CHAPTER 6
EXPRESSIVES, INTERJECTIONS, FILLERWORDS, CONJUNCTIONS AND MOOD MARKERS

6.0 Introduction

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

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

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

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

Section 6.4 contains a discussion of conjunctions. In Jiāomùzú both concatenate constructions and constructions which employ conjunctions are common. On the clause level and below, conjunctions usually occur at the end of the first conjunct. On the discourse level a conjunction can signal a new topic, in which case it occurs at the beginning of the new segment in the discourse. There are coordinating as well as subordinating conjunctions in Jiāomùzú. Coordinating subjunctions include korənə, narənə and merə, which semantically partially overlap with English 'but', 'and' and 'or' respectively, though the use of narənə is much more restricted than its English counterpart ‘and’. The coordinating conjunction ro links conjuncts sequentially in a context of futurity while rənə links sets of completed events. The most frequently used subordinating conjunction is na. This conjunction subordinates the conjunct it marks and turns it into a back-up or validation for the information that follows in the second conjunct. On the phrase level, with nominal constituents, na can function rather like a topicaliser. The subordinating conjunction wurənə signals reason or result,
while *kʰonə* indicates condition. There is a difference in the level of evidentiality expressed by these conjunctions, with *wurɔnə* signalling the greater certainty of the two. Jiǎomùzú also has adverbs which can serve as conjunctions. Some of these can occur with another conjunction like *nɔ*. In the last section, 6.5, I discuss mood markers. These illocutionary force markers occur at the very end of a sentence, though they can be followed by a question marker. They are used very frequently in Jiǎomùzú, mostly to modify a statement or question with the appropriate emotional inflection or mood.

6.1 Expressives

Sun\textsuperscript{134} defines expressives or ideophones as "a special type of words that depict all kinds of sounds, shapes, colors, qualities, and actions in a direct matching of sound and meaning to convey sensory experiences and attitudes". Another definition of ideophone, following Doke, is: "a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualitative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity."\textsuperscript{135} The Jiǎomùzú dialects have many expressives. Expressives are short words that pack very complex meanings. For example, the one syllable expressive *sprep* occurs with verbs that can signal actions such as falling, tripping or tumbling. The semantic load of *sprep* encompasses both the manner or reason of the fall, it being caused by clumsiness or lack of attention, and the result, namely the subject's ending up sprawling full length on the ground. The expressives are best understood as manner adverbs that have certain phonological and morphological qualities which distinguish them from other words. The abundance of expressives explains the paucity of manner adverbs in Jiǎomùzú. I discuss expressives as a separate word class rather than as adverbs because of their phonological and morphological distinctions.

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

\begin{equation}
xwɛŋxwɛŋ \quad \text{bright and shiny and of a pure nature (expressive)}
\end{equation}

\begin{align*}
tāŋə kə-ʋənì xwɛŋxwɛŋ & \quad \text{clothes NOM-red EXP} \\
clothes NOM-red unicoloured clothes & \quad \text{a lamp that shines brightly and illuminates a space without leaving dark corners}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{134} Sun (2004: 11).

\textsuperscript{135} Doke 1935, quoted after Slachter (1996: 21).
The same goes for the cluster /ɡɽ/, which occurs in expressives only:

(2) ɡɽŋɡɽŋ unbroken, in great quantity

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

And some expressives have double vowels or diphthongs, like ɡie, 'sound of sudden bursting open and spilling out', see example (3) below.
Expressives often are onomatopoeic, imitations of sounds:

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

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

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

(4) ɡie the sound of something bursting out all at once and completely

wu-ŋcce ɡie ɾə-ɾə-kʰit ʰə-ŋos
3s:GEN-intestine EXP PFT-NOM-spill EV-be
His intestines with a blob sound all at once spilled out entirely.

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

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

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

(6) ɡiekgiekgie (sound of) something bursting out all at once and completely

wu-ŋoce ɡiekgie ɾə-ɾə-kʰit ʰə-ŋos
3s:GEN-intestine EXP PFT-NOM-spill EV-be
His intestines with a blob sound all at once spilled out entirely.
(6)  jiekjiek  (sound of) something bursting all at once but then taking some time for the contents to finish dribbling out completely

wu-nəŋce  jiek-jiek  rə-kə-kʰit  'nə-ŋos
3s:GEN-intestine  EXP-RED  PFT-NOM-spill  EV-be
His intestines with a blob sound burst out [of his belly] and dribbled out completely.

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

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

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

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

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

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

But such derived meanings can be quite different from the original, as in the case of ler, 'in one uninterrupted sweeping movement', see sentence (5) above. It is not possible to have *lerler to express either a faster or slower sweeping movement, or to intensify the original meaning. But it is possible to have lerler with the meaning 'a fast, continuous rolling movement', as of a log rolling down a slope. The expressive with the reduplicated root still signals fast and sweeping movement, but there are the added aspects of rolling rather than striking and a longer duration of the action. In some cases a one syllable root cannot be reduplicated and maintain the same sense, though it is
possible to form a new root with a different meaning, as in example (10) below. In sentence (10a) tsok means 'just then, right at that moment' but the reduplicated form tsoktsok in (10b) indicates 'still and straight, without wriggling':

(10a) ŋa kə-tʃʰi-ŋ to-lo-ŋ tʃe tsok na-məndə
I NOM-go1-1s PFT-prepare-1s LOC EXP PFT-arrive
He arrived right at the moment when I was preparing to leave.

(10b) tapuʔ-ɲo tsoktsok na-ɲu-jn
child-p EXP PFT-sit-3p
The children sat up straight and still, without wriggling.

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

(11) spreп sprawling in full length as the result of clumsiness or lack of attention to where one is going (after a fall or tumble)

sprepsprep the sound that feet or heels make at a dance when they are all put down rhythmically and in time

sprepnəsprep indicates a whole community involved with enthusiasm and wholeheartedness, for example when a whole village turns out for a dance and goes at it with gusto for many hours

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

The second morphological pattern for expressives consists of two identical syllables. This is maybe the most common form of Jiăomůzu expressives:
(12) ŋkʰukŋkʰuk to a degree of ugliness kə-neʔk ŋkʰukŋkʰuk
NOM-black EXP
an ugly black

ʃəkʃək deep, dark kə-neʔk ʃəkʃək
NOM-black EXP
a deep black

tɾoktɾok perfectly matched (for children’s clothing) kə-natsa tɾoktɾok
NOM-suitable EXP
lovely and matching (of an outfit)

xpoxpo plump, rounded in a lovely way (of children) kə-mpʃer xpoxpo
NOM-beautiful EXP
beautifully plump

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

(13) * ʃək * xpo * tɾok * ŋkʰuk

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

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

(14) lernəler repeated intermittent sweeping movement
tɾoːmu lernəler na-sat-w
person EXP PFT-kill-3s
He killed people one after another, smiting each with one fell blow.

(15) jawnəjaw (sound of) repeated but intermittent calling
wu-kʰambu sto-j jawnəjaw fo to-kə-cəs ’na-ŋos
3s:GEN-yard upward-LOC EXP always PFT-NOM-say EV-be
Off and on someone kept on calling from the yard upwards.

Expressives of these four morphological forms can be repeated several times to express repetitive action or a greater degree or intensity of action, or increasing speed or urgency of action. The entire
expressive is repeated. It is not possible to repeat only part of a root or to split and mix roots. Example (16) demonstrates this for some of the expressives discussed above:

(16) ʃəkʃək ʃəkʃək ʃəkʃək ʃəkʃək ʃəkʃək* jawnəjaw jawnəjaw jawnəjaw jawnəjaw jawnəjaw

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

(17) w-əza w-ajiʔk w-əŋkʰuʔ təjuʔ cʰot cʰot cʰot
3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-hand 3s:GEN-back water EXP EXP EXP
Water, saying 'plink, plink, plink', dripped onto the back of his son's hand.

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

(18) ɬap ɬap kava ɬap ɬap ɬap kava
EXP do EXP do
do something in a messy way mess up badly, make a terrible hash of
something

tamaʔ tə siksik kava ra tamaʔ tə siksik siksik kava ra
work C EXP do need work C EXP EXP do need
The work must be done quickly. The work must be done as fast as possible.

In (19) the expressive verver, '(sound of) a big item flapping in a stiff breeze' indicates increased speed when it is repeated, while the repetition of vernəver, '(sound of) item slowly and intermittently flapping in the wind' signals a decrease of speed:
...verver verver na-so-cəs
EXP EXP PFT-CAUS-say
...flapped loudly and with quick movements in the stiff breeze.

...vernovə vernovə na-so-cəs
EXP EXP PFT-CAUS-say
...flapped lazily back and forth, back and forth in the wind.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For some expressives their morphological form depends on the word they modify, in terms of word
class and semantics. Which morphological format is appropriate for which expressive has to be
learned. Example (23) shows constraints on the form an expressive can take imposed by the
semantics of the verb it modifies:
(23) .gender3 Singular

in an unbroken stream of great quantity or volume (EXP)

gender3 Singular gender3 Singular koh

appear, come out in streams (of tears)

appear intermittently, stop and start

gender3 Singular kavavo

cry with a wailing sound and with lots of tears

* gender3 Singular kavavo

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

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

(24)  gender gender * gender * gender

ugly black

tendra kampfer o korono gender 'na-ne?k 'na-najin
picture beautiful MD:AF but EXP OBS-black OBS-pity
It is a nice picture really, just too bad that it's so dark.

(25)  NOM-black (ADJ) EXP

an ugly black

Your clothes are an unbecomingly, ugly black colour.

I have found only a limited number of expressives that behave in this remarkable way. Most of them keep the same morphological format no matter what kind of word they modify. Other examples of expressives that change their morphological shape are gender, 'pure, unpolluted', *gender, 'deep, dark'
and *tqotqok*, 'perfectly matched' which all become one syllable expressives when they modify a verb.

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

(26) ʂoŋʂoŋ long and thin w-ajiʔk kɔ-skriʔn ʂoŋʂoŋ
3s:GEN-arm NOM-long EXP
His arms are very long and thin.

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

(27) kɔ-varni xwenxweŋ kɔ-psok xwenxweŋ
NOM-red EXP NOM-clear EXP
bright red bright, glowing light

The same word can be modified by different expressives:

(28) kə-mbro sijuʃjujŋ kə-mbro ʃəŋjəŋ
NOM-high EXP NOM-high EXP
handsomely tall so tall that it is ungainly or ugly

(29) təɟʔ tʰektʰek tʰektʰek kaleʔt
water EXP EXP hit₁ water EXP EXP hit₁
the water drips the water flows smoothly, calmly

(30) təmu ʃəmʃem kaleʔt təmu ʃpruʃpru kaleʔt
rain EXP hit₁ rain EXP hit₁
drizzle (of rain) pelt down, rain cats and dogs

təmu ʃəmtʃəm kaleʔt
rain EXP hit₁
drip (of rain)

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

(31) kʰalu təŋtə kəŋtə kava

the water comes roaring

(32) təŋəm kəʃo təŋtə kəŋtə kavi

a person walks slowly

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

(33a) təŋge ki nə-mbuʔ-ŋ šniméšfinirga na-va-w

clothing IDEF PFT-give-1s EXP PFT-do-3s

[My friend] gave me a garment, which made me very happy.

(33b) pkraʃis kawšɔ[^2] kava na-cʰa kə šniméšfinirga ki na-mazaʔk

bKra.shis exam do PFT-able PR EXP IDEF PFT-jump[^2]

bKra.shis, having past the exam, jumped for joy.


you EXP C OBS-excessive CON exam NEG/PFT-NEV-able

You're enjoying yourself too much, you won't manage to pass the exam.

(33d) nəŋjo [cʰe kə-mot tə] 'na-ʒdoɾ kʰo nə-vok 'na-maŋam

you liquor NOM-drink C OBS-excessive CON 2s:GEN-stomach OBS-hurt

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

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

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

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

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

(35) təŋu? w-əŋgi nono kəŋu
water 3s:GEN-inside EXP sink
Sink deeper and deeper into the water.

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

However, for many verbs the appropriate expressive has become lexicalised. The link between the original meaning of the expressive and the action or event signalled by the verb is less or even not there at all:
(37) w-əkʃet ənə ənə ənə 'na-lhok
3s:GEN-strength EXP EXP OBS-appear
He becomes stronger and stronger.

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

nənə nə-jinju² nono ma-tə-c³a
you 2s:GEN-English EXP NEG-2-able
Your English is getting worse (and worse).

pak ə toto 'na-ts⁴o
pig C EXP OBS-fat
The pig is getting more and more fat.

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

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

*bebe kamem toto ŋos

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

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

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

pkraʃis kawsono kava na-cʰa kə ʃniñe.ʃnirga kə w-andɾiʔ-yo
bKra.shis exam do PFT-able PR EXP PR 3s:GEN-friend-p
bKra-shis, being delighted with having passed the test, took his friends

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

(41) amə məra with industry and zeal; dilligently

pkraʃis pəʃur tascok kəʒu tə təʰa w-əŋgi amə.məra
bKra.shis yesterday writing all c book 3s:GEN-inside EXP
bKra-shis wrote all the writing with religious zeal in the book yesterday.

na-laʔt-w
PFT-write2-3s

The second kind combines four dissimilar syllables:

(42) səkpe ɣame wholeheartedly and sincere

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

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

6.2 Interjections and oaths

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

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136 For good definitions of interjections see Crystal (1991: 180) and Slachter (1996: 58).
Most interjections can be used by men and women alike, but a few interjections are gender specific. Example (43b) shows interjections that are only appropriate for use by females:

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

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

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

(44)  
aha  tʃəʔ  ʃəʔ-ɲipa  ja
INTJ this NEG/PFT-turn.out.well MD:SUP
Oh dear, this really did not turn out very well.
Among all peoples of the Tibetan culture area the use of oaths is common both in negotiating life issues and in daily conversation. Jiāomùzú women tend to swear less than men, and the use of oaths is looked upon as rather rude, though perhaps also indicative of strength and independence. Oaths tend to have a religious content, since they have actual use in pledges taken before religious authorities, and are usually loans from Tibetan. Common oaths in Jiāomùzú are ɲimalhase, ‘the sun of Lhasa, Lhasa’s light’ and kanjerstanjur, which invokes the authority of the Buddhist scriptures. Onomatopoeic expressions are used regularly, as described in section 6.1 on expressives. They also occur as interjections, especially in animal calls:

6.3 **Filler words**

Filler words are used in a non-silent pause, that is a pause in the flow of speech which has been filled by some kind of vocalisation. The Jiāomùzú filler words can be divided in three groups. The first group consists of fillers that have no meaning in and of themselves, such as ha, hə, a, ə and e. The second grouping consists of the conjunctions rə, nə, and ranə. These conjunctions normally function to signal the relationship between the conjuncts they connect. The more hesitant the speaker is, the more these connectors will occur in his speech, to the point where they become superfluous fillers. Occasionally other conjunctions such as narə, 'and' and wurə, 'so, for' occur as fillers. A final group of fillers is made up of words or word groups that actually carry meaning. Very common is mənaŋos, 'if it is so', often followed by one of the conjunctions na, rə or ranə. Less frequent is the use of ana oranagos 'if it is like that', and tʰi ngaŋos, 'what is it'. Filler words are inserted in a sentence or clause at whichever point the speaker hesitates or wants to pause. It is possible for
several fillers to occur in one sentence. Some fillers can be repeated in a sequence of two or more during a single pause in the sentence. It is also possible to have two or more different fillers occur together to fill up one pause. It is a matter of speaker preference which filler words he uses and how frequently they occur in his speech. Here are some examples of fillers that are not meaning based:

(49) ha owe to-kə-cəs ʔənə-ŋos
   FIL alright PFT-NOM-say EV-be
   Eh, "Alright," he said.

(50) a tʃəʔ w-əmpʰro tʃe tʰi nə-sapso to-kə-cəs ʔə
   FIL this 3s:GEN-after LOC what EREFL-compare PFT-NOM CON
   Well, "what kind of match shall [we] have next," he said,…

(51) ndə tə ə kʰəvok kəŋgu təfək na-kə-cu-w ʔənə-ŋos
    that C FIL hole nine storey PFT-NOM-open EV-be
    He, ah, made a hole of nine stories deep.

(52) ha ʔ-andɾjʔ na a tokʃet kə-ŋə-sapso ki kə-vu-ŋ
    FIL 1s:GEN-friend I FIL strength NOM-EREFL-compare IDEF PFT-come2-1s
    Well, my friend, I eh have come to have a match to see who's stronger…..

kʰonə,….
   CON

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

(53) ndə tə jokmo narə rəna j-apa karscat-zjɨ
    that C servant.woman CON FIL 1p:HON:GEN-old.man eight-ten
    The servant woman and eh her husband were already in their eighties,…

kə-vi ə
   NOM-come1 CON
(54) …na-kə-ŋo rənə ra təjɨ? ki na-kə-ndo? rənə ra
   PFT-NOM-slip FIL CON water IDEF PFT-NOM-have FIL CON
   …he slipped and ah there was a river there and ah

   təjɨ? w-oŋgi na-kə-mbət na rənə…
   water 3s:GEN-inside PFT-NOM- FIL CON
   he fell into the river, eh, then….

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

(55) tambat w-ərka kə-tʰo-ndʒ tʃe rənə
    mountain 3s:GEN-top NOM-ascend-3d LOC FIL
   When they went up to the top of the mountain, eh,

   ndʒ-trala? tə mənaŋos rənə kə-cor kə-cor rənə
   3d-road C FIL FIL NOM-narrow NOM-narrow FIL
   the road of those two [travellers], eh, well, it was terribly narrow,

   kə-mato ki na-kə-ŋos kə-sanjo na-kə-ŋos
   NOM-steep IDEF PFT-NOM-be NOM-slippery PFT-NOM-be
   a steep one it was, and slippery.

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

(56) w-anḏ̱iʔ tə mənaŋos na bdɔt-mo ʰaʃan makə na-kə-ɾpi ʰə-ŋos
    3s:GEN-friend C FIL CON demon-FL Haʃan Makə PFT-NOM-call EV-be
   His wife eh, was called demoness Haʃan Makə.

(57) w-aɾjaʔp nə ana ndə bdəmo makəndʒə rənə…
    3s:GEN-wife CON FIL that demoness exceeding FIL
   His wife, well, she was a terribly [fierce] demoness ah….

There is a slight difference in meaning between a filler followed by nə and one followed by rə or rənə. The neutral form uses nə but occurrence of rə or rənə indicates that the speaker wants to make sure his point is clear:
(58) pakʃu mənaŋos nə ɲəno nə-je ɲos tamar tə mənaŋos nə
apple FIL CON you 2s-POSS be butter C FIL CON
The apples are yours, the butter is bKra-shis'.
pkraʃis wu-je ɲos
bKra.shis 3s-POSS be

(59) pakʃu mənaŋos rə ɲəno nə-je ɲos tamar tə mənaŋos rə
napple FIL CON you 2s-POSS be butter C FIL CON
Let's be clear about this: the apples are yours, the butter is bKra-shis'.
pkraʃis wu-je ɲos
bKra.shis 3s-POSS be

6.4 Conjunctions

a. Introduction

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

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

Subordinating conjunctions are used to subordinate the conjunct modified by the conjunction. Jiāomùzú has three subordinating conjunctions. The conjunction nə subordinates the conjunct it
marks to a second conjunct, signalling that the first conjunct backs up or validates the information in the second conjunct. Conjunction ʰkonə 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 ʰkonə groups smaller actions into clusters that are together subordinated to a larger event. Jiāomùzú also employs conjunctive adverbs, such as manʔu, 'moreover' and maʃki, 'until, unless'. Conjunctive adverbs can occur together with another conjunction, very frequently no.

Section 6.4.b gives a brief look at concatenative constructions. Section 6.4.c discusses coordinating conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions are described in 6.4.d. The overview of Jiāomùzú conjunctions finishes with a discussion of conjunctive adverbs in 6.4.e.

b. Concatenative constructions

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

(60) tərstʃe kava təʃwa karʃfu
    wash do tooth wash

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

(61) pkraʃiʃ kə ʃa təʃha stamce to-’a-səŋataktak coktse na-’a-kʰrat rənə
    bKra.shis PR book all PFT-NEV-stack desk PFT-NEV-wipe CON
    bKra-shis stacked all the books, wiped the desks and
    ji-’a-tʃʰi
    PFT-NEV-go1
    left.
Example (62) shows concatenative coordination of nominal conjuncts:

(62) pakʃu tɔmŋok cʰe wu-bawbaw ŋi w-ŋgi-j kəŋu tɔ na-ndoʔ
    apple  bread   liquor  3s:GEN-bag  3s:GEN-inside-LOC   all  C   PFT-have
    apples, bread, liquor - his bag had everything in it.

c. Coordinating conjunctions

_Futurity and open-endedness:_ rə

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

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

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

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

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

(65) * təmu makəndəŋa kəktu 'naleʔt rə mavi

The choice of conjunction is linked to the temporal perspective of the first conjunct rather than that of the second conjunct. This is a clear indication that Jiǎomùzú conjunctions, even coordinating ones, have a stronger link to the first conjunct than to the second conjunct of the sentence they modify. Semantically linked to the sense of futurity, the use of rə also signals an on the ground or real-time perspective, especially in narratives, which often report actions and events that are already in the past. The linking of the conjuncts is sequential and chronological, so that the hearer is brought along step by step, clause by clause, as the action develops. A speaker's use of rə signals that the hearer cannot anticipate what will follow, only that there is more coming. The conjunction rə occurs as a
generic link between two or more conjuncts on all levels from the word or word group through to the discourse level. Though the underlying meaning of openness and unpredictability remains the same no matter at what syntactic level ṭə occurs, the conjunction behaves differently in different environments. On the word and the phrase level ṭə can occur with non-verbal as well as verbal constituents. In such situations ṭə functions as a question marker. Questions with ṭə typically ask ‘how about…’, ‘what if…’ or ‘what happened to…’. The answer to such an open ended question can be just about anything as long as it links in with the topic raised in the question. The following examples illustrate the employment of ṭə with nominal constituents in (66) and (67) and with an adverbial phrase in (68):

(66) pkraʃis ṭə w-əmpʰi ji-ŋi ma-ʒi-ŋ
bKra.shis CON 3s:GEN-outside PFT-go NEG-know-1s
[And] bKra-shis? He went out. No idea.

(67) to-ka-nano ṭə ṭə smonkʰaŋ-ʒŋos law
PFT-NOM-hurt C CON hospital-LOC be MD:G
[What happened to] the guy that was hurt? He's in hospital, I would think.

(68) pkraʃis ji-vu tʃəʔ tʃe ṭə
bKra.shis PFT-come2 this LOC CON
[And] when bKra-shis came?

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

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

(69) tʃəʔ to ə na ənəŋo na-je ənos
tʃəʔ to ṭə tʃəʔ to ə na.....
this C CON you 2s-POSS be this C CON this C CON
This is yours. And this? This [is].....

* tʃe to ṭə ənəŋo naje ənos

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

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I was afraid; I called my older brother.

A chicken having come in through the window, it was being chased around by the cat.

The two of us shooed the chicken and the cat outside.

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

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

He laughed and unwittingly dipped his head.

On the discourse level the conjunction rə can mark unanticipated or new information such as the beginning of a new topic or a new aspect of a topic, a change of perspective, etc. The story of A-myis Sgo-Ildong, see Text 1 at the end of this study, has some good examples for this use of rə. The beginning of the story has an introduction that consists of several complex segments. In each segment the narrator introduces new information to set the stage for the story proper. The different segments, each containing a new topic, are connected by rə. Note that at this level there is usually a slight pause at the end of one segment or section. The conjunction rə occurs at the beginning of the new segment rather than at the end of the previous one:
(72) segment 1: sentence 1-6
Introduction of demon Chap-pa Lang-ring and how he oppressed all the peoples of the area.

(73) rdoṅra tsharalpo wurø w-aža kṣam na-kø-nḍo? ʰna-ŋos
Rdongra Tsharalpo CON 3s:GEN-son three PFT-NOM-have EV-be
Now rDongra Tsharalpo had three sons.

(74) təmu makəndɾa kaktu na-laʔt ɾənə ʃa-vu
rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG/PFT-come₂
It rained cats and dogs, he did not come.

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

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

The rain is already over, and consequently the conjunction used is rənə.
As expected, *rənə* also appears with irrealis or real conditional structures, if they signal past tense:

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

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

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

* təmu makəndəra kəktu naleʔt rə mavi

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

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

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

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

(77) segment 1: there is a thrush and a rabbit (sentence 1)

 segment 2: the thrush sets up a trap and entices the rabbit to enter it (sentence 2-4)

 segment 3: the rabbit dies in the trap, the thrush gloats (sentence 5-6)

Coordinating conjunctions that are not semantically linked to temporal aspects

The coordinating conjunctions *korona*, *narana* and *mera* translate into English roughly as 'but', 'and' and 'or' respectively. The conjunction *korona* also appears as *kora* and even as just *ko*. Similarly *narana* occurs also as *nara* but never, to my knowledge, as *na*. For *mera* I have not found abbreviated forms. But some speakers maintain that *me* can be used as a short form of *mera* in informal or low register situations.\(^\text{137}\)

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

(78) *ŋə-tʂʰaʔ¤ kʰatʃor* *ŋos*

1s:GEN-tea barley.meal and sour.vegetables be

For breakfast I have barley meal and sour vegetables.

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

(80) *[patʃu narə lolo]-ndʒ w-əmpʰi-j rə-ca-dʒ]*

[ chicken and cat]-3d 3s:GEN-outside-LOC PFT-shoo-1d

The two of us shooed [the chicken and the cat] out [of the house].

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

\(^{137}\) Tshe-dbang sGron-ma, personal communication.
(81) pkraʃis cokte na-kʰət-w narənə tərət na-va-w
bKra-shis table PFT-wipe-3s and dirt PFT-do-3s
bKra-shis wiped the tables and swept the floor.

(82) * pkraʃis jintel jiri narənə lhamo təjeʔm wəŋi nəpu

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

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

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

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

* pkraʃis kantʃʰak jirj narənə wəndəʔi namətow

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

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

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

(86) \[wujo \to [\{tasco̞ \{kə-\text{tət} \{narənə \{kə-\text{mpʃər} \}\} \{kə-\text{le}\text{ʔt}\} \}] \text{ki ṇos.}\]

\[\text{he C writing NOM-clear and NOM-beautiful NOM-hit₁, IDEF be}\]

He is someone whose writing is clear and beautiful.

* *wujo \to tasco̞ kətət kəmpʃər kələt ki ṇos.*

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

(87) \[pkraʃiš \ w-əɟεm \ kə-\text{mbi}k ʒik kə-\text{mpʃər} \ ʒik \ ŋos\]

\[bKra.shis 3s:GEN-house NOM-old also NOM-beautiful also be\]

bKra-shis house is old as well as beautiful.

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

(89) \[pakʃu \ merə \ ʒu\text{ɡolor} \ 'kə-\text{tə-ku-w}\]

\[\text{apples or walnut PRIMP-2-buy-2s}\]

Are you buying apples or walnuts?

(90) \[ketsʰe¤ \ kətu \ tə-ŋos \ merə \ tsoɡbaɾz \ 'ŋa-ŋos\]

\[\text{bus big C EV-be or small.bus EV-be}\]

Is it a big bus or a small one?

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

(91) \[nungo \ sofŋu \ tə-tʃi\text{-n merə}\]

\[\text{you tomorrow 2-go-2s or}\]

You'll go tomorrow, or…?

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

The conjunction *korə*, ‘but’, occurs between verbal constituents usually on the clause level or at the beginning of a new sentence that comments on the previous sentence:
I saw him but we didn't talk.

Do you have horses? No. But we have chickens and pigs.

bKra-shis was drunk but he did not do anything improper.

His place is cheap but very comfortable.

Though it rained cats and dogs, he still came.

In sentence (97) a man, after hearing reports that medicinal plants are abundant, had gone out to collect medicinal plants on the mountain. However, torrential rain forced him to abandon his collection plans and return, despite the riches awaiting him on the mountain:
They said there was lots of baimu but since it rained cats and dogs

he came [back].

She sang despite the bad microphone.

Paired conjunctions

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

(99) pakʃu ʒik ndo? tamŋok ʒik ndo?
apple CON have bread CON have
There are both apples and bread.
There are apples as well as bread.

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

(100) pkraʃis ʒik lhåmo na-rga?-w harja ʒik lhåmo na-rga?-w
bKra.shis CON lhå.mo PFT-like-3s lhår.gyal CON lhår.mo PFT-like-3s
Both bKra-shis and lhår-gyal liked lhår-mo.

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

(101) pkraʃis harja-ndʒ lhåmo na-rga?-ndʒ
bKra.shis lhår.gyal-3d lhår.mo PFT-like-3d
bKra-shis and lhår-gyal, the two of them liked lhår-mo.

* pkraʃis harjaʔandʒ ʒik lhåmo nargaʔndʒ
Another example of a paired coordinating conjunction employs the real conditional construction \textit{ma-namaʔk nə}, 'if that is not there' to express 'either…or':

\begin{itemize}
  \item (102) ma-\-'na-maʔk nə təjeʔm ji-kə-ŋu ŋos
      COND-OBS- not.be CON house NEG/PERF-NOM be
      Either he was not at home, or he did not hear [us knock].
  
  ma-\-'na-maʔk nə ji-kə-ṃasam 'nə-ŋos
      COND-OBS-not.be CON NEG/PERF-NOM-hear2 EV-be
\end{itemize}

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

d. Subordinating conjunctions

\textit{Generic subordinating conjunction nə}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item (103a) təmu 'na-leʔt ma-vi
      rain OBS-hit1 NEG-come1
      It's raining, he will not come.
  
  \item (103b) təmu 'na-leʔt nə ma-vi
      rain OBS-hit1 CON NEG-come1
      It's raining, he will not come.
\end{itemize}

The conjunction functions on the word, the phrase and the clause levels. Though the basic meaning of \textit{nə} remains the same no matter where it occurs, there are differences in semantic load depending on the kind of conjunct with which \textit{nə} occurs. A speaker's use of \textit{nə} prepares the listener for a statement about the constituent modified by \textit{nə}. The constituent marked by \textit{nə} is not the most important part of the clause or sentence, but the anticipated information about that constituent is. If the expected information does not follow, the speaker's statement will be considered unfinished,
incomprehensible or ungrammatical. A clear example of this is (104b), where nə modifies a nominal constituent, pkraʃis wandʒɪʔ, 'bKra-shis' friend'. Though the noun phrase pkraʃis wandʒɪʔ in itself is perfectly grammatical, as shown in example (104a), the noun phrase modified by nə in (104b) only makes sense as part of a sentence:

(104a) pkraʃis w-andʒɪʔ
   bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend
   bKra-shis' friend

   pkraʃis w-andʒɪʔ paʃnu ma-vi
   bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend today NEG-come₁
   bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

(104b) * pkraʃis wandʒɪʔ nə

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

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

(104c) pkraʃis w-andʒɪʔ tə paʃnu ma-vi
   bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend C today NEG-come₁
   bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

(104d) pkraʃis w-andʒɪʔ tə nə paʃnu ma-vi
   bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend C CON today NEG-come₁
   bKra-shis' friend will not come today.
Contrast marker ə in example (104c) shows that bKra-shis' friend will not come today, but another person, not mentioned in the sentence, will. In example (104d), where ə and nə co-occur, the speaker conveys that bKra-shis' friend will not come today, though there is another, unmentioned person who will come. Though the topic in both sentence is bKra-shis' friend, the prominent part of sentence (104d) is the predicate paʃnu mavi, ‘will not come today’. The salient information conveyed by nə is that bKra-shis' friend will not come today. It is, for whatever reason, important that the friend will not be here. Maybe the friend is really good company and the party will not be a success without him. Or perhaps the speaker had hoped to send a message with the friend, which he will now be unable to do. The conjunction nə subordinates the entire constituent it modifies. The contrast marker ə cannot occur after conjunction nə:

(104d) * pkraʃis wandri? nə ə paʃnu mavi

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

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

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

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

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

Conjunction nə can occur in either sentence to modify karama ʃi, but there is a difference in meaning. Conjunction nə does not give prominence to the constituent it modifies but uses that constituent to somehow validate, back up or emphasise the action expressed in the later constituents of the sentence. In (105c), nə links the pertinent information in the sentence, in this case that the subject was exhausted and fell asleep, to the fact that he or she had worked long and hard. The most important information, təspap kə wənnjak nəŋu, ‘exhausted he fell asleep’ is backed up or validated by the added information conveyed by the constituent marked by nə, here karama ʃi.
Exhausted by the long hard work he fell asleep. When *karama* is marked both by *nə* and prominence marker *kə*, the speaker highlights the long hard work as the prominent element in the sequence of getting exhausted and falling asleep. The use of *nə* refers the hearer to the subject's action of falling asleep and validates that action:

\[(105d) \text{karama } kə \text{ na } təspap } kə \text{ w-əmpək } na-ju\]

The long hard work having exhausted him, he fell asleep. The conjunction cannot occur before the prominence marker:

\[(105e) * \text{karama } nə \text{ kə təspap } kə \text{ w-əmpək } na-ju\]

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

\[(106a) \text{kʰajcak } kə \text{ tərmu } na-sə-top-ŋ}\]

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

\[(106b) \text{kʰajcak } nə \text{ kə tərmu } na-sə-top-ŋ}\]

I hit someone - with a hammer, no less.

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

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

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

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

\[ (108a) \text{pkraʃis} \ tə \ kə \ nə \ pakʃu \ nə-mbuʔ-w ]^{[155]} \\
\text{bKra.shis} \ C \ PR \ CON \ apple \ PFT-give-3s \\
\text{bKra-shis gave apples.} \]

\[ (108b) \text{pkraʃis} \ kantʃʰak-j \ ji-rji \ w-andrį? \ na-mətə-w ]^{[155]} \\
\text{bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go}^2 \ 3s:GEN-friend \ PFT-meet-3S \\
\text{bKra-shis went out into town and met his friend.} \]

\[ (108c) \text{pkraʃis} \ nə \ kantʃʰak-j \ ji-rji \ nə \ w-andrį? \ na-mətə-w ]^{[155]} \\
\text{bKra.shis CON street- LOC PFT-go}^2 \ CON 3s:GEN-friend \ PFT-meet-3S \\
\text{As for bKra-shis, he went out into town and he met his friend [as planned].} \]
The neutral sentence is (108a), which conveys simply that bKra-shis went into town and saw his friend there. The sentence does not give any information on timing or on whether the meeting was planned or not. Sentence (108b) has a verbal constituent, kantʃʰakj jirj, 'went into town' modified by nə, and thus subordinated to the following constituent wandri? namətow, 'saw his friend'. The speaker expresses that bKra-shis went into town for the purpose of meeting his friend. He did not just run into the friend on the street, the meeting was planned. In sentence (108c) which has nə modifying pkraʃis as well as kantʃʰakj jirj, the speaker conveys that bKra-shis, as planned, met his friend in town. The salient information is that the friend was met. Without the context of the conversation it is of course not clear why the speaker considers the meeting of the friend in town so significant. Perhaps the speaker himself also went into town but did not see his friend. Or perhaps bKra-shis had been forbidden from seeing his friend when he went into town, but did it anyway.

Another example of the change of meaning that occurs linked to the placement of nə in the sentence is (109). This sentence is familiar from example (70) in section 6.4.c on coordinating conjunction rə.

Instead of a linear sequence linked by rə the speaker uses the subordinating conjunction nə. It changes the situation completely:

(109a) patʃu kamtsa sku kavi nə
      chicken window down come, CON
It's a good thing that a cat, when a chicken comes down through the window,

      lolo kə no-nandəqek-dəqek-w  'na-haʔw
      cat PR AF/PFT-chase.around-RED-3s OBS-good.
      chases it around.

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

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

(109a) patʃu kamtsa sku kavi lolo kə na-nandrections-nandredirect-w nə chicken window down come cat PR AF/PFT-chase.around-RED-3s CON

A chicken had come in through the window, the cat chased it around; it was very unpleasant [event].

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

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

My younger brother has been to lHasa but I, regretfully, have not.

My younger brother has been to lHasa; I, regretfully, have not.

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

When bKra-shis went out into town he met his friend.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(110b) ŋa kʰorlo nə-ka-rtsə w-ərmə tə nə na-məto-ŋ....
I car PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C CON PFT-see-1s
I saw the man who had an accident....
In the normal course of a conversation, there is a follow-up after the use of *nə* in (110b), such as:

(110c) ɳa kʰorlo nə-ko-rtsə w-ørma tə nə na-məto-ŋ koronə

I saw the man who had an accident but I did not manage to grab a hold of him.

kandɾi ji-cʰa-ŋ

grab NEG/PRF-manage-1s

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

(111a) ɳa wujo manju? vi kə-səso-ŋ ko

I he again come₁ PRIMP-think-1s MD:ANX

I'm afraid he will come back.

(111b) ɳa wujo manju? vi nə to-səso-ŋ (koronə ji-ʔa-tʃʰi)

I he again come₁ CON PFT-think-1s (but PFT-NEV-go₁)

I thought that he will come back - (but he has already left).

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

(112a) pkraʃis kantʃʰak-j ji-rji nə w-andɾi? na-məto-w

bKra.shis street-LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S

bKra-shis went out into town and met his friend [as planned].

(113b) pkraʃis kantʃʰak-j ji-rji rə w-andɾi? na-məto-w

bKra.shis street-LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S

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

*Condition, reason and result: kʰonə and wurən*

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

(113a) kʰorlo ji-’a-tʰi
    vehicle PFT-NEV-go1 CON lHa.mo NEG/PFT-NEV-go1

The car had [already] left, so lHa-mo did not go.

(113b) kʰorlo ji-’a-tʰi wurən lhamo ji-’a-tʰi
    vehicle PFT-NEV-go CON lHa.mo NEG/PFT-NEV-go1

The car had [already] left, so lHa-mo did not go.

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

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

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

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

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

(115) ndə-ŋo 'to-sa-va-ja-n  kʰo  ŋa ndə wu-ʒakma  tʃe  ngo-ŋ
    that-p PFT-CAUS-do-RED-3p CON I that 3s:GEN-day LOC go.upstream-1s
    When you’re done preparing all that, on that day I will come.

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Sentence (116) demonstrates the use of wurə:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(118) pkraʃis tətʰa stamec to-ˈa-sə-ŋə-taktak coktse na-ˈa-kʰət
   bKra.shis book all PFT-NEV-CAUS-IMPS-stack desk PFT-NEV-wipe
   bKra-shis stacked all the books and wiped all the tables,

wurənə ji-ˈa-tʰi
   so.then PFT-NEV-go1
   so then [since he had finished the work] he left.
The same sentence with $kʰonə$ would still convey that bKra-shis left after he was finished with his task, and because he had finished, but without the speaker's emphasis that this outcome was inevitable. Perhaps bKra-shis could have stayed on for a cup of tea with the janitor.

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

(119) a  nəŋo-ndʒ w-aka-j  nə  nə-no-tʃʰa-ŋ to-cæs-w
    hey you-d 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC CON I AF-slaughter-1s PFT-say

When [the pig] said: "Hey, slaughter me rather than the two of you", well

$tʃe$ nə wurənə pak nə no-ka-nʃʰa  'nə-ŋos jo
LOC CON CON pig CON AF-NOM-slaughter EV-be MD:R
so then they did slaughter the pig!

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

(120) pkraʃis mborkʰe to-'a-tʃʰi korono kʰorlo w-əŋgi kəʃmo kə
    bKra.shis Mǎěrkāng PFT-NEV-go, but bus 3s:GEN-inside thief PR
bKra-shis went up to Mǎěrkāng but, a thief on the bus having stolen

wuponoʔj na-ŋəmo-w kʰonə wuponoʔj kəʃu tə nə-'a-mi?
3s:GEN-money PFT-steal-3s CON 3s:GEN-money all C PFT-NEV-not.have
all his money, he was without any money and had to spend the night out

ndə rə wujo kantʃʰak-j kanaŋup na-ra
that CON he street-LOC sleep PFT-need
on the street.

The conjunction wurə can occur at the beginning of a sentence rather than between two conjuncts. The following examples are from a conversation about a hog. On learning that the hog is not fat yet, the speaker asks what the owner of the hog will do to fatten him. The conjunction appears at the beginning of the sentence:
The owner gives the following answer. Note that the conjunction follows a question by another person, so that there is no direct link between two elements of speech of one speaker:

(121b) wurə kasərtsa ʰkə-səsø-ɾ o tsʰo
CON castrate PRIMP-think-1s CON fat
So I'm thinking of castrating him, then he'll fatten up.

e. Conjunctive adverbs

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

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

(122) pakʃu ʒik ndo? ʒugolor ʒik ndo?
apple also have walnut also have.
There were apples as well as walnuts.

There are two pairs of conjunctive adverbs that signal inclusion and exclusion of one item or person from a group of others. Each pair consists of one exclusive and one inclusive conjunctive adverb. The first pair is made up of manju? and kʰo. The second pair has me or maktok and kavə.

The adverb manju?, 'also, as well, moreover, on top of, besides' is an inclusive conjunctive adverb. It occurs at the end of a list of items:

(123) pakʃu ʒik ndo? ʒugolor ʒik ndo? manju? tamar
apple also have walnut also have beside butter
There were apples and walnuts, as well as butter.

(124) katop ma-ʰnə-kʰut kasat manju? ma-ʰnə-kʰut
hit NEG-OBS-possible kill more.so NEG-OBS-possible
Beating is not possible and killing is even more impossible!
The conjunction can be used in elliptic sentences, where the listing of the other items is implicit, as in the example below:

(125) \[\text{ŋa manju? kʰəça? ki ndo?} \]
\[I \text{ CON bowl IDEF have} \]
[Besides the bowls I have shown you,] I have [yet] another bowl.

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

(126) \[kʰarjit kava manju? jaŋma kaleʔt nanəmdap \]
\[song sing also bike ride, at.the.same.time \]
He passed by singing while riding his bike upstream.

(127) \[prak w-orka-s na kombat manju? kaŋakʰu nanəmdap \]
\[rock 3s:GEN-on top-LOC down fall also scream at.the.same.time \]
Screaming he fell down from the rock.

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

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

(128) \[sgrolma kʰo w-andriʔ? tamuʔ? kəmjį 'na-ɲu-ɲn \]
\[sGrol.ma ADV:CON 3s:GEN-friend girl five OBS-live-3p \]
Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma live [in the dorm].

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

(129) \[pkraʃis poŋeʔį kəmjį pʰjar me mi? \]
\[bKra.shis money five CL ADV:CON not.have \]
bKra-shis has only five yuan.
Some speakers use the Tibetan loan *maktok*, from literary Tibetan མགོ་ོེ *ma-gtogs*, rather than *me.*

(130) *pkraʃis maktok kəʒu tə kə-rama katʃi* na-ra-s bKra.shis except all C NOM-labour go PFT-need-PST:3s

Everyone except bKra-shis had to go to work.

Inclusion is expressed by *kavɔ*:

(131) *kavɔ pkraʃis kəʒu tə kə-rarngə* ji-rj-i-jn

CON bKra.shis all C NOM-perform.dance PFT-go2-3p

Everyone including bKra-shis went to the performance.

(132) *kavɔ harjal-ral kəʒu tə bebe to-ʃi-nzə-jn*

CON lHa.rgyal-RED all C noodles PFT-VPT-eat-3p

Everyone, including even lHa-rgyal, went to eat noodles.

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

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

(133) *mborkʰe sta tə mkʰono maʃki na-ʃəti-ng*

Mǎěrkāng origin C Kǒnglóng until PFT-walk-1s

I walked from Mǎěrkāng to Kǒnglóng.

(134) *ma-ndza maʃki w-əkto ma-pki*

NEG-eat CON 3s:GEN-stomach NEG-full

He won't fill up unless he eats. (He will be hungry if he doesn't eat.)

(135) *pkraʃi wuʃø ma-vø-nəro-w maʃki tascok kavajə ma-kʰut* bKra.shis he NEG-VPT-take-3s unless letter fetch NEG-can

Unless bKra-shis comes to get the letter himself, (you) can't take it.

(136) *ŋa tascok kaleʔt ma-səjoʃ-ŋ maʃki diənʃiŋ² kə-namnø ma-tʃʰiŋ-

I letter write₁ NEG-finish-1s unless movie NOM-watch NEG-go₁-1s

I won't go watch a movie unless I've finished this letter.

Conjunctive adverbs can be followed by subordinating conjunction *nə*. The use of *nə* gives a shift of emphasis to the second conjunct, as demonstrated in section 6.4.d on *nə* above. Below is an example that combines *me*, 'only, except' with *nə*. Sentence (137a) without *nə* is a simple statement. The speaker makes the observation that sGrol-ma, who is just one among many students, does not like to
read, while all the other students do. But in (137b), with Ṽ, the semantics are different. The speaker conveys a value judgment about sGrolma's performance in class: all the other students like to read, only she does not, and the speaker is unhappy about it:

(137a) sgrolma tə me tərmu kəsu tə təlʰa kanatso
sgRol.ma C ADV:CON person all C book see
Except sGrol-ma everyone likes reading.

kə-rgaʔ ʃi ŋos-jn
NOM-like always be-3p

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

kə-rgaʔ ʃi ŋos-jn
NOM-like always be-3p

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

(138a) təmu 'na-leʔt me ŋa tarŋgaʔ kava ŋ-osi 'na-vi
rain OBS-hit1 ADV:CON I dance do 1s:GEN-heart OBS-come
But for the rain I would go dancing.

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

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

Native speakers inform me that this sort of structure is often used when a speaker uses the situation in the first conjunct as a bit of an excuse for not doing what he professes to want to do in the second conjunct. In (138b), there is a good chance that the speaker is less than upright about his desire to go dancing and his disappointment that the rain is preventing him from doing so.
This same euphemistic approach is used to form a polite refusal in (139). The speaker has been asked to help with a physically demanding chore. The first conjunct of the speaker's response includes Ṽ, which indicates certainty modified by an evidentiality marker signalling conventional wisdom, public knowledge: everyone knows the speaker is unable to help - how come
the person even asks? The conjunctive adverb me indicates that it is only the speaker's incapability that keeps him from helping, it is not for lack of willingness to help. The conjunction no finally emphasises the explanation for the speaker's incapability: he is not strong enough to perform the task. Again, if in this sentence the speaker uses only me the statement is neutral and the hearer will take it at face value that the speaker really is unable to help. But with the use of no chances are that the speaker is actually quite happy that he, for lack of strength, is unable to help:

(139) ԡ kakor ma-τα-cʰa-n ʰa-ŋos me ڼ o ԡ o-ŋos tʃet
I help NEG-1/2-able-2s EV-be ADV:CON CON I 1s:GEN-strength
Regrettably I can't help you, because I'm not strong enough.

Constructions with me no can be used to convey implicit commands. In example (140) sentence (140a) with only no is again a neutral statement. A speaker simply observes that, in his country, only the king is permitted to use red ink for writing letters, maybe in answer to an inquiry of an outsider:

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

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

In sentence (140b) the speaker uses no to emphasize the second conjunct. Perhaps he is speaking to someone who is attempting to write in red ink. The implication of sentence (140b) is that the hearer is not a king, and that therefore he is not allowed to write with red ink, and thus ordered not to do so. An example with the conjunctive adverbialiser is (141). The neutral sentence of this set is sentence (128) above. In sentence (128) the speaker simply states that there are five girls in addition to sGrol-ma. Sentence (141), with the conjunction no, subordinates sGrol-ma to the second conjunct, wandtʃi? tʃəni? kəmʒi, 'five friends'. The important part of the sentence is the second conjunct. Sentence (b) may be used in a situation where sGrol-ma is asked to decide whether or not she wants to have TV in her dorm. But since there are five others that live there, she cannot decide by herself. She may use a sentence like (c) to make that clear:
Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma live [in the dorm].

There are five girls in addition to me, I can't just say whatever I want.

Like other adverbs, conjunctive adverbs can be modified by markers that normally occur with nominals, such as the contrast marker $t$.$\check{a}$

Except sGrol-ma everyone likes reading.

Everyone, except bKra-shis alone, had to go to work.

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

Mood markers are words that indicate the speaker's attitude, or that solicit the hearer's attitude, toward the event or condition expressed by a sentence. The Jiăomizŭ dialects employ quite a few
mood markers. They occur at the very end of a sentence, after the verb phrase. They can, however, be followed by a question marker, as shown in the following examples. Sentence (145a) gives a normal declarative sentence. Example (145b) is the question format of the same sentence:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(145e) * pijva kər̥tuw suk ma'naʃʃtak me la

Below I give an overview of the most frequently used Jiǎomùzú mood markers. Two mood markers, la and juʔ, solicit a hearer's attitude to a statement made by a speaker. A speaker uses la to solicit the hearer's agreement to a statement, as discussed above:
There's no need for me to see you to your dorm, is there?

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

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

(147) pkrafis soʃnu vi ju?
    bKra.shis tomorrow come, MD:RA
    As you know, bKra-shis will come tomorrow.

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

(148) tandzam pʰarə bebe sa-mpʰel ki ndoʔ ju?....
    bridge across noodle NOM-sell IDEF have MD:RA
    You know the noodle shop across from the bridge, right?...

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

(149a) təmor ta-ˈna-ndɾok-jn jo
    night 2-OBS-cold-2p MD:R
    You'll be cold tonight!

(149b) ama vi jo
    mother come, MD:R
    Mum will come!

Note that the tone of voice makes all the difference for sentence (149b). Said in a happy way, the children anticipate their mother's coming with gladness. Said in a shorter, more urgent tone of voice the statement may indicate that the children are up to no good. One child warns the other that their mother might any minute now find them in a situation that will for sure bring down her wrath on them.
Mood markers *law*, *lawne* and *jo* indicate increasing degrees of a speaker's certainty about the statement he makes. Use of *law* signals that a speaker is fairly sure but not entirely certain about a statement or event:

\[(150) \text{zem kə-neʔk kə-məca ndoʔ tamu leʔt law}\]

\[\text{cloud NOM-black NOM-many have rain hit}_1 \ \text{MD:G1}\]

There are many black clouds, I say we'll have rain.

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

\[(151) \text{rjaɾpo-ŋo vi 'nə-ŋos kə tamaʔ kə-məca kava ra lawne}\]

\[\text{king-3s:HON come}_1 \ \text{EV-be PR work NOM-much do need MD:G2}\]

The king will come, so most likely we'll have lots of work to do.

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

\[(152) \text{soʃnu vi soʃnu vi jo}\]

\[\text{tomorrow come}_1 \ \text{tomorrow come}_1 \ \text{MD:C}\]

He'll come tomorrow.  He will certainly come tomorrow.

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

\[(153) \text{ʃarə ka-ndza ʒik miʔ poŋeʔi ʒik miʔ iʔi kava ra}\]

\[\text{meat NOM-eat also not.have money also not.have what do need}\]

There is no meat and no money [to buy some] either, what on earth

\[\text{ko}\]

\[\text{MD:ANX}\]

are we to do?

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

\[(154) \text{tə-ŋi-ŋ ko}\]

\[\text{you what 2-be.called-2s MD:ANX}\]

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

(155) ṇəŋə to-'a-tə-naʧʰəmben təŋe mə-tə-'kʰi-tə fə to-cəs-ŋ kane
you PFT-NEV-2-catch.cold clothes PROH-2-take.off often PFT-say-1s MD:AS
I told you over and over not to take off your coat - so now you have a cold.

Sentence (156) states the obvious:

(156) pak-ŋə to təjɛʔm w-əŋgi kə-sə-tʧʰi ma-kʰut kane
pig-P C house 3s:GEN-inside NOM-CAUS-go1 NEG-can MD:AS
Of course the pigs are not allowed inside the house!

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

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

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

(158) pkraʃis kəmpʃi .IsActive vi to-kə-cəs ŋəs kʰo pəʃnu vi tor
bKra-shis five day LOC come1 PFT-NOM-say be CON today come1 MD:EXP
bKra-shis said he'll come in five days; [today is the fifth day, so] I expect he'll
come today.
Mood marker *ja* expresses surprise, as in (159) where the speaker finds the door, which should have been locked, to be open:

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

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

(160) wujo kəpə? ŋos ne
    he Han.Chinese be MD:SIN
    He really is Han Chinese!