

Chinese Pingjiang dialect

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Introduction

The Pingjiang dialect is one of the dialects of Chinese. It is spoken in Pingjiang County, which lies in the northeast of Hunan province and borders with Hubei and Jiangxi provinces (see Figure 1). The basic word order of the Pingjiang dialect is SVO. It is an isolating language, and it is difficult for Mandarin speakers to understand. To some extent, it is not like the other dialects of Xiang and Gan.



Figure 1. Pingjiang in China

Further, it differs from Madarin Chinese in several aspects. First, Madarin Chinese has only four tones, while the Pingjiang dialect has seven. Second, compared with Mandarin Chinese, the Pingjiang dialect has more monosyllables. Third, as the major part of the Pingjiang population makes a living in the agriculture sector, words and phrases about farming constitute a large portion of the dialect's basic vocabulary. Fourth, there are also many grammatical discrepancies between the two languages. For example, according to realis and rerealis, the Pingjiang dialect uses different prepositions to express passive tense and the starting point. Further, it has two sets of the third person pronouns, two sets of personal pronoun affixes expressing respect, and three sets of demonstrative pronouns.

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1. Language and its speakers

Pingjiang is surrounded by the Gan dialect in the east, south, and north, but to its west is mostly the Xiang dialect. Because it is influenced by these dialects, the Pingjiang dialect is very complex. Most of the dialects in Pingjiang are identified as subdialects of the Gan dialect. According to Hunansheng Pingjiang Xianzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (1994), there are four subdialects in Pingjiang. They are the Chengguan, Northeast, West, and Cenchuan dialects. As the Chengguan dialectal area covers the widest area and has the largest population, the study includes only this area. The population of Pingjiang is about 1 million.

2. Phonology

2.1 Phoneme inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

There are 19 consonants in the Pingjiang dialect. The glottal stop is only phonemic at the end of a word. The distinction between aspiration and no aspiration is phonemic.

Table 1. Consonants of the Pingjiang Dialect

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p p ^h		t t ^h		k k ^h	ʔ
Fricative		f	s	ʂ	x	
Nasal	m		n		ŋ	
Affricate			ts ts ^h	tʂ tʂ ^h		
Liquid			l			

/n/ is a voiced nasal with three allophones. The voiced nasal /ŋ/ has two allophones.

/n/	→ [n]	/_u	example:	nu	[n]
	→ [ɲ]	/_i, y	example:	ni	[ɲi]
	→ [n]	/_ (the others)	example:	an	[an]
/ŋ/	→ [ŋ]	/_u	example:	ŋu	[ŋ]
	→ [ŋ]	/_ (the others)	example:	ŋɑ	[ŋɑ]
			example:	ɑŋ	[ɑŋ]

2.1.2 Vowels

There are nine monophthongs /a, ʌ, e, ø, ə, o, i, u, y/ and four diphthongs /ai, au, əu, øu/. The vowels are shown on the vowel chart in Figure 2. The pronunciation of the vowel in diphthongs changes. However, in this study, excepting diphthongs with /i/, diphthongs with /u/ and /y/ can associate with only certain consonants (e.g., /u/ associates with only /k, k^h/, /y/ associates with only /tʃ, tʃ^h, ʃ/). /i/, /u/, and /y/ are closely attached to their preceding consonants, and hence, they are not considered as individual vowels. Rather, they are treated as transitional vowels. Moreover, their closeness with other vowels is different. For instance, /iau/ and /iou/ are /i/ + /au/ and /i/ + /ou/, instead of /ia/ + /u/ and /io/ + /u/. Therefore, both /iau/ and /iou/ are regarded as the combination of the transitional vowel /i/ and diphthongs /au/ and /ou/.

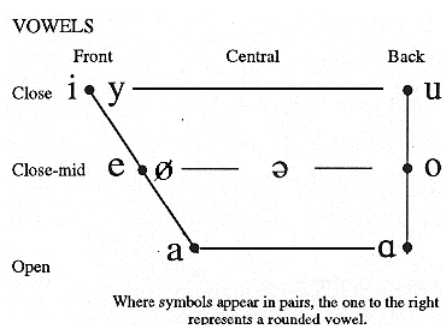


Figure 2. Vowels

2.1.3 Tones

There are seven tones in the Pingjiang dialect, as summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Tones in the Pingjiang dialect

Tone name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Quality of tone	33	13	35	21	55	22	4
Pronunciation	i ³³	i ¹³	i ³⁵	i ²¹	i ⁵⁵	i ²²	i ⁴
Meaning	clothes	move	here	chair	remember	easy	one

2.2 Syllable structure

The syllable structure of the Pingjiang dialect is (C) (V) V(C) ^x. (X represents a tone.)

Table 3. Examples of the syllable structure

	Example	Meaning		Example	Meaning
V ₂ ^x	i ³³	‘clothes’	V ₂ C ₂ ^x	u ⁴	‘house’
C ₁ V ₂ ^x	ke ³³	‘chicken’	V ₁ V ₂ ^x	ia ¹³	‘father (reference)’
C ₁ V ₂ C ₂ ^x	t ^h əu ⁴	‘read’	C ₁ V ₁ V ₂ ^x	tia ³³	‘Father (address term)’
C ₁ V ₂ C ₂ ^x	ti ⁴	‘drop’	V ₁ V ₂ C ₂ ^x	ie ⁴	‘leaf’
C ₁ V ₁ V ₂ C ₂ ^x	tien ³⁵	‘clock’			

2.3 Phonological rules

/k k^h x/ are palatalized and become [c c^h ɕ] when they follow [i].

$$/k k^h x/ \rightarrow [c c^h \text{ɕ}] \text{ __ (+High, +Front, -Round)}$$

2.4 Prosody

The Pingjiang dialect has seven tones; see Section 2.1.3. The intonation is not obvious. No accent exists. See example (01).

- (01) nu²¹ k^ht⁵⁵ ɔ³³
 2SG go PT
 ‘Do you go?’

3. Descriptive preliminaries

The Pingjiang dialect is an isolating language. Most of its words are monosyllabic. It has no affixes, but it does have some components that are affix-like, such as the plural component in personal pronouns and diminutives. In this study, I assume a WORD in the Pingjiang dialect is a unit that can be used individually and has an independent meaning. WORDS can be used both individually and along with affix-like components. Affix-like components cannot be used individually. They

must be combined with roots or other words to constitute a WORD. In this study, I do not find it necessary to make a table for the clitic in the Pingjiang dialect.

	Word = (prefix-like) root (suffix-like)		
Word = root	ŋo ²¹		‘me’
Word = prefix- root	lau ²¹	ɕy ⁵⁵	‘mouse’
	old	mouse	
Word = root -suffix	ŋo ²¹	li ³³	‘we’
	me	?	
	tiau ³⁵	tseŋ ⁴	‘bird’
	bird	?	

3.1 Word classes

Words in the Pingjiang dialect can be classified into two categories: words that can be used individually and words that cannot be used individually. In the first category, there are five word classes, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives, classifiers, and interjections. The second category includes another five word classes, which are prepositions, numerals, conjunctions, onomatopoeias, and particles.

3.1.1 Nouns

There are three kinds of noun. They are the pronoun, demonstrative, and common noun. When a word can take a diminutive or a classifier, it must be a common noun. The pronoun can express person. The demonstrative expresses objects. Nouns cannot be modified by number. They are also divided into common nouns and proper nouns. A common noun can refer to a person or thing, and it can take a prefix or suffix. In addition, many nouns can take the diminutive suffix *tseŋ⁴*, while suffixes such as *tseŋ⁴*, *lau²¹*, *t^həu¹³*, and *tsu³⁵* follow nouns.

tɕ ^h a ³³	tseŋ ⁴	‘toy car’	uŋ ⁴	tseŋ ⁴	‘lovely house’
ts ^h u ¹³	t ^h əu ¹³	‘plow’	p ^h a ¹³	t ^h əu ¹³	‘plow (have tooth) ’
pai ³³	tsu ³⁵	‘a person with trouble in the legs’			
ŋan ²¹	tsu ³⁵	‘a person with trouble in the eyes’			

Suffix-like *lau²¹* follows the name of a person, which expresses an honorific.

To express an honorific, a speaker simply uses it to address anyone. *lau*²¹ follows the first word of a given name.

min¹³**lau**²¹ ‘Mr. Ming’ xiau³⁵**lau**²¹ ‘Ms. Xiao’

3.1.2 Verbs

When *ti*⁴ follows a word and expresses possibility, the word must be a verb, such as *k^hia*⁴ in example (02). A verb expresses action, change, and state. It can be a predicate. Auxiliaries express the feelings of the speaker and work with verbs such as *iau*⁵⁵ in example (03).

(02) *la*³³ *k^hia*⁴ *ti*⁴ *tsiəu*³⁵
 3BSG drink POT wine
 ‘He might have drunk wine.’

(03) *la*³³ *iau*⁵⁵ *k^h*⁵⁵ *xan*⁵⁵
 3BSG need go see
 ‘He wants to go and see.’

Some verbs can take the *-səu*³⁵ suffix. When a verb has the *-səu*³⁵ suffix, it functions like an adjective and means ‘be worth doing.’

*k^hia*⁴ *səu*³⁵ be worth eating → ‘delicious’
 eat
*xan*⁵⁵ *səu*³⁵ be worth watching → ‘interesting’
 watch

3.1.3 Adjectives

Adjectives include adjectives and adverbs. Adjective can express a property or state. Adverbs can express the degree, time, frequency, extent, and tone of voice of the action, property, or state. Adverbs can modify verbs and adjectives. In example (04), *nie*⁴ is an adjective and *man*¹³ is an adverb.

- (04) $i^{35} p^{h} ai^{55} ti^{ʔ}$ man^{13} $nie^{ʔ}$ le^{21}
 these days very hot PT S
 ‘These days are so hot.’

3.1.4 Classifier

Classifiers make a noun become more concrete. See example (05).

- (05) $\eta\sigma^{21}$ $i\partial u^{21}$ $io\eta^{21}$ $t\zeta o\eta^{33}$ $tan^{33} t\zeta^h a^{33}$
 1SG have two CLF bike
 ‘I have two bikes.’

For items that have a large plane and are thin, $t\zeta o\eta^{33}$ is used. For items that are thick, $k^h uai^{55}$ is used.

- $i\eta^4 t\zeta o\eta^{33} ts^h o\eta^{13}$ ‘a bed’
 $i\eta^4 k^h uai^{55} t^h \partial u^{35}$ ‘a lump of soil’

For items that are slim and long, $t^h iau^{13}$ is used. For items with a handle, pa^{35} is used. For a piece of garden land, $sio\eta^{33}$ is used.

- $i\eta^3 t^h iau^{13} ue^{13} kin^{33}$ ‘a scarf’
 $i\eta^4 pa^{35} san^{35}$ ‘an umbrella’
 $i\eta^4 sio\eta^{33} ts^h ai^{55}$ ‘a piece of garden land’

Sometimes containers such as bottles, bowls, and boxes are also used as temporary classifiers.

- $i\eta^4 p^h in^{13} tsiau^{35}$ ‘a bottle of wine’
 $i\eta^3 u\sigma n^{35} fan^{22}$ ‘a bowl of rice’
 $i\eta^4 sio\eta^{33} i^{33}$ ‘a box of clothes’

For animals, the most commonly used classifier is $t\zeta a\eta^{ʔ}$. For specific items, $k\sigma^{55}$ is used.

iŋ ⁴ tʂaŋ ⁴ tʂy ³³	‘a pig’
iŋ ⁴ ko ⁵⁵ nin ¹³	‘a person’
iŋ ⁴ ko ⁵⁵ pau ³³	‘a bag’

3.1.5 The adjective class

Adjectives express character and state. They can be modified by degree adverbs.

3.1.5.1 Morphological characteristics

There are two types of adjectives: simple adjectives and compound adjectives. Simple adjectives may be either mono- or di-syllabic. Compound adjectives contain *xau*³⁵V, VO, and *Adj nin*¹³ adjectives. The following are examples of simple adjectives.

to ³³	‘more’	ʂau ³⁵	‘few’
kau ³³	‘high’	ŋai ³⁵	‘short’
tʂ ^h əŋ ²¹	‘heavy’	k ^h iaŋ ³³	‘light’

Disyllabic adjectives fall into two types: AB and XA. AB cannot be divided into A and B. However, in the XA type, A is an adjective, and X is a modification element. To make the modification stronger, the construction uses a noun in front of an adjective to express simile. These adjectives have already been modified by some words, so they cannot be modified by degree adverbs any more (e.g., *man*¹³ ‘very’). If they are used as a predicate, they require a nominalization suffix *ko*²¹.

AB type

nieŋ ⁴ lau ²²	‘noise’	ts ^h in ²² man ²²	‘quiet’
ma ¹³ fan ¹³	‘trouble’	ʂy ³³ fuŋ ⁴	‘comfortable’
p ^h iau ⁵⁵ liŋ ²²	‘beautiful’	foŋ ³³ p ^h ien ²²	‘convince’

XA type

mi ³³ xəŋ ⁴	‘black-like ink’
piəŋ ⁴ tʂn ⁵⁵	‘straight (it can be used only for something that stands) like a wall’
mau ³³ k ^h iaŋ ³³	‘light like hair’

We could not find what the modification element is in some words, as *kuaj*⁵⁵ in *kuaj*⁵⁵ *ts^hiaŋ*³³ shows.

*kuaj*⁵⁵ *ts^hiaŋ*³³
? blue
'deep blue'

*min*³³ *t^hien*¹³
? sweat
'very sweet'

Compound adjectives consist of three types. When a verb appears after the adverb *xau*³⁵, which means 'easy to do,' it forms an adjective. This is the first type of compound adjective. The second type comes from the verb object phrase. The third type is the *Adj nin*¹³ type.

- *xau*³⁵ V type

*xau*³⁵ *k^hiaŋ*⁴
good eat
'delicious'

*xau*³⁵ *xan*⁵⁵
good look
'beautiful or interesting'

- VO type

The VO type refers to a verb-object phrase.

<i>t^hiaŋ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>fa</i> ²²	<i>təŋ</i> ³⁵ <i>su</i> ²²
listen to words, follow instructions	understand things
'obedient'	'things are known'

- *Adj nin*¹³ type

The *Adj nin*¹³ type consists of a verb, noun, or adjective plus *nin*¹³ 'person.' Adjectives of this type are mostly used to express a state that evokes someone's feelings.

<i>ŋai</i> ⁵⁵	'love'	<i>ŋai</i> ⁵⁵ <i>nin</i> ³³	make someone like	'lover'
<i>k^hi</i> ⁵⁵	'anger'	<i>k^hi</i> ⁵⁵ <i>nin</i> ³³	make someone angry	'irritating'
<i>pin</i> ³³	'ice'	<i>pin</i> ³³ <i>nin</i> ¹³	make someone feel freezing	'icy'
<i>s^hin</i> ⁵⁵	'cool'	<i>ts^hin</i> ⁵⁵ <i>nin</i> ¹³	make someone feel cool	'cool'

fan ¹³	‘worry’	fan ¹³ nin ¹³	make someone feel worry	‘worrying’
ts ^h au ⁵⁵	‘noisy’	ts ^h au ⁵⁵ nin ¹³	make someone feel noisy	‘noisy’

3.1.5.2 Reduplication of adjectives

In the Pingjiang dialect, reduplication consists of the patterns AA, XAXA, and AABB. Reduplicated monosyllabic adjectives become AA, while the AB type of disyllabic adjectives become AABB, and the XA type become XAXA.

- AA type

The AA type reduplicates the same adjectives; it can express a stronger degree than the basic form. In addition, some AA types will have tone sandhi.

fəŋ ¹³	‘red’	fəŋ ¹³ fəŋ ⁵⁵	‘very red’
k ^h uai ⁵⁵	‘fast’	k ^h uai ⁵⁵ k ^h uai ⁵⁵	‘very fast’

- XAXA type

While a stronger meaning of degree is added by reduplication, it is tinged with the nuance of minus. Words that are plus nuance cannot usually be stacked together.

siaŋ ⁵⁵ p ^h aŋ ⁴ siaŋ ⁵⁵ p ^h aŋ ⁴	‘too white’	mi ³³ ŋøŋ ⁵⁵ mi ³³ ŋøŋ ⁵⁵	‘too dark’
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- AABB type

The AABB type is reduplicated from AB adjectives. This type is stronger than the AB type, and it is also used as a predicate, as in (06).

(06)	iaŋ ¹³	ko ⁵⁵	k ^h uən ⁵⁵	a ⁵⁵	taŋ ⁴	ts ^h iŋ ²²	ts ^h iŋ ²²	ŋo ²¹	ko ³⁵	ts ^h iəu ²²	xau ³⁵	fa ²²
	the others	sleep	REAL	quiet	1SG	so	then	easy to draw				
	‘When the other people are all asleep, it becomes so quiet, so I can draw well.’											

3.1.5.3 Syntactic characteristics

Adjectives cannot become predicates, except in comparative forms. If an adjective is used as a predicate, the adverb *man*¹³ ‘very,’ which expresses degree, is necessary, as

illustrated in (07) and (08).

- (07) *kin*³³ *ni*^ʔ *man*¹³ *nie*^ʔ *le*²¹
 today very hot PT
 ‘It is very hot today.’

*man*¹³ + adjective can modify a verb.

- (08) *xai*¹³ *iəu*²¹ *man*¹³ *md*¹³ *faɪ*²² *xai*³³ *io*³³.
 also have very difficult open PT
 ‘It is too difficult to open.’

3.1.6 Interjections

Interjections do not relate to other grammar elements; they function independently. In general, they express the tone of voice. Interjections always appear at the beginning of a sentence, and they are independent. See (09) for an example.

- (09) *xau*³⁵ *ŋo*²¹ *ts^hiəu*²² *k^hf*⁵⁵
 yes 1SG at once go
 ‘Ok, I’ll go at once.’

3.2 Other components

The following are components that cannot be used individually, including prepositions, numerals, conjunctions, onomatopoeia, and particles.

3.2.1 Prepositions

Prepositions can make a noun phrase with a noun, as in (10) and (11). For details, please refer to Section 4.5.

- (10) *ŋo*²¹ *ta*⁵⁵ *ʂəʔ^ht^hoŋ*¹³ *lɪ*³³ *k^hiaʔ^h faɪ*²²
 1SG at dining room in take meal
 ‘I am dining in the dining room.’

- (11) *lɑ³³ loʔ⁴ kiau⁵⁵ ʂəʔ⁴ lɿ³³ tsu⁵⁵ tsoʔ⁴ nieʔ⁴*
 3SG at classroom in do homework
 ‘He is doing homework in the classroom.’

3.2.2 Numerals

Numerals are used to count things, as in (12).

- (12) *ŋɔ²¹ iau⁵⁵ san³³ pən³⁵ sy³³*
 1SG need three CLF book
 ‘I need three books.’

3.2.3 Conjunctions

Conjunctions have a connecting function. They can connect words of the same word class (13) or sentences.

- (13) *nu²¹ keʔ⁴ t^həu¹³ fəʔ⁴ iəu²² ts^hu³³ iəu²² ts^hiaŋ³³*
 2SG POSS hair and thick and black
 ‘Your hair is thick and black.’

3.2.4 Onomatopoeia

The Pingjiang dialect is not rich in onomatopoeia. In the fieldwork, only 80 onomatopoeias were found, more than half of which imitate animal cries. An example is shown in (14) below.

- (14) *k^huəʔ⁴ ləŋ³³ keʔ⁴ siəu⁵⁵ k^hiʔ³⁵ lai¹³*
 onomatopoeia like laugh begin
 ‘Kulong, he broke into a laugh.’

3.2.5 Particles

Particles do not have meaning without other grammatical elements. There are two kinds of particles in the Pingjiang dialect: particles of intonation and particles of aspect. The particles of intonation appear at the end of the sentence, and the particles

of aspect follow verbs. See (15) and (16).

- (15) *nu*²¹ *iau*⁵⁵ *xau*³⁵ *xin*⁵⁵ *ŋa*⁵⁵ *le*³³
 2SG should be careful a little PT
 ‘You should be careful.’

- (16) *ŋo*²¹ *xan*⁵⁵ *taʔ* *sy*³³
 1SG read PT book
 ‘I read a book.’

4. Morphology

4.1 Overview (affixation, compounding, reduplication)

4.1.1 Affixation

The Pingjiang dialect belongs to the isolating languages. It has no affix-generating procedure. Strictly defined, it is a language without affixation. However, it does have some components that are affix-like. Although in terms of morphology, their features as affixes are not obvious, they satisfy the definition of affixes in two ways. First, these components have relatively abstract meanings. Second, some of them are quite productive, and their usage is similar to that of affixes. Hence, in this study, I call components of this kind “affix-likes.” Words with affix-likes are compound words.

*lau*²¹ is a prefix-like, preceding a noun referring to a person or animal. In addition, it is used in kinship terms of the grandparent level. The meaning of *lau*²¹ is ‘old,’ but in this lexicon, it does not mean ‘old.’

*lau*²¹ *tsia*³⁵

old elder sister

‘elder sister’

*lau*²¹ *ku*³³ *tsia*³⁵

old aunt

‘sister of grandfather’

*lau*²¹ *sy*⁵⁵

old mouse

‘mouse’

*lau*²¹ *mai*²²

old younger sister

‘younger sister’

*ku*³³ *tsia*³⁵

aunt

‘sister of father’

*lau*²¹ *fu*³⁵

old tiger

‘tiger’

4.1.2 Reduplication

4.1.2.1 Reduplication of kinship terms

The Pingjiang dialect employs reduplication of kinship terms. When a kinship term reduplicates, the tone sandhi will appear. When an adjective reduplicates, the last form will have tone sandhi. Its tone becomes 55. Table 4 presents examples of the reduplication of kinship terms.

Table 4. Reduplication of kinship terms

Form	kəŋ ³³	p ^h ø ²²
Meaning	‘grandfather’	‘grandmother’
Reduplicated form	kəŋ ²¹ kəŋ ⁵⁵	p ^h ø ²² p ^h ø ⁵⁵
Meaning	‘grandfather’	‘grandmother’

4.1.2.2 Reduplication of adjectives

There is also reduplication of adjectives in the Pingjiang dialect, and it always occurs in monosyllabic adjectives. When an adjective reduplicates, the last form will have tone sandhi. Its tone becomes 55. Table 5 presents examples of the reduplication of adjectives.

Table 5. Reduplication of adjectives and nicknames

Form	fəŋ ¹³	t ^h ai ²²	kau ³³
Meaning	red	‘big’	tall
Reduplicated form	fəŋ ¹³ fəŋ ⁵⁵	t ^h ai ²² t ^h ai ⁵⁵	kau ³³ kau ⁵⁵
Meaning	‘very red’	‘very big’	‘very tall’

4.2 Nominal morphology

We cannot judge whether a word is a noun based strictly on its form, but we can consider whether it takes suffixes or classifiers. By considering the behavior of classifiers and affix-likes, we can identify nouns.

kai ⁵⁵	verb	‘cover’
kai ⁵⁵ tseŋ ⁴	noun	‘a lovely little cover’
ko ⁵⁵ kai ⁵⁵	noun	‘a cover’
k ^h idŋ ⁴	verb	‘eat’
k ^h idŋ ⁴ ko ²¹	noun	‘something to eat (food)’

4.3 Verbal morphology

A verb can take a nominalization suffix-like. See Section 4.1.1.

4.4 Class-changing derivation

There are three methods to change word class: tone sandhi, consonants alternate, and zero derivation.

①	verb	/pa ³⁵ /	‘give’	pa ³⁵ la ³³	‘give him’
	noun	/pa ⁵⁵ /	‘handle’	tau ³³ pa ⁵⁵	‘the handle of a knife’
②	adjective	/tʂ ^h oŋ ¹³ /	‘long’	tʂ ^h oŋ ¹³ tøn ³⁵	‘length’
	verb	/tʂoŋ ³⁵ /	‘grow’	tʂoŋ ³⁵ t ^h ai ²²	‘grow up’
③	adjective	/xau ³⁵ /	‘good’	man ¹³ xau ³⁵	‘very good’
	adverb		‘good’	xau ³⁵ xan ⁵⁵	‘good-looking’ > ‘beautiful’

4.5 Case

In the Pingjiang dialect, prepositions and nouns make up phrases to express Case. These are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Case prepositions of the Pingjiang dialect

Form	Meaning	Examples	Meaning
loʔ ⁴	‘at’	loʔ ⁴ ko ³⁵ tʂ ^h oŋ ⁵⁵ ko ³³	be singing there
loʔ ⁴	‘from’	loʔ ⁴ uʔ ⁴ li ³³ lai ¹³	be coming from the house
loʔ ⁴	(passive)	loʔ ⁴ la ³³ ta ³⁵ taʔ ⁴	be hit by him
ta ⁵⁵	‘to’	ta ⁵⁵ ts ^h au ³³ p ^h iaŋ ¹³ li ³³ k ^h i ⁵⁵	go to the playground
ta ⁵⁵	‘on’	ta ⁵⁵ ts ^h au ³³ p ^h iaŋ ¹³ li ³³ sa ³⁵	go to play on the playground
ta ⁵⁵	‘with’	ta ⁵⁵ la ³³ ua ²²	talk with him
ta ⁵⁵	‘for’	ta ⁵⁵ la ³³ tsu ⁵⁵	do for him
ta ⁵⁵	‘and’	nu ²¹ ta ⁵⁵ la ³³	you and him
ta ⁵⁵	‘like’	ta ⁵⁵ la ³³ ua ²² su ⁵⁵ tiʔ ⁴	it appears that he was told

4.6 Noun Class

Usually, phrases made up of classifiers and nouns are used to express categories of nouns in the Pingjiang dialect (please refer to Section 3.1.4). However, with the decline of classifiers, it is becoming common that one classifier is applied to more than one occasion. For example, the classifier *tʂaʔ⁴* is used to refer to certain people (e.g., boys, girls), most animals (e.g., chickens, ducks, and pigs), and utensils (e.g., cupboard, oven). The classifier *ko⁵⁵* is applied to most people (men, women, boys, girls, etc.), as well as utensils (slices, fire tongs, etc.).

4.7 Person

The Pingjiang dialect distinguishes between the exclusive and inclusive forms of the first personal plural pronoun. Moreover, two sets of the third personal pronoun exist in the dialect. See Table 7.

Table 7. Personal pronouns in the Pingjiang dialect

	First person		Second person	Third person	
				participants or the focus of the discourse	the other case
Singular	$\eta\sigma^{21}$		nu^{21}	e^{21}	la^{33}
Plural	EXCL	INCL	$nu^{21}li^{33}$	$e^{21}li^{33}$	$la^{33}li^{33}$
	$\eta\sigma^{21}li^{33}$	$\eta\sigma^{21}fu^{55}$			

4.7.1 First person pronoun

$\eta\sigma^{21}li^{33}$ is the first personal plural pronoun exclusive form. $\eta\sigma^{21}fu^{55}$ is inclusive.

(17) $\eta\sigma^{21}fu^{55}$ $x\alpha^{22}$ ξ^{21} $p^hi\alpha\eta^{13}ko\eta^{33}$ nin^{13} nu^{21} li^{33} $u\alpha^{22}$ $li\alpha^{21}sa\eta^{33}$

INCL all COP Pingjiang people 2PL speak Lishan

fa^{22} $\eta\sigma^{21}li^{33}$ $u\alpha^{22}$ $p^hi\alpha\eta^{13}ko\eta^{33}$ fa^{22}

language EXCL speak Pingjiang language

‘We are all Pingjiangers. You speak the Lishan dialect. We speak the Pingjiang dialect.’

The inclusive form also exists in the first person singular.

• speaker : father of the author

listener: the author

(18) iau^{55} ko^{55} $ti^{35}tsu^{35}$ $\eta\sigma^{21}fu^{55}$ $tsai^{55}$ fa^{22} $t\varsigma\alpha\eta^{35}$ $a^{22}tse^{21}$ la^{21}

need CLF blueprint more draw good PT

‘A blueprint is necessary. It would be ready after I do a little more drawing.’

4.7.2 Third person pronoun

There are two sets of the third person pronoun in the Pingjiang dialect. They are e^{21} (li^{33}) and la^{33} (li^{33}). The distinction between them is that when the third person is a participant or the focus of the discourse, speakers use e^{21} (li^{33}). In

the other case, we use $la^{33}(li^{33})$. In this paper, the abbreviation of $e^{21}(li^{33})$ is 3A, and for $la^{33}(li^{33})$ is it is 3B.

- (19) $e^{21} li^{33}$ ma^{21} $si^{35} i^{33} fən^{33}$ $t^{hiəu}ʔ$ k^{hual}^{55} $kiəu^{35}$ le^{55} $la^{33} li^{33}$
 3APL sell washing.powder six CLF nine PT 3BSG
 $nu^{33} pien^{33}$ $ts^{hiəu}^{22}$ $t^{hiəu}ʔ$ k^{hual}^{55} $paʔ$
 there then six CLF eight

‘If here the washing powder sells at six dollars and nine cents, they sell it at six dollars and eight cents.’

This discussion has clarified the different conditions in which the two sets of third person pronouns are applied, based on an examination of the colloquial materials of the Pingjiang dialect popular in the vicinity of the County Town.

I conclude that the application condition of Category A is The Third Party Participates In The Conversation or The Third Party Is The Focus Of The Conversation. The application condition of Category B is The Third Party Neither Participates In The Conversation Nor Is The Focus Of The Conversation. For a plural third party, if the person is near the speaker, Category A is used. Otherwise, Category B is used.

In narration, pronouns of Category A are used to designate a third party with respect to the narrative field; Category B is used to refer to a third party relative to the event field. In storytelling, Category B is usually used to introduce a third party. After the third party takes on the leading role, Category A replaces Category B until the story ends. During this process, the personal pronouns for the leading roles are exchanged.

5. Syntactic structure

In this section, I will elaborate the grammatical relations of nouns, including definitives, demonstratives, classifiers of nouns, and relative clauses.

5.1 Basic clause structure and word order

Most Chinese dialects have the basic word order SVO, and this is also the case for the Pingjiang dialect. Table 8 shows the word order of elements in the Pingjiang

dialect, based on the parameters of Greenberg (1963) in Payne (1997: 272).

Generally, the word order of verb (V) and object (O) in a main clause is V-O. However, if *pa*³⁵ is used, the word order becomes O-V. See (20) and (21).

(20) *la*³³ *taɪ*⁵⁵ *ko*⁵⁵ *xeɿ*⁴ *moŋ*²² *tsu*³⁵
 3BSG wear CLF black cap
 ‘He wears a black cap.’

(21) *nu*²¹ *pa*³⁵ *moŋ*²² *tsu*³⁵ *tsʰɿ*³⁵ *kuən*³³
 2SG DIST cap take off
 ‘Take off your cap.’

Table 8. Syntax of the Pingjiang dialect

Main clause	V-O
Adpositions	Preposition
Possessor and head noun	Poss.-N
Head noun and modifier	Modifier-N (sometimes N-Modifier)
Comparatives	Maker-Standard-Adj
Inflected auxiliaries	Aux-V
Question particles	Final position in the sentence
Question words	Anywhere
Affixes	Few prefixes, many suffixes

5.2 Subjects

Subjects precede the predicate. They usually consist of a noun or noun phrase, as in (22).

(22) *ŋo*²¹ *kʰiaɿ*⁴ *faɪ*²²
 1SG eat rice
 ‘I am having a meal.’

5.3 Objects

Objects follow predicates. The object usually includes a noun or noun phrase in this location (23).

- (23) *nu*²¹ *xan*⁵⁵ *sy*³³
 2SG read book
 ‘You read a book.’

5.4 The noun phrase

In the Pingjiang dialect, for a noun like *fa*³³ ‘flower,’ the template shown below is possible.

(DEM+) (NUM+) (CLF+) (Adj+) N (+DIM)

If ‘flower’ is used as an example, the construction would be the following.

(DEM+) (NUM+) (CLF+) (Adj+) N (+DIM)
*i*³⁵ *ioŋ*²¹ *tø*³⁵ *si*⁵⁵ *fa*³³ *tse*⁴
 this two piece small flowers
 ‘these two small flowers’

5.4.1 Adpositions

The Pingjiang dialect uses prepositions (see (24)), similar to most other Chinese dialects. Expressions of location are summarized in Table 9.

- (24) *tʂə*^ʃ *iau*^ʔ *ta*^ʔ *i*^ʔ *a*^ʔ *kau*^ʔ *ŋa*^ʔ *fan*^ʔ *k^hia*^ʔ *ta*^ʔ
 only need at here cook a little rice eat PT
 ‘Just need to cook and eat here.’

Table 9. Expression of Location in the Pingjiang Dialect

Form	Function	Meaning
/tsøu ³⁵ /, /loŋ ⁴ /	starting point	‘from’
/ta ⁵⁵ /, /loŋ ⁴ /	location	‘at’
/ta ⁵⁵ /	end point	‘to’
/uø ²² /	direction	‘to’
/tsøu ³⁵ /	by	‘through’
/tʂau ⁵⁵ /	on the way	‘along’

5.4.2 Modification of nouns

When an adjective modifies a noun, the word order is Adj-N.

t ^h ai ²²	nieŋ ⁴ t ^h øu ¹³	laŋ ²¹	fan ²²
big	sunlight	cool	rice
‘strong sunlight’		‘cool rice’	

Sometimes, ŋa⁵⁵keŋ⁴ ‘a little’ is used to modify a noun between adjectives and nouns. In this case, it functions like a comparison.

t ^h ai ²² fɔŋ ¹³	‘large room’
k ^h in ²¹ ləu ²²	‘near way’
t ^h ai ²² ŋa ⁵⁵ keŋ ⁴ fɔŋ ¹³	‘room of the larger one’
i ³⁵ kan ³³ fɔŋ ¹³ man ¹³ t ^h ai ²²	‘This room is very big’
k ^h in ²¹ ŋa ⁵⁵ keŋ ⁴ ləu ²²	‘the way of the nearer one’
ko ³⁵ t ^h iəu ¹³ ləu ²² man ¹³ k ^h in ²¹	‘That way is very near’

5.4.3 Elements of modification and modifier

In general, the word order of modify and Modifier is M-N (25), but sometimes it is N-M.

(25) $\eta\sigma^{21}$ xai^{13} $i\partial u^{21}$ $k\sigma^{55}$ $t^h a i^{22}$ pau^{33}

1SG also have CLF big bag

‘I also have a big bag.’

The N-M order is as shown in the following; it is used to express the gender of animals.

ki^{33}	$p^h\emptyset^{13}$	$k\sigma u^{35}$	$k\eta\eta^{33}$
chicken	female	dog	male
‘hen’		‘dog’	

5.4.4 Comparative

Comparison is expressed using pi^{35} ‘than,’ which means ‘compared with.’ If B is the standard, and A is the thing to be compared with B, three sentences are possible. One is “A+ pi^{35} +B+Adj (Num)” ‘A is Adj than B’ (26). In order to negate the comparative expression, speakers use the negative sentence “A+ mau^{22} +B +Adj” ‘A is not Adj than B’ (27). In addition, one can use the negative word +Adj $ts^h u^{22}$ B ‘A is not Adj than B’ (28). When the subject and object are of the same quality, $io\eta^{22}(Adj)k\sigma^{21}$ ‘same’ is used.(29).

(26) $\eta\sigma^{21}$ pi^{35} e^{21} $t^h a i^{22}$ $\eta\sigma^{55}$

1 SG comparative 3ASG old a little

‘I am older than her’.

The following expressions are used only in negation.

(27) e^{21} mau^{22} $\eta\sigma^{21}$ $t^h a i^{22}$

3ASG NEG 1SG old

‘She is younger than me’ (lit. ‘She is not older than I’).

(28) $l\alpha^{33}$ $p\alpha^{\mathcal{A}}$ $nio^{\mathcal{A}}$ $ts^h u^{22}$ nu^{21}

3BSG NEG weak than 2SG

‘She is stronger than me’ (lit. ‘She is not weaker than you’).

(29) $\eta\sigma^{21}$ $t^h \square \eta^{13}$ $l\alpha^{33}$ $io\eta^{22}$ $t^h ai^{22}$ ko^{21}

1SG with 3ASG same big PT

‘He and I are of the same age’ (lit. ‘I am as old as him’).

5.5 The predicate phrase

5.5.1 Auxiliaries and verbs

Auxiliaries precede verbs, as demonstrated in (30).

(30) ϵ^{21} li^{33} iau^{55} ta^{35} ko^{55} $t^h ien^{22}$ $f\alpha^{22}$ uai^{13} lai^{13} id^{21} $fo\eta^{33}$ $p^h ien^{22}$ nin^{55}

3APL want make CLF call back too convenient a little

‘If they want to call back, it would be convenient.’

5.5.2 Existential sentences

To ask the location of something, speakers have to use $lo^{\mathcal{A}}$, and $i\alpha u^{21}$ is used for asking what is at the place. Examples are shown in (31) and (32), respectively.

(31) ξy^{33} $lo^{\mathcal{A}}$ $tso^{\mathcal{A}}$ $\xi o\eta^{22}$

book at table above

‘The book is on the desk.’

(32) $tso^{\mathcal{A}}$ $\xi o\eta^{22}$ $i\alpha u^{21}$ ξy^{33}

table above have book

‘There are some books on the desk.’

6. Functional categories

Interrogative particles are used in sentence-final position. However, it is not necessary to use a declarative to formulate a question. In most cases, speakers use

the affirmation and negative of verbs or adjectives to do this. The intonation of sentences of this type does not change. Declarative sentences are neither interrogative nor imperative, and they are the unmarked sentence type.

6.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are marked by the interrogative question particle, interrogative words, or using the predicate of affirmation negative. Examples are shown in (33) and (34).

- (33) *kau*³⁵ *pəʔ*^ʔ *ts^hin*³³ *taʔ*^ʔ *tʂ^hoŋ*¹³ *a*³³
 do NEG clear PT
 ‘Can’t you understand it?’

- Affirmation negative question

- (34) *loʔ*^ʔ *pəʔ*^ʔ *loʔ*^ʔ *y*²¹
 fall NEG fall rain
 ‘Is it raining or not?’

An interrogative word is used to express a questioning tone, as in (35).

Question

- (35) *ŋo*²¹ *uɑ*²² *nu*²¹ *tʂaiŋ*⁵⁵ *a*²¹ *tseʔ*^ʔ *loʔ*^ʔ *ko*³⁵ *kau*³⁵ *mo*¹³ *li*³³ *lo*⁵⁵
 1SG say 2SG just now at there do what PT
 ‘I said what you were doing just now?’

Answer

- (36) *ŋo*²¹ *loʔ*^ʔ *ko*³⁵ *xan*⁵⁵ *a*²² *tseʔ*^ʔ *iaŋ*¹³ *tʂ^hy*⁵⁵ *la*²²
 1SG at there look PT DIM other place PT
 ‘I was wandering around.’

6.2 Imperatives

Imperatives are mainly declarative sentences with an imperative tone. Sometimes

$ta^{55} \eta\sigma^{55}$ ‘for me’ is also used to give an order. Its tone is more severe than that of declarative sentences. See (37) and (38).

(37) $tia\eta^{55} \quad ku\sigma n^{33}$
 throw out
 ‘Throw out!’

(38) $ta^{55} \quad \eta\sigma^{21} \quad tia\eta^{55} \quad ku\sigma n^{33}$
 for 1SG throw out
 ‘Throw out (for me)!’

6.3 Equation, proper inclusion, location, possession

In order to express equation or proper inclusion, the predicate that uses the copula. Topic is marked by the topicative expression, as in (39) and (40).

(39) $la^{33} \quad s\eta^{21} \quad \eta\sigma^{21} li^{33} \quad lau^{21} su^{33}$
 3 ASG COP EXCL teacher
 ‘He is our teacher.’

(40) $la^{22} \quad s\eta^{21} \quad ko^{55} \quad lau^{21} su^{33}$
 3ASG COP CLF teacher
 ‘He is a teacher.’

6.3.1 Location

There are two prepositions to express location in the Pingjiang dialect. They are $lo\eta^{\#}$ and ta^{55} . $lo\eta^{\#}$ is used in realize and ta^{55} in irrealize. See (41) and (42), respectively.

(41) $la^{33} \quad lo\eta^{\#} \quad kiau^{33} \eta\sigma\eta^{\#} \quad li^{33} \quad t^{h21} \eta\sigma\eta^{\#} \eta\sigma\eta^{\#}$
 he at classroom in study
 ‘He is studying in the classroom.’

(42) $t^{h21} pai^{55} ni\eta^{\#} \quad p\eta\eta^{\#} \quad t\eta\sigma\eta n^{35} \quad ta^{55} \quad \eta\sigma\eta^{\#} \quad xiau^{22} \quad li^{33} \quad sa^{35}$
 sunday NEG permission at school in play
 ‘Don’t play at school on Sunday.’

6.3.2 Possession

Possessor and noun have poss-N word order. The mark of the possessor is *keʃʰ*, as shown in (43).

- (43) *nu²¹ keʃʰ t^həu¹³ faʃʰ iəu²² ts^hu³³ iəu²² ts^hiaŋ³³*
 2SG POSS hair and thick and black
 ‘Your hair is thick and black.’

When a kinship term, an affiliation organization, or a single personal pronoun takes the suffix *li³³*, in this case, the singular and plural forms are the same, as demonstrated by (44) and (45).

- (44) *ŋo²¹ li³³ lau²¹ ma²²*
 EXCL sister
 ‘my sister / our sister’

- (45) *ŋo²¹ li³³ soʃʰ xiau²²*
 EXCL school
 ‘my school / our school’

When a plural personal pronoun takes *keʃʰ*, it also expresses ‘the family’s,’ as illustrated in (46).

- (46) *la³³ li³³ keʃʰ niəu¹³*
 3B PL POSS oxen
 ‘oxen of his house / their oxen’

6.4 Number

Number on the noun is expressed by the noun phrase, but it is not so strict when the noun is singular. It is only distinct at a special time. Example (47) is an answer to the question ‘Do you have (a) book(s)?’ or ‘You do not have (a) book(s), but I do.’ It expresses a comparative. To say ‘I have a book,’ one should use a sentence like example (48).

(47) $\eta\sigma^{21}$ $i\partial u^{21}$ ξy^{33}
 1SG have book
 ‘I have books.’

(48) $\eta\sigma^{21}$ $i\partial u^{21}$ $i\text{ʔ}$ $p\partial n^{35}$ ξy^{33}
 1SG have one CLF book
 ‘I have a book’

Numerals are used to distinguish the non-singular.

$\eta\alpha^{55}$	‘a little’	$man^{13}to^{33}$	‘very many’
$x\alpha u^{35}to^{33}$	‘many’	sia^{33}	‘many many’

In grammar, the expression of number is necessary, but when the number is one, it is common not to state it overtly. It is used as a definitive and subject. In (49) to (51), examples (49) and (50) have the same meaning, but local native speakers prefer (49).

(49) $p\partial n^{35}$ ξy^{33} mau^{22} $\alpha^{55} ta\text{ʔ}$
 CLF book NEG REAL
 ‘The book disappeared.’

(50) $k\sigma^{35}$ $p\partial n^{35}$ ξy^{33} mau^{22} $\alpha^{55} ta\text{ʔ}$
 DEM CLF book NEG REAL
 ‘The book disappeared.’

(51) $io\text{ʃ}^{21}$ $p\partial n^{35}$ ξy^{33} $x\alpha^{22}$ mau^{22} $\alpha^{55} ta\text{ʔ}$
 two CLF book too NEG REAL
 ‘The two books disappeared.’

6.5 Valency-changing

There is no valency-changing in the Pingjiang dialect.

6.6 Negation

There are three negation words $pəʔ^f$, $moʔ^f$, and mau^{22} in the Pingjiang dialect. $pəʔ^f$ is a common negation, $moʔ^f$ is used to negate an imperative, and mau^{22} is used to negate a fact.

6.6.1 Negative of noun

Affirmation of nouns is expressed by the copula $ʂi^{21}$. The negation of nouns is $pəʔ^f$. See (52) and (53) below.

- (52) ηo^{21} $ʂi^{21}$ ko^{33} lau^{21} su^{33}
 1SG COP CLF teacher
 ‘I am a teacher.’

- (53) ηo^{21} $pəʔ^f$ $ʂi^{21}$ lau^{21} su^{33}
 1SG NEG COP teacher
 ‘I am not a teacher.’

6.6.2 Negative of adjectives

The negative of adjectives is $pəʔ^f$. It is the same form for past and present tense, as shown by (54) and (55).

- (54) kin^{33} $niʔ^f$ $pəʔ^f$ $laiʔ^{21}$
 today NEG cold
 ‘It is not cold today.’

- (55) $ts^h oʔ^f$ $niʔ^f$ $pəʔ^f$ $laiʔ^{21}$
 yesterday NEG cold
 ‘It was not cold yesterday.’

6.6.3 Negative of verbs

Verbs are negated when preceded by $pəʔ^f$ or mau^{22} . The distinction of the two negative words is that when the action has not finished, mau^{22} is used. In all other cases, $pəʔ^f$ is used. The negation of the imperative is $moʔ^f$. See (56) to (58) for examples.

(56) la^{35} $pəʔ^4$ $t^həuʔ^4$ $ʂy^{35}$
 3BSG NEG study
 ‘He does not study.’

(57) la^{35} mau^{22} $t^həuʔ^4$ $ʂy^{35}$
 3BSG NEG study
 ‘He hasn’t study.’

(58) nu^{21} $moʔ^4$ $t^həuʔ^4$ $ʂy^{33}$
 2SG NEG study
 ‘Do not study.’

When an action stops or changes halfway through, the Pingjiang dialect uses mau^{13} V $taʔ^4$. mau^{13} V $taʔ^4$ and $pəʔ^4$ V $taʔ^4$ are distinct in the dialect. mau^{13} V $taʔ^4$ means to change the action when it is taking place, and $pəʔ^4$ V $taʔ^4$ means to change the action before it takes place. See (59) and (60).

(59) $ŋo^{21}$ $pəʔ^4$ $k^hɿ^{55}$ $taʔ^4$ nu^{21} li^{33} iau^{55} $k^hɿ^{55}$ e^{21} li^{33}
 1SG NEG go PERF 2 PL want to go 3A PL
 ‘I won’t go to your home; I will go to his home.’

(60) $ŋo^{21}$ mau^{22} $k^hɿ^{55}$ $taʔ^4$ $maʔ^{21}$ $ts^hɑʔ^{55}$ $k^hɿ^{55}$ $taʔ^4$ $maʔ^{21}$ $ʂy^{35}$
 1SG NEG go PERF buy vegetable go PERF buy book
 ‘I didn’t go to buy vegetables, I went to buy books.’

Actually, the distinction between $pəʔ^4$ and mau^{22} is that $pəʔ^4$ is relative to the thought of the actor, but mau^{22} is only used in the negative of an objective fact.

6.7 Tense, Aspect, Mood

Tense is only distinct in the negative. The negative form for the present tense is $pəʔ^4$, but the negative for the past tense is mau^{13} .

6.7.1 Aspect

Aspect uses the aspect particle *taʔ*. It can express perfect or continuity of state when it follows a verb. When a dynamic verb takes *taʔ*, it expresses the perfect. See (61).

- (61) *ŋo²¹ li³³ lau²¹ ku³³ ts^hoʔ⁴ niʔ⁴ xan⁵⁵ taʔ⁴ la²¹*
 EXCL sister in law yesterday see PERF PT
 ‘My sister-in-law saw yesterday.’

A state verb that takes *taʔ* expresses the continuity of state, as in (62).

- (62) *ta⁵⁵ taʔ⁴ nu²¹ tsieʔ⁴ k^hiʔ⁴ nu²¹ la²¹ ta⁵⁵ nu³³ a²¹ soŋ³⁵ fuʔ⁴*
 take CONT 2SG meet AUX 2SG PT at there enjoy
 ‘Take you there, and spend a happy time.’

In the Pingjiang dialect, a verb that takes *a⁵⁵taʔ⁴* will express realize, as in (63).

- (63) *i³⁵ xa²² tʂau⁵⁵ a⁵⁵ taʔ⁴*
 these all take (photo) REAL
 ‘I have pictured every aspect of this place.’

However, when *a⁵⁵taʔ⁴* appears after an adjective, it makes the adjective become a verb, and takes on the meaning ‘became,’ as in (64).

- (64) *t^hoʊ¹³ faʔ⁴ p^haʔ⁴ a⁵⁵ taʔ⁴*
 hair white REAL
 ‘The hair became white.’

V *kuən³³taʔ⁴* also expresses realize. Many verbs can take *kuən³³taʔ⁴* ‘disappear.’ See (65).

- (65) *sin⁵⁵ id²¹ pəʔ⁴ xiau³⁵ tiʔ⁴ ts^hiəu²² lən³⁵ kuən³³ taʔ⁴*
 message too NEG know then lost REAL
 ‘I didn’t know it was lost.’

k^hi⁵⁵ taʔ⁴ at the end of a sentence expresses inchoative aspect. *k^hi⁵⁵* means ‘to go,’ but a verb plus *k^hi⁵⁵ taʔ⁴* means ‘begin to do.’ If the verb is intransitive, the meaning of inchoative should be clear; see (66) and (67).

- (66) *la³³ uɑ²² ɛ²¹ kiɑ⁵⁵ ʂi⁵⁵ t^hau¹³ k^hi⁵⁵ k^hi⁵⁵ taʔ⁴*
 3BSG say 3ASG begin mischief INCH
 ‘He (teacher) says that he (boy) began to get into mischief.’

- (67) *loʔ⁴ y²¹ k^hi⁵⁵ taʔ⁴*
 fall rain INCH
 ‘It began to rain.’

6.7.2 Mood

The Pingjiang dialect has words to express mood. However, an exception exists when *taʔ⁴* is used specifically to express mood. When an adjective takes *taʔ⁴*, it expresses the feeling of the speaker. In some case, *t^hai⁵⁵* ‘too’ is also used with Adj + *taʔ⁴*.

- (68) *ts^hiəu²² ʂi²¹ kɑ⁵⁵ laŋ²¹ taʔ⁴*
 just CLF lazy PT
 ‘He is just lazy.’

- (69) *t^hai⁵⁵ kau³³ taʔ⁴ paŋ³³ kɑ²¹ ɑ²¹ moʔ⁴ k^hi²³ laʔ⁴*
 too high PT fall.down PT PT NEG go take
 ‘It is too high; you would fall down. Don’t go and take it.’

6.7.2.1 Subjunctive

In the Pingjiang dialect, the conjunction *ʂø²¹* is used to express the subjunctive, and

sometimes le^{55} . $ʂ\theta^{21}$ is used in cases of assumption nature. le^{55} is used for the context with high implementation ability. See (70) and (71).

- (70) ten^{35} nu^{21} $tsin^{55}$ $k^h\dot{t}^{55}$ $ta\dot{t}^4$ $ʂ\theta^{21}$ $t\dot{s}^h y\dot{\theta}^4$ id^{21} $t\dot{s}^h y\dot{\theta}^4$ lai^{13} $p\dot{\theta}^4$ $ti\dot{t}^4$
 until 2SG enter PREF TOP go out too go out come NEG POSS
 ‘When you entered, you could not get out.’

- (71) ten^{35} la^{55} $p\dot{\theta}^4$ lai^{15} le^{35}
 wait 3BSG NEG come PT
 ‘If he will not come?’

6.7.2.2 Wish

$sioŋ^{35}$ (72) or iau^{55} (73) is used to express a wish. The difference between them is that iau^{55} expresses a stronger feeling.

- (72) nu^{21} $sioŋ^{35}$ $t^h i a ŋ^{55}$ mo^{13} $l\dot{t}^{33}$ θ^{21}
 2SG want listen what PT
 ‘What do you want to listen to?’

- (73) nu^{21} iau^{55} xai^{33} \dot{t}^{35} ko^{55} $t\dot{\theta}ŋ^{33}$ si^{33} nu^{21} $ts^h i \dot{\theta} u^{22}$ $ts^h eŋ^{21}$ \dot{t}^{35} \dot{a}^{21} $tse\dot{t}^4$
 2SG want switch on DEM CLF thing 2SG then push LOC DIM
 ‘If you want to switch it on, please push here.’

6.7.2.3 Guessing

In the Pingjiang dialect, the expression of guessing includes the following words in (74) and (75).

- $p^h \dot{a}^{55}$ ‘maybe’: expresses the speaker’s guess

- (74) mau^{22} le^{55} $p^h \dot{a}^{55}$ $\dot{s}i^{21}$ mau^{22} $ta\dot{t}^4$ $t^h i eŋ^{22}$ $t\dot{s}^h \dot{t}^{13}$
 NEG PT maybe COP NEG PERF battery
 ‘Nothing. Maybe the battery runs out.’

- *tsəŋ*³⁵ express a high possibility guess

(75) *nu*²¹ *lɿ*³³ *sien*³³ *tɑ*³⁵ *tsəŋ*³⁵ *iəu*²¹ *nin*¹³ *lai*¹³ *kø*²¹ *lɑ*²¹
 2 PL first play must have person come DEM PT
 ‘You should start to play. I think someone would come.’

6.8 Information structure (topic, focus)

The methods of topicalization are using the expressions of topicalization or changing the word order. The expressions of topicalization are *ts^hiəu*²² and *ʂø*²¹. These two methods can be used in one sentence at the same time. There are no focus expressions in the Pingjiang dialect. The topicalization of the object is achieved by placing the object at the head of the sentence, as illustrated in (76).

(76) *si*³³ *t^hien*³³ *ʂø*²¹ *ʂy*¹³ *iɑ*²¹ *mau*²² *k^hɿ*⁵⁵ *kuø*⁵⁵
 the west world TOP who too NEG go EXP
 ‘The Western world (is so far away), nobody has been there.’

The topicalization of subjects uses operation of the lexicon. The expressions of topicalization are *ts^hiəu*²² and *ʂø*²¹. Examples (77) and (78) show their use.

(77) *lɑ*³³ *ts^hiəu*²² *ten*³⁵ *t^hoŋ*²¹ *fɿ*²² *tsøu*³⁵ *ɑ*⁵⁵ *ta*^ʔ
 3BSG TOP wait husband go out REAL
 ‘She let her husband leave.’

(78) *ɛ*²¹ *ʂø*²¹ *iɑ*²¹ *pə*^ʔ *uɑ*²² *iɑ*²¹ *pə*^ʔ *iø*¹³ *tsu*³⁵
 3ASG TOP too NEG say too NEG how
 ‘He, he does not speak and does not do anything.’

7. Grammatical relations

Subject is the element that appears in the head of a sentence. It also precedes verbs. The object is the element that follows verbs in a sentence. There are no morphological alternations or agreement in the Pingjiang dialect, and the frequency

of a verb predicate is very high. Therefore, the position of elements in the sentence is very important. Usually, the element preceding verbs is an actor of the action, and the element following verbs is a patient. The actor is the subject, and the patient is the object.

7.1 Subject, verb, and object

In the Pingjiang dialect, like in many Chinese dialects, the basic word order of a simple sentence is SVO. Grammatical relations are expressed by word order. See the explanation of (79) below.

- (79) $\eta\sigma^{21}$ maf^{21} ξy^{33}
 1SG buy book
 ‘I buy books.’

The element preceding the action is the subject of the action. $\eta\sigma^{21}$ ‘I’ is before the verb. It is the subject. The element following the verb is the receptor of the action. It is the object. ξy^{33} ‘book,’ which is the object, follows the verb.

8. Clause combining

8.1 Overview of clause combining

In English, conjunctions are used in most cases to combine clauses, but in the Pingjiang dialect, conjunctions are used only occasionally. See (80), for example.

- (80) xau^{33} to^{33} nin^{13} tau^{55} $k\eta\eta^{33}$ yan^{13} $l\eta^{21}$ $p^h au^{35}$ $p^h u^{22}$ $t^h i au^{55}$ u^{21}
 many person go park in jogging dance
 ‘Many people go to the park to go jogging and dance.’

8.2 Coordination

Coordination means the relation of two clauses is coordinate. The Pingjiang dialect uses adverbs and conjunctions to coordinate the clause, and $ts^h i au^{22}$ is most frequently used. If subjects are added, a subordination sentence becomes two independent sentences. Meanwhile, its meaning does not change. Examples are shown in (81) to (85).

- (81) *iəu²¹ keʔ⁴ tsau³⁵ ŋo²¹ iau⁵⁵ ts^hiəu²² pa³⁵ k^hiʔ⁴ taʔ⁴ la³³ la²¹*
 someone ask 1SG want then give PERF 3BSG PT
 ‘Someone asked me to give him this, so I gave it to him.’
- (82) *ŋo²¹ xan⁵⁵ tau⁵⁵ ko³⁵ ko⁵⁵ lau²¹ su³³ sin³³ lɿ³³ ts^hiəu²² kin³⁵ tɕoŋ³³*
 1SG see DEM CLF teacher heart inside then feel nervous
 ‘I am nervous when I see that teacher.’
- (83) *nu²¹ pəʔ⁴ sioŋ³⁵ k^hɿ⁵⁵ ts^hiəu²² moʔ⁴ k^hɿ⁵⁵ taʔ⁴*
 2SG NEG want go then NEG go PREF
 ‘If you don’t want to go, you need not to go.’
- (84) *nu²¹ pəʔ⁴ sioŋ³⁵ k^hɿ⁵⁵*
 2SG NEG want go
 ‘You don’t want to go.’
- (85) *nu²¹ moʔ⁴ k^hɿ⁵⁵ taʔ⁴*
 2SG NEG go PREF
 ‘You need not to go.’

8.3 Subordination

Subordination means the two clauses are not of the same level; i.e., one of them is a main clause. The Pingjiang dialect does not use conjunctions to coordinate clauses. The clauses have only one subject. If they are divided into independent sentences, the meaning changes. During the dividing, adding subjects does not help generate sentences that are grammatically correct. See (86) and (87) as examples.

- (86) *la³³ k^hiaʔ⁴ taʔ⁴ k^huən⁵⁵ k^huən⁵⁵ taʔ⁴ k^hiaʔ⁴*
 3ASG eat PERF sleep sleep PERF eat
 ‘He eats and sleeps, sleeps and eats.’

- (87) *la*³³ *k^huən*⁵⁵ *ta*^ʔ *ts^hoŋ*¹³ *ʂoŋ*²² *xan*⁵⁵ *t^hien*²² *ʂi*²²
- 3ASG sleep LOC bed on watch TV
- ‘He is laying on the bed and watching TV.’

9. Text: The vixen

- [1] *ɛ*²² *tʂa*^ʔ *u*¹³ *li*²¹ *la*³³ *le*⁵⁵ *xan*⁵⁵ *ta*^ʔ *ko*³⁵ *ko*⁵⁵ *xəu*²² *saŋ*³³ *le*⁵⁵
- tsin*³³ *ka*³³
- PT CLF vixen 3BSG PT see PREF DEM CLF young man PT
- vixen she see that young man
- ‘There is a vixen. She saw a young man.’

- [2] *la*³³ *li*³³ *u*^ʔ *li*³³ *man*¹³ *k^hu*³⁵ *la*³³ *li*³³ *ioŋ*²¹ *nioŋ*¹³ *tsai*³⁵ *ts^hiəu*²²
- 3BPL home very poor 3BPL two mother son TOP
- they home very poor they two mother son
- sen*³³ *fə*^ʔ *ia*²¹ *pə*^ʔ *xau*³⁵
- life too NEG good
- life too not good

‘His family is very poor, so he and his mother live an inferior life.’

- [3] *ko*³⁵ *ko*⁵⁵ *u*¹³ *li*²¹ *tsin*³³ *le*⁵⁵ *ts^hiəu*²² *ni*^ʔ *ni*^ʔ *tau*⁵⁵ *ko*³⁵ *a*²¹ *k^hi*⁵⁵ *le*⁵⁵
- DEM CLF vixen PT TOP day day go there go PT
- this vixen day day go there go

‘The vixen then goes there everyday,’

- [4] *ts^hiəu*²² *t^hə*^ʔ *kuən*³³ *i*³³ *ts^hoŋ*²² *ti*^ʔ *pə*³⁵ *ko*⁵⁵ *p^hi*³³ *tsu*³⁵ *i*^ʔ *sai*³³
- TOP take off PREF wear sometime DIST CLF skin shake
- take off wear sometime put skin shake
- ts^hiəu*²² *pə*³⁵ *tə*⁵⁵ *la*³³ *li*³³ *u*²¹ *fan*²²
- TOP DIST for 3BPL cook
- give for they cook

‘she takes off her wear, and sometimes she shakes down her skin, and cooks for them.’

- [5] *ko³⁵ ko⁵⁵ nioŋ¹³ ts^hiəu²² ŋaŋ²¹ ma³³ ma³³ li²² ko²¹*
 DEM CLF mother TOP eye bad POSS
 this mother then eye bad
 ‘The mother’s eyes are not so good.’
- [6] *xəu²² li³³ le⁵⁵ i³⁵ ko⁵⁵ nioŋ¹³ le⁵⁵ xiau³⁵ ti^ʔ le⁵⁵*
 then PT DEM CLF mother PT know PT
 then this mother know
 ‘Then, the mother, (nobody knows).’
- [7] *iau⁵⁵ uə²² la³³ ŋaŋ²¹ ma³³ m le⁵⁵ iəu²² xaŋ⁵⁵ tʂoŋ³³ p^hi¹³ tsu³⁵*
ə³³ li²² tau⁵⁵
 want say 3BSG eye bad PT but see CLF skin
 want say she eye bad but see skin
 ‘Although her eyes are not good, she saw the skin.’
- [8] *tʂy⁵⁵ i⁵⁵ la³³ lai¹³ i³⁵ ko⁵⁵ tsai³⁵ o³³*
 pay attention 3BSG come DEM CLF son PT
 pay attention she come this son
 ‘And watching her (vixen) coming, the son.’
- [9] *i³⁵ ko⁵⁵ tsai³⁵ ts^hiəu²² tʂy⁵⁵ i⁵⁵ ta^ʔ la³³ lai¹³*
 DEM CLF son TOP pay attention PREF 3BSG come
 this son pay attention she come
 ‘This son is watching her coming.’
- [10] *xəu²² li³³ ʂø²¹ xaŋ⁵⁵ kien⁵⁵ la³³ pa³⁵ ko⁵⁵ p^hi¹³ tsu³⁵ t^hø^ʔ ta^ʔ*
 then TOP see 3BSG DIST CLF skin take off PREF
 then see she put skin take off
foŋ⁵⁵ ta^ʔ ko³⁵ li³³

put LOC there

put on there

‘Then he saw her take off the skin and put her skin there.’

[11] *e*²¹ *ts^hiəu*²² *pɑ*³⁵ *lɑ*³³ *lɑʔ kuən*³³ *taʔ*

3ASG then DIST it take away PREF

she then put it take away

‘He took it away.’

[12] *lɑ*³³ *ts^hiəu*²² *fən*¹³ *pəʔ* *tiʔ* *kɔ*³⁵ *kɔ*⁵⁵ *u*¹³ *li*²¹³ *keʔ*

3BSG TOP come back NEG can DEM CLF fox POSS

she come back not can that fox

*ʂən*³³ *tsu*³⁵ *k^hi*⁵⁵ *taʔ* *fən*¹³ *pəʔ* *k^hi*⁵⁵ *taʔ* *ʂə*²¹ *a*⁵⁵

body PREF come back NEG PREF PT

body come back not

‘She could not come back to the body of the fox; she could not come back to the body of the fox.’

[13] *lɑ*³³ *ts^hiəu*²² *xəu*²² *li*³³ *ts^hiəu*²² *tɑ*⁵⁵ *e*²¹ *kieʔ taʔ fən*³³

3BSG TOP then with 3ASG marry

she then then then with him married

‘So she married him.’

[14] *tɑ*⁵⁵ *e*²¹ *kieʔ taʔ fən*³³ *ts^hiəu*²² *saj*³³ *taʔ* *ioŋ*²¹ *kɔ*⁵⁵ *mau*¹³ *mau*⁵⁵

with 3ASG marry TOP born PREF two CLF child

with him marry born two child

‘They married, and then they had two babies.’

[15] *saj*³³ *taʔ* *ioŋ*²¹ *kɔ*⁵⁵ *mau*¹³ *mau*⁵⁵ *le*⁵⁵

born PREF two CLF child PT

born two child

‘After they had two babies,’

- [16] *la³³ li³³ ko⁵⁵ nioŋ¹³ le⁵⁵ xøu²² li³³ le⁵⁵ ts^hiəu²² ta⁵⁵ keʔ⁴ xau³⁵ sa³⁵*
 3BPL CLF mother PT then PT TOP like interesting
 their mother then like interesting
keʔ⁴ ioŋ²² tsu³⁵ ud²² la³³ ud²²
 POSS situation say 3BSG say
 situation say she say
 ‘their (vixen and her husband) mother talked a joke to the babies, she said.’

- [17] *təŋ²¹ təŋ²¹ ts^hiaŋ³³ təŋ²¹ təŋ²¹ ts^hiaŋ³³ nu²¹ li³³ nioŋ¹³ ʃi²¹ ko⁵⁵*
 Onomatopœia onomatopœia 2PL mother COP CLF
 tontontsiang tontontsiang you mother is
u¹³ li²¹ tsiaŋ³³
 vixen
 vixen

‘Tontontsiang, tontontsiang, your mother is a vixen.’

- [18] *la³³ li³³ ko⁵⁵ nioŋ¹³ ts^hiəu²² iau⁵⁵ tʂən⁵⁵ tʂy⁵*
 3BSG CLF mother TOP need proof
 they mother need proof

‘Their mother (the vixen) asked her to show the proof.’

- [19] *la³³ ko⁵⁵ siʔ⁴ fu²² keʔ⁴ o³³ ko⁵⁵ mau¹³ mau⁵⁵ keʔ⁴ nioŋ¹³*
 3ASG CLF daughter POSS PT CLF child POSS mother
 in law
 she daughter child mother
 in law

‘Her daughter in law, the babies’ mother.’

- [20] *la*³³ *ko*⁵⁵ *siʔ fu*²² *ts^hiəu*²² *iau*⁵⁵ *tʂən*⁵⁵ *tʂy*⁵
 3BSG CLF daughter in law TOP need proof
 she daughter in law need proof

‘Her daughter-in-law, the babies’ mother, then asked her to show the proof.’

- [21] *la*³³ *ua*²² *ʂø*²¹ *xan*⁵⁵ *io*¹³ *tsu*³⁵ *ʂi*²¹ *u*¹³ *li*²¹ *tsin*³³
 3BSG say TOP see why COP vixen
 she say see why is vixen

‘She said why you said I was a vixen.’

- [22] *xøu*²² *li*³³ *le*⁵⁵ *e*²¹ *ts^hiəu*²² *tsin*³⁵ *taʔ* *ua*²² *la*³³ *ʂi*²¹
 then PT 3ASG TOP always say 3BSG COP
 then she always say she is
*ko*⁵⁵ *u*¹³ *li*²¹ *tsin*³³ *le*⁵⁵
 CLF vixen PT
 vixen

‘Then, the mother always said she was a vixen.’

- [23] *e*²¹ *ts^hiəu*²² *pa*³⁵ *tʂoŋ*³³ *p^hi*¹³ *tsu*³⁵ *iʔ* *laʔ* *tʂ^hyəʔ la*¹³
 3ASG TOP DIST CLF skin one take out
 she put skin one take out
*ko*⁵⁵ *tʂən*⁵⁵ *tʂy*⁵⁵ *ʂø*²¹ *a*⁵⁵ *ʂa*²¹
 CLF proof PT PT
 proof

‘She (old mother) took out the skin. It is proof.’

- [24] *la*³³ *ts^hiəu*²² *pa*³⁵ *tʂoŋ*³³ *p^hi*¹³ *tsu*³⁵ *iʔ* *kuən*³⁵ *ts^hiəu*²²
 3BSG TOP DIST CLF skin one roll TOP
 she put skin one roll
*p^hau*³⁵ *a*⁵⁵ *taʔ*
 run PREF
 run

‘The vixen rolled on the skin and ran away.’

[25]	<i>xəu²²li³³</i>	<i>le⁵⁵</i>	<i>pa³⁵</i>	<i>ioŋ²¹</i>	<i>ko⁵⁵</i>	<i>ŋa¹³tseŋ^ʔ</i>	<i>ia²¹</i>	<i>taɪ⁵⁵</i>	<i>a⁵⁵</i>
	then	PT	DIST	two	CLF	boy	too	take	PT
	then		put	two		boy	too	take	
	<i>k^{h55}taɪ^ʔ</i>	<i>leŋ²¹su³⁵</i>	<i>taɪ^ʔ</i>						
PREF	kill		PREF						
	kill								

‘Then, she took the boys away and killed them.’

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