Negation in the Xīnǐng Dialect*

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Negative markers precede the element they negate in the majority of Chinese dialects, including Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM). In the Xīnǐng dialect of Qīnghǎi Province, in addition to negative structures similar to MSM, the negative markers pǔ²³ io³³ 不要, pú²³ si³³ 不是, and mǐ³³ iuo³³ 沒有 occur at the end of the sentence, negating constituents that occur earlier in the sentence. Moreover, Xīnǐng negatives have very little freedom of movement; they must come directly beside the predicate nucleus. Xīnǐng negatives cannot change position and thereby expand the scope and focus of negation as they do in MSM. These word order features are consistent with those of the SOV languages spoken in the same region, suggesting their development in Xīnǐng is due to language contact.

Key words: Amdo Tibetan, language contact, Monguor, negation, word order, Xīnǐng dialect

1. Introduction

The Xīnǐng dialect, a variety of Central Plains Mandarin, is spoken in the northeastern corner of Qīnghǎi Province, in the urban core of the city as well as in Dàtòng, Huángzhōng, Huángyuán, Hūzhù, Píng'an, Ményuán, and Guidé with some slight variation in pronunciation and lexicon in these counties. There are larger differences between the Xīnǐng dialect and the varieties of Chinese spoken in the counties of Lèdù and Mínhé, though the syntactic typology described here is largely the same in those places, as well as in the counties of Tóngréén, Xúnhuà, and Huálóng, and across the provincial border in southern Gānšù. In the broader sense of the term, the Xīnǐng dialect phenomena described in this essay are found across all of these sub-dialects.

The earliest studies of the dialect (e.g. Cheng 1980) focused on typological and structural similarities it shares with neighboring non-Sinitic languages: namely, Amdo Tibetan, Mongolian, Monguor, Salar, Santa, and Bonan. Our argument focuses on the similarities between the typology of negatives in the dialect with that of Amdo and Monguor, specifically the Mongghul variety of Monguor spoken in Hūzhù, because these are the non-Sinitic languages spoken in closest proximity to the narrower definition of the Xīnǐng dialect. We believe these similarities argue for a restructuring of the dialect through contact with these languages, a clearer example of which is difficult to find among other Chinese dialects. Specifically, we believe the restructuring evident in the dialect’s

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negatives is a strong argument for positing a period of shift-induced change, in the sense of the framework developed in Thomason & Kaufman (1991), in the dialect’s history. The argument is further supported by other morpho-syntactic restructuring in the dialect, relatively little phonological restructuring, and contemporary sociolinguistic relationships in which language shift seems to be under way. Before exploring that argument, we begin this essay with a general description of simple negation in the dialect, then discuss negation of more complex constructions, and the scope of negation, finally focusing on the structures which most clearly demonstrate the influence from language contact.

2. Typology of negation in Xīnáng

2.1 Basic negation

The Xīnáng dialect has three negative markers: $pv^{21}$ ‘not’, $mσ^{13}$ ‘didn’t/hasn’t’, and $pσ^{35}$ ‘don’t’. Their usage is similar to Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM). The general negative marker, $pv^{21}$, can negate verbal elements, as in Examples (1) and (2):

1. 我 $nσ^{53}$ 等 一 個 會 兒 再 不 去 $pv^{21}$ t $tσ^{24}$ x $xσ^{24}$  Richie $pv^{31}$ x $xσ^{24}$
   1st.SING wait moment again not go
   ‘I won’t go after a moment.’

2. 那 個 牛 不 吃 了 $nc^{24}$ κ $κσ^{31}$ niu $niu^{13}$ $pv^{21}$ t $tσ^{44}$ li $li^{31}$
   that MW cow not eat PFT
   ‘That cow isn’t eating anymore.’

It can also negate adjectives, or stative verbs, as in Examples (3) and (4):

3. 這 $tσ^{24}$ tci $tci^{253}$ t $tσ^{44}$ t $tσ^{44}$ t $tσ^{253}$ $pv^{21}$ x $xσ^{53}$
   this MW day weather not good
   ‘The weather hasn’t been good these days.’

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1 The Xīnáng dialect examples were gathered by the first author, a native speaker, through casual interviews and participant observations, and based on his own intuition. Abbreviations used in the examples are as follows: 1st-First person pronoun; 2nd-Second person pronoun; 3rd-Third person pronoun; ABL-Ablative Marker; CMPR-Comparative Marker; COMP-Complement Verb; COND-Conditional Marker; CONT-Continuative Marker; COP-Copular Verb; DAT-Dative Marker; DISP-Disposal Marker; ERG-Ergative Marker; EXP-Experiential Marker; INST-Instrumental Marker; LOC-Locative; MW-Measure Word; NegCop-Negative Copular; NegExt-Negative Existential; NegImp-Negative Imperative; NOM-Nominalizer; PFT-Perfective; PL-Plural; PN- Proper Noun; PRT-Particle; SING-Singular.
(4) 這 個 肉 是 育 肥 下 的，不 好 吃
tsɭ¹³ ko⁵³ zuu¹³ sɭ¹³ y'ɭ¹³ xa²⁴ tsɭ¹³ py²¹ xo⁵³ tshbl⁴⁴
this MW meat COP fatten COMP NOM not tasty
‘This meat has been fattened, so it doesn’t taste good.’

The existential negative, mə²¹, negates only verbs, as in Example (5) and (6):

(5) 阿 姨 還 沒 來
a²¹ tsiu¹³ xa²¹ mə¹³ le¹³
uncle (maternal) still didn’t come
‘Uncle still hasn’t come yet.’

(6) 我 啥 呀 沒 說 啊
no⁵³ sa¹³ ia mə¹³ fo⁴⁴ a
1st.SING what PRT didn’t say PRT
‘I didn’t say anything!’

The negative imperative pə³⁵ only negates verbs. It is a merger of py²¹ 不 and iə¹³ 要, and generally expresses prohibition, as in Example (7), or consultation, as in Example (8):

(7) 你 倆 再 好 來，人 夠 了
m³¹ lia¹³ tse¹³ po²¹ le¹³ zə²¹ ku²⁴ liə
2nd.Dual again don’t come people enough PFT
‘Don’t come (you two), there are enough people already.’

(8) 小 張 明 兒 要 去 呵 成 著 吧
cio²¹ tsi⁴⁴ mis⁴² iə po²¹ tchi²¹ xə tshə²¹ tə⁴⁴ pa⁵³
PN tomorrow don’t go COND okay CONT PRT
‘It’s probably okay if Little Zhang doesn’t go tomorrow.’

The adverb sə⁵³ 甚 may be added before the negative adverbs py²¹, mə¹³, and pə³⁵ to make a ‘sə⁵³ + neg. + A’ negative structure, in which ‘A’ may be an adjective, as in Examples (9) and (10):

(9) 阿 姐 的 房 子 甚 不 大
?a²¹ tci⁵³ tsɭ¹³ fi³¹ tsi¹³ sə⁵³ py²¹ ta¹³
elder sister NOM house very/too not big
‘Elder sister’s house isn’t very big.’

(10) 衣 裳 樣 子 好 看，甚 甚 不 好
i³¹ sə⁵³ iə tsɭ¹³ xo⁵³ kha³¹ mə tsi²¹ lai¹³ sə⁵³ py²¹ xo⁵³
clothes style attractive PRT quality very/too not good
‘Although the style of the clothes is nice, the quality isn’t very good.’
This may be thought of as an asymmetric structure, because there is no corresponding positive pattern $s^5 + A$, without the negative. That is, the positive correlate to the predicate in Example (9) would be $t^7t^2A$, too 太大 or some similar phrase, but it would certainly not be $*s^44A$ 基大.

The adverb $s^44$ 基 can also precede a negative potential complement structure, as in Examples (11) and (12):

(11) 這個剪刀 甚 用 不 成, 你 用 那個

this MW scissor very/too use not okay 2nd.SING use that MW

'These scissors aren’t easy to use, use those ones.'

(12) 這個藥裡 鴉片 有 哪 說, 甚 吃 不 得

this MW medicine in opium have PRT say very eat not get

'They say there is opium in this medicine, so you can’t take a lot of it.'

When the negative is $m^521$ the ‘A’ in the ‘$s^44 + \text{neg} + A$’ pattern is a verb, as in Examples (13) and (14):

(13) 老張 的 酒量 破碼, 基 沒 醉 過

PN NOM drink capacity intense very/too didn’t drunk EXP

‘Old Zhang’s capacity for drink is awesome, he’s never really been drunk before.’

(14) 你們 新 房子 蓋 上 著, 我 甚 沒 來 過

2nd.PL new house built up CONT 1st.SING very didn’t come EXP

‘I haven’t been over much since you built the new house.’

Examples (15) and (16) show the pattern with the negative imperative $p^24$:

(15) 娃娃 歲數 還 小 著, 甚 憨 妝 打

child age still small CONT very don’t beat

‘The kid is still young, don’t beat him too much.’

(16) 氣管 不 好 了 煙 甚 憨 吃

throat not good PFT smoke very don’t eat

‘If your throat isn’t too good, then don’t smoke too much.’

The ‘$s^5 + \text{neg} + A$’ pattern occurs frequently in the Xīníng dialect. This pattern is a kind of ‘partial negation’. Consider Example (9), which is best translated as ‘Elder sister’s house isn’t very
big’. If the adverb ʦɔ 53 had not been added, the meaning would be ‘Elder sister’s house is not big’, which would be ‘full negation’. Similarly, in Example (12), the meaning ‘… can’t take a lot’ implies one can take some, only not too much. But if the ʦɔ 53 is elided, then it is ‘full negation’ and the meaning becomes ‘you cannot take any’. So, the adverb ʦɔ 53 has the function of softening the degree of negation. We shall return to discussing this pattern when we examine the scope of negation. 2

If the verb does not have an object, then the word order for Xìníng negative sentences is basically the same as in MSM. However, if the verb takes an object, then the word order changes. There is a strong tendency for negative elements ʨy 21 ʦ1 13 and ʨ新城 mʃɔ 21 iuɔ 13 to move to the end of the sentence, and for the element being negated to come before the negative marker. This pattern is very common among SOV languages. 3 VO and OV both exist in the Xìníng dialect, but OV occupies a distinctly advantageous position when negative markers are involved. Consider:

(17) 我 的 書 不 是， 傢 的 書 也不是 說
nɔ 53 ts1 ʧy 44 ʨy 21 ʦ1 13 tɕia 24 ts1 ʧy 44 i53 py 21 ʦ1 13 fɔ 53
1st.SING NOM book not COP 3rd.SING NOM book also not COP say
'It’s not my book, and he says it’s not his book either.'

(18) 娃娃 還 哭 着， 飯 不 吃
ua 21ua 24 xa 21 kʰy 44 tʃɛ fa 13 py 21 tʃʰɪ 44
baby still cry CONT meal not eat
'The baby is still crying, and he’s not eating.'

(19) 我 哈 錢 兒 沒 有
nɔ 53 xa tɕʰia 24 e mɔ 21 iu 13
1st.SING DAT money hasn’t have
'I don’t have any money.'

(20) 炊 上 一 床 像 接 兒 的 被 兒 呼 沒 有
kʰ 53 ʦ53 i 21 tʃʰuɔ 53 cɪɔ 13 iɔ 13 e ts1 pi 21 iɛ ia mɔ 21 iu 13
bed on one MW decent NOM quilt PRT hasn’t have
'There isn’t one decent quilt on the bed.'

In Examples (17)–(20), each sentence contains an object which would be very difficult to utter in the post-verbal position. In some rare instances the object could be forced to the post-verbal position.

2 The Xi’an dialect pattern of shen bu A is basically the same as this pattern in Xìníng. Lan (2011:363) argues that this pattern is the result of movement. The pattern bu shen A expresses ‘not to a high degree’, and in Xi’an the shen has simply been moved to the front of the pattern, and the meaning of bu shen A has been transferred to the shen bu A pattern. However, this pattern is unique in that it cannot be analogized in other patterns. Tang (2013) argues that the shen bulmei Xi’an pattern is related to the influence of Altaic languages, though the argument is not well developed.

3 Dryer (2013) finds 69 SONegV languages and 49 SOVNeg languages, but only 11 NegSOV languages and 15 SNegOV languages.
position, but native speakers would say it feels a bit awkward. The OV pattern in Examples (17)–(20) is the common word order for negatives.

The sentence-final $\text{pv}^{21}$ and $\text{mo}^{21}$ can also negate preceding adjectives, as long as they have either a $\text{ts}^{21}$ or $\text{ts}^{21} \text{mi}^{13}$ nominalizer attached to them. This pattern can interchange with ‘$\text{so}^{44}$ + neg + $A$’. Consider the following:

\begin{align*}
\text{(21) a.} & \quad \text{elder sister NOM house very/too not big} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{elder sister NOM house such big NOM not COP} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{elder sister NOM house such big NOM hasn’t have} \\
\end{align*}

‘Elder sister’s house isn’t very big.’

The three sentences in Example (21), despite different negative patterns, all satisfy the same truth conditions. Semantic equivalence holds across the three sentences in Example (22):

\begin{align*}
\text{(22) a.} & \quad \text{clothes style attractive PRT quality very/too not good} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{clothes style attractive PRT quality such good NOM not} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{clothes style attractive PRT quality such good NOM hasn’t} \\
\end{align*}

‘The style of the clothes is nice, but the quality isn’t very good.’

There is also a tendency for $\text{pv}^{21}$ to be placed at the end of the sentence, with the nominalizer $\text{ts}^{21}$ in front of it, probably as a result of influence from contact with neighboring languages, described below (Dede in press). This pattern can interchange with $\text{ps}^{55} + V$, as in the following:

\begin{align*}
\text{(23) a.} & \quad \text{seasonings enough PRT again don’t buy} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{seasonings enough PRT again buy NOM don’t} \\
\end{align*}

‘There is enough seasoning, don’t buy any more.’
(24) a. 我 像 哈 夜來 說 了, 你 再 說 說
   no⁵³  tcia²¹  xa  i³⁵  fo⁴⁴  li⁵³  tse¹³  po²¹  fo⁴⁴
   1st.SING 3rd.SING DAT yesterday said PFT 2nd.SING again don’t say
   ‘I spoke with him yesterday; don’t speak to him again.’

   b. 我 像 哈 夜來 說 了, 你 再 說 的 不要
   no⁵³  tcia²¹  xa  i³⁵  fo⁴⁴  li⁵³  tse¹³  fo⁴⁴  tsi  py²¹  io¹³
   1st.SING 3rd.SING DAT yesterday said PFT 2nd.SING again say NOM don’t
   ‘I spoke with him yesterday; you don’t need to speak to him again.’

(25) a. 明兒 你們 再 說 來
   miá⁵⁴  ni³⁵  mò  tse¹³  po²¹  le¹³
   tomorrow 2nd.PL again don’t come
   ‘Don’t come again tomorrow.’

   b. 明兒 你們 再 來 的 不要
   miá⁵⁴  ni³⁵  mò  tse¹³  le¹³  tsi  py²¹  io¹³
   tomorrow 2nd.PL again come NOM don’t
   ‘You don’t need to come again tomorrow.’

The pattern in (23a), (24a), and (25a) is ‘p₉ + V’, and it occurs quite frequently. It is, to a
certain extent, interchangeable with the pattern in (23b), (24b), and (25b), ‘V + ts₁ py²¹ io¹³’,
which is also used frequently. Examples (23a), (24a), and (25a) have the same word order as MSM,
and the meaning is that of a direct command. Examples (23b), (24b), and (25b) are more indirect,
lacking an obvious imperative sense, but rather describing the speaker’s ‘suggestion’, perhaps more
like MSM búyòng 不用.

2.2 Double negatives

The Xin'g dialect can use two negatives in one sentence to make a double negative, which
expresses the affirmative.

(26) a. 我 給 你 不 給 的 不是
   no⁵³  ki²¹  ni³⁵  py²¹  ki³⁵  tsi  py²¹  si²¹ io¹³
   1st.SING give 2nd.SING not give NOM don’t not
   ‘It’s not the case that I didn’t give it to you.’
We shall have more to say about di-transitive sentences later, but for the moment suffice it to say that (26a–d) are semantically equivalent, mutatis mutandis, for Examples (27a–b) and Examples (28a–b).

(27) a. 這個鉗子用不成的是不是就是甚不好
tśl¹¹ko⁵³ tchʰa²¹tsi y⁵¹py¹¹tsʰ₂⁴ tsi py¹¹si¹³ tcii¹³si⁵³ sʰ⁵³py¹¹xo⁵³ thisMW pliers can’t use NOM not is not good
b. 這個鉗子不是用不成的就是甚不好
tśl¹¹ko⁵³ tchʰa²¹tsi py¹¹si¹³ y⁵¹py¹¹tsʰ₂⁴ tcii¹³si⁵³ sʰ⁵³py¹¹xo⁵³ thisMW pliers not can’t use is not good

‘It’s not that these pliers are unusable, it’s just that they’re not very easy to use.’

(28) a. 安乃近吃不得的是不是就是多吃不得啊
nâ⁴⁴ne⁵³tcio¹³ tsʰ₁⁴⁴py¹¹ti¹³ tsi py¹¹si¹³ tcii¹³si⁵³ tu⁴⁴ tsʰ₁⁴⁴py¹¹ti¹³ a Analgin can’t eat NOM not is much can’t eat PRT
b. 安乃近不是吃不得，就是多吃不得啊
nâ⁴⁴ne⁵³tcio¹³ py¹¹si¹³ tsʰ₁⁴⁴py¹¹ti¹³ tcii¹³si⁵³ tu⁴⁴ tsʰ₁⁴⁴py¹¹ti¹³ a Analgin not can’t eat is much can’t eat PRT

‘It’s not the case that you can’t take Analgin; it’s just that you can’t take a lot of it.’

According to the feelings of native speakers, Examples (26a–b), (27a), and (28a) are the preferred patterns in the Xīnìng dialect, whereas (26c–d), (27b), and (28b) are indicative of a more highly educated speaker.

2.3 Negatives in comparative sentences

S.-C. Wang (2009) is a relatively detailed discussion of the range of comparative patterns in the Xīnìng dialect. However, it did not take up the issue of negation in comparative sentences, so what follows may be considered a supplement to that earlier work.

The affirmative comparative pattern in the dialect, as in Example (29), is similar to MSM:

(29) 兄弟的個子比哥哥大
cy⁵⁴tsi³¹ tsi ko²¹tsi pi³⁵³ kɔ²¹kɔ⁴⁴ ta¹³ younger brother NOM physique CMPR elder brother large
‘Younger brother’s body is bigger than older brother’s.’

To negate this pattern, however, one cannot simply insert \( p_y \) before the marker of comparison as an MSM speaker would. Rather, Examples (30a–e) are five different, semantically equivalent ways to negate Example (29):

(30) a. 哥哥的個子兄弟大
ko²¹kɔ⁴⁴ tsi kɔ²¹tsi cy⁵⁴tsi³¹ ta¹³ tsɪko⁵³ mɔ²¹tu¹³ eld bro NOM body yng bro large NOM hasn’t
b. 哥哥的個子沒有兄弟大
kə²ₐ kə₄ₐ tɕi¹ ts₁ moʰ iu¹ mा ts₄ tsi¹ ta³
eld bro NOM body hasn’t yng bro large

c. 哥哥的個子啊看呵兄弟大啊個沒有/不是
ekə²ₐ kə₄ₐ tɕi¹ xa₃k₄ xo₃ tɕ₄ ts₁ ta³ tsik₄ moʰ iu¹ py² tsi¹³
eld bro NOM body CMPR yng bro large NOM hasn’t/not

d. 哥哥的個子啊看呵沒有兄弟大
kə¹₂ kə² ts₁ kə² ts₁ x₃k₄ xə mo² iu¹ tɕ₄ ts₁ ta³
eld bro NOM body CMPR hasn’t yng bro large

e. 哥哥的個子把兄弟不到
kə¹₂ kə₂ tɕi¹ pa²¹ x₃k₄ tsi¹ ta³
eld bro NOM body DISP yng bro not arrive

‘Elder brother’s body isn’t as big as younger brother’s.’

Example (31) is a similar set of negative comparatives, all semantically equivalent.

(31) a. 他的車你的車沒有
tcia²ₐ tɕʰe⁴ₐ ni³ tɕi¹ xə³ tɕk₄ moʰ iu¹³
his car your good NOM hasn’t

b. 像的車沒有你的好
tcia²ₐ tɕʰe⁴ₐ mo² iu¹ ni³ tɕi¹ xə³
his car hasn’t your good

c. 像的車啊看呵你的好個不是/沒有
tcia²ₐ tɕʰe⁴ₐ x₃k₄ xə ni³ tɕi¹ xə³ tɕk₄ py² s¹ ma² iu¹³
his car CMPR your good NOM not/hasn’t

d. 像的車啊看呵沒有你的好
tcia²ₐ tɕʰe⁴ₐ x₃k₄ xə mo² iu¹ ni³ tɕi¹ xə³
his car CMPR hasn’t your good

e. 像的車把你的不到了
tcia²ₐ tɕʰe⁴ₐ pa²¹ ni³ tɕi¹ py² tsi¹³
his car DISP your not arrive

‘His car is not as good as yours.’

Examples (30a–b) and (31a–b) represent the most widely used pattern, while (30c–d) and (31c–d) are indicative of a rural variety that urban people may not admit to speaking. Examples (30e) and (31e) represent the broad range of uses the disposal marker pa²¹ has in this and other northwest Chinese dialects.

As with MSM, there is an ‘equaling degree’ of comparison in the dialect, as is demonstrated in Example (32):

(32) 兄弟的個子哥哥大啊個有倆
ɕȳ⁴ tɕi¹³ tɕi¹ kə² tɕi¹ kə² kə² tsi¹³ tɕk₄ iu¹³ lia
yng bro NOM body eld bro large NOM has PRT

‘Younger brother’s body is as big as elder brother’s.’
This is clearly the affirmative equivalent of the widely used negative pattern shown in Examples (30a) and (31a). However, unlike MSM, the existential verb ını̃² must come at the end of the sentence in this pattern. Were it to occur before the standard of comparison, as it does in MSM, it would sound awkward to a native speaker.

2.4 Double-object negation

The most salient feature of the double-object pattern in the Xīnǐng dialect is that the two objects (i.e. the thing transferred, DO, and the person to whom it is transferred, IO) always come before the verb (Ren 2004). S.-C. Wang (2011) points out that there is no equivalent of the MSM pattern of Subject + Verb + IO + DO in the Xīnǐng dialect. Consequently, the negative marker will follow the verb to the post-object position in the sentence. This word order typology is typical of SOV languages.

(33) a. 我 給 你 錢兒 不 給
1st.SING give 2nd.SING money not give

b. 我 你 哈 錢兒 不 給
1st.SING 2nd.SING DAT money not give

‘I won’t give you money.’

(34) a. 像 給 我 那個 書 沒 給
tcia²⁴ give 1st.SING thatMW book didn’t give

b. 像 我 哈 那個 書 沒 給
tcia²⁴ 1st.SING DAT thatMW book didn’t give

‘He didn’t give that book to me.’

(35) a. 我 給 小張 那個 材料 沒 給 掉 啊
1st.SING give PN thatMW material didn’t give COMP PRT

b. 我 小張 哈 那個 材料 沒 給 掉 啊
1st.SING PN DAT thatMW material didn’t give COMP PRT

‘I didn’t give that material to Little Zhang.’

Note that in (33a), (34a), and (35a) the IO is marked with the preposition  ki²¹ 給, while in (33b), (34b), and (35b) it is marked with the postposition xa 哈. It is a common feature of the dialect that this kind of alternation surrounds verbal arguments (Dede 2007).
2.5 Antonymous imperatives: Negatives without the negative marker

There is a type of negative imperative in the Xīnง dialect in which no negative marker is used. The most prominent feature of these patterns is the ki⁵³会给 after the verb:

(36) 腳 咨 泡 掉 會
xɛ²⁴ xa pʰo¹³ tio ki⁵³
shoe DAT soak COMP give
‘Don’t let your shoes get wet!’

(37) 書 撕 掉 會
fY⁴⁴ sʰ¹⁴ tio ki⁵³
book tear COMP give
‘Don’t tear the book!’

(38) 小心 娃娃 絆 掉 會
ći⁵³ ci⁵³ u²¹ u²⁴ pʰ₁³ tio ki⁵³
careful baby drop COMP give
‘Careful! Don’t drop the baby!’

In Example (36), the speaker is predicting the hearer will go into the water, and he does not want the hearer to get his/her shoes wet. The sentence is in the form of an affirmative imperative. But as far as both the speaker and the hearer are concerned, it is clearly a negative imperative. The closest MSM equivalent would be to add the negative imperative marker bié 佮 to the beginning of the sentence. S.-C. Wang (2012), in discussing the typology of Xīnง dialect prepositional patterns, called this the ‘antonymous imperative’ 反義祈使.

In general, then, the types of negative patterns in the Xīnง dialect are numerous; some of them are similar to MSM and some are quite different. Some of the patterns in the Xīnง dialect can also be found in Central Plains dialects, Lányīn Mandarin, and the Dōnggān language that has a historical relationship with Central Plains and Lányīn Mandarin. At the same time, some of the negative patterns used in the Xīnง dialect are typical of word order characteristics of SOV languages and differ from those of other Chinese dialects.

3. The scope and position of adverbial phrases in Xīnง negatives

We have already encountered the problem of the scope of negatives in the Xīnง dialect in our discussion of the adverb ꡃ ꤡ. In Chinese languages generally, the scope of negation is on the element immediately following the negative marker, although there are a few exceptions, such as the MSM adverb zài 再. The Xīnง pattern ꡃ ꤡ + neg + A, in which the scope of the negative is backwards on the preceding adverb, has correlates across the northwest Chinese dialects, including the Central Plains dialects (Tang 2012):⁴

---

⁴ The original article does not indicate pronunciation of the various Chinese characters.
(39) 我 的 窗子 甚 不 高
1st.SING NOM window very/too not high
‘My window isn’t very high.’

(40) 這些 人 甚 不 知道 羞恥 是 個 啥
these person very/too not know shame COP MW what
‘These people don’t really know what shame is.’

This is anomalous in comparison to other varieties of Chinese, even though the negative marker is near the predicate nucleus.

This last feature, nearness to the nucleus, is even more pronounced in Xíning and other north-west dialects, where various types of adverbial phrases are always positioned ahead of the negative marker, which is directly before the predicate nucleus. Example (41) is another example of the ‘sǐ + neg. + A’ pattern seen in §2.1:

(41) 張 明 夜 来 話 甚 沒 說
tsǐ21 miǎ24 i121e53 xua13 sǐ53 mo21 fo44
PN yesterday words very/too didn’t speak
‘Zhang Ming didn’t say much yesterday.’

Example (42) shows a time adverbial occurring before the negative and the verb:

(42) 你 把 個 老實話 早 不 說 啊
mǐ53 pa21 kó53 ló53 sǐ21 xua13 tsó53 py21 fo44 a
2nd.SING DISP MW honest word early not say PRT
‘You should have been honest earlier!’

Examples (43) and (44) have a place adverbial before the negative and the verb:

(43) 阿大 半夜 裡 廁所 裡 沒 去
?a44 ta53 pa13,i53 | tsbi44 fo53 | mo21 tchang213
father midnight in toilet in didn’t go
‘Father didn’t go to the bathroom in the middle of the night.’

(44) 我 一天 裡 班 不 上去
nó53 i24,bia44 | pa44 py21 sǐ53 tchang213
1st.SING daytime in work not go
‘I don’t work during the daytime.’

Example (45) has an instrumental adverbial, marked with the instrumental postposition lia, preceding the direct object, which in turn precedes the negative and verb:
I don’t eat meat with chopsticks, I eat it with a knife.’

Note that the MSM equivalent of Example (45) would entail a negative preceding the instrumental adverbial. The object in Example (46) also precedes the negative and verb, but in this case the verb is morphologically complex, verb + directional complement. Note also that the time and place adverbials precede the negative:

‘Grandpa says he’s not going to the hospital to be examined tomorrow.’

Example (47) has a place adverbial indicating source and marked by the ablative postposition tcia, which also precedes the negative and the verb:

‘When I go to Shanghai, I don’t leave from Xìng; I leave from Lanzhou.’

Note that the MSM equivalent of (47) would entail a negative preceding the place adverbial. Example (48) is a simple manner adverb, which also precedes the negative:

‘Zhang Ming doesn’t study properly in the classroom.’

Examples (41)–(48) show that one of the more prominent characteristics of the Xìng dialect is that the negative marker always occurs directly before the predicate nucleus, and that other modifying phrases, including object, time, place, instrument, and manner adverbials, must occur before the negative marker. That is, it seems the negative marker cannot be separated from the nucleus, even in situations in which there are several adverbial phrases, as in Example (46). On the other hand, in the vast majority of other Chinese dialects, the negative marker can separate from the nucleus of the predicate, having what D. Liu (2008:143) called a ‘high degree of freedom of movement’.

Using the MSM equivalent of Example (48), which would be ‘He doesn’t study properly’ (Tā bù hǎohào’ér kàn shū 他不好好兒看書), we carried out a simple survey of some representative Chinese dialects. We discovered that the negative markers in Chinese dialects regularly separate from the predicate nucleus, and in most cases cannot occur directly before the nucleus, except in Xìng, Lánzhōu, and Urumqi. Table 1 presents these findings according to whether a dialect accepts.
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the Neg + Adv + Verb pattern and/or the Adv + Neg + Verb pattern (with the representative sentence in brackets).

Table 1: Adverbs and negatives in representative Chinese dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Neg + Adv + Verb</th>
<th>Adv + Neg + Verb</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Běijīng</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>他不好好地看書。（*他好好地看書。）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wéifāng, Shāndōng</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>他不好好地看書。（*他好好地看書。）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xī’ān, Shānxī</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>他不好好地看書。（*他好好地看書。）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lánzhōu, Gānsū</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>那書好好不好看書／那不好好看書。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūnhuāng, Gānsū</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>他不好好地看書。（*他好好地看書。）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhāngyē, Gānsū</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>他不好好地看書。（*他好好地看書。）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wēnzhōu, Zhējiāng</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>其房好好相書。（*其房房房相書。）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guǎngzhōu, Guǎngdōng</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>俏好好真相書。（*俏認真無相書。）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xīnīng, Qīnghǎi</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>俏好好兒書不好／俏書好好兒不好。（*俏不好好好兒書／俏書書書不好書。）</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this rough survey, Xīnīng differs from other dialects in that it allows only the Adv + Neg + Verb pattern. The Chinese dialect of Urumqi seems to be very similar to Xīnīng in that the negative marker cannot be separated from the predicate nucleus (Y. Wang 2007):5

(49) 這個娃娃 飯 好好兒 不 吃, 零食 吃底 嚴底很
this kid meal properly not eat snacks eat intensely
‘This kid doesn’t eat his meals properly, but he eats a lot of snacks.’

It seems the situation in the Tóngxīn dialect in Níngxià is also similar to Xīnīng (A. Zhang 2006:291):6

(50) 我們 也 開州 沒 去 過
1st.PL also PN didn’t go EXP
‘We’ve also never been to Lanzhou.’

(51) 她 忙 得 一夜 坑 上 沒 去
3rd.SING busy COMP night kang on didn’t go
‘She was so busy she didn’t get on the kang the whole night.’

According to data provided by Professor Luo Peng 龍鵬 (personal communication, May 2012), the two patterns are acceptable in the Lánzhōu dialect, as in Table 1. In our investigations, we found that in Dūnhuāng and Zhāngyē, only the Neg + Adv + Verb pattern was acceptable.

5 The original article did not indicate pronunciation.
6 The original article did not indicate pronunciation.
L. Liu (1989:214–215) has argued that a similar phenomenon in the Huí Chinese dialect of Urumqi is due to influence from the Uighur language. D. Liu (2005), on the other hand, argues that this phenomenon in northwest dialects can be explained by the general rule of ‘head attraction’ héxǐn xǐfù 核心吸附: that is, the predicate core in northwest Chinese dialects (including Dōnggān, which has a historical relationship with northwest Chinese) will draw the weakly independent elements in adverbial phrases and modality to a position directly before the predicate core. By ‘weakly independent’, he means those that are short, light, and weakly pronounced. Therefore, the elements adsorbed by the core are primarily single-syllable elements. Because negative markers are high-frequency words, they are often pronounced weakly in the speech stream, and therefore they are the elements most easily drawn to the nucleus. At the same time, D. Liu does not exclude the possibility that this special word order in Dōnggān and other northwest dialects is due to influence from Altaic languages.

From the perspective of the Xīnáng dialect, we believe that this phenomenon, in addition to some internal factors (such as ‘core adsorption’), is caused by the relatively important external factor of contact with SOV languages, which has led to word order change. The non-Sinitic languages spoken in the vicinity of the Xīnáng dialect, including Tibetan, Monguor, Salar, Bonan, Mongolian, and Uighur, are all typical SOV languages. The negative pattern typologies in these languages are complicated; some have the negative marker before the predicate nucleus, while some have it at the end of the sentence. However, in all cases, the negative marker is directly attached to the predicate nucleus and no other elements can come between them.

Because the freedom of movement in the Xīnáng negative marker is so highly restricted—indeed, one could go so far as to say it has no freedom of movement—the only way to indicate the focus of negation is through stress, rather than moving the negative marker, as in other dialects. Consider the following example from the Xīnáng dialect, in which the italicized elements indicate stress:

(52) a. 傢 教室裡 書 沒 看 著
tció24 tció21 ʂɿ53 fɤ44 mɤ21 kʰɛ13 tʂɛ
3rd.SING classroom-in book didn’t read CONT

e. 傢 教室裡 書 沒 看 著
tcí24 tći21 ʂɿ53 fɤ44 mɤ21 kʰɛ13 tʂɛ
3rd.SING classroom-in book didn’t read CONT

e. 傢 教室裡 書 沒 看 著
tcí24 tći21 ʂɿ53 fɤ44 mɤ21 kʰɛ13 tʂɛ
3rd.SING classroom-in book didn’t read CONT

e. 傢 教室裡 書 沒 看 著
tcí24 tći21 ʂɿ53 fɤ44 mɤ21 kʰɛ13 tʂɛ
3rd.SING classroom-in book didn’t read CONT

The meanings of these four examples differ due to the differences in the stressed elements. Example (52a), with the stress on the pronoun, means that someone is in the classroom studying, but it is not him. Example (52b), with the stress on the classroom, means he is studying, but not in the classroom. Example (52c), with the stress on the negative marker, means he is in the classroom,
but he is not studying. Example (52d), with the stress on the book, means he is in the classroom reading, but not reading his text.

Relative stress on the focal element in a sentence is a commonly used strategy in typologically similar sentences in the Xīnìng dialect. In our investigations, only a small minority of people felt that moving constituents or adding a supplementary clause was the only way to express these distinctions. This clearly shows that the negative marker in the Xīnìng dialect is in a fixed position with no freedom of movement.

This fixed position of the negative marker is clearly different from the negative movement allowed in the Beijing dialect or MSM. MSM allows the kind of word order variation observed in Example (53):

(53) a. 他 不 在 教室 看 書
     tā  bú zài jiàoshì kàn shū
     3rd.SING not LOC classroom read book

b. 他 在 教室 不 看 書
     tā zài jiàoshì bú kàn shū
     3rd.SING LOC classroom not read book
‘He’s not reading in the classroom.’

Xīnìng only has one possible word order for this sentence, as in the previous Example (52a–d).

Similarly, MSM allows these two possible sentences where Xīnìng would only have one possibility:

(54) a. 張明 不 經常 去 北京
     Zhāng Míng bú jīngcháng qù Běijīng
     PN not often go PN
     ‘Zhang Ming doesn’t often go to Beijing.’

b. 張明 經常 不 去 北京
     Zhāng Míng jīngcháng bú qù Běijīng
     PN often not go PN
     ‘Zhang Ming often doesn’t go to Beijing.’

Again, the variation in MSM Example (54) is impossible in the Xīnìng dialect.

4. Language contact and negatives in the Xīnìng dialect

In terms of constituent order, the dominant pattern in SVO languages is that the element that is negated comes after the negative marker, while in SOV languages it is that the element that is negated comes before the negative marker, both of which are related to the order of negative and verb. According to the language statistics on negatives and word order compiled by Dryer (cited in D. Liu 2005), the word order SNegVO in SVO languages is the dominant pattern, with 12 of 13 language families, including 47 languages, using this pattern. In SOV languages the pattern SOVNeg is the dominant pattern in 64 languages across 18 language families.
The languages in contact with the Xīnínɡ dialect are primarily Tibetan and Monguor, a Mongolic language, both of which are SOV languages. Consider Example (55), an example of Written Tibetan where the negative adverb mi ‘not’ is placed before the verb.7

(55) bkra shis kyis chang mi ‘thung
PN ERG alcohol not drink
‘Bkra shis doesn’t drink alcohol.’

The syntax of negatives in Amdo Tibetan in Qīnghǎi Province is basically the same as that found in Written Tibetan, with some slight differences in usage. Example (56), from northern Amdo, differs from Example (57), from southern Amdo, in that the negative marker in the latter can come between the verb and the perfect aspect marker tha.

(56) a ma ta rong ma yong tha
mother still didn’t come PFT
‘Mother still hasn’t come yet.’

(57) a ma ta rong yong ma tha
mother still come didn’t PFT
‘Mother still hasn’t come yet.’

There is another type of negative pattern in Amdo Tibetan in which the equivalents of $p_v^{21}i_s^{13}$ NegImp, $p_v^{21}s_1^{13}$ NegCop, and $m_3^{21}i_u^{13}$ NegExt occur at the end of the sentence, a pattern that is quite common in Written Tibetan, too. Example (58) shows the Amdo Tibetan equivalent of NegImp $p_v^{21}i_s^{13}$:

(58) nay ska i$ć^b_2$s$ć^b_0$ jo$y$ ma rgo
tomorrow 2nd.PL come not need (NegImp)
‘You don’t need to come tomorrow.’

Comparing Example (58) with Examples (23b), (24b), and (25b) shows they have precisely the same word order. Example (59) shows the Amdo Tibetan equivalent of NegExt $m_3^{21}i_u^{13}$:

(59) rd$ć$ wa ho$ğ$ g$ə$ sa k$ə$ me k$ə$
quality extremely good hasn’t (NegExt)
‘The quality isn’t very good.’

Comparing Example (59) with Examples (21c) and (22c) shows they have the same word order. Example (60) shows the Amdo Tibetan equivalent of NegCop $p_v^{21}s_1^{13}$:

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7 Tibetan language examples were constructed by the first author, a native speaker, and then checked with other native speakers. The typology of negatives in Tibetan is quite complicated. In this article, we are simplifying general patterns for the sake of clarity.
Comparing Example (60) with Examples (21b) and (22b) shows they have the same word order. In all three cases, the pattern in Amdo is the same as in Xīnǐng where the sentence-final negative construction negates the entire preceding proposition.

The Monguor language has three negative adverbs: lii ‘not’, sii ‘hasn’t’, and bii ‘not, don’t’. Negative adverbs in Monguor only negate verbs:

\[
(61) \quad \begin{array}{l}
bu \quad lii \quad \omega \hat{\omega} \hat{\omega} \quad ja, \\
1^\text{st.SING} \quad not \quad go \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{l}
te \quad lii \quad \omega \hat{\omega} \hat{\omega} \\
3^\text{rd.SING} \quad not \quad go \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I’m not going, and he’s not going either.’

The same negative pattern observed in Amdo Tibetan Examples (58)–(60) is also found in Monguor. Example (62) is the Monguor equivalent of NegImp \(py^{21} i^{13}\) (Zhaonasitu 1981:(44), (47)) (again, compare with Examples (23b), (24b), and (25b)):

\[
(62) \quad \begin{array}{l}
tasge \quad \omega \hat{\omega} \hat{\omega} \quad murgoo \\
2^\text{nd.SING} \quad go-NOM \quad don’t \quad need \quad (\text{NegImp}) \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You don’t need to go.’

Note the use of the nominalizing morpheme -\(\omega\hat{\omega}\) after the verb ‘to go’ in the Monguor example; it clearly parallels the use of ts\(\hat{\omega}\) in the Xīnǐng examples. Example (63) is the Monguor equivalent of NegCop \(py^{21} s^{13}\) (again, compare with Examples (21b) and (22b)):

\[
(63) \quad \begin{array}{l}
ne \quad \omega \hat{\omega} \hat{\omega} \quad scan \quad puca \\
this \quad color \quad beautiful \quad isn’t \quad (\text{NegCop}) \\
\end{array}
\]

‘This color isn’t pretty.’

Example (64) is the Monguor equivalent of NegExt \(m\hat{\omega}^{21} i\hat{\omega}^{13}\) (again, compare with Examples (21c) and (22c)):

\[
(64) \quad \begin{array}{l}
bu \quad i\hat{\omega} \hat{\omega} \quad jadaak\hat{\omega} \quad gui \hat{\omega} \hat{\omega} \\
1^\text{st.SING} \quad very \quad tired \quad hasn’t \quad (\text{NegExt}) \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I’m not very tired.’

Through comparison with the Tibetan and Monguor data, it is clear that the Xīnǐng sentence-final negatives \(py^{21} i^{13}\), \(py^{21} s^{13}\), and \(m\hat{\omega}^{21} i\hat{\omega}^{13}\) have exactly the same word order as the non-Sinitic languages. On the surface, it appears that the negative markers \(py^{21}\) and \(m^{13}\) are negating the following verbs \(s^{13}\), \(i^{13}\), and \(i\hat{\omega}^{13}\). In fact, they are negating the entire proposition preceding them in the sentence, which is a typological characteristic of SOV languages.
The Dōnggān language word order shares many similarities with the Xinīng dialect. S. Wang (2001) argues that these features of northwest Chinese dialects are caused by the total long-term pattern of constraints from contact with the SOV languages of Mongolian, Tibetan, Dōngxiāng, Bāo’ān, Salar, and Monguor. As a sub-dialect of the northwest Chinese dialects, that is why these features occur in Dōnggān, also. However, from the data S. Wang provides, we find no evidence of Dōnggān negating an entire proposition by placing the equivalents of \(pv^{21}i_{13}^{13}\), \(pv^{21}s_{13}^{13}\), or \(m_{21}i_{13}^{13}\) at the end of a sentence. Therefore, we believe that the data from Xinīng, in which the NegCop, NegExt, and NegImp all appear at the end of a sentence and negate the entire proposition, more clearly demonstrate what the results of language contact look like.

There is another prominent feature of Xinīng negatives NegImp \(pv^{21}i_{13}^{13}\), NegCop \(pv^{21}s_{13}^{13}\), and NegExt \(m_{21}i_{13}^{13}\). That is, when they negate an entire proposition, they are not directly after the predicate nucleus of the proposition. Rather, the two are separated with a functional element \(ts_{13}^{13}\) or \(tsk_{13}^{13}\). Consider the negation \(t^{s_{13}^{13}}p_{13}^{21}i_{13}^{13}\) in Example (28a) and the \(e_{13}^{13}\) \(ts_{13}^{21}i_{13}^{13}\) in Example (25b) in which the negative marker is separated from the predicate nucleus by \(ts_{13}^{13}\) or \(tsk_{13}^{13}\). This separation of the negative marker from the predicate nucleus by means of a nominalizing element is parallel to the pattern found in Monguor.

If the predicate nucleus is an adjective, then an adverb, such as \(n_{13}^{13}m_{13}^{21}t_{13}^{13}a_{13}^{13}\) or \(t_{13}^{13}u_{13}^{13}\), generally appears before the adjective and \(ts_{13}^{13}\) or \(tsk_{13}^{13}\) appears before the negative, as in Examples (65) and (66):

(65) 那麼 大 的/的個 沒有
ne_{13}^{13} m_{13}^{21} ta_{13}^{13} ts_{13}^{13}tsk_{13}^{53} m_{21}i_{13}^{13}
‘It’s not that big.’

(66) 統基 好 的/的個 不是
\
\text{統基} t^{s_{13}^{21}}x_{13}^{53} ts_{13}^{13}tsk_{13}^{53} py_{13}^{21}s_{13}^{13}
‘It isn’t too good.’

If the adverbial were elided, the sentence would be awkward or ungrammatical. Compare Examples (65) and (66) from Xinīng with the Amdo Tibetan Example (59) and (60), in which the adjective is followed by \(k_{21}\) and placed before the NegCop \(ma\ re\) or NegExt \(me\ g_{13}\). This function word \(k_{21}\) in colloquial Amdo Tibetan is precisely the same as the Qīnghāi Chinese function word \(ts_{13}\). Chen (1989) says the following about the Wutun language, which has been in long-term contact with Tibetan:

If negatives or predicates occur after a verb, then the verb will always appear with the element \(-do\) attached to it. This is different from when negatives or predicates appear before the verb (when negatives and predicates appear before a verb, then the bare stem of the verb occurs).

The form and function of the Xinīng dialect \(ts_{13}\) and \(tsk_{13}^{53}\) require much further elaboration, which we hope to provide in the future, but here they may be regarded as nominalizers for the elements that precede them.
5. Discussion

S.-C. Wang (2009) discusses the effects of language contact between Xīnǐng and Tibetan and Altaic languages on the comparatives, while S.-C. Wang (2011) takes a similar approach to looking at di-transitives. The Xīnǐng examples earlier include the use of post-positions: Example (45) uses the instrumental post-position lìa (Dwyer 1992) and Example (47) has the ablative post-position tɕia (Dede 1999), both of which also seem to have developed in the dialect through interference from contact with neighboring Altaic and Tibetan languages (S.-C. Wang 2012). Yet numerous studies have shown that the phonological system of the Xīnǐng dialect (Kawasumi 2014; Zhang & Zhu 1987) is a very recognizable Mandarin phonological system with little evidence of contact-induced restructuring. Dede (2003) posits an initial contact period dating from the late 14th to early 15th centuries, and S.-C. Wang (2007) argues the present-day jīa xǐfān 家西番 are currently undergoing the effects of language contact.

These data suggest the Xīnǐng dialect underwent a period of shift-induced language change, in the sense described by Thomason & Kaufman (1991), in which a shift-induced change is differentiated from one of borrowing. In the latter, the speech community maintains its identification as a separate community, yet incorporates features from another language. In the language-shift scenario, the community abandons its identification with its original language, and adopts wholesale the target language identification as its own. In the language shift posited for the Xīnǐng dialect, a population that was originally non-Chinese-speaking shifted to speaking Chinese (the target language), and in the process carried typological features of their original language into the target language. The shifting population must have had reasonably good access to the target language and been large enough to change the target markedly. In theory, the shift could occur in a generation or two with only a short period of community-wide bilingualism. The long period of contact with more standard varieties of Chinese after the original period of shift allowed speakers to refine the lexicon and phonology so that there is currently little to no trace of the original language in those systems.

This scenario might seem similar to what Ross (2006) refers to as ‘metatypy’, in so far as there has been a process whereby the morpho-syntax of the language was altered under contact with typologically different languages. However, the changes Ross describes seem to require long-term bilingualism and restructuring of semantic patterns, so that even words are constructed according to morphological patterns in the contact language. The available descriptions of Xīnǐng’s lexicon (Zhang & Zhu 1987; Zhu & Ding 2003) suggest that the dialect’s vocabulary has not undergone that kind of restructuring. Also, while there is certainly bilingualism among some communities in the region, and there was almost certainly bilingualism in the past, the more common pattern seems to be one in which communities shift within a generation or two, so that grandparents are mostly monolingual in a non-Chinese language, but their grandchildren are mostly monolingual in Chinese (or bi-dialectal in Chinese, using both MSM and the local dialect) (Limusishiden & Dede 2012).

6. Conclusion

The types of negation in Xīnǐng are manifold. The typology of simple negation, in which the negative precedes that which it negates, is similar to other Chinese dialects. Some structures, such
as ‘partial negation’ with adverbial ʂʊn̥, are shared with other northwestern Chinese dialects. However, there are negative structures that are radically different from other Chinese dialects, such as using a nominalizer to connect the negative to a main verb and the SOV-type word order of placing NegCop, NegExt, or NegImp at the end of a sentence to negate an entire proposition. This word order is the direct result of the lengthy, intimate contact the dialect has had with SOV languages and the language-shift-induced changes that gave rise to it. Indeed, the negatives in the Xīnǐng dialect are a model for the results of that contact, while comparatives, di-transitives, and the use of post-positions also demonstrate the word order change created through language contact. The result of this kind of contact accords with Hashimoto’s (1985) general observation about typological differences across Chinese dialects, but we feel the concrete effects of contact are most clearly seen in the Xīnǐng dialect.

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西寧方言的否定結構

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大部分漢語方言中否定標記通常是前置的，包括漢語普通話。青海省的西寧方言除了和漢語普通話相同的否定結構外，\( py^{21}i\sigma^{13} \) （不要）、\( py^{21}s\eta^{13} \) （不是）、\( mu^{21}iu^{13} \) （沒有）可以放在句末對前面的成分進行否定。另外，西寧方言否定詞的自由度很低，一般緊靠謂語核心，無法像普通話一樣通過否定詞的移位來實現否定範圍的擴展和焦點的改變。這些語序特點和西藏境內的 SOV 語言一致，應該是語言接觸的結果。

關鍵詞：西寧方言，否定句，語序，語言接觸，安多藏語，土族語