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

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CHAPTER 8

# SENTENCES

## 8.0 *Introduction*

This chapter gives a brief overview of Jiǎomùzú sentence structure. The introduction is an abstract of the contents. The second part of the chapter looks at the different sentence types that occur in simple sentences, namely declarative, interrogative, negative and imperative. The third part describes complex sentences.

Jiǎomùzú declarative sentences can be verbal or copular. Verbal declarative sentences follow a subject-object-verb order. The subject is the most prominent argument in the sentence. Since subject and object are both marked on the verb, the constituent order is free unless switching constituent causes ambiguity. Topicalisation is a much used device to give emphasis to a constituent other than the subject. If by switching the constituent order there is danger of ambiguity, prominence marking with *kə* occurs to indicate the subject, while marking on the verb, such as attention flow marking with *no-* assures prominence of objects. Adverbials, depending of their scope, slot in right before the verb phrase, at the beginning of the sentence or after the subject. Copular sentences employ linking verbs such as *ŋos*, 'be' and its negative counterpart *maʔk*, 'not be'. Copular verbs inflect for all normal verbal categories.

Jiǎomùzú has three types of interrogative sentences. Yes-no questions are formed with *mə-* prefixed to the verb phrase to cover the scope of the verb, or with *me* in sentence final position to cover the scope of the sentence. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs form constituent questions. It is also possible to use the conjunction *rə* to form constituent questions. The third type of interrogative is the echo question.

Negative sentences employ the negative morphemes *ma-*, *ɟi-* and *mə-* prefixed to the verb phrase. The use of the negative morphemes is syntactically motivated, with *ma-* occurring in imperfective situations, *ɟi-* negates perfectives and *mə-* signals prohibitives. There are also negative verbs, *miʔ* 'not have' and *maʔk* 'not be' which cover the scope of the sentence.

Imperatives are formed by prefixing a verb with an appropriate orientation marker and giving stress to the verb root. Prohibitives have the same structure while also inserting the second person marker *tə-*.

Jiǎomùzú does not have specific structures to form exclamations. Quotes are all direct, in their most basic form consisting of a simple sentence, which is the complement of a communication verb such as *kacəs*, 'say'.

In the third part of this chapter I discuss complex sentences.

Jiǎomùzú coordinates sentences either with concatenative constructions in which no conjunctions are used, or with coordinating conjunctions. It is also possible to have a combination of the two means

within one complex sentence. Subordination of clauses and sentences makes use of subordinating conjunctions. Three important types of subordinate clause exist in Jiǎomùzú: relative clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses.

Relative clauses mostly occur before their heads, though there are also head-internal relative clauses in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. There is no special relativiser, nor are there relative pronouns. The relative clause can form a genitive construction with its head noun by marking the head with third person singular *wu-*, but such constructions are not obligatory. Verb phrases in relative clauses are nominalised with the common nominalisers *ka-*, *kə-* and *sa-* for subjects, objects and obliques respectively. The nominalised verb phrase can be finite or non-finite. The non-finite verb forms are used to signal generic situations and can indicate habituality. Non-finite forms also occur in situations where the subject ranks lower than the object on Jiǎomùzú's animacy hierarchy, or when the object is for other reasons more prominent than the subject.

Jiǎomùzú complement clauses normally modify a verb but occasionally they occur with only a subject in the main clause. There are subject as well as object complements. The verb morphology in the complement clause, if the clause is dependent, is influenced by the meaning of the main clause. One example of this is the formation of relative tense structures in the complement clause. The Jiǎomùzú complements may mirror the semantic distinction between reality and non-reality in the morphology of the complement, with non-reality complements having non-nominalised structures and reality based complements being nominalised. However, certain categories of verb such as knowledge, fear and modal auxiliary verbs can take both nominalised and non-nominalised complements. A much more in-depth study of the complement clause is required to clear up this issue.

Adverbial clauses are formed in one of three ways. Adverbialisers can be slotted in after a clause or sentence, a clause can be nominalised, or a subordinating conjunction can be placed between the adverbial clause and the main clause. It is possible to first adverbialise a sentence by adding a locative for time or place in sentence final position, and then attach the whole to a main clause by means of the subordinating coordinator *nə*.

## 8.1 *Simple sentences*

### a. Declarative sentences

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have both verbal and copular sentences. The first part of the section on declarative sentences gives some main characteristics of verbal sentences. In the second part I discuss copular constructions.

1. *Verbal sentences*

The primary constituents in a Jiǎomùzú simple declarative sentence are the subject and verb phrase if the verb is intransitive, or the subject, one or two objects and the verb phrase if the verb is transitive. The constituent order is subject-object-verb (SOV). In a neutral sentence the subject occupies the first slot, which is also the most prominent. The object occurs in the second slot, which has less prominence. Jiǎomùzú marks agreement for subject and object on the verb. In transitive verbs, prefixes show the relation between the person of the subject and the person of the object. Suffixes mark person and number in a specific pattern: when there is a third person object, the person and number agreement is with the subject. But for a non-third person object agreement is with the object. For a discussion of the agreement pattern, see section 7.2 of the chapter on verbs. Since person and number of both subject and object are marked on the verb, these constituents are often not overtly present in the sentence. The smallest possible complete sentence is thus a verb phrase. In example (1) usually the object *nənɟo*, 'you' is omitted. The subject *bKra-shis* also does not need to appear if the context of the sentence is clear to both speaker and hearer:

(1a) pkraʃis nənɟo no-to-najo-n
bKra.shis you AF/PFT-3/2-waited-2s
bKra-shis waited for you.

(1b) [pkraʃis] no-to-najo-n
[bKra.shis] AF/PFT-3/2-waited-2s
(bKra-shis) waited (for you).

Second or indirect objects can also be omitted if the context is clear. The answer to 'have you given bKra-shis the bowl?' is usually no more than the verb phrase:

(2) nə-mbuʔ-ŋ
PFT-give-1s
[I] have given [it to him].

But if the context is not clear the indirect object has to occur, since it is not marked on the verb phrase if there is also a direct object in the sentence, see 7.2.c in the chapter on verbs.
Dummy subjects are not used. Constructions like 'it is hot' do not appear. Instead there is just the verb phrase, as in (3). A proper subject, such as 'the weather' can be added, but it is not necessary:

(3) pəʃnu ˈna-vastsi
today OBS-hot.
It is hot today.

The Jiǎomùzú dialects do not mark syntactic case on subjects or objects in neutral sentences, either by inflection or morphologically independent markers. It makes no difference whether the constituent is a noun, pronoun or noun phrase. The word order as well as the person and number marking on the verb show the relationship between the various sentence constituents. For example, in (4) there is no marking on the noun phrases to show which is object and which is subject. But the normal word order and person and number marking indicate that *ŋa*, 'I' is the subject while *nənɟo*, 'you' and *təthʰa ki*, 'a book' are the objects:

(4) ŋa nənɟo təthʰa ki ta-mbuʔ-n
I you book IDEF 1/2-give-2s
I will give you a book.

Second or indirect objects occur before or after direct objects. In (4) *nənɟo*, 'you' is the indirect object, in the recipient role, while *təthʰa ki*, 'a book' is the direct object. Only two arguments in a sentence are marked on the verb, the subject and one object. If the sentence has an inanimate direct object and an animate indirect object, the indirect object (recipient or goal) is treated as the direct object in the person and number marking on the verb. All other cases follow the normal marking pattern for subject and direct object. In (5) the verb is marked with prefix *ko-* to indicate the relationship between a second person subject and a first person object, while the suffix *-ŋ* marks for first person object. The first person indirect object *ŋa*, 'I' has the recipient role and is not overt in this sentence, but it is marked on the verb by *-ŋ*. The direct object is *təthʰa tə*, 'the book', which remains unmarked on the verb:

(5) nənɟo təthʰa tə kəʃtʇə ko-mbuʔ-ŋ
you book C when 2/1-give-1s
When will you give me the book?

Some transitive verbs that look as if they have two objects, one of which is marked for dative, in fact behave as transitives with only one object. The recipient or goal is treated as an adverbial, with the morphology of a locative structure. In example (6) below the subject is *ŋa*, 'I'. The direct object is *poŋeʔj*, 'money', and it looks as if there is a recipient *bKra-shis*. Actually, the semantics of the verb *kakʰam*, 'hand, pass on to' imply that bKra-shis is not the final destination of the money. He is only the middleman who will pass the money on to whoever it is destined for. Since there is no direct vector from the subject to a final recipient, bKra-shis is not considered an indirect object, but an adverbial. The locative structure *wəmbaj*, 'towards' is marked for location by *–j* but also for third person singular genitive by *w-*. The root noun of the locative, *təmba*, 'vicinity' is the head of the genitive construction *pkraʃis wumbaj*, 'towards bKra-shis'. The entire structure, including *pkraʃis*, is a locative. The construction cannot be split up into bKra-shis as indirect object and *wəmbaj* as separate locative or dative:

(6) ŋa [pkraʃis w-əmba-j ] poŋeʔj kə-tsə-tsə nə-k$^{h}$am-ŋ
I [bKra.shis 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC] money NOM-little-RED PFT-hand-1s
I handed bKra-shis a little money.

* ŋa pkraʃis poŋeʔj kətsətsə nək$^{h}$amŋ
* ŋa pkraʃis poŋeʔj wəmbaj kətsətsə nək$^{h}$amŋ

It is possible to omit *bKra-shis* if the context is clear and to have only the head of the adverbial, with just the genitive marker *w-* indicating the person involved:

(7) ŋa w-əmba-j poŋeʔj kətsə-tsə nə-k$^{h}$am-ŋ
I 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC money little-RED PFT-hand-1s
I handed [him] a little money.

Other verbs that behave in this way are non-volitional verbs such as *kastsok*, 'hit randomly, without taking aim at'. Though there is a direct vector between the subject and the object, the action was not propelled by an intended goal. It is, in example (8) literally, a case of hit and miss:

(8) lhamo w-əmp$^{h}$a-j nɟiləkto-stsok-w
lHa.mo 3s:GEN-toward-LOC stone PFT-hit-3s
A stone hit lHa-mo (lHa-mo was hit by a stone).

Note that such sentences in English are often best translated with a passive construction. However, they are fully active in Jiǎomùzú.
Sometimes there seems to be a mismatch between the syntactic subject and the person and number marking on the verb. In (9) it looks as if there is a first person singular subject, *ŋa*, 'I', but the verb is marked for third person plural, in agreement with the apparent object *ŋajze kəsam*, 'my three older brothers':

(9) ŋa ŋ-ajze kəsam ndoʔ-jn
I 1s:GEN-older.brother three have-3p
I have three older brothers.

In fact, as will become clear from the discussion below, the subject in this sentence is the noun phrase *ŋa ŋajze kəsam*, 'three older brothers of mine' or 'my three older brothers'. The noun phrase consists of a genitive construction with *ŋa* 'I' as the possessor and the head *tajze*, 'older brother', which is marked for first person possessive by *ŋ-*, as the possessed. Nagano[215]comments correctly that this sort of sentence should be understood to consist of a complex subject and a verb phrase, with no object present. He then adds that such sentences look like transitives but in actuality are

[215] Nagano (1984: 27).

intransitive. Nagano gives the following example (the transcription is his):

(10) nga nga-mnyak nə-ro-s ko.
1sg (my)-eye pft-wake-s1 aux:s
I have awakened/I am waking up.

The verb *ro* literally means 'to open', so the literal gloss would be 'my eyes have opened or are opening'. The presence of the first person pronoun is explained as carrying 'old information', while *nga-mnyak*, 'my eye', presents new information. The literal translation of the whole sentence would be 'As for me, my eyes have been waking up'. However, transitivity is not the main issue here. Complex subjects consisting of genitives occur both with transitive and intransitive verbs and are marked accordingly. In example (9) *ndoʔ* is intransitive, as is *karo*, 'wake up' in Nagano's example. But with the transitive verb *kava*, 'do' the person and number marking is for transitive, as shown in (11). Intransitive verbs do not mark third person singular, but transitives have the suffix *-w* :

(11) ŋa ŋ-ərtsʰot ˈna-va-w
I 1s:GEN-cough OBS-do-3s
I'm coughing.

The marking on the verb makes clear whether the subject is a genitive construction or whether there is an object in the sentence. In (11) the verb is clearly marked for third person singular, indicating a complex subject. But in (12) the verb is marked for first person singular. The subject clearly is *ŋa*, 'I' while the noun *tarngaʔ*, 'dance' must be interpreted as the object. The gloss is literally 'I will do a dance':

(12) ŋa tarngaʔ va-ŋ
I dance do-1s
I will dance.

Turning *tarngaʔ* into a genitive construction does not change the marking on the verb:

(13) ŋa ŋ-arngaʔ va-ŋ
I 1s:GEN-dance do-1s
I will do my dance.

From a semantic point of view, the issue in this kind of sentence is not transitive versus intransitive but rather control and volition. In example (11) the syntactic subject, *ŋa*, is not in control of the action, the coughing simply happens. The word for 'cough', *tərtsʰot*, is a noun. The cough controls the person rather than the other way around. The marking is with the controlling constituent, not with the semantically most logical candidate for subject. This analysis also works for (9). The main point in that sentence is that there are, or exist, older brothers, and their existence gets marked in the

form of a third person plural suffix. The fact that they are specifically my brothers is expressed by the possessive structure, but does not influence the person and number marking. This sentence can also be understood, like (11), to convey something that is outside of the control of 'I'. After all, I cannot control how many brothers I have, or if I have any. Nagano's example also fits well. Waking up, literally 'opening one's eyes', is an involuntary act, over which the subject has no control. It happens to the subject, just like coughing and having brothers.

As indicated above, the Jiǎomùzú dialects employ two main strategies to code the roles of constituents in a sentence: order and arrangement of constituents and verbal agreement. The preferred order in neutral sentences is subject-object-verb. If the semantics of the verb is not sufficient to determine which noun phrase takes which role, the subject-object-verb order must be followed. The hearer will simply assume that the argument in the first slot is the subject, followed by the object in the second slot:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (14) | pkraʃis lhamo na-top-w | lhamo pkraʃis na-top-w |
| | bKra.shis lHa.mo PFT-hit-3s | lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-hit-3s |
| | bKra-shis hit lHa-mo. | lHa-mo hit bKra-shis. |

But if there is only one semantically plausible choice for the subject, the relative order of noun phrases becomes free:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (15a) | lhamo $k^h$əzaʔ na-t$ʃ^h$op-w | (15b) $k^h$əzaʔ lhamo na-t$ʃ^h$op-w |
| | lHa.mo bowl PFT-broke-3s | bowl lHa.mo PFT-break-3s |
| | lHa-mo broke the bowl. | lHa-mo broke the bowl. |
| (16a) | pkraʃis $c^h$e na-moʔt-w | (16b) $c^h$e pkraʃis na-moʔt-w |
| | bKra.shis beer PFT-drink-3s | beer bKra-shis PFT-drink-3s |
| | bKra-shis drank beer. | bKra-shis drank beer. |

However, differences in word order signal difference in meaning, usually differences in emphasis. In sentences (15b) and (16b) the object occupies the first slot, which carries most prominence, and is therefore emphasised. For the hearer, this tends to create an expectation for more information to be given, along the lines of 'The bowl, now *that* lHa-mo broke. [But the vase was broken by bKra-shis]'. Often such cases of emphasis are best rendered by passives in English: 'The bowl was broken by lHa-mo', though the sentence is fully active in Jiǎomùzú. The process of shifting a noun phrase to a different position in order to achieve extra emphasis is called topicalisation. Topicalisation in Jiǎomùzú is a very frequently used foregrounding technique in which noun phrases are shifted from a less prominent slot in the sentence to a slot that has higher prominence. In this study I use Keenan's working definition of topicalisation, which he contrasts with passive constructions. Topicalisation "presents noun phrases in 'unusual' positions in the sentence, that is, positions in which such noun phrases would not occur in basic actives. Passives are not in general distinct from actives with regard to the position and case marking of noun phrases...what is distinctive about the

observable form of passives is localised within the predicate of the verb phrase. Topicalisations are not generally marked in the predicate."[216] Passives in Jiǎomùzú are morphologically distinct from topicalisation. They are marked on the verb by *ŋo-*, as discussed in section 7.8.d in the chapter on verbs.

Topicalisation in Jiǎomùzú means that a neutral constituent, usually the object, is put in the slot of the first constituent, which is normally occupied by the subject. Consider the sentences below. Sentence (a) is a neutral sentence with the subject *ŋa*, 'I' in the subject slot and bKra-shis, the object, in the second slot. The subject is more prominent than the object. In sentence (b) topicalisation brings the object forward into the first slot. It becomes more prominent than the subject, which now occupies the second slot. The marking with *–ŋ* for first person singular on the verb makes clear that bKra-shis is not the subject but the object:

(17) ŋa pkraʃis kə-najo-ŋ
I bKra.shis PFT-wait-1s
I waited for bKra-shis.

(18) pkraʃis ŋa kə-najo-ŋ
bKra.shis I PFT-wait-1s
It is bKra-shis I waited for.

Marking on the verb is not ambiguous in all transitive relations:

(19) lhamo pkraʃis kə-najo-w
lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-wait-3s
lHa-mo waited for bKra-shis.

In this sentence the subject is marked on the verb by the suffix *-w*, for non-first person singular subject. Changing the position of the constituents does not change the empathy of the hearers. They simply assume the first constituent to be the subject, in the absence of any other marking:

(20) pkraʃis lhamo kə-najo-w
bKra.shis lHa.mo PFT-wait-3s
bKra-shis waited for lHa-mo.

If topicalisation causes ambiguity, prominence marker *kə* appears to mark the subject for agentivity. The object remains unmarked:

[216] Keenan 1996: 243-246.

(21) lhamo pkraʃis kə-najo-w
lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-wait-3s
lHa-mo waited for bKra-shis.

(22) lhamo pkraʃis kə kə-najo-w
lHa.mo bKra.shis PR:AG PFT-wait-3s
It is lHa-mo bKra-shis waited for.

Disambiguating subject and object roles by marking for agentivity is one of several functions carried out by prominence marking with *kə*. For an extensive discussion of prominence marking, see section 4.3.e in the chapter on nouns.

Indirect objects, like direct objects, can be topicalised. Topicalisation of an indirect object usually means that it occurs before the direct object rather than after it. Example (23) has a direct object, *poŋeʔj*, 'money' before the indirect object lHa-mo. In sentence (24) the indirect object lHa-mo occurs in second position and is thus more prominent than the direct object *poŋeʔj*, 'money':

(23) pkraʃis poŋeʔj lhamo nə-mbuʔ-w
bKra.shis money lHa.mo PFT-give-3s
bKra-shis gave the money to lHa-mo.

(24) pkraʃis lhamo poŋeʔj nə-mbuʔ-w
bKra.shis lHa.mo money PFT-give-3s
bKra-shis gave lHa-mo the money.

In a sentence with two objects, the direct object can be shifted into the first sentence slot while the indirect object remains in the third slot, after the subject. The subject is normally marked for agentivity in these cases to distinguish between direct object and subject. This kind of topicalisation requires clefting in English:

(25) pakʃu lhamo kə pkraʃis nə-mbuʔ-w
apple lHa.mo PR:AG bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
It's an apple that lHa-mo gave bKra-shis.

It is possible, though highly unnatural, to have both the direct and the indirect object before the subject. Sentence (26), which has the direct object before the indirect object, leaves native speakers puzzled as to its meaning, and most people reject it outright:

(26) *? pakʃu lhamo pkraʃis kə nə-mbuʔ-w
apple lHa.mo bKra.shis PR:AG PFT-give-3s
It's an apple that bKra-shis gave lHa-mo.

Sentences in which a direct object follows an indirect object are more acceptable. In the majority of cases such sentences will be understood as not overtly marked genitive constructions. In example (27) the listener will most likely not think of *bKra-shis* as the indirect object and the bowl as a direct object. Rather, the sentence seems to convey that I will give bKra-shis' bowl to someone, even though *kʰəzaʔ*, 'bowl' is not marked for genitive:

(27) pkraʃis kʰəzaʔ ŋa mbuʔ-ŋ
bKra.shis bowl I give-1s
I will give bKra-shis' bowl.
* To bKra-shis I will give a bowl.

The awkwardness of this type of construction can be solved by using attention flow marking, which gives prominence to the object:

(28) pakʃu lhamo pkraʃis kə no-mbuʔ-w
apple lHa.mo bKra.shis PR:AG AF/PFT-give-3s
It's an apple that bKra-shis gave lHa-mo.

Having two objects before the subject obviously stretches the limits of topicalisation in Jiǎomùzú, unless other marking solves ambiguities. If such marking is not available, native speakers prefer in this sort of sentence that the subject occupies the second slot, dividing the two objects, as in (29). Prominence marking does not occur with the direct object if it is in the second slot, as in (29b), or in the third slot just before the verb phrase, as in (29a):

(29a) lhamo pkraʃis pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
lHa.mo bKra.shis apple PFT-give-3s
lHa-mo gave bKra-shis an apple.

* lhamo pkraʃis pakʃu kə nəmbuʔw

(29b) lhamo pakʃu pkraʃis nə-mbuʔ-w
lHa.mo apple bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
lHa-mo gave bKra-shis an apple.

* lhamo pakʃu kə pkraʃis nəmbuʔw

(29c) pakʃu kə lhamo pkraʃis nə-mbuʔ-w
apple PR lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
*An apple* is what lHa-mo gave bKra-shis.

However, it is not possible to have the direct object, marked for prominence, in the first slot with a marked subject in the third slot:

(29d) * pakʃu kə lhamo pkraʃis kə nəmbuʔw

The Jiǎomùzú dialects are sensitive to an animacy hierarchy in which the highest ranking person is more prominent than the second, which ranks higher than the third and so on. The animacy hierarchy for Jiǎomùzú is as follows: 1 > 2 > 3 human > 3 non-human, animate > 3 inanimate. In a sentence there are thus two different systems of prominence at work. One is the constituent prominence as described above, in which subject is more prominent than object. The other is the animacy hierarchy prominence. Constituency prominence does not require any special marking when a lower ranking constituent takes the slot of a higher ranking constituent. In the following examples (30a) is a neutral sentence with the subject *ŋa*, 'I' in the first, most prominent slot, followed by two objects. Sentence (30b) is topicalised, with the direct object *bKra-shis* in the first slot. Note that in the second sentence prominence marker *kə* does not appear to mark *ŋa*, 'I' as subject and agent, even though the subject is in the second slot. Prominence marking only occurs to disambiguate cases where marking for person and number on the verb does not clearly indicate which constituent is the subject. It can occur if a speaker wants to give prominence to one argument or another, which is a different issue. Animacy hierarchy also does not play a role here. Even though the first person object ranks higher than the third person subject, no marking of any kind occurs:

(30a) ŋa soʃnu ndə wu-k$^{h}$əzaʔ tə pkraʃis mbuʔ-ŋ
I tomorrow this 3s:GEN-bowl C bKra-shis give-1s
I'll give this bowl to bKra-shis tomorrow.

(30b) pkraʃis ŋa k$^{h}$əzaʔ mbuʔ-ŋ
bKra-shis I bowl give-1s
I'll give bKra-shis the bowl.

The animacy hierarchy does interfere with the normal prominence of sentence constituents when one of the arguments is inanimate. For example, a third person inanimate subject ranks lower on the animacy scale than a third person animate object, even though in Jiǎomùzú sentences the subject is normally more prominent than the object. In such cases the prominence imbalance is redressed by marking the lower ranking subject with prominence marker *kə*:

(31) təmtʃuk kə patʃu kəʒu tə kə-ˈa-cop-w
fire PR chicken all C PFT-NEV-burn-3s
The fire burnt all the chickens.

In Jiǎomùzú the relative prominence of an animate grammatical person trumps the relative prominence of the subject.

A hearer's inclination to give empathy to an object that is undergoing an action by an inanimate agent, like a force of nature, is also offset by marking the subject with prominence marker *kə.* For example, in sentence (32) there is a subject *k$^{h}$alu*, 'wind' and an object *k$^{h}$orlo*, 'vehicle'. Both arguments are inanimate and have equal ranking on the animacy hierarchy. The subject is, as it should be, in the first, most prominent slot of the sentence. There is no logical reason to mark the subject for agentivity with prominence marker *kə*. However, the marker can appear, and the marked sentence is the preferred option of native speakers. At issue here is not animacy hierarchy or constituent order but rather a semantic requirement. The hearer's attention is with the vehicle being overturned rather than with the wind, which is an immaterial force. Prominence marking brings balance of prominence to the subject :

(32) k$^{h}$alu kə k$^{h}$orlo kə-ˈa-tʃ$^{h}$wek-w
Wind PR vehicle PFT-NEV-turn.over-3s
The wind blew the car over.

Another way to offset imbalances caused by constituents in subject slots that rank low on the animacy hierarchy is to topicalise the sentence, bringing the higher ranking object into the first, more prominent slot of the sentence. Topicalisation is used routinely when there is a human object with an inanimate subject:

(33) pkraʃis təmtʃuk kəktu kə kə-ˈa-cop-w
bKra.shis fire big PR:AG PFT-NEV-burn-3s
bKra-shis was burned up by the huge fire.

For more on the animacy hierarchy, see section 7.2 of the chapter on verbs.
All other constituents in a sentence such as adverbials and mood markers are optional and are added at the preference of the speaker. The placement of adverbials depends on their scope and meaning. Epistemic adverbials occur after the constituent that they modify or in the first slot of the sentence if they cover the scope of the sentence. In (34a) *krəŋ*, 'perhaps' modifies *k$^{h}$əzaʔ ki*, 'a bowl', while in (34b) the same adverb covers the entire statement:

(34a) ŋa lhamo k$^{h}$əzaʔ ki krəŋ mbuʔ-ŋ
I lHa.mo bowl IDEF perhaps give-1s
I will give lHa-mo a bowl, perhaps.

(34a) krəŋ ŋa lhamo k$^{h}$əzaʔ ki mbuʔ-ŋ
perhaps I lHa.mo bowl IDEF give-1s
Perhaps I will give lHa-mo a bowl.

Adverbials of degree and manner are placed before the verb phrase or after adjectivals:

(35) pkraʃis kʰəna makəndʈa na-top-w
bKra.shis dog exceedingly PFT-hit-3s
bKra-shis hit the dog terribly.

Interrogative adverbs are in the slot before the verb phrase:

(36) akʰə namkʰa n-ətʰa kəʃtrə və-rna-w
uncle Nam.kʰa 2s:GEN-book when VPT-borrow-3s
When will uncle Nam-kʰa come to borrow your book?

Adverbials of time and place are usually found before or after the subject or first slot in the sentence. There can be several adverbials in the sentence. Adverbials of time usually are placed before adverbials of place:

(37) soʃnu ŋa n-əɟeʔm w-əŋgi-j lhamo krəŋ
tomorrow I 2s:GEN-house 3s:GEN-inside-LOC lHa.mo perhaps
Tomorrow, at your house, I will give lHa-mo perhaps a bowl.

kʰəzaʔ ki mbuʔ-ŋ
bowl IDEF give-1s

For more on the placement of adverbials, see section 5.1 of the chapter on adverbs.
Of the primary constituents in a declarative sentence, the verb phrase is always in final position. After the verb phrase no other constituents can occur, apart from optional mood markers and the interrogative particle *me.* The interrogative particle *me*, when placed after the verb phrase, turns a declarative sentence into a question. Sentence (38) is an example of mood marking while (39) shows an interrogative with *me*:

(38) pkraʃis no-to-najo-n ja
bKra.shis AF/PFT-3/2-waited-2s:O MD:SUP
(How amazing that) bKra-shis waited for you!

(39) pkraʃis no-to-najo-n me
bKra.shis AF/PFT-3/2-waited-2s:O INTR
Did bKra-shis wait for you?

For more on mood marking, see section 6.5 of the chapter on smaller word classes. I discuss interrogatives later on in this chapter.

2. *Copular sentences*

Jiǎomùzú has a special class of verbs which include linking, existential and auxiliary verbs, see section 7.1 of the chapter on verbs. The overt linking verbs in Jiǎomùzú are *ŋos*, 'be', its negative counterpart *maʔk*, 'not be', and *stʃi*, which conveys a condescending sense of 'be'. In the following overview the examples mostly use *ŋos*, with the understanding that the other copulas are used in similar fashion. The order of the constituents is the same as in verbal sentences, with the subject followed by the complement and the copula in sentence final position. Use of the linking verb is obligatory:

(40) ndə kəpaʔ ŋos * ndə kəpaʔ
that Chinese be
He is a Han Chinese.

A copula cannot normally be added to a verbal sentence:

(41) pəʃnu saksə-ŋkʰuʔ tʰi tə-va-w
today noon-back what 2-do-2s
What are you going to do this afternoon?

* pəʃnu saksəŋkʰuʔ tʰi təvaw ŋos

But the use of *ŋos* is possible to express a speaker's certainty or conviction of a statement, giving the statement greater force. In examples (42) and (43) below, *ŋos* gives emphasis, rather like the addition of 'does' in the English gloss of (42) or intonation stress on 'is' in (43). When *ŋos* is used in such an auxiliary or modal way it cannot be marked for person and number:

(42) pkraʃis ka-nəɟup ŋa-rgaʔ-w ŋos
bKra.shis NOM-sleep PRIMP-like-3s be
bKra-shis *does* like sleeping.

(43) tsʰoŋ ŋa-va-w ŋos
business PRIMP-do-3s be
He *is* doing business!

A copular sentence can be embedded in a larger sentence:

(44) manɟuʔ rgumbe [kəktu ki ŋos] ndoʔ taktsʰaŋ rŋi
besides monastery [big IDEF be] have sTag.tshang call
Besides [that] there is a big monastery called sTag-tshang.

There is no special marking on any constituent of the predicate in a copular sentence. Predicate constituents found in copular sentences are, as in verbal sentences, nominals and adverbials. In example (40) above *kəpaʔ*, 'Chinese' is a proper noun. Adjectivals are nominalised forms of stative verbs:

(45) tət$^{h}$a tə kə-vərni ŋos
book C NOM-red be
The book is red.

The predicate constituent can be a single word as in the examples above or a phrase. Example (46) has an adverbial phrase in a copular sentence:

(46) ŋa [təza ɲi-tʃiŋʂə¤ ar-ar-sə¤ w-əŋgi-j] ŋos-ŋ
I [male 3p-dorm 2-2-4 3s:GEN-inside-LOC] be
I'm in the 224 guys' dorm.

Linking verbs take marking for the verbal categories of person and number, mood, aspect, tense and evidentiality as well as causativity, in as far as the semantics of the linking verb allows. For example, because *ŋos* is a positive linking verb it cannot be negated by using negation markers from the mood category. Prefixing *ŋos* with non-perfective negation marker *ma-* does not generate the meaning 'not be':

(47) * ndə kəpaʔ maŋos

ndə kəpaʔ maʔk
that Chinese not.be
He is not a Han Chinese.

Example (48) is marked for number and person. Sentence (49) is marked for mood by interrogative *mə-* while (59) shows an irrealis construction. In (51) prefix *na-* marks *ŋos* for past perfective and example (52) has evidentiality marker *nə-*:

(48) lolo-ɲo kə-neʔk ŋos-jn
cat-p NOM-black be-3p
The cats are black.

(49) ndə kəpaʔ mə-ŋos
that Chinese Q-be
Is he a Han Chinese?

(50) nənɟo jontan w-əmba-j kə-tə-ˈcəs-n a-nə-ŋos
you Yon.tan 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC IMP-2-say-2s IRR-PFT-be
You should talk to Yon-tan.

(51) laŋpotʃʰe w-awo ato-j təzapuʔ ndoʔ na-ŋos
elephant 3s:GEN-head above-LOC boy have PFT-be.
A boy was sitting on the head of the elephant.

(52) tʃəʔ pakʃu ˈnə-ŋos
this apple EV-be
This is an apple.

Linking verbs can be nominalised:

(53) tʰi-ɲi ka-pso kə-maʔk kə-ŋos ma-kə-ʃi-jn ˈnə-ŋos
what-p NOM-like NOM-not.be NOM-be NEG-NOM-know-3p EV-be
They don't know right from wrong (they don't know how to behave properly).

The same copula is used for all functions such as defining, identifying and indication of role. Apart from the linking verbs described above, *kava*, 'do' and *kənɟər*, ' be changed' can function as copulas meaning 'become'.

(54) tʃəʔ tə ka-va ˈto-səjoʔk-ŋ tʃe wastop kə-mem va-w
this C NOM-do PFT-finish-1s LOC very NOM-tasty become-3s
This will be very tasty indeed once I've finished preparing it!

b. *Interrogatives*

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have polar or yes-no questions as well as constituent questions. Polar questions are formed with the interrogative prefix *mə-* which covers the scope of the verb phrase or with interrogative particle *me*, which covers the scope of the sentence. Constituent questions use interrogative pronouns or adverbs, or the conjunction *rə*. Echo questions are used regularly too. They let the hearer check if he heard a speaker's statement correctly, or, by extension, express surprise or unbelief about a statement. In sections 1-3 on interrogatives I look at these three kinds of questions. Part 4 describes the way answers are formed and used.

1. *Polar questions*

Neutral polar questions are formed by prefixing question marker *mə-* to the verb phrase, as in (55a), or by inserting interrogative particle *me* at the end of a sentence, see (55b):

(55a) nənɟo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n
you Q-2-go$_1$-2s
Are you going?

(55b) nənɟo tə-tʃʰi-n me
you 2-go$_1$-2s INTR
Are you going?

The scope covered by *mə-* and *me* is not the same. Question marker *mə-* only covers the verb phrase, while interrogative particle *me* covers the scope of the sentence. In most cases this distinction will not change the meaning of a sentence in any drastic way. But subtle shades of meaning can be indicated by the choice of interrogative, as demonstrated by the following examples:

(56a) pkraʃis kə mə-no-to-top-n
bKra.shis PR Q-AF-3/2-hit-2s
Did bKra-shis hit you?

(56b) pkraʃis kə no-to-top-n me
bKra.shis PR AF-3/2-hit-2s INTR
Did bKra-shis hit you?

Sentence (56a) is a polar question marked by *mə-*. The scope of *mə-* is only the verb phrase *nototopn*, 'he hit you'. The speaker questions the verb phrase: did the subject bKra-shis hit – or did he perform another action? Sentence (56b) has sentential interrogative marker *me*. The speaker questions the entire situation of what happened to the hearer. Perhaps there is some evidence of violence, maybe a black eye. The speaker wants to know how the black eye happened, and who caused it. The speaker's guess is bKra-shis, and that there was hitting. But it may have been kicking by someone else.

Interrogative marker *me* also occurs as an interrogative conjunction in coordinated sentences. The meaning then is to present a choice, as in English 'or…..or…':

(57) nənɟo semcan kə-lok tə-ŋos-jn me təmŋak kə-ji tə-ŋos-jn
you livestock NOM-herd 2-be-2p CON:INTR field NOM-sow 2-be-2p
Are you herders or are you farmers?

When used as an interrogative conjunction, *me* can occur together with other conjunctions such as *rə*. For more on the use of *me* as a conjunction, see section 6.4 of the chapter on smaller word classes.

Question marker *mə-* and interrogative particle *me* are mutually exclusive:

(58) pkraʃis pəʃur lhamo w-əmba-j pakʃu mə-nə-mbuʔ-w
bKra.shis yesterday lHa.mo 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC apple Q-PFT-give-3s
Did bKra-shis give apples to lHa-mo yesterday?

pkraʃis pəʃur lhamo w-əmba-j pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w me
bKra.shis yesterday lHa.mo 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC apple PFT-give-3s INTR
Did bKra-shis give apples to lHa-mo yesterday?

* pkraʃis pəʃur lhamo wəmbaj pakʃu mənəmbuʔw me

There are some circumstances under which *mə-* cannot be prefixed to a verb phrase. In such cases interrogatives are formed with interrogative particle *me*. The use of *mə-* is prohibited if the verb phrase is already marked for negation. This holds both for imperfective aspect frames, which are marked for negation by *ma-*, and for perfective frames which have *ɟi-*:

(59) pkraʃis pəʃnu ma-tʃʰi * pkraʃis pəʃnu məmatʃʰi
bKra.shis today NEG-go$_1$
bKra-shis will not go today.

pkraʃis pəʃnu ma-tʃʰi me
bKra.shis today NEG-go$_1$ INTR
Will bKra-shis not go today?

(60) pkraʃis pəʃurʈə ɟi-rɟi * pkraʃis pəʃurʈə məɟirɟi
bKra.shis the.other.day NEG/PFT-go$_2$
bKra-shis did not go the other day.

pkraʃis pəʃurʈə ɟi-rɟi me
bKra.shis the.other.day NEG/PFT-go$_2$ INTR
Did bKra-shis not go the other day?

It is possible to have *məma-* but only to form polite requests or imperatives, see section 7.9 on mood of the verb chapter. Combinations of *mə-* and perfective negation marker *ɟi-* do occur in real conditionals, see section 7.9 on mood.

There are two ways to construct leading polar questions. Leading questions for which the expected answer is 'yes' employ mood markers added to a statement to solicit the hearer's agreement, or an interrogative construction with a linking verb. Mood markers occur in sentence final position. The Jiǎomùzú dialects have several that solicit a hearer's agreement when tagged on to the end of a statement:

(61) nənɟo ʒik tə-tʃʰi-n la
you also 2-go$_1$-2s MD:SA
You're going too, right?

For more on mood markers, see section 6.5 of the chapter on smaller word classes.
Interrogatives formed with a linking verb can look like leading questions. The use of *ŋos* as an auxiliary in these cases expresses the speaker's certainty about his statement, but does not necessarily lead the hearer to agree with the speaker. The English gloss tends to give more of a semantic load than actually is there. Intonation and tone of voice can make questions such as (62) below into leading questions, if there is stress on the subject:

(62) nənɟo ʒik tə-tʃʰi-n mə-ŋos
you also 2-go$_1$-2s Q-be
You're also going, aren't you?

Leading questions for which the expected answer is 'no' employ a negative statement with a linking verb or a mood marker. The examples below show a fairly neutral form with a linking verb in (63a) and a more leading construction with a mood marker in (64b):

(63a) nənɟo ka-tʃʰi nə-si ma-ˈnə-vi mə-ŋos
you NOM-go$_1$ 2s:GEN-heart NEG-OBS-come$_1$ Q-be
You don't want to go, right?

(64b) nənɟo ka-tʃʰi nə-si ma-ˈnə-vi la
you NOM-go$_1$ 2s:GEN-heart NEG-OBS-come$_1$ MD:SA
You don't want to go, right?

It is not possible to have a question-tag type construction and a mood marker in the same sentence:

(64c) * nənɟo katʃʰi nəsi manəvi məŋos la

2. *Constituent questions*

Interrogative pronouns and interrogative adverbs are used to form constituent questions. The main interrogative pronouns are *tʰi*, 'what', *si*, 'who' and *kətə*, 'which, who'. These pronouns question subjects, objects and patients. In (67a) *tʰi* questions the object *pakʃu*, 'apples'. In example (67b) *si* questions the subject *ŋa*, 'I'. Sentence (67c) shows *kətə* questioning the object *tətʰa*, 'book'. Note that these interrogatives can question the adjectival parts rather than the head of a noun phrase, as in (67d):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (67a) | nənɟo tʰi kə-ra | [ŋa] pakʃu [ra] |
| | you what NOM-need | [I] apple [need] |
| | What do you want? | [I want] apples. |
| (67b) | si pakʃu ra | ŋa |
| | who apple need | I |
| | Who wants apples? | I. |
| (67c) | tətʰa kətə ˈnə-ŋos | namkʰe w-əmdok tə |
| | book which EV-be | sky 3s:GEN-colour C |
| | Which book is it? | The blue one. |
| (67d) | kətə w-ətʰa | pkraʃis w-ətʰa |
| | who 3s:GEN-book | bKra.shis 3s:GEN-book |
| | Whose book? | bKra-shis' book. |

Adverbials of time and place can be questioned with *kəʃtɻə*, 'when' and *kətʃe*, 'where' respectively:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (68) | kətʃe tə-ŋos-n | kantʃʰak-j |
| | where 2-be-2s | street-LOC |
| | Where are you? | [I'm] downtown. |
| (69) | jontan kəʃtɻə vi | soʃnu |
| | Yon.tan when come$_1$ | tomorrow |
| | When wil Yon-tan come? | Tomorrow. |

All other adverbials including manner and reason employ combinations consisting of *tʰi* plus a noun. The noun sometimes occurs as a genitive, but not always. Frequently used combinations are *tʰisok*, 'in what manner, in what way, how'; *tʰiwutʃʰe*, 'for what reason, why'; *tʰistok*, 'how many'; *tʰiwuʒak*, 'what time':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (70) | jondan krəŋ ma-vi | tʰi wu-tʃʰe |
| | Yon.tan maybe NEG-come$_1$ | what 3s:GEN-reason |
| | Maybe Yon-tan will not come. | Why not? |
| | w-amaʔ ndoʔ | |
| | 3s:GEN-business have | |
| | He has something to do. | |

(71) pakʃu $t^h$i-stok ra kəsam tərpa
apple what-quantity need three pound
How many apples do you want? Three pounds.

Verbs and verb phrases usually are not questioned. It is possible to question them by employing *$t^h$i*, 'what' and a form of *kava*, 'do'. The verb phrase in the question should fit the parameters of the verb phrase in the answer in terms of morphological marking for tense, aspect and other verbal categories. Note that sentence (c) and (d) are grammatically perfectly correct. They just do not fit with the form of the answer in (a), in which the verb is marked for observation, reflecting a present imperfective situation:

(72a) pkraʃis narənə lhamo-ndʒ haitso ˈna-ram-ndʒ
bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d chili.pepper OBS-dry-3d
bKra-shis and lHa-mo are drying chili peppers.

(72b) pkraʃis narənə lhamo-ndʒ $t^h$i ˈna-va-ndʒ
bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d what OBS-do-3d
What are bKra-shis and lHa-mo doing?

*/? pkraʃis narənə lhamo-ndʒ $t^h$i va-ndʒ
bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d what do-3d
What do bKra-shis and lHa-mo do? (What will bKra-shis and lHa-mo do?)

* pkraʃis narənə lhamondʒ $t^h$i tovandʒ

Question words are limited to the positions that can be held by the constituent that is being questioned, though they do not necessarily have to occur in the position held by the questioned constituent in a particular sentence. For example, in the sentence 'bSod-nams hit bKra-shis yesterday' the subject bSod-nams can be questioned with *si*, 'who'. The interrogative pronoun can occur in all positions that the subject can occupy:

(73a) pəʃur pkraʃis sonam kə no-top-w
yesterday bKra.shis bSod.nams PR:AG AF-hit-3s
Yesterday bKra-shis was hit by bSod-nams.

(73b) pəʃur pkraʃis si kə no-top-w
yesterday bKra.shis who PR:AG AF-hit-3s
Yesterday bKra-shis was hit by whom?

(73c) si pəʃur pkraʃis no-top-w
who yesterday bKra.shis AF-hit-3s
Who hit bKra-shis yesterday?

The other elements in the sentence do not change position. But often constituents that are not relevant to a speaker's question are omitted:

(74a) jondan soʃnu vi
Yon.tan tomorrow come$_1$
Yon-tan will come tomorrow.

(74b) si soʃnu vi
who tomorrow come$_1$
Who will come tomorrow?

(74c) si vi
who come$_1$
Who will come?

(74d) si
who
Who?

(74e) yondan kəʃtʂə vi
Yon.tan when come$_1$
When will Yon-tan come?

(74f) kəʃtʂə vi
when come$_1$
When [will he] come?

(74g) kəʃtʂə
when
When?

The Jiǎomùzú question words not only work in main clauses and sentences but can also be employed to question all elements of phrases and subordinate clauses. For example, the object in sentence (75) is the noun phrase 'bKra-shis' three very black little pigs that are in the stable'. All the different elements can be questioned by the different question words as discussed above. Of course the contents of the sentence determines which question words are appropriate. Note that one question word can question an entire argument or parts of it:

(75) ŋa [tʈʰuŋgu w-əŋgi-j pkraʃis wu-je paktsa kəneʔk
I stable 3s:GEN-inside- LOC bKra.shis 3s-POSS piglet black
I bought [bKra-shis' three very black piglets that are in the stable].

makəndʈa kəsam tə] to-ku-ŋ
exceedingly three C PFT-buy-1s

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| tʰi | what (did I buy) | paktsa | piglets |
| kətə | which (piglets) | tʰʈuŋgu wəŋgij | the ones in the stable |
| | | pkraʃis wuje | bKra-shis' piglets |
| | | kəneʔk makəndʈa tə | the very black ones |
| | | kəneʔk kəsam tə | the three black ones |
| si | whose (piglets) | pkraʃis wuje | bKra-shis' piglets |
| kəʃtʈə | where | tʰʈuŋgu wəŋgij tə | the ones in the stable |
| tʰisok | what sort | kəneʔk makəndʈa | very black |
| tʰistok | how many | kəsam | three |

Another example is (76) in which the relative clause 'who had been hit by a car' can be questioned by several of the question words discussed above:

(76) ŋa [kʰorlo nə-kə-rtsə w-ərmə tə] na-məto-ŋ
I vehicle PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C PFT-see-1s
I saw the man who had been hit by a car.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| tʰisok | what kind (of man) | kʰorlo nəkərtsə tə | the one hit by a car |
| tʰi nəkərtsə | hit by what | kʰorlo | a car |
| kətə | which (man) | nəkərtsə tə | the one who was hit |

It is possible to question more than one thing in a sentence:

(77a) pkraʃis pəʃur kʰəna ki na-məto-w
bKra.shis yesterday dog IDEF PFT-see-3s
bKra-shis saw a dog yesterday.

(77b) si kəʃtʈə tʰi na-məto-w
who when what PFT-see-3s
Who saw what when?

(77c) pkraʃis kəʃtɽə kʰəna tʰəstok na-məto-w
bKra.shis when dog how.many PFT-see-3s
bKra-shis saw how many dogs when?

In principle there is no limit on how many constituents can be questioned in a sentence, though two or three seems to be the utmost number in normal speech. The more question words the more unnatural the question becomes.

3. *Questions formed with rə*

On the word, the phrase and the sentence level the conjunction *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. For examples of the use of *rə* in forming questions with words and phrases, see section 6.4 in the chapter on smaller word classes. Here is an example on the sentence level. Sentences (65) and (66) show the difference in meaning between questions with *me* and *rə*:

(65) pkraʃi ma-vi me
bKra.shis NEG-come$_1$ INTR
bKra-shis is not coming?

(66) pkraʃis ma-vi rə
bKra.shis NEG-come$_1$ INTR/CON
What if bKra-shis doesn't come?

4. *Echo questions*

The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ echo questions both for polar questions and constituent questions. Example (78a) shows a yes-no echo, while example (78b) has a question word echo:

(78a) ŋa kʰantʃak-j tʃʰi-ŋ kʰantʃak-j [tə-tʃʰi-n] me
I street-LOC go$_1$-1s street-LOC [2-go$_1$-2s] INTR
I'm going into town. [You're going] into town?

ə əhə
yes no
Yes. No.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (78b) | ŋa kʰantʃak-j | tʃʰi-ŋ | [nənɟo] kətʃe | [tə-tʃʰi-n] kʰantʃak-j |
| | I street-LOC | go$_1$-1s | [you] where | [2-go$_1$-2s] street-LOC |
| | I'm going into town. | | [You're going] where? | Into town. |

In the echoes normally the subject, such as *nənɟo*, 'you' in (78a) above, is omitted. Also the verb does not have to occur. It is fine to just have the adverbial *kantʃʰakj* and an interrogative. It is also possible to use a mood marker in echoes, as in (79). It is the echo to 'I'm going into town'. The mood marker *juʔ* indicates the affirmation of a previously known fact:

(79) kʰantʃak-j juʔ
street-LOC MD:RA
You're going into town?

Echoes work not only for statements but also for questions. Example (80a) demonstrates a yes-no question echo. Note that the question omits subject and verb and can make use either of an interrogative or a mood marker. Example (80b) gives a question word question echo. It is possible to have more than one question word in an echo. In fact, many can be employed just as in English. But the more question words are piled up in one sentence, the more unnatural the sentence tends to become:

(80a) nənɟo kantʃak-j tə-tʃʰi-n me
you street-LOC 2-go$_1$-2s INTR
Are you going into town?

| | |
|---|---|
| kʰantʃak-j me | kʰantʃak-j juʔ |
| street-LOC INTR | street-LOC MD:RA |
| [Am I going] into town? | [Am I going] into town? |

krəŋ tʃʰi-ŋ
perhaps go$_1$-1s
Perhaps.

(80b) pkraʃis tʰi w-ətʃʰe kʰə w-əmba-j nɟiləkˈna-leʔt-w
bKra.shis what 3s:GEN-reason dog 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC stone OBS-hit$_1$-3s
Why is bKra-shis throwing stones at the dog?

si kə tʰi w-ətʃʰe si w-əmba-j tʰi ˈna-leʔt-w
who PR:AG what 3s:GEN-reason who 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC what OBS-hit$_1$-3s
Why is who throwing what at whom?

pkraʃis tʰi w-ətʃʰe kʰə w-əmba-j ɳɬiləkˈna-leʔt-w
bKra.shis what 3s:GEN-reason dog 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC stone OBS-hit$_1$-3s
Why is bKra-shis throwing stones at the dog?!

All elements in a sentence can be subject to echo questioning. Example (80b) above shows questioning with question words for subject bKra-shis, direct object *ɳɬiləkˈ*, 'stones', and patient *kʰə*, 'dog'. Echoes without question words repeat the questioned constituent. In (81b) below it is the subject, in (c) the patient, in (d) the direct object:

(81a) ŋa nənɟo təthˈa mbuʔ-ŋ
I you book give-1s
I'll give you a book.

(81b) nənɟo juʔ
you MD:RA
*You*'ll give me a book?

(81c) ŋa juʔ
I MD:RA
You'll give *me* a book?

(81d) təthˈa juʔ
book MD:RA
You'll give me a *book*?

Example (82) shows questioning of an adverbial in (82b) and of a verb in (82c):

(82a) ŋa soʃnu tʃʰi-ŋ
I tomorrow go$_1$-1s
I'm leaving tomorrow.

(82a) soʃnu me
tomorrow INTR
You're leaving *tomorrow*?

(82b) tə-tʃʰi-n me
2-go$_2$-2s INTR
You're *leaving* tomorrow?

For compound verbs either the verb or the noun part can be questioned:

(83a) ŋa ʒala ˈkə-leʔt-ŋ
I layer PRIMP-hit$_1$-1s
I'm painting the wall.

(83b) ʒala me
layer INTR
You're painting *the wall*?

(83c) ʒala ˈkə-tə-leʔt-w me
layer PRIMP-2-hit-2s INTR
You're *painting the wall*?

More than one element at a time can be subject to echo questioning, as in example (83c) above, and the following example:

(84) ŋa soʃnu mborke-j tʃʰi-ŋ
I tomorrow Măĕrkāng-LOC go$_1$-1s
I'm going to Măĕrkāng tomorrow.

kəʃtɽə kətʃe tə-tʃʰi-n
when where 2-go$_1$-2s
You're going where when?

mborke-j soʃnu
Măĕrkāng-LOC tomorrow
To Măĕrkāng, tomorrow!

5. *Answers*

There are two different ways of forming answers to yes-no questions. The speaker can answer with a complete sentence, of which the verb phrase is the most important part. Example (85a) below shows this strategy. Or the answer can consist of a simple yes or no, as in example (85b). It is not possible to use linking verbs to answer questions:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (85a) | nənɟo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n | [ŋa] tʃʰi-ŋ | [ŋa] ma-tʃʰi-ŋ |
| | you Q-2-go$_1$-2s | [I] go$_1$-1s | [I] NEG-go$_1$-1s |
| | Are you going? | I am (going). | I'm not (going). |
| (85b) | nənɟo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n | ə | əhə |
| | you Q-2-go$_1$-2s | yes | no |
| | Are you going? | Yes. | No. |
| (85c) | nənɟo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n | * ŋos | * maʔk |
| | you Q-2-go$_1$-2s | | |
| | Are you going? | | |

As in other sentences, answers very often are elliptic, without overt subject or object. The minimum answer to a yes-no question is a verb phrase, unless forms of 'yes' or 'no' are used. For example, sentence (86a) can be answered with just *tʃʰiŋ*, 'go' or *matʃʰiŋ*, 'not go'. Both 'yes' and 'no' are stand-alone answers without the need for other constituents, though they can be combined with a verb phrase and, if the speaker desires, other constituents. The other possible answer to a yes-no question is *krəŋ*, 'maybe, perhaps'. This adverbial cannot occur by itself but must be accompanied by a verb phrase or a linking verb:

(86) nənɟo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n krəŋ tʃʰi-ŋ * krəŋ
you Q-2-go$_1$-2s maybe go$_1$-1s
Are you going? Perhaps.

The answers ‘yes’, ‘no’ and ‘maybe’ are also used with leading positive and negative questions:

(87) nənɟo ʒik tə-tʃʰi-n la ə əhə krəŋ tʃʰi-ŋ
you also 2-go$_1$-2s MD:SA yes no maybe go$_1$-1s
You’re also going, aren’t you? Yes. No. Perhaps [I’ll go].

(88) nənɟo ka-tʃʰi nə-si ma-ˈnə-vi la
you INF-go$_1$ 2s:GEN-heart NEG-OBS-come$_1$ MD:SA
You don’t want to go, right?

ə əhə ŋə-si krəŋ ˈna-vi
yes no 1s:GEN-heart perhaps OBS-come$_1$
Yes. No. Perhaps [I want to].

A positive answer to a leading negative question agrees with the premise of the question, while a negative answer contradicts the premise. The answer *ə*, ‘yes’ to (88) means that the speaker doesn’t want to go. The negative answer *əhə*, ‘no’ means that the speaker does want to go.
In answers to question word questions the constituent that answers the question can take the same position as the question word, or any other position that is grammatically permissible for that kind of constituent. For example, adverbials of time and place can take first place in a sentence. They may also occur after the subject. In answers the adverbial can occupy either place, no matter the position of the adverbial interrogative in the question. Example (89a) is correct to answer either (89b) or (89c):

(89a) soʃnu pkraʃi narənə lhamo vi-ndʒ
tomorrow bKra.shis and lHa.mo come$_1$-3d
Tomorrow bKra-shis and lHa-mo will come.

(89b) pkraʃi narənə lhamo kəʃtʂə vi-ndʒ
bKra.shis and lHa.mo when come$_1$-3d
When will bKra-shis and lHa-mo come?

(89c) kəʃtʂə pkraʃi narənə lhamo vi-ndʒ
when bKra.shis and lHa.mo come$_1$-3d
When will bKra-shis and lHa-mo come?

Like answers to polar questions, answers to question word questions often leave out constituents. In the following examples the answers consists of a subject only:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (90a) | pərmor | si | vi | (90b) | $ak^hə$ | $namk^ha$ |
| | tonight | who | $come_1$ | | uncle | Nam.kha |
| | Who is coming tonight? | | | | Uncle Nam-kha. | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (91a) | nənɟo | kətə | $tət^ha$ | ra | |
| | you | which | book | need | |
| | Which book do you want? | | | | |
| (91b) | rɟaŋkə | w-əmdoʔk | tə | | |
| | green | 3s:GEN-colour | C | | |
| | The green one. | | | | |

The positive answer *owe*, 'ok, sure' is used to agree with a speaker's statement (92b) or imperative, (92a). This answer cannot be used in response to a yes-no question or question word question as demonstrated in (92c):

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (92a) | soʃnu | tawo | tsa | ji-ˈvi-n | owe |
| | tomorrow | early | little | IMP-$come_1$-2s | okay |
| | Come a bit early tomorrow. | | | | Okay. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (92b) | ŋa | $tʃ^hi$-ŋ | ra | owe |
| | I | $go_1$-1s | need | okay |
| | I have to go. | | | Okay. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (92c) | ɟuʔ-stso | mə-na-ndoʔ | ə | * owe |
| | water-hot | Q-OBS-have | yes | |
| | Is there any hot water? | | Yes. | |

c. *Negative sentences*

1. *Introduction*

The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ negative morphemes as well as negative verbs to express standard negation in verbal clauses. For this reason it would be perfectly acceptable to describe patterns of negation only in the chapter on verbs. However, a proper treatment of negation in Jiǎomùzú should include also issues less directly related to the verb, such as negative adverbs, negative transport and constituent and sentential negation. Since the concept of negation is expressed in such a broad variety of ways it seemed to me appropriate to describe the most common possibilities in a separate section on negative sentences.

The most common way of expressing negation in the Jiǎomùzú dialects is through the negative morphemes *ma-*, *mə-* and *ɟi-*, which are affixed to the verb root, and the negative verbs *miʔ* and

*maʔk*. Part 1 and 2 of this section discuss the use of the negative morphemes and verbs. Constituent and sentence negation are covered in the part 3, followed by a description of negation and focus in part 4. Part 5-10 look at negative transport, adverbs and quantifiers, negative coordinators, negative conjunctions, the negation of yes/no questions and derivation of lexical items, respectively.

2. *Negative morphemes*

The negation markers *ma-*, *mə-* and *ɟi-* are used to negate verb phrases. They occur in initial position in the verb phrase. The morphemes reflect differences in tense, aspect and mood. Marker *ma-* is used in imperfective situations, whereas *ɟi-* is used in perfective sentences. In prohibitives *mə-* is used. The negative morphemes are mutually exclusive.

(93) nənɟo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n
you Q-2-go$_1$-2s
Are you going?

ŋa ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
I NEG-go$_1$-1s
No, I'm not.

(94) ŋa pəʃur təmor ɟa-ta-məmto-n
I yesterday evening NEG/PFT-1/2-see-2s
I didn't see you last night.

As opposed to:

(95) pəmor ma-ŋa-məmto-dʒ
tonight NEG-REC-see-1d
I won't see you tonight.

The negation marker for perfective situations *ɟi-* replaces the consonant of the tense, aspect, evidentiality or attention flow marker which is placed next to it, but not the vowel, as demonstrated in example (96) and (97). Stress is not contrastive. I discuss tense and aspect marking, including vowel change influenced by marking for evidentiality, in section 7.4 of the chapter on verbs.

(96) wuɟo no-to-məto-n
he AF-3/2-see-2s
He saw you.

wuɟo ɟi-no-to-məto-n [ɟoṭoməmṭoṉ]
he NEG-AF -3/2-see-2s
He didn't see you.

(97) nə-poŋgeʔj na-rtak
2s:GEN-money PFT-enough
You had enough money.

nə-poŋgeʔj ɟi-na-rtak [ɟarṭak]
2s:GEN-money NEG-PFT-enough
You did not have enough money.

In prohibitives *mə-* is used in second person forms:

(98) mə-tə-ˈtʃʰi-n
PROH-2-go$_1$-2s
Don't go!

(99) tʃʰaʔ tʃəʔ tə mə-tə-ˈmoʔt-w
tea this C PROH-2-drink-2s
Don't drink this tea!

In the rare case that a third person prohibitive needs to be expressed, the normal negation marker *ma-* is used:

(100) wuɟo ma-ˈtʃʰi to-cəs-ŋ
he NEG-go$_1$ PFT-say-1s
*He* doesn't go, I said!

In such sentences it is the tone of voice rather than the grammatical structure that determines the imperative character.
Polite imperatives are formed by combining question marker *mə-* prefixed to a negation marker. In most cases the negation marker is *ma-*:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (101) | na-ˈɲu-n | mə-tə-ˈɲu-n | mə-ma-tə-ˈɲu-n |
| | IMP-sit-2s | PROH-2-sit-2s | Q-NEG-2-sit-2s |
| | sit down! | Don't sit! | Please take a seat! |

Note that the polite imperative is similar to English constructions such as 'won't you sit down' or 'why don't you sit down', which are soft forms of imperatives. For more on polite imperatives see section 7.9 on mood in the verb chapter.
Negation marker *mə-* as used to negate imperatives is identical with the question marker *mə-*. Historically, the interrogative may derive from the negation marker.[217] Watters reports the same kind of flip-flop between negation and interrogative markers in some dialects of Kham, which differentiate the two with tense marking and verbal morpho-syntax.[218] The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ different stress patterns to distinguish between the two.[219] There is heavy stress on the verb root in prohibitives while the verb root in interrogatives does not have heavy stress. In this study I only mark stress on verb roots in prohibitives. Occurrences of *mə-* without any stress marking indicate interrogatives:

[217] Watters (2004:1, 2).

[218] Watters 2004.

[219] This is comparable to the Dutch use of *niet*, 'not'. The negator *niet* occurs at the end of sentences. With a question intonation it functions as an interrogative. With stress on the verb root it signals prohibitive. Thanks to Professor Kortlandt for providing this example from Dutch.

(102) nənɟo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n
you Q-2-go$_1$-2s
Are you going?

nənɟo mə-tə-ˈtʃʰi-n
you PROH-2-go$_1$-2s
You don't go!

(103) nənɟo mə-tə-leʔt-w
you Q-2-hit$_1$-2s
Do you [want to] hit?

nənɟo mə-tə-ˈleʔt-w
you PROH-2-hit$_1$-2s
Don't you hit!

This use of stress patterns in marking grammatical differences precludes stress or intonation for influencing the scope of negation in negated clauses, see below in the sections 4 and 5 on scope of negation and focus. For more on the use of stress to mark grammatical differences, see section 2.3 of the phonology chapter and sections 7.4 and 7.5 in the chapter on verbs.

Various dialects in the rGyalrong area employ different means to mark negation. Unlike Jiǎomùzú, some dialects have only *ma-* and *mə-*, as described by Lín Xiàngróng[220] for Zhuōkèjī, and Kin P'eng[221] for Lǐxiàn. Some examples from Xiǎojīn below also show the difference clearly, with *ma-* for negative present tense marker and *mə-* to negate past tense as well as mark imperatives. The question marker is *ə-*. The past tense and imperative negative markers are distinguished by variable stress. In the following examples I indicate stress only for the relevant segments.

(104a) no ma-tə-tʃʰi-n ndə ŋa tʃʰi-ŋ
you NEG-2-go$_1$-2s if I go$_1$-1s
If you don't go, I will.

(104b) no mə-tə-ˈtʃʰi-n
you PROH-2-go$_1$-2s
Don't go!

(104c) no mə-tə-tʃʰi-n mən (əŋo)
you NEG-2-go-2s INTR
You didn't go?

(104d) no tʃʰa wutə mə-tə-ˈmut-w
you tea that PROH-2-drink-2s
Don't drink that tea!

(104e) no tʃʰa wutə mə-tə-mut-w mən (ə-ŋo)
you tea that NEG-2-drink-2s Q
You didn't drink that tea?

[220] Lín (1993: 247-249).

[221] Kin (1949: 283). Lǐxiàn was called Tsa-kou-nao at the time of Kin's study.

(104f) no tʃʰa wutə ə-tə-mut-w
you tea this Q-2-drink-2s
Will you drink this tea?

(104g) no tʃʰa wutə ma-tə-mut-w mən (ə-ŋo)
you tea this NEG-2-drink-2s Q
Won't you drink this tea?

(104h) no tʃʰa wutə na-tə-mut-2 ə-ŋo
you tea that PFT-2-drink-s Q-be
You drank that tea, right?

Note that, whereas in the Jiǎomùzú dialects in the absence of stress there would be confusion between the negative imperative marker and the question marker *mə-*, in the Xiǎojīn dialect the confusion would be between normal negative markers and negative imperative markers.

| | Xiǎojīn | Jiǎomùzú |
|---|---|---|
| Q | ə- | mə- |
| NEG/IMP | mə- | mə- |
| NEG/PST | mə- | ɟ- |
| NEG/PR | ma- | ma- |

Lín[222] and Kin[223] consider the negation markers as found in the Zhuōkèjī and Lǐxiàn (Tsa-kou-nao) dialects to be adverbials. But there are several reasons for counting them as part of the verb phrase. First of all, negation markers can negate only verb phrases. Other constituents like noun phrases, see (105a) and (105b), adverbial phrases as in (105c) and (105d), and adpositional phrases, see example (105e), can only be negated with the help of negative verbs, or by using regular negation of the verb phrase, as shown in the examples below:

(105a) wuɟo smonbe maʔk
he doctor not.be
He is not a doctor.

(105b) wuɟo w-apuʔ miʔ
he 3s:GEN-child not.have
He has no children.

[222] Lín (1993: 312-313).

[223] Kin (1949: 283).

(105c) tascok tascok-sa-rko w-əngi ˈnə-miʔ
letter letter-NOM-put 3s:GEN-inside EV-not.have
The letter is not in the mailbox.

(105d) ɟarə koro m-andza-ŋ
meat often NEG-eat-1s
I seldom eat meat.

(105e) ŋa stoŋʃnu tʃe ma-rəʃniŋə-ŋ
I every.day LOC NEG-happy-1s
I'm unhappy all the time.

Note that in a sentence such as (105d) there may not be much difference between the English 'I don't often eat meat' and 'I often don't eat meat'. However, in (105e) there is a marked difference between the English 'Every day I'm not happy' as in: not all days are good, and 'I'm not happy every day', meaning I'm unhappy all the time. But for a native Jiǎomùzú speaker these distinctions do not exist. The negation markers cannot modify non-verbal constituents, see below. Secondly, negation markers carry aspectual meaning and can cancel out their counterpart aspectual markers in the verb phrase, as shown in examples (96) and (97). For these reasons I consider the negation markers to be affixes rather than adverbials.

3. *Negative verbs*

Negative verbs are used to negate clauses which have noun phrases, adverbial phrases, etc., and other verb phrases. There are two negative verbs, *miʔ* and *maʔk*. The verb *miʔ*, 'not have, not exist, there is no…' is a negative existential verb, the opposite of the existential verb *ndoʔ*, 'have, exist'. The verb *maʔk*, 'not be, *x* is not *z*' is a negative linking verb, the opposite of the linking verb *ŋos*, 'be'. The negative verbs occur clause or sentence finally in the normal verb phrase slot, though the verb phrase can be followed by mood markers and question markers.

(106) mə-to-tə-nəndza-n pu miʔ
Q-PFT-2-have.a.meal-2s yet not.have
Have you eaten? Not yet.

(107) wuɟo kəpaʔ ŋos wuɟo kəpaʔ maʔk
he Chinese be he Chinese not.be-3s
He is Han Chinese. He is not Han Chinese.

Negative verbs can occur by themselves, without any other sentence constituents. In these cases they usually are the answer to a yes-no question. Their usage thus depends on context.

(108) ɟuʔ-stso mə-ndoʔ ndoʔ miʔ
water-hot Q-have have not.have
Is there any hot water? There is. There isn't.

(109) tʃəʔ pkraʃis wu-saɟup mə-ŋos ŋos maʔk
this bKra.shis 3s:GEN-bed Q-be be not.be
Is this bKra-shis' bed? It is. No, it isn't.

The negative verbs inflect, like normal verbs, for tense, aspect, number and person, and can occur with question marker *mə-*:

(110) bawbaw w-əngi-j ʒik ˈnə-miʔ
bag 3s:GEN- inside-LOC also OBS-have.not
They also were not in the bag.

(111) nənɟo sloppən tə-maʔk-n me
you teacher 2-not.be-2s INTR
Are you not a teacher?

(112) ʃokʃoʔk w-əka-j mə-ˈnə-miʔ
paper 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC Q-OBS-not.have
Are they not under the papers?

The negative verbs are used in their infinitive form to negate sentences with a complement clause:

(113) ŋa tʰi ʒik to-kə-va-ŋ miʔ
I what also PFT-NOM-do-1s not.have
I didn't do anything at all.

(114) wuɟo pəʃurʈə laktʃe to-kə-ku-w maʔk
he the.other.day thing PFT-NOM-buy-3s not.be
[These are] not the things he bought a few days ago.

The verb *miʔ* is used to form negative existentials, there is no other way of doing that:

(115a) ɟuʔ-stso
water-hot
hot water

(115b) ɟuʔ ma-stso
water NEG-hot
The water isn't hot. (hasn't boiled yet)

(115c) ɟuʔ-stso maʔk
water-hot not.be
That is not hot water. (…it is tea)

(115d) ɟuʔ-stso miʔ
water-hot not.have
There is no hot water.

4. *Constituent and sentential negation*

Constituent negation is possible in the Jiǎomùzú dialects but the extent is limited due to the restrictions on the use of the negative morphemes *ma-*, *mə-* and *ɟi–*. These negation markers can only negate verbal constituents, as described above; they cannot directly negate non-verbs. Contrasting sentence pairs common in English like 'he does not have many books', where 'not' modifies the verb 'have' and 'he has not many books' in which 'not' modifies 'many books' cannot be formed with the regular negation markers in Jiǎomùzú. To negate any constituents other than verbs a negative verb must be used. This makes the scope of the negation sentential.

(116a) ŋa kə-mərtsap margaʔ-ŋ
I NOM- spicy NEG-like-1s
I don't like spicy [food].

(116b) ŋa ma-kə-mərtsap rgaʔ-ŋ
I NEG-NOM-spicy like-1s
I like non-spicy [food].

Two negative elements can occur together in one clause. There can be a nominalised verbal constituent with a verb phrase, each negated by a negative marker in first position:

(116c) ŋa ma-kə-mərtsap ma-rgaʔ-ŋ
I NEG-NOM-spicy NEG-like-1s
I don't like non-spicy food.

Semantically, this kind of double negation gives a positive meaning: I like spicy food.
Another possibility is to combine negation with sentential negation, using a sentence final negative verb:

(117a) hələn w-əndze kətsə-tsə ʒik kə-mərtsap miʔ
Holland 3s:GEN-food little-RED also NOM-spicy not.have
Dutch food is not at all spicy.

(117b) hələn w-əndze ma-kə-mərtsap miʔ
Holland 3s:GEN-food NEG-NOM-spicy not.have
All Dutch food is spicy.

A combination of two negated verbal constituents and a negative verb is possible - though native speakers remark that surely there are less convoluted ways to express this kind of meaning:

(118) ŋa ma-kə-mertsap ma-kə-rgaʔ-ŋ miʔ
I NEG-NOM-spicy NEG-NOM-like-1s not.be
It is not true that I don't like non-spicy food.

(119a) pakʃu 'na-mem
apple OBS-tasty
(These are) tasty apples.

pakʃu ma-ˈnə-mem
apple NEG-OBS-tasty
The apples are not tasty.

(119b) pakʃu kə-mem ˈnə-miʔ
apple NOM-tasty OBS-not.have
There are no tasty apples.

pakʃu ma-kə-mem ˈnə-miʔ
apple NEG-NOM-tasty OBS-not.have
There aren't any apples that taste bad.

(119c) pakʃy kərgi ʒik ma-ˈnə-mem
apple one also NEG-OBS-tasty
Not even one apple tastes good.

(119d) pakʃu kərgi ʒik ma-kə-mem ˈnə-miʔ
apple one also NEG-NOM-tasty OBS-not have
There is not even one bad apple.

5. *Negation and prominence*

Usually prominence of a constituent is achieved by a change in word order, with the prominent element in first position in the sentence. Negating such a topicalised sentence happens in the usual ways, with negation markers or through negative verbs:

(120a) ʂwepʰiŋ¤ w-əngi-j ɬuʔ-stso ndoʔ
thermos 3s:GEN-inside-LOC water-hot have
There is hot water in the thermos.

(120b) ʂwepʰiŋ¤ w-əngi-j ɬuʔ-stso ˈnə-miʔ
thermos 3s:GEN-inside-LOC water-hot OBS-not.have
There is no hot water in the thermos.

(120c) ɟuʔ-stso ʂwep$^{h}$iŋ¤ w-əngi-j miʔ
water-hot thermos 3s:GEN-inside-LOC not.have
The hot water is not in the thermos. (…it's in the kettle)

Sometimes the difference between sentential and constituent negation is used for the purpose of giving prominence to a certain element, without changing the word order. In (121b) the occurrence of the negative verb *maʔk*, 'not be' gives prominence to *pəʃur*, 'yesterday'. In (122b) the use of *miʔ* emphasises the nominalised verb *kandoʔ*, 'be home' rather than the subject 'he':

(121a) wuɟo pəʃur ɟi-ˈa-vi
he yesterday NEG/PFT-NEV-come$_1$
He didn't come yesterday.

(121b) wuɟo pəʃur ji-kə-vi maʔk
he yesterday PFT-NOM-come$_1$ not.be
It wasn't yesterday that he came.

(122a) jontan mə-ndoʔ ma-ndoʔ
Yon-tan Q-have NEG-have
Is Yon-tan home? No, he isn't.

(122b) jontan mə-ndoʔ ka-ndoʔ miʔ
Yon-tan Q-have NOM-have not.have
Is Yon-tan home? No, he isn't (home).

There is thus no special construction in Jiǎomùzú for achieving focus in negative sentences. The same means that are used in normal sentences are used also in negative ones.

6. *Negative transport*

Negative transport or raising, where semantically an embedded clause is negated, but the negator is attached to the verb in the higher clause, occurs in Jiǎomùzú, though it is fairly rare and usually not the preferred way of expressing these meanings. So far, I have found negative transport to work only with verbs that have to do with emotions or thoughts of the subject in the main clause, such as *kasəso*, 'think' and *kanərgaʔ*, 'like':

(123a) wuɟo ma-vi ˈkə-səso-ŋ
he NEG-come$_1$ PRIMP-think-1s
I think he will not come.

(123b) wuɟo vi ma-nə-səso-ŋ
he come$_1$ NEG-EREFL-think-1s
I don't think he will come.

(124a) ɟopɟop kə-ndza-w ma-nə-rgaʔ-ŋ
fish NOM-eat-3s NEG-EREFL-like-1s
I don't like for him to eat fish.

(124b) ɟopɟop ma-kə-ndza-w ˈna-rgaʔ-ŋ
fish NEG-NOM-eat-3s OBS-like-1s
I like him not to eat fish.

In the view of native speakers, there is no need to state the obvious. Thus the preferred way of expressing the meaning of a sentence like 'I think he will not come' would be:

(125) krəŋ ma-vi
maybe NEG-come$_1$
Maybe he won't come.

It is obvious that this statement reflects the speaker's thinking, so there is no need to express that explicitly in the sentence. This preference for leaving certain meanings implicit is a reason for the relative lack of negative transport in the Jiǎomùzú dialects.

7. *Adverbs, expressives and quantifiers*

Adverbs, expressives and quantifiers in Jiǎomùzú are negated in the usual way for non-verb phrase constituents, by negative verbs.

(126) tascok lali-lali na-laʔt-w
letter slowly-RED PFT-write$_2$-3s
He slowly wrote the letter.

(127) tascok lali-lali na-laʔt-w miʔ
letter slowly-RED PFT-write$_2$-3s not.have
He didn't write the letter slowly.

(128) lali-lali to-kə-ndza-w maʔk
slowly-RED PFT-NOM-eat-3s not.be
He didn't eat slowly.

There are no inherently negative quantifiers like 'nobody', 'nothing', or inherently negative adverbs such as 'nowhere', 'never', in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. To express that kind of meaning Jiǎomùzú also uses the negative verbs as discussed above:

(129) w-amaʔ miʔ
3s:GEN-business not.have
He has nothing to do.

(130) wu-kə-nargaʔ miʔ
3s:GEN-NOM-like not.have
No-one likes her.

(131) wu-sa-tʃʰi miʔ
3s:GEN-NOM-go$_1$ not.have
He has nowhere to go.

(132) sa-nəna to-ˈa-miʔ
NOM-rest PFT-NEV-not.have
There was nowhere to sit down (and rest). (There was no place to sit down.)

The Jiǎomùzú dialects do not make use of explicit indefinites:

(133) tətʰaʔ mə-ˈna-ndoʔ
book Q-OBS-have
Are there (any) books? / Are (the) books here?

Negative indefinites like 'not anything' or 'nothing', are expressed by a construction using *ʒik*, 'also', a negative affix or verb, and a word that carries the meaning which is negated. Often this word is a numeral rather than a pronoun. Note that the Jiǎomùzú forms can be used both as full noun phrases and as attributes. The difference between 'not any', 'nobody', 'no-one' etc. is expressed by the context. The grammatical construction for negative indefinites as such does not distinguish between these meanings:

(134) kərgi ʒik ma-nə-rama-jn
one also NEG-EREFL-labour-3p
There aren't any working in the fields.

(135) kərgi ʒik ɟi-ˈa-vi
one also NEG/PFT-NEV-come$_1$
nobody came.

(136) kərgi ʒik ɟi-rjo-jn
one also NEG/PFT-talk-3p
no-one said anything.

(137) korwe-ɲo pəʃnu kəʒu tə 'na-rama-jn
farmer-p today all C OBS-labour-3p
All the farmers work in the fields today.

(138) korwe-ɲo kəʒu tə kərəma na-ˈa-miʔ-jn
farmer-p all C labour PFT-NEV-not.have-3p
None of the farmers worked in the fields.

(139) korwe-ɲo kəʒu tə kərəma ˈnə-maʔk-jn
farmer-p all C labour OBS-not.be-3p
Not all the farmers worked in the fields.

(140) korwepa kərgi ʒik ɟi-ˈa-rama-jn
farmer one also NEG/PFT-NEV-labour-3p
Not even one farmer worked in the fields.

For extra emphasis *ce* can be added, expressing something like 'at all, even':

(141) təɟeʔm cə ʒik kə-mbro miʔ
house EMP also NOM-tall not.have
The building is not at all tall.

(142) cə ʒik ɟi-ˈa-məmto-ŋ
EMP also NEG/PFT-NEV-see-1s
I didn't see anything at all.

There is no difference between specific and non-specific subjects or negative partitives:

(143) təza kərgi ɟi-vu
man one NEG/PFT-come$_2$
A man didn't come. / One man didn't come.

(144) tapuʔ kərgi ʒik ɟi-vu-jn
child one also NEG/PFT-come$_2$-3p
None of the children came. / Not (even) one of the children came.

'Always' and ‘often’ tend to overlap in Jiǎomùzú. These meanings are constructed in the same way, with *ʒak*, 'time', and a negative verb. The meaning ‘always’, semantically the logical extreme of ‘often’, receives extra emphasis with the use of locative *ʧe*, as in (147):

(145) ʒak ɟanjiŋjuwan¤ tʃʰi ʃi
time cinema go$_1$ MD:HON
He often goes to the cinema.

(146) ɟanjiŋjuwan¤ ʒak kə-tʃʰi maʔk
cinema time NOM-go$_1$ not.be
He doesn't often go to the cinema

(147) ʒak ʧe tʂʰaʔ ʃo kə-moʔt
time LOC tea always NOM-drink
He always drinks tea.

'Never', unlike other adverbs, cannot be expressed by simply negating *ʒak ʧe*, 'always' with a negative verb. A specific adverb, *wukʰwoj*, is used in combination with the regular verb phrase negator *ma-*. The adverb *wukʰwoj* cannot occur by itself in positive sentences. However, it only becomes a negator when combined with *ma-*. It is not inherently negative in the independent way the English adverbs are.

(148) wukʰwoj tawu ma-moʔt-ŋ
always smoke NEG-drink-1s
I never smoke.

(149) wukʰwoj ɟanjiŋjuwan¤ ma-rəmɲo
always cinema NEG-watch
He never goes to the cinema.

7. *Negative coordinators*

I have not found negative coordinators like the English 'neither...nor'. Again, these meanings are expressed by a combination of *ʒik*, 'also', and a negative morpheme, or *ʒik* and a negative verb:

(150) ma-ˈnə-stsi ʒik ma-ˈnə-məʃtak ʒik
NEG-OBS-hot also NEG-OBS-cold also
Neither cold nor hot.

(151) kə-mbro ʒik ˈnə-maʔk kə-kman ʒik ˈnə-maʔk
NOM-tall also OBS-not.be NOM-short also OBS-not.be
Neither tall not short.

Because noun phrases cannot be negated by negative morphemes, but only through a negated verb, constructions like 'neither bKra-shis nor sGrol-ma' become fairly complicated. They might not use the normal coordinators:

(152) pkraʃis tarngaʔ kə-va ma-mk$^{h}$as sgrolma ʒik ndʈa
bKra.shis dance NOM- do NEG-proficient sGrol.ma also same
Neither bKra-shis nor sGrol-ma can dance well.

8. *Negative conjunctions*

There are negative conjunctions in Jiǎomùzú, *menə*, 'lest' and *maʃki*, ‘unless’ being the most frequently used ones:

(153) k$^{h}$orlo ʃi-raro-ŋ menə laktʃe ka-sə-naktʈət ma-k$^{h}$ut
vehicle VPT-look.for-1s CON thing NOM-CAUS-take NEG-can
I'm going to look for a truck, lest I won't be able to send the stuff (with the driver).

As postal and freight services in the rGyalrong areas are limited, often goods and mail are transported by private truck through the goodwill of the drivers. The verb *kasənakrət* means ‘to get someone to take something on one’s behalf’.

(154) kəruʔ-skaʔt kə-səkʃot harɟa menə si tə-sə-ndoʔ-w
Tibet-language NOM-teach Lha.rgyal CON who 2-CAUS-have-2s
Who, apart from (unless it is) lHa-rgyal, can teach Tibetan?

The verb *kasəndoʔ* literally means ‘cause to have’. The question in the second clause of (154) means something like ‘who are you going to make appear’, apart from lHa-rgyal?

(155) ŋa tascok kaleʔt ma-səjoʔk-ŋ maʃki diɛnjiŋ¤ kə-namɲo ma-tʃ$^{h}$i-ŋ
I letter write$_{1}$ NEG-finish-1s unless movie NOM-watch NEG-go$_{1}$-1s
I won't go watch a movie unless I've finished this letter.

9. *Negative answers to polar questions*

There are two possible ways of negating yes/no questions in Jiǎomùzú with only one word: either one of the negative verbs, or the all encompassing *əhə*, 'no'. With the negative verbs one still has to

pay attention to the context. The verbs relate to the contents of the question. The negative existential verb *mi?* cannot be used to answer a question with a linking verb like *ŋos*. The negative *əhə* can be used in all contexts.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (156) | jontan mə-ndoʔ | miʔ | *maʔk | əhə |
| | Yon-tan Q-have | not.have | not.be | no |
| | Is Yon-tan home? | No. | | No. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (157) | ɟuʔ-stso mə-ŋos | * miʔ | maʔk | əhə |
| | water-hot Q-be | not.have | not.be | no |
| | Is this hot water? | | No. | No. |

(158) nənɟo ŋ-aɟu mə-ˈna-tə-məto-w
you 1s:GEN-key Q-OBS-2s-see-2s
Have you seen my keys?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ? miʔ | * maʔk | əhə | |
| not.have | not.be | no | |
| | | No. | |

In example (158) the question might be answered with *mi?*, but by far and away the preferred answer in such situations is a simple *əhə*.

10. *Derivation of lexical items*

I have not found any negative formatives, other than the ones described above, that can be used in the derivation of lexical items, as in English 'un-', 'non-', 'de-', '-less'. Negation in Jiǎomùzú works exclusively through negated verb phrases and negative verbs, with the additional help of some emphasis markers and special adverbials.

d. *Imperatives*

I discuss imperatives extensively in section 7.9 on mood. Here I just give a quick overview of the different types of imperatives. Usually imperatives address second person audiences. Positive imperatives consist of an orientation marker prefixed to a verb root 1 for verbs that distinguish between root 1 and root 2, and prefixed to root 3 for verbs that distinguish between root 1 and root 3. The verb root is heavily stressed. The second person marker *tə-* is deleted:

(159) nənɟo soʃnu to-ˈtʃʰi-n
you tomorrow IMP-go$_1$-2s
You go tomorrow!

Negative imperatives or prohibitives are formed by prefixing *mə-* to a verb root 1 for verbs that distinguish between root 1 and root 2, or root 3 for verbs that distinguish between root 1 and root 3. The second person marker remains:

(160) nənɟo soʃnu mə-tə-ˈtʃʰi-n
you tomorrow PROH-2-go$_1$-2s
You don't go tomorrow!

Polite imperatives prefix *məma-* to a verb root 1 or root 3. The verb can be neutral, as in (161a), or honorific as in (161b). The second person marker remains:

(161a) məma-tə-ndza-w
IMP:POLITE-2-eat-2s
Please eat!

(161b) məma-tə-ksor-jn
IMP:POLITE-2-eat:HON-2:HON
Please eat!

Distal or postponed imperatives as well as jussives or third person imperatives have an irrealis structure. Example (162a) shows a distal imperative. Sentence (162b) is an example of a third person imperative:

(162a) tascok ka-leʔt ˈna-tə-səjoʔk-w tʃe sloppən w-əmba-j
letter NOM-hit$_1$ PFT-2-finish-2s LOC teacher 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC
When you've finished the letter, hand it in to the teacher.

a-to-tə-ˈkʰam-w
IRR-IMP-2-hand-2s

(162b) təɟuʔ aja a-kə-leʔt-w
water older.sister IRR-IMP-hit$_1$-3s
Let my older sister fetch the water!

The imperative structures as described above also cover hortatory and exhortative meanings, though the village of Shíjiāng uses a marker *ta-* for exhortatives. Declaratives are used for situations in which a speaker exhorts a person to participate in an event along with the speaker:

(163) tʃʰi-dʒ
go$_1$-1d
Let's go!

Imperatives can be part of embedded sentences as well as main clauses. Example (164) is from the A-myis Sgo-ldong story, see Text 1 at the end of this study. A-myis Sgo-ldong desires the demon he wants to fight to come out of his stronghold. He conveys a message for the demon through the

demon's son. The entire construction is a quote, given by the son to his father, as indicated by *nacəs*, 'said'. The first imperative, *navin*, 'come' is part of A-myis Sgo-ldong's message to the demon. The second imperative is *tocəs*, 'tell'. This imperative is addressed by A-myis Sgo-ldong to the son, urging him to give the message to his father. Literally the sentence means "He said: 'Say to your father: Come on down!'"

(164) n-apa w-əmba-j ana sku-j kərek na-ˈvi-n
2s:GEN-father 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC down upstream-LOC one IMP-come-2s
'Tell your father to come down!', he said,….

nə to-ˈcəs na-cəs kʰonə
CON IMP-say PFT-say CON

e. *Exclamations and quotes*

Jiǎomùzú does not have a special format for exclamations, like the English 'how beautiful, how terrifying'. Exclamatory meanings are expressed by adding *kərek*, 'one' to a normal declarative sentence. The numeral *kərek* can be used in a number of situations as an adverb of degree, see the chapters on nouns and adverbs. Very often there is only a verb phrase following *kərek*, but a subject can be added:

(165) kərek ˈna-mpʃer n-ənge kərek ˈna-mpʃer
one OBS-beautiful 2s:GEN-clothing one OBS-beautiful
How beautiful! Your dress is so beautiful!

Quotes are always direct and have the structure of complements in complex sentences. Indirect speech can be expressed only by direct speech constructions in which the quotation is the complement clause:

(166) wuɟo kə [waŋmo ma-ˈnə-mpʃer] na-ˈa-cəs
he PR [dBang.mo NEG-OBS-beautiful] PFT-NEV-say
"dBang-mo is ugly," he said.
He said that dBang-mo is ugly.

Quotes usually occur between the subject, who is the person that gives the quote, and some form of a verb indicating verbal communication. The quote consists of the actual utterance, without grammatical modification. The subject can be marked by prominence marker *kə*, especially in dialogues or other situations where the attention of the hearer shifts from one subject or agent to another. Very common in quotes is the use of the verb *kacəs*, 'say'. Also possible are other verbs

that express some form of verbal communication, such as *kanak$^{h}$o*, 'shout', and *tacwer kale?t*, 'scream'. Quotes can be very long and encompass strings of clauses or even sentences:

(167) ndə w-əza w-əmba-j ŋa ŋ-əmba-j jaw
that 3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC hey
He said to his son: "The one who is all the time calling 'hey', go and see

ʃi ka-və-cəs k$^{h}$onə ndə si ka-cəs tə ˈnə-ŋos
always NOM-VPT-say CON that who NOM-say C EV-be
who that is."

kərek na-ʃi-naˈtso-w to-kə-cəs na-ŋos
one IMP-VPT-see-2s PFT-NOM-say PFT-be

It is possible to have the quote at the beginning of the sentence, with the subject following the quote and the verb phrase at the end:

(168) jontan mə-vi pkraʃis kə na-t$^{h}$o?
Yon.tan Q-come$_{1}$ bKra-shis PR PFT-ask
"Will Yon-tan come?" bKra-shis asked.
bKra-shis asked if Yon-tan would come.

If there is a recipient in the sentence there will be an adverbial to express this after the subject:

(169) pkraʃis ŋa ŋ-əmba-j so ma-vi na-cəs
bKra.shis I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC tomorrow NEG-come$_{1}$ PFT-say
bKra-shis said to me: "I will not come tomorrow."
bKra-shis told me that he will not come tomorrow.

For more on quotes, see section 7.9 on mood of the verbs chapter.

## 8.2. *Complex sentences*

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have a number of conjunctions, both for coordinating and subordinating purposes. Coordinating conjunctions and adverbs can be used on the word and the phrase level as well as to link clauses and sentences. I discuss coordination extensively in section 6.4.b and 6.4.c of the chapter on smaller word classes. Here I give only a brief overview of the different possibilities for coordination on the sentence level.

a. *Coordination*

The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ two means of coordinating sentences and clauses. The first way uses concatenative structures, that is to say, sentences and clauses are strung together without any conjunctions. Verbal sentences can be strung together like this without any morphological marking to indicate the end of one constituent sentence and the beginning of another. In example (170) I use slashes // to indicate the boundary between sentence constituents:

(170) ….zɟasam na-ˈa-mbi-jn // na-ˈa-mbi-jn
…..thirteen PFT-NEV-come:HON-3s:HON // PFT-NEV-come:HON-3s:HON
…..He came on the thirteenth day, [and] on the day when he came

w-əʃnu bdewa na-pko-jn…..
3s:GEN-day peace PFT-bring-3s:HON
he brought peace…..

Copular sentences do not repeat the copula after every constituent of a concatenative construction but put one copula at the end of the coordinated sentence. If the copula would occur after each constituent the construction would simply consist of a number of unconnected sentences instead of one long coordinated complex sentence. Again, sentence constituents are separated by slashes //:

(171) ndə tə bdət tə kʰəvok kəngu taʃcək na-ka-cu//
that C demon C hole nine storey PFT-NOM/HON-open//
As for the demon, A-myis Sgo-ldong made a hole of nine storeys deep

ndə w-əŋgi-j na-ka-rko// w-ərka nə
that 3s:GEN-inside-LOC PFT-NOM/HON-put // 3s:GEN-top CON
and put the [dead body of] the demon in there; on top he put

coŋba kəngu mpʰjar w-ərka nə kə-mpʰjar kəngu tarta
flat.stone nine CL 3s:GEN-top CON one-CL nine cross.wise
nine flat stones, layering them back and forth cross-wise;

na-ka-taʔ // w-ərka-j mcʰortən kəngu taʃcək
PFT-NOM/HON-put // 3s:GEN-top-LOC stupa nine storey
[and] on top he had a stupa of nine storeys built.

to-ˈa-sə-va ˈnə-ŋos
PFT-NEV-CAUS-do EV-be

The second possibility to coordinate sentences is through the use of coordinating conjunctions and other coordinators. Jiǎomùzú has five coordinating conjunctions. The English 'and, or, but' roughly equal Jiǎomùzú's non-temporal conjunctions *narənə*, *merə* and *korənə* respectively. Jiǎomùzú also has two temporal coordinating conjunctions *rə* and *rənə*. Of the coordinating conjunctions *rə* and *merə* can be used to form questions, see section 6.4 of the chapter on smaller word classes.
For this kind or coordinating conjunction there is one less coordinator than the number of elements that are coordinated. For example, in (172a) two simple sentences are linked by one conjunction, while in sentence (172b) three constituents are coordinated by two conjunctions. Sentence constituents are between square brackets with the conjunction in the middle, [ ] CON [ ]:

(172a) [pkraʃis coktse na-k$^{h}$rət-w] narənə [tərət na-va-w]
[bKra.shis table PSTPROG-wipe-3s] and [dirt PSTPROG-do-3s]
bKra-shis was wiping the tables and sweeping the floor.

(172b) [pkraʃis coktse na-k$^{h}$rət-w] narənə [tərət na-va-w]
[bKra.shis table PSTPROG-wipe-3s] and [dirt PSTPROG-do-3s]
bKra-shis was wiping the tables and sweeping the floor

korənə [ jontan t$^{h}$i ʒik ma-ˈnə-va-w]
but Yon.tan what also NEG-OBS-do-3s]
but Yon-tan didn't do anything at all.

It is also possible to combine a concatenative construction, in which there is no conjunction between two constituents, with a conjunction elsewhere in the sentence. The concatenative part needs to come before the coordinating conjunction:

(172c) [pkraʃis coktse na-k$^{h}$rət-w // lhamo tərət na-va-w]
bKra.shis table PSTPROG-wipe-3s// lHa.mo dirt PSTPROG-do-3s
bKra-shis was wiping the tables, lHa-mo was sweeping the floor

korənə [jontan t$^{h}$i ʒik ma-ˈnə-va-w]
but [Yon.tan what also NEG-OBS-do-3s]
but Yon-tan did not do anything at all.

Apart from the five coordinating conjunctions discussed above, Jiǎomùzú employs correlative conjunctions such as *ʒik….ʒik*, '…as well as…'. Both elements of the conjunction must occur and there must be a verb phrase in each constituent of the complex sentence:

(173) [ŋa ʒik vi-ŋ] [pkraʃis ʒik vi]
[I CON come$_1$-1s] [bKra.shis CON come$_1$]
I will come and bKra-shis will come as well.

* ŋa ʒik viŋ pkraʃis vi
* ŋa viŋ pkraʃis ʒik vi

The correlative conjunction in (173) is based on the adverb *ʒik*, 'also'. The Jiǎomùzú dialects have a number of adverbs that can function as conjunctions, such as *manɟi?*, 'moreover, besides', *maʃki*, 'until, unless' and *me*, 'but for, except'. For examples, see chapter on smaller word classes. Here I give a few examples of adverbial conjunctions on the clause level. The conjunction *while* is expressed by *wuʒor*:

(174) ŋa tʂʰaʔ ˈkə-moʔt-ŋ wuʒor ɟanʂə¤ ˈkə-namɲo-ŋ
I tea PRIMP-drink-1s while TV PRIMP-watch-1s
I'm drinking tea while I'm watching TV.

The meaning 'not only…but also' can be formed with adverbial conjunct *maktok.* The linking verb *maʔk*, 'not be' can also replace *maktok* to form the same meaning:

(175) təmu kə-leʔt maktok kə kəktu makəndʐa kə-leʔt ˈnə-ŋos
rain NOM-hit$_1$ CON PR big very NOM-hit$_1$ OBS-be
Not only does it rain, it is raining cats and dogs!

A real conditional form of the negative linking verb *maʔk*, 'not be' occurs with a conjunction to generate the meaning 'either….or':

(176) ŋa mə-na-maʔk nə peciŋ tʃʰi-ŋ mə-na-maʔk nə tʃe-j
I COND-PFT- not.be CON Běijīng go$_1$-1s COND-PFT-not.be CON here-LOC
I'll either go to Běijīng or I'll stay here.

ɲi-ŋ
stay-1s

The conjunction ‘in order to, for the sake of’ makes use of the multi-purpose *wutʃʰe*, ‘for that reason’:

(177) kawʂə¤ ka-va kə-ra w-ətʃʰe pkraʃis kə-cʰe makəndʈa
exam NOM-do NOM-need 3s:GEN-reason bKra.shis NOM-far exceedingly
In order to take the exam, bKra-shis had to walk an exceedingly long distance.

na-vətʈi ˈna-ra
PFT-walk OBS-need

I have not found verb categories that cannot be coordinated with each other. For example, stative verbs and dynamic verbs can be coordinated, as long as the marking for various verbal categories does not lead to semantic clashes. In example (178) the first simple sentence has the stative verb *kəmpʃer*, ‘beautiful’, which is marked for observation. In the second constituent the verb phrase consists of the dynamic verb *kaku*, ‘buy’ marked for first person:

(178) bawbaw ndə tə ˈna-mpʃer // ŋa ku-ŋ
bag that C OBS-beautiful // I buy-1s
That bag is beautiful, I’ll buy it.

Jiǎomùzú does not have verbs that are inherently active or passive. Passive marking occurs on a verb phrase to turn the verb from active into passive. Active verbs and verbs marked for passivity can be coordinated, as shown in the concatenative construction below:

(179) koŋanɟu¤-ɲo ji-ˈa-vi-jn // pkraʃis kə-ŋo-vəja //
police-p PFT-NEV-come$_1$-3p // bKra.shis PFT-PAS-fetch //
The police came, bKra-shis was caught and he was put in jail.

kʰrəŋkʰe kə-ŋo-rko
prison PFT-PAS-put

I have not found any other verbal categories that cannot be coordinated, unless there is a semantic clash between the different components.
Subjects and objects of complex sentences, once they have been identified in the first constituents, can be omitted in the following constituents. In sentence (180) the subject *bKra-shis* is only mentioned in the first constituent, as is the object *tətʰa*, ‘book’. There is no need to indicate the subject or object with pronouns:

(180) pkraʃis tət$^{h}$a ki to-ku-w // bawbaw¤ w-əŋgi-j na-rko-w //
bKra.shis book IDEF PFT-buy-3s // bag 3s:GEN-inside-LOC PFT-put-3s//
bKra-shis bought a book, put it in his bag, and when he had come home

na-nəja tʃe təjeʔm w-əŋgi-j coktsə w-aka-j
PFT-go.home LOC house 3s:GEN-inside-LOC table 3s:GEN-top-LOC
he put it on the table.

na-taʔ-w
PFT-put$_2$-3s

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have a tendency to avoid repetition or 'clutter' within a sentence once a constituent has been brought into the sentence and is clear to the hearers. This counters the habit to repeat constituents, especially verbal ones, on the discourse level. As said above, Jiǎomùzú complex sentences tend to consist of very long strings of clauses that all interrelate through a variety of conjunctions and a web of discourse marking. It is probably more appropriate to think of such complex sentences as clause clusters, with each cluster forming a unit in the discourse. Head-tail linkage is very common. Especially in story telling one can often hear a speaker start a new clause cluster or string of clauses by repeating the last verb phrase, or a form of it, from the previous clause cluster. Often this sort of repetition is used to switch from an external, narrator's perspective to an internal, 'inside-the-story' perspective. Many examples of this process can be found in the A-myis Sgo-ldong story, see Text 1 at the end of this study. Here I just give two examples of verb repetition in storytelling, for smaller sentences:

(181) kə-kə-rɟi-jn na-kə-ŋos ka-cəs ˈnə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-go$_2$-3s:HON PFT-NOM-be NOM-say EV-be
[And so] he set out, it is said.

kə-rɟi-jn tʃəʔ tʃe nə…..
PFT-go$_2$-3s:HON this LOC CON
When he [had] set out,….

Here is another example of consecutive phrases. Listeners change from being onlookers from afar into people that are right at the scene, looking over 'her' shoulder as it were, to see whatever is there:

(182) ndə tə nənɟo nə-ʃi-naˈtso-w to-kə-cəs kʰonə
that C you IMP-VPT-look-3s PFT-NOM-say CON
"Go and have a look!" he said [to her].

rə nə-kə-ʃi-natso-w kʰonə
CON PFT-NOM-VPT-look-3s CON
So she went and had a look.

nə-ʃi-natso-w tʃəʔ tʃe nə…..
PFT-VPT-look-3s this time CON
When she looked…..

b. *Subordination*

1. *Subordinating conjunctions*

Subordinating conjunctions are used to subordinate the conjunct modified by the conjunction. Jiǎomùzú 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 *kʰonə* 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 *kʰonə* groups smaller actions into clusters that are together subordinated to a larger event. Jiǎomùzú does not have special subordinating conjunctions to form complements, relative clauses or adverbial clauses. All types of subordinate clauses can also occur with *nə*, which gives subtle differences in meaning.

I discuss subordinating conjunctions extensively in section 6.4 of the chapter on smaller word classes. Here I just give examples of the use of *nə*, *wurənə* and *kʰonə* on the sentence level. The example sentence is from the A-myis Sgo-ldong story, see Text 1 at the end of the study. Sentence (183a) has no conjunctions. In sentence (183b) *nə* occurs generating the meaning ‘so that’ or ‘therefore’, with the emphasis of the sentence on the second clause, namely the spilling out of the brain. Example (183c) has *kʰonə.* The implication is that the blow of the iron hammer created the conditions or circumstances under which it is possible for a bit of the brain to spill out, and that the brain did so right after the skull was breached by the hammer. The last example, (183d), employs *wurənə* which indicates causality. The brain spilled out because the blow with the iron hammer caused a small hole in the demon’s head.

(183a) amɲi zgordən-ɲi kə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok
A.myis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON PR:AG he 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
A-myis Sgo-ldong hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small

kərek to-kə-laʔt-jn w-ərnoʔk tsijok to-kə-k$^{h}$it na-ŋos
one PFT-NOM-hit$_2$-3s:HON 3s:GEN-brain EXP PFT-NOM-spill PFT-be
hole through which a bit of] his brain spilt out.

(183b) amɲi zgordən-ɲi kə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok
A.myis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON PR:AG he 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
A-myis Sgo-ldong hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small

kərek to-kə-laʔt-jn nə w-ərnoʔk tsijok to-kə-k$^{h}$it na-ŋos
one PFT-NOM-hit$_2$-3s:HON CON 3s:GEN-brain EXP PFT-NOM-spill PFT-be
hole through which a bit of] his brain spilt out.

(183c) amɲi zgordən-ɲi kə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok
A.myis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON PR:AG he 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
A-myis Sgo-ldong hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small

kərek to-kə-laʔt-jn k$^{h}$onə w-ərnoʔk tsijok to-kə-k$^{h}$it na-ŋos
one PFT-NOM-hit$_2$-3s:HON CON 3s:GEN-brain EXP PFT-NOM-spill PFT-be
hole through which a bit of] his brain spilt out.

(183d) amɲi zgordən-ɲi kə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok
A.myis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON PR:AG he 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
A-myis Sgo-ldong hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small

kərek to-kə-laʔt-jn wurənə w-ərnoʔk tsijok to-kə-k$^{h}$it na-ŋos
one PFT-NOM-hit$_2$-3s:HON CON 3s:GEN-brain EXP PFT-NOM-spill PFT-be
hole through which a bit of] his brain spilt out.

c. *Relative clauses*

I define a relative clause as a subordinate modifying clause within a noun phrase. In the Jiǎomùzú dialects constituents of all grammatical and semantic roles such as subject and object, obliques expressing instrument, purpose and manner and adverbials of time and place can be relativised. The sentences below give examples of relativisation for different sentence constituents. Example (184a) is a neutral declarative sentence. Example (184b) shows relativisation of the subject Yon-tan from sentence (184a). Subjects of transitive verbs are as easily relativisable as subject of intransitive verbs.

The object *kʰə*, 'dog' is relativised in (184c). The object here has also the patient role. Example (184d) demonstrates relativisation of an instrument, *tader*, 'stick', which becomes the subject of the main clause:

(184a) jontan kə tader kə kʰə ˈna-top-w
Yon.tan PR:AG stick PR:INSTR dog OBS-hit-3s
Yon-tan is hitting the dog with a stick.

(184b) jontan tader kə kʰə ka-top ˈna-saka
Yon.tan stick PR:INSTR dog NOM-hit OBS-tired
Yon-tan, who is hitting the dog with a stick, is tired.

(184c) jontan kə tader kə wu-ka-sə-top tə pkraʃis wu-kʰə
Yon.tan PR:AG stick PR:INSTR 3s-NOM-CAUS-hit C bKra.shis 3s:GEN-dog
The dog that Yon-tan is hitting with a stick is bKra-shis'.

ˈnə-ŋos
EV-be

(184d) jontan kʰə kə-sə-top w-ader kə kə-skriʔn
Yon.tan dog NOM-CAUS-hit 3s:GEN-stick PR NOM-long
The stick that Yon-tan hits the dog with is very long.

makəndʈa ˈnə-ŋos
very OBS-be

Example (184c) shows that in the Jiǎomùzú dialects relativisation of an object is a straightforward process. There is no need for complex maneuvers via passive constructions, as is the case in Cǎodēng, a Northern rGyalrong dialect.[224] In (184) the element *tader*, 'stick' which is the instrument in examples (a), (b) and (c) becomes the subject. Though prominence marker *kə* no longer signals instrument here, it remains to apportion prominence to the rightful constituent. Since the complex subject also encompasses Yon-tan, a third person human element which ranks higher for prominence than the inanimate stick, and because Yon-tan performs an action while the stick does not, the hearer is inclined to give prominence to Yon-tan rather than to the stick. The prominence marker *kə* after *tader* ensures that prominence is with the subject. Sentence (184e) is a neutral sentence. Example (184f) has a relativised recipient:

[224] Sun and Lin (2007: 12-14).

(184e) jontan lhamo wu-je ʒugolor nə-mbuʔ-w
Yon.tan lHa.mo 3s-POSS walnut PFT-give-3s
Yon-tan gave lHa-mo walnuts.

(184f) jontan ʒugolor sa-mbuʔ lhamo tə kə-mpʃer ki ˈnə-ŋos
Yon.tan walnut NOM-give lHa.mo C NOM-beautiful IDEF EV-be
lHa-mo, to whom Yon-tan gave walnuts, is beautiful.

The final examples show relativised locatives. Example (184g) is a neutral sentence. In (184h) the locative *bawbaw wəŋgij*, 'in the bag' is relativised. Note that of the original locative the part that specifies the precise location, *wəŋgij*, 'inside' actually disappears in this relative construction:

(184g) jontan tətʰa bawbaw¤ w-əŋgi-j na-rko-w
Yon.tan book bag 3s:GEN-inside-LOC PFT-put-3s
Yon-tan put the book in the bag.

(184h) ŋ-andɽiʔ jontan kə tətʰa sa-rko bawbaw¤ tə rɟaŋkə ˈnə-ŋos
1s:GEN-friend Yon.tan PR book NOM-put bag C green EV-be
The bag in which my friend Yon-tan put the book is green.

In (184h) it is not possible to nominalise the locative with *kə-* or *ka-*:

(184i) * tətʰa karko bawbaw¤ tə
* tətʰa kərko bawbaw¤ tə

However, it is possible to have different nominalisers for certain locatives. In (185) *sandoʔ* can be replaced with *kəndoʔ* without any problem. It is also possible to add *wusatʃʰe*, 'place' to the sentence, no matter which nominaliser is used:

(185) jini mənto?k sa-ndoʔ (wu-satʃʰe) tarngaʔ kə-va tʃʰi-j
we:e flower NOM-have (3s:GEN-place) dance NOM-do $go_1$-1p
We're going to dance (in a place) where there are flowers.

(186) ŋa kəmtɽoʔk w-əpʰa-j poŋeʔj nə-vəja-ŋ
I old.person 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC money PFT-fetch-1s
I took money from the old man.

(187a) ŋa poŋeʔj ŋə-sa-vəja kəmtɽoʔk tə ŋ-əjwak ŋos
I money 1s:GEN-NOM-fetch old.person C 1s:GEN-neighbour be
The old man from whom I took money is my neighbour.

It is not grammatical to have a finite structure for the relativised locative in (187b):

(187b) * ŋa poŋeʔj nəkəvəjaŋ kəmtɽoʔk tə ŋəjwak ŋos

Relative clauses in Jiǎomùzú are predominantly pre-nominal, though head-internal structures also occur. Relative constructions in the Jiǎomùzú dialects most often have the relativised constituent first, followed by the head of the relative clause, with the option to add a determiner type word such as contrast marker *tə* or indefiniteness marker *ki* after the head. Sentences (188) and (189) give examples of prenominal relative clauses. In (188) *coktsə*, 'table' is the head of the noun phrase modified by contrast marker *tə*. The relative clause, which is placed before the head, is *lolo ʒakrən wəspok kaɲi kərgaʔ*, 'the cat likes to sit under'. In sentence (189) the head is *tapuʔ*, 'boy', with the relative clause before the head. But it is also possible to have the head in the relative clause, and a determiner either after the head or in final position in the relative clause, as in (190) and (191). Note that in (191) the head *tarke*, 'donkey', occurs after *ŋa*, 'I'. The second type of relative construction occurs often when there is a personal name in the head of the relative clause, as in (192), or when the relativised sentence is very long:

(188) ŋa [lolo ʒakrən w-əspok ka-ɲi kərgaʔ] wu-coktsə tə ku-ŋ
I [cat always 3s:GEN-underside NOM-sit NOM-like] 3s:GEN-table C buy-1s
I'll buy the table [that the cat likes to sit under].

(189) [laktʃe na-kə-ʃi-nə-ku-w ] tapuʔ tə si ˈnə-ŋos
[thing PFT-NOM-VPT-REFL-buy-3s] child C who EV-be
Who is the child [that went down and bought something for himself]?

(190) [ŋa tarke na-kə-varo-ŋ tə] wastop ma-kəndɽa na-ŋos
[ I donkey PFT-NOM-own-1s C] very NEG-same PFT-be
[The donkey that I owned] was exceedingly naughty.

(191) ŋa [coktsə lolo ʒakrən w-əspok-j kə-ɲi] tə ku-ŋ
I table cat always 3s:GEN-underside-LOC NOM-sit C buy-1s
I'll buy [the table under which the cat always sits].

(192) pkraʃis ŋa so kʰəzaʔ kə-mbuʔ-ŋ tə ŋ-əjwak ŋos
bKra.shis I tomorrow bowl NOM-give-1s C 1s:GEN-neighbour be
bKra-shis, to whom I will give a bowl tomorrow, is my neighbour.

Jiǎomùzú has no special conjunction or other marker that functions as a relativiser. The Jiǎomùzú dialects form relative clauses by nominalising a verbal constituent. The nominaliser *kə-* forms agent nouns, *ka-* nominalises patients and *sa-* occurs with obliques. Once the verbal constituent is nominalised it can be linked to the head noun or noun phrase through genitive marking, though the

marking is not obligatory. The sentences in examples (193a) and (193b) are both correct. In (193a) the nominalised verb phrase *ŋəkətop*, '[the one] hit me' occurs without a genitive marker to connect it to the head of the relative clause, *sloppən*, 'teacher'. In example (193b) the third person possessive marker *wu-* connects head and nominalised verb phrase in the relative clause:

(193a) ŋa ŋə-kə-top sloppən tə pkraʃis ˈnə-ŋos
I 1s:GEN-NOM-hit teacher C bKra.shis OBS-be
The teacher who hit me is bKra-shis.

(193b) ŋa ŋə-kə-top wu-sloppən tə pkraʃis ˈnə-ŋos
I 1s:GEN-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-teacher C bKra.shis OBS-be
The teacher who hit me is bKra-shis.

The genitive construction can either be formed with the nominalised verb in the relative sentence, as in (194a), or with the head of the relative clause as in (194b):

(194a) pkraʃis wu-ka-rgaʔ sloppən tə jontan ˈnə-ŋos
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-NOM-like teacher C Yon.tan EV-be
The teacher whom bKra-shis likes is Yon-tan.

(194b) pkraʃis ka-rgaʔ wu-sloppən tə jontan ˈnə-ŋos
bKra.shis NOM-like 3s:GEN-teacher C Yon.tan EV-be
The teacher whom bKra-shis likes is Yon-tan.

Native speakers have different opinions as to whether it is possible to have two genitive constructions, one marking the nominalised verb and the other marking the head of the relative clause. For some speakers (194c) is perfectly grammatical, while others reject it:

(194c) pkraʃis wu-ka-rgaʔ wu-sloppən tə jontan ˈnə-ŋos
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-NOM-like 3s:GEN-teacher C Yon.tan EV-be
The teacher whom bKra-shis likes is Yon-tan.

* pkraʃis wukargaʔ wusloppən tə jontan nəŋos

Jiǎomùzú does not have relative pronouns or other relative words to express the head of a relative construction, a relative noun or noun phrase, as in English ‘the man *who* I once hit’. It is also not possible to use personal pronouns to signal the head of a relative noun or noun phrase. In example (195) the third person singular personal pronoun *wuɟo*, ‘he’ cannot be inserted:

(195) ŋa to-kə-top-ŋ təza-puʔ tə
I PFT-NOM-hit-1s male-child C
The boy that I hit.

* ŋa wuɟo tokətopŋ təzapuʔ tə

Instead, the head is part of the relative clause and is expressed by a full noun or noun phrase, unless the item discussed by the speakers is known to all parties, in which case the noun can be omitted. So headless relative clauses are possible in Jiǎomùzú:

(196) jontan nə-kə-rɲe-w tət$^{h}$a tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
Yon.tan PFT-NOM-borrow-3s book C I 1s-POSS be
The book that Yon-tan borrowed is mine.

jontan nə-kə-rɲe-w tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
Yon.tan PFT-NOM-borrow-3s C I 1s-POSS be
The [one] that Yon-tan borrowed is mine.

(197) pkraʃis mk$^{h}$ono ka-vətɽi kə-$^{l}$a- tʃ$^{h}$i
bKra.shis Kŏnglóng NOM-walk PFT-NEV-go$_{1}$
bKra-shis walked to Kŏnglóng.

mk$^{h}$ono ka-vətɽi kə-tʃ$^{h}$i pkraʃis tə….
Kŏnglóng NOM-walk NOM-go$_{1}$ bKra.shis C….
bKra-shis, who walked to Kŏnglóng,….

mk$^{h}$ono ka-vətɽi kə-tʃ$^{h}$i tə….
Kŏnglóng NOM-walk NOM-go$_{1}$ C….
[He who] walked to Kŏnglóng….

There are two morphologically distinct types of relative clause in Jiǎomùzú. One type employs non-finite verb forms while the other uses finite verb forms. The two types differ in the meanings they can express.

Relative clauses that have a non-finite verb form can relativise all types of arguments. The non-finite verb form has no marking for tense and aspect or for person and number agreement. The nominalisers used in this type of structure are *kə-*, *ka-* and *sa-*, for subject, object and obliques respectively. Non-finite relative clauses can express a generic or habitual situation. Sentence (198b) of the following examples is a generic statement, without any marking for tense, aspect or person. The meaning actually is ‘the clothes which she washes’ in an habitual sense. lHa-mo is hired to wash my clothes, which she does regularly. The nominalised verb indicates ‘things that she washes’ in general, not in a time specific context. Sentence (198c) has a finite nominalised verb phrase,

which indicates that the clothes in lHa-mo's tub right now are mine. At other times she washes other people's clothes:

(198a) lhamo təŋge ˈna-rstʃu-w
lHa.mo clothes OBS-wash-3s
lHa-mo is washing clothes.

(198b) lhamo wu-ka-rstʃu təŋge tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
lHa.mo 3s:GEN-NOM-wash clothing C I 1s-POSS be
The clothes which lHa-mo washes are mine. (The clothes of which lHa-mo does the washing are mine.)

(198c) lhamo tʃəʔ-pu kə-rstʃu-w təŋge tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
lHa.mo this-now NOM-wash-3s clothing C I 1s-POSS be
The clothes which lHa-mo is washing just now are mine.

Most situations in which non-finite nominalised verb forms are used do not indicate habituality but rather a non-specific reference to the event expressed by the verb. Consider the following examples. The declarative in (199a) is the neutral sentence. The verb *kandza*, 'eat', is marked for tense and aspect, evidentiality and person and number. Sentence (199b) has a relative clause with the bears as its subject. The verb phrase is non-finite. Clearly, since the eating of the child is necessarily a one-off action, the verb form in (199b) does not signal habituality. Rather, the reference to the bears is non-specific. The speaker is not interested in the details concerning the eating of the child, when and how it took place. What interests the speaker is that he saw those bears:

(199a) təwaʔm kəŋes tə tapuʔ to-ˈa-ndza-ndʒ
bear two C child PFT-NEV-eat-3d
The two bears ate the child.

(199b) tapuʔ kə-ndza təwaʔm kəŋes tə ŋa na-məto-ŋ
child NOM-eat bear two C I PFT-see-1s
I saw the two bears who ate the child.

Another factor that determines whether a finite or a non-finite verb form is used in Jiǎomùzú relative clauses is the animacy hierarchy. Jiǎomùzú has an animacy hierarchy which ranks grammatical persons from high to low: 1 > 2 > 3 human > 3 non-human, animate > 3 inanimate. In the verb morphology, the animacy is expressed in inverse marking with *wu-* if the subject or agent ranks lower than the object or patient. Inverse marking can also occur if two arguments are of the same ranking but the patient is for some reason more prominent or topical than the agent. In relative clauses, the difference in ranking or prominence shows in the choice of non-finite versus finite verb forms. An inverse ranking on the animacy hierarchy generates a non-finite verb form in the relative

clause, as shown in the examples below. Sentence (200a) has a direct situation, that is to say the agent, a first person, ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy than the patient, which is a third person. When the object of (200a), *sloppən*, 'teacher' is relativised, a finite verb form appears in (200b). But (200c) is an inverse construction in which the object outranks the agent. The verb is marked for passive with *ŋo-* rather than with the normal inverse marker *wu-* to give the first person object as much prominence as possible. The relativised subject in (200d) has a non-finite verb form:

(200a) ŋa sloppən nə-top-ŋ
I teacher PFT-hit-1s
I hit the teacher.

(200b) nə-kə-top-ŋ sloppən tə
PFT-NOM-hit-1s teacher C
The teacher whom I hit.

(200c) sloppən ŋa ŋo-top-ŋ
teacher I 3/1:PAS-hit-1s
The teacher will hit me.

(200d) ŋə-kə-top sloppən tə
1s:GEN-NOM-hit teacher C
The teacher who will hit me.

Finite verb forms are used in all other relative clauses. These clauses inflect for all verbal categories, including mood, though there are limitations on which kinds of evidentiality, tense and aspect marking can occur. For example in (198) above, to express that the clothes which lHa-mo is washing right now are mine, a finite verb form must be used. Note that, though the verb is marked for person and number, the expected evidential or aspectual marking which would normally occur with a time reference such as *tʃəʔpu*, 'just now' is not there. Sentence (201), in which the verb is marked for observation with *na-*, is not grammatical. Another possibility here would have been *ŋa-* for present imperfective, as in (201b), but such constructions are also ungrammatical. In Jiǎomùzú marking for imperfective aspect cannot occur in a relative clause, nor can evidentiality marking:

(201a) * lhamo tʃəʔpu ˈnakərstʃuw təŋge tə ŋa ŋəje ŋos

(201b) * lhamo tʃəʔpu ŋakərstʃuw təŋge tə ŋa ŋəje ŋos

(202) nənɟo to-kə-va-w tə kətʃe ŋos
you PFT-NOM-do-2s C where be
Where are the ones that you made?

* nənɟo toˈakəvaw tə kətʃe ŋos

The commonly found forms of relative clauses in Jiǎomùzú are thus a clause with a non-finite verb form, expressing habituality or a non-specific reference to the event signalled by the verb, as in (203a); a relative clause with a finite verb marked for past, which can inflect for all verbal categories, as in example (203b), and a relative clause with a finite verb marking non-past, on which the possible marking for tense, aspect and evidentiality is restricted, as in sentence (203c):

(203a) pkraʃis wu-kə-rgaʔ sloppən tə jontan ˈnə-ŋos
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-NOM-like teacher C yon.tan EV-be
The teacher who likes bKra-shis is Yon-tan.

(203b) jontan tə pkraʃis na-kə-rgaʔ-w sloppən ˈnə-ŋos
Yon.tan C bKra.shis PFT-NOM-like-3s teacher EV-be
Yon-tan is the teacher who liked bKra-shis

(203c) tʃəʔ-pu pkraʃis kə-rgaʔ-w wu-sloppən tə jontan ˈnə-ŋos
this-now bKra.shis NOM-like-3s 3s:GEN-teacher C Yon.tan EV-be
Right now Yontan is the teacher who likes bKra-shis.

In a recent paper on rGyalrong relative clauses Sun and Lin give an overview of the different types of relative clause in Zhuōkèjī, a Central rGyalrong dialect closely related to Jiǎomùzú, and Cǎodēng, a Northern rGyalrong dialect. Cǎodēng relative clauses use finite verb forms mostly for the core arguments subject and object, while non-finite verb forms occur mostly with peripheral arguments. In Cǎodēng adverbials expressing location must have a non-finite structure, but in Zhuōkèjī there is no such constraint. Furthermore, Cǎodēng subjects and objects can only be relativised if the relative clause gives a generic state of affairs. In Zhuōkèjī there is no restriction.[225] The Zhuōkèjī relative clauses, in marking and meaning, distinguish the same two types as are found in Jiǎomùzú. However, the non-finite form in the Zhuōkèjī is less prone to be interpreted as indicating a general or habitual state of affairs. The restriction for inverse situations, which have to be marked by a non-finite verb form in the relative clause is the same.

d. *Complement clauses*

A complement clause is a sentence that is the subject or object of a predicate. Most Jiǎomùzú complements modify a verb, but I have found a few examples where there is no verb in the main clause, such as (204a):

(204a) ŋa [jontan ji-ˈvi]
I [Yon.tan IMP-come$_1$]
I ordered Yon-tan to come.

(204b) ŋa [jontan ji-ˈvi] to-cəs-ŋ
I [Yon.tan IMP-come$_1$] PFT-say-1s
I told Yon-tan to come.

Jiǎomùzú has both subject complements and object complements. Examples (205a) and (205b) show subject complements. Sentences (205c) and (205d) have object complements:

[225] Sun and Lin (2007: 8-9).

(205a) [sonam cʰe moʔt] to-to na-va-ʒdor
[bSod.nams liquor drink] more-RED PFT-CAUS-excessive
[bSod-nams' drinking] got worse and worse.

(205b) [pkraʃis kʰarɟas kə-va] tərmu ɲ-awo na-ʃi-mŋam
[bKra.shis song NOM-do] person 3p:GEN-head PFT-VPT-hurt
[bKra-shis' singing] gave people a headache.

(205c) ŋa [nənɟo mdzarti ˈkə-tərgaʔ-w ] ʃi-ŋ
I [you peach PRIMP-2-like-2s] know-1s
I know [that you like peaches].

(205d) ŋa [wuɟo manɟuʔ vi] ˈkə-səso-ŋ ko
I [he again come$_1$] PRIMP-think-1s MD:ANX
I'm afraid [he will come back].

Jiǎomùzú does not have any words or markers that function as complementisers.
Equi-deletion deletes a subject or an object from the complement clause when that subject or object is co-referential with some argument in the main clause. In Jiǎomùzú equi-deletion of subjects is quite frequent. In example (206a) the subject of the main clause, Yon-tan, is also the subject of the complement 'to plant barley'. The subject of (206b), *nənɟo*, 'you' is also the subject of the object complement clause. The subject of the complement clause is deleted while the subject in the main clause remains.

(206a) jontan [sweʔj ji-w] ˈna-səso-w
Yon.tan [barley plant-3s] OBS-think-3s
Yon-tan wants to plant barley.

(206b) nənɟo [tərtsʰot kəbdu tʃe vi] mə-tə-cʰa-n
you [hour four LOC come$_1$] Q-2-able-2s
Can you come at four o'clock?

Raising, also called transport, takes an element of the complement clause and makes it an argument of the main clause, while the meaning of the sentence remains the same. Negative raising occurs in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. I give examples of negative raising in section 8.1.c on negation in this chapter. It is possible to use a predicate parenthetically, to say something about the complement rather than about the person performing the action indicated by the predicate. The speaker's point in the next examples is not that he is thinking; rather he makes a point about religion, underscoring it with the use of the predicate in different positions:

(207a) ŋa to-səso-ŋ cʰos tə kəru[226] w-amaʔ ˈnə-miʔ
I PFT-think-1s religion C very 3s:GEN-business EV-not.have
I think that religion is not very useful.

(207b) cʰos tə ŋa to-səso-ŋ kəru w-amaʔ ˈnə-miʔ
religion C I PFT-think-1s very 3s:GEN-business EV-not.have
Religion, I think, is not very useful.

(207c) cʰos tə kəru w-amaʔ ˈnə-miʔ ŋa to-səso-ŋ
religion C very 3s:GEN-business EV-not.have I PFT-think-1s
Religion is not very useful, I think.

Jiǎomùzú has dependent as well as independent complement clauses. A complement is dependent if some aspect of its meaning or interpretation follows from information given in the main clause. Complements that are not dependent are indicative in their format, that means, they look like and behave like a normal declarative sentence. Dependent complements are marked in some way.[227] My data on complements are very limited. Only a much more in-depth study than I am able to provide here will give more clues as to the system that underpins the Jiǎomùzú complement clauses syntactically and semantically. At the moment I can give only some preliminary findings.
In the Jiǎomùzú dialects dependent complement clauses are restricted syntactically by the semantics of the verb in the main clause. For example, a non-reality verb like 'hope' or 'desire' in the main clause triggers irrealis marking in the complement clause, as in example (208a) and (208b) below. Modal verbs that express permission, such as 'allow', often have some form of relative tense in their complement clauses, see example (240). And for complements that have the same subject as the main clause, the tense and aspect marking in the complement clause must align with the marking in the main clause. If the main clause is marked for perfective, the complement cannot be marked for non-past:

(208a) pəʃurʈə [ jontan narənə lhamo-ndʒ kʰorlo kə-najo-ndʒ]
the.other.day Yon.tan and lHa.mo-3d bus PFT-wait-3d
The other day having to wait for the bus made Yon-tan and lHa-mo more

toto na-sakʰa
more.and.more PFT-tired
and more tired.

* pəʃurʈə[ jontan narənə lhamondʒ kʰorlo najondʒ] toto nasakʰa

[226] The adverb *kəru* is a dialect variant of *koro*.

[227] Noonan (1994: 91).

But is it fine to have a nominalised verb in the complement clause indicating an unspecified meaning, as in (208b). The event of 'waiting for the bus' is non-specific in that the speaker gives no details about how long Yon-tan and lHa-mo waited, what the weather was like, whether there was a shelter, etc. The only information the hearer has is that Yon-tan and lHa-mo waited for the bus, and that it somehow made them more and more tired:

(208b) pəʃurʈə [ jontan narənə lhamo-ndʒ $k^h$orlo ka-najo]
the.other.day Yon.tan and lHa.mo-3d bus NOM-wait]
The other day the waiting for the bus made Yon-tan and lHa-mo more

toto na-$sak^h$a
more.and.more PFT-tired
and more tired.

This is perhaps one reason why so many Jiǎomùzú complements are nominalised: a nominalised verb has no time-specific marking, which makes it compatible with whatever the marking is on the verb in the main clause.

From a semantic point of view, the distinguishing factor in the morphology of the Jiǎomùzú complement seems to be nominalisation. Non-nominalised complements appear with quotes, pretence verbs and desiderative verbs. Nominalised complement clauses occur with propositional attitude and commentative verbs, as well as with achievement and aspectual verbs. Fear verbs and knowledge verbs can have either independent or dependent complements, as can modal verbs. It seems therefore that the main semantic opposition governing complement clauses in Jiǎomùzú is reality versus non-reality. Where the contents of the complement differ from the reality of the speaker's world, a non-nominalised indicative structure is used. For all those complements that, in their content, relate to the speaker's real world, nominalised structures are employed. Clearly pretence verbs such as 'imagine' and 'deceive' give entry to a make-believe world that is different from reality. Also desiderative verbs like 'hope' and 'wish' conjure up a world that is not reality, at least not yet. Quotes, which are always direct in Jiǎomùzú, by definition do not reflect the speaker's reality, but the reality of the person being quoted.

One complicating factor in considering the semantic distribution of complement clauses is that in Jiǎomùzú there are relatively few verbs that differentiate between shades of emotional or abstract meanings. There tends to be just one verb that covers all shades of meaning. The English verbs 'think', 'hope', 'desire', 'believe' and 'want', for example, are all covered by the general use verb *kasəso*, 'think'. Quite often modal verbs such as *kəc$^h$a*, 'able' and *kaʃpaʔ*, 'can' are used to express achievement type meanings such as 'manage', 'fail', and 'try'. Also, the Jiǎomùzú dialects tend to prefer quotes of direct speech or even just direct speech or an indicative sentence without a main clause rather than forming complements for certain classes of verbs. If there is a complement structure, it usually simply adds a frame with 'say' or an equivalent neutral verb to the indicative marked for causativity, which then makes the entire structure into a quote. Finally, manipulative verbs such as 'order' and 'force' do not really exist in Jiǎomùzú. These sorts of meanings are

constructed with prominence marking for the subject combined with causativity markers in the verb phrase or a form of the modal verb *ra*, 'need', without an actual complement. Below follow examples of the different verb categories and their complements.

1. *Non-nominalised complement clauses*

The non-reality group with non-nominalised complements includes quotes, pretence verbs and desiderative verbs. I discuss quotes more extensively in section 8.1 on sentence types above. Here I give just one example. Note that the complement, indicated by square brackets, is a complete sentence which can stand alone, including an interjection *ahaha* and mood marker *ko*:

(209) [ahaha j-apa j-apso-j ka-nəndʈi ɟi-'a-c$^{h}$a-jn
[oh.oh 1p-father 1p-together-LOC NOM-bring.along NEG/PFT-NEV-able-3p
"oh oh, we did not manage to bring our father along!" they said.

ko] to-cəs-jn
MD:ANX] PFT-say-3p

Pretence verbs such as 'trick', 'deceive' and 'imagine' have straightforward indicatives as their complement:

(210) jontan w-əseʔm w-əŋgi-j [w-əɟeʔm zdombo ndoʔ]
yon.tan 3s:GEN-heart 3s:GEN-inside-LOC 3s:GEN-house huge have
Yon-tan imagines his house to be huge.

ˈna-səso-w
OBS-imagine-3s

Note that this sentence is also grammatical without the verb phrase *nasəsow*, 'imagines'. In that case the sentence would mean something like 'In Yon-tan's imagination, his house is huge'.
Desiderative verbs such as 'wish', 'desire', 'hope' and 'want' have indicative complements, for the most part with verb phrases marked for irrealis. As described above, most of these meanings are expressed by *kasəso*, 'think':

(211) ŋa [jontan a-ji-vi] na-səso-ŋ
I [Yon.tan IRR-PFT-come$_{1}$] PFT-think-1s
I hope [that Yon-tan will come].

The different shades of meaning can be seen clearly in the following examples. In (212) there is irrealis marking, showing that though the speaker wants Yon-tan to come, his coming may not

become reality. The modal verb *ra*, 'need', emphasizes the speaker's strong desire for Yon-tan to come, literally meaning 'I need for Yon-tan to come':

(212) ŋa [ jontan a-ji-vi] ra
I [Yon.tan IRR-PFT-come$_1$] need
I want [Yon-tan to come].

The modal verb can be part of the complement, showing a strong desire but not the possibility to actually enforce the wish, as in (213). When 'want' has more of a manipulative meaning, as in (214), the irrealis marking disappears and modal verb *ra*, 'need' is added to the complement, and the complement verb *karstə*, 'count' is nominalised. The verb in the main clause is once again the neutral *kasəso*, 'think':

(213) wuɟo [tapuʔ rnani a-mə-va-w ra] na-səso-w
She [child chaos IRR-NEG-do-3s need] PFT-think-3s
She wants [the child to be quiet].

(214) wuɟo [tət$^h$a pok ka-rstə ra] na-səso-w
He [book all NOM-count need] PFT-think-3s
He wants [all the books to be counted].

A final example shows 'want' in a sense that, in the speaker's mind, is more easily realised. There is no irrealis marking in the complement, but also there is no actual person marking, indicating that *tʃ$^h$i*, 'go' is used in a generic sense here. It is not so much the going that matters, but the idea of being in or going to Běijīng:

(215) ŋa peciŋ tʃ$^h$i na-səso-ŋ
I Běijīng go$_1$ PFT-think-1s
I want to go to Beijing.

Manipulative verbs like 'force', 'order', and 'make' do not occur in Jiǎomùzú, so there are no sentences that have complement clauses modified by these meanings. Instead, the verb is marked for indirect causativity if the agent controls or has volition over the action. The agent is marked as such by prominence marker *kə*, while the causee, who actually performs the act, is unmarked. In (216) the wind is not an agent in control of the action, so the verb *kacop*, 'burn', is not marked for causativity. But the verb *kanəʃmo*, 'steal' in (217) is:

(216) k$^h$alu kə təmtʃuk təjeʔm kərgi kərgi to-ˈa-cop-w
wind PR fire house one one PFT-NEV-burn-3s
The wind caused the fire to burn one house after another.

(217) lhamo kə jontan pkaʔ kərgi to-ˈa-sə-nəʃmo-w
lHa.mo PR Yon.tan chicken one PFT-NEV-CAUS-steal-3s
lHa-mo made Yon-tan steal a chicken.

It is possible to use a modal verb like *ra*, 'need', rather than causativity marking. In (218) observation marking with *na-* on the modal verb indicates outside pressure or obligation. It is also possible in this sentence to have *nasəleʔtjn*, 'cause to write':

(218) sloppən kə slopme-ɲo tswoŋe¤ kəmŋi mpʰjar leʔt ˈna-ra
teacher PR student-p homework five CL hit$_1$ OBS-need
The teacher had the students write five pages of homework.

Another frequently used strategy is to employ quotes rather than manipulative verbs:

(219) ŋa [jontan ji-ˈvi] to-cəs-ŋ
I [Yon.tan IMP-come$_1$] PFT-say-1s
I told Yon-tan to come. (I ordered Yon-tan to come.)

2. *Nominalised complement clauses*

Complement clauses that anchor firmly to a speaker's reality are nominalised. This large group of verbs includes propositional attitude verbs, commentative and achievement verbs, as well as motion and aspectual verbs. The nominalisers *kə-* and *ka-* are both common, following the rules for agent and patient nominalisation as discussed in section 7.1 of the chapter on verbs. The nominalised verb phrase can be finite or non-finite. As with relative clauses, non-inflected verb forms give a generic interpretation of an event. For example, the boss in (222) regrets that he lacks the means to buy a car. The sentence does not indicate that there is a specific car at a specific time and place which the man is unable to buy. On the other hand, Yon-tan's stealing of the bike is an event which is firmly linked to time and place, and thus requires tense, aspect and number marking. Nominalised verb phrases in complement clauses can occur with the full range of tense, aspect, mood and number marking.
Below are some examples for each of the different categories in this group.
Propositional attitude verbs such as 'believe', 'be certain', 'deny' express the speaker's attitude towards the truth of the proposition in the complement clause:

(220) [jontan jaŋma¤ to-kə-nəʃmo] tə ndʈondʈo ŋos
[Yon.tan bike PFT-NOM-steal] C really be
It is certain [that Yon-tan stole the bike].

(221) [jontan jaŋma¤ to-kə-nəʃmo] ŋos ma-nə-cəs
[Yon.tan bike PFT-NOM-steal] be NEG-EREFL-say
Yon-tan denies [having stolen the bike].

Commentative verbs express the attitude of a speaker towards action or event in the complement clause. Many commentative verbs belong to the category of stative verbs, many of which express adjectival meanings:

(222) taro tə [ts$^{h}$ətsə¤ ka-ku wu-poŋeʔj kə-miʔ] wastop ˈna-najin
leader C [vehicle NOM-buy 3s:GEN-money NOM-not.have] very OBS-pity
The leader regrets [that there is no money to buy a car].

(223) [jontan ɟi-kə-vu] ˈna-mtsar
Yon.tan NEG/PFT-NOM-come$_2$] OBS-strange
It is odd that Yon-tan did not come.

The meanings expressed by achievement verbs such as ‘try’, ‘fail’, ‘manage’ are often expressed by modal verbs. The verb *kac$^{h}$a* indicates physical ability, while *kaʃpaʔ* signals learned ability:

(224) jontan [təɟu ka-nəmgla] ɟi-ˈa-c$^{h}$a
Yon.tan [water NOM-cross] NEG/PFT-NEV-able
Yon-tan failed [to jump over the river].

(225) [kəpaʔ-skaʔt ka-va] ʃpaʔ-w
[Chinese-language NOM-do] can$_1$-3s
She speaks Chinese.

Aspectual verbs such as ‘begin’, ‘stop’ and ‘be used to’ are all nominalised:

(226) jontan [təmɲok ka-va] na-saɟa-w
Yon-tan [bread NOM-do] PFT-begin-3s
Yontan started [to make bread].

(227) ndə sta tə [pak-ʃa ka-ndza] na-ŋgrel
that origin C [pig-meat NOM-eat] PFT-be.used.to
From that time on they got into the habit of [eating pork].

The motion verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ often occur with clausal complements:

(228) pkraʃis kəpa tʃe kəŋnes $c^ha$ ʃi [wu-kə-natso] na-$^l$a-$tʃ^h$i
bKra.shis year LOC two time always [3s:GEN-NOM-see] PFT-NEV-$go_1$
bKra-shis went [to see her] twice a year.

3. *Categories of verb that take both kinds of complements*

There are some categories of verb that can take both nominalised and non-nominalised clausal complements. These categories include knowledge verbs, immediate perception verbs, fear verbs and modal auxiliary verbs. Admittedly these kinds of verb do not fit the hypothesis of a split between reality and non-reality underlying the dichotomy between nominalised and non-nominalised complements. Future efforts to analyse complement clauses should shed further light on the issue. Below follow some examples for each of the categories mentioned above.
Immediate perception verbs include 'see', 'watch', 'hear', 'listen'. Though by far the most complements for this category are nominalised, some verbs can take either kind of complement. One example is the verb *kaməseʔ*m, 'hear', in sentences (229) and (230):

(229) pkraʃis kə [lhamo laktʃe kə-ndoʔ] na-$^l$a-məseʔm
bKra.shis PR [lHa.mo thing NOM-have] PFT-NEV-hear
bKra-shis heard about [lHa-mo's winning a prize].

(230) [pkraʃis to-$^l$a-ŋa-la-laʔt-s] mə-na-tə-məsaʔm-n
[bKra.shis PFT-NEV-REC-RED-$hit_2$-3s] Q-PFT-2-$hear_2$-2s
Did you hear about [bKra-shis having a fight]?

(231) ŋa [jontan $k^harɟit$ kə-va-w] na-rəkna-ŋ
I [jontan song NOM-do-3s] PFT-listen-1s
I listened to [Yon-tan singing a song].

(232) ŋa [jontan jaŋma kə-nəʃmo-w] na-məto-ŋ
I [Yon.tan bike NOM-steal-3s] PFT-see-1s
I saw [Yon-tan steal a bike].

(233) nənɟo [peciŋ ka-$tʃ^h$i ] mə-tə-rəmɲo-n
you [Běijīng NOM-$go_1$] Q-2-experience-2s
Have you been to Běijīng?

Knowledge verbs such as 'know', 'discover', and 'realize' can take both kinds of complements, as demonstrated for *kaʃi*, 'know' in example (234) and (235). Still, by far the most complements occurring with knowledge verbs in my data are nominalised:

(234) [jontan ŋa ŋə-jaŋma to-kə-nəʃmo-w] ŋa ˈna-ʃi-ŋ
[Yon.tan I 1s:GEN-bike¤ PFT-NOM-steal-3s] I OBS-know-1s
I found out [that Yon-tan had stolen my bike].

(235) ŋa [nənɟo mdzarti ˈkə-tərgaʔ-w] ʃi-ŋ
I [you peach PRIMP-2-like-2s] know-1s
I know that you like peaches.

Fear verbs include verbs like ‘fear’ and ‘worry’. The examples below show nominalised and non-nominalised examples for *kaʒder*, ‘be afraid’

(236) ŋa [jontan kə-vi] ˈna-ʒder-ŋ
I Yon.tan NOM-come$_1$] OBS-be.afraid-1s
I’m afraid [Yon-tan will come].

(237) ŋa [wuɟo manɟuʔ vi] ˈna-ʒder-ŋ
I [he again come$_1$] OBS-be.afraid-1s
I'm afraid he will come back.

(238) [nənɟo kawsə¤ ma-tə-cʰa-n] ŋa na-nəsə-ŋ
[you test NEG-2-able-2s] I PFT-worry-1s
I’m worried that you will not pass the test.

Modal auxiliaries occur with both nominalised and non-nominalised complements:

(239) nənɟo [tərtsʰot kəbdu tʃe vi] mə-tə-cʰa-n
you [hour four LOC come$_1$] Q-2-able-2s
Can you come at four o’clock?

(240) [ndə ˈto-nə-ndʈi-w] jok
[that FPFT-EREFL-take-2s] allow
You can just [take it].

(241) tʈala-j kə-ɲu tə [ka-sə-rwas] ɟi-ˈa-kʰut
street-LOC NOM-sit C [NOM-CAUS-get.up] NEG/PFT-NEV-can
The one who was sitting on the street could not get himself [to get up].

e. *Adverbial clauses*

Adverbial clauses modify a verb phrase or an entire sentence. Jiǎomùzú adverbial clauses express time, manner, place, reason and purpose, dative type meanings, and so forth. In Jiǎomùzú there are adverbial clauses that can be replaced by a non-derived single word adverb as well as clauses that cannot be replaced in this way. Clauses that can be replaced are locatives of time and place. Jiǎomùzú has a two sets of adverbialisers which turn a clause or sentence into an adverbial clause of time or place. The adverbialisers are clitics that are inserted at the end of the adverbialised clause or sentence. One set of Jiǎomùzú adverbialisers, including *no* 'at the latest' and *mo* 'just then' indicates time only. A second set has adverbialisers that can be used for either place or time reference. These adverbialisers include *ʧe*, 'at', *-j*, 'at; towards' and *cʰo*, 'somewhere, sometime'. I discuss the adverbialisers for time and place extensively in section 5.6 of the chapter on adverbs. The examples used in this section mostly have *ʧe*, with *-j* by far the most commonly used adverbialiser. The examples below show locatives of time in (242a) and (242b). Sentences (242c) and (242d) have place locatives:

(242a) ŋa [soʃnu] va-ŋ
I [tomorrow] do-1s
I'll do it tomorrow.

(242b) [wuɟo ˈji-vi tʃe] ŋa va-ŋ
[he FPFT-come$_1$ LOC] I do-1s
I'll do it when he comes.

(242c) pkraʃis bawbaw¤ [ tatʃe] na-ˈa-teʔ-w
bKra.shis bag [here] PFT-NEV-put$_1$-3s
bKra-shis put the bag here.

(242d) pkraʃis wu-bawbaw¤ [ wuɟo kə-məto-w tʃe] na-ˈa-teʔ-w
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-bag [he NOM-see-3s LOC] PFT-NEV-put$_1$-3s
bKra-shis put the bag where he could see it.

The morphology of the adverbial clause is influenced by the main clause. The most commonly occurring adaptations include changes in the tense and aspect marking and nominalisation. Example (243a) has a neutral sentence, 'bKra-shis will arrive', and its adverbial clause counterpart in (243b). Note that the unmarked non-past verb form of (243a) changes to a relative tense, past-in-the-future, in (343b). The leaving of the subjects in the main clause hinges on bKra-shis' having arrived, and the adverbial clause is marked accordingly. Sentence (243c) has a nominalised adverbial clause. bKra-shis' arrival is linked to a nominal head, *ʒak*, 'time', not to the subject of the main clause. The verb in the adverbial clause is not marked for tense and aspect:

(243a) pkraʃis məndə
bKra.shis arrive
bKra-shis will arrive.

(243b) [pkraʃis ˈji-məndə tʃe] jiɟi tʃʰi-j
[bKra.shis PFT-arrive LOC] we:i go$_1$-1p
We will go [when bKra-shis gets here].

(243c) [pkraʃis kə-məndə wu-ʒak tʃe] jiɟi tʃʰi-j
[bKra.shis NOM-arrive 3s:GEN-time LOC] we:i go$_1$-1p
We'll go [at the time when bKra-shis gets here].

Most adverbial clauses are not substitutable by a single word. These clauses encompass the following categories: manner, purpose, reason, circumstantiality, simultaneous events, conditionals, concessive, substitutive, additive and absolutive clauses. Below follow examples of each category.
Manner in the Jiǎomùzú dialects is most often signalled by expressives rather than adverbs, see section 6.1 of the chapter on smaller word classes. Adverbial clauses most often use the noun *sok*, 'manner' to express manner, as in (244). Adverbial clauses indicating manner can also employ verbs like *kanatso*, 'look, see' and *kapso*, 'compare, be similar' in a nominalised clause modified by *tʃe*:

(244) wuɟo [kəsce tʰi sok kʰarɟit no-kə-səkʃot] tə tʰi sok
she [before what manner song PFT/AF-NOM-teach] C what manner
She sang in the way in which she had been taught to.

ˈna-va-w
OBS-do-3s

(245) [wuɟo kə-vətʏi ka-natso tʃe] w-amiʔ kəmŋam ˈna-pso
[he NOM-walk NOM-look LOC] 3s:GEN-leg hurt OBS-similar
He walks as if his leg hurts. (From the look of his walking, his leg seems to hurt.)

Circumstantiality, which signals the circumstances under which the event in the main clause takes place, also employs nominalised clauses:

(246) [wuɟo təlo təɟeʔm w-əŋgi-j ka-ngo] kətsə-tsə
she milk house 3s:GEN-inside-LOC NOM-go.upstream little-RED
She brought the milk into the house without spilling a drop.

ʒik ɟi-ˈa-kto
also NEG/PFT-NEV-spill

Purpose and reason are often indicated by a nominalised clause without any other marking on them, as in example (247). Also frequently used is a nominalised verb phrase with a genitive construction

*wutʃʰe*, ‘for the reason of’, as in (248). Adverbials indicating reason or purpose can be marked for prominence by prominence marker *kə*:

(247) wuɟo [piɟo¤ kə-moʔt] ji-rɟi
he [beer NOM-drink] PFT-go$_2$
He went out [to have a beer].

(249) wuɟo [mborkʰe ka-tʃʰi wu-tʃʰe] kə to-napso
he [Măĕrkāng NOM-go$_1$ 3s:GEN-reason] PR PFT-get.up.early
He got up early for the reaon of going to Măĕrkāng.

Simultaneous events can be expressed by adverbial conjunctions, see the chapters on adverbs and on smaller word classes. Also common are constructions that have a nominalised verb, as in (250). Example (251) shows the use of locative marking to express two actions happening at the same time. Note that in both examples the verb in the adverbial clause forms the background for the action of the main clause, and is therefore kept generic without tense and aspect marking:

(250) ŋa [dianʂə¤ ka-namɲo] dzwonje¤ ˈkə-leʔt-ŋ
I [TV NOM-watch] homework PRIMP-hit$_1$-1s
While watching TV I am doing my homework.

(251) [jini kə-nəndze tʃe] kʰorlo ji-vu w-əskaʔt ki na-məjen-j
[we:e NOM-eat LOC] car PFT-come$_2$ 3s:GEN-sound IDEF PFT-hear-1p
While we were eating we heard a car arrive.

Conditionals in Jiăomùzú are expressed on the verb. Real conditionals employ *mə-* while irrealis is expressed by *a-*. For a discussion of conditional marking, see section 7.9 of the chapter on verbs. The semantic distinction between ‘if’ and ‘when’ in Jiăomùzú exists. Since ‘if’ indicates an irrealis or real conditional situation, marking with *mə-* or *a-* occurs. For the real conditional ‘when’ a locative like *tʃe* is employed to create an adverbial clause:

(252) [təmu mə-na-laʔt] rə jino w-əmpʰi ma-tʃʰi-j
[rain COND-PFT-hit$_2$] CON we:e 3s:GEN-outside NEG-go$_1$-1p
If it rains, we won't go out.

(253) [təmu kə-leʔt tʃe] jino w-əmpʰi ma-tʃʰi-j
[rain NOM-hit$_1$ LOC] we:e 3s:GEN-outside NEG-go$_1$-1p
When it rains, we don't go out.

Concessive clauses that express definite meanings such as ‘though’ or ‘apart from’ are formed with adverbial conjunctions. For a discussion see the chapters on adverbs and on smaller word classes.

Here I give just one example. The adverbial conjunction *me* means 'only'. The other conjunction, *nə*, is a subordinating conjunction:

(254) [poŋeʔj na-nə-pʰət-j me] nə ka-nəmbri na-rəʃniŋe-j
money PFT-EREFL-lose-1p CON CON NOM-play PFT-pleasant-1p
Apart from us losing our money, we had fun.

Indefinite concessive meanings employ clauses with an interrogative, as in (255):

(255) [tʰi to-tə-cəs-n ʒik] ŋa ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
[what PFT-2-say-2s also] I NEG-go$_1$-1s
No matter what you say, I'm not going.

For substitutive clauses a form of comparisons is used. For an overview of comparisons, see section 7.1 in the chapter on verbs. The example here coordinates two possible actions with the conjunction *narənə*, 'and', then has the marker for comparisons *ndʒakaj*, 'from the bottom', after which follows the chosen course of action:

(256) [laktʃe ka-ʃi-mbuʔ narənə jiɟi ka-tʃʰi ndʒ-aka-j] jiɟi
[thing NOM-VPT-give and we:i NOM-go$_1$ 3d-bottom-LOC] we:i
Rather than going ourselves we sent a present.

ma-kə-tʃʰi to-va-j
NEG-NOM-go$_1$ PFT-do-1p

(257) [təɟeʔm ka-ɲu narənə dianjiŋ¤ kə-namɲo ndʒ-aka-j] təɟeʔm
[house NOM-stay and movie NOM-watch 3d-bottom-LOC] house
We stayed home instead of going to watch a movie.

ka-ɲu to-va-j
NOM-stay PFT-do-1p

Additive clauses are formed with adverbial conjunctions, as discussed in section 5.7 of the chapter on adverbs and on smaller word classes. One example is:

(258) [wuɟo laktʃʰe ka-mbuʔ maʔk kə] manɟuʔ kʰarɟit va-w ˈna-ra
[he thing NOM-give not.be PR] ADV:CON song do-3s OBS-need
In addition to giving a present, he had to sing.

Jiǎomùzú does not have absolutive clauses in the proper sense of the word. Absolutive meanings are expressed by slotting locative markers into a normal, non-nominalised indicative sentence. The

adverbialiser *k$^{h}$o* in (259) means ‘right after, immediately’. Literally the sentence means ‘as soon as the letter arrived, lHa-mo phoned bKra-shis’:

(259) [tascok ji-məndə k$^{h}$o] lhamo pkraʃis dianxwa¤ na-laʔt-w
[letter PFT-arrive ADVLS] lHa.mo bKra.shis telephone PFT-hit$_{2}$-3s
The letter having come, lHa-mo immediately phoned bKra-shis.

(260) [tapuʔ tərmu kəneʔk na-məto tʃe] coktsə w-əŋk$^{h}$u-j na-ŋapki
[child person black PFT-see LOC] table 3s:GEN-back-LOC PFT-hide
Having seen the black man, the child hid behind the table. (When he saw the black man, the child hid behind the table.)

Speech act adverbial clauses consist of a direct speech sentence connected to the main clause with a conjunction:

(261) [nənɟo krəŋ tə-ʃi-w] k$^{h}$onə tʃəʔ-pu təndze w-əvə ˈna-kəktu
[you perhaps 2-know-2s] CON this-now food 3s:GEN-price OBS-big
As I’m sure you know, the price of food is very high right now.

(262) [[nənɟo ka-ʃə] nə-sem mə-ˈna-vi] nə pkraʃis
[[you NOM-know] 2s:GEN-heart Q-OBS-come$_{1}$] CON bKra.shis
In case you’re interested, bKra-shis came yesterday.

pəʃur ji-vu
yesterday PFT-come$_{2}$