Typology of Language Changes of Chinese Induced by Contacts with Mongolic Languages

Tetsuya Kawasumi

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提要　西宁话、唐汪话、河州话、元代蒙式汉语都是受到蒙古语族语言影响的汉语变体。本文拟对这四种变体所共有的语言特点进行归纳，提出汉语受蒙古语族语言影响时所产生的语言演变的类型。文章归纳出的特点如下：（1）以 SOV 为基本词序；（2）具有后置格标记；（3）具有类似副动词词尾的成分；（4）复数标记可用于非指人名词之后；（5）状语一般先于否定词；（6）用"有定名词＋处所词＋'有'"格式。

1．Introduction

　　Throughout East Asian history, contact between the Sinitic-speaking groups and the Mongolic-speaking groups have been repeated[1].　Consequently, there have been

1）The following is a brief account of the major Mongolic-speaking groups recorded in historical documents：
・Xianbei（鲜卑）：a Mongolic-speaking group of people who resided in east Mongolia in the third century and invaded China in the fourth century.
・Tuoba（拓跋）：largely Mongolic language speakers, founded the Northern Wei（魏）dynasty （386-534）in north China.
・Khitan：a Mongolic-speaking group, founded the Liao（辽）dynasty in north China and adjacent areas, which ruled from 947 to 1125.
・Mongols：a Mongolian-speaking group, founded the Yuan（元）dynasty and ruled over all of China from 1271 to 1368.
　In addition to these, in contemporary northwest China, there are some Mongolic minorities such as Monguor（Tu 土）, Bonan（Bao'an 保安）, Santa（Dongxiang 东乡）.

many Chinese varieties that have been influenced by Mongolic language（s）.　Some of them have already died without any data available, some of them were documented mainly during the Yuan dynasty, some of them are now being researched, and some of them are waiting to be described.

　　The purpose of this paper is to provide a typology of language changes of Chinese due to contact with Mongolic languages.　　This typology might be helpful for examining the formative processes of Chinese varieties which experience language contact but of which historical backgrounds are still unknown.

2．Materials

　　This chapter describes which Chinese varieties are dealt with（and not dealt with）in the present study.

2.1　Four Varieties Focused on in This Study

　　In this paper, we will deal with the following four varieties as examples of Mongolic-influenced Chinese（henceforth "MIC"）:

・The Xining（西宁）dialect of Chinese（henceforth "Xining"）: a Chinese dialect spoken by the people living in and around metropolitan Xining in Qinghai（青海）Province.　Several previous studies point out that the grammar of the dialect has been greatly affected by the Monguor language[2].

・The Tangwang（唐汪）variety of Chinese（henceforth "Tangwang"）: a Chinese variety spoken in Tangwang Township which belongs to Linxia（临夏）Hui（回）Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu（甘肃）Province.　Lexically and phonetically, the variety is Chinese, but its grammar is heavily influenced by the

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2）Li Keyu（1993）, Du（1995）, Dede（1999）, Kawasumi（2015）among others.

Santa language[3].

· The Hezhou（河州）dialect of Chinese（henceforth "Hezhou"）: a Chinese dialect spoken in and around Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture and Xunhua （循化）Salar Autonomous County in Qinghai Province. Following Kawasumi （forthcoming）, the dialect was formed as a result of language shift taking place in the Monguor-speaking and Tibetan-speaking communities, and the former was superior to the latter.
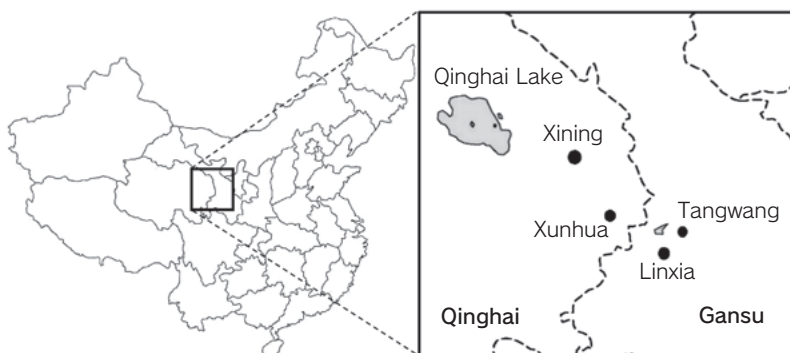

Figure. 1 Map of the Gansu-Qinghai area

· Mongolian Chinese of the Yuan period（"元代蒙式汉语" in Chinese）: a Mongolian-influenced Chinese variety used in north China, in particular inside and around Dadu（大都）in the late Yuan dynasty[4]. In this paper, the data for this variety are from *Laoqida*（老乞大）[5], *Yuanchao Mishi*（元朝秘史）[6] and

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3）See Ibrahim（1985）, Xu（2014：53, 292）.

4）See Li et al.（2009）, p. 257.

5）*Laoqida* is a textbook used for learning the then spoken Chinese, compiled in Korea in the late Yuan dynasty.

6）*Yuanchao Mishi*（also known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*）is a biography of Chinggis Khan, published in the early Ming（明）dynasty.

Tongzhi Tiaoge（通制条格）[7].

2.2　Should Gangou Dialect be Dealt with？

This chapter examines the status of Gangou（甘沟）Chinese dialect（henceforth "Gangou"）, spoken in Gangou Hui Township, Minhe（民和）Hui and Monguor County, Qinghai Province.

Zhu et al.（1997）is the first and thus far most influential study of Gangou. As the subtitle of the article indicates, Gangou have generally been considered as a variety of Chinese heavily influenced by the Minhe County dialect of the Monguor（also known as "Mangghuer"）.　However, we think that this assumption needs more discussion, because the dialect has a feature that suggests very strong Tibetan influence, that is, the order of numerals（+classifier）and the modified noun.

In northwest and southwest China, there are some Chinese varieties that are influenced by Tibetan languages :

- ・Wutun（五屯）: a Chinese variety influenced both by Amdo Tibetan（to a large degree）and by Bonan（much less）, spoken in Tongren（同仁）District of Qinghai Province.
- ・Bailongjiang（白龙江）: a Chinese dialect influenced by Kam Tibetan, spoken in the Bailongjiang river basin in Gansu Province.
- ・Dao（倒）: a Chinese variety strongly influenced by Kam Tibetan, spoken in Ganzi（甘孜）Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan（四川）Province.

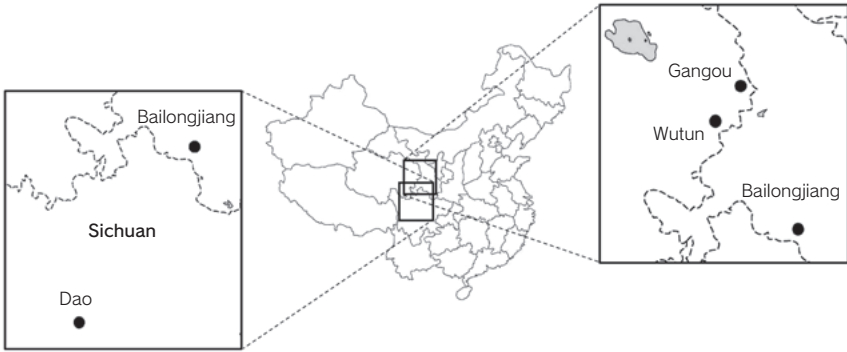7）*Tongzhi Tiaoge* is a precedent of the Yuan dynasty, published in 1323.

Figure. 2   Map of the languages mentioned in Chap. 2.2

In these varieties, numerals generally follow the modified noun as in Tibetan. For example, Lee-Smith and Wurm（1996 : 886）points out that "In Wutun, . . . numerals . . . generally follow the nouns as in Tibetan". In addition, below are the examples from Bailongjiang and Dao :

（1）

　　Bailongjiang : 书 一 个（Mo 2004 : 153）

　　　　　　　　book one CL "one book"

　　Dao : 马 一 个（Yixiweisa 2004 : 72）

　　　　　　horse one CL "one horse"

In contrast, numerals in MIC mentioned in 2.1 precede the modified noun, the same order as all Mongolic languages（and Standard Chinese）:

（2）

　　Xining[8] : 一 匹 马

　　　　　　one CL horse "one horse"

8）The Xining examples in this paper are from my own fieldwork.

Tangwang : liã ke tɕi（Xu 2017 : 107）

　　　　　　　two CL chicken "two chickens"

Hezhou : 一　个　牛（*Linxia Fangyan*[9] : 171）

　　　　　one CL cow "one cow"

Yuanchao Mishi : 一　个　人（Vol. 1）

　　　　　　　one CL person "one person"

As mentioned above, Gangou dialect has the same order as Tibetan[10] :

（3）　a. shibanyi-ge（Zhu et al. 1997 : 440）　b. 学生　三　个（Yang 2014 : 237）

　　　　slate one CL　　　　　　　　　　　　student three CL

　　　　"one slate"　　　　　　　　　　　　　"three students"

This word order suggests that Gangou dialect has been profoundly influenced by Tibetan[11].　For this reason, we are not concerned in this paper with the dialect.

3．Features Peculiar to MIC

In this chapter we describe some grammatical features peculiar to MIC[12].　All features mentioned below are distinct from other varieties of Chinese and are common

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9）"*Linxia Fangyan*" is an abbreviation for "Lanzhou daxue Zhongwenxi Linxia fangyan diaocha yanjiuzu and Gansu Sheng Linxia Zhou wenlian（1996）".

10）Zhu et al.（1997 : 439）describes "the placement of quantifiers following the modified noun, parallel the syntactic structures of Minhe Monguor".　However, according to Slater（2003 : 94）, in Minhe Monguor, "the numeral appears before the nominal head".　We therefore assume that the word order used in Gangou is as a result of influence from contact with Tibetan.

11）Note, in passing, that, although it has no grounds for saying so, Xu（2014 : 205）considers Gangou dialect as a Tibetan-influenced Chinese variety.　However, on the other hand, it also cannot be denied that Minhe Monguor has influenced Gangou.　The formative process of the dialect calls for further investigation.

12）However, judging only from the materials already published, the last feature（see 3.6）is not shared with Tangwang.

to all Mongolic languages, suggesting that they arose under influence from Mongolic languages.

3.1 SOV Word Order

The normal word order in Standard Chinese is SVO（subject-verb-object）. In MIC, on the other hand, the word order is predominantly SOV[13], the same order as all Mongolic languages. We give some examples below :

(4) 我 饭 吃 了。（Xining）

　　1SG meal eat PRF

　　"I have eaten meal."

(5) 你 苹果 吃 哩 不 吃？（Tangwang. Xu 2014 : 187）

　　2SG apple eat PRT NEG eat

　　"Do you eat an apple ?"

(6) 你 票 买 上 了 没 有？（Hezhou. Ma 1982 : 73）

　　2SG ticket buy COMP PRF NEG have

　　"Have you bought a ticket ?"

(7) 恁 如今 那里 去？（*Laoqida*. § 6[14]）

　　2SG now where go

　　"Where are you going ?"

3.2 Postpositional Case Marking

As is widely known, languages with normal SOV word order are postpositional. In keeping with this strong tendency, MIC possesses a postpositional case marking system. Table 1 shows the postpositional case markers employed in MIC and some Mongolic languages.

13）However, in some cases, SVO is also accepted.

14）The section number of *Laoqida* is based on Kin et al.（2002）.

Table 1.　Case marking systems in MIC and Mongolic languages[15)]

	Dative	Accusative	Ablative	Instrumental	Comitative
Xining	-xa/a		-sa	-lja	
Tangwang	-xa/a		-ɕiɛ	-la	
Hezhou	-xa		-ta	-la	
Yuanchao Mishi	处/行	行	里	（marked by prepositions）	
Tongzhi Tiaoge	根底		根底/里[16)]	里	根底
Monguor	-də	-nə	-sa	-la	
Bonan	-də	-nə	-sə	-ɢalə	
Santa	-də	-ni	-sə	-ɢala	
Middle Mongolian	-DU(r)/DA	-(y)i	-('A)sA	-'Ar	-lAA

Here are some examples of MIC postpositional case markers :

(8)　我　xa　他　打　了。（Xining）

　　　1SG ACC 3SG hit PRF

　　　"He has hit me."

(9)　　və tɕia li ɕiɛ lɛ liɔ[17)]．（Tangwang）

　　　1SG home POST ABL come PRF

　　　"I have come from my home."（Xu 2017 : 88）

(10)　我　你　la　说　下　的　话　别人　xa　嫑　说[18)]（Hezhou. Li Wei 1993 : 437）

　　　1SG 2SG COM tell COMP GEN talk others DAT NEG tell

　　　"Don't tell others what I told you."

15）The source for Tangwang is from Xu（2017），Hezhou is from Ma（1984）and Li Wei （1993），Monguor is from Zhaonasitu（1981），Bonan is from Buhe and Liu（1982），Santa is from Liu（1981）．Middle Mongolian data are part of Rybatzki（2003 : 67）'s Table 3.3．Data for *Yuanchao Mishi* and *Tongzhi Tiaoge* are taken from my own research.

16）"根底" is used when the marked noun phrase has the feature［+human］，and"里"is used when the marked noun phrase is［-human］．

17）This sentence can be represented as"我家里 ɕiɛ 来了"in Chinese character.

18）In the original text,"la","xa"are written as"啦","哈"respectively.

（11）　眼睛　la　看。（Hezhou. Renzeng Wangmu 1991：13）

eye INST look

"Look with eyes."

（12）　儿子　每　行　疾快　唤觉　起来。（*Yuanchao Mishi*. Vol. 2）

child PL ACC quickly wake up

"Wake children up quickly."

（13）　俺　根底　不曾　商量　了。（*Tongzhi Tiaoge*. Vol. 4）

1PL COM never consult PRF

"（You）have never consulted with us."[19]

3.3　Converb-like Element

　　The Mongolic languages possess a rich set of converbs[20].　They are defined as a non-finite verbal form that modifies a following verb phrase in the capacity of an adverbial.　MIC uses converb-like elements as in Mongolic languages.　Observe some examples：

（14）　月亮　下去　tʂɔ　太阳　出来　了。（Xining[21]）

moon fall CONV sun rise PRF

"As the moon set, the sun rose."

（15）　nə pu jɔ tʂə və jɛ mə pɛ̃fa.[22]（Tangwang）

3SG NEG wish CONV 1SG also NEG means

"If he doesn't want［it］, I have no idea what to do."（Xu 2017：117）

19）As for case marking, *Laoqida* is mostly prepositional.　However, in some rare instances, postpositional case markers are also found：
　・师傅　行　呈　着（§5）
　teacher DAT inform PRT "let the teacher know"
　・大医　根底　重重的　酬谢　也。（§84）
　doctor DAT politely thank PRT "（I）thank the doctor politely."

20）For example, modern Mongolian（Chakhar dialect）has fourteen converbs（Daobu 1983：53 -59）.

21）For more details about Xining "tʂɔ", see Kawasumi（2010）.

22）This example can be represented as "那不要　tʂɔ　我也没办法" in Chinese character.

(16)　电影 完 了 tʂə 我们 就 回来 了[23]（Hezhou. Ma 1984 : 53）

　　　movie finish PRF CONV 1PL soon return PRF

　　　"As the movie finished, we returned immediately."

(17)　眼泪 流 着 心里 艰难 了。（*Yuanchao Mishi* Vol. 6）

　　　tear flow CONV heart grieve PRF

　　　"Shedding tears,（Chinggis）felt sorry（for Öködei）."

3.4　Expansion of the Use of a Plural Marker

　　In Standard Chinese, the plural marker "们 men" is attached only to personal nouns （which is to say, nouns having the feature［+human］, for example, 朋友 péngyou "friend"）. In MIC, the use of plural markers is expanded beyond the marking of human beings to include animate nouns and even to inanimate nouns. Let us observe some examples of the plural markers attached to［-human］words（the plural markers are underlined）:

(18)

　　Xining : 菜<u>们</u> "vegetables", 房子<u>们</u> "houses", 馍馍<u>们</u> "steamed bread（PL）", 阿扎<u>们</u> "what places"

　　Tangwang : jã <u>mu</u> "sheep（PL）", tɔ̃ tsɿ <u>mu</u> "stools"（Xu 2017 : 9）

　　Hezhou : 饭<u>们</u> "dishes", 菜<u>们</u> "vegetables", 狗<u>们</u> "dogs", 衣服<u>们</u> "clothes"（*Linxia Fangyan* : 154-156）

　　Laoqida : 头口<u>每</u>（"livestock［PL］", § 13, § 14 etc.）, 马<u>每</u>（"horses", § 18, § 23 etc.）, 狗<u>每</u>（"dogs", § 42）

　　Yuanchao Mishi : 骟马<u>每</u>（"geldings", Vol. 6）

　　Tongzhi Tiaoge : 民田<u>每</u>（"private rice fields", Vol. 2）, 那里<u>每</u>（"those places", Vol. 27 etc.）, 星历文书<u>每</u>（"astrological documents", Vol. 28）

23）In the original text, "tʂə" is written as "者".

The expansion of the use of "们/每" must be associated with the language contact with the Mongolic languages.　In Mongolic languages, all nouns can be marked by the plural suffixes[24].

3.5　Adverbials Generally Precede Negatives

In Standard Chinese, when an adverbial precedes the negative "不bù", it is external to the scope of "不" and modifies the following negative predicate, as in（19）:

（19）　a.　很　不　好　　　　b.　她　一定　不　去。

　　　　　very NEG good　　　　　3SG definitely NEG go

　　　　　"very bad"　　　　　　　"She will definitely not go."

On the contrary, in MIC, an adverbial is inside the scope of negation even when it precedes a negative.　Let us observe some examples :

（20）　我们　就　不　走。（Xining[25]）

　　　　1PL immediately NEG go

　　　　"We don't go immediately."

（21）　və kʰuə xa tɕʰiɛ̃tɕʰiɛ̃ mə ʂɑ̃.[26]（Tangwang. Xu 2013 : 213）

　　　　1SG class ACC everyday NEG attend

　　　　"I don't attend the class everyday."

（22）　话　再　嫑　说 ![27]（Hezhou. *Linxia Fangyan* : 195）

　　　　talk again NEG speak

24）Here we give some examples :
　・Monguor "-sge" : kun-sge "persons", mori-sge "horses", ɕiree-sge "desks".
　・Bonan "-lə" : iadʐĭ-lə "children", fgor-lə "bullocks", ɕile-lə "desks".
　・Santa "-la" : kun-la "persons", mori-la "horses", ʂurə-la "desks".

25）For more details about the scope of negatives and position of adverbial in the Xining dialect, see Wang and Dede（2016）.

26）This sentence can be represented as "我课 xa 天天没上" in Chinese character.　The corresponding Standard Chinese translation is "我不天天上课"（Xu 2013 : 213）.

27）The corresponding Standard Chinese translation is "别再说话"（*Linxia Fangyan* : 195）.

"Don't talk again !"

（23）　擅自　休　断　者。（*Tongzhi Tiaoge*. Vol. 28）

　　　　arbitrarily NEG judge PRT

　　　　"Don't judge without authorization."

　　This language change, too, might be due to contact with Mongolic languages, because the word order mentioned above is common to all Mongolic languages[28].

3.6　The Special Use of "有"

　　In Standard Chinese, there are two existential verbs : "在 zài" and "有 yǒu".　To express a definite person or thing is present, the following construction is used :

> Definite Person / Thing + 在 + Place

　　In contrast, to say an indefinite person or thing is present, the following pattern is chosen :

> Place + 有 + Indefinite Person / Thing

　　Followings are the examples of Standard Chinese :

（24）　a.　她 在 那儿。　　　b.　那儿 有 一 个 人。

　　　　　3SG EXV there　　　　　there EXV one CL person

　　　　　"She is there."　　　　　"There is a person."

　　In MIC, on the other hand, the verb "有" can be used even when expressing a definite noun is present（or absent）.　Here are some examples :

28）For example :

　・bi pusə uliə ətʂɯnə.（Santa. Liu 1981 : 102）

　　1SG again NEG go "I will not go again."

（25） tɕja 来 嗬, 你 家里 没 有。（Xining）

3SG come PRT 2SG home NEG EXV

"When s/he came, you weren't at home."

（26） □［tɕiə²⁴³］屋里 没 有 吗？（Hezhou. *Linxia Fangyan* : 193）

3SG house NEG EXV PRT

"Isn't s/he at home ?"

（27） 你 都 这里 有 者。（*Laoqida.* § 69）

2SG all here EXV PRT

"You（PL）stay here."

The use of "有" in（25）－（27）might be a result of language contact with the Mongolic languages. In Mongolic languages, the same existential verb is used, irrespective of definiteness[29].

4. Conclusions and Remaining Issues

This paper discussed a typology of language changes of MIC. So far we have mentioned the following six features :

    a.   The normal word order is SOV.

    b.   Postpositional case markers are used.

    c.   Converb-like elements are used.

    d.   The use of plural markers is expanded.

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29) The following are examples of Chakhar Mongolian.（Daobu 1983 : 121, 22）
   ・bii ənd bɛɛjaa.
    1SG here EXV "I am here."
   ・məd obs bɛɛn ѡѡ ?
    tree grass EXV PRT "Are there tree(s) and grass ?"

e. Adverbials generally precede negatives.

f. "有" can be used express a definite noun at a present.

As the data are limited, the present study has solely focused on grammatical side. However, there might be phonological changes which are shared by MIC[30]. This shortcoming needs to be complemented in future research.

Abbreviations

1 － 1st personal pronoun ; 2 － 2nd personal pronoun ; 3 － 3rd personal pronoun ; ABL － Ablative ; ACC － Accusative ; CL － Classifier ; COM － Comitative ; COMP － Complement ; CONV － Converb-like element ; DAT － Dative ; EXV － Existential verb ; GEN － Genitive ; INST － Instrumental ; NEG － Negative ; PRT － Particle ; PL － Plural ; POST － Postposition ; PRF － Perfect ; SG － Singular

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30) For example, Xu（2014 : 91-97）points out that the tone system in Tangwang and Hezhou is undergoing a simplification as a result of contact with neighboring languages.　We would like to emphasize that Xining is also in the middle of reducing its tones（Kawasumi 2014 : 170）.

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