

## CHAPTER FORTY-ONE

## DULONG

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Dulong [tʂùŋ] is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in China, closely related to the Rawang language of Myanmar (Burma). The Dulong speakers mainly live in Gongshan Dulong and Nu Autonomous County in Yunnan, China, and belong to either what is known as the Dulong nationality (pop. 5816 according to the 1990 census), or to one part (roughly 6000 people) of the Nu nationality (those who live along the upper reaches of the Nu River). The exonym 'Dulong' (or 'Taron', or 'Trung') was given to this nationality because they mostly live in the valley of the Dulong (Taron/Trung) River. In the past, the Dulong River was known as the Kiu (Qiu) river, and the Dulong people were known as the Kiu (Qiu), Kiutze (Qiuzi), Kiupa, or Kiao. Dulong is usually talked about as having four dialects, based on areas where it is spoken: First Township, Third Township, Fourth Township, and Nujiang. In this chapter, we will be using data of the First Township dialect spoken in Gongshan county. See LaPolla 2000 for discussion of the wider affiliations with the Rawang dialects and Anong. Other sources on Dulong, Rawang, and Anong are listed at the end of this chapter. The affiliations of Dulong beyond Rawang and Anong are not yet clear. All three are often put together with Jinghpaw, but this connection does not seem convincing on morphological grounds. More work needs to be done before any conclusion can be reached.

## 2 PHONOLOGY

Dulong has twenty-four initial consonants at six points of articulation (Table 41.1), plus the consonant clusters /pr, br, mr, kr, xr, gr, pl, bl, ml, kl, gl/ in initial position; only the consonants /p, t, ʔ, k, n, m, ŋ, r, l/ occur in final position. As /-w-/ only appears after velar initials, I am treating these combinations as a labio-velar series. When followed in close juncture by a voiceless segment, the final nasals often are pronounced as voiceless stops, e.g. *wən* 'buy' > *wət-çiu* 'to buy for oneself'. The initial /k-/ is pronounced rather back; the palatal stops are often pronounced with slight affrication, and the voiceless affricates are often aspirated.

The Dulong vowels are /i, e, ə, a, ɔ, u, u/, and there are three diphthongs, /əi, ai, ui/, which only appear in open syllables. The syllable can be CV (*bà* 'thin'), CVC (*çəm* 'iron'), CVV (where 'VV' represents a diphthong; *pài* 'large bamboo basket'), CCV (where CC represents one of the consonant clusters listed above; *blā* 'picture', 'drawing'), or CCVC (*mlāŋ* 'dream').

The structure of syllables such as these also includes one of two tones, level (usually pronounced as high level or mid level, the latter especially on grammatical particles and less-stressed syllables; e.g. *dā* 'scarecrow') or falling (usually pronounced as high falling, e.g. *dà* 'gaze fixedly'), but the structure of many words is sesquisyllabic, where the first part of the word is an unstressed, toneless, CV syllable ('half-syllable'), e.g. *dəzī* 'a kind of pheasant'. This in effect makes for something like a three-tone contrast (and it was discussed as such in Sun 1982). This reduced tone also appears on grammatical particles such as the postpositions

TABLE 41.1 THE DULONG CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
voiceless stop	p	t		c	k	kw	ʔ
voiced stop	b	d		ɟ	g	gw	
voiceless affricate		ts		tʃ			
voiceless fricative		s		ç	x	xw	
voiced fricative		z		ʒ			
nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	ŋw	
			ɾ				
voiced lateral approximant		l		j			
	w						

and verbal suffixes. It is written here as a breve mark (ə̆). Stopped syllables only appear in one tone, generally a high short tone, and so tone marks are not given on stopped syllables. There is no regular tone sandhi, but there is a change of falling tone to level tone on verbs as a marker of first person and also when preceded by certain prefixes or followed by certain suffixes.

## 3 MORPHOSYNTAX

Words can be formed by prefixation, suffixation, or compounding. Word classes include nouns, defined by the ability to appear with a numeral classifier; verbs, defined by the ability to appear with negation and the person and tense marking; postpositions, which are enclitic to NPs, numerals, and classifiers. Adjectives are a subset of stative verbs for which reduplication means intensification or adverbialization rather than the perfective aspect (reduplication with nouns has a distributive meaning, 'every'). Adjectives can be used as predicates or can appear nominalized in a copula clause, e.g. *dəm gē* [full NOM + COP] '(It) is full'. Noun types include plain nouns, personal pronouns (Table 41.2), demonstrative pronouns (*ʃà* 'this', *ʃjà* 'that', *kə* 'that (remote)'); used as free pronouns and demonstrative adjectives), and interrogative pronouns (*təŋ(mā)* 'what'; *ənī* 'who', *kərwā* 'how', *kā* (*də*) 'where', *təkà* 'why', *kəpē* 'which'). The latter can also be used as indefinite pronouns, as can *ətsəŋ* 'person', as in *ətsəŋ mə-zəŋ-çiu* [person NEG-enter-R/M] 'Nobody came in'. There is an emphatic, but not reflexive, pronoun, *ədū*, that can be used to emphasize the agency of the actor (He did it HIMSELF). Many nouns are formed using the prefix *əŋ-* ~ *ək-*, e.g. *ək-saʔ* 'breath', 'steam', *əŋ-ʃəu* 'seed(s)'. Within the noun phrase, in addition to the head noun, there can be a demonstrative, genitive, or verbal/phrasal modifier, a classifier or a numeral plus classifier, and a plural (*rī* inanimate) or group (*maʔ* human; *rà* animate or inanimate) marker. A numeral plus classifier can occur either before or after the head, but a classifier used alone must follow the head, and be used in conjunction with the demonstrative, which precedes the head. Unlike in Rawang, where a noun

TABLE 41.2 THE DULONG PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	əgə	əʃjuŋnī	əʃjuŋ
2	nà	nūŋnī/nəʃjuŋ/nəʃnī	nəʃjuŋ
3	àŋ	əŋnī	əŋjuŋ

plus classifier construction without a demonstrative can be used when the referent is specific, in Dulong the demonstrative must be used. To use a classifier before the noun without a numeral, a special form I have called a 'numeral substitute' (*pē*) is used in place of the numeral. A genitive noun or pronoun simply precedes the head noun, and does not take any genitive marking, though there is a set of pronominal prefixes (*ǎ-/nǎ-/ǎŋ-*) for kinship and relational terms (e.g. *ǎkǎŋ* 'my master') derived from the free pronouns. A demonstrative can modify a noun alone, or a noun plus classifier combination. Adjectives can precede or follow the noun head, but when they precede, if there is no other modifier (e.g. a demonstrative), the adjective is generally nominalized by the prefix *ǎŋ-* ~ *ǎk-*. If the adjective follows the head, the prefix is optional. Compare *zǎjè* (*ǎk*)-*sār* and *ǎk-sār zǎjè* 'new book'. In many cases the adjective can be reduplicated as well, e.g. *mrǎŋmrǎŋ lūŋ* 'long stone'. Adjectives also frequently appear as pre-modifiers in the form of the relative clause construction, e.g. *tǎi tǎi zǎŋ gū kām* [very hard REL bamboo] 'very hard bamboo'. Following are some more noun phrase examples:

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| (1) a. <i>zǎjè ǎŋī pǎŋ</i><br>book two CL<br>'two books'                        | b. <i>ǎgǎ zǎjè rì</i><br>1sg book pl<br>'my books'                 |
| c. <i>ǎgǎ zǎjè cǎŋ pǎŋ</i><br>1sg book one CL<br>'one of my books'              | d. <i>ǎtsǎŋ tǎi cǎŋ jǎŋ</i><br>person big one CL<br>'a big person' |
| e. <i>kǎ tǎi zǎjè ǎsūm pǎŋ</i><br>that big book three CL<br>'those 3 big books' | f. <i>jǎ pē pǎŋ zǎjè</i><br>that NS CL book<br>'that book'         |

The noun phrase can be followed by a semantic-relation marking postposition to mark the referent as agentive, instrumental, adverbial (*tǎi*); anti-ergative (animate patient, recipient, benefactive), or allative (*lǎi*); locative or temporal (*dǎi*); terminative (*xrǎŋ*); or comitative (*mǎnǎŋ*). There is also a topic marker (*nū*) and a noun conjunction particle (*ŋī*). The agentive marking is not obligatory on transitives or ditransitives, but is often used when there is a specific identifiable patient referent, particularly if the direction of action is inverse (e.g. 3 > 1) and/or the action is completed. It is never used on intransitives. There is no evidence for the grammaticalization of grammatical relations such as 'subject' and 'direct object' or grammatical-relation-changing constructions such as passive and antipassive. Aside from the topic marker, all relational marking is semantic in nature.

Morphological marking that appears within the verb complex includes direction marking, person marking, inverse-marking, reflexive/middle marking, tense/aspect marking, valency-changing affixes, and negation.

Transitive verbs can be intransitivized by use of the intransitivizing prefix *ǎ-*, or by use of the reflexive/middle marking suffix *-ǎŋ*. The main function of the prefix *ǎ-* is intransitivization (e.g. *tǎl* 'roll', vt.; *ǎtǎl* 'roll', vi.), but if the single direct argument of the derived intransitive is a plural animate argument, then the meaning is reciprocal, as in (2a). There is also an optional reciprocal particle (*maŋ*?), possibly the same morpheme as the human group-marking noun suffix *maŋ*? that can be used after the verb in conjunction with the prefix. Reciprocals can be formed on causativized intransitives as well, and in this case will usually take the reciprocal particle and often an adverbial phrase meaning 'to each other' as well, as in (2b).

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| (2) a. <i>nǎŋī ŋǎ-ǎ-sǎt maŋ ǎŋ</i><br>2pl NF-RECIP-hit RECIP dl<br>'You two are arguing/fighting (with each other).' | b. <i>kǎlǎ jǎlǎ sǎ-zǎ maŋ</i><br>that.way that.way CAUS-hurt RECIP<br>'(They) are hurting each other.' |
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The reflexive/middle marker patterns something like the French reflexive pronouns, covering the semantics of both true reflexives (3a) and the middle voice (3b), but the marking is an invariant verbal suffix. The reflexive verb can take a patient noun if the noun is a body part, as in (3b), or something related to the actor, such as something the actor is buying for him/herself. There are a number of deponent forms, roots that take the reflexive/middle suffix for the 'unmarked' form, such as *ǎŋ-ǎŋ* 'laugh'. Removing the suffix would make the verb transitive 'laugh at someone'. There is a contrast in meaning between the two intransitivizers: the prefix gives a simple intransitive, such as *ǎtǎl* 'roll', with no specification of agentivity, whereas the suffix implies agentivity, as in *tǎl-ǎŋ* 'roll oneself' (with change of tone). It is also possible to use both affixes together, giving a stative sense, as in *ǎ-jǎŋ-ǎŋ* [PREF-look-R/M] 'be visible'. (See LaPolla 1995b for more detailed discussion.)

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| (3) a. <i>ǎŋ gǎŋm-ǎŋ</i><br>3sg hit.with.fist-R/M<br>'He is hitting himself with his fist.' | b. <i>ǎŋ mǎŋ tǎuŋ-ǎŋ</i><br>3sg face wash-R/M<br>'He is washing his face.' |
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Intransitive verbs can be made transitive or causative by the addition of the causative prefix *sǎ-* ~ *tǎ-*, e.g. *dǎt* 'broken (of string)', *sǎdǎt* 'to break (string)'; *ǎtǎuŋ* 'pinched', 'closed up', *tǎtǎuŋ* 'to pinch', 'close up' (see also (2b) and (4)). If the tone of the root is a falling tone, it becomes a level tone with the addition of the prefix, as in (4) (<*ǎi*).

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| (4) <i>ǎŋ tǎ ǎŋ lǎ sǎ-jǎ</i><br>3sg AGT 3sg DAT CAUS-go<br>'He made him go.' |
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Some verbs can also be made causative by simply lengthening the vowel (and changing to a level tone, if it was originally falling), e.g. *tūm* 'warm' (vi.), *tūm* 'warm' (vt.) (= *sǎ-tūm*).

An analytical causative/missive construction is formed using the verb (*sǎ*)-*zūŋ*, as in *ǎi sǎzūŋ* 'let/make (him) go', and in (5). Again a falling tone changes to a level tone when followed by the causative verb. This form of causation involves less direct causation than the causative prefix. There is also at least one form that shows a remnant of the PTB \*-*t* transitivizing suffix: *ŋū* 'cry' > *ŋut* 'mourn (cry for) a dead person'.

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| (5) <i>ǎŋ tǎ pūŋ lǎ wǎ sǎ-zūŋ</i><br>3sg AGT Pung DAT do CAUS-allow/make<br>'He made/allowed Pung do (it).' |
|---|

There is only one marker of negation, the verbal prefix *mǎ-*, pronounced *mā-* when the root already has a suffix, e.g. *mā-rǎnǎ* 'not rest' (with tone change).

A benefactive construction is formed using the verb *sənəŋ* 'help' or the benefactive auxiliary *ǝŋ* after the main verb (again with changed tone on main verb):

- (6) a. *àŋ ɕũŋ ǝgð tɛ̃ rī sənəŋ*  
3sg wood 1sg AGT carry help+1sg  
'I carry wood for him.' (lit. 'I help carry his wood.')
- b. *ǝgð tɛ̃ àŋ ɕũŋ rī ǝŋ*  
1sg agt 3sg wood carry BEN+1sg  
'I carry wood for him.'
- c. *àŋ gwā sā sǎ-təi ǝŋ*  
3sg wear NOM CAUS-big BEN  
'(S/he) makes it bigger for him/her to wear.' (lit. 'makes it big for his/her wearing')

In terms of the marking of illocutionary force, the declarative is unmarked. The imperative is marked by the prefix *pə-* (pronounced *pā-* when the verb already has a prefix): *pə-kəi* 'Eat!' The prohibitive takes the normal negative, but the main verb is followed by *əl* 'have': *mɛ-kəi əl* [NEG+NF-eat have] 'Don't eat (it)!' An indirect directive is marked by the prefix *laʔ-*, which is followed by the negative particle for indirect prohibitives: *laʔ-mə-wá* 'Don't let him do (it).' For the hortative the verb *gəl* 'want' is used: *kəi gəl* 'Let's eat!' (with tone change).

Polarity questions are generally formed using the postverbal question particles (*pū*) *à* (7a). Wh-questions have the interrogative pronoun *in situ*, and do not require a final particle (7b). Another type of polarity question is formed by juxtaposing positive and negative choices (i.e. an A-not-A question), as in (7c).

- (7) a. *nǎjuŋ ɲi-kəi jũŋ (gũ) guī ɛ̃ ǎ*  
2pl NF-eat plural NOM taro be Q  
'Is what you(pl) eat taros?'
- b. *ɲà sǎrā ǎnī gũ ɛ̃*  
this thing who NOM be  
'Whose is this thing?'
- c. *ɲi-kəi mɛ-kəi*  
NF-eat NEG+NF-eat  
'Do you want to eat or not?'

The verb in Dulong inflects for person, but only speech-act participants are marked, with first person marked for person and number, while second person is marked only for number. (The form of the first person singular marking depends on the final consonant of the root:  $\Sigma-\emptyset \rightarrow \Sigma-\eta$ ;  $\Sigma-\rho \rightarrow \Sigma-k$ ; other finals with falling tone  $\rightarrow$  level tone; first person dual:  $\Sigma-\zetaũi$  first person plural: short vowel  $\rightarrow$  long vowel. Second person dual:  $-\zetaũ$ ; second person plural:  $-jũŋ$ .) In either person, when the root takes a suffix or is changed to a long vowel, the root, if it has a falling tone, changes to level tone. Where the root vowel is  $-ə-$  and there is a  $-p$  or  $-t$  final, the vowel changes to  $-a-$  for all but first person singular. Aside from this, a prefix I call the NF (non-first person actor) prefix (*ɲə- ~ ɲa- ~ ɲi-*) marks situations where a speech-act participant is mentioned, but the speaker is not the actor (contrast (8a-b)). When the root takes the intransitivizing prefix, the NF prefix is pronounced *ɲa-* and either appears before the other prefix or incorporates the other prefix, e.g. *ɲa-ǎ-sət* and *ɲa-sət* 'hit yourself' are both possible. When it appears with consonant-initial prefixes, the NF prefix is simply

marked by a change of the vowel of the other prefix to  $-ɛ$ , as in (7c), above. The variant *ɲi-* appears as a sandhi form when followed by a syllable with a front vowel.

- (8) a. *ǝgð tɛ̃ àŋ lɛ̃ rũŋ*  
1sg AGT 3sg DAT carry+1sg  
'I carried him.'
- b. *àŋ tɛ̃ ǝgð lɛ̃ ɲǎ-rũŋ*  
1sg AGT 1sg DAT NF-carry+1sg  
'He carried me.'

In the case of two human interactants, particularly first and second person, person marking can be of either one, but usually when the agentive marking is used, the person marking is of the higher ranking participant (1 > 2 > 3).

The verbs for 'come' and 'go' have grammaticalized into direction markers, as in *lɔʔ-ɲi* [return-go] 'go back' and *lɔʔ-rà* [return-come] 'come back'. These and other direction-related verbs have grammaticalized into tense markers, *ɲi* (< *ɲi* 'to go') and *lũŋ* (< *lũŋ* 'to ascend'), both used for recent past actions. The difference between the two forms is an evidential distinction: the use of *lũŋ* after the verb implies the speaker did not see the action (9a-a'), whereas the use of *ɲi* implies the speaker did see the action (9b-b'). A guess is marked by adding *mɛl* after *lũŋ*. For a strong assertion, *mũu* is added after *ɲi*. For an action completed some time ago, possibly years ago, *buī* is used in place of *ɲi* or *lũŋ*. Inchoatives take the particle *pəŋ* after the verb or the adverb *tə̃sā* before the verb.

- (9) a. *àŋ tɛ̃ kà:i lũŋ*                      a' *àŋ ɲi lũŋ*  
3sg AGT eat PAST/EVID                      3sg go PAST/EVID  
'He has just eaten.' (I didn't see him eat.)                      'He just left.' (We didn't see him leave.)
- b. *àŋ tɛ̃ kà:i ɲi*                                      b' *àŋ ɲi àm ɲi*  
3sg AGT eat PAST/EVID                                      3sg go DIR PAST/EVID  
'He ate.' (I saw him eat.)                                      'He just left.' (possibly still can see him)

The particles *ɲi* and *lũŋ* are not used with first person actors; instead the adverb *zũur* 'already' can be used to mark a completed action, as in (10a). In asking someone about their past actions, *lũŋ* is used (10b).

- (10) a. *ǝgð ɲũŋ zũur*  
1sg go+1sg already  
'I went (and came back) already.'
- b. *ɲà ɲǎ-ɲi lũŋ ǎ*  
2sg NF-go ASP Q  
'Did you go?'

Another evidential distinction is made with the hearsay particle *tɕiwǎ*. This appears most frequently in traditional narrative texts.

- (11) *tɕāpǎɪtɕāpǎɪ nũ dǎgī kā guʔ sō tɕiwǎ*  
long.ago long.ago TOP dog words say know.how HEARSAY  
'(It is said) long ago dogs knew how to talk.'

The word order in the clause is verb final, while the NPs are ordered with the more topical elements being earlier in the clause; the immediate preverbal position is the unmarked focus position (the unmarked position for introducing 'new' referents/information). Adverbial elements usually appear in preverbal position (12a-b), but they can follow the

verb (12c), with some difference in meaning. Some adverbs always follow the verb, such as *mət̚l* in (13), below, while others always precede the verb, e.g. *lɛlǎ* in *lɛlǎ mrəŋ* 'very long/tall'. Preverbal adverbial phrases that are not reduplicated adjectives or adverbs usually take the adverb marker *wā* (12a) or sometimes *gū* (12e). A resultative complement also comes before the main verb, marked by the terminative postposition *xɛɿʔ* 'until', as in (12e).

- (12) a. *àŋ blakpəi wā àŋzā kəi*  
3sg monkey ADV food eat  
'He eats like a monkey.'
- b. *məd̚s əbrà-brà ʃi*  
car/truck fast-REDUP go  
'The car is going quickly.'
- c. *məd̚s ʃi əbrà*  
car/truck go fast  
'The car goes (can go) quickly.'
- d. *nit-būm mə-gəl gū əmrā wà lɛ ʃi tɕiwǎ*  
mind-many NEG-need ADV field work DAT go HEARSAY  
'(The parents) could go to work the field without having to worry (about the child).'
- e. *'əpè əmə' guʔ sɔ̄ xɛɿʔ ɔ: ʃi tɕiwǎ*  
daddy mummy say able.to ADV do go HEARSAY  
'(It) did this until (the baby) could say "mummy and daddy".'

The comparative construction has the word order Topic-Standard-Marker-Verb, where the marker is the word for 'above' plus the locative marker. The verb (adjective) can be in the plain form or reduplicated and followed by an adverb used only in the comparative construction.

- (13) *əgɔ̄ nà mədəm dɔ̄ mrəŋ (mrəŋ mət̚l)*  
1sg 2sg above LOC long/tall REDUP very much  
'I am (much) taller than you.'

There is only one verb of possession/existence, and the possessive construction patterns as a simple transitive clause; the possessor does not take any relational marking:

- (14) *əjūŋ cɛ tsūl ʃɔʔ ləmbɾɔʔ əl*  
1pl one ten CL friend have  
'We have ten friends.'

A cleft construction can be used for narrow focus on a particular NP, either in questions (15a) or statements (15b):

- (15) a. *àŋ ʃi gū ɛ*  
3sg go NOM be+Q  
'Did he go?'
- b. *pūŋ cīn tɛ sət̚t gɛ (<gūɛ)*  
Pung Cin AGT hit NOM+be  
'It was Cin who hit Pung.'

Clefts are also used for achieving the sense of a root modal:

- (16) *əgɔ̄ sələp-ɕū sā gɛ*  
1sg teach-R/M NOM NOM+be  
'I ought to study.'

Subordinators include clause-final *bɛ* 'if', 'when', *mənəŋ* 'because', 'when' (<'follow'), *sənənəŋ* 'because of (in order to)'. Some of the nominal postpositions are used as clausal subordinators as well, e.g. *lɛ* (allative/dative) is used for purpose clauses, e.g. *kəi lɛ ʃi* 'go to eat'. Non-quote complement clauses do not require a nominalizer or complementizer (17a–b), but quoted complements take the complementizer *wā* (< *wā* 'say') (17c).

- (17) a. *əgɔ̄ àŋ ɔʔ ʃi nit*  
1sg 3sg return go remember  
'I remember that he went back.'
- b. *àŋ ʃi bɛ ɔgɔ̄ kuʔ ʃūŋ diu ɛ*  
3sg go if 1sg also go+1sg might COP  
'If he comes, I might go.'
- c. *àŋ əgɔ̄ məziʔməliʔ la-ʃi wā guʔ*  
3sg 1sg must have.to-go COMP say  
'He says I must go.'

Predication of actions or attributes that occur at the same time are represented in a serial verb construction with *zɪn* optionally appearing between the two verbs:

- (18) a. *mənzū wà zɪn zəŋ-ɕū*  
song do LNK enter-R/M  
'He entered singing.'
- b. *mrəŋ zɪn pəɕūŋ gū ʃɔʔ*  
long LNK blue/green NOM cloth  
'long blue cloth'

Nominalization to mark a location where an action occurs or a thing that is involved in an action is by the particle *sā*, e.g. *ʃip sā* 'sleeping place', *gwā sā* 'clothing', *kəi sā* 'the thing which can be eaten/food'. Relative clauses, which appear before the head noun, are generally nominalized by the particle *gū*. In some lexicalized expressions involving relative clauses, no nominalizer is used, e.g. *mənzū wà ətsəŋ* [song do person] 'professional singer'. Relativization can be of the patient (19a), the agent (19b), the recipient (19c), or just about any role. In some cases, the noun head can be omitted (19d). There are no relative pronouns in Dulong.

- (19) a. *àŋ tɛ làŋ gū ɕūŋwət*  
3sg AGT bring NOM flower  
'the flower(s) he brought'
- b. *ɕūŋwət làŋ gū ətsəŋ*  
flower bring NOM person  
'the person who brought the flower(s)'
- c. *àŋ lɛ ɕūŋwət làŋ gū ətsəŋ*  
3sg DAT flower bring NOM person  
'the person I brought flower(s) for'
- d. *zəʃɛ brī sā ɔ̄ gū (sərà)*  
book write NOM do NOM thing  
'the thing I use to write books'
- e. *ì tɛ ɔ̄ tsəri*  
hemp INST use string  
'a string made of hemp'

Reduplication of the verb has something of a perfective sense, and is used to mark the doing (completion) of an action in preparation for another in non-final clauses of a clause chain.

In procedural texts, this form is used in a pattern with *v-tōn mǎnāŋ* '[v finish follow] 'having finished v-ing' or 'after v-ing' where one or more clauses with reduplicated verbs will lead up to the doing of some act, and then *v-tōn mǎnāŋ* will lead into the next series of actions, as in the following segment of an explanation of how to make a crossbow (see LaPolla, 2001, for more examples):

(20) *tānā ākplāŋ zū tōn mǎnāŋ,*  
crossbow body make finish afterwards  
'After finishing the body part of the crossbow',

*cēlāī ɔŋ tǎlī wā rǎmū-mū*  
one side LOC bow ADV draw-REDUP  
on one side, (I) draw the shape of a bow,

*dəkçī tē puk.*  
small.knife INST bore.small.hole + 1sg  
(and then) use a small knife to bore a small hole.

*puʔ tōn mǎnāŋ, nātsēnātsē tǎlī zāŋ.*  
bore.small.hole finish after slowly bow fit.into + 1sg  
'After having bored a small hole, (I) slowly fit the bow into the hole.'

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## CHAPTER FORTY-TWO

# KHAM

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Kham, in all its varieties, is spoken in the upper valleys of the Rukum, Rolpa, and Baglung Districts of West Central Nepal by some forty or fifty thousand people. The majority of Kham speakers are Budhas, Puns, Ghartis, and Rokhas – all classified ethnographically as subtribes or clans of the Magar tribe. Geographically, the four Kham speaking subtribes are cut off from the rest of the Magar population by more than a week's walk over rugged, mountainous terrain. Though a comparison of basic vocabulary reveals no more of a special relationship between Kham and Magar than it does between Kham and other Himalayan languages, a careful examination of more innovative vocabulary makes it apparent that Magar is indeed Kham's closest relative.

Kham is known to Nepalis of the region as 'Khamkura', which, roughly translated, means *Kham-talk* or *Kham-speech*. The word *Kham* itself is of unsure origins and means simply 'language' in its broad sense, and '*The Language*' in its strict sense. In West Central Nepal, where the Kham dialects are spoken, the Nepali use of the word *Kham* or *Khamkura* has the more generalized meaning of a local, non-Nepali dialect. Consequently, at least two other languages in the region, Chantyal (see Noonan, Chapter 20 this volume) and Kaike, have received the Nepali appellation *Khamkura*, though neither of them is directly related to the Kham described here.

### 1.1 Kham dialects

Though no extensive survey of Kham has been conducted to date, the general picture emerging from my own fieldwork is that Kham is separated linguistically into three major dialect groupings – Sheshi, Gamale, and Parbate (see Figure 42.1). Typological differences between the three are fairly pronounced, especially in the area of verb morphology, resulting in severe intelligibility restrictions between them. Parbate, the largest group, can be further subdivided into Eastern and Western Parbate, and though intelligibility across the two sub-branches is still fairly low, it is sufficiently high that speakers do not generally resort to secondary languages for communication. Figure 42.1 shows the three major branches of Kham (plus the lower level split in Parbate), along with the names of eleven dialects at the terminal nodes.

The dialect names at the terminal nodes are, broadly speaking, the names of regional dialects composed of several, more specific, village dialects. In a narrower sense, they are the names of specific village dialects. Thus, for example, Takale is both a village dialect, spoken in Taka village, and a regional dialect composed of several village dialects spoken in the same river valley (see Figure 42.2). Regional dialects dominated by the same mother node are all