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NOTES ON NANCHANG DIALECT (DRAFT)

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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 dialectal 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.

Table of Contents

1. SPEAKER XYZ	3
1.1 NANCHANG PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY FOR SPEAKER XYZ.....	3
1.1.1 <i>Tones</i>	3
1.1.2 <i>initials</i>	3
1.1.3 <i>medials</i>	4
1.1.4 <i>rhymes</i>	4
1.2 GLOSSARY OF FUNCTION WORDS AND DISCOURSE MARKERS IN THE TEXTS	5
1.3 FIVE NANCHANG TEXTS (SPEAKER XYZ ; RECORDED MAY-JUNE 1999 IN NANCHANG)	8
1.3.1 <i>Nanchang text No. 1: Nanchang weather</i>	8
1.3.2 <i>Nanchang text No. 2: Scholar and Maiden</i>	17
1.3.3 <i>Nanchang text No. 3: New Year</i>	25
1.3.4 <i>Nanchang text No. 4: Turnips</i>	40
1.3.5 <i>Nanchang text No. 5: Noodles</i>	56
1.4 NOTES ON THE LEXICON	78
1.4.1 <i>copula</i>	78
1.4.2 <i>pronouns</i>	78
1.4.3 <i>classifiers</i>	79
1.4.4 <i>etymologies</i>	81
1.5 NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR : CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE 5 TEXTS.....	82
1.5.1 <i>passive</i>	82
1.5.2 <i>disposal</i>	82
1.5.3 <i>comparative</i>	84
1.5.4 <i>attributive/relative construction</i>	86
1.5.5 <i>complementation</i>	90
1.5.6 <i>question types</i>	91
1.6 REFS.....	92

2.	MRS XIE (ELICITED MATERIALS)	92
2.1	MRS XIE'S NANCHANG PHONOLOGY	92
2.1.1	<i>Tones (Mrs Xie)</i>	92
2.1.2	<i>initials</i>	92
2.1.3	<i>rhymes</i>	92
2.2	CONSTRUCTIONS	94
2.2.1	<i>interrogatives</i>	94
2.2.2	<i>aspect</i>	96
2.2.3	<i>negation</i>	98
2.2.4	<i>passive</i>	100
2.2.5	<i>Double object construction</i>	102
2.2.6	<i>causative</i>	102
2.2.7	<i>disposal</i>	103
2.2.8	<i>comparative</i>	105
2.2.9	<i>complements marked with DE</i>	107
2.2.10	<i>structures marked with DE1 and DE2</i>	109
2.2.11	<i>nominalised and attributive structures</i>	110

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

Tone	speaker XYZ	Nanchang dictionary
T1	[42]	42
T2	[24]	24
T3	[213]	213
T5	[45]	45
T6	[31~21]	11
T7	[45 ²]	5
T8	[2 ²]	2

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 > tē > [restressing] teq7
箇下 ko3 ha6 'this moment, now' > ko3 ha (destressing) > ka (fusion) > 隔 kaq7 (restressing).

1.1.2 initials

These initials occur in the transcription :

p	ph/B	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 = β, D= D (tongue flap), DZ= dz or z, J= j G= γ. 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 underlyingly voiced with voiceless aspirates as conditioned variants (utterance-initial ; perhaps stress ; following -q or -t).

Correspondences with Nanchang Dictionary are

XYZ	NC dict.
p	p
ph/B	p'
m	m
f	f
t	t
th/D	t'
l	l
ts	ts
tsh/DZ	ts'
s	s
c	tɕ
ch/J	tɕ'
ny	ŋ
x	ɕ
k	k
kh/G	k'
ng	ŋ
h	h

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
ĩ	ĩĩ	ĩu	ĩn		ĩq/ĩt
i		iu	in		iq/it
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 :

XYZ	NC dict.
a	a
ai	ai
ao	au
an	an
ang	aŋ
aq/t	aʔ, at
e	e
eu	eu
en	en
eq/t	ɛʔ, et
oe	ø
o	o
on	on
ong	oŋ
oq	oʔ
ī	i; apical vowel
īi	ii
īu	iu
īn	in
īq/īt	it, ut
i	i
iu	iu
in	in
iq/it	iʔ, it
ü	y
ün	yn
üt	yt
u	u
un	un
ung	uŋ
ut/uq	ut, uʔ

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 下, with 下 ha³⁵.
5. CHILAI_{INCH.} 起來. V+CHILAI. 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. KAQ_{NEW} 隔 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. KAQ_{EPI} 隔 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_{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 (liong3 san1 suii5 kē tsai3 ‘a child of 2 or 3’), subject matter (2.2.yiq7 ko ^xiu5 DZai2 kē xieu5 fa6 ‘a story about a scholar’), shape (yiq kien yiq kien kē mifin ‘noodles in sticks’) etc.
11. KO_{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_{NOM} 嘅 . Derives nominals. 2 :14. ‘yiq7 ko nyu3 KO’ « a woman », Also 5.162, 5.163
13. KO_{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_{ATT.} 5.194-199 for one head noun with several attached VPs.
14. KO_{ADV.} 嘅 . Derives adverbials. Equivalent to Mand DE1 地. 1.66.piq7 kien1 he3 ko peq7 cin1 yiq7 yong6 ko yiu3 lon3 chi3.
15. KO_{ASST.} . 嘅 Clause+ KO_{ASST.} Assertive use of KO. Equivalent to Mand. (shi)...de. Sometimes used with 是 si6. Ex : I :15, IV :32, IV :65.
16. KO_{XIE} 嘅 : yiu3+KO+N. Equiv of Mandarin *de*₀ in the sense of *xie*1 ‘some’, between *yi*3 and count noun (*si*5 kan1 ‘times’, *nyin*5 ‘people’) ; also of Cantonese *di*1 (*yau*4 *di*1 *yan*2). ‘there are people’. Nanchang : 1.10 : *yi*3 ko *si*5 kan ; 5.186 *yi*3 ke *nyin*5 a. The noun can be omitted, 3.81.
17. KO_{MIR} 個 . ‘Mirative’ use of KO. Equivalent to Mand. *ge*₀ 個 in one of its uses. ‘as much/many as+quantification ; to the extent that as a result+result’. Typically used after *TEQ_{DEG}* or *TEQ_{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_{MIR}* seems obligatory after *TEQ_{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}. 過. Verb suffix, Marks verbs in experiential aspect. Similar to Mand *guo*₄.
 19. LA_{CHG} 啦. Probably a fusion of LIEU_{CHG} + A, q.v. Ex. : 4.50 ‘they start to eat’.
 20. LA_{OBV} 啦 (**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} 啦 (**high** qingsheng). Utterance final, gives preceding clause a meaning of uncertainty. Apparently a fusion of LA_{OBV} + A ‘question marker in yes-no questions’ (no occurrence in our 5 texts, but common in Nanchang, cf. elicited sentences, **crossref**). The resulting meaning is ‘is CLAUSE really obvious ? I doubt it’. ‘it ought to be so, not certain ; unsure ; consulting ; = right ? ». Only one ex. IV:44.
 22. LA_{LOOK}. 喇. 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 : 5.52 : sai₅ kon₁ lai₅ yi₃heu₆ ‘after it has become dry’. Only ex. Perhaps an error for LIEU_{PRFV}.
 24. LA_{QDISP} 搵. Marker of disposal construction. Only one ex. main verb is ‘give’ (*pa*₃), and direct objects (‘sweets’) is indefinite. See PA_{DISP}.
 25. LA_{QINST} 搵. 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 *ne*₀ 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*)
 30. LIEU_{POT}. 了 : in negative potential constructions. One ex. : 1.14.
 31. LO_{OBV} 咯. sentence final, sentence meaning is ‘regrettably obvious’. Perhaps a fusion of LA_{OBV} + O_{REG}. IV :120, 121,136.
 32. LO_{INST} 咯. 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 perfective aspect : *mao*₆ 冒 for ‘have’, 不 *pīq*₇ or *puq*₇ for all other verbs.
 37. NEG-EXP. 冒 *mao*₆. Negation for verbs in experiential aspect. V :133
 38. NEG-PRFV. 冒 *mao*₆. Negation for verbs in perfective aspect. IV :102

39. O_{ADV} 哦 sentence-final, low qingsheng. Strong advice. IV :70
40. O_{REG} 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_{PRSS} 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. PA_{DISP}. 把. The main disposal marker. Equivalent to mandarin ba₃ 把.
45. PREP. preposition
46. TAO_{DUR} 到 verb suffix, marks durative aspect. III.51 ; III.41 ; IV :64 ; IV :162
47. TAO_{RES} 到, a resultative complement, marks successful outcome. II.13, II.19 ; 2.31 ; III.53; IV.63, IV. 111, 4.142, IV :160 ;
48. TEQ_{DEG} 得 introduces complements of degree (1.25, 1.30, 1.47, 1.56, 1.58, 3.7, 3,35)
49. TEQ_{EXT} 得 introduces complements of extent (1.13, 1.15, 1.26, 1.45, 5.191)
50. TEQ_{MAN} 得 introduces complements of manner (2.17, 3.24, 3.35, 3.36, 3.61, 3.69, 4.43, 4.83, 5.155)
51. TEQ_{PREP} 得 . A preposition, equivalent to Mand. zai₄ (maybe not different from TAO_{PREP}, as both are phonetically tē or tēq. III.77)
52. TSHAI_{PROG}. 在. TSHAI+V. Marks verbs in progressive aspect. Equivalent to Mand zai₄.
53. YEU_{CHR} 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	箇	個	地方	啊
1.	na=n ⁵ DZong ¹ ko ³	ko	Di ⁶ fong	a.	
	Nanchang	this	CL	place	A _{TOP}

2. 別什哩 都 好
 phieq7 xiq7 li tu1 hao3.
other-things *all* *good*
3. 就 是 箇 個 天氣
 chiu6 x[i6] ko3 ko ^thie=n1 chi,
then be this CL weather
4. 硬 是 不 好 .
 nga=ng6 x[i6] piq7 hao3.
decidedly be NEG good
5. 難得 一年到頭
 lan5 teq7 !yit7 nyen5 tao5 Deu2.
seldom in:one:year
6. 難得 有 幾 日子 好 天氣
 lan5 teq7 yiu3 ci3 nyiq7 tsī hao3 thien1 chi.
seldom have several day good weather
7. 首先 春天 咯
 siu3 xien1 DZun1 thien1 lo.
first springtime LO_{INST}
8. 箇 春天 呢
 ko3 tshun1 thien1 le,
this springtime LE
9. 老是 落雨
 lao3 si6 loq8 yu3.
always rain (v.)
10. 硬 有 嘅 時間
 ngang6 yiu3 ko si5 kan,
really have KO_{XIE} times
11. 一 落 就 落 個 三 日 四 日
 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 十 來 日
 ng3 nyit7 chit7 nyit7 paq7 nyit7 siq8 lai5 !nyit7.
five day seven day eight day ten and:more day
- 日 日 落

12. ⁷nyit⁷nyit⁷ loq⁷,
 everyday *fall*
13. 不 得 停
 pīq⁷ teq⁷ thin².
 NEG *get* *stop*
14. 落 得 人 都 出 不 了 門
 loq⁷ teq⁷ nyin⁵ tu¹ DZuq⁷ pīq⁷ lieu³ mīn⁵,
 fall *TEQ_{EXT}* *people* *all* *go:out* *NEG* *LIEU_{POT}* *door*
15. 落 得 個 房間 裏 呢 到處
 loq⁷ teq⁷ ko fo=ng⁵ kan li le tao⁵ DZu
 fall *TEQ_{EXT}* *KO_{MIR}* *apartment* *inside* *LE* *everywhere*
- 是 潮 潮濕 嘅
 xi⁶ DZeu²- DZeu² sīt⁷ ko.
 be [*TRUNC. W.*] *wet* *KO_{ASST}*
16. 摸 到 箇 個 桌子 辣 濕
 mo¹ tē [tao⁵] ko³ ko tsoq⁷ tsī lat⁸ sīt⁷,
 feel *TAO_{DUR}* *this* *CL* *table* *very* *wet*
17. 摸 到 凳子 辣 濕
 mo¹ tē [tao⁵] ten⁵ tsī lat⁸ sīt⁷.
 feel *TAO_{DUR}* *stool* *very* *wet*
18. 你 打開 箱子 看 啊
 n³ ta³ Gai¹ xiong¹ tsī khon⁵ na,
 2SG *open* *trunk* *see* *A_{SUPP}*
19. 你人 嘅 被窩 也 發 了 霉
 n³ len ko Bii⁶ wo ya³ ^faq⁷ lē [lieu³] ^mīi⁵=,
 2SG *KO_{GEN}* *quilt* *also* *grow* *LIEU_{PRFV}* *mould*
20. 棉襖 也 發 了 霉
 mien⁵ ngao³ ya³ ^faq⁷ lē [lieu³] mīi⁵,
 padded:jacket *also* *grow* *LIEU_{PRFV}* *mould*
21. 什哩 都 發 了 霉
 xiq⁷ li tu¹ faq⁷ lē [lieu³] mīi⁵,
 everything *all* *grow* *LIEU_{PRFV}* *mould*
22. 長 了 毛
 tsong³ lē [lieu³] mao¹.

- grow* LIEU_{PRFV} *hairy*
23. 箇 春天 裏
ko³ DZun¹ thien¹ li.
this springtime inside
24. 熱天 裏 吧
let⁷ thien¹ li pa,
summer inside PA
25. 熱天 就 熱 得 要 死
let⁷ thien¹ chiu⁶ let⁷ teq⁷ yeu⁵ si³.
summer then hot TEQ_{DEG} want die
26. 硬 熱 得 氣 都 敢 不 出來
ngang⁶ let⁷ teq⁷ chi⁵ tu¹ Deu³ piq⁷ tshuq⁷ lai.
indeed hot TEQ_{RES} breath all breathe NEG come:out
27. 三十七 度 三十八 度
san¹ siq⁸ chiq⁷ Du⁶ san¹ siq⁸ paq⁷ Du⁶
thirty-seven degrees thirty-eight degrees
- 算 好 個
son⁵ hao³ ko.
count:as good KO_{ASST}
28. 有 嘅 時間 就 三十九 度
yi³ ko si⁵ kan¹ chiu⁶ san¹ siq⁸ ciu³ Du⁶
have KO_{XIE} times then thirty-nine degrees
- 四十 度
^si⁵ siq⁸ Du⁶.
forty degrees
29. 你 像 舊 年 子
n³ [ch]iong⁶ chiu⁶ nyen⁵ tsī,
like last:year
30. 就 熱 得 要 死
chiu⁶ let⁷ teq⁷ yeu⁵ si³.
then hot TEQ_{DEG} want die
31. 舊 年 子 熱 到 四十 度
chiu⁶ nyen⁵ tsī let⁷ tao⁵ si⁵ siq Du⁶.
last:year hot reach 40 degrees

32. 熱天 裏 還 往往 有 洪水
 let⁷ thien¹ li hai² wong³ wong³ yiu³ fung⁵ suī³,
summer inside in: addition often have flood
33. ... 漲水 啊
 tsong³ suī³ a.
swelling:of:waters A_{SUPP}
34. ... 漲 脫 大 嘅 水
 tsong³ thoq⁷ thai⁶ ko suī³,
swell very big KO_{ATT} water
35. 你像 舊年子 咯
 n³ [ch]iong⁶ chiu⁶ nyen⁵ tsī lo.
like last:year LO_{INST}
36. 江西 漲水 全國 有名
 ciong¹ xi¹ tsong³ suī³ .. chyon² kueq⁷ yiu³ miang⁵,
Jiangxi floods countrywide have fame
37. 全 世界 都 有 了 名
 chyon² si⁵ kai⁵ tu¹ yiu³ lē [lieu³] miang⁵.
all world even have LIEU_{PRFV} fame
38. 舊年子 差滴子 出 大 問題
 chiu⁶ nyen⁵ tsī .. tsha¹ tiaq⁷ tsī tshuq⁷ thai⁶ wīn⁶ thi²,
last:year almost happen big problem
39. 啊
 a,
A_{SUSP}
40. 防洪搶險
 fong⁵ fung² chiong³ xien³
guard:against flood take:emergency:measures:against danger ((A SLOGAN))
- [1 :23]
41. 秋天 裏 吧
 ^chiu¹ thien¹ li pa,
autumn inside PA

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. 巴 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 KO_{XIE} times dry TEQ_{RES} LE
- 乾 得 個 嘴巴皮子 嘅 皮
 kon¹ teq ko tsui³ pa bi² tsi ko phi²
dry TEQ_{RES} KO_{MIR} lips KO_{GEN} skin
- 都 可以 □ 得 下來
 tu¹ kho³ yi³ ^te¹ teq⁷ ha⁶ lai⁵.
even can tear TEQ_{RES} fall:off
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 TEQ_{DEG} 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 mīn ko³ li wa⁶ chi³ lai ((TRUNCATED))
IPL here say CHILAI_{INCH}

□
 fu
 X

50. 冬天 嘅 許 個 氣溫 啊
 tung¹ thien¹ ko he³ ko chi³ win a,
winter KO_{GEN} that CL temperature A_{TOP}
51. 也 不 算 好 低
 ya³ piq⁷ son⁵ hao³ ti¹.
also NEG count:as very low
52. 比如 零下 五 度 咯
 pi³ lu⁵ liang⁵ ha⁶ ng³ Du⁶ lo
for:instance below:zero five degrees LO_{INST}
- 六 度 咯
 liuq⁸ Du⁶ lo.
Six degrees LO_{INST}
53. 主要 是 什哩 呢
 tsu³ yeu⁵ si⁶ xiq⁷ li le
principally be what LE
- 潮濕
 tsheu² sit⁷.
wet
54. 所以 北京 啊
 so³ yi peq⁷ cin¹ na,
that:is:why Beijing A_{TOP}
55. 佢 零下 十 多 度
 cie³ liang⁵ ha⁶ siq⁸ to¹ du⁶.
3SG below:zero ten more degrees
56. 佢 比 我們 箇裏 感覺
 cie³ pi³ ngo³ min ko³ li kon³ cioq⁷
3SG compare:with 1PL here feel
- 要 好 得 多
 yeu⁵ hao³ teq⁷ to¹.
YEU_{CHR} better TEQ_{DEG} much
57. 第 一 佢 乾燥
 thi⁶ yiq⁷ cie³ kon¹ tsao⁵.
ORD one 3SG dry

58. 冬天 嘅 天氣 好 得 很
 tung¹ dien¹ kē [ko] ^thien¹ chi hao³ teq⁷ hen³,
winter *KO_{GEN} weather* *good* *TEQ_{DEG}* *very*
59. 都 是 晴 天
 tu¹ si⁶ Chiang² dien¹.
all *be* *clear* *day*
60. 再 一 個 呢
 tsai⁵ yiq⁷ kē [ko] le
again *one* *CL* *LE*
61. 佢 房間 裏 有 暖氣
 cie³ fong⁵ kan¹ li yiu³ non³ chi³.
3SG *apartment* *inside* *have* *heating*
62. 我們 箇裏 呢
 ngo³ mīn ko³ li le,
IPL *here* *LE*
63. 又 冰冷 辣 濕 落 雨 落 雪
 yiu⁶ pin¹ lang³ lat⁸ sīt⁷ loq⁸ yu³ loq⁸ xuet⁷.
and *cold* *very* *wet* *fall* *rain* *fall* *snow*
64. 房間 裏 又 是 冒 有
 fong⁵ kan¹ li yiu⁶ si⁶ mao⁶ yiu³====,
apartment *inside* *again* *be* *NEG* *have*
65. 也 冒 有 冒 有
 ya³ ma[w]⁶ y[iu³] ma[w]⁶ y[iu³]
also *NEG* *have* *NEG* *have*
66. 不 跟 許 個 北京 一樣 嘅 有 暖氣
 pīq⁷ kien¹ he³ ko peq⁷ cin¹ yiq⁷ yong⁶ ko yiu³ lon³ chi³.
NEG *like* *that* *CL* *Beijing* *same* *KO_{ADV}?* *have* *heating*
67. 所以 呢
 so³ yi³ le,
that:is:why *LE*
68. 冬天 裏 啊
 ^tung¹ thien¹ li a,

- winter* *inside* *A_{TOP}*
 你 坐 得 箇 個 房間 裏 啊
 69. n³ tsho⁶=teq⁷ ko³ ko fong⁵ kan¹ li a,
 2SG sit TEQ_{PREP} this CL apartment inside *A_{SUPP}*
 還 不 如 走 到 外 頭 去
 hai² puq⁷ lu⁵ tseu³ tao⁵ wai⁶ deu² chie³,
 still not:as:good:as walk to outside go
 還 更 熱 和 些 子
 hai² kien⁵ leq⁷ fo xiet⁷ tsi.
 still more warm a:little

 在 房 間 裏 啊
 70. tshai⁶ fong⁵ kan¹ li a,
 at apartment inside *A_{TOP}*

 冰 冷
 71. pin¹ lang³,
 ice-cold

 更 冷
 72. kien⁵ lang³
 more cold

 所 以 啊
 73. so³ yi³ a.
 that:is:why *A_{SUSP}*

 箇 個 南 昌 市 啊
 74. ko³ ko nan⁵ DZong¹ si⁶ a.
 this CL Nanchang city *A_{TOP}*

 一 年 到 頭 冒 什 哩 好 天 氣
 75. yiq⁷ nyen⁵ tao⁵ Deu² mao⁶ xiq⁷ li hao³ Dien¹ 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)

	話	一	個	笑話	哈	
1.	wa ⁶ <i>say</i>	yiq ⁷ <i>one</i>	kē [ko] <i>CL</i>	xieu ⁵ fa ⁶ <i>funny:story</i>	ha. <i>HA</i>	
		一	個	秀才	嘅	笑話
2.		yiq ⁷ <i>one</i>	ko <i>CL</i>	^xiu ⁵ DZai ² <i>scholar</i>	kē [ko] <i>KO_{ATT}</i>	xieu ⁵ fa ⁶ . <i>funny:story</i>
		秀才	啊			
3.		xiu ⁵ DZai ²	a.			

- scholar* *a*
4. 你 曉得 秀才 吧
 n³ xieu³ teq⁷ xiu⁵ DZai² pa. ((TALKING TO ME, LS))
 2SG know scholar PA_{PRSS}
5. XX
 eh.
 eh
6. 古代 個 秀 讀書 人
 ku³ tai⁵ kē [ko] xiu⁵- ^thuq⁷ su¹ nyin⁵,
 ancient:times KO_{GEN} [TRUNC. W.] literate person
7. 就 是 秀才
 chiu⁶ s(i⁶) ^xiu⁵ DZai².
 then *be* scholar
8. 從前 有 個 秀才 呢
 tshung² Jien² yiu³ kē [ko] ^xiu⁵ DZai² le,
 in the past have CL scholar LE
9. 提 隻 籃子
 thia² tsaq⁷ lan⁵ tsī.
 carry CL basket
10. 提 隻 脫 大 嘅 籃子 啊
 thia² tsaq⁷ ^Doq⁷ Dai⁶ kē [ko] lan⁵ tsī a,
 carry CL very big KO_{ATTR} basket A
11. 到 街 上 去
 tao⁵ ^kai¹ song chie
 to *street* on go
12. 走 啊 走
 tseu³ a tseu³
 walk A_{PROG} walk
13. 隔 看 到 前頭 呢
 kaq⁷ Gon³ tē [tao] Jien² Dē [theu²] le,
 KAQ_{NEW} see TAO_{RES} ahead LE
14. 一 個 女 嘅
 yiq⁷ kē [ko]nyü³ kē [ko].
 one CL female KO_{NOM}

15. 一 個 年 輕 嘅 女 嘅
 yiq⁷ kē [ko]nyen⁵ c[h]iang¹ kē [ko]nyü³ kē [ko],
 one CL young KO_{ATTR}female KO_{NOM}
 Note deaspiration but no voicing in c[h]iang¹
16. 也 提 隻 籃 子
 ya³ Dia² tsaq⁷ lan⁵ tsī.
 also carry CL basket
17. 許 隻 女 嘅 呢
 he³ tsaq⁷ nyü³ ko le
 that CL female KO_{NOM}LE
- 長 得 就 蠻 可 氣
 tsong³ teq⁷ chiu⁶ man⁵ Gieq⁷ chi.
 grow TEQ_{MAN} then quite pretty
18. 箇 隻 □
 ko³ tsaq⁷ sai-
 that CL [TRUNC. W.]
19. 箇 隻 秀 才 看 到 人 家 蠻 可 氣 呢
 ko³ tsaq⁷ xiu⁵ DZai² Gon³ tē [tao] nyin⁵ ka¹ man⁵ Gieq⁷ chi le,
 that CL scholar look TAO_{RES} person quite pretty LE
20. 就
 chiu=⁶,
 then
21. 不 懷 好 意
 puq⁷ fai⁵ hao³ yi⁵,
 NEG hold good:intentions
22. 就 ,
 chiu=⁶,
 then
23. 跟 人 家 搭 腔
 kien¹ nyin⁵ ka¹ taq⁷ chio=ng¹,
 with person start a conversation
24. 就 跟 人 家 □ 啊
 chiu⁶ kien¹ nyin⁵ ka¹ tse³ a.
 then with person flirts A ??

25. □
ë
eh
26. ((HIGH PITCH, PUTS SELF IN ROLE OF SCHOLAR)) 嘿
e=,
hey
27. 箇一 小娘子 啊
ke=i³ xieu³ nyong⁵ ts[ī] a=,
this young:lady a
28. 你 提 嘅 許 個 籃子 好 累 人家 吧
n³ Dia² ko he³ ko lan⁵ tsī hao³ lui⁶ nyin⁵ ka pa,
2SG carry KO_{REL} that CL basket very tire people PA_{PRSS}
29. 我 來 幫 你人 提 咯
ngo³ lai⁵ pong¹ n³ len dia² lo ?
1SG come help 2SG carry LO_{CONSULT}
30. ((LOWER PITCH, RESUMES NARRATOR ROLE)) 箇 隻
ko³ tsaq⁷
this CL
31. 箇 隻 年輕 嘅 女 嘅 看 到 佢 講
ko³ tsaq⁷ nyen⁵ Chiang¹ kē [ko] nyü³ kē [ko] Gon³ tē [tao⁵] cie³ kong³,
this:way CL young KO_{ATTR}woman KO_{NOM}see TAO_{RES} 3SG
32. 不 答 佢
puq⁷ taq⁷ cie³.
NEG answer 3SG
33. 隔 □ □ 不 答 佢 呢
kaq⁷ <XX> puq⁷ taq⁷ cie³ le,
KAQ_{NEW} NEG answer 3SG LE
34. □ □ 佢 就 粘 到 人家 話事
<X X> cie³ chiu⁶ nyen⁵ tao⁵ nyin⁵ ka wa⁶ si⁶.
3SG then stick PREP person talk
35. □
eh.
P

36. 佢 話 嘅
 cie³ wa⁶ kē [ko].
 3SG say KO_{ASST}
37. ... 我 幫 你人 提 嘛
 ngo³ pong¹ n³ len Dia² ma,
 1SG for 2SG carry MA_{PRESSING}
38. ... 我 幫 你人 提 咯
 ngo³ pong¹ n³ len Dia² lo,
 1SG for 2SG carry LO_{CONSULT}
39. □
 eh,
 P
40. 我 話
 ngo³ wa⁶,
 I say
41. 你人
 n³ len,
 2SG
42. 你人
 n³ len,
 2SG
43. 我 搵 了 一 隻 大 籃子
 ngo³ laq⁷ lieu yiq⁷ tsaq⁷ Dai⁶ lan⁵ tsī,
 1SG take LIEU_{PROG} one CL big basket
44. 妳 搵 隻 小 籃子
 n³ laq⁷ tsaq⁷ xieu³ lan⁵ tsī,
 2SG take CL small basket
45. 我們 裝 得 一起
 ngo³ mīn tsong¹ teq⁷ yiq⁷ chi³.
 1PL install PREP together
46. 喇
 la⁶,
 LA_{LOOK}

47. 我
ngo³,
1SG
48. 我 一
ngo³ yiq⁷,
1SG one
49. 我 一 隻 手 就 可以 提
ngo³ yiq⁷ tsaq⁷ xiu³ chiu⁶ Go³ yi³ Dia².
1SG one CL hand then able:to carry
50. ((RECITING)) 大 籃 也 是 籃
thai⁶ lan⁵ ya³ xi⁶ lan⁵.
big basket also be basket
51. 小 籃 也 是 籃
xieu³ lan⁵ ya³ xi⁶ lan⁵.
small basket also be basket
52. 大 籃 裝 小 籃
thai⁶ lan⁵ tsong¹ xieu³ lan⁵,
big basket install small basket
53. 就 兩 籃 并 一 籃
chiu⁶ liong³ lan⁵ phin⁶ yiq⁷ lan⁵.
then two basket combine one basket

((RESUMES NARRATOR ROLE))

54. 佢 就 講 話 嘅
cie³ chiu⁶ kong³ wa⁶ ko
3SG then this:way say KO_{ASST}
55. 箇 箇 箇 就 是
ko³ ko³ ko³ chiu⁶ x[i⁶],
this this this then be
56. 實際上 就 是
sīt⁷ ci song⁶ chiu⁶ xi⁶=,
in:fact then be
57. 調戲 婦女
Dieu² xi⁵ fu⁶ nyü³,
bothering woman

58. 就想跟人家許隻女嘅□
 chiu⁶ xiong³ kien¹ nyin⁵ ka he³ tsaq⁷ nyü³ ko [^]tse³.
then want with person that CL female KONOMflirt
59. 箇隻女嘅心理聽到就好起火
 ko³ tsaq⁷ nyü³ kē [ko]xin¹ li Diang¹ tē chiu⁶ hao³ [^]chi³ fo³.
this CL female KONOMheart hear then very angry
60. 隔走啊走呢
 kaq⁷ tseu³ a tseu³ le,
KAQ_{NEW} walk a walk LE
61. 正好走到一隻棺材鋪門口哇
 tsin⁵ hao³ tseu³ ta[w] yiq⁷ tsaq⁷ kuon¹ [D]Zai² Bu³ mīn⁵ Gieu³ wa.
Just walk:toone CL coffin:shop door A
62. 許隻女嘅呢
 he³ tsaq⁷ nyü³ kē [ko]le,
that CL female KONOMLE
63. 就靈機一動
 chiu⁶ lin⁵ ci¹ yiq⁷ Dung⁶
then suddenly has an idea
64. 佢就指到許個棺材話嘅
 cie³ chiu⁶ tsī³ tē [tao] he³ kē [ko]kuon¹ DZai² wa⁶ kē [ko].
3SG then point:to that CL coffin say KO_{ASST}
65. 佢就話嘅
 cie³ chiu⁶ wa⁶ kē= [ko],
3SG then say KO_{ASST}
66. 棺材也是才
[^]kuon¹ DZai² ya³ xi⁶ tshai²,
coffin also be cai²
67. 秀才也是才
[^]xiu⁵ DZai² ya³ xi⁶ tshai²,
scholar also be cai²
68. 棺材裝秀才
 kuon¹ DZai² tsong¹ xiu¹ DZai²,
coffin hold:within scholar
- 就兩才并一才

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. ((RECITING, 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 RECITING. 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. ((RECITING, 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)

	箇	要	話到	過年	啊
1.	ko ³ <i>this:way</i>	yeu ⁵ <i>if</i>	wa ⁶ tē [tao ⁵] <i>speak:about</i>	kuo ⁵ nyen ⁵ <i>new:year</i>	a. <i>A</i>
2.	...	我 ngo ³ , <i>ISG</i>			
3.	我 ngo ³ , <i>ISG</i>				
4.	我 ngo ³ <i>ISG</i>	心理 xin ¹ li <i>in:my:heart</i>	想 xiong ³ <i>think</i>	啊 a, <i>A</i>	

5. ... 以前 啊 比 現在 更 有 味道
 yi³ Jien² a pi³ xien⁶ DZai⁶ kien⁵ yiu³ wii⁶ Dau⁶.
in:the:past A compare now more have taste
6. 以前 窮
 yi³ Jien² ^chiung²,
in:the:past poor
7. 現在 大家 生活 要 好 得 多
 xien⁶ Dzai⁶ Dai⁶ ka¹ sen¹foq⁷ yew⁵ hao³ teq⁷ to¹.
now everybody life want good TEQ_{DEG} much
8. ... 但是 我 覺得 窮 嘅 時間
 than⁶ si⁶ ngo³ cioq⁷ teq⁷ ^chiung² kē sī⁵ kan¹
but ISG feel poor KO_{REL} time
- 許 個 味道 啊
 he³ ko wii⁶ Dao⁶ a
that CL taste A
- 比 現在 味道 還 更 足
 pi³ xien⁶ Dzai⁶ wii⁶ Dao⁶ hai² kien⁵ ciuq⁷.
compare now taste even more full
9. ... 更 有意思 就是話
 kien⁵ yiu³ yi⁵ si chiu⁶ x[i⁶] wa⁶.
more interesting that:is:to:say
10. 你 看 我們 小 時間 吧
 ... n³ Gon³ ngo³mīn xieu³ sī⁵ kan¹ ba [pa],
2SG look 2PL small time PA_{PRSS}
11. ... 也 冒 有 電視 看
 ya³ mao⁶ yiu³ ^Dien⁶ si⁶ Gon³,
also NEG have television watch
12. ... 也 冒 有 什哩 卡拉OK
 ya³ m[ao⁶] yiu³ xiq⁷ li ^Ga³ la¹ o¹ Ge¹,
also NEG have any Karaoke
13. ... 也 冒 有 什哩 電子 遊戲
 ya³ m[ao⁶] yiu³ xiq⁷ li Dien⁶ tsī ^yiu⁵ xi,
also NEG have any electronic game

-
14. Eh,
and yet (???)
15. ... 許 時間 過年 啊
^he=³ s[i² k]an¹ kuo⁵ nyen⁵ a,
that time new:year A
16. 好 有 味道
hao³ yiu³ wii⁶ Dao⁶
very have taste
17. 許 時間 家家戶戶 過年 啊
he³ si⁵ kan¹ ka¹ ka¹ fu⁶ fu⁶ kuo⁵ nyen⁵ a,
that time every:household new:year A
18. 炒 花生 咯
tshao³ fa¹ sen¹ lo,
roast peanuts LO_{INST}
19. 炒 豆子 咯
tshao³ Deu⁶ tsī lo,
roast beans LO_{INST}
20. ... 殺 雞 殺 鴨 咯
saq⁷ ci¹ saq⁷ !ngaq⁷ lo,
kill chicken kill duck LO_{INST}
21. 買 肉 買 魚 咯
mai³ nyuq⁷ mai³ ^nye⁵ lo.
buy pork:meat buy fish LO_{INST}
22. 啊
a,
A
23. ... 細 伢子 啊 平時 穿 到
xi⁵ nga tsī a phin² si⁵ Dzon¹ tē= [tao⁵]--
children A usually wear TAO_{DUR}
24. 嘅 衣裳 都 穿 得 好 一
kē [ko] yi¹ song tu¹ Dzon¹ teq⁷ hao³ so⁵.
KOREL clothes all wear TEQ_{MAN} very low:quality
- 隔 要 過年 啊

25. ... kaq⁷ yew⁵ kuo⁵ nyen⁵ a,
KAQ_{NEW} YEU_{CHR} spend:new:year A
26. ... 屋 里 嘅 大人 啊
 wuq⁷ li kē [ko] thai⁶ nyin⁵ a,
house in KO_{GEN} adults A
27. ... 郎 樣 都 要 想 辦法
 long⁵ yong⁶ tu¹ yeu⁵ xiong³ phan⁶ faq⁷
anyway all YEU_{CHR} think method
28. 跟 細 仔 子 做 件 衣裳
 kien¹ xi⁵ nga tsī tsu⁵ chien⁶ yi¹ song.
for children make CL clothes
29. □
 eh,
 eh
30. 許 時間
 he³ si⁵ kan¹,
that time
31. 所以 就 普 普 通 通 嘅 新 衣裳 啊
 so³ yi³ chiu⁶ phu³ phu³ thung¹ thung¹ kē [ko] xin¹ yi¹ song a,
that:is:why even ordinary KO_{ATTR} new clothes A
32. 許 都 覺 得 好 快 活
 he³ tu¹ cioq⁷ teq⁷ hao³ Guai⁵ foq⁷.
that all feel very happy
33. 心 理 好 高 興
 xin¹ li hao³ kao¹ xin.
heart in very contented
34. 許 哪 跟 現 在 一 樣 嘅
 he³ la³ kien¹ ^xien⁶ Dzai⁶ yiq⁷ yong⁶ kē [ko].
that where with now same KO_{ASST}
35. ... 現 在 □ □ □ □ 穿 穿 得 好 得 很
 xien⁶ Dzai⁶ g,g,g,g, Dzon, Dzon teq⁷ hao³ teq⁷ hen³
now dress dress TEQ_{MAN} well TEQ_{DEG} very
- 一 年 到 頭 都 穿 得 蠻 好

36. yiq⁷ nyen⁵ tao⁵ Deu² tu¹ Dzon¹ teq⁷ man⁵ hao³.
all:year:round all dress TEQ_{MAN} very well
37. ... 你 就 話 玩 嘅 東西 吧
 n³ chiu⁶ wa⁶ ^wan⁵ kē tung¹ xi pa.
2SG then say play KO_{REL} thing PA_{PRSS}
38. ... 玩 嘅 東西 我 記得
 wan⁵ kē [ko] tung¹ xi ngo³ ci¹ teq⁷
play KO_{REL} thing ISG remember
- 許 個 小 時間 啊
 he³ ko xieu³ si⁵ kan¹ a,
that CL small time A
39. ... 五 分 錢
 ng³ fin¹ Jien²,
five cents money
40. ... 箇 五 分 錢 硬 太 不 抵 錢
 ko³ ng³ fin¹ Jien² ngang⁶ thai⁶ pīq⁷ ti³ Jien²,
this five cents money really too NEG worth money
41. 現在 坐 個 汽車
 xien⁶ Dzai⁶ Dzo⁶ kē chi⁵ Dza¹
now sit:on CL bus
42. 坐 一 站 汽車
 Dzo⁶ yiq⁷ tsan⁵ chi⁵ Dza¹,
sit:on one station bus
43. 都 要 五 角 錢
 tu¹ yeu⁵ ng³ ^koq⁷ Jien².
all need five dime money
44. ... 許 時間 啊
 he³ si⁵ kan¹ a,
that time A
45. 五 分 錢 啊
 ^ng³ fin¹ Jien² a,
five cents money A
46. 就 可以 買 只 紙 紮 嘅 燈籠
 chiu⁶ Go³ yi³ mai³ t[s]aq⁷ tsi³ tsaq⁷ kē [ko] ten¹ lung⁵

- then can buy CL paper:and:bamboo KO_{ATTR} lantern
 紙 □
 47. ... tsɿ³ ts--
 paper
- 搵 紙紮 嘅 燈籠 啊
 48. ... laq⁷ tsɿ³ tsaq⁷ kə [ko] ten¹ lung⁵ a.
 LAQ_{INST} paper:and:bamboo KO_{ATTR} lantern A
- 幾 根 篾子
 49. ... ci³ kien¹ mieq⁷ tsɿ,
 several CL bamboo laths
- 幾 根 篾拍子
 50. ... ci³ kien¹ mieq⁷ phang¹ tsɿ,
 several CL bamboo laths
- 外頭 糊 到 許 個 紅 嘅 紙
 51. ... wai⁶ Deu² fu⁵ tē [tao⁵] he³ ko fung⁵ kə [ko] tsɿ³
 outside glue TAO_{DUR} that CL red KO_{ATTR} paper
- 綠 嘅 紙
 52. liuq⁷ kə [ko] tsɿ³,
 green KO_{ATTR} paper
- 紮 到 一 個 籠頭 嘅 樣子
 53. tsaq⁷ tē [tao⁵] yiq⁷ kə [ko] lung⁵ Deu³ kə [ko] yong⁶ tsɿ.
 assemble TAO_{RES} one CL dragon:head KO_{ATT} aspect
- 里頭 呢
 54. ... li³ Deu² le,
 inside LE
- 還 做 了 一 嘅
 55. hai² tsu⁵ lē [lieu³] yiq⁷ kə [ko],
 3SG then this:way say KO_{ASST}
- 一 個 個 個 個 個 個
 56. yiq⁷ kə k k k k k,
 one CL CL: CL CL CL CL
- 一 個 可以 插 一 個 蠟燭

¹ The Nanchang Fangyan Cidian gives a glottal stop instead of -ng in this word: ㄉㄨㄥˊ

57. yiq⁷ kē kho³ yi³ tshaq⁷ yiq⁷ kē [ko] !laq⁷ tsuq⁷,
one CL can insert one CL candle
58. 可以 插 小 蠟 燭 嘅 地方
 kho³ yi³ tshaq⁷ xieu³ laq⁷ tsuq⁷ kē [ko] Di⁶ fong.
can insert small candle KO_{REL} place
59. □ 許 個 五 五 五 分 錢 啊
 eh=, he³ kē [ko] ng³ ng³ ng³ [fi]n¹ Jien² a,
eh that CL five five five cents money A
60. 買 隻 許 個 許 個 龍 燈 啊
 mai³ tsaq⁷ he³ kē [ko] he³ kē [ko] lung⁵ ten¹ a,
buy CL that CL he3 CL lantern A
61. 就 玩 得 好 高興
 ... chiu⁶ wan⁵ teq⁷ hao³ kao¹ xin⁵.
then play TEQ_{MAN} very happy
62. 夜晚 啊
 ... ya⁶ wan³ a,
evening A
63. 插 根 小 蠟 燭 到 裏 頭
 tshaq⁷ kien¹ xieu³ !laq⁷ tsuq⁷ tao⁵ li³ theu,
insert CL small candle PREP inside
64. □ 箇 家 走 到 許 家
 .. eh ko³ ka¹ tseu³ tē [tao⁵] he³ ka¹
 Eh that family walk to that family
- 去 跟 人家 拜年
 chie³ kien¹ nyin⁵ ka¹ pai⁵ nyen⁵.
go with people present:new:year:wishes
65. 人家 就 搵 糖 把 你 人 喫
 nyin⁵ ka¹ chiu⁶ laq⁷ Dong² pa^{3,2} n³ len c[h]iaq⁷,
people then LAQ_{DISP} sweets give 2SG eat
66. 搵 搵 花生 豆子 把 你 人 喫
 ... 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=
eh,
68. 許 時間 冒 有 什哩 錢 啊
he³ [s]i⁵ [k]an¹ mao⁶ yiu³ xiq⁷ li c[h]ien² a,
that time NEG have whatever money A
69. 但是 玩 得 蠻 快活
t[h]an⁶ si wan⁵ teq⁷ man⁵ Guai³ foq⁷.
but play TEQ_{MAN} very happy
70. 我 我 記得
... ngo³ ngo³ ci⁵ teq⁷,
ISG ISG remember
71. 許 個
he³ kē=
that CL
72. 我
ngo³,
ISG
73. 許 時間 啊
he³ si⁵ kan¹ a,
that time A
74. 我 小 嘅 時間 啊
.. ngo³ xieu³ kē [ko] si⁵ kan¹ a,
ISG small KO_{REL} time A
75. 許 個 個 個 七 八 歲子 啊
he³ kē [ko]kē kē= chiq⁷ paq⁷ suī⁵ tsī a,
that CL CL CL seven eight year:old A
76. 十來 歲子 啊
... siq⁷ lai⁵ suī⁵ tsī a,
ten:odd year:old A
77. 住 得 一 個 大 雜院 里頭
... tshu⁶ teq⁷ yiq⁷ kē [ko]thai⁶ ^tsaq⁷ yüon⁶ li³ theu.
dwell PREP one CL big mixed:courtyard inside
- 許 隻 大 雜院 里頭 啊

78. (TSK) he³ tsaq⁷ thai⁶ ^tsaq⁷ yüon⁶ li³ Deu a,
that CL big mixed:courtyard inside A,
79. ... 好 多 嘅 細 仔 子 ⊙ ⊙
 hao³ to¹ kē [ko] xi⁵ nga tsī kē--
very many KO_{ATTR} child KO
80. 跟 我 差不多 大 嘅
 kien¹ ngo³ tsha¹ piq⁷ to¹ Dai⁶ kē [ko]
with ISG approximately big KO_{REL}
81. ... 有 嘅 大 滴 子
 yiu³ kē [ko] Dai⁶ tiaq⁷ tsī
have KO_{XIE} big a little
- 有 嘅 小 滴 子 嘅
 yiu³ kē [ko] xieu³ tiaq⁷ tsī kē [ko].
have KO_{XIE} small a little KO_{NOM}
82. ... 許 個 有 兩 兄弟
 he³ kē yiu³ liong³ xiang¹ thi⁶.
that CL have two brother
83. ... 許 兩 兄弟 啊
 he³ liong³ xiang¹ Di⁶ a,
that two brother A
84. 許 個 大 嘅 叫做 水 根
 he³ kē [ko] thai⁶ kē [ko] cieu⁵ tsu⁵= sui³ kien¹.
that CL big KO_{NOM} be called sui³ kien¹
85. 小 嘅 呢 箇 老 弟 叫做 毛 鬼 子
 xieu³ kē [ko] le= ko³ lao³ Di⁶ cieu⁵ tsu⁵ mao⁵ kuī¹ tsi.
small KO_{NOM} LE that younger brother be called mao⁵ kuī¹ tsi
86. 許 兩 兄弟 手 都 好 巧
 he³ liong³ xiang¹ Di⁶ sū³ tu¹ hao³ chieu³.
that two brother hand all very able
87. 箇 大 了 以後 呢 都 都 當 了 工 人
 啊
 ko³ thai⁶ lē [lieu³] yi³ heu⁶ le tu¹ tu¹ tong¹ lē kung¹ len
 a.
that big LIEU_{PRFV} after LE all all work as LIEU_{PRFV} A

-
88. ... eh.
eh
89. 佢門 好 會 做 東西 玩
cie³ mīn hao³ fii⁶ tsu⁵ tung¹ xi wan⁵.
3PL very know:how make things play
90. 佢門 兩 兄弟 呢 有 一 年 過年
啊
cie³ mīn liong³ xiang¹ Di le yiu³ yiq⁷ nyen⁵ kuo⁵ nyen⁵ a,
3PL two brother LE have one year New:year A
91. 搵 舞 了 好 多 箇 個 篾子 棍子 啊
laq⁷-- wu³ lē [lieu³] hao³ to¹ ko³ kē [ko] miet⁷ tsī kun⁵ tsī a,
take procure_{PRFV} very many this CL bamboo:lath stick A
92. 做 了 一 個 好 長 嘅 燈籠
tsu⁵ lē [lieu³] yiq⁷ kē [ko] hao³ tshong² kē [ko] ten¹ lung⁵.
make LIEU_{PRFV} one CL very long KO_{ATTR} lantern
93. 好 多 節
hao³ to¹ ciet⁷
very many sections
94. 好像 有 五 六 節 七 八 節 吧
hao³ chiong⁶ yiu³ ng³ liuq⁷ ciet⁷ chiq⁷ paq⁷ ciet⁷ pa.
from:memory have five six section seven eight section PA_{PRSS}
95. 有 龍 頭
yiu³ lung⁵ Deu²,
have dragon head
96. 有 龍 尾
yiu³ lung⁵ wii³,
have dragon tail
97. 中間 還 有 好 幾 節
tsung¹ kan¹ hai² yiu³ hao³ ci³ ciet⁷.
middle in:addition have very many section
-
98. e/

99. 做 得 個
tsu⁵ teq⁷ kē [ko] --
make TEQ_{??} CL
100. 搵 個 紙 糊 起來
laq⁷ kē [ko] tsi³ fu⁵ chi³ lai⁵,
take CL paper glue CHILAI_{INCH}
101. 跟 外頭 嘅 大人 玩 嘅 燈籠 差不多
kien¹ wai⁶ theu² kē [ko] ^thai⁶ nyin⁵ wan⁵ kē [ko] ten¹ lung⁵ Dza¹ pit⁷ to¹.
with outside KO_{GEN} adult play KO_{REL} lantern almost
102. 當然 要 □□ 小 □□ 好 多 啦
tong¹ len⁵ yeu⁵ <XX> xieu³ <XX> hao³ to¹ la.
of:course YEU_{CHR} small very much LA_{OBV}
103. 做 了 許 個 七 八 節 燈籠 啊
tsu⁵ lē [lieu³] he³ kē [ko] chiq⁷ paq⁷ ciet⁷ ten¹ lung⁵ a,
make LIEU_{PRFV} that CL seven eight section lantern A
104. 我 我 我 我們 許 個 院子 裏 嘅 細仔子
啊
ngo³- ngo³- ngo³- ngo³ mīn he³ kē [ko] yūon⁵ tsī li kē [ko] xi⁵ nga ts(i)
a IPL that CL yard inside KO_{GEN} children
A
105. 一 個 人 搵 一 節 就 在 里頭 玩
yiq⁷ kē [ko] nyin⁵ laq⁷ yiq⁷ cieq⁷ chiu⁶ Dzai⁶ li³ Deu wan⁵,
one CL person hold one section then at inside play
106. 就 在 箇 院子 里頭 玩
chiu⁶ Dzai⁶ kē [ko³] yūon⁵ tsī li³ Deu wan⁵.
then at this yard inside play
107. □
e/
eh
108. 不 曉得 幾 有味道
puq⁷ xieu³ teq⁷ ci³ yiu³ wii⁶ Dao⁶
not know how:much fun
- 許 又 不 要 化 錢 嘅

109. he³ yiu⁶ puq⁷ yeu⁵ fa⁵ chien² kē [ko].
 that again³ NEG need spend money KO_{ASST}
110. 隔 現在 過年 啊
 kaq⁷ xien⁶ Dzai⁶ kuo⁵ nyen⁵ a,
 KAQ_{NEW} nowadays New:year A
111. 真 冒 有 什哩 味道
 tsin¹ m[ao]⁶ yi[u]³ xiq⁷ li wii⁶ Dao⁶.
 really NEG have whatever fun
112. 現在 過年 嘛
 xien⁶ Dzai⁶ kuo⁵ nyen⁵ ma,
 nowadays New:year MA_{OBV}
113. 最 主要 嘅 節目
 tsui⁵ tsu³ yeu⁵ kē [ko] cieq⁷ muq⁷
 most important KO_{ATT} activity
114. 就 是
 chiu⁶ xi⁶=.
 then be
115. 三十夜 晚 看 許 個 個 個 個
 san¹ xiq⁸ ya⁶ wan³ Gon³ he³ ko ko ko ko
 New:year's:eve watch that CL CL CL CL
116. 中央電視台 嘅 春節 聯歡 晚會
 tsung¹ yong¹ Dien⁶ si⁶ Dai² kē [ko] Dzun¹ cieq⁷ lien⁵ fon¹ wan³ fii⁶.
 Central:TV:channel KO_{GEN} New:year get-together party
117. 是 吧
 <X xi⁶ Ba X>
 be PA_{PRSS}
118. 除了 箇 個 呢
 DZu² lieu³ ko³ ko le,
 apart:from that CL LE
119. 隔 都 是 喫
 ... kaq⁷ tu¹ xi⁶ <WH ^chiao⁷ WH>
 KAQ_{NEW} all be eat

³ 'again' here means 'an additional advantage is that...'

120. 箇 家 喫 一 餐
 ko³ ka¹ chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan,
this house eat one CL
121. 許 家 喫 一 餐
 he³ ka¹ chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan¹,
that house eat one CL
122. 箇 自己 爺娘 許裏 喫 一餐
 ko³ DZi⁶ ci³ ya⁵ nyong⁵ he³ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan¹,
this oneself parents there eat one CL
123. 丈母娘 屋裏 喫 一餐
 tshong⁶ mu³ nyong⁵ wuq⁷ li <@ chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan¹@>,
mother:in:law house eat one CL
124. 箇 個 哥哥 屋裏 喫 一餐
 ko³ kē= [ko] ko¹ ko¹ wuq⁷ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan,
this CL elder:brother house eat one CL
125. 許 個 老弟 屋裏 喫 一餐
 he³ kē [ko] lao³ Di⁶ wuq⁷ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan¹,
that CL younger:brother house eat one CL
126. eh,
127. ... 喫 得 個 (.....)⁴
 ^chiaq⁷ teq⁷ kē [ko] ((UNAUTHORIZED BY INFORMANT)),
eat TEQ_{RES} KO_{MIR}
128. 箇 個 朋友 屋裏 喫 一餐
 ko³ ko phung² yiu³ wuq⁷ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan,
this CL friend house eat one CL
129. 許 個 老 同學 屋裏 喫 一餐
 he³ ko lao³ thung² hoq⁷ wuq⁷ li chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ DZan.
that CL old schoolmate house eat one CL
130. ... 還 有 什哩 呢
 hai² yiu³ xiq⁷ li le?
in:addition have what LE

⁴ Complement of degree, informant asked not to publish

131. 隔 就 冒 有 什哩
 kaq⁷ chiu⁶ mao⁶ yiu³ xiq⁷ li.
KAQ_{NEW} then NEG have anything
132. 隔 會 打麻將 嘅
 kaq⁷ fii⁶ ta³ ma⁵ ciong⁵ ko
KAQ_{NEW} know:how play mahjong KO_{NOM}
133. 就 一日到夜 打麻將
 chiu⁶ yiq⁷ nyiq⁷ tao⁵ ya⁶ ta³ ma⁵ ciong⁵.
then all:day:long play mahjong
134. ... 打 得 個 (.....)
 da³ teq⁷ kē [ko] ((UNAUTHORIZED BY INFORMANT)),
eat TEQ_{RES} KO_{MIR}
135. .. 打 得 個 幾日幾夜
 ta³ teq⁷ ko ci³ nyiq⁷ ci³ ya⁶,
play TEQ_{DEG} KO_{MIR} several:days:several:nights:in:a:row
136. 不 下 桌
 puq⁷ ha⁶ tsoq⁷
NEG leave table
137. ... 所以 啊
 so³ yi³ a,
that:is:why A
138. 現在 雖然 啊
 xie=n⁶ Dzai⁶ sui¹ len a,
nowadays although A
139. ... 物質 生活 改善 了 啊
 wuq⁷ tsit⁷ sen¹ foq⁷ kai³ sen⁶ l[i]eu³ a,
material life improve LIEU_{PRFV} A
140. 現在 嘅
 xien⁶ Dzai⁶ kē [ko],
nowadays KO_{GEN}
141. ... 你 話 有意思 來話
 n³ wa⁶ yiu³ yi⁵ si lai⁵ wa⁶.
2SG say interesting from:the:point:of:view:of
- 還是 我們 小 時間

142. hai² x[i⁶] ngo³ mīn xieu³ si⁵ kan¹,
still:be IPL small time

更 有 意 思

143. kien¹ yiu³ yi⁵ si,
more interesting

更 好 玩

144. kien¹ hao³ wan⁵.
More fun

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 Suii³-kien¹, 85. And the younger one, the younger brother, he was called Mao⁵-kuⁱⁱ-tsⁱ. 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 little 143. 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)

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | 我 | 來 | | |
| | ngo ³ | lai ⁵ =, | | |
| | <i>ISG</i> | <i>come</i> | | |
| 2. | 話 | 個 | 故事 | |
| | wa ⁶ | kə [ko] ⁵ | ku ⁵ si ⁶ , | |
| | <i>say</i> | <i>CL</i> | <i>story</i> | |
| 3. | 哈 | | | |
| | ha. | | | |
| | <i>HA</i> | | | |
| 4. | ... | 從前 | 啊 | |
| | | tshung ² c[h]ien ² | a, | |
| | | <i>formerly</i> | <i>A_{SUSP}</i> | |
| 5. | 有 | 個 | 財主 | |
| | yi ³ | kə [ko] | tshai ² tsu ³ . | |
| | <i>have</i> | <i>CL</i> | <i>rich:man</i> | |
| 6. | ... | 財主 | 呢 | |
| | | tshai ² tsu ³ | le, | |
| | | <i>rich:man</i> | <i>LE</i> | |
| 7. | ... | 就 | 有 | 個 |
| | | chiu ⁶ | yi ³ | kə [ko] tsai ³ . |
| | | <i>then</i> | <i>have</i> | <i>CL</i> |
| | | | | <i>son</i> |

8. 箇 崽 呢
8. ko³ tsai³ le,
 this *child* *LE*
9. 隔 有 好幾 歲 了
9. ... kaq⁷ yiu³ hao³ ci³ sui⁵ l[i]eu³.
 KAQ_{NEW} *have* *a:good:number* *year* *LIEU_{CHG}*
10. 隔 要 讀書 啦
10. kaq⁷ yeu⁵ thuq⁷ su¹ la.
 KAQ_{NEW} *must* *study* *LA_{OBV}*
11. 佢 就 想 請 個 先生
11. ... cie³ chiu⁶ xiong³ chiang³ kē [ko] ^xien¹= sen¹=,
 3SG *then* *want* *invite* *CL* *teacher*
12. 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 *3SG* *house* *come* *teach* *3SG* *KO_{GEN} son* *study*
13. □
13. ... eah.
 eh
14. 就 請 個 私塾 先生 啊
14. ... chiu⁶ chiang³ kē [ko] si¹ suq⁷ xien¹ sen¹ a.
 then *invite* *CL* *private* *teacher* *A_{SUSP}*
15. 到 佢 屋裏 □ 來 讀書
15. ... tao⁵ cie³ wuq⁷ li zai- lai⁵= Duq⁷ su¹.
 to *3SG* *house* *come* *study*
16. □
16. ... e,
 e
17. 來 教 □
17. lai⁵ kao⁵ k--
 come *teach*
18. 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 *3SG* *home* *come* *teach* *3SG* *KO_{GEN} son* *study*

-
19. ah.
20. 隔 先生 來 了 呢
 kaq⁷ xien¹ sen¹ lai⁵ lē [lieu³] le,
KAQ_{NEW} teachercome LIEU_{PRFV} LE
21. 照 箇 規矩 啊
 tseu⁵ ko³ kuī¹ cy a.
follow this rule A_{SUSP}
22. 箇 個 第 一 日 來 啊
 ... ko³ ko-- ... t[h]i⁶ yiq⁷ nyiq⁷ lai⁵ a,
that CL ORD one day come A
- □ □ □
23. gggggggggg
24. 箇 主人 啊
 ko³ tsu³ len⁵ a,
this host A
25. 就 要 請 箇 個 先生 喫 餐 飯 啦
 chiu⁶ yeu⁵ chiang³ ko³ ko xien¹ sen¹ chiaq⁷ tshan¹ fan⁶ la.
then must invite this CL teachereat CL meal LA_{OBV}
26. 是 吧
 si⁶ pa.
be:so PA_{PRSS}
27. 箇 是 禮帽 啦
 ko³ si⁶ li³ mao⁶ la.
this be politeness LA_{OBV}
28. □ □ □ □ □ □ 老師 來 了
 ... gggggggggg lao³ si¹ lai⁵ lē [lieu³],
 gggggggggg teachercome LIEU_{PRFV}
29. 要 請 佢 喫 餐 飯 啦
 yeu⁵ chiang³ cie³ chiaq⁷ Dzan fan⁶ la.
must invite 3SG eat CL meal LA_{OBV}
-

30. ... e.
e
31. ... 喫 飯 呢
chiaq⁷ fan⁶ le,
eat meal LE
32. ... 本來 是 正常 嘅
pin³ lai⁵ si⁶ tsin⁵ tshong² ko.
originally be normal KO_{ASST}
33. ... 但是 呢 箇 隻 □□□ 地主 啊
than⁶ si⁶ le ko³ tsaq⁷ ggggggg Di⁶ tsu³ a,
but LE this CL gggggg landlord A
34. 箇 隻 財主 啊
ko³ tsaq⁷ tshai² tsu³ a,
this CL rich:man A
35. 就 好 小氣
chiu⁶ ^hao³ ^xieu³ chi³.
then very measly
36. 就 是 好 齷
chiu⁶ si⁶ hao³ set⁷.
then be very miserly
37. 南昌 人 話 嘅 好 齷 啦
nan⁵ tshong¹ nyin⁵ wa⁶ ko hao³ set⁷ la,
Nanchang people say KO_{ASST} very miserly LA_{OBV}
38. 好 小氣
hao³ xieu³ chi³.
very measly
39. □
eh
40. ... 就 請 箇 個個個個 先生 喫 什哩 呢
chiu⁶ chiang³ kē [ko] gggggg xien¹ sen¹ chiaq⁷ xiq⁷ li le,
then invite this gggggg teacher eat what LE
41. ... 就 喫 蘿卜 燒 肉
chiu⁶ chiaq⁷ lo⁵ Bo seu¹ nyuq⁷.
then eat turnip braised pork:meat

42. 弄 了 一 個 菜 叫 蘿 卜 燒 肉
 nong⁶ lě [lieu³] yiq⁷ kē tshai³ cie⁵ lo⁵ Bo seu¹ nyuq⁷.
make LIEU_{PRFV} one CL dish call turnip braised pork:meat
43. ... 蘿 卜 燒 肉 本 來 弄 得 好
 lo⁵ Bo seu¹ nyuq⁷ pīn³ lai⁵ nong⁶ teq⁷ hao³,
turnip braised pork:meat originally make TEQ_{MAN} good
44. 也 蠻 好 喫 啦
 ya³ man⁵ hao³ chiaq⁷ la.
then very tasty LA_{UNS}
45. ... 但 是 箇 隻 一 個 個 個 財 主 就 好 小 氣 啊
 than⁶ sī ko³ tsaq⁷ yiq⁷ gggg tshai² tsu³ chiu⁶ ^hao³ xieu³ Ji³a,
but this CL gggggg rich:man then very measly A
46. 就 舍 不 得 多 擱 肉
 chiu⁶ ^sa³ piq⁷ teq⁵ to¹ koq⁷ nyuq⁷.
then could:not:bearmuch add pork:meat
47. .. 就 是 一 大 鉢 盡 是 蘿 卜
 chiu⁶ sī⁶ yiq⁷ thai⁶ ^pit⁷ chin⁶ x⁶ ^lo⁵ Bo.
then be one big pot entirely be turnip
48. ... 就 冒 有 兩 塊 子 肉
 chiu⁶ mao⁶ yiu³ liong³ Guai³ tsī nyuq⁷.
then NEG have two pieces meat
49. ... 就 差 不 多 就 看 不 到 肉
 chiu⁶ [t]sha¹ pit⁷ to¹ chiu⁶ Gon³ piq⁷ tao⁵ nyuq⁷.
then almost then see NEG TAO_{RES} meat
50. ... 隔 喫 啦
 kaq⁷ chiaq⁷ la,
KAQ_{NEW} eat LA_{CHG}
51. ... 箇 個 先 生
 ko³ ko ^xien¹ sen¹,
this CL teacher
52. 箇 個 有 文 化 有 修 養 嘅 人
 ko³ ko yiu³ wīn⁵ 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 hao³ 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
 tsuii³ pa li chiu⁶ piq⁷ wa⁶.
mouth in then NEG say
56. ... □
 eh
57. ... 喫 完 啦
 chiaq⁷ won⁵ la.
eat finish LA_{CHG}
58. □
 eh,
59. 抹 抹 嘴巴
 maq⁷ maq⁷ tsuii³ pa.
wipe wipe mouth
60. ... □
 eh.
61. 喫 茶 啊
 chiaq⁷ tsha² a.
drink tea A
62. ... 隔 箇 個個 財主 呢
 kaq⁷ ko³ kē kē tshai² tsu³ le=,
KAQ_{NEW} this CL CL rich:man LE
63. 喫 完 了
 chiaq⁷ won⁵ lieu³,
eat finish LIEU_{PRFV}
64. 陪 到 先生 話 話 事 啦
 Bii² tao⁵ xien¹ sen¹ wa⁶ wa⁶ si⁶ la.

keep:company TAO_{DUR} *teachertalk* *talk* *things* LA_{OBV}

Attention the vowel in 啦 is acoustically intermediate between /a/ and /o/

65. 財主 話 嘅
 ... tshai² tsu³ wa⁶ kĕ,
 rich:man *say* KO_{ASST}
66. □
 ... ea,
 ah
67. 先生 啊
 xien¹ sen¹ a,
*teacher*A
68. 你人 是 好 有 學問 嘅 人 啊
 n³ len si⁶= hao³ yiu³= ^hoq⁷ win⁶ kĕ [ko] nyin⁵ a,
 2SG *be* *very* *have* *knowledge* KO_{REL} *person* A
69. 哈
 ... ha.
 HA
70. 你 跟 我們 講 個子 故事 哦
 .. n³ kien¹ ngo³ mĭn kong³ ko⁵ tsĭ ^ku⁵ sĭ⁶ o.
 2SG *for* IPL *tell* *one:or:two* *story* O_{ADV}
71. □
 ... ah,
 ah
72. 講 故事 啊
 kong³ ^ku⁵ sĭ⁶ a.
tell *story* A
73. 箇 先生 想 了 一 下
 ko³ xien¹ sen¹ xiong³ lieu³ yiq⁷ ha⁶.
this *teacher*think LIEU_{PRFV} *one:moment*
74. 好 啊
 ... hao³ a.
 good A

75. 講 就 講 一 個 哈
kong³ chiu⁶ kong³ yiq⁷ kē [ko] ha.
tell then tell one CL HA
76. 佢 話 嘅
cie³ wa⁶ kē [ko].
3SG say KO_{ASST}
77. 以前 啊
yi³ c[h]ien² a,
once A
78. 有 一 個 女 嘅
yiū³ yiq⁷ kē nyü³ kē [ko].
have one CL female KO_{NOM}
79. 啊
a.
A
80. 一 個 年 輕 嘅 女 嘅
yiq⁷ kē [ko] nyen⁵ c[h]iang¹ kē [ko] nyü³ kē [ko].
one CL young KO_{ATTR}female KO_{NOM}
81. 佢 生 了 一 個 崽
cie³ ^sang¹ lieu³ yiq⁷ kē [ko] tsai³.
3SG give:birth LIEU_{PRFV} one CL son
82. 許 個 崽 啊
.. he³ kē [ko] tsai³ a=
that CL son A
83. 長 得 又 客 氣 又 聰 明
... tsong³ teq⁷ ... yiu⁶ kheq⁷ chi ... yiu⁶ tshung² min⁵,
grow TEQ_{MAN} and goodlooking and intelligent
84. 不 曉 得 幾 好 玩
piq⁷ xiao³ teq⁷ ci³ hao³ wan⁵.
NEG know how cute
85. 啊
... a.
A
- 隔 到 了 兩 三 歲

86. kaq⁷ tao⁵ lieu³ liong³ san¹ suĩ⁵,
KAQ_{NEW} *reach* *LIEU_{PRFV}* *two* *three* *year*
87. 哪 個 都 喜 歡
 la³ kē [ko] tu¹ xi³ fon.
everyone *all* *like*
88. 箇 隻
 .. ko³ tsaq⁷=
 this *CL*
89. 箇 個 女 嘅 呢
 ko³ ko nyü³ ko le,
this *CL* *female* *KO_{NOM}LE*
90. 走 到 哪 里
 .. tseu³ tao⁵ ^la³ li,
 walk *to* *anywhere*
91. 都 要 帶 箇 箇 個 崽 到 身 邊
 ... tu¹ yeu⁵ tai⁵ ko³ ko ko tsai³ tao⁵ sɿn¹ pjen¹.
 all *YEU_{CHR}take:along* *this* *this* *CL* *son* *PREP* *her:side*
92. 隔 有 一 日 呢
 ... kaq⁷ yiu³ yiq⁷ nyiq⁷ le,
 KAQ_{NEW} *have* *one* *day* *LE*
93. 就 到 河 邊 上 去
 ... chiu⁶ tao⁵ ho² pien¹ song⁶ chie³,
 then *to* *river:side* *on* *go*
94. 洗 蘿 卜
 ... xi³ ^lo⁵ p[h]o,
 wash *turnip*
95. 提 了 一 籃 子 蘿 卜 啊
 thia² lieu yiq⁷ lan⁵ tsĩ lo⁵ Bo a,
carry *LIEU_{PROG}* *one* *basket* *turnip* *A*
96. 就 到 河 邊 上 去 洗
 ... chiu⁶ tao⁵ ho² pien¹ song⁶ chie³ xi³,
 then *to* *river:side* *on* *go* *wash*
97. 洗 箇 蘿 卜 啊
 xi³ ko³ lo⁵ Bo a.

- wash these turnips A
98. 箇 個 崽 呢
 ... ko³ kē [ko]tsai³ le,
 this CL child LE
99. 箇 個 兩 三 歲 嘅 崽 呢,
 ko³ ko liong³ san¹ suii⁵ kē [ko]tsai³ le,
 this CL two three year KO_{ATTR}SON LE
100. 也 就 在 邊 上 玩
 ya³ chiu⁶ tshai⁶ pien¹ song wan⁵.
 also then at side on play
101. 箇 個 玩 啊 玩 啊
 ... ko³ ko wan⁵ a wan⁵ a,
 this CL play A play A
102. 箇裏 □□ 在 洗 蘿卜 冒 注意 呢
 ko³ li g g ts[h]ai⁶ xi³ lo⁵ Bo mao⁶ tsu⁵ yi⁵ le,
 there TSHAI_{PROG} wash turnip NEG-PRF notice LE
103. 許 隻 崽 一 不 小 心 呢
 he³ tsaq⁷ tsai³ yiq⁷ pīq⁷ xieu³ xin¹ le,
 that CL son accidentally LE
104. 跌 到 水 里 頭 去 了
 tiet⁷ tao⁵ suii³ li Deu [c]hie³ l[ɪ]e[u³].
 fall to water inside go LIEU_{CHG}
105. 跌 到 水 里 頭 去 啦
 ... tiet⁷ tao⁵ suii³ li Deu [c]hie³ la,
 fall to water inside go LA_{CHG}
106. 隔 箇 箇 箇 箇
 kaq⁷ ko ko ko ko-- (H)
107. 噉
 ao,
108. 叮 咚 一 下 跌 下 去 了
 tin⁶ tung³ yiq⁷ ha⁶ tiek⁷ ha⁶ c[h]ie³ lieu³ <H>,
 [sound of heavy fall into water] one instant fall go:down LIEU_{CHG}
- 隔 箇 箇 個 女 個 就 嚇 一 跳

109. kaq⁷ ko³ ko kē nyü³ ko chiu⁶ haq⁷ yiq⁷ Djeu³,
KAQ_{NEW} this this CL female KO_{NOM} then scare one jump
- 哎呀
110. !ai ya.
Ah!
111. 看到 自己 嘅 崽 跌 下去
 Gon³ tao⁵ tsī⁶ ci³ kē tsai³ tieq⁷ ha⁶ chie³,
see own KO_{GEN} son fall go:down
112. 趕快 就
 kon³ Guai³ chiu⁶,
hurry then
113. 哎呀
 !ai ya=,
Ah!
114. 救命 啊
 ciu⁵ miang⁶ a=
help A
115. 救命 啊
 ciu⁵ miang⁶ a=
help A
116. 細人子 跌 到 水 里頭 去 了 啊
 xi⁵ nyin⁵ tsī tie⁷ tao⁵ sui³ li theu chie³ lieu a=
child fall to water inside go LIEU_{CHG} A
117. 趕快 救命 啊
 kon³ Guai³ ciu⁵ miang⁶ a=
hurry help A
118. 哦
 ... o,
O
119. 隔 就 來 了 好 幾 個 人 啊
 kaq⁷ chiu⁶ lai⁵ lē [lieu³] hao³ ci³ kē [ko] nyin⁵ a,
KAQ_{NEW} then come LIEU_{CHG} a:good:many CL people A
120. 幫 佢 撈 咯
 pong¹ cie³= ^lao¹ lo.

- for* 3SG *take:out:of:water* *LO_{OBV}*
 幫 佢 救 救 救 佢 嘅 崽 咯
 121. pong¹ cie³ ciu⁵-- ciu⁵-- ciu⁵ cie³ kē [ko]tsai³ lo.
for 3SG *rescue rescue rescue* 3SG *KO_{GEN} son* *LO_{OBV}*
122. <P<SGH hai ya SGH>P>.
Alas
 噶 呀
123. ... 就 撈 啊 撈
 chiu⁶ lao¹ a lao¹,
then take:out A_{PROG} take:out
124. 撈 啊 撈
 lao¹ a lao¹,
take:out A_{PROG} take:out
125. 撈 了 半 日
 lao¹ lē pon⁵ nyit⁷.
take:out LIEU_{PRFV} a:long:time
126. □
 ... e.
127. ... 就 冒 撈 到
 chiu⁶ mao⁶ lao¹ <BR tao⁵= BR>.
then NEG-PRFV take:out TAO_{RES}
128. □
 e=.
129. ... 箇 就 冒 看 到
 ko³ chiu⁶ mao⁶ Gon³ <BR tao⁵= BR>.
this then NEG-PRFV see TAO_{RES}
130. ... 隔 冒 看 到
 kaq⁷ mao⁶ Gon³ tao⁵,
KAQ_{NEW} NEG-PRFV see TAO_{RES}
131. 冒 有 辦法
 mao⁶ yiu³ Ban⁶ faq⁷,
NEG have way

132. 隔 人家 箇 箇 開始
 kaq⁷ nyin⁵ ka¹ k[o³] k[o³] Gai¹ sī³--
KAQ_{NEW} people begin
133. 有 一些 人 圍 到 看 啊
 yiu³ yiq⁷ xieq⁷ nyin⁵ wii⁵ tao Gon³ a,
have some people surround TAO_{DUR} watch A
134. 隔 最後 慢慢子 都 走了
 kaq⁷ tsüi⁵ [h]eu⁶ man⁶ man⁶ tzi tu¹ ^tseu³ lëu.
KAQ_{NEW} finally gradually all leave LIEU_{PRFV OR CHG}
135. 隔 箇 隻 女 嘅 呢
 kaq⁷ ko tsaq⁷ ^nyü³ kē [ko]le,
then this CL female KO_{NOM}LE
136. 就 舍不得 走 咯
 chiu⁶ ^sa³ piq⁷ teq⁷ tseu³ lo,
then cannot: bear leave LO_{OBV}
137. ... 是吧
 ... sī⁶ pa.
right?
138. ... 箇 崽 呢
 ... ko³ ^tsai³ le,
this son LE
139. 箇 個 剛剛 還 活潑新鮮 嘅
 ko³ kē kong¹ kong¹ [h]ai² fiq⁷ phiq⁷ xin¹ xien¹ kē
this CL a:moment:ago still full:of:life KO_{REL}
- 一個 兩 三 歲 嘅
 yiq⁷ kē liong³ san¹ sui⁵ kē
one CL two three year KO_{ATTR}
140. □ 又 聰明 又 可氣 個 崽
 <X> yiu⁶ (D)zung¹ min⁵ yiu⁶ Gjeq⁷ chi³ kē tsai³,
and intelligent and goodlooking KO_{ATTR}son
141. (H) ⊙⊙ 一下子 就 冒 看 到 了
 <X> yiq⁷ ha⁶ tsī chiu⁶ mao⁶ ^Gon³= tao⁵ lieu,
in:one:instant then NEG-PRFV see TAO_{RES} LIEU_{CHG}

142. 就 淹 死 在 河 里 頭 了 □□
 chiu⁶ yen¹ si³ DZai⁶ ho² li theu lieu <XX>,
then drown die in river inside LIEU_{CHG}
143. .. 冒 看 到 了
 mao⁶ Gon³ tao⁵ l[i]eu.
NEG-PRFV see TAO_{RES} LIEU_{CHG}
144. 隔 就 攢 勁 裏 哭 啊 ..
 kaq⁷ chiu⁶ tsan³ cin⁵ li khuq⁷ a.
KAQ_{NEW} then bitterly cry A
145. ... □
 eh
146. 許 個 財 主 話 嘅
 he³ ko tshai² tsu³ wa⁶ ko.
that CL rich:man say KO_{ASST}
147. ... 擘
 ie=
wow!
148. ... 好 傷 心 哈
 hao³ song¹ xin¹ ha.
very upset HA
149. 佢 話
 cie³ wa⁶,
3SG say
150. 你 話 傷 心 吧
 n³ wa⁶ song¹ xin¹ pa.
2SG say upset PA_{PRSS}
151. 佢 話
 c[ie³] wa⁶,
3SG say
152. 佢 郎 哭 嘅 嘛
 cie³ long⁵ Guq⁷ kē ma.
3SG how cry KO_{ASST} MA
- 佢 話

153. c[ie³] wa⁶,
3SG say
154. 郎 哭 嘅 啊
long⁵ Guq⁷ kē a,
how cry KO_{ASST}A
155. 就 是 講 嘅 嘛
chiu⁶ x[i⁶] ^kong³ kē ma.
then be thus KO_{ASST} MA_{OBV}
156. 佢 話 嘅
... cie³ wa⁶ kē,
3SG say KO_{ASST}
157. 肉 啊
nyuq⁷ a=,
flesh a
158. 肉 啊
nyuq⁷ a=,
flesh a
159. 你 到 哪 里 去 了 哦
n³ tao⁵ la³ li [c]hie³ lieu³ o=,
2SG to where g LIEU_{PRFV} O_{REG}
160. (H) 就 只 看 到 箇 蘿 卜
chiu⁶ tsiq⁷ Gon³ tao⁵ ko³ lo⁵ Bo,
then only see TAO_{RES} this turnip
161. 冒 看 到 肉 啊
mao⁶ Gon³ tao⁵ nyuq⁷ a.
NEG-PRFV see TAO_{RES} flesh A
162. 佢 就 望 到 許 一 籃 子 蘿 卜
@@@ cie³ chiu⁶ wong⁶ tē [tao⁵] he³ yiq⁷ lan⁵ tsī lo⁵ Bo.
3SG then look TAO_{DUR} that one basket turnip
163. 隔 就 來 哭
kaq⁷ chiu⁶ lai⁵ Guq⁷.
KAQ_{NEW} then come cry
164. 就 只 看 到 蘿 卜
chiu⁶ tsit⁷ Gon³ tao³ lo⁵ Bo,

	<i>then</i>	<i>only</i>	<i>look</i>	<i>TAO_{RES}</i>		<i>turnip</i>
	冒	看	到		肉	啊
165.	mao ⁶	Gon ³	tao ⁵		nyuq ⁷	a=@@@@
	<i>NEG-PRFV</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>TAO_{RES}</i>		<i>flesh</i>	<i>A</i>

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 ho-- 16. eh, 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, 32. is a normal thing. 33. But, this rich man, well, 34. this rich man, 35. was very measly, 36. that is he was very miserly. 37. the people in Nanchang say 'set' for 'miserly'. 38. or 'measly' 39. eh. 40. And what did he invite the teacher to eat ? 41. [he invited the teacher to] eat braised pork meat with turnips. 42. He [had] a dish made called braised pork meat with turnips. 43. Braised pork with turnips, normally, if it has been made well, 44. it is very tasty. 45. but this rich man who was very measly, well 46. he could not bear to put enough pork meat in it, 47. and it was all turnip in the large pot 48. there weren't two pieces of meat. 49. you almost could not see any meat. 50. The moment to begin eating came. 51. the teacher, 52. this cultivated and educated person, 53. did not think it proper to get angry. 54 In his heart he was not pleased,. 55. but he refrained from saying anything. 56. eh. 57. They finished eating. 58. eh. 59. They wiped their mouths. 60. eh. 61. and they drank tea. 62. Now the rich man, 63. having finished eating, 64. chats with the teacher to keep him company. 65. The rich man says, 66. « ah, 67. teacher, 68. you are a very erudite person 69. I believe. 70. Why don't you tell us a story or two » ? 71. « ah, 72. tell a story » 73. The teacher thought for a moment. 74. « all right. 75. I'll tell one if I have to ». 76. He said. 77. « Once, 78. there was a woman. 79. well. 80. A young woman. 81. 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, 87. everyone liked him. 88. The 89. The woman 90 wherever she went, 91. always would take her son along with her. 92. One day, 93. she went to the river side 94. to wash turnips. 95. [She] carried a basket of turnips 96. and went to the river side 97. to wash these turnips. 98. Her son, 99. Her two-or-three year-old son 100. was [playing on the side of the river 101. As he was playing, 102. [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, 106. now th-- 107. aoh 108. 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. Qick, 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, 126. eh, 127. 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 young 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)

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. | 我 | 來 | 話 | 一 | 下 | 子 | 啊 | |
| | ngo ³ | lai ⁵ | wa ⁶ | yi ⁷ | ha ⁶ | tsi | a | |
| | <i>ISG</i> | <i>come</i> | <i>tell</i> | <i>one</i> | <i>time</i> | <i>a</i> | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | 我們 | 江西 | 人 | 喜歡 | 喫 | 嘅 | 米粉 | |
| | ngo ³ mīn | ^kong ¹ xi ¹ | nyin ⁵ | xi ³ fon ¹ | chia ⁷ | kē [ko] | mi ³ fin ³ . | |
| | <i>IPL</i> | <i>Jiangxi</i> | <i>people</i> | <i>like</i> | <i>eat</i> | <i>KO_{REL}</i> | <i>rice:noodles</i> | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | ... | 箇 | 米粉 | 啊 | | | | |
| | ... | ko ³ | mi ³ fin ³ | a, | | | | |
| | | <i>this</i> | <i>rice:noodle</i> | <i>A</i> | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 4. | 是 | 江西 | 嘅 | 特產 | | | | |
| | si ⁶ | kong ¹ xi ¹ | kē | theq ⁷ ts[h]an. | | | | |
| | <i>be</i> | <i>Jiangxi</i> | <i>KO_{GEN}</i> | <i>specialty</i> | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 5. | ... | 好 | 多 | 縣 | 里頭 | 都 | 有 | |
| | ... | hao ³ | to ¹ | xien ⁶ | li ³ Deu | tu ¹ | yi ³ . | |
| | | <i>very</i> | <i>many</i> | <i>counties</i> | <i>inside</i> | <i>all</i> | <i>have</i> | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 6. | ... | 而且 | 都 | 話 | 佢 | 自箇 | 嘅 | 好 |
| | ... | oe ⁵ chie ³ | tu ¹ | wa ⁶ | cie ³ | ts[h]i ⁶ kan ³ | kē [ko] | hao ³ . |
| | | <i>moreover</i> | <i>all</i> | <i>say</i> | <i>3SG</i> | <i>self</i> | <i>KO_{GEN}</i> | <i>good</i> |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 7. | ... | □ | 分宜 | 人 | 啊 | | | |
| | ... | <X> | ^fin ¹ nyi ⁵ | len ⁵ | a, | | | |
| | | | <i>Fenyi</i> | <i>people</i> | <i>A</i> | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 8. | 就 | 話 | 分宜 | 嘅 | 米粉 | 最 | 好 | |
| | chiu ⁶ | wa ⁶ | fin ¹ nyi ⁵ | kē [ko] | mi ³ fin ³ | tsui ⁵ | hao ³ . | |
| | <i>then</i> | <i>say</i> | <i>Fenyi</i> | <i>KO_{GEN}</i> | <i>rice:noodles</i> | <i>most</i> | <i>good</i> | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 9. | ... | 峽江 | 人 | 就 | 話 | | | |
| | ... | ^haq ⁷ kong ¹ | nyin ⁵ | chiu ⁶ | wa ⁶ , | | | |

- Xiajiang* *people then* *say*
10. 峡江 嘅 米粉 最 好
 haq⁷ kong¹ kē mi³ fin³ tsuii⁵ hao³.
 Xiajiang *KO_{GEN} rice:noodles* *most* *good*
11. ... 安義 嘅 就 話 安義 嘅 最 好
 ngon¹ nyi⁶ kē chiu⁶ wa⁶ ngon¹ nyi⁶ kē tsuii⁵ hao³.
 Anyi *KO_{GEN} then* *say* *Anyi* *KO_{GEN} most* *good*
12. ... 南城 嘅 就 話 南城 嘅 最 好
 lan⁵ Dzīn² kē chiu⁶ wa⁶ lan⁵ Dzīn² kē tsuii⁵ hao³.
 Nancheng *KO_{GEN} then* *say* *Nancheng* *KO_{GEN} most* *good*
13. 都 話 自簡 嘅 米粉 好喫
 tu¹ wa⁶ Dzi⁶ kan³ kē mi³ fin³ hao³ c[h]iaq⁷.
 all *say* *oneself* *KO_{GEN} rice:noodles* *tasty*
14. ... 我們 南昌 人 也 喜歡 喫 米粉
 ngo³ mīn lan⁵ ts[h]ong¹ nyin⁵ ya³ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ mi³ fin³.
 IPL *Nanchang* *people also* *like* *eat* *rice:noodles*
15. ... 箇 米粉 是 郎 回 事 呢
 ko³ mi³ fin³ sī⁶ long⁵ fii² sī⁶ le,
 this *rice:noodles* *be* *how* *type* *business* *LE*
16. 佢 嘅 原材料 啊
 cie³ kē= nyüon⁵ tshai² lieu⁶ a,
 3SG *KO_{GEN} raw:material* *A*
17. 是
 sī⁶=,
 be
18. 是 大米
 sī⁶ thai⁶ mi³.
 be *rice:grains*
19. ... 就是 稻米 啊
 chiu⁶ sī thao⁶ mi³ a.
 that is *rice:from:rice:plant* *A*
20. ... 不 是 小麥
 puq⁷ sī xieu³ maq⁷.

- NEG be wheat
21. ... 不 是 拿 麥子 做 .
 puq⁷ si⁶ laq⁷ maq⁷ tsī tsu⁵
 NEG be LAQ_{INST} wheat make
22. 是 是 大米
 si⁶-- si⁶ thai⁶ mi³.
 be be rice:grain
23. ... 你人 許 個 米 呢
 n³ [l]e[n h]e³ ko mi³ le,
 2SG that CL rice LE
24. ... 就 先 磨 成 米漿
 chiu⁶ xien¹ mo⁶ Dzin² mi³ ^ciong¹.
 then first grind make:into rice:paste
25. ... 磨 成 米漿 啊
 mo⁶ Dzin² mi³ ciong¹ a.
 grind make:into rice:paste A
26. ... 然後 濾 乾 啊
 len⁵ heu⁶ li⁶ kon¹ a,
 afterwards strain dry A
27. 把 許 個 水 濾 掉 去
 pa³ he³ kē sui³ ^li⁶ tieu⁵ chie³.
 PA_{DISP} that CL water strain throw:out go
28. ... 就 成 啊 箇箇
 chiu⁶ Dzin² a kkkk,
 then become A
29. 成 啊 箇箇 濕 嘅 粉 粉子
 Dzin² a gggg sīt⁷ ko fin³ fin³ tsī.
 become a gggg wet KO_{ATT} noodle paste
30. 辣 濕 嘅 粉 粉子
 lat⁸ sīt⁷ kē fin³ fin³ tsī.
 very wet KO_{ATT} noodle paste
31. ... 然後 嘅
 len⁵ heu⁶ kē=,
 afterwards KO ??

32. 就
chiu⁶,
then
33. 然後 呢
len⁵ heu⁶ le,
afterwards LE
34. 再 用 箇 個 個 個
tsai⁵ yung⁶ ko³ kē kē kē,
again use this CL CL CL
35. ... 許 個
... he³ kē=_{CL},
that CL
36. ... 許 個 個 個 個
... he³ kē kē kē kē,
that CL CL CL CL
37. 在
tshai⁶--
at
38. 在 作坊 里 啊
tshai⁶ tsoq⁷ fong⁵ li a,
at workshop in A
39. 在 箇 米粉 廠 啊
tshai⁶ ko³ mi³ fin³ Dzong³ a,
at this noodle factory A
40. ... 就
... chiu⁶=
then
41. 把 佢 榨 成 箇
pa³ cie³ ^tsa⁵ Dzin² ko
PA_{DISP} 3SG press make:into this
- 一 根 一 根 好 細 好 長 嘅
yiq⁷ kien¹ yiq⁷ kien¹ hao³ xi⁵ hao³ Dzong² kē=_{KO_{ATT}},
one CL one CL very fine very long

42. ... 箇 個 粉 條
 ko³ kē fin³ thieu².
this CL noodle
43. ... 我們 把 許 個 就 叫 粉
 ngo³ mīn pa³ he³ kē chiu⁶ cie⁵ fin³.
IPL PA_{DISP} that CL then call noodle
44. 就 叫 米 粉
 chiu⁶ cie⁵ mi³ fin³.
then call rice:noodle
45. .. 許 個 一 根 一 根 好 長 嘅
 he³ kē yiq⁷ kien¹ yiq⁷ kien¹ hao³ Dzong² kē=,
that CL one CL one CL very long KO_{ATT}
46. .. 粉 條
 fin³ thieu²,
noodle
47. .. 就 叫 米 粉
 chiu⁶ cie⁵ mi³ fin³.
then call rice:noodle
48. ... 隔 箇 個 個 個
 kaq⁷ ko³ kē kē kē=,
KAQ_{NEW} this CL CL CL
49. 許 個 是 濕 嘅 啦
 he³ kē si⁶ sīt⁷ kē la,
that CL be wet KO_{ASS} LA_{OBV}
50. .. 做 出 來
 tsu⁵ Dzut⁷ lai⁵.
make come:out
51. .. 出 來 濕 嘅 呢 要 晒 乾
 tshut⁷ lai⁵ sīt⁷ kē le yeu⁵ sai⁵ kon¹.
come:out wet KO LE must expose:to:sun dry
52. ... 晒 乾 來 以 後
 sai⁵ kon¹ lai⁵ yi³ heu⁶,
expose:to:sun dry LA_{INC} after
- 隔 箇 一 根 一 根 嘅

53. kaq⁷ ko³ yiq⁷ kien¹ yiq⁷ kien¹ kē
KAQ_{NEW} this one CL one CL KO_{ATT}
54. 就 是 硬 嘅 乾 燥 嘅
 chiu⁶ si⁶ ngang⁶ kē kon¹ tsao⁵ kē
then be hard KO_{ASS} dry KO_{ASS}
55. 就 好 保管 啊
 chiu⁶ hao³ pao³ kwon³ a.
then good preserve A
56. 你 要是 保管 得 好 啊
 ... n³ yeu⁵ si⁶ pau³ kuon³ teq⁷ hao³ a,
2SG if preserve TEQ_{MAN} good A
57. 在 箇 個 乾 燥 陰 涼 嘅 地 方 啊
 ... tshai⁶ ko³ kē kon¹ tsao⁵ yin¹ liong⁵ kē Di⁶ fong a,
at this CL dry dark KO_{ATT} place A
58. 許 個
 ... he³ kē=_,
that CL
59. 一 兩 年 都 冒 有 什 哩 問 題
 yiq⁷ liong³ nyen⁵ tu¹ ma[o⁶] y[iu] xiq⁷ li win⁶ thi².
one two year all NEG have whatever problem
60. 都 還 是 可 以 喫
 tu¹ hai² si⁶ kho³ yi³ chiaq⁷.
all still be can eat
61. 隔 喫 嘅 時 間 郎 喫 呢
 ... kaq⁷ chiaq⁷ kē si⁵ kan¹ long⁵ chiaq⁷ le ?
KAQ_{EPI} eat KO_{REL} time how eat LE
62. 有 兩 種 喫 法
 ... yiu³ liong³ tsung³ chiaq⁷ faq⁷.
have two kind eat method
63. 一 種 是
 ... yiq⁷ tsung³ si⁶=,
one kind be
64. □
 ë=\,

ah

65. ... 當然 好 多 種 喫 法
 tong¹ l[e]n⁵ hao³ to¹ tsung³ chiaq⁷ faq⁷.
of:course very many kind eat method
66. 還 不 是 兩 種 啦
 hai² puq⁷ xi⁶ liong³ tsung³ la.
still NEG be two kind LA_{OBV}
67. ... 比如 炒 米 粉
 pi³ lu⁵ tshao³ mi³ fin³.
for:instance stir:fried:rice:noodles
68. 箇 是 我 們 南 昌 人 都 喜 歡 喫 嘅
 ko³ xi ngo³ mīn lan⁵ Dzong¹ nyin⁵ tu¹ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ kē.
this be IPL Nanchang people all like eat KO_{ASS}
69. 哪 里 嘅 人 都
 la³ li kē nyin⁵ tu¹--
everywhere KO_{GEN} people all
70. .. 江 西
 ciong¹ xi¹--
Jiangxi
71. ... 江 西 哪 嘅 地 方 嘅 人 都 喜 歡 喫
 kong¹ xi¹ la³ kē Di⁶ fong kē nyin⁵ tu¹ xi³ fon¹ c[h]iaq⁷.
Jiangxi any KO_{GEN} place KO_{GEN} people all like eat
72. ... □
 ea.
 eh
73. .. 箇 炒 米 粉 郎
 ko³ tshao³ mi³ fin³ long⁵--
this stir:fry noodle how
74. .. 郎 郎 喫 呢
 long⁵-- long⁵-- chiaq⁷ le ?
how how eat LE
75. ... 就 拿 許 個
 chiu⁶ laq⁷ he³ kē=,
then take that CL

76. 許 個 許 個 硬 嘅
 he³ kē he³ kē ngang⁶ kē,
that CL that CL hard KO_{ATT}
77. 許 個 乾 嘅 米粉 啊
 he³ kē kon¹ kē mi³ fin³ a.
that CL dry KO_{ATT} noodle A
78. 是
 ... si⁶=
be
79. 拿 去 煮
 laq⁷ chie³ tsu³.
take go boil
80. 先 燒 開水
 xien¹ seu¹ khai¹ sui³.
first prepare:by:applying:fire boiling water
81. 燒 好 □
 ... seu¹ hao³ yi--
prepare successfully
82. 半 鍋子 開水
 pon⁵ wo¹ tsī khai¹ sui³.
half pan boiling:water
83. 隔 你 要 喫 幾多 米粉
 kaq⁷ n³ yeu³ chiaq⁷ ci³ to¹ mi³ fin³,
KA_{QNEW} 2SG want eat how:much noodle
84. 就 擱 幾多 許 個 米粉 下 去
 chiu⁶ koq⁷ ci³ to¹ he³ kē mi³ fin³ ha⁶ chie.
then put how:much that CL noodle down go
85. 把 佢 煮
 pa³ cie³ tsu³.
PA_{DISP} 3SG boil
86. 煮 呢 煮 開 以後
 ... tsu³ le tsu³ khai¹ yi³ heu⁶,
boil LE boil bubble after

87. 還 要 再 煮 一 下 子 湊
 hai² yeu⁵ tsai⁵ tsu³ yiq⁷ ha⁶ tsī tsheu³.
still must again boil one time in: addition
88. ... 多 煮 一 下 子
 to¹ tsu³ yiq⁷ ha⁶ tsī.
more boil one time
89. ... 煮 得 什 哩 時 間 啊
 tsu³ teq⁷ xiq⁷ li si⁵ kan¹ a,
boil TEQ_{EXT} what time A_{TOP}
90. 不 要 煮 得 太 久
 puq⁷ yeu⁵ tsu³ teq⁷ ^thai³ ciu³.
NEG must boil TEQ_{EXT} too long
91. 煮 得 太 久 個 就
 tsu³ teq⁷ ^thai³ ciu³ kē chiu⁶--
boil TEQ_{EXT} too long KO_{ASS} then
92. .. 就 爛 掉 了
 chiu⁶ ^lan⁶ tieu⁵ lieu.
then mushy off LIEU_{PRFV}
93. 許 個 爛 掉 了 也 不 好 喫
 he³ ko lan⁶ tieu⁵ lieu ya³ puq⁷ hao³ chiaq⁷.
that CL mushy off LIEU_{PRFV} then NEG good eat
94. ... □
 ë.
eh
95. ... 但 是 煮 短 許 個 時 間 不
 than⁶ si⁶ tsu³ ton³ he³ kē si⁵ kan¹ puq⁷--
but boil short that CL time NEG
96. 煮 得
 tsu³ teq⁷--,
boil TEQ
97. 煮 少 了 時 間 也 不 行
 tsu³ seu⁵ lieu si⁵ kan¹ ya³ puq⁷ xin⁵
boil little LIEU_{PRFV} time also NEG allright
98. 許 個 里 頭
 he³ kē li³ Deu

- that CL inside*
99. 心子 還 冒 煮 熟
xin¹ ts[ī h]ai² mao⁶ tsu³ suq⁷.
heart still NEG-PRFV boil cooked
100. 就 煮 得
chiu⁶ tsu³ teq⁷=,
then boil TEQ
101. 煮
tsu³--
boil
102. 把 佢 煮 軟 了 就 可以
pa³ cie³ tsu³ nyüon³ lieu chiu⁶ kho³ yi³.
PA_DISP 3SG boil soft LIEU_PRFV then OK
103. 就 是 XX 水 煮 開 了 以後
chiu⁶ si⁶ ts-- suüi³ tsu³ khai¹ lieu yi³ heu⁶
then be water boil open LIEU_PRFV after
- 再 煮 幾 分鐘
tsai⁵ tsu³ ci³ fin¹tsung¹.
again boil several minute
104. ... 就 可以 了
... chiu⁶ kho³ yi³ lieu.
then OK LIEU_PRFV
105. ... □
... ë.
eh
106. .. 箇 就 把 佢 煮 軟 了
... ko³ chiu⁶ pa³ cie³ tsu³ nyüon³ lieu.
that then PA_DISP 3SG boil soft LIEU_PRFV
107. ... 煮 軟 了 以後 呢
... tsu³ nyüon³ lieu yi³ heu⁶ le,
boil soft LIEU_PRFV after LE
108. 隔 就 拿 許 個 冷 水 啊
kaq⁷ chiu⁶ laq⁷ he³ kē lang³ suüi³ a,
a, a, a, a, a, a, a,

- KAQ_{NEW}* *then take that CL cold water A*
109. 拿 去 沖
 laq⁷ chie³ ^tshung¹.
 take go rinse
110. ... 拿 去 洗
 laq⁷ chie³ ^xi³.
 take go wash
111. ... 把 佢 變成
 pa³ cie³ pien⁵ tshin²,
 PA_{DISP} 3SG change:into
112. 就是 把 佢 重新 又 變成
 chiu⁶ si⁶ pa³ cie³ tshung² xin¹ yiu⁶ pien⁵ tshin²
 that:is PA_{DISP} 3SG anew again change:into
- 許 個 濕 嘅 米 粉 狀態
 he³ kē sīt⁷ kē mi³ fin³ Dzong⁶ Dhai⁶.
 that CL wet KO_{ATT} rice:noodle state
113. ... 又 把
 yiu⁶ pa³--,
 again PA_{DISP}
114. 又 把
 yiu⁶ pa³,
 again PA_{DISP}
115. 箇 個 乾 嘅 米 粉 又 變成 了
 ko³ kē kon¹ kē mi³ fin³ yiu⁶ pien⁵ tshin² lieu
 this CL dry KO_{ATT} rice:noodle again change:into LIEU_{PRFV}
- 濕 嘅 米 粉
 sīt⁷ kē mi³ fin³,
 wet KO_{ATT} rice:noodle
116. 就 是
 chiu⁶ si.
 that be
117. ... 隔 個
 kaq⁷ kē--

- KAQ_{NEW}* *KO_{???}*
118. 隔 成 了 許 個 又 濕 又 軟
 kaq⁷ Dzin² lieu he³ kē yiu⁶ sīt⁷ yiu⁶ nyüon³
KAQ_{NEW} *become* *LIEU_{PRFV}* *that* *CL* *and* *wet* *and* *soft*
- 又 煮熟 了 嘅 米粉 啊
 yiu⁶ tsu³ suq⁷ lieu kē mi³ fin³ a,
and *well-cooked* *LIEU_{PRFV}* *KO_{REL}* *rice:noodle* *A*
119. ... 隔 又 把 水 就 完全 濾 乾 了
 kaq⁷ yiu⁶ pa³ sui³ tu¹ won⁵ chüon² li⁶ kon¹ lieu.
KAQ_{NEW} *again* *PA_{DISP}* *water* *all* *completely* *filter* *dry* *LIEU_{PRFV}*
120. ... 把 水 都 濾 掉 去
 pa³ sui³ tu¹ li⁶ tieu⁶ chie³.
PA_{DISP} *water* *all* *filter* *off* *go*
121. ... 隔 然後 你 就 可以 炒 了
 kaq⁷ len⁵ heu⁶ n³ chiu⁶ kho³ yi³ tshao³ lieu.
KAQ_{NEW} *afterwards* *2SG* *then* *can* *stir:fry* *LIEU_{CHG}*
122. ... 炒 米粉 啊
 tshao³ mi³ fin³ a,
stir:fry *rice:noodles* *A*
123. 一般 都 是 先 拿
 yiq⁷ pon¹ tu¹ si⁶ xien¹ laq⁷--
in:general *all* *be* *first* *take*
124. 先 拿 油 來 炒 滴子 箇 個 作料 啦
 xien¹ laq⁷ yiu⁵ lai⁵ tshao³ tiaq⁷ tsī ko³ kē ^tsoq⁷ lieu⁶ la.
first *take* *oil* *to* *stir:fry* *a:little* *this* *CL* *ingredients* *LA_{OBV}*
125. ... 比如
 pi³ lu⁵,
for:instance
126. ... 我們 南昌 人 喜歡 喫 牛肉炒粉
 ngo³ mīn lan⁵ Dzong¹ nyin⁵ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ nyu⁵ nyuq⁷ Dzao³ fin³.
IPL *Nanchang* *people* *like* *eat* *fried:noodles:with:beef*
127. ... 箇 牛肉 炒粉
 ko³ nyu⁵ nyuq⁷ tshao³ fi--,
this *fried:noodles:with:beef*

128. 南昌 市 還 專門 有 一 家 館子店
lan⁵ tshong¹ si⁶ hai² tson¹ mīn⁵ yiu³ yiq⁷ ka¹ kuon³ tsī tien⁵,
Nanchang city in: addition especially have one CL restaurant
129. 是 許 個 個 個 清真萬花樓
si⁶ he³ kē kē kē chin¹ tsīn¹ wan⁶ fa¹ leu⁵.
be that CL CL CL Chin-tsīn-wan-fa: restaurant
130. 清真萬花樓
... chin¹ tsīn¹ wan⁶ fa¹ leu⁵,
Chin-tsīn-wan-fa: restaurant
131. 許 個 個 個 牛肉炒粉 是 好 有名 嘅
he³ kē k k nyu⁵ nyuq⁷ tshao³ fin³ si⁶ hao³ yiu³ miang⁵ kē.
that CL CL CL fried: noodles: with: beef be very famous KO_{ASS}
132. 我 以前 都 好 喜歡 喫
ngo³ yi³ chien² tu¹ hao³ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷.
1SG previously all very like eat
133. 隔 好 久 冒 喫 過 了
... kaq⁷ hao³ ciu³ mao⁶ chiaq⁷ kuo⁵ lieu.
KAQ_{NEW} very long: time NEG-EXP eat KUO_{EXP} LIEU_{CHG}
134. 不 拿 牛肉 炒 就 拿
... puq⁷ laq⁷ nyu⁵ nyuq⁷ tshao³ chiu⁶ laq⁷=,
NEG take beef stir: fry then take
135. 豬肉 炒 也 可以
tsu¹ nyu⁵ tshao³ ya³ kho³ yi³.
pork stir: fry also possible
136. 還 一般 啊 都 要 擱 辣椒
... hai² yiq⁷ pon¹ a tu¹ yeu⁵ koq⁷ lat⁷ cie¹,
in: addition in: general A all YEU_{CHR} put chili: pepper
137. 我們 南昌 人 好 大部分 人
ngo³ mīn³ lan⁵ tshong¹ nyin⁵ hao³-- tai⁶ phu⁶ fin¹ nyin⁵,
IPL Nanchang people very most people
138. 大部分 南昌 人 都 喜歡 喫
... t[h]ai⁶ p[h]u⁶ fin¹ lan⁵ tshong¹ nyin⁵ tu¹ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷

- most* *Nanchang* *people all* *like* *eat*
139. ... 箇 個 肉 咯
 ko³ kē= nyuq⁷ lo,
 this CL *meat* LO_{INST}
140. 辣椒 咯
 lat⁷ cieu¹ lo,
 chili:pepper LO_{INST}
141. 生姜 大蒜 咯
 sen¹ ciong¹ thai⁶ son⁵ lo,
 raw:ginger *garlic* LO_{INST}
142. .. □
 e
 eh
143. 隔 隔 隔 隔
 kaq⁷ kaq⁷ kaq⁷ kaq⁷,
 kkkkkkkkkk
144. .. 把 箇 個 作料 炒 好
 pa³ ko³ kē tsoq⁷ lieu⁶ tshao³ hao³.
 PA_{DISP} *this* CL *ingredient* *stir:fry done*
145. ... 作料 個 個
 tsoq⁷ lieu⁶ kē kē
 ingredient *k* *k*
146. 箇 些 東西 炒 熟 了 呢
 ko³ xiet⁷ tung¹ xi¹ tshao³ suq⁷ lieu le,
 this CL *things* *stir:fry cooked* LIEU_{PRFV} LE
147. ... 再 把 剛才 箇 個 XX
 tsai⁵ pa³ kong¹ Dzai² ko³ kē li--
 again *PA_{DISP}* *a:moment:ago* *this* CL
148. 箇 個 舞 正 了
 ko³ ko wu³ tsang⁵ lieu

- this* *CL* *make* *done* *LIEU_{PRFV}*
 箇 個 濕 米 粉 啊
 149. ko³ kĕ sīt⁷ mi³ fin³ a,
this *CL* *wet* *rice:noodle* *a*
- 倒 下 去
 150. tao⁵ ha⁶ chie³.
pour *down* *go*
- 擱 XX
 151. ... koq⁷ yi--
put
- 擱 擱 擱 醬 油 咯
 152. koq⁷ koq⁷ koq⁷ ciong⁵ yiu⁵ lo,
put *put* *put* *soy:sauce* *LO_{INST}*
- 鹽 啊
 153. yen⁵ a,
salt *A*
- 什 哩
 154. xiq⁷ li.
what(ever)
- 還 有 搞 得 好 滴 子 個
 155. hai² yiu³ kao³ teq⁷ hao³ tiaq⁷ tsī kĕ,
also *have* *make* *TEQ_{MAN}* *good* *a:little* *KO_{???}*
- 還 有 加 上 香 菇 木 耳 什 哩 東 西
 156. hai² yiu³ ka¹ song⁶ xiong¹ ku¹ muq⁷ oe³ xiq⁷ li tung¹ xi.
still *have* *add* *dried:mushroom* *mu'er:mushroom* *and:such:like*
- 非 常 好 喫
 157. ... fii¹ tshong² hao³ chiaq⁷
extremely *tasty*
- 啊
 158. ... a,
A
- 我 就 最 喜 歡 喫 箇 個 東 西
 159. ngo³= chiu⁶ tsuī⁵ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ ko³ ko tung¹ xi.
ISG *then* *most* *like* *eat* *this* *CL* *thing*

160. ... 箇 是 炒 米 粉
 ko³ kē tshao³ mi³ fin³.
this CL stir-fry rice:noodle
161. ... 或者 是 你 喫
 fit⁷ tsa³ sī⁶ n³ chiaq⁷--
alternatively be 2SG eat
162. 你 不 願意 喫 炒 嘅
 n³ puq⁷ yüon⁶ yi⁵ chiaq⁷ tshao³ kē,
 2SG NEG wish eat stir-fry KO_{NOM}
163. 喫 煮 嘅 也 行
 chiaq⁷ tsu³ kē ya³ xin⁵.
eat boil KO_{NOM} also OK
164. ... 就 是
 chiu⁶ sī⁶=
then be
165. 箇 個 燒 正 了 嘅 湯
 ko³ kē seu¹ tsang⁵ lieu³ kē thong¹.
this CL cook right LIEU_{PRFV} KO_{REL} broth
166. ... 把 許 個 個 個
 pa³ he³ kē kē kē,
PA_{DISP} that CL CL CL
167. 許 個 另外 一 鍋子
 he³ kē lin⁶ wai⁶ yiq⁷ wo¹ tsī,
that CL another one pan
168. 再 煮 一 鍋子 新鮮 嘅 開水 啊
 tsai⁵ tsu³ yiq⁷ wo¹ tsī xin¹ xien¹ kē khai¹ sui³ a.
again boil one pan fresh KO_{ATT} boiling:water A
169. ... 半 鍋子 開水 就 是 湯 啊
 pon⁵ wo¹ tsī khai¹ sui³ chiu⁶ sī⁶ ^thong¹ a.
half pan boiling:water then be broth A
170. .. □
 ë.
eh

171. ... 煮 開 了 以後
 tsu³ khai¹ lieu yi³ heu⁶,
boil open LIEU_{PRFV} afterwards
172. 把 箇 個 濕 嘅 米粉
 pa³ ko³ ko sīt⁷ kē mi³ fin³,
PA_{DISP} this CL wet KO_{ATT} rice:noodles
173. ... 擱 進 去
 koq⁷ chin⁵ c[h]ie³.
put enter go
174. ... 加上 作料
 ka¹ song⁶ tsoq⁷ lieu⁶.
add ingredient
175. 加上 箇 個 肉 啊
 ka¹ song⁶ ko³ kē nyuq⁷ a,
add this CL meat A
176. 箇 些 東西
 ko³ xiet⁷ tung¹ xi¹.
this CL things
177. ... □
 ē.
eh
178. 鹽 啊
 yen⁵ a,
salt A
179. ... 箇 個 味精 啊
 ko³ ko wei⁶ cin¹ a,
this CL glutamate A
180. ... 蔥 花 呀
 tshung¹ fa¹ ya,
chopped:chives:stalks A
181. 箇 個 喫 箇 個 湯
 ko³ ko chiaq⁷ ko³ kē ^thong¹--
This CL eat this CL broth

182. .. 湯粉
thong¹ fin³.
noodles:in:broth
183. ... 許 就 叫 湯粉
he³ chiu⁶ cieu⁵ ^thong¹ fin³.
that then be:called noodle:soup
184. ... 許 就 不 是 炒 米粉
he³ chiu⁶ puq⁷ si⁶ tshao³ mi³ fin³.
that then NEG be stir-fry noodles
185. 許 就 湯粉
he³ chiu⁶ ^thong¹ fin³.
that then noodle:soup
186. ... 有 嘅 人 啊
yiu³ ko³ nyin⁵ a
have KO_{XIE} people A
187. 喜歡 喫 湯粉
xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ thong¹ fin³.
like eat noodle:soup
188. .. 特別
theq⁷ p[h]ieq⁷--
especially
189. 特別 是 冷天 里 啦
theq⁷ p[h]ieq⁷ si⁶ lang³ Dien¹ li la,
especially winter in LA_{OBV}
190. 喫 箇 個 比較
chiaq⁷ ko³ ko pi³ kao⁵--
eat this CL relatively
191. ... 喫 得 身 上 比較 熱和
chiaq⁷ teq⁷ sin¹ song pi³ kao⁵ leq⁷ fo.
eat TEQ_{EXT} body on relatively warm
192. ... 還 有 熱天 里 呢
hai² yiu³ let⁷ t[h]ien¹ li le,
in:addition have summer in LE
- 熱天 我們 喜歡 喫 冷粉

193. let⁷ t[h]ien¹ ngo³ mīn xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ lang³ fin³.
summer IPL like eat cold:noodle
194. ... 冷粉 就 是 拿 剛才 話 嘅
 lang³ fin³ chiu⁶ si⁶ laq⁷ kong¹ ts[h]ai² wa⁶ kĕ,
cold:noodle then be use a:moment:ago say KO_{REL}
195. 許 個 已經 煮熟 了 嘅
 he³ ko yi³ cin¹ tsu³ suq⁷ lieu kĕ,
that CL already boiled:through LIEU_{PRFV} KO_{REL}
196. ... 乾 □
 kon¹-- ee,
dry eh
197. ... 煮熟 了 嘅
 tsu³ suq⁷ lieu kĕ,
boiled:through LIEU_{PRFV} KO_{REL}
198. 許 個 濕 嘅
 he³ kĕ sīt⁷ kĕ,
that CL wet KO_{REL}
199. ... 許 個 濾 掉 了 水 個 濕 米粉 啊
 he³ kĕ li³ tieu⁵ lĕ [lieu] suī³ kĕ sīt⁷ mi³ fin³ a.
that CL filter off LIEU_{PRFV} water KO_{REL} wet rice:noodle A
200. ... □
 ě.
eh
201. 加上
 ka¹ song--
add
202. 擱 滴子 麻油
 koq⁷ tiaq⁷ tsī ^ma⁵ yiu,
put a:little sesame:oil
203. ... 擱 些子 箇 個
 koq⁷ xiet⁷ tsī ko³ kĕ=
put a:few this CL
- 辣椒 末子

204. lat⁷ cieu¹ moq⁷ tsī,
chili:pepper *dried:chili:mash*
- 蔥花
205. tshung¹ fa¹,
chopped:chives:stalks
- 箇 個 大 蒜 口 子
206. ko³ kē thai⁶ son⁵ mii³ tsī,
this CL chopped:garlic
- 箇 些 東 西 啊
207. ... ko³ xiet⁷ tung¹ xi¹ a
this CL thing A
- 拌 起 來 喫
208. ... phon⁶ chi³ lai⁵ chiaq⁷.
stir CHILAI_{INCH} eat
- 也 好 喫
209. ... ya³ hao³ chiaq⁷.
then tasty
- 箇 個
210. ... ko³ kē,
this CL
- 你 像 現 在 是 熱 天 啦
211. n³ chiong⁶ xien⁶ ts[h]ai⁶ si⁶ 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 喫 箇 個 東 西
214. thai⁶ ka¹ tu¹ xi³ fon¹ chiaq⁷ ko³ kē tung¹ xi.
everyone all like eat this CL thing
- 喫 一 碗 箇 個
215. ... chiaq⁷ yiq⁷ won³ ko³ kē,

- eat one bowl this CL
216. ... 冷粉
lang³ fin³,
cold:noodle
217. ... □
ea,
eah
218. 又 偏宜
yiu⁶ p[h]ien² yi.
at:oncecheap
219. ... 箇 冷 □ □
ko³ lang³ win³ la-- (SPEECH ERROR: woo(dles) for noo(dles))
this cold woo
220. □ □ 個 個
ëë= kē kē,
eh gggggg
221. 就 是 涼 拌 嘅 冷粉 啊
chiu⁶ si⁶ liong⁵ phon⁶ kē lang³ fin³ a,
that be cold-stirred KO_{REL} cold:noodle A
222. 只 要 兩 塊子 錢
tsi[t⁷ y]eu⁵ liong³ Guai³ tsī chien²
only need two approximately:RMB money
223. 箇 炒 米粉 啊
ko³ tshao³ mi³ fin³ a,
this stir:fry rice:noodle A
224. 箇 些 小 店 里頭
ko³ xiet⁷ xieu³ tien⁵ li Deu,
this CL small shop in
225. 就 只 要 三 塊子 錢
chiu⁶ tsi[t⁷ y]eu⁵ san¹ Guai³ tsī chien².
then only need three approximately:RMB money
226. 又 方便
yiu⁶ fong¹ p[h]ien⁶.
at:once convenient

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | 又 | 好喫 |
| 227. | yiú ⁶ | hao ³ chiaq ⁷ . |
| | <i>at:once</i> | <i>tasty</i> |
| | 又 | 偏宜 |
| 228. | ... yiu ⁶ | p[h]ien ² yi. |
| | <i>at:once</i> | <i>cheap</i> |

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 « noodles » 44. [we] call them « rice noodles ». 45. Those stick-like, very long 46. noodles 47. are called « rice noodles » 48. Now, th- th- th- 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-fired 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-ts'ın-wan-fa-leu, 130. [there at] the Chin-ts'ın-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 148. 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-fired 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 sī6, 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 mīn

(n3 mīn ? ? ?)

cie3 mīn.

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 EMCtexts,

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 kē who ? whoever, anybody, everybody

la3 li where ? wherever, anywhere

long5 how ? (perhaps from *na3 yong > nong > long ; 哪 樣. as still in Yiyang. MX Hakka nyong₅₆ closer than NC to the original.

xiq7 li sī5 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 :

Text No	1	2	3	4	5	total
---------	---	---	---	---	---	-------

個 ko	8	7	15	23	21	74
隻 tsaq7	0	15	3	5	0	23
根 kien1	0	0	3	0	6	9
餐 tshan1	0	0	8	2	0	10
些 xiet7	0	0	0	0	4	4
件 chien6	0	0	3	0	0	3
家 ka1	0	0	0	0	1	1
total	8	22	32	30	32	124

ko	places/apartments/houses/courtyards/tables/weather/temperature/taste/paper/ story/joke/basket/coffin/lantern/dragon head/bus/dish/person/woman/son/scholar/rich man/teacher/brother
tsaq7	basket/woman/scholar/hand/lantern/courtyard/landlord/rich man/son/coffin
kien1	sticks/noodles (long and thin objects)
tshan1	meals
xiet7	plural objects
chien6	clothes
ka1	restaurants

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 :

2.17. ... 許 隻 女 個 呢
 he³ tsaq⁷ nyü³ ko le
that CL female KONOMLE

2.19. 箇 隻 秀才 看 到 人家 蠻 可氣 呢
 ko³ tsaq⁷ xiu⁵ DZai² Gon³ tē [tao] nyin⁵ ka¹ man⁵ Gieq⁷ chi le,
that CL scholar look TAO_{RES} person quite pretty LE

2.31. 箇 隻 年輕 個 女 個 看 到 佢 講
 ko³ tsaq⁷ nyen⁵ Chiang¹ kē [ko]nyü³ kē [ko]Gon³ tē [tao⁵] cie³ kong³,
this CL young KO_{ATTR}woman KONOMsee TAO_{RES}3SG this:way

2.49. ... 我 一 隻 手 就 可以 提
 ngo³ yiq⁷ tsaq⁷ xiu³ chiu⁶ Go³ yi³ Dia².
1SG one CL hand then able:to carry

- 3.58. 就想跟人家許隻女個了
 chiu⁶ xiong³ kien¹ nyin⁵ ka he³ **tsaq**⁷ nyü³ ko [^]tse³.
then want with person that CL female KO_{NOM}flirt
- 3.59. ... 箇隻女個心理聽到就只好起火
 ko³ **tsaq**⁷ nyü³ kē [ko]xin¹ li Diang¹ tē chiu⁶ hao³ [^]chi³ fo³.
this CL female KO_{NOM}heart hear then very angry
- 3.61. ... 正好走到一隻棺材鋪門口哇
 tsin⁵ hao³ tseu³ ta[w] yiq⁷ **tsaq**⁷ kuon¹ [D]Zai² Bu³ mīn⁵ Gieu³ wa.
Just walk:to one CL coffin:shop door P
- 3.62. ... 許隻女個呢
 he³ **tsaq**⁷ nyü³ kē [ko]le,
that CL female KO_{NOM}LE
- 3.9. ... 提隻籃子
 thia² **tsaq**⁷ lan⁵ tsī.
carry CL basket
- 2.10. ... 提隻脫大個籃子啊
 thia² **tsaq**⁷ [^]Doq⁷ Dai⁶ kē [ko] lan⁵ tsī a,
carry CL very big KO_{ATTR} basket P
- 4.33. ... 但是呢箇隻了了了地主啊
 than⁶ si⁶ le ko³ **tsaq**⁷ ggggggg Di⁶ tsu³ a,
but LE this CL gggggg landlord A
- 4.34. 箇隻財主啊
 ko³ **tsaq**⁷ tshai² tsu³ a,
this CL rich:man A
- 4.103. 許隻崽一不小心呢
 he³ **tsaq**⁷ tsai³ yiq⁷ pīq⁷ xieu³ xin¹ le,
that CL son accidentally LE
- 4.135. 隔箇隻女個呢
 kaq⁷ ko **tsaq**⁷ [^]nyü³ kē [ko]le,
then this CL female KO_{NOM}LE

1.4.4 etymologies

kaq⁷ < ko³ ha⁶ ‘this moment, now’ (etym. from NC dictionary)

laq⁷ 擱 MC *nak (GY, JY) ‘to hold’. Cognate w/ 拿 = 挈 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. 把 許 個 水 濾 掉 去
pa3 he³ kē suī³ ^li⁶ tieu⁵ chie³.
PA_{DISP} that CL water strain throw:out go

5.41. 把 佢 榨 成 箇
pa3 cie³ ^tsa⁵ Dzin² ko
PA_{DISP} 3SG press make:into this

一 根 一 根 好 細 好 長 嘅
 yiq⁷ kien¹ yiq⁷ kien¹ hao³ xi⁵ hao³ Dzung² kē=₃,
one CL one CL very fine very long KO_{ATT}

5.112. 把 佢 煮 軟 了 就 可以
pa3 cie³ tsu³ nyüon³ lieu chiu⁶ kho³ yi³.
PA_{DISP} 3SG boil soft LIEU_{PRFV} then OK

5.111 把 佢 變成
pa3 cie³ pien⁵ tshin²,
PA_{DISP} 3SG change:into

5.112. 就是 把 佢 重新 又 變成
 chiu⁶ si⁶ **pa3** cie³ tshung² xin¹ yiu⁶ pien⁵ tshin²
that:is PA_{DISP} 3SG anew again change:into

許 個 濕 嘅 米粉 狀態
 he³ kē sīt⁷ kē mi³ fin³ Dzung⁶ Dhai⁶.
that CL wet KO_{ATT} rice:noodle state

5.43. ... 我們 把 許 個 就 叫 粉
 ngo³ mīn **pa3** he³ kē chiu⁶ cie⁵ fin³.
IPL PA_{DISP} that CL then call noodle

把 佢 煮
5.85. **pa3** cie³ tsu³.
PA_{DISP} 3SG boil

5.119 隔 又 把 水 就 完全 濾 乾 了
kaq⁷ yiu⁶ **pa3** sui³ tu¹ won⁵ chüon² li⁶ kon¹ lieu.
KAQ_{NEW} again PA_{DISP} water all completely filter dry LIEU_{PRFV}

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

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

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

5.149. 箇 個 濕 米粉 啊
ko³ kē sīt⁷ mi³ fin³ a,
this CL wet rice:noodle a

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

5.172. 把 箇 個 濕 嘅 米粉
pa3 ko³ ko sīt⁷ kē mi³ fin³,
PA_{DISP} this CL wet KO_{ATT} rice:noodles

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

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

Local LAQ7 N PA3 X V

人家 就 搵 糖 把 你人 喫

3.65. nyin⁵ ka¹ chiu⁶ laq⁷ Dong² pa^{3 5} n³ len c[h]iaq⁷,
people then LAQ_{DISP} sweets give 2SG eat

Many other Gan-Ke dialects have disposal laq⁷ 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 laq⁷ where Mand has standard ba³ constructions, see KGFYDCBG p. 441, 455 : Anyi, Yifeng, Sandu, Changting, Shaowu. LAQ⁷ Losing ground to Mandarin BA³.

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 hao³ indicating comparative :

□.□. ... 以前 窮
 yi³ Jien² ^chiung²,
in:the:past poor

□.□. ... 而且 都 話 佢 自簡 個 好
 oe⁵ chie³ tu¹ wa⁶ cie³ ts[h]i⁶ kan³ kē [ko] hao³.
moreover all say 3SG self KO_{GEN} good

- simple marking, with kien⁵ 更 -Adj : ‘Adj-er’

□□. 更 冷
 kien⁵ lang³
more cold

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

□.□. ... 現在 大家 生活 要 好 得 多
 xien⁶ Dzai⁶ Dai⁶ ka¹ sen¹ foq⁷ yew⁵ hao³ teq⁷ to¹.
now everybody life want good TEQ_{DEG} much

- Simple marking : Adj-tiaq⁷ tsī ‘a little adj-er’

□.1□□. 還 有 搞 得 好 滴子 個
 hai² yiu³ kao³ teq⁷ hao³ tiaq⁷ tsī kē,
also have make TEQ_{MAN} good a:little KO ???

□.□1. ... 有 個 大 滴子
 yiu³ kē [ko] Dai⁶ tiaq⁷ tsī

⁵ Isolation form is pa³, merges with T⁷ through destressing

have *KO_{XIE}* big a little

有 個 小 滴子 個
 yiu³ kē [ko] xieu³ tiaq⁷ tsī kē [ko].
 have *KO_{XIE}* small a little *KO_{NOM}*

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

1.□□. ... 你 坐 得 箇 個 房間 裏 啊
 n³ tsho⁶= teq⁷ ko³ ko fong⁵ kan¹ li a,
2SG sit TEQ_{PREP} this CL apartment inside ASUPP

還 不 如 走 到 外 頭 去
 hai² puq⁷ lu⁵ tseu³ tao⁵ wai⁶ deu² chie³,
still not:as:good:as walk to outside go

還 更 熱 和 些子
 hai² kien⁵ leq⁷ fo xiet⁷ tsī.
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 wii⁶ Dau⁶.
in:the:past P compare now more have taste

3.8. ... 但是 我 覺得 窮 個 時間
 than⁶ si⁶ ngo³ cioq⁷ teq⁷ ^chiung² kē si⁵ kan¹
but ISG feel poor KO_{ATTR} time

許 個 味道 啊
 he³ ko wii⁶ Dao⁶ a
that CL taste P

比 現在 味道 還 更 足
 pi³ xien⁶ Dzai⁶ wii⁶ Dao⁶ hai² kien⁵ ciuq⁷.
compare now taste even more full

- double marking : A bi B yeu5 Adj teq7 to1 : ‘A much more Adj than B’

1.□□. ...	佢 cie ³ 3SG	比 pi ³ <i>compare:with</i>	我們 ngo ³ mīn 1PL	箇裏 感覺 ko ³ li kon ³ cioq ⁷ <i>here feel</i>
		要好 yeu ⁵ hao ³ <i>YEU_{IRR} better</i>	得 teq ⁷ <i>TEQ_{DEG}</i>	多 to ¹ <i>much</i>

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)

kia1 han2 ko4 lao1 (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 嘅 is same as general classifier 個 , although different characters are used.

1.5.4.1.1 Attributives

1.□□. ...	漲 tsong ³ <i>swell</i>	脫 thoq ⁷ <i>very</i>	大 thai ⁶ <i>big</i>	嘅 ko <i>KO_{ATT}</i>	水 sui ³ , <i>water</i>		
□.ĩ. ...	提 thia ² <i>carry</i>	隻 tsaq ⁷ <i>CL</i>	脫 ^Doq ⁷ <i>very</i>	大 Dai ⁶ <i>big</i>	嘅 kě [ko] <i>KO_{ATTR}</i>	籃子 lan ⁵ tsī <i>basket</i>	啊 a, <i>P</i>

- .1□. ... 一個年輕 嘅女嘅
 yiq⁷ kē [ko]nyen⁵ c[h]iang¹ kē [ko]nyü³ kē [ko],
one CL young KO_{ATTR}female KO_{NOM}
- .□□. ... 屋里嘅大人啊
 wuq⁷ li kē [ko] thai⁶ nyin⁵ a,
house in KO_{ATTR} adults P
- .□1. 所以 就 普普通通 嘅 新衣裳 啊
 so³ yi³ chiu⁶ phu³ phu³ thung¹ thung¹ kē [ko] xin¹ yi¹ song a,
that:is:why even ordinary KO_{ATTR} new clothes P
- .□□. ... 就可以 買只紙紮 嘅燈籠
 chiu⁶ Go³ yi³ mai³ t[s]aq⁷ tsi³ tsaq⁷ kē [ko] ten¹ lung⁵
then can buy CL paper:and:bamboo KO_{ATTR} lantern
- .□□. liuq⁷ 綠嘅紙
 kē [ko] tsī³,
green KO_{ATTR} paper
- .□□. ... 好多嘅細仔子 □□
 hao³ to¹ kē [ko] xi⁵ nga tsī kē--
very many KO_{ATTR} child KO_{??}
- .□□. tsu⁵ 做了 一個好長 個燈籠
 lē [lieu³] yiq⁷ kē [ko] hao³ tshong² kē [ko] ten¹ lung⁵.
make PRFV one CL very long KO_{ATTR} lantern
- .ĩ□. 我們 許個院子裏嘅細仔子 啊
 ngo³ mīn he³ kē [ko]yüon⁵ tsī li kē [ko]xi⁵ nga ts(i) a
IPL that CL yard inside KO_{ATTR}children A
- .11□. 最主要嘅節目
 ... tsüi⁵ tsu³ yeu⁵ kē [ko]cieq⁷ muq⁷
most important KO_{ATT} activity
- .□□. ko³ 箇個兩三歲嘅崽呢,
 ko liong³ san¹ sui⁵ kē [ko]tsai³ le,
this CL two three year KO_{ATTR}son LE
- .□□. Dzin² 成啊 箇箇濕嘅粉粉子
 a gggg sīt⁷ ko fin³ fin³ tsī.
become a gggg wet KO_{ATT} noodle paste
- 哪里 嘅人都

□.□□. la³ li kē nyin⁵ tu¹--
everywhere *KO_{ATT} people all*

許 個 乾 嘅 米 粉 啊
 □.□□. he³ kē kon¹ kē mi³ fin³ a.
that *CL* *dry* *KO_{ATT} noodle* *A*

1.5.4.1.2 Relatives :

 □.□. ... 但 是 我 覺 得 窮 嘅 時 間
 than⁶ si⁶ ngo³ cioq⁷ teq⁷ ^chiung² kē sī⁵ kan¹
 but *1SG* *feel* *poor* *KO_{REL}* *time*

□.□□.... 細 仔 子 啊 平 時 穿 到
 xi⁵ nga tsī a phin² si⁵ Dzon¹ tē= [tao⁵]-
 children *P* *usually* *wear* *TAO_{DUR}*

□.□□. kē [ko] 嘅 衣 裳 都 穿 得 好 一
 KO_{REL} *clothes* *all* *wear* *TEQ_{MAN}* *very* *low:quality*

□.□□.... 你 就 話 玩 嘅 東 西 吧
 n³ chiu⁶ wa⁶ ^wan⁵ kē tung¹ xi pa.
 2SG *then* *say* *play* *KO_{REL}* *thing* *PA_{SUGG}*

□.□□. kho³ yi³ 可 以 插 小 蠟 燭 嘅 地 方
 can *insert* *small* *candle* *KO_{REL}* *place*

□.□□... 我 小 嘅 時 間 啊
 ngo³ xieu³ kē [ko] sī⁵ kan¹ a,
 1SG *small* *KO_{REL}* *time* *A*

□.~11.kien¹ 跟 外 頭 嘅 大 人 玩 嘅 燈 籠 差 不 多
 to¹, wai⁶ theu² kē [ko] ^thai⁶ nyin⁵ wan⁵ kē [ko] ten¹ lung⁵ Dza¹ pīt⁷
 with *outside* *KO_{ATTR}* *adult* *play* *KO_{REL} lantern* *almost:same*

□.□□. ko³ 箇 個 有 文 化 有 修 養 嘅 人
 this *CL* *have* *culture* *have* *education* *KO_{REL} person*

~

你 人 是 好 有 學 問 嘅 人 啊
 □.□□.n³ len si⁶= hao³ yiu³= ^hoq⁷ wɪn⁶ kē [ko] nyin⁵ a,
 2SG be very have knowledge *KO_{REL}* person A

~

冷 粉 就 是 拿 剛 才 話 嘅
 □.1□□ lang³ fin³ chiu⁶ si⁶ laq⁷ kong¹ ts[h]ai² wa⁶ kē,
 cold:noodle then be use a:moment:ago say *KO_{REL}*

許 個 已 經 煮 熟 了 嘅
 □.1□□. he³ ko yi³ cin¹ tsu³ suq⁷ lieu kē,
 that CL already boiled:throughLIEU_{PRFV} *KO_{REL}*

乾 了
 □.1□□. ... kon¹-- ee,
 dry eh

煮 熟 了 嘅
 □.1□□. ... tsu³ suq⁷ lieu kē,
 boiled:throughLIEU_{PRFV} *KO_{REL}*

許 個 濕 嘅
 □.1□□. he³ kē sīt⁷ kē,
 that CL wet *KO_{REL}*

許 個 濾 掉 了 水 嘅 濕 米 粉 啊
 □.1□□ he³ kē li³ tieu⁵ lē [lieu] suŋ³ kē sīt⁷ mi³ fin³ a.
 that CL filter off LIEU_{PRFV} water *KO_{REL}* wet rice:noodle A

就 是 涼 拌 嘅 冷 粉 啊
 □.□□1. chiu⁶ si⁶ liong⁵ phon⁶ kē lang³ fin³ a,
 that be cold-stirred *KO_{REL}* cold:noodle A

隔 啲 嘅 時 間 即 啲 呢
 □.□1. ... kaq⁷ chiaq⁷ kē si⁵ kan¹ long⁵ chiaq⁷ le ?
 KAQ_{EPI} eat *KO_{REL}* time how eat LE

隔 成 了 許 個 又 濕 又 軟
 □.11□. kaq⁷ Dzin² lieu he³ kē yiu⁶ sīt⁷ yiu⁶
 nyüon³ KAQ_{NEW} become LIEU_{PRFV} that CL and wet and soft

又 煮 熟 了 嘅 米 粉 啊

yiu⁶ tsu³ suq⁷ lieu kē mi³ fin³ a,
and well-cooked PRFV KO_{REL} rice:noodle A

1.5.4.2 Alternative construction P Dem CL N

This the same pattern as Kaiping : « this/that N which Vs». Examples :

3.8. ... 但是 我 覺得 窮 嘅 時間
 ... than⁶ si⁶ ngo³ cioq⁷ teq⁷ ^chiung² kē si⁵ kan¹
 but ISG feel poor KO_{ATTR} time

 許 個 味道 啊
 he³ ko wii⁶ Dao⁶ a
 that CL taste P

 比 現在 味道 還 更 足
 pi³ xien⁶ Dzai⁶ wii⁶ Dao⁶ hai² kien⁵ ciuq⁷.

□.□□ ... 你人 許 個 米 呢
 ... n³ [l]e[n h]e³ ko mi³ le,
 2SG that CL rice LE

□.1□□. 箇 個 舞 正 了
 ko³ ko wu³ tsang⁵ lieu
 this CL make done LIEU_{PRFV}

□.1□□. 箇 個 濕 米粉 啊
 ko³ kē sīt⁷ mi³ fin³ a,
 this CL wet rice:noodle a

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 :

□.□□.n³ 你 提 嘅 許 個 籃子 好 累 人家 吧
 2SG Dia² ko he³ ko lan⁵ tsī hao³ luii⁶ nyin⁵ ka pa,
 carry KO_{REL} that CL basket very tire people PA_{PRSS}

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 min5
 loq7 teq7 ko fong5 kan1 li tu1...sit7
 let teq7 chi3 tu1 theu puq7 tshut7 lai5
 kon1 teq7 ko tsuii3pa ...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 tsi

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 min5 ‘cannot go out’
 khon3 puq7 tao5 nyuq7 ‘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
 2.13, 2.19, 2.31, 3.53, 4.63, 4.142, 4.111. 4.160, 5. 144, 5.146, 5. 148 , 5.165, 5.171, 5.195, 5.199;

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

Wei Gangqiang and Chen Changyi (1998) Nanchang Hua Yin Dang [Nanchang sound archives]. In: Hou Jingyi (ed.) *Xiandai Hanyu Fangyin Yinku*. Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaoyu Chubanshe.

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)

T1	[42]
T2	[f̥24] , [35]
T3	[213]
T5	[5544]
T6	[f̥21]
T7	[45]
T8	[f̥2]

Low-series tones (odd-numbered) 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 s̄in1 (vowel lower ; close to schwa)

城 = 層 tshin2

針 蒸 = 砧 甌 tsin1

Likewise -e and -it are merged

十 = 舌 = səq7 (same vowel as above)

然 normally len (dictionary), is luin

what of

pīn/pēn ? cannot get pair ; but 不 = 北 = piŋ7 (same vowel, lower, close to schwa)

tīn/ten 蹲、燈 Mrs xie les lit : tun [u barre] /tīn

she has kīn instead of kien < ken

2.1.3.1.2 -on

pronounced -uon

2.1.3.1.3 -ieu

pronounced -iao

see if iū = eu ?

no, Nanchang Zidian -eu = Mrs Xie -ao 招 超 燒

and Nanchang Zidian -iū = Mrs Xie -iū 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** tshen2

Copula : **xi6-puq7-xi6**

A-4-1 lao3 wang **si6 puq7 si6** san1tung1 nyin2 ?

Existential : **yiou3 mao6 yiu3**

A-5-1 nlen **yiou 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 **wii puq7 wii** tseu3

n3 wa6 cie3 **wii tseu3 puq7 wii**

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** tsoq7 ngo3 kē chi3 ?

Aspects

perfective. **V (lieu3) mao6 V,**

'cocme'

A-9-jia-1 cie3 **lai2 mao6 lai2**

cie3 **lai2 lieu/lē mao6 lai2**

cie3 **lai2 lieu/lē 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 chiaq7 cil than **po** ?
- A-4-1 lao wang si santung nyin **po** ?
- A-4-5 n3 wa6 ke si6 pin thi wa6 **po** ?
- A-5-2-3 cie3 tshai6 wuq7 li **po** ?
- A-6-1-1 n3len chie3 teq7 **po** ? ‘are you able to go ?’
- A-6-1-2 nlen nen pong ke mong **po** ?
- A-6-3-1 n3 wa6 cie3 wii6 tseu3 **po** ?
- A-7-1 n3koli chiaq7 teq7 lieu3 **po** ?
- A-7-3 cie3 thia2 teq7 chi3 **po** ?

perfective :

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

experiential

- A-9-yi-1 he3 ke 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 wii6 tseu3 **a** ?
- A-9-jia-6 n3 wuq7li yiu3 tshai 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 <i>liong pen ti</i>)
lung2 yong	‘what kind of...’
xiq7li si2kan1	‘when?’
wii xiq7li, tsoq7 xiq7li	‘why’

2.2.2 aspect

2.2.2.1 perfective V-lieu~lě (reduced form of lieu3) ; neg : mao6 V

A-1-1	cie3 chiaq7 lě fan6, n3len chiaq7 lě mao6 ? ngo3 chiaq7 lieu (~lě)/ngo3 mao6 chiaq7
A-1-2	cie2 kong1 chiaq7 lieu yoq7
A-1-3	cin1nyen2, ngo3 chiu6 tso5 lieu liong3 chien1 fin1
A-2-1	ngo3 chie3 lě liong3 fii
A-5-1	miang2 nyiq7 ko3 si3kan, cie3 chiu6 tao6 lě piq7cin1
A-7-5	cie3 fii lě hao3 thai6 kě 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 tshoi4 ai2 V

C-1-1	ngo3 (xientsai) ts[h]ai chiaq7 fan6
C-2-1	cie3 tshai khuq7
C-1-2	sui3 khai1 lě
C-3-1	khuai tsho6 tao (=Guiyang)

箇裏 □□	在	洗	蘿卜 冒	注意	呢
□.ĩ□.ko ³ li	g g	ts[h]ai ⁶	xi ³ lo ⁵ Bo mao ⁶	tsu ⁵ yi ⁵	le,
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 tao_{3/5} (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 min2 khai1 **tao**

D-4-3 tshong2 song khun **tao** kē xi5ngatsi

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 大冶 by a Wang 1994 where ta~tɔ< 到 serves for result complements ; ta is also a durative marker

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

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 tsung3 nyen2 kao, hao3 thien2

2.2.2.6 inchoative : V-起來 .

F-1-1 xingatsi tshai khunkao, thoq7 len khuq7 **chi3 lai2**

(note : apparently **tshai6** used here for a durative)

F.2.1. cie3 wa6 **chi3** si6 **lai2**, chiu6 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 chiu6 thu

G-2-1 cie3 yiq7 tshuo 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 sī6

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 len2sin1yin 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 sī hoq8 sen

A-1-3 cie3 yi3heu puq7 tong1 lao3sī

A-2-1 ngo3 puq7 nyin6teq7 ko3 tsaq7 nyin2

the rest is 不 V

2.2.3.2 perfective 冒 V.

B-1-1 mama lung lieu fan po ? cie3 ma06 lung/ cie3 hai ma06 lung

B-4-1 fan ma06 suq7

B-4-3 he3 to fa1 hai2 ma06 hung2

B-5-2 cie3 **mao6** chiaq7 tsui5

2.2.3.3 affirmative past 𠄎 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** tshai6 wuq7li, tao5 cie3 suq7 he3 li chie3 kuo li.

D-3-2 miang nyiq7 ngo3 **puq7** tshai6 wuq7 li

2.2.3.4.4 adj

D-4-1 cin1 nyiq7 **puq7** let7

D-4-2 tsuq7 thai3 chieq8, **puq7** hao3 chiaq7

D-4-3 cie3 **puq7** kao1

D-4-4 n3len **puq7** si hao3 phong

D-4-6 ko3 xiet7 yi1fu yiu3 xieq7 li hao3khon3 teq7 ? tiaq7 tsī tu1 **puq7** hao3khon3

D-4-7 ko3 tsaq7 xiang tsī **mao6** yiu3 ci3 ts[ung]

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, ngao3 **puq7** ton3

E-1-12 n3len ta3 **puq7** yang2 cie3

2.2.3.5.2 directional

E-2-1 ko3 tsaq7 tai tsī 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 mīn2 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 yiq7Tin** lai2

2.2.3.6 other aspects

F-1-1 ngo3 hai2 **mao6** chie3 kuo5 peq7cin

F-1-3 n3len hai2 **mao6** pha2 kuo5 tshao3

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 *yiū*₃ ‘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* grammaticalized 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 kē nye2 **te1** mao2 tho1 tseu3 le ‘the fish I just bought was dragged away by the cat’

te1 accepted in replacement of *tho2* in these ex :

A-1-1 lao3Di **te1** xiang1 ta3 ‘the younger brother was hit by the older brother’

A-1-2 cie3 **te1** nyin2ka1 wa6 le ‘he was criticized by someone’

A-2-1 ngo3 **te1** tsaq7 keu3 ngao le ‘I was bitten by a dog’

te1 can occur without an agent : ngo3 **te1** ngao le ‘I was bitten’

Grammaticalized from ‘X pulls/draws/induces 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 馱 *tho2*

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

馱 *tho2* is common as a passive marker in Yangzizhou, and construction **N1 *tho2* N2 V** is grammatical. Always detrimental (‘inflictive’), *tho2* (or *te1*) 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’au*₂₁₃ [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) *tho*₃. The Anyi and Ganxian forms definitely and unambiguously reflect 討 not 馱, and the Xie’s passive marker *tho2* definitely and unambiguously reflects 馱 not 討. Both 馱 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 ^{tho}? (=Linchuan) representing 著. Outside of Gan, there is a form in Fuzhou (Min) 掬 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 ngao3 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 ciang1kuaimi 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 :

C-5-2 tsu5 fai sī6, **puq7 tho3** tsoq7 tshai2 kuai le ‘it will be strange if one is not arrested doing bad things’

A-10-2 n3 **puq7 tho2** cie3 ma tshai2 kuai ‘It’s only strange that you weren’t scolded by him’
ngo3 **tho2** lin3tao3 kuaq7 le yiq7 ha6 ‘I was criticized by the lingdao’

C-5-1 cie3 to3 phoq7 le, **mau6 tho2** faq7 xien ‘he wasn’t discovered’

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 mīn chiaq7 ‘mother gives them cookies to eat’

A-1-1-1 ngo3 **na** song1 khuai3 tsī **tao** n3len ‘I’ll give you a pair of chopsticks’

A-1-1-4 ngo3 **na** yong sī **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 tsī **tao** tshoq nyiq7 lai2 kē 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 tsī 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 pīn3 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 kē wīi tsī **tao** cie3 mīn ‘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 tsai3 tiaq7 pīn3 sī ‘he taught my son some skills’

A-5-2 cieu5 cie3 **fiitaq** n3len yiq7 kē wīn thi ‘make him answer you a question’

C-1-1 ngo3 **sung** cie yiq7 pīn3 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’

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 歇 ha6 tsī, 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 phontsi li chie3 ‘don’t let the ants climb into the plate’

E-2-4 chia2 tsī thai na57, cie3 puq7 **nyong6** xi5ngatsī chiaq7 ‘The eggplant was too spicy hot, she doesn’t let the child eat it’

E-2-5 to1 tshon1 tiaq7tsī 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 kē sī kan1, cie3 **ciao5** ngo3 to3 chi3 lai2 ‘when you came, he had me hide myself’

2.2.6.3 na 拿 or laq7 搵 : 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 tsī thai na5, cie3 puq7 **na** xi5ngatsī chiaq7 ‘The eggplant was too spicy hot, she doesn’t let the child eat it’

E-2-5 to1 tshon1 tiaq7tsī 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 phontsi 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 ha6tsī mīn2

or, similar sentence with ‘close’ :

A-3. **na2** mīn2 kuan1 yiq7 ha6

But disp. constr. is obligatory in « put the cat outside »

A-5 **na2** (or pa3) mao phang1 tshut7 chie3

A-11, A-12, A-13 also require pa3 or na2 (except 12 can only have na2)

B conditions on the NP

B-1. Disposal constr/ w/ unmodified Ns are acceptable (texte, 5.119). Also :

B-1-1 fung1 na su6 tshuii1 tao3 le ‘the wind blew the tree(s) over’

B-1-2 cie3 ko long2 pa3 phin tsī ta3 pho le ‘his son-in-law broke the bottle’

B-1-4 n3 len2 tsīkan 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 cie3 lai ‘the LaoZhang to come over here’

B-2-6 kungkung **na2** ko3 tsaq7 xieu3 mu3ci saq7 phīq 潑 le

B-3. Locative NP accepted

B-3-3-2 mīi tsī **na2/pa3** woli fong tiaq7tsī sui3 ‘my younger sister put a little water into the pot’

But the sentence is more tu3 without the disp constr. :

mīi tsī fong tiaq7 tsī sui3 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** chūn2 tsī 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 tsoq7 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 sī 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 tsī tao ngo3 ‘give me the children’. [pa3 not accepted in this sentence]

C-8-2. puq7 yeu5 pa3 ngo3 tong xi5 nga tsī

moq7 **na2** ngo3 tong xi nga tsī ‘don’t treat me like a kid’

C-8-5. ‘I nailed a piece of leather to the heel of your shoe 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 mīn 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 cie3 nyit theu ‘in some places they call the sun *ritou*’

C-8-12 **na2** he3 pīn3 su1 **tao5** ngo3 khon3 yiq7 ha6 ; or : ko3 pīn3 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 laosī **na2** / pa3 chien2 fong tao tsīntheu pien ‘her husband always puts his money next to his pillow’

C-9-3 cie3 **pa3** he3 cien sī kua tau tu tsī 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 phīq7 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 sī lei (=來)

F. pa3 preceded by negative : accepted

F-1-1. puq7 **na2** / **pa3** cie3 tong1 fīi sī6 ‘it’s not a big deal’

F-1-3. n3 len lung puq7 **pa3** fan chiaq7 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 the 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 tsī **pi3** he3 tsaq7 hao3 ‘this basket is better than that one’

- A-1-9 kuo5 le ha tsī yiq7 nyit **pi3** yiq7 nyit7 ton3 ‘After the summer solstice, the days become shorter’
- A-1-10 cin1-nyit **pi3** ts[h]oq8-nyit7 lang3 tiaq7tsī ‘today is colder than yesterday’
- A-2-1 mi2 nyin2 **pi3** la3 ko tu1 wei6 wa6 sī6 ‘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 nyü3 **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 tsao3 tao5 ‘he arrived earlier than I did’
(Mr) cie3 **pi3** ngo3 lei2 teq7 tsao3
- A-4-1 ci1 **pi3** ngaq7 tsī 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]i_x tsī **pi3** he3 tshong2 heu6 ‘this covering is **still** thicker than that one’
ask this one again
- A-5-1-3 xien ts[h]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 kē ku3 kheq7 **pi3** chyü3 nyen2 (**expect chiu6 nyen2**) kan3 sao3 [**expect seu3**] le hao3 to1
- A-5-6 ko3 li **pi3** he3 li sīt7 tiaq7tsī ‘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 tsī khuai3 ‘the knife isn’t sharper than the scissors’
- A-8-5 sīn3 sīn nyen2 lin2 **puq7 pi3** suq7 suq7 thai6 ‘Auntie is not older than uncle is’
- A-8-7 cin1 nyiq7 **puq7 pi3** chien2 nyiq7 leq7 ci3 to1 ‘today is not much warmer than yesterday’
- A-8-13-2 cie3 ko t[|]sī6 xia3 teq7 **puq7 pi3** ngo3 so1 ‘his handwriting is not worse than mine’

2.2.8.2 Anne’s equal degree :

- A **kīn1** B **yi7yong** VP ~ puq7 yiqyong VP.
- A **thung2** B **yi7yong** 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 贏 (ex E-2-4)

Potential constructions also used to express equalling degree semantics :

- E-1-1 A wii6 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 (min2)

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 dialgram.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 te1 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 xü5 song **tiq7** lieu ci3 kē phin2kuo **ha6lai2**G29 ngo mīn 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 **kē** 箇, some don't :

2.2.10.1.1 Adv-kē

A21 sao tsī puq7 **thin kē** yao theu 'Elder brother's wife incessantly shook her head'A61 cie3 **thū thū kē** song fii2 chie3 lē yiq7kē 'he secretly sent one back'**Adv without kē:**A11 mīn2 **thoq len2** khai1 lē 'the door opened suddenly'A31 ngo **ciencien** tung3teq7 mu nyang kē yisī 'I gradually understood my aunt's meaning'A41 Taifu **fung1khuai3** gei3 phiang6 nyin2 khai1 tao1 'the doctor quickly operated on the patient'A81 n3len2 **yi7thin6** yeu5 lai2A1-17 n3 tsu5 xiq7li **hao3 lili** faq7 fo3 ? why are you so angry for no obvious reason ?A1-14-3 n3len **min2min2** xieu3teq7 ko3 chien6 sī6 'you clearly know about this matter'

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

A1-11-1 khaq7 nyin2 lai2 kē sī2kan1, xi5ngatsī **kuyi (kē)** Dai6 sīn1 khuq7or : khaq7 nyin2 lai2 kē sī2kan1, xi5ngatsī **theq7yi (kē)** Dai6 sīn1 khuq7
'the baby cried out loud intentionally when the guests came'

This indicates that adverbial -kē is a mandarinism, a probable case of metatypy.

2.2.10.2 Adj + DE

2.2.10.2.1 Adj+tsī

A211 lao3nyin2ka1 **man-man-tsī** tseu3 'the old person walked slowly'A24 **hao3sang1tsī** na2teq7, puq7 yeu5 loq7 po lai 'hold it properly, don't drop it'A242 nyong ngo3 **hao3sang1tsī** xiong3 yiq7 ha6 'let me think this through'A2-16-2 ko3 pīn3 su1, ngo3 yao5 **hao3sang1tsī** khon3 yiq7 ha62.2.10.2.2 Adj-kē (**check if kē optional or not**)A25 cie3 **cin3cin3kē** ngo tao ngo3kē xiu3 'he firmly grasped my hand'A29 cie3 kē kung1kung hao3 **khuai3fiqkē** tseu3 le 'her father-in-law left happily'A27 **kon? let7 kē** chiaq7 chie3 chiu6 hao3 'it is good only if you eat it steaming hot'

A5-2 cie3 yiq7 nyit7 tao5 ya5 puq7 thin6 kĕ wa6 ‘he talked incessantly all day’

Adj-kĕ (optional)

A2-10 yiq7 xi3 won tsaο, chiu6 susufuqfuq(kĕ) khun yiq kao

A-15-1 speak briefly n3len kantan(kĕ) wa6 yiq7 ha6tsi

A4-1-1 xi5ngatsi Dai6khĭu3Dai6khĭu3(kĕ) chiaq7 ‘the child ate in gulps’ (cannot say *-tsi here)

2.2.10.2.3 Adj. with no mark

A-13-2 miang2nyiq7 tsao3tiaq7tsi chi3lai ‘I have to wake up early tomorrow’

A4-2-4 yi7kĕ yi7kĕ na cie3 wu3 tao3 ‘get rid of them one by one’

quadruplet

A-2-21-1 chiangchiang fong5 ha6 chie3

chiangchiangkĕ fong5 ha6 chie3

chiangchiangtsi fong5 ha6 chie3

chiangchiangtsikĕ fong5 ha6 chie3

‘lay it down gently’

The preferred and usual form is chiangchiangtsi fong5 ha6 chie3.

The order of **tsi** and **kĕ** in the last sentence shows **kĕ** is more recent in this construction.

2.2.10.3 predicative DE2

Clause+kĕ

B12 kong loq7 lĕ yu, wai6Deu laq8 xieq7 (**kĕ**)

2.2.11 nominalised and attributive structures

2.2.11.1 nominalizing

VP-kĕ

The VP can be an adj (A1a... to A1b...)

A1a11 tsui5 xin1 kĕ ‘the latest model’

or it can be a VP

A1=21 ngo3 ko3 xia3 kĕ si6 yinwin ‘what I’m writing now is English’

such as a resultative complement

A1=6 mao6 yiu3 ta3 puq7 pho kĕ ‘there are none that cant be broken’

NP-ko

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-san-c lao3 wong2 ko ‘Lao Wang’s’

No haplology, no double kē : A1san-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