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Faith Through a Sinitic Pathway: How Mandarin Influences the Islamic Concepts in Modern Tsat

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Faith Through a Sinitic Pathway

How Mandarin Influences the Islamic Concepts in Modern Tsat

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Glossing conventions

In this study, I follow the glossing conventions established by Thurgood et al. (2014) in their grammatical sketch of Tsat. Adopting the same format for Mandarin facilitates direct comparison between Tsat and Mandarin, making the degree of lexical borrowing and syntactic convergence more transparent.

Each example is presented as follows:

1. First line: Tsat text in IPA transcription.
2. Second line: Morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss.
3. Third line: Corresponding word-by-word Mandarin gloss in pinyin (the romanization system for Standard Chinese).
4. Fourth line: Corresponding Mandarin gloss in Chinese characters.
5. Fifth line: Mandarin translation.
6. Sixth line: English free translation.

Example:

kau ³³	ɕi ¹¹	ta ¹¹ -se ³³	mu ³³ si ³³ lin ¹¹
1SG	be	one-CLF	Muslim
wǒ	shì	yī-míng	mùsīlín
我	是	一名	穆斯林
我是一名穆斯林			
‘I am a Muslim’			

List of Abbreviations

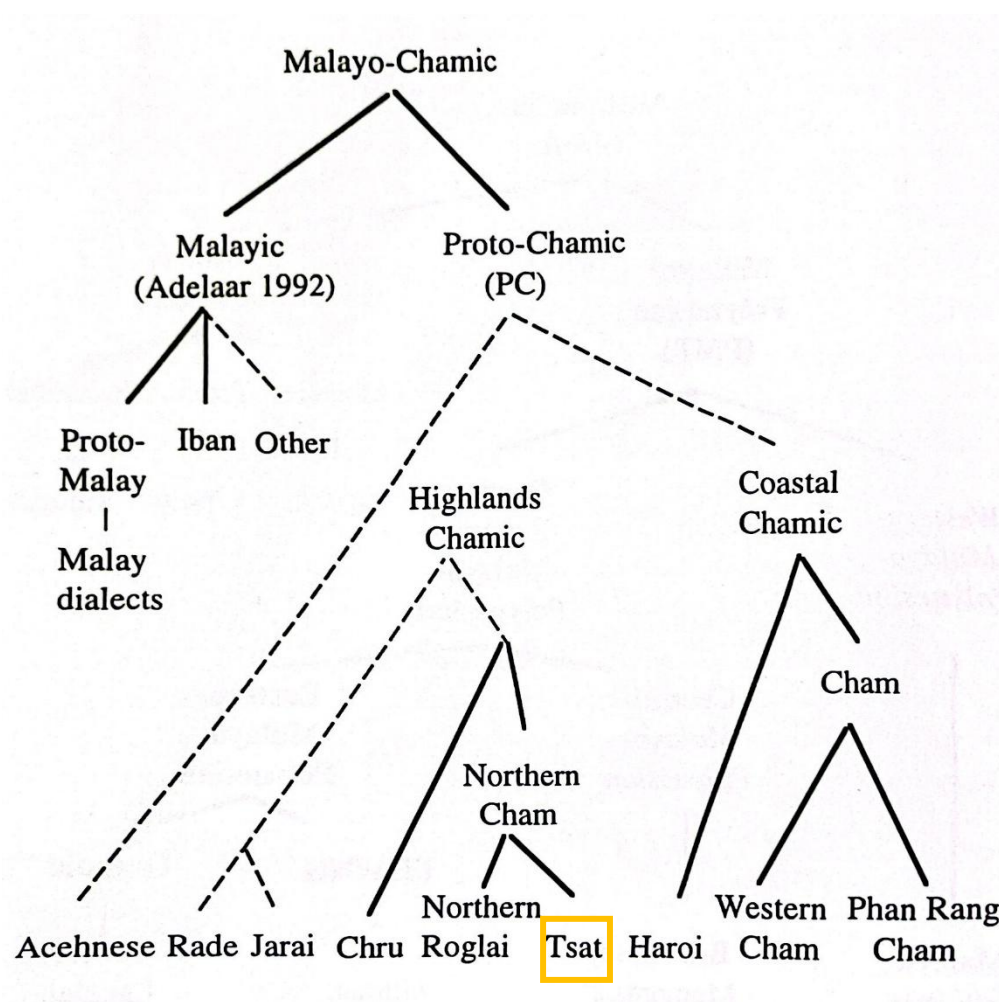
_____	single underline = borrowed from Chinese
ADJ	adjective
CLF	classifier
CMPL	completive
DECL	declarative
DEM	demonstrative
EXIST	existential
NOM	genitive, associative, possessive, nominalizer
HON	honorific
NEG	negation
OBJ	object
PAST	past
SG	singular

1. Introduction

1.1 Tsat: A Language Between Isolation and Sinicization

This section aims to outline the historical background of Tsat and its language contact environment, laying the foundation for subsequent analysis. The Tsat language, known endonymically as [tsa:nʔ³²], is spoken in the Huihui (回辉) and Huixin (回新) communities along the southern coast of Hainan Island, China. It belongs to the Chamic branch < Malayo-Polynesian < Austronesian family, with detailed classification and the place of Tsat in Figure 1. Internationally, it is referred to as *Hainan Cham*, while in Chinese scholarship it is known as *Huihuiyu* (回辉语¹). Its speakers are officially classified as part of the Hui nationality, although their origins differ entirely from those of Hui populations on the Chinese mainland.

Figure 1. The Malayo-Chamic languages (from Thurgood 1999: 36, Figure 6)



¹ This name is unfamiliar to the local people. In Mandarin, they simply call their language Huihua (回话) 'Hui language'.

Historical records suggest that as early as the Song and Yuan dynasties (ca. 11th–14th centuries), Cham Muslims and traders, mainly adherents of Sunni Islam, arrived in Hainan (Chang 2013). These early settlers established communities along the coast of present-day Sanya, becoming the ancestors of the modern Tsat-speaking population. Champa was a major maritime polity in Southeast Asia, centered along the south-central coast of present-day Vietnam, and maintained extensive trade relations with China, India, and the Islamic world (Giang 2016). The Cham were originally adherents of Hinduism and later of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, venerating deities such as Shiva and Vishnu (Tuyen 2023). However, beginning in the thirteenth century, contact with Muslim merchants from the Arab and Malay worlds initiated a gradual process of Islamization, particularly in southern Champa (Nakamura 2000).

After the fall of the Cham capital to Vietnamese forces in the late fifteenth century, many Cham people fled out. Some migrated to Cambodia and the Malay Peninsula, while others sailed northward to Hainan, where they intermarried with Muslim merchants from the Middle East who had also reached the island (Thurgood *et al* 2014). Together, they formed communities with a distinctive Islamic identity and linguistic tradition. For centuries, the Tsat-speaking community maintained its distinct identity through religious cohesion. As noted by Wang (2008), many place names in Hainan contain the character *fan* (番)², which indicates traces of early Muslim settlers. Meanwhile, numerous Islamic-style tombs found along the coastline further attest to their long-standing presence (see Figure 2). Over time, however, most related groups assimilated into surrounding populations, and only the Huihui and Huixin communities preserved the Tsat language.

This continuity can be attributed to the geographic isolation and demographic conditions of the area, where, prior to the arrival of the Tsat people, only a small number of Hlai inhabitants lived, and no dominant ethnic or linguistic group had yet formed. Moreover, the absence of Han settlers at that time meant that Mandarin exerted little influence on the community (Wang 2008).

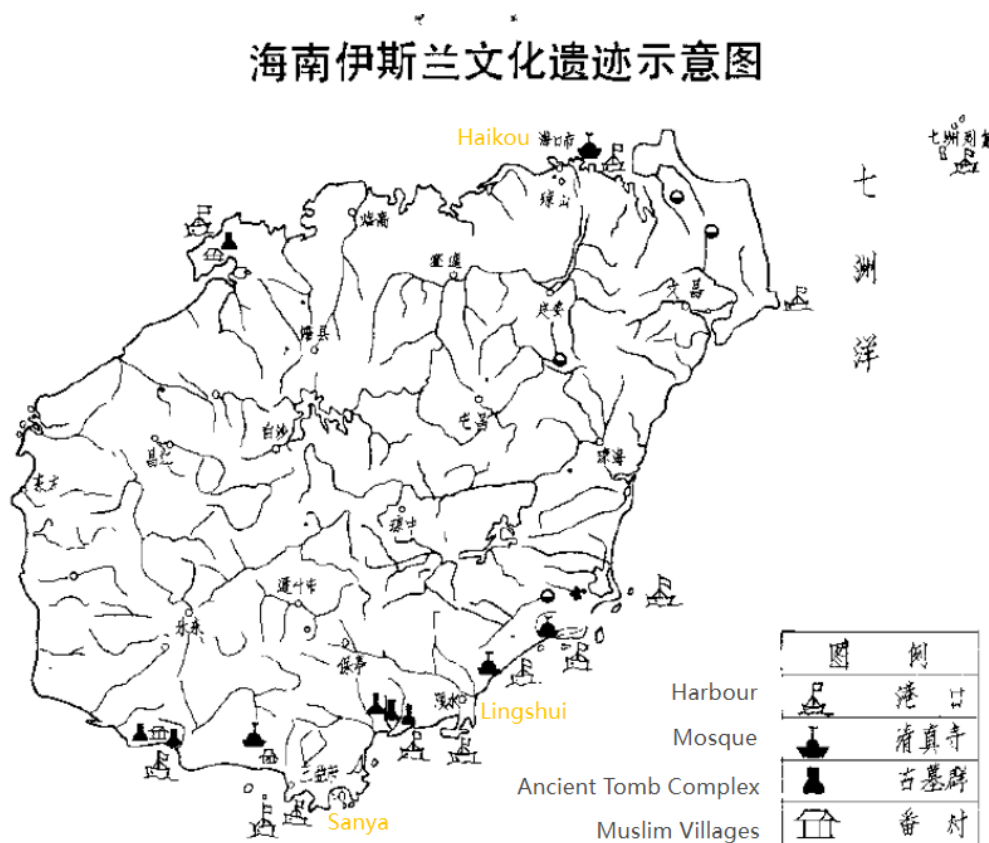
During the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368–1912), the imperial state strengthened its control over religion through a series of assimilationist policies, including the prohibition of wearing foreign clothes, speaking foreign languages and using foreign surnames, together with other strict regulations (see in Lin 2013). Under these circumstances, Tsat-speaking Muslims in Hainan either fled once again to other parts of Southeast Asia, mainly Malaysia, or gradually integrated into the imperial administrative structure, bringing their religious practices under tighter state regulation. Meanwhile, the multilingual environment surrounding the two Tsat-speaking communities, including *Hainan Min*, *Hlai*, *Mai* (迈话³), *Danzhouhua* (儋州话⁴) and *Yacheng Junhua* (崖城军话,

² In old time, Han people in the central parts of China use this word to refer to foreigners or minority people.

³ A Chinese variety of uncertain affiliation spoken mainly in *Yacheng*, which was classified as Yue in previous literature (e.g., Wurm *et al.* 1988), but more recent work (Jiang *et al.* 2007) treats it as a mixed language of Cantonese, Hakka-Gan and Hainan Min.

‘Yacheng Military language’⁵), intensified cross-linguistic contact, leading Tsat to incorporate an increasing number of phonological and lexical features from these neighboring varieties under strong Chinese influence.

Figure 2. Distribution Map of Islamic Cultural Heritage in Hainan (from Jiang & Dong 1992)



1.2 Islam and the Sinitic Pathway

To understand the role of Islam in the Tsat-speaking community, we must examine the historical mechanisms through which religious knowledge has been transmitted. This section introduces how

⁴ A Chinese variety of uncertain affiliation spoken mainly in *Danzhou*, but also in *Yacheng*, it was also classified as Yue in previous literature (e.g., Chen 1986; Wurm *et al.* 1988), but more recent work (Kurpaska 2010) treats it as an unclassified southern variety.

⁵ Junhua refers to a group of isolated Mandarin dialects spoken in Guangdong, Guangxi, Hainan, Fujian, and Taiwan (Qiu 2005). These varieties emerged among soldiers who were dispatched to these frontier regions during the *tuntian* (屯田) period, a military-agricultural settlement policy implemented since the Ming dynasty. Originally based on Jianghuai Mandarin (江淮官话), which was the most influential Mandarin variety during the Ming period, these dialects gradually diverged through contact and assimilation with various local Chinese languages. *Yacheng Junhua* specifically refers to the Junhua variety spoken in *Yacheng*.

Islam, through institutional and pedagogical practices, has become a unignorable medium through which Mandarin entered Tsat, forming the “Sinitic Pathway”.

A key historical factor is the establishment of the *Jingtang Education* (经堂教育) system by the Shaanxi Islamic scholar *Hu Dengzhou* (胡登洲) in the late Ming and early Qing periods (16th–17th centuries). This system combined the pedagogical model of the Arab *madrasah* (مدرسة ‘lit. school’) with the structure of traditional Chinese *Sishu* (私塾 ‘private academies’), to address the decline in Islamic knowledge among lay believers (Adel 2012; Zhang 2022). Students learned Arabic through Chinese phonetic annotation and tonal reading, developing a bilingual “Chinese–Arabic parallel” mode of instruction. Through interactions with Muslims from the Mainland, the *Jingtang* tradition later spread to Muslim communities in Hainan (Lin 2013).

The spread of *Jingtang Education* had a dual effect on Tsat-speaking people, mostly of whom are Muslims. On the one hand, this system has reinforced religious instruction and helped maintain the community’s Islamic identity. On the other hand, it created a linguistic conduit through which Chinese forms could enter the religious domain, because Tsat has no written systems and community members can only access new knowledge, either religious or secular, through Chinese, the prestige language in China. Consequently, many Islamic terms originally in Arabic and Persian entered Tsat via Mandarin, or directly from Mandarin, in *Jingtang* register, which to some extent reshapes the semantic and phonological patterns of the religious lexicon in Tsat.

In modern times, national language policies have further reinforced this trend of Sinicization. The promotion of *Putonghua* (Standard Mandarin), the development of the tourism economy, and the policy of “Sinicization of Islam” have evaluated the role Mandarin in religious communication. Looking at the contemporary Tsat-speaking communities, imams at mosques are selected to be younger and they need to possess a high level of Mandarin proficiency, which makes them able to use more Mandarin when providing doctrinal explanations. As a result, religious instruction is now often conducted through a mixed Tsat–Mandarin–Arabic/Persian linguistic repertoire. Aside from the religious domain, previous studies have already shown substantial convergence of Tsat with Mandarin in phonology, lexicon, and syntax, to the extent that some scholars describe it as a mixed language (Tian 2017; Zeng & Yin 2011).

These historical and contemporary mechanisms demonstrate that Islam has long been an important channel through which Mandarin elements enter Tsat. Drawing on these mechanisms, the “Sinitic Pathway” in this study is the term for when a language, like modern Tsat, is influenced by Mandarin and other Sinitic factors, primarily within religious contexts. This pathway operates by filtering Islamic concepts through Sinitic linguistic and cultural features, which has resulted in a stratified religious vocabulary in modern Tsat. How this pathway linguistically work will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

1.3 Theoretical Framework, Research Design, and Research Questions

Building on these observations, I propose the “Sinitic Pathway” as a theoretical framework for understanding how Mandarin(-mediated) influence enters modern Tsat through religious practice. More broadly, this research lies at the intersection of contact linguistics and the sociolinguistics of religion.

To situate this framework within existing scholarship, it is necessary to review the linguistic research on Tsat and its contact history. Although the genetic classification of Tsat has been long debated (Ouyang & Zheng 1983; Ni 1988), a consensus situates it within the Chamic branch of Austronesian (Thurgood 1999; Thurgood *et al.* 2014). Most linguistic work, however, has focused on the structural consequences of intensive contact with Chinese and other neighboring languages. Studies have documented Tsat’s contact-induced tonogenesis (Maddieson & Pang 1993; Thurgood 1993; Tian 2023), lexical borrowing from Chinese (Zheng 1995), and multiple grammatical changes (Thurgood 1996; Thurgood & Li 2002). The degree of convergence is so deep that some scholars describe modern Tsat as a mixed language (Tian 2017) or, more cautiously, as a variety that has undergone extensive structural reorganization through contact (Zeng 2012).

However, such approaches overlooked the extensive religious lexicon that entered Tsat indirectly through Mandarin over centuries of contact with Chinese Muslims, since Swadesh lists by design exclude culturally specific vocabulary prone to external influence. The Islamic domain, though central to the identity of Tsat speakers, has remained largely unexamined from a linguistic perspective. Earlier studies such as Liu (1992) briefly mention Arabic and Persian vocabulary but provide only short wordlists without phonetic details. Later literature concludes that “aside from an occasional loanword, Arabic has had no influence on HC (Hainan Cham)” (Thurgood *et al.* 2014: 32), an assessment based primarily on structural and Swadesh-type basic vocabulary lists (Zeng & Yin 2011), which by design exclude culturally specific lexicon.

This study addresses this gap by considering the Islamic domain as an active part of modern Tsat. By examining how meanings, practices and instruction are mediated, it shows that Islam not only helps maintain community boundaries but also serves as a channel through which Mandarin enters the language, particularly through the *Jingtang* Education. With all these processes, the basis of the “Sinitic pathway” is proposed, and its broader sociolinguistic significance will be elaborated in Chapter 3.

This study adopts a qualitative research approach that combines structural linguistic description with ethnographic observation. Primary data was collected in the Huixin community between 11 and 26 August 2025, in accordance with established ethical procedures and informed consent. The corpus consists of about 10 hours of audio recordings and detailed field notes from elicitation sessions, recorded narratives (such as describing a normal day of a Muslim), participant observations of religious activities, and semi-structured interviews with eight consultants of different ages and educational backgrounds. These materials are supplemented by, and compared against, data from existing dictionaries and grammatical descriptions.

The linguistic analysis focuses on phonological, semantic, and morphosyntactic features in both secular and religious contexts. Comparing these two domains makes it possible to systematically examine how structural convergence with Mandarin coexists with retained Chamic features.

Therefore, this study seeks to answer three interrelated questions:

- 1) Pathways of influence: How can the linguistic material found in the Tsat religious domain be systematically classified according to its pathway of transmission?
- 2) Linguistic evidence: What phonological, morphological, and syntactic patterns in Tsat show the mediation of Mandarin? How do these patterns look like in Tsat religious vocabulary?
- 3) Sociolinguistic interpretation: How do religious practices both sustain Tsat as a symbol of group identity and transmit Sinitic influence? What does this dual function reveal about the community's adaptive strategies within a politically shaped linguistic ecology?

The subsequent chapters of this thesis are structured as follows: Chapter 2 analyzes linguistic evidence for the Sinitic Pathway; Chapter 3 provides a sociolinguistic interpretation of religion; and Chapter 4 summarizes with broader implications for contact-induced change in minority religious communities.

2. The Linguistic Evidence of the Sinitic Pathway

2.1 Introduction to Tsat contact linguistics

This section aims to outline the structural background for examining Sinitic, mainly Mandarin, influence on Tsat. By distinguishing features retained from its Chamic heritage from those that have converged under Sinitic contact, it establishes a comparative baseline for the subsequent analysis of lexical and morphosyntactic change. The focus here is on structural evidence rather than religious vocabulary, allowing the underlying mechanisms of contact-induced change to be observed independently of semantic domains.

- *Retentions of Tsat structures*

Despite centuries of contact with various Sinitic varieties, modern Tsat continues to preserve a number of distinctive Chamic features. These include disyllabic morphemes or words, nounal prefixes, and compounding strategies that favour the head–modifier order.

Tian and Chen (2019: 38) observe that “in the early stage of Cham, words were basically monomorphemic, with most morphemes composed of two or three syllables, whereas words in modern Tsat are made up of one or more morphemes, which are basically monosyllabic.” Through a comparative analysis of low-tone morphemes in modern Tsat and early phonetic forms across Chamic languages, they further conclude that “in the early stage of Tsat, morphemes or words were mostly disyllabic, with monosyllables and trisyllables in the minority” (Tian & Chen 2019: 42).

A number of disyllabic forms are still retained in the modern language, often analyzable as a class term and the base. For example, *p^hun³³* is the first syllable retained in various disyllabic nouns related to plants, as shown in the table below.

Table 1. *p^hun³³* < PC **p^hun* ‘plant’ (from Table 58 in Thurgood *et al* 2017: 165)

tree	<i>p^hun³³zaw³³</i>	NCLF + tree
ramie	<i>p^hun³³p^hian²¹</i>	NCLF + ?
seedlings; paddy; cereal	<i>p^hun³³t^ha:j²¹</i>	NCLF + paddy
kapok tree	<i>p^hun³³pa³³</i>	NCLF + cotton
pine	<i>p^hun³³sa:n³³</i>	NCLF + ?
coconut palm	<i>p^hun³³lu³³</i>	NCLF + coconut
banyan	<i>p^hun³³ŋa³³</i>	NCLF + ?

Chamic languages had various prefixes and infixes with different functions, and each of them now has different situations depending on the contact with their respective surrounding languages (Thurgood 1999). Tian (2022) pointed out that in modern Tsat, although the use of prefixes is still observable, there is a declining tendency among the younger generations. He also confirmed that

prefixes ʔa^{11} - and hu^{11} - evolved from the empty first syllable in Proto-Cham as a result of syllabic morphologization. In the following nouns, however, ʔa^{11} - still seems to have the function of a class term⁶ either for people, as presented in (1), or animals as shown in (2).

- (1) a. $\text{ʔa}^{11}\text{kai}^{55}$ ‘grandfather’
 b. $\text{ʔa}^{11}\text{ma}^{33}$ ‘mother’
 c. $\text{ʔa}^{11}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}^{11}$ ‘baby’
 d. $\text{ʔa}^{11}\text{zoi}^{33}$ ‘person who is mad’

(Tian & Chen 2019: 42)

- (2) a. $\text{ʔa}^{11}\text{la}^{33}$ ‘snake’
 b. $\text{ʔa}^{11}\text{sau}^{33}$ ‘dog’
 c. $\text{ʔa}^{11}\text{ku}^{55}$ ‘mouse’

(Tian & Chen 2019: 43)

Compounding in modern Tsat further demonstrates retention of inherited Chamic syntax. Compounds typically exhibit the head–modifier order, as shown in (3); even when they contain borrowed Mandarin morphemes, as illustrated in (4).

- (3) a. $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ian}^{11}\text{sa}^{33}$
 moon.one
 ‘January’
 b. $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{un}^{33}\text{ni}^{33}$
 year.this
 ‘this year’
 c. $\text{ka}:\text{i}^{32}\text{tsə}^{24}$
 mountain.foot
 ‘foot of mountain’

(Tian & Chen 2019: 50)

- (4) a. $\text{ʔa}:\text{u}^{11}\text{pai}^{33}\text{ein}^{33}$
 clothes.vest (from Mandarin: 背心 bèixīn)
 ‘vest’

⁶ Thurgood *et al* (2014: 162-171) made a detailed description of various class terms with their etymology in Proto Cham and cognates from the same branch.

b. ʔia³³kun¹¹

water.boiled (from Mandarin: 滚 gǔn)

‘boiled water’

c. kok⁴²ɛian¹¹

corner.wall (from Mandarin: 墙 qiáng)

‘corner’

(Tian & Chen 2019: 50)

- *Convergence with Sinitic Patterns*

At the same time, long-term bilingualism and sustained language contact have gradually fostered convergence toward Sinitic patterns. This convergence involves not only direct borrowing of morphemes, words or phrases, but also replication of structural templates, a process known as “pattern replication” (Matras 2009), at multiple linguistic levels.

At the phonological level, the influx of borrowings has brought about systematic changes in Tsat, most notably an expansion of its phoneme inventory. One notable change is the emergence of the velar fricative /x/, which functions as a free variant of /k^h/. Since Mandarin lacks a distinct velar fricative phoneme, the presence of /x/ in Tsat suggests phonetic accommodation in the adaptation of Mandarin loanwords. Table 2 illustrates this ongoing sound change in modern Tsat with representative examples. Moreover, potential influence from Hainan Min should also be taken into account, as discussed further in Section 2.2.

Table 2. Sound change of /k^h/ in Modern Tsat (Adapted from Tian & Chen 2019: 51)

Tsat form	Pronunciation of older people	Pronunciation of middle-aged people	Pronunciation of younger people	Meaning
k ^h uan ³³ /xuan ³³	k ^h uan ³³ /xuan ³³	k ^h uan ³³ /xuan ³³	xuan ³³	‘threshold’
k ^h uan ³³	k ^h uan ³³ /xuan ³³	k ^h uan ³³ /xuan ³³	k ^h uan ³³	‘wide’ from Mandarin 宽 kuān

Tian & Chen (2019: 25) conclude the syllable structure of modern Tsat as (C)(V₁)V(V₂/V₂C/C/CC), in which V₁ is [i] or [u]; V₂C is [iʔ] or [uʔ]; CC is [nʔ] or [ŋʔ]. When Tsat incorporates borrowings from Mandarin, this native pattern is often adjusted to accommodate non-native phonotactic sequences. In Standard Chinese, syllables have the maximal form (CG)V(X)^T (Duanmu 2007: 48), in which the glide may be one of [j, w, ɥ]), and the coda X may be one of [n, ŋ, ʂ, ɿ, ʊ]. A key point

of convergence between the two languages is the general absence of consonant clusters, both word-initially and word-medially, except for glide occurrences in Mandarin. Several examples illustrating this structural correspondence are presented in Group C of Section 2.2.

At the word level, convergence with Mandarin is particularly evident in compounding. While the inherited head–modifier order remains productive, an increasing number of expressions now follow the Mandarin modifier–head order, even when composed of inherited morphemes, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. ku²⁴t^hun³³
 next.year
 明年
 ‘next year’
- b. p^hi⁵⁵zai³³
 down.day
 下午
 ‘afternoon’
- c. kia⁵⁵la:n³²
 half.night
 半夜
 ‘midnight’
- d. na:i²¹ʔan³³
 good.eat
 好吃
 ‘tasty’

(Tian & Chen 2019: 55)

At the clausal level, a comparable pattern of convergence is found in the *sa*³³ construction, which exhibits clear influence from the Mandarin *de* (的) structure and has resulted in numerous cases of word-order change. The structural particle *sa*³³ originally meant ‘one’ but subsequently developed into a demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘this’ (*zhè* 这). This development represents a

grammaticalization process “occurring under the influence of the Mandarin particle *de* (< *zhě* 者) and exemplifying homonymy-motivated construction matching” (Tian 2025: 53).

Table 3 summarizes the spread of the *sa*³³ construction in noun phrase modification, and Table 4 illustrates the resulting word-order alternations, with examples in (5) still being supportive evidence of this structural realignment.

Table 3. NP modification: Spread of the *sa*³³ construction (from Table 38 in Thurgood *et al* 2017: 110)

	Genitive NPs	Genitive pronouns	Dem	Adj
N. Roglai	Nh NP	Nh Pr	Nh Dem	Nh Adj
Colloquial Cham	NP <i>sa</i> ³³ Nh	Nh Pr	Nh Dem	Nh Adj
Mandarinized Cham		Pr <i>sa</i> ³³ Nh	Dem <i>sa</i> ³³ Nh	Nh Adj
				Adj <i>sa</i> ³³ Nh
Mandarin		Pr Nh	Dem Nh	Adj Nh
	NP <i>de</i> Nh	Pr <i>de</i> Nh	Dem _{CLF} Nh	Adj <i>de</i> Nh

Table 4. Word order alternations under Mandarin influence (from Table 39 in Thurgood *et al* 2017: 111)

Structure:	Head Modifier	== >	Modifier (NOM) Head
Genitives:			
Full NPs:	Nh NOM	== >	NP NOM Nh
Pronouns:	Nh GENPr	== >	Pr NOM Nh
Adjectives:	Nh Adj	== >	Adj NOM Nh
Demonstratives:	Nh Dem	== >	Dem NOM Nh
NN compounds:	Nh N	== >	N Nh
Comparatives:	Adj Standard	== >	Standard Adjective
Relative clauses:	Nh RCI	== >	RCI NOM Nh

Another domain where Mandarinization is visible concerns verbal constructions expressing direction, movement, or location. In Tsat, verbs of motion increasingly follow the Mandarin schema of directional verbs combined with locative nouns, a pattern absent or rare in traditional Chamic syntax. Consider the following examples in (6):

- (6) a. *san*³³ *khiu*³³
 up festival.market
shàng jíshì
 上 集市
 上集市

‘go to the market’

b. *ŋu*²⁴ *sə*³³*pion*³³ (*na*⁰)

up mosque go

‘go (up) to the mosque’

shàng qīngzhēnsì qù

上 清真寺 去

上清真寺去

‘go to the mosque (upstairs to the hall of the mosque)’

c. *tsun*³³ *pai*³²

down prayer

xià bài

下 拜

下拜

‘finish doing prayer (go downstairs from the hall of the mosque)’

In *san*³³ *khiu*³³, the verb *san*³³ ‘up’ combines with the noun *khiu*³³ ‘market’, paralleling Mandarin *shàng jǐshì* (‘go up to the market’), where *shàng* ‘up’ functions as a directional verb. Likewise, *ŋu*²⁴ *sə*³³*pion*³³ ‘go to the mosque’ employs *ŋu*²⁴ ‘up’ to express motion toward a higher or sacred place, mirroring Mandarin *shàng qīngzhēnsì*. In *tsun*³³ *pai*³² ‘finish doing prayer’, *tsun*³³ ‘down’ corresponds to Mandarin *xià* ‘descend’, marking the completion of an activity. Another Tsat verb *p^hia*³³ may also express the same meaning, but the use of *tsun*³³ aligns more closely with Mandarin directional semantics, indicating by one of my consultants.

Such convergence suggests not simple lexical borrowing but structural alignment: Tsat has adopted the ‘verb + directional + noun’ frame as a productive syntactic pattern. The diffusion of these constructions likely stems from both bilingual interference and religious translation, where Mandarin directional verbs (*shàng*, *xià*, *qù*) are frequently used in religious narratives and instructions.

Aspect marking offers another site of convergence. Tsat increasingly employs constructions paralleling Mandarin *-le* (了) and *zhīhòu* (之后 ‘afterwards’) to mark completion and sequence, respectively. The following narrative sentence in (7) provides a telling example:

- (7) *ɲui*³³-*wan*¹¹ *ɕiau*³³*tein*³³ *p^hi*⁵⁵ *tei*³³*ku*³³, *ɕio*³³*ti*¹¹ *p^hu*³³
do-CMPL Wudu CMPL afterwards, CONJ wear
zuòwán xiǎojìng le zhīhòu, jiù chuān
做完 小净 了 之后 就 穿
做完小净 (了) 之后, 穿——

<i>au¹¹</i>	<i>ta³³</i> ,	<i>zua³³</i>	<i>kua⁵⁵</i>	<i>ti⁵⁵</i> ,	<i>ɛio³³ti¹¹</i>	<i>za:i²⁴</i>	<i>sə³³pion³³</i>
clothes	long,	put.on	hat	white,	CONJ	go	mosque
<i>yīfu</i>	<i>cháng</i> ,	<i>dài</i>	<i>mào</i>	<i>bái</i> ,	<i>jiù</i>	<i>qù</i>	<i>qīngzhēnsì</i>
衣服	长,	戴	帽	白,	就	去	清真寺

——上长衣服, 戴上白帽, 就去清真寺。

‘After finishing the Wudu, (I) put on the robe, put on the white hat, and go to the mosque.’

Here, *-wan¹¹* corresponds functionally to Mandarin *-wán*, marking completion of an action (*Ɂui³³-wan¹¹ ɛiau³³tein³³* ‘having finished the Wudu’).

Convergence is also visible in existential sentences. The Tsat verb *t^ha²¹* ‘have/exist’ parallels Mandarin *yǒu* (有) both syntactically and semantically. For instance, in (8):

(8) a. *t^ha²¹* *zan²³³* *Ɂua¹¹* *no*
 EXIST person die DECL
yǒu *rén* *sǐ* *le*
 有 人 死 了
 有人死了。

‘There is someone who has died.’

b. *t^ha²¹* *nen¹¹li* *sa³³* *lei³³* *mo³³*,
 EXIST ability NOM slaughter cattle,
yǒu *nénglì* *de* *zǎi* *niú*,
 有 能力 的 宰 牛,
 有能力的宰牛,
ma³³ *nen¹¹li¹¹* *sa³³* *lei³³* *p^hei¹¹*
 NEG ability NOM slaughter sheep
méi *nénglì* *de* *zǎi* *yáng*
 没 能力 的 宰 羊
 没能力的宰羊。

‘Those who have ability slaughter cattle; those who do not, slaughter sheep.’

c. *zu¹¹kuo³³* *pu¹¹* *ma³³* *nen¹¹li¹¹*,
 if NEG NEG ability,
rúguǒ *méi* *méi* *nénglì*,
 如果 不 没 能力,

如果没能力,

ha33	<u>pu</u> ¹¹	lei ³³	nə ¹¹	ŋau ³³	u
2SG	NEG	slaughter	?	do	?
nǐ	bù	zǎi		kěyǐ	
你	不	宰		可以	

你不宰也可以。

‘If you do not have the ability, not slaughtering is also acceptable.’

These examples show a one-to-one mapping between Tsat *tʰa²¹* and Mandarin *yǒu*, both used to express existence, possession, or availability. The appearance of *sa³³* as a nominal linker (*nen¹¹li sa³³ lei³³*... ‘the ability of slaughtering...’), leaving out the head noun ‘person/people’ in ‘people having the ability of...’, again reflects the pervasive influence of the Mandarin nominalizer *de*. Such replication extends beyond the lexicon to clause-level syntax, showing that Sinitic patterns have become embedded in the grammatical system of modern Tsat.

The Sinitic patterns shown above coexist with inherited structures, forming a mixed grammatical system. Such coexistence suggests that Tsat morphosyntax is undergoing typological realignment under Sinitic influence. Following this analysis, the next sections will examine a more specific domain: religious vocabulary. In this domain, the Mandarin influence will be much clearer, as it usually sits on top of older words borrowed from Arabic and Persian.

2.2 An etymological study of Islamic terms in Tsat

Before analyzing how Islamic vocabulary functions within Tsat, it is necessary to establish its historical and etymological foundations. Therefore, this section first outlines the major Islamic terms attested in modern Tsat, then explains their etymology word-by-word. The aim is to trace the pathways of transmission, identify mediating languages, and outline phonological/morphological/semantic adaptations that occurred during borrowing.

- *The Lexical Inventory*

To illustrate the origins and stratification of Islamic vocabulary in Tsat, this study integrates historical documents and field survey data to compile the religious vocabulary list shown in Table 5. This table categorizes words according to their ultimate etymology (Arabic, Persian, Mandarin) and borrowing path (direct borrowing/intermediate borrowing through Mandarin or other Sinitic varieties), laying a structural foundation for subsequent etymological analysis.

Group A is composed of expressions created within Tsat itself or resulting from early borrowings that preserve inherited Chamic structural patterns. These words or phrases use native compounding

strategies or hybrid formations that combine borrowed morphemes with inherited ones. As such, this group is an internally integrated part of the Islamic lexicon, exhibiting little Mandarin influence.

Group B contains terms that are likely borrowed directly from Arabic or Persian, without prominent intermediaries in other languages. Phonologically, they conform to Tsat phonology rather than to Mandarin phonotactics; semantically they remain close to their original Islamic meanings. This group likely reflects early direct contact through Muslim merchants, teachers, or religious texts.

Group C includes vocabulary that is most likely borrowed through Mandarin. Phonologically, these items show systematic and highly consistent correspondences with their Mandarin counterparts; semantically, they often reflect meanings used within Mandarin-speaking Muslim communities. This group represents the linguistic influence that has developed through long-term interaction with Mandarin-speaking Muslims from Mainland China. However, because modern Tsat and Mandarin share certain phonotactic features, for instance, neither language permits complex consonant clusters within a morpheme, it is difficult to determine with certainty whether these forms result from Mandarin mediation or from direct Arabic/Persian borrowings that have undergone Tsat-specific phonological adaptation.

Group D consists of expressions of purely Chinese origin that have entered Tsat as part of the broader linguistic repertoire associated with Chinese Islam. All terms in this group are direct borrowings from Chinese, exhibiting phonological adaptation to Tsat's sound system.

Table 5. Islamic Lexemes in Modern Tsat Classified by Source and Transmission Pathway

A. Retentions and Internal Calques (non-Mandarin structures)

Tsat form with glossing	Meaning	Notes
1) $\text{ʔa}^{21}\text{lət}^{24}$ po^{21} Allah god	‘Allah’	$\text{ʔa}^{21}\text{lət}^{24}$ is from Arabic /alʕ.lʔa:h/ الله
2) $\text{sa}:\eta^{33}$ pion^{33} house.big	‘mosque’	
3) vat^{42}	‘to pray; prayer’	
4) $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{u}^{35}}$	‘the market set up during Qurban’	
5) ʔau^{11} ta^{33} clothes long	‘lit. long clothes; refers to robes for men during prayers’	
6) $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ie}^{21}$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{o}^{21}$ fasting month/moon	‘the month of fasting, Ramadan’	

7) <i>p^{hi}ʔ³²</i> place	<i>pan³³xə³³</i> adhan ⁷	‘minaret, the tower built adjacent to mosques for the call to prayer’	<i>pan³³xə³³</i> is from Persian /'baŋg/ بنگ
8) <i>mo³³</i> stuff	<i>zau²⁴</i> count	<i>də³³</i> finger	‘the prayer beads’
9) <i>kua³³</i> cap	<i>ti³³</i> white		‘lit. white cap; but refers to caps in any colour worn by men in the context of Islam’
10) <i>k^ha:n²³²/xa:n²³²</i> towel.?	<i>p^ha¹¹</i>	‘a traditional headwear for Tsat women’	<i>khan</i> is borrowed from Vietnamese khăn ‘cloth’
11) <i>k^ha:n²³²/xa:n²³²</i> towel	<i>ta³³</i> long	‘handkerchief for men’	
12) <i>ɲui³³</i> use	<i>ɲia³³</i> water	‘i.e. <i>Wudu</i> ’, the Islamic procedure for cleansing parts of the body as a type of ritual purification’	

B. Direct Borrowings from Arabic or Persian (little or non-Mandarin mediation)

Tsat form	Meaning	Ultimate source	Mandarin form	Notes
13) <i>ni¹¹xa³³</i>	‘to perform the <i>Nikah</i> ceremony, i.e. Islamic marriage’	Arabic نكاح /ni.k ^h a:ħ/	尼卡哈 [ni ³⁵ k ^h a ²¹⁴ xa ⁵¹]	Elision; vowel epenthesis
14) <i>zə¹¹k^hə³³ɬ^hɔ⁴²</i>	‘almsgiving or <i>zakāt</i> in Islam’	Arabic زكاة /zə ^h ˈk ^h a:t ^h /	\	vowel epenthesis

⁷ An alternative order influenced by Mandarin, *pan³³xə³³sa³³p^{hi}ʔ⁴³*, has become increasingly common. The latter corresponds structurally to the Mandarin *bāngkè de dìfāng* (邦克-的-地方), literally ‘the place of adhan’. This emerging variant shows a clear shift toward the Sinitic head-final pattern, signaling syntactic convergence at the phrasal level.

15) $ai^{33}tə^{42}$	‘i.e. Eid al-Fitr, which is on the first day of the tenth month of the Islamic calendar.’	Arabic عيد /ʕi:d/ ‘holiday, festival’	\	vowel epenthesis; semantic narrowing
16) $ku^{33}rə^{11}po^{11}$	‘i.e. Qurban, or Eid al-Adha, which is on the 10th of the twelfth and final month of the Islamic calendar’	Arabic قربان, but directly from Persian /gorˈbɒ:n/, both meaning ‘sacrifice to God’	古尔邦 [ku ²¹⁴ ǝ ²¹⁴ paŋ ⁵⁵]	Arabic uses <i>Eid al-Adha</i> ; vowel epenthesis;
17) $pan^{11}to^{33}$	‘Dawn prayer’	Persian بامداد /ba:m.ˈda:d/ ‘dawn’	邦木达 [paŋ ⁵⁵ mu ⁵¹ ta ³⁵]	
18) $bi^{11}ɛin^{11}$	‘Noon prayer’	Persian پیشین [pʰiːˈʃiːn] ‘forenoon’	撇什尼 [pʰjɛ ²¹⁴ ʃ ³⁵ ni ³⁵]	
19) $ti^{33}kə^{33}tʰə^{42}$	‘Afternoon prayer’	Persian دیگر /diː.ˈgar/ ‘next’	底格勒 [ti ²¹⁴ kɤ ³⁵ lɤ ⁵¹]	vowel epenthesis
20) $ɛio^{33}mu^{42}$	‘Sunset prayer’	Persian شام /ˈʃa:m/ ‘evening’	沙目 [ʃa ⁵⁵ mu ⁵¹]	vowel epenthesis
21) $koː^{33}tʰan^{11}$	‘Night prayer’	Persian خفتن /xuf.ˈtan/ ‘to sleep’	胡夫滩 [xu ³⁵ fu ⁵⁵ tʰan ⁵⁵]	Elision
22) $p^hə^{24}rə^{11}zo^{33}$	‘the prayer’	Arabic	主 命 拜	vowel

	obligations explicitly prescribed in the <i>Qur'an</i> that Muslims are required to perform according to Islamic law'	(صلاة) الفرض /al' fard ⁶ /	god instruction prayer [tʃu ²¹⁴ miŋ ⁵¹ par ⁵¹]	epenthesis
23) <i>sun³³na¹¹t^hi³³</i>	'the religious prayer rituals performed by Muslims in imitation of the Prophet Muhammad, in addition to the obligatory prayers'	Arabic (صلاة) السنّة /as'sun.na(t ^h i)/	圣 行 拜 god behaviour prayer [ʃəŋ ⁵¹ eiŋ ³⁵ par ⁵¹]	
24) <i>wi²⁴t^hə²⁴rə⁴²</i>	'lit. odd number, the three-unit obligatory prayer <i>Wājib</i> performed individually after the night prayer'	Arabic (صلاة) الوتر /al' witr/	威特尔 拜 witr prayer [wei ⁵⁵ t ^h ə ⁵¹ ə ²¹⁴ par ⁵¹]	vowel epenthesis
25) <i>t^hau³³ə³²</i>	'Tawbah, the Islamic concept of repenting to	Arabic توبة /t ^h aw.ba/	讨白 [t ^h ao ²¹⁴ par ³⁵]	

	Allah for any sins or misdeeds'			
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C. Borrowings Mediated through Mandarin (with high possibilities of Mandarin mediation of Arabic/Persian words)

Tsat form	Meaning	Ultimate source	Mandarin form	Notes
26) <i>mu³³si³³lin¹¹</i>	'Muslim'	Arabic مسلم /mus.lim/	穆斯林 [mu ⁵¹ si ⁵⁵ lin ³⁵]	Vowel <i>i</i>
27) <i>ha³³zɿ¹¹</i>	'Haji, an honorific title which is given to a Muslim who has successfully completed the Hajj to Mecca'	Arabic حَاجّ /ha:ðʒ:/	哈吉 [xa ⁵⁵ tei ³⁵]	Vowel <i>ɿ</i>
28) <i>ha¹¹lia⁴²li²¹</i>	'halal'	Arabic حلال /ha.la:l/	哈俩里 [xa ⁵⁵ lja ²¹⁴ li ²¹⁴]	
29) <i>tu³³o³³</i>	'Dua, a prayer of invocation, supplication or request, asking help or assistance from Allah'	Arabic دعاء /du.ʕa:ʔ/	独阿 [tu ³⁵ a ⁵⁵]	
30) <i>mai³³tʰi⁴²</i>	'body of a deceased person'	Arabic مَيِّت /maj.jit/	埋体 [mai ³⁵ tʰi ²¹⁴]	
31) <i>zu¹¹ma¹¹</i>	'the congregatio	Arabic جمعة	主麻 [tʂu ²¹⁴ ma ³⁵]	

	nal Friday midday prayer in Islam'	/d̪um.ʕa/		
32) <i>k^hu³³t^hu¹¹pə¹¹</i>	'the Friday sermon in Islam'	Arabic خطبة /'xut ^ʕ .ba/	库土白 ⁸ [k ^h u ⁵¹ t ^h u ²¹⁴ paɪ ³⁵]	
33) <i>ni³³t^hi⁴²</i>	'the intention in one's heart to do an act for the sake of Allah'	Arabic نية /nij.ja(t ^h un)/	也贴 [nie ⁵¹ t ^h je ⁵⁵]	Same syncope for the second syllable /ja/
34) <i>pan³³h~xə³³</i>	'call to prayer, i.e. adhan'	Persian بنگ /'baŋg/	邦克 [paŋ ⁵⁵ k ^h ʕ ⁵¹]	/k ^h / is realized closer to [x] in Tsat
35) <i>a³³hoŋ³³</i>	'i.e. Akhund, a title for Islamic scholars'	Persian آخوند /ʔa:.'xu:nd/	阿訇 [a ⁵⁵ xoŋ ⁵⁵]	
36) <i>ʔa¹¹kai⁵⁵hoŋ³³</i>	'lit. grandfather Akhund, elder Akhunds'		\	⁹

D. Mandarin-Origin Religious Terms

Tsat form with glossing	Meaning	Ultimate source	Notes
1) <i>t^ho¹¹</i> <i>p^hiⁿ¹¹</i> 汤 瓶 hot.water kettle	'the vessel used for ablution among Chinese Muslims'	Mandarin [t ^h aŋ ⁵⁵ p ^h iŋ ³⁵]	

⁸ This Chinese form is attested in a local official announcement written in Chinese. The variant more commonly used in *Jingtang*, 呼图白, exhibits a closer phonetic correspondence in its initial syllable [xu⁵⁶] to the Arabic original. This correspondence may be attributed to the influence of Hainan Min, in which the phoneme /x/ is realized as [k^h] in many dialectal subgroups.

⁹ *hoŋ³³* is integrated into Tsat as a morpheme to make a new compound with the inherited relative term *ʔa¹¹kai⁵⁵* 'grandfather'.

2)	<i>sau</i> ¹¹ 朝 to pilgrimize formally	<i>kuai</i> ²⁴ 覲 to visit	‘the pilgrimage to Mecca’	Mandarin [tɕʰɑʊ ²¹⁴ tein ⁵¹]	
3)	<i>tʰien</i> ³³ 天 sky	<i>ho/xo/kʰo</i> ³³ 课 obligation	‘lit. task from the sky, referring to almsgiving or <i>zakāt</i> in Islam’	Mandarin [tʰjɛn ⁵⁵ kʰɿ ⁵¹]	
4)	<i>ku</i> ²¹ <i>lan</i> ²⁴ 古兰 Quran	<i>kin</i> ³³ 经 classics	‘the holy Quran’	Mandarin [ku ²¹⁴ lan ³⁵ teɪŋ ⁵⁵]	
5)	<i>h/xau</i> ³³ 后 later	<i>ɕi</i> ³³ 世 world	‘next life’	Mandarin [xou ⁵¹ ɕi ⁵¹]	
6)	<i>tʰien</i> ³³ 天 sky	<i>ɕien</i> ³³ 仙 immortals	‘Angels (in Islam)’	Mandarin [tʰjɛn ⁵⁵ ɕjen ⁵⁵]	
7)	<i>zo</i> ³³ <i>zən</i> ³³ 作证 testimony	<i>jan</i> ³² 言 words	‘i.e. <i>Shahadah</i> , which declares belief in the oneness of Allah and the acceptance of Muhammad as Allah’s messenger’	Mandarin [tsʷɔ ⁵¹ tɕən ⁵¹ jɛn ³⁵]	
8)	<i>ɕien</i> ¹¹ 前 former	<i>tin</i> ¹¹ 定 determined	‘predestination, <i>qadar</i> in Arabic’	Mandarin [tɕʰjɛn ³⁵ tiŋ ⁵¹]	
9)	<i>tɕi</i> ³³ 知 to know	<i>kan</i> ⁴² 感 to feel	‘(to know and feel) gratitude, thankfulness towards Allah’	Mandarin [tɕi ⁵⁵ kan ²¹⁴]	
10)	<i>xai</i> ⁴² 盖 to cover	<i>tʰau</i> ¹¹ 头 head	‘headscarves for Muslim women’	Mandarin [kai ⁵¹ tʰou ³⁵]	
11)	<i>ta</i> ³³ 大 big	<i>tein</i> ³³ 净 purification	‘i.e. <i>Ghusl</i> , the full-body ritual purification which is mandatory before the performance of various Islamic activities and prayers’	Mandarin [ta ⁵¹ teɪŋ ⁵¹]	

This inventory organizes Tsat Islamic vocabulary according to both its source language and its route of entry. It serves as a reference framework for identifying the different historical layers of borrowing and for observing how religious concepts have been lexicalized in Tsat.

- *Word-by-Word Etymological Notes*

The following notes present the etymological background and phonological adaptations of each term listed above, following the same order. Each entry specifies the source language, intermediary stages, and any known semantic or morphological reanalysis. These analyses help distinguish forms that entered Tsat through direct borrowings from those mediated through Mandarin, and from those internally formed through calquing or hybrid innovations.

1) $\lambda a^{21} \lambda \partial t^{24} po^{11}$ ‘Allah’

The compound $\lambda a^{21} \lambda \partial t^{24} - po^{11}$ combines the Arabic form *Allah* (الله /alʕ.lʕa:h/) with the inherited morpheme po^{11} ‘god’. This hybrid construction reflects both lexical borrowing and morphological reanalysis. The foreign divine name was integrated into an existing semantic category through compounding with a native noun.

2) $sa:\eta^{33} pion^{33}$ ‘mosque’

This expression is formed by combining $sa:\eta^{33}$ ‘house’ and $pion^{33}$ ‘big’, and it literally means ‘big house’. It is different from either Arabic *masjid* ‘place of worship’ or Chinese *qīngzhēnsì* (清真寺 ‘pure-truth-temple’). The use of native morphemes preserves the typical head–modifier order of Tsat, while the semantic structure is an innovation by itself. The term exemplifies conceptual borrowing realized through Tsat’s own morphological resources.

3) vat^{42} ‘to pray; prayer’

This is an inherited Tsat word, serving as both verb and noun in Tsat. While functionally corresponding to Arabic *ṣalāh*, its form is native, indicating lexical retention rather than borrowing.

4) $k^h iu^{33}$ ‘market held during Qurban’

This word denotes the temporary market set up during the festival of sacrifice in Tsat’s communities. The term is semantically specialized and morphologically native.

5) $\lambda au^{11} ta^{33}$ ‘long robe worn by men for prayer’

Literally means ‘long clothes’, this expression designates the robe worn by male worshippers. The form follows Tsat inherited compounding order, created through native words that match the concept of *thawb* ‘robe’ in Arabic.

6) *p^{hi}ie²¹ p^{ho}o²¹* ‘month of fasting; Ramadan’

This compound, literally ‘fasting month’, reproduces the meaning of Arabic *shahr ramadān* ‘month of fasting’ but uses purely Tsat material. The construction follows the inherited head–modifier pattern and thus represents an internal calque rather than a phonological loan. Its existence suggests that the notion of Ramadan entered Tsat conceptually before the Arabic term *ramadān* itself was known widely, reflecting an early semantic translation phase of Islamization.

7) *p^{hi}i²³² pan³³xə³³* ‘minaret, the tower built beside a mosque for the call to prayer’

This expression combines *p^{hi}i²³²* ‘place’ with *pan³³xə³³*, a borrowing from Persian /‘baŋ/ ‘call, sound’. The semantic structure ‘place of calling’ mirrors Arabic *mi’dāna* ‘place of doing *adān*’. Its compound form reflects Tsat inherited syntax. An alternative with the *sa³³* construction, *pan³³xə³³ sa³³ p^{hi}i²⁴³*, has also become increasingly common. The latter corresponds structurally to the Mandarin *bāngkè de dìfāng* (邦克-的-地方 ‘*adān*-de-place’).

8) *mo³³ zau²⁴ de³³* ‘prayer beads’

This phrase literally means ‘finger-counting object’, a transparent native description of Islamic prayer beads. Although the concept itself originates in Arabic culture, the Tsat expression is entirely indigenous, composed of native morphemes meaning ‘count finger’ and ‘thing’. The term reflects the functional equivalence between the beads and the fingers used in counting recitations of *tasbih*. It therefore represents a semantic calque rather than a phonological loan. The same morphological strategy is also applied to *mo³³ vat⁴²* ‘blankets for prayer’.

9) *kua⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵* ‘cap worn by men during prayer’

This compound refers to the skullcap worn by Muslim men. The expression follows Tsat compounding patterns and serves as an internal descriptive term. Although inspired by Islamic dress customs, it does not constitute a direct foreign loan, illustrating localized lexical creativity within the religious lexicon. It is highly likely that the term originated as a semantic calque from Mandarin 白帽 (*bái mào* ‘white cap’), a common designation for the caps traditionally worn by Hui Muslims in mainland China. Nevertheless, in Tsat, the expression has broadened in meaning and may refer to any type of Muslim headwear, regardless of colour.

10) *k^ha:n²³²/xə:n²³² p^ha¹¹* ‘women’s head towel’

Borrowed from Vietnamese *khăn* ‘cloth’, the root $k^ha:n\partial^{32}$ forms several compounds denoting types of clothes, see the following term. In $k^ha:n\partial^{32} p^ha^{11}$, the meaning of the second element remains unclear, but the compound refers to the traditional head covering worn by Tsat women.

11) $k^ha:n\partial^{32}/xa:n\partial^{32} ta^{33}$ ‘men’s handkerchief’

Parallel to the previous form, this compound uses the same Vietnamese loan *khăn* plus the inherited ta^{33} ‘long’. The expression ‘long cloth’ describes the handkerchief or *turban* worn by men.

12) $\eta ui^{33} \partial ia^{33}$ ‘Wudu’

Composed of ηui^{33} ‘use’ and ∂ia^{33} ‘water’, the phrase literally means ‘use water’. It corresponds functionally to Arabic *wuḍū’* but was coined internally, representing a semantic translation of the purification act into Tsat morphology.

13) $ni^{11} xa^{33}$ ‘Islamic marriage ceremony’

Borrowed from Arabic *nikāḥ* (نكاح /ni.k^ha:h/), the Tsat form simplifies the source by deleting the medial sequence /k^ha:/ and compensating with the addition of a vowel /a/ after the final consonant to conform to Tsat phonotactic constraints¹⁰. The original Arabic final consonant /ḥ/ is regularly realized as [x] or [h] in Tsat.

14) $z\partial^{11} k^h\partial^{33} t^h\partial^{42}$ ‘a form of almsgiving in Islam as religious obligation’

Borrowed from Arabic *zakāt* (زكاة /zə'k^ha:t^h/), the Tsat form introduces a vowel epenthesis, a common strategy for adapting foreign consonant clusters to Tsat phonotactics, as also observed in the previous example.

15) $ai^{33} t\partial^{42}$ ‘Eid al-Fitr (festival at end of Ramadan)’

Originating from Arabic *‘īd* (عيد /ʕi:d/), the Tsat form exhibits vowel epenthesis following the final consonant. Notably, a process of semantic narrowing has occurred: while the Arabic word broadly means ‘festival’ without specifying which one, in Tsat it exclusively refers to *Eid al-Fitr*.

¹⁰ As mentioned in the former section, Tsat only allow certain consonants at the final place.

16) *ku³³rə¹¹po¹¹* ‘*Qurban; Eid al-Adha*; festival of sacrifice in Islam’

Borrowed from Persian /gor'bo:n/, ultimately from Arabic *qurbān* ‘sacrifice to God’, this form entered Tsat most likely through Persian contact rather than Mandarin, since in Arabic *Eid al-Adha* is the most popular expression. Although there is no consonant clusters accepted in both Tsat and Mandarin, they adopt two different strategies to naturalize this word, Tsat borrowed the non-existed consonant /r/ in its phonology, and added a schwa to make a CV structure; while Mandarin directly uses its existed rhotacized schwa [ə̃] to imitate the alveolar tap sound.

17) *pan¹¹to³³* ‘dawn prayer’

This form traces to Persian *bāmdād* (بامداد /ba:m.da:d/ ‘dawn’). Compared with the Mandarin form [paŋ⁵⁵mu⁵¹ta³⁵], both Tsat and Mandarin avoid medial consonant clusters but employ different phonological strategies to do so. Tsat changes /m/ to /n/, which is permissible as a syllable-final consonant and shares the same place of articulation as the following /t/, whereas Mandarin resolves the cluster by inserting a vowel after /m/ to form a new CV syllable. In both languages, the final consonant /d/ is deleted.

18) *bi¹¹ɛin¹¹* ‘noon prayer’

From Persian *pīšīn* (پیشین [pʰi:ˈʃi:n] ‘forenoon’). The Tsat form preserves the syllable structure of the Persian original with minimal phonological adaptation.

19) *ti³³kə³³ʰə⁴²* ‘afternoon prayer’

From Persian *dīgar* (دیگر /di:.gar/ ‘next, later’). Compared with the Mandarin form, [ti²¹⁴kɤ³⁵lɤ⁵¹], both Tsat and Mandarin insert a vowel after the final consonant, rendering the immediate source of the Tsat form uncertain.

20) *ɛio³³mu⁴²* ‘sunset prayer’

Borrowed from Persian *shām* (شام /ʃa:m/ ‘evening’). Compared with the Mandarin form [ʃa⁵⁵mu⁵¹], both Tsat and Mandarin insert a vowel following the final consonant, since both languages do not allow [-m] as finals. This makes it difficult to determine whether it was borrowed directly from Persian or via Mandarin mediation.

21) *ko:³³ʰan¹¹* ‘night prayer’

Borrowed from Persian *khuftan* (خفتن /xuf.tan/ ‘to sleep’). Compared with the Mandarin form [xu³⁵fu⁵⁵tʰan⁵⁵], the Tsat form deletes the medial consonant /f/, whereas Mandarin resolves it through vowel insertion.

22) p^hə²⁴rə¹¹zo³³ ‘obligatory prayer in Islam’

From Arabic *fard* (فرض /fard^s/ ‘obligation’). The Tsat form applies vowel insertion twice to resolve the final consonant cluster, adapting the word to Tsat phonotactic constraints. In Mandarin, this concept is rendered through semantic calquing rather than phonological borrowing.

23) sun³³na¹¹tʰi³³ ‘Sunnah prayer in Islam’

From Arabic *as-sunnah* (السنة /as'sun.na/ ‘tradition, *Sunnah*’). The Tsat form preserves the geminate nasal /n:/ by distributing it across two syllables. The final syllable [tʰi] likely reflects influence from the Arabic genitive case ending, as the full phrase is (ṣalātu) as-sunnati (صلاة السُّنَّة), where the final [i] results from the genitive marking. In Mandarin, this term is also expressed through semantic calquing.

24) wi²⁴tʰə²⁴rə⁴² ‘Witr prayer in Islam’

From Arabic *al-witr* (الوتر /al'witr/ ‘odd number’). In both Tsat and Mandarin, a vowel is inserted after the medial consonant /t/. Regarding the final consonant /r/, as also observed in ku³³rə¹¹po¹¹, Tsat borrowed the non-native /r/ by adding a schwa to form a CV structure, whereas Mandarin reproduces the sound using its existing rhotacized schwa [ə̃].

25) tʰau³³bə³² ‘repentance in Islam’

From Arabic *tauba* (توبة /taw.ba/); Mandarin [tʰao²¹⁴paɪ³⁵]. In both Tsat and Mandarin, a vowel is inserted after the final consonant /b/, consistent with their respective phonotactic systems. The overall structural similarity among the three forms makes it difficult to determine whether the Tsat term was borrowed directly from Arabic or through Mandarin mediation.

26) mu³³si³³lin¹¹ ‘Muslim’

From Arabic *muslim* (مسلم /mus.lim/); Mandarin 穆斯林 [mu⁵¹si⁵⁵lin³⁵]. Although the similar phonotactic constraints of Tsat and Mandarin can naturally result in comparable borrowing patterns, the presence of the vowel [i], which is uncommon in Tsat phonology, inserted within the /sl/ cluster

suggests more recent influence from Mandarin. Given that this term likely entered the Tsat community at an early stage, the adaptation with [i] provides evidence of subsequent reinforcement or reborrowing from Mandarin in later contact periods.

27) *ha*³³*zɿ*¹¹ ‘*Hājji* (person who performed the pilgrimage)’

From Arabic *ḥājj* (حَاجّ /ħaːd͡ʒː/); Mandarin 哈吉 [xa⁵⁵tei³⁵]. Similar to the previous example, this term likely entered the Tsat community at an early stage. However, the inserted vowel [ɿ], which does not occur in native Tsat phonology and typically appears only in Mandarin borrowings, indicates significant later influence from Mandarin. Although the inserted vowel does not exactly match the Mandarin sound, it may reflect the influence of other Sinitic varieties, the precise source of which remains uncertain due to the complicated situation of mixed populations living in current Tsat communities.

28) *ha*¹¹*li*⁴²*li*²¹ ‘*halāl* (lawful, ritually clean)’

From Arabic *ḥalāl* (حَلَال /ħa.laːl/), which broadly denotes what is permissible under Islamic law. In both Mandarin (哈俩里 [xa⁵⁵ljɑ²¹⁴li⁵¹]) and Tsat, however, the meaning has undergone semantic narrowing, coming to specifically denote food that is religiously lawful. The Mandarin equivalent formed from native morphemes is *qīngzhēn* (清真 [tɕʰiŋ⁵⁵ʃən⁵⁵]). Historically, *qīngzhēn*—literally meaning “pure and true”—carried Taoist connotations of clarity (*qīng*) and authenticity (*zhēn*). It was only during the Ming and Qing dynasties that Chinese Muslim scholars widely adopted the term to describe the essence of Islam and the attributes of Allah (Han 2017). In contrast, there is no semantic or lexical equivalent of *qīngzhēn* in Tsat; instead, Tsat borrowed together the phonetic form and the semantic content of the Mandarin phonological form of this Arabic-origin term.

29) *tu*³³*o*³³ ‘supplication, personal prayer’

From Arabic *duʿāʾ* (دُعَاء /du.ʕaːʔ/) via Mandarin 独阿 [tu³⁵a⁵⁵]. The Tsat sequence closely follows the Mandarin syllable structure, indicating clear mediation through Mandarin.

30) *mai*³³*tʰi*⁴² ‘body of a deceased person’

From Arabic *mayyit* (مَيِّت /maj.jit/) through Mandarin 埋体 [mai³⁵tʰi²¹⁴]. The Tsat form duplicates the Mandarin syllable structure, which confirms direct borrowing. The meaning narrowed from ‘dead person’ to ‘body for burial’, aligning precisely with Chinese Muslim ritual vocabulary. It thus illustrates both phonological imitation and semantic specialization.

31) *zu¹¹ma¹¹* ‘Friday congregational prayer’

From Arabic *jumʿah* (جمعة /dʒum.ʕa/) through Mandarin 主麻 [tʂu²¹⁴ma³⁵]. The Tsat form reflects the Mandarin syllable pattern, suggesting mediation through Mandarin rather than direct contact with Arabic.

32) *k^hu³³t^hu¹¹pə¹¹* ‘Friday sermon’

Ultimately from Arabic *khuṭbah* (خطبة /ˈxutʕ.ba/), the term was borrowed from 库土白 [k^hu⁵¹t^hu²¹⁴paɪ³⁵], which has been adopted in local official announcements. This is a clear evidence of Mandarin influence through written transmission. This represents one of the clearest cases of script-based borrowing from Chinese Islamic publications. The fact that Tsat retains [k^h] rather than adapting it to [x] further supports the conclusion that this term was borrowed directly from Mandarin.

33) *ni³³t^hi⁴²* ‘intention’

Traces to Arabic *niyya* (نية /nij.ja/) the term entered Tsat via Mandarin 乜贴 [niɛ⁵¹t^hjɛ⁵⁵]. In both Tsat and Mandarin, the geminate consonant is deleted, and a vowel is inserted after the final consonant to fit their phonotactic patterns. Semantically, the Arabic term denotes the inner intention to perform an action for the sake of Allah. In Tsat, however, the meaning has followed Mandarin in undergoing semantic narrowing, now referring specifically to money donated to mosques or given to those in need¹¹.

34) *pan³³h~xə³³* ‘call to prayer’

Borrowed from Persian *bāng* (بَنگ /ˈbaŋɡ/) through Mandarin 邦克 [paŋ⁵⁵k^hɿ⁵¹]. Since Tsat lacks the diphthong /aŋ/, it replaces it with the closest native sequence /an/. Evidence for Mandarin mediation lies in the phonological adaptation of the Persian unaspirated final consonant, which becomes a fricative [h] or the realized form of /k^h/ — [x], rather than /k/ in Tsat. This is likely influenced by

¹¹ In mosques across China, one often finds a box labeled *ṣundūq al-ṣadaqah* (صندوق الصدقة ‘charity box’) alongside the Chinese phrase 乜贴箱 ‘box for *niyya*’. However, the two terms are semantically mismatched: the Arabic expression employs *ṣadaqah* ‘charity’, whereas the Chinese one uses *niyya* ‘intention’. This discrepancy likely contributed to the semantic shift observed in the Chinese and subsequently Tsat usage, where the focus moved from the act of giving charity to the notion of religious intention or purpose.

the aspirated [k^h] in the Mandarin form. Consultants who have studied Arabic occasionally use a variant ə¹¹zɛ:⁴²nə¹¹, reflecting awareness of the original Arabic form *adhān* (أَذَان).

35) *a³³hoŋ³³* ‘Akhund; Islamic scholar’

Borrowed from Persian *Ākhūnd* (آخوند /ʔaːxuːnd/) through Mandarin 阿訇 [a⁵⁵xoŋ⁵⁵]. The Tsat pronunciation closely matches the Mandarin form, indicating clear phonological mediation. In usage, the term functions as a respectful clerical title in Islam, paralleling its role in Hui Muslim communities across China. While *Ākhūnd* remains common in Iran, Central Asia, and parts of South Asia, it is not attested in other Chamic-speaking regions, further confirming that the Tsat form entered the language through Mandarin transmission rather than through direct contact with Persian or other Islamic centers.

36) *ʔa¹¹kai⁵⁵hoŋ³³* ‘elder Akhund’

A Tsat compound expanding on *a³³hoŋ³³* with *ʔa¹¹kai⁵⁵* ‘grandfather’. One analysis of this expression is that it still complies with Tsat inherited grammar, *ʔa¹¹kai⁵⁵* is the head noun, and *hoŋ³³* serves as the modifier, with independent meaning detached from *a³³hoŋ³³* ‘Akhund’. But it can also be analyzed as it follows the Mandarin modifier–head order rather than the inherited one, demonstrating clear syntactic influence from Mandarin.

37) *t^ho¹¹p^hin¹¹* ‘ablution kettle for Wudu’

This term comes directly and ultimately from Mandarin *tāngpíng* (汤瓶 [t^haŋ⁵⁵p^hiŋ³⁵]) ‘hot-water kettle’. In Chinese Muslim contexts, it specifically denotes the vessel used for ablution. Historically, such kettles were introduced from Persia and gradually became ritual objects within Hui Muslim culture, symbolizing purification before prayer. In Tsat, *t^ho¹¹p^hin¹¹* has similarly undergone semantic narrowing, referring exclusively to the ablution kettle rather than to kettles in general, thus aligning with Mandarin’s specialized religious usage.

38) *sau¹¹kuai²⁴* ‘pilgrimage to Mecca’

Borrowed from Mandarin *cháojìn* (朝覲 [tʂ^hɑʊ²¹⁴ tɕin⁵¹]) ‘to pay a formal visit’, a term used in Chinese Islamic discourse for the *Hajj*. The Tsat form replaces Mandarin 覲[tɕin] with 觀[kuai]¹², reflecting a community-specific misreading that later became fossilized, likely due to limited literacy among older Tsat speakers. Its meaning fully aligns with the Mandarin Islamic sense, illustrating how script-based Mandarin variants were transmitted into Tsat through oral learning.

¹² This is the pronunciation in Hainan Mandarin.

This term thus represents a clear case of second-hand religious borrowing mediated by the written Chinese lexicon. Semantically, while the Mandarin term originally also referred to subjects formally visiting the emperor, Tsat retains only the broadened Islamic sense, abandoning the earlier secular meaning.

39) *t^hien³³ho~xo~k^ho³³* ‘almsgiving’

A direct adoption of Mandarin *tiānkè* (天课 [t^hjen⁵⁵ k^hɿ⁵¹]). Among older speakers or those with formal Islamic training, the Arabic origin term *zə¹¹k^hə³³t^hɔ⁴²*, from *zakāt* زكاة, is also recognized. The coexistence of both forms reveals generational stratification in lexical usage: *t^hien³³ho~xo~k^ho³³* aligns with the Sinicized religious context widespread among Chinese Muslims, while *zə¹¹k^hə³³t^hɔ⁴²* retains a connection to Arabic learning. Moreover, the variation between [h], [x], and [k^h] in Tsat reflects accommodation to Mandarin and Hainanese phonological inventories, where /h/ and aspirated /k^h/ are both present and variably used in loan adaptation, as mentioned in the former section and examples.

40) *ku²¹lan²⁴kin³³* ‘the *Qur'an*’

Taken directly from Mandarin *gǔ lán jīng* (古兰经 [ku²¹⁴lan³⁵teɪŋ⁵⁵]). The Tsat form preserves the same three-syllable sequence.

41) *h/xau³³ɛi³³* ‘afterlife; next world’

Borrowed from Mandarin *hòushì* (后世 [xou⁵¹ɕi⁵¹]), paralleling Arabic *al-Ākhirah* (الآخرة) the term carries the same meaning, referring to the world after death. In Mandarin, *hòushì* originally had a secular sense, denoting later generations, and only later came to refer to the afterlife in Buddhist discourse. In Tsat, the term was borrowed after this semantic broadening and is used specifically in Islamic contexts to denote the next world, reflecting both semantic transfer and religious reinterpretation through Mandarin mediation.

42) *t^hien³³ɛien³³* ‘angels’

Borrowed from Mandarin *tiānxiān* (天仙 [t^hjen⁵⁵ ɛjen⁵⁵]) ‘immortal; celestial being’, paralleling Arabic *mala'ik* (ملائكة). The Mandarin term originates from traditional Chinese mythology and Taoist cosmology rather than *tiānshǐ* (天使), which is more commonly used in Christian contexts. This represents another case of semantic broadening in Mandarin, from mythical immortals to divine beings, with Tsat subsequently borrowing the term in its later, religiously extended sense.

43) *zo³³zən³³jan³²* ‘testimony of faith (*Shahadah*)’

Borrowed from Mandarin *zuòzhèng yán* (作证言 [tswɔ⁵¹tʂəŋ⁵¹jən³⁵]) ‘words of testimony’, paralleling Arabic *Shahadah* (الشَّهَادَةُ).

44) *ɛien¹¹tin¹¹* ‘predestination (*qadar*)’

Borrowed from Mandarin *qiándìng* (前定 [tɕʰjən³⁵tiŋ⁵¹]) ‘predetermination’, paralleling Arabic *qadar* (قدر) ‘divine decree’. The Mandarin expression originally existed with a secular meaning, referring to ordinary predetermination or prior decision, without any religious connotation. It later underwent semantic broadening to include the notion of divine predestination, from which Tsat borrowed only the extended, religious sense.

45) *tei³³kan⁴²* ‘(to hold) gratitude and thankfulness toward God’

Borrowed from Mandarin *zhīgǎn* (知感 [tʂi⁵⁵kan²¹⁴]) ‘to know gratitude’, the term in Tsat functions both as a verb and a noun. As a verb, it appears in expressions such as *tei³³kan⁴² ʔa²¹lɔt²⁴po¹¹* ‘praise be to God’, serving as the equivalent of Arabic *al-ḥamdu lillāh*. As a noun, it occurs in verb phrases like *ɲau²⁴ tei³³kan⁴²* ‘to perform a good deed to express gratitude to God’. For instance, when a baby is born, parents are expected to share food with neighbours or donate provisions to the mosque, illustrating a culturally integrated expression of religious gratitude. In Mandarin, the original meaning of the term was secular, referring simply to gratitude toward others. It later underwent semantic broadening to encompass religious gratitude, from which Tsat borrowed only the extended, faith-related sense. However, Tsat further innovated by allowing the term to function as both a verb and a noun, whereas in Mandarin it is used solely as a verb.

46) *xai⁴²t^hau¹¹* ‘headscarf for Muslim women’

Borrowed from Mandarin *gàitóu* (盖头 [kai⁵¹tʰou³⁵]) ‘veil, head cover’, the term originally referred to the bridal head covering in traditional Han wedding ceremonies. Its meaning later broadened to include the veil worn by Muslim women. Compared with *kha:n^{ʔ32}/xa:n^{ʔ32} pha¹¹* ‘women’s head towel’, which refers more specifically to the traditional headwear of Tsat women, this term corresponds to the Islamic *hijab*, which has become more widely used in Tsat communities today.

47) *ta³³tein³³* ‘full-body purification’

Directly taken from Mandarin *dàjìng* (大净 [ta⁵¹teɪŋ⁵¹]) ‘major purification’, paralleling Arabic *ghusl*.

The etymological evidence presented above reveals that the Islamic vocabulary of Tsat constitutes a multi-layered lexicon shaped by successive waves of contact. At its foundation lie internally created expressions and early Arabic or Persian loans that preserve Chamic word-formation patterns. These are overlaid by a dense stratum of Mandarin-mediated borrowings, whose phonological form and compound structures reproduce Sinitic models, and finally by a surface layer of fully Mandarin-origin terms that have replaced or coexisted with the earlier ones.

In conclusion, the data demonstrate that Tsat speakers have never been passive recipients of foreign forms: they continually reinterpreted and reorganized Islamic vocabulary through local phonology, morphology, and semantics. The following section will examine how these words function within the modern Tsat linguistic system across the semantic, phonological, and morphosyntactic dimensions, and consider the extent to which their structural patterns reflect Mandarin influence.

2.3 Structural Patterns of Religious Vocabulary in Tsat

With the historical origins and etymological sources of Islamic terminology in modern Tsat have been clarified, this section will examine how these forms are integrated into the language, with particular attention to the influence of Mandarin. Before turning to the analysis, it is necessary to briefly revisit the sociolinguistic background of *Jingtang* education.

- *Sociolinguistic background*

The structural patterns found in Tsat religious vocabulary are closely linked to the sociolinguistic history of the community. As a religion introduced from outside, Islam in China has long been shaped by processes of Sinicization, especially from the Ming and Qing periods onward, and Tsat-speaking Muslims in Hainan were no exception. The *Jingtang* education system in this context played a central role in reconciling the tension between Muslims’ desire to study their faith and the state’s efforts to further naturalize those non-Han Muslims. By using Mandarin and elements of traditional Han culture to interpret Islamic teachings, it provided a way for Muslims to pursue religious learning within a framework acceptable to the central authorities.

The *Jingtang* education tradition combines Arabic recitation with Chinese explanations and produced a Sinicized Islamic register that fused Arabic/Persian vocabulary with Chinese syntax and phonology. It is through this system and through long-standing contact with wider Hui Muslim networks in China that made Tsat-speaking people gained access to more Islamic knowledge. This occurred both when scholars from the mainland visited Tsat communities and when Tsat Muslims

traveled to the mainland to receive *Jingtang* education and later returned home. As a result, Tsat Muslims have long been familiar with forms of Islamic discourse shaped by Chinese linguistic structures since history, even if they themselves sometimes are unconscious of this influence.

This interaction fostered a Sinicized religious domain within Tsat that is stylistically elevated and lexically rich, where native grammar coexists with syntactic and semantic features derived from Mandarin. Such linguistic hybridity reflects the community’s intermediate position between the broader Chinese Muslim world and the global Islamic world. Since the mid-twentieth century, the state promotion of *Putonghua* (Standard Mandarin) as the national language has further intensified this process. With Tsat lacking a written form, Mandarin has become the main medium of literacy and religious instruction, while Tsat continues to dominate household and communal domains. Within this functional division, Tsat maintains its vitality through adaptive mixing.

Building on this background, the analysis below will present three structural patterns shown in Tsat religious vocabulary. The first involves the terms that retain non-Mandarin structures. The second includes those influenced by Mandarin mediation. The third includes vocabulary directly borrowed from Mandarin.

- *Religious vocabulary showing non-Mandarin structures*

This group includes expressions formed entirely from native Tsat morphological and syntactic resources to generate meanings associated with Islamic concepts. Rather than directly borrowing Arabic or Persian terms, Tsat recreates the meanings of Islam-related objects and concepts through internal compounding and semantic extension.

Tables 6-8 compare three words of religion related objects or concepts across several Chamic languages, drawing on the sources listed below. This cross-linguistic comparison further supports the view that early religious vocabulary in Tsat was formed through internal innovation rather than direct borrowing. The term for ‘mosque’ reflects an inherited ‘house’+? structure, attested across three other Chamic languages, all retaining the sense of *Bani* Mosque. Likewise, the expression for ‘month of fasting’ shows the same inherited head–modifier order and is also found in Cham. In the case of ‘towel; scarf’, a shared loan from Vietnamese *khăn* ‘cloth’ is employed to form various compounds referring to different types of headwear, particularly in religious contexts. For instance, *khan njrem* refers to “a headscarf worn by Cham women and by the female religious practitioner *Po Acar (Bani)*” (Sakaya & Shine 2015: 161).

Table 6. Lexical comparison of the term ‘mosque’ in selected Chamic languages/varieties

Tsat	<i>sa:ŋ³³pion³³</i> house.big
Cham (Sakaya and Shine 2015)	<i>sang mâgik</i> house ?

Cham (Moussay 1971)	<i>thang muki</i> house ?
Western Cham (Kvoeu-Hor and Friberg 1978)	<i>sam grik</i> house ?

Table 7. Lexical comparison of the term ‘Ramadan’ in selected Chamic languages/varieties

Tsat	<i>p^hie²¹</i> <i>p^ho²¹</i> month fasting
Cham (Moussay 1971)	<i>pilan</i> <i>aok</i> month fasting

Table 8. Lexical comparison of the term ‘towel; scarf’ in selected Chamic languages/varieties

Tsat	<i>k^h/xa:n³²p^ha¹¹</i> towel.?
Cham (Sakaya and Shine 2015)	<i>khan</i> /khăn/ ‘headscarf; cloth’
Cham (Moussay 1971)	<i>khăn</i>

These native constructions also show how Tsat speakers localized Islamic ideas within their linguistic framework. By employing familiar compounding patterns, religious concepts are embedded into the same grammatical network as ordinary vocabulary.

- *Religious vocabulary mediated by Mandarin*

In Table 5, the boundary between Group B and Group C terms is not always clear-cut. This is because of the long-term and multifaceted influence of Mandarin and other Sinitic varieties, both within and beyond the Islamic domain. Centuries of contact have blurred the boundary between words directly borrowed from Arabic/Persian and those mediated through Mandarin. Furthermore, generations of Tsat speakers have pursued Islamic education both domestically and abroad, bringing back terms shaped by different linguistic and pedagogical traditions. Similarly, many Islamic scholars from various parts of mainland China have either been invited or have come voluntarily to teach in the local mosques, introducing religious expressions in diverse regional accents.

As mentioned in Section 2.1, Modern Tsat and Mandarin share several phonological features, such as the absence of medial consonant clusters, which complicates efforts to distinguish genuine Mandarin mediation from internal adaptation. Nevertheless, the adaptation of syllable structure remains a key indicator: Mandarin-mediated forms typically preserve open syllables (except for nasal codas [n], [ŋ]), as in *ɕio³³mu⁴²* ‘sunset prayer’ (< Mand. [ʂa⁵⁵mu⁵¹] < Pers. /ʃa:m/), and *ha³³zɿ¹¹*

‘an honorific title which is given to a Muslim who has successfully completed the Hajj to Mecca’ (< Mand. [xa⁵⁵tei³⁵] < Ar. /ħa: d̤ʒ:/). They also show reduction of consonant clusters, as in *mu³³si³³lin¹¹* ‘Muslim’ (< Mand. [mu⁵¹si⁵⁵lin³⁵] < Ar. /mus.lim/) and *mai³³t^hi⁴²* ‘body of a deceased Muslim’ (< Mand. [maɿ³⁵t^hi²¹⁴] < Ar. /maj.jit/).

Semantically, these terms generally follow Mandarin usage, undergoing processes such as semantic narrowing. For instance, the usage of *ha¹¹lia⁴²li²¹* ‘halal’ has been restricted to food in everyday contexts, while in Arabic, *halāl* refers to all permissible acts under the Islamic law. Similarly, *mai³³t^hi⁴²* (< Ar. *mayyit* ‘dead body’) in both Mandarin and Tsat refers specifically to the corpse of a Muslim, whereas in Arabic, the word simply means ‘dead body’ without any added meaning.

These forms illustrate the role of Mandarin as a transmission bridge. They structurally conform to Tsat phonotactic constraints while semantically mirror Mandarin, creating a hybrid layer of vocabulary in which Tsat phonology and Sinitic semantics coexist.

- *Religious vocabulary originating from Mandarin*

The third pattern consists of terms taken directly from Mandarin, reflecting the direct influence of Mandarin on the religious life of Tsat speakers. Terms belonging to this pattern correspond to the Sinicized Islamic vocabulary that is already widely used among Hui Muslim communities in Mainland China.

Phonologically, these borrowings show adaptation to Mandarin models, but they are also shaped by local Sinitic varieties. As discussed earlier in “Convergence with Sinitic Patterns” in Section 2.1, one salient feature is the change among [h], [x], and [k^h] in non-inherited words containing /k^h/, which reflects the introduction of the phoneme /x/ through Mandarin contact, while in Hainan Min /x/ is frequently realized as [k^h]. As a result, Tsat speakers have multiple options when pronouncing a given term.

For example, the consonant of the second syllable in *t^hien³³ho~xo~k^ho³³* ‘almsgiving’ (< Mand. [t^hjen⁵⁵k^hɿ⁵¹]) can be realized with different consonants depending on the speakers. Younger speakers or those proficient in Mandarin tend to use [k^h] to reproduce the Mandarin articulation; older speakers with limited Mandarin proficiency often use [x], which shows the case of free variation of /k^h/; while some may pronounce [h], influenced by the [x]~[h] alternation found in many Mandarin varieties. This range of variation exemplifies that Mandarin-origin religious vocabulary in Tsat is shaped both by phonological adaptation and by the community’s generational and dialectal differences.

Semantically, these borrowings often reflect Chinese Islamic reinterpretations that extend ordinary Mandarin expressions into religious contexts. Terms such as *t^ho¹¹p^hin¹¹* ‘kettle for *Wudu*’, *sau¹¹kuai²⁴* ‘pilgrimage to Mecca’, *hau³³ɛi³³* ‘afterlife’, *t^hien³³ɛien³³* ‘angels’, *ɛien¹¹tin¹¹* ‘predestination’, and *ɬɛi³³kan⁴²* ‘(to hold) gratitude (towards Allah)’ are all taken from words with originally secular

meanings in Mandarin. Many of them first appeared in Taoist or Buddhist contexts and were later adopted into Islamic discourse. As noted in Section 2.2, these semantic extensions reflect the Sinicization of Islamic concepts through Chinese cultural and linguistic frameworks.

These forms provide clear linguistic evidence of sustained interaction within the Chinese Muslim population. They show that the localization of Islam through Mandarin has influenced Tsat religious vocabulary and, at the same time, has contributed to an emerging Sino-Islamic identity in which national belonging and religious practice are increasingly intertwined.

In sum, the three structural patterns described above show that Tsat religious vocabulary forms a continuum of contact influence, ranging from indigenous calques, through Mandarin-mediated hybrids, to full Mandarin loans. Through phonological adaptation, semantic innovation, and morphosyntactic integration, modern Tsat has developed a lexicon that is both Islamic and Sinitic. This phenomenon can be seen as a linguistic record of historical transmission, cultural negotiation, and ongoing adaptation under changing sociolinguistic conditions.

3. Sociolinguistic Interpretation

3.1 Religion as a Domain of Linguistic Vitality

The degree of exclusivity inherent in religion provides a haven for religious communities, allowing them to resist strong external linguistic and cultural influences. This is especially true of Islam, which requires all believers to recite the Quran in Arabic, which is considered “the language of Allah”, thus creating a natural multilingual environment in religious practice. For Tsat people, Islam is not only a faith, but also an unchangeable religious identity. It is precisely because of this identity that they can distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups in Hainan, slowing down the impact of external languages on their mother tongue, the Tsat language.

Even as the local tourism economy develops and traditional community boundaries are gradually broken down, coupled with the profound influence of national language and religious policies, Islam continues to provide Tsat people with public spaces that transcend family, age, and even gender to some extent, enabling them to use Tsat and maintain the spiritual life of the entire community. This section will use ethnographic materials collected during fieldwork to specifically illustrate how Islam, in the religious practices of the Tsat people, both safeguards their linguistic and cultural boundaries and plays a role in connecting them to the outside world.

The *Khutbah* ‘speech’ on every Friday at the South Mosque in the Huixin Community is a typical example of this function. According to local residents, the situation at mosques in Huihui and Huixin communities is basically similar, and not unique to the South Mosque. The following is a description of the language used during a Friday *Khutbah* address at the South Mosque:

First, the Imam began by loudly reciting verses from the Quran in Arabic. During this process, Arabic not only symbolizes the connection between the Tsat community and the global Muslim community, but also highlights the sanctity of Islam, even though most ordinary believers in the community cannot accurately understand the meaning of the original Arabic text. In what followed, apart from the Quranic verses and specific vocabulary, like those mentioned in Chapter 2, which were still in Arabic or Persian, the main content was presented in a mix of Tsat and Mandarin. For these two languages, Mandarin is often used to express concepts related to national policies and core values, while Tsat has become the main language for interpreting scriptures and telling stories of prophets and sages. These contents are often closely integrated with the daily lives of the local community. For example, considering that many Tsat people and other migrant Muslims are engaged in commercial activities, the Imam frequently emphasizes business integrity and warns against fraud during his speeches.

In this context, Mandarin also serves to express complex religious concepts. The Mandarin expressions of these concepts, compared with their original Arabic or Persian forms, are used more frequently in the *Jingtang* Education, therefore are easier for the Chinese Muslim community to understand. This use of Mandarin not only reflects the linguistic inclusivity of the local mosques but also demonstrates its desire to connect with a wider Chinese Muslim community. Even though

different ethnic groups face communication barriers due to their different mother tongues, Mandarin Chinese, as the nationwide prestige language, can still serve as a bridge. It is especially evident during peak tourist season during winter in Sanya, as many Muslim tourists flock in from mainland China, Huihui and Huixin communities will become important destinations for them, and the local mosques will transform from religious spaces primarily for Tsat people into public religious spaces open to all Muslims from everywhere. During this period, the Friday *Khutbah* will be conducted completely in Mandarin. This case demonstrates the dual function of Islam within the Tsat community. Internally, it consolidates group identity through Tsat, and externally, it connects with broader Muslim communities in other regions in China through Mandarin.

The religious vitality carried by Tsat is also reflected in life rituals such as weddings, funerals, and newborn naming ceremonies. The passing down of these rituals from generation to generation not only reinforced the continuity of group identity but also provided institutional guarantees for the continuity of Tsat language. In these occasions, the Akhunds, as an indispensable religious authority, not only recite scriptures in Arabic and fulfilled religious duties but also reinforce the group's identity through Tsat.

Taking weddings as an example, the Tsat-speaking people, like Muslims in mainland China, regard reciting *Nikah* during engagement as the most crucial part of marriage. The recitation of *Nikah* requires each side to invite an Akhund as a witness to lead relatives and friends in reciting specific chapters of the Quran in Arabic, thus establishing the religious legitimacy of the marriage.

In conclusion, Islam provides both the intrinsic motivation for the continuation of the Tsat language and creates a vibrant application scenario for it. Whether during the Friday *Khutbahs* or in the practice of life rituals, Tsat has always played an irreplaceable role in communication and symbolism. These religious practices not only maintain the dual function of Tsat as the spiritual and social language of the community, but also integrate religious knowledge into the transmission of the mother tongue through rituals passed down from generation to generation, ensuring that the new generation can understand and inherit Islamic faith through the language of their ancestors, and continuously demonstrating the vibrant vitality of this language in the realm of faith.

3.2 The Sinitic Pathway to Islam

With all the historical background and the contemporary observation discussed above, we can conclude that the linguistic life of the Tsat-speaking community exhibits a core characteristic: while Islam serves as one of the core domains in which Tsat is preserved and practically used, the transmission of Islamic knowledge increasingly relies on Mandarin. Thus, the system that protects the language also functions as a conduit for Mandarin, thereby constituting the “Sinitic pathway”. This section first outlines the role of Mandarin in everyday religious life as part of the linguistic pathway to Islam and then moves to the material and visual evidence gathered from the field and

literature to further support the “Sinitic pathway” in a broader sense for the Tsat language and its speakers.

- *The Linguistic Pathway*

As mentioned before, historically, Tsat Muslims frequently seek doctrinal knowledge from Hui Muslims in Mainland China. The *Jingtang* educational system among these people was already well-established, therefore, mastering *Jingtang*, a hybrid language register blending Arabic and Persian vocabulary within a Chinese grammatical framework, was both an honor and a practical skill to acquire for all Muslims living in China. In this context, Tsat Muslims have absorbed theological concepts while also learned Mandarin phonological patterns and vocabulary.

In contemporary times, advancements in national education and digital technology have vastly expanded this pathway for learning Mandarin Chinese. The Mandarin-proficient younger generation nowadays primarily accesses Islamic knowledge through Mandarin materials. One interviewee demonstrated a mobile Quran application displaying both Chinese translations of Quran and significant terminology, such as the five daily prayers (晨礼 ‘*Fajr*’ and 晌礼 ‘*Zuhr*’) within the app. While these tools make knowledge more accessible, they also reinforce Mandarin’s status as the default language for religious study, quietly eroding the linguistic authority of Tsat.

The linguistic pathway to Islam demonstrates that Mandarin not only functions as the language of secular power, but also as an internalized medium of faith, playing a dual role in shaping the religious understanding and linguistic practices of Tsat Muslims.

- *The Material and Visual Pathway*

The Sinitic pathway is also reflected in the material and visual aspects of religious life, reflecting broader national policies and cultural trends. These dimensions are usually shaped by state-led policies, and they further illustrate how Chinese forms have been incorporated into the Islamic environment of the community. The evolution of the architectural style of the local mosques is a particularly striking example.

Before the Cultural Revolution, mosques in Tsat communities followed traditional Chinese courtyard designs (Stübel & Meriggi 1937; Jiang & Dong 1992) (Figure 3). Later reconstructions, often supported by donors from different regions and abroad, introduced Arab-style domes while retaining some Chinese stylistic features (Figures 4 and 5).

Figure 3. Mosques in Tsat communities before *Cultural Revolution* (p.c)



Figure 4. The Ancient Mosque in Huihui after reconstruction in 1987 (taken in 2000, Ma 2003: 321) and after reconstruction (2010) in Huihui (taken in 2016, CRI.cn)



Figure 5. The prayer hall (left) and the traditional Chinese pavilion (right) in Northwest Mosque in Huihui (Wang 2008)



Since the implementation of the new *Regulations on Religious Affairs* in 2019, the state policy of Sinicizing religion has intensified. In the same year, the Office of the CCP Tianya District Committee and the Office of the People's Government of Tianya District in Sanya City issued the *Work Plan on Strengthening the Comprehensive Governance of Huixin and Huihui Communities*, which explicitly called for the “de-Arabization” of local mosques. This directive led to the

demolition of all Arab-style domes and the reinstatement of architectural elements associated with traditional Han Chinese aesthetics, such as courtyards and pavilions. These changes form part of a broader, nation-wide campaign to remodel Islamic architecture in accordance with Chinese cultural styles (see also Hawkins & Morresi 2024 for similar cases).

Parallel linguistic and visual transformations appear across the community landscape. Arabic inscriptions on restaurants and homes have been replaced by Chinese characters, and even “*Halal*” signs now employ 清真 or local branding such as “SY 三亚” (Figures 6 and 7).

Figure 6. *Fadini’s* (Ar: فادين [ʿfaːtin]) Kitchen – a restaurant in Huixin



Figure 7. Hui Daily Goods Shop – a store selling clothes, perfume, and carpets in Huixin



Building names often use Mandarin transliterations or Islamic allusions. For example, 渗泉公寓 (“*Trickling Spring* Apartment,” echoing *Zamzam*) and 乐哈曼楼 (“*Rahman* Building,” from Arabic *Raḥmān* ‘merciful’). In the social sphere, wedding announcements displayed at mosques now feature red stickers bearing the traditional Han character 囍 (“double happiness”) placed over the original Arabic text (Figure 8).

Figure 8. The wedding announcement board at the South Mosque in Huixin



Regarding religious attire, men rarely wear white prayer caps outside of prayer times, while women continue to wear headscarves, but the popular styles have gradually shifted from those resembling Southeast Asian styles to those more similar to those worn by Muslim women in mainland China. These changes reflect both a deep cultural integration and the combined effects of recent policies promoting the Sinicization of religion and increasingly close exchanges among Muslim communities within China.

In conclusion, the current religious situation of Tsat people as presented above demonstrates that the mediating role of the Chinese language and culture has exceeded the lexical realm, permeating into the material carriers and symbolic representations of the Tsat people's religious life. Since migrating to Hainan, Tsat Muslims have consistently engaged with and expressed their faith through Sinitic channels, whether actively or passively, a trajectory that continues till now. From religious concepts to public spaces, the ubiquity of Sinitic languages witnesses an ongoing process of cultural translation, which constantly reshapes the language and identity of this small yet resilient ethnic group.

With all these external changes, new ways of defining the identity of "Tsat Muslims" have been put forward in the contemporary Chinese context. The following section will shift from external media to internal interpretation, exploring how Tsat speakers actively construct their own identity through this multi-layered and multilingual faith practice.

3.3 A Layered Linguistic Ecology: Negotiating Identity in a Mandarin-Mediated Faith

In the religious practices of the Tsat-speaking people, Islam serves as both a shield and a bridge, and this coexistence reflects an active negotiation process for their identity recognition. These people deal with their sense of belonging across different levels, including ethnic, religious, and national identity, within the religious context. This hybridity of identities reflects how the community adapts to its status as a marginalized Muslim minority in contemporary China.

The Tsat layer represents the Cham heritage of this community. The continued use of Tsat in various settings has affirmed their ethnic distinctiveness and historical continuity. Besides, most community members themselves express pride in this lineage, referring to their ancestors as “people who came by sea”. Maintaining contact with relatives in Malaysia¹³ further reinforces the sense of belonging to a wider Cham world that extends beyond Hainan. In this way, the use of Tsat is more than practical communication, it is also a symbolic act of remembering and affirming who they are.

The Arabic/Persian layer connects the community to the global Muslim *Ummah*. Although most Tsat speakers do not fully understand Arabic, the use of Arabic-origin terms in prayers and rituals still carries a strong spiritual sense of religious belonging. Words such as *ni¹¹xa³³* ‘*Nikah*’ and *zə¹¹k^hə³³t^hə⁴²* ‘*Zakāt*’ without prominent Mandarin influence link Tsat Muslims directly to believers worldwide and remind them that they are part of a broader religious community that transcends geography and language.

The Mandarin(-mediated) layer represents the bridge connecting Tsat to the wider Chinese Muslim sphere. Religious education, mosque administration, and written announcements all heavily depend on Mandarin. For younger generations, who acquire Islamic knowledge through Mandarin-based religious education or digital resources, Mandarin has become the language through which faith is learned and discussed. Thus, Sinitic influence is not simply imposed from outside. It also reflects the internal needs of Tsat Muslims, since Mandarin gives them access to religious resources and wider Muslim networks in China.

In conclusion, these linguistic layers form an ecological dynamic in which each part has its own functions and meaning. The Chamic base exhibits its historical and cultural roots. The Arabic/Persian layer adds non-inherited concepts and link the community to the wider Islamic world. Mandarin, as a mediator, brings new vitality to modern Tsat, although this process has also made the language increasingly Mandarinized. The coexistence of these three layers shows how the community manages both continuity and change.

Distinguished from other Chamic languages, where Islamic terminology in Vietnam and Cambodia, was mainly borrow from Arabic or Malay, and later supplemented by Vietnamese and Khmer forms,

¹³ Malaysia has historically been the primary destination for Cham and Tsat people seeking refuge during different times, as Malaysian government is willing to accept these people who share the “historical connections, co-religious values, and linguistic and cultural similarities” (Nakamura 2019: 301).

Tsat absorbed much of Islamic concepts through a Sinitic pathway (Thurgood 1999; Thurgood 2010). As a result, it has developed a unique linguistic profile in which Mandarin(-mediated) borrowings coexist with inherited Chamic structures. Tsat therefore represents a distinctive case of contact-induced change shaped by China's sociopolitical and religious environment.

Understanding modern Tsat through this layered ecology helps explain its situation. Instead of replacing older elements, new linguistic influences have been absorbed and reorganized to meet changing needs for communication. The community's religious practice, alternating between Tsat, Mandarin, and Arabic/Persian religious terms, reflects an ongoing effort to maintain what is internally meaningful to the community while also participating in wider Muslim and national life. In this sense, the development of modern Tsat continues to balance continuity with adaptation, which allows the community to sustain its identity within a shared faith.

4. Conclusion

This study examines the interaction between Modern Tsat and Islam, and the mediation role of Mandarin between them, showing how the religious domain has contributed to language change. The findings suggest that Islam not only provides a cultural foundation for maintaining Tsat but also offers an important channel through which Chinese language and culture influence it. Through this “Sinitic pathway”, Mandarin functions both as a means of religious communication and as a medium for cultural meanings, shaping the structure and expression of Modern Tsat. As a result, the language has developed into a layered system combining a Chamic base with Mandarin elements and additions of Islamic knowledge.

Drawing on key historical contexts, the structural features of Tsat and the specific patterns in which Mandarin has influenced the language have been concluded. The analysis of Islamic vocabulary reveals a diachronic layering where earlier items retain Tsat word-formation patterns and later items display Mandarin mediation. Arabic and Persian loanwords are likely to have entered Tsat through a Sinitic pathway, though with uncertainty. Taking together, this vocabulary system reflects a history of language contact driven largely by religious communication. The integration of Mandarin into Tsat was propelled not only by the broader social environment but also by the spread of religious language through the *Jingtang* register.

Field observations further further show that Tsat speakers maintain a multilingual repertoire with complementary functions. Tsat carries emotional ties and ethnic identity, Mandarin provides access to religious learning and external communication, and Arabic/Persian maintains the sanctity of ritual practice. This configuration illustrates the dual role of Islam in the Tsat community, functioning both as a shield preserving local identity and a bridge linking the community to the broader Chinese and global Muslim worlds. The mediating role of Mandarin also extends to visual and material expressions of faith, including mosque architecture, religious inscriptions, and community landscapes.

Due to time constraints, I did not have the opportunity to gather first-hand linguistic data from religious settings onsite. Such data would enable more comprehensive comparisons with the syntactic features of the *Jingtang* register. In addition, many Tsat people have been travelling within China and abroad to pursue Islamic studies. Meanwhile, the community’s geographic position attracts Muslims from various ethnic backgrounds seeking work there. This dynamic contact environment also suggests the possibility of further linguistic change in the future.

In conclusion, by demonstrating how Islamic practice channels Mandarin influence into Tsat, this study shows that the Sinitic Pathway is a key mechanism driving contact-induced change in modern Tsat, offering broader implications for the study of minority religious communities in China.

Appendix. Narrative: One normal day as a Muslim

(recorded on 13 August 2015, narrator: Jiang)

kau³³ ei¹¹ ta¹¹-se³³ mu³³sɿ³³lin¹¹, ein³³jan¹¹ ji³³sɿ³³lan¹¹ kiau³³
 I be one-CLF Muslim believe.in Islam religion
 te³³ za:n²¹¹
 NOM person

我是一名穆斯林，信仰伊斯兰教的人。

‘I am a Muslim, who believes in Islam’

kau³³ mei¹¹ t^hian³³ sa³³, mei¹¹ zai³³ sa³³ sen³³uat³²,
 I SG every day NOM, every day NOM life
 ki³³pen¹¹fɛ:n³³ wei³³jau¹¹ ma³³po⁵⁵ tei³³ha¹¹ za:i²³²
 basically be.centered.around five-CLFprayers come
wo³³ton⁴²
 do.activities

我每天的生活，基本上围绕五个时辰来活动。

‘My daily life is basically centered around five prayers’

mei³² ta¹¹ zai³³, ji:n⁴² ua⁴² ei³³(h)au¹¹, ma³³ tin¹¹dziong³³
 every one day, sleep up moment, five o'clock
 sa³³ ei³³au¹¹,
 的 moment,

每一天，睡-起来-的时候， 五点钟的时候，

‘Every day, when I get up, which is around five o’clock,’

san³³ a¹¹xoŋ³³nien³² pan³³xə³³,
 three Akhund read adhan

三阿訇念邦克，

‘Third Akhund recites the adhan,’

ei⁴²ti¹¹ u¹¹ ua⁴², tu²⁴ t^ho¹¹p^hin¹¹ ʔui³³ ʔia³³,
 CONJ up up?, take bottle use water

就起来，拿汤瓶做小净，

‘get up and use the Bottle to perform the Wudu (partial ablution),’

ʔui ³³	ʔia ³³	p ^{hi} ³³	tei ³³ ku ³³ ,	ɕio ⁴² ti ¹¹	p ^h u ³³	kua ⁵⁵ ,
use	water	CMPL	afterwards	CONJ	wear	hat
p ^h u ³³	au ¹¹	ta ³³ ,	za:iʔ ²⁴	sə ³³ pio ³³ ,		
wear	clothes	long,	go	mosque		

小净完之后，就戴帽子，穿长袍（衣服），就去清真寺，

‘After performing the Wudu, I put on the prayer hat and the robe, and go to the mosque,’

ken ³³ sui ¹¹	i ¹¹ ma ²⁴ mu ⁴²	ŋau ²⁴	pan ¹¹ to ³³ ,
follow	imam	do	dawn.prayer

跟随伊玛目做晨礼，

‘I follow the imam to do the dawn prayer,’

ma ³³	tə ³³	sai ³³ pio ³³	p ^{hi} ⁵⁵	tei ³³ ku ³³ ,	ŋau ³³	ʔua ¹¹	vat ⁴² ,
enter	to	mosque	CMPL	afterwards,	do	two	prayer
zu ³³ xə ³³	sə ³³ pio ³³	sa ³³	pai ³³ kon ³³				

congratulate mosque 的 prayer

进到清真寺之后，做两次礼拜，祝贺清真寺的拜功

‘After entering the mosque, do two times of prayers, which are the prayers for congratulating the mosque,’

sə ³³ ti ¹¹	ten ³³ tai ³³	i ¹¹ ma ²⁴ mu ⁴²	sa ³³	za:iʔ ³²
CONJ	wait.for	imam	NOM	come

然后等待伊玛目的到来

‘Then wait for the coming of the imam’

i ¹¹ ma ²⁴ mu ⁴²	za:iʔ ³²	tei ³³ ku ³³ ,	ɕio ³³ ti ¹¹	san ³³	a ¹¹ hong ³³
imam	come	afterwards	CONJ	three	akhund
nien ³²	ik ¹¹ a: ⁴² ma ¹¹				
read	inner.adhan				

伊玛目来之后，三阿訇就念成拜词

‘When the imam comes, Third Akhund recites the inner-adhan’

ta³³kia³³ p^hi⁵⁵ ta²¹xau⁴² san⁴² pai¹¹, ŋau³³ vat⁴²,
everybody CMPL together three bow do prayer

大家等会儿一起做三拜，

‘Everybody together take three bows’

ŋau³³ ʔua¹¹ vat⁴² p^hə²⁴rə¹¹zo³³ tei³³ku³³,
do two prayer obligatory.Prayer afterwards

做两次主命拜(from Arabic فرض)之后，

‘after two times of the fard (obligatory) Prayer,’

i¹¹ma²⁴mu⁴² eio³³ti¹¹ sa³³ ta³³kia³³ (b)o¹¹mi³³,
imam CONJ lead everybody invoke

zau⁴² **dian¹¹**,
count finger

伊玛目就带大家祈祷，数手指，

‘the imam lead everybody to do the prayer and count fingers (*Tasbih*)’

kie³³sok³³ pan¹¹to³³ sa³³ pai³³kon³³, zai³³ san³³ p^hi⁵⁵ tei³³ku³³,
finish dawn.prayer NOM prayer go home CMPL afterwards

结束晨礼的拜功，回家了之后，

‘After finishing the dawn prayer and coming back home,’

jo²⁴cit ta¹¹-ʔan²¹
rest one-CLF

休息一下，

‘I take a rest’

jan³³hau³³, zun³³la³³ kai¹¹ eia⁴², ŋau³³ san³³pu³³,
then, down-? side sea, do walk,

tuan³³lian³³ sen³³ti¹¹
exercise body

然后，下去海边，散步，锻炼身体，

‘then, go down to the seaside, take a walk and do some exercise’

tei²⁴tən³³ ʔua³³pan²⁴ tien¹¹zon³³ ei ei⁴²au¹¹,
until nine o'clock NOM moment,

zai³³ san³³, ʔan³³ ta¹¹san³³
go home eat breakfast

直到九点钟的时候，就回家吃早餐

Until nine o'clock, I go back home and have breakfast'

ʔan³³ wan¹¹ ta¹¹san³³ p^{hi}⁵⁵ tei³³ku²⁴ ə,
eat over breakfast CMPL afterwards SFP?

吃完早餐后，

'after finishing the breakfast,'

p^{hi}⁵⁵ ei³³ti¹¹ u²⁴(tan²⁴) kong³³ti⁴², jan^ʔ¹¹,
CMPL CONJ arrive construction.site, INJ
kong³³jin¹¹ ɲau²⁴ ʔo⁴², jan^ʔ¹¹, ɲau²⁴ teian³³tu³³ nau²⁴ sa³³ ho⁴²,
worker do ?, INJ, do supervise 3P NOM work

就到工地，看工人，监督他们干活，？

'I will go to the construction site to see the workers, supervising their work'

p^{hi}⁵⁵ ei³³ti¹¹ zai³³ san³³, jo³³ei³³, p^{hi}ai³³ ku²¹lan²⁴kin³³,
CMPL CONJ go home, rest, read Quran

ku³³rə¹¹an⁴²ni¹¹,

Quran

之后就回家，休息，读古兰经，

'Then I go back home and take a rest, and read the Quran'

p^{hi}³³ tei²⁴tən³³ piu³³ʔua¹¹ tin¹¹ kia³³ e³³ ei³³au¹¹, ei³³ti¹¹
CMPL until twelve hour half NOM? moment, CONJ
wa²⁴ p^{hi}u¹¹, zong³³wu¹¹ fan⁴²,
eat meal midday meal

然后直到十二点半的时候，就吃午饭，

'Then till twelve thirty, I have my lunch'

wa²⁴ phu¹¹ phi³³ tei³³ku³³ eio³³ti¹¹ jo²⁴ei³³ ta³³tuan³³
eat meal CMPL afterwards CONJ rest one-CLF
ei³³kien³³,

time

吃完午饭之后，就休息一段时间，

‘After lunch, I have a rest for a while’

p^{hi}³³ eio³³ti¹¹, san³³ a¹¹hong³³ (lai[?]¹¹) nien³²
CMPL conj, three akhund ? read
pan³³xə³³ lai[?]¹¹,
adhan again?

之后就，三阿訇又念邦克，

‘then, Third Akhund recites the adhan again’

ta³³ tin¹¹ dzi³³ong³³ e³³ ei³³au¹¹, nien³² **pan³³hə³³**,
one hour clock NOM moment, read the adhan

一点钟的时候，念邦克，

‘it’s one o’clock, he recites the adhan’

nien³² **pan³³hə³³** p^{hi}⁵⁵ tei³³ku²⁴ ə,
read adhan CMPL afterwards INTJ

念邦克完之后，

‘when he finishes reciting the adhan,’

p^{hi}⁵⁵ eio³³ti¹¹, tu³³ t^ho¹¹p^{hi}n¹¹, ʔui³³ ʔia³³,
CMPL CONJ take water.bottle, use water,

就拿着汤瓶，做小净，

‘I will take the water bottle to perform the Wudu,’

ʔui³³-wan¹¹ ei³³au³³tein³³ p^{hi}⁵⁵ tei³³ku³³, p^{hu}³³ au¹¹ta³³, zua¹¹
use-CMPL Wudu CMPL afterwards, wear clothes.long, wear
kua⁵⁵ti⁵⁵, eio³³ti¹¹ za:i[?]²⁴ sə³³pio³³,
hat.white, conj come mosque

做完小净了之后，穿长袍，戴白帽，就去清真寺，

‘After finishing performing the Wudu, I dress up the long robe, put on the (white) hat, and come to the mosque,’

<u>ken</u> ³³ <u>sui</u> ¹¹	i ¹¹ ma ²⁴ mu ⁴²	ŋau ²⁴	vat ⁴²
follow	imam	do	prayer

跟随伊玛目做礼拜

‘follow the Imam doing prayers’

<u>sau</u> ¹¹ <u>eian</u> ³³ ,	ma ³³ den ³³	sə ³³ pio ³³	e ³³	<u>ei</u> ³³ <u>au</u> ¹¹ ,	ŋau ²⁴	ʔua ¹¹
first	enter	mosque	NOM	moment	do	two
vat ⁴² ,	<u>kon</u> ³³ <u>hə</u> ³³	sə ³³ pio ³³	sa ³³	vat ⁴² ,		
prayer	congratulate	mosque	NOM	prayer		

首先, 进入清真寺的时候, 做两拜恭贺清真寺的礼拜,

‘First, after entering the mosque, perform two rakats of greeting the mosque’

ŋau ²⁴	ʔua ¹¹	vat ⁴²	p ^h i ⁵⁵	tei ³³ ku ³³ ,	p ^h i ⁵⁵	leʔ ¹¹
do	two	prayer	CMPL	afterwards,	CMPL	again?
ŋau ³³	pa ²⁴	sun ³³ na ¹¹ thi ³³	leʔ,			
do	four	Sunnah.Prayer	again?			

做两拜后, 又做四拜圣行拜,

‘After performing two rakats, perform another 4 times of Sunnah prayers’

pa ³³	vat ²⁴	sun ³³ na ¹¹ thi ³³	tei ³³ ku ³³ ,	p ^h i ⁵⁵	t ^h o ³³
four	prayer	Sunnah.Prayer	afterwards,	CMPL	sit
ta ¹¹ ba:ŋ ^{ʔ33} ,	p ^h ai ³³	<u>ku</u> ²¹ <u>lan</u> ²⁴ <u>kin</u> ³³ ,			
one-CLF	read	Quran			

四拜圣行拜之后, 然后, 坐一会儿念古兰经,

‘After four times of Sunnah prayers, sit for a while and recite (some verses of) Quran,’

<u>ten</u> ²¹ <u>tai</u> ⁴²	<u>san</u> ³³	a ¹¹ hong ³³	<u>nien</u> ³²	ik ¹¹ a: ⁴² ma ¹¹
wait	three	akhund	read	inner.adhan

等待三阿訇念成拜词

‘waiting Third Akhund to recite the inner adhan’

ta ³³	tin ¹¹	kia ³³	<u>dziong</u> ³³	e ¹¹	<u>ei</u> ³³ au ¹¹ ,
one	hour	half	clock	NOM	moment
<u>san</u> ³³	a ¹¹ hong ³³	ɛio ⁴² ti ¹¹	<u>nien</u> ³²	ik ¹¹ a: ⁴² ma ¹¹	
three	akhund	CONJ	read	inner.adhan	

一点半钟的时候，三阿訇就念成拜词，

‘When it’s one thirty (in the afternoon), Third Akhund recites the inner adhan,’

ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	<u>ken</u> ³³ zo	i11ma24mu42 , <u>li</u> ²¹	pa ²⁴	pai ³³
CONJ	follow	imam,	perform four	bow
phə24rə11zo42 ,				

fard.Prayer

就跟着伊玛目，礼四拜主命拜，

‘so I follow the imam, perform four times of the fard prayer’

pa ²⁴	pai ³³	p^hə²⁴rə¹¹zo⁴²	<u>wan</u> ¹¹ san ¹¹	p ^h i ⁵⁵	<u>tei</u> ³³ ku ³³ ,
four	bow	fard.Prayer	complete	CMPL	afterwards,
ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	zau ⁴²	dian ¹¹ ,	ʂo ¹¹ mi ³³ ,		
CONJ	count	finger,	pray		

四拜主命拜完成之后，就数手指，祈祷，

‘after completing the four times of *fard* prayer, count fingers (*Tasbih*) and pray,’

ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	tsun ³³	<u>pai</u> ³² ,	ŋo ³³	i¹¹ma²⁴mu⁴²	<u>tau</u> ³³	sə¹¹le²⁴mu⁴² ,
CONJ	down	prayer,	to	imam	say	salam

就下拜，和伊玛目道色兰，

‘then go down from the mosque (i.e. finish the prayer), say *salam* (short for *as-salam alaykum*) to the imam,’

p ^h i ⁵⁵	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	zai ^ʔ ³³	san ³³ ,	jo ³³ ɛit ³² ,
CMPL	CONJ	come	home,	rest,

之后就回家，休息，

‘then go back home and have a rest,’

zai ^ʔ ³³	san ³³	p ^h i ⁴² ,	jo ³³ ɛit ³²	p ^h i ⁴²	tei ³³ ku ³³ ,
come	home	CMPL,	rest	COMPL	afterwards,

<u>tei²⁴tən³³</u>	pa: ²⁴	<u>tin¹¹</u>	kiə ³³	piu ⁵⁵	p ^h an
until	four	hour	three	ten	half
sa ³³	<u>ei³³au¹¹</u> ,				
NOM	moment				

回家后，休息完之后，直到四点三十分的时候，

‘after coming back home, after having a rest, till four thirty,’

<u>san³³</u>	a11hong ³³	lai11	<u>nien11</u>	pan³³xə³³ ,	phi ⁵⁵	<u>tei³³ku³³</u> ,
three	CONJ	again	read	adhan	COMPL	afterwards,

三阿訇又念邦克，之后，

‘Third Akhund again recites the outer adhan, afterwards,’

kau ³³	əio ³³ ti11	tu ²⁴	<u>tho³³phin11</u> ,	ten ³³	ni ³³	lai11	ʔui ³³	ʔia ³³
I	conj	take	kettle	arrive	here	again	use	water

lai11, əiau³³dzin³³
again, *Wudu*

我就拿着汤瓶，到-这里-又做小净，

‘I take the water kettle to here to perform the Wudu again,’

p ^h u ⁵⁵	kua ⁵⁵ ,	p ^h u ⁵⁵	ʔau ¹¹ ta ³³ ,	əio ³³ ti ¹¹	u ²⁴	sə ⁰ pio ³³ ,
wear	hat	wear	clothes.long	CONJ	up	mosque

戴帽子，穿长袍，就上清真寺，

‘put on the hat, dress up with the long robe, and then go to the mosque,’

ŋau ³³	ti³³kə³³ʔə⁴² ,	əio ³³ ti ¹¹	<u>p^hu³³li¹¹</u> ,
do	Afternoon.prayer	CONJ	afternoon.prayer

做底格勒拜，就是晡礼，

‘perform *Tikar*, which is the Afternoon prayer’

ŋau ³³	ti³³kə³³ʔə⁴²	sa ³³	<u>ei³³au³²</u> ,	<u>sau²¹əian³³</u> ,	u ²⁴	<u>tə²¹</u>	<u>ta³³tian³³</u>
do	Tikar	NOM	moment,	first,	up	to	big.hall
sa ³³	<u>ei³³au³²</u> ,	<u>thon³³</u>	zanʔ ³³	lə ²⁴	lin ¹¹	ŋau ²⁴	ʔua ¹¹
NOM	moment,	along.with	person	?	?	do	two
vat ¹¹ ,	<u>zu⁴²xə¹¹</u>	sə ³³ pio ³³	sa ³³	<u>pai¹¹</u> ,			

prayer, congratulate mosque NOM prayer

做底格勒拜的时候，首先，上到大殿的时候，同别人做两拜祝贺清真寺的拜，

‘when performing the Afternoon prayer, first, when you go up to the prayer hall, perform two rakats of greeting the mosque with other people’

p^{hi}55 tan33tai33 pa24 tin21 ma33 piu42 ma33 p^hen33dziong33 sa33 ei33au32,
CMPL wait.for four hour five ten five minute NOM moment

然后等待四点五十五分钟的时候，

‘then wait until four fifty’

a33 a11xong33 ei33ti11 nien33 ik11a:42ma11,
two Akhund CONJ read inner.adhan

二阿訇就念成拜词，

‘Second Akhund recites the inner adhan,’

ei33ti11 ken33 i11ma24mu42, ei33ti11 ηau33 pa24 vat42 p^hə24rə11zo42,
CONJ follow imam, CONJ do four prayer fard.Prayer

就跟伊玛目，就做四次主命拜，

‘(I) follow the imam to do four times of the *fard* Prayer,’

ni33 sa33 pa33 vat42 p^hə24rə11zo42, ei33ti11 jin33 ηau33
this NOM four prayer fard.Prayer, CONJ should call
ti33kə33rə42 sa33 p^hə24rə11zo33,
Tikar NOM fard.Prayer

这四拜主命拜，叫做底格勒的主命拜，

‘these four times of the *fard* Prayer should be called as the *fard* Prayer of *Tikar*,’

ηau33 van11 p^hə24rə11zo33 p^{hi}55 tɛi33ku24, ei33ti11
do COMPL fard.Prayer COMPL afterwards CONJ
zau42 dīan11, ηo42 i11ma24mu42 6o11mi33,
count finger with imam pray

做完主命拜之后，就数手指，和伊玛目祈祷，

‘after performing the *fard* Prayer, count fingers (*Tasbih*) and pray with the imam,’

p ^{hi} 55	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	p ^{hi} ia ³³	<u>pai</u> ²¹	zaiʔ ³³	san ³³ ,
COMPL	CONJ	down	prayer	go	home

然后就下拜回家,

‘then finish the prayer and go home,’

zaiʔ ³³	san ³³	p ^{hi} 55	tei ³³ ku ²⁴	lan ²¹ ,	jo ³³ ɛi ³³ ,	kiə ³³ kiə ³³
go	home	COMPL	afterwards	again,	rest,	oneself
p ^{hai} 33	ku²¹lan²⁴kin³³	lan ²¹ ,				
read	Quran	again				

回家之后, 又休息, 自己又读古兰经,

‘after coming back home, take a rest again, and read *Quran* by myself again’

<u>dzi</u> ²⁴ ten ³³	<u>hun</u> ³³ li ⁴²	ti	<u>ɛi</u> ³³ kian ³³ ,
until	sunset.prayer	NOM	moment

直到昏礼的时候,

‘until the time for the sunset prayer,’

<u>hun</u> ³³ li ²¹	sa ³³	<u>ɛi</u> ³³ kian ³³ ,	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	na:n ²⁴	<u>tin</u> ¹¹	piu ⁵⁵
sunset.prayer	NOM	time,	CONJ	six	hour	ten
ʔua ¹¹	<u>fan</u> ³³ ,	<u>xai</u> ³³ ɛi ¹¹	pan ³³ hə ³³			
two	minute,	start	adhan			

昏礼的时间, 六点十二分, 开始邦克,

‘time for the sunset prayer is six twelve, when the adhan starts,’

pan ³³ hə ³³	p ^{hi} 55	<u>ɛi</u> ³³ ku ³³ ,	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	ʔui ³³	ʔia ³³ ,	p ^{hu} 55
adhan	COMPL	afterwards	CONJ	use	water	wear
ʔau ¹¹	ta ³³ ,	p ^{hu} 55	kua ⁵⁵	ti ⁵⁵ ,	ŋu ²⁴	sə ⁰ pio ³³ naʔ ²¹
clothes	big	wear	hat	white	up	mosque go

邦克了之后, 就做小净, 穿长袍, 戴白帽, 上清真寺去,

‘when the adhan is finished, perform *Wudu*, put on the robe and the white hat, and go to the mosque,’

<u>ken</u> ³³ sui ¹¹	i ¹¹ ma ²⁴ mu ⁴²	ŋau ²⁴	p ^{hə} 24rə ²¹ zo ⁴²	kiə ³³	vat ⁴² ,
follow	imam	do	fard.Prayer	two	prayer

跟随伊玛目做主命拜两拜,

‘(I) follow the imam to perform two times of the *fard* prayer,’

kiə ³³	vat ⁴²	p ^{hi} ⁵⁵	ei ³³ ku ³³ ,	ŋau ³³	sun ³³ na ²¹ t ^{hi} ³³ ,
two	prayer	COMPL	afterwards	do	Sunna.prayers
ta ¹¹ xau ³³	ma ³³	vat ⁴² .			
together	five	prayer			

两拜之后，做圣行拜，总共五拜，

‘after two times, perform the Sunna prayers, which in total requires five times.’

p ^{hi} ⁵⁵	<u>pai³³koŋ³³</u>	ei ³³ ti ¹¹	<u>kie³³sut³³</u>
COMPL	prayer	CONJ	finish

然后拜功就结束，

‘then the prayer is finished’

<u>kie³³sut³³</u>	p ^{hi} ⁵⁵	ei ³³ ku ³³ ,	ei ³³ ti ¹¹	zai ^ʔ ³³	san ³³
finish	COMPL	afterwards	CONJ	go	home

结束之后，就回家

‘after it is finished, (I) go back home’

mo ³³	p ^{ho} ³³	ua ²⁴	ei	<u>ei²⁴au¹¹</u> ,
NEG	work	do	NOM	moment

没活做的时候，

‘when there is no work to do,’

ei ³³ ti ¹¹	zai ^ʔ ³³	lai ²¹	p ^{hai} ³³	<u>ku²¹⁴lan²kin³³</u> ,
CONJ	go	again	read	Quran

就再去读古兰经，

‘(I) read *Quran* again,’

jo ²¹ ei ²⁴	<u>k^{hi}²¹t^{hi}a³³</u>	sa ³³	hau ³³ hun ¹¹
study	other	NOM	knowledge.of.Islam

学习其他的教门知识

‘to study other knowledge of Islam’

<u>ten²¹⁴taⁱ⁴²</u>	<u>ɛiau³³li²¹⁴</u> ,	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	ko: ⁴² t ^h an ²¹	sa ³³	zai ^{ʔ33}
wait.for	night.prayer	CONJ	Khoftan NOM		come

等待宵礼，就是~的到来

‘(and) wait for the coming of the night prayer’

ko: ⁴² t ^h an ²¹	<u>ɛi²⁴kien³³</u>	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	pan ²⁴	<u>tin¹¹</u>	ʔua ¹¹	p ^h iu ⁵⁵
Khoftan	time	CONJ	eight	hour	two	ten
ma ³³	<u>p^hun³³</u>					
five	minute					

宵礼时间就是八点二十五分

‘the time of the night prayer is eight twentyfive’

san ³³	a ¹¹ hong ³³	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	pan ³³ hə ³³
three	Akhund	CONJ	adhan

三阿訇就邦克

‘Third Akhund recite the adhan’

pan ³³ hə ³³	p ^h i ⁵⁵	ɛi ³³ ku ³³	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	tu ²⁴	<u>t^ho³³p^hin¹¹</u>	ʔui ³³	ʔia ³³
adhan	COMPL	afterwards	CONJ	take	kettle	use	water

邦克之后就，拿汤瓶做小净，

‘after the adhan, (I) use the kettle to perform *Wudu*,’

ʔui ³³	ʔia ³³	<u>dzi⁴²ə³³</u>	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	p ^h u ⁵⁵	kua ³³	ti ⁵⁵ ,	p ^h u ⁵⁵	au ¹¹
use	water	afterwards	CONJ	wear	hat	white	wear	clothes
ta ³³ ,	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	u ²⁴	sə ³³ pio ³³	ŋa ¹¹ ,	<u>ken³³sui²⁴</u>	i¹¹ma²⁴mu⁴²		
long	CONJ	up	mosque	go	follow	imam		
ŋau ³³	vat ⁴²							
do	prayer							

小净之后，就戴白帽，穿长袍，就上清真寺去，跟随伊玛目做礼拜，

‘after *Wudu*, put on the white cap and the robe, and go to the mosque, follow the imam to perform prayers,’

ma ³³	ten ³³	sə ⁰ pio ³³	ɛio ³³ ti ¹¹	t ^h on ³³	zan ^{ʔ33}	ŋau ³³
enter	to	mosque	CONJ	along.with	person	do
<u>zu⁴²xə</u>	sə ⁰ pio ³³ ,	ŋau ³³	ʔua ¹¹	vat ⁴²	sun ⁴² na ¹¹ ti ³³ ,	

congratulate mosque do two prayer Sunnah.Prayer
koŋ³³hə⁴² sə⁰pio³³

congratulate mosque

进到清真寺，就同其他人做祝贺清真寺，做两拜圣行拜，恭贺清真寺，

‘(when) enter the mosque, (I) congratulate the mosque with other people, perform two times of Sunna Prayer to congratulate the mosque,’

je³³hau¹¹ eio³³ti¹¹ p^hai ku²¹⁴lan²⁴kin³³
 afterwards CONJ read Quran

然后就，读古兰经，

‘then (I) recite *Quran*,’

dzi³³ten³³ san³³ a¹¹xong³³ nien ik.a:ma
 until three Akhund read inner.adhan

直到三阿訇念内宣礼词，

‘until Third Akhund recite the inner adhan,’

p^hi⁵⁵ ken³³ ta³³ sa³³ i¹¹ma²⁴mu⁴² ŋau²⁴ pa²⁴ vat⁴²
 CMPL follow our NOM imam do four prayer

p^hə²⁴rə¹¹zo⁴²,

fard.prayer

然后跟随我们的伊玛目做四次主命拜，

‘and follow our imam to perform four times of the *fard* prayer’

p^hə²⁴rə¹¹zo⁴² p^hi⁵⁵ ɛi³³ku³³, ŋau²⁴ ʔua²¹ vat⁴² sun⁴²na²¹t^hi³³
 fard.Prayer CMPL afterwards do two prayer Sunnah.prayer

主命拜之后，做两拜圣行拜，

‘after the *fard* prayer, perform two times of the Sunnah prayer,’

p^hi⁵⁵ ŋau³³ wi²⁴tə²⁴rə⁴², kiə³³ vat⁴², eio³³ti¹¹ pai³³koŋ³³ dziə²⁴sut¹¹
 CMPL do witr.prayer three prayer CONJ prayer finish

做完威特勒三拜，就拜功结束。

‘after three times of the *Witr* prayer, the prayer of the night prayer is finished.’

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