A web of relations : a grammar of rGyalrong Jiǎomùzú (Kyom-kyo) dialects

Prins, M.C.

A Web of Relations

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit van Leiden

op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Prof. Mr. P.F. van der Heijden,

volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties

te verdedigen op dinsdag 29 november 2011

klokke 16.15 uur

door

Maria Clazina Prins

geboren in Doornspijk

in 1960

Promotiecommissie:

Promotor: Prof. Dr. F.H.H. Kortlandt

Overige leden: Prof. Dr. W.F.H. Adelaar
                   Dr. K. Chirkova (CNRS Parijs)
                   Prof. Dr. B. Comrie (MPI Leipzig en UC Santa Barbara)
                   Dr. L. Kulikov
                   Prof. Dr. M. Mous

A Web of Relations

A grammar of rGyalrong Jiǎomùzú (Kyom-kyo) dialects

Marielle Prins

September 2011

CONTENTS

4

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
num /num	a slash between two numbers, e.g. 1/2 indicates the relationship between a subject and object of the respective numbers. It is in linguistic papers more conventional to signal such relationships with other symbols such as arrows, e.g. 1→ 2 or 1 > 2. But because in the Jiǎomùzú dialects many prefixes tend to jostle for space in front of a verb root I have chosen the shorter notation with the slash.
1/2	the transitive relation between a first person subject and second person object
1/3	the transitive relation between a first person subject and a third person object
2/1	the transitive relation between a second person subject and a first person object
2/3	the transitive relation between a second person subject and a third person object
3/1	the transitive relation between a third person subject and a first person object
3/2	the transitive relation between a third person subject and a second person object
3/3	the transitive relation between a third person subject and a third person object
AZ/BY	a slash between two abbreviations in small capitals indicates a merging of two markers, e.g. PFT/AF signals the merger of a perfective marker and attention flow marker *no-*
gloss$_1$	a small number subscribed to the gloss of a verb indicates the root of an irregular verb, as in: /leʔt/ hit$_1$ and /laʔt/ hit$_2$
…¤	this symbol after a word indicates a loanword from Chinese, as in: bawbaw¤
*	an asterisk followed by a space before a word or sentence indicates ungrammaticality, as in * mamətop
?	a question mark followed by a space before a word or sentence indicates doubt about the grammaticality of the construction, as in ? tamar kəsam
-	a hyphen indicates a morpheme boundary in the phonemic transcription.
.	a. in the phonology chapter, a full stop indicates a syllable boundary as in: ka.pə.lor.lor
	b. in glosses throughout the study a full stop connects entities that correspond to the same morpheme in the transcription, as in: go.down
ˈ	a. a stress mark in phonetic transcriptions indicates primary stress, as in [tə̣ˈskrɥʔ]
	b. a stress mark in phonemic transcription indicates grammatically contrastive stress, as in /ˈkə-vi-ŋ/
[ ]	a. phonetical transcription, as in: [tə̣ˈskrɥʔ]
	b. square brackets indicate the extent of a constituent, as in: [təza w-apa]

	c. in glosses square brackets can indicate implied or non-overt arguments or information, as in: that [demon] went and ate lots of people
/ /	phonemic transcription, as in /tə-skruʔ/
italics	a. italics in glosses and free translations of examples indicate transliterated data, as in: *como*
	b. italics in the main body of the text indicate rGyalrong language data, as in: …the verb *kaleʔt*, 'hit'…..
	c. italics also occur for translations of Chinese and Tibetan words, as in: statue or image of a deity; deity; lit. Tibetan: ལྷ *lha*
A	aspect
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ADVLS	adverbialiser
AF	attention flow marker
AG	agent
AP	applicative
ASP	aspect marker
C	contrast marker
CAUS	causativity marker
be:CD	be, condescending
CL	classifier
COMP	comparative
CON	conjunction
COND	real conditional
d	dual
D	distal marker
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive marker
DIR	direction marker
DUR	durative time
e	exclusive
EMP	emphatic
EQ	equalitative
EREFL	emphatic reflexivity marker
EV	evidentiality marker for reliability based on conventional wisdom or generally accepted truth
EXH	exhortatory marker
EXP	expressive
FIL	filler word
FL	female
FPFT	future perfective aspect; past-in-the-future relative tense

GEN	genitive marker. The Jiǎomùzú dialects make extensive use of genitive constructions. These constructions consist of a possessor followed by the possessed, which is marked as the head of the construction by a genitive marker. In many cases the possessor does not occur overtly in the phrase or clause. But the genitive marker on the head of the genitive construction is obligatory and is a clear indication of a genitive construction even if one of the elements of the construction is covert.
GENR	generic personal pronoun
HEAD	head of an argument
HON	honorific
HUM	human, as opposed to all other objects, whether animate or inanimate
i	inclusive
IDEF	indefiniteness marker
IMP	imperative
IMPS	impersonalising marker
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative pronoun
INTJ	interjection
INTR	interrogative marker on the level of the sentence
IRR	irrealis
INV	inverse
LOC	locative marker
M	mood
MD	mood marker, illocutionary force marker
MD:SA	mood: solicit hearer's agreement
MD:RA	mood: re-affirm previously known knowledge or fact
MD:R	mood: remind, warn
MD:G	mood: guess
MD:C	mood: certainty
MD:ANX	mood: anxiousness, eagerness
MD:AS	mood: speaker assertion of rightness ('I told you so')
MD:CF	mood: confirmation of statement, reassure hearer
MD:EXP	mood: reasoned expectancy
MD:SUP	mood: surprise
ML	male
N	nominal prefix
NEG	negation marker
NEV	non-direct evidentiality marker
NM	noun marker
NOM	nominaliser
NUM	numeral

O	object
OBS	observation marker
OR	orientation marker
p	plural
PAS	passive
PR	prominence marker
PT	patient
PFT	perfective aspect marker
POSS	possessive marker
PRIMP	present imperfective aspect marker
PROH	prohibitive (negative imperative) marker
PROS	prospective aspect marker
PSTIMP	past imperfective aspect marker
PSTPROG	past progressive aspect marker
Q	question marker on the level of the verb phrase
REFL	reflexivity marker
REC	reciprocity marker
RED	reduplication
s	singular
S	subject
SP	superlative
T	tense
TER	terminative aspect
V	verb
VC	voice
vi	intransitive verb
VPT	viewpoint marker
vt	transitive verb
VP	verb phrase

In the phonology, examples in section 2.2 on phonemes are all presented in word form, without indication of morpheme or syllable boundaries: [t̪əˈskrʉʔ], /təskruʔ/. All other examples have hyphens between morphemes and dots between syllables, if the syllable break does not coincide with morpheme break, as in /kʰ-o.roʔk/ or if clarity improves by indicating syllables. In the rest of the chapters all the transcriptions are phonemic and occur without slashes. Hyphens indicate morpheme breaks, while syllable boundaries are not indicated in the transcriptions, as in: ta-miʔ.

When there are two morpheme breaks within one syllable only the one grammatically significant is marked. Such cases are numerous especially in genitive forms of nouns. The phonemic transcription for 'body', consisting of a noun marker *tə-* and a nominal root *skruʔ* is therefore tə-skruʔ. The genitive form 'his body' occurs as w-əskruʔ, with the third person genitive morpheme *w-* connected to the noun with a hyphen, and the morpheme cum syllable break after the noun marker left

unmarked. In the same manner, 'tail' is transcribed ta-miʔ for the generic form. The genitive has w-amiʔ but not w-a-miʔ.

Transcriptions of data in the body of the text rather than in the examples are in italics and do not indicate morpheme or syllable boundaries, as in: ….however, the verb phrase *marəmɲoŋ*, 'I have not experienced' ….

Some Tibetan terms that are familiar to western audiences or have entered the lexicon are given in a current transcription of the original Tibetan spelling, such as 'rGyalrong' and 'yak'. All other terms are transcribed according to the conventions set out here.

For ease of reference to other resource materials, especially maps, all geographical terms, administrative and political designations and personal names are in Chinese pinyin marked for tone in the body of the text, as in: Zhuōkèjī. Chinese simplified characters, the literary Tibetan form and a Wylie transcription, where available, appear in a footnote on first occurrence. The place name Zhuōkèjī thus occurs with a footnote showing: 桌克基, ཙོག་ཙེ Cog-tse. Wylie transcriptions of Tibetan names have a hyphen between syllables and a space between words, as in: Cog-tse, bKra-shis Tshe-ring. Following international custom, Chinese names of scholars from the People's Republic of China (PRC) have tone marks whereas those hailing from other places are referred to without tone marks, e.g. Jackson Sun and Sūn Hóngkāi. Authors who publish in several languages under different names are referred to by the name used in their publication. Thus for Guillaume Jacques who publishes in Chinese as well as English: Jacques 2010 but Xiàng 2008.

For the spelling of place names I follow the *Dìmínglù*[1] for both Chinese and Tibetan. Tibetan spelling of place names is famously haphazard. If there is a widely used variant on the spelling as used in the *Dìmínglù* I give the variant in a footnote. Some place names have changed entirely over the years and are no longer compatible with names as found in older literature. In these cases the body of the text gives the name as it occurs in the source material within the footnote the reference to the source and the contemporary place name for the location. In keeping with contemporary use of Chinese administrative terms I use *xiāng* (乡, གྲོང་ shang) for 'township', *xiàn* (县, གཤན shan) for 'county' and *zhōu* (州, ཁུལ khul) for 'prefecture'. I have added a list of all place names in Chinese pinyin, Chinese simplified characters, literary Tibetan and Wylie transcription here, for ease of reference.

Proper names are phonetic in transcriptions of examples, with Wylie transcriptions of literary Tibetan or pinyin for Chinese in glosses. The phonetic transcription [pkraʃis tsʰeraŋ] is thus glossed as *bKra.shis Tshe.ring* and found in the translation as *bKra-shis Tshe-ring*.

---

[1] *Sìchuānshěng Ābà Zàngzú zìzhìzhōu dìmínglù* (*四川省阿坝藏族自治州地名录* [Record of placenames for Ābà Tibetan Prefecture]).

_____

Chinese pinyin	Chinese, characters	Tibetan	Wylie transcription
Ābà	阿坝	�rྔ་བ	rNga-ba
Ānduō	安多	ཨ་མདོ	A-mdo
Bādǐ	巴底	བྲག་སྟེང་	Brag-steng
Báiwān	白湾	བྲག་བར	Brag-bar
Bànshànmén	半扇门		
Baǒxìng	宝兴		
Běijīng	北京		
Běnzhēn	本真	པིན་ཅིན	Pin-cin
Cǎodēng	草登	ཚོ་བཞི	Tsho-bzhi
Chábǎo	茶堡	ཇ་ཕུག	Ja-phug
Chéngdū	成都		
Dàwā	大哇	ད་བད	Da-bad
Dàzàng	大藏	ད་ཚང་	Da-tshang
Dānbā	丹巴	རོང་བྲག	Rong-brag
Dǎngbà	党坝	དམ་པ	Dam-pa
Gānzī	甘孜	དཀར་མཛེས	dKar-mDzes
Gēlètuó	歌乐沱	གོ་ལ་ཐང་	Go-la-thang
Hànniú	汗牛	ཧ་ཉི	Ha-nyi
Hēishuǐ	黑水	ཁྲོ་ཆུ	Khro-chu
Hóngyuán	红原	ཧོང་ཡོན	Hong-yon
Jiǎomùzú	脚木足	ཀྱོམ་ཀྱོ	Kyom-kyo
Jiǎomùzú Mùchǎng	脚木足牧场	ཀྱོམ་ཀྱོ་རྩྭ་ཐང་	Kyom-kyo rtswa-thang
Jiāróng	嘉戎, 嘉绒	རྒྱལ་རོང་	rGyal-rong
Jīnchuān	金川	ཆུ་ཆེན	Chu-chen
Kāng	康	ཁམས	Kham
Kāngshān	康山	སྟོད་པ	sTod-pa

13

Kēhé	柯河	བོག་པོ	Khog-po
Kǒnglóng	孔龙	མཁོ་ནོ	mKho-no
Kuǎshā	垮沙	མཁར་གསར	mKar-gsar
Kūnmíng	昆明		
Lǐ	里	ལིས	Lis
Lóngěrjiǎ	龙尔甲	གདོང་བརྒྱད	gDong-rgyad
Lúhuāzhèng	芦花镇	རྡོ་ཁ་ཀྲེན	rDo-kha-kren
Mǎěrkāng	马尔康	འབར་ཁམས	'Bar-khams
		མག་སར	Mag-sar
Mǐyàluó	米亚罗	མྱག་ལོ	Myag-lo
Mòěrduō	墨尔多	དམུ་རྡོ	dMu-rdo
Mùěrzōng	木尔宗	འབྲག་རྫོང	'Brag-rdzong
Mùlǐ	木里	མི་ལི	Mi-li
Pàěrbā	帕尔巴	ཕར་པ	Phar-pa
Púzhì	蒲志	པོ་གྲི	Pho-gri
Rǎngtáng	壤塘	འཛམ་ཐང	'Dzam-thang
Rìbù	日部	རྫོང་འབུར	rDzong-'bur
Róngān	茸安	རོང་ཝམ	Rong-wam
Ruòěrgài	若尔盖	མཛོད་དགེ	mDzod-dge
Sānjiāzhài	三家寨		
Sèdá	色达	གསེར་ཐར	gSer-thar
Shāěr	沙尔	གསར་རྫོང	gSar-rdzong
Shāshíduō	沙石多	ས་སྟོད	Sa-stod
Shàngzhài	上寨	སྟོད་སྡེ	sTod-sde
Shíjiāng	石江	ལྕགས་འཛེར	lCags-'ndzer
Shílǐ	石里	སི་ལི	Si-li
Sìchuān	四川	སི་ཁྲོན	Si-khron
Sìdàbà	四大坝	སྟོད་པ	sTod-pa
Sìtǔ	四土		
Sōnggǎng	松岗	རྫོང་འགག	rDzong-'gag
Sūomò	梭磨	སོ་མང	So-mang

Tàipíngqiáo	太平桥		
Xiǎojīn	小金	བཙན་ལྷ	bTsan-lha
Yúnnán	云南		
Zhuōkèjī	桌克基	ཅོག་ཙེ	Cog-tse[2]
Zúmù	足木	ཀྱོམ་མོ	Kyom-mo

---

[2] Tibetan spelling of place names is famously haphazard and can have several widely accepted variants. *Cog-tse* also often occurs as *lCog-rtse*, see for example the early work of Nagano.

PREFACE

The writing of this study has been a very long process with lots of interruptions. In fact, I can no longer remember when the idea to write a grammar of rGyalrong[3] first took hold. Perhaps the best starting point for the journey is the memorable day when my friend Yāngqiàn,[4] who was like me a student in Chéngdū[5] at the time, simply announced that she was taking me home, to her rGyalrong village in the heart of Jiǎomùzú[6] Township. It was the summer of 1993. I have been in and out of the rGyalrong world ever since, and it has profoundly changed and shaped my life.

Over the years I have pestered numerous people with questions about their language and their world in general. Many have generously and good-naturedly spent days on end trying to answer my incessant and often incomprehensible queries. For the completion of this grammar I owe a debt of gratitude to many people. Here I mention only those without whose contribution the book could not have been written: Yāngqiàn and all her people of the House of Renbamila, as well as Yon-tan,[7] Mo-mo,[8] sKar-ma Tshe-ring[9] and Tǎěrmǔ[10] from Kǒnglóng,[11] Lha-rgyal[12] and all his people from Pàěrbā;[13] teacher rDo-rje[14] from Púzhì[15] and Tshe-dbang sGron-ma[16] and her family from the high altitude grasslands. Though I have tried my best, I have never managed to out-give them in warmth, graciousness, patience, generosity, hospitality and sheer love of life.

The slow pace of writing has been a blessing in disguise, since I have benefitted tremendously from the studies on rGyalrongic languages that others have produced over the last decade or so. My

---

[3] Jiāróng 嘉戎, in older literature also spelled 嘉绒, རྒྱལ་རོང་ rGyal-rong.

[4] 央倩, དབྱངས་ཅིན, dByangs-cin.

[5] 成都.

[6] 脚木足, ཀྱོམ་ཀྱོ Kyom-kyo.

[7] ཡོན་ཏན.

[8] མོ་མོ.

[9] སྐར་མ་ཚེ་རིང.

[10] 塔尔姆.

[11] 孔龙, མཁོ་ནོ mKho-no.

[12] ལྷ་རྒྱལ.

[13] 帕尔巴, པར་པ Phar-pa.

[14] རྡོ་རྗེ.

[15] 蒲志, པོ་གྲི Pho-gri.

[16] ཚེ་དབང་སྒྲོན་མ.

thinking has been especially sharpened by the work of Lín Xiàngróng,[17] Sūn Hóngkāi,[18] Jackson Sun,[19] Lin You-Jing,[20] Guillaume Jacques and Yasuhiko Nagano.

The rGyalrong world, and the language that reflects it, is of great beauty. My hopes are that this study will give a glimpse of that beauty not only to linguists but also to other interested readers. I have therefore tried to keep the grammar as much as possible free from technical terms. I have also added more examples than perhaps might be expected in a linguistic dissertation. A general description such as this study can provide only a mere glance at many issues of interest. If the grammar provides language learners with a basic outline and generates the interest of scholars to do more in-depth research, it will have fulfilled its purpose.

---

[17] 林向荣.
[18] 孙宏开.
[19] 孙天心.
[20] 林幼菁.