

*Kunming Chinese*, commonly regarded as lingua franca of Yunnan province, is a major variety of Yunnanese, a member of Southwestern Mandarin. Based primarily on the linguistic typology and geographic distribution, Kunming Chinese has been further classified in one of the four major subgroups of Yunnanese: Central Yunnan group. Kunming Chinese, as well as all the dialects in Yunnan province, has a long history of development, which can probably be traced back to Qin and Han dynasties. The languages of twenty-four ethnic groups inhabiting in the same speech community also play a very important role in the development of Kunming Chinese. Until now Kunming Chinese remains a less studied dialect and no complete work has been done on its major grammatical aspects, especially morphology and syntax.

This book is intended to provide a descriptive account for the grammar of Kunming Chinese as spoken in Kunming city and its vicinities. The major topics discussed are: phonetics and phonology; the phonological developments in the past sixty years; morpheme categories and word formation; grammatical categories, syntactic categories; sentence types and structures.

Special discussions are given to the idiosyncratic features of the dialect: fronting and deletion of nasal in nasal rhymes, loss of rhotic initial series, breathy phonation; infix, the function and loss of "-er" suffix, word blending, reduplication and its interaction with tone change; question words and question formation. The book also features an interlinear text with transcription and translation demonstrating the major features discussed.

The author Ming Chao Gui teaches Chinese and linguistics at the Department of Modern Languages, Literatures and Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma, Norman campus, U.S.A.. He has regular publication on this dialect in the past ten years.

ISBN 3 89586 634 2

 **LINCOM EUROPA**  
academic publishers

# *Kunming Chinese*

**Ming Chao Gui**

*Languages of the World/Materials 340*  
LINCOM EUROPA



Published by LINCOM EUROPA 2000

# *Kunming Chinese*

All correspondence concerning languages in this work should be addressed to

**Ming Chao Gui**

LINCOM EUROPA

Postfach 7

D-61243 Münderheim

Germany

LINCOM EUROPA Germany

Prof. Dr. Ming Chao Gui

All rights reserved, including the right to reproduce in any form or by any means. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Printed in E.C.

The Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP Cataloguing in Publication Data  
A catalog record for this publication is available from the  
Deutsche Bibliothek (<http://www.dnb.de>)

**2000  
LINCOM EUROPA**

Printed on acid-free paper

Published by LINCOM EUROPA 2000.

All correspondence concerning *Languages of the World/Materials*  
should be addressed to:

LINCOM EUROPA  
Freibadstr. 3  
D-81543 Muenchen

LINCOM.EUROPA@t-online.de  
<http://home.t-online.de/home/LINCOM.EUROPA>

Printed in E.C.

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP Cataloguing-in-Publication-Data

A catalogue record for this publication is available from Die  
Deutsche Bibliothek (<http://www.ddb.de>)

Printed on chlorine-free paper

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
2. The Chinese Language	2
3. The Chinese Language Family	3
4. The Chinese Language and Culture	4
5. The Chinese Language and Society	5
6. The Chinese Language and Education	6
7. The Chinese Language and Linguistics	7
8. The Chinese Language and Literature	8
9. The Chinese Language and History	9
10. The Chinese Language and Philosophy	10
11. The Chinese Language and Religion	11
12. The Chinese Language and Art	12
13. The Chinese Language and Music	13
14. The Chinese Language and Drama	14
15. The Chinese Language and Cinema	15
16. The Chinese Language and Television	16
17. The Chinese Language and Internet	17
18. The Chinese Language and Globalization	18
19. The Chinese Language and World Languages	19
20. The Chinese Language and World Literature	20
21. The Chinese Language and World History	21
22. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	22
23. The Chinese Language and World Religion	23
24. The Chinese Language and World Art	24
25. The Chinese Language and World Music	25
26. The Chinese Language and World Drama	26
27. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	27
28. The Chinese Language and World Television	28
29. The Chinese Language and World Internet	29
30. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	30
31. The Chinese Language and World Languages	31
32. The Chinese Language and World Literature	32
33. The Chinese Language and World History	33
34. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	34
35. The Chinese Language and World Religion	35
36. The Chinese Language and World Art	36
37. The Chinese Language and World Music	37
38. The Chinese Language and World Drama	38
39. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	39
40. The Chinese Language and World Television	40
41. The Chinese Language and World Internet	41
42. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	42
43. The Chinese Language and World Languages	43
44. The Chinese Language and World Literature	44
45. The Chinese Language and World History	45
46. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	46
47. The Chinese Language and World Religion	47
48. The Chinese Language and World Art	48
49. The Chinese Language and World Music	49
50. The Chinese Language and World Drama	50
51. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	51
52. The Chinese Language and World Television	52
53. The Chinese Language and World Internet	53
54. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	54
55. The Chinese Language and World Languages	55
56. The Chinese Language and World Literature	56
57. The Chinese Language and World History	57
58. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	58
59. The Chinese Language and World Religion	59
60. The Chinese Language and World Art	60
61. The Chinese Language and World Music	61
62. The Chinese Language and World Drama	62
63. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	63
64. The Chinese Language and World Television	64
65. The Chinese Language and World Internet	65
66. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	66
67. The Chinese Language and World Languages	67
68. The Chinese Language and World Literature	68
69. The Chinese Language and World History	69
70. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	70
71. The Chinese Language and World Religion	71
72. The Chinese Language and World Art	72
73. The Chinese Language and World Music	73
74. The Chinese Language and World Drama	74
75. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	75
76. The Chinese Language and World Television	76
77. The Chinese Language and World Internet	77
78. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	78
79. The Chinese Language and World Languages	79
80. The Chinese Language and World Literature	80
81. The Chinese Language and World History	81
82. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	82
83. The Chinese Language and World Religion	83
84. The Chinese Language and World Art	84
85. The Chinese Language and World Music	85
86. The Chinese Language and World Drama	86
87. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	87
88. The Chinese Language and World Television	88
89. The Chinese Language and World Internet	89
90. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	90
91. The Chinese Language and World Languages	91
92. The Chinese Language and World Literature	92
93. The Chinese Language and World History	93
94. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	94
95. The Chinese Language and World Religion	95
96. The Chinese Language and World Art	96
97. The Chinese Language and World Music	97
98. The Chinese Language and World Drama	98
99. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	99
100. The Chinese Language and World Television	100
101. The Chinese Language and World Internet	101
102. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	102
103. The Chinese Language and World Languages	103
104. The Chinese Language and World Literature	104
105. The Chinese Language and World History	105
106. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	106
107. The Chinese Language and World Religion	107
108. The Chinese Language and World Art	108
109. The Chinese Language and World Music	109
110. The Chinese Language and World Drama	110
111. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	111
112. The Chinese Language and World Television	112
113. The Chinese Language and World Internet	113
114. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	114
115. The Chinese Language and World Languages	115
116. The Chinese Language and World Literature	116
117. The Chinese Language and World History	117
118. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	118
119. The Chinese Language and World Religion	119
120. The Chinese Language and World Art	120
121. The Chinese Language and World Music	121
122. The Chinese Language and World Drama	122
123. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	123
124. The Chinese Language and World Television	124
125. The Chinese Language and World Internet	125
126. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	126
127. The Chinese Language and World Languages	127
128. The Chinese Language and World Literature	128
129. The Chinese Language and World History	129
130. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	130
131. The Chinese Language and World Religion	131
132. The Chinese Language and World Art	132
133. The Chinese Language and World Music	133
134. The Chinese Language and World Drama	134
135. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	135
136. The Chinese Language and World Television	136
137. The Chinese Language and World Internet	137
138. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	138
139. The Chinese Language and World Languages	139
140. The Chinese Language and World Literature	140
141. The Chinese Language and World History	141
142. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	142
143. The Chinese Language and World Religion	143
144. The Chinese Language and World Art	144
145. The Chinese Language and World Music	145
146. The Chinese Language and World Drama	146
147. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	147
148. The Chinese Language and World Television	148
149. The Chinese Language and World Internet	149
150. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	150
151. The Chinese Language and World Languages	151
152. The Chinese Language and World Literature	152
153. The Chinese Language and World History	153
154. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	154
155. The Chinese Language and World Religion	155
156. The Chinese Language and World Art	156
157. The Chinese Language and World Music	157
158. The Chinese Language and World Drama	158
159. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	159
160. The Chinese Language and World Television	160
161. The Chinese Language and World Internet	161
162. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	162
163. The Chinese Language and World Languages	163
164. The Chinese Language and World Literature	164
165. The Chinese Language and World History	165
166. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	166
167. The Chinese Language and World Religion	167
168. The Chinese Language and World Art	168
169. The Chinese Language and World Music	169
170. The Chinese Language and World Drama	170
171. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	171
172. The Chinese Language and World Television	172
173. The Chinese Language and World Internet	173
174. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	174
175. The Chinese Language and World Languages	175
176. The Chinese Language and World Literature	176
177. The Chinese Language and World History	177
178. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	178
179. The Chinese Language and World Religion	179
180. The Chinese Language and World Art	180
181. The Chinese Language and World Music	181
182. The Chinese Language and World Drama	182
183. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	183
184. The Chinese Language and World Television	184
185. The Chinese Language and World Internet	185
186. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	186
187. The Chinese Language and World Languages	187
188. The Chinese Language and World Literature	188
189. The Chinese Language and World History	189
190. The Chinese Language and World Philosophy	190
191. The Chinese Language and World Religion	191
192. The Chinese Language and World Art	192
193. The Chinese Language and World Music	193
194. The Chinese Language and World Drama	194
195. The Chinese Language and World Cinema	195
196. The Chinese Language and World Television	196
197. The Chinese Language and World Internet	197
198. The Chinese Language and World Globalization	198
199. The Chinese Language and World Languages	199
200. The Chinese Language and World Literature	200

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATION.....	3
0. Introduction.....	4
0.1. Geographic perspective.....	4
0.2. Ethnic and dialectal perspective.....	4
0.3. Historical perspective.....	5
0.4. Historical linguistic perspective.....	8
1. Phonology.....	9
1.1. Vowels.....	9
1.2. Consonants.....	12
1.3. Diphthongs.....	14
1.4. Tones.....	15
1.5. Tone Sandhi.....	16
1.6. Phonological Development.....	19
2. Morphology.....	21
2.1 Nominal morphology.....	21
2.1.1. Noun.....	21
2.1.1.1. Affixation.....	23
2.1.1.1.1. Prefix.....	23
2.1.1.1.2. Suffix.....	24
2.1.1.1.3. Infix.....	25
2.1.1.1.4. Morpheme merging.....	27
2.1.1.2. Number.....	28
2.1.1.3. Gender/Class.....	29
2.1.1.4. Definiteness/Referentiality.....	30
2.1.1.5. Case.....	30
2.1.1.6. Possession.....	31
2.1.2. Pronouns.....	31
2.1.2.1. Personal Pronouns.....	31
2.1.2.2. Demonstrative Pronouns.....	32
2.1.2.3. Reflexive Pronoun.....	32
2.1.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns.....	33
2.1.2.5. Indefinite Pronouns.....	37
2.1.2.6. Quantitative Pronouns.....	39
2.1.3. Numerals.....	39
2.1.4. Adjectives.....	41
2.1.4.1. Category of Adjectives.....	41
2.1.4.2. Adjective with Nominalizer and Manner Particle.....	42
2.1.4.3. Reduplicated Structure of Adjective.....	42
2.1.4.4. Comparison and Equality.....	44
2.1.4.5. Adverbs.....	45
2.1.5. Nominalizer and Diminutives.....	48
2.1.5.1. Nominalizer <i>nə1</i> .....	48
2.1.5.2. Diminutives.....	50
2.2. Verbal Morphology.....	50
2.2.1. Verb.....	50
2.2.1.1. TAM-system.....	53
2.2.1.2. Negation.....	58
2.2.2. Verbal Categorizers.....	59
2.2.2.1. Transitive verb.....	59



2.2.2.2. Ditransitive verbs.....	59
2.2.2.3. Intransitive verbs.....	63
2.2.2.4. Voice: active and passive.....	63
2.2.3. Verbal modifiers.....	64
3. Syntax.....	65
3.1. Sentence types.....	65
3.1.1. Simple sentence categories.....	65
3.1.2. Complex sentence categories.....	68
3.2. Simple sentence.....	71
3.2.1. Topic-prominent language.....	71
3.2.2. Structure of major components in simple sentence.....	72
3.2.3. Structure of noun phrase in simple sentence.....	75
3.2.4. Syntactic category of noun phrase in simple sentence.....	76
3.2.5. Structure of verb phrase in simple sentence.....	76
3.2.6. Syntactic category of verb phrase in simple sentence.....	78
3.3. Complex sentences.....	78
3.3.1. Coordination.....	78
3.3.2. Subordination.....	81
3.4. Discourse phenomena.....	85
3.4.1. Particles.....	86
3.4.2. Interjections.....	89
4. Sample text.....	92
5. Vocabulary.....	108

## Bibliography

## Maps

## ABBREVIATION

Asp. = Aspect
Asso. = Associative
BA = ba3
C. = Clause
Caus. = Causitive
Cov. = Coverb
Deg. = Degree
Dir. = Directive
DObj. = Direct Object
DVt. = Ditransitive Verb
Emph. = Emphatic
Exp. = Experiential
Euph. = Euphemistic
Gen. = Genitive
Interj. = Interjection
Interro. = Interrogative
IObj. = Indirect Object
Iron. = Ironic
Loc. = Locative
M. = Measure
Man. = Manner
Neg. = Negation
Nom. = Nominalizer
Obj. = Object
Part. = Particle
Perf. = Perfective
Pl. = Plural
PM = Passive Marker
Pred. = Predicate
Resp. = Respected
Result. = Resultative
Subj. = Subject
Suf. = Suffix
TM. = Topic Marker
Vi. = Intransitive Verb
Vt. = Transitive Verb



## 0. Introduction

### 0.1. Geographic perspective

The language to be introduced in this book is Kunming Chinese spoken in the city of Kunming and its vicinity. Kunming is the capital of Yunnan Province located in southwest frontier area of China. Yunnan shares borders with Sichuan Province and Guizhou Province, and also with Vietnam, Laos, and Burma. Twenty-six out of China's fifty-six major ethnic groups dwell in the province. The unique geographic location and the multi-ethnic community of the area give Yunnan and Kunming rich linguistic sources.

The city of Kunming is located in the central part of Yunnan. Kunming municipal government has the direct jurisdiction over four administrative regions (Panlung, Wuhua, Guangdu, Xishan) and eight counties (Jinning, Anning, Chenggong, Fumin, Songming, Yiliang, Lunan Yi Autonomous county, and Luquan Yi-Miao Autonomous county.) It is believed the current population of Kunming area is over four million. According to China's 4<sup>th</sup> national census in 1995, the population of the urban area is over 1,600,000.

### 0.2. Ethnic and dialectal perspective

Forty-five different ethnic groups are currently identified in Kunming area. The five major groups, each has a population of over 10,000, include: Yi, Hui, Bai, Miao, and Lisu. Besides, there are 7 groups, each has a population of over 1,000, 13 groups, each has a population of over 100, and 20 groups, each has a population of under 100.

Yunnan also is known as "Dian" and the largest lake located in Kunming area is Dian Chi Lake. It has been suggested that the origin of the name comes from the shape of Dian Chi Lake: the sea joining section of the lake is much smaller than the rest of it, which is considered an "upside-down" shape. In Chinese, it is "dian". However, the meaning of this character is not good to be used in a name. Therefore, another homonymous character is used instead, which reminds people of the geographic characteristic of the area while without carrying any negative connotation. That is the current character used for the name of Yunnan province and the lake in Kunming. It is also used to name the dialect groups of Yunnanese.

Kunming Chinese is the lingua franca of Yunnan province. To some extent, it is synonymous with Yunnanese, which has been used and understood as an encompassing name by scholars for all the different dialectal variations and versions of the Chinese language at different historical stages spoken in the area of Yunnan as well as in Kunming.

Kunming Chinese is a major form of Yunnanese, which in turn is a member of Southwestern Mandarin. According to the geographical locations and linguistic typology, Yunnanese is

traditionally further categorized into four subgroups: the Southern Group (known as Dian Nan in Chinese), the Western Group (Dian Xi), the Central Group (Dian Zhong), and the Northeastern Group (Dian Dongbei). Kunming Chinese belongs to the Central group and is also considered the representative of the group.

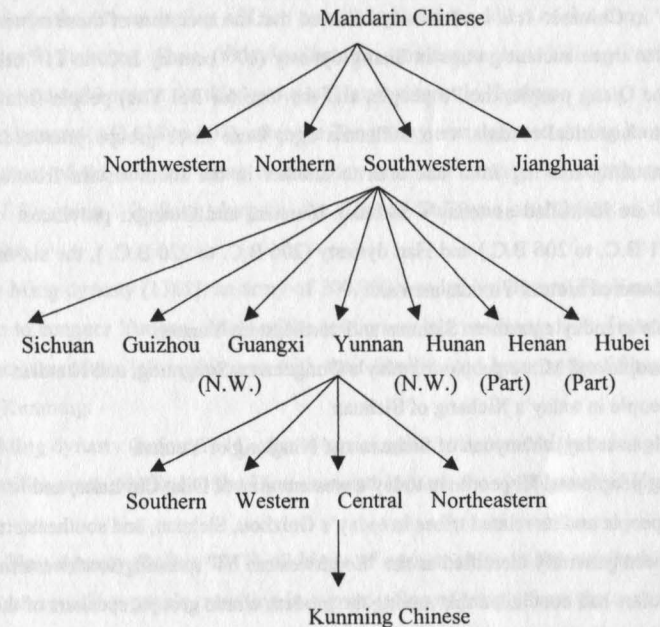


Figure 0.1 Mandarin Dialects Classification & Affiliation

### 0.3. Historical perspective

Kunming Chinese is a less-studied language nationally and internationally in comparison to their Northern cousins, Mandarin Chinese in particular. The main reason for this imbalance may have been the one pointed out by Y.R. Chao in the 30s: "...because of the fact that Yunnanese (or rather Kunming Chinese--author) can communicate with Northern Mandarin, people usually do not feel the need to learn it. Meanwhile, linguists have been concentrating more on the investigation of non-Chinese languages while the Chinese varieties in Yunnan are being ignored." (Yang Shih-feng 1969) Based on the available sources, it seems Yang Shih-feng's work: *Yunnan fangyan diaocha baogao* (Report on the Dialect Survey in Yunnan), a two-volume book based on the field work of several prominent Chinese linguists for decades, is one of the greatest contributions to the studies of Kunming Chinese. The rest of the publication and literature on this language has been done primarily by the scholars in Kunming area in the past



several decades. However, most of the studies are in the areas of phonetics and phonology. Research on morphology and syntax is still rare and superficial.

Kunming Chinese has a long history of development. Before the first group of Han Chinese immigrants reached Yunnan, the original inhabitants were non-Han ethnic people, known as “minorities” in Chinese. It is traditionally believed that the ancestors of these minorities can be traced back to three ancient groups in Shang dynasty (17<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C.). They are: the Qiang people, the Pu people, and the Yue (or Bei Yue) people (Ma Yao 1983). According to historical records, two millennia ago, these three groups practiced a nomadic lifestyle constantly moving from one area to another in the southwestern frontier of China. Those areas are identified as today’s Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guangxi provinces. Before Qin dynasty (221 B.C. to 206 B.C.) and Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 B.C.), the six major groups of people scattered around Yunnan area are:

1. Bo people in today’s southern Sichuan and northeastern Yunnan
2. Laojin people and Mimo people in today’s Dongchuan, Songming, and Xundian of Yunnan
3. Qiong people in today’s Xichang of Sichuan
4. Ze people in today’s Yanyuan of Sichuan and Ninglang of Yunnan
5. Kunming people and Xi people in today’s western area of Dian Chi Lake, and
6. Yelang people and its related tribes in today’s Guizhou, Sichuan, and southeastern Yunnan.

They have been generally identified as the “Southwestern Yi” meaning southwestern minorities. Chinese scholars had concluded that among the modern ethnic groups, speakers of the languages of Yipho (Yi) branch, Tibetan-Burman group are descendants of the Qiang people; speakers of the languages of Wa-Beng (Mon-Khmer) branch are descendants of the Pu people; and speakers of the languages of Zhuang-Dai branch are descendants of the Yue people.

It is believed that the first Han Chinese immigrants reached and settled in Kunming area as early as the end of the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.). In 277 B.C., General Zhuang Qiao, a peasant uprising leader against Chu State, withdrew his army to Dian Chi Lake area (today’s Jinning) to prepare for further action but later was besieged by the Qin army, which had occupied the surrounding area. Zhuang Qiao then crowned himself King of Dian (i.e. King of Yunnan) and all the soldiers in his army, mostly from Yingdu (in today’s Hubei province), also settled in the same area and became the earliest Han Chinese residents of Kunming.

In Western Han dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 25), General Guo Chang and his army were sent to Kunming to help with the civilization of the area. All his soldiers, mostly from Wun (today’s Shaanxi province), Jin (Today’s Shanxi province), Yu (today’s Henan province), and Lung

(today’s Gansu province), settled in there and became the second group of Han Chinese residents in Kunming.

In the Three Kingdom Period (AD 220 to 280), Lu Kai and Li Hui, the heads of two large and influential family groups loyal to the Shu State, were sent by the Prime Minister Zhuge Liang to enforce the administration of Dian area. Most of the soldiers of the army, largely from Chuan (today’s Sichuan), Shan (today’s Shaanxi province) and Xiliang (today’s Gansu province), stayed and became the third group of Han residents in Kunming.

In Tang dynasty (AD 618 to 907), after the Tang army was defeated during its expedition to the south, most of the soldiers came to the Dian area and became the fourth group of Han residents of Kunming. In Song dynasty, the City of Dali was established as the center of administration.

In early Ming dynasty (1381), an army of 300,000 was led by General Fu Youde, Mu Ying, and Lan Yu to conquer Yunnan. Most of the soldiers were from Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Hunan, and Henan. They were later left in this area with their families and became the fifth group of Han residents of Kunming.

In late Ming dynasty (before 1644), due to social upheavals, some high ranking officials and wealthy families were expelled to the Dian area and became the sixth group of Han residents in Kunming.

In late Qing dynasty (before 1911) all kinds of opportunities in the southern border areas attracted numerous Han people, resulting in a great influx of people from the central part of the country into the Dian area. These were the seventh group of Han residents in Kunming.

All these Han People brought with them various types of Han language, which were the basis of or related to Mandarin Chinese. During the following several thousand years, these Han Chinese and their descendants had wide contact with the local native ethnic people, new comers from various parts of the country, people from neighboring provinces, and people from neighboring countries. The unique multicultural and multiethnic language environment has played a key role in the formation and development of modern Kunming Chinese. Evidence can be found in the rich loan words borrowed into Kunming Chinese from different Chinese dialects spoken in Kunming area, for instance, the following words in Kunming Chinese show their obvious origin in Cantonese: ʌ4 (‘late’, cf. Cantonese: ŋan3), ɔ1tsɔ1 (‘filth’, cf. Cantonese: ŋɔ1tsɔ1 or wu1tsɔ1), pɔ1 (‘to squirt; to shoot out’, cf. Cantonese: piu1), tu4na2 (‘pot-belly’, cf. Cantonese: tʰou2nam2), pɛ3tɕiu3 (‘to give a banquet’, cf. Cantonese: pai2tɕəu2), pɛ2tɕʰie2-tɕi1 (‘a Cantonese style chicken dish’, cf. Cantonese: pak9tɕʰit8-kai1); pɛ3



luŋ2møy2-tʂøy4 ('to have a lengthy chat' from Sichuan dialect); tʂhə3ta4 ('to talk nonsense' from Mandarin: che3dan4, phonetically tʂhə3 tan4). The long history also leaves trails in many archaic words retained and utilized in modern and even contemporary Kunming Chinese, for instance, kə2tʂi2 ('to fire' or 'to be fired'), ta4tʂøy1 ('for real' or 'really'), tʂhij3 ('to eat'), pə3-pu4-tə2 ('do not know'), ma2 ('blood' used in tʂha2ma2-mi3pəi4, a type of rice noodle served with goat blood), tʂhi1pu4fəy4 (jealous), suŋ2 (timid), and etc.

#### 0.4. Historical linguistic perspective

Research done by the author of this book in the past ten years discloses striking changes in Kunming Chinese. The changes are so systematic and so many features are involved, a clear difference can easily be found between the older type of Kunming Chinese spoken by people of the age of 40 and older, known as "Old Kunming Speech" (OK) among the younger people, and the version spoken by people younger than 40, which can probably be defined as "Contemporary Kunming Speech" (CK). Nowadays, an estimate of only 500,000 people in Kunming area who still use the Old Kunming Chinese.

China is a political country, therefore politics plays an interesting and important role in the change and development of this language. One of the political movements that brought the most significant impact on the change of Yunnan as well as Kunming in various aspects including the local languages, is the so-called "Support the Three Big Fronts Movement"<sup>1</sup>, part of the "Big Leap Forward" campaign started in 1958. Driven by the campaign, hundreds of thousands of people moved their families from their original homes in the more developed cities in the country, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Sichuan, and lived in Yunnan and Kunming area in order to help improve the development there. They brought with them their different dialects, which gradually played an important and inevitable role in the change of the local language—Kunming Chinese.

The changes of Kunming Chinese can also be attributed to the development of tourism in Yunnan and Kunming as a result of the "Open Door" policy practiced by the Chinese government in recent years. Millions of people are attracted to the area every year from all over the world. Therefore, it will not be surprising to find obviously illiterate villagers in the suburban area, who can speak some English in order to make the sale to foreigners. Inevitably, native Kunming people are under constant and strong influence from the outsiders, who speak a

<sup>1</sup>"The Three Big Fronts" refer to industrial area, agricultural area, and frontier/border area, where resources and support were most needed to achieve the "Big Leap Forward".

different dialect or language. The change of their language is unavoidable. It is just a matter of time and scale.

## 1. Phonology

### 1.1. Vowels

In general, the sources available in China would present the vowels of a dialect in the forms of "rhymes"—a component of a syllable excluding the initial consonant. A rhyme, viewed as part of a syllable, would typically be composed of either a simple vowel, or a diphthong, or a vowel with a final consonant, known as "nasal rhyme", for example: /a/, /ai/, or /an/. Based on the acoustic experiment and analysis done by the author, it has been concluded that phonemically there are seven vowels in Kunming Chinese:

1. front vowels (3): i (e) ε
2. central vowel (1): ə
3. back vowels (4): u o ɔ a

	Front	Back	
<b>Tense</b>	i (ɿ ɿ)	u	<b>High</b>
<b>Lax</b>	(ɤ)	o	
<b>Tense</b>	(e)	ə	<b>Mid</b>
<b>Lax</b>	ε	ɔ	
<b>Tense</b>	(a)	a	<b>Low</b>

Chart 1.1 Kunming Chinese Vowels

When in actual phonetic environment, several allophonic forms of these vowels can be found:

1. vowel /i/ has two allophones:
  - [ɿ] when preceded by /ts tʂh s/
  - [ɿ] when preceded by /tʂ tʂh ʂ z/
2. vowel /a/ has one allophone:



[a] when followed by /n/

3. [ɥ] only occurs as a replacement of a syllabic /ŋ/ in the nasal rhyme /əŋ/<sup>2</sup>

4. [e] only occurs in diphthong rhyme [ie].

The phonotactics of syllables in Kunming Chinese can be summarized as follows:

1. High front tense vowel /i/ cannot take /f k k<sup>h</sup> x/ as onset or /n m/ as its coda.
2. High back tense vowel /u/ cannot take /tɕ tɕ<sup>h</sup> ɕ/ as onset unless in diphthong /iu/. It cannot take /n/ as coda. When /ŋ/ is used as coda, it is usually replaced by a bilabial nasal /m/ in OK, for instance, the word /tuŋ<sup>4</sup>/, meaning “cave, hole”, is pronounced as [tum<sup>4</sup>] in OK.
3. High back lax vowel /o/ cannot take /tɕ tɕ<sup>h</sup> ɕ/ as onset unless in diphthong /io/. It cannot take any nasal as coda.<sup>3</sup>
4. Mid central tense vowel /ə/ cannot take /tɕ tɕ<sup>h</sup> ɕ/ as its onset unless in diphthong /iə/. In OK, this vowel tends to be rhotasized—always used with an [r] as its coda. It can take /ŋ/ to be the coda. Nasal rhyme /əŋ/ has been traditionally treated as a nasalized vowel [ẽ] as its surface form. However, the author’s observation and acoustic experiment show that the velar nasal is always syllabic and takes its surface form [ɥ] in OK or [i] in CK, for instance, the word /əŋ<sup>1</sup>/, meaning ‘grace’, is pronounced as [əɥ<sup>1</sup>] in OK and as [əi<sup>1</sup>] in CK respectively.
5. Mid front lax vowel /ɛ/ cannot take /f/ as onset; /tɕ tɕ<sup>h</sup> ɕ/ can be used as onset only when in the diphthong /iɛ/. It cannot take any nasal as coda.
6. Mid back lax vowel /ɔ/ cannot take /f/ as onset; /tɕ tɕ<sup>h</sup> ɕ/ can be used as onset only when in the diphthong /iɔ/. It cannot take any nasal as coda.

<sup>2</sup> According to the observation and analysis of the author, this is true in OK. However, in CK /ŋ/ is manifested as a vowel [j] and in both versions of the language, this velar nasal has never been pronounced with its real quality.

<sup>3</sup> Traditionally it is believed that in modern Chinese only the alveolar nasal and velar nasal are used as the coda of a syllable unless the syllable receives a “*rusheng*” tone. The use of bilabial nasal as the syllable coda is rare or it is considered keeping the feature of Middle Chinese.

7. Low back tense vowel /a/ cannot take /tɕ tɕ<sup>h</sup> ɕ/ as onset unless is in diphthong /ia/; /z/ can be used as onset only when /a/ is in nasal rhyme /an/. The underlying representation /an/ is never realized. Instead a surface form is always used. The surface representation of it has traditionally been taken as a nasalized vowel [ã] and the alveolar nasal is never in presence. However, according to the result of acoustic experiment done by the author, it has been found that the surface form of this nasal rhyme is actually a fronted low tense vowel [a] with the complete deletion of the alveolar nasal after it motivates the fronting of the original low back tense vowel /a/<sup>4</sup>.

It should be understood that the permitted sound sequence in the syllables in Kunming Chinese, as discussed in this section, is primarily on the articulatory basis. It does not warrant the “syllable-meaning” relationship; in other words, not every phonetically possible syllable in Kunming Chinese will carry meaning in this language.

Examples for the vowels in Kunming Chinese:

/i/	mi <sup>3</sup>	'uncooked rice'	p <sup>h</sup> i <sup>2</sup>	'skin'	xi <sup>3</sup>	'to wash'
	ɕi <sup>1</sup>	'chicken'	tɕ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>4</sup>	'air'	ni <sup>2</sup>	'soil'
[ɿ]	ts <sup>4</sup>	'word'	ts <sup>h</sup> i <sup>2</sup>	'china'	s <sup>1</sup>	'silk'
[ɿ]	tɕ <sup>1</sup> i <sup>1</sup>	'to know'	tɕ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>2</sup>	'late'	ɕi <sup>3</sup>	'history'
[(i)ə]	ɕie <sup>1</sup>	'some'	pie <sup>3</sup>	'flat'	mie <sup>2</sup>	'to wipe out'
	lie <sup>2</sup>	'to hunt'	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ie <sup>2</sup>	'to cut'	t <sup>h</sup> ie <sup>2</sup>	'iron'
/ə/	xə <sup>2</sup>	'black'	pə <sup>2</sup>	'white'	ɕə <sup>4</sup>	'to shoot'
	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>2</sup>	'money'	fə <sup>4</sup>	'share'	zə <sup>3</sup>	'to provoke'
[(ə)ɥ] (OK)	əɥ <sup>1</sup>	'grace'	kəɥ <sup>3</sup>	'to choke'	ɕəɥ <sup>2</sup>	'god'
	(CK) əi <sup>1</sup>	'grace'	kəi <sup>3</sup>	'to choke'	ɕəi <sup>2</sup>	'god'
/ɛ/	tɛ <sup>2</sup>	'to lift'	mɛ <sup>3</sup>	'to buy'	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ɛ <sup>1</sup>	'mission'
	lɛ <sup>2</sup>	'to come'	ts <sup>h</sup> ɛ <sup>4</sup>	'vegetable'	nɛ <sup>3</sup>	'milk'
/u/	tu <sup>2</sup>	'to study'	mu <sup>3</sup>	'female'	lu <sup>4</sup>	'road'
	tɕsu <sup>1</sup>	'pig'	tuŋ <sup>4</sup>	'cave'	t <sup>h</sup> uŋ <sup>2</sup>	'copper'

<sup>4</sup> Please see Gui 1996 for the detailed discussion.



LW/M340		12		Kunming Chinese
(OK)	tum4	'cave'	t <sup>h</sup> um2	'copper'
/o/	xo3	'fire'	mo3	'to put on (make-up)'
	t <sup>h</sup> o2	'to take off'	tso4	'to sit'
			p <sup>h</sup> o1	'hill'
	ko1	'older brother'		
/ɔ/	xɔ3	'good'	mɔ2	'body hair'
			t <sup>h</sup> ɔ2	'to escape'
	tso4	'stove'	p <sup>h</sup> ɔ1	'puffy'
			kɔ1	'tall / high'
/a/	ʂa1	'sang'	pa2	'to pull'
			la2	'spicy hot'
	tʂ <sup>h</sup> a2	'to polish'	tʂ <sup>h</sup> a3	'to step into'
			ja3	'false'
[a(n)]	ta4	'to pawn'	p <sup>h</sup> a2	'plate'
			la3	'lazy'

## 1.2. Consonants

Phonemically, there are twenty-five consonants in Kunming Chinese.

### 1. Obstruents: 18

stops (6):	p	p <sup>h</sup>	t	t <sup>h</sup>	k	k <sup>h</sup>
fricatives (6):	f	s	ʐ	ʂ	ʂ	x
affricates (6):	tʂ	tʂ <sup>h</sup>	tʂ	tʂ <sup>h</sup>	ts	ts <sup>h</sup>

### 2. Sonorants: 7

nasals (3):	m	n	ŋ
liquids (2):	r	l	(/r/ occurs only as coda)
glides (2):	w	j	

The basic syllable pattern in Kunming Chinese is: (C) V (C). The vowel can be a heavy one when a combination of two vowels (or diphthong) is used. Vowel length is not a contrastive feature in this language. All the consonants except /ŋ/ can appear as the onset of a syllable.

Only the nasals can fill the slot of coda but under some phonotactic constraints:

1. It is a general tendency that nasal rhyme with /n/ merges with /ŋ/ resulting in a simpler nasal rhyme system.
2. /a/ is the only vowel that can take /n/ as its coda. Vowel /ɛ/ can take /n/ as coda only when it is used with /i/ in diphthong /iɛ/ or with palatal glide /j/ as onset, e.g.

LW/M340		13		Kunming Chinese
	bieŋ1	'side'	liɛŋ2	'connected'
			jeŋ3	'far away'

However, in OK the final /n/ is lost therefore these three words are pronounced as:

bieɛ1	'side'	liɛ2	'connected'	jeɛ3	'far away'
-------	--------	------	-------------	------	------------

3. /i/, /ə/ and /o/ are the only vowels that can take /ŋ/ as coda. However, /ŋ/ will always be in its surface form [ŋ] (in OK) or [i] (in CK) when preceded by /ə/ in nasal rhyme, e.g.

p <sup>h</sup> iŋ2	'level'	miŋ4	'life'	liŋ3	'collar'
məy4 /məi4	'gloomy'	t <sup>h</sup> əy2 /t <sup>h</sup> əi2	'pain'	ləy3 /ləi3	'cold'
loŋ2	'dragon'	foŋ4	'phoenix'	k <sup>h</sup> oŋ1	'empty'

4. [v] is the allophonic form of /w/ among some speakers, e.g.

'Late' can be pronounced as [wa3] as well as [va3];

'sock' can be [wa2] or [va2];

'to smell' can be [wəy2] or [vəy2]. However, [v] can only combine with: [a] and [əy].

Therefore, 'to boil water' should be [wui1] but not [vui1] and 'nest' should be [wɔ1] but not [vɔ1].

5. OK has kept some features of Middle Chinese, i.e., words with Tone 2 will end with a glottal stop [ʔ].<sup>5</sup>

6. In CK, [z] is the allophonic form of /z/, e.g.

'to yield' is [zə4] in OK but [zan4] in CK

'meat' is [zəu4] in OK but [zəu4] in CK.

In some situation, especially in private conversation or quite speech with emphasis intended, the vowels may be completely devoiced. The vowel devoicing process happens most likely to the monosyllabic words with Tone 4 (a low tone) in negative sentences. The emphasis is also indicated by the length, for example,

Utterance	Normal Speech	Quiet Speech
(I'm) NOT GOING!	pu4 k <sup>h</sup> ə4	pu4 k <sup>h</sup> ə:4
IT IS NOT!	pu4 ʂi4	pu4 ʂi:4



(Continued) Utterance	Normal Speech	Quiet Speech
NOT ALIKE!	pu4 ɕia4	pu4 ɕi̯a:4

The sequential constraints on the possible combinations of consonants with vowels can be summarized and presented in the following table:

	ɑ ɛ ə	i	u o ɔ
p p <sup>h</sup> m	+	+	+
f	+	--	u only
t t <sup>h</sup> n l	+	+	+
k k <sup>h</sup> x	+	--	+
tɕ tɕ <sup>h</sup> ɕ	--	+	--
tʂ tʂ <sup>h</sup> ʂ ʐ	+	--	+
ts ts <sup>h</sup> s		--	+

Table 1.1 Possible Consonant-Vowel Combinations

### 1.3. Diphthongs

The rhyme structure in Kunming Chinese tends to be simpler than its northern cousin Mandarin Chinese. There is no 'triphthongs' and the number of 'diphthong' is limited. The following are the diphthongs, or rhymes (excluding nasal rhymes) composed of two simple vowels:

/əi/ <sup>6</sup>	pəi1 'to carry'	fəi2 'fat'	məi4 'sister'
/əu/	kəu4 'enough'	ləu2 'building'	tɕ <sup>h</sup> əu3 'ugly'
/ia/	tɕia3 'false'	ɕia1 'shrimp'	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ia2 'to pinch'
/io/	tɕ <sup>h</sup> io1 'autumn'	tɕio2 'foot'	ɕio3 'rotten'
/ie/	pie1 'to twist'	ɕie3 'to write'	lie2 'crack'
/iɔ/	p <sup>h</sup> iɔ4 'to bleach'	miɔ3 'second'	liɔ2 'to provoke'

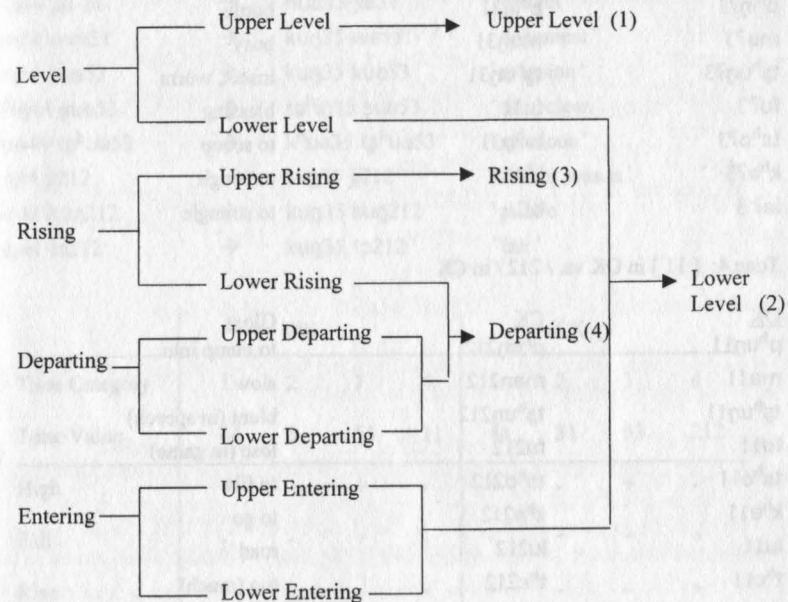
<sup>5</sup> This is the feature of "rusheng" tone, which will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

<sup>6</sup> In CK there is a tendency of losing the distinction between /əi/ and /əŋ/ because the latter case is also pronounced as [əi]. Therefore, [pəi4] could mean either 'back' (phonemically /pəi4/) or 'clumsy' (phonemically /pəŋ4/).

/iu/	jiu4 'to save'	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iu2 'ball'	liu3 'willow'
/ua/	kuə3 'thigh'	tɕua2 'to kick'	xua1 'to spend'
/uɛ/	xuɛ4 'bad'	kuɛ3 'tall & strong'	tɕuɛ1 'weak'
/ui/	t <sup>h</sup> ui1 'to push'	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ui2 'hammer'	lui3 'to destroy'

### 1.4. Tones

The four tones in Kunming Chinese are derived from the classical tonal system in Middle Chinese. The derivation process is summarized in the following diagram.



Direction of Tone Derivation: Middle Chinese → Contemporary Kunming Chinese

Diagram 1.1 Tone Derivation in Kunming Chinese

There are four phonemic tones on Kunming Chinese. The tone category and tone value are summarized in the following table:

	Tone Category	Tone Value
Tone 1	Upper Level Tone ( <i>yin ping</i> )	44
Tone 2	Lower Level Tone ( <i>yang ping</i> )	31
Tone 3	Rising Tone ( <i>shang sheng</i> )	53
Tone 4	Departing Tone ( <i>qu sheng</i> )	212

Table 1.2 Kunming Chinese Tones



According to the author's analysis, the tone value of Tone 2 and Tone 4 is different from that in CK. Tone 2 in OK still keeps the characteristic of "rusheng" tone—half of the duration of a regular tone with a glottal stop at the end of the syllable. Therefore its value is [3] instead of /31/. Tone 4 appears to have the value of a low level tone instead of a dipping tone. Its value is [11] instead of the regular /212/. Examples are as follows and the numbers indicate tone value instead of tone category:

- 1) Tone 2: [3] in OK vs. /31/ in CK

OK	CK	Gloss
p <sup>h</sup> iŋʔ3	p <sup>h</sup> iŋ31	bottle
maʔ3	maŋ31	busy
tʂ <sup>h</sup> uŋʔ3	tʂ <sup>h</sup> uŋ31	insect, worm
fuʔ3	fu31	blessing
ts <sup>h</sup> oʔ3	ts <sup>h</sup> o31	to scoop
k <sup>h</sup> əʔ3	k <sup>h</sup> ə31	to cough
ləʔ3	lə31	to strangle

- 2) Tone 4: [11] in OK vs. /212/ in CK

OK	CK	Gloss
p <sup>h</sup> uŋ11	p <sup>h</sup> uŋ212	to bump into
ma11	maŋ212	slow
tʂ <sup>h</sup> uŋ11	tʂ <sup>h</sup> uŋ212	blunt (in speech)
fu11	fu212	lose (in game)
ts <sup>h</sup> o11	ts <sup>h</sup> o212	to file
k <sup>h</sup> ə11	k <sup>h</sup> ə212	to go
lu11	lu212	road
t <sup>h</sup> ɛ11	t <sup>h</sup> ɛ212	too (much)

The tone features of these two versions of Kunming Chinese can be summarized in the table in the following page.

### 1.5. Tone Sandhi

The general tendency of tone sandhi in Kunming Chinese can be summarized as follows:

- the Level Tones (i.e. yin ping and yang ping) are less stable than the other two categories
- tone sandhi occurred in two-syllable or two-syllable reduplication structure tends to be phonologically conditioned while found in three-syllable reduplication structure tends to be semantically conditioned.
- if the two tones in the sequence are of the same category (except Tone 1), the tone on the second syllable tends to change to Tone 1.

To be more specific:

- Tone 1 remains unchanged when followed by another Tone 1 (tone value: /44/), for example,

tun44 fa44	→	tun44 fa44	'east'
kuŋ44 sɿ44	→	kuŋ44 sɿ44	'company'
hua44 sɿ44	→	hua44 sɿ44	'flower market'
tɕiŋ44 t <sup>h</sup> ie44	→	tɕiŋ44 t <sup>h</sup> ie44	'today'

- Tone 1 will change its value from /44/ to [35], for example,

ʂa44 t <sup>h</sup> ie31	→	ʂa35 t <sup>h</sup> ie31	'fountain'
hua44 jie 31	→	hua35 jie31	'garden'
kuŋ44 wəy31	→	kuŋ35 wəy31	'document'
kuŋ44 kua53	→	kuŋ35 kua53	'mansion'
t <sup>h</sup> ieŋ44 ʂua53	→	t <sup>h</sup> ieŋ35 ʂua53	'tidy, clean'
k <sup>h</sup> ua44 tʂ <sup>h</sup> ua53	→	k <sup>h</sup> ua35 tʂ <sup>h</sup> ua53	'spacious'
tun44 ji212	→	tun35 ji212	'winter season'
kuŋ44 kuŋ212	→	kuŋ35 kuŋ212	'public'
kuŋ44 to212	→	kuŋ35 to212	'fair'

Tone Category	OK				CK			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Tone Value	44	3	53	11	44	31	53	212
High	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Fall	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Rise	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Short	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1.3 Tone Features of OK and CK

- Tone 2 will remain unchanged in regular disyllabic words but will change to Tone 1 on the second syllable in reduplication structure, or the second syllable is a nominal suffix t<sup>h</sup>əu44, for example,

po31 po31	→	po31 po31	'to exploit'
ji31 liŋ31	→	ji31 liŋ31	'fish scale'
p <sup>h</sup> iŋ31 ɕiŋ31	→	p <sup>h</sup> iŋ31 ɕiŋ31	'parallel'
lo31 lo31	→	lo31 lo44	'basket'
kua31 kua31	→	kua31 kua44	'to scrub'



p <sup>h</sup> ɔ31 p <sup>h</sup> ɔ31	→	p <sup>h</sup> ɔ31 p <sup>h</sup> ɔ44	'grandma'
ts <sup>h</sup> u31 t <sup>h</sup> əu31	→	ts <sup>h</sup> u31 t <sup>h</sup> əu44	'hoe'
tɕ <sup>h</sup> iɛ31 t <sup>h</sup> əu31	→	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iɛ31 t <sup>h</sup> əu44	'in front of'
wɛ31 t <sup>h</sup> əu31	→	wɛ31 t <sup>h</sup> əu44	'outside'

- 4) Tone 3 will remain unchanged in regular disyllabic words but will change to Tone 1 on the second syllable when it is a nominal suffix 'ts<sub>1</sub>53', or change to Tone 2 when in reduplication structure, for example,

li53 kua53	→	li53 kua53	'hotel'
wa53 tɕa53	→	wa53 tɕa53	'bowls & plates'
muŋ53 tuŋ53	→	muŋ53 tuŋ53	'muddle-headed'
tɕiɛ53 ts <sub>1</sub> 53	→	tɕiɛ53 ts <sub>1</sub> 44	'scissors'
ji53 ts <sub>1</sub> 53	→	ji53 ts <sub>1</sub> 44	'chair'
tɕ <sup>h</sup> i53 ts <sub>1</sub> 53	→	tɕ <sup>h</sup> i53 ts <sub>1</sub> 44	'screw driver'
nɛ53 nɛ53	→	nɛ53 nɛ31	'milk'
ka53 ka53	→	ka53 ka31	'meat'
k <sup>h</sup> ua53 k <sup>h</sup> ua53	→	k <sup>h</sup> ua53 k <sup>h</sup> ua31	'thigh'

- 5) Tone 4 will remain unchanged in regular disyllabic words but will change to Tone 1 on the second syllable in reduplication structure, for example,

vəy212 lu212	→	vəy212 lu212	'to ask for direction'
ɕui212 tɕiɔ212	→	ɕui212 tɕiɔ212	'to sleep'
təu212 təu212	→	təu212 təu44	'(small) peas'
ɕua212 ɕua212	→	ɕua212 ɕua44	'to rinse (a little)'

- 6) In three-syllable reduplication structure (ABB), the tone change on the reduplicated portion will be determined by the semantic factor: positive implication will not cause any tone change while negative connotation will be reflected by the tone change. In general, in the reduplicated portion, the tone on the first syllable will tend to remain or switch to Tone 3 while the tone on the last syllable will remain or switch to Tone 2 or Tone 4. The tone change pattern in this type of structure is not as regular and consistent as that on the two-syllable structure. However, the general tendency can be summarized as follows:

A. Tone 1 Group:

1 + 2 + 2 → 1 + 3 + 2	ka1 pie2 pie2	→	ka1 pie3 pie2	'dry & flat'
1 + 3 + 3 → 1 + 3 + 2/4	ts <sup>h</sup> u1 ɕua3 ɕua3	→	ts <sup>h</sup> u1 ɕua3 ɕua2	'rough'
	xa1 kəy3 kəy3	→	xan1 kəy3 kəy4	'stupid'
1 + 4 + 4 → 1 + 3 + 4	wu1 tsɔ4 tsɔ4	→	wu1 tsɔ3 tsɔ4	'dark & dirty'

B. Tone 2 Group:

2 + 2 + 2 → 2 + 3 + 2	t <sup>h</sup> u2 tɕua2 tɕua2	→	t <sup>h</sup> u2 tɕua3 tɕua2	'bald'
-----------------------	-------------------------------	---	-------------------------------	--------

2 + 3 + 3 → 2 + 3 + 2	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ɛ2 k <sup>h</sup> ua3 k <sup>h</sup> ua3	→	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ɛ2 k <sup>h</sup> ua3 k <sup>h</sup> ua2	'tough'
2 + 4 + 4 → 2 + 3 + 4	ts <sup>h</sup> ɔ2 nɛ4 nɛ4	→	ts <sup>h</sup> ɔ2 nɛ3 nɛ4	'nasty'

C. Tone 3 Group:

3 + 2 + 2 → 3 + 3 + 2	pie3 t <sup>h</sup> a2 t <sup>h</sup> a2	→	pie3 t <sup>h</sup> a3 t <sup>h</sup> a2	'flat'
-----------------------	--	---	--	--------

D. Tone 4 Group:

4 + 2 + 2 → 4 + 3 + 2	piŋ4 t <sup>h</sup> o2 t <sup>h</sup> o2	→	piŋ4 t <sup>h</sup> o3 t <sup>h</sup> o2	'sick & weak'
4 + 3 + 3 → 4 + 3 + 2	əy4 kue3 kue3	→	əy4 kue3 kue2	'hard & tough'

## 1.6. Phonological Development

The phonological development of Kunming Chinese in the past sixty years (1930s–1990s) is striking. Several major changes in CK took shape roughly in 60s and 70s<sup>7</sup>. These changes can be summarized as follows:

1. Loss of retroflexion in consonants. The “retroflex series”: tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ, ʐ, has been replaced by the “alveolar series”: ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, s, z, e.g.

OK	CK	Gloss
tɕa2	tsa2	to tie
tɕ <sup>h</sup> i2	ts <sup>h</sup> i2	to eat
ɕa1	sa1	sand
ʐəu4	zəu4	meat

2. Loss of nasal identity after the vowel /a/ and /ə/. Traditionally it is believed that in Kunming Chinese, there is a general tendency of simplifying nasal rhymes. The distinction between alveolar and velar nasals has been interpreted as a genetic nasal feature imposed on the preceding vowel, for instance, [ã] and [ẽ]. In fact, according to the author's analysis, what actually happened phonologically to the two nasals in nasal rhymes, i.e. /ŋ/ and /ŋ/ can be summarized as follows:

- 1) the result of acoustic experiment reveals that the back vowel /a/ in nasal rhyme /an/ has been fronted by the [+alveolar] feature of the alveolar nasal /n/ before the nasal is deleted. As a result, nasal rhyme /an/ has changed into a front low vowel [a] with the loss of the following nasal, e.g.

UR	TR	GUI	Gloss
/an1/	→ [ã1]	→ [a1]	peace
/ɕan2/	→ [ɕã2]	→ [ɕa2]	cicada
/t <sup>h</sup> an3/	→ [t <sup>h</sup> ã3]	→ [t <sup>h</sup> a3]	sugar/candy
/p <sup>h</sup> an4/	→ [p <sup>h</sup> ã4]	→ [p <sup>h</sup> a4]	obesity

<sup>7</sup> The estimate is based on the consideration of the impact of the languages brought to the area after the political campaign “Support the Three Big Fronts” started in 1958.



**NOTE:** UR = Underlying Representation, TR = Traditional transcription  
GUI = Gui's transcription

Chart 1.2 on the following page is the vowel formant chart of three vowel phonemes in Kunming Chinese, i.e., /i u a/. Shown on the chart is also the allophonic form [a] of the low back vowel /a/ when followed by an alveolar nasal /n/. The position of [a] on the chart indicates the frontedness of this allophonic form as argued by the author<sup>8</sup>.

2) the velar nasal /ŋ/ in another nasal rhyme /əŋ/ has been pronounced as a mid-high front vowel [ɤ] in OK while in CK as a high front vowel [i]. Therefore, /əŋ/ takes the surface form of [əɤ] in OK and [əi] in CK, e.g.

UR	→	OK	→	CK	Gloss
/əŋ1/	→	[əɤ1]	→	[əi1]	grace
/t <sup>h</sup> əŋ2/	→	[t <sup>h</sup> əɤ2]	→	[t <sup>h</sup> əi2]	pain
/ləŋ1/	→	[ləɤ1]	→	[ləi1]	to delay
/səŋ3/	→	[səɤ3]	→	[səi3]	to save
/pəŋ4/	→	[pəɤ4]	→	[pəi4]	clumsy

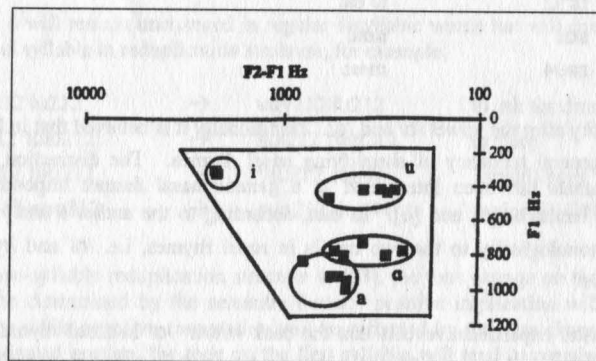


Chart 1.2 Kunming Vowel Formant Chart

**Note:**

[a] as found in ʂa1 'sand'      [a] as found in ʂa1 'mountain'  
[i] as found in ʂi1 'west'      [u] as found in ʂu1 'book'

3. Re-emergence of voiced initial consonants. In many varieties in the Mandarin family, the voiced initial consonants, feature of Middle Chinese, disappeared. However, in CK, voiced

initial consonants [v] (as a surface form of /w/) and [z] (as a surface form of /z/ as the result of the loss of retroflexion) are widely used.

4. The tensing of the mid front lax vowel /ɛ/. In CK, the mid front lax vowel /ɛ/ has been replaced by a mid front tense vowel [e], which only occurs in diphthong [ie], e.g.

OK	→	CK	Gloss
/lɛ2/	→	[le2]	to come
/ɛ1/	→	[e1]	and/with
/mɛ3/	→	[me3]	to buy
/kuɛ4/	→	[kue4]	weird

5. Diphthong /əu/ in OK has been changed to [au] in CK, e.g.

OK	→	CK	Gloss
/kau3/	→	[kəu3]	dog
/lau2/	→	[ləu2]	building
/tau4/	→	[təu4]	to fight
/t <sup>h</sup> au1/	→	[t <sup>h</sup> əu1]	to steal

6. Desulcalization of the rhotacized words. Rhotacized words are considered typical in OK. They are the result of the process of syllable fusion, in which a noun fuses with a diminutive suffix 'er' into a monosyllabic word ended with the final 'r' of the suffix, for instance, in OK noun /kuən1/, meaning "official", will fuse with suffix /ər2/ to be a rhotacized word /kuər1/ (a low-ranking official); /li2/, meaning "pear", will fuse with /ər2/ to be /lɛr2/; /p<sup>h</sup>ən2/, meaning "plate", will fuse with /ər2/ to be /p<sup>h</sup>ər2/. However, in CK, the process remains while the final '-r' sound has been lost, e.g.

OK	→	Rhotacized	→	OK	Gloss
/kua4/	→	/kər4/	→	[kə4]	jar
/k <sup>h</sup> ɛ4/	→	/k <sup>h</sup> ər4/	→	[k <sup>h</sup> ə4]	chopstick
/tɕ <sup>h</sup> iɛ2/	→	/tɕ <sup>h</sup> ər2/	→	[tɕ <sup>h</sup> ə2]	money
/tɕ <sup>h</sup> iɛ1/	→	/tɕ <sup>h</sup> ər1/	→	[tɕ <sup>h</sup> ə1]	small circle

## 2. Morphology

### 2.1 Nominal morphology

#### 2.1.1. Noun

Traditionally, nouns in Kunming Chinese can be classified into the following categories: proper noun and common noun, which can be further classified into collective noun and abstract noun according to their meaning. Proper nouns are used for names of places, particular individual, countries, etc. while common nouns include nouns of:

<sup>8</sup> Refer to Gui 1996 for detailed discussion of this issue.



- 1) personal reference, e.g.  
zəy2 'person', lɔ3 tie1 'grandfather', pə1 kuŋ1 'maid'
- 2) animate things, e.g.  
ji2 'fish', tsʰɔ3 'grass', tzʰum2 'insect'
- 3) inanimate objects, e.g.  
xo2 'box', xə2 'shoe', təy1 'lam'
- 4) abstract things, e.g.  
nɔ3 tɕiŋ1 'thought', ə4 'love', ta3 tsɿ1 'bravery'
- 5) time, e.g.  
nie2 'year', ɕiɔ3 ɕi2 'hour', ɕiŋ1 tɕʰi1 'week'
- 6) locality, e.g.  
ɕa4 'up', ɕiɔ4 'down', tɕʰia2 'front', wə4 'outside', and
- 7) collective, e.g.  
ta4 tɕia1 'all the people', kuo2 tɕia1 'state', kuŋ1 si1 'company'

Besides, nouns in Kunming Chinese also include pronouns which can be further classified into the following different categories:

- 1) personal pronoun, e.g.  
ni3 'you'      wo3 'I'      tʰə1 'he/she'      tʰə1 mə1 'they'
- 2) demonstrative pronoun, e.g.  
tɕi4 'this'      nə4 'that'      nə4 ɕie1 'those'
- 3) reflexive pronoun, e.g.  
tsɿ4 tɕi3 'self'
- 4) interrogative pronoun, e.g.  
nɔ3 kə4 'who/which'      tsɔ2 kə4 'how/why'      tɕi3 'how many'  
nɔ3 tir2 'where'      nɔ3 ja4 'what'      to1 ɕɔ3 'how many/much'
- 5) indefinite pronoun (interrogative pronouns used as indefinite pronouns), e.g.  
nɔ3 kə4 'whoever'      tsɔ2 kə4 'no matter how'      tɕi3 'several'  
nɔ3 tir2 'wherever'      nɔ3 ja4 'whatever'  
to1 ɕɔ3 'no matter how many/much'
- 6) quantitative pronoun, e.g.  
tʰuŋ1 tʰuŋ1 / so1 jiu1 'all'      məi3 'each' (used with measure word)

### 2.1.1.1. Affixation

Prefix, suffix, and infix can be found in Kunming Chinese.

#### 2.1.1.1.1. Prefix

Most of the prefixes in Kunming Chinese are kinship related. The most common ones include:

- 1) ɔ1 (used as an intimate way of addressing one's parents), e.g.  
ɔ1-tie1 'daddy'      ɔ1-mo1 'mommy'
- 2) ɕie3/ɕio3 (used as an intimate way of addressing younger persons with their nick names), e.g.  
ɕie3-pʰiŋ2a1 'APing'an'      ɕie3-si4to1 'Little Siduo'  
ɕie3-huŋ2ka1 'Little Honggang'
- 3) lɔ3 (used as an ordinal to indicate the age of the children), e.g.  
lɔ3-ta4 'the oldest child'      lɔ3-ər4 'the second child'  
lɔ3-sa3 'the third child'
- 4) tʰəu2 (used as an ordinal to indicate the first one in a group), e.g.  
tʰəu2 lian3-kə4 'the first two ones'      tʰəu2 ji2-kə4 'the first one'
- 5) wə4 (used for addressing maternal relatives, especially the ones older than parents), e.g.  
wə4-kuŋ1 'maternal grandfather'      wə4-pʰo2 'maternal grandmother'  
wə4-səy1 'maternal niece or nephew'
- 6) tʰa2 (used for addressing paternal relatives), e.g.  
tʰa2-ɕiuŋ1 'older, male cousin'      tʰa2-ti4 'younger, male cousin'  
tʰa2-məi4 'younger, female cousin'  
tʰa2-ɕu2ɕu2 'father's younger male cousin'
- 7) piɔ3 (used for addressing maternal relatives), e.g.  
piɔ3-ko1 'older male cousin'      piɔ3-sɔ3 'wife of older male cousin'
- 8) tɕi2 (used for the male ego's relatives), e.g.  
tɕi2-ər2 'one's sibling's son'      tɕi2-nur2 'one's sibling's daughter'
- 9) ta4 (used generally for some one older, or the oldest relative), e.g.  
ta4-tie1 'older male'      ta4-mo1 'older female'  
ta4-pə2 'father's oldest brother'
- 10) ti4 (ordinal), e.g.  
ti4-ji2 'the first'      ti4-sa1-kə4 'the third one'



**2.1.1.1.2. Suffix**

The most common suffixes in Kunming Chinese are:

- 1)  $\text{ʂəu3}$  (indicating location, similar to  $\text{piɛ1}$  or  $\text{tʰəu2}$ ), e.g.  
 $\text{li3-ʂəu3}$  'inside'       $\text{we4-ʂəu3}$  'outside'       $\text{ʂa4-ʂəu3}$  'up'
- 2)  $\text{mə1}$  (functioning as a plural marker for personal pronouns), e.g.  
 $\text{wo3-mə1}$  'we/us'       $\text{ni3-mə1}$  'you all'       $\text{tʰə1-mə1}$  'they/them'
- 3)  $\text{pa3}$  (one or once, emphasizing limitation of times), e.g.  
 $\text{kə4-pa3}$  'only one'       $\text{niɛ2-pa3}$  'only one year'       $\text{hui2-pa3}$  'only one time'
- 4)  $\text{ər4}$  (typical in OK, giving the rhotic feature to some words with diminutive implication), e.g.  
 $\text{pa4-pər4}$  'half piece'       $\text{kʰuər4}$  'chopstick'       $\text{xɛ2-pʰər4}$  'shoe buckle'
- 5)  $\text{tsi3}$  (nominal marker with diminutive implication), e.g.  
 $\text{ji2-tsɿ3}$  'tangerine'       $\text{ko2-tsɿ3}$  'dove'       $\text{tɕʰi3-tsɿ1}^9$  'screw driver'
- 6)  $\text{tʂʰa2}$  (value; worth), e.g.  
 $\text{jiu3-tɕʰio2-tʂʰa2}$   
 have watch-worth  
 'worth watching'  
  
 $\text{məu3-wa2-tʂʰa2}$   
 Neg play-worth  
 'boring; not worth playing'  
  
 $\text{məu3-ʂuo2-tʂʰa2}$   
 Neg say-worth  
 'beyond words'
- 7)  $\text{tɕiɛ1}$  (respectful way of addressing parents by their children or addressing close friends), e.g.  
  
 $\text{ni3-tɕiɛ1 kə3 tɕʰiŋ3-tə4 lə3?}$   
 you-Resp Interro eat-Asp Part.  
 '(Mother/Father/Old Friend,) have you eaten yet?'

<sup>9</sup> When nominal diminutive suffix 'tsɿ 3' is preceded by a word with the same Tone 3 with a tone value of [53], the tone on the suffix will change to Tone 1 with a tone value of [44]. Further examples are:  $\text{ji3-tsɿ1}$  'chair',  $\text{fu3-tsɿ1}$  'ax',  $\text{li3-tsɿ1}$  'inside layer of clothe', and  $\text{pʰi3-tsɿ1}$  'rascal'. But it seems the tone change only limits to this case.

$\text{wo3-tɕiɛ1-mə1 to4 tsɿ4 pu4 kʰə4}$   
 I-Resp-TM Emph-be Neg go  
 '(emphatically) I am not going.'

$\text{tʰə1-tɕiɛ1-mə1 xɛ2-tsɛ4 ʂui4tɕio4}$   
 he/she-Resp-TM still-Asp sleep  
 'He / She is still sleeping.'<sup>10</sup>

- 8)  $\text{ti2 to2}$  (giving negative connotation of untidy and messy), e.g.

$\text{ɔ1tsɔ1-ti2-to2}$  'dirty'

$\text{xua1tsi3-ti2-to2}$  'stingy miser'

$\text{xalɔ1-ti2-to2}$  'being stupid'

$\text{ja1tʂa1-ti2-to2}$  'untidy state due to heavy smoking'

**2.1.1.1.3. Infix**

Several common infixes in Kunming Chinese are:

- 1)  $\text{lə3}$  (emphasize the status it describes), e.g.

$\text{ta4-lə3-ta4}$  'extremely big'

$\text{ɛ4-lə3-ɛ4}$  'to love very much'

$\text{xuŋ2-lə3-xuŋ2}$  'very red'

$\text{xal-lə3-xal}$  'very dumb'

- 2)  $\text{nə1}$  (an alternative form of  $\text{lə3}$ )

- 3)  $\text{li3}$  (emphasizing the status), e.g.

$\text{xu2-li3-pa2-tʰu2}$  'meddle-headed'

$\text{ɕiŋ1-li3-pʰa1-tɕʰi4}$  'fishy smelling'

$\text{ər4-li3-ər4-tɕʰi4}$  'pretty silly'

<sup>10</sup> When this suffix is used with the 1st and the 3rd Personal Pronouns, it gives the sentence some rejected and negative connotation or sounds ironical.



ɕiɔ3-lí3-ɕiɔ3-tɕʰi4 'pretty stingy'

- 4) tɔ4 (indicating implied transition; it can be alternated with ʂi4), e.g.

tʰə1 kʰa4-tɔ4-kʰa4 'he will read it but ...'

wɔ3-mə2 jiɔ4-tɔ4-jiɔ4 'we want it but...'

tʰə1 lɛ2-tɔ4-lɛ2 'he will come but...'

nə4-kə4 tuŋ1 tɕi1 xɔ3-tɔ4-xɔ3 'that thing is good but...'

- 5) pi1 (implying negative connotation and usually with reduplicated structure ABB), e.g.

tsəi2-pi1-tɕiŋ1-tɕiŋ1 'apprehended'

tɕiŋ1-pi1-lu2-lu2 'apprehended'

- 6) pi1-ʂi2 (similar to 5) but used with non-reduplicated structure), e.g.

ɕiɔ3-pi1- ʂi2-tɕʰi4 'very stingy'

na2-pi1-ʂi2-tɕʰio2 'very ugly'

tsʰɔ2-pi1-ʂi2-nɛ4 'very yucky'

The common morphological structure of a noun is: (prefix) + root + (suffix), e.g.

- 1) prefix + root

lɔ3-sa1

Pre.-three

'the 3<sup>rd</sup> son'

ɕie3-fu2

Pre-Foo

'Ah Foo'

wɛ4-kuŋ1

Pre-grandfather

'maternal grandfather'

- 2) root + suffix

ni3-tɕie1

you-Suf: Resp

'you (respect form)'

tʰə1-mə1

he-Suf: Pl

'they'

li3-ʂəu3

in-Suf: Loc

'inside'

In limited cases, a noun could consist of a root followed by two suffixes, e.g.

ni3-tɕie1-mə1

you-Suf: Resp-Suf: TM

'you (respect)'

tʰə3-tɕie1-mə1

he/she-Suf: Iron-Suf: TM

'he/she (Ironic)'

or even could be in a prefix + root + suffix + suffix structure, e.g.

ɕie3-fu2-tɕie1-mə1

Pre-Foo-Suf.: Iron-Suf.: TM

'Ah Foo (Ironic)'

#### 2.1.1.1.4. Morpheme merging

"Morpheme merging" is a unique phenomenon in Kunming Chinese: two or three morphemes in a word will merge into each other to make a single morphemic word by using the initial of the first morpheme and the final of the last morpheme, leaving out the final of the first morpheme or even the final of both the second and the last morpheme. The "merged word" will almost always keep the tone on the last morpheme in the original structure. For instance, the following words used to be two- or three-morpheme words, but in colloquial style, they tend to merge into single-morpheme words:

ʂi4 la3	→	ʂa3	'OK; affirmative'
kə3 xɔ3 a1	→	ka1	'OK? interrogative'
kə3 ʂi4 ʂɛ4	→	kɛ3	'Is it true?'
pu4 jiu3	→	piu3	'no; negative'
mu4 jiu3	→	miu3	'no; negative'



Another type of “merged structure” is reflected in the “rhotic words”—the words ended with diminutive suffix əɾ2. However, in these words, the “merged words” will keep the tone of the first morpheme in the original structure, e.g.

p <sup>h</sup> a2 əɾ2	→	p <sup>h</sup> ər2	'plate'
li2 əɾ2	→	liɾ2	'pear'
kua1 əɾ2	→	kuər1	'low-ranking official'
k <sup>h</sup> uɛ4 əɾ2	→	k <sup>h</sup> uər4	'chopsticks'
fəy4 əɾ2	→	fər4	'shared part'

### 2.1.1.2. Number

Plural suffix mə1 in Kunming Chinese is restricted to personal pronouns and some nouns, e.g.

wə3-mə1

I-Pl

'we, us'

ni3-mə1

you-Pl

'you all'

tə1-mə1

he/she-Pl

'they, them'

wə3wə3-mə1

child-Pl

'children'

lɔ3sɿ1-mə1

teacher-Pl

'teachers'

Another plural suffix tɕiə1 is only used with demonstratives tɕɿ4 (this) and nə4 (that) or verb jiu3 ('to have' or 'there be') e.g.

tɕɿ4- tɕiə1

this-Pl

'these'

nə4-tɕiə1

that-Pl

'those'

jiu3-ɕi1

have-several

'there are some'

The reduplicated structure of some nouns can also express the meaning of number, i.e. “every”. For the monosyllabic words, the syllable is reduplicated giving the structure: AA. For the disyllabic word, some would reduplicate the first syllable giving the structure: AAB while some would reduplicate both syllables having the structure: AABB, e.g.

1) AA:

tɕiə1-tɕiə1 'every family'

zɛy2-zɛy2 'everyone'

2) AAB:

wa3-wa3 səy1 'every night'

tɕiə1-tɕiə1 səu3 'in every family'

3) AABB:

li3-li3 wɛ4-wɛ4 'everywhere'

xa2-xa2 nie2-nie2 'every trade'

### 2.1.1.3. Gender/Class

Two words functioning as prefix can be used to indicate genders of human: na2 'male', and ni3 'female', e.g. na2-lɔ3sɿ1 'male teacher', ni3-ɕiɔ2səy1 'girl student'. Another two words, also used as prefix, are used to indicate gender of animals: kuŋ1 'male' and mu3 'female', e.g. kuŋ1-tɕiə1 'rooster', mu3-tɕiə1 'hen'. However, people also say na2-mɔ1 for 'male cat' and ni3-mɔ1 for 'female cat'.

A suffix tɕiə1 is used with 2<sup>nd</sup> personal pronoun to express respect when children are addressing their parents or younger people addressing older people or people of the same age addressing each other with respect, e.g.

pa3pa3, ni3-tɕiə1 xui2lɛ2-lə2 kɛ3?

daddy you-Resp come-Asp. Interro

'Daddy, you are home?'

tə4tiə1, ni3-tɕiə1 kə3 xɔ3xɔ3 nə1?

Grandpa you-Resp Interro well Part.

'Granny, how have you been?'



ni3-tɕie1 kə3 tɕʰiŋ3-tə4 fan4 la3?  
 you-Resp Interro eat-Result. meal Part.  
 'Have you eaten yet?' (To friends of same age)

#### 2.1.1.4. Definiteness/Referentiality

When a noun or noun phrase refers to an entity, it is referential, if not, it is nonreferential. Referential noun or noun phrase can be definite or indefinite. When denoting definite, one of the two demonstratives, tɕi4 'this' or nə4 'that', is used, usually with a measure word, with the noun or noun phrase, e.g.

tɕi4-kə4 tum4  
 this-M cave/hole  
 'this cave/hole'

nə4-kə4 tsʰo2tɕi1  
 that-M basket  
 'that basket'

When used with plural suffix ɕie1, these two demonstratives can be used in plural, e.g.

tɕi4-ɕie1 kʰəy1kʰəy1  
 this-Pl ditch  
 'these ditches'

nə4-ɕie1 pʰa4pʰa1  
 that-Pl towel  
 'those towels'

When denoting indefinite, simply a noun or noun phrase is used, e.g.

fa2-tsɿ1-ɕəu1 məu1 zəy2  
 house-in Neg person  
 'No one is in the house.'

tɕiŋ1ɕi1 ɕia1jiŋ1  
 thing cheap  
 'Thing(s) is (are) cheap.'

#### 2.1.1.5. Case

In Kunming Chinese, the subjective case, objective case and subject-object agreement are expressed by word order and preposition. For instance, 'I greet him' and 'he greets me'

are expressed by: wo3 xa3 tʰə1 and tʰə1 xa3 wo3 respectively without so-called case marker or agreement marker.

In colloquial Kunming Chinese, the object of the sentence can be placed before the verb with a device traditionally known as "ba-construction". In Kunming Chinese, the function of "ba" is carried out by ε1. However, to use this structure, it seems the object needs to be a noun and the verb needs to be used with a resultative particle tə4, e.g.

1) tʰə1 tɕʰi2-lə3 fa3 → tʰə1 ε1-fa1 tɕʰi2-tə4-lə3  
 S V O S O V  
 he eat-Asp meal he Co-verb-meal eat-Result-Asp  
 'He ate the meal.' 'The meal was eaten by him.'

2) tʰə1 na2-tɕ3-tə4 tʰa1tʰa1 → tʰə1 ε1 tʰa1tʰa1 na2-tɕ3-tə4  
 S V O S O V  
 she knock-Result stand she Co-verb-stand knock-Result-Asp  
 'She knocked down the food stand.' 'The food stand was knocked down by her.'

#### 2.1.1.6. Possession

In Kunming Chinese, the possessive morpheme nə1 is used to express the possession of noun and pronoun, e.g.

wo3-nə1 tie1  
 I-Gen father  
 'my Dad'

tʰə1-nə1 nia1-nia1  
 she-Gen aunt  
 'her paternal aunt'

ɕio2ɕio4-nə1 tsʰie2tɕʰa3  
 school-Gen property  
 'school's property'

#### 2.1.2. Pronouns

Pronouns in Kunming Chinese include personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and quantitative pronouns.

##### 2.1.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns include the pronouns for the first, second, and third persons. The plural form can be formed by using the pronouns with the plural morpheme mə1, e.g.

1) ni3 'you' wo3 'I' tʰə1 'he/she'

2) ni3-mə1 wo3-mə1 tʰə1-mə1



you-PI	I-PI	he-PI
'you all'	'we/us'	'they/them'

In dispute, ɬ3tsɿ1 and tsu3kuŋ1 are used for first personal pronoun wo3. ɬ3tsɿ1 (with a different tone pattern: ɬ3tsɿ3 and tsu3kuŋ1 literally mean 'father' and 'ancestor' respectively. In utterance of dispute, they mean 'your father I' and 'your ancestor I' to show the speaker's superiority air. For example,

ɬ3tsɿ1 pu4 ɕiɔ1 ni3 ʂo2.  
 father-I Neg need you tell  
 'Your father I don't need you to tell me that.'

pu4 ɕiɔ1 ɛ1 ɬ3tsɿ1 tʂuŋ3 ɬa3.  
 Neg need for father-I eat Part.  
 'Quit eating (and get out)!'

The second example literally means "you don't have to eat for your father me and get the hell out of here now." Interestingly, females are also heard using the same expression. Therefore it could be more general to say that the use of these alternative forms of 'I' are used to show the superiority or emphasis of ego in dispute or quarrel.

### 2.1.2.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstratives can be used as demonstrative pronouns. The plural form can be formed by using the demonstrative pronouns with the plural morpheme ɕiɛ1, e.g.

1) tʂi4 'this'  
 nə4 'that'

2) tʂi4-ɕiɛ1  
 this-PI  
 'these'

nə4-ɕiɛ1  
 that-PI  
 'those'

### 2.1.2.3. Reflexive Pronoun

There is one reflexive pronoun in Kunming Chinese and it can be used by itself as "indefinite" one or with the three personal pronouns including their plural forms. e.g.

1) tsɿ4tɕi3 'self'

2) wo3 tsɿ4tɕi3

I self  
 'myself'

wo3-mə1 tsɿ4tɕi3  
 I-PI self  
 'ourselves'

ni3 tsɿ4tɕi3  
 you self  
 'yourself'

ni3-mə1 tsɿ4tɕi3  
 you-PI self  
 'yourselves'

tʰə1 tsɿ4tɕi3  
 he/she self  
 'him/herself'

tʰə1-mə1 tsɿ4tɕi3  
 he-PI self  
 'themselves'

### 2.1.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to form questions. Several of them are formed by using an interrogative morpheme na3 with a noun or measure word:

1) na3-kə4 'who/which-one' (na3 + general measure word: kə4), e.g.

ni3 ʂi4 na3-kə4?  
 you be which-one  
 'Who are you?'

na3-kə4 ʂo2 nə1?  
 which-one say Part  
 'Who said that?'

na3-kə4 məu3 ɬe2?  
 which-one Neg come  
 'Who did not come?'

2) na3-tir2 'where' (na3 + location word: tir2), e.g.



t<sup>h</sup>ə1 k<sup>h</sup>ə4 nɑ3-tir4 k<sup>h</sup>ə4-tə4 la3?  
 he go where go-Result Asp  
 'Where did he go?'

su1 tiu1-k<sup>h</sup>ə4 nɑ3-tir2 k<sup>h</sup>ə4-tə4 la3?  
 book throw-to where to-Result Asp  
 'Where is the book?'

ni3-tɕie1 tsɛ4 nɑ3-tir2 tɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋ3-nə2 fa4?  
 you-Resp at where eat meal  
 'Where did you have your meal?'

3) nɑ3-ja4 'what' (nɑ3 + noun 'kind': ja4), e.g.

t<sup>h</sup>ə1 ɕo2 nɑ3-ja4?  
 he say what-kind  
 'What did he say?'

t<sup>h</sup>ə1-nə1 wa2wa1 xa3-kə4 nɑ3-ja4?  
 he-Gen kid call what  
 'What is his child called?'

ni3 tɕ<sup>h</sup>io2-lə3 ɕie1 nɑ3-ja4?  
 you watch-Asp some what  
 'What did you watch?'

Other interrogative pronouns include:

4) tsa2-kə4 + verb 'how/why to; how come', e.g.

ni3-tɕie2 ɕuo2 tsa2-kə4 tɕɛy3 ɕɛ4?  
 you-Resp say how do Part  
 'What do you think we should do?'

t<sup>h</sup>ə1-tɕie1 tsa2-kə4 xɛ2 pu4 le2?  
 he-Iron why still Neg come  
 'Why is he still not here?'

tɕi1-tɕuŋ3 ji2 tsa2-kə4 tɕ<sup>h</sup>i2 ma?  
 this-kind fish how eat Part  
 'How do you fix this type of fish?'

tsa2-kə4 tɕi3-zɿ1-zɿ1 tɕiu4 pu4 jo4 la3?  
 why several-day then Neg want Part  
 'How come you just want it for only a few days?'

When the verb happens to be ɕo2 (to say) in this structure, tsa2-kə4 ɕo2 means 'what happens', 'what is the matter', or 'what to say', e.g.

tɕi1-t<sup>h</sup>ɛ2 si4 ɕi4 tsa2-kə4 ɕo2?  
 this-M matter be how say  
 'What happens to this matter?'

tsa2-kə4 ɕo2?  
 how say  
 'What's the matter?'

wo3 jo4ɕi4 le2-lə3-mə1 ni3 tsa2-kə4 ɕo2?  
 I if come-Result-Part you how say  
 'What are you going to say if I do come?'

5) tɕi3 'how many' (used with countable objects), e.g.

ni3-tɕie1 jiu3 tɕi3-kə4 wa2wa1?  
 you-Resp have how many-M child  
 'How many kids do you have?'

t<sup>h</sup>ə1 tso4-lə3 tɕi3-kə4 pa1pa1?  
 he make-Asp how many-M cake  
 'How many cakes did he make?'

jiu3 tɕi3-kə4 zɛy2 məu3 tɕ<sup>h</sup>io2-tɕuo2?  
 have how many-M person Neg watch-Result  
 'How many people didn't get to see that?'

6) to1-ɕo3 'how many/much' (used with either countable or uncountable objects), e.g.

ni1 ky3 zɛy1tə4 le2-lə3 to1-ɕo3 zɛy2?  
 you if know come-Asp how many person  
 'Do you know how many people came?'

to4-lə3 to1-ɕo3 ɕui3 a4?  
 pour-Asp how much water Part  
 'How much water did you pour?'

jo4 ko2 to1-ɕo3 t<sup>h</sup>a2 ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ2 kəu4?  
 need put how much sugar then enough  
 'How much sugar will be enough?'

1) to1-tɕɛy4 'when', e.g.

tʰə1 mo1 to1-tʂəy4 lə2 nə1?  
 he mother when come Part  
 'When did her mother come.'

ni3-tʂie1 to1-tʂəy4 tʂʰiŋ3a1?  
 you-Resp when sleep  
 'When are you going to bed?'

pɔ1pɔ1 to1-tʂəy4 tiu1-tə4 nə1?  
 bag when lose-Result Part  
 'When is the bag lost?'

A particular prefix ky3 used with verbs can also form interrogative sentence:

2) ky3 + verb '... or not', e.g.

tʰə1 tie1 ky3-xɔ3-tə4 la3?  
 he father Interro-good-Result Part  
 'Is his Dad okay now (or not)?'

pʰa4-pʰa1 ky3-mɛ3-tʂuo2 la3?  
 towel Interro-buy-Result Part  
 'Did you buy that towel (or not)?'

nə4-kə4 ky3-pə4 niu2-ʂi3-kun3-kun2?  
 that-one Interro-like doo-doo bug  
 'Does that look like a doo-doo bug?'

Other interrogative phrase with this prefix are:

ky3-xui4 'will... or not'  
 ky3-xo2 'correct or not'  
 ky3-ɕɔ1 'necessary or not'  
 ky3-tə2 'possible or not'

3) kɛ3 is the contracted form of the interrogative phrase kə3-ʂi4 ʂɛ4 (is it?) However, unlike the interrogative pronoun discussed in 8), kɛ3 is used as a question marker similar to mə1 in Mandarin Chinese and is always at the end of a statement, like the tag question in English, e.g.

lə2-lə3, kɛ3?  
 come-Asp Interro  
 'You are here?'

pu4 tʂʰi2-lə3, kɛ3?  
 Neg eat-Asp Interro  
 'You don't want to eat any more?'

ɕia4-nə1, kɛ3?  
 like Interro  
 'It looks like that?'

4) kɑ3 is the contracted form of ky3-xɔ3 (okay?) Similar to kɛ3, it is always used at the end of a statement, like the tag question in English, e.g.

jiu1 jiu1-nə1 lə2, kɑ3?  
 slow-Man come Interro  
 'Come slowly and watch your step, okay?'

wo3 kʰy4-lə3, kɑ3?  
 I go-Asp Interro  
 'I am going now, okay?'

mo2 kʰua2-lə3, kɑ3?  
 Neg brag-Asp Interro  
 'Stop bragging, okay?'

### 2.1.2.5. Indefinite Pronouns

All the interrogative pronouns can be used as indefinite pronouns in declarative sentences.  
 e.g.

1) nɑ3-kə4 'whoever' (referring to anybody involved), e.g.

nɑ3-kə4 tu1 pu4 ʂuo2.  
 whoever all Neg speak  
 'Nobody speaks.'

kua3-tʰə1 nɑ3-kə4-nə1.  
 care-he whoever-Gen  
 'Who cares whoever's it is.'

2) nɑ3-tir2 'wherever' (referring to any where involved), e.g.

wo3 nɑ3-tir2 tu1 pu4 ɕia3 kʰy4.  
 I wherever all Neg want go  
 'I don't want to go anywhere.'



na3-tir2 tu1 tʂo3 pu4 tʂo2.

wherever all find Neg Result

'No where it can be found.'

- 3) na3-ja4 'whatever' (referring to anything or matter involved), e.g.

tʰə1 məu3 ky3 wo3 na3-ja4.

he Neg give I whatever

'He did not give me anything.'

na3-ja4 tu1 pu4 ɕiŋ2.

whatever all Neg work

'Nothing works.'

- 4) tsa2-kə4 'no matter how/what', e.g.

nə1-kə4 wa2-wa1 tsa2-kə4 tu1 pu4 tʰiŋ1.

that-M. kid no-matter-what all Neg. listen

'The kid just did not listen.'

ʂə2 tsa2-kə4 wo3 tu1 pu4 jə4.

say no-matter-what I all Neg. want

'I don't want it, no matter what.'

- 5) tʂi3 'several' (referring to countable objects involved), e.g.

jiu3 tʂi3-kə4 ta4, jiu3 tʂi3-kə4 ɕiə3.

have several big have several small

'Several are big, several are small.'

məu3-tə2 tʂi3-kə4 ʂi4 xə3-nə1.

Neg several be good-Nom.

'Not many are (only several are) good.'

- 6) to1-ʂə3 'no matter how many/much' (referring to countable or uncountable objects involved), e.g.

ky3 to1-ʂə3 tu1 pu4 mə4.

give how much all Neg sell

'I won't sell it, no matter how much to offer.'

ʂə2-lə to1-ʂə3 tu1 məu1-tə2 juŋ4.

say-Asp how much all Neg use

'No matter how much I said, it just did not work.'

### 2.1.2.6. Quantitative Pronouns

Quantitative pronouns indicate either all the things or each single one involved. They are always used with the emphatic adverb tu1 'all'. Quantitative pronouns include:

1. tʰuŋ1-tʰuŋ1 'altogether' (reduplicated structure of the word tʰuŋ1 meaning "all"; used in colloquial style), e.g.,

zəy2 tʰuŋ1-tʰuŋ1 tu1 lə2 la3.

person altogether all come Part

'People are all here.'

2. so1-jiu1 'all' (similar to tʰuŋ1 tʰuŋ1, but used in more formal style and can also be in a different structure), e.g.

so3-jiu3-nə1 zəy2 tu1 lə2 la3.

all-Nom. person all come Part

'All the people are here.'

3. məi3 'each' (used with measure word), e.g.

məi3-kə4 zəy2 tu1 lə2 la3.

each-M person all come Part

'Everyone is here.'

### 2.1.3. Numerals

There are ten single digit numerals (or cardinal numbers). The two or multi-digit numbers are formed by combining these single digit numerals. The ten single digit numerals are pronounced as:

ji2 'one' ər4 'two' sa1 'three' ʂi4 'four' wu3 'five'

lu2 'six' tʂʰi2 'seven' pa2 'eight' tʂiu3 'nine' ʂi2 'ten'

Ordinal numbers can be formed by using prefix ti4 with the numerals, e.g.

ti4 ji2 'first' ti4 lu2 'sixth' ti4 pa2-ʂi2-sa1 'eighty-third'

Measure word (also known as 'classifier') are usually used with numerals when in noun phrase. Most of the measure words in Mandarin Chinese are also used in Kunming Chinese. However, some measure words are found uniquely in Kunming Chinese. An unexhausted list is given below:

- 1) pa3 'bunch; handful', e.g.

ɔ1-tɕɔ1 ji4 tɑ4 pɑ3  
filth one big amount  
'a big bunch of filth (on the body)'

(The measure word is used to describe the filth scrubbed from the body when having a “dry bath” typical in northern China where water is scarce or not having a bath for a long time.)

2) tɕuŋ1 'cup', e.g.

ji4 tɕuŋ1 kuɑ1-tsɿ3  
one cup melon-seed  
'a cup of melon seeds'

(When celebrating holidays Kunming people used to measure and hold melon seeds with tea cups.)

3) pɑ3 'board', e.g.

ji4 pɑ3 təu4-fu3  
one board tofu  
'a board of tofu'

(After made, Tofu is placed, shipped and sold on pieces of wooden board.)

4) tɔ4 'fold; round', e.g.

ʒɔ4 lia3 tɔ4  
to roll two time  
'to roll twice'

(When rolling up the sleeve of a shirt, to roll the sleeve up once is a tɔ4; also when coiling up the thread on a reel, one coil is also a tɔ4.)

5) tɕʰɔ1 'handful/scoop', e.g.

ji4 tɕʰɔ1 mi3  
one scoop raw-rice  
'a hand scoop of raw rice'

(When farmers are inspecting the rice just harvested, they usually scoop the rice and look at it. One hand scoop of rice is a tɕʰɔ1.)

6) tʰɛ2 'piece' (of wok), e.g.

ji4 tʰɛ2 ko1  
one piece wok (large)  
'a (large) wok'

(An alternative for the traditionally used measure word kʰəu3.)

7) tʰuŋ2 'tube (nostril)', e.g.

ji4 tʰuŋ2 pi2tʰi4  
one tube snivel  
'a nose full of snivel'

(In the old days, when parents were too busy to properly take care of their young kids, the kids were often seen leaving two long strings of snivel from their nostrils.)

8) piŋ3 'patch; big spit'

ji4 piŋ3 kʰəu3tʰan2  
one patch phlegm  
'a big spit of phlegm'

(Spitting on the ground along the street or on the floor at home has been a bad habit of Chinese for a long time. Each patch of the phlegm on the ground is one piŋ3.)

9) tʰo2 'lump'

ji4 tʰo2 ʂɿ3  
one lump stool  
'one lump of stool'

(This measure word is usually used in the description of stool. It is also used to describe some dark thick cooking cause made of soy bean.)

10) pɑ4 'large piece/patch in the wheat/rice field'

ji4 pɑ4 mə2tsɿ3  
one big patch wheat  
'a large field of wheat'

(The word pɑ4 originally means 'dam' built for irrigation. Many wheat fields were around the area of the dams.)

## 2.1.4. Adjectives

### 2.1.4.1. Category of Adjectives

Like other forms of Chinese, adjectives in Kunming Chinese can be summarized in three major categories and many of them can appear in opposite pairs:

1. describing shape, size, color, etc., e.g.

tɑ4/ɕiɔ3 'big/small', tɕʰa2/tua3 'long/short', xuŋ2/lu2 'red/green'

2. describing attribute and feature, e.g.

xɔ3/xuɛ4 'good/bad', ləy3/ʒə2 'cold/hot', ka1təiŋ4/ɔ1tsɔ1 'clean/dirty'



3. describing state of motion or emotion, e.g.

k<sup>h</sup>uε4/ma4 'fast/slow', tɕiŋ3tɕa1/tɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋ1suŋ1 'nervous/relax'

### 2.1.4.2. Adjective with Nominalizer and Manner Particle

Adjective can be used with nominalizer nə1, e.g.

ɕa1-nə1/tɕ<sup>h</sup>əu4-nə1 'the fragrant one / the stinky one'

əy4-nə1/zua3-nə1 'the hard one / the soft one'

t<sup>h</sup>ə2-nə1/k<sup>h</sup>u3-nə1 'the sweet one / the bitter one'

Adjective can also be used with manner particle nə1, which pronounced the same as the nominalizer. In this expression, adjective tends to be in two-word reduplicated structure, e.g.

jiu1-jiu1-nə1 '(to walk) slowly'

p<sup>h</sup>a1-p<sup>h</sup>a1-nə1 '(to cook) till soft'

suŋ1-suŋ1-nə1 '(to tie) loosely'

ta4 xε3-xε3-nə1 '(to act) carelessly'

### 2.1.4.3. Reduplicated Structure of Adjective

In Kunming Chinese, not many adjectives can appear in AA reduplicated structure without being used with the nominalizer or manner particle. Most adjectives can take the three-word reduplicated structure: A + BB. The following are some examples of these structures.

1. The AA + nominalizer or manner particle reduplicated structure, e.g.

kɔ1-kɔ1-nə1 'the tall one'

p<sup>h</sup>a4-p<sup>h</sup>a4-nə1 'the fat one'

tɕ<sup>h</sup>io1-tɕ<sup>h</sup>io1-nə1 'quietly'

t<sup>h</sup>uŋ1-t<sup>h</sup>uŋ1-nə1 'completely'

2. The A + nə1/lə3 + A reduplicated structure. One-character adjective can be used in this structure. The particles nə1 and lə3 are used to indicate the degree of what is described by the adjective. The structure with nə1 express a less strong degree than the structure with lə3, e.g.

ta4-nə1-ta4 'pretty big' (less strong)

ta4-lə3-ta4 'very big' (stronger)

la4-nə1-la4 'pretty worn-out' (less strong)

la4-lə3-la4 'very much worn-out' (stronger)

əy4-nə1-əy4 'pretty hard/firm' (less strong)

əy4-lə3-əy4 'very hard/firm' (stronger)

3. The A + BB reduplicated structure, e.g.

wu2 ti3-ti2 'rash'

ts<sup>h</sup>ɔ2 nε3-nε4 'nasty'

xə1 tɕ<sup>h</sup>u1-tɕ<sup>h</sup>u1 'dumb'

Semantically, pairs of A + BB structured adjectives describing the same type of thing but with the contrast of positive and negative meaning can be easily found in Kunming Chinese. And usually the structure with the negative connotation will be accompanied with tone change on the first character in the reduplicated structure, e.g.

pə2 səy1-səy1 'pleasant-looking white' (positive)

pə2 tɕa3-tɕa2 'sick-looking pale' (negative)

əy4 tsəy1-tsəy1 'solid' (positive)

əy4 ta3-ta2 'tough' (negative)

xə2 jiu1-jiu1 'tanned' (positive)

xə1 tɕ<sup>h</sup>i1-tɕ<sup>h</sup>i1 'dirty and dark' (negative)

lu2 jiu1-jiu1 'pleasant-looking green' (positive)

lu2 kua3-kua4 'sick-looking greenish pale' (negative)

ɕa1 lu1-lu1 'pleasantly good smell' (positive)

ɕa1 p<sup>h</sup>əy3-p<sup>h</sup>əy4 'suffocated fragrant' (negative)

4. The AA + BB reduplicated structure. Adjectives formed by two different characters can be used in this reduplicated structure, e.g.

tɕiŋ1ɕa3 → tɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋ1-tɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋ1ɕa3-ɕa3 'clean and fresh'

ɔ1tsɔ1 → ɔ1-ɔ1tsɔ1-tsɔ1 'unclean and messy'

kui1tɕi3 → kui1-kui1tɕi3-tɕi3 'well-behaved'

### 2.1.4.4. Comparison and Equality

The comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives in Kunming Chinese are expressed by using the two particles *kəy4* (more) and *tsui4* (most) respectively, e.g.

- |    | <u>Adjective</u>          | <u>Comparative</u>               | <u>Superlative</u>                 |
|----|---------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>xəy3</i> 'brave'       | <i>kəy4-xəy3</i> 'braver'        | <i>tsui4xəy3</i> 'the bravest'     |
| 2. | <i>tɕa1tɕiŋ1</i> 'stingy' | <i>kəy4-tɕa1tɕiŋ1</i> 'stingier' | <i>tsui4-tɕa1tɕiŋ1</i> 'stingiest' |
| 3. | <i>suŋ2</i> 'timid'       | <i>kəy4-suŋ2</i> 'more timid'    | <i>tsui4-suŋ2</i> 'the most timid' |

In colloquial Kunming Chinese, the superlative degree of adjective can be expressed by using a resultative device generally used in verb phrases. The device includes a resultative word *wa2* (meaning 'exhaust') followed by a resultative particle *tə4* (variant form of *tɔ4*, a particle indicating the end or result of some action or movement.) With this structure, the superlative degree of adjective could take this structure: Adjective + *wa2* + *tə4*, e.g.

*tɕiə3-wa2-tə4*  
hypocritical-exhaust-Result.  
'most hypocritical'

*xə3-wa2-tə4*  
small-exhaust-Result.  
'smallest'

*tə3-wa2-tə4*  
big-exhaust-Result.  
'biggest'

In comparative structure, the two degrees of adjective are not normally used. Instead, a structure: *A* + *pi3* + *B* + Adjective is used to show the superiority or inferiority of *A* to *B*, e.g.

*tɕi1-kə4 pi3 nə1-kə4 xə3.*  
this-M compare that-M small  
'This one is smaller than that one.'

*tʰə1-tɕiə1 pi3 wo3-tɕiə1 jə3.*  
he-home compare I-home far  
'His home is farther than my home.'

*ka3la2 pi3 lir2 pə1jiŋ1.*  
olive compare pear inexpensive  
'Olive is cheaper than pear.'

In the negative form of comparison, the comparison conjunction is replaced by the negation word and the rest of the structure remains, i.e., : *A* + *məu3tə2* + *B* + Adjective, e.g.

*pai1pa1 məu3tə2 ə3kʰuə4 xo3tɕʰi2.*  
wheat-cake Neg rice-cake tasty  
'Wheat cake is not as tasty as rice cake.'

*tɕiə1pə4 məu3tə2 tɕiŋ1pə4 xo3tɕʰiə2.*  
Yunnan-opera Neg Beijing-opera enjoyable  
'Yunnan opera is not as enjoyable as Beijing opera.'

*tɕi1-tʰə2 sɿ4 məu3tə2 nə1-tʰə2 sɿ4 na2 tɕəy3.*  
this-M issue Neg that-M issue hard-handling  
'This matter is not as hard-handling as that matter.'

The comparison can be implied in a simple declarative sentence with simply an adjective, e.g.

*wo3-nə1 xə3.*  
I-Gen. good  
'Mine is better.'

*tʰə1-nə1 tɕʰəu3.*  
he-Gen. bad  
'His is worse.'

The meaning of "equality" can be expressed by the structure:

*A* + *tə2* + *B* + *ji4ja4* + (Adjective)

In this structure, the adjective can be optional if the meaning can be known from the context; *tə2* is a conjunction meaning "and" and *ji4ja4* means "the same". Some examples are as follows:

*tʰə1-tiə1 tə2 tʰə1-mo1 ji4ja4 tɕa1tɕiŋ1.*  
he-father and he-mother same stingy  
'His father is as stingy as his mother.'

*tɕi1-kə4 tɕuo2tɕɿ3 tə2 nə1-kə4 ji4ja4 pə1tɕʰi2.*  
this-M bracelet and that-M same rare  
'This bracelet is as rare as that one.'

### 2.1.4.5. Adverbs

The adverbs in Kunming Chinese can be summarized in the following categories:

1. Temporal adverbs. These adverbs can be further classified into several subcategories:
  - 1) of present time and repetition, e.g.



tɕɿ1tɕəy4 'now'    tɕɿ1xɔ4 'this moment'    tɕɿ1tɕiu3 'recently'

kalka1 'just now'    ta1tɕ<sup>h</sup>ie2 'presently'

tɕɛ4 'again'    jiu4 'again'

Most of these adverbs can be used either at the beginning of a sentence or before the verb except the ones of repetition, which can only be used before the verb in the sentence.

## 2) of past time, e.g.

tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɛ2tɕia1 'a minute ago'    nə2tɕəy4 'at that time'    nə2xɔ4 'at that moment'

nə2ɕia4 'those days'    tɕ<sup>h</sup>ia2tɕiu3 'a while ago'    tɕɔ3ɕia1 'earlier'

ɕa4tsɔ3 'earlier'    tɕɔ2zɿ1 'the other day'    wa3t<sup>h</sup>ie1 'before'

## 3) of future time, e.g.

ɕie2xɔ4 'in a while'    ke3zɿ1 'another day'    kə2t<sup>h</sup>ia1 'another day'

ji3xəu4 'later'    tɕia1lɛ2 'in the future'    əɾ4xui2 'another time'

xɛ2 'still'    jie3 'also'

Most of these adverbs can be used either at the beginning of a sentence or before the verb except the last two, which can only be used before the verb in the sentence.

## 4) of indefinite time, e.g.

jiu3tɕəy4 'sometimes'    ji4ɕia4tsɿ3 'immediately'    tɕ<sup>h</sup>əy2zɿ1 'all day'

ɕi2pu4ɕi2 'spontaneously'    t<sup>h</sup>uŋ2ɕi2 'meanwhile'    ɕie1 'at first'

Among these adverbs, the last two can only be used before the verb in the sentence while the others can be used either at the beginning of a sentence or before the verb in a sentence.

## 2. Spatial adverbs

These adverbs include:

t<sup>h</sup>uŋ1t<sup>h</sup>uŋ1 'all'    pɔ3lia2 'altogether'    ja4sɿ4 'all'

ji4tɕ<sup>h</sup>i3 'altogether'    tu1 'all'    ji4kuŋ4 'in total'

tɕiŋ4tɕi4 'without exception'    tɕi2jiu3 'only'    ta1ta1 'just; only'

These adverbs are used before the verb in the sentence.

## 3. Adverbs of degree

These adverbs include:

t<sup>h</sup>ɛ4 'too (much)'    xəy3 'very much'    kəy4 'more'

tsui4 'most'    tɕa2ɕi4 'really; truly'    jie2fa1 'more'

kəy4fa1 'more'    t<sup>h</sup>ə2pie2 'specially'    tɕi2 'extremely'

xɔ3ɕia4 'likely'

These adverbs are used before the verb in a sentence.

## 4. Adverbs of attitude

These adverbs include:

xɛ2sua4xɔ3 'luckily'    to4ti3 'after all'    k<sup>h</sup>əy3tiŋ4 'certainly'

ku4ji4 'purposely'    na2tɔ4 'is it true'    ta4k<sup>h</sup>ɛ4 'possibly'

p<sup>h</sup>ie1p<sup>h</sup>ie1 'accidentally'    ɕuɔ2pu4tiŋ4 'uncertain'

These adverbs can be used either at the beginning of a sentence or before the verb in the sentence depending on the emphasis. However, ku4ji4 'purposely' can only be used before the verb in the sentence.

## 5. Adverbs of manner

These adverbs include mostly the reduplicated adjective with manner particle nə1, for example,

jiu1jiu1nə1 'slowly'    tɕ<sup>h</sup>iu1tɕ<sup>h</sup>iu1nə1 'silently'

xua1xua1zɿ1zɿ1nə1 'nervously'    muŋ3muŋ3tuŋ3tuŋ3nə1 'foolishly'

These adverbs are typically used before the verb in the sentence.

Also included are:

xɔ3tə2 'so good that'    tɕ<sup>h</sup>uŋ2liŋ4 'in another way'

sɿ3 'exhaustively; in utmost'

Among these adverbs, tɕ<sup>h</sup>uŋ2liŋ4 'in another way' is used before verb while the other two are used after verb.

## 6. Adverbs of negation

These adverbs include:

pu4 'no'	məu3 'not'	mo2 'don't'
pu4ɕiɔ1 'not necessary'	ɕiu1ɕia3 'don't even think of'	

These adverbs are typically used before verbs.

## 7. Onomatopoeic adverbs:

pa1ta1la1	noise made when eating
pa3la3	shutting window
pɛ1pɛ1	car horn
piŋ3pa3 / piŋ3liŋ3pa3la3	banging; heavy object fell
piŋ3tuŋ3	heavy object fell in water
ta3	knocking noise; bite on hard stuff
tə2tə2tə2	cricket chirping; teeth knocking against each other when shivering
a3	noise made by airplane or vehicle
a4	water flowing
ɛ3ɛ3ɛ3	child crying
tu1	farting noise
ɕua3ɕua3ɕua3	noise of tearing things (such as paper)
təy4təy4təy4	heavy stepping
ku1lu1lu1	rolling noise
p <sup>h</sup> a3p <sup>h</sup> a3	slapping on face
ko4to4to4	horse trotting
xua3xua3xua3	sea waves

## 2.1.5. Nominalizer and Diminutives

## 2.1.5.1. Nominalizer nə1

In Kunming Chinese, there is one nominalizer nə1, which is used with pronouns, adjectives, verbs, verb phrases, or even clause, for example,

## 1. with adjectives, e.g.

səu4-nə1	thin-Nom	'the thin one'
----------	----------	----------------

pie3-nə1	flat-Nom	'the flat one'
----------	----------	----------------

lu2-nə1	green-Nom	'the green one'
---------	-----------	-----------------

## 2. with verbs, e.g.

tɕ <sup>h</sup> t2-nə1	to eat-Nom	'the one to eat'
------------------------	------------	------------------

juŋ4-nə1	to use-Nom	'the one to use'
----------	------------	------------------

t <sup>h</sup> i4-nə1	to shave-Nom	'the one to shave'
-----------------------	--------------	--------------------

## 3. with verb phrases, e.g.

mɛ4ts <sup>h</sup> ɛ4-nə1	sell-vegetable-Nom	'the vegetable seller'
---------------------------	--------------------	------------------------

pɛ3t <sup>h</sup> a1t <sup>h</sup> a1-nə1	carry-stand-Nom	'the peddler'
---	-----------------	---------------

## 4. with clauses, e.g.

wo3 k <sup>h</sup> a4tɕie4-nə1	I see-Result.-Nom	'the one that I saw'
--------------------------------	-------------------	----------------------

t <sup>h</sup> ə1 k <sup>h</sup> ua2-nə1	he brag-Nom	'the things that he bragged about'
--	-------------	------------------------------------

## 5. with 'ɕi4...nə1' structure; in this structure, the part in the sentence to be emphasized is placed after the verb ɕi4, for example,



ku4sɿ4 ʂɿ4 tʰə1 pʰu3-nə1.

story be he tell-Nom

'He is the one that told the story.'

wɔ3 ʂɿ4 tɕʰie2 lia3zɿ1 tɕʰio2tɕie4 nə1.

I be before two-day see-Result-Nom

'It is two days ago that I saw that.'

### 2.1.5.2. Diminutives

The diminutives in Kunming Chinese include one prefix ʂio3 and one suffix əɾ2 using with nouns. The diminutive implication can also be expressed by the reduplicated structure of nouns and verbs.

1. əɾ2 with nouns, e.g.

liəɾ2 'pear' pʰəɾ2 'saucer' kʰuəɾ4 'chopsticks' nur2 'daughter'

2. ʂio3 with nouns, e.g.

ʂio3 ku1nia1 'little girl' ʂio3 wə2wə1 'small child'

ʂio3 pəy3pəy3 'small notebook'

3. reduplicated noun structure, e.g.

kʰo2kʰo1 'small shell' lo2lo1 'small basket' kʰu4kʰu1 'shorts'

4. reduplicated verb structure, e.g.

tsʰo2tsʰo1 'to scoop a little' ʂo2ʂo1 'to talk a little'

wə1wə1 'to dig a little' po2po1 'to peel a little'

## 2.2. Verbal Morphology

### 2.2.1. Verb

Verbs in Kunming Chinese can be classified into the following categories according to their functions and behavior in phrase and sentence:

1. verbs of activity, e.g.

pʰo3 'to run' ta3 'to hit' tɕʰi2 'to eat' tɕʰa4 'to sing'

na2 'to take' kuə4 'to hang' mɛ3 'to buy' tɕʰua1 'to put on'

ʂəu1tə4 'to receive'

2. verbs of appearing, e.g.

fə2səy1 'to happen' tɕʰu2ɕie4 'to appear' səy1 'to give birth to'

sɿ3 'to die' səy1tɕa3 'to grow' tɕa4tə4 'to grow up'

ʂio1ʂi2 'to disappear' tɕʰa3səy1 'to create (problem)'

3. verbs of copula, e.g.

ʂi4 'to be', (jiu3 'to exist')

4. verbs of directional, e.g.

le2 'to come' kʰy4 'to go' ʂa4 'to ascend' ʂiə4 'to descend'

tɕiŋ4 'to enter' tɕʰu2 'to exit' xui2 'to return' ko4 'to pass'

tɕʰi3 'to arise'

5. verbs of displacement, e.g.

tʰio4 'to jump' tiu1 'to throw' tʰui1 'to push' to4 'to dump'

pa1 'to push aside' tio4 'to drop' kuə4 'to fall' pʰa2 'to crawl'

6. verbs of existential, e.g.

jio3 'to have/exist'

(ɕie3 'to write', fa4 'to place', pʰo4 'to soak into', ʂi4 'to exist' can also be used with the similar function.)

7. verbs of experiential, e.g.

ʂia3 'to miss (someone)' pʰa4 'to be afraid' ɛ4 'to love'

xəy4 'to hate'

ʂio3tə2 'to know'

8. verbs of motion, e.g.

le2 'to come' tʰo2 'to escape' tɕʰia3 'to grab' lu3 'to loot'

## 9. verbs of placement, e.g.

fa4 'to place' tʂuŋ4 'to plant' xuɑ4 'to draw' sa3 'to spread'

tsʰa2 'to hide' ɕie3 'to write' tʂʰɔ1 'to copy' jɪŋ4 'to print'

tɕie4li2 'to establish'

## 10. verbs of posture, e.g.

tso4 'to sit' tʂa4 'to stand' tuəy1 'to squad' kui4 'to kneel'

tʰa3 'to lay' tʰɪŋ2 'to stop' sui4 'to sleep'

## 11. verbs of volition, e.g.

tʂʰa2 'to taste' tɕio1 'to teach' ʂo2 'to say' ɕie2 'to rest'

kʰəy3 'to gnaw' tsəu3 'to walk' mo4 'to grind'

Generally speaking, monosyllabic verbs can be used in reduplicated structure to express the meaning of "a little bit" (also termed as 'delimitative aspect' of verbs), for instance, kʰəy3kʰəy3 'to gnaw a little bit', ʂo2ʂo2 'to speak a little bit', and tuəy1tuəy1 'to squad a little bit'. However, verbs in the categories of appearing, copula, existential and experiential cannot be used in such structure.

Some verbs could be overlapping in their category due to the fact that they can be used with the similar function as the verbs in other categories, for instance, fa4 'to place' and ɕie3 'to write' are in the category of placement but can also be used as a verb of existential describing the existence of what has been placed and written respectively. Copula verb ʂi4 'to be' can be used as an existential verb as jiu3 'to exist' in the sentences wə4ʂəu3 ʂi4 tʂi1 kəu3 'outside is a dog' and wə4ʂəu3 jiu3 tʂi1 kəu3 'there is a dog outside'.

Adjectives can also be used as verbs and they are termed as 'adjectival verbs' or 'stative' verbs, whereas all the verbs discussed above are "functive verbs". The following are some examples of stative verbs:

(1) tʰə1 ky3 xɑ3-tə4 lɑ3?  
she Interro good-Asp. Part  
'Is she well (from sickness) now?'

(2) tʂi4-kə4 tʰie1tʰie4 ʂi2tɕil1tɕil-nə1.  
this-M weather wet-Nom  
'The weather is very humid.'

(3) wa2wa1-nə1 liə3 pə2səy1səy1-nə1.  
child-Gen face white-Nom  
'The kid's face is white and clean.'

## 2.2.1.1. TAM-system

Like other forms of Chinese, there is no tense marker in Kunming Chinese, instead, it is expressed by time phrase: past time phrase indicates past action, future time phrase indicates future action, etc. However, there are several aspect markers to help indicate the status of action or movement.

## 1. imperfective suffix: tse4

tse4 is used with verb in a sentence to indicate the continuation of an action or movement. The adverb xε2 (still) is often used with it, e.g.

(4) wa2-wa1 xε2-tse4-wua2 pε3 ku3tu2-ma1ma1.  
kid still-Asp-play set cooking-meal  
'The kids are still playing a cooking game.'

(5) wo3 tse4-lie4ɕi2 pa3tɕio1.  
I Asp-practice wrestling  
'I am practicing wrestling.'

(6) ni3tɕie1 xε2-tse4 tʂʰɪŋ3-fa4-nə1 kε3?  
you-Resp still-Asp. eat-meal-Part Interro  
'Are you still eating?'

## 2. imperfective suffix: tʂə1

This suffix is usually used to indicated two actions or movements are happening at the same time but not necessarily at the moment when the statement is made, e.g.

(7) tʰə1 sui4-tʂə2-tʂə1 xε2 ʂə2xuɑ4.  
he sleep-Result-Asp still talk  
'He talks while he is sleeping.'

(8) tʂʰi2-tʂə1-fa4 tɕio4 mo2 tʂʰɔ2ʂu1 lɑ2.  
eat-Asp-meal then Neg read Part  
'Don't read while eating.'

(9) tuəy1-tʂə1 mo2sɿ1 xε2-ɕiŋ1 tsa2jie1.  
squat-Asp bathroom still-want smoke  
'(He) smokes while using the bathroom.'

tʂə1 can be used with xε2 to indicate that the practice of the activity is being imitated, for example,



- (10) tʰə1 tse4-ɕuo2-tʂə1 kʰɛ1 tʂʰə1.  
 he Asp-learn-Asp drive car  
 'He is trying to learn to drive.'

In comparison with:

- (11) tʰə1 tse4-ɕuo2 kʰɛ1 tʂʰə1.  
 he Asp-learn drive car  
 'He is learning how to drive.'

In sentence (11), the activity 'kʰɛ1 tʂʰə1' (to drive) is actually being practiced while in sentence (10), the activity is being intended and imitated and the implication of the sentence is: following what the others have been doing, he is trying to do the same thing—learning to drive.

- (12) wo3 tse4-ɕo2-tʂə1 tso4 pə2tɕʰie2tɕi1.  
 I Asp-learn-Asp cook chicken  
 'I am trying to fix a chicken dish.'

in comparison to:

- (13) wo3 tse4-ɕo2 tso4 pə2tɕʰie2tɕi1.  
 I Asp-learn cook chicken  
 'I am learning how to fix a chicken dish.'

In sentence (13), the activity 'fixing a chicken dish' is being practiced while in sentence (12), the implication is that the speaker is following and imitating what the others are doing.

In some reduplicated verb structure, tʂə1 indicates some suggestion or encouragement to get involve in some activities. For instance, lə2-tʂə1, lə2-tʂə1 'come on', tʂʰi2-tʂə1, tʂʰi2-tʂə1 'let's start eating', tɕʰo2-tʂə1, tɕʰo2-tʂə1 'watch out'.

### 3. perfective suffix: la3

This suffix is used to indicate the completion of an action or movement. It is usually used with resultative suffix tə4 or tʂo2 to confirm the result and accomplishment of the action. Compare the two pairs of sentences below:

- A. ky3 kʰy4 la3? (1)  
 Interro go Part  
 'Did you go there?'

- ky3 kʰy4-tə4 la3? (2)  
 Interro go-Result. Part  
 'Is he/she gone?'

- B. ky3 mɛ3 la3? (1)  
 Interro buy Part  
 'Did you buy it?'

- ky3 mɛ3-tʂo2 la3? (2)  
 Interro buy-Result. Part  
 'Did you get it (by purchasing)?'

In both groups, sentence (1) only indicates the action that happened while sentence (2) implies the result or accomplishment of the action. Interestingly, this suffix can also be used to indicate the beginning of some action or movement, for example,

- (14) tʂʰi2-la3, tʂʰi2-la3.  
 eat-Suf: Perf eat-Suf: Perf  
 'Start eating.'

- (15) lə2-la3, lə2-la3.  
 come-Suf: Pref come-Suf: Perf  
 'It's coming.'

- (16) tsəu3-la3, tsəu3-la3  
 go-Suf: Perf go-Suf: Perf  
 'Get going. (Let's go.)'

### 4. experiential suffix: ko4

This aspect marker indicates the action that has or has not been experienced. For example,

- (17) lo3tsɿ1 məu3 wa2-ko4 nə1-fə4 səu1kə2.  
 I Neg try-Suf: Exp that-kind stuff  
 'I have never tried that kind of stuff.'

- (18) tuŋ1tʰiɛ1 xɛ2 məu3 ɕia4-ko4 xo3 nə1.  
 winter still Neg warm-Suf: Exp fire Part  
 'This winter I have not yet sat in front of fire to get warm.'

- (19) ni3-tɕie1 ky3 kʰy4-ko4 nə1-tir2 la3?  
 you-Resp Interro go-Suf: Exp that-place Part  
 'Have you been there (before)?'

### 5. resultative suffix: tə4

This particle is used to indicate the completion of an action or movement regardless of when it actually is accomplished. When it is used with another aspect marker la3, it indicates the completion on the moment, for example,

## Group A:

(20) ti2-tə4 tɕ1-kəy1 tse4 tin2 nə1-kəy1 mə4.

pull-Result this-one then pull that-one Part  
'Pull this one out then that one.'(21) tɕ<sup>h</sup>iə2-wa2-tə4 ɕu1 tse4 k<sup>h</sup>ə4 tɕ<sup>h</sup>ua4kɛ1.read-Asp-Result book then go shopping  
'Finish reading then go shopping.'

## Group B.

(22) ni3-tɕie1 tɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋ3-tə4-lə3 kɛ3?you-Resp eat-Result-Asp Interro  
'You finished eating, right?'(23) p<sup>h</sup>a4p<sup>h</sup>a1 tiə4-tə4-lə3.towel fall-Result-Asp  
'The towel fell.'

The two sentences in Group A show that after the completion of the first action it then goes on to the second one. However, the first action is not completed at the moment when the statement is made. Whereas the sentences in Group B indicate that the action is completed right at the moment when the statement is made.

## 5. other commonly used (but not an exhaustive list of) resultative suffixes used with verbs:

1) wa2

tɕ<sup>h</sup>iə2-wa2 'finish watching' ɕua4-wa2 'finish rinsing'p<sup>h</sup>u3-wa2 'finish telling'

2) tɕie4

tɕ<sup>h</sup>iə2-tɕie4 'seen' wəy2-tɕie4 'smelt' ji4-tɕie4 'met'

3) tɕo2

tɕ<sup>h</sup>əu4-tɕo2 'sought' wɛ3-tɕo2 'sprained' kuə1-tɕo2 'scratched'

4) la4

tə3-la4 'broken' fa1-la4 'torn by flipping' zua2-la4 'torn by rubbing'

5) k<sup>h</sup>ɛ1ɕue3-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ1 'thrown away' tɕua2-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ1 'kicked aside'p<sup>h</sup>ie4-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ1 'kept away'

6) tsəu3

huŋ1-tsəu3 'chased away' lə3-tsəu3 'grabbed away'

kuɛ3-tsəu3 'kidnapped'

7) ka1tɕiŋ4

tɕəy3-ka1tɕiŋ4 'cleaned' k<sup>h</sup>ɛ1-ka1tɕiŋ4 'mopped't<sup>h</sup>iɛ3-ka1tɕiŋ4 'licked up'8) with potential infix tə2: tə2-tɕ<sup>h</sup>i3, tə2-liə3, tə2-lə2tɕu4 tə2-tɕ<sup>h</sup>i3 'can afford living (in a house)'

wa2 tə2-liə3 'can end (in time)'

tɕ<sup>h</sup>i tə2-lə2 'can stand (the taste)'9) directional: lə2 (towards), k<sup>h</sup>ə4 (away) and lə2, k<sup>h</sup>ə4 used with tɕiŋ4 (in), tɕ<sup>h</sup>u2 (out), ɕa4 (up), and ɕia4 (down)pəy4-lə2 'to rush here' pəy4-k<sup>h</sup>ə4 'to rush there'na3-lə2 'to push towards' na3-k<sup>h</sup>əy4 'to push away't<sup>h</sup>i2 tɕiŋ4-lə2 'to carry in' t<sup>h</sup>i2 tɕ<sup>h</sup>u2-k<sup>h</sup>ə4 'to carry out'p<sup>h</sup>a2 ɕa4-lə2 'to climb up' p<sup>h</sup>a2 ɕia4-k<sup>h</sup>ə4 'to climb down'

7. future aspect

Future aspect is expressed by using one of the auxiliaries: jə4 (want to), ɕia3 (intend to), xui4 (will), nəy2 (can), or jie4ji4 (be willing to), for example,

jə4 tsəu3 'want to leave' ɕia4 lə2 'intend to come'

xui4 k<sup>h</sup>y4 'will go' nəy2 p<sup>h</sup>u3-wa2 'can finish telling'

jie4ji4 tso4 'be willing to do it'

8. imperative

Imperative is usually expressed by so-called subject-less sentence, for example,



məy1 tʂə1!

silent-Asp

'Keep silent!'

kuəy3 tʂ<sup>h</sup>u2-k<sup>h</sup>y4!

rush out-to

'Get out!'

mo2 k<sup>h</sup>ua2 la3!

Neg. brag Part.

'Stop bragging!'

It can also be expressed by using adverb phrase ε1-wo3 (for me) with the regular sentence structure, for example,

ni3 ε1-wo3 ky4 t<sup>h</sup>ə1 tiu1-tə4!

you for-me to it throw-Result

'Throw it away (for me)!'

ni3 ε1-wo3 xɔ3-xɔ3-nə1 tso4-tʂə1!

you for-me well-Man sit-Asp

'Sit straight there (for me)!'

ni3 ε1-wo3 kɔ2-tʂə1!

you for-me place-Asp

'Put it there (for me)!'

### 2.2.1.2. Negation

In Kunming Chinese, negation is expressed by using one of the three negation words before the verb in the sentence. The three negation words are: pu4 (no; not), məu3 (not yet), and mo2 (do not). In general, məu3 is preceded by the adverb xε2 (still or yet). It implies that some action has not yet taken place; mo2 is used in imperative sentence. When used with resultative verb phrase, negation word pu4 is located after the verb and before the resultative word, for example,

1. nə1-tʂi1 tʂi1, ky3 t<sup>h</sup>ə1-nə1 ʂi2, t<sup>h</sup>ə1 tʂiu4-ʂi4 pu4 ʂuŋ3. (pu4 + verb)

that-M chicken give it-Nom food it Emph Neg eat

'The chicken, it just does not eat the food given to it.'

2. wo3 tʂiu4-ʂi4 t<sup>h</sup>iŋ1-pu4-tə2 t<sup>h</sup>ə1-nə1-tir2 wa1xəu1 ʂəy1tə<sup>h</sup>i4.

I Emph listen-Neg-Result he-Gen-M weird voice

'I just can't stand his weird voice and intonation.' (verb + pu4 + resultative adverb)

3. wo3 xε2-məu4 t<sup>h</sup>ɔ2 mi3 tʂu3 fa4 nə1. (xε2 + məu4 + verb)

I still-Neg wash rice cook meal Part

'I have not yet wash the rice and cook it (= have not started cooking).'

4. wa2wa1 məu3 tʂ<sup>h</sup>i2-wa2 tʂiu4 liə4-tʂ<sup>h</sup>u2-k<sup>h</sup>ə4 wa2-k<sup>h</sup>ə4 la3. (məu3 + verb)

kid Neg eat-Result then run-out-to play-to Part

'The kid went out to play without finishing the meal.'

5. mo2 ε1-t<sup>h</sup>ə1 nɔ4 la1, wo3 ʂa4-fu4 ni3 la3. (mo2 + verb)

Neg and-he play Part. I beg you Part

'Stop making that much noise with him, I am begging you (= would you please).'

6. mo2 əɾ3-ʂi3 t<sup>h</sup>ə1. (mo2 + verb)

Neg pay-attention-to he

'Don't pay any attention to him.'

### 2.2.2. Verbal Categorizers

There is no morpheme in Kunming Chinese that can function as verbal categorizer to indicate categories of the verbs. However, according to their relationship with other components of a sentence, verbs can be categorized as follows:

#### 2.2.2.1. Transitive verb

Verbs that can take direct object are transitive verbs. These verbs can be one-word verb or two-word verb. Transitive verb takes one object, for example,

zə3 'to quarrel'

zua2 'to rub'

ʂua4 'to rinse'

p<sup>h</sup>ɔ4 'to soak'

xɔ4 'to play (with water)'

to2 'to pock'

tʂua2 'to kick'

ta3li3 'to clean; to take care of'

ta1ko2 'to delay'

t<sup>h</sup>iɔ1so1 'to cause discord'

ʂa1ma2 'to persuade; to influence'

#### 2.2.2.2. Ditransitive verbs

Some transitive verbs can take two objects: one direct object and one indirect object. These are known as ditransitive verbs. In many structures with ditransitive verbs, a coverb ky3 (for) is used with the indirect object of the verb, that is known as a benefactive noun phrase. As discussed by Li & Thompson (1981 Li & Thompson), this coverb ky3 can be forbidden, obligatory, or optional according to the behavior of the ditransitive verbs. For instance, in the

following examples, in Group A coverb ky3 is forbidden, in Group B coverb ky3 is obligatory, and in Group C coverb ky3 is optional.

Group A includes the following verbs (ky3 forbidden):

1. kɔ4suŋ4 'to tell'
2. ky3 'to give'
3. ta2jiŋ4 'to promise'
4. wəy4 / vəy4 'to ask'
5. tʰəu1 'to steal'
6. jiŋ2 'to win', and etc.

Examples are:

1. wo3 jɔ4 kɔ4suŋ4 tʰəl tɕie4-sɿ4.  
I want tell he some-matter  
'I will tell him something.'
2. ky3 tʰəl tir2 tɕʰir2 ma4.  
give he bit money Part  
'Give him some money.'
3. ni3 ta2jiŋ4-kuɔ4 tʰəl xie1 na3ja4?  
you promise-Asp he some what.  
'What have you promised him?'
4. ni3 kʰy4 vəy4-vəy1 tʰəl tsa2kə4 kʰy4 ma4.  
you go ask he how go Part  
'Go ask him how to get there.'
5. piɔ3 mɔ2tsəi2 tʰəu1-lə3 tuŋ1pi1 tɕiu4 kuə2-tə4 la3.  
little thief steal-Asp thing then escape-Asp Part  
'The thief ran away after stealing the stuff.'
6. wo4 jiŋ2-lə3 təl lia3 xui2.  
I win-Asp he two time  
'I won him by two games.'

Group B includes the following verbs (ky3 obligatory):

1. ti4ky3 'to hand to'
2. fəy1ky3 'to share with'
3. na2ky3 'to take to'
4. tɛ4ky3 'to bring to'

5. pa1ky3 'to move to'
6. tɕi4ky3 'to mail to'
7. tɕiɔ1ky3 'to give to'
8. mɛ4ky3 'to sell to'
9. tiu1ky3 'to throw to'
10. ɕu1ky3 'to lose to'
11. piɛ3ky3 'to write to'
12. tʰui1ky3 'to push to', and etc.

In this structure, the co-verb is always before the indirect object whether it is used right after the verb or not. Some examples are:

1. tʰəl ti4ky3 wo3 kə4 pɔ1pɔ1.  
he hand-to I M. bag  
'He handed me a bag.'

or:

- tʰəl ti4 kə4 pɔ1pɔ1 ky3 wo3.  
he hand M bag to I  
'He handed a bag to me.'

2. fəy1ky tʰəl ji4 pər4.  
share-to he one half  
'Share with him one half.'

or:

- fəy1 ji4 pər4 ky3 tʰəl.  
share one half to he  
'Share one half with him.'

3. na2ky3 wo3 kə4 mə2pa1pa1  
get-to I M wheat-cake  
'Get me a wheat cake.'

or:

- na2 kə4 mə2pa1pa1 ky3 wo3.  
get M wheat-cake to I  
'Get a wheat cake for me.'

4. tɛ4ky3 tʰəl kə4 jie1tɛ4ko1.  
bring-to he M smoke-pipe  
'Bring him a smoke pipe.'



or:

tɛ4 kə4 jje1tɛ4ko1 ky3 tʰə1.  
bring M smoke-pipe to he  
'Bring a smoke pipe to him.'

Group C includes the following verbs (ky3 optional):

1. suŋ4(ky3) 'to give ... as a present'
2. tɕiɔ1(ky3) 'to teach ... to ...'
3. tɕiɔ1(ky3) 'to add/increase ... to ...'
4. tɕʰua2(ky3) 'to pass ... to ...'
5. xua2(ky3) 'to return ... to ...'
6. fu4(ky3) 'to pay ... to ...'
7. tɕie4(ky3) 'to loan ... to ...'
8. pʰəi2(ky3) 'to compensate ... to ...'

With or without the co-verb ky3, the meaning of the sentence remains the same. Some examples are:

1. suŋ4ky3 tʰə1 tʰiɔ2 ʂəu3tɕiŋ1. (with ky3)  
give-to she M handkerchief.  
'Give her a handkerchief (as a gift).'

or:

suŋ4 tʰə1 tʰiɔ2 ʂəu3tɕiŋ1. (without ky3)  
give she M handkerchief  
'Give her a handkerchief (as a gift).'

2. tɕiɔ1ky3 tʰə1 ji4 ʂəu3 ko1. (with ky3)  
teach-to she one-M song  
'Teach her a song.'

or:

tɕiɔ1 tʰə1 ji4 ʂəu3 ko1. (without ky3)  
teach she one-M song  
'Teach her a song.'

3. to1 tɕiɔ1ky3 tʰə1 tɕi3 vəy2 tɕʰir2. (with ky3)  
more add-to he several M money  
'Pay him some more money.'

or:

to1 tɕiɔ1 tʰə1 tɕi3 vəy tɕʰir2. (without ky3)  
more add he several M money  
'Pay him some more money.'

4. tɕʰia2ky3 tʰə1 tɕi1 ja1. (with ky3)  
pass-to he M cigarette  
'Pass him a cigarette.'

or:

tɕʰia2 tʰə1 tɕi1 ja1. (without ky3)  
pass he M cigarette  
'Pass him a cigarette.'

### 2.2.2.3. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs cannot take any object. The intransitive verbs indicating action or movement include: tsuo4 (to sit), pʰa2 (to crawl), pʰa3 (to run), tsəu3 (to walk), fəi1 (to fly), kʰu2 (to cry), ɕiɔ4 (to laugh), tɕiɔ4 (to yell), tʰiɔ4 (to jump), tɕua4 (to spin), xo2 (to live), ɕi3 (to die), xo2 (to get along with), and etc.

Copula and stative verbs (or adjectival verbs as they are also known) are also included in the category of intransitive verb. Some examples are as follows:

1. ni3-tɕie1-nə1 ku1nia1 tɕa2ɕi4 xɔ3kʰa4 la3. (stative verb)  
you-Resp-Gen daughter really good-looking Part  
'Your daughter is really beautiful.'
2. tʰə1 tɕiu4 ɕi4 ni3 tie1 kɛ3? (copula)  
he Emph is you father Interro  
'Is he your father?'
3. tʰə1-nə1 pʰa4 ɕi2fu4 tsə2kə4 tu1 pʰa3 pu4 tuŋ4. (intransitive verb)  
he-Gen fat wife Emph all run Neg Result  
'His fat wife just cannot run.'

### 2.2.2.4. Voice: active and passive

Similar to the ba-construction in Mandarin Chinese, passive in Kunming Chinese is expressed by using passive coverb ɛ2 to connect the noun phrase affected by the action and the clause that practices the action. The structure is given below:

affected noun phrase + ɛ2 + clause of action

e.g.

tʰa1tʰa1 ɛ2 tʰə1 na3-tɔ3 tə4.  
stand Coverb he knock Result Asp  
'The stand was knocked down by him.'

mɔ2si1 ɛ2 sui3 jie1-tɕə4 la3.  
bathroom Coverb water flood-Asp Part  
'The bathroom is flooded by water.'

When the agent of the action is not mentioned in the sentence, the coverb is pronounced with a different tone: ɛ1, for example,

liɛ3 ɛ1 suɑ1-la4-tə4.  
face Coverb scratch-Result-Asp  
'Face was scratched.'

tɕʰir2 ɛ1 tɕʰa3 tə4.  
money Coverb rob-Asp  
'Money was robbed.'

### 2.2.3. Verbal modifiers

Like other forms of Chinese, verbal modifier in Kunming Chinese only includes coverbs. The most common coverbs includes: ɛ1 'with; for', ɛ2 'by; agent marker in passive voice' a4 'according to', pi3 'compare', tɕʰɔ2 'toward', tɕʰəy4 'taking advantage of', tsʰuŋ2 'from', tui4 'to; facing', ky3 'for; causing', kəy1 'following', kʰɔ4 'depending on; relying on', li4 '(away) from', tɕʰi3 'starting; up', tʰi4 'for; substituting', ɕia4 'like', jie2 'along', tɕɔ4 'according to'. Some examples are:

1. wo3 pu4 ɛ1 ni3 xɔ3 la3.  
I Neg with you good Part  
'I don't be friend with you any more.'
2. pa4pa1 ɛ2 tʰə1 pa2 tʰɔ2tə4.  
handle by he pull Result-Asp  
'The handle was pulled out by him.'
3. tɕɔ4 ni3 tɕi3-tɕuŋ3 ɕɔ2fa2 na3kə4 tu1 pu4 ɕiɔ1 kʰy la3.  
according to you this-kind saying whoever all Neg need go Part  
'According to what you say, nobody needs to go.'
4. tso4 pu4 ɕia4 mə1 tɕʰiɔ1 wa3 nə4 pie1 tsa3-tsa3.  
sit Neg Result TM only need toward that-side move  
'If (the space) can't seat all, just move over there.'
5. <sup>11</sup>zəy2tɕie1 tui4 tʰə1 nə4mə1 xɔ3 tʰə1 əy4ɕi4 ɕiɔ3 pu4 tə2.

<sup>11</sup> zəy2tɕie1 literally means 'other people' or 'other person'. However, it can also be used to refer to the speaker himself/herself in an euphemistic way especially in some embarrassing situation such as young lovers expressing their affection for each other.

zəy2tɕie1 tui4 tʰə1 nə4mə1 xɔ3 tʰə1 əy4ɕi4 ɕiɔ3 pu4 tə2.  
I-Euph to he that good he Emph know Neg Result  
'I have been so nice to him (=like him so much), he just does not notice that.'

### 3. Syntax

#### 3.1. Sentence types

Traditionally sentences are classified into two major categories: the simple sentences and the complex sentences. The diagram on next page shows the further classification of these two major types of sentences in Kunming Chinese.

##### 3.1.1. Simple sentence categories

According to the structural and functional aspects, simple sentences can be further divided into two more detailed categories respectively. The structural category includes two different types of sentences: 1) Subject-Predicate (S-P) sentences, also known as "double-element sentence" indicating the two major components: subject and predicate in the same sentence and 2) non-Subject-Predicate (non-S-P) sentences, also known as "single-element sentence" indicating the fact that there is only one major component in each sentence.

The S-P sentences can also be grouped into four different types according to the component of the predicate. The predicate can be a "V-predicate" if the major part is a verb, or an "Adj-predicate" if the major part is an adjective, or an "N-predicate" if the major part is a noun, or an "S-P phrase-predicate" if the major part is a phrase including another embedded clause with subject and predicate. Some examples are:

1. wa2wa1 jio4 liɔ4 tɕhu2kʰə4-tə4 la3. (V-phrase predicate)  
child again run out-Result Part  
'The kid ran out (to play) again.'
2. nə1 tɕie4 kua4kua1 tɕa2ɕi4 ɕia1jin1 la3. (Adj-phrase predicate)  
that M vest indeed cheap Part  
'That vest is really cheap.'
3. tɕiɔ1 mə1 ɕin1tɕhʰi1sa1 ɕɛ4. (N-phrase predicate)  
today TM Wednesday Part  
'Today is Wednesday (don't you remember.)'
4. wo3 tsʰiɛ2 pu4 nə4fa1 tʰin1 tʰə1 kʰua3 tsɿ4tɕi3. (S-P-phrase predicate)  
I really Neg want hear he brag self  
'I really don't want to listen to him bragging about himself.'

The non-S-P sentences include three types of structure: 1) subject-less sentence, a sentence contains only the predicate, 2) single-word/phrase sentence, which has only one word as a sentence, and 3) elliptical sentence, which contains only the most important word or phrase with rest of the sentence omitted. However, the omission is only taken place in a certain context therefore the part left can still be understood according to the context. Some examples are:



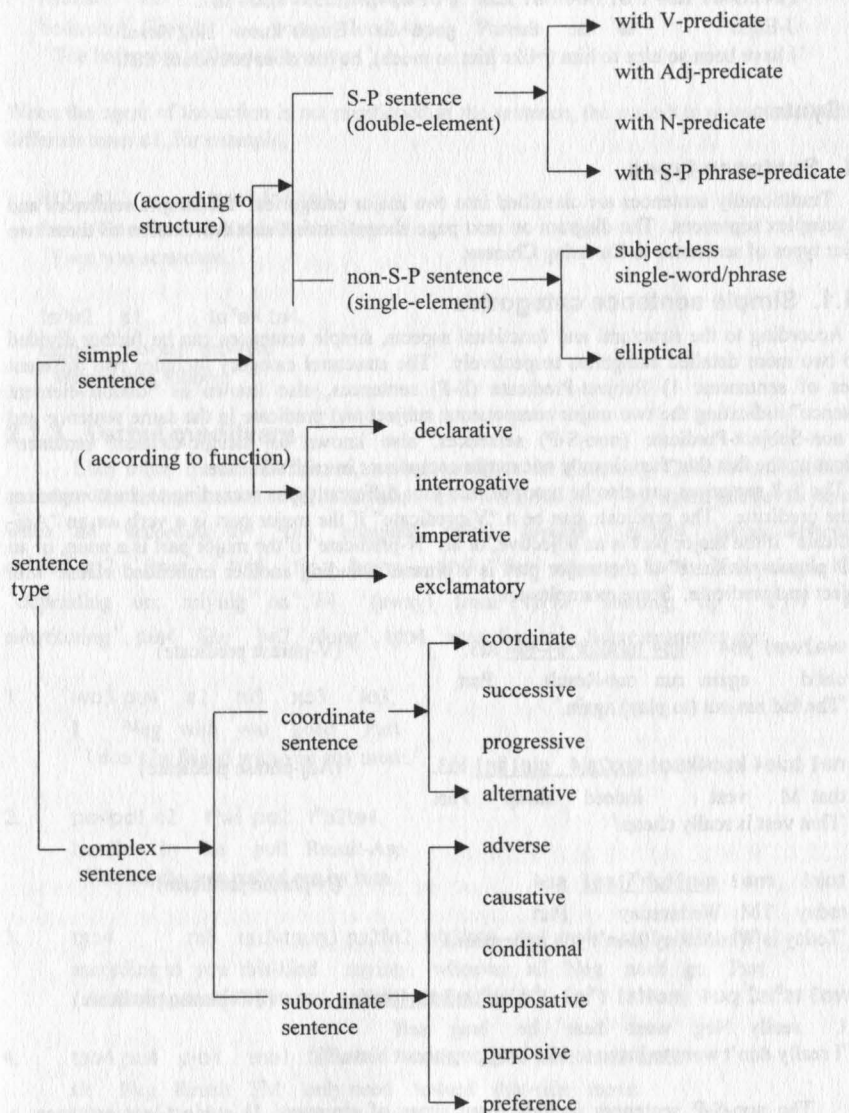


Diagram 3.1 Sentence Types

t<sup>h</sup>a1 pa1pa1 la3. (subject-less)

spread cake Part  
'Start making cake.'

tʂo1xu1 kua4-tʂə1 (subject-less)

beware fall-Result  
'(Mind you) don't fall.'

1. na3ja4? (one phrase sentence)

which-kind  
'What?'

sua4tɕ<sup>h</sup>iu2! (one phrase sentence)

over  
'(It's) over.'

kuəy3! (one word sentence)

roll  
'(Get) out!'

2. (lɔ3ts1) pu4 nɛ4fa1 (tɕ<sup>h</sup>io2)! (elliptical sentence)

(I) Neg want (see)  
'(I) Don't want to (see it)!'

(t<sup>h</sup>ə1-tɕie1 jɔ4 tɕ<sup>h</sup>ij3) tɕi1 tsuŋ1. (elliptical sentence)

(he-Iron want eat) mushroom  
'(He wants to eat) Mushroom.'

ɕie3s14 (tʂəy3 nə1).

Ah-four (do Part.)  
'Ah Four (=the fourth brother) (did it).' (elliptical sentence)

According to their functions, simple sentences can be classified into four categories: 1) declarative sentence, 2) interrogative sentence, 3) imperative sentence, and 4) exclamatory sentence. Some examples are:

1. Declarative sentence

t<sup>h</sup>ə1mə1 k<sup>h</sup>y4 ka3 kɛ1ts13. (with functive verb as predicate)

he-P1 go hurry-to market  
'They are hurrying to the market.'

tɕi1 wa3ʂəy1-nə1 jie2la4 t<sup>h</sup>ɛ4 jie2 la3. (with stative verb as predicate)

today night-Assoc moon too round Part  
'Tonight's moon is so round.'

mir2 pɑ2jie1 ʃɿ2wu3. (with noun phrase as predicate)

tomorrow August fifteen

'Tomorrow (is) August the Fifteenth (i.e. Mid-Autumn Festival).'

## 2. Interrogative sentence

ji1ʃa1 xɛ2ʃɿ4 tʃʰɑ2-nə1 kɛ3? (formed with question word)

clothe also-be wet-Nom Interro

'Is the clothe still wet?'

na3kə4 ʃuɑ2? (formed with interrogative pronoun)

who say

'Who said that?' (I don't think so!)

ni3 tɑ4ti3 zəy4tə2 mə1 zəy4-pu4-tə2? (positive-negative interrogative)

you Emph know TM know-Neg

'Do you know that or not?'

## 3. Imperative sentence

məy1 tʃə1!

silent Asp

'Keep quiet!' (Don't say anything about it.)

na3 tʃʰu2-kʰy4!

push out-Result

'Push (him/her) out!'

## 3. Exclamatory sentence

pəy4 tʃʰo2-tə4 nə1!

stupid Emph-Result Part

'So stupid!'

la4 pʰɑ1-tə4!

tender Emph-Result

'So tender!' (after it has been cooked for so long.)

### 3.1.2. Complex sentence categories

Complex sentences can be categorized into two major types according to the relationship of the clauses in the sentences. The clauses in a coordinate sentence are independent while the clauses in subordinate sentence are not. Depending on the types of correlatives that are used to connect the two clauses, coordinate sentences can be further divided into four different types: 1) coordinate sentence, 2) successive sentence, 3) progressive sentence, and 4) alternative sentence. Some examples are:

## 1. Coordinate sentence

tʰə1 tʃʰiɑ2 tie1ʃi4 wo3 tʃʰiɑ2 tʃiŋ1ʃi4.

he watch Yunnan opera I watch Beijing opera

'He watches Yunnan opera and I watch Beijing opera.'

(no correlative)

nə1 kə4 wa2wa1 ji4pie1 tʃʰi2fa4 ji4pie2 tʃʰuŋ4 kʰɑ2ʃui4.

that M child while eat-meal while doze off

'The child is dozing off while he is eating.'

(with correlative ji4pie1 ... ji4pie1)

tʰə1-iə1 ʃiə3-pʰiŋ2a1 jiɑ4 xa1 jiɑ4 tʃʰɑ3.

he-family Ah-Ping'an also stupid also foolish

'Ah Ping'an of his family is stupid as well as foolish.'

(with correlative jiɑ4 ... jiɑ4)

## 2. Successive sentence

tʰə1 ji4 kɑ2-tʃə1 wa3 tʃiɑ4 kuɑ2-tə4 lɑ3.

he once place-Asp bowl then leave-Result Part

'He is gone right as soon as he puts down the bowl.'

(with correlative ji4 ... tʃiɑ4)

ni3 ʃiə1 tʃʰɑ3 kə4 tʃʰɛ4 tʃɛ4 tʃəy1 tʰiɑ2 ji2.

you first stir-fry M vegetable then steam M fish

'You stir-fry some vegetable first and then make a steamed fish.'

(with correlative ʃiə1 ... tʃɛ4)

## 3. Progressive sentence

tʰə1 səy1-lə3 ji4 ta4 tui1 wa2wa1 xɛ2jiɑ4 jia3 kə4 ka1-nur2.

he bear-Asp one big M child still want raise M adopted-daughter

'He already has a whole bunch of kids and still wants to adopt a daughter.'

(with correlative xɛ2jiɑ4)

mɑ1 ky3 ʃi2 tʃʰi2-tə4 xɛ2 ɛ1 wa3 kuŋ3 fa1-tə4.

cat Cov food eat-Result also Cov bowl push flip-Result

'The cat ate the food and (also) flipped the bowl over.'

(with correlative xɛ2)



## 4. Alternative sentence

tʰə1 tso4-nə1 tsʰie4 jɔ4mə1 tʰe4 la2 jɔ4mə1 tʰe4 ɕie2.  
 he make-Nom. dish or too hot or too salty  
 'The dish fixed by him is either too spicy hot or too salty.'  
 (with correlative jɔ4mə1...jɔ4mə1)

tɕir1 ʂa3wu3 pu4ʂi4 ɕia4ji3 tɕiu4ʂi4 ɕia4ɕie2.  
 today morning Neg-be rain then-be snow  
 'This morning if it does not rain it will then snow.'  
 (with correlative pu4ʂi4 ... tɕiu4ʂi4)

Also depending on the types of correlatives, subordinate sentences are further categorized into six different types: 1) adverbial sentence, 2) causative sentence, 3) conditional sentence, 4) suppositional sentence, 5) purposive sentence, and 6) preference sentence. Some examples are:

## 1. Adverbial sentence

tɕin3kua3 ʂi4 tʰə1 pu4 tui4 ni3 xe2ʂi4 pu4 jin1ke1 ɛ1 tʰə1 za3.  
 even though be he Neg right you still Neg should with he fight  
 'You still should not fight with him even though he is wrong.'  
 (with correlative tɕin3kua3 ... xe2ʂi4)

tʰe4ja2 tɔ4ʂi4 tʂʰu2le2 la3 ta4ʂi4 xe2ʂi4 ləy3-tə2 xəy3.  
 sun be out-Result Part but still be cold-Deg very  
 'The sun is out but it is still very cold.'  
 (with correlative tɔ4ʂi4 ... ta4ʂi4)

## 2. Causative sentence

jin1wi4 ti4ʂi4 tʰe4 kɔ1 so3ji3 xu1ɕi2 kʰuəy4na2.  
 because altitude too high therefore breathe difficult  
 'Because the altitude is too high, breathing is difficult.'  
 (with correlative jin1wi4 ... so3ji3)

tɕi4z a2 tʰə1 pu4 ɕi3xua1 ni3 ni3 tɕiu4 mo2 kʰy4 tɕui1 tʰə1 la3.  
 since she Neg like you you then Neg to pursue she Part  
 'Since she does not like you, you then should stop dating her.'  
 (with correlative tɕi4z a2... tɕiu4)

## 3. Conditional sentence

pu4kua3 tʰə1 tso2kə4 ʂuo2 wo3 tu1 pu4 ər3ʂi3 tʰə1.  
 no matter she how say I all Neg notice she  
 'No matter how she explains I will never listen to her.'  
 (with correlative pu4kua3 ... tu1)

tʂʰu2fəi1 tʰə1 ta2jin4 xo3xo3nə1 ɕio2 wo3 tsʰe2 xui4 tɕio1 tʰə1.  
 unless he promise good-Man learn I then will teach he  
 'Unless he promises to study hard, I will not teach him.'  
 (with correlative tʂʰu2fəi1 ... tsʰe2)

## 4. Suppositional sentence

tɕiu4sua4 ʂi4 jio2tʂʰi1 ta3ʂi2-tə4 ni3-tɕie1 jie3 pu4 ɕio1 tɕi2 ma4.  
 even if be key lose-Result you-Resp neither Neg need worry Part  
 'Even if the key is lost, you don't need to worry.'  
 (with correlative tɕiu4sua4 ... jie3)  
 jio4ʂi4 tso3ʂəu3 pu4 ji1 ʂi3 ni3 jiu4 tʰio3 jio4ʂəu3 ma4.  
 if left hand Neg subject to use you then switch right hand Part  
 'If the left hand is not working, you then can switch to use the right hand.'  
 (with correlative jio4ʂi4 ... jiu4)

## 5. Purposive sentence

ni3 ɛ1 wa2wa1 pʰu1pʰu1 tʂʰua2 ky3 tʰə1 ʂui4 ji4xa4.  
 you for child make bed let her sleep awhile  
 'Make the bed so that the child can take a nap.'  
 (with correlative ky3)

## 6. Preference sentence

nə1 kə4 xa1pɔ1 lin2jie4 sa1 z11 pu4 tʂʰi2fa4 jie3 jio4 tʂʰua1 kə4 mɛ4mi3 xa4.  
 that M fool rather 3 day Neg eat still want pretend M sell-rice guy  
 'He would pretend to be a rice-seller even if he did not have anything to eat for three days.'  
 (with correlative lin2jie4 ... jie3)

ni3 ji3tɕʰi2 ka1nə4 mə1 tɔ4pu4z u2 ɛ1 wo3 tʰi2 tʰuŋ3 ʂui3 le2.  
 you if simply play Part better for I carry M water come  
 'You'd better get me a bucket of water if you are just playing there.'  
 (with correlative ji3tɕʰi2 ... tɔ4pu4z u2)

## 3.2. Simple sentence

## 3.2.1. Topic-prominent language

Kunming Chinese, especially the colloquial form, is topic-prominent even though the subject of a sentence exists and can be distinguished from the topic. In more cases, the thematic role of the sentence-initial noun phrase or verb phrase as to the verb in the sentence is not agent of "doing" or "being" (Li & Thompson 1981), but rather the topic of the sentence while the rest of the sentence is the comment of this topic. Some examples for both cases are:

## 1. Subject-Predicate relationship

wo3 | ts<sup>h</sup>iə2 ts<sup>h</sup>i2 tə4 fa4 nə1. ("doing" relationship)

I/Subj just eat Result meal Part/Pred  
'I just finished my meal.'

t<sup>h</sup>ə1 | tsie4 tɕ<sup>h</sup>iə2-tɕə1 su1<sup>12</sup>. ("doing" relationship)

he/Subj Asp read-Asp book/Pred  
'He is reading.'

nə4 k<sup>h</sup>o1 su4 | kə1 lə3 kə1. ("being" relationship)

that M tree/Subj tall Emph tall/Pred  
'That tree is awfully tall.'

t<sup>h</sup>ə1 nə1 lia4 tɕ<sup>h</sup>ə1 | tɕə2 ɕi4 k<sup>h</sup>ue4 la3. ("being" relationship)

he that M car/Subj Emph fast Part/Pred  
'His car is really fast.'

## 2. Topic-Comment relationship

nə1 t<sup>h</sup>iə2 k<sup>h</sup>u4 tsɿ3 mə1 | wo3 tə4ɕi4 pu4 jə4 la3.

that M pants TM/Topic I Emph Neg want Part/Comment  
'That pants, I don't want (it) any more.'

fa4 mə1 | tɕ<sup>h</sup>i2 tə4 la3.

meal TM/Topic eat Result Part/Comment  
'The meal, I have already eaten.'

**3.2.2. Structure of major components in simple sentence**

The positions of the major components in a simple sentence can be summarized into several types as follows:

1. simple sentence with both subject and topic: Topic + Subject + (Comment) Predicate, for example:

nə1 kə4 ti4fa1 wo3 | k<sup>h</sup>ə4 kuə4 la3.

Topic Subj (Comment) Pred  
that M place I go Exp Part  
'That place, I have been to.'

tɕə2tsɿ3 tə1 tie1 | ma2 kuə4 la3.

Topic Subj (Comment) Pred  
table he father clean Exp Part  
'The table, his Dad cleaned already.'

With difference in emphasis, the position of the topic and subject can be reversed but the role remains. The structure therefore can be: Subject + Topic + Predicate. Some examples are:

Regular Subject/Predicate sentence:

wo3 | ts<sup>h</sup>i2 tə4 fa4 la3. (Subject + Predicate)

Subj Predicate  
I eat Result meal Asp  
'I already ate.'

Emphasizing "topic": Topic + Subject + Comment

fa4 wo3 | ts<sup>h</sup>i2 tə4 la3.

Topic Subj Comment  
meal I eat Result Asp  
'Meal, I already ate.'

Emphasizing "subject": Subject + Topic + Predicate

wo3 fa4 | ts<sup>h</sup>i2 tə4 la3.

Subj Topic Pred  
I meal eat Result Asp  
'I, already had meal.'

2. simple sentence with identical subject and topic: Topic/Subject + Comment/Predicate, for example:

k<sup>h</sup>əy1min2 zəy2 | ɕi3hua1 ts<sup>h</sup>i2 la2-nə1.

Topic/Subj Comment/Pred  
Kunming people like eat hot-Nom  
'Kunming people like to eat spicy hot food.'

tɕə1 tɕie1-nə1 wa2wa1 | pu4 ɕia3 ɕa4ɕio2.

Topic/Subj Comment/Pred  
Zhang family-Gen child Neg like go to school  
'Zhang's child does not like to go to school.'

Normally in this type of sentence, to add a Topic Marker after the sentence-initial component can change the sentence into a Topic-Comment structure. The above two sentences can be changed into the following respectively:

k<sup>h</sup>əy1min2 zəy2 mə | ɕi3hua1 ts<sup>h</sup>i2 la2-nə1.

Topic Comment  
Kunming people TM like eat hot-Nom  
'Kunming people, (they) like to eat spicy hot food.'

<sup>12</sup> Li & Thompson treat this type of sentence as sentence with identical subject and topic.



tɕa1 tɕie1-nə1 wa2wa1 mə | pu4 ɕia3 sa4ɕio2.  
 Topic Comment  
 Zhang family-Gen child TM Neg like go to school  
 'Zhang's child, (he) does not like to go to school.'

3. simple sentence with no subject but topic: Topic + Comment.  
 Some examples are:

su1 | pu4 tɕio1 la3.  
 Topic Comment  
 book Neg teach Asp  
 'Teach, (he) is not going to.'

tɕa1tɕa1 | xo3 tə4 la3.  
 Topic Comment  
 crumb sweep Result Asp  
 'The crumbs, (he) cleaned away.'

These two sentences can be changed into the following structure with both a topic and subject:

su1 (mə) tʰə | pu4 tɕio1 la3.  
 Topic Subj Comment/Predicate  
 book Topic Marker he Neg teach Asp  
 'To teach, he is not going.'

tɕa1tɕa1 (mə) wo | xo3 tə4 la3.  
 Topic Subj Comment/Predicate  
 crumb Topic Marker I sweep Result Asp  
 'The crumbs, I cleaned away.'

4. simple sentence with no topic and no subject: Ø + Predicate, for example:

Ø | məu3 tɕia4 kuo4.  
 (no topic or subject) Comment/Pred  
 Neg see Exp  
 'Haven't seen that before.'

Ø | tɕʰi2 tə4 la3.  
 (no topic or subject) Comment/Pred  
 eat Result. Part  
 'Already ate.'

This type of sentence usually is part of a discourse. The meaning can be understood from the context therefore the topic or subject can be null to be more economic.

4. simple sentence with double topics: Topic 1 + Topic 2 + Comment, for examples,

lo3kuər1 ər3to1 | pəi4.  
 Topic 1 Topic 1 Comment  
 old man ear weak  
 'The old man, ear (hearing) is weak.'

ɕio2ɕio4 fa2tsɿ3 | jo4tɕuo2 ɕio1 xo3 la3.  
 Topic1 Topic 2 Comment  
 school house about build Result Part  
 'The school, house construction is about done.'

### 3.2.3. Structure of noun phrase in simple sentence

The position of topic or subject in a simple sentence can be filled with noun phrase or verb phrase. The structure of a noun phrase can simply be a noun or a pronoun. The pronoun can also be followed by a suffix of plural, possessive, or respective. The structure of a noun phrase can also be an adjective with a nominalizer, or a verb phrase with a nominalizer, for example,

- fa2tsɿ3 (noun) mə2sɿ1 (noun) wo3 (pronoun)  
 'house' 'bathroom' 'I'
- tʰə1-mə1 (pronoun + suffix of plural) tʰə1-tɕie1 (pronoun + suffix of respective)  
 he-Pl he-Resp  
 'they' 'he'
- ni3-nə1 (pronoun + suffix of Genitive) pʰa1-nə1 (adjective + Nominalizer)  
 you-Gen tender-Nom  
 'your' 'the tender one'
- tʰio1 ta4ta1 nə1 (verb phrase + Nominalizer)  
 carry (food) stand-Nom  
 'the peddler'

A head noun can also take modifier(s). This modifier can be an adjective, a pronoun, a pronoun with a suffix of possessive, a numeral with a measure word, another noun, or a verb phrase with a nominalizer, for example,

- xə1 ər2tsɿ3 (adjective + noun) wo3 tie1 (pronoun + noun)  
 silly son I dad  
 'silly son' 'my Dad'
- tʰə1-nə1 fa2tɕie1. (pronoun + suffix of possessive + noun)  
 she-Gen room  
 'her room'





### 3.2.6. Syntactic category of verb phrase in simple sentence

Syntactically, a verb phrase can be the major constituent of a predicate or comment of a simple sentence. A verb phrase can also function as the subject or topic of a simple sentence. Some examples are:

#### 1. Vi-phrase as Comment

wo3-nə1 ʃəu3təiŋ2 xɔ3 pu4 zɛ4 tə4 la3.  
I-Gen handkerchief Emph Neg exist Result Part  
'My handkerchief just disappeared.'

#### 2. Vt-phrase as both Topic and Comment

tso4 tʃi4 kə4 xəy3 xuɑ1 ʃi2təia1.  
do this M very cost time  
'Doing this costs a lot of time.'

#### 3. Stative Verb-phrase as Comment

tʰə təia xə jje nə.  
he family still far Part  
'His place is still far away (from here).'

#### 4. Vt-phrase as Predicate

tʰə1-mə1 tʃhɛ2 tʃhɪ2 tə4 fa4 nə1.  
he-Pl just eat Result meal Part  
'They just finished their meal.'

#### 5. Copula-phrase as Comment

mir2 ʃi4 tʰə1-nə1 səy1zɪ1.  
tomorrow be he-Gen birthday  
'Tomorrow is his birthday.'

### 3.3. Complex sentences

#### 3.3.1. Coordination

Coordinate complex sentences contain two or more clauses. The different types of coordinate relationship are reflected by different categories of correlatives. The two or more clauses in the same complex sentence could have the same subject/topic or different subjects/topics. The occurrence of the clauses is not ordered. The coordinate correlatives can be categorized into four major types:

##### 1. coordinative, which include the following correlatives:

- 1) 'jiu4 ... jiu4 ...' '...as well as...' or '... while ...'

- 2) 'ji4piɛ1... ji4piɛ1...' '...while...'  
3) 'tʃi1piɛ1 ... nə1piɛ1 ...' 'on the one hand... on the other hand'  
4) 'pu4ʃi4 ... ʃi4 ...' 'not... but...'

Examples are:

- a. tʰə1 nə1 kə4 fa2 jiu4 tʃhɔ2 jiu4 ɛiɔ3. (one topic)  
C1 C2  
he that M room also wet also small  
'His room is wet as well as small.'

- or: tʰə1 nə1 kə4 fa2 jiu4 ɛiɔ3 jiu4 tʃhɔ2. (one topic)  
C2 C1  
he that M room also small also wet  
'His room is small as well as wet.'

- b. tʰə1 nə1 jiu4 tɑ4 wɔ3 nə1 jiu4 ɛiɔ3. (two topics)  
he-Gen big I-Gen small  
'His is too big while mine is too small.'

- c. wɔ3 nə1 ʃu1 pu4ʃi4 tʃɛ4 tʃi4tir2 mɛ3 nə1 ʃi4 tʃɛ4 nə1tir2 mɛ3 nə1.  
I-Gen book Neg be Loc here buy Nom be Loc there buy Nom  
'My book is not purchased here but there.' (one topic)

- d. mɔ2 ji4piɛ1 tʃhɪ2fa4 ji4piɛ1 ʃuɔ2huɑ4, tʃɔ1xu1 jie2 tʃɛ1. (one subject)  
Neg while eat while talk careful chop-Result  
'Don't talk while you are eating or you may get choked.'

- e. tʰə1 tʃi1piɛ1 mə1 xa3 tʃhɔŋ2 nə1piɛ1 mə1 sɪ3 mɛ3 tuŋ1xi1. (one topic)  
he this side TM claim poor that side TM Emph buy thing  
'On the one hand he claims that he is poor, on that other hand he is shopping hard.'

- f. wɔ3 tʃi1piɛ1 ɛ1 tʰə1 ʃo2 xɔ3xuɑ4 tʰə1 nə1piɛ1 sɑ2la4jiu2. (two subjects)  
I this side for he say good words he that side do bad thing  
'On the one hand I am helping him, on that other hand, he is destroying himself.'

- g. tʰə1 mə1 ji4piɛ1 ɛi3 ji1ʃa1 ji4piɛ1 tʃu3fa4 ji4piɛ1 xɛ2 tɛ4 wɑ2wa1.  
he mother one side wash clothe one side cook one side also care child  
'His mom is washing clothes, cooking, while taking care of kids.'  
(three clauses)

##### 2. Successive, which includes the following correlatives with one or two subjects/topics; clauses are ordered:

- 1) '(ɛia1) ... tʃɛ4 ...' '(first) ... then ...'

- 2) '... tɕiu4 ...' '... then ...'  
 3) 'ji4 ... tɕiu4 ...' 'as soon as ...'

Some examples are:

- a. ni3 (ɕia1) tɕʰi2 lə3 fa4 tɕɛ4 kʰy4 mɑ4.  
 you (first) eat-Asp meal then go Part  
 'You'd better eat before you go.' (one subject; clauses are ordered)
- b. ni3-tɕie1 ɕia4-lə3-pa1 tɕiu4 lə2 wo3 nə4tir2 ka3.  
 you-Resp get-Asp-off then come I place Interro  
 'After you get off work, please come to my place, OK?'  
 (one subject; clauses are ordered)
- c. tʰə1 ko2-xɔ3 tun1ɕɿ1 wo3mə1 tɕiu4 tɕəu3 tə2 la3.  
 he place-Result thing we then leave-Result Part  
 'When he puts up the things then we can go.'  
 (two subjects; clauses are ordered)
- d. tə1mə1 lia3 kə4 ji4 jie4-tɕə2 tɕiu4 zɑ3tɕia4.  
 they two M once see-Result then quarrel  
 'They two will start fighting as soon as they see each other.'  
 (one subject; two clauses are ordered)
- e. tʰə1 ji4 tɕa1 tsui3 wo3 tɕiu4 ɕia3tə2 tʰə1 jɔ4 ɕə2 nɑ3ja4.  
 he once open mouth I then know he want say what  
 'As soon as he opens his mouth, I will know what he wants to say.'  
 (two subjects; two clauses are ordered)

3. Progressive, which includes the following correlatives with one subject/topic; clauses are ordered:

- 1) "..., xɛ2 ..." '... also ...'  
 2) "..., jie3 ..." '... , ... too'

Some examples are:

- a. wo3 xui4 ɕə2 kʰəy1miŋ2 xua4 xɛ2 xui4 ɕə2 kua3tun1 xua4.  
 I can speak Kunming speech also can speak Canton speech  
 'I speak Kunming dialect also speak Cantonese.'  
 (one subject; two clauses are ordered)
- b. tʰə1 tɕie1 kəy1tʰie2 jie3 tɕə4 səy1ji4.  
 he family farm also do business  
 'They are farming, and doing business, too.'  
 (one subject; two clauses are ordered.)

4. Alternative, which includes the following correlatives with one or two subjects/topics:

- 1) "ɕi4 ..., (xɛ2)ɕi4 ..." (in interrogative form) '... or ...'  
 2) "jɔ4mə1 ..., jɔ4mə1 ..." (in declarative form) 'either ... or ...'  
 3) "pu4ɕi4 ..., tɕiu4ɕi4 ..." (in declarative form) 'if not ... then ...'

Some examples are:

- a. nə1 kə4 zəy2 ɕi4 kə4 na2-nə1 mə1 ɕi4 kə4 ni3-nə1?  
 that M person be M male-Nom Part be M female-Nom  
 'Is that person a man or a woman?'  
 (one topic; two clauses are ordered)
- b. ɕi4 wo3 kʰə4 mɛ3 xɛ2ɕi4 ni3 kʰə4 mɛ3?  
 be I go buy or you go buy  
 'Are you going to buy that or I am (going to buy that)?'  
 (two subjects; two clauses are ordered)
- c. jɔ4mə1 mo2 kʰy4 jɔ4mə1 mir2 kʰy4.  
 or Neg go or tomorrow go  
 '(You) should either not go or go tomorrow.'  
 (one subject; two clauses are not ordered)
- or: jɔ4mə1 mir2 kʰy4 jɔ4mə1 mo2 kʰy4.  
 or tomorrow go or Neg go  
 '(You) should either go tomorrow or not go.'
- d. tʰə1-nə1 tun1ɕi1 pu4ɕi4 tiɔ4-tə4 tɕiu4ɕi4 tɕə2 zəy2tɕie1 tʰəu1-tə4.  
 he-Gen thing if not loss-Result then by some one steal-Result  
 'His things are either lost or stolen by some one.'  
 (one topic; two clauses are ordered)
- e. tɕʰi2-tə4 fa4 pu4ɕi4 ni3 lə2 wo3 nə1tir2 tɕiu4ɕi4 wo3 kʰy4 ni3 nə2tir2.  
 eat-Asp meal if not you come I place then I go you place  
 'After meal, either you come to my place or I go to your place.'  
 (two subjects; two clauses are ordered)

### 3.3.2. Subordination

Subordinate complex sentences contain two (or more) clauses: one main clause and one subordinate clause. The different types of subordinate relationship are reflected by different categories of correlatives. The two or more clauses in the same complex sentence could have the same subject/topic or different subjects/topics. The occurrence of the clauses is ordered and the order is defined by the type of correlative. The subordinate correlatives can be categorized into five major types:



1. Adversative, which includes the following correlatives with one or two subjects/topics:

- 1) 'tɔ4sɿ4 ... tɕiu4sɿ4 ...' 'to be... but...'  
 2) 'tɕiŋ3kua3... xɛ2sɿ4...' 'even though... yet...'  
 3) '... fa3ɛr2/fa3tɔ4 ...' '... on the contrary...'

Some examples are:

- a. tʰə1-nə1 wɑ2wɑ1 tsʰuŋ1miŋ2 tɔ4sɿ4 tsʰuŋ1miŋ2 tɕiu4sɿ4 pu4 juŋ4kuŋ1.  
 he-Gen child smart be smart but Neg diligent  
 'His kid is smart all right, but he is not working hard.'  
 (one topic; order of the two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

- b. tɕiŋ3kua3 tʰə1 xɑ3 pʰɔ4 sɑ3tsɿ1 xɛ2sɿ4 məu3 zɤv2 tʰiŋ1tɕia4.  
 even though he yell Result voice yet no person hear Result  
 'Even though he yelled so hard, nobody could hear him.'  
 (two subjects; order of the two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

- c. wɔ3 tui4 tʰə1 nə4mə1 xɔ3 tʰə1 fa3tɔ4 jɔ4 xɛ4 wɔ3.  
 I to he that good he contrary want harm I  
 'I have been so nice to him but he would want to destroy me.'  
 (two subjects; order of the two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

2. Causative, which includes the following correlatives with one or two subjects/topics:

- 1) '(jiŋ1wui4)... sɔ3ji3...' '(because)..., therefore...'  
 or: '... jiŋ1wui4...' '... because ...'  
 2) 'tɕi4zɑ2... tɕiu4...' 'since..., then...'

Some examples are:

- a. jiŋ1wui4 tʰə1 tsʰi2 pu4kua4 wɔ3 tsɕv3-nə1 tsʰɛ4 sɔ3ji3 tsɿ4tɕi3 kʰy4 tsɕv3.  
 because he eat Neg I fix-Nom dish therefore self to fix  
 'Because he does not like the dish I made, therefore he is fixing his own.'  
 (two subjects; order of the two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

- or: tʰə1 tsʰi2 pu4kua4 wɔ3 tsɕv3-nə1 tsʰɛ4 sɔ3ji3 tsɿ4tɕi3 kʰy4 tsɕv3.  
 he eat Neg I fix-Nom dish therefore self to fix  
 'He does not like the dish I made, therefore he is fixing his own.'  
 (with optional "jiŋ1wui4")

or even:

- tʰə1 tsʰi2 pu4kua4 wɔ3 tsɕv3-nə1 tsʰɛ4 tsɿ4tɕi3 kʰy4 tsɕv3 kʰy4 la3.  
 he eat Neg I fix-Nom dish self to fix go Asp  
 'He does not like the dish I made (therefore) he is gone to fix to his own.'  
 (with optional "jiŋ1wui4" and "sɔ3ji3" but the relation remains)

- b. wɔ3 tsɔ2zɿ1 pa4jie4 tsʰie2 xui2jia1 jŋ1wui4 sɿ4 tsɔ4 pu4 wa2.  
 I yesterday midnight Emph return because matter do Neg Result  
 'Yesterday I didn't go home until midnight because I got too much to do.'  
 (one topic; order of the two clauses: main clause + subordinate clause)

- c. tɕi4zɑ2 tʰie1tɕʰi4 pu4 xɔ3 wɔ3mə1 tɕiu4 kɛ3 zɿ1 tsɛ4 kʰy4 mɑ4.  
 since weather Neg good we then change day then go Part  
 'Since the weather is not good we then just go there another day.'  
 (two topics; order of the two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

3. Conditional, which includes the following correlatives with one or two subjects/topics:

- 1) "pu4kua3... tu1..." 'not matter ... will (not) ...'  
 2) "tsɿ3jɔ4 ... tɕiu4 ..." 'only if ... then ...'  
 3) "fəi1tə2 ... tsʰie2 ..." 'unless ... then ...'  
 4) "ji4 ... tɕiu4 ..." 'once ... then ...' or '... as soon as ...'

Some examples are:

- a. pu4kua3 tʰə1mə1 tsɑ2kə4 ʂɔ2 wɔ3 tu1 pu4 ɕiŋ4.  
 no matter they how say I Emph Neg believe  
 'No matter what they say I will never believe it.'  
 (two subjects; order of two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

- b. tsɿ2jɔ4 ni3 mɔ2 tsʰu2tɕʰi4 tʰə1mə1 tɕiu4 zɤv4 pu4 tɛ2.  
 only if you Neg sound they then know Neg Result  
 'Only if you remain silent, they will never know that.'  
 (two subjects; order of two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

- c. fəi1tə2 tʰə1 tɕʰiŋ1tsɿ4 lɛ2 tɕʰiŋ3 wɔ3 tsʰie2 kʰy4.  
 unless he in person come invite I then go  
 'Unless he invites me in person, I will not go.'  
 (two subjects; order of the two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

- d. ni3 tsɑ2kə4 ji4 tɕʰi3lɛ2 tɕiu4 tsɑ2 jje1.  
 you why once get up then smoke cigarette  
 'Why do you start smoking right after you get up?'  
 (one subject; order of the two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

- e. tʰə1 ji4 xəu3 wɑ2wɑ1 tɕiu4 pu4 ka3 kʰu2 la3.  
 he once yell kid then Neg dare cry Part  
 'Once he starts yelling the kid does not dare to crying any longer.'  
 (two subjects; order of the two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

4. Suppositive, which includes the following correlatives with one or two subjects/topics:

- 1) “jɔ4ɕi4 ... tɕiu4 ...” ‘if ... then ...’  
 2) “ʒu2kuɔ3 ... tɕiu4 ...” ‘if ... then ...’

Some examples are:

a. jɔ4ɕi4 ni3 pu4 xɔ3xɔ3 nɛ1 niɛ4ɕu1 ɛ4zj1 tɕɔ3 sɿ4 tɕiu4 na2 la3.  
 if you Neg well Man study future find job then hard Part  
 ‘If you don’t study hard, you will have a hard time finding a job in the future.’  
 (one subject; order of two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

b. ni3 jɔ4ɕi4 pu4 ɕia1ɕiŋ4 wo3 wo3 tɕiu4 pu4 pa1 ni3 la3.  
 you if Neg believe I I then Neg help you Part  
 ‘If you don’t trust me, I will not help you any more.’  
 (two subjects; order of two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

5. Purposive, which includes the following correlatives with one or two subjects/topics:

- 1) “... jie3xɔ3...” ‘... so that ...’  
 2) “... wue4nɛ1ɕi4...” ‘... for (the purpose of)...’

Some examples are:

a. ni3 tsɿ4tɕi3 ɕie1 ɕi4ɕi1 jie3xɔ3 kɔ4suŋ4 tʰɛ1 tsa2kɛ4 tɕɛy3.  
 you self first try so that tell he how do  
 ‘You try it yourself first so that you can tell him how to do it.’  
 (one subject; order of two clauses: main clause + subordinate clause)

b. ni3 xuɔ4 kɛ4 ja4ja1 wo3mɛ1 jie3xɔ3 tɕɔ4tɕɛ1 tɕɔ4.  
 you draw M sample we so that follow do  
 ‘You draw us a sample so that we have something to follow.’  
 (two subjects; order of two clauses: main clause + subordinate clause)

c. tʰɛ1 tie1 tɕʰi3tsɔ3 tʰa1xɛ4 wue4nɛ1ɕi4 tɕia1ɕɛu3 tɔ1 tir2 ɕɛu1zu2.  
 he father get-up early stay late just for family more some income  
 ‘His father works day and night for bringing home more income.’  
 (one subject; order of two clauses: main clause + subordinate clause)

6. Preference, which includes the following correlatives with one or two subjects/topics:

- 1) “tɕiu4ɕi4 / tɕiu4sua4 ... jie3 ...” ‘even if ... still ...’  
 2) “ji3tɕʰi2 ... tɔ4pu4zu2” ‘rather than ... would ...’

Some examples are:

a. wo3mɛ1 tɕiu4ɕi4 mɛu3 tɕʰir2 ɕi3 jie3 pu4 xui4 kʰy4 tɕʰiu2 tʰɛ1.  
 we even if no money spend still Neg will to beg he  
 ‘Even if we are out of money, we will never beg him for that.’

or: tɕiu4ɕi4 wo3mɛ1 mɛu3 tɕʰir2 ɕi3 jie3 pu4 xui4 kʰy4 tɕʰiu2 tʰɛ1.  
 even if we no money spend still Neg will to beg he  
 ‘Even if we are out of money, we will never beg him for that.’  
 (one subject; the correlative can be placed after or before the subject; order of two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause)

b. ni3 ji3tɕʰi2 mɛ3 tsɿ1kɛ4 mɛ1 tɔ4pu4zu2 mɛ3 nɛ1kɛ4.  
 you rather than buy this M TM would better buy that M  
 ‘You would rather buy that one than this one.’

or: ji3tɕʰi2 mɛ3 tsɿ1kɛ4 mɛ1 tɔ4pu4zu2 mɛ3 nɛ1kɛ4.  
 rather than buy this M TM would better buy that M  
 ‘(You) would rather buy that one than this one.’

Notice the order of clauses in Chinese is different from the English equivalence. The subject can be optional. The order of two clauses: subordinate clause + main clause.

### 3.4. Discourse phenomena

Coreference is a linguistic phenomenon found on the level of discourse. In discourse text, the third personal pronoun can have the coreference with the topic of the previous sentence. Demonstratives like “tɕi4” (this) and “nɛ4” (that) and demonstratives with place or time phrase can also be coreferential. Some examples are:

1. tɕa1 ɕia1sɛy1 tɕʰɛ2 kʰy4 tɛ4 tʰɛ1 ɕɔ2 mir2zu1 pu4 ɕio1 ɕa4ɕɔ2.  
 Zhang mister just leave Result he say tomorrow Neg need go to school  
 ‘Mr. Zhang just left.’ ‘He said there was no school tomorrow.’

In this example, the pronoun “tʰɛ1” (he) in the second sentence refers to the same person in the noun “tɕa1 ɕia1sɛy1” (Mr. Zhang) in the first sentence.

2. lo3kur1-mɛ1 xɛ2 tsie4 ɕia4 tɕʰi2 nɛ1 tʰɛ1mɛ1 pʰa4 xɛ2 pu4 xui2le2.  
 old man-Pl still Asp play chess Part they probably still Neg return  
 ‘The old men are still playing chess.’ ‘They probably are not coming home yet.’

In this example, the pronoun “tʰɛ1mɛ1” (they) in the second sentence refers to the same persons in the noun phrase “lo3kur1-mɛ1” (the old men) in the first sentence.

3. tʰɛ1 tɕie3tɕie1 jɔ4 wa3ɕɛy1 tsʰie2 xui2 le2 ni3 ky3 tɛy3 tɛ2 tɔ4 nɛ1 xa4?  
 he sister will night then return you Interro wait Result that time  
 ‘His sister won’t be home until night.’ ‘Can you wait until that time?’

In this example, demonstrative with a noun “nɛ1 xa4” (that time/then) in the second sentence refers to the same time in the noun “wa3ɕɛy1” (night) in the first sentence.



4. wo3 tɕiɑ1 ʂəu3 kʰua1 tʂʰɔ1 xiə1 tɕiu4 lə2 wo3 tɕi4 tir2 ma4.  
 I home Loc spacious more then come I this place Part  
 'My place has more room.' 'Let's come to my place.'

In this example, demonstrative with a noun “tɕi4 tir2” (this place/here) in the second sentence refers to the same place in the noun phrase “wo3 tɕiɑ1” (my place) in the first sentence.

Entailment is another linguistic phenomenon found on the level of discourse. To avoid repetition some phrases or clauses can be omitted but the meaning can still be entailed from the content of the discourse. Same examples are given below:

1. ni3 ky3 xa3 lə3 tʰə1 mir2 lə2 lɑ3? wo3 xa3 lɑ3.  
 you Interro ask Asp he tomorrow come Asp I ask Asp  
 'Did you ask him to come tomorrow?' 'I did.'

In this example, the clause “tʰə1 mir2 lə2” (him to come tomorrow) in the question is omitted in the answer to the question. However, the meaning can still be entailed from the context of this piece of discourse.

2. wo3 mə1 jɔ4 tʰɔ3 luy4 nə1 wuy4 tʰi2 ni3 ɕiɔ2 tə2 lə3 kə3? ɕiɔ3 tə2 lɑ3.  
 we Asp discuss Nom problem you know Asp Interro know Asp  
 'Did you know the problem we will discuss?' 'I did.'

In this example, the relative clause “wo3 mə1 jɔ4 tʰɔ3 luy4 nə1 wuy4 tʰi2” (the problem that we will discuss) in the question is omitted in the answer to this question. However, the meaning of it can be entailed from this piece of discourse.

3. kʰy4 nə1 kə4 ti4 fa1 nə1 ti4 tu2 ni3 tie4 tʂə1 lə3 pa4? tie4 tʂə1 lɑ3.  
 to that M place Nom map you bring Asp Part Interro bring Asp Part  
 'Did you bring the map of that place?' 'I did.'

In this example, the complement clause “kʰy4 nə1 kə4 ti4 fa1 nə1 ti4 tu2” (the map for going to that place) in the question is omitted in the answer to the question. But the meaning of it can be entailed from the discourse.

### 3.4.1. Particles

The use of sentence final particles in Kunming Chinese is rich. Listed and discussed below are the major particles with various discourse functions.

1. nə1 to indicate confirmation, for example,

- a. wo3 jɔ4 tsəu3 lɑ3 ni3 ky3 kʰy4 nə1? wo3 kʰy4 nə1.  
 I Asp leave Part you Interro go Part I go Part  
 'I am leaving. Are you going with me?' 'I am going (with you).'

- b. tʰə1 tsuɔ4 nə1 tɕi1 tɔ4 tsʰie4 ky3 xɔ3 tʂʰi2? xɔ3 tʂʰi2 nə1.  
 he fix Nom this M dish Interro tasty tasty Part  
 'Is the dish he fixed tasty?' '(It is) tasty.'

2. ma4 This particle has several functions.

- 1) imperative, for example,

tʰə1 pu4 kʰəy3 tsuɔ4 mə1 ni3 tsɔ4 ma4.  
 he Neg want do TM you do Part  
 'He does not want to do it. You do it.'

- 2) speculating, with the similar function of “pa4”, for example,

ni3 pʰɑ4 tsɔ3 tɕiu4 ɕiɔ3 tə2 lə3 ma4 / pa4?  
 you probably early Emph know Asp Part  
 'You probably knew it long time ago, right?'

- 3) to give permission, for example,

xɔ3 ma4 ni3 ɕie1 kʰy4 ma4.  
 all right Part you first go Part  
 'All right. You go ahead and go.'

- 4) to give complement, with similar function as “ɑ1”, for example,

ni nə1 tɕie4 ji1 ɕə1 tʰe4 xɔ3 tʂʰiɔ2 lə3 ma4 / ɑ1.  
 you that M clothe too good-looking Part Part  
 'That clothe of yours is really pretty.'

(At the end of the sentence, when lə3 is used with ɑ1, they are merged into one word: lɑ1.)

- 5) to make an argument, for example,

tɕi4 tɕi1 piɔ3 miŋ2 miŋ2 ʂi4 wo3 nə1 ma4?  
 this M watch clearly be I Gen Part  
 'This watch is obviously mine, (is it not?)'

- 6) to be dubious (or to express disagreement), for example,

ni nə tɕə tʂə xo nɑja ma4.  
 you that M vehicle good what Part  
 'What's good about your car. (I don't think your car is good.)'

3. ʂe4 to indicate that something is obvious or already known, for example,

a. nəl pəy3 ʃu1 məl ʃi4 wə3 ʃie3 nəl ʃe4.  
that M book TM be I write Nom Part  
'That book is written by me. (Don't you know that?)'

b. tʰəl tʃiu4ʃi4 pu4 kʰəy3 kəy1 wə3 ʃo2 ʃe4.  
he Emph Neg want with I say Part  
'He just does not want to talk to me. (You should know that.)'

4. la3 to indicate persuasion (to persuade or to be persuaded so that to give up), for example,

a. ʃi4 la3 ʃi4 la3 tʃi1 tir2 jiē1 wə3 pu4 tʃʰəu1 la3.  
all right Part all right Part Emph cigarette I Neg smoke Asp  
'Ok, Ok, I am not going to smoke any more.'

b. tsəu3 la3 tsəu3 la3 tʰiē1 tu1 mɔ1xə2 la3.  
go Part go Part sky Emph dark Part  
'Let's go, let's go. It is getting dark.'

5. ka3 This particle has several functions.

1) to beg or ask earnestly, for example,

a. ni3 ɛ1 tʰəl tʃəi2 tʃəi1 tir2 wa2wa1 ka3.  
you for she watch Asp bit child Part  
'Keep an eye on her kids, would you?'

b. ni3 ɛ1 wə3 ky3 ʃia1tsi3 tʰɛ2 ʃa4 ləu2 kʰy4 ka3.  
you for I BA trunk move up floor to Part  
'Move the trunk upstairs for me, could you.'

(The word ky3 in Kunming Chinese is the same as "ba3" in Mandarin Chinese.)

2) to express strong warning, for example,

a. ʃəi3 wa2wa1 tʃi1 tʃuŋ3 xua4 ʃuə2 pu4 tə2 ka1.  
small child this kind speech say Neg Result Part  
'Small kids are not supposed to say those things.'

b. xə3 wa2 pu4 tə2 ka3 tʃəi1xu1 ɛ1 fa2tsi3 ʃəi1 tə4.  
fire play Neg Result Part careful BA house burn Result  
'Don't play with fire. Or you may burn down the house.'

(The word ɛ1 has the same function as ky3.)

3) to express emphasis or to remind, for example,

a. tʃi4 kə4 xua4 ʃi4 ni3 ʃuə2 nəl ka3 wə3 tɔ4ʃi4 məu3 ʃə2 tʃə2.  
this kind speech be you say Nom Part I Emph Neg say Result  
'That is what you said (remember?). I did not say that.'

b. ni3 pu4 jə4 wə3 tɔ4ʃi4 jə4 nəl ka3.  
you Neg want I Emph want Part Part  
'You don't want it? But I do.'

### 3.4.2. Interjections

The use of sentence initial interjections in Kunming Chinese is also very rich. Listed and discussed below are the major interjections with various discourse functions.

1. a3 This interjection has several functions.

1) to express surprise, for example,

a3 ni3 ʃuə2 nəl jiē2fa1 ʃi1tʰi2.  
Interj you say Nom more strange  
'Wow, what you said is even more strange.'

2) to express disappointment, for example,

a3 nəl kə4 tsəi2tə4 mɔ3tʰo2 tə4 la3.  
Interj that M thief escape Result Part  
'Damn, the thief got away.'

3) to express discontented, for example,

a3 tʃi1 kə4 zəy2 tʰe4 pu4 tʃʰəy2 xua4 la3.  
Interj this M person too Neg outrageous Part  
'Gee, this guy is just outrageous.'

4) to show rebuttal, for example,

a3 ni3 ʃuə2 wə3 xui4 pʰa4 tʰəl kə3?  
Interj you say I Asp fear he Interro  
'Hey, did you say I am afraid of him?'

5) to ridicule someone, for example,

a3 tʰiə2 tʰəl nəl tir2 ja4ja1 xie2 ʃia3 ta1 tɔ4 kur1.  
Interj see he that kind appearance Emph want be big official  
'Gee, just look at him. A person like him could be a big shot!'



2. a4 to express suspicion, for example,

a. a4 xui4 jiu3 nə4 mə1 xə1 nə1.

Interj will exist Emph dumb Nom  
'What? Could a person be that dumb?'

b. a4 t'hə1 tsa2kə4 xui4 ε1 ni3 ʂuə2.

Interj he how Asp with you tell  
'Well, how could he tell you that? (There is no way you will tell you that.)'

3. ɔ4 Normally used with the topic to catch attention, for example,

a. ni3 ɔ4 tsa2kə4 nə4 mə1 sui1.

you Interj how that Emph coward  
'Oh you, how could you be such a coward.'

b. t'hə1 ɔ4 əy4ʂi4 pu4 səy1su4 la3.

he Interj really Neg thoughtful Part  
'Well he, he is really unthoughtful.'

4. ɔ3 This interjection has several functions.

1) to indicate realization, for example,

ɔ3 wo3 xε2 ji3wui2 wa2wa1 kua4 ʂia4 tʂ'ua2 lə2 la3.

Interj I Emph think child fall down bed Result Asp  
'Well, I thought the kid fell off the bed. (And I realize it is not true.)'

2) to show rebuttal, for example,

ɔ3 ky3ʂi4 ni3 nə1 kəu3 jɔ3 lə3 zəy2 xε2 jiu3 li3 kε3?

Interj Interro you Gen dog bite Asp person still have justice Part  
'Gee, you still think you are right after your dog bit the guy?'

5. ε3 This interjection has several functions.

1) to catch attention

ε3 ni3 nə1 ta1tʂ'hə1 jɔ4tʂo2 tɔ3 la3.

Interj you Gen bicycle about fall Asp  
'Hey, your bicycle is about to fall.'

2) to express disagreement

(nə1 ti1ti1 tʂ'hie4 kε3) ε3 wo3 lia3 xa4tsɿ3 tɕiu4 ka4 kual tə4.

that bit dish Interro Interj I two time then eat finish Result  
'(That little dish) Well, I can finish it right away.'

6. mə1 (=nə4mə1) It means "in that case", for example,

a. mə1 ni3 tsa2kə4 ε1 t'hə1 ʂo2 lə1?

Interj you how with he say Part  
'Then, how are you going to tell him?'

b. mə1 nə1 kə4 pɔ1pɔ1 tsa2kə4 tʂəy3 lə1?

Interj that M bag Interro handle Part  
'Then, what should we do with the bag?'

7. nɔ4 to catch attention or to show the location/direction, for example,

a. nɔ4 ky3 tɕia4 la3?

Interj Interro see Result  
'There, did you see it now?'

b. nɔ4 nɔ4 nɔ4 ni3 ma1 lə2 la3 mo2 k'hɔ2 la3.

Interj you mother come Asp Neg cry Part  
'There, there, your Mom is here. Stop crying.'

8. wu4jɔ4 to express surprise and complement, for example,

a. wu4jɔ4 ni3 tʂi1 t'hic2 k'hɔ4tsɿ3 nə1 ja2sɔ2 tʂ'ui4 lə3 ma4.

Interj you this M pants Asso color bright Result Part  
'Wow, the color of your pants is so bright.'

b. wu4jɔ4 t'hə1 lɔ3tie1 nə1 ʂəy1tsɿ3 mə1 tɔ4ʂi4 pa3tʂa2 la3.

Interj he father Gen body TM Emph sturdy Part  
'Oh, his father is in such a good health.'

9. mε3mε3sa3 to express shock and horrifying experience, for example,

a. mε3mε3sa3 nə1 k'hɔ1 ta4 ʂui1 ʂilts'hə1xu1 tɔ3 tse4 fa2 t'həu2 ʂa4.

Interj that M big tree almost fall on house top Loc  
'Gosh, that big tree almost fell on top of the house.'

b. mε3mε3sa3 tʂ'hic4tʂ'hə1 tʂ'hə1tir2 fa1 tse4 ʂalkəulkaul t'hə1.

Interj automobile almost flip to valley Loc  
'My God, the car almost flipped over into the valley.'

10. a1ti2ti2 (= a1tie1tei1) to satirize and ridicule, for example,

a. a1ti2ti2 ε3p<sup>h</sup>a2p<sup>h</sup>a2 nə1 jiu3 nɑ4ja4 tɕ<sup>h</sup>io2tɕ<sup>h</sup>a2.

Interj short Nom have what worth looking  
'My, (he is) such a short guy, is not even worth looking.'

b. a1ti2ti2 nə1 ti1ti1 tsa2kə4 kəu4 tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɿ2.

Interj that little how enough eat  
'Oh my, how can one feed on that little food.'

11. a1mɑ1mɑ1 to show shock as well as suspicion, for example,

a. a1mɑ1mɑ1 t<sup>h</sup>ə1 ɕi4 tsa2kə4 tɕəy3 nə1 mɑ4.

Interj he Emph how do Nom Part  
'Gee, what is he doing there? (How come he is still not here?)'

b. a1mɑ1mɑ1 ni3 ɕi4 tsa2kə4 nɑ2 nə1 mɑ4.

Interj you Emph how hold Nom Part  
'Hey, how did you hold that? (How come it will fall?)'

#### 4. Sample text

The following is a piece of sample text with interlinear transcription and free translation demonstrating the features of this language as discussed in this book.

##### A Stand-up Comedian Show<sup>13</sup>

tɕio4mi1 lo2xo1

laugh happy

'Full of Happiness'

tɕia2: ε3, ɕuo2-mə1-ɕuo2, ni3-tɕie1 ɕi 4 tɕəy3 nɑ3ja4 nə1?

Interj say-TM-say you- Resp be do Interro Part

A: 'Hello, say, what do you do?'

ji2: wo3 le2 tɕi3tie2 tɕ<sup>h</sup>o2 təy1.

I come here watch performance

A: 'I came here to watch the show.'

tɕia2: ɔ3-xɔ3, le2 tɕ<sup>h</sup>o2 wo3-mə jie3ɕi4 nə1 ke3?

Interj come watch I-Pl perform Nom Part

A: 'Oh, did you come here to watch our show?'

ji2: ε3.

Interj

B: 'Yes.'

tɕia2: tɕ<sup>h</sup>io2 wo3-mə jie3ɕi4, tɕ<sup>h</sup>in3 ni3-tɕie1 t<sup>h</sup>ε2tsɿ3 ti3tɕie1 k<sup>h</sup>ə4  
watch I-Pl. perform please you-Resp stage under to

A: 'If you are watching our show, would you please get down the stage and

tso4-tɕə k<sup>h</sup>a4. t<sup>h</sup>ε2tsɿ3 ɕa4t<sup>h</sup>əu2 pu4 tɕin1 jiu3 zəy2, ka3.  
sit-Asp watch stage top Neg allow exist person Part.  
sit under there to watch. No audience is allowed on the stage.'

ji: ɑ4ja4, t<sup>h</sup>ε2tsɿ3 ɕa4ɕəu3 tɕi4-kə4 rəy2 ɕo3 ɕε4. rəy2 ɕo3 mə1

Inter. stage top eh person few Part person few TM

B: 'Well, there are fewer people on the stage. With fewer people, I can have

k<sup>h</sup>a4-tɕə1 tɕ<sup>h</sup>in1ɕua3. nɑ4, ni3-tɕie1 jo3 tɕi3 kəy1 məi2mɑ1, wo3 tu1  
watch-Asp clear Interj you-Resp have how many M eye-brow I all  
a better watch. See, even how many eye-brows you have, I can

su3-tə2 tɕ<sup>h</sup>u2-le2.

count Result

count and tell.'

tɕia2: ε4, su3 nɑ3ja4 məi2mɑ1 ni3-tɕie1 mo2 su3 la3. tɕ<sup>h</sup>in3 ni3-tɕie1  
Interj. count what eye-brow you-Resp Neg count Part please you-Resp

A: 'Hey, stop counting my eye-brow. Stop that. Would you please go down there

ɕia4k<sup>h</sup>ə4 tso4-tɕə1 k<sup>h</sup>a4 ɕi4 tə2la3.

down sit-Asp watch show Part

and sit down to watch the show.'

ji2: wo1 ta2 tə1-tɕie1-mə1 pu4 ji4ja4.

I and he-Iron-Pl Neg same

B: 'I am not the same as the others.'

tɕia2: ɔ3, nɑ3tir2 pu4 ji4ja4?

Interj, Interro Neg same

A: 'Oh? why is not the same?'

<sup>13</sup> The text of this stand-up talk show is based on the show performed by Miao Yixuan and Huang Yedi with the same title recorded on the audio cassette tape *Yunnan Fangyan Xiangsheng* (Comic Talks about Yunnan Dialects) published by the Oriental Audio-Video Publication Company in Guizhou, China.



ji2: tʰə1-tɕie1-mə1 kʰa4-wa2 təy1 mə1 tɕiu4 xui2tɕial lə3  
 he-Iron-Pl watch -Asp show Nom then return Part  
 B: 'They will all go home after the show.'

tɕia2: ɔ3, nə4mə3 ni3 nɛ1?  
 Interj, TM you Interro  
 A: 'Well, what about you?'

ji2: wo3 kʰa4-wa2 təy1 mə1 xɛ2 tɕɔ3 ni3-tɕie1 jo3 ti1-ti1 sɿ4tɕʰiŋ2.  
 I watch-Asp show TM still find you-Resp have bit issue  
 B: 'I still need to see you for some business.'

tɕia2: ɔ3, xɛ2 tɕɔ3 wo3 jo3 sɿ4tɕʰiŋ2 kɛ3?  
 Interj, still find me have issue Interro  
 A: 'Oh, see me for some business?'

ji2: ɛ3.  
 Interj  
 B: 'Yes.'

tɕia2: jo3 na3ja4 sɿ4-tɕʰiŋ2, tɕa3-tɕə1.  
 have Interro issue say-Asp  
 A: 'What kind of thing you want to say? Go ahead and say it.'

ji2: tɕiu4-sɿ4 nə4 kə4 sɿ4 lə3. wo3 mə3 wo3 tsʰuŋ2 nuŋ2tsʰuy1-tʰə1 lə2,  
 Emph.-be that M issue Part I TM I from country-in come  
 B: 'That is the issue (I am talking about.) As far as I am concerned, I am from the

kə3xo2 la3?  
 Interro Part  
 country-side. Right?'

tɕia2: ə4.  
 Interj  
 A: 'Yeah.'

ji2: lə2-tɔ4 tɕɿ1-xa4-tir2 mə1 ni3-tɕie1 jie3 zəy4tə2 la3.  
 come-Result this moment TM you-Resp also notice Part  
 B: 'I am now here, as you also notice.'

tɕia2: ə4.  
 Interj  
 A: 'Yeah.'

ji2: zəy4tə2 mə1, wo3 jie3 lə2 la3, kə3-xo? wo3 lə2-la3, ni3-tɕie1  
 notice TM I also comePart Interro I come-Asp you-Resp  
 B: 'As you know, I am here. Right? As I am here, you also know that, right?'

mə3, jie3 ɕio3tə2 la3. ɕɔ3-tə2 mə1 tɕiu4 sɿ4 nuŋ1kə4 nuŋ1kə4 nuŋ1kə4  
 TM also know Part know TM then is that way that way that way  
 Since you already know I am here, then it is this, this, this, ...

kə3-zəy4-tə2 la3?  
 Interro.-know Part  
 do you understand now?'

tɕia2: ɛ3! kə3 wo3 zəy3 nə1 muŋ3-luŋ3-tuŋ3-luŋ3 nə1, kə3 zəy4-tə2 la3?  
 Interj BA I make Result confused Nom Interro know Part  
 A: 'Oh, you make me confused, do you understand that?'

ji2: ni3 xɛ2 məu3 tʰiŋ1 tuŋ3 ɕuo2, tɕiu4sɿ4 tɕɿ1 tʰɛ2 sɿ4tɕʰiŋ2 ɕɛ4.  
 you still Neg hear Result Part Emph this M. issue Part  
 B: 'You still did not understand that? That is the matter I am talking about.'

wo3tɕie1 nə1 kə4, nə1 kə4, a4ja4, wo3 ɕo2 pa4zɿ1, nə1 kə4 tsui3  
 I home that M that M Interj I talk half day that M mouth  
 My, my, ... Gosh, I have been talking for so long that

jie3 tɕəy3 nə1 ta3pia4pia1 la3!  
 also make Result start falter Part  
 even my mouth can't say the words straight.'

tɕia2: suan4 la3, ni3-tɕie1 jie3 mo2 ta3pia4pia1 la3, ma4ma4 nə1 ɕo2.  
 end Part you-Resp also Neg start falter Part slow-Man. speak  
 A: 'All right, please stop faltering. Say it slowly.'

ji2: pʰa4sɿ4 mə3 lə2 tɔ4 tɕɿ1 kə4 tʰɛ2ɕa4 tɕiŋ1 xua1 a4.  
 afraid be TM come Result. this M stage-on heart frighten Part  
 B: 'I guess I am just frightened while on the stage.'

tɕia2: ɔ4xɔ4, mo2 xua1 mo2 hua1.  
 Interj. Neg frightened Neg frightened  
 A: 'Oh, don't be frightened.'

ji2: ə4, nə4mə3 tsə2 kuo1 jie1 kɛ3?  
 Interj TM smoke M. cigarette Interro  
 B: 'Well, in that case, could I just smoke a cigarette?'

tɕia2: ɔ4, ɕi4tɕʰa2ɕəu3 pu4 ɕiŋ1 tsa2 jje1.

Interj theater-in Neg allow smoke cigarette

A: 'Oh, smoking is not allowed in the theater.'

ji2: ɔ4, tɕi1 ɕia4tɕi3 jɔ4 tɕa3 wəy2miŋ2 tɕa3 wui4səy1 tui4pu4tɕʰi3.

Interj this time need enforce civilization enforce sanitation sorry

B: 'Oh, we are now enforcing civilization and sanitation (policy). I am sorry.'

tɕia2: ni3-jie1 man4man4-nə1 tɕo2 ma4.

you-Resp slow-Man speak Part

A: 'Take you time and speak slowly.'

ji2: tɕiu4ɕi4 nə4kə4 sɿ4 lɔ3. wo3-mə1-wo3 ɕi4 nə4 kə4 nuŋ2tsʰuəy1-

Emph that M matter Part I-TM be that M country

B: 'That is the matter. As far as I am concerned, I am a professional chicken raiser

ɕəu3-nə1 ja3-tɕi1 tɕua1nie2xu4. tɕo3 ni3-tɕie1 nə1 kə4

in-Asso raise chicken profession family find you-Resp that M  
from the countryside, looking for an entertainment professional group like yours

jiɛ3-ɕi4 tɕʰa4təy1 tɕua1nie2xu4 kə4 wo3-tɕie1 tɕia1-ɕəu3 ...

perform sing professional unit for I-Gen family-in  
to bring entertainment to my place...

tɕia2: ɛ3, təy3-tɕə1, təy3-tɕə1, tɕo3 wo3-mə2 na3ja4?

Interj wait-Asp wait-Asp find I-Pl. Interro

A: 'Hey, wait a minute. What do you call us?'

ji2: jje3ɕi4 tɕʰa4təy1 tɕua1nie2xu4.

act sing professional group

B: 'Entertainment professional group.'

tɕia2: wo3-mə1 pu4 ɕi4 jje3ɕi4 tɕʰa4təy1 tɕua1nie2xu4.

I-Pl Neg be act sing professional group

A: 'We are not entertainment professional group.'

ji2: mə1 ɕi4 na1-ja4 nə1?

then be Interro Part

B: 'What is it then?'

tɕia2: wo3-mə1 ɕi4 tɕua1-nie2 tɕʰa4-təy1 jɛn3-ɕi4 xu4.

I-Pl be professional sing act group

A: 'We are professional entertainment group.'

ji2: ɔ4.

Interj

B: 'Oh.'

tɕia2: ɔ3ja3, wo3 jie3 tɕəy3 tsʰo4-tə4 la3 kə3? wo3-mə1 ɕi4 ɕua1nie2-nə1

Interj I also do wrong-Result Part Interro I-Pl be profession-Assoc

A: 'Oh well, I also got mixed up. We are professional

wəy2ji4 tɕi4tʰua2, xo2 la3 ma4?

culture-art group right Part Interro

Culture-Art Performance Group. Got it right now?'

ji2: xo2 la3, tɕiu4-ɕi4 tɕo3 ni3-tɕie1-mə2 la3. wo3 tʰə2ti4-nə1 ɕi4 ka3 lə2

right Part Emph find you-Resp-Pl Part I particularly-Man be rush to

B: 'Yeah, I am looking for you. I just rushed here to find a large, provincial

tɕi4-tir2-lə2 tɕo3 ni3-jie1-mə1 səy3-ɕəu3-nə1 ta4 tɕi4tʰua2 kʰə4

this place come find you-Resp-Pl province-in-Assoc large play group go  
entertainment group like yours to go to our place

wo3-tɕie1 nə4tir2 tɕʰa4 tɕi3 tɕʰa2 təy1.

I-Gen. there perform several M play

to give some performances.'

tɕia2: ɔ4, ni3-tɕie1 lə2 tɕʰiŋ3 wo3-mə2 kʰə4 kə3?

Interj you-Resp come invite I-Pl go Interro

A: 'Oh, you come here to invite us?'

ji2: ɛ3, wo3 sɿ3zəy2 tɕʰiŋ3.

Interj I personal invite

'Yeah, I invite you personally.'

tɕia2: ai4jɔ4 tɕi4 kə4 sɿ1zəy2 tɕʰiŋ3 wo3-mə2 kʰə4 tsʰuəy1tɕi3-ɕəu3

Interj this M personal invite I-Pl to village-in

A: 'Wow, to invite us to perform in your village by yourself,

tɕʰa4təy1 jje3ɕi4, tɕi4 ɕi4 kə4 ɕiŋ1ɕie1 sɿ4tɕʰiŋ2 lə4

sing perform this is M new matter Part

this is really a new thing.'

ji2: wo3-mə1 nuŋ2miŋ2 fu4 tɕʰi3lə2 la3. tɕiu4-ɕi4 jɔ4 ky3 nə4 kə4

B: I-Pl peasant wealthy-Man Part Emph intend BA that M

'We peasants are becoming rich. We just want to make the



nun2-tshəy1-nə1 wəy2xuə4 xə3xə3-nə1 ky3 tʰə1 xo2tun4 xo2tun4.  
 countryside-Assoc culture well-Man AB it mobile mobile  
 cultural life in the countryside more mobile.'

təia2: xo2jə4 xo2jə4.

lively lively

A: 'It is (to make it more) lively (not mobile).'

ji2: ə4, ʂi4 la3, xo2jə4 xo2jə4. tshəy3 thə1 kə4 zə2zə1 nə4nə4 nə1.

Interj right Part lively lively make it M warm happy-Man

B: 'Oh, yes, make it lively. Make it happy.'

təia2: ʂi4 la3, ʂi4 la3 ɕin1ɕial sɿ4, ɕin1ɕial sɿ4.

right Part right Part new matter new matter

A: 'Yes, yes. It is a new thing, a new thing.'

ji2: nə4-mə1 ni3-jie1 kə3 kʰə4tə2-tshəŋ2? kʰə4 pu4-tshəŋ2-mə1 wo3

then you-Resp Interro go-Result go Neg-Result TM I

B: 'Then, are you able to go (to our place?) If you aren't, I would go

kʰə4 pie2təial tshəŋ3.

go other place invite

to other places to find it.'

təia2: kʰə4tə2-tshəŋ2nə1, kʰə4tə2-tshəŋ2 nə1. tse4 ʂuo2 mə1, fun1fu4 nun2-

go-Result Part go-Result Part also say TM enrich

A: 'We are able to go, we are able to go. Besides, to enrich the cultural life in the

tshəy1 wən2xuə4 səy1xə2, wo3-mə1 jie3 jiu3 tsə2zəy4 mə4.

country culture life I-Pl also have responsibility Part

countryside is also our responsibility.'

ji2: xo2 ə3, ni3-jie1-mə1 ka3tir2 ɕia4 lə2 la3. tshə4təiu3 ə4, wo3-mə2

right Part you-Resp-Pl sooner come down Part lately Part I-Pl

B: 'You are right. Please hurry and come down to our place. Recently,

lə3ʂi2 kʰə2 təy1 la3.

really yearn for play Part

we are really hungry for entertainment.'

təia ʂə3, ʂə3, ʂə3. lə2 nə1, lə2 nə1. ʂə2mə1ʂə2, ni3-jie1-nə1 jia1

right right right come Part come Part say you-Resp-Gen home

A: 'Ok, Ok, Ok. We are coming, we are coming. Say,

tshə4-tse4 nə3tir2 nə1?

live-Loc Interro Part

where is you home?'

ji2: tshə4-tse4 tiə1-tun1-pə2.

live-Loc Yunnan-east-north

B: 'I live in northeastern Yunnan.'

təia2: tiə1-tun1-pə2.

Yunnan-east-north

A: 'In northeastern Yunnan.'

ji2: ə4.

Interj

B: 'Well.'

təia2: ə1, tshə1-tʰun1.

Interj, Zhaotong

A: 'Oh, it is in Zhaotong city.'

ji2: tiə1-tun1-pə2

Yunnan-east-north

B: 'It is in northeastern Yunnan.'

təia2: tun1-tshua1.

Dongchuan

A: 'It is in Dongchuan city.'

ji2: tiə1-tun1-pə2.

Yunnan-east-north

B: 'It is in northeastern Yunnan.'

təia2: sun2-min2.

Songming

A: 'It is in Songming city.'

ji2: ə4...

Interj

B: 'Well, ...'

təia2: xo2 la3.

right Part

A: 'It is correct.'

ji2: pu4 xo2.  
Neg right  
B: 'Incorrect!'

tɕia2: pu4 xo2 mɛ1 ni3 ɛ4-ɕie1 na3ja4 ma4?  
Neg. right TM you well-Pl Interro Part  
A: 'If it is incorrect, why do you keep saying 'well'?'

ji2: ɕi4 tie1-tuŋ1-pɔ2.  
be Yunnan-east-north  
B: 'It is in northeastern Yunnan.'

tɕia2: na3tir2 nɛ1 tie1-tuŋ1-pɔ2?  
Interro Asso. Yunnan-east-north  
A: 'Where is this northeastern Yunnan?'

ji2: ɕi4 nɛ4-kɛ4 tɕhɛy2kuŋ4.  
be that M Chenggong  
B: 'It is in Chenggong city.'

tɕia2: ɛ3, tɕhɛy2kuŋ4-mɛ1 za2-kɛ4 ɕi4 tie1-tuŋ1-pɔ2?  
Interj Chenggong TM Interro is Yunnan-east-north  
A: 'Hey, how can you say Chenggong city is in northeastern Yunnan?'

ji2: tɕhɛy2kuŋ4 zɛ4 k<sup>h</sup>uɛy1miŋ2-nɛ1 tuŋ1pie1, tie1tɕh<sup>h</sup>ɪ2-nɛ1 pɛ2pie1  
Chenggong Loc Kunming-Asso east side Dianchi Lake-Asso north side  
B: 'Chenggong city is located to the east of Kunming city and to the north of

ky3 xa3 tie1-tuŋ1-pɔ2?  
Interro call Yunnan-east-north  
Dianchi Lake. Can it be called northeastern Yunnan?'

tɕia2: o4ja4, ɕi4 nɛ4kɛ4-tɕɛ1-nɛ1 tie1-tuŋ1-pɔ2 kɛ3?  
Interj be that-way-Asso Yunnan-east-north Interro  
A: 'Oh, you look at it that way.'

ji2: ɛ3, tɕiu4ɕi4 la3. ni3-tɕie1 tɕhɔ1k<sup>h</sup>ɛ4 tie1-tuŋ1-pɔ2 fan3fan3, na3kɛ4  
Interj Emph Part you-Resp Emph go Yunnan-east-north ask who  
B: 'Yeah, that's it. If you just go to northeast Yunnan and ask people there who is

ɕi4 ja3tɕi1 ta4wa2. jɛ2jɛ2 tu1 zɛy4tɛ2 wo3. tɕiu4ɕi4 wo3 la3  
be raise-chicken king person all know I Emph I Part  
the Chicken-Raising King, everybody will know it is me. I am the one!'

tɕia2: ni3-tɕie1 ɕi4 ja3tɕi1 ta4wa2.  
you-Resp be raise-chicken king  
A: 'You are the Chicken-Raising King.'

ji2: ɕi4 nɛ1.  
be Part  
B: 'Yes. I am.'

tɕia2: ɛ4, t<sup>h</sup>ɛ4 xo3 la3! ɕie4ɕie1 ni3-tɕie1, ɕie4ɕie1 ni3-tɕie1.  
Interj too good Part thank you-Resp thank you-Resp  
A: 'That's wonderful. Thank you, thank you.'

ji2: tɕɕɛy3 na3ja4-nɛ1 ma4?  
do what TM Interro  
B: 'What are you saying?'

tɕia2: wo3 ɕi4 tɕh<sup>h</sup>ɪ2jɪ1 ta4wan2.  
I be eat-chicken king  
A: 'I am the Chicken-Eating King (I love chicken the most.)'

ji2: mo1ja1, mo1ja1, tɕo3 pa4<sup>h</sup>ie1 xɛ2 tɕo3-tɕɔ2 kɛ4 tui4k<sup>h</sup>ɛu3 taiwi4  
Interj Interj find half-day Emph find-Result M matching unit  
B: 'Oh My, Oh My! I do find a matching one after looking for so long.'

tɕia2: wo3lia3 kɛ4 ɕi4 kuŋ1ɕio1 tui4lu4 lɛ3 ma4.  
I-two M be supply-sale fitting-right Asp Part  
A: 'We two can meet each other's needs.'

ji2: o1, ɕi4la3, ɕi4la3.  
Interj right right  
B: 'Oh, you are right, you are right.'

tɕia2: jo4 k<sup>h</sup>ɛ4 tɕo3 ni3-jie1 kɛ3?  
need go find you-Resp Interro  
A: 'We need to go find you there?'

ji2: ə3, wo3-mɛ1 tɕu4 tɕɛ4 tie1-tuŋ1-pɔ2. ni3-jie1 tɕh<sup>h</sup>ɪɔ1 k<sup>h</sup>ɛ4 nɛ4tir2  
Interj I-Pl live Loc Yunnan-east-north you-Resp just go there  
B: 'Yeah, I live in the northeast of Yunnan. You just go ahead and go there

fa4fa4. zɛy2zɛy2 tu1 zɛy4tɛ2 wo3.  
visit, everybody all know I  
and visit. Everybody there knows me.'



tɕia2: zəy2zəy2 tu1 zəy4tə2 ni3-tɕie1. ɛ3, tɕiu4-fa4 nuŋ1kə4 la3, nə4mə1  
 everyone all know you Resp Interj Emph-like this-way Part then

A: 'Everybody knows you. Well then,

wo3-mə1 mir2 ji4tin4 le2.

I-Pl tomorrow certainly come  
 we will certainly come tomorrow.'

ji2: mir2 ji4tin4 jo4 le2 nə1 ka3?  
 tomorrow certainly need come Nom Interro

B: 'You will certainly come tomorrow, right?'

tɕia2: mir2 ji4tin4 le2, ji4tin4 le2!  
 tomorrow certainly come certainly come

A: 'We will certainly come tomorrow.'

ji2: tso3tso3-nə1 le2 ka3?  
 early-Man come Interro

B: 'Can you come earlier?'

tɕia2: ɕi4 la3, ɕi4 la3.  
 right Part right Part

A: 'All right, all right.'

ji2: ɕo3, mɛ1 wo3 kʰə4 tɕəy3pi4 kʰə4 la3.  
 right then I go prepare go Part

B: 'I will then go back and get ready.'

tɕia2: xo3, tɕiu4 ɕi4 nuŋ2kə4 la3.  
 good Emph be that-way Part

A: 'Good, let's do it.'

ji2: ɕi4 la3, wo3 tsəu3 la3.  
 right Part I leave Part

B: 'All right, I am going.'

tɕia2: xo3, ma4 tsəu3 ma4 tsəu3.  
 good, slow walk slow walk

A: 'OK, watch your step.'

ji2: ni3-tɕie1-mə1, kʰə4 nə4-tir2 mə1, tɕʰa4 tir2 nə3ja4 təy1? jo3 tir2  
 you-Resp-Pl go that-place TM sing M what opera have M

B: 'When you guys come, what kind of performance are you going

na3ja4 tɕie2mu2?

what program  
 to give?'

tɕia2: ɔ4, xua1təy1 to1 nə1. xɛ2 jo3 tie1ɕi4, tɕiŋ1ɕi4, ə4,  
 Interj opera many Part also have Yunnan opera Beijing opera and

A: 'Oh, we have many kinds of entertainment. There are Yunnan opera, Beijing

ɕə4mə1 ko1wu3, xɛ2 jo3 ɕia4ɕəy1.

Emph song-dance also have stand-up show  
 opera, songs, dances, and stand-up comedian shows, too.'

ji2: xɛ2 jo3 ɕia4ɕəy1 nə1 kɛ3?  
 also have stand-up show Part Interro

B: 'Is there also stand-up show?'

tɕia2: ɛ3.

Interj

A: 'Yes.'

ji2: ɔ4jo4, jo3 ɕia4ɕəy1mə1 tʰɛ4 xo3 la3. ni3-tɕie1-mə1 ɕuo2 ɕia4ɕəy1-nə1  
 Interj have stand-up TM too good Part you-Resp-Pl perform stand-up-Nom

B: 'Wow, it is wonderful to have stand-up show. You stand-up show guys are

tʰɛ4 xo3wa2 la3. ɕio3-pu4-tə2 ni3-tɕie1-mə1 tsa2kə4 tɕəy3 nə1  
 too funny Part know-Neg-Result you-Resp-Pl how do Part  
 so funny. I don't know how you do that, but

ji4xa4xa1 tɕiu4 ky3 wo3-mə1 təu1 tə2 nə1kə4 tsui3 tu1 ɕio4  
 one moment Emph BA I-Pl tease Result that mouth all laugh  
 it does not take long before everybody is laughing so hard that our mouths open

tə4 tə4, jie3lui4 jie3 ɕio4 tɕʰu2 le2, tɕa2kə4 ɕi4 nə4kə4  
 large Result eye-tear also laugh out Result how be that  
 wide and tears rolling out of the eyes; and how come the

tu4tsɿ3 ɔ3...

belly Part  
 the sides ...'

tɕia2: tsa2kə4 la3?

Interro Part

A: 'What happens?'

ji2: ɕiɔ4 nəl kə4 sə1 tʰə2.

laugh Result M Emph ache

B: 'would ache so hard from laughing.'

tɕia2: hɛ3hɛ3, ta4tɕəy1 nəl kɛ3?

Interj really Nom Interro

A: 'Oh, really?'

ji2: ɛ3, wo3-məl nuŋ2tsʰəy1 ɔ4, tsui4 ɕi3xual tʰiŋ1 nəl kə4

Interj I-Pl countryside Part Emph like listen to that

B: 'Well, people in our village really like to watch that

ɕia4səy1 la.

stand-up show Part

stand-up show.'

tɕia2: jiɔ4tə2, mir2 wo3-məl to1 ʂo2 tɕi3 tua4 ɕia4səy1 ky3 ni3-məl

alright tomorrow I-Pl more say several M stand-up show for you-Pl

A: 'All right, tomorrow we will put on more stand-up shows for you

kəu4kəu4-nəl ɕiɔ4-ɕiɔ1.

enough-Man laugh

to have enough laughter.'

ji2: xo2 la3 xo2 la3, tuɔ1 ʂuo2 tɕi4 tua4, ka3?

right Part right Part more play several M Interro

B: 'Right, right, put on more shows, OK?'

tɕia2: ʂa3, ʂa3.

right right

A: 'All right, all right.'

ji2: xo3lə3 ma4, wo3 kʰə4 lə3, ka3? ai3jo3, tʰɛ4 xo3 la3.

good Part I go Asp Interro Interj too good Part

B: 'Well, I must get going. Oh, that is so wonderful.'

tɕia2: tse4tɕie4, tse4tɕie4.

again-see again-see

A: 'See you again.'

ji2: ni3-tɕie1-məl ɕia4 kʰə4 jiu3 tɕi3 wui4 jə2?

you-Resp-Pl down to have how-many M person

B: 'How many of you are coming down to our place?'

tɕia2: ɔ3, mir2 wo3-məl lə2 ər4ɕi2wu3 kə4 tɛ2la3.

Interj tomorrow I-Pl come twenty-five M Part

A: 'Well, tomorrow we will then send twenty-five people to your place.'

ji2: ər4ɕi2wu3, ɔ4ja4, məl tsa2kə4 pu4 to1 lə2 tir2 nəl?

twenty-five Interj then Interro Neg more come some Part

B: 'Only twenty-five? Why can't you send more people?'

tɕia2: wo3-məl lə2 kə4 ɕiɔ3 fəy1tui4.

I-Pl come M small branch-team

A: 'Then we will send a small branch team.'

ji2: ɛ4, tsa2kə4 pu4 kʰɛ1 tɕə1 ta4 tui4 lə2? kə3-ɕi4 tɕʰiɔ2pu4-tɕʰi3?

Interj Interro Neg send Asp large team come Interro look-down-on

B: 'Why can't you send a large team? Do you look down on us? (can't afford it)?'

tɕia2: ɛ4, pu4-ɕi4, pu4-ɕi4. wo3-məl fəy1-lə3 tɕi3 kə4 ɕiɔ3 fəy1tui4 tu1 Interj

no no I-Pl divide Asp several M small branch-team all

A: 'Oh, no, no. We have divided into several smaller groups and they all

to4 tsʰuəy1tsɿ3-ʂəu3 kʰy4 tɕʰa4təy1jɛ3ɕi4 kʰy4 la3.

to village-in to perform to Part

went to the villages to give performances.'

ji2: ɔ4jo4, ni3-tɕie1-məl tɕʰiɔ1 kʰɛ1 tɕə1 kə4 ji4lia3po2 zəy2 lə2,

Interj you-Resp-Pl just send Asp M one-two-hundred people come

B: 'Oh, you can go ahead and send one or two hundred people to our place;

wo3-məl wua2tɕʰiɛ2 kʰo3ji3 fu4tə2 nəl.

I-Pl totally can responsible Part

we can afford it all.'

tɕia2: ɛ3, ɕi4 la3, ɕi4 la3. ər4zɿ1 ər4zɿ1.

Interj alright Part alright Part tomorrow tomorrow

A: 'Well, alright, alright, tomorrow, tomorrow.'

ji2: ər4zɿ1 kɛ3? ʂuo2 məl ər4zɿ1 ji4tiŋ4 jo4 lə2 nəl ka3?

tomorrow Interro say TM tomorrow certainly Emph come Nom Part

B: 'Like you have said, tomorrow be sure to come, OK?'

tɕia2: lə2 nəl, lə2 nəl.

come Part come Part

A: 'We'll be there, we'll be there.'



jj2: mir2 tɕiu3tɕie3tɕun1 kʰɛ1-tɕɛ1 nɛ1kɛ4 miɛ4pɔ1tɕʰɛ1 lɛ2 tɕie2 ni3-mɛ1.  
tomorrow 9 o'clock drive Asp that toast-vehicle come pick you-Pl  
B: 'Tomorrow at 9 o'clock, I will drive my van here to pick you guys up.'

tɕia2: ɛ4, pu4 ɕiɔ1 la3. tɕi2 ɕiɔ1 tɕɛy3 tɕa1 kʰa3tɕʰɛ1 lɛ2 tɕiu4 ɕin2 la3.  
Interj Neg need Part only need get M truck come Emph alright Part  
A: 'Oh, that is not necessary. A truck will be fine.'

jj2: ɛi4ja4, jiu3 miɛ4pɔ1tɕʰɛ1 mɛ1 tɕiu4 tso4 miɛ4pɔ1tɕʰɛ1, fa3tɕɛy4  
Interj have toast-vehicle TM Emph sit toast-vehicle no-matter-what  
B: 'Hey, since I have the van, you guys just ride on the van.'

miɛ4pɔ1tɕʰɛ1 jie3 ɕi4 wo3-nɛ1 ma4.  
toast-vehicle also be I-Gen Part  
The van is mine, anyway.'

tɕia2: ɔ4, miɛ4pɔ1tɕʰɛ1 ɕi4 ni3-tɕie1 tɕi4tɕi3-nɛ1 kɛ3?  
Interj toast-vehicle is you-Resp self-Gen Part  
A: 'Oh, the van is yours?'

jj2: ɔ3 s1zɛy2 kʰy4 mɛ3 kʰy4 nɛ1.  
I personal go buy go Part  
B: 'I myself went to buy it.'

tɕia2: jɔ4tɛ2, jɔ4tɛ2.  
good good  
A: 'Wonderful.'

jj2: tɛy4 xa4 mir2kɛ4, wo3 xɛ2 jɔ4 kʰɛ1-tɕɛ1 fɛi1tɕi1 lɛ2 tɕie2 ni3tɕie1.  
wait awhile tomorrow I also want drive-Asp airplane to meet you-Resp  
B: 'In the future, I will pick you up with airplane.'

tɕia2: ɔ2, pu4 tɕie3ta1 pu4 tɕie3ta1.  
Interj Neg common Neg common  
A: 'Wow, that's marvelous.'

jj2: wo3-mɛ1 pɔ2ɕi2 niɛ2tɛ4-nɛ1 nuŋ2min2 xɛ2 pu4ɕi4 jɔ4 lu1su1  
I-Pl eighty year-Assoc peasant also Emph want gradually  
B: 'We peasants of the 80s also need to be gradually

lu1su1-nɛ1 ɕie4tɕie4xuɔ4-lɛ3 ma4.  
gradually-Man modernization-Asp Part  
modernized.'

tɕia2: xo2-nɛ1, xo2-nɛ1.  
good-Nom good-Nom  
A: 'That's great, that's great.'

jj2: tɕiu4ɕi4 nɛ4kɛ4 la3. nɛ4mɛ1, mir2 tɕiu3tɕie3tɕun1 ka3?  
Emph that way Part then tomorrow 9 o'clock Part  
B: 'All right. Well then, 9 o'clock tomorrow, right?'

tɕia2: tɕiu3tɕie3, tɕiu3tɕie3.  
9 o'clock 9 o'clock  
A: 'Yes, 9 o'clock, 9 o'clock.'

jj2: nɛ4mɛ1 wo3 kʰy4la3. ni3-tɕie1-mɛ1 tɕʰa4 ji4xui2 kɛ3 jɔ4kɛ4 wu3lu2 pɛ2  
then I leave Part you-Resp-Pl perform one M Interro want 5 to 6 hundred  
B: 'Well then, I am leaving. For one performance, are you guys charging 5, 6

tɕʰie1 pa3 kʰue3?  
1000 about dollar  
hundreds or about 1000 dollars?'

tɕia2: pu4 ɕiɔ1, pu4 ɕiɔ1. ji3lia3 pɛ2 tɕiu4 kɛu4 la3.  
Neg need Neg need one to two hundred Emph enough Part  
A: 'Not that much, one or two hundreds will do.'

jj2: ji4lia3 pɛ2 kɛ3? tɕa2kɛ4 nɛ4mɛ1 ɕa1jin1 ɔ4?  
one-two hundred Part Interro that inexpensive Part  
B: 'One to two hundred dollars? How come it is that cheap?'

tɕia2: ɕa1jin1 kɛ3?  
inexpensive Part  
A: 'Cheap?'

jj2: ɕo2mɛ1, tɕi1xa4 nuŋ1kɛ4 la3, ni3-mɛ1 jie3 ɕie1 na3ja4, ka1tsʰui4  
say TM now this way Part you-Pl perform M whatever Emph  
B: 'Say, let's do it this way. No matter what you put on,

jie3-wa2-tɛ4. wo3 tɕʰa2tɕʰa2 ky3 tʰɛ1 pɔ1-tɛ4 la3.  
perform-Result-Asp I M BA it book-Result Part  
put them all on and I will pay for every single one.'

tɕia2: ni3 tɕʰa2tɕʰa2 pɔ1-tɛ4?  
you M book-Result  
A: 'You will book every single one?'

ji2: tʂʰa2tʂʰa2 pɔ1. tɕiu4ʂi4 nuŋ1kə4 la3. tʂi3jɔ4 ni3-tɕie1-mə1 jie4ji4  
 M book Emph that way Part if you-Resp-Pl willing  
 B: 'I will book every single one. I'll do it that way. As long as you are willing to

tʂʰa, wo3 tɕiu4 tu1 pɔ1-tə4 la3.  
 perform I then all book-Result Part  
 perform, I will then book them all.'

tɕia2: xo3, xo3, xo3. mir2 tɕie4.  
 good good good tomorrow see  
 A: 'Good, see you tomorrow.'

ji2: mir2 tɕie4, mir2 tɕie4.  
 tomorrow see tomorrow see  
 B: 'See you tomorrow. See you tomorrow'

## 5. Vocabulary

The following is a list of typical colloquial words and expressions used in Kunming Chinese.

- 1) pɑ3lie2 'all'
- 2) fa3 'to resemble'
- 3) tʂi1 fər4 'of this kind'
- 4) tʂəy3 'to do; to handle'
- 5) əy4ʂi4 'truly'
- 6) ər4tɕʰi4 'silly'
- 7) ɕia1jin1 'inexpensive'
- 8) pəi4ʂi2 'to have bad luck'
- 9) xa1 xua4 'foolish words'
- 10) ʂəu3 'directional word: side'
- 11) ɛ1xə2 'at dusk'
- 12) tʂɔ1xu1 'to be cautious'
- 13) jie4wa3 'ink stone'
- 14) na2wui4 'to bother'
- 15) mɔ2sɿ1 'bathroom'
- 16) pɛ3/sua4 'to rinse'
- 17) pɔ1tʰa1 'to complain'
- 18) ər3ɕiŋ4 'memory'
- 19) tʂɑ2ʂi4 'very much'
- 20) ɕia3 'to kiss'
- 21) ɛ4zəy2 'cute; lovely'
- 22) nə1 xa4 'at that time; at the time when'

- 23) kua4 'to fall'
- 24) xa4 ji1 'undershirt'
- 25) tɕia1 ta2 'similar to'
- 26) xa3 'to ask (request)'
- 27) pa1 'to paste; to look forward to'
- 28) pa2tu2 'too bad'
- 29) ka3tɕiŋ3 'hurry up'
- 30) ta2 'the same as; with; as'
- 31) pa3 'to force to change'
- 32) nə4fa1 'willing'
- 33) ər4 xui2 'next time'
- 34) kə1jin1 'to serve...right'
- 35) pə2 xua4 'lie'
- 36) pə2 zɿ1 'day time'
- 37) pʰie3 'to break by bending'
- 38) pəi1ko1 'hunchback'
- 39) pəi4 'to return around'
- 40) pi4xo3 'switch (of lights)'
- 41) piɛ1kʰua1 'to lie'
- 42) lɔ3ʂi2 'very much'
- 43) pu4 tɕiŋ1 'can't last long'
- 44) pu4 ji1 ʂi3 'can't control; not convenient'
- 45) li3pʰi2 'pay attention to'
- 46) wəi3-tʂə1 'to follow closely'
- 47) pu4 tsa2kə4 'nothing (serious happened)'
- 48) wa3-tie1 'step-father'
- 49) tʂʰu2-kʰə4 fun1 'to go out and get wild (when playing)'
- 50) tʂi2ɕio1 'go ahead (to do something)'
- 51) pi2 tsɿ3 'snivel'
- 52) tsʰɔ4tɕie3 'to scold'
- 53) tsʰəy1 'to stuff (when eating)'
- 54) tsʰəy3 'to feel shameful'
- 55) zəy4-pu1-tə2 'not knowing'
- 56) tʂua2 'to kick'
- 57) məy1-tʂə1 'to keep quiet'
- 58) tʂun3 'to devour' (derogatory)
- 59) tʰiŋ3ʂi1 'to sleep soundly' (derogatory)
- 60) ər3ʂi3 'to take notice'
- 61) tʂʰər1pə1 'not straight; in bad order or bad shape'



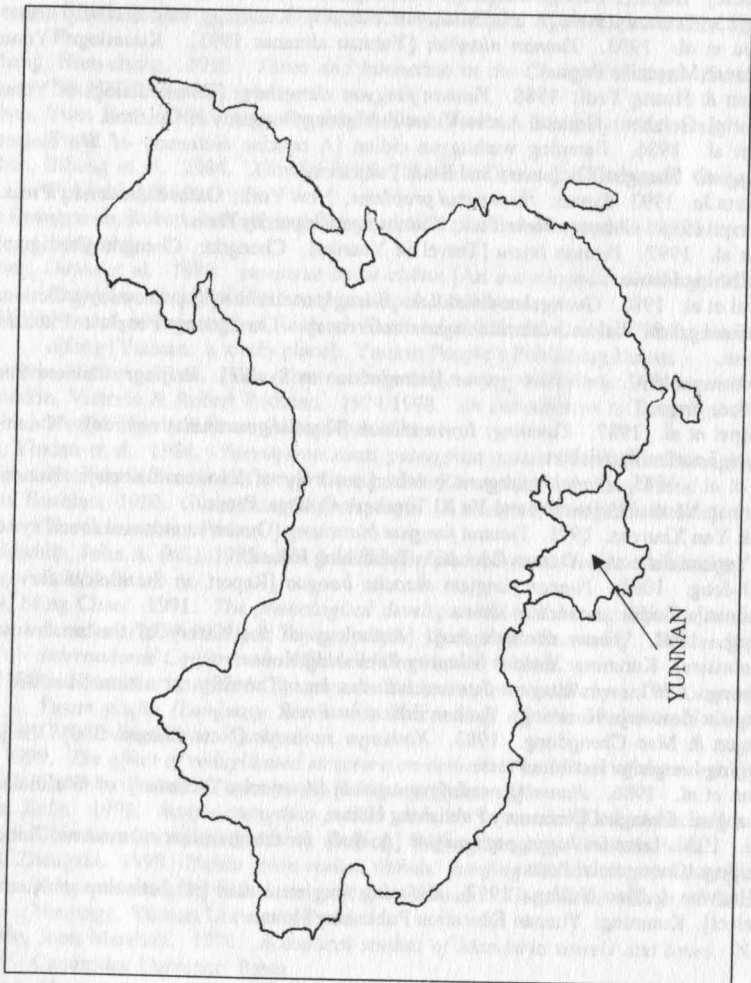
- 62) tɕʰə3jie3 'to interrupt'  
 63) tsɑ2 'to smoke'  
 64) əɾ4 zɿ1 'in the future'  
 65) tɕʰi2-pu4-tə2 'too full (can't eat any more)'  
 66) tɕʰo2tɕʰi4 'troublesome'  
 67) tɕʰuŋ1xəɿ3 'to flaunt'  
 68) sɑ2 'to piss' (derogatory)  
 69) tɕʰuŋ4 kʰɔ2tsɿ3 'to brag'  
 70) tɕʰəu3 'of bad quality'  
 71) tɕʰu2kuɛ3 'to make mistake'  
 72) tɕʰu2lɔ3 'to appear old'  
 73) tɕʰa4 kɛ1tsɿ3 'to do (window) shopping'  
 74) tɕʰua4 'to mix'  
 75) tɕʰui1tsui3 'to whistle'  
 76) tɕʰui1tɕi1 'whistle'  
 77) tsʰo3 'to persuade'  
 78) na3tɔ3 'to knock down'  
 79) ta2 'with; to'  
 80) ta3ɕi2 'to lose'  
 81) tʰɛ4 o2 'too hot (hot pepper)'  
 82) xo2 'correct; right'  
 83) sa4 tɛ2 'immoral'  
 84) ta3 xo1ɕie4 'to yawn'  
 85) təu1xo4 'to make trouble'  
 86) ta3jie3 'conspicuous'  
 87) tɛ1lie3 'to be absent-minded'  
 88) tɕʰuŋ2ku2tʰəu1 'shank bone'  
 89) ti2 'to pull'  
 90) tiŋ1 ko1 'to stick to the pan {when cooking}'  
 91) tiŋ3 miŋ2ɕiŋ1 'top of the head'  
 92) kʰua3tsui3 'to brag'  
 93) tɕi1xɑ4 'now; present'  
 94) tuŋ1mɔ4 'rascal'  
 95) tsɿ1 'to mad; angry'  
 96) təu1ɕəu1 'to be responsible for'  
 97) tuəɿ3ta4 'just; simply'  
 98) əɾ3kʰuɛ4 'Kunming style rice cake'  
 99) tso4nie2 'sad; miserable'  
 100) tsʰə2luəɿ4 'to turn side way'

- 101) tɕue3 'to throw away; to discard'  
 102) ji2 tsɿ3 'bar soap'  
 103) na1kuɑ1 'a fool'  
 104) tɕa3 'to get dirty'  
 105) tɕa2 'chilly'  
 106) tsɑ3 'to move aside'  
 107) jo1 'slow'  
 108) jie2 'to pull hard'  
 109) jie1 '(flower) wither'  
 110) jia1 'o try to give up one's share to others'  
 111) ja1 'o persuade someone to eat more'  
 112) ɕie1 'unexpected; funny'  
 113) ɕia4 'to get warm by the fire'  
 114) xɔ1 'ajar'  
 115) wi1 'to boil water'  
 116) (tʰiŋ1)pu4 ɛ3 'can't understanding (by hearing)'  
 117) səɿ1su4 'to be considerate'  
 118) suŋ2 'timid'  
 119) no1no1 'to go to sleep' (child's language)  
 120) nɔ4 'to poison'

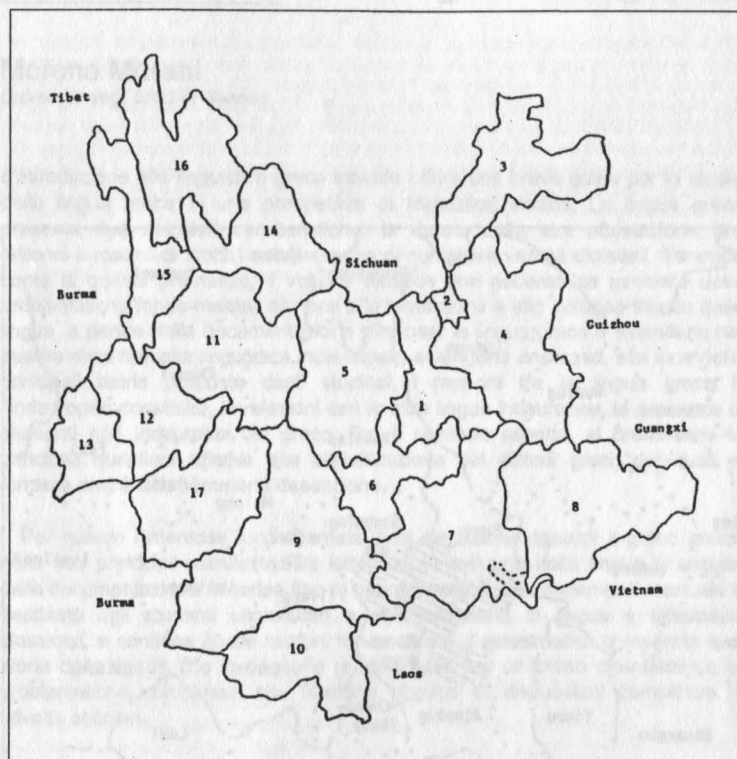
## Bibliography

- Allen, Harold B. & Michael D. Linn (ed.). 1986. *Dialect and language variation*. London: Academic Press.
- Brown, Gillian & George Yule. 1983. *Discourse analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chang, Nien-chang. 1958. *Tones and intonation in the Chengdu dialect*. *Phonetica*, Vol.2, No.1/2.
- Chao, Yuen Ren. 1968. *A grammar of spoken Chinese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chen, Biheng et al. 1984. *Xiandai hanyu* [Modern Chinese]. Guangxi: Guangxi People's Publishing House.
- de Beaugrande, Robert & Wolfgang Dressler. 1981. *Introduction to text linguistics*. New York: Longman.
- Dong, Dawu et al. 1989. *yuyanxue baike cidian* [An encyclopedic dictionary of linguistics]. Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary and Book Publishers.
- Editorial board of Information Research Institute of Yunnan Daily. 1984. *Yunnan: ke'aide difang* [Yunnan: a lovely place]. Yunnan People's Publishing House.
- Fromkin, Victoria A. ed. 1978. *Tone: a linguistic survey*. New York: Academic Press.
- Fromkin, Victoria & Robert Rodman. 1974/1998. *An Introduction to Language* (6 ed.). Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Fu, Yuxian et al. 1984. *Yueyuquren xuexi putonghua qutan* [Topics on Putonghua study by speakers in Yue dialect area]. Guangzhou: Zhongshan University Press.
- Gao, Huanian. 1980. *Guangzhou fangyan yanjiu* [A study of Guangzhou dialect]. Hong Kong: The Commercial Press.
- Goldsmith, John A. (ed.). 1995. *The handbook of phonological theory*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- Gui, Ming Chao. 1991. *The phonological developments of Kunming Chinese in the past five decades (1939-1989)*. *Yuyan yanjiu* [Language Research]: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Chinese Linguistics*. Wuhan.
- . 1996. *Fronted or nasalized: an acoustic analysis of two nasal rhymes in Kunming Chinese*. *Yuyan yanjiu* [Language Research]: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Chinese linguistics*. Fuzhou.
- . 1999. *The effect of reduplicated structure on semantics and tones of the words in Kunming Chinese*. Wuhan: *Yuyan yanjiu* [Language Research].
- Guo, Jinfu. 1993. *hanyu shengdiao yudiao shanyao yu tansuo* [Discussion and research on Chinese tones and intonations]. Beijing: Beijing Language Institute Press.
- Hao, Zhengzhi. 1998. *Hanzu yimin rudian shihua: nanjing liushuwan gaoshikan* [A historical perspective of the Han immigrants to Yunnan: Gaoshikan village of Liushiwan in Nanjing]. Yunnan University Press.
- Howie, John Marshall. 1976. *Acoustical studies of Mandarin vowels and tones*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Huang, Huangzong et al. 1989. *Guangzhouhua jiaocheng* [Guangzhou dialect text book]. Guangzhou: Zhongshan University Press.
- Ladefoged, Peter. 1982. *A course in phonetics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers.
- Li, Dejin & Cheng Meizhen. 1982. *A Practical Chinese Grammar for Foreigners*. Beijing: Sinolingua.
- Li, Charles N. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. California: The University of California Press.
- Liu, Yuehua et al. 1983. *Shiyong xiandai huanyu yufa* [A Practical Grammar of Modern Chinese]. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publisher.
- Ma, Yao. 1983. *Yunnan jianshi* [A brief history of Yunnan]. Kunming: Yunnan Daily Press.
- Ma, Zhanlun et al. 1993. *Yunnan nianjian* [Yunnan almanac 1993]. Kunming: Yunnan Almanac Magazine Press.
- Miao, Yixuan & Huang Yedi. 1988. *Yunnan fangyan xiangsheng* [Comic dialogs of Yunnan dialects] Guizhou: Oriental Audio-Video Publishing Company of Guizhou.
- Min, Jiaji et al. 1986. *Jianming wufangyan cidian* [A concise dictionary of Wu dialects]. Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary and Book Publishers.
- Napoli, Donna Jo. 1993. *Syntax: theory and problems*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Norman, Jerry. 1985. *Chinese*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pan, Jian et al. 1997. *Yunnan luyou* [Travel in Yunnan]. Chengdu: Chengdu Cartographic Publishing House.
- Rao, Bingcai et al. 1983. *Guangzhouyin zidian: putonghua duizhao* [A pronouncing dictionary of Guangzhou dialect with Putonghua reference]. Guangdong People's Publishing House.
- Sung, Kuo-ming. 1997. *jufa lilun gaiyao* [Introduction to Syntax]. Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press.
- Wang, Xuepei et al. 1987. *Kunming: luyou zhinan* [Kunming: a tourist's guide]. Kunming: China Tourism Publishers.
- Wu, Jicai et al. 1985. *Yunnan fangyan gaishu* [A survey of Yunnan dialects]. Kunming: Yunnan Normal University and Yu Xi Teacher's College Press.
- Wu, Jicai & Yan Xiaoyun. 1991. *Yunnan fangyan bianzheng* [On the sounds and sound systems of Yunnan dialects]. Yunnan Education Publishing House.
- Yang, Shih-feng. 1069. *Yunnan fangyan diaocha baogao* [Report on the dialect survey of Yunnan]. Taipei: Academic Sinica.
- You, Zhong. 1982. *Xinan minzushi lunji* [Anthology of the history of the southwestern minorities]. Kunming: Yunnan Minority Publishing House.
- Yu, Jianzhong. 1997. *wushiliuge minzu wushiliuduo hua* [The fifty-six nationalities are like fifty-six flowers]. Kunming: Yunnan Education Press.
- Zhang, Yajun & Mao Chengdong. 1983. *Xinhanyu sanbaiyu* [New Chinese 300]. Beijing: Beijing Language Institute Press.
- Zhu, Chuan et al. 1986. *Jianming wufangyan cidian* [A concise dictionary of Wu dialects]. Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Publishing House.
- Zhu, Dexi. 1980. *xiandai hanyu yufa yanjiu* [A study on the grammar of modern Chinese]. Beijing: Commercial Press.
- Zhuang, Huawen & Mao Yuling. 1997. *Kunming fangyan cidian* [A dictionary of Kunming dialect]. Kunming: Yunnan Education Publishing House.





MAP 1 CHINA AND YUNNAN PROVINCE



MAP 2 THE ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS OF YUNNAN PROVINCE

- |   |   |                    |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1. Kunming City area                    | 2. Dongchuan city area                      | 3. Zhaotong Region |
| 4. Qujin Region                         | 5. Chuxiong Yi Autonomous Region            |                    |
| 6. Yuxi Region                          | 7. Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Region     |                    |
| 8. Wenshan Miao Autonomous Region       | 9. Simao Region                             |                    |
| 10. Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Region | 11. Dali Bai Autonomous Region              |                    |
| 12. Baoshan Region                      | 13. Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Region |                    |
| 14. Lijiang Region                      | 15. Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Region          |                    |
| 16. Diqing Tibet Autonomous Region      | 17. Lingcan Region                          |                    |

## Introduzione

## alla linguistica greca

Moreno Morani

Università degli Studi di Genova

L'Introduzione alla linguistica greca intende offrire una breve guida per lo studio della lingua greca in una prospettiva di linguistica storica. La lingua greca presenta due singolari caratteristiche: la durata della sua attestazione (tre millenni e mezzo di storia) e la presenza di numerose varietà dialettali. Tenendo conto di questa premessa, il volume fornisce una panoramica generale delle problematiche fondamentali attinenti alla formazione e allo sviluppo storico della lingua, a partire dalla documentazione micenea: la lingua greca è esaminata nel quadro della famiglia linguistica indoeuropea, e vengono analizzati, alla luce delle principali teorie proposte dagli studiosi, i rapporti tra la lingua greca e l'indoeuropeo ricostruito, le relazioni con le altre lingue indoeuropee, la presenza di elementi non indoeuropei nel greco. Per il secondo aspetto, si presentano le principali questioni relative alla classificazione dei dialetti greci, dei quali si fornisce anche una sommaria descrizione.

Per quanto l'interesse fondamentale della trattazione riguardi il greco antico nelle sue principali manifestazioni letterarie, lo sviluppo della lingua è seguito dalla documentazione micenea fino al periodo bizantino e moderno. Il manuale è destinato agli studenti universitari e agli insegnanti di lingue e letterature classiche, e contiene quelle nozioni fondamentali di grammatica comparata e di storia della lingua che lo possono rendere utile per un primo orientamento in problematiche complesse che formano oggetto di discussioni complesse e talvolta secolari.

### Indice:

#### PREMESSA - ABBREVIAZIONI

##### CAPITOLO PRIMO: Il greco e le lingue indoeuropee

I. Le lingue indoeuropee. II. Metodo, obiettivi e limiti della ricostruzione. III. Cenni di fonetica indoeuropea. IV. Dall'indoeuropeo al greco.

##### CAPITOLO SECONDO: I dialetti greci e il miceneo

I. I dialetti greci. II. Il miceneo.

##### CAPITOLO TERZO: La formazione del greco

I. Teorie a confronto. II. Greco e altre lingue indoeuropee. III. Elementi non indoeuropei nel greco.

##### CAPITOLO QUARTO: Lineamenti di cronologia del greco

I. Omero. II. La lingua della lirica. III. Il dramma attico. IV. La lingua della prosa. V. La koiné. VI. Verso il greco moderno.

Bibliografia, Indice

ISBN 3 89586 949 X.

LINCOM Studies in Indo-European Linguistics 09.

Ca. 260 pp. EUR 61.36 / DM 120 / USD 65 / £ 40.



MAP 3 THE CITY OF KUNMING AND ITS VICINITY



## An Introduction to the Study of Morphology

VIT BUBENIK

*Memorial University of Newfoundland*

Each chapter (with the exception of the last one) is provided with pertinent exercises. Its data are taken from languages the author has been researching over the last twenty years (Latin, Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Russian). Its argumentation is built around the major turning points in the history of morphology linked with scholars such as Hockett (1954), Matthews (1974), Bybee (1985), Dressler (1985), Bauer (1988), Spencer (1991), Carstairs-McCarthy (1992) and Aronoff (1993). In the last chapter the author explicates a cognitively conceived subdiscipline of Morphology in its relation to Formal Syntax, Generative Phonology, Functional Grammar, so-called Natural Morphology, Universal Grammar, and Typology.

**Contents:** Introduction, Grammatical Units, Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Relations, Inflectional and Derivational Morphology, Inflectional Categories Associated with Nominal Elements, Inflectional Categories Associated with Verbal Elements, Morphosyntactic Properties and their Exponents, Morpheme and Allomorph, Derivational Morphology, Theoretical Models of Morphology, References.

ISBN 3 89586 570 2.

LINCOM Coursebooks in Linguistics 07.

Ca. 220 pp. USD 48 / DM 72 / £ 28.

## Structure and Interpretation in Natural Language

MARC AUTHIER & LISA REED

*The Pennsylvania State University*

The central objective of this book is to present an integrated theory of the syntax-semantics interface, one which combines the most recent advances in the generative framework with the basic tenets of model-theoretic semantics. The three opening chapters develop, in a step-by-step and highly accessible fashion, an approach to structure and meaning in these terms.

The remaining chapters show how this approach sheds light on three long-standing issues in formal grammar: the treatment of "syntactically-triggered" presuppositions, the treatment of some notable exceptions to the generative binding conditions, and the issue of the relative autonomy of syntax and semantics. With respect to the first issue, it is argued that a compositional treatment of syntactically-triggered presuppositions can be formulated as a condition which ties presuppositional triggers to a specific class of syntactic configurations definable in terms of devices found in Minimalist syntax. A subsequent chapter demonstrates that the empirical coverage of so-called Bare-Output Conditions in generative syntax can be increased if such conditions are made sensitive to the two types of semantic information which have sometimes been recognized in model-theoretic semantics; that is, extension expressions and implicature expressions. Finally, empirical evidence is adduced which supports the view that there are two distinct types of semantic constraints and that those which make reference to features of tree geometry can, under specific circumstances defined by representational Economy conditions, override those which do not.

**Audience:** Linguists, philosophers, computational and psycho-linguists, cognitive scientists; advanced undergraduates, graduate students and researchers in these fields.

ISBN 3 89586 603 2.

LINCOM Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 14.

210pp. USD 70 / DM 112 / £ 42.

## Introduction to Linguistic Field Methods

BERT VAUX & JUSTIN COOPER

*Harvard University*

The present volume addresses the need for an up-to-date, accessible, and comprehensive introduction to the elicitation of linguistic data from native speaker informants. The material, following an introductory chapter surveying the general enterprise of field research, is organized into eight major areas of current linguistic and anthropological interest: Phonetics, Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Semantics, Sociolinguistics/ Dialectology, Lexicography, and Folklore. The chapters are designed to be covered at a rate of one per week, based on a sixteen-week semester. Each chapter presents basic structures to be elicited, and provides cautionary tales drawn from the experiences of seasoned field workers who have attempted to elicit these structures. These, in turn, are followed by suggested readings and illustrative exercises for each chapter. Emphasis is placed not on developing a theory of field work, but rather on providing enlightening suggestions and entertaining anecdotes designed to guide students down their own personal path to linguistic discovery.

ISBN 3 89586 198 7.

LINCOM Coursebooks in Linguistics 01.

Ca. 240 pp. USD 48 / DM 72 / £ 28.

## Coursebook in Feature Geometry

JOHN NEWMAN

*Massey University*

The *Coursebook in Feature Geometry* is an undergraduate course introducing students to current phonology through a sustained use of the Feature Geometry framework. It is written as a coherent, accessible, and well-illustrated introduction to the key ideas of Feature Geometry, focusing on rules of assimilation. In its 20 units and 40 exercises, it takes the reader step-by-step through the representational devices of Feature Geometry. The *Coursebook* attempts to present the core ideas of Feature Geometry in a unified way, rather than attempting to incorporate the (considerable) debate concerning almost every aspect of the theory. The version of Feature Geometry underlying the *Coursebook* is basically that found in Sagey's *The Representation of features in non-linear phonology* (1990), revised in accordance with the claims of Lahiri and Evans' 1991 article on *Palatalization and coronality*.

The author is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics and Second Language Teaching, *Massey University*, New Zealand. The author has a PhD in linguistics from the University of California at San Diego.

ISBN 3 89586 102 2.

LINCOM Coursebooks in Linguistics 02.

160pp. USD 39 / DM 64 / £ 25.

**Course discounts available!**