

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SANTA

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Santa is spoken as the first language by an estimated 95 per cent of the 380,000 Santa people in China (according to the 1990 census). The ethnonym Santa is etymologically connected with the term *Sart*, as used historically of Persian and Turkic-speaking traders and urban people in Eastern Central Asia. In the Santa language, however, **Santa** means ‘Muslim’, and, consequently, it comprises not only the speakers of Santa, but also any other Muslim people. The Santa speakers feel that their Islamic faith is more important for their identity than any other ethnically distinctive feature, including their native language. This is obviously the reason why the term Santa has come to be used in its current ethnonymic sense, for in their relationships with other ethnic groups the Santa speakers prefer to identify themselves as ‘Muslims’ in the first place.

Before the founding of the People’s Republic of China, even the Chinese government considered the Santa to be part of the Hui or *Huihui* (Muslim) minority. In the ethnic taxonomy of the People’s Republic of China, however, the Santa speakers are recognized as a separate minority nationality, officially termed the *Dongxiang*, or the ‘Eastern Village’ people. This ethnonym is based on the name of the administrative territory of Dongxiang, where most of the Santa speakers traditionally live. Even today, the Santa speakers make only a vague distinction between themselves and the other Muslim groups in the region. Many Santa speakers identify themselves both as Dongxiang (**Dunxian**) and Hui. In earlier Chinese sources, the Santa also used to be known as the ‘Mongolian Huihui’ or the ‘Dongxiang Huihui’. Nevertheless, for most Santa speakers the term Santa expresses best their primary identification.

Dongxiang is today an autonomous county located within Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture of Gansu Province. To some extent, the Santa population extends beyond the borders of Dongxiang to the neighbouring administrative areas. More importantly, owing to droughts in the 1960s to 1980s, more than 50,000 Santa moved to Sinkiang (*Xinjiang*), where they are mainly concentrated in the northwestern district of Ili (*Yili*). Like the Santa, in general, most of these migrants still retain their native language (and religion) well. More recently, in the 1990s, some 30,000 Santa were relocated by the Chinese government to a few other locations within Gansu, including the county of Anxi in northwestern Gansu, and the county of Yongdeng near Lanzhou. These relocations, directed to areas with good irrigation, were also caused by the constantly recurrent droughts in the high and arid mountains of Dongxiang County.

Although little is known concerning the historical background of the Santa, many Santa speakers themselves believe that their ancestors migrated from Central Asia sometime in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. It is generally conjectured that they were formed from a mixture of Central Asian traders, Han Chinese artisans, and Mongol soldiers. It remains, however, unclear, what the proportions of linguistically Mongolized Central Asian Muslims vs. culturally Islamized Mongols are in the modern ethnic composition of the Santa. In any case, while the Santa language is unquestionably a member of the Mongolic language family, the Santa people incorporate a considerable

non-Mongolic ethnohistorical component. How, when, and where, the linguistic Mongolization of this component took place, remains to be investigated in the future.

Owing to the complex ethnohistorical background of its speakers, the Santa language has developed some very idiosyncratic phonological and lexical characteristics, which make it not readily intelligible to speakers of any other Mongolic language, including Gansu Bonan and (Minhe) Mangghuer, the two Mongolic idioms geographically closest to Santa. Practical information from a Santa native speaker suggests that it is easier for the Santa to understand Mangghuer than Bonan. However, the language and dialect boundaries between Santa and its Mongolic relatives still need to be further investigated. It happens that recent field research has revealed the existence of a previously unknown Mongolic idiom, technically termed the Kangjia ‘language’, spoken by a small Muslim population of *c.* 300 individuals in the county of gCan.tsha (Jianzha), north of Tongren in Qinghai. Taxonomically, the Kangjia ‘language’ would appear to be intermediate between Bonan and Santa.

Santa itself seems to form a single language, whose speakers all understand each other. Dialectal differences tend to be so small that it is usually not easy for a Santa speaker to tell which area the other speaker might come from. It also seems that the Santa speakers do not have clear ideas about any dialects in the language, though linguistic research has established three dialect areas: Suonan, Wangji, and Sijiaji (today’s Longquan and Kaori). These three areas show slight phonological and/or lexical differences, as in: Sijiaji **fugierei** vs. Wangji **fugher** vs. Suonan **fugie** ‘cow’ (< **xiker*); Wangji **khar** > **kha** vs. Sijiaji and Suonan **kha** ‘hand’ (< **gar*); Sijiaji **guruwang** vs. Suonan & Wangji **ghurang** ‘three’ (< **gurba/n*). Generally, though not always, it seems to be the Sijiaji dialect that preserves the most archaic state. Lexical differences are often caused by the varying exposure to Chinese influence, the impact being less strong in mountain areas with no Chinese speaking communities.

DATA AND SOURCES

Santa remains one of the least investigated Mongolic languages, a situation that is in a curious contrast with the fact that the Santa, by the size of their population, form the third-largest Mongolic speaking ethnic group in the world (after the Mongols proper and Buryat). Since the Santa generally also preserve their mother tongue well, the relative unknownness of their language must be connected with their seclusive social structure, in which considerably less attention is paid to the Mongolic linguistic affiliation than to the Islamic religious context. Another reason is that the Santa are among the economically and educationally least developed minority nationalities in the whole of China. According to governmental statistics (1992) they have the lowest literacy rate of all ethnic groups in the country, with only 17 per cent of the Santa being able to read some Chinese.

The first information on Santa as a specific form of Mongolic derives from G. N. Potanin (1893), who also published lexical material on the other Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region. After this limited information it was, however, only the Sino-Soviet field work in the 1950s that yielded fresh material. As a result, B. X. Todaeva dealt with the Santa language in a descriptive paper (Todaeva 1959), as well as in a more comprehensive grammatical monograph with texts and a vocabulary (1961), later followed by a briefer sketch (1997) and an ethnological summary (1965). On the Chinese side, a Santa grammar was published by Liu Zhaoxiong (1981). In retrospective, it is reported that Antoine Mostaert, the pioneer of Monguor studies, also collected material on Santa, but his field notes remain unpublished.

Information on Santa became more abundant with the work of the Inner Mongolian scholar Buhe, who, in collaboration with Chingeltei and others, published a vocabulary (1983), a collection of texts (1986), and a diachronic grammar (1985). An important secondary source is the collective work of specialized papers edited by Hao Sumin (1988). For the diachronic understanding of Santa and its relationship with Bonan, the recent work of Sechenchogtu (1999) on the Kangjia ‘language’ is a major cornerstone. The Santa language is also described in the doctoral dissertations of Kenneth L. Field (1997) and Stephen S. Kim (1998). Problems of Santa phonology have been discussed by Masayoshi Kakudo (1995).

The most recent development involves an attempt to create a literary language for Santa. A practical orthography based on the Pinyin system of Romanization, and modelled after the already functioning orthographies of Mongghul and Mangghuer, has entered an experimental stage. The first publication in the new literary language is a dictionary by the native Santa scholars A Yibulaheimai and A Shelefu (2001). It has to be noted, however, that the Santa have occasionally tried to write down their language in the Arabic script. Traditionally, the Santa put a high emphasis on religious education, as given by imams at mosques throughout the Santa villages. As a result, quite a few people seem to have acquired a knowledge of the Arabic script, and specimens of Santa texts in Arabic writing have circulated among the population. The Arabic script is also used for more casual notes in the native language. All of these written sources on Santa remain to be collected and investigated in the future.

The data for the present paper are primarily based on the author’s own field work with a variety of Santa speakers. The Santa language material is transcribed in a slightly modified version of the experimental orthography, as used by A Yibulaheimai and A Shelefu.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Santa is normally considered to have six basic vowel qualities, which can be denoted roughly as [a e i o u ʊ]. Among these, only the five vowels **a e i o u** (*a e i o u*) occur freely in various environments and may be regarded as actual phonemes (Table 17.1). The normal pronunciation of **e** is that of the mid central unrounded vowel [ə]. The vowels **i u e** are usually devoiced in an unstressed initial syllable when followed by a strong (aspirated) stop or fricative and preceded by a voiceless segment.

The quality [ʊ] occurs mainly after the uvular consonants **kh gh** in complementary distribution with **i**, suggesting that it should be interpreted as an allophone of **i**. Diachronically [ʊ] seems to represent the original back vowel **i*, e.g. **ghimusun** [Gumusū] ‘thumb’ < **qīmusu/n* ‘fingernail’, **khidei** [qudei] ‘Han Chinese’ < **qita-*. After a medial **gh**, the quality [ʊ] can be replaced by [i], e.g. **eghi-** [əʃi] ‘to hit’ (possibly from **orki-* ‘to throw’). Another position in which the quality [ʊ], or perhaps more often [y], is attested, is before a nasal coda in non-initial syllables; in these cases, it seems to

TABLE 17.1 SANTA VOWELS

u			i
o			e
		a	

be a question of an allophone of **e**, e.g. **amen** [am̃] ‘millet’ < **amu/n*, **banden** [bād̃] ‘stool’ (from Chinese). After the dental sibilants **s z c** and the retroflexes **sh zh ch r**, the vowel **i** is pronounced with a sibilant resp. retroflex coarticulation, e.g. **boši** [buəs̃] ‘cloth’ < **bös*, **zisi** [dz̃s̃] ‘selfish’ (from Chinese), **zhìhon** [ʈʂ̃ɰʂ̃] ‘six’ < **jirguxa/n*, **chi** [tʂ̃h̃] ‘you’ < **ci*, **shire** [ʃ̃ɰʂ̃] ‘desk’ < **sirexe*. These pronunciations are obviously due to Chinese influence.

Some scholars also include the retroflex vowel [ɤ̃] in the Santa vowel system. The occurrences of the quality [ɤ̃] are, however, marginal and do not require the postulation of a separate phoneme. The distribution of [ɤ̃] is restricted to syllables without an onset or a coda. Both synchronic and diachronic evidence shows that [ɤ̃] may be analysed as **er** (phonemically a syllabic *r*), as in **qierge** (for *ci-r-ge*) [tɕĩɤ̃gɤ̃] ‘vehicle’ < **terge*. Clearly, this is another feature reflecting the restructuring of Santa phonology under the impact of Chinese. In the Wangji dialect, however, a syllable-final **r** can form a single nucleus with any preceding vowel quality, as in **khar** ‘hand’ < **gar*, **ghurghel** ‘worm’ < **kor(o)kai*.

The low vowel **a** and the two non-low rounded vowels **o** and **u** mostly correspond to Proto-Mongolic **a* as well as **o* and **u*, respectively, e.g. **khara** ‘black’ < **kara*, **okho** ‘short’ < **okor*, **usu** ‘water’ < **usu/n*. The vowels **o** and **u** also correspond to original **ö* and **ü*, respectively, e.g. **mo** ‘road’ < **mör*, **usun** ‘hair’ < *(*x*)*üsü/n*. In individual examples, there are many deviations from these regular correspondences.

There is no distinctive vowel length in Santa. However, as a facultative phonological phenomenon, when the same vowel is repeated in two consecutive syllables of a word, the intervocalic consonant is often omitted in fast speech. The remaining vowels tend to be contracted into a single phonetically long vowel, which can further be shortened. This results in a three-way free variation between a regular two-syllable structure, a vowel sequence (pronounced as a long vowel), and a single vowel, as in **suru-** > **suu-** > **su-** ‘to learn’, **kuru-** > **kuu-** > **ku-** ‘to reach’, **baighagha-** > **baighaa-** > **baigha-** ‘to let build’.

The Santa consonant system comprises, by place of articulation, the labials **p b f m w** (*p b f m w*), the dental non-sibilants **t d n l** (*t d n l*), the dental sibilants **c z s** (*ts dz s*), the retroflexes (alveopalatals) **ch zh sh r** (*tr dr sr r*), the palatals **q j x y** (*c j sh y*), the velars **k g h ng** (*k g x ng*), and the post-velars (uvulars and glottals) **kh gh hh** (*q gh h*). By manner of articulation, the consonants can be divided into the strong (aspirated) stops **p t k kh**, the weak (unaspirated) stops **b d g gh**, the strong (aspirated) affricates **c ch q**, the weak (unaspirated) affricates **z zh j**, the fricatives **f s sh x h hh**, the nasals **m n ng**, the liquids **l r**, and the glides **w y**. This makes a total of twenty-seven consonant phonemes (Table 17.2).

The three sets of dental sibilants (**c z s**), retroflexes (**ch zh sh**), and palatals (**q j x**) are parallel with, and at least partly due to the influence of, the Chinese consonant system. Among them, the segment **c** is the most marginal, occurring only in Chinese borrowings

TABLE 17.2 SANTA CONSONANTS

p	t	c	ch	q	k	kh
b	d	z	zh	j	g	gh
f		s	sh	x	h	hh
	l		r			
m	n				ng	
w				y		

and in most cases in free variation with **s**. Another secondary phoneme is **z**, which also mostly occurs in loanwords. The retroflex affricates **ch** and **zh** represent the Proto-Mongolic palatal affricates **c* and **j*, respectively, as in **chighang** ‘white’ < **cagaxan*, **zharu-** ‘to use’ < **jaru-*. The original **s* has developed into dental **s**, retroflex **sh**, or palatal **x**, as in **sara** ‘moon’ < **sara*, **shira** ‘yellow’ < **sira*, **xieni** ‘night’ < **söni* (irregular).

The three palatals **q j x** occur only before the front vowel **i** or the palatal glide **y** (**i**). The segments **q j** could actually be deleted from the phoneme chart, because they are in a perfect complementary distribution with **t** and **d**, respectively. Palatalization of dentals is a common process in the region, and is also probably due to Chinese influence. In Santa, the phenomenon can be observed both in Chinese borrowings and in native Mongolic items, e.g. **jien** ‘electricity’ (from local Chinese **jien** < Standard Mandarin **dian**), **jieron** ‘four’ < **derbe/n*.

The segments **f h hh sh** can all represent Proto-Mongolic initial **x*, e.g. **fugie** ‘cow’ < **xüker*, **hon** ‘year’ < **xon*, **hharang** ‘ten’ < **xarba/n*, **shizhe-** ‘to shame’ < **xice(.xe)-*. Similar representations can, however, also be due secondary prothesis, as in **fugu-** ‘to die’ < **ükü-*. Generally, the development **x* > **sh** may be regarded as regular before the high palatal vowel **i**, while the development **x* > **f** is observed before the high rounded vowel **u**. Unfortunately, the diachronic picture is complicated by many irregularities, and both **h** and **hh** can also occur before **u**, as in **hulang** ‘red’ < **xulaxan*, **hhuntura-** ‘to sleep’ < **(x)umtara-*. It seems that the most common representation of the native **x* is the laryngeal **hh** (**h**), while the velar **h** (**x**) occurs mainly in Chinese loanwords.

While the distinction between **k g h** vs. **kh gh hh** is one of the few details of Santa phonology that have no analogy in Chinese, some sources claim that Santa actually has two kinds of postvelar **gh**, one of which is a stop [g], while the other is a spirant [ɣ] (orthographically **gv**). However, the two realizations seem to be complementary, in that the stop variety occurs word-initially as well as after a nasal consonant, while intervocalically the spirant variety is used. The spirant variety is never attested in initial position, but the stop variety can occur intervocalically, as in **chighang** [tʃ^hḡḡḡ] ‘white’, **tegħa** [t^ʕḡga] ‘chicken’. In the lack of contradicting evidence, such as minimal pairs, it appears probable that the intervocalic stop realization is also contextually conditioned. One conditioning factor may be the devoicing of the preceding vowel.

It has to be noted that the intervocalic spirantic realization of **gh** can represent both **g* and **k*, with no easily detectable regularity, cf. e.g. **moghei** ‘snake’ < **moga(y)i*, **saighang** ‘beautiful’ < **sa(y)ikan*. Moreover, while an initial **gh** is in most cases an indicator of an original velar vocalism, the medial **gh** is also common in originally front-vocalic words, e.g. **enzheghe** ‘donkey’ < **elijige/n*, **zhughe** ‘heart’ < **jür(i)ke/n*. On the other hand, in front-vocalic words the stop representation **g** is also common in medial position, as in **ogi-** ‘to give’ < **ög-*, **fugie** ‘cow’ < **xüker*. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to tell whether the immediate source of the medial consonant in an example like **chighin** ‘ear’ was a velar (**ciki/n*) or a postvelar (**ciqi/n* < **ciki/n*).

Another consonant difficult to analyse is the velar nasal **ng**, which occurs only syllable-finally. Basically, Santa has only one syllable-final nasal, which may be denoted as **n**, and which is normally realized as the nasalization of the preceding vowel, e.g. **amin** [amĩ] ‘life’, **amen** [amỹ] ‘millet’. The low vowel **a**, however, occurs in two different nasalized qualities, a palatal quality [ã] and a velar quality [õ]. These qualities are best interpreted as being due to a distinction in the nasal segment. While the nasal conditioning of the palatal quality may be analysed as **n**, the velar quality may be assigned to **ng**, as in the minimal pair **banbanzi** [bãbãzi] ‘board’ vs. **bangbangzi** [bõbõzi] ‘stick’

(both from Chinese). This system of phonetic and phonological correspondences is similar to, and apparently influenced by, the local Chinese dialect, which has contrasts like, e.g. **sanzi** [sāzi] ‘fried noodle stick’ vs. **sangzi** [sōzi] ‘throat’.

WORD STRUCTURE

The Santa syllable is of the type ((C)C)V(C). An onset cluster CC may only consist of an initial consonant plus a medial glide (*w y*, orthographically written as **u i**). A coda consonant is also normally either a glide (*w y*, written as **u o i**) or a dental or velar nasal (**n ng**). All other original syllable-final consonants have either been dropped, as in **puzha** ‘bean’ < **burcag*, nasalized, as in **kon** ‘foot’ < **köl*, **bulang** ‘spring [of water]’ < **bulag*, or turned into the onset of a new syllable, as in **bolu-** ‘to be cooked, to mature’ < **bol-*, **ghurang** ‘three’ < **gurba/n*. Additionally, the retroflex liquid (**r**) occurs as a coda in the Wangji dialect, while in the other dialects *r* (**er**) can be used as a syllabic consonant.

At the phonetic level, secondary initial clusters tend to be formed by the contextual devoicing of the various allophones of the vowel **i**, as in **sidara** [sɪ̥dara] ‘light’, **shidun** [ʃɪ̥dũ] ‘tooth’, **shira** [ʃɪ̥ra] ‘yellow’. A final **i** can likewise be devoiced, as in **kewosi** ‘child’, leading potentially to the auditive impression that the word ends in a consonant. Phonetic clusters are also formed through the devoicing and reduction of **e**, as in **tegha** [tʰə̥ga] ‘chicken’, **tezhi** [tʰə̥dzɪ̥] ‘button’. The best example of an initial cluster in Santa is perhaps offered by the word **pse** [pʰsə] ‘again’, but even this item occurs in free variation with forms that contain a clear medial vowel segment: **pese** [pʰəsə] ~ **puse** [pʰʊsə].

The possible combinations of vowels with medial and final glides are (orthographically): **ai ei ao ou ui ua uai iu ie ia io iao**. The sequence **iao** (*yaw*) is marginal, in that it only occurs in items borrowed from Standard Chinese, and it can normally be replaced by the local Chinese (and native Santa) sequence **io** (*yo*), as in **piao** ~ **pio** ‘ticket’ (from Chinese). The initial sequence **yao** (*yaw*) is, however, freely permitted in both native and borrowed words, as in **yaogo** ‘humped’.

Vowel harmony has almost completely disappeared in Santa, one reason being the merger of the vowels **o* **u* and **ö* **ü*, as in **hodun** for both ‘star’ (**xodu/n*) and ‘feather’ (**xödü/n*). However, occasional remnants of the original palato-velar harmony are still encountered in derivational processes, as in **shira** ‘yellow’: **shira.la-** ‘to become yellow’ vs. **chizhe** ‘flower’: **chizhe.lie-** ‘to bloom’. Apparently, it is no longer a question of a synchronically productive phenomenon.

Word stress in Santa is mainly manifested as a peak of the pitch contour. Normally, the prosodic prominence falls on the last syllable of a word, which has a higher pitch than the preceding unstressed syllables. Exceptions from the regular stress pattern are encountered in foreign items, such as **aghili** ‘wisdom’ (with initial stress, from Arabic). No traces of tonal differences are observed in the Chinese loanwords.

WORD FORMATION

Santa preserves the basic functional and morphological dichotomy between nouns (nominals) and verbs (verbals). Derived nominal and verbal stems are produced by derivative suffixes, many of which are of Common Mongolic origin, while others have been borrowed from local Chinese. Some suffixes have more than one shape for performing a single function because of the rudimental vowel harmony, still occasionally observed in the suffixation process. Another factor causing suffix allomorphy is that the liquids **r** and **l**

seem to be interchangeable in many instances. The principal derivational categories are listed and illustrated below.

Denominal nouns: **.chi** [occupation, involvement], e.g. **asun** ‘livestock’: **asun.chi** ‘herdsman’; **.kai** (from local Chinese ‘visitor’) [id.], e.g. **su** ‘vinegar’: **su.kai** ‘vinegar seller’, **nienjinzi** ‘[eye]glasses’: **nienjinzi.kai** ‘a person wearing glasses’; **.tu** [possessive adjectival nouns], e.g. **amin** ‘life’: **amin.tu** ‘living, alive’; **.sha** [characteristic], e.g. **taghun** ‘fat’: **taghu.sha** ‘a fat person’; **.bao** (perhaps from local Chinese ‘guy’) [id.], e.g. **yara** ‘tumor’: **yara.bao** ‘a person with a tumor’; **.jian** (from local Chinese ‘craftsman’) [id.], e.g. **borun** ‘right side’: **borun.jian** ‘a right-handed person’; **.lan** ~ **.lien** [temporal connection], e.g. **tegha** ‘chicken, cock’: **tegha.lan** ‘the time when the cock crows (early morning)’; **.chou** ~ **.cha** [diminutive], e.g. **tughon** ‘cooker’: **tugho.chou** ‘small cooker’, **neki** ‘leather coat’: **neki.cha** ‘leather coat without sleeves’; [other types of connection:] **.ra** ~ **.lei** ~ **.rei**, e.g. **shesu.n** ‘urine’: **shesu.ra** ~ **shesu.lei** ‘an old urine pit’; **.lu/n** ~ **.ru/n**, e.g. **nudun** ‘eye’: **nudu.ru/n** ‘eyehole’; **.dei** or **.gi**, e.g. **dolon** ‘seven’: **dolon.dei** ~ **dolon.gi** ‘premature baby’, **zholien** ‘weak’: **zholien.gi** ‘weak person’.

Functionally, a special position is occupied by the Common Mongolic nominativizing suffix **-ghun** (< **-ki/n*) [adherence or location], which can be attached to nouns with a local meaning, e.g. **soghei** ‘left’: **soghei-ghun** ‘[something] being on the left side’, or to the genitive case form of nouns, as in **gie** ‘home’: **gie-ni-ghun** (with the genitive case marker **-ni**) ‘[something or someone] being at home’. Another special denominal suffix is **.ghang**, which functions as an intensifier of adjectival nouns, e.g. **gao** ‘good’: **gao.ghang** ‘better’, **hulang** ‘red’: **hula.ghang** ‘more red’. Additional intensification can be achieved by using the Common Mongolic reduplicative pattern, e.g. **khara** ‘black’: **kha&khara.ghang** ‘very black’, **hulang** ‘red’: **hup&ula.ghang** ‘very red’.

Deverbal nouns: **.sun**, e.g. **she-** ‘to urinate’: **she.sun** ‘urine’; **.dun**, e.g. **khana-** ‘to cough’: **khana.dun** ‘cough’; **.n**, e.g. **kielie-** ‘to speak’: **kielie.n** ‘language, tongue’; **.ang**, e.g. **tari-** ‘to sow’: **tar.ang** ‘crop’; **.si**, e.g. **kielie-** ‘to speak’: **kielie.si** ‘news’; **.lien**, e.g. **sugie-** ‘to rebuke’: **sugie.lien** ‘rebuke’; **.dang**, e.g. **yawu-** ‘to walk’: **yawu.dang** ‘walking style’; **.ghu**, e.g. **wila-** ‘to cry’: **wila.ghu** ‘a person who cries easily’; **.wuni**, e.g. **ijie-** ‘to eat’: **ijie.wuni** ‘food’. Some of these suffixes are diachronically connected with Common Mongolic participle markers. More transparently, lexicalized deverbal nouns are occasionally also yielded by the agentive participle in **-chen**, e.g. **adula-** ‘to herd’: part. ag. **adula-chen** ‘one who herds’ > **adula.chen** ‘herdsman’.

Denominal verbs: **.da** ~ **.jie** ~ **.ta-** [instrumental], e.g. **chighin** ‘ear’: **chighin.da-** ‘to inquire about’, **qirou** ‘saw’: **qirou.jie-** ‘to saw’, **taiya** ‘stick’: **taiya.ta-** ‘to hit with stick’; **.sa-** [id.] **amang** ‘mouth’: **amu.sa-** ‘to taste’. The most productive element forming denominal verbs is **+gie-**, e.g. **wilie** ‘work’: **wilie+gie-** ‘to work’. This is most typically used to verbalize nouns borrowed from other languages, mainly Chinese, e.g. **gunzo** ‘work’ (from Chinese): **gunzo+gie-** ‘to work’. Diachronically **+gie-** is directly based on the verb **gie-** ‘to do’ (< **ki-*), and, as a synchronic indicator of its independent status, it can still be separated from the nominal stem by a number of particles, such as **nie** (literally ‘one’), **ulie** [negator], or **bu** [negator], e.g. **gunzo nie gie-** ‘to try to work’.

A specific category of denominal verbs is formed by the derivatives of adjectival nouns. Most of these verbs have a translative meaning: **.la** ~ **.lo** ~ **.lie** ~ **.lu**, e.g. **bayang** ‘rich’: **bayang.la-** ‘to become rich’, **yaogo** ‘humped’: **yaogo.lo-** ‘to become humped’, **enzheghe** ‘egg’: **enzheghe.lie-** ‘to lay an egg’, **oqio** ‘old’: **oqio.lu-** ‘to become old’; **.ra** ~ **.ro** ~ **.re-**, e.g. **hulang** ‘red’: **hula.ra-** ‘to become red’, **noghon** ‘green’: **nogho.ro-** ‘to become green’, **gieghang** ‘bright’: **gieghe.re-** ‘to become bright’; **.ta-** ~ **.to-** ~ **.tu-**, e.g. **shuwa** ‘mud’: **shuwa.ta-** ‘to become muddy’, **ho** ‘anger’: **ho.to-** ‘to

become angry', **chighan** 'white' : **chigha.tu-** 'to become white'; **.da-** ~ **.do-** ~ **.jie-**, e.g. **gao** 'good' : **gao.da-** 'to be reconciled', **olon** 'many, much' : **olon.do-** 'to become increased', **undu** 'high' : **undu.jie-** 'to become high'; **.zhe-** ~ **.shi-**, e.g. **bayang** 'rich' : **baya.zhe-** 'to become rich', **tughon** 'skinny' : **tugho.shi-** 'to become skinny'; **.ghe-**, e.g. **kuqien** (also **kuiqien**) 'cold' : **kuqie.ghe-** 'to become cold'; **.chilie-**, e.g. **khidun** 'hard' : **khidu.chilie-** 'to become hard'; **.sa-** [with a negative connotation], e.g. **undu** 'high' : **undu.sa-** 'to become too high'.

Deverbal verbs: **.gha-** [causative voice], e.g. **bai-** 'to stand' : **bai.gha-** 'to build'; **.ndu-** [reciprocal and cooperative voice], e.g. **suru-** 'to learn' : **suru.ndu-** 'to learn together'. Additionally, there are suffixes by which Chinese verbs are adapted to Santa. Chinese monosyllables normally take one of the suffixes **.yi-** or (after a nasal coda) **.ji-**, e.g. **jiu.yi-** 'to save, to deliver' (from Chinese **jiu** 'to save'), **bang.ji-** 'to help' (from Chinese **bang** 'to help'). To bisyllables, the suffixes **.la-** ~ **.lo-** ~ **.lie-** ~ **.re-** ~ **.ro-** or **.qi-** are added, e.g. **qifu.la-** 'to afflict' (from Chinese **qifu** 'to afflict'). The only function of the derivative suffixes in these verbs is to make it possible to add Santa morphology to the Chinese roots.

NUMBER AND CASE

The only productive nominal number marker in Santa is the inflexional plural suffix **-la**. There are no distinctions in the range of plurality (plural vs. paucal). Singular or unspecified number is morphologically unmarked, but a definite singular entity is often expressed by a demonstrative noun phrase with the numeral **nie** 'one', e.g. **hhe nie mutun** 'that (one) tree'. The plural marker is often omitted, especially when the information is already provided by the context, e.g. **mutun** 'tree/s' (in general) : sg. **mutun** 'a tree' : pl. **mutun-la** 'trees' : **ghua mutun(-la)** 'two trees'.

Apart from **-la** (shared with Bonan), Santa seems to preserve a trace of the Proto-Mongolic plural formative **.s* in the single lexicalized example of **kewon** 'son' : **kewo.si** 'child'. In this word, the stress does not fall on the last syllable, as is usual, but rather on the penultimate syllable, suggesting the possibility that it is a question of two separate words: **kewo si**, with **si** acting as a particle. The element **(.)si** (shared in this shape with Mangghuer) occurs also in the complex suffix **.si-la**, which pluralizes pronouns and kinship terms, notably **kewon** 'son' : **kewo.si-la** 'sons' (or: 'children'), **tere** 'he' : **tere.si-la** 'they'. Another suffix with a similar function is **.xie** (possibly a variant of **.si**, but certainly also influenced by Chinese **xie** 'some'), which can further be expanded into **.xie-la**, e.g. **gayjio** 'younger brother' : **gayjio.xie(-la)** 'younger brothers'.

A generic plural can be formed by a reduplicative construction of the Common Mongolic type. In this construction, the word to be generalized is followed by a rhyme beginning with **m**, to which the particle **ji** (from a palatalized variant of the Chinese nominalizing and adverbializing particle **de**) can be optionally added, e.g. **tashi mashi (ji)** 'stones and the like'. If the headword begins with **m**, then the rhyme switches to begin with **s**, e.g. **medun sedun (ji)** 'trousers and the like'.

The case paradigm in Santa comprises six suffixally marked forms, which may be identified as: connective, dative, ablative, comitative, sociative, and prosecutive (Table 17.3). The dative, ablative, and comitative represent the corresponding Common Mongolic cases, while the prosecutive seems to derive from a Common Mongolic marginal case. The connective is, as in the other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, the merged reflex of the original genitive and accusative cases. The sociative is a secondary case shared with Bonan.

TABLE 17.3 SANTA CASE MARKERS

	function	marker
conn.	genitive-accusative	-ni
dat.	dative-locative-benefactive	-de
abl.	ablative-comparative	-se
com.	comitative	-le ~ -re
soc.	sociative-instrumental	-gh(u)ala
pros.	locative-prosecutive	-ghun

The connective case can be used both adnominally and adverbially. In adnominal use it expresses a variety of attributive (genitival) relations, including possession, subject, object, time, space, origin, or material, e.g. **Yusufu-ni jien** 'Joseph's clothes', **yeye-ni jioxin** 'the lesson grandfather [taught]', **xiexio-ni xienchuan** 'propaganda about the school', **fuzhugudu-ni gienan** 'bread from yesterday', **shire jiere-ni shu** 'the book on the desk', **ghon-ni usu** 'water from the valley', **muzha-ni shire** 'a desk made from wood'. Occasionally, such phrases can come close to the status of a compound word by dropping the case marker, e.g. **ghon usu** 'valley-water', **muzha shire** 'wooden desk'. In adverbial use the connective expresses the direct object (accusative), e.g. **ene shu-ni nie onshi** 'read this book'. Often this objective marker is dropped, especially when the object is indefinite, e.g. **shu onshi** 'read [some] books!'.

The dative and ablative cases are used adverbially in local and temporal expressions, e.g. (dative) **bi Baza-de saozhi wo** 'I am living in Linxia', **bi ijien-de echine** 'I will go at one o'clock'; (ablative) **bi Beijin-se irewo** 'I have come from Peking', **fugie xigua-se nie ogi** 'give me one of [from] the big watermelons'. The dative also expresses the indirect object, e.g. **bi laoshila-de kieliewo** 'I told [it] to the teachers', while the ablative is used to express the base of comparison, e.g. (pronominal example) **chi ma-se fugie wo** 'you are older than me'. The ablative is also required by some verbs expressing emotional states or reactions, such as **ayi-** 'to be afraid', **shizhe-** 'to be shy', **sonigha-** 'to be unfamiliar', e.g. **kunla-se ulie shizhene** '[he] will not be shy with people'.

The primary comitative and the secondary sociative are partly synonymous and can be used interchangeably to express joint actorship, often accompanied by the postposition **hantu** 'together with', e.g. (com.) **Ibura-le hantu echi ~ (soc.) Ibura-ghuala hantu echi** 'go together with Ibura!'. The comitative can also express comparison, as in **chi pizhisan bi pizhisan-le nie kielien wo** 'what you have written is same as what I have written'. The sociative, on the other hand, also functions as an instrumental, e.g. **khidei-ghala kielie** 'speak in Chinese!'.

The prosecutive case in **-ghun** (< **gUUr*) is used to express both approximate location (locative) and route (prosecutive), e.g. **chon-ghun** 'around the bed', **hhe kun khuaina-ghun yawu** 'walk behind that person!'. More rarely, another form in **-re**, possibly a cognate of the locative case in Mongghul, can be used in the same functions.

NUMERALS

Owing to the heavy influence of Chinese, Santa preserves the Common Mongolic numerals only for the first decade: 1 **nie**, 2 **ghua**, 3 **ghurang**, 4 **jieron**, 5 **tawun**, 6 **zhighon**, 7 **dolon**, 8 **neiman**, 9 **yesun**, 10 **hharang ~ hharon**. The numeral 20 **khorin**

is also preserved, but it is normally only used in the functions ‘twenty days’ or ‘twenty years of age’, while the Chinese borrowing 20 **ershi** is used for regular counting. Also, to express higher numbers (above ten), the native numerals of the first decade are sometimes used for the purpose of secretive communication, e.g. 45 **jieron hharang tawun** (literally: ‘four-ten-five’).

From the structural point of view, it may be noted that all the numerals from 3 to 10 (and 20) retain the original final unstable nasal */n. The modern reflexes of this nasal (and of the preceding vowel) involve, however, some complications, cf. e.g. the structurally similar stems 3 **ghurang** (< *gurba/n) vs. 10 **hharang** ~ **hharon** (< *xarba/n). It is possible that there is also variation of the type 3 **ghurang** ~ **ghuran**, 8 **neiman** ~ **neimang**, 10 **hharang** ~ **hharan**. The numeral 1 **nie** (< *nige/n) is irregular, perhaps influenced by 2 **ghua** (< *koxar), which itself may be regarded as regular in the Gansu-Qinghai context.

In parallel with the native basic numerals, the corresponding Chinese numerals are also commonly used: 1 **i**, 2 **er**, 3 **san**, 4 **si**, 5 **u**, 6 **liu**, 7 **qi**, 8 **ba**, 9 **jiu**, 10 **shi**. For higher numbers, only Chinese numerals can be used in normal conversation, e.g. 11 **shiyi**, 12 **shier**, 20 **ershi**, 30 **sanshi**, etc. The powers of ten are expressed by the Chinese constructions 100 **ibai** ~ **ibe**, 1,000 **iqien**, 10,000 **iwan** (incorporating **i** ‘one’).

Numerals invariably precede their head noun, e.g. **nie kun** ‘one person’. Chinese numerals normally require the use of either a quantifier (measure word) or a classifier (counter), e.g. **i kuai** ‘one dollar’, **lian jien** ‘two o’clock’, **san gie** ‘three pieces’, **si qien** ‘four days’, **shiyi gie kun** ‘eleven people’. Quantifiers can also be used with the native numerals, e.g. **nie igha lashigha** ‘one bowl of noodle’. A special suffixal quantifier used with truncated shapes of the native numerals is **.udu** ‘days’ (from **udu** ‘day’), e.g. **jier.udu** (from **jieron+udu**) ‘four days’.

Ordinal numerals are formed by the Chinese prefixes **ji.** and **tao.**, which are combined with the Chinese numerals with or without a quantifier or a classifier, e.g. **ji.yi** ‘the first’, **ji.er** ‘the second’, **ji.yi.gie** ~ **tao.yi.gie** ‘the first one’, **ji.yi.ci** ~ **tao.yi.ci** ‘the first time’. Special native expressions are **nie.fa** ‘the first time’, **ghuari.fa** ‘the second time’.

The only Proto-Mongolic numeral derivatives preserved in Santa seem to be the collectives in **.la** ~ **.lie** (< *.xUIA, originally depending on the stem vocalism), e.g. **ghua.la** ‘two together’, **ghura.la** ~ **ghuru.lie** ‘three together’, **jieru.lie** ‘four together’, **tawu.lie** ‘five together’. The variant **.lie** can also be attached to Chinese numerals combined with the classifier **.gie**, e.g. **shiyi.gie.lie** ‘eleven together’. From the synchronic point of view the variant **.la** could perhaps also be analysed as representing the nominal plural marker **-la**, though diachronically the two elements are likely to be different. Distributives are formed by the suffix **.jia**, e.g. **ghua.jia** ‘two each’, (Chinese) **shiwu.gie.jia** ‘fifteen each’.

PRONOUNS

Santa preserves most of the Common Mongolic morphological idiosyncracies of the first and second person personal pronouns (Table 17.4). In particular, the singular pronouns have three suppletive stems, one for the unmarked nominative (1p. **bi** : 2p. **chi**), another for the original genitive (**mini** : **chini**), and a third for the oblique cases (**nama-** : **chima-**), with a facultative possibility of further shortening in the oblique forms (yielding **ma-** : **cha-**). The actual oblique cases are formed by adding the regular case endings of nominal declension. The only trace of a distinction between the original genitive

TABLE 17.4 SANTA PERSONAL PRONOUNS

			1p.		2p.
sg.	nom.		bi		chi
	conn.	mini		nami	chini
	obl.		(na)ma-		ch(im)a-
		excl.		incl.	
pl.	nom.	matang		bidien	ta(n)
	obl.	matang-		bidien-	tan-

and accusative forms is preserved by the first person singular pronoun, which has two functionally equivalent connective forms, one of which represents the original genitive (**mini**), while the other represents the original accusative (**nami**).

In the declension of the plural pronouns, the unmarked nominative forms have been replaced by the corresponding oblique stems, though the original nominative is still facultatively used in the second person (**ta**). In the first person, a distinction is maintained between an exclusive and an inclusive form. The exclusive stem (**bidien-**) derives directly from Proto-Mongolic, but the inclusive stem (**matang-**) involves innovative features (partly shared with Bonan).

For the third person, the distal demonstrative pronouns **tere** and **hhe** ‘that’ are used. Both of these have a basically regular nominal paradigm with the exception that a stem-final /n appears in the dative of both pronouns (**teren-de**, **hhen-de**) as well as in the ablative of **tere** (**teren-se**, **hhe-se**). In the genitive (**tere-ni**, **hhe-ni**) and comitative (**tere-le**, **hhe-le**) no stem alternation takes place. The plurals are regular (**tere-la**, **hhe-la**), though plurals of the type **tere.si-la** are also attested. Synchronically, it seems that **tere** basically occupies the function of a personal pronoun, while **hhe** is primarily used as a demonstrative pronoun. The corresponding proximal demonstrative pronoun is **ene** ‘this’.

Interrogative pronouns and related adverbial derivatives, most of which can also be used in an indefinite function, include **kien** ‘who’ (< **ken*), **yang** ‘what’ (< **yaxu/n*), **khala** ‘where’ (< **kaxa-*), **ali** ‘which’ (< **ali/n*), **giedun** ‘how many, some’ (< **kedün*) : coll. **giedu.lie** ‘a few together’, and **giezhe** ‘when’ (< **kejiye*).

In the function of a reflexive pronoun, the loanword **gojia** (from local Chinese) : pl. **gojia-la** is used (as also in Bonan). This pronoun can refer to all subject persons, e.g. **bi gojia** ‘I myself’, **ta gojia(-la)** ‘you yourselves’. The original Common Mongolic reflexive pronoun is also preserved in the shape sg. **orun** : pl. **oruntang**, but it is mostly used in reported speech, with reference to the quoted speaker or to the current speaker’s own self. Examples: (singular) **hhe made kieliezhi wo**: ‘**orun maghashi Beijinde echine**’ **giezhi** ‘he told me that he will go to Peking tomorrow’; (plural) **bi chenliese**, ‘**oruntang maghashi Beijinde echine**’ **giezhi** ‘I heard [them saying] that they are going to Peking tomorrow’.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Unlike most other languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex, Santa (like Shira Yughur) preserves a full set of possessive suffixes, including even distinct suffixes for the first person plural exclusive and inclusive forms (Table 17.5). The possessive suffixes are synchronically still largely identical with the corresponding pronominal genitives

TABLE 17.5 SANTA POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.		pl.
		excl.	incl.
1p.	-mi(ni)	-ma(ta)ni	-bijieni
2p.	-chini		-tani
3p.		-ni	

(except in the third person). They can be attached both to unmarked nominal stems and to stems inflected for number and/or case.

For purposes of emphasis, a noun marked with a possessive suffix can be preceded by the corresponding pronominal genitive, thus resulting in formally redundant constructions of the type **mini gangbi-mi** ‘my (own) pen’, **chini ada-chini** ‘your (own) father’.

Reflexive possession, with reference to the subject of the sentence, is expressed by the Common Mongolic reflexive marker, which appears as **-ne** in Santa. The reflexive marker can also be attached to the case endings, e.g. (dat. refl.) **chi ada-de-ne nie asa** ‘ask your (own) father!’. The connective ending **-ni** is, however, usually omitted before the reflexive suffix, as in **chi kha(-ni)-ne wagha** ‘wash your (own) hands!’. Interestingly, the connective ending can occur in combination with the third person possessive suffix in spite of the homophony of the two elements, e.g. **bieri** ‘wife’: conn. px sg. 3p. **bieri-ni-ni** (used both as a genitive and as an accusative). The formal and functional contrast between the objective uses of the third person possessive and reflexive forms may be illustrated as follows: **hhe oqinjio-ni-ni nie eghi-wo** ‘he hit his [someone else’s] sister’ vs. **hhe oqinjio-ne nie eghi-wo** ‘he hit his (own) sister’.

FINITE VERBAL FORMS

Although Santa preserves the Common Mongolic functional dichotomy between imperative and finite indicative forms, it is synchronically also possible to describe the Santa system of finite verbal inflexion primarily in terms of the categories of mood, aspect, and number. Additionally, there is the category of voice, which, however, mainly belongs to the realms of derivation (causative, reciprocal/cooperative) and syntax (passive), rather than inflexion. Unlike some of the other Mongolic languages in the region, Santa has no category of perspective.

The category of mood includes the indicative, interrogative, and imperative moods. The indicative (declarative) and interrogative moods are formally interconnected, the interrogative forms being derived from the indicative forms by adding the interrogative particle **u**, which amalgamates with the finite indicative markers. The imperative mood, however, has a separate set of markers, which, unlike those of the indicative mood, are differentiated according to the subject person. The three forms are the basic unmarked imperative for the second person, the voluntative in **-ye** for the first person, and the permissive in **-gie** for the third person, e.g. (imp.) **chi uzhe** ‘(you) look!’; (vol.) **bi ire-ye** ‘let me come!’; (perm.) **Ibura adula-gie** ‘let Ibura put [the animals] out to pasture!’. The permissive is commonly used in wishes and blessings, e.g. **adachini gien ghujighang gaoda-gie** ‘may (the illness of) your father get better soon!’. The permissive marker can also (rarely) be combined with a first person subject, implying that the subject is treated

TABLE 17.6 SANTA FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

	function	marker	interr.
dur.	imperfective	-ne	-nu
term.	perfective	-wo	-wu
progr.	progressive	-zhi+wo	-zhi+wu

as a non-voluntary participant, as in **bi fuguse fugu-gie, chi bu gonji** ‘if I die, just let me die, leave me alone!’.

The indicative paradigm comprises three aspectually differentiated forms, corresponding to the imperfective, perfective, and progressive aspects. The functional distinction between the imperfective and perfective aspects is expressed by the Common Mongolic durative and terminative forms, which have the markers **-ne** vs. **-wo**. The progressive aspect is expressed by the Common Mongolic progressive construction, in which the imperfective converb **-zhi** is periphrastically combined with the auxiliary verb **wo** ‘to be’. The complex **-zhi+wo** can also be further contracted to yield **zho**. Each of the aspectual forms has a corresponding variant marked for the interrogative mood (Table 17.6).

The imperfective aspect most often has a present or future temporal reference, e.g. **chi khala echi-ne** ‘where are you going?’, (interr.) **ire-nu** ‘will [you] come?’. It can also refer to static, continuous, or habitual actions or events in the present or past, e.g. **bi khidei kielie mejie-ne** ‘I know (the) Chinese (language)’, **meila shihoude jiojiomi chang ghudang kielie-ne** ‘when he was little, my brother used to tell lies’. The perfective aspect typically refers to past (completed) actions, or to actions that have just begun and will certainly be completed, e.g. **hhe kun Beijinde echi-wo** ‘that person went to Peking’, **ede bi yawu-wo** ‘now I am leaving’, (interr.) **ire-wu** ‘did [you] come?’. The progressive aspect refers to progressive actions or events with no temporal preference, e.g. (present) **chi yang gie-zhi+wo** ‘what are you doing?’, **chi irese bi bayasu-zhi+wo** ‘I am glad that you came’, (interr.) **kijie-zhi+wu** ‘is [he] sleeping?’, (past) **bi melieshi hhende chang echi-zhi+wo** ‘in the past, I used to go there a lot’, (future) **chi maghashijie irekude, bi kenen shu uzhe-zhi+wo** ‘when you come tomorrow, I may be reading a book’.

The most idiosyncratic feature of the Santa conjugational system is the optional and apparently not yet fully grammaticalized marking of subject number in the finite verb. The singular number is unmarked, but the plural number of the subject can be indicated on the verb by adding the marker **.ndu-**, which is formally identical with the reciprocal voice suffix (**.ldU-*) of verbal derivation. In its original use, this suffix expresses the reciprocity of action (‘each other’), as in **matang ghuala bangji.ndu-ye** ‘let us wrestle (with each other)’, but in Santa it is more commonly used in a cooperative function (‘together’). The ongoing grammaticalization of the verbal plural marker obviously started from the latter function, and synchronically it is still a question of a derivational category, e.g. **ta ijie ~ ta ijie.ndu** ‘you (many) eat (together)!’.

Interestingly, in causative constructions the plural marker **.ndu** can also indicate the plurality of the causee, as in **chi hhelade ijie.ndu.gha** ‘you make them eat!’. Moreover, if both the grammatical subject and the causee are plurals, the verbal plural marker may appear twice, as in **ghua laoshi hhelade suru.ndu.gha.ndu-wo** ‘the two teachers made them learn’. In such examples, the first **.ndu** (followed by the causative suffix) refers to

the plurality of the causee, while the second **.ndu-** (followed by modal or aspectual markers) refers to the plurality of the subject.

NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS

In the non-finite paradigm, Santa has three participles and seven converbs or grammaticalized quasiconverbs (Table 17.7).

The three participles create dependent nominalized clauses, which may function as arguments of another clause, or may modify a head noun, thus functioning as a relative clause. The futuritive participle in **-ku**, in fast speech transformed into **-wu**, has an imperfective aorist-future temporal-aspectual reference, e.g. **yawu-ku mo** ‘a road to walk’. In combination with the third person possessive suffix **-ni**, the futuritive participle yields the complex **-ku-ni**, which also occurs as a deverbal derivative suffix in the lexicalised shape **.wuni**, as in **ijie-ku-ni ~ ijie-wu-ni** ‘something to eat’ > **ijie.wuni** ‘food’. Functionally very similar to the futuritive participle is the agentive participle in **-chen**, which, however, tends to be used as an independent (substantival) noun, as in (predicative use with a copula) **ene shi nie gie saghei-chen wo** ‘this is one that watches the house’. The perfective participle in **-san** has a past-perfective reference, e.g. **ire-san kun** ‘a person who has come’, (conn.) **bi mejie-san-ni mang pizhi-wo** ‘I wrote everything that I knew’, (predicative use with a copula) **ene shu bi onshizhi dawa-san wo** ‘this book is the one I have read’.

Among the seven converbial forms, the modal, imperfective, and final converbs are only used in same-subject constructions (with the subject of the converbial clause and the following clause being the same), while all the other converbs can also be used in different-subject constructions. The functional distinctions involved in the converbial system are basically aspectual and have been described (Field) as indicating the continuity or discontinuity of events in successive clauses.

Of all converbs, the imperfective converb in **-zhi** has the broadest range of uses. Its basic function is to indicate an action that modifies another action, e.g. **bi meicha ochi-zhi gien-ang ijiewo** ‘I drank tea while eating’ (or: ‘I drank tea and ate’). It may also link two actions that essentially belong to a single overall event, e.g. **chi echi-zhi nie uzhe** ‘go and take a look’. In combination with the copula **wo** the imperfective converb yields the progressive form of finite conjugation, e.g. **ede anami budang gie-zhi+wo** ‘now my mother is

TABLE 17.7 SANTA NON-FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

	function	marker
part. fut.	aorist-future	-ku
perf.	perfective	-san
ag.	actor noun	-chen
conv. mod.	modifying	-n, -ng
imperf.	coordinative	-zhi
cond.	conditional	-se
conc.	concessive	-se-nu
term.	terminative	-tala, -tula, -dula
fin.	final	-le
compl.	completive	-de(-ne)

preparing food'. Finally, this form can occur as an adverbial modifier to an adjectival noun, as in **ene chizhe uzhe-zhi saighang wo** 'this flower is beautiful to look at'.

While the imperfective converb mainly expresses the coordination between two equal actions, the modal converb in **-n ~ -ng** indicates an action that describes the manner in which another action is performed. For increased emphasis, this form often appears as reduplicated, as in **wila-ng wila-ng yawulawo** 'crying and crying, [someone] left'. In a basically similar construction, the final converb in **-le** indicates an action that is undertaken for the purpose of another action, e.g. **bi nie uzhe-le irewo** 'I have come in order to look a bit'.

Among the different-subject converbs, the conditional converb in **-se** primarily indicates a supposition or condition ('if'), e.g. **zhochen ire-se** 'if a guest comes'. However, this form can also be used temporally ('when'), as in **bi xieri-se ada anami mang uwo** 'when I woke up, mother and father were both gone'. The conditional converb serves as the formal basis for the concessive converb in **-se-nu**, which also has two functions. Primarily, the concessive converb indicates a concessive relation ('although', 'even if'), as in **hhende baer olon bi-se-nu chade ulie ogine** 'even if he has a lot of money, [he] won't give [it] to you'. However, it can also have a temporal use ('after'), as in **hhe iyende echi-se-nu, kieli ese otuzhi wo** 'after he got to the hospital, his stomach did not hurt anymore'.

The basic function of the terminative converb in **-tala** (with variants in **-tula ~ -dula**) is to indicate a temporal sequence. More exactly, the terminative converb indicates that the action of its clause precedes the action of the next clause ('until', 'before'), as in **khara olu-tala wiliegiewo** '[he] worked until it became dark'. A second function of this converb is to indicate a preference ('rather than'), as in **Lanzhu bi-tala Baza saozhi wo** 'rather than being in Lanzhou, it is better to live in Linxia'.

The completive quasiconverb in **-de ~ -de-ne** (with non-converbial parallels in Bonan and Mangghuer) indicates an action that will be completed before the following action is undertaken, e.g. **chi ijie-de-ne bi ijieye** 'after you have finished eating, I will eat'.

AUXILIARY VERBS

Santa has a large number of auxiliary verbs, which indicate various shades of aspectuality, directionality, or modality, often arranged in pairs of two semantically opposed expressions. Etymologically, most of the auxiliary stems are of Common Mongolic origin, but some are based on elements borrowed from Chinese.

Auxiliaries which indicate directional or aspectual relationships include **ire-** 'to come' (< *ire-) vs. **echi-** 'to go' (< *od.ci-), **qi.yi-** 'to begin' (from Chinese), and **kai.yi-** 'to open, to begin' (from Chinese). Auxiliaries which indicate progress, completion, or degree of intensity, include **bara-** 'to finish' (< *bara-), **dawa-** 'to cross; to complete' (< *daba-), **olu-** 'to become' (< *ol- & bol-), **sao-** 'to sit; to continue' (< *saxu-), and **ala-** 'to kill' (< *ala-). The two auxiliaries **agi-** 'to take' (irregularly from *ab-) vs. **ogi-** 'to give' (< *ög-) indicate that the action has a beneficiary ('for'). Several auxiliaries express the presence or absence of ability, including **shida-** 'to be able' (< *cida-) vs. **da-** 'to be unable' (< *yada-), and **mejie-** 'to know' (< *mede-). Finally, the auxiliary **uzhe-** 'to see; to try' (< *üje-) indicates intention or attempt.

In the typical auxiliary construction, the auxiliary verb is preceded by the semantic main verb in a converbial form. Most often, the imperfective converb is used, but the final converb as well as the formally unmarked verbal stem (zero-marked sequential converb) also occur, e.g. **gaoda-zhi ire-** 'to become good', **wila-le qi.yi-** 'to begin crying',

ijie agi- ~ **ijie-zhi agi-** ‘to eat up’. The two auxiliaries **shida-** vs. **da-**, which are concerned with ability, can only be combined with the unmarked verbal stem. Moreover, these two auxiliaries, unlike all others, can never be used as regular independent verbs.

SYNTAX

Santa retains the Common Mongolic head-final syntactic behaviour. A verb appears in final position in its clause, and sentence-internal relationships are indicated by suffixes and postpositions. Generally, a modifier precedes its headword, as in the noun phrase **gao kun** ‘good person’, or the verb phrase **lalaghang yawu** ‘walk slowly!’. However, the two adverbs **no** (native) and **hen** (from Chinese), both meaning ‘very’, always appear postpositionally, e.g. **enedu kuiqien no wo** ‘it is very cold today’, **hhe saighang hen wo** ‘it is very beautiful’. These postpositional adverbs can be used simultaneously with regular prepositional adverbs, e.g. **yaghani saighang hen** ‘extremely beautiful’ (literally: ‘very beautiful, very’).

Exceptionally, in topic-marked sentences, an object can be moved to the beginning of the sentence, but it has to be marked by the connective ending, e.g. **Ibura-ni qiche penjiwo** ‘Ibura was hit by a car’. A kind of passive, with the semantic object functioning as the grammatical subject and occupying the initial position in the sentence, can also be formed by using the borrowed passivizer **ne,yi-** ‘to be affected, to receive’ (from Chinese). The agent (if present) is indicated by the ablative, e.g. **gayimi mini eghiwo** ‘my brother hit me’ vs. **bi gayi-se-ne (idun) neyi-wo** ‘I was hit (one blow) by my brother’; (without agent) **ene kewon changbang pipin neyizhi wo** ‘this boy is frequently being rebuked’.

The copular verb **wo** (*o*) is used with nominal (including adjectival and participial) predicates, e.g. **bi Santa wo** ‘I am a Muslim’, **hhe saighang wo** ‘it is beautiful’. It can also be used in existential (both presentative and possessive) constructions, e.g. **ula jiere nie oqin wo** ‘there is a girl on the mountain’, **made nie kewon wo** ‘I have one son’ (literally: ‘there is one son to me’). When the existential sense needs to be emphasized, the regular verb **wai-** ‘to be’ is used instead of **wo**, as in (dur.) **made nie kewon waine** ‘I do have a son’. In the copular function, the emphatic stem **embai-** is used, e.g. **bi Santa embai-ne** ‘I am a Muslim’.

Santa (like Mangghuer) has also borrowed the Chinese copula **shi**, which can be used to accompany the native copula **wo**. Both copulas stay in their original syntactic positions, with **shi** preceding and **wo** following the nominal predicate, e.g. **hhe shi xiashen wo** ‘he is a student’. In such examples, the Chinese copula can be omitted, yielding the regular Santa type of clause **hhe xiashen wo**. The Santa copula can also be omitted, yielding the Chinese type of equational clause **hhe shi xiashen**. Even so, the Chinese copula remains in its original syntactic position.

To indicate various types of emotion and attitude of the speaker, Santa uses a selection of final particles, which usually follow a finite verb. The particles **sha**, **ya**, **yo**, and **ang** are used with imperatives to modify the tone of the commandment, e.g. **ochi sha** ‘drink!’ (demand of quick action, expressing some dissatisfaction), **hhetere nie baigha yo** ‘please stop [the vehicle] over there!’ (strong request), **xiendase ire ang** ‘come when you have time!’ (strong offer or request expecting a positive response). The particle **bai** (probably from Chinese) can be used in a series of connected sentences to get the listener’s attention or response. The particle **ma** is used to invite the listener’s agreement; it can also function as a coordinating conjunction between clauses, expressing weak causation, e.g. **enense nie ijie ma, andatu no wo** ‘try to eat one of these, it is very

delicious'. The particle **dai** emphasizes the speaker's opinion (especially with regard to second-hand information), e.g. **enede baer olon echiwo dai** 'a lot of money has been put into this'.

Negation is expressed by several Common Mongolic negative particles. In the finite conjugation, three preverbal negative particles are used: **ulie** (< **ülü*) for the durative and progressive forms, **ese** (< **ese*) for the terminative, and **bu** (< **bUU*) for the imperatives. e.g. **bi maghashi ulie echi-ne** 'I won't go tomorrow', **bi ese ijie-wo** 'I have not eaten yet', **kieme-de bu kielie** 'do not tell anyone!'. In equational clauses, the particle **pushi** (< **bisi*) is used, e.g. **bi laoshi pushi wo** 'I am not a teacher'. In possessive clauses, negation is expressed by using the negative existential **uwo ~ wiwo** (< **ügei*), e.g. **made kewon uwo** 'I do not have a son'. There are some indications that the negative existential may synchronically have been reanalysed as the terminative form of a hypothetical negative verb **u- ~ wi-** (term. **u-wo ~ wi-wo**), though the occurrence of the terminative in this construction is certainly somewhat unexpected.

LEXICON

Although the grammatical structures and the majority of all lexical items in Santa are clearly Mongolic in origin, the Santa lexicon has undergone massive influence from other languages. Most notably, Chinese loanwords occur in nearly every area of Santa vocabulary. A survey of the 10,145 items in the largest extant collection of Santa words (Ma & Chen) shows that 61 per cent of all items are Mongolic and 34 per cent Chinese (including partial borrowings, mostly verbal roots), while the remaining 5 per cent derive from Arabic, Persian, Turkic, and Tibetan.

Naturally, the proportions of native and borrowed vocabulary vary depending on the type and size of the corpus studied. Another estimate (Field) has put the proportion of borrowed vocabulary at as high as 55 per cent for nouns, but only 29 per cent for verbs. If we consider closed classes, the numbers will be quite different: for example, almost all Santa pronouns (with the exception of the reflexive pronoun **gojia**) appear to be of Common Mongolic origin, while the numerals are overwhelmingly being replaced by Chinese borrowings.

The scope of the Chinese loanwords is wide, comprising all word classes, and ranging from premodern (e.g. **giegun** 'rooster') to modern (e.g. **dangyen** 'party member'), from local (e.g. **ga** 'small') to standard (e.g. **kuaiji** 'accountant'), and from everyday (e.g. **beizi** 'cup') to specialized (e.g. **jiennao** 'computer') items. By contrast, most Arabic and Persian words in Santa are from the domain of religion, e.g. **salang+gie-** (Arabic) 'to greet', **aghili** (Arabic) 'wisdom', **huda** (Persian) 'god', **maiza** (Persian) 'tomb'. In spite of their relatively small number, many of these words are frequent in everyday usage. The small number of Turkic loanwords (some of them originally from Persian) are also commonly used, e.g. **ana** 'mother', **baza** 'city (market place)', **tashi** 'stone', **buwa** 'imam'. Tibetan loanwords are mainly limited to a few local toponyms.

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