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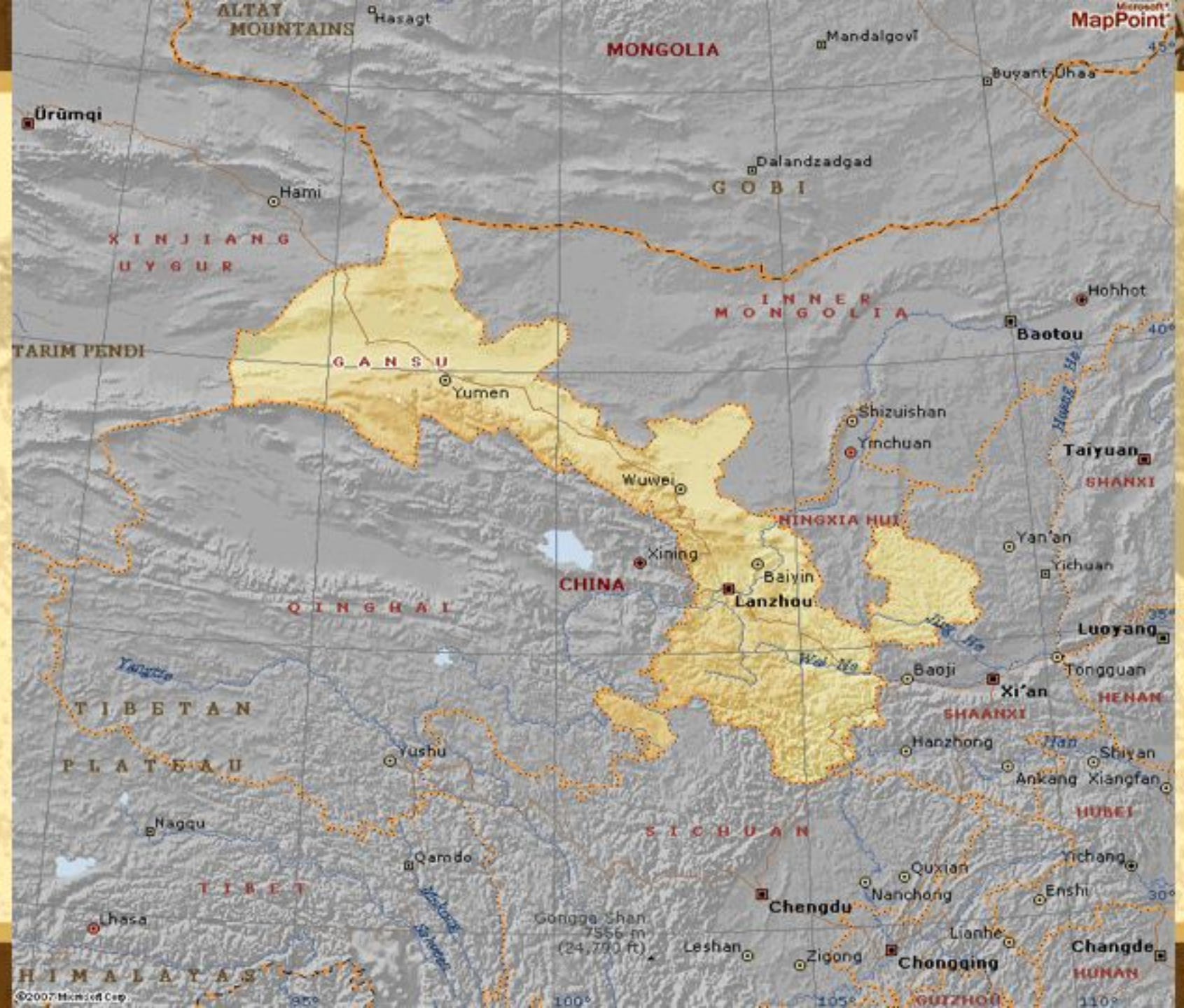
**Languages in contact in Northwestern
China: convergence, mixed languages or
linguistic area?**

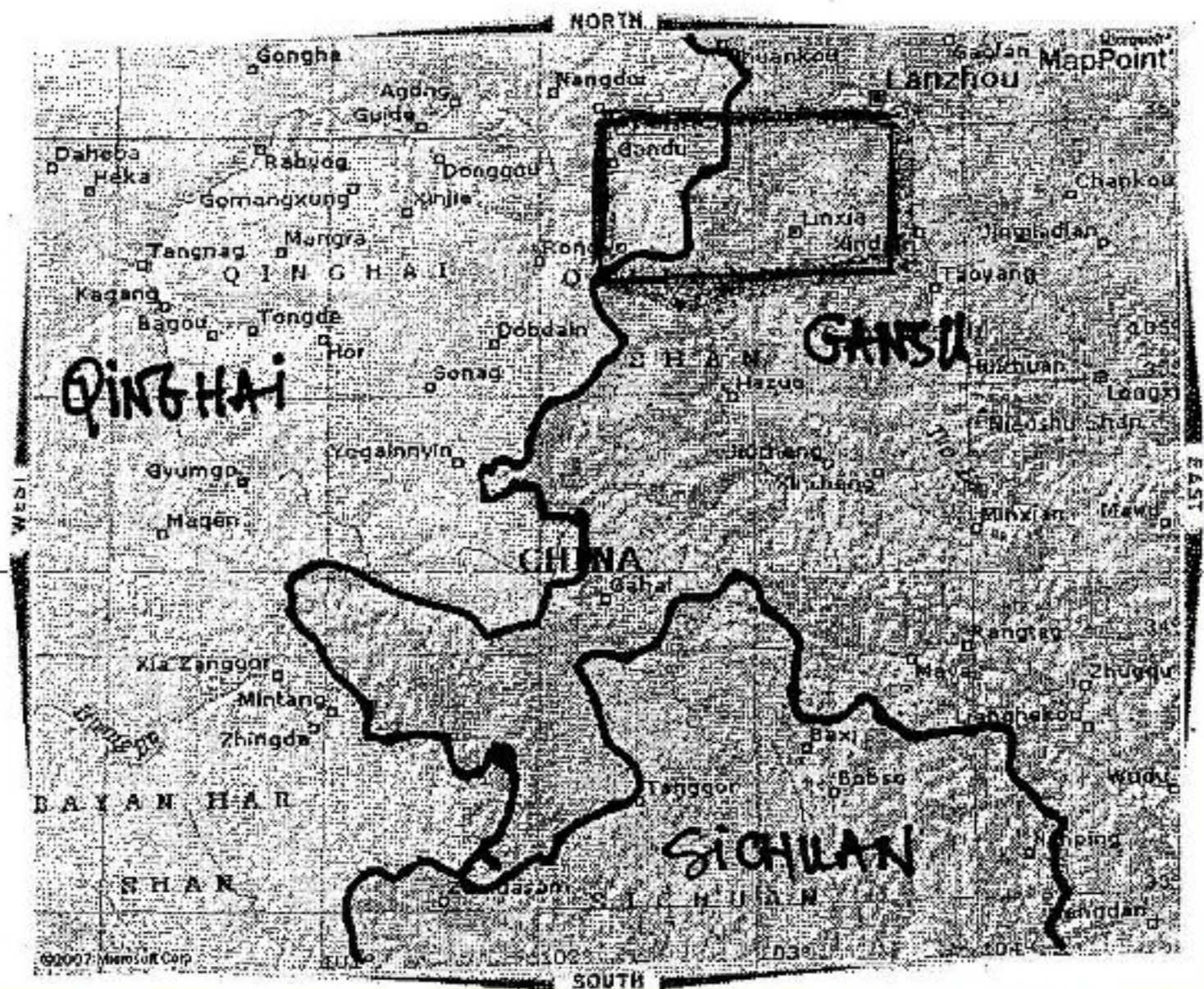
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Northwestern China

- ⌘ Yellow River plateau: Southeastern Qinghai and Southern Gansu: a hotbed of cultural and linguistic contact
- ⌘ Districts of Linxia in Gansu (south of the Yellow River, at the confluence of the Daxia River), of Tongren and Huangnan in Qinghai







Nine ethnic groups in the region

- ⌘ Chinese (Han 汉)
- ⌘ Hui 回 (Muslims)
- ⌘ Dongxiang 东乡 (Santa)
- ⌘ Bao'an 保安 (Baonan)
- ⌘ Mongguor 土族 (Tu)
- ⌘ Eastern Yugur 东部裕固 (Yellow Uighur)
- ⌘ Western Yugur 西部裕固
- ⌘ Salar 撒拉
- ⌘ Amdo Tibetan 安多藏族

A dozen languages

- ⌘ Sinitic languages (Northwestern Mandarin dialects): Linxia 临夏 (Hezhou 河州), Tangwang 唐汪 (20.000 speakers in Gansu Dongxiang zone), Wutun 五屯 (in Qinghai Tongren district)
- ⌘ Mongolic languages: Santa, Baonan, Mongguor, Eastern Yugur
- ⌘ Turkic languages: Salar, Western Yugur
- ⌘ Tibeto-Burman: Amdo Tibetan

Linxia 临夏 (Hezhou 河州)

- ⌘ SOV with head-final constructions and postpositions. Lexicon is clearly Chinese, with 3 tones
- ⌘ “Small” expressed in Linxia by *ka* 尕 (*ga*) perceived by Linxia speakers to be the native word :

1. *Tsi ka fongtse KA tsi hen* 这架房子尕至很

This CL house small extent very

This house is very small

2. *Ka wawa* 尕娃娃

Small child

Linxia 临夏 (2)

- ⌘ Also used in the Xining dialect (Qinghai), in Tangwang and Wutun Sinitic or creoles, and in non-Sinitic neighbouring languages (Santa)
- ⌘ Source of *ka* uncertain, but clearly not of Chinese origin

Linxia 临夏 (3)

- ⌘ Comitative/Instrumental “with N”: Linxia dialect uses the suffixes or postpositions *-la* and *liangge*

3. *Ngo bi liangge (-la) xi zi* 我笔两个 (拉) 写字

I pen INSTR (INSTR) write characters

I am writing with a pen

- ⌘ *Liangge* is the use of the Chinese compound « Numeral + Cl » ‘two’ used as an instrumental by analogy with Baonan and Santa where *qua-la* has been reanalyzed as a postpositional instrumental/comitative suffix *-qala* (cf. Dwyer 1992)

Linxia 临夏 (4)

- ⌘ *La* has a broad distribution in the languages of the region. Functions as an instrumental and/or a comitative postposition in Tangwang and Santa (in Santa, generally, *qala* marks the instrumental while *-la-* marks the comitative):

4. *Ni aga -la yita qi* 你阿格拉一起去 (Tangwang)

You elder-brother COMITATIVE together go

Go together with your elder brother.

- ⌘ *-la* could come from the Proto-Altaic comitative suffix **-lu* (according to Poppe 1955)
- ⌘ Han Chinese of Linxia prefer to use *-la*, while the Hui (Muslims) of Linxia tend to use *liangge*.

Linxia 临夏 (5)

- ⌘ Conditional *shi* 是
 - ⌘ clause-final suffix *shi* that functions as a marker of conditional:
5. *Qia meikuo qi shi ngo qia xun bu qie* 他美国去是我他须不嫁

He America go CONDITIONAL I he will negation marry
If he goes to the US, I won't marry him.

- ⌘ Salar has the same conditional marker *-sa/-se*. The same for other languages of the region (Turkic, Mongolic and Tibetan).
- ⌘ Linxia has probably borrowed this construction from Turkic.

Linxia 临夏 (6)

- ⌘ Suffixes, obviously coming from Turkic languages (Uighur) [Ma Shujun 1982, 1984]
- ⌘ Accusative and dative *-xa*, ablatif *-ta*, comitative/instrumental *-la*, etc.

6. *Tsi ge dongxi shi ngo ni-xa mei gedi* 这个东西是我你-xa 买给的

This Cl. thing is I you+suffix buy give+part

This thing, it's me who bought it for you

7. *Beijing-ta huei lei lio* 北京-ta 回来了

Peking+suffix return come asp.-part.

(I) came back from Peking

Linxia 临夏 (7)

- ⌘ Same constructions in Baonan, Santa, Mongguor (Mongolic languages) and in Salar (Turkic)
- ⌘ Also links with Amdo-Tibetan (Xie Xiaoan, Hua Pei, Zhang Shumin 1996):
- ⌘ Plural suffix *-men* 们 for inanimate nouns, like in Amdo Tibetan
- ⌘ Verbal suffix *-tou* 头 for conditionals, like in Amdo Tibetan

Baoan 保安

- ⌘ One of the ten recognized Mongolian languages: Standard Mongolian (also known as Khalka), Buriat, Oirat, Kalmyk, Moghol, Dagur, Mongguor (Tu), Santa (Dongxiang), Baonan (Baoan), Yellow Uighur (Eastern Yugur) [Poppe 1970]
- ⌘ Baonan and Khalkha not mutually intelligible
- ⌘ Two distinct dialects: Southeastern Qinghai province: 2000-3000 Lama Buddhists, Southwestern Gansu province: 5000 Muslims

Baoan 保安 (2)

- ⌘ Borrowing from Chinese: introduction into Baonan of the Chinese copula verb, with the consequence that verb-medial copula sentences are now well established in Baonan

8. *Habib manbu o*

Habib doctor be

Habib is a doctor

9. *Habib defu o*

Habib doctor be

Habib is a doctor

Baoan 保安 (3)

10. *Habib shi defu o*

Habib be doctor be

Habib is a doctor

11. *Habib shi defu*

Habib be doctor

Habib is a doctor

Baoan 保安 (4)

- ⌘ Comparative of superiority
- ⌘ Indigenous Baonan comparative uses the comparative suffix *shi* (also meaning ‘from’, ‘if’) :
X – Y-*shi* – Dimension
- ⌘ Today, the following structure:
- ⌘ X *bi* Y-*shi* dimension
- ⌘ The suffix –*shi* could be dropped in a near future, completing the process of contact-induced syntactic change in Baonan (Li 1989)
- ⌘ Development of tones in Baonan ?

Mongguor (土语)

- ⌘ Core vocabulary primarily Mongolic
- ⌘ Many features attributable to contact-induced changes:
- ⌘ Phoneme inventory nearly identical to that of nearby Chinese languages, with several non-Mongolic phonemes
- ⌘ Borrowed copula construction, using the Chinese equational invariant (no inflectional form) copula *shi*, as in Baonan and Santa

[Slater 2003]

Tangwang 唐汪

⌘ In the autonomous district of Dongxiang in Gansu province

⌘ Full-fledged case system: for instance, *-xa* for accusative/passive, as in Dongxiang

12. *Ve tsi-xa tsua tsu-lio* 我贼哈抓住了

I bandit-*xa* arrest resultative+asp.

I have arrested the bandit

13. *Ka xo-xa kou nio-xalio* 尕汪哈狗咬哈了

Small Wang-*xa* dog bite-asp.part.

Small Wang has been bitten by a dog

Tangwang 唐汪 (2)

13. *Ne tsuekie jikie kou-tsa ta shi* 那昨个一个狗哈
打死

That yesterday one+Cl. dog-*xa* hit dead

He beat a dog to death yesterday

⌘ Copula at the end of the sentence, as in Baonan:

14. *Tsuekie tshie-xatshi ve tshi ana shi* 昨个见我的
阿娜是

Yesterday see I mother be

Yesterday the one I saw was my mother

Wutun 五屯

- ⌘ According to the criteria of lexicostatistics: member of the Sinitic family.
- ⌘ Has lost its tones, has a full-fledged case system and complex suffixal verb morphology
- ⌘ Lexicon includes a large number of Amdo Tibetan words (30%)
- ⌘ Baonan and Mongguor have also left their mark on the language

Wutun 五屯 (2)

15. *Nge xaxua tseke she xi yo* 我汉语一点说会有
I Chinese a-little speak know part.

I know a little bit of Chinese

16. *Ni a-ra laelio* 你哪儿 (从) 来了

You where-*ra* come asp.part.

Where do you come from?

[-*ra*: ablative suffix]

Influence of Amdo Tibetan and Baonan

Areal typology

- ⌘ Result of diffusion of traits, normally understood as being not inherited
- ⌘ The clearest case of diffusion and convergence thus occurs between unrelated languages.

Linguistic area

« By *linguistic area*, I intend an area in which *at least one linguistic property* is shared more often than elsewhere in the world to an extent which is unlikely to be due to chance, but which is probably due either to contact or remote genetic relationships »
(Dryer 1989: 266)

Linguistic area (2)

« Areal linguistics: seeks to document and understand the phenomenon and parallel structural organization in languages (typically, languages of different families), which are spoken in the same or adjoining geographical areas » (Enfield 2005: 182)

Linguistic area (3)

« A linguistic area is defined as a geographical region in which neighboring *languages belonging to different language families* show a *significant set of structural properties in common*, where the commonality in structure is due to contact and where the shared structural properties are not found in languages immediately outside the area (ideally where these include languages belonging to the same families as those spoken inside the area » (Enfield 2005: 190)

Linguistic area (4)

- ⌘ One geographical area
- ⌘ Different languages belonging to different families in this area
- ⌘ These different languages share some linguistic features
- ⌘ These linguistic features are unknown to the other languages of the families outside the area

Problems

- ⌘ How many linguistic features are necessary to identify a linguistic area? Is more than one (i.e. two) enough?
- ⌘ Can the linguistic features be phonological, syntactic, semantic, and even pragmatic?
- ⌘ What do we mean by « language families »? Is Tibeto-Burman a family or a group of languages inside the Sino-Tibetan family?

Examples of Linguistic Areas

- ⌘ Balkans Area is a linguistic area: there is a Sprachbund, a confederation of languages: Modern Greek, Bulgarian (Slavic), Rumanian (Romance), Albanian share a dozen linguistic features unknown to the other languages belonging to these families (Comrie 1989)
- ⌘ Vaupez-Içana basin (Northeast of Amazonia) is also a linguistic area: five linguistic features are shared by North Arawak, East Tucano, Maku, all languages belonging to different families (Aikhenvald 1999)

Sinitic languages ?

- ⌘ Passive marker has its origin in a verb of giving in some East Asia and Southeast Asia languages
- ⌘ The grammaticalization process has been:
V [+ Give] > Verb [+ Causative] > Passive Marker
- ⌘ This linguistic phenomenon is shared by languages belonging to:
 - ⌘ Sinitic
 - ⌘ Miao-Yao
 - ⌘ Tibeto-Burman
 - ⌘ Tai-Kadai
 - ⌘ Austroasiatic

(Jiang Shaoyu 2002, Zhang Min 2000, Chappell and Peyraube 2006)

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