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

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CHAPTER 6

EXPRESSIVES, INTERJECTIONS, FILLERWORDS, CONJUNCTIONS AND MOOD MARKERS

6.0 *Introduction*

In this chapter I discuss five smaller word classes, expressives, interjections, filler words, conjunctions and mood markers.

Section 6.1 describes expressives, which are best understood as manner adverbs with special phonological and morphological characteristics. Jiǎomùzú expressives come in three distinct morphological shapes. They can consist of one syllable, two identical syllables, or two identical syllables linked by *-nə-*. Repetition of an expressive signals a greater degree of intensity, speed or urgency. Multisyllabic expressives can be derived from single syllable ones, but which forms are grammatical depends on semantic factors and must be learned. Orientation markers, when used in a figurative sense, can be employed as expressives. There are some four syllable expressions that are partly meaning based. It is probably simplest to classify these as expressives also.

Section 6.2 gives a short overview of interjections. Jiǎomùzú interjections usually occur at the beginning of a sentence, but can also stand alone. Interjections express a speaker's emotional response to a certain event or situation, such as surprise, anger, excitement, fear, pain. Also included in this section are oaths and onomatopoeic expressions such as animal calls.

In section 6.3 I discuss filler words. Fillers are used to fill up a pause or hesitation in an utterance and can occur anywhere in the sentence. The more hesitant a speaker is, the more fillers tend to occur. The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ three distinct types of filler words. There are non-meaning based fillers as well as meaning based fillers. The third type consists of certain conjunctions that can do duty as filler words.

Section 6.4 contains a discussion of conjunctions. In Jiǎomùzú both concatenate constructions and constructions which employ conjunctions are common. On the clause level and below, conjunctions usually occur at the end of the first conjunct. On the discourse level a conjunction can signal a new topic, in which case it occurs at the beginning of the new segment in the discourse. There are coordinating as well as subordinating conjunctions in Jiǎomùzú. Coordinating subjunctions include *korənə*, *narənə* and *merə*, which semantically partially overlap with English 'but', 'and' and 'or' respectively, though the use of *narənə* is much more restricted than its English counterpart 'and'. The coordinating conjunction *rə* links conjuncts sequentially in a context of futurity while *rənə* links sets of completed events. The most frequently used subordinating conjunction is *nə*. This conjunction subordinates the conjunct it marks and turns it into a back-up or validation for the information that follows in the second conjunct. On the phrase level, with nominal constituents, *nə* can function rather like a topicaliser. The subordinating conjunction *wurənə* signals reason or result,

while *k^honə* indicates condition. There is a difference in the level of evidentiality expressed by these conjunctions, with *wurənə* signalling the greater certainty of the two. Jiǎomùzú also has adverbs which can serve as conjunctions. Some of these can occur with another conjunction like *nə*.

In the last section, 6.5, I discuss mood markers. These illocutionary force markers occur at the very end of a sentence, though they can be followed by a question marker. They are used very frequently in Jiǎomùzú, mostly to modify a statement or question with the appropriate emotional inflection or mood.

6.1 Expressives

Sun¹³⁴ defines expressives or ideophones as "a special type of words that depict all kinds of sounds, shapes, colors, qualities, and actions in a direct matching of sound and meaning to convey sensory experiences and attitudes". Another definition of ideophone, following Doke, is: "a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualitative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity."¹³⁵ The Jiǎomùzú dialects have many expressives. Expressives are short words that pack very complex meanings. For example, the one syllable expressive *sprep* occurs with verbs that can signal actions such as falling, tripping or tumbling. The semantic load of *sprep* encompasses both the manner or reason of the fall, it being caused by clumsiness or lack of attention, and the result, namely the subject's ending up sprawling full length on the ground. The expressives are best understood as manner adverbs that have certain phonological and morphological qualities which distinguish them from other words. The abundance of expressives explains the paucity of manner adverbs in Jiǎomùzú. I discuss expressives as a separate word class rather than as adverbs because of their phonological and morphological distinctions.

Phonologically the Jiǎomùzú expressives can incorporate sounds and combinations of sounds that are not part of the regular phonology or that occur in loanwords only. For example, /ɕ/ normally is found only in loanwords. But it also occurs in expressives, as in *ɕonɕon*, which indicates long and thin things, see example (1). The cluster /xw/ also does not normally occur, except in expressives:

- (1) xwenxwen bright and shiny and of a pure nature (expressive)

təŋge kə-vəɾni xwenxwen
clothes NOM-red EXP
bright red unicoloured clothes

tat^ho kə-psok xwenxwen
lamp NOM-bright EXP
a lamp that shines brightly and
illuminates a space without leaving dark
corners

¹³⁴ Sun (2004: 11).

¹³⁵ Doke 1935, quoted after Slachter (1996: 21).

The same goes for the cluster /gɾ/, which occurs in expressives only:

- (2) gɾəkɾək unbroken, in great quantity

w-əmɾak-ju gɾəkɾək na-lhok
 3s:GEN-eye-water EXP PFT-appear
 His tears ran like rivers.

And some expressives have double vowels or diphthongs, like *jiek*, '(sound of) sudden bursting open and spilling out', see example (3) below.

Expressives often are onomatopoeic, imitations of sounds:

- (3) jiek the sound of something bursting out from somewhere all at once, as of intestines falling out of an abdomen ripped open
 ʃkəkʃkək the sound of scrabbling and fast movement, as of rats running over a ceiling

From a morphological point of view, I have found three distinct forms of expressives, namely expressives consisting of a single syllable root, expressives made up of two identical syllables, and expressives in which two identical syllables are linked by *-nə-*.

Here are some examples of the first form, consisting of a one syllable root:

- (4) jiek (sound of) something bursting out all at once and completely

wu-naŋce jiek rə-kə-k^hit 'nə-ŋos
 3s:GEN-intestine EXP PFT-NOM-spill EV-be
 His intestines with a *blob* sound all at once spilled out entirely.

- (5) ler in one fell swoop, in one uninterrupted movement.

...w-əza ler na-sat-w
3s:GEN-son EXP PFT-kill-3s
 ...killed his son with one fell blow.

Some, but not all, one syllable roots can be reduplicated. The reduplicated root can indicate a faster or lower speed of action. Compare example (6) below, which has the reduplicated root *jiekjiek*, with sentence (4) above, in which there is only the single syllable form of *jiek*:

- (6) jiekjiek (sound of) something bursting all at once but then taking
 some time for the contents to finish dribbling out completely

wu-naŋce jiek-jiek rə-kə-kʰit 'nə-ŋos

3s:GEN-intestine EXP-RED PFT-NOM-spill EV-be

His intestines with a *blob* sound burst out [of his belly] and dribbled out completely.

Sentences (7) and (8) give another example for *zbək*, an expressive which signals a slamming sound. Reduplication of the root leads to a meaning which carries 'fast repeated action' as part of the semantic load. The marker *-ŋa-* in example (7) is an impersonalising prefix. I discuss this prefix in section 7.8.g of the chapter on verbs:

- (7) kʰalu kə-va nə kam zbək nə-ŋa-po
 wind NOM-do CON door EXP PFT-IMPS-shut
 Since there was a breeze the door slammed shut.

- (8) ŋa kam zbək-zbək na-po-ŋ
 I door EXP-RED PFT-close-1s
 I slammed the doors shut in quick succession one after the other.

Sometimes the original meaning of the one syllable root changes through reduplication. Usually the reduplicated form is related in meaning to the single root form, as in example (9). In the first sentence *zək* means 'come to a halt in mid-stride; pull up sharply'. The second sentence has *zəkHzək*, meaning 'immobilised, without the ability to move back or forth':

- (9a) kʰəna ŋa no-məto-ŋ tʃe zək na-ŋu
 dog I AF/PFT-see-1s LOC EXP PFT-stay
 The dog, when it saw me, pulled up sharply and stood still as a statue.

- (9b) təjva kə kʰorlo zək-zək na-'a-ndʒə-w
 snow PR car EXP-RED PFT-NEV-hold-3s
 The car was stuck in the snow and couldn't move an inch back or forth.

But such derived meanings can be quite different from the original, as in the case of *ler*, 'in one uninterrupted sweeping movement', see sentence (5) above. It is not possible to have **lerler* to express either a faster or slower sweeping movement, or to intensify the original meaning. But it is possible to have *lerler* with the meaning 'a fast, continuous rolling movement', as of a log rolling down a slope. The expressive with the reduplicated root still signals fast and sweeping movement, but there are the added aspects of rolling rather than striking and a longer duration of the action. In some cases a one syllable root cannot be reduplicated and maintain the same sense, though it is

possible to form a new root with a different meaning, as in example (10) below. In sentence (10a) *tsok* means 'just then, right at that moment' but the reduplicated form *tsoktsok* in (10b) indicates 'still and straight, without wriggling':

- (10a) ɲa kə-tʃʰi-ŋ to-lo-ŋ tʃe tsok nə-məndə
 I NOM-go₁-1s PFT-prepare-1s LOC EXP PFT-arrive
 He arrived right at the moment when I was preparing to leave.
- (10b) tapuʔ-no tsoktsok na-ɲu-jn
 child-p EXP PFT-sit-3p
 The children sat up straight and still, without wriggling.

Example (11) shows the same principle for different morphological forms based on the expressive *sprep*. The underlying idea, maintained in all three variants, is a sense of wholeheartedness, a full commitment or abandon to the action. But the expressives differ from each other in general meaning:

- (11) *sprep* sprawling in full length as the result of clumsiness or lack of attention to where one is going (after a fall or tumble)
- sprepsprep* the sound that feet or heels make at a dance when they are all put down rythmically and in time
- sprepnəsprep* indicates a whole community involved with enthusiasm and wholeheartedness, for example when a whole village turns out for a dance and goes at it with gusto for many hours

When the semantic distance between a one syllable root and a reduplicated form becomes so large it may be better to consider the multi syllable form as a different morphological pattern of expressive rather than as a derived form of the one syllable root.

The second morphological pattern for expressives consists of two identical syllables. This is maybe the most common form of Jiǎomùzú expressives:

(12)	ŋk ^h ukŋk ^h uk	to a degree of ugliness	kə-neʔk	ŋk ^h ukŋk ^h uk
			NOM-black	EXP
			an ugly black	
	ʃəkʃək	deep, dark	kə-neʔk	ʃəkʃək
			NOM-black	EXP
			a deep black	
	tɹoktɹok	perfectly matched (for children's clothing)	kə-natsa	tɹoktɹok
			NOM-suitable	EXP
			lovely and matching (of an outfit)	
	xpoxpo	plump, rounded in a lovely way (of children)	kə-mpʃer	xpoxpo
			NOM-beautiful	EXP
			beautifully plump	

This kind of expressive cannot occur as a root of just one syllable and must be understood as fundamentally different from the reduplicated forms derived from one syllable roots discussed above:

(13) * $\int\text{ək}$ * xpo * trok * $\text{n}^{\text{h}}\text{kuk}$

However, in some cases the morphological shape of the expressive depends on whether it modifies a verb or an adjectival, see examples (25) and (26) below.

A third morphological pattern consists of two identical syllables connected by *-nə-*. Expressives of this form signal repeated intermittent action:

(14) lernəler repeated intermittent sweeping movement

tərmu lernəler na-sat-w
 person EXP PFT-kill-3s
 He killed people one after another, smiting each with one fell blow.

(15) jawnəjaw (sound of) repeated but intermittent calling

wu-k^hambu sto-j jawnəjaw ʃo to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 3s:GEN-yard upward-LOC EXP always PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 Off and on someone kept on calling from the yard upwards.

Expressives of these four morphological forms can be repeated several times to express repetitive action or a greater degree or intensity of action, or increasing speed or urgency of action. The entire

expressive is repeated. It is not possible to repeat only part of a root or to split and mix roots. Example (16) demonstrates this for some of the expressives discussed above:

- | | | | |
|------|----------|-------------------|------------------|
| (16) | ʃəkʃək | ʃəkʃək ʃəkʃək | * ʃəkʃək ʃək |
| | jawnəjaw | jawnəjaw jawnəjaw | * jawjawnəjaw |
| | | | * jawnəjawjawjaw |

The following examples show expressives of different morphological patterns and their behaviour when repeated in sentences. There is, in principle, no limit on how often an expressive can be repeated. But in practice it is usually just two or three times. Example (17) has the single syllable expressive *c^hot*, 'sound of dripping liquid'. The repetition of the expressive indicates a continual, repeated dripping:

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (17) | w-əza | w-ajiʔk | w-əŋk ^h uʔ | təjuʔ | c ^h ot | c ^h ot | c ^h ot |
| | 3s:GEN-son | 3s:GEN-hand | 3s:GEN-back | water | EXP | EXP | EXP |
| | Water, saying 'plink, plink, plink', dripped onto the back of his son's hand. | | | | | | |
| | kə-cəs | kə | na-va-w | | | | |
| | NOM-say | PR | PFT-do-3s | | | | |

Example (18) shows repetition of expressives which consist of a root made up of two identical syllables. The repetition of the expressives here signals action to a greater degree:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|--|
| (18) | ʔapʔap kava | ʔapʔap ʔapʔap kava |
| | EXP do | EXP EXP do |
| | do something in a messy way | mess up badly, make a terrible hash of something |
| | tamaʔ tə siksik kava ra | tamaʔ tə siksik siksik kava ra |
| | work C EXP do need | work C EXP EXP do need |
| | The work must be done quickly. | The work must be done as fast as possible. |

In (19) the expressive *verver*, '(sound of) a big item flapping in a stiff breeze' indicates increased speed when it is repeated, while the repetition of *vernəver*, '(sound of) and item slowly and intermittently flapping in the wind' signals a decrease of speed:

- (19) ...verver verver na-sə-cəs
 EXP EXP PFT-CAUS-say
 ...flapped loudly and with quick movements in the stiff breeze.
- ...vernəver vernəver na-sə-cəs
 EXP EXP PFT-CAUS-say
 ...flapped lazily back and forth, back and forth in the wind.

A one syllable root, if it has been reduplicated, can be repeated in full form, such as *lerler lerler*. Two of the morphological patterns of expressives, namely a root consisting of two identical syllables and roots made up of two identical syllables connected by *-nə-*, can derive from the most basic pattern, the one syllable root, as mentioned above. But this is not the case for all expressives. And for those expressives that do occur in derived morphological forms there may be restrictions on which of the two possible patterns is actually realised, depending on semantic constraints. For example, *jaw*, 'sound of calling' can occur as a single root and with *-nə-*, but the form of a root consisting of two identical syllables is ungrammatical:

- (20) jaw sound of calling
 * jawjaw
 jawnəjaw ongoing intermittent calling

For *ʃprak*, 'sound of something big falling down', only the one-syllable root is grammatical:

- (21) ʃprak sound of something big falling down
 * ʃprakʃprak
 * ʃpraknəʃprak

And for the expressive *ɬapɬap*, 'in a messy way', only the form which is made up of two identical syllables is valid:

- (22) ɬapɬap in a messy way
 * ɬap
 * ɬapnəɬap

For some expressives their morphological form depends on the word they modify, in terms of word class and semantics. Which morphological format is appropriate for which expressive has to be learned. Example (23) shows constraints on the form an expressive can take imposed by the semantics of the verb it modifies:

- (23) *grəkgrək* in an unbroken stream of great quantity or volume (EXP)

<i>grəkgrək</i>	<i>grəkgrək</i>	<i>kalhok</i>	<i>grəkgrək</i>	<i>kalhok</i>
EXP	EXP	appear	EXP	appear
appear, come out in streams (of tears)			appear intermittently, stop and start	

grəkgrək *kavavo*
EXP cry
cry with a wailing sound and with lots of tears

* *grəkgrək kavavo*

The last form is ungrammatical because, when crying with a wailing sound, one needs pauses for breathing. This makes it impossible to have an uninterrupted stream of sound.

The expressive *ŋk^huk*, indicating an ugly shade of black, is a good example of an expressive whose morphological shape is determined by the word class of the word it modifies. This expressive occurs only in a one syllable form before verbs, but must have two identical syllables when it modifies adjectivals. In example (24) *kəneʔk* functions as a verb, which can be marked for the category of observation (a form of evidentiality, see section 7.5 in the chapter on verbs), whereas in (25) *kəneʔk* is a nominalised stative verb that functions as an adjective. Both verb and adjective mean 'black':

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|---------------|---|---------------|
| (24) | <i>ŋk^huk</i> | <i>kəneʔk</i> | * <i>ŋk^hukŋk^huk</i> | <i>kəneʔk</i> |
| | EXP | black (V) | * <i>ŋk^hukŋk^huk</i> | 'nanek |
| | ugly black | | | |

təndʒa *kəmpʃer* *o* *koronə* *ŋk^huk* 'na-neʔk 'na-najin
picture beautiful MD:AF but EXP OBS-black OBS-pity
It is a nice picture really, just too bad that it's so dark.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|---|-----------------|-------------------------|
| (25) | <i>kə-neʔk</i> | <i>ŋk^hukŋk^huk</i> | * <i>kəneʔk</i> | <i>ŋk^huk</i> |
| | NOM-black (ADJ) | EXP | | |
| | an ugly black | | | |

nə-ŋge *kə-nəʔk* *ŋk^hukŋk^huk* *ŋos*
2s:GEN-clothing NOM-black EXP be
Your clothes are an unbecomingly, ugly black colour.

I have found only a limited number of expressives that behave in this remarkable way. Most of them keep the same morphological format no matter what kind of word they modify. Other examples of expressives that change their morphological shape are *seŋseŋ*, 'pure, unpolluted' *ʃəkʃək*, 'deep, dark'

Expressives serve as pictures composed of a number of related qualities rather than as an expression of just one quality or attribute. For example *soṇsoṇ* indicates something that is not only long but also thin or stretched.

- The same expressive can modify different words, indicating different shades of meaning:

- The same word can be modified by different expressives:

- Unlike interjections, expressives cannot stand alone. The verbs *kacəs*, 'say' and *kava*, 'do' occur if there are no other meaning carrying verbs or adjectivals in the sentence. Expressives function as adverbs of manner. Like manner adverbs they occur before verbs and verb phrases, as shown in (25), but after adjectivals, see example (26). In Jiǎomùzú stative verbs, usually nominalised, do service as adjectives:

- (31) *k^halu təŋtək təŋtək kava* the wind howls loudly
 wind EXP EXP do
- təjuʔ təntək təntək kavi* the water comes roaring
 water EXP EXP come₁
- təjva mormor kaleʔt* sleet
 snow EXP hit₁
- təmu lali kavətʃi* a person walks slowly
 person EXP walk
- (32) *təjeʔm kəʃo tseŋtsen* a sparkingly clean house
 house clean EXP
- ʃokʃoʔk kəpraʔm seŋsen* purely white paper
 paper white EXP

Also like adverbials, expressives can be modified by prominence marker *kə*, as in example (40) below. Furthermore expressives, like adverbs, can function as nominals. Expressives in nominal roles can be modified by markers that typically occur with nominals, such as contrast marker *tə* and indefiniteness marker *ki*, as shown in the following examples with the four syllable expressive *ʃniŋe ʃnirga*, 'delighted, happy'. Sentence (33a) is the neutral form. Sentence (33b) has *ki* modifying the expressive, and in (33c) contrast marking occurs with *ʃniŋe ʃnirga*. Sentence (33d) shows that the constituent modified by *tə* truly is a nominal:

- (33a) *təŋge ki nə-mbuʔ-ŋ ʃniŋe.ʃnirga na-va-w*
 clothing IDEF PFT-give-1s EXP PFT-do-3s
 [My friend] gave me a garment, which made me very happy.
- (33b) *pkraʃis kawʃəʔ kava na-c^ha kə ʃniŋe.ʃnirga ki na-məzaʔk*
 bKra.shis exam do PFT-able PR EXP IDEF PFT-jump₂
 bKra.shis, having past the exam, jumped for joy.
- (33c) *nəŋʃo [ʃniŋe.ʃnirga tə] 'na-ʒdor k^ho kawʃəʔ ʃi-'a-c^ha*
 you EXP C OBS-excessive CON exam NEG/PFT-NEV-able
 You're enjoying yourself too much, you won't manage to pass the exam.
- (33d) *nəŋʃo [c^he kə-mot tə] 'na-ʒdor k^ho nə-vok 'na-maŋam*
 you liquor NOM-drink C OBS-excessive CON 2s:GEN-stomach OBS-hurt
 Your drinking is excessive, your stomach will hurt.

Perhaps the best translation for (33c) is something like 'Your happy gallivanting around is excessive....' When an expressive functions as a nominal, it can occur by itself, just like a noun, as demonstrated by example (40) below. In this sentence *kə* modifies the expressive *ʃniŋe ʃniŋga*, with no other adjunct present. For more on adverbs employed as nominals, see section 5.1 of the chapter on adverbs.

Two final types of expressive deserve mention here. One type consists of two identical syllables that derive their meaning from verbal prefixes. They function as a mixture of adverbs of degree and manner, indicating both increasing degree and the manner in which an act takes place. Since they are meaning based, to some extent, they may not qualify as expressives proper. However, their morphological form matches the expressive category's standards. The other type is the four syllable expression. These expressions also are not true expressives since some of them derive from existing words and are therefore meaning based. However, because they have a set morphological pattern of four syllables, often linked through alliteration or other forms of rhyme, they are best considered expressives. Like expressives they function as manner adverbs. Below follows a short overview of both types.

Increasing degree is signalled by expressives that derive from the verbal markers for orientation discussed in the verb chapter. These expressives always occur with a root consisting of two identical syllables. Here is a list of expressives that are derived from orientation markers:

(34)	orientation marker	expressive
	to (up)	toto
	na (down)	nono
	ku (upstream)	kuku
	nə (downstream)	nənə

Note that the orientation marker indicating downwards movement, *na*, becomes *no* when used as an expressive. I have found no syntactic or semantic reason for this vowel change. The expressives retain their original orientational meaning though they can also be used in a figurative sense. The following examples show both the literal and the figurative use of the expressives:

- (35) *təʃuʔ w-əŋgi nono kaʃu*
 water 3s:GEN-inside EXP sink
 Sink deeper and deeper into the water.

- (36) *tətʰa kəhaʔw ma-^lnə-tə-va-w kʰonə tʃəʔ-pu nono nono 'na-tə-ju-n*
 book good NEG-OBS-2-do-2s CON this-now EXP EXP OBS-2-sink-2s
 You don't study hard, so you are doing worse and worse.

However, for many verbs the appropriate expressive has become lexicalised. The link between the original meaning of the expressive and the action or event signalled by the verb is less or even not there at all:

- (37) w-əkʃet nənə nənə 'na-lhok
 3s:GEN-strength EXP EXP OBS-appear
 He becomes stronger and stronger.

wu-ʃa kəkə kəkə 'na-raʔm
 3s:GEN-meat EXP EXP OBS-dry
 His body is becoming weaker and weaker, thinner and thinner; he is wasting away.

nənʃo nə-jinjuʔ nono ma-tə-cʰa
 you 2s:GEN-English EXP NEG-2-able
 Your English is getting worse (and worse).

pak tə toto 'na-tsʰo
 pig C EXP OBS-fat
 The pig is getting more and more fat.

Expressives derived from orientation markers do not occur after stative verbs when these are used in an adjectival role. For example, placing the expressive after the nominalised stative verb does not generate a meaning such as 'better and better':

- (38) bebe toto kəmem na-va-w
 noodles EXP tasty PFT-do-3s
 He made the noodles better and better (more and more tasty).

*bebe kəmem toto ɲos

It is possible to have a grammatical variant of (39) in which *toto* occurs after the stative verb but in that case it modifies *navaw*, 'made', rather than *kəmem*, 'tasty':

- (39) bebe kəmem toto na-va-w
 noodles tasty EXP PFT-do-3s
 He made larger and larger quantities of tasty noodles.

Four syllable expressives come in two kinds. The first kind consists of two identical syllables each of which is paired with a non-identical syllable, in patterns such as *a-b a-c* or *a-b c-b* or *a-b b-c*. Example (40) is derived from *təʃni*, 'heart', and maybe *rgaʔ* derives from *kargaʔ*, 'like':

- (40) ʃniŋe ʃnirga exceedingly happy and joyful

pkraʃis kawʃəɹ kava na-c^ha kə ʃniŋe.ʃnirga kə w-andʃiʔ-ŋo
 bKra.shis exam do PFT-able PR EXP PR 3s:GEN-friend-p
 bKra-shis, being delighted with having passed the test, took his friends

kə-nəndze ji-tsep-w
 NOM-have.a.meal PFT-take.along-3s
 out for dinner.

- (41) amə mərə with industry and zeal; dilligently

pkraʃis pəʃur tascok kəʒu tə tət^ha w-əŋgi amə.mərə
 bKra.shis yesterday writing all C book 3s:GEN-inside EXP
 bKra-shis wrote all the writing with religious zeal in the book yesterday.

na-laʔt-w
 PFT-write₂-3s

The second kind combines four dissimilar syllables:

- (42) səkpe ŋame wholeheartedly and sincere

səkpe.ŋame ta-kor-ŋ
 EXP 1/2-help-1s
 I'll help you, with all my heart!

In this expression there is actually an entire existing word, *səkpe*, 'sincerity' or 'sincere', combined with *ŋame* which has no independent meaning but intensifies *səkpe*.

6.2 *Interjections and oaths*

Interjections are words, often of an exclamatory character, that constitute utterances in and of themselves. Usually they have no syntactic connection to any other words that occur with them. They express a speaker's feelings about an item, event or action.¹³⁶ Jiăomùzú interjections can consist of one syllable but most of them have a prefix followed by a root consisting of two identical or nearly identical syllables. Many interjections are prefixed by *a-* or *o-*, but not all. A list of frequently occurring Jiăomùzú interjections follows in (43a). The list is not exhaustive:

¹³⁶ For good definitions of interjections see Crystal (1991: 180) and Slachter (1996: 58).

(43a)	p ^h ot	expression of strong disapproval and disgust
	je	expression of surprise
	xwetʃ ^h utʃ ^h u	expression of exhaustion
	polele	expression of misfortune, disapproval
	aha, haha	expression of embarrassment, disapproval, misfortune, disappointment, equivalent to 'oh boy, oh dear'
	ahaha	expression of disapproval
	atsatsa	expression of great pain
	ajojo	expression of disgust, normally for something dirty or filthy
	ovovo	expression of pity or compassion
	ohoho	expression of misfortune or disapproval
	hawə, hawo	o dear, oh boy, dear me: comment on or anticipation of a bad turn of events
	hamalele	used when pleasantly surprised
	a	expression of unbelief
	ŋəmalanʃan	expression of surprise and dismay at sudden misfortune or pain

Most interjections can be used by men and women alike, but a few interjections are gender specific. Example (43b) shows interjections that are only appropriate for use by females:

(43b)	wij	used to warn others of danger
	'wuja	expression of unpleasant surprise and misfortune

I have so far not found equivalents for these interjections that are specifically for male use. Native speakers say that men use oaths in those cases where women use a typically female interjection such as *'wuja*. Interjections used by men tend to be shorter than those used by women. For example, *oho* and *ohoho*, both expressions of misfortune or disapproval, can be used by men and women alike. But *ohoho* will be used more often by women, while men will more often opt for the shorter form *oho*.

Interjections usually occur at the beginning of an utterance, as the speaker responds to his context. But they can be found in the middle of sentences as well, especially in narratives, when the narrator adds an interjection in mid-flow to colour or emphasise certain emotions. Below are some examples of interjections, all from direct speech situations:

(44)	aha	tʃə?	ʃə-nipa	ja
	INTJ	this	NEG/PFT-turn.out.well	MD: SUP
	Oh dear, this really did not turn out very well.			

- (45) ovovo nənʝo n-əŋgo pu ʝə-ptse me
 INTJ you 2s:GEN-illness still NEG/PFT-heal INTR
 Oh poor soul, you're still not better?
- (46) wij ɳjilək 'na-mbət
 INTJ stone OBS-fall
 Watch out! A rock is coming down!
- (47) hamalele tənʝe kə-mpʃer ki 'na-ndo? la
 INTJ clothing NOM-beautiful IDEF OBS-have MD:SA
 Wow, that's a nice outfit you have there!

Among all peoples of the Tibetan culture area the use of oaths is common both in negotiating life issues and in daily conversation. Jiăomùzú women tend to swear less than men, and the use of oaths is looked upon as rather rude, though perhaps also indicative of strength and independence. Oaths tend to have a religious content, since they have actual use in pledges taken before religious authorities, and are usually loans from Tibetan. Common oaths in Jiăomùzú are *jimalhase*, 'the sun of Lhasa, Lhasa's light' and *kanʃerstanʃər*, which invokes the authority of the Buddhist scriptures. Onomatopoeic expressions are used regularly, as described in section 6.1 on expressives. They also occur as interjections, especially in animal calls:

- (48) aŋ aŋ woof woof, sound of dog barking
 cuw cuw cuw chirp chirp, sound of small birds
 mbe baaaah, bleating of sheep
 ku'kuhaaa call of a rooster
 ɿhahaha whinnying of horse

6.3 Filler words

Filler words are used in a non-silent pause, that is a pause in the flow of speech which has been filled by some kind of vocalisation. The Jiăomùzú filler words can be divided in three groups. The first group consists of fillers that have no meaning in and of themselves, such as *ha*, *hə*, *a*, *ə* and *e*. The second grouping consists of the conjunctions *rə*, *nə*, and *rənə*. These conjunctions normally function to signal the relationship between the conjuncts they connect. The more hesitant the speaker is, the more these connectors will occur in his speech, to the point where they become superfluous fillers. Occasionally other conjunctions such as *narə*, 'and' and *wurə*, 'so, for' occur as fillers. A final group of fillers is made up of words or word groups that actually carry meaning. Very common is *mənəŋos*, 'if it is so', often followed by one of the conjunctions *nə*, *rə* or *rənə*. Less frequent is the use of *ana oranəŋos* 'if it is like that', and *tʰi nəŋos*, 'what is it'. Filler words are inserted in a sentence or clause at whichever point the speaker hesitates or wants to pause. It is possible for

several fillers to occur in one sentence. Some fillers can be repeated in a sequence of two or more during a single pause in the sentence. It is also possible to have two or more different fillers occur together to fill up one pause. It is a matter of speaker preference which filler words he uses and how frequently they occur in his speech. Here are some examples of fillers that are not meaning based:

- (49) ha owe to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 FIL alright PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 Eh, "Alright," he said.
- (50) a tʃəʔ w-əmp^hro tʃe t^hi nə-sapso to-kə-cəs nə...
 FIL this 3s:GEN-after LOC what EREFL-compare PFT-NOM CON
 Well, "what kind of match shall [we] have next," he said,...
- (51) ndə tə ə k^həvok kəngu taʃcək na-kə-cu-w 'nə-ŋos
 that C FIL hole nine storey PFT-NOM-open EV-be
 He, ah, made a hole of nine stories deep.
- (52) ha ŋ-andʔi? ŋa a təkʃet kə-nə-sapso ki kə-vu-ŋ
 FIL 1s:GEN-friend I FIL strength NOM-EREF-compare IDEF PFT-come₂-1s
 Well, my friend, I eh have come to have a match to see who's stronger.....
- k^honə....
 CON

The following examples show conjunctions that function as filler words. In (53) the conjunction *rənə* appears in the middle of two nouns, a position possible for fillers but not for *rənə* in its normal function as conjunction, see section 6.4 on conjunctions below:

- (53) ndə tə jokmo narə rənə j-apa kərscaŋ-zʃi
 that C servant.woman CON FIL 1p:HON:GEN-old.man eight-ten
 The servant woman and eh her husband were already in their eighties,...
- kə-vi nə
 NOM-come₁ CON

- (54) ...na-kə-ŋjo rənə rə təju? ki na-kə-ndo? rənə rə
 PFT-NOM-slip FIL CON water IDEF PFT-NOM-have FIL CON
 ...he slipped and ah there was a river there and ah
- təju? w-əŋgi na-kə-mbət nə rənə...
 water 3s:GEN-inside PFT-NOM- FIL CON
 he fell into the river, eh, then....

Below is an example of the use of *rənə* to connect smaller constituents. Again, the conjunction functions as a filler rather than a conjunction proper:

- (55) tambat w-ərka ka-t^ho-ndʒ tʃe rənə
 mountain 3s:GEN-top NOM-ascend-3d LOC FIL
 When they went up to the top of the mountain, eh,
- ndʒ-tʃala? tə mənəŋos rənə kə-cor kə-cor rənə
 3d-road C FIL FIL NOM-narrow NOM-narrow FIL
 the road of those two [travellers], eh, well, it was terribly narrow,
- kə-mato ki na-kə-ŋos kə-sanʒo na-kə-ŋos
 NOM-steep IDEF PFT-NOM-be NOM-slippery PFT-NOM-be
 a steep one it was, and slippery.

Examples (56) and (57) show the use of meaning based word groups like *mənəŋos* and *ana* as filler words:

- (56) w-andʃi? tə mənəŋos nə bdət-mo haʃaŋ makə na-kə-ŋni 'nə-ŋos
 3s:GEN-friend C FIL CON demon-FL Haʃaŋ Makə PFT-NOM-call EV-be
 His wife eh, was called demoness Haʃaŋ Makə.
- (57) w-aɾja?p nə ana ndə bdətmə makəndʒa rənə...
 3s:GEN-wife CON FIL that demoness exceeding FIL
 His wife, well, she was a terribly [fierce] demoness ah....

There is a slight difference in meaning between a filler followed by *nə* and one followed by *rə* or *rənə*. The neutral form uses *nə* but occurrence of *rə* or *rənə* indicates that the speaker wants to make sure his point is clear:

- (58) pakʃu mənaŋos nə nəŋo nə-je ŋos tamar tə mənaŋos nə
 apple FIL CON you 2s-POSS be butter C FIL CON
 The apples are yours, the butter is bKra-shis'.

pkraʃis wu-je ŋos
 bKra.shis 3s-POSS be

- (59) pakʃu mənaŋos rə nəŋo nə-je ŋos tamar tə mənaŋos rə
 apple FIL CON you 2s-POSS be butter C FIL CON
 Let's be clear about this: the apples are yours, the butter is bKra-shis'.

pkraʃis wu-je ŋos
 bKra.shis 3s-POSS be

6.4 Conjunctions

a. Introduction

Conjunctions are words or markers that are used to connect words, phrases or clauses. Jiāomùzú often employs concatenative constructions in which conjuncts are coordinated without the use of a conjunction. But both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions also exist in the Jiāomùzú dialects. More than one conjunction can appear in a sentence. Complex events in Jiāomùzú tend to be expressed through long strings of clauses all linked by various types of conjunctions. Jiāomùzú conjunctions cannot occur by themselves or be the head of a constituent. On the clause level and below they occur after the conjunct they modify. On the discourse level conjunctions are placed at the beginning of a new segment or topic. Some conjunctions can function as filler words, rather like English 'and eh...'. The conjunctions most frequently used in this way are *rə*, *nə* and *rənə*, see section 6.3 on fillers.

Coordinating conjunctions assign equal rank to the conjoined elements. Jiāomùzú has five coordinating conjunctions. The conjunctions *rə* and *rənə* occur in situations that signal temporal links between the conjuncts. The conjunction *rə* sequentially links actions and events in a context of futurity or from an in-action perspective. A speaker uses *rənə* in narrations of completed actions and events, as in reports or stories. The coordinating conjunctions *narənə*, *korənə* and *merə* loosely correlate with the English 'and', 'but' and 'or'. Correlative coordinating conjunctions employ paired conjunctions that occur in each of the coordinated conjuncts. Correlative conjunctions use adverbial forms such as the adverb *ʒik*, 'also' to form the meaning 'both...and' while a conditional form of the verb *maʔk*, 'not be' is used to express 'either...or'.

Subordinating conjunctions are used to subordinate the conjunct modified by the conjunction. Jiāomùzú has three subordinating conjunctions. The conjunction *nə* subordinates the conjunct it

marks to a second conjunct, signalling that the first conjunct backs up or validates the information in the second conjunct. Conjunction *k^honə* signals condition while *wurənə* indicates reason or result. Both conjunctions also have an evidential aspect which signals to the hearer how reliable the information produced by the speaker is, with *wurənə* signalling the greater reliability or certainty. Often *k^honə* groups smaller actions into clusters that are together subordinated to a larger event. Jiăomùzú also employs conjunctive adverbs, such as *manju?*, 'moreover' and *mafki*, 'until, unless'. Conjunctive adverbs can occur together with another conjunction, very frequently *nə*. Section 6.4.b gives a brief look at concatenative constructions. Section 6.4.c discusses coordinating conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions are described in 6.4.d. The overview of Jiăomùzú conjunctions finishes with a discussion of conjunctive adverbs in 6.4.e.

b. Concatenative constructions

Jiăomùzú regularly employs concatenative constructions, which coordinate conjuncts without the use of conjunctions. Both verbal and nominal constituents can be linked in this way. Example (60) comes from a narration by a boy who tells about his day. In the morning he gets up only after the sun has come up. Then:

- (60) tərstʃe kava təʃwa karstʃu
 wash do tooth wash
 [I] wash [my] face, brush [my] teeth.

Concatenative constructions do not tell the hearer anything about the time frame of the actions. For example, in (61) the speaker only informs the hearer that bKra-shis performed several actions but not in which order he did them. For all the hearer knows bKra-shis first piled books on one side of the room, then cleaned some desks, then moved on to pile more books in another corner:

- (61) pkraʃis kə tət^ha stamce to-'a-səŋataktak cəktse na-'a-k^hrət rənə
 bKra.shis PR book all PFT-NEV-stack desk PFT-NEV-wipe CON
 bKra-shis stacked all the books, wiped the desks and

 ji-'a-tʃ^hi
 PFT-NEV-go₁
 left.

Example (62) shows concatenative coordination of nominal conjuncts:

- (62) pakʃu təmjɔk c^he wu-bawbaw^ʔ w-əŋgi-j kəʒu tə na-ndo?
 apple bread liquor 3s:GEN-bag 3s:GEN-inside-LOC all C PFT-have
 apples, bread, liquor - his bag had everything in it.

c. Coordinating conjunctions

Futurity and open-endedness: rə

In direct speech and dialogues, the coordinating conjunction *rə* occurs in contexts linked to futurity. In example (63) the use of *rə* shows that it has not started to rain yet. The speaker concludes from his observation of the sky that a big rain storm will break soon, and infers that the expected visitor, because of that coming rain, will not come:

- (63) təmu makəndʒa kəktu 'na-laʔt rə ma-vi
 rain very big OBS-rain CON NEG-come₁
 It will rain very hard, he will not come.

Sentences with irrealis or real conditional constructions, which deal with a possible future event, also employ *rə*:

- (64) təmu mə-'na-laʔt rə ma-vi
 rain COND-OBS-hit CON NEG-come₁
 If it rains, he will not come.

In situations that indicate contexts other than futurity, *rə* does not occur. For example, the verb in the first conjunct of (65) is marked for present imperfective aspect. It is already raining, and the speaker infers, looking out of the window, that the visitor will not come. The coming of the guest is a future event, but the raining happens now. This prohibits the use of *rə*:

- (65) * təmu makəndʒa kəktu 'naleʔt rə mavi

The choice of conjunction is linked to the temporal perspective of the first conjunct rather than that of the second conjunct. This is a clear indication that Jiāomùzú conjunctions, even coordinating ones, have a stronger link to the first conjunct than to the second conjunct of the sentence they modify. Semantically linked to the sense of futurity, the use of *rə* also signals an on the ground or real-time perspective, especially in narratives, which often report actions and events that are already in the past. The linking of the conjuncts is sequential and chronological, so that the hearer is brought along step by step, clause by clause, as the action develops. A speaker's use of *rə* signals that the hearer cannot anticipate what will follow, only that there is more coming. The conjunction *rə* occurs as a

generic link between two or more conjuncts on all levels from the word or word group through to the discourse level. Though the underlying meaning of openness and unpredictability remains the same no matter at what syntactic level *rə* occurs, the conjunction behaves differently in different environments. On the word and the phrase level *rə* can occur with non-verbal as well as verbal constituents. In such situations *rə* functions as a question marker. Questions with *rə* typically ask ‘how about...’, ‘what if...’ or ‘what happened to....’. The answer to such an open ended question can be just about anything as long as it links in with the topic raised in the question. The following examples illustrate the employment of *rə* with nominal constituents in (66) and (67) and with an adverbial phrase in (68):

- (66) pkraʃis rə w-əmp^hi ji-rʃi ma-ʃi-ŋ
 bKra.shis CON 3s:GEN-outside PFT-go₂ NEG-know-1s
 [And] bKra-shis? He went out. No idea.
- (67) to-kə-nəno tə rə smonk^haŋ-j ŋos law
 PFT-NOM-hurt C CON hospital-LOC be MD:G
 [What happened to] the guy that was hurt? He's in hospital, I would think.
- (68) pkraʃis ji-vu tʃəʔ tʃe rə
 bKra.shis PFT-come₂ this LOC CON
 [And] when bKra-shis came?

For more on interrogative sentences, see section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences below.

The following sentences show clearly the ungrammaticality of *rə* when it is used between non-verbal conjuncts that form a unit. Instead in such cases the subordinating conjunction *nə* can occur. I discuss *nə* in section 6.4.d on subordinating conjunctions below:

- (69) tʃəʔ tə nə nənʃo nə-je ŋos tʃəʔ tə rə tʃəʔ tə nə.....
 this C CON you 2s-POSS be this C CON this C CON
 This is yours. And this? This [is].....

* tʃe tə rə nənʃo nəje ŋos

Linking of clauses with *rə* is exceedingly common in Jiăomùzú. The following example consists of two sentences from a story in which a small boy is frightened by a noise from the living room at night. Conjunction *rə* occurs at the end of the first conjunct of each sentence. There is often a slight pause after *rə*, before the speaker launches into the next conjunct:

- (70) η a to-nambəso- η $rə$ η -ajze to-nak^ho- η
 I PFT-be.afraid-1s CON 1s:GEN-older.brother PFT-call-1s
 I was afraid; I called my older brother.

patʃu kamtsa sku kavi $rə$ lolo kə no-nandʔek-ndʔek-w
 chicken window down come CON cat PR AF/PFT-chase.around-RED-3s
 A chicken having come in through the window, it was being chased around by
 the cat.

$rə$ patʃu narə lolo-ndʒ w-əmp^hi-j $rə$ -ca-dʒ
 CON chicken and cat-3d 3s:GEN-outside-LOC PFT-shoo-1d
 The two of us shooed the chicken and the cat outside.

Note that the speaker, here the small boy, tells the story from the perspective of a spectator and then participant in the action: the use of $rə$ shows that the boy cannot anticipate the contents of the next clause. Of course the boy, who is telling the story, knows very well what the outcome is and how the actions are ordered. But as a psychological device to give immediacy and openness in the telling of a story $rə$ keeps the listener on the edge of his seat, as it were. Note also that in this narrative there is only a simple linking of clauses, no subordination.

The conjunction $rə$ can also be employed in descriptions of behaviour, especially if the behaviour is habitual. For example, a speaker may describe how a certain person had a habit of unconsciously dipping his head when laughing, as in sentence (71). The dipping of the head is something the speaker notices but over which the subject in the sentence has no control - he dips his head as a matter of unconscious habit whenever he laughs:

- (71) wuʒo na-nari $rə$ w-awo lɲot na-səce
 he PFT-laugh CON 3s:GEN-head dip PFT-bow
 He laughed and unwittingly dipped his head.

On the discourse level the conjunction $rə$ can mark unanticipated or new information such as the beginning of a new topic or a new aspect of a topic, a change of perspective, etc. The story of Amyis Sgo-ldong, see Text 1 at the end of this study, has some good examples for this use of $rə$. The beginning of the story has an introduction that consists of several complex segments. In each segment the narrator introduces new information to set the stage for the story proper. The different segments, each containing a new topic, are connected by $rə$. Note that at this level there is usually a slight pause at the end of one segment or section. The conjunction $rə$ occurs at the beginning of the new segment rather than at the end of the previous one:

- (72) segment 1: sentence 1-6

Introduction of demon Chap-pa Lang-ring and how he oppressed all the peoples of the area.

- rə* segment 2: sentence 7, 8

How all the kings fought valiantly but went under; the enlightened ones decide to send a savior.

- rə* segment 3: sentence 9-14

One king had among those he ruled two old people. The old couple had a son, who actually was the promised savior. The little boy ate so much that his parents could not afford to feed him. They decide to abandon him in the forest. The father takes his boy into the forest.

- rə* segment 4: sentence 15 etc.

The old man deceives his son and abandons him in the forest, etc.

Some speakers use *rə* after a demonstrative, which seems to strengthen the link between the previous segment and what follows. Example (73) is from a about a king who had three sons, see Text 3 at the end of this study. After the introduction of king and sons, the speaker switches to a description of the conditions in which the sons lived:

- (73) *rdonra ts^haralpo wurənə w-əza kəsam na-kə-ndo? 'nə-ŋos*
Rdongra Tsharalpo CON 3s:GEN-son three PFT-NOM-have EV-be
 Now rDongra Tsharalpo had three sons.

ndə rə w-əza kəsam tə ndə t^hi sok na-ndo?-jn tʃə? tʃe nə...
that CON 3s:GEN-son three C that what manner PFT-have-3p this LOC CON
 [Having said that], for those three boys, what was life like at that time....

Sequencing completed events and actions: rənə

The conjunction *rənə* marks a sequence of actions or events in the context of a past or completed situation. Consider once more the example, familiar from section 6.4.c on *rə* above, about a rain storm preventing a guest from coming. The first conjunct is marked for past tense on the verb by *na-*. The rain is already over, and consequently the conjunction used is *rənə*.

- (74) *təmu makəndʒa kəktu na-laʔt rənə ʒə-vu*
rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG/PFT-come₂
 It rained cats and dogs, he did not come.

As expected, *rənə* also appears with irrealis or real conditional structures, if they signal past tense:

- (75) *təmu makəndʒa kəktu mə-ji-laʔt* *rənə* *vi*
 rain very big COND-NEG/PFT-hit₂ CON come₁
 If it wouldn't have rained, he'd come.

The futurity of the second conjunct does not influence the choice of conjunction, as is clear from sentence (75). It has already stopped raining. The speaker, perhaps contemplating the dismal state of the path after heavy rain, concludes that the visitor will not come. In such a sentence employing *rə*, the coordinating conjunction used in future tense contexts, leads to ungrammaticality:

- (76) *təmu makəndʒa kəktu na-laʔt* *rənə* *ma-vi*
 rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG-come₁
 It rained cats and dogs, he will not come.

* *təmu makəndʒa kəktu naleʔt rə mavi*

The conjunction *rənə* very often occurs in narratives such as reports and stories. It is roughly similar to the English '...and then...and then'. I repeat here example (71) from section 6.4.c on *rə* for comparison. In the example with *rə* the speaker described habitual action which he observed, conveying that the person who performs the laughing is unaware that he also dips his head. The same sentence with *rənə* simply tells the hearer that separate actions follow each other once each is completed:

- (71) *wuʒo na-nari* *rənə* *w-awo* *lɣot na-səce*
 he PFT-laugh CON 3s:GEN-head dip PFT-bow
 He laughed and then dipped his head.

Note that in such a sentence both the laughing, the action performed first, as well as the dipping of the head, which follows, are conscious actions of the agent. The speaker does not comment on the behaviour of the person who performs the actions, he simply reports what happens from an outsider's perspective. In English usually 'and' has to occur in such constructions. But in Jiāomùzú the meaning of *narənə*, 'and' does not contain a temporal sense. If a speaker wants to convey that actions or events take place chronologically one after the other *narənə* cannot be used.

The conjunction *rənə* often occurs in narratives like reports and stories, with the speaker catching an audience up on past events. The events in themselves may consist of several smaller actions expressed in clauses and phrases that are linked by the other conjunctions that can function on lower levels, such as *nə* and *kʰonə*. On the discourse level, segments of several sentences can be connected by *rənə*. A good example of the use of *rənə* on the discourse level is the story of how a thrush tricked a rabbit, see Text 2 at the end of this study. In the story, a thrush decides to gain the upper

hand over a rabbit, which is, in the Tibetan culture world, commonly seen as the smartest of animals. The structure of the story is simple:

- (77) segment 1: there are a thrush and a rabbit (sentence 1)
rənə
 segment 2: the thrush sets up a trap and entices the rabbit to enter it (sentence 2-4)
rənə
 segment 3: the rabbit dies in the trap, the thrush gloats (sentence 5-6)

Coordinating conjunctions that are not semantically linked to temporal aspects

The coordinating conjunctions *korənə*, *narənə* and *merə* translate into English roughly as 'but', 'and' and 'or' respectively. The conjunction *korənə* also appears as *korə* and even as just *ko*. Similarly *narənə* occurs also as *narə* but never, to my knowledge, as *na*. For *merə* I have not found abbreviated forms. But some speakers maintain that *me* can be used as a short form of *merə* in informal or low register situations.¹³⁷

The coordinating conjunction *narə* or *narənə*, 'and' occurs on the word, the phrase and the clause levels. The conjunction functions to coordinate two separate entities about which the speaker gives no further details. The hearer does not know how or even if the entities are linked. The conjunction *narənə* occurs often in listings or enumerations. In the following examples *narənə* links nouns:

- (78) *ŋə-tʂʰaʔ* *kʰalat* *narə* *kʰat* *ŋos*
 1s:GEN-tea barley.meal and sour.vegetables be
 For breakfast I have barley meal and sour vegetables.

The conjunction *narənə* can link words that together form one constituent, as the noun phrase 'the chicken and the cat' in (80). Number marking occurs at the end of the noun phrase:

- (80) [*patʃu* *narə* *lolo*]-*ndʒ* *w-əmpʰi-j* *rə-ca-dʒ*
 [chicken and cat]-3d 3s:GEN-outside-LOC PFT-shoo-1d
 The two of us shooed [the chicken and the cat] out [of the house].

It is possible to coordinate verbal conjuncts with *narənə*. Such statements do not give any information about the temporal relation between the conjuncts. The coordinated constituents must have the same subject, as in (81). It is not possible to coordinate two different actions by two different subjects. Sentence (82) would be perfectly grammatical in English, forming the meaning 'bKra-shis went to Chéngdū and lHa-mo stayed home', but in Jiăomùzú it is not:

¹³⁷ Tshe-dbang sGron-ma, personal communication.

- (81) pkraʃis cɔktse nə-kʰrət-w narənə tərət na-va-w
 bKra.shis table PFT-wipe-3s and dirt PFT-do-3s
 bKra-shis wiped the tables and swept the floor.

- (82) *pkraʃis ʃintəhu jirʃi narənə lhamo təjeʔm wəŋgi napu

If two clauses that have the same subject express different events or actions that are linked in time, it is not possible to use *narənə* to coordinate those actions. Example (83) shows *narənə* in a sentence in which the subject performs two individual actions, as does (81). The speaker does not give any other information. The hearer does not know how these actions are related temporally, for example if they are simultaneous or chronological:

- (83) wuʃo na-nari narənə w-awo lɣot na-səce
 he PFT-laugh CON 3s:GEN-head dip PFT-bow
 He laughed and he dipped his head.

If the conjunct actions are perceived as parts of one event, the conjunction *narənə* cannot be used. For example, in (84) there are two clauses not connected by any conjunction. In the Jiăomùzú view the situation is a sequence of two chronologically related events: bKra-shis first has to go to town in order for him to meet his friend there. Since the subject, bKra-shis, logically performs both actions one after the other *narənə* cannot occur, though in English the sentence would be rather unnatural without 'and':

- (84) pkraʃis kantʃʰak-j ji-rʃi w-andʃi? na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street-LOC PFT-go₂ 3s:GEN-friend PFT-see-3s
 bKra-shis went out into town [and] met his friend.

- *pkraʃis kantʃʰakj jirʃi narənə wandʃi? namətow

The conjunction does not occur between adjectivals. In example (85) *kətʃot*, 'clear' and *kəmpʃer*, 'beautiful' modify *tasco*, 'writing'. Note that the English free translation has to render the adjectives as an adverbial structure. Literally the sentence would translate something like 'he did clear and beautiful writing'. A sentence like (85) with *narənə* is perceived as unnatural by native speakers:

- (85) wuʃo tascok [kə-tʃot kə-mpʃer] na-laʔt-w
 he writing NOM-clear NOM-beautiful PFT-hit₂-3s
 He wrote clearly and beautifully.

- ?*wuʃo tascok kətʃot narənə kəmpʃer naleʔtw

But *narənə* has to occur between adjectivals when the nominal modified by the adjectives is itself embedded in a larger structure, as in (86). In this sentence *tascok kələʔt* is a unit meaning 'writer', one who writes'. The entire noun phrase *tascok kətʔot narənə kəmpʃer kələʔt*, 'one whose writing is clear and beautiful' modifies *wuʃo*, 'he':

- (86) *wuʃo tə [[tascok [kə-tʔot narənə kə-mpʃer] kə-leʔt] ki ɲos.*
 he C writing NOM-clear and NOM-beautiful NOM-hit_i IDEF be
 He is someone whose writing is clear and beautiful.

* *wuʃo tə tascok kətʔot kəmpʃer kələʔt ki ɲos.*

Instead of *narənə* a correlative construction can be used:

- (87) *pkraʃis w-əjeʔm kə-mbik ʒik kə-mpʃer ʒik ɲos*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-house NOM-old also NOM-beautiful also be
 bKra-shis house is old as well as beautiful.

Conjunction *merə*, 'or' can link words, phrases, or clauses, for nominal as well as verbal constituents:

- (89) *pakʃu merə ʒugolor 'kə-tə-ku-w*
 apples or walnut PRIMP-2-buy-2s
 Are you buying apples or walnuts?
- (90) *kets^{he} kəktu tə 'nə-ɲos merə tsoŋba^ɔ 'nə-ɲos*
 bus big C EV-be or small.bus EV-be
 Is it a big bus or a small one?

Unlike *narənə* and *korənə* but similar to the conjunction *rə*, *merə* can occur at the end of a sentence, if the speaker makes a statement but wants to leave room for the hearer to interpret the statement as a question:

- (91) *nənʃo soʃnu tə-tʃ^{hi}-n merə*
 you tomorrow 2-go-2s or
 You'll go tomorrow, or...?

The speaker here is looking for a response from the hearer. If in constituents linked by *narənə* or *korənə* the second constituent is left implicit by the speaker, the sentence simply feels unfinished, but it does not solicit a response from the hearer.

The conjunction *korə*, 'but', occurs between verbal constituents usually on the clause level or at the beginning of a new sentence that comments on the previous sentence:

- (92) *ŋa na-məto-ŋ ko ʃə-rjo-ŋ*
 I PFT-see-1s but NEG/PFT-talk-1s
 I saw him but we didn't talk.
- (93) *mbroʔ mə-tə-varo-w miʔ korə patʃu narə pak ndoʔ*
 horse Q-2-own-3s not.have. but chicken and pig have
 Do you have horses? No. But we have chickens and pigs.
- (94) *pkraʃis to-^ha-nətʃ^he koronə wu-gral kə-miʔ*
 bKra.shis PFT-NEV-get drunk but 3s:GEN-rule NOM-not.have
 bKra-shis was drunk but he did not do anything improper.
- ji-^ha-va-w*
 NEG/PERF-NEV-do-3s

The conjunction *koronə* also occurs to link complements:

- (95) *wu-sa-ŋu wu-gon kə-mbat ^hnə-ŋos koronə kə-nəʃit*
 3s:GEN-NOM-live 3s:GEN-price NOM-cheap EV-be but NOM-comfortable
 His place is cheap but very comfortable.
- makəndʒa ^hnə-ŋos*
 very EV-be

The conjunction can signal meanings such as 'though', 'in spite of'. There is in Jiāomùzú no separate construction for concessive sentences:

- (96) *təmu makəndʒa kəktu na-laʔt korə ji-vu*
 rain very big PFT-hit₂ but PFT-come₂
 Though it rained cats and dogs, he still came.

In sentence (97) a man, after hearing reports that medicinal plants are abundant, had gone out to collect medicinal plants on the mountain. However, torrential rain forced him to abandon his collection plans and return, despite the riches awaiting him on the mountain:

- (97) pemu^ɕ tə 'na-məca na-cəs o korə təmu makəndʒa
 baimu C OBS-much PFT-say MD:CF but rain very
 They said there was lots of baimu but since it rained cats and dogs

kəktu na-laʔt k^honə ji-vu
 big PFT-hit₂ CON PFT-come₂
 he came [back].

- (98) xwatoŋ^ɕ ma-'nə-k^hut korənə k^harʒas na-va-w
 microphone NEG-OBS-can but song PFT-do-3s
 She sang despite the bad microphone.

Paired conjunctions

There are a few paired coordinating conjunctions in Jiāomùzú. These conjunctions use the same form twice, each in a clause with a verb phrase. This type of conjunction uses either adverbs or irrealis structures. Example (99) shows the use of adverb *ʒik*, 'also' in forming a paired coordinating conjunction meaning 'both...and', 'as well as':

- (99) pakʃu ʒik ndoʔ təmpok ʒik ndoʔ
 apple CON have bread CON have
 There are both apples and bread.
 There are apples as well as bread.

Note that in such structures the verb phrase has to be repeated, even if the verb phrase in the first clause is identical to that in the second clause:

- (100) pkraʃis ʒik lhamo na-rgaʔ-w harʒa ʒik lhamo na-rgaʔ-w
 bKra.shis CON lHa.mo PFT-like-3s lHa.rgyal CON lHa.mo PFT-like-3s
 Both bKra-shis and lHa-rgyal liked lHa-mo.

It is possible to express that both boys liked lHa-mo through number marking, as in (101). But then *ʒik* cannot occur:

- (101) pkraʃis harʒa-ndʒ lhamo na-rgaʔ-ndʒ
 bKra.shis lHa.rgyal-3d lHa.mo PFT-like-3d
 bKra-shis and lHar-gyal, the two of them liked lHa-mo.

* pkraʃis harʒandʒ ʒik lhamo nargaʔndʒ

Another example of a paired coordinating conjunction employs the real conditional construction *mənamaʔk nə*, 'if that is not there' to express 'either...or':

- (102) mə-'na-maʔk nə təjeʔm ʃi-kə-ɲu ɲos
 COND-OBS- not.be CON house NEG/PERF-NOM be
 Either he was not at home, or he did not hear [us knock].

mə-'na-maʔk nə ʃi-kə-məsam 'nə-ɲos
 COND-OBS-not.be CON NEG/PERF-NOM-hear₂ EV-be

Instead of *nə* it is also possible to use the conjunction *rə* after the conditional. According to native speakers it does not make a difference in meaning which conjunction is used, though the use of *rə* gives more emphasis than the use of *nə*.

d. Subordinating conjunctions

Generic subordinating conjunction nə

The conjunction *nə* is a generic subordinating conjunction that can occur with nominal, adverbial and verbal constituents. Like other conjunctions, *nə* occurs at the end of the constituent it modifies. The conjunct marked by *nə* is the subordinated constituent. The conjunction's role is to connect two conjuncts, the second of which contains the pertinent information which the speaker wants to impress on the hearer. The first conjunct supports the statement or action of the second conjunct, in an almost adjectival role. In (103a) a speaker notes that the weather is bad, and presumes that 'he' will not come. In (103b) the speaker states that 'he' will not come, and backs up that claim with another statement that supports his point of view: the weather is just too bad for 'him' to do so:

- (103a) təmu 'na-leʔt ma-vi
 rain OBS-hit₁ NEG-come₁
 It's raining, he will not come.

- (103b) təmu 'na-leʔt nə ma-vi
 rain OBS-hit₁ CON NEG-come₁
 It's raining, he will not come.

The conjunction functions on the word, the phrase and the clause levels. Though the basic meaning of *nə* remains the same no matter where it occurs, there are differences in semantic load depending on the kind of conjunct with which *nə* occurs. A speaker's use of *nə* prepares the listener for a statement about the constituent modified by *nə*. The constituent marked by *nə* is not the most important part of the clause or sentence, but the anticipated information about that constituent is. If the expected information does not follow, the speaker's statement will be considered unfinished,

incomprehensible or ungrammatical. A clear example of this is (104b), where *nə* modifies a nominal constituent, *pkraʃis wandʒiʔ*, 'bKra-shis' friend'. Though the noun phrase *pkraʃis wandʒiʔ* in itself is perfectly grammatical, as shown in example (104a), the noun phrase modified by *nə* in (104b) only makes sense as part of a sentence:

- (104a) *pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend
 bKra-shis' friend
- pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ pəʃnu ma-vi*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend today NEG-come₁
 bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

- (104b) * *pkraʃis wandʒiʔ nə*

pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ nə pəʃnu ma-vi
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend CON today NEG-come₁
 bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

The best free translation for the sentence with *nə* might be something like 'Concerning bKra-shis' friend, he is not coming today'. The crucial part of the sentence is the second one, containing the information that the friend is not coming. The first, subordinated part, simply points out that the information pertains to bKra-shis' friend, perhaps in the context of a conversation about which people will come to today's party. At first sight this usage looks as if *nə* functions as a determiner or topicaliser. Determiners co-occur with nouns to express some semantic contrast, like quantity or number. In Jiǎomùzú the mutually exclusive contrast marker *tə* and indefiniteness marker *ki* function as determiners. Contrast marker *tə* is a noun adjunct that modifies nominal phrases. It contrasts the head of the noun phrase with other, often unmentioned entities. But the role of *nə* is much broader. Unlike *tə*, conjunction *nə* does not signal contrast between the marked nominal constituent and some other constituent. It simply links the marked nominal constituent with the information about it which is forthcoming in the following parts of the clause or sentence. Contrast marker *tə* and conjunction *nə* can mark the same constituent:

- (104c) *pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ tə pəʃnu ma-vi*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend C today NEG-come₁
 bKra-shis' friend will not come today.
- (104d) *pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ tə nə pəʃnu ma-vi*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend C CON today NEG-come₁
 bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

Contrast marker *tə* in example (104c) shows that bKra-shis' friend will not come today, but another person, not mentioned in the sentence, will. In example (104d), where *tə* and *nə* co-occur, the speaker conveys that bKra-shis' friend will not come today, though there is another, unmentioned person who will come. Though the topic in both sentence is bKra-shis' friend, the prominent part of sentence (104d) is the predicate *pəʃnu mavi*, 'will not come today'. The salient information conveyed by *nə* is that bKra-shis' friend will not come today. It is, for whatever reason, important that the friend will not be here. Maybe the friend is really good company and the party will not be a success without him. Or perhaps the speaker had hoped to send a message with the friend, which he will now be unable to do. The conjunction *nə* subordinates the entire constituent it modifies. The contrast marker *tə* cannot occur after conjunction *nə*:

(104d) *pkraʃis wandʔi? nə tə pəʃnu mavi

For more on contrast marker *tə*, see section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns.

Prominence marker *kə* signals to the hearer which one or several constituent(s) of the sentence have prominence. Prominence marking is also used to disambiguate certain syntactic roles. A prominence marker can co-occur with *nə*, indicating subtle differences in meaning. Consider example (105). In (105a) *kə* answers the question why the subject 'he' fell asleep: exhaustion brought on by non-stop work:

(105a) *karama ʃi* *təspap* *kə* *w-əmpak* *na-ʃu*
labour continuously exhausted PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-heavy
Exhausted by the non-stop work, he fell asleep.

The constituent *karama ʃi*, 'continuous labouring', can occur with or without prominence marking. When a speaker uses *kə* after *karama ʃi* he gives prominence to the long hours of work in connection to the subject being exhausted and falling asleep. There is no semantic load in *kə* other than giving prominence to the constituent it modifies. Example (105b) answers the question 'What exhausted him and caused him to fall asleep?':

(105b) *karama ʃi* *kə* *təspap* *kə* *w-əmpak* *na-ʃu*
labour continuously PR exhausted PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-heavy
The non-stop work exhausted him and he fell asleep.

Conjunction *nə* can occur in either sentence to modify *karama ʃi*, but there is a difference in meaning. Conjunction *nə* does not give prominence to the constituent it modifies but uses that constituent to somehow validate, back up or emphasise the action expressed in the later constituents of the sentence. In (105c), *nə* links the pertinent information in the sentence, in this case that the subject was exhausted and fell asleep, to the fact that he or she had worked long and hard. The most important information, *təspap kə wəmpak naʃu*, 'exhausted he fell asleep' is backed up or validated by the added information conveyed by the constituent marked by *nə*, here *karama ʃi*.

- (105c) *karama fi nə təspap kə w-əmpak na-ju*
 labour continuously CON exhausted PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-heavy
 Exhausted by the long hard work he fell asleep.

When *karama fi* is marked both by *nə* and prominence marker *kə*, the speaker highlights the long hard work as the prominent element in the sequence of getting exhausted and falling asleep. The use of *nə* refers the hearer to the subject's action of falling asleep and validates that action:

- (105d) *karama fi kə nə təspap kə w-əmpak na-ju*
 labour continuously PR CON exhausted PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-heavy
 The long hard work having exhausted him, he fell asleep.

The conjunction cannot occur before the prominence marker:

- (105e) * *karama fi nə kə təspap kə wəmpak na-ju*

The same logic pertains in sentences where the use of *kə* is obligatory:

- (106a) *k^hajcak kə tərmu na-sə-top-ŋ*
 hammer PR person PFT-CAUS-hit-1s
 I hit someone with a hammer.

The use of *kə* in sentence (106) signals the instrument used, a hammer. But when *nə* is added, the meaning changes in a subtle way:

- (106b) *k^hajcak kə nə tərmu na-sə-top-ŋ*
 hammer PR CON person PFT-CAUS-hit-1s
 I hit someone - with a hammer, no less.

In the sentence with only a prominence marker the speaker simply gives prominence to the instrument rather than to the subject. But in sentence (106b) the use of *nə* shows that the main event is the hitting of a person, and the use of a hammer to do it tells the hearer that it was not just any old hitting, but an especially vicious or cruel or violent one. The speaker is trying to convey that there was something more to the hitting, and does so by pulling in the information about the instrument, connecting it to the action by the use of *nə*. For more on obligatory marking with *kə*, see section 4.3.e of the chapter on nouns.

The conjunction *nə* can modify constituents that are marked by both *tə* and *kə*. The conjunction always occurs after the other markers. I repeat here a sentence from the noun chapter which illustrates the use of contrast marking and prominence marking combined with *nə*:

- (107) pkraʃis tə kə nə pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis C PR CON apple PFT-give-3s
 bKra-shis gave apples.

As discussed in section 4.3.e of the chapter on nouns, sentence (107) with only *tə* indicates that, among other people who gave other gifts, only bKra-shis gave apples. If the sentence contains both *tə* and *kə*, the speaker conveys that there is only one giver, namely bKra-shis, and that he gave apples, not some other gift. There are other people around, but they did not give anything. If *bKra-shis* is marked for contrast and prominence and also modified by the conjunction *nə*, the speaker indicates that the giving of the apples, that is, the entire predicate, is the most relevant information in the sentence. If all the information loaded into the sentence by the different markers is unpacked, a free translation should read something like 'Though there were several people, none of them gave a gift. As for bKra-shis, he did give a gift. To be precise, he gave apples, not some other thing, but apples.' Sentence (107) can be used in the context of perhaps a wedding or some other gift giving occasion. Two people discuss the presents the guests gave, if any. bKra-shis' name comes up as one among many. The use of *nə* does not topicalise bKra-shis, as one talked about before, but rather shows that the giving of the apples is somehow significant about him. Maybe he is well-known for being stingy, always giving a cheap gift like apples, and his behaviour on the occasion discussed by the speaker affirms the common impression of him.

In the final analysis, *nə* when used with nominals retains its subordinating character, just like *nə* in such positions retains the characteristics of a coordinating conjunction. Whereas the use of coordinating conjunction *nə* with a nominal constituent forms a constituent question if not followed by a second conjunct, the use of *nə* must link the marked constituent to other constituents in a clause or sentence to avoid being ungrammatical. At the level of nominal words or word groups I therefore maintain the label of conjunction for both these markers.

One sentence can have several subordinated constituents all marked by *nə*, giving the speaker the flexibility to express subtle shades of meaning:

- (108a) pkraʃis kantʃʰak-j ji-rji w-andʃiʔ na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 bKra-shis went out into town and met his friend.

- (108b) pkraʃis kantʃʰak-j ji-rji nə w-andʃiʔ na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 bKra-shis went out into town and he met his friend [as planned].

- (108c) pkraʃis nə kantʃʰak-j ji-rji nə w-andʃiʔ na-məto-w
 bKra.shis CON street- LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 As for bKra-shis, he went out into town and he met his friend [as planned].

The neutral sentence is (108a), which conveys simply that bKra-shis went into town and saw his friend there. The sentence does not give any information on timing or on whether the meeting was planned or not. Sentence (108b) has a verbal constituent, *kantʃʰakj jirji*, 'went into town' modified by *nə*, and thus subordinated to the following constituent *wandʃi? namətow*, 'saw his friend'. The speaker expresses that bKra-shis went into town for the purpose of meeting his friend. He did not just run into the friend on the street, the meeting was planned. In sentence (108c) which has *nə* modifying *pkraʃis* as well as *kantʃʰakj jirji*, the speaker conveys that bKra-shis, as planned, met his friend in town. The salient information is that the friend was met. Without the context of the conversation it is of course not clear why the speaker considers the meeting of the friend in town so significant. Perhaps the speaker himself also went into town but did not see his friend. Or perhaps bKra-shis had been forbidden from seeing his friend when he went into town, but did it anyway. Another example of the change of meaning that occurs linked to the placement of *nə* in the sentence is (109). This sentence is familiar from example (70) in section 6.4.c on coordinating conjunction *rə*. Instead of a linear sequence linked by *rə* the speaker uses the subordinating conjunction *nə*. It changes the situation completely:

- (109a) *patʃu kamtsa sku kavi nə*
 chicken window down come₁ CON
 It's a good thing that a cat, when a chicken comes down through the window,
- lolo kə no-nandʒek-dʒek-w 'na-haʔw*
 cat PR AF/PFT-chase.around-RED-3s OBS-good.
 chases it around.

The first clause in the sentence, *patʃu kamtsa sku kavi*, 'a chicken came in through the window' is marked by *nə*. This marks the clause as subordinate, and the second clause as the main event. Note that the first clause of the complement can easily be turned into an adverbial clause by adding the locative *tʃe*, though it is not obligatory: *patʃu kamtsa sku kavi tʃe nə*, 'when a chicken comes in through the window...' The speaker clearly does not like the chicken to be in the house, and approves of the cat chasing it to get it out. The placement of *nə* changes the meaning of the sentence depending on which conjunct is subordinated. In (109a) *nə* occurs after '(when) a chicken comes in through the window'. The speaker declares that it is a good thing for the cat to chase the chicken, once it has come into the house. The position of *nə* shows that he does not like the fact that there is a chicken in the house. But in (109b) the entire statement, involving both the coming of the chicken and the cat chasing it, is evaluated by the speaker:

(109b) patʃu kamtsa sku kavi lolo kə no-nandʔek-ndʔek-w nə
 chicken window down come cat PR AF/PFT-chase.around-RED-3s CON
 A chicken had come in through the window, it was being chased around by the
 cat;

wastop 'na-mpʃer
 very OBS-beautiful
 it was a great show.

The complement of *wastop nampʃer*, 'it was a great show', is the entire statement of chicken and cat up till the occurrence of *nə*. The speaker does not mind the coming of the chicken. Rather, the arrival of the chicken and the resulting chase by the cat provide him with much entertainment. In (109a) the speaker disapproves of the chicken in the house but approves of the cat chasing it, hoping that the chicken will go back out. In (109b) the speaker approves of both chicken and cat because they provide him with a good show. The placement of *nə* makes all the difference. But the occurrence of *nə* is not obligatory. Sentence (109c) is perfectly grammatical without *nə*:

(109c) patʃu kamtsa sku kavi lolo kə na-nandʔek-dʔek-w
 chicken window down come cat PR PFT-chase-RED-3s
 A chicken had come in through the window; the cat chased it around;

 wastop ma-'nə-nəʃit
 very NEG-OBS-pleasant
 [a] very unpleasant [event].

Sentence (109c) is a neutral form, in which the speaker indicates that the cat chasing the chicken is not a big deal to him - just one of those things in life - though it is not very nice.

A final example, (110), shows the use of *nə* between two clauses. Without the conjunction, as in (110a), the clauses are coordinated. The coordinating conjunction *koronə* can occur to link them, as in (110b). But in (110c) the information of the first clause is subordinated to the second clause in order to make a complaint. Though a younger sibling has already been to IHasa, the speaker has not. The speaker perceives this as manifestly unfair, and expresses this opinion with the use of *nə*. The speaker uses the first clause to make a specific statement in the second clause, also if the last part of the sentence, *nəŋʃo matəʃijn*, 'you have no idea', is not there. The semantic difference between (110a) or (110b) and (110c) is borne entirely by *nə*:

- (110a) ɲ-aci lhase katʃʰi na-rəmɲo ɲa ma-rəmɲo-ɲ
 1s:GEN-younger.sibling lHasa go PFT-experience I NEG-experience-1s
 My younger brother has been to lHasa; I, regretfully, have not.

menə
 regretfully

- (110b) ɲ-aci lhase katʃʰi na-rəmɲo koronə ɲa
 1s:GEN-younger.sibling lHasa go PFT-experience but I
 My younger brother has been to lHasa but I, regretfully, have not.

ma-rəmɲo-ɲ menə
 NEG-experience-1s regretfully

- (110c) ɲ-aci lhase katʃʰi na-rəmɲo nə ɲa
 1s:GEN-younger.sibling lHasa go PFT-experience CON I
 My younger brother has been to lHasa; *I, regretfully, have not* - [you have no

ma-rəmɲo-ɲ menə [nənɲo-ɲo ma-tə-ʃi-jn]
 NEG-experience-1s regretfully [you-p NEG-2-know-2p]
 idea (how bad I have it at home)].

The Jiăomùzú dialects have adverbial clauses which are marked by adverbialisers. There are also relative clauses and complements, but Jiăomùzú does not have markers that function as complementisers and relativisers. Marking for complements and relative clauses occurs within the clause itself, see section 8.2 of the chapter on sentences below. The conjunction *nə* can occur with all types of subordinated clauses. When *nə* occurs with an adverbial or verbal constituent it subordinates that constituent while signalling specific meaning. It does not just generically mark the function of subordination. Consider once more the example about bKra-shis meeting his friend in town. It is possible to turn the first constituent of (108a), 'went out into town' into an adverbial by adding a locative. The adverbial constituent, in turn, can then be modified by *nə*:

- (108d) pkɾafis kantʃʰak-j ji-rɿi tʃe w-andɿi? na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ LOC 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 When bKra-shis went out into town he met his friend.

- (108e) pkɾafis kantʃʰak-j ji-rɿi tʃe nə w-andɿi? na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ LOC CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 When bKra-shis went out into town he met his friend [as planned].

The adverbial constituent *kantʃʰakj jirɕi tʃe*, 'when [he] went out into town' is a subordinate clause. The main clause is *wandɕi? namətoŋ*, 'met his friend'. In sentence (108d) the subordinated adverbial clause, with the use of *tʃe*, 'when', only conveys information about the time line of the events. But it does not tell the hearer if the meeting was the goal or purpose of bKra-shis' going into town. Sentence (108e), with *nə*, gives information both about the time line through the use of 'when' in the adverbial clause and indicates that the meeting of the friend is the salient information. When bKra-shis went into town he did so for the purpose of meeting the friend.

The following example is from the A-myis Sgo-ldong story (see Text 1 at the end of this study). A new-born baby boy drinks his mother's milk and then eats progressively larger amounts of grain each day. The adverbial constituents are all subordinated to the activity of eating a large amount of grain:

- (109) w-əmpʰro tʃe nə w-apso nə kəpəs ro w-apso
 3s:GEN-after LOC CON 3s:GEN-following CON two ro 3s:GEN-following
 After that, the following [day], [he ate] two *ro* [of grain]; the next [day],

 nə kəsam ro w-əŋkʰu? nə ndə tə sok ʃi w-əjpo
 CON three ro 3s:GEN-after CON that C like often 3s:GEN-əjpo
 three *ro*; afterwards, he always [ate] huge amounts, like a *kəjpo* [every day].

A *ro* is a measure of grain, for barley weighing about 900 grammes. Ten *ro* make up one *kəjpo*.

Below is an example of the same function of conjunction *nə* with a relative clause. In sentence (110a), the neutral form, the relative clause 'the man who had an accident' is expressed by a nominalised verb within a genitive construction:

- (110a) ɲa kʰorlo nə-kə-rtəsə w-ərmə tə na-məto-ŋ
 I car PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C PFT-see-1s
 I saw the man who had an accident (was hit by a car).

The use of *nə* in example (110b) links the object, 'the man who had an accident', to *namətoŋ*, 'I saw him'. The occurrence of *nə* here indicates that the salient information about the man who had the accident is that he was seen by me. Perhaps the speaker is talking to someone who is aware of the accident having happened, and who for some reason is inquiring about the latest developments regarding it:

- (110b) ɲa kʰorlo nə-kə-rtəsə w-ərmə tə nə na-məto-ŋ....
 I car PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C CON PFT-see-1s
 I *saw* the man who had an accident....

In the normal course of a conversation, there is a follow-up after the use of *nə* in (110b), such as:

- (110c) *ŋa k^horlo nə-kə-rtse w-ərmə tə nə na-məto-ŋ koronə*
 I car PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C CON PFT-see-1s but
 I *saw* the man who had an accident but I did not manage to grab a hold of him.
- kandʔi ʃi-c^ha-ŋ*
 grab NEG/PRF-manage-1s

The conjunction *nə* can occur with complements, syntactically subordinating the complement and resulting in a semantic shift. In example (111a) the complement is *wuʃo manʃu? vi*, 'he will come again'. The complement is unmarked. The mood marker at the end of the sentence shows that the speaker is anxious about the possible return of the person mentioned in the complement. In example (111b) the presence of *nə* links the complement to *kəsəsoŋ*, 'thinking'. Perhaps the subject had prepared a parcel to send with the person mentioned in the complement and was caught by the fact that this person had already left, without the parcel. The relevant information in (111b) is that the speaker is thinking, not that 'he' will come back. The follow up clause in (111b), 'but he already left', makes clear that the speaker's thinking was faulty. The sentence is perfectly grammatical also without the last clause:

- (111a) *ŋa wuʃo manʃu? vi 'kə-səso-ŋ ko*
 I he again come_i PRIMP-think-1s MD:ANX
 I'm afraid he will come back.
- (111b) *ŋa wuʃo manʃu? vi nə to-səso-ŋ (koronə ʃi-'a-tʃ^{hi})*
 I he again come_i CON PFT-think-1s (but PFT-NEV-go_i)
 I thought that he will come back - (but he has already left).

To complete this section I give an example which compares the use of *nə* and coordinating conjunction *rə*. Compare the following two sentences, which show beautifully the contrast in meaning between *nə* and *rə*:

- (112a) *pkraʃis kantʃ^hak-j ʃi-rʃi nə w-andʔi? na-məto-w*
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 bKra-shis went out into town and met his friend [as planned].
- (113b) *pkraʃis kantʃ^hak-j ʃi-rʃi rə w-andʔi? na-məto-w*
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 bKra-shis went out into town and ran into his friend.

The verb *kaməto*, used in both (112a) and (112b) means 'see, meet, run into'. Sentence (112a) employs *nə*, so the listener will assume that bKra-shis and his friend maybe had an appointment. The best translation of *kaməto* therefore is 'meet' or 'see'. But in (112b), the connector *rə* indicates that the events of the second clause are somehow unpredictable, unexpected or unanticipated. The literal meaning of (112b) is something like 'bKra-shis went into town; unexpectedly, he met his friend there.' The best translation of *kaməto* in (112b) is 'run into'. Obviously, most verbs do not allow for such a neat division between volitional and unvolitional meanings in the English glosses. In all those cases conjunction *rə* carries the burden of signalling that an unexpected event is about to happen, while *nə* in the same position indicates the speaker's perspective that the first conjunct contributes, one way or another, to the core of the sentence, which is the second conjunct.

Condition, reason and result: k^honə and wurənə

The subordinating conjunction *k^honə* or *k^ho* indicates a condition which needs to pertain for the event in the following clause to be able to occur while *wurənə* or *wurə* indicates reason or result. Often both are best translated 'so', 'therefore' or 'because'. Both conjunctions occur on the word, the phrase and the clause levels with verbal conjuncts. They differ in evidential and temporal shades of their meaning. In direct speech the speaker's choice of conjunction conveys the reliability of a statement by indicating the source of the information. Consider the examples in (113). The context is perhaps a situation where someone is surprised to see lHa-mo on the street. Had she not said that she would leave? The speaker responds with (113a): yes, lHa-mo was supposed to leave but somehow the car left without her, so that she is still here. Both (113a) and (113b) are marked for non-evidential, conveying that the speaker was not actually an eye-witness to the event of the car leaving without lHa-mo. The use of *k^honə* in (113a) signals that the speaker has heard lHa-mo missed her ride, but not from lHa-mo herself. The use of *wurənə* in (113b) shows that lHa-mo herself has told the speaker what happened with her and the car:

- (113a) k^horlo ji-'a-tʃ^hi k^honə lhamo ji-'a-tʃ^hi
 vehicle PFT-NEV-go₁ CON lHa.mo NEG/PFT-NEV-go₁
 The car had [already] left, so lHa-mo did not go.

- (113b) k^horlo ji-'a-tʃ^hi wurənə lhamo ji-'a-tʃ^hi
 vehicle PFT-NEV-go CON lHa.mo NEG/PFT-NEV-go₁
 The car had [already] left, so lHa-mo did not go.

When a speaker uses *k^honə* in this sort of situation, the hearer can always ask 'who told you?'. When a speaker uses *wurənə* it is clear that the information came, so to speak, from the horse's mouth. The Jiāomùzú dialects have a preoccupation with evaluating the source and reliability of information as evidenced by an elaborate system for marking evidentiality. Though most of the marking for evidentiality occurs on the verb, the choice of conjunction as shown in example (113) is also one of the tools a speaker has available to convey information that has evidential meaning.

There are many contexts, such as stories, that do not involve direct speech, and in which the speaker cannot possibly have learned his information from people personally involved in the events he relates. In that sort of context *wurənə* signals a stronger link of causality between the first and the second conjunct, conveying that the outcome or result is inevitable or beyond the control of the person involved in the situation. The conjunction *kʰonə* indicates a condition without which the second clause cannot happen, but does not necessarily indicate causality. Compare the following sentences:

- (114a) *təmu makəndɾa kəktu na-laʔt wurənə ʝi-vu*
rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG/PFT-come₂
It rained cats and dogs, so he didn't come.

- (114b) *təmu makəndɾa kəktu na-laʔt kʰonə ʝi-vu*
rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG/PFT-come₂
It rained cats and dogs so he didn't come.

The speaker may be telling the story of great-grandfather bKra-shis and how he missed an important meeting about land use, which is why the House to this day is situated on the least fertile land available in the community. Sentence (114a), with *wurənə*, indicates that great-grandfather had no way of getting to the meeting. It rained so much that the road collapsed and he was stuck in the mud for a whole night. He wanted to go but the circumstances made it inevitable that he missed the meeting. The use of *kʰonə* carries no such sense of inevitability. It rained hard, so great-grandfather decided to stay home. Maybe he thought the meeting would not make a big difference. It was not inevitable that he missed the meeting; he had control over the outcome of the situation. Along the same lines are the following examples, from the A-mysis Sgo-ldong story (Text 1 at the end of this study). Example (115) has *kʰo*. A-mysis Sgo-ldong makes it clear that if the villagers will not fulfil the condition, namely that they prepare a number of items for him, he will not come to help them defeat a nasty demon. Note the stressed perfective marker *to-* to indicate past-in-the-future relative tense:

- (115) *ndə-ɲo 'to-sa-va-va-ɲn kʰo ɲa ndə wu-ʒakma tʃe ngo-ɲ*
that-p PFT-CAUS-do-RED-3p CON I that 3s:GEN-day LOC go.upstream-1s
When you're done preparing all that, on that day I will come.

Sentence (116) demonstrates the use of *wurə*:

- (116) *nənjo nə-ʃi-na'tso-w to-kə-cəs-w wurə w-əza tə nə*
 you IMP-VPT-look-3s PFT-NOM-say CON 3s:GEN-son C CON
 "Go and have a look," [his father] said, so his son went and had a look.

kərek nə-kə-ʃi-natso-w 'nə-ŋos
 one PFT-NOM-VPT-look-3s EV-be

Note that the use of *wurə* here indicates that the son does not have control over the situation. His father commands him to go and look. It is impossible not to obey his father. It is inevitable that he goes to have a look, even if it may result in his death – which it does.

The choice of conjunction often is related not to the objective reality of a situation but to the speaker's perception of it. For example, the use of *wurənə* in (116) expresses the speaker's sense that the chaos resulting from the chase is unavoidable, and so all the more reason for his annoyance at the situation. A chicken came in, so inevitably the cat went after it - what a horrible nuisance:

- (117) *patʃu kamtsa sku kavi wurənə lolo kə na-nandʒek-dʒek-w*
 chicken window down come CON cat PR PFT-chase-RED-3s
 A chicken had come in through the window so the cat chased it around,

wastop ma-'nə-nəʃit
 very NEG-OBS-pleasant
 [a] very unpleasant [event].

Had the speaker used *k^honə* in the context of (116), the sentiment conveyed by the sentence would have been that, though the cat chasing the chicken around the room was very annoying, it is only what can be expected when cat and chicken are in one place.

In example (117) the use of *wurənə* signals that bKra-shis' tasks had come to an end, and this compelled him, in the perception of the speaker, to leave. There was no reason to linger any longer:

- (118) *pkraʃis tət^ha stamce to-'a-sə-ŋa-taktak cəktse na-'a-k^hrət*
 bKra.shis book all PFT-NEV-CAUS-IMPS-stack desk PFT-NEV-wipe
 bKra-shis stacked all the books and wiped all the tables,

wurənə ji-'a-tʃ^hi
 so.then PFT-NEV-go₁
 so then [since he had finished the work] he left.

The same sentence with *k^honə* would still convey that bKra-shis left after he was finished with his task, and because he had finished, but without the speaker's emphasis that this outcome was inevitable. Perhaps bKra-shis could have stayed on for a cup of tea with the janitor.

Here is one more example from a story in which a crow and a rabbit trick a pig into allowing itself to be slaughtered. The pig condemns himself to be slaughtered, and the use of *wurənə* conveys that, after such a blatant invitation, it is inevitable that the crow and the rabbit go ahead and kill the pig:

- (119) a nənʃo-ndʒ w-aka-j nə ɲa no-tʃ^ha-ŋ to-cəs-w
 hey you-d 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC CON I AF-slaughter-1s PFT-say
 When [the pig] said: "Hey, slaughter me rather than the two of you", well
- tʃe nə wurənə pak nə no-kə-ntʃ^ha 'nə-ŋos jo
 LOC CON CON pig CON AF-NOM-slaughter EV-be MD:R
 so then they did slaughter the pig!

The conjunction *k^honə* is often used to give background to the main event expressed in a sentence, somewhat like parentheses in English. The background information, which can consist of smaller events and actions that all somehow contribute to the main story line, is embedded or nested in the main narrative with the use of *k^honə*. For example, in (120) the speaker explains why bKra-shis was penniless and had to sleep out on the street once he arrived in Măerkāng. A thief on the bus had stolen his money. This secondary event gives the background, here a reason, for bKra-shis' having to sleep rough. It is subordinated to the main events by the use of *k^honə*. Also, the actions of there being a thief on the bus and bKra-shis losing all his money are clustered and presented as one event by the speaker's use of *k^honə* to connect the two:

- (120) pkraʃis mbork^he to-'a-tʃ^hi korənə k^horlo w-əŋgi kəʃmo kə
 bKra.shis Măerkāng PFT-NEV-go₁ but bus 3s:GEN-inside thief PR
 bKra-shis went up to Măerkāng but, a thief on the bus having stolen
- wu-poŋeʔj na-nəʃmo-w k^honə wu-poŋeʔj kəʒu tə nə-'a-mi?
 3s:GEN-money PFT-steal-3s CON 3s:GEN-money all C PFT-NEV-not.have
 all his money, he was without any money and had to spend the night out
- ndə rə wuʃo kantʃ^hak-j kanəʃup na-ra
 that CON he street-LOC sleep PFT-need
 on the street.

The conjunction *wurə* can occur at the beginning of a sentence rather than between two conjuncts. The following examples are from a conversation about a hog. On learning that the hog is not fat yet, the speaker asks what the owner of the hog will do to fatten him. The conjunction appears at the beginning of the sentence:

- (121a) wurə t^hi tə-səso-w
 CON what 2-think-2s
 So what will you do?

The owner gives the following answer. Note that the conjunction follows a question by another person, so that there is no direct link between two elements of speech of one speaker:

- (121b) wurə kasərtsa 'kə-səso-ŋ rə ts^ho
 CON castrate PRIMP-think-1s CON fat
 So I'm thinking of castrating him, then he'll fatten up.

e. Conjunctive adverbs

Some types of adverbial, whose function is primarily connective, are sometimes simply called conjunctive or conjuncts, like the English *however*, *moreover*, *indeed*, *unless*, *except*. The Jiǎomùzú dialects have several adverbs that can function as conjunctions. A short description of the most frequently used ones follows below.

There is a paired conjunction which employs the adverb *zik*, 'also' once in each conjunct:

- (122) pakʃu zik ndoʔ ʒugolor zik ndoʔ
 apple also have walnut also have.
 There were apples as well as walnuts.

There are two pairs of conjunctive adverbs that signal inclusion and exclusion of one item or person from a group of others. Each pair consists of one exclusive and one inclusive conjunctive adverb. The first pair is made up of *manʃuʔ* and *k^ho*. The second pair has *me* or *maktok* and *kavə*. The adverb *manʃuʔ*, 'also, as well, moreover, on top of, besides' is an inclusive conjunctive adverb. It occurs at the end of a list of items:

- (123) pakʃu zik ndoʔ ʒugolor zik ndoʔ manʃuʔ tamar
 apple also have walnut also have beside butter
 There were apples and walnuts, as well as butter.

- (124) katop ma-^lnə-k^hut kasat manʃuʔ ma-^lnə-k^hut
 hit NEG-OBS-possible kill more.so NEG-OBS-possible
 Beating is not possible and killing is even more impossible!

The conjunction can be used in elliptic sentences, where the listing of the other items is implicit, as in the example below:

- (125) *ŋa manju? k^həza? ki ndo?*
 I CON bowl IDEF have
 [Besides the bowls I have shown you,] I have [yet] another bowl.

The adverb *manju?* is also used when two actions are performed by one actor at the same time, in conjunction with *nanəmdap*, 'at the same time':

- (126) *k^harjit kava manju? jaŋma kale?t nanəmdap*
 song sing also bike ride₁ at.the.same.time
 He passed by singing while riding his bike upstream.

aku sku kə-rji
 upstream upstream PFT-go₂

- (127) *prak w-ərka-s na kambət manju? kaŋak^hu nanəmdap*
 rock 3s:GEN-on top-LOC down fall also scream at.the.same.time
 Screaming he fell down from the rock.

For examples of the use of *manju?* in conjunction with other adverbs, see the section on iterative time in section 5.6.b of the chapter on adverbs.

The locative *k^ho* can function as an exclusive conjunctive adverbialiser. When used in a temporal context the adverbialiser signals that an action or event happens right on the heels of a previous action or event, or that the end of the first action and the beginning of the second action overlap. A third meaning of *k^ho*, when used as a spatial locative, is 'to the furthest extent'. Used with nominals, *k^ho* means 'besides, as well as, in addition to', an extension of the spatial meaning 'to the furthest extent'.

- (128) *sgrolma k^ho w-andɽi? təmu? kəmɽi 'na-ɽu-jn*
 sGrol.ma ADV:CON 3s:GEN-friend girl five OBS-live-3p
 Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma live [in the dorm].

In the second pair, consisting of *me* and *kavə*, exclusion is expressed by the indigenous form *me*, 'only, except'. Literally, sentence (129) means 'apart from five yuan, he has no money':

- (129) *pkraʃis pɔŋeʔj kəmɽi p^hjar me mi?*
 bKra.shis money five CL ADV:CON not.have
 bKra-shis has only five yuan.

Some speakers use the Tibetan loan *maktok*, from literary Tibetan བ་གཏོགས *ma-gtogs*, rather than *me*.

- (130) pkraʃis maktok kəʒu tə kə-rama katʃʰi na-ra-s
bKra.shis except all C NOM-labour go PFT-need-PST:3s
Everyone except bKra-shis had to go to work.

Inclusion is expressed by *kavə*:

- (131) kavə pkraʃis kəʒu tə kə-rarnga? ji-rji-jn
CON bKra.shis all C NOM-perform.dance PFT-go₂-3p
Everyone including bKra-shis went to the performance.
- (132) kavə harʃal-rʃal kəʒu tə bebe to-ʃi-ndza-jn
CON lHa.rgyal-RED all C noodles PFT-VPT-eat-3p
Everyone, including even lHa-rgyal, went to eat noodles.

Note the repetition of the last syllable of the name lHa-rgyal in example (132). The repetition signals that lHa-rgyal's going to eat noodles is extraordinary - he would not normally go.

Finally there is the conjunctive adverb *maʃki*. In positive sentences it means 'until, up to'. In negative sentences *maʃki* signals 'unless'. The following examples show *maʃki* as a clause connector:

- (133) mborkʰe sta tə mkʰono maʃki na-vətʃi-ŋ
Măěrkāng origin C Kǒnglóng until PFT-walk-1s
I walked from Măěrkāng to Kǒnglóng.
- (134) ma-ndza maʃki w-əkto ma-pki
NEG-eat CON 3s:GEN-stomach NEG-full
He won't fill up unless he eats. (He will be hungry if he doesn't eat.)
- (135) pkraʃis wuʒo ma-və-nəro-w maʃki tascok kavəja ma-kʰut
bKra.shis he NEG-VPT-take-3s unless letter fetch NEG-can
Unless bKra-shis comes to get the letter himself, (you) can't take it.
- (136) ŋa tascok kaleʔt ma-səjoʔk-ŋ maʃki diənjinʑ kə-namɲo ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
I letter write₁ NEG-finish-1s unless movie NOM-watch NEG-go₁-1s
I won't go watch a movie unless I've finished this letter.

Conjunctive adverbs can be followed by subordinating conjunction *nə*. The use of *nə* gives a shift of emphasis to the second conjunct, as demonstrated in section 6.4.d on *nə* above. Below is an example that combines *me*, 'only, except' with *nə*. Sentence (137a) without *nə* is a simple statement. The speaker makes the observation that sGrol-ma, who is just one among many students, does not like to

read, while all the other students do. But in (137b), with *nə*, the semantics are different. The speaker conveys a value judgment about sGrolma's performance in class: all the other students like to read, only she does not, and the speaker is unhappy about it:

- (137a) sgrolma tə me tərmu kəzu tə tət^ha kanatso
 sGrol.ma C ADV:CON person all C book see
 Except sGrol-ma everyone likes reading.

kə-rga? ʃi ɲos-jn
 NOM-like always be-3p

- (137b) sgrolma tə me nə tərmu kəzu tə tət^ha kanatso
 sGrol.ma C ADV:CON CON person all C book see
 Except sGrol-ma *everyone* likes reading. [- why can't she do better?]

kə-rga? ʃi ɲos-jn
 NOM-like always be-3p

Example (138) shows the same principle. Sentence (138a) gives a neutral statement. The speaker would like to go and dance if there would not be rainy weather. But there is not much emotion, such as disappointment, involved on the speaker's side:

- (138a) təmu 'na-leʔt me ɲa tarɲga? kava ɲ-əsi 'na-vi
 rain OBS-hit₁ ADV:CON I dance do 1s:GEN-heart OBS-come
 But for the rain I would go dancing.

Sentence (b), with the conjunction *nə*, emphasizes the second conjunct. The speaker conveys that he would very much like to go dancing - but the rain prevents him from doing so.

- (138b) təmu 'na-leʔt me nə ɲa tarɲga? kava ɲ-əsi 'na-vi
 rain OBS-hit₁ ADV:CON CON I dance do 1s:GEN-heart OBS-come₁
 Too bad it is raining, if it wasn't for that I'd want to go dancing.

Native speakers inform me that this sort of structure is often used when a speaker uses the situation in the first conjunct as a bit of an excuse for not doing what he professes to want to do in the second conjunct. In (138b), there is a good chance that the speaker is less than upright about his desire to go dancing and his disappointment that the rain is preventing him from doing so.

This same euphemistic approach is used to form a polite refusal in (139). The speaker has been asked to help with a physically demanding chore. The first conjunct of the speaker's response includes *nəɲos*, which indicates certainty modified by an evidentiality marker signalling conventional wisdom, public knowledge: everyone knows the speaker is unable to help - how come

the person even asks? The conjunctive adverb *me* indicates that it is only the speaker's incapability that keeps him from helping, it is not for lack of willingness to help. The conjunction *nə* finally emphasises the explanation for the speaker's incapability: he is not strong enough to perform the task. Again, if in this sentence the speaker uses only *me* the statement is neutral and the hearer will take it at face value that the speaker really is unable to help. But with the use of *nə* chances are that the speaker is actually quite happy that he, for lack of strength, is unable to help:

- (139) *ŋa kakor ma-ta-c^ha-n 'nə-ŋos me nə ŋa ŋ-əkʃet*
 I help NEG-1/2-able-2s EV-be ADV:CON CON I 1s:GEN-strength
 Regrettably I can't help you, because I'm not strong enough.

ma-'nə-rtek
 NEG-OBS-enough

Constructions with *me nə* can be used to convey implicit commands. In example (140) sentence (140a) with only *mə* is again a neutral statement. A speaker simply observes that, in his country, only the king is permitted to use red ink for writing letters, maybe in answer to an inquiry of an outsider:

- (140a) *rjarpo kə me tascok kəvəni kaleʔt ma-kə-k^hut ŋos*
 king PR CON letter red write₁ NEG-NOM-can be
 Only the king can write in red ink.

- (140b) *rjarpo kə me nə tascok kəvəni kaleʔt ma-kə-k^hut ŋos*
 king PR ADV:CON CON letter red write₁ NEG-NOM-can be
 Only the king can write in red ink. (Since one is not a king, one is not allowed to write with red ink.)

In sentence (140b) the speaker uses *nə* to emphasize the second conjunct. Perhaps he is speaking to someone who is attempting to write in red ink. The implication of sentence (140b) is that the hearer is not a king, and that therefore he is not allowed to write with red ink, and thus ordered not to do so. An example with the conjunctive adverbialiser is (141). The neutral sentence of this set is sentence (128) above. In sentence (128) the speaker simply states that there are five girls in addition to sGrol-ma. Sentence (141), with the conjunction *nə*, subordinates sGrol-ma to the second conjunct, *wandʒi? təmu? kəmpj*, 'five friends'. The important part of the sentence is the second conjunct. Sentence (b) may be used in a situation where sGrol-ma is asked to decide whether or not she wants to have TV in her dorm. But since *there are five others* that live there, she cannot decide by herself. She may use a sentence like (c) to make that clear:

(141a) sgrolma k^ho nə w-andʈi? təmu? kəmɲi 'na-ɲu-jn
 sGrol.ma ADV:CON CON 3s:GEN-friend girl five OBS-live-3p
Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma *live* [*in the dorm*].

(141b) ɲa k^ho nə ɲ-andʈi? təmu? kəmɲi 'na-ndoʔ-jn raŋraŋsoso
 I ADV:CON CON 1s:GEN-friend girl five OBS-live-3p as.one.pleases
There are five girls in addition to me, I can't just say whatever I want.

kacəs ma-'nə-k^hut
 say NEG-OBS-can

Like other adverbs, conjunctive adverbs can be modified by markers that normally occur with nominals, such as the contrast marker *tə*:

(142) zgrolma maktok tə kəʒu tə tət^ha kanatso? kə-rga? ʃi ɲos-jn
 sGrol.ma except C all C book look NOM-like continuously be-3p
 Except sGrol-ma everyone likes reading.

(143) k^horlo ma-vi maʃki tə tʃəʔ to-'va-w
 bus NEG-come₁ until C this IMP-do-2s
 Do this until the bus arrives.

For more on adverbs in nominal positions, see section 5.1 of the chapter on adverbs. Two conjunctive adverbs can occur together between clauses:

(144a) pkraʃis maktok kəʒu tə kə-rama katʃ^hi na-ra-s
 bKra.shis except all C NOM-labour go₁ PFT-need-PST:3s
 Everyone except bKra-shis had to go to work.

(144b) pkraʃis maktok me kəʒu tə kə-rama katʃ^hi na-ra-s
 bKra.shis except only all C NOM-labour go₁ PFT-need-PST:3s
 Everyone, except bKra-shis alone, had to go to work.

The use of *maktok* in (144) excludes bKra-shis from the group. The conjunction *me*, 'only' signals that in the group excluded from working there is only one person, bKra-shis.

6.5 Mood markers

Mood markers are words that indicate the speaker's attitude, or that solicit the hearer's attitude, toward the event or condition expressed by a sentence. The Jiāomùzú dialects employ quite a few

mood markers. They occur at the very end of a sentence, after the verb phrase. They can, however, be followed by a question marker, as shown in the following examples. Sentence (145a) gives a normal declarative sentence. Example (145b) is the question format of the same sentence:

(145a) pijva kərstwu sok ma-'nə-məʃtak
 this.year winter manner NEG-OBS-cold
 This year winter is not that cold.

(145b) pijva kərtswu sok ma-'nə-məʃtak me
 this.year winter manner NEG-OBS-cold INTR
 Is this year's winter not that cold?

Sentence (145b) would be a normal inquiry for, let's say, a person who is in Chéngdū and who asks a friend in Mǎěrkāng by telephone what winter there is like, this year. Sentence (145c) has the mood marker *la* at the end of the sentence, indicating that the speaker wants to solicit the hearer's agreement with the statement. In this case, both the hearer and the speaker are in the same place, maybe Mǎěrkāng. The speaker thinks this year's winter is not too cold and asks for the hearer's agreement, for example when they run into each other on the street and have a chat about the weather.

(145c) pijva kərtswu sok ma-'nə-məʃtak la
 this.year winter manner NEG-OBS-cold MD:SA
 This year's winter is not that cold, don't you agree?

Sentence (145d) has a question marker, *me*, as well as the mood marker *la*. In such a sentence the speaker expresses his expectation that the hearer will agree with his statement by using *la*, but then leaves wiggle room for the hearer to disagree by adding *me*.

(145d) pijva kərtswu sok ma-'nə-məʃtak la me
 this.year winter manner NEG-OBS-cold MD:SA INTR
 This year's winter is not that cold, right - or what do you think?

It is not possible to have a question marker followed by a mood marker:

(145e) * pijva kərtswu sok ma'nəməʃtak me la

Below I give an overview of the most frequently used Jiāomùzú mood markers.

Two mood markers, *la* and *ju?*, solicit a hearer's attitude to a statement made by a speaker. A speaker uses *la* to solicit the hearer's agreement to a statement, as discussed above:

- (146) ηa $ji-t^{h}i\eta s\partial^{\text{H}}$ $ta-v\partial-sco-n$ $ma-^{l}n\partial-ra$ la
 I 3p:GEN-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s NEG-OBS-need MD:SA
 There's no need for me to see you to your dorm, is there?

Note that in sentence (146) the use of observation marking with auxiliary verb *ra* indicates that the speaker feels compelled or obliged by an outside party - here most likely his friend who is not feeling well - to come along to the dorm. The speaker counters that felt obligation with the use of mood marker *la*. His friend, upon hearing *la*, which solicits his agreement, really has little option but to let go of his desire to be walked home and agree with the speaker that company on the way is not necessary.

When a speaker wants to re-affirm a fact that, in the speaker's understanding, both speaker and hearer are already familiar with, he uses *ju?*. Note that the hearer may not actually know the fact the speaker is referring to. What matters is that the speaker believes the hearer to know:

- (147) $pkra^{f}is$ $sofnu$ vi $ju?$
 bKra.shis tomorrow come₁ MD:RA
 As you know, bKra-shis will come tomorrow.

If the speaker did not imply that the hearer knows about bKra-shis' coming, he would not use the mood marker. Nevertheless, the speaker may be wrong in his assumption that the hearer knows, in which case the hearer may respond with a simple *juməsemŋ*, 'I had not heard that'.

- (148) $tandzam$ $p^{h}ar\partial$ $bebe$ $sa-mp^{h}el$ ki $ndo?$ $ju?$
 bridge across noodle NOM-sell IDEF have MD:RA
 You know the noodle shop across from the bridge, right?...

To remind, warn or convince a hearer of something, a speaker can add mood marker *jo* to a statement. In example (149a) a speaker warns guests that sleeping at high altitude is a cold business and implicitly tries to convince them to take up the offer of more blankets. In (149b) one child reminds another that their mother is coming soon:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(149a) $t\partial mor$ $t\partial-^{l}na-nd\partial ok-jn$ jo
 night 2-OBS-cold-2p MD:R
 You'll be cold tonight!</p> | <p>(149b) ama vi jo
 mother come₁ MD:R
 Mum will come!</p> |
|---|---|

Note that the tone of voice makes all the difference for sentence (149b). Said in a happy way, the children anticipate their mother's coming with gladness. Said in a shorter, more urgent tone of voice the statement may indicate that the children are up to no good. One child warns the other that their mother might any minute now find them in a situation that will for sure bring down her wrath on them.

Mood markers *law*, *lawne* and *jo* indicate increasing degrees of a speaker's certainty about the statement he makes. Use of *law* signals that a speaker is fairly sure but not entirely certain about a statement or event:

- (150) zdem kə-neʔk kə-məca ndoʔ təmu leʔt law
 cloud NOM-black NOM-many have rain hit₁ MD:G1
 There are many black clouds, I say we'll have rain.

The mood marker *lawne* signals greater conviction on the part of the speaker than *law*, but still not complete certainty:

- (151) rʒarpo-ɲo vi 'nə-ɲos kə tamaʔ kə-məca kava ra lawne
 king-3s:HON come₁ EV-be PR work NOM-much do need MD:G2
 The king will come, so most likely we'll have lots of work to do.

A speaker uses *jo* when he is entirely certain of a statement:

- (152) soʃnu vi soʃnu vi jo
 tomorrow come₁ tomorrow come₁ MD:C
 He'll come tomorrow. He will certainly come tomorrow.

A speaker's eagerness or anxiety is expressed by mood marker *ko*. For example, when news comes of the impending arrival of guests but there is little or no food in the house to entertain them with, an anxious hostess might say:

- (153) ʒarə ka-ndza ʒik miʔ poŋeʔj ʒik miʔ tʰi kava ra
 meat NOM-eat also not.have money also not.have what do need
 There is no meat and no money [to buy some] either, what on earth

 ko
 MD:ANX
 are we to do?

The mood marker *ko* does not always indicate anxiety in terms of nervousness. It can also imply that a speaker is anxious, in the sense of eager, to know something. In sentence (154) the speaker is very eager to know the name of the hearer:

- (154) nəŋʝo tʰi tə-rɲi-n ko
 you what 2-be.called-2s MD:ANX
 Please, do tell me what is your name?

Mood marker *kəne* expresses a speaker's sense of rightness about a statement, event or situation, especially if the speaker thinks the outcome was obvious from the start. In example (155) a mother scolds her son for taking off his coat when she told him repeatedly not to do so. To the mother it is obvious that the boy's action would result in him catching a cold, and she is irritated with the child for ignoring her:

- (155) nəŋʝo to-¹a-tə-nətʃ^hemben tənge mə-tə-¹k^hit ʃi to-cəs-ŋ kəne
 you PFT-NEV-2-catch.cold clothes PROH-2-take.off often PFT-say-1s MD:AS
 I told you over and over not to take off your coat - so now you have a cold.

Sentence (156) states the obvious:

- (156) pak-ŋo tə təʝeʔm w-əŋgi ka-sə-tʃ^hi ma-k^hut kəne
 pig-p C house 3s:GEN-inside NOM-CAUS-go₁ NEG-can MD:AS
 Of course the pigs are not allowed inside the house!

When a speaker uses mood marker *o* he wants to emphasise a certain statement or convey to a hearer that he really holds the statement modified by *o* to be true. For example, in (157) the speaker makes a negative comment on a picture: he thinks it is too dark. But before the criticism the speaker states that the picture is beautiful. The occurrence of *o* reassures the hearer that the speaker really thinks the picture is beautiful and softens the ground, as it were, for the negative comment that follows:

- (157) təndʒa kəmpʃer o koronə kətsə 'na-neʔk
 picture beautiful MD:CF but little OBS-black
 The picture is really beautiful, it's just a bit dark.

A speaker can use mood marker *tor* to convey an expectancy that a certain event will happen. The expectancy is usually based on facts known to the speaker and therefore reasonable. For example, in sentence (158) the speaker knows bKra-shis said he would come in five days. If today is the fifth day, it is therefore reasonable to expect him to arrive today:

- (158) pkraʃis kəmŋi ʒak tʃe vi to-kə-cəs ŋos k^ho pəʃnu vi tor
 bKra.shis five day LOC come₁ PFT-NOM-say be CON today come₁ MD:EXP
 bKra-shis said he'll come in five days; [today is the fifth day, so] I expect he'll come today.

Mood marker *ja* expresses surprise, as in (159) where the speaker finds the door, which should have been locked, to be open:

- (159) kam 'na-cu ja
door OBS-open MD:SUP
Hey, the door is open!

The mood marker *ne* conveys the speaker's sincerity about an event, statement or action. It is often used when the hearer expresses doubt about the speaker's statement and best translated with 'truly' or 'really':

- (160) wuʃo kəpaʔ ɲos ne
he Han.Chinese be MD:SIN
He really is Han Chinese!