

# **A DISCUSSION OF QIANG BILINGUALISM—WITH CONCURRENT COMMENTS ON THE INFLUENCE OF CHINESE ON THE QIANG LANGUAGE**

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## **1.0**

Among all the ethnic groups living within China's borders, the Qiang (羌) have one of the longest histories. As early as the Yin-Shang (殷商) dynasty, inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells refer to the activities of the Qiang people. During the Zhou-Qin (周秦) dynastic period the Qiang resided along the He (Gansu), Huang (Qinghai), Tao (Gansu), and Min (Sichuan) rivers. As the Qin (秦) imperial court grew strong, the majority of the Qiang were compelled to live among the Han-dominated population. Moreover, the portion of the Qiang tribe "that feared the powerful Qin court", migrated to the south and settled there. Before settling down, they traveled for thousands of kilometers, crossing the winding Cizhi (赐支) river at its western extremities.<sup>1</sup> Later generations distinguished themselves by the different locales they occupied: the Yuexi Qiang (越西羌) as the Yak branch, the Guanghan Qiang (广汉羌) as the White Horse branch, and the Wudou Qiang (武都羌) as the Wolf Pack branch.

Today, the Qiang who live along the upper reaches of the Min River are the Southern Qiang that appear in the historical record. Records indicate that they settled in this region as far back as the Western Han dynasty (206 BC – 23 AD). The dynastic bibliographies of southwestern non-Han peoples note that in northwestern Zuo (笮), there were several tribes, among them a group by the name of Ranmang (冉駹) that had the largest population. Some of their customs were derived from the original inhabitants of western Sichuan. Later Han dynasty (25-220 AD) historical records on the non-Han tribes of the southwest state that the emperor Wu (武) opened up the Ranmang territory to

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<sup>1</sup> See *Later Han – Western Qiang: Period History and Records*, p.55.

the Han. Furthermore, during the sixth year of the Han dynasty, during the Yuanding (元鼎) period (116 BC), the imperial court established the prefecture of Wenshan (汶山) in this area. For the first three years, the non-Han residents of Wenshan considered their taxes burdensome. Subsequently the emperor Xuan (宣) abolished the tax-system and incorporated Wenshan into the Northern part of Shu (蜀), present-day Sichuan), called Duwei (都尉). Wenshan was not only home to some unspecified non-Han groups, but also to the Qiang and the Di (氏) who were in turn subdivided into six, seven, and nine subgroups (tribes) respectively. Historical research has shown that today's Qiang trace their strongest historical links to the Ranmang. Records indicate that in every regard—cultural customs, architecture, and their indigenous geography—the Ranmang and the Qiang are clearly one and the same.

The genesis of Qiang bilingualism probably dates back to the Western Han dynasty (206 BC – 24 AD). Over 2000 years ago, while the Qiang were living along the upper reaches of the Min River, they came into contact with the Han of Shu (Sichuan). Documents mention the Qiang working as hired laborers, migrating in the winter to the Sichuan basin to avoid the cold, and in the summer returning to their mountain homes to escape the hot lowlands. The well known irrigation project at the midpoint of the Min River at Dujiangyan (都江堰) was the fruit of joint Qiang-Han efforts. Later Han (25 - 220 AD) archives record the Qiang leaders as having a wide knowledge of literature and a strict interpretation of the law, including cruel or corporal punishment. Since the Qiang language did not have an orthography, this would indicate that those who were literate read and wrote in Mandarin Chinese.

For more than 2000 uninterrupted years, not only have the Qiang entered Han territory to carry on business and export their pool of labor, but the Han have also entered the Qiang domain to conduct trade, and have utilized armies to carry out agricultural pursuits and wage war. The mutual contact between the Qiang and Han peoples is the most important societal condition influencing Qiang bilingualism. Over a period of 2000 years, during the development of Qiang society, whether the two peoples were at peace or war, there was no significant change in their overall relationship.

The Qiang are distributed in the following areas of Sichuan: Mao (茂), Li (理), Wenchuan (汶川), Heishui (黑水), and Songpan (松潘) counties of the Aba (阿坝) Tibetan Qiang Autonomous Prefecture; Beichuan (北川) county of the Mianyang (绵阳) City District; the Danba (丹巴) county of Ganzi (甘孜) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture; as well as some Qiang who reside along the Northwest edge of the Sichuan Basin. On the southern and eastern extremes, Qiang territory borders Han areas. In contrast, on the western and northern

sides of their region, Qiang and Tibetan domains overlap. The majority of the Qiang coexist and intermingle with the Han. There is a minority who live, in relation to the Tibetans, in more segregated settlements. The villages where the Qiang have intermingled with the Han vary greatly in size and number compared to the Qiang who live in segregated villages. These then are the geopolitical considerations affecting Qiang bilingualism.

## **2.0**

According to the 1986 census, the Qiang have a population of approximately 170,000. The very nature of Qiang bilingualism is such that the majority of the Qiang community were able to utilize both the Qiang and Chinese languages. This analysis of Qiang bilingualism shows an extremely slow developmental period, due to societal, historical, geographical and other influences. Historical data concerning Qiang bilingualism, much like written Qiang itself, is virtually non-existent. However, much can be learned by analyzing the extent of bilingualism and the differences found from one locale to the next.

### **2.1 Monolingualism (Qiang)**

There must have been a transitional period from monolingualism to bilingualism. Written records, at the time of the Qin Han (秦汉), state that the Qiang migrated as a nation from six different river basins to western Sichuan. Consequently, this transitional period is seen as having had a long, slow evolution. At this point, the people were by and large monolingual, but some were beginning to articulate Chinese well, becoming bilingual in the process. As time passed, Qiang areas were increasingly affected by new arrivals, namely the Han and Hui peoples. More than a few Qiang left their homes to find odd jobs and conduct business, causing the level of bilingualism to rise. It was at this time that the first substantial number of bilingual Qiang appeared on the scene. They were mostly tribal leaders and their servants as well as a few educated folks. In the beginning, although the bilingual Qiang were small in number, their influence was comparatively large. During this period, Qiang was still the dominant language of their society. Chinese was only used once in a while by some people when they needed to communicate with non-native Qiang speakers. However, among the Qiang themselves, regardless of the occasion, utilizing their own language was the norm. Furthermore, this period developed into a very long, self-sustained, integrated, feudally ruled socio-economic system. Along with the establishment and implementation of the Qiangic headman system, Qiang society began to open up, with limitations, to the outside world. Headmen wanted their subjects to go to Han areas to transport goods, to deal with official documents, to pay the land tax in grain,

and to wage military campaigns. The Han ruling class wished to strengthen the feudal roles of headmen and leaders, and to continue economic exploitation and suppress resistance. After this type of treatment Qiang society fractured into two halves. At this point, one segment was called Shengfan (生番) or Shengqiang (生羌). For example a passage from *The Earthen Temple – the Loyal Generations* says, “In the 6<sup>th</sup> year of the Ying (英) clan (1441 AD), the minorities of Mao, Wei, and Wen districts rebelled. The court went on several punitive expeditions to put down the rebellion, but failed. Therefore, the districts were put under martial law.” The *Ming Dynasty History – Sichuan Headmen (Vol. I)* states, “Among the Qiang rebel forces of the Eastern Road area Qiang, the White Grass clan is the strongest. Also the Songpan Yellow Hair clan joined forces with the White Grass clan to form raiding expeditions to outlying regions.” *Readings from the Territorial History* states, “Residing in dangerously steep and complex terrain and mountain forests, the rebels built three stockaded villages beyond the river to the west. There was only one path from the village to Dongbu Hanhu (董卜韩胡) Xuanwei and another path leading to Meng Dong (孟董) and Liang Huang (梁黄). The rebel army controlled these two lines of travel, often causing disturbances.”<sup>2</sup>

Taking over at this time were the standard-bearing classes of the Sheng Fan and Sheng Qiang clans. Regarding military issues, while they did not promote banditry, they were repeatedly attacked and refused to submit. Concerning political interests, they refused to pay the grain tax and were resistant to pacification. In the realm of culture, they were considered uncouth and illiterate. In other areas, they were called the Shu Fan and Han Qiang. “Among the clans in Wei and Mao country some isolated themselves from the outside. It has never been determined whether these clans changed their names or not. However at this time (Yuan (元) and Ming (明) dynasties), these clans began to show a willingness to pay the grain tribute and gradually assimilate with the Han population.”<sup>3</sup> It is evident that during the Yuan-Ming dynasty (1271-1644) Qiang society began to fracture. One Qiang area accepted significant Han rule and as a result were deeply influenced by their rulers. This is where the foundations of the Qiang bilingual society were laid. Probably more than half of the Qiang speakers could understand and functionally use Chinese well enough to engage the Han segment of society. Among the clans that maintained their isolation, bilingualism naturally remained low. At this juncture, I believe the Qiang monolingual equilibrium was disturbed and crossed over the threshold to bilingualism. An overall analysis

<sup>2</sup> *A Summary of Regional Public History*: Vol.67 (“Sichuan #3”), p.56.

<sup>3</sup> *The Peaceful Dragon’s Government Archives*: Vol.5 (“National Minority Hereditary Headmen”), p. 56.



of the linguistic situation at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) reveals that the bilingualism rate had grown to roughly 20-30% of Qiang speakers.

## 2.2 The epoch of the bilingual system

Qiang was still the dominant language at this point. During the Ming-Qing (明清) dynasties (1368-1911), two major events transpired in the Qiang realm. First the Han peasant leader, Zhang Xianzhong (张献忠), entered Sichuan. A large group of Han immigrants settled among the Qiang. This wave of immigration had a positive effect on the Qiang economy. One aspect of this was the manufacturing technologies and tools which were incorporated into Qiang society and simultaneously stimulated handicraft and commercial development. Another big factor was Qiang land reform. For a long time, beginning in the Yuan dynasty, the system of appointed hereditary headmen, was used to exploit the Qiang people, but gradually they moved away from the headmen's domination. Accordingly, goods and products began to be utilized to pay for rents, supplanting forced labor for that purpose. This turn of events certainly spurred enthusiasm toward commercial activity.

In the cultural sphere, the Mao county archives record the beginning of a Qiang area school as follows: "Since the Qiang were rebellious, the head of Mao county made a request to the imperial court that a school be founded. He then called all the Qiang leaders together to educate them and change their original customs. Henceforth, the Qiang began sending their sons to the school."<sup>4</sup> The *Li Fan Hall of Records* states: "A scholar was transferred from the imperial palace to Wei country with the title of 'successful candidate of the imperial examination'". He rebuilt the temple of Confucius and initiated a school. He, along with his friends and brothers, sent their children to the school; thus there were more than 20 students going to the school each year. The local minorities saw this and changed their attitude toward education. One after another, families big and small began to send their sons to school. Together with the Han students the Qiang students learned grace and respect for their teachers and the ideals of the ancient Qi (齐) and Lu (鲁) states.<sup>5</sup> Regarding the practical language use situation the *Mao Zhou Archives* state: "For a long time, the Qiang have tried to absorb everything (Han) from the spoken language to clothes. Now they have completely accepted Han culture and customs, becoming subservient to the Han ruling court".<sup>6</sup> Written

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<sup>4</sup> Daoguang (Qing dynasty emperor) *Mao Prefecture Archives*: Vol. 3 ("Official Career Achievements"), p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Tongzhi (Qing dynasty emperor) *Lifan Hall Archives*: Vol. 5, ("Art and Literature"), p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Daoguang (Qing dynasty emperor) *Mao Prefecture Archives*: Vol. 2 ("Internal Administration").

documents and actual field investigations tell us that at this period communication was relatively convenient in the river valley region as well as in the towns and the cities nearby. Except for the older folks and the children who did not go out of their homes much, the great majority of the Qiang were functionally bilingual in social contexts. Normally Qiang was the mode of communication in homes, villages, and rural settings, while in the markets and in interaction with other nationalities fluent Chinese was the expected norm. In the high mountain villages and remote compact hamlets the number of those able to control both Qiang and Chinese grew somewhat, but this number remained relatively small. From an overall perspective the time was rapidly approaching when those who were using Chinese to engage in social activities accounted for approximately half of all Qiang society.

### ***2.3 The fruition of the Qiang bilingual system***

After the midpoint of the Qing dynasty (circa 1770), when the foundations of land redistribution were completed, the “1/2 kilometer household system” or the “united household system” were applied to Qiang territory. The repressive government colluded with imperialism against the Qiang: exploitation and plunder were stepped up in the realm of economics, the government consolidated its rule, and Qiang culture was forcefully Sinicised. Furthermore, the repressive government forced some Qiang to move to an adjacent Han district. “If they are willing to pay the grain tax and sign their names in the village registry, then they can become Han.” The Qiang who continued to use their mother tongue were discriminated against and were compelled to switch their cultural identity. The steps instituted by the repressive government hastened the consummation of bilingualism in Qiang society. In some Qiang villages today, only a few older folks can still speak Qiang. Many young people have already lost their language, customs, and habits, even to the extent that some will not dare to admit that they are Qiang.

Hence, it is evident that Qiang society incurred its highest rate of Sinicization during the more than 100 years from the middle of the Qing dynasty until the dawning of the revolution. This was the Qiang bilingual system’s most important formative period. During this historical period, a bilingual society came into being in most of the areas where the Qiang reside. While a majority of people were just perfecting their bilingual ability, others were gradually switching to a Chinese monolingual society, and a small minority had already made a total transition. During this period, roughly 80-90% of the population possessed proficient Chinese language skills, while at the same time, 70-80% of the Qiang were still able to use their mother tongue. From

analyzing the formative history of Qiang bilingualism, it is possible to understand the following points:

- First, the transformations in Qiang bilingualism and society occurred simultaneously. Bilingual development played an active role in stimulating the Qiang economy and cultural level. This in turn, enabled them to change their backward customs by absorbing and emulating the advanced Chinese commercial technology and culture.
- Second, countless bilingual speakers were progressively added to the populace, this process taking more than two millennia to evolve, until a thoroughgoing bilingual system was established among the Qiang. For most Qiang their primary language was still their mother tongue. Should he or she stroll through the community or attend school he would then come into contact with the second language. People interacted differently according to the time of day; some people came early in the morning as individuals while others came at night in larger groups. Thus, there was tremendous individual variation in bilingual ability. Although the time people spent using both languages varied considerably, most Qiang gained bilingual proficiency by the time they were 6 to 25 years of age. Among the Qiang, bilingual speakers commonly mastered both languages fluently, freely conversing with each other no matter which language was being used. Yet, there was a significant portion of the population who still favored using Qiang. These people did not manifest an extensive control of Chinese vocabulary and their Chinese grammar reflected the structure of their mother tongue. In still another group of people, due to leaving the mother tongue environment, their spoken ability in Chinese became fluent while their mother tongue was gradually forgotten. Generally at home or in the village the mother tongue was utilized, while in markets, meetings, or with other ethnic groups the norm of communication was to employ Chinese. Undoubtedly there were also occasions where the two languages were utilized together, even to the point that Qiang was interspersed with Chinese or conversely Chinese inserted into Qiang in the same utterance.
- Third, besides the societal factors in the evolution of Qiang bilingualism, there is still another cause within the Qiang language itself. The Qiang dialects manifest rather large variations from one to another. In the absence of a Qiangic trade language, trying to communicate with

differing Qiang dialects proved difficult for all involved. During the transformation of Qiang society, different Qiang dialect areas were mutually increasing opportunities for contact. In such situations, Qiang speakers from different dialects would simply have to use a second language – namely, Chinese. In addition, Qiang (historically) never possessed a written orthography. The Qiang people needed to employ the Chinese language to gain knowledge and an education.

### 3.0

The Qiang and Chinese languages have co-existed for centuries in the same society; as a result of this symbiosis certainly some co-habitational influences are evident. The Chinese written language has even incorporated a small number of Qiang words. For example, the Chinese word 耶笼 *qióng lóng* is transliterated from the Qiang word \*/glon/ ‘watchtower’. Qiangic influences on the local Chinese dialects are discussed in other literature. But generally speaking, Qiang’s impact on Chinese has been relatively insignificant, while Chinese has had a comparatively tremendous effect on Qiang. The following account of Chinese effects on Qiang is illustrated by data from the Southern Qiang Taoping dialect.

#### 3.1 *Vocabulary based influence*

Our investigation of Qiang recorded a total of 3406 of the most common words. Among these, Chinese loanwords account for 1029 or 32.2%. This subset consists of nouns (648 or 63%), verbs (263 or 25.5%), adjectives (43 or 4.2%), measure words (37 or 3.6%), adverbs, conjunctions and other categories (38 or 3.7%). The principal features of these borrowings are discussed in the following sections.

##### 3.1.1 *Characteristic features of loanwords*

It is important to note that Chinese loanwords in Qiang were borrowed from the local Chinese dialect. Among these examples are early and late period loanwords and relatively new jargon absorbed after liberation. Early Chinese loanwords in Qiang have the following characteristic features:

- (1) Retention of the distinctive feature “voiced”. Exs:

/ba <sup>241</sup> /	‘to indemnify’
/dɔ <sup>33</sup> /	‘legumes’
/dzɿ <sup>241</sup> dzɿ <sup>241</sup> /	‘written words’
/dzo <sup>33</sup> /	‘chisel’

/dzo <sup>33</sup> /	'to sit'
/gua <sup>33</sup> /	'to squat on heels' (original meaning for 'kneel')
/guə <sup>33</sup> /	'cabinet'
/ci <sup>55</sup> dzie <sup>241</sup> /	'money'      [/ci <sup>55</sup> / 'iron']

(2) In the process of adjusting to the Qiang sound system final nasals in loanwords disappeared. Exs:

/ja <sup>33</sup> /	'smoke; tobacco'
/tce <sup>55</sup> /	'a unit of weight – 1/2 kilogram'
/la <sup>33</sup> /	'wolf'
/ye <sup>33</sup> /	'to use'

(3) Complex front vowels are reduced to simple vowels:

/xo <sup>31</sup> xe <sup>55</sup> /	'disaster; curse'
/xe <sup>55</sup> tsy <sup>55</sup> /	'red pepper; chili'
/xe <sup>55</sup> thu <sup>33</sup> /	'walnut'
/tsia <sup>55</sup> tu <sup>55</sup> /	'scissors; shears'

The Sichuan dialects of Chinese generally all have four tones. Once assimilated, these tones conformed to the peculiarities of the Qiang phonemic system. Synchronically, the tones of early Chinese loanwords are comparatively chaotic, since one is unable to perceive systematic correspondences in tone value or tone categories. Often syllables that have the same tone category in Chinese could be assigned different tone values in Qiang.<sup>7</sup>

Conversely, different tone categories in Chinese loanwords could be pronounced under the same tone in Qiang. For example, in the Sichuan dialect the high level tone and the falling tone in /ku<sup>55</sup>ie<sup>31</sup>/ 'a form of address used for a man by the senior members of his wife's family', is articulated in Qiang as /ku<sup>55</sup>ie<sup>55</sup>/. In the Sichuan dialect the falling-rising tone found in /kua<sup>55</sup>fu<sup>213</sup>/ 'widow' surfaces as high level /kua<sup>55</sup>fu<sup>55</sup>/ in Qiang.

The words that were assimilated just before and after liberation account for a relatively large proportion of loanwords. The pronunciation of these newly assimilated words and their Sichuanese counterparts are roughly identical. For

<sup>7</sup> Since Qiang dialect material demonstrates that early Qiang did not have tones, one can conclude that the tones of loanwords after being borrowed into Qiang had no effect on the phonemic structure of the language.

a comparison of the distinguishing features of these new loanwords with the early period loanwords, observe a few of the differences listed below.

Sichuanese has a contrasting pair of nasal syllable codas **n** and **ŋ**.<sup>8</sup>

- |     |   |                                  |
|-----|---|----------------------------------|
| (4) | /kuŋ <sup>55</sup> lian <sup>31</sup> /                   | ‘agricultural tax paid in grain’ |
|     | /kuŋ <sup>13</sup> tʂan <sup>51</sup> taŋ <sup>51</sup> / | ‘communist party’                |
|     | /in <sup>31</sup> xan <sup>31</sup> /                     | ‘bank’                           |
|     | /tʂuŋ <sup>55</sup> luŋ <sup>31</sup> /                   | ‘middle class peasant’           |

Sichuanese retains complex front vowels and triphthongs. For instance:

- |     |  |                            |
|-----|--|----------------------------|
| (5) | /khai <sup>55</sup> xue <sup>13</sup> pu <sup>33</sup> / | ‘hold or attend a meeting’ |
|     | /lau <sup>31</sup> tun <sup>13</sup> pu <sup>33</sup> /  | ‘physical labor’           |
|     | /tai <sup>13</sup> piau <sup>51</sup> /                  | ‘representative’           |
|     | /thiau <sup>31</sup> tcan <sup>13</sup> /                | ‘condition’                |
|     | /thu <sup>51</sup> kai <sup>51</sup> pu <sup>33</sup> /  | ‘agrarian reforms’         |

With regard to tone categories and tone values there are obvious corresponding relationships between Sichuanese words and their borrowed forms in Qiang. At the same time, the tone categories of each area’s loanwords are basically the same.<sup>9</sup> Among Chinese loanwords a high level tone surfaces as a Qiang high level tone, a rising tone appears as a low-falling tone, a falling-rising tone surfaces as a high-falling tone and a falling tone appears as a low-rising tone. Furthermore, the entering tone of classical Chinese can still be found among loanwords. This is because in some areas of northwest Sichuan the local Chinese dialect still retains the entering tone category found in classical Chinese. The general correspondences are as follows:

<sup>8</sup> The nasal rhymes are basically stable in loanwords. However the three following conditions apply:

- They appear after “a, u, y” much more than after “i, ə”.
- Among the younger generation who can speak Chinese well there is a stable manifestation of the nasals in the syllable codas compared with the older generation who cannot articulate Chinese so well.
- In a few cases, nasals are influenced by their immediate environment before and after the segment. The “n” in Chinese is pronounced “ŋ” in Qiang and vice versa.

<sup>9</sup> In a small number of words, the tone categories are very chaotic. For example: /uan<sup>31</sup>tʂan<sup>55</sup>pu<sup>55</sup>/ ‘complete’; /tʂan<sup>31</sup>lie<sup>33</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ ‘establish’.

## Chinese tone category

## Qiang pronunciation

(6) high level:	(阴平)	/tho <sup>55</sup> la <sup>55</sup> tci <sup>55</sup> /	'tractor'
rising:	(阴平)	/ma <sup>31</sup> fan <sup>31</sup> /	'trouble'
falling-rising:	(上声)	/iun <sup>51</sup> kan <sup>51</sup> pu <sup>33</sup> /	'brave, courageous'
falling:	(去声)	/ʂai <sup>13</sup> xue <sup>13</sup> /	'society'
entering:	(入声)	/tsie <sup>33</sup> tce <sup>33</sup> /	'active; positive; enthusiastic'

## 3.1.2 Chinese loanword derivational capabilities

Once Chinese loanwords are assimilated by the Qiang, they actively combine with native words to form compounds and phrases. Thus Qiang borrowed /thio<sup>33</sup>/ 'bucket' from Chinese. This morpheme was then concatenated with native Qiang words to form /thio<sup>33</sup>de<sup>33</sup>/ 'bucket hoop', /tsuə<sup>31</sup>thio<sup>33</sup>/ 'water bucket', /qhʂɿ<sup>31</sup>thio<sup>33</sup>/ 'manure bucket', etc. Similarly, /tshu<sup>33</sup>/ 'trough' appears in the words /ɛo<sup>33</sup>tshu<sup>33</sup>/ 'stone water vat', /tsuə<sup>31</sup>tshu<sup>33</sup>/ 'water vat', /pa<sup>33</sup>tshu<sup>33</sup>/ 'pig feeding trough', etc. Chinese-derived /phio<sup>33</sup>/ 'gourd handle' forms part of the Qiang compounds /sie<sup>33</sup>phio<sup>33</sup>/ 'wooden gourd handle', /xa<sup>31</sup>phio<sup>33</sup>/ 'copper gourd handle', etc.; /ia<sup>33</sup>/ 'smoke' appears in: /ʒɿ<sup>31</sup>ʒɿ<sup>33</sup>ia<sup>33</sup>/ 'cigarette', /χma<sup>55</sup>ia<sup>33</sup>/ 'orchid cigarette' (a locally produced variety), /ia<sup>33</sup>khca<sup>55</sup>qe<sup>33</sup>/ 'dried tobacco leaves', /ia<sup>33</sup>zuə<sup>33</sup>/ 'smoke seed', /ia<sup>33</sup>qhʂɿ<sup>31</sup>/ 'tobacco tar', /ia<sup>33</sup>pa<sup>55</sup>tʂuə<sup>55</sup>/ 'fireworks', /ia<sup>33</sup>ma<sup>55</sup>bzi<sup>33</sup>/ 'tobacco ash', etc. /tu<sup>33</sup>/ 'knife' is a component of /tsua<sup>33</sup>tu<sup>33</sup>/ 'hand-held hay sickle', /tche<sup>33</sup>tu<sup>33</sup>/ 'hair cutting scissors', etc.

## 3.1.3. Patterns in the absorption of Chinese words

At present, the colloquial language spoken by the Qiang people assimilates Chinese loanwords in several ways.

- *Complete borrowing* is the most common pattern. The largest portion of Chinese loanwords, with the exception of verbs, are absorbed in this way. For example:

(7)	/ta <sup>13</sup> tue <sup>13</sup> /	'battalion; regiment'
	/tcai <sup>55</sup> tci <sup>33</sup> /	'class of society'
	/tci <sup>55</sup> tchi <sup>13</sup> /	'machine'
	/tchi <sup>13</sup> tʂhe <sup>55</sup> /	'vehicle; car'
	/tʂɿ <sup>55</sup> pu <sup>13</sup> /	'branch'
	/tʂən <sup>13</sup> fu <sup>51</sup> /	'government'
	/tʂuan <sup>55</sup> tci <sup>55</sup> /	'tractor'
	/thuŋ <sup>31</sup> tʂɿ <sup>13</sup> /	'comrade'

- A total borrowing may be appended to a Qiang relational component, or a total borrowing may be accompanied by subsequent phonetic change. This is a relatively common word borrowing pattern. With the exception of a few early borrowed words, almost all of the verbs and some of the nouns were formed in this manner.

Borrowed nouns with final nasals are generally absorbed by appending the Qiang suffix  $nə^{33}$ .<sup>10</sup> For example:

(8a) /kuŋ <sup>55</sup> fən <sup>55</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘work point (a unit indicating the quantity and quality of labor performed, and the amount of payment earned, in rural communes)’
/kuŋ <sup>55</sup> tʂhaŋ <sup>51</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘factory, mill, plant, works’
/lian <sup>31</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘roof beam’
/lian <sup>31</sup> min <sup>31</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘farmer’
/su <sup>55</sup> lian <sup>31</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘the [former] Soviet Union’
/tɕi <sup>13</sup> sin <sup>13</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘memory’
/tʂhuan <sup>31</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘boat’
/xo <sup>55</sup> phən <sup>31</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘fire basin’
/zɿuŋ <sup>31</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘fine hair; down’

The /nə<sup>33</sup>/ suffix in disyllabic words, within the context of a sentence, is sometimes omitted for the sake of economy.

Generally, for a monosyllabic verb to be absorbed, the Qiang formative /tha<sup>33</sup>/ must be appended to it.<sup>11</sup> For example:

<sup>10</sup> The /nə<sup>33</sup>/ formative does not have any other significance; it only appears in this context.

<sup>11</sup> A few of the early-era loanwords cannot accept the suffix /tha<sup>33</sup>/, e.g. /sia<sup>55</sup>/ ‘write’, /dzo<sup>55</sup>/ ‘sit’, /ba<sup>31</sup>/ ‘be defeated/lose’, /tsua<sup>33</sup>/ ‘clutch/grab (with hands)’, etc.



- (8b) /kau<sup>13</sup>tha<sup>33</sup>/ 'rely on, depend on'  
 /khua<sup>55</sup>tha<sup>33</sup>/ 'collapse, fall, break down'  
 /phai<sup>13</sup>tha<sup>33</sup>/ 'send (somebody to do something)'  
 /syau<sup>55</sup>tha<sup>33</sup>/ 'select, choose, opt'  
 /ɕe<sup>55</sup>tha<sup>33</sup>/ 'buy or sell on credit'  
 /tsəŋ<sup>55</sup>tha<sup>33</sup>/ 'collapse, fall, break down'  
 /xan<sup>13</sup>tha<sup>33</sup>/ 'weld, solder'  
 /xən<sup>13</sup>tha<sup>33</sup>/ 'hate'
- Generally, for a verb with two or more syllables to be absorbed, the Qiang formative suffix /pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'do' must be appended to the loan root.<sup>12</sup> For example:
- (8c) /fu<sup>13</sup>tsa<sup>33</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'bear responsibility'  
 /ɕyan<sup>55</sup>tʂhuan<sup>31</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'propagandize'  
 /tsan<sup>55</sup>tca<sup>55</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'take part (in an activity)'  
 /ɕuan<sup>55</sup>in<sup>31</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'welcome, greet'  
 /tshau<sup>13</sup>iau<sup>31</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'start a rumor'  
 /tcin<sup>13</sup>tso<sup>33</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'celebrate'  
 /tsian<sup>51</sup>li<sup>13</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'to reward'  
 /thau<sup>51</sup>lən<sup>13</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'discuss'  
 /phe<sup>55</sup>phin<sup>31</sup>pu<sup>33</sup>/ 'criticize'
- After some Chinese nouns are borrowed, they are compounded with a Qiang morpheme that clarifies the meaning. For instance:
- (9) /pai<sup>33</sup>tshai<sup>13</sup>/ /xu<sup>33</sup>ba<sup>33</sup>/  
 Chinese cabbage 'vegetable'  
 'Chinese cabbage'
- (10) /ieu<sup>31</sup>tshai<sup>13</sup>/ /xu<sup>55</sup>ba<sup>33</sup>/  
 rape [plant] (lit. oil vegetable) 'vegetable'  
 'rape [plant]'
- (11) /xuai<sup>31</sup>ʂu<sup>13</sup>/ /pho<sup>55</sup>/  
 Chinese cinnamon tree 'tree'  
 'Chinese cinnamon tree'
- (12) /saŋ<sup>55</sup>ʂu<sup>13</sup>/ /pho<sup>55</sup>/  
 white mulberry 'tree'  
 'white mulberry'

<sup>12</sup> The suffix /pu<sup>33</sup>/ was originally synonymous in meaning with the verb 'make, do, become'. Here its primary meaning is completely empty and it merely serves as a formative suffix.

- Chinese loanwords ending with a nasal segment which are reduplicated delete the nasal segment in the second syllable. For example:

- (13) /iaŋ<sup>55</sup>ia<sup>55</sup>/                    ‘seedling, sprout’  
       /keŋ<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>/                   ‘pit, hole’  
       /phan<sup>31</sup>pha<sup>33</sup>/                  ‘pit, hole’  
       /tiŋ<sup>51</sup>tɿ<sup>33</sup>/                    ‘peak, top’  
       /tsian<sup>55</sup>tsia<sup>55</sup>/                ‘point, top’  
       /tɕuan<sup>55</sup>tɕua<sup>55</sup>/               ‘stake’

- When Chinese loanwords with open vowel codas are reduplicated, the final vowel of the second syllable is dropped. For example:

- (14) /kuai<sup>31</sup>kua<sup>33</sup>/                  ‘walking stick’  
       /pau<sup>55</sup>pa<sup>55</sup>/                    ‘luxuriant’  
       /phaɪ<sup>31</sup>pha<sup>33</sup>/                  ‘trademark’

- Loanwords which are half borrowed and half translated are relatively few and are seldom used. For instance:

- (15) /sa<sup>55</sup>/                    +        /tan<sup>55</sup>pi<sup>55</sup>/                    →        ‘burlap blanket’  
       hemp (Qiang)        simple quilt (Chinese)
- (16) /qhsuə<sup>55</sup>/                +        /pho<sup>33</sup>pho<sup>33</sup>/                →        ‘mountain slope’  
       mountain (Qiang)        slope (Chinese)
- (17) /liau<sup>31</sup>/                +        /tɕho<sup>33</sup>/                    →        ‘horse feed sack’  
       feed (Chinese)            sack (Qiang)
- (18) /lu<sup>55</sup>/                    +        /tshə<sup>31</sup>/                    →        ‘Chinese fir needles’  
       Chinese fir tree (Qiang)    needle (Chinese)

### 3.1.4 The relationship between original words and loans; comparisons between early and late loans

There are some Chinese loans that have meanings which correspond roughly to a Qiang word. After the Chinese loan word was assimilated, this gave rise to a synonym. See Table 1.

	<i>loanword</i>	<i>Qiang word</i>
'storehouse'	/tsaŋ <sup>55</sup> ku <sup>13</sup> /	/xpə <sup>55</sup> /
'armed forces'	tɕyn <sup>55</sup> tue <sup>13</sup> /	/gzue <sup>241</sup> /
'real, true'	/sin <sup>31</sup> na <sup>33</sup> /	ʕɿ <sup>1</sup> ʕɿ <sup>33</sup> /
'behavior that is worthy of being copied'	/paŋ <sup>51</sup> iaŋ <sup>13</sup> /	/thə <sup>33</sup> bə <sup>55</sup> /
'faithful'	tɕuŋ <sup>55</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> /	/pu <sup>55</sup> lie <sup>33</sup> /
'fair, just, impartial'	/kuŋ <sup>55</sup> phin <sup>31</sup> /	/qə <sup>31</sup> xtə <sup>55</sup> /

Table 1

At present among these synonyms, the Chinese counterpart has a slightly higher frequency of use. This is because people consider newly innovated Chinese loans, which manifest a higher degree of communicative exactitude, to be more convenient. Often even when the indigenous words are completely adequate, the Chinese loan is used anyway.

Although in meaning and usage some Chinese and Qiang words are similar, categorically they do not divide their responsibilities equally. See Table 2.

<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Qiang word</i>	<i>Range of meaning</i>	<i>Chinese loan</i>	<i>Range of meaning</i>
'love'	/ma <sup>33</sup> /	'love (as a child)'	/ŋai <sup>13</sup> tha <sup>33</sup> /	'love (your country)'
'felt (cloth)'	/suə <sup>33</sup> /	[locally produced]	tɕan <sup>55</sup> na <sup>33</sup> /	[purchased from a store]
'accompany, escort'	/xa <sup>31</sup> ce <sup>55</sup> /	'accompany (god, deity)'	/suŋ <sup>13</sup> tha <sup>33</sup> /	'accompany (visitor, things)'
'charcoal'	/mə <sup>31</sup> dzi <sup>33</sup> /	'charcoal (used in roasting)'	/than <sup>13</sup> ne <sup>33</sup> /	'charcoal (industrial)'
'harmonica'	/xduə <sup>31</sup> lə <sup>55</sup> /	'harmonica (popular among the Qiang and made of bamboo)'	/khou <sup>51</sup> tein <sup>31</sup> ne <sup>33</sup> /	'harmonica (bought in a store)'
'gun, rifle'	/ci <sup>55</sup> dio <sup>241</sup> /	'gun, rifle (home-made hunting rifle)'	/tshian <sup>55</sup> na <sup>33</sup> /	'gun, rifle' (general)

Table 2

With respect to usage, the way words are categorized is also different. See Table 3.

Meaning	<i>Qiang</i> : usage	<i>Chinese loan</i> : usage
'knife'	<p data-bbox="207 199 300 223">/tsa<sup>31</sup>dzo/</p> <p data-bbox="207 231 580 422">a. Can be used in isolation. b. Occurs as first element in compounds, e.g.: tɕa<sup>31</sup>dzo<sup>241</sup>χqa<sup>33</sup> 'the edge of the knife, the crucial point', tɕa<sup>31</sup>dzo<sup>241</sup>tio<sup>33</sup> 'short knife'. c. Cannot be used with a classifier.</p>	<p data-bbox="590 199 642 223">/tu<sup>33</sup>/</p> <p data-bbox="590 231 957 518">a. Only appears in compound words. b. Appears as second element in compounds. For example: tɕhe<sup>33</sup>tu<sup>33</sup>/'razor blade', tshua<sup>33</sup>tu<sup>33</sup> 'sickle'. c. Can be used with classifiers. For example: a<sup>31</sup>tu<sup>33</sup>sɿ<sup>31</sup>tshua<sup>31</sup> 'cut with a knife'.</p>
'year'	<p data-bbox="207 566 259 590">/pə<sup>33</sup>/</p> <p data-bbox="207 598 580 694">Combines freely with numerals and determiners, e.g.: a<sup>31</sup>pə<sup>33</sup> 'one year', tsə<sup>31</sup>pə<sup>33</sup> 'this year'.</p>	<p data-bbox="590 566 663 590">/ɲan<sup>31</sup>/</p> <p data-bbox="590 598 957 726">Occurs in certain set expressions, e.g.: 'a bumper harvest (compared with other years)'; 'New Year's cake'.</p>
'liquor'	<p data-bbox="207 758 279 782">/tɕha<sup>55</sup>/</p> <p data-bbox="207 790 580 885">A free morpheme in the context of other Qiang words, e.g.: dzɿ<sup>31</sup>tɕha<sup>55</sup> 'highland barley alcohol'.</p>	<p data-bbox="590 758 663 782">/tsiu<sup>51</sup>/</p> <p data-bbox="590 790 957 949">In compounds or phrases consisting of a Chinese loan and a Qiang word, the Chinese loan must be suffixed to a Qiang word, e.g.: ɣau<sup>55</sup>tsiu<sup>51</sup> 'distilled liquor'.</p>
'lamp'	<p data-bbox="207 997 310 1021">/mə<sup>31</sup>gu<sup>33</sup>/</p> <p data-bbox="207 1029 580 1085">The same usage as above. For example sa<sup>31</sup>ie<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>31</sup>gu<sup>33</sup> 'oil lamp'.</p>	<p data-bbox="590 997 652 1021">/tən<sup>55</sup>/</p> <p data-bbox="590 1029 957 1117">The same usage as above. For example tian<sup>13</sup>tən<sup>55</sup>, the Chinese loanword for 'electric light'.</p>
'if'	<p data-bbox="207 1157 580 1216">The functor so<sup>55</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> 'if' occurs in clause-final position.</p>	<p data-bbox="590 1157 957 1216">tɕa<sup>51</sup>ru<sup>31</sup> 'if' appears in clause-initial position.</p>

Table 3

Among Chinese loans, different strata of loanwords sometimes co-occur synchronically. For example: the early loanword /də<sup>33</sup>/ 'legumes, beans' is used to refer to all beans in general. However, a recent loan /təu<sup>13</sup>/ is used mainly to form compound words like: /fu<sup>31</sup>təu<sup>13</sup>/ '*Vicia faba*, broad bean', tɕan<sup>55</sup>təu<sup>13</sup>/ '*vigna sinensis*, black-eyed pea', and /ər<sup>13</sup>tɕi<sup>13</sup>təu<sup>13</sup>/ 'second season beans', etc. Similarly /tɕhe<sup>33</sup>/ 'weigh, scale' is an early loan which was

originally a verb which could also be used in compounds with nouns. For example: /tə<sup>31</sup>tche<sup>33</sup>/ (verb) 'already weighed', /tche<sup>33</sup>ba<sup>33</sup>/ (noun) 'old type scale'. Contemporary Qiang has also borrowed /tshəŋ<sup>13</sup>/ 'to replace' /tche<sup>33</sup>/ in compound formation. For instance: /ta<sup>13</sup>tshəŋ<sup>13</sup>/ 'large scales', /siau<sup>51</sup>tshəŋ<sup>13</sup>/ 'small scales', while /tche<sup>33</sup>/ is especially retained for composing verbs. A further example of an old-era loan word is /xye<sup>55</sup>/, 'share, part, portion'. In ancient Qiang, this form was used to indicate time, currency units, length, and weight, whereas today /fən<sup>55</sup>tʂun<sup>55</sup>/ 'minute' is used solely for the purpose of expressing time, /fən<sup>55</sup>/ is used specifically to express length and weight, and /xye<sup>55</sup>/ is still used to quantify units of currency. Still there are some old and new era loanwords where the word meanings are not so easily distinguished. However, in complex word formation, old-era loans are generally only combined with Qiang words, whereas new-era loans are generally combined with other Chinese words. For example:

- |      |                       |                       |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (19) | (Qiang)               | (Chinese)             |
|      | /sie <sup>33</sup> /  | /phio <sup>33</sup> / |
|      | firewood              | dipper ladle          |
|      | 'wooden gourd handle' |                       |

- |      |                       |                       |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (20) | (Qiang)               | (Chinese)             |
|      | /xa <sup>31</sup> /   | /phio <sup>33</sup> / |
|      | copper                | dipper ladle          |
|      | 'copper gourd handle' |                       |

Compare the two examples above with the example below:

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (21) | /ləu <sup>13</sup> phiau <sup>31</sup> / |
|      | 'water clock dipper'                     |

A further example:

- |      |                        |                     |
|------|------------------------|---------------------|
| (22) | (Qiang)                | (Chinese)           |
|      | /tshua <sup>33</sup> / | /tu <sup>33</sup> / |
|      | chop                   | knife               |
|      | 'hay sickle'           |                     |

- |      |                       |                     |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| (23) | (Qiang)               | (Chinese)           |
|      | /tche <sup>33</sup> / | /tu <sup>33</sup> / |
|      | shave                 | knife               |
|      | 'razor blade'         |                     |

Compare the two examples above with (24):

- (24) /tsh<sup>13</sup>tau<sup>55</sup>/
- ‘bayonet’

Since Qiang has assimilated a large assortment of Chinese loans, it is not surprising that some Chinese loans have gradually replaced native Qiang words. Thus the original Qiang /z<sup>55</sup>χto<sup>31</sup>/ ‘saddle’, has already been replaced by the Chinese loan /ma<sup>51</sup>ŋan<sup>55</sup>tsɿ<sup>51</sup>/. A similar situation can be found in the form /zia<sup>55</sup>bze<sup>31</sup>/ ‘slip away by oneself’, where /liəu<sup>55</sup>so<sup>33</sup>/, has already taken the place of /zia<sup>55</sup>bze<sup>31</sup>/ form; /ze<sup>33</sup>/ ‘soup’ has been replaced by /thu<sup>55</sup>/; /tchy<sup>31</sup>tchy<sup>33</sup>/ ‘sugar’ has been replaced by /than<sup>31</sup>/, etc. This phenomenon can be seen throughout the entire southern dialect area and has become relatively common.

### 3.1.5 The development of meaning in Chinese loanwords

After Chinese loanwords were assimilated into Qiang, generally they were all used according to their original meaning. However, in some loans their meanings were enlarged, reduced or transformed.

- *Original Chinese loanwords which have increased their scope of meaning.* These words are still in use even if their original meanings have been changed. However, they do have a new lexical significance. See Table 4.

Loanword	Original meaning	New semantic sense
/tshu <sup>33</sup> /	‘trough’	‘vat, jar, crock’
/sɿ <sup>55</sup> /	‘threadlike thing’	‘string (musical instrument)’
/dzo <sup>33</sup> /	‘sit’	‘live, reside, stay’
/tɕua <sup>33</sup> /	‘clutch, grab (with hands)’	‘classifier for something with a handle’
/ma <sup>31</sup> z <sup>55</sup> u/	‘edible fungus, mushroom’	‘fungus’
/tsuŋ <sup>55</sup> nə <sup>33</sup> /	‘palm (tree)’	‘palm-bark rain cape’

Table 4



### 3.2.2

Although modern Qiang has a phonemic opposition between /ə/ and /ɿ/ this contrast mainly involves Chinese loans, with Chinese-derived words having /ə/ as opposed to /ɿ/ in native Qiang words, e.g.:

- |      |  |                           |
|------|--|---------------------------|
| (25) | /ɕi <sup>33</sup> /                                    | ‘moon, month’             |
|      | /ɕə <sup>33</sup> tɕi <sup>13</sup> pu <sup>33</sup> / | ‘plan, design’            |
| (26) | /ɕi <sup>33</sup> tɕian <sup>55</sup> /                | ‘time’                    |
|      | /ɕə <sup>33</sup> than <sup>31</sup> /                 | ‘cafeteria’               |
| (27) | /ɕi <sup>33</sup> /                                    | ‘medicine’                |
|      | /sə <sup>33</sup> tha <sup>33</sup> /                  | ‘rough’                   |
| (28) | /ɕi <sup>55</sup> fu <sup>13</sup> /                   | ‘teacher, tutor, master’  |
|      | /ɕə <sup>33</sup> pai <sup>13</sup> /                  | ‘fail, be defeated, lose’ |

### 3.2.3

Originally, Qiang had few diphthongs, triphthongs, or nasal rhymes. The assimilation of Chinese loanwords resulted in the addition of the diphthongs **ei**, **ai**, **au**, **əu**, the triphthongs **iau**, **iəu**, **uai**, and the nasal rhymes **in**, **an**, **ən**, **yn**, **ian**, **uan**, **yan**, **iŋ**, **aŋ**, **uŋ**, **əŋ**, **ian**, **uan**, etc. For instance:

- |  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| /tai <sup>13</sup> piau <sup>51</sup> /                    | ‘representative’      |
| /in <sup>51</sup> /  | ‘addiction’           |
| /tuŋ <sup>55</sup> /                                       | ‘east’                |
| /tɕhəu <sup>31</sup> /                                     | ‘ball’                |
| /ɕan <sup>13</sup> /                                       | ‘county’              |
| /tsian <sup>13</sup> iəu <sup>31</sup> /                   | ‘soy sauce’           |
| /lian <sup>31</sup> khuai <sup>13</sup> /                  | ‘pleasantly cool’     |
| /tɕai <sup>51</sup> fəŋ <sup>13</sup> tɕyn <sup>55</sup> / | ‘liberation army’     |
| /xuaŋ <sup>55</sup> tha <sup>33</sup> /                    | ‘flustered, confused’ |

## 3.3 Grammatical influences

Besides phonetic and lexical influence from Chinese, Qiang grammar has also definitely been impacted. The main issues are discussed below.

### 3.3.1

When Chinese loan conjunctions and Qiang conjunctions are combined in the same compound sentence, they can express a wide variety of logical relationships. When both are used simultaneously, the Chinese conjunctions



(29)     $\text{ɕy}^{55}\text{zan}^{31}$  + clause 1       $k o^{31}$                    $tan^{13}s\dot{j}^3$  + clause 2  
          (< Chinese)                 (native Qiang)            (< Chinese)  
          ‘although, even if’ + clause 1            ‘but, yet, still, nevertheless’ + clause 2

- ## Conjunctions

- ### 3.3.2

(33) *fei*<sup>55</sup>...*mi*<sup>33</sup>..., 'must; have to'

- (34) *tsa*<sup>31</sup>    *ti*<sup>33</sup>                    *un*<sup>31</sup> *thi*<sup>31</sup>    *ti*<sup>33</sup>                    *fe*<sup>55</sup>  
 this      Prt                    problem      Prt                    NEG  
*y*<sup>31</sup> *su*<sup>55</sup> *tci*<sup>13</sup>                    *i*<sup>21</sup>    *tca*<sup>55</sup> *tce*<sup>33</sup> *tə*<sup>55</sup> *pu*<sup>33</sup>                    *mi*<sup>33</sup>                    *qe*<sup>33</sup>.  
 Secretary Yu                    Prt      solve                    NEG                    good  
 ‘This problem must be solved by [communist party] secretary Yu.’  
 (lit., ‘Secretary Yu’s not solving this problem is not good.’)

- (35) *tsai*<sup>13</sup>      *nə*<sup>33</sup>  
 (< Chinese)    (native Qiang)  
 'no matter how....still'
- (36) *tɕa*<sup>31</sup>    *ti*<sup>33</sup>      *dzɿ*<sup>33</sup>      *ti*<sup>33</sup>      *tsai*<sup>13</sup>      *χqa*<sup>33</sup>  
 this    Prt      problem    Prt      again      difficulty  
*tsaŋ*<sup>33</sup>*nə*<sup>33</sup>,    *tɕy*<sup>55</sup>*thya*<sup>55</sup>    *a*<sup>31</sup>*lɿ*<sup>33</sup>    *nə*<sup>33</sup>    *mi*<sup>33</sup>      *qu*<sup>33</sup>.  
 (suffix)    we      a little    also    NEG      fear

'This, once again, is a difficult matter, but we shouldn't be the least bit afraid.'

### 3.3.3

Word order predicated upon the relationship between modifier and modified has also been altered. According to original Qiang word order, adjectives modifying the head word of a phrase surfaced postpositionally. Nowadays, however, one finds modifiers appearing before the head of a phrase, e.g.:

- (37) *χnɿ*<sup>31</sup>*nɿ*<sup>55</sup>      *pɑ*<sup>31</sup>*tsu*<sup>33</sup>  
 red      flower  
 'red flower'
- (38) *χbo*<sup>241</sup>      *tsu*<sup>31</sup>  
 open      water  
 'boiled water'
- (39) *kie*<sup>31</sup>*zɿ*<sup>33</sup>      *ko*<sup>33</sup>*dzɿ*<sup>33</sup>  
 near      road  
 'shortcut'
- (40) *sye*<sup>241</sup>*sye*<sup>33</sup>      *xu*<sup>33</sup>*bɑ*<sup>33</sup>  
 sour      vegetable  
 'pickled cabbage'

Colloquial Qiang still preserves postpositional modifiers.

Word order in classifier phrases has also undergone some changes. Qiang nouns are modified by numerals plus classifiers. Originally, these measure and number words appeared postpositionally; however, quite a few classifier phrases have developed prepositional tendencies under Chinese influence. Examples:

- (41)  $a^{31}$   $t\text{sa}^{55}$   $ia\eta^{31}phau^{55}$   
 one CLF for gun gun  
 'a gun'
- (42)  $a^{31}$   $phai^{55}$   $l\text{au}^{31}fa\eta$   
 one CLF for a row of apartments multi-story apartments  
 'a row of apartments'
- (43)  $a^{31}$   $l\text{e}^{55}$   $\chi ty^{55}m\text{e}^{33}$   
 one CLF for person herdsman  
 'a herdsman'
- (44)  $a^{31}$   $bz\eta^{33}$   $3\eta^{31}3\eta^{33}$   
 one CLF for paper paper  
 'a piece of paper'

### 3.4

Chinese was the catalyst for a large number of new types of sentence structures and patterns, to which the Qiang populace has gradually become accustomed. The examples below represent new Qiang sentence structure and types:

#### 3.4.1

If there are two or more nouns or NP's coordinated in the subject, predicate or object of a sentence in spoken Qiang, then there is a pause between each coordinated substantive, but no conjoining particles are utilized. Omission of such particles is a trait typical of Chinese. For example:

- (45)  $pha^{55}a^{33}$   $zu^{55}$   $sa^{31}u^{55}$   $z\eta^{31}\eta u^{55}$   $na^{33}$   
 grass embankment horse sheep cow (suffix)  
 $dio^{241}$   $tshy^{33}$   $th\text{e}^{33}\chi e^{55}$   $\chi ty^{55}$ .  
 many very there put out to pasture  
 'In the pasture many horses, sheep, cows, etc. have been grazing.'
- (46)  $t\text{shun}^{31}t\text{shau}^{51}$   $pai^{13}mu^{51}$   $ta^{13}xuan^{31}$   
 Chinese caterpillar fungus *Fritillaria thun-bergli* *Rheum officinale*  
 $na^{33}$   $za^{241}$   $s\eta^{33}$   $\eta u\text{e}^{31} - i^{31}$ .  
 (suffix) all medicine be (suffix)  
 'Chinese caterpillar fungus, *fritillaria thun-bergli*, *rheum officinale*, etc., are all medicinal substances.'

Chinese loan compounds like  $t\text{sun}^{55}\text{siau}^{51}\text{ciŋ}^{31}$  ‘medium, small size’,  $\text{taŋthuan}^{31}\text{yan}^{31}$  ‘political party member’,  $\text{lan}^{31}\text{n}_y^{51}\text{tsin}^{55}\text{n}_\text{an}^{31}$  ‘young men and women’, etc., have further consolidated this construction in Qiang. Examples:

- |      |                                |                                |
|------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (47) | $z\text{ɿ}^{31}\text{ŋu}^{55}$ | $t\text{fh}\text{ɿ}^{31}$      |
|      | cow                            | meat                           |
|      | ‘beef’                         |                                |
| (48) | $s\text{a}^{31}\text{u}^{55}$  | $t\text{fh}\text{ɿ}^{31}$      |
|      | sheep                          | meat                           |
|      | ‘mutton’                       |                                |
| (49) | $\chi\text{a}^{31}$            | $p\text{a}^{31}\text{ne}^{33}$ |
|      | copper                         | tool                           |
|      | ‘copper utensil’               |                                |
| (50) | $\text{c}\text{ɿ}^{33}$        | $p\text{a}^{31}\text{ne}^{33}$ |
|      | iron                           | tool                           |
|      | ‘iron utensil’                 |                                |

### 3.4.2

Generally Qiang sentences are relatively short and clause relationships in compound sentences are comparatively simple. Due to increasingly complex communication needs nowadays, quite a few new sentence constructions have appeared. These include such long, complex sentence constructions as the following:

- (51)  $t\text{ʂ}\text{əu}^{55}\text{t}\text{ch}\text{y}^{55}\text{t}\text{ʂ}\text{aŋ}^{51}$        $u^{31}\text{ʂu}^{55}\text{tci}^{13}$        $\text{thau}^{31}\text{ʂa}^{13}\text{t}\text{ʂ}\text{aŋ}^{31}$   
 regional chief Zhou      [party]secretary Wu      chief of staff Tao  
 $z\text{a}^{241}$        $q\text{ho}^{33}\text{t}\text{shie}^{33}$        $s\text{an}^{55}\text{tce}^{33}\text{kan}^{13}\text{pu}^{13}$        $\chi\text{ue}^{13}\text{n}_i^{13}$   
 all      Weizhou      a third level cadre      meeting  
 $t\text{ʂ}\text{an}^{55}\text{tca}^{55}\text{pu}^{33}$        $k\text{ɛ}^{33}\text{ɿ}^{1}$   
 attend      go(suffix)

“Regional chief Zhou, [party] secretary Wu and chief of staff Tao all went to Weizhou to attend the third level cadre’s party meeting.”

- |                          |                           |   |                                  |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| (52) $tcy^{31}thya^{55}$ | $p\theta^{31}ti^{31}$     | $tsie^{33}io^{33}\theta^{55}pu^{33}pa^{33}$ | $ti^{33}$                        |
| we                       | now                       | economize (suffix)                          | aux.                             |
| $ma^{31}tʃh^{33}$        | $s\theta^{55}\chi o^{33}$ | $kai^{55}san^{13}t\theta^{55}pu^{33}$       | $\varepsilon\alpha^{241}na^{33}$ |
| after                    | life                      | transform/good                              | (mood particle)                  |

"Now that we have instituted economies, our lives have been changed for the better."

#### 4.0

From analyzing the influence of bilingualism on the Qiang language, we can clearly see that Chinese has had a substantial effect. This influence has already penetrated into essential parts of the language. However the degree of influence is different according to the particular level of linguistic structure, as well as the particular geographical area. At the regional geographical level, some Qiang areas have undergone substantial influence but other areas have undergone only slight influence. Vocabulary has been heavily influenced, whereas pronunciation and grammar have been less so. From the way in which the language's structure has been influenced, we surmise that the earliest Chinese loanwords were those suited to Qiang special features. After absorbing a large number of loanwords, the language's pronunciations began to be influenced. The appearance of new pronunciations has had results which cannot yet be measured but are worthy of attention nevertheless. At present, grammatical influence remains relatively superficial. Since Qiang has had no written language, some complex sentence patterns may not be preserved forever in the oral language. Only time will tell.

Among China's nationalities, the Qiang peoples bilingualism is but one typical example. Because oral and written Chinese is regarded as a trade language for all of China's nationalities, every nationality probably has some bilingual people. However, the details of this diglossia differ from one nationality to another. This is the result of unequal societal conditions, and historical developments.

This bilingualism is a phenomenon that is certainly worthy of future comparative study.