

# Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics

Volume 2

De–Med

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Olga Zavyalova

## Dúlóng 獨龍 Language

### 1. INTRODUCTION

What is classified as the Dúlóng 獨龍 or T'runḡ [t'ərŋ] language by the authorities in China is part of a larger Tibeto-Burman language that also includes what is called the Rawang (Rvwàng) language of Myanmar by the speakers in Myanmar and → Ānóng 阿農 by the speakers of the variety spoken in Fúgòng 福貢 county on the Nù 怒 River in Yúnnán Province in China. They have traditionally not had a single designation for themselves as a group, but recognize their mutual affiliation. Within Tibeto-Burman it is part of the Rung branch (LaPolla 2013). Within the language, the dialect split is largely north-south, with the northern Dúlóng varieties

being closer to the northern Rawang varieties and less close to the southern Dúlóng varieties and Ānóng, which are closer to the southern Rawang varieties. The Dúlóng speakers mainly live in Gòngshān Dúlóng and Nù Autonomous County 貢山獨龍族怒族自治縣 in Yúnnán, China, and belong to either what is known as the Dúlóng nationality (pop. 6,930; 2010 census), living on the Dúlóng River, or to one group (≈ 6,000 people) within the Nù nationality living along the upper reaches of the Nù River. We will be using data of the variety spoken in Dízhèngdāng 迪政當, Gòngshān County, on the northern end of the Dúlóng River. Other sources on Dúlóng, Rawang, and Ānóng are listed at the end of this chapter. See also the Rawang-Dúlóng-Ānóng Language and Culture Website.

### 2. PHONOLOGY

Dúlóng is quite conservative historically in terms of the initial and final consonants. The vowels less so, and the tones do not correspond with any other language. In Table 1 are a few items to show how little change there has been (Proto-Tibeto-Burman [PTB] forms from Matisoff 2003; see LaPolla 1987 for more Dúlóng correspondences and Low 2014 for a more extensive list of correspondences using Rawang data).

Dúlóng has 24 initial consonants, /p t c k kw ʔ b d ɟ g gw ts tɕ s c x xw z z m n ɲ ŋw l r w j/, and the initial consonant clusters /pr, br, mr, kr, xr, gr, pl, bl, ml, kl, gl/; of the consonants, only /p, t, ʔ, k, n, m, ŋ, r, l/ occur in coda position. The final nasals often are pronounced as voiceless stops if they are followed by a voiceless segment. Initial /k-/ is pronounced quite back; /r/ is actually /ɻ/ but written as /r/ for convenience; the palatal stops are often pronounced with slight affrication, and the voiceless affricates are often aspirated.

There are seven vowels, /i, ε, ə, a, ɔ, u, u/, and three diphthongs, /əi, ai, ui/. The latter only appear in open syllables. A syllable can be cv (*bà* 'thin'), cvc (*ɛəm* 'iron'), cvv (where 'vv' represents a diphthong; *pài* 'large bamboo basket'), ccv (where cc represents one of the consonant clusters listed above; *blā* 'picture; drawing'), or ccvc (*mlāy* 'dream').

Dúlóng has two tones: level (usually pronounced as high level or mid level; e.g., *dā* ‘scarecrow’) and falling (usually pronounced as high falling, e.g., *dà* ‘gaze fixedly’), but many words have an initial unstressed syllable that is toneless, written here with a breve mark (ă), e.g., *dăzī* ‘a kind of pheasant’, and some grammatical suffixes and clitics are also toneless. Stopped syllables are generally pronounced with a high short tone, and so tone marks are not given on such syllables. There is no regular tone sandhi, but there is a change of falling tone to level tone on verbs as a marker of first person and also when preceded by certain prefixes or followed by certain suffixes; see examples in the next section.

### 3. MORPHOSYNTAX

The morphosyntax also retains some archaic features, such as the causative marking and the \*-t transitivity suffix, but the person marking and certain other features are innovations within the Rung group (see LaPolla 2006a, 2013).

#### 3.1 Nouns and noun phrases

Words can be formed by prefixation, suffixation, or compounding. Noun types include plain nouns, personal pronouns (1SG *ăgɔ̃*, 1DL *ăjũŋŋĩ*, 1PL *ăjũŋ*; 2SG *nà*, 2DL *nũŋŋĩ/năjũŋ/năŋĩ*, 2PL *năjũŋ*; 3SG *àŋ*, 3DL *əŋŋĩ*, 3PL *əŋjũŋ*), demonstrative pronouns/adjectives (*jà* ‘this’, *ăjà* ‘that [distal]’, *kɔ̃* ‘that [remote]’), and interrogative/indefinite pronouns (*təŋ* [*mā*] ‘what’, *əni* ‘who’, *kār wā* ‘how’, *kā* [*dɔ̃*] ‘where’, *təkà* ‘why’, *kāpē* ‘which’). The emphatic pronoun *ădũ* can be used to emphasize the agency of the actor. Nouns can be formed from verbs with the nominalizer *sā*, which is used either to represent a

location where an action occurs or the location where a thing that is involved in an action is (e.g., *jip sā* ‘sleeping place’, *gwā sā* ‘thing worn > clothing’, *kài sā* ‘the thing which can be eaten > food’) or to form action nominalizations, as in (19d) below. The noun-forming prefix (NFP) *ăŋ-* ~ *ăk-* can be used with nouns or verbs, e.g., *ăk-più* ‘price’ (< *più* ‘expensive, valuable’), *ăŋ-juù* ‘seed(s)’ (< *juù* ‘seed’).

Within the noun phrase there can be a demonstrative, possessor, verbal/phrasal modifier, and a numeral plus classifier or a plural (*rì* inanimate) or group (*ma?* human; *rà* animate or inanimate) marker. The plural marker is only used when needed for clarity and is not used with the numeral plus classifier (see Yáng 2011 on the classifiers). A numeral plus classifier can occur either before or after the head. A classifier can be used without a numeral but if so must follow the head and cooccur with a pre-head demonstrative and then has the sense of ‘this/that one’. A noun or pronoun representing a possessor simply precedes the head noun, and does not take any genitive marking (1b), though there is a set of possessive pronominal prefixes (*ă-/nă-/ăŋ-*) derived from the free pronouns that are used for kinship and relational terms. Adjectives are stative verbs for which reduplication means intensification or adverbialization, contrasting with reduplication of action verbs, which has a perfective sense, and reduplication of nouns, which has a distributive meaning. Adjectives can precede or follow the noun head, but when they precede, if there is no other modifier (e.g., a demonstrative), the adjective is generally nominalized by the prefix *ăŋ-* ~ *ăk-* (1d). Adjectives also frequently appear as pre-modifiers in the form of the relative clause construction, e.g., *tāi tɛizəŋ guù kām* [very hard NOM bamboo] ‘bamboo that

Table 1. Dúlóng-PTB correspondences

Gloss	PTB	Dúlóng	Gloss	PTB	Dúlóng
‘snake’	*bəw	bù	‘sesame’	*s-nam	sənəm
‘blow’	*s-mut	mut	‘draw water’	*ka:p	kap
‘roll’	*r-tul	təl	‘wear’	*gwa	guā
‘dig’	*s/m-du	dù	‘silver’	*d-ŋul	ŋül
‘warm’	*lum	lũm	‘stand’	*g-ryap	rēp

is very hard > very hard bamboo'. Following are some noun phrase examples:

1. a. zǎjě ǎnī pǎŋ  
book two CLF  
'two books'
- b. ǎgò zǎjě rì  
1SG book PL  
'my books'
- c. kō tǎi zǎjě ǎsūm pǎŋ  
that:REMOTE big book three CLF  
'those three big books'
- d. ǎk-sār zǎjě  
NFP-new book  
'new book'

### 3.2 Relational marking

The noun phrase can be followed by the postposition *tě* to mark the referent as agentive, instrumental, or adverbial; by *lě* to mark it as anti-agentive (animate patient, recipient, or benefactive) or allative; by *dǎ* to mark it as locative or temporal; by *xrɛʔ* for terminative; or by *mǎnǎŋ* for comitative. There is also a topic marker (*nī*) and a noun conjunction particle (*nī*). The agentive marking is not obligatory on transitives or ditransitives, but is often used when there is a specific identifiable patient referent, particularly if the direction of action is inverse (e.g., 3rd person acting on 1st person, as in (2); see also (5)) and/or the action is completed. (See LaPolla 2010a, 2011 on transitivity in Rawang.)

2. ǎŋ tě ǎgò lě cūŋwət  
3SG AGENT 1SG RECIPIENT flower  
cē tɔʔ nī-zùŋ  
one CLF N.1-give+1SG  
'She gives me a flower.'

### 3.3 The verb complex

Morphological marking that appears within the verb complex includes direction marking, person marking, inverse marking, reflexive/middle marking, tense/aspect marking, valency changing affixes, and negation.

Transitive verbs can be intransitivized by use of the intransitivizing prefix *ǎ-* (e.g., *tǎl* 'roll', vt.; *ǎtǎl* 'roll', vi.), or by use of the reflexive/middle

marking suffix *-cū*. When intransitivized by the prefix *ǎ-*, if the single direct argument of the derived intransitive is a plural animate argument, then the meaning is generally reciprocal, as in (3a). The particle *maʔ* (probably the same morpheme as the human group-marking noun suffix *maʔ*) can also be used after the verb in conjunction with the prefix to mark reciprocals. Reciprocals can be formed on causativized intransitives as well, and in this case will usually take the reciprocal particle and often an adverbial phrase, *kǎlě jǎlě*, meaning 'to each other' as well, as in (3b).

3. a. nǎŋī nǎ-ǎ-sət maʔ cū  
2DL N.1-INTR-hit RECIP DL  
'You two are arguing/fighting (with each other).'
- b. kō-lě  
that:REMOTE-PATIENT  
jǎ-lě sǎ-zǎ maʔ  
that:DISTAL-PATIENT CAUS-hurt RECIP  
'(They) are hurting each other.'

The reflexive/middle marker *-cū* (R/M in the glosses) is used for both true reflexives (4a) and middle voice (4b). The reflexive verb can take a patient noun if the noun is a body part, as in (4b), or something related to the actor, such as something the actor is buying for him/herself. There are a number of roots that normally take the reflexive/middle suffix, such as *jet-cū* 'laugh'. The two intransitivizers differ in that the prefix does not imply agentivity, whereas the suffix implies agentivity. It is also possible to use both affixes together, giving a stative sense, as in *ǎ-jǎŋ-cū* [INTR-look-R/M] 'be visible'. (See LaPolla 1995, 1996; LaPolla and Yang 1996, 2005 for more detailed discussion.)

4. a. ǎŋ gǎjūm-cū  
3SG hit.with.fist-R/M  
'He is hitting himself with his fist.'
- b. ǎŋ mār tɕuʔ-cū  
3SG face wash-R/M  
'He is washing his face.'

A morphological causative involves either the addition of the causative prefix *sǎ-* ~ *tǎ-*, e.g.,

*dət* ‘broken (of string)’, *sə̀dət* ‘to break (string)’; *ə̀təup* ‘pinched’, ‘closed up’, *tə̀təup* ‘to pinch’, ‘close up’ (see also (3b) and (5)—the latter with tone change, < *ji*), or by simply lengthening the vowel (and changing to a level tone, if it was originally falling), e.g., *lūm* ‘warm’ (vi.), *lū:m* ‘warm’ (vt.) (= *sə̀-lūm*; I have not found a difference in meaning between the two forms). There is also at least one form that shows a remnant of the PTB \*-t transitivity suffix: *ɲù* ‘cry’ > *ɲut* ‘mourn (cry for) a dead person’.

5. àŋ tɛ̀ àŋ lɛ̀ sə̀-jī  
 3SG AGT 3SG DAT CAUS-go  
 ‘He made him go.’

An analytical causative/missive construction is formed using the verb (*sə̀*)-*zūur*, as in *jī sə̀zūur* ‘let/make (him) go’, with change of a falling tone to a level tone. This form of causation implies less direct causation than the causative prefix.

There is only one marker of negation, the verbal prefix *mə̀-*, pronounced *mā-* when the root already has a prefix, e.g., *mā-rə̀nā* ‘not rest’ (with tone change).

A benefactive construction can be formed using either the verb *sə̀nə̀ŋ* ‘help’ or the benefactive auxiliary *ʒ* after the main verb (again with changed tone on main verb; see LaPolla and Yáng 2007 for the origin of the benefactive auxiliary and morphological vowel length distinctions):

6. a. àŋ cūŋ ə̀gò tɛ̀ rī sə̀nə̀ŋ  
 3SG wood 1SG AGT carry help+1SG  
 ‘I carry wood for him.’ (*lit.* ‘I help carry his wood.’)  
 b. ə̀gò tɛ̀ àŋ cūŋ rī ʒŋ  
 1SG AGT 3SG wood carry BEN+1SG  
 ‘I carry wood for him.’

Although the verb in Dúlóng inflects for person in a hierarchical pattern, only speech-act participants are marked, with first person marked for person and number, and second person marked only for number. The form of the first person singular marking depends on the final consonant of the root: if there is no final consonant, then *-ŋ* is added; if the final consonant is *-ʔ*

then it becomes *-k*; if there is some other final with falling tone, then there is a change to level tone. First and second person dual take the dual marker *-cū*. First person plural involves a change from short vowel to long vowel, second person plural takes the plural marker *-jūŋ*. In either person, when the root takes a suffix or is changed to a long vowel, the root, if it has a falling tone, changes to level tone. Where the root vowel is *-ə̀-* and there is a *-p* or *-t* final, the vowel changes to *-a-* for all but first person singular. In the case of two human interactants, person marking can be of either one, but usually when the agentive marking is used, the person marking is of the first person. Aside from this, the N.1 (non-first person actor) prefix (*ɲə̀- ~ ɲa- ~ ɲi-*) marks situations where a speech-act participant is mentioned, but the speaker is not the actor (contrast (7a)–(7b)). When the root appears with a consonant-initial prefix, the N.1 prefix is simply marked by a change of the vowel of the other prefix to *-ε*, as in (12b), below.

7. a. ə̀gò tɛ̀ àŋ lɛ̀ rūŋ (< rì)  
 1SG AGT 3SG DAT carry+1SG  
 ‘I carried him.’  
 b. àŋ tɛ̀ ə̀gò lɛ̀ ɲə̀-rūŋ  
 3SG AGT 1SG DAT N.1-carry+1SG  
 ‘He carried me.’

The verbs for ‘come’ and ‘go’ have grammaticalized into direction markers, as in *lòʔ-jī* [return-go] ‘go back’ and *lòʔ-rà* [return-come] ‘come back’. The forms *jī* (< *ji* ‘to go’) and *lūŋ* (< *lūŋ* ‘to ascend’) are used for recent past actions, with an evidential distinction: the use of *lūŋ* after the verb implies the speaker did not see the action (8a)–(8a’), whereas the use of *jī* implies the speaker did see the action (8b)–(8b’). A guess is marked by adding *mél* after *lūŋ*. For a strong assertion, *mū* is added after *jī*. For an action completed some time ago, possibly years ago, *buī* is used in place of *jī* or *lūŋ*. Inchoatives take the particle *pə̀ŋ* after the verb or the adverb *tə̀sā* before the verb.

8. a. àŋ tɛ̀ kà:i lūŋ  
 3SG AGT eat PAST/EVID  
 ‘He has just eaten.’ (didn’t see him eat)

- a'. àŋ jì lǔŋ  
3SG go PAST/EVID  
'He just left.' (didn't see him leave)
- b. àŋ tǎ kà:i jǐ  
3SG AGT eat PAST/EVID  
'He ate.' (saw him eat)
- b'. àŋ jì àm jǐ  
3SG go DIR PAST/EVID  
'He just left.' (possibly still can see him)

With first person actors the adverb *zūr* 'already' can be used to mark a completed action, rather than using *jǐ* or *lǔŋ*, as in (9a). In asking someone about their past actions, *lǔŋ* is used (9b).

9. a. əgò jūŋ zūr  
1SG go+1SG already  
'I went (and came back) already.'
- b. nà jǎ-jì lǔŋ ǎ  
2SG N.1-go ASP QUES  
'Did you go?'

There is also a hearsay particle *teiwǎ*, which appears most frequently in traditional narrative texts.

10. tǎpǎi tǎpǎi nū dǎgī kā  
long.ago long.ago TOP dog words  
guʔ sō teiwǎ  
say know.how HEARSAY  
'(It is said) long ago dogs knew how to talk.'

### 3.4 Word order and clause types

Word order in the clause is most often verb final, while the NPs are ordered with the more topical elements being earlier in the clause; the immediate preverbal position is the unmarked focus position. Adverbial elements usually appear in preverbal position (11a), but they can follow the verb (11b), with some difference in meaning. Some adverbs always follow the verb, such as *mǎtǎl* in (13), below, while others always precede the verb, e.g., *lǎlǎ* in *lǎlǎ mrǎŋ* 'very long/tall'. Preverbal adverbial phrases that are not reduplicated adjectives or adverbs usually take the adverb marker *wā* (derived from *wā* 'say/do') or sometimes *gū* (11c). A resultative complement also comes before the main verb, marked by the terminative postposition *xrɛʔ* 'until' (11d).

11. a. mǎdō ǎbrà-brà jì  
car/truck fast-REDUP go  
'The car is going quickly.'
- b. mǎdō jī ǎbrà  
car/truck go fast  
'The car goes (can go) quickly.'
- c. nit-būm mǎ-gōl gū ǎmrǎ  
mind-many NEG-need ADV field  
wà lǎ jì teiwǎ  
work ALLATIVE go HEARSAY  
'(The parents) could go to work the field without having to worry (about the child).'
- d. ǎpǎ ǎmǎ guʔ sō xrɛʔ ò:  
daddy mummy say able.to ADV do  
jì teiwǎ  
go HEARSAY  
'(It) did this until (the baby) could say "mummy and daddy".'

Declarative clauses are unmarked; imperatives are marked by the prefix *pǎ-* (pronounced *pā-* when the verb already has a prefix): *pǎ-kài* 'Eat!' The prohibitive takes the normal negative, but the verb is followed by *əl* 'have': *mɛ-kài əl* [NEG+N.1-eat have] 'Don't eat (it)!' An indirect directive is marked by the prefix *laʔ-*, which is followed by the negative particle for indirect prohibitives: *laʔ-mǎ-wā* 'Don't let him do (it)'. For the hortative the verb *gōl* 'want' is used: *kǎi gōl* 'Let's eat!' (with tone change). Yes-no questions generally take the postverbal question particles (*pū*) *à* (12a). Another type of polarity question is formed by juxtaposing positive and negative choices, as in (12b). *Wh*-questions have the interrogative pronoun in the immediate preverbal focus position, and do not require a final particle (12c).

12. a. nǎjūŋ jī-kài jūŋ (gū) guī  
2PL N.1-eat PLURAL NOM taro  
ē ǎ  
COP QUES  
'Is what you(pl) eat taros?'
- b. jī-kài mɛ-kài  
N.1-eat NEG+N.1-eat  
'Do you want to eat or not?'
- c. jà sǎrǎ ǎnī gū ē  
this thing who NOM COP  
'Whose is this thing?'

In the comparative construction the word order is Topic-Standard-Marker-Verb/Adjective, where the marker is *mǎdǎm* ‘above’ plus the locative marker. The verb/adjective can be in the plain form or reduplicated and followed by an adverb meaning ‘very much’ that is used only in the comparative construction.

13. ǎgò nà mǎdǎm dǎ mrəŋ (mrəŋ  
1SG 2SG above LOC long/tall REDUP  
mǎtɔl)  
very.much  
‘I am (much) taller than you.’

Unlike in many Tibeto-Burman languages (see LaPolla 1994) there is only one verb of possession/existence, and the possessive construction patterns as a simple transitive clause; the possessor does not take any relational marking:

14. ǎjùŋ cē tsūl jɔʔ lǎmbrɔʔ əl  
1PL one ten CLF friend have/exist  
‘We have ten friends.’

A cleft construction can be used for narrow focus on a particular NP, either in questions (15a) or statements (15b):

15. a. àŋ jì gǔ ē  
3SG go NOM  
‘Did he go?’  
COP+QUES  
(lit. ‘Is he the one who went?’)  
b. pūŋ cīn tǎ sət gē (<gǔ-ē)  
Pung Cin AGT hit NOM+COP  
‘It was Cin who hit Pung.’

Clefts can also be used with the sense of a deontic modal:

16. ǎgò sǎləp-cǔ sǎ gē  
1SG teach-R/M NOM NOM+COP  
‘I ought to study.’

There are several clause-final subordinating particles: *bē* ‘if/when’, *mǎnǎŋ* ‘because/when’ (<‘follow’), *sǎnǎŋ* ‘because of (in order to)’. Some of the nominal postpositions are also used as clausal subordinators, e.g., *lǎ* (allative/dative)

for purpose clauses (*kəi lǎ jì* ‘go to eat’; see also (11c)). Complement clauses that are not quotes do not require a nominalizer or complementizer (17a)–(17b), but those that are quotes take the complementizer *wā* (< *wā* ‘say’) (17c).

17. a. ǎgò àŋ lɔʔ jì nit  
1SG 3SG return go remember  
‘I remember that he went back.’  
b. àŋ jì bē ǎgò kuʔ jūŋ  
3SG go if 1SG also go+1SG  
dù ē  
might COP  
‘If he comes, I might go.’  
c. àŋ “ǎgò mǎzi?mǎli? lɑ-jì” wā  
3SG 1SG must have.to-go guʔ  
COMP  
say  
‘He says: “I must go.”’

The linking of actions or attributes that occur at the same time is done with a serial verb construction, with the linker *zīn* optionally appearing between the two verbs:

18. a. mǎnzū wà zīn zǎŋ-cǔ  
song do LNK enter-R/M  
‘He entered singing.’  
b. mrəŋ zīn pǎcūŋ gǔ jɔʔ  
long LNK blue/green NOM cloth  
‘long blue cloth’

Relative clauses appear before the head noun, and are generally nominalized by the particle *gǔ*. Some lexicalized expressions involving relative clauses do not manifest a nominalizer, e.g., *mǎnzū wà ǎtsəŋ* [song do person] ‘professional singer’. Relativization can be of the patient (19a), the agent (19b), the recipient (19c), or just about any role. In some cases, the noun head can be omitted (19d). There are no relative pronouns in Dúlóng. (See LaPolla 2008a, 2008b on nominalization and relativization in Rawang.)

19. a. àŋ tǎ làŋ gǔ cūŋwət  
3SG AGT bring NOM flower  
‘the flower(s) he brought’  
b. cūŋwət làŋ gǔ ǎtsəŋ  
flower bring NOM person  
‘the person who brought the flower(s)’

- c. àŋ lě cūŋwət ləŋ gũ ʔtsəŋ  
3SG DAT flower bring NOM person  
'the person I brought flower(s) for'
- d. zəjě brī sā ʔ gũ (sǒrə)  
book write NOM do NOM thing  
'the thing I use to write books'

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## Dungan Language

Dungan is the official name of the language variety used by the Chinese-speaking Muslims (Huǐ 回) who migrated into the Russian Empire from Gānsù, Shǎnxī, and Xīnjiāng in the second half of the 19th century (Jusurov 1961; Dungan personal names here and below are transliterated according to their spelling in Russian; all other words are given in the Latinized variant of the Dungan script and, in the case of clear etymology, also in Chinese).

At present, the Dungans live mostly in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, with a small number in Uzbekistan with a total population of more than 110,000 (Jusupov 2001). Most of them (96.7%, data available for Kyrgyzstan) preserve their native language (Lín 2010:334) and speak the Gansw (Gānsù) and the Şanşı (Shǎnxī, Toxma, Tokmak, Tokmok) dialects, the former being the basis of the literary language. The origin of the word 'Dungan' (*dōnggān* 東干) is unclear (Sušanlo 1967:12-21, Hǎi 2005). After the Qīng government had gained control over Xīnjiāng in the second half of the 18th century, the ethnonym was applied by the local population to Huǐ immigrants from Inner China. In this meaning, it became known in the Russian Empire and was sometimes used there to refer to any Huǐ living in China. In the Soviet Union, the Dungans were officially recognized in 1924 as one of the national minorities using a distinct language. In Russian, they call themselves 'Dungan', but in their own language they are *xwǐxwǐ* (*huǐhuǐ* 回回), *xwǐjmin* (*huímín* 回民), *loxwǐxwǐ* (*lǎohuǐhuǐ* 老回回), or *zwn-jan zbn* (*zhōngyuán rén* 中原人) 'the people of the Central Plain', who speak *zwn-jan xua* (*zhōngyuán huà* 中原話) or *xwǐzw jyjan* (*huízú yǔyán* 回族語言). In the post-Soviet period, the Dungans sometimes use the term *xwǐzw* (*huízú* 回族) of Central Asia' even in publications in Russian.

Both the Gansw and the Şanşı dialect show the features characteristic of the Zhōngyuán Mandarin area. The most important is a two-way split of the Middle Chinese entering tone (*rùshēng* 入聲), which merged into modern *yīnpíng* 陰平 in syllables with voiceless and sonorant initial consonants and into *yángpíng* 陽平 in syllables with voiced initials. The presence of four nasal finals of the "ə" series instead of Standard Mandarin's eight identifies the Dungan dialects as originating from a comparatively small region covering southern Gānsù and western Guānzhōng 關中 in Shǎnxī within the Zhōngyuán Mandarin area. (These same dialects were also brought to Xīnjiāng starting from the 18th century.) There are also some minor varieties of Dungan, such as *jagə*, that show a merger of tones *yángpíng* and *shǎng* 上 of the Lán-Yín 蘭銀 Mandarin type (Zavyalova 1978).