From the Northwest China *Sprachbund*: Xúnhuà Chinese dialect data
從中國西北部的語言區域關係體:循化話語言材料

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[提要] 本文採用青海省東南角的循化撒拉族自治縣漢語方言材料舉列說明中國西北部作爲種語言區域關係體. 循化話是甘肅河州話的變體. 本文根據有關的語言和歷史材料, 從語言接觸的角度看循化話的特征,認爲這種區域特征是漢語,安多藏語, 突厥語和蒙古語混合的結果. 該區域特征的擴散不限於詞彙, 而包括語音特征以及語法結構.

Abstract   This paper presents fresh data from a variety of Northwestern Chinese spoken in Xúnhuà county 循化縣 Qīnghǎi province. Xúnhuà Chinese is typical of Northwestern Chinese with its massive interference from substrate languages (Amdo Tibetan, Turkic, and Mongolic), as well as superstrate interference from Standard Mandarin. Salient phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features of these data are introduced to support this claim.

The original purpose of this small corpus, collected from a Huí (sinophone Muslim) Chinese man, was to compare Xúnhuà Huí-Chinese features with those of neighboring languages and with those of other Northwest Chinese dialects.

In the presentation of these data, I address the following questions:
- Do these data contain features considered typical of *Huí* Chinese speakers, as distinct from Hàn? I suggest not: in the case of Xúnhuà, at least, the differences between Huí and Hàn Chinese vernaculars are few.
- Does Xúnhuà Chinese syntax and phonology in fact reflect that of the Línxià dialect, or is Xúnhuà better considered a transitional vernacular between the Xīníng and Línxià dialects?
- What non-Chinese features can be identified in Xúnhuà Chinese?

I. Northwestern Mandarin Chinese

Northwestern Chinese is a beguiling mix of archaisms, Altaicisms, and a good dose of Tibetan. If investigated from the point of view of Chinese dialectology alone, it possesses a number of puzzling features. Yet when Northwest China is viewed as a linguistic and cultural region, one discovers that most of these features repeat throughout the area's languages.

Chinese archaisms aside, the idiosyncratic features of Northwest Chinese consist of a combination of contact-induced borrowings and language-convergence features. The extended contact of Tibetan, Chinese, Turkic, and Mongolic languages over the centuries encouraged the gradual development of similar forms in these languages; hence, the term *Sprachbund* or 'language association'.[1]

Much remains to be done on the Chinese spoken in this vast region. Until recently, only the Chinese spoken in major cities was surveyed; in the last ten years the phonology and word order of some of the less-populated areas has been surveyed.

Contrary to the traditional notion of dominant languages being nearly immutable, Northwestern Mandarin[2] has acquired features typical of local Central Asian languages (i.e., Tibetan, Turkic, and Mongolic): spirantized voiceless stops, an SOV word order, and even case marking.

In phonology, most Northwestern dialects have only three tones; a neutralization of the apical/velar nasal n/ŋ distinction in coda position; the preservation of the Middle Chinese velar nasal onset ŋ-; a diachronic palatalization of dental stops before high front vowels; and a paucity of high front rounded vowels.

In morphology, most Northwestern dialects have developed a limited pronominal case-marking system from cliticized postpositions, e.g. Gānsù Labrang Chinese [ŋə] 'I (nom.)', [ŋa] 'I (dat.) (Nakajima: 275). Also, the number of noun classifiers has been greatly reduced, often to a single [kə] 個, e.g. Línxià [ʒi24 kə24 ʂu31] 一個書 'one book', cf. Standard Mandarin [ji55 pən213 ʂu55] 一本書.[3]

In syntax, the most notable feature is the verb-final word order; and the concomitant absence of V-O type prepositional clause structures, such as the *bǎ* 把 construction. Serial verbs are

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[1]The term was apparently coined by Trubetzkoy in 1928 (Bynon: 245).

[2]Here *Northwestern Mandarin* refers to the varieties of Chinese spoken principally in Gānsù, Qīnghǎi, Níngxià, and Xīnjiāng, and also in Shānxī, Shǎnxī, and parts of western Inner Mongolia.

[3]Transcriptions here follow the conventions of the International Phonetic Association. In addition, the symbols ɿ and ʅ are used to represent apical and retroflex variants of /i/, respectively. Tones are represented numerically, with 55 being a high level tone, 11 a low tone, and 51 a falling tone. A single or absent numeral (e.g. [ʂã3] or [ʂã]) indicates a reduced tone. Tone sandhi is indicated by a slash between two tones, e.g. 13/55

Etyma of uncertain origin are represented in Chinese as □. However, for the reader's convenience in the text the conventional transcription-*kanji* for these unknown etyma (used in Chinese linguistic literature) are surrounded by quotation marks here; e.g. [ʒi24gua42] "一挂" 'totally; all'.

linked with [dzə] (Xúnhuà [zeu₅₃ dzə tɕʰi₅₅] 走着去'walk (there)'); the number of resultative complements is more limited than in Standard Mandarin.

The lexicons of the Northwestern Chinese dialects have been enriched by a number of Tibetan and Turkic loans. For example:

Labrang: atɕia 'father'; ama 'mother' cf. Wr. Tibetan *a-rgya, a-ma* 'id.' (Nakajima: 274)
Urumchi: pei₂₅kʰar₅₂ 'in vain, useless' < Uyghur [bikʰar] < Persian *bikar* 'unemployed, idle'
Urumchi: pʰi₂₅ia₂₅tsɿ₂₁ 'onion'< Uyghur [pʰijaz] < Persian *piaz* 'id.' (Liú: 163,169)

II. The Xúnhuà vernacular as an example of Northwestern Chinese

An integral part of the vast Northwest Chinese region is the northern edge of the Amdo plateau. Historically, the area was inhabited largely by semi-pastoralist Tibetans (or Qiāng 羌) and later Mongolic groups. However, at a relatively low altitude and with littoral areas large enough to support subsistence agriculture, the region has also become populated with a variety of sedentary lowlanders, predominantly Hàn Chinese, sinophone Muslims, and the Turkic Salars.

Xúnhuà county 循化縣 is located in the heart of the Amdo region, in what is today southeastern Qīnghǎi province 青海省. It is on the south bank of the Yellow River at a midpoint between Xīníng 西寧 and Línxià 臨夏(historically Hézhōu 河州. At a mere 1840 meters elevation and as one of the most climatically hospitable places in Qīnghǎi,[4] the Yellow River littoral areas including Xúnhuà are whirlpools of linguistic and cultural contact. Xúnhuà Salar Autonomous County 循化撒拉族自治縣 today is primarily Salar and Tibetan, with only 20% of the population being Chinese-speaking.

Xúnhuà Chinese is generally considered a variant of the Línxià (Hézhōu 河州) dialect.[5] I collected the data for this paper during February 1993. This particular data set is based on a series of interviews with a 78-year old Huí 回 (sinophone Muslim) in Jīshízhèn 積石鎮, the Xúnhuà county seat.[6] My aim was to collect a modest sample of Xúnhuà Huí syntax. The corpus consists of 124 utterances from each of the major syntactic forms, based loosely on the dialectal syntax questionnaire of Yue-Hashimoto 1993.

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[4]Xúnhuà is affectionately known as "the Xīshuāngbǎnnà (i.e., tropics) of Qīnghǎi" 青海的西雙板納. This author experienced such a tropical clime in the form of snow and pneumonia while collecting the data for this paper.

[5]Broad comparative surveys mentioning Xúnhuà Chinese include Zhāng 1984, Wáng 1984, Chéng 1980, Wáng and Wǔ 1981, and Yǐn 1985. The scholar Dū Xìngzhòu 都興宙 has recently surveyed several Qinghai Chinese dialects in the region, but I have not seen his materials.

[6]My language informant, Mr. Cháng Míngdào 常明道, is a third-generation Xúnhuà resident whose ancestors were from Lóngxiàn 龍縣 in western Shǎnxī 陝西. He was extremely gracious to receive me, particularly during Ramadan.

1. Code-switching and language interference

Xúnhuà, a sparsely-populated county with a total population of only 85,000[7], boasts not one but *three* Education Bureau chiefs. It is a stunning tribute both to bureaucracy and to the trilingual and tricultural status of the county. The Education Bureau is jointly headed by a Salar, a Tibetan, and a Hàn. This approximates the county's population, which is about 58% Salar, 25% Tibetan, and 16% Huí and Hàn. Although Qīnghǎi Chinese is the *official* lingua franca, Salar, Chinese, and Tibetan are used with equal frequency in public venues. The majority of the county's population is bilingual[8], and a sizable number of Salar and Tibetan men are trilingual.

For multilingual speakers, code-switching is especially common. Switching languages mid-sentence is apparently known in Qīnghǎi as 豐攪雪 "wind stirring up the snow" (Zhāng:188).

While extensive bilingualism in sinophone Xúnhuà residents is much rarer, (they are after all speakers of the dominant language), passive exposure to Tibetan and Salar has been extensive and significant. As in Hézhōu and Xīníng, prolonged language contact has resulted in head-final structures.

2. Xúnhuà Phonology

The Qīnghǎi dialects have been classed into three groups on phonological grounds: Xīníng, Lèdū 樂都,and Xúnhuà (Zhāng: 189). The Xúnhuà group encompasses Southeastern Qīnghǎi province *south* of the Yellow River, i.e. Xúnhuà, Tóngrén 同仁 and Guìdé 貴德 counties. Distinctions between Xúnhuà Chinese and the Chinese spoken just across the river to the north in Huàlóng county 化隆縣 (part of the Xīníng group) include:

feature	examples	Xúnhuà	Huàlóng
number of tones		3 (平上去)	4 (陰平陽平上去)
apical : retroflex initial opp.	師支翅: 濕知吃	ʂ tʂ tʂʰ	s ts tsʰ : ʂ tʂ tʂʰ
apical: palatal initial opp.	全:拳	tɕʰ	tsʰ : tɕʰ
/ʂ/ > [f]	書:夫	ʂ : f	f
ʐ:0	如: 無	ʐ : 0	v
M.C. ŋ- > ŋ-	我	ŋ	n
M.C. n- : m-	女:米	ɲi₅₃ : [mʒi]₅₃	[mʒi]₅₃
t > ts/__i	低:梯	tsˠ₁₃ tsʰˠ₁₃	tsˠ tsʰˠ
/i/ following palatals	基欺希	tɕi tɕʰi ɕi	[tɕʒi] [tɕʰʒi] [ɕʒi]
/i//y/ following apicals	衣李呂	[ʒi] [lʒi] [ɬʒɯ]	[ʒi] [lʒi] [ɬʒɯ]

(M.C.= Middle Chinese[9]; based on Zhāng 1984[10])

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[7] 1982 Census Bureau figures, from *Xúnhuà Sālāzú zìzhìxiàn gàikuàng*: 15.

[8] *Bilingualism* implies competence in Qīnghǎi Chinese and some other language. Note there is no officially-sponsored education available in the Salar language.

[9] The Middle Chinese (i.e., Guǎngyùn 廣韻) transcriptions in this paper are based on Guō 1986.

[10] Zhāng uses the symbols j and w to represent the highly spirantized unrounded and rounded vowels, respectively, found in Amdo Chinese. For example, for the type I have labelled '/i/ /y/ following apicals' he has: Xúnhuà [ji l lw] : Huàlóng [j l lw]. Actually, these "buzzy" vowels are simply the result of the spreading of

These distinctions between Huàlóng and Xúnhuà Chinese reflect the significance of geography in linguistic isoglosses. While the Yellow River to the north was a formidable barrier until recent times (a bridge was constructed in the 1950's), south of Xúnhuà the mountain pass to Hézhōu (now Línxià) was easily crossed.

This relative accessibility, coupled with socio-economic migrations, resulted in a migration of from Hézhōu to Xúnhuà. Even today, much of the Chinese-speaking population of Xúnhuà are descendants of Hézhōu sinophone Muslims (*Huí-huí* 回回)[11]. Xúnhuà county was administered by Hézhōu until the late eighteenth century[12].

It is often said that Xúnhuà Chinese is a kind of Hézhōu Chinese (Yǐn, Wáng, Wǔ: 50, Mǎ1988: 75). While there are some minor phonological differences, syntactically the language of the two regions is virtually identical.

Diachronic phonology

Palatalization   t > tsʰ/___i

[tsʅ55]	地	'ground, floor, earth'	cf. Std. Mandarin [ti51]	'id.'
[tsʰʅ13]	踢	'to kick'	cf. Std. Mandarin [tʰi55]	'id.'

Preservation of velar onsets

One characteristic of Xúnhuà Chinese is the preservation of the Middle Chinese velar nasal onset ŋ (the Yí onset 疑母). In Xúnhuà it surfaces as ŋ in back-vocalic words, and as ɲ in front-vocalic words:

Middle Chinese	*Xúnhuà*	*Std. Mandarin*		*gloss*
ŋa₃	ŋə55	ɣ51	餓	'to be hungry'
ŋeən₂	ɲiã53(tɕɪ̃13)	jɛn213(tɕɪŋ55)	眼(睛)	'eye'
ŋeaŋ₃	ɲĩ55	jiŋ51	硬	'hard, stiff'

Amdo Tibetan-type features of the preceding consonantal onset. I have replaced his [j] and [w] with transcriptions (in square brackets) closer to the phonetic realization of this spirant-spreading, i.e. [ʒi] [ɬi] [ɬɯ].

[11]Sinophone Muslims from Hézhōu travelled to Xúnhuà as traders of wool, tea, and horses. From the 16th through 18th centuries the charismatic leaders Mǎ Láichí 馬來遲 and Mǎ Míngxīn 馬明新 of Hézhōu succesfully introduced two new Naqshbandi Muslim teachings to the Xúnhuà area, the Khufiyya and the Jahriyya, respectively. These two factors, trade and religion, resulted in a steady influx of Hézhōu Huí settlers to the Xúnhuà area. This large Hézhōu population in Xúnhuà was to have lasting consequences for the Xúnhuà Chinese vernacular.

[12]According to the Qīng dynasty *Gazeteer of Xúnhuà* 循化志, during the Míng dynasty Xúnhuà was part of the Hézhōu garrison 河州衛. It continued to be administered by Hézhōu until 1762 (the 27th year of the Qiánlóng emperor), when Xúnhuà became part of Xīníng prefecture (Mǎ: 98,102).

There are, of course, exceptions:

Middle Chinese	Xúnhuà	Std. Mandarin		gloss
ŋĭo$_{1_b}$	y$_{13}$	jy$_{24}$	鱼	'fish'

In addition, most of one set of historically zero-onset lexemes (of the Yǐng onset 影母) surface in modern Xúnhuà Chinese as velar nasals, yet there are zero-onsets exceptions in this group:

Middle Chinese	Xúnhuà	Std. Mandarin		gloss
ɒi$_3$	ŋej$_{55}$	ai$_{51}$	爱	'love,like'
an$_{1_a}$	ŋã$_{13}$	an$_{55}$	安	'peace'; Qīnghǎi toponym 保安

In addition to velar nasals, a few consonant onsets maintain velarity (e.g. the Middle Chinese Xiá onset 匣母):

Middle Chinese	Xúnhuà	Std. Mandarin		gloss
ɣaj$_{1_b}$	xej$_{13}$	ɕiɛ$_{24}$	鞋	'shoes'
ɣa$_3$	xa$_{55}$	ɕia$_{51}$	下	'to descend; underneath; bottom'; result complement

Many of these 'fossilized' Middle Chinese velar forms co-occur with the palatalized reflexes for the same Chinese characters. The latter are usually later borrowings from Standard Mandarin. As such they represent upper-register ("literary" 文) Mandarin, as opposed to "colloquial" 白話 Mandarin. An example is 'street' 街 (M.C. kai$_{1_a}$, Std. Mand. [tɕiɛ$_{55}$]):

[kei$_{13}$z̩]   街子   Gāizǐ (*toponym*, area of Xúnhuà county)
[ke$_{13}$ʂaŋ]   街上   town, marketplace (*lit.*, "on the street")
[ke$_{13}$dɔ$_4$]   街道   village lane
<div align="center">but:</div>
[tɕie$_{13}$vei$_{53}$yɛ̃$_{13}$xuə$_{55}$]   街委員會   Neighborhood Committee
<div align="center">(cf. Std.Ch. [tɕie$_{55}$ wei$_{213}$ jyən$_{24}$ xui$_{51}$])</div>

As expected, most of this type of palatalized form are modern political and cultural terms.

A few of the velar/palatal alternation pairs reflect functional (syntactic) distinctions in addition to register distinctions. The result complement and independent verb [xa$_{55}$] 下 is an example; when used as the adjective 'next', it is pronounced [ɕia$_{51}$]:

| 哭　下 | 哭起來 | | 下個 | 禮拜 | 下個禮拜 |

kʰu13 xa53　　'start crying'　*but:*　　ɕja55 gə　li53bei55　'next week'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　next　CL　week

Many of these functional category distinctions may ultimately be traced to superstrate influence, however. Verb phrases, for example, borrowed from Standard Mandarin may maintain Standard phonological forms since the syntactic typology of the VPs is of the superstrate type, i.e., V-O.[13]

As the influence of Standard Mandarin becomes more pervasive, there is a marked generational split, with older people using the velar form and younger people the palatalized Standard Mandarin form, e.g. in the tentative aspect:

看一下　　'take a look'　　　　elder generation:　　　[kʰã55 ʒi13xa]
look　a moment　　　　　　younger generation:　　[kʰã55 ʒi13ɕia]

As a means of determining which types of structures are particularly resistant or susceptible to superstratum interference, it would be fruitful to investigate such pairs in further field work. As the [xa13 /ɕ ia13] example demonstrates, these pairs reflect grammatical *and* sociolinguistic distinctions.

Synchronic Phonology

Consonant inventory

Xúnhuà Chinese (and other varieties of Qīnghǎi Chinese) has a standard Northern Chinese-type phonemic inventory:

p pʰ t tʰ k kʰ f s ts tsʰ ʂ tʂ tʂʰ ɕ tɕ tɕʰ x m n ŋ l (j) (w)

However, the realization of these phonemes reflects the phonetic implementation rules of Tibetan and the other languages of Northwest China. Voiceless initial stops are generally spirantized:
/t/ →[tχʰ], p → [pɸʰ], and more rarely /k/ → [kχʰ] or [kɸʰ].

[tχʰã13] 糖 'sugar'　　[pɸʰiɔ55] 票 'ticket'　　[kɸʰu13] 哭 'cry'　　[kχʰei55] 開 'to open'

This is represented sporadically in the data.

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[13]Zhāng 1988 analyzed this [xa13/ɕia13] split in Lánzhōu 蘭州 Chinese as *primarily* syntactic. He claims that only the Standard ("literary") [ɕia13] reading is used when the morpheme is functioning as an independent, usually transitive ("causative") verb (such as 下蛋 *descend*-egg 'lay an egg', 下雨 *descend*-rain 'It rains'). The "colloquial" velar form is used when the morpheme functions as a purely directional verb (下來 *descend*-come 'come down') or as a locative (下面 'below, bottom').

Curiously, most of the verb forms with the Standard Mandarin readings that Zhāng cites have a V-O word order, which is highly marked in Northwestern Chinese. I suspect that Lanzhou speakers associate this V-O structure with Standard Mandarin and hence employ the Standard [ɕia13] pronunciation with these forms.

Xúnhuà Chinese, like Hézhōu Chinese to the south, does not have retroflex initials becoming labiodentals before back rounded vowels (tʂu tʂʰuan ʂui > pfu pfʰuan fei). This feature is found in many Northwestern dialects, including Huàlóng county across the river, as well as in Xīān 西安, Gānsù Zhāngyè 甘肅張掖 Chinese, and Xīnjiāng Huí Chinese. Again, the Yellow River appears to delineate a significant linguistic isogloss.

Obstruent voicing

In this data set, many voiceless unaspirates surface as voiced. This reflects synchronic voicing assimilation at the very least, and may also reflect contact-induced language change.

Simple voicing assimilation commonly occurs across morpheme boundaries in Xúnhuà Chinese, unlike in Standard Mandarin. Even sentence-initial "voiceless" obstruents often sound voiced, and I have recorded them as such. In terms of this voicing, there is great variation among speakers and even within an individual's idiolect.

The diachronic picture is less clear. Middle Chinese obstruents *were* distinguished on the basis of voicing, but in Mandarin these developed into voiceless aspirates (in the Píng 平 tone category) and voiceless unaspirates (in the other 仄 categories). This included the Chinese dialects of the Amdo area.

Xúnhuà Chinese, as a Qīnghǎi dialect, is located just at the juncture between aspiration-distinction languages and voicing-distinction languages. To the east and south, the initial stop consonants of the Sinitic and Tibetan languages are largely distinguished on the basis of aspiration. To the north and west, most Turkic and Mongolic languages have voicing distinctions. Thus southeastern Qīnghǎi represents a *transition zone* between the two language types. In such a position, we would expect initial obstruents of the languages of the region to be somewhat volatile.[14]

Palatal glide j-spirantization

The initial glide /j/ is also sporadically realized as ʒ- before high front vowels, depending on the speaker's idiolect. This Huí Chinese speaker was quite consistent in this spirantization, e.g.:

[ma₅₃ʒi₃]	螞蟻	'ant'	cf. Std. Ch. [ma₂₄ji₂₁₃]
[ʒɯ₁₄]	雨	'rain'	cf. Std. Ch. [jy₂₁₃]

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[14]Salar 撒拉語, the Turkic language spoken in the Xúnhuà area, appears to have flirted with both aspiration-distinction *and* voicing-distinction status. As a Central Asian Turkic language, it is in origin an obstruent voicing-distinction language; yet since the Salar's arrival in the Amdo region, the Salar language has borrowed Chinese/Tibetan phonetic implementation rules of surface aspiration distinction.

Given that at other levels of language - morphology, syntax - this contact-induced interference has been fully bi-directional, one would expect the same would be true for phonology. It is thus plausible that Turkic and Mongolic have interfered Xúnhuà Chinese obstruent distinctions as well. Of course, these obstruents were originally voiced in Middle Chinese.

- *Loss of Apical/velar nasal distinction word-finally*

Apical and velar nasals in coda position may surface word-medially, but are realized word-finally only as nasalization on the previous vowel:

眼　鏡　　的　　　　　眼　鏡　　　　两　個　　　　　　　两
ɲjãn₅₃ʨʰɪŋ₅₅zɤ　　*but*　ɲjã₅₃ ʨʰɪ　　ljãŋ₅₃ gə₅₅　　*but* ljã₅₃
eyeglasses - Nom'zer　　　*eyeglasses*　　*two　CNTRtwo*

- *Palatalized nasals*

/n/ → [ɲ]/ __high front vowels [ɲi₅₃] 你　'you (sg.)' [ɲie₁₃] 捏 'pinch, squeeze'

- *Amdo-esque spirantized lateral*

Under Amdo Tibetan[15] influence, /l/ is realized as a spirant [ɬ] before high vowels:

[ɬi₅₃]~[lʒi₅₃]　　　梨　'pear'
[ɬɯ₅₃]~[lʒɯ₅₃]　　呂　*surname* 'Lǚ'

Amdo Tibetan has the phoneme /lh/, a voiceless *aspirated* lateral (i.e. [l̥ʰ]) (Sun: 18). The spirantization of /l/ in Xúnhuà Chinese apparently reflects a Chinese-type phonetic implementation of Amdo /lh/.

- *Free variation of initial l and n*

[lõŋ₅₅diɔ]　　　弄掉　　　'get rid of'　　Std. Mandarin [noŋ₅₁tiao₅₁]
[ljɛ̃₁₃ʨʰĩ₄zɛ̃₂₄] 年輕的　'young person'　Std. Mandarin [niɛn₂₄ʨʰiŋ₅₅zən₂₄]

Since initial /l/ and /n/ are in free variation, and syllable-final nasals are not distinguished, if a speaker says, "I'm going to [lĩ₁₃ɕia₅₅] next week", he may be referring to either one of two quite distinct destinations in the region: Línxià 臨夏(city), or Níngxià 寧夏 (Huí Autonomous Region).

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[15]The Amdo Tibetan language complex is composed of many (often mutually unintelligible) dialects. Linguistic references here to *Amdo Tibetan* refer principally to the nearby Labrang (Xiàhé) dialect, although many of these features such as /lh/ are shared by other Amdo dialects.

Vocalic segments

i ɛ a o u y ɤ

There is some evidence that Northwestern Chinese is moving towards a six-vowel system, with front high round vowels being systematically de-rounded, e.g.:

[jɯ53]~[ʒɯ53] 雨 'rain'   cf. Std. Mandarin [jy213]
[tɕʰi55]   去 'go'   cf. Std. Mandarin [tɕʰy51]

The high front unrounded vowels, including [ɯ i ɭ ɿ] have a particularly buzzy quality following spirants (see footnote 8). In other words, obstruent features are spreading to the following vowel. If the tone is reduced, the vowel may even be devoiced:
[lɔ53tsʰɻ̩̊] 樓梯   'stairs'

High front rounded vowels do occur in some non-colloquial lexemes, likely re-borrowed from Standard Mandarin into Xúnhuà Chinese, e.g.:

[tɕʰyɛ̃55] 勸   'to urge'   cf. Std. Mandarin [tɕʰyɛn51]

This re-borrowing also accounts for the occasional occurrence of the Standard Mandarin pronunciation [lə] for the perfective marker instead of the expected Northwestern Chinese [liɔ53].

Vowel clusters are simplified in Northwestern Chinese. Comparing Xúnhuà (XH) with Standard Mandarin:
Std.Mand. -ao :   XH -ɔ   dɔ55 到   'to arrive' jɔ55 要 'to want'
Std.Mand. -uo :   XH -ɔ   zɔ44 坐 'to sit'
Std.Mand. -iao :   XH -iɔ liɔ53 了   *perfective particle*

There are of course a few exceptions, e.g. the triphthong -uai:

Std.Mand. -ua :   XH -uai kuai55   掛   'to hang'

Tones

Xúnhuà Chinese has three tones: 13 (平), 53 (上), and 55 (去) (Zhāng 1984). In this data set, tones are sporadically indicated. This is due in part to the large number of toneless and tone-reduced syllables present in the dialect. The second syllable of disyllabic nouns is usually reduced (e.g. [zuɔ13gə] 昨個 'yesterday'), as are sentence-final particles. While most Northwestern Chinese dialects have three tones; some, heavily influenced by surrounding non-tonal languages, have entirely lost phonemic tones (e.g. Gānsù Wǔtún 五屯 Chinese, see Chén 1986.)

3. Xúnhuà Morphosyntactic Characteristics

As in other Northwestern Chinese dialects, Xúnhuà Chinese has developed an O-V word order; the limited use of postpositions/enclitics, even developing a case-marking system.

- *Instrumental/Comitative postposition* [lia] 倆

One example of this limited case system is the Instrumental/Comitative postposition [lia]~[liə] 倆 'with'. We have one example of its use as a comitative in the data:

我	他	倆	不	去	我不跟他去。
ŋə53	tʰa13	liə53	bu42	tɕʰy55	I won't go with him.
I	*he*	*COMIT*	*NEG*	*go*	

Compare the above O-V (postpositional) type A B-liə 'A (together) with B' to the Standard Mandarin V-O (prepositional) type: A kən55 B:

我	不	跟	他	去。
wɔ213	pu51	kən55	tʰa55	tɕʰy51
I	*NEG*	*together*	*he*	*go*

[lia] also functions as an instrumental, and is likely derived from the Mongolic languages.[16]

- *Highlighter/focus particle* [xa] "哈"

Another postposition, [xa] "哈", has generated a lot of discussion. It is a postpositional particle of unclear origin which is not found in Standard Chinese. *Ha* is often referred to as an object marker; yet it actually marks subject noun phrases as well.

他	下	飯	沒	吃	上	他沒把飯吃完。
tʰa44 xa	fan	mɔ35	tɕʰ144	ʂaŋ		He didn't finish his food.
he	*HA*	*food*	*NEGimp*	*eat*	*up*	

Since *ha* is in fact optional after object noun phrases, some have considered it a pause marker (Wáng and Wú: 52). But *ha* serves highlighting function as well. For this reason, we treat it here as a focus particle.

Other major morphosyntactic features of Xúnhuà Chinese include the following serial verb adjuncts derived from independent verbs. They have been treated extensively in the literature (*gěi* in particular has spawned a minor cottage industry among Chinese linguists), but they deserve further investigation. (See Wáng and Wú 1990, Liú 1989, Chéng 1980, Zhāng and Zhū 1987.)

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[16]For a detailed analysis of [lia] and comparison with regional languages, see Dwyer 1992.

- *Verb serializer* dze [dzə] "著"

This is used most often in the progressive: V dze lie 'is V-ing', but is also used in manner and directional complements, e.g.

(89) pʰo₅₃ dzə tɕʰi₅₅　　　　跑著去　　*run-dze go* 'go (by) running'

or (94) tʰai₁₄dzə tʂʰɤ₄₄ ʂã₄₁　　抬著車上　*lift up-dze car-on* 'lift [these] up onto the car'

In a V₁V₂ verb series, V₂ verbs are generally interpreted as result complements (see Section IV below, (96)- (99)), unless *dze* intervenes. *Dze* is of unknown origin, but it has been proposed that it is derived from archaic Chinese, or Mongolic.

- *Serial verb 'give'* [kei₅₃] 給

Perhaps it is merely the small size of the corpus, but there is a stunning lack of typically serial constructions with 'give'. In most other regional dialects, 'give' functions as a dative and causative marker, in addition to as a full verb. For example, despite Northwest Chinese being an O-V language, in Urumchi 'give' can function as a dative preposition:

我	給	他	給	的	藥	給他的藥
vɤ₅₂	kei₅₂	tʰa₂₁	kei₅₂	ti₂₁	yɤ₂₄	'the medicine I gave to him'
	1		2			

Give₁ is a dative preposition, while *give₂* is an independent verb (Liú: 167).

And as a causative:

他	吃	藥	讓他吃	
he	*eat*	*give*	'let him eat'	(Línxià, Xīníng)

One would expect to find examples of this type in Xúnhuà as well with further data.

- *Serial verb 'say'* [ʂuɔ₁₃] 說 *as an indirect quotative*:

This serial verb permits the creation of embedded quotative sentences to convey reported information:

他	今個	沒	有	功夫	說	他說他今天沒時間。
ta₁₃	tɕin₁₃gə	mɔ₁₃	jɔ₅₃	kɔ̃₅₅fu	ʂuɔ	He says he doesn't have time today.
he	*today*	*NEG*	*have*	*time*	*say*	

4. Characteristics of the Xúnhuà Lexicon

The overwhelming majority of idiosyncratic lexemes in Xúnhuà Chinese are also found in other Northwestern dialects. Some examples are the following:

Adverbs

[dʐã˩˧]   ?剛   an emphatic adverb, meaning 'only, merely, just'
     Xīníng   [tsʰã˥˧] "淨" [tɕiɔ̃˨˦] "將" 'just'   [tɕiɔ̃˨˦/₂₁ xɔ˥˧] 剛好 'just right'
     Urumchi Huí [tɕiɑ̃˨₁ xɔ˥₂]~[kɑ̃˩₂ xɔ˥₂] 剛好 'just right'
     Jimsar Ch. [tɕiaŋ˦˦mɤr] 'just'

[pɔ˥˥]   嫑   'don't'   Urumchi Huí [pɤ˨˦]~[pu˨₁ jɔ˦˦], Jimsar [pɤ˨₁₃], Xīníng
[pɔ˨₁₃]   不要 'don't'

[ʒi˩˦da˦˦] "一搭" 'together'
     cf. Urumchi Huí [ji˨₁ta˨˦ɲi˨₁] 'together', Jimsar Ch. [i˨₁₃ta˥₁/₁₃ɲi]

[ʒi˩˦kua˦˦] "一挂"   'all; totally'

Adjectives

ʐã˩˧ □   'glib, smooth'   cf. Xīníng [ʐã˨˦/₃₁ ʐã˨˦/˥˧]   'not straightforward'

ga 尕   affectionate diminutive; 'small, tiny'
There is a functional split between *ga˥˧* and *ɕio˥˧* 小, the Standard Mandarin morpheme that is also used in Xúnhuà. The latter is a neutral term for 'small', whereas *ga* conveys affection; compare the following expression, in which both morphemes are used: [ga˥˧ ɕyɔ̃˦˧dzɤ] 尕小子 'young lad'. For more discussion of this term, see Dwyer 1992.

Pronouns

Amdo Chinese has a highly-developed and surprisingly uniform system of pronouns. They are of mixed linguistic origin, generally composed of one Chinese morpheme and one Turkic or Tibetan morpheme.

- *Deictic pronouns:*

Proximate pronouns are composed of the Chinese locative /tʂə/ 這 'this'; distant pronouns, Turkic /u/ 'that'; the second element in the spatial deictics ('this','that') is simply the Chinese general classifier /kə/個, while in the locative deictics ('here', 'there'), the second element is likely the Turkic locative suffix -DA (-da/dä/ta/tä).

[tʂə₅₅gə]　　　　　这個　　'this'　　　　[tʂə₅₅ta]　　　"這達"　　'here'
this-Classifier　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*this-DA*

[wu₅₅ ʒi₁₃gə]　　"兀一個" 'that'　　　　[otʰa₃₅~ota₃₅] "兀達"　'there'
/u/ *one-Classifier*　　　　　　　　　　　/u/-DA~/u/-DA

- *Indefinite and Interrogative pronouns*:

Interrogative pronouns have the prefix *a-*. There is apparently an interrogative prefix *a-* in Amdo Tibetan as well (Mǎ1988: 75).

[aʒi₂₄gə]~[aji₂₄gə] "啊一個"　　'someone'; 'who, which' < Tb. interr. *a-* + 'one-CL'

大　門　啊一個　鎖　下　了　　　　大門被人上了鎖.
ta　mɛ̃　aʒi₂₄gə　suɔ　xa　liɔ　　The front gate was locked by someone.
big-　gate　PNindef　lock　R.C.　PERF

[a₁₄dɪr] "啊達兒"　　'where?'
　　　Likely < *a-* + Turkic locative/ablative -DA + - Chinese noun suffix -ər 兒

[ʂə₁₃ma₄₁kə] 甚麼個 'what? (emph)'　　<　[ʂə₁₃ma] 'what?' + [kə] *N.classifier*

你　甚麼個　　　買　了　　　　　　你買了甚麼?
ɲi₅₃　ʂə₁₃ma₄₁kə　　mai₅₃　liɔ　　　What did you buy?
you　what-CL　　buy　PERF

[a₁₃mɛ̃₂₄]　　"啊門" 'whatever'　　　<　interrog. *a-* + [mɛ̃]　(cf. (122))

[a₁₃men₂₄dʐə] "啊門著" 'why?'　　　<　*a-* + [mɛ̃] + *dze*　(cf. (119))

[sa₁₃]　　　"啥" 'what(ever)'　　　<　conflation of [ʂə₁₃ma₄₁] 甚麼

我　笨　頭　笨　　腦　的　　啥　都　做　不　下
ŋə　bɛ̃n₅₅tʰeu₁₃ bɛ̃n₅₅　nao diə –　sa₂₅ dɔ₄₄ zɔ　pu　xa
I　stupid head stupid　　brain POSS　what all　do　NEG R.C.

我笨手笨腳的，甚麼事都做不好.　　　I'm really a klutz, I can't do anything well.

The pronoun systems of Xúnhuà and Hézhōu are virtually identical, with variation only in phonetic implementation. Hézhōu does appear to have a greater variety of morphemes, but further research on Xúnhuà Chinese might well reveal similar alternate forms.

Hézhōu and Xúnhuà pronoun systems compared

| | Deictic | | | | Interrogative | | Indefinite | |
| | proximate | | distant | | | | | |
locale	Hézhōu /tʂə-/這	Xúnhuà /tʂə-/	Hézhōu /u-/	Xúnhuà /u-/	Hézhōu /a-/	Xúnhuà /a-/	Hézhōu /ʂa-/	Xúnhuà /ʂa-/
Person/ thing /-kə/個	tʂʅkə 'this'	tʂəkə 'this'	əkə 'that'	wuʒigə 'that'	akə 'who, which'	aʒigə 'who, which'	ʂakə which/what /whomever'	ʂəmaː kə~ʂa
time /-xeu/ 後	tʂʅxu 'now'	---	ə-xu 'then'	?	axu 啊後 'when?'	?	ʂaxu 'when-ever'	ʂaxu 'when-ever'
place /-li/ /-ta/ /-taɕie/	tʂʅli 這裡 tʂʅtʰa tʂʅtʰaɕie	tʂəta 'here'	əli 那裡 ətʰa ətʰaɕie	otʰa 'there'	ali-啊裡 atʰa a-tʰaɕie	a-dɪr 'where'	ʂali'wher-ever' ʂatʰa ʂatʰaɕie	ʂa₁₃da 'where ver'
manner /mu (tʂə)/	tʂʅmu 這麼 tʂʅmutʂə	tʂəmɛ̃ 'such, so'	əmu əmutʂə	wumɛ̃ 'such, so'	amu 怎麼 amutʂə	amɛ̃dzə 'how?'	ʂamu ʂamutʂə	ʂamɛ̃ dzə 'howev er'

(table and Hézhōu data adapted from Mǎ1988)

5. Huí characteristics of Xúnhuà Chinese

Much has been made of the linguistic differences between sinophone Huís and Hàns living in a given area of the Northwest. Lexical differences are often cited, especially the Arabic and Persian loanwords Huí Chinese (e.g Hè 1990). Yet these are largely limited to religious vocabulary, they constitute a miniscule part of the total lexicon. (Urumchi Huí Chinese, for example, is noted to have 48 Arabic and Persian loanwords (Liú: 170-173). By and large, the lexicons of Huí Chinese and Hàn Chinese are the same.

In particular, Huí Chinese morphology is partial to the use of the nominal prefix *a-* 阿 (as in *ā-bà* 阿爸 'father'阿媽 *ā-mā* 'mother') over the reduplicated forms (*bàbà* 爸爸 *māmā* 媽媽) used by Hàn speakers; similarly, Huí speakers from Línxià (Hézhōu) to Urumchi employ the nominal suffix *-zɿ* 子 (as opposed to *-ɚ* 兒 in Standard Mandarin), etc. (Liú 1989).

In this data set, these features include:

The personal prefix a- 阿

[a₄₄tɕiɛ₅₃]   阿姐 'sister-in-law; elder sister'
[a₂₂nai₁₃]   阿奶 'grandma'
[a₄₄da₁₃]   阿大 'father' (ref.)
        (XīníngHuí [a₄₄/₂₄pa₂₁₃]; Xīníng Hàn [pa₂₁₃/₃₁pa₂₁₃])

*The classifie*r *ge* [kə₅₅] 個 ：

• [kə₅₅] has become almost the sole noun classifier, e.g.:
  [tʂə₅₅ kə₄ pu₅₅]這個布 'this cloth'   cf. Std. Mand. [tʂɤ₅₁ kʰuai₅₁ pu₅₁] 這塊布

• [kə₅₅] has become lexicalized in numerous expressions:

[a₅₅ʒi₂₄gə₅₅]	阿一個	'which'	Std. Mand. [na(~nɛj)₂₁₃gə₅₁]	哪個
[ʂə₁₃ma₅₅gə₄]	什麼個	'what'	Std. Mand. [ʂə₂₄ma₃]	甚麼
[zuɔ₁₃gə₄]	昨個	'yesterday'	Std. Mand. [zuɔ₂₄tʰiɛn₅₅]	昨天
[tɕɪn₁₃gə₄]	今個	'today'	Std. Mand. [tɕin₅₅tʰiɛn₅₅]	今天

- Syntactically, beyond its use as a classifier, [kə₅₅] serves as a kind of emphatic marker:

他	最	害怕	了	个	你	他最怕的是你。
tʰa	zuiː	xeipʰa	liɔ	gə	ɲi	You're the one he fears most.
he	*most*	*afraid*	*PERF*	*CL*	*you*	

The sentential particle [sa]~[ʂa] "啥" "煞"

[sa]~[ʂa] is a sentence-final particle which functions like an English tag-question, in this case demanding the listener's agreement. It is extremely colloquial, and quite similar to the English tag question "..., or what?" (*Was that cool, or what?*)

The particle is almost certainly derived from the interrogative 'what?' Qīnghǎi Standard Chinese (青普話) [ʂə₁₃mɔ] 甚麼> Qīnghǎi colloquial interrogative [ʂa₁₃]~[ʂa₁₃] "啥" > colloquial tag question [ʂa₅₃]~[ʂa₅₃] "煞". Note that the tag question usually has an emphatic-stress-type falling 'tone' despite the word's original low rising tone:

我們		派	上	啊一個	辦	這		個	事情	是	好	sa
ŋɔ₂₄mɛ̃₄₄–		pʰai	ʂã	aːʒi₁₄gɤ	0– ″pæ̃₄₄	dzə₂₃		gə	ʂltʃʰɪ ʂl	xeɯ	sa₄₁
I-pl.		*send*	*RC*	*which*	*0 accomplish*	*this*		*CL*	*matter*	*COP*	*good*	*PART*

Whom should we send to take care of this?　派誰辦這件事好呢?

In conjoined sentences [sa] often appears medially as a kind of emphatic pause-marker; in at least Urumchi Huí Chinese [sa] alternates with [ma] (Liú: 200).

Usage of yātóu 丫頭 vs. *guīniáng* 姑娘 'girl'

There may be an inclusive/exclusive distinction for 'girl' in the Huí Chinese of at least four Qīnghǎi regions (Xúnhuà, Huàlóng, Xīníng, Dàtōng 大通). That is, in these regions, it appears that *yātóu* is only used to describe and address a person's own girl (i.e., daughter); *guīniáng* is a semantically broader term used to describe and address any girl (non-family members). Thus, a father could call out to his daughter: "Yātóu!", but a teacher would address a female student as: "Guīniáng!".

[ja₁₃tʰeu] 丫頭 'girl' (incl.) cf. Xīníng [nɔ₅₃mɛ̃ tɕia₄₄/₃₁ tsl ia₄₄tʰɯ₂₄/₄₄]
我們家的丫頭

Xúnhuà:

他　　们　　□　　　　只　　　一個　　　　丫頭　　　　他們只有個女兒.
tɕʰa₁₃mɛ̃　dzɑ̃ːˌ₅₅　dzˌlːˌ₅₃　ʒi₂₄gɤ₄₁　ja₅₅tɕʰeɯ　They only have one daughter.
s/he-PL　*EMPH*　　*only*　　*one-CL*　*girl*

[ku₁₃ɲiɑ̃] 姑娘 'girl' (excl.) Xīníng [ɲi₅₃/₄₄ kv₄₄ ɲiɔ̃₂₄/₄₄] 你姑娘 'your daughter' (pol.)

Note that Xīníng also has [nɔ₅₃tsˌ₁₃ kv₄₄ɲiɔ̃₂₄/₄₄] 我的姑娘 'my daughter', likely indicating Standard dialect mixing.

Noun suffixes -tɕia "家"¨, *–watɕia* "娃家", *–tsˌ* 子

This suffix is fairly productive and is informal and slightly affectionate, e.g.:

[xɑ̃₂₅ wadʒia₅₃] □娃家　'kid, guy' cf. Xīníng [ua₂₄/₃₁ua₂₄/₃₁tɕia₄₄/₅₃] 娃娃家 'kid, boy'

Compare Xīníng and Urumchi's highly productive but deprecatory suffix -tsˌ 子:
Urumchi [tsˌ₅₂tsˌ₂₁tsˌ₂₁]　子子子　　'rascal,scoundrel'

This kind of reduplication, along with personal nouns suffixed with [–watsˌ] and [–wadʒia] as above are supposedly typical features of Hui Chinese (Liú: 190).

The latter suffixes, as well as many of these features, are present in the speech of most sinophones of the Northwest, Huí or Hàn. One such feature is the secondary spirantization of initial stops. Liú (1990) has suggested that these are a distinctly Huí feature. Yet board a bus in Urumchi, Lánzhōu, or Xīníng, and the ticket-selling comrade, be she Hàn, Uyghur, Qazaq, or Huí, will inevitably shout:

[mai pɸʰ̥iɔ a mai pɸʰ̥iɔ] 买票啊买票！　"Get yer tickets here, get yer tickets!"

Evidently this phonological characteristic is not merely a matter of *minzu* status (i.e., quasi-ethnicity).

　　Impressionistically, I would suggest that many of these differences are not determined by ethnoreligious background, but rather by native-speaker status and education in Standard Mandarin. If an individual is a second-generation Northwest resident *and* has a limited education in Standard Mandarin, it is likely that she or he will employ these "Huí" structures.

IV. The Data

The data set is presented in its entirety below. It is organized according to syntactic structure. Please note that the data have not been "sanitized" at all: no adjustments have been made for the speaker inconsistencies, tone sandhi, etc.

　　Each Xúnhuà Chinese utterance is to the left, an English and Chinese equivalent to the right. It is important to note that the Chinese "gloss" on the right is the *verbatim* prompt I gave my informant. At times he gave an utterance with a slightly different meaning; these are glossed in English directly below the Xúnhuà utterance. (See (4) below.)

Abbreviations:

CL	Classifier	LOC	Locative
COMIT	Comitative	NEGexist	Existential Negative 'have not'
CMP	Complementizer /de/	NOM	Nominalizer /de/
COP	Copula	PASTexper	Experiential Past
DUR	Durative (progressive or stative) /dze/	PERF	Perfective particle /liao/
EMPH	Emphatic particle (from -è?)	PNindef	Indefinite Pronoun 'who, which'
EXT	Extent marker /de/	R.C.	Resultative Complement
FOC	Postpositional focus particle /xa/	SER	Verb serializer V$_1$ dze V$_2$
IMP	Imperfective sentential particle	–	Pause marker
x / y	Both forms(interpretations) x and y are acceptable	( )	Optional

Basic Word Order: Existential and Locative Sentences

(1)

□　這　　種　人　各　處　有　　咧　　　　到處都有這種人.

dzã₁₃ tʂə₅₅　tʂõ₃₁zẽ₅₃ kɤ₅₅ tɕʰu₁₃ jeu₅₃ liə　　This kind of person is everywhere.

EMPH this　　kind　person every place have IMP

(2)

他們　　　□　　　只　　　一個　　丫頭　　　　他們只有一個女兒.

tXʰa₁₃mẽ dzãːː₅₅　dzʅːː₅₃　ʒi₂₄gɤ₄₁　ja₅₅tXʰeɯ　They only have one daughter.

he-PL　　EMPH　　only　　one-CL　girl

(3)

家　裡　　　客　　來　了.　　　　來了客人了.

tɕʰia₅₅lʒi₅₃　kʰei₅₅　lei₁₃ liɔ₄₂　Guests are arriving.

home-in　　guest　　come PERF

(4)

無　常　　了　　兩　个　人　　　死了兩個人.

vɤ₁₃tʂʰɔ₄₄　liɔ₅₃　ljã₁₃ gɤ₅₃ zẽ₁₃　Two people passed away.

decease　　PERF　two CL　person

(5)

下	雨	了

″xa55 jɯ53 liɔ41 (*jɯ53 xa55 liɔ)　　　　　下雨了.
descend rain PERF　　　　　　　　　　It's raining/It's started to rain.

(6)

這	個	尕	小	子	地上	畫	著	了

dzə55　gə4　ga53 ɕyɔ̃43dzɤ–dzɿ55ʂã213　xua55　dzə liə.
this　CNTR　small lad　　ground-on　　draw　DUR IMP

Younger brother was drawing (something) on the ground. 弟弟在地上畫畫兒.

(7)

他	病	下	躺	著	炕	上

tXʰa13 bĩ55 xa52 –　tʰaŋ13dzə　kʰãŋ55ʂã　　病人躺在炕上.
he　ill　R.C.　lie　DUR　brick.bed-on　The patient lay in bed.

He got sick and lay/is lying in bed.

Aspect

The etymon /liao/ 了 has developed into: Perfective [liɔ] 了, Imperfective [liə] 唎, and Particle [liə] 唎.

Perfective: V [liɔ] 了

(8)

他	已經	到	□□	去	了

tʰa13 a22dzaŋ13 dɔ55 otʰa35　　tɕʰi55　liɔ　　他已經到了那兒了.
he　already　arrive there　　go　　PERF　He has already arrived there.

(9)

石頭	滾	下	來	了

ʂl̩13tʰeu　kuən53　xa41 lei13 liɔ　　石頭滾下坡來了.
rock　　roll　　down come PERF　The rock rolled down the hill.

The rock rolled down.

(10)

這	幾	天	他	瘦	了

tʂə55tɕi53 tʰjɛ̃13　tʰa13　ʂeɯ55 liɔ　　他這些日子瘦了.
this few day　he　　thin PERF　He's become thin in recent days.

(11)

你	什	麼	個		買		了		你買了甚麼?
ɲi53	ʂə13ma41kə				mai53		liɔ		What did you buy?
you	*what-CL*				*buy*		*PERF*		

(12a)

他	的	阿大		來	了	末		他爸爸來了沒有?
tʰa13	de	a44da13		lei13	liɔ	mɔ53		Did his father come?
he	*POSS*	*father*		*come*	*PERF*	*NEGimpf*		

(12b)

來	了		來了.	Yes, he has.
lai13	liɔ			
come	*PERF*			

(12c)

末	來		沒來.	No, he hasn't.
mɔ13	lai24			
NEGimpf	*come*			

(13)

阿奶奶	藤	了	幾		天	了	奶奶病了幾天啦.
a22nai13	tʰəŋ13	liɔ	tɕi53		tʰjɛ̃13	liɔ	Grandma has been sick for several days.
grandma	*hurt*	*PERF*	*several*		*day*	*PERF*	

Progressive: V [dzə liə] 著咧

(14)

我	已經	吃	飯	dzə	咧		我吃飯呢/我在吃飯.
ŋɔ53	adʒɛ̃ŋ13	tɕʰi13	fan55	dzə	liə		I'm eating./ I'm already eating.
I	*already*	*eat*	*food*	*PROG*	*IMP*		

(15)

外	面	风	刮	dzə	咧	雨	下	dzə	咧	外面刮著風,下著雨.
wai55	mjɛ̃	fɛ̃13	kua13	dzə	liə53	ʐɯ14	xa41	dzə	liə	It's windy and rainy outside.
outside		*wind*	*scrape*	*PROG*	*IMP*	*rain*	*descend*	*PROG*	*IMP*	

Durative/Stative: V dzə (liə)

(16)

大	門	開	dzə	咧		大門開著.
da55	mɛ̃13	kʰai13	dzə	liə		The front door is open.
big-gate		*open*	*DUR*	*IMPF*		

(17)

牆	上	掛	著		個	鍾	牆上掛了一個鍾.
tʃʰjāŋ13ʂā55		kuai55dzə			kə	dzõən13	A clock is hanging/is hung on the wall.
wall	*on*		*hang*	*DUR*	*CL*	*clock*	

Experiential: V [kuɔ55~kɔ55] 過

As in Standard Mandarin, the result complement [kuɔ55] expresses an indefinite past experience.

(18)

他	到	處	去	過
tʰa13	taɔ41	tɕʰi	tɕʰi41	kuɔ
he	*every-place*		*go*	*PASTexper*

他到過很多地方.
He's been many places.
He's been all over.

Inchoative: V [liɔ] 了 ~ [xa] 下

(19)

娃	尕	哭	了	娃	尕	哭	下
ga53wa		kʰu13	liɔ3 ~	ga53wa		kʰu13	xa53
baby		*cry*	*PERF*	*baby*		*cry*	*R.C.*

娃娃哭起來了.
The baby started crying.

(20)

他	說	話	□	de	很	最	少	是	帶	半	天
tʰa13	ʂuɔ23	xua44	zã53	dzɤ3	xən53 –	zui55	ʂɔ53	ʂl̩3	dai55	bã55	tʰjɛ̃ː55
he	*talk*	*speech*		*smooth*	*EXT*	*very*	*most*	*least*	*COP*	*take*	*half*	*day*

He's a glib talker - he'll keep at it for at least a half a day.

他說起話來起碼兩個小時.
Once he gets started talking it's at least two hours.

Instantive: [ʒi24]…[tɕiɯ55] 一。。。就

(21)

他	一	害	怕	就	逃	汗
tʰa13	ʒi24	xei55	pʰa	tɕiɯ55	tʰao13	xã55	.
he	*one*	*afraid*		*then*	*exude*	*sweat*

他一害怕就開始出汗。
He breaks out in a sweat as soon as he gets scared.

Partitive

This structure is not especially colloquial.

(22)

五	個	果子	(裡頭)	我	吃	了	兩個
vu34	kə55	kuɔ53dzɿ	(ɬi53tʰeu)	ŋə53	tɕʰi55	liɔ53	ljaŋ53gə55
five	*CL*	*fruit*	*(within)*	*I*	*eat*	*PERF*	*two-CL*

五個水果裡頭我吃俄兩個.
I ate two of the five fruits.

Habitual, Incessant: [lɔ53ʂ̩55] 老是 V

(23)

他	老是	戴 著	眼 鏡 子	他一直都戴眼鏡.
tʰa13	lao55ʂ̩53	tai55dʒə	ɲjã53tɕʰɪŋ55zɤ	He always wears glasses.
he	*always*	*wear DUR*	*eyeglasses*	

(24)

他	心裡	老是	跳	他心不停地再跳.
tʰa13	ɕin13li	lo54ʂ̩	tʰiɔ51	His heart keeps on/kept on pounding
he	*heart-in*	*always*	*jump*	

Tentative aspect: V [ʒi14xa41] 一下

(25)

這	個	布	你	看	一 下	你來看看這塊布.
dzə55	kə4	pu55	ɲi53	kʰã55	ʒi14xa41	Come take a look at this fabric.
this	*CL*	*cloth*	*you*	*look*	*one-moment*	

Negation

As in other Mandarin dialects, the Xúnhuà vernacular has an invariant general verbal negative particle /pu55/ 不; the existential negative [mɔ53] (cf. Std.Mand. [mei213] 沒) doubles as a verbal negative in the sense of 'not yet'. Both usually directly precede the verb.

Imperfective Negation [pu55] 不 V

(26)

他	煙	不 抽	酒 不 喝	他不抽煙 不喝酒.
tʰa13	jen24	bu42 tʂʰou13 –	tɕiu53 bu42 xɤ34	He doesn't smoke or drink.
he	*cigarettes*	*NEG suck*	*liquor NEGdrink*	

(27)

下	個	禮拜	我	不	回 去 了	下星期我不回家.
ɕia55	gə	li53bei55 –	ŋə53	bu42	xuəi13tɕʰi55 liɔ	Next week I won't go home.
below	*CL*	*week*	*I*	*NEG*	*return go PERF*	

Negated adverbials: as in Standard Mandarin, the relative scope of adverbs may be distinguished by adverbial fronting. Note that the speaker gave an emphatic nominalized alternate with the ʂ̩...də construction, suggesting it is a marked construction:

(28)

他	不	經 常	來	他不常常來
tʰa13	pu42	dʑiŋ13tɕʰaŋ55	lei14	He often doesn't come.
he	*NEG*	*usually*	*come*	

(29)

他	(是)	經常		不	來	(的)	他常常不來.
tʰa₁₃	(ʂl̩)	dʑɪŋ₁₃tɕʰaŋ₅₅		pu₄₂	lei₁₄	(də)	He doesn't come often.
he	*(COP)*	*usually*		*NOT*	*come*	*DE*	

He doesn't come often.(~He's the one who doesn't come often.)

(30)

我	一	個	人	未	心	去	我不怎麼敢一個人去.
ŋə₅₃	ʒi₁₄gə₅₅		zən₁₃	mɔ₁₄	ɕin₁₃	tɕʰi₅₅	I don't feel much like going alone.
I	*one-CL*		*person*	*NEGposs*	*heart*	*go*	

(31)

時候	太	大	了	他	還	不	來	他到現在還沒來.
ʂl̩₅₃xeu	tʰai₅₅	ta₅₅	liɔ –	tʰa₁₃	xã₃₅	bu₄₂	lei₁₃	Even by now he hasn't come.
time	*too*	*large*	*PERF*	*he*	*still*	*NEG*	*come*	

In the following example, the first alternate given is typical Standard Mandarin structure, and reflects the potential pitfalls of interviewing in that language. It is the second alternate that reflects colloquial Xúnhuà usage; note the negator directly preceding the verb, and the comitative clitic -liə ('with'):

(32)

我	不	聯	他	去	~	我	他	倆	不	去	我不跟他去.
ŋə₅₃	pu₄₂	liɛ̃₁₃	tʰa₁₃	tɕʰy₅₅	~	ŋə₅₃	tʰa₁₃	liə	bu₄₂	tɕʰy₅₅	I won't go with him.
I	*NEG*	*together*	*he*	*go*		*I*	*he*	*COMIT*	*NEG*	*go*	

Perfective Negation

Past affirmative [mɔ₁₃] "沒"/未

(33)

我	他	末	說	過	我沒告訴他.
ŋə₄₄	tʰa₄₄	mɔ₅₃	ʂuo₁₃	kuɔ	I didn't tell him.
I	*he*	*NEGexist*	*talk*	*PASTexper*	

(34)

他	□	飯	末	吃	上	他沒把飯吃完.
tʰa₄₄	xa	fan₄₄	mɔ₅₃	tʂʰ₁₄₄	ʂaŋ	He didn't finish his food.
he	*FOC*	*food*	*NEGimp*	*eat*	*up*	

(35)

他	三	天	末	吃	下	咧	他三天沒吃飯.
tʰa₁₃	sã₁₃	tʰjɛ̃₄₃mɔ₅₃		tʂʰ₁₁₃	xa₄₂	liə	He didn't eat for three days.
he	*three*	*day*	*NEGimp*	*eat*	*R.C.*	*IMP*	

Negation appears to be avoided in comparative and extent-complement constructions; compare the elicited sentence on the right with the response on the left:

(36)

我	比	他	?直
ŋə₅₃	bʒi₅₃	tʰa₁₃	dzɤ₁₄
I	*COMP*	*he*	*?straight*

I'm taller than him.

你不比他高.
You're not taller than him.

(37)

他	(身材)	□	得	很
tʰa₁₃	(ʂəŋse₂₅)	gə₂₅	dzɿ	xɛ̃
he	*(stature)*	*short*	*EXT*	*very*

He's really short.

他不高.
He's not tall.

(38)

他	跑	de	慢	de	很
tʰa₁₃	pʰao₅₃	dzɿ	man₅₅də	xɛ̃₅₃	
he	*run*	*EXT*	*slow*	*EXT*	*very*

He runs really slowly.

他跑得不快.
He doesn't run quickly.

(39)

你	注意	拿	定
ɲi₅₃	dzu₂₄ʒi₅₅	na₁₄	djɛ̃₅₄
you	*decision*	*take*	*set*

Make up your mind!

別三心二意的!
Don't be so indecisive!

Potential Negation

(40)

我	笨	頭	笨	腦	的	啥	都	做	不	下
ŋə₅₃	bɛ̃n₅₃	tʰeu₁₃	bɛ̃n₅₃	nao dⁱə –		sa₂₅	dɔ₄₄	zɔ₅₅	pu	xa₅₃
I	*stupid*	*head*	*stupid*	*brain POSS*		*anything all*		*do*	*NEG*	*R.C.*

我笨手笨腳的,什麼事都做不好.
I'm really a klutz, I can't do anything well.

(41)

這	些	東	西	提	包	裡	裝	不	下
dzə₅₅	ɕiə	duən₁₃ɕi		tɕʰi₁₃pɔ		ɬi₅₃	dzã	pu	xa₅₂
this	*few*	*thing*		*handbag*		*in*	*fit-in*	*NEG*	*R.C.*

這些東西裝不下口袋裡.
I can't stuff these things into this bag.

(42)

這	個	事	他	最	後	還	是	不	知	道
dzə₅₅gə	ʂɿ₅₅		tʰa	zui₅₅	xeu₃	xã₁₃	ʂə₅₃	pu₅₅	dzɿ₁₃dɔ₅₃	
this-CL	*matter*		*he*	*most*	*later*	*still*	*COP*	*NEG*	*know*	

他以後不會知道這件事.
Later he won't know about this matter.

(43)

他	明 天	來	de	不	要	他明天不必來.
tʰa₁₃	miŋ₁₃tʰjɛ̃₃	lei₁₃	dzɿ	bu₂₄	jɔ₅₂	He needn't come tomorrow.
he	*tomorrow*	*come*	*EXT*	*NEG*	*need*	

Aspect Negation

(44)

他	這裡	末	來	過	他沒來過這兒.
tʰa	dzə₅₅li	mɔ₂₅	lei₃₅	guɔ₄₂	He's never come here before.
he	*here-in*	*NEGimpf*	*come*	*PASTexper*	

(45)

她	不	是	打	毛衣	de	她沒在打毛衣.
tʰa₁₃	pu₂₄	ʂɿ₅₅	da₅₃	mao₁₃ʒi	dzɤ	She isn't knitting.
she	*NEG*	*COP*	*hit*	*wool-clothes*	*NOM*	

Negative Change of state

(46)

她	已經	不	是	學生	她已經不是學生了.
tʰa₁₃	azaŋ	pu	ʂɿ₅₅	ɕye₁₃ʂəŋ₅₂	She is no longer a student.
she	*already*	*NEG*	*COP*	*student*	

Negative Imperative

(47)

我	不	要	看	也	是	□	娃 家	別把我當小孩兒!
ŋə₅₃	pu₂₄	jɔ₅₅	kʰan	je	ʂɿ	xãn₂₅	wadʑia₅₃	Don't treat me like a kid!
I	*NEG*	*want*	*see*	*also*	*COP*		*kid*	

(48)

他	不	要	我	傷	心	他叫我不要難過.
tʰa₁₃	bu	jɔ	nə₅₃	ʂã₄₄	ɕĩ₄	He doesn't want me to be sad.
he	*NEG*	*want*	*I*	*injure*	*heart*	

The quasi-negative imperative 別是… ('May...not happen') is not used in Xúnhuà; instead we have [xei₅₃pʰa] 害怕 ('I'm afraid that...'):

(49)

我	de	男	人	的	話	還	廳	不	到	害怕	出	了	事	情
ŋə53	də	nãn13ʐɛ̃n	də	xua	xei13	tʰĩ13	bu	dɔ –	xei53pʰa		tɕʰu13	lə	ʂl̩44tɕʰĩŋ	
I	*POSS*	*male person*	*POSS*	*talk*	*still*	*listen*	*NEG*	*R.C.*	*afraid*		*emerge*	*PERF*	*matter*	

I can't hear my husband's voice. I'm afraid something bad will happen.

<div align="right">別是出了事吧!</div>
<div align="right">I hope nothing bad has happened!</div>

The following is difficult to parse unless [baɔ] is interpreted as a conflated double negative (compare the double negative of the Mandarin elicitation):

(50)

你	嫑	來	的	話	他	不	著	氣
ɲi	paɔ	lei	d	ɤ	xua –	tʰa	bu	dʐɯɔ25tɕʰi
you	*needn't*	*come*		*CONDITION*	*he*	*NEG*	*worry*	

<div align="right">要不是你沒來, 他不會那麼生氣的.</div>
<div align="right">If you had come(hadn't not come) he wouldn't have worried.</div>

<div align="center">

"Double-Object" Construction

</div>

(51)

我	給	你	半	個		我分你一半.
ŋə53	gei24	ɲi	pan41	gə		I'll give you half.
I	*give*	*you*	*half*	*CL*		

(52)

他	借	了	我	的	十	塊	錢	他借了我(向我借)十塊錢.
tʰa	tɕie42	liɔ	ŋə	də	ʂl̩	kʰuai	tɕʰjɛ̃	He borrowed ten dollars from me.
He	*borrow*	*PERF*	*I*	*POSS*	*ten*	*CL*	*money*	

(53)

他	輸	給/de	咧	兩	盤	他輸給我兩盤棋.
tʰa	ʂu24	ge/de	liə	ljãŋ	pʰãn24	He lost two games [of chess] to me.
He	*lose*	*give/DE*	*PERF?*	*two*	*game*	

(54)

他	介	紹	幾 個	朋友	下	來	的個	他介紹給我幾個朋友.
tʰa13	dʑje55ʂao	dʑi53gə		pʰɛ̃13jo	xa	lei13	dʐ̩gə	He introduced me to a few friends.
he	*introduce*	*few CL*		*friend*	*R.C.*	*R.C.*	*this*	

Passive and Causative

Passive

Indicated by syntactic means; thus word order is crucial: Topic-Patient {Agent} V

(55)

魚　　貓　　　吃　　上　　了　　　　　　　　　　　魚讓貓給吃了.

{ʒy₁₄} mao₅₅　　tʂʰʅ　ʂaŋ　liɔ　　　　　　　　The fish was eaten by the cat.

fish　　cat　　　eat　　R.C.　PERF

(56)

我們　　　講　的　話　他　　知道　　　咧　　　　了　不得　　　了

{ŋə₅₃mɛ̃　tɕʰjāŋ te xua}　tʰa　dzɿdaɔ　liə –　　liɔ₃₅budzə　　liɔ

I-pl.　　　speak POSS talk　he　　know　　　IMPF　　awful　　　　PERF

這些話叫他聽見就糟了. It'd be bad if these words were overheard by him.

(57)

白　菜　的　水　　　□　□　　捏　　出　　　上　了

{bai₁₄tsʰai dzə ʂuə₅₃}　　ʒi₂₄gua　ɲie₅₅ tʂʰu　　ʂaŋ　liɔ

cabbage　　POSS water　　totally　　squeeze R.C.　R.C.　PERF

白菜的水全給擠來了.

The water from the cabbage was all squeezed out.

(58)

他　　給　我　嚇　　的　　咧　　□　□　　　　　　　　他給我嚇了一跳.

tχʰa　gei　{ŋə₅₃}xa　de　liə　ʒigua　　　　　　　He gave me a fright.

he　　give　I　　fright NOM PERF totally

(59)

大　　門　啊一個　　鎖　　下　　了　　　　大門被人上了鎖.

{ta₅₅ mɛ̃₁₃} aʒi₂₄gə　suɔ　xa　liɔ　　　The front gate was locked by someone.

big-gate　　PNindef　　lock　R.C.　PERF

(60)

他　　說　de　　　我門　　都　同　意　　　他的建議被我門同意了.

{tʰa₁₃ ʂuɔ₁₃ dzə}　ŋə₅₃mɛ̃　tɯ₂₄ tχʰoŋ₁₃ʒi₅₅ His suggestion was accepted by us.

he　　say　NOM　　we　　all　agree

(61)

鍾子　　　　　打　破　　了　　　　　　　　鍾給打破了.

{dʒoŋ₁₃zʅ}　da₄₁pʰɔ　liɔ　　　　　　　The clock was broken.

clock　　　　hit-break　PERF

(62)

□□	□□	他	圍	下	了	他被圍在中間.
gandʒin	ʒigua	{tʰa₁₃}	wei	xa	liɔ	He was surrounded.
??	*totally*	*he*	*surround*	*RC*	*PERF*	

Causative

(63)

你	已經	讓	他	進	來	的	你現在可以讓他進來了.
ɲi₅₃	azaŋ₁₃	zã₅₅	tXʰa₁₃	tɕɪn₅₅	lei₁₃	də	Now you may let him in.
you	*now*	*let*	*he*	*enter*	*come*	*CMP*	

(64)

螞蟻	去	盤	子	裡	不	要	來	的	別讓螞蟻爬進盤子裡.
maʒi	tɕʰy–pʰan₂₄zɿ	li₄₁	pu	jo	lei	də	Don't let the ants climb into the plate.
ant	*go*	*plate*	*in*	*NEG*	*want*	*come*	*CMP*		

(65)

他	我	打	好	了	我讓他打了.
tʰa	{ŋa₅₃}	da₅₃	xɔ	liɔ	I let him hit me. / I was hit by him.
he	*I*	*hit*	*R.C.*	*PERF*	

(66)

我	沒	叫	他	打	我沒讓他打.
{ŋa₅₃}	mɔ	tɕiɔ₅₅	tʰa₁₃	da₅₃	I didn't let him hit me./ I wasn't hit by him.
I	*NEGimpf*	*let*	*he*	*hit*	

Direct-Object Sentences: Transitive Constructions

Unlike in Standard Mandarin, direct-object sentences are generally unmarked, both syntactically and morphologically. With transitive verbs, even in V-O dialects such as Standard Mandarin, O-V sentences are higher frequency. In the latter, the preposed objects are marked with the particle *bǎ* 把 (originally 'to grasp'). In O-V Northwestern vernaculars such as Xúnhuà Chinese, however, there is no object movement, and thus no marker.

(67)

放	門	開	開	去開門!
fã₅₅	mɛ̃₁₃	kʰei₁₃	kʰei₁₃	Go open the door! (it's stuffy)
put	*door*	*open*	*open*	

(68)

他	碗	打	破	de	了	他打破了一個碗. (*把碗打破了.)
tʰa₁₃	wã₅₃	ta₅₃	pʰɔ	də	liɔ	He broke a bowl. (* ba)
he	*bowl*	*hit*	*break*	*DE*	*PERF*	

(69)

他	□□	吃	完	了	他把甚麼都吃光了.
tʰa₁₃	ʒigua	tʂʰʅ₁₃	wã₁₃	liɔ	He ate everything up.
he	*all*	*eat*	*finish*	*PERF*	

(70)

他	氣	的	話	說	不	通	了	把他氣得說不出話來.
tʰa	tɕʰi	dzə	xua	ʂuo	bu	tʰõ₁₃	liɔ	It so angered him that he was speechless.
he	*angry*	*EXT*	*talk*	*say*	*NEG*	*pass*	*PERF*	

(71)

他	無	緣	無	故	給	我	踢	了	一	腳	他故意把我了踢了一腳.
tʰa	wu₁₃jan₁₃wu₁₃gu₅₅				kei₅₃	ŋə₅₃	tsʰʅ	liɔ	ʒi	tɕiɯ	He kicked me on purpose.
he	*without*		*reason*		*give*	*I*	*kick*	*PERF*	*one*	*foot*	

In the sentences above (most of which would use *ba* in Standard Mandarin), as expected *ba* does not appear. It does function in certain very limited contexts, e.g., for sarcasm: *ba* ɲi tɕi liɯ dzə 把你幾 liudze! (So you think you're so pretty! 你把自己看得到漂亮!) (from Wáng and Wú: 52).

The Comparative Construction

The Xúnhuà comparative is nearly identical to other Northern Chinese dialects:
A *bǐ* 比 (comparative marker) B (standard) Adj.

(72)

他	比	他	老實	一	點	他比那個人老實.
tʰa₁₃	bʒi₅₃	tʰa₁₃	lao₅₃ʂʅ₁₃	ʒi₁₃djɛ̃₄₃		He's more honest than the other one.
he	*COMP*	*he*	*honest*	*a little*		

(73)

他	比	我	尕	一	歲	他天我小一歲.
tʰa₁₃	bʒi₅₃	ŋə₅₃	ga₁₄	ji₁₃sui₅₅		He's a year younger than I am.
he	*COMP*	*I*	*small*	*one year*		

The equative has the pattern A B [ʒi₁₃kə xua₅₅]一個話 ("the same") when the predicate is a complex VP:

(74)

他	吃	de 慢	de 很	我	□	一個	話	他吃飯吃得跟我一樣慢.
tʰa₁₃	tʃʰʅ₁₃	de mãn₅₅	de xən₅₃-ŋə₅₃	xə	ʒi₁₃kə	xua₅₅		He eats as slowly as I do.
he	*eat*	*EXT slow*	*EXT very*	*I*	*TOP*	*one*	*CL talk*	

When the predicate is an adjective, the equative takes the form:

A B [ʒi₁₄ban₅₅] 一般 ("the same") Adj

(75)

我	現在	量	他	了	一	般	□	我好像他一樣健壯.
ŋə₅₃	ɕjã₅₅zə₅₃	ljãŋ₅₃	tʰa₁₃	lə		ʒi₁₄ban₅₅	xɛ̃ŋ₁₃	I seem to be as robust as he is.
I	*now*	*measure*	*he*	*PERF*	*same*		*strong*	

To express 'as much as':   A [gən₁₃ʂaŋ 跟上 ('reach') B

(76)

尕	王	的	力	氣	能	夠	跟	上	尕	黃
ga₅₃	waŋ₁₃	di	ɬi₅₅tɕʰi		nəŋ₁₃geu₅₅		gən₁₃ʂaŋ₅₅		ga₅₃	xɔ̃ŋ₁₃
little	*Wang*	*POSS*	*strength*		*able*		*follow*	*RC*	*little*	*Huang*

小王的力量會比得上小黃.
Xiao Wang's strength can match Xiao Huang's.

Superlative: [zui₅₅] 最 Pred.

(77)

我	最	見	不	de	編	謊	de	人	我最恨撒謊的人.
ŋə₅₃	zui꞉₅₅	tɕjã₅₅	pu₅₃	de	biã₁₃xuaŋ₅₃		də	zɛ̃₁₃	I hate liars the most.
I	*most*	*see*	*NEG*	*EXT*	*invent*	*lie*	*POSS*	*person*	

Negative comparisons: A B [bu₅₅ dɔ₅₅] 不到 (NEG reach)

(78)

他	我	de	尕娃	不	到	他沒我兒子那麼能幹.
tʰa₁₃	ŋə₅₃	də	ga₅₃wa	bu₁₃	dɔ₅₅	He isn't as capable as my son.
he	*I*	*POSS*	*kid*	*NEG*	*reach*	

He's no match for my son.

Extent Complements: DE

The extent complements in Chinese vernaculars spoken in the Amdo area are remarkably like those in Standard Mandarin: affirmative: V də~dʐə Adj negative: V DE *bu* (NEG) Adj. Xúnhuà Chinese displays the widespread, highly productive V DE xɛ̃n₅₃ 得很 ("reeaaally V") pattern so well-known in Northwestern Chinese.

(79)

他	跑	de	□□	快	他跑得很快.
tʰa₁₃	pʰɔ₅₃	də	xu꞉₂₅du	kʰue₅₅	He runs quickly.
he	*run*	*EXT*	*really*	*fast*	

(80)

他	我	嚼	de	□ □	多	了	他罵我罵得夠多的了!
tʰa13	ŋə53	tɕye13	də	zɿ13zə	duɔ	liɔ	He sure scolds me enough!
he	*I*	*scold*	*EXT*	*?enough*	*much*	*PERF*	

(81)

地	打	de	不	乾淨	地板掃得不乾淨.
dzɿ55 –	da53	dzə	bu53	gan13tɕĩŋ	The floor hasn't been swept clean.
ground	*hit*	*EXT*	*NEG*	*clean*	

(82)

我	想	dze	慢 慢	de	走	我想慢慢地走
ŋə53	ɕjaŋ53	dzə	man55man53	də	zeu53	I want to walk slowly.
I	*wish*	*DUR*	*slow slow*	*EXT*	*walk*	

(83)

門	關	dze	嚴 嚴	de	房門關得近近地.
mɛ̃13	guan13	dzə	jan25jan55	də	The door is shut tightly.
door	*shut*	*DUR*	*tight tight*	*DE*	

(84)

跑	de	我	乏	死	了	跑得我累死了.
pʰɔ53	dzə	ŋə53	fa25	sɿ55	liɔ53	I ran until I was exhausted.
run	*EXT*	*I*	*exhaust*	*dead*	*PERF*	

(85)

他	的	性 格	好	de	很	他脾氣很好.
tʰa13	də	ɕɪŋ55gə13	xɔ53	də	xɛ̃452	He's very good-natured.
he	*POSS*	*temperament*	*good*	*EXT*	*very*	

(86)

□	不	去	你	去	能	趕 上	時間不太晚, 還去得成.
xɛ̃n13	bu45	tɕʰi55	ɲi53	tɕi55 –	nəŋ13	gãn33ʂãŋ	It's not so late, we can still go.
still??	*NEG*	*go*	*you*	*go*	*can*	*catch.up-R.C.*	

(87)

他	抽 箱	拉	不	開	他打不開抽屜.
tʰa13	tɕʰɔ13ɕjã	la13	bu3	kXʰei44	He can't get the drawer open.
he	*drawer*	*pull*	*NEG*	*open*	

(88)

這	個	重	得	很	你	拿	下	啦	拿	不	下
dʒə24	gɤ	″dzũən41dzɿ	xɛ̃42 –	ɲi53	na14	xa41	la` –	na14	bu	xa41
this	*CL*	*heavy*	*EXT*	*very*	*you*	*carry*	*RC*	*PERF*	*carry*	*NEG*	*RC*

這東西很重, 你拿得動拿不動?   This is heavy, can you carry it or not?

Directional and Resultative verb complements

These are Northern Chinese serial verb constructions in which a directional or aspectual result complement immediately follows the matrix verb. In Amdo Chinese, including Xúnhuà, directional complements generally require an intervening serializer *dze* (i.e. V₁dzeV₂), whereas result complements do not.

Directional complements

(89)

（快	快	de）	跑	dze	去	快跑回去吧!
(kʰuai55	kʰuai5	də)	pʰo53	dzə	tɕʰi55	Hurry up and run back!
quick	*quick*	*EXT*	*run*	*DUR*	*go*	

(90)

他門	□	是	爬	上	來	了	他門終於爬上來了.
tʰa13mɛ̃	xan35	ʂɿ55	pʰa13	ʂã55	lei13	liɔ	They finally climbed up here.
he-pl.	*?still*	*COP*	*climb*	*R.C.*	*come*	*PERF*	

(91)

（這個東西）	□□兒	（些掉）	下	來	de	從哪裡仍下來的?
(dʐəgə dũɛ̃ɕi)	a14dɪr	(ɕie dieu52)	xa24	leⁱ	də	Where was it thrown down from?
this-CL	*thing*	*where*	*fall*	*down*	*come*	*DE*

(92)

他	的	呢	拿	來	dze	一	張	紙	他拿出來一張紙.
tXʰa24	də	nə –	na14	″leⁱ	dʒə	ʒi44	dzã44	dʐʅ24	He took out a piece of paper.
he	*POSSPart*		*take*	*come*	*DUR*	*one*	*CL*	*paper*	

(93)

我門	一□	家	裡	走	咱門一起走回家去.
ŋəmɛ̃	ʒi14da44	tɕia44ɬi		zeu41	Let's walk home together.
I-pl.	*together*	*home-in*		*walk*	

(94)

那	些	東西	台	dze	車	上	把東西搬上車去.
nə55	ɕje13	duən14ɕi	tʰai14	dzə	tʂʰɤ44	ʂã41	Move the things onto the car.
that	*few*	*thing*	*lift up*	*DUR*	*car*	*on*	

(95)

他	街	上	沒	去	他沒進城去.
tXʰa13	ge13ʂã		mɔ13	tɕʰi55	He didn't go into town.
he	*town*		*NEGimpf*	*go*	

Result complements

In Northern Chinese, the so-called resultative complements are perfective aspect complements which emphasizing the result of an action. Xúnhuà result complements are virtually identical to those in Standard Mandarin.

(96)

他	燈	點	下	了		他把燈點著了.
tXʰa44	dɛ̃25	djɛ̃42	xa34	liɔ41		He lit the lamp.
he	*lamp*	*light*	*RC*	*PERF*		

(97)

你	座	下	了	dze	吃	你座著吃.
ɲi53	zɔ44	xa41	liɔ	dʐə	tɕʰi13	Sit down to eat.
you	*sit*	*descend*	*PERF*	*PROG*	*eat*	

(98)

你	這	個	拿	上		你拿著!
ɲi53	dʐə55	gə	na13	ʂã41		Take this.
you	*this*	*CL*	*take*	*R.C.*		

(99)

(你)	買	上	三	本	書	dze	來	你	這	個	書	人	家	給	de
(ɲi53)	me53	ʂã52	sɛ̃13	bɛ̃53	″ʂu44	dʐə	lei13—	ɲi53	dʐə55gə		ʂu13	zɛ̃n13	dʑia	gei53	də
(you)	*buy*	*RC*	*three*	*CL*	*book*	*dze*	*come*	*you*	*this*	*CL*	*book*	*someone*		*give*	*CMP*

Buy (and bring back) those three books.   把那三本書拿來.

Other Structures marked with DE-1 and DE-2

(100)

親	阿姐	經	搖	頭	dze	咧	嫂嫂不住地搖頭. Elder brother's
tɕĩ24	aː44dʑiɛ54	dʑiɛ54	dʒĩː44	″jeu14	tʰeu13	dʐə	lⁱə	wife shook her head incessantly.
elder.sister.in.law	*keep.on*	*shake*	*head*	*DUR*	*IMPF*		

(101)

我	□	(~你 □)	好好	de	想	dze	個	讓我好好(地) 想一下.
ŋə53-ŋa55(~	ɲi53 ŋa55)		xeu53xeu	dⁱə	ɕiãː53	dʐə55	gɤ	Let me think this through.
I	*I.DAT*	*(you I-DAT)*	*good good*	*EXT*	*think*	*DUR*	*CL*	

(102)

啊	你	端	端	de	座	下	好好兒(地)座下.
a	ɲi53-	dãn	dãː44	dʒi	zəuɔ41	xa	Sit properly.
EXCL	*you*	*straight*	*straight*	*EXT*	*sit*	*R.C.*	

(103)

我 □ 一 □ 肚 子 響 **de** 咧　　我餓得肚子呱呱(地)叫.

″ŋə53 ə ʒi14gua44 – tɸu42zꞧ24　　ɕjãː44 dzꞧ liə41　I was so hungry my stomach growled.

I　EXCL　totally　　　belly　　sound　DE　IMPF

(104)

大 鍋裡 的 水 咕嚕咕嚕 **de** 滾 了　　大鍋的水咕嚕咕嚕地冒白氣.

ta55kuo13li dzꞧ ʂui53 gulugulu dzꞧ kun13 liɔ　The water in the pot came to a rolling boil.

big.pot-in　POSS　water　rolling　　EXT　boil　PERF

(105)

這 個 尕娃 大 嘴 大 嘴 **de** 吃 **dze** 咧

dʒə55 gɤ ga24wa13-″da14 zue53　da24 zue53 dⁱe tʂʰꞧ13 dzɤ liə

this　CL　kid　　　big　mouth　big　mouth　EXT　eat　DUR　IMPF

小孩大口大口大得吃.

The child ate in gulps.

(106)

(你) 一個一個 的 弄 掉 啊 這 個 弄 掉 的 話 一 個 話

(ɲi) ʒi13gə ʒi13gədzꞧ-lõŋ41diɔ42 a- dʒəgə lõŋ diɔ42 də xua – ʒi14gə xua41

you　one CL one CL　DE　make rid　EXCL this-CL　make rid　COND　one CL talk

一個一個(的)弄掉.

Get rid of them one by one.

(107)

你 切 **dze** 一 片 一 片 **de** 切 下　　一塊一塊地切.

ɲi53 tɕʰie13 dʒə ʒi13 pʰiã33 ʒi13 pʰiã33　də tɕʰie13 xa52　Cut them in pieces.

you　cut　DUR　one　slice　one　slice　EXT　cut　RC

(108)

一 天 座 **dze** 沒 住 **dze**　　我門一天到晚不停地做.

ʒi13 tʰiã52 zɔ55 dʒə　mɔ14 dʒu55 dʒə　We worked incessantly the whole day.

(109)

剛 下 雨 外 頭 朝 得 很 朝 得 濕 濕 的

dʒiã13 xa55 ɣy53 – wai55tʰeu ″tʂʰɔ41 də xɛ̃24 – ″tʃʰɔː44dⁱə-ʂꞧ44ʂꞧ44 dⁱə

just　descend rain　outside　wet　EXT　very　wet　EXT　damp damp NOM

It just rained and it's all wet outside.　　剛下過雨外邊濕濕的.

(110)

蘿蔔 凍 得 硬 邦 邦 的　　蘿蔔凍到硬邦邦的.

luɔ13bɔ toŋ55 də ɲiŋ52baŋ13baŋ13 dⁱə　The turnip was frozen stiff.

turnip　freeze EXT hard club club　NOM

Nominalized and Attributive Structures

(111)

我	要	買	定	好	的	咧	新	式	貨	我要買最新式的.
ŋə41	jo24	meⁱ24	dī	xeu53	di	liə42-ɕin55	şl̩53	xuɔ55		I want to buy the latest model.
I	*want*	*buy*	*set*	*good*	*EXT*	*IMP*	*new*	*form*	*goods*	

(112)

後	頭	的	人	要	門	鎖	上	後走的鎖門.
″xeu54tʰeu		dⁱə	zɛ̃n14	jao55 –	mɛ̃24	şuɔ44	şã	The last out lock the door.
last		*POSS*	*person*	*want*	*door*	*lock*	*RC*	

(113)

他	最	害	怕	了	個	你	他最怕的是你.
tʰa13	zuiˑ55	xei55pʰa		liɔ	gə	ɲi53	You're the one he fears most.
he	*most*	*afraid*		*PERF*	*CL*	*you*	

(114)

這	個	東西	是	啊一	個	的	這些東西是誰的?
dzə55	gə	duɛ̃n13ɕi	şl̩55-aˑʒi14		gə44	dⁱə54	Whose things are these?
this	*CL*	*thing*	*COP*	*PNindef*	*CL*	*NOM*	

(115)

他	覺	dze 覺	得	昨 個	的	得	好	他覺得昨天的好.
tXʰa13	tɕyə13dʒɤ-dʒyə13də-zuɔ13gə				dzɿ41	də	xau14	He felt yesterday's was better.
he	*feel*		*feel*	*yesterday*	*POSS*	*EXT*	*good*	

(116)

老王	他	最	最	喜歡	這個	畜牲	畜牲	啊	貓	啊
lo wā	tʰa	zue41zueˑ41		ɕixuā	dzəgə-″tʂʰy44şɛ̃43-″tʂʰu51şɛ̃ŋ			a	`- mɔ14	a-
Old Wang	*he*	*most*	*most*	*like*	*this-CL*	*dom.animal*	*dom.animal*	*EXCL*	*cat*	*EXCL*

狗	啊	de	這	就	啊	畜	牲	了	畜	牲	愛	de	很
gw14	a	dzɿ	dzə	tɕiɔ	a	″tʂʰu41şɛ̃ˑ		liɔ-	″tʂʰu41şɛ̃		ŋej24	di	xɛ̃ --
dog	*EXCL*	*DE*	*this*	*so*	*EXCL*	*animal*		*PERF*	*animal*		*love*	*EXT*	*very*

這	個	畜 牲	貓	了	狗	了	兔	了	一□	有
dzə55gə	– ″tʂʰu41şɛ̃-		mɔ14	liɔ-	gw44	liɔ41-tXʰu41		liɔ41 –	ʒi15gua44	jeu41
this	*CL*	*animal*	*cat*	*PERF*	*dog*	*PERF*	*rabbit*	*PERF*	*all*	*have*

老王很喜歡動物, 茂哇狗哇兔的, 都有.
Old Wang really likes animals: he has cats, dogs, and rabbits.

(117)

我	買	了	個	大	的	我買了個大的.
ŋə53	mai53	liɔ	gə	ta55	dʒi3	I bought a big one.
I	*buy*	*PERF*	*CL*	*big*	*NOM*	

(118)

快	些	外	頭	的	衣裳	拿	dze	進	來
kʰuai₅₅ɕie		wai₅₅tʰeu	dʑi	ʑi₁₃ʂã₄₁ –		na₁₃	dzə	tɕɪn	lei
quick some		*outside*	*POSS*	*clothes*		*take*	*SER*	*enter*	*come*

快把外頭晾的衣服收回來.

Quick, bring in the clothes drying outside.

(119)

好	好	地	一	塊	板板	你	啊 □ zhe	燒	過	了
xeu	xeu	dʑi	ʑi	kʰuai	banbã –	ɲi	a₁₃men₂₄dzə	ʂɔ₁₃	kuɔ₅₅	liɔ
good	*good*	*POSS*	*one*	*CL*	*plank plank*	*you*	*why*	*burn*	*PASTexpe*	*PERF*

平正順直的一塊木頭, 你怎劈些燒了?

Such a nice straight piece of wood, why did you split it for firewood?

Imperative Complement and Pivotal Constructions

(120)

你	求	他	說	的	老	王	兀	一個	事情	老王	說的
ɲi₅₃	tɕʰeu₁₃	tʰa₁₃	ʂɯə₁₃	di	lao₅₃	wã	wu₅₅	ʑi₁₃gə	ʂ₁₅₅tɕʰiŋ	lɔ₅₃wã₁₃	ʂɯə₁₃di
you	*beg*	*him*	*say*	*DE*	*Old*	*Wang*	*that*	*one-CL*	*matter*	*Old Wang*	*say-DE*

~你	求	說	給	他	兀	一個	事情	老王	說	的
~ɲi₅₃	tɕʰeu₁₃ʂɯə₁₃gei		tʰa₁₃		wu₅₅	ʑi₁₃gə	ʂ₁₅₅tɕʰɪ̃	lɔ₅₃wã₂	ʂɯə₁₃	di
you	*beg*	*say*	*DAT*	*him*	*that*	*one-CL*	*matter*	*Old Wang*	*say*	*DE*

You go ask him to tell Lao Wang about that.　你去請他告訴老王那件事.

(121)

年輕人	乖	乖	de	老漢	家	請	dze	進	請	dze	進	去
ljɛ̃₁₃tɕʰĩ₄zʑ̃₂₄	kuekue₄₄		də-	lɔ₅₃xɛ̃	dʑia₄₁	tɕĩ₅₃	dzə	tɕʰi₅₅-tʃʰĩn₅₃		dʑə		tɕĩ₅₅tɕʰi₄₁
young person	*dutifully*		*EXT*	*old man*	*home*	*invite*	*DUR*	*enter*	*invite*	*DUR*	*enter*	*go*

The young fellow politely asked the old man to enter. 小伙子客客氣氣地請老人進去.

(122)

他	勸	dze	我	啊 □	是	不	要	去	他勸我千萬不要去.
tʰa₁₃	tɕʰyɛ̃₅₅dzə		ŋɔ₅₃	-ʺa₂₅mɛ̃	sl₅₅-	bu	joː₄₄	tɕʰɤ₄₁	He urged me strongly not to go.
he	*urge*	*DUR*	*I*	*PNindef*	*COP*	*NEG*	*want*	*go*	

He urged me strongly - no matter what - not to go.

Note the elided object in the following sentence: [aːʒi₁₄gɤ 0] 'which (person)'. Also note the sentential particle [sa] "啥" used as a tag question ("..., or what?") to elicit a listener response:

(123)

我 門	派	上	啊一個	0	派	這個	事情	是	好	啥
ŋɔ₂₄mɛ̃₄₄ –	pʰai	ʂã	aːʒi₁₄gɤ	0 –	″pæ̃₄₄	dzə₂₃gə	ʂltʃʰɪ̃	ʂl̩	xeɯ	sã₄₁
I-pl.	*send*	*RC*	*which*	*0*	*accomplish*	*this CL*	*matter*	*COP*	*good*	*PART*

<div align="center">Whom should we send to take care of this? 派誰辦這件事這呢?</div>

(124)

（我）	他	□	當	我	的	親	兄弟	的	咧
(ŋə₅₃)	tʰa₁₃	xa –	dã₁₃	ŋɔ₅₃	dzl̩ –	tɕʰĩn₁₃	ɕjyɔ̃₁₃″di	dzl̩	lʒiə
I	*he*	*FOC*	*treat.as*	*I*	*POSS*	*relative*	*brother*	*DE*	*IMPF*

<div align="right">我一直把他當親兄弟看待.</div>
<div align="right">I have treated him as my real brother all along.</div>

IV. Concluding Remarks

In presenting these data, I have included only an outline of the major features of Xúnhuà Chinese. Many elements await detailed examination; a particularly useful avenue of inquiry would be a comparison of Xúnhuà syntactic structures with those of Amdo Tibetan and other Amdo Chinese dialects. As for the Xúnhuà pronominal system, it would be extremely fruitful to include data from more of the region's Chinese dialects. My aim here has been primarily to get these data out, and secondarily to introduce to a wider audience one of the most linguistically exciting regions the world.

Based on its location midway between Xīníng and Línxià, one might assume that Xúnhuà Chinese is a transitional vernacular, a mixture of Xīníng and Línxià (Hézhōu) Chinese. Yet the Yellow River defines a major isogloss between the Xúnhuà vernacular and Chinese varieties to the north, including Huàlóng and Xīníng. In essence, Xúnhuà Chinese morphosyntax is nearly identical to the Línxià dialect. Xúnhuà phonology is similar to that of Línxià, but also possesses features, such as sentence intonation, differing from both Línxià and Xīníng.

As for the *Huí*-ness (Chinese Muslim-ness) of this corpus: We have identified a few features that allegedly are rare or absent in the speech of Hàn Chinese speakers: some noun affixes and a set of lexical items related to Islam. But I have suggested that (except for Islamic vocabulary) these differences are tied to education and native-speaker status rather than ethnoreligious background. Ultimately, the differences between Huí and Hàn Chinese vernaculars are few indeed.

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