wheat-LOC wheat seed COP PTCL  
 In that wheat, they are wheat seeds.

② li caŋ dɕin a dɕin tio:ge-ni dʒaŋ-la niŋge  
 coal in hide gold COP gold CL-SG-ACC put.in-VRBL then  
 As "hide gold in coal," then (he) put (a) tiao of gold in (the coals).

③ a:ma-gula bu:di fire: nige ura-ga-ɕ-a xa dɕin tio:  
 1SG mother-DL wheat seed one enter-CAUS-PERF-OBJ PTCL gold CL  
 When he and his mother put in the wheat seed, a tiao of gold came out. (Lit. 'you and your mother')

ga:ri-ɕ-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')

150.  $\dot{c}$ in tio: gari  $\dot{c}$ - $\dot{c}$ -a a:ma-ni kila-gun-a  $\dot{t}$ i  
 gold CL come.out go-PERF-OBJ mother-POSS say-NARR.PAST-OBJ 2SG  
 na nige // bili:  $\dot{t}$ i  $\eta$ gan-i sdzer-ni-ni dzua-ki- $\dot{c}$ -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: mendzen kila-gun-a  $\dot{c}$ e sdzer-ni // ne bu:di fire:  
 INTJ Menzhen say-NARR.PAST-OBJ INTJ gold-ACC // this wheat seed  
 asg-ua di: // sdzer-ni  $\dot{c}$ e dzua-ki- $\dot{c}$ i 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  $\dot{c}$ -gun-a  
 then return go-NARR.PAST-OBJ  
 So (he) gave it back.

153. xarili-sa janwei li: rin-ki-gun-a  $\dot{c}$ e  $\dot{t}$ i-mi bu:di  
 return-COND official NEG admit-VRBL-NARR.PAST INTJ 2SG-DAT wheat  
 G-wa  
 give-PERF  
 When he returned (it), they official did not admit (that he gave Menzhen the gold), "I gave  
 you wheat!" (he said).

154. e:      ɕin    tio:    ɔ-ɕi      gu-i:  
 INTJ    gold    CL    give-IMPERF    NEG.AUX-SUBJ

"Yeah, (I) didn't give (you) any gold."

155. di:      gula    tende:    ɕa:l-di    nde:    ɕa:l-di    ɕen      sin      andɕi:  
 then    two    there    law-DAT    here    law-DAT    township    province    where

ɕa-sada    gan    janwei    rin-ki-ɕi                      gu-a                      na  
 look-CONC    3SG    official    admit-VRBL-IMPERF    NEG.AUX-OBJ    this

mendzen    gen      ne    nige    sdzer-ni    li:    ɕu:      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.

156. na    nige    me:    tsan-di    me:    ɕin    nige    wa  
 this    one    coal    hide-n.s.      coal    gold    one    COP

This is the "hiding coal in gold".

157. tigi:      nige    ɕi-ni      hualioma  
 like.that    one    2SG-GEN    word

It's just like what you said.

158. e:    na-sa      dʒatɨŋ   xən    kuan   a  
 INTJ   this-ABL   family   very   poor   COP  
 Yeah, so the family is very poor.

159. kuan   a      xa      i:la-la      na    nige    dzu:ja a:nie-na:    eɨsɨsan-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 23<sup>rd</sup>.

160. mənʒən   da    a:ma-gula-na:      kuan   a      xa      eɨsɨsan-di  
 mənʒən   and   mother-DL-REFL   difficult   COP   PTCL   twenty-three-DAT  
 dzu:ja a:nie    da:bila    guli    nige:dʒe    li:daŋ    da      gu-a  
 kitchen god   offer   say   a.little   gift   also   NEG.AUX-OBJ  
 Mənʒən and his mother were both very poor, so they had no gifts to offer the kitchen god  
 on the 23<sup>rd</sup> (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    ɕi    fila:n    tʰaldzi    dui:dzi      na:ga-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.

162. mendzen da a:ma-gula-na: do çaver-la nige surg-çk-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 eişisan-di şda-çki gu-a eişisi-di  
 then this one twenty-four-DAT can-IMPERF NEG.AUX-DAT twenty-four-DAT  
 di: jaŋ da:Ga gula-gun-a  
 then again send.up need-NARR.PAST-OBJ  
 (Because) they could not offer (anything) on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, they had to send (the kitchen god) up  
 on the 24<sup>th</sup>.

164. da:Ga-sa ne dzuja a:nie-ni tşido:la-Ga-çk-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 nigicçe to:si çara-ge gura:n-ge  
 INTJ then still one this green.grass a.little oil circle-SG three-SG  
 xuambar<sup>114</sup>-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.

<sup>114</sup> 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.

166. *çargaŋ-ge da ʒda-çʰi 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 tʰi*  
 INTJ now all-COLL order order-NARR.PAST-OBJ kitchen.god-DAT 2SG  
*tienkun-di gaç-çʰi sa njoŋçʰa sa e: si: xgaçʰa-ni*  
 heaven-DAT go.up-IMPERF PTCL niangjia<sup>115</sup> PTCL INTJ good word-ACC

e: *nigi:çʰe ʒanki-sa da mu: xgaçʰa 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: *draj na nige dzenjue tʰu:ji danien tʰu:ji pirga: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.

<sup>115</sup> Chinese: *niangjia* 娘家, home of married woman's parents.



174. daŋlur do:ra-ni do: e: u:ʒi liaŋ-ni bo:wu gi-ɕi  
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-ɕi kila-ma  
five measure-POSS treasure QUOT-IMPERF say-ASSERT

He says "a treasure of five measures."

176. fanʒen tien tsi mendʒen i:diŋ i:n-a  
anyway sky bestow Menzhen certainly COP-NPT-OBJ

"Anyways, (we) have Menzhen (because) he was bestowed by heaven."

177. tenʒeri ɔ-san jin a gi-ɕi  
sky give-PART.PERF silver COP QUOT-IMPERF

"It is silver that was given by heaven."

178. te daŋlur do:ra-ni kurge: ɕi-lga ge:lga-di-ɕ-a  
that lantern under-POSS send go-CAUS put-CAUS-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

(He) sent it and had it put under that lantern.



184. ne janwei do qinbuken-la-ɕi guanqin-la-ɕi  
 this official now disagree-VRBL-IMPERF take.care-VRBL-IMPERF

janwei-ni szder-ni [unintelligible] // mienggu-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 xgala-ga-ɕi 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 ɕen la: nige caŋ li mei ɕin a nige-ni nige  
 this two CL INTJ one hide in coal gold COP one-GEN one

e: tien tsi mendzen ji: ɕin 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."

187. ne gur-la-la gan giga:-la miŋsin gu:tsi ra  
 this two-COLL-INST.COM<sup>117</sup> 3SG small-INST.COM fame appear come

gar-ɕ-a

come.out-PERF-OBJ

These two (sayings); (already) when he was young his fame appeared.

*miŋsin* - Chinese *míngshēng* 名声.

188. e: te sxu:-di dzi ji: ɕa tɕinguan limendzen a  
 INTJ that time-DAT ORD one CL honest.leader Li Menzhen COP

dzi ei ɕa tɕinguan-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, *tɕinguan* - Chinese *qīngguān* 清官.

189. dzi san ɕa tɕinguan bo:wungun gi-ɕi  
 ORD three CL honest.leader bo:wungun QUOT-IMPERF

The third honest leader was Boowungun.

190. ne limendzen do xudi tɕinguan-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.

<sup>117</sup> 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.

191. e:    di:    jurɪ            jaŋ-sa            tɕi-ni            hualioma            jaŋ    ma  
 INTJ   then   have<sup>118</sup>        again-ABL    2SG-GEN        word                again   PTCL

tigi:        samba-di        kila-gu            la:li<sup>119</sup>-ge-di        i:-ɕin            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    limenzɛn        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, lì - Chinese *lǐ* 里, tɕu - Chinese *xuě* 雪, sun - Chinese *sòng* 送, lì - Chinese *lǐ* 里, tan - Chinese *tàn* 炭.

193. e:    hua        lio        jiŋaŋ    mo    hua    ren-di            limenzɛn        liogsa  
 INTJ   change    CMPL    clothes not    change person-DAT    Li Menzhen        say<sup>120</sup>

gi-ɕ-a                    mba:  
 QUOT-PERF-OBJ    correct

Yeah "changing the clothes does not change the person" was also said by Li Menzhen, right.

<sup>118</sup> My translator translated this word as 'have'. It is possible that it is a combination of the Chinese *yǒu* 有 and a Karlong suffix.

<sup>119</sup> This is the only instance of this word; I am not completely certain about the meaning.

<sup>120</sup> This is possibly a combination of a Qinghaihua word [lio], followed by the Karlong quotative particle with the conditional suffix.

194. e: di: bu dʒaŋ tʃaŋ-san dʒu: tʃoŋge  
 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. ndʒina: nige piɖʒig gu-a fu:-ri i:-san-i  
 REFL.PRON one book NEG.AUX-OBJ book-LOC see-PAST-SUBJ  
 piɖ-a tʃaŋla-san-i tʃiŋfu-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: pɖʒi: ju: bi je wabiɖin  
 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: ʒdardzi fi:  
 then one this one // 1PL.STEM-PL // INTJ ʒdardzi water  
 mo:-gu-ni tʃi da dʒaŋ 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.

199. nige ntsowa<sup>121</sup> wa be:

one area COP PTCL

It is an area.

200. ne ntsowa-ri-ni ma deĩşindzi li đka wa

this area-LOC-POSS PTCL majority Li family COP

In this area, most (people) are Li's.

201. e: di: wan đka je: đka đige i:-n-a ja sa

INTJ then Wang family Ye family some COP-NPT-OBJ INTJ PTCL

li đka deidu: wa

Li family most COP

Yeah, there are also some Wang's and some Ye's, (but) most are Li's.

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<sup>121</sup> 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'.

202. ne amagidja gi-sa // e: lidziwo-ni gisan  
 this how QUOT-COND // INTJ Li Jingwo-GEN thirteen  
 teibo:-ri-ni ma buda-si dzi liu ge teibo:-ni //  
 child<sup>122</sup>-LOC-POSS PTCL IPL.STEM-PL. ORD six CL child-POSS //  
 e: beiçin a gi-çi  
 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: tinfu:-nge  
 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-çi-di-ni lişugui 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.

<sup>122</sup> Or possibly 'descendant'.

205. buda-ŋla        namtar    ʂaŋ-ki-ldi        niŋge    di:    buda-sgi        ɕapu  
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 vice-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        ɕapu        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.

211. handziwan a be:

Handiwan COP PTCL

It is of Handiwan. (the family record)

212. bida-ŋ-di            ɕapu            gu-a            xa    dzi    liu    men    a  
IPL.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:    ɕinsi    nedzi    nidi-la            sge-dzi            gu-a  
INTJ own<sup>123</sup> like.this    eye-INST.COM    see-IMPERF    NEG.AUX-OBJ

(I) didn't see it with (my) own eyes.

<sup>123</sup> Possibly from the Chinese *ziji* 自己.

216. e:    sge-sada    pidɕig-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-ɕi            ri-san-i            ja:n-i:  
 take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ  
 What did (you) bring?

218. ta-ŋla            aw-ɕi            ri-san-i            malga  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   hat  
 You brought a hat.

219. ta-ŋla            rɕi-sa            malga-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            rɕi-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.

221. ɕɕi:-gu gu-i-ni ɕʒɒɕa mba: ɕinc:-lga-wa-ni  
 shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS  
 dorɒŋ wa  
 Dorong COP  
 Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.
222. ta-ŋla aw-ɕi ri-san-i ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF. come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ  
 What did you bring?
223. ta-ŋla aw-ɕi ri-san-i ɕantu  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ veil  
 You brought a veil.
224. ta-ŋla rɕi-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 rɕi-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. ɕɕi:-gu gu-i:-ni ɕʒɒɕa mba: ɕinc:-lga-wa-ni  
 shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS  
 dorɒŋ wa  
 Dorong COP  
 Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.

227. ta-ŋla           aw-ɕi           ri-san-i           ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

228. ta-ŋla           aw-ɕi           ri-san-i           de:gi  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   veil.fastener

You brought a veil fastener.

229. ta-ŋla           rɕi-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       rɕi-sa           tʂaŋci-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. ɕɕi:gu       gu-i:-ni                   ɕʂaŋɕa mba:   ɕine:-lga-wa-ni  
 shame-n.s.   NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS   Zhangjia correct   laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

dorɔŋ   wa

Dorong   COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.

232. ta-ŋla           aw-ɕi           ri-san-i           ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

233. ta-ŋla        aw-ɕi        ri-san-i        dzaŋri  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   metal.hairpin  
 You brought metal hairpins.

234. ta-ŋla        rɕi-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        rɕi-sa        ɕu: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. ɕɕi:-gu        gu-i:-ni        ɕaŋɕa        mba:        ɕine:lga-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.

237. ta-ŋla        aw-ɕi        ri-san-i        ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ  
 What did you bring?

238. ta-ŋla        aw-ɕi        ri-san-i        tu:ɕaŋ  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   hair.ribbon  
 You brought hair ribbons.

239. ta-ŋla            rd̥i-sa            tu:caŋ-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            rd̥i-sa            bo:dag-ni            lo:            wa  
 1PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   rope-GEN   appearance   COP  
 When we look at it, it looks like a rope.

241. c̥d̥i:-gu            gu-i:-ni                            d̥aŋd̥a            mba:            c̥ine:-lga-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.

242. ta-ŋla            aw-d̥i            ri-san-i            ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ  
 What did you bring?

243. ta-ŋla            aw-d̥i            ri-san-i            su:ga  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   ear.ring  
 You brought ear rings.

244. ta-ŋla            rd̥i-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.

245. bida-ŋla rɕi-sa di:rua-ni 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. ɕɕi:gu gu-i-ni ɕɕɛŋɕa mba: ɕine:-lga-wa-ni  
 shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS  
 doronj wa  
 Dorong COP  
 Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.

247. ta-ŋla aw-ɕi ri-san-i kanɕar  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ woman's.vest  
 You brought woman's vest.

248. ta-ŋla rɕi-sa kanɕar-ni 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. bida-ŋla rɕi-sa guadzi-ni lo: wa  
 1PL.STEM-PL look-COND lined.vest-GEN appearance COP  
 When we look at it, it looks like a lined vest.

250. ɕɕi:gu gu-i-ni ɕɕɛŋɕa mba: ɕine:-lga-wa-ni  
 shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS  
 doronj wa  
 Dorong COP  
 Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.

251. ta-ŋla            aw-ɕi            ri-san-i            ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ  
 What did you bring?
252. ta-ŋla            aw-ɕi            ri-san-i            tɕe:ɕi  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   long.woman's.garment  
 You brought a long woman's garment.
253. ta-ŋla            rɕi-sa            tɕe:ɕi-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            rɕi-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. ɕɕi:-gu            gu-i:-ni            ɕɕanɕa    mba:            ɕine:-lga-wa-ni  
 shame-n.s.    NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS   Zhangjia   correct   laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS  
  
 doronɕ    wa  
 Dorong    COP  
 Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.
256. ta-ŋla            aw-ɕi            ri-san-i            ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ  
 What did you bring?

257. ta-ŋla      aw-d̥i      ri-san-i      pi:se:  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ belt  
 You brought a belt.

258. ta-ŋla      r̥d̥i-sa      pi:se:-ni      lo:      wa  
 2PL.STEM-PL look-COND belt-GEN appearance COP  
 When you look at it, it looks like a belt.

259. bida-ŋla      r̥d̥i-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. çine:-lga-wa-ni      doronj      wa  
 laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS Dorong COP  
 Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.

261. ta-ŋla      aw-d̥i      ri-san-i      ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ  
 What did you bring?

262. ta-ŋla      aw-d̥i      ri-san-i      xormi:  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ embroidered.shirt  
 You brought an embroidered shirt.

263. ta-ŋla      r̥d̥i-sa      xormit:-ni      lo:      wa  
 2PL.STEM-PL look-COND embroidered.shirt-GEN appearance COP  
 When you look at it, it looks like an embroidered shirt.

264. bida-ŋla      rɕi-sa      cara-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 piece of cloth used for drying grain on.

265. ɕɕi:-gu      gu-i:-ni      ɕaŋɕa mba:      ɕine:-lga-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.

266. ta-ŋla      aw-ɕi      ri-san-i      jan-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

267. ta-ŋla      aw-ɕi      ri-san-i      tɕanxei  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ shoe

You brought shoes.

268. bida-ŋla      rɕi-sa      tili-ni      lo:      wa  
 1PL.STEM-PL look-COND bag-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a bag.

269. ɕɕi:-gu      gu-i:-ni      ɕaŋɕa mba:      ɕine:-lga-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.

270. ta-ŋla        aw-ɕi        ri-san-i        ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ  
 What did you bring?
271. ta-ŋla        aw-ɕi        ri-san-i        tɕa:wa  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ brick.tea  
 You brought some brick tea.
272. bida-ŋla        rdɕi-sa        rdzar-ŋi        lo:        wa  
 1PL.STEM-PL look-COND sheep.dung-GEN appearance COP  
 When we look at it, it looks like sheep dung.
273. ɕɕi:-gu        gu-i:-ni        ɕɕaŋɕa mba:        ɕiŋc:-lga-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.
274. ta-ŋla        aw-ɕi        ri-san-i        ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ  
 What did you bring?
275. ta-ŋla        aw-ɕi        ri-san-i        dira:si  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ liquor  
 You brought liquor.

276. ta-ŋja            rɕi-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-ŋja        rɕi-sa            sdzu-ningi    lo:            wa  
1PL.STEM-PL    look-COND    water-GEN    appearance    COP

When we look at it, it looks like water.

278. ɕɕi:gu        gu-i-ni                    ɕaŋɕa mba:    ɕine:lga-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.

279. ta-ŋja            aw-ɕi            ri-san-i            ja:n-i:  
2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF    come-PAST-SUBJ    what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

280. ta-ŋja            aw-ɕi            ri-san-i            to:si  
2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF    come-PAST-SUBJ    oil

You brought oil.

281. bida-ŋja        rɕi-sa            ɕaver          ningi          lo:            wa  
1PL.STEM-PL    look-COND    mud-GEN    like.this    appearance    COP

When we look at it, it looks like mud.

282. ɕɕi:-gu gu-i-ni ɕɕaŋɕa mba: ɕine:-loa-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.

283. ta-ŋja aw-ɕi ri-san-i ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

284. ta-ŋja aw-ɕi ri-san-i sam a  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ comb COP

You brought a comb.

285. bida-ŋja rɕi-sa ma:ɕir-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. ɕɕi:-gu gu-i-ni ɕɕaŋɕa mba: ɕine:-lga-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.

287. ta-ŋja           aw-ɕʰi           ri-san-i           ja:n-i:  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

288. ta-ŋja           aw-ɕʰi           ri-san-i           dordəŋ  
 2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ tassel

You brought a tassel.

289. bida-ŋja       rɕʰi-sa           geliəŋ-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. ɕɕʰi:-gu       gu-i-ni                   ɕʰəŋɕʰa mba:       ɕine:-lga-wa-ni  
 shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

dorəŋ       wa

Dorong   COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.

APPENDIX III. DICTIONARY

2

- 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].
- alag** adj. variegated, multicolored. *banhua* 斑花. [WM alay].
- ali** pron. which. [WM ali(n)].
- alisxu:di** pron. when.
- ama** pron. how.
- amagidi** pron. how. *shenmeyangde* 什么样的. [WM jambar, Lessing (426): 'what; what kind, type, or class of?']
- amila** n. apple. *pinguo* 苹果. [WM alima]
- amila** n. fruit. *shuiguo* 水果. [WM alima, Lessing: 'apple'].
- amin** n. life. *shengming* 生命. [WM ami(n)].
- ami(n)**.
- andza** pron. where.
- andzi**: pron. where. *nali* 哪里.
- andzi:mada** adv. anywhere.
- aqia** v. tie.
- dzagna** n. bee. *mifeng* 蜜蜂. [WT sbrañ-ma].
- arin** adj. clean. *ganjingde* 干净的, *qingjiede* 清洁的. [WM ariqun].
- asgua** v. borrow. *jie* 借. [WM aysu, Lessing: 'to trade, exchange; to lend or borrow money at interest'].
- asi** n. cattle. *niu* 牛. [WM aduyusu(n), Lessing: animal].
- awu** v. buy. *mai* 买.
- awu** v. take. *na* 拿. [WM bari].

- a:ba** *n.* father. *baba* 爸爸. [WM abu, aba].
- a:die** *n.* grandfather.
- a:dɕa** *n.* older brother. *gege* 哥哥. [WM aqa].
- a:dzi** *n.* older sister. *jiejie* 姐姐. [WM egeʃij].
- a:gu** *n.* paternal aunt.
- a:gu** *n.* unmarried woman. *guinü* 闺女.
- a:gadu** *n.* brother. *xiongdì* 兄弟. [WM aqa deggy].
- a:linige** *adv.* every. *meige* 每个. [WM cɕ].
- 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].

- ba** *n.* scar. *shangba* 伤疤. [WT lba].
- ba** *part.* particle indicating suggestion. *ba* 吧.
- baɕɕɕ** *v.* ask for. *bajie* 巴结.
- baga** *v.* beat. *da* 打.
- baga** *v.* hit. *da* 打.
- bagaldi** *v.* fight. *dazhang* 打仗.
- bagani** *adj.* low. *di* 低. [WM boɣumi].
- bagu:r** *n.* bangle (bracelet). *shouzhuo* 手镯.
- baja:n** *adj.* rich. *fiyude* 富裕的.
- bal** *v.* ripen. *shu* 熟.
- bambandzi** *n.* board. *changmuban* 长木板.
- bandaŋ** *n.* chair. *yizi* 椅子.
- baŋɕaŋ** *adv.* approximately. *chabuduo* 差不多.
- baŋla** *v.* tie. *bang* 绑.
- baraxɕi:** *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.

- bei** *num.* hundred. *bai* 百.
- bei** *ptcl.* particle indicating conviction, emphasis.
- beihuatçifaŋla** *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* 硬币.
- bi** *pron.* 1SG. *wo* 我. [WM bi].
- bidangula** *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']
- bill:** *n.* child. *xiaohaizi* 小孩子. [WM byly, Lessing: 'cousins (of children of two sisters only)', WT bu-lo].
- bir:** *v.* finish. *wan* 完.
- bo:daŋ** *n.* rope. *shengzi* 绳子. [WM boyudasu(n), Lessing: band, string; ribbon; bundle, bunch, package; wrapping; scarf for the head, kerchief; puttees (111)].
- bo:ɕun** *n.* treasured steed. *baojun* 宝马.
- bo:ldʒa** *v.* vomit. *outu* 呕吐. [WM bəgelɕij].
- bo:li** *n.* glass. *boli* 玻璃.
- bo:ra** *n.* kidney. *shen* 肾. [WM bəgere].
- bo:si** *n.* louse. *shizi* 虱子. [WM bəgesy(n)].
- bo:wu** *n.* treasure. *baowu* 宝物.
- bu** *ptcl.* not. *bu* 不.
- budag** *pron.* 1PL.
- burge** *n.* flea. *zao* 蚤.
- buru:** *n.* calf. *xiaoni* 小牛. [WM birayʉ(n), Lessing: 'calf in its second year'].
- busgua** *n.* threshold. [WM bosuya, Lessing: doorsill, threshold (122)].
- bu:** *v.* go down.
- bu:** *v.* shine. *zhao* 照.
- bu:di** *n.* wheat. *xiaomai* 小麦.

- çal** *n.* mirror. *jingzi* 镜子.  
**çambalaçdı** *n.* butterfly. *hudie* 蝴蝶.  
     [WM erbegekei].  
**çantu** *n.* veil.  
**çañfu** *v.* live in comfort. *xiangfu* 享福.  
**çañdzu:** *n.* soap. *zao* 皂.  
**çara** *n.* piece of cloth used for drying  
     grain on.  
**çaver** *n.* mud. *nitu* 泥土.  
**ça:** *n.* deer. *lu* 鹿.  
**ça:** *v.* tie. *shuan* 拴.  
**ça:çi** *n.* sand. *sha* 砂.  
**ça:dzi** *n.* courtyard.  
**ça:la** *v.* scatter. *sa* 撒.  
**çđay** *n.* felt. *zhan* 毡.  
**çđa:** *v.* load. *tuo* 驮. [WM atj].  
**çđilçax** *n.* daughter. *nüzi* 女子. [WM  
     økin].  
**çđi:** *n.* middle. *zhong* 中.  
**çđi:** *n.* shame.  
**çđi:** *postp.* between. *zhongjian* 中间.  
**çđo:sı** *n.* tree. *shu* 树.  
**çđo:sı rasi** *n.* bark (tree). *shupi* 树皮.  
**çđo:sı xaldı** *n.* bark (tree). *shupi* 树  
     皮.  
**çđun** *n.* girl. *nühaizi* 女孩子. [WM  
     økin].  
**çđundu:** *n.* younger sister. *meimei* 妹  
     妹. [WM økin degyy, degyy]  
**çđu:** *n.* chest (body part).  
**çđu:r** *n.* root. *gen* 根. [WM idgayur].  
**çen** *n.* township. *xiang* 乡.  
**çendzal** *adv.* now. *xianzai* 现在.  
**çendçin** *v.* advance. *xianjin* 先进.  
**çge** *adj.* big. *da* 大. [WM jckej] *adj.*  
     big.  
**çge pidçag** *n.* broad bean. *candou* 蚕  
     豆.  
**çgeçdı** *n.* thumb. *damuzhi* 大拇指.  
     [WM erekei].  
**çge** *adj.* tall. *gao* 高. [WM øndyr].  
**çgudir** *adv.* yesterday. *zuotian* 昨天.  
     [WM øfygedyr].  
**çgel** *n.* leg.  
**çi** *v.* go. *qu* 去.  
**çigadi** *v.* swell. *zhong* 肿, *pengzhang*  
     膨胀.  
**çilay** *n.* night. *wanshang* 晚上, *ye* 夜.

çilge *n.* liver. gan 肝. [WM çilge].  
çina:çdi: *n.* sister-in-law (wife of older brother). saosao 嫂嫂.  
çina:lçki *adj.* anxious.  
çindire: *intr. v.* thaw.  
çindçir *n.* chain. lian 链.  
çine: *v.* laugh. xiao 笑. [WM iniç].  
çini *adj.* new. xinde 新的. [WM sine].  
çini a:gu *n.* bride. xinniàng 新娘.  
çinjag *v.* believe.  
çinla *v.* visit one's relatives during new year.  
çira *adj.* yellow. huangse 黄色. [WM siraj].  
çira: *v.* bake.  
çira: *v.* burn. shao 烧.  
çire: *n.* table. zhuozi 桌子. [WM

sirege(n)]  
çirge *v.* go around.  
çirgi *v.* turn. xuanzhuàn 旋转.  
çirgualçin *n.* ant. mayi 蚂蚁. [WM siryulçji(n)].  
çirua *adv.* afternoon. xiawu 下午.  
çiru: *n.* ground (earth). tu 土. [WM sirui].  
çl:ki *v.* suck. xi 吸. [WM sime].  
çi *n.* west. xi 西.  
çuetag *n.* school.  
çu: *v.* sweep. sao 扫.  
çu: *n.* bird. niao 鸟. [WM sibayu(n)].  
çu: *v.* sew. feng 缝.  
çu:r *n.* chopsticks. kuaizi 筷子.  
çu:su: *n.* sleeve. xiuzi 袖子. [WM qançui].

d

da *conj.* and. he 和.  
da *n.* door  
dabççin *adv.* next year. mingnian 明年.  
dabsi *n.* salt. yan 盐. [WM dabusu(n)].  
daççag *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 doluya(n)].  
dambura: *n.* drop (of water).  
danien tçu:jl *n.* New Year's Day.

- danian chuyi* 大年初一.
- danla** v. carry on a shoulderpole. *dan*  
*担*.
- dagual** n. earth clod. *tukuai* 土块.
- daglur** 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:ldidl** v. sell. *mai* 卖. [WM *qudaldu*].
- da:len** n. saddle bag.
- da:li:** n. shoulder. *jianbang* 肩膀. [WM  
*dalul*, 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* 锭.
- 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.
- diga:** 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

ardently', 'to fall in love with].  
**dra:si** *n.* liquor. *jiu* 酒.  
**de** *adv.* so, then, now. *xianzai* 现在.  
**dordaq** *n.* tassel.  
**de:** *adv.* so, then, now.  
**do:ra** *postp.* under. *xiamian* 下面. [WM  
*douyur*].  
**do:ra** *v.* go down. *xia* 下.  
**do:tʂu:** *adv.* everywhere. *dao* 到处.  
**drag** *ptcl.* also. *ye* 也.  
**drag** *ptcl.* still. [WT *da-run*].  
**dua** *v. pass.* [WM *daba*, Lessing (211):  
 'to climb, climb over, cross over,  
 to ascend; to transgress'.  
**dun** *n. meal.* *dun* 顿.

**dun** *n. cast.* *dong* 东.  
**dunda** *n.* middle. *zhong* 中. [WM  
*dumda*].  
**dunʂila** *v.* become intelligent.  
**dur** *n.* day. *baitian* 白天. [WM *edyr*].  
**durdindi** *adv.* every day. *meitian* 每天.  
**durgun** *n.* lunch. *zhongfan* 中饭.  
**du:** *n.* younger brother. *didi* 弟弟.  
 [WM *deggy*].  
**du:di** *adj.* resonant. *xiangliang* 响亮.  
**du:di** *v.* call. *dasheng shuo* 大声说.  
**du:la** *v.* sing. *chang* 唱. [WM *dayula*].  
**du:ra:** *v.* imitate. *mofang* 模仿.  
**du:ru** *adj.* full. *man* 满. [WM  
*dygyreng*].

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dz

**dzandʂina** *adj.* intelligent.  
*congming* 聪明.  
**dzanjla** *v.* earn.  
**dzanmar** *n.* copper. *tong* 铜.  
 [WT *zañs-dmar*].

**dzanri** *n.* hair pin.  
**dze:di** *adj.* other.  
**dze:la** *v.* welcome.  
**dzifay** *n.* place. *difang* 地房.  
**dzuja a:nie** *n.* kitchen god.

- 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.
- dziɰdzuan** *adj.* thick. *hou* 厚. [WM
- ɕuɕɕayan]**.
- dziɰga:** *adj.* beautiful. *meilide* 美丽的.
- dzo:gu:la** *v.* take care of, look after.  
*zhaogu* 照顾.
- dzuaki** *v.* grasp. *zhua* 抓.
- dzuɰci** *n.* chairman. *zhuxi* 主席.
- dzula** *v.* stay, stop. *tingzhi* 停止.

## ɕ

- ɕa** *n.* family. *jia* 家.
- ɕ-a** *v.s.* perfective objective.
- ɕabɕɰic** *n.* pocket for needles.
- ɕaɕɰo:** *n.* family, household. *jiazu* 家  
族.
- ɕaɰɰi:** *n.* path.
- ɕaŋ** *ptcl.* only.
- ɕaŋdzemin** *n.* Jiang Zemin. *jiang*  
*zemin* 江泽民.
- ɕaŋɕu:ge** *n.* a little bit. *shaowei* 稍微.
- ɕaŋla** *v.* steam. *zheng* 蒸.
- ɕapu** *n.* family record.
- ɕa:ɰi** *n.* law. [WM *ɕayali*, cf. *ɕaryu*,  
*ɕaryu*, Lessing: lawsuit,  
litigation (p. 1037)].
- ɕa:la** *v.* make (fire).
- ɕɛn** *cl.* measure word for buildings.  
*jian* 间.
- ɕiefaŋla** *v.* liberate. *jiefang* 解放.
- ɕlexunla** *v.* get married.
- ɕliɰe** *n.* donkey. *lu* 驴.
- ɕlga:** *adj.* slow. *man* 慢. [WM *ɕibday*,  
Lessing: sluggish, slow; trickling,  
flowing in a thin stream; stingy,

miserly (174).

**ɕila:** n. lamp. *deng* 灯. [WM ɕyula].

**ɕilo:** n. adj. smooth. [WM gilung.

*zægelen*, Lessing: 'soft'].

**ɕinkuel** adj. as quickly as possible.

*jinkuai* 尽快.

**ɕinxu:** adv. in the future. *jinhou* 今后.

**ɕiran** num. sixty. *liushi* 六十. [WM

*ɕira(n)*].

**ɕirge** n. heart. *xinzang* 心脏. [WM

*ɕiryke(n)*].

**ɕirgo:** n. num. six. *liu* 六. [WM

*ɕiryɣa(n)*].

**ɕi:la** v. become angry.

**ɕi:la** v. hate. *taoyan* 讨厌. [WM

*ɕigsi]*.

**ɕi:xu:** postp. after that.

**ɕiga** n. collar (of a garment). *lingzi* 领

子. [WM ɕaqa].

**ɕigadi** postp. on. *shangmian* 上面.

**ɕigasi** n. fish. *yu* 鱼. [WM

*ɕiyasu(n)*].

**ɕo** v. swim. *youyong* 游泳.

**ɕo:** v. wear. *dai* 戴.

**ɕu:** ptcl. emphasizing particle.

**ɕu:** adj. old. *jiu* 旧.

**ɕu:** adv. just. *jiu* 就.

**ɕu:** n. needle. *zhen* 针.

**ɕu:** v. bite. *yao* 咬. [WM *qacɕa*,

*ɕayu*].

**ɕu:dila** v. dream. *zuo meng* 做梦.

**ɕu:din** n. dream. *meng* 梦.

**ɕu:ɕa** n. heel.

**ɕu:ri** v. write. *xie* 写. [WM *ɕuri*,

Lessing: 'to draw (as a line or

picture)].

**ɕu:si** adj. exactly. *jiushi* 就是.

e

**eimi** n. children, sons and daughters.

*ernü* 儿女.

**eisun** n. grandson. *sunzi* 孙子.

e: *intj.* interjection.

- fan** *n.* year. *nian* 年. [WM on].
- fandzen** *ptcl.* anyway. *fanzheng* 反正.
- fa:dula** *v.* send.
- feŋxu:** *n.* life. *shenghuo* 生活.
- fi:ljo:** *n.* fertilizer. *feilitao* 肥料.
- fila:n** *adj.* red. *hong* 红. [WM ulayan].
- 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* 份.
- 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 uruyu, Lessing (886): 'downward'].
- firi** *n.* south. *nan* 南.
- fo:ɕo:** *n.* Buddhism. *fojiao* 佛教.
- fo:di** *n.* feather. *yumao* 羽毛. [WM ɔdy(n)].
- fo:di** *n.* star. *xing* 星. [WM odu(n)].
- fo:gu** *n.* fat. *zhifang* 脂肪 [WM ɔgeky(n)].
- fuzu** *adj.* rich. *fizu* 富足.
- fu:** *n.* book. *shu* 书.
- fu:ɕɕa** *adj.* rotten. *fulande* 腐烂的. [WM y, Lessing: 'to rot'].
- fu:r** *n.* grave. *fenmu* 坟墓.

ganti: *n.* leg. *tui* 腿.

ganđi: *n.* rooster. *gongji* 公鸡.

ganma *n.* mane (of a horse). *mazong* 马  
鬃.

ge *cl.* a, an. *ge* 个.

-ge *n.s.* singular.

gedđidu: *n.* sister. [*WM egetji degyy*].

gedzo:men *n.* everybody.

gelliaŋ *n.* dried barley bread.

gen *adj.* even more. *geng* 更.

genben *adj.* true.

ger *n.* house. *fangzi* 房子. [*WM gcr*].

ge: *v.* put.

ge:blenla *v.* change. *gaibian* 改变.

gi *v.* do. *zuo* 做.

gi:dzi *n.* oil seed.

giđgi *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 egere*].

-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.

guđle *n.* stomach. *wei* 胃.

guđi *n.* incense. *xiang* 香.

guđi *n.* neck. *bozi* 脖子. [*WM*  
*kyđgyyy*].

gugutca:ca: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.

gungulag *n.* bottle. *pingzi* 瓶子.

guođca *n.* country. *guojia* 国家. [*WM*  
*ulus*].

**gurdɕa** v. braid. *babiancheng bianzi*

把。。。编成辫子。

**gurdɕig** n. shovel. *tie qiao 铁锹*. [WM

*kyrdɕe*].

**gurua** v. lie down. *wo 卧, tang 躺*.

**gu:dzɿ** 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 *ɣadaya*].

**Gada** v. sew on. *za 扎*.

**Gada:** n. cliff. *xuanya 悬崖*.

[WM *qada(n)*].

**Gadimni a:dɕa** 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*].

**Gadɕer** n. field. *tiandi 田地*.

**Gadɕer** n. place (location). *difang 地方*. [WM

*ɣadɕar*].

**Gadɕi** v. spoil. *lan 烂*.

**Gajer** *adv.* summer. *xiatian 夏天*.

**Gal** n. fire. *huo 火*. [WM *ɣal*].

**Galda** v. make fire. *fanghuo 放火*.

**Galdɕi** n. lightning.

**Galdɕu:** *adj.* crazy. *fengdian 疯颠*.

**Gar** n. hand. *shou 手*. [WM *ɣar*].

**Gar gandzi** n. arm. *bi 臂*. [WM *ɣar*].

**Garga** v. let out. *fang 放*.

**Garga** v. take out.

**Garl ɕi** v. go out, rise. [WM *ɣar*, Lessing: 'to

go or come out'].

**gari** v. come out. *chuqu* 出去.

**goril** n. flour. *mianfen* 面粉.

[WM *Yulir*].

**GO:r** num. two. *er* 二. [WM

*qojar*].

**Gua** v. give. *gei* 给. [WM *og*].

**Gual** n. valley. *gou* 沟. [WM

*youl*, Lessing: river; river bed; valley,

large lake (rare) (362)].

**-Gula** n.s. intensifier.

**Gura:n** num. three. *san* 三. [WM *Yurba(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:ci** ptcl. very. *hen* 很.

**i:diq** adv. certain. *yiding* 一定.

**i:dxidir** adv. day before

yesterday. *qiantian* 前天.

**i:gua** adv. all. *quanbu* 全部.

**iguata** adv. all. *quanbu* 全部.

**i:kaj** n. kang. *kang* 炕.

**i:la** adv. like, with. *tong* 同.

**i:la** n. together, all. *tong* 同.

**i:ngela** v. carry in one's clothes.

**i:sin** n. doctor. *yisheng* 医生.

**i:tcien** adv. before. *yiqian* 以前.

**i:xge** ptcl. just.

j

**ja** ptcl. also. *ye* 也.

**jantqen** v. tell. *gao* 告.

**jan** ptcl. again. *you* 又, *zai* 再.

**ja:** pron. what. *shenme* 什么.

[WM *jayu(n)*].

**ja:ba** adj. dumb. *yaba* 哑巴.

**jecchi ula** v. find. *zhaodao* 找到.

[WM *ol*].

**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*].

- jedig** *n.* knee. *xigai* 膝盖. [WM ebydyg].
- jelam** *adj.* blue. *lan* 兰.
- jer** *n.* horn (animal). *jiao* 角. [WM eber].
- jeri** *n.* wife. *xifu* 媳妇. [WM beri, Lessing: 'daughter-in-law; bride'].
- jeri awu** *v.* marry a woman.
- jerikun** *n.* woman. *nüren* 女人. [WM beri, Lessing: 'daughter-in-law', 'bride'].
- jerin** *num.* ninety. *jiushi* 九十. [WM jere(n)].
- jeru:** *n.* chin. *han* 颏 *ke* 颏 *xiaba* 下巴. [WM eregyy, erey].
- jesi** *n.* grass. *cao* 草. [WM ebsy(n)].
- jesig** *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:di** *pron.* some. *youde* 有的.
- ju:tan** *adj.* narrow. *xiazhaide* 狭窄的. [WM uitan].

k

- kadam** *n.* wolf. *lang* 狼. [WM tjinua].
- kala** *n.* lump (of earth).
- kama** *n.* someone. *youren* 有人.
- kana** *pron.* who. *shei* 谁. [WM ken].
- kandza:r** *n.* women's sleeveless vest.
- kariang** *n.* Karlong.
- ka:rda** *n.* domesticated animal. *shengchu* 牲畜. [WT khal-rta'pack horse'].
- kçe:** *pron.* when. *heshi* 何时. [WM keçijje].
- kçe:dida** *adv.* always. *zongshi* 总是.
- ke:la** *n.* belly. *duzi* 肚子. [WM kebelij].
- kifang** *n.* living room, guest room. *kefang* 客房.

- 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 kəl].  
**kual la:** *n.* sole (of foot).  
*jiaozhang* 脚掌. [WM ula].  
**kual xuri** *n.* toe. *zuzhi* 足趾.  
 [WM kəlyn quruyu(n)].  
**kuari** *v.* freeze. *jiebing* 结冰.  
 [WM kəry].  
**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.  
**kudza:** *adv.* already. *yijing* 已经.  
**kugua** *adj.* blue. *lanse* 蓝色. [WM kəke].  
**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.  
**kunau** *adj.* hard, difficult. *kunnan* 困难.  
**kurgeen** *n.* son-in-law. *nūxu* 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.

1

- la** *n.* mountain. *shan* 山. [WM  
 ayula(n)].  
**-la** *n.s.* instrumental.  
**labəcki** *n.* leaf. *yezhi* 叶子. [WM  
 nabʃi(n)].  
**labcki** *n.* mountain deity altar. *aobao* 敖包.  
 [WT lab-ce].  
**lagay** *n.* temple. *miao* 庙.  
**laga:** *v.* choose. *xuanze* 选择, *tiaoxuan* 挑选.  
**lalaj** *adj.* young. *nianqingde* 年轻的.

qingnian 青年.  
 lama *n.* shape.  
 lamadi: *n.* lama.  
 lamantʃun *adj.* excellent. youxiu  
 优秀.  
 lan *adj.* lazy. landuode 懒惰的.  
 lanjdzi *n.* green grass.  
 lanlanjdzi *n.* basket. lanzi 篮子.  
 lanxə *n.* bottle. pingzi 瓶子. [WM  
 longqu].  
 largu: *n.* gloves. shoutao 手套.  
 laxci: *n.* head scarf. toujin 头巾.  
 la: *v.* cry. ku 哭. [WM uila].  
 la:ki *v.* pull. la 拉. [WM tata].  
 leki *v.* divorce.  
 llam *n.* luck.  
 lian *n.* measure, quantity. liang  
 量.

lian *num.* two. liang 两.  
 lian ku:dzɿ *n.* couple (husband and wife).  
 liang kouzi 两口子.  
 lio: *v.* cook.  
 lisgaj *n.* work.  
 liʃi *n.* history. lishi 历史.  
 li:la *v.* remain. sheng 剩.  
 lisga wari *v.* work.  
 lo: *n.* appearance.  
 lo:la *v.* pile up. luo 撮.  
 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:ki *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.  
 maçi *v.* read. yuedu 阅读. [WM  
 ungsi].  
 magaçi *adv.* tomorrow. mingtian  
 明天. [WM maryasi].  
 magdir *adj.* blunt. dunde 钝的.

[WM muxur].  
 maguasi *n.* wall. [WM balyasu(n), Lessing  
 (80): 'city, town'].  
 malga *n.* hat. maozi 帽子.  
 malsi *n.* ice. bing 冰. [WM malsy(n)].  
 mani: *n.* prayer beads. nianzhu 念珠  
 manta *v.* dig. wa 挖. [WM malta].

-mangge *n.s.* PL.

mangli: *n.* forehead. *qian'e* 前額.

[WM manglai].

marda:di *v.* forget. *wangji* 忘記.

[WM umarta].

marđi *n.* property.

maroag *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:đir *n.* comb used for  
combing wool out of goats.

ma:đi *v.* scratch. *sao* 搔. [WM

mayadđi].

mail: *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].

menzen *n.* Menzhen.

mienggu *n.* silver. *yinzi* 銀子. [WM

menggy(n)].

miadzu *n.* ethnic group. *minzu* 民族.

miçi *postp.* before. *yiqian* 以前.

miçi *postp.* in front. *qianmian* 前面. [WM

emync].

mide *v.* know. *zhidao* 知道. [WM mede].

mila: *adj.* small. *xiao* 小.

misi *v.* wear.

mitçin *n.* monkey. *hou* 猴. [WM beci(n),

Lessing: [ = meci(n), bici(n), fr.

Sogdian] *n.* Ape, monkey (93)].

mogolu: *adj.* round. *yuan* 圓. [WM muquliy,

Lessing: 'rounded, ball-shaped,

globular'].

mog *n.* snake. *she* 蛇. [WM moyai].

moŋgual *n.* Monguor.

mori *n.* horse. *ma* 马. [WM mori(n)].

mori da:xa *n.* foal. *xiaoma* 小马. [WM

daya(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.

**mo:di** *n.* wood. *mutou* 木头.

[*WM modu(n)*].

**mo:ki** *v.* rub. *mo* 摩. [*WM*

*nuqu*].

**mo:la** *v.* harrow (v.). *mo* 耙.

**mpara** *n.* worn-out clothing.

**muar** *n.* road. *lu* 路. [*WM mɔx*].

**mu:** *adj.* bad. *huaide* 坏的. [*WM mayu*].

**mu:** *adj.* ugly. [*WM mayu*, 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*  
*enc*].

**-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 naŋ-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.

**nası** *n.* age. *nianling* 年龄.

**nası** *v.* fly. *feixiang* 飞翔. [*WM nis*].

**nasıla** *v.* aged (be of a certain age).

**naxdu:r** *n.* bridle. *longtou* 笼头. [*WM noytu*,  
Lessing: 'halter'].

**na:** *v.* fall. *luoxia* 落下. [*WM una*].

**-na:** *n.s.* reflexive.

**na:di** *v.* play. *wan* 玩. [*WM nayadu*].

**na:din kile** *v.* joke. *xiaohua* 笑话 [*WM*  
*nayadum*, 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.

- 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. *jidān* 鸡蛋. [WM əmɔdyge(n), ədege(n)].
- ndog *n.* color. *yanse* 颜色. [WM əngge(n), WT mdog].
- ndre: *adv.* here. *zheli* 这里. [WM ende].
- ndur *adj.* high. *gao* 高. [WM əmɔdyr].
- ndzawa *n.* guest. *keren* 客人. [WT gru-ba].
- ndzasi *n.* plow. *li* 犁. [WM əndzisu(n)].
- ndzina: *pron.* reflexive pronoun.
- ndzigiła *v.* be harmonious.
- ne *pron.* this. *zhe* 这.
- necdza: *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:dzəŋ *adj.* poor. *pinqiong* 贫穷.
- ne:ki *v.* hold. *wo* 握.
- nie *n.* year. *nian* 年.
- niem *n.* price. *jiage* 价格.
- nientçiuren *n.* young people. *nianqing ren* 年轻人.
- niexəŋ *n.* kitchen. *chufang* 厨房. [WT mye-khaŋ].
- nige *num.* one. *yi* 一. [WM nige(n)].
- nige mienxan *num.* thousand. *qian* 千. [WM minya(n)].
- nigečzəŋ *num.* one hundred. *yibai* 一百. [WM čzəy(u)(n)].
- nigł:če *n.* a little. *yidiar* 一点儿.
- nike: *n.* coat (of animal skin).
- niggan *adj.* thin. *bao* 薄. [WM nimgen].
- nigge *adv.* then, after.
- niggen *adj.* thin. *bao* 薄. [WM nimgen].
- niggidzi *adv.* like this.
- nlaŋčza *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 čdzin sara *n.* autumn. *qiutian* 秋天.
- ni:ta:lga *v.* sneeze. *dapenti* 打喷嚏. [WM

- naita].
- ni:ten** *adj.* wet. *shide* 湿的. [WM noitan, Lessing: wet, damp; humid; dampness (589)].
- ni** *n.s.* genitive, accusative.
- ni** *n.s.* possessive.
- nidi** *n.* eye. *yanjing* 眼睛. [WM nidy(n)].
- nidi** *v.* grind in mortar.
- nidi amsgua** *n.* eyebrows. *mei* 眉. [WM anisqa].
- nigt:dʒe** *adj.* some.
- nikua** *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'].
- nimpida** *v.* spit. *tutuomo* 吐唾沫. [WM nilbu].
- nimpidzi** *n.* tear. *yanlei* 眼泪. [WM nilbusu(n)].
- nirda** *v.* spit. *wen* 闻, *xiu* 嗅. [WM ynys, Lessing (1010) 'to kiss; to smell (obs.)'].
- niri** *n.* back (body part). *bei* 背. [WM niruyu(n)].
- nogcdzil** *n.* thunder.
- noGo:n** *adj.* green. *luse* 绿色. [WM noyuyan].
- nox** *n.* dog. *gou* 狗. [WM noqai].
- no:r ntʃa:** *v.* sleep. *shui* 睡. [WM umta].
- ntsowa** *n.* area.
- ntsowa** *n.* herding enclosure.
- ntsua** *n.* lake. *hu* 湖. [WM nayur].
- ntʃa:** *v.* sleep. *shui* 睡. [WM umta].
- nukua** *n.* cave. *shandong* 山洞.
- nu:** *v.* touch.
- nu:di** *v.* hide. *yinman* 隐瞒. [WM niyu].
- nu:dir** *adv.* today. *jintian* 今天. [WM onygedyr].
- nu:r** *n.* face. *lianmian* 脸面. [WM niyur].

q

- qgan** *pron.* 3SG. *ta* 他.
- qgaqgula** *pron.* 3PL. *tamen* 他们.
- qge** *n.s.*, singular.
- qgrie** *v.* burn. *shao* 烧.
- qguamba** *n.* monastery. *siyuan* 寺院. [WM 334

syne, dgon-pa].  
nguei adv. other. *qitade* 其他的.  
[WM nɔgyge].  
ngcuasi n. wool. *yangmao* 羊毛.

[WM ungyasu(n)].  
ngua: v. bathe. *xizao* 洗澡.  
ngua: v. wash. *xi* 洗. [WM ugija, uya].  
-gula n.s. PL.

P

pala v. basket. *lanzi* 篮子.  
paŋ n. stable. *peng* 棚.  
pasi v. stand.  
pasi v. stand up. *qilai* 起来.  
pasilgua n. threshold. *menkan* 门槛.  
[WM bosuya, Lessing: doorsill,  
threshold (122)].  
pa:la v. climb. *pa* 爬.  
pidɕig n. book. *shu* 书. [WM biɕig,  
Lessing: anything written].  
pi: n. bed, kang. *chuang* 床, *kang*  
炕  
pi:ki v. match. *pei* 配.  
pi:la v. blow. *chui* 吹. [WM ylijɛ].

pidag adj. dirty. *zangde* 脏的. [WM  
burtay].  
pidɕa aux. not. *wu* 勿, *bushi* 不是.  
pidɕag n. bean. *dou* 豆. [WM burɕay].  
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.  
pitɕa aux. not. *wu* 勿, *bushi* 不是.  
pitɕa n. mistake. *cuowu* 错误.  
pudzandzi n. firecracker.  
pu:da v. shoot. *sheji* 射击.

R

ra v. come. *lai* 来. [WM ire].  
radag v. hunt. *dalie* 打猎.  
rasi n. fur.

rasi n. skin. *pizi* 皮子. [WM arasu(n)].  
rasi xu:la v. skin. *bopi* 剥皮.  
rawa n. hair. *mao* 毛, *fa* 发. [WM ysy(n), WT

- ral-pa].
- ra:l *n.* river. *he* 河. [WM møren, Lessing: large river or lake].
- rde *n.* door. *men* 门. [WM edygc(n)].
- rde *v.* eat. *chi* 吃. [WM ide].
- rdeguni *n.* food. *fan* 饭. [WT za-ma].
- rdzaj *n.* basket.
- rdzaj *n.* sheep dung.
- rdzawu: *n.* emperor. *huangdi* 皇帝.
- rdzawu:ni jeri *n.* queen. *huanghou* 皇后.
- rdzi:r *n.* wing. *chibang* 翅膀. [WM qigyr].
- rdzi *v.* look. *kan* 看. [WM udgc, Lessing: 'to see, behold, look at'].
- relag *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.
- rku:l *v.* know.
- rlaj *n.* cloud. *yun* 云. [WM egyle(n)].
- ru:ki *v.* rub. *mo* 摩

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s

- sa *v.s.* conditional.
- sa *n.s.* ablative.
- saczi *v.* strew. *sa* 撒.
- sala *n.* branch (of a tree). *fenzhi* 分枝. [WT ral-ga].
- sala *v.* separate. *fenli* 分离.
- salgui: *adj.* left (directional). *zuobiande* 左边的. [WM soluyai, Lessing: left side or hand; left-handed; awkward; wrong, faulty (726)].
- sam *n.* comb. *shuzi* 梳子. [WM sam].
- samba *n.* kind (type).

- samla v. comb. *shuli* 梳理. [WM  
samla, samna].
- saa n. mountain. *shan* 山.
- sana v. think. *xiang* 想. [WM sana].
- saj n. layer. *ceng* 层.
- sajmaq n. Qingming Festival.  
*qingmingjie* 清明节.
- sagra: 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:gaqdzı n. tea cup. *chabei* 茶杯.
- sa:gi v. rub. *mo* 摩.
- sa:ra v. pull out. *ba* 拔.
- sbı: n. barley. *qingke* 青稞. [WM  
arbai].
- sdzaga v. ask. *xunwen* 询问. [WM  
asayı].
- 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].
- senxu: n. life. *shenghuo* 生活.
- serin adj. cool. *liangkuaide* 凉快的.
- se:gan adj. beautiful. *meilide* 美丽的.  
[WM saiqan].
- sgе v. see. *jian* 见. [WM siqaya,  
Lessing: 'to peer, look intently or  
searchingly'].
- sgı v. see. *deng* 等. [WM saya,  
Lessing: 'delay', sayata, Lessing:  
'to be delayed, detained'].
- sgı n.s. PL.
- sgıl n. heart. *xin* 心.
- sga v. ask. *wen* 问. [WM asayı].
- 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.
- si v. is. *shi* 是.
- si n.s. PL.
- silcua n. bucket. *shuitong* 水桶.
- siman n. medicine. *yao* 药. [WT sman].
- simcayla v. be careful. *xiaoxin* 小心.
- simi n. arrow. *jian* 箭. [WM sumu(n)].
- sin n. province. *sheng* 省.
- sincerde v. hear. *tingjian* 听见. [WM

sonus].  
**snagua** *n.* rainbow. *hong* 虹. [WM  
 solungʷa].  
**so:la** *v.* sew together.  
**suani** *n.* night. *ye* 夜. [WM səni].  
**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  
 suyu(n)].  
**su:ga** *n.* ear ring.  
**su:l** *n.* tail. *yiba* 尾巴. [WM segyl].  
**sxu:** *n.* time. *shihou* 时候.

§

**şbaŋ** *n.* sod of grass.  
**şda** *v.* can (be able to). *neng* 能. *hui*  
 会.  
**şdada** *v.* be early.  
**şdanan** *adv.* last year. *qunian* 去年.  
 [WM nidumun ɕʂil].  
**şda:** *v.* cook. *shao* 烧.  
**şda:si** *n.* thread. *xian* 线. [WM  
 utasu(n)].  
**şdecki** *adv.* early. *zao* 早. [WM  
 crte(n)].  
**şde:** *v.* mend. *bu* 补.  
**şdi** *n.* tooth. *ya* 牙. [WM sidy(n)].  
**şdima** *n.* bread (steamed). *mianbao* 面  
 包.

**şdo:gu** *adj.* old (of people). *lao* 老.  
 [WM ɕtegy, Lessing: 'old man;  
 senior'].  
**şduali** *v.* age. *laohua* 老化.  
**şdur** *adj.* long. *chang* 长. [WM urtu].  
**şdurşdi** *v.* stretch. *shenzhan* 伸展.  
**şehuei** *n.* society. *shehui* 社会.  
**şenlin** *n.* forest. *senlin* 森林.  
**şen** *cl.* area that can be sown in one  
 day. *shang* 晌.  
**şgei** *n.* leg. *tui* 腿. [WM qa, Lessing:  
 the part of the foreleg of an  
 animal between the shoulder and  
 the knee (895), kəl].  
**şdzi:** *n.* dust. *huitu* 灰土.

gidci num. about ten.

şdzin num. nine. *jiu* 九. [WM jisyn(n)].

ta pron. that. *nage* 那个. [WM tere].

taçi n. stone. *shitou* 石头. [WM  
tçilayü(n)].

tada postp. near. *jin* 近. [WM dote].

tadadi postp. next to.

tagu:rla pron. 2DL. *nimen liangge* 你  
们两个.

tajln num. fifty. *wushi* 五十. [WM  
tabi(n)].

talguel mirgu v. kowtow. *ketou* 磕头.

talgui: n. head. *tou* 头. [WM tolyai,  
terigyn].

tanige pron. that. *nage* 那个.

taggula pron. 2PL. *nimen* 你们.

tagxa:la v. chat. *liaotian* 聊天.

tar n. stone. *shitou* 石头. [WM  
tçilayü(n)].

taraxci: n. brain. *nao* 脑.

tarda v. throw. *pao* 抛. [WM tara,  
Lessing: 'to disperse, scatter'].

targua adj. fat. *feide* 肥的.

tari v. plant. *zhongzhi* 种植.

ta:çdza n. ash. *hui* 灰. [WM ynesy(n)].

ta:la v. expand.

ta:win num. five. *wu* 五. [WM tabu(n)].

tebççin adj. straight.

tende: adv. there. *nali* 那里. [WM  
tende].

tenggeri n. sky. *tian* 天. [WM tenggeri,  
tngri].

tenggeri ura v. rain. *xiaayu* 下雨.

te:ri v. hold in one's arms. *lou* 搂.

tide: v. feed. *weiyang* 喂养. [WM  
teçjiye].

tidein num. forty. *si shi* 四十. [WM  
døfji(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.

tiga:n adv. that size. *name daxiao* 那么  
大小.

tinjfu: v. hear told. *tingshuo* 听说.

**tingdɕi** *adv.* like that. *nayangde* 那样的.  
**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.  
**tjebɕɕi** *n.* button. *niuzi* 纽子. [WM  
tobfj].  
**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 toyala].  
**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.  
**tɕaŋ** *ptcl.* probably.  
**tɕido:la** *v.* arrive late. *chidao* 迟到.  
**tɕo:gi** *v.* stab. *chuo* 戳.  
**tɕuan** *n.* ship. *chuan* 船.  
**tɕuan** *v.* wear. *chuan* 穿.  
**tɕui** *n.* hammer. *chui* 锤. [WM  
aluqa(n)].  
**tɕu:ji** *n.* first day of lunar month. *chuyi*  
初一.  
**tɕu:sin** *n.* domestic animal. *chusheng*  
畜牲.  
**tuguei** *n.* elbow. *zhou* 肘. [WM toqai,  
toqui].  
**tuile** *v.* clean. *tao* 掏.  
**tungu** *v.* collect. *shoucun* 收存.  
**tura** *v.* be born. *chusheng* 出生. [WM  
tɔry].  
**turgu** *v.* push. *tui* 推. [WM tyri,  
Lessing: 'to push forward'].  
**tu:caŋ** *n.* hair ribbon.  
**tu:gu** *adj.* uncooked, raw. *shengde* 生  
的.  
**tu:li:** *n.* rabbit. *tuzi* 兔子.

- tca n. tea. *cha* 茶.  
 tca:dzi n. snow. *xue* 雪. [WM tjasu(n)].  
 tca:nda n. Qianza (place name).  
     *Qianzuo* 前座.  
 tca:xei n. shoes. *qianxie* 茜鞋.  
 tca:qci n. small bowl.  
 tca:ga:ng n. window. *chuanghu* 窗户.  
     [WT dra-ma].  
 tca:gli n. crow. *wuya* 乌鸦.  
 tca:ngla v. listen. *ting* 听, *wen* 闻. [WM  
     tjingla, tjingna]  
 tca:bca n. grasshopper. *mazha* 蚂蚱.  
 tca:ldzi n. paper. *zhi* 纸. [WM  
     tjajasu(n), tjajalsun].  
 tca:wa n. brick tea.  
 tca:cki n. long women's garment.  
 tca:da v. pull. *la* 拉. [WM tata].  
 tca:da:Gua n. knife. *dao* 刀. [WM  
     qutaya, qutuya, kituya].  
 tca:da:Gua:ni amani n. blade. *daoren* 刀  
     刃.  
 tca:dar n. Chinese (person).  
     *zhongguoren* 中国人. [WM  
     kitad].  
 tca:da: v. exert. *chuli* 出力.  
 tca:cki n. north. *bei* 北. [WM umara].  
 tca:ckio n. flower. *hua* 花. [WM tjetjeg].  
 tca:igi n. ear. *erduo* 耳朵. [WM tjiki(n)].  
 tca:ca:n adj. white. *bai* 白. [WM tjayan].  
 tca:ca:n rawa n. grey hair. *baifa* 白发.  
 tca:ca:n to:si n. butter. *huangyou* 黄油.  
     [WM tosu(n)].  
 tca:imi pron. 2SG-DAT.  
 tca:imcki n. fingernail, claw. *zhijia* 指  
     甲. [WM kimusu(n), qumusun].  
 tca:imsa:ng n. family. *jiating* 家庭.  
 tca:ina:Gda adv. day after tomorrow.  
     *houtian* 后天.  
 tca:ire: n. edge, border. *bianyuan* 边缘.  
 tca:irgua n. boiled water. *kaishui* 开水.  
 tca:ircua n. lock. *suoz* 锁子.  
 tca:irual adj. cheap. *pianyi* 便宜.  
 tca:irual adj. easy. *rongyi* 容易. [WM  
     kilbar].  
 tca:i pron. 2SG. *ni* 你. [WM tji].  
 tca:imi- pron. 2SG.OBL. STEM.  
 tca:go:n adj. few. *shao* 少. [WM  
     tjogyken, tjagen, tjogcken].

tçura *n.* cheese (sour). *naizha* 奶渣

u

uli *v.* become. *chengwei* 成为.

urasi *v.* flow. *liu* 流. [WM urus].

ura *v.* enter. *jinru* 进入, *ru* 入.

utçi *v.* drink. *he* 喝. [WM uu, uçu].

u:

u: *ptcl.* interrogative particles. *ma* 吗.

w

wabitçin *adj.* not clear. *wabuqing* 挖不清.

wari *v.* hold. *wo* 握. [WM bari].

wacker *n.* city. *chengshi* 城市. [WM basar, Lessing: 'inhabited place, hamlet, village'].

wir *n.* steam. *zhengqi* 蒸汽.

wanki *v.* knit. *bianzhi* 编织.

wir *n.* air (gas). *kongqi* 空气. [WM kei].

wanmin *n.* all the people. *wanmin* 万民.

wir çl:ge *v.* breathe. *qixi* 气息.

wanla *bang* 绑 *v.* tie.

wosgu *n.* lungs. *fei* 肺. [WM açu]gi(n)].

waraç *adj.* right (directional). *you* 右. [WM barayun].

wulan *adj.* many. *duo* 多. [WM olan].

wuri: *adv.* late. *chi* 迟. [WM orui].

wu: *adj.* wide. *kuankuo* 宽阔. [WM uu, açu, Lessing: 'vast', 'immense'].

x

xalay *adj.* hot. *rede* 热的. [WM qalayun].

xana *n.* everybody. *dajia* 大家.

xalgacçi *n.* palm (of hand). *shouzhang* 手掌. [WM alaya(n)].

xana: *v.* cough. *kesou* 咳嗽.

xalgua *n.* step. *bu* 步. [WM alqu].

xaçjen *n.* tobacco. *yancao* 烟草.

xambura: *v.* rest. *xiuxi* 休息. [WM amura].

xaçguar *n.* bell. *ling* 铃. [WM qongqu].

xamçi *n.* sleeve. *xiuzi* 袖子. [WM qantçui].

xaçsa *n.* tobacco pipe. *yandou* 烟斗.

xara *adj.* black. *hei* 黑. [WM qara].

**xaran** num. ten. *shi* 十. [WM arba(n)].  
**xaran dere:n** num. fourteen. *shi si* 十四.  
**xaran gur** num. twelve. *shi er* 十二. [WM  
arban qojar].  
**xaran guran** num. thirteen. *shi san* 十三.  
**xaran nige** num. eleven. *shi yi* 十一.  
**xarangu** adj. dark. *hei'ande* 黑暗的. [WM  
qaranyui].  
**xargal** n. dried manure. *ganfen* 干粪. [WM  
aryal, Lessing (52): 'argal, dry dung  
of animals used as fuel'.  
**xarili** v.tr. return, give back.  
**xawer** n. nose. *bizi* 鼻子. [WM qabar].  
**xa:** ptcl. so, since, now.  
**xa:** v. close. *guan* 关. [WM qaya].  
**xoqer** n. check. *mianjia* 面颊. [WM qatjar].  
**xeila** adj. alone. *gudude* 孤独的. [WM  
yayqayar].  
**xe:la** v. cry (of birds). *ming* 鸣.  
**xensi** ptcl. still.  
**xgacqa:** n. language. *yuyan* 语言. [WT  
skad-gha].  
**xgar** n. sound, voice. *shengyin* 声音. [WT  
skad].  
**xgar qge** adj. loud. *dasheng* 大声.  
**xgatqa:** n. language. *yuyan* 语言. [WT

*skad-gha*].  
**xgilandqin** n. beggar. *qigai* 乞丐.  
**xgila** v. ask for, beg, want. *tao* 讨.  
**xgirba** n. back (body part). *bei* 背.  
**xgualtqax** n. boy. *nanhatzi* 男孩子.  
**xgualtqax** n. son. *erzi* 儿子.  
**xgala** v. throw. *pao* 抛. [WM qaja].  
**xgali** v. break. *nongpo* 弄破. [WM qayal].  
**xgali** v. split. *pikai* 劈开. [WM qayal,  
Lessing: to break, split, chip, cut  
through (chiefly hard objects) (906)].  
**xgara:** intr. v. break. *polie* 破裂.  
**xgara:** v. split. *pikai* 劈开.  
**xgei** n. pig. *zhu* 猪. [WM yaqai].  
**xgei paq** n. pigsty.  
**xguar** adj. short. *duan* 短. [WM oqur].  
**xoni** n. sheep. *mianyang* 绵羊. [WM  
qoni(n)].  
**xorim** n. banquet. *yanhui* 宴会. [WM  
xurim, Lessing: celebration, fest, fete,  
banquet; wedding; gift (obs.).  
**xorin** 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.

- xo:la** *n.* feed (for animals). *liao* 料.
- xo:la** *n.* throat. *houlong* 喉咙. [WM qoyulai].
- xo:lga** *tr. v.* dry. *liang* 晾 *gan* 干.
- xo:rin** *num.* twenty. *ershi* 二十. [WM qori(n)].
- xo:sin** *adj.* dry. *gande* 干的. [WM qayurai].
- xo:sin** *adj.* empty. *kongde* 空的.
- xuaczi** *adj.* separate.
- xuafi** *n.* chemical fertilizer. *huafei* 化肥.
- xudali** *v.* cut. *qie* 切, *geduan* 割断. [WM oytul].
- xudi** *adv.* very. *hen* 很.
- xugu** *v.* die. *si* 死. [WM yky].
- xudza** *v.* bark (of a dog). *goufei* 狗吠.
- xudzadi** *adj.* sharp. *ruili* 锐利. [WM qurtja].
- xudzin** *num.* thirty. *san shi* 三十. [WM yutji(n)].
- xudzinto** *n.* Hu Jintao. *Hu Jintao* 胡锦涛.
- xudzi** *n.* lips. *zui* 嘴.
- xudzi** *v.* tie to. *guo* 裹.
- xudzu** *n.* Huzhu. *huzhu* 互助.
- xuidi a:ba** *n.* stepfather.
- xuei** *adj.* bad. *huai* 坏.
- 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'].
- xul: ta:lga** *v.* guess a riddle. *cai meir* 猜谜儿.
- xuiti a:ma** *n.* stepmother. *houmu* 后母.
- xula** *adj.* far. *yuan* 远. [WM qola].
- xulidzi** *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 quraya(n)].
- xurquel** *n.* worm. *ruchong* 蠕虫. [WM qoruqai, Lessing: 'insects and worms in general'].
- xuri** *n.* finger. *shouzhi* 手指. [WM quruyu(n)].

**xurín** *num.* twenty, *ershí* 二十. [WM

*qori(n)*].

**xu:le:** *adv.* afterwards, *houlai* 后来.

**xu:tɛln** *adj.* old (of things), *jiu* 旧. [WM

*qayutʃin*, Lessing (908): 'old (mostly  
of inanimate objects and abstract  
concepts)']

APPENDIX IV. MAP

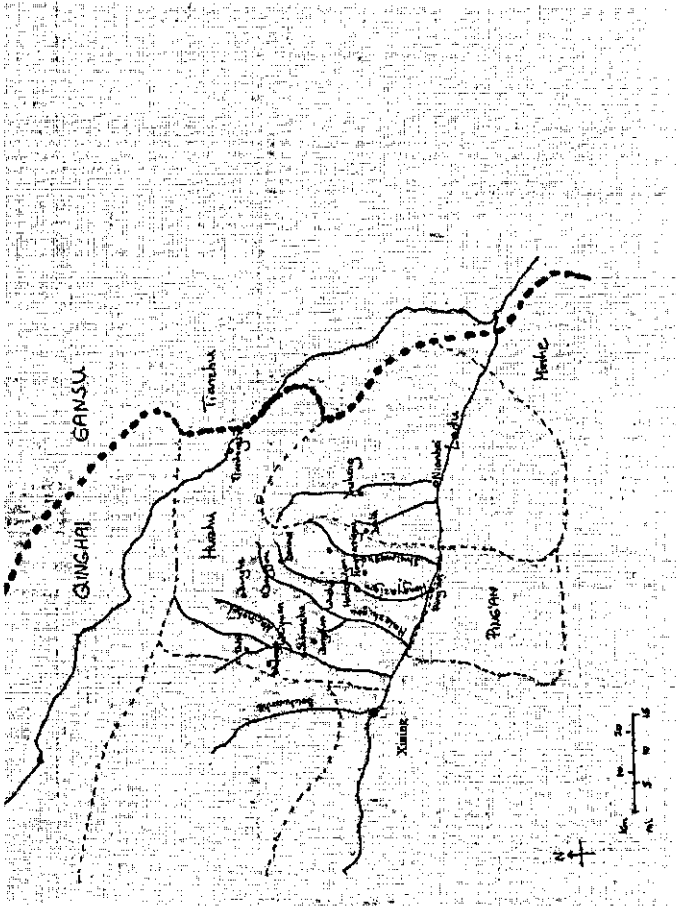


Figure 7. Map of Qinghai and Gansu (not to scale)

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

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