

Chris Donlay  
**A Grammar of Khatso**

# **Mouton Grammar Library**

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## **Volume 77**

Chris Donlay

# **A Grammar of Khatso**

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# Contents

**Acknowledgements — v**

**List of Tables — xvi**

**List of Figures — xvii**

**List of Maps — xviii**

**List of Photos — xix**

**Abbreviations — xx**

## **1 Overview of Khatso — 1**

- 1.1 How to Use this Grammar — 2
- 1.2 Names of the People, Language and Village — 3
- 1.3 The People and Their Past — 5
- 1.4 Language Vitality — 12
- 1.5 History, Contact and Borrowing — 14
- 1.6 Classification — 18
- 1.7 Previous Research — 20
  - 1.7.1 A First Exploration of the Yunnan Mongolian Language (Hasiierdun 1976) — 20
  - 1.7.2 A Study of Yunnan Mongolian Gazhuo (Dai, Liu and Fu 1987) — 20
  - 1.7.3 Yunnan Mongolian and the Classification Question (He 1989) — 21
  - 1.7.4 A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon (Huang 1992) — 22
  - 1.7.5 About the Formation of Yunnan Mongolian Kazhuo (He 1998) — 22
  - 1.7.6 A Study of Kazhuo (Mu 2002) — 23
  - 1.7.7 Language Use and Its Evolution Among the Yunnan Mongolian Kazhuo People (Dai 2008) — 25
  - 1.7.8 Yunnan Tonghai Xingmeng Mongolian Kazhuo (Wang 2008) — 26
  - 1.7.9 Publications in English — 27
- 1.8 Methodology — 27
- 1.9 Language Consultants — 29
- 1.10 Typological Sketch — 32
- 1.11 Photos of Xingmeng — 34

## **2 Consonants and Vowels — 40**

- 2.1 Consonants — 41
  - 2.1.1 Stops — 44

- 2.1.1.1 Voiceless Bilabial Stops /p, p<sup>h</sup>/ — **46**
- 2.1.1.2 Voiceless Alveolar Stops /t, t<sup>h</sup>/ — **46**
- 2.1.1.3 Voiceless Velar Stops /k, k<sup>h</sup>/ — **47**
- 2.1.2 Nasals — **47**
  - 2.1.2.1 Bilabial Nasal /m/ — **48**
  - 2.1.2.2 Alveolar Nasal /n/ — **48**
  - 2.1.2.3 Palatal Nasal /ɲ/ — **48**
  - 2.1.2.4 Velar Nasal /ŋ/ — **49**
- 2.1.3 Fricatives — **49**
  - 2.1.3.1 Labio-Dental Fricatives /f, v/ — **51**
  - 2.1.3.2 Alveolar Fricatives /s, z/ — **52**
  - 2.1.3.3 Voiceless Alveolo-Palatal Fricative /ç/ — **52**
  - 2.1.3.4 Velar Fricatives /x, ɣ/ — **53**
- 2.1.4 Affricates — **54**
  - 2.1.4.1 Voiceless Alveolar Affricates /ts, ts<sup>h</sup>/ — **55**
  - 2.1.4.2 Voiceless Alveolo-Palatal Affricates /tç, tç<sup>h</sup>/ — **56**
- 2.1.5 Approximants — **56**
  - 2.1.5.1 Lateral Approximant /l/ — **57**
  - 2.1.5.2 Palatal Approximant /j/ — **57**
  - 2.1.5.3 Labio-Velar Approximant /w/ — **57**
- 2.2 Vowels — **58**
  - 2.2.1 Monophthongs — **58**
    - 2.2.1.1 High Front Unrounded Vowel /i/ — **62**
    - 2.2.1.2 High Central Apical Vowel /ɨ/ — **63**
    - 2.2.1.3 High Central Fricative Vowel /v/ — **64**
    - 2.2.1.4 High Back Unrounded Vowel /ɯ/ — **67**
    - 2.2.1.5 Mid Front Unrounded Vowel /ɛ/ — **67**
    - 2.2.1.6 Mid Back Unrounded Vowel /ɤ/ — **68**
    - 2.2.1.7 Mid Back Rounded Vowel /o/ — **68**
    - 2.2.1.8 Low Front Unrounded Vowel /a/ — **69**
  - 2.2.2 Diphthongs — **70**
    - 2.2.2.1 Diphthong /iɛ/ — **70**
    - 2.2.2.2 Diphthong /io/ — **70**
    - 2.2.2.3 Diphthong /ia/ — **71**
    - 2.2.2.4 Diphthong /uo/ — **71**
    - 2.2.2.5 Diphthong /ua/ — **71**
    - 2.2.2.6 Diphthong /ɛi/ — **72**
    - 2.2.2.7 Diphthong /ai/ — **72**
    - 2.2.2.8 Diphthong /au/ — **73**
  - 2.2.3 Triphthongs — **73**
    - 2.2.3.1 Triphthong /iau/ — **74**
    - 2.2.3.2 Triphthong /uei/ — **74**

- 2.2.3.3 Triphthong /uai/ — 74
- 2.2.4 The *n<sup>323</sup>ka<sup>53</sup>* Accent — 75

### **3 Tone System — 77**

- 3.1 Tones — 77
  - 3.1.1 Tone 55 — 81
  - 3.1.2 Tone 44 — 82
  - 3.1.3 Tone 33 — 83
  - 3.1.4 Tone 35 — 83
  - 3.1.5 Tone 24 — 84
  - 3.1.6 Tone 53 — 84
  - 3.1.7 Tone 31 — 84
  - 3.1.8 Tone 323 — 85
  - 3.1.9 Tone Variation — 86
- 3.2 Tone Change — 86
  - 3.2.1 Numerals ‘Three’, ‘Four’ and ‘Nine’ — 87
  - 3.2.2 Verb Collocations with *li<sup>323</sup>* ‘to come’ and *i<sup>323</sup>* ‘to go’ — 90
  - 3.2.3 Reduplication in Adjectival Constructions — 90
  - 3.2.4 Marked Pattern — 91
    - 3.2.4.1 Non-Final Phrases in Discourse — 92
    - 3.2.4.2 Imperatives — 96
    - 3.2.4.3 Aspect Marker *wa<sup>33</sup>* — 97
  - 3.2.5 Focus Tone Change — 99
  - 3.2.6 Tone Fusion — 102
    - 3.2.6.1 Fusion of Grammatical Particles — 103
    - 3.2.6.2 Fusion in Echo Questions — 104
  - 3.2.7 Tone Contours 242 and 353 in Discourse — 105
  - 3.2.8 Lexicalized Tone Change in Causatives — 107

### **4 Syllable, Word and Intonation Unit Structures — 108**

- 4.1 Syllable Structure — 108
- 4.2 Word Structure — 110
  - 4.2.1 Defining the Word — 110
  - 4.2.2 Phonological Structure of Words — 113
  - 4.2.3 Morphological Structure of Words — 115
    - 4.2.3.1 Compounds of Bound Morphemes — 115
    - 4.2.3.2 Noun Suffixes — 116
    - 4.2.3.3 Compounds of Free Morphemes — 117
  - 4.2.4 Stress — 118
- 4.3 Homophony — 119
- 4.4 Intonation Units and Prosody — 120
  - 4.4.1 Pause — 121

- 4.4.2 Lag — 122
- 4.4.3 Rush — 123
- 4.4.4 Intensity — 124

## 5 Nouns — 126

- 5.1 Common Nouns — 128
- 5.2 Proper Nouns — 132
  - 5.2.1 Personal Names — 132
  - 5.2.2 Place Names — 135
- 5.3 Pronouns — 136
  - 5.3.1 Personal Pronouns — 136
  - 5.3.2 Demonstrative Pronouns — 141
  - 5.3.3 Interrogative Pronouns — 144
    - 5.3.3.1 Interrogative Pronoun *xa<sup>33</sup>jo<sup>35</sup>* ‘who’ — 146
    - 5.3.3.2 Interrogative Pronoun *xa<sup>33</sup>ma<sup>44</sup>* ‘what’, ‘which’ — 147
    - 5.3.3.3 Interrogative Pronouns *xa<sup>33</sup>tɛ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>33</sup>*, *xa<sup>33</sup>sau<sup>33</sup>* and *xa<sup>33</sup>tseɪ<sup>35</sup>* ‘when’ — 148
    - 5.3.3.4 Interrogative Pronoun *xa<sup>33</sup>ɲa<sup>53</sup>* ‘where’ — 149
    - 5.3.3.5 Interrogative Pronoun *xa<sup>33</sup>ma<sup>35</sup>li<sup>33</sup>li<sup>323</sup>* ‘why’ — 150
    - 5.3.3.6 Interrogative Pronoun *xa<sup>33</sup>ni<sup>33</sup>* ‘how’, ‘how many’ — 151
    - 5.3.3.7 Combining Interrogative Pronouns — 155

## 6 Quantification and Classifiers — 156

- 6.1 Numerals — 158
- 6.2 Classifiers — 164
  - 6.2.1 The Use of Classifiers — 165
  - 6.2.2 Types of Classifiers — 170
    - 6.2.2.1 Sortal Classifiers — 170
    - 6.2.2.2 Mensural Classifiers — 172
    - 6.2.2.3 Collective Classifiers — 173
    - 6.2.2.4 Human Classifiers — 176
    - 6.2.2.5 Family Group Classifiers — 176
    - 6.2.2.6 Partitive Classifiers — 183
    - 6.2.2.7 Temporal Classifiers — 183
    - 6.2.2.8 Monetary Classifiers — 188
    - 6.2.2.9 Adverbial Classifiers — 189
    - 6.2.2.10 The Classifier Inventory — 191
- 6.3 Lexical Quantifiers — 197
- 6.4 Universal Quantification Construction — 198

## 7 Noun Phrases — 201

- 7.1 Constituent Order — 201

7.2	Adjectival Function of Nouns and Stative Verbs — 204
7.2.1	Nouns Modifying Nouns — 204
7.2.2	Adjectival Stative Verbs — 205
7.3	Indefinite Constructions — 207
7.3.1	Specific Indefinite Construction — 208
7.3.2	Non-Specific Indefinite Constructions — 210
7.3.2.1	Indefinite Realis Constructions — 210
7.3.2.2	Indefinite Free Choice Construction — 211
7.3.2.3	Indefinite Conditional Construction — 213
7.3.2.4	Indefinite Comparison Construction — 213
7.3.3	Negative Indefinite Constructions — 214
7.3.4	Multiple Indefinite Constructions — 217
7.4	Possession — 218
7.5	Relativization — 222
7.6	Nominalization — 229
7.7	Coordination and Disjunction — 232
7.7.1	Juxtaposition — 232
7.7.2	Coordination with Conjunctions — 234
7.7.3	Coordination through Disjunction — 236
<b>8</b>	<b>Verbs — 239</b>
8.1	Intransitive Verbs — 241
8.1.1	Dynamic Intransitive Verbs — 242
8.1.2	Stative Verbs — 242
8.1.2.1	Attributive Stative Verb Construction — 244
8.1.2.2	Reduplicated Stative Verb Constructions — 250
8.2	Transitive Verbs — 255
8.3	Ditransitive Verbs — 257
8.4	Ambitransitive Verbs — 260
8.5	Copula <i>ŋ</i> <sup>33</sup> — 261
8.6	Existential Verb <i>tso</i> <sup>323</sup> — 265
8.7	Auxiliary Verbs — 268
8.8	Serial Verb Constructions — 273
8.8.1	One-Event Constructions — 274
8.8.1.1	Directional Constructions — 274
8.8.1.2	Resultative Constructions — 281
8.8.1.3	Manner Constructions — 285
8.8.1.4	Complex Stative Constructions — 286
8.8.2	Two-Event Constructions — 287
<b>9</b>	<b>Verb Modifiers — 290</b>
9.1	Negation — 290

- 9.1.1 General Negator *ma*<sup>31</sup> — 290
- 9.1.2 Prohibitive Marker *ta*<sup>31</sup> — 293
- 9.2 Aspect — 296
  - 9.2.1 Perfective — 300
  - 9.2.2 Currently Relevant State — 304
  - 9.2.3 Progressive — 307
  - 9.2.4 Continuous — 311
  - 9.2.5 Iterative — 313
  - 9.2.6 Perfective Irrealis — 316
  - 9.2.7 Imperfective Irrealis — 317
  - 9.2.8 Inceptive — 319
  - 9.2.9 Future — 320
  - 9.2.10 Experiential — 323
- 9.3 Adverbs — 324
  - 9.3.1 Time Adverbs — 325
  - 9.3.2 Frequency Adverbs — 330
  - 9.3.3 Locative Adverbs — 331
  - 9.3.4 Manner Adverbs — 333
  - 9.3.5 Degree Adverbs — 335
  - 9.3.6 Sentential Adverbs — 338
- 10 Argument Structure — 340**
  - 10.1 Topic-Comment Information Structure — 340
  - 10.2 Grammatical Relations — 344
  - 10.3 Word Order — 347
  - 10.4 Pragmatic Agentivity — 351
  - 10.5 Pseudo-Passives — 359
  - 10.6 Oblique Arguments — 361
    - 10.6.1 Instrumental Arguments — 361
    - 10.6.2 Locative Arguments — 363
    - 10.6.3 Temporal Arguments — 365
- 11 Valency-Changing Constructions — 369**
  - 11.1 Applicative Construction — 369
  - 11.2 Causative Constructions — 372
    - 11.2.1 Lexical Causatives — 372
    - 11.2.2 Periphrastic Causative Constructions — 374
      - 11.2.2.1 Causative Construction with *la*<sup>33</sup>*ta*<sup>55</sup>...*mo*<sup>55</sup> — 374
      - 11.2.2.2 Causative Construction with *ky*<sup>33</sup> — 377
      - 11.2.2.3 Causative Construction Formed Only with *ku*<sup>31</sup> — 380
      - 11.2.2.4 Multiple Causation — 383

<b>12</b>	<b>Basic Clause Types — 385</b>
12.1	Declarative Clauses — 385
12.2	Imperatives — 386
12.2.1	Imperative Marker <i>je</i> <sup>24</sup> — 387
12.2.2	Imperative Marker <i>pa</i> <sup>31</sup> — 388
12.2.3	Optative Marker <i>pa</i> <sup>323</sup> <i>je</i> <sup>24</sup> — 389
12.2.4	Prohibitive Auxiliary Construction <i>ma</i> <sup>31</sup> <i>jo</i> <sup>33</sup> — 390
12.2.5	Imperatives Formed through Tone Change — 390
12.3	Reciprocal Constructions — 393
12.4	Questions — 394
12.4.1	Polar Questions — 395
12.4.2	Content Questions — 399
12.4.3	Choice Questions — 403
12.4.4	Tag Questions — 404
12.4.5	Interrogative Interjections — 408
12.4.6	Echo Questions — 409
12.4.7	Question Markers — 410
12.4.7.1	‘Still’ Question Marker <i>sa</i> <sup>31</sup> — 410
12.4.7.2	Topic Question Marker <i>ni</i> <sup>35</sup> — 411
12.4.7.3	Certainty Question Marker <i>sa</i> <sup>44</sup> — 413
12.4.7.4	Irrealis Question Marker <i>la</i> <sup>31</sup> — 415
12.4.7.5	Confirmation Question Marker <i>pe</i> <sup>33</sup> — 416
12.4.7.6	Rhetorical Question Marker <i>ta</i> <sup>31</sup> — 416
12.5	Comparative Constructions — 417
12.5.1	Comparisons of Equality — 418
12.5.2	Comparisons of Extent — 422
12.5.3	Comparisons of Superiority/Inferiority — 424
12.5.4	Quantitative Comparisons — 426
12.5.5	Implicit Comparative Constructions — 427
12.5.5.1	Contrastive Comparisons — 427
12.5.5.2	Temporal Comparisons — 429
12.5.5.3	Superlative Construction — 430
12.6	Emphasis — 433
12.6.1	Imperfective Emphatic Marker <i>ja</i> <sup>33</sup> — 433
12.6.2	Perfective Emphatic Marker <i>ja</i> <sup>323</sup> — 434
12.6.3	Copular Emphatic Marker <i>na</i> <sup>33</sup> — 435
12.6.4	Irrealis Emphatic Marker <i>le</i> <sup>31</sup> — 436
12.6.5	Strong Assertion Marker <i>ne</i> <sup>33</sup> — 437
12.6.6	Epistemic Emphatic Particle <i>po</i> <sup>53</sup> — 440
12.6.7	Epistemic Emphatic Particle <i>na</i> <sup>31</sup> — 440
12.6.8	Stative Emphatic Particle <i>ta</i> <sup>44</sup> — 441
12.6.9	Discourse Emphatic Particle <i>me</i> <sup>44</sup> — 443

- 13 Basic Clause-Linking — 446**
- 13.1 Simple Clause-Linking — 448
- 13.1.1 Parallel Clause-Linking — 449
- 13.1.1.1 Parallel Clause-Linking through Juxtaposition — 449
- 13.1.1.2 Parallel Clause-Linking with *to*<sup>33</sup> — 451
- 13.1.2 Disjunctive Clause-Linking — 453
- 13.1.3 Adversative Clause-Linking — 456
- 13.1.3.1 Adversative Clause-Linking with *ŋ*<sup>44</sup>*li*<sup>33</sup> and *ŋ*<sup>33</sup>*ŋa*<sup>44</sup>*li*<sup>33</sup> ‘but’ — 456
- 13.1.3.2 Adversative Clause-Linking with *to*<sup>33</sup> ‘also’ — 458
- 13.1.3.3 Contrastive Focus with *la*<sup>35</sup> and Related Tone Change — 458
- 13.1.3.4 Borrowed Adversative Conjunction — 460
- 13.2 Temporal Constructions — 461
- 13.2.1 Temporal Construction with *sɛi*<sup>44</sup> — 461
- 13.2.2 Constructions with Borrowed Temporal Adverbs — 463
- 13.2.3 Simultaneous Events — 464
- 13.2.3.1 Simultaneous Constructions with *wa*<sup>24</sup> *xɛi*<sup>35</sup> and *jo*<sup>35</sup> — 464
- 13.2.3.2 Simultaneous Construction with *ni*<sup>31</sup>*ŋɛ*<sup>323</sup> — 466
- 13.2.3.3 Simultaneous Construction with *sɛi*<sup>44</sup> — 467
- 13.2.3.4 Simultaneous Construction with *tɿ*<sup>44</sup> — 467
- 13.2.4 Sequential Events — 469
- 13.2.4.1 Sequential Linking with *tɕo*<sup>35</sup> — 469
- 13.2.4.2 Sequential Linking with *ja*<sup>53</sup> *ni*<sup>323</sup> — 471
- 13.2.4.3 Sequential Linking with *ta*<sup>31</sup> *ni*<sup>323</sup> — 473
- 13.2.4.4 Sequential Linking with *ni*<sup>31</sup> — 474
- 13.2.4.5 Sequential Linking with *sa*<sup>24</sup>*kɛi*<sup>33</sup> ‘until’ — 476
- 14 Specialized Clause-Linking Constructions — 478**
- 14.1 Reason Strategies — 478
- 14.1.1 Reason Strategy with *ni*<sup>323</sup> and *ta*<sup>31</sup> *ni*<sup>323</sup> — 478
- 14.1.2 Reason Strategy with *tɕi*<sup>44</sup> *ni*<sup>31</sup> — 480
- 14.1.3 Reason Strategy with *la*<sup>35</sup> or Related Tone Change — 481
- 14.1.4 Borrowed Reason Conjunction — 482
- 14.2 Cause and Effect Strategies — 483
- 14.2.1 Cause and Effect Strategy with *tɕo*<sup>35</sup> and *ja*<sup>53</sup> *ni*<sup>323</sup> — 484
- 14.2.2 Cause and Effect Strategy with *tɿ*<sup>44</sup> — 485
- 14.2.3 Cause and Effect Strategy with *la*<sup>35</sup> or Related Tone Change — 486
- 14.2.4 Borrowed Cause and Effect Conjunction — 487
- 14.3 Concessive Strategies — 488
- 14.3.1 Concessive Strategy with *to*<sup>33</sup> — 488
- 14.3.2 Borrowed Concessive Conjunction — 490
- 14.4 Conditional Constructions — 491
- 14.4.1 Conditional Construction with *ni*<sup>31</sup> — 491

- 14.4.2 Universal Conditional Construction — 495
- 14.4.3 Concessive Conditional Construction — 495
- 14.4.4 Comparative Conditional Construction with  $i^{24}fa^{33}$ ,  $i^{31}ku^{35}$ ,  $to^{33}i^{31}$  — 496
- 14.4.5 Borrowed Conditional Conjunction — 497
- 14.5 Manner Constructions with  $tx^{44}$  and  $sɛi^{44}$  — 498
- 14.6 Purpose Construction with  $tx^{44}$  — 500

## 15 Complementation — 506

- 15.1 Complementation Strategies with  $sɛi^{44}$  — 506
- 15.2 Complementation Strategies without  $sɛi^{44}$  — 520
- 15.3 Complementation Strategies for Reported Speech — 523

## 16 Summary of Clause-Linking Particles — 531

- 16.1  $to^{33}$  — 533
- 16.2  $ni^{323}$  — 536
- 16.3  $ni^{31}$  — 538
- 16.4  $la^{35}$  — 541
- 16.5  $tx^{44}$  — 544
- 16.6  $sɛi^{44}$  — 547

## Appendix A: Grammatical Particles in Khatso — 551

### Appendix B: Khatso Lexicon — 554

### Appendix C: Texts — 575

- C.1 History — 576
- C.2 Sewing — 582

## References — 589

## Index — 595

# List of Tables

<b>Table 1.1:</b> Khatso Language Consultants	— 29
<b>Table 2.1:</b> Ten speakers representing a cross-section of Khatso pronunciation	— 40
<b>Table 2.2:</b> Khatso consonant inventory	— 42
<b>Table 2.3:</b> Consonant and rhyme combinations in Khatso	— 43
<b>Table 2.4:</b> Differences in vowel transcription in previous research on Khatso	— 61
<b>Table 2.5:</b> Comparison of Khatso diphthongs and triphthongs in transcription	— 62
<b>Table 2.6:</b> Examples of $na^{223}ka^{53}$ pronunciation	— 75
<b>Table 3.1:</b> Tone and rhyme combinations in Khatso	— 78
<b>Table 3.2:</b> Frequency of the eight tones in Khatso	— 79
<b>Table 3.3:</b> Classifiers that trigger obligatory sandhi in numerals	— 87
<b>Table 3.4:</b> Classifiers that Trigger Optional Sandhi in ‘Three’, ‘Four’ and ‘Nine’	— 88
<b>Table 4.1:</b> Syllable structure in Khatso	— 109
<b>Table 4.2:</b> Syllable structure frequency in Khatso	— 109
<b>Table 5.1:</b> Personal pronouns in Khatso	— 137
<b>Table 5.2:</b> Interrogative pronouns in Khatso	— 145
<b>Table 6.1:</b> Khatso’s two numeral systems	— 159
<b>Table 6.2:</b> Family group classifiers in Khatso	— 177
<b>Table 6.3:</b> Months in Khatso	— 186
<b>Table 6.4:</b> The zodiac year in Khatso	— 187
<b>Table 6.5:</b> Classifier inventory in Khatso	— 192
<b>Table 6.6:</b> Universal indefinite Constructions in Khatso	— 199
<b>Table 7.1:</b> Khatso indefinite constructions	— 208
<b>Table 7.2:</b> Non-specific indefinite pronouns in Khatso	— 212
<b>Table 7.3:</b> One type of negative indefinite construction in Khatso	— 215
<b>Table 8.1:</b> Attributive stative verbs in Khatso	— 246
<b>Table 8.2:</b> Auxiliary verbs in Khatso	— 268
<b>Table 8.3:</b> Directional verbs in serial constructions	— 275
<b>Table 8.4:</b> Verbs in serial resultative constructions	— 282
<b>Table 9.1:</b> Aspect markers in Khatso	— 297
<b>Table 9.2:</b> Aspect combinations in Khatso	— 299
<b>Table 9.3:</b> Days of the week in Khatso	— 326
<b>Table 9.4:</b> Day and year ordinals in Khatso	— 328
<b>Table 9.5:</b> Sentential adverbs in Khatso	— 339
<b>Table 10.1:</b> Verbs of carrying in Khatso	— 362
<b>Table 10.2:</b> Locative and directional particles in Khatso	— 363
<b>Table 11.1:</b> Lexical causatives in Khatso	— 373
<b>Table 12.1:</b> Interrogative pronouns in Khatso	— 400
<b>Table 15.1:</b> Complement-taking verbs in Khatso	— 506
<b>Table 15.2:</b> Patterning of $se^{i44}$ with complement-taking verbs	— 510
<b>Table 16.1:</b> Clause-combining particles and their functions	— 531
<b>Table A.1:</b> Grammatical particles in Khatso	— 551

## List of Figures

- Fig. 2.1:** Spectrogram of voiceless stop — 44  
**Fig. 2.2:** VOT comparison of voiceless stops — 45  
**Fig. 2.3:** VOT comparison of voiceless aspirated stops — 45  
**Fig. 2.4:** Comparison of voiced fricatives /v/ and /z/ — 50  
**Fig. 2.5:** Comparison of voiceless fricatives /f/ and /s/ — 51  
**Fig. 2.6:** Spectrograms of omitted and fully realized /ɣ/ — 54  
**Fig. 2.7:** Representative tokens of /ts/ and /ts<sup>h</sup>/ — 55  
**Fig. 2.8:** Khatso monophthong vowel inventory — 58  
**Fig. 2.9:** Vowel space for five female speakers of Khatso — 59  
**Fig. 2.10:** Vowel space for five male speakers of Khatso — 60  
**Fig. 2.11:** Comparison of onsets in [ʔi<sup>33</sup>] and [ji<sup>33</sup>] — 63  
**Fig. 2.12:** Spectrogram showing friction in /ɲ/ — 64  
**Fig. 2.13:** Comparison of /v/ as vowel and consonant — 65  
**Fig. 2.14:** Vowel /v/ with greater friction — 66  
**Fig. 2.15:** /v/ as independent nucleus — 67  
**Fig. 3.1:** A schematic representation of the eight tones in Khatso — 77  
**Fig. 3.2:** Pitch traces of the eight tones — 78  
**Fig. 3.3:** Frequency of the eight tones in Khatso — 80  
**Fig. 3.4:** Comparison of relative tone length in minimal octuplet — 81  
**Fig. 3.5:** Tone fusion producing contour 335 — 103  
**Fig. 3.6:** Tone fusion producing contour 555 — 104  
**Fig. 4.1:** Syllable structure frequency in Khatso — 110  
**Fig. 4.2:** The use of pauses to mark IU boundaries — 121  
**Fig. 4.3:** Pause duration marking different clausal IUs — 122  
**Fig. 4.4:** Lag in IUs — 123  
**Fig. 4.5:** Rush versus lag in an IU — 124  
**Fig. 4.6:** Intensity changes across constituents in an IU — 125  
**Fig. 13.1:** Degree of integration across clause-combining strategies — 447

## List of Maps

**Map 1.1:** Yunnan's location in China — 5

**Map 1.2:** Xingmeng and nearby towns in Yunnan — 6

**Map 1.3:** The five historical villages within Xingmeng — 7

## List of Photos

- Photo 1.1:** View from the government building — 34
- Photo 1.2:** Farms — 34
- Photo 1.3:** Traditional homes — 35
- Photo 1.4:** Narrow lanes — 35
- Photo 1.5:** Locally grown produce — 36
- Photo 1.6:** Old doorway — 36
- Photo 1.7:** Traditional clothing — 37
- Photo 1.8:** Three Beliefs Temple — 37
- Photo 1.9:** Three Saints Temple — 38
- Photo 1.10:** Holiday feast — 38
- Photo 1.11:** Bilingual Chinese and Mongolian signs — 39
- Photo 1.12:** Village statue — 39

# Abbreviations

In accordance with the Leipzig Glossing Rules, the following abbreviations are used in the interlinear glossing that parses the examples of spoken Khatso. Individual speakers are also identified by abbreviations; these are listed in Table 1.1 (see § 1.9).

1 2 3	first, second, third person
A	agent (semantic role)
ADJSV	adjectival stative verb
ADV	adverb, adverbial
AGT	agent marker
ANM	animal
ASP	aspect
ASRT	strong assertion
B	beneficiary (semantic role)
BDG	building
BKGD	backgrounding particle
BNCH	bunch
CAUS	causative
CFRM	confirmatory
CL	classifier
CLNK	clause linker
CMP	comparative marker
CNT	content
COL	collective
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuous aspect
COP	copula
CRS	currently relevant state aspect
CRTN	certain
CSC	complex stative construction
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DSC	discourse
ECHO	echo question
EMP	emphatic
EPIS	epistemic
EXIST	existential
EXP	experiential aspect
F	female
FILL	filler
FAMGP	family group

FOC	clausal focus marker
FUT	future aspect
GEN	general
HNDL	handle
HSY	hearsay
HUM	human
IMP	imperative marker
INCP	inceptive aspect
INS	instrumental marker
INDR	indirect
INTJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective aspect
IPRO	interrogative pronoun
IRR	irrealis aspect
ITER	iterative aspect
IU	intonation unit
M	male
MACH	machine
MNY	money
MSR	measure
N	noun
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NUM	numeral
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal
P	patient (semantic role)
PART	particle
PCE	piece
PFV	perfective aspect
PHR	phrase
PL	plural
POSR	possessor
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive aspect
PROH	prohibitive
Q	question
R	recipient (semantic role)
RECP	reciprocal
REL	relative clause marker
RELC	relative clause

**xxii** — Abbreviations

RHET	rhetorical
S	subject (semantic role)
SEC	section
SFP	sentence-final particle
SG	singular
SOL	solicitative
STAT	stative
TMP	temporal
TOP	topic marker
UNK	unknown
V	verb
VOL	volume

# 1 Overview of Khatso

Khatso (pronounced *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>tso<sup>31</sup>*) is an endangered minority language spoken in a single farming village in southwestern China. The 5600 speakers are ethnic Mongolians who descend from troops Kublai Khan brought to Yunnan in the 13<sup>th</sup> century as part of his campaign to conquer China (Gao 2001: 5–6; Huang 2009: 8). Today they live in the village of Xingmèng 兴蒙 in Tōnghǎi County 通海县, Yùxī Prefecture 玉溪市, Yúnnán Province 云南省 in the People’s Republic of China. Khatso likely evolved from contact between the Mongols and local minorities, most specifically the Ngwi (Yí 彝) but perhaps also including the Bai and more recently the majority Han (Dai, Liu and Fu 1987: 174; He 1989: 11–12; Mu 2002: 134).<sup>1</sup> Because Khatso is similar to languages in the Ngwi family, and very unlike Mongolian, the Chinese government considers Khatso to be a dialect of the standard Ngwi language Nuosu, even though the two are mutually unintelligible (Dai, Liu and Fu 1987: 175; Mu 2002: 27). Linguists consider Khatso to be a separate language within the Ngwi family, which is a branch of the Burmese-Ngwi group within the Tibeto-Burman phylum (Bradley 1997; Dai, Liu and Fu 1987: 175; He 1989: 1; Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2013; Mu 2002: 26).

The recent pace of modernization in China has been incredibly rapid. Most noticeable in urban centers, it is also changing life in rural villages. In Yunnan, huge investments in infrastructure over the past twenty years have made formerly remote minority villages much more accessible. This is certainly the case for Xingmeng, which now sits on the highway that connects the county seat of Tonghai with the prefectural seat of Yuxi. The highway not only makes transporting and selling local crops easier, but it also regularly brings tourists, both Chinese and foreign, who often stop for lunch and a stroll through the village market. Xingmeng has, in fact, become a rather prosperous village over the past decade.

These changes are also affecting the linguistic landscape. Khatso is spoken by nearly all of the inhabitants of Xingmeng village (Dai 2008:3). However, the villagers are also by necessity bilingual in Chinese in order to communicate with outsiders. Thus, Khatso is now mainly used at home, while Chinese is used in public domains such as hospitals, government offices and schools. Children continue to learn Khatso at home, but many are taught Chinese first by their parents, since it is required to pursue an education or find employment outside the village. Furthermore, because

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<sup>1</sup> The name of the Ngwi branch of the Tibeto-Burman family has undergone several changes over the decades. Early sources used Lolo, which is now considered pejorative. In China, the term Yí 彝 is now used and this term is also found elsewhere. Western linguists, following the proposal put forth in Bradley 2005a, increasingly use Ngwi, a reconstruction of a common autonym in this family. This book follows that usage throughout, except where an older form occurs in a proper name or title.

Khatso is not officially recognized as an independent language, there is no writing system, nor is it supported by media or technology. As a result, there is an intergenerational decline in language ability, causing UNESCO to list Khatso as ‘definitely endangered’ (Moseley 2010). Villagers are well aware of these changes, but unsure of how best to maintain their traditional language. In an effort to help them, this grammar presents a comprehensive description of the Khatso language.

More specifically, the aim of this work is to detail, to the greatest extent possible, the features, structures and systems that interact to comprise this unique language. The description of the language is presented in sixteen chapters. The current chapter presents a sociolinguistic and historical profile of the people and the language. Chapter 2 describes the consonant and vowel inventories, and Chapter 3 the tone system. Chapter 4 focuses on word, syllable and intonation unit structures. In Chapter 5, nouns are discussed; quantification and classifiers are described in Chapter 6 and noun phrases in Chapter 7. Verbs are investigated in Chapter 8, and verb modifiers in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 outlines basic argument structure, and Chapter 11 explores valency-changing constructions. Basic clause types are detailed in Chapter 12, and basic clause-linking is described in Chapter 13. More specialized clause-combining structures are explored in Chapter 14 and complementation strategies are investigated in Chapter 15. Chapter 16 provides an overview of clause-linking particles with a focus on those with multiple functionality. Three appendices also provide helpful information. Appendix A presents an index of the grammatical particles found in Khatso. Appendix B offers a trilingual lexicon in English, Chinese and Khatso. Appendix C contains two selected Khatso texts, one a narrative and the other a conversation. Additional texts with recordings can be found at [www.khatso.net](http://www.khatso.net).

The profile of Khatso presented in this chapter is broken down as follows. Instructions on how to use the grammar are presented in § 1.1. The language name and a description of the Khatso people are introduced in § 1.2 and § 1.3, followed by a discussion of language vitality in § 1.4. The history and classification of Khatso are then presented in § 1.5 and § 1.6. Previous research on Khatso, most of which is in Chinese, is reviewed in § 1.7. In § 1.8 and § 1.9 the linguistic methodology of the project is described and the consultants who participated are introduced. Finally, key typological points about Khatso are summarized in § 1.10.

## 1.1 How to Use this Grammar

The goal of the grammar is to detail, to the greatest extent possible, the features, structures and systems that interact to comprise Khatso. It is written for multiple audiences, from students and linguists to native speakers. As such, only basic linguistic terminology is employed. Using a discourse functional framework that emphasizes natural speech, the language data presented throughout include examples from spontaneous discourse; the name of the Khatso speaker who produced each utterance

is cited for each example. The information in the grammar is organized in ascending fashion – moving from phonetics and phonology to syntax and discourse – which suits the structure of this largely analytic language.

Khatso language data throughout the grammar are presented in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). In examples, the data are accompanied by word-for-word glosses in both English and Chinese and grammatical particles are labeled following the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Abbreviations for the latter can be found on page xx. The glosses also include free translations in both English and Chinese. As just mentioned, for each example the originating text and the speaker are cited. A list of language consultants is presented in § 1.9, and selected texts are included in Appendix C. Following Khatso and Chinese practice, surnames precede given names throughout the grammar. Additional texts along with recordings may be found at [www.khatso.net](http://www.khatso.net).

Information in this book may be accessed in several ways. For those who want to learn the language or research it step by step, it may be read from beginning to end. Those who are interested in specific topics, say tone change or complementation, will find the detailed table of contents and the index of most help. There is extensive cross referencing throughout the grammar so that readers are easily able to access all relevant discussions of a given topic. A list of grammatical particles is provided in Appendix A.

The word Khatso is used to describe both the people of Xingmeng and their language. In addition to Khatso, the villagers also speak the local Tonghai variety of Southwestern Mandarin 西南官话, a dialect of the national language Pǔtōnghuà 普通话, which they also speak. In this volume, the local variety is called Hànyǔ 汉语, following Khatso practice, and Putonghua is used to refer to Mandarin. The umbrella term Chinese is used when referring to both simultaneously, and also to the written form of the language. Chinese characters are provided for names and key terms throughout the volume. Pinyin with tone marking is provided at the first mention, but frequently used words, such as proper names, are presented without tones after that. The term Han is used to distinguish the ethnic Chinese from the other ethnic groups in Yunnan.

## 1.2 Names of the People, Language and Village

The Khatso people and their language are known by different names to different people. Native speakers refer to themselves as  $k^h a^{55} tso^{31} p^h a^{31}$  ‘Khatso man’ or  $k^h a^{55} tso^{31} ma^{33}$  ‘Khatso woman’ and their language as  $k^h a^{55} tso^{31} tɕ^h i^{31}$  ‘Khatso language’. Earlier generations pronounced the first syllable as  $ka^{55}$ , but this pronunciation began to fall out of favor in the 1980s. Today, only a few older speakers still use it.

These changes are reflected in the various Chinese versions of these names. Early publications used *Gāzhuó* 嘎卓 (e.g. Dai, Liu and Fu 1987; Huang 1992), which later became *Kǎzhuó* as the autonym changed. The latter was originally rendered in

Chinese characters as 卡卓 (e.g. He 1989; He 1998; Mu 2002), but today the community prefers *Kāzhuó* 喀卓 (e.g. Dai 2008; Wang 2008). Most people in Yunnan, however, simply refer to the Khatso as the Tonghai Mongolians 通海蒙古族.

The language has no writing system, and so IPA is used throughout to transcribe the data. For simplicity, the name of the language and people is anglicized as Khatso. The spelling Katso, drawn from the earlier pronunciation, can also be found in a few English-language publications, most notably *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2013). *The Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* (STEDT) refers to the language by the older Chinese term Gazhuo.

After the Mongols conquered China and established the Yuán 元 Dynasty (1271–1368), Mongol soldiers were stationed in Yunnan near the modern Xingmeng area. After the Yuan Dynasty fell, some of these soldiers settled there with their families, over time founding five “natural” villages 自然村, as the Chinese call them, which still exist today. Their Khatso names differ quite a bit from their names in Putonghua: *na*<sup>323</sup>*ka*<sup>53</sup> / Zhōngcūn 中村, *pei*<sup>323</sup>*ko*<sup>53</sup> / Báigé 白阁, *k<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>55</sup>*tsɿ*<sup>33</sup> / Xiácūn 下村, *pei*<sup>323</sup>*pa*<sup>323</sup> / Jiāoyīwān 交椅湾 and *sɿ*<sup>24</sup>*ts<sup>h</sup>*<sup>33</sup>*xo*<sup>35</sup> / Táojiāzǔi 陶家嘴. Amongst themselves, villagers still distinguish their homes according to the original villages, even though all but *sɿ*<sup>24</sup>*ts<sup>h</sup>*<sup>33</sup>*xo*<sup>35</sup> are now geographically contiguous (see Map 1.3). In 1951 they were grouped into a larger administrative unit called Xinmeng Mongolian Autonomous Village 新蒙蒙古族自治乡 (Huang 2009: 10); Xīnměng in Putonghua means ‘new Mongolian’. During the collectivization period of the late 1950s, ‘Xinmeng’ was dropped from the name. It was not until 1980 that the village name again referred to its Mongolian roots, taking the new name Xīngměng 兴蒙, which means ‘prosperous Mongolians’. In Khatso, the unified village is called either *k<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>55</sup>*tso*<sup>31</sup>*k<sup>h</sup>ua*<sup>55</sup> ‘Khatso village’ or the Hanyu loanwords *si*<sup>33</sup>*mo*<sup>323</sup> or *si*<sup>44</sup>*mo*<sup>31</sup> ‘Xingmeng’.

The etymology of the name Khatso is not well understood. Based on conversations with Mongolian scholars who visited the village decades ago, the Khatso believe the name evolved from the Mongolian word for ‘self’. The names for the five original villages are likewise considered to have Mongolian origins. Two Mongolian scholars who visited Xingmeng in 2013 also believe the names have Middle Mongolian roots. However, their work, which is still in progress, points to a different semantic analysis. A competing theory (He 1998: 1) suggests that the name Khatso *k<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>55</sup>*tso*<sup>31</sup> shares an origin with *k<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>21</sup>*dzɔ*<sup>55</sup>, the name of a Ngwi village in Luquan County north of Kunming. Written 卡柱 (Kǎzhù) in Chinese and composed of *kǎ* ‘village’ and *zhù* ‘back, support’ or ‘in between’, the name is interpreted to mean ‘center village’. However, without systematic phonological correspondences between Khatso and these languages, all hypotheses remain inconclusive.

### 1.3 The People and Their Past

Xingmeng 兴蒙 village is located in Yunnan Province in China's southwest corner (see Map 1.1).<sup>2</sup> To the north of Yunnan lies Sichuan, and to the east the provinces of Guizhou and Guangxi. Myanmar shares its western border, and Laos and Vietnam are to the south. The village itself is in central Yunnan. It is located in Tonghai County 通海县, and is only 15 kilometers west of the county seat Tōnghǎi 通海. Kūnmíng 昆明, the provincial capital, lies approximately 100 kilometers to the north (see Map 1.2).



**Map 1.1:** Yunnan's location in China (Map design: Colin Kent)

<sup>2</sup> Maps 1.1 and 1.2 adapted from public domain material via Wikipedia Commons; Map 1.3 adapted from Wang 2008.

The village lies in a flat valley to the west of Qǐlù Lake 杞麓湖, one of the province's largest freshwater lakes. It hugs the southern foot of Phoenix Mountain 凤凰山 and is surrounded by Han and Muslim Hui villages. Within Xingmeng itself are five historical villages which are, from west to east: *na*<sup>323</sup>*ka*<sup>53</sup> or Zhōngcūn 中村, *pei*<sup>323</sup>*ko*<sup>53</sup> or Báigé 白阁, *k*<sup>h</sup>*a*<sup>55</sup>*tsɿ*<sup>33</sup> or Xiácūn 下村, *pei*<sup>323</sup>*pa*<sup>323</sup> or Jiāoyǐwān 交椅湾 and *sɿ*<sup>24</sup>*ts*<sup>h</sup>*ɿ*<sup>33</sup>*xo*<sup>35</sup> or Táojiāzuǐ 陶家嘴 (see Map 1.3). Until recently, these villages, except for *pei*<sup>323</sup>*ko*<sup>53</sup> and *k*<sup>h</sup>*a*<sup>55</sup>*tsɿ*<sup>33</sup>, were separated by open fields. Today four of the five are contiguous; only *sɿ*<sup>24</sup>*ts*<sup>h</sup>*ɿ*<sup>33</sup>*xo*<sup>35</sup> remains geographically separate.



**Map 1.2:** Xingmeng and nearby towns in Yunnan (Map design: Colin Kent)

Until the 1990s, when highway S304 was built connecting Tonghai and the prefectural capital Yuxi, Xingmeng was rather remote. In a change from the traditional roadways, the highway now cuts through the center of the valley and for several

kilometers skirts most of Xingmeng's southern edge (see Map 1.3). As a result, a new part of the village has sprung up on the opposite side of the highway, and now features a large tourist-oriented restaurant, an outdoor market and several multi-story buildings that house shops, restaurants, a hotel and a handful of karaoke clubs.



**Map 1.3:** The five historical villages within Xingmeng (numbered sections indicate buildings, the larger section includes fields); 1  $na^{323}ka^{53}$  中村, 2  $pei^{323}ko^{53}$  白阁, 3  $k^h a^{55}ts\gamma^{33}$  下村, 4  $pei^{323}pa^{323}$  交椅湾, 5  $s\gamma^{24}ts^h\gamma^{33}xo^{35}$  陶家嘴. (Map design: Colin Kent)

According to 2010 data (Tōnghǎixiàn Xīngměngxiāng 2010 nián tǒngjì niánjiàn), Xingmeng has a population of 5609 people. The village is fairly homogeneous; 96% percent of its residents are Khatso. The remaining people represent a number of other ethnicities including Han Chinese, Ngwi, Hani, Dai, Hui and others. The largest

group, the Han, is mostly composed of government workers, teachers, doctors and their staffs who live and work in the village. A minority of the Han, and the rest of the other ethnicities, are spouses of local Khatso residents. People from Xingmeng can also be found living and working in nearby towns and cities such as Tonghai, Yuxi and Kunming.

Despite the urban feel of the new neighborhood on the highway, Xingmeng is a farming village. Seventy percent of working age adults farm small plots of land in and around the five villages (Tōnghǎixiàn Xīngměngxiāng 2010 nián tǒngjì niánjiàn). Small livestock, such as chickens, ducks, pigs and goats are also raised by some farmers. Traditionally, rice and wheat were common crops, but now villagers have turned to the more lucrative crops of tobacco, musk melons, canola, and vegetables such as cauliflower, beans and garlic. Much of the local cuisine is similar to that of Yunnan in general, and hot and spicy dishes are favored. There are, however, two dishes that are traditional in the village. The first is roast duck, similar to that made in northern China, and the second is small stir-fried eel. Both are frequently served at banquets and other special occasions.

Since at least the late Qīng 清 era (1644–1912), it has been the custom of many Khatso men to leave the village to find work, most often as carpenters, bricklayers and other types of construction workers (Huang 2009: 9). This still occurs today; 23% of the adults in the village work in construction (Tōnghǎixiàn Xīngměngxiāng 2010 nián tǒngjì niánjiàn 2010). These workers may be away from the village for months or years, and thus much of the farming is done by the women. The skills of the Khatso men have achieved some renown, and they are credited with constructing some well-known buildings throughout China, and have even worked as far afield as Southeast Asia and Africa (Lin 1976: 3). While their woodworking skills are no longer in demand, there are a number of traditional houses in the village – 100 or 200 years old at least – that still retain doorways with intricate symbolic carvings.

There are two primary cultural markers that distinguish the Khatso from other ethnic groups in Yunnan. The first is the language, which is still used in everyday village life despite widespread fluency in Chinese. Indeed, there is a general feeling that to be a true Khatso one must speak the language (Dai 2008: 40). However, modernization is changing the way Khatso is used and its continuing vitality is under threat (see § 1.4). The second ethnic marker is the traditional clothing of Khatso women. Modified somewhat from the old days, it now consists of three layers of an undershirt, a blouse and a vest, worn with trousers. A black turban tied with pink yarn, completely concealing the hair, completes the outfit. Older women, age 60 and above, still wear this clothing every day. Younger women typically wear modern clothing and only don the traditional costume for holidays and other special occasions. There is no traditional costume for men. Judging by old photos, they seemed to have adopted Chinese clothing long ago. Because of recent cultural exchanges with Inner Mongolia, some men now wear traditional northern Mongolian robes on special occasions.

In other aspects, Khatso culture mirrors that of traditional Chinese culture. Village residents observe the customs surrounding Mid-Autumn Festival, Dragon Boat Festival, Ancestor Day and the Lunar New Year. International Women's Day, which is an official holiday in China, has been adapted to a traditional local practice called *na<sup>53</sup>te<sup>h</sup>ε<sup>55</sup>* in Khatso or *tiàolè* 跳乐 in Putonghua. Other local minority groups are invited to Xingmeng for a day-long song and dance festival, which includes polished performances as well as traditional folk dancing for everyone. This practice has been going on for centuries, and most local groups know one another's songs and steps, making it easy for them to dance together. Every three years Xingmeng also celebrates Naadam 那达慕, the traditional northern Mongolian dance and sports festival, which is called *na<sup>323</sup>ta<sup>323</sup>mo<sup>323</sup>* in Khatso. In Xingmeng, the village-wide event lasts several days and includes song and dance performances, games, athletic contests, banquets and night-time bonfire parties.

While the majority of villagers are atheists, there has been a revival in restoring Xingmeng's temples. Some are Buddhist, such as Guanyin Temple 观音寺 in *na<sup>323</sup>ka<sup>53</sup>* and North Sea Temple 北海寺 in *sj<sup>24</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>xo<sup>35</sup>*, and some are Confucian such as Dragon King Temple 龙王庙 in *pei<sup>323</sup>pa<sup>323</sup>*. Three Beliefs Temple 三教寺 in *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>tsj<sup>33</sup>* combines elements from Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism. The grandest and most impressive is the very recently rebuilt Three Saints Temple 三圣宫 in *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>tsj<sup>33</sup>*, which is now the tallest building in the village. This temple commemorates Genghis Khan and his two grandsons Möngke and Kublai, the eponymous saints, who are worshipped as ancestors. It also contains a permanent exhibition on modern Khatso culture and houses a collection of the centuries-old steles that mention Mongolians in Yunnan history.

From the 1949 revolution on, there have been a number of political, educational and cultural exchanges between Xingmeng and Inner Mongolia (Ma 2000: 310–18). Initial contact began in the 1950s, but it was not until the 1970s that firm ties between the two were established. In 1976 several professors from the Inner Mongolia Teacher's College visited Xingmeng, resulting in the first academic publication describing the Khatso people (Yúnnán měnggǔzú 1976; see § 1.7.1). In the 1980s, several groups of Khatso students were sent to Inner Mongolia to study, some learning traditional song and dance, others focusing on Mongolian language and literature. At the same time, Khatso experts in construction visited Inner Mongolia to exchange technical knowledge. Mongolian instructors were also sent to Xingmeng in 1985 to teach their language to the villagers. This effort did not succeed, but it is the custom now for all public signage in Xingmeng to include Mongolian alongside Chinese. These exchanges continue today and, in fact, Inner Mongolia has become a common vacation destination for Khatso villagers.

The history of the Khatso people is not well documented. Their presence in Yunnan begins with Kublai Khan's invasion of Yunnan in 1253 (Ma 2000: 4–5). The Mongols had previously failed in their attempts to conquer China, and so they devised a strategy in which they would first take Yunnan and then use it as a base from which

to attack China from the south. At the time Yunnan was independent of China and contained many different ethnic tribes such as the Ngwi, Hani and Dai. They were ruled by an ethnic Bai dynasty based in Dàlǐ 大理 in northern Yunnan. The Mongols invaded with 100,000 soldiers and quickly conquered the Dali Kingdom, placing troops in strategic spots around the province. Eventually, China fell to the Mongols, and the Yuan Dynasty was established in 1271.

One of the places of strategic importance in central Yunnan was Qūtuóguān 曲陀关, a mountain pass that connected southern Yunnan with points north (Du and Chen 1976: 11; Huang 2009: 6; Ma 2000: 12–13). Today the highway between Yuxi and Tonghai still passes through modern day Qutuoguan. In the Yuan Dynasty, the spot was both a military camp and the governmental seat for much of southern Yunnan. In addition to guarding the pass, the soldiers were also responsible for growing their own food. They farmed in the valley below and raised sheep and cavalry horses on nearby Phoenix Mountain above modern Xingmeng (Huang 2009: 6). Many settled permanently, marrying local women to start families. When the Yuan Dynasty fell in 1368, the Mongol forces in Yunnan continued to resist the new Ming Dynasty army until 1381. At that point, the surviving Mongols fled. Some made their way back to their northern homeland, others hid among various local ethnic tribes. A group from Qutuoguan, said to be the relatives of the last commander and his troops, fled to the marshy western edge of Qilu Lake, which was much larger then than it is today. They are considered to be the ancestors of the Khatso.

The settlements they established became Shàngcūn 上村 (literally ‘upper village’ in Putonghua), Zhōngcūn 中村 (‘middle village’) and Xiàcūn 下村 (‘lower village’) in what is now Xingmeng. Availing themselves of Qilu Lake and its tributaries, the former soldiers became fishermen as well as farmers (Huang 2009: 8). Eventually, they became quite skilled at this new livelihood and invented a variety of tools and methods for harvesting fish, shrimp and snails. They were also able to escape ongoing persecution by hiding in the marshes or rowing boats out into the lake (Lin 1976: 3). As a result, in local historical records the settlements are referred to as the Three Fishing Villages *sānyú cūn* 三渔村, and the Khatso themselves were simply called ‘the fishermen’ *yú fū* 渔夫. As the population grew, three other villages sprang up (Gao 2001: 12–13). *na*<sup>323</sup>*ka*<sup>53</sup> and *k*<sup>h</sup>*a*<sup>55</sup>*ts*<sup>33</sup> (Zhongcun and Xiacun in Chinese) were joined by *p**ei*<sup>323</sup>*ko*<sup>53</sup> (Báigé 白阁), which was founded by families from *k*<sup>h</sup>*a*<sup>55</sup>*ts*<sup>33</sup>, and *p**ei*<sup>323</sup>*pa*<sup>323</sup> (Jiāoyǐwān 交椅湾, literally ‘armchair bay’ in Chinese), which grew around a natural inlet that no longer exists. In 1631 seventeen families from *p**ei*<sup>323</sup>*ko*<sup>53</sup> moved to another spot on the water where they founded *s*<sup>24</sup>*ts*<sup>h</sup><sup>33</sup>*xo*<sup>35</sup> (Táojiāzuǐ 陶家嘴 in Putonghua); they were later joined by an influx of families from *na*<sup>323</sup>*ka*<sup>53</sup>. At some point long ago Shangcun became a Han village (Mu 2002: 18), and is today known as Lùxícūn 碌溪村, leaving only five small Khatso villages.

The Míng 明 era (1368–1644) was a time of persecution for many ethnic groups and especially for the remaining Mongols (Mu 2002: 8; Sneath 1999: 125). As Chinese influence spread, many ethnic groups slowly assimilated with Han culture. Most of

the remaining pockets of Mongols did as well or, if not, they assimilated into other ethnic groups such as the Ngwi and the Bai (He 1998: 4; Huang 2009: 8). It is also reported that Mongol families from elsewhere eventually found their way to the Khatso villages (Du and Chen 1976: 14). Apparently only the Khatso developed their own independent language and culture over time. How this came about is not clear, but they were no doubt aided by the fact that they were a very small group living in a remote area. Simply known as ‘the fishermen’, perhaps outsiders were not aware of their Mongolian heritage. Traditionally they practiced female endogamy, meaning that daughters would only marry Khatso men (Dai 2008: 39). Sons were allowed to bring home wives from other ethnic groups, though the women were expected to assimilate into Khatso culture. Through some combination of these factors, the villagers were largely able to keep to themselves.

Over time, as Qilu Lake began to recede, the Khatso reclaimed the former marshland and created rice paddies (Huang 2009: 9). At some point the newly productive land attracted the attention of the local ruling elite. They confiscated much of the land, forcing the Khatso to become tenant farmers in service to landowners and local temples. The bulk of each harvest was returned as rent; what remained was often not enough to support a family. Thus the Khatso continued to fish for a living, or traveled to find work outside the village. According to information recorded in 1950, before the Communist Revolution more than 80% of peasant households in the village were tenant farmers (Huang 2009: 9–10). The Khatso benefitted enormously from the agricultural reforms of Máo Zédōng 毛泽东 and later from the economic liberalization policies of the 1980s. Today, Xingmeng is a relatively prosperous rural village.

With no writing system, the Khatso left few historical records of their own. However, we know that knowledge of their Mongol heritage remained alive through the years due to several memorial tablets written in Chinese that were erected in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This was during the Qing Dynasty, and although the ruling elite were culturally Chinese, they were ethnically Manchu. They also often intermarried with the northern Mongol nobility. Because of this association, Mongolians were no longer considered an inferior group (Sneath 1999: 129), which no doubt encouraged the Khatso to publically proclaim their own Mongol ancestry. For example, a *tsa*<sup>33</sup> 旃 clan tablet dating from 1806 says “my family’s native place is Mongolia, [we] entered China with the Great Yuan ... [our] earliest ancestor was Altemür who was appointed commander [of Qutuoguan] in 1360...” (Huang 2009: 5). A tablet erected by the same clan in 1813 repeats the narrative saying “Since the Yuan Dynasty, [our] ancestral home is Zhongcun for many generations...” (Huang 2009: 5). A *tsa*<sup>33</sup> family memorial on Phoenix Mountain from 1840 states “my family... entered Yunnan from Mongolia, lived in Xia[cun] fishing village...” A later tablet from 1903 states “[our] original home was Mongolia, in the Yuan era [we] followed Zandan [son of Altemür]

who was appointed commander of southern Yunnan guarding Qutuoguan...” (Huang 2009: 5).<sup>3</sup>

## 1.4 Language Vitality

In 2008, a language use survey of the Khatso people was published (Dai 2008). The survey notes that although the village population is small – approximately 5620 in 2006 – more than 99% of the residents are proficient in the language (2008: 3). And despite the fact that all residents are bilingual in Chinese, Khatso remains the language of everyday life in the village. The author points to four main factors that account for the survival of the language.

First, Xingmeng has a high population density (Dai 2008: 2). Xingmeng only occupies 4.77 square kilometers or 1.84 square miles. With a population of 5620 in 2006, 96.5% of whom are Khatso, this translates to 1137 people per square kilometer (2008: 39). The geography thus creates a concentrated linguistic environment in which Khatso is used all day every day. Second, the Khatso traditionally practiced endogamy, in which daughters were married to Khatso men although Khatso men were allowed to take wives from other groups (2008: 39). This limited the number of non-Khatso spouses, and those outsiders who did marry Khatso husbands were expected to live in the village and learn the language. Third, the language is an important part of the Khatso ethnic identity (2008: 40). Because it is their mother tongue, speakers prefer to use Khatso when they can. Even students who board at schools outside the village will use it with Khatso classmates and when they come home for the weekend. Likewise, laborers who go outside the village in small groups continue to speak Khatso every day with their workmates. Fourth, Khatso use in the home provides a strong “fortress” for the preservation of Khatso (2008: 41). Because husbands are often absent for long periods working outside the village, women do much of the farming in the village in addition to running their households. Children are thus typically cared for by their grandparents and hear Khatso all day.

Despite these factors, over the past several decades bilingualism in Chinese has changed the use of Khatso in the village. Now, in certain village domains Chinese may be more commonly used than Khatso, such as government services or medical clinics. Education has been a major driving force in the spread of bilingualism, since only Chinese is used in the classroom. And attending junior high, which is obligatory in China, requires all Khatso students to leave the village for boarding schools where they live in all-Chinese environments. As Dai (2008: 112) points out, in the 1980s

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<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions use the Chinese names of Khato locations: Qutuoguan is a village near Xingmeng that was the Mongol headquarters during the Yuan era; Zhongcun is *na*<sup>233</sup>*ka*<sup>53</sup> and Xiacun is *k*<sup>h</sup>*a*<sup>55</sup>*tsj*<sup>33</sup>, both of which are historical villages that are part of modern Xingmeng. The Chinese to English translations here are my own.

teachers in the local school began urging parents to teach their children Chinese before they started school. Today, many parents now purposely teach children Chinese as their first language. Khatso is then learned in a more informal fashion while playing with friends and listening to the everyday conversation of adults. As a result, the Khatso of the younger generations is increasingly limited since its use is mainly restricted to a few domains.

Therefore, even though Khatso continues to be learned by children, both *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2013) and UNESCO (Moseley 2010) classify it as endangered. A major contributing factor not explored by the survey is the fact that Khatso lacks a writing system. There are consequently no written media in Khatso, neither books nor newspapers. Village signs, notes or even shopping lists must all be written in Chinese. Naturally, new technologies, such as mobile phones and computers, require written Chinese. Nor are there any recorded media in Khatso. Movies and television shows, of course, use Chinese since they are produced for a national audience. The Khatso-language radio station mentioned by Dai (2008: 37) is no longer in operation. In fact, there is little traditional entertainment available in Khatso. There are no longer folk songs sung in Khatso; these disappeared a long time ago. Older villagers can still recall a handful of patriotic songs that were translated into Khatso in the 1970s, but again these have not been written down. Traditional ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals, and even chanting at the local temples are all conducted in Hanyu. Moreover, modernization has nearly ended a lifestyle in which villagers made everyday items by hand in traditional ways, and the language surrounding these items is already slipping away. Thus, even in the home Chinese is becoming increasingly important.

The survey predicts that Khatso will continue to maintain a fairly stable language environment for at least three to five more generations (Dai 2008: 114). This outlook seems incredibly optimistic. Khatso is facing the same inexorable forces felt by every minority language around the world, modernization and bilingualism. Naturally, the villagers want a better way of life for themselves and their children. Unfortunately, as so often happens, their efforts are also eroding the very factors that have kept Khatso vital until now. As more Khatso children learn Chinese as their first language, reinforced not only by school but the seductive call of television, movies and the internet, they may come to view Khatso as limiting and unnecessary. More and more Khatso students are testing into higher education and pursuing careers outside the village. Living outside the village from junior high onwards, these graduates typically marry non-Khatso spouses and, living full-time in a Chinese-only environment, their children never learn Khatso. Thanks to the dramatic improvement in transportation, even those villagers with only minimal education can find day jobs in the nearby towns of Hexi and Tonghai as sales clerks, waitresses, mechanics or factory workers. As these better-paying jobs become more accessible to Khatso youth, the future of farming in the village is also uncertain. Indeed, as ongoing construction expands the boundaries of both Xingmeng and the neighboring towns, it is not inconceivable that in twenty

or thirty years the village may become just another suburb, losing the geographical center that anchors the people and their language.

The trends endangering Khatso are not likely to change anytime soon, which adds to the urgency of the current project. The Khatso are very proud of their language, and they are aware that it is under pressure, but they have not been able to make much headway in preserving it. It is my hope that the large corpus of recorded Khatso created for this project, along with this grammar, will provide the people of Xingmeng with useful tools to help keep Khatso a healthy and vital language well into the future.

## 1.5 History, Contact and Borrowing

Khatso is likely a relatively young language, no older than 750 years. It presumably arose through language contact that came about after the Mongols invaded Yunnan in 1253. Many of the Mongol soldiers settled permanently in Yunnan and found wives from among the local ethnic groups, predominately the Ngwi but perhaps also including the Bai, the Hani and more recently the Han. Exactly how Khatso evolved from this beginning is not well understood. Several linguists have discussed these issues, but none have done the systematic analysis required to determine Khatso's evolutionary path.

What is known is that today Khatso most resembles languages in the Ngwi family in phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax (Mu 2002: 142–155). There are quite a few languages in this family and individually they differ to varying degrees, but typologically they are quite similar (Bradley 2012). Khatso shares these similarities. In terms of phonology, the phonemic inventories are largely alike. The main differences in Khatso are a lack of voiced consonants and tensed vowels and a much more elaborate tone inventory. Khatso and the Ngwi languages have very little morphology; it mainly consists of a few noun suffixes that indicate the sex of the referent. The vocabularies are comparable across many semantic domains, from livestock and anatomy to verbs, numerals and personal pronouns. Syntactically, they are all analytic languages with largely APV word order. There is neither case marking nor verb inflection; aspect is marked with a variety of grammatical particles. Based on comparative data, the consensus among linguists is that Khatso is an independent language within the Ngwi family.

There is little sign of Mongolian in Khatso today. As Mù Shìhuá 木仕华 (2002: 135–141) notes, modern Mongolian is an agglutinative stress accent language with vowel length distinctions, vowel harmony and an extensive case system. None of these features exist in Khatso. Inner Mongolian scholars who visited Xingmeng in the 1970s reported a short list of seemingly related words, including some nouns and a few grammatical particles (Hasiérdun 1976: 17–18). However, these similarities are mainly superficial, as Mu demonstrates in a broader comparison of Khatso and

Mongolic languages. Mu concludes that there is no Mongolian substrate in Khatso. However, he does not attempt to find systematic correspondences nor does he look at Middle Mongolian, the language presumably spoken by Kublai Khan's soldiers. Middle Mongolian is not vastly different from its modern day counterpart (Rybatzki 2003: 49), so there is no doubt that Khatso differs significantly from the Mongolic languages. However, the issue of whether it retains Mongolian elements, perhaps greatly modified, remains open.

Because of differences in the phonology of Khatso and many Ngwi languages, Hé Jírén 和即仁 (1989: 33–36, 1998: 54) suggests that the early generations of Mongols in Yunnan began to speak Bai before the latter was displaced by influence from Ngwi. Comparing Khatso and the Dali dialect of Bai spoken in northern Yunnan, he notes that the consonant and vowel inventories are nearly identical, and that Bai has seven tones compared to Khatso's eight; most Ngwi languages have three to five tones. Moreover, a lexical comparison shows that 25% of basic Khatso vocabulary is cognate with Bai. Historically, the Mongols in Yunnan would have had considerable contact with Bai speakers. The ruling elite of the conquered Dali Kingdom were ethnic Bai, and the language was the lingua franca of the region. Moreover, historical records show that there was a sizable population of Bai in and around Tonghai in the Yuan and early Ming eras, along with Ngwi and Hani (He 1989: 11–12, Mu 2002: 134). However, Mu (2002: 266–281) shows that a number of Ngwi languages also have similar cognates, influence one would expect from the local high-status language, and thus there is no reason to claim a unique relationship between Bai and Khatso. Furthermore, as Mu (2002: 255) notes, the status of Bai itself is unclear; it may be either a Sinitic language or a highly Sinicized Tibeto-Burman language (Wang 2005). Thus, the similarity between Khatso and Bai can be explained by competing hypotheses – direct contact or mutual inheritance. Ongoing documentation of Ngwi languages also sheds potential new light on the origin of Khatso's eight-tone system. Sāmù 撒慕, a language spoken in Kunming, contains seven tones and may be closely related to Khatso (Lama 2012: 141).

Khatso also contains a great many loanwords from Chinese. These loans come from Southwestern Mandarin (Mu 2002: 35), the dialect of the national language that is spoken throughout Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou and Hubei. Southwestern Mandarin itself has been divided into twelve dialect groups (Kurpaska 2010: 66–67), but local speakers attest to pronunciation differences even from town to town. Indeed, Khatso villagers note that the varieties spoken in Tonghai and Hexi are distinguishable, even though the two towns are separated by only 15 kilometers. Which local variety has most influenced Khatso has yet to be investigated.

These loanwords make up a great deal of Khatso vocabulary and can be found in every word class. Dai (2008: 97) estimates that as much as 40% of the vocabulary is Chinese in origin. Borrowing has not only expanded the vocabulary, it has also impacted Khatso phonology over time (Dai 2008: 78–91; Mu 2002: 34–46). There were at least two stages of borrowing. The first occurred earlier in history, and these loans

show greater phonological change than newer loans. No doubt because villagers are now equally fluent in Chinese, loanwords from the past few decades tend to undergo fewer phonetic changes. Unsurprisingly, these later loans mainly deal with new social concepts from the domains of technology, politics and culture. In some cases, loanwords have superseded the original vocabulary, such as the cardinal directions and many kin terms. In other cases, the loans co-exist with native terms. For example, numerals borrowed from Hanyu are used for times and dates, while Khatso numerals are used for counting. Khatso syntax has also been influenced by Chinese (Dai 2008: 92–96, Mu 2002: 124–128). A number of grammatical constructions use loanwords or patterns borrowed from Hanyu, such as reflexive expressions, some comparative phrases and conjunctions marking certain dependent clauses. Bilingualism is further changing Khatso, especially among younger speakers (Dai 2008: 97–101; see § 1.4).

There are two key questions about the evolution of Khatso that have not been answered. The first is which specific variety (or varieties) of Ngwi served as the parent of modern Khatso. Most linguists have sidestepped the question, perhaps wisely. Many varieties of Ngwi are undocumented or underdocumented, making it difficult to find the data needed to perform a comprehensive comparison, although this situation is slowly improving. Though, as Bradley points out (personal communication), it may be that the Ngwi variety spoken by the ancestors of the Khatso no longer exists today. The historical movement of these groups across Yunnan is likewise not well understood. It is generally accepted that the Nánzhào 南诏 Kingdom (734–902), which ruled over much of modern Yunnan, was a Ngwi society (Wu 2001: 31–32; Wuni et al. 2009: 73–92). During the subsequent Dali Kingdom (937–1253), ruled by an ethnic Bai elite, the Ngwi continued to be numerous and widespread (Mu 2002: 257; Wu 2001: 32; Wuni et al. 2009: 93–105). Under the Mongols, Ngwi and Bai nobility both continued to rule their particular tribes on a local level, reporting to Mongol military commanders (Mu 2002: 4; Wuni et al. 2009: 106–118). The fall of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty led to the xenophobic Ming Dynasty, which brought an ever-increasing influx of Han Chinese into the region. Their arrival forced many Ngwi groups to migrate across Yunnan, often pushing them into remote forest and mountain areas (Wu 2001: 34). Thus, there were many opportunities for the ancestors of the Khatso to interact with various Ngwi groups.

The Mongols invaded Yunnan from the north, first conquering Dali and then proceeding down through Kunming to parts farther south (Ma 2000: 4–5). It is thus possible that soldiers found wives among the Ngwi who lived along this path through Yunnan. Villagers claim as ancestors Altemür and his son Zandan, the last two Mongol commanders at nearby Qutuoguan, and their soldiers. It is known that Altemür came to Yunnan directly from a post in Shǎnxī 陝西 Province in central China (Du and Chen 1976: 12; Huang 2009: 5). Thus, those among his entourage who married in Yunnan would have likely taken wives from among those living close to Qutuoguan. Today, the closest Ngwi communities are Lǐshān 里山, a village south of Tonghai, and Èshān 峨山, the capital of Eshan Yi Autonomous County to the west of Tonghai

County. Northward in Yuxi Prefecture there are also the Sādū 撒都 and the Hlersu or Shānsū 山苏. The phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax of Khatso and Lishan Ngwi are compared in Dai, Liu and Fu 1987. There are similarities, but also many differences, making the results inconclusive. Sadu and Hlersu are only just now being documented (e.g. Bai 2012; Xu 2012), and so no comparison has yet been conducted. Interestingly, results from a recent computational study of 34 Ngwi languages suggest that the variety most closely related to Khatso is Sāmù 撒慕, also known as Sāmādào 撒马涛, spoken in Zījūn Village 子君村 on the outskirts of Kunming (Lama 2012). Also closely related are Lisù 傣傣 (see Bradley 2003 for a description) and Nísū 尼苏. The computational study, however, does not include the Ngwi varieties that are geographically closest to the Khatso area. Xingmeng villagers say they do not understand the varieties spoken nearby, but there are a few anecdotes about limited intelligibility with Lisu. This line of inquiry clearly needs further research.

The other key question surrounding Khatso's origin is its relationship to Mongolian, if there is a relationship at all. On the surface, the modern language seems to be a product of language shift, which occurs when a population replaces its own language with another; the replacement is often more widely spoken or associated with a higher social position (e.g. Matras 2009; Thomason 2001). But is the story this simple, or are there Mongolian elements in the language?

The soldiers brought to Yunnan by Kublai Khan spoke some form of Middle Mongolian (Janhunen 2012: 2). The land they conquered contained many tribes with different languages, but the elite spoke Bai and it was used as a lingua franca (He 1989: 11). Some of the elite may have also spoken Chinese, since there had already been ongoing contact with China for several centuries (Mackerras 1988: 53). Continually employed as soldiers, rank and file Mongols would likely have spoken Mongolian amongst themselves. The language they spoke at home with local wives and their children is unknown. Did they retain the use of the more prestigious Mongolian, at least during the short-lived Yuan Dynasty? Did they quickly shift to the Ngwi of their wives, or were their homes bilingual? If sons became soldiers like their fathers, Mongolian may have been kept alive into the next generations. On the other hand, both Chinese and Mongolian were used officially during the Yuan Dynasty, and the Mongolian elite embraced many aspects of Chinese culture (Man 2007: 148–49). The last Mongol commander at Qutuoguan, a reputed ancestor of the Khatso, is described as knowing the Confucian classics and poetry, which points to a thorough Chinese education (Du and Chen 1976: 12). His soldiers presumably had no formal schooling, but it is possible that Chinese superseded Mongolian as the language spoken in the military. The persecution of the Mongols after the Ming defeated the Yuan would have been great incentive to shift to another language, at least in public. If language shift had not yet occurred, then repeated Ming reprisals may have been what tipped the scales. Perhaps a late shift to a Ngwi language helped the ancestors of the Khatso blend in with their neighbors and avoid detection. The Mongols ruled Yunnan for 128 years, 31 years longer than they ruled China proper, enough time for more than one

language shift to occur. Unfortunately, the historical record is not able to solve the question for us.

There are no obvious Mongolic features in modern Khatso; it resembles others in the Ngwi language family in almost every aspect (Mu 2002: 142–155). However, there has yet to be a truly comprehensive study comparing Khatso and Middle Mongolian. Moreover, because of changes in the livelihood of the Khatso people, the semantic domains where Mongolian would have likely had a longer hold, such as weaponry or horsemanship, may have been lost early on. It is entirely possible that Khatso still contains some Mongolian elements; the simple analysis done to date does not rule this out. Likewise, identifying the Ngwi parent of Khatso would also go a long way towards resolving the problem. If a thorough comparison between the two showed few differences or mostly systematic changes, then a simple shift would be the clear answer. If the differences were great or impossible to explain without outside influence, then Mongolian may have left an imprint. It is my hope that the thorough investigation of Khatso presented in this grammar sets the stage for a more systematic investigation into its past.

## 1.6 Classification

The genealogical classification of minority languages in Yunnan is confused and confusing. In large part this is due to dissonance between the classification scheme used by the Chinese government on one hand and that of Western linguists on the other. After the Communist Revolution in 1949, the new regime proudly promoted equality for all ethnic minorities and set about officially recognizing these groups. However, they favored a lumping strategy. Minorities with similar languages and cultures were deemed a single ethnicity, even if their languages were mutually unintelligible. The language spoken by the most numerous group was labeled the standard while the other varieties were considered something like dialects (Bradley 2001a: 198–199; Bradley and Bradley 2002: 81; Mullaney 2011: 112–117; Poa and LaPolla 2007: 345). One consequence of this system is that resources for education or local language media are only allocated to the officially-designated standard, permanently disadvantaging the other varieties. An empirically-based linguistic analysis, by contrast, would split these families into separate languages or dialect chains. Thus, the Chinese government recognizes 125 minority languages across the nation (Sun 2001: 3, cited in Poa and LaPolla 2007: 337) while *Ethnologue*, which favors a splitting approach, lists more than 250 (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2013). Furthermore, new varieties are still being identified, such as Sadu and Lawu, changing what we know about these language groups (Bradley 2015). As a result, the classification of minority languages in Yunnan remains a work in progress.

Because Khatso is similar to Ngwi languages in terms of phonology, vocabulary and syntax, and contains no obvious Mongolian elements, linguists place it in the

Ngwi family. Belonging to the Burmic branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, this group is traditionally called Lolo-Burmese in many Western sources. Because the Chinese feel that Lolo carries pejorative connotations, they now use the name Burmese-Yi 缅彝. Citing reconstructed autonyms, Bradley (1995: 1, 2005a) proposes the name Mran-Ngwi for the group.<sup>4</sup> Khatso's place within this language family is less clear. The Chinese officially consider Khatso a dialect of Nuòsū 诺苏, the language they consider to be standard Yi, which is spoken in northern Yunnan and southern Sichuan. The Khatso people, on the other hand, are officially recognized as ethnic Mongolians. Khatso and Nuosu are mutually unintelligible, and in fact Khatso does not seem to be mutually intelligible with any Ngwi variety (Dai, Liu and Fu 1987: 175; Mu 2002: 27). As a result, the Chinese linguists who have researched Khatso consider it to be a separate language in the Burmese-Ngwi group rather than a dialect of any particular variety (Dai, Liu and Fu 1987: 175; Mu 2002: 256), but this position is not officially recognized. In addition, Western linguists view the Ngwi family differently. Matisoff (2003: 697) places Khatso (which he calls Gazhuo) in the Northern Loloish branch of the Lolo-Burmese family, along with Lalo, Nasu and a number of other Ngwi varieties. Bradley (1997: 39) places Nasu and Khatso in the northern Ngwi branch, and situates Lalo, Lipo and Lisu in the central branch. Based on a 2012 field visit to Xingmeng during my own time there, Bradley now believes Khatso belongs in the central branch (personal communication).

Given Khatso's history and its similarity to languages in the Ngwi family, the crucial question related to classification is which Ngwi variety (or varieties) served as the parent language. Khatso would then logically belong to the same branch as the parent. This is not an easy question to answer, however, since many likely candidates are either undocumented or underdocumented. Most of the Chinese linguists who have studied Khatso sidestep the issue, choosing to address the general similarities between Khatso and the entire Ngwi family. The first attempt at answering this question is a paper that explores the relationship between 37 languages in the Ngwi family (Lama 2012). Using a computational phylogenetic model, Lama compares 300 core words across the languages. He determines that the language closest to Khatso is Samu, known as Samadao in Putonghua, which is spoken in a southern suburb of Kunming. In his model Khatso and Samu form a small branch of a subgroup that also includes Lisù 傣傣 and Nàsū 纳苏. However, Lama notes that the Khatso-Samu pairing is not strong, and few details are provided for independent evaluation. Moreover, the data sample is not large and the results cut across the branches accepted by Western linguists. A much more rigorous comparison needs to be done to clarify the relationship, but these data bring to light a new line of inquiry.

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<sup>4</sup> Following recent practice in this field, the term Ngwi is used throughout this book except where an older form is part of a proper name or title.

## 1.7 Previous Research

Because of its unique history, Khatso has been the focus of a number of academic studies over the years. Scholars coming to the village include historians, sociologists and linguists. Almost all of the scholarship to date has been done by Chinese researchers, though there are several publications about the village in English. In this section, each of the linguistic studies is introduced and briefly evaluated. The issues they raise around language vitality, language contact and classification are discussed in more detail in § 1.4, § 1.5 and § 1.6 respectively.

### 1.7.1 A First Exploration of the Yunnan Mongolian Language (Hasieerdun 1976)

In the summer of 1976, several professors from Inner Mongolia Normal College 内蒙古师范学院 visited Xingmeng, one of the first of many educational and cultural exchanges between northern and southern Mongolians. In September of that year the school published an edited volume in Chinese and Mongolian titled *Yunnan Mongolians* 云南蒙古族. The book contains articles on the history, folklore and language of the Khatso people. The article on linguistics, *A first exploration of the Yunnan Mongolian language* 云南蒙古族语言初探 written by Hāsīěrdūn 哈斯额尔敦, is a brief sketch of the basics. Vowels, consonants, tones and syllable structure are presented in the first section. Nouns and noun phrases are touched on in the second section, along with verbal aspect and word order. The third section discusses a short list of Khatso words and their likely Mongolian cognates. Also included is a vocabulary list of nearly 660 Khatso words with Chinese and Mongolian translations.

The results provide a glimpse of Khatso through northern Mongolian eyes. It is noted that the language is tonal, but only four tones are identified and they are described as identical to those in Putonghua. For the most part, however, tone marking is omitted for the vocabulary transcribed. Noun classifiers are also considered as either case endings or part of the nouns themselves. Of more interest is the section on Mongolian cognates. Impressionistic rather than the result of comparative analysis, these data are not conclusive. They do suggest, however, that Khatso may still retain traces of its Mongolian roots.

### 1.7.2 A Study of Yunnan Mongolian Gazhuo (Dai, Liu and Fu 1987)

Published in the Chinese journal *Studies in Language and Linguistics* 语言研究, the article *A study of Yunnan Mongolian Gazhuo* 云南蒙古族嘎桌语研究 was written by linguists Dài Qìngxìà 戴庆夏, Liú Júhuáng 刘菊黄 and Fù Àilán 傅爱兰. The article presents a systematic overview of the language as well as a comparison with a Ngwi language. The overview begins with a section on phonology which discusses

phonemes, presents the eight-tone system and touches on syllable structure. The syntax section identifies ten word classes, which are listed as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, numerals, classifiers, adverbs, conjunctions, particles and interjections. This section also discusses the structure of short constructions, such as noun and verb phrases, argument structure, and the differences between declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses. The third section delves into vocabulary, discussing the structure of individual words, the simple derivational morphology, and loanwords from Chinese. Every section is exemplified with Khatso data presented in IPA along with translations in Chinese.

The other major topic explored is the relationship between Khatso and Lishan Ngwi 里山彝, a variety spoken in the area south of Tonghai not far from Xingmeng. The phonology, vocabulary and syntax of both are compared and contrasted in successive sections, supplemented with lists of comparative data. Noting that there are similarities as well as key differences, the authors state that Khatso certainly belongs to the Ngwi family, but should be considered an independent language within it.

The article presents the first systematic analysis of Khatso linguistic structure. The comparison of Khatso and Lishan Ngwi is instructive, but inconclusive in terms of determining Khatso's place in the larger Ngwi family. For a more detailed discussion on the issues surrounding classification, see § 1.6.

### 1.7.3 Yunnan Mongolian and the Classification Question (He 1989)

The article *Yunnan Mongolian and the classification question* 云南蒙古族语言及其系属问题, written by linguist Hé Jírén 和即仁, appeared in the Chinese journal *Minority Languages of China* 民族语文 in 1989. The structure of the piece is similar to that of Dai, Liu and Fu 1987, though it is apparently based on He's own fieldwork. There are two main topics: language structure and the relationship of Khatso to other local minority languages.

In terms of language structure, the article describes the basics: phonology, morphology and syntax. The section on phonology introduces phonemes and tones, and also touches on syllable structure. Unlike the analysis in Dai, Liu and Fu 1987, only seven tones are presented; tones 44 and 323 are not included, but tone 12 is identified. The transcription method for vowels also differs somewhat from the earlier work. On morphology, the article is brief; describing monomorphemes and compounds. The section on syntax discusses ten word classes in succession: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, numerals, classifiers, adverbs, conjunctions, particles and interjections. Following this is a discussion of phrases, their elements and word order.

The second part of the article focuses on the issue of Khatso's evolution. First, Khatso is compared to Sānǐ Ngwi 撒尼彝, which is spoken in Shílín County 石林县 to the northeast of Xingmeng. A good deal of overlap in the phonology of the two is observed, though Sani only has five tones. In a discussion of vocabulary, it is noted that

44% of 850 basic words are cognates in the two languages. In terms of syntax, both languages have the same word classes, nominal morphology is similar, and both are SOV languages. Next, Khatso is compared with the Dali dialect of Bai, which was the lingua franca of the region before the Mongol invasion. In this discussion, the phonological similarities are discussed, especially the point that Khatso has eight tones, one more than the seven reported for Bai. The lexicon and syntax are rather different though. Of 821 basic words, only 25% were deemed cognate. Word order is cited as a major difference in the syntax of the two languages, since Bai is an SVO language. The author argues that Khatso must have originally been influenced by Bai, because its phonology is more similar to that of Bai than the phonology of Sani Ngwi. Later, through intermarriage with speakers of Ngwi, Khatso vocabulary and syntax were greatly influenced by the latter language, leaving only a trace of the earlier Bai influence.

This article raises an important point about the influence of Bai on the evolution of Khatso. The Mongols who came to Yunnan undoubtedly had contact of some kind with speakers of Bai. However, the analysis presented here is inconclusive about the result of that contact. Discrepancies in the basic linguistic description of Khatso, such as those on tone, raise questions about the data used in the analysis. A discussion of the comparative methods used would have also helped clarify the conclusions drawn. Nonetheless, the article adds a new layer to the investigation of the Khatso language. For a more detailed discussion on the issues surrounding language contact, see § 1.5.

#### 1.7.4 A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon (Huang 1992)

This book, *A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon* 藏缅语族语言词汇, presents a comparative word list of 1822 common vocabulary items for 50 Tibeto-Burman languages. The data are transcribed in IPA with translations in Chinese and English. Edited by Huáng Bùfán 黄布凡, the Khatso data were provided by the authors of *A study of Yunnan Mongolian Kazhuo* (Dai, Liu and Fu 1987) and presumably come from their earlier fieldwork in Xingmeng.

Although a Khatso equivalent is not provided for every lexeme, more than 1460 Khatso words are included, making this the first extensive vocabulary list published for the language. And since entries are listed adjacent to their counterparts in other languages, Khatso can be readily compared and contrasted with vocabulary from elsewhere within the Tibeto-Burman family, including a handful of Ngwi languages.

#### 1.7.5 About the Formation of Yunnan Mongolian Kazhuo (He 1998)

*About the formation of Yunnan Mongolian Kazhuo* 关于云南蒙古族卡卓语的形成 appeared in the Chinese journal *Minority Languages of China* 民族语文 in 1998 and

was authored by linguist Hé Jírén 和即仁. This brief article largely reiterates the points made in the author's previous article (see § 1.7.3), along with more historical detail on the region. The phonological similarities between Bai and Khatso are noted, as are the lexical and syntactic similarities between Khatso and several varieties of Ngwi, namely Sāní 撒尼, Sāméi 撒梅 and Nièsū 聂苏. Again it is argued that the Mongols first intermarried with the Bai in the Dali area, and then later with the Ngwi in Kunming and eventually in Xingmeng.

Other than additional historical data on the region, no new information is brought to bear on the Bai hypothesis. Data from two new varieties of Ngwi are used to show Khatso's similarities with this language family, but the uncertainties raised by the earlier article are not addressed.

### 1.7.6 A Study of Kazhuo (Mu 2002)

*A Study of Kazhuo* 卡卓语研究, written by linguist Mù Shihuá 木仕华, is the first book-length analysis of the language and its structure. Based on fieldwork carried out in 1999, and numbering 337 pages, the volume is divided between linguistic description and comparative analysis. In addition, the appendices include a lexicon of more than 1870 words and the texts of three traditional stories.

The description of the Khatso language is the smaller portion of the book, comprising four chapters that span 128 pages. The first chapter presents an overview of the Khatso people, their history and culture. The second chapter describes Khatso phonology, confirming the eight contour tones found earlier by Dai, Liu and Fu 1987, and outlines the phonology of Chinese loan words. These loans, which came from Hanyu, were borrowed at different times throughout Khatso's history. They also altered Khatso's phonology, introducing diphthongs for example. Chapter 3 is an exploration of the Khatso lexicon and its origins as well as word morphology. It notes that there are many Chinese loans in the language as well as vocabulary from Ngwi, but very few Mongolian cognates. The various ways that Chinese loans are made to conform to Khatso phonology are also analyzed. Finally, there is a discussion of how the cultural history of Xingmeng, including the change from soldiering to fishing to farming, has influenced the language.

The fourth chapter, the last on language structure, covers the topic of syntax. First, the word classes are defined and described in considerable detail; they are given as nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals, classifiers, adverbs, particles, conjunctions and interjections. Next is an analysis of compound words, their morphology and semantics. The structure of simple phrases is explored, with a discussion of coordinate constructions and various types of modifying constructions. The section on sentence structure discusses the SOV pattern and which elements may serve as verbal arguments. Complex sentences are also briefly described. Finally, there is a

discussion of the influence of Chinese on Khatso grammatical particles and syntactic structure.

The last two chapters, which span 161 pages and thus make up the majority of the book, focus on the relationship of Khatso to other minority languages and what this says about its origins. Chapter 5 contains sixteen sections in which various comparative notions are explored in turn. The first section reviews the basic history of the region as well as the previous linguistic research. Next, Khatso is compared with modern Mongolian and other Mongolic languages, demonstrating that the handful of Khatso words previously believed to be Mongolic cognates (see Hasieerdun 1976 in § 1.7.1) are much more similar to their counterparts in the Ngwi family. Khatso consonants and basic vocabulary are then compared to those found in varieties of Ngwi as well as in Hani, Naxi and Lisu, showing close similarities across a variety of lexemes. A short list of vocabulary is compared between Khatso and Tibeto-Burman languages outside the Ngwi branch, again showing similarities. An exploration of the putative relationship with Bai (He 1989; see § 1.7.3) shows that similar correspondences exist in a number of Ngwi languages and thus there is no reason to claim a unique relationship between Bai and Khatso. The rest of the sections further compare Khatso and the Ngwi family, looking at onsets, vowels, numerals, tones, word order, grammatical particles, verb reduplication, causatives, interrogative pronouns and sentence final particles. In each discussion the data show similarities in form and function between Khatso and a variety of Ngwi languages, though rarely are the correspondent languages identical. Finally, the chapter concludes that Khatso is an independent language that evolved within the Ngwi family.

Chapter 6 presents a longer view, looking at history and language contact. The first section compares the results of the linguistic analysis in the previous chapter to what is known about the history of Yunnan at the time the Mongols arrived. The conclusion is that the ancestors of the Khatso shifted to some variety of Ngwi rather quickly, also absorbing some loan words from Bai and, to a much greater degree, Chinese. The second section explains that there is no Bai substrate in Khatso to indicate a deep relationship between the two. Instead, there are loanwords from Bai that are also found in other Ngwi languages, reflecting the relatively high status Bai had in Yunnan before and after the Mongol invasion. Likewise, the notion of a Mongolian substrate is rejected; the few Khatso words that seem similar to Mongolian are also borrowed since it too was a high-prestige language for a time. Finally, the idea of Khatso as a mixed language is explored. Because the language looks in every respect like a Ngwi language, and there is neither a Bai nor Mongolian substrate, the mixed language hypothesis is rejected.

This volume considerably expands the information previously published on Khatso. The structure of the language is described in more detail and instantiated with many examples. However, the data presented are rather basic; the primary focus is on phonology, vocabulary and word classes. Only 13 pages are devoted to sentence structure, focusing mainly on simple clauses followed by a brief discussion of clause

coordination. The study would benefit from a discussion of several key areas, such as tone change, the aspectual system and clause combining. There are also discrepancies in transcription, especially with regard to tones 323 and 24.

The second half of the book provides a broader analysis of the comparative issues than the more anecdotal approach previously used. The wealth of data presented from the Ngwi family clearly shows Khatso's close relationship to those languages. Perhaps because many of the relevant languages were undocumented at the time, there is no analysis of phonological correspondences nor an attempt to determine which language is the parent of Khatso. The discussion on Mongolian is the most complete to date, but again there is no attempt to find correspondences between Khatso and Middle Mongolian or to disprove their existence. In sum, the volume is a useful introduction to Khatso, but does not answer all of the questions surrounding the language.

### **1.7.7 Language Use and Its Evolution Among the Yunnan Mongolian Kazhuo People (Dai 2008)**

In 2008, linguist Dài Qìngxìà 戴庆夏, who co-authored the 1987 article on Khatso (see § 1.7.2), published a book-length study of Khatso language vitality entitled *Language Use and its Evolution among the Yunnan Mongolian Kazhuo People* 云南蒙古族喀卓人语言使用现状及其演变. Over the course of two months in 2007, Dai and his team surveyed the use of Khatso among villagers age six and older. Villagers were asked in interviews whether they were “proficient”, had “partial understanding” or “did not speak” Khatso. Approximately 89% of the 5620 villagers were so ranked. In addition, a random sample of villagers of various ages was asked to take two different oral vocabulary tests. The first consisted of 400 words; the second consisted of a more difficult list of 100 words.

The results show that 99.9% of the villagers can speak Khatso proficiently, including almost all of the outsiders who have married into Khatso families. In addition, 99.8% of the population also speak Chinese, either Hanyu or Putonghua. Khatso remains the language of everyday life, although even in the village certain domains – such as the government, the medical clinics and the market – may require using Chinese to speak with non-Khatso staff. Education, of course, also requires fluency in Chinese, even in the village's own elementary school. And students who attend junior high and high school must leave Xingmeng to board at school, living in Chinese-only environments. Young children in the village continue to learn Khatso, but most parents now primarily speak to them in Chinese to prepare them for school. They pick up Khatso on their own listening to adult conversation and through playing with friends, but their vocabularies are increasingly limited since they only use Khatso in a few domains. Consequently, the vocabulary test results show a strong correlation between age and a fluent grasp of vocabulary.

In addition to the discussion of bilingualism and frequency of Chinese use, the book also discusses the ways in which Chinese has influenced the structure of Khatso itself. Loanwords and their impact on Khatso phonology are discussed, as is the impact Chinese syntax has on a number of Khatso constructions. The volume also includes a lexicon of 2200 Khatso words written in IPA with Chinese translations. The list is broader and more refined than that printed in Huang 1992, which came from fieldwork that Dai and his colleagues conducted in the 1980s.

While there is little doubt about the general trends outlined in the survey, it may overstate the health of the language. Basic proficiency, for example, is measured through simple interviews, which invite participant embellishment. Moreover, the category “proficient” is rather broad, and ignores differences in the use of borrowed words and constructions as well as code switching. Furthermore, the lack of a Khatso writing system and how this makes the language more susceptible to erosion and change is not addressed. A deeper discussion of these issues is presented in § 1.4.

### 1.7.8 Yunnan Tonghai Xingmeng Mongolian Kazhuo (Wang 2008)

Khatso villagers are well aware that the Khatso lexicon is changing due to language endangerment, especially the vocabulary related to more traditional ways of life. As a result, the village’s Tonghai Mongolian Nationality Cultural Research and Inheritance Protection Center 通海蒙古民族文化研究传承保护中心, founded in 2007, created a project to preserve the language. A committee of elders compiled a lexicon of Khatso, including a great deal of traditional vocabulary. The resulting book, *Yunnan Tonghai Xingmeng Mongolian Kazhuo* 云南通海兴蒙古族喀卓语 published in 2008, was edited by *wa<sup>31</sup> li<sup>31</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ei<sup>31</sup>* (王立才 Wáng Lìcái), one of the members of the committee. The more than 2000 lexemes are organized by semantic categories, from animals and plants to clothing, architecture and cultural objects. Each item is presented in three ways. First, there is a Chinese translation. Second, because Khatso has no writing system, Chinese characters are used to approximate Khatso pronunciation in Hanyu. Third, each word is transcribed in IPA.

There is no doubt that the content of this book provides valuable linguistic and cultural information. And using the local pronunciation of Chinese characters to represent Khatso is a clever solution. Unfortunately, this system does not seem easy to use for those not involved in the project. The IPA is also problematic. Seemingly borrowed from a number of sources with differing standards, it is not consistent and also includes quite a few errors. Nevertheless, as a first step by the community to address language endangerment, it is an important and laudable effort.

### 1.7.9 Publications in English

There are two academic publications in English about the Khatso people. The first, *Some notes on the Mongols of Yunnan*, appeared in *Central Asiatic Journal* in 1984. The author, Henry G. Schwarz, notes that the content is drawn from Chinese sources rather than original research. The short section on the Khatso language is a summary of the information presented in Hasieerdun 1976. A summary translation of Schwarz article appeared in the Chinese journal *World Nationalities* 世界民族 in 1987, and an expanded translation appeared in 1995 in the Chinese *Journal of Inner Mongolia Teacher's College for Nationalities* 内蒙古民族师院学报.

The second article, *Some notes on a visit to a 'Mongolian' village in Yunnan, China* by David D. Sneath, was published in the journal *Inner Asia* in 1999. Although this article only mentions linguistic matters in passing, it is included here because of the paucity of information on the Khatso in English. The author explains that it is not an academic study, but rather written to convey his observations after a brief visit to Xingmeng. The majority of the piece is devoted to the history of Mongols in Yunnan, and effectively conveys the pride the villagers feel for their Mongolian heritage.

## 1.8 Methodology

Because language loss is irrevocable, a project that seeks to document an endangered language must create a comprehensive record of the language in question (see Bower 2008; Gippert, Himmelmann and Mosel 2006; Newman and Ratliff 2001). In addition to capturing the basic building blocks of a language – phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon – there must also be an emphasis on recording natural speech from a variety of speakers. Indeed, in order to fully understand a language, it is crucial to analyze discourse because many constructions are only apparent in extended stretches of speech (e.g. Chafe 1980, Du Bois 1987, Hopper and Thompson 1984, Thompson and Hopper 2001). Thus my project had two main goals: create a comprehensive corpus of the language and write a grammar based on the corpus.

The corpus data were collected during a year of fieldwork in Xingmeng from April 2012 to April 2013. My Khatso assistant *k<sup>h</sup>uei<sup>44</sup> li<sup>24</sup>* 奎丽 (Ms. Kui) and I recorded more than 50 hours of Khatso in audio and video format. These recordings include both elicited data and natural discourse. The elicited data comprise phonetic and phonological material, vocabulary and short phrases from more than 25 speakers. A number of discourse genres were captured, featuring more than 30 speakers, from instructions and personal anecdotes to spontaneous conversation and traditional narratives. Supplementary data were obtained between April 2013 to May 2015, through regular online conversations via email and Skype with *k<sup>h</sup>uei<sup>44</sup> li<sup>24</sup>*, and by extension other speakers in the village, as well as a follow-up visit to Xingmeng in October 2014.

Language data were captured in different technological formats as recommended by best practice (e.g. Bower 2008; E-MELD 2006; Good 2011; OLAC 2009; Thieberger and Berez 2012). Elicited data and accompanying linguistic and cultural notes were written in notebooks in the field and later digitally scanned; the language data were also entered into the linguistic analysis program FieldWorks. Elicitation sessions were recorded using a Roland R-26 audio recorder and a Shure SM10A microphone. Conversation was recorded using a Zoom H2 audio recorder and its built-in microphone as well as the Roland R-26 and a Rode NT4 X/Y stereo tabletop microphone. Videos were captured using a JVC GY-HM100 HD Camcorder and either an Audio Technica BP4029 stereo shotgun microphone or the Rode tabletop microphone. Transcriptions were typed into word processing software. Praat was used to analyze the phonetics, and SoundForge used to listen to and edit audio recordings. Ceremonies, events, cultural objects and everyday life in the village were also captured in digital photo format using a Nikon Coolpix S3100 camera.

A combination of data elicitation and discourse analysis was used in the project, following best practice (Mithun 2009). Elicitation was used early on to investigate the phonemic inventory of the language, test morphology and sketch out basic syntactic patterns. This information was transcribed using IPA, and glossed in Putonghua and English. Once the basics were understood, the transcription of spontaneous discourse began. In these transcriptions, which follow the Santa Barbara method (Du Bois 2013), Khatso was written using a Romanized orthography devised for that purpose. The Khatso was translated into Chinese by Ms. Kui and myself, and may consequently have a local Yunnan flavor. English translations were added later by myself. The transcription process also included a certain amount of ad hoc testing via elicitation, as new vocabulary or grammatical patterns were discovered and assessed. These transcriptions were used to analyze the use of grammatical constructions and discourse patterns. Additional texts along with recordings may be found at [www.khatso.net](http://www.khatso.net).

The grammar was written between April 2013 and May 2015 in Palo Alto, California. Because of the recent resurgence of language documentation, there has been a renewed interest in the theory of grammar writing. The latest literature (e.g. Ameka, Dench and Evans 2006; Payne and Weber 2007; Nakayama and Rice 2014) provides a series of guidelines about the collection, organization and presentation of data. These practices informed my own approach to planning and writing the current volume.

From start to finish, this project was a collaborative one. Thus, the ethical treatment of speakers and their language data was paramount (e.g. Bower 2008; Dwyer 2006; Rice 2006). Participation in the project was voluntary and speakers gave their informed consent before any recording took place. During this process, mutual rights and responsibilities were explained and consent was recorded either orally or in written form, in accordance with the protocol approved by the Human Subjects Committee at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Participants were also paid for their time. In order to thank the participants for their generous assistance, and to highlight

the validity of the information presented, all language data in this volume are gratefully attributed to the Khatso men and women who provided them.

## 1.9 Language Consultants

The people of Xingmeng were very supportive of this project, and I was able to work with dozens of language consultants during my year in Xingmeng. The primary consultant, who also served as project assistant, is *k<sup>h</sup>uei<sup>44</sup> li<sup>24</sup>* 奎丽 (Kui Li). Ms. Kui was born and raised in *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>tsɿ<sup>33</sup>*, and Khatso is her native language; she is also fluent in both Hanyu and Putonghua. As primary consultant, she participated in all of the early elicitation work and some of the recorded conversations, and later served as interviewer in a number of the video recordings. As project assistant, she helped with all planning and logistics, such as identifying cultural topics to explore and introducing me to other consultants, and also helped with transcription. She made many of the recordings and transcriptions on her own, significantly expanding the Khatso corpus.

Many other residents of Xingmeng participated in the project. And because their individual contributions may not be specifically cited in the following chapters, I would like to acknowledge their assistance here. Table 1.1 lists these people, their demographic information and their contributions to the project, which range from recording Khatso to demonstrating various aspects of traditional culture. The abbreviations, which are used to identify language examples from individual speakers in the grammar, are based on their Chinese names. And, following Khatso practice, surnames precede given names here and throughout this volume.

**Table 1.1:** Khatso language consultants

Name	Abbrev.	Sex	Village	Contribution
ja <sup>31</sup> ai <sup>24</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 杨爱英	YAY	F	pej <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Elicitation, Stories
ja <sup>31</sup> ɕo <sup>24</sup> li <sup>24</sup> 杨秀丽	YXL	F	ɕɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (farming; firewood)
ja <sup>31</sup> fa <sup>31</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 杨发英	YFY	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Demonstration (clothing)
ja <sup>31</sup> je <sup>31</sup> fei <sup>44</sup> 杨莹芬	YF	F	na <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (baskets)
ja <sup>31</sup> je <sup>24</sup> fei <sup>44</sup> 杨应芬	YF2	F	na <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Elicitation
ja <sup>31</sup> li <sup>31</sup> wi <sup>24</sup> 杨立位	YLW	M	pej <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration ( <i>qin</i> ; dance)
ja <sup>31</sup> pi <sup>31</sup> fei <sup>44</sup> 杨必芬	YBF	F	pej <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Conversation
ja <sup>31</sup> po <sup>44</sup> 杨波	YB	M	na <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Elicitation
ja <sup>31</sup> tɕe <sup>24</sup> jo <sup>31</sup> 杨建荣	YJR	M	ɕɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Conversation

Name	Abbrev.	Sex	Village	Contribution
ja <sup>31</sup> t <sup>h</sup> i <sup>31</sup> kua <sup>44</sup> 杨廷光	YTG	M	ŋa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Conversation
ja <sup>31</sup> tsau <sup>24</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 杨赵英	YZY	F	pɛi <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Elicitation
ja <sup>31</sup> tsi <sup>24</sup> fei <sup>44</sup> 杨进芬	YJF	F	ŋa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Conversation
ja <sup>31</sup> tsua <sup>33</sup> je <sup>31</sup> 杨转元	YZY2	M	pɛi <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Conversation
k <sup>h</sup> uei <sup>44</sup> i <sup>31</sup> 奎滢	KY	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Conversation; Recording assistance
k <sup>h</sup> uei <sup>44</sup> je <sup>31</sup> fei <sup>44</sup> 奎元芬	KYF	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (clothing)
k <sup>h</sup> uei <sup>44</sup> lai <sup>31</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ua <sup>31</sup> 奎来团	KLT	M	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Demonstration (dance); Stories
k <sup>h</sup> uei <sup>44</sup> li <sup>24</sup> 奎丽	KL	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (dance); Elicitation; Project assistance
k <sup>h</sup> uei <sup>44</sup> li <sup>24</sup> xua <sup>31</sup> 奎丽华	KLH	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Conversation
k <sup>h</sup> uei <sup>44</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> au <sup>31</sup> zɿ <sup>33</sup> 奎朝汝	KCR	M	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Elicitation
k <sup>h</sup> uei <sup>44</sup> vɛi <sup>31</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 奎文英	KWY	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Elicitation
k <sup>h</sup> uei <sup>44</sup> si <sup>44</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɛj <sup>31</sup> 奎新财	KXC	M	pɛi <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Conversation
kua <sup>44</sup> sau <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> o <sup>44</sup> 官绍聪	GZC	M	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Elicitation
kua <sup>44</sup> t <sup>h</sup> i <sup>31</sup> ɕo <sup>24</sup> 官廷秀	GTX	M	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Conversation
kua <sup>44</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɛi <sup>33</sup> suei <sup>24</sup> 官彩顺	GCS	F	pɛi <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Conversation
kua <sup>44</sup> tsɿ <sup>24</sup> xo <sup>31</sup> 官继红	GJH	M	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Demonstration (firewood)
kua <sup>44</sup> jo <sup>33</sup> si <sup>44</sup> 官有兴	GYX	M	ŋa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Conversation
p <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> fa <sup>31</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>31</sup> 普发祥	PFX	M	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Elicitation
p <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ua <sup>31</sup> vɛi <sup>31</sup> 普传文	PCW	M	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Demonstration (firewood)
p <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> tsɿ <sup>24</sup> ɕɛ <sup>44</sup> 普自仙	PZX	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Demonstration (dance)
p <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> zɿ <sup>24</sup> ɕɛ <sup>44</sup> 普玉仙	PYX	F	ŋa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Conversation
p <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> zɿ <sup>33</sup> li <sup>31</sup> 普汝林	PRL	M	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Demonstration (stools); Stories
tsau <sup>24</sup> ɕɛ <sup>31</sup> li <sup>24</sup> 赵雪丽	ZXL	F	pɛi <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (dance)
tsau <sup>24</sup> i <sup>31</sup> jo <sup>33</sup> 赵云有	ZYY	M	pɛi <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Demonstration (tools; dance)
tsau <sup>24</sup> je <sup>24</sup> 赵艳	ZY	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Elicitation
tsau <sup>24</sup> mi <sup>31</sup> mei <sup>31</sup> 赵明媚	ZMM	F	pɛi <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Conversation
tsau <sup>24</sup> mo <sup>24</sup> fɿ <sup>31</sup> 赵茂福	ZMF	M	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Conversation
tsau <sup>24</sup> jo <sup>31</sup> fei <sup>44</sup> 赵荣芬	ZRF	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (dance; farming; firewood)
tsau <sup>24</sup> pɛi <sup>33</sup> ɕɛ <sup>44</sup> 赵本仙	ZBX2	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Conversation
tsau <sup>24</sup> pɛi <sup>33</sup> ɕo <sup>24</sup> 赵本秀	ZBX	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration ( <i>qin</i> ); Elicitation
tsau <sup>24</sup> sy <sup>24</sup> mei <sup>31</sup> 赵树梅	ZSM	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Demonstration (firewood)
tsau <sup>24</sup> tɕɛ <sup>24</sup> jo <sup>33</sup> 赵建勇	ZJY	M	pɛi <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Demonstration (firewood)

Name	Abbrev.	Sex	Village	Contribution
tsau <sup>24</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ua <sup>31</sup> fɛi <sup>44</sup> 赵团芬	ZTF	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (dance)
tsau <sup>24</sup> vɛi <sup>31</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 赵文英	ZWY	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Elicitation
tsau <sup>24</sup> xo <sup>31</sup> fa <sup>31</sup> 赵鸿发	ZHF	M	pɛi <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration ( <i>qin</i> ; dance)
tsau <sup>24</sup> xo <sup>31</sup> si <sup>44</sup> 赵红星	ZHX	M	pɛi <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Demonstration (wedding)
tsau <sup>24</sup> zɿ <sup>44</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>31</sup> 赵依琴	ZYQ	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Demonstration (wedding)
ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>44</sup> jo <sup>33</sup> tɛ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>31</sup> 期永祥	QYX	M	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Elicitation
ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>44</sup> li <sup>31</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 期玲英	QLY	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Demonstration (clothing)
ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>44</sup> vɛi <sup>31</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 期文英	QWY	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (dance; farming; firewood)
wa <sup>31</sup> fɛi <sup>33</sup> ɛ <sup>44</sup> 王粉仙	WFX	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Demonstration (dance)
wa <sup>31</sup> fo <sup>24</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 王凤英	WFY	F	pɛi <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> li <sup>24</sup> tɛ <sup>h</sup> ɛ <sup>31</sup> 王利全	WLQ	M	ɲa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> ly <sup>24</sup> sa <sup>44</sup> 王露莎	WLS	F	ɲa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> sɿ <sup>44</sup> zɿ <sup>33</sup> 王思禹	WSY	M	ɲa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Conversation
wa <sup>31</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>31</sup> pi <sup>44</sup> 王廷彪	WTB	M	pɛi <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>31</sup> fɛi <sup>44</sup> 王琼芬	WQF	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> tsi <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɛi <sup>31</sup> 王进才	WJC	M	ɲa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> tsɿ <sup>24</sup> xuɛi <sup>24</sup> 王智慧	WZH	F	ɲa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> vɛi <sup>31</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 王文英	WWY	F	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Demonstration (dance)
wa <sup>31</sup> vɛi <sup>31</sup> li <sup>24</sup> 王文利	WWL	M	pɛi <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> xɛi <sup>33</sup> pi <sup>44</sup> 王海宾	WHB	M	pɛi <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> xɛi <sup>33</sup> tsei <sup>44</sup> 王海珍	WHZ	F	pɛi <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> xo <sup>31</sup> sɛi <sup>44</sup> 王红生	WHS	M	ɲa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> zɿ <sup>24</sup> ɛ <sup>44</sup> 王玉仙	WYX	F	ɲa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Conversation
wa <sup>31</sup> zɿ <sup>24</sup> je <sup>44</sup> 王玉英	WYY	F	pɛi <sup>323</sup> ko <sup>53</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (sewing)
wa <sup>31</sup> zɿ <sup>24</sup> tɛi <sup>44</sup> 王玉金	WYJ	M	sɿ <sup>24</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>35</sup>	Elicitation
wa <sup>31</sup> zɿ <sup>33</sup> fɛi <sup>44</sup> 王禹芬	WYF	F	ɲa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Demonstration (stools); Stories
wa <sup>31</sup> zɿ <sup>33</sup> fɛi <sup>44</sup> 王汝芬	WRF	F	pɛi <sup>323</sup> pa <sup>323</sup>	Elicitation
xua <sup>24</sup> fy <sup>24</sup> fɛi <sup>44</sup> 华富芬	HFF	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Demonstration (dance)
xua <sup>24</sup> xuɛi <sup>24</sup> tɛ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>31</sup> 华惠祥	HHX	M	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Demonstration (tools; dance; firewood)
xua <sup>24</sup> p <sup>h</sup> ɛi <sup>33</sup> xo <sup>31</sup> 华丕和	HPH	M	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (dance); Stories
xua <sup>24</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ɿ <sup>31</sup> fɛi <sup>44</sup> 华庭芬	HTF	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Elicitation
xua <sup>24</sup> tsau <sup>24</sup> sɿ <sup>33</sup> 华兆喜	HZX	M	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Demonstration (dance)

Name	Abbrev.	Sex	Village	Contribution	
ja <sup>31</sup> fa <sup>31</sup> je <sup>44</sup>	杨发英	YFY	F	k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> tsɿ <sup>33</sup>	Demonstration (clothing)
ja <sup>31</sup> je <sup>31</sup> fɛi <sup>44</sup>	杨莹芬	YYF	F	ŋa <sup>323</sup> ka <sup>53</sup>	Conversation; Demonstration (baskets)

## 1.10 Typological Sketch

Khatso is a tonal, morphosyntactically-simple language that shares many features with its sister Ngwi languages as well as more distant relatives on the Sinitic side of the family. For example, it is an isolating language with almost no morphology, except for a few nominal suffixes (see § 4.2.3). There are no consonant codas; syllable structure is mainly CVT, although some vowels and nasals may also be syllabic (see § 4.1). Discourse is organized around a topic-comment information structure (see § 10.1) and zero anaphora is extremely common (see § 10.4). The most pervasive feature is the multifunctionality of its grammatical particles and constructions, which makes verbal semantics and pragmatics crucial to understanding any given clause in discourse (see § 10.4).

In terms of phonology, features more specific to Khatso include a lack of a tense/lax vowel distinction, as found in other Ngwi languages (see § 2.2). Khatso is also unusual in the family for its large inventory of eight contour tones (see § 3.1). There are a number of tone sandhi patterns, but most are restricted to specific syntactic or pragmatic environments (see § 3.2). For example, the numerals 3, 4, 9 change tone when followed by a classifier, as in other Ngwi languages (see § 3.3.1). Tone fusion may also occur when a grammatical particle is omitted but its tone latches onto that of the preceding syllable (see § 3.2.6). In addition, intonation unit boundaries are determined by non-pitch-based cues (see § 4.4).

Nouns do not encode number. Instead, bare classifiers mark number and specificity (see § 6.2.1); there are no articles. Similarly, nouns are not marked for syntactic role, but there is an agent marker that is mainly used to clarify ambiguous constructions (see § 10.4). The classifier system itself is large and robust (see § 6.2), including family group classifiers, which are unique to the Ngwi family (see § 6.2.2.5). Numerals require the use of classifiers, and two systems are used, one traditional and the other borrowed from Chinese (see § 6.1). Nominalization is not widely productive, unlike other languages in the family, but possible in specific environments (see § 7.6). There is no a separate adjective class; attributes are conveyed by stative verbs, though some may directly modify nouns (see § 8.1.2). Relative clauses are generalized noun-modifying constructions, a common pattern in Asian languages (see § 7.5).

Verbs are invariant, showing neither agreement nor inflection. Instead, there is an aspectual system of particles, which includes separate continuous and iterative markers (see § 8.5). The copula is employed only for equational phrases, and is often

omitted in discourse (see § 8.5). A single verb conveys location, possession and existence; context is required to clarify its meaning (see § 8.6). Serial verb constructions are frequent and they may describe one- and two-event situations (see § 8.8). Question formation typically centers on verbs, and occurs via reduplication, question words, and interrogative particles (see § 12.4)

Basic word order can be described as SV and APV, although it is flexible and context dependent (see § 10.3). Simple noun modifiers follow nouns (see § 7.1), but relative clauses precede nouns (see § 7.5). Aside from almost all adverbs, verb modifiers follow verbs (see § 10.3). Because of zero anaphora, many clauses have few or no overt arguments (see § 10.4).

More specialized formulations include an applicative construction that adds a core argument to clauses, which may be a recipient, beneficiary or causee depending on context (see § 11.1). Three causative constructions reflect different types of causation (see § 11.2). There is no true passive in Khatso, though in discourse P may be fronted for emphasis which requires overt agent marking on A (see § 10.5). Khatso has a variety of emphatic markers, some of which also convey aspect or epistemic information (see § 12.6).

Clause combining often relies on a semantic or pragmatic linkage rather than syntactic integration (see § 13). In fact, clause-combining particles often have multiple functions, and thus require context to clarify which relationship is relevant (see § 16). For example, the basic topic marker is also used in conditional constructions and to convey a sequential temporal relationship between clauses (see § 14.4). Complementation does not involve subordination; a different type of topic-comment structure is used instead (see § 15). In addition, quotative verbs introduce both direct and indirect speech, but the hearsay particle marks only indirect speech (see § 15.3)

Other specific details of Khatso may be located through the table of contents and the index as well as through the list of grammatical particles presented in Appendix A.

## 1.11 Photos of Xingmeng



**Photo 1.1:** View from the government building of the bus stop, the highway and the new part of Xingmeng



**Photo 1.2:** Vegetables such as cabbages are grown in open fields, muskmelons are grown in covered sheds (in background)



**Photo 1.3:** Most villagers live in traditional homes, though newer houses, such as the one in white, are being built in every corner of the village



**Photo 1.4:** Walking the narrow lanes of the village provides a better view of the traditional mud-brick homes. The lanes are too narrow for cars, but motorcycles are common



**Photo 1.5:** Locally grown produce for sale at the village market



**Photo 1.6:** An old doorway in  $s\eta^{24}ts^h_{33}xo^{35}$  with intricate carvings above the lintel; doors were carved to reflect the interests or livelihoods of the resident who built the house



**Photo 1.7:** Traditional clothing worn by  $k^h u\epsilon^{44} j\epsilon^{31} f\epsilon^{44}$  奎元芬,  $ts^h \eta^{44} li^{31} j\epsilon^{44}$  期玲英,  $ja^{31} fa^{31} j\epsilon^{44}$  杨发英 (L to R); originally, different costumes were worn by women of different ages, but today only older women dress this way on a daily basis, typically donning some version of the costume on the left



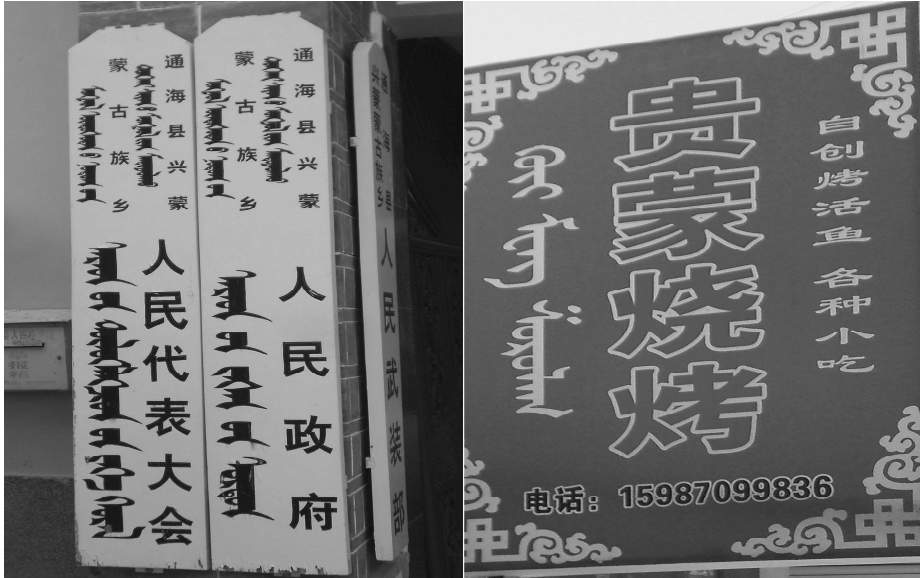
**Photo 1.8:** There are a number of temples scattered throughout the village; presented here is a view of the main hall inside the Three Beliefs Temple in  $k^h a^{55} ts^{33}$



**Photo 1.9:** The newly renovated Three Saints Temple in Xingmeng also serves as a cultural center



**Photo 1.10:** Midday feast served in *pei<sup>323</sup>ko<sup>53</sup>* on *Lǎorénjié* 老人节 to celebrate the village's senior citizens



**Photo 1.11:** Bilingual Chinese and Mongolian signs on the government building (L) and at a local restaurant (R); the Mongolian script is to the left of the Chinese characters



**Photo 1.12:** Village statue erected in 2003 to commemorate the 750th anniversary of the Mongols settling in Yunnan; the bilingual dedication includes both Chinese and Mongolian

## 2 Consonants and Vowels

Together, Chapters 2 through 4 explore the phonetics, phonology and prosody of the Khatso language. Despite its small population of speakers, the language does not have a common standard of pronunciation. There is, in fact, a noticeable amount of phonetic variation throughout the village. In addition, the western-most of the five historical villages,  $na^{223}ka^{53}$ , is well-known among villagers for its special “accent” (see § 2.2.4). The variation is not great, however, and mainly involves several predictable vowel alternations; it does not hinder mutual intelligibility.

Most of the data analyzed in these three chapters come from ten people who represent a cross-section of Khatso speakers. A man and a woman from each of the five historical villages in Xingmeng were randomly chosen to record a list of 316 lexical items (see § 1.2 and § 1.3 for more on the villages). To avoid pronunciation overly influenced by Hanyu, only speakers age 60 and older participated. Most of these speakers were monolingual Khatso speakers until they began school at age seven or eight, and a few did not learn Hanyu until their teenage years. These ten speakers are listed in Table 2.1. Data from these speakers were augmented by elicited words and phrases from Ms. Kui and tokens from other speakers in spontaneous discourse. See § 1.9 for a complete list of the Khatso speakers who served as language consultants on this project.

**Table 2.1:** Ten speakers representing a cross-section of Khatso pronunciation

	Name	Abbrev.	Sex	Village
$ja^{31}je^{24}fei^{44}$	杨应芬	YYF2	F	$na^{323}ka^{53}$
$ja^{31}li^{31}wi^{24}$	杨立位	YLW	M	$pei^{323}ko^{53}$
$k^h uei^{44}ts^h au^{31}zv^{33}$	奎朝汝	KCR	M	$k^h a^{55}ts\uparrow^{33}$
$tsau^{24}pei^{33}co^{24}$	赵本秀	ZBX	F	$s\uparrow^{24}ts^h\uparrow^{33}xo^{35}$
$tsau^{24}vei^{31}je^{44}$	赵文英	ZWY	F	$k^h a^{55}ts\uparrow^{33}$
$wa^{31}fo^{24}je^{44}$	王凤英	WFY	F	$pei^{323}ko^{53}$
$wa^{31}thi^{31}piau^{44}$	王廷彪	WTB	M	$pei^{323}pa^{323}$
$wa^{31}tsi^{24}ts^h ei^{31}$	王进才	WJC	M	$na^{323}ka^{53}$
$wa^{31}z\uparrow^{24}tci^{44}$	王玉金	WYJ	M	$s\uparrow^{24}ts^h\uparrow^{33}xo^{35}$
$wa^{31}zv^{33}fei^{44}$	王汝芬	WRF	F	$pei^{323}pa^{323}$

In order to represent Khatso faithfully as it is spoken today, a phonetic approach is taken in transcribing the language in the grammar, and this approach also influences the phonological analysis. As an organizing principle, the pronunciation produced by a majority of the ten speakers is taken as the standard here, but common variations are also described. Segments are considered phonemes if they exist in minimal pairs. In a few cases, segments in complementary distribution are deemed separate phonemes because they are phonetically different and judged separate by Khatso speakers. A maximal approach is also taken among diphthongs and triphthongs, where there is a great deal of overlap. If a diphthong or triphthong serves as a phoneme for an individual speaker, then it is considered one for the language as a whole. These factors are discussed in the sections on each segment below where relevant.

In addition, a large portion of the Khatso lexicon consists of loan words from Hanyu. Mu (2002: 57) and Dai (2008: 70–72) agree that there were at least two phases of borrowing. The first occurred in the more distant past when few Khatso spoke Hanyu, and these loans have become an integral part of the lexicon — speakers do not think of them as foreign. These loan words have also influenced Khatso phonology. Certainly the triphthongs and some of the diphthongs discussed below have Hanyu origins, and there are likely other influences opaque to us now. The second phase of borrowing began in the last century, which has brought a wealth of new social, political and technological concepts to Xingmeng, and coincides with the rise of near-universal bilingualism among the villagers. In both phases the loans largely conform to Khatso phonology; tones change, codas are dropped and other segments may change as well. However, newer loans more faithfully reproduce the original Hanyu pronunciation. In fact, Dai (2008: 82) notes that some younger speakers nasalize vowels in Khatso to better approximate nasal codas in Hanyu. For the purposes of this grammar, loan words are considered no different from native words since the two types co-exist in the lexicon for all Khatso speakers.

This chapter presents information on the consonant and vowel inventories in Khatso. The tone system and the many tone change patterns found in the language are described in Chapter 3. And structure beyond the segment, including that of the syllable, the word and the intonation unit, is discussed in Chapter 4.

## 2.1 Consonants

Khatso has 24 consonants. The consonant inventory distinguishes six places of articulation, including bilabials, labio-dentals, alveolars, alveolo-palatals, palatals and velars. There are six manners of articulation, which include stops, nasals, fricatives, affricates, a lateral, and approximants. Three voicing types exist in the language — voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced — but no more than two contrast in any given consonant series. The consonant inventory is shown in Table 2.2.