SKETCH GRAMMAR OF THE KARLONG VARIETY OF MONGGHUL, AND DIALECTAL

SURVEY OF MONGGHUL

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF HAWAIʻI IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

LINGUISTICS

DECEMBER 2007

By
Burgel R.M. Faehndrich

Dissertation Committee:

Alexander Vovin, Chairperson
Robert Blust
Kenneth Rehg
David Stampe
Virginia Bennett

UMI Number: 3302132

Copyright 2007 by

Faehndrich, Burgel R.M.

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy
submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and
photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper
alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

    In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized
copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

# UMI®

---

UMI Microform 3302132

Copyright 2008 by ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against

unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 E. Eisenhower Parkway
PO Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

© 2007, Burgel R.M. Faehndrich

iii

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

iv

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

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

v

# 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.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ix

x

xii

xiii

xv

xvi

xvii

xviii

xx

# LIST OF TABLES

xxiv

# LIST OF FIGURES

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

| | |
|---|---|
| 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 |

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

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

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

# 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 *Tŭzúyŭ* (土族语). In this dissertation I will use the

term "Monguor" to refer to the subgroup of Mongolic languages constituted by Mongghul,

Mangghuer, and their dialects. If I want to refer to Mongghul and Mangghuer, as well as

Baoan/Nianduhu and Wutun, which are not Monguor languages, I will use the term "Shirongolic".

Little is known about the dialectal variation of Mongghul. It is not completely clear how

many dialects there are, or how much they differ from each other. Unfortunately, of those

Mongghul varieties whose existence is known, those that have the least (or no) linguistic work

done are the most endangered ones. It is critical that these varieties become documented, and the

1

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

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

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

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

---

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

2

## I.1.2 Language Consultants

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

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

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

---

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

3

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

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

## I.1.3    Technical Information

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

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

## I.1.4    Position of Mongghul in the Mongolic Language Family

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

---

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

4

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

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

*I.1.4.1    Genetic classifications*

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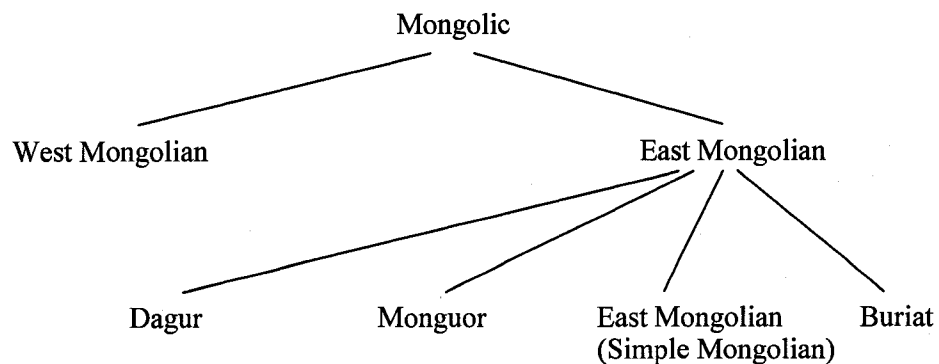


**Figure 1. Poppe's (1955) Classification of Mongolic Languages**

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

---

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

5

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

Mongolic
West Mongolic
East Mongolic
Southern Mongolic
Central Mongolic
Isolated Languages
Moghol
Monguor
Dagur
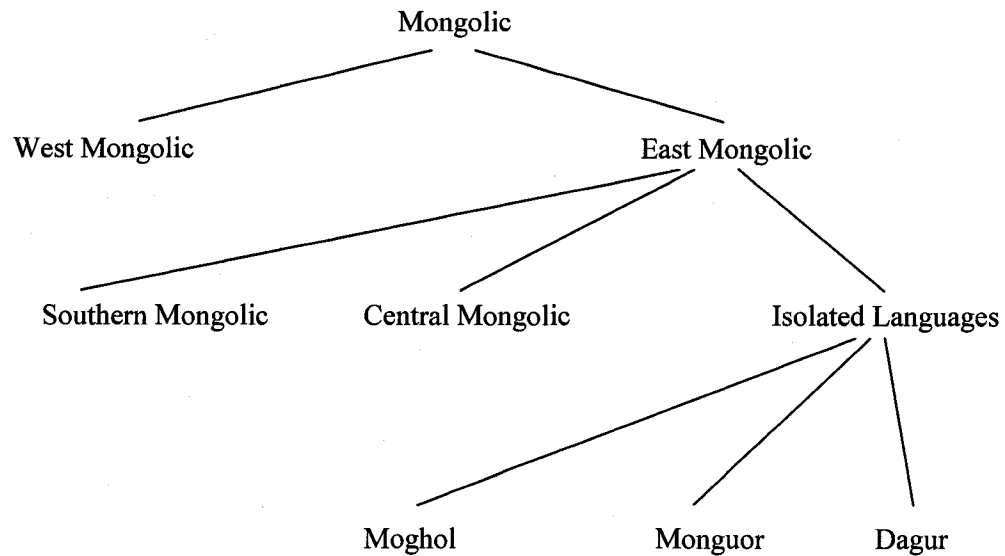
**Figure 2. Doerfer's (1964) Classification of Mongolic Languages**

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 ʨiɢaːn ɢuor (this river is most likely the *beichuanhe* 北川河). The next author to mention them is Sinor (1952), who mentions "l'aragva" as one of the "archaic" Mongolic languages of Gansu (p.373). Poppe (1955:23) includes Aragwa as a member of the Monguor group of the East Mongolian branch. Doerfer (1964) also lists Aragwa as a member of Monguor. I was not able to find out anything about this variety, since nobody I talked to in Qinghai and Gansu recognizes this term.

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

6

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).
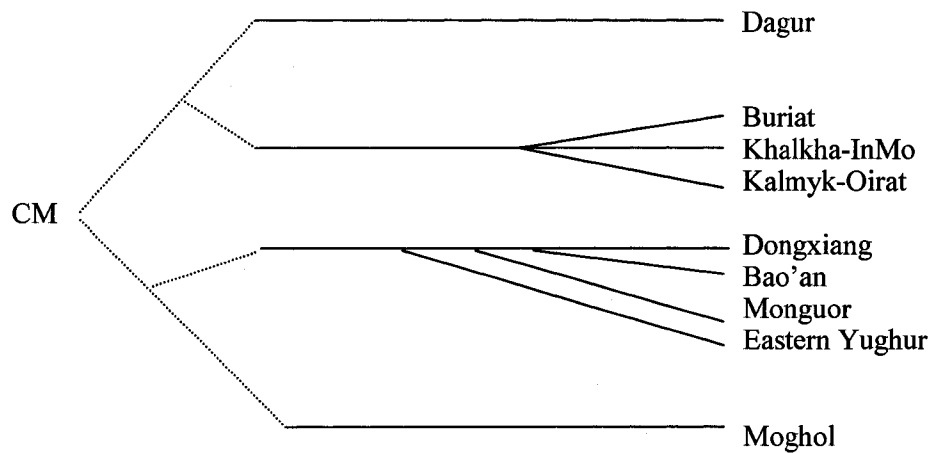


**Figure 3. Nugteren's (1997) Classification of Mongolic Languages (simplified from the original)**

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

```
                              Mongolic
              _____|_____
             /                   |                   \
      Mongolian              Dongxiang              Moghol
      Buriat                 Monguor
      Kalmyk                 Bonan
      Oirat                  Shira Yughur
```
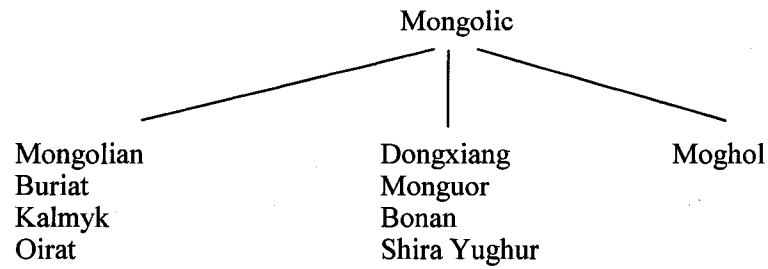
**Figure 4.  IAkhontova (1997) Classification of Mongolic Languages**


According to Slater, Monguor is a subgroup of the Mongolic language family in the south-

eastern, non-harmonizing group of Mongolic languages (2003:338-341). Like Iakhontova (1997),

Slater gives the other members of this group as Santa, Bonan, and Shira Yughur (2003:341).

Rybatzki (2003:389) offers the following tentative taxonomy: a Southeastern branch of

Mongolic, consisting of Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, Santa, divided into two subgroups:

Mongghul-Mangghuer and Bonan-Santa. According to Rybatzki, Shira Yughur is equally close to

the southwester group of Mongolic and to the group made up of Buryat, Khalkha, Ordos, and

Oirat (2003:388).

```
                                  Mongolic
        ┌──────────────────────────┴──────────────────────────┐
    North-Central                                         South-East
    ┌──────┴──────┐                              ┌────────────┴────────────┐
  North         Central                      'Monguor'              Bonan-Santa
 ┌──┴──┐      ┌────┼────┐                     ┌───┴───┐              ┌───┴───┐
Khamnigan Buryat Khalkha Ordos Oirat     Mongghul Mangghuer      Bonan    Santa
Mongol
Dagur                              Shira Yughur                          Moghol
```
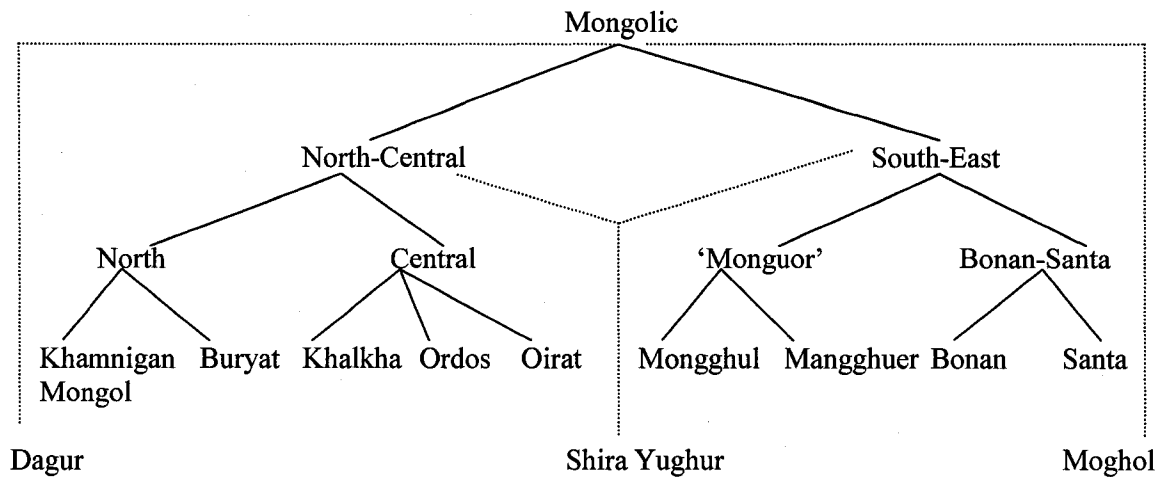
**Figure 5. Rybatzki (1997) Classification of Mongolic Languages**

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

[a]lthough it is too early to say what the exact taxonomic relationship between the

Mongolic languages of the Kokonor region are, there is increasing evidence that, at least

structurally, these languages have much in common with each other. Potanin's idea that

they form a distinct branch of Mongolic is therefore justified, perhaps not in the genetic

framework, but certainly in the areal sense (Janhunen 2003a:87-88).

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

### *I.1.4.2     Areal relationships*

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

---

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

10

## I.1.5    Mongghul Varieties

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

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

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

### I.1.5.1    Previous Classification of Mongghul Varieties

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

---

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

11

Dwyer (2001:1), in a rough draft of a grammatical sketch of Monguor, lists the following

Monguor varieties: Minhe, Huzhu, Nianduhu/Baoan, and Wutun. She goes on to describe

Nianduhu/Baoan and Wutun as "highly divergent language communities", and to state that

"Tianzhu and Datong Monguor appear to be subvarieties of Huzhu Monguor".

Georg (2003:286) mentions the following Mongghul dialects: Halchighol, Naringhol, and a

dialect spoken along the Fulaan Nuraghol river[26], of which, according to Georg, "little is known".

He also states that "[t]here are indications that Mongghul, possibly in a special dialectal variety,

has also been spoken (and is possibly still spoken) further north in what is now Menyuan Hui

Autonomous County of Qinghai" (2003:286).

Janhunen (2006a:6) presents yet another internal classification of Monguor: Mongghul

(Huzhu), Mangghuer (Minhe), and the variety documented by Mostaert and de Smedt, which,

according to Janhunen, "is strictly speaking neither Mangghuer not Mongghul, but a third variety

of the same group of languages, a variety perhaps best labeled *Mongghuor*", which, according to

Janhunen, "in some respects...seems to be intermediate between Mongghul and Mangghuer."

Janhunen goes on to say that "the dialectal variation within Mongghul is considerable and little

investigated."

Janhunen (2006b:28) sees Monguor as consisting "of at least three clearly distinct, though

closely related languages that are perhaps best referred to as *Mongghul*, *Mongghuor*, and

*Mangghuer*."

According to Ha and Stuart (2006:46), "[t]he Monguor language consists of Minhe, Huzhu,

Tongren (Rebgong), Shaowa Wo[27], and Wutun dialects that, while sharing commonalities, are

mutually unintelligible".

EMELD describes Tianzhu (county) Monguor and Datong (county) Monguor as subvarieties

of Huzhu Monguor.

---

[26] Karlong

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

12

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

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

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

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

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

a. Naringhol.

b. Other varieties.

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

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

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

---

[28] http://cf.linguistlist.org/cfdocs/new-website/LL-WorkingDirs/forms/langs/LLDescription.cfm?code=mjg, accessed 12/4/07.
[29] If Limusishiden's classification of Hachighol is correct, it is questionable what previous writings about the differences between Naringhol and Halchighol are based on, for example Todaeva (1973). Possibly when writers distinguish between Naringhol and Halchighol, "Naringhol" corresponds to the subvariety of Halchighol called Naringhol by Limusishiden, while "Halchighol" corresponds to the other subvariety.
[30] According to Limusishiden (p.c., email 12/15/2005), there are more than 8,000 speakers of Mongghul in Dongshan Township.

13

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

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

## I.1.6    Discussion of Mongghul Varieties

### *I.1.6.1      Naringhol*

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

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

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

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

14

### I.1.6.2    *Halchighol*

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

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

a) The variety spoken in the following townships: Halazhigou, Danma, Donggou, Donghe, Taizi, and Wufeng, as well as the Weiyuan region.

b) the variety of Dongshan township, which corresponds to the Naringhol, described by de Smedt & Mostaert and Schröder.

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

Halchighol is a variety of Huzhu Mongghul.


### I.1.6.3    *Karlong*

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

---

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

15

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

### I.1.6.4    *Tianzhu*

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

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

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

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

### I.1.6.5    *Datong*

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

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

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

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

### I.1.6.6 Menyuan

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

### I.1.6.7 Ping'an

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

## I.2 HISTORY

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

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

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

17

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.

18

# 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

19

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

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

## II.4 GRAMMAR AND OVERALL DESCRIPTIONS

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

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

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

---

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

20

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

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

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

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

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

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


## II.5 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

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

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

---

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

21

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

## II.6   TEXTS

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

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

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

---

[37] "The lucky white sheep", according to Schröder (1959:22) the introduction to a large collection of myths describing the origin of animals.
[38] Mangudze are female monsters which devour people, or threaten to devour them. In those versions of the story in which someone is devoured, the stomach of the Mangudze is frequently cut open, and the devoured one is freed.

22

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23

## II.7 Dictionaries, Vocabularies and Wordlists

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

v ~ b: lavtʃi 'foliage' (hg.), labtʃi (fn.), labʃʤi (ng.)

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

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

t ~ tʃ: ntera: 'sleep; (hg., ng.), 'ntʃa: (fn.)

ʃ ~ f: ʃiliu: '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-ldan-bkra-shis et al. (1996) contains an English – Mongghul (Halchi) and Mangghuer dictionary (59 pages).

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


## II.8  LANGUAGE CONTACT / SPRACHBUND

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

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

---

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

25

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

26

(1998:685). He further notes that Uygur (Chagatay) tradesmen have also have contact with the

Mongolic languages under discussion (1998:685). While these four languages are potential

sources of the loanwords he discusses, he also notes that the source can often not be determined,

due to phonetic changes in the word, and also because some words seem to contain phonetic

features pointing to different Turkic languages (1998:685-6). The Mongolic languages discussed

might also have had contact with other Turkic languages before arriving in the Qinghai/Gansu

region (1998:685). As to the time of borrowing, Nugteren states that it might have been "very

early", since some words are phonetically conservative, and some are found in all of the

Mongolic languages of the region (1998:686).

Janhunen (2004) gives a short overview of the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund, naming its

members, and some of its features. Janhunen (to appear) is a more thorough discussion of the

Sprachbund, addressing topics such as the genetic taxonomy of the languages involved, their

sociolinguistic hierarchy and spheres of interaction, the history of the study of the phenomenon of

language contact in Qinghai-Gansu, 'Creoles' in the area, and patterns of outcomes of the

contacts, specifically the typological properties of the results. In addition to the category of

perspective (or 'mood', cf. Chingeltei (1989)), Janhunen also mentions the final indefinite

article[45] found in some Mongolic languages of the Sprachbund, which is a Tibetan feature.

## II.9  DIALECTOLOGY

Monguor dialectology has been investigated by Kakudo (1987), who reviews previous works on

Monguor and gives an overview of the varieties described by different authors and their

phonological variations.

---

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

## II.10 ORTHOGRAPHY

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

## II.11 CURRENT RESEARCH

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

## II.12 CONCLUSION

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

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

---

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

28

# CHAPTER III. PHONOLOGY

## III.1 INTRODUCTION

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

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

### III.1.1 Notes on Terminology

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

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

### III.1.2 Notes on Transcription

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

29

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

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

30

**Table 1. IPA Equivalents of Consonants in Cited Sources**

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

31

**Table 2.   IPA Equivalents of Vowels in Cited Sources**

| IPA | Pinyin-based Orthography | SMN | TDV |
|---|---|---|---|
| i | i | i | i |
| y | | ü | |
| ʊ | | u̜ | |
| u | u | u | y |
| e | e | e | e |
| ɛ | | e̜ | |
| ə | | e̮ | |
| o | o | o | o |
| æ | | ä | |
| a | a | ɑ | a |
| i: | ii | ī | ī |
| y: | | ǖ | |
| ʊ: | | ū̜ | |
| u: | uu | ū | ȳ |
| e: | | ē | ē |
| ɛ: | | ē̜ | |
| o: | oo | ō | ō |
| æ: | | ā̈ | |
| 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 | ɢ |
| affricate | | | ts   ʣ | tɕ  ʥ | tʂ  dʐ | | |
| fricative | | f | s | ɕ | ʂ | x | |
| nasal | m | | n | | | ŋ | |
| trill | | | r | | | | |
| lateral approximant | | | l | | | | |
| glide | | | | j | | w | |

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

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

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

## III.2.2 Stops

### III.2.2.1   /p/

/p/ is a strong bilabial stop.

### III.2.2.2  /p/ - Comparative data

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

### III.2.2.3  /b/

/b/ is a weak bilabial stop.

> b → v / #_ (optional)

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

### III.2.2.4  /b/ - Comparative data

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

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

| Gloss | DH | Zhao | Li Keyu | KL | SMN | TDV | WM |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| straight/flat | texjin | tebɕin | tebxin | tebɕdʑin[48] | —[49] | tebʃen | tegsi |
| leaf | laxji | labdʑə | laxji | labɕdʑi | laɕdʑi ~ labɕdʑi | labtʃi | nabtʃi/n[50] |
| button | texji | teɕdʑə | tebji | tebɕdʑi | — | — | tobtʃi |
| thumb | — | — | gebqi ~ gexqi | ɕgeɕdʑi ɕgabdʑi | geɕdʑi χuri | — | — |

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

---

[48] S26 /teɕdʑim/

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

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

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

34

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

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

### III.2.2.5    /t/

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

### III.2.2.6    /t/ - Comparative data

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

**Table 5.**    /t/ ~ /d/ **Variations**

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

### III.2.2.7    /d/

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

### III.2.2.8    /d/ - Comparative data

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

### III.2.2.9    /k/

/k/ is a strong velar stop.

35

### III.2.2.10    /k/ - Comparative data

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


### III.2.2.11    /g/

/g/ is a weak velar stop.

> g → ɣ / _ # (optional)

> E.g. /ndog/ [ntoɣ] ~ [ntok] 'color'

> ɣ → x / _ # (optional)

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

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

distinguish between /g/ and /ɢ/ in Karlong. Checking correspondences in other Mongghul

varieties and in WM (or Tibetan) is not necessarily a reliable means of distinguishing between

these two sounds in Karlong, since Karlong may not have the same sounds as these other

languages in all cases. See III.2.11 for comparative data and more discussion of the velar-uvular

distinction.


### III.2.2.12    /g/ - Comparative data

See III.2.11 for comparative data.


### III.2.2.13    /ɢ/

/ɢ/ is a weak uvular stop.

> ɢ → χ / # _ (optional)

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

> ɢ → ø / x _ (optional)

> E.g. /xɢei/ [xej] ~ [xqej] 'pig'

> ɢ → ɣ / V _ V

> E.g. /maɢaɕi/ [maɣaɕi] ~ [maɢaɕi] 'tomorrow'.

36

G → 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 [tsʰ] in the data. In most cases, [tsʰ] varies with either [s] or [tɕʰ]. For example, 'blood' can be both [tsʰitsɨ] or [tɕʰitsɨ], and 'barley' can be either [spiː] or [tsʰpiː]. Only in two words does [tsʰ] not vary with other sounds: /ntsua/ [ntsʰua] 'lake' (WT *mtsho*, 'id') and /ntsowa/ [ntsʰowa] 'area' (WT *rtswa* 'grass' + *-ba* 'place').[52]

#### *III.2.3.2*   */ts/ - Comparative data*

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

#### *III.2.3.3*   /dz/

/dz/ is a weak alveolar affricate. It can varies with /s/ in a number of words, e.g. /tɕadzɨ/ [tɕʰatsɨ] ~ [tɕʰasɨ] 'snow'.

---

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

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

37

### III.2.3.4 /dʑ/ - Comparative data

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

/dʑ/ and /s/ vary within dialects, and also correspond to each other across dialects, e.g. KL *tɕadʑi* 'snow', Zhao *tɕasə*, DH *qasi* and *qazi*, LK *qasi*, SMN *tɕiɶse*, TDV *tʃasi*, WM *tʃasu/n* 'id'. According the Zhao (Halchi), the environment for /dʑ/ ~ /s/ variations is before /ə/.

### III.2.3.5 /tʂ/

/tʂ/ is a strong retroflex affricate. There are only few instances of /tʂ/ in the data, most of them Chinese loanwords: *tʂuan* 'ship' (Chinese *chuán* 船 'id') and *tʂugi* 'stab' (Chinese *chuō* 戳 'id'). However, there is also *tʂaŋ* '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 /dʐ/

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

---

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

38

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

As for /ts/, /tʂ/, 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 /tɕ/

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

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

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

### III.2.3.11 /dʑ/

/dʑ/ is a weak alveo-palatal affricate.

    dʑ → ø / ɕ _ (optional)

    E.g. /ɕdʑoːsɨ/ [ɕtɕoːsɨ] ~ [ɕoːsɨ] 'tree'.

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

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

39

**Table 6.** /tɕ/ ~ /dʑ/ Variations

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

## III.2.4    Fricatives

### III.2.4.1    /f/

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

### III.2.4.2    /f/ - Historical and comparative data

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

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

### III.2.4.3    /s/

/s/ is a strong alveolar fricative.

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

40

### III.2.4.4   /s/ - Comparative data

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

### III.2.4.5   /ʂ/

/ʂ/ is a strong retroflex fricative.

ʂ → s / _ ʤ (optional)

E.g. /ʂʤin/ [stsɨn] ~ [ʂtsɨn] 'nine'.

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

### III.2.4.6   /ʂ/ - Comparative data

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

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

### III.2.4.7   /ɕ/

/ɕ/ is a strong alveo-palatal fricative.

41

### 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 ~ 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 /f/) which correspond to Written Mongolian words without the fricative, e.g. WM *altan* 'silver', Monguor *xarDan*[55], or WM *øki/n* 'girl', but Monguor *fuDžün ~ sDžün* (Karlong *çdžun*). In some cases, as in the word 'girl' the vowel between the fricative and the stop is in the process of being lost. Khelimskiy further proposes that moving the voicelessness of a medial consonant to the beginning of a word which originally started with a weak consonant, this consonant is devoiced. This is illustrated by the word 'god'[56] in Karlong, WM *burqan* 'Buddha', Karlong *pirGa:n* 'god'.

---

[55] Khelimskiy is using data from de Smedt & Mostaert (1933).
[56] 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 $k^h\phi it^h en$ vs. Monguor $k^h uiten$ 'cold', and Old Mongolian $syk^h e$ 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 $*t\phi \check{c}^h in$ vs. Monguor $t^h i\check{c}in$ 'forty' (2003:7). In addition, citing Khelimksiy (1984), Svantesson states that the aspiration of a medial consonant can move in front of an initial vowel, creating an initial fricative, e.g. Old Mongolian $yk^h y$ 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.

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

Final /m/ can vary with final /n/ for different speakers of Karlong, e.g. /ni:tam/ [ni:tʰam] 'wet' (S13 /ni:ten/, S20 /ni:tan/).

### III.2.5.3    /n/

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

n → m / _ labial C (optional)

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

n → ŋ / _ velar C, uvular C

E.g. /tɕanxei/ [tɕʰaŋxei] 'shoes', /danɢual/ [taŋqual] 'earth clod'

n → ø / _ # (optional)

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

### III.2.5.4    /ŋ/

/ŋ/ is a (voiced) velar nasal.

ŋ → n / _ alveolar

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

ŋ → ø / ã _ #

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

---

[57] Chinese xiāngzào 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 *ɢuril*, and similar forms, with only slight differences in the vowels, in other dialects of Mongghul. There is also metathesis of /l/ and /m/ in Karlong, in the word 'apple', Karlong *amila* and Tianzhu *amila*, but DH (Halchi) *alima*, TDV *alima*, SM (Naringhol) *alima*, WM *alima*.

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

#### III.2.6.2  /r/

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

r → ʂ / V _ d, ʥ

E.g. /ɢaʥer-dɨ/ [qaʥeʂ-tɨ] 'on the ground' (ground-DAT), /ko:rʥɨx/ [kʰuaʂtsɨx] 'foam'

r → ɕ, ʂ / V _ ʥ

E.g. /gur-ʥa/ [kuɕ-tɕa] ~ [kuʂ-tɕa] 'braided', /rʥa/ [ɕtɕa] 'look', /rʥawu:/ [ɕtɕawu:] 'emperor'.

45

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

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

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

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


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

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

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


### III.2.6.4    /l/

/l/ is a (voiced) lateral approximant.


### III.2.6.5    /l/ - Historical data

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

46

### III.2.7    <u>Glides</u>

### III.2.8    <u>/w/</u>

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

#### III.2.8.1    */w/ - Comparative data*

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

### III.2.9    <u>/j/</u>

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

#### III.2.9.1    */j/ - Comparative data*

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III.2.11 Velar and Uvular Weak Stops - Comparative Data

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

---

[58] невестка 'bride'

Ha and Stuart (2006:55) also note that the distinction between /g/ and /ɢ/ is being lost in

Tianzhu, e.g. *gha~gar* 'hand'. My own investigation of Tianzhu showed that the /g/ vs. /ɢ/

contrast does exist in some cases (cf. /ɢe/ 'fire' vs. /ge/ 'house'), but that /ɢ/ is not always found

in the same words where it is found in other Huzhu varieties, e.g. Tianzhu /gu/ 'two', KL /ɢuar/.

In Tianzhu, /ɢ/ changes to a fricative intervocalically, [ɣ], which is often difficult to

distinguish from /x/, because there is a tendency to voice /x/ between vowels.

**Table 8.    Uvular vs. Velar Distinction**

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

## III.3  VOWELS

Unlike other Mongolic languages, Karlong (and Huzhu as a whole) does not have vowel harmony,

except to a very limited extent. Suffixes appear in only one shape with regard to their vowel, that

is, the vowel does not change depending on the vowels in the stem. A certain degree of vowel

harmony is retained in stems, where it has not been obscured by sound change.

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

counterpart.

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

varieties.

49

### III.3.1  Vowel Inventory

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

| i | ɨ | u |  | iː |  | uː |
|---|---|---|---|----|---|----|
| e |  | o |  | eː |  | oː |
|  | a |  |  |  | aː |  |

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

### III.3.2  Short High Vowels

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

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

E.g. /ulan/ [wulan] ~ [ulan] 'many', /uriː/ [wuriː] 'late', /itɕian/ [jitɕʰian] 'before' (Chinese *yǐqián* 以前), /ileː/ [jileː] 'ghost'. The vowel [ɨ] never occurs word-initially.

hi V → glide / _ non-rounded V

E.g. /gua/ [kwa] 'not', /guiː/ [kwiː] 'run', /noxuei/ [noxwei] 'dog', /fiːlio/ [fiːljoː] 'fertilizer'. The vowel [ɨ] never occurs before another vowel.

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

E.g. /tɕura/ [tɕʰu̥ra] 'cheese', /xudʑɨ/ [xu̥tɕɨ] 'lips', /pidʑig/ [pʰɨ̥tɕik] 'book', /tidʑin/ [tʰɨ̥tɕin] 'forty', /kidɨ/ [kʰɨ̥ti] 'how, many', /tsidʑɨ/ [tsʰɨ̥tsɨ] 'blood', /tɕiɢaːn/ [tɕʰɨ̥qaːn] 'white', /ɕinɨ/ [ɕɨ̥nɨ] 'new'. An exception to this rule is /tɕimɨ/ [tɕimɨ] 2SG.DAT. It is possible that in other words [ɨ] is devoiced in this environment. However, it is very difficult to distinguish between [j̊] and [ɨ].

50

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. /dɨraːla/ [traːla] 'love', /bɨliː/ [pliːʰ] 'child', /bɨraːɢa/ [praːqa] 'finish', /kɨle/ [kʰleː] 'speak')

stop _ fricative (e.g. /pɨseː/ [pʰseː] 'belt')

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

fricative _ liquid (e.g. /ɕilaŋ/ [ɕlaŋ] 'night, evening', /fɨlaːn/ [flaːn] 'red', /fɨreː/ [freː] '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 Zhaonasitu (Halchi) and Li Keyu (mostly Naringhol). In these cases, the consonant preceding the /i/ in DH is in most cases /r/, /l/, and in some cases /s/. The consonant following /i/ is in most cases /g/ or /ɢ/ (in the following syllable), and often the /i/ is at the end of the word. Sometimes /i/ is followed by /dʑ/ or /d/.

Some examples are listed in the following table.

51

**Table 9.  /i/ in DH**

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

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

There are also cases (between /ç/ 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 | çinə | xini | çinɨ | şeni | ʃeni | sine |
| yellow | xra | çira | xira | çira | çira | ʃira | sira |
| laugh | xnii | çinee | xinee | çine: | şenie | — | inije |

*III.3.2.3    /u/*

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

u → y / alveo-palatal C _

E.g. /çʤun/ [çtɕyn] 'girl'[59]. 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

---

[59] Apparently [y] may then be unrounded to [i], as in the optional variant [çʤindu:] '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 [ʊ]. It also becomes [y] after /dʑ/, e.g. ɕdʑyn 'girl'. Ha and Stuart (2006:55)[60] note that in Tianzhu, /u/ is deleted at the end of the word.

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

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

**Table 11. Deleted /u/**

| Gloss | DH | Zhao | LK | KL | SMN | TDV | WM |
|-------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|-------|---------|
| cry | ulaa | ulaa | ulaa | la: | ula: | la: | uila |
| mountain | ula | ula | ula | la | ula | ula | aɣula/n |
| blind | sughua | suɢor | sughur | sɢuar | soɢuor | soɢor | soqur |

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

### III.3.3 [ɨ]

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

---

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

53

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

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

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

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

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

54

the sound is [ɨ] or [i]. Some words have [ɨ] in most cases, but [i] before an alveo-palatal sound,

e.g. [ɕinɨ] 'new', but [ɕini jerɨ] 'bride'.

The situation is complicated by the fact that high vowels in open, non-final syllables are often

extremely reduced, making it very difficult to decide whether the vowel in question is [u], [i], or

[ɨ]. Especially the difference between [i] and [ɨ] is often unclear in this environment.

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

### III.3.3.1 [ɨ] - Comparative data

Janhunen (p.c. March 2006) pointed out to me that in second syllables, e.g. *modu/n 'tree', or the

dative suffix *-DU, the sound "*U is normally preserved in Shirongolic as /u/, but in Shira

Yughur and some Huzhu Mongghul (?) dialects it has merged with *i > /i/, so we have the

modern forms modun vs. modin, or the like." In the position mentioned by Janhunen, but also in

other positions, WM *u often corresponds to Karlong [ɨ] (see table below for examples).

[ɨ] in KL often corresponds to /ə/ in Zhao (Halchi), where /ə / is a separate phoneme with the

following allophones[61]:

ə → ʅ / ʣ, ts, s _ C

ə → ʅ, ə / ʣ, ts, s _ (optional)

ə → i / alveo-palatal _ C

ə → ɣ / elsewhere

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

---

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

## Table 13. Correspondences with Karlong [ɨ]

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

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

The following correspondences can be found:

## Table 14. Correspondences with Karlong [ɨ] - Summary

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

56

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


### III.3.4   Long High Vowels

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

ø → glide / $ _ hi V: (optional)

E.g. /iːgua/ [jiːkwa] ~ [iːkwa] 'every, all', /uː/ [wuː] ~ [uː] 'wide', /rdʑau/ [ʐtɕawuː] ~ [ʐtɕau:]
'emperor'

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

E.g. /daliː/ [taliːᶜ] ~ [taliː] 'shoulder', /ɕiruː/ [ɕiruːʰ] ~ [ɕiruː] 'earth'. In these examples, a voiceless fricative is added after high vowels at the end of a word. The fricative is [ɕ] after /iː/, and [x] after /uː/.


### *III.3.4.1    /iː/*

A near minimal pair for /i/ vs. /iː/ is /dʑilaː/ 'lamp' vs. /dʑiːla/ 'hate'.

Word-initial [j] which is often inserted before /iː/ is sometimes also pronounced [ʐ] or even [z], e.g. /iːgua/ [jiːkwa] ~ [ʐiːkwa] 'every, all', /iːsɨn/ [zɨːsɨn] 'doctor' (Chinese *yīshēng* 医生 'id').


### *III.3.4.2    /uː/*

A near minimal pair for the /u/ vs. /uː/ contrast is /ɕdʑuːr/ 'root' vs. /dur/ 'day'.


57

In some cases [uː] of S20 and S26 corresponds to [ɨːʰ] or [ɯːʰ] of S13, for example /duː/ 'younger sibling' S13 [tɯːʰ], S20 and S26 [tuː], /luːxan/ [lɯːʰxan] vs. [luːxan] 'husband'[62]. Generally [ɯːʰ] in S13 corresponds to /iu/ in Halchi (cf. III.3.11.7).

### III.3.5 Short Mid Vowels

#### III.3.5.1 /e/

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

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

E.g. /teŋgeri/ [tʰeŋkəri] 'sky' in S13; in S20 this sound is more like [a]: [tʰeŋkari].

e → ɛ, æ, a / _ (C)#

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

#### III.3.5.2 /e/ - Comparative data

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

This pattern does not exist in Karlong. There is one occurrence of [je] after /m/, /mieŋgu/ [mjeŋku] 'silver', and there are no occurrences of [e] after /m/. There is one instance of [je] after /t/, /tier/ [tʰjer] 'Tibetan', but there are also many cases of [e] after /t/, e.g. /teŋgeri/ [tʰeŋkəri] 'sky'. There is one instance of [nje], in /niexaŋ/ [njexã] 'kitchen', but there is also, for example, /neɕdʑaː/, [neɕtsaː] 'dinner'.

---

[62] also 'crow' [tɕaŋlɯːʰ]

58

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

### III.3.5.3 /o/

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

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

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

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

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

---

[63] But not in all cases; possibly the instances of /e/ that do not become [je] are actually instances of another phoneme, such as /a/.
[64] This might be related to the realization of /o:/ as [ua] found in Karlong, except that [wa] here is not a diphthong, but clearly a glide followed by a vowel.

59

**Table 15. /o/ - /ua/ Correspondences**

| Gloss | Zhao | DH | LK | KL | SMN | TDV | WM | WT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| foot | kol | kol | kol | /kual/ [kʰwal] | kuor | kol | køl | — |
| hole | noko | nukua | nuko | /nukua/ [nukʰwa] | nukuo | noke | nyke/n | — |
| freeze | — | kuara | kori | /kuari/ [kʰwari] | kuori | — | køry | — |
| fog | — | — | sumuko | /semagua/ [semakwa] | sumukuo | — | — | smug-po |
| monastery | — | — | rgomba | /ŋguamba/ [ŋkwamba] | rguomba | ŋguo | — | dgon-pa |
| blue | kugo | — | kugo | /kuguo/ [kʰukwa] | kuguo | kuguo | køke | — |

## III.3.6   <u>Long Mid Vowels</u>

### *III.3.6.1   /eː/*

A near minimal pair for /e/ vs. /eː/ is /rde/ 'eat' vs. /ṣdeː/ 'mend'.

    eː → jeː (optional), e.g. /çineː/ [çinjeː] 'laugh', /fireː/ [firjeː] 'seed'.

### *III.3.6.2   /eː/ - Comparative data*

/eː/ in Karlong does not always correspond to /eː/ in the other dialects. The difference is usually

one of quality, not quantity (see table below).

**Table 16. Karlong /eː/ Correspondences**

| Gloss | DH | Zhao | LK | Karlong | SMN | TDV | WM |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| laugh | xnii | çinee | xinee | çineː | ṣenie | — | inije |
| wet | neeten | niiten | neeten | niːten | niːtiæn | niːten | noitan |
| seed | fure | furai | furee | fireː | furieː | furieː | yre |

60

### III.3.6.3    /o:/

A near minimal pair for /o/ vs. /o:/ is /morɨ/ 'horse' vs. /mo:dɨ/ '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:lʤa-/ 'vomit' for S13 and S20, but /bu:lʤa-/ for S26.

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

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

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

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

61

**Table 17. Karlong /oː/ Correspondences**

| Gloss | DH | Zhao | LK | KL | SMN | TDV | WM |
|-------|-----|-------|------|------|------|------|------|
| dry | huusinni | xoosən | hoosin | xoːsɨn [xuasɨn] | — | — | qaɣurai |
| fat (n.) | ooku | fuugu | foogi | /foːgu/ [fuaku] | foːke | — | øgeky/n |
| green | noɢoon | nughuun | nughoon | /noɢoːn/ [noquan] | noɢoːn | noɢoːn | noɣuɣan |
| feather | foodə | fuudi | foodi | /foːdɨ/ [fuatɨ] | foːdɨ | — | ødy/n |
| oil | toosə | tuusi | toosi | toːsɨ [tuasɨ] | toːse ~ toːdze | toːdze | tosu/n |

The change of /oː/ 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] (/oː/): KL /tɕogoːn/ [tɕʰokuan] 'few', DH *quguan*, Zhao *tɕoon*, LK *qoogon*, SMN *tɕoːn* ~ *tɕoːguæn*, Todaeva *tʃioːn*, WM *tʃøgyken* 'id'.

In some cases, it may be possible to postulate that the diphthong [ua] in Karlong represents the earlier sound, which has become [oː], optionally in many words in Karlong, and always in other varieties of Mongghul. This is the case for example in 'seven', which is *doluya/n* in WM, /daloːn/ [taluan] in Karlong, but *doloon* in Zhao and *duloon* in LK. However, sometimes KL [ua] corresponds to a monophthong in Written Mongolian, e.g. KL /toːsɨ/ [tʰuasɨ] '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 ~ toolo | /to:la/ [tʰuala] | to:la | to:la | toɣala |
| vomit | booldʑo | bolija | booljo | /bo:ldʑa/ [pualtɕa] | bo:rdʑiæ | bo:ldʑe | bøgeldʑi |
| star | foodə | — | foodi | /fo:dɨ/ [fuatɨ] | fo:di | fo:di | odu/n |
| feather | foodə | fuudi | foodi | /fo:dɨ/ [fuatɨ] | fo:di | — | ødy/n |
| louse | boosə | bosi | boosi | /bo:sɨ/ [puasɨ] | bo:se | — | bøgesy/n |
| oil | toosə | tuusi | toosi | /to:sɨ/ [tʰuasɨ] | to:se ~ to:dze | to:dze | tosu/n |
| kidney | booro | bora | booro | /bo:ra/ [puara] | bo:ro | bo:ro | bøgere |
| throat | xoolo | huula | hoolo | /ho:la/ [huala] | xo:lo | xo:lo | qoɣulai |
| few | tɕoon | quguan | qoogon | /tɕo:go:n/ [tɕʰo:kuan] | tɕio:n ~ tɕio:guæn | tʃio:n | tʃøgyken |
| two | ɢoor | ghoori | ghoor | /ɢo:r/ [quar] | ɢo:r | ɢo:r | qojar |
| soft | dʑoolon | julan | jiloon | /dʑilo:n/ [tɕiluan] | dʑio:luon | dʑio:lon | zøgelen |
| wood | — | muudi | moodu | /mo:dɨ/ [muatɨ] | mo:di | mo:di | modu/n |
| road | moor | moori | moor | /mo:r/ [muar] | mo:r | mo:r | mør |
| fat (n.) | ooku | fuugu | foogi | /fo:gu/ [fuaku] | fo:ke | — | øgeky/n |
| green | noɢoon | nughuun | nughoon | /noɢo:n/ [noquan] | noɢo:n | noɢo:n | noɣuɣan |
| seven | doloon | — | duloon | /dalo:n/ [taluan] | dolo:n | dolo:n | doluɣa/n |
| six | dʑirɢoon | — | jurghoon | /dʑirɢo:n/ [tɕirquan] | dʑirɢo:n | dʑirɢo:n | dʑirɣuɣa-n |

63

### III.3.7 Short Low Vowel

#### *III.3.7.1   /a/*

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

ɨa ⟹ aː

E.g. /nɨdɨ amsɢua/ [nɨtaːmqua] 'eyebrows, eyelashes', or /tɨnɨ aːba/ [tʰɨnaːba] 'your father',

/bɨ xurɢaŋgɨ awua/ [pɨ xurqaŋkaːwua] 'I bought a lamb', /tɕɨ andʑi suːdʑiː/ [tɕʰaːntɕi suːtɕi]

'where do you live'. In fast speech, this process can make it difficult to make certain grammatical

distinctions. For example, whether [ntaːnɨ xqeinaːlata] is /ndaːnɨ xɢeinaː aladʑa/, '(someone)

killed my own pig', or /ndaːnɨ xɢeinɨ aladʑa/, '(someone) killed my (accusative) pig'.

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

E.g. /matɕɨ/ [mɨtɕɨ] ~ [matɕɨ] 'read'.

a → ɑ / _ ɢ, x $

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

a → e, æ / _ n$ (optional)

E.g. /kuitan/ [kʰuitʰæn] ~ [kʰuitʰen] ~ [kʰuitʰan] 'cold', /juːtan/ [juːtʰæn] ~ [juːtʰen] ~ [juːtʰan]

'narrow', /tandɨ/ [tʰæntɨ] ~ [tʰentɨ] ~ [tʰantɨ] 3SG.DAT.

Because /a/ is often raised to [æ] or [e] before /n/, it is difficult to determine whether [en] or

[æn] sequences should be /en/ or /an/. For example, 'thin' is pronounced [niŋkæn] or sometimes

[niŋken]. It is not clear whether the vowel is an /a/ that has been raised before /n/, or an /e/ that

has been lowered. Another example is [niːtʰæn] ~ [niːtʰan] 'wet'.

a → ã / _ ŋ$

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

When the sequence /aŋ/ occurs at the end of the word, /ŋ/ is deleted, e.g. /rlaŋ/ [rlã] 'cloud'. /ŋ/ is

not deleted when it precedes a consonant. When an /aŋ/ sequence precedes a consonant within the

64

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

### III.3.7.2    /a/ - Comparative data

According to Chaolu Wu (1994) and Georg (2003), /a/ becomes [æ] after the alveo-palatal consonants /ʤ/, /ʨ/, and /ɕ/. I have not been able to observe this for Karlong. In Karlong, [a] follows /ʤ/ in *xuʤadi* 'sharp', *nʤasi* 'plow', and *aːʤa* 'older brother'. It follows /ʨ/ in *ʨaʤi* 'snow', *xgualʨax* 'boy', and *nʨaː* 'sleep'. It follows /ɕ/ in *ɕaːɕi* 'sand'.

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

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

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

---

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

## III.3.8    Long Low Vowel

### III.3.8.1    /æ:/

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

### III.3.8.2    /æ:/ - Comparative data

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

## III.3.9    Long Vowels - Comparative Data

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

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

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

## III.3.10    Back Vowels - Comparative Data

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

66

**Table 19. Back vowels**

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

## III.3.11 Diphthongs

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

### III.3.11.1    /ui/ and /ui:/

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

### III.3.11.2    /ui/ - Comparative data

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

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

67

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

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

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

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

*III.3.11.3    /ua/*

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

*III.3.11.4    /ia/*

Examples for the diphtong /ia/ are *geliaŋ* 'dried barley bread', *liaŋ* 'quantity, measure', *liaŋ* 'two', and *niaŋʥa* '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. *guoʥa* 'country' (Chinese *guójiā* 国家 'id'). Sometimes it also appears are a variant of [ua], e.g. /trua/ [tʰruo] ~ [tʰrua] 'in'.

### III.3.11.6 /ie/

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

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

Words which have /iu/ in other Huzhu varieties usually correspond to /u:/ in Karlong (in some instances [ɯːʰ] in S13):

**Table 21. /iu/ Correspondences in Karlong**

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

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

**Table 22. Other /iu/ Correspondences**

| Gloss | DH | Zhao | LK | KL | SMN | TDV | WM |
|-------|-----|-------|-----|------|-------|------|--------|
| walk | yiu | jauu | yau | ju: | ju: | ju: | jabu |
| bite | jiu | ʥauu | jau | ʥu: | ʥiu: | ʥu: | ʥaɣu |

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

## 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: *pirɢaːn* 'god', *baɢaldi* 'fight', *toːla* 'count', *deːl* 'garment, clothes', *kiː* 'wind', *gigaː* 'small', *ɢuran* 'three'. /p/ occurs medially only in two cases: *nimpda* 'spit' and *nimpidʑi* 'tear (n.)'. /ɢ/ appears only before non-front vowels, e.g. *ɢuran* 'three', *moɢoli* 'round', and *ɢal* 'fire', with one exception: *dʑalɢiː* 'path'. The range of vowels that can appear after /k/ is also limited: /a/ or /aː/, e.g. *kaːrda* 'domesticated animal', /iː/ as in *kiː* 'wind', [i], in the suffix -ki which is added to loanwords to form verbs, e.g. *laːki* 'pull' (Chinese *lā* 拉 'id'), and /u/ or /uː/ as in *kuri* 'arrive', and *kuː* 'son'. /k/ never occurs before mid vowels[66]. For a discussion of /ko/ sequences in other dialects of Mongghul, see section III.3.5.4. /g/ never appears before /o/[67].

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

### III.4.2  Affricates

All affricates can occur syllable-initially before vowels, e.g. *tɕadʑi* 'snow', *dʑiɢasi* 'fish', *tʂuan* 'ship', *dʐidʐuan* 'thick'. All affricates except /dz/ can also occur word-initially. /ts/ occurs word-

---

[66] One possible exception is: S13 [koːgi] 'knock', Chinese *kòu* 扣 'id', however, the vowel here may be [ou] or [uː].
[67] Or before /oː/, since all /oː/ become [ua] in this environment.

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

### III.4.3  Fricatives

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

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

### III.4.4  Nasals

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

71

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

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

**Table 23. NC Sequences**

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

## III.4.5 Liquids

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

72

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

### III.4.6 Glides

Glides can appear syllable-initially before a vowel, e.g. *waʥer* 'city', *wir* 'steam', *wosgu* 'lungs', *çawer* 'mud', *jasi* 'bone', *najan* 'eighty', *jeri* 'wife', *ju:* 'walk'. A number of syllable-initial medial /w/ appear in Tibetan loan words, e.g. *mba:waɡ* '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 | ʥ, ɢ, g, n, l |
| ʂ | d, ʥ, ɢ |
| ç | dz, ʥ, g |
| m | b |
| n | d, tɕ, ʥ, ts |
| ŋ | g, ɢ |
| r | d, l, ʥ, g |
| x | d, ʥ, g, ɢ |

73

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

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

### III.5.1.1    Comparative data - Initial consonant clusters

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

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

**Table 25.  New Consonant Clusters**

| Preinitial | Initial |
|---|---|
| p | s, tɕ, ʥ |
| b | l, r |
| t | r |
| d | r |
| k | l |
| f | l, r |
| ɕ | n, l |

74

### III.5.1.2    Variations in preinitial-initial sequences

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

**Table 26.  Preinitial-Initial Sequences**

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

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

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

### III.5.1.3    Nasals Preceding Weak Stops and Affricates

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

75

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

### III.5.1.4    *Comparative data*

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

**Table 27.  Nasals Preceding Weak Stops**

| Gloss | Zhao | DH | LK | KL | SMN | TDV | WM |
|-------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|
| wash | ŋɢuaa | gua | nghua | ŋɢua: | ŋɢua: | ŋɢua: | uɣa |
| fur, wool | ŋɢuaasə | ghuasi | nghuasi | ŋɢuasɨ | ŋɢuase | ŋɢua:se | unɣɣasu/n |
| plow | ndʑasə | jasi | njasi | ndʑasə | ndʑiæse | ndʑase | andʑisu/n |
| egg | ndəge | dige | ndige ~ dige | ndɨge | 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 *andʑisu(n)* 'plow' does have a nasal before the consonant, but WM *uɣa* 'wash' does not. Possibly nasals are inserted before some weak obstruents because of analogy with words which did have a nasal in this position historically and still retains it.

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

### III.5.2    **Nucleus**

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

76

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

### III.5.3 Coda

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

### III.6 STRESS

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

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

---

[68] "ударение падает в последний слог слова"

on the last syllable of the stem[69]. Sometimes the evidence whether a certain suffix can carry stress is unclear, e.g. /laŋlaŋdzɨ-'ŋge/ 'basket-SG', but /tɨr'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: /dʑu:-'dʑ-a/ 'bite-PERF-OBJ'.

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


**Table 28. Deletion of Initial Syllables in Karlong**

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


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


## III.7 MORPHOPHONOLOGY

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


### III.7.1 Degemination

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

---

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

78

ɢadʑer 'city' + -ri LOC is ɢadʑeri

ŋgan 3SG + -ni GEN is ŋgani

moŋɢual 'Monguor' + -la INST is moŋɢuala

### III.7.2 Consonant Assimilation

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

### III.7.3 Vowel Deletion

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

1. for stems ending in liquid-d-vowel sequences, e.g. 'eat' rde + -wa becomes rdua, reciprocal forms, stem + -ldi- + -wa become stem + -ldua.

2. When the final consonant of the stem (in the basic form, or after deletion of a final high vowel) is /l/, e.g. uli 'find' + -wa becomes ulua.

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

### III.7.3.1 Stems in -w (high vowel)

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

### III.7.3.2 Stems in -r (high vowel)

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

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

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

79

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

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

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

*xudali-* 'cut' + *-dʑ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *xudaldʑa.*

*uli-* 'become' + *-dʑ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *uldʑa.*

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

*çi-* 'go' + *-gu* PART.FUT becomes *çgu,*

*çi-* 'go' + *-dʑ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *çdʑa,* but 'go' + *-lɢa* CAUS becomes *çilɢa,* and 'go' + *-ma* ASSERT becomes *çima.*

## III.8  CONCLUSION

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

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

80

### III.9 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

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

# CHAPTER IV. NOMINALS

## IV.1 INTRODUCTION

Karlong, like the other Mongghul dialects, and like Mongolic languages as a whole, has SOV as

its basic word order. In general, modifiers (adjectives, numerals, adverbial phrases) precede the

modified item.

In the following three chapters, I will discuss nominals, verbals, and other parts of speech

(adverbs, particles, interjections, conjunctions).

## IV.2 PARTS OF SPEECH

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

and interjections.

In this chapter, I will discuss nominals, their subtypes and their morphology. The following

chapter (chapter V) will deal with verb and their subtypes and morphology. In chapter V I will

disuss the remaining parts of speech.

## IV.3 NOMINALS

Karlong has the following nominals: nouns, pronouns, numerals, adjectives, and postpositions.

What follows is a short description of the properties of each of these. More detailed descriptions

with examples follow in the second part of this chapter.

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

Noun + case + reflexive or possessive + number

## IV.3.1 Nouns

Nouns can appear with number marking case suffixes, the possessive suffix *-ni*, the reflexive

suffix *-na·*, and number suffixes. Proper nouns can be preceded by a demonstrative, e.g. *te ger*

82

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

### IV.3.2 <u>Pronouns</u>

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 ($1^{st}$, $2^{nd}$, and $3^{rd}$) 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 ndʑina: ~ dʑina:. It appears before the noun it modifies.

### IV.3.3 <u>Adjectives</u>

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

83

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

### IV.3.4  Postpositions

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

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

### IV.4  NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

This part of the chapter discusses the Karlong nominal morphology.

### IV.4.1  Number

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

#### *IV.4.1.1  Singular: -ŋge*

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

84

*-ŋge* with word ending in a vowel:

1. a:      di:      **jerɨ-ŋge**      i:-gun-a

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

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

2. bɨ      hulɨdzɨ    laŋlaŋdzɨ-**ŋge**    aw-ua

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

   I bought **a** bamboo basket.

*-ge* with word ending in a consonant:

3. nda:-nɨ                  çʤilʤa    alaɢ         **de:l-ge**    aw-ʤa

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

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

*-ge* with word ending in a vowel:

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

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

   si:n    a      be:

   good   COP   PTCL

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

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

5. bɨ    ŋgaŋ-dɨ                fu:-**ŋge**    ɢ-wa

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

   I gave them a book.

6. bu    ŋgaŋ-dɨ                **nige**   fu:      ɢ-wa

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

   I gave them a book.

85

(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:     ʤu:   fuzu   ʤa-dɨ           da     anʤ-i:          ʤu:sɨ   ɢada-sa

    INTJ   just   rich   family-DAT   and   where-SUBJ   just     outside-ABL

    xarɢal-**ge**            tuŋgu-ʤ-i:          gu:gɨ      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      malɢa-**na:-ŋge**   ʤo:-ja

    INTJ   INTJ   hat-**REFL-SG**       put.on-VOL1

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

9.  ja     ja      tɕaŋxei-**na:-ŋge**   mɨsɨ-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: *-sgɨ ~ -sɨ*, or *-ŋula ~ -ŋgula ~ -ŋ ~ -la, -maŋge,* and *-sɨla.* In my data, *-sgɨ ~ -sɨ* is the most widely used plural suffix. It is used with both animate and inanimate nouns, e.g. *ger-sgɨ* 'house-PL', *kun-sɨ ~ kun-sgɨ* 'person-PL', 'people'. The variant *-sɨ* 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. *-sɨ* appears in connected speech in the following two sentences:

86

10. do    bɨda-ŋgula   li:la-san                  kun-sɨ      da   ʥinxu:  eimɨ

     now    1PL          be.left.over-PART.PERF    person-PL  also  after    children

    ʥu:   xo:lai-la-gun-i           di:      dzuʥun-nɨ    sge-di-ʥ-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-ʥ-a               xa    nda:-nɨ              bɨli:-sɨ   ɕuetaŋ-sa

    dark  become.PERF-OBJ  PTCL  1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN   child-PL   school-ABL

    rɨ-ʥ-a

    come.PERF-OBJ

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

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

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

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

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

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

13. bɨda-ŋla    ne    gugutɕaːr-ɨ  suː-san-a      tigi:    ɕendʑin

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

a          be:

COP     PTCL

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

For more in-depth discussion on personal pronoun plural forms, see section on personal

pronouns (IV.4.3).

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

14. dʑuː-**maŋge**    war-dʑ-a bei

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

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

15. do    sdzun-dɨ    dʑuː  ɕge pɨdʑaɢ-**maŋge** sarɨmsaɢ-**maŋge**   tar-dʑ-a

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

di:    dʑuː  ɕaɕindɨ dʑuː  buːdɨ    tar-gun-a          be:

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

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

additionally (we) will plant wheat.

16. di:    la-dɨ        dʑuː  kaːrda    xoːlama xɢei  xoːlama giːdzɨ-**maŋge**

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

tar-gun-a          be:

plant-GEN.FUT-OBJ    PTCL

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

**that.**

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

88

17. **a:ɢadu: ɢura:n** i:

   **brother three** COP

   (I) have **three brothers**.

18. **dalo:n    ajil-dɨ        dalo:n ku:    xuadʑɨ    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    bambandzɨ-rɨ  **dalo:n nukua** i:      ja:n-i:

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

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

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

### IV.4.1.3    Dual: -ɢula

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

   Pronoun with dual suffix:

20. e:      buda-**ɢula**        niŋge    lekɨ-di-dʑ-a

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

   Eh, then we **two** divorced.

---

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

89

21. do    da-**Gula**   ja:n-i:       şan-kɨ-ldɨ-ja            dzaŋdʑa  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. menszȩn  da  a:ma-**Gula**-na:    kunan  a          xa,    erşisan-dɨ

     menzhen  and  mother-**DL**-REFL  difficult  COP      PTCL   twentythree-DAT

     dzuja a:nie    da:bɨla guli   nigi:dʑe  lidaŋ  da   gu-a

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

     Menzhen and his mother were **both** very poor, so they had no gifts to offer the kitchen god

     on the 23rd (of the twelfth lunar month).

23. di:    a:nie-**Gula**     çge  da  maŋli:-sa  do:ra-dʑi       daŋlur-la

     then  grandmother-**DL**  big  door  lintel-ABL  go.down-IMPERF  lantern-INST.COM

     nige  i:-sa-ŋge          //  jerɨ⁻ŋge  sara  su:  ge:-dʑ-a     be:

     one  look-COND-SG      //  woman-SG  month  sit  put-PERF-OBJ  PTCL

     çge  da  busGua-nɨ     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. bɨ    nda:-nɨ               çdʑundu:-**Gula**-na:    rd-ua

     1SG  1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN  younger.sister-**DL**-REFL  eat-PERF

     I ate **with** my younger sister.

The sufix -*Gula* can be attached to singular forms and to plural forms of the personal

pronouns, for example *tçi bidaGula* 'you (sg.) and I', *bu tçiGula* 'I and you (sg.)'. It is interesting

here that while *tçi* is the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun, *bida-* is the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural stem.

90

25. maɢaʨi    ʨi    bɨda-**ɢula**    handɨ-la                utɕi-ja[71]

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

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

26. bɨ      ʨi-**ɢula**    rd-ua

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

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

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

### IV.4.1.4    *Number - Comparative and historical data*

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

---

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

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

91

**Table 29. Number Suffixes**

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

92

## IV.4.2　Case Marking

Karlong has seven cases: nominative (ø), genitive (-nɨ), dative (-dɨ), accusative (-nɨ), locative (-rɨ), ablative (-sa), and instrumental-comitative (-la).

### IV.4.2.1　Nominative: -ø

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

27. sɨmʥaŋla **noxuei** ʥu:-gun-a

    careful　**dog**　bite-GEN.FUT-OBJ

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

28. **bɨ**　tɕandzar-ɨ　su:-ʥ-i:

    **1SG**　Qianzuo-LOC　sit-PERF-SUBJ

    **I** live in Qianzuo.

29. liaŋ **ku:dzɨ** nʥigila-ʥɨ　　　gu-a

    **couple**　be.harmonious-IMPERF　NEG.AUX-OBJ

    **The couple** did not get along (lit. was not harmonious).

30. **ne**　**de:l**　alaɢ　　　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**　　　xgaʥa　mba:　sa:

    **young.woman**　language　correct　PTCL

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

93

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

   **grandfather**  house-DAT          come  who-SUBJ

   **Grandfather**, who is coming to the house?


### IV.4.2.2   Genitive: -nɨ

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

33. xgile-ʤɨ        juanwei-**nɨ**      den-dɨ      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.

34. o:la    do    ta-ŋla-**nɨ**                amɨn    si:n    a

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

   Right, now **your** life is good.

35. mɨnɨ    bandaŋ-**nɨ**    kual   xɢara:-ɕʤ-a

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

   The leg of **my** chair broke.


### IV.4.2.3   Dative: -dɨ

The dative case, -dɨ, 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-**dɨ**       su:-ʤ-i:

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

   I live **in** this house.


94

37. e:      morit͡ɕaŋ    xa    di:    te    ɢual-di    ʂdara    wa

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

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

38. di:    te    sxu:-di    ne    and͡ʑi:-**di**    do:t͡ʂu:    ne    nige    ʂenlin    di:    dun

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

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

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

    Then, at that time, everywhere was forest; east mountain, west mountain, everything was

    forest, I am telling (you)!

Location in time:

39. ne    ɢa-**di**    do    si:n    a

    this    time-**DAT**    now    good    COP

    **Nowadays** (things) are good.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Goal:

42. ŋgan    guadindi    ɕuetaŋ-**di**    ɕi-ma

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

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

95

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

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

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

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

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

    da-na:       ne:    niŋge  wa

    door-REFL    open   after  COP

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

    garden and opened the front gate.

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

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

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

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

46. ta-ŋla          nda:-nɨ             **kudɨ**  utɕɨ-dʑ-a

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

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

47. ŋgan  **kudɨ**  ʂda:-la      ɕ-dʑ-a

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

    She went **home** to cook.

96

Recipient:

48. bɨ    tɕim-ɨ                 nige fu:     G-wa

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

    I gave you a book.

49. bɨ     nda:-nɨ              du:-**dɨ**-na:          fu-ŋge

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

    Gua-di-wa

    give-COMPL-PERF

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

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

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

    dʑil  baGu:r   G-dʑ-a

    kind  bracelet  give-PERF-OBJ

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

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

51. gan-**dɨ**    ɕge  ger-ge    i:-n-a

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

    He has a big house.

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

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

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

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

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

Then, he said he has a family record.

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

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

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

(We) see all kinds of things.

55. bu    tɕim-i      sge-wa

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

I saw you.

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

56. bu    ŋgan-i    sge-wa

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

I saw him/her.

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

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

---

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

98

57. ŋga-ŋla          **nda:**          sge-ʥ-a

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

They saw me.

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

58. bu      ta-ŋ-**dɨ**              sɢa-ja

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

Let me ask you.

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

59. e:    tigi:ŋge-la          su:-ʥ-a        tanɨ      ʐʥi-gu          **nda:**

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

xu:le:    ʥiefaŋ-la-di              niŋge      a:      do      ʥu:    nara

after    liberate-VRBL-COMPL    then      INTJ    also    just    sun

bu:-di-ʥ-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:    dʐuçi      ʥu:sɨ  wanmin-**dɨ**  ʥiefaŋ-la      di:    nige      di:    ʥu:

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

si:na-la-di-ʥ-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

99

1954:73-76). In Karlong, the fleeting /n surfaces in the dative case. The following example

illustrates this with the word 'water', which is *usu/n* in written Mongolian.

60. e:      la-dɨ       **sdzun-dɨ**    tiɢa:n       Gaʤer    tari-ma

    INTJ   hill-DAT    **water-DAT**   that.much   field    plant-ASSERT

    Yeah, on the hill (and) **in the water** (fields we) plant that many fields.

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

61. **sdzu**   Gu:r    dan-la-ʤɨ                              ra

    **water**  two     carry.on.shoulders-VRBL-IMPERF        come

    (I) come carrying two (buckets of) **water** on (my) shoulder,

In other dialects of Huzhu, the fleeting /n also surfaces in the ablative case (cf. Georg 2003:295-

296, SM 1964:18, 22).

### IV.4.2.4     Accusative: -nɨ

The accusative marker is *-nɨ*. In Karlong (and in all other Mongghul dialects) the genitive suffix

and the accusative suffix have the same form. However, genitive and accusative are distinguished

in personal pronouns (see detailed discussion in section IV.4.3 on personal pronouns).

The accusative is used to mark direct objects. It can also be used to mark the causee in

causative sentences (cf. Todaeva 1973:100-101). When the suffix *-nɨ* is attached to a word ending

in *-n*, no geminate is created, but one of the /n/'s is deleted (see example 62 below).

Accusative case marking a direct object:

62. bu      ŋgan-ɨ      sge-wa

    1SG     3SG-ACC    see-PERF

    I saw him/her.

100

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

    **fenugreek-ACC** plant-COMPL-COND      five      six            month

    ul-sa                              ɢari       ra-n-a                      bei

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

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

64. **maxa-ni**      aw-ʤi          ra

    **meat-ACC**   take-IMPERF   come

    Come take **the meat**!

65. ne    fu:-**ni**        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                      tɕural  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    şda:-n-i

    winter-DAT    cattle  dung   burn-NPT-SUBJ

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

101

69. ŋgan **moadɨ** jeç–dʑi       çi niŋge ɢal dʑaːla-ma

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

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

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

70. ŋgan çi-gu      dɨraːla-sa      **ŋgan-ɨ**      çi-lɢa

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

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

71. **gan-ɨ**     dzeːla-ɢa     ʂda-n      gu-a        xa mei lɨ    caŋ

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

    dʑin gɨ-dʑi

    gold QUOT-IMPERF

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

### IV.4.2.5 Locative: -rɨ

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

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

Location in space:

72. ɢajer     çdʑoːsɨ-rɨ    naːdzɨ ɢaç-dʑ-a

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

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

102

73. bɨ    tɕandzar-ɨ       su:-dʑ-i:

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

I lived **in** Qianzuo.

Goal:

74. kɨdɨ    fan  ku:-la             niŋge  di:  i:xge       wadzer-ɨ  Garɕi  ra

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

durdɨndɨ  dʑu:  ti:        lisgaŋ  warɨ-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-ɨ      ɕi  niŋge  jaŋ     ku:-la             nige  liam  mu:nɨ-Gula

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

dʑu:  niŋge  warɨ

part  after   work

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

76. e:    di:   xuina-sa  Gadɨn-dɨ       tɕandzar-ɨ      ɕ-dʑ-a

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

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

The locative suffix is also the last element in the words *ndre:* 'here' and *tre:* 'there'. SM

(1964:57) explain the long vowel in the locative suffix in these cases by a switch of vowel length,

e.g. *nde:* 'here' + -re becomes *nderie:*. In Karlong the shortened vowel is dropped completely.

See section III.3.3 for a discussion of Karlong [ɨ] and its correspondences in other dialects.

103

### IV.4.2.6 Ablative: -sa

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

Locational source, e.g.

77. gan    te    ger-**sa**       ri-ʤ-a

    3sg.    that    house-**ABL**    come-PERF-OBJ

    He came **from** that house.

78. bi    fila:n nira-**sa**    ri-wa

    1SG    Fulaan Nara-**ABL**    come-PERF

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

79. di:    a:nie-ɢula        ɕge    da    maŋli:-**sa**    do:ra-ʤi           daŋlur-la

    then    grandmother-DL    big    door    lintel-**ABL**    go.down-IMPERF    lantern-INST.COM

    nige    i:-sa-ŋge

    one    look-COND-SG

    then when (he) and the grandmother both came down **from** the lintel of the front gate and took a look with the lantern,

        jeri-ŋge    sara    su:    ge:-ʤ-a        be:    ɕge    da    busɢua-ni

        woman-SG    month    sit    put-PERF-OBJ    PTCL    big    door    threshold-POSS

        ko:-la    nige

        lean-VRBL    one

        a woman who had just given birth was leaning on the threshold of the front gate.

---

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

Temporal source:

80. 
| e: | di: | xuina-**sa** | ɢadin-di | tɕandzar–i | ç–dʑ-a |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| INTJ | then | after-**ABL** | in-laws-DAT | Qianzuo-LOC | go-PERF-OBJ |

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

81. 
| saŋmaŋ-**sa** | tɕe:n | erʂi | tien | tiɢa:nge | di: | tar-sa | di: |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Qingming-**ABL** | before | twenty | day | that.much | then | plant-COND | then |

| di: | baŋdʑan | a | ba |
|---|---|---|---|
| then | approximately | COP | PTCL |

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

82. 
| ne-**sa** | miçi-ni | i:tɕien-ɢula-di-ni | i:-n-a |
|---|---|---|---|
| this-**ABL** | before-GEN | early-INTENS-DAT-POSS | COP-NPT-OBJ |

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

Standard of comparison:

83. 
| tɕi | nda:-**sa** | çge | wa |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG | 1SG.OBL.STEM-**ABL** | big | COP |

You are taller **than** me.

84. 
| nanige | çdʑo: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.

105

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

86. bɨ      jile:-**sa**      xudɨ      aji-n-a

    1SG     ghost-**ABL**     INTENS    fear-NPT-OBJ

    I am very afraid of ghosts.

87. nda:-nɨ                    du:            lisga-**sa**      aji-ma

    1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN           younger.brother  work-**ABL**     fear-ASSERT

    My younger brother is afraid of work.

### IV.4.2.7    *Instrumental-comitative: -la*

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

Instrumental function:

88. ŋgan    xɢei-nɨ     tɕidaɢu-**la**           ala-di-ʥ-a

    3sg.     pig-POSS    knife-**INST.COM**       kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

    He killed the pig **with** a knife.

89. fɨla:n   ʂda:si-**la**      wari   kɨdɨ      samba-**la**      wari-n-a

    red      thread-**INST.COM** work   several   kind-**INST.COM**  work-NPT-OBJ

    (I) work **with** red thread, (and also) work **with** several kinds (of thread).

90. aja:    moŋɢual   a    xa    moŋɢual   xgatɕa-**la**-na:

    INTJ    Monguor   COP  PTCL  Monguor   language-**INST.COM**-REFL

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

106

Comitative function:

91. ŋgaŋ-la      buda-ŋla-**la**              utɕi-dʑ-a

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

       They ate **with** us.

92. kɨdɨ     fan    ku:-**la**            niŋge   di:    i:xge        wadzer-ɨ   ɢarɕi   ra

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

       durdɨndɨ   dʑu:   ti:         lisgaŋ   warɨ-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. ɢada-gu       kun-**la**           nige   rɨn      taŋɕa:-la

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

       chat a moment **with** people outside,

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

94. **i:gua-la**        nda:      du:ra:-dʑ-a         sɨla:-dʑ-a

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

       **Everybody** imitated me in watering (their fields).

95. e:     gedʑo:men   **i:gua**   ɕinjaŋ-la-di-dʑ-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 *-luya / -lüge*), is used with nouns denoting time to express the meaning 'during', e.g. *dur* 'day', *durla:* 'during the day'.

96. dur-la:      maxa    tiłïm    xarauldʑi   ki:    tiłïm    ja:n-i:

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

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


### IV.4.2.8     Case – Comparative and historical data

On the whole, case marking in Karlong is not very different from case marking in other Huzhu

dialects. There are, however, some differences.

The limitive (*-xɔŋ/-lɔŋ/-dɔŋ*) case markers listed by Chaolu Wu (1994) could not be found in

the Karlong data. Also, Karlong does not have the range of connective (genitive-accusative)

suffixes shown by Chaolu Wu (1994). The comitative suffix *-di:* or *-de:* given by SM (1964),

Todaeva (1973), Chaolu Wu (1994) and Georg (2003) also does not appear in the Karlong data

(or in my data of Tianzhu). The same is the case for the directive suffix listed by Chaolu Wu

(1994) (*-dʑe*) and by Georg (2003) (*-ji*).

According to Georg (2003:295-296), "the unstable */n of Proto-Mongolic occasionally

appears in some stems in the dative and ablative". There are no examples of */n surfacing in front

of the ablative suffix in Karlong.

Georg (2003:295) lists the connective, dative, and locative suffixes as *-ni*, *-di*, and *-ri*

respectively, but notes that while the vowel "is written as i in the literary language...[it] also

appears as e [ə] in non-standard materials." The sound found in Karlong is definitely closer to [ə].

Note that Chaolu Wu (1994:5) gives the sound in question as [ɵ] for (some cases of) connective

and dative, and as [з] 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

---

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


108

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

110

### 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 *-sgi*, another with *-sila*[76], and a third with *-ŋgula*. In all cases the suffixes are attached to the following stems: 1st person: *bida-*, 2nd person: *ta-*, and 3rd person: *ŋgan-*.

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

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

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

---

[76] This form was elicited only from S26.

**Table 31. Karlong Personal Pronouns**

| CASE | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1DL | 1PL | 2DL | 2PL | 3DL | 3PL |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| NOM | bɨ<br>bu | tɕɨ | ŋgan<br>ta<br>tanige | bɨdaɢuːrla<br>bɨdaɢula<br>bɨda<br>daɢula | bɨdaŋgula<br>bɨdaŋ<br>bɨdasgɨ<br>bɨdasɨla<br>daŋla | taɢuːrla<br>taɢula | taŋgula<br>tasgɨ<br>tasɨla | ŋgaŋɢuːrla<br>ŋgaŋɢula | ŋgan<br>ŋgasgɨ<br>ŋgasɨla<br>taŋgula |
| GEN | ndaːnɨ<br>mɨnɨ | tɕɨnɨ<br>tanɨ | ŋganɨ<br>tanɨ | — | bɨdaŋnɨ<br>bɨdaŋgula | — | tasgɨnɨ<br>taŋgulanɨ<br>taŋnanɨ | — | — |
| DAT | ndaː | tɕɨmɨ | ŋgandɨ<br>tandɨ<br>tanigedɨ | — | bɨdaŋdɨ<br>bɨdaŋguladɨ<br>bɨdaŋla | — | taŋguladɨ<br>taŋdɨ | — | ŋgaŋdɨ |
| ACC | ndaː | tɕɨmu | ŋganɨ<br>tanɨ | — | — | taɢuːrnɨ | taŋgulanɨ | — | ŋgaŋnanɨ |
| ABL | ndaːsa | tɕɨmɨsa | ŋgansa | — | — | — | taŋsa | — | ŋgaŋsa |
| INST.COM | — | tɕɨmɨla | ŋgaŋla | — | bɨdaŋgulala | — | taŋla | — | ŋgaŋla |

112

*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 *\*nama-da* (Georg 2003:298)

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

Examples for the two forms of the genitive:

97. **mini**       nira     lamikar   i:

    **1SG.GEN**   name    Lamikar   COP

    **My** name is Lamikar.

98. ne     **nda:-ni**                 kudi   ʤu:   ra-di-sa                do    lamantɕuŋ

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

    gui:ren-ge              gi-ʤi

    important.person-SG    QUOT-IMPERF

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

Dative case, used in the possessive construction:

99. **nda:**      Gura:n a:ʤa          i:

    **1SG.DAT** three    older.brother   COP

    **I** have three older brothers.

## IV.4.3.2     *2ⁿᵈ person singular*

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

Genitive:

100. **tɕi-ni**      nara    jaːn-iː

     **2SG-GEN**    name    what-SUBJ

     What is **your** name

Dative:

101. **tɕim-i**            kidi        biliː    iː

     **2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT**    how.many    child    COP

     How many children do **you** have?

Accusative:

102. bu      **tɕim-u**            jeɕ-dʑi        ul-ua

     1SG    **2SG.OBL.STEM-ACC**    find-IMPERF    become-PERF

     I found **you**.

## IV.4.3.3     *3ʳᵈ person singular*

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

114

Accusative case:

103. bu     **ŋgan-ɨ**     sge-wa

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

      I saw him/her.

Dative case:

104. **tan-dɨ**      çge    nige   ʤen   ger      i:-n-a

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

      **He** has a big house.

105. **ŋgan-dɨ**      i:-na

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

      **She** has (one).


### *IV.4.3.4*      *Dual personal pronouns*

The first person dual pronoun is *budaɢu:rla* (or *budaɢula*, but cf. section IV.4.1.3 on *-ɢula*) and

*daɢula*. For the second person, the form is *taɢu:rla* (or *taɢula*). The third person dual is

*ŋgaŋɢu:rla* or *ŋɢaŋɢula*. It is not completely clear how these pairs of forms are related with each

other. One possibility is that the forms in *-ɢula* are reduced versions of those in *-ɢu:rla*. *-ɢu:rla* is

composed of *ɢo:r* 'two'[77] and *-la*, the instrumental-comitative suffix. Only first person dual

pronouns appear in the data in connected speech:

---

[77] 'Two' is *ɢo:r, ɢu:r* or *ɢuar*, but the dual marker is clearly *-ɢula*.

106. maɢaɕi   tɕi   buda-**ɢula**       handɨla   utɕi–ja

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

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

107. aːga   diː     da-**ɢula**       ja:    şan-kɨ–ja

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

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

### *IV.4.3.5*    *1ˢᵗ person plural*

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

     Nominative case:

108. eː     do  **bɨda**  li  dʑa    kun

     INTJ  now  **1PL**   Li  family  person

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

109. taş–gu          gadɨ-n-i         bei   **da-ŋla**  tar-la      ɕ-dʑ-a

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

     **We** planted and harvested, planted.

     Genitive case:

110. eː     diː   buda-ŋ-**nɨ**  ɢual  doːra-nɨ    dereːn  ajil  iː

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

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

     Dative case:

116

111. bɨda-ŋ-**dɨ**              ʥapu         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     ɕge   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    handɨ    utɕi-ʥ-a

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

     **You** ate together with them.

114. oːla   do     ta-ŋla-**nɨ**         amɨn   siːn   a

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

     Right, now your life is good.

115. bu   **ta-ŋ-dɨ**             fuː-ŋge   ɢ-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.

117

116. ŋga-ŋla        ju:-di        niŋge      gundzuo-la-di-dʑ-a

**3PL.STEM-PL**   go-COMPL   then     work-VRBL-v.s.-PERF-OBJ

**They** went and worked.

117. nda:        çdʑundu:     Gu:r i:    **ta-ŋla**       xudʐu   su:-dʑ-a

1SG.DAT   younger.sister   two  COP   **3PL.STEM-PL**   Huzhu   sit-PERF-OBJ

I have two younger sisters. **They** live in Huzhu.

## IV.4.3.8   *Personal pronouns - comparative and historical data*

The main difference between Karlong and other dialects of Huzhu is that in Karlong the 1st

person plural pronouns are almost exclusively based on the stem *buda-*, whereas other varieties

also used the stem *nda:-*. Another difference is the almost exclusive use of *ŋgan* for the 3rd person,

as opposed to the demonstrative pronoun *te*.

**Table 32.  Tianzhu Personal Pronouns**

|  | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL | 2PL | 3PL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM | bu | tɕi | te | da:hɨna | tahɨna | tjehɨna |
| GEN | mɨnɨ<br>munɨ | tɕɨnɨ<br>tɕɨna | tjenɨ | da:hgɨnɨ<br>da:hgɨna | tɨhgɨnɨ<br>tɨgɨnɨ<br>tahɨna<br>tagɨnɨ<br>tɨgɨnɨn | tjehgɨnɨ<br>tjegɨnɨ<br>tahɨna<br>tagɨnɨ<br>tɨgɨnɨ |
| DAT | da: | tɕimi: | tjedɨ<br>tjendɨ | da:gɨdɨ | tɨgɨdɨ | tɨgɨdɨ |
| ACC | da: | tɕimi: | tjenɨ | da:hɨnanɨ | tahɨnanɨ | tjehɨnanɨ |
| ABL | da:sa | tɕimi:sa | gansa |  |  | tjehgsa |
| INST.COM |  | tɕimila | tjela | da:hgɨla | tahgɨla<br>tahɨnala | tjehɨnala |

In Tianzhu, there is some overlap between the 2nd and 3rd person plural in the genitive and dative

cases. This could be due to the phonological similarity: the 2nd person plural stem is *ta*, and the 3rd

person plural stem is *tje*.

118

Compared with Karlong, there are also some other noticeable differences. For one, *gan* for

the third person surfaces only in one case (3rd person singular ablative). In all other cases the third

person is represented by *tje* (or *ti*). The plural is always marked by *-hgina* (or the shortened or

reduced *-hgini, -gini* or *-hini*). In the dative, ablative, and sometimes n the instrumental-

comitative case, the *-ni / -na* is dropped. Also note that the initial /n/ in the first person pronouns

has been lost. And, the most noticeable difference with Karlong is the exclusive use of the stem

*(n)da:-* for the first person plural.

**Table 33. Naringhol Personal Pronouns**

| | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL | 2PL | 3PL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM | bu | tɕi | tie | buda<br>budasgi | ta<br>tasgi | tiesgi |
| GEN | muni | tɕini | tieni | nda:ni (nda:sgini,<br>budasgini) | tani<br>(tasgini) | tiesgini |
| DAT | nda: | tɕimi: | tiedu | nda:sdu (nda:sgidu)<br>budasdu (budasgidu) | tasdu<br>(tasgida) | tiesgidu |
| ACC | nda: | tɕimi: | tieni | nda:sgini<br>budasgini | tasgini | tiesgini |
| ABL | nda:dza | tɕimi:dza | tiedza | nda:sdza (nda:sgidza)<br>budasdza (budasgidza) | tasdza<br>(tasgidza) | tiesgidza |
| INST | nda:ra | tɕimi:ra | tiera | nda:sgira<br>budasgira | tasgira | tiesgira |
| COM.SOC | nda:la | tɕimi:la | tiela | nda:sgila<br>budasgila | tasgila | tiesgila |
| LOC | munire | tɕinire | tiere | nda:nire | tanire | tiesgire |

119

**Table 34. Halchi Personal Pronouns, Georg (2003)**

|       | 1SG          | 2SG    | 3SG       | 1PL                    | 2PL        | 3PL      |
|-------|--------------|--------|-----------|------------------------|------------|----------|
| NOM   | bu<br>ndaa   | qi     | te<br>gan | buda(sge)<br>ndaa(sge) | ta(sge)    | tesge    |
| GEN   | muni<br>ndaani | qini | teni      | budasgeni<br>nda(sge)ni | ta(sge)ni  | tesgeni  |
| DAT   | ndaa         | qimii  | tendi     | budasgedi<br>ndaas(ge)di | tas(ge)di | tesgedi  |
| ACC   | ndaa         | qimu   | teni      | budasgeni<br>nda(sge)ni | tasgeni    | tesgeni  |
| ABL   | ndaasa       | qimasa | tensa     | budas(ge)sa<br>ndaas(ge)sa | tas(ge)sa | tesgesa |
| COM   | ndaala       | qimula | tela      | budas(ge)sa<br>ndaas(ge)sa | tas(ge)la | tesgela |
| DIR   | ndaaji       | qimiji | tendiji   | bdasgediji<br>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 declination. Most likely the declination is regular in Halchi. He also states that the form of it in earlier Mongghul sources is *rgen ~ rgan*. The preinitial has become /ŋ/ in Karlong (for a discussion of preinitials see section IV.5.1.2).

For the plural forms, Georg also notes that other plural markers besides *-sge* are possible: the shortened form *-s*, and also *-hgi* and *-ngula* (2003:298).

120

**Table 35. Halchi Personal Pronouns - Zhaonasitu (1981)**

| | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL | 2PL | 3PL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM | bu | tɕə | te<br>rgen | buda<br>budaŋgula, budasge<br>ndaaŋgula, ndaasge | ta<br>taŋgula<br>tasge | teŋgula, tesge<br>rge(n)ŋgula,<br>rgensge |
| GEN | munə | tɕənə | tenə<br>rgenə | ndaanə<br>budaŋgulanə,<br>budasgenə<br>ndaaŋgulanə,<br>ndaasgenə | tanə<br>taŋgulanə<br>tasgenə | teŋgulanə, tesgenə<br>rge(n)ŋgula-nə,<br>rgensgenə |
| DAT | ndaa | tɕəmu<br>(tɕəmii) | tendə<br>rgendə | budaŋguladə,<br>budasgedə<br>ndaaŋguladə,<br>ndaasgedə | taŋguladə<br>tasgedə | teŋguladə, tesgedə<br>rge(n)ŋguladə,<br>rgensgedə |
| ACC | ndaa | tɕəmu<br>(tɕəmii) | tenə<br>rgenə | budaŋgulanə,<br>budasgenə<br>ndaaŋgulanə,<br>ndaasgenə | taŋgulanə<br>tasgenə | teŋgulanə, tesgenə<br>rge(n)ŋgula-nə,<br>rgensgenə |
| ABL | ndaasa | tɕəmusa | tensa<br>rgensa | budaŋgulasa,<br>budasgesa<br>ndaaŋgulasa,<br>ndaasgesa | taŋgulasa<br>tasgesa | teŋgulasa, tesgesa<br>rge(n)ŋgulasa,<br>rgensgesa |
| INST | ndaala | tɕəmula | tenla<br>rgenla | budaŋgulala,<br>budasgela<br>ndaaŋgulala,<br>ndaasgela | taŋgulala<br>tasgela | teŋgulala, tesgela<br>rge(n)ŋgulala,<br>rgensgela |
| COM | ndaadii | tɕəmudii | tendii<br>rgendii | budaŋguladii,<br>budasgedii<br>ndaaŋguladii,<br>ndaasgedii | taŋguladii<br>tasgedii | teŋguladii, tesgedii<br>rge(n)ŋguladii,<br>rgensgedii |

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

121

**Table 36. Halchi Personal Pronouns, Todaeva (1973)**

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

122

### IV.4.4  Possessive Marker: -ni

The possessive marker -ni is used to mark the possessed noun in noun phrases. The possessor is marked with the genitive case.

118. ta-ni      tɕire:-**ni**      ne

     that-GEN   edge-**POSS**   this

     This is the edge of that one.

Case markings precede the possessive marker:

119. tɕi      ŋgan-ni      tada-**sa-ni**      ju:-di-dʑ-a

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

     You went away from her.

120. tu:li:-ni      rasi-**ni-ni**      xu:la-la      ra

     rabbit-GEN   skin-**ACC-POSS**   peel-PURP      come

     Come skin the rabbit.

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

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

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

When the copula *a ~ wa* appears after the possessive suffix *-ni*, the possessive suffix and the copula contract to *-na* (*-ni* + *a*, no /w/ is inserted).

122. tɕi      bida      gu:r-ni      ɕdʑi:-di-**na**

     2SG    1PL     two-GEN   middle-DAT-**POSS.COP**

     You are between the two of us.

123

### 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

     dʑil    baGu:r    G-dʑ-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)dʑina:* 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      **ndʑina:**      xGei-**na:**    ala-di-wa

     1SG    **REFL.PRON**    pig-**REFL**    kill-COMPL-PERF

     I killed **my own** pig.

125. naŋ        fire:  tɕi  i:gua-**na:**    **ndʑina:**        lu:ki-dʑ-i:                ba

     this.year  seed  2SG  all-REFL      REFL.PRON      have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ    PTCL

     This year you had a surplus for **yourself** from **your** seeds?

Reflexive pronoun without reflexive suffix:


124

126. **ndʑina:**        nige  pidʑig  gu-a        fu:-rɨ      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. bɨ   nda:-nɨ             du:-dɨ-**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. tɨGu:      **xudʑi-la-na:**         nda:-nɨ         Gar   dʑu:gi-dʑ-a

     chicken    beak-**INST.COM-REFL**  1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN  hand   bite-PERF-OBJ

     The chicken pecked my hand **with its** beak.

Reflexive suffix with ablative case:

129. ka:rda   paŋ-**sa-na:**       nige     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:-nɨ               ɕdʑundu:-**Gula-na:**     rd-ua

     1SG   1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN  younger.sister-**DL-REFL**  eat-PERF

     I ate **with my** younger sister.

Reflexive suffix with singular marker:

125

131. ja    ja    malɢa-**naː-ŋge**    ʤoː-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 -naː with case suffix, using *malɢa* 'hat' as an example.

**Table 37. Reflexive Marker - Case Combinations**

| Case | Form |
|---|---|
| Nominative | malɢanaː |
| Genitive | malɢanːnɨ |
| Dative | malɢanːdɨ |
| Accusative | malɢanːnɨ |
| Ablative | malɢanːsa |
| Instrumental-Comitative | malɢanːla |
| Locative | malɢanːrɨ |

### *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 *-naː/-laː/-raː*.

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

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

126

## IV.4.6  Interrogative Pronouns

Karlong has the following interrogative pronouns: *kani / kana* 'who', *andʑi: / andʑa* 'where', *jaːni: / jaːna* 'what', *kidi* 'how many', *tiɢaːn* 'how much', *ali* 'which' (e.g. *alisxuːdi* 'when', 'at what time'), *kɕeː* 'when', *amagidʑa* 'how'. Some of these pronouns (e.g. 'who', 'where', 'what') distinguish between subjective and objective perspective.

*kani* 'who':

132. aːdiedie    ger-di  ra  **kan-i**

grandfather    house-DAT   come   **who-SUBJ**

Grandfather, **who** is coming to the house?

*andʑi: / andʑa* 'where':

133. tɕi suː-san-i         **andʑ-i:**

2SG    sit-PAST-SUBJ          **where-SUBJ**

**Where** do you live?

134. tɕi    **andʑ-i:**        suː-dʑ-i:

2SG    **where-SUBJ**   sit.PERF-SUBJ

**Where** do you live?

135. ŋgan    **andʑ-a**

3SG    **where-OBJ**

Where is s/he?

*jani* 'what':

136. tɕi-ni         nara    **jaːn-i**

2SG-GEN    name    **what-SUBJ**

**What** is your name?

*kidi* 'how many':

127

137. tɕi    **kidi**       nasɨ  wa

     2SG   **how.many**   age   COP

     **How** old are you?

138. tɕim-ɨ               **kidi**     bili:

     2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT   **how.many** child

     **How many** children do you have?

*tiɢaːn* 'how much':

139. do    tɕi    le:       tigi:ŋge   do    **tiɢaːn**   Gadʑer tari-n-i

     now   2SG   PTCL   like.that  now  **how.much** field   plant-NPT-SUBJ

     Now **how much** field area do you plant?

*kɕe* 'when':

140. ŋgan  **kɕe**   ra-sa-nɨ           bu   mide-dʑi       gu-i:

     3SG   **when**  come-COND-ACC 1SG   know-IMPERF      NEG.AUX-SUBJ

     I don't know **when** he will come.

## IV.4.7   Demonstrative Pronouns

Karlong has two demonstrative pronouns: *ne ~ na* 'this'/'these' and *te ~ ta* 'that'/'those'. Both of them can be used as personal pronouns, although *ta* is more frequent in this function (cf. Todaeva 1973:82). Number is not distinguished in demonstrative pronouns.

   In a noun phrase, the position of the demonstrative pronoun is in the beginning of the noun phrase, before the noun:

141. **te**    ger    ɕge wa

     **that**  house  big  COP

     **That** house is big.

128

142. bɨ    **ne**    ɕʥoːsɨ-nɨ    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**  ndaː-nɨ           duː           wa    ŋgan  wadzer-ɨ

    **this one**  1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN  younger.brother  COP   3SG  city-LOC

    suː-ʥ-a

    live-PERF-OBJ

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

144. bɨ    **ta**   **nige-di**    fuː-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**    ɕge   nige  ʥen  ger    iː-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 -dɨ*

There is one instance of this suffix in the data. The suffix is used to create adjectives from nouns:

146. ŋgan    ʂda:-san              nefdza:    **funɨrdɨ**    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. *nasɨ* 'age', and *nasɨla* '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 *-kɨ*, whether or not the word in question is a verb in Chinese. For
example, Chinese *jiéhūn* 结婚 'to get married' becomes *dʑiehunla* 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 *beihuatɕɨfaŋla*, from Chinese *bǎihuā*
*qífàng* 百花齐放 'a hundred flowers bloom'.

*nasɨ* 'age', and *nasɨla* 'to be a certain age', 'to be X years old':

147. bu      tidʑin    ɢu:r    nasɨ−**la**-dʑ-a

1SG     forty     two     age-**VRBL**-PERF-OBJ

I am forty-two years old.


*dʑu:dɨn* 'dream', and *dʑu:dɨla* 'to dream':

148. ku:-ŋge   tora-dʑ-a             truo     yanweidzɨ   mɨde-dʑɨ       gu-a

son-SG    give.birth-PERF-OBJ   inside   official     know-IMPERF   NEG.AUX-OBJ

dʑu:dɨ-**la**      dʑu:ne

dream-**VRBL**    just this

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

130

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

149. ndʑasɨ-na:    dan-**la**                    i:gua-na:    warɨ    ka:rda-na:

plow-REFL    carry.on.shoulders[78]-**VRBL**    all.REFL    do    livestock-REFL

la:-**kɨ**        tarɨ    bɨra:-na

pull[79]-**VRBL** plant    finish-NPT-OBJ

Carrying the plow on my shoulders, (I) do everything, pull (in) the livestock, and finish

planting.


### IV.4.8.3    Denominal suffix -da

This suffix is used to create verbs form nouns, e.g. ɢal 'fire', ɢal**da** 'to make fire'.

150. e:    xo:di    di:    dʑe:    xo:di-rɨ    rɨ-dʑɨ    e:    ɢal    ɢal**da**

INTJ    fireplace    then    PTCL    fireplace-LOC    come-IMPERF    INTJ    fire    make.fire

ɢal-ge    dʑala-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:-nɨ        pu:**da**-la            ra

rabbit-ACC    shoot-PURP        come

Come and shoot the rabbit!


### IV.4.8.4    -gu

This suffix is used to create modifiers from nouns and postpositions. For example, ɢadagu kun,

'the person/people who is/are outside'.

---

[78] Chinese: *dān* 担.

[79] Chinese: *lā* 拉.

152. ɢada-**gu**     kun-la                  nige    rɨn       taŋça:-la

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

     chat a moment with people outside,

153. rlaŋ    dʑu:ro-**gu**     nara xalaŋ xuitɨ a:ma-nɨ      xalɢa xdaŋ

     cloud  between-n.s.  sun  hot     step    mother-GEN palm  hard

     Sun between clouds is hot, and the step-mother's hand is hard.

154. ɢarɨ-sa              ɢar    tiɢa:n       ndur-**gu**    rgu-di

     come.out-COND    hand  that.much   high-n.s.     tie.up-COMPL

     dʑu:   ɢar-la           sa:ra    warɨ nige

     just   hand-INST.COM   pull.out  do   one

     **When** it comes (out) as high as the size of a hand, tie it up and pull it out a little with (your)

     hand.

### IV.4.8.5  *Suffix -ra:, -ro:*

These suffix creates verbs from adjectives, e.g. *xu:tɕin* 'old' - *xu:tɕira:* 'to get old', *noɢo:n*

'green' - *noɢo:ro:* 'become green'. Note that the final *-n* of the stem is deleted. In my data, there

are no examples of this suffix in connected speech.

### IV.4.8.6  *Occupations with -tɕi*

Nouns describing occupations are formed by attaching the suffix *-tɕi* (nomen actoris) to the verbal

stem, e.g. *xonima:tɕi* '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.

132

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**   **bili:**   i:

    1SG.DAT   **two**      **child**   COP

    I have **two children**.

156. **nige**   **kun-di**          **nige**   **dʑaŋ**   **pise:**   i:-gun-a

    **one**    **person-DAT**   **one**    **hundred** **belt**   COP-GEN.FUT-OBJ

    **One person** has **one hundred belts**.[80]

157. nda:      **Gura:n a:dʑa**        i:

    1SG.DAT   three     older.brother   COP

    I have **three older brothers**.

Numeral following noun:

158. nda:      **çdʑundu:**      **Gu:r**   i:

    1SG.DAT   younger.sister   two    COP

    I have **two younger sisters**.

159. **çdʑundu:**      **Gu:r-ni**    kurge:-di-dʑ-a

    **younger.sister two**-ACC   marry-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

    The **two younger sisters** are married.

---

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

133

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 | ɢuːr | 12 | xaran ɢuːr | 20 | xorin |
| 3 | ɢuraːn | 13 | xaran ɢuraːn | 30 | xudʑin |
| 4 | dereːn | 14 | xaran dereːn | 40 | tidʑin |
| 5 | tawun | 15 | xaran tawun | 50 | tajin |
| 6 | dʑirɢoːn | 16 | xaran dʑirɢoːn | 60 | dʑiren |
| 7 | daloːn | 17 | xaran daloːn | 70 | dalan |
| 8 | nimen | 18 | xaran nimen | 80 | najen |
| 9 | ʂdzin | 19 | xara ʂdzin | 90 | jerin |
| 10 | xaran | | | 100 | nigedʑoŋ |
| | | | | 1000 | nige mieŋxan |

As opposed to Minhe, where all numerals except 'one' (and in some cases 'two', cf. Slater 2003:94-95) have been replaced by Chinese words, Huzhu still retains the Mongolic numerals. However, in the dialect of Tianzhu, there is some confusion for the upper decimals, and it seems that decimals over 20 are no longer known to younger speakers.

In my data, Chinese numbers are used especially where the numeral directly precedes a Chinese loan word, e.g.

160. la-dɨ          **ʂɨji**     **mu**    ɢadʑer-ge    tari-ma

    mountain-DAT  **eleven mu**   field-SG   plant-ASSERT

    On the mountain (we) plant an **11 mu** (亩) field. (Chinese: shíyī mǔ 十一亩[81])

---

[81] Chinese land measure.

161. ɕʥuːsɯ diː ... ʥuː **ji liaŋ tɕien kuei** tiɢaːŋge ʂda-ma nige fan

tree then just **one two thousand yuan** that.much can-ASSERT one year

Now trees...**one or two thousand yuan**, (one) can make that much in one year. (Chinese: *kuài* 块)

162. saŋmaŋ-sa tɕeːn **erʂɯ tien** tiɢaːŋge diː tar-sa diː

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

diː baŋʥan 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. *ʥen*, used as a measure word for buildings, Chinese *jiān* 间.

Classifier following the numeral and preceding the modified noun:

163. ŋgaŋ-la nige **ʥen** ger pas-ɢa-ʥ-a

3PL.STEM one **CL** house stand.up-CAUS-PERF-OBJ

They built a house.

Numeral and classifier following the noun:

164. ndaː ɕge ger **nige ʥen** iː

1SG.DAT big house **one CL** COP

I have a big house.

135

This last sentences, and the following sentence, are elicited sentences, with the person eliciting the sentence using Qinghaihua (the variety of Mandarin spoken in Qinghai). That the elicitation did not necessarily have an influence on which measure word was used in the KL sentence is shown by the following example, which was elicited using *ge* (个):

165. ɢuar **ʤen** ger

    two    **CL**   house

    two houses

However, classifiers also appear freely in non-elicited speech, e.g. example 160 above.


### IV.4.9.3    *Collectives*

Collectives are formed by attaching the instrumental-comitative suffix *-la* to the numeral.

166. aːɢadu:    **ɢoːr-la**      ʤiehun-la-di-ʤ-a

    brother    **two-COLL**   marry-VRBL-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

    The **two** brothers got married.

If the suffix *-la* is attached to a word ending with /n/, this final /n/ is deleted[82]:

167. bɨda        **ɢuraː-la**

    1PL.STEM   **three-COLL**

    we **three**

Collectives with numerals greater than three are not attested in connected speech in the data. The following appears in isolation: *daloː-la* 'seven-COLL'.

---

[82] I only have data where the suffix *-la* is attached to words ending in /n/ corresponding to fleeting *n* in Written Mongolian. As a result I do not know if Karlong /n/ corresponding to non-fleeting *n* would also be deleted.

## IV.4.10 Adjectives

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

168. **fila:n** şda: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     **çge**    çdʑo:si-di     daldi    bira:-dʑ-a

     now    **big**    tree-DAT     sell    finish-PERF-OBJ

     Selling the **big** trees is finished.

170. **fila:n** bili:     **xara**   a:ma    ja:n-i:

     **red**    child    **black**   mouth   what-SUBJ

     A **red** child, a **black** mouth, what is it?[83]

When used as a predicate, adjectives appear after the noun and are often followed by the copula *wa*, e.g.:

171. ne     ger     **çge**   **wa**

     this    house   **big**   **COP**

     This house **is big**.

172. ne     basi    xudi     **se:xan**      a

     this    cloth   very     **beautiful COP**

     This cloth **is** very **beautiful**.

---

[83] It is the *ji:kaŋ* 'kang' (with a black firehole and the 'red child' the fire inside).

137

173. tɕi-ni      tɕidaɢua **maxdɨr** **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 *xudɨ* 'very' has already been illustrated in example 172. The suffix *-ɢula* can also be used:

174. teŋgerɨ ura-n-a          kuidan-**ɢula**

     sky     rain-NPT-OBJ     cold-**INTENS**

     It is raining (and) it is **very** cold.

175. ʂdɨma dʑaŋ-la-tala          wuːr    ɕge-**ɢula**

     bread steam-VRBL-TERM    steam big-**INTENS**

     When (you) steam bread, there is **a lot** of steam. (lit. 'the steam is big')

176. ne    ger-dɨ       tɕaŋgaŋ gu-a          xa     xaranɢo-**ɢula**

     this house-DAT window NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL dark-**INTENS**

     There are no windows in this room, so it's **very** dark.

Adjectives can also be intensified by adding *draŋ* before the adjective: *draŋ xara* 'very black'. The adjective can be reduplicated to express intensification: *xara xara* 'very black'. And lastly, word *hen* 'very', borrowed from Chinese (*hěn* 很), can be used:

177. e:     na-sa     dʑatiŋ    **xen**    kunan a

     INTJ this-ABL family    **very** poor    COP

     Yeah, so the family is **very** poor.

The use of the Chinese intensifier in this sentences is most likely triggered by the use of the other Chinese words: *dʑatiŋ* 'family' (Chinese *jiātíng* 家庭) and *kunan* 'poor', 'difficult' (Chiese *kùnnan* 困难). There is only this one instance of *xen* being used as an intensifier.

138

## 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', ɢ*ada* 'outside', *hueina* ~ *hui:na* 'behind', 'after', *miçi* 'in front', 'before', *handi* ~ *hamdi* 'together', *çdʑidi* 'between', *xula* 'far from', *do:ra* 'under'.

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

178. tçi    ŋgan-ni    **tada-sa-ni**    ju:-di-dʑ-a

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

    You walked **away from** him.

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

179. e:    dʑu:    fuzu    dʑa-di    da    andʑ-i:    dʑu:si    ɢ**ada-sa**

    INTJ    just    rich    family-DAT    and    where-SUBJ    just    **outside-ABL**

    xarɢal-ge    tuŋgu-dʑ-i:    gu:gi    nien    xa

    dried.manure-SG    collect-PERF-SUBJ    celebrate    year    PTCL

    Yeah, so, the rich families collected some manure from **outside** to celebrate the New Year.

*du:ra* 'under' (nominative case, with nominative noun):

180. bu    fu:r    **du:ra**    talɢuei    mirgu-wa

    1SG    grave    **under**    head    bow-PERF

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

139

The postpositions *hueina ~ huiːna* '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. aː    **ten-sa**    **hueina** do    dʐou    dʑa    suː-gun-a    waŋ    dʑa

INTJ    **that-ABL**    **after** now    Zhou    family    sit-NARR.PAST-OBJ    Wang    family

suː-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-nɨ**    itɕien-ɢula-dɨ-nɨ    iː-n-a

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

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

*handɨ ~ hamdɨ* 'together' (with instrumental-comitative suffix, and with a nominative noun):

183. ŋga-ŋgula    **hamdɨ-la**    utɕi-ma

3PL.STEM-PL    **together-COLL**    drink-ASSERT

They ate together.

*handɨ ~ hamdɨ* 'together' (with instrumental-comitative suffix, and without a noun):

184. **handɨ**    tarɨ-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 *dʑuːra* 'between'.

140

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

185. tigi: ɢual-ge-nɨ **trua-nɨ** bɨli:-ŋge çulʣa-n-i ja:n-i:

like.that valley-SG-GEN **inside-POSS** child-SG swing-NPT-SUBJ what-SUBJ

**In** a valley a child is swinging back and forth. What is it?[84]

186. da:len-ɨ **dera-nɨ** laŋxo dzaŋ-la-ʣ-i:

saddle.bag-GEN **in-POSS** bottle put.in-VRBL-PERF-SUBJ

(We) put a bottle **in** the saddle bag.

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

187. e: tigi:ŋge xa ne ʂdara:-nɨ amagɨʣa gɨ-sa

INTJ like.that PTCL this mill-GEN how QUOT-COND

**ʣu:ra-nɨ** do lamantçun bo:ʣun ɢari ç-ʣ-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. fɨla:n ɢual-ge **trua-nɨ** nige ban tçiɢa:n xurɢa kɨde:

red valley-SG **inside-POSS** one group white lamb lie.down

su:-ʣ-i: ja:n-i:

sit-PERF-SUBJ what-SUBJ

**In** a red valley a group of white lambs are lying down. What is it?[85]

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

---

[84] The solution to the riddle is 'uvula'.
[85] The mouth with the teeth.

141

## IV.5 CONCLUSION

On the whole, nominal morphology is fairly regular in Karlong. There seems to have been a selection of pronouns from the set available in other dialects of Mongghul, narrowing the choices to one stem and one plural suffix in most instances.

Case marking for nouns is very regular, with the only exception the re-surfacing of the unstable */n in the dative and ablative for some words. Case marking for the personal pronouns is more idiosyncratic, with different stems used for different cases.

Marking of number is not completely stable; the choice between different phonological shapes is partially optional.

Besides a smaller set of personal pronouns in Karlong, there are only a few differences in nominal morphology between Karlong and other dialects. Most noticeable is the lack of the directive (found in Chaolu Wu (1994) and Georg (2003)) and limitive case markers (found only in Chaolu Wu (1994)), and the fact that Karlong has only one comitative case marker. All descriptions of Halchi, as well as SM (1964) list a second comitative marker not found in Karlong.

## IV.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

An interesting area for further research in nominal morphology might be an in-depth investigation into the use of different plural markers.

142

# CHAPTER V. VERBS

## V.1 PARTS OF SPEECH - VERBS

There are two types of verbs in Karlong: regular verbs and irregular verbs.

Regular verbs can take any mood, tense, aspect suffixes and non-finite suffixes, and behave in a predictable manner with regard to morphophonology. Finite verbs generally appear at the end of the sentence. Non-finite verbs appear at the end of the clause. The suffix *-ki* can be used to identify verbs, since it only appears with verbs. It is used to derive verbs from Chinese loanwords, e.g. *laki* 'pull', Chinese *lā* 拉.

Irregular verbs are either defective in terms of verbal morphology, or do not behave predictably in terms of morphophonology. Auxiliaries in Karlong fall into the first category, while *ɢua* 'give' falls into the second.

## V.1.1 <u>Auxiliaries</u>

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.

143

### 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 *ʤo:*.

## V.1.2　Morphophonologically irregular verbs

There is only one verb in this class: *ɢua* 'give'.

## V.2　VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The following sections are a discussion of finite and non-finite verbal inflections in Karlong, as well as deverbal morphology.

## V.2.1　Order of Verbal Suffixes

If more than one verbal suffix is attached to the same root, they take the following order:

[root + derivational suffixes (*-ki*, *-la*) + caus. + *-di*[86]] + non-finite suffixes + finite suffixes

In this dissertation, I will use the term "root" to refer to the root of the verb without any suffixes, either derivation, non-finite, or finite, and the term "stem" to refer to the root with derivational suffix, causative suffix, and the suffix *-di* (all the material within angled brackets).

All suffixes, including non-finite suffixes, can be used finally, that is, at the end of the word. The only possible exception is the reciprocal suffix *-ldi*. There are no instances in my data where this suffix occurs word-finally.

---

[86] For a discussion of *-di*, see section V.1.1.

144

## V.2.2    Finite Verbal Forms - Perspective Marking

Karlong, like the other dialects of Mongghul, as well as Minhe Mangghuer, has evidentiality marking on the verb. In descriptions of Monguor languages the term "perspective", as opposed to "evidentiality", is often employed (cf. Georg 2003, Slater 2003). Other authors use the term "mood" (cf. Chaolu Wu 1994[87], Chingeltei 1989). In this dissertation I will use the term "perspective".

### V.2.2.1    Forms

There are two forms of perspective markers: endings in -i or -i:, and endings in -a. Suffixes in -i or -i: are generally called "subjective", while suffixes in -a are generally called "objective". These two different shapes are created by adding the copula i: or the copula a ~ wa to a neutral tense-aspect suffix or a base suffix.

For the general future/narrative past (-gun-i/-gun-a), and the past tense (-san-i/-san-a), the relationship between the base form and the subjective and objective forms is straightforward. The base forms are the future participle (-gu) and the perfective participle (-san) respectively. The pattern of the negative auxiliary is also straightforward; it is possible to isolate a base form gu-, with the subjective and objective suffix added to the base.

For the non-past tense (-n-i/-n-a) and the perfective (-dʑ-i:/-dʑ-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 -dʑ-, while the neutral form is -wa.

### V.2.2.2    Form - Comparative data

The following table shows subjective and objective forms and their neutral bases in the different Mongghul dialects.

---

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

145

**Table 39. Neutral, Subjective and Objective Forms**

| LABEL | Base | Karlong | Georg (2003:302) | Todaeva (1973:122) | Zhaonasitu (1981:38, 42-43) | SM (1964:86, 88, 132) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEG.AUX | gu- | gu-i: / gu-a | gu-i / gu-a | | guii / guaa | ugui: ~ gui: / ugua: ~ gua: |
| NPT | (NPT -m) | -n-i / -n-a | -n-ii / -n-a | -ni / -na | -n ii / -n a | -ni / -na |
| PERF | (PERF -wa) | -ʥ-i: / -ʥ-a | -j-i / -j-a | -ʥi / -ʥa | -ʥ(ə) ii / -ʥ(ə) a | -ʥi / -ʥa |
| 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 | -ʥini / -ʥina | -ʥin ii / -ʥin a | -ʥini / -ʥina |

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

Zhaonasitu (1981:41) seems to interpret the subjective and objective forms of the perfective as combinations of the respective copulas with the imperfective suffix.

Chingeltei (1989:67) classifies *i:* and *a* as auxiliary verbs, added to the predicate. SM (1964:86) treat -*a* and -*i* as copulas, which are attached to the various tense suffixes. Todaeva (1973) also classifies *a* and *i* as copulas.

Chaolu Wu (1994:6) lists -*ni:/-i:* and -*na/-a* as mood suffixes. Function

The following sections describe the function of perspective in Karlong.

146

### V.2.2.3    Subjective form with first person and objective form with non-first person

In Karlong, most instances of subjective forms occur with 1st person subjects, and most instances of objective forms occur with 2nd and 3rd person subjects.

Subjective form with 1st person subject:

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

　　**1SG.DAT** coin    **NEG.AUX-SUBJ**

　　I don't have coins.

190. nda:-ni                        kudi    ça:    ɢu:r    **tidʑe:-dʑ-i:**

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

　　**(I) fed** two deer at my home.

Objective form with 2nd person subject:

191. **tɕi**    **dʑina:**              xɢei-na:    **ala-di-dʑ-a**

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

　　**You killed** your own pig.

192. **ta-ŋgula**              ŋga-ŋgula    handi    **utɕi-dʑ-a**

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

　　**You ate** together with them.

193. **tɕi**    ŋgan-ni    tada-sa-ni                **ju:-di-dʑ-a**

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

　　**You went** away from her.

Objective form with 3rd person subject:

194. **çirɢualdʑaŋ**    mini        ɢar-di        nige    **dʑu:-dʑ-a**

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

　　An ant bit my hand.

147

195. xara-ul-ʤ-a          xa    nda:-nɨ          **bɨli:-sɨ** ɕuetaŋ-sa

dark-become-PERF-OBJ   PTCL   1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN    **child-PL** school-ABL

**r-ʤ-a**

**come-PERF-OBJ**

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

196. teŋgulaŋ   ʂda:sɨ     **tɕida-ʤ-a**

      **spider**    thread    pull-**PERF-OBJ**

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

Since subjective forms are usually associated with 1st person subjects, and objective forms with non-first person subjects, the form of the perspective marking on the verb can often be used as a guideline for determining the subject in sentences in which the subject is not overt. This is illustrated in the following examples.

Subjective form with covert 1st person subject:

197. e:     ʤin    tio:   ɢ-ʤɨ          gu-**i:**

     INTJ   gold   CL   give-IMPERF     NEG.AUX-**SUBJ**

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

198. rgul-dɨ       a:sɨ    basɨ   ʂda:-n-**i**

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

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

Objective form with covert 2nd person subject:

199. di:    xarɨlɨ    ɕ-gun-**a**

     then    return    go-NARR.PAST-**OBJ**

     So (**he**) gave it back.

148

200. xgile-dʑi       juanwei-ni      den-di        giç-gun-a                    xa

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

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

In the examples above (189 - 200), in the most basic form of its usage, perspective marking functions as a kind of person marking.[88]

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

201. **bi**     draŋ    **war-gun-a**        nu:

     1SG     also     do-GEN.FUT-OBJ    INTERR

     Should **I continue** doing (this)?

Generally, the subjective form appears with 2$^{nd}$ person subjects in questions. In some cases this can be explained by the fact that the speaker is fairly certain about the answer to a question s/he is asking, for example:

202. naŋ         fire:  **tɕi**  i:gua-na:    ndʑina:      **lu:ki-dʑ-i:**                 ba

      this.year  seed  **2SG**  all-REFL    REFL.PRON   **have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ**   PTCL

      This year you had a surplus for yourself from your seeds?

The expected answer in this situation was that the listener has in fact had a surplus this year.

---

[88] Thanks to Robert Blust for pointing this out.

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. **tɕɨ**   **iːŋgela-san-i**                  jaːn-iː

    **2SG**   **carry.in.clothes-PAST-SUBJ**       what-SUBJ

    What did you bring in your clothes?

204. **tɕɨ**   **andʑ-iː**   **suː-dʑ-iː**

    **2SG**   **where-SUBJ**   **sit.PERF-SUBJ**

    **Where** do you **live**?

205. do   **tɕɨ**   le:   tigiːŋge   do   tiɢaːn   ɢadʑer **tarɨ-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. **tɕɨ**   ndaː-nɨ                    kudɨ ɕi-m   bɨ ta-nɨ   kudɨ ɕi-m

    **2SG**   1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home   go-NPT   1SG 2SG-GEN home   go-NPT

    **jaːn-iː**

    **what-SUBJ**

    You go to my home, I go to your home. **What is it?**[89]

207. nige   bambandzɨ-rɨ   daloːn nukua   iː   **jaːn-iː**

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

    In a board there are seven holes. **What is it?**[90]

---

[89] The solution to the riddle is *xamtɕɨ* 'sleeves'.

[90] The solution to the riddle is *nuːr* 'face'.

150

208. ʥaŋ-ge      kun-dɨ       nige pɨse:  i:    **ja:n-i:**

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

    A hundred people have one belt. **What is it?**[91]

It can be assumed that in the cases of riddles the speaker knows the answer to the question, which

may be what is causing the use of subjective perspective here.


### V.2.2.5    *Other uses of perspective*

With verbs which inherently do not allow the agent to control the event, such as 'forget',

objective perspective is used with 1st person subjects:

209. bɨ     kɕe:-dɨ-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**    tiʥin  Gu:r  **nasɨ-la-ʥa**

    1SG   forty  two    age-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

    I am forty-two years old.

211. bɨ     tɕirgua    nige  sa:gaŋdzɨ  sana-ʥ-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 used

nevertheless used with a 1st person subject, it implies that the event was unexpected, or the

subject did not have control over the event, for example, in the sentence below, the divorce was

not planned or intended.

---

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

212. e:     **buda-ɢula**     niŋge     **leki-di-dʑ-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-dʑi       **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. bɨ     guŋgulag-nɨ   xɢal-di-**dʑ-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. e:     **na**   **dalo:n**   **a:ɢadu:**   dalaŋ       **su:-san-ɨ**             gɨ-dʑi

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 $1^{st}$, $2^{nd}$ and $3^{rd}$ person (1989:73). In Chingeltei's approach, objective mood used for the third person denotes that something is a fact know by the speaker, while subjective mood used for third person denotes something the speaker knows or guesses.

### V.2.2.7 *Perspective in Karlong - Summary*

The use of perspective in Karlong can be summarized as follows. In the most basic function, subjective perspective is used with first person subjects, and objective perspective is used with non-first person subjects. Subjective perspective is used with second person subject questions. In addition, perspective marking is used as evidentiality marking. Subjective marking is used, regardless of the person of the subject, when the speaker is particularly certain about or has control over the state or event described by the sentence. Objective marking is used when the speaker is not certain, or does not have control over the state or event described.

153

## V.2.3   Other Finite Verbal Forms

The structure of this section is as follows: first, I give a chart of finite verbal suffixes used in Karlong, with their label and function. Then follows a discussion of the suffixes with examples. For verbal suffixes which have both a subjective and an objective form, the subjective form is given first, and the objective form second.

**Table 40.   Finite Verbal Suffixes**

| Morpheme | Label | Abbreviation |
|---|---|---|
| -i(:) | Subjective Perspective | SUBJ |
| -a | Objective Perspective | OBJ |
| -ø | Imperative Mood | IMP |
| -ja | Voluntative Mood (1ˢᵗ person) | VOL1 |
| -laxgi | Hortative Mood | HORT |
| -m | Non-past tense | NPT |
| -n-a / -n-i | Non-past tense subjective and objective | NPT-SUBJ, NPT-OBJ |
| -wa | Perfective | PERF |
| -dʐ-i: / -dʐ-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 |
| -gi | Future | FUT |

### V.2.3.1   Imperative: -ø

In Karlong, the verbal stem functions as the imperative:

216. warɨ   **biraːɢa**   niŋge   utɕi-la   **ra**

work   **finish**   then   drink-PURP   **come**

**Finish** your work and come eat!

217. mila: de:l[92]-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. tçi     nda:      **Gua**

     2SG    1SG.DAT   **give**

     You, **give** (it) to me!

220. tçi     **sdzaGa**

     2SG    **ask**

     You, **ask**!

The final particle *sa* can be added to form a more polite imperative (see section VI.2.4.1 on final particles for more discussion):

221. tar-la              **tarda**     **sa**

     stone-INST.COM    **throw**    **PTCL**

     **Throw** a stone. (Why don't you.)

### V.2.3.2      *Voluntative 1st person: –ja*

The voluntative of the 1st person is formed by attaching the suffix *-ja* to the verb. The meaning is close to 'let me' or 'let us'.

---

[92] The word *de:l* means 'garment, piece of clothing', *mila: de:l* means 'pants, trousers' (lit. 'small garment').

155

222. buda-ŋgula      tan-dɨ      sGa-**ja**

     1PL.STEM-PL   3SG-DAT    ask-**VOL1**

     **Let** us ask him.

223. a:diediepo:po:     niŋge     kɨle-**ja**

     a:diediepo:po:     then     say-**VOL1**

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

224. ja     ja     pɨse:-na:-ŋge     pɨse:-la-**ja**

     INTJ   INTJ   belt-REFL-SG   belt-VRBL-**VOL1**

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

### *V.2.3.3*     *Hortative: - laxgi*

This suffix is used to express the voluntative of the third person, with the meaning of 'let him/her/them'. There is only one example in the data:

225. maGaçɨ     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. teŋgerɨ   ura-sa             buda-ŋla    Gaç-ʤi:   li:   çi-**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.

156

227. i:      xgɨla-**m**

NEG   want-**NPT**

(I) don't want (it).

Present:

228. ge:bian-la       nige    andʑ-i:-mada-dɨ        ҫira:-**m**     gu-a

change-VRBL   one     where-SUBJ-any-DAT    burn-**NPT**    NEG.AUX-OBJ

ҫendzai    danɢual

now        earth.clod

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

229. xana    xa:dzɨ-nɨ    ama-nɨ-nɨ            ne:-di-sa            xa:    ada-**m**

every   box-GEN    opening-ACC-POSS    open-COMPL-COND   close   cannot-NPT

xa:-di-sa                 ne:    ada-m         ja:n-i:

close-COMPL-COND   open   cannot-NPT    what-SUBJ

When (you) have opened the box you cannot close it, and when (you) have closed it you

cannot open it. What is it?[93]

230. ҫendzai-nɨ    ɢar-ɢa-**m**            gu-a

now-ACC    go.out-CAUS-**NPT**    NEG.AUX-OBJ

Nowadays (we) do not take (it) out. (Speaking about earth-clods burnt for fertilizer.)

### V.2.3.5     Non-past tense subjective and objective: -n-i / -n-a

The non-past tense subjective and objective forms are -n-i and -n-a respectively. It can be used

for events that are taking place in the present, events that will take place in the future, or to

express general facts. In some cases, verbs with -n-i/-n-a can be translated into English using a

gerund with the copula.

---

[93] The solution to the riddle is *ndige* 'egg'.

157

Present tense:

231. buda-ŋla       nessa:      utɕi-**n-i**

     1PL.STEM    dinner     drink-**NPT-SUBJ**

     We are eating dinner.

232. ji:    liaŋ  tɕien     tigi:ŋge    mba:  nu:

     one   two  thousand  like.that   correct INTERR

     Like one or two thousand, right? (That's what you are expecting).

           o:la     tiɢa:ŋge   mu:kɨ-**n-i**

           right    that.much  seek-VRBL-NPT-SUBJ

           Right, we are seeking that much.

233. tigi:    ɢual-ge-nɨ      trua-nɨ        bɨli:-ŋge  ɕuldʑa-**n-i**       ja:n-i:

     like.that valley-SG-GEN  inside-POSS     child-SG  swing-NPT-SUBJ    what-SUBJ

     In a valley a child is swinging back and forth. What is it?[94]

234. ne   ɢa-dɨ-nɨ        di:    wadzer  da:gun-la-**n-a**

     this  time-DAT-POSS   then   city     work.for.money-VRBL-**NPT-OBJ**

     Right now (I am) working for money in the city.

        Future event (only one example):

235. xueina nige sara   bɨda-ŋla      kudɨ-na:    xorum  xu-**n-i**

     after  one   month  1PL.STEM-PL home-REFL  banquet  give.a.banquet-**NPT-SUBJ**

     In one month we will give a banquet in our home.

---

[94] The solution to the riddle is 'uvula'.

158

### V.2.3.6 Perfective: -wa

This suffix is used to express actions and events that took place in the past. Generally it expresses actions that are completed.

236. tɕi    kɨdɨ        sdzu   sɨla:-**wa**

    2SG   how.many   water  water-**PERF**

    How many (fields) did you water?

237. bɨ    i:dʑudɨr              nde:  rɨ-**wa**

    1SG   day.before.yesterday  here  come-**PERF**

    I came here the day before yesterday

238. bɨ    nu:dɨr  lisga    wulan   warɨ-**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 *xudalɨ* 'cut' + *-wa* is [xudalua].

    /wa/ > [ua]:

239. bɨ    xulɨdzɨ    laŋlaŋdzɨ-ŋge    **aw-ua**

    1SG   bamboo    basket-SG         **buy-PERF**
    I **bought** a bamboo basket.

### V.2.3.7 Perfective subjective and objective: -dʑ-i: /-dʑ-a

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

240. ta      mini       xurɢa-na:      aw-ʤ-a

3SG 1SG.GEN lamb-REFL buy-**PERF-OBJ**

He bought my lamb.

241. e:      sara      su:-di-**ʤ-a**              ku:-ŋge   tora-**ʤ-a**          be:

INTJ month sit-COMPL-**PERF-OBJ** son-SG bear.**PERF-OBJ** PTCL

Yeah, (she) was in confinement (gave birth) and delivered a son.

242. nda:-ni                 ajil-di      gaga:  tirga-ŋge  ri-**ʤ-a**

1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN village-DAT small car-SG        come-**PERF-OBJ**

A small car came to our village.

243. mendʐen  da   a:ma-ɢula-na:     do   ҫaver-la        nige  surg-**ʤ-a**           be:

Menzhen and  mother-DL-REFL now mud-INST.COM one smear-**PERF-OBJ** PTCL

Now Menzhen and his mother smeared (the door) with mud (instead of putting up lucky

papers, because they were so poor).

However, the perfective subjective and objective forms can also be used to express present tense.

In the following sentences, this form is used to express events that (may) have started in the past but still hold true in the present.

244. bu      ne      ger-di         su:-**ʤ-i:**

1sg.   this    house-DAT    sit-**PERF-SUBJ**

I live in this house.

160

245. amɨla  bal-ʥ-a

    fruit  ripen-**PERF-OBJ**

    The fruit ripened / is ripe.

246. tɕasɨ      ɕindɨre:-ʥ-a

    snow       thaw-**PERF-OBJ**

    The snow has thawed.

There are also some instances of [-hʥa] and [-ɕʥa] in the data (primarily in elicited
sentences). However, it is not clear when the [h] or [ɕ] is inserted. Zhaonasitu (1981: 13)
mentions that the sequence /sə/ in a verb stem may become [ɕ] before suffixes beginning in /ʥ/,
resulting in a [ɕʥ] sequence, however, the process taking place in Karlong is not the same, since
these verb stems do not contain /sə/. For example:

247. ta-ŋla   nda:-nɨ                 xGei-na:   ala-ɕʥ-a

    2P-PL    1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN  pig-REFL   kill-**PERF-OBJ**

    You killed my pig.

It seems unlikely that insertion of the fricative is phonetically conditioned by the preceding vowel.
Also, it does not seem that this is a case of *ɕi-* 'go' functioning as an auxiliary of manner.


*V.2.3.8      General future tense subjective and objective: -gun-i / -gun-a*

When the subjective and the objective suffix are attached to the future participle suffix (with an
additional *-n*), the resulting form is used finitely, to express future tense. It can also be used to
express events or actions which begin in the present but continue into the future. In stories and
songs, this suffix is used to express past tense.

Future:

248. ŋgan maɢaçi 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 xɢei-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 ntça:-dʑi i:-**gun-a**

    grandfather sleep sleep-IMPERF COP-**GEN.FUT-OBJ**

    Grandfather has already gone to sleep.

253. di: xarili ç-**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.

162

### V.2.3.9 *Past tense subjective and objective: -san-i /--san-a*

Subjective and objective suffixes attached to the perfective participle form the past tense, which can be used finitely.

255. ʤu:dɨn-dɨ    bu:-**san-a**

    dream-DAT    come.down-**PAST-OBJ**

    It was revealed in a dream.

256. baɢaldɨ    niŋge   di:    ju:ren        sge-**san-a**       a:

    fight        while   then    some.people   see-**PAST-OBJ**    PTCL

    While (they) were fighting, some people saw (it).

257. di:     gan   kɨle-**san-a**          gan-dɨ    ʤapu        i:-n-a           be:

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

    Then, he said he has a family record.

258. ta-ŋla           aw-ʤɨ        rɨ-**san-i**        ja:n-i:

    2PL.STEM-PL   hold-IMPERF   come-**PAST-SUBJ**   what-SUBJ

    What have you brought?

There is one sentence in which the past tense subjective marker is used to express present tense:

259. tɕɨ    su:-**san-i**       anʤ-i:

    2SG   sit-**PAST-SUBJ**   where-SUBJ

    Where **do** you live?

Since there is only one example, it is not clear whether the subjective and objective past tense markers can generally be used to express present tense, or whether this one sentence, and possibly this one verb, is an exception. This exception may also be due to an error in translation.

163

### V.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    guadɨndɨ    çuetaŋ-dɨ      çi-**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-rɨ-na:        draŋ   çi    fɨla:n   tɕaldzɨ duidzɨ       naɢa-**ma**      bei

      frame-LOC-REFL also    go    red      paper   lucky writing   glue-**ASSERT**   PTCL

      When they celebrate the New Year, everybody just glues red pieces of paper, lucky writings, on the door frame.

262. minɨ        talɢuei    durdɨndɨ    jedɨ-**ma**

     1SG.GEN    head     every.day   pain-**ASSERT**

     My head hurts every day.

263. sdzu    urasɨ-**ma**

     water   flow-**ASSERT**

     Water flows.

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

264. ɢada      ki:      baɢa-**ma**

outside   wind   blow-**ASSERT**

Outside the wind is blowing.

265. ʥaŋ   nara   ɢaɕ-ʥi        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   ɢaʥer-di   ʥu:      rgu-ʥi

scatter   then   then   just   field-DAT   just   carry.on.back-IMPERF

ɢar-ɢa-**ma**               fi:lio:      wa

go.out-CAUS-**ASSERT**   fertilizer   COP

Then (you) scatter (it), just carry it up to the field, it's fertilizer.

267. xo:-di-**gu**          nidi               niŋge   di:   ʂdima-ri   ʥu:

dry-COMPL-**PART.FUT**   grind.in.mortar   after   then   bread-LOC   just

nige   saŋ   nige      saŋ   ta:la-ma

one   layer   one layer   build.layers-ASSERT

After it is dried, (we) grind it, then (we) build it layer by layer into the bread.

268. ɕʥu:si   di: …   ʥu:   ji   liaŋ   tɕien   kuei   tiɢa:ŋge   ʂda-**ma**      nige   fan

tree   then   just   one   two   thousand   yuan   that.much   can-**ASSERT** one   year

Now trees…one or two thousand yuan, (one) can make that much in one year.

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.

165

I could not find this suffix in any other source.

### V.2.3.11    Future: -gi

This suffix is used to express future tense. The following are all the examples of this suffix that appear in the data.

269. bu    tɕinaɢda              a:ma-na:            i:ʥi-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:          ʥaŋ-la-gi

    1SG    red turnip-INST.COM    steamed.bun    steam-**VRBL-FUT**

    I will make steamed buns with carrots.

271. i:ʥi-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.

166

**Table 41. Non-Finite Verbal Suffixes**

| Morpheme | Label | Function |
|---|---|---|
| -gu | Future Participle | PART.FUT |
| -gula | Successive | SUCC |
| -san | Perfective Participle | PART.PERF |
| -dʑin | Agentive Participle | PART.AG |
| -n | Gerund of absolute subordination | SUBORD |
| -tala | Terminative | TERM |
| -sa | Conditional | COND |
| -sada | Concessive | CONC |
| -la | Purposive | PURP |
| -dʑi | Imperfective | IMPERF |
| -di | Completive | COMPL |
| -ɢa / -lɢa | Causative | CAUS |
| -ldɨ | Reciprocal | RECIP |
| -ŋge | Diminutive | DIM |

### V.2.4.1    Future participle: -gu

The future participle suffix can be used for a number of different functions. It can be used in constructions like "want to X-*gu*", and in other embedded clauses. It can also be used in lists of clauses of which only the final one has to have a finite verb.

Want to X-*gu* (only one example in the data):

273. ŋgan   ç-**gu**         dɨraːla-sa        ŋgan-ɨ       çi-lɢa

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

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

Action happening before main clause (see also the examples in the section on bare verb stems V.2.4.10):

274. xoː-di-**gu**              nɨdɨ            niŋge    diː      şdɨma-rɨ      dʑuː

  dry-COMPL-**PART.FUT**   grind.in.mortar   after    then    bread-LOC    just

  nige   saŋ   nige   saŋ    taːla-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.

167

275. taş-**gu**         gadɨ-n-i         bei    da-ŋla    tar-la      ç-dʑ-a

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

We planted and harvested, planted.

### V.2.4.2     *Successive: -gula*

This suffix is used to express the meaning 'as soon as'. There is only one occurrence in the data.

276. nara    ɢar-**gula**             bɨ    şda:-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    şda:-**san**         nefdza:    funɨrdɨ    wa

3SG    cook-**PART.PERF**    dinner    fragrant    COP

The food she made is very tasty (fragrant).

278. do    bɨda-ŋgula    li:la-**san**               kun-sɨ      da    dʑinxu:    eimɨ

now    1PL         be.left.over-**PART.PERF**    person-PL    also    after      children

dʑu:    xo:lai-la-gun-i              di:      dzudʑun-nɨ    sge-di-dʑ-a

just    later-VRBL-GEN.FUT-SUBJ      then    benefit.ACC    see-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

be:    do

PTCL    now

Now later we people who are left over (from the bad times), afterwards (we) see a benefit

from (our) children.

279. da   dzɨfaŋ  su:-**san**         di:   gen     ɕendʑin  a     be:

    big   place   sit-**PART.PERF**  then   even.more  modern  COP  PTCL

    (People who) live in the cities are even more modern.

### V.2.4.3    *Agentive participle: -dʑin*

To form the agentive participle, *-dʑin* is attached to the verbal stem. This verbal form is used to create forms of the verb which modify another noun. These constructions can be translated into English as relative clauses.

280. nige   gundzuo-nɨ  i:    dɨra:la-**dʑin**     kun

    one    work-ACC  not  like-**PART.AG**   person

    a person who dislikes work

Sometimes the entity that is being modified is not overtly expressed in the sentence:

281. di:    xɢei da   gaga:  xɢei-ge  tidʑe:  ʂda-**dʑin**      draŋ  ju: ...  tio:dʑen

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

    si:n  a    be:

    good  COP  PTCL

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

282. e:    ju:dɨ  tɕimsaŋ-nɨ  di:  ne   ho:pen-dɨ-rɨ       gan  gaga:  ɢal-ge

    INTJ  some  family-GEN  then  this  fireplace-DAT-LOC  3SG  small  fire-SG

    di:   ʂda:-**dʑin**     do  dʑu: bajan  tɕimsaŋ  wa

    then  burn-**PART.AG**  now  just  rich   family  COP

    Yeah, some families (who) can make a small fire in the fireplace, then (they) are a rich family.

169

### V.2.4.4　　Gerund of absolute subordination: -n

The gerund of absolute subordination in -n is used to describe in what manner something is done.
Often, but not always, the verb is reduplicated when it appears with this suffix (there are only two
examples of this in the data):

283. ŋgan　　**tɕiɢra:-n**　　　　　**tɕiɢra:-n**　　　　　nefdza:　şda:-ʥ-a

　　　3SG　　**sing-SUBORD**　　**sing-SUBORD**　　dinner　cook-PERF-OBJ

　　　S/he cooked the food **singing**.

284. tɕim-u　　　　　　　**xgila-n**　　　　　**xgila-n**　　　　　tora-sa

　　　2SG.OBL.STEM-ACC　**beg-SUBORD**　　**beg-SUBORD**　　give.birth-COND

　　　na:　　giʥi

　　　INTJ　QUOT

　　　"When I gave birth to you **begging** (for food)" she said.

### V.2.4.5　　Terminative: -tala

This morpheme is used to express that the action happens before or during the event of the main
clause.

285. nda:　　　　kurge:-**tala**　　　nda:-ni　　　　　　a:mani　　　　nda:　　　nige

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

　　　ʥil　　baɢu:r　G-ʥ-a

　　　kind　bracelet　give-PERF-OBJ

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

286. şdima　　ʥaŋ-la-**tala**　　　　　wu:r　çge-ɢula

　　　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. bɨ    nefdza:     şa:-**tala-rɨ**    nda:-nɨ    bɨli:  mo:dan na:dɨ-ma

    1SG    dinner    cook-**TERM-LOC**  1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN  child  ball    play-ASSERT

    **When** I cook dinner, my child plays ball.

There are only a few occurrences of this suffix in the data, and the suffix is used only by one speaker.

I have not been able to find this suffix described for Huzhu Mongghul. The terminative gerund, which fulfils the same function, is described for other dialects of Huzhu as *-dela:*. Todaeva (1973) gives the Fulaan Nura form of this suffix as *-dela:ŋge* (*-daŋge*). The Written Mongolian equivalent is *-tala / -tele*.

According to Slater (2003:254) the suffix *-tala* does occur in Minhe Mangghuer, although it is infrequent there as well. Slater's data contained only two instances of this suffix, one denoting a prior event, the other one used with the meaning 'rather than', as a metaphorical extension of 'before' (2003:254). Slater further writes that the suffix *-tula* seems to be "a dialectal variant of *-tala*" occurs four times in the data, with the same meaning (2003:255).

### V.2.4.6    *Conditional converb: -sa*

The conditional converb expresses the condition for, or time of, an action or event.

Condition for event:

288. ŋgan    ҫ-gu    dɨra:la-**sa**    ŋgan-nɨ    ҫi-lɢa

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

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

171

289. tɕi    mini        sdzer-ni  i:    xari-**sa**              bi    iɕi   dʑi:la        dʑo:

2SG  1SG.GEN  money  NEG  return-**COND**        1SG  very  become.angry  QUOT

**If** you don't return my money I will become very angry.

290. te-sa        Gar    ɕi-**sa**            faŋtu:    wa    be:    a

that-ABL  go.up  go-**COND**        Fangtu  COP  PTCL  PTCL

If (you) go up from there, there is Fangtu (place name).

Time of event:

291. Gari-**sa**                    Gar    tiGa:n      ndur-gu            rgu-di

come.out-**COND**          hand  that.much  high-n.s.          tie.up-COMPL

dʑu:   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:dʑi-**sa**              de:lge          wa

1PL-PL    look-**COND**          coarse.rope  COP

When we look it is a coarse rope.

172

### V.2.4.7    Concessive: -sada

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

294. noxui:   xuʥa-**sada**   kun-nɨ      li:     ʥu:-m

     dog      bark-**CONC**  person-ACC  NEG   bite-NPT

     **Although** the dog barks, it will not bite people.[95]

295. do     gan-ɨ      ger-dɨ-nɨ        su:-**sada**  bɨda-ŋla      bɨda-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:    ɢula  tende:  ʥa:l-dɨ   nde:   ʥa:l-dɨ   çen      sin      anʥi:

     then  two   there  law-DAT  here   law-DAT   township  province  where

     ʥa-**sada**     gan   janwei   rɨn-kɨ-ʥɨ           gu-a         na

     look-**CONC**  3SG    official  admit-VRBL-IMPERF  NEG.AUX-OBJ    this

     mendʐen  gen     ne   nige  sdzer-nɨ  li:    şu:      ɢu-n-a

     Menzhen   even.more  this  one  gold-ACC  NEG  receive   receive-NPT-OBJ

     nien  ɢu-n-a

     need  give-NPT-OBJ

     Then, **although** the two went to see every court of law, here and there, in the township and

     the province, the official did not admit (that he had given the gold), but he (Menzhen) really

     didn't accept the gold, so had to give it back.

In one example the concessive suffix can be translated as "even if":

---

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

297. e:    sge-sada    pidʑig-u    gu    buda-ŋ-dɨ

    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. warɨ    bɨra:Ga    niŋge    utɕi-**la**        ra

    work    finish    then    drink-**PURP**    come

    Finish your work and come **to** eat!

299. tɕanxei-na:    mɨsɨ-**la**        ra

    shoe-REFL    put.on-PURP        come

    come put on your shoes!

300. xgɨla-**la**    ɕi    sa

    ask-**PURP**    go    PTCL

    Go ask for (it)!

301. bu    tɕinaGda        a:ma-na:    ʑdʑi-**la**        ɕ-gi

    1SG    day.after.tomorrow    mother-REFL    see-**PURP**    go-FUT

    I will go visit my mother the day after tomorrow.

302. bɨ    tʂensɨ-nɨ    i:-**la**        rɨ-wa

    1SG  city-ACC    look-**PURP**    come-PERF

    I came to look at the city.

## V.2.4.9 Imperfective: -ʥi

Like -*gu*, -*ʥi* 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 -*ʥi* modifies the main verb, the construction 'v-*ʥi* V' expressing the meaning 'to do V while v-ing', or 'to V v-ing'. For -*ʥi* 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    ɢaʥer-di    ʥu:    rgu-**ʥi**

     scatter    then    then    just    field-DAT    just    carry.on.back-**IMPERF**

     ɢar-ɢa-ma              fi:lio:    wa

     go.out-CAUS-ASSERT    fertilizer    COP

     Then (you) scatter (it), just carry it up to the field, it's fertilizer. (Literally: 'go out to the field carrying on the back'.)

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

175

305. sdzu Gu:r dan-la-dʑi ra // naŋsa:-na: ṣda:

water two carry.on.shoulders-VRBL-IMPERF come // breakfast-REFL cook

ça:dzɨ-na: çu: // i:gua-na: tui-la niŋge // ka:rda

courtyard-REFL sweep // all-REFL clean-VRBL after // livestock

paŋ-sa-na: niŋge Gar-Ga // Gadʑer ra Gaçi çi-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: tidʑe: // neçdza:-na: ṣda: // utçi // toa-na: ŋGua: Gada

pig-REFL **feed** // dinner-REFL **cook** // **drink** // dish-REFL **wash** outside

xaŋ nige rendzɨ // çirgçe Gaçi 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.
*Guadi* '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:

176

307. nda:      çʤundu:       ɢu:r   i:        ta-ŋla xudzu su:-ʤ-a

1SG.DAT younger.sister two    COP    3PL.STEM-PL Huzhu sit-**PERF-OBJ**

I have two younger sisters. They **live** in Huzhu.

308. e:     sara    su:-**di-ʤ-a**               ku:-ŋge  tora-**ʤ-a**          be:

INTJ month sit-**COMPL-PERF-OBJ**   son-SG  bear-**PERF-OBJ**   PTCL

Yeah, (she) **was** in confinement (**gave** birth) and delivered a son.

When suffix -*di* is used with the conditional suffix -*sa*, it indicates that the action has been completed or will be completed (examples 309 and 310), while -*sa* without -*di* is usually interpreted as 'when' or 'while', when used in its temporal sense (example 311, 312 and 313).

309. kudujer-nɪ         tarɪ-**di-sa**                ta:wɪn ʤirɢuan   sara

fenugreek-ACC    plant-**COMPL-COND** five    six         month

ul-**sa**       ɢarɪ     ra-n-a    bei

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

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

310. xana    xa:dzɨ-nɨ    ama-nɨ-nɨ          ne:-**di-sa**           xa:     ada-m

every   box-GEN    opening-ACC-POSS   open-**COMPL-COND** close   cannot-NPT

xa:-**di-sa**              ne:     ada-m          ja:n-i:

close-**COMPL-COND** open    cannot-NPT    what-SUBJ

**When** (you) **have** opened the box you cannot close it, and **when** (you) **have** closed it you cannot open it. What is it?[96]

---

[96] The solution to the riddle is *ndige* 'egg'.

311. hana        ili-la              nanige    go:nien-la-**sa**                          de

everybody  all-INST.COM  this.one  celebrate.new.year-VRBL-**COND**        door

bi:ri-ri-na:        draŋ   çi    fila:n   tɕaldzɨ  duidzɨ       naɢa-ma     bei

frame-LOC-REFL  also  go  red     paper  lucky writing  glue-ASSERT   PTCL

**When** they celebrate the New Year, everybody just glues red pieces of paper, lucky writings, on the door frame.

312. xarili-**sa**      janwei  li:     rin-kɨ-gun-a              dʑe    tɕi-mɨ    bu:dɨ

return-**COND**  official  NEG  admit-VRBL-NARR.PAST  INTJ  2SG-DAT  wheat

ɢ-wa

give-PERF

**When** he returned (it), they official did not admit (that he gave Menzhen the gold), "I gave you wheat!" (he said).

313. xɢeila    su:-**sa**     bɨli:-aŋla   i:gua-la   çuetaŋ-dɨ   ɢari    çi-n-a

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

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

The completive morpheme can be attached to transitive verbs and intransitive verbs, and can be used with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person subjects.

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

314. e:    **buda-ɢula**   niŋge   lekɨ-**di**-dʑ-a

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

Eh, then **we two** divorced.

*-di* with second person subject and transitive verb:

178

315. tɕi   ʥina:        xɢei-na:    ala-**di-ʥ-a**

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

    **You** killed your own pig.

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

316. **a:ɢadu**:  **ɢo:r-la**      ʥiehun-la-**di-ʥ-a**

    **brother**  **two-COLL**  get.married-VRBL-**COMPL-PERF-OBJ**

    **Two brothers** got married.

The suffix *-di* cannot be attached to certain verbs which express actions not under the control of the subject, e.g. *dige* 'live', or *na:* 'fall'. However, *-di* is not an agentive or voluntative suffix, since there are other non-control verbs which regularly appear with *-di*, e.g. *marda-:di* 'forget-COMPL', *jerdi-di* 'feel pain-COMPL', *hugu-di* 'die-COMPL' and *jerda:-di* 'be tired-COMPL'.

*-di* with verbs which cannot be controlled by the subject:

317. bida-ŋla       **jeda:-di-ʥ-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-ʥ-a**

    INTJ   belly-DAT  **hurt-COMPL-PERF-OBJ**

    Yeah, (her) belly **hurt**.

319. bi   kɕe:dida        ja:nge-na:    **marda:-di-n-a**

    1SG   always         something-REFL  **forget-COMPL-NPT-OBJ**

    I always **forget** something.

In my data, the suffix *-di* co-occurs mostly with the following finite verbal suffixes: *-ʥ-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

179

tense objective) (in example 319 above, and in example 322 below), with *-gu* (future participle, only one example), and with *-gi* (future tense, only one example).

320. xo:-**di-gu**    nɨdɨ   nɨŋge di: ʂdɨma-rɨ dʑu:

  dry-**COMPL-PART.FUT** grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC just

  nige saŋ nige  saŋ ta:la-ma

  one layer one layer build.layers-ASSERT

  After it is **dried**, (we) grind it, then (we) build it layer by layer into the bread.

321. bɨ  niu:-**di-gi**

  1SG hide-**COMPL-FUT**

  I **will** hide.

322. ta-nɨ  war-**di-n-a**     tɨmɨr ɕindʑir-la  baŋ-la ge:-dʑ-a

  3SG-ACC take-**COMPL-NPT-OBJ** iron chain-INST.COM tie-VRBL put-PERF-OBJ

  They **arrested** him and tied him with an iron chain.

### *V.2.4.11  Completive -di - Comparative data*

So far I have not found any discussion to the suffix *-di* in the literature on other Mongghul dialects. While the suffix -di is not discussed in descriptions of other dialects of Mongghul, it does appear in the data. I know from discussions with Ha Mingzong and from my own data collection that this suffix also occurs in Tianzhu. The suffix also appears as parts of dictionary entries in DH. The following is a list of dictionary entries from DH containing the suffix (written as *-dii*), and, where available, comparisons with the same word without the suffix.

*waridii* - 'hold it' vs. *wari* - 'hold'

*kengini nudiniini hadii* 'close one's eyes' vs. *ha* 'close'

*hgualadiija* 'get broken' vs. *hguali* 'break'

180

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

*hujadii* 'tie' (vs. Karlong *huʤɪ* 'tie')


This is only a small amount of data, but some observations can be made. In two of the cases ('hold' and 'close'), the difference between presence and absence of the suffix depends on whether or not a direct object is expressed. In one case ('break'), the presence of the suffix (together with the perfective objective suffix) is interpreted as a passive form. In the case of 'bind', there is no difference between the presence and the absence of the suffix, and for 'tie', the form without the suffix is not given.

In Karlong, the presence or absence of *-di* is not related to the presence or absence of a direct object. *-di* can appear with intransitive verbs as well as transitive verbs, and adding *-di* does not increase the valency of the verb.

*-di* with used with intransitive verbs:

323. ne  nda:-ni                    kudi  ʤu:  ra-di-sa                do    lamantɕuŋ

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

   gui:ren-ge              gi-ʤi

   important.person-SG   QUOT-IMPERF

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

324. tɕi   ŋgan-ni     tada-sa-ni        ju:-**di-ʤ-a**

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

   You walked away from him.

There are also no examples in Karlong where the addition of the suffix *-di* makes the verb passive.

So far I have not been able to find examples of the suffix *-di* in Zhao, LK, TDV, or SMN.


181

## V.2.4.12    Causative: -Ga / -lGa

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

Causative with the meaning 'let':

325. ŋgan    ç-gu              dïra:la-sa        ŋgan-ɨ      çi-**lGa**

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

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

Causative with the meaning 'make':

326. şda:sɨ-nɨ        pi:-kɨ-**lGa**-ŋge

       thread-ACC    match-VRBL-**CAUS**-SG

       **Make** the threads match.

A number of words which are expressed by transitive verbs in English are formed with causatives in Karlong. For example: *xo:* 'dry' (intr.) - *xo:lGa* 'dry' (tr.).

       Also:

327. ŋgaŋ-la        nige    dʑen    ger      pɨs-**Ga**-dʑ-a

       3PL.STEM-PL    one    class    house    stand-**CAUS**-PERF-OBJ

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

182

### V.2.4.13    Reciprocal: -ldɨ

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

328. e:    nienbi:    ɕen-ɨ    fudzɨ    bɨda-ŋla    xamdɨ    hansɨnɨ    lɨʂɨ

    INTJ    Nianbai    town-GEN    vice.leader    1PL.STEM-PL    together    also    history

ʂaŋke-**ld**-ua

discuss-**RECIP**-PERF

Yeah, the vice-leader of Nianbai town and we talked about the history of Handi with **each other**.

### V.2.4.14    -ŋge used with verbs

The suffix -ŋge is usually used with nouns, either as a singular marker, or as a diminutive marker. However, it can also be used with verb. When used with verbs, it functions similarly to a diminutive: it has the meaning 'a little', or it weakens the strength of the statement.

    Suffix -ŋge used to weaken an imperative:

329. ʂda:sɨ-nɨ       pi:-kɨ-lGa-**ŋge**

    thread-ACC    match-VRBL-CAUS-**SG**

    Make the threads match.

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

330. bɨ    tigi:    tiŋfu:-**ŋge**

    1SG    like.that    hear.told-**DIM**

    I heard it like that.

183

331. ndʑina:     nige     pidʑig gu-a           fu:-rɨ        i:-san-i

REFL.PRON one     book   NEG.AUX-OBJ book-LOC   see-PAST-SUBJ

pɨɕ-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  kudɨ  xɢei-la   **ɕi-ŋge**  draŋ da:lɨdi-gun-i        be:    a:

also   home  pig-VRBL  **go-DIM**  also  sell-GEN.FUT-SUBJ    PTCL  PTCL

Also, if (you) raise **some** pigs at home, (you can) sell (them).

333. di:   a:nie-ɢula        ɕge  da   maŋli:-sa  do:ra-dʑi        daŋlur-la

then   grandmother-DL  big  door  lintel-ABL  go.down-IMPERF  lantern-INST.COM

**nige   i:-sa-ŋge**

**one   look-COND-SG**

then when (he) and the grandmother both came down from the lintel of the front gate and

**took a look** with the lantern,

      jerɨ-ŋge   sara   su:   ge:-dʑ-a       be:    ɕge  da      busɢua-nɨ

      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.

184

**Table 42. Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data**

| Label | KL | Tianzhu | SM 1964 | Todaeva (1973) | Zhaonasitu (1981) | Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function) | Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi) | Written Mongolian Poppe (1954) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Imperative | -ø | -ø | -ø | -ø | -ø | -ø | -ø (imp., imp.) | -ø |
| Voluntative 1st person | -ja | -je | -ja | -ja | -ja | -ya (vol., vol. 1p.) | -ja (imp., vol.) | -y-a, -y-e (voluntative 1st person plural) |
| Hortative | -laxgi | | -ragi | -ge -laxge | -lagə | -la(h)gi (vol., conc.) | -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) |

185

**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) | -ʋa (TA, past) | -ba(ï), -be(ï) (past tense, perfective referring to recent past) |
| Perfective, subjective and objective | -ʤ-i: / -ʤ-a | -ʤi / -ʤe | -ʤi / -ʤa | -ʤi / -ʤa | -ʤ (ə) ii· / -ʤ (ə) a | -j-i / -j-a (term. subj./obj., res.) | -ʤa/-ʤi: (TA, perfective) | — (Georg: Common Mongolic resultative *-ji, or imperfective converb *-ji + copulas) (Zhaonasitu: imperfective) (SM: preterite imperfective, from imperfective -ʤi) |
| General future, narrative past | -gun-i / -gun-a | -guni / -guna (future) | -guni / -guna | -guni / -guna | -gun ii / -gun a | -gu(n)-i / -gu(n)-a (part.fut. subj./obj.) | | — (cf. -qu / -kü (nomen futuri, future, or any time other than future)) |

186

**Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data**

| Label | KL | Tianzhu | SM 1964 | Todaeva (1973) | Zhaonasitu (1981) | Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function) | Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi) | Written Mongolian Poppe (1954) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Past tense, subjective and objective | -san-i / -san-a | | -dzani / -dzana | -sani / -sana (HG) -dzani / -dzana (NG) | -san ii / -san a | -san-i / -san-a (part.perf. subj./obj.) | | — (c.f. -ɣsan / -gsen (nomen perfecti, completed past action)) |
| Assertive | -ma | | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Future | -gi | | -gui: | -gi (<-guni) | -gu ii / -gu aa | — | — | — |
| Future participle | -gu | -gu | -gu | -gu (-gun) | -gu | -gu/n (imperfective) | | -qu / -kü (nomen futuri, future, or any time other than future) |
| Successive | -gula | -gula | -gula | -gula: (HG, NG, FN) (последовательное деепричастие) | -gulaa | -gu-la(a) (part.fut. + com., successive) | -gula (conv., sucessive) | -qula / -küle (SM: nom de future + comitatif-sociatif -luɣa) |
| Perfective participle | -san | -san | -dzan | -san (HG) -dzan (NG) | -san | -san (-zan) (part.perf., perfective) | | -ɣsan / -gsen (nomen perfecti, completed past action) |
| Agentive participle | -dʑin | -dʑin | -dʑin | -dʑin (-tɕin) | -dʑin | -jin (part.ag., habitive) | | (SM: from WM -či; suffix denoting person acting) |

187

**Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data**

| Label | KL | Tianzhu | SM 1964 | Todaeva (1973) | Zhaonasitu (1981) | Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function) | Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi) | Written Mongolian Poppe (1954) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gerund of absolute subordination | -n | -n | -n | -n (HG, NG) (-neŋge) (FN) (слитное деепричастие) | -n | -n (conv.mod., modifying) | -n (conv., modal) | -n (converbum modale) (Grønbech & Krueger: gerund of absolute subordination) |
| Terminative | -tala | — | — | — | — | | | -tala, -tele (converbum terminale) |
| Concessive | -sada | — | — | — | -sada | -sa=da (-za=da) (conv.cond. + particle, concessive) | -sada (conv., concessive) | — |
| Purposive | -la | -la | -ra | -la (HG, NG, FN) (деепричастие цели) | -la | -la (conv.fin., final) | -la (conv., final) | -r-a (converbum finale, purpose of action) |
| Imperfective | -ʤi | -ʤi | -ʤi | -ʤi (HG, NG, FN) (соединительное деепричастие) | -ʤə | -ji (conv.imperf., anterior) | -ʤe (conv., imperfective) | -ǰu, -ǰü (converbum imperfecti, action simultaneous with main action) |

188

**Table 42.    (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data**

| Label | KL | Tianzhu | SM 1964 | Todaeva (1973) | Zhaonasitu (1981) | Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function) | Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi) | Written Mongolian Poppe (1954) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Causative | -lɢa/-ɢa | -ɢa | -ɢa-, -rɢa- | -lɢa/-ɢa | -lɢa | | -lɢa/-ɢa (causative voice) | -ɣa-, -ge-, -lɣa-, -lge- (factive verbs, "to cause to do something") |
| Reciprocal | -ldɨ | — | -rdi ~ -di (p. 96) | -lde (-de) (p.102-103) | -ldə | | -ldɵ/-ldu (reciprocal voice) | -ldu-, -ldü- (reciprocal) |
| Dimunitive | -ŋge | — | — | — | — | | | nige/n |
| Nomen actoris | -tɕɨ / -dʑi | | -tɕi, -tɕin | — | — | | | -či (names of vocations) |
| Completive | -di | -di | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| (Dubitative)* | — | | -gu-dʑiæ | — | — | -gu(l)jee (dub., dub.) | -gudʑe:/ -guidʑe: (imp., dub.) | — |
| (Final converb) | -gunda is not accepted by Karlong speakers, who use -la instead. | — | — | — | — | -gun-da (part.fut. + refl.dat., final converb) | | — |

---

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

189

**Table 42.** (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

| Label | KL | Tianzhu | SM 1964 | Todaeva (1973) | Zhaonasitu (1981) | Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function) | Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi) | Written Mongolian Poppe (1954) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Agentive participle, subj. and obj.) | — | -ʥina (habitual) | -ʥini / -ʥina | -ʥini / -ʥina (-tɕini / -tɕina) | -ʥin ii / -ʥin aa | -jin-n-i / -jin-n-a (part.ag. subj./obj.) | -ʥinni:/-ʥinna (TA, habitual) | — |
| (Perfective converb) | According to Karlong speakers, the form in -nu is not used in KL, only in Halchi | -wanə | -a: | -a:, -a:nu -va:, -va:nu (HG, NG) -a:, -e:d (FN) (-ja:, -ja:nu) (MG) (соединительное деепричастие) | -aa ~ -aanə / -ee ~ -eenə / -oo ~ -oonə / -vaa ~ -vaanə | -aa (-aanu) (conv.perf., anterior) | -a: / -e: / -o: / -a:ne / -e:n / -o:ne / -va: / -va:ne (conv., perfective) | |
| (Abtemporal converb) | -sa:r not accepted by Karlong speakers, -n with reduplication is used instead. | — | — | -sa:r (HG, NG, FN) (продолжительное деепричастие) | — | -saar (conv.abtemp, progressive) | -sa:r (conv., abtemporal) | — |
| (Terminative converb) | -dela: not accepted by Karlong speakers. | — | -dela: (-dera:) | -dela: (HG, NG) -dela:ŋge (-daŋge) (FN) (деепричастие предела) | -delaa | -delaa (conv.term., simultaneous) | -dela: (conv., terminal) | — |

190

### V.2.6 Potential

Potential or ability is expressed with the verb *ṣda* 'can, be able to'. Inability is expressed with *ada* 'cannot'. Both of these verbs take non-finite clauses as their complements.

Examples of *ada*:

334. ki:    baɢ-sa            tu:   ɕi-m     tɕabdʑi-dʑi  sala   **ada-m**

     wind  blow-COND     blow go-NPT    cut-IMPERF separate **cannot-NPT**

     ja:n-i:

     what-SUBJ

     The wind can blow it away, but you **cannot** cut it off. What is it?[97]

335. bi    tɕura:   da   **ada-n-a**

     1SG  cheese  eat  **cannot-NPT-OBJ**

     **I cannot** eat cheese.

Examples of *ṣda*:

336. rendʑun       tiɢa:nge  ṣu:la      **ṣda-n-a**

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

     The average person **can** make that much (money).

337. ɕdʑu:si  di: …   dʑu: ji   liaŋ tɕien   kuei tiɢa:ŋge  **ṣda-ma**      nige fan

     tree    then   just  one  two   thousand yuan that.much  **can-ASSERT** one  year

     Now trees…one or two thousand yuan, (one) **can** make that much in one year.

338. jaŋ-sa      sarimsaɢ-ŋge taŋ-di     nigi:dʑe  kuri  **ṣda-n**        **gu-a**

     also-ABL garlic-SG    2PL-DAT a.little   arrive  **can-SUBORD**  **NEG.AUX-OBJ**

     Also, (our) garlic **cannot** compare to yours. (i.e. it is inferior)

---

[97] The solution to the riddle is *fini* 'smoke'.

## V.3    IRREGULAR VERBS

The following sections discuss irregular verbs in Karlong.

### V.3.1    Auxiliaries

The following sections discuss copulas, negative auxiliaries, and auxiliaries of manner.

### V.3.1.1    Copulas: i: and wa

There are two copulas in Monguor: *i:* and *wa.* They differ in their function and suffixation.

The copula *i:* is used as an auxiliary verb with non-finite regular verb, and as a copula to express possession. In my data it appears with the suffixes *-n-a* (NPT-OBJ) and *-gun-a* (GEN.FUT-OBJ). The copula *wa* is used as an existential verb. In my data it never appears with any suffixes.

The following examples illustrate the used of the copula *i:*.

Possession:

339. nda:         ɕge    nige    dʑen   ger     i:[98]

     1SG.DAT   big    one    CL     house   **COP**

     I have a big house.

340. ŋgan-dɨ       i:-n-a

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

     She has (one).

When following words ending in /i/ or [ɨ], the initial glide of the copula is deleted, and the two high vowels merge into one long high vowel, e.g. X-*dʑi* + *i:guna* is X-[dʑi:guna].

341.            a:die   no:rɨ        ntɕa:-dʑi  i:-gun-a

     grandfather   sleep   sleep-IMPERF   **COP**-GEN.FUT-OBJ

     Grandfather has already gone to sleep.

---

[98] Tianzhu: *bu ʂge ge veina* 'I have a big house'

192

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

Copula use with adjective:

342. dudu:sa          nem    çge   **wa**

      one-clove.garlic    price    big    **COP**

      One-clove garlic is expensive.

343. ne   xaŋxuar   du:di      **wa**

      this   bell       resonant    COP

      This bell is resonant.

344. tu:gu     **wa**

      raw       COP

      It is raw.

Copula use to express the existence of a noun:

345. na     nige    nda:-ni                du:             **wa**

      this    one    1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN    younger.brother   **COP**

      This is my younger brother.

346. firi     dʑu:   nige   ne    jaŋ    dʑa    **wa**       be:

      down    just    one   this   Yang   family   **COP**       PTCL

      On the bottom (of the valley) is the Yang family.

The copula *wa* has two allomorphs: [wa] (see above) and [a], with the latter appearing after words ending in /r/, /l/ and /n/:

347. ne   ger     ʂdur    **a**

      this   house   high    **COP**

      This house is tall.

193

348. di:  baŋʤan  a  ba

then  approximately  **COP**  PTCL

(That) is about right, isn't it?

349. mini  de:l  gui:ni  de:l  **a**

1SG.GEN  clothes  expensive  clothes  **COP**

My clothes are expensive clothes.


### V.3.1.2  Copulas - comparative data

In the literature on other Mongghul dialects, there are two ways of representing the copulas *i:* and *wa*. In most sources, they are represented as independent words, e.g. Georg (2003), Chaolu Wu (1994), Zhaonasitu (1981), Todaeva (1973). de Smedt & Mostaert (1964) represent them as suffixes added to the stem.

Georg labels *ii* and *wa* as subjective and objective copula respectively (2003:302). In my data, the difference between the two forms, when used independently, is not one of perspective. This is clearly shown by the fact that the "subjective" copula *i:* can take objective verbal suffixes like *-n-a* and *-gun-a*.

Zhaonasitu (1981:42) lists the following copulas: *ii*, *a~va*, and *vaii*. He shows that verbal endings in *-ii* and *-a* respectively are formed by adding the particles[99] *ii* and *a* to the ending (1981:38).

Todaeva (1973:138) lists the copulas (*глаголи-связки*) as *i:-* and *ve:-*, stating that the latter is fairly infrequently used in Huzhu. Todaeva lists *-i* and *-a* as the second part of certain verbal suffixes, noting that they are doubtlessly of verbal origin (1973:112).

SM (1964) list *i:-* and *we:-* under auxiliary verbs (*verbe auxiliaire*) (p. 123), and *-i* and *-a* ~ *-wa* under copulas (p. 86). For *-a*, SM (1964:86) note that it becomes *-wa* when attached to words ending in vowels or consonants other than /n/ or /r/.

---

[99] Zhaonasitu (1981:42): *zhùcí* 助词.

**Table 43. Copulas – Comparative Data**

| Karlong | Todaeva (1973: 138) | Zhaonasitu (1981:42) | SM (1964:86, 132) | Georg (2003:302) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i: | i:- | ii | i:-, -i | ji: |
| wa | ve:- | a ~ va | -a ~ -wa | wa |
| — | — | vaii | we:- | — |

### V.3.1.3    Negative auxiliary subjective and objective: -gu-i: / -gu-a

The negative auxiliary is *gu-i:* and *gu-a* for subjective and objective perspective respectively. The negative auxiliary is used to negate the existence of a noun or a property, or to negate a verb. There is no neutral form of this marker, it is always either subjective or objective.

Negation of possession:

350. nda:        aba:        **gu-i:**

1SG.DAT    father    **NEG.AUX-SUBJ**

I don't have a father.

351.                        nda:-ni                    kudi    ka:rda    asi    ja-

mada                    **gu-i:**

1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN    home domesticated.animal    cattle    what-any    **NEG.AUX-SUBJ**

I don't have any livestock in my house.

Negation of finite verb:

352. ge:bian-la        nige    andʑ-i:-mada-di        ɕira:-m        gu-a

change-VRBL    one    where-SUBJ-any-DAT    burn-NPT    NEG.AUX-OBJ

ɕendzai    danGual

now    earth.clod

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

195

353. çendzai-ni   ɢar-ɢa-**m**         **gu-a**

now-ACC    go.out-CAUS-**NPT**    **NEG.AUX-OBJ**

Nowadays (we) do not take (it) out. (Speaking about earth-clods burnt for fertilizer.)

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    utçi-**n**        **gu-i:**

1SG  butter-ACC  drink-**SUBORD**   **NEG.AUX-SUBJ**

**I don't** eat butter.

356. ku:-ŋge  tora-dʑa           truo   yanweidzi  mide-**dʑi**     **gu-a**

son-SG  give.birth-PERF-OBJ  inside  official    know-**IMPERF**  **NEG.AUX-OBJ**

dʑu:di-la     dʑu:ne

dream-VRBL  just this

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

357. liaŋ ku:dzi  ndʑigila-**dʑi**       **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.

196

**Table 44. Negative Auxiliaries - Comparative Data**

| Negative Auxiliary | Karlong | Zhaonasitu (1981:43) | SM (1964:88) | Georg (2003:302) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEG.AUX-SUBJ | gu-i: | guii | ugui: ~ gui: | gu-i |
| NEG.AUX-OBJ | gu-a (gu-a:) | guaa | ugua: ~ gua: | gu-a |
| NEG.AUX-SUBJ | — | puçii | buçi: | — |
| NEG.AUX-OBJ | ptça | puça | buçia: | — |

## *V.3.1.5    Manner auxiliaries*

As in other dialects of Huzhu, number of verbs can function as auxiliaries in Karlong. They carry finite verbal suffixes and are added after the embedded verb.

*ge:* 'put' takes a bare stem as its complement verb:

358. çira:-sa            şbaŋnɪ      manta  nige  dʑu:  tigi:      çge-nɪ      ɢar-ɢa

     burn-COND          grass.sod   dig    one   just  like.that  big.ACC     go.out-CAUS

     **ge:-n-a**           bei

     **put-NPT-OBJ**      PTCL

When (you) burn, you dig the grass sod, then take out (one) that size.

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-nɪ       war-di-n-a                 tɪmɪr  çindʑir-la          baŋ-la   **ge:-dʑ-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:

197

360. fila:n     ɢual-ge    trua-ni       nige    ban     tɕiɢa:n   xurɢa   kide:

     red        valley-SG  inside-POSS   one    group   white     lamb   lie.down

**su:-dʑ-i:**       ja:n-i:

sit-PERF-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

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

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

361. ki:     baɢ-sa            tu:    **ɕi-m**    tɕabdʑi-dʑi   sala   ada-m

     wind  blow-COND       blow **go-NPT**    cat-IMPERF  separate  can-NPT

ja:n-i:

what-SUBJ

   The wind can blow it away, but you cannot cut it off. What is it?[100]

362. ŋgan  kudʑa:   landʐu:   ɢari   **ɕ-dʑ-a**

     3SG   already   Lanzhou  go.out  **go-PERF-OBJ**

     He already went to Lanzhou.

363. o:    ne-ni     i:-sa     di:    tɕida-dʑi     li:    **ɕ-gun-a**

     INTJ  this-ACC  look-COND  then   escape-IMPERF  NEG  **go-GEN.FUT-OBJ**

     Oh, it looks like she will not run away.

*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 *-dʑi*.

364. sdzu  ɢu:r  dan-la-dʑi       **ra**

     water  two   carry.on.shoulders  **come**

     (I) bring in (carry) two (buckets of) water on (my) shoulder,

---

[100] It is *fini* 'smoke'.

198

365. bu:-ʤɨ      **ra**   nige   de   utɕɨ

   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-nɨ    tarɨ-di-sa      ta:wɨn   ʤirGo:n   sara

   fenugreek-ACC   plant-COMPL-COND   five   six    month

   ul-sa       Garɨ   **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-dɨ     pa:la   **Garɨ**   ɕ-ʤ-a

   3SG   mountain-DAT   climb   **go.up**   go-PERF-OBJ

   He climbed up the mountain.

368. nige   maɕɨ   **Garɨ**   rɨ-ʤ-a

   one   read   **go.out**   come-PERF-OBJ

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

199

### V.3.1.6 Manner auxiliaries - comparative data

The following table shows manner auxiliaries listed for other dialects of Huzhu.

**Table 45. Manner Auxiliaries - Comparative Data**

| Auxiliary | Karlong | Todaeva (1973:140-143) | Zhaonasitu (1981:45) | SM (1964:134-135) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| go | çi | ʃʤi- | çə- (çʤə-) | çʤi- |
| come | ra | re- | re- | re- |
| sit | su: | su:- | sauu- | su:- |
| throw | — | ge:- | — | ge:- |
| put | ge: | ge:- | gee- | te:- (ti:-) |
| give | — | uGu- | oGo- | — |
| stand up | — | bos- | — | — |
| kill | —** | — | ala- | ala- |
| go out, go up | Gari | — | Garə- | Gari- |
| make go out | — | — | — | GarGa- |
| lose | — | — | alda- | — |
| take | — | — | awu-[101] | — |
| obtain | — | — | olə- | — |

### V.3.1.7 Quotative auxiliaries

The two quotative auxiliaries in Karlong are *gi-* and *ʤo:*. They are both morphologically defective. In my data gi- appears only with the verbal suffixes -*ʤi*, -*sa*, and -*san*, all of them non-finite. *ʤo:* never appears with any suffixes.

The quotative auxiliary *gi-* is added after clauses of reported speech, but can also be used for emphasis. The quotative auxiliary *gi-* is often extremely reduced phonologically.

Quotative with reported speech:

369. buru:    gu-a          da     **gi-ʤi**

     calf    NEG.AUX-OBJ   also    **QUOT-IMPERF**

     "The calf is not here", he says.

---

[101] Zhaonasitu (1981:45): *yāo* 要.

370. gan-i  dze:la-ɢa  ʂda-n  gu-a  xa  mei li  ɕaŋ

    3SG  receive-CAUS  can-SUBORD  NEG.AUX-OBJ  PTCL  coal  in  hide

    dʑin  **gi-dʑi**

    gold  **QUOT-IMPERF**

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

371. ne  nda:-ni  kudi  dʑu:  ra-di-sa  do  lamantɕuŋ

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

    gui:ren-ge  **gi-dʑi**

    important.person-SG  **QUOT-IMPERF**

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

372. e:  tigi:ŋge  xa  ne  ʂdara:-ni  amagidʑa  **gi-sa**  dʑu:ra-ni

    INTJ  like.that  PTCL  this  mill-GEN  how  **QUOT-COND**  between-POSS

    do  lamantɕun  bo:dʑun  ɢari  ɕ-dʑ-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-dʑin  **gi-san**  tigi:ge  dʑa-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 *dʑo:* is almost entirely restricted to occurring with verbs of verbal activity: *kila* 'say', *xe:la* 'cry (as a bird)', *du:la* 'sing', *dʑi:* 'announce'. *dʑo:* takes the bare stem of the verb as a complement.

374. ja  bi  nantar-ge  kila  **dʑo:**  a:

    INTJ  1SG  story-SG  say  **QUOT**  PTCL

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

201

375. ja      do    bɨ    kɨle    dʑo:    a:

    INTJ  now   1SG   say     **QUOT**   PTCL

    Yeah, now I will tell (it).

376. tɕɨ    mɨnɨ      a:ma-dɨ      kɨla    dʑo:

    2SG   1SG.GEN   mother-DAT   say    **QUOT**

    You will tell my mother.

377. ja:n-i:       dandog     di:    xe:la            dʑo:

    what-SUBJ   matter     then   cry (as a bird)   **QUOT**

    What will (you) sing about?

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

378. tɕɨ    mɨnɨ      sdzer-nɨ   i:    xarɨ-sa        bɨ     iɕi    dʑi:la           dʑo:

    2SG  1SG.GEN   money    NEG  return-COND  1SG   very   become.angry  **QUOT**

    If you don't return my money I will become very angry.


## V.3.2    Morphophonologically irregular verb ɢua 'give'

Not all verbs follow (all) the morphonological rules described in sections II.5. There is one

exception: ɢua 'give'.

The stem ɢua appears in the imperative, but it is reduced to ɢ- in front of all suffixes

except -*di*, -*ja* and -*n*-: ɢ-dʑ-a 'gave' (give-PERF-OBJ) ɢ-wa 'gave' (give-PERF), but ɢua-di-wa

'gave' (give-COMPL-PERF) and ɢua-n-i 'give(s)' (give-NPT-SUBJ). With the voluntative suffix,

the stem is ɢo-: ɢo-ja 'let me/us give' (give-VOL1).

379. bɨ    tɕɨm-ɨ                nige  fu:    ɢ-wa

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

    I **gave** you a book.

380. bu    gan-di    nige    pidʑig  **ɢ-dʑ-a**

    1SG    3SG-DAT  one    book    **give-PERF-OBJ**

    I **gave** him a book.

381. bi    nda:-ni              du:-di-na:             fu-ŋge   **ɢua-di-wa**

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

    I gave my younger brother a book.

382. bi    tɕim-i           **ɢo-ja**

    1SG   2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT  give-VOL1

    Let me give (it) to you.

## V.4   DEVERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The following is a short discussion of deverbal morphology found in the data.

### V.4.1    <u>Nomen Actoris: -tɕi</u>

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

383. nige    xonima-**tɕi**

    one    sheep-**NOM.ACT**

    a shepherd

## V.5   CONCLUSION

Karlong has suffixes for tense, aspect, mood, and perspective (evidentiality), as well as a number of indefinite verbal suffixes. Karlong has two different copulas, two negative auxiliaries, a quotative auxiliary, as well as a number of manner auxiliaries.

Karlong verbal morphology is fairly similar to the verbal morphology of other dialects of Mongghul, with a few exceptions. One exception is the assertive suffix *-ma*, which does not seem

203

to occur in other dialects. And while -*di* does occur in other dialects of Mongghul, its function in these dialects is not completely clear.

### V.6  RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A promising area for future research is an extended comparison of verbal morphology, especially for those suffixes which do not seem to occur in all dialects of Mongghul, such as the completive marker -*di*, the assertive marker -*ma*, and the converbs in -*gunda*, -*aanu*, -*sa:r*, and -*dela:* (see Table 42).

The terminative suffix -*tala* also needs further investigation. The co-occurrence of this suffix in Karlong and Minhe might be due to the fact that the areas where Karlong and Minhe are spoken are fairly close to each other (the Fulaan Nura and Ledu areas are closer to Minhe than Halchighol or Naringhol).

204

# CHAPTER VI. OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

**VI.1  PARTS OF SPEECH**

In addition to the parts of speech discussed in the last two chapters, Karlong also has the

following parts of speech: adverbs, conjunction, interjections, and particles.

**VI.1.1   Adverbs**

Karlong has the following adverbs: locational adverbs, temporal adverbs, and adverbs of manner.

**VI.2.1   Conjunction**

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

**VI.3.1   Interjections**

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

**VI.4.1   Particles**

Karlong has several different types of particles: final particles, adverbial particles, discourse

particles, negative particles, and interrogative particles.

**VI.2  DISCUSSION**

The following sections contain discussion of the parts of speech introduced above, including

examples.

**VI.1.2   Adverbs**

The following sections discuss locational, temporal, and manner adverbs.

205

### VI.2.1.1 Locational adverbs

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

Examples:

384. bɨ      i:ʤudɨr      **nde:**     rɨ-wa

     1SG    day.before.yesterday    **here**    come-PERF

     I came **here** the day before yesterday.

385. kudujer      tarɨ-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:dɨr* 'today', *malaŋ* and *maɢaçi* 'tomorrow', *çɢudɨr* 'yesterday', *naŋ* 'this year', *şdanaŋ* 'last year', *tçinaɢda* 'day after tomorrow', *i:ʤɨdɨr* 'day before yesterday', *durdɨndɨ* 'every day', *guadɨndɨ* 'daily', *şde ~ şda* 'early', and *wuri:* 'late'.

Examples:

386. bɨ      **kçe:dɨda**    ja:nge-na:        marda:-dɨ-n-a

     1SG    **always**     something-REFL    forget-COMPL-NPT-OBJ

     I **always** forget something.

387. nda:-nɨ              kudɨ   **nu:dɨr**   xgɨlanʤin-ge   rɨ-ʤ-a

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

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

388. **naŋ**     fɨre:   tçɨ   i:gua-na:     nʤina: lu:kɨ-ʤ-i:      ba

     **this.year**   seed   2SG   all-REFL    REFL.PRON   have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ      PTCL

     **This year** you had a surplus for yourself from your seeds?

### VI.2.1.3    *Manner adverbs*

The following manner adverbs occur in the data: *tiŋgidʑi ~ tigi:ŋge~ ti:ŋge ~ tigi: ~ ti:* 'like that',
*i:diŋ* 'certain(ly)'.

Examples:

389. bɨda-ŋla      ne   gugutɕa:tɕa:r-rɨ   su:-san-a        **tigi:**   ɕendʑin

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

     a        be:

     COP      PTCL

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

390. do   tɕi   le:      **tigi:ŋge**   do    tiGa:n      Gadʑer  tarɨ-n-i

     now  2SG   PTCL     **like.that**  now   how.much    field   plant-NPT-SUBJ

Now how much field area to you plant?

391. e:   **tigi:ŋge** xa    ne    ʂdara:-nɨ   amagidʑa  gi-sa       dʑu:ra-nɨ

     INTJ **like.that** PTCL  this  mill-GEN    how       QUOT-COND  between-POSS

     do   lamantɕun  bo:dʑun        Gari   ɕ-dʑ-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  tidʑe:  ʂda-dʑin        draŋ  ju: ...  tio:dʑen

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

     si:n  a    be:

     good  COP  PTCL

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

393. ɕargaŋ-ge **da** ṣda-ʤɨ gu-a be:

shrine-SG **also** can-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL

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

394. mensʐɛn **da** a:ma-ɢula-na: kunan a xa erṣisan-dɨ

menzhen **and** mother-DL-REFL difficult COP PTCL twenty-three-DAT

dzuja a:nie da:bɨla gulɨ nigi:ʤe lidaŋ da gu-a

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

Menzhen **and** his mother were both very poor, so they had no gifts to offer the kitchen god

on the 23rd (of the twelfth lunar month).

395. mendʐɛn **da** a:ma-ɢula-na: do ɕaver-la nige surg-ʤ-a be:

Menzhen **and** mother-DL-REFL now mud-INST.COM one smear-PERF-OBJ PTCL

Now Menzhen and his mother smeared (the door) with mud (instead of putting up lucky

papers, because they were so poor).

## VI.3.2 Interjections

A number of interjections are used in Karlong, especially in story telling and conversation.

Interjections are very infrequent in elicited speech. They usually appear as the very first element

in a sentence, or, less frequently, in the clause.

The following interjections can be found in the data (the English "translations" are

approximations):

*e:* 'eh, yeah' - used to introduce sentences, especially when telling a story. This interjection

could also be translated as 'so, well now, then'. This is the most common interjection in the data.

Examples of *e:* in the data:

396. **e:** dzɨran-ge tigi:gɨ

**INTJ** natural-SG like.that

**Yeah**, naturally, like that. (this is how it's done.)

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

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

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

398. **e:**    la-di    sdzun-di    tiɢa:n    ɢadʑer    tari-ma

      **INTJ** hill-DAT  water-DAT  that.much  field    plant-ASSERT

      **Yeah**, on the hill (and) in the water (fields we) plant that many fields.

    *a:* 'ah, yeah'.

399. **a:**    di:    jeri-ŋge    i:-gun-a

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

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

400. **a:**    ten-sa    hueina  do    dzou    dʑa    su:-gun-a          waŋ    dʑa

      **INTJ** that-ABL  after   now  Zhou   family  sit-NARR.PAST-OBJ  Wang    family

    su:-gun-a

    sit-NARR.PAST-OBJ

      **Ah**, now after that the Zhou family (came to) stay and the Wang family (came to) stay.

401. **e:**    tigi:ŋge-la      su:-dʑ-a    tani    rdʑi-gu    nda:

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

      xu:le:    dʑiefaŋ-la-di         niŋge  **a:**    do    dʑu:    nara

      after    liberate-VRBL-COMPL   then  **INTJ** also  just    sun

      bu:-di-dʑ-a        be:

      rise-AG-PERF-OBJ   PTCL

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

      sun rose.

*ja* ~ ja:'yeah'.

402. **ja**    **ja**    ɢaɕ-dʑɨ         ra-n-i

    **INTJ**  **INTJ**  go.out-IMPERF  come-NPT-SUBJ

    **Yeah**, **yeah**, I am coming out.

403. **ja**    bɨ    nantar-ge    kɨla    dʑo:    a:

    **INTJ**  1SG   story-SG     say     QUOT   PTCL

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

404. **ja**    do    bɨ    kɨle    dʑo:    a:

    **INTJ**  now   1SG   say     QUOT   PTCL

    **Yeah**, now I will tell (it).

405. a:ga    di:    da-ɢula        **ja:**    ʂan-kɨ-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-nɨ              amɨn   si:n    a

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

    **Right**, now your life is good.

407. **o:la**       tiɢa:ŋge       mu:kɨ-**n-i**

    **right**       that.much      seek-VRBL-NPT-SUBJ

    **Right**, we are seeking that much (money).

*aja* 'really!' - expresses slight annoyance (only one example in the data).

408. **aja:**   moŋGual   a    xa    moŋGual    xgatɕa:-la-na:

    **INTJ** Monguor   COP PTCL Monguor   language-INST.COM-REFL

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

*o:* 'oh' - expresses slight surprise (only one example).

409. **o:**   ne-nɨ    i:-sa    di:    tɕida-dʑɨ    li:    ɕ-gun-a

    **INTJ** this-ACC   look-COND then    escape-IMPERF NEG    go-GEN.FUT-OBJ

    **Oh,** it looks like she will not run away.

*dʑe* - expresses surprise (only one example).

410. sdzer-nɨ   **dʑe**   dzuakɨdʑɨ         gu-i:          a

    gold-ACC **INTJ** grasp-VRBL-IMPERF   NEG.AUX-SUBJ   PTCL

    (He) did not grasp the gold!

## VI.4.2   Particles

The following sections discuss the particles found in Karlong: final, adverbial, and discourse particles, as well as negative and interrogative particles. Only a few particles in the data can take a suffix, e.g. the adverbial particle *jaŋ* 'again' and the discourse particle *tigi:ŋge* 'like that'.

### VI.2.4.1   Final particles

Final particles are non-changeable words which appear at the end of the sentence or clause and add meaning such as imperative, suggestion, or emphasis to the sentence, or are used to elicit a response from the listener. The following final particles, appear in Karlong: *sa, ba, xa, be: ~ bei,* and *le:*.

The final particle *sa* expresses a suggestion, or invites agreement from the listener. It can be used to form polite imperatives, or to ask questions.

211

Final particle *sa* used in imperative:

411. tar-la                tarda    **sa**

    stone-INST.COM    throw    **PTCL**

    Throw a stone.

412. ɕira:    **sa**

    bake    **PTCL**

    Bake (it).

*sa* used to make a polite request:

413. ne-nɨ    do    dʑu:    a:die    tɕi    nda:    tɕi    nige    ʂaŋ-kɨ    **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. dʐaŋdʑa-na:-ge    ʂaŋ-kɨ-ldɨ-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-dɨ    sdza-gun-a    tɕi    ɕin    sa    miŋ    sa

    then  this-SG  woman-DAT  ask-NARR.PAST-OBJ  2SG  Xin  **PTCL**  Ming  **PTCL**

    wa    gɨ-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).

212

*ba* used to elicit agreement:

416. di:      baŋdʑan      a      **ba**

then   approximately  COP   **PTCL**

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

*ba* used to politely express an opinon:

417. te      ʂdada  gu-a              **ba**      o:

that   early   NEG.AUX-OBJ  **PTCL**   PTCL

That is not early.

Asking a question about the answer of which one is fairly certain:

418. naŋ        fire:   tɕi   i:gua-na:   ndʑina:         lu:ki-dʑ-i:                      **ba**

this.year   seed   2SG  all-REFL   REFL.PRON   have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ   **PTCL**

This year you had a surplus for yourself from your seeds?

The particle *xa* is used to express emphasis.

419. xgile-dʑi        juanwei-ni       den-di     giɕ-gun-a                    **xa**

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

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

This particle can also be used to link to clauses, where the first clause is the cause or reason for the event described in the second clause:

420. e:      do    ɕendzai-ni       xudʑinto:   dʐuɕi        su:-dʑ-a           **xa**      do    ta

INTJ   now   current-GEN   Hu Jintao   chairman   sit-PERF-OBJ   **PTCL**   now   that

nientɕinren-ni          do     amin    dʑu:    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.

213

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

3SG-ACC receive-CAUS can-SUBORD NEG.AUX-SUBJ **PTCL** coal inside hide

ʤin  gɨʤɨ

gold  QUOT

(The official) could not force him to receive (gifts), (**so** he) said "hide gold in coal.[102]"

422. da    busɢua-nɨ    dirle-ʤ-a    **xa**  limendʐen    a

door  threshold-ACC  use.as.a.pillow-PERF-OBJ  **PTCL** Li Menzhen    COP

gɨʤɨ  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.

423. ne    ger-dɨ    tɕaŋgaŋ  gu-a    **xa**    xaranɢo-ɢula

this  house-DAT  window  NEG.AUX-OBJ **PTCL**  dark-INTENS

There are no windows in this room, **so** it's very dark.

The particle *be:* ~ *bei* is extremely frequent in stories, and also appears in conversation. It almost never appears in elicited sentences. The meaning of this particle is to emphasis the statement.

424. fɨrɨ    ʤu:  nige    ne    jaŋ    ʤa    wa    **be:**

down    just  one    this  Yang  family COP    **PTCL**

On the bottom (of the valley) is the Yang family. (There is no doubt about it, everybody knows it.)

---

[102] The official then goes on to hide some gold in seed grains that he loans to the reluctant beneficiary.

425. jerɨ-ŋge     sara     su:     ge:-ʥ-a        **be:**     ɕge     da       busɢua-nɨ

     woman-SG    month   sit     put-PERF-OBJ    **PTCL**   big    door     threshold-POSS

     ko:-la        nige

     lean-VRBL    one

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

426. ne:dʐaŋ     ʥa        deidu:     wa         **be:**

     poor        family     most     COP        **PTCL**

     Most families were poor.

427. di:     xɢei   da    gaga:   xɢei-ge   tiʥe:    ʂda-ʥin        draŋ   ju:     //    tio:ʥen

     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. ʥinkuei   fuzu   tɕilai-la-ʥ-a           **be:**

     quick     rich    become-VRBL-PERF-OBJ    **PTCL**

     (They) became rich very quickly.

429. na   sɨ    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-nɨ   ʥe     dʐuakiʥɨ           gu-i:           **a**

     gold-ACC   INTJ   grasp-VRBL-IMPERF   NEG.AUX-SUBJ   **PTCL**

     (He) did not grasp the gold!

     There are only a few instances of *le:* in the data. Its use corresponds to the Chinese *ne* 呢:

215

431. tɕɨ   le:

2SG   PTCL

**How about** you?

432. ɕdʑo:sɨ   le:      nige   fan    tiɢa:n     da:ldɨ   sdzer   ʂdan-a

tree   **PTCL**   one   year   how.much   sell   money   can-NPT-OBJ

**As for** trees, how much money can you (make) in one year from selling them?

## VI.2.4.2   *Adverbial particles*

Adverbial particles[103] are particles which modify the verb in some way e.g. *jaŋ* 'again', *draŋ* 'also', 'still', *hansɨ* 'still', *dʑu:* 'just'. Their position in the sentence is fairly free.

*jaŋ* 'again':

433. tɕandzar-rɨ      ɕi   niŋge   **jaŋ**   ku:-la           nige   liam   mu:nɨ-ɢula

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

dʑu:   niŋge   warɨ

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-nɨ     **jaŋ-sa**       //

**again-ABL**   like.that   one   village   one   village-ACC   **again-ABL**   //

**jaŋ-sa**       dalo:n   ajil   i:-n-a           sa

**again-ABL**   seven   village   COP-NPT-OBJ   PTCL

**Then**, one village next to the other ... then there are seven villages, aren't there?

---

[103] I am using this term following Slater 2003:149.

216

*draŋ* 'also':

435. bɨda-ŋla      xaran    kɨdɨ     nasɨ-nɨ    Gadɨ-nɨ     **draŋ** 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.

*draŋ* 'still':

436. nda:-nɨ             a:nie      **draŋ**    dige-dʑ-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       fɨn     fɨla-gun-a           dzuja a:nie-dɨ     tɕɨ

      INTJ   now   all-COLL   order   order-NARR.PAST-OBJ   kitchen.god-DAT   2SG

      tienkun-dɨ     Gaç-dʑɨ        sa    njoŋdʑa   sa    e:    si:     xgadʑa-nɨ

      heaven-DAT   go.up-IMPERF   PTCL   niangjia[104]   PTCL   INTJ   good   word-ACC

      e:    nigi:dʑe   şankɨ-sa       da    mu:   xgadʑa   nige   **bi:**     kɨla

      INTJ   a.little   speak-COND     and   bad   word   one   **PRHB**   say

      Yeah, now, everybody together ordered the kitchen god: "go up to the heaven, to the home of your parents, (and) say some good words (for) us when you speak; don't say any bad words."

---

[104] Chinese: *niángjiā* 娘家, home of married woman's parents.

Negative particle *li:* with finite verbs:

438. teŋgeri    ura-sa               buda-ŋla    ɢaç-ʤi:  li:     çi-m

     sky     rain-COND             1PL.STEM  go.out  NEG  go.NPT

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

439. noxui:  xuʤa-sada  kun-ni       **li:**  ʤu:-m

     dog     bark-CONC  person-ACC  **NEG** bite-NPT

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

440. **li:**     oɢua-n-i

     **NEG**  give-NPT-SUBJ

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

441. o:     ne-ni    i:-sa      di:    tçida-ʤi        **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?

218

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

444. nige    gundzuo-ni    **i:**       dira:la-ʤin       kun

one     work-ACC     **NEG**    love-PART.AG    person

a person who does **not** like to work

445. tɕi    mini      sdzer-ni  **i:**     xari-sa       bi    iɕi    ʤi:la        ʤo:

2SG    1SG.GEN   money    **NEG**   return-COND   1SG   very   become.angry   QUOT

If you **don't** return my money I will become very angry.

### *VI.2.4.4    Negative particles - comparative data*

There is fairly little variation in the negative particles across the different dialects of Mongghul, as illustrated in the table below.

**Table 46. Negative Particles - Comparative Data**

| Negative Particle | Karlong | Todaeva (1973:151) | Zhaonasitu (1981:48) | SM (1964:66, 137) | Georg (2003:303) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| negative | i: | i: | | i: | ii (NG) |
| negative | li: | li: | lii | li | li: |
| prohibitive | bi: | bi: | bii | bi: | — |
| negative | — | se | sii | se | — |

### *VI.2.4.5    Interrogative particles*

There are three forms of the interrogative particle in Karlong. *nu:*, after words ending in the objective suffix *-a, ju:*, after words ending in the subjective suffix *-i:*, and *u:*, which is used after words ending in other vowels, including /a/ which is not the objective suffix. Short high vowels are deleted before the interrogative particle *u:*.

Yes/no questions can be formed by using the interrogative particle, or by combining the interrogative particle with a negative auxiliary.

219

Interrogatives with interrogative particle only:

446. ɕge    pise:    sge-dʑ-a         **nu:**      tɕi

     big     belt    see-PERF-OBJ     **INTERR**   2SG

     Have you seen a big belt?

447. sge-dʑi        gu-a              **nu:**

     see-IMPERF    NEG.AUX-OBJ       **INTERR**

     (You) haven't seen (one)?

448. ʂda    ul-dʑa nu:

     early   become-PERF

449. tɕi    bida-ŋ-ni              sge     **u:**

     2SG    1PL.STEM-PL-ACC        see     **INTERR**

     Did you see us?

450. tɕi    dʑiehun-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:**    pdʑi:    **ju:**      bi     je      wabitɕin

     true     correct **INTERR** wrong    **INTERR**   1SG    also    not.clear

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

220

**Table 47. Interrogative Particles - Comparative Data**

| Interrogative Particle | Karlong | Todaeva (1973:153) | Zhaonasitu (1981:57) | SM (1964:88) | Georg (2003:303) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| interrogative particle | uː | uː— | — | -u ~ -uː | 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 -iː) | ju: (with iː and veː) | jiuu (after guii, nəmbii, and puçii) | -yu ~ -yu: (after -i) | yuu (after copulas) |

## VI.2.4.6   Discourse particles

These are words which connect sentences and clauses within a conversation or story. Among them are *do* 'now'', 'also', *di:* 'then', *niŋge* 'then, after', *dʑu:* 'just' (Chinese *jiù* 就), and *nige* 'one'. These markers are extremely frequent, especially in story telling. The particles are often combined.

Use of *do* 'now', 'also', *di:* 'then', *niŋge* 'then, after, while', *nige* 'one' and *dʑu:* 'just' in one utterance:

453. e:      tigi:ŋge-la            su:-dʑ-a          ta-ni        rdʑi-gu            nda:

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

xu:le:   dʑiefaŋ-la-di                  **niŋge** a:     **do**   dʑu:   nara   bu:-di-dʑ-a              be:

after   liberate-VRBL-COMPL   **then**    INTJ **also** just   sun   rise-AG-PERF-OBJ PTCL

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

221

| mo: | dz̪uçi | dʑu:sɨ | wanmin-dɨ | dʑiefaŋ-la | **di:** | nige | **di:** | **dʑu:** |
|-----|--------|--------|-----------|------------|---------|------|---------|----------|
| Mao | chairman | exactly | people-DAT | liberate-VRBL | **then** | one | **then** | **just** |

si:na-la-di-dʑ-a

good-VRBL-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

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

Use of *do* 'now', 'also':

454. o:la  **do**  ta-ŋla-nɨ  amɨn  si:n  a

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

Right, **now** your life is good.

455. ja  **do**  bɨ  kɨle  dʑo:  a:

INTJ  **now**  1SG  say  QUOT  PTCL

Yeah, **now** I will tell (it).

456. do  tçi  le:  tigi:ŋge  **do**  tiɢa:n  ɢadʑer  tarɨ-n-i

now  2SG  PTCL  like.that  **now**  how.much  field  plant-NPT-SUBJ

**Now** how much field area do you plant?

The particle *niŋge* is used for actions which happen in a sequence, or at the same time. When there is only one clause in the sentence, *niŋge* means 'then':

457. e:  buda-ɢula  **niŋge**  lekɨ-di-dʑ-a

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

Eh, **then** we two divorced.

Todaeva (1973:129) gives -*neŋge* as the Fulaan Nura equivalent of the Halchi modal converb[105] in -*n*. She explains the shape of the suffix as -*n* + inserted -*e*- + singular suffix -*ŋge*. She gives the following example: *te urodʑi reneŋge su:va*, 'he sat down, as soon as he entered the house.'

---

[105] Todaeva (1973) calls this form *слитное деепричастие*.

222

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

458. wari    bira:ɢa    **niŋge**    utɕi-la              ra

    work    finish    **after**    drink-PURP         come

    Finish your work and **(then)** come eat!

However, in some cases it does not seem that the word I interpret as a discourse particle *niŋge* is the same as Todaeva's modal converb. For one, in some sentences in my data, *niŋge* connects two clauses which do not have the same agent. The modal converb always connects two clauses which have the same agent.

459. baɢaldi    **niŋge**    di:    ju:ren    sge-san-a              a:

    fight    **while**    then    some.people    see-PART. PERF-OBJ    PTCL

    **While** (they) were fighting, some people saw (it).

Another difference is that in my data the position of *niŋge* is not restricted to immediately after the verb. *niŋge* can appear in almost any position.

460. e:    buda-ɢula    **niŋge**    leki-di-dʑ-a

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

    Eh, **then** we two divorced.

461. xo:-di-gu              nidi              **niŋge**    di:    ʂdima-ri    dʑu:

    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.

223

The particle *di:* can generally be interpreted as 'then' or 'so':

462. **di:** ndre: wadzer da:gun-la-la Gari-dʑ-a

**then** here city make.money-VRBL-PURP go.out-PERF-OBJ

**Then** I came out here to the city in order to make money.

Sometimes *di:* is used as a filler

463. da dzɨfaŋ su:-san **di:** gen çendʑin a be:

big place sit-PART.PERF **then** even.more modern COP PTCL

(People who) live in the cities are even more modern.

464. e: **di:** bu **di:** jaŋ tɕaŋ-san dʑu: tiGange a:

INTJ **then** 1SG **then** also hear-PART.PERF just that.much PTCL

So, (what) I heard is just that much.

The particle *dʑu:* generally has the meaning 'just':

465. xo:-di-gu nɨdɨ niŋge di: ʂdɨma-rɨ **dʑu:**

dry-COMPL-PART.FUT grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC **just**

nige saŋ nige saŋ ta:la-ma

one layer one layer build.layers-ASSERT

After it is dried, grind it, then **just** build it layer by layer into the bread.

The use of *nige* 'one' generally adds the meaning 'a little', e.g.

466. **nige** ŋGua: xo:-lGa **nige**

**one** wash dry-CAUS **one**

Wash it and dry it **a little**.

467. bɨda-ŋla jeda:-di-dʑ-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**.

224

## VI.3  CONCLUSION

In this section I have discussed adverbs, the conjunction, interjections, and particles. Adverbs are used to describe where, when, and how an event takes places. The conjunction *da* is used to connect nouns and clauses. Interjections express the state of mind of the speaker. Negative particles are used for the formation of negative and prohibitive sentences, while interrogative particles are used in question formation. Discourse particles help maintain the flow of the conversation, often illustrating the flow of time in the events discussed. Final particles add emphasis, or involve the addressee in some way: by making the sentence an imperative or a suggestion, or by eliciting a response.

## VI.4  RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

More work is necessary to investigate more detailed nuances of interjections and particles, especially final and discourse particles. More information is also needed about conjunctions. Although conjoining nouns and clauses in Karlong (and Mongghul as a whole) is usually achieved using suffixes, the conjunction *da* is used in Karlong, however, the range of its uses is not clear at this time.

225

# 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-ɨ    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-dɨ            fu:-ŋge    G-wa

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

    I gave you a book.

    Adverbs generally precede the verb:

470. bɨ    i:dʒudɨr            nde:   rɨ-wa

    1SG   day.before.yesterday  here  come-PERF

    I came here the day before yesterday

    However, there are exceptions. In the following sentence, the subject and the adverb both follow the verb:

471. kudujer    tarɨ-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  andʑ-i:-mada-dɨ     çira:-m     gu-a

change-VRBL  one  where-SUBJ-any-DAT  burn-NPT    NEG.AUX-OBJ

çendzai  danɢual

now      earth.clod

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

In sentence 473, the subject appears at the end of the sentence:

473. çge    pise:   sge-dʑ-a        nu:      tɕɨ

big    belt   see-PERF-OBJ   INTERR  2SG

Have you seen a big belt?

Adverbial phrases also generally precede the item they modify. However, there is a certain amount of flexibility. For example, adverbial phrases may follow or precede the direct object:

474. ŋgan    xɢei-nɨ    tɕidaɢu-la      ala-di-dʑ-a

3SG     pig-ACC    knife-INST.COM   kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

He killed the pig with a knife.

475. ŋgan    tɕidaɢu-la         xɢei-na:   ala-di-dʑ-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. bɨ     **nu:dɨr** lisga   wulan  warɨ-wa

1SG   **today**  work   much   work-PERF

I did a lot of work **today**.

227

477. ŋgan **maɢaʨi** juː-gun-a

3SG **tomorrow** go-GEN.FUT-OBJ

He will leave **tomorrow**.

478. bu **ʨinaɢda** aːma-naː iːʥi-la ʨ-gi

1SG **day.after.tomorrow** mother-REFL see-PURP go-FUT

I will go visit my mother the **day after tomorrow**.

479. bɨ **iːʥudɨr** ndeː rɨ-wa

1SG **day.before.yesterday** here come-PERF

I came here the **day before yesterday**.

480. bɨ **kʨeːdɨda** jaːnge-naː mardaː-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. **maɢaʨi** ʨi bɨda-ɢula handɨ-la utʨi-ja[106]

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

Let's eat together you and I **tomorrow**

482. **naŋ** fɨreː ʨi iːgua-naː nʥina: luːkɨ-ʥ-iː ba

**this.year** seed 2SG all-REFL REFL.PRON have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ PTCL

**This year** you had a surplus for yourself from your seeds?

Like all modifiers, numerals as a rule also precede their nouns, with any classifiers between the numeral and the noun. However, there are also variations here. For more discussion see section IV.4.9.

---

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

## VII.2 CONCLUSION

The basic word order for Karlong is SOV, with modifiers preceding the items they modify. However, there is a certain amount of flexibility. Subjects can appear after verbs and objects, and modifiers can follow modified items.

## VII.3 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

More research is needed to determine which factors cause changes in word order in Karlong, and whether there is special meaning associated with different positions, e.g. the end of the sentence, where some elements are moved when they are not in their usual position.

# CHAPTER VIII. LEXICON

## VIII.1 SOURCES OF LOANWORDS IN KARLONG

Non-Mongolic words in Mongghul (and Karlong) have at least three different sources: Tibetan, Chinese, and Turkic. According to Georg (2003:304), some Mongghul vocabulary "may derive from yet another unknown language".

The following is a list of the Tibetan, Chinese and Turkic[107] words in Karlong which are in the Swadesh-200 wordlist:

*a:ma* 'mother' - Written Tibetan or Amdo Tibetan

*a:ba* 'father' - Amdo Tibetan

*semagua* 'fog' - Amdo Tibetan

*rawa* 'hair' - Amdo Tibetan

*radaɢ* 'hunt' - Amdo Tibetan

*ntsua* 'lake' - Amdo Tibetan

*la:kɨ* 'pull' Chinese (*lā* 拉 + KL -*kɨ*)

*ɕa:ɕɨ* 'sand' - Chinese (*shāzi* 砂子 or QHH )

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

*gɨga:* 'small' - Chinese (QHH *ga*)

*tʂo:kɨ* 'stab' - Chinese (*chuō* 戳 + KL -*kɨ*)

*ɕi:kɨ* 'suck' - Chinese (*xī* 吸 + KL -*kɨ*)

*waŋla* 'tie' - Chinese (*bǎng* 绑 + KL -*kɨ*)

*a:dʑi* 'older sister' - Chinese (QHH *adʑi*)

*dʑofi:* 'swim' - Chinese (QHH *dʑofi*)

*andʑi:* 'where' - Chinese (QHH *ardʑi*)

*ɕu:* 'bird' - Chinese (QHH *ɕur*)

---

[107] Like Nugteren (1998) I am not counting Turkic loanwords which are found in all Mongolic languages.

230

*taçi* 'stone' - Turkic (Salar)

## VIII.2 PERCENTAGE OF LOANWORDS

There is some evidence that the percentages of Tibetan and Chinese words varies across varieties.

Ha and Stuart mention the replacement of Mongghul words by Chinese for Tianzhu (2006:56).

As noted in the introduction, Dr. Li (p.c.) states that Halchi has little Tibetan influence and

Karlong has strong Tibetan influence.

However, I found no significant differences in percentage of Tibetan and Chinese loanwords

in a list of words based on the Swadesh-200 wordlist. If there is a difference in percentage, it is

not found in the most basic vocabulary, but on other types of vocabulary. It would be interesting

to see if there were any significant differences in a list of 300 or 500 words, but that is beyond the

scope of this dissertation.

## VIII.3 USE OF LOANWORDS

While Karlong may not have significantly more Tibetan loanwords than other dialects of Huzhu,

it does have these loanwords. They are fully incorporated into the language and can easily take

Mongghul suffixes. Chinese loanwords in Mongghul, if they are verbs, are treated somewhat

differently than Mongolic verbs. They always have to have either one of the derivational suffixes

(verbalizers) *-ki* or *-la*. The following are some examples of Chinese and Tibetan loanwords as

they appear in texts.

483. xo:-di-gu           nidi       niŋge   di:    ʂdima-ri    dʑu:

      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'.

231

484. **bei**      **dʑa**      **dzɦenmin**-la-di-dʑ-a                    be:

   **hundred   family   prove**-VRBL-COMPL-PERF-OBJ      PTCL

   Many families proved (it) (that is possible to get rich).

   Chinese: *bǎijiā* 百家 'many households' (lit. 'hundred houses'), *zhèngmíng* 证明 'prove'

485. sdzu   ɢuːr   **dan**-la-dʑɨ                         ra   //   **naŋsaː**-naː      ʂdaː

   water   two   **carry.on.shoulders**-VRBL-IMPERF   come //   **breakfast**-REFL   cook

   ɕaːdzɨ-naː      ɕuː   //   iːgua-naː   **tui**-la      niŋge   //   **kaːrda**

   courtyard-REFL sweep   //   all-REFL   **clean**-VRBL   after   //   **livestock**

   paŋ-sa-naː            niŋge   ɢar-ɢa      //   ɢadʑer   ra   ɢaɕi   ɕi-n-i

   stable-ABL-REFL   then   go.out-CAUS   //   field      come   go.out   go-NPT-SUBJ

   (I) bring in (carry) two (buckets of) water on (my) shoulder, cook my breakfast and sweep

   my courtyard, after cleaning everything out, then letting the livestock out of the stable, (I) go

   out to the field.

   Chinese: *dān* 担 'to carry, to shoulder'; *táo* 淘 'to clean'; *péng* 棚 'shed'

   Tibetan: WT *nan-za*, WT *khal-rta* 'pack horse'

Chinese and Tibetan loanwords often exist alongside each other and their Mongolic

equivalents, and may be used in the same conversation, for example: *dzuan* (Chinese *zhuāng* 庄)

and *ajil* (WM *ayil*), both 'village'.

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

486. eː      **dʑuː**   **fuzu**   **dʑa**-dɨ         da   andʑ-iː         **dʑuː**sɨ   ɢada-sa

   INTJ   just   **rich**   **family**-DAT   and   where-SUBJ   just      outside-ABL

   xarɢal-ge            tuŋgu-dʑ-iː            guːgɨ   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.

232

487. e:  ju:dɨ  **tɕimsaŋ**-nɨ  di:  ne  ho:pen-dɨ-rɨ  gan  gaga:  ɢal-ge

INTJ  some  **family**-GEN  then  this  fireplace-DAT-LOC  3SG  small  fire-SG

di:  ʂda:-ʥin  do  ʥu:  **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.

234

Almost all education takes place in Chinese. There are probably very few or no students receiving any education in their native Mongghul varieties, and very few people speak Mongghul as a second language (Kevin Stuart, p.c.). Students generally have to go to boarding schools starting with middle school. The language of instruction is Mandarin Chinese. Children among themselves mostly speak Qinghaihua (in Qinghai). However, I have been told that in some areas primary school teachers speak Chinese in class, as required, and then translate into Mongghul, because the students do not yet speak Chinese.

Ha and Stuart (2006:53) note that in Tianzhu, Gansu, interaction in school is in Chinese, which students then also begin to speak at home.

I am aware of only two tv programs in Mongghul: one is a program on health issues done by Limusishiden. The other one was a program for learning Mongghul in English, which appeared on tv twice in the late 1990s by the Huzhu County Television station (Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al. 1996:79)

Tibetan has had a strong influence on the Mongghul language. However, today few people speak it, unless they have learned it in school as a second language. Many wedding songs are in Tibetan, but the people who perform them generally sing them from memory. Some singers have a general understanding what the songs are about, but I only met one speaker who could translate them, Mr. Wang from Tianzhu, age 76, who is a professional story teller, and can sing the entire Geser epos.

## IX.2 LITERACY

There is an existing orthography for Mongghul. According to Georg (2003:288), the orthography is based on the Pinyin Romanization of Mandarin Chinese. Georg also states that this romanization has been used in a number of publications (over twenty), and "is based on the Halchighol dialect, but with the incorporation of some typical Naringhol features". Other than for publications, this orthography is used by almost none of the speakers of Mongghul (Kevin Stuart,

235

p.c.). Some speakers of Mongghul are literate in Chinese. However, according to Kevin Stuart (p.c.), about fifty percent of Tu (Monguor) are illiterate.

Some publications in Mongghul are Chileb, Li Keyu's dictionary, and Limusishiden's book on basic health care[108].

The degree of endangerment for varieties of Mongghul, as well as Mongghul as a whole, is very high. The fact that very little, if any, education takes place in Mongghul, makes it more likely that future generations will acquire Mongghul to a lesser extent then is already the case. This makes it even more important to document the undocumented varieties of Mongghul now, while there are still fluent native speakers.

## IX.3 Mutual Intelligibility

There are no real problems for speakers of different Mongghul varieties to understand each other, although there are occasional problems when there are lexical differences. However, speakers are aware of phonological and grammatical differences, and will point them out when asked.

Mongghul and Mangghuer are not generally mutually intelligible. Some speakers of one variety who have worked extensively with the other variety can understand the other variety to varying degrees. However, in general, speakers of one variety, when asked, will state that they do not understand the other variety.

Monguor speakers from Nianduhu can understand speakers of the Baoan variety, and vice versa. However, there is no mutual intelligibility between Nianduhu/Baoan on the one hand, and Wutun on the other hand. Neither of these varieties has mutual intelligibility with Mongghul or Mangghuer.

In other words, in terms of mutual intelligibility, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Nainduhu/Baoan and Wutun have to be viewed as separate languages. This matches with Ha and Stuart (2006:46),

---

[108] Limusishiden. 2004. Mongghulla Sman Wuile Surighuaguni – Teaching Basic Health Education in Mongghul – 土语基础医学和识讲座。

236

who state that "[t]he Monguor language consists of Minhe, Huzhu, Tongren (Rebgong), Shaowa Wo, and Wutun dialects that, while sharing commonalities, are mutually unintelligible".

## IX.4 DEGREES OF ENDANGERMENT

Mongghul is more endangered in the "outlying" communities, that is, in Datong and Tianzhu. As mentioned before, while there are people classified as Tu in Datong, Mongghul is most likely no longer spoken there. There are speakers of Mongghul in Tianzhu, but not many young speakers. It seems that of people under the age of 20, only about 10% speak the language fluently. Younger people often do not know songs or traditional folktales in Mongghul.

In the Fulaan Nura area, children are still learning Mongghul and speaking it at home. In Maqang village, all people speak Mongghul, including little children and the two local Chinese families.

## IX.5 CONCLUSION

While most of the sociolinguistic factors that hold for Karlong contribute to its level of endangerment, there are is also at least one positive factor. The population is not very large, with probably about 50,000 speakers of Mongghul as a whole, and 18,000 speakers of Karlong. There is widespread bilingualism in Chinese, and all schooling takes place in Chinese. An orthography for the language does exist, however, it is in limited use, and is based mostly on the Halchighol dialect. In addition, the knowledge of folk tales seems to be limited to older people.

However, children are still learning the language at home, and in some cases speak Karlong exclusively before entering school. It remains to be seen whether the situation for Karlong will remain stable, or whether young speakers will turn to Chinese at the exclusion of Karlong, raising the next generation as speakers of Chinese.

237

# 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.

238

## X.3 COMPARING PHONOLOGY

Although there are differences between the varieties reflected in DH, Zhaonasitu, and Li Keyu, they are more like each other than they are to Karlong and the varieties described by Todaeva, and by de Smedt and Mostaert (in the following I will call this variety Naringhol). According to Limusishiden, Li Keyu's dictionary is based mostly on Naringhol, but if that is the case, it cannot be the same "Naringhol" as that described by de Smedt and Mostaert.

The data given in Todaeva's (1973) word collection closely resembles the data in SM's (1929-1931) dictionary, although Todaeva's dictionary is based mostly on Halchi. Still, phonologically Todaeva and SM are closer to each other than they are to other varieties described by other authors mentioned in this chapter. The main differences between Todaeva and SM are that Todaeva has /l/ where Halchi has /ł/, whereas SM has /r/ in some cases, resembling Minhe. This is illustrated in the following examples:

**Table 48. Huzhu /ł/ vs. Minhe and SM /r/**

| Gloss | Zhao | DH | LK | KL | SMN | TDV | DM | WM |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| left (side) | sulighui | solɢuai | solghui | salɢuei | sorɢue: | solɢue: | serghai | soluɣai |
| ice | malizi | molsə | molsi | malsɨ | mordze | molse | mersi | mølsy/n |
| flour | ɢurəl | ghurili | ghuril | ɢorɨl | ɢurir | ɢuril | ghuru | ɣulir |
| head | tulighui | tolɢuai | tolghui | talɢui: | torɢue: | tolɢue: | terghai | toluɣai |
| vomit | booldʐo | bolija | booljo | bo:ldʐa | bo:rdʐiæ | bo:ldʐe | berjie | bøgeldʐi |
| foot | kol | kol | kol | kual | kuor | kol | khuer | køl |

There are some similarities between SM's data and Karlong. SM always has the diphthong [uo] where Karlong has the diphthong /ua/. Halchi as described by DH sometimes has a diphthong /ua/ in these cases, the other Halchi do not. This diphthong is a new development, not reflected in Middle Mongolian.

239

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

| Gloss | Zhao | DH | LK | KL | SMN | TDV | WM | WT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| foot | kol | kol | kol | kual | kuor | kol | køl* | — |
| hole | noko | nukua | nuko | nukua | nukuo | noke | nyke/n | — |
| freeze | — | kuara | kori | kuari | kuori | — | køry | — |
| fog | — | — | sumuko | semagua | sumukuo | — | — | smug-po |
| monastery | — | — | rgomba | ŋguamba | rguomba | ŋguo | — | dgon-pa |
| blind | sughua | suɢor | sughur | sɢuar | soɢuor | soɢor | soqur | — |
| blue | kugo | — | kugo | kugua | kuguo | kuguo | køke** | — |

Another parallel between Karlong and SM is the sound [æ] found in some words (cf. section III.3.7.1).

On the whole, there are enough variations within the different varieties of Halchi to make classification very difficult. It does seem from the data that the variety described by SM is closer to Minhe than any of the other varieties, at least in its phonology. In this I agree with Janhunen, who sees this variety as "intermediate between Mongghul and Mangghuer" (2006a:6). A striking parallel of Naringhol with Minhe is found in the liquids. Minhe often has /r/ where Huzhu (except the dialect described by SM) has /l/. This is illustrated in Table 48 above.

### X.4 GEOGRAPHY

In terms of geographic location, the order of river valleys where Huzhu is spoken, from west to east, is: Naringhol, Halchighol, Hongyazigou (Fulaan Nura), Shuimoguo (Ledu), and Tianzhu further east in Gansu. Minhe is located south-east of Ledu. However, the situation is not completely straightforward. According to Limusishiden (p.c.), the actual township where Naringhol is spoken is Dongshan township. This township is surrounded by places where Halchi is spoken (Halazhigou, Danma, Donggou, Donghe, Taizi, Wufeng, Weiyuan region), but is a little

---

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

240

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.

241
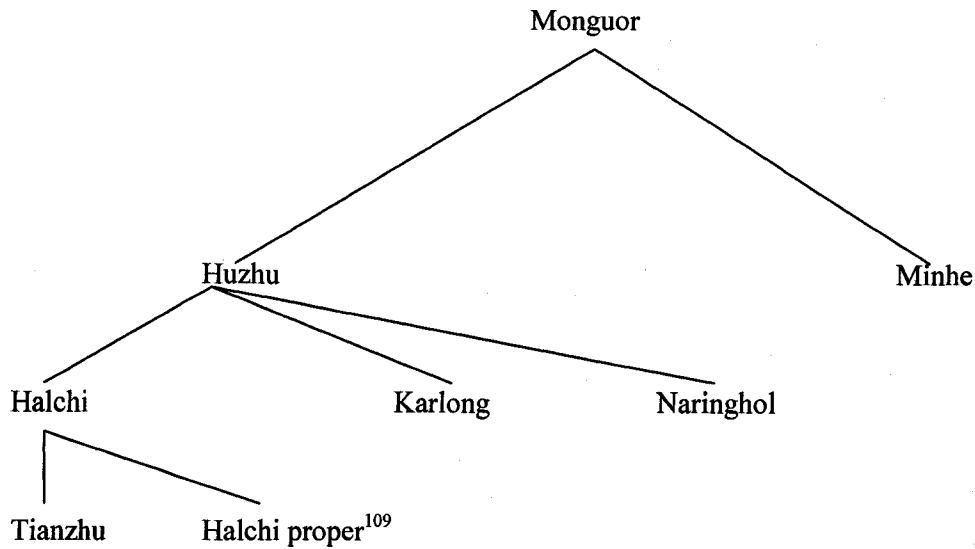
**Figure 6. Tentative Monguor Family Tree**

The variety of Mongghul which was spoken in Datong should probably be listed as another daughter language of Huzhu, since most Monguor in Datong originally came from the Huzhu area.

While I still classify Naringhol as described by de Smedt and Mostaert as a dialect of Huzhu, it is closer to Minhe in its phonology than any other dialect of Huzhu. One striking similarity between SM's Naringhol and Minhe is the fact that many words of Naringhol have /r/ where Minhe also has /r/ and the other dialects of Huzhu have /l/. Karlong is intermediate between Naringhol and Halchi.

---

[109] I am using the term "Halchi proper" to mean Halchi spoken in the Halchighol area.

242

# 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

243

collected in as uniform a manner as possible. Ideally there should be at least a unified wordlist, as well as a list of sentences designed to elicit as many different grammatical forms as possible. The data should be recorded as audio, and transcribed in a uniform manner, if possible in IPA. Ideally all the data would be collected by the same person, or by people working together very closely. In my opinion, one of the problems with comparing data of Huzhu currently available is the fact that they very different. They are transcribed using different methods (pinyin, IPA, other special symbols, and combinations of these systems), and they are collected over a long span of time. While this makes the data interesting from a historical point of view, it is not always clear whether differences are due to dialectal differences or to separation in time. For example, de Smedt and Mostaert collected some of their data in the 1920s, Todaeva collected hers in the 1960s, and the data in Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al (1996) is from the 1990s. Are similarities between Todaeva's and SM's materials due to the fact that they are both older versions of Huzhu, or are they due to geographical factors, or something else?

In addition to wordlists and sentences, all effort should also be made to collect as many riddles, proverbs, folktales, and songs as possible, before this part of the language is lost.

244

# 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 (Huc 1850)

> Monguol (Schröder 1959)

> tsigan Moŋguol ("weisse Mongolen", Schröder 1964)

> T'u-jen (Schröder 1964)

> Tu ren (Tafel 1914)

> Karlung (Georg 2003:286, Tibetan term for Mongghul and Mangghuer)

> hJahur (Georg 2003:286, WT: rGya.Hor, "Chinese Mongols", terms used by Tibetans for Monguor)

> Dalden (according to Schröder 1964, used by Przewalski and Grum-Gržimajlo)

> Dolden (according to Schröder 1964, used by Przewalski and Grum-Gržimajlo)

> Daldy (according to Schröder 1964, used by Przewalski and Grum-Gržimajlo)

> Dolot (according to Mostaert (1931:78) this is the term used for the Monguor by "[c]ertain Mongols in Mongolia".

245

➢ Daldis (according to Mostaert (1931:84) used by Przewalski). These preceding five terms are most likely based on doldi, which is a derogatory term used by the Tibetans for the Monguor living in Tongren county.

➢ Shirongol (Potanin 1893. Poppe 1955: a variety of the Monguor group. According to Georg (2003:286), an early term for "all Mongolic groups of the Gansu-Qinghai region with the exception of the Shira Yughur and the Qinghai Oirat")

## I.2    MONGUOR LANGUAGES

### I.2.1    Mongghul

➢ Huzhu (county in Qinghai)

➢ Хуцзу

➢ Huzhu Mongghul

➢ 互助 [hùzhù]

➢ Huchu (Schröder 1964)

➢ Hou-tchou (MS 1964:x)

➢ Wei-yüan-bu (Tafel 1914). According to http://fallingrain.com: Huzhu ("Other names: Wei-yuan-chen,Weiyuanbu,Ujam-bu,Hu-chu-t'u-tsu-tzu-chih-hsien,Wei-yüan-pao,Khuchzhu,Huzhu,Hu-chu-hsien-t'u-tsu-tzu-chih-ch'ü,Weyyuan',Wei-yüan-chen,Ugampu,Wei-yuan-pao,Hu-chu,Hu-chu-hsien-t'u-tsu-tzu-chih-ch'u"[128])

➢ Wu-yang-pu (Potanin 1893). Same as Wei-yüan-bu?

➢ Wēiyuǎn 威远

### I.2.2    Mangghuer

➢ Minhe

➢ Минхэ

---

[128] http://fallingrain.com/world/CH/6/Weiyuan.html, 01/03/2007

246

- ➢ Minhe Mangguer

- ➢ Minhe Mongguor

- ➢ 民和 [mínhé]

- ➢ Minho (Schröder 1964)

- ➢ Min-ho (MS 1964:x)

- ➢ According to Dr. Li (pc), Minhe Monguors are also called *Shantang*


## I.3 MONGGHUL VARIETIES

### *I.3.1.1 Halchighol*

- ➢ Georg (2003:286) "left tributary of the Huangshui"

- ➢ Khalči gol (MS 1964:x)

- ➢ Xardzi guor

- ➢ Xaltši gol

- ➢ Халчигол

- ➢ Haliqi (Limusishiden)

- ➢ Tughuan Village, Danma Town (According to Dr. Li, this is in the haliqi area)

- ➢ hardʑi ɢuor (SM 1929-1931:125)

- ➢ Ha la tcheu keou (SM 1929-1931:125)

- ➢ 哈拉直沟乡 Halazhigou


### *I.3.1.2 Naringhol*

- ➢ Georg (2003:286) "left tributary of the Huangshui"

- ➢ Narin gol

- ➢ Narin guor (MS 1964:vii)

- ➢ Naringuor (MS 1964:2)

- ➢ Nalin keou (SM 1929-1931:125)

247

➢ Naringol (MS 1964:x)

➢ narin goul "narrow valley" (Schram 1954)

➢ нарингол

➢ Nariŋ guol (Schröder 1964)


### I.3.1.3 *Karlong*

➢ Fulan Nura

➢ Fulan nura guor

➢ Fulan nura (MS 1964:x)

➢ Fulan Nuraghol (Georg 2003:286, "a tributary of the Huangshui")

➢ фулан нура

➢ Fulaan Nara

➢ Fulaan Nura

➢ Karilang

➢ Karloŋ (according to Schröder (1964), this is what the Tangut call all Monguor)

➢ rGya hor (also a term used for Monguor by Tangut people, according to Schröder (1964))

➢ Kerlung

➢ spoken in the area of the river 紅崖子溝 [hóng yái zi gōu]

➢ fula:n nura ɢuor (SM 1929-1931:125)

➢ Houng ngai tseu keou (SM 1929-1931:125)


### I.3.1.4 *Datong*

➢ 大通 [dàtōng]

➢ Tatung (Schröder 1964)

➢ Tat'ung (Schram 1954)

➢ Датун


248

> According to Dr. Li (pc), Datong Monguors are also called *Serkung*

> Xilog (Li Keyu 1988:643)

### *I.3.1.5      Tianzhu*

> Monguors originally from the Huzhu area, now living in Gansu province

> According to Dr. Li (p.c.), Tianzhu Monguors are also called *Jilagol*

> County in Gansu province

## I.4      MANGGHUER

### I.4.1      <u>Sanchuan</u>

> Poppe 1955, a variety of the Monguor group

> according to Mostaert & de Smedt (1964): Minhe

> 三川 [sānchūan] (Three Valleys)

> san-tch'uan (MS 1964:x)

> San-ch'uan (according to Mostaert (1931:79) north of Kuan-t'ing)

> region in Minhe territory (Georg, 2003:287)

## I.5      OTHER GANSU-QINGHAI MONGOLIC LANGUAGES

### *I.5.1.1      Santa*

> Dongxiang

> Dunsyan

> дунсянский

> Dungsiyang

> Tung hsiang

> Toung-hiang (MS 1964:ix)

> Sant'a (MS 1964:xi)

> Salar (Schram 1954. Note, however, that Salar is actually a Turkic language spoken in the Qinghai-Gansu region)

> 東鄉 [dōngxiāng]

### I.5.1.2    *Shira Yughur*

> Shira Yughur (Georg 2003)

> Shera Yögur (Poppe 1955)

> East Yugur (Linguist List)

> Eastern Yugur (Nugteren 1998)

> Shera Yogur (Nugteren 1997)

> Ouigour Jaunes (MS 1964:xiii)

### I.5.1.3    *Bao'an*

> Bao'an (e.g. Nugteren 1997)

> Bonan (e.g. Janhunen 2003a)

> баоаньский

> Tongren

> Pao-ngan (MS 1964:ix)

> T'oung-jen

> 同仁 [tóngrén]

> 保安 [bǎoān]

> Тунжэнь

### I.5.1.4    *Aragwa*

> Poppe 1955, a variety of the Monguor group

➢ 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 <u>Tangut</u>

➢ 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 <u>Qinghai</u>

➢ '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)

251

➢ Kan-sou (MS 1964:ix)

### I.7.1.2　*Xining*

➢ river in Qinghai

➢ capital city of Qinghai province

➢ Hsining (Schram 1954)

➢ Hsi-ning (Mostaert 1931)

➢ Sining

### I.7.1.3　*Shdarzi*

➢ sda:rdze ɢuor (SM 1929-1931:125)

➢ Chouei mouo keou (SM 1929-1931:125)

➢ Shuimogou [水磨沟]

### I.7.1.4　*Maqang*

➢ matɕaŋ

➢ moritɕaŋ

➢ 马羌 and 马昌 (Li Keyu 1988)

### I.7.1.5　*Xonitsi paŋ*

➢ Yang-chüan (Schröder 1964)

➢ also: xonitɕi ɢuor (SM 1929-1931:125)

➢ lang kiuen keou (SM 1929-1931:125)

### I.7.1.6　*Alima Hangshar*

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

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

### I.7.1.7    *Seruchung*

> Sérutchong (D'Ollone 1912)

> valley south of Lhabrang and north of the Anyemaqen mountain range where D'Ollone collected some Mongolic data

> Seirachong (cf. Mostaert 1931:84)

> Seruchung (cf. Mostaert 1931:84)

> in Qinghai province

### I.7.1.8    *Suonan*

> Souonapa (D'Ollone 1912)

> other names: So-nan-chen, Dongxiangzu, Zizhixian, Soloba, So-lo-pa, Tung-hsiang, Tung-hsiang-tsu-tzu-chih-hsien, So-nan-pa, Dongxiangzu, Suonanba. source: http://www.fallingrain.com/world/CH/15/Suonan.html, 7/10/06

> Gansu province

### I.7.1.9    *Ledu*

> Nianbai

> Nien-pai (Mostaert 1931:84)

> other names: Nienpaihsien, Nien-po-chen, Nien-po, Ledu, Lo-tu-hsien, Nyan'bo, Lo-tu, Le-tu. source: http://www.fallingrain.com/world/CH/15/Suonan.html, 7/11/06

> county in Qinghai province

## II.1   A DAY IN THE VILLAGE

In this text, the female speaker (13) describes what she did during the course of the day when she
lived in the country side.

1.  taʂ-gu              gadɨ-n-i                bei    da-ŋla   tar-la       ç-dʑ-a

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

    We planted and harvested, planted.


2.  ta     ger-dɨ-nɨ              bu    xɢaxeila   su:-n-i:

    that   house-DAT-POSS   1SG    alone         sit-NPT-SUBJ

    I lived alone in that house.


3.  xɢeila su:-sa            bɨli:-aŋla   i:gua-la    çuetaŋ-dɨ   ɢari     çi-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.  ɢari    çi-sa            bu    xɢa:la  tarla     sa

    go.out  go-COND         1SG   alone   manage   PTCL

    When (they) go out, I alone manage (everything).


5.  ʂdala-dʑɨ       pas-dʑɨ            ɢaç-dʑɨ          rɨ-gu

    early-IMPERF   stand.up-IMPERF   go.out-IMPERF   come-PART.FUT

    In the morning (I) get up and go out,


254

6. sdzu ɢuːr dan-la-ʤɨ ra // naŋsaː-naː ʂdaː

    water two carry.on.shoulders-IMPERF come // breakfast-REFL cook

    ça:dzɨ-naː çu: // iːgua-naː tui-la niŋge // ka:rda

    courtyard-REFL sweep // all-REFL clean-VRBL after // livestock

    paŋ-sa-naː niŋge ɢar-ɢa // ɢaʤer ra ɢaçi çi-n-i

    stable-ABL-REFL then go.out-CAUS // field come go.out go-NPT-SUBJ

    (I) bring in (carry) two (buckets of) water on (my) shoulder, cook my breakfast and sweep
    my courtyard, after cleaning everything out, then letting the livestock out of the stable, (I) go
    out to the field.

7. gurʤig-naː waʂ-ʤɨ ɢaçi çi guariː-naː saʤɨ çi buː-ʤɨ 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. buː-ʤɨ ra nige de utçɨ

    go.down come one food drink

    (I) come home and eat a meal,

9. xuafiː-naː kurgeː-ʤɨ çi iːgua-naː ɢaʤer-ɨ saʤɨ ra

    chemical.fertlizer take.to-IMPERF go all-REFL field-LOC strew come

    (I) take the chemical fertilizer and strew it all on the field,

10. bu:-dʑi    ra    ndʑasɨ-na:    dan-la                    i:gua-na: warɨ ka:rda-na:

    go.down   come plow-REFL    carry.on.shoulders-VRBL all.REFL do      livestock-REFL

    la:-kɨ            tarɨ    bɨra:-n-a

    pull[110]-VRBL    plant    finish-NPT.OBJ

    (I) go back home, carrying the plow on my shoulders, (I) do everything, pull (in) the

    livestock, and finish planting.

11. tarɨ    bɨra:-gu            Gadʑer-na:    mo:la    //    kalag-na:            baGa

    plant   finish-PART.FUT    field-REFL    harrow(?)  //   earth.clods-REFL    beat

    bu:-dʑi              ra    //    ka:rda-na:        la:    xudʑi ça:    //    jesɨ-ŋge

    go.down-IMPERF   come  //    livestock-REFL    pull  tie.to  tie    //    grass-SG

    Gua    //    jesɨ-nɨ        rde    ba:Gala-gu            nige    sula:    //    dʑi:xu:    //

    give  //    grass-ACC      eat   finish-PART.FUT     one    water    //    after    //

    di:    i:xge        kudɨ-gu-na:        jaŋ    xGei    noxuei-na: tidʑe:-dʑi    //

    then   only.then   home-n.s.-REFL     again  pig     dog-REFL   feed-IMPERF   //

    çirua    xara    ul-dʑ-a    bei

    afternoon dark    become    PTCL

    (I) finish planting, harrow (?) my field, beat the lumps of earth, go home, pull the livestock

    (home) and tie (them) up, give (them) some grass, after (they)finish eating the grass (I) give

    (them) some water, after that, only then (I) go home and feed the pig and the dog, (then) in

    the afternoon it gets dark.

---

[110] Chinese: *lā* 拉

12. xGei-na: tidʑe: // neɕdza:-na: ʂda: // utɕi // toa-na: ŋGua: Gada

    pig-REFL feed // dinner-REFL cook // drink // dish-REFL wash outside

    xaŋ nige rendzɨ // 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 rɨn taŋɕa:-la

    walk.around go.out go // outside-n.s. people-INST.COM one moment chat-VRBL

    // ura-dʑɨ ra // dʑu:-maŋge war-dʑ-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. dʑusɨ-na: warɨ nu:g ʂ-gu no:r ntɕa:-dʑ-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 *xiāngdòu* 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: bɨ tɕɨ sGa gu-i:

    INTJ 1SG 2SG ask NEG.AUX-SUBJ

    (1) How should I ask you?

257

16. kudujer     tari-ma-n-i                  gu-a           xensi   g-dʑɨ

     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-nɨ       tarɨ-di-sa             ta:wɨn   dʑirGo:n     sara

     fenugreek-ACC   plant-COMPL-COND      five      six           month

     ul-sa                    Garɨ       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. Garɨ-sa                  Gar     tiGa:n     ndur-gu     rgu-di

     come.out-COND          hand    that.much   high-n.s     tie.up-COMPL

     dʑu:    Gar-la            sa:ra     warɨ   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.

258

21. nige    ŋGua:    xo:-lGa        nige

one    wash    dry-CAUS    one

(13) Wash it and dry it a little.


22. xo:-di-gu                    nɨdɨ            niŋge  di:    ṣdɨma-rɨ        dʑu:

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. tiŋgidʑe    kungo:dzɨma  çira:-gu        dʑaŋ-la-sa            da    tarda

like.that    bread        bake.PART.FUT  steam-VRBL-COND        and    like.that


ti:nɨ

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-nɨ | tere:-nɨ | ne | kɨdɨ | fan | tigi:nɨ | vei-nɨ | nu: |
|------|-------|----------|-----|------|------|---------|--------|-----|
| aunt | that-ACC | there-ACC | this | several | year | like.that | COP-NPT | INTERR |

| e: | daŋhuei | çira:-n-a | gɨ-dʑɨ | tigi:nɨ |
|-----|---------|-----------|--------|---------|
| 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 | kɨdɨ | fan | gu-a |
|-----|------|------|------|
| this | several | year | NEG.AUX-OBJ |

(13) Not these (last) several years.

27. 

| ne-sa | miçi-nɨ | itɕian-Gula-dɨ-nɨ | i:-n-a |
|-------|---------|--------------------|--------|
| this-ABL | before-GEN | early-INTENS-DAT-POSS | COP-NPT.OBJ |

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

28. 

| bɨda-ŋla | xaran | kɨdɨ | nasɨ-nɨ | Gadɨ-nɨ | draŋ | 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 | şbaŋnɨ | manta | nige | dʑu: | tigi: | çge-nɨ | 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.

260

30. Gar-Ga-di-sa                          di:      xo:-di-sa              rdzaŋ-nɨ

    go.out-CAUS-COMPL-COND        then     dry-v.s.-COND          basket-ACC


    rgu-dʑɨ                       ɕi  niŋge  Gadʑer  do:ra-dʑɨ      // te-la

    carry.on.back-IMPERF  go  then    field   go.down-IMPERF  //  that-INST.COM


    niŋge  lo:-la              niŋge  dalan  Gar-Ga        di:  te-nɨ      ɕira:

    after  stack.up-VRBL    then   while  go.out-CAUS  then  that-ACC   burn


    fɨlɨ-Ga-di-sa                   //  ɕa:la  niŋge  di:  i:xge  Gadʑer-di  dʑu:

    red-CAUS-COMPL-COND    //  scatter then    then  just   field-DAT   just


    rgu-dʑɨ                 //  Gar-Ga-ma                 fi:lio:     wa

    carry.on.back-IMPERF  //  go.out-CAUS-ASSERT   fertilizer  COP

    After (you) take it out and dry it, then (you) go down to the field carrying the basket, after

    that (you) pile it up and then burn it (until it is) red, then (you) scatter (it), just carry it up to

    the field, it's fertilizer.


31. ɕendzai-nɨ   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  andʑi:-mada-dɨ        ɕira:-m        gu-a
    change-VRBL     one    where-SUBJ-any-DAT  burn-NPT      NEG.AUX-OBJ

    ɕendzai  danGual
    now      earth.clod

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


261

## II.4 RIDDLES

The following is a collection of riddles, from one of the Fulaan Nura language consultants (13). The first riddle is sung, all others are spoken.

33. ɢual     ɢual     du:dɨ    dalan    najan    saŋ    tɕa:ldzɨ ja:n-i:

    valley   valley   call     seventy  eighty   layer  paper    what-SUBJ

    The valley calls, seventy or eighty layers of paper. What is it?

    pudʐaŋdzɨ

    Firecracker

34. nige    kun-dɨ        nige    dʑaŋ     pɨse:    i:-gun-a             ja:n-i:

    one     person-DAT    one     hundred  belt     COP-GEN.FUT-OBJ      what-SUBJ

    One person has one hundred belts. What is it?

    mani

    Prayer beads.

35. tigi:    ɢual-ŋge-ni       trua-nɨ        tɕiɢa:n    xurɢa    du:ru    su:-dʑ-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, ʂdɨ

Mouth and teeth.

36. fɨla:n  bɨli:  xara  a:ma  ja:n-i:

red  child  black  mouth  what-SUBJ

A red child, a black mouth, what is it?

i:kaŋ

Kang (with a black firehole and the 'red child' the fire inside).

37. xana  xa:dzɨ-nɨ  ama-nɨ-nɨ      ne:-di-sa        xa:  ada-m

every  box-GEN  opening-ACC-POSS  open-COMPL-COND  close  cannot-NPT

xa:-di-sa          ne:  ada-m      ja:n-i:

close-COMPL-COND  open  cannot-NPT  what-SUBJ

When (you) have opened the box you cannot close it, and when (you) have closed it you

cannot open it. What is it?

ndige

Eggs.

38. tigi:  ɢual-ge-nɨ      trua-nɨ      bɨli:-ŋge  ɕuldʑa-n-i      ja:n-i:

like.that valley-SG-GEN  inside-POSS  child-SG  swing-NPT-SUBJ  what-SUBJ

In a valley a child is swinging back and forth. What is it?

Uvula.

263

## II.5 RIDDLES AND PROVERBS

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

39. nige    bambandzɨ–rɨ    daloːn    nukua    iː    jaːn-iː

    one    board-LOC    seven    hole    COP    what-SUBJ

In a board there are seven holes. What is it?

Your face.

40. dʑaŋ-ge    kun-dɨ    nige    piseː    iː    jaːn-i

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

A hundred people have one belt, what is it?

mani

Prayer beads.

41. dur-laː    maxa    tɨlɨm    xarauldʑɨ    kiː    tɨlɨm    jaːn-iː

    day-COM    meat    bag    night    wind    bag    what-SUBJ

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

tɕaŋxei

Shoes.

42. filaːn    ɢual-ge    trua-nɨ    nige    ban    tɕiɢaːn    xurɢa    kɨdeː

    red    valley-SG    inside-POSS    one    group    white    lamb    lie.down

    suː-dʑ-iː    jaːn-iː

    sit-PERF-SUBJ    what-SUBJ

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

a:ma, ṣdɨ

Mouth and teeth.

43. ki: baɢ-sa    tu: çi-m  tɕabdʑi-dʑi 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?

fini

Smoke.

44. tɕi nda:-ni   kudɨ çi-m  bɨ ta-ni  kudɨ çi-m

  2SG 1SG.STEM-GEN home go-NPT  1SG 2SG-GEN home go-NPT

ja:n-i:

what-SUBJ

You go to my home, I go to your home. What is it?[111]

xamtɕɨ

Sleeves.

45. nu: nu: gɨ-sa    i: nu: bi: nu: bi: nu:

  touch touch QUOT-COND  NEG touch PRHB touch PRHB touch

gɨ-sa    nu: ja:n-i:

QUOT-COND  touch what-SUBJ

If (you) say "touch, touch!" (it) doesn't touch, if (you) say "don't touch, don't touch!" (it)

touches. What is it?

---

[111] *xamtɕɨ* 'sleeves'

265

xudʑi

Lips.

46. tʂuendzi  jur-di  wa:r  ɕala-dʑ-i:  ja:n-i:

tilebetween-LOC  tile  scatter-PERF-SUBJ  what-SUBJ

Between the rafters there are tiles. What is it?

xuri, tɕimdzi

Fingers and fingernails.

47. dur-la:  ul-sa  ɕi  ra-di-m  // xara  ul-sa

day-COM  become-COND  go  come-COMPL-NPT  // dark  become-COND

hamdi-la  ri-m  ja:n-i:

together-COLL  come-NPT  what-SUBJ

During the day they go apart, and during the night they come together. What is it?

amɕdʑax

Ties for boots.

48. xara  ul-sa  adalasi-m  // dur-la:  tasasi-m

dark  become-COND  be.horizontal-NPT  // day-COLL  be.vertical-NPT

ja:n-i:

what-SUBJ

Horizontal at night and vertical during the day. What is it?

266

rda ʂaŋ

Door bolt (longish piece of wood that hang down on a rope during the day).

49. rlaŋ    dʑuːro-gu    nara    xalaŋ    //    xuiti    aːma-ni    xalɢa    xdaŋ

cloud    between-n.s.    sun    hot    //    step    mother-GEN    palm    hard

Sun between clouds is hot, and the step-mother's hand is hard.

50. keːla    goːra-ni    sgil    goːra    //    moɢuei    goːra-ni    dʑalɢiː    goːra

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    dʑoː    aː

INTJ    1SG    story-SG    say    QUOT    PTCL

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

52. aːdiediepoːpoː    niŋge    kile-ja

aːdiediepoːpoː    then    say-VOL1

Let me tell (you) about "Aadiediepoopoo".

53. aːdie-ŋge    iː-gun-a    //    buːdʑa    aːgu-ŋge

grandfather-SG    COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ    //    buːja    paternal.aunt-SG

iː-gun-a

COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ

There was a grandfather, and a paternal aunt Buuja.

267

54. a:    di:    jeri-ŋge    i:-gun-a

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

Ah, then there was a woman.

55. a:die       no:ri  ntɕa:-dʑi      i:-gun-a

grandfather  sleep  sleep-IMPERF  COP-GEN.FUT-OBJ

Grandfather has already gone to sleep.

56. ja    do    bi   kile  dʑo:   a:

INTJ  now  1SG  say  QUOT  PTCL

Yeah, now I will tell (it).

57. a:diedie po:po:  alaɢ          noxuei  xudʑa-ma      ɕira    buru:

a:diedie po:po:  multi.colored  dog     bark-ASSERT  yellow  calf exist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

58. ja    ja    de:l-a:-ŋge          masi  dʑo:   a:

INTJ  INTJ  garment-REFL-SG  put.on  QUOT  PTCL

Yeah, yeah, let me put on my clothes.

59. a:diedie po:po:  alaɢ          noxuei  xudʑa-ma      ɕira    buru:

a:diedie po:po:  multi.colored  dog     bark-ASSERT  yellow  calf exist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

268

60. ja    ja    mɨla:    de:l-a-ŋge    mɨsɨ-ja

INTJ  INTJ  small  garment-SG  put.on-VOL1

Yeah, yeah, let me put on pants (lit. 'small garment').


61. a:diedie po:po:    alaɢ        noxuei    xuʥa-ma      çira    buru:

a:diedie po:po:  multi.colored  dog    bark-ASSERT  yellow  calf exist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.


62. ja    ja    pɨse:-na:-ŋge    pɨse:-la-ja

INTJ  INTJ  belt-REFL-SG  belt-VRBL-VOL1

Yeah, yeah, let me put on my belt.


63. a:diedie po:po:    alaɢ        noxuei    xuʥa-ma      çira    buru:

a:diedie po:po:  multi.colored  dog    bark-ASSERT  yellow  calf exist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.


64. ja    ja    malɢa-na:-ŋge  ʤo:-ja

INTJ  INTJ  hat-REFL-SG  put.on-VOL1

Yeah, yeah, let me put on my hat.


269

65. a:diedie po:po:  alaɢ           noxuei  xuʥa-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    tɕaŋxei-na:-ŋge   misi-ja

    INTJ  INTJ  shoe-REFL-SG      put.on-VOL1

    Yeah, yeah, let me put on my shoes.

67. a:diedie po:po:  alaɢ           noxuei  xuʥa-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    ɢaɕ-ʥi         ra-n-i

    INTJ  INTJ  go.out-IMPERF  come-NPT-SUBJ

    Yeah, yeah, I am coming out.

69. a:diedie po:po:  alaɢ           noxuei  xuʥa-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.

270

70. ojo:   ɢaҫ-ʤɨ          r-ua         gɨ-ʤɨ

    INTJ  go.out-IMPERF  come-PERF  QUOT-IMPERF

    "Oyo, I am out", he says.

71. buru:  gu-a            da    gɨ-ʤɨ

    calf   NEG.AUX-OBJ  also  QUOT-IMPERF

    "The calf is not here", he says.

72. a:diedie    ger-dɨ     ra     kan-i:  //       bu:ʤa a:gu  i:

    grandfather  house-DAT  come  who-SUBJ

    Grandfather, who is coming to the house? It's Aunt Buuja.

73. bu:ʤa  ra      sa

    buuja  come  PTCL

    Bu:ja, come!

74. noxuei    ʤu:-n-a

    dog      bite-NPT-OBJ

    The dog will bite.

75. kalag-ula        tala   ṣda   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.

271

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. tɕɨ    iːŋgela-san-i                    jaːn-iː

    2SG    carry.in.clothes-PAST-SUBJ    what-SUBJ

    What did you bring in your clothes?

80. tuːgu    ʂdɨma    iː

    raw      bread    COP

    I have some unbaked bread.

81. rda    sa

    eat    PTCL

    Eat (it).

82. tuːgu    wa

    raw      COP

    It is raw.

83. ɕiraː    sa

    bake    PTCL

    Bake (it).

272

84. ɢal   gu-a

fire  NEG.AUX-OBJ

(I) have no fire.

85. xgɨla-la        çɨ    sa

ask.for-PURP   go    PTCL

Go ask for it.

86. li:     oɢua-n-i

NEG   give-NPT-SUBJ

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

87. tɕɨ    su:-da-sa        nu:        ja:n-i:

2SG   armpit-n.s.-[?]   INTERR   what-SUBJ

What are you holding in your armpit?

88. mu:    nɨke:     i:

bad    fur.coat   COP

(I) have a bad fur coat.

89. masɨ   sa

wear   PTCL

Wear (it).

90. bo:sɨ    i:-n-a

louse    COP-NPT-OBJ

There are lice (in it).

91. ala    sa

kill    PTCL

Kill (it).

92. nɨdɨ    ma:    wa

eye    blind    COP

(My) eyes are blind.

93. tɨɢu:-dɨ        teŋgu-lɢa        sa

chicken-DAT    collect-CAUS    PTCL

Let the chicken eat them (lit. let the chicken collect).

94. tɨɢu:    i:    teŋgu-n-a

chicken    NEG    collect-NPT-OBJ

The chicken are not eating (them) (lit. the chicken are not collecting).

## II.7    LI MENZHENG

This story about the Li Menzhen (李门珍) ancestor of the Shdarzi area is told by Li Gendenshjia (speaker 23).

95. mɨ    mendʑen-nɨ        kɨle-gu

1SG    Menzhen-ACC    speak-PART.FUT

I will speak about Menzheng.

96. na:    mɨ    ner-sa        kɨle-gu

INTJ    1SG    this-ABL    speak-PART.FUT

I will speak from here.

97. e:    i:tɕen   ne   nige   ʤu:sɨ   nda:-nɨ          moŋɢuol-ɨ   ɕʤun-ge

      INTJ  before  this  one  exactly  1SG.PL.STEM-GEN  Monguor-ADJ  girl-SG

      Yeah, long ago, there was a Monguor girl.

98. e:    ke:la  ɕge  i:tɕen  do  di:  tende:  nde:  kunan  xueiʤin  do

      INTJ  belly  big  before  now  then  there  here  difficult  while   now

      Yeah, then when she got pregnant, things were very difficult.

99. di:   xgɨle-ʤɨ     da-ni    gɨ    do    be:

      then  beg-IMPERF  eat-NPT  QUOT  now  PTCL

      Then (she has to) beg for food.

100. xgile-ʤɨ    juanwei-nɨ   den-dɨ    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-dɨ    jedɨ-di-ʤ-a

      INTJ  belly-DAT  hurt-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

      Yeah, (her) belly hurt.

102. e:    di:  janwei-nɨ    ɕge  da  busɢua-nɨ    dirle       niŋge

      INTJ  then  official-GEN  big  door  threshold-ACC  use.as.pillow  then

      Yeah, then, (she) used the threshold of the official's front gate threshold as a pillow.

103. e:    sara  su:-di-ʤ-a          ku:-ŋge  tora-ʤ-a      be:

      INTJ  month  sit-COMPL-PERF-OBJ  son-SG  bear.PERF-OBJ   PTCL

      Yeah, (she) was in confinement (gave birth) and delivered a son.

275

104. ku:-ŋge   tora-dʑa                truo      yanweidzɨ  mɨde-dʑɨ          gu-a

son-SG   give.birth-PERF-OBJ   inside    official   know-IMPERF   NEG.AUX-OBJ

dʑu:dɨ-la         dʑu:   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. dʑu:dɨ-la-di-sa                 nda:-nɨ              ɕge   da   busɢua-rɨ-nɨ

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. basɨ   gual   gual   mɨnɨ-ge            dirle                su:-dʑ-a             mɨnɨ

tiger   young   young   1SG.GEN-SG   use.as.pillow   sit-PERF-OBJ   1SG.GEN

i:diŋ            sɨ            ge            gui:ren                nɨmba:   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:nie-na:

who-any   this   not (不)   tell         lantern-SG   carry   one   grandmother-REFL

fa:du-la         nige

send-VRBL   one

Without telling anybody (about) this, he sent the grandmother (his wife) with a lantern.

276

108. ʤe  ɢula  ne  ger  maɳli:-sa  do:ra-ʤ-a

look  two  this  house  lintel-ABL  come.down-PERF-OBJ

She took a look down from the lintel.


109. e:  nige  nige-na:  du:da-ʤɨ  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-ɨ  draŋ  ɕu:-ɢula  bi:  ɕ-ɢa  kaŋkaŋ

this  important.person-ACC  also  dirty-INTENS  PROHIB  go-CAUS  careful

war-di  sa

take-COMPL  PTCL

Don't let this important person get dirty and take (him) carefully.


111. ne  nda:-nɨ  kudɨ  ʤu:  ra-di-sa  do  lamantɕuŋ

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

gui:ren-ge  gɨ-ʤɨ

important.person-SG  QUOT-IMPERF

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


112. ʤu:dɨn-dɨ  bu:-san-a

dream-DAT  come.down-PAST-OBJ

It was revealed in a dream.

113. di:    a:nie-ɢula        çge   da   maŋli:-sa   do:ra-ʤi        daŋlur-la

then   grandmother-DL  big   door  lintel-ABL  go.down-IMPERF  lantern-INST.COM

nige   i:-sa-ŋge        //   jeri-ŋge    sara   su:   ge:-ʤ-a      be:

one    look-COND.SG    //   woman-SG   month  sit   put-PERF-OBJ  PTCL

çge   da   busɢua-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:   tçida-ʤi      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."

115. a:nie-ɢula        juen   truo   //   kudi-na:   juendzi-di   bu:     çge

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      jeri    da    bli:-ni     te:ri              ninge

month sit-COND woman also child-ACC carry.in.arms then

After she had given birth, the woman held the child in her arms.

118. di:   ŋgan-di  di  juanwei  fu  //  ger    ulan-i        gu:   do   be:

then 3SG-DAT then official rich // house many-SUBJ enough now PTCL

The official, rich... had many houses.

119. di:   dze:di   ger-di    e:    sara-tɕi         kun-i           lamantɕun

then other    house-DAT INTJ month-NOM.ACT person-POSS excellent

dzo:gu:-la-dʑ-a

take.care.of-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

Then, in another house, they took excellent care of the woman who had just given birth.

120. tenige   kun-di        si:n-di    ...

that    person-DAT  good-DAT         ...

That good person...

121. di:   ne-ge    jer-di      sdza-gun-a          tɕi  ɕin  sa   miŋ  sa

then this-SG woman-DAT ask-NARR.PAST-OBJ 2SG Xin PTCL Ming PTCL

wa   gi-sa          di:   da

COP QUOT-COND then  also

Then (they) asked this woman: "are you a Xin or a Ming?"

122. bi   tɕaŋla-san-a        li   dʑa   wa

1SG hear-PAST-OBJ  Li family COP

I heard (she) is (from the) Li family.

279

123. huina nige kun tɕaŋla-san-a tɕi-ni hualioma ly ʥa wa ma

after one person hear-PAST-OBJ 2SG-GEN words Lü family COP PTCL

Later an(other) person heard, like your words, that (she) was (from the) Lü family.

124. di: ly ju: li i:-gun-a bi ja wabitɕin

then Lü or Li COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ 1SG also not.clear [挖不清]

I am not sure whether (she) was a Lü or a Li.

125. bi tɕaŋla-san-a li ʥa 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 ʥa wa xa ne-nige li ʥu:si

mother-POSS Li family COP PTCL this-one Li exactly

Like that, yeah, that was his name, wasn't it? Since his mother was of the Li family, he was

also a Li.

127. da busɢua-ni dirle-ʥ-a xa limendʐen a

door threshold-ACC use.as.a.pillow-PERF-OBJ PTCL Li Menzhen COP

giʥi 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.

280

128. limendʐen     giga:    sxu:-di    a:ma   do   dʑu:si   dei-la-dʑ-i:

Li Menzhen   small  time-DAT  mother now  exactly   take.care-PERF-SUBJ

juanwei-ni    xudu   ɢua-ni        dzaŋ-ki-dʑ-a

official-GEN  very   benefit-ACC  receive-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

When Li Menzhen was young, his mother took care of (him), and (they) received many

benefits from the official.

129. nigi:dʑe   çge   ul-dʑ-a         dʑaŋdʑu:ge  dunʂi-la-dʑ-a

a.little     big   become-PERF-OBJ  a.little.bit   become.intelligent-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

xa     le:

PTCL  PTCL

(He) grew up and (began) to understand a little.

130. nda:-ni          tʂu:sin         ja:    tʂu:sin         a

1PL.STEM-GEN  domestic.animal  what  domestic.animal   COP

"Which animals are our animals?"

131. a:ba    di:   //  kan-a    gi-dʑi      di:  a:ba  gu-a        be:

father   then   //  who-OBJ  QUOT-IMPERF  then  father  NEG.AUX-OBJ  PTCL

A father, then...He said "who is it? I don't have a father."

132. e:      di:    tʂu:sin-a:   ...

INTJ  then   domestic.animal   ...

Yeah, their domestic animals...

281

133. t͡ɕɨm-u                 xgɨla-n        xgɨla-n        tora-sa

2SG.OBL.STEM-ACC   beg-SUBORD   beg-SUBORD   give.birth-COND

na:    gɨd͡ʑi

INTJ   QUOT

"When I gave birth to you begging (for food)" she (the mother) said.

134. tigi:ŋge    xa     ne     mendʐen   kɨla-gun-a          a:ma-dɨ-na:       a:ju:

like.that   PTCL   this   Menzhen   say-NARR.PAST-OBJ    mother-DAT-REFL   INTJ

di:    janwei    tigi:ŋge   dʐo:gu:-la-d͡ʑ-a            ma

then    official   like.that   take.care.of-VERBL-PERF-OBJ      PTCL

"If it is like that," Menzhen said to his mother, "Alas, (then) the official took care of me."

135. ti:        ŋgan-ɨ-nɨ        negid͡ʑi   de-d͡ʑi      ut͡ɕi   li:    oɢu-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-ɨ     ger-dɨ-nɨ         su:-sada   bɨda-ŋla     bɨda-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.

282

137. xgɨla-dʑɨ       da    de-ja

beg-IMPERF   also   eat-VOL1

We will beg for food.


138. e:      dʐaŋdʑa     da    nigi:dʑe   gi-ja

INTJ   crops       also   a.little     do-VOL1

We will do a little farming.


139. di:     dʐaŋdʑa   ma     da   gi-dʑ-a

then   crops      PTCL   also   do-PERF-OBJ

Then (they) did (some) farming.


140. xgɨla-di-dʑ-a              de-dʑ-a

beg-COMPL-PERF-OBJ    eat-PERF-OBJ

(They) begged for food.


141. dʐaŋdʑa nigi:dʑe   g-san           dɨranɨ gan ja:n   gi-dʑ-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.


283

142. nigi:dʑe fɪre: bu:dɨ fɪre:-ŋge jeɕ-dʑɨ li: ul-gun-a xa

a.little seed wheat seed-SG find NEG become-NARR.PAST-OBJ PTCL

jaŋ janwei-nɨ badʑie-la-dʑ-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:dɨ fɪre:-na: do san wu ʂeŋ-ge nige

1SG.DAT/ACC wheat seed-REFL now three five CL-SG one

asGua-dʑɨ gɨ-sa bu Gadʑer nigi:dʑe-ge tari-ja

borrow-IMPERF QUOT-COND 1SG field a.little-SG plant-VOL1

"If I ask to borrow three to five shang[112] of wheat seeds, I can plant a little in the field."

144. feŋxu: da gudɨ[113] gu-a a:ma-Gula

life also good NEG-OBJ mother-DL

His life with his mother was not good.

145. di: janwei henbudi-ge nige dʐo:gu:-la-gun-a ja

then official as.much.as.possible-SG one take.care-VRBL-NARR.PASTA-OBJ PTCL

Then the official (planned to) take care (of them) as much as possible.

146. gan-ɨ dze:la-Ga ʂda-n gu-a xa mei lɨ caŋ

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

dʑin gɨ-dʑɨ

gold QUOT-IMPERF

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

---

[112] Chinese *shǎng* 晌, 'area that can be sown in one day'.

[113] I cannot find an equivalent of this word in any of my other notes, and in any other dialect, so I am not completely certain about the meaning.

284

147. te      nige     bu:dɨ-rɨ       bu:dɨ   fɨre:   wa     be:

that   one     wheat-LOC   wheat   seed   COP   PTCL

In that wheat, they are wheat seeds.

148. mei   lɨ   caŋ   dʑin   a     dʑin   tio:-ge-nɨ     dz�_aŋ-la      niŋge

coal   in   hide   gold   COP     gold   CL-SG-ACC   put.in-VRBL   then

It is "hide gold in coal," then (he) put (a) tiao of gold in (the coals).

149. tɕi     a:ma-ɢula   bu:dɨ   fɨre:   nige   ura-ɢa-dʑ-a            xa     dʑin   tio:

2SG   mother-DL   wheat   seed   one   enter-CAUS-PERF-OBJ   PTCL   gold   CL

ɢarɨ-dʑ-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. ʥin    tio:    ɢarɨ    ç-ʥ-a        a:ma-nɨ        kɨla-gun-a                tɕɨ

gold    CL    come.out    go-PERF-OBJ    mother-POSS    say-NARR.PAST-OBJ    2SG

na    nige    //    bɨli:    tɕɨ    ŋgan-ɨ    sdzer-nɨ-nɨ        dzua-kɨ-ʥ-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    kɨla-gun-a                ʥe    sdzer-nɨ    //    ne    bu:dɨ    fire:

INTJ    Menzhen    say-NARR.PAST-OBJ    INTJ    gold-ACC    //    this    wheat    seed

asɢ-ua        di:    //    sdzer-nɨ    ʥe    dzua-kɨ-ʥɨ            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:    xarɨli    ç-gun-a

then    return    go-NARR.PAST-OBJ

So (he) gave it back.

153. xarɨli-sa        janwei    li:    rɨn-kɨ-gun-a                ʥe    tɕɨ-mɨ    bu:dɨ

return-COND    official    NEG    admit-VRBL-NARR.PAST    INTJ    2SG-DAT    wheat

ɢ-wa

give-PERF

When he returned (it), they official did not admit (that he gave Menzhen the gold), "I gave

you wheat!" (he said).

286

154. e:      ʥin    tio:   ɢ-ʥɨ         gu-i:

     INTJ   gold   CL   give-IMPERF  NEG.AUX-SUBJ

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

155. di:   ɢula tende: ʥa:l-dɨ   nde:  ʥa:l-dɨ çen      sɨn     anʥi:

     then  two  there  law-DAT  here  law-DAT township  province where

     ʥa-sada    gan janwei rɨn-kɨ-ʥɨ          gu-a          na

     look-CONC  3SG official  admit-VRBL-IMPERF   NEG.AUX-OBJ   this

     mendʐen gen       ne  nige sdzer-nɨ li:  ʂu:     ɢu-n-a

     Menzhen even.more this  one  gold-ACC  NEG receive   receive-NPT-OBJ

     nien   ɢu-n-a

     need  give-NPT-OBJ

     Then, although the two went to see every court of law, here and there, in the township and

     the province, the official did not admit (that he had given the gold), but he (Menzhen) really

     didn't accept the gold, so had to give it back.

156. na nige    mei   tsaŋ-dɨ mei  ʥin  nige   wa

     this     one   coal  hide-n.s.     coal  gold  one    COP

     This is the "hiding coal in gold".

157. tigi:     nige tɕɨ-nɨ      hualioma

     like.that   one  2SG-GEN  word

     It's just like what you said.

287

158. e:     na-sa     ʥatiŋ  xen    kunan  a

INTJ  this-ABL  family  very    poor    COP

Yeah, so the family is very poor.

159. kunan  a     xa     i:la-la     na    nige   dzu:ja a:nie-na:    eiʂisan-dɨ

poor  COP  PTCL  all-COLL  this  one    kitchen god-REFL  twenty-three-DAT

da:bɨla-ma

offer-ASSERT

(They) were poor. Everybody offers to the kitchen god on the 23rd.

160. mensʐen  da    a:ma-ɢula-na:     kunan    a     xa     erʂisan-dɨ

menzhen  and  mother-DL-REFL  difficult  COP  PTCL  twenty-three-DAT

dzuja a:nie    da:bɨla  gulɨ  nigi:ʥe  lidaŋ  da     gu-a

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

Menzhen and his mother were both very poor, so they had no gifts to offer the kitchen god on the 23rd (of the twelfth lunar month).

161. hana      ili-la        nanige  go:nien-la-sa          de

everybody  all-INST.COM  this.one  celebrate.new.year-VRBL-COND  door

bi:ri-rɨ-na:      draŋ  çi   fɨla:n  tɕaldzɨ duidzɨ      naɢa-ma    bei

frame-LOC-REFL  also  go  red    paper  lucky writing  glue-ASSERT  PTCL

When they celebrate the New Year, everybody just glues red pieces of paper, lucky writings, on the door frame.

288

162. mendʑɛn   da    aːma-ɢula-naː   do    çaver-la       nige  surg-dʑ-a        beː

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. diː   na    nige  eiʂisan-dɨ        ʂda-dʑɨ      gu-a            eiʂisi-dɨ

then  this   one   twenty-four-DAT   can-IMPERF   NEG.AUX-DAT  twenty-four-DAT

diː   jaŋ   daːɢa   gula-gun-a

then  again  send.up  need-NARR.PAST-OBJ

(Because) they could not offer (anything) on the 23rd, they had to send (the kitchen god) up

on the 24th.

164. daːɢa-sa        ne    dzuja aːnie-nɨ    tʂidoː-la-ɢa-dʑ-a                   bei

send.up-COND   this   kitchen god-ACC  arrive.late-VRBL-CAUS-PERF-OBJ    PTCL

When (they) send up the kitchen god, (they) had made (her) arrive late.

165. eː    diː   xansɨ  ge    ne    laŋdzɨ       nigidʑe  toːsɨ    çara-ge     ɢuraːn-ge

INTJ  then  still   one   this   green.grass  a.little   oil      circle-SG   three-SG

xuambar[114]-la          dzuja aːnie   dabɨla-ma       beː

type-INST.COM           kitchen god   offer-ASSERT    PTCL

Finally, when the grass was (already) green, they offered the kitchen god three kinds of oil

bread.

---

[114] In all other instances, the word for 'type, kind' in Karlong is samba. Possibly this is a variation of this
word. /x/ ~ /s/ alternations do occur in Karlong, however, at the moment I have no explanation for the /u/
and the final /r/ appearing here.

289

166. ¢argaŋ-ge da ṣda-dʑi 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 fɨn fɨla-gun-a dzuja a:nie-dɨ tɕɨ

INTJ now all-COLL order order-NARR.PAST-OBJ kitchen.god-DAT 2SG


tienkun-dɨ Gaɕ-dʑi sa njoŋdʑa sa e: si: xgadʑa-nɨ

heaven-DAT go.up-IMPERF PTCL niangjia[115] PTCL INTJ good word-ACC


e: nigi:dʑe ṣankɨ-sa da mu: xgadʑa nige bi: kɨla

INTJ a.little speak-COND and bad word one PRHB say

Yeah, now, everybody together ordered the kitchen god: "go up to the heaven, to the home

of your parents, (and) say some good words (for) us when you speak; don't say any bad

words."


168. e: draŋ na nige dʑenjue tṣu:ji danien tṣu:ji pɨrGa:n

INTJ also this one first.lunar.month first.day new.year first.day god


dze:-la-gun-a dzuja a:nie dze:-la-ma be:

welcome-VRBL-NARR.PAST-OBJ kitchen god welcome-VRBL-ASSERT PTCL

Yeah, then on the first day of the first lunar month, on New Year's Day, (people) welcome

the god, (they) welcome the kitchen god.


---

[115] Chinese: *niángjiā* 娘家, home of married woman's parents.

169. 

| dze:-la-sa | | tɕi | ra-sa | xai | jo:-n-a | eisun |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| welcome-VRBL-COND | | 2SG | come-COND | also | need-NPT-OBJ | grandson |

| e: | mardʑi | e: | do | nige | de:-la-dʑi | | ra | gi-sa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| INTJ | property | INTJ | now | one | carry-VRBL-IMPERF | | come | QUOT-COND |

When (they) welcomed (the god), (they) said "When you come, (we) also need a grandson, and bring some property (for us)."

170. 

| ku: | ɕdʑun-mama | ɕdʑun-ge | de:-la-dʑi | ra |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| son | daughter-PL | daughter-SG | carry-IMPERF | come |

"Sons and daughters - bring (us) a daughter."

171. 

| xana | niŋgidʑi | fin | fi-la-ma | be: |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| everybody | like.this | order | order-VRBL-ASSERT | PTCL |

Everybody orders (the god) like this.

172. 

| ne-ri | ne | nige | janwei | tɕi-ni | tɕieku |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this-LOC | this | one | official | 2SG--GEN | benefit[116] |

Then the official (said) "you will get a benefit."

173. 

| e: | maɢaɕi | do | na | a:ma-di-na: |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| INTJ | tomorrow | now | this | mother-DAT-REFL |

| ɕin-la-gun-a | be: |
|---|---|
| visit.for.new.year's.day-VRBL-GEN.FUT-OBJ | PTCL |

"Yeah, now, tomorrow (you) will pay a New Year's Day visit to your mother."

---

[116] This word was translated as 'benefit' by my translator, but I cannot find it anywhere else in my notes, and there are no correspondences in other dialects of Mongghul.

291

174. daŋlur  do:ra-ni    do:  e:   u:ṣi  liaŋ-ni      bo:wu  gi-dʑi

lantern  under-POSS  now  INTJ  fifty  measure-POSS  treasure  QUOT-IMPERF

da    kɨla-ma

also  say-ASSERT

He says "Now, under the lantern (is) a treasure of fifty measures."

175. u:    liaŋ-nɨ        bo:wu  gi-dʑi        kɨla-ma

five  measure-POSS  treasure  QUOT-IMPERF  say-ASSERT

He says "a treasure of five measures."

176. fandʐen  tien  tsɨ      mendʐen  i:din      i:-n-a

anyway  sky  bestow  Menzhen  certainly  COP-NPT-OBJ

"Anyways, (we) have Menzhen (because) he was bestowed by heaven."

177. teŋgerɨ    G-san          jin    a    gi-dʑi

sky      give-PART.PERF  silver  COP  QUOT-IMPERF

"It is silver that was given by heaven."

178. te    daŋlur  do:ra-nɨ      kurge:  çi-lGa      ge:-lGa-di-dʑ-a

that  lantern  under-POSS  send    go-CAUS  put-CAUS-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

(He) sent it and had it put under that lantern.

292

179. maɢa        ṣdadʑi    lɨmendʑen    aːma-dɨ-naː

tomorrow    early     Li Menzhen   mother-DAT-REFL

ɕin-la-gun-a                                     daŋlur-naː    ne    geː

visit.for.new.year's.day-VRBL-GEN.FUT-OBJ   lantern-REFL   this   put

ɕin-la-gun-a                                     xa    iː    din   jin    iː-n-a

visit.for.new.year's.day-VRBL-GEN.FUT-OBJ PTCL  one   ingot  silver  COP-NPT-OBJ

If Li Menzhen pays a New Year's Day visit to his mother tomorrow morning, there will

certainly be silver under his lantern.

180. nige    rdʑi-sa      ma    xa    oː

one    look-COND    PTCL   PTCL   INTJ

If (he) takes a look.

181. ne    tien    tsɨ    mendʑen    iː    din   jin    a

this   heaven   bestow  Menzhen    one   ingot  silver  COP

Menzhen (who) was bestowed by heaven is like an ingot of silver.

182. naːlɨ    naːlɨ    na    nige    jaːn    diː    moː    juː    beː

where   where   this   one    what    then    not    have   PTCL

Where, where is it? There isn't anything here.

183. dzuja aːnie    diː    mieŋgu   kurgeː-dʑi   r-gu           diː    ɢu    da

kitchen god    then    silver    send-IMPERF  come-PART.FUT   then   time   also

li-gu-dɨ                    wa

become-PART.FUT-DAT    COP

It is the time when the kitchen god brings silver.

293

184. ne      janwei    do    ɕinbuken-la-dʑi              guanɕin-la-dʑi

this    official   now   disagree-VRBL-IMPERF        take.care-VRBL-IMPERF


janwei-nɨ       sdzer-nɨ      [unintelligible]   //   mieŋgu-nɨ

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    fɨ    tɕun    min    ren-gɨ        da-ŋge   ge:

now   this   wrong   wealth   not   belong poor  destiny person-SG    also-SG   put


ja:     janwei-nɨ      fu:randzɨ    xɢala-ɢa-dʑi              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, *fɨ* - Chinese *shǔ* 属, *tɕunmin* - Chinese

*qióngmìng* 穷命, *ren* - Chinese *rén* 人.


186. ne    liaŋ   dʑen    la:     nige    caŋ   li   mei   dʑin    a      nige-nɨ    nige

this   two    CL      INTJ    one     hide  in   coal   gold   COP   one-GEN    one


e:      tien    tsɨ      mendʑen   ji:     din    jin    a

INTJ   heaven   bestow   Menzhen   one    ingot  silver  COP

There are these two: "hide gold in coals" and "Menzhen is an ingot of silver bestowed by the

heavens."

294

187. ne    Gur-la-la                      gan  giga:-la              minʂin   gu:tsi   ra
     this  two-COLL-INST.COM[117]         3SG  small-INST.COM        fame     appear   come

Gar-dʐ-a

come.out-PERF-OBJ

These two (sayings); (already) when he was young  his fame appeared.

*minʂin* - Chinese *míngshēng* 名声.

188. e:    te    sxu:-di    dzi   ji:    dʐa   tɕinguan      limendʐen    a
     INTJ  that  time-DAT   ORD   one    CL    honest.leader Li Menzhen   COP

dzi    ei    dʐa   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    dʐa   tɕinguan      bo:wungun    gi-dʐi
     ORD    three  CL    honest.leader bo:wungun    QUOT-IMPERF

The third honest leader was Boowungun.

190. ne    limendʐen    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.

---

[117] Most likely the order is COLL-INST.COM, but there are no other instances of combinations of
collective marking and case, so I can't be completely certain.

295

191. e:  di:  ju:rɨ  jaŋ-sa  tɕɨ-nɨ  hualioma  jaŋ  ma

INTJ  then  have[118]  again-ABL  2SG-GEN  word  again  PTCL


tigi:  samba-dɨ  kɨla-gu  la:lɨ[119]-ge-dɨ  i:-dʑin  do

like.that  kind-DAT  say-PART.FUT  meaning-SG-DAT  COP-PART.AG  now

Yeah, again, your words, there might be a meaning for this kind of thing.


192. e:  tɕɨ-nɨ  hualioma  tɕien  li  sun  //  ne  nige  //

INTJ  2SG-GEN  word  thousand  in  send  //  this  one  //


tɕu  li  sun  tan  da  lɨmenʐen  liogsa  nɨmba:

snow  li  send  coal  also  Li Menzhen  say  correct

Just like you words: "send one thousand li…" this one "send coals in snow", this is also

something Li Menzhen said.

*tɕien* - Chinese *qiān* 千, *li* - Chinese *lǐ* 里, *tɕu* - Chinese *xuě* 雪, *sun* - Chinese *sòng* 送, *li* -

Chinese *lǐ* 里, *tan* - Chinese *tàn* 炭.


193. e:  hua  lio  jiʂaŋ  mo  hua  ren-dɨ  lɨmendʐen  liogsa

INTJ  change  CMPL  clothes  not  change  person-DAT  Li Menzhen  say[120]


gɨ-dʑ-a  mba:

QUOT-PERF-OBJ  correct

Yeah "changing the clothes does not change the person" was also said by Li Menzhen, right.


---

[118] My translator translated this word as 'have'. It is possible that it is a combination of the Chinese *yǒu* 有
and a Karlong suffix.
[119] This is the only instance of this word; I am not completely certain about the meaning.
[120] This is possibly a combination of a Qinghaihua word [lio], followed by the Karlong quotative particle
with the conditional suffix.

194. e:    di:    bu    ʥaŋ    tɕaŋ-san    ʥu:    tiɢaŋge

    INTJ    then    1SG    only    hear-PART.PERF    just    that.much

    Yeah, what I heard is only that much.

195. di:    ja:n    gu-a

    then    what    NEG.AUX-OBJ

    So, (there) isn't anything.

196. nʥina:    nige    piʥig    gu-a    fu:-ri    i:-san-i

    REFL.PRON    one    book    NEG.AUX-OBJ    book-LOC    see-PAST-SUBJ

    piɕ-a    tɕaŋla-san-i    tiŋfu-ŋge

    NEG.AUX-OBJ    hear-PAST-SUBJ    hear.told-SG

    I don't have a book myself, I haven't seen it in a book, I heard it, heard it told.

197. genben    mbi:    ju:    pʥi:    ju:    bi    je    wabitɕin

    true    correct    INTERR    wrong    INTERR    1SG    also    not.clear

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

198. di:    nige    ne    nige    //    buda-ŋla    //    e:    ʂdardzi    fi:

    then    one    this    one    //    1PL.STEM-PL    //    INTJ    ʂdardzi    water

    mo:-gu-ni    tɕi    da    dʐaŋ    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.

297

199. nige  ntsowa[121]  wa    be:

one   area        COP   PTCL

It is an area.


200. ne   ntsowa-ri-ni        ma    deişindzi  li   dʑa    wa

this  area-LOC-POSS       PTCL  majority   Li   family  COP

In this area, most (people) are Li's.


201. e:   di:   waŋ   dʑa   je:   dʑa   dʑige  i:-n-a          ja    sa

INTJ  then  Wang  family  Ye   family  some   COP-NPT-OBJ  INTJ  PTCL


li   dʑa    deidu:   wa

Li   family  most     COP

Yeah, there are also some Wang's and some Ye's, (but) most are Li's.


---

[121] According to one of my translators, it literally means 'herdsman's herding enclosure in grassland', but the meaning in this text seems to be closer to 'area'.

298

202. ne    amagidʑa    gi-sa          //    e:      lidʑiŋwo-ni        ṣisan

    this  how          QUOT-COND   //   INTJ   Li Jingwo-GEN      thirteen


    teibo:-ri-ni              ma    buda-si      dzi    liu   ge   teibo:-ni       //

    child[122]-LOC-POSS    PTCL  1PL.STEM-PL   ORD    six   CL   child-POSS     //


    e:      beiçin         a      gi-dʑi

    INTJ   common.people  COP    QUOT-IMPERF

    How to say this? Yeah, Li Jingwo had thirteen children; we are (descendants) of the sixth

    child; yeah, common people.


203. bi    tigi:         tiŋfu:-ŋge

    1SG   like.that     hear.told-DIM

    I heard it like that.


204. dzi   wu   ge   teibo:-ni   ma    si   ma    ne    nige   handziwan   lodu

    ORD   five  CL   child       PTCL  be  PTCL  this   one    Handiwan    Ledu


    handziwan   a      gi-dʑi-di-ni                  liṣugui     kila-san-a

    Handiwan    COP    QUOT-IMPERF-DAT-POSS     Li Shugui   say-PAST-OBJ

    The fifth child is this Handiwan, Handiwan of Ledu, Li Shugui said.


---

[122] Or possibly 'descendant'.

299

205. buda-ŋla        namtar    ṣaŋ-kɨ-ldɨ        niŋge di:    buda-sgɨ       dʑapu

       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-ɨ       fudzɨ       da-ŋla        sa

       Nianbei    town-GEN   vice.leader   1SPL.STEM-PL   PTCL

       We (together with) the vice-leader of Nianbei?

207. e:      nienbi:    ɕen-ɨ      fudzɨ       bɨda-ŋla       xamdɨ   hansɨnɨ   lɨṣɨ

       INTJ   Nianbai   town-GEN   vice.leader    1PL.STEM-PL   together   also      history

       ṣaŋke-ld-ua

       discuss-RECIP-PERF

       Yeah, the vide-leader of Nianbai town and we talked about the history of Handi with each

       other.

208. ṣaŋke-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   kɨle-san-a       gan-dɨ     dʑapu         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.

300

211. handzɨwan a      be:

Handiwan COP    PTCL

It is of Handiwan. (the family record)

212. bɨda-ŋ-dɨ          dʑapu         gu-a          xa    dzɨ    liu    men    a

1PL.STEM-PL-DAT   family.record   NEG.AUX-OBJ   PTCL   ORD   six   CL   COP

tigi:       ma

like.that    PTCL

We don't have a family record. (We) are the sixth ones, like that.

213. di     liu    men    mbi:      gu-a

ORD   six   CL     correct    NEG.AUX-OBJ

(We) are the sixth, right?

214. te-ŋge-nɨ     e:     di:     xansɨ   gu:dzɨ   wa

that-SG-GEN   INTJ   then    still    count     COP

(We) still measure like that.

215. e:     tɕinsɨ    nedʑi      nidɨ-la       sge-dʑi       gu-a

INTJ   own[123]   like.this     eye-INST.COM     see-IMPERF   NEG.AUX-OBJ

(I) didn't see it with (my) own eyes.

---

[123] Possibly from the Chinese *zìjǐ* 自己.

216. e:    sge-sada    piʥig-u    gu        buda-ŋ-dɨ

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-ʥɨ         ri-san-i           ja:n-i:

take-IMPERF  come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

What did (you) bring?

218. ta-ŋla         aw-ʥɨ        ri-san-i        malɢa

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF  come-PAST-SUBJ   hat

You brought a hat.

219. ta-ŋla         rʥɨ-sa        malɢa-nɨ  lo:         wa

2PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   hat-GEN   appearance   COP

When you look at it, it looks like a hat.

220. bɨda-ŋla      rʥɨ-sa        kuarɨ-nɨ                 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.

302

221. çdʑi:-gu     gu-i:-ni                     dʑaŋdʑa  mba:     çine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s.   NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS  Zhangjia  correct   laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

doroŋ    wa

Dorong   COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.


222. ta-ŋla           aw-dʑi       ri-san-i            ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF .  come-PAST-SUBJ    what-SUBJ

What did you bring?


223. ta-ŋla           aw-dʑi       ri-san-i            çantu

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ    veil

You brought a veil.


224. ta-ŋla           rdʑi-sa     çantu-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       rdʑi-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. çdʑi:-gu     gu-i:-ni                     dʑaŋdʑa  mba:     çine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s.   NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS  Zhangjia  correct   laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

doroŋ    wa

Dorong   COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.


303

227. ta-ŋla         aw-ʥɨ         rɨ-san-i              jaːn-iː

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

228. ta-ŋla         aw-ʥɨ         rɨ-san-i              deːgi

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   veil.fastener

You brought a veil fastener.

229. ta-ŋla         rʥɨ-sa        deːgi-nɨ           loː         wa

2PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   veil.fastener-GEN   appearance   COP

When you look at it, it looks like a veil fastener.

230. bɨda-ŋla       rʥɨ-sa        tɕaŋɕi-nɨ         loː         wa

1PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   small.bowl-GEN   appearance   COP

When we look at it, it looks like a small bowl.

231. ɕʥiː-gu      gu-iː-nɨ                        ʥaŋʥa mbaː   ɕineː-lɢa-wa-nɨ

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.

232. ta-ŋla         aw-ʥɨ         rɨ-san-i              jaːn-iː

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

304

233. ta-ŋla            aw-dʑi         rɨ-san-i            dzaŋrɨ

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ    metal.hairpin

You brought metal hairpins.

234. ta-ŋla            rdʑi-sa      dzaŋrɨ-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. bɨda-ŋla         rdʑi-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. ɕdʑi:-gu     gu-i:-ni                dʑaŋdʑa  mba:    ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s.   NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS  Zhangjia  correct   laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

doroŋ     wa

Dorong   COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.

237. ta-ŋla           aw-dʑi        rɨ-san-i          ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

238. ta-ŋla           aw-dʑi        rɨ-san-i         tu:ɕaŋ

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   hair.ribbon

You brought hair ribbons.

305

239. ta-ŋla          rʤi-sa          tu:ɕaŋ-ni          lo:          wa

2PL.STEM-PL    look-COND    hair.ribbon-GEN    appearance    COP

When you look at it, it looks like a hair ribbon.


240. bida-ŋla          rʤi-sa          bo:daɢ-ni    lo:          wa

1PL.STEM-PL    look-COND    rope-GEN      appearance    COP

When we look at it, it looks like a rope.


241. ɕʤi:-gu      gu-i:-ni              ʤaŋʤa    mba:    ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s.    NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS    Zhangjia    correct    laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS


doroŋ      wa

Dorong    COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.


242. ta-ŋla          aw-ʤi          ri-san-i              ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF    come-PAST-SUBJ    what-SUBJ

What did you bring?


243. ta-ŋla          aw-ʤi          ri-san-i              su:ga

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF    come-PAST-SUBJ    ear.ring

You brought ear rings.


244. ta-ŋla          rʤi-sa          su:ga-ni      lo:          wa

2PL.STEM-PL    look-COND    ear.ring-GEN    appearance    COP

When you look at it, it looks like an ear ring.


306

245. bɨda-ŋla       rʥɨ-sa       di:rua-nɨ                lo:       wa

1PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   ring.for.fastening.rope-GEN   appearance   COP

When we look at it, it looks like a ring for fastening rope.

246. ɕʥi:-gu       gu-i:-nɨ                 ʥaŋʥa   mba:   ɕine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

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.

247. ta-ŋla       aw-ʥɨ       rɨ-san-i        kanʥar

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   woman's.vest

You brought woman's vest.

248. ta-ŋla       rʥɨ-sa       kanʥar-nɨ        lo:       wa

2PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   woman's.vest-GEN   ·appearance   COP

When you look at it, it looks like a woman's vest.

249. bɨda-ŋla       rʥɨ-sa       guadzɨ-nɨ        lo:       wa

1PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   lined.vest-GEN   appearance   COP

When we look at it, it looks like a lined vest.

250. ɕʥi:-gu       gu-i:-nɨ                 ʥaŋʥa   mba:   ɕine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

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.

307

251. ta-ŋla          aw-ʥi          ri-san-i                      jaːn-iː

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF    come-PAST-SUBJ                what-SUBJ

What did you bring?


252. ta-ŋla          aw-ʥi          ri-san-i                      tɕeːʥi

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF    come-PAST-SUBJ                long.woman's.garment

You brought a long woman's garment.


253. ta-ŋla          rʥi-sa        tɕeːʥi-ni                    loː          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        rʥi-sa        mpara-ni          loː          wa

1PL.STEM-PL    look-COND     worn.out.clothing-GEN    appearance    COP

When we look at it, it looks like worn-out clothing.


255. ɕʥiː-gu        gu-iː-ni                      ʥaŋʥa    mbaː      ɕineː-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s.     NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS            Zhangjia  correct    laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS


doroŋ        wa

Dorong      COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.


256. ta-ŋla          aw-ʥi          ri-san-i                      jaːn-iː

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF    come-PAST-SUBJ                what-SUBJ

What did you bring?


308

257. ta-ŋla           aw-dʑi       ri-san-i              pise:

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   belt

You brought a belt.


258. ta-ŋla           rdʑi-sa       pise:-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         rdʑi-sa       de:lge-ni            lo:           wa

1PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   coarse.rope-GEN   appearance   COP

When we look at it, it looks like a coarse rope.


260. ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni                 doroŋ    wa

laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS   Dorong   COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.


261. ta-ŋla           aw-dʑi       ri-san-i              ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

What did you bring?


262. ta-ŋla           aw-dʑi       ri-san-i              xormi:

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   embroidered.shirt

You brought an embroidered shirt.


263. ta-ŋla           rdʑi-sa       xormi:-ni                       lo:           wa

2PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   embroidered.shirt-GEN   appearance   COP

When you look at it, it looks like an embroidered shirt.


309

264. bɨda-ŋla        rʥɨ-sa        çara-nɨ                                       lo:       wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND piece.of.cloth.used.for drying.grain.on-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a piecfe of cloth used for drying grain on.

265. çʥi:-gu       gu-i:-nɨ                    ʥaŋʥa   mba:     çine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

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-ʥɨ       ri-san-i         ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

267. ta-ŋla           aw-ʥɨ       ri-san-i         tɕanxei

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   shoe

You brought shoes.

268. bɨda-ŋla        rʥɨ-sa       tɨli-nɨ    lo:     wa

1PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   bag-GEN   appearance   COP

When we look at it, it looks like a bag.

269. çʥi:-gu       gu-i:-nɨ                    ʥaŋʥa   mba:     çine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

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.

310

270. ta-ŋla              aw-dʑi          ri-san-i                ja:n-i:

    2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

    What did you bring?

271. ta-ŋla              aw-dʑi          ri-san-i                tɕa:wa

    2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   brick.tea

    You brought some brick tea.

272. bɨda-ŋla           rdʑi-sa        rdzaŋ-nɨ            lo:              wa

    1PL.STEM-PL   look-COND   sheep.dung-GEN   appearance   COP

    When we look at it, it looks like sheep dung.

273. ɕdʑi:-gu      gu-i:-nɨ                        dʑaŋdʑa   mba:      ɕine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

    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-dʑi          ri-san-i                ja:n-i:

    2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

    What did you bring?

275. ta-ŋla              aw-dʑi          ri-san-i                dɨra:sɨ

    2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   liquor

    You brought liquor.

311

276. ta-ŋla       rʥi-sa      dira:si-ni    lo:       wa

2PL.STEM-PL    look-COND   liquor-GEN   appearance   COP

When you look at it, it looks like liquor.


277. bida-ŋla       rʥi-sa      sdzu-niŋgi   lo:       wa

1PL.STEM-PL    look-COND   water-GEN    appearance   COP

When we look at it, it looks like water.


278. ҫʥi:-gu     gu-i:-ni           ʥaŋʥa   mba:    ҫine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s.   NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS   Zhangjia   correct    laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS


doroŋ     wa

Dorong    COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.


279. ta-ŋla       aw-ʥi      ri-san-i         ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ    what-SUBJ

What did you bring?


280. ta-ŋla       aw-ʥi      ri-san-i         to:si

2PL.STEM-PL    take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   oil

You brought oil.


281. bida-ŋla      rʥi-sa      ҫaver    niŋgi    lo:       wa

1PL.STEM-PL    look-COND   mud-GEN   like.this   appearance   COP

When we look at it, it looks like mud.


312

282. çʤi:-gu      gu-i:-nɨ                 ʤaŋʤa   mba:     çine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

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-ŋla             aw-ʤɨ       rɨ-san-i             ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ    what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

284. ta-ŋla             aw-ʤɨ       rɨ-san-i          sam    a

2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   comb   COP

You brought a comb.

285. bɨda-ŋla       rʤɨ-sa       ma:ʤir-nɨ

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. çʤi:-gu      gu-i:-nɨ                 ʤaŋʤa   mba:     çine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

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.

313

287. ta-ŋla              aw-ʥɨ        rɨ-san-i           ja:n-i:

     2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   what-SUBJ

     What did you bring?

288. ta-ŋla              aw-ʥɨ        rɨ-san-i           dordaŋ

     2PL.STEM-PL   take-IMPERF   come-PAST-SUBJ   tassel

     You brought a tassel.

289. bɨda-ŋla          rʥɨ-sa       geliaŋ-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. ɕʥi:-gu     gu-i:-nɨ            ʥaŋʥa  mba:     ɕine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

     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.

314

**a**

---

**ada** *v.* cannot (unable to). *buneng* 不能. *[WM* jada*]*

**aja** *n.* handful. *yiba* 一把.

**aji** *v.* be afraid of.*haipa* 害怕. *[WM* aju*]*.

**aji** *v.* fear.

**ajil** *n.* village. *cunluo* 村落. *[WM* ail*]*

**ala** *v.* kill. *sha* 杀. *[WM* ala*]*.

**alaɢ** *adj.* variegated, multicolored.*banhua* 斑花. *[WM* alaɣ*]*.

**ali** *pron.* which. *[WM* ali(n)*]*.

**alisxu:di** *pron.* when.

**ama** *pron.* how.

**amagidʑi** *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)*]*.

**andʑa** *pron.* where.

**andʑi:** *pron.* where. *nali* 哪里.

**andʑi:mada** *adv.* anywhere.

**aŋla** *v.* tie.

**dʑaŋna** *n.* bee. *mifeng* 蜜蜂. *[WT* sbraṅ-ma*]*.

**arin** *adj.* clean. *ganjingde* 干净的, *qingjiede* 清洁的. *[WM* ariɣun*]*.

**asɢua** *v.* borrow. *jie* 借. *[WM* aɣsu, Lessing: 'to trade, exchange; to lend or borrow money at interest'*]*.

**asi** *n.* cattle. *niu* 牛. *[WM* aduɣusu(n), Lessing: animal*]*.

**awu** *v.* buy. *mai* 买.

**awu** *v.* take. *na* 拿. *[WM* bari*]*.

315

**a:ba** *n.* father.*baba* 爸爸. *[WM* abu, aba*]*.

**a:die** *n.* grandfather.

**a:dʑa** *n.* older brother. *gege* 哥哥. *[WM* aqa*]*.

**a:dʑi** *n.* older sister.*jiejie* 姐姐. *[WM* egetʃi*]*.

**a:gu** *n.* paternal aunt.

**a:gu** *n.* unmarried woman. *guinü* 闺女.

**a:Gadu:** *n.* brother. *xiongdi* 兄弟. *[WM* aqa degyy*]*.

**a:linige** *adv.* every. *meige* 每个. *[WM* ele*]*.

**a:ma** *n.* mother. *mama* 妈妈. *[WM* eke*]*.

**a:ma** *n.* mouth. *kou* 口. *[WM* ama(n)*]*.

**a:nie** *n.* grandmother. *[WT* a-ne*]*.

# b

**ba** *n.* scar. *shangba* 伤疤. *[WT* lba*]*.

**ba** *part.* particle indicating suggestion. *ba* 吧.

**badʑie** *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* boɣuni*]*.

**baGu:r** *n.* bangle (bracelet).*shouzhuo* 手镯.

**baja:n** *adj.* rich.*fuyude* 富裕的.

**bal** *v.* ripen. *shu* 熟.

**bambandzi** *n.* board. *changmuban* 长木板.

**bandaŋ** *n.* chair.*yizi* 椅子.

**baŋdʑan** *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.

316

**bei** *num.* hundred. *bai* 百.

**bei** *ptcl.* particle indicating conviction, emphasis.

**beihuatɕifaŋla** *v.* a hundred flowers bloom. *baihua qifang* 百花齐放.

**ho:pen** *n.* fireplace. *huopen* 火盆.

**bie** *n.* body. *shenti* 身体. *[WM beje]*.

**bi:** *ptcl.* don't. *bie* 别.

**bi:jen** *n.* coin (money). *zhubi* 铸币.

**bi** *pron.* 1SG. *wo* 我. *[WM bi]*.

**bidaŋgula** *pron.* 1PL. *women* 我们. *[WM bida, bide(n)]*.

**bidelio:** *adj.* terrific. *liaobuqi* 了不起.

**bila:** *v.* bury. *mai* 埋. *[WM bula, Lessing: 'to conceal; to plant; to bury']*

**bili:** *n.* child. *xiaohaizi* 小孩子. *[WM byly, Lessing: 'cousins (of children of two sisters only)', WT bu-lo]*.

**bira:** *v.* finish. *wan* 完.

**bo:daɢ** *n.* rope. *shengzi* 绳子. *[WM boɣudasu(n), Lessing: band, string; ribbon; bundle, bunch, package; wrapping; scarf for the head, kerchief; puttees (111)]*.

**bo:dʑun** *n.* treasured steed. *baojun* 宝骏.

**bo:ldʑa** *v.* vomit. *outu* 呕吐. *[WM bøgeldʑi]*.

**bo:li** *n.* glass. *boli* 玻璃.

**bo:ra** *n.* kidney. *shen* 肾. *[WM bøgere]*.

**bo:si** *n.* louse. *shizi* 虱子. *[WM bøgesy(n)]*.

**bo:wu** *n.* treasure. *baowu* 宝物.

**bu** *ptcl.* not. *bu* 不.

**budaŋ** *pron.* 1PL.

**burge** *n.* flea. *zao* 蚤.

**buru:** *n.* calf. *xiaoniu* 小牛. *[WM biraɣu(n), Lessing: 'calf in its second year']*.

**busɢua** *n.* threshold. *[WM bosuɣa, Lessing: doorsill, threshold (122)]*.

**bu:** *v.* go down.

**bu:** *v.* shine. *zhao* 照.

**bu:di** *n.* wheat. *xiaomai* 小麦.

-

317

çal　*n.* mirror. *jingzi* 镜子.

çambalaçdʑi *n.* butterfly. *hudie* 蝴蝶. *[WM* erbegekei*]*.

çantu　*n.* veil.

çaŋfu　*v.* live in comfort. *xiangfu* 享福.

çaŋdʐu:　*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:çɨ *n.* sand. *sha* 砂.

ça:dzɨ *n.* courtyard.

ça:la *v.* scatter. *sa* 撒.

çdʑaŋ　*n.* felt. *zhan* 毡.

çdʑa:　*v.* load. *tuo* 馱. *[WM* atʃi*]*.

çdʑildʑax　*n.* daughter. *nüzi* 女子. *[WM* økin*]*.

çdʑi:　*n.* middle. *zhong* 中.

çdʑi:　*n.* shame.

çdʑi:　*postp.* between. *zhongjian* 中间.

çdʐo:sɨ *n.* tree. *shu* 树.

çdʐo:sɨ rasɨ *n.* bark (tree). *shupi* 树皮.

çdʐo:sɨ xaldʑi　*n.* bark (tree). *shupi* 树
皮.

çdʑun　*n.* girl. *nühaizi* 女孩子. *[WM* økin*]*.

çdʑundu:　*n.* younger sister. *meimei* 妹妹. *[WM* økin degyy, degyy*]*

çdʑu:　*n.* chest (body part).

çdʑu:r　*n.* root. *gen* 根. *[WM* idʑaɣur*]*.

çen　*n.* township. *xiang* 乡.

çendzai *adv.* now. *xianzai* 现在.

çendʑin　*v.* advance. *xianjin* 先进.

çge　*adj.* big. *da* 大. *[WM* jeke*] adj.* big.

çge pɨdʑaɢ　*n.* broad bean. *candou* 蚕
豆.

çgeçdʑi　*n.* thumb. *damuzhi* 大拇指. *[WM* erekei.

çgə　*adj.* tall. *gao* 高. *[WM* øndyr*]*.

çgudir *adv.* yesterday. *zuotian* 昨天. *[WM* øtʃygedyr*]*.

çɢei　*n.* leg.

çi　*v.* go. *qu* 去.

çigadɨ　*v.* swell. *zhong* 肿, *pengzhang* 膨胀.

çilaŋ *n.* night. *wanshang* 晚上, *ye* 夜.

çilge *n.* liver. *gan* 肝. *[WM* elige*]*.

çina:dʑi: *n.* sister-in-law (wife of older brother). *saosao* 嫂嫂.

çina:ldʑi *adj.* anxious.

çindɨre: *intr. v.* thaw.

çindʑir *n.* chain. *lian* 链.

çine: *v.* laugh. *xiao* 笑. *[WM* inije*]*.

çini *adj.* new. *xinde* 新的. *[WM* sine*]*.

çini a:gu *n.* bride. *xinniang* 新娘.

çinjaŋ *v.* believe.

çinla *v.* visit one's relatives during new year.

çira *adj.* yellow. *huangse* 黄色. *[WM* sira*]*.

çira: *v.* bake.

çira: *v.* burn. *shao* 烧.

çire: *n.* table. *zhuozi* 桌子. *[WM* sirege(n)*]*

çirgçe *v.* go around.

çirgɨ *v.* turn. *xuanzhuan* 旋转.

çirɢualdʑin *n.* ant. *mayi* 蚂蚁. *[WM* sirɣuldʑi(n)*]*.

çirua *adv.* afternoon. *xiawu* 下午.

çiru: *n.* ground (earth). *tu* 土. *[WM* sirui*]*.

çi:kɨ *v.* suck. *xi* 吸. *[WM* sime*]*.

çɨ *n.* west. *xi* 西.

çuetaŋ *n.* school.

çu: *v.* sweep. *sao* 扫.

çu: *n.* bird. *niao* 鸟. *[WM* sibaɣu(n)*]*.

çu: *v.* sew. *feng* 缝.

çu:r *n.* chopsticks. *kuaizi* 筷子.

çu:su: *n.* sleeve. *xiuzi* 袖子. *[WM* qantʃui*]*.

---

## d

da *conj.* and. *he* 和.

da *n.* door

dabçdʑin *adv.* next year. *mingnian* 明年.

dabsɨ *n.* salt. *yan* 盐. *[WM* dabusu(n)*]*.

daçdʑaɢ *n.* flag.

dala *v.* build. *da* 搭.

dalan *num.* seventy. *qishi* 七十.

dalanɨ *postp.* while.

dali: *n.* ocean, sea. *hai* 海. *[WM* dalai*]*.

dalo:n *num.* seven. *qi* 七. *[WM* doluɣa(n)*]*.

dambura: *n.* drop (of water).

danien tʂu:ji *n.* New Year's Day.

319

*danian chuyi* 大年初一.

**danla** *v.* carry on a shoulderpole. *dan* 担.

**daŋGual** *n.* earth clod. *tukuai* 土块.

**daŋlur** *n.* lantern.

**darla** *v.* grow, prosper. *zhang* 长.

**da:** *v.* endure. *renshou* 忍受.

**da:** *v.* set (of the sun).

**da:limoa** *n.* women's summer hat. *limao* 礼帽.

**da:bɨla** *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:ldɨdi** *v.* sell. *mai* 卖. *[WM qudaldu]*.

**da:len** *n.* saddle bag.

**da:li:** *n.* shoulder. *jianbang* 肩膀. *[WM dalu, Lessing: 'shoulder balde, scapula']*.

**de** *n.* door. *men* 门. *[WM egyde(n)]*.

**deidu:** *adv.* many, most.

**dera** *postp.* on.

**dere:n** *num.* four. *si* 四 . *[WM dørbe(n)]*.

**de:gɨ** *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:sɨ** *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.

**dɨdekun** *v.* man. *nanren* 男人.

**dige** *v.* live. *shenghuo* 生活, *huo* 活.

**dɨGa:** *v.* follow. *gensui* 跟随.

**dɨla** *v.* herd.

**dɨli:** *adj.* deaf. *erlongde* 耳聋的. *[WM dylei]*.

**dɨrani** *postp.* while.

**dɨra:la** *v.* love. *xihuan* 喜欢, *ai* 爱. *[WM durala, Lessing: to wish, desire ardently', 'to fall in love with']*.

**dɨra:la** *v.* want. *xiangyao* 想要. *[WM durala, Lessing: to wish, desire*

320

ardently', 'to fall in love with'].

**dra:sɨ** *n.* liquor. *jiu* 酒.

**do** *adv.* so, then, now. *xianzai* 现在.

**dordaŋ** *n.* tassel.

**do:** *adv.* so, then, now.

**do:ra** *postp.* under. *xiamian* 下面. *[WM* douɣuɾ*]*.

**do:ra** *v.* go down. *xia* 下.

**do:tʂu:** *adv.* everywhere. *daochu* 到处.

**draŋ** *ptcl.* also. *ye* 也.

**draŋ** *ptcl.* still. *[WT* da-ruṅ*]*.

**dua** *v.* pass. *[WM* daba, Lessing (211): 'to climb, climb over, cross over; to ascend; to transgress'].

**dun** *n.* meal. *dun* 顿.

**dun** *n.* east. *dong* 东.

**dunda** *n.* middle. *zhong* 中 . *[WM* dumda*]*.

**dunʂɨla** *v.* become intelligent.

**dur** *n.* day. *baitian* 白天. *[WM* edyɾ*]*.

**durdɨndɨ** *adv.* every day. *meitian* 每天.

**durgun** *n.* lunch. *zhongfan* 中饭.

**du:** *n.* younger brother. *didi* 弟弟. *[WM* degyy*]*.

**du:dɨ** *adj.* resonant. *xiangliang* 响亮.

**du:dɨ** *v.* call. *dasheng shuo* 大声说.

**du:la** *v.* sing. *chang* 唱. *[WM* daɣula*]*.

**du:ra:** *v.* imitate. *mofang* 模仿.

**du:ru** *adj.* full. *man* 满 . *[WM* dygyreng*]*.

## dz

**dzandʐina** *adj.* intelligent. *congming* 聪明.

**dzaŋla** *v.* earn.

**dzaŋmar** *n.* copper. *tong* 铜 . *[WT* zaṅs-dmar*]*.

**dzaŋrɨ** *n.* hair pin.

**dze:dɨ** *adj.* other.

**dze:la** *v.* welcome.

**dzɨfaŋ** *n.* place. *difang* 地房.

**dzuja a:nie** *n.* kitchen god.

321

dzaŋfaŋ *n.* tent. *zhangpeng* 帐篷.

dzaŋkɨ *v.* pretend. *zhuang* 装.

dzaŋkɨ *v.* receive.

dzaŋla *v.* put something in something. *zhuang* 装.

dzenjue *n.* first lunar month. *zhengyue* 正月.

dzenminla *v.* prove. *zhengming* 证明.

dzɨdzʅan *adj.* thick. *hou* 厚. *[WM*

dʑudʑaɣan].

dzɨGa: *adj.* beautiful. *meilide* 美丽的.

dzo:gu:la *v.* take care of, look after. *zhaogu* 照顾.

dzʅakɨ *v.* grasp. *zhua* 抓.

dzʅçi *n.* chairman. *zhuxi* 主席.

dzʅla *v.* stay, stop. *tingzhi* 停止.

dʑa *n.* family. *jia* 家.

-dʑ-a *v.s.* perfective objective.

dʑabdʑiG *n.* pocket for needles.

dʑadʑo: *n.* family, household. *jiazu* 家族.

dʑalGi: *n.* path.

dʑaŋ *ptcl.* only.

dʑaŋdzemin *n.* Jiang Zemin. *jiang zemin* 江泽民.

dʑaŋdʑu:ge *n.* a little bit. *shaowei* 稍微.

dʑaŋla *v.* steam. *zheng* 蒸.

dʑapu *n.* family record.

dʑa:l *n.* law. *[WM* dʑaɣali, cf. dʑarɣu, dʑarɣu, Lessing: lawsuit, litigation (p. 1037)].

dʑa:la *v.* make (fire).

dʑen *cl.* measure word for buildings. *jian* 间.

dʑiefaŋla *v.* liberate. *jiefang* 解放.

dʑiexunla *v.* get married.

dʑige *n.* donkey. *lü* 驴.

dʑiGa: *adj.* slow. *man* 慢. *[WM* tʃibdaɣ, Lessing: sluggish, slow; trickling, flowing in a thin stream; stingy,

322

miserly (174)*]*.

ʤila: *n.* lamp. *deng* 灯. *[WM* ʤula*]*.

ʤilo:n *adj.* smooth. *[WM* gilung, zøgelen, Lessing: 'soft'*]*.

ʤinkuei *adj.* as quickly as possible. *jinkuai* 尽快.

ʤinxu: *adv.* in the future. *jinhou* 今后.

ʤiran *num.* sixty. *liushi* 六十. *[WM* ʤira(n)*]*.

ʤirge *n.* heart. *xinzang* 心脏. *[WM* ʤiryke(n)*]*.

ʤirGo:n *num.* six. *liu* 六. *[WM* ʤiryuya(n)*]*.

ʤi:la *v.* become angry.

ʤi:la *v.* hate. *taoyan* 讨厌. *[WM* ʤigsi*]*.

ʤi:xu: *postp.* after that.

ʤiGa *n.* collar (of a garment). *lingzi* 领子. *[WM* ʤaqa*]*.

ʤiGadi *postp.* on. *shangmian* 上面.

ʤiGasi *n.* fish. *yu* 鱼. *[WM* ʤiyasu(n)*]*.

ʤo *v.* swim. *youyong* 游泳.

ʤo: *v.* wear. *dai* 戴.

ʤu: *ptcl.* emphasizing particle.

ʤu: *adj.* old. *jiu* 旧.

ʤu: *adv.* just. *jiu* 就.

ʤu: *n.* needle. *zhen* 针.

ʤu: *v.* bite. *yao* 咬. *[WM* qaʤa, ʤayu*]*.

ʤu:dila *v.* dream. *zuo meng* 做梦.

ʤu:din *n.* dream. *meng* 梦.

ʤu:ʤa *n.* heel.

ʤu:ri *v.* write. *xie* 写. *[WM* ʤuri, Lessing: 'to draw (as a line or picture)'*]*.

ʤu:si *adj.* exactly. *jiushi* 就是.

---

## e

eimi *n.* children, sons and daughters. *ernü* 儿女.

eisun *n.* grandson. *sunzi* 孙子.

323

e:   *intj.* interjection.

**f**

**fan**   *n.* year. *nian* 年. *[WM* on*]*.

**fandʐen** *ptcl.* anyway. *fanzheng* 反正.

**fa:dula**   *v.* send.

**feŋxu:**   *n.* life. *shenghuo* 生活.

**fi:lio:**   *n.* fertilizer. *feiliao* 肥料.

**fila:n** *adj.* red. *hong* 红. *[WM* ulaɣan*]*.

**fila:n danGual**   *n.* burnt earth fertilizer.

**fila:n tirma**   *n.* carrot. *huluobo* 胡萝卜.

**filiGa** *v.* make red.

**fin fila** *v.* order. *fen* 吩.

**fini**   *n.* smoke. *yan* 烟. *[WM* unijar, Lessing: 'mist, haze, vapor', ynijer, Lessing: 'mist, haze, vapor'*]*.

**fini**   *v.* ride. *qi* 骑. *[WM* unu, Lessing: 'to sit or ride astride'*]*.

**finiga**   *n.* fox. *huli* 狐狸 . *[WM* ynege(n)*]*.

**finirdi** *adj.* fragrant. *xiangde* 香的.

**finirdi** *adj.* delicious. *meiweide* 美味的.

**fire:**   *n.* seed. *zhongzi* 种子. *[WM* yre*]*.

**firi**   *n.* down. *xiangxia* 向下. *[WM* uruɣu, Lessing (886): 'downward'*]*.

**firi**   *n.* south. *nan* 南.

**fodʐo:**   *n.* Buddhism. *fojiao* 佛教.

**fo:di**   *n.* feather. *yumao* 羽毛. *[WM* ødy(n)*]*.

**fo:di**   *n.* star. *xing* 星. *[WM* odu(n)*]*.

**fo:gu**   *n.* fat. *zhifang* 脂肪. *[WM* øgeky(n)*]*.

**fuzu**   *adj.* rich. *fuzu* 富足.

**fu:**   *n.* book. *shu* 书.

**fu:çdʐa** *adj.* rotten. *fulande* 腐烂的. *[WM* y, Lessing: 'to rot'*]*.

**fu:r**   *n.* grave. *fenmu* 坟墓.

324

**ganti:** *n.* leg. *tui* 腿.

**gaŋdʑi:** *n.* rooster. *gongji* 公鸡.

**gaŋma** *n.* mane (of a horse). *mazong* 马鬃.

**ge** *cl.* a, an. *ge* 个.

**-ge** *n.s.* singular.

**gedʑidu:** *n.* sister. *[WM* egetʃi degyy*]*.

**gedʑo:men** *n.* everybody.

**geliaŋ** *n.* dried barley bread.

**gen** *adj.* even more. *geng* 更.

**genben** *adj.* true.

**ger** *n.* house. *fangzi* 房子. *[WM* ger*]*.

**ge:** *v.* put.

**ge:bienla** *v.* change. *gaibian* 改变.

**gi** *v.* do. *zuo* 做.

**gi:dzɨ** *n.* oil seed.

**giçgɨ** *v.* step on. *cai* 踩.

**gɨdasɨ** *n.* intestines. *changzi* 肠子. *[WM* gedesy(n)*]*.

**giga:** *adj.* short (of a person). *ai* 矮.

**giga:** *adj.* small. *xiao* 小.

**gige:n** *adj.* light (not dark). *mingliangde* 明亮的.

**go:ra** *adj.* other. *lingwaide* 另外的.

*[WM* øgere*]*.

**-gu** *v.s.* future participle.

**gu-a** *aux.* objective negative auxiliary. *meiyou* 没有.

**guadzɨ** *n.* vest.

**gualgua** *n.* young (of an animal).

**guari:** *n.* animal dung.

**gua:dindɨ** *adv.* daily. *meitiande* 每天的.

**gudʑie** *n.* stomach. *wei* 胃.

**gudʑɨ** *n.* incense. *xiang* 香.

**gudʑɨ** *n.* neck. *bozi* 脖子. *[WM* kydʑygyy*]*.

**gugutça:tça:r** *n.* valleys.

**gu-i:** *aux.* subjective negative auxiliary. *meiyou* 没有.

**gui:** *v.* run. *paobu* 跑步. *[WM* gyjy*]*.

**gui:ren** *n.* important person. *guiren* 贵人.

**gula** *v.* need.

**gundzo:la** *v.* work. *gongzuo* 工作.

**guŋgulag** *n.* bottle. *pingzi* 瓶子.

**guodʑa** *n.* country. *guojia* 国家. *[WM* ulus*]*.

**gurdʐa** *v.* braid. *babiancheng bianzi* 把。。。编成辫子.

**gurdʐig** *n.* shovel. *tie qiao* 铁锹. *[WM kyrdʐe]*.

**gurua** *v.* lie down. *wo* 卧, *tang* 躺.

**gu:dzɪ** *v.* count.

**gu:gɪ nien** *v.* celebrate the new year. *guonian* 过年.

---

## G

**Ga** *n.* time. *shihou* 时候.

**Gada** *postp.* outside. *waimian* 外面. *[WM ɣadaɣa]*.

**Gada** *v.* sew on. *za* 扎.

**Gada:** *n.* cliff. *xuanya* 悬崖. *[WM qada(n)]*.

**Gadɪmnɪ a:dʐa** *n.* brother-in-law (husband's older brother). *neixiong* 内兄.

**Gadɪmnɪ du:** *n.* brother-in-law (husband's younger brother). *xiaoshuzi* 小叔子, *neidi* 内弟.

**Gadɪn** *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']*.

**Gadɪnnɪ a:ba** *n.* father-in-law. *yuefu* 岳父, *gonggong* 公公. *[WM qadum etʃige]*.

**Gadɪnnɪ a:ma** *n.* mother-in-law. *popo* 婆婆. *[WM qadum eke]*.

**Gadʐer** *n.* field. *tiandi* 田地.

**Gadʐer** *n.* place (location). *difang* 地房. *[WM ɣadʒar]*.

**Gadʐɪ** *v.* spoil. *lan* 烂.

**Gajer** *adv.* summer. *xiatian* 夏天.

**Gal** *n.* fire. *huo* 火. *[WM ɣal]*.

**Galda** *v.* make fire. *fanghuo* 放火.

**Galdʐi** *n.* lightening.

**Galdʐu:** *adj.* crazy. *fengdian* 疯癫.

**Gar** *n.* hand. *shou* 手. *[WM ɣar]*.

**Gar gandʐi** *n.* arm. *bi* 臂. *[WM ɣar]*.

**GarGa** *v.* let out. *fang* 放.

**GarGa** *v.* take out.

**Gari çi** *v.* go out, rise. *[WM ɣar, Lessing: 'to go or come out']*.

326

ɢari v. come out. *chuqu* 出去.

ɢoril n. flour. *mianfen* 面粉. [WM ɣulir].

ɢo:r num. two. *er* 二. [WM qojar].

ɢua v. give. *gei* 给. [WM øg].

ɢual n. valley. *gou* 沟. [WM ɣoul, Lessing: river; river bed; valley; large lake (rare) (362)].

-ɢula n.s. intensifier.

ɢura:n num. three. *san* 三. [WM ɣurba(n)].

ɢura: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:çi ptcl. very. *hen* 很.

i:diŋ adv. certain. *yiding* 一定.

i:dʑidir adv. day before yesterday. *qiantian* 前天.

i:gua adv. all. *quanbu* 全部.

iguala adv. all. *quanbu* 全部.

i:kaŋ n. kang. *kang* 炕.

i:la adv. like, with. *tong* 同.

i:la n. together, all. *tong* 同.

i:ŋgela v. carry in one's clothes.

i:sin n. doctor. *yisheng* 医生.

i:tçien adv. before. *yiqian* 以前.

i:xge ptcl. just.

---

## j

ja ptcl. also. *ye* 也.

jantçuen v. tell. *gao* 告.

jaŋ ptcl. again. *you* 又, *zai* 再.

ja: pron. what. *shenme* 什么. [WM jaɣu(n)].

ja:ba adj. dumb. *yaba* 哑巴.

jeçdʑi 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].

327

**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* 颔, *ke* 颏, *xiaba* 下巴. [*WM* eregyy, erey].

**jesi** *n.* grass. *cao* 草. [*WM* ebesy(n)].

**jesiɢ** *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:ɢa** *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* tʃinua].

**kala** *n.* lump (of earth).

**kama** *n.* someone. *youren* 有人.

**kana** *pron.* who. *shei* 谁. [*WM* ken]

**kandʒa:r** *n.* women's sleeveless vest.

**karlaŋ** *n.* Karlong.

**ka:rda** *n.* domesticated animal. *shengchu* 牲畜. [*WT* khal-rta 'pack horse'].

**kɕe:** *pron.* when. *heshi* 何时. [*WM* kedʒije]

**kɕe:dida** *adv.* always. *zongshi* 总是.

**ke:la** *n.* belly. *duzi* 肚子. [*WM* kebeli].

**kifaŋ** *n.* living room, guest room. *kefang* 客房.

328

**ki:** *n.* wind. *feng* 风. *[WM* kei*]*.

**kide:** *v.* lie down.

**kidi** *adj.* several. *jige* 几个.

**kidi** *ptcl.* how much, how many. *duoshao* 多少. *[WM* kedy(n)*]*.

**kila** *n.* tongue. *shetou* 舌头. *[WM* kele(n)*]*.

**kile** *v.* say, speak. *shuo* 说. *[WM* kele*]*.

**kire:** *n.* crow.

**ko:la** *v.* lean. *kao* 靠.

**kual** *n.* foot. *jiao* 脚. *[WM* køl*]*.

**kual la:** *n.* sole (of foot). *jiaozhang* 脚掌. *[WM* ula*]*.

**kual xuri** *n.* toe. *zuzhi* 足趾. *[WM* kølyn quruɣu(n)*]*.

**kuari** *v.* freeze. *jiebing* 结冰. *[WM* køry*]*.

**kudi** *n.* family. *jiating* 家庭.

**kudi** *n.* home. *[WM* qota(n), Lessing: city, town, village; enclosure, fortress, citadel, city wall (p.972), qotu(n)*]*.

**kudujer** *n.* fenugreek. *xiangdou* 香豆.

**kudʑa:** *adv.* already. *yijing* 已经.

**kugua** *adj.* blue. *lanse* 蓝色. *[WM* køke*]*.

**kuidan** *adj.* cold. *lengde* 冷的. *[WM* kyiten*]*.

**kumarga** *n.* chest (for storage). *xiangzi* 箱子, *guizi* 柜子.

**kun** *n.* person. *ren* 人. *[WM* kymyn*]*.

**kundin** *adj.* heavy. *zhongde* 重的. *[WM* kyndy*]*.

**kungo:dzi** *n.* kind of bread.

**kunan** *adj.* hard, difficult. *kunnan* 困难.

**kurgeen** *n.* son-in-law. *nüxu* 女婿.

**kurge:** *v.* marry a man. *jia* 嫁.

**kuri** *v.* arrive. *daoda* 到达. *[WM* kyr*]*.

**ku:** *n.* son. *erzi* 儿子. *[WM* kybegyn*]*.

**ku: jeri** *n.* daughter-in-law. *xifu* 媳妇.

---

**l**

**la** *n.* mountain. *shan* 山. *[WM* aɣula(n)*]*.

**-la** *n.s.* instrumental.

**labçdʑi** *n.* leaf. *yezi* 叶子. *[WM* nabtʃi(n)*]*.

**labdʑi** *n.* mountain deity altar. *aobao* 敖包. *[WT* lab-ce*]*.

**laGaŋ** *n.* temple. *miao* 庙.

**laGa:** *v.* choose. *xuanze* 选择, *tiaoxuan* 挑选.

**lalaŋ** *adj.* young. *nianqingde* 年轻的,

329

*qingnian* 青年.

**lama** *n.* shape.

**lamadi:** *n.* lama.

**lamantɕun** *adj.* excellent. *youxiu*
优秀.

**lan** *adj.* lazy. *landuode* 懒惰的.

**laŋdzɨ** *n.* green grass.

**laŋlaŋdzɨ** *n.* basket. *lanzi* 篮子.

**laŋxɵ** *n.* bottle. *pingzi* 瓶子. *[WM*
*longqu]*.

**largu:** *n.* gloves. *shoutao* 手套.

**laxɕi:** *n.* head scarf. *toujin* 头巾.

**la:** *v.* cry. *ku* 哭. *[WM* uila*]*.

**la:kɨ** *v.* pull. *la* 拉. *[WM* tata*]*.

**lekɨ** *v.* divorce.

**liam** *n.* luck.

**liaŋ** *n.* measure, quantity. *liang*
量.

**liaŋ** *num.* two. *liang* 两.

**liaŋ ku:dʑɨ** *n.* couple (husband and wife).
*liang kouzi* 两口子.

**lio:** *v.* cook.

**lisgaŋ** *n.* work.

**liʂi** *n.* history. *lishi* 历史.

**li:la** *v.* remain. *sheng* 剩.

**lisga warɨ** *v.* work.

**lo:** *n.* appearance.

**lo:la** *v.* pile up. *luo* 摞.

**lo:su** *adj.* difficult. *nande* 难的.

**lo:sula** *v.* bother. *darao* 打扰.

**lo:xan** *n.* old man. *laohan* 老汉.

**lusa** *n.* mule. *luo* 骡. *[WM* luusa*]*.

**lu:** *n.* dragon. *long* 龙. *[WM* luu*]*.

**lu:kɨ** *v.* make a profit, have a surplus. *yingli*
盈利.

**lu:xan** *n.* husband. *zhangfu* 丈夫.

## m

**ma** *ptcl.* take it.

**-ma** *v.s.* assertive.

**maɕi** *v.* read. *yuedu* 阅读. *[WM*
ungsi*]*.

**maGaɕi** *adv.* tomorrow. *mingtian*
明天. *[WM* marɣasi*]*.

**maGdɨr** *adj.* blunt. *dunde* 钝的.

*[WM* muxur*]*.

**maGuasɨ** *n.* wall. *[WM* balɣasu(n), Lessing
(80): 'city, town'*]*.

**malGa** *n.* hat. *maozi* 帽子.

**malsɨ** *n.* ice. *bing* 冰. *[WM* mølsy(n)*]*.

**mani:** *n.* prayer beads. *nianzhu* 念珠.

**manta** *v.* dig. *wa* 挖. *[WM* malta*]*.

330

**-maŋge** *n.s.* PL.

**maŋli:** *n.* forehead. *qian'e 前额.*
[*WM* manglai*]*.

**marda:di** *v.* forget. *wangji 忘记.*
[*WM* umarta*]*.

**mardʑi** *n.* property.

**marnag** *v.* purple. *zise 紫色.*

**mawɨ** *n.* rag (for cleaning).

**maxa** *n.* flesh. *rou 肉* . [*WM*
miqa(n)*]*.

**maxa** *n.* meat. *rou 肉* . [*WM*
miqa(n)*]*.

**ma:** *adj.* blind. *xia 瞎.*

**ma:dʑir** *n.* comb used for
combing wool out of goats.

**ma:dʑi** *v.* scratch. *sao 搔.* [*WM*
maɣadʑi*]*.

**ma:li:** *adj.* fast. *kuai 快.*

**mba:** *ptcl.* yes. *shi 是* . [*WM*
nimbai, Lessing: 'precise',
'accurate'*]*.

**mba:** *adj.* correct. *shi 是.* [*WM*
nimbai*]*.

**mba:** *v.* swim. *youyong 游泳* .
[*WM* umba*]*.

**mba:wax** *n.* frog. *wa 蛙.* [*WT*

sbal-ba, sbal-pa*]*.

**menʐen** *n.* Menzhen.

**mieŋgu** *n.* silver. *yinzi 银 子* . [*WM*
mønggy(n)*]*.

**mindzu** *n.* ethnic group. *minzu 民族.*

**miçɨ** *postp.* before. *yiqian 以前.*

**miçɨ** *postp.* in front. *qianmian 前面.* [*WM*
emyne*]*.

**mide** *v.* know. *zhidao 知道.* [*WM* mede*]*.

**mɨla:** *adj.* small. *xiao 小.*

**misɨ** *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 圆.* [*WM* muquliɣ,
Lessing: 'rounded, ball-shaped,
globular'*]*.

**moɢ** *n.* snake. *she 蛇.* [*WM* moɣai*]*.

**moŋɢual** *n.* Monguor.

**morɨ** *n.* horse. *ma 马.* [*WM* mori(n)*]*.

**morɨ da:xa** *n.* foal. *xiaoma 小 马* . [*WM*
daɣa(n), Lessing: 'colt between one and
two years'*]*.

**morɨ kual** *n.* hoof (animal). *tizi 蹄子.*

**mo:** *ptcl.* not.

**mo:dan** *n.* ball. *qiu 球.*

331

**mo:dɨ** *n.* wood. *mutou* 木头. [*WM* modu(n)].

**mo:kɨ** *v.* rub. *mo* 摩. [*WM* nuqu].

**mo:la** *v.* harrow (v.). *mo* 耱.

**mpara** *n.* worn-out clothing.

**muar** *n.* road. *lu* 路. [*WM* mør].

**mu:** *adj.* bad. *huaide* 坏的. [*WM* maɣu].

**mu:** *adj.* ugly. [*WM* maɣu, Lessing: bad, evil; unfavorable, abominable'].

**mu:** *cl* for fields. *mu* 亩. *mw.*

**mu:çɨ** *n.* cat. *mao* 猫.

**mu:kɨ** *v.* plan, seek. *mou* 谋.

---

# n

**na** *dem.* this. *zhege* 这个. [*WM* ene].

**-n-a** *v.s.* non-past tense objective.

**najan** *num.* eighty. *bashi* 八十. [*WM* naja(n)].

**nango:** *adj.* sad.

**nanige** *pron.* this.*zhege* 这个.

**nantar** *n.* story. *gushi* 故事.

**naŋ** *adv.* this year.

**naŋsa:** *n.* breakfast. *zaofan* 早饭. [*WT* nan-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.

**nasɨ** *n.* age. *nianling* 年龄.

**nasɨ** *v.* fly. *feixiang* 飞翔. [*WM* nis].

**nasɨla** *v.* aged (be of a certain age).

**naxdu:r** *n.* bridle. *longtou* 笼头. [*WM* noɣtu, Lessing: 'halter'].

**na:** *v.* fall. *luoxia* 落下. [*WM* una].

**-na:** *n.s.* reflexive.

**na:dɨ** *v.* play. *wan* 玩. [*WM* naɣadu].

**na:dɨn kɨle** *v.* joke. *xiaohua* 笑话. [*WM* naɣadum, Lessing (556): 'game, play; stage play; amusement, entertainment; festival, celebration, especially the national sport festival in Mongolia'].

**na:dzɨ** *n.* bud. *ya* 芽.

**na:lɨ** where. *nali* 哪里.

332

**nda:** *pron.* 1SG.DAT/ACC.

**nda:** *pron.* 1SG.OBL.STEM.

**nde:** *adv.* here. *zheli* 这里. *[WM ende]*.

**-ndi** *n.a.* dative.

**ndige** *n.* egg. *jidan* 鸡蛋. *[WM ømdyge(n), ødege(n)]*.

**ndog** *n.* color. *yanse* 颜色. *[WM øngge(n), WT mdog]*.

**ndre:** *adv.* here. *zheli* 这里. *[WM ende]*.

**ndur** *adj.* high. *gao* 高. *[WM øndyr]*.

**ndzawa** *n.* guest. *keren* 客人. *[WT gru-ba]*.

**ndzasi** *n.* plow. *li* 犁. *[WM andʑisu(n)]*.

**ndʑina:** *pron.* reflexive pronoun.

**ndʑigila** *v.* be harmonious.

**ne** *pron.* this. *zhe* 这.

**neɕdza:** *n.* dinner. *wanfan* 晚饭. *[WT nub-za]*.

**neki** *v.* weave. *zhi* 织. *[WM neke, Lessing: 'to knit; to weave']*.

**ne:** *v.* open. *dakai* 打开. *[WM nege]*.

**ne:dzaŋ** *adj.* poor. *pinqiong* 贫穷.

**ne:ki** *v.* hold. *wo* 握.

**nie** *n.* year. *nian* 年.

**niem** *n.* price. *jiage* 价格.

**nientɕinren** *n.* young people. *nianqing ren* 年轻人.

**niexaŋ** *n.* kitchen. *chufang* 厨房. *[WT mye-khaṅ]*.

**nige** *num.* one. *yi* 一. *[WM nige(n)]*.

**nige mieŋxan** *num.* thousand. *qian* 千. *[WM minɣa(n)]*.

**nigedʑaŋ** *num.* one hundred. *yibai* 一百. *[WM dʑaɣu(n)]*.

**nigi:dʑe** *n.* a little. *yidiar* 一点儿.

**nike:** *n.* coat (of animal skin).

**niŋgan** *adj.* thin. *bao* 薄. *[WM nimgen]*.

**niŋge** *adv.* then, after.

**niŋgen** *adj.* thin. *bao* 薄. *[WM nimgen]*.

**niŋgidʑi** *adv.* like this.

**niaŋdʑa** *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 ɕdʑin sara** *n.* autumn. *qiutian* 秋天.

**ni:ta:lɢa** *v.* sneeze. *dapenti* 打喷嚏. *[WM*

333

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*]*.

**nigi:dʑe** *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*
niruɣu(n)*]*.

**nogҫdʑil** *n.* thunder.

**noGo:n** *adj.* green. *lüse* 绿色. [*WM* noɣuɣan*]*.

**nox** *n.* dog. *gou* 狗. [*WM* noqai*]*.

**no:r ntҫa:** *v.* sleep. *shui* 睡. [*WM* umta*]*.

**ntsowa** *n.* area.

**ntsowa** *n.* herding enclosure.

**ntsua** *n.* lake. *hu* 湖. [*WM* naɣur*]*.

**ntҫa:** *v.* sleep. *shui* 睡. [*WM* umta*]*.

**nukua** *n.* cave. *shandong* 山洞.

**nu:** *v.* touch.

**nu:di** *v.* hide. *yinman* 隐瞒. [*WM* niɣu*]*.

**nu:dir** *adv.* today. *jintian* 今天. [*WM*
ønygedyr*]*.

**nu:r** *n.* face. *lianmian* 脸面. [*WM* niɣur*]*.

---

## ŋ

**ŋgan** *pron.* 3SG. *ta* 他.

**ŋgaŋgula** *pron.* 3PL. *tamen* 他
们.

**-ŋge** *n.s..* singular.

**ŋgrie** *v.* burn. *shao* 烧.

**ŋguamba** *n.* monastery. *siyuan* 寺院. [*WM*

334

syme, dgon-pa].

ŋguei *adv.* other. *qitade* 其他的.
[*WM* nøgyge].

ŋGuasɨ *n.* wool. *yangmao* 羊毛.

[*WM* ungɣasu(n)].

ŋGua: *v.* bathe. *xizao* 洗澡.

ŋGua: *v.* wash. *xi* 洗. [*WM* ugija, uɣa].

-ŋula *n.s.* PL.

## p

---

pala *v.* basket. *lanzi* 篮子.

paŋ *n.* stable. *peng* 棚.

pasɨ *v.* stand.

pasɨ *v.* stand up. *qilai* 起来.

pasɨlGua *n.* threshold. *menkan* 门槛.
[*WM* bosuɣa, Lessing: doorsill,
threshold (122)].

pa:la *v.* climb. *pa* 爬.

pidʑig *n.* book. *shu* 书. [*WM* bitʃig,
Lessing: anything written].

pi: *n.* bed, kang. *chuang* 床, *kang*
炕.

pi:kɨ *v.* match. *pei* 配.

pi:la *v.* blow. *chui* 吹. [*WM* ylije].

pɨdag *adj.* dirty. *zangde* 脏的. [*WM*
burtaɣ].

pidʑa *aux.* not. *wu* 勿, *bushi* 不是.

pidʑaG *n.* bean. *dou* 豆. [*WM* burtʃaɣ].

pɨrGa:n *n.* god. *shen* 神. [*WM* burqan,
Lessing: 'Buddha, god, deity'].

pɨse: *n.* belt. *yaodai* 腰带.

pɨse:la *v.* belt. *yong dai fuzhu* 用带缚住.

pitɕa *aux.* not. *wu* 勿, *bushi* 不是.

pitɕa *n.* mistake. *cuowu* 错误.

pudʑaŋdzɨ *n.* firecracker.

pu:da *v.* shoot. *sheji* 射击.

## r

---

ra *v.* come. *lai* 来. [*WM* ire].

radaG *v.* hunt. *dalie* 打猎.

rasɨ *n.* fur.

rasɨ *n.* skin. *pizi* 皮子. [*WM* arasu(n)].

rasɨ xu:la *v.* skin. *bopi* 剥皮.

rawa *n.* hair. *mao* 毛, *fa* 发. [*WM* ysy(n), *WT*

335

ral-pa*]*.

**ra:l** *n.* river. *he* 河. *[WM* møren,
Lessing: large river or
lake*]*.

**rde** *n.* door. *men* 门. *[WM*
edyge(n)*]*.

**rde** *v.* eat. *chi* 吃. *[WM* ide*]*.

**rdeguni** *n.* food. *fan* 饭. *[WT* za-
ma*]*.

**rdzaŋ** *n.* basket.

**rdzaŋ** *n.* sheep dung.

**rdʑawu:** *n.* emperor. *huangdi* 皇
帝.

**rdʑawu:ni jeri** *n.* queen.
*huanghou* 皇后.

**rdʑi:r** *n.* wing. *chibang* 翅膀.
*[WM* dʑigyr*]*.

**rdʑi** *v.* look. *kan* 看. *[WM* udʒe, Lessing: 'to
see, behold, look at'*]*.

**relaɢ** *n.* stick. *zhitiao* 枝条.

**rgu** *v.* carry on back. *bei* 背.

**rgu** *v.* tie up.

**rgul** *n.* winter. *dongtian* 冬天. *[WM* ebyl,
dgun*]*.

**-ri** *n.s.* locative.

**rigo:si** *n.* thorn. *ci* 刺. *[WM* cicigyr, Lessing:
thorn; prickle; a pointed piece of wood
or metal used for piercing, awl (176)*]*.

**rin** *n.* moment.

**rinki** *v.* admit. *chengren* 承认.

**rkuli** *v.* know.

**rlaŋ** *n.* cloud. *yun* 云. *[WM* egyle(n)*]*.

**ru:ki** *v.* rub. *mo* 摩.

---

**S**

---

**-sa** *v.s.* conditional.

**-sa** *n.s.* ablative.

**sadʑi** *v.* strew. *sa* 撒.

**sala** *n.* branch (of a tree). *fenzhi* 分枝.
*[WT* ral-ga*]*.

**sala** *v.* separate. *fenli* 分离.

**salɢui:** *adj.* left (directional). *zuobiande*
左边的. *[WM* soluɣai, Lessing:
left side or hand; left-handed;
awkward; wrong, faulty (726)*]*.

**sam** *n.* comb. *shuzi* 梳子. *[WM* sam*]*.

**samba** *n.* kind (type).

336

**samla** *v.* comb. *shuli* 梳理. *[WM samla, samna].*

**san** *n.* mountain. *shan* 山.

**sana** *v.* think. *xiang* 想. *[WM sana].*

**saŋ** *n.* layer. *ceng* 层.

**saŋmaŋ** *n.* Qingming Festival. *qingmingjie* 清明节.

**saŋra:** *n.* hip. *tunbu* 臀部.

**sara** *n.* month. *yue* 月. *[WM sara(n)].*

**sara** *n.* moon. *yueliang* 月亮. *[WM sara(n)].*

**sara su:** *v.* be in confinement. *zuo yuezi* 坐月子.

**sa:gaŋdzɨ** *n.* tea cup. *chabei* 茶杯.

**sa:gɨ** *v.* rub. *mo* 摩.

**sa:ra** *v.* pull out. *ba* 拔.

**sbi:** *n.* barley. *qingke* 青稞. *[WM arbai].*

**sdzaGa** *v.* ask. *xunwen* 询问. *[WM asaɣu].*

**sdzer** *n.* gold. *jin* 金. *[WM alta(n), gser].*

**sdzer** *n.* money. *qian* 钱.

**sdzu** *n.* water. *shui* 水. *[WM usu(n)].*

**semagua** *n.* fog. *wu* 雾. *[WT smug-po].*

**seŋxu:** *n.* life. *shenghuo* 生活.

**serin** *adj.* cool. *liangkuaide* 凉快的.

**se:Gan** *adj.* beautiful. *meilide* 美丽的. *[WM saiqan].*

**sge** *v.* see. *jian* 见. *[WM siqaɣa, Lessing: 'to peer, look intently or searchingly'].*

**sgɨ** *v.* see. *deng* 等. *[WM saɣa, Lessing: 'delay', saɣata, Lessing: 'to be delayed, detained'].*

**-sgɨ** *n.s.* PL.

**sgɨl** *n.* heart. *xin* 心.

**sGa** *v.* ask. *wen* 问. *[WM asaɣu].*

**sGal** *n.* beard. *huxu* 胡须.

**sGuar** *adj.* blind. *xiade* 瞎的. *[WM soqur].*

**si:n** *adj.* good. *hao* 好. *[WM sain].*

**si:nala** *v.* become good.

**sɨ** *v.* is. *shi* 是.

**-sɨ** *n.s.* PL.

**sɨlGua** *n.* bucket. *shuitong* 水桶.

**sɨman** *n.* medicine. *yao* 药. *[WT sman].*

**sɨmdʑaŋla** *v.* be careful. *xiaoxin* 小心.

**sɨmɨ** *n.* arrow. *jian* 箭. *[WM sumu(n)].*

**sɨn** *n.* province. *sheng* 省.

**sɨnerde** *v.* hear. *tingjian* 听见. *[WM*

337

sonus*]*.

**snaGua** *n.* rainbow. *hong* 虹. *[WM
solungɣa]*.

**so:la** *v.* sew together.

**suanɨ** *n.* night. *ye* 夜. *[WM søni]*.

**sula:** *v.* water.

**sun** *n.* milk. *nai* 奶. *[WM syn]*.

**surgɨ** *v.* smear.

**su:** *v.* sit. *zuo* 坐. *[WM saɣu]*.

**su:da** *v.* hold in one's armpit. *jia zai ye
xia* 夹在腋下.

**su:dura** *n.* armpit. *yewo* 腋窝. *[WM
suɣu(n)]*.

**su:ga** *n.* ear ring.

**su:l** *n.* tail. *yiba* 尾巴. *[WM segyl]*.

**sxu:** *n.* time. *shihou* 时候.

---

## ş

**şbaŋ** *n.* sod of grass.

**şda** *v.* can (be able to). *neng* 能, *hui*
会.

**şdada** *v.* be early.

**şdanaŋ** *adv.* last year. *qunian* 去年.
*[WM nidunun dʒil]*.

**şda:** *v.* cook. *shao* 烧.

**şda:sɨ** *n.* thread. *xian* 线 . *[WM
utasu(n)]*.

**şdedʑɨ** *adv.* early. *zao* 早 . *[WM
erte(n)]*.

**şde:** *v.* mend. *bu* 补.

**şdɨ** *n.* tooth. *ya* 牙. *[WM sidy(n)]*.

**şdɨma** *n.* bread (steamed). *mianbao* 面
包.

**şdo:gu** *adj.* old (of people). *lao* 老.
*[WM øtegy, Lessing: 'old man;
senior']*.

**şdualɨ** *v.* age. *laohua* 老化.

**şdur** *adj.* long. *chang* 长. *[WM urtu]*.

**şdurşdɨ** *v.* stretch. *shenzhan* 伸展.

**şehuei** *n.* society. *shehui* 社会.

**şenlin** *n.* forest. *senlin* 森林.

**şeŋ** *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), køl]*.

**şdʑi:** *n.* dust. *huitu* 灰土.

338

şidʑi *num.* about ten.

şdʑin *num.* nine. *jiu* 九. *[WM* jisy(n)*]*.

---

**t**

---

ta *pron.* that. *nage* 那个. *[WM* tere*]*.

taçi *n.* stone. *shitou* 石头. *[WM* tçilaγu(n)*]*.

tada *postp.* near. *jin* 近. *[WM* døte*]*.

tadadi *postp.* next to.

taGu:rla *pron.* 2DL. *nimen liangge* 你们俩个.

tajin *num.* fifty. *wushi* 五十. *[WM* tabi(n)*]*.

talGuei mirgu *v.* kowtow. *ketou* 磕头.

talGui: *n.* head. *tou* 头. *[WM* toluγai, terigyn*]*.

tanige *pron.* that. *nage* 那个.

taŋgula *pron.* 2PL. *nimen* 你们.

taŋxa:la *v.* chat. *liaotian* 聊天.

tar *n.* stone. *shitou* 石头. *[WM* tçilaγu(n)*]*.

taraxçi: *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:çdʑa *n.* ash. *hui* 灰. *[WM* ynesy(n)*]*.

ta:la *v.* expand.

ta:win *num.* five. *wu* 五. *[WM* tabu(n)*]*.

tebçdʑin *adj.* straight.

tende: *adv.* there. *nali* 那里. *[WM* tende*]*.

teŋgeri *n.* sky. *tian* 天. *[WM* tenggeri, tngri*]*.

teŋgeri ura *v.* rain. *xiayu* 下雨.

te:ri *v.* hold in one's arms. *lou* 搂.

tidʑe: *v.* feed. *weiyang* 喂养. *[WM* tedʒiye*]*.

tidʑin *num.* forty. *si shi* 四十. *[WM* døtʃi(n)*]*.

tien *n.* heaven. *tian* 天.

tienkun *n.* heaven. *tiankong* 天空.

tier *n.* Tibetan (person). *zangzu* 藏族.

tigi: *adv.* like that.

tigi:ge *adv.* like that.

tiGa:n *adv.* that size. *name daxiao* 那么大小.

tiŋfu: *v.* hear told. *tingshuo* 听说.

339

**tiŋgidʑi** *adv.* like that. *nayangde* 那样的.

**tio:dʑen** *n.* condition. *tiaojian* 条件.

**ti:** *adv.* like that.

**ti:** *v.* exist.

**ti:la** *v.* carry. *tai* 抬.

**ti:ŋge** *adv.* like that.

**ti** *pron.* 2SG.OBL.STEM.

**tiɢu:** *n.* chicken. *ji* 鸡. *[WM* takija(n)*]*.

**tilɢua** *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.

**tjebçdʑi** *n.* button. *niuzi* 纽子. *[WM* tobtʃi*]*.

**tjeri** *v.* embrace. *lou* 搂.

**toa** *n.* plate. *diezi* 碟子.

**tora** *v.* bear (give birth). *shengchu* 生出.

**to:la** *v.* count. *shu* 数. *[WM* toɣala*]*.

**to:si** *n.* fat, oil. *you* 油.

**tre:** *adv.* there. *nali* 那里. *[WM* tende*]*.

**truo** *postp.* in. *limian* 里面, *nei* 内. *[WM* dotura*]*.

**tsi** *v.* bestow. *ci* 赐.

**tʂaŋ** *ptcl.* probably.

**tʂido:la** *v.* arrive late. *chidao* 迟到.

**tʂo:gi** *v.* stab. *chuo* 戳.

**tʂuan** *n.* ship. *chuan* 船.

**tʂuan** *v.* wear. *chuan* 穿.

**tʂui** *n.* hammer. *chui* 锤. *[WM* aluqa(n)*]*.

**tʂu:ji** *n.* first day of lunar month. *chuyi* 初一.

**tʂu:sin** *n.* domestic animal. *chusheng* 畜牲.

**tuɢuei** *n.* elbow. *zhou* 肘. *[WM* toqai, toqui*]*.

**tuile** *v.* clean. *tao* 掏.

**tuŋgu** *v.* collect. *shoucun* 收存.

**tura** *v.* be born. *chusheng* 出生. *[WM* tøry*]*.

**turgu** *v.* push. *tui* 推. *[WM* tyri, Lessing: 'to push forward'*]*.

**tu:çaŋ** *n.* hair ribbon.

**tu:gu** *adj.* uncooked, raw. *shengde* 生的.

**tu:li:** *n.* rabbit. *tuzi* 兔子.

340

tɕa   *n.* tea. *cha* 茶.

tɕadzɨ   *n.* snow. *xue* 雪. *[WM* tʃasu(n)*]*.

tɕandza   *n.*   Qianza (place name). *Qianzuo* 前座.

tɕanxei   *n.* shoes. *qianxie* 茜鞋.

tɕaŋɕi   *n.* small bowl.

tɕaŋgaŋ   *n.* window. *chuanghu* 窗户. *[WT* dra-ma*]*.

tɕaŋlɨ   *n.* crow. *wuya* 乌鸦.

tɕaŋla   *v.* listen. *ting* 听, *wen* 闻.*[WM* tʃingla, tʃingna*]*

tɕa:bɕa   *n.* grasshopper. *mazha* 蚂蚱.

tɕa:ldzɨ   *n.*   paper. *zhi* 纸. *[WM* tʃaɣasu(n), tʃaɣalsun*]*.

tɕa:wa   *n.* brick tea.

tɕe:dʑɨ   *n.* long women's garment.

tɕida   *v.* pull. *la* 拉. *[WM* tata*]*.

tɕidaɢua   *n.*   knife. *dao* 刀. *[WM* qutaɣa, qutuɣa, kituɣa*]*.

tɕidaɢuanɨ amanɨ *n.* blade. *daoren* 刀刃.

tɕidar   *n.*   Chinese   (person). *zhongguoren* 中国人. *[WM* kitad*]*.

tɕida:   *v.* exert. *chuli* 出力.

tɕidʑɨ *n.* north. *bei* 北. *[WM* umara*]*.

tɕidʑiɢ *n.* flower. *hua* 花. *[WM* tʃetʃeg*]*.

tɕigɨ   *n.* ear. *erduo* 耳朵. *[WM* tʃiki(n)*]*.

tɕiɢa:n *adj.* white. *bai* 白. *[WM* tʃaɣan*]*.

tɕiɢa:n rawa *n.* grey hair. *baifa* 白发.

tɕiɢa:n to:sɨ   *n.* butter. *huangyou* 黄油. *[WM* tosu(n)*]*.

tɕimɨ *pron.* 2SG-DAT.

tɕimdzɨ   *n.* fingernail, claw. *zhijia* 指甲. *[WM* kimusu(n), qumusun*]*.

tɕimsaŋ   *n.* family. *jiating* 家庭.

tɕinaɢda   *adv.* day after tomorrow. *houtian* 后天.

tɕire:   *n.* edge, border. *bianyuan* 边缘.

tɕirgua   *n.* boiled water. *kaishui* 开水.

tɕirɢua   *n.* lock. *suozi* 锁子.

tɕirual *adj.* cheap. *pianyi* 便宜.

tɕirual *adj.* easy. *rongyi* 容易. *[WM* kilbar*]*.

tɕɨ   *pron.* 2SG. *ni* 你. *[WM* tʃi*]*.

tɕɨmɨ- *pron.* 2SG.OBL. STEM.

tɕo:go:n *adj.* few. *shao* 少. *[WM* tʃøgyken, tʃøgen, tʃøgeken*]*.

341

**tɕura** *n.* cheese (sour). *naizha* 奶渣

## u

**ulɨ** *v.* become. *chengwei* 成为.

**ura** *v.* enter. *jinru* 进入, *ru* 入.

**urasɨ** *v.* flow. *liu* 流. *[WM* urus*]*.

**utɕɨ** *v.* drink. *he* 喝. *[WM* uu, uɣu*]*.

## u:

**u:** *ptcl.* interrogative particles. *ma* 吗.

## w

**wabɨtɕin** *adj.* not clear. *wabuqing* 挖不清.

**wadʐer** *n.* city. *chengshi* 城市. *[WM* basar, Lessing: 'inhabited place, hamlet, village'*]*.

**wankɨ** *v.* knit. *bianzhi* 编织.

**wanmin** *n.* all the people. *wanmin* 万民.

**waŋla** *bang* 绑. *v.* tie.

**waraŋ** *adj.* right (directional). *you* 右. *[WM* baraɣun*]*.

**warɨ** *v.* hold. *wo* 握. *[WM* bari*]*.

**wir** *n.* steam. *zhengqi* 蒸汽.

**wir** *n.* air (gas). *kongqi* 空气. *[WM* kei*]*.

**wir ɕi:ge** *v.* breathe. *qixi* 气息.

**wosgu** *n.* lungs. *fei* 肺. *[WM* aɣuʃgi(n)*]*.

**wulan** *adj.* many. *duo* 多. *[WM* olan*]*.

**wuri:** *adv.* late. *chi* 迟. *[WM* orui*]*.

**wu:** *adj.* wide. *kuankuo* 宽阔. *[WM* uu, aɣuu, Lessing: 'vast', 'immense'*]*.

## x

**xalaŋ** *adj.* hot. *rede* 热的. *[WM* qalaɣun*]*.

**xalɢaɕdʐi** *n.* palm (of hand). *shouzhang* 手掌. *[WM* alaɣa(n)*]*.

**xalɢua** *n.* step. *bu* 步. *[WM* alqu*]*.

**xambura:** *v.* rest. *xiuxi* 休息. *[WM* amura*]*.

**xamtɕɨ** *n.* sleeve. *xiuzi* 袖子. *[WM* qantʃui*]*.

**xana** *n.* everybody. *dajia* 大家.

**xana:** *v.* cough. *kesou* 咳嗽.

**xaŋjen** *n.* tobacco. *yancao* 烟草.

**xaŋɢuar** *n.* bell. *ling* 铃. *[WM* qongqu*]*.

**xaŋsa** *n.* tobacco pipe. *yandou* 烟斗.

**xara** *adj.* black. *hei* 黑. *[WM* qara*]*.

342

**xaran** *num.* ten. *shi* 十. *[WM* arba(n)*]*.

**xaran dere:n** *num.* fourteen. *shi si* 十四.

**xaran ɢur** *num.* twelve. *shi er* 十二. *[WM* arban qojar*]*.

**xaran ɢuran** *num.* thirteen. *shi san* 十三.

**xaran nige** *num.* eleven. *shi yi* 十一.

**xaraŋɢu** *adj.* dark. *hei'ande* 黑暗的. *[WM* qaranɣui*]*.

**xarɢal** *n.* dried manure. *ganfen* 干粪. *[WM* arɣal, Lessing (52): 'argal, dry dung of animals used as fuel'*]*.

**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* qaɣa*]*.

**xdʑer** *n.* cheek. *mianjia* 面颊. *[WM* qatʃar*]*.

**xeila** *adj.* alone. *gudude* 孤独的. *[WM* yaɣtʃaɣar*]*.

**xe:la** *v.* cry (of birds). *ming* 鸣.

**xensi** *ptcl.* still.

**xgadʑa:** *n.* language. *yuyan* 语言. *[WT* skad-g̊ha*]*.

**xgar** *n.* sound, voice. *shengyin* 声音. *[WT* skad*]*.

**xgar çge** *adj.* loud. *dasheng* 大声.

**xgatça:** *n.* language. *yuyan* 语言. *[WT* skad-g̊ha*]*.

**xgilandʑin** *n.* beggar. *qigai* 乞丐.

**xgila** *v.* ask for, beg, want. *tao* 讨.

**xgirba** *n.* back (body part). *bei* 背.

**xgualtçax** *n.* boy. *nanhaizi* 男孩子.

**xgualtçax** *n.* son. *erzi* 儿子.

**xɢala** *v.* throw. *pao* 抛. *[WM* qaja*]*.

**xɢali** *v.* break. *nongpo* 弄破. *[WM* qaɣal*]*.

**xɢali** *v.* split. *pikai* 劈开. *[WM* qaɣal, Lessing: to break, split, chip, cut through (chiefly hard objects) (906)*]*.

**xɢara:** *intr. v.* break. *polie* 破裂.

**xɢara:** *v.* split. *pikai* 劈开.

**xɢei** *n.* pig. *zhu* 猪. *[WM* ɣaqai*]*.

**xɢei paŋ** *n.* pigsty.

**xɢuar** *adj.* short. *duan* 短. *[WM* oqur*]*.

**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.

340

**xo:la** *n.* feed (for animals). *liao* 料.

**xo:la** *n.* throat. *houlong* 喉咙. *[WM qoɣulai]*.

**xo:lɢa** *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 qaɣurai]*.

**xo:sin** *adj.* empty. *kongde* 空的.

**xuadʑi** *adj.* seperate.

**xuafi:** *n.* chemical fertilizer. *huafei* 化肥.

**xudali** *v.* cut. *qie* 切, *geduan* 割断. *[WM oɣtul]*.

**xudi** *adv.* very. *hen* 很.

**xugu** *v.* die. *si* 死. *[WM yky]*.

**xudʑa** *v.* bark (of a dog). *goufei* 狗吠.

**xudʑadi** *adj.* sharp. *ruili* 锐利. *[WM qurtʃa]*.

**xudʑin** *num.* thirty. *san shi* 三十. *[WM ɣutʃi(n)]*.

**xudʑinto:** *n.* Hu Jintao. *Hu Jintao* 胡锦涛.

**xudʑi** *n.* lips. *zui* 嘴.

**xudʑi** *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']*.

**xui: ta:lɢa** *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]*.

**xurɢa** *n.* lamb. *mianyanggao* 绵羊羔. *[WM quraɣa(n)]*.

**xurɢuei** *n.* worm. *ruchong* 蠕虫. *[WM qoruqai, Lessing: 'insects and worms in general']*.

**xuri** *n.* finger. *shouzhi* 手指. *[WM quruɣu(n)]*.

341

**xurɨn** *num.* twenty. *ershi* 二 十. *[WM qori(n)].*

**xu:le:** *adv.* afterwards. *houlai* 后来.

**xu:tɕin** *adj.* old (of things). *jiu* 旧. *[WM qaɣutʃin, Lessing (908): 'old (mostly of inanimate objects and abstract concepts)']*
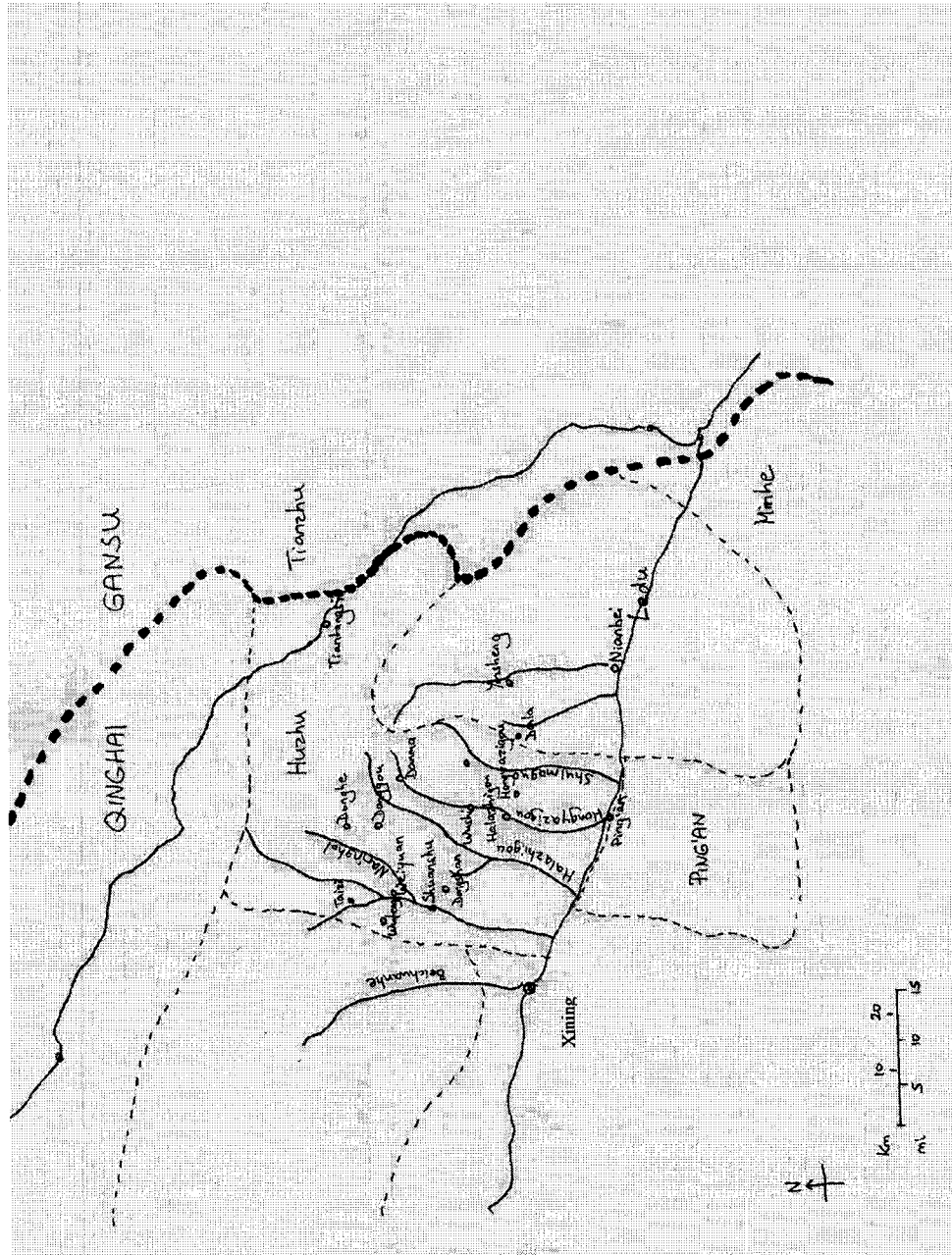
342

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

343

# REFERENCES

Chingeltei [Chenggeltei, Chinggeltai, Qinggeertai, 清格尔泰] et al. 1986. [published 1988] Tǔzúyù Huàyǔ Cáiliào [Monguor language materials]. Hohhot: Nèi Měnggǔ Mínzú.

Chingeltei [Chenggeltei, Chinggeltai, Qinggeertai, 清格尔泰] and Li Keyu. 1988. [published 1991]. Tǔzúyù he Měnggǔyù [Mo[ng]gor kele ba Monggol kele / Monguor and Mongolian [compared]], Guigaquda.

Chingeltei. [Chenggeltei, Chinggeltai, Qinggeertai, 清格尔泰] 1989. On subjective and objective mood in the Monguor language. Pages 67-75 in: Klaus Sagaster (ed.) Gedanke und Wirkung: Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 90. Geburtstag. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. (9 pages)

Chingeltei [Chenggeltei, Chinggeltai, Qinggeertai, 清格尔泰]. 1991. Tǔzú yù he Měnggǔ yù. [The Tu language and the Mongolian language.] Mongolian Language Family Dialects Research Series: vol. 15. Hohhot: The Inner Mongolia Peoples Press.

Chaolu Wu - see Üjiyediin Chuluu.

Doerfer, Gerhard. 1964. Klassifikation und Verbreitung der Mongolischen Sprachen. Pages 35-50 in: Handbuch der Orientalistik. Spuler, B. (ed.). Erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, 5. Band: Altaistik, 2. Abschnitt: Mongolistik. Leiden: E.J.Brill.

D'Ollone. 1912. Langues des peuples non chinois de la Chine, par le commandant *d'Ollone*, le capitaine de Fleurelle--le capitaine Le-page, le lieutenant de Boyve. Ouvrage comprenant quarantecinq vocabulaires avec une carte hors texte. Paris: E. Leroux.

Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis, Hu Jun, Hu Ping, Limusishiden, Keith Slater, Kevin Stuart, Wang Xiazhen, and Zhu Yongzhong. 1996. Language Materials of China's Monguor minority: Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer. Sino-Platonic Papers 69.

Dwyer, Arienne. 2001. A grammatical sketch of Monguor. (Rough draft last updated 21.05.01). Available at: http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/projects/salar/monguor.pdf (accessed 12/4/07).

344

Georg, Stefan. 2003. Mongghul. Pages 286-306 in: Janhunen, Juha (ed.). The Mongolic languages, London; New York: Routledge.

Ha, Mingzong and Kevin Stuart. 2006. Everyday Hawan Mongghul. Pages 45-67 in: Vacek, Jaroslav and Alena Oberfalzerová (eds.), Mongolica Pragensia '06. Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony. Prague: Nakladatelstvi Triton.

Ha, Shoude and Zhangzhong Li. 1999. Tiānzhū tǔzú [Tianzhu Mongghul]. Tiānzhū zàngzú zìzhìxiàn mínzú chūbǎnshè [Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County Nationalities Press], Huazangsi, Tianzhu.

Haenisch, Erich. 1939. Wörterbuch zu Manghol Un Niuca Tobca'an (Yüan-Ch'ao Pi-Shi). Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.

Hasbaatar [Qasbaatur, Qasbagatur, 哈斯巴特尔, Hasibate'er, Hasibate]. 1985. [published 1986] Tǔzúyù Cíhuì [Monguor vocabulary]; Kökeqota: Öbör Monggol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a.

Heissig, Walther. 1980. Geser Rëdzia-Wu: Dominik Schröder's nachgelassene Monguor (Tujen)-Version des Geser Epos aus Amdo. Asiatische Forschungen 70. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Hua Kan. 1994. Tǔzú yù zhōng de Zàng yùjiècí. [Tibetan loanwords in the Tu language.] Xīběi Mínzú Yánjiū 1994.1:238-44.

Huc, Évariste-Régis. 1850. Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et l Chine pendant les années 1844, 1845 et 1846, vols 1-2. Paris: Librairie d'Adrien le Clere et Cie.

Iakhontova, N.S. 1997. Mongol'skie iazyki. Pages 10-18 in: IAzyki mira. Mongol'skie iazyki, tunguso-man'chzhurskie iazyki, iaponskij iazyk, korejskij iazyk. Moskva: Uzdatel'stvo Indrik.

Janhunen, Juha. 2001. On the phonological interpretation of the retroflex preinitials in the Mongolic languages of the Amdo region. Pages 61 - 69 in: Lázlo, Károly and Éva Nagy (eds.). Néptörténet – Nyelvtörténet. A 70 éves Róna-Tas András köszöntése. Szeged.

345

Janhunen, Juha. 2003a. Shirongol and Shirongolic. Pages 83-89 in: Studia etymologica Cracoviensia. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.

Janhunen, Juha (ed.). 2003b. The Mongolic languages, London; New York: Routledge.

Janhunen, Juha. 2004. On the hierarchy of structural convergence in the Amdo Sprachbund. Abstract of a talk presented at the International Symposium on Typology of the Argument Structure and Grammatical Relations in Languages Spoken in the Europe and North and central Asia, LENCA-2, Kazan Sate University, May 11-14, 2004. Available at: http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/uhlcs/LENCA/LENCA-2/information/datei/english-abstract-7.pdf, pages 73-75 (accessed 12/4/07).

Janhunen, Juha. 2006a. The changing faces of Amdo Qinghai. ms.

Janhunen, J., 2006b. The Monguor: The Emerging Diversity of a Vanishing People. Pages 26-29 in: Schram 2006.

Janhunen, Juha. (to appear). Typological interaction in the Qinghai Linguistic Complex. ms. [Paper originally presented at the 34th International Conference of Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics.]

Kakudo, Masayoshi. 1987. Tozokugo no Ka'i Hougen. [Subdialects of Monguor language]. Oosaka Gaikokugo Daigaku Gakuhou 75:49-63.

Kakudo, Masayoshi. 1988. Geser Rëdzia-Wu (Tozokugo no ichi ka'i hougen) no Gengo: [1] Jiyuukeitai, [2] Bunpu. [The Language of Geser Rëdzia-Wu: [1] Free Variations, [2] Distribution]. Oosaka Gaikokugo Daigaku Gakuhou 76:25-50, 77:23-24.

Kakudo, Masayoshi. 1989. Tozokugo (Mongworugo) ni okeru setsubiji –ngge nitsuite. [On the suffix -ngge in the Monguor language]. Oosaka Gaikokugo daigaku ronshuu 1:1-27.

Kakudo, Masayoshi. 1990. Tozokugo no seishohou. [The orthography of the Monguor language]. Oosaka Gaikokugo Daigaku Ronshuu 4:49-76.

Kakudo, Masayoshi. 1996. Geser Rëdzia-Wu no go'i. [Geser Rëdzia-Wu Vocabulary]. Oosaka Gaikokugo Daigaku Ronshuu 15:83-108.

346

Kakudo, Masayoshi. 1997. Tianzhu Tozokugo no tokuchou: "Geseru Bunko" daisanken no shiryou ni motozuite. [Remarks on the Tianzhu Dialect of the Monguor language]. Oosaka Gaikokugo Daigaku Ronshuu 17:33-61.

Khelimskiy, E.A. 1984. A distinctive feature which became a phoneme: The case of Monguor. p. 27 in: 5th International Phonology Meeting. Abstracts. Wien. Reprinted as 2000 in: Komparativistika, Uralistika. Lektsii i stat'i. Moskva: IAzyiki Russkoy Kultury.

Krippes, Karl A. 1992. The reconstruction of Proto-Mongolian *p-. PhD dissertation, Indiana University.

Grønbech, Kaare and John R. Krueger. 1993. An Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian. Grammar, Reader, Glossary. Third, corrected edition. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Lessing, Ferdinand. 1995. Mongolian-English Dictionary. Compiled by: Mattai Haltod, John Gobmojab Hangin, Serge Kassatkin, and Ferdinand D. Lessing. 3rd reprinting. Bloomington: The Mongolia Society, Inc.

Li, Keyu [李克郁]. (ed.) 1988. Mongghul Qidar Merlong [Mongghul-Chinese dictionary.] Xining: Qinghai Peoples Press.

Limusishiden [Li Dechun] and Kevin Stuart. 1994. 'Caring for All the World': The Huzhu Monguor (Tu) Pram, (pp. 408-426) in Edward H. Kaplan and Donald W. Whisenhunt, editors. Opuscula Altaica: Essays in Honor of Henry Schwarz. Bellingham: Western Washington University Press.

Limusishiden [Li Dechun] and Kevin Stuart. 1995. Larinbuda and Jiminsu: A Monguor Tragedy. Asian Theatre Journal. 12:2, 221-263. (42 pages)

Limusishiden [Li Dechun] and Kevin Stuart. 1996. English-In-Mongghul: Mongghulla Yinyii. Wēiyuǎn zhèn [Weiyuan Town] Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County, Qinghai Province, PR China, Hùzhù yìnshuāchǎng [Huzhu Publishing Station]. (Mongghul and English)

Limusishiden [Li Dechun] & Kevin Stuart. 1998. Huzhu Mongghul folklore: text & translations. München: Lincom Europa.

Limusishiden [Li Dechun] and Kevin Stuart. 1999. Huzhu Mongghul language materials. Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrinne 88:261-4.

Limusishiden, Jugui [Li Dechun] & Kevin Stuart (eds.). 2001. Huzhu Mongghul texts: Chileb 1983-1996 selections. München: Lincom Europa.

Limusishiden. 2004. Mongghulla Sman Wuile Surighuaguni – Teaching Basic Health Education in Mongghul – 土语基础医学和识讲座。

Mostaert, Antoine. 1931. The Mongols of Kansu and their Language. Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking 8:75-89.

Nugteren, Hans. 1997. On the Classification of the Peripheral Mongolic Languages. Pages 207-216 in: Historical and linguistic interaction between Inner-Asia and Europe; proceedings of the 39th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC) Szeg. Hungary: Szeged.

Nugteren, Hans. 1998. On some Turkic loanwords in Monguor, Bao'an and Donxiang. Pages 683-96 in: Lars Johanson (ed.). The Mainz Meeting: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Turkish Linguistics. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Poppe, Nicholas. 1954. Grammar of written Mongolian, Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

Poppe, Nicholas. 1955. Introduction to Mongolian comparative studies. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Potanin, G. N. [originally published as: 1893. Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraïna Kitaya i central'naya Mongoliya, vols 1-2. S.-Peterburg: Izdanie Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshhestva.]

Przheval'skii, N. [M.]. 1875. Mongolija i strana tangutov: trexletnee puteshestvie v vostochnoi nagornoi Aziï. Sanktpeterburg: Izdanie Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshhestva.

Rockhill, W. W. 1894. Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892. Washington.

Róna-Tas, András. 1960. Remarks on the phonology of the Mong[uo]r language. Acta Orientalia Hungarica 10:263-7.

Róna-Tas, András. 1962. On some finals of the Mong[uo]r Language. Acta Orientalia Hungarica 14:283-90.

Róna-Tas, A. 1966. Tibeto-Mongolica: The Tibetan loanwords of Monguor and the development of the archaic Tibetan dialects. Indo-Iranian Monographs, vol. 7. London: Mouton & Co.

Rybatzki, Volker. 2003. Intra-Mongolic taxonomy. Pages 364-390 in: Janhunen, Juha (ed.). The Mongolic languages, London; New York: Routledge.

Schram, Louis. 1954-1961. The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier: Their origin, history, and social organization, vols 1-3. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series 44/1, 47/1, 51/3) Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society.

Schröder, Dominik. 1959. Aus der Volksdichtung der Monguor, 1. Teil. Asiatische Forschungen 6. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz. (182 pages)

Schröder, Dominik. 1964. Der Dialekt der Monguor. Mongolistik (Handbuch der Orientalistik I: V, 2), 143-158.

Schröder, Dominik. 1970. Aus der Volksdichtung der Monguor. 2. Teil. Asiatische Forschungen 31. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

Shimunek, Andrew E. 2006. Toward a typology of the Mongolic perception verbs. Pages 43-71 in Monggolhak (Mongolian Studies), No. 20, Seoul.

Sinor, Denis. 1952. Langues Mongoles. Pages 369-384 in: Meillet, Antoine and Marcel Cohen (eds.), Les langues du monde. (2nd ed.). Paris: Champion.

Slater, Keith. 2003. A grammar of Mangghuer: a Mongolic language of China's Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund. New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Smedt, A. de and Mostaert A. 1929-31. Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIIe partie: Dictionnaire monguor-français. Pei-p'ing: Imprimerie de l'Université Catholique.

Smedt, A. de and Mostaert A.1933. Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIe partie: Grammaire. The Hague: Mouton.

SM (1964): see Smedt, A. de and Mostaert A. 1964. [1945]

Smedt, A. de and Mostaert A. 1964. [1945] Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIe partie: Grammaire. The Hague: Mouton.

Stuart, Kevin and Limusishiden [Li Dechun]. 1994. China's Monguor minority: Ethnography and folktales. Sino-Platonic Papers, 59.

Svantesson, Jan-Olof. 2003. Preaspiration in Old Mongolian? Pages 5-8 in: PHONUM 9.

Tafel, Albert. 1914. Meine Tibetreise; eine Studienfahrt durch das nordwestliche China und durch die innere Mongolei in das östliche Tibet, von dr. Albert Tafel. Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft.

Todaeva, B. X. 1973. Mongorskii yazyk: Isledovanie, teksty, slovar. Moskva: Nauka (AN SSSR: Institut vostokovedenia).

Todaeva, B.X. 1997. Mongorskii yazyk. Pages 124-32 in: Mongol'skie yazyki – Tunguso-manchzhurskie yazyki – Yaponskii yazyk – Koreiskii yazyk [Yazyki Mira]. Moskva: Rossiiskaya Akademiya Nauk & Izdatel'stvo Indrik.

Üjiyediin Chuluu [Chaolu Wu]. 1994. Introduction, grammar, and sample sentences for Monguor. Sino-Platonic Papers 57.

Zhao: see Zhaonasitu.

Zhaonasitu [Junast, Junastu, 照那斯图] (ed.). 1981. Tŭzú yù jiănzhì. [A brief account of the Tu language.] Beijing: Nationalities Press.