Dungan Syntax

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The Syntax of Central Asian Dungan (Grammar.doc)

1. The language and the people

Central Asian Dungan is a language spoken in the former Soviet Union, in Kyrgyzstan and Khazakhstan, by Muslims whose ancestors came from China. It is based on northwestern dialects of Chinese, but it is written in the Cyrillic alphabet and has not been under the influence of written Chinese.

Dungan or Tungan is a term that was commonly used for Chinese speaking Muslims before 1949. Its origin is not certain but it seems to be of Turkic origin. In any case, it is not used by the Dungans themselves. Formerly they called themselves лохуэйхуэй 老回回 'Old Moslem' or жун-янжын 中原人 'Central Plains people'. Nowadays the most common term is хуэйзў 回族 'Hui nationality', which probably is a recent loan from Chinese because it has been the politically correct term only since the foundation of the People's Republic of China.

Central Asian Dungan has been separated from Chinese for only one hundred years, but differences in vocabulary, idiom and phraseology between Central Asian Dungan and Chinese are surprisingly great. Morphological differences exist, and syntactical differences are considerable.

Soviet linguists thought it was an important question whether Dungan and Chinese were separate languages. On one hand, the differences between them would perhaps not hinder communication in Northwestern China as long as everyday matters are discussed, but on the other hand, as soon is the discussion is removed from everyday life and concrete things, the difference becomes very apparent. A very important objective difference is that the writing systems are different. A literate Dungan cannot read Chinese and vice versa. In this respect, the relation between Central Asian Dungan and Chinese can be compared to the relation between Maltese and Arabic, as well as Hindi and Urdu. Although there are linguistic differences between Dungan and Chinese, it is mainly sociological reasons that determine that Central Asian Dungan and Chinese are different languages. The decisive factor is that the speakers feel that the languages are different.

The Central Asian Dungan language is remarkable in that it has received no influence from written Chinese, like Chinese dialects. It is based on northwestern Chinese dialects and the literary language was developed without reference to Standard Chinese.

In one sense Central Asian Dungan falls outside the Chinese world. East Asia forms a cultural sphere, where old traditions and in particular the writing system are the same. In Japanese, Korean or Vietnamese all Chinese characters can be borrowed to the language, or they potentially exist in the language. This is not the case with Central Asian Dungan. In a way, it represents spoken north western Chinese, a laboratory case for what spoken Chinese could be without the influence of literary Chinese.

Although Central Asian Dungan has to be regarded a separate language, its sound system has developed regularly and it can be firmly placed among Chinese dialects.

Xinjiang dialects.

History

The Dungans did not come to Russia voluntarily. There rebels that took part an uprising of Moslems broke up in Northwest China in 1861. It was finally crushed by Zu¡b¢÷ Zōngtáng úìúyñ¬ in 1878. The rebels fled ahead of the Manchu troops all through northwestern China and some of them finally crossed over the border into Russian territory. The rebels included many nationalities, besides them Dungans.

The Dungans crossed the border at different times and places. The first groups crossed the border in 1877 - 1878 and the last groups again in 1882 - 1888 after the Ili area was given back to China. (Jusupov 1977, Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer 1979:1). Altogether nearly 10,000 moved over (Sushanlo 1979:66).

Janshansin (1938:83-84) mentions some places of origin for some of the Dungan groups. All the places mentioned are in Xïnjiäng. For instance the group settling down in Frunze came from Ili Valley.

The present Dungan settlements are mainly in the Chuj (Чуй, in Dungan Чүй) River Valley on the border between Kirghizia and Kazakhstan. One, Irdyk (Ирдык, in Dungan Эрдэх), is near Przewalsk (Пржевальск) south of Issyk Kul (Иссык Куль). The settlements elsewhere have probably lost their language.

The Dungans have their own literary language, which was first written in the Latin alphabet, then in Cyrillic after 1952 (Riedlinger 1989).

There are about 80,000 Dungans in 1989, of which nearly one half live in Kirghizia. The annual population growth is 3.8 per cent (Шыйүәди Чи, 7 November, 1989).

Writing and pronunciation

The most accurate description of Dungan phonetics is Завялова 1979. It is the only source that uses the IPA alphabet. Имазов 1975 describes the sounds in articulatory terms, but not in great detail.

The orthography is phonemic as far as segmental features are concerned and the following treatment uses the Dungan orthography as the basis of the description.

Since Zawqlowa 1979 does not list all the finals some of the following transcriptions are tentative.

The finals

Trubetzkoy has discussed the vowel system of Soviet Dungan. He thinks it is different in different contexts (Trubetzkoy 1939). Because the medial has become a secondary articulation of the initial and the final nasal can be realized as nasalization, syllables are of the CV type. This is customary in Soviet analyses (Imazov 1975).

Table 1

===

ы	[—]	и	[i]	ў	[u]	ү	[y]
эр	[ˊ®]						
а	[a]	я	[ia]	уа	[ua]		
ә	[F]			уә	[uF]		
э	[E]	е	[iE]	уэ	[uEi]		
о	[o]	ё	[iou]				
ый	[Ii]			уй	[ui]		
у	[U]	ю	[iu]				
ан	[Qn]	ян	[iQn]	уан	[uQn]	үан	[yQn
ын	[ˊn]	ин	[in]	ун	[un]	үн	[yn]
он	[ç]	ён	[içn]	уон	[uçn]		

Notes:

• ы [–] is retroflex or alveolar depending on the previous consonant. It is the vowel in Chinese <u>si</u> and <u>shi</u>.

• The final nasal <n> varies with the nasalisation of the preceding vowel (Zav'jalova 1979: 57)

[Q)]~[Q)n]

[ç)]~[ç)n]

• и [i] palatalizes the initial, sometimes considerably

• ÿ labializes, u does not, otherwise the difference is slight (Zav'jalova 1979: 56). u is written instead of ¨ after labials.

• у [U] is <ou> in Aleksandrovka (Aleksandrowka) in Chuj Valley.

• If the у <u> is medial, the initial consonant usually has no labialization

The labialization is occasionally a bilabial trill (Zav'jalova 1979: 44 - 45).

кÿ <kPu> , куэ<kxuEi>

тÿ <tPu> , эÿ <t5Pu>

бу <pBu>

пу <pPu>

• эр is <Q®> in Irdyk, but <"> in Aleksandrovka (Zav'jalova 1979: 42).

• ки <kxIi>, бый <p1i> (Zav'jalova 1979: 56). The first part of this glide is regarded as a transition by Nurmekund (1979) and Trubetzkoy (1939).

The final -и is written instead of -ыj after labiodentals and velars, which are never palatalized. The final is pronounced <Ii> in that context.

• In хуэй the final -уй is written with ; in order to avoid resemblance with a Russian taboo word.

• Some of the vowels have diphthongal realizations (Zav'jalova 1979: 55):

<E> vs. <uEi>

<o> vs. <iou>

<O> and <E> are diphthongs in Aleksandrovka.

• With érhuà ã—éN, written -r, the opposition between nuclear vowels is obliterated. Only the medial is preserved.

The initials

Table 2

=== =

б \<p\> п \<px\> м \<m\> ф \<f\> в \<v\>

д \<t\> т \<tx\> н \<n\> л \<l\>

р \<r\>

з \<ts\> ц \<tsx\> с \<s\>

‰ \<t5\> \<t5x\> ' \<5\> ж \<Z\>

‰ \<t6\> \<t6x\> ш \<6\> й \<2\>

г \<k\> к \<kx\> ӊ \<9\> х \<x\>

_____

Notes:

• ӊ \<9\> only occurs before \<ø\>, where \<n\> does not occur and it is consequently an allophone of /n/. In Irdyk it is pronounced \<G\> (Zav'jalova 1979: 41).

• Aspiration is velar: \<px\> \<t5x\> etc. (Zav'jalova 1979:43).

• в \<v\>, ж \<Z\> and й \<2\> are strongly fricated. They are originally medials with a zero initial. In Dungan they are probably best regarded as initials.

• р \<r\> occurs in loan words.

The tones

It is usually stated that Soviet Dungan has three tones with no difference between the yīnpíng and yángpíng, i.e. between the first and second Pekinese tones (Kalimov 1968, Rimsky-Korsakoff 1967). In isolated syllables this is true, but in connected speech there are four tones just as in Standard Chinese. (Zav'jalova 1973, 1979, Salmi 1980).

There are differences from Pekingese in the distribution of the tones caused by the fact that the old entering tone becomes yīnpíng or yángpíng, depending on the nature of the initial consonant. In table 3 the number 1 means low and 5 high pitch.

Table 3

=== =

```
Medial Final
-----------------------------------------------------------------
first 11 (21) 13 (131)
second 13 13 (131)
third 51 51
fourth 44 441
-----------------------------------------------------------------
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There is one case of tone sandhi. A first tone is changed into a second tone if it is followed by another first tone. In other words, sequences of low tones are not allowed.

The neutral tone occurs after third and fourth tones. After a first tone it is replaced by a second tone (rising) and after a second tone by a third tone (falling).

Zav'jalova (1979) describes two dialects. The above tones are those of Irdyk, which has a simpler system. In Aleksandrovka some of the tones are slightly different. The fourth tone is 35 and finally 342. In addition, the first tone has a level final variant 11, which mostly occurs after an underlying first tone.

Structurally it is most elegant to think that Soviet Dungan tones are low, rising, falling and high. Low changes into rising finally and before another low.

Dialects within Soviet Dungan

It is traditional to say that there are two main dialects of Soviet Dungan. The literary dialect is based on Gānsù dialect and the other dialect is a Shǎnxī dialect.(Kalimov 1968, Rimsky-Korsakoff 1967, 1979)

The best account of dialect differences between the two main dialects of Soviet Dungan are Janshansin 1968 and 1938. The descriptions are not very systematic. They are of little use in the placement of the Shǎnxī dialect in the context of Chinese dialects.

According to Janshansin 1938 the first primer was printed in 1929. The teachers in the first Dungan school were from Frunze and spoke the Gānsù dialect and that is why it became the literary language.

Below are some of the differences between the two dialects.

Gānsù Shǎnxī

n ñ- For zero initial

в ÿ

ди ‰и This seems to be widespread in the northwest

гә гуә, гы

вә ñә 'I, me'

вәму ñай 'we, us'

жы ´р

3 tones 4 tones

There is a long thematic vocabulary list of the two dialects in Janshansin 1938. The differences in vocabulary are often cases like the following, where both variants are formed from Chinese roots.

гуйхуа çÖéG ~ цымыйхуар ä íTéG 'rose'

лыйзы êð子 ~ лыйба êðàÀ 'rib'

эрхуанзы ã‹éV子 ~ эр‰уйзы ã‹úY子 'earring'

The chief difference between the two dialects is the number of tones, the Shǎnxī dialect having preserved the difference of the two píngshēngs. They share the other main characteristics of Soviet Dungan. Both have lost the oppositions -en vs. -eng and shu vs. fu.

Differences from Pekingese

Phonological features

When we compare the sounds of Soviet Dungan with Standard Chinese, there are considerable differences, but the phonological differences are surprisingly slight, especially if one compares with some dialects further to the east like Zhèngzhōu 郑州 (Zhōu Qìngshēng 1987), where rhotacism is a <u> and where there are finals like iai, where jian-tuan éýód are distinguished, and where ten is used for tun.

Some of the differences are such that the Dungan form can be derived from the Pekingese form. There are two main cases of this.

• First, the difference between velar nasal final consonants has been obliterated so that there is no opposition between the following finals:

-in = -ing <~i> ~ <in>

-en = -eng <~Q> ~ <Qn>

-un = -ong <~u> ~ <un>

The difference between -<u>an</u> and -<u>ang</u> is reflected in the quality of the vowel: -<u>an</u> <~ä>, -<u>on</u> <~O>.

• Another difference that no more exists in Dungan is between <u>shu</u>- vs. <u>fu</u>- and <u>ru</u>- vs. <u>wu</u>-. So fu 社 'book' and fu iþ 'to comb' are homophonous and so are wan iÎ 'soft' and wan óç 'late'. Incidentally, the <u>f</u>- and <u>w</u>- are never followed by a labial medial. The same constraint holds in Chinese. This means that <u>shui</u> 水 'water' becomes fi (<u>fei</u>), not <u>fui</u>.

• Zero initial occurs in Soviet Dungan only in the prefix <u>a</u>-. Otherwise it has coalesced with <u>n</u>- as in nanzy àÆ子 'saddle'. Before <ø> it is the velar <9> as in ñµ ãÍ 'goose', but Soviet Dungan has no <n> in this position, so there is no opposition, although the orthography marks the difference.

Other differences have to be derived from forms of Chinese earlier than present-day Pekingese. There are two main differences of this sort.

• The first of these is the tonal system. There are differences in the distribution of the tones caused by the fact that the old entering tone (i.e. stop final words) becomes yīnpíng or yángpīng, depending on the nature of the initial consonant. In Soviet Dungan the ancient stop final words belong to the present first tone if the initial consonant was earlier a voiceless stop or a sonorant. If it was a voiced stop the word is pronounced in the second tone. So ‰ÿ- õÔ 'bamboo' with an earlier voiceless stop initial and ва- óÄ 'sock' with a sonorant initial have a yīnpíng, while бый à' 'white' with an original voiced initial has a yángpíng.

• In some words the distribution of retroflex and dental fricatives and affricates, <u>sh</u>- and <u>s</u>- for instance, differs from Pekingese. Dentals like <u>s</u>- are more widespread in Soviet Dungan. The occurrence of dentals is easily stated by traditional Chinese terminology: they occur in words that belonged to either the second division or else to the **zhǐ** 止 rhyme class in Middle Chinese. In Dungan it is сан (san) 山 'mountain' and -сы (si) ï‰ 'to be'.

• A third difference occurs in some words originally with a final velar stop, so there are words like ки (kēi) êl 'guest', мый- (mēi) 麦 'wheat', мый (mēi) í© 'ink', бый (bēi) à× 'hundred', бый (béi) à' 'white'. These are words in the **zēng** 曾 and **gěng** çB rhyme classes.

There are also other cases that have developed in a way that differs from Pekingese such as фə- (fó<shuó) ïv 'spoon' and щүə (xuē) òó 'whittle'.

Differences in grammar

There are a lot of differences in vocabulary, syntax and idiom, but because we have no information on these features on the Chinese side, they are not discussed in detail in this paper. However, some of the more important ones are mentioned.

In morphology the differences are of minor importance. In Soviet Dungan it is common to reduplicate nouns. In Pekingese this only occurs in children's language (Chao 1968:202).

Dungan does not form compound words as freely as Chinese. It commonly uses phrases where Chinese uses words.

Chinese often uses abbreviations that Thompson calls alluding forms (Thompson 1965:137). They are actually abbreviations like Zhōnggòng 'Middle common' for Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng 'The Chinese Communist Party'. There are none of these in Dungan and the reason is probably that they are of predominantly literary origin in Chinese.

Differences in vocabulary

Soviet Dungan has almost no words from literary Chinese. The ones it has are from folk poetry. There are a few Chinese loans like дянйинзы 'cinema' and гэмин 'revolution'. There differences in the frequency of many words and some *faux amis*. A lot of Chinese morphemes do not occur in Dungan and there are also a considerable number of Dungan morphemes that do not occur in Chinese and consequently have no цорреспондинг character.

There are a lot of unassimilated Russian words that occur in economic and political texts, but are not so common in other kinds of texts. Other loan words are religious terms from Arabic or Persian. They are mainly phonologically assimilated, and some of them seem to occur in everyday language.

Differences in syntax

The most obvious syntactical characteristic of Soviet Dungan is the system of marked aspects. Nearly every sentence has an aspect particle and the absence of one is grammatically determined. (Salmi 1984).

A less obvious feature is that Soviet Dungan is far less topic oriented than Chinese. Most topics are marked by a preposition, including objects and patients of passive sentences. In general, the order of constituents is freer. Prepositional phrases can rather freely occur before the subject.

In general, there is more morphological marking of syntactical relations in Soviet Dungan. For instance, sentences as subject are usually marked, and clauses as object can be preposed with a preceding ба à ¦ and a following -ди 的.

There are also differences in the use of complements. They rarely occur before the object and discontinuous directional complements only occur with -до ã\, while simple directional complements are rare.

There are a fair number of other differences.

Dialects in China

Mandarin

There are several mutually incomprehensible dialects in China, but some 70 percent of the population speaks the Northern or Mandarin dialects. In this paper, only the northern dialects are dealt with, because Soviet Dungan clearly belongs to this group.

The Northern Chinese dialects are usually called Mandarin dialects. It has been traditional to separate Mandarin from the rest of the Chinese dialects. However, Forrest says there are no real criteria for lumping them all together in one group. The grouping is unfortunate, because it does not express that Cantonese is nearer to Northern Chinese than to the other major dialects. (Forrest 1948:198 - 199).

Yuán Jiāhuá et al. (1960:23) stress mutual comprehensibility as a criterion for separating the Mandarin group from the rest of the Chinese dialects, but there are also phonological features which can be used to set up the major dialect areas. These are the development of voiced initial consonants into voiceless stops, tonal development, and the development of final consonants (Yuán Jiāhuá et al. 1960:23, Zhān Bóhuì 1981:93). Especially the present reflexes of earlier voiced initial stops set Mandarin dialects apart from their southern neighbours. In the southwest final stops and tones are important in this respect.

There have been objections to the use of the name Mandarin. Forrest calls the Mandarin dialects Northern Chinese and so does Zhān Bóhuì. The present classification of dialects is based on work by Lǐ Róng (1985a), who again calls them Mandarin.

This might be connected to the fact that he separates Jìn dialects from Mandarin. These are dialects mainly spoken in Shānxī. They are regarded as entirely outside Mandarin, although they are in the North.

No real reason for the separation of Jìn dialects is given in Lǐ Róng (1985a). It is simply stated that the area of Mandarin has diminished in successive descriptions of Chinese dialects and now the Jìn dialects will be separated from them. The distinctive feature is that they have preserved a final stop consonant ([?]). If this were the only reason for keeping these dialects apart, the same thing should apply for the Jiāng-Huái dialects in the southeast as well, because they too have preserved the old final stop.

There might be some real grounds for the separation of the Jìn dialects, because in the colloquial pronunciation of some Shānxī dialects the initials have developed differently from the Mandarin dialects (Hóu Jīngyī 1986). Moreover, they have often quite aberrant developments of finals.

The name Jìn is the old name for the province of Shānxī and it is used instead of the present name of the province, because the area where they are spoken is not coextensive with Shānxī province. They same principle is followed in Chinese in the names of many other dialects, but it is not possible to follow it systematically in English.

The basic criterion

There are different ways of classifying Mandarin dialects. The classification of Mandarin dialects in Yuán Jiāhuá et al. (1960) can be regarded as traditional. The book divides them into four groups, Northern, Northwestern, Southwestern, and Jiāng-Huái between the Yángzǐjiāng River and the Huái éS River. The same classification is used by Zhān Bóhuì (1981:94 - 98). This classification is mainly geographic, there are no simple linguistic criteria for it.

Lǐ Róng 1985a is the first who uses a single isogloss to separate the major dialects within the Northern Mandarin area. The feature used for the classification is the development of ancient stop final words. The stop has disappeared in most Northern Chinese dialects and the earlier stop final words were apportioned between the other four tones. Table 5 describes the developments in the dialect areas proposed by Lǐ Róng. The numbers are the traditional numbers for the four tones.

Table 5

== =

Initial stop

-- Voiceless Voiced Sonorant

--Southwestern 2 2 2

Central Plains 1 2 1

Northern 1 2 4

Lánzhōu-Yínchuān 4 2 4

Peking 1234 2 4

Jiāodōng-Liáoníng 3 2 4

Jiāng-Huái preserved preserved preserved

Northern Dialects

The development of stop final words is a very easy basis for the classification of Mandarin dialects. It is also used by Zhān Bóhuì to describe his groups, but only secondarily, after he has established areas based on geography.

On the basis of this criterion we can talk about the following groups of Northern Chinese:

Central Plains Mandarin.

Zav'jalova 1979:63 calls this group the Gānsù-Shǎnxī-Hénán dialect as opposed to Northern Gānsù (Lánzhōu-Yínchuān ê†州 ô–ä¶). In Zhān Bóhuì's classification this dialect

is divided between Guānzhōng (Central Shǎnxī Plains) dialect among the Northwestern dialects and Hénán and Huáiběi among the Northern Chinese dialects.

•**Lánzhōu-Yínchuān Mandarin** in Níngxià and northern Gānsù, including Héxī 河西

(Gānsù Corridor). Zhān Bóhuì calls it the Níngxià-Gānsù subgroup of the Northwestern dialects. Zav'jalova (1979) calls it Northern Gānsù dialect. Further investigation might reveal that it is a development of Jìn dialects.

•**Peking Mandarin**, spoken mainly north of Peking (Hè Wēi, Qián Zēngyí and Chén Shūjìng 1986). Zhān Bóhuì calls it the Héběi dialect. Northeastern Mandarin also belongs

to this group (Lǐ Róng 1985a, Lín Tāo 1987). Both are Northern dialects in Zhān Bóhuì's classification.

Northeastern Mandarin has also been regarded as a separate dialect area (Hè Wēi 1986b). On the northeastern side of the dividing isogloss retroflex sound have coalesced with dentals. The tonal developments are basically the same as in Peking, except that it has more shangsheng than Peking. This is probably caused by immigration from the Jiāodōng-Liáoníng area.

•**Northern Mandarin**, spoken east and south of Peking until it meets Central Plains. In Zhān Bóhuì's classification it belongs to the Shāndōng group of Northern dialects.

•**Jiāodōng-Liáoníng Mandarin** in eastern Shāndōng (Jiāodōng 胶东) and Liáoníng peninsulas. The group is called Jiāodōng by Zhān Bóhuì.

•**Jiāng-Huái Mandarin** roughly between the Yángzi3jiāng and the Huái River and Húběi northeast of Wǔhàn 武汉.

•**Southwestern Mandarin,** mainly spoken in Sìchuān, Yúnnán, southern Shǎnxī, and Húběi (Huáng Xuězhēn 1986).

•**Jìn Dialect**. The nucleus of this dialect is in Shānxī. It is also spoken in northern Shǎnxi, Inner Mongolia, and in Hénán in areas bordering on Shānxī. Forrest's Chin dialects, spoken mainly in Shānxī, (207 - 8) include Xī'ān 西安 in the Central Plains area, so his term does not cover the same area as the present term. In Lǐ Róng's classification this is not a Mandarin dialect.

Table 6 summarizes the differences (not the similarities) between Lǐ Róng's and Zhān Bóhuì's groupings.

Table 6

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Zhān Bóhuì Lǐ Róng

Northwestern

Shānxī Jìn

Guānzhōng Central Plains

Níngxià-Gānsù Lánzhōu-Yīnchuān

Northern

Héběi Peking

Dōngběi Peking

Shāndōng Northern

Jiāodōng Jiāo-Liáo

Hénán Central Plains

Huáiběi Central Plains

It can be seen that Lǐ Róng's classification cuts across the geographical areas of Zhān Bóhuì.

From the previous description of Soviet Dungan peculiarities it is easy to see that the subgroup of Mandarin dialects to which Soviet Dungan belongs is the Central Plains Mandarin. Consequently that group is discussed in further detail below.

The extent of Central Plains

Extent of Central Plains in the east.

The area of the Central Plains Dialect is extensive and it has a peculiar shape. It extends all the way from the East China Sea to the Dungan villages in the Soviet Union, but in the north - south direction the area is not very broad. It only forms a narrow belt.

The area of Central Plains Mandarin meets the sea in northern Jiāngsù. In the south it extends to the Huái River, in western Ānhuī even south of the Huái River (Hè Wēi 1985b).

The following areas belong to Central Plains Mandarin: Hénán south of the river, southern Shāndōng up to the southern tip of Héběi, northern Jiāngsù up to the border with Shāndōng , northwestern Ānhuī down to Húběi all belong to the Central Plains area, as well as the southeastern tip of Héběi (Hè Wēi 1985b, 1986a).

Dialect areas are usually separated by bundles of isoglosses. If you choose a good isogloss, it might serve well, but it is more likely that one is not enough. In the case of Chinese dialects the funny shape of the Central Plains area causes some doubts. A good dialect should have historical reasons for its existence (Lǐ Róng 1985b). Geography and communications should be considered when establishing what isoglosses should be used. The area of Central Plains Mandarin in the east is very natural because it roughly follows the old course of the Yellow River (Clark 1983:46).

As was stated above, the boundaries of the dialect areas are determined by one isogloss only, the development of the stop final words. We have some information on another isogloss, a feature typical of Soviet Dungan: the use of dentals instead of retroflex initials in some words (p. 8 above). This feature also extends as a narrow zone in the Yellow River basin and even to the north of Shāndōng and to Tiānjīn 天津, which belongs to Northern

Mandarin (Hè Wēi, Qián Zēngyí and Chén Shūjìng 1986:249, Zav'jalova 1979:117). Even Chānglí 昌黎 northeast of Peking has this feature (Chānglí fāngyánzhì 1960). In Hénán it

occurs in the nothern part of the province in the Yellow River basin and in a few localities with the easternmost point in Xúzhōu ò南¤ (Hè Wēi 1985a, 1985b).

Northwestern Central Plains

Extent in the northwest

In the northwest other dialects limit the area of Central Plains Mandarin in the north. To the east it is bounded by Jìn, which is spoken both in Shānxī, except the Central Plains Mandarin speaking southwestern part, and in northern Shǎnxī North of Yán'ān 延安.

From Níngxià to the Soviet border Central Plains Mandarin is limited by Lánzhōu-Yínchuān territory (the southern extremity of Níngxià is Central Plains). Lánzhōu-Yínchuān extends in Gānsù south to Lánzhōu and to all of the Héxī Corridor. Dūnhuáng is the first place in the west were the Central plains is again spoken. From there the area of Lánzhōu-Yínchuān continues over northern Xīnjiāng. So the Central Plains Mandarin area has a gap in Héxī.

In Xīnjiáng the dialects south of the Altai belong to the Lánzhōu-Yínchuān group while the Altai region is basically Pekingese. The reason is that the Chinese settlement here is recent, dating from the period after the liberation in 1949. (Liú Lìlǐ and Zhōu Lěi 1986).

The dialects in southern Xīnjiāng belong to the Central Plains group (Liú Lìlǐ and Zhōu Lěi 1986). Their area starts from Turpan and Ruòqiāng îÚî[and extends all the way to the Ili River in the west. The northern boundary clearly follows the watershed.

In the south the Central Plains Mandarin area is bounded by Southwestern Mandarin and Tibetan so that Eastern Qīnghǎi is Chinese speaking. The area of Southwestern Mandarin extends to Shǎnxī to some extent. It seems to have spread from Sìchuān along the Hàn 汉 River Valley and is spoken along the southern slopes of the Qínlǐng îwĕã Range.

It is possible that in the west Central Plains Mandarin was originally associated with the Wèi ó† River Valley.

2.4.2.2 Subgroups and their criteria.

There are three major subgroups of Central Plains Mandarin in the Northwest (Zhāng Shèngyù and Zhāng Chéngcái 1986). The two features that have been used to set up subgroups are:

1) the opposition between dental and velar nasal finals after non-low vowels (-en vs. -eng etc.).

2) the number of tones.

In the **Central Shǎnxī Plains** subgroup the -<u>en</u> vs. -<u>eng</u> opposition has been preserved. This dialect is spoken in Eastern Shǎnxī with Xī'ān as a representative.

The dialects in which this opposition is not preserved are divided into two groups. In the **Shǎnxī-Gānsù subgroup** there are four tones in isolated words. This dialect is spoken in western and southern Shǎnxī and southeastern Gānsù with outliers in northeastern Gānsù west of Níngxià and in the utmost west of the Chinese speaking part of Qīnghǎi. Dūnhuáng in Northern Gānsù also belongs to this group.

The two píngshēngs are not kept apart in the **Central Gānsù subgroup.** It is spoken in a narrow zone extending from eastern Gānsù and southwestern Níngxià to eastern Qīnghǎi.

The **Southern Xīnjiāng subgroup** shares the features of the Central Gānsù subgroup, but the two areas are not adjacent. (Liú Lìlǐ and Zhōu Lěi 1986). It is not clear why a separate group has to be established. These dialects essentially resemble Soviet Dungan, but not all dialects share the loss of the opposition <u>shu</u> vs. <u>fu</u> and the same reflex of zero initial. The distribution of these features seems to be rather erratic. They do not form contiguous territories.

3 The placement of Dungan

The Soviet Dungan literary language belongs to the Central Gānsù or the Southern Xīnjiāng subgroup. The Shǎnxī dialect of Soviet Dungan seems to belong to the Shǎnxī-Gānsù subgroup.

The area is still rather extensive and it is impossible to pinpoint the exact original locationof Soviet Dungan. We ought to have information on further features. The only one there is information available of is the labialization of retroflex initials. This is not a feature that can be used as a criterion for dialect subgroups, because it does not define continuous territories. To the east of Xīnjiāng the feature occurs in two places. The first place is in southern Shǎnxī south of the Qínlǐng Range in two small areas separated by Southwestern Mandarin and the second in the Wèi River and Yellow River valleys north of the Wèi.

In these localities <pf> and <pfé> are also used instead of <t5> and <t5x> before <u>, that is, the affricates are also labialized. This is not typical of Dungan, so these areas cannot be regarded as the original areas of Soviet Dungan. Besides, they belong to the Shǎnxī-Gānsù subgroup.

In Qīnghǎi and adjacent areas of Gānsù only the fricatives have been labialized while the affricates are represented by <t5> and <t5x> so those areas are closest to Soviet Dungan, especially those in eastern Qīnghǎi, because the dialects there belong to the Central Gānsù subgroup.

In Xīnjiāng there is information on some localities only. Apparently the areas with labialization are not contiguous there, either. It might be significant that Huòchéng é青f in Ili Valley agrees with Soviet Dungan in this respect.

If dialect features are not contiguous it is usually indicative of the fact that the feature is a relict. However, in this case this is not likely. <f> and <pf> are used in parts of Shāndōng as well, and it cannot be a feature that has earlier been used all over northern China and then disappeared from most of it.

There are some descriptions of the dialects of the general area where Soviet Dungan can be thought of coming. One of them is Xīníng 西宁 of the Shǎnxī-Gānsù subgroup. It can be regarded as a descendant of Soviet Dungan. By this I mean that Xīníng can be derived from Soviet Dungan, it has fewer segmental oppositions and only one that Soviet Dungan does not (between /v/ and /w/). However, the phonetical realization seems to be rather different. (Zhāng Chéngcái 1980, Zhāng Chéngcái and Zhū Shìkuí 1987).

The dialect of Dūnhuáng 敦煌 belongs to the Shǎnxī-Gānsù subgroup (Zhāng Shèngyù 1985), but west of the Dǎnghé ā R河 the dialect is of Lánzhōu-Yínchuān type. It gives a general impression of being rather similar to Dungan.

•Most similar is Yānqí 焉耆 in Central Xīnjiāng of the Southern Xīnjiāng subgroup (Liú Lìlǐ 1988).

In Yānqí the tone sandhi seems to differ somewhat from Soviet Dungan. The retroflex initials have been preserved before a labial medial, but otherwise the phonology is very similar to Soviet Dungan.

4 Conclusion

To conclude, Soviet Dungan belongs to the Central Gānsù or Southern Xīnjiāng subgroup of Central Plains Mandarin. It is further set apart from some dialects of the subgroup by the non-occurrence of retroflex fricatives before -u. and the use of n- for zero initial. This kind of dialect is spoken in Southern Xīnjiāng, in Qīnghǎi and in Southern and Central Gānsù. When such details as tonal realization and tone sandhi are taken into account, Soviet Dungan is most closely related to Southern Xīnjiāng dialects. It is possible that the basis of standard Soviet Dungan was actually the dialect of the group of Dungans that crossed over from Ili Valley. Soviet Dungan can thus be regarded as westernmost extention of a continuum of dialects, not an island separated from its place of origin.

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on 25 December 1988

("yj¥µdi ^i 89.1.5)

Nowadays Dungan settlements are mainly situated in Ч¥й valley between Kyrgyzstan an Kazakhstan. There is also a village in Prvewalxsk south of Issyk Kul.

They have their own literary language. It was developed in

They used first the Latin alphabet, then Cyrillic. (Riedlinger 1988).

Phonological differences are slight.

1) tones The entering tone becomes yīnpíng or yángpīng

2) sh- / s-

-in / -ing

-en / -eng

-un / -ong

shu- / fu-

ke / kei

3) There is practically no influence from written Chinese. Dungan is interesting for the study of Chinese, because it has been very little influenced by the Chinese written language.

peasant language

Central Plains

morphology

Dungan has more morphology than Chinese. It is hoped that studying Dungan will reveal explicit categories which are expressed in less obvious ways in Chinese.

> reduplication

no alluding forms

Syntax

Chéngyǔ

tense/aspect is marked in every sentence.

word order: adverbs before subject, body parts

manner adverbs before subject

bǎ objects before negative (Xīníng)

gerunds? first predicates

дэ …ди

expressions of duration before the predicate

сыса

фынфуди

Dungan is not so much topic oriented as Chinese.

ba object before the subject

ba in passive sentences

adverbs before negatives

body parts as objects before the verb

vocabulary: no literary words

few Chinese loans

differences in frequency

faux amis

Chinese words not in Dungan

words not in Chinese

Dungan is definitely a separate language.

the situation in Chinese was diglossic

Deep frozen dialect

Vocabulary, idiom and phraseology differences between Central Asian Dungan and Chinese are surprisingly great, morphological differences considerable, syntactical exist (mainly in the distribution of particles).

It is a different language mainly because of differences in vocabulary. They would perhaps pass unnoticed in Xīnjiāng (or sound very peasant) as long as everyday matters are discussed, but the discussion moves into areas like science or politics, the differences would be great.

The relation between Central Asian Dungan can be compared to the relation between Maltese and Arabic, Hindi and Urdu, Norwegian and Swedish. Maltese definitely belongs to the North African dialects of Arabic, yet it is definitely a different language, because the alphabet is different, Maltese and Arabic are mutually incomprehensible and the speakers feel it is a different language.

Much the same situation obtains between Urdu and Hindi, Swedish and Norwegian. The lattewr two are mutually intelligible, they have the same alphabet, the same religion, but because they have different standard languages and the speakers feel the languages are different, the two languages are held to be different languages.

In Japanese, Korean or Vietnamese all Chinese characters can be borrowed or actually they potentially exist in the language. This is not the case with Central Asian Dungan. In that sense Dungan falls outside the Chinese world.

Dialects in China

Forrest

Criteria for dialects

The main criterion for grouping Chinese dialects is the development of the ancient stop final words. They are preserved in Southern China and Jin. There are several groups. In this paper, only Mandarin dialects are discussed.

Mandarin dialects

The Northern Chinese dialects are usually called Mandarin dialects, because the dialect spoken at the court in Peking and the mandarins belonged to the Northern dialects. There are no real criteria for lumping them all together in one group (Forrest 1948:198 - 199). Perhaps the only criterion is the change -m > -n in them.

Within the mandarin dialects the dialects of Shanxi type can be regarded as a separate group or entirely outside Mandarin, because they have preserved a final stop consonant (]?]). (Zhongguo yuwen). The same is the case with some southern dialects.

The development of the ancient stop final words has recently been held as the main criterion for dividing the Mandarin dialects into subgroups. When the stop disappeared, the earlier stop final words were apportioned between the other tones.

In Pekingese the apportionment has been effected rather haphazardly. It is not possible fully to predict how a Middle Chinese pronunciation develops in Pekingese.

The subgroup of Mandarin Dialects to which Central Asian Dungan belongs is called the Central Plains dialect. In this group the stop final word develop regularly. It is possible to tell the present pronunciation of a Middle Chinese character.

Pekingese has four tones, as do most Mandarin dialects. The first and the second tone were earlier allophones of one tone. Their difference became phonemic, when initial consonants lost the voice distinction, the earlier voiceless stops causing the word to be pronounced as the first tone. Words beginning with voiced initial stop or sonorant belong to the second tone. In the Central Plains dialects the ancient stop final words belong to the present first tone if the initial consonant was earlier a voiceless stop or a sonorant. If it was a voiced stop the word is pronounced in the first tone.

In Central Asian Dungan isolated words have three tones, but in context there are four (Zawxqlowa). There are a few cases of tone sandhi. First, before a pause the first tone changes into the second. This is why it is usually said that Dungan has three tones. Second, the first tone also changes into the second tone before another first tone. Underlying neutral tones are realized as full tones after the first and second tone. It is pronounce like the second tone after the first tone and like the third tone after the second tone. Stress is on the last surface full tone.

Central Plains

Dialects within Central Plains

The Central Plains Dialects extend all through China from the Yellow Sea to the former Soviet border. Among them the North-Western dialects can be grouped in a few groups. There a three main criteria: first, the opposition -in:-ing. The second is the number of tones. Third, the opposition f(u):sh(u).

In Xinjiang the dialects can be classified into three groups: Dungan belongs to the southern group, which is spoken in the Tarim basin, the Turfan depression, and Ili valley. (source).

The dialect in Southern Xinjiang is very similar to Central Asian Dungan. The tones are the same, a lot of the vocabulary is the same (Chén Zhōu-Wáng 1990) and the same grammatical features are shared, notably the use of the sentence particle -дини. It occurs in the examples of Chén Zhōu-Wáng (1990) (s.v làosào and lùfu, for example). The dialects of Kasgar and Yanqi are also very similar. (Hae viite Kasgarin korkoihin ja Yanqi-artikkeliin)

Dungan could of course be a composite dialect, because the speakers originally came from different parts of China, but its sound system has developed very regularly, so it is more likely to be based on one form of language. Word geography might provide an answer to the question of the original home of Dungan. Southern Xinjiang dialects were formed after the uprising. was formed after the

The literary dialect is supposed to be based on the Gānsù dialect. This is questionable in the light of information now available about Chinese dialects. The tonal system does not limit the home area very much because we do not know about tone sandhi in the three-tone dialects, we have to include both the three-tone and four-tone dialects in the home area. Shǎnxī, Southern Gānsù and Qīnghǎi would qualify in that respect.

A very clear delimiter is the pronunciation of the words chū 'go out' and shū 'book'. They are pronounced <t5≤≤v> and <f≤v> in Dungan. In most NW dialects the words are usually pronounced with a labial initial in both words or a retroflex in both words. A Dungan like distribution occurs in Qīnghǎi and in a few places in Xīnjiāng, among them Ili valley, where a great number of Dungans emigrated from. (we have limited information).

Qīnghǎi was part of Gānsù during the Dungan rebellion (XN) and some of the strongholds in the rebels were there, but it is out of the question as the original home, because the it does not use the sentence particle -dini, which is very typical of Dungan. This particle is used in Dūnhuáng,. and as mentioned above, seems to occur in Xīnjiāng.

Consequently, it is likely that Dungan is based on the Ili valley dialect rather than Gānsù dialects. An additional argument that favours this is that Ясыр Шывазы, who was very influential in the formation of the Dungan literary language, came from Сохўлў where many of the Ili emigrants settled. His father was from the Ili region (Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer 1991:22).

Shǎnxī dialect speakers think Standard Dungan is very different from their own dialect (source?). Central Plains dialect is very uniform over a wide area. The dialect of Shāngxiàn SE of Xī[ān contains many Dungan words and the realization of tones is the same as in Dungan, even though it is a four tone system ( ).

The corpus 500 sentences (units separated by full stops or equivalent punctuation marks). This was written on a disc file. A KWIC index was made of this corpus.

Theory

Why not tagmemics?

The present writer's earlier work on Dungan was written under the framework of tagmemics. In this work explicit tagmemics has been rejected. The reason for this is not that the basic ideas of tagmemics are wrong. Rather, the main reason is that tagmemics, at least in the form that the present writer would prefer, requires formalization in areas

where it is difficult to formalize. It is better to allow indeterminacy where there is indeterminacy.

The main area of difficulty is adverbials. Tagmemics would require that adverbs with different form or distribution and different meaning should be regarded as different entities. With a corpus of this size it was difficult to find proof of the difference between adverbials.

Another difficulty was the earlier preference for treating sentences of different function differently. So the card file collected for Salmi 19?? was organized so that clauses in different slots in the sentence were filed separately. As a result a lot of time was wasted in looking for non-existent structural differences between clauses in different slots.

A theoretical problem in tagmemics as it was conceived in Salmi 1984 is that there are no context sensitive rules. This is a consequence of the requirement for two differences between construction types. This is not in consonance with the point of departure of tagmemics, which was the idea of the phoneme, an essential part of which are contextually determined variants.

If the principle of two differences between distinctive construction types is taken to the extreme, it follows that there are different clause types for different tenses, because the difference in tense is correlated with another difference, in an adverb of time.

Yesterday it rained.

Tomorrow it will rain.

*Yesterday it will rain.

Perhaps this problem can be resolved by disregarding differences in the fillers of the slots (manifestations of the tagmemes). This idea has not been pursued so far.

There are many good things in tagmemics. The main advantage is that structures are classified, constructions are seen as wholes.

Construction types are the actual contents of syntax. Word classes are the blocks out of which the constructions are formed. Functions are the slots where the blocks are placed.

A consequence if using a totalitarian theory was that all,of the writer's time was spent on speculating about the theory (and admiring it). Practically no things about Dungan were discovered.

For years I had only thought

about the theory and learnt nothing new about the language.

The theory directed my thinking towards the theory, not the data.

The best theory for describing the language is the one used in modern English dicvtionaries for foreigners.

Conj slot/class

Purpose: language learner, human reader

Structure important: formal differences, differences of meaning subjectivwe, can be of mnemonic value, system

P.H. Matthews: Huave Verb Morphology: Some Comments from a Non-Tagmemic Standpoint, IJAL 1972, 38:96‹118, p. 101

"But in analysing a language one's most powerful weapon is the assumption that the thing ought somehow to make sense. And frequently one's most powerful hindrance is a model or 'universal theory of language' which one thinks one ought to exemplify; the tagmemic model provides one such model by which people attempt to cope with every linguistic system that may come to their attention."

New Horizons 96‹114

Chinese Grammatical Theory

word classes

constructions (phrases) These are also relevant for word formation

sentence components

simple sentences

compound sentences (no difference is made between complex and compound sentences, the former are treated as SP as object.

Use Chinese theory with tagmemic tainting (contrastiveness).

It is quite possible that grammar is not autonomous or independent. This can be taken in two senses. First, grammar might be regarded as an introduction or appendix to a dictionary. In a good dictionary like Longman or COBUILD the patterns are listed within lexical entries or they are implicit in the word class labels.

Secondly, grammar needs a connection with the outside world. In traditional grammars quite a lot of semantic or pragmatic notions are used. An autonomous syntax like tagmemics or TG only works if it is regarded as a meaningless symbolic system. To define a concept like noun one needs to link the concept to the extralinguistic world to make it intelligible and this is what traditional grammars have done. In a formal grammar nouns are those entities which are listed as nouns in the lexicon. This does not lead us into the essence of language.

Compare structuralism: tagmeme = a slot in a substitution frame.

One has to see that the frame is really correct, that the word really replaces and does not occur in the same sequence. if it does not replace, it is an expansion.

Style of writing should be perspicuous with few abbreviations

The surface structure of transformed sentences fits the same pattern. There are a few important cases.

Preposed object. Objects can under certain conditions be moved to a position before the verb. In this case they are preceded by the preposition ба.

Topicalized object. Objects can also occur at the beginning of the clause. In Chinese no marker is needed. In Dungan the object is usually markes by ба.

Questions. Question require no *transformation.* Interrogative pronouns are not moved to the beginning of the sentence. A Yes/no question is fromed by adding a sentence particle or repeating the verb in the negative.

Summary of Constructions
Sentence

Subordinate	Main	Sentence Particle

Clause

Conj	Adv	Subj	Adv	Pred	Postverbal element

Subj	Pred	Object
"	"	Predicative Complement
"	"	Complement
place	"	Subject (agentive)

	"	Indirect object
	"	
'	'	

Noun Phrase

Numeral	Measure	Adjective	Noun

Potential Complement

V	бу	Adj/directional
	дый	

Subordinate Temporal Clauses		
Previous	V-(ли)	Main Clause
Simultaneous	Clause-дини(са)	
Future	Clause-ни(са)	

Esiintyykö V-ли O sivulauseessa?

Verb Chains		
	V-ди	Clause

	V	Clause-ди
	V	жё Clause
ба ...ди	V	

Subordinate Verbs		
	V-шон	Verb
	V-ди	
Obj	V-ди	

Adverbials S Pred

Cognate objects S Pred

Adj:

Predicate:_

attribute:_

_дихын

Adv

–V

_Subj

M:Num_

PW

зэ_, Vдо_

Postp

N_-ди_

3. Parts of Speech

Parts of speech are distribution classes for words. Chao (1968:497) defines form classes as functional classes of forms. (Bloomfield's postulates) Parts of speech are form classes whose members are words. For phrases Chao uses the ending -al, so verbal is a verb phrase.

In the Collins COBUILD Dictionary a useful expression is used: used as an adjunct.

Phrases can also be classified but it is traditionally not done. The head decides the class of the phrase, except for exocentric phrases.

Chao (1968:504 lists parts of speech in Chinese).

•parts of speech:

Det

Num

Measure

N

L

Adv

Prep

V

Attributive Clitic

Aspect suffix: -ди, -ли, гуә

Aspect Clitic: -ли, -ни, -дини, -ди (фәди, хуэйдади)

Modal Clitic: -ма, -са, -на

Complemental Suffix: -ди, -дый

Directional Verb: зу L(чи)

Verb of Location: зэ

Pron

Verb substitute

adv substitute

Localizing suffixes

Nouns
Chao /DM_

Nouns occur as subject and object and in prepositional phrases.

Time words, could be a class overlap, nouns used adverbially. TW s.v ganzo. They occur before -сы, after -ди, and adverbially. A Concise Chinese-English Dictionary (:22) "nouns (especially nouns denoting time and nouns of locality) ... can also function as adverbial adjunct:"

Җиннянди кэчур, ди эртянди ганзо йизор--

PN ei /DM_

PW / dào_, zài_

Some nouns take –my in plural.

1. Localizers
Localizers are words that occur after nouns to make placewords. Monosyllabic localizers are bound. Disyllabic localizers can also occur alone or with the particle -ди. (Chao 1968:620, Guo Rui 2002)

•localizers йимяр, либян, PW, TW йитуар, йинавар

жуви without -ди

postpositions

suffix

-ни

Дунця фонни зулян вэчян йиён фынфыр бужӱди ходиниӳ.

-ха

-шон

Са хуэшон тамуди шу ду дочини.

--җысы вэ зэ лӱшон жынхади пын-щ--

word

гынчян

Базарди йитян Мурад дада гынчян лэлигэ ляншу.

--доли вэму гынчян,-- 5.52

диха

быйху

готу

либян

хату

вэчян

йиху

зыху

зычян

йинанзы

Бэё сынлин да йинанзыни пали.

бонни

--ба лу̀бонниди кэжя ёанли хуон сыйди цоцор--

Words that are preceded by the particle -ди are not localizers, they are ordinary nouns.

--жонди жё зуэдо тади дуймярли. 5.51

Imazov 184

nouns

with suffix

бонни

бонгэрни

жунжянни

вифыншон

гынни

Вэди щин цэ динли, йу̀фу гынни щехуанхали.

туни

нэтар

vrt йимяр

Nominal phrases

The order of constituents preceding a noun is not clear.

...ди	nm	Adj	N

чютянди сын фын

<u>Ni zhe haizi</u> does not occur in Dungan.

-дигэ is common between adjective and noun.

Ни за ги вэ золи җыму җёндигэ нүрса?

- Йисмар та да хуэйлэлима?

Та ба айгуль гиги бонгэрни зуэди нэгэ гуй-ёнзыли.

-- би бянйиди лён пи ма

-- two saddled up horses

--доли тушонди да данщүан--

Зулян залуй йиёнди шын

лян лон йиёнди лёнгэ нянҗин

Та ба бонгэни гэди пибо начелэ--

--йүн бущёди лян мянхуа йиёнди щүэ-- 5.48

Тади лёнгэ модундурди нянҗин--

--зэ вэ е гынчян--

--зущёнсы байир дын вэди йигэ да шытушон-- 5.48

--виса гили җыму йигэ нанщин вынти«.

Imazov 1987:11 says that an adjective can precede a numeral-measure word compound only when reduplicated, with or without -ди**.**

хохор сан җян фонзы

three good houses

Зулян нанбан йиён, йиняр канбутуди Бэкэрди сы донзы диди фи пизы

Pronouns

There are other proforms, such as за 'how'.

заму, захуэй, замужя, зало, са, замугэ, начур, нагэ

Дыйдо, дэдо, дэ

зыжи

> н дёдо замуди щифон дижешон, !дыйдо мусуан садини. ба жыгэ
>
> щянжяндихын. ба йигэ гэзыму !дыйдо пыйжы садинима?» - та щи
>
> . - ада, ни канйихарса, готу !дыйдо щеди са дада мэ форли,
>
> ундо дихали. дыйдосы щинэма, !дыйдосы колхозди хуэшон чищин
>
> удэ жунзы кэжя дундо дихали. !дыйдосы щинэма, дыйдосы колхоз
>
> Нэбусыма, Гермаияди фашизм ба чүан европа кудо шу диха, жыхур ба бин дёдо замуди щифон дижешон, дыйдо мусуан садини.

Дыйдо is probably an adverb. It goes before the predicate (the auxiliary), if the interrogative pronoun is an object. If the pronoun has a preposition, дыйдо is placed before the preposition.

> --Давузов дэдо лян сый зэ дянхуашон фэ садини,--
>
> Щянчян та ба ваму йижя ги йижя дэдо лё са дунщиди мэ гуанщян.
>
> --бонгэрниди чуонзышон дэ сый кодини.???????????
>
> --щди дыйдо хан ду вын садини.
>
> Дыйдо кэ зӯ сачини.
>
> --Мэвазы ахун хан дыйдо зусы сый е гынди та.

It rarely follows the predicate.

Гуэли дыйдо дуэшо гунфу,--

Дыйдо is followed by an interrogative construction or it can be used with another дыйдо. Дыйдо can be used in an interrogative sentence. It means [perhaps] and is placed before the subject.

Вонху...вонху...дыйдо та зэ җянима мә зэ?

Дыйдо, җёдигә Хисыйзыма?

Дыйдо Хиҗёр ба вә чо җыму сылёндинимэ?

- Дыйдониса, данпа ни хан зу намудигә.

Дыйдосы

Цыви чынкэ дыйдосы замугәса? Also with an interrogative pronoun.

Дыйдосы щинэма, дыйдосы колхозди хуэшон чищин, шончянди йимярма, сысый ду фәбушон.

It can also precede an alternative question.

Ди эрлэ, таму ба нэтар дыйдо хан каншонма, канбушонни.

Дыйдосы хан нянчиндинима, дыйдосы җяни мәю чәщинма. Сый ду фәбушон сыса.

There are pronouns derived from numerals. They all end in -гәр **or** -гәрни**.**

Фимындини зущён вә ада хуэйлэли, ба вәму җигәрни бодо хуэвәни, начўчили.

ада, вә җергә бучи-он, вә ги ни зўбарни, були ни йигәрни хэпани-он?

Канди эрзы йигәр хуэйлэли, ба Маданзы чиди хынли җи шын,----

ги вәму мый йигәрни гили йигә ёнйү, йипянпяр быйшо.

анисимовна йигәр җўдилэ, тади нажын шәдо Зўгуй җоншонли.

Зудо бан лўни лёнгәр занха, дыйдо шонлён садини.

Хушон заму лёнгәрни бу лин адачима?

Можерди ее булэди нэйитян, мама зу ба Можер быйдо вэту, жё щи ганжин чисыйни, лёнгэрни йидани дын еени.

Доли да лӱшон таму лёнгэрни либели.

Ба цолуэ гынни зуэди сангэр канжян, фэди:--

Гуэли хошо гунфу нэ сангэрни, ба ложын зулян сыжын йиён, ладо вава гынчян вынди:--

They can fill the subject or object slot alone or preceded by a personal or demonstrative pronoun. They can also be preceded by an attributive phrase. Йигэр means 'alone' and can be preceded by a noun. Җыйигэгэр 'a few' is used as a numeral measure compound.

Чюниди лын фынфыр соди ба футушон дёлади, зулян хуэ шохади йиёнди жигэгэр еер гуахалэ,--

1.   Numerals

эрнян, эрви, -ван, эргӱлӱ, -быЙ, -чян,

Ван is not usually used.

The words -быЙ, -чян, and -ван are used without -гэ (Imazow 1982: 66)

concrete -гэ

abstract -ø (suffixes 7 tai 70)

There are sone words that modify numeral expressions, like гуон and зышорди. They usually occur either as seem to occur as adverbs before the verb which are followed by a numeral expression, or directly before the numeral expression.

Ги гуйжя зышорди мэгу 390 тонна мянхуани.

гуон, зышорди, ломур, цэ, луэмур, йиман, тумур.

Of these йиман also occurs as a noun.

ломур

Ломур шуди йигэ ма, суди чынха гўдўжяжярли. 76.5.7

– Вә ломур шуди ни йигэр, зэ мэю сысый.

Та шуди ломур йигэ нүр.

— Хэди сыхур, сый кэ жыдо таму ё мин лигуйниса, фэди щёнщёрди ё йигэ жуэзы лян йидур йидынзыни, хэшон бусы нэгэ хуали. Зэхалэ, вэ мыймыйди ломур жы йигэ нүрму, заму бу хэ фили, ляншон нын халэма. 75.12.9

only

Лому шынли жы йижезы бу.

Вужин лян чюниди фушон шынхади лому йигэ еер йиён, ду гуэчили.

Лан тяншон лому жигэ бый йүнцэ гэдар.

--щүэсынмуди фур литу лому цэ ю эршыгэ нянфуди ятуни.

Щёнчинтуан литу лому цэ ю йигэ хуэйзў ятулэ.

Лому шынли жы йижезы бу.

Вә лому шынха жи йигэ эрзыли.

– Вә ломур шуди ни йигэр, зэ мэю сысый.

Вэму ба га нэнэ лому цэ жянли лёнхуэй.

Нэхур колхозшон лому цэ ю йи-лёнгэ ло трактор дэ шыжигэ малэ.

луэму, луэмур, цэ, йиман, туму, тумур

луэмур

--тянтян-вумый да жэр вон Нарын чынни цэ зуди луэмур йигэ суй автобус.

туму

эгл only

үТуму йигэ дадўзы нүжын подёли. 80.7.18

эяж ломур

тумур

Таму тумур ёнди йигэ эрзы. 88.11.7

йиман

altogether

This word occurs also as a noun

Тади җящяни эрзы, сунзы, чунсунзы йиман 60 жын.

Щёнжуонниди лёнгэ щүэтонни йиман 2 чян дуэ ваму нянфудини.

as noun

--ба йиман ду вонлихар.

Вы ба йиманди фонфа, җяншы ду сыйүншон даҗюли,--

Ба йиман тиншон.

Салир лян йиман зуанли йиба--

Йимансы вэди цуэ.

эуе аджерб

Йиман чуанлянли багэ комисия.

Чуаншонди жын йиман зэ вэту шётинди щехуандини.

--йиман лэли 25 музейди зуэгунжын--

эуе ас предицате

– Гуон лохуэйхуэйма? – Вэ ба Магэзы вынли. – Лян таранчи йиман. – Гунзун 500 җязы жын юниба.

Щүэтонни зу нэгэ сыхур цэ нянди 100 дуэ ваму, дуэйибанзы дусы эрвазы, щүэсынмуди фур литу лому цэ ю эршыгэ нянфуди ятуму.

Мэ нончиди нанжын цэ шу пэеди хуани.

Зу нэ йитян хили ду фижуэди сыхур, хуэйлэ цэ лёнтянди солдат, люмэди ба йүнди йишон жуондо щёнзыни, да мынни люшон чүли.

Вэмуди щёнжуон бу да, цэ чишы жи жязы жын.

Жы цэ хозали!

Вэму да интернатшон хуэйлэ, жяни цэ занли йитян, таму кэжя зудёли.

2. Measures

A specific measure is not required after pronouns where only -g*µ* is used.

Nominal, verbal measure word (Modern Chinese Reader II 698).

Numerals are followed by measures. According to Imazow there are three kinds of measures, measure suffixes, measure word, and units of measurement. The most common measure, -гэ, is a suffix, not a measure. (Имазов 1982:66)

ву-лю ø тян (Imazow 1982:66)

cf. ву-люгэ йүэ (Imazow 1982:66)

шылэгэ approximative (Имазов 1982:67)

эршыжигэ

In these forms -лэ and -жи are presumably numerals because they can occur before a measure, filling the slot of a unit number.

сыгэдуэ

эрбыйдуэ

It is not clear what part of speech дуэ is in these expressions.

Numerals without measures are called abstract by Имазов (1982:67)

лю лю ‹ саншы лю **67**

лёнгэ **concrete**

эр **abstract**

йибый лин йи 101 Имазов 68

йибый йи 110

Collectives лёнгэр 71

persons 73 as subj obj

A quantity of persons as a totality

Numerals as predicates 72‹73

чӱйи TW 73

(ajan määre tai subj)

Fractions фыр (measure)

Калимов тир

Verbs

Distribution classes of verbs are partly correlated with clause types
The relation between clause types which were called transformations in Salmi 1984 are implicitly taken care of by verbal distribution classes. Certain verbs can occur in several clause types (so what?)

Auxiliaries

●лӱ мәчур поли. **V: chain/auxiliary v. Chao**

Ни ба вә бә чыли, вәди җянни щсицщ ю ло дадани, ни дан ба вә чышон, ба вәди дада мәжын гуан. 91.8.8

Нэхур мәчӱ цонту.

Щщин тин, мәщин тин?

Auxiliaries can be divided into three groups according to the sentence particle that goes with them.

1 There is no sentence particle. Examples are нын and нэ.

Таму дёкэ ёнли, гуон да йихани нын лэ.

Ба нанщинди щин сый нын бочӱ.

Лёнгэ сыдонниса, бегэ да санпэзышон ба таму йигэр, йигэржя нын туэ дун.

Ба таму сый ду нэ тын.

жун apparently only occurs in the negative and consequently has no sentence particle.

сый дан щинни ю вәбели, җиргэ бу жун вончӱ фэ!

- Җиргә бу жун бә зуй!

2 Нэ **'suffer, endure[probably can get all particles, but in the corpus only -**ни **occurs.**

--хэпа җё сый канҗян, таму нэ мани.

3 The auxiliaries that refer to the future take the particle -ни**.**

Җинҗир ё янщиди шәлүни.

Хоходи ё янщини.

Ни щён фә сани.

Adjectives

Comparative би **X A,** ган **X Adj,** йүэщин

Superlative зы ю **X Adj.**

нэгә хэпалалади го сан диршон

ба бивә лалигә ландундунди

быйгуагуади × 7 **'kalsea'**

быйчёнчёнди

цуанпынпырди

хандундунди

хидундунди

хижщжщрди

хуонлонлорди

лщйинйирди

нуншаншанди

суйзозоди

сучячярди × 8

вудындынди × 27

чинзанзарди лёнгур нянлуй

жунпонпонди

There are some adjectives that end in -зы**, like** дамынзы, хунхунзы. (Имазов 1982)**. This is a type that does not occur in Standard Chinese.**

Simple form -щер, -йидяр **comparative. Complex form** би**,** ган -дихын (Имазов 1982:58‹, 60‹61)

Дин **can occur in a superlative meaning, but usually** зыю **is used.**

AB diminutive

AXX deprecatory (Имазов 1982:64)**, but the following example does not seem to support this claim:**

Тади лёнгэ модундурди нянҗин--

AXXди +NumM+N. A numeral and measure is obligatory between an AXX and a noun.

йиён

like, as

used with the prepositions лян, зулян, зущён

Гуэли баннянди тянчи, Бэкэр зулян цунчян йиён чинчир е бу хуэйлэли.

--хан лян гуэлиди йиён,--

Ни кан: ниди шужиншон хунди, вэдисы ланди, кэ йиён да.

--кэсы жынжяди сонхуянзы зулян лохўди йиён да.

--тади лёнба шу зулян мэтиди йиён хуонди,--

– анэ, вэ җисы лян җеҗе йиёнса?

– Вэ җонда зулян гэгэди сыфу йиённима – анэ?

Харсан, ганшы фэни, зулян вэмуди жын йиёнли.

Йи җян да фонзыни дяндын лян җынжў-мано йиён, са гуондини.

Кэсы зущён сый чо бэзыни вонгуэ банди йиён, Шэрба мэ фар ба гўнён кангилиха.

Та дансы зэ шы е лян ни йиён дали.

Җыгə пузы литуди зуəгунжынму ба лэди мэжў дон гуйжун кижынди йиён җейиндини.

Adverbs
лэ-чи

зу җыйитян

зу чо җыму **before manner, timeword**

луəмур+**Numeral**

The adverbs годи **and** шынсани **typically occur in front of negative adjectives.**

Some adverbs in Dungan have the suffix -зы, **such as** дамынзы , хунхунзы **'across, transversely'. In Chinese this suffix does not occur in adverbs.**

Prepositions

Prepositions in Dungan have developed from transitive verbs and some of them can still be used as verbs.
They cooccur with noun phrases and form prepositional phrases with them.
Some prepositions are used as postverbs to form complements.

Prepositional phrases are used as adverbials, either in a front-position or mid-position.

Different verbs take prepositional phrases with different prepositions. This is strictly speaking a question of subcategorization of the verb, but it is best treated in connection with the individual prepositions. Coocurrence important, not meaning. Butt at, poke at

на

--на шызазы, (!) гуандёди -- да лў--

--вə ба та на нянҗин йичыр сун чўчи.

ба вə на нянгəлор дэ сади

вын

--җюму вын колхоз ёли йигуазы чə,--

Вə вын вə ма ёли чыди лян хəдили.

--зэ бу вын ниму ё сыса.

Вын командир ба щехуанди кухуан ёшон,--

--вын ниму йигə чян ду бу ё.

Кәсы вын гуйҗя мә җе чянди йимяр,--

Fāngyán 1983.2:147 Běijīng

ги

(1) Ги is used with verbs of giving and saying.

ги вә фәди>--

ги ни фә минбый

ги ... ги хуэйда

ги ни гиги

ги таму бонди быйли вута

ги вә ба шу дэ чынди

вә ги та панвонли хо ёынгун--

--ги вә ба шу гиги.--

ги совхозди директор ба шу чындичи. 5.52

(2) 'for'

Хан ё ги кошу шәлүни.

Вә ги тади щиндиниди хуа дадади долигә ще.

--ги Быйянхў люли да шынли.

--ги Майрам долигә ще.

Чин ни ги вә ба партияди обком җигуан зыйиха,--

--ги нэгә -- щүэтон донди директор.

(3) Thirdly, it is used with the verb до 'pour' and some others in the meaning 'into'. In this case its followed by a place word expression.

Ги пынпырни җён долищер жә фи--

--җўщи--чончор щили йику, ги кунҗунни йигә гын йигәди фонли җигә ян,--

--ги чынниди есынйүанни сунгили.

--ги радиошон ба панпар гэшонли.

ги вэмуди мын туни ба зылэфи мэ лашонма.

Вэ ги гуанзыни донлигэ җягуэди.

--ги вавади бизыни зозор зу ба йүэ дяншонли.

Чин ниму ги мади тизышон ба җан боншон.

--ги трактор хуту ба йигэ суй чэ дёшон --

--ги комбайншон--нанли--җянфузыли.

--ги готу ба җўхо щешон,--

Ги хэ литу ба цындянзы дан гэшон,--

--ги чемодан литу пелищезы--дунщи,--

:рли манмар ба Лохўди җуазы ги фуязы литу чүчўлэ,-- 91.8.1

(4) Fourthly, it is used as a postverb (???????) with two meanings.

зэ

--машнэ зэ -- лўшон манмар зудини.

Дун-щя зу зэ җыгэ салуэ дифоншон фондини 'They are herded here all summer and winter'

машнэ зэ җэр бонҗер зан йидян җунни.

--зэ җундын щүэтонни донли җёйүанли.

Зэ **can also mean 'into':**

Щин дини та е мэ щин җё эрзы зэ сыни нян җинчи. Гуонсы ба җыгэ хуа та бу ган ги сысый фэ, зэ щин гэлорни гэдини.

- Ни за зэ гэдони бу фачили?

- Зуэргэ Щилар зэ заму җяни лэли.

- ама, ни бэ щинхуон, зэ таму җяни е бэ чи,--

--челэ зэ фуйүанзы лэ-чи жуандини. **No localizer**

ли

ли ... (бу) йүан

--мэ лигуэ таму **(as a verb)**

до occurs mainly in folktales. Nowadays зэ is used as a preposition. До seems to be a verb followed by an object of place, like in до коммунизмшон чини.

да суйсур до да

1. до ...шон **is used with a predicate that is an adjective or the copula.**

   до вэшон йүэщин щинэли

   до вэшон дусы дин дади, дин ходи ёэ

   --до тамушон зущёнсы йибыйзыди щинэ мэ лигуэ таму**.**

   CF ада, ни ба цыви йүан надо танни жё почи, ташон нэтар хо.

дюха **possibly a conjunction, because it takes** ...ли

чўгуэ

чўгуэ щүанди хидё зэ сыса зу буҗянли.

зу **is a verb, which is used before an object of place.**

да **'from' usually occurs with a verb ending in** -чўлэ

да суйсур до да

да зандо тинзыни чўлэ

ба вэ да фонни дуанчўчили

да жёкуэфу литу бэ чэ җонзы

да кудэзыни ба йибазы "беломор" янбонбонзы точӱлэ,--

да мамади ляншон ба фə до ташон ю лиди хуади жӱэлэли

--заму куэзу да җəр чишынни,--

--да тамуди щихуаншон канлэдини.

да тинзыни почӱчили.

--да Фрунзе вон Нарын зуди йи бян хуон фонзы машнэ

Да сан гынни дансы щищир вон тади диндиршон кан, нэхур ба са ду нын жян:-- 5.48

да җыгəшон

да ... дашон

да нэйитян дашон

It can also mean a route, as <u>from</u> in English:

да машнэ зандо хуту нингуəлэ

да **'into'**

--дуандуанди да фонни җинли.

Та е мə танман да эрвазыди фонни пошон җинли.

--жəтуди гуон да чуонзыни шы җинчи җодо Ханлосанди лянншон,--

Да нани зудёли?

да **'from (a body part)'**

да эрдуə җуачӱ

да җязыни дэ пыйди

ба вə да җязышон дэчӱфəди>--

--ба вə да гəбыйшон цаншон

йида **temporal**

чо

фын

followed by a placeword except in poetry. The most common meaning refers to a body part that is touched, but it can also mean 'along, from the direction of'

Та мынмынди фын Хафизди ляншон щили лён баҗон, фын тушон хан догили йи зыту.

--фын Хафизыди ляншон чучуди тўли йи тан.

Санҗер мынмынди фын вэди жягуэзышон дали йи баҗон.

--дыйдо сый ба тади далозы фын җибыйни гуадо фушонли.

Зу җыгэ курни фын дунбонгэ лэли йи гўр лёнфыр.

— Санҗер ба ашэр фын жягуэзышон лян до дэ фэди, кэ жешон,--

Бивэ фын җён луэдини, Зэ конҗуэшон. 90.11.7

Чё-җуэ фын ди гэдини, Нэди чёнгын. 90.11.7

Лянхуа фын ди людини, Кади шы җүн. 90.11.7

җочў verb usually in perfective.

--җочў го сан зудёли

җочў Бэкэр лэдини.

дуйчў

The verbs with this preposition are фэ 'say' кан 'look', вон 'watch', зу 'walk, go', фэ, по.

дуйчў вэ нянбушан фэди (cf. ги)

дуйчў лщшын тин вэди хуади зун агроном дэ вонди>--

дуйчў зуэ манди жын канлиха

вэ дуйчў нэгэ машнэ зан вондиниса,--

дуйчў бый мынгўбо фонзы лян дян дэ поди зудёли.

ба шу дуйчў Дыйкан фэлиха

The verb вон can also take a direct object:

ба та вә е вонлиха

вон verb usually in imperfective or inchoative

Verbs: ви, чя, зу, шыкан, ла, пучи

Та щүәви вон вә гынчян вилиха,--

вон вә гынчян чяли йибу

вон гынчян зудиниса

--вон Нарын шыкандини.

вон бинйүанни ла дадачили.

кә вон Зӱхар гынчян пучили.

Вон Нарын хан ю би җыгә чонди йиҗезы лӱни.

вон+Adj+-ни

Вон also forms compunds with verbs or direction: воншон, вонче, вон җин,

лян

лян ... жыншы

зулян

нан

ви

йинви

ган

би

Вон Нарын хан ю би җыгә чонди йиҗезы лӱни.

--би нэгә дифон ходи вәр шышон зэ мәюди.

ба

жо

дуй

(Имазов 95)

ти

Prepositions occur without suffix: вын та ёли

лян (лян ...йиён), лян NP йитун (кан цыдян)

Conjunctions
кәсы, йинцысы, дансы, ...ма, зэмусы, зэсы, суйжан, ... йимяр, ... сыхур

Particles

– Ба дунжя ни чёхалимэса?

— Ба дунжя ни чёхалимэса? 75.12.23

Onomatopoeic
Interjections:
ыё, э-э, э-э-э, э-эй, җыбусыма, нэбусыма

наму, кәсы?????, җыбусыма

4. Clause elements

The clause elements are slots in the clause, the words in them have functions. A different slot means a different element. Adverbial slots are difficult. Quite often one has to resort to semantic labels. These do not necessarily imply different slots.

Central functions are easy, adverbials are not.

Subject, topic and object

Subject
In Chinese, the subject is not necessarily the agent of the action expressed by the predicate. It is rather the topic of the clause (Chao 1968:). This has been expressed by Li & Thompson by saying that Chinese is a topic oriented language (Li & Thompson:). The object of the sentence can be moved to the beginning of the sentence without being marked. In other words, there are sentences with two noun phrases in the position of a subject. The first is the topic of the clause and the second a subsidiary topic or the agent. These are usually analysed as a subject followed by a subject predicate construction. The outer subject can also be an expression of place in existential clauses.

Actually, there are two levels here, discourse and grammar. The term topic belongs to discourse level. When there are two noun phrases before the predicate, the grammar needs a way to handle it. Subject (subject predicate) or topic‹subject‹predicate are both OK. The latter alternative is to be preferred if we are interested in functions. It can also take care of cases where the subject is not the agent. In that case the clause has no subject, only a topic.

In Dungan, cases with two subjects are rare. If the object is topicalized and moved to the beginning of the sentence, it is usually still marked as the object. The consequence of this is that word order is quite often different from Chinese in that in Chinese, prepositional phrases do not usually occur before the subject, whereas it is quite common in Central Asian Dungan.

The usual opinion is that Chinese is a topic oriented language. In most grammars written in China, ... The present writer agrees with these grammars in holding that there is a subject in Chinese. There is also a topic. In cases where the apparent subject is not the agent of the verb, there is no subject and there is a topic at the beginning of the clause. Verbs can be passive.

Нынгу лян цунщён вәму дуәдихын.

Ability and resources is what we have plenty

Җыще гўнён дуәди дусы да жуонҗяхан жящяни чўшынди...

Many of these girls are from farmer families.

Пәпәзышонди быйшо йигә ду мә конфи, езы хийинйинди

The beets on the slope hadn't dried up at all, they were quite dark.

Topic

There are a few cases where there are two unmarked noun phrases before the predicate. The first one is then treated as a topic. It is far less common in Dungan than in Chinese.

> Данжынзы лихуа йигэ ма дабудун. 86.7.18

A single-person/share plough can not be moved by one horse.

> Мый йигэ мәмәзар ниму дан шыди чышон нэзусы йүнчи.

If you pick up every crumb and eat them, that's luck.

> Ни ги та доще, кудэ вә мергэ ги та тын.

Thank him, I'll carry the bag for him tomorrow.

> Давур зуй җонлигэ бан-янзы дыйдо щён фә сани,--

Davur's mouth was half open and he didn't know what to say.

> Щёнжуонни дуэшо гўнён, Санвар гуон ё нини. 78.2.28

Among the many girls in teh village, Sanvar only wants you.

> Хонзы щүэ щяди нын ю сан за ху. 1.76

On the road it has snowed perhaps three spans deep.

> Йүанзыниди фипуто җуазы е дали, ба тэёнди гуон е җәдёли, туанйүарди хуар кэди йинчынчырди. 81.4.17

In the grapes in the yard the clusters are big, and it gives shade from the sun, and the flowers around flower colourfully(?).

Usually an underlying object carries a ба. This could also be called a topic but there is no reason to do so, because we can simply treat it as a preposed marked object. When an object is put before the subject it stays an object as long as it retains its marker ба.

A ба object need not be followed by the subject. Such sentences are actually passive in meaning

Ba construction before subject

The subject is quite often a pronoun:

> Бу сўщинди ба вихўзы та кэ вон гынчян бэлихар. 4.14

Surprised, he rowed the boat forward.

Ба дуэди жын вэ ду жынбудый еба, кэсы мэ дало, гуон хунхуэли. 78.7.28

I didn't even know many of the people, but just had fun

Ба жы йитян вэ дынли сы нян. 78.7.28

I had waited for this day for four years

Ба дин гуйжунди жын вэ жүэмуди зущён дюдёли. 78.7.28

It was as if I had lost the dearest person.

Кэсы вужин сан нянди зыху, ба дуйтузы йиче жянчё вэ ду щүэ ходини. 80.5.20

But now, after three years, I had learned all the tricks of the enemy.

Ба ма тизы таму на жан гуэчўдини. 80.5.20

They wrapped the hoofs of the horses in felt.

Йинцысы ба та вэ мэ канжян, ебу ган вон хуту. 80.5.1

That was because I hadn't seen her, and didn't dare look back.

Кэсы ба зо 20 нян туни йүхади сычин та жиди ходихын. 75.12.16

But he remembered clearly what had happened as long as 20 years ago.

–ба щядыйди да ён вэму е данлин фондини. 1.13

We also herded separately the sheep that were about to give birth.

Ба пё вэ бу мэма? 1.17

Shouldn't I buy a ticket?

Юйиха ба шыдилэди мыйзы вэму дажэ жин, вэ нэ ба та зэ гуэни цоли, на жёнвэзы тали, ги вэму но жярмадини. 81.9.22

The cases where the subject is a noun are all special cases, with е or ду:

Ба вэди жыгэ гэбян жёйүанму е канлэли, нёнлозы е бусўщинли, пын-юму е жүэлэли. 80.5.1

This change in me was seen by teachers, my parents were worried, and friend noticed it as well.

Ба дуэхуэ хулиди кижын е канлэли. 1.3

The guest also noticed that the boss was angry.

Ба тўвазыди җыгэ ганбан Щүн тинҗянли. 90.3.1

Xiong noticed the levrets behaviour.

Ба җыгэ щёнзы йигэ лочў ду кэбулан. 83.1.25

This box cannot be gnawed broken by a rat.

Clause as subject

Cl-**ди**
Cl-**чи**
Cl-Ø

A clause can be used as a subject or object. The form is usually an abbreviation of a noun modified by a clause.

Вон җоншон сун йинщүн эрзыди сычин чынха щёнҗуонниди куйчынли.

It became a custom in the village to send heroic sons to the war.

The head noun can be dropped. The attribute marker -**ди** is often preserved in contrast to Chinese:

Вонху чи вэ ю са сычинди мэю ниди щёнган!
From now on my business doesn't concern you!

- Наму, ни ложэ зо вэди ю са сычинни?
So why were you looking for me?

It is possible that the attribute marker is dropped.

- Цун сади Зўхар нянфу мэю ниди щёнган?

Вэ банхуэйлэ, заму җўдо йитуэр хо.

×Җўщи ги нянчин жынди җыгэ жынйи мэ ги хуэйда дусы щё сы,--

Another type of subject clause ends in -чи. The predicates differ in no way from those in the above types.

Та сылёнди, мәю дада жуа эрвазычи нан, жуайигә ятур нынчын.

Щүәди чы, на куэзы чычи щёндихын.
It is possible that sentences with -чи are conditional, while those with -ди represent real occurrences.

> --таму шон бёчи куэ.
> they [sheep] fattened quickly.

Predicates are adjectives, very often with е. There is one case with -sy.

эрдуә чонди хо.

Җымужя ган бу хо.

The subject is often a V O compound.

Predicate

Object

In Chinese grammars it is usual to call any postverbal NP an object. There are different kinds of object depending on function and form.

In rare instances the object follows immediately after the subject. This kind of sentence is probably most like the sentence Ни вуни зуә!

Лян та йиён ваму фу е няндини, ги дажын е бонди зӱ садини,--

Ни щин фонкуан,--

Ни ба вәди хуа тин.

Ни да ба минзы мә фә?

Шәрба ба йүндун фали зыху, на лёнфи ба хуншын щили.

Listen to me.

Indirect object

Indirect object does not normally occur postverbally with the object. Instead a ba constuction is used:

Та ба айгуль гиги бонгәрни зуәди нэгә гуй-ёнзыли.

Locative Object

Гуй requires O of place.

до --додый Токмакли.

зу зу **L**чи

-Ни зу наничини?

Зули колхозди правлениешонли

Зу наничиниса

Зу фонни.

--ни щён зу нанини?

шонли тянли

тёгуә чү

Is this an object?

җин җинли клубли.

җинли хуәфоннили

Лян нагә лян җин жынжяди мынни?

--җинли хуәфон ги мама фәди>-

--зу щёнжуонни щехуанчиди жын.

жин ʻenterʼ

чя жин мынли.

This construction is rare in Gansu Dungan.

до Җ×ергэ до вэ гынчянли.

--доли җэр мафан нимулэли.

автобус долигэ зандошон занхали,--

--да сангыншон йичыр до сандиршон.

до L лэ

--таму ду до вэму жяни лэни.

V до Ба вэди хуа фэдо тади щинжянжяршонди канлэдини.

--ба ту--кодо йизыди козышон--

бу фынди тузыди гынчянни

--ба вэ жондо фоннили.

--лёнминщин җодо хэзыди филоншон

йибазы җигит ба айгуль лян Дыйкан зу зодо заму зугуэди нэгэ го сан диндиршонли.

In this sentence the object is the place where, not the place whither.

--ба хуа фэдо йир.

--ги йичеди минжын ба зыщ гидо шуни--

--та манмар зудо хэхэр гынчян,-- 4.24

--вэ да 1943 няншон шэдо Зӱгуй җоншонли.

--ба Совет гуйҗя манмян(?) кудо шу диха,-- 5.68

--фидо ван вузышон.

Ж...Йитян Дыйкан хали сан, до цунжуонни канниса,--

Хэ, дансы вэ ма ба Зӱхуар давно жё хуэйлэ, нандун чыншонли.

Object of Time

Та гощинди, дынбудо мер ганзо.

He is so glad that he can't wait until tomorrow morning.

×Җон даба вэмуди полк зэ Дунфон Пруссияди дижешон йичыр зазандо чюни.

After the end of the war, our regiment was deployed in East Prussia until autumn.

Yuen Ren Chao defines timewords as words that occur in this frame, after -до (Chao 1968:533).

Expressions of duration

Duration is expressed in Dungan by a construction usually consisting of a numeral and a measure word.

The most obvious peculiarity of this construction in Dungan is that it can occur before the verb in a position usually occupied by adverbials, while in Chinese such expressions only occur behind the predicate. (Li&Thompson 1981:352). Secondly, in Dungan they are followed by the final particle -ли, nearly the only case where this particle occurs medially in a sentence.
Yet another peculiarity of this construction in Dungan is that it does not occur between the verb and the object, which is possible in Chinese (Chinese grammar 1983:378–80).

There are different ways of classifying this expression. First, it can be regarded as a complement. For instance, Chinese Grammar (1983:378–384) regards it as a noun‹measure complement with the one expressing frequency called a complement of verb measure word and the one expressing duration called a complement of time. These terms are also used in "A Concise Chinese-English Dictionary" (1982:23).

The second way is regarding this construction as an adverbial. Li & Thompson (1981:352) regard it as a quantity adverbial phrase, because the meaning is adverbial and it cannot be preposed to the verb in a bǎ construction.

Thirdly, it can be regarded an object. Lü Shuxiang treats it as an object (1980:16). Cognate object is a term used by Chao (1968:312–315) for an expression following the verb and consisting of a numeral and a measure. The term covers both duration and frequency. Matthew & Yip call it an adverbial object (141).

Here it is regarded as a kind of object, because its structure resembles a shortened noun phrase. Another argument against it being a complement is that complements are usually verbal in origin.Furthermore, in the imperfective it is treated like a quantified object in that the predicate is followed by -ди, while there is no sentence particle. It is better not to regard it as anadverbial because advebials occur before the verb.

Ma Qingzhu (2004) discusses this construction in connection with verb classes. He calls it time object.

When an expression of duration only occurs preverbally, it is an adverbial.
The sentence medial -ли requires an explanation. Probably this construction is historically an afterthought (ZGYW 80.1:28–). It was originally an object, but nowadays it is probably best analysed as an adverbial of some sort. Here the non-committal word 'expression' is used.

It should be noted that -ли can be used in the middle of a clause with an expression of point of time, like in the following examples:

> Виса Канышбек җы йихурли хан мә хуэйлэ? 76.2.17
>
> Why hasn't Kanyshbek arrived at this time yet?
>
> Багэ сышынли, ×Җинхуар хан бу җян.
>
> It's eight o'clock, and Jinhuar hasn't appeared yet.

1 for

with object verb repeated or pronouns and names before

3 between actions

4 early

iii comparison

There seems to be three different expressions of duration: duration of action or non-action, duration since action, and duration of repetition. Some other meanings can be found (duration between actions) but they are variants of the above expressions.

2. Duration of action

Chinese grammar (1983:378–84):

ii time measure (duration)

This kind of expression of duration can also occur after the predicate. It can be preceded by an expression of locality. Dynamic verbs usually have -ли. The verb usually has no resultative complement.

Җ×ысыма, лова кәҗя зэ Халимаржя лёнгә йүэли, е нинбонли.

-- та суйжан лян Хэчэр хӱли-мада гуэхуэли сан нян дуэ тянчили еба,--

Ба хуэйзӱ йүян та янҗщли җызу кәҗя хын җи нянли.

Verb	(Object of place)	Dur-ли
Verb-ли		Dur-ли

As can be seen from the previous examples, the expression of duration is followed by the sentence particle -ли. Normally, if an object is quantified, there is no final particle.

If there is an object, the expression of duration is placed as an attribute to the object:

Зу чо җымужя, вә лян ×Җинхуар зэ санни җынҗынди зӱли лён-сангэ йүэди хуэ.

Verb	Duration+ди	Object

Notice the place of the adverbial жынжынди. It comes before the main predicate. Similarly хаба in the following example, where otherwise гунфу дали would be regarded as the predicate. As it stands, гунфу has to be the predicate.

— Сарди гə, ни хаба ба вəму дынди гунфу дали?

The expression of duration can also occur in midpositon or front position. In Chinese this order is extremely rare, if not nonexistent. The sentence particle is usually -дини.

×Җызу хынще няндэли Тарту гуйжя университетди жёйүан эстонияжын Пент Нурмекунд янжщ хуэйзў йүяндини.

- Ни тин, дажын, жыгə вава җиннян сан нянли, ги вə бонди дажə жүан, йин ма, ви тамудини.

Бэкəрди жў щин бянли, та җы зу хын дуəди жызыли зэ чыншон лян нэгə мə лянди Зўхар лондини.

If the action was completed in the past, the sentence particle is -ли.

Лянчў җи тянли таму санли щүə зу до җəрли.

If the action takes place in the future, the sentence particle is -ни and the verb has -ди.

Хэлима фəдини, Красноярск дифон зэ дунбыйни, тэ йүандихын, хуəчə зуди бонжер бонгə йүəни.

Duration-ли	Subject	Predicate	Aspect

Subject   Duration-ли Predicate   Aspect

Verb   Object-дини

Verb   Object-ли

Verb-ди   Object-ни

This kind of expression can also occur in a subjectless clause. The verbs are гуә or тын. The latter would be *tèng* in Chinese, but there is no such word.

In this case the clause usually means 'after a period of time'. The expression of duration occurs in front position (mid position is probably possible as well):

Гуәли шы тян та кә вынли Насырдинли>--

Гуәли хошоди гунфули җёйүан мә лэ.

Тынли йисыр, ваму доли бонгәрниди йүфу дихали.

Тынли лён тян, нэгә шонфудёр кә линди лэли йигә шонфудёр.

If the action takes place in the future, зэ ю or зэ гуә is used. The sentence particle is -ни.

Зэ ю шы җитян.

×Җыгә звено зэ ю сантян ба быйшо вадёни.

- Наму зэ ю йигә җўма мыйжын дожяни, ниму ба хуа йиги, нэзу жюйилима.

Зэ гуә йигә дуә йүә кә нянни.

Вә бу гуә җитяр зу хуэйлэни.

-анэ, вә хан ю җитян җон даниса?

The expression of duration is not followed by any particle, unless it is negative. Then it has -ни, -са or ниса.

Мə гуə җитянса, мыйжын кə зуəдо ×Җӱмазыжяди шонкоршонли.

-- мə гуə эршы фын җунниса, йигə дуйву йинмян та лэли.

Вəму доли нэтар, хан мə гуə сангə йүəни, Исхар лэли.

хан мə гуə Н Мни

бу гуə N P/Subj ёё зу ёёни future

3. Duration since action

Chinese grammar (1983:378–84):

2 since: momentary verb or verb with <u>complement of result or direction</u>

negation before complement

object before complement

Another type of expression of duration means "it is X since Y" where Y is a clause.

Вə ма бинха җызу йичили.

(Structurally this looks like "I got ill for a week".) This construction could perhaps be analysed as a subject predicate topic "Вə ма бинха" and a verbless predicate "җызу йичили" (Chao 1968:). The verb describes a momentaneous action. (Chinese Grammar 1983:378–84)

Чӱли мын җы зу сан нянли, --

-Колхозди җӱщи йинха җызу йигə дуə йүəли, сынлин дэфу лэни.

Sometimes the verb гуə is used. This would lead us to believe that the expression of duration is a separate clause.

--хуэйзў да ×унгуй доли Сўлян гуəли 100 дуə нянли.

No -ли>

‹ Вəму долэ бу дади гунфу, ‹ Ложер хуэйдади.

It seems that the main verb has the particle -ли only if it is a stem verb followed by an object (including an object of place). Otherwise it has a complement, which is never followed by -li in Dungan.

Звено ба быйшоди эрцан цо пандё цэ сансы тянли. тхрее ор фоур

Хуэйзў жынди щүэтон кэкэ 50 нянли.

×Җысыма, җяхўниди лёнчүн нэню доли санчонни кэжя лёнгə йүэли.

It is rarer for the expression of duration to be placed in front or mid position. In that case the sentence particle is -ли.

Ни мə тинжянлима, җиргə шы тянли, Хўсэ чүли шыли. 1.10

×Җы кəжя бонжер йинянли Ясыр ложə бинхали.

Вə ма бинха җызу йичили.

Хуэйзўжынди щүэтон кэкэ 50 нянли.

Звено ба быйшоди эрцан цо пандё цэ сансы тянли.

The same construction can be used when duration between action is expressed:

Ни сылёнди, вә хуэйлэ җызу хын җитянли мә зо ничи, лян сӯчон йиён җыни хуэйлэ за мә до ниму җяни.

Ба Вундир сундо вава йүанзыни гуэли җи тянли, тёёнҗя ба таму линшон җё лон зохуачини.

Пын-юму зудё, хан мә гуэ шытянни, вә е доли щёнжуонни,--

4. Duration of non-action or duration of repetition

This construction is is quite different from the two previous ones. It is structurally very easy. The expression of duration is placed before the predicate and the predicate is either negative or has a counted object. The expression of duration does not always have -ли, never when the verb has a counted object. If it was not for the -ли this type could be regarded as an adverbial.

Нэсыгэ саса, зущён җитян мә чы, мә хэ, хэпа дедо-- цф. Li Mau-tsai 137

--Вә ма лён тянли йисуй мә чы.

Ни җер җитян мә чыму--

Ягӯр йиванщи йиняр мә за--

Җызы дуэдихынли та мә зэ Фрунзе лэ.

--җызу бонгэ дуэ йүэли ба фи набулэ--

Дацэжын хуэйчи, дуэшо җызы мә зэ фулинни чи.

Та ба Салир җызы дуэли мә җян. notice word order, could not be a predicate!

--ни за лёнгэ йүэли мә хуэйлэ,-- Li Mau-tsai 139

Вә ма лён тянли йизуй мә чы.

5. Duration of repetition

‹ Сан тян за йигэ хуабянзы, на чӯчи зу мә җи җон тезыни. Can be used without a negative.

It seems that a stem verb does not occur with a following cognate object of frequency. The verb has the ending -ди, which is also common with other counted objects. It is possible that sentence final -дини is replaced by verb particle -ди if the object is counted. -ди is especially common with action performed within a period of time (Salmi 1984:110).

The last sentence above even has -ни at the end.

Сан тян‹ву тян җяни хуэйлэди йибян,--

Кэсы Йисхазы гуанванли, фули бусы йинянди лихуали. had ploughed for more than one year.

Билүн, вэму гунзуэди хошо няндэли,-- a принтинг мистаке?

Ба йигэ ёнди мо та зы дуэди җёди 3‹4 фын җун.

Зўди сантян, хуанди сантян.

-- няннян гуон фынди йигэ йүэди зэ. a fast of one month

Йинви җыгэ, вэму ба ёнгозы лян муён зэ йитуэр види лён-сангэ йүэ.

Йүэ-йүэ вэму җяни зэди йигэ ён, чёди колхозди тузы.

Internal structure

A few words have to be said about the internal structure of expressions of duration. Usually they consist numeral and measure but they can also consist of a noun preceded or followed by an adjective.

Hae lis≤≤ esimerkkej≤!

N Adj җызы дуэ …days many'

гунфу да(ли) …time great'

няндэ дуэли …period of years many'

Adj N дуэ җызы …many days'

M N хын дади гунфу

хошо җызыли

хынще няндэли

лянчў җи тянли

җир сан-сы тянли

сан нян дуэ тянчили

--заму мэ жян гунфу дали.

NP / ≤≤ Pred ajassa This is best treated as an adverb. L≤ Shuxiang (1980) regards it as an object, although some books regard it as an adverbial (1980:17).

S, ≤≤, P in a predicate chain a cognate object can express the time that elapses between two actions (Chinese Grammar 1983:383)

‹ Ляншу, жир сан-сы тянли, горком ба вэ дафадо районшон.

No particle 1.14 check

The expression of duration can contain an adverb, in which case the numeral‹measure compound is preceded by the verb]. (The verb @ is possible also without the adverb.)

Гуэли бонжер ю лёнгэ сышын вэмуди лажынди чэ доли «Чуаннян« зандошонли.

Зу жымужя нанли ю хын дади гунфу.

-×ер та кэ лэли. Зуэли хаба ю йигэ сышын, зудёли.

...вучондё...

...доли санчонни кэжя

йинян дуэ дыйли цэ жели...

Звено жызу няндэ дуэли -дини Hae korteista

Frequency

Chinese grammar (1983:378‹84):

verb measure (frequency)

position: before object but after pronoun or name.

negation: mei before verb, adverbs before verb (cai)

A cognate object can have the meaning of frequency of action, how many times it was done.

йиха

-хар

лёнха

-бян

-хуэй

Some expressions of frequency are used in conjunction with a certain verb

ханли йишын	shouted once
нели йиба	pressed once
зали йику	sucked once
шангили йи мопанзы	boxed once
вангили йи нянҗин	glanced once
сали йинян	looked once

The measure words in such expressions are usually body parts.

It has to be noted that **-li** is the only verbal suffix that occurs in connection with the expression of frequency.

In Chinese, a semelfactive form is made by reduplicating the verb. In Dungan reduplication is replaced by the suffix -лиха.

There are problems with this construction. The expression of frequency formally resembles an object. To solve this problem we have to investigate the contrastive features of objects.

1 Cognate objects are measure words, that is they occur immediately after the numeral.

2

3 With the measure -ха or -хар the numeral йи- can be dropped.

вонлихар had a look

занлихар stood a while

йи can also be dropped before -гә.

Chao (1968:314‹315) says that an unstressed cognate object can become the suffix of a tentative mode (check). The same goes for Dungan -ха or -хар.

If there is an object following the verb, the clitic -лигə can perhaps also be regarded as a tentative form [this is a lot of of nonsense, just like finding Latin cases in Chinese]. -лиха and -лигə are in supplementary distribution.

Ди сан ванщи асан дэ Шəбар шонлёнха, бу фижё кан ённи. 31

Таму йигəр ба йигəр вонлихар.

-ha also occurs as an adjectival suffix and means change.

 Ду бу щинхали.

 Everything was not OK.

 --мə йисыди лян зущён дунфонди гуон, йиха хунхурдихали.

 --he was so embarrassed that his face got red like the morning sun.

 Вə яндин кан йихуэй Дилмурад чини. 1.47

 I will certainly go and see Dilmurad.

 --ба та шынхади жəчи--щили жику--

 --he had a breaths of the hot air that was left--

Quantified object (Counted object)

Quantified object is an object with a numeral and measure as modifier. It is needed as a special concept in at least three places in the grammar. First, sentences with a quantified object do not take sentence final -ли in the perfective. Secondly, sentences with a quantified object do not take the sentence particle -дини, they take thecontinuative suffix -ди instead. Thirdly, verbs with the directional complement can be followed by a quantified object, while other kinds of object are preposed when the verb has a complement.

Preposed object

The object can be placed in a position before the predicate. In this case it usually has the preposition ba.

Sometimes ba can be followed by an expression of location or time:

--данлинди минзў ба җәр жёди Каракунуз.

other nationalities call this place Karakunuz.

--на ба фонзыни дажə җин--

--then tidy the room up--

Ij, Iqn[u, ni ba n\tar han mµ √qnni t\ ]inhuondihyn.

Come on, pal, you haven't seen the place yet and you already nervous.

In Chinese a preposed object does not occur before the subject. In Dungan it is not uncommon. The subject is often a pronoun in these cases. The object is usually a rather complicated noun phrase.

Ба җы йитян вə дынли сы нян.

For this day I waited for four years.

Ба ма тизы таму на җан гуəчўдини.

They had wrapped the horses' hooves in felt.

Ба дин гуйжунди жын вə җүəмуди зущён дюдёли.

It was as if I had lost the most valuable person.

The subject can also be a short noun without modifiers, but this is rare.

Ба дуəхуə хулиди кижын е канлэли.

Even the guest saw that the boss was shouting/angry.

Ба тўвазыди җыгə ганбан Щүн тинжянли.

Xiong heard the way the rabbit was acting.

Preposed object can also occur without a subject.

Да нэйинян дашон ба җыгэ сы гуандёли.

This mosque was closed from that year on.

Ба йиче фу бэди чичирди.

All the books had been arranged in a good order.

--йинцысы зу нэ җитян ба та яха, фадо Сибирьли.

--because that day he was arrested and sent to Siberia.

There are also cases when the object is not preceded by ба:

Лян та йиён ваму фу е няндини, ги дажын е бонди зў садини,--

The kids studied and helped the adults, like he did,--

Ни щин фонкуан,--

Don't worry,--

Clause as object

When a clause is the object, it is often preposed, usually preceded by ба and followed by **-ди**. It is probable that originally the construction contained the word сы or сычин 'thing, matter'.

Щүн кэ тинҗянли, ло тўзы биндини, тўвазы бу гуан мама, ба йинхади кангу мамади вондёли.

Bear heard that Old Rabbit had fallen ill and that the little rabbit didn't care of his mother and had forgotten that he's pronmised to take care of her.

Ба натар ю щян диди та җыдони.

He knew that there was unused land there.

Зу җыгэ җекурни фонёнжын ба замужя та доли җыгэ хуэшон сылёнчелэли.

At this moment the shepherd remembered how he had come to this job.

Ба can be dropped:

Кәсы та шы хуа, бу шы хуади вә ги ни кә фәбулё.

But I can't tell you whether this is true or not.

The following verbs have been attested with the preposed sentential object.

канҗян, җыдо, җүәҗуә, сылёнчелэ, фәтуә, вондё, фәбулё

These verbs mean things like knowing, perceiving, saying, thinking.

Sometimes the object clause follows the verb, usually with -ди attached. The verb is usually negative:

е мә лёщён җәр җян вәди?

You didn't expect to see me here?

Ба вә мә йисыли, вон нани зуанди ду бу җыдоли.

This embarrassed me so I didn't know where to go.

Кәсы Халима ли та йуан, е бу җыдо та зэ натарни.

But Khalima was far from him and she didn't know where he was.

Вә җыни дансы канҗян ни дуйчӯ Санвазы вонди,--

If I now see that you look at Sanwazi,--

Вә е мә вын, та зу наниди--

I didn't ask where he went--

Тин хуади йинчи, зущён та хан бу җыдо йүли са сыди.

By the sound of it, he doesn't yet know what has happened.

вын, бу җыдо, канҗян

Та гощинди, дынбудо мер ганзо.

The matrix verb can also have the ending -ни:

та җыдони, гу ба тади хуа дунлэни.

he knew that the dog would learn to understand him.

4.9. Complements

In Chinese verbs can have forms which roughly resemble the English phrasal verbs such as <u>write down</u> , <u>pull</u> *off* or phrases like <u>He had to cut</u> *short* <u>his holiday</u>. The second component is traditionally called a complement in Chinese grammar. There are several kinds of complements.

In contrast to English, both parts of the phrase are originally verbal in Chinese, e.g. zuµhali 'sat-descended-pf: sat down'. Adjectives also occur as second components.

The resultative form is usually regarded as a compound where the ending is a complement, an element of the clause on a par with the object. The complement has various names. Chao calls them complements of result, the Modern Chinese Reader calls them complements of extent. The Concise Chinese-English Dictionary (1982:18,22) calls them resultative complements. Xiandai Hanyu Lü Shuxiang (1980) (Lü Shuxiang 1980:10 + 11) uses the term resultative form. But it is still regarded a phrasal form.

All sorts of complements occur in a potential complement, so it is difficult to find a formal criterion for distinguishing between a resultative form and a resultative complement. Some of the complements are free forms, but there are no other differences between them. One has to conclude that in Dungan it is difficult to draw a clear line between morphology and syntax. If we establish both a class of resultative verbs and a resultative complement, we have to duplicate the same rules of forming potential for both. If we establish only a class of resultative verb, we have to accept that there is a class of verbal forms where the suffixes come from an open class.

descriptive

resultative +potential

directional + potential

надичи

челэ + **measure**

подо **Loc** чи

The complement does not straddle a patient object

Stress пожинчи, набушон

degree

verb measure (frequency

time duration

хунхуэдо, щүандо, дынбудо

Complement of manner

Vди C: Adj

Adv Adj

AdjAsp

Reduplicated Adj

S

comparison

numeral+measure

V: V

Vдё, хуэйлэ

esimerkkej≤, partikkelit

Manner predicates have a special form. They have the suffix -ди. The stem of the verb is simple, usually monosyllabic. Polysyllabic verbs with complements, such as челэди цыли 'got up late', are rare

There are several kinds of filler of the *descriptive* complement:

1) reduplicated rhotacized adverbs

йибазы ян фиди дидирди. 86

a flock of geese flew low

It is remarkable that this form often occurs as a first predicate in the series. It is much rarer sentence finally, but even there it occurs with no final particle. The complement usually takes no modifiers. The following is an example with a modifier:

‹Заму шәхуэй сынхуэ гэщщди җедуаншон ган җыгэ сынзади сычин йүди ду хэлынлынди.

2) adjective phrases

Йигэ би йигэ чуанди куэ. 409

They were dressed one more richly than the other.

--чончун җочў мын җян чынди нэму чон. 4.34

Some of the modfiers of the adjective, such as е, йүэ, бавэди, бу, нэму, and йүэ are placed before the complement.

--зуди е мэю нэму йүан. 82.11.7

--he didn't go so far either.

Some complements, like a comparative prepositional phrase and йүэщин, are placed before the verb.

Ба та би вэ тёди цы. 5.17

He was chosen later than I.

‹Рифа ба Ягурди бэзы йүэщин луди җинли.

‹Rifa embraced Yagur (even) more.

-- йүвын куэщүэ фаҗонди куэли. 79.8.14

--linguistics has developed fast.

The adverbs е and тэ seem to occur in both places:

Ни тэ ба вэ цуди голи. 289

A sentence final particle does not necessarily occur, but then the complement is usually modified by something or the verb is preceded by a comparative prepositional phrase. When the particle occurs, it is -ли. The adjective can even be followed by -hali, which is used with adjectives expressing change of state.

> Мынгӳфонзыниди мын лёнхани хуа бир деди нэму го.

> On both sides of the door of the yurt (the) quilts had been stacked very high.

> Та ба нӳр йидяр ду мәщин жя Сэварди, ба та дын дон бинди Мусади жыди миндихын.

> She knew full well that her daughter didn[t want to marry S≤var, but was waiting for Musa, who was doing his military service.

> --жынгә хӳзы җонди тэ чондихын.

> --his beard had really grown too long.

> --хонзыниди фу е җонди гохали.

> -- and the trees in the street had grown taller.

An example without a particle and modifiers:

> ×ё вә фәчи, җиннян чӳди йүн.

> I think that this year they]the seedlings] have come out even.

Only фәди дуйдини 'say correctly' occurs with -дини.

3) clauses

> Чонди җё җуви ду тин тамуди щихуан шындини.

> He sang so that everybody around listened to their happy voices.

The particles used at the end of the complement are -ли, -дини or -ни. The first is used when the complement express an event, the second when it is a state, and the last when it expresses something imaginary, an exaggeration or a metaphor.

> Тэёнди җин гуон сэди дипизы дазо гандёли.

> The golden light of the sun was shining so that the ground had dried early.

> Тянчи жәди, жын ду зо йинлёндини.

> It was so hot that people were all looking for shade.

> Сундики щёди жу дӳзыни.

Sundiki laughed so he]had to] rub his stomach.

Тынзыниди шу пыйди шан щённи.

Hands were clapped like thunder in the hall. (Topic?)

Щятянди лён фынфыр гуади, зущён сый лүмә жынди туфани.

The summer wind was blowing as if somebody had been stroking people's hair.

Җы лёнгә вавади мимизы чуйди жынди нозы ду тынни!

These two boys blew their whistles so that one's brain was aching!

4) Simile (an adverbial or adjectival clause?)

Йүәлёнди йин гуон ба чүниди фи җоди, зущён йигәр бый щян. 241

--лян хунди защён сызы.

--]his] face was red like a persimmon.

5) Adv: Extent: җилэзы

Би нянхади гүнёнму ходи җилэзы.

Resultative complement

lausepartikkeli

бу VC

neg

вон ...ни

VCO

The resultative complement is formed by suffixing a verbal word, usually an adjective after the verb.

It can occur with all the sentence final aspect particles.

Verb as a complement is not very common: җыдо, кандоли,

гэ хуйидяр, дебан фа, +йидяр are attested.

Adj

V

Inflected Adj

вон ...ни an alternative to the resultative complement. It does occur in Chinese but is very rare.

VCO

чачцо 5чжс10(-ха, -шон, -дё, -кэ, -чў, -жуэ, -чын, -до, -гуэ, -гу)

According to Imazov (1977: 82 - 83) there are two tests to be used to differentiate between a bound or free complement: first, if -ди can be inserted the complement is free, second, if the complement is an answer to the word замужя [how[. The first criterion does not work, the meaning might be different. The second is semantic and might be difficult to apply.

Locative object only possible

postverbal object

Phase complements

^a^co 5^vs 10(-ха, -шон, -дё, -кэ, -чў, -жуэ, -чын, -до, -гуэ, -гу, -сы, -дуан, -жин)

Manner Vди Manner

direction VDir

result VR

82 109

82 99 regards them as perfective aspect

Imazov 82 103 VCдини existence of result

-Xa

The Ending -ха occurs after adjectives and verbs and it's just a resultative ending indicating change:

Халимади лёнгэ ляндар--донвор хунхали.

Halima's cheeks went red at once.

Та жүэмуди зущён дада до ташон йүэ холи, йүэ чинхали.

He felt like Dad was nicer and closer to him.

With transitive verbs it's very common in modifiers:

> вэ канхади фу

> the book I've read

(the only example I've made up)

It also occurs after reduplicated adjectives:

лян зущён дунфонди гуон йиха хунхурдихали.

his face suddenly went white like light from the east

If the adjective describes something undesirable, bad, -дё is used:

зуйчунзы чиндёли "lips got blue"

хидёли "it had become dark"

туфа быйдёли "his hair became grey"

лодёли "he had grown old"

-кэ and -туэ

The ending -челэ has no inchoative meaning. Instead, -кэ or -туэ are used (the difference in meaning is unclear (王景荣 2008), they are like "*start*" and "*begin*" in that respect). They are also resultatives:

Хэкэ пали.

He got afraid.

та е жокэ шули.

he started waving his hand too

Да ту йитиан жунтуэ быйшо, йичыр жундо ван.

He started planting sugarbeet from the first day and went on to the end.--

In the corpus of 王景荣 -туэ did not occur before or after the (an unmarked CHECK) object, but it is possible, also in a sentence that already has -кэ.

зэ колхоз литу шутуэ кӯли.

Started working in the kolkhoz.

йидяр, йидяр вончӯ тӯкэ янтуэли.

slowly sarted to emit smoke.

They can also occur after the object or after both the verb and object:--

кӯди да дэдэркэли

He cried so much he started to stammer

Вэ кэ нян бокэли.

I sarted to read the paper again.--

The construction with a clause final -туэ or -кэ resembles the one with -qi and -zou (in Pekingese only with the former), where the subordinate VO also precedes the main verb:

заму зо Закир зу.

Let's look for Zakir.--

чи чычи

go and eat

It's very common to use -кэ in conditional and (generic) temporal clauses.

> Дан гуэкэ щисикэли ги щинни, ё йидин лэни.

> If I get married I'll let you know, you'll have to come.

WRONG PLACE I have noted some more examples with -лидини. They seem to have the verb дон, донсы:

Вэ хан дон ни цэжуэлидини.

I thought you'd guessed it right.

--дончӯ тын кӯлидини. (王景荣 2008:110)

The ending -ха [down] is used as a complement with a few intransitive verbs like зуэ and фи. final none is clearly a transitive verb. As an attributive it occurs frequently with transitive verbs.

По фадё, щилар зуэха, кўтуэли.

Рахим җё вэ йүан !зуэхали.--

вуло дозыди ло хонҗя !зуэхали.--

ба вэ дынли йиха, йүан җё !зуэхали.--

хынхынди нели йиба, җё та !зуэхали

‹Ни щян занха,--

ан дада фэли җи бян, җё таму !фиха, кэ челэли. дажын канди вам

у чонзыни пэ дуйни. вэму җэр !шонлёнли, ба ни пэчын дуйвуди ту

-ха is not necessary with attributive transitive verbs:

--ба ню җүэлиди бый чу санзы на шу вон җанни лүгили җиха,--

In a few cases -ха seems to a be йиха [once].

Зущён ба нэгэ нүжын дый зуйха, ба трубка манмар гэхали.

Лёнгэр дёди фагу, !шонлёнха> ба җымуди дунщи вон щ

! ди сан ванщи асан дэ шэбар !шонлёнха, бу фижё кан ённи. асан

Шэрба сылёнхали.

-ха is also used with adjectives to indicate a change.

Нянчин жын чёчихали.

--гўнён мэ йисыхали.

--тади лян донвэр кэ гуахали.

It can also be preceded by a reduplicated adjective with the particle -ди:

×Җӱщиди лянмян йиха гуэлаладихали.

--чянмянди жын җонҗордихали,--

It rarely means a result.

--та ба щифур кәҗя канхадини.

he had already chosen a bride

--ни ба хырхыз хуа зэ найидэ щүэхали.

мама бинха зэ мә хо, вучондёли.

Ба йиче фынфуха ло Вон вучонли.

The verb чын [to become[always occurs with this complement.

Чӱли мын җы зу сан нянли, чынха йигэ вавади мамали,--

Actions of the mind

Unexplained:

Сунфу дынхали, кәсы гӱнён мә лэ.

Хӱда ба бандэ зохалима, та йидин ёни.

ха

шон-ха

зуэха intr, FP, muuten зуэхали

диха

фиха menn≤ nukkumaan

шонлёнха neuvottelivat, per≤ss≤ [objektilause, mit≤ neuvottelivat

вонха alas

чынха tuli (≤idiksi)

This complement is common when the verb is a transitive verb

ending an attributive clause.

> нли, чиди нянсыди щин няншон !шонхади чичэзы доли конторашон
>
> лян коммунист партия ги заму !гихади чуаншы лян нынгу. кэсы ч
>
> р ба фулосы зэ доди фонзышон !фэхади хуа сылёнли банванщи. м

an attributive clause can have a subject. It can also be passive.

-шон

There are several groups of usages for the bound complement -[on:

1) up

2) on

3) completion of action

4) manner

1) After some transitive verbs the word means [up[. The object is moved from a position down to a position further up.

нашон otti, lauseen lopussa нашонли ba-objekti

дэ фэди, ба җуэзышонди чы-хэ нашон, җочў доцо зутуэли.

дада мэ форли, ба зызыр нашонли.

чешон nosti yl≤s, ба, FP

бошон 'take into one's arms'

An intransitive example:

гыншон чү халэли.

2) It can also mean [on[. The object is placed on something. The place does not always appear in the sentence.

гэшон panna p≤≤lle, Imp, ба гэшонли

Вушыр ба панпар гэшон!

Вушыр ги радиолшон ба панпар гэшонли.

The record is put <u>on</u> the record player.

Notice the preposition ги.

The object can in some cases mean the place on which the movement ends. The verbs are basically intransitive:

зуэшон get into a car, ride (a car)

‹‹ба гэзы жуондо лунлурни, зуэшон машнэ лян та да хуэйчи

Ни зуэшон тади машнэ хуэйчи, мер шон

чишон ride (a horse), ба

ганзо йизор ба чичэр чишон до жэрлэ.

This sentence is clear evidence that the ба construction is of different nature from Chinese.

дэшон ба, pani p≤≤h≤ns≤

In some cases the movement does not necessary end up <u>on</u> the place , it can end up <u>at</u> a place further away.

линшон ба, veiv≤t, johtivat

до хушон таму ба ×ёлборс гу линшон,‹‹

(same as ёшон)

суншон saattaa, ба

Таму ба чичэр дуйву !суншон зудё, мый йигэ бригадади

Зудё is a verb of movement, which is usually preceded by a verb ending on -шон.

3) -шон can also be used with verbs which mean the completion of an action.

ба бин ваншон.

Җыхур вэ ги таму ба чу бошонни.

җешон went on speaking ei lopussa

щешон having written, ei objektia

шужщшон having packed ei objektia, ehk≤ temporaalinen

Җыни канван, щёхуэзыму зу ба гўнёнму гыншонли.

заншон ба, ker≤ten voimansa

та есы жын. ни ба йичеди җин !заншон, ба суй бый шушур нежин,

җошон ба, imperatiivi

^^^Document Error^^^ ги район лян колхоз ба гуон җошон.

4) Before verbs of movement -шон can be used with verbs expressing the manner of movement.

ёшон 1) heiluttaen 2) ajoi...

Ганзо, асан дада ба ён ёшон зудё,‹‹

‹‹вэмуди хуон гу йибар ёшон доли вэ гынчянли.

даншон gritting

Ягуазы !даншон та кә доли зўхар гынчян‹‹

‹‹җочў вә фишон лэдини. вә е йиншон чили. Cf. -шончи

‹‹шончянди йимярма, сысый ду фәбушон.

пушон лэдиниса

фишон лэдини

йиншон чили

сышон

Дё

The basic meaning of this complement is [away[, 'so that it does not exist any more or is not present or visible or in existence[.

What is removed, subject or object?

Ба җыгә вынти е щедёли.

шонлэ **s.v.** гўда

Җәту сэди лян е хундёли, зуй е гандёли.

фидё

да гэзы !фидё, щилар дуйчў далў ба нянҗ

гэзы !фидёли.

җяндё

таму җинган ба фынгиди җунзы !җяндё, җёги бригадани. зу җыгә

In the preceding case -дё means 'finish doing'

зудё

ганзо, асан дада ба ён ёшон !зудё, ляншуму ба җяно зу ладо чү

. таму ба чичәр дуйву суншон !зудё, мый йигэ бригадади йүанм

и. асан лян шәбар җочў фонзы !зудёли. дочи, таму җинли фонни

таму, лади ма да фонзы быйху !зудёли. җын щүандо лонзыни, йиг

экәр бущин, манмар ту чо шон !зудёли. зу нэ йитян йүнзун мә дал

чыдё

янли. - ниму щян чылэ. җинту !чыдё, гэзы бу луэхалима. - дуй,

дадёли

н мачёр цон туди йивэзы визы !дадёли, - бэкәр хуэйдади. - нид

ёдёли

нли. да җытар ба таму чүанли !ёбудёли.

щянжима. ба дуэшо жынди мин !ёдёли, - фулосы на пэфан шын фэд

фидёли

шандёли

Зулян нанбан йиён, йиняр канбутуди Бэкэрди сы донзы диди фи пизы е канбужянли. Ба та җё чипупур чўлэди до мёзы шандёли.

It is also used with an adjective. The meaning of -дё after an adjective is [away from a normal state, from a good state[.

хидёли **[got black, dark[**

вэди туфа е быйдёли.

--та дансы фэ гэжя лодёли--

Ниди щёнзы жюдёли.

It is notable that it can be used after a free resultative complement:

фадё

по !фадё, щилар зуэха, кўтуэли.

цыдё

бэкəр зы хэпа !цыдё, монди лə-чи полуан вон чын

In this example the subject is not present, if he comes late, so it is still the basic meaning.

ёбудёли

зудёли

чүдёли

линху цэ ба жяно !чүдёли.

-жян

у гун, хощён яба, бу чӱ шын. !тинжян зӱхар нянчини, зулян быйл

та да жяни налэди лёнгə гəзы !тинжян созы, пялаларди фичелэ,

уазы зэ жяно литуни! дажынму !тинжян тамуди ху шын, е подил

ли йигə жонзы. ба вəди гощин !канжян, санжер шыщёли. вə хан м

уəдихын. ба жыгə тэпин салуə !канжян, сый ду щихуан. доли фон

жинлир кандини> хэпа жё сый !канжян, таму нэ мани. хушон лин

ли. ба вə бу тын вон зӱхарди !канжян, щимэ йигə жонзы тёчелэ,

ир лə лонди нэтар, жуандини. !канжян ваму, та вынлигə> - з

е бу ю зыжиди вончӱ докэли. !канжян вə бянли гуали, санжер

ни жуди хунчи. ба зэди машнэ !канжян суй-дади жын ду вон клуб

жуазышонди йи жүанжүар зызыр !канжянли. »жыгə щилар тэ щянжя

е ба гəзыди жуазышонди зызыр !канжянли. анəр налищер мəмəза

иса, ба фондиршон луəди гəзы !канжянли. та кə мə да ло. гуон

онни ё нани. жён фәдуй, асан !канҗянлигә да бегә. лёнгәр сыдо

-Чё

идо бозыди быйзыни, да эрдуә #җуачў, ба ту нандо дихали. нэ л

уазы чынди чончорди ба зўхар #җуачў сытуәли. зўхар да ёминди

. та дэ тёди ба мозы лёчелэ, #җечў, лёчелэ, җечўди фали гәзы

#чечў #дуйчў #вончў #дончў,

The following verb is intransitive, others are transitive.

ў щимэ чёчиди вонхали. вә мә #җынчў, йигә җонзы тёчелэ, лян ло

н зўхар гынчян пучили, вә мә #җынчў йигә җонзы тёчелэ, шыдо гын

игә мопанзы, лёкэли. щимэ мә #җынчў, йигә папузы дедо йидынзыш

они. ба ханщинди щин сый нын #бочў. халхин гол, хасан хэзы лян

#җочў җочў #хочў

салиха, кә ба мэди лёнба шу #дэчў, гәдо зыжиди щинвәзыни фәди

, ба мэди лян ёмо йиёнди шу #дэчў фәди. чўли мын җы зу сан ня

йигә җекурни ба чян җуазы е #зачўли.. зусы нэгә еба, ба җяно з

на йи гынзы куан питё ба зуй #зачўли. линху цэ ба җяно чўдёли.

р ба җуазышон ю зызырди гәзы #дэчўли. ба зызыр гэхалэ, та ба

таму вонщён ба бозыди җуазы #зачўни. бозы лян хын дэ на чян

а мозы лёчелэ, җечў, лёчелэ, #җечўди фали гәзыли. щилар соз

-дини does not occur with -чў.

1. 1. Directional Complement

In Chinese there are three kinds of directional complement,, compound

compound	V	direction		orientation (obj)
discontinuous	V	direction	place	
simple	V	direction	(place)	
	V			orientation

Compound

In Dungan the slots of the compound directional complement have the following fillers:

Direction

чӯ out

жин in

ёон up

ха down

хуэй return

че rise

Orientation

лэ hither

чи thither

The attested compound directional complements are:

-шонлэ	-шончи

-халэ	-хачи
-челэ	-
-гуэлэ	-гуэчи
-чӱлэ	-чӱчи
-җинлэ	-җинчи
-хуэйлэ	-хуэйчи

A notable fact is that compound directional complements are rare as the final predicate in a sentence.

The compound directional complement can be followed by a quantified object or an existential subject. It is the only complement that can take -ли before an object.

The main verb in this construction is a verb of movement.

Independent

The fillers of the direction and orientation slot are verbs and consequently some of the compound directional complements seem to occur independently as predicates. However, structurally they are simple complements. The following cases have been attested:

шонлэ	шончи
хуэйлэ	хуэйчи
долэ	дочи
җинлэ	җинчи
халэ	хачи
чӱлэ	чӱчи
гуэлэ	гуэчи
челэ	

Imazow

In some cases the main verb does not mean movement. The construction is causative. It is still to be regarded as a directional complement, because it also occurs with a simple complement хандилэ, where -дилэ cannot be a main verb. If ханди та лэ could be found, the situation would be different.

вә ба линҗү хан җинлэ,--

I shouted the neighbour to come in,--

×инту таму ба дажын хандилэ, са йинщён ду мэли.

As soon as they called the adults to come, no sound was heard.

--вә ба ни йидин дын хуэйлэни

--I will certainly wait for you

It can also occur in the potential form:

Та кә ханли лён шын, лопәзы ханбу челэ, сысырди зэ диха тондини.

He shouted a couple of times again, but couldn't make the woman rise, she just lay there.

Хиҗер кўшон ба вә сунчўлэ, мама ба та ханҗинчили..

The verb ханди can be used before җё, however.

Салирди мама ба чыди фондо җуәзышон, ханди җё чылэни, та лян ту мә тэ, гуон фәлигэ:

Vди CC is very rare:

Доли тандони тёёнҗя ба надилэди чыди да зыжиди куонзы литу чүди чўлэ, җё ваму зуәли йичүанзы җытуәли.

--Гадир йитонзы поди чи ба тамуди чә литуди йигэ зэ чыншонди да пузыни мэхади хуэй җёхуанди гувар нади чўлэли.

Хиҗер кўшон ба вә сунчўлэ,--

Discontinuous

The discontinuous directional complement is very limited in comparison with Standard Chinese. It only occurs with the direction suffix -до. This does not occur as a directional verb in compound directional complements.

In Modern Chinese Readers II 705-6 this is regarded as resultative complement. Same in Dapei Cidian. In Shiyong 333 到 with place is directional, without it resultative. In Dungan -до occurs as a resultative complement only with objects of time. хунхуэдо, щγандо, дынбудо.

Babaici 37: directional. Shiyong 345.

There is another complement that is followed by location.

Гуэ

тёгуэ чγ

This case is probably best regarded as something else than directional complement. In Salmi 19??the clause type is locational.

In Chinese, the discontinuous directional complement is the most common form with patient object (ZGYW 1991:   ). In dungan the object does not occur between the two parts of the complement.

Chinese	V	O	Dir	O	Dir	O
Dungan						

Simple

The simple directional complement is also limited in comparison to Chinese. It can be composed of verb+direction or verb + orientation. Only a few direction suffixes occur in this form: че, чў have been attested.

In Dungan it is more advisable to regard the verb that can be followed by a locative word expressing destination as the basic form. The -чи and -лэ can then be added to the object of destination.

The simple orientation suffixes -лэ and -чи must usually have an extra syllable, -ди, between the verb and the suffix.

Жыннму тинҗян тамуди ху шын, е #подилэли. щянчян сый ду бу ган во

The simple complement occurs with a local object. The complements -гуэ, -до and -хуэй are attested. The latter occurs only in җуанхуэйҗя, which is written as one word. CHECK

-шон 'up'

-ха 'down'

зуэшон мшнэ

ба ма чишон

ги радиолшон ба панпар гэшон

Зу да җыгэшон вэ зоди ни лэли.

и. щилар йүанйүанди зу йинди !чили> - ада, куэщер! ае бущинли

шонву та да ёди зыҗиди машнэ !лэли. щилар йүанйүанди зу йинди

зы, та дэ кўди җочў вэ фишон !лэдини. вэ е йиншон чили. ыё, вэ

янҗян щли җинҗонли. лўлўр ду #гандилэли. йинян канбутуди салуэ (adjektiiveihin)

шычелэ, вон вэ гынчян пушон !лэдиниса, исмар лян щбур ба щим

вэ фишон лэдини. вэ е йиншон !чили. ыё, вэди щинэ зўхар-Ā ыё

. зыху шычелэ, вон вэ гынчян #пушон лэдиниса, исмар лян щбур

вэ е #йиншон чили.

бый гэзы, та дэ кўди җочў вэ #фишон лэдини. вэ е йиншон чили. ы

ин мын, вэмуди хуон гу йибар #ёшон доли вэ гынчянли.

холи. ганзо, асан дада ба ён #ёшон зудё, ляншуму ба җяно зу лад

лон зусы тёгуэлэ еба, ба ён #чешон побутуэ.

All these verbs are verbs of movement. The preceding subordinate predicate carries the ending -шон.

There seems to be free variation, as can be seen from the following examples:

щилар йɣанйɣанди зу йинди !чили> - ада, куэщер! ае бущинли

вэ фишон лэдини. вэ е йиншон !чили. ыё, вэди щинэ зӱхар-Ā ыё

This is also regarded a complement. Lü Shuxiang (1982:10) regards it as a phrasal form.

Potential Form

V	бу	C
	дый	

The potential form can be formed from complements of result or direction by inserting бу (negative) or дый (positive) between the main verb and the complement.

The potential form is usually negative. The positive form occurs almost exclusively in questions and answers to them.

Зусы нэгэ еба, ба жяно зун чӱбучын.

Regardless of that, the trap could not be taken off.

A potential form can occur as attribute

No particle (can be written separate): кӱбу хуэ, жуабу дуэди жын, канбу минбый especially if the complement is bisyllabic

-ли no more

A potential form can also occur before object жуабулё вэ

гуэбучи, набудилэ,

Дансы зобудилэ, вэ жё ниму жындыйни!

--сан ён ду шонбулэ.

--the mountain goats couldn't climb higher.

Ба ни щищир дынбудолэли.

positive: хандый челэ, мэ шондыйчи

V

Dir

диDir

A

erikseen kirjoitetut

VбуC

мэ VдыйC

нын VдыйC

нын VC

Fillers:

V: -сы, -кэ

Dir

DirComp

-дiDir

Adj

Occasionally the complement is written separate from the negative infix.

жюбу хуэ

кўбу хуэ

хуабу дуэди чян

канбу минбый

kummalliset

Positive form

Negative form

VбуC

зубудун

набудилэ

Чыбушон

Чынбуха

дабусы

жуабулё вә can take an object

Вә да канди нэнэ жуабулё вә, ги вә чүдилэлигэ щин мама.

When my father saw that grandma couldnt raise me, she got me a new mum.

Зу нэгэ сыхур ба ю заён шуйиди жүнгуан нан жынфуди фалү ванхуэй фонди вә жыдони, кэсы зун мә лёщёнчелэ цыбу-зован банзы нэдо вәшонди сычин

мә VдыйС perfective

нын VдыйС (This form is not very common. It has been noted only in one book, a collection of folk tales.)

нын VC

хуабу дуэди чян

Particles Ø, -ли

Complement of verb-measure word

See cognate object

Complement of time

Complement of place: Locative Phrase

This should really be a locative object or object of place. Matthews and Yip use the term directional object if preceded by a directional verb (145) and locative object otherwise (136)

difference between postverbal Loc and preverbal.

Result

Вә фә дуйдинима? 199

Ни кан хо. 375

The most notable fact about these clauses is that they are both stative and dynamic.

Adverbials

йигәр ги йигәр / ту чо дун / мян дуй мян / мян чо щи (can be replaced by йигәр)

Internal Structure

зулян нщ до мәди йиён--жүә яцагўдини.

зулян хэли йичон бинди йиён

What part of speech is зулян?

Verbs as adverbials

Body part:

бәзы чынди 88, я цыди 228, ту далади, чеди

Дэ …ди

җызу …ли

Vdi

d\ V di

lqn V d\ Vdi

V[on

     айгуль тушон подёли!

    --ду пошон зудёли.

    --ба сунгиди йичүн ён е ёшон зули.

    --гуншон хали.

In Dungan verbs used as adverbials usually have the ending -ди. This corresponds to the Chinese particle zhe.

In Chinese grammar it is usually said that <u>zhe</u> means action that occurs simultaneously with the action of the main verb. This is in effect the same thing as a verbal adverbial. Imazow calls these forms gerunds, but because there are forms with the same function, it is better not to do so.

Мухармэ ба Хижерди туфа лүди, зулян го вавади йиён, фэди>

жер Кэмир е зэ хынфу диха тонди нян фудини.

(cf. Та тонха фибужуэ)

Вэ лян та зэ щийүанни зуэди кан «Талия бану» щидини.

--суй ваму зэ зыжиди йүанзышон поди фадини.

Зӱхар ба вэ лади йүан жё зуэха,--

The sentence can end in -ли.

--зэ гуэту жуви жуанди зӱли фанли.

It is possible that the ending -ди is a non-final form of -дини.

Зусы вэ чыди, хэдини, ни нян бу шан, жочӱ вэ вондини.

It is not common for the object to follow the predicate. It occurs only in a limited number of cases (Salmi 1984)

--да йүанчӱр йигэ гӱнён чиди ма жочӱ вэму лэдини.

Хили ду бу фижё, дянди хуэдуй зӱ хуэдини.

Харсан луди та щинтынли,--

Quite often the subordinate verb is preceded by дэ. The phrase so formed can precede or follow the subject.

Дэ лонди, та зу доли хуэчэзаншонли.

Дэ вон чӱ зуди, та ба ее вонлиха.

Дэ -ди V

--жын луан ду поди, лян щё дэ хандини.

Дэ usually occurs after the subject in topic clause.

Зущён бый гэзы, та дэ кӱди жочӱ вэ гынчян лэдини.

аманбек ба вэ дэ жонди шыщёли.

Дэ does not necessarily occur immediately before the verb:

Ханлосан ба Бэкэр дэ вончў сунди да жязышон пыйли йиба.

— Майрам дэ жонче фанди фэсы.

Фэли, ги вэ ба шу дэ чынди,--

--дэ ги кэ машнэди жын до щеди вонха хатуэли.

Бэкэр is the object of both verbs!

A comma can separate the construction from the clause.

Фўжи Ханлосан дэ фэди, ба жуэзышон ще бянйиди цыйзы гидо Бэкэрди шуни.

Дэ вонкэни бэ зызырди, та доли дада гынчянли:--

Ба жүлү хўхур дэ лүмэди та сылёнди:--

The last example shows that дэ...-ди can also be used before the subject. It also shows that -ди occurs after the object.
The construction means a subsidiary action simultaneous to the main action. Дэ ...-ди is in opposition to Vди О, which means carrying and riding etc.

Negative forms have no ending.

--мэ ко мын жинли.

--мэ вон Хэчэр фэди>

--та мэ зан вончян поли.

--та бу туйцы зу жинган ги бонцуни.

It is not necessary for the verb to have the ending -di. In seems that this is the case when the action does not represent a subsidiary, concomitant action, even though the actions may be simultaneous:

Гуонсы таму жунжянни йигэ дэли жун шон хуэйлэди зо, ди эргэсы жон даба фонхуэйлэди.

Ба Мухармэ бочў зы хэпа зудё.

Вэму эрви хэ ца, жищёнли гуэлиди жызыли.

In the sentences below, the subordinate verb expresses an action that takes place at the same time as the movement expressed by the main verb.

Хижер кӱшон ба вә сунчӱлэ, --

--йигэ щичё жёхуаншон да вэди ту дини фигуэчили.

Салима хошон да фонни чӱчили.

Та ба мын кэкэ, ба лүчэ ёшон җинли. drove a donkey cart

Та щёшон җинлэли.

--йитонзы пошон хуэйли.

Ганзо, асан дада ба ён ёшон зудё,‹‹

‹‹вэмуди хуон гу йибар ёшон доли вә гынчянли.

Ягуазы !даншон та кэ доли зӱхар гынчян‹‹

Ba O ≪≪≪≪

Adv ≪≪≪≪

There are cases where the subordinate verb has -di even when the main verb expresses movement.

До шонву та да ёди зыҗиди машнэ лэли.

Давур мә танман зо поди канчили.

If the object of the adverbial verb is a body part, it precedes the verb:

--нэму дади йигэ нанчун, бонзы талашон, да йи дунзы цо диха подини. partridge

×ӱмазы ту бу тэди хан зэ йүанзыни дебандини.

Гуэли йисыр Магэзы ту тэчелэ, дуйчӱ чянту йивонса,--

Вон фонни җинди сыхур, Шаян ту нингуэлэ, кэ дуйчӱ Санвар щёлихар,--

--ба мын кэкэ, людо зыҗиди чуон гынчян, йишон туэдё, зу фихали.

Quite often the two verbs form what is nearly a compound.

Adjectives as adverbials

--жынбудыйди лёнгә жын да жўщиди кабинет литу гощиншон чўлэ,--

ё ×инхуар җочў вә шыщёди фәли.

Link adverbs

Time

Time words can be used as an adverbial or as an object of time.

Time Locative

бан-ени, (зу) җыгә курни, җәр, Вўйүə чў 1 җечишон, гуон 1939 няншон

Time Word Phrase

As time words are nouns, the structure of a time word phrase is the same as the structure of a noun phrase.

1) ди санванщи, (мер) ганзо, мер хушон, йихуэй шонву

2) линйирди нэйитян, җергә, зу нэ йитян, зуəргә, Вўйүə чў йи, җинтян, ди эртян, җиннянди кэчур

3) зу нэгә сыхур, зу җыгә сыхур, җыхур, зущён юди сыхур,җисы, линху, зыху, шукур, ганзо йизор,

4) җиннян

5) дунтян,

Time Measure

It is not clear what the difference between a measure and a noun is. Тян also takes йи.

√уji√уr, √уjihurli, jihu\j, Н l\di n\jihu\j,

Prepositional Phrase

ган лён, дазо, ган зо

Adverb

мынмынди

Reduplication

няннян, йисы-санки, йисыр-йисыр, зозор,

Predicate

хили, йидо бан-ени

эрйүә шылюди хили gives reason to believe that хили is a now timeword, because it is the head of a noun phrase.

S-P

tu ^o dun

Place

Place Word Phrase

готу, Машнэди пэзышон, тади туни (these two in presentative sentence), Сун тамуди жын жунжянни, таму литу, жижүан гынчян, тў фонфорди вифыншон

Шонли чэ лўшон вэ ги ни фэ.

Да жэр йичыр до Нарын лўшон тэ хунхуэдихын.

Prepositional Phrase

фын дунбонгэ, зэ жытар, зэ жынфу чонзыни,

Both before or after subject. Also with verbs of putting and going. V. prepositions. (王　森 2001b 东干话的语序，《中国语文》第3期)

Зэ йуанзыни та зу лян «цощинди» жӱжын йиён ба конли фиди цэфу канли, йуан доли пын диха мэ вон Хэчэр фэди:--

When a prepositon plus locative phrase refers to the destination of the object, ги is used with a following placeword. The object can be preposed, in which case it always follows the locative phrase, or can come after the verb in which case it is usually, but not always counted. Examples from dictionary s.v. ги.

зэ+Subj (pronoun or name)

Зэ жӛр таму е жё ёнзыдини, линтудини.

Туфын-тусы зэ музей литу вэ жянли тали.

--зу зэ нэтар вэ ба Зӱхар пынжянли.

Зэ жӛр таму лалигэ хуэйзӱ хэлян.

Зэ тамуди жунжянни Хэчэр ба щуэтонниди щуэжон Рахман Рахимович канжянли.

Зэбуфэли, зэ нэгэ хикужин гынчян вэ зу бу фичи.

э жытар та жынжыр фа йищяни. !зэ жытар та шын бу шыщян. ги

донили, доли ее дэ нэнэжяли. !зэ жытар та жынжыр фа йищяни.

ту гынни, занлихар почӱчили. !зэ йуанзыни та бу жыдо зӱсад

Зэ йуанзыни та бужыдо зӱ сади ган лёлуандини.

Subj+зэ (longer expression)

шэбар дэ асан !зэ ву хо литу няндини. таму лё

фужӱдини. чиннянму кэ базыди !зэ гэдо-сычурди жунщуэ лян дащ

зэ фонзыни шынхуандини, нэнэ !зэ гынчян ган лёлуандини. да

ли. таму зущён го щилардини, !зэ гынчян жуанди хутондини. щ

ги мэ фэди> - ниму лян дажун !зэ доди фонзышон гуэ жечичи.

шыже сыюрди бэкэр ба фулосы !зэ доди фонзышон фэхади хуа сыл

-Ланвон, вэ зэ щуэтонни ба ни ги жёйуан гочини.

, щилар мэ хуэйлэму, гэзы за !зэ жяниниса? ба шу щили, жён зуэ

тантанзышон падини, ху жуазы !зэ жяно литуни! дажынму мынгӱбо фонзы гынчянли. фонзы !зэ йигэ да чу бонни задини. чу

шо гунфу. гэзы фидёли. щилар !зэ йүанзыни зандини. ее хан зэ

гэзы сакэли. йидур бый гэзы !зэ йүанзыни щүанди фигу, луэдо

и, хэли, бэкэр лян щинэ эрзы !зэ коншон фали йиҗынзы, лян сӱч

дажын ду вындонли, таму щян !зэ ман сан, гэ вани поли йиҗынз

цуниса, бу жян ниди мяр, ни !зэ нани чилиса? - ба доди йиршон

нҗя зэ санни жӱдини. ляншуму !зэ салуэ цо чонни дэ фади, ги

уму зу доли асанҗяли. асанҗя !зэ санни жӱдини. ляншуму зэ с

шын, е жин. фонзы дондор зу !зэ фи җэванзыди вэршон задини. й

зэ йүанзыни зандини. ее хан !зэ фонзыни шынхуандини, нэнэ зэ

щёнжуонниди саншы җигэ ваму !зэ фрунзеди жунщүэни дый шуйиди

ы жи пын-ю. нянкэ фули, асан !зэ шэбарҗя зандини. йидо щятян,

йишын, занхали. йигэ да бозы !зэ шыту тантанзышон падини, ху ж

×ё жынфуди сыгэ да шонхо ба щинжин ти годи щёнжуонниди ло-шо, нан-нү йидун мэ шыщян, зэ жяни, йитян чечӱ гуонлён, хили зэ Ильичди дындыр зыщя йигэ йигэжя жянли лян жин дудузы йиёнди дожунзыли.

×ё жынфуди сыгэ да шонхо ба щинжин ти годи щёнжуонниди ло-шо, нан-нү йидун мэ шыщян, зэ жяни, йитян чечӱ гуонлён, хили зэ Ильичди дындыр зыщя йигэ йигэжя жянли лян жин дудузы йиёнди дожунзыли.

Дада быйди чён зэ фонзыди нэхани, йигэжир лэ лонди нэтар, жуандини.

- Вэ жён да районшон лэ, нэтар динли дян жё ба заму щёнжуонни щинсы ю чичэрди чиннян шучелэ, янщи лён, сан тян, Вуйүэ чӱ йи зэ Фрунзеди жынфу чонзыни пэ дуйни.

- ×ыйихурли, ниму хан бу хуэйчи, лян гуй йиён, зэ цолуэ гынни не са чӱчӱзыдини?

Субй+Лоц

Вэди щин цэ динли, йүфу гынни щехуанхали.

Да нэйихуэй гуэлэ Мухармэ ба чян жяни бу гэли, зэ кассашон пядини. 80.6.27

Чин ни зыжи вэму жяни лэ, вэ ма канжян ни зу гощинни.

Зӱхар е мэ фэ са, дедерни налигэ тон, кэ мэ чы вонгилиха, йүан гэхали.

Nollasubjekti:

Мэ янчуан, зущён зуйни хынли йику фи, чёчёр җочӱ ди вонхали.

Loc+Subj

Канди гуанзыни жын ду вондини, Мухармэ фэди>--

Чинжэди ба та нэчир ду вындонли, хуади йиршон та фэди>--

Хэни фи е ганди лэли.

- дэ фэди, ту нингуэчи ги бонгэрни зуэди эрзы фэди.

Loc

Җ×ыгэди йинцысы лӱшон хуадихын.

Тинзыни хуарҗонзы дуэ.

Кэсы дан лян данфонфор жы, бинйӯанни чиди цыли, нэхуар зунан важуали.

Check

Фонни жэжэрди.

×Җыхур җяни йида чӯн сунзы,--

ада, ни ба цыви йӯан надо танни җё почи, ташон нэтар хо.

Гуди шын, вихӱни лэгуазыди гуэ шын е тинбужянли.

- Да, тэ хухуэйдисы замуди чӯэрни җерди жызышон хан ю лян та йиёнди линшужынмуни.

Хуэшон вончян шыканди йимяр--

Йисы-санки җуэзышон е бэ манли.

Time

Линйирди жызы литу та чӯанли бу хохор нянли.

Зэ гуэлиди вугэ йӯэ литу--

Ло гуонйиншон ги ючянхан доли манди, зэ Советди жедуаншон ба йӯнчи зожуэди лёнгэ ло хонжя лян гого-щиншинди фи гункӱ, гуэ щёнфу гуонйинди нянчин Бэкэр зуэдо ло доцо җуви, дэ щилю цали, лали щян мэли.

Nolla

- Вамужя! Зэ җынфуди чонзыни ба жын годи бэ дюхали.

Followed by Z\

җытар җўли йишы еба, дуэди жын зун мэ жянгуэ да фи нэхани гуэлэ лонди.

upotettu

сыхо бригадади фонзышон, ба !зэ додини да гынцоди бэкэр зожу

upotettu

✕Җы дусы җяхўниди зэчян жын дыйли го шонходи нэ йинян зэ заму Зўгуйди җинчынни - Москва щедо панпаршонди хуэйзў чүзы лян щёнчин.

Passiivi

Ба җыгэ дуйву зэ чонмянзышон җынҗынди янщили лён тян.

Evaluative (truth value)

(attitude adverbs Li&Thompson   )

хаба, гансы фэни, данпа, конешна

Subordinate Time

җинту

Reason

usually a йинцысы clause. The corresponding question has цун сади

Concessive

зусы нэгэ еба

Miscellaneous:

лёнгэр

Sentence Adverbials

Agent

:жё + NP

This differs from the causative.

Manner

АВди

гощинди (this can be a verbal form, cf. гощиншон)

шыщёди,чёчиди, бусӱщинди, щёщинди, хуонлуонди,

ААди

хынхынди, ниннинди, ёё-бэбэди, дуандуанди,

ААВВди

гого-щинщинди, мынмынди, куэкуэди

ААр

зозор

манмар

җынҗыр

чончор

йи-А

йиха

йиман

йихуэй

йидин

Чинлон шәлӱди чы нэгэ җынчини, кэсы давиди ба чён начӱлэ, ба та йичён дасыли.

ААзы

щещезы

АВВрди

пялаларди

хуалаларди

АА

җянҗян

ёнбар чо шон

ту чо шон

чо җыму

ганҗин?

йигәҗир

йитонзы

йигә папузы

йигә җонзы

йигә гўлур

дазо

йүәщин

нянкан

куэщер

дашын-дашын

фоншу

чынчин, район фонмян, чўгуә җыгә, чо җыму, дансы нэгәли, йиман, лэ-чи, луан, йидин

зулян кэфанди хуар йиён, зущён дунфонди гуон, зущён мә фурди җынжў-мано йиён, зулян нанбан йиён, лян лохў йиён, лян сўчон йиён, хощён тэён

мә йисыди, бу ю зыжиди 228, бу тынди, бу сўщинди

Indefinite time

nonmovable non manner

кәҗя, кә

щян, зу, е, зун,

куэзу, дазо

Direction:

вон, җочу, дуйчу, зэ, чо (meaning depends on verb)

да 1, фын

Origin:

да 2, да җытар, да җыгэ дини

Accomp:

лян (лян ...йиён), лян **NP** йитун (кан цидян)

PrepRes:

вон цанни

vs direction: filler of head is an adjective, verb different, not movement.

vs result: preposition, position, suffix.

PrepObj: ObjPrepPhr

PrepBenef: vs postverbal

SubordT:

җинту, җыни

Scope:

nonmovable non manner

гуон, шын, е, щян

Quantifying

җынҗырди

Comparison:

ган/би + NP (CompPrepPhr)/ю йижын шын/тэ, нэму/хынхынди

Progress:

йинян би йинян/ йүэщин (Comp in stative clauses)

Adverbs after the subject

There are some kinds of adverbials that cannot occur before the subject. Most adverbials and prepositional phrases can occur in both positions.

1) вон ...

2) вон ...ni

3) бу & мэ V

4) жязы ко жязы

5) кэ NPди

6) monosyllabic adverbs

Duration

Apposition

Tagmemes

Voc:

name/Relative. This is very clear.

Topic

Subject: NP/PronPhr

Apposition

Special Types:

Са ду etc., **subordinate**

Verb forms different in different types.

Verb Patterns

Object Final Clause

Minimum form:

±S +TransPred +O

In this clause type the Predicate filler is simple. Only the following complements occur: -жян, -кэ, -туэ. If the object is a countable concrete noun, it often has -$g\mu$ in particular in TopicClause. Result and Frequency are extremely rare.

Ги occurs with ги, фын, җилигэ нянҗин, панвон, са шы фэ.

Ги: hit with җи мопанзы, perhaps a measure.

Object is often generic or forms an idiom with the verb (T≤h≤n esimerkkej≤)

O: clause:

Гилигэ мэ вон таму.

цыдо

Subject a clause:

Цун сади зӱхар нянфу мэ ю ниди щёнган? 284

Tagmemes:

Interjection

Reason: цун сади

Danpa

Район фонмян is possibly Locative.

PrepManner

T (usually before subject)

L зэ, ги with до [pour[, вон with сун

M

Reciprocal

Stative forms with туэ, гын, бый, ти, на, че, ё.

[What?] Also occurs with directionals (with -гэ)

Verb Particles

Verb particles are clitics which occur immediately after the verb. In Salmi 1984 they were treated in connection with sentence particles as a kind of discontinuous morphemes.

Aspect particles

Vди		
Vли	O	-ли
Vгуэ		
V	o	-ни

Structural particle

V C

Vди C

Clause types

	1	2
1	V O	ю N Vди O
2		
3	ба O V	
4	ба O Vдо L	
5	ба O Vчын L	
6	ба O Vги L	
7	ба O V C	
8	ба O Vди V	

Addenda

җедуан фәчи

Вә ба ни дон йигэ хоханзылэ, ни би Ханщин ду дэ!   Even

×Җы җи тян вә ба ни золигэ мэ тын, кэсы ниди мян ду бу җян

Cooccurrence with sentence particles

When the sentence ends in -дини, the following forms are possible in a preceding verb.

Vди (O) Vдини

V-res Vдини

VO, VO, VOдини

дэ кӱди

ту длади

шу бу тынди

Нянкэ фули, Асан зэ Шэбаржя зандини.

Ба хо ма чишон зэ линжүди ман цунзыни лонди, гэ ги гэ зо жүн гүнён хуэйжэсы ба жёхуэйди йин ёзы жушон зэ ман сан гэвани жыа есын нанчундини.

×Җы йижыр зущёнсы вэ мэ зэ ли вэди чинжя йүандёди, санфи хэ бянниди шытушон зуэди, зущёнсы вэ лян Цунхуар зэ лян нэвын йиёнди, дэли хуон сыйди цоцоршон зуэди, тади зуй бужүди ги вэ фэдини>--

Дада быйди чён зэ фонзыди нэхани, йигэжир лэ лонди нэтар, жуандини.

Йүэлён дини ваму канди мир-бырди, йигэ да бозы ту нингуэлэ туэдигэ ён да фи вон гуэ манмар фудини.

Ю курли, Щилар жуйди фа гэзы, дё йү, гэ фонфор жуэ малардини. List

Зэ йүанзыни та бу жыдо зүсади ган лёлуандини.

Гуэли хошо гунфу, фибужуэ, зы фан шындини.

Ту далади лэ-чи хү пындини.

×Җыбусыма, Щимэ дедо ёнбар чо шон тондини.

Зущён бый гэзы, та дэ күди жочү вэ фишон лэдини.

Сыгэ тандо бригада дунтян зу ги жун чунтян жуонжяди хуэ шэлү тиндон, дын шон додиди фынфудини.

Таму эрви, зулян жир по шыди йиён, шу бу тынди зы жяндини.

Таму сангэр, йигэр гынди йигэр, зы хэпа зэ та сан жүэ, тедо тянзыни, щёщинди манмар жочү бригадади тандо фонзы зудини.

Чиннянму кэ базыди зэ гэдо-сычурди жунщүэ лян дащүэни нянди, дый жыщыдини.

Щүэтон, клуб, колхозди правление мын чянту жын ду хуонлуанди ги да жечи шэлүдини.

Щүэсынму зущён йиванщи мэ фижё, зозор шудо щүэтонди мын чянту гощинди чуй лаба, да гүгүзыдини.

Таму зущён го Щилардини, зэ гынчян жуанди хутондини.

ее хан зэ фонзыни шынхуандини, нэнэ зэ гынчян ган лёлуандини. List

Гэзы хутондини, чыдини

Зэ институт литу нянди сыхур чыли йибяндини. 5.50 !!!!!

Ли --колхозҗяму е шынсани бу чӱ фон мынли. 5.7

Ø --аманбаев тунзы ба шу гэдо вэди лёнгэ җязышон. 5.47

-та дэ фэди ба вэ сундо мын гынчян. 5.??? Zero particle

The sentence particle -ди is very common with verbs of saying.

- санҗер #хуэйдади.
- санҗер кэ #фэди:
-
- It may be derived from -дисы.

- - щимэ кэ #зотади фэли.

бригадир фэди:

Sentence particles

-са

 бу җян ниди мяр, ни зэ нани #чилиса? - ба доди йиршон мачёр ц
Ца хэба, сангэр тондо цо луэшон щихуан җувиди җӱнмый zохуадиниса, җыдо чӱан шыҗе сыюрди Фулосы дянлигэ янбонбор, zали йику фэсы:
Вэ йигэ җонzы тёчелэ, кэ вон Щимэ гынчян чидиниса, Рахим ба лӱ дончӱ, чӱанди җё вэ җыннэни.
Таму җын щӱандиниса, Бэкэрди җязышон чеди фанлян, манмар до гынчян, фэлигэ сэлям.
Җын щӱандиниса, кан доди фонzыди Санба чиди хи щянлянzы куэма е долэли.
Та җын сылёндиниса, щё нӱр Анэр да фонни чӱлэ, ба гэzы канҗян, гощинди шушур пыйтуэли:
Вэму йигэр хан дин йигэрдиниса, Вонйинмин йигэ җонzы тёчелэ, җочӱ ваму фэди:
Та җын кӱдиниса, тади лёнгэ гэzы луэдо җязышонли.
Зыху шычелэ, вон вэ гынчян пушон лэдиниса, Исмар лян Юбур ба Щимэ йисы-санки да тинzыни сонди, лачӱчили.
илар мэ хуэйлэму, гэzы за зэ #җяниниса? ба шу щили, җён зуэдо җ
 Эрбян подо гэдони канниса, да дайӱанни йигэ гынди йигэ сангэ чон пэzы машнэ җочӱ Бэкэр лэдини.
Лёнгэр сыдонниса – бегэ да санпэzышон ба таму йигэр, йигэрҗя нын туэ дун...
 ба шу щили, җён зуэдо җуэzы #гынниса, лёнгэ гэzы пялаларди ф
ба цахӱ гэдо җуэzышон җёнмур #дониса, фулосы фэди: - заму зу
и: - җы бантянzы вэму шон-ха #цуниса, бу җян ниди мяр, ни зэ

хуэшон хуэйлэ, җёнмур шэлүди #чыниса, ба фондиршон луэди гэз
: - дансы нэгэли, заму ду тё #танса! вушыр ба панпар гэшон! вуш
диниму, зэ ю сани. - ада, ни #канйихарса, готу дыйдо щеди са!
-диниса: with җын; a different subject follows in the next clause or sentence. The action has some
duraton.
-ниса: typically with җёнмур or җён. The action is probably momentary.
A verb йи- with can also take -са. The action is momentary.

'just as'
• temporal clause
Щёхуэр дэ гӯнёнму җын щүанхуондиниса, Сарвиханди мама Салима җинлэ,--
Минэ җын сылёндиниса, сунщинди җинлэ, ги та җёдэлигэ фузы, чӱчили.
Харки ба мын кэкэса, цэсы дуйҗызы луфоншонди ольга Васильевна.
Лохан занлигэ җин вонче паниса, нүзы цэ фубонлэли. 78.10.17
До гынчянса, зусы тади сунзы. 78.4.18

Шукур, та йиканса, цэсы Сарвиханди мама.
Нингуэлэ йи канса, цэсы «ло нүпыню»,--
Вэ занха чо ху вонниса, цэсы Зӯharди мыймый Җихар.
Шэрба канниса, та гынчян зуэдигэ гӯнён.
Щянчян вэ мэ щин, данпа жын цуэли, кэсы щищир канниса, зусы та--

A verb with the adverb йи- does not take suffixes. INTO A BETTER PLACE.
• exclamative

Э-ё, ниму за диндир зуэдиниса!

Oh, how quietly you are sitting!

• interrogative
Сый кан мэцуэса? Ду юни.
Сарви, вэ кан ни за жыму жүнса, вэ за бу щён ниса?
Вава, вава, са ваваса?
– Ба дунжя ни чёхалимэса?
Хафизы, ни хӯ фэ садиниса? 75.12.23
— Ба дунжя ни чёхалимэса? 75.12.23
• imperative
– Ни шонкон вон вузышон зуэхаса нённён.
– Ниму хэса, нённён, ама ни е хэса,--

Ни ще нидиса!

Just write what you were writing!

Нянса, ни гэ щеди са?

Come on, just read, what does your brother write?

• in conditional clause
Дан юса вэ нэхур гощиншон чини. 80.2.5
Дан ёса вэ бу йүн ни фэ зу пошон чини. 80.2.5
Бу фэ еба, кэсы щинни ба зыжиди цуэ та дан жинлиса, нэхур до вэшон дуэшо гощин.
• After topic

Вэса хан нянчиндини, нын кончӯ, кэсы нёнмузы суйфу дали. 75.12.16

Me, I am still young and I can take it, but my parents are old.

-мэ

The particle -мэ occurs in questions when the verb has -ли, -гуэ or -дини, or when the main verb is -ю..

Вэ мэ фэ бу рази, вэ фэди рази, жыдолимэ?
Ю са щин сымэ? 78.2.28
Ни ги таму фэлимэ? 78.2.28
Ба заму лёнгэрди вонщён, ни җидинимэ, та ма? 76.2.17

Ще ванлимэ!

Кэсы та ба бонгэрни зуди жын хан нэ тади, ви тади йүнчи шу да пэфанди дыйдо жүэлэдинимэ.

Вэ фэди дуйдинимэ?

— Щимэ зэ ниму җэр лэгуэмэ?

— Ба дунжя ни чёхалимэса? 75.12.23

It is probably an abbreviation of мэди, which is a variant of мэюди.

– Кэфилимэ? – Мэди, нина?

--са щёндун мэди.

Пинзы мэди.

Пын-ю, җыхур ни ё фэни, вэму эрви ю йүнчи мэю. Мэюди!

Җыйижыр нян бу шан дуйчү та вонди Бэкэр канди зущён шышон би Мэ жүн, би тади щинфа ходи җи пын-ю лян вавади щинэ мама зэ мэюди.

– Наму ни нянванлимэса?

Ада, йүэлёншон ю ваму, мэю?

– Ни чинима, хансы бу чи?

Ни җыдо, бу җыдо, цыви шын канбужян са?

Зусыса?

Хүр, җысы нима?

– Насы янжир, Хүсэ?

– Ваму, янжирсы хидима, хуонди?

– Наму ба эрзы җяндинимэса?

– Щён хуэйчи бу хуэйчи!

--, ни тинҗянли мэю?

Ни щён нянфу бу нян?

– Йисмар та да хуэйлэлима?

– Ющин тин, мэщин тин?

– Чини, бу чима? Source not given, writing illegible. CHECK

Ю са щин мэю са?

Is there a message or not?

1. Word Order

wang sen

> Ба җымуди дун вушы нян зычян лохан җянли йибян.
>
> The old man had seen this kind of winter fifty years ago.

Simple Sentences

Clause Types

Three dimensions:

.

The type of the sentence and the verb are uniquely determined by the last element. The same does not hold for Chinese, because the verb can be followed by both the indirect and direct object. Chinese seems also to lack the type ending in a resultative complement, because the object can follow the complement.

Presentative

Transitive

Clause Level

Clause types

Special types

Multiverb

Verb chains (cf. Topic chain)

There are two types of verb chain.

1 Some verbs that resemble auxiliaries get the suffix -ди:

Җ×инҗир ё янщиди шәлүни.

Фәфә-гәгәди ляншуму ги дажын ду бонди вончў ё ёнчили.

2 In the other type the first verb has the suffix -шон *and the second verb expresses movement.*

Таму ба чичәр дуйву суншон зудё, мый йигә бригадади йүанму, лян няннян йиён, до тандо фонзышон гуә җечини.

Зущён бый гәзы, та дэ кўди җочў вә фишон лэдини.

Вә е йиншон чили.

'To go' and 'do' is expressed in Dungan by a construction where the main verb follows the subordinate predicate. Chao calls the corresponding verbs in Chinese particles of purpose (CHECK). (Chao 1968: 479 -80, 809).

Ниму лян дажун зэ доди фонзыни гуэ җечичи.

Ниму щян чылэ.

Вэму хан нянчини.

Фэфэ-гэгэрди ляншуму ги дажын бонди вончў ё ёнчили.

-Нэзу хо, мер ни бэ шон доди, ганзо йизор ба чичэр чишон до җэрлэ.

-чи/-лэ/-зу is written together with the previous word and is probably unstressed.

Constructions resembling verb chains

Sequences containing verbs can be divided into to main groups:

1 Predicate chains

VV

дэ...ди V

Vди O V

2 verb chains
Vди V

Vшон V

Aux V

V ...-чи/-лэ/-зу

Predicate chains refer to to consecutive actions, while verb chains refer to one action.

Verb chains

There are three kinds of verb chains: 1) Both verbs are coordinate, 2) the second verb is subordinate, 3) the first verb is subordinate. There is not necessarily a formal difference between these constructions, but in principle the subordinate form corresponds to a non-finite form in English. (Chao 1968:325–6, 336–42)

The second verb is subordinate

1) Verbs of knowing

V O:S хандон, донсы (+-лидини), бу җыдо, цэ, канниса

Vни **O** щинфу, җыдо

V Oди канҗян

ба **O**di **V** җыдо, җүэлэ, җүэжуэ, канҗян, сылёнчелэ, фэтуэ, җыбудо бу җыдо, вондё, щин 'believe'.

2) Verbs of wanting

Vdi O:S зывон, җүэму, зафу ё, дэлү, вын, цуйган, йин(чын)

       Вэ нансуанди да җидо гынзыни.

       I'm planning to do a few paddy field walls.

       До җерди җызы вэ зывонди та хуэйлэни.

       Until today I've hoped that he'd come back.

       Та җүэмуди зущён тади гӯдӳ литу җоншон нунли.

       He felt that his bones had become soft in the war.

       Щүэ шуйиди сышон ги чиннянму Канымбек зафуди, ё танщинни--

       As to learning a trade, Kanymbek told the young people to be greedy--

       Тади гощин, щихуан дэлүди гунгун, пэпэ е гощинли.

       His gladness made his father-in-law and mother-in-law also glad.

3) Verbs of intending
Vди **Pred** шыкан, мусуан, йинцын, лёлуан, шэлү, щү, набади бу, янщи’
4) **V**ди җё панвонди, зафу, ё, лый, җё, ще, чё, чин, бон, чито, цуандуэ 'urge'
җон, хан, дын raise the subject of a verb of movement into object:
5) **Vdi O** җё шонди путёвка, гиди фынфу

Ду чуэсуэди жё вэ го ни дани.

Everybody urges me to humour your dad.

Таму хан жуадисы ло куйчын, ба чиннян дэлүди, жё фубонди, зунхұ ло гуонйинни.

They still followed old customs and made young people support and follow the old way of life.

жещү, нансуан, ще, сылён, му, кан, сыдон :ди+VS

датур V

донсы, жыбудо S

2 and 3 perhaps belong to one group. The surface difference is caused by whether the verbs have the same or different subject. In the same way 4 and 5 probably from a single group. In 5 the VO compound represents one concept.

Та тиди да хуон пибо, жочұ вэ йинди лэли.

He came towards be carrying a big yellow leather bag.

First verb subordinate.

When the first verb is subordinate, it is actually a verb phrase used adverbially (see Verbs as adverbials). There are three possible forms:

Vди**.** This the normal case. The verb usually means a subordinate action performed, say, with the hand.

— на шу ба нянлуй цади, фэсы.

he wiped his tears with his hand and said:

Зусы жыгэ еба, хан дэди Кэримди шу, щидо ляншон вынди:

However, she held Kèrim's hand,put her face near his(?), and asked:

--гуэлэли йигэ лопэр, жұди гунгур, зандо ятур гынчян, фэди:

an old women with a stick came over to the girl and said

Са ду бу дунди Кэрим жочұ мама зуй жонди вонхали.

Kèrim, who didn't understand anything, looked at his mother with his mouth open.

Тади нянжин биди, фижуэдини.

He closed his eyes and fell asleep.

Җигэ вурус яту е зэ литу зуэди, хынхын-нюнюди чондини. 78.10.31

Some Russian girls were also sitting inside, singing loudly.

Ба җыгэ хуа тинҗян нэ лёнгэ жын җуди дўзы щётуэли.

When they heard these words, both laughed holding their stomachs.

After object

Зу җыгэ җекурни Сунлин, зулян сагувазы чўли дунди йиён, тэту, суэбэзыди ба җуви салиха манмар людо чоншонли. 72.2.9

At this moment Sunlin lifted his head like a marmot coming out of its burrow, keeping his head low scanned the surroundings and went to the square.

Зэ люйинйинди футонзыни манмар щүанди зудиниса, мэ җүэҗуэ доли мын гынчянли. 1.93

They were slowly walking in the green alleyway, talking, and didn't notice that the came to the gate.

Дэ
adv with Vди

Лянү дэ also occurs

--жын луан ду поди, лян щё дэ хандини

people ran around, laughing and shouting.

with transitive verb

Вэ дэ кан боди, дын Зўхардини. 1.92

I was reading a newspaper, waiting for Zuhar

Зу нэтян таму дэ зў сади, ба җяно җинлир кандини.

So that day they often checked the trap while doing something else.

Хэчэр зэ пын дихади гуэту гынчян дэ зў фанди лян бонгэрни фади җёшон сан суйди эрзы Исмар ла вава мэдиниса:--

Haicher was making food at the stove under the shed and talking to three-year-old Ismar:

Мэян дэ ца нянлуйди хуйдани.

Maiyan answered wiping her tears.

with intransitive verb

Зӯхар дэ щёди җочӯ вэ вонхали.

Zuhar looked at me, laughing.

with prepositional phrases

--ба мэхади фалазы начӯлэ, дэ ги Исмар вон шуни гиди, фэсы:--

--he took the present bought for him, gave it to Ismar, and said:

Сализы ба Кэмазы да җязышон дэ пыйди фэсы:-- 1.125

Salizi patted Kaimazi on the shoulder and said:

--ба мын йиба лакэ, зандо мынканшон, ба лян мянҗизы йиёнди вугэ зыту чынди кэкэди дэ зыди,-- 3.48

--he opened the door, remained standing on the threshold, spread his noodle-like fingers wide and pointed,--

before subject

Дэ вон гынчян фуди, та ги салищер шы.

Дэ фэди та ба йигэ гуэзы лёди хуанлихар.

Щёщё-тинтинди, дэ ламэди таму кандини.

They were watching talking quietly.

— Вэ канди җыгэ лопэр ба ниди бин җиндёли, — дэ фащёди, вэ вынли вэ мали. 82.3.19

predicate

Щимэ ба вэ дэ жонди, зыҗи лян хэ дэ чытуэли.

Ximai started eating and invited me to join him.

2) Vшон. This form is alien to Standard Chinese. It occurs when the main verb refers to movement.

Хуэй, зу, сун, фигуэчи, няндилэ, җин, чӯчи, хуэйчи, до, җинлэ

Miscellaneous examples

Non-final predicates do not have sentence particles.

It is possible to have a particle if the predicate consists of two coordinate predicates.

-динида. -ниса do occur in temporal clauses.

> Чиннянму кә базыди зэ гэдо-сычурди җунщүә лян дащүәни нянди, дый җышыдини. 5.55

> The young people went in different groups to different high schools and universities to study.

> Ашәр зущён мә тинҗян, нингуәчи лян Санҗер тёди, җуандо тинзыди йибонгәли. 1.68

> Asher turned around as if he hadn't heard, danced with Sanjier and whirled to the other side of the hall.

Лян… дэ

> Бозы лян хын дэ на чян җуазы дади, бу җё таму вон гынчян чи. 4.42

> Клуб мын чянту радио бу тынди лян чон дэ фа щёнчиндини. 5.59

Дэ …ди

> Ляншуму зэ салуә цо чонни дэ фади, ги дажын кын бонди фон ён, ти фи, дун ца. 4.40

> The friends were playing in the beautiful grassland and often helping grownups to herd sheep, carry water and make tea

> Зу нэтян таму дэ зў сади, ба җяно җинлир кандини: хэпа җё сый канҗян, таму нэ мани. 4.41

> So that day they were doing something else and checked the trap when they could(?): they were afraid that the grownups would notice.

— дэ ханди та мыймыйшы дали лёнгэ созы. 4.45

He shouted and whistled loudly a coule of times.

Та дэ тёди ба мозы лёчелэ, җечӱ, лёчелэ, җечӱди фали гэзыли. 4.45

— Щилар ти нэнэ дэ йинди, ба ее да шу вонче латуэли. 4.45

Дэ вонкэни бэ зызырди, та доли дада гынчянли: — Ада, ни кан гэзыди җуазышон бонди са? 4.46

Вэму дэ щγанди зудини, ба замужя доли зыжиди хонзынилиди, лян җӱэжуэ мэ җӱэжуэ. 1.70

Зущён бый гэзы, та дэ кӱди җочӱ вэ фишон лэдини. 1.71

Вэди дини җиннян бу нын чӱлэ йигэ бэзы, — Бэкэр дэ фащёди, ба Мэди лян ңэмо йиёнди шу дэчӱ фэди. 5.53

Җыгэ курни Мэ ба Бэкэр да конзышон мынмынди щянли йиба, дэ щёди фэсы: — Эё, нянкан лёндыйли, куэ җян, бригадир куэ зу ба чэ ёдо мыншон ла җунзылэни. 5.54

— До фонни хэ йижунзы тандониди гун ца, — Бэкэр дэ вон хони дӱ фи бади фэди. 5.56

— Е хо, — Бэкэр лян Малову дэ фэди, ба җуэзышонди чы-хэ нашон, җочӱ доцо зутуэли. 5.568

Ло гуонйиншон ги ючянхан доли манди, зэ Советди жедуаншон ба йӱнчи зожуэди лёнгэ ло хонжя лян гого-щинщинди фи гункӱ, гуэ щёнфу гуонйинди нянчин Бэкэр зуэдо ло доцо җуви, дэ щилю цади, лали щян мэли. 5.56

— Дэ фэди да машон халэ, зэ гилигэ мэ вон таму, лади ма да фонзы быйху зудёли. 5.57

Фәсы бавынщер, — фуҗи Ханлосан дэ фәди, ба җуэзышон ще бянйиди цыйзы гидо Бэкэрди шунили. 5.58

Җысы минйү сычин, — Ханлосан ба Бэкэр дэ вончў сунди да жязышон пыйли йиба. 5.58

Bare verb

Ё фәни, додиди донзы чон, зу җи жуанзы ма зу фадёли, пишынди фи зу вонха тонтуэли. 90.11.29

-ди

Йигэ жын зўди хо хуэ, зэ жэр та фиди да лилён, щян да бынсыдини. 90.11.29

Coordinate verbs.

When the verbs are coordinate, they are just put one after another, sequentially. Only the last predicate has a sentence particle. The first verbs is not usually monosyllabic(?).

If there are two predicates both with a sentence particle, they usually have different subjects. The actions are then simultaneous. One subject with two simultaneous actions is also possible.

Вэ ба җуэзы шыли, даҗэли.

Гувар туни, туни подини, лохан гынди та манмар зудини.

Ди эртян, ганзо йизор, Мэ җин-юди чыли, хэли, Бэкэр лян щинэ эрзы зэ коншон фали йиҗынзы, лян сўчон йиён, гого-щинщинди кэ зули зў гуанванди хуэшонли.

Pivot

passive

Passive. In passive sentences, the agent is expressed with a prepositional phrase introduced by жё. The prepositional phrase assumes its usual position as first verb.

causative

chain/auxiliary

м⌐эняр (CHECK), мәщин, мәчў(р), мәфор, мәгўдый, мәжынчў

accompanying action

дэ ...ди

emphasis

indefinite

са... ду

In indefinite clauses one of the constituents of the clause is an interrogative pronoun or contains one. The predicate is preceded by the adverbs ду or е. The constituent containing the interrogative can have different functions. In the following examples, it can be subject or object. The interrogative can have the prefix сы-, which is unknown in Chinese.

Са щёндун ду мэди. 29

Са йинщён ду мэли. 49

×Жяно литу сыса е мэди. 56

--зэ са шын ду тинбужян. 322

Щянчян сый ду бу ган вон гынчян чи. 67

Verbless Clause

--кан бёниса, дуан бонгэзы жюгэли.

I checked the watch and it was half past eight.

— Эё кэжя вужян жунли.

Oh, it's already five o'clock.

Дуан вуфән җун җюгэ.

Five minutes to nine.

Лан тяншон лому җигэ бый йүнцэ гэдар.

There were just a few white lumps of cloud in the sky.

дуан ву фын җун йигэ сышынли used as a predicate

embedded

SP as an object

SPди

reported clause

фэсы

Complex Sentences

It is possible that clauses have no formal markers.

Вэ зуәргэ ба ни җянли донсы ни йын сани, лэли.

Yesterday when I saw you I thought you came because you needed something.

Вэму лэ ён е зущён мэ җёхуанму.

When we came the sheep weren't bleeting.

Compressed sentences

Chinese Grammar 573585.

王景荣 2008, Dungan particles, -шон.

Вэму ги ни зо хуэдини, зохали зэ чин ни.

Chao 123

Ама мергә хуэйлэ ги вә ти туни.

Тинхуа Щимэ лян йигә гӯнён ба дащүә нянван җехунни.

ё Ни җонда зӯ са хуэни?

Җ×онда ни зу дон фонёнжынчи.

V зу V

зэ V...V

Coordinate Clauses

A sentence can be composed of two or more coordinate parts. The main distinguishing formal feature of this kind of sentence is the existence of a clause final particle at the end of both parts. Alternatively both clauses can have another kind of clause final form. (????)

асан золигэ лян йүшы йиёнди шытур, Шәбар золи банҗезы ави гын. 9

Җәту е няли щи санли, хийинзы е халэли. 391

Янгэзы шын дэ фэди да ца, цо цэдини, ба җяву фэли йижынзы.

Otherwise the component clauses have no particular properties. Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether the first clause is subordinate or coordinate:

Шукур дунфон фабыйли, вә фижуэли. 325
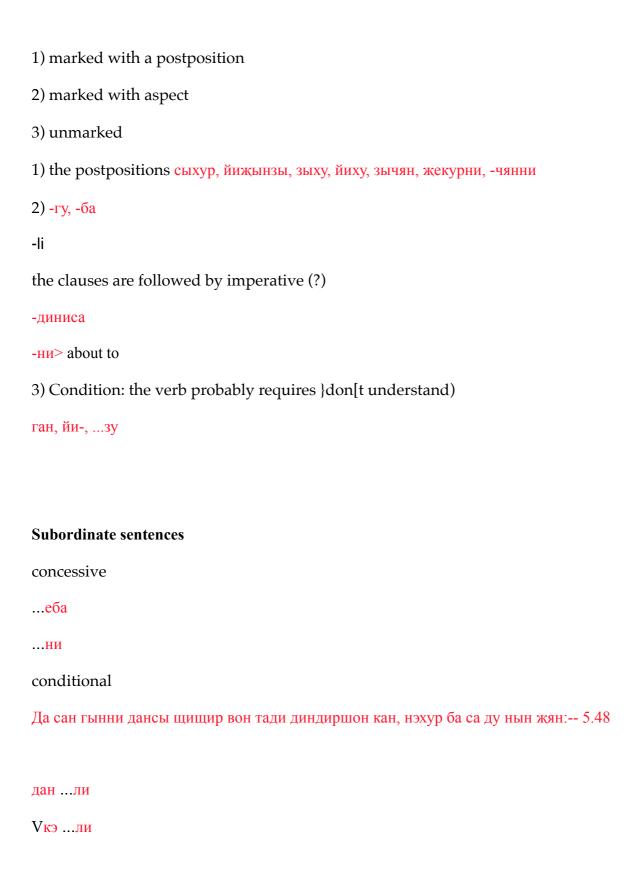
This sentence can have two translations:

a) Finally, when the east was getting lighter, I fell asleep.

b) Finally, the east got lighter and I feel asleep.

Compound sentences

subordinate clause	main clause

Temporal clauses

1) marked with a postposition

2) marked with aspect

3) unmarked

1) the postpositions сыхур, йижынзы, зыху, йиху, зычян, җекурни, -чянни

2) -гу, -ба

-li

the clauses are followed by imperative (?)

-диниса

-ни> about to

3) Condition: the verb probably requires }don[t understand)

ган, йи-, ...зу

Subordinate sentences

concessive

...еба

...ни

conditional

Да сан гынни дансы щищир вон тади диндиршон кан, нэхур ба са ду нын жян:-- 5.48

дан ...ли

Vкэ ...ли

A conditional where the verb has the ending -кэ is usually generic. It means "whenever / if".

purpose

йинви/ви …

reason

…йимяр

temporal

past

compound verb

Vли/йи V

A monosyllabic verb has the particle -ли, but amultisyllabic does not.

present

…дини(са)

unmarked

emphatic (??? etc)

irrealis / future

…ни (лин/хан мэ / ø

simile (хощён)

Subordanate

Subordinate clauses occur before the subject. It is unclear if a subordinate sentence is distinct from from a *participial* clause. A possible criterion is a sentence particle.

There are three similar constructions:

1) a presubject verbal structure

2) postsubject verbal structure

3) two subjects both followed by a verb

Rubbish

Abbreviations

adj

asp

s

References

1 Ганжин щин

2 Вэди чунтян

3 Хэчэрди минйүн

4 Янжир

5 ×Жонзэ

6 Йүнчи

7 Хуэйзү гўжир (paksu)

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√=alt-shift r
◊=alt-shift a= ×
◊

≠=alt-shift z
≠=alt-shift 0
μ=alt y
‹   -

> :