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A web of relations : a grammar of rGyalrong Jiǎomùzú (Kyom-kyo) dialects

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CHAPTER 5

ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL PHRASES

5.0 *Introduction*

For the purposes of this chapter I define adverbs in the traditional functional way as modifiers of verbs, adjectivals, or other adverbs. In order to also include adverbs that modify entire sentences or entire verb phrases I use the rule of thumb that adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns. There is a class of single word, non-derived adverbs in Jiǎomùzú. There are words from other classes, such as nouns, that can function as adverbs. And there are quite a few adverbs that are derived from other words such as nouns or verbs. There are also adverbialisers that turn a word, phrase or clause into an adverbial. In my data there are several kinds of adverbs. Adverbs of degree often modify verbs, especially stative verbs, or other adverbs. Epistemic adverbs generally express the speaker's attitude toward the event being spoken of. But because speakers tend to use illocutionary force or mood markers at the end of a sentence rather than epistemic adverbs, this kind of adverb is rare. I discuss mood markers in the next chapter on smaller word classes. Adverbs of manner, time and place commonly modify verbs or verb phrases. Manner adverbs are rare in the Jiǎomùzú dialects, since speakers mostly use expressives to describe manner. Expressives function like adverbs but have very specific forms. I discuss them in the next chapter on smaller word classes. And there are interrogative adverbs, which express meanings such as *when*, *how*, *where* and *why*. A few of the Jiǎomùzú adverbs can function not only on the constituent or phrase level but also on the clause level. These adverbs, when used to connect two clauses, are conjunctive adverbs.

In section 5.2 I discuss the general properties of adverbs. Jiǎomùzú adverbs occur before verbs and other adverbs but after adjectivals. Some adverbs can occur in adjectival roles themselves. A sentence can have more than one adverb, and adverbs can modify other adverbs within one constituent. Some adverbials can be modified by indefiniteness marker *ki* or prominence marker *kə*. Section 5.2 concludes with an overview of adverbs that are derived from other words. The rest of the chapter consists of separate sections which each describe a different type of adverb and its usage.

5.1 *General properties of adverbs*

Position of adverbs in a sentence

Adverbs and adverbial phrases are not obligatory in the Jiǎomùzú sentence. Since the verb phrase is the final constituent in a Jiǎomùzú clause or sentence, the last possible position of an adverb is right before the verb phrase. Adverbs occur before verbs or other adverbs, but after adjectivals. Example (1) shows the different options for the placement of the epistemic adverb *kreŋ*, 'perhaps'. The first

sentence (1a) simply states that the weather in Chéngdū was terrible yesterday. The following sentences, (1b-g) are all modified in different ways by *kreŋ* and are all grammatical:

(1a) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu makəndʈa na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very PFT-hit$_2$-3s
Yesterday it rained very hard in Chéngdū.

(1b) kreŋ pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu makəndʈa na-leʔt-w
perhaps yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very PFT-hit$_2$-3s
Perhaps *yesterday* it rained very hard in Chéngdū.

(1c) pəʃur kreŋ ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu makəndʈa na-leʔt-w
yesterday perhaps Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very PFT-hit$_2$-3s
Perhaps *in Chéngdū* it rained very hard yesterday.

(1d) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe kreŋ təmu kə-ktu makəndʈa na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC perhaps rain NOM-big very PFT-hit-3s
Perhaps *it rained* very hard in Chéngdū yesterday.

(1e) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kreŋ kə-ktu makəndʈa na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain perhaps NOM-big very PFT-hit$_2$-3s
It rained, perhaps very *hard*, in Chéngdū yesterday.

(1f) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu kreŋ makəndʈa na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big perhaps very PFT-hit$_2$-3s
It rained, perhaps *very* hard, in Chéngdū yesterday.

(1g) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu makəndʈa kreŋ na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very perhaps PFT-hit$_2$-3s
It rained hard in Chéngdū yesterday, perhaps it rained very hard.

Note that by changing the placement of *kreŋ* the speaker can express a variety of meanings. In (1b) the speaker guesses that yesterday it rained, not the day before. In example (1c) he thinks it rained in Chéngdū, not Măěrkāng. Sentence (1d) points to the kind of weather in Chéngdū: rain rather than snow. Note that *təmu kaleʔt*, 'rain' is a verbal compound. The adverb *kreŋ* must be understood to modify the verbal compound rather than the noun *təmu*, 'rain' by itself. Sentence (1e) indicates the speaker's opinion about the amount of rain that fell - probably a lot. The last two sentences show in (1f) the speaker's attitude about the way all that rain came down: most likely in a rather violent manner, whereas in (1g) the speaker observes, maybe having seen clouds over the city from a distance, that possibly a great rainstorm raged over the city.

Other constituents cannot be placed in between the adverb and the constituent it modifies. For example, in (2) a degree adverb, *zet*, 'little, quite', modifies the verb *kavaʒdor*, 'surpass'**.** Placing other constituents between *zet* and the verb leads to ungrammaticality. The adverb *zet*, 'little' is often used in the sense of 'a lot', see section 5.3:

(2) ndə c^he ka-moʔt zet 'na-va-ʒdor
that liquor NOM-drink little OBS-CAUS-surpass-3s
He drinks way too much alcohol.

*zet ndə c^he kamoʔt 'navaʒdor
*ndə zet c^he kamoʔt 'navaʒdor

The following examples show the same issue for interrogative adverb *kəstʈə*, 'when':

(3) nənɟo kəʃtʈə tə-vi-n
you when 2-come-2s
When will you come?

*kəʃtʈə nənɟo təvin

Of course the scope of the adverb, and therefore its placement, depends on the sort of adverb used. An epistemic adverb, which expresses the speaker's opinion about an entire event, will often occur in first position in the sentence and thus cover the scope of the entire sentence. But adverbs of degree such as *zet* and interrogative adverbs modify verbs, and have to be placed right before the verb.

Adverbs of manner and of degree can modify verb phrases as well as adjectivals in a noun phrase. If they modify a verb phrase, they are placed immediately in front of the verb phrase. If they modify an adjectival term within a noun phrase, they occur after the term they modify. Examples (4a) and (4b) show the difference.

(4a) təɟeʔm wastop 'na-kəʃo
house very OBS-clean
The house is very clean.

(4b) təɟəʔm kə-ʃo tseŋtseŋ
house NOM-clean sparkling
A sparklingly clean house.

In (4a) the adverb of degree *wastop*, 'very' modifies the stative verb *kəʃo*, 'clean'. The adverb occurs before the verb. In example (4b) *kəʃo* is used in an adjectival position, modifying the noun *təɟeʔm*, 'house'. The adjectival occurs after the noun. The expressive *tseŋtseŋ*, 'in a shining or sparkling manner' which functions as a manner adverb, modifies *kəʃo*. Since *kəʃo* is in adjectival position *tseŋtseŋ* occurs after it, not before. Reversing the order of the constituents in these sentences leads to ungrammatical constructions:

(4c) * təɟeʔm 'nakəʃo wastop (4d) * təɟeʔm tseŋtseŋ kəʃo

Adverbs in adjectival roles

Some adverbs can also function in adjectival roles, modifying a noun or other word that is the head of a noun phrase. In (5) the manner adverb *sok*, 'manner', modifies the verb phrase, so it occurs in front of the verb. Sentence (6) shows *sok* modifying the nominal head *ʧəʔ*, 'this', with *sok* placed after the head. Demonstrative *ʧəʔ* itself is part of a genitive construction with *təmdoʔk*, 'colour' as its head. Note that *nərgaʔŋ*, 'like' in (6) is a verb expressing fondness for a certain colour, not an adverb meaning 'similar, in like manner':

(5) makmə-ɲo [sok na-vətɽi-jn]
soldier-p manner PFT-walk-3p
The soldiers marched like this.

(6) ŋa [[tʃəʔ tə sok] w-əmdoʔk] nərgaʔ-ŋ
I this C manner 3s:GEN-colour like-1s
I like a colour like [the colour of] this one.

Likewise, in (7a) the quantifier *wuvjot*, 'many, much', modifies the noun *k^{h}əna*, 'dog', while the adverb of degree *makəndɽa*, 'very' in (7b) modifies *natopw*, 'hit'. In (7c) *makəndɽa*, when it modifies *wuvjot* and is thus part of the nominal phrase, occurs after the constituent it modifies, but it occurs before the stative verb *kəməca*, 'much, many, a lot' in (7d) when modifying the verb phrase:

(7a) [k^{h}əna wuvjot] na-top-w
dog many PFT-hit
He hit many dogs.
* He hit the dog much, a lot.

(7b) k^{h}əna [makəndɽa na-top-w]
dog very PFT-hit-3s
He hit the dog a lot.
* He hit many dogs.

(7c) [k^{h}əna wuvjot makəndɽa] na-top-w
dog many very PFT-hit-3s
He hit an amazingly large number of dogs.

(7d) k^{h}əna [makəndɽa kəməca] na-top-w
dog very much PFT-hit-3s
He hit the dog many, many times.

The following examples show two commonly used ways of expressing manner through verbs of long duration, or stative verbs. The first way employs a stative verb to form the verb phrase expressing manner while a nominal constituent elsewhere in the sentence expresses the action. In example (8) the stative verb *kəmpʃer*, 'beautiful', forms the verb phrase while the verbal compound

tarngaʔ kava, 'dance', is nominalised. The adverb of degree *makəndʈa* modifies the verb phrase *'nampʃer*:

(8) ndə təmu tə tarngaʔ kə-va [makəndʈa 'na-mpʃer]
that woman C dance NOM-do very OBS-beautiful
That woman's dancing is very beautiful.

A second option to express manner is by nominalising the stative verb:

(9) ndə təmu tə tarngaʔ [kə-mpʃer makəndʈa] na-va-w
that woman C dance NOM-beautiful very PFT-do-3s
That woman danced very beautifully.

The examples below show that in cases such as example (9) *makəndʈa* modifies the nominalised stative verb, in (10) the construction *tarngaʔ kəva kəmpʃer*, 'beautiful dancing'. The verb phrase, at the end of the sentence, is not modified by an adverb:

(10) ndə təmu tə tarngaʔ kə-va kə-mpʃer makəndʈa ŋos
that woman C dance NOM-do NOM-beautiful very be
That woman's dancing is very beautiful.

In example (11) *kəmpʃer* cannot be inflected for verbal categories such as evidentiality or tense, showing that *kəmpʃer* is a nominalised form here, modified by *makəndʈa* in an adjectival role:

(11) * ndə təmu tə tarngaʔ kəva 'nampʃer makəndʈa ŋos

Like epistemic adverbs, adverbs of time and place tend to cover the scope of the entire statement and so are not bound to occur before the particular constituent they modify. However, a speaker's desire to emphasise a particular constituent may cause adverbs of time and place to occur in a particular place in the sentence, a liberty not allowed adverbs of manner and adverbs of degree. In (12a) *soʃnu*, 'tomorrow', is emphasised because it is in the first slot of the sentence. In (12b) the emphasis is on *ŋa*, 'I' and in (12c) on *nətʰa*, 'your book':

(12a) soʃnu ŋa n-ətʰa kʰam-ŋ
tomorrow I 2s:GEN-book hand-1s
Tomorrow I'll give you your book.

(12b) ŋa soʃnu n-ətʰa kʰam-ŋ
I tomorrow 2s:GEN-book hand-1s
I'll give you your book tomorrow.

(12c) ŋa n-ət^{h}a soʃnu k^{h}am-ŋ
I 2s:GEN-book tomorrow hand-1s
I'll give you your book tomorrow.

In a similar fashion, in example (13) sentence (13a) is the neutral sentence, (13b) emphasises *coktse wərkaj*, 'on the desk' by putting it in first position, in (13c) emphasis is on *ŋa*, 'I' and in (13d) on the topicalised object *nət^{h}a*, 'your book':

(13a) ŋa n-ət^{h}a coktse w-ərka-j na-taʔ-ŋ
I 2s:GEN-book desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC PFT-put$_2$-1s
I put your book on the desk.

(13b) coktse w-ərka-j ŋa n-ət^{h}a na-taʔ-ŋ
desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC I 2s:GEN-book PFT-put$_2$-1s
I put your book on the desk.

(13c) ŋa coktse w-ərka-j n-ət^{h}a na-taʔ-ŋ
I desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC 2s:GEN-book PFT-put$_2$-1s
I put your book on the desk.

(13d) n-ət^{h}a ŋa coktse w-ərka-j na-taʔ-ŋ
2s:GEN-book I desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC PFT-put$_2$-1s
I put your book on the desk.

More than one adverb in a sentence

Several adverbs can occur in one sentence. The examples in (14) show references to time and place such as *soʃnu*, 'tomorrow' and *wərkaj*, 'on top of' as well as an epistemic adverb, *kreŋ*, 'perhaps' and an adverb of degree, *makəndʈa*, 'very'. Though adverbs of time and place are very flexible in their placement, adverbs of time generally occur before adverbs of place:

(14) * ŋa n-ət^{h}a coktse w-kər-j soʃnu teʔ-ŋ
I 2s:GEN-book desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC tomorrow put$_1$-1s

* coktse w-ərka-j soʃnu ŋa n-ət^{h}a teʔ-ŋ
desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC tomorrow I 2s:GEN-book put$_1$-1s

Adverbs that modify other adverbs

Adverbs can modify other adverbs. In such cases it almost always concerns an adverb of manner or an expressive modified by an adverb of degree. In (15) the expressive *lali*, 'slowly' modifies the verb *katʃ^{h}i*, 'go'. The adverb of degree *wastop*, 'very' modifies *lali*. Note that the adverb of degree occurs in front of the manner adverb or expressive it modifies:

(15) wastop lali katʃʰi * lali wastop katʃʰi
ADV EXP V
very slowly go
go very slowly

The order of occurrence is important, as shown in (16). The epistemic adverb *ndɽondɽo*, 'truly, really', is an expression of the speaker's attitude about the manner of walking. It covers the scope of the clause or sentence and must come before *lali*, 'slowly', the expressive which modifies only the verb phrase:

(16) ndɽondɽo [lali katʃʰi] * lali ndɽondɽo katʃʰi
truly slowly go
truly go slowly

Example (16) may be the comment of someone after a bus that was stuck in mud really begins to slowly move again. The same principle is demonstrated in (17), which combines an expressive, an adverb of degree and an epistemic adverb. Brackets in the first sentence show the scope of the constituent modified by the respective adverbs. Placing the adverbs in positions other than in front of the constituent they modify leads to ungrammaticality. Example (17) may be used by someone who comments during a hike that such-and-sow is really moving very slowly:

(17) ndɽondɽo [[wastop lali] katʃʰi]
truly very slowly go
Truly go very slowly.

* ndɽondɽo lali wastop katʃʰi
* wastop lali ndɽondɽo katʃʰi
* wastop ndɽondɽo lali katʃʰi
* lali wastop ndɽondɽo katʃʰi
* lali ndɽondɽo wastop katʃʰi

Modification of adverbs with ki, tə *or* kə[127]

The exception to the rule that an adverb must occur in the position immediately before the constituent modified is that the adverb may be separated from this constituent by the indefiniteness marker *ki*, the contrast marker *tə* and the prominence marker *kə*. The indefiniteness marker can occur after adverbs of manner and degree, and before the constituent modified by those adverbs. Native speakers say the addition of *ki* makes little difference in meaning but emphasizes the adverb. In the examples below, *wastop*, 'very' is an adverb of degree while *raŋpa* is a manner adverb:

[127] Guillaume Jacques has found for Chábǎo that adverbs can be modified by the local equivalents of *ki* and *kə*, *ci* and *kɯ* respectively (Jacques, personal communication).

(18) wastop na-vətɽi
very PFT-walk
walked and walked

wastop ki na-vətɽi
very IDEF PFT-walk
walked on and on without end

(19) təɟuʔ w-əŋgi raŋpa na-kə-məzaʔk-w ˈnə-ŋos
water 3s:GEN-in intentionally PFT-NOM-jump$_2$-3s EV-be
He jumped into the water on purpose.

ŋa raŋpa ki məzeʔk-ŋ to-kə-səso-w
I intentionally IDEF jump$_1$-1s PFT-NOM-think-3s
"I'll just jump [in] on purpose!" [he] thought.

Contrast marker *tə* can occur after adverbials, especially conjunctive adverbs such as *maʃki*, 'until':

(20) kʰorlo ma-vi maʃki tə tʃəʔ to-ˈva-w
bus NEG-come$_1$ until C this IMP-do-2s
Do this until the bus arrives.

Indefiniteness markers and contrast markers normally function as noun adjuncts, that is, as modifiers of nouns or noun phrases. This raises the question if words such as *wastop* and *raŋpa* in the examples can be considered proper adverbs when occurring with *ki*. It is tempting to think of *ki* here as a sort of adverb of degree. But that violates the rule that an adverb modifying another adverb occurs before that adverb, not after it. Another possibility is to think of *wastop* and *raŋpa* somehow as nominals - but there is no indication that they behave like nominals in this sort of construction. It is not possible to replace *ki* in this sort of structure with *kərek*, 'one', a numeral that is the root of *ki* and that can function as an adverb of degree meaning 'to a great degree':

(21) ŋa kərek to-ndza-ŋ
I one PFT-eat-1s
I ate with gusto.

ŋa wastop to-ndza-ŋ
I very PFT-eat-1s
I ate with gusto.

ŋa wastop ki to-ndza-ŋ
I very IDEF PFT-eat-1s
I ate with great gusto.

*ŋa wastop kərek tondzaŋ

Adverbs and adverbial phrases, like noun phrases, can also be modified by the prominence marker *kə*:

(22) ŋa bawbaw¤ [pəʃurʃnu mo] kə to-kə-ku-ŋ ŋos
I bag yesterday not.longer.ago.than PR PFT-NOM-buy-1s be
I bought the bag just yesterday.

In example (22) the speaker emphasizes how recently he bought the bag by adding a prominence marker to the time reference 'just yesterday'. The sentence is perfectly grammatical also without *kə*. For more on the use of prominence marker *kə*, see section 4.3.e of the chapter on nouns.

Derived adverbs

Words belonging to other word classes, such as nouns, demonstratives and verbs, can function as adverbials. This is especially true for words that refer to time or place. Some nouns do double duty, such as *tawo*, which can mean either 'head' when it occurs as a noun, or 'early' when it functions as an adverb:

(23)	tawo	kʰəna w-awo 'na-kəktu
	head	dog 3s:GEN-head OBS-big
	(noun)	The dog has a big head.
	tawo	tawo tsʰat ji-ˈvi-n
	immediately; soon; early; first	early little IMP-come$_1$-2s
	(adverb)	Come a little early!
		tawo ŋa-məmto-dʒ
		soon REC-see-1d
		See you soon!

Note that words from other word classes, when they function as adverbials, retain characteristics of their own word class. For example, *tawo* when used in its adverbial sense of 'early', cannot form genitives as a noun would, but the adverb of degree *tsʰat* occurs after it, functioning as an adjectival. Many nouns, expressives and verbs in Jiǎomùzú can be reduplicated either in part or as a whole to intensify their meaning. Single word non-derived adverbs cannot be reduplicated in that way, but adverbs that are derived from words of either the noun or the verb class can:

(24)	ʒik	also (adverb)	* ʒikʒik	
	manɟuʔ	besides, more so (adverb)	* manɟuʔmanɟuʔ	* manɟuʔɟuʔ
	ʃo	always (adverb)	*ʃoʃo	
(25)	tawo	head (noun)		
		early (adverb)	tawowo	very early

Some adverbs can combine with words from other word classes to form adverbial compounds. The following examples show adverbial compounds based on interrogative pronouns and nouns respectively:

(26) t^hi what (interrogative pronoun)
sok way, manner (adverb)
t^hisok how, in what way (interrogative manner adverb)

(27) təʃnu day (noun)
pu now (adverb)
pəʃnu today (adverb)

5.2 *Manner adverbs*

There is a paucity of manner adverbs in the Jiǎomùzú dialects, since expressives are usually employed to indicate manner or result of an action or event. I have found one multi-purpose manner adverb, *sok*, 'like, manner, about, so'. The adverb *sok* derives from the noun *təsok*, 'manner':

(28) stoŋ kətsə sok 'na-kəktu
SUP small manner OBS-big
The smallest one is about this big (has a similar size as this one).

(29) tamaʔ tʃəʔ tə sok tə-va-w ra
work this C manner 2-do-2s need
You need to do this job in this manner.

(30) nənɟo ndə sok kəməca na-kə-tə-nə-vla-w tə
you that manner much PFT-NOM-2-EREFL-spend-2s C
Spending that much, you're lying!

təŋgli na-tə-va-w
lie PFT-2-do-2s

The only other single word manner adverb I have found so far is *raŋpa*, 'intentionally, on purpose':

(31) təɟuʔ w-əŋgi raŋpa na-kə-məzaʔk-w ˈnə-ŋos
water 3s:GEN-in intentionally PFT-NOM-$jump_2$-3s EV-be
He jumped into the water on purpose.

Some verbs and nouns can modify verbs to express manner:

(32) kaŋana (verb) — kaŋana kavətɽi
speed, hurry — hurry walk
walk hurriedly

tazə (noun) — tazəzə kam kacu
secret — quietly door open
open the door quietly, without making a sound

tʰaptʃʰak (noun) — tamaʔ tʰaptʃʰak kava
middling, so-so — work so.so do
do a less than stellar job

And finally manner can be expressed either by constructions in which a verb phrase expresses manner while a nominal constituent elsewhere in the sentence expresses the action or through nominalisation of a stative verb, as shown in examples (8) and (9) in section 5.1 on general properties of adverbs above.

5.3 *Adverbs of degree*

Equality of degree, quantity, opinion etc. is expressed by the adverb *ʒik*, 'also':

(33) ŋa tətʰa kə-va ŋos-ŋ — ŋa ʒik ŋos-ŋ
I book NOM-do be-1s — I also be-1s
I'm a student. — Me too.

Meanings such as 'none at all', 'not even one' are also formed with *ʒik*, combined with *kərek*, 'one' or *tʰi*, 'what', plus a negative verb:

(34) tʰi ʒik ˈkəva-ŋ miʔ
what also PRIMP-do-1s not have
I'm not doing anything at all.

(35) kərek ʒik ma-ndoʔ
one also NEG-have
There is not even one.

Degrees of quality can be expressed by simply placing an adverb in front of the verb. There are several adverbs of degree that all signal small measure. However, the smallness of the measure

differs for each one. In order of increasing magnitude they are *tsʰət*, *zet*, *kəndzok*, *ɟaspe* and *dʈamən*. All can also be used to politely indicate 'to a large degree'. Their usage is comparable to Sìchuān Chinese 一点 *yī diǎn*, which literally means 'a little' but often expresses 'to a large extent or degree'. Some of these adverbs can modify all verbs, some only occur with stative verbs. They are all single word adverbs. These adverbs cannot be reduplicated to intensify their meaning, apart from *ɟaspe* which can occur as *ɟaspespe*, 'really quite…'. The adverbs occur in front of the verbs they modify:

(36) tsʰət 'naməʃtak
little OBS-cold
a wee bit cold: freezing

* tsʰət na-va-w
little PFT-do-3s

(37) tʃəʔ wu-ɟeʔm sweni¤ tsam kə-miʔ ˈnə-ŋos
this 3s:GEN-house concrete little NOM-not.have EV-be
This house was built without any concrete.

(38) zet 'na-kəktu
quite OBS-big
quite big: huge

zet ma-kəndʈa
quite NEG-same
quite different: not at all the same

(39) kamtsa kəndzok kəktu ŋos
window quite big be
The window is quite big.

takʰu kəndzok va-w
smoke quite do-3s
It smokes quite a bit.

(40) ɟaspe 'na-tsʰo
quite OBS-fat
[He is] rather fat.

(41) dʈamən kəhaʔw
little good
quite good: excellent

kəruʔskaʔt dʈamən kaʃpaʔ
Tibetan little able
know a little Tibetan: be proficient in Tibetan

The stative verb *kətsə*, 'small' also can be used as an adverb of degree. Used in this manner, *kətsə* can have a double root to intensify its meaning. It can modify process as well as non-process verbs:

(42) kətsə
small

kətsə-tsə ma-kəndʈa
a.little-RED NEG-similar
a bit different: not at all alike

kətsə na-rjo-jn
a.little PFT-talk-3p
[They] talked some.

One very commonly used adverb, *wastop*, means 'very, to a large degree':

(43) w-əkʃet wastop 'na-kəktu
3s:GEN-strength very OBS-big
He is exceedingly strong.

Two other words that often occur as adverbs of degree with the same meaning as *wastop* are *makəndʈa* and *kəmtsar*. All three are commonly used, though *wastop* and *kəmtsar* are more particularly the vocabulary of Kŏnglóng. Though used often in an adverbial role, *kəmtsar* and *makəndʈa* are actually verbs of duration, *kəmtsar* meaning 'strange' while *makəndʈa* is a negative form of *kəndʈa*, 'similar, alike, same':

(44) jini tsəlajswe¤ ndoʔ kəmtsar kənipa
we:e running.water have very convenient
We have running water, very convenient.

(45) ndə tə pəʃurtʈə k^{h}əna makəndʈa na-top-w
that C the.other.day dog very PFT-hit-3s
The other day he hit the dog terribly.

Equality is expressed by the verb *kəndʈa*, 'same, similar'. Note that person and number have to be marked on the quality to be compared, as well as on the subject. Number and person are suffixed to the subject, but prefixed to the quality to be compared, whether verb or noun. They can be, but not necessarily are, marked on the equality marker *kəndʈa* as well:

(46) tʃəɟo tʃ-ambro 'na-ndʈa-dʒ
1d 1d:GEN-tall OBS-EQ-1d
We two are the same height.

(47) tʃəʔ wu-ʃasto manɟuʔ ndə w-əŋgi-ndʒ ndʒ-əvu kəndʈa ˈnə-ŋos
this 3s:GEN-shirt also that 3s:GEN-in-3d 3d:GEN-price EQ EV-be
This shirt and that one in [the shop] are equally expensive.

Comparative degree is expressed by a genitive form of the noun *taka*, 'bottom, underside', which becomes a locative when inflected with the adverbialiser *-j.* The whole construct, literally meaning 'at the bottom of' is then used metaphorically, meaning something like 'the standard to compare with'. Note that the marking for genitive depends on the person. In the example below it is *w-* for third person singular. For more on genitive structures, see the chapters on nouns and pronouns:

(48) tʃəʔ tə w-amaʔ-ɲo kərə w-amaʔ w-aka-j 'na-haʔw
this C 3s:-work-p other 3s:-work 3s:-bottom-LOC OBS-good
This work is better than the other work.

Number of the quality to be compared is prefixed to the adverb. Note that marking for plural on the noun is optional, since number marking is obligatory on the adverb of comparative degree. I use the abbreviation COMP to indicate comparative degree:

(49) ŋa ŋ-ajze ŋ-aka-j kəpdu pa kəktu
I 1s:GEN-older brother 1s:GEN-COMP-LOC four year big
My older brother is four years older than me.

(50) pkraʃis w-apuʔ ŋa ŋ-apuʔ ɲ-aka-j 'na-məca
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-child I 1s:GEN-child 3p:-COMP-LOC OBS-many
bKra-shis has more children than I do.

(51) ndə w-apuʔ-ɲo tʃəʔ w-apuʔ-ɲo ɲ-aka-j 'na-ŋaʒgro-jn
that 3s:GEN-child-p this 3s:GEN-child-p 3p:GEN-COMP-LOC OBS-fast-3p
Those children are faster than these ones.

Negative comparisons are formed by affixing a negation marker to the verb:

(52) lhamo pkraʃis w-aka-j ma-mbro
lHa.mo bKra.shis 3s:GEN-COMP-LOC NEG-tall
lHa-mo is not as tall as bKra-shis.

(53) tʃəʔ wu-pakʃu h-anu wu-pakʃu w-aka-j ma-kəktu
this 3s:GEN-apple D-downriver 3s:GEN-apple 3s:GEN-COMP-LOC NEG-big
These apples are not as big as those ones.

The adverb for superlative degree or superabundance is *stoŋ*, 'most, highest'.[128] This adverb is used in comparisons as well as in other expressions of superabundance such as compounds with time references expressing 'every':

(54) stoŋ 'na-kəktu stoŋ kəmtsar
SUP OBS-big SUP strange
(the) biggest (the) strangest

[128] The adverb *stoŋ* has a dialect variant *stiŋ*. I use both forms interchangeably in this study.

(55) təʃnu (day) təpa (year)
stoŋ-ʃnu stoŋ-pa
every-day every-year
daily yearly

(56) ŋa ŋ-əmo tə w-əmɲok va stiŋ kəmem ŋos
I 1s:GEN-mother C 3s:GEN-bread make SUP tasty be
My mother makes the best bread.

(57) wuɟo ɲi-pramze kantʃʰak-j kə-ndoʔ ɲ-əngi stiŋ kə-haʔw ŋos
3s 3p:GEN-carpet market-LOC NOM-have 3p:GEN-in SUP NOM-good be
Their carpets are the nicest ones in the market.

Note that in (57) the third person singular *wuɟo* is used to single out one shop, while *pramze*, 'carpet' is marked for plural to indicate the shopkeepers. This sort of disconnect is common in Jiǎomùzú, see also the chapters on pronouns and nouns.
The numeral *kərek*, 'one' can express superabundance when used as an adverbial. In such instances *kərek* expresses meanings rather like 'too…' or the English 'one ….', in which *one* expresses degree, for example, *that's one tall tree!* or 'too, extremely':

(58) kərek 'na-mbro kərek ma-ˈnə-nəʃit
too OBS-tall extremely NEG-OBS-comfortable
too tall extremely uncomfortable.

ndə-ɲo kʰəna kərek 'na-kəktu ki na-varo-jn
that-p dog one OBS-big IDEF PFT-possess-3p
They had one big dog there.

The adverbs *me*, 'only, merely, just' and *kəro*, 'to a great extent, very' occur in negative sentences only:

(59) ndə poŋeʔj kəmŋi mpʰjar tə me ma-ˈnə-varo-w
that money five CL C only NEG-OBS-possess-3s
He has no more than five yuan.

(60) pkraʃis lhamo w-aka-j kətsə-tsə me ma-kəktu
bKra.shis lHa.mo 3s:GEN-COMP-LOC little-RED only NEG-big
bKra-shis is only a little bigger than lHa-mo.

As with other adverbs of degree, *kəro* can be used to politely express the opposite of what the speaker says:

(61) krəŋ kəro ɟi-ˈa-ɲin * kəro 'naɲin
maybe very NEG/PFT-NEV-serious
Maybe it was not too bad: it was not at all serious

kəro ma-ˈnə-ts^{h}o * kəro 'nats^{h}o
very NEG-OBS-fat
not very fat: pretty fat

kəro ma-ˈnə-va-w * kəro 'na-va-w
very NEG-OBS-do-3s
He doesn't do that much: he doesn't lift a finger

5.4 *Interrogative adverbs*

There are several interrogative adverbs in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. Interrogative adverbs of time and place are *kəʃtʇə*, 'when' and *kətʃe*, 'where'.

(62) nənɟo kəʃtʇə tə-vi-n tʃəʔ kəʃtʇə kasəjoʔk ra
you when 2-come$_1$-2s this when finish need
When will you come? When does this have to be finished?

kətʃe to-kə-tə-ku-w ŋos skarma kətʃe ˈnə-ŋos
where PFT-NOM-2-buy-2s be sKar.ma where EV-be
Where did you buy it? Where is sKar-ma?

There are also some interrogative adverbs that are combinations of *t^{h}i* and another word, usually a noun: *t^{h}iwuʒak*, 'what time'; *t^{h}istok*, 'how many, how much'; *t^{h}iwutʃ^{h}e*, 'why'; *t^{h}isok*, 'how'. In these compounds *t^{h}i*, 'what' is combined with *ʒak*, 'time', *sok*, 'like, manner', *tʃ^{h}e*, 'reason' or *stok*, 'many'. Compounds based on nouns need to be marked for genitive.

(63a) t^{h}isok kava ra ma-ˈnə-ʃi-ŋ t^{h}isok tə-va-w
how do need NEG-OBS-know-1s how 2-do-2s
I don't know how to do it. How do you make that?

(63b) wu-goŋ t^{h}ista ŋos t^{h}istok ki kəra mə-ŋos
3s:GEN-price how.much be how.much IDEF need Q-be
How much does it cost? How much do you need?

(63c) pkraʃis ma-vi ŋos o t^{h}iwut$ʃ^{h}$e
bKra.shis NEG-come$_{1}$ be oh why
bKra-shis won't come. Oh, why not?

(63d) ŋa nə-tʃiŋʂə¤ vi-ŋ t^{h}iwuʒak tʃe
I 2s:GEN-dorm come$_{1}$-1s what.time at
I'll come to your dorm. What time?

5.5 *Epistemic adverbs*

Epistemic adverbs express the speaker's attitude regarding the statement he or she is making, or the speaker's degree of certainty or intensity regarding the action or event. There are few epistemic adverbs in Jiǎomùzú, since many epistemic meanings are expressed through the use of mood markers. I describe mood markers in the next chapter on smaller word classes. The most frequently used epistemic adverbs in the Jiǎomùzú dialects are *ndʈondʈo*, 'truly, really', *loski*, 'of course', *kreŋ*, 'perhaps, maybe'.

(64) nə-bawbaw¤ ndʈondʈo 'na-mpʃar
2s:GEN-bag truly OBS-beautiful
Your bag is truly beautiful.

kəʃmo kava loski ma-ˈnə-haʔw
thief do of.course NEG-OBS-good
Of course it's bad to be a thief!

jontan kreŋ ma-vi
Yon.tan maybe NEG-come$_{1}$
Perhaps Yon-tan will not come.

Some other forms, often compounds of an adverb and another word, can express epistemic meanings. In the following example *t^{h}i nəŋos* expresses the speaker's commitment to his promise to go:

(65) t^{h}i ˈnə-ŋos ŋa tʃ^{h}i-ŋ
what EV-be I go$_{1}$-1s
In any case (whatever happens), I will go.

For other meanings such as 'certainly' and 'actually', which in English are usually expressed by epistemic adverbs, Jiǎomùzú uses clause connectors or loanwords from Chinese. For clause connectors, see section 8.2 of the chapter on sentences. Below is an example of the use of a Chinese loan. The adverb *k^{h}aŋtiŋ* derives from Chinese noun 肯定 *kěndìng*, 'certainty':

(66) jontan k^hantiŋ¤ ma-vi
Yon.tan surely NEG-$come_1$
Surely Yon-tan will not come.

5.6 *Adverbs of time and place*

Locatives are adverbials that situate an action or event in place or time. As with other categories of adverb, there are specific single word, non-derived adverbs of time and place, such as *pu*, 'now'[129], *ʃi*, 'continuously, all the time', *ʃo*, 'always', *pije*, 'immediately', *$t^haʔm$*, 'in a while' and *pəʃk^ha*, 'just now, just a while ago':

(67) jontan $t^haʔm$ vi
Yon.tan in.a.while $come_1$
Yon-tan will come in a while.

(68) ŋa pəʃk^ha to-nəndza-ŋ
I a.while.ago PFT-have a meal-1s
I just ate.

Beyond this there is a range of markers that can turn constituents such as a noun phrase into adverbials of time or place. In the first subsection, 5.6.a, I give an overview of the use of these markers. Then follow sections 5.6.b and 5.6.c in which I discuss adverbs of time and adverbs of place respectively.

a. Adverbialisers for references to time and place

My data contains a set of four locative markers that can mark either time or place:

(69)
tʃe	at
-j	at, towards
c^ho	about, somewhere, sometime
k^ho	just then, as soon as, beyond

A sixth marker, *-s*, also signals 'from' but is in use only in certain places in Jiǎomùzú. Perhaps it is a shortened form of *sta*, 'origin'. I give some examples of its usage below. Together the markers in this set beautifully cover all common directions for any given centre in time and space.

[129] The adverb *pu* also occurs as *pi*, a dialect variant. I use both forms interchangeably in this study.

The most frequently occurring locative markers are *ʧe* and *-j*. The locative markers occur at the end of the constituent they modify. Locative *-j* is suffixed to the last syllable of the constituent. Marker *-j* may be derived from the general marker for orientation, *ji-*. I discuss orientation marking extensively in section 7.3 of the chapter on verbs. Locative *ʧe* is probably based in the noun of the same form which means 'here, this place' or 'this time', as in (70). Note the possessive marking on *ʧe*:

(70) kərek na-ʃi-natso-w wu-tʃe....
one PFT-VPT-look-3s 3s:GEN-time...
The time that he looked….

Both markers turn a reference to an entity in time or space into an adverbial:

(71) tawo tʃe mdzorge kaŋgo ra
head LOC mDzod.dge go.up need
First you must go up to Mdzod-dge.

tawo-j mdzorge kaŋgo ra
head-LOC mDzod.dge go.up need
First you must go up to Mdzod-dge.

(72) tambat w-ərka tʃe
mountain 3s:GEN-top LOC
on (the) top of the mountain

tambat w-ərka-j
mountain 3s:GEN-top-LOC
on (the) top of the mountain

Locatives *ʧe* and *-j* can also be used in the sense of 'when, while, during':

(73) ŋa tamaʔ kava-j ka-ptʃo w-əspe ŋos
I work do-LOC NOM-use 3s:GEN-material be
I use it for my work.

An exceedingly common process is the turning of nouns into adverbials by suffixing them with locative marker *-j*. Often these nouns modify another noun or pronoun in genitive constructions:

(74)	təŋkʰuʔ	back (noun)
	w-əŋkʰuʔ	təɬeʔm w-əŋkʰuʔ
	3s:GEN-back	house 3s:GEN-back
	the back of….	the back(side) of the house
	w-əŋkʰuʔ-j	təɬeʔm w-əŋkʰuʔ-j
	3s:GEN-back-LOC	house 3s:GEN-back-LOC
	at the back of…	at the back of the house; behind the house

Such constructions are best glossed in English with prepositions such as 'at, over, on, behind, before, in, out' etc. Most of these constructions form adverbials of place but they do occur as well as adverbials of time, as in the case of *wəŋkʰuʔj* in the example above, which can mean 'afterwards, later' as well as indicate geographical position. I discuss genitives with locative marking more extensively in section 5.6.c on adverbs of place below.

Both locative markers have the same meaning but *-j* functions on the phrase level or below while *tʃe* can mark all constituents from the phrase up to the clause level. On the clause level *tʃe* is an adverbial conjunction, see below in section 5.7 on adverbial conjunctions and section 6.4 on conjunctions in the next chapter on smaller word classes.

A speaker can use locative markers to turn a reference to an entity of time or place into an adverbial phrase. In (75a), for example, there is no locative marking. The noun *ato*, 'high place', refers actually to the house that is there rather than to the geographical location, though 'the house' is implicit. It functions as the subject of the sentence, not as an adverbial. But in (75b) the speaker links a specific location to a house that is at that spot, turning the reference into an adverbial:

(75a)	ato	nɬiləkjeʔm	ˈnə-ŋos
	high.place	stone-house	EV-be
	[The house on] the height is made of stone.		

(75b)	ato	tʃe	nɬiləkɬeʔm	ki	'na-ndoʔ
	place.above	LOC	stone-house	one	OBS-have
	There on the height is a house of stone.				

Along the same lines, *tambat wərka* in (76) is a noun phrase that functions as the subject. It indicates the top of the mountain, which is difficult to walk on (maybe because the terrain is steep or rocky). In (76b) *təjva*, 'snow' is the subject while *tambat wərkaj* is an adverbial:

(76a) tambat w-ərka ka-tʃ^{h}i sak^{h}a
mountain 3s:GEN-top NOM-go$_{1}$ difficult
The top of the mountain is difficult to walk on.

(76b) tambat w-ərka-j təjva na-ndo
mountain 3s:GEN-top-LOC snow PFT-have
There was snow on top of the mountain.

(77a) doŋmən¤ kətsə 'na-kəskriʔn
Eastgate little OBS-long
The Eastgate is a bit far (from here)

(77b) doŋmən¤ w-arnam tʃe kaŋaməmto-j
Eastgate 3s:GEN-near LOC meet-1p
I'll see you at the Eastgate.

Of those references to time and place that function as adverbials, some have obligatory locative marking and others do not. Which do and which don't, apart from the semantic difference described above, has to be learned:

(78) ŋa soʃnu vi-ŋ
I tomorrow come$_{1}$-1s
I'll come tomorrow.

* ŋa soʃnu-j vi-ŋ
I tomorrow-LOC come$_{1}$-1s

* ŋa soʃnu tʃe vi-ŋ
I tomorrow LOC come$_{1}$-1s

(79) ŋa tətsʰot kəsam tʃe vi-ŋ
I hour three LOC come$_{1}$-1s
I'll come at three o'clock.

* ŋa tətsʰot kəsam viŋ

The meaning of such constructions as *soʃnuj* would be something like 'on tomorrow'. The construction in the second ungrammatical sentence is actually possible, if *tʃe* is taken as an adverb meaning 'here' rather than as a modifier of *soʃnu*, yielding 'I'll come here tomorrow' rather than 'I'll come tomorrow'. I describe habitual locative marking with time references below.
The indefinite locative marker *cʰo* means 'somewhere, sometime':

(80) kʰa-j cʰo kə makəndʈa w-əzgre ki na-ndoʔ
living.room-LOC LOC PR strange 3s:GEN-sound IDEF PFT-have
A strange sound came from somewhere around the living room.

(81) pəʃurtʈə cʰo pkraʃis ɟenxwa¤ na-leʔt-w
a.few.days.ago LOC bKra.shis phone PFT-hit$_2$-3s
Sometime a few days ago bKra-shis called.

Note that adverbialisers such as *cʰo* can mark a constituent that is already marked for time or space, as in (80).

The marker *kʰo*, like *ʈʃe*, can function as an adverbialiser of phrases or smaller constituents as well as a conjunctive adverb. The marker signals meanings like 'the utmost, to the farthest extent, beyond, surpassing', which can be used to indicate geographical space or, more metaphorically, the surpassing degree of a quality or event. In space, the marker indicates that one has reached the farthest limit; one literally has run out of space and into some limiting factor:

(82) ndə kʰo kə-mi tə na-vətʈi-ŋ korə ɟi-məto-ŋ
that beyond NOM-not.have C PFT-walk-1s CON NEG/PFT-see-1s
I walked until I could not go any further, but I did not find [it]. (I searched high and low through the land, but I did not find it.)

(83) kəŋan ndə kʰo ma-kə-kʰut
bad that beyond NEG-NOM-can
It is impossible to be more evil [than this]. (This is evil to an extent impossible to surpass)

Locative *kʰo* can also indicate that two actions or events follow each other very closely in time or even that the end of the first action overlaps with the beginning of the second:

(84) kʰrəʔw nə-ʃnu kʰo drolma to-məndə
rice PFT-cook LOC sGrol.ma PFT-arrive
sGrol-ma arrived just as the rice was done.

(85) ɟenxwa¤ kaleʔt kʰo katʃʰi
telephone hit LOC go
Go as soon as one has made a call.

A good example is sentence (86). This example gives in one long sentence a complex event, recognisable to anyone who has ever spent time on the Tibetan grasslands, which are infested with fierce dogs of a huge size: bKra-shis, while taking a leak, is surprised by a dog. He spins around in order to flee but since his trousers are around his ankles he drops to the ground in a heap. The speaker chops up this complex event, which consists of a number of actions, into smaller segments with the use of various conjunctions:

(86) pkraʃis kə kʰə kəndzok na-məsem tʃe w-əŋkʰuʔ her na-məʒər
bKra.shis PR dog barking PFT-hear LOC 3s:GEN-after EXPR PFT-turn
bKra-shis, after he had heard the barking of the dog, spun around preparing to

kʰo kəpʰo to-ˈa-loʔ korə kaŋsnem karaʃi
CON flee PFT-NEV-prepare but trousers pull.up
run but, having had no time to pull up his trousers he fell to the ground

ɟi-ˈa-tso kʰo məla-j sprep na-ˈa-ndʈwaʔp-w
NEG/PFT-NEV-have.free.timeCON ground-LOC EXP PFT-NEV-fall-3s
in a heap.

In this great example there are two coordinated sentences linked by *koronə*, 'but'. In the first sentence bKra-shis hears the dog, spins around and prepares to flee. The hearing of the dog is expressed by an adverbial clause marked by locative *tʃe*, 'at the time, when'. The two other actions, spinning around and preparing to flee, are linked by *kʰo*, indicating that they take part one right after the other and that they are considered as a cluster that signals one event by the speaker. In the second sentence the fact of the trousers being around bKra-shis ankles and his falling to the ground are linked by *kʰo* as well, forming a second cluster that signals one complex event.
Locative marker *sta*, 'from, origin' derives from the noun tasta, ‘origin’ and is often used together with adverb *maʃki*, 'until':

(87) ŋa jijweˀ sanˀ haʔwˀ sta tə wuˀ haʔwˀ maʃki ɲu-ŋ
I January three number from C five number until stay-1s
I'll stay from January third until January the fifith.

(88) mborkʰe sta tə mkʰono maʃki na-vətʈi-ŋ
Măĕrkāng from C Kŏnglóng until PFT-walk-1s
I walked from Măĕrkāng to Kŏnglóng.

b. Location in time

Absolute time

Absolute time is normally expressed by unmodified nouns and numerals:

(89) tətsʰot kəsam — zlawa daŋbo
hour three — month one
three o'clock — the first month (in the Tibetan calendar)

tətsʰot kəpdu təvek
hour four half
(it is) half past four.

But when the time reference is tied to a specific action or event, usually *ʧe* or *-j* occurs. The locative marking alters a constituent's meaning from a reference to a quantity of time to a specific point in time. Example (90a) shows a reference to absolute time, *tətsʰot kəsam*, 'three hours', the amount of time the subject spent waiting. There is no marking on the time reference. But in (90b) the absolute time reference *tətsʰot kəsam* is linked to a specific event, namely the point in time at which the subject 'he' came. The time reference is linked to his coming by locative *ʧe*:

(90a) tətsʰot kəsam na-nanjo-ŋ
hour three PFT-wait-1s
I waited for three hours.

(90b) tətsʰot kəsam ʧe ndə-j ji-vu
hour three LOC that-LOC PFT-come$_2$
He came there at three o'clock.

Time of day, period of day, day of the week and month all use *ʧe*. With references to 'year' as a unit of time *ʧe* or *-j* only appears if the speaker wants to emphasise that a certain event happened at that particular time. For references to the day of the month normally a genitive construction is used.

time of day (91) tətsʰot kəsam ʧe — tətsʰot kəʃnəs ʧe
hour three LOC — hour seven LOC
at three o'clock — at seven o'clock

period of day (92) saksəŋkʰuʔ ʧe — tamor ʧe
noon-after LOC — evening LOC
in the afternoon — in the evening

day of the week

(93) ʃiŋtʃiji¤ tʃe smonbe katʃʰi
Monday LOC doctor go
Go to the doctor on Monday.

(94) ʃiŋtʃitʃan¤ tʃe maɟaŋ¤ kaleʔt
Sunday LOC májiàng hit$_1$
Play májiàng on Sunday.

day of the month

(95) ndə tə kəsam-zɟi-kərek w-əʃnu na-kə-sci ˈnə-ŋos
that C three-ten-one 3s:GEN-day PFT-NOM-be.born EV-be
He was born on the 31st.

month of the year

(96) zlawa daŋbo tʃəʔ tʃe karətʰa ma-ra
month one this LOC study NEG-need
This January we don't need to go to school.

year

(97) 2001 nijan¤ ŋa ʃintəhu na-ŋos-ŋ
2001 year I Chéngdū PFT-be-1s
In 2001 I was in Chéngdū.

(98) 1976 nijan¤ tʃe ŋa kə-rətʰa na-ŋos-ŋ
1976 year LOC I NOM-study PFT-be-1s
In 1976 I was a student.

For festivals and seasons either *tʃe* or *-j* is used, often after the addition of a genitive form of *təʒak*, 'time, day', forming the meaning of 'at the time of…' Also common is the use of *tʰaʔm*, 'period, time, while' :

(99) loser w-əʒak-j ŋa to-nəja-ŋ
New.Year 3s:GEN-time-LOC I PFT-go home-1s
I went home at New Year's.

(100) rəmtʃʰot w-əʒak tʃe təmu kəsu
mountain.offering 3s:GEN-time LOC sky clear
At the time of the festival for the mountain deity the weather was good.

(101) kərtswu
winter (noun)

kərtswu-j
winter-LOC
in winter

kərtswu tʃe
winter LOC
in winter

kərtswu t^haʔm
winter time
in winter

kərtswu wu-t^haʔm
winter 3s:GEN-time
in winter

kərtswu-j makəndʈa kəməʃtak
winter-LOC very cold
In winter it is very cold.

kərscup t^haʔm karama kəməca
harvest time work much
The harvest season is a busy time.

Relative time

Relative time ties the time reference to the time of speech. General relative time is expressed by adverbs such as *pu*, 'now', and *kəsce*, 'before, ago, first'. Some single word adverbs can be used to form compounds, such as *pəʃni*, 'today', from *pu*, 'now' and *təʃni*, 'day' or *tʃəʔpu*, 'still now, at the moment', from *tʃe*, 'here' and *pu*, 'now'. Some nouns and verbs can also be used adverbially, such as *wəŋk^huʔ*, 'later, later on, afterwards', and *tawo*, 'early, first'. These adverbials can be modified by other adverbials, like *stoŋ kəməŋk^huʔ*, 'finally', from the verb *kəməŋk^huʔ*, 'late' and the adverb *stoŋ*, 'most'.

(102) mə-to-tə-nəndza-n
Q-PFT-2-have.a.meal-2s
Have you eaten?

pu miʔ
now not.have
Not yet.

(103) kəsce ŋa diansə¤ ʃo kə-namɲo-ŋ na-ŋos-ŋ k^ho
before I TV always NOM-experience-1s PFT-be-1s CON
I used to do a lot of watching TV, but now I stopped watching.

pu 'məto-namɲo-ŋ
now TER-experience-1s

In example (103) *məto-* indicates terminative aspect. I describe aspect in section 7.4 of the chapter on verbs below.

Specific relative time is expressed by nouns like *soʃnu*, 'tomorrow' and *saksəŋk^huʔ*, 'afternoon'. Specific relative time can point forward, from the time of speech to a point in the future:

(104) soʃnu ŋaməmto-j
tomorrow meet-1p
See you tomorrow!

(105) ŋa tʃəʔ w-əŋk^{h}uʔ ʃiŋtʃiwu¤ tʃe t^{h}o-ŋ
I this 3s:GEN-after Friday LOC ascend-1s
I'll come up next Friday (the Friday after this).

Or the speaker can refer back from the time of speech to a point in the past:

(106) pəʃur təmor kətʃe ji-tə-rɟi-n
yesterday evening where PFT-2-go$_2$-2s
Where did you go last night?

(107) təts^{h}ot kəŋes w-aka tʃe ŋa tʃe-j na-ŋos-ŋ
hour two 3s:GEN-bottom LOC I here-LOC PFT-be-1s
I was here two hours ago.

There is also a set of three locative markers, *no*, *ro* and *mo*. Locative marking with *no* means 'at the latest', the last moment after the reference point referred to by the speaker:

(108) pəʃnu-ŋk^{h}uʔ no kava səjoʔk ʃi
today-back LOC:at.the.latest do finish MD:C
[It] will be finished at the latest at the end of today.

Locative *no* cannot be reduplicated and an adverbial with *no* cannot be modified by prominence marker *kə*. Locative marker *mo* means 'just, recent, just at that time':

(109) ndə mo-mo mo kə wuɟo-ɲo kə tʃəʔ tascok tə na-laʔt-jn
that LOC-LOC LOC:recent PR 3-p PR this letter C PFT-hit$_2$-3p
Only just now, this very minute, did they write this letter.

(110) mbarkham ɟoar¤ niɛn¤ tʃe mo kə ji-ˈa-tʃ^{h}i….
Măĕrkāng 1992 year LOC LOC:recent PR PFT-NEV-go
He went to Măĕrkāng in 1992 just at that time…..

Note that *mo* behaves differently from *no* in that it can be reduplicated for emphasis and adverbials modified by *mo* can be modified in their turn by prominence marker *kə*, though use of *kə* is not obligatory:

(111) drolma ndə mo to-məndə
sGrol.ma that LOC:recent PFT-arrive
sGrol-ma arrived just now.

drolma ndə mo kə to-mənde
sGrol.ma that LOC:recent PR PFT-arrive
Just now sGrol-ma arrived.

Also frequently used is *ro*, 'later than', from the noun *təro*, 'surplus, extra, leftover'.

(112) ŋa təts^{h}ot kəsam ro vi-ŋ
I hour three LOC:later.than come$_{1}$-1s
I'll be there a bit after three o'clock.

Continuous time

Continuous time expresses actions or events that persist over a space of time. The most frequently used adverbs are *ʃo*, 'always', *ʃi*, 'constantly, all the time' and *wamu*, 'usually, originally':

(113) tʃəʔ tə tapuʔ k^{h}əna ʃo ka-nəmbri ŋos
this C child dog always NOM-play be
This child always plays with dogs.

(114) tʃəʔ tə tapuʔ k^{h}əna ʃi ka-nəmbri ŋos
this C child dog constantly NOM-play be
This child plays with the dog constantly, all the time.

The difference between (113) and (114) is that in (113) the speaker knows from experience over a longer period of time, a year say, that the child likes to play with dogs. In (114) the speaker has watched the child play over a continuous stretch of time, e.g. one afternoon).

(115) wamu wuɟo stiŋ kəməntʇə kəmp^{h}rəm tʃe kə-ɲu ŋos
usually he SUP front row LOC NOM-sit be
He usually sits in the first row.

Meanings such as 'incessantly', 'for a long time', 'constantly' are expressed with verbs or nouns, sometimes in combination with adverbs like *ʒakrəŋ*, 'for a long time, often':

(116) ma-ka-nəna tə kava 'na-c^{h}a
NEG-NOM-rest C do OBS-able
[He] is able to go on doing [this] without stopping, incessantly

(117) pkraʃis ʒakrəŋ tə kwatsə¤ kə-ndza-w ʃi ˈnə-ŋos
bKra.shis long.time C sunflower.seeds NOM-eat-3s constantly EV-be
bKra-shis constantly eats sunflower seeds.

(118) ʒak kəskriʔn ki kʰarɟak na-va-w
time long IDEF song PFT-do-3s
[He] sang for a long time.

Durative time

Durative time indicates the time over which an event takes place. For a general indication of a period of time, without a clear statement of beginning and end of the period, there is no marking:

(119) ŋa ʃintəhu-j kəmɲi pa na-ɲu-ŋ
I Chéngdū-LOC five year PFT-live-1s
I lived in Chéngdū for five years.

(120) ŋa kəsam ʃnu to-tsoʔs-ŋ
I three day PFT-spend-1s
I spent three days.

For a reference to a stretch of time between two given points, the marker *ʃ-* appears prefixed to the locative construction that signals the relationship between the two points of time:

(121) tʃəʔ w-aka ʃiŋtʃi¤ kəmɲi ʃ-əŋkʰuʔ-j tʰi kəpso
this 3s:GEN-before week five DUR-back-LOC what compare
Nothing happened after last Friday (between last Friday and now).

na-miʔ-s
PFT-not have-PST:3s

(122) ʃiŋtʃiwu¤ ʃ-əŋkʰuʔ-j tʰi kərut miʔ
Friday DUR-back-LOC what serious not.have
Nothing is going to happen until Friday (between now and coming Friday).

(123) ʃiŋtʃiji¤ ʃ-əmpʰu-j ŋa tʃəʔ-j ɲu-ŋ ʃi
Monday DUR-outside-LOC I this-LOC stay-1s MD:C
I'll be here from Monday (after Monday) for sure.

(124) tətsʰot kəɲes ʃ-əŋgu-j vi-ŋ
hour two DUR-inside-LOC come$_1$-1s
I'll be back within two hours.

Iterative time

Iterative time expresses events that are repeated, usually on a regular basis. Actions or events that take place with predictability, that is to say, they always happen at the stated time, are expressed by a general statement with a time reference that is unmarked:

(125) ʃiŋtʃiji¤ kəruʔ-tʰa ka-slep ndoʔ
Monday Tibetan-book NOM-study have
On Mondays we have Tibetan class.

(126) saksəŋkʰuʔ sejnok kava
afternoon weed do
In the afternoons we weed [the garden].

To express that a situation occurred only once, the Jiǎomùzú dialects use *kəcʰa*, 'once, one time', formed of classifier *cʰa*, 'time, turn' and *kə-*, 'one'.

(127) kə-cʰa tʃe təwaʔm na-ˈa-sat-w
one-CL LOC bear PFT-NEV-kill-3s
He killed a bear once.

(128) wuɟo-ɲo lhase kə-cʰa ji-ˈa-tʃʰi-jn
3-p Lhasa one-CL PFT-NEV-go$_1$-3p
They went to Lhasa once.

The difference between 'only one time' and 'once, at some point in time' can be expressed by modifying *kəcʰa* with the indefiniteness marker *ki*:

(129) wuɟo lhase kəcʰa katʰo rəmɲo
he Lhasa one.time go.up experience
He has been to Lhasa one time.

(130) kəcʰa ki wuɟo lhase to-ˈa-tʃʰi
one time IDEF he Lhasa PFT-NEV-go
Once (upon a time) he went to Lhasa.

The classifier *cʰa* can be used to count the number of times a single event or action occurs:

(131) stonmoŋ kəɲes cʰa na-ˈa-va-w pəʒər nə-ŋanəŋka-jn
wedding two CL PFT-NEV-do-3s again PFT-divorce-3p
She married twice and divorced again.

If an action or event is repeated only once or a few times at most, adverbs are employed. The most frequently used adverbs that can express repetition are *pəʒər*, 'again' as in example (131) above and *manɟuʔ*, 'again, still, also, once more, moreover', as in the following example:

(132) varɟi mo kə kawʂə¤ na-va-w
last year recent PR exam PFT-do-3w
He took the test just last year,

piva manɟuʔ na-ˈa-va-w
this year once more PFT-NEV-do-3w
and again this year.

c. Location in space

The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ a set of adverbs that references place only. This set is linked to the specific orientational grid used in Jiǎomùzú. For discussion and examples of use, see section 7.3 on orientation in the verb chapter. Here I just give the set of adverbs:

(133) sto vertically up
na vertically down
ro towards the mountain
ri towards the river
sku upstream
nu downstream

Beside the adverbs in this set Jiǎomùzú uses the locative markers *ʧe* and *-j* as described above to modify a variety of constituents. Location in space in Jiǎomùzú follows the same pattern of marking as location in time. General references to a geographic location are unmarked:

(134) ŋa ʃintəhu sloppən to-va-ŋ
I Chéngdū teacher PFT-do-1s
I was in Chéngdū as a teacher.

(135) sonam kunmiŋ kə-rama ˈnə-ŋos kə-mɟer ˈnə-maʔk
bSod.nams Kūnmíng[130] NOM-work EV-be NOM-visit EV-not be
bSod-nams was in Kūnmíng as a worker, not as a tourist.

[130] 昆明.

Locative marking is obligatory when a speaker refers to a location as the locus where an action or event takes place:

(136) pkraʃis kantʃʰak tʃe laktʃʰe ˈna-ku-w
bKra.shis street LOC thing OBS-buy-3s
bKra-shis is in the market buying some stuff.

* pkraʃis kantʃʰak tʃe laktʃʰe ˈnakuw

Exceptions to the rule are loanwords, especially from Chinese, that usually remain unmarked:

(137a) tʂədzan¤ bus station, from Chinese 车站, *chēzhàn*

ŋa ʃimən**tʂ**ədzan¤ tʃʰi-ŋ
I West.gate.bus.station go$_1$-1s
I'll go to the Westgate bus station.

ŋa pʰjaw¤ tʂədzan¤ to-ku-ŋ
I ticket bus.station PFT-buy-1s
I bought the ticket at the bus station

(137b) ʃimən¤ Westgate, of Chinese 西门, *xīmén*

wu-baŋgoŋ**ʂ**ə¤ minjwɛn¤ ʃimən¤ 'na-ndoʔ
3s:GEN-office Mínyuàn West.gate OBS-have
His office is at the Westgate of Mínyuàn.

The meaning of suffix *-j* encompasses adessive meanings such as ‘at’ as well as allative meanings such as 'toward a place', as shown in the following examples of answers to questions commonly used as greetings, such as 'where are you going?' when two acquaintances meet in the street:

(138)	kətə	tə-tʃʰi-n	kantʃʰak-j	ʃintəhu-j
	which	2-go$_1$-2s	market-LOC	Chéngdū-LOC
	Where are you going?		I'm going to town.	To Chéngdū.

In some of the Jiǎomùzú dialects, such as Púzhì, there is yet another locative suffix, ablative *-s*, signalling 'movement from'. Unlike locative *-j*, which modifies references to time as well as place, *-s* occurs, to my knowledge, only with references to geographical location:

(139) prak w-ərka-s na kambət manɟuʔ kaŋak^{h}u nanəmdap
rock 3s:GEN-top-LOC down fall also scream at.the.same.time
Screaming he fell down from the rock.

(140) tamar bawbaw¤ w-əŋgu-s kak^{h}it
butter bag 3s:GEN-inside-LOC pull
Pull butter out of a bag.

The other Jiǎomùzú dialects use *–j* in combination with verbs and orientational adverbs as listed in (133) to signal ablative 'movement from'. It may be that Jiǎomùzú used to have three locatives, *ʧe* for location at rest, *-j* for movement towards a location and *-s* for movement from a location. The use of both *-s* and *-j* to form locatives is also attested in the Central rGyalrong dialect of Zhuōkèjī, as evidenced by examples in the work of Lín Xiàngróng and Lin You-Jing.[131] It may be that in the past all the Jiǎomùzú dialects used both suffixes, as is still the case in other places, but are now in a process of losing the use of *-s* with *-j* doing double duty, signalling 'towards' as well as 'from'. Or it might be that Jiǎomùzú always employed different ways of forming locatives in different communities. According to some of my language consultants it is a matter of a speaker's individual preference.

Jiǎomùzú employs nouns in genitive constructions to show a range of relationships between two entities. For more on genitives, see the chapters on nouns and pronouns. As mentioned in the general section on locatives, 5.6.a, genitives can in turn form locatives of place by suffixing them with *-j* or, depending on dialect and speaker preference, *-s.* These constructions are similar in meaning to English postpositions:

(141) tərka
top, surface

coktse w-ərka
table 3s:GEN-surface table
the top of the table

coktse w-ərka-j
3s:GEN-surface-LOC
on the table

(142) təŋk^{h}uʔ
back (n)

təɟeʔm w-əŋk^{h}uʔ
house 3s:GEN-back
the back of the house

təɟeʔm w-əŋk^{h}uʔ-j
house 3s:GEN-back-LOC
at the back of the house
behind the house

[131] Lín (1993: 186, 187), Lin (2002: 29).

Huáng notes that *tə-* prefixed to words with a directional meaning signals 'the place…in relation to me', with 'me' as the centre. For example, *təŋkʰuʔ* means 'behind (me)'.[132] Apparently Huáng considers *tə-* in this sort of combination as a nominaliser for directional words. It is not helpful to have 'me' at the centre in determining direction in such words. As shown in the examples above, the direction depends on the head noun of the adverbial phrase, which in most cases will not be 'me'. However, since *tə-* is one of the four common noun markers, these words can simply be understood as nouns, as shown in the examples above.

The more common ones often occur without the actual referent of the adverbialised genitive, as in (143) where the answer 'inside' is marked for third person singular by *w-* in *wəŋgi* but the entity, say the house, remains implicit:

(143)	pkraʃis	kətʃe	ŋos	w-əŋgi	w-əŋgi-j	ji-rɟi
	bKra.shis	where	be	3s:GEN-inside	3s:GEN-inside-LOC	PFT-go$_2$
	Where is bKra-shis?			Inside.	He went inside.	

Locatives formed of nouns which are heads of genitive constructions anchor the concept of location. To indicate motion to and from and positions relative to the location that is expressed in the meaning of the noun that is the root of the locative, *-j* or *-s* are suffixed and a variety of motion verbs is used:

(144)	interior	noun	t-əŋgi		the inside
	in(side)	location	w-əŋgi 3s:GEN-inside		inside
	inside	motion to	w-əŋgi-j 3s:GEN-inside-LOC	karko put	put inside
	out of	motion from	w-əŋgi-j 3s:GEN-inside-LOC	kakʰit take	take out of
	through	motion past	w-əŋgi-j 3s:GEN-inside-LOC	karwu pull	pull through

[132] Huáng (1993: 28).

(145)	superior	noun	t-ərka		top, surface
	on, over, above	location	w-ərka 3s:GEN-top		on, on top on the surface over, above
	above	motion to	w-ərka-j 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kataʔ put	put on
	from above		w-ərka-j 3s:GEN-top-LOC	katʃʰi go	go above
	on to		w-ərka-j 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kataʔ put	put on top of
	from above	motion from	w-ərka-s 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kavi come	come from above
	off		w-ərka-s 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kavija fetch	take off (from)
	over	motion past	w-ərka-s 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kandoʔ have	be over, above
	over, across		w-ərka-s 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kanemgla cross	move across

Below is a list of the most frequently used locational postpositions, with their root nouns:

noun	gloss	at rest	gloss	with motion verb (to, from, past)
təʃkra	side	w-əʃkra	at, near	toward
				beside, from beside
				along, through
				past
təmba,	near	w-əmba	toward	
təmpʰa		w-əmpʰa	toward	
təpʰjos		w-əpʰjos	near	up to, to the side of
				away from
təŋgi	inside	w-əŋgi	in(side)	in(to)
				from
				through
təmpʰi	outside	w-əmpʰi	out(side)	
tapʰuvek	side	w-apʰuvek	at the side of	
tətɽu	front	w-ətɽu	in front (of)	in front of
				from the front of
təŋkʰuʔ	back	w-əŋkʰuʔ	behind	behind
				from behind
			beyond	(from) beyond
tərka	top	w-ərka	above, over	from above, over
			on	on (to)
			off	
			over, across	
təspoʔk	underside	w-əspoʔk	below, under	below, under
				from under
tsərə	this side	wu-tsərə	on this side	to this side of
				from this side of
pʰarə	the other side	wu-pʰarə	across	from across
				on the other side of
tarnam	place beside	w-arnam	beside	to the side of
				on the side of
tacep	gap	w-acep	between	
təkʰa	mouth	w-əkʰa	among	from among
				through
tətɽu pʰarə	opposite side	w-ətɽu pʰarə	opposite	from the other side
				opposite
taka	bottom	w-aka	under(neath)	

Note that the nouns *tsərə*, 'this side' and *pʰarə*, 'the opposite side' are loans from Tibetan.[133] These nouns take head marking and can be modified by definiteness markers an locative marker *-j* just like other locational nouns:

(146) tsərə-j kə-ˈvi-n
this.side-LOC IMP-come$_1$-2s
Come over here!

(147) tsərə tə jino ji-satʃʰe ˈnə-ŋos
this.side C we:e 1p:GEN-land EV-be
The land on this side is ours.

(148) ŋa ŋə-pʰarə tə nənɟo nə-tsərə ˈnə-ŋos
I 1s:GEN-opposite.side C you 2s:GEN-this.side EV-be
My 'that side' is your 'this side'.

5.7 *Conjunctive adverbs*

Jiǎomùzú has a few adverbs that can function as conjunctions on the phrase, clause or sentence level. I discuss conjunctions in chapter 6 on smaller word classes. Here I just mention the most common conjunctive adverbs with a few examples.

I have found the inclusive conjunctive adverb *manɟuʔ*, 'moreover, as well as'. Locative marker *kʰo*, 'as soon as; to the utmost' can also occur as the exclusive conjunctive locative marker *kʰo,* 'besides, in addition to'. There is also *maʃki*, which signals 'until' in declarative sentences and 'unless' in negatives. Conjunctive adverb *mənə* signals a contrast between the two clauses it connects and the speaker's regret about an event or action. And finally there is the locative *tʃe*, 'at'. Conjunctive adverbs often occur together with the conjunction *nə*, though not always:

(149) təɟuʔ w-əŋgi na-məzaʔk-ŋ tʃe ŋ-əpkor tə ˈna-ɟo
water 3s:GEN-in PFT-jump$_2$-1s LOC 1s:GEN-burden C OBS-light
When I jumped into the water my burden became light.

(150) kʰalu ro-va-w tʃe nə kʰorlo ˈna-məʒər
wind PFT-do-3s LOC CON wheel OBS-spin
Once the wind blows, the wheel spins.

Prominence marker *kə* cannot occur between a conjunctive adverb and *nə*:

[133] From literary Tibetan ཚུར་ *tshur*, 'this side' and ཕར་ *phar*, 'thither, away, over there'.

(151) kʰrəʔw nə-ʃnu kʰo nə drolma to-məndə
rice PFT-cook LOC CON sGron.ma PFT-arrive
sGron-ma arrived just when the rice was done.

* kʰrəʔw nəʃnu kʰo kə nə drolma toməndə

Here are some examples of the other conjunctive adverbs:

(152) ŋa-ci lhase katʰo rəmɲo mənə ŋa ma-rəmɲo-ŋ
1s:GEN-younger.sibling lHasa ascend experience CON I NEG-experience-1s
My younger sibling has been to Lhasa but I, regrettably, have not.

(153) pakʃu ʒik ndoʔ ʒugolor ʒik ndoʔ manɟuʔ tamar
apple also have walnut also have beside butter
There were apples and walnuts, as well as butter.

Note that in (153) the verb phrase of the second clause is implicit.

(154) katop ma-ˈnə-kʰut kasat manɟuʔ ma-ˈnə-kʰut
hit NEG-OBS-possible kill more.so NEG-OBS-possible
Beating is not possible and killing is even more impossible!

(155) sgrolma kʰonə w-andʈiʔ təmu kəmŋi 'na-ɲu-jn
sGrol.ma CON 3s:GEN-friend girl five OBS-live-3p
Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma live [in the dorm].

(156) pkraʃis wuɟo ma-və-nəro-w maʃki tascok kavəja ma-kʰut
bKra.shis he NEG-VPT-EREFL-take-3s unless letter fetch NEG-can
Unless bKra-shis comes to get the letter himself, (you) can't take it.

(157) kʰorlo ma-vi maʃki tə tʃəʔ to-ˈva-w
bus NEG-come$_1$ until C this IMP-do-2s
Do this until the bus arrives.

(158) ma-ndza maʃki w-əkto ma-pki
NEG-eat unless 3s:GEN-stomach NEG-full
He won't get full unless he eats (he will be hungry if he doesn't eat)

(159) ŋa tascok kaleʔt ma-səjoʔk-ŋ maʃki diɛnjiŋ¤ kə-namɲo ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
I letter write$_1$ NEG-finish-1s unless movie NOM-watch NEG-go-1s
I won't go watch a movie unless I've finished this letter.