Article

Negation in the Xīníng Dialect*

Shuangcheng Wang[1] and Keith Dede[2]

Shanghai Normal University[1]
Lewis & Clark College[2]

Negative markers precede the element they negate in the majority of Chinese dialects, including Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM). In the Xīníng dialect of Qīnghǎi Province, in addition to negative structures similar to MSM, the negative markers $p\gamma^{21}i\mathfrak{o}^{13}$ 不要, $p\gamma^{21}s\mathfrak{1}^{13}$ 不是, and $m\mathfrak{o}^{21}i\mathfrak{w}^{13}$ 沒有 occur at the end of the sentence, negating constituents that occur earlier in the sentence. Moreover, Xīníng negatives have very little freedom of movement; they must come directly beside the predicate nucleus. Xīníng 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 Xīníng is due to language contact.

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

1. Introduction

The Xīníng 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 Dàtóng, Huángzhōng, Huángyuán, Hùzhù, Píng'ān, Ményuán, and Guìdé with some slight variation in pronunciation and lexicon in these counties. There are larger differences between the Xīníng dialect and the varieties of Chinese spoken in the counties of Lèdū and Mínhé, though the syntactic typology described here is largely the same in those places, as well as in the counties of Tóngrén, Xúnhuà, and Huàlóng, and across the provincial border in southern Gānsù. In the broader sense of the term, the Xīníng 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 Hùzhù, because these are the non-Sinitic languages spoken in closest proximity to the narrower definition of the Xīníng 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

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 Xīníng

2.1 Basic negation

The Xīníng dialect has three negative markers: $p\gamma^{21}$ 不 'not', $m\mathfrak{o}^{13}$ 沒 'didn't/hasn't', and $p\mathfrak{o}^{35}$ 嫑 'don't'. Their usage is similar to Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM). The general negative marker, $p\gamma^{21}$, can negate verbal elements, as in Examples (1) and (2):[1]

(1)　我　　　等　　一會兒　　再　　不　　去
　　　$n\mathfrak{o}^{53}$　　$t\tilde{\mathfrak{e}}^{53}$　　$i^{z21}xu\mathfrak{e}^{24}\varepsilon$　　$ts\varepsilon^{24}$　　$p\gamma^{21}$　　$t\varepsilon^{h}i^{z24}$
　　　1st.SING　wait　moment　again　not　go
　　　'I won't go after a moment.'

(2)　那　個　牛　不　吃　了
　　　$n\varepsilon^{24}$　$k\mathfrak{o}^{31}$　$niu\mathrm{w}^{13}$　$p\gamma^{21}$　$ts^{h}\mathrm{l}^{44}$　$li\mathfrak{o}^{31}$
　　　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　　幾　　天　　天氣　　　不　　好
　　　$ts\mathrm{l}^{24}$　$t\varepsilon i^{z53}$　$t^{h}i\tilde{a}^{44}$　$t^{h}i\tilde{a}^{44}t\varepsilon^{h}i^{z53}$　$p\gamma^{21}$　$x\mathfrak{o}^{53}$
　　　this　MW　day　weather　not　good
　　　'The weather hasn't been good these days.'

---

[1] The Xīníng 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
$tʂ\l^{13}$	ko^{53}	$ʐɯ^{13}$	$sɿ^{13}$	$y^{z21}fi^{13}$	xa^{24}	$tsɿ$	$pγ^{21}$	$xɔ^{53}tʂʰʅ^{44}$
this	MW	meat	COP	fatten	COMP	NOM	not	tasty

'This meat has been fattened, so it doesn't taste good.'

The existential negative, $mɔ^{21}$, negates only verbs, as in Example (5) and (6):

(5)

阿舅	還	沒	來
$a^{21}tɕiɯ^{13}$	$xã^{21}$	$mɔ^{13}$	$lɛ^{13}$
uncle (maternal)	still	didn't	come

'Uncle still hasn't come yet.'

(6)

我	啥	呀	沒	說	啊
$nɔ^{53}$	sa^{13}	ia	$mɔ^{13}$	$fɔ^{44}$	a
1st.SING	what	PRT	didn't	say	PRT

'I didn't say anything!'

The negative imperative $pɔ^{35}$ only negates verbs. It is a merger of $pγ^{21}$ 不 and $iɔ^{13}$ 要, and generally expresses prohibition, as in Example (7), or consultation, as in Example (8):

(7)

你倆	再	甭	來，	人	夠	了
$ni^{53}lia^{13}$	$tsɛ^{13}$	$pɔ^{21}$	$lɛ^{13}$	$ʐə̃^{21}$	$kɯ^{24}$	$liɔ$
2nd.Dual	again	don't	come	people	enough	PFT

'Don't come (you two), there are enough people already.'

(8)

小張	明兒	甭	去	呵	成	著	吧
$ɕiɔ^{44}tʂɔ̃^{44}$	$miə̃^{24}ɛ$	$pɔ^{21}$	$tɕʰi^{z24}$	$xɔ$	$tʂʰə̃^{21}$	$tʂɛ$	pa^{53}
PN	tomorrow	don't	go	COND	okay	CONT	PRT

'It's probably okay if Little Zhang doesn't go tomorrow.'

The adverb $sə̃^{53}$ 甚 may be added before the negative adverbs $pγ^{21}$, $mɔ^{13}$, and $pɔ^{35}$ to make a '$sə̃^{53}$ + 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
$ʔa^{21}tɕi^{53}$	$tsɿ$	$fɔ̃^{21}tsɿ^{13}$	$sə̃^{53}$	$pγ^{21}$	ta^{13}
elder sister	NOM	house	very/too	not	big

'Elder sister's house isn't very big.'

(10)

衣裳	樣子	好看	麼，	質量	甚	不	好
$i^{z44}sɔ̃^{53}$	$iɔ̃^{13}tsɿ$	$xɔ^{53}kʰã^{13}$	$mə̃$	$tʂʅ^{21}liɔ̃^{13}$	$sə̃^{53}$	$pγ^{21}$	$xɔ^{53}$
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 $ʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ + A, without the negative. That is, the positive correlate to the predicate in Example (9) would be $tɛ^{13}ta^{13}$ 太大 or some similar phrase, but it would certainly not be $*ʂ\tilde{ə}^{44}\ ta^{13}$ 甚大.

The adverb $ʂ\tilde{ə}^{44}$ 甚 can also precede a negative potential complement structure, as in Examples (11) and (12):

(11)   這   個   剪子   甚   用   不   成，   你   用   那   個

         $tʂʅ^{13}$ $kɔ^{53}$ $tɕiã^{53}tsʅ$ $ʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ $y\tilde{ə}^{13}$ $pγ^{21}$ $tʂʰ\tilde{ə}^{24}$ ni^{53} $y\tilde{ə}^{13}$ $nɛ^{13}$ $kɔ^{53}$

         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   哩   說，   甚   吃   不   得

         $tʂʅ^{13}$ $kɔ^{53}$ yu^{44} $ḷ$ $ia^{21}pʰiã^{13}$ $iɯ^{53}$ $ḷ$ $fɔ^{24}$ $ʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ $tʂʰʅ^{44}$ $pγ^{21}$ ti^{13}

         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 $m\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ the 'A' in the '$ʂ\tilde{ə}^{44}$ + neg + A' pattern is a verb, as in Examples (13) and (14):

(13)   老張   的   酒量   砝碼，   甚   沒   醉   過

         $lɔ^{44}tʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ $tsʅ$ $tɕiɯ^{53}li\tilde{ə}^{13}$ $fa^{21}ma^{53}$ $ʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ $m\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ $tsui^{13}$ ku^{53}

         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

         $ni^{53}m\tilde{ə}$ $ɕi\tilde{ə}^{44}$ $f\tilde{ɔ}^{21}tsʅ^{13}$ $kɛ^{13}$ $ʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ $tʂɔ$ $nɔ^{53}$ $ʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ $m\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ $lɛ^{24}$ ku^{53}

         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 $p\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$:

(15)   娃娃   歲數   還   尕   著，   甚   覅   打

         $ua^{21}ua^{24}$ $sui^{21}fγ^{53}$ $x\tilde{a}^{24}$ ka^{21} $tʂɛ$ $ʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ $p\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ ta^{53}

         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   覅   吃

         $tɕʰįʐ^{13}ku\tilde{a}^{53}$ $pγ^{21}$ $xɔ^{53}$ $liɔ$ $i\tilde{a}^{44}$ $ʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ $p\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ $tʂʰʅ^{44}$

         throat   not   good   PFT   smoke   very   don't   eat

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

The '$ʂ\tilde{ə}^{53}$ + 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 $\wp\partial^{53}$ 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 $\wp\partial^{53}$ is elided, then it is 'full negation' and the meaning becomes 'you cannot take any'. So, the adverb $\wp\partial^{53}$ 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 Xīníng 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 $p\gamma^{21}s\imath^{13}$ and $m\partial^{21}i\mathrm{u}^{13}$ 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 Xīníng 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
       nɔ⁵³   tsı   fɣ⁴⁴   pɣ²¹   sı¹³   tɕia²⁴   tsı   fɣ⁴⁴   i⁵³   pɣ²¹   sı¹³   fɔ⁵³
       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   著，   飯   不   吃
       ua²¹ua²⁴   xã²¹   kʰɣ⁴⁴   tʂɛ   fã¹³   pɣ²¹   tʂʰl̩⁴⁴
       baby   still   cry   CONT   meal   not   eat
       'The baby is still crying, and he's not eating.'

(19)   我   哈   錢兒   沒   有
       nɔ⁵³   xa   tɕʰiã²⁴ɛ   mɔ²¹   iɯ¹³
       1st.SING   DAT   money   hasn't   have
       'I don't have any money.'

(20)   炕   上   一   床   像樣兒   的   被兒   呀   沒   有
       kʰɔ̃²¹   ʂɔ̃⁵³   iᶻ²¹   tʂʰuɔ̃⁵³   ɕiɔ̃¹³ɔ̃¹³ɛ   tsı   piᶻ¹³ɛ   ia   mɔ²¹   iɯ¹³
       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

---

[2] The Xi'an dialect pattern of *shen bu A* is basically the same as this pattern in Xīníng. 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 bu/mei* Xī'ān 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 $py^{21}sl^{13}$ and $mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}$ can also negate preceding adjectives, as long as they have either a *tsl* 的 or *tslkɔ^{53}* 的個 nominalizer attached to them. This pattern can interchange with '$sə^{44}$ + neg + A'. Consider the following:

(21) a. 阿姐   的   房子   甚   不   大
      $ʔa^{21}tɕi^{53}$ tsl $fɔ̃^{21}tsl$ $sə̃^{53}$ py^{21} ta^{13}
      elder sister   NOM   house   very/too   not   big
   b. 阿姐   的   房子   那麼   大   的(個)   不   是
      $ʔa^{21}tɕi^{53}$ tsl $fɔ̃^{21}tsl$ $nɛ^{21}mə̃$ ta^{13} $tsl(kɔ^{53})$ py^{21} sl^{13}
      elder sister   NOM   house   such   big   NOM   not   COP
   c. 阿姐   的   房子   那麼   大   的(個)   沒   有
      $ʔa^{21}tɕi^{53}$ tsl $fɔ̃^{21}tsl$ $nɛ^{21}mə̃$ ta^{13} $tsl(kɔ^{53})$ $mɔ^{21}$ $iɯ^{13}$
      elder sister   NOM   house   such   big   NOM   hasn't   have
      '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):

(22) a. 衣裳   樣子   好看   麼，   質量   甚   不   好
      $i^{z44}sɔ̃^{53}$ $iɔ̃^{13}tsl$ $xɔ^{53}kʰã^{13}$ $mə̃$ $tʂl̩^{21}liɔ̃^{13}$ $sə̃^{53}$ py^{21} $xɔ^{53}$
      clothes   style   attractive   PRT   quality   very/too   not   good
   b. 衣裳   樣子   好看   麼，   質量   那麼   好   的(個)   不是
      $i^{z44}sɔ̃^{53}$ $iɔ̃^{13}tsl$ $xɔ^{53}kʰã^{13}$ $mə̃$ $tʂl̩^{21}liɔ̃^{13}$ $nɛ^{21}mə̃$ $xɔ^{53}$ $tsl(kɔ^{53})$ $py^{21}sl^{13}$
      clothes   style   attractive   PRT   quality   such   good   NOM   not
   c. 衣裳   樣子   好看   麼，   質量   那麼   好   的(個)   沒有
      $i^{z44}sɔ̃^{53}$ $iɔ̃^{13}tsl$ $xɔ^{53}kʰã^{13}$ $mə̃$ $tʂl̩^{21}liɔ̃^{13}$ $nɛ^{21}mə̃$ $xɔ^{53}$ $tsl(kɔ^{53})$ $mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}$
      clothes   style   attractive   PRT   quality   such   good   NOM   hasn't
      'The style of the clothes is nice, but the quality isn't very good.'

There is also a tendency for $py^{21}iɔ^{13}$ 不要 to be placed at the end of the sentence, with the nominalizer *tsl* 的 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 the $pɔ^{35}$ + V, as in the following:

(23) a. 調貨   夠   倆   再   甭   買
      $tʰiɔ^{21}xu^{53}$ $kɯ^{13}$ lia $tsɛ^{13}$ $pɔ^{21}$ $mɛ^{53}$
      seasonings   enough   PRT   again   don't   buy
      'There is enough seasoning, don't buy any more.'
   b. 調貨   夠   倆   再   買   的   不要
      $tʰiɔ^{21}xu^{53}$ $kɯ^{13}$ lia $tsɛ^{13}$ $mɛ^{53}$ tsl $py^{21}iɔ^{13}$
      seasonings   enough   PRT   again   buy   NOM   don't
      'There is enough seasoning, you don't need to buy any more.'

(24) a. 我　　　傢　　哈　夜來　　說　了，你　　　再　憂　說
nɔ⁵³　　tɕia²¹　xa　i¹³lɛ⁵³　fɔ⁴⁴　liɔ　ni⁵³　　tsɛ¹³　pɔ²¹　fɔ⁴⁴
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　　　傢　　哈　夜來　　說　了，你　　　再　說　的　　不要
nɔ⁵³　　tɕia²¹　xa　i¹³lɛ⁵³　fɔ⁴⁴　liɔ　ni⁵³　　tsɛ¹³　fɔ⁴⁴　tsɿ　pɣ²¹iɔ¹³
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　　　憂　　　來
miə̃⁴⁴ɛ　　ni⁵³mə̃　　tsɛ¹³　　pɔ²¹　　lɛ¹³
tomorrow　2nd.PL　　again　　don't　　come
'Don't come again tomorrow.'

b. 明兒　　　你們　　　再　　　來　　　的　　　不要
miə̃⁴⁴ɛ　　ni⁵³mə̃　　tsɛ¹³　　lɛ¹³　　tsɿ　　pɣ²¹iɔ¹³
tomorrow　2nd.PL　　again　　come　　NOM　　don't
'You don't need to come again tomorrow.'

The pattern in (23a), (24a), and (25a) is '$pɔ^{35}$ + V', and it occurs quite frequently. It is, to a certain extent, interchangeable with the pattern in (23b), (24b), and (25b), 'V + $tsɿ\ pɣ^{21}iɔ^{13}$', 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. The word order in the 'b' examples is also clearly different from that in MSM; the last element in the sentence is $pɣ^{21}iɔ^{13}$. Xīníng has no equivalent of the MSM pattern in which *búyào* or *búyòng* appears before the verb to indicate this kind of negative.

2.2 Double negatives

The Xīníng 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
nɔ⁵³　　ki²¹　　ni⁵³　　pɣ²¹　　ki⁵³　　tsɿ　　pɣ²¹sɿ¹³
1st.SING give 2nd.SING not give NOM not

b. 我　　　你　　　哈　　　不　　　給　　　的　　　不是
nɔ⁵³　　ni⁵³　　xa　　pɣ²¹　　ki⁵³　　tsɿ　　pɣ²¹sɿ¹³
1st.SING 2nd.SING DAT not give NOM not

c. 我　　　給　　　你　　　不是　　　不　　　給
nɔ⁵³　　ki²¹　　ni⁵³　　pɣ²¹sɿ¹³　pɣ²¹　　ki⁵³
1st.SING give 2nd.SING not not give

d. 我　　　你　　　哈　　　不是　　　不　　　給
nɔ⁵³　　ni⁵³　　xa　　pɣ²¹sɿ¹³　pɣ²¹　　ki⁵³
1st. SING 2nd.SING DAT not not give
'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 (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	不是	就是	甚不好
tʂl̩¹³kɔ⁵³	tɕʰiã²¹tsɿ	yə̃¹³pɣ²¹tʂʰə̃²⁴	tsɿ	pɣ²¹sɿ¹³	tɕiɯ¹³sɿ⁵³	ʂə̃⁵³pɣ²¹xɔ⁵³
thisMW	pliers	can't use	NOM	not	is	not good

b.

這個	鉗子	不是	用不成	就是	甚不好
tʂl̩¹³kɔ⁵³	tɕʰiã²¹tsɿ	pɣ²¹sɿ¹³	yə̃¹³pɣ²¹tʂʰə̃²⁴	tɕiɯ¹³sɿ⁵³	ʂə̃⁵³pɣ²¹xɔ⁵³
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	不是，	就是	多	吃不得	啊
nã⁴⁴nɛ⁵³tɕiə̃¹³	tʂʰl̩⁴⁴pɣ²¹ti¹³	tsɿ	pɣ²¹sɿ¹³	tɕiɯ¹³sɿ⁵³	tu⁴⁴	tʂʰl̩⁴⁴pɣ²¹ti¹³	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
nã⁴⁴nɛ⁵³tɕiə̃¹³	pɣ²¹sɿ¹³	tʂʰl̩⁴⁴pɣ²¹ti¹³	tɕiɯ¹³sɿ⁵³	tu⁴⁴	tʂʰl̩⁴⁴pɣ²¹ti¹³	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 Xīníng 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 Xīníng 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
ɕyə̃⁴⁴tsɿ⁵³	tsɿ	kɔ²¹tsɿ	pi·²⁵³	kɔ²¹kɔ²⁴	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 $pɣ^{21}$ 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	的個	沒有
kɔ¹²kɔ²⁴	tsɿ	kɔ²¹tsɿ	ɕyə̃⁴⁴tsɿ⁵³	ta¹³	tsɿkɔ⁵³	mɔ²¹iɯ¹³
eld bro	NOM	body	yng bro	large	NOM	hasn't

b. 哥哥　　　的　　個子　　沒有　　　兄弟　　　大
    kɔ^{12}kɔ^{24}　tsɿ　　kɔ^{21}tsɿ　mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}　ɕyə̃^{44}tsɿ^{53}　ta^{13}
    eld bro　　NOM　body　　hasn't　　yng bro　large

c. 哥哥　　　的　　個子　　啊看呵　　兄弟　　　大　　的個　　沒有/不是
    kɔ^{12}kɔ^{24}　tsɿ　　kɔ^{21}tsɿ　xak^{h}a^{13}xɔ　ɕyə̃^{44}tsɿ^{53}　ta^{13}　tsɿkɔ^{53}　mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}/pɣ^{21}sɿ^{13}
    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
    kɔ^{12}kɔ^{24}　tsɿ　　kɔ^{21}tsɿ　xak^{h}a^{13}xɔ　mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}　ɕyə̃^{44}tsɿ^{53}　ta^{13}
    eld bro　　NOM　body　　CMPR　　hasn't　　yng bro　large

e. 哥哥　　　的　　個子　　把　　兄弟　　　不　　到
    kɔ^{12}kɔ^{24}　tsɿ　　kɔ^{21}tsɿ　pa^{21}　ɕyə̃^{44}tsɿ^{53}　pɣ^{21}　tɔ^{13}
    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. 傢的　　車　　你的　　好　　的個　　沒有
      tɕia^{24}tsɿ　tʂ^{h}ɛ^{44}　ni^{53}tsɿ　xɔ^{53}　tsɿkɔ^{53}　mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}
      his　　car　　your　　good　　NOM　　hasn't

    b. 傢的　　車　　沒有　　　你的　　好
      tɕia^{24}tsɿ　tʂ^{h}ɛ^{44}　mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}　ni^{53}tsɿ　xɔ^{53}
      his　　car　　hasn't　　your　　good

    c. 傢的　　車　　啊看呵　　你的　　好　　的個　　不是/沒有
      tɕia^{24}tsɿ　tʂ^{h}ɛ^{44}　xak^{h}a^{13}xɔ　ni^{53}tsɿ　xɔ^{53}　tsɿkɔ^{53}　pɣ^{21}sɿ^{13}/mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}
      his　　car　　CMPR　　your　　good　　NOM　　not/hasn't

    d. 傢的　　車　　啊看呵　　沒有　　你的　　好
      tɕia^{24}tsɿ　tʂ^{h}ɛ^{44}　xak^{h}a^{13}xɔ　mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}　ni^{53}tsɿ　xɔ^{53}
      his　　car　　CMPR　　hasn't　　your　　good

    e. 傢的　　車　　把　　你的　　不　　到
      tɕia^{24}tsɿ　tʂ^{h}ɛ^{44}　pa^{21}　ni^{53}tsɿ　pɣ^{21}　tɔ^{13}
      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 *pa*^{21} 把 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　　的個　　有　　倆
    ɕyə̃^{44}tsɿ^{53}　tsɿ　　kɔ^{21}tsɿ　kɔ^{21}kɔ^{24}　ta^{13}　tsɿkɔ^{53}　iɯ^{13}　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 *iɯ¹³* 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 Xīníng 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 Xīníng 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
　　　　　 $nɔ^{53}$　　　ki^{21}　　　ni^{53}　　　$tɕ^hiã^{24}ɛ$　　　$pɣ^{21}$　　　ki^{53}
　　　　　 1st.SING　give　2nd.SING　money　not　give

　　　 b. 我　　　　你　　　　哈　　　錢兒　　　不　　　給
　　　　　 $nɔ^{53}$　　　ni^{53}　　　xa　　　$tɕ^hiã^{24}ɛ$　　　$pɣ^{21}$　　　ki^{53}
　　　　　 1st.SING　2nd.SING　DAT　money　not　give
　　　　　 'I won't give you money.'

(34) a. 傢　　　　給　　　我　　　　那個　　　書　　　沒　　　給
　　　　　 $tɕia^{24}$　　　ki^{21}　　　$nɔ^{53}$　　　$nɛ^{13}kɔ^{53}$　　　$fɣ^{44}$　　　$mɔ^{21}$　　　ki^{53}
　　　　　 3rd.SING　give　1st.SING　thatMW　book　didn't　give

　　　 b. 傢　　　　我　　　哈　　　那個　　　書　　　沒　　　給
　　　　　 $tɕia^{24}$　　　$nɔ^{53}$　　　xa　　　$nɛ^{13}kɔ^{53}$　　　$fɣ^{44}$　　　$mɔ^{21}$　　　ki^{53}
　　　　　 3rd.SING　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
　　　　　 $nɔ^{53}$　　　ki^{21}　　　$ɕiɔ^{44}tʂɔ̃^{44}$　　　$nɛ^{13}kɔ^{53}$　　　$tsʰɛ^{21}liɔ^{13}$　　　$mɔ^{21}$　　　ki^{53}　　　tiɔ　　　a
　　　　　 1st.SING　give　PN　thatMW　material　didn't　give　COMP　PRT

　　　 b. 我　　　小張　　　　哈　　　那個　　　材料　　　　沒　　　給　　　掉　　　啊
　　　　　 $nɔ^{53}$　　　$ɕiɔ^{44}tʂɔ̃^{44}$　　　xa　　　$nɛ^{13}kɔ^{53}$　　　$tsʰɛ^{21}liɔ^{13}$　　　$mɔ^{21}$　　　ki^{53}　　　tiɔ　　　a
　　　　　 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 Xīníng dialect in which no negative marker is used. The most prominent feature of these patterns is the *ki⁵³* 給 after the verb:

(36) 鞋　　哈　　泡　　掉　　給
　　　xɛ²⁴　xa　pʰɔ¹³　tiɔ　ki⁵³
　　　shoe　DAT　soak　COMP　give
　　　'Don't let your shoes get wet!'

(37) 書　　撕　　掉　　給
　　　fɣ⁴⁴　sɿ⁴⁴　tiɔ　ki⁵³
　　　book　tear　COMP　give
　　　'Don't tear the book!'

(38) 小心，　娃娃　　絆　　掉　　給
　　　ɕiɔ²¹ɕiə̃⁵³　ua²¹ua²⁴　pã¹³　tiɔ　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* 別 to the beginning of the sentence. S.-C. Wang (2012), in discussing the typology of Xīníng dialect prepositional patterns, called this the 'antonymous imperative' *fǎnyì qíshǐ* 反義祈使.

In general, then, the types of negative patterns in the Xīníng dialect are numerous; some of them are similar to MSM and some are quite different. Some of the patterns in the Xīníng 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 Xīníng 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 Xīníng negatives

We have already encountered the problem of the scope of negatives in the Xīníng dialect in our discussion of the adverb *sə̃⁵³* 甚. 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 Xīníng pattern *sə̃⁵³* + 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.

Shuangcheng Wang and Keith Dede

(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 Xīníng and other northwest 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 'sə̃ + neg. + A' pattern seen in §2.1:

(41) 張明   夜來   話   甚   沒   說
tʂə̃²¹miə̃²⁴   i²¹lɛ⁵³   xua¹³   ʂə̃⁵³   mɔ²¹   fɔ⁴⁴
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
ni⁵³   pa²¹   kɔ⁵³   lɔ⁵³sl̩²¹xua¹³   tsɔ⁵³   pɣ²¹   fɔ⁴⁴   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
ʔa⁴⁴ta⁵³   pã¹³�numi⁵³   l̩   tsʰi⁴⁴fɔ⁵³   l̩   mɔ²¹   tɕʰiᶻ¹³
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
nɔ⁵³   iᶻ²⁴tʰiã⁴⁴   l̩   pã⁴⁴   pɣ²¹   ʂɔ̃¹³tɕʰiᶻ¹³
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:

(45)

我	筷子	嗬	肉	不	吃，	刀刀	嗬	吃	倆
nɔ⁵³	kʰuɛ¹³tsʅ⁵³	lia	ʐɯ¹³	pɣ²¹	tʂʰʅ⁴⁴	tɔ⁴⁴tɔ⁵³	lia	tʂʰʅ⁴⁴	lia
1ˢᵗ.SING	chopsticks	INST	meat	not	eat	knife	INST	eat	PRT

'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:

(46)

阿爺	明朝	醫院	裡	病	不	看	去	說
ʔa⁴⁴ːi⁴⁴	miə²¹tsɔ²⁴	iᶻ²⁴ɣã¹³	ʅ̩	piə¹³	pɣ²¹	kʰã¹³	tɕʰiᶻ⁵³	fɔ⁴⁴
grandpa	tomorrow	hospital	in	illness	not	see	go	say

'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 *tɕia*, which also precedes the negative and the verb:

(47)

我	上海	去	呵	西寧	埌	不	走，	蘭州	埌	走	倆
nɔ⁵³	ʂɔ̃¹³xɛ⁵³	tɕʰiᶻ¹³	xɔ	ɕiᵃ⁴⁴niə⁵³	tɕia	pɣ²¹	tsɯ⁵³	lã²¹tsɯ⁵³	tɕia	tsɯ⁵³	lia
1ˢᵗ.SING	PN	go	COND	PN	ABL	not	leave	PN	ABL	leave	PRT

'When I go to Shanghai, I don't leave from Xīníng; 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:

(48)

張明	教室	裡	書	好好兒	不	看
tʂɔ̃²¹miə²⁴	tɕiɔ¹³ʂʅ⁵³	ʅ̩	fɣ⁴⁴	xɔ⁵³xɔ¹³ɛ	pɣ²¹	kʰã¹³
PN	classroom	in	book	properly	not	read

'Zhang Ming doesn't study properly in the classroom.'

Examples (41)–(48) show that one of the more prominent characteristics of the Xīníng 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 hǎohǎo'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 Xīníng, Lánzhōu, and Urumqi. Table 1 presents these findings according to whether a dialect accepts

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

Dialect	Neg + Adv + Verb	Adv + Neg + Verb	Examples
Běijīng	+	–	他不好好看書。（*他好好不看書。）
Wéifāng, Shāndōng	+	–	他不好好地看書。（*他好好地不看書。）
Xī'ān, Shǎnxī	+	–	他不好好地看書。（*他好好地不看書。）
Lánzhōu, Gānsù	+	+	那他書好好不看著／那不好好看書。
Dūnhuáng, Gānsù	+	–	他不好好看書。（*他好好不看書。）
Zhāngyē, Gānsù	+	–	他不好好看書。（*他好好不看書。）
Wēnzhōu, Zhèjiāng	+	–	其弗好好相書。（*其好好弗相書。）
Guǎngzhōu, Guǎngdōng	+	–	佢他無認真睇書。（*佢認真無睇書。）
Xīníng, Qīnghǎi	–	+	傢好好兒書不看／傢書好好兒不看。（*傢不好好兒書看／*傢書不好好兒看。）

In this rough survey, Xīníng 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 Xīníng 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　歪底很
　　　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 Xīníng (A. Zhang 2006:291):[6]

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

(51) 她　　　忙　　得　　　一夜　　炕　　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 雒鵬 (personal communication, May 2012), the two patterns are acceptable in the Lánzhōu dialect, as in Table 1. In our investigations, we found that in Dūnhuáng 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' *héxīn xīfù* 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 Xīníng 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 Xīníng 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 Xīníng 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 Xīníng dialect, in which the italicized elements indicate stress:

(52) a.

傔	教室裡	書	沒	看	著
tɕia²⁴	tɕiɔ²¹ʂl̩⁵³l̩	fɣ⁴⁴	mɔ²¹	kʰã¹³	tʂɛ
3ʳᵈ.SING	classroom-in	book	didn't	read	CONT

b.

傔	教室裡	書	沒	看	著
tɕia²⁴	*tɕiɔ²¹ʂl̩⁵³l̩*	fɣ⁴⁴	mɔ²¹	kʰã¹³	tʂɛ
3ʳᵈ.SING	*classroom-in*	book	didn't	read	CONT

c.

傔	教室裡	書	沒	看	著
tɕia²⁴	tɕiɔ²¹ʂl̩⁵³l̩	fɣ⁴⁴	*mɔ²¹*	kʰã¹³	tʂɛ
3ʳᵈ.SING	classroom-in	book	*didn't*	read	CONT

d.

傔	教室裡	書	沒	看	著
tɕia²⁴	tɕiɔ²¹ʂl̩⁵³l̩	*fɣ⁴⁴*	mɔ²¹	kʰã¹³	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 Xīníng 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 Xīníng 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.'

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

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

(54) a. 張明   不   經常   去   北京
         Zhāng Míng   bù   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 Xīníng dialect.

4. Language contact and negatives in the Xīníng 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 Xīníng 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 $p\gamma^{21}i\partial^{13}$ NegImp, $p\gamma^{21}s\imath^{13}$ NegCop, and $m\partial^{21}i\mathrm{u}^{13}$ 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 $p\gamma^{21}i\partial^{13}$:

(58) *naŋ ʂka   tɕʰə tɕʰo   joŋ   mə 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 $m\partial^{21}i\mathrm{u}^{13}$:

(59) *rdʑə wa   hoŋ gə   ʂa kə   me kə*
      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 $p\gamma^{21}s\imath^{13}$:

---

[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.

(60) *rdʐə wa   hoŋ gə   ʂa nə   ma re*
      quality   extremely   good   isn't (NegCop)
      'The quality isn't very good.'

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 Xīníng 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) *bu   lii   ɕəja,   te   lii   ɕəlagə*
      1st.SING   not   go   3rd.SING   not   go
      '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 $pɣ^{21}iɔ^{13}$ (Zhaonasitu 1981:(44), (47)) (again, compare with Examples (23b), (24b), and (25b)):

(62) *tasge   ɕə-gu   murgoo*
      2nd.SING   go-NOM   don't need (NegImp)
      'You don't need to go.'

Note the use of the nominalizing morpheme *-gu* after the verb 'to go' in the Monguor example; it clearly parallels the use of *tsɿ* 的 in the Xīníng examples. Example (63) is the Monguor equivalent of NegCop $pɣ^{21}sɿ^{13}$ (again, compare with Examples (21b) and (22b)):

(63) *ne   ŋgo   sʨan   puʨa*
      this   color   beautiful   isn't (NegCop)
      'This color isn't pretty.'

Example (64) is the Monguor equivalent of NegExt $mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}$ (again, compare with Examples (21c) and (22c)):

(64) *bu   iiʨə   jadaadʐə   guii*
      1st.SING   very   tired   hasn't (NegExt)
      'I'm not very tired.'

Through comparison with the Tibetan and Monguor data, it is clear that the Xīníng sentence-final negatives $pɣ^{21}iɔ^{13}$, $pɣ^{21}sɿ^{13}$, and $mɔ^{21}iɯ^{13}$ have exactly the same word order as the non-Sinitic languages. On the surface, it appears that the negative markers $pɣ^{21}$ and $mɔ^{13}$ are negating the following verbs $sɿ^{13}$, $iɔ^{13}$, and $iɯ^{53}$. 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 Xīníng 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, Bǎo'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 $p\gamma^{21}i\partial^{13}$, $p\gamma^{21}s\imath^{13}$, or $m\partial^{21}i\mathrm{u\!u}^{13}$ at the end of a sentence. Therefore, we believe that the data from Xīníng, 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 Xīníng negatives NegImp $p\gamma^{21}i\partial^{13}$, NegCop $p\gamma^{21}s\imath^{13}$, and NegExt $m\partial^{21}i\mathrm{u\!u}^{13}$. 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 $ts\imath$ or $ts\imath k\partial^{53}$. Consider the negation $ts^h\widehat{l}^{44}p\gamma^{21}ti^{13}ts\imath\ p\gamma^{21}s\imath^{13}$ 吃不得的不是 in Example (28a) and the $l\varepsilon^{13}$ $ts\imath\ p\gamma^{21}i\partial^{13}$ 來的不要 in Example (25b) in which the negative marker is separated from the predicate nucleus by $ts\imath$ or $ts\imath k\partial^{53}$. 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 $n\varepsilon^{13}m\tilde{\partial}$ 那麼, $t\varepsilon^{13}$ 太, or $t^hu\tilde{\partial}^{21}\underline{s}\partial^{13}$ 統甚, generally appears before the adjective and $ts\imath$ or $ts\imath k\partial^{53}$ appears before the negative, as in Examples (65) and (66):

(65) 那麼 大 的/的個 沒有
$n\varepsilon^{13}m\tilde{\partial}$ ta^{13} $ts\imath/ts\imath k\partial^{53}$ $m\partial^{21}i\mathrm{u\!u}^{13}$
such big NOM/NOM-MW hasn't NegExt
'It's not that big.'

(66) 統甚 好 的/的個 不是
$t^hu\tilde{\partial}^{21}\underline{s}\tilde{\partial}^{13}$ $x\partial^{53}$ $ts\imath/ts\imath k\partial^{53}$ $p\gamma^{21}s\imath^{13}$
too good NOM/NOM-MW isn't NegCop
'It isn't too good.'

If the adverbial were elided, the sentence would be awkward or ungrammatical. Compare Examples (65) and (66) from Xīníng with the Amdo Tibetan Example (59) and (60), in which the adjective is followed by $k\partial$ and placed before the NegCop $ma\ re$ or NegExt $me\ g\partial$. This function word $k\partial$ in colloquial Amdo Tibetan is precisely the same as the Qīnghǎi Chinese function word $ts\imath$. 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 -$d\partial$ 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 Xīníng dialect $ts\imath$ and $ts\imath k\partial^{53}$ 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 Xīníng and Tibetan and Altaic languages on the comparatives, while S.-C. Wang (2011) takes a similar approach to looking at di-transitives. The Xīníng examples earlier include the use of post-positions: Example (45) uses the instrumental post-position *lia* (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 Xīníng 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 *jiā xīfān* 家西番 are currently undergoing the effects of language contact.

These data suggest the Xīníng 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 Xīníng 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 Xīníng'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 Xīníng 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 $sə^{44}$ 甚, 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 Xīníng 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 Xīníng dialect.

References

Chen, Naixiong. 1989. Wutunhua de dongci xingtai [Verbal morphology of Wutun]. *Minzu Yuwen* [*Minority Languages of China*] 1989.6:26–37.

Cheng, Xianghui. 1980. Qinghai kouyu yufa sanlun [Colloquial Qinghai Chinese grammar]. *Zhongguo Yuwen* [*Studies of the Chinese Language*] 1980.2:142–149.

Dede, Keith. 1999. An ablative postposition in the Xining dialect. *Language Variation and Change* 11.1:1–17.

Dede, Keith. 2003. The Chinese language in Qinghai. *Studia Orientalia* 95:321–346.

Dede, Keith. 2007. The deep end of the feature pool: syntactic hybridization in Chinese dialects. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 35.1:58–80.

Dede, Keith. (in press). Modal auxiliaries in Qinghai Chinese. *Studies in Chinese Linguistics*.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2013. Position of negative morpheme with respect to subject, object, and verb. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, ed. by Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Retreived from http://wals.info/chapter/144, accessed on 14 August 2014.

Dwyer, Arienne M. 1992. Altaic elements in Linxia dialect: contact induced change on the Yellow River plateau. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 20.1:160–179.

Hashimoto, Mantaro J. 1985. *Yuyan Dili Leixingxue* [*Areal Linguistics*], translated by Zhihong Yu. Beijing: Peking University Press.

Kawasumi, Tetsuya. 2014. A comparison of the sound systems of Standard Chinese and Xining dialect: Are there phonetic influences of non-Sinitic languages upon Xining dialect? *Fukuoka University Review of Literature & Humanities* 46.1:149–171.

Lan, Binhan. 2011. *Xi'an Fangyan Yufa Diaocha Yanjiu* [*Investigations into the Grammar of the Xī'ān Dialect*]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company.

Limusishiden, & Keith Dede. 2012. The Mongghul experience: consequences of language policy shortcomings. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 215:101–124.

Liu, Danqing. 2005. Hanyu foudingci xingtai jufa leixing de fangyan bijiao [Dialectal comparisons of Chinese negatives' morpho-syntactic typology]. *Chūgokugo Gaku* 252:1–22.

Liu, Danqing. (ed.) 2008. *Yufa Diaocha Yanjiu Shouce* [*A Handbook for Grammatical Investigation and Research*]. Shanghai: Shanghai Education Press.

Liu, Lili. 1989. *Huimin Wulumuqi Yuyan Zhi* [*Introduction to the Hui People's Language of Urumqi*]. Ürümqi: Xinjiang University Press.

Ren, Bisheng. 2004. Xining fangyan de qianzhi binyuju [Pre-posed objects in the Xining dialect]. *Fangyan* [*Dialect*] 2004.4:338–346.

Ross, Malcolm. 2006. Metatypy. *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* (2nd edition), ed. by Keith Brown, 95–99. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tang, Zhengda. 2013. Guanzhong fangyan fouding jiegou — jian tan xibei fangyan zhong fouding yu zhuangyu de xiayu [Negation in the Guangzhong Dialect: Special focus on the scope of negation and the adverbial-negator order]. *Yuyan yanjiu jikan* [*Language Research Bulletin*] 2013.2:58–69.

Thomason, Sarah Grey, & Terrence Kaufman. 1991. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wang, Sen. 2001. Dongganhua de yuxu [Word order in the Donggan dialect]. *Zhongguo Yuwen* [*Studies of the Chinese Language*] 2001.3:225–229.

Wang, Shuangcheng. 2007. 'Jiaxifan' zhi chengwei tanyuan [On the origin of the expression 'Jiaxifan']. *Xizang Yanjiu* [*Tibetan Studies*] 2007.3:24–27.

Wang, Shuangcheng. 2009. Xining fangyan de chabiju [Comparatives in the Xīníng dialect]. *Zhongguo Yuwen* [*Studies of the Chinese Language*] 2009.3:241–247.

Wang, Shuangcheng. 2011. Qinghai Xining fangyan de geiyulei shuangjiwu jiegou [The di-transitive construction in the Xining dialect]. *Fangyan* [*Dialect*] 2011.1:14–19.

Wang, Shuangcheng. 2012. Xining fangyan de jieci leixing [Typology of prepositions in the Xining dialect]. *Zhongguo Yuwen* [*Studies of the Chinese Language*] 2012.5:469–478.

Wang, Yan. 2007. Wulumuqihua fouding fuci de yongfa: jian tan Tujuezu yuyan dui Xinjiang Hanyu fangyan de yingxiang [The usage of negatives in the Urumqi dialect: and a discussion of Turkish language influence on the Chinese dialect of Xinjiang]. *Xinjiang Shifan Daxue Xuebao* [*Journal of Xinjiang Normal University* (*Philosophy and Social Sciences*)] 2007.2:120–123.

Zhang, Ansheng. 2006. *Tongxin Fangyan Yanjiu* [*Studies of the Tongxin Dialect*]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company.

Zhang, Chengcai, & Shikui Zhu. 1987. *Xining Fangyan Zhi* [*An Introduction to the Xining Dialect*]. Xining: Qinghai People's Publishing House.

Zhaonasitu (Junast). (ed.) 1981. *Tuzuyu Jianzhi* [*Introduction to Monguor language*]. Beijing: Nationalities Press.

Zhu, Shikui, & Lenian Ding. 2003. *Xining Fangyan Ciyu Huidian* [*Compilation of Xining Dialect Vocabulary*]. Xining: Qinghai People's Publishing House.

Keith Dede (corresponding author)
MSC 30, 0615 S. W. Palatine Hill Road
Portland, OR 97219
USA
dede@lclark.edu

西寧方言的否定結構

王雙成[1]   Keith Dede[2]

上海師範大學[1]
路易斯克拉克大學[2]

大部分漢語方言中否定標記總是前置的，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，$p\gamma^{21}i\mathfrak{d}^{13}$（不要）、$p\gamma^{21}s\mathfrak{l}^{13}$（不是）、$m\mathfrak{d}^{21}i\mathfrak{w}^{13}$（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。這些語序特點和侵害境內的 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