

Language contact and lexical competition: Chinese impact on Mongolian negations

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Outline

- Linguistic background
- Two forms for jussive negation in Modern Mongolian dialects and varieties
 - büü: Dörbet, Kharchin, Khorchin
 - bitxii: Khalkha, Chahar (Inner Mongolian)
- Chinese borrowing?
- Retention vs. Innovation
- Chinese impact

Linguistic Background

- Mongolian is agglunative.
- The word order is S O V.
- Nominals are marked by cases.
 - Nominative
 - Accusative
 - Genitive
 - Dative/Locative
 - Ablative
 - Instrumental
 - Comitative

Linguistic Background(cont.) Dialects and varieties

- Main dialects: Khalkha, Inner Mongolian
- Main varieties of Inner Mongolian: Chahar, Kharchin, Khorchin, Bairin, Ordos

Linguistic Background(cont.) Mongolic languages

- Mongolian: Inner Mongolia (China), Mongolia
- Dagur : Hulunbuir (IM, China), Hailar (Heilongjiang, China), Qiqihar (Heilongjiang, China)
- Buriat : Buryat Republic (Baikal Lake, Russia), Hulunbuir
- Dongxiang (Santa) : Gansu (China)
- Bao'an: Gansu, Qinghai (China)/Kanjia: Qinghai
- Monguor (Mongguel) : Gansu, Qinghai
- East Yogur (Sira Uighur): Gansu
- Oirat/Kalmuck : Xinjiang (China), the Republic of Kalmykia (Volga River, Russia)
- Moghol: Afghanistan

Data sources (Modern Mongolian)

- Dörbet, Khalkha, Chahar
 - My own field notes
- Dagur: Enkhbatu (1988)
- Barhu: Baoxiang & Jirennige (1995)
- Kanjia: Secenchogt (1999), my own notes
- Bao'an: Chen (1987)
- Dongxiang (Santa): Buhe (1986)

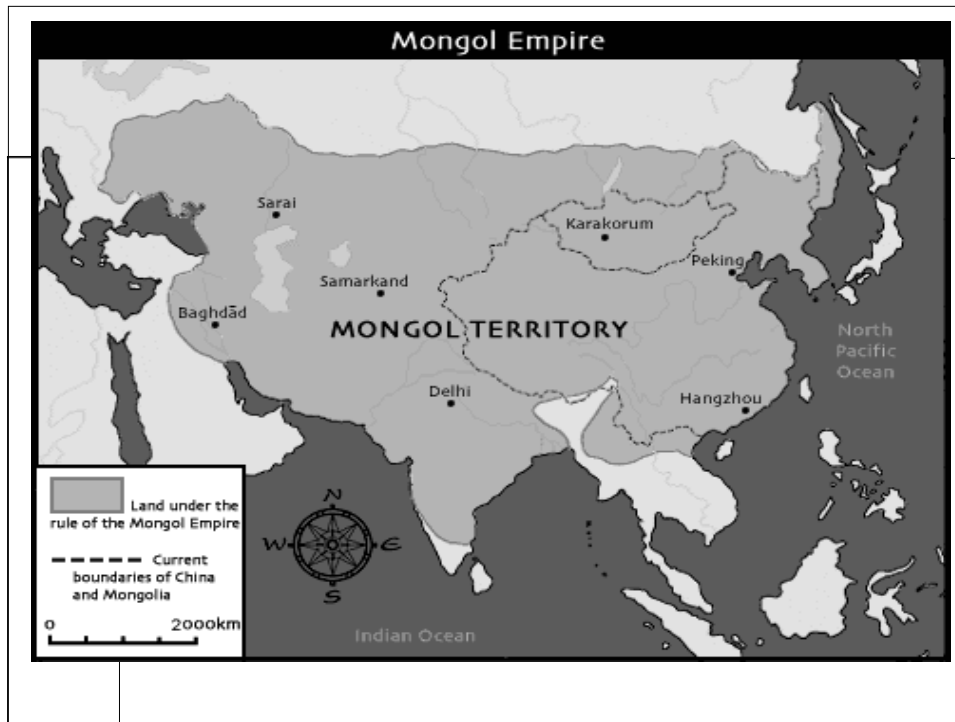
Jussive negators in Modern Mongolian

- Dörbet, Kharchin, Khorchin, Barhu: buu
 - (1) Buu tyyt! (Dörbet)
Neg be-naughty
“Don't be naughty!”
 - (2) Buu jaw! (Kharchin)
Neg go
“Don't go.”
 - (3) ʃii buu xəntəgləree. (Barhu)
you Neg be-angry (honorific)
Please don't be angry.

Jussive negators in Modern Mongolian (cont.)

- Khalkha, Chahar: bitxii
(<bitegei<bitügei<bütügei)
 - (4) enge᠗ bitxii xel! (Khalkha)
like-that Neg say
“Don't say things like that!”

Dörbet, Kharchin, Khorchin and Barhu varieties are spoken in Eastern Inner Mongolia, while Khalkha and Chahar are spoken in the central part of Mongolia (separated by the Gobi).



Chinese borrowing?

- *buu* is used in several Mongolian vernaculars spoken in Eastern Inner Mongolian, Liaoning and Heilongjiang, where contacts and interactions among Mongolian and Sinic people are lively and the Mongolian spoken in that area contains abundant Chinese borrowings. (Bao 2006, our field notes)
- Is *buu* recently borrowed from Chinese? No.
 - It appeared as early as in the 13th century.
 - Dongxiang (Santa), a Mongolic language located far from Eastern Inner Mongolia also uses *buu*.

Jussive negators in four historical documents

- Buu occurred more frequently than bitxii in Mongolian historical documents. It was replaced by “bitxii” in Modern Standard Mongolian (Khalkha and Chahar).

Table II. Tokens of imperative negators in four historical documents

Sources negators	Source History of the Mongols (1928)	Altan Tobi (1655)	Debenyin Tobiya (1669)	Mongolian Dardula (1720)
buu	71	135	17	13
bitxii	0	5	0	5

Historical periods of Mongolian

- Old Mongolian (~12th century)
- Middle Mongolian (13th ~16th centuries)
- Late Mongolian (17th ~19th centuries)
- Modern Mongolian (20th century ~)

Data sources (Middle Mongolian)

- Mongqol-un ni'uča tobča'an "The Secret History of the Mongols"(1228)
 - Main texts of SHM were composed in 1228, additions on Ögödei written before 1251 and other editorial changes carried out during the Yüan and early Ming periods (de Rachewiltz 2004: xxix-xxxiv)
 - It is mainly on the life of Genghis Khan.
 - The original versions in Mongolian script were lost.
 - Chinese transcribed and translated versions entitled "Yüan mi shi" or "Yüanchao mishi" were handed down to us. They were arbitrarily divided into 12 ("Yüan mi shi") or 15 chapters ("Yüanchao mi shi in Yung-le da-dian"), 282 sections or paragraphs and was compiled by 1408.

Data sources (Late Mongolian)

- Altan Tobči "Golden Summary"
 - Compiled by Lubsangdanjin (1655)
 - The author copied from several sources including the Secret History of the Mongols
 - It contains contents of the Secret History of the Mongols (233/282)
- Erdeni-yin Tobčiya "Treasure Summary"
 - Compiled by Saγan Sečen Hungtaiji (1662)
 - It was based on 7 Mongolian and Tibetan documents and Saγan's own records
- Mongolian Lao Kida "Real China (Mongolian Edition)"
 - Compiled by Li et al. (1741, 1776, 1790)
 - It was a textbook used for learning Mongolian in the Office of Interpreters in Korea

Negative jussive in Dongxiang (Santa)

(5) Bi xui dʒiərə bu kiəliə-jə, tərə jə bu kiəliə-giə.
I meeting on Neg say-1stJ he also Neg say-3rdJ
“I won’t say (it) in the meeting. Let him not say (it),
either!”

(6) ənə kiəliən-ni tʃi kiəmə-də bu kiəliə!
this say(VN)-Acc you who-Dat Neg say
“Don’t tell anyone this!”

An earlier Chinese borrowing?

- Although Chinese bù 不 originally took a final stop, the final stop was lost in Guānhuà 官話. It was listed in Mengguziyun 蒙古字韻 under the categories “bu”, “fu” and “fuw”. Is the Mongolian *buu* an ancient borrowing from Chinese bù 不?
- The answer is no, either.
 - Chinese bù 不 was not used as an imperative negator when the Chinese version of SHM was transcribed and translated in early Ming dynasty. 不 was used to transcribe the sound “bu” (including the negative morpheme and the syllable bu), but xiū 休 was chosen as the gloss for Mongolian negative jussive bu.
 - It is very unlikely that 不 was borrowed into Mongolian and played a role it didn’t play at that time.

Bitxii:an etymology

- Bitxii: spoken in Modern Khalkha and Chahar
- Bitegei: spelling in Mongolian Laoqida
- Bitügei: spelling of Modern vertical Mongolian script
- Bütügei: spelling in Altan Tobci
- Bao'an: tægə

(7) tɛi tægə Guara.

You Neg get-angry

“Don't get angry!”

Bitxii < Bü 'Neg'+ teg- 'to do that way' + khii- 'to do'

Competition between buu and bitegei

- The distribution of bitxii was not limited in Central Mongolia.
- Manchu
 - Mongolian Laoqida: based on the Mongolian variety spoken in Shenyang
 - Buu: 18 tokens
 - Bitegei: 5 tokens
- Gansu-Qinghai
 - Bao'an (Gansu, Qinghai)
 - Kanjia (Qinghai)

Competition between buu and bitegei (cont.)

- Why *buu* resists and is not replaced by *bitxii* in East Inner Mongolia and Manchu?
- Chinese impact?
 - *buu*, which is phonetically identical to Chinese negator 不 “*bú*” by a coincidence, resists in the variety because it resembles its Chinese counterpart *bú*.

Potential evidences of Chinese impact on syntax

- Example (8), a case of slip of tongues, implies that Chinese *bú* indeed has impacts on the use of Mongolian *buu* and seems to support our hypothesis. In (8), the negative imperative *buu* is used with first person.

(8) Bi buu sʊʊ.

I Neg sit

(cf. Chinese *Wo bu zuo le.*)

In this case, the speaker intended to express the meaning “(No, thanks.) I won’t sit.”

Potential evidences of Chinese impact on syntax (cont.)

(8)ʼ Bi sʊʊx-(g)ʊi-lee.
 I sit(VN)-Neg-LEE
 “I’ll not sit.”

Note: Although *buu* is limited to 2nd person in Dörbet, it goes with 1st and 3rd person as well in Dongxiang. Since intention, command, request, prohibition and permission all belong to the category jussive, it is also possible that using *buu* with 1st person in Dörbet is a natural drift.

Potential evidences of Chinese impact on syntax (cont.)

- In Dörbet, -lee is used when a state is changed, reminding us the Chinese 了.

(9) ən ylœœ da-mi badaa idx-(g)u(i)-lee,
 this night big-rice rice eat(VN)-Neg-lee
 bæŋ idən.
 dumpling eat-NonPast
 “Tonight we’re not going to eat rice (as usual), we’ll eat dumplings.”

Some scholars treat this -lee as a reflex of verbal suffix -luɣa/-lüge denoting recent past. However, the verbal suffix -luɣa/-lüge should be added onto a verbal stem, not a verbal noun less the negative suffix -güi

Concluding remarks

- Mongolic/Mongolian jussive negator *buu* was replaced by *bitxii* (< *bu* + *teg-* ‘to do that way’ + *khii-* ‘to do’) in some languages/dialects/varieties but resists in others which are spoken in areas closer to or surrounded by sinic people.
- We propose that Chinese 不 “bú” helps to preserve *buu* and extend its function. However, further works are called for since the supporting evidences are not solid enough at this point.

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