NOTES ON NANCHANG DIALECT (DRAFT)
Laurent Sagart

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NOTES ON NANCHANG DIALECT

(draft)

Laurent Sagart

Melbourne, June-December 1999

Warning:

These notes were written in Melbourne in 1999 after a season of fieldwork in Jiangxi during which I recorded five texts in Nanchang dialect (transcribed below) from speaker XYZ in Nanchang. Speaker XYZ expressed the desire not to be identified by name. I possess audio recordings of these texts. In Melbourne I also recorded the speech of Mrs Xie, a speaker of Nanchang dialect then in her sixties, residing in Melbourne with her family who spoke Nanchang at home especially with the intent of investigating Nanchang grammar. To that effect I followed Anne Yue-Hashimoto's Comparative dialectical grammar. The sessions were not recorded.

The notes below are in two parts, one for each speaker. For various reasons I never found the time to turn them into a monograph. Nevertheless as they may be useful to students of the Nanchang dialect I am making them available. To do this I have cleaned up the file for font problems. I have been unable to restore the sentence references between pp 84 and 90.

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1. speaker XYZ
Speaker XYZ was in his early fifties at the time of recording. He was born in Jiangxi and raised in Nanchang since childhood. He speaks Nanchang dialect, Mandarin and English. He is highly educated.

These notes entirely based on five texts recorded in Nanchang, see transcriptions below.

1.1 Nanchang phonology and orthography for speaker XYZ
Pronunciation of speaker XYZ is close to Nanchang dictionary

1.1.1 Tones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>speaker XYZ</th>
<th>Nanchang dictionary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>[42]</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>[24]</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td>[213]</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T5</td>
<td>[45]</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T6</td>
<td>[31~21]</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T7</td>
<td>[45']</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T8</td>
<td>[2']</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In my transcriptions tones are marked by a sub/super-script numeral at the right of the syll: xxxx₁, xxxx₂, xxxx₃, etc.

In addition there is a qingsheng (T0), unmarked in the orthography, for de- or unstressed syllables, which are also typically reduced for their rhyme (VV or VC > V). These syllables are marked without a tone symbol in the transcription. Acc to Wei Gangqiang and Chen Changyi (1998), the actual contour of T0 depends on the contour of a preceding tonal syllable. it is mid-high [4] if the preceding syllable ends in a rise (T2, T3, T5) and mid-low [2] otherwise. Have’nt checked this on speaker XYZ’s pronunciation. Destressing can be due to speech environment but some morphemes (typically grammatical morphemes such as KO NOM) have lexicalized T0. When a lexicalized T0 open-vowelled word undergoes restressing, the outcome is T7, thus 到 tao5 > të > [restressing] teq7

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko5</td>
<td>ha6</td>
<td>ko3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.2 initials
These initials occur in the transcription:

| p    | m    | f    |
| t    | th/D | l    |
| ts   | tsh/DZ | s |
| c    | ch/J | ny   | x |
| k    | kh/G | ng   | h |
Aspirated stops are unstable and often show special variants in connected speech. In a few cases (IV :104), the closure part of an aspirated stops disappears in connected speech, and only the aspiration part remains. Much more common variants are the sounds written by voiced/Capitalized stop symbols. These are phonetically unaspirated, lenis, and often voiced variants of the aspirated stops in connected speech, typically: B = ß, D = D (tongue flap), DZ = dz or z, J = J G = ɣ. They are very common, except in utterance-initial position, and following tone 7 (unsure about the rare tone 8). In these environments aspirated stops occur. Isolation syllables are utterances in themselves and therefore do not show voicing of aspirates, hence most descriptions of Nanchang do not mention any voiced stops in phonetic inventory. In fact these phonemes might be underlingly voiced with voiceless aspirates as conditioned variants (utterance-initial; perhaps stress; following –q or –t).

Correspondences with Nanchang Dictionary are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XYZ</th>
<th>NC dict.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph/B</td>
<td>p′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th/D</td>
<td>t′</td>
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<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsh/DZ</td>
<td>ts′</td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ʨ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch/J</td>
<td>ʨ′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ȵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>ɕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh/G</td>
<td>k′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.3 medials
Speaker XYZ: i ü u (word-initially: y yü w)
NC dictionary: I y u
symbols between brackets are word-initial variants of the first three.

1.1.4 rhymes

a  ai  ao  an  ang  aq/t
e  eu  en  eq/t
oe
o  on  ong  oq
i  i̯i  iy  in  iq/i̯t
i  iy  in  iq/i̯t
ü  ün  üt
u  un  ung  uq
In addition a vowel ‘ë’ serves to note a reduced central vowel in my transcription.

Correspondences with NC dictionary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XYZ</th>
<th>NC dict.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
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<tr>
<td>ai</td>
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<td>ang</td>
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<td>aq/t</td>
<td>ãY, at</td>
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<td>on</td>
<td>on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ong</td>
<td>ëŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>oq</td>
<td>ëŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i; apical vowel</td>
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<tr>
<td>ïi</td>
<td>ïi</td>
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<td>ïu</td>
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<td>ïn</td>
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<td>ung</td>
<td>ÿŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ut/uq</td>
<td>ÿt, ÿ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 glossary of function words and discourse markers in the texts

1. $A_{SUPP}$ 啊. CLAUSE1+A+CLAUSE2. Indicates supposition: translatable as « suppose that CLAUSE1, then CLAUSE2 », « when CLAUSE1,… » or « if CLAUSE1,…» Ex : esp. in I :18,33,69.

2. $A_{SUSP}$ 啊 X+A : suspensive : « wait for predicate or main clause». Ex. : [suoyi a],

3. $A_{TOP}$ 啊 X+A. Topic Marker : Ex. : [ko3 ko nan5 Dzong1 si6 a], [5.89 zhu dao shenmo shihou a ?]. Note : all three functions may be basically one, i.e. #2.
4. A_{DUR}  啊 serves to derive verbs in durative aspect: V a V (ex: II:12; IV:123-124). This is probably from an earlier V  下  V, as in Yangjiang (Huang Borong: 205). Guangzhou has V  下  V, with  下 ha^{15}.

5. CHILA{INCH}. 起来. V+CHILA. Inchoative marker.

6. CL : classifier, see section crossref

7. HA 哈 sentence-final or after a pause, indicates resolve: refers to immediately preceding discourse, meaning something like, ‘as for me, that’s what I think/will do’ IV:3, IV:69, IV:75; IV:147. Note: the Nanchang dictionary writes 口 + 夏, sentence-final; particle, expressing order.

8. KAO\text{NEW}  亅 kaq7 utterance-initial, introduces a new development in a situation that has been previously described, a development which does not follow naturally from that situation, couldn’t be deduced from it (many examples, e.g. II.13).

9. KAO\text{EPI}  亅 Epistemic uses of the preceding (=Eng. ‘now’, argumentative: ‘the foregoing being granted, now, a new question arises; for instance in ‘now, can we be sure that…’)  

10. KO\text{ATT}.  嘅 Attributive use of KO. Links a property to a head noun. The property is often expressed by a xingrongci (ie an intransitive verbs which can be preceded by an adv of degree); but it can also be a noun phrase denoting substance (tsii3 tsaq7 kē ten1 lung5 ‘a lantern made of paper’), age (long3 san1 suii5 kē tsai3 ‘a child of 2 or 3’), subject matter (2.2.yiq7 ko ‘xiu’ DZai² kē xiu⁵ fa⁶ ‘a story about a scholar’), shape (yiq kien yiq kien kē mifïn ‘noodles in sticks’) etc.

11. KO\text{GEN}.  嘅 With all kinds of NP dependents, whether or not expressing possession or part/whole relationship: includes in particular place (Ngonyi kē nyin ‘people from Anyi’), and time (ku³tai⁵ kē thuq su nyin ‘literati of old times’).

12. KO\text{NOM}.  嘅 Derives nominals. 2:14. ‘yiq7 ko nyu3 KO’ « a woman », Also 5.162, 5.163

13. KO\text{REL}.  嘅 VP+KO+NP. Attaches a VP to a NP. Wwith all kinds of VPs except those with bare xingrongci’s (plus possible adv of degree), treated here as KO\text{ATT}. 5.194-199 for one head noun with several attached VPs.

14. KO\text{ADV}.  嘅 Derives adverbials. Equivalent to Mand DE1 用地. 1.66.piq⁷ kien¹ he³ ko peq⁷ cin¹ yiq⁷ yong⁶ ko yiu³ lon³ chi³.

15. KO\text{ASST}.  嘅 Clause+ KO\text{ASST}. Assertive use of KO. Equivalent to Mand. (shī)…de. Sometimes used with is sī. Ex: I :15, IV:32, IV:65.

16. KO\text{XIE}.  嘅 yiu³+KO+N. Equiv of Mandarin de⁶ in the sense of xiel¹ ‘some’, between yiu³ and count noun (si5 kan1 ‘times’, nyin5 ‘people’); also of Cantonese di1 (yau4 di1 yan2). ‘there are people’. Nanchang : 1.10 : yiu³ ko sī⁵ kan ; 5.186 yiu3 ke nyin5 a. The noun can be omitted, 3.81.

17. KO\text{MIR}.  嘅 ‘Mirative’ use of KO. Equivalent to Mand. de⁶ 個 in one of its uses. ‘as much/many as+quantification ; to the extent that as a result+result’. Typically used after TEQ\text{DEG} or TEQ\text{RES} (but I.11 without TEQ). Degree is quantified in III.135, but result (not quantified) : ‘to the extent that+result’ in I :15 ; I :45 ; III :121. KO\text{MIR} seems obligatory after TEQ\text{DEG} when the complement of degree is
not a verbal expression (III.127, 134,135); but also occurs when the comp. of
degree is a verbal exp (I.15, 45).
18. KUO EXP. 通. Verb suffix, Marks verbs in experiential aspect. Similar to Mand guo.
19. LA CHG. 喊. Probably a fusion of LIEU CHG+A, q.v. Ex. : 4.50 ‘they start to eat’.
20. LA OBV. (low qingsheng). YS says: ‘it’s obvious, of course, no doubt, one can
only agree with it’. This kind of obviousness is obvious to everyone, unlike
MA OBV, qv. Ex. : IV:10. IV :25, IV :27. 5.66 (but pitch is mid).
21. LA UNS. (high qingsheng). Utterance final, gives preceding clause a meaning of
uncertainty. Apparently a fusion of LA OBV + A, q.v. Ex. : 4.50 ‘they start to eat’.
22. LA LOOK. 了. Utterance-initial : attracts the hearer’s attention to an element in the
situation, similar to Eng. ‘look !’. One ex., 2.46.
23. LA INC. 來. change into the state, in V-lai5 : sai5 kon1 lai5 yi3heu6 ‘after it
has become dry’. Only ex. Perhaps an error for LIEU PRFV.
24. LAQ DISP. 撥. Marker of disposal construction. Only one ex. main verb is ‘give’
pai3), and direct objects (‘sweets’) is indefinite. See PA DISP.
25. LAQ INST. 拿. introduces an instrumental complement. 3 :48 ; 5 :21 ;
26. LE 呢. X+LE. Speaker presents preceding discourse as premise for following
discourse. Similar to Mand ne0 呢.
27. LIEU CHG 了: sentence final, marks change of state : IV :9
28. LIEU PRFV 了: verb-final, marks perfective aspect.
29. LIEU PROG 了: verb-final, marks progressive aspect : IV :43, 95 (on path of development
perfective > progressive: Mand zhe)
31. LO OBV 喏. sentence final, sentence meaning is ‘regrettably obvious’. Perhaps a fusion of
LA OBV + O REG. IV :120, 121,136.
32. LO INST 喏. Phrase-final : P+LO, P+LO, P+LO…P+LO. marks each of a series of
consecutive, parallel phrases. Text 1 ; also 5.139-141.
33. LO CONSULT. Sentence-final, presses hearer to agree. 2.29 ; 2.38.
34. MA sentence-final, after 郎 long5 ‘how ?’. This MA is equivalent to 呢.
Ex:5.151.
35. MA OBV 嘛 Sentence-final, presents the situation as obvious to the speaker, though
not necessarily to everybody else = patronizing (unlike LA OBV, qv). Only one ex. : III.112.
36. NEG: the general negation for verbs not in experiential or prefective aspect : mao6
冒 for ‘have’, 不 pïq7 or puq7 for all other verbs.
38. NEG-PRFV. 冒 mao6. Negation for verbs in prefective aspect. IV :102
39. OADV 哦 sentence-final, low qingsheng. Strong advice. IV :70
40. ORG 哦. IV :158. Sentence final: indicates regret on the part of the speaker: ‘alas’! Only one ex. See also LO_OBV.
41. ORD. 第 thi₆, Ordinal marker.
42. P ‘particle’
43. PA_PRESS 吧. Sentence-final, pressing hearer to agree, comply, accept a new topic, an estimate or approximation, 2.28; 3.10; 3.37; 3.94; 3.117; 4.26; 4.150.
44. PDISP. 把. The main disposal marker. Equivalent to mandarin ba₃ 把.
45. PREP. preposition
46. TAODUR 到 verb suffix, marks durative aspect. III.51; III.41; IV :64; IV :162
47. TAORES 到, a resultative complement, marks successful outcome. II.13, II.19; 2.31; III.53; IV.63, IV. 111, 4.142, IV :160;
48. TEQDEG 得 introduces complements of degree (1.25, 1.30, 1.47, 1.56, 1.58, 3.7, 3.35)
49. TEQEXT 得 introduces complements of extent (1.13, 1.15, 1.26, 1.45, 5.191)
50. TEQMAN 得 introduces complements of manner (2.17, 3.24, 3.35, 3.36, 3.61, 3.69, 4.43, 4.83, 5.155)
51. TEQPREP 得. A preposition, equivalent to Mand. zai₄ (maybe not different from TAOPREP, as both are phonetically të or têq. III.77)
52. TSHAIPROG. 在. TSHAI+V. Marks verbs in progressive aspect. Equivalent to Mand zai₄.
53. YEUCHR 要. YEU+V ‘characteristic behaviour’, as Eng. ‘will V’, ‘can be predicted to V’ in « water will boil at 100 degrees Celsius ». See Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994 :157). Ex: 1.56, 3.25, 3.27, 3.102. 4 :91; 5 :136

1.3 five Nanchang texts (speaker XYZ; recorded May-June 1999 in Nanchang)
• Line 1: as much as possible, the usage of the Nanchang Dictionary is followed for Chinese characters. 2 new characters were created: A3C1 一; A3C2 乙
• Line 2: follows ‘outline of discourse transcription’ of Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming and paolino (1993). Orthography is mine (see above for details). Symbols in bold are unexpected/irregular (for instance initial n in Nanchang in text 1, line 1 below is irreg., as Nanchang has merged n and l).
• Line 3: for glossing of grammatical words and discourse markers, see ‘glossary’ above.

1.3.1 Nanchang text No. 1.: Nanchang weather
(Told by XYZ. Recorded by Laurent Sagart. Nanchang, June 1999)

南 昌 隻 個 地 方 啊
1. na₅ DZong¹ ko³ ko Di⁶ fong¹ a.
Nanchang this CL place ⒄TOP
2. phieq⁷ xiq⁷ li tu¹ hao³.
other-things all good

3. chiu⁶ x[r⁶] ko³ ko ^thie=n¹ chi,
then be this CL weather

4. nga=ng⁶ x[r⁶] piq⁷ hao³.
decidedly be NEG good

5. lan⁵ teq⁷ !yit⁷ nyen⁵ tao⁵ Deu².
seldom in:one:year

6. lan⁵ teq⁷ yiu³ ci³ nyiq⁷ tsï hao³ thien¹ chi.
seldom have several day good weather

7. siu³ xien¹ DZun¹ thien¹ lo.
first springtime LOINST

8. ko³ tshun¹ thien¹ le,
this springtime LE

9. lao³ si⁶ loq⁸ yu³.
always rain (v.)

10. ngang⁶ yiu³ ko si⁵ kan,
really have KOXIE times

11. yit⁷ loq⁷ chiu⁶ loq⁷ ko san¹ nyit si⁵ nyit
as:soon:as fall then fall KO_MIR three day four day

五日 七日 八日 九日
g³ nyit⁷ chit⁷ nyit⁷ paq⁷ nyit⁷ siq⁸ lai⁵ !nyit⁷.
five day seven day eight day ten and:more day

日日 落
Nanchang syntax notes

12.  nyit nyit\footnote{everyday} loq\footnote{fall},

13.  piq\footnote{NEG get} teq\footnote{thin\(^2\)},

14.  loq\footnote{fall} teq\footnote{TEQ\(_{EXT}\)} nyin\footnote{people all} tu\footnote{go:out} DZuq\footnote{NEG} piq\footnote{lieu\(^1\)} mïn\footnote{min\(^5\)},

15.  loq\footnote{fall} teq\footnote{TEQ\(_{EXT}\)} ko fo=ng\footnote{can} li le tao\footnote{DZu apartment inside LE} mïn\footnote{mould},

16.  mo\footnote{feel} tê [tao\footnote{CL}] ko ko tsoq\footnote{tsi} lat\footnote{very} sït\footnote{wet},

17.  mo\footnote{feel} tê [tao\footnote{CL}] ten\footnote{stool} tsï lat\footnote{very} sït\footnote{wet},

18.  n\footnote{2SG} ta\footnote{open} Gai\footnote{xiong} xiong\footnote{khon} na,

19.  n\footnote{2SG} len ko Bii\footnote{see} wo ya\footnote{also grow} lë [lieu\footnote{mould}],

20.  mien\footnote{padded: jacket} ngaio\footnote{also grow} ya\footnote{mould},

21.  xiq li tu\footnote{everything all} faq\footnote{grow} lë [lieu\footnote{mould}],

22.  tsong\footnote{character} lë [lieu\footnote{mould}].
23. ko³ DZun¹ thien¹ li.
this springtime inside

24. let⁷ thien¹ li pa,
summer inside PA

25. let⁷ thien¹ chiu⁶ let⁷ teq⁷ yeu⁵ sì³.
summer then hot TEQDEG want die

26. ngang⁶ let⁷ teq⁷ chì⁵ tu¹ Deu³ piq⁷ tshuq⁷ lai.
indeed hot TEQRES breath all breathe NEG come:out

27. san¹ sìq⁸ chiq⁷ Du⁶ san¹ sìq⁸ paq⁷ Du⁶
thirty-seven degrees thirty-eight degrees

28. yiu³ ko sì⁵ kan¹ chiu⁶ san¹ sìq⁸ ciu³ Du⁶
have KOASST times then thirty-nine degrees

29. n³ [ch]iong⁶ chiu⁶ nyen⁵ tsi,
like last:year

30. chiu⁶ let⁷ teq⁷ yeu⁵ sì³.
then hot TEQDEG want die

31. chiu⁶ nyen⁵ tsi let⁷ tao⁵ sì⁵ sìq Du⁶.
last:year hot reach 40 degrees
熱天裏還往往有洪水

32. let\(^7\) thien\(^1\) li hai\(^2\) wong\(^3\) wong\(^3\) yiu\(^3\) fung\(^5\) suii\(^3\),
summer inside in:additional often have flood

漲水

33. ... tsong\(^3\) suii\(^3\) a.
swelling:of:waters ASUPP

漲脫大嘅水

34. ... tsong\(^3\) thoq\(^7\) thai\(^6\) ko suii\(^3\),
wells very big KOATT water

你像舊年子咯

35. n\(^3\) [ch]jong\(^6\) chiu\(^6\) nyen\(^5\) tsii\ LO
like last:year LOINST

江西漲水全國有名

36. ciong\(^1\) xi\(^1\) tsong\(^3\) suii\(^3\) ..
Jiangxi floods chyon\(^2\) kueq\(^7\) yiu\(^3\) miang\(^4\),
countrywide have fame

全世界都有了名

37. chyon\(^2\) si\(^5\) kai\(^5\) tu\(^1\) yiu\(^3\) lë [lieu\(^3\)] miang\(^5\).
all world even have LIEUPRFV fame

舊年子差滴子出大問題

38. chiu\(^6\) nyen\(^5\) tsii ..
last:year tsha\(^1\) tiaq\(^7\) tsi tshuq\(^7\) thai\(^6\) win\(^6\) thi\(^2\),
almost happen big problem

啊

39. a,
ASUSP

防洪搶險

40. fong\(^5\) fung\(^2\) chiong\(^3\) xien\(^3\)
guard:against flood take:emergency:measures:against danger ((A SLOGAN))

[1 :23]
42. 秋天 還 好
   chiu¹ thien¹ hai² hao³
   autumn still good

43. 不過 呢 就是 好 乾燥
   puq⁷ kuo⁵ le chiu⁶ x[i⁶] hao³ kon¹ tsao⁵
   but LE then be very dry

44. 又乾
   ^pa¹ kon¹. (pa¹ SPECIAL VOICE QUALITY
   VENTRICULAR ? PHARYNGEALIZED ?)
   very dry

45. 有 嘅 時間 乾得 呢
   yiu³ ko si⁵ kan¹ kon¹ teq⁷ le
   have KOXIE times dry TEQRES LE

46. 許 乾燥
   he³ ^kon¹ tsao⁵.
   that dry (that's how dry it gets)

47. 冬天 吧 就 冷得 要 死
   tu=ng¹ dien¹ pa chiu⁶ lang³ teq⁷ yeu⁵ si³.
   winter PA then cold TEQDEG want die

48. 又 冷 又 潮濕
   yiu⁶ lang³ yiu⁶ dzeu² si⁷.
   and cold and wet

49. 我們 箇裏 話 起來
   ngo³ min ko³ li wa⁶ chi³ lai ((TRUNCATED))
   1PL here say CHILAI_INCH

fu
X
50. winter ko chi\(3\) w\(\text{in}\) a, 
\(\text{KO}_\text{GEN that} \, \text{CL temperature} \, A\text{TOP}\

也不算好低

51. also ko h\(\text{ao}\) ti\(1\).
\(\text{NEG count:as} \, \text{very} \, \text{low}\

比如零下五度咯

52. for:instance below:zero five degrees \(\text{LO}\text{INST}\

六度咯

liuq\(8\) Du\(\text{6} \, \text{LO}\text{INST}\

主要是什哩呢

53. principally be what \(\text{LE}\

潮濕

tsheu\(2\) s\(\text{it}\).
\(\text{wet}\

所以北京啊

54. that:is:why Beijing \(\text{A}\text{TOP}\

佢零下十多度

55. 3SG below:zero ten more degrees

佢比我們箇裏感覺

56. 3SG compare:with IPL here feel

要好得多

yeu\(5\) h\(\text{ao}\) teq\(7\) \(\text{TO}\text{1}\

\(\text{YEU}_{\text{CHR}} \, \text{better} \, \text{TEQ}_\text{DEG} \, \text{much}\

第一佢乾燥

57. ORD one 3SG dry
58. tung\(^1\) dien\(^1\) kē [ko] \(^{thien}\) chi hao\(^3\) teq\(^7\) hen\(^3\),
    winter KO\(_{GEN}\) weather good TEQ\(_{DEG}\) very

59. tu\(^1\) sī\(^6\) chiang\(^2\) dien\(^1\).
    all be clear day

60. tsai\(^5\) yiq\(^7\) kē [ko] le
    again one CL LE

61. cie\(^3\) fong\(^5\) kan\(^1\) li yiu\(^3\) non\(^3\) chi\(^3\).
    3SG apartment inside have heating

62. ngo\(^5\) mīn ko\(^3\) li le,
    1PL here LE

63. yiu\(^6\) pin\(^1\) lang\(^3\) lat\(^8\) sit\(^7\) loq\(^8\) yu\(^3\) loq\(^8\) xuet\(^7\).
    and cold very wet fall rain fall snow

64. fong\(^5\) kan\(^1\) li yiu\(^6\) sī\(^6\) mao\(^6\) yiu\(^2=\ldots\).
    apartment inside again be NEG have

65. ya\(^3\) ma[w]\(^6\) y[iu]\(^3\) ma[w]\(^6\) y[iu]\(^3\)
    also NEG have NEG have

66. piq\(^7\) kien\(^1\) he\(^3\) ko peq\(^7\) cin\(^1\) yiq\(^7\) yong\(^6\) ko yiu\(^3\) lon\(^3\) chi\(^3\).
    NEG like that CL Beijing same KO\(_{ADV}\) have heating

67. so\(^3\) yi\(^3\) le,
    that:is:why LE

68. "tung\(^1\) thien\(^1\) li a,
    winter
Nanchang syntax notes

winter inside $A_{TOR}$

你 坐 得 箇 個 房間 裏 啊

69. $n^3$ tsho$^6$ = teq$^7$ ko$^3$ ko fong$^5$ kan$^1$ li a,
$2SG$ sit $TEQ_{PREP}$ this $CL$ apartment inside $A_{SUPP}$

還 不如 走 到 外頭 去

hai$^2$ puq$^7$ lu$^4$ tseu$^3$ tao$^5$ wai$^6$ deu$^2$ chie$^3$,
still not:as:good:as walk to outside go

Still 更 熱 和 些 子

hai$^2$ kien$^5$ leq$^7$ fo xiet$^7$ tsi.
still more warm a:little

在 房間 裏 啊

70. tshai$^6$ fong$^5$ kan$^1$ li a,
$at$ apartment inside $A_{TOR}$

冰 冷

71. pin$^1$ lang$^3$,
$ice$-cold

更 冷

72. kien$^5$ lang$^3$
more cold

所以 啊

73. so$^3$ yi$^3$ a.
$that$:$is$ why $A_{SUPP}$

箇 個 南昌 市 啊

74. ko$^3$ ko nan$^5$ DZong$^1$ si$^6$ a.
$this$ $CL$ Nanchang city $A_{TOR}$

一年 到 頭 冒 什 哩 好 天氣

75. yiq$^7$ nyen$^5$ tao$^5$ Deu$^2$ mao$^6$ xiq$^7$ li hao$^3$ Dien$^1$ chi
$in$:one:year $NEG$ any good weather
Translation
1. Here in Nanchang, 2. everything (else) is good, 3. only the weather 4. is really bad. 5. Seldom in one year 6. Seldom are there several days good weather [in a row].

7. First, spring. 8. In the spring, 9. it always rains. 10. Really there are times, 11. When it starts to rain, it rains for three days, four days, five days, seven days, eight days, over ten days. 12. Everyday it rains. 13. It won’t stop. 14 it rains [so much] that as a result people cannot go out of their homes. 15. It rains [so much] that everything in the apartment is wet. 16. When feeling with one’s hand the table top it’s all wet, 17 when feeling the stool with the hand, it’s all wet, 18, [when] you open the trunk to look, 19. Your quilt is all mouldy, 20. your padded jacket is all mouldy, 21. Everything is all mouldy, 22. has grown hairy. 23. In the springtime.

24. Let’s now consider summer. 25. In the summer it’s hot to die of. 26. Indeed so hot that [one] cannot breathe. 27. Thirty-seven degrees, thirty-eight degrees counts as pleasant, 28. At times it’s thirty-nine degrees, forty degrees. 29. Like, last year, 30 it was hot to die of. 31. Last year the heat reached forty degrees. 32. In the summer in addition there often are floods. 33. [when there are] inundations, 34. they are very big inundations, 35. Like, last year, 36. The floods in Jiangxi were publicized everywhere in China, 37. They were even publicized everywhere in the world. 38. Last year there almost happened a big problem, 39. [what], 40. [during the] fight against the flood.

41. Let’s now consider the autumn. 42. [In] the autumn it is reasonably good. 43. But then it’s very dry. 44. Extremely dry. 45. At times so dry that [one] can tear the skin off [one’s] lips. 46. That dry.

47. Let’s now consider the winter, then it’s bitterly cold. 48. Both cold and wet. 49. Here we say [PART MISSING…fu]. 50. The temperature in the winter .51. cannot be considered very low, 52. For instance five below zero, six below zero. 53. The worst is the, what, the humidity. 54. That is why [in] Beijing, 55. [when the temperature there is] ten below zero, 56. It still feels much better there than [for] us here. 57. The first thing is, there it’s dry. 58. The winter weather is very good. 59. It’s all sunny days. 60. Another thing is, 61. There the apartments have heating. 62. [With] us here, 63. It’s bitterly cold, very wet, rainy and snowy. 64. In the apartments there is no…65. There is no…66. It’s not heated like in Beijing. 67. That is why, 68. In the winter, 69. [if] you’re staying indoors, you might just as well go outside, it’s a little warmer. 70. Inside the apartment, 71. It’s ice-cold, 72. colder. 73. That is why, 74. here in Nanchang city, 75. All through the year, there no [period of] good weather.

1.3.2 Nanchang text No. 2.: Scholar and Maiden
(Told by XYZ. Recorded by Laurent Sagart. Nanchang, June 1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>話 一 個 笑話 啦</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wa⁶ yiq⁷ kē [ko] xieu⁵ fa⁶ ha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say one CL funny:story HA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>一 個 秀才 嘎 笑話</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. yiq⁷ ko ^xiu⁵ DZai² kē [ko] xieu⁵ fa⁶.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one CL scholar KO_ATT funny:story</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

秀才 啊

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. xiu⁵ DZai² a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. \( n^3 \) xieu\(^7\) teq\(^7\) xiu\(^5\) DZai\(^2\) pa. (TALKING TO ME, LS)

5. eh.

6. ku\(^3\) tai\(^5\) kē [ko] xiu\(^5\) \^xu\(^7\) su\(^1\) nyin\(^5\), ancient:times KO\_GEN [TRUNC. W.] literate person

7. chiu\(^6\) s(ï)\(^6\) \^xu\(^5\) DZai\(^2\).

8. tshung\(^2\) Jien\(^2\) yiu\(^3\) kē [ko] \^xu\(^5\) DZai\(^2\) le, in the past have CL scholar LE

9. thia\(^2\) tsaq\(^7\) lan\(^4\) tsī.

10. thia\(^2\) tsaq\(^7\) \^Doq\(^7\) Dai\(^6\) kē [ko] lan\(^5\) tsī a, carry CL very big KO\_ATTR basket A

11. tao\(^5\) \^kai\(^1\) song chie to street on go

12. tseu\(^1\) a tseu\(^3\)

13. kaq\(^7\) Gon\(^3\) tē [tao] Jien\(^2\) Dē [theu\(^2\)] le, KAO\_NEW see TAO\_RES ahead LE

14. yiq\(^7\) kē [ko] nyū\(^3\) kē [ko], one CL female KO\_NOM
Nanchang syntax notes L. Sagart

15. yiq\(^7\) kē [ko] nyen\(^5\) c[h]iang\(^1\)
    one CL young
    KO\(_{ATTR}\) female KO\(_{NOM}\)

Note deaspiration but no voicing in c[h]iang\(^1\)

16. ya\(^3\) Dia\(^2\) tsaq\(^7\) lan\(^5\) tsī.
    also carry CL basket

17. he\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\) nyū\(^3\) ko le
    that CL female KO\(_{NOM}\) LE

18. ko\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\) sai-
    that CL [TRUNC. W.]

19. ko\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\) xiu\(^5\) DZai\(^2\)
    that CL scholar
    Gon\(^3\) tē [tao]
    TAO\(_{RES}\)
    nyin\(^5\) ka\(^1\)
    person
    man\(^5\)
    Gieq\(^7\) chi.
    quite pretty

20. chiu=\(^6\),
    then

21. puq\(^7\) fai\(^5\) hao\(^3\) yi\(^5\),
    NEG hold good:intentions

22. chiu=\(^6\),
    then

23. kien\(^1\) nyin\(^5\) ka\(^1\)
    with person
    taq\(^7\) chio=ng\(^1\),
    start a conversation

24. chiu\(^6\) kien\(^1\) nyin\(^5\) ka\(^1\)
    then with person
    tse\(^3\) a.
    flirts A ??
第25条

ê
eh

第26条

((HIGH PITCH, PUTS SELF IN ROLE OF SCHOLAR))
e=,
hey

第27条

ke=i³ xieu³ nyong⁵ ts[i] a=,
this young:lady a

第28条

n³ Dia² ko he³ ko lan⁵ tsī hao³ luī⁶ nyin⁵ ka pa,
2SG carry KO_REL that CL basket very tire people PA_PRSS

第29条

ngo³ lai⁵ pong¹ n³ len dia² lo?
1SG come help 2SG carry LO CONSULT

第30条

((LOWER PITCH, RESUMES NARRATOR ROLE))
ko³ tsaq⁷
this CL

第31条

ko³ tsaq⁷ nyen⁵ chiang¹ kē [ko] nyu³ kē [ko] Gon³ tē [tao⁵] cie³ kong³,
this CL young KOATTR woman KO NOM see TAO RES 3SG

第32条

puq⁷ taq⁷ cie³.
NEG answer 3SG

第33条

kaq⁷ <XX> puq⁷ taq⁷ cie³ le,
KAQ NEW NEG answer 3SG LE

第34条

<XX> cie³ chiu⁶ nyen⁵ tao⁵ nyin⁵ ka wa⁶ si⁶.
3SG then stick PREP person talk

第35条

eh.
P
36. cie³⁶ wa⁶⁶ kē [ko].
   3SG say KOASST

37. ... ngo³⁷ pong¹ n³⁷ len Dia²⁶ ma,
   1SG for 2SG carry MAPRESSING

38. ... ngo³⁷ pong¹ n³⁷ len Dia²⁶ lo,
   1SG for 2SG carry LOCONSULT

39. eh,
   P

40. ngo³⁶ wa⁶⁶.
   1 I say

41. n³⁶ len,
   2SG

42. n³⁶ len,
   2SG

43. ngo³⁷ laq⁷⁷ lieu⁷⁷ yiq⁷⁷ tsaq⁷⁷ Dai⁶⁶ lan⁵⁵ tsï,
   1SG take LIEUprog one CL big basket

44. n³⁷ laq⁷⁷ tsaq⁷⁷ xieu³⁷ lan⁵⁵ tsï,
   2SG take CL small basket

45. ngo³⁷ mën tsong¹ teq⁷⁷ yiq⁷⁷ chi³⁷.
   1PL install PREP together

46. la⁶⁶,
   LALOOK
47. ngo³, 
   LSG
   我

48. ngo³ yiq⁷, 
   LSG one
   我 一

49. ngo³ yiq⁷ tsaq⁷ xiu³ chiu⁶ Go³ yi³ Dia². 
   LSG one CL hand then able:to carry
   我 一 隻 手 就 可 以 提

50. ((RECITING)) thai⁶ lan⁵ ya³ xi⁶ lan⁵. 
   big basket also be basket
   大 篮 也 是 篮

51. xieu³ lan⁵ ya³ xi⁶ lan⁵. 
   small basket also be basket
   小 篮 也 是 篮

52. thai⁶ lan⁵ tsong¹ xieu³ lan⁵. 
   big basket install small basket
   大 篮 裝 小 篮

53. chiu⁶ liong³ lan⁵ phin⁶ yiq⁷ lan⁵. 
   then two basket combine one basket
   就 兩 篮 并 一 篮

54. cie³ chiu⁶ kong³ wa⁶ ko 
   3SG then this:way say KO_Assist
   佢 就 講 話 呢

55. ko³ ko³ ko³ chiu⁶ x[ǐ], 
   this this this then be
   籤 籤 籤 就 是

56. sit⁷ ci song⁶ chiu⁶ xi⁶=, 
   in:fact then be
   實 際 上 就 是

57. Dieu² xi⁵ fu⁶ nyù³, 
   bothering woman
   調 戲 婦 女
58. chiu⁶ xiong³ kien¹ nyin⁵ ka he⁵ tsaq⁷ nyü⁴ ko "tse³.

59. ko³ tsaq⁷ nyü³ kē [ko] xin¹ li Diang¹ tē chiu⁶ hao³ "chi³ fo³.

60. kaq⁷ tseu³ a tseu³ le, KAQNEW walk a walk LE

61. tsïn⁵ hao³ tseu³ tæ[w] yiq⁷ tsaq⁷ kuon¹ [D]Zai² Bu³ mín⁵ Gieu³ wa. Just walk:toone CL coffin:shop door A

62. he³ tsaq⁷ nyü³ kē [ko] le, that CL female KO NOM LE

63. chiu⁶ lin⁵ ci¹ yiq⁷ Dung⁶ then suddenly has an idea

64. cie³ chiu⁶ tsï tē [tao] he³ kē [ko] kuon¹ DZai² wa⁶ kē [ko]. 3SG then point:to that CL coffin say KO ASST

65. cie³ chiu⁶ wa⁶ kē= [ko], 3SG then say KO ASST

66. "kuon¹ DZai² ya³ xi⁶ tshai², coffin also be cai²

67. "xïu⁵ DZai² ya³ xi⁶ tshai², scholar also be cai²

68. kuon¹ DZai² tsong¹ xïu¹ DZai², coffin hold:within scholar

就 想 跟 人家 許 隻 女 嘅 □
69. Jiu⁶ liong³ tshai² phin⁶ yiq⁷ DZai²

then two cai² combine one cai²
Translation

1. [I‘ll] tell a funny story, ha. 2. A scholar story. 3. ‘Scholar’. 4. You know [what] a scholar [is], right? 5. Eh. 6. A scho-, a literate person in ancient times, 7. that’s [what] a scholar [is]. 8. Once upon a time there was a scholar, 9. Who carried a basket, 10. Carried a very big basket, 11. [and] went down the streets. 12. He was walking. 13. At that point he saw, ahead of him, 14. A female person. 15. A young female person. 16. also carrying a basket. 17. That female person, well, she was quite pretty. 18. This sai-, 19. This scholar see[ing] that the person was quite pretty, 20. then, 21. With hidden intentions, 22. He then, 23. started talking with the person, 24. He chats her up. 25. Eh. ((HIGH PITCH, PUTS SELF IN ROLE OF SCHOLAR)) 26. He=, 27. this young lady, 28. This bag you’re carrying is very tiring, isn’t it, 29. I’ll carry it for you, OK? ((LOWER PITCH, RESUMES NARRATOR ROLE)). 30. This, 31. This young female person, seeing he [acted] thus, 32. Did not answer him. 33. Now, [as] she was not answering, 34. He stuck to her [side and went on] talking. 35. Eh. 36. He said. 37. I’ll carry it for you, yes? 38. I’ll carry it for you, OK? 39. Eh, 40. I say, 41. You 42. You, 43. I am carrying a big basket, 44. You carry a small basket, 45. Let’s put them together [one into the other], 46. Look, 47. I, 48. I ca-, 49. I can carry it with one hand. 50. ((RECI TING, SING-SONG)) « A big basket is a also a basket, 51. A small basket is also a basket. 52. [if one] puts the small basket into the large basket, 53. then the two baskets become one ». 54. ((END OF RECI TING. RESUMES NARRATOR ROLE)). That is what he said. 55. This, this, this [thing that he was doing], was. 56. Was in fact. 57. Bothering/harassing the woman. 58. He wanted to flirt with her, with that female person. 59. This female person, on hearing this, was very angry. 60. Now, [as] they were walking, 61. They just walked past the door of a coffin shop. 62. That female person, well 63. She suddenly had an idea. 64. She pointed to those coffins, and said. 65. She said. 66. ((RECI TING, SING-SONG)) « A coffin is also a [kind of] cai2. 67. A scholar is also a [kind of] cai2. 68. [If one] puts the scholar into the coffin, 69. Then the two cai2’s become one. »

Notes

吧 : I assume you know (what xiucai means) (debut)

1.3.3 Nanchang text No. 3: New Year

(Told by XYZ. Recorded by Laurent Sagart. Nanchang, June 1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>簡</th>
<th>要</th>
<th>話到過年啊</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this:way if speak:about new:year A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>我</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>...ngo][-3, 1SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>我</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ngo][-3, 1SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>我心</td>
<td>理想</td>
<td>啊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ngo][-3 xin][-1 li xiong][-3 a, 1SG in:my:heart think A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nanchang syntax notes
L. Sagart

5. ... yi³ Jien² a pi³ xien⁶ Dzai⁶ kien⁵ yiu³ wii⁶ Dau⁶.
in the past A compare now more have taste

6. yi³ Jien² ^chiung².
in the past poor

7. xien⁶ Dzai⁶ Dai⁶ ka¹ sen¹ foq⁷ yew⁵ hao³ teq⁷ to¹.
now everybody life want good TEQDEG much

8. ... than⁶ sī⁶ ngo³ cioq⁷ teq⁷ ^chiung² kē sī⁵ kan¹
but 1SG feel poor KOREL time

9. ... kien⁵ yiu³ yì sī chiu⁶ x[î]¹ wa⁶.
more interesting that:is:to:say

10. ... n³ Gon³ ngo³ mín xieu³ sī⁵ kan¹ ba [pa],
2SG look 2PL small time PÆN

11. ... ya³ mao⁶ yiu³ ^Dien⁶ sī⁶ Gon³,
also NEG have television

12. ... ya³ m[ao⁶] yiu³ xiq⁷ li ^Ga³ la¹ o¹ Ge¹,
also NEG have any Karaoke

13. ... ya³ m[ao⁶] yiu³ xiq⁷ li Dien⁶ tsī ^yiu² xi,
also NEG have any electronic game
14. Eh, and yet (???)

15. ... \( ^\text{he}^3 \) s\( t^2 \) k\( \text{an}^1 \) \( \text{kuo}^5 \) \( \text{nyen}^5 \) a, \\
that time new:year A

16. hao\(^3\) yi\(^u^3\) w\( \text{in}^6 \) Dao\(^6\) \\
very have taste

17. he\(^3\) s\( \text{i}^5 \) kan\(^1\) ka\(^1\) ku\(^6 \) fu\(^6\) \( \text{kuo}^5 \) \( \text{nyen}^5 \) a, \\
that time every:household new:year A

18. tshao\(^3\) fa\(^1\) sen\(^1\) lo, \\
roast peanuts LO\(_{\text{INST}}\)

19. tshao\(^3\) Deu\(^6\) ts\( \text{i}^6\) lo, \\
roast beans LO\(_{\text{INST}}\)

20. ... saq\(^7\) ci\(^1\) saq\(^7\) !ngaq\(^7\) lo, \\
kil chicken kill duck LO\(_{\text{INST}}\)

21. mai\(^3\) nyoq\(^7\) mai\(^3\) ^\text{nye}^5 lo. \\
buy pork:meat buy fish LO\(_{\text{INST}}\)

22. a, A

23. ... xi\(^5\) nga ts\( \text{i}^6\) a phin\(^2\) si\(^5\) Dzon\(^1\) t\( \text{ê}^5 \) [tao\(^5\)]-- \\
children A usually wear TAO\(_{\text{DUR}}\)

24. kë [ko] yi\(^1\) song tu\(^1\) Dzon\(^1\) teq\(^7\) hao\(^3\) so\(^5\). \\
KO\(_{\text{REL}}\) clothes all wear TEQ\(_{\text{MAN}}\) very low:quality

Nanchang syntax notes

L. Sagart
25. ... kaq⁷ yew⁵ kuo⁵ nyen⁵ a,  
    Nanchang syntax notes L. Sagart  
    spend: new: year A

26. ... wuq⁷ li kē [ko] that⁶ nyin⁵ a,  
    house in KO GEN adults A

27. ... long⁵ yong⁶ tu¹ yeu⁵ xiong³ phan⁶ faq⁷  
    anyway all YEU CHR think method

28. kien¹ xi⁵ nga tsī⁵ tsu⁵ chien⁶ yi¹ song.  
    for children make CL clothes

29. eh, eh

30. he³ si³ kan¹,  
    that time

31. so³ yi³ chiu⁶ phu³ phu³ thung¹ thung¹  
    that: is: why even ordinary KO ATTR new clothes A

32. he³ tu¹ cioq⁷ teq⁷ hao³ Guai⁵ foq⁷.  
    that all feel very happy

33. xin¹ li hao³ kao¹ xin.  
    heart in very contented

34. he³ la³ kien¹ xien⁶ Dzai⁶ yiq⁷ yong⁶ kē [ko].  
    that where with now same KO ASST

35. ... xien⁶ Dzai⁶ now g.g.g. Dzon, Dzon teq⁷ hao³ teq⁷ hen³  
    dress dress TEQ MAN well TEQ DEG very

一年到頭 都 穿 得 蠻 好
Nanchang syntax notes

36. yiq⁷ nyen⁵ tao⁵ Deu²
   all:year:round
   tu¹ Dzon¹ teq⁷
   all dress TEQMAN
   man⁵ hao⁵

37. ... n³ chiu⁶ wa⁶ ^wan⁵ kē
   2SG then say play KOREL
   tung¹ xi
   pa.

38. ... wan⁵ kē [ko]
   play KOREL
   tung¹ xi
   ngo³ ci¹ teq⁷
   thing
   1SG remember

39. ... ng³ fin¹ Jien²,
   five cents money

40. ... ko³ ng³ fin¹ Jien²
   this five cents money
   ngang⁶ thai⁶ piq⁷ ti³ Jien²,
   money really too NEG worth money

41. xien⁶ Dzai⁶ Dzo⁶ kē
   now sit:on CL
   chi⁵ Dza¹
   bus

42. Dzo⁶ yiq⁷ tsan⁵ chi⁵ Dza¹,
   sit:on one station bus

43. tu¹ yeu⁵ ng³ ^koq⁷ Jien².
   all need five dime money

44. ... he³ si⁵ kan¹ a,
   that time A

45. ^ng³ fin¹ Jien² a,
   five cents money A

46. chiu⁶ Go³ yi³
   mai³ t[s]aq⁷ tsí³ tsaq⁷
   kē [ko]
   ten¹ lung⁵
### Nanchang Syntax Notes

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| then | can | buy CL | paper:and:bamboo | KO
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>纸</td>
<td>□</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

47. ... tsǐ³ ts--
paper

48. ...

49. ...

50. ...

51. ...

52. ...

53. ...

54. ...

55. ...

56. ...

---

1 The Nanchang Fangyan Cidian gives a glottal stop instead of –ng in this word:
57. yiq⁷ kē zhō³ yi³ tshaq⁷ yiq⁷ kē [ko]! laq⁷ tsuq⁷,  
    one CL can insert one CL candle

可以插小蠟燭嘗地方

58. kho³ yi³ tshaq⁷ xieu³ laq⁷ tsuq⁷ kē [ko] Dr⁶ fong.  
    can insert small candle KOBEL place

59. eh=, he³ kē [ko] ng⁵ ng⁵ ng⁵ [fǐ]n¹ Jien² a,  
    eh that CL five five five cents money A

買幾許個許個龍燈啊

60. mai³ tshaq⁷ he³ kē [ko] he³ kē [ko] lung⁵ ten¹ a,  
    buy CL that CL he3 CL lantern A

就玩得好好高興

61. ... chiu⁶ wan⁵ teq⁷ hao³ kao¹ xin⁵.  
    then play TEQMAN very happy

夜晚啊

62. ... ya⁶ wan³ a,  
    evening A

插根小蠟燭到裏頭

63. tshaq⁷ kien¹ xieu³ ! laq⁷ tsuq⁷ tao⁵ li³ theu,  
    insert CL small candle PREP inside

打箇家走到許家

64. ... eh ko³ ka¹ tseu³ té [tao⁵] he³ ka¹  
    Eh that family walk to that family

go with people present: new: year: wishes

人家就搵糖把佢人喎

65. nyin⁵ ka¹ chiu⁶ laq⁷ Dong² pa¹² n³ len c[h]iaq⁷,  
    people then LAQDISP sweets give 2SG eat

搵搵花生豆子把佢人喎

66. ... laq⁷ laq⁷ fa¹ sen¹ Deu⁶ [ts]i paq⁷ n³ len c[h]iaq⁷.  
    take take peanuts BEANS give you eat

---
² Isolation form is pa³, merges with T⁷ through destressing
67. ... eee= 

68. he³ [s]i³ [k]an¹ mao⁶ yiu³ xiq⁷ li c[h]ien² a, 

69. t[h]an⁶ sī wan⁵ teq⁷ man⁵ Guai³ foq⁷. 

70. ... ngo³ ngo³ ci⁵ teq⁷, 

71. he³ kē=, 

72. ngo³, 

73. he³ sī⁵ kan¹ a, 

74. ... ngo³ xieu³ kē [ko] sī⁵ kan¹ a, 

75. he³ kē [ko] kē kē= chiq⁷ paq⁷ suī⁵ tsī a, 

76. ... sīq⁷ lai⁵ suī⁵ tsī a, 

77. ... tshu⁶ teq⁷ yiq⁷ kē [ko] thai⁶ ^tsaq⁷ yuon⁶ li³ theu. 

許 時 間 冒 有 什 哩 錢 啊

但是 玩 得 蠻 快 活

我 我 記 得

許 個

我

許 時 間 啊

我 小 嘛 時 間 啊

許 個 個 個 七八 年子 啊

十來 年子 啊

住 得 一個 大 雜院 里 頭

許 隻 大 雜院 里 頭 啊
78. (TSK) he³ tsaq⁷ thai⁶ ^tsaq⁷ yün⁶ li³ Deu a, that big CL mixed:court yard inside A.

79. ... hao³ to¹ kë [ko] xi⁵ nga tsi kë-- very many KOATTR child KO

80. kien¹ ngo³ tsha¹ pïq⁷ to¹ Dai⁶ kë [ko] with 1SG approximately big KOREL

81. ... yiu³ kë [ko] Dai⁶ tiaq⁷ tsi have KOXE big a little

82. ... he³ kë yiu³ liong³ xiang¹ thi⁶. that CL have two brother

83. ... he³ liong³ xiang¹ Di⁶ a, that two brother A

84. he³ kë [ko] thai⁶ kë [ko] cieu⁵ tsu⁵= suïi³ kien¹. that CL big CL be called suïi3 kien1

85. xieu³ kë [ko] le= ko³ lao³ Di⁶ cieu⁵ tsu⁵ mao⁵ kuïi tsi. small KO NOM LE that younger brother be called mao1 kuii tsi

86. he³ liong³ xiang¹ Di⁶ siu³ tu¹ hao³ chieu³. that two brother hand all very able

87. ko³ thai⁶ lë [lieu³] yì³ heu⁶ le tu¹ tu¹ tongⁱ lë kung¹ len a. that big LIEUPRFV after LE all all work asLIEUPRFV worker A
88. ... eh.

cie³ mǐn hao³ fii⁶ tsu⁵ tung¹ xi yuan⁵.

3PL very know:how make things play

89. ... cie³ mǐn liang³ xiang¹ Di le yiu³ yiq⁷ nyen⁵ kuo⁵ nyen⁵ a,

3PL two brother LE have one year New:year a

90. ... laq⁷-- wu³ lē [lieu³] hao³ to¹ ko³ kē [ko] mien⁷ tsī kun⁵ tsī a,

take procurePRFV very many this CL bamboo:lath stick a

91. ... make LIEU PRFV one CL very long KOATTR lantern

92. ... hao³ to¹ ciet⁷ very many sections

93. ... hao³ chiong⁶ yiu³ ng³ liuq⁷ ciet⁷ ciet⁷ paq⁷ ciet⁷ pa.

from:memory have five six section seven eight section PA PRSS

94. ... yiu³ lung⁵ Deu², have dragon head

95. yiu³ lung⁵ wū³, have dragon tail

96. ... yiu³ lung⁵ Deu², have dragon head

97. tsung¹ kan¹ har² yiu³ hao³ cì³ ciet⁷.

middle in:addition have very many section

98. e/
99. tsu⁵ teq⁷ kē [ko] --
   make TEQ?? CL

100. laq⁷ kē [ko] tsï³ fu⁵ chi³ lai⁵,
   take CL paper glue CHILAI\textit{inch}

101. kien¹ wai⁶ theu² kē [ko]
   with outside KO\textit{gen} adult
   ^\textit{thai} nyin⁵ wan⁵ kē [ko] ten¹ lung⁵ Dza¹ pït to¹, almost

102. tong¹ len⁵ yeu⁵
   of:course YEU\textit{chr} small
   <XX> xieu³ <XX> hao³ to¹ la.
   much LA\textit{obj}

103. tsu⁵ lë [lieu³]
   make LIEU\textit{prfv} that CL seven eight
   ciet⁷ ten¹ lung⁵ a,

104. ngo³-a
   a
   I\textit{pl} that CL yard inside KO\textit{gen} children

105. yiq⁷ kē [ko] nyin⁵ laq⁷ yiq⁷ cieq⁷ chiu⁶ Dzai⁶ li³ Deu wan⁵,
   one CL person hold one section then at inside play

106. chiu⁶ Dzai⁶ kē [ko³]
   then at this yard inside play

107. e/
   eh

108. puq⁷ xieu³ teq⁷ ci³
   not know how:much fun

许 又 不 要 化 錢 喝

許 又 不 要 化 錢 喝
109. he\(^3\) yiu\(^6\) puq\(^7\) yeu\(^5\) fa\(^4\) chien\(^2\) kë [ko]. 

that again NEG need spend money KO\(\text{ASS}\)

110. kaq\(^7\) xien\(^6\) Dzai\(^6\) kuo\(^5\) nyen\(^5\) a,

KAQ\(\text{NEW}\) nowadays New:year A

111. tsin\(^1\) m[ao]\(^6\) yi[u]\(^3\) xiq\(^7\) li wii\(^6\) Dao\(^6\).

really NEG have whatever fun

112. xien\(^6\) Dzai\(^6\) kuo\(^5\) nyen\(^5\) ma,

nowadays New:year MA\(\text{OV}\)

113. tsuïi\(^5\) tsu\(^3\) yeu\(^4\) kë [ko] cieq\(^7\) muq\(^7\)

most important KO\(\text{ATT}\) activity

114. chiu\(^6\) xi\(^6\)=.

then be

115. san\(^1\) xiq\(^8\) ya\(^6\) wan\(^3\) Gon\(^3\) he\(^3\) ko ko ko ko ko

New:year’s:eve watch that CL CL CL CL

116. tsung\(^1\) yong\(^1\) Dien\(^6\) si\(^6\) Dai\(^2\)

Central:TV:channel kë [ko] Dzun\(^1\) cieq\(^7\) lien\(^3\) fon\(^1\) wan\(^3\) fïi\(^6\).

KO\(\text{GEN}\) New:year get-together party

117. \(<X xî^6\) Ba X> be PA\(\text{PRESS}\)

118. DZu\(^2\) lieu\(^3\) ko\(^3\) ko le,

apart:from that CL LE

119. kaq\(^7\) tu\(^1\) xî\(^6\) \(<\text{WH} \^\text{chiaq}\(^7\) \text{WH}> \ K AQ\(\text{NEW}\)

all be eat

\(^3\) ‘again’ here means ‘an additional advantage is that…’
Nanchang syntax notes

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120. ko³ ka¹ chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan,
this house eat one CL

121. he³ ka¹ chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan¹,
that house eat one CL

122. ko³ DZi⁶ ci³ ya⁵ nyong⁵ he³ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan¹,
this oneself parents there eat one CL

123. tshong⁶ mu³ nyong⁵ wuq⁷ li <@ chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan¹@>,
mother:in:law house eat one CL

124. ko³ kë= [ko] ko¹ ko¹ wuq⁷ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan,
this CL elder:brother house eat one CL

125. he³ kë [ko] lao⁵ Di⁶ wuq⁷ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan¹,
that CL younger:brother house eat one CL

126. eh,

127. ... ^chiaq⁷ teq⁷ kë [ko] ((UNAUTHORIZED BY INFORMANT)),
eat TEQRES KO MIR

128. ko³ ko phung² yiu³ wuq⁷ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan,
this CL friend house eat one CL

129. he³ ko lao³ thung² hoq⁷ wuq⁷ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan.
that CL old schoolmate house eat one CL

130. ... hai² yiu³ xiq⁷ li le?
in:addition have what LE

---

4 Complement of degree, informant asked not to publish
Nanchang syntax notes

131. kaq⁷ chiu⁶ mao⁶ yiu³ xiq⁷ li.
   KAQ\textsubscript{NEW} then NEG have anything

132. kaq⁷ fiir⁶ ta³ ma⁵ ciong⁵ ko
   KAQ\textsubscript{NEW} know:how play mahjong KO\textsubscript{NOM}

133. chiu⁶ yiq⁷ nylq⁷ tao⁵ ya⁶
   then all:day:long ta³ ma⁵ ciong⁵.

134. ... da³ teq⁷ kë [ko] ((UNAUTHORIZED BY INFORMANT)),
   eat TEQ\textsubscript{RES} KO\textsubscript{MIR}

135. ... ta³ teq⁷ ko ci³ nylq⁷ ci³ ya⁶,
   play TEQ\textsubscript{DEG} KO\textsubscript{MIR} several:days:several:nights:in:a:row

136. puq⁷ ha⁶ tsoq⁷
   NEG leave table

137. ... so³ yi³ a,
   that:is:why A

138. xie=n⁶ Dzai⁶ suii¹ len a,
   nowadays although A

139. ... wuq⁷ tsît⁷ sen¹ foq⁷ kai³ sen⁶ l[i]eu³ a,
   material life improve LIEU\textsubscript{PRFV} A

140. xien⁶ Dzai⁶ kë [ko],
   nowadays KO\textsubscript{GEN}

141. ... n³ wa³ yiu³ yi⁵ sî lai³ wa⁶.
   2SG say interesting from:the:point:of:view:of

38
Translation

1. If one [has to] speak of New Year, 2. I, 3. I, 4. I believe 5. That in the old days it was more fun than now. 6. In the old days [we] were poor. 7. Now everybody’s life has improved a lot. 8. But I feel that the time [we] were poor was more fun than now. 9. More interesting, that is to say. 10. Look, when we were little, 11. There was no TV, 12. Neither was there any of that Karaoke, 13. Neither were there electronic games. 14. And yet, 15. New Year then, 16. Was a lot of fun. 17. In these days everybody at New Year’s time. 18. like, roasted peanuts, 19. Or roasted beans, 20. Killed chickens or ducks, 21. Bought pork meat or fish. 22. Ah, 23.-24. The clothes that children wore everyday were of very poor quality. 25. But come new year, 26. The adults at home. 27. Would always find a way 28. To make a [set of] clothes for the children 29. Eh, 30. [that’s how it was] then. 31. That is why, [it took] no more than a very ordinary new suit, 32. To make one feel very happy. 33. Very contented. 34. Hey, it’s not at all like that today. 35. Nowadays, one dresses very well. 36. All year round one dresses very well.

37. Things to play with, you said. 38. Things to play with, I remember when I was a child 39. [with] five cents 40. Nowadays five cents is really worth very little. 41. Nowadays to sit on a bus 42. Sit on the bus for one stop 43. One needs fifty cents. 44. At that time, 45. For five cents, 46. One could buy a lantern of paper and bamboo. 47. Paper and b...48. A lantern made of paper and bamboo. 49. [With] several bamboo laths, 50. Several bamboo laths, 51. [And with] that red paper glued all around. 52. Or green paper, 53. One could assemble the likeness of a dragon. 54. Inside it, 55. One also made a, 56. A, a, a, a, a, 57. A [] for inserting a candle, 58. A place for inserting a small candle. 59. Eh, for those five, five, five cents, 60. [You bought a, one of those lanterns, 61. And then [you could] play very happily. 62. In the evening, 63. [you] inserted a small candle inside [it] 64. Eh, families would pay each other New Year visits 65. People would give you sweets 66. Peanuts and beans, 67. Eh, 68. Then one did not have any money, 69. But one played very happily. 70. I, I remember 71. That, 72. I, 73. In those days, 74. When I was small, 75. Eh, seven or eight year-old, 76. Ten-something year-old, 77. [I] lived in a big large mixed courtyard, 78. In that large mixed courtyard. 79. [lived] many children 80. About the same age as I. 81. Some were a bit older than I, and some were a bit smaller than I. 82. That...there were two brothers. 83. Of these two brothers, 84. The elder was called Suïi3-kien1, 85. And the younger one, the younger brother, he was called Mao5-kuii-tsï. 86. Those two brothers were very able with their hands. 87. Later in life they became industry workers. 88. Eh, 89. they they really knew how to make things to play with. 90. These two brothers, one year at the time of New Year 91. They managed to procure a lot of bamboo laths and sticks, 92. And made a very long lantern. 93. With many sections. 94. From memory there were something like five, six, seven, or eight sections. 95. There was the dragon’s head, 96. The tail, 97. And many sections in between. 98. Eh, 99. Make...100. With the paper glued on it, 101. it was not very different from the lanterns that the adults outside used, 102. [Except] of course, that it would have been much smaller. 103. Having built that seven- or eight-section lantern, 104. W-, w-, we, the children of the courtyard, 105. Each of
us holding one section, we played inside. 106. We played inside the courtyard. 107. Eh, 108. You can’t imagine how much fun it was. 109. [and for] that, one did not have to spend money. 110. But nowadays, new year. 111. Really is no fun at all. 112. Nowadays [during] New Year, obviously, 113. The main activity 114. 115. Is, on New Year’s eve, to watch the, the, the, the 116. New Year party program on the Central TV channel. 117. [right ?] 118. Apart from that, 119. All the rest is eating. 120. A meal at this house, 121. A meal at that house, 122. A meal at one’s mother and father’s, 123. A meal at one’s mother-in-law’s, 124. A meal at one’s elder brother’s, 125. A meal at one’s younger brother’s, 126. Eh, 127. One eats so much that ((UNAUTHORIZED BY INFORMANT)). 128. A meal at this friend’s, 129. A meal at that old schoolmate’s, 130. Aside from that, what else is there ? 131. There is nothing else. 132. Those who can play mahjong, 133. Play mahjong from morning till night. 134. They play so much that ((UNAUTHORIZED BY INFORMANT)). 135. They play for days and nights on end.136. They do not leave the [mahjong] table. 137. That is why, 138. Although nowadays, 139. Material life has improved, 140. Today’s, 141. As far as being interesting goes, 142. It is still the time when we were little143. Which was more interesting, 144. More fun.

1.3.4 Nanchang text No. 4: Turnips
(Told by XYZ. Recorded by Laurent Sagart. Nanchang, June 1999)

我来

1. ngo³ lai⁵ =
   ISG come

話個故事

2. wa⁶ kē [ko] ku⁵ si⁶,
say CL story

哈

3. ha.
   HA

從前啊

4. ... tshung² c[h]ien² a,
   formerly A_SUSP

有個財主

5. yiu³ kē [ko] tshai² tsu³.
   have CL rich:man

財主呢

6. ... tshai² tsu³ le,
   rich:man LE

就有個崽

7. ... chiu⁶ yiu³ kē [ko] tsai³.
   then have CL son
8. ko³ tsai³ le, this child LE

隔 有 好 幾 歲 了

9. ... kaq⁷ yiu⁵ hao³ ci³ suì⁵ l[i]eu³.
K AQ NEW have a:good:number year LIEU CHG

隔 要 讀 書 啦

10. ... kaq⁷ yeu⁵ thuq⁷ su¹ la.
K AQ NEW must study LA OBV

佢 就 想 請 個 先生

11. ... cie³ chiu⁶ xiong³ chiang⁵ kē [ko]¹xien¹= sen¹=,
3 SG then want invite CL teacher

到 佢 屋 裏 來 教 佢 嘅 崽 讀 書

12. ... tao⁵ cie³ wuq⁷ li lai⁵ kau⁵ cie³ kē [ko]tsai³ thuq⁷ su¹. to 3 SG house come teach 3 SG KO GEN son study

□

13. ... eah. eh

就 請 個 私 塾 先生 啊

14. ... chiu⁶ chiang³ kē [ko]ši¹ suq⁷ xien¹ sen¹ a.
then invite CL private teacher: SUSP

到 佢 屋 裏 □ 來 讀 書

15. ... tao⁵ cie³ wuq⁷ li zai- lai⁶= Duq⁷ su¹. to 3 SG house come study

□

16. ... e, e

來 教 □

17. lai⁵ kao⁵ k--
come teach

到 佢 屋 裏 來 教 佢 嘅 崽 讀 書

18. tao⁵ cie³ wuq⁷ li lai⁵ kau⁵ cie³ kē [ko]tsai³ thuq⁷ su¹.
to 3 SG home come teach 3 SG KO GEN son study
19. ah.

20. kaq⁷ xien¹ sen¹ lai⁵ lē [lieu⁴] le,
    KAQ_{NEW} teachercome LIEU_{PRFV} LE

21. tseu⁶ ko³ kuï¹ cy a.
    follow this rule A_{SUSP}

22. ... ko³ ko-- ... t[h]i⁶ yiq⁷ nyiq⁷ lai⁵ a,
    that CL ORD one day come A

23. ggggggggg

24. ko³ tsu³ len⁵ a.
    this host A

25. chiu⁶ yeu⁴ chiang³ ko³ ko xien¹ sen¹ chiaq⁷ tshan¹ fan⁶ la.
    then must invite this CL teachereat CL meal LA_{OBJ}

26. si⁶ pa.
    be:so A_{PRSS}

27. ko³ si⁶ li³ mao⁶ la.
    this be politeness LA_{OBJ}

28. ... ggggggggg lao³ si¹ lai⁵ lē [lieu⁴],
    ggggggggg teachercome LIEU_{PRFV}

29. yeu⁵ chiang³ cie³ chiaq⁷ Dzan fan⁶ la.
    must invite 3SG eat CL meal LA_{OBJ}

□
Nanchang syntax notes

30. ... e.

31. ... chiaq fan le,

32. ... pin lai si tsin tshong ko.

33. ... than si le ko tsaq Di tsu a,

34. ko tsaq tshai tsu a,

35. chiu ^hao ^xieu chi.

36. chiu si hao set.

37. nan tshong nyin wa ko hao set la,

38. hao xieu chi.

39. eh

40. ... chiu chiang kë [ko] xien sen chiaq xiq li le,

41. ... chiu chiaq lo Bo seu nyuq.
弄了 一個 菜 叫 蘿卜 燒 肉
42. nong⁶ lé [lieu³] yiq⁷ kē tshai³ cieu⁵ lo⁵ Bo seu¹ nuyq⁷.
   make LIEU PRFV one CL dish call turnip braised pork:meat
   蘿卜 燒 肉 本來 弄得 好
43. ... lo⁵ Bo seu¹ nuyq⁷ pin³ lai⁵ nong⁶ teq⁷ hao³,
   turnip braised pork:meat originally make TEQ MAN good
   也 蠻 好喲 啦
44. ya³ man⁵ hao⁵ chiaq⁷ la.
   then very tasty LA UNS
   但是 箇 隻 一個 一個 財主 就 好 小氣 啊
45. ... than⁶ sī ko³ tsq⁷ yiq⁷ gggg tshai² tsu³ chiu⁶ hao³ xieu³ Ji³a,
   but this CL gggggg rich:man then very measly A
   就 舍不得 多 擋肉
46. chiu⁶ sa³ piq⁷ teq⁵ to¹ koq⁷ nuyq⁷.
   then could:not bear much add pork:meat
   就 是 一大 秣 盡 是 蘿卜
47. ... chiu⁶ sī⁶ yiq⁷ thai⁶ ^pu³⁷ chin⁶ x⁶ ^lo⁵ Bo.
   then be one big pot entirely be turnip
   就 冒 有 兩 塊子 肉
48. ... chiu⁶ mao⁶ yiu³ liong³ Guai³ tsï nuyq⁷.
   then NEG have two pieces meat
   就 差不多 就 看不 到 肉
49. ... chiu⁶ [t]sha¹ pi⁷ to¹ chiu⁶ Gon³ piq⁷ tao⁵ nuyq⁷.
   then almost then see NEG TAO RES meat
   隔 哪 啦
50. ... kaq⁷ chiaq⁷ la,
   KAQ NEW eat LA CHG
   箇 個 先生
51. ... ko³ ko ^xien¹ sen¹,
   this CL teacher
   箇 個 有 文化 有 修養 吼 人
52. ko³ ko yiu³ wïn⁵ fa yiu³ xiu¹ yong³ kē nyin⁵,
   this CL have culture have education KO REL person
53.  又不好意思    乙氣
   yiu⁶ piq⁷ hao⁵ yi⁵ si¹ tshoq⁸ chi³.
   again  embarrassed  get:angry

54.  心   里   頭   不   高興    呢
   xin¹ li theu piq⁷ kao¹ xin¹ le,
   heart  inside  NEG  happy  LE

55.  嘴巴    裏    就    不    話
   tsui³ pa  li  chiu⁶ piq⁷ wa⁶.
   mouth  in  then  NEG  say

56.  ...  Ėh

57.  嗑完啦
   chiaq⁷ won⁵ la.
   eat  finish  LACHG

58.  Ėh,

59.  抹   抹   嘴巴
   maq⁷ maq⁷ tsui³ pa.
   wipe  wipe  mouth

60.  ...  Ėh.

61.  嗑  茶  啊
   chiaq⁷ tsha² a.
   drink  tea  A

62.  隔    籐    個個財主    呢
   kaq⁷ ko³ kē kē  tshai² tsu³ le=,
   KAQNEW  this  CL  CL  rich:man  LE

63.  嗑完了
   chiaq⁷ won⁵ lieu³,
   eat  finish  LIEUPRFV

64.  Bū² tao⁵ xien¹ sen¹ wa⁶ wa⁶ si⁶ la.
Attention the vowel in 啦 is acoustically intermediate between /a/ and /o/.
Nanchang syntax notes

75. kong³ chiu⁶ kong³ yiq⁷ kē [ko] ha.
tell then tell one CL HA

76. cie³ wa⁶ kē [ko].
3SG say KO_ASS

77. yi³ c[h]ien² a,
once A

78. yiu³ yiq⁷ kē nyū³ kē [ko].
have one CL female KO_NOM

79. a.
A

80. yiq⁷ kē [ko] nyen⁵ c[h]iang¹ kē [ko] nyū³ kē [ko].
one CL young KO_ATTR female KO_NOM

81. cie³ ^sang¹ lieu³ yiq⁷ kē [ko] tsai³=.
3SG give:birth LIEU_PREV one CL son

82. .. he³ kē [ko] tsai³ a=.
that CL son A

83. .. tsong³ teq⁷ .. yiu⁶ kheq⁷ chi .. yiu⁶ tshung⁵ min⁵,
grow TEQ_MAN and goodlooking and intelligent

84. piq⁷ xiao³ teq⁷ ci³ hao³ wan⁵.
NEG know how cute

85. .. a.
A

47
86. \(KAQ_{\text{NEW}}\) \(tao^5\) lieu\(^3\) liang\(^3\) san\(^1\) sun\(^5\),

哪個 都 喜歡

87. la\(^1\) ké [ko] tu\(^1\) xi\(^3\) fon.

everyone all like

88. .. ko\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\)=

this CL

89. ko\(^3\) ko nyü\(^3\) ko le,

this CL female KO\_NOM\_LE

走到 哪裡

90. .. tseu\(^3\) tao\(^5\) ^la\(^3\) li,

walk to anywhere

都 要 帶 箇 箇 個 棟 到 身邊

91. .. tu\(^1\) yeu\(^5\) tai\(^5\) ko\(^3\) ko ko tsai\(^3\) tao\(^5\) sin\(^1\) pjen\(^1\).

all YEU\_CH\_take:along this this CL son PREP her:side

隔 有一日 呢

92. .. kaq\(^7\) yi\(^3\) yiq\(^7\) nyiq\(^7\) le,

KAQ\_NEW have one day LE

就 到 河邊 上去

93. .. chiu\(^6\) tao\(^5\) ho\(^2\) pien\(^1\) song\(^6\) chie\(^3\),

then to river:side on go

洗 蘿卜

94. .. xi\(^3\) ^lo\(^5\) p[h]o,

wash turnip

提 了 一 篮子 蘿卜 啊

95. thia\(^2\) lieu yiq\(^7\) lan\(^4\) tsï lo\(^5\) Bo a,

carry LIEU\_PROG one basket turnip A

就 到 河邊 上去 洗

96. .. chiu\(^6\) tao\(^5\) ho\(^2\) pien\(^1\) song\(^6\) chie\(^3\) xi\(^3\),

then to river:side on go wash

洗 箇 蘿卜 啊

97. xi\(^3\) ko\(^3\) lo\(^5\) Bo a.
wash these turnips A

98. ... ko³ kē [ko] tsai³ le,
   this CL child LE

99. ko³ ko liōng³ san¹ suī⁵ kē [ko] tsai³ le,
   this CL two three year KOATTRson LE

100. ya³ chiu⁶ tshai⁶ pien¹ song wan⁵.
    also then at side on play

101. ... ko³ ko wan⁵ a wan⁵ a,
    this CL play A play A

102. ko³ li gig ts[h]ai⁶ xi³ lo⁵ Bo mao⁶ tsu⁵ yi⁵ le,
    there TSHAIProg wash turnip NEG-PRF notice LE

103. he³ tsaq⁷ tsai³ yiq⁷ piq⁷ xieu³ xin¹ le,
    that CL son accidentally LE

104. tiet⁷ tao⁵ suī³ li Deu [c]hie³ l[I]e[u³].
    fall to water inside go LIEUCHG

105. ... tiet⁷ tao⁵ suī³ li Deu [c]hie³ la,
    fall to water inside go LACHG

106. kaq⁷ ko ko ko ko-- (H)

a

107. ao,

叮咚

108. tin⁶ tung³ yiq⁷ ha⁶ tieq⁷ ha⁶ c[h]ie³ lieu³ <H>,
    [sound of heavy fall into water] one instant fall go:down LIEUCHG
109. kaq⁷ ko³ ko kē nyū³ ko chiu⁶ haq⁷ yiq⁷ Djeu³,
    KAQNEW this this CL female KONOM then scare one jump

哎 呀

110. 'lai ya.
    Ah!

看到 自己 嘘 崩 跌 下去

111. Gon³ tao⁵ tsī⁶ ci³ kē tsai³ tieq⁷ ha⁶ chie³,
    see own KOGEN son fall go:down

趕 快 就

112. kon³ Guai³ chiu⁶,
    hurry then

哎 呀

113. 'lai ya=,
    Ah!

救 命 啊

114. ciu⁵ miang⁶ a=
    help A

救 命 啊

115. ciu⁵ miang⁶ a=
    help A

細 人 子 跌 到 水 里 頭 去 了 啊

116. xi³ nyin⁵ tsī tao⁵ suī³ li theu chie³ lieu a=
    child fall to water inside go LIEUCHG A

趕 快 救 命 啊

117. kon³ Guai³ ciu⁵ miang⁶ a=
    hurry help A

哦

118. ... o,
    O

隔 就 來 了 好 幾 個 人 啊

119. kaq⁷ chiu⁶ lai⁵ lē [lieu³] hao³ ci³ kē [ko] nyin⁵ a,
    KAQNEW then come LIEUCHG a:good:many CL people A

幫 佢 撈 咯

120. pong¹ cie³ lao lāo¹

121. pong³ cie³ ciu³ ciu⁴ ciu⁵ cie³ kē [ko] tsai³ lo.

122. <P<SGH hai ya SGH>P>. 

123. ... chiu⁶ lao¹ a lao¹, 

124. lao¹ a lao¹, 

125. lao¹ lē pon⁵ nyit⁷. 

126. ... e. 

127. ... chiu⁶ mao⁶ lao¹ <BR tao⁵= BR>. 

129. ... ko³ chiu⁶ mao⁶ Gon³ <BR tao⁵= BR>. 

130. ... kaq⁷ mao⁶ Gon³ tao⁵, 

131. mao⁶ yiu³ Ban⁶ faq⁷, 

Nanchang syntax notes

L. Sagart
132. kaq⁷ nyin⁵ ka¹ k[o]³ k[o]³ \textit{KAQ}_{NEW} people \textit{begin}  
有 一些 人 達 到 看 啊  
133. yiu³ yi^q⁷ xieg⁷ nyin⁵ wïi⁵ tao \textit{have} some \textit{people} 
\textit{surround TAO}_{DUR} watch \textit{A}  
隔 筆 最後 慢慢子 都 走 了  
134. kaq⁷ tsuïï [h]eu⁶ man⁶ man⁶ tzï³ tu¹ \textit{finally} \textit{gradually} \textit{all} \textit{leave} \textit{LIEU}_{PRFV \textit{OR CHG}}  
隔 筆 隻 女 嘎 呢  
135. kaq⁷ ko³ tsaq⁷ nyü³ kë [ko]³ le, \textit{then} \textit{this} \textit{CL} \textit{female KO}_{NOM\textit{LE}}  
就 舍不得 走 咻  
136. chiu⁶ "sa³ piq⁷ teq⁷ tseu³ lo, \textit{then} \textit{cannot:bear leave} \textit{LO}_{OBV}  
是 吧  
137. ... sî⁶ pa. \textit{right} ?  
箇 崽 呢  
138. ... ko³ tsai³ le, \textit{this} \textit{son} \textit{LE}  
箇 個 剛剛 還 活潑 新鮮 嘎  
139. ko³ kê kong¹ kong¹ [h]ai² fiq⁷ phiq⁷ xin¹ xien¹ kê \textit{this} \textit{CL} \textit{a:moment:ago still full:of:life KO}_{REL}  
一 個 兩 三 年 嘎  
140. <X> yiu⁶ (D)zungen⁵ min⁵ yiu⁶ Gjeq⁷ chï³ kê tsai³, \textit{and} \textit{intelligent goodlooking KO}_{ATTR\textit{son}}  
又 聰明 又 可 氣 個 崽  
141. (H) <X> yi^q⁷ ha⁶ tsï³ chiu⁶ mao⁶ \textit{in:one:instant then NEG-PRFV see TAO}_{RES} \textit{lieu,}  
⊙⊙ 一下子 就 冒 看 到 了  
140. <X> yiu⁶ (D)zungen⁵ min⁵ yiu⁶ Gjeq⁷ chï³ kê tsai³, \textit{and} \textit{intelligent goodlooking KO}_{ATTR\textit{son}}  
又 聰明 又 可 氣 個 崽  
141. (H) <X> yi^q⁷ ha⁶ tsï³ chiu⁶ mao⁶ \textit{in:one:instant then NEG-PRFV see TAO}_{RES} \textit{lieu,}
就淹死在河里頭了

142. chiu⁶ then yen¹ si³ DZai⁶ ho³ li theu lieu <XX>,

冒看到了

143. .. mao⁶ NEG-PRFV Gon³ tao⁵ l[i]eu. see TAORES

隔就搗勁裏哭啊..

144. kaq⁷ chiu⁶ tsan³ cin⁵ li khuq⁷ a.

許個財主話嘅

146. he³ ko tshai² tsu³ wa⁶ ko.

好傷心哈

148. ... hao³ song¹ xin¹ ha.

佢話

149. cie³ wa⁶, 3SG say

佢話傷心吧

150. n³ wa⁶ song¹ xin¹ pa.

佢話

151. c[ie³] wa⁶, 3SG say

佢郎哭嘅嘛

152. cie³ long⁵ Guq⁷ kë ma.

佢話
153. c[ie^3] wa^6,  
3SG say

郎 哭 嘎 哇

154. long^5 Guq^7 kē a.  
how cry KOASST A

就 是 講 嘎 嘛

155. chiu^6 x[i^6] \(^kong^3\) kē ma.  
then be thus KOASST MAOBJ

佢 話 嘎

156. ... cie^3 wa^6 kē,  
3SG say KOASST

肉 啊

157. nyuq^7 a=,  
flesh a

肉 啊

158. nyuq^7 a=,  
flesh a

你 到 哪 裏 去 了 哦

159. n^3 tao^5 la^3 li [c]hie^3 lieu^3 o=,  
2SG to where g LIEUPREV OREG

就 只 看 到 竹 蘿 叶

160. (H) chiu^6 tsïq^7 Gon^3 tao^5 ko^3 lo^5 Bo,  
then only see TAORES this turnip

冒 看 到 肉 啊

161. mao^6 NEG-PRFV Gon^3 tao^5 nyuq^7 a.  
see TAORES flesh A

佢 就 望 到 許 一 篮 子 蘿 叶

162. @@@ cie^3 chiu^6 wong^6 tê [tao^5] he^3 yiq^7 lan^5 tsî lo^5 Bo.  
3SG then look TAO_DUR that one basket turnip

隔 就 來 哭

163. kaq^7 chiu^6 lai^5 Guq^7.  
KAQNEW then come cry

就 只 看 到 蘿 叶

164. chiu^6 tsît^7 Gon^3 tao^3 lo^5 Bo,
Translation

1. I will now ... 2. tell a story. 3. that's what I'll do. 4. Once, 5. there was a rich man. 6. [that] rich man. 7. had a son. 8. This son, well. 9. had now a good number of years of age. 10. Now he must study. 11. He then wanted to hire a teacher. 12. to come to his house teach his son. 13. eh. 14. He then invited a private teacher. 15. to come teach his house和他的son. 16. ah. 17. to come and teach. 18. to come to his house and teach his son. 19. ah. 20. Now when the teacher comes, 21. there is a rule. 22. this ... on the first day. 23. ggggggggg 24. the master of the house. 25. must invite the teacher to eat a meal, of course. 26. isn’t it? 27. that is politeness, obviously. 28. When the teacher comes. 29. one must invite him for a meal. 30. eh. 31. [inviting the teacher to] eat a meal, is a normal thing. 32. But, this rich man, well, 33. this rich man, was very measly, that is he was very miserly. 34. The people in Nanchang say ‘set’ for ‘miserly’. 35. or ‘measly’ eh. 36. And what did he invite the teacher to eat? 37. [he invited the teacher to] eat braised pork meat with turnips. 38. He [had] a dish made called braised pork meat with turnips. 39. Braised pork with turnips, normally, if it has been made well, it is very tasty. 40. but this rich man who was very measly, well. 41. he could not bear to put enough pork meat in it, and it was all turnip in the large pot. 42. there weren’t two pieces of meat. 43. you almost could not see any meat. 44. The moment to begin eating came. 45. the teacher, this cultivated and educated person, did not think it proper to get angry. 46. In his heart he was not pleased,. but he refrained from saying anything. 47. They finished eating. 48. And they drank tea. 49. The rich man, having finished eating, chats with the teacher to keep him company. 50. The rich man says, « ah. teacher, you are a very erudite person. I believe. 70. Why don’t you tell us a story or two? » 71. « ah. tell a story » 72. The teacher thought for a moment. 73. « all right. I'll tell one if I have to ». 74. He said. 77. « Once, there was a woman. 79. well. A young woman. 80. She had given birth to a son. 82. Her son, well 83. he was both goodlooking and intelligent. 84. You cannot imagine how cute he was. 85. ah. 86. When he was two or three, everyone liked him. 88. The 89. The woman wherever she went, 91. always would take her son along with her. 92. One day, she went to the river side to wash turnips. 93. [She] carried a basket of turnips and went to the river side to wash these turnips. 94. Her son, her two or three year-old son was playing on the side of the river. 95. As he was playing, [that woman] who was washing turnips was not paying attention. 103. that son of hers accidentally. 104. fell into the water. 105. As he had fallen into the water, now th-. 107. at the heavy splash of him falling into the water. 109. the woman was suddenly alerted. 110. « ai ya! » 111. seeing that her own son had fallen in. 112. she then quickly [cried] 113. « Aiya! 114. Help! 115. Help! 116. A child has fallen into the water! 117. Quick, help! » 118. Oh. 119. At that point a number of people came 120. to get the child out of the water for her. 121. to rescue, rescue, rescue her son for her. 122. Alas, 123. for all their attempts to take the child out, 124. their continuous attempts. 125. they tried for a long time, but they did not succeed to get the child from the water, 128. eh. 129. they did not find him. 130. As they had not found him, 131. nothing could be done, 132. people now began--133. some people started making a circle, 134. and finally left. 135. The woman, 136. She could not bear to leave, 137. right? 138. her son, 139. this two or three year-old [boy who] moments before was still full of yound and fresh life, 140. that intelligent and good-looking boy 141. had disappeared in one instant 142. and drowned in the river. 143. and disappeared 144. She was
crying bitterly ». 145. Eh. 146. The rich man said, 147. « Wow, 148. she was very upset, I suppose! ». 149. He [the teacher] said 150. « you bet she was ». 151. He [the rich man] said: 152. « And how did she cry? ». 153 He [teacher] said: 154. « how did she cry? 155. she cried thus. 156. She said: 157. « my [own] flesh [=meat], 158. my flesh, 159. where have you gone to 160. [One] can only see the turnips, 161. [but] my flesh has disappeared ». 162. She was looking at the basket of turnips, 163, and crying, 164. « [One] can only see turnips, 165. But my flesh has disappeared »

1.3.5 Nanchang text No. 5: Noodles
(Told by XYZ. Recorded by Laurent Sagart. Nanchang, June 1999)

我 來 話 一 下 子 啊

1. ngo³ lai⁵ wa⁶ yi⁷ ha⁶ tsi¹ a
   ISG come tell one time a

我們 江西.，人 喜歡 嘞，嘞 米粉

2. ngo³ mìn^kong¹ xi¹ nyin⁵ xi³ fon¹
   1PL Jiangxi people like eat KO_REL rice:noodles

是 江西， 嘞 特產

3. ... ko³ mi³ fin³ a,
   this rice:noodle A

好 多 縣 里 頭 都 有

4. st⁶ kong¹ xi¹ kê theq⁷ ts[h]an.
   be Jiangxi KO_GEN specialty

而且 都 話 佢 自 簡，嘞 好

5. ... hao³ to¹ xien⁶ li³ Deu tu¹ yiu³.
   very many counties inside all have

分 宜 人 啊

6. ... oe⁵ chie³ tu¹ wa⁶ cie³ ts[h]i⁶ kan³ kê [ko] hao³.
   moreover all say 3SG self KO_GEN good

就 話，分 宜，嘞 米粉 最 好

7. ... ^fin⁴ nyi⁵ len⁵ a,
   Fenyi people A

江 人 就 話

8. chiu⁶ wa⁶ fin¹ nyi⁵ kê [ko] mi³ fin³ tsuï⁵ hao³.
   then say Fenyi KO_GEN rice:noodles most good

9. ... ^haq⁷ kong¹ nyin⁵ chiu⁶ wa⁶,
10. Xiajiang haq⁷ kē mi³ fin³ tsuĩ⁵ hao³.  
   Xiajiang KOGEN rice:noodles most good

11. Anyi ngon¹ nyi⁶ kē chiu⁶ wa⁶ ngon¹ nyi⁶ kē tsuĩ⁵ hao³.  
   Anyi KOGEN then say Anyi KOGEN most good

12. Nancheng lan⁵ Dzïn² kē chiu⁶ wa⁶ lan⁵ Dzïn² kē tsuĩ⁵ hao³.  
   Nancheng KOGEN then say Nancheng KOGEN most good

13. tu¹ wa⁶ Dzï kan³ kē mi³ fin³ hao³ c[h]iaq⁷.  
   all say oneself KOGEN rice:noodles tasty

14. Nanchang ngo³ mîn lan⁵ ts[h]ong¹ nyin⁵ ya³ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ mi³ fin³.  
   1PL Nanchang people also like eat rice:noodles

15. ko³ mi³ fin³ sî⁶ long⁵ fîi² sî⁶ le,  
   this rice:noodles be how type business LE

16. cie³ kē= nyûon⁵ tshai² lieu⁶ a,  
   3SG KOGEN raw:material A

17. st⁶=,  
   be

18. st⁶ that⁶ mi³.  
   be rice:grains

19. chiu⁵ sî that⁶ mi³ a.  
   that is rice:from:rice:plant A

20. puq⁷ sî xieu³ maq⁷.
NEG be wheat

不是拿麥子做.

21. ... puq⁷ sī⁶ laq⁷ maq⁷ tsī⁵ tsu⁵
   NEG be LAQ_INST wheat make

是是大米

22. sī⁶-- sī⁶ thai⁶ mi³.
   be be rice:grain

你人許個米呢

23. ...
   2SG that CL rice LE

就先磨成米漿

24. ...
   chiu⁶ xien¹ mo⁶ Dzin² mi³ ciong¹.
   then first grind make:into rice:paste

磨成米漿啊

25. ...
   mo⁶ Dzin² mi³ ciong¹ a.
   grind make:into rice:paste A

然後濾乾啊

26. ...
   len⁵ heu⁶ li⁶ kon¹ a,
   afterwards strain dry A

把許個水濾掉去

27. pa³ he³ kē sui³ āli⁵ tieu⁵ chie³.
   PA_DISP that CL water strain throw:out go

就成為啊筒筒

28. ...
   chiu⁶ Dzin² a kkkk,
   then become A

成為啊筒筒濕嘅粉粉子

29. Dzin² a gggg sīt⁷ ko fin³ fin³ tsī.
   become a gggg wet KO_ATT noodle paste

辣濕嘅粉粉子

30. lat⁸ sīt⁷ kē fin³ fin³ tsī.
   very wet KO_ATT noodle paste

然後啊

31. ...
   len⁵ heu⁶ kē=,
   afterwards KO ??
32. chiu⁶, 
   *then*

33. len⁵ heu⁶ le,  
   *afterwards LE*

34. tsai⁵ yung⁶ ko³ kē kē kē,  
   *again use this CL CL CL*

35. ... he³ kē=,  
   *that CL*

36. ... he³ kē kē kē kē,  
   *that CL CL CL CL*

37. tshai⁶ --  
   *at*

38. tshai⁶ tsoq⁷ fong⁵ li a,  
   *at workshop in A*

39. tshai⁶ ko³ mi³ fin³ Dzong³ a,  
   *at this noodle factory A*

40. ... chiu⁶=  
   *then*

41. pa³ cie³ ^tsa⁵ Dzïn² ko  
   *PA_DISP 3SG press make:into this*

   一 根 一 根 好 細 好 長  
   *yiq⁷ kien¹ yiq⁷ kien¹ hao³ xi⁵ hao³ Dzong² kē=, one CL one CL very fine very long KO_ATT*
箇 個 粉 條

42. ... ko³ kē fin³ thieu².
   this CL noodle

43. ... ngo³ mīn pa³ he³ kē chiu⁶ cieu⁵ fin³.
   1PL PA_DISP that CL then call noodle

就 叫 米 粉

44. chiu⁶ cieu⁵ mi³ fin³.
   then call rice:noodle

許 個 一 根 一 根 好 長 嘅

45. ... he³ kē yiq⁷ kien¹ yiq⁷ kien¹ hao³ Dzong² kē=.
   that CL one CL one CL very long KO_ATT

粉 條

46. ... fin³ thieu²,
   noodle

就 叫 米 粉

47. ... chiu⁶ cieu⁵ mi³ fin³.
   then call rice:noodle

隔 箇 個 個 個

48. ... kaq⁷ ko³ kē kē kē=.
   KAQ_NEW this CL CL CL

許 個 是 漱 .嘅 啦

49. ... he³ kē sī⁶ sit⁷ kē la,
   that CL be wet KO_ASS LA_OBV

做 出 来

50. ... tsu⁵ Dzut⁷ lai⁵.
   make come:out

出 来 漱 .嘅 呢 要 晒 乾

51. ... tshut⁷ lai⁵ sit⁷ kē le yeu⁵ saï⁵ kon¹.
   come:out wet KO LE must expose:to:sun dry

晒 乾 來 以 後

52. ... saï⁵ kon¹ lai⁵ yi⁵ heu⁶,
   expose:to:sun dry LAI_INC after

隔 箇 一 根 一 根 嘅
53. \( KAQ_{NEW} \) kaq\(^7\) ko\(^3\) yiq\(^7\) kien\(^1\) yiq\(^7\) kien\(^1\) kë

54. chiu\(^6\) si\(^6\) ngang\(^6\) kë kon\(^1\) tsao\(^5\) kë

55. chiu\(^6\) hao\(^3\) pao\(^3\) kwon\(^3\) a.

56. \( 2SG \) if you\(^3\) pres|erve TEQ\(_{MAN} \) good A

57. at this CL dry dark KO\(_{ATT} \) place A

58. that CL kë=,

59. yiq\(^7\) liong\(^3\) nyen\(^5\) tu\(^1\) ma\(^6\)[o\(^6\)] y[iu] xiq\(^7\) li win\(^6\) thi\(^2\).

60. tu\(^1\) hai\(^2\) si\(^6\) kho\(^3\) yi\(^3\) chiaq\(^7\).

61. \( KAQ_{EPI} \) kaq\(^7\) chiaq\(^7\) kë sî\(^5\) kan\(^1\) long\(^5\) chiaq\(^7\) le?

62. yiu\(^3\) liong\(^3\) tsung\(^3\) chiaq\(^7\) faq\(^7\).

63. yiq\(^7\) tsung\(^3\) sî\(^6\)=,

64. ë=\,
ah

65. ... tong\textsuperscript{1} [e]n\textsuperscript{5} hao\textsuperscript{3} to\textsuperscript{1} tsung\textsuperscript{3} chiaq\textsuperscript{7} faq\textsuperscript{7}.

of course very many kind eat method

66. hai\textsuperscript{2} puq\textsuperscript{7} xi\textsuperscript{6} liong\textsuperscript{3} tsung\textsuperscript{3} la.

NEG be two kind LA\textsubscript{OBY}

67. ... pi\textsuperscript{3} lu\textsuperscript{5} tshao\textsuperscript{3} mi\textsuperscript{3} fin\textsuperscript{3}.

for instance stir: fried: rice: noodles

68. ko\textsuperscript{3} xi\textsuperscript{3} ngo\textsuperscript{4} min lan\textsuperscript{5} Dzong\textsuperscript{1} nyin\textsuperscript{5} tu\textsuperscript{1} xi\textsuperscript{3} fon\textsuperscript{1} chiaq\textsuperscript{7} kë.

this be 1PL Nanchang people all like eat KO\textsubscript{ASS}

69. la\textsuperscript{3} li kë nyin\textsuperscript{5} tu\textsuperscript{1}--

everywhere KO\textsubscript{GEN} people all

70. .. ciong\textsuperscript{1} xi\textsuperscript{1}--

Jiangxi

71. ... kong\textsuperscript{1} xi\textsuperscript{1} la\textsuperscript{3} kë Di\textsuperscript{6}fong kë nyin\textsuperscript{5} tu\textsuperscript{1} xi\textsuperscript{3} fon\textsuperscript{1}[h]iaq\textsuperscript{7}.

Jiangxi any KO\textsubscript{GEN} place KO\textsubscript{GEN} people all like eat

72. ... ea.eh

73. .. ko\textsuperscript{3} tshao\textsuperscript{3} mi\textsuperscript{3} fin\textsuperscript{3} long\textsuperscript{5}--

this stir: fry noodle how

74. .. long\textsuperscript{5}-- long\textsuperscript{5}-- chiaq\textsuperscript{7} le?

how how eat LE

75. ... chiu\textsuperscript{6} laq\textsuperscript{7} he\textsuperscript{3} kë=, then take that CL
76. he³ kē he³ kē ngang⁶ kē,  
that CL that CL hard KO_{ATT}  

77. he³ kē kon¹ kē mi³ fin³ a.  
that CL dry KO_{ATT} noodle A  

78. ... sī³=  
be  

79. laq⁷ chie³ tsu³.  
take go boil  

80. xien¹ seu¹ khai¹ suī³.  
first prepare:by:applying:fire boiling water  

81. ... seu¹ hao³ yi--  
prepare successfully  

82. pon⁵ wo¹ tsi khai¹ suī³.  
half pan boiling:water  

83. kaq⁷ n³ yeu³ chiaq⁷ ci³ to¹ mi³ fin³,  
KAQ_{NEW} 2SG want eat how:much noodle  

84. chiu⁶ koq⁷ ci³ to¹ he³ kē mi³ fin³ ha⁶ chie.  
then put how:much that CL noodle down go  

85. pa³ cie³ tsu³.  
PA_{DISP} 3SG boil  

86. ... tsu³ le tsu³ khai¹ yi³ heu⁶,  
boil LE boil bubble after
87. hai² yeu⁵ tsai⁵ tsu³ yi⁷ ha⁶ tsì tsheu³. 
still must again boil one time in: addition

88. ... to¹ tsu³ yi⁷ ha⁶ tsì. 
more boil one time

89. ... tsu³ teq⁷ xiq⁷ li sì⁵ kan¹ a, 
boil TEQEXT what time ATOP

90. puq⁷ yeu⁵ tsu³ teq⁷ ^thai³ ciu³. 
NEG must boil TEQEXT too long

91. tsu³ teq⁷ ^thai³ ciu³ kë chiu⁶ --
boil TEQEXT too long KOASS then

92. ... chiu⁶ ^lan⁶ tieu⁵ lieu. 
then mushy off LIEUPRFV

93. he³ ko lan⁶ tieu⁵ lieu ya³ puq⁷ hao³ chiaq⁷. 
that CL mushy off LIEUPRFV then NEG good eat

94. ... ë. 
eh

95. ... than⁵ sì⁶ tsu³ ton³ he³ kë sì⁵ kan¹ puq⁷ --
but boil short that CL time NEG

96. tsu³ teq⁷ --,
boil TEQ

97. tsu³ seu⁵ lieu sì⁵ kan¹ ya³ puq⁷ xin⁵ 
boil little LIEUPRFV time also NEG alright

98. he³ kë li³ Deu

99. tsu³ teq⁷ --,
boil TEQ

100. tsu³ teq⁷ --,
boil TEQ
Nanchang syntax notes

that CL inside

   heart still NEG-PRFV boil cooked

就煮得

100. chiu⁶ tsu³ teq⁷=,
    then boil TEQ

煮

101. tsu³--
    boil

把併煮軟了就可以

102. pa³ cie³ tsu³ nyüon³ lieu chiu⁶ kho³ yi³.
    PADV 3SG boil soft LIEU PRFV then OK

就是XX水煮開了以後

103. chiu⁶ sī⁶ ts-- suīi³ tsu³ khai¹ lieu yi³ heu⁶
    then be-- water boil open LIEU PRFV after

再煮幾分鐘

104. ...
    then OK LIEU PRFV

可以了

105. ...
    eh
eh

箇就把併煮軟了

106. ...
    ko³ chiu⁶ pa³ cie³ tsu³ nyüon³ lieu.
    that then PADV 3SG boil soft LIEU PRFV

煮軟了以後呢

107. ...
    tsu³ nyüon³ lieu yi³ heu⁶ le,
    boil soft LIEU PRFV after LE

隔就把許個冷水啊

108. kaq⁷ chiu⁶ laq⁷ he³ kē lang³ suīi³ a,
Nanchang syntax notes  

109. \[KAQ_{\text{NEW}}\] then take that CL cold water A

拿去沖

110. ... take go rinse

拿去洗

111. ... take go wash

把併變成

112. that:is PA\(_{\text{DISP}}\) 3SG anew again change:into

許個濕嘅米粉狀態

又把

113. ... again PA\(_{\text{DISP}}\)

又把

114. again PA\(_{\text{DISP}}\)

箇個乾嘅米粉又變成

115. this CL dry PA\(_{\text{ATT}}\) rice:noodle anew again change:into LIEU\(_{\text{PRFV}}\)

箇個米粉

就

116. that be

隔個

117. ... kaq\(_7\) kē--
Nanchang syntax notes

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\[KAQ_{\text{NEW}} \quad KO \ ? ? ?\]

118. kaq\(^7\) Džín\(^2\) lieu he\(^3\) kē yiu\(^6\) sū\(^7\) yiu\(^6\) nyüon\(^3\)

\[KAQ_{\text{NEW}} \quad \text{become} \quad \text{LIEU}_{\text{PREV}} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{wet} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{soft}\]

又煮熟了, 嘎米粉, 嘎

yiu\(^6\) tsu\(^3\) suq\(^7\) lieu kē mi\(^3\) fin\(^3\) a,

\[\text{KO}_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{rice:noodle} \quad \text{A}\]

隔又把水就完全濾乾了

隔

119. ... kaq\(^7\) yiu\(^6\) pa\(^3\) suí\(^3\) tu\(^1\) won\(^3\) chūon\(^2\) li\(^6\) kon\(^1\) lieu.

\[KAQ_{\text{NEW}} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{PD}_{\text{DISP}} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{completely} \quad \text{filter} \quad \text{dry} \quad \text{LIEU}_{\text{PREV}}\]

把水都濾掉去

120. ... pa\(^3\) suí\(^3\) tu\(^1\) li\(^6\) tieu\(^6\) chie\(^3\).

\[\text{PD}_{\text{DISP}} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{filter} \quad \text{off} \quad \text{go}\]

隔, 然後你就可以用炒了

隔

121. ... kaq\(^7\) len\(^7\) heu\(^6\) n\(^3\) chiu\(^6\) kho\(^3\) yi\(^3\) tshao\(^3\) lieu.

\[KAQ_{\text{NEW}} \quad \text{afterwards} \quad \text{2SG} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{can} \quad \text{stir:fry LIEU}_{\text{CHG}}\]

炒米粉啊

122. ... tshao\(^3\) mi\(^3\) fin\(^3\) a,

\[\text{stir:fry rice:noodles} \quad \text{A}\]

一般都是先拿

123. yiq\(^7\) pon\(^1\) tu\(^1\) sī\(^6\) xien\(^1\) laq\(^7\)--

\[\text{in:general} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{first} \quad \text{take}\]

先拿油來炒滴子箇個作料啦

124. xien\(^1\) laq\(^7\) yiu\(^5\) lai\(^5\) tshao\(^3\) tiaq\(^7\) tī\(^6\) ko\(^3\) kē ^tsoq\(^7\) lieu\(^6\) la.

\[\text{first} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{oil} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{stir-fry a:little} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{ingredients} \quad \text{LA}_{\text{OBJ}}\]

比如

125. ... pi\(^3\) lu\(^5\),

\[\text{for:instance}\]

我們南昌人喜歡喫牛肉炒粉

126. ... ngo\(^1\) mǐn lan\(^1\) Dzong\(^1\) nyin\(^3\) xi\(^3\) fon\(^1\)

\[1\text{PL} \quad \text{Nanchang} \quad \text{people like} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{fried:noodles:with:beef}\]

箇牛肉炒粉

127. ... ko\(^3\) nyu\(^5\) nyuq\(^7\) tshao\(^3\) fi--,

\[\text{this} \quad \text{fried:noodles:with:beef}\]

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Nanchang syntax notes  L. Sagart

南昌市還專門有一家館子店

128. lan¹ tshong¹ sī⁶ hai² tsōn¹ mīn⁵ yiu³ yiq⁷ ka¹ kuon³ tšī tien⁵,

南昌 city in: addition especially have one CL restaurant

是許個個個清真萬花樓

129. sī⁶ he³ kē kē kē chin¹ tšīn¹ wan⁶ fa¹ leu⁵.

be that CL CL CL Chin-tsin-wan-fa: restaurant

清真萬花樓

130. ... chin¹ tšīn¹ wan⁶ fa¹ leu⁵,

Chin-tsin-wan-fa: restaurant

許個個個，牛肉炒粉

131. he³ kē k k nyu⁵ nyuq⁷ tšhao³ fin³ sī⁶ hao³ yiu³ miang⁵ kē.

that CL CL CL fried:noodles:with: beef be very famous KOASS

我以前都好喜歡喫

132. ngo³ yi³ chien² tu¹ hao³ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷.

1SG previously all very like eat

隔好久冒喫過了

133. ... kaq⁷ hao³ ciu³ mao⁶ chiaq⁷ kuo⁵ lieu.

KAQNEW very long: time NEG-EXP eat KUOEXP LIEUCHG

不拿牛肉炒就拿

134. ... puq⁷ laq⁷ nyu⁵ nyuq⁷ tšhao³ chiu⁶ laq⁷=,

NEG take beef stir:fry then take

豬肉炒也可以

135. tsu¹ nyu⁵ tšhao³ ya³ kho³ yī³.

pork stir:fry also possible

還一般啊都要攔辣椒

136. ... hai² yiq⁷ pon¹ a tu¹ yeu⁵ koq⁷ lat⁷ cie¹,

in: addition in: general A all YEUCHR put chili: pepper

我們南昌人好大部分人人都喜歡喫

137. ngo³ mīn³ lan⁵ tshong¹ nīn⁵ hao³-- thai⁶ phu⁶ fin¹ nīn⁵.

1PL Nanchang people very most people

大部分人南昌人人都喜歡喫

138. ... [t[h]a¹ p[h]u⁶ fin¹ lan⁵ tshong¹ nīn⁵ tu¹ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷
most Nanchang people all like eat

辣椒
lat^7 cieu^1.
chili:pepper

139. ... ko^3 kë= nyuq^7 lo,
this CL meat LOINST

140. lat^7 cieu^1 lo,
chili:pepper LOINST

生姜 大蒜 . 吩
141. sen^1 ciong^1 thai^6 son^5 lo,
raw:ginger garlic LOINST

□

142. .. e
eh

隔 隔 隔 隔
143. kaq^7 kaq^7 kaq^7 kaq^7,
kkkkkkkkkk

把 箇 個 作料 炒 好
144. .. pa^3 ko^3 kë tsoq^7 lieu^6 tshao^3 hao^3.
PA_DISP this CL ingredient stir:fry done

作料 個 個
145. ... tsoq^7 lieu^6 kë kë
ingredient k k

箇 些 東西 炒 熟 了 呢
146. ko^3 xiet^7 tung^1 xi^1 tshao^3 suq^7 lieu le,
this CL things stir:fry cooked LIEU_{PRFV} LE

再 把 剛才 箇 個 XX
147. ... tsai^5 pa^3 kong^1 Dzai^2 ko^3 kë li--
AGAIN PA_DISP a:moment:ago this CL

箇 個 舞 . 正 了
148. ko^3 ko wu^3 tsang^5 lieu
149. ko³ kë³ së³ mi³ fin³ a, this CL wet rice:noodle a
150. tao⁵ ha⁶ chie³. pour down go
151. ... koq⁷ yi-- put
152. koq⁷ koq⁷ koq⁷ ciong⁵ yiu⁵ lo, put put put soy:sauce LOINST
153. yen⁵ a, salt A
154. xiq⁷ li. what(ever)
155. hai² yiu³ kao³ teq⁷ hao³ tiaq⁷ tsë³ kë, also have make TEQMAN good a:little KO ???
156. hai² yiu³ ka¹ song⁶ xiong¹ ku¹ muq⁷ oe³ xiq⁷ li tung¹ xi. still have add dried:mushroom mu'er:mushroom and:such:like
157. ... fii¹ tshong² hao³ chiaq⁷ extremely tasty
158. ... a, A
159. ngo³= chiu⁶ tsui⁵ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ ko³ ko tung¹ xi. ISG then most like eat this CL thing
160. ... ko³ kë⁶ tshao³ mi³ ūn³.
   this CL stir-fry rice:noodle

或者你是你喫
161. ... fit⁷ tsa³ si⁶ n³ chiaq⁷--
   alternatively be 2SG eat

你不愿意喫炒嘨
162. n³ puq⁷ yuø⁶ yi⁵ chiaq⁷ tshao³ kë.
   2SG NEG wish eat stir-fry KO NOM

喫煮嘨也行
163. chiaq⁷ tsu³ kë² ya³ xin⁵.
   eat boil KO NOM also OK

就
164. ... chiu⁶ si⁶=
   then be

箇個燒正了嘨湯
165. ko³ kë⁶ seu¹ tsang⁵ kë⁶ thong¹.
   this CL cook right LIEU PRFV KO REL broth

把許個個
166. ... pa³ he³ kë kë kë.
   PA DISP that CL CL CL

許個另外一鍋子
167. he³ kë⁶ lin⁶ wai⁶ yiq⁷ wo¹ tsï,
   that CL another one pan

再煮一鍋子新鮮嘨開水啊
168. tsa³ tsu³ yiq⁷ wo¹ tsï xin¹ xien¹ kë khaï¹ suï³ a.
   again boil one pan fresh KO ATT boiling: water A

半鍋子開水就是湯啊
169. ... pon⁵ wo¹ tsï khaï¹ suï³ chiu⁶ si⁶ thong¹ a.
   half pan boiling:water then be broth A

 diarr
170. .. ê.
    eh
171. ... tsu³ khai¹ lieu³ yi¹ heu⁶, 
boil open LIEU_{PRFV} afterwards

把 篮 個 燉 .嘅 米粉
172. pa³ ko³ ko sit⁷ kê mi³ fin³, 
P_{DISP} this CL wet KO_{ATT} rice:noodles

攔 進 去
173. ... koq⁷ chin⁵ c[h]je³. 
put enter go

加上 作 料
174. ... ka¹ song⁶ tsoq⁷ lieu⁶. 
add ingredient

加上 篮 個 肉 啊
175. ka¹ song⁶ ko³ kê nyuq⁷ a, 
add this CL meat A

箇 些 東 西
176. ko³ xiet⁷ tung¹ xi¹. 
this CL things

□
177. ... ê. 
eh

鹽 啊
178. yen⁵ a, 
salt A

箇 個 味 精 啊
179. ... ko³ ko wei⁶ cin¹ a, 
this CL glutamate A

蔥 花 呀
180. ... tshung¹ fa¹ ya, 
chopped:chives:stalks A

箇 個 啫 篮 個 湯
181. ko³ ko chiaq⁷ ko³ kê ~thong¹--
This CL eat this CL broth
182. ... thong¹ fin³.

noodles:in:broth

183. ...

he³ chiu⁶ cieu⁵ "thong¹ fin³.

that then be:called noodle:soup

184. ...

he³ chiu⁶ puq⁷ si⁶ tshao³ mi³ fin³.

that then NEG be stir-fry noodles

185. he³ chiu⁶ "thong¹ fin³.

that then noodle:soup

186. ...

yi⁶ ko³ nyin⁵ a

have KOXIE people A

喜 歡 嗑 湯 粉

187. xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ thong¹ fin³.

like eat noodle:soup

特 別

188. ...

theq⁷ p[h]ieq⁷--

especially

特 別 是 冷 天 里 啦

189. theq⁷ p[h]ieq⁷ si⁶ lang³ Dien¹ li la,

especially winter in LAOBV

喰 篁 個 比 較

190. chiaq⁷ ko³ ko pi³ kao⁵--

eat this CL relatively

喰 得 身 上 比 較 熱 和

191. ...

chiaq⁷ teq⁷ sin¹ song pi³ kao⁵ leq⁷ fo.

eat TEQEXT body on relatively warm

還 有 熱 天 里 呢

192. ...

hai² yiu³ let² [h]ien¹ li le,

in:addition have summer in LE

熱 天 我 們 喜 歡 嗑 冷 粉
193. let\(^7\) [h]ien\(^1\) ngo\(^3\) mǐn xi\(^3\) fon\(^1\) chiaq\(^7\) lang\(^3\) fin\(^3\).  
summer IPI like eat cold:noodle

194. ... lang\(^3\) fin\(^3\) chiu\(^6\) si\(^6\) laq\(^7\) kong\(^1\) ts[h]ai\(^2\) wa\(^6\) kē,  
cold:noodle then be use a:moment:ago say KO\(_{REL}\)

195. he\(^3\) ko yī cin\(^1\) tsu\(^3\) suq\(^7\) lieu kē,  
that CL already boiled:through LIEU\(_{PRFV}\) KO\(_{REL}\)

196. ... kon\(^1\)-- ee,  
dry eh

197. ... tsu\(^3\) suq\(^7\) lieu kē,  
boiled:through LIEU\(_{PRFV}\) KO\(_{REL}\)

198. he\(^3\) kē sīt\(^7\) kē,  
that CL wet KO\(_{REL}\)

199. ... he\(^3\) kē li\(^3\) tieu\(^5\) lē [lieu] suī\(^3\) kē sīt\(^7\) mi\(^3\) fin\(^3\) a.  
that CL filter off LIEU\(_{PRFV}\) water KO\(_{REL}\) wet rice:noodle A

200. ... ē,  
eh

加 上
201. ka\(^1\) song--

攔 滴 子 麻 油
202. koq\(^7\) tiaq\(^2\) tsī ^ma\(^5\) yiu,  
put a:little sesame:oil

攔 些 子 齒 個
203. ... koq\(^7\) xiet\(^7\) tsī ko\(^3\) kē=  
put a:few this CL

辣 椒 末 子
204. lat⁷ cieu¹ moq⁷ tsî, 
    chili:pepper dried:chili:mash

    蔥

205. tshung¹ fa¹, 
    chopped:chives:stalks

    鍾 個 大蒜 子

206. ko³ kē thai⁶ son⁵ mû³ tsî, 
    this CL chopped:garlic

    鍾 些 東西 啊

207. ... ko³ xiet⁷ tung¹ xiⁱ a 
    this CL thing A

    拌 經來 喀

208. ... phon⁶ chi³ lai⁵ chiaq⁷. 
    stir CHILAI.chomp INCH eat

    也 好 喀

209. ... ya³ hao³ chiaq⁷. 
    then tasty

    鍾 個

210. ... ko³ kē, 
    this CL

    你 像 現在 是 熱天 啦

211. n³ chiong⁶ xien⁶ ts[h]ai⁶ sî⁶ let⁷ t[h]ien¹ la, 
    like now be summer LA.OBV

    熱天 里 早

212. let⁷ t[h]ien¹ li ts-- 
    summer in ear--

    許 個 早上 啊

213. he³ kē tsao³ song a, 
    that CL morning A

    大家 都 喜歡 喀 箇 個 東西

214. thai⁶ ka¹ tu¹ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ ko³ kē tung¹ xi. 
    everyone all like eat this CL thing

    喀 一 碗 節 個

215. ... chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ won³ ko³ kē,
Nanchang syntax notes

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eat one bowl this CL

冷粉

216. ... lang^3 fin^3, cold:noodle

□

217. ... ea, eah

又   偏宜

218. yiu^6 p[h]ien^2 yi. at:once cheap

箇 冷 □ □ □

219. ... ko^3 lang^3 win^3 la-- (SPEECH ERROR: woo(dles) for noo(dles))

this cold woo

□□個 個

220. êê= ké kê,

eh gggggg

就是 涼拌 喀 冷粉 啊

221. chiu^6 si^6 liong^5 phon^6 kē lang^3 fin^3 a,

that be cold-stirred KOREL cold:noodle A

.只要 雙 毛子。 錢

222. ... ts[t^7] y]eu^5 liong^3 Guai^3 tsì chien^2

only need two approximately: RMB money

箇 炒 米粉 啊

223. ... ko^3 tshao^3 mi^3 fin^3 a,

this stir:fry rice:noodle A

箇 些 小 店 里頭

224. ... ko^3 xiet^7 xieu^3 tien^5 li Deu,

this CL small shop in

就 只要 三 毛子 錢


then only need three approximately: RMB money

. 又 方便

226. ... yiu^6 fong^1 p[h]ien^6. at:once convenient
Translation

1. I will now tell 2. of the rice noodles that we Nanchang people like to eat 3. These rice noodles, well 4. they are a specialty of Jiangxi. 5. A lot of counties have them. 6. And moreover, they all say their own rice noodles are the best. 7. The people in Fenyi 8. say that Fenyi rice noodles are the best. 9. Xiajiang people 10. say Xiajiang rice noodles are the best. 11. Those in Anyi say Anyi [noodles] are the best. 12. Those in Nancheng say Nancheng [noodles] are the best. 13. They all say that their own rice noodles are the tastiest 14. We Nanchang people like rice noodles too. 15. These rice noodles, what kind of thing are they? 16. The raw material [in them] 17. is, 18. is rice. 19. That is, the grains of the rice plant. 20. It is not wheat. 21. It is not made of wheat. 22. It is—it is rice. 23. Those rice grains, 24. are first ground into a paste. 25. ground into a paste. 26. Then [one] strains it dry, 27. using a strainer to remove the water. 28. Then it becomes...29. becomes a wet noodle paste. 30. a very wet noodle paste. 31. Afterwards, 32. then. 33. afterwards, 34. [one] once again uses the... 35. that...36. that...37. in...38. in the workshop 39. in the noodle factory, 40. then, 41. one presses it [the paste] to obtain very fine and very long stick-like 42. noodles 43. we call those «rice noodles» 44. [we] call them «rice noodles». 45. Those stick-like, very long 46. noodles 47. are called «rice noodles» 48. Now, th- the 49. those are wet, of course 50. as they come out. 51. Because they come out wet, they must be exposed to the sun to dry. 52. After they have dried in the sun, 53. these stick-like [noodles] 54. are hard and dry, 55. and easy to preserve. 56. If you preserve them well 57. in a dry and dark place 58. those 59. one or two years is no problem at all, 60. they can still be eaten. 61. Now how does one eat them? 62. there are two ways of eating them. 63. One is, 64. ah, 65. of course there are many ways of eating them, 66. not just two ways, of course. 67. For instance, stir-fried rice noodles. 68. This is something we Nanchang people all like to eat. 69. People from everywhere— 70. Jiangxi— 71. People from anywhere in Jiangxi all like to eat [these]. 72. eh. 73. These stir-fried noodles, how— 74. how—how are they eaten? 75. [one] takes those... 76. those... those hard, 77. those dry rice noodles, 78. it is... 79. [one] takes them to boil. 80. First boil water. 81. When the water boils, 82. half a pan of water, 83. then, [depending on] the amount of noodles you want to eat, 84. you put that amount of noodles into [the water]. 85. Boil it. 86. After it has boiled, 87. [you] still have to boil it one more time. 88. boil it one more time. 89. How long [should you] boil it for, well, 90. [you should not] boil it too long. 91. If you boil it for too long, then 92. it gets all mushy. 93. When it’s mushy it does not taste good. 94. eh. 95. But [if you] cook it for too short a time, it’s not...96. if you cook... 97. if you cook it for too short a time, it’s not good either. 98. Inside 99. The noodles are hard inside.100. Boiling it...101. Boiling... 102. Cook till soft, then it will be OK.103. That is, boil for a few minutes after the water has started to boil. 104. Then it’s done.105. eh. 106. Then they are soft. 107. After they are soft, 108. now you use cold water 109. to rinse them. 110. wash them. 111. You change them 112. That is, you change them back to that wet rice noodle state. 113. It again,114. it again 115. the dry noodles have become wet again. 116. That’s how it is. 117. Now, 118. Now after they have become wet, soft, well-cooked rice noodles, 119. [one] again pours out all the water. 120. Pour out all the water 121. After that you can stir-fry them. 122. To stir-fry rice noodles, well 123. in general you
always begin by 124. begin by taking oil to stir-fry a bit of these ingredients, obviously, 125. such as, 126. we Nanchang people like to eat fried noodles with beef. 127. this [dish], fried noodles with beef, 128. there is in Nanchang city a restaurant especially 129. it’s [called] the Chin-tsïn-wan-fa-leu, 130. [there at] the Chin-tsïn-wan-fa-leu, 131. the fried noodles with beef are famous. 132. I used to like to eat there in the past. 133. Now it’s a long time since I ate there. 134. If [you] do not use beef, you can use 135. pork, that is also fine. 136. Also in general one will add some chili pepper, 137. We Nanchang people very… most people 138. most Nanchang people like to eat chili peppers. 139. The meat, 140. chili peppers, 141. raw ginger, garlic, 142. eh, 143. kkkk 144. these ingredients [should be] stir-fried until done. 145. The ingredients 146. these things, when they are done, 147. Then [you] again [take] [the noodles] that [you] have just prepared 149. those wet noodles, 150. pour them down [into the stir-fried ingredients] 151. add som…152. add soy sauce, 153. salt, 154. whatever. 155. There are also [those] who make it a little better. 156. They add dried mushroom, mu’er mushroom, and such like. 157. It’s extremely good. 158. Ah. 159. I like to eat this thing most. 160. These stir-fried rice noodles. 161. Or alternatively you eat… 162. [if you] don’t want to eat them stir-fried, 163. [you] can also eat them in a soup. 164. That is… 165. having prepared a broth, 166. take that… 167. that another pan, 168. again bring to ebullition another panful of water, 169. half a pan of boiling water, that’s [your] broth. 170.Eh. 171. After it has reached ebullition, 172. [take] the wet noodles 173. and put them in. 174. Add the ingredients. 175. Add meat, 176. That sort of thing. 177. Eh. 178. Salt, 179. Monosodium glutamate, 180. chopped stalks of chives, 181. [and] eat the soup—182. the noodle soup. 183. It is called «noodle soup». 184. That’s not stir-fried noodles, 185. that’s noodle soup. 186. There are people, 187. who like to eat noodle soup. 188. Especially. 189. Especially in the winter. 190. Eating this relatively—. 191. Eating it keeps you relatively warm. 192. Also, in the summer. 193. in the summer we like to eat cold noodles. 194. [For] cold noodles [you] take [what] I described a moment ago, 195. those already cooked through, 196. dry— 197. cooked through, 198. wet, 199. those wet noodles after pouring out the water, 200. eh. 201. [You] add. 202. put in a little sesame oil, 203. a few… 204. dried chili mash, 205. chopped stalks of chives, 206. chopped garlic, 207. Things like that. 208. Stir up and eat. 209. It’s very tasty. 210. This, 211. Like, now is summer, 212. in the summer—213. in the morning, 214. everybody likes to eat this thing. 215. Eat a bowl of 216. cold noodles. 217. eah, 218. It’s cheap. 219. Those cold… 220. eh, 221. that is, cold-stirred noodles, well, 222. cost only two Yuan, more or less. 223. Stir-fried noodles, 224. in those small shops, 225. they cost only three Yuan, more or less. 226. It’s convenient, 227. it’s good, 228. and it’s cheap.

1.4 notes on the lexicon

1.4.1 copula

是 oscillates between sï6, xi6 and even x (unstressed).

1.4.2 pronouns

1.4.2.1 personal

• the singular pronouns are

ngo3 n3 cie3

Etymologically 我 ngaX 爾 njeX 佢 gjo. The Tang northern innov. 你 has not reached Nanchang. This set shows analogical leveling : all tone 3 (regular for 1sg and 2sg, but T2 expected for cie3). Lack of aspiration in cie3 is also irreg., and shows
tonal leveling to T3 is older than devoicing (the word would have evolved to ch- had leveling not occurred). Some speakers say chie3. Origin uncertain. There is a +polite 2sg pronoun n3 len, probably earlier 你人, apparently a 2pl. plural? with politeness shift to singular (Eng. you 2pl > polite 2sg).

The 3sg cie3 is sometimes used to refer to non-animated nouns: I.55,56,56,61: 3SG cie3 used to refer to Beijing

• The plural pronouns exist in two sets:
  (a) local (not represented in the 5 texts)
    ngo3 ko li
    n3 ko li
    cie3 ko li
  (b) Mandarin (common in C and in these texts)
    ngo3 mïn
    (n3 mïn ? ? ?)
    cie3 mïn.

1.4.2.2 demonstratives

Only two degrees: proximal ko3 and distal he3

he3 許 has cognates in Wu and Min, see Hakvoc. First occurs as a far demonstrative in EMC texts, see ZGYW 1999:6 p. 442. Cognate with處
ko3 developed out of the general classifier, see ko.doc

    he3 occurs once as « so very adj, that Adj. .. » I.46. he3 ‘that’ in « that dry! »

1.4.2.3 manner

  kong3 this way (perhaps from ko3-yong > kong3)
  hen3 that way (perhaps from he3-yong > heng3 >hen3)

1.4.2.4 interrogative

  la3 which ?
  la3 kë who ? whoever, anybody, everybody
  la3 li where ? wherever, anywhere
  long5 how ? (perhaps from *na3 yong > nong > long ; 哪様. as still in Yiyang. MX
  Hakka nyong56 closer than NC to the original.

  xiq7 li sî5 kan1 when ?
  xiq7 li what ? whatever, anything

1.4.3 classifiers

There are 124 occurrences of noun classifiers in the 5 texts (17 mns of monologue), excluding numerous cases of phatic he3 ko, ko3 ko. Altogether 7 different classifiers. By decreasing order of frequency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text No</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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Many nouns classified by tsaq7 can also be classified by ko. In blue, nouns classified by both ko and tsaq7. They include human and artefact.

Non concrete nouns only classified by ko: place; story; joke; weather, temperature, taste

**Examples of tsaq7:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2.17. ...</th>
<th>許</th>
<th>隻</th>
<th>女</th>
<th>個</th>
<th>呢</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.19. ko(^3)</td>
<td>tsaq(^7)</td>
<td>xiu(^5)</td>
<td>DZай(^2)</td>
<td>Gon(^3)</td>
<td>tê [tao]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.31. ko(^3)</td>
<td>tsaq(^7)</td>
<td>nyên(^5)</td>
<td>chiang(^1)</td>
<td>kë [ko] nyû(^3)</td>
<td>kë [ko] Gon(^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.49. ...</td>
<td>ngo(^3)</td>
<td>yiq(^7)</td>
<td>tsaq(^7)</td>
<td>xiu(^3)</td>
<td>chiu(^6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nanchang syntax notes  

3.58. chiu\(^6\) xiong\(^3\) kien\(^1\) nyin\(^5\) ka he\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\) nyü\(^3\) ko ^tec^3. 

3.59. ... ko\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\) nyü\(^3\) kē [ko] xin\(^1\) li Dian\(^1\) tē chiu\(^6\) hao\(^3\) ^chi^3 fo\(^3\). 

3.61. ... tsin\(^5\) hao\(^3\) tseu\(^3\) ta[w] yiq\(^7\) tsaq\(^7\) kuon\(^1\) [D]Zai\(^2\) Bu\(^3\) mǐn\(^5\) Gieu\(^3\) wa. 

3.62. ... he\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\) nyü\(^3\) kē [ko] le, 

2.10. ... thia\(^2\) tsaq\(^7\) ^Doq\(^7\) Dai\(^6\) kē [ko] lan\(^5\) tsī\(^3\) a, 

4.33. ... than\(^6\) sī\(^6\) le ko\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\) gggggg Di\(^6\) tsu\(^3\) a, 

4.34. ko\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\) tshai\(^2\) tsu\(^3\) a, 

4.103. he\(^3\) tsaq\(^7\) tsai\(^3\) yiq\(^7\) pìq\(^7\) xieu\(^3\) xin\(^1\) le, 

4.135. kaq\(^7\) ko tsaq\(^7\) ^nyü\(^3\) kē [ko] le, 

1.4.4 etymologies 

kaq\(^7\) < ko3 ha6 ‘this moment, now’ (etym. from NC dictionary) 
laq7 擾 MC *nak (GY, JY) ‘to hold’. Cognate w/ 拿 =攀 nra ’hold’
1.5 notes on the grammar: constructions in the 5 texts

1.5.1 passive
No ex

1.5.2 disposal
The Mandarin PA3-construction: PA3 NP V used in Nanchang (text 5 only)

5.27. \textbf{pa3} he$^3$ kē$^3$ suī$^3$ $^\wedge$li$^6$ tieu$^5$ chie$^3$.
\textit{PA}$_{\text{DISP}}$ that CL water strain throw:out go

5.41. \textbf{pa3} cie$^3$ $^\wedge$tsa$^5$ Dzïn$^2$ ko
\textit{PA}$_{\text{DISP} 3SG}$ press make:into this

5.112. \textbf{pa3} cie$^3$ tsu$^3$ nyōun$^3$ lieu
\textit{PA}$_{\text{DISP} 3SG}$ boil soft \textit{LIEU$_{\text{PRFV}}$} then \textit{OK}

5.111 .... \textbf{pa3} cie$^3$ pien$^6$ tshï$^2$, \textit{PA}$_{\text{DISP} 3SG}$ change:into

5.112. chiu$^6$ sì$^6$ \textit{that:is} \textbf{pa3} cie$^3$ tshung$^2$ xin$^1$ yiu$^6$ pien$^6$ tshï$^2$
\textit{PA}$_{\text{DISP} 3SG}$ anew again \textit{change:into}

5.43. ... ngo$^3$ mïn \textbf{pa3} he$^3$ kē$^3$ chiu$^6$ cieu$^5$ fin$^3$.
\textit{1PL} \textit{PA}$_{\text{DISP}}$ that CL then call noodle
把 佐 煮
5.85. pa3 cie3 tsu3.
\[PA_{DISP} 3SG\] boil

隔 又 把 水 就 完全 滤 乾 了
5.119 .... kaq7 yu6 pa3 sii3 tu1 won2 chüon2 li6 kon1 lieu.
\[KAQ_{NEW}\] again \[PA_{DISP}\] water all completely filter dry \[LIEU_{PRFV}\]

把 箇 個 作料 炒 好
5.144 ... pa3 ko3 kē tsoq7 lieu6 tshao3 hao3.
\[PA_{DISP}\] this CL ingredient stir:fry done

再 把 剛才 箇 個 XX
5.147 .... tsai5 pa3 kong1 Dzai2 ko3 kē li--
\[again\] \[PA_{DISP}\] a:moment:ago this CL

箇 個 舞 正 了
5.148. ko3 ko wu3 tsang5 lieu
\[this\] CL make done \[LIEU_{PRFV}\]

箇 個 濕 米粉 啊
5.149. ko3 kē sii7 mî3 fin3 a,
\[this\] CL wet rice:noodle a

倒 下 去
5.150. tao5 ha6 chie3.
pour down go

把 箇 個 濕 嘿 米粉
5.172. pa3 ko3 ko sii7 kē mî3 fin3.
\[PA_{DISP}\] this CL wet \[KO_{ATT}\] rice:noodles

搁 進 去
5.173 .... koq7 chin5 c[h]ie3.
\[put\] enter go

But a different construction, with LAQ7 (< mc ˇ nak ‘hold’ ) also found (unique ex.), with verb PA3 ‘give’:

Local  LAQ7 N PA3 X V

人家 就 捏 糖 把 你 人 嘴
Many other Gan-Ke dialects have disposal laq\(^7\) in that « give A to B » construction, see KGFYDCBG p. 451: Anyi, Yifeng, Yugan, Jishui, Yongxin, Duchang; Dayu, Ganxian, Ningdu, Changting, Sandu, Shaowu.

Only few have laq\(^7\) where Mand has standard ba\(^3\) constructions, see KGFYDCBG p. 441, 455: Anyi, Yifeng, Sandu, Changting, Shaowu. LAQ\(^7\) Losing ground to Mandarin BA\(^3\).

1.5.3 comparative

1.5.3.1 In Nanchang

1.5.3.1.1 simple comparative (A more Adj)

- zero-marking, with absence of degree adverb hao\(^3\) indicating comparative:

  以前     
  . . .     
  yi\(^3\) Jien\(^2\)  
  in:the:past poor

  而 且 都 話 併 自 齡 個 好
  . . .     
  oe\(^5\) chie\(^3\) tu\(^1\) wa\(^6\) cie\(^3\) ts[h]ji\(^6\) kan\(^3\) kë [ko] hao\(^3\).
  moreover all say 3SG self KO\(_{GEN}\) good

- simple marking, with kien\(^5\) 更 -Adj: ‘Adj-er’

  更 冷
  . kien\(^5\) lang\(^3\)
  more cold

- Simple marking, Adj-de-duo ‘much Adj-er’:

  現 在 大 家 生 活 要 好 得 多
  . . .     
  xien\(^6\) Dzai\(^6\) Dai\(^6\) ka\(^1\) sen\(^1\)foq\(^7\) yew\(^6\) hao\(^3\) teq\(^7\) to\(^1\).
  now everybody life want good TEQ\(_{DEG}\) much

- Simple marking : Adj-tiaq\(^7\) tsï ‘a little adj-er’

  還 有 製 得 好 滴 子 個
  .1 .     
  hai\(^2\) yiu\(^3\) kao\(^3\) teq\(^7\) hao\(^3\) tiaq\(^7\) tsï kë,
  also have make TEQ\(_{MAN}\) good a:little KO ?? ?

  有 個 大 滴 子
  .1 .     
  yiu\(^3\) kë [ko] Dai\(^6\) tiaq\(^7\) tsï

\(^5\) Isolation form is pa\(^3\), merges with T\(^7\) through destressing
Nanchang syntax notes

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have $KO_{XIE}$ big a little

• double-marking: kien5 reinforced by 些子 after the Adj:

1. ... n³ tsho⁶ = teq⁷ ko³ ko fong⁵ kan¹ li a,

2SG sit TEQPREP this CL apartment inside ASUPP

還 不如 走 到 外頭 去

hai² puq⁷ lu³ tseu⁵ tao⁵ wai⁶ deu² chie³,

still not:as:good:as walk to outside go

還 更 熱和 些子

har² kien⁵ leq⁷ fo xiet⁷ tsi.

still more warm a:little

1.5.3.1.2 double comparative (A more Adj than B)

• No ex. of simple marking A bi B adj. inb the texts

• double marking: A bi B kien5 Adj: ‘A Adj-er than B’

以前 啊 比 現在 更 有 味道

yi³ Jien² a pi³ xien⁶ Dzai⁶ kien⁵ yiu³ wi⁶ Dao⁶.

in:the:past P compare now more have taste

但是 我 覺得 窮 個 時間

3.8. ... than⁶ si⁶ ngo³ cioq⁷ teq⁷ ^chiung² kē si⁵ kan¹

but 1SG feel poor KOATTR time

許 個 味道 啊

he³ ko wi⁶ Dao⁶ a

that CL taste P

比 現在 味道 還 更 足

pi³ xien⁶ Dzai⁶ wi⁶ Dao⁶ hai² kien⁵ ciuq⁷.

compare now taste even more full
1.5.3.2 simple marking elsewhere in Gan-Hakka
Simple comparative with guo4-adj in SHT Hakka:
han2 tu1 he4 ni2 kan3 sen1 la ! ni2 ko4 se4 ! (you choose first! you are smaller/smallest)
kial han2 ko4 la01 (they were even more angry)

1.5.3.3 double marking elsewhere in Gan-Hakka:
KGFYDCBG p. 450 gives same double marking A bi B geng Adj in Hakka: Dayu, Ningdu, Changting Wuping.

SHT surpass type:
so3yi3 tu1 he4 jong1 lai4tsu1 hau3 ko4 yong1 moi4tsu1 la1

1.5.3.4 double marking elsewhere in Chinese
Ansaldo 1999 says double marking also in Cantonese, Taiwanese Minnan, Medieval Chinese:
A bi B gengjia Adj, A bi B zonggeng Adj in Cantonese (p. 129)
A bi B khaq Adj. in Minnan
A bi B jiao Adj in medieval Chinese (p.133) ; also examples in Hunan Hakka (Ansaldo)

Double marking probably earlier than simple marking: A bi B geng Adj simplifies to A bi B adj in Mandarin (Ansaldo supposes first A bi B adj, reinforced to A bi B geng Adj independently in different places)

1.5.4 attributive/relative construction

1.5.4.1 NC uses Dependent – ko – Head:
This ko 嘢 is same as general classifier 個 , although different characters are used.

1.5.4.1.1 Attributives

1.5.4.1.1.1 Attributives
Nanchang syntax notes

L. Sagart

1. ... yiq⁷ kë [ko] nyen⁵ ch[hi]ang¹ kë [ko] nyū³ kë [ko],
    one   CL    young   KOATTR female   KO NOM

屋 里 嘅 大 人 啊

. ... wuq⁷ li kë [ko] thair⁶ nyin⁵ a,
    house in   KOATTR    adults   P

所 以 就 普 普 通 通 嘅 新 衣 裳 啊

1. so³ yi³ chiu⁶ phu³ phu³ thung¹ thung¹ kë [ko]
    that:is:why even   ordinary   KOATTR
    xin¹ yi¹ song   a,
    new clothes   P

就 可 以 買 只 紙 紮 嘅 燈 篮

. ... chiu⁶ Go³ yi³ mai³ t[s]aq⁷ tsï³ tsaq⁷ kë [ko]
    then can   buy   CL   paper:and:bamboo   KOATTR
    ten¹ lung⁵ lantern

緑 嘅 紙

. liuq⁷ kë [ko] tsï³,
    green   KOATTR
    paper

好 多 嘅 細 伡 子

. ... hao³ to¹ kë [ko]
    very   many   KOATTR
    xî³ nga tsî kë--
    child   KO??

做 了 一 個 好 長 個 燈 篮

. tsu⁵ lë [lieu³] yiq⁷ kë [ko] hao³ tshong² kë [ko]
    make   PREFV
    one  CL  very  long   KOATTR
    ten¹ lung⁵ lantern

我 們 許 個 院 子 裏 嘅 細 伡 子 啊

. ngo³ mîn he³ kë [ko] yûn⁵ tsî li kë [ko] xî³ nga ts(i) a
    1PL
    that   CL   yard   inside   KOATTR
    children   A

最 主 要 嘅 節 目

.11. ... tsuïi⁵ tsu³ yeu⁵ kë [ko] cieq⁷ muq⁷
    most   important
    KOATTR
    activity

箇 個 兩 三 歲 嘅 儲 呢，

. ko³ ko liong³ san¹ suïi⁵ kë [ko] tsai³ le,
    this  CL  two  three year
    KOATTR
    son

成 啊 箇 箇 湿 嘅 粉 粉 子

. Dzin² a gggg si⁷ ko fin³ fin³ tsî.
    become
    a
    gggg
    wet
    KOATTR
    noodle paste

哪 里 嘅 人 都
1.5.4.1.2 Relatives:

| 1. | ... | than^6 si^6 | ngo^3 | cioq^7 teq^7 | ^chiung^2 kë | sï^5 kan^1 KOREL time |
| 2. | ... | xi^5 nga tsï a | phïn^2 sï^5 | Dzon^1 tê= [tao^5]-- |
| 3. | ... | n^3 chiu^6 wa^6 | ^wan^5 kë | tung^1 xi pa. |
| 4. | ... | ngo^3 xieu^3 kë [ko] | sï^5 kan^1 A, |
| 5. | ... | ko^3 ko yiu^3 wïn^5 fa yiu^3 xiu^1 yong^3 kë nyin^5 |

Nanchang syntax notes
L. Sagart

. la^3 li kë nyin^5 tu^1--

everywhere KOATT people all

. he^3 kë kon^1 kë mi^3 fin^3 a.

that CL dry KOATT noodle A

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KO ATT

KO ATT

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KO ATT

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KO ATT

KO ATT
你人是好有学问啊

冷粉就是拿刚才话呀

许个己经煮熟了呀

许个湿呀

许个滤掉了水呀湿米粉啊

就是凉拌呀冷粉啊

隔着啼呀时间郎啼呢

又煮熟了呀米粉啊
1.5.4.2 Alternative construction P Dem CL N
This the same pattern as Kaiping : « this/that N which Vs». Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>但是</th>
<th>我</th>
<th>觉得</th>
<th>窘</th>
<th>嘅</th>
<th>時間</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.8.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>than</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ngo</td>
<td>ciq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>feel</td>
<td>poor</td>
<td>KO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

许 勷 味道 啊
he  ko  wii  Dao  a
that CL taste P

比 . 现在 味道 還 更 足
pi  xien  Dzai  wii  Dao  hai  kien  ciu

1.5.4.3 third pattern P ko Dem CL N
This is a combination of the preceding 2 : relative marked with KO_REL, while noun is preceded by Dem-CL :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>你</th>
<th>許 勷 米 呢</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>n [l]e[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

箇 勷 舞 正 了
.1  ko  ko  wu  tsang  lieu
this CL make done LIEU

箇 勷 漲 米粉 啊
.1  ko  kë  sit  mi  fïn  a,
this CL wet rice:noodle a

1.5.5 complementation

1.5.5.1 complement of degree
V-得 -Adv_deg
hao3-teq7-to1, hao3 teq7 hen, (1.25, 1.30, 1.47, 1.56, 1.58, 3.7, 3.35)
1.5.5.2 complement of extent

V-得-NP
let teq7 yeu5 si3
loq7 teq7 nyin5 tu1 tshuq7 puq7 lieu3 mïn5
loq7 teq7 ko fong5 kan1 li tu1...sï7
let teq7 chi3 tu1 theu puq7 tshut7 lai5
kon1 teq7 ko tsui3pa ...te teq7 ha6 lai
chiaq7 teq7 sin1 song pi3 kao leq7fo

1.5.5.3 complement of manner

V-得-NP
tsong3 teq7 chiu6 man5 kieq7 chi3
tshon1 teq7 hao3 so
tshon1 teq7 hao3
tshon1 teq7 man5 hao3
wan5 teq7 hao3 kao1 xin
wan5 teq7 man5 khuai3 fat
long teq7 hao3
pao kuan teq7 hao3
kao3 teq7 hao3 tiaq7 tsï

1.5.5.4 potential

No ex. for positive
Negative ex:
puq7 teq7 thin2 ‘cannot stop, won’t stop’. Teq7 is probably full V here: ‘get, get to’
tshuq7 puq7 lieu3 mïn5 ‘cannot go out’
khon3 puq7 tao5 nyyuq7 ‘cannot see meat’

1.5.5.5 Resultative complements:

1.5.5.5.1 positive: VV
khon3 tao5, tsaq7 tao5, chiaq7 won5, yen si3, tshao3 hao3, wu3 tsang5, tshao3 suq7

1.5.5.5.2 negative: mao6 VV
mao6 lao1 tao5; mao6 khon3 tao5
4.127, 4.129, 4.141, 4.143.

1.5.5.5.3 serial verb constructions
but resultative cpl only a special case of a larger V1-V2 serial verb construction category where V2
does not express result of V1 action: 5.95 tsu3 ton3 or 5.97 tsu3 seu3 ‘boil not long enough’. In these
2 examples, the object is si5kan1 ‘time’

1.5.6 question types
1.6 REFS

2. Mrs Xie (elicited materials)
data collected Oct-December 1999 in Ormond, Melbourne.
Donnees dans classeur noir.

2.1 Mrs Xie’s Nanchang phonology
No systematic analysis of the phonology was attempted. The data were collected primarily for syntax (October-December 1999, in Ormond, Melbourne)
Yet Mrs Xie’s pronunciation differs significantly from ‘standard’ Nanchang (as reflected in the NCFYZD by Xiong).

2.1.1 Tones (Mrs Xie)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>[42]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>[fì24], [35]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td>[213]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T5</td>
<td>[5544]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T6</td>
<td>[fì21]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T7</td>
<td>[45]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T8</td>
<td>[fì2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Low-series tones (odd-numbred) are breathy after obstruents.
T2 has 2 allophones, 24/breathy w/ obstruents, 35 clear w/ sonorants. The higher allophone has not merged with T5, unlike ‘standard’ NC.

2.1.2 initials
p ph/B m f
t th/D n l
ts tsh/DZ s
c ch/J ny x
k kh/G ng h

Mrs Xie distinguishes n and l!
The aspirates have lenis/breathy variants only in the low (even-numbered) tones, ie when corresponding to OC QZ initials; however Mrs Xie had a shanghainese mother who spoke shanghainese at home.

2.1.3 rhymes
2.1.3.1 main vowels

2.1.3.1.1 –en and -in
Mrs Xie merges –en and –in, into –in:
深 = 生 sì1 (vowel lower; close to schwa)
城 =層 tshîn2
針 蒸 =砧 蜚 tshîn1

Likewise –e and –ît are merged
十=舌=sæq7 (same vowel as above)

然 normally len (dictionary), is ltûn

what of
pin/pen ? cannot get pair ; but 不=北=piʔ7 (same vowel, lower, close to schwa)
tîn/ten 蹦、燈 Mrs xie les lit : tun [u barre] /tûn

she has kîn instead of kien < ken

2.1.3.1.2 –on
pronounced -uon

2.1.3.1.3 –ieu
pronounced -iao

see if iu=eu ?
no, Nanchang Zidian –eu = Mrs Xie –ao 招 超 燒
and Nanchang Zidian –îu = Mrs Xie –îu 州 抽 收

2.1.3.2 codas
no final –t, all > -q
2.2 constructions
Numbering of examples follows Anne’s book

2.2.1 interrogatives

2.2.1.1 neutral question:
Two types are in concurrence: the Clause-po and V-neg-V type

2.2.1.1.1 V-Neg-V type
with ‘go’
A-1-1 he3 ko thifong, n3 chie3 puq7 chie3 ?

with Adj
A-2-1 ko3 phin ciu3 xiong1 puq7 xiong1 ?

If the VP has an object, then V-puq7-VP:
A-3-1 n3 cin5 puq7 cin5 tsen2

Copula: xi6-puq7-xi6
A-4-1 lao3 wang si6 puq7 si6 san1tung1 nyin2 ?

Existential: yiu3 mao6 yiu3
A-5-1 nlen yiu mao yiu chien2 ?

If the VP includes an aux, both aux-puq7-aux V and aux-V-puq7-aux are accepted
A-6-3-1 n3 wa6 cie3 wi6 puq wi6 tseu3
n3 wa6 cie3 wi6 tseu3 puq wi6

Potential: V1-teq7-V2 V-puq7-V2
A-7-4 ko3 mo yen, n3 khon3 teq7 cien5 khon3 puq7 cien5 ?
ko3 mo yen, n3 khon3 teq7 tao5 khon3 puq7 tao5 ?

Emphatic: si6 puq7 si6 VP ?
A-8-1 n3 si6 puq7 si6 tsen7 ngo3 ke chi3 ?

Aspects perfective.
V (lieu3) mao6 V,
‘cocme’
A-9-jia-1 cie3 lai2 mao6 lai2
cie3 lai2 lieu/lê mao6 lai2
cie3 lai2 lieu/lê mao

with Adj:
A-9-jia-8 thien1 heq7 le mao6 ? cannot say: *thien1 heq7 le mao6 heq7

2.2.1.1.2 clause-po (V-Neg type ?)
Like V-neg-V Indicates no presupposition. Cannot use it in contexts that indicate a presupposition on the part of the speaker, like

E-1-1 *tsiq7 yiu3 cie3 yiu3 chien2 po ? ‘is he the only one who is rich ?’

Perhaps -po. is a phonetically reduced form of the negation puq7, if so it is relatable to the V-neg type of neutral question, Cf. Yue 1993 : 42. However, it does not change to –mao6 in perfective or experiential aspects.

Used for neutral questions alternatively with the V-neg-V type.

For instance A-1-1 given above as V-neg-V, can also be said as :

he3 ko thi6 fong, n3 chie3 po ?
Both ways are exactly equivalent.

A-2-1 ko3 phin ciu3 xiong1 po ?
A-3-2 n3len chia7 ci1than po ?
A-4-1 lao wang sî santung nyin po ?
A-4-5 n3 wa6 ke sî6 pin thi wa6 po ?
A-5-2-3 cie3 thai6 wuq7 li po ?
A-6-1-1 n3len chie3 teq7 po ? ‘are you able to go ?’
A-6-1-2 nlen nen pong kê mong po ?
A-6-3-1 n3 wa6 cie3 wî6 teu3 po ?
A-7-1 n3koli chia7 teq7 lieu3 po ?
A-7-3 cie3 thia2 teq7 chi3 po ?

perfective :
A-9-jia-1-1 cie3 lai2 lê po ? equivalent with : cie3 lai2 lieu/lê mao ?
A-9-jia-1-2 cie3 tshoq8 nyiq7 lai2 lê po ?
A-9-jia-1-3 cie3 xientsai lai2 lê po ?
A-9-jia-1-8 n3len thiang1tung3 lê po ?

experiential
A-9-yi-1 he3 kê tifong n3 chie3 kuo5 po ?

habitual
A-9-yi-10 cie3 cin1 tshong lai2 po ?

2.2.1.2 Yes-no questions (speaker has preformed idea of the answer)

2.2.1.2.1 Clause-a

Used to express disbelief, speaker expects ‘no’ as answer :

A-6-3-1 n3 wa6 cie3 wî6 teu3 a ?
A-9-jia-6 n3 wuq7li yiu3 thai Dien a ? (you really have a color TV at home ?)
E-1-1 chiu6 tsiq yiu3 cie3 yiu3 chien2 a ?
E-1-2 cie3 toq7cin yiu3 ko3 xiung a ?
E-1-3 cie3 phao3 teq7 hao3 khuai3 a ?
E-1-4 cie3 nyin6 teq7 n3len a ?
2.2.1.3 question words

na3 ko  'who'
xiq7 li  'what'
na3 li  'where'
na3  'which'
ci3 to1  'how much-many'
ci3  'how-Adj' (how deep, how long; ‘how many’ a special case of this)
lung2  'how-Verb' (asking about manner: ‘how to say…’). Pronunciation checked.

Identical with lung2 dragon. Not long5 as in Yan Sen’s speech.
lung2 pan6  ‘how to do?’ cf Hakka liong pen ti)
lung2 yong  ‘what kind of…’
xiq7 li sï2kan1  ‘when?’
wïi xiq7 li, tsoq7 xiq7 li  ‘why’

2.2.2 aspect

2.2.2.1 perfective V-lieu–lë (reduced form of lieu3) ; neg : mao6 V

A-1-1 cie3 chiaq7 lë fan6, n3len chiaq7 lë ma6 ? ngo3 chiaq7 lieu (~lë)/ngo3 mao6 chiaq7
A-1-2 cie2 kong1 chiaq7 lieu yoq7
A-1-3 cin1nyen2, ngo3 chi6 tso5 lieu liong3 chien1 fin1
A-2-1 ngo3 chie3 lë liong3 fïi
A-5-1 miang2 nyiq7 ko3 sïkan, cie3 chiu6 tao6 lë piq7 cin1
A-7-5 cie3 fïi lë hao3 thia6 kë cin, tshai2 pha2 song chie3

2.2.2.2 affirmative : same as perfective

B-1-1 Q… ; A : chie3 lieu/ mao6 chie3
B-1-2 same (V is khun)
B-2-1 same (V is yong)

2.2.2.3 progressive 在 V

Mandarin uses zai4 V or zhengzai4 V. Cant. V-kan3; Xiamen teq-V; Nanchang also uses tshai6 V (or ts[h]ai6) ; SHT has tswo4 ai2 V

C-1-1 ngo3 (xientsai) ts[h]ai chiaq7 fan6
C-2-1 cie3 tshai khuq7
C-1-2 suïi3 kha11 lë
C-3-1 khuai tsho6 tao (=Guiyang)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>简</th>
<th>裹</th>
<th>付</th>
<th>在</th>
<th>洗</th>
<th>蘿卜</th>
<th>冒</th>
<th>注意</th>
<th>呢</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.ko3 li g g</td>
<td>ts[h]ai6</td>
<td>xi3</td>
<td>lo5 Boo</td>
<td>ma6</td>
<td>tsu5 yi5</td>
<td>le,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

there TSHAI_PROG wash turnip NEG-PRFV notice LE
2.2.2.4 durative (Hilary’s continuative) V 到 tao, reduced form tē~teq7

Mandarin is ~zhe (Anne says p. 72, Mandarin has the same markers for progressive and durative but that seems an error); SHT ~kin3 (la khai pu miangkin ; phuikin chut mun); other Hakka dialects have V dao 到 ~倒 tao3 or tao5 cf. LZ p. 443 (‘eat sitting’). Nanchang and basically all Gan dialects have tao3/5 (some have T3, others T5, in both dialects)

D-1-3 cie3 tshon tao ko t[h]ai yi, yiq7 tiaq7 tu1 puq7 lang3
D-2-1 cie3 xi3fon chi3 teq7/tao chiaq7
D-2-2 he3 tsaq7 nyin2 cin3 ts[h]ai6 he3 li chi3 tao
D-3-1 n3len na tao ‘hold this’
D-3-4 thong tao
D-3-5 chi3 tao
D-3-6 tsho6 tao
D-4-2 thai6 mïn2 khai1 tao
D-4-3 tshong2 song khun tao kē xi5ngatsï

This shared innovation with Hakka probably on the ground of a former V-dao construction indicating successful outcome (frozen in zhidao ‘to know’), evolving to ‘resulting state’ (for example: 拿 到 ‘you catch this’ > ‘you hold this’

Lamarre cites a Yue dialect, Xinyi (W of Guangdong) where 倒 tou35 (upper shang) serves as extent/manner complement marker, but also as resultative/perfective/durative marker. She cites a Tang 1986
Lamarre also cites a description of Daye 大治 by a Wang 1994 where ta~tç serves for result complements ; ta is also a durative marker

2.2.2.5 experiential : V-遇 (kuo), 冒 V-遇

E-1-1 n3 chie3 kuo peq7cin1 mao6
   Cannot say: yiu3 mao6 chie3 kuo5 peq7cin ?
E-1-3 cie3 tao5 kuo hao3 to1 thi6fong
E-1-5 cie3 khon3 kuo ko3 tshong xi
E-1-6 ngo3 chiaq7 kuo ko3 tshong3 nyen2 kao, hao3 thien2

2.2.2.6 inchoative : V-起 来.

F-1-1 xingatsï tshai khunkao, thoq7 len khuq7 chi3 lai2
   (note : apparently tshai6 used here for a durative)
F.2.1. cie3 wa6 chi3 sî6 lai2, chi6 mao6 won2 mao6 lieu3 (冒 完 冒 了 )
F-3-1 cie3 kao1xin teq7 tshong1 chi3 ko1 lai2

2.2.2.7 instantive : 一 V (就) ....

G-1-1 cie3 yiq7 chiaq7 chi6 thu
G-2-1 cie3 yiq7 tshon chiu6 theu2 fin
2.2.2.8 habitual 一直 都 V, 一向 都 V.
I-1-1 ngo3 yiq7 ts[h]iq7 tu1 ts[h]ai6 ko3li tsu5 si6
I-2-2 cie3 yiq7 xiong5 tu1 tai ngan3 ciang

2.2.2.9 incessant 不 停 個 V.
J-1-1 cie3 puq7 thin kë xia3

2.2.2.10 compensative V-過
guo4 used in Yue-Guangzhou and Longnan Hakka (Anne’s book) ; also in Zhejiang Wu-Jinhua ; Kejia-Changting ; Yue-Yangjiang (Leibian pp.243-244)
K-1-1 xia3 tsho3 le puq7 yeu5cin, tsai5 xia3 yiq7 pien kuo5
K-1-2 n3len kë pieu3 fai lieu3, puq7 yeu5cin, ngo tsai ken1 n3len mai3 kuo5 yiq7 ko

2.2.2.11 change : no particular pattern
L-1-2 cie3 tshong teq7 hao3 li li ko (haohaode), thit7 len2si6lin yin ha6 lieu

2.2.2.12 tentative : V 一 下 , V 下 子 ,
M-1-1 n3len lai2 khon3 yiq7 ha6 ko3 khuai3 pu5
M-2-1 xieq7 ha6tsi

2.2.2.13 continuative : V 下 去 ha6 chie3
N-1-1 tso5 ha6 chie3
N-1-2 puq7 yeu5 tsoq7 ha [著 嚇 ] n3len wa6 ha chie3

2.2.2.14 resumative (start again doing sth)
O-1-1 cie3 phiang hao3 lieu, yiu chiaq7 teq fan6

2.2.2.15 completive

2.2.3 negation

2.2.3.1 imperfective 不 V.
A-1-1 cie3 puq7 si hoq8 sen
A-1-3 cie3 yi3heu puq7 tong1 lao3si
A-2-1 ngo3 puq7 nyin6teq7 ko3 tsaq7 nyin2

the rest is 不 V

2.2.3.2 perfective 否 V.
B-1-1 mama lung lieu fan po ? cie3 mao6 lung/ cie3 hai mao6 lung
B-4-1 fan mao6 suq7
B-4-3 he3 to fa1 hai2 mao6 hung2
2.2.3.3 affirmative past [V.]

C-1-2 ngo3 mao6 ken1 cie3 wa6

2.2.3.4 existential

2.2.3.4.1 affirmative existential

D-1-1 ngo3 wuq7 li mao6 yong tsu1

2.2.3.4.2 possession/existence

D-2-1 ko3ko mao6 yiu3 chien2
D-2-2-1 chien2 Deu mao6 yiu3 lu6
D-2-2-2 xienDzai mao6 yiu3 lu6 [not anymore]
D-2-3 ngo3 mao6 yiu3 fan6 chiaq7; ngo3 mao6 fan6 chiaq7. Both OK, the second is more coll.

mao6 yiu3 yifu tshon1

2.2.3.4.3 locative V

D-3-1 cie3 mao6 tshaî6 wuq7li, tao5 cie3 suq7 he3 li chie3 kuo li.
D-3-2 miang nîiq7 ngo3 puq7 tshaî6 wuq7 li

2.2.3.4.4 adj

D-4-1 cin1 nîiq7 puq7 let7
D-4-2 tsuq7 thai3 chieq8, puq7 hao3 chiaq7
D-4-3 cie3 puq7 kao1
D-4-4 nîlen puq7 sî hao3 phong
D-4-6 ko3 xiet7 yi1fu yiu3 xieq7 li hao3khon3 teq7 ? tiaq7 tsî tu1 puq7 hao3khon3
D-4-7 ko3 tsaq7 xiang tsî mao6 yiu3 ci3 ts[jung
D-4-8 cie3 phao teq7 puq7 khuai3.
D-4-9 puq7 waq8

2.2.3.5 potential

2.2.3.5.1 resultative

E-1-1 ko3 tsaq7 won3 ta3 puq7 pho
E-1-2 ngo3 thiang1 puq7 tung3
E-1-3 thai ngang3, nga3 puq7 ton3
E-1-12 nîlen ta3 puq7 yang2 cie3

2.2.3.5.2 directional

E-2-1 ko3 tsaq7 tai tsî tsong puq7 cin5 ko3 xieq7 tung1xi. Cannot say pu7 teq7 tsong cin ko3 xieq7 tungxi.
E-2-2 cie3 thieu puq7 kuo5 chie3/ cie3 thieu puq7 kuo5/ cie3 puq7 teq7 kuo5 chie3 can one say puq7 teq7 thieu kuo chie3 ? no !
E-2-3 ngo3 pha puq song chie3. can one say puq7 teq7 pha song chie3 ? no !
E-2-4 min2 thai haq7 lieu, cin5 puq7 chie3/puq7 teq7 cin5 chie3.
E-2-5 ko3 tsaq7 tung1xi thia2 puq7 chi3 lai2 can one say puq7 teq7 thia2 chilai? no!

2.2.3.5.3 Adj : puq7 teq7 Adj/puq7 wei6 Adj
E-5-1 miang nyit tsao3song puq7 teq7 kon1
E-5-2 fong5 tao5 li3theu2, puq7 teq7 set7/puq7 wei6 set7

2.2.3.5.4 optative
E-7-1 miang nyiq7 ya3 puq7 wei6 xiong3 chiaq7
E-7-3 cie3 miang nyit puq7 yiq7 Tin lai2

2.2.3.6 other aspects
F-1-1 ngo3 hai2 mao6 chie3 kuo5 peq7cin
F-1-3 n3len hai2 mao6 pha2 kuo5 tsao3
F-2-1 ngo3 mao6 chie3 kuo5 peq7cin
F-2-5 he3 tsong1 pao5 n3len mao6 khon3kuo5
F-3-1 cie3 xienTsai mao6 ta3 maoyi1
F-3-3 cie3 mao6 tshai6 su theu2

Resume : mao6 used to negate verbs in perfective, experiential, progressive aspects ; verb yi13 ‘to have’ ;

2.2.4 passive

2.2.4.1 passive 等 ten3
Yan Sen p. 77 of black notebook contributes a sentence : 車子等 斷 到 xx xx ten3 ton3 tao ‘the car was prevented from passing’
More examples in Nanchang Fangyan cidian, with construction patient ten3 agent VP. Seems to be the normal passive construction in town. ten3 grammatization from ‘X waits for Y to V’ to agent marker in passive constructions, then to passive marker (when patient is omitted, as in the above sentence).
Unknown whether non-detrimental examples occur, as ‘Clinton was elected president of the USA’

2.2.4.2 passive te1

te1 cited in NCFYCD as a full verb meaning ‘pull ; drag ; tear’ ; one ex., in which te1 has a resultative complement pho ‘broken’, looks quasi-passive : yi1song te1 pho le ‘the garment was torn from pulling on it’.

te1 occurs as agent marker in passive constructions in Yangzizhou (Mrs Xie), always detrimental (‘inflictive’). An other morpheme, te1 (not felt to be the same as the passive marker), has the meanings ‘pull, drag, tear’. Perhaps no connection : te1 ‘passive marker’ perhaps connects with teq7

得 as in a few Gan-Hakka dials, cf LZ 438 ; however loss of rusheng is unexplained and the fact that te1 is always inflictive argues against this ; alternatively a denasalized form of 等 ten3 ?

A-2-4 ngo3 wa6 teq7 puq7 hao3, ya3 (也) te1 n3koli xieu5 ‘I spoke badly and made you laugh’
A-3-5 kong1 mai3 kë nye2 te1 mao2 tho1 tsei3 le ‘the fish I just bought was dragged away by the cat’
tes accepted in replacement of tho2 in these ex:
A-1-1 lao3Di tho2 xiang1 ta3 ‘the younger brother was hit by the older brother’
A-1-2 cie3 tho2 nyin2ka1 wa6 le ‘he was criticized by someone’
A-2-1 ngo3 tho2 tsaq7 keu3 ngao le ‘I was bitten by a dog’

to2 can occur without an agent: ngo3 tho2 ngao le ‘I was bitten’

Grammaticalized from ‘X pulls/drag/stores Y to V’? or from ‘tear/torn+resultative cpl’ as in above NCFYCD example? or from de2 得? or 等 ten3?

2.2.4.3 passive 募 tho2

Nanchang 募 tho2 has some examples as a passive marker in Nanchang Fangyan Cidian, in the construction tho2 V: 募 驚 tho2 ma6 ‘get insulted, sworn at’; 募 打 tho2 ta3 ‘get hit’. Unclear whether N1 tho2 N2 V is grammatical in town.

募 tho2 is common as a passive marker in Yangzizhou, and construction N1 tho2 N2 V is grammatical. Always detrimental (‘inflictive’), tho2 (or to2) not accepted for ‘be nominated’, ‘be elected’, ‘be praised’. Instead, a construction X teq7 Y {praise} is proposed, where teq7 = 得.

Seems cognate with t'au213 [tone 3] 討 passive marker in in Anyi (Wan Bo 1996:79 Anyi Fangyan De Ti. in Zhang Shuangqing, ed. Dongci de ti. HK : CUHK. 79-96); also in Ganxian Hakka (LZ :438) tho3. The Anyi and Ganxian forms definitely and unambiguously reflect 募 not 驚, and the Xie’s passive marker tho2 definitely and unambiguously reflects 驚 not 討. Both 募 and 討 are good candidates for a passive marker: tuo2 ‘to carry on back’ (like bei4); and tao3 ‘to invite or ask’ ex. tao3 ren2 xihuan ‘likeable’, tao3 ren2 xian2 ‘be a nuisance’. Could be two different grammaticalizations which just sound similar. Or one grammaticalization followed by reinterpretation through folk etymology. To make matters more complicated, Chen Changyi 1991:379 gives a text ex. of a passive marker in Fuzhou tō5? (=Linchuan) representing 著. Outside of Gan, there is a form in Fuzhou (Min) 抃 which seems similar, see ZGYW 2000 June number at the latest.

Examples:
A-1-1 lao3Di tho2 xiang1 ta3 ‘the younger brother was hit by the older brother’
A-1-2 cie3 tho2 nyin2ka1 wa6 le ‘he was criticized by someone’
A-2-1 ngo3 tho2 tsaq7 keu3 ngao le ‘I was bitten by a dog’
A-3-1 cie3 kē yiu kēpa tho2 nyin2ka1 ta3 song le ‘his right arm was hurt by someone’
A-11-1 lao3 tsong1 tho2 liumong saq7 phoq le ‘Lao Zhang was killed by bad guys’
A-11-2 n3 len tho2 la3 kē ciang1kuai mi tao le ‘by what female demon were you enticed?’

Agent may be omitted:
ngo3 tho2 tsheq7 ‘I was cheated’
C-3-1 n3 len tho2 theu1 ci3 to1 chien2

tho2 can be negated and/or marked for aspect, still full verb:
2.2.5 Double object construction

2.2.5.1 construction X laq7/wan/mai N pa3 Y VP
used by YS, see text. Not accepted by Mrs Xie.

2.2.5.2 construction X laq7/wan/mai N tao Y VP
na/wan/mai is full verb; tao is prep.
Examples:
mma na piang3 tao cie3 min chiaq7 ‘mother gives them cookies to eat’

A-1-1-1 ngo3 na song1 khuai3 tsi tao n3len ‘I’ll give you a pair of chopsticks’
A-1-1-4 ngo3 na yong si tao5 n3len tso5 ‘I’ll give you a task to do’
A-1-3 cie3 yeu5 wan yiq7 pi chien2 tao5 nyin2ka1 ‘he wanted to return a sum of money to
someone’
A-1-4 ngo3 yeu5 mai yiq7 tung fang2 tsi tao thao nyiq7 lai2 ke he3 tsaq7 nyin2. ‘I want to
sell a house to that person who came yesterday’
A-1-5 cie3 su le liong3 phon chi tao ngo ‘he lost two games of chess to me’
A-1-7-2 n3 cia tiaq7 tsi chien2 tao ngo3 mai yen ‘lend me a few dollars to buy cigarettes’
A-4-1 n3 phao pei tsha2 tao kheq7 nyin2 ‘he steeped a cup of tea for the guest’
C-1-1 ngo3 sung yiq7 pin3 su1 tao cie ‘I’ll give a book to him (as a gift)’ [slightly better
than other version below : X sung Y N]
C-2-3 n3 liu ci3 kei wii tsi tao cie3 min ‘leave a few seats for them’
C-3-1 cie3 theu1 le yiq7 khuai3 chien2 tao5 ngo3 yung ‘he stole a dollar for me to use’

2.2.5.3 construction X cia Y N
A-1-7-1 n3len cia le cie3 san1 tsaq7 wo ‘you lent him three pots’
A-1-6 cie3 kau le ngo tsa3 tiaq7 pin3 si ‘he taught my son some skills’
A-5-2 cieu5 cie3 fiiqa n3len yiq7 kei wii thi ‘make him answer you a question’
C-1-1 ngo3 sung cie yiq7 pin3 su1 ‘I’ll give a book to him (as a gift)’ [slightly less coll
than other version as X sung N tao Y]

2.2.5.4 construction X sung tao Y N
A-1-2 n3 sung tao5 na3 ko yiq7 phin ciong1 yiu5 ‘who did you give a bottle of soy sauce
to’?

2.2.6 causative

2.2.6.1 nyong6 讓 permissive

The main construction with Mrs Xie is X nyong6 Y V, but nyong 讓 still a full verb meaning ‘to let,
allow’. The NCFYCD even allows some passive uses :
chien2 nyong6 nyin2ka1 theu1 phoq7 le. ‘the money was stolen by someone’

2.2.6.2 construction X sung tao Y N

A-1-2 n3 sung tao5 na3 ko yiq7 phin ciong1 yiu5 ‘who did you give a bottle of soy sauce
to’?

2.2.6 causative

2.2.6.1 nyong6 讓 permissive

The main construction with Mrs Xie is X nyong6 Y V, but nyong 讓 still a full verb meaning ‘to let,
allow’. The NCFYCD even allows some passive uses :
chien2 nyong6 nyin2ka1 theu1 phoq7 le. ‘the money was stolen by someone’
Examples of nyong6 causative (actually permissive)
E.1.3  xienDzai kho3yi3 nyong6 cie3 cin1 lai2 ‘now you may let him in’
E-1-5  nyong6 cie3 to1 xieq7 欠 ha6 tsǐ, phiang tshai2 teq7 hao3 ‘Let him rest a lot, then and only then will he get well’
E-2-2  puq7 yeu5 nyong6 manyi pha tao phontsĩ li chie3 ‘don’t let the ants climb into the plate’
E-2-4  chia2 tsĩ thai na57, cie3 puq7 nyong6 xi5ngatsĩ chiaq7 ‘The eggplant was too spicy hot, she doesn’t let the child eat it’
E-2-5  to1 tshon1 tiaq7tsĩ yi1song, puq7 yeu5 nyong6 cie3 lang3 tao le ‘add a piece of clothing for him, don’t let him catch cold’

2.2.6.2 ciao5 叫 directive

Mrs Xie also has ciao5 叫 ‘tell to…’. This is not semantically permissive but directive.
E-1-10 n3 len lai2 kẽ si kan1, cie3 ciao5 ngo3 to3 chi3 lai2 ‘when you came, he had me hide myself’

2.2.6.3 na 拿 or laq7 捧 : let V

Mrs Xie use na (na2, must verif), YS uses laq7
Mrs Xie :
E-1-1  khun teq7 chi3 lai2, tshai2 na cie3 chiaq7 ‘mother let the children snack only after their nap’
E-2-4  chia2 tsĩ thai na5, cie3 puq7 na xi5ngatsĩ chiaq7 ‘The eggplant was too spicy hot, she doesn’t let the child eat it’
E-2-5  to1 tshon1 tiaq7tsĩ yi1song, puq7 yeu5 na cie3 lang3 tao le ‘add a piece of clothing for him, don’t let him catch cold’
E-2-2  puq7 yeu5 na manyi pha tao phontsĩ li chie3 ‘don’t let the ants climb into the plate’ (can use nyong6 here)

2.2.7 disposal

A. Disposal construction not obligatory in « go open the door ». you can say

A-1. n3 chie3 khai1 ha6tsǐ mǐn2

or, similar sentence with ‘close’ :

A-3. na2 mǐn2 kuan1 yi7tshuïi1 tao3 le’the wind blew the tree(s) over’
B-1-1 fung1 na su6 tshuïi1 tao3 le ‘the wind blew the tree(s) over’
B-1-2 cie3 ko long2 pa3 phin tsĩ ta3 pho le ‘his son-in-law broke the bottle’
B-1-4 n3 len2 tsǐkan pa3 nyu2 chien tshut7 chie3 ‘you lead the ox(en) out yourself’

B conditions on the NP

B-1. Disposal constr/ w/ unmodified Ns are acceptable (texte, 5.119). Also :
B-1-1 fung1 na su6 tshuïi1 tao3 le ‘the wind blew the tree(s) over’
B-1-2 cie3 ko long2 pa3 phin tsĩ ta3 pho le ‘his son-in-law broke the bottle’
B-1-4 n3 len2 tsǐkan pa3 nyu2 chien tshut7 chie3 ‘you lead the ox(en) out yourself’

B-2. NP with definite reference accepted

B-2-1. na2 (or : pa3) cie3 tsoq teq7 lai2 ‘Grab him and bring him here’
B-2-2  cie3 na2 ngo3 haq7 le yiq7 Dieu2 ‘he really scared me’
cie3 haq7 le ngo3 yiq7 Dieu2
B-2-3 ‘he broke my tea mug’ No disposal accepted here
B-2-4 ‘he was so annoying no one could continue working’ [field?] No disposal accepted here
B-2-5 pa lao3 tsong cieu lai ‘the LaoZhang to come over here’
B-2-6 kungkung na2 ko3 tsaq7 xieu3 mu3ci saq7 phiq 潤 le

B-3. Locative NP accepted
B-3-3-2 mïi tsï na2/pa3 woli fong tiaq7tsï suïi3 ‘my younger sister put a little water into the pot’
But the sentence is more tu3 without the disp constr. :
mïi tsï fong tiaq7 tsï suïi3 tao5 wo li chie3

B-4. Indefinite NP not accepted
4-1. ‘he broke a bowl’ not accepted as disposal constr.
4-5. ‘put a little more coal into the stove’ not accepted as disposal constr.
C. Conditions on the VP after ba
C-1 Single V : accepted. This is different from MSC
Text 5-85 pa3 cie3 tsu3 ‘boil it’
C-1-1 ‘Zhangsan hit the cow only’ this sentence felt to be weird as disposal

C-2 Aspect : inconclusive
C-2-1 ngo3 pa3/na2 xin5 ci le ‘I mailed the letter’, also possible as non disposal ngo3 ci le xin
But unsure whether this is aspect or sentence final ‘le’.

C-3. Reduplicated CV. Not asked

C-4 Measure after VP : accepted
C-4-2. n3 chie3 pa3/na2 won3 xi3 yiq7 ha6 ‘Go and wash out this bowl’
C-4-4. n3 len pa3/na2 chün2 tsi fong liong3 tshun ‘let down the hem of the skirt by two inches’

C-5 Proverb : accepted, but no disposal preferred
C-5-1. n3 len na2 cie3 long2 pan ? ‘what can you do to him ?’
or : n3 len tsaq7 cie3 long yong

C-6 Adverb: accepted, but no disposal also OK
C-6-2 nlen puq yeu na2 chien2 lon fa1 ‘don’t spend your money foolishly’
or : nlen puq yeu lon fa chien
C-7 VP with a PP : accepted
7-1-1. pa3 liong sï sung tau tshongkhu li chie3. ‘deliver the food to the warehouse’

C-8. VP with a second object : OK
C-8-1. na2 xi5 nga tsi tao ngo3 ‘give me the children’. [pa3 not accepted in this sentence]
C-8-2. puq7 yeu5 pa3 ngo3 tong xi5 nga tsi
moq7 na2 ngo3 tong xi nga tsi ‘don’t treat me like a kid’
C-8-5. ‘I nailed a piece of leather to the heel of your show for you’. No disposal here (indefinite NP !,
see B-4)C-8-9. ‘it’s so hot, why don’t you take off a layer of clothes’. No disp constr here (indef NP
again)
C-8-10. thai mïn yeu puq yeu so ‘do you want to lock the front door ?’ No disposal here.
C-8-11. yiu3 ke thifong na2/pa3 thai yong cieu nyit theu ‘in some places they call the sun ritou’
Nanchang syntax notes

C-8-12  na2 he3 pîn3 su1 tao5 ngo3 khon3 yiq7 ha6 ; or : ko3 pîn3 su1 na ngo khon3 yiq7 ha6 ‘Bring me that book to have a look’

C-9. Verb with place complement : OK
C-9-1. cie3 lao3kung1 laosi na2 / pa3 chien2 fong tao tsîntheu pien ‘her husband always puts his money next to his pillow’
C-9-3 cie3 pa3 he3 cien sî kua tau tu tsî li, puq kien nyin2ka1 wa6 ‘he hid that matter in his heart and not telling’

C-10 Verb with resultative complement : OK
C-10-1 khuai pa3 tshai kien tao tieu ‘hurry up and dump out the vegetable roots
C-10-9. ngo3 na2 he3 tsaq7 fung keu3 saq7 phîq7 le ‘I killed that rabid dog’

C-11 Verb with directional complement : OK
C-11-2. na2 xin li tai chie3 ‘take the luggage with you’

D. Non-disposal verbs : not accepted
D-2. ‘When he turned ten, his father died’. No disp possible here.

E. ba3 + Agent (Yue’s semantics disputable here, the NP after pa3 not really agent) : accepted
E-1. na2 cie3 chi teq7 wa6 puq7 tshuq7 sî lei (=来)

F. pa3 preceded by negative : accepted
F-1-1. puq7 na2 / pa3 cie3 tong1 fîi si6 ‘it’s not a big deal’
F-1-3. n3 len lung puq7 pa3 fan chaiaq7 wan ‘why don’t you finish eating ?’
F-2-1. not accepted with pa3 preceding pu

Resume :

Nanchang has both pa3 and laq7 (Mrs Xie says na, she’s not sure which tone) disposal constructions. Both laq7- and pa3- constructions are felt by the informants to be Mandarinized. Laq7 and pa3 seem interchangeable in general, but in cases the V has a second object, laq7 is preferred /obligatory. This is seen also in my NC texts, and the same preference for laq7 over pa3 in constructions where th e main verb has a second object is observed in other Jiangxi dialects (LZ451).

Also, in Nanchang, unlike in Mandarin, disposal construction is compatible with a monosyllabic VP (see C-1. One example, text)

Yan Sen’s disposal examples :

2.2.8  comparative

2.2.8.1 Anne’s comparative degree :

"11. Lao oe pi3 n3 len kao1 ‘lao’er is taller than you’
A-1-2  nyu2 pi3 tsu1 thai6 ‘cows are bigger than pigs’
A-1-5  ko3 tsaq7 leu3 tsii pi3 he3 tsaq7 hao3 ‘this basket is better than that one’
A-1-9  kuo5 le ha tsï yiq7 nyit pi3 yiq7 nyit7 ton3 ‘After the summer solstice, the days become shorter’
A-1-10 cin1-nyit pi3 ts[hi]oq8-nyit7 lang3 tiaq7tsï ‘today is colder than yesterday’
A-2-1 mi2 nyin2 pi3 la3 ko tu1 wei6 wa6 si6 ‘the matchmaker has more of a way with words than anyone’
A-2-2 cie3 pi3 ngo3 xi3 fon chiaq7 han2 tshai3 ‘he likes to eat pickled vegetables more than I do’
A-2-4 xieu3 nyi3 pi3 xieu3 tsai3 pha3 tsu1 tsu ‘the youngest daughter is more afraid of spiders than the youngest son is’
A-3-1 (Mrs) cie3 pi3 ngo3 tsaao3 tao5 ‘he arrived earlier than I did’
                    (Mr) cie3 pi3 ngo3 lei2 teq7 tsaao3
A-4-1 ci1 pi3 ngaq7 tsi phao3 teq7 khuai3 ‘chickens run faster than ducks’
A-4-2 cie3 chiaq7 fan6 pi3 ngo3 man6 ‘he eats more slowly than I do’
A-5-1-1 ko3 tshong2 p[h]i2 tsi pi3 he3 tshong2 heu6 ‘this covering is still thicker than that one’
                  ask this one again
A-5-1-3 xien ts[hi]ai6 n3-len sao1 [! seu1] ko tshai3 pi3 yi3 chien2 han2 ‘now the food you cook is even saltier than before’ ask this one again
A-5-3 cin1 nyen2 kë ku3 kheq7 pi3 chyü3 nyen2 (expect chiu6 nyen2) kan3 tsaao3 [expect seu3] le hao3 to1
A-5-6 ko3 li pi3 he3 li si7 tiaq7tsi ‘It is a bit wetter here than there’
A-8-1 cie3 puq7 pi3 ngo3 phong3 ‘He’s not fatter than me’
A-8-3 xieu3 tao1 puq7 pi3 cien3 tsi khuai3 ‘the knife isn’t sharper than the scissors’
A-8-5 sin3 sin nyen2 lin2 puq7 pi3 suq7 suq7 thi6 ‘Auntie is not older than uncle is’
A-8-7 cin1 nyi7 puq7 pi3 cien2 nyi7 leq7 ci3 t1 ‘today is not much warmer than yesterday’
A-8-13-2 cie3 ko t[hi]i6 xia3 teq7 puq7 pi3 ngo3 so1 ‘his handwriting is not worse than mine’

2.2.8.2 Anne’s equal degree :
• A ki1n1 B yiq7yong VP ~ puq7 yiqyong VP.
• A thung2 B yiq7yong VP

2.2.8.3 Anne’s equalling degree
• A yiu3 B yiq7yong VP (ex D–…)
• A mao6 yiu3 B VP (examples C–4–…)

2.2.8.4 Anne’s equalling/other types
• A puq7 lu2 B (ex E-2-1)
• A mao6 yiu3 B yang (ex E-2-4)

Potential constructions also used to express equalling degree semantics :
E-1-1 A wi6 pi3 teq7 song6 B (A can compare with B)
                    A wa6 teq7 yang B (A can beat B at talking)
                    A wa6 B puq7 yang (A shuo bu quo B)
E-2-3 ma3 tseu3 puq7 yang nyu3.

2.2.8.5 Anne’s superlative degree
A tsui5 B (Ex. F)
2.2.9 complements marked with DE

2.2.9.1 manner complement
• A V teq7 Adj (usu. w/ hao3 or other Adv of degree before Adj)
• A V teq7 puq7 Adj
• A V teq7 Adj-neg-Adj?

2.2.9.2 extent complement
• A V teq7 VP

2.2.9.3 Degree complement
• A puq7 xieu3 teq7 yiu3 ci3 Adj
• A V teq7 VP

2.2.9.4 Potential complement

2.2.9.4.1 with resultative
• V teq7 ResComp~directional cpl
Expresses ability to reach a result

V teq7 tshang2 成
V teq7 tau 到
V teq7 yang2 贏
V teq7 lieu 了
V teq7 ha6 (E-5-2)
V teq7 chie3 (E51, E53)

E53 ko3 tao sui3, thieu teq7 chie3 'he can carry this bucket of water over on a shoulder pole'

If there is an object, the Nanchang dictionary says the structure is V teq7 N V2 吃得飯進~吃飯不進，

Mrs Xie accepts these, but she also accepts:
cie3 chiaq7 teq7 cin5 fan6~cie3 chiaq7 puq7 cin5 fan6

Likewise, Mrs Xie in E16 gives 2 structures:
n3 len2 ta3 teq7 yang2 cie3 打得贏 佢；
and (same as dictionary):
n3 len2 ta3 teq7 cie3 yang2 打得佢贏．

• negative form of these constructions:
V puq7 ResComp (NP) or V (NP) puq7 ResComp

E-2-1 cie3 ta3 puq7 khai1 (mīn2)

If there is an object, Mrs Xie puts it after the ResComp:
E-2-3 ko3 xiet7 wa6, phien teq7 lieu n3len, phien puq7 lieu ngo3

but she also accepts structures where the object is before puq7, cf. the pair of examples:

n3 ta3 puq7 yang2 cie3
or
n3 ta3 cie3 puq7 yang2

Of course you can also say A puq7 nen2 pa3 B V ResComp (E-3-3-2)

2.2.9.4.2 without resultative cpl

• V teq7 (N)
expresses either ability or permission (‘may’) to achieve
E14 cie3 chiaq7 teq7 fan6 ‘he can/may eat food’
E54 cie3 pha teq7 ‘he can/may climb up’
E522 cie3 tsho6 teq7 ‘he can/may sit down’

Negative is V puq7 teq7
ta3 khai1 puq7 teq7 ‘cannot (=should not) be opened [or else the thing will explode/break…]’

See diagram.doc on V-de potentials in Gan, Hakka, Yue and SW Mandarin ; LZ 447 ;

2.2.9.4.3 N teq V
like preceding construction, also expresses either ability or permission
teq7 is full V here.

E511 cie3 teq7 song6 ‘he can/may go up’
E512 cie3 teq7 fii2 chie3 ‘he can/may go back’
E52 cie3 teq7 fong5 ha6 ‘he can/may put it down’ (thing, thought, matter)

Negative is puq teq V
cie3 puq7 teq7 song6
cie3 puq7 teq7 fii2 chie3
cie3 puq7 teq7 fong5 ha6

2.2.9.5 resultative complement

2.2.9.5.1 V1-V2
If there is an object it can come after the resultative compound : E23

2.2.9.5.2 V1-V2-N
Negation with puq7 if imperfective, with mao6 otherwise (F4…)
puq7 V1-V2
mao6 V1-V2
Can enter into disposal construction :
F51 cie3 na fan6 chiaq7 po lieu
Can enter into passive construction (F63)
F63 poli tei1 cie3 ta3 pho lieu.
2.2.9.6 directional complements
V1-V2
V cin5 chie3
the compound V1-DirComp can be broken by an NP
G25  xü6 song tiq7 lieu ci3 kë phin2kuo ha6lai2
G29  ngo min yiqchi3 tseu3 tau wuq7li chie
Negation by puq7 or mao6 (non perfective/perfective~experiential)

2.2.10 structures marked with DE1 and DE2

2.2.10.1 adverbial modifiers with DE1 地
some are followed with kë 简, some don’t :

2.2.10.1.1 Adv-kë
A21  sao tsï puq7 thin kë yao theu ‘Elder brother’s wife incessantly shook her head’
A61  cie3 thu thu kë song fïi2 chie3 lë yiq7kë ‘he secretly sent one back’

Adv without kë:
A11  min2 thoq len2 khai1 lë ‘the door opened suddenly’
A31  ngo ciencien tung3teq7 mu nyang kë yisi ‘I gradually understood my aunt’s meaning’
A41  Taifu fung1 khuai3 gei3 phiang6 nyin2 khai1 tao1 ‘the doctor quickly operated on the patient’
A81  n3len2 viq7thin6 yeu5 lai2
A1-17 n3 tsu5 xiq7li hao3 lili faq7 fo3 ? why are you so angry for no obvious reason ?
A1-14-3 n3len min2min2 xieu3teq7 ko3 chien6 si6 ‘you clearly know about this matter’

In some instances both with 简 and without are possible. In such cases the form without is more coll :

A1-11-1  khaq7 nyin2 lai2 kë si2kan1, xi5ngatsï kuyi (kë) Dai6 sin1 khuq7
or :  khaq7 nyin2 lai2 kë si2kan1, xi5ngatsï theq7yi (kë) Dai6 sin1 khuq7
‘the baby cried out loud intentionally when the guests came’

This indicates that adverbial –kë is a mandarinism, a probable case of metatypy.

2.2.10.2 Adj + DE

2.2.10.2.1 Adj+tsï
A211  lao3nyin2ka1 man-man-tsi tseu3 ‘the old person walked slowly’
A24  hao3sang1tsï na2teq7, puq7 yeu5 loq7 po lai ‘hold it properly, don’t drop it’
A242  nyong ngo3 hao3sang1tsï xiong3 yiq7 ha6 ‘let me think this through’
A2-16-2  ko3 pïn3 su1, ngo3 yao5 hao3sang1tsï khon3 yiq7 ha6

2.2.10.2.2 Adj-kë (check if kë optional or not)
A25  cie3 cin3cin3kë ngo tao ngo3kë xi3 ‘he firmly grasped my hand’
A29  cie3 kë kung1kung hao3 khuai3fïgkë tseu3 le ‘her father-in-law left happily’
A27  kon? let7 kë chiaq7 chie3 chiu6 hao3 ‘it is good only if you eat it steaming hot’
A5-2 cie3 yi7 nyit7 tao5 ya5 puq7 thin6 kë wa6 ‘he talked incessantly all day’

Adj-kë (optional)
A2-10 yiq7 xi3 won tsao, chiu6 susufuqfuq(kë) khun yi7 qiao
A-15-1 speak briefly n3len kantan(kë) wa6 yi7 ha6tsi
A4-1-1 xi5ngatsi Dai6khïu3Dai6khïu3(kë) chiaq7 ‘the child ate in gulps’ (cannot say *-tsi here)

2.2.10.2.3 Adj. with no mark
A-13-2 miang2nyiq7 tsao3tiaq7tsi chi33li ‘I have to wake up early tomorrow’
A4-2-4 yi7kë yi7kë na cie3 wu3 tao3 ‘get rid of them one by one’

quadruplet
A-2-21-1 chiangchiang fong5 ha6 chie3
chiangchiangkë fong5 ha6 chie3
chiangchiantsi fong5 ha6 chie3
chiangchiantsi kë fong5 ha6 chie3
‘lay it down gently’

The preferred and usual form is chiangchiantsi fong5 ha6 chie3.
The order of tsi and kë in the last sentence shows kë is more recent in this construction.

2.2.10.3 predicative DE2
Clause+kë
B12 kong loq7 lë yu, wai6Deu laq8 xieq7 (kë)

2.2.11 nominalised and attributive structures

2.2.11.1 nominalizing
VP-kë
The VP can be an adj (A1a… to A1b…)  
A1a11 tsuïi5 xin1 kë ‘the latest model’

or it can be a VP
A1=21 ngo3 ko3 xia3 kë sî6 yinwîn ‘what I’m writing now is English’

such as a resultative complement
A1=6 mao6 yiu3 ta3 puq7 pho kë ‘there are none that cant be broken’

NP-kö
the NP can be a pronoun : 
A1-san-a1 ngo3 ko ‘mine’

a time word :
A1-san-b tshoq7 nyiq7 ko ‘yesterdays’

a personal name
A1-sanc lao3 wong2 ko ‘Lao Wang’s’

No haplology, no double kē : A1-san-e2, A1-san-e5

2.2.11.2 modifying clause
Mod kē N
can be dropped with inalienable possession
B1-san-a54
but not with alienable
B1-san-a11