CHAPTER FORTY-ONE

DULONG

Randy J. LaPolla

1 INTRODUCTION

Dulong [t̪uːʂʰuŋ] 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. 5,816 according to the 1990 census), or to one part (roughly 6,000 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 (Qi) river, and the Dulong people were known as the Kiu (Qi), Kiutez (Qiuzi), Kiups, 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 Nuijiang. 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 and influences on 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 Jinhpaw, 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 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 $/p, t, k, n, m, r, l/$ occur in final position. As $l-w/-l$ only appears after vowel 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. $\text{wun} ‘buy’ > \text{wot-plu} ‘to buy for oneself’. The initial $l-k/-l$ is pronounced rather back; the palatal stops are often pronounced with slight affrication, and the voiceless affricates are often aspirated.

The Dulong vowels are $/i, e, a, a, u, u, æ, æ/$, and there are three diphthongs, $/oi, ui, uæ/$, which only appear in open syllables. The syllable can be CV (bâ ‘thin’), CVV (sâm ‘iron’), CVVV (where ‘VV’ represents a diphthong; pâl ‘large bamboo basket’), CCCV (where CC represents one of the consonant clusters listed above; blâ ‘picture’, ‘drawing’), or CCCVC (mlâg ‘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. $\text{dá} ‘scarcecrow’$) or falling (usually pronounced as high falling, e.g. $\text{dá} ‘gaze fixedly’$), 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. $\text{dáì} ‘a kind of phessa’$). 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 and verbal suffixes. It is written here as a breve mark (ˇ). 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. $\text{dêm gê} [\text{full NOM} + \text{COR}] ‘(It) is full’. Noun types include plain nouns, personal pronouns (Table 41.2), demonstrative pronouns ($\text{jâ} ‘this’, $\text{jâ} ‘that’, $\text{kê} ‘that remote’; used as free pronouns and demonstrative adjectives), and interrogative pronouns ($\text{tîpînâ} ‘what’; $\text{ntû ‘who’, kûrwâ ‘how’, kà ‘(ds) ‘where’, tukà ‘why’, kàpes ‘which’}$). The latter can also be used as indefinite pronouns, as can $\text{tisgô ‘person’}$, as in $\text{tisgô mû-zhug-plu} [\text{person NEG-enter-X} ‘Nobody came in’]. There is an emphatic, but not reflexive, pronoun, $\text{ovlû}$, that can be used to emphasize the agency of the actor (He did it HIMSELF).

Many nouns are formed using the prefix $\text{bê} – \text{gê}$, e.g. $\text{bê-sê ‘breath’, sê ‘steam’, bê-gês ‘seed(s)’}$.

Within the noun phrase, in addition to the head noun, there can be a demonstrative, genitive, or verbal/ prasal modifier, a classifier or a numeral plus classifier, and a plural (ři inanimate or group (nû? human; řô 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

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<th>TABLE 41.1 THE DULONG CONSONANTS</th>
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<td>approximant</td>
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<th>TABLE 41.2 THE DULONG PERSONAL PRONOUNS</th>
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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 'nominal substitute' (pE) 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 (s-ha/-d-p-) for kinship and relational terms (e.g. skag '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 normalized by the prefix st- or sk-. If the adjective follows the head, the prefix is optional. Compare zhyata (ska)-sor and ska-sor zhyata 'new book'. In many cases the adjective can be reduplicated as well, e.g. mdag mdag la ng long stone'. Adjectives also frequently appear as pre-modifiers in the form of the relative clause construction, e.g. toi ti zed gnu la m [very hard REL bamboo] 'very hard bamboo'. Following are some more noun phrase examples:

(1) a. zhyata stma ptya
book two CL
'two books'
b. stgya zhyata ri
1sg book pl
'my books'
c. stgya zhyata ceb ptya
1sg book one CL
'one of my books'
d. stbya teta ce rta
person big one CL
'a big person'
e. stgya teti zhyata stlam ptya
that book three CL
'those 3 big books'
f. stbya stma ptya zhyata
that NS CL book
'that book'

The noun phrase can be followed by a semantic-relations marking postposition to mark the referent as agentive, instrumental, adverbal (tE); anti-ergative (animate patient, recipient, benefactive), or allative (lE); locative or temporal (dE); terminative (sraE); or comitative (mnaE). There is also a topic marker (tE) and a noun conjunction particle (pE). The agentive marking is not obligatory on transitive or ditransitive, 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-relating-changing constructions such as passive and antipassive. Aside from the topic marker, all relational marking is semantic in nature.

Morphological patterns that appear 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 intrasitized by use of the intrasitivizing prefix s-, or by use of the reflexive/middle marking suffix -stu. The main function of the prefix s- is intrasitivization (e.g. tsh 'roll', vt.; shol 'roll', vi.), but if the single direct argument of the derived intrasitive is a plural animate argument, then the meaning is reciprocal, as in (2a). There is also an optional reciprocal particle (ma?) possibly the same morpheme as the human group-marking noun suffix ma?) 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).

(2) a. stma ma? -stu ma? 3sg DAT caus-allow/make
3sg Pung DAT do CAUS-allow/make
'He made/allowed Pung do (it)'

There is only one marker of negation, the verbal prefix m-, pronounced ma- when the root already has a suffix, e.g. ma-rna, 'not rest' (with tone change).
A benefactive construction is formed using the verb snying 'help' or the benefactive auxiliary 5p after the main verb (again with changed tone on main verb):

(6) a. 6g gug 6g tê ri 6snying
    3sg wood 1sg AGT carry help + 1sg
    'I carry wood for him.' (lit. 'I help carry his wood.')

b. 6g tê 6g gug ri 5p
    1sg AGT 3sg wood carry BEN + 1sg
    'I carry wood for him.'

c. 6g gwa sê sê-tê 5p
    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 pâ- (pronounced pâ- when the verb already has a prefix): pâ-kâi 'Eat!' The prohibitive takes the normal negative, but the main verb is followed by lâl 'have':

c-me-kâi lâl [NEG + NF-eat have] 'Don't eat it!' An indirect directive is marked by the imperative prefix la?- which is followed by the negative particle for indirect prohibits: la?-mâ-wâ 'Don't let him do it.' For the hortative the verb gûl 'want' is used: kât gûl 'Let's eat!' (with tone change).

Polarity questions are generally formed using the postverbal question particles (ph) 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. nûjûg jû-kâi jûg (gûl) gui ê à
    2pl NF-eat plural NOM târ be Q
    'Is what you(pl) eat târ?'

b. jû sûrê ûnê gûl, ê
    this thing who NOM be
    'Whose is this thing?'

c. jû-kâi me-e-kâi
    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: S-ô -> S-ô; S-ô -> S-ô; other finals with falling tone to level tone; first person dual: S-gûl, first person plural: jûgû.) 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 -a- and there is a -p or -r 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 (na- / na-/ ni-) marks situations where a speech-act participant is mentioned, but the speaker is not the actor (contrast (8a-b)). When the root takes the introstivizing prefix, the NF prefix is prefixed na- and either appears before the other prefix or incorporates the other prefix, e.g. jûa-5-sêt and na-sêt '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 -e, as in (7c), above. The variant ni- appears as a sandhi form when followed by a syllable with a front vowel.

(8) a. 6g tê 6g lê rûg
    1sg AGT 3sg DAT carry + 1sg
    'I carried him.'

b. 6g tê 6g lê nû-s-rûg
    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 lo?p-ji [return-go] 'go back' and lô?râ-lo [return-come] 'come back'. These and other direction-related verbs have grammaticalized into tense markers, ñf- (< ñl 'to go') and lûl (< lûl 'to ascend'), both used for recent past actions. The difference between the two forms is an evidential distinction: the use of lûl after the verb implies the speaker did not see the action (9a–b, whereas the use of ñf implies the speaker did see the action (9b–c). A guess is marked by adding mîl after lûl. For a strong assertion, mû is added after ñf. For an action completed some time ago, possibly years ago, bûl is used in place of ñf or lûl. Inchoatives take the particle phô after the verb or the adverb tisê before the verb.

(9) a. 6g tê kô-i lûl sê 6g ñf lûl
    3sg AGT eat PAST/EVID 3sg go PAST/EVID
    'He has just eaten.' (I didn’t see him eat.)

b. 6g tê kô-i ñf bê 6g ñf ìm ñf
    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 ñf and lûl are not used with first person actors; instead the adverb jûl 'already' can be used to mark a completed action, as in (10a). In asking someone about their past actions, lûl is used (10b).

(10) a. 6g-ûl jûg jûl
    1sg go + 1sg already
    'I went (and came back) already.'

b. nû ñð-jûl lûl ê
    2sg NF-go ASP Q
    'Did you go?'

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

(11) lûl làl lûl làl nû dûl kû gûl sê sê têl lûl
    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 mēṭōl in (13), below, while others always precede the verb, e.g. lēlā in lēlā mēṭōp *very long/tall*. Preverbal adverbial phrases that are not reduplicated adjectives or adverbs usually take the adverb marker wī (12a) or sometimes gū (12e). A resultative complement also comes before the main verb, marked by the terminative postposition xre? *until*, as in (12e).

(12) a. dāp ḍlak-pi wā mārā kū
3sg monkey ADV food eat
*He eats like a monkey.*

b. mādō ḍbrā-ṛā ji
can/truck fast-REDUP go
*The car is going quickly.*

c. mādō ji ḍbrā
car/truck go fast
*The car goes (can go) quickly.*

d. nī-ḥi mā-ṛā gū mṛā wā lē ji tiwā
mind-many NEG-need ADV field work DAT go HEARSAY
*(The parents) could go to work (without having to worry) about the child.*

e. ṣēk sām b’ gū sō xre? ō ji tiwā
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) dāg nā mādōm dō mēṛ (mēṛ mēṛ) 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) ḍjāg cē tśul jɔ? lāmbrā? ņl
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. dāg ji gū b’
3sg go NOM be +Q
*Did he go?*

b. ṭūn cin tē sāt gē (<gūb’)
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) ḍāg sāl-p gū sā gē
1sg teach-R/M NOM NOM+be
*I ought to study.*

Subordinators include clause-final bē ‘if’, ‘when’, mēnāp ‘because’, ‘when’ (*<follow>*, sāmāp ‘because of (in order to)’. Some of the nominal postpositions are used as clausal subordinators as well, e.g. lē (allative/dative) is used for purpose clauses, e.g. kū lē ji ‘go to eat’. Non-quotative complement clauses do not require a nominalizer or complementizer (17a–b), but quoted complements take the copomizer wī (*<wī ‘say’>*) (17c).

(17) a. dāg dāg lāp ji nīt
1sg 3sg return go remember
*I remember that he went back.*

b. dāg ji be ṭūn b’ jūg dū ē
3sg go if 1sg also go 1sg might COP
*If he comes, I might go.*

c. dāg ḍāg mā ḍhām jī tē lā-ji wī gū?
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 zīn optionally appearing between the two verbs:

(18) a. māngū wā zīn ḍvā-gā
song do LNK enter-R/M
*He entered singing.*

b. māngū zīn ḍvā-gā gū jɔ?
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 sē, e.g. jip sē ‘sleeping place’, gwa sē ‘clothing’, kī sē ‘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. māngū wā ḍvā-gā [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 Dolong.

(19) a. dāg ḍāg lāp gū ḍvā-gā
3sg AGT bring NOM flower
*the flower(s) he brought*

b. ḍvā-gā lāp gū ḍvā-gā
flower bring NOM person
*the person who brought the flower(s)*

c. dāg ḍāg ḍvā-gā lāp gū ḍvā-gā
3sg DAT flower bring NOM person
*the person I brought flower(s) for*

d. ḍzāk britis sā ḍā gū (sān)
book write NOM do NOM thing
*the thing I use to write books*

e. ḍā ḍā ḍā ḍā ḍā ḍā gū ḍvā-gā
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-tén m$näg '[v finish follow] ‘having finished Ving’ or ‘after Ving’ where one or more clauses with reduplicated verbs will lead up to the doing of some act, and then v-tén m$näg 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) tãna ak$päg zu tön m$näg,
crossbow body make finish afterwards
‘After finishing the body part of the crossbow’,
sõl$ w$ t$ll wä r$m$uai
one side LOC bow ADV draw-redup
on one side, (I) draw the shape of a bow,
dakä a$ pak.
small.knife INST bore.small.hole+1sg
and (then) use a small knife to bore a small hole.
pu? tön m$näg, nät$näk t$ll z$t$g.
bore.small.hole finish after slowly bow fit.into+1sg
‘After having bored a small hole, (I) slowly fit the bow into the hole.’

REFERENCES
Dai, Qingxia, Huang, Bufan, Pu, Allan, Renzengwangmu and Liu, Juahun (1991) Zông-MÝnäg xìjìngwù (Fifteen Tibeto-Burman languages), Beijing: Yanshan Chubanhe (includes chapter on Dulong).

CHAPTER FORTY-TWO
KHAM
David E. Watters

1 INTRODUCTION
Khamb, 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, Gharits, and Rochhas— 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 Kaishe 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