

« **Lingua Franca along the silk road: Correlation between Chinese written sources, language contact and the Chinese dialects spoken in Gansu** »

« **中国古典文献整理、语言接触及甘青汉语方言研究** »

This workshop is organised in the context of the research project « Language contact and heterogeneity in the Hybrid Chinese dialects in North-West China (LACONC) », which has received funding from the European Union's Horizon Europe Programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Action - 2023 - PF - 01, project n° 101147056-CUP H73C24000250006.

Dates: 30-31 January 2025

Venue: Ca Foscari University, Sala A at Palazzo Vendramin dei Carmini

Online: zoom link on request, please send an email to julie.lefort@unive.it to register by Jan 28th 19.00.

Programme

DAY ONE 30/01/2025	
9.30-10.00	Welcome address by Dr. Julie Lefort & Prof. Giorgio Francesco Arcodia
10.00-10.45	James Frankel, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (online) « “Islamically Speaking” in China: Historical Dynamics in the Evolution of <i>Huihua</i> (回回話) »
10.45-11.15	Break
11.15-12.30	Michael Knüppel, Liaocheng University (聊城大学). « Sino-Arabic, Arabic and Chinese inscriptions and inscribed boards in Chinese mosques – comments on the current state of research »
12.30-14.00	Lunch
14.00-14.45	Alessandro Leopardi, Sapienza Università di Roma « From Xiaojing to Cyrillic: Clarifying the Origins of the Dungan Literary Language »
14.45-15.30	Ding Taoyuan, Gansu Normal University for National Minorities, Hezuo. « On the linguistic features of the ‘The path to returning to the truth’ (<i>guīzhēn yàodào</i>) and the characteristics of the older forms of the <i>jingtangyu</i> » (从《归真要道》中的特殊语言现象看较早经堂语的性质) (in Chinese)
15.30-16.00	Break
16.00-16.45	Julie P.M. Lefort, Ca’Foscari University, MSC fellow. « Dongxiang <i>xiao'erjing</i> and the Persian-Arabic vocabulary in Dongxiang and Tangwang »
16.45-17.00	Closing remarks for day 1
DAY TWO 31/01/2025	
10.00-10.45	Min Chunfang, department of Chinese literature, Lanzhou University, Lanzhou. « On some grammatical characteristics of the liturgical language (<i>Jingtangyu</i>) of the Chinese Hui » (回族经堂语特殊语法形式研究) (in Chinese)
10.45-11.30	Redouane Djamouri, Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l’Asie orientale (CRLAO-CNRS), Paris. « Complex sentences in the Tangwang Language: A Contact Induced Phenomenon? »
11.30-12.15	Zhang Wanying, PhD student, Lanzhou University, Lanzhou. « A comparative study of the of auxiliary verbs in the difference-comparison sentence in the Guanhua dialects and the Gansu-Qinghai dialects » (关中方言差比句中的助动词用法及与甘青方言的比较研究) (in Chinese)
12.15-12.30	CLOSING REMARKS FOR DAY 2
12.30-14.00	LUNCH
14.00-17.00	DISCUSSION AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS AND FUTURE RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES (not open to public)

James Frankel
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

« “Islamically Speaking” in China:
Historical Dynamics in the Evolution of *Huihui hua* (回回話) »

Muslims merchants first arrived in China during the Tang dynasty (618-906). These sojourners interacted with Chinese society and culture at a distance before some of them settled on a permanent basis. This transplanted diaspora gradually acculturated – a process described as Sinicization. Yet, such Muslims maintained contact with the central Islamic lands and the influx of Muslims to China reached its apex during the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). Thus, even with a strong cultural imperative to assimilate into the host civilization, Chinese Muslims received a steady flow of influence and inspiration from the West until the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), when the regime’s more isolationist foreign policies limited contact abroad. The Sinicization of China’s Muslim accelerated, especially in the areas of material culture and language adaptation, such that the majority of became almost exclusively Sinophone. However, the Chinese spoken by Sino-Muslims continued to show traces of Islamic heritage in the form of borrowings from Arabic and Persian, even when these Islamic languages lapsed from quotidian usage. The blending of local dialects of Chinese, other minority languages, and Arabic and Persian vocabulary has produced multiple regional variants of Sino-Muslim speech, or *Huihui hua*. Starting in the late Ming period, a few Chinese Muslims ventured westward in search of sources to revive Islamic knowledge. As this trend continued, new waves of educational reform and linguistic adaptation would shape the Islamic religious and cultural landscape in China. In modern times, as international travel became more common, Muslims journeying from China to the Islamic world and back, have returned with new ideas of identity and religiosity that challenge existing paradigms in their own communities as well as create tensions with mainstream Han Chinese society. This has elicited distinct policy initiatives by the Chinese Party-State in recent years, as acculturative forces of Islamization and Sinicization continue to shift back and forth, reflected in linguistic trends among China’s Muslims.

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Michael Knüppel
Liaocheng University

« Sino-Arabic, Arabic and Chinese inscriptions and inscribed boards in Chinese mosques – comments on the current state of research »

There is no shortage of works on inscriptions and inscribed boards – whether in Chinese script or in the so-called ‘Šīnī style’ (< Arabic صيني *šīnī* ‘Chinese’)¹ – in mosques in the ‘Middle Kingdom’ or in their surroundings (e.g. on mosque grounds or in the catchment areas of such mosques, less frequently also on small burial grounds with tombs of dignitaries). However, these works usually deal with individual aspects, such as certain mosques in a specific region, if not individual objects or the ‘Šīnī style’ as such. Systematic studies, on the other hand, are rare. In the lecture, some considerations of a more general nature will be shared on this problem.

The written testimonies can initially be roughly divided into purely religious inscriptions and more ‘secular’ ones,² like donor inscriptions, eulogies to rulers, gravestones, etc. Religious written monuments are mostly quotations from the Qur’ān, the Ḥadīṭ, prayers and religious formulae. These inscriptions can also be categorised according to language and scripture. First and foremost, of course, are inscriptions in Chinese language and script as well as those in Arabic and, more rarely, Persian language in Arabic script (mostly in the aforementioned Šīnī style). In addition, Mongolian and Manḗu texts as well as Uyghur writings in Arabic script are also found in Chinese mosques³ – mostly as evidence of the Yuán and Qīng periods.

Apart from these categorisation criteria, however, a simple chronological classification is also possible – for example different styles of writing used in different periods.

Beyond such general observations or an overview, a few remarks on the tasks that have not (yet) or insufficiently been accomplished are of much more interest. On the one hand, written monuments of various types in different languages and scripts from different eras can be found in practically all Hui Muslim mosques or mosques visited by Hui Muslims in the ‘Middle Kingdom’; on the other hand, only the fewest, i.e. the supposedly ‘most interesting’ ones in the more well-known mosques have so far been examined in more detail.

To illustrate this, here are just a few instructive examples. Firstly, two Chinese inscriptions from the ‘West Mosque’ (清真西寺 [*qīngzhēn xīsi*]) or ‘Great Mosque’ (大礼拜寺 [*dà libàisi*]) in Liáochéng, which are merely representative of memorial and donor steles in Chinese mosques, then some remarks on the so-called ‘Moon Stele’ from the ‘Great Mosque’ in Xi’ān (西安清真寺 [*Xī’ān qīngzhēnsì*]), which is quite well known and whose Arabic text has also been published,⁴ as well as a series of inscribed boards from mosques in Línqīng.

¹ On this see Françoise Aubin: L’art de l’écriture chez les musulmans de Chine. In: *Horizons maghrébins*, no. 35/36 (1998), pp. 29-43; Hala Ghoname: *Sini calligraphy. The preservation of Chinese Muslims’ cultural heritage*. M.A. thesis, University of Hawai’i, Mai 2012; Knüppel, Michael: Sino-arabische Kalligraphie. Schrift als „Alltagskunst“ bei den Hui-Muslimen am Beispiel der *dū ās*. In: *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 40. 2020, pp. 123-132, and also the presenters work in preparation (Knüppel, Michael: *Sino-arabische Schriftzeugnisse der Hui-Muslime – der ‘Šīnī style’ im öffentlichen Raum*. Norderstedt: Books on Demand [BoD]).

² On the division see also Dilmi, Djamel: Sino-Arabic script and architectural inscriptions in Xi’an Great Mosque, China. In: *Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3 (1). June 2014, pp. 39-48, here p. 47.

³ For example, the four-language inscription of the Huiyizing Mosque in Peking (Onuma Takahiro: *250 years history of the Turkic-Muslim camp in Beijing*. Tokyo 2009 [TIAS Central Eurasian Research Series 2]).

⁴ 賈喜平(哈吉)著譯 [Haji Jia Xiping]: 中国西安清真大寺历代牌匾楹联鉴赏. *Translation & explanation on the inscribed boards and couplets inherited from past Chinese Dynasties inside China. Xi’an Great Mosque*. [Xi’an]: 西安清真大寺文物文献编纂委员会. Mosque Heritage Committee, 2016, pp. 35-39 / plate 1-7 (Arabic text) and pp. 45-49 (Engl. translation).

Alessandro Leopardi
Sapienza Università di Roma

« From Xiaojing to Cyrillic: Clarifying the Origins of the Dungan Literary Language »

The Dungan language is a Sinitic language spoken in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan by about 150,000 descendants of Chinese Muslims. Developed during Soviet times into a vibrant literary language with a Cyrillic-based orthography, it stands out among all variants of Chinese for its exclusive use of a Phonographic script unrelated to Chinese characters. Despite its limited diffusion, Dungan has thus been the subject of many works of linguistics, such as Dragunov & Dragunova (1937), Hashimoto (1978), Imazov (1993), and Zavyalova (2013). Soviet sources covering the origins of the modern Dungan script, such as Imazov (1977) and Janšansin (1937), stress its roots in the efforts of passionate local intellectuals assisted by accomplished Soviet sinologists to provide the illiterate Dungans with an instrument to develop a literary language of their own. The reality, however, is more complex and tells a different story on how Dungan literacy relates, in fact, to the historical use of the Perso-Arabic script among Chinese Muslims and earlier attempts to create an Islamic literary language based on northwestern Chinese vernaculars. Based on the minutes of the debates accompanying the establishment of the Dungan literary language, corroborated with evidence from the phonology of its Islamic lexicon, this contribution aims to demonstrate the continuity between the Chinese Muslim *Xiaojing* and the modern Dungan literary language.

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Min Chunfang (敏春芳)
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« On some grammatical characteristics of the liturgical language (*Jingtangyu*) of the Chinese Hui »

The *Jingtangyu* (经堂语) litt. 'the liturgical language' is a special form of language used by the Hui in China. It is the result of contact between Mongolic, Arabic, Persian and Chinese. Its linguistic form, nature and formation process are similar to those of the 'Han'er yanyu' (汉儿言语 the Chinese spoken language of the Yuan dynasty) modern vernacular literature and modern north-western Chinese dialects.

Based on the collated version of the Qur'an (Jingtang, Arabic and Xiao'erjin) edited by Ma Zhenwu,¹ this paper discusses some specific forms and their grammatical characteristics in the *Jingtangyu*. For example, *shang/shangtou* (上/上头) 'on' is used after nouns as a case marker; the grammatical word *zhe* '着' is used after verbs to indicate the state or order of an action, and is similar to Mongolian converbial markers. The Chinese verbs *gei* (给) 'to give', *shi* (是) 'to be', and *shuo/shuole/shuoze* (说/说了/说着) 'to say/said/say' is found as quotative markers. In general, the verbs used as quotative markers are found in the preverbal position in Chinese, which is quite different from what is found in the *Jingtangyu*. The adverbs *shifen* (十分) 'very', *weishi* (委实) 'in fact' and *dishi* (的实) 'really' usually follow the object being modified in Chinese, but their position is relatively free in *Jingtangyu*. The linguistic features of the *Jingtangyu* do not correspond to those generally found in Chinese and can be interpreted as 'unusual components' in the Chinese grammatical system. However, they also share some similarities with some modern northwestern Chinese dialects. We believe that the source of these unusual features is the Mongolian languages, and that they have been transformed and reshaped with Chinese elements through a process of reanalysis.

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¹Note: See Ma Zhenwu's Qur'an (a translation of the Suras into Mandarin, Arabic and Xiao'erjin), Religious Culture Publishing House, 1996 edition. Compared with various Chinese translations, Imam Ma Zhenwu's translation has three main characteristics: (1) style: it uses the language of the mosque, which has been in use for hundreds of years, and reading it is like being in the mosque listening to the Imam preaching the classics to the 'mullahs' and 'khalifas'; (2) layout (or arrangement): it has Arabic verses and a Chinese translation, and also a version using the xiao'erjin, a transcription system based on the Arabic and Persian alphabets, which are displayed side by side. All three scripts are written from right to left, line by line, by hand. Each page is divided into five columns. The order of words in each column is: Arabic text at the top, the xiao'erjin in the middle, followed by the Chinese translation at the bottom. The Arabic text is the main text, written in bold, large letters in dark ink. The Chinese translation in Chinese characters and the xiao'erjin in Sino-arabic script are written in smaller letters in light ink, below the Arabic text. The order is clear and distinct, and it is easy to read line by line and sentence by sentence for comparison. (3) Calligraphy: The entire text was copied by hand, not typeset or typed on a computer. It is a copy of the original manuscript which was handwritten in Arabic by Imam Ma Zhenxing, while the Chinese characters were written by Imam Liu Tiezhu, a student of the translator. With these

three characteristics, it can be said that the Qur'an is endowed with Chinese characteristics. (Lin Song, 'The Complete Knowledge of the Qur'an', Sichuan People's Publishing House, 1995)

《回族经堂语特殊语法形式研究》

经堂语是中国回族内部使用的一种特殊语言形式。是蒙古语、阿拉伯语、波斯语与汉语接触的产物，其语言面貌、语言性质及形成过程与近代白话文献中的“汉儿言语”/现代西北汉语方言比较接近。本文以马振武先生《〈古兰经〉经堂语汉文、阿拉伯文、小儿锦对照本》¹为例，考察回族经堂语中出现的特殊语法形式。如“上/上头”的使用，显示出经堂语名词后面出现了格标记的痕迹；“着”用于动词之后，表示的是动作的状态、顺序等，带有蒙古语族语言副动词的味道；“给”、“是”、“说\说了\说着”，是一组后置的引语标记，和汉语言说动词前置的一般用法完全不同；副词“十分”、“委实”、“的实”等也没有紧跟着修饰的对象，位置相对比较自由。经堂语里这些特殊的语言现象，都是一些不符合汉语语法规则的东西，在汉语语法系统中，是一些“异质”成分。这些特殊现象与现代西北方言有相似之处，本文认为这些特殊语法形式的源头是蒙古语，但已经过汉语的改造与重塑。

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- [2] 马千里 2006 《回族经堂语词汇的源流与构成刍议》，《语言理论研究》第5期，57—68页。
- [3] 陈桓 2008 《元西域人华化考》，上海古籍出版社。
- [4] 希拉伦丁 1948 《经堂用语研究》，《回教文化》第2期。
- [5] 刘迎胜 2003 《回族语言800年发展史简要回顾—从波斯语到回族“汉语”》《中国文化研究》（冬之卷），第76页。

¹ 马振武先生的《古兰经》（经堂语、阿文、小儿锦对照本）（简称“对照本”），宗教文化出版社，1996版。本文经堂语引自马振武先生的《古兰经》，引文前面是题名，引文后是《古兰经》的卷和章以及“对照本”页码。如《哈迪德》：“他叫晚夕入在白日里边，他叫白日如在晚夕里边。他是能知心中所怀的。”（27·57/70页）（《古兰经》二十七卷第五十七章，“对照本”第70页。文中不再一一注明。）马振武阿訇译本与各家汉译本比较，其主要特色有三：（1）文体：用沿袭数百年之久的经堂语，读起来有如置身于经堂中倾听阿訇向“满拉”、“海里凡”宣讲经典；（2）版面（或编排方式）：有阿拉伯经文和汉语译本（其中又包括以阿、波文字母拼写的小儿锦）对照组成。这三种书写形式，都是从右至左逐行手写。每页分为五栏。每栏排列词序为：阿文领先，小儿锦居中，汉译在后。其中以阿文原经为主干，用浓墨粗体大字书写，小儿锦与汉文则用淡墨小字抄录，紧随于原文之后，主次鲜明，也便于逐行逐句对照阅读；（3）书法：全经都是人工抄写，并非铅字检排或电脑打字，是根据手稿复制的胶印本。阿拉伯文原经是马振兴阿訇手迹，汉字则是译者的高徒弟子刘铁柱阿訇书写。——具备上述三点，堪称赋予中国特色的《古兰经》。（林松《古兰经知识宝典》，四川人民出版社1995年）

Julie P.M. Lefort
Ca'Foscari University, MSC fellow

« *Dongxiang xiao'erjing* and the Persian-Arabic vocabulary in Dongxiang and Tangwang »

Dongxiang (or Santa) is a Mongolic language spoken by the Dongxiang people (东乡族) in Gansu, China, who number about 300,000 speakers. Although it is generally believed that the Dongxiang people were largely illiterate and did not have a written system for their own language, a written system known in Dongxiang as the *tuhua orou* and based on the Hui *xiao'erjing* (小儿经 Sino-Arabic script) was developed and used since at least the 17th century. It was used not only by Dongxiang imams and malas in mosques, but also outside the religious sphere by some of the Dongxiang people in their everyday lives. Tangwang (唐汪话) is a 'highly Altaicised' variety of Chinese spoken by about 15,000 people (Han, Hui and ethnically Dongxiang), in the Tangwang village of the Dongxiang county. The Hui of Tangwang have used the *xiao'erjing* script mainly for religious education. Due to their complex sociolinguistic backgrounds, Arabic and Persian borrowings can be found in both Dongxiang and Tangwang.

This paper provides an overview of the Arabic and Persian words found in these two languages. In Dongxiang, the form of most Arabic and Persian words suggests that they have been borrowed via Chinese, but some of them may also have been borrowed via Persian or even Turkic languages, while others may also be direct loans. In particular, the multiple allomorphs found in Dongxiang suggest multiple layers of borrowings and contact rather than a unidirectional influence from another language. In Tangwang, the Arabic and Persian words are not very different from the common 'Hui' vocabulary found in other Chinese varieties, but some also could have been borrowed via Dongxiang. I will describe the characteristics of these loans and will show how they differ in Dongxiang and Tangwang. I will also show the different 'borrowing routes' of these loans and the role that the *xiao'erjing*, Hui and Dongxiang, may have played in the borrowing process.

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Redouane Djamouri
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« Complex sentences in the Tangwang Language: A Contact Induced Phenomenon? »

This paper examines the syntax and semantics of complex sentences in Tangwang, a Sinitic language spoken in Gansu, China, through the perspective of language contact. While 95% of Tangwang's vocabulary is derived from Mandarin, its structural features—such as predominant OV word order, clause-final conjunctions, and nominal case-marking suffixes—show significant alignment with Altaic languages. This study investigates the principal strategies to mark subordination in Tangwang, with a particular focus on adverbial and complement clauses, and explores how these strategies reflect both contact-induced influence and internal linguistic evolution.

One notable strategy is the use of the suffix *-tʂə* (traced back to 著 *zhuó* > *zhe* in Middle Chinese), which functions as a marker for non-finite adverbial clauses. For example, in the following sentence (i), *-tʂə* denotes the adjunct and non-tensed status of the subordinate clause. In the absence of explicit temporal markers, the clause is pragmatically interpreted as describing an action simultaneous with that of the main verb.

- (i) 尕西電視哈看著那茶哈喝寨
 [kaei te'eŋʂɿ-xa k'hẽ-tʂə] nə tʂ'a-xa x'ɿ-tʂɛ
 Kaei TV-OBJ watch-tʂ 3SG tee-OBJ drink-IMPF
 'Kaei drinks tea while watching television'

Another strategy involves the topic marker *ʂɿ* (originating from the Chinese copular verb 是 *shi*) to express subordination through topicalization. In example (ii), *ʂɿ* frames the initial clause as a topicalized phrase, establishing not only its syntactic relationship with the main clause but also its pragmatic temporal interpretation.

- (ii) 電視哈看是，尕西茶哈喝寨
 [TOP te'eŋʂɿ-xa k'hẽ ʂɿ] kaei tʂ'a-xa x'ɿ-tʂɛ
 TV-OBJ watch TOP Kaei tee-OBJ drink-IMPF
 'While watching television, Kaei drinks tea'

The findings reveal a nuanced interplay between inherited Mandarin structures and features shaped by contact with Altaic languages. While certain strategies, such as the use of *-tʂə*, appear to emerge from internal developments within Northwestern Mandarin, others, like the topic-marking function of *shi*, suggest structural convergence with the head-final OV syntax characteristic of Altaic languages. This research aims to provide some insights into how language contact and internal evolution together shape the development of syntactic patterns in multilingual environments.

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« A comparative study of the of auxiliary verbs in the difference-comparison sentence in the Guanhua dialects and the Gansu-Qinghai dialects »

The use of auxiliary verbs in comparative sentences in Mandarin have been widely studied by scholars such as Jiang Ping (1979), Xu Guoping (2005), Peng Lizhen (2007), and He Jin (2014), etc. The most common auxiliary verbs include *yào* (要) ‘to want’, *néng* (能) ‘to be able to’, and *huì* (会), ‘to be able to’). These can express modal meanings such as dynamic, deontic, and epistemic modality. However, little attention has been given to the use of auxiliary verbs in comparative sentences in Chinese dialects and remains to be explored in details. In the Yanliang dialect spoken in the Shaanxi Province, the only auxiliary verb that can be used in comparative sentence is *néng* (能), which carries the meaning of [ability] and does not differ much from what is found in Standard Chinese. When *néng* (能) is used in ‘*néng* (能)+ adjectival element + quantifier complement’ structures, it implies that the certainty of the proposition from the speaker’s perspective. The overall structure indicates the speaker’s subjective reduction evaluation (inference) of a certain property or state of the comparative subject. The role of *néng* (能) is mainly to reduce the degree of subjectivity in a clause. We focus on the distribution, grammatical features and grammaticalisation of the modal *néng* (能) when it expresses [certainty]. When it expresses [certainty], *néng* (能) shows a tendency to be used as an emphasis adverb. For example:

(1) 今儿买下这桃 (比夜来买下兀) 能大一点。

Jīn’er mǎixià zhè táo (bìyèláimǎixiàwù) néng dàiyìdiǎn

today buy-RES DEM peach COMP yesterday buy-RES REF NENG big bit

‘the peach we bought today are a bit bigger than those we bought yesterday’

In this case, the speaker thinks that the peaches bought today are larger than those bought yesterday, but the difference is not significant. If *néng* (能) deleted, the subjective meaning (the speaker thinks that the difference is not significant) is not carried anymore by the sentence.

Therefore, we believe that the modal *néng* (能) expressing [certainty] has developed on the modal *néng* (能) expressing [ability], and that it is a reanalysis of the later. The modal *néng* (能) in the sense of [certainty] is widely used in the Chinese dialects spoken in Shaanxi, but also in the surrounding regions such as Shanxi and Gansu. However, each dialect shows particularities. For example, in the Yanliang dialect of Shaanxi, the adjective following *néng* (能) can be either positive or negative, while in the Linxia dialect spoken in Gansu, it can only be followed by a positive adjective, e.g.:

(2) 这娃能笨一点。(这个孩子比较笨)

zhè wá néng bèn yìdiǎn。

DEM child NENG stupid bit

‘this child is a little stupid’

In this sentence, *ben* (笨) ‘Stupid’ is a negative adjective that does not meet the expectations of the speaker. This sentence does not hold true in Linxia dialect, but it is used naturally in the Guanhua dialects to indicate the speaker’s euphemistic evaluation.

From the pragmatic point of view, *néng* (能) in the Yanliang dialect of Shaanxi can convey both expected and unexpected information, while *néng* (能) in the Linxia dialect can only convey expected information. In the Xining dialect spoken in Qinghai, the more common way to express the speculation or inference is to add the postposition *hechuang* (呵闯) after the adjective (Wang Shuangcheng 2009), but there are no occurrences of *néng* (能). This shows the diversity in terms of forms, word order and collocation range of the auxiliary verbs in comparative sentences found in the northwestern dialects. An in-depth study of the distribution and usage of auxiliary verbs in

comparative sentences in the northwestern dialects can help us to better understand the expression of subjective modal semantics in comparative sentences in Chinese.

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关中方言差比句中的助动词用法及与甘青方言的比较研究

对于普通话的差比句中的助动词用法研究,学界已有较多成果,如蒋平(1979)、许国萍(2005)、彭利贞(2007)、何瑾(2014)等,常见的助动词有“要”“能”“会”,可以表达动力、道义、认识等情态意义,但方言中差比句的助动词暂未见报道。在陕西阎良方言中,能进入差比句的情态词一般只有“能”,其[能力]义与普通话差别不大。当“能”位于“能+形容词性成分+数量补语”结构时,有一种特殊用法,表示“说话人对命题为真的必然性推断”,整体结构表示“说话人对比较主体某一性质或状态做出的主观减量评价(推断)”,“能”在其中主要起到“主观上程度降低”的作用。例如“今儿买下这桃(比夜来买下兀)能大一点。”意为说话人认为今天买的桃子比昨天买的大一些,但差别并不大,如果删去“能”,则不能体现说话人认为差别不大的主观意义。我们主要关注“能”在方言中表示[必然]义认识情态的分布、语法特征和语法化等问题。我们认为,该结构的“能”主要由表[能力]义动力情态的“能”经过重新分析发展而来,已经表现出虚化为语气副词的倾向。表[必然]义认识情态的“能”在陕西及周边山西、甘肃方言中使用都非常普遍,但不同方言中的具体用法有所不同。例如,在陕西阎良方言中,“能”之后的形容词性成分既可以是积极的,也可以是消极的,但在甘肃临夏话中只能是正面评价类形容词。从语用层面“预期”的角度来看,陕西阎良方言的“能”既可以表达预期信息,也可以表达反预期,而临夏话的“能”之后只能出现预期信息。例如,“这娃能笨一点。(这个孩子比较笨)”“笨”是一个不符合说话人期望的负面形容词,这个句子在临夏话中不成立,但在关中方言中使用很自然,表示说话人的委婉评价。根据王双成(2009)的研究,在青海西宁话中,表示猜测或推测义时比较常用的表现方式是在形容词之后附加后置词“呵闯”,未见“能”的例句,说明差比句中的助动词在西北方言中,用词选择、语序、搭配范围等都各有特点。对西北方言差比句中助动词的分布和用法进行深入研究,有助于进一步认识主观情态语义在比较句中的表现。

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