Chinese Pingjiang dialect
Shengkai ZHANG

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. Further, it differs from Mandarin Chinese in several aspects. First, Mandarin 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.

Figure 1. Pingjiang in China

1 This study is supported by Grant-in-Aid for JSPS Fellows by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (KAKENHI, No.20-4843).
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 subdialcets of the Gan dialect. According to Hunansheng Pingjiang Xianzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (1994), there are four subdialcets 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p pʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>t tʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>k kʰ</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ts tsʰ</td>
<td>tʂ tʂʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[ /n/ \rightarrow [ŋ] /_u \]

\[ /ŋ/ \rightarrow [ŋi] /_i, y \]

\[ /ŋ/ \rightarrow [ŋ] /_ (the others) \]

\[ /ŋ/ \rightarrow [ŋu] /_u \]

\[ /ŋ/ \rightarrow [ŋə] /_ (the others) \]

\[ /ŋ/ \rightarrow [ŋə] /_u \]

\[ /ŋ/ \rightarrow [ŋə] /_ (the others) \]
2.1.2 Vowels

There are nine monophthongs /a, ɑ, e, ə, o, i, u, y/ and four diphthongs /ai, au, əu, ou/. 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, kʰ/, /y/ associates with only /tʂ, tʂʰ, ç/). /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 /iə/ + /u/ and /iə/ + /u/. Therefore, both /iau/ and /iou/ are regarded as the combination of the transitional vowel /i/ and diphthongs /au/ and /ou/.

![Vowel Chart](image)

**Figure 2. Vowels**

2.1.3 Tones

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone name</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quality of tone</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>clothes</td>
<td>move</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>chair</td>
<td>remember</td>
<td>easy</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V_x^2</td>
<td>i^[33]</td>
<td>V_xC_2^2</td>
<td>i^[33]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C_1V_x^2</td>
<td>ke^[33]</td>
<td>V_1V_x^2</td>
<td>i^[33]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C_1V_xC_2^2</td>
<td>t^[33]u^[33]</td>
<td>C_1V_1V_x^2</td>
<td>t^[33]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C_1V_xC_2^2</td>
<td>ti^[33]</td>
<td>V_1V_xC_2^2</td>
<td>i^[33]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C_1V_xC_2C_2^2</td>
<td>tien^[33]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

/ k/ k^[h] x/ →[c c^[h] c] (+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) nu^[2j] k^[h][^[55] a^[33]
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word = root</td>
<td>ηo²¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word = prefix - root</td>
<td>lau²¹ ⁴y³⁵                                                            ‘me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>old mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word = root -suffix</td>
<td>ηo²¹ ¹⁰i³³                                                            ‘we’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tiau³⁵ ³tse⁴                                                            ‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bird ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ³tse⁴, while suffixes such as ³tse⁴, lau²¹, tʰou¹³, and tsu³⁵ follow nouns.

| t₃ʰa³³ ³tse⁴ | ‘toy car’                                                                 |
| t₃ʰu¹³ tʰou¹³ | ‘plow’                                                                   |
| pai³³ tsu³⁵  | ‘a person with trouble in the legs’                                     |
| ηan²¹ tsu³⁵  | ‘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. \textit{lau}^{21} follows the first word of a given name.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{min}^{13}\textit{lau}^{21} \quad \textit{‘Mr. Ming’} \quad \textit{xiau}^{35}\textit{lau}^{21} \quad \textit{‘Ms. Xiao’}
\end{itemize}

3.1.2 Verbs

When \textit{ti刑事} follows a word and expresses possibility, the word must be a verb, such as \textit{k^{h}iai刑事} 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 \textit{iau}^{55} in example (03).

(02) \textit{la}^{33} \quad \textit{k^{h}iai刑事} \quad \textit{ti刑事} \quad \textit{tsiou}^{35}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
3 BSG & drink & POT wine
\end{tabular}

\textit{‘He might have drunk wine.’}

(03) \textit{la}^{33} \quad \textit{iau}^{55} \quad \textit{k^{h}i刑事} \quad \textit{xan}^{55}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
3 BSG & need & go see
\end{tabular}

\textit{‘He wants to go and see.’}

Some verbs can take the -\textit{siu}^{55} suffix. When a verb has the -\textit{siu}^{55} suffix, it functions like an adjective and means ‘be worth doing.’

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{k^{h}iai刑事} \quad \textit{siu}^{36} \quad \text{be worth eating} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{‘delicious’}
  \item \textit{xan}^{55} \quad \textit{siu}^{36} \quad \text{be worth watching} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{‘interesting’}
\end{itemize}

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), \textit{nie刑事} is an adjective and \textit{man}^{13} is an adverb.
These days are so hot.'

3.1.4 Classifier

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

(05) $\eta \iota^2 \ i\omega^2 \ i\omega^2 \ t\sigma\omega^3 \ t\sigma\omega^3$

1SG have two CLF bike

‘I have two bikes.’

For items that have a large plane and are thin, $t\sigma\omega^3$ is used. For items that are thick, $k^h\omega^5$ is used.

$i\rho^h t\sigma\omega^3 t^h\omega^1$ ‘a bed’

$i\rho^h k^h\omega^5 t^h\omega^1$ ‘a lump of soil’

For items that are slim and long, $t^h\omega^1$ is used. For items with a handle, $p\alpha^5$ is used. For a piece of garden land, $sio\j^3$ is used.

$i\rho^h t^h\omega^1 u^e^1 k^i^3^3$ ‘a scarf’

$i\rho^h p\alpha^5 s\alpha^3$ ‘an umbrella’

$i\rho^h sio\j^3 t^h\omega^1 s\alpha^5$ ‘a piece of garden land’

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

$i\rho^h p^h i^n^3 l^i s\j^3$ ‘a bottle of wine’

$i\rho^h u^e^5 s\alpha^2$ ‘a bowl of rice’

$i\rho^h sio\j^3 i^n^3$ ‘a box of clothes’

For animals, the most commonly used classifier is $t\sigma a^f$. For specific items, $k^o^5$ is used.
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 \textit{xau}^{35}V, VO, and \textit{Adj nin}^{13} adjectives. The following are examples of simple adjectives.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{to}^{33} ‘more’
  \item \textit{šau}^{35} ‘few’
  \item \textit{kau}^{33} ‘high’
  \item \textit{ŋai}^{35} ‘short’
  \item \textit{ts}^{21} ‘heavy’
  \item \textit{kʰiaŋ}^{33} ‘light’
\end{itemize}

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., \textit{man}^{13} ‘very’). If they are used as a predicate, they require a nominalization suffix \textit{ko}^{31}.

\textbf{AB type}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{nie}^{22} ‘noise’
  \item \textit{tsʰin}^{22} ‘quiet’
  \item \textit{ma}^{13} ‘trouble’
  \item \textit{sy}^{33} ‘comfortable’
  \item \textit{pʰiau}^{55} ‘beautiful’
  \item \textit{foŋ}^{33} ‘convince’
\end{itemize}

\textbf{XA type}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{mi}^{33} ‘black-like ink’
  \item \textit{pia}^{22} ‘straight (it can be used only for something that stands) like a wall’
  \item \textit{mau}^{33} ‘light like hair’
\end{itemize}
We could not find what the modification element is in some words, as *kuaj* in *kuaj* *tsʰiaj* shows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>kuaj</em></th>
<th><em>tsʰiaj</em></th>
<th><em>min</em></th>
<th><em>tʰien</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘deep blue’</td>
<td>‘very sweet’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compound adjectives consist of three types. When a verb appears after the adverb *xau*, 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* type.

- **xau** V type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>xau</em></th>
<th><em>kʰiaʔ</em></th>
<th><em>xau</em></th>
<th><em>xan</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘delicious’</td>
<td>‘beautiful or interesting’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **VO type**

  The VO type refers to a verb-object phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>tʰiaj</em></th>
<th><em>fa</em></th>
<th><em>tan</em></th>
<th><em>su</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>listen to words, follow instructions</td>
<td>understand things</td>
<td>‘obedient’</td>
<td>‘things are known’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Adj nin** type

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>ŋai</em></th>
<th><em>‘love’</em></th>
<th><em>ŋai</em></th>
<th><em>nin</em></th>
<th>make someone like</th>
<th>‘lover’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kʰi</em></td>
<td><em>‘anger’</em></td>
<td><em>kʰi</em></td>
<td><em>nin</em></td>
<td>make someone angry</td>
<td>‘irritating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pin</em></td>
<td><em>‘ice’</em></td>
<td><em>pin</em></td>
<td><em>nin</em></td>
<td>make someone feel freezing</td>
<td>‘icy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sʰin</em></td>
<td><em>‘cool’</em></td>
<td><em>tsʰin</em></td>
<td><em>nin</em></td>
<td>make someone feel cool</td>
<td>‘cool’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

- **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.

- **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)  iaŋ13 ko55 kʰuən55 a55 tɐŋ 22 tʂʰiɔŋ22 tʂʰiɔŋ22 yə21 ko35 tʂʰiəu22 xɐŋ35 tɐ22

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) \( \text{kin}^{33} \text{ni}^{17} \text{man}^{13} \text{nie}^{14} \text{le}^{21} \)

today very hot PT

‘It is very hot today.’

\( \text{man}^{13} \) adjective can modify a verb.

(08) \( \text{xai}^{33} \text{i}^{21} \text{man}^{13} \text{md}^{13} \text{fan}^{22} \text{xai}^{33} \text{i}^{33} \).

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) \( \text{xau}^{35} \text{yo}^{21} \text{ts}^{h} \text{i}^{22} \text{ki}^{55} \)

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) \( \text{yo}^{21} \text{ta}^{55} \text{s}^{o} \text{t}^{h} \text{on}^{13} \text{li}^{33} \text{ki}^{14} \text{fan}^{22} \)

1SG at dining room in take meal

‘I am dining in the dining room.’
3.2.2 Numerals

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

(12) **ŋο⁴⁴ ]** **iau⁵⁵ ]** **saŋ¹³ ]** **pən¹⁵ ]** **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 ]** **keʰ⁴⁴ ]** **tʰou³³ ]** **faʔ⁴⁴ ]** **iau²² ]** **tsʰu³³ ]** **iau²² ]** **tsʰiaŋ³³**

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) **kʰuoʔ⁴³ ]** **laŋ³³ ]** **keʰ⁴⁴ ]** ** siau⁵⁵ ]** **kʰiʔ²⁵ ]** **laʔ³³**

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) \text{nux}^{21} \text{iau}^{55} \text{xau}^{15} \text{xin}^{55} \text{y}^{55} \text{le}^{33}
\begin{align*}
&2\text{SG} & \text{should} & \text{be careful} & \text{a little} & \text{PT} \\
&\text{‘You should be careful.’}
\end{align*}

(16) \text{y}^{21} \text{xan}^{55} \text{ta}^{2} \text{sy}^{33}
\begin{align*}
&1\text{SG} & \text{read} & \text{PT} & \text{book} \\
&\text{‘I read a book.’}
\end{align*}

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.

\text{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 \text{lau}^{21} is ‘old,’ but in this lexicon, it does not mean ‘old.’

\begin{align*}
\text{lau}^{21} \text{tsiu}^{35} & \text{old elder sister} \\
\text{‘elder sister’} & \\
\text{lau}^{21} \text{ku}^{35} \text{tsiu}^{35} & \text{old aunt} \\
\text{‘sister of grandfather’} & \\
\text{lau}^{21} \text{sy}^{55} & \text{old mouse} \\
\text{‘mouse’} & \\
\text{lau}^{21} \text{mai}^{22} & \text{old younger sister} \\
\text{‘younger sister’} & \\
\text{ku}^{35} \text{tsiu}^{35} & \text{aunt} \\
\text{‘sister of father’} & \\
\text{lau}^{21} \text{fu}^{35} & \text{old tiger} \\
\text{‘tiger’} &
\end{align*}
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>慈</th>
<th>慈</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplicated form</td>
<td>慈 慈</td>
<td>慈 慈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>红</th>
<th>紅</th>
<th>高</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplicated form</td>
<td>红 红</td>
<td>紅 紅</td>
<td>高 高</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>‘very red’</td>
<td>‘very big’</td>
<td>‘very tall’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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\textsuperscript{35}/ ‘give’ pa\textsuperscript{35}la\textsuperscript{33} ‘give him’
   noun /pa\textsuperscript{55}/ ‘handle’ tau\textsuperscript{33} pa\textsuperscript{55} ‘the handle of a knife’
2. adjective /tshaw\textsuperscript{13}/ ‘long’ tshaw\textsuperscript{13}ton\textsuperscript{35} ‘length’
   verb /tson\textsuperscript{35}/ ‘grow’ tson\textsuperscript{35}t\textsuperscript{ai}\textsuperscript{22} ‘grow up’
3. adjective /xau\textsuperscript{55}/ ‘good’ man\textsuperscript{13} xau\textsuperscript{35} ‘very good’
   adverb ‘good’ xau\textsuperscript{35}xan\textsuperscript{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>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 $tṣaʔ$ 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 $ko$ is applied to most people (men, women, boys, girls, etc.), as well as utensils (slices, fire tongs, etc.).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7. Personal pronouns in the Pingjiang dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First person</th>
<th>Second person</th>
<th>Third person</th>
<th>the other case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>ɲo²¹</td>
<td>nu²¹</td>
<td>e²¹</td>
<td>la³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>participants or the focus of the discourse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>nu²¹li³³</td>
<td>e²¹li³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɲo²¹li³³</td>
<td>ɲo²¹fu³³</td>
<td></td>
<td>la³³li³³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7.1 First person pronoun

ɲo²¹fu³³ is the first personal plural pronoun exclusive form. ɲo²¹fu³³ is inclusive.

(17) ɲo²¹fu³³ xa²² sì²¹ pʰiaŋ¹³ koŋ³³ niŋ³³ nu²¹ li³³ ua²² lia⁵⁵ san³³

INCL all COP Pingjiang people 2PL speak Lishan language EXCL speak Pingjiang language

‘We are all Pingjiangers. You speak the Liashan 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) iau⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵ ti²⁵ tsu³³ ɲo²¹fu³³ tsəŋ³³ fa²² tʂaŋ⁵⁵ a²² tse⁸ la²¹

need CLF blueprint more graw 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 e²¹ (li³³) and la³³ (li³³). The distinction between them is that when the third person is a participant or the focus of the discourse, speakers use e²¹(li³³).
the other case, we use $ld^{33}(l^{33})$. In this paper, the abbreviation of $e^{21}(l^{33})$ is 3A, and for $ld^{33}(l^{33})$ it is 3B.

(19) $e^{21}l^{33}$  $ma^{t}l$  $si^{t}o^{t}n^{33}$  $t^{b}i^{o}u^{t}$  $k^{b}ua^{t}$  $k^{i}o^{t}$  $l^{5}$  $l^{33}$  $l^{33}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3APL</th>
<th>sell</th>
<th>washing powder</th>
<th>six</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>nine</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>3BSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$nu^{33}$</td>
<td>$pi^{t}en^{33}$</td>
<td>$ts^{b}i^{o}u^{t}$</td>
<td>$t^{b}i^{o}u^{t}$</td>
<td>$k^{b}ua^{t}$</td>
<td>$pa^{t}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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

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

\begin{equation}
(20) \quad la^{33} \quad tar^{55} \quad ko^{55} \quad xe^{4} \quad mof^{22} \quad tsu^{35}
\end{equation}

3BSG wear CLF black cap

‘He wears a black cap.’

\begin{equation}
(21) \quad nu^{21} \quad pd^{35} \quad mof^{22} \quad tsu^{35} \quad ts^{h}t^{5} \quad kuon^{33}
\end{equation}

2SG DIST cap take off

‘Take off your cap.’

Table 8. Syntax of the Pingjiang dialect

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

5.2 Subjects

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

\begin{equation}
(22) \quad go^{21} \quad k^{h}ia^{4} \quad fan^{22}
\end{equation}

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).

\[(23)\] \text{nu}^{21} \text{xan}^{55} \text{gy}^{33} \]
\[\text{2SG read book} \]
\['You read a book.'\]

5.4 The noun phrase
In the Pingjiang dialect, for a noun like \text{fu}^{33} ‘flower,’ the template shown below is possible.

\[(\text{DEM+}) \quad (\text{NUM+}) \quad (\text{CLF+}) \quad (\text{Adj+}) \quad \text{N} \quad (+\text{DIM})\]

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

\[(\text{DEM+}) \quad (\text{NUM+}) \quad (\text{CLF+}) \quad (\text{Adj+}) \quad \text{N} \quad (+\text{DIM})\]
\[\text{i}^{35} \quad \text{ioj}^{21} \quad \text{to}^{35} \quad \text{si}^{55} \quad \text{fu}^{33} \quad \text{tse}^{4}\]
\['this two piece small flowers'\]

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.

\[(24)\] \text{tsa}^{9} \text{iau}^{2} \text{ta}^{3} \quad \text{i}^{5} \text{a}^{4} \quad \text{kau}^{5} \quad \text{ja}^{3} \quad \text{fan}^{2} \quad \text{kia}^{5} \quad \text{ta}^{9}\]
\['only need at here cook a little rice eat PT'\]
\['Just need to cook and eat here.'\]
Table 9. Expression of Location in the Pingjiang Dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tsou^35/, /lo^9/</td>
<td>starting point</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta^25/, /lo^9/</td>
<td>location</td>
<td>‘at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta^25/</td>
<td>end point</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uo^25/</td>
<td>direction</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tsou^25/</td>
<td>by</td>
<td>‘through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tso^25/</td>
<td>on the way</td>
<td>‘along’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.2 Modification of nouns

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

\[ \text{t}^{\text{b}}\text{ai}^{22} \text{ nie}^{4} \text{t}^{\text{b}}\text{ou}^{13} \quad \text{la}^{21} \quad \text{fan}^{22} \]

\[ \text{big} \quad \text{sunlight} \quad \text{cool} \quad \text{rice} \]

‘strong sunlight’ ‘cool rice’

Sometimes, \( \text{ja}^{55} \text{ ke}^{4} \) ‘a little’ is used to modify a noun between adjectives and nouns. In this case, it functions like a comparison.

\[ \text{t}^{\text{b}}\text{ai}^{22} \text{ fo}^{13} \quad \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{in}^{21} \text{ la}^{22} \]

\[ \text{‘large room’} \quad \text{‘near way’} \]

\[ \text{t}^{\text{b}}\text{ai}^{22} \text{ ja}^{65} \text{ ke}^{4} \text{ fo}^{13} \quad \text{i}^{35}\text{kan}^{33} \text{ fo}^{13} \text{ man}^{13} \text{t}^{\text{b}}\text{ai}^{22} \]

\[ \text{‘room of the larger one’} \quad \text{‘This room is very big’} \]

\[ \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{in}^{21} \text{ ja}^{65} \text{ ke}^{4} \text{ la}^{22} \]

\[ \text{‘the way of the nearer one’} \quad \text{‘the way of the nearer one’} \]

\[ \text{ko}^{35} \text{t}^{\text{b}}\text{iu}^{13} \text{ la}^{22} \text{ man}^{13} \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{in}^{21} \]

\[ \text{‘That way is very near’} \quad \text{‘That way is very near’} \]

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) \( \eta^2 \) \( xai^3 \) \( iou^2 \) \( ko^5 \) \( t'ai^2 \) \( pau^3 \)
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ki^33</th>
<th>pho^13</th>
<th>kou^35</th>
<th>koh^33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hen’</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.4 Comparative
Comparison is expressed using \( pt^5 \) ‘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+\( pt^5 \) +B+Adj (Num)” ‘A is Adj than B’ (26). In order to negate the comparative expression, speakers use the negative sentence “A+\( mau^2 \) +B +Adj” ‘A is not Adj than B’ (27). In addition, one can use the negative word +Adj \( t'h^2 \) B ‘A is not Adj than B’ (28). When the subject and object are of the same quality, \( iou^2 \)(Adj)k\( o^2 \) ‘same’ is used.(29).

(26) \( \eta^2 \) \( pf^5 \) \( e^2 \) \( t'ai^2 \) \( \eta^5 \)
1 SG comparative 3ASG old a little
‘I am older than her’.

The following expressions are used only in negation.

(27) \( e^2 \) \( mau^2 \) \( \eta^2 \) \( t'ai^2 \)
3ASG NEG 1SG old
‘She is younger than me’ (lit. ‘She is not older than I’).
‘She is stronger than me’ (lit. ‘She is not weaker than you’).

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

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

‘The book is on the desk.’

‘There are some books on the desk.’

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) \[ kau^{35} \quad po^{1} \quad ts^{hi}^{33} \quad ta^{1} \quad ts^{ho}^{13} \quad d^{33} \]
do NEG clear PT

‘Can’t you understand it?’

- Affirmation negative question

(34) \[ lo^{1} \quad po^{1} \quad lo^{1} \quad y^{21} \]
fall NEG fall rain

‘Is it raining or not?’

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

Question
(35) \[ \eta^{21} \quad u^{22} \quad nu^{21} \quad ts^{oj}^{55} \quad d^{21} \quad tse^{1} \quad lo^{1} \quad ko^{35} \quad kau^{35} \quad mo^{13} \quad li^{3} \quad lo^{55} \]
1SG say 2SG just now at there do what PT

‘I said what you were doing just now?’

Answer
(36) \[ \eta^{21} \quad lo^{1} \quad ko^{25} \quad xan^{55} \quad a^{22} \quad tse^{1} \quad ia^{13} \quad ts^{h}^{55} \quad la^{22} \]
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
\(ta^{55} \, yo^{55}\) ‘for me’ is also used to give an order. Its tone is more severe than that of declarative sentences. See (37) and (38).

(37) \(tiaj^{55} \, kuon^{33}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{throw} & \quad \text{out} \\
\text{‘Throw out!’}
\end{align*}

(38) \(ta^{55} \, yo^{21} \, tiaj^{55} \, kuon^{33}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{for} & \quad \text{1SG} & \text{throw} & \quad \text{out} \\
\text{‘Throw out (for me)!’}
\end{align*}

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) \(la^{33} \, si^{21} \, yo^{21} \, li^{33} \, lau^{21} \, su^{33}\)

\begin{align*}
3 \text{ASG} & \quad \text{COP} & \text{EXCL} & \text{teacher} \\
\text{‘He is our teacher.’}
\end{align*}

(40) \(la^{22} \, si^{21} \, ko^{55} \, lau^{21} \, su^{33}\)

\begin{align*}
3 \text{ASG} & \quad \text{COP} & \text{CLF} & \text{teacher} \\
\text{‘He is a teacher.’}
\end{align*}

6.3.1 Location

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

(41) \(la^{53} \, lo^{#} \, kiau^{#} \, so^{#} \, li^{53} \, tʰou^{#} \, sy^{33}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{he} & \quad \text{at} & \text{classroom} & \text{in} & \text{study} \\
\text{‘He is studying in the classroom.’}
\end{align*}

(42) \(tʰ^21 \, pari^{55} \, ni^{#} \, po^{#} \, tṣyən^{35} \, ta^{55} \, so^{#} \, xiau^{22} \, li^{33} \, sa^{35}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{sunday} & \quad \text{NEG} & \text{permission} & \text{at} & \text{school} & \text{in} & \text{play} \\
\text{‘Don’t play at school on Sunday.’}
\end{align*}
6.3.2 Possession
Possessor and noun have poss-N word order. The mark of the possessor is kei, as shown in (43).

(43) nu21 kei t’sou13 fa22 iou22 ts’hu33 iou22 ts’hiaj33
    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 li31, in this case, the singular and plural forms are the same, as demonstrated by (44) and (45).

(44) go31 li31 iau21 mai22
    EXCL sister
    ‘my sister / our sister’

(45) go31 li31 soi xiau22
    EXCL school
    ‘my school / our school’

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

(46) id33 li33 kei nioiu13
    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) ɲo21  iɔu21  sy33
1SG  have  book
‘I have books.’

(48) ɲo21  iɔu21  iɻ  pen35  sy33
1SG  have  one  CLF  book
‘I have a book’

Numerals are used to distinguish the non-singular.

ɲa35  ‘a little’  man13  ɻ to33  ‘very many’
xau35  to33  ‘many’  sid33  ‘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) pen35  sy33  mau22  ɺ5 taɿ
CLF  book  NEG  REAL
‘The book disappeared.’

(50) ko35  pen35  sy33  mau22  ɺ5 taɿ
DEM  CLF  book  NEG  REAL
‘The book disappeared.’

(51) iol21  pen35  sy33  xa22  mau22  ɺ5 taɿ
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 $\text{pao}^\#, \text{moi}^\#$, and $\text{mau}^{22}$ in the Pingjiang dialect. $\text{pao}^\#$ is a common negation, $\text{moi}^\#$ is used to negate an imperative, and $\text{mau}^{22}$ is used to negate a fact.

6.6.1 Negative of noun
Affirmation of nouns is expressed by the copula $\text{si}^{21}$. The negation of nouns is $\text{pao}^\#$. See (52) and (53) below.

(52) $\eta\delta^{21} \text{si}^{21} \ k\sigma^{33} \ \text{lau}^{21} \text{su}^{33}$
    1SG  COP  CLF  teacher
    ‘I am a teacher.’

(53) $\eta\delta^{21} \text{pao}^\# \text{si}^{21} \ \text{lau}^{21} \text{su}^{33}$
    1SG  NEG  COP  teacher
    ‘I am not a teacher.’

6.6.2 Negative of adjectives
The negative of adjectives is $\text{pao}^\#$. It is the same form for past and present tense, as shown by (54) and (55).

(54) $\text{kin}^{33} \text{ni}^\# \text{pao}^\# \text{la}^{21}$
    today  NEG  cold
    ‘It is not cold today.’

(55) $\text{ts}^{3} \text{ho}^\# \text{ni}^\# \text{pao}^\# \text{la}^{21}$
    yesterday  NEG  cold
    ‘It was not cold yesterday.’

6.6.3 Negative of verbs
Verbs are negated when preceded by $\text{pao}^\#$ or $\text{mau}^{22}$. The distinction of the two negative words is that when the action has not finished, $\text{mau}^{22}$ is used. In all other cases, $\text{pao}^\#$ is used. The negation of the imperative is $\text{moi}^\#$. See (56) to (58) for examples.
(56) la’t $paʔ$ tʰəuʔ$sy^5$3BSG NEG study

‘He does not study.’

(57) la’t $mau^{22}$ tʰəuʔ$sy^5$3BSG NEG study

‘He hasn’t study.’

(58) nu$^{21}$ $maʔ$ tʰəuʔ$sy^{33}$

2SG NEG study

‘Do not study.’

When an action stops or changes halfway through, the Pingjiang dialect uses $mau^{33}$ V taʔ$. $mau^{33}$ V taʔ$ and $paʔ$ V taʔ$ are distinct in the dialect. $mau^{33}$ V taʔ$ means to change the action when it is taking place, and $paʔ$ V taʔ$ means to change the action before it takes place. See (59) and (60).

(59) $ŋə^{21}$ $paʔ$ kʰ$li^5$ taʔ$ nu$^{21}$ li$^{33}$ ia$^{55}$ kʰ$li^5$ 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) $ŋə^{31}$ $mau^{22}$ kʰ$li^3$ taʔ$ mař$ t$ʰəar^2$ kʰ$li^3$ taʔ$ mař$ sy$^{35}$

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 $paʔ$ and $mau^{22}$ is that $paʔ$ 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 $paʔ$,

but the negative for the past tense is $mau^{33}$.
6.7.1 Aspect
Aspect uses the aspect particle ta\~r. It can express perfect or continuity of state when it follows a verb. When a dynamic verb takes ta\~r, it expresses the perfect. See (61).

(61) ŋd\~1 l\~3 lau\~2\~1 ku\~3 ts\~h\~o ni\~7 xan\~5 ta\~r la\~2\~1
EXCL sister in law yesterday see PERF PT
‘My sister-in-law saw yesterday.’

A state verb that takes ta\~r expresses the continuity of state, as in (62).

(62) ta\~r\~5 ta\~r nu\~2\~1 tsie\~7 k\~h\~i\~7 nu\~2\~1 la\~2\~1 ta\~r\~5 nu\~3\~3 a\~2\~1 so\~7\~5 fu\~r\~7
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 a\~5 ta\~r will express realize, as in (63).

(63) \~i\~5 xa\~2\~2 t\~sau\~5 a\~5 ta\~r
these all take (photo) REAL
‘I have pictured every aspect of this place.’

However, when a\~5 ta\~r appears after an adjective, it makes the adjective become a verb, and takes on the meaning ‘became,’ as in (64).

(64) t\~h\~ou\~2\~2 fa\~r\~7 p\~h\~a\~i\~7 a\~5 ta\~r
hair white REAL
‘The hair became white.’

V kuon\~3 ta\~r also expresses realize. Many verbs can take kuon\~3 ta\~r ‘disappear.’ See (65).
message too NEG know then lost REAL

‘I didn’t know it was lost.’

$k^h_{t5} ta^j$ at the end of a sentence expresses inchoative aspect. $k^h_{t5}$ means ‘to go,’ but a verb plus $k^h_{t5} ta^j$ means ‘begin to do.’ If the verb is intransitive, the meaning of inchoative should be clear; see (66) and (67).

(66) $la^{33} u^d^{22} c^{21} ki^d_{s5} t^h_{au}^{13} k^h_{t5} k^h_{t5} ta^j$

3BSG say 3ASG begin mischief INCH

‘He (teacher) says that he (boy) began to get into mischief.’

(67) $lo^j y^{21} k^h_{t5} ta^j$

fall rain INCH

‘It began to rain.’

6.7.2 Mood

The Pingjiang dialect has words to express mood. However, an exception exists when $ta^j$ is used specifically to express mood. When an adjective takes $ta^j$, it expresses the feeling of the speaker. In some case, $t^h_{au}^{15} ‘too’ is also used with Adj + $ta^j$.

(68) $ts^h_{iou}^{22} s^{21} ko^{55} lan^{21} ta^j$

just CLF lazy PT

‘He is just lazy.’

(69) $t^h_{ai}^{15} kau^{14} ta^j pan^{22} ko^i^{1} o^{1} mo^j k^h_{t5} la^j$

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 $s^d^{21}$ is used to express the subjunctive, and
sometimes 亱55, 亱21 is used in cases of assumption nature. 亱55 is used for the context with high implementation ability. See (70) and (71).

(70) ten55 nu21 tsin55 kʰ55 taʔ šō1 tšʰyʰʔ# iʔa21 tšʰyʰʔ# laʔ3 pəʔ# tii#
until 2SG enter PREF TOP go out too go out come NEG POSS
‘When you entered, you could not get out.’

(71) ten55 laʔ55 pəʔ# laʔ3 le3
wait 3BSG NEG come PT
‘If he will not come?’

6.7.2.2 Wish
siou35 (72) or iaʔ55 (73) is used to express a wish. The difference between them is that iaʔ55 expresses a stronger feeling.

(72) nu21 siou35 tʰiaŋ35 mo33 ʃi33 ʃ21
2SG want listen what PT
‘What do you want to listen to?’

(73) nu21 iaʔ55 xai33 ʃ5 ko55 teŋ33 ʃi33 nu21 tšʰiaʔ22 tšʰiaʔ21 ʃ5 ʃ21 tseʔ#
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).

• ʃ⁴d⁵⁵ ‘maybe’: expresses the speaker’s guess

(74) mau22 le55 ʃ⁴d⁵⁵ ʃ21 mau22 taʔ# tʰien22 tšʰi3
NEG PT maybe COP NEG PERF battery
‘Nothing. Maybe the battery runs out.’
• \textit{tsəŋ}^{35} express a high possibility guess

(75) \textit{nù}^{21} \textit{li}^{33} \textit{siën}^{33} \textit{td}^{35} \textit{tsəŋ}^{35} \textit{iəu}^{21} \textit{niə}^{33} \textit{la}^{33} \textit{ko}^{21} \textit{la}^{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 \textit{tsʰiəʊu}^{22} and \textit{əə}^{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) \textit{sɪ}^{33} \textit{tʰiən}^{33} \textit{əə}^{21} \textit{sy}^{33} \textit{iə}^{21} \textit{mau}^{22} \textit{kʰə}^{55} \textit{kuə}^{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 \textit{tsʰiəu}^{22} and \textit{əə}^{21}. Examples (77) and (78) show their use.

(77) \textit{la}^{33} \textit{tsʰiəu}^{33} \textit{ten}^{35} \textit{tsʰoŋ}^{31} \textit{iə}^{22} \textit{tsəu}^{35} \textit{a}^{35} \textit{laɾ}^{4}

3BSG TOP wait husband go out REAL
‘She let her husband leave.’

(78) \textit{e}^{21} \textit{əə}^{21} \textit{iə}^{21} \textit{poɾə}^{4} \textit{uəə}^{22} \textit{iə}^{21} \textit{poɾə}^{4} \textit{iə}^{33} \textit{tsu}^{15}

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) \( n\)\(\text{ŋ}\)\(31\) \(m\)\(i\)\(21\) \(s\)\(\text{y}\)\(33\)  
1SG buy book  
‘I buy books.’

The element preceding the action is the subject of the action. \( n\)\(\text{ŋ}\)\(31\) ‘I’ is before the verb. It is the subject. The element following the verb is the receptor of the action. It is the object. \( s\)\(\text{y}\)\(33\) ‘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) \( x\)\(\text{au}\)\(33\) \(t\)\(o\)\(33\) \(n\)\(i\)\(n\)\(13\) \(t\)\(a\)\(u\)\(55\) \(k\)\(\text{ə}\)\(y\)\(33\) \(y\)\(a\)\(n\)\(13\) \(h\)\(21\) \(p\)\(h\)\(\text{au}\)\(35\) \(p\)\(h\)\(u\)\(22\) \(t\)\(h\)\(i\)\(a\)\(u\)\(5\) \(u\)\(21\)  
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 \( t\)\(s\)\(h\)\(i\)\(u\)\(22\) 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) *iоu*21 *ke*r2 *tsau*35 *yo*21 *iau*55 *tsʰiоu*22 *pa*15 *kʰi*i⁹ *ta*¹⁹ *la*33 *la*21
someone ask 1SG want then give PERF 3BSG PT
‘Someone asked me to give him this, so I gave it to him.’

(82) *yo*21 *xa*55 *tau*55 *ko*55 *ko*55 *lau*21 *su*33 *si*33 *li*33 *tsʰiоu*22 *ki*55 *tsʰiоu*33
1SG see DEM CLF teacher heart inside then feel nervous
‘I am nervous when I see that teacher.’

(83) *nu*21 *pa*¹⁴ *sio*¹⁵ *kʰi*⁵⁵ *tsʰiоu*²² *mo*¹⁷ *kʰi*⁵⁵ *ta*¹⁹
2SG NEG want go then NEG go PERF
‘If you don’t want to go, you need not to go.’

(84) *nu*21 *pa*¹⁴ *sio*¹⁵ *kʰi*⁵⁵
2SG NEG want go
‘You don’t want to go.’

(85) *nu*²¹ *mo*¹⁷ *kʰi*⁵⁵ *ta*¹⁹
2SG NEG go PERF
‘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) *la*³³ *kʰia*¹⁷ *ta*¹⁹ *kʰwоn*⁵⁵ *kʰwоn*⁵⁵ *ta*¹⁹ *kʰia*¹⁷
3ASG eat PERF sleep sleep PERF eat
‘He eats and sleeps, sleeps and eats.’
(87) \( l3^3 k^b\text{uu}n^{55} t\bar{a}^\prime t\bar{s}b\text{oy}^{13} s\bar{o}j^{22} x\bar{a}n^{15} t\bar{b}\text{ien}^{22} \bar{s}^{22} \)

3ASG sleep LOC bed on watch TV

‘He is laying on the bed and watching TV.’

9. Text: The vixen

[1] \( e^{22} t\text{sa}^? \ u^{13} l\bar{f}^{1} l3^3 l\bar{d}^{13} l\bar{e}^{55} x\bar{a}n^{55} t\bar{a}^\prime k\bar{o}^{35} k\bar{o}^{55} x\bar{\text{ou}}^{22} s\bar{a}n^{33} l\bar{e}^{55} t\bar{\text{sin}}^{33} \)

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] \( l3^3 l\bar{d}^{13} u^{\bar{b}} l\bar{f}^{21} m\bar{a}n^{13} k^b\text{u}^{35} l3^3 \bar{i}o\bar{g}^{21} n\bar{i}o\bar{g}^{13} t\bar{s}a^{5} t\bar{s}b\bar{i}o\bar{u}^{22} \)

3BPL home very poor 3BPL two mother son TOP they home very poor they two mother son

\( s\bar{e}n^{3} f\bar{\text{e}}^{\prime} l\bar{d}^{1} p\bar{\text{o}}^{2} x\bar{\text{au}}^{35} \)

life too NEG good

life too not good

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

[3] \( k\bar{o}^{35} k\bar{o}^{55} u^{13} l\bar{f}^{21} t\bar{\text{sin}}^{13} l\bar{e}^{55} t\bar{s}b\bar{i}o\bar{u}^{22} n\bar{i}^{2} n\bar{i}^{2} t\bar{a}u^{55} k\bar{o}^{35} a^{21} k^b^{55} l\bar{e}^{55} \)

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] \( t\bar{s}b\bar{i}o\bar{u}^{22} t\bar{b}\bar{\text{eo}}^{22} k\bar{\text{uu}}^{3} f^{3} t\bar{s}b\bar{o}j^{22} t\bar{i}^{2} p\bar{d}^{35} k\bar{o}^{55} p^b^{1} t\bar{s}u^{15} i^{2} s\bar{a}^{33} \)

TOP take off PREF wear sometime DIST CLF skin shake take off wear sometime put skin shake

\( t\bar{s}b\bar{i}o\bar{u}^{22} p^{35} t\bar{a}^{55} l3^3 l\bar{d}^{13} u^{21} f\bar{\text{an}}^{22} \)

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] \( ko^{35} ko^{35} nio\beta^{13} ts^{h}i\omega^{22} n\alpha^{21} m\delta^{33} m\delta^{22} li^{22} ko^{21} \)
DEM CLF mother TOP eye bad POSS
this mother then eye bad

‘The mother’s eyes are not so good.’

[6] \( xu^{22} li^{33} le^{55} i^{55} ko^{35} nio\beta^{13} le^{55} xi\alpha^{35} ti^{1} le^{55} \)
then PT DEM CLF mother PT know PT
then this mother know

‘Then, the mother, (nobody knows).’

[7] \( i\alpha^{55} ud^{22} ld^{33} n\alpha^{21} m\delta^{33} m le^{55} i\omega^{22} x\alpha^{55} ts\iota^{33} p^{h}^{13} tsu^{35} \)
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] \( ts^{y}^{55} i^{55} ld^{33} lai^{3} i^{55} ko^{35} tsai^{35} o^{33} \)
pay attention 3BSG come DEM CLF son PT
pay attention she come this son

‘And watching her (vixen) coming, the son.’

[9] \( i^{35} ko^{35} tsai^{35} ts^{h}i\omega^{22} ts^{y}^{55} i^{55} ta^{1}^{1} ld^{33} lai^{3} \)
DEM CLF son TOP pay attention PREF 3BSG come
this son pay attention she come

‘This son is watching her coming.’

[10] \( xu^{22} li^{33} s\delta^{21} x\alpha^{55} kien^{55} ld^{33} pd^{35} ko^{35} p^{h}^{13} tsu^{35} ts^{h}i^{1} ta^{1}^{1} \)
then TOP see 3BSG DIST CLF skin take off PREF
then see she put skin take off

\textit{fogn}^{55} ta^{1}^{1} ko^{35} li^{33} \)
put there
put on there

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

[11]  
\[ e^{21} \ ts^bi\ou^{22} \ pa^{35} \ ld^{33} \ la?^{33} \ k\ou^{33} \ ta?^{33} \]
3ASG then DIST it take away PREF

she then put it take away

‘He took it away.’

[12]  
\[ ld^{33} \ ts^bi\ou^{22} \ fan^{13} \ po?^{13} \ ti?^{13} \ ko^{35} \ ko^{55} \ u^{13} \ li^{31} \ ke?^{33} \]
3BSG TOP come back NEG can DEM CLF fox POSS

she come back not can that fox

\[ \sand^{33} \ tsu^{35} \ k\ou^{55} \ ta?^{33} \ fan^{13} \ po?^{13} \ k\ou^{55} \ ta?^{33} \ se^{21} \ a^{55} \]
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]  
\[ ld^{33} \ ts^bi\ou^{22} \ x\ou^{22} \ li^{43} \ ts^bi\ou^{22} \ ta^{55} \ e^{21} \ kie?^{13} \ ta?^{13} \ fon^{33} \]
3BSG TOP then with 3ASG marry

she then then then with him married

‘So she married him.’

[14]  
\[ ta^{55} \ e^{21} \ kie?^{13} \ ta?^{13} \ fon^{33} \ ts^bi\ou^{22} \ say^{33} \ ta?^{13} \ iog^{21} \ ko^{55} \ mau^{3} \ mau^{5} \]
with 3ASG marry TOP born PREF two CLF child

with him marry born two child

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

[15]  
\[ say^{33} \ ta?^{13} \ iog^{21} \ ko^{55} \ mau^{3} \ mau^{5} \ le^{55} \]
born PREF two CLF child PT

born two child

‘After they had two babies,’
Their (vixen and her husband) mother talked a joke to the babies, she said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘The vixen rolled on the skin and ran away.’
‘Then, she took the boys away and killed them.’

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