

University of Helsinki  
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**A Descriptive Grammar of Denjongke (Sikkimese Bhutia)**

PhD Thesis

Department of Modern Languages

**Juha Yliniemi**

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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## Abstract

This thesis is the descriptive grammar of Denjongke, or Sikkimese Bhutia (also known as Lhoke or Sikkimese) (ISO 639-3 sip), an underdescribed and endangered Tibeto-Burman, Tibetic language spoken in the Indian state of Sikkim. The study is based on original fieldwork conducted over more than six years. The theoretical framework is functionalist-typological and may further be characterized as an application of Basic Linguistic Theory, which relies on the power of prose, instead of formalisms, to describe linguistic phenomena. Traditional grammatical terms are complemented by recourse to up-to-date typological information. The discussion is data-oriented and aims to describe Denjongke on its own terms, making a distinction between language-internal descriptive categories and cross-linguistic comparative concepts.

Denjongke has 43 consonants and eight vowels (if long vowels are not counted separately). Nasalization and length are contrastive in vowels. Words are phonologically divided into high register, which is associated with high pitch and modal/stiff voice, and low register, which is associated with low pitch and breathy voice. The register of a word is partly unpredictable from the initial consonant, so Denjongke is a tone language, although tone does not bear as great a functional load as in many well-known tone languages such as Cantonese or Vietnamese.

The present analysis establishes four major word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) and eleven minor word classes. Many often-used nouns and verbs can be divided into ordinary and honorific register so that the same object may be referred to by two different lexical items. Similarly to many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Denjongke has phonologically related pairs of controlled vs. non-controlled verbs. The class of adjectives, although deriving from stative verbs, is morphologically distinguished from other word classes by a number of adjectivizing derivative suffixes. Numerals follow both decimal and vigesimal systems. Unlike many Tibetic languages, Denjongke does not make a clusivity distinction in first person plural pronouns. There are five case-marking enclitics some of which may be stacked. Within demonstratives, an interesting feature is the existence of an emphatically demonstrative proximal form (*dodi*) in addition to the ordinary proximal (*di*) and distal (*odi*). Proximal *di* has grammaticalized into a non-referential marker =*di* which may attach to proper names and other demonstratives. Among the twenty-one clitics, the behaviour of the attention marker =*ɛo* provides interesting insight into phenomena surrounding the concept of mirativity.

Because the marking of A argument and P argument is to a considerable degree conditioned by pragmatics and lexical choices, categorizing Denjongke as either nominative-accusative or absolutive-ergative language is not feasible. Intransitive clauses may be agentive marked for emphatic purposes, while the marking of A argument in transitive clauses shows signs of both syntactic control (some verbs require agentive marking in the past tense) and pragmatic control (A arguments with and without agentive marking are offered in elicitation). The marking of P argument is sensitive to animacy, identifiability/specificity and affectedness.

Denjongke has a particularly wide array of copula forms, which mark three evidential values: personal, sensorial and neutral. The present study shows that the semantically oriented category “personal” differs from the more syntactically-oriented Lhasa Tibetan category “egophoric”. It also suggests how egophoricity may have developed in Tibetic languages. Among copulas, an interesting detail is that the sensorial *du?*, which typically functions as an existential, can be used as an equative if the proposition describes something that held in the past.

Relative clauses are a subclass of constituent-modifying clauses, which modify a clausal constituent by a nominalized and genitivized clause. Probably as an influence from Indo-Aryan languages, Denjongke also uses correlative clauses, in which a clause with a question word is linked to another clause with a resumptive demonstrative, which is a coreferential with the question word. Due to Denjongke being a clause-chaining language in which one sentence typically has only one finite verb, the concept of coordination proves elusive on clausal level. Denjongke has a wide variety of adverbial clauses, which are expressed through various constructions, including ten converbs. Simultaneity (expressed with seven constructions) and causality (expressed with eight constructions) are the functions which show the greatest constructional variety

Two rarely described categories of vocabulary which are addressed in this thesis are ideophones and terms adults use when talking to children. Denjongke ideophones are a semantically, phonologically and morphologically distinct set of words which provide vivid descriptions of sensory experiences. Nonnormative ideophones associate a sequence of phonemes (*C1aC2.C1oC2*) with nonnormativity (e.g. walking as/like a drunkard instead of walking normally). An investigation into the terminology used when talking to small children demonstrates that adults show empathy to children with respect to children's enunciatory ability and life-experiences.

**ཕྱོད་བརྗོད་ (Foreword in Denjongke)**

རང་གིས་ ཕྱག་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དེ་བུ་ འདི་གི་ མིང་ དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ སྐད་ན་ "A descriptive grammar of Denjongke" (ཡང་ན་ "འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རྫོང་སྐད་ཀྱི་ བརྗོད་པའི་ འབྲེལ་བརྗོད་ཅན་གྱི་ གཞུང་") སེ་ ལྷོ་དོ་ ཨིན་ཀྱི་ འདི་ མིང་གི་ དོན་དག་ ངས་ བ་ ཚོགས་ གཅིག་གཉིས་ གཅིག་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ གསལ་ཤང་ ཨིན། འགོ་ དང་པོ་ནི་ དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ སྐད་ཀྱི་ grammar ལའང་མཁན་ ཚོགས་ འདི་ བར་བར་ན་ རྫོང་སྐད་ན་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ སེ་ སྐད་རྒྱུ་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ངས་ གིས་ ཡོད་པའི་ དེ་བུ་ འདི་ རྫོང་གི་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ མཐུ་ རྫོང་ཚན་ འདི་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ ལའང་མཁན་ བང་ཤ་ གི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ གི་སྐོལ་ དང་ དག་ཆ་ལོ་ འབྲེལ་ཤང་ རྒྱལ་ས་ འོང་ དེ་ཟང་ དེ་བུ་ འདི་ ལ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་སྐོལ་སྐོལ་ འབྲེལ་ཤང་ རྒྱལ་ས་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་ གི་སྐོལ་ ཨིན། ཨོ་འདི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ དེ་བུ་ འདི་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དཔེའི་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་སྐོལ་ བང་ལས་ ལ་ཤས་ གི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ གི་སྐོལ་ལོ་ ལྷ་སྐྱེ་ ཨོ་ཚེ་ མ་མཚུངས་པོ་ འདེམ་ ཚོར་ འོང་གོ།

གཉིས་པོ་ འདི་ནི་ དེ་བུ་ འདིའི་ མིང་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ descriptive ལའང་མཁན་ ཚོགས་ འདིའི་ དོན་དག་ ཉ་གོ་ དགོས་ཤང་ གཞུ། Descriptive སེ་མཁན་གི་ རྫོག་ཕྱོགས་ འདི་ prescriptive ཨིན། Prescriptive grammar ལའང་མཁན་ འདི་ སྐད་ ག་ལྟེ་ གི་ དགོས་པོ་ དང་ ལའང་ དགོས་པོ་ འདི་ ཚང་གཞི་ (standard) བཟོ་བའི་ དོན་ལོ་ གི་ ཡོད། ངས་ གི་ ཡོད་པའི་ དེ་བུ་ འདི་ prescriptive grammar མན་པའི་ རྒྱུ་ལྱིས་ རྫོང་སྐད་ འདི་ ག་ལྟེ་ རྒྱལ་ས་ དགོས་པོ་ དང་ གི་ དགོས་པའི་ དོན་ ལོ་ གི་སྐོལ་ མཐུ་ འདིའི་ དོན་ལོ་ རྫོག་གཞི་ རྫོག་དེ་བུ་སྐོལ་ ཐོབ་ཤང་ ཡོད། རང་གི་ ཕྱག་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དེ་བུ་ འདི་ descriptive grammar ཨིན་པའི་ རྒྱུ་ལྱིས་ ངས་ དེ་བུ་ འདིའི་ བང་ཤ་ མང་ཚེ་བ་ མི་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་གིས་ རྒྱལ་ས་མཁན་ ལ་སྐད་ འདི་ འབྲེལ་ཤང་ རྒྱལ་ས་ ཡོད།

ལ་སྐད་ དང་ གི་སྐད་ན་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ བོག་གོ་ལས་ ལ་སྐད་ན་ རྒྱལ་ས་རྒྱལ་ས་པོ་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་སྐོལ་ རྫོང་གི་ གི་རན་ལའང་ ངས་ བར་ བར་ན་ རྫོང་ལས་ ཡིག་ཐོག་ལོ་ གིས་ མེད་པའི་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ཡང་ གི་ དགོས་པོ་ ལྷུ་གོ་ ཨིན། ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ གི་པའི་ སྐད་ ཚོམ་པ་ པོ་ གཞན་སྐོལ་ གི་སྐད་ས་ མིན་འདུའུ་ འོང་གོ། ཚོམ་པ་པོ་ གཞན་སྐོལ་ དེ་བུ་སྐོལ་ཡང་ ཚོགས་ གཅིག་གི་ གི་སྐོལ་ གཉིས་ གསུམ་ མཐོང་ ཡོད། གཞན་སྐོལ་ ངའི་ དེ་བུ་ དཔེའི་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་གི་ ཐོན་ས་ ཡང་ནི་ འབྲུང་ལྷུངས་ འདི་ ཚོམ་པ་པོ་ གཞན་གྱི་ དེ་བུ་ ཡོད་ནི་ ངས་ རྫོང་གི་ གཞན་ འབྲུང་ལྷུངས་ལས་ ལེན་པོ་ ཨིན། དཔེ་ཆ་ བཞག་ནི་ དཔེའི་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་གི་ འབྲུང་ལྷུངས་ འདི་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ ཚོམ་པ་པོ་ དཔེའི་ རེ་ཆེ་ ལའང་མཁན་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ ཨིན་ནི་ ངས་ཡང་ རེ་ཆེ་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དག་ཆ་ བང་ལྷུ་ གི་སྐོལ་ ཨིན། གི་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐད་ཀྱི་ འབྲུང་ལྷུངས་ གསུ་པོ་ ཡོད་པའི་ རྒྱུ་ལྱིས་ དེ་བུ་ འདི་ན་ ཚོགས་ གཅིག་གི་ གི་སྐོལ་ གཉིས་ གསུམ་ ཐོབ་ རྒྱུས་ (དཔེར་ན་ ལེག་མ་, ལེམ་, ལེམ་)

གཞན་སྐོལ་ དཔེའི་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་གི་ འབྲུང་ལྷུངས་ འདི་ ལ་སྐད་ ཨིན་ནི་ ངས་ རྫོང་གི་ ལ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ བང་ལྷུ་ གི་ བཞག་ ཡོད། དཔེ་ཆ་ བཞག་ནི་ གི་སྐད་ན་ "འོང་ཚར་པོ་ལས་" གི་རུང་ ལ་སྐད་ན་ འཕོན་པའི་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་སྐོལ་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ གི་སྐད་ན་ རྫོང་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ངས་ གི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་སྐོལ་ མ་སྐད་པ་ "འོང་ཚོུ་ལས་" གི་སྐོལ་ ཨིན། གཞན་ དཔེ་སྐོལ་ གི་ བཞག་ ཡོད།

གི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ གི་སྐོལ་ བང་ལྷུ་ གི་ ཡོད་པོ་	>	དེ་བུ་ འདི་ན་ ལ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ བང་ལྷུ་ གི་ ཡོད་པོ་
ཁོ/མ [kʰo]/[mò]	>	ལུ/ལུ [kʰu]/[mù]
ཕྱོམ་པོ་ [bompo]	>	ཕྱོམ་པུ་ [bompu]
ད་ལྷུ་ [t'ata]	>	ད་ལྷུ་ [t'ato]
ཚོགས་ན་ [tsʰu.na]	>	ཚོགས་ནེ་ [tsʰu.nɛ] / ཚོགས་ནོ་ [tsʰu.no]
གསུ་པོ་ [kɛ:po]	>	གསུ་པ་ [kɛ:p] / གསུ་པོ་ [kɛ:po]
གནང་པོ་ ལྷང་ [nánjo bɛʔ]	>	གནང་མ་ ལྷང་ [ná:m bɛʔ] / གནང་པོ་ ལྷང་ [ná:bo bɛʔ]
འཛོག་ཚར་པོ་ལས་ [dzektsharbole]	>	འཛོག་ཚོུ་ལས་ [dzektshoule]
ཚོུང་ཚར་པོ་ལས་ [mjòntsʰarbole]	>	ཚོུང་ཚོུ་ལས་ [mjò:tsʰo:lɛ]
ཤེ་ཚར་པོ་ལས་ [eitsʰarbole]	>	ཤེ་ཚུབ་ལས་ [eitsuble]
འབྲས་སོང་པོ་དང་ [p'jasò.bodā:]	>	འབྲས་སོང་མ་དང་ [p'jasomdā:]
ཐོས་ཅེ་ཀ? [tʰo:teeka]	>	ཐོས་ཅ? [tʰo:tea]
འབྲས་བཞིན་ འདུག་གོ་ [p'jazendukɛ]	>	འབྲས་བཞིན་གོ་ [p'jazynge] (Tashiding)

དེ་ལ་ འདི་ ལྷོ་ འཛམ་གླུ་མྱིང་གི་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ ལ་ལ་མ་ལན་ ལྷོ་པོ་ཅོའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ ལེ་བ་ ལྷོ་གྲུ་ ཡོད་ སེ་ ཉ་གོ་  
བརྒྱུ་གོའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཅིག་གྲུ་ མན་བ་ འབྲས་ལྷོངས་ན་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་བའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཕན་ཐོགས་ཆེ་དུགས་ འཕྱོན་བརྒྱུག  
སེ་ ལ་བ་རྩེ་ ངའི་ རི་ཆེ་ ཡོད།

དེ་ལ་ འདིའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ ལྷོ་པོ་ དང་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ ལྷོ་བ་འབྲས་ ལྷོ་བའི་ ལྷོ་ ང་ལོ་ རོགས་རམ་ གནང་མ་ལན་ ཨ་  
ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་པོ་ ལྷོ་རྒྱས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ དང་ ཤེས་རབ་ གནང་མ་ལན་ ཡར་ དཀོན་མཚོག་ལོ་ ལྷོ་ ཐག་གོ་ལས་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ཆེ་ ལྷོ་  
བཞིན་ ངའི་ གཏམ་ འདུམ་འདུམ་ འདི་ འདེ་ཅིག་ན་ བཞག་ཏོ་ ཨོན། ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ཆེ།

ཡུ་ཉ་ ལྷོ་ལི་ཉེ་མི་  
(Juha Yliniemi)

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<b>Abbreviations</b>			
1	first person	INDF	indefinite
2	second person	INF	infinitivizer
3SGM	third person singular masculine	L	low-level
3SGF	third person singular feminine	LNK	linker
ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
ADJZR	adjectivizer	M	mid-level
ADVZR	adverbializer	NC	non-commitment
AEMPH	anaphoric emphatic	NE	neutral
AGT	agentive	NF	nonfinal
AO	addressee-oriented	NEG	negative
APH	alterphoric	NMLZ	nominalizer
APPR	approximative	NN	nonnormative
ASR	assertive	NPST	nonpast
ASSOC	associative	NUM	numeral
AT	attention marker	ORD	ordinal number
ATTQ	attenuated question	PER	personal
CEMPH	contrastive emphatic	PFV	perfective
CHT	child talk	PL	plural
CIRC	circumstantial	PN	personal name
CMPL	completive	PRF	perfect
CNG	connegative	PQ	polar question
CNTJ	conjunction	PRET	pretensive
COL	collectivizer	PROB	probabilitative
COMP	complementizer	PROG	progressive
COND	conditional	PST	past
CONJ	conjunction	PUR	purposive
COP	copula	Q	question
DAT	dative-locative	QUA	quantifier
DEMPH	demonstrative-emphatic	QUO	quotative
DIM	diminutive	REFL	reflexive pronoun
EGO	ego(phoric)	REP	reportative
EMPH	emphatic	SEN	sensorial
EQU	equative	SG	singular
EX	existential	SIM	simultaneous
EXPER	experiential	SPAT	spatial
EXCLAM	exclamative	SUG	suggestive
FRN	friendly	SUP	superlative
FUT	future	TAG	tag
GEN	genitive	TERM	terminative
HON	honorific	TOP	topicalizer-emphatic
HON	honorific	TPN	toponym
HORT	hortative	UNC	uncertain
IDEO	ideophone	URG	urgentive
IMF	imminent future	VBLZ	verbalizer
IMP	imperative	WD	written Denjongke
IPFV	imperfective	WT	Written Tibetan
IN	intensifier		

# 1 Introduction

This is a grammar of Denjongke, also known as Lhoke, Sikkim(ese) Bhutia and simply Sikkimese, a Tibetic language spoken in the Indian state of Sikkim. This introductory chapter first provides background information on the language (Denjongke) and the people who speak it (Denjongpos<sup>1</sup>), see §1.1. Subsequently, methodology and data are described in §1.2.

## 1.1 The language and the people

This section introduces the language and the people who speak it. Topics covered are the language names (§1.1.1), number of speakers (§1.1.2), genetic affiliation (§1.1.3), previous research (§1.1.4), origins of the people (§1.1.5), the history of written Denjongke (§1.1.6), religion of Denjongpos (§1.1.7), the honorific system and social relations (§1.1.8), language contact and multilinguality (§1.1.9) and language endangerment (§1.1.10). The last section provides an overview of some central linguistic features in Denjongke (§1.1.11).

### 1.1.1 Name of the language

The language which is the subject of this thesis has four main names none of which are without problems: Denjongke, Lhoke, Bhutia and Sikkimese.<sup>2</sup> The ISO 639-3 code for the language is ‘sip’, while the glottocode (see glottolog.org) is ‘sikk1242’. The name Denjongke /dʑendzɔŋkɛʔ/<sup>3</sup> (འབྲས་ལྷོངས་སྐད་ *bras-ljongs-skad* ‘the language of Sikkim’) is chosen as the main title because it is probably the least problematic. The word *dʑendzɔ̃*, which literally means ‘rice-valley’ or ‘fruit(ful)-valley’, has become the term that refers to Sikkim in both Denjongke and Central Tibetan. The last part of the language name, *kɛʔ*, refers to ‘sound’ or ‘language’. The first describer of the language, Sandberg (1888), reasons as follows: “as the Bhutias both in numbers and in power are the predominant people of the land, we may, we think, not unreasonably speak of the Bhutia tongue as the Dé-jong Ké or vernacular of Sikkim.” In the revised edition of the grammar (Sandberg 1895), the language name is modified to the phonetically more representative “Dén-jong Ké”. Sandberg’s rationale for a geopolitical choice for the language name was the numerical and political strength of the Sikkimese Bhutias, or Denjongke speakers, in Sikkim, i.e. Denjong. However, now that the times of the Bhutia ruling dynasty are over and the Denjongpos/Bhutias/Lhopos are a minority in numbers, the original rationale for language name choice is no longer valid.

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<sup>1</sup> This word also occurs as Denjongpa. Some of my consultants commented that Denjongpa is the Tibetan and Denjongpo the Denjongke pronunciation. Henceforth, the spelling Denjongpo is used.

<sup>2</sup> See also Mullard (2011: 21, 37), who addresses the difficulty of choosing an appropriate term for referring to the people who speak the language.

<sup>3</sup> An alternative romanized spelling for the language is “Drenjongke/Dränjongkä”, which makes explicit the historical retroflexifying consonant *r* in the written form འབྲས་ལྷོངས་སྐད་ *bras-ljongs-skad*. The simpler spelling “Denjongke” is used here for two reasons. First, the simpler form for the initial is already used by many speakers of the language in Sikkim. Second, the actual pronunciation of the postalveolar apical initial /dʑ/, which contrasts with a dental initial /d/, is reasonably close to /d/ in English, the language in which that the Denjongpos are likely to write when using the Romanized language name.

Map 1.1. Sikkim within India



Another challenge with the term Denjongke is that in being a geopolitical term based on present international borders (“language spoken in Sikkim”), it overlooks historical and linguistic unity of Sikkim and its adjacent areas Chumbi (China) and Ha (Bhutan).<sup>4</sup> According to their traditional lore, the Lhopos started to spread to Sikkim and Ha through Chumbi valley (Balicki 2008: 68-70). The Tibetic variety spoken in Sikkim is indeed to a great degree intelligible with the Tibetic varieties of the Chumbi and Ha.<sup>5</sup> However, as the data presented in this thesis were gathered in Sikkim, the geopolitically based term Denjongke, ‘language of Sikkim’, is descriptive of the data.

Another name for the language is Lhoke (ལོ་སཀད་ *lho-skad* ‘south(ern) language’). This term also has both advantages and disadvantages. The first of the two advantages over the language name Denjongke is that Lhoke is the typically used endonym for the language when speaking the language. The second advantage is that the term Lhoke has potential to refer to speakers outside the geopolitical area of Sikkim and is therefore more fit than Denjongke to refer to the linguistic and historical unity of Sikkim to adjacent regions in the east. The name Lhoke suggests a (Tibetic) language spoken south of Tibet. Tsihudarpa’s (2018: 47) enigmatic statement that “there are thousands that speak this language outside India too” may refer to the fact the Tibetic variety spoken in the Chumbi valley in China is so close to Denjongke as to be considered the same language. Walsh’s (1905) vocabulary<sup>6</sup>, along with his notes on verb forms<sup>7</sup> and historical phonology<sup>8</sup>, indeed give preliminary evidence that the Tibetic variety

<sup>4</sup> The language spoken in Chumbi is in Lachung (North Sikkim) called *te’umbø: ke?* (ལྷུང་བའི་སྐད་ *gyung-ba’i skad*).

<sup>5</sup> A group of people in Ha claimed to understand most or all they heard, when I played them a recording of speech from Lachung (North Sikkim).

<sup>6</sup> Tromowa words are most of the time identical with “Sikhimese” (=Denjongke) and both contrast with Tibetan.

<sup>7</sup> All the tense/aspect/modality related verbal constructions in Walsh (1905: iv-v) with the exception of the form “lap-bo-she”, which I do not recognize as resembling any Denjongke form, are identical with the present description of Denjongke presented especially in §8.

<sup>8</sup> Walsh (1905: vi) lists some ways in which Tromowa pronunciation differs from Central Tibetan. Three are listed here. The first is the neutralization of the difference *ã:* vs *õ:* so that only *õ:* is used. The same feature also

spoken in the Chumbi valley could be linguistically considered to be the same language or part of the same dialectal continuum as Denjongke.

Map 1.2. Sikkim (India), Chumbi (China) and Ha (Bhutan)



The historical connection of Sikkim with Chumbi and Ha is illustrated by an interesting anthropological insight: all the lhopo descent groups around Sikkim worship the same mountain deity Masang Khungdü (WD<sup>9</sup> མ་སངས་ཀུང་འདུས་བདུད་ *ma-sangs khung- 'dus/bdud*) who is said to reside near the point where the borders of Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan join (Balicki 2008: 73). Other Tibetic groups that have later come to Sikkim from Tibet or Nepal do not share this ritual characteristic. The ritual and linguistic similarity between Tibetic groups in Sikkim, Chumbi and Ha lead Balicki (2008: 73) to hypothesize that earlier in history these areas “were perhaps once populated by a somewhat homogenised Lhopo population”. Balicki (2008: 73) further offers the interesting observation that during the Tibetan refugee crisis of 1959, the Chogyal (religious king) welcomed asylum seekers from Chumbi into Sikkim as “Sikkimese” whereas other refugees were assigned the outsider status “Tibetans”. Because of the historical and linguistic unity of Sikkim with Chumbi and Ha, the term Lhoke seems a more lucrative candidate for a general language name than Denjongke.

The geographically larger referential scope of the term Lhoke, however, is also disadvantageous because the same or similar names are used for geographically close related languages. Grierson (1909: 129) calls “Bhōtīā of Bhutan” (i.e. Dzongkha) by the term “Lhoke”. Following Grierson’s tradition, Tikkanen’s (1991: 10) Hindi grammar (in Finnish) published a map (by Bertil Tikkanen and Virpi Hämeen-Anttila) depicting the language situation in South Asia, in which the language name Lhoke is written within Bhutan. In the same vein, the 13<sup>th</sup> edition of the Ethnologue (Grimes 1996) lists Lhoke as an alternative

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occurs in Denjongke spoken in North and East Sikkim (but not in West Sikkim, where there still is a contrast between *ā*: and *ō*:). The second difference is the pronunciation of WT glide *y* as separate from the bilabial plosive (e.g. *pja*) whereas Central Tibetan exemplifies a merged pronunciation (e.g. *tea*). Again, Denjongke follows the Tromowa pattern. The third difference in pronunciation that distinguishes Tromowa, and Denjongke, from Central Tibetan is the tendency to replace the Central Tibetan glide *r* with *y*, i.e. *kja* ‘hair’ (Tromowa, Denjongke) vs. *ja* ‘hair’ (Central Tibetan, *r* causes retroflexivization).

<sup>9</sup> Throughout the thesis, WD refers to written Denjongke and WT to Written Tibetan.

name for Dzongkha. Moreover, Genetti (1986: 387) lists “Lhoke” as a Western Bodic language, separate from the South Bodish language “Danjongka” (most likely referring to the same language as Denjongke here). Walsh also lists (1905: 4) “Lho-yü” as the “Sikhimese” and “Tromowo”<sup>10</sup> word for Bhutan, in contrast to the Tibetan word འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ *brug-yul* ‘Bhutan’. Due to the association of the term Lhoke with Dzongkha, it was recommended by Khenpo Lha Tshering (2016), the principal of Higher Institute of Nyingmapa Studies in Gangtok, that the term Denjongke be used rather than Lhoke. Cognates of the term Lhoke are also used for other Tibetic languages: “Lhoket”<sup>11</sup> is an alternative name for “Lhomi” (Nepal, Vesalainen [2016: 2]), and “Lhoke” and “Loket” are given as alternative names for “Lhowa” (Nepal, the Ethnologue [Simons & Fennig 2017]).

Within Sikkim, the typically used exonym for Denjongke, when speaking either English or Nepali, is Bhutia/Bhotia (Nepali भोटिया *bʰuʈia/bʰoʈia*).<sup>12</sup> This term is problematic because it represents an overly simplified categorization by outsiders who group all the Tibetan-related peoples and languages basically as one, those coming from *bhot* ‘Tibet’ (Nepali)<sup>13</sup>. When more precision is needed, the term is amplified by a geographical location, e.g. “Bhōtiā of Bhutan” (Grierson 1909: 129), “Humla Bhutia” (Wilde 2001) or “Sikkim Bhutia” (Ethnologue, Simons & Fennig 2017). Because the term Bhutia is known to other language communities, it has become the preferred language name when speakers seek recognition for their language from outside their own community. Currently, there is a political motivation for uniting all Tibetan-related peoples and languages under the common name “Bhoti” to gain more influence within India. Some Denjongke speakers want to make a distinction between “Bhutia”, which refers to Denjongke speakers and their languages, and “Bhotiya”, which refers to Tibetan-related peoples of the southern Himalayas more generally,<sup>14</sup> but as far as I understand, this distinction has not received overall acceptance, especially within other linguistically related groups.<sup>15</sup>

The term Sikkimese, which is the main language name for Denjongke in Walsh (1905) and the Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig 2017), is essentially an English translation of Sandberg’s (1888) original term “Dé-jong Ké” (‘the language of Sikkim’). The term was in active use a few decades ago but has since then become politically incorrect, because of demographic and political realities (personal communication, Tsewang Topden, Ambassador of India). The prevalence of the Anglo-centric term “Sikkimese” as a language name a few decades ago probably reflected the general cultural atmosphere where “the elite looked up towards and emulated the cultures of both Tibet and the British at the cost of losing their own” (Balicki 2008: 11). The term Lhoke ‘south(ern) language’, on the other hand, may be seen to represent a Tibeto-centric vision which underspecifies the language as being spoken “somewhere” south of Tibet. The term Denjongke has essentially the same meaning as the Anglo-centric Sikkimese but escapes colonial overtones and is linguistically opaque enough not to cause offense among the other ethno-linguistic groups.

<sup>10</sup> Tibetic variety spoken in the Chumbi valley (of China) situated between Sikkim and Bhutan.

<sup>11</sup> I once heard a Lhomi speaker refer to his language as [ʈokɛʔ].

<sup>12</sup> The Census of India 2011 reports that there are 229,954 speakers of “Bhotia” in India and lists speakers in all the Indian states except Jharkhand, Odisha and Telangana. States with more than a thousand “Bhotia” speakers are Jammu and Kashmir (107451), Arunachal Pradesh (62458), Sikkim (41889), Uttarkand (9287), West Bengal (4293) and Himachal Pradesh (2012). Because Sherpas and Tibetans are listed separately, it may be presumed that the number of “Bhotia” speakers in Sikkim (41889) refers to Denjongke speakers. The number assigned to West Bengal (4293) may refer to Denjongke speakers living in and around Darjeeling and Kalimpong.

<sup>13</sup> This Nepali word most likely derives from Written Tibetan བོད་ *bod*.

<sup>14</sup> This view is expressed in the Wikipedia article on “Bhutia” (13 Feb 2018)

<sup>15</sup> When I explained, in Nepali, to one lady that I was carrying out research on the “Bhutia” language, she retorted, “Which Bhutia? There are many Bhutias.” It turned out that the lady was a Sherpa, a member of a smaller “Bhutia” group, who may be wary of others “hijacking” their identity term.



In addition to the four terms mentioned above, the highlanders of Lachung call their own language *jà:kɛʔ* (WD ཡར་སྐད་) ‘up(per) language’ and the Denjongke varieties spoken in lower altitudes *mà:kɛʔ* (WD མར་སྐད་) ‘low(er) language’.

To summarize, the main language name chosen for this thesis is Denjongke. The main reasons for this choice are that the term Denjongke is distinctive enough (contra Lhoke and Bhutia), more endonymic than “Bhutia” and “Sikkimese”, politically correct (contra Sikkimese), and in harmony with an ongoing research tradition beginning with Sandberg (1888, 1895) and Grierson (1909) and reflected in later references such as Genetti’s (1986: 387) “Danjongka”<sup>16</sup> and Bradley’s “Danjong” (Bradley 1997: 6) and is also consistent with my own earlier work (Yliniemi 2016a, 2017).

The two counter-arguments for using the language name Denjongke are that it is not the most typical endonym for the language (which is Lhoke) and that the geopolitically oriented term Denjongke ‘language of Sikkim’ downplays the linguistic similarity of the Tibetic varieties in Chumbi (China) and Ha (Bhutan). In response to the prior argument, it can be said that although Lhoke may not be the typical endonym, the term Denjongke is much more distinctive and understandable when considering the whole Tibetosphere. In response to the second argument it should be noted that the present description is limited to the Tibetic variety in Sikkim and does not claim to represent varieties east of Sikkim, although they do seem to form a dialect continuum with Denjongke.

The different language names and the terms used for people who speak Denjongke are summarized in Table 1.1 and Table 1.2 respectively.

Table 1.1. Summary of language names

Name of language		Brief description
Denjongke	[dɛ̃ndzɔŋkɛʔ] ‘language of Sikkim’	Pan-Tibetan endonym geopolitically limited to Sikkim (used when speaking Tibetan and Denjongke)
Lhoke	[lɔkɛʔ] ‘south(ern) language’	Somewhat vague Tibeto-centric endonym with potential to cover language varieties spoken in a larger area than present Sikkim (used when speaking Denjongke)
Bhutia	[bʰuʈja/bʰoʈja] ‘person or language related to Tibet’	Term used with non-Tibetic language communities in Sikkim (used when speaking Nepali and English)
Sikkimese	‘language of Sikkim’	Anglo-centric somewhat obsolete and politically incorrect endonym (used to be used when speaking English)

Table 1.2. How to refer to the people who speak Denjongke

Language name	Speaker name
Denjongke	Denjongpo/Denjongpa (lit. ‘Sikkim-dweller’)
Lhoke	Lhopo (‘southerner’)
Bhutia	Bhutia (‘person/people of Tibetan origin’)
Sikkimese	Sikkimese (obsolete as a reference to Denjongke/Denjongpos only)

<sup>16</sup> My MA-thesis (Yliniemi 2005) uses the mistaken form Denjongka (cf. Genetti 1986: 387) for the language. This mistake, as far as I remember, derives from the alternative language names listed in the Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig 2017).

### 1.1.2 Number of speakers

In personal communication some Denjongke language teachers have estimated the current number of speakers at 25–30,000. The *Ethnologue* (Simons & Fennig 2017) lists 70,300 speakers (as of 2001), which is an over-estimated number, unless the number proposes to include speakers of Tromowa in the Chumbi valley (China).

Establishing the number of Denjongke speakers is complicated by at least four factors. The first is that competence in Denjongke and ethnic identity associated with the language coincide to a diminishing degree, i.e. increasing numbers of Denjongpos, especially among children and young people, do not speak Denjongke. The State Socio-Economic Census of 2006 (as cited in Tschudharpo 2018: 46) lists 49,837 ethnic Bhutias (presumably meaning “Denjongpos”), comprising 8,57% of the population of Sikkim. However, the speakers of the language are much fewer than those who identify with the group ethnically.

The second factor that complicates the counting of speakers is that many ethnic Lepchas, who have lived in close contact to Denjongke speakers for several centuries, also speak Denjongke as either first or second language. The third factor is that it is difficult to determine how far to cast the net in search of Denjongke speakers. Varieties of Tibetic, which are intelligible to at least some Denjongpos, are spoken outside of Sikkim, both within India and outside of India. Within India, the language is said to be spoken in Darjeeling and Kalimpong (see Map 1.2), especially in Bhutia Busty (Darjeeling) and Pedong (near Kalimpong). As pointed out in the previous section, outside of India the Tibetic varieties in Chumbi valley (Groma/Tromowa, ISO 639-3 ‘gro’) and Ha (considered a dialect of Dzongkha) are to some degree intelligible especially with Denjongke spoken in the northern village of Lachung. For Tromowa, the *Ethnologue* lists 26,800 speakers, of whom 12,800 are reported to live in the Chumbi valley. The rest are presumably assigned to India and Bhutan.

The fourth reason for difficulty in counting the number of speakers is that in a language endangerment situation (such as the one exemplified by Denjongke) ethnic Denjongpos’ language competence occurs on a continuum from almost no knowledge to great fluency. It is difficult to define how much of a language a person needs to speak/understand to be considered a speaker of a language. Turin (2011) reports an interesting statistic from the first modern linguistic survey of Sikkim, conducted among secondary school students, stating that while 10% of the interviewees reported Bhutia as their mother tongue, only 7% claimed an ability to speak the language.<sup>17</sup>

### 1.1.3 Genetic affiliation

In Shafer’s (1955) classic classification of Sino-Tibetan languages, Denjongke is part of the South Bodish branch within the larger Bodic division, which together with Sinitic, Daic, Burmic, Baric and Karenic divisions form the Sino-Tibetan language family. Shafer’s subgroupings under the Bodic division are presented in Figure 1.3 (emphasis added).

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<sup>17</sup> A similar result was reported for Lepchas and Limbus, which were both more often referred to as the mother tongue (6% and 4% respectively) than as a language of spoken competence (5% and 3% respectively).

Figure 1.1. Shafer's (1955) classification of Bodic languages

---

Bodic division  
  Bodish section  
    Bodish branch  
      Central Bodish unit  
      **Lhoskad (Lhoke), Lhasa, Sikkim...**  
      South Bodish unit  
        Groma (Tromowa): upper, lower  
        **Sikkimese**  
        **Dandzongka**  
      East Bodish unit  
        Tshangla branch  
        Rgyarong branch  
        Gurung branch  
    West Himalayish section  
    West Central Himalayish section  
    East Himalayish section  
    Newarish  
    Digarish  
    Midzuish  
    Hrusish  
    Dhimalish  
    Miśingish  
    Dzorgaish

---

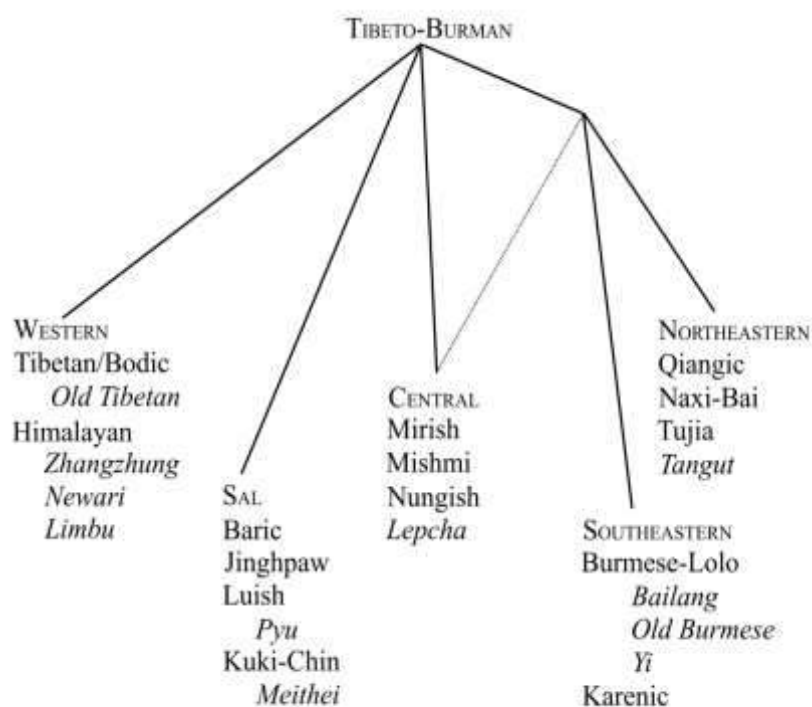
Shafer's (1955) language names present some difficulty because four terms (those in bold above) could potentially refer to the subject of the present study, two of them listed as Central Bodish and two as South Bodish languages. However, considering Shafer's (1955: 101) criteria of distinguishing Central Bodish from South Bodish ("[c]haracterized by the shift of [WT] -r- to -y-") it becomes clear that the language described in this thesis is identified as Sikkimese and/or Dandzongka of the South Bodish unit in Shafer's work. The terms "Lhoskad (Lhoke)" and "Sikkim" under Central Tibetan remain somewhat mysterious.<sup>18</sup> The term "Dandzongka" may refer to the same language as Sikkimese, or it may represent another Tibetic variety, possibly Dzongkha.

According to Bradley's (2002: 75) grouping, Denjongke is a Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibetan/Bodic language, see Figure 1.2. Bradley's Western Tibetan corresponds, in his own words, "mainly to Shafer's Bodic group" (2002: 75).

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<sup>18</sup> One or both of these terms may refer to languages spoken by Tibetan-related peoples who have come to Sikkim rather late. For instance, Mullard (2011: 37) states that "there seems to have been a substantial movement of Tibetans from Eastern Tibet during the 1920s. These migrants settled in regions close to Sikkim-Bhutan border."

Figure 1.2. Bradley’s (2002) grouping of Tibeto-Burman languages



The Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig 2017) lists Denjongke (using the name “Sikkimese”), along with Dzongkha (Bhutan) and seven smaller languages spoken in Bhutan and Chumbi valley (China), as a Western Tibeto-Burman, Bodish, Central Bodish, Southern language. Denjongke may also be referred to as a Tibetic language. The term Tibetic refers to languages derived from Old Tibetan (Tournadre 2008: 283; Tournadre 2014). “Tibetic” differs from “Bodish” in excluding “Tamangic and any other Bodish languages not derived from Old Tibetan” (Tournadre 2008: 283).

The affiliation of the language in Glottolog (glottolog.org) is given in Figure 1.3. The numbers refer to the number of languages listed for each grouping.

Figure 1.3. Affiliation of Denjongke in Glottolog

- 
- Sino-Tibetan (488),
    - Bodic (82),
      - Bodish (54),
        - Old-Modern Tibetan (43),
          - Tibetic (42),
            - Southern Tibetic (9),
              - Dzongkhic (6),
                - Sikkimese
- 

The other five Dzongkhic languages referred to in Figure 1.3 are Chocangacakha (see Tournadre & Rigzin 2015), Groma (see Walsh 1905) and what Glottolog terms “nuclear Dzongkhic” languages Dzongkha (see van Driem 1998 and Watters 2018), Layakha and Lunakha.

#### 1.1.4 Previous research

A sketch of Denjongke grammar was written by Sandberg in 1888 and an expanded second edition of 144 pages in 1895. Sandberg's grammar has a three-and-half page introduction to pronunciation and then continues with 40 pages of grammar. The grammar part is followed by 38 pages of example sentences that the author thought might prove helpful for language learners. The example sentences are divided into topical headings such as "horses and guns", "engaging coolies", "the weather", "shooting in the hills" and "talk on religion". The appendices consist of a list of animal names, toponyms and a collection of Lepcha<sup>19</sup> words and phrases.

Grierson's (1909:119-128) survey entry on "Dänjong-kä" provides some distilled phonological, etymological and grammatical information derived from Sandberg's description. A new contribution to Sandberg's (1895) collection of isolated sentences is a coherent text, the Prodigal Son story (obtained from David Macdonald), which is given in Tibetan script, transliterated Roman script and a glossed phonological Roman script.

Walsh (1905) provides a 34-page vocabulary list of the Tromowa language (WT ལྷོ་མོ་བ་ *gro-mo-ba*), a Tibetic variety spoken in the Chumbi valley. He includes comparative examples of equivalent words from both "Sikkimese" (Denjongke) and Central Tibetan. The Sikkimese words are mostly identical with Tromowa words, testifying to the very close relationship between the Tibetic varieties spoken in Sikkim and Chumbi.

Shafer (1974) presents some lexical data and historical-comparative observations on Denjongke phonology. My MA-thesis, Yliniemi (2005), was the first treatise of Denjongke phonology. Yliniemi (2016) describes the functions of Denjongke attention marker =*εo* and also provides a glossed text sample from Bhaichung Tschudarpo's novel *Richhi* (an edited version of which can be found in Appendix 1). Yliniemi (2017) describes Denjongke copulas and evidentiality (chapter 7 of the present thesis is an updated version of Yliniemi 2017).

For anthropological information on Denjongpos/Lhopos, refer to Balikci (2002) and especially Balikci (2008), which is an in-depth study of rituals in a Denjongke speaking community in North Sikkim. Yliniemi (2018) presents a micro-anthropological study of the every-day life of one Denjongpo/Lhopo family.

#### 1.1.5 Origins of the people

In terms of modern historical research, the origins of the Sikkimese Denjongpos/Lhopos are not well established (Balikci 2008: 65, Mullard 2011: 36). It is likely that Tibetic peoples from adjacent areas came to Sikkim in several migrations from perhaps as early as the ninth century up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Mullard 2011: 36, 77). According to Mullard (2011: 73) there are approximately thirty-four clan names among the Denjongpos, and some of them may represent places of origin. For instance, the clan name མདོ་ཁམས་པ་ *Mdo-khams-pa* may refer to origin in Amdo and Kham areas of Tibet (Mullard 2011: 206).

The most famous story of origin describes the descent of twelve prestigious Tibeto-Sikkimese tribes. A detailed account of their migration narrative is given in Mullard (2011: 36). This paragraph presents a brief summary. According to oral history, the twelve tribes are descended from Prince Guru Tashi, who started migrating southwards from the Kham Minyak region in Tibet in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Guru Tashi's son Gye Bumsa (WD ལྷོ་ འབུ་གུ་གུ་གུ་ *gyad-'bum-gsags* [k'ε bumsa(?)] 'one who has accumulated the strength of a hundred thousand') is said to have settled in the Chumbi valley while three other sons settled in Ha and Paro valleys of the present Bhutan. While living in Chumbi valley, Gye Bumsa and his barren wife went to

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<sup>19</sup> Lepcha is a Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by a people who are considered the earliest inhabitants of Sikkim. For a Lepcha grammar, see Plaisier (2006).

Sikkim to seek the blessing of a male descendant from the Lepcha bongthing<sup>20</sup> Thekongtek, who invoked the mountain god Kangchendzönga and territorial deities of Sikkim to bestow a blessing. Having returned to Chumbi valley, Gye Bumsa's wife gave birth to three sons, who are said to be the forefathers of the twelve major Denjongpo/Lhopo tribes of Sikkim. (see Balikci 2008: 65-74 and references there).

The twelve tribes who claim descent from Gye Bumsa view other Lhopo tribes as less prestigious late-comers (Balikci 2008: 71). The other tribes, in defence of their status, have claimed that they came to Sikkim before Gye Bumsa's time (Balikci 2008: 73-74). In favour of this claim, Mullard (2011: 77) hypothesizes that Tibetan migration to Sikkim likely began at the same time as migration to Bhutan, that is, in the ninth century. Thus, the official historical narrative may describe the origin of the tribes which trace their roots to Gye Bumsa but does not tell the whole story of Tibeto-Sikkimese migrations.

Denjongpos have historically had a close relationship with the Lepchas. This relationship is said to originate from Gye Bumsa's time. After receiving a male heir, Gye Bumsa returned grateful to Sikkim and made an alliance with the Lepcha bongthing Thekongtek. In the accompanying ritual the territorial deities of Sikkim, the most formidable of these the mountain Kangchendzönga, were invoked as witnesses of the covenant. This alliance is still annually commemorated in the Pang Lhabsol ritual (དཔང་ལྷ་གསོལ་ *dpang-lha-gsol* 'offering to the witness gods').

A third group of early inhabitants of Sikkim are the Limbu. A legal charter dated 1663 records an agreement between the three groups Bhutia, Lepcha and Limbu to unite under the the first Bhutia king Phuntsog Namgyal (WT *Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal*) who reigned 1642-1670<sup>21</sup> (Mullard 2011: 5). In Denjongke and Tibetan, this agreement is known as ལྷོ་མོན་ཙོང་གསུམ་ *lho mon tsong gsum /l̥o mèn tsō: s̥um/* 'Lhopo Lecpha Limbu three'. Later immigration from Nepal gradually led the Nepali-speaking tribes becoming a majority in the kingdom. The era of the Bhutia kings came to an end in 1975 when Sikkim became the 22<sup>nd</sup> state of India.

### 1.1.6 From spoken to written language

Until Sikkim became part of India in 1975, Denjongke was exclusively an oral language while Classical Tibetan was used for writing (Dewan 2012: 171, 418). Under Indian rule, Denjongke, along with ten other minority languages of Sikkim, was gradually introduced as an elective subject in schools. In many localities such as Tingchim (North) and Lingdum it was not until the late 1980s that vernacular language classes in Lhoke were introduced in schools (Balikci 2008, 327). For this purpose a literary form of the language was needed. Through the efforts of འོ་ལྷོ་མོན་ཙོང་གསུམ་ *Norden Tshering Bhutia* a modified Tibetan script was adopted for writing the language. Schoolbooks were produced, most often by translating from existing Tibetan materials, first by *Palden Lachungpa* དཔལ་ལྷུང་པ་ and then extensively by *Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo* པེ་རི་འཇོ་ནང་གྲག་ཅུང་དར་པོ་, both as Text Book Officers of the Government of Sikkim.

More recently, other types of literature have appeared. In 1996, *Bhaichung Tsichudarpa* ལྷོ་མོན་ཙོང་གསུམ་ཙུང་ཅུང་དར་པོ་ (the then Text Book Officer, Government of Sikkim) published the first Denjongke novel called *richhi* རེ་ཆེ་ 'hope', and several authors have produced, among other things, poetry, proverbs and plays. At present, there are some 30 authors who have produced Denjongke literature (Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo, personal communication). A daily Denjongke radio programme has been broadcast since the 1960s, first from Kurseong (West Bengal) and later from Gangtok All India Radio station. Dictionaries have been produced by

<sup>20</sup> Male ritual specialist of the Lecphas (Balikci 2008: 378).

<sup>21</sup> According to the traditional account. Mullard (2011) argues for the years c. 1646 - c. 1670.

N. T. Bhutia & Takchungdarpo (2001), P. Bhutia (2004), Lama (2013), Takchungdarpo (2013) and Phenasa (2013).

Two newspapers are published in Denjongke. The Department of Information and Public Relations, Government of Sikkim, publishes a weekly paper called Sikkim Herald. The first issue appeared already in 1956 in English and in 1962 the paper began to be published also in Nepali and Tibetan. Denjongke language editions became possible after the 1975 merger with India, when Denjongke became a written language. Nowadays, Sikkim Herald publishes news translated from English in all the eleven official languages of Sikkim. The second Denjongke newspaper is ད་ལྷོ་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ (*da-lto 'i 'bras-ljongs* ‘Sikkim today’), which is a four-page compendium of news translated from English. This newspaper was published 1993-2008. After a silence of 10 years, the first new issue is expected to be released in the autumn 2018.

Currently, the Bhutia Language Website Development Committee (སློབ་ཤིང་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་སྐད་ལྗོངས་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་སྐད་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་སྐད་) is preparing for the launching of a website which describes the Denjongke/Bhutia language and the culture of the people who speak it. The internet-address of the website will be [www.hellobhutia.com](http://www.hellobhutia.com).

For a technical introduction to how Denjongke writing differs from Classical Tibetan and how it is applied in this grammar, refer to §1.2.7 below.

### 1.1.7 Religion

According to the State Socio-Economic Census 2006 (as cited in Tsuchidarpo 2018:46), the great majority (97,79%) of Denjongke speakers are Tibetan Buddhist. Other religions having adherents among the community are Christianity (1,19%), Hinduism (1 %) and Islam (0,02%). The main sects of Tibetan Buddhism followed in Sikkim are Nyingmapa and Kagyupa, which are distinct from the Gelukpa sect led by the Dalai Lama.

Sikkim is known in Denjongke and Tibetan as *bey*: (WD བྱམ་ཡུལ་ *sbas-yul*) ‘hidden land’, one of the sacred valleys which the 8<sup>th</sup> century Indian tantric Buddhist master Padmasambhava, also known as Guru Rimpoche, is said to have specifically blessed as gateway places where physical and spiritual world overlap.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, Sikkim is viewed by many Denjongpos as a paradise on earth whose fate foretells the fate of the whole world (Captain Yongda 2016). For a more detailed description of religion among the Denjongpos, refer especially to Balikci (2008) but also to Yliniemi (2018).

### 1.1.8 The honorific system and social relations

Similarly to many other Tibetic languages, Denjongke uses an honorific system to give linguistic expression to social hierarchy. A central feature of the honorific system is the division of many nouns, personal pronouns and verbs into two groups, the “ordinary” words known as ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ‘language of the simple’ or *p<sup>h</sup>ε(l)kε?* ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ‘common speech’ and the honorific words known as ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ‘honorific’.<sup>23</sup> Generally, one is expected to show respect to one’s elders and social superiors by using the honorific forms with them. The inhabitants of Lachen and Lachung in the north, however, are known for their more direct way of speech in which honorifics are used less frequently. Therefore the speech of Lachenpas and Lachungpas seems offensive to many more southern speakers. The speech of the southerners, on the other hand, may seem too slow and wordy in the ears of the Lachenpas and Lachungpas. A consultant from Lachen commented that the speech of the southern Denjongke speakers

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<sup>22</sup> A Tibetan monk’s attempt to open the passage to the spiritual realm through a gateway location in Sikkim is recorded in Shor (2017).

<sup>23</sup> A few verbs have an additional humilific form, which signifies that the speaker acknowledges the addressee’s equal or higher social status, see §3.3.4.

makes him feel drowsy. As an example of the difference between the speech in Lachen/Lachung and the speech in West Sikkim, consider the trisyllabic question (1.1), which one might hear in Lachung, and the eight-syllable equivalent (1.2), which one might hear in Tashiding.

(1.1) ཚོད་ག་འགྱུ?

*tɕʰøʔ k'a: gju?*

2SG.L where go

‘Where are you going?’

(1.2) ལྷན་ལྷན་ག་ན་ཕྱོན་བོ་གནང་དོ་(བོ)?

*lɛŋɛʔ k'ana tɕ'øŋ-bo nã:-do (bo)?*

PRN.HON where go.HON-2INF do.HON-IPFV (EQU.NE.Q)

‘Where are you going?’

The ability to use the honorific forms is generally considered a sign of skillful language use. Many young speakers who are unable to use the honorifics correctly are ashamed to speak the language. The honorific words are often identical with Classical Tibetan and with the honorific varieties of other Tibetic languages. Hence, one of my consultants, who is educated in Classical Tibetan, said that he is able to understand the Dzongkha in televised sessions of the Bhutan Parliament but talking to a Dzongkha-speaking farmer would be more difficult.

### 1.1.9 Language contact and multilinguality

Most Denjongke speakers are to some degree bilingual in Nepali, although some elderly people in some rural communities may be monolingual Denjongke speakers. Domains of language use among Denjongke speakers are being lost to Nepali, English and Hindi. Nepali is used in the day-to-day life in the market and in offices, where the Denjongpos communicate with members of other communities and also with members of their own community who do not speak Denjongke. English is the official medium of instruction in all schools. Although school books are in English, oral instruction, because of the teachers’ weak command of spoken English, may be given in Nepali. Hindi dominates the domain of entertainment (TV, music) and is considered important for career prospects in other places in India. The main domain for using Denjongke is the home, but even there the language in most cases is not being successfully transmitted to children because of the educational choices outlined in the next section. Historically, Denjongke elites have looked up to Tibet for cultural and linguistic influences (Balikci 2011: 11-12). The perceived prestige of Tibetan is well illustrated by the words of one of my elderly consultants, who considered the main reason for learning Denjongke was that, as a “gateway language”, it would later facilitate the learning of Tibetan, the source of religious heritage.

### 1.1.10 Language endangerment

Denjongke is rapidly losing speakers among children. For this reason, the language has been characterized as “severely endangered” (Turin 2014: 384) and “moribund” (van Driem 2007: 312). In terms of EGIDS<sup>24</sup> scale, the status of Denjongke is on level 6b or 7, depending on the community. Level 6b, termed “threatened”, is characterized in the following way: “The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users”. In the country-side, especially near big monasteries, the language is still to some degree being transmitted to the children. Language status level 7, termed “shifting”, has the following

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status> (consulted 13 Feb 2018)



description: “The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.” This may be the situation with most Denjongke speakers.

Within UNESCO’s Language Vitality and Endangerment framework, see Table 1.2, the language may be described, depending on the community, as “vulnerable”, “definitely endangered” or “severely endangered”. The description “vulnerable” is applicable to some rural settings (such as the monastery hill in Tashiding), while “severely endangered” characterizes the situation of many urban Lhopos (for instance in Gangtok). In my estimation, the majority of children do not currently learn to speak the language, thus “definitely endangered” is an apt classification.

Table 1.3. UNESCO’s Language Vitality and Endangerment framework

safe	language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
vulnerable	most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
<b>definitely endangered</b>	children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
severely endangered	language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
critically endangered	the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
extinct	there are no speakers left

With the lack of language competence among younger Denjongpos, the concept of “mother tongue” is being interpreted in the sense of historical and ethnic belonging. The number of Denjongpo who claim Denjongke/Lhoke/Bhutia as their mother tongue exceeds the number of those who claim the ability to speak the language (Turin 2011: 136, Turin 2014: 384).

Some of the reasons for language endangerment, which I have heard from the speakers themselves, are children’s schooling outside the language community, fear of losing face, and the lack of economic value in knowing Denjongke. First, private schools, which are preferred to local government schools, are typically situated far away from the pupils’ homes. Therefore the pupils have to live outside their homes and lose connection with the language community. Furthermore, unlike government schools, private schools are not obliged to offer Denjongke or the other minority languages of Sikkim as subjects. The number of Denjongke speakers has declined since the 1960, whereas the number of Lepcha speakers has remained fairly stable (Turin 2014: 385). Turin (2014: 385) suggests that the difference may be due to the greater wealth, more education and urbanisation of the Lhopos as compared to the more rural Lepchas.

Second, the fear of losing face is a serious factor in language loss, causing younger speakers to reply in Nepali to their parents when asked a question in Denjongke. One particular linguistic factor, which exacerbates the situation, is the difficulty of the honorific system, where, in order to establish oneself as an esteemed speaker, one has to master two different sets of vocabulary (see §3.2.2 and §3.3.4). Lack of training in the use of the honorific forms, which should be used with one’s superiors, along with an occasional rebuke for not showing respect linguistically, has resulted in some younger speakers avoiding using Denjongke at all.

The third factor contributing to language endangerment is that the speakers do not see any economic value in knowing Denjongke. For this reason, even the children of Denjongke

language teachers, do not choose Denjongke as an elective subject at school but rather go for languages of more economic prospects, Nepali, English and Hindi.

Although the language is threatened, recent years have seen a thrust toward revitalization among some members of the community. Language and culture oriented Whatsapp-groups have been established. Dictionaries, vocabularies and poem collections of various sizes have been published. Audio and video recordings of traditional songs have been produced. In 2017, the first Bhutia film *byakay* (WD བྱ་སྐྱེལ་ *b'ya-skyel* /p'jakε:/ 'chicken-bringing'<sup>25</sup>) was released. Currently, the Bhutia Literary Association (BLA) is preparing web site, which contains cultural and linguistic information about the Denjongpos and Denjongke.

An important factor hampering revitalization is that most speakers cannot read the Denjongke script (i.e. Classical Tibetan script with small modifications) well or at all, and learning to read it is a formidable task, because Denjongke (along with Tibetan) has a deep orthography where pronunciation is not easily recoverable from the written form (deep orthographies contrast with shallow, or phonologically-based, orthographies). For instance, *ge?* 'eight' is written བརྟུད་ *brgyad* and *ó:* 'authority' is written དབང་ *dbang*. Time will tell to what degree revitalization efforts will be able to counteract the strong tendency to lose speakers among children.

### 1.1.11 Central linguistic features

This sections provides an overview of the central linguistic features of Denjongke. In the present analysis, Denjongke has 43 consonants and eight vowels (or 13 if lengthened vowels are counted separately). Both length and nasalization are contrastive in vowels. Denjongke words are divided into high and low register based on pitch and voice quality. The register of a word is predictable with some initial consonants. The unpredictability of register with other initials and lack of clear voicing difference (breathy vs. modal) leave pitch to be the main contrastive feature in some minimal pairs. Therefore, Denjongke may be termed a tone language, although tone does not bear as great a functional load as in some more well-known tone languages (e.g. Thai). Denjongke syllable structure (C)(G)V(C/V) is more simplified than in phonologically more "archaic" (i.e. more like Written Tibetan) Tibetic languages such as Ladakhi, Balti and Amdo.

The distinction between ordinary and honorific language is seen on many levels. Denjongke makes a distinction between ordinary and honorific nouns. The honorific forms may be derived from ordinary forms but may also be morphologically unrelated. Many verbs also have morphologically unrelated ordinary and honorific equivalents, and some verbs have, moreover, humilific forms. Even those verbs which do not have honorific counterparts can be formed into honorific constructions through a specific nominalized construction. The language also has honorific clitics which attach to the end of the sentence or to a noun phrase which refers to people.

The present study presents 45 phonologically related pairs of controllable vs. non-controllable verbs. Denjongke has a lexical class of adjectives most of which are derived from stative verbs through various adjectivizing morphemes. Similarly to Dzongkha (van Driem 1998), Denjongke does not make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns, unlike many other Tibetic languages (see Hill [2010], Bielmeier [1985: 76], Ebihara [undated], Bartee [2007:108], Haller [2000: 50] and Vesalainen [2016: 21]). For numerals, both decimal and vigesimal systems are in use. Denjongke has a morphologically, phonologically and semantically distinct class of adjectives/adverbs termed ideohones, which are used for vivid representation of ideas.

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<sup>25</sup> The name refers to the customs of bringing chicken meat to the family of a new-born baby.

The prominent word order in Denjongke is verb-final APV (or SOV), although right dislocated elements occasionally occur after the verb. Denjongke argument marking, which cannot be characterized as either nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive, shows a pragmatically conditioned agentive-marking pattern. With some transitive verbs, agentive marking of an A argument is obligatory in past tense whereas other transitive verbs are exempt from such a requirement. The marking of argument P is sensitive to animacy, identifiability/specificity and affectedness of the referent. Denjongke does not have a separate passive construction but functional passives can be formed by suppressing the A argument. Grammatical and spatial relations are marked by five case-marking clitics, some of which can be stacked for double or even triple case marking.

Denjongke has a rich array of simple and complex copulas which mark the basic evidential distinctions of personal, sensorial and neutral. The copulas also mark evidentiality as auxiliaries in periphrastic constructions with various tense, aspect and modal values. The use of personal evidentials is more semantic and less restricted by the requirement for the 1<sup>st</sup> person to be syntactically present than is recorded to be the case with the egophoric category in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003). The present analysis lists 24 secondary verbs which add semantic nuance to the primary verb. The semantic effect of secondary verbs can in most cases, but not always, be described in terms of tense, aspect and mood. Secondary verbs, affixes and nominalized verbs accompanied by copular auxiliaries form a tense-aspect system of nine past-oriented constructions, seven present habitual and future constructions and five progressive/imperfective type of constructions. Modality is expressed by 11 secondary verbs but also four other constructions.

Interrogation, which occurs in direct and attenuated forms, is accomplished by interrogative copulas and interrogative suffixes, which form a rather complicated system. Denjongke is a clause-chaining language where one sentence has only one finite verb. Genitivization of nominalized clauses is used as a strategy for forming relative clauses, noun complement clauses and postposition complement clauses.

## **1.2 Research approach and data**

This section describes the research approach and data of this thesis. I begin by outlining which language varieties are covered by the present research (§1.2.1). The theoretical background is then addressed in §1.2.2 and the types of spoken and written data in §1.2.3. This is followed by a discussion on methodology and software (§1.2.4) and technical descriptions of equipment used in recording (§1.2.5). Section §1.2.6 introduces conventions used in linguistic examples. The following section §1.2.7 gives details of choices made in using the Denjongke script. Conventions of transliteration are introduced in §1.2.8. The last section §1.2.9 describes how the data and discussion are organized in the remaining chapters.

### **1.2.1 Dialects and the language described here**

As far as I understand, Denjongke varieties spoken all over Sikkim are mutually fairly easily understandable, although some variance occurs in phonology and lexicon. As an example of difference in the phoneme inventory, the consultant from Ralang (West Sikkim) merges /z/ and /dz/ into one phoneme /dz/. As another example of a merger, /ã:/ and /õ:/, which are distinguished in West Sikkim merge into /õ:/ in the East and the North. These features signal the geographic area the speaker comes from but are not, to my knowledge, functionally of much import, because the resulting homonymy is rare. A conspicuous morphological point of

variance is the conditional marker, which is /no/ or /nu/ in East and North Sikkim but /nɛ/ in West Sikkim.<sup>26</sup>

The greatest dialectal difference seems to occur between the language spoken in the northern villages of Lachen and Lachung and those varieties spoken in more southern locations. As noted above, Lachenpas and Lachungpas are less likely to use honorifics than the speakers elsewhere. Table 1.1 presents some illustrative differences mainly in the phonology but also in the lexicon and grammar of the language varieties spoken in Lachung and Tashiding.

Table 1.4. Some linguistic differences between Tashiding and Lachung

Lexeme	Tashiding	Lachung
‘after’	<i>gjablə</i>	<i>ɛy:lɛ</i> (same as in Dzongkha)
‘flower’	<i>mintoʔ</i>	<i>mɛ:toʔ</i> (Central Tibetan pronunciation)
‘tradition’	<i>lùksø:</i>	<i>lòkso:/lò:so:</i>
‘coral’	<i>pʹjuru</i>	<i>tɛuru</i> (Central Tibetan pronunciation)
<b>Other morpheme</b>		
plural	= <i>tsu</i>	= <i>tso</i> (Central Tibetan pronunciation)
pre-verbal negation particle <i>á</i>	is not used	is used

When visiting the Ha region of Bhutan, which is the closest part of Bhutan to Sikkim, I played to some locals audio samples of Denjongke spoken in Tashiding (West Sikkim) and Lachung (North Sikkim). The group of hearers commented that they could understand most or everything of the Lachung consultants’ speech, whereas understanding the Tashiding consultant was more difficult. This linguistic fact provides evidence that supports the local belief in Lachung that the people there have originally come from the Ha region.

This grammar is based on data from a large number of consultants from various geographic locations, see Table 1.2. Therefore the present description is richer in terms of geographic variety than a description based on a very limited geographical location such as one village. Including this broad geographical area was also made necessary for practical reasons: it was not possible to stay in one Denjongke speaking village for extended periods of time and it proved more feasible to work less intensively with several consultants than more intensively with one or two consultants. This geographically/dialectally eclectic approach did not seem problematic since the basic syntactic constructions are fairly unified across various localities, although some constructions may be more frequent in one location than in another. On the positive side, the current approach provides a fuller picture of the use of Denjongke because variation is noted and, to the degree of my awareness, linked with certain geographic locations. Nevertheless, this grammar focuses not on *jà:kɛʔ* ཡར་སྐད་ ‘language of the highlands’, which is the description of some Lachenpas and Lachungpas of their own language, but *mà:kɛʔ* མར་སྐད་ ‘language of the lowlands’, a word used by some highlanders of those living at lower altitudes and in more southern locations.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Consultant KUN told me that because of the variation in pronouncing the conditional form, the standardizers of the writing system decided to write the conditional, similarly to Classical Tibetan, as /na/ (ན་ *na*), which, as far as I understand, does not reflect the spoken language of speakers from any location. Nowadays the form /na/ can occasionally be heard in the spoken language of some literate speakers.

<sup>27</sup> I record, however, some examples from speakers of Lachen and particularly Lachung.

The greatest contributor to the written Denjongke data used as data in this thesis is Bhaichung Tschudarpo, whose works make up approximately 90% of the digitized written data (134 pages and 56,474 words according to MS-Word). As a result, Tschudarpo's place of origin, Yangang (South Sikkim, see Map 1.3), is well represented in the data. It is, however, worth noting that none of my consultants from whom spoken data was collected hails from there.

Of the Denjongke speaking village locations, this thesis has most been affected by Tashiding (West Sikkim), where I stayed, on several occasions from 2012, for a total of more than ten weeks. Another field location was Upper Martam, where I stayed six weeks in 2013 and visited several times after that. From June 2013 to August 2016 and again from November 2017 to July 2018, I stayed mainly in Ranka, East Sikkim, from where I could visit and work with several Denjongke teachers living in and around Gangtok.

### **1.2.2 Theoretical background**

This thesis is based on the functionalist-typological approach embodied in such works as the edited Shopen (2007) trilogy and informed by fieldwork guides such as Newman & Ratliff (2001). The work may also be characterized as an application of Dixon's (1997:128) "Basic Linguistic Theory", aiming to combine maximal intelligibility, which results from basing the description on traditional grammatical terms, and nuanced analysis, which is enabled by recourse to up-to-date typological information. In this way, I hope the thesis will be more widely understood than when basing it on a more marginal framework (Noonan 2006).

The approach here relies on the power of prose, instead of formalisms, to describe linguistic phenomena. While using traditional grammatical terms in describing phenomena in Denjongke, I have tried to keep in mind Haspelmath's (2010a) warning that analysis should not be limited even by the conceptual framework of such eclectic approaches as Basic Linguistic Theory. The aim has been to describe Denjongke on its own terms, making a distinction between language-internal descriptive categories and cross-linguistic comparative concepts (Haspelmath 2010b). Moreover, this thesis is data-oriented in that I aim to give a lot of examples, which not only illuminate the points under discussion but may also provide insight into other topics that have not been covered or envisioned by the present author.

### **1.2.3 Data**

The data for this thesis comes from both oral (§1.2.3.1) and written sources (§1.2.3.2).

#### **1.2.3.1 Oral data and consultants**

The data were gathered initially during six weeks in 2004 (mainly for my MA-thesis) and later extensively between 2012-2018, during which I spent more time in the language area (Sikkim) or its vicinity (Kalimpong, West Bengal) than outside of it. Before 2012 I had achieved some oral competence and literacy in Nepali and so was able to use Nepali as a contact language in my initial approach to Denjongke speakers. Gradually, I was able to achieve some competence in speaking, listening, reading and writing Denjongke and so shifted to a monolingual method where all sessions were conducted in Denjongke. Developing speaking ability in the language enabled me to use participant observation as a means of data gathering and I was also able to use recordings of the elicitation sessions as data.<sup>28</sup> Developing my own intuitions about the language also helped make the analysis more reliable. Although many example sentences in this thesis are marked as elicited, the elicited examples are almost never translations from another language but responses to prompts in Denjongke or, with two consultants, in English. The common languages between me and the consultants were mainly Denjongke and Nepali. Only two of my occasional consultants (PT

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<sup>28</sup> For a defense of the monolingual method, see Everett (2001).

and KT) were competent in English. Some of the language material of the ongoing descriptive project of Denjongke will be archived, (preliminarily in FINCLARIN’s language bank<sup>29</sup>). The following types of spoken data have been used in the analysis and examples:

- 1) Video recorded monologues, interviews and songs
- 2) Audio-recorded monologues, interviews and songs
- 3) Audio-recorded conversation of several people recorded by a consultant (KN) in the author’s absence
- 4) Audio-recorded conversation of several people recorded by the author
- 5) Audio-recorded elicitation, language learning and conversation sessions with the author present and occasionally absent for a time
- 6) Words, minimal pairs and sentences elicited for phonological analysis
- 7) Existing Denjongke song albums
- 8) About 1200 pages of field notes, which include notes from recorded and non-recorded elicitation, overheard language, notes from audio and video-recordings which have not been transcribed, examples from written sources which have not been digitized, initial transcription and interlinearization.

The monologues mentioned in 1) and 2) above include such categories as folk-story, travel story, remembering old times, description of a cultural tradition, joke, riddle, proverb with or without explanation, speech in a formal setting, pedagogical speech, and the pear story<sup>30</sup>.

I was fortunate to work with many consultants. Almost all the consultant signed an informed consent form, see Appendix 3. With some consultants, an informed consent paper was not available at the time. In these cases, I believe no harm is done to their person, because the consultants’ names are not identified and data received from them is not archived. Although most consultants indicated that they may be identified by their name in this thesis, I decided to introduce the consultants by a combination of two or three capital letters, because being identified by name may in some cases have unforeseen consequences, especially if the topic under discussion is in one sense or another sensitive. The consultants from whom spoken data used in this thesis have been obtained are presented in Table 1.2, along with the types of data gained (m.=male, f.=female). The places of origin of the consultants are shown in Map 1.3 under Table 1.2. Table 1.2 does not present all my data but only those recordings from which example sentences were taken. The recordings referred to in Table 1.2 are audio-recordings, unless separately marked as “video”.

Table 1.5. Consultants and types of data

Code	Gender, age	Location	Type of data
BT	m. 50+	Tashiding	Grammar exposition; formal exposition (monologue) on the correspondence of English and Denjongke verbal forms (13:32)
DB	m. 60+	Tashiding	1) Life story (4:15) 2) Trip story; story of a one-day tour in West Sikkim taken the previous day (14:43 min)
GB	m. 40+	Tashiding	Unrecorded elicitation
JD	m. 15	Tashiding	Life story (00:47)

<sup>29</sup> <https://kitwiki.csc.fi/twiki/bin/view/FinCLARIN/KielipankkiFrontpage>

<sup>30</sup> The pear story is a story prompted by showing a consultant the Pear Film, a six-minute film produced at the University of California at Berkeley in 1975 for studying narrative crosslinguistically, see Chafe (1980). The Pear Film is available at: <http://pearstories.org/>.

JDF	m. 40+	Tashiding	Axe story; famous pedagogic story of a farmer who lost an axe and regained it with the help of a water-god (3:52)
JDG	m. 70+	Tashiding	Field notes of unrecorded elicitation
NAB	m. 30+	Tashiding	BLA 7, recorded formal talk in a meeting (28:54)
NB	m. 30+	Tashiding	Recordings of elicitation sessions
PAD	m. ?	Tashiding	1) Bet story; a story sent in a whatsapp group about a bet between a crafty peddler and an intelligent farmer (17:10) 2) Tashiding story; story of one clan living in Tashiding (3:00)
PED	f. 30+	Tashiding	Life story (16:21)
PT	m. 30+	Tashiding	Kitchen discussion, free discussion between up to six people (three recordings altogether 1:44:09)
PTA	f. 60+	Tashiding	Kitchen discussion, see PT
PTM	f. 60+	Tashiding	Kitchen discussion, see PT
PTW	f. 30+	Tashiding	Kitchen discussion, see PT
RB	m. 20+	Tashiding	1) Pear story (1:50) 2) Butcher story (2:04)
RBM	f. 60+	Tashiding	1) Roof discussion; free discussion between four relatives on the roof (4:34) 2) Story of my son (1:27)
RS	m 60+	Tashiding	1) Driver joke (2:38) 2) Pupil joke (3:00) 3) Language situation; monologue on the language situation from Denjongpo perspective (14:12) 4) Bee story; a story on a competition between a bumble bee and balsam flower (3:24) 5) Song intro; recording of a song with introduction (4:38) 6) (In)auspicious days; an exposition on astrology (15:07) 7) Intro to duetto; recording of a song with introduction (4:38) 8) Animal song intro; recording of a song with introduction (8:32) 9) On songs; introduction to types of songs in general (2:00)
SM	m. 50+	Tashiding	Kitchen discussion, see under PT
SN	f. 50+	Tashiding	Kitchen discussion, see under PT
UT	m. 30+	Tashiding	1) Recorded elicitation session 2) Proverb; recorded proverbs with explanations 3) Riddle; recorded riddles with explanations
UTR	m. 20+	Tashiding	Plains story; personal story of living in the plains of India (6:57)
UU	m. 40+	Tashiding	Deer story; folkstory of a deer, given fully in the appendix (1:36)
YB	m. 20+	Tashiding	Restaurant discussion; recorded discussion of several people in a restaurant (including the author)
TB	m. 40+	Ralang	1) Story of two bulls (2:33) 2) Story of the Buddha (1:43) 3) Phone call; telephone conversation with a brother who

			is Delhi (3:42) 4) Funeral customs; a monologue exposition on funeral customs in Ralang (1:28) 5) Life story (2:40) 6) Life in gumpa (1:55) 7) Comment on a video; recorded descriptions on what happened on videos 8) Phone call; unrecorded phone call, field notes
BB	m. 30+	Barapathing	BB discussion, see KL
BBP	m. 70+	Barapathing	BB discussion, see KL
BP	m. 30+	Barapathing	BB discussion, see KL
KL	m. 40+	Barapathing	1) BLA 12, discussion with some younger speakers, mostly monologue (15:12) 2) Discussion with DR, a free discussion between two people 3) BB discussion; a group discussion of several people in Barapathing 4) Phone call (within a longer elicitation recording)
KT	m. 60+	Bermeok	1) Animal story; folkstory on how a marten killed an elephant, tiger and a bear (23:20) 2) Discussion with TB, a free discussion between two people (several recordings of discussion) 3) Intro to an ode; recording of an ode with an introduction (3:06) 4) Recorded phone call (5:49)
YR	m. 40+	Kewsing	1) Canteen video; pedagogical exposition prompted by questions (22:24) 2) Boys' and girls' clothing; an exposition prompted by a question (3:26)
CY	m. 70+	Pemayantse	1) Structured video interview conducted by KN (1:20:17) 2) Monologue before interview (12:58)
SGD	m. 50+	Barphung	1) Monologue exposition of wedding customs (28:19) 2) Cave story; story of Sikkimese caves (5:21)
AB	m. ?	Martam	Kitchen discussion, see KN
KN	m. 20+	Martam	1) Kitchen discussion, a discussion by KN's family, recorded by KN 2) Phone call (field notes 5, 100) 3) Photo discussion; consultant's recorded responses to photos 4) Phone call 2 (1:15) 5) Phone call 3 (field notes)
KNA	m. 70+	Martam	Kitchen discussion, see KN
KNM	f. 60+	Martam	Kitchen discussion, see KN
KNU	m. ?	Martam	Kitchen discussion, see KN
LT	m. 30+	Martam	Kitchen discussion, see KN
DR	m. 70+	Phodong	Discussion with KL, a free discussion between two people (33:45)
KUN	m. 30+	Lachung	Recorded elicitation session (1:43:18)
LA	f. 60+	Lachung	1) Intro to Lachung; a monologue which introduces life in the northern village of Lachung (5:07)



			2) Birth in Lachung; an exposition on customs relating to birth of a baby (2:12) 3) Funerals; monologue on funeral customs in Lachung (4:15)
PD	m. 40+	Lingdum	1) Intro video; an introduction to a house (1:02) 2) Living room video; an introduction to a room in a house (00:55) 3) Outside video; an introduction to some items around the house, prompted by questions (6:35) 4) Altar room video (4:27) 5) Goat shed video (1:20) 6) Surroundings video; an introduction to the surroundings of a house (1:37) 7) Storeroom video (2:29) 8) Spatial topography interview; based on pictures (1:07:04) 9) Interview; structured bilingual (Nepali, Denjongke) interview on everyday life of the consultant's family (1:42:22)
SS	m. 50+	Lingdum	Proverb explanation; recording of a proverb with explanation
PL	f. 30+	Lingdok	Interview on farming conducted by the present author (36:11)
KLT	m. 50+	near Tashiding	Bumchu video; an exposition of the origin of the Bumchu festival in Tashiding produced by Namgyal Institute of Tibetology
RL	m. 40+	Lachen	Several recorded interviews with the author
PB	m. 20+	Gyalshing	Discussion with TB (16:21)
LT	m. 30+	Rinchenpong	Unrecorded elicitation
RD	m. 50+	Phodong	BLA 9; recorded formal talk in a meeting (9:01)
DL	m. ?	?	About food; post in a Whatsapp group (2:25)
NT	m. 70+	Tathongchen	BLA 6, recorded formal talk in a meeting (10:20)

Overheard clauses are marked “oh” and assigned a place of hearing. If an example sentence originally occurred in a message to a Whatsapp group, it is separately mentioned. Functionally, language material from a large Whatsapp group where all participants do not know each other could be classified as “overheard”. For some simple examples no source is marked.

The aim of the research has been to treat the consultants in conformity to the three basic ethical principle described by TENK (Tutkimuseettinen neuvottelukunta, Finnish National Board on Research Integrity), i.e. respecting the autonomy of the research subjects, avoiding harm and protecting privacy.

Map 1.3. Consultants' places of origin within Sikkim



### 1.2.3.2 Literary data

Several written works are used as data. In the written data, works of Bhaichung Tsichudarmo take precedence. His works, most of which are designed as audio-plays, have a lot of dialogue and use of colloquial expression. His texts represent the actual spoken language and are said to be intelligible for ordinary villagers.

Works by Bhaichung Tsichudarmo (WD ལྷའི་ཐུང་ ཚེས་བཅུ་དར་པོ་ *bha'i-cung tshes-bcu-dar-po*):

- 1) A novel called རེ་ཆེ་ *richhi /rite<sup>hi</sup>/* 'hope', 173 pages, see Tsichudarmo (1996).<sup>31</sup>
- 2) A play called རྣམ་རྟོག་ *rnam-rtog /námto?/* 'superstition', 42 pages, see Tsichudarmo (1997).
- 3) A play called ངའི་ འགན་ *nga'i 'gan /jè: gɛn/* 'my responsibility', 27 pages, within Tsichudarmo (2008).
- 4) A play called མཐུན་སྦྲེལ་ *mthun-sgril /t<sup>h</sup>yndj:/* 'unity', 19 pages, within Tsichudarmo (2008).
- 5) A play called རྗེ་བཙུན་ མེ་ལ་ རས་པོ་ དང་ བྱི་ར་ རས་པོ་ མགོན་པོ་ རྗེ་ *rje-btsun mi-la ras-po dang khyi-ra ras-po mgon-po rdo-rje /dzetsyn milarepo t<sup>ã</sup>: k<sup>h</sup>irarepo gømpo dordzi/* 'Venerable Milarepo and Kirarepo Gompo Dorje', 28 pages, within Tsichudarmo (2008).

Work by Karma Lobsang Bhutia (ཀར་མ་ ལོ་བཟང་ ལྷོ་རི་ཡ་ *kar-ma blo-bzang bho-Ti-ya*):

- 6) A collection of folk-stories and moral teachings རྣ་གསུང་ དང་ གཏམ་བཤད་ *rna-gsung dang gtam-bhad /násuŋ t<sup>ã</sup>: tamɛɛ?/* 'folkstories and instruction' (English name: Sikkimese Bhutia oral stories and moral dialects) compiled by the author, 153 pages, see Bhutia (2013).

<sup>31</sup> This is the first and, thus far, the only Denjongke novel.

Work by Sonam Gyatso Dokhangba (བསོད་ནམས་ རྒྱ་མཚོ་ རྡོ་ཁང་བོ་ *bsod-nams rgya-mtsho rdo-khang-bo*):

7) A description of Denjongpo marriage customs ཟླ་ཕུང་ ལིང་དམ་ འགྲོ་ལིས་ *sbar-phung ling-dam 'gro-lis /barp<sup>h</sup>uŋ liŋdam doli?* ‘the custom of Barfung-Lingdam’ (English name: Sikkimese marriage custom and rites), 143 pages, see Dokhangba (2001). In example clauses this work is referred to simply as *sbar-phung*.

Work by Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo (WD པད་མ་ རིག་འཛིན་ ལྷག་ཅུང་དར་པོ་ *pad-ma rig-'dzin stag-cung-dar-po*):

8) Class 12 textbook འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ གསུང་གཏམ་ '*bras-ljongs gsung-gtam* ‘Stories (from) Sikkim’, 73 pages, see Takchungdarpo (1987).

A “compilation” by Tshering Thendup Bhutia ཚེ་རིང་ དོན་གྲུབ་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པོ་ and Thupten Palzang Bhutia ཐུབ་བསྟན་ དཔལ་བཟང་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པོ་:

9) A discussion on language situation in the world འཛོམ་གླིང་ རྒྱ་དུ་ཡིག་གི་ རླེ་གི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ལུན་གསལ་ སློན་མེ་ བཞུགས་པོ་ '*dzam-gling skad-yig-gi skye-shi lo-rgyus mun-gsel sgron-me bzhugs-so* (English name given in the book: ‘The account of world language its growth and extinction light to expel the darkness’), 97 pages, see Bhutia & Bhutia (2012).

A compilation<sup>32</sup> of Tashi Denjongpo (WD བཀྲ་ཤེས་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པོ་ *bkra-shis 'bras-ljongs-po*), Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo (WD པད་མ་ རིག་འཛིན་ ལྷག་ཅུང་དར་པོ་ *pad-ma rig-'dzin stag-cung-dar-po*) and Bhaichung Tsichudarpa (WD ལྷའི་ཅུང་ ཚེས་བཅུ་དར་པོ་ *bha'i-cung tshes-bcu-dar-po*):

10) Class 7 textbook ལྷོ་ཡིག་ སློབ་དེབ་ བདུན་པོ་ *lho-yig slob-deb bdun-po*, 71 pages, see Denzongpo et al (2011).

11) Class 8 textbook ལྷོ་ཡིག་ སློབ་དེབ་ བརྒྱད་པོ་ *lho-yig slob-deb brgyad-po*, 63 pages, see Denzongpo et al (2009).

12) Grammar and spelling guide for Class 9-10 ལུ་མ་རྟགས་ དང་ བི་ཚོམ་ འཛིན་གྲུལ་ དགུ་ལས་ མཐོ་སློབ་ བར་གྱི་ དོན་ལོ་ *sum-rtags dang bri-rtso 'dzin-gyal dgu-las mtho-slob bar-gyi don-lo*.

13) Annual magazine of the newspaper ད་ལྟའི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ (*da-lto 'i 'bras-ljongs* ‘Sikkim today’) from year 2003.

Of the above works, the following were typed on the computer in order to facilitate computerized searches: all the items 1-5 mentioned under Bhaicung Tsichudarpa, the first story in 6 (28 pages) and a dialogue from 7 (6 pages).

#### 1.2.4 Methodology and software

In phonology, the initial analysis was based on a collection of about 1000 words, all of which were recorded separately with two or three repetitions. Some of these words were also recorded in sentence frames to enable research on tone/pitch. Minimal or analogous pairs of words were used to establish distinctive sounds (phonemes). Word were also acoustically analysed in Praat-software to improve understanding on such issues as prenasalization, voicing, aspiration, breathiness, length, tone/pitch and intonation. Diagrams from Praat are presented in relevant parts of this grammar.

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<sup>32</sup> I do not know whether the compilers resort to already existing sources in Denjongke, translate from existing Tibetan materials or compose themselves.

At an initial stage of research, i.e. during my MA-thesis writing, I used the Toolbox software for storing data. Later, during my PhD research, I shifted to FieldWorks Language Explorer –software, which among other things enables lexicon building, text collection, interlinearization and concordance searches of the data, the last of which proved particularly helpful for this thesis. I first collected elicited data, partly for language learning, and then moved to collecting natural data from various genres of speech. The first recordings were short stories. Later, other types of spoken data were added. The main task was transcribing and translating texts with native speakers. After having acquired some competence in the language, I was myself able to do the initial transcription, which was then checked and supplemented with native speakers. In addition to working with transcribed texts, I listened to untranscribed recordings to spot various constructions and morphemes.

Reading and identifying grammatical constructions in the written sources was first done with hard copies of books. Later, after some literary texts had been typed and stored in an MS Word-file, I was able to do searches for grammatical constructions within the file.

### 1.2.5 Equipment

The audio recordings of 2004 were done on a minidisc recorder using an external microphone. The recordings in 2012-2018 were captured as WAV-files (either 44.1Hz/24bit or 44.1Hz/16bit) on Olympus LS-10 and LS-11 solid state recorders using the recorder’s own microphone. Video files were captured on Canon EOS 700D camera, iPad (3. gen) and Canon Legria-video camera (non-HD). Audio recordings of the video-sessions were made on Olympus LS-11 solid state recorder.

### 1.2.6 Linguistic examples

Linguistic examples are numbered so that the number before the full stop reveals the chapter and the digits after the full stop shows the example number within the chapter, e.g. (4.33) refers to the thirty-third example in chapter four. The same example may occur in different parts of the grammar, illustrating different grammatical points.

Examples consist of four lines, the first line presenting the Denjongke script, the second line the phonological script written in IPA, and the third line morpheme-glosses. Morpheme glosses follow Leipzig glossing rules, supplemented with other glosses not found in the Leipzig rules. All the abbreviations are listed above. The fourth line in examples offers a fairly literal translation into English, aiming to reflect the Denjongke constructions used. English words<sup>33</sup> within Denjongke speech are written in Roman script even within the Denjongke script, as shown in (1.3).

- (1.3) ད་ཅུང་ ང་ཚའི་ཀི་ university ལྷོང་ཁ་ མ་ཚུགས་མ་ཁམན་ ཟླ་ ༡།  
*t'aruŋ ɲətɕi=gi junivə:siti ʎɛp ma-tʂu-kʰɛn bɛ:*  
 still 1PL.GEN=GEN university(Eng.) arrive NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE  
*ɲá.*  
 TAG.ASR  
 ‘(It) hasn’t yet been able to reach our university (level), I tell you.’ (DR discussion with KL)

Nepali code-mixed words are written on the first line in Denjongke script with a following (Nep.), which indicates that the previous words represent a Denjongke writing of a Nepali

<sup>33</sup> Generally, English words are considered instances of code-mixing, although the most frequently used English words (while talking Denjongke) may approach the status of loan words.

word, see (1.4), where the Nepali word *pāni* ‘also’ is adapted to Denjongke pronunciation as *pun(i)*.<sup>34</sup> Morphemes addressed in the discussion are typically given in bold, see *pun* in (1.4).

- (1.4) ཨ་ཙི་རོ་རམ་པུ་ནི་ (Nep.) ལུ་ག་ལོ་ལོ་གེ།  
*átsi ro:ram pun p'ja-εε=lo=ki*<sup>35</sup>.  
 a.bit help also(Nep.) do-INF=REP=NC  
 ‘(He) is also going to help us, I hear.’ (TB discussion with KT)

As shown in (1.3) and (1.4), code-mixed words are also indicated on the morpheme-gloss line by brackets after the gloss, e.g. in (1.3) *junivə:siti* is glossed as ‘university(Eng.)’. Within the English translation the following items are given in brackets: 1) Elements which are not explicitly expressed by Denjongke but are required by English grammar, see (it) in (1.5), 2) elements which are suggested by Denjongke but not as explicitly stated as in English, see (I saw) in (1.5), 3) elements that help the reader understand the context and meaning of the clause better, see (the price of) in (1.6).

- (1.5) ཟ་ཚར་འདུག་གེ་ཕྱེད་ཀྱི།  
*sà-ts<sup>h</sup>a du-ke p<sup>h</sup>eka.*  
 eat-CMPL SEN-IN half  
 ‘(It) has eaten half (I saw).’ (PL interview)

- (1.6) དེ་ལ་འདི་གོང་ཚེན་མ་ལྷོ་གེ་ལའ་པོ་ཞིན།  
*t'εp=di k'ō:tε<sup>h</sup>ε̃: ma-jà-gε ləp-o ĩ̃.*  
 book=DEMPH expensive NEG-do-HORT say-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Let’s not make (the price of) the book expensive, I said.’ (KL BLA 12)

### 1.2.7 Written Denjongke

This section introduces the special features of written Denjongke in general (1.2.7.1) and also describes the particular decisions made in this grammar to represent spoken language in Denjongke writing (1.2.7.2-4). The remainder of this thesis uses the following abbreviations: WT (Written Tibetan), WD (written Denjongke) and D (Denjongke).

#### 1.2.7.1 Introduction to written Denjongke

The most important WD innovation to the Tibetan writing system is the application of the *tsha-lag* ཚ་ལག་<sup>36</sup> (as འ in འ) to letters with which it cannot occur in Classical Tibetan. One reason for this innovation was that some of the historical labial-palatal sequences, for instance /pj/ and /mj/, which in Lhasa Tibetan have merged into /tɕ/ and /ɲ/ respectively, are in Denjongke pronounced as sequences /pj/ /mj/ and written འ and འ respectively. Another reason was the need to introduce spellings for frequently heard foreign loan words such as proper names which have such consonantal sequences that appear the WT but have since developed into retroflexes in the inherited lexicon of Denjongke. For instance /kr/, as in Khrishna, and /pr/, as in Pradhan, are now written as འ and འ respectively because འ and འ without a *tsha-lag* are pronounced as a retroflex /ɻ/. Another innovation in WD is word-breaks (see any example clause). The non-standardized character of the written language is also seen

<sup>34</sup> Similar to English code-mixing, the most frequently used Nepali words may have attained the status of a loan word. In the case of *pāni*, lexicalization is suggested by adapted pronunciation (*pun*). Typically speakers, however, are aware that *pun* originates in Nepali and that the semantic equivalent in proper Denjongke is =jā̃.

<sup>35</sup> =ki is a loan from Nepali, see §16.2.3.

<sup>36</sup> Also known as ལྷོ་རྟམ་ཚ་ལག་ *sgra-rtags tsha-lag*.

in that some words are spelled in various ways by different authors, and sometimes by the same author, e.g. ལེགས་, ལེམ་ and ལྷེམ་ for *lēm* ‘good’.<sup>37</sup>

It is important to acknowledge that the WD form given in the example sentences does not claim any degree of standardization. When examples are taken from written sources the spelling follows the original, although the the same author may in another passage write the same word in a different way. Some obvious mistakes, however, are corrected (e.g. forgetting a vowel marker from above a consonant).

Another important issue to acknowledge is that when spoken language is represented in WD, the result may seem faulty to those familiar with literary language. This is so because spoken language is produced more spontaneously than written language. The spoken examples may include false starts and have repetition which may seem unnecessary for those who see a written text. The reason for writing the spoken examples in the Denjongke script is to make them more accessible to those who know the Tibetan/Denjongke script but are not familiar with the phonemic script based on the International Phonetic Alphabet. WD is not standardized, especially with respect to word breaks. Therefore whatever principles are used in the present work, they are likely to break some precedent in Denjongke literature. The following sections outline the principles used in representing spoken Denjongke in the Denjongke script in this thesis. The discussion is divided into the topics of word-breaks (§1.2.7.2), syllable merging (§1.2.7.3), phonological writing (§1.2.7.4)

### 1.2.7.2 Word breaks

Monosyllabic clause-medial clitics ཡང་ =*jã*: ‘too, even’, རང་ =*rã*: (anaphoric emphatic), ཏྲ་ =*to* (contrastive emphatic) and clause-final clitics ཤོ་ =*eo* (attention marker), ལགས་ *la(:)* (honorific), སྟེ་ =*se/si* (quotative), ལོ་ =*lo* (reportative) are written together with the word they follow, e.g. ཡང་ *ŋà=jã*: ‘I too’. An exception is the demonstrative-emphatic clitic འདི་ =*di*, which is, following the novel Richhi, written separately. The reason why *di/=di* is written separately by Tschudarpo and other authors is probably that the demonstrative uses, which would naturally occur with a word-break, are not always easy to tell apart from emphatic cliticized uses. Cliticized monosyllabic postpositions are written together with the previous word, while disyllabic longer versions are written separately, ཁྱིམ་ཟང་ *kʰim=sã*: ‘until home/house’, ཁྱིམ་ ཟང་ལྷེ་ *kʰim sà:te* ‘until home/house’, ཁྱིམ་རྩུ་(ར་) *kʰim=tsa*: ‘at home/house’, ཁྱིམ་ རྩུ་ལས་ *kʰim tsakʰa* ‘at home/house’.

Similarly to Tschudarpo, double case marking, or case stacking, is written together, e.g. locative following a genitive ལའི་ན་ *kʰa=i=na* ‘in the mouth’ (occurs also as simply locative ལ་ན་ *kʰa=na*). Serialized verbs are written separately, e.g. འབག་ འོང་ལྷེ་ *bak òn-di* (also *ba: òn-di*) ‘is doing (lit. carry come-NF)’. Interrogative copulas ཉ་ *ŋá* and ལྷམ་ *ŋám*, in analogy to copulas and copular auxiliaries are written separately, whereas interrogative suffixes ཀ་ག་ *-ka/ga* and ཀམ་ /གམ་ *-kam/gam* are written together with the previous word.

Following the common practice of Denjongke authors, the final auxiliary copulas are here written separately from the preceding part of the verb complex, e.g. གནང་བོ་ ལྷ་ *ná:-bo be?* ‘did (hon.)’, གནང་བཞིན་ འདུག་ *ná:-zen du?* ‘is doing (hon.)’. In addition to the orthographic tradition, there is also a morphosyntactic rationale for this practice. Although the final auxiliaries are phonologically closely related to the verb complex, their distribution makes them less integrated with the verb than the verbal suffixes. For instance, final auxiliaries may be

<sup>37</sup> According to an emerging standard, the correct spelling at present is ལེགས་ which retains the etymological connection to the related form ལེགས་ ‘(be) good’.

dropped in some constructions, e.g. *kjap-to(=í:/bɛʔ)* ‘is doing’, *kjap-o(=í:/bɛʔ)* ‘did’, and they occur independently as copulas. Moreover, other elements such as emphatics =*to* and =*ra* may intervene between the nominalized verb form and the final auxiliary, giving some justification for writing the auxiliaries separately, see (1.7).

- (1.7) a) གཞུང་གི་ གཞུང་གི་ རྒྱུ་བྱས་མཁུན་རྟོ་ སྣང།  
*zun=gi jɔʔ kjap-kʰɛn=to bɛʔ.*  
 government=GEN work do-NMLZ=CEMPH EQU.NE  
 ‘(I) am a government employee.’ (KT e)
- b) ལྟོན་རྒྱུ་ཚུ་གིས་ མཁྱེན་བའི་ བདག་ཀྱི་ སྣང་, མཁྱེན་མཁྱེན་བོ་ར་ སྣང།  
*ʃɛŋɛ:=tsu=gi kʰɛm-bø: daku bɛʔ,*  
 PRN.HON=PL=AGT know.HON-2INF.GEN owner EQU.NE  
*kʰɛŋ-kʰɛm-bo-ra bɛʔ.*  
 know.HON-RDP-AEMPH EQU.NE  
 ‘You are owner’s of knowledge, you know well.’ (CY interview)
- c) ཨོན་ཤང་རྟོ་ ཨོན་ཉ་ ཨ་ཀྱི་ རིག་བཟང་ གསུང་བོ་ འདི།  
*í:-ɛɛ=to í: ná áku rigzã:*  
 EQU-INF=CEMPH EQU.PER TAG.ASR father’s.younger.brother PN  
*súm-bo=di.*  
 say.HON-2INF=DEMPH  
 ‘It is indeed as Uncle Rigzang says.’ (sbar-phung 88)

The third, practical reason for writing the auxiliaries separately is that this practice enables smoother reading of glosses. If complex auxiliaries were to be written together with verbal suffixes, the resulting verbal units could add up to six or more syllables, causing great difficulty in reading glosses.

### 1.2.7.3 Syllable merging

In spoken language, the nominalized verb VERB-*po* may be abbreviated to VERB-*b* (with verbs ending in glottal stop or *p* and followed by the equative *bɛʔ*) or to VERB-*m* (with verbs ending in a the velar nasal and followed by the equative *bɛʔ* or *í:*). The abbreviated form is represented in an experimental way in the Denjongke script by omitting vowel marking from the infinitive marker -*po* བོ and representing the consonant value (either -*b* or -*m*) in the previous syllable (changing བ་ into བ་ because བ་ does not occur syllable-finally), e.g. བསང་བོ་ སྣང་ *sé-po bɛʔ* ‘killed’ vs. བསང་བ་ སྣང་ *séb-bɛʔ* ‘killed’; གནང་བོ་ སྣང་ *ná:-bo bɛʔ* vs. གནང་མ་ སྣང་ *ná:m-bɛʔ* ‘did (hon.)’.<sup>38</sup> Although I have not seen the abbreviated forms of verbs nominalized by -*po/bo* in written Denjongke, the same orthographic principle is used in words such as *tsim* རྩེད་མ་ (*rtsedm*) ‘game’ (Richhi 37) and *p’usim* ལྷ་མེད་མ་ (*p’usingm*) ‘younger sister’ (Richhi 142) to show the historical origin of the word.

### 1.2.7.4 Phonological writing

The conventions of writing Denjongke in this thesis are at times innovative in that I introduce phonological spellings of words and constructions which either do not occur at all in written Denjongke or are written in a more (historically) conservative way, which does not explicitly reveal pronunciation. The reason for using more phonological ways of writing written

<sup>38</sup> The auxiliary in བསང་བ་ སྣང་ *séb-bɛʔ* is written without a word-break because the last consonant of the nominalized verb (*p*) and the first consonant of the auxiliary (*b*) merge into an indivisible /bb/ [b:].

Denjongke is to give those readers who know Tibetan characters but not the phonetic alphabet better access to spoken pronunciations. An example of an innovative spelling is given in (1.8), where (a) illustrates a written clause from the novel *Richhi* along with a reading-style pronunciation of written Denjongke in Roman based script. Example (1.8b), on the other hand, presents a corresponding colloquial pronunciation along with the innovative phonemic Denjongke spelling.

(1.8) a) ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་ཚར་བོ་ ཞིན་ནམ་?  
*k<sup>h</sup>im=na lək-ts<sup>h</sup>a:-bo in-nam?*  
 house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER-ATTQ  
 ‘I wonder whether (he) has returned home.’ (*Richhi* 24)

b) ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་ཚཱུ་ ལྷམ་?  
*k<sup>h</sup>im=na lok-ts<sup>h</sup>o-u nám?*  
 house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER.ATTQ  
 ‘I wonder whether (he) has returned home.’ (KN e)

The spelling innovations in (1.8b) are ཚཱུ་ instead of ཚར་བོ་ to represent colloquial pronunciation *-ts<sup>h</sup>ou* and ལྷམ་ instead of ཞིན་ནམ་ to represent the colloquial pronunciation *nám*.

Another phonologically based innovation is to write the final syllable of many nouns as it is heard pronounced in Denjongke (*-pu/bu*) and not as it occurs in Written Tibetan (*-po/bo*), e.g. the word *lóm<sup>h</sup>pu* ‘minister’ is here written as ལྷོན་པུ་ *blon-pu* rather than as ལྷོན་པོ་ *blon-po*.<sup>39</sup> The latter spelling is often followed in WD, although some authors are open to the more phonological spelling. Furthermore, one WD form used here which I have not come across in literature is the double genitive, which is prevalent in spoken Denjongke, e.g. the spoken form *ŋàtei=gi* [we.GEN=GEN] is represented as འ་ཚའི་གི་ *nga-ca’i-ki*, although in written language the simple genitival expression འ་ཚའི་ *nga-ca’i* would be used instead.

### 1.2.7.5 Differences between spoken and written language

Generally, written language exemplified by such works as the novel *Richhi* corresponds to careful spoken language. There are, however, some phonological, morphosyntactic, pragmatics-related and other differences between spoken and written language. These differences are discussed in relevant sections throughout the grammar and summarized in Appendix 2. Unsurprisingly, spoken language is associated with phonological and morphosyntactic reduction. However, in some constructions, spoken language shows morphosyntactic expansion (i.e. more form) and flexibility compared to written language. Certain discourse-oriented morphemes and phenomena are more frequent in spoken language. Finally, spoken language is heavily influenced by Nepali and English, whereas written language looks to Literary Tibetan for guidance. For a fuller description of the differences, see Appendix 2.

### 1.2.8 Transliteration

When written forms of Denjongke or Classical Tibetan are represented in Roman script, I use the Wylie system (see Table 1.3) with one addition. The marker called *tsha-lag* ལོ་, which occurs on bilabial and velar stops and bilabial nasals in written Denjongke but not in Tibetan, is represented by an inverted apostrophe ‘, e.g. མྱོང་ *m’yong* ‘finish’, ཀྲམ་རྟོག་ *k’rak’rok* ‘sound of

<sup>39</sup> However, if the word occurs in a written source, I follow the original spelling.



a dysfunctional body’.<sup>40</sup> The function of the *tsha-lag* is to mark that the members of the consonant cluster do not merge into one in pronunciation, as they would do in Classical Tibetan spelling, but are pronounced separately, e.g. མྱོང་ *m’yong* [mjõ:] ‘finish’ vs. མྱོང་ མྱོང་ *myong* [jõ:] ‘endure’; ཀྲཀ་རོག་ *k’rak’rok* [krakrok] ‘sound of a dysfunctional body’ vs. བཀྲ་ཤིས་ *bkra-shis* [tʃei] ‘prosperity’.

Table 1.6. The Wylie system

ཀ	ka	ཁ	kha	ག	ga	ང	nga
ཅ	ca	ཆ	cha	ཇ	ja	ཉ	nya
ཏ	ta	ཐ	tha	ད	da	ན	na
པ	pa	ཕ	pha	བ	ba	མ	ma
ཙ	tsha	ཛ	tsha	ཝ	dza	ཞ	wa
ཞ	zha	ཟ	za	འ	’a	ཡ	ya
ར	ra	ལ	la	ཤ	sha	ས	sa
ཧ	ha	ཨ	a				

### 1.2.9 Organization of the grammar

Each grammar-writer must make a decision between formal and functional orientation, which are in tension (e.g. Payne 2014). Formally-oriented traditional grammars take the linguistic forms as the starting point for organization. The various functions of a certain form are then listed under formal headings. In a functionally oriented grammar, such as the current one, the general direction of description is from function to form. This means that the different functions of the same form or construction may be described under two or more functional heading. Cross-references throughout the grammar will point the reader to other sections where the other uses of a certain morpheme or construction are discussed.

The remainder of the grammar is organized as follows. Chapter 2 deals with segmental and suprasegmental phonology. Morphology, along with etymological information, is presented in §3, which describes word classes, suffixes and clitics. Parts of §3 may seem heavy for readers who are not interested in Tibetic etymologies. Those readers may want to follow the references provided in §3 to functionally-oriented accounts provided in later chapters. Chapter 4 moves the discussion to phrase-level syntax and §5 describes basic clausal syntax. The remaining chapters are organized under functional headings, thus the main direction of presentation is from function to form. Chapter 6 addresses deixis and reference by describing the use of various pronouns and indefinite expressions. The description of evidentiality begins in §7, which discusses copulas, the hotbed of evidentiality in Denjongke. This is followed by a treatment of tense, aspect and modality marking in §8. Chapter 9 reintroduces the topic of evidentiality by showing how it is marked in non-copular clauses by auxiliaries and other markers. The reason why §8 on tense, aspect and mood is placed between the two chapters on evidentiality (§7 and §9) is that it is easier to discuss evidentiality in periphrastic constructions after those constructions have been introduced. While negated constructions are illustrated throughout the grammar, §10 provides a summary of negated constructions with special reference to “symmetry” vs. “asymmetry” (Miestamo 2005). Non-declarative clauses (interrogative, exclamative, imperative, hortative and optative) are the topic of §11.

Chapters 12-15 discuss clause-combining. Chapter 12 shows how finite clauses are combined and §13-15 address subordinate/dependent clauses. Dependent clauses are divided into constituent-modifying clauses (consisting of relative clauses, noun complement clauses

<sup>40</sup> *Tsha-lag* also occurs with ཤ་ resulting in ཤ་ཤ་ *sh’ra*.

and postposition complement clauses) (§13), complement clauses (§14) and adverbial clauses (§15). Chapter 16 on discourse phenomena describes the use of discourse-oriented clitics, tags and particles and also addresses other discourse-related topics. Finally, §17 provides notes on vocabulary from some typologically and culturally interesting semantic domains.

The end of each chapter has a section called “Summary remarks”, which revisits the central features that have been discussed in that chapter, particularly typologically interesting ones. The appendices provide texts from various genres (Appendix 1), a summary of differences between spoken and written language (Appendix 2), results from vowel plot measurements (Appendix 3) and the informed consent letter used with the consultants (Appendix 4).

## 2 Phonology

This chapter describes Denjongke phonology. The discussion begins with a short summary statement (§2.1). After that, separate sections are dedicated to consonants (§2.2), vowels (§2.3), syllable (§2.4), some phonological processes (§2.5) and tone/pitch/register (§2.6). Section (§2.7) discusses the relationship of stress and tone, while (§2.8) addresses some morphophonological phenomena. The last section (§2.9) comments on the phonological script used in this thesis. Some notes on intonation will be presented in relevant sections in other chapters.

### 2.1 Introduction

In the present analysis, Denjongke has 43 consonants and eight vowels (or 13 if lengthened vowels are counted separately). Both length and nasalization are contrastive in vowels. Denjongke words are divided into high and low register based on pitch and voice quality. When a word has an initial obstruent, its register may be predicted based on the initial phoneme. With sibilants and sonorants (nasals and liquids), however, register is unpredictable. The unpredictability of register with some initials and lack of clear voicing difference (breathy vs. modal) leave pitch to be the main contrastive feature in some minimal pairs. Therefore, Denjongke may be termed a tone language, although tone does not bear as great a functional load as in some more well-known tone languages (e.g. Thai).

Syllable onset clusters in Denjongke are more simplified than in phonologically more “archaic” (i.e. more Written-Tibetan-like) Tibetic languages such as Ladakhi, Balti and Amdo. Denjongke syllable structure is (C)(G)V(C/V). Possibly the most controversial part of the present study is the analysis of lightly aspirated, breathy obstruents as separate phonemes rather than as low-register realizations of voiceless obstruents, a decision which increases the number of consonant phonemes (plosives and affricates) by six. The breathy obstruents are treated separately in §2.2.2.

Throughout this grammar the near-open unrounded central vowel is for typographical reasons written as /a/ when reference is made to the phoneme. The phonetic symbol [ɐ] is only used in the phonetic descriptions in this chapter, i.e. /ápo/ [ʔépo] ཨ་པོ་ ‘father’.

### 2.2 Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Denjongke are presented in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1. Consonant phonemes in Denjongke

		Bilabial	Dento-alveolar	Post-alv.	Alv.-pal.	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	Voiceless unaspirated	p	t	t̚		k	ʔ
	Voiceless aspirated	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	t̚ <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup>	
	Voiced	b	d	d̚		g	
	"breathy"	p <sup>ʰ</sup>	t <sup>ʰ</sup>	t̚ <sup>ʰ</sup>		k <sup>ʰ</sup>	
Affricate	Voiceless unaspirated		ts		tʃ		
	Voiceless aspirated		ts <sup>h</sup>		tʃ <sup>h</sup>		
	Voiced		dz		dʒ		
	"breathy"		ts <sup>ʰ</sup>		tʃ <sup>ʰ</sup>		
Fricative	Voiceless		s		ʃ		h
	Voiced		z		ʒ		
Nasal	Voiced	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
	Voiceless	m̥	n̥		ɲ̥	ŋ̥	
Lateral	Voiced		l				
	Voiceless		l̥				
Rhotic	Voiced		r				
	Voiceless		r̥				
Central approximant					j		

All consonants, except the glottal /ʔ/, occur word-initially<sup>41</sup>. In word-medial position, the importance of aspiration is reduced (i.e. it tends to appear only in emphatically careful speech) and the lightly aspirated ("breathy") series, voiceless liquids and voiceless nasals do not occur at all. The following consonants occur as syllable coda: /p/, /k/, /ʔ/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /r/ and marginally /l/.

## 2.2.1 Phonetic descriptions and contrastive sets for consonant phonemes

### 2.2.1.1 Plosives and affricates

All Denjongke phonemes are pronounced with egressive lung air. Plosives and affricates have a four-way contrast in voicing/aspiration: 1) voiced, 2) voiceless unaspirated, 3) voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated and followed by breathy voice ("breathy consonant"), 4) voiceless heavily aspirated.<sup>42</sup> The four-way contrast occurs only in word-initial position. Word-medially there is a three-way contrast: voiceless aspirated vs. voiceless unaspirated vs. voiced.<sup>43</sup> The prominence of aspiration, however, is diminished word-medially. Many words which alone have an aspirated initial are as second member of a compound pronounced as unaspirated or with reduced aspiration. Nevertheless, one can still hear word-medial aspirates, especially in words pronounced in isolation. There may be dialectal variation in the

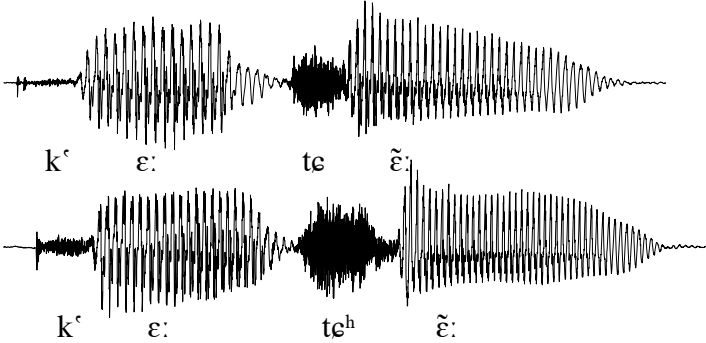
<sup>41</sup> The glottal stop, however, occurs word-initially phonetically.

<sup>42</sup> Similarly Watters (2002) on five other Tibetic languages spoken in the Southern Himalayas.

<sup>43</sup> The slightly aspirated breathy consonants become voiced word-medially, e.g. *l'uʔ* ལུག་ 'six', /teuɕup/ [teurup] འཛུའུག་ 'sixteen' (lit. 'ten-six').

realization of word-medial aspiration. For instance, the word /kʰatʰuʔ/ ཁ་ཐུག་ ‘direct’ was pronounced [kʰɛ̃tʰuʔ] by consultant KN from Martam (East Sikkim) and [kʰɛ̃tʰuʔ] by TB from Ralang (South Sikkim). Figure 2.1 illustrates aspiration difference in word-medial affricates by providing wave forms from KN’s pronunciation of kʰɛ:tɛ̃: and kʰɛ:tɛʰɛ̃:, both meaning ‘important’ but using different adjectivizing suffixes.

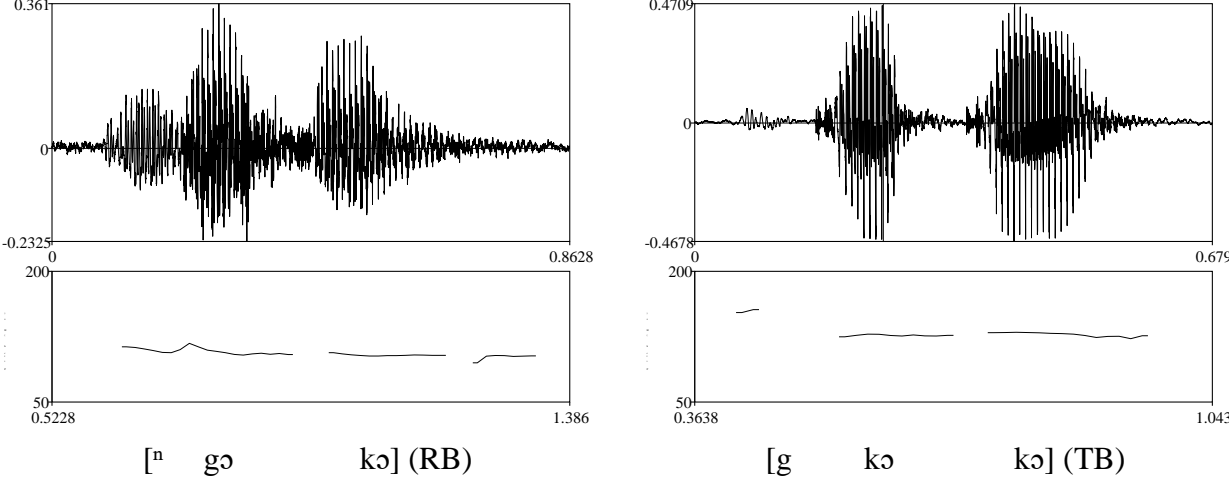
Figure 2.1. Wave forms from kʰɛ:tɛ̃: (top) and kʰɛ:tɛʰɛ̃: (bottom)



In word-final position, only the voiceless unaspirated /p/, /k/ and /ʔ/ occur, /p/ mostly realized as unreleased [p̚] and the velar alternating with the glottal stop [k]~[ʔ]. The glottal stop, in addition to being an allophone of word-final /k/, also contrasts with non-glottal endings in other environments.

Voiced stops fricativize word-medially with some speakers, e.g. /kʰɛdi/ [kʰɛ̃ði] ཁཁལ་རིལ་ *mkhal-ril* ‘kidney’, /pʰo:bu/ [pʰõ:βu] བོང་བུ་ *bong-bu* ‘donkey’. Another phonetically interesting feature is that when pronounced in isolation, voiced stops may be either pre-nasalized or “prevoiced”. These two options are illustrated in Figure 2.2, which have the same word /goko/ གོག་ཀོ་ *sgog-ko* ‘garlic’ as pronounced by RB (Tashiding) and TB (Ralang).

Figure 2.2. Prenasalization and prevoicing in the initial in /goko/ ‘garlic’



As can be seen in Figure 2.2, the prenasalized onset of [n gɔ kɔ] is voiced throughout, but the second word, written here as [g kɔ kɔ], has a period of weak voicing (shown by the wave form and pitch) followed by a voiceless release. Watters (2002: 4) reports similar “prevoiced” stops in Sherpa (Solu Khumbu) and other Tibetic languages.

Plosives and affricates are now presented according to the place of articulation beginning from bilabial and moving backwards in the articulatory tract. Description of phonemes and allophones is followed by minimal/analogous sets, which illustrate that the sounds in question differentiate meaning. Plosives and affricates do not usually occur as geminates. The exceptions are mentioned in the discussion below.

### Bilabial plosives

- /p/ [p] voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive; word-initially, word-medially and word-finally utterance-medially: /pa:/ [pé:] ཟླར་ ‘kindle’, /ápo/ [ʔépo] ཇམ་པོ་ ‘father’, /hap sék<sup>h</sup>ɛ:/ [hép sɛk<sup>h</sup>ɛ:] ཉམ་ སེ་མཁའ་ ‘(the word) called [hɛp] (‘to bark’)’
- [p̚] voiceless unreleased bilabial plosive; utterance-finally: /hap/ [hép̚] ཉམ་ ‘bark (v.)’, /íp/ [íp̚] ཞིབ་ ‘hide (intr.)’
- /p<sup>h</sup>/ [p<sup>h</sup>] voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /p<sup>h</sup>jak/ [p<sup>h</sup>jàk̚]~[p<sup>h</sup>jàʔ] འཕྲུག་ ‘sweep’, /k<sup>h</sup>imp<sup>h</sup>jaʔ/ [k<sup>h</sup>ím<sup>h</sup>jàʔ] གྲིམ་འཕྲུག་ ‘broom’
- [ɸ] voiceless bilabial fricative; inter-vocally with some speakers: /dɸp<sup>h</sup>uʔ/ [dùɸuʔ] (RB)~[dùk̚p<sup>h</sup>uʔ] ལྷག་ཕུག་ (TB) ‘cave’
- /b/ [b] voiced bilabial plosive; word-initially, word-medially following nasal, and also inter-vocally in variation with [β]: /bu/ [bù] ལྷ་ ‘middle’, /ámbiʔ/ [ʔémbiʔ] ཇམ་པོ་ ‘mango’, /p<sup>h</sup>õ:bu/ [p<sup>h</sup>õ:βu]~[p<sup>h</sup>õ:bu] བོང་བ་ ‘donkey’
- [β] voiced bilabial fricative; inter-vocally preceding vowels other than /a/, in variation with /b/: /p<sup>h</sup>õ:bu/ [p<sup>h</sup>õ:βu]~[p<sup>h</sup>õ:bu] བོང་བ་ ‘donkey’, /rýbɛ/ [ɽýβɛ] རྩམ་ལྷག་ ‘tortoise’
- [w] voiced labio-velar approximant; inter-vocally preceding /a/: /t<sup>h</sup>iba/ [t<sup>h</sup>ìwɛ] ཇི་བ་ ‘question’, /jába/ [jàwɛ] ཇམ་པོ་ ‘hell’<sup>44</sup>; the nominalizer /-po~bo/ is intervocally variously realized as [-bo~βo~wo].
- /p̚/ [p̚] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated bilabial plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /p̚a/ [p̚ɛ] བ་ ‘cow’, /p̚o/ [p̚ò:] བོ་ ‘call’.

/pu/ ལྷ་ ‘skin hair’	/pjak/ འཕྲུག་ ‘peel’	/pa:/ ཟླར་ ‘kindle’
/p <sup>h</sup> u/ ལྷ་ ‘blow’	/p <sup>h</sup> jak/ འཕྲུག་ ‘sweep’	/p <sup>h</sup> a:/ བར་ ‘expand’
/bu/ ལྷ་ ‘middle’	/bjak/ ལྷག་ ‘come close’	/ba/ ཟླ(ས)་ ‘hide’
/p̚u/ ལྷ་ ‘boy’	/p̚jaʔ/ ལྷག་ ‘rock’	/p̚a:/ བར་ ‘interval’

The only geminate within bilabial plosives in my data is /bb/, which occurs when the combination of the infinitive marker *-po/bo* and the equative *bɛʔ* (*-po bɛʔ*) merges into *-bbɛʔ*, e.g. *jò-po bɛʔ* (WD ཇོ་པོ་ ཟླར་ *yod-po sbad*) > *jèbbeʔ* (WD ཇོ་པོ་ཟླར་ *yodb-sbad*).

<sup>44</sup> Although [w] can be shown to be an allophone of /b/, the transcription in example clauses follows a more phonetic writing *t<sup>h</sup>iwa* ‘question’ and *jáwa* ‘hell’ because the phonetic writing was deemed to better result in correct pronunciation.

### Dento-alveolar plosives and affricates

The dento-alveolar plosives and affricates are pronounced with the tongue touching the back of the upper teeth and the alveolar ridge (unlike /s/, /z/, /r/ /ʃ/, which are alveolar).

- /t/ [t̪] voiceless unaspirated dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /ta/ [t̪é] ཏྱ ‘horse’, /pitoʔ/ [p̪ítoʔ] དུམ་ཉལ་ ‘hip’
- /tʰ/ [t̪ʰ] voiceless aspirated dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /tʰo/ [t̪ʰó] མོ་ ‘list’, /tʰuŋtʰuŋ/ [t̪ʰúŋt̪ʰuŋ] ལུང་ལུང་ ‘short’
- [θ] voiceless dental fricative; word-medially, with some speakers: /tʰa:tʰaʔ/ [t̪ʰé:θeʔ] བ་ཉལ་ ‘back of neck’
- /d/ [d̪] voiced dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /da/ [d̪é] མདའ་ ‘arrow’, /gadun/ [g̪éɖun] ལྷ་རྩེ་ ‘mortar’
- /t̪ʰ/ [t̪ʰ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated dento-alveolar plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /t̪ʰa/ [t̪ʰ̥é] ད་ ‘now’, /t̪ʰom/ [t̪ʰ̥òm] རྩེ་ ‘bear’

/ta/ ཏྱ	‘look’	/tɛk/ ལྷེགས་	‘place up, keep’
/tʰa/ མཐའ་	‘end’	/tʰak/ འཐག་	‘grind’
/da/ མདའ་	‘arrow’	/dek/ རྩེག་	‘place inside’
/t̪ʰa/ ད་	‘now’	/t̪ʰɛk/ དེག་	‘chase away’

- /ts/ [t̪s̪] voiceless unaspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate; word-initially and medially inter-vocally: /tsi/ [t̪s̪í] རྩེས་ ‘astrology’, /nè:tso/ [n̪é:t̪s̪o] རྩེ་ཚོ་ ‘parrot’
- /tsʰ/ [t̪s̪ʰ] voiceless aspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate; word-initially and inter-vocally: /tsʰo/ [t̪s̪ʰó] མཚོ་ ‘lake’, /n̪è:tsʰo/ [n̪é:t̪s̪ʰo] ངལ་འཚོ་ ‘rest’
- /dz/ [d̪z̪] voiced dento-alveolar laminal affricate; word-initially and medially /dziŋ/ [d̪z̪iŋ] འཛིང་ ‘fight’, /dzabridzobri/ [d̪z̪əbr̪id̪z̪obri] འཛོལ་རི་འཛོལ་རི་ ‘uneven (of landscape)’, /kʰadzøʔ/ [kʰ̥éɖz̪øʔ] ལྷ་ཚོད་ ‘how many’
- /ts̪ʰ/ [t̪s̪ʰ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /ts̪ʰa/ [t̪s̪ʰ̥é] རྩེ་ ‘make-up’

/tsa/ ལྷ	‘vein’
/tsʰa/ ལྷ	‘salt’
/dza/ འཇའ་	‘rainbow’ (also /dza/ [TB] and /za/ [RB])
/ts̪ʰa/ རྩེ	‘make-up’

### Postalveolar (apical) plosives

These plosives may alternatively be termed “retroflex”, although the tongue is not curled strongly backwards as in, for instance, some Dravidian languages.

- /t̪/ [t̪̠] voiceless unaspirated postalveolar apical plosive; word-initially and medially: /tak̪aʔ/ [t̪̠ék̪ʰeʔ] གཤག་དགས་ ‘hard’, /ts̪̠aʔaʔ/ [t̪̠ʰék̪ʰeʔ] ཚ་དགས་ ‘hot’

- /tʰ/ [tʰ] voiceless aspirated postalveolar apical plosive; word-initially and medially: /tʰom/ [tʰóm] ཁྲོམ་ ‘town’, /sátʰa/ [sétʰə] སམ་ཁ་ ‘map’
- /d/ [d] voiced postalveolar apical plosive; word-initially and medially: /dʲik/ [dʲik] ལྷོག་ ‘arrange’, /pʰoɖaŋ/ [pʰóɖə:] རྩ་བའ་ ‘palace’
- [ɾ] voiced alveolar flap; intervocalically in /teuɖup/ [teúrup] བཅུ་རྒྱལ་ ‘sixteen’, and also in /ɖa bɛʔ/ འདྲ་ཟུང་ abbreviated to /ɖɛ:/ [ɖɛ:]~[ɾɛ:] འདྲ་ ‘to be similar’.
- /t̚/ [t̚] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated postalveolar apical plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /t̚uʔ/ [t̚ùʔ] སྒྲིག་ ‘six’, /t̚o:pa/ [t̚ò:pa] ལོ་ལ་ ‘morning’
- /tak/ ལྷག་ ‘(be) hard’
- /tʰap/ འཇམ་ ‘act’
- /ɖak/ ལྷག་ ‘join’
- /t̚ak/ ལྷག་ ‘get well’

### Alveolo-palatal affricates

- /tɕ/ [tɕ] voiceless unaspirated alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and medially: /tɕɛ/ [tɕé] ལྷུ་ ‘tongue’, /sòtɕaʔ/ [sòtɕəʔ] རྩ་བའ་ ‘nettle’
- /tɕʰ/ [tɕʰ] voiceless aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and medially: /tɕʰaʔ/ [tɕʰəʔ] ལྷག་ ‘hand (h.)’, /tsʰatɕʰu/ [tɕʰətɕʰu] ཚ་ཆུ་ ‘hot spring’
- /dz/ [dz] voiced alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and medially: /dzɪp/ [dzɪp] འཛོལ་ ‘suck’, /ádzo/ [ʔédzɔ] ཇམ་ཚེ་ ‘grandfather’
- /tɕ̚/ [tɕ̚] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate followed by breathy voice: word-initially /tɕ̚a/ [tɕ̚ə] ཇེ་ ‘tea’, /tɕ̚um/ [tɕ̚òm] ལུམ་ ‘lady, madam’
- [z] voiced alveolo-palatal fricative; inter-vocalically: /sò:tɕ̚a/ [sò:zə] གསོལ་ཇེ་ ‘tea (hon.)’

- /teak/ བཅུག་ ‘break (tr.)’
- /tɕʰak/ ཆག་ ‘break (int.)’
- /dzaʔ/ ལྷག་ ‘tongue (h.)’
- /tɕ̚ako/ ཇག་གོ་ ‘thief, robber’

### Velar stops

The sequence [velar stop] + /j/ does not occur preceding front vowels /i/, /e/, /ɛ/ /y/ and /ø/. The front vowels cause palatalization on the velar plosives and, consequently, the potential sequence [velar plosive] + [palatal approximant] + [unrounded front vowel] is indistinguishable from the sequence [velar plosive] + [unrounded front vowel].

- /k/ [k] voiceless unaspirated velar plosive; word-initially, medially and finally: /ka/ [ké] བཀའ་ ‘word, order’, /áku/ [ʔéku] ཇམ་ལུ་ ‘uncle’, /kjuk/ [cjúk] འཇུག་མ་ ‘stir’
- [k̚]~[ʔ] utterance/finally: /zik/ [zìk̚]~[zìʔ] གཟིག་ ‘leopard’



- [c] voiceless unaspirated palatal plosive; word-initially and medially following /j/ and /i/: /kjokjuʔ/ [cʲɔcjuʔ] རྒྱུག་རྒྱུག་ ‘crooked’, /kjuʔ/ [cʲɤʔ]~[cʲɤ:ʔ] ལྷུག་ ‘vomit’, /ki/ [ci] རླུ་ ‘be born’
- /kʰ/ [kʰ] voiceless aspirated velar plosive; word-initially and medially: /kʰa/ [kʰɛ] ལ་ ‘mouth’, /ókʰa/ [ʔókʰɛ] མོ་ལང་ ‘there’
- [cʰ] voiceless aspirated palatal plosive; word-initially and medially following /j/ and /i/: /kʰjaʔ/ [cʰjɛʔ] ལྷག་ ‘blood’, /pʰikʰjap/ [pʰiːcʰjɛp] བུ་ལྷག་ ‘rice-sifting plate’, /kʰi/ [cʰi] རྒྱ་ ‘dog’
- /g/ [g] voiced velar plosive; word-initially, word-medially in other contexts than inter-vocalically: /ga/ [gɛ] མ་ ‘ginger’, /ḡeŋgeʔ/ [ḡeŋgeʔ] ལྷན་རྒྱུས་ ‘you (h.)’
- [ʝ] voiced palatal plosive; word-initially and medially following /j/ and /i/: /gjuk/ [ʝjùk] ལྷགས་ ‘run’<sup>45</sup>, /pʰo:gjaʔ/ [pʰó:ʝjeʔ] ལོ་རྒྱུགས་ ‘husband’, /gim/ [ʝim] འབྲིས་ ‘gaze’
- [ɣ] voiced velar fricative; word-medially inter-vocalically: /rigõ:/ [ɣeʔõ:] རི་གོང་ ‘rabbit’, /tɕʰige:/ [tɕʰiʔe:] རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ ‘foreign’
- /kʰ/ [kʰ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated velar plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /kʰan/ [kʰɛn] གན་ ‘what’, /kʰolaʔ/ [kʰòlɛʔ] གོས་ལག་ ‘clothes’
- [cʰ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated palatal plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially following /j/ and /i/: /kʰjõ:/ [cʰjò:] ལྷོང་ ‘village’, /kʰi/ [cʰi] རྒྱ་ ‘(big) knife’
- |             |            |           |               |             |                   |
|-------------|------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|
| /kɛ:/ རླུས་ | ‘bring’    | /ka/ བཀའ་ | ‘order’       | /kom/ སྐོམ་ | ‘thirst’          |
| /kʰɛ:/ ལྷས་ | ‘tax’      | /kʰa/ ལ་  | ‘mouth’       | /kʰom/ ལོམ་ | ‘dry (intr.)’     |
| /gɛ:/ མས་   | ‘cross’    | /ga/ མ་   | ‘ginger’/     | /gom/ སྐོམ་ | ‘door’            |
| /kʰɛ:/ གས་  | ‘separate’ | /kʰa:/ ག་ | ‘what, where’ | /kʰom/ གོམ་ | ‘gain experience’ |

The velar stop does not typically occur as a geminate although my data has two exceptions, *tʰukky* (CY)/*tʰukke* (PT) ‘fixed, not moving’ and *tɛʰukkeʔ* ‘Nepali language’ (CY)<sup>46</sup>.

### The glottal stop

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is phonemic only in the word-final position, in which it contrasts with non-glottal vowel endings and final /k/ [kʷ]~[ʔ].<sup>47</sup>

- /kʰɛʔ/ [kʰɛʔ] ལ་ ‘difference’
- /kʰɛk/ [kʰɛkʷ]~[kʰɛʔ] ལག་ ‘freeze’
- /kʰɛ/ [kʰɛ] ལེ་ ‘profit’
- |                 |       |            |              |     |                |
|-----------------|-------|------------|--------------|-----|----------------|
| /tsʰoʔ/ [tsʰóʔ] | མོགས་ | ‘offering’ | /kʰaʔ/[kʰɛʔ] | ལག་ | ‘liquid, soup’ |
| /tsʰo/ [tsʰó]   | མཚོ་  | ‘lake’     | /kʰa/ [kʰɛ]  | ལ་  | ‘mouth’        |

<sup>45</sup> Sandberg (1895: 20) comments that “[t]o say ‘gy’ rightly, personally I have found it almost advisable, strange though it may seem, to pronounce it as dy. Thus gyuk-she ‘to run’ is almost dyuk-she.”

<sup>46</sup> Other consultants pronounced this word without gemination as *tɛʰukeʔ*.

<sup>47</sup> Historically, the contrast between /ʔ/ [ʔ] and /k/ [kʷ]~[ʔ] derives from differing WT finals, WT -g > /k/ [kʷ]~[ʔ], WT -d /ʔ/ [ʔ], WT -s sometimes /ʔ/ [ʔ].

Word-initially, the glottal stop phonetically contrasts with the high register [h] and the low register [ɦ].<sup>48</sup> Because the initial glottal only occurs in the high register, it is here considered a phonetic feature of initial vowels, e.g. /ám/ [ʔám] ‘mother’.<sup>49</sup>

/ám/ [ʔém]	མམ་	‘mother’
/háp/ [hépʰ]	ཉམ་	‘to bark’
/à:m/ [ɦè:m]	ལྷམ་	‘jackal’

The phonemic status of /ʔ/, however, is not clear-cut even word-finally, because the realization of final glottals in continuous speech overlaps with vowel length, which also occurs independently of glottal stop (see §2.3.2).

When occurring utterance-finally (e.g. when pronounced in isolation), words ending in a glottal stop such as /dzɛʔ/ ‘gunpowder, bullet’, /dzeʔ/ ‘leprosy’ and /ziʔ/ ‘leopard’ have various degrees of length, but in continuous speech they are most of the time realized with a long vowel without the glottal.<sup>50</sup> A glottal stop coda works analogously to long vowel codas in that it allows, unlike short syllables, a three-way contrast /iʔ/, /eʔ/, /ɛʔ/.

/dzɛʔ/ [dzɛ:ʔ]~[dzɛ:ʔ]~[dzɛ:]	རྩམ་	‘element’
/dzeʔ/ [dze:ʔ]~[dze:ʔ]~[dze:]	མཛོ་	‘leprosy’
/ziʔ, (dziʔ)/ <sup>51</sup> [zi:ʔ]~[zi:ʔ]~[zi:]	གཟིག་	‘leopard’

Within back vowels, the presence of a glottal stop, similarly to vowel length, raises vowel quality, e.g. /lò/ [lò] ལོ་ ‘year’ vs. /lòʔ/ [lòʔ] ལོག་ ‘light’ (vrt. /ko/ [kó] ཀོ་ ‘dig’ vs. /ko:/ [kó:] ཀོས་ ‘throw’) and /lú/ [lú] ལུ་ ‘song’ vs. /lúʔ/ [lúʔ] ལུག་ ‘sheep’ (vrt. /ku/ [kó] ཀུ་ ‘body’ vs. /ku:/ [kú:] ཀུའུ་ ‘ladle for pouring rice flour dough’). The same phenomena is also seen within different pronunciations of words with *-kʔ* variation at the coda: one consultant pronounced /gok/ ཀོག་ ‘to crawl’ both as [gòk] (F1 550 Hz) and as [gòʔ] (F1 400 Hz).

A phonetic glottal stop often occurs accompanying an utterance-final nasalized vowel, e.g. /sán/ [sɛ́:ʔ] བསང་ ‘incense’. At least in the speech of consultant TB, the glottal distinction between /táʔ/ ཐག་ ‘tiger’ and /ta/ ‘horse’ ཏ་ is neutralized when a case marker is added, i.e. /tʰaʔ=lo/ [tʰɛ=lo] ཐག་ལོ་ ‘to the tiger’ and /ta/ [tʰɛ=lo] ཏ་ལོ་ ‘to the horse’ become indistinguishable.

### 2.2.1.2 Fricatives and central approximants

Denjongke has five fricatives /s, z, ɕ, ʒ, h/ and one central approximant /j/. The voiceless fricatives /s, ɕ/ and the central approximant /j/ occur in both high and low register and thus give evidence for tonal contrasts in Denjongke (see §2.6). Voiced sibilants occur only in the low register. In high register /h/ contrasts with initial vowels, which have intrinsic phonetic

<sup>48</sup> In WT/WD, [ʔ], [h] and [ɦ] correspond to ཨ, ཉ and འ respectively.

<sup>49</sup> Because Lhasa Tibetan similarly has /ɦ/ preceding low register vocalic onsets and /ʔ/ preceding high register vocalic onsets, Kjellin (1976: 319) comments that “[e]very syllable must begin with a consonant”.

<sup>50</sup> Similar observation on the interrelatedness of the glottal stop and length in Tibetan spoken in Nangchen has been made by Causemann (1989: 29).

<sup>51</sup> Some of my consultants, such as TB from Ralang, systematically pronounce /z/ as /dz/, thus having one phoneme less than the others. I am uncertain whether the lack of /dz/ vs. /z/ distinction is compensated elsewhere in phonology.

initial [ʔ]. Low register initial vowels, on the other hand, have an intrinsic initial [h], which does not contrast with other laryngeal or glottal initials. Consequently, word-initial [ʔ] and [h] are here considered phonetic markers of high and low register initial vowels respectively, whereas /h/ is considered a phoneme which occurs only in the high register.

- /s/ [s] voiceless alveolar grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /só/ [sɔ́] མོ་ ‘tooth’, /pʰusim/ [pʰüsɪm] ལྷ་སྒྲུག་ ‘younger sister’
- /z/ [z] voiced alveolar grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /zo/ [zɔ̀] བཟོ་ ‘make’, /kuzuʔ/ [kúzuʔ] ལྷ་གཟུགས་ ‘body (hon)’
- /ɕ/ [ɕ] voiceless alveolo-palatal grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /ɕó/ [ɕɔ́] རྩོ་ ‘dice’, /ɕò/[ɕɔ̀] རྩོ་ ‘curd’, /sɔ́:ɕip/ [sɔ́:ɕip]~[sɔ́:ɕip] གསོལ་ཞིབ་ ‘snacks’
- /ʒ/ [ʒ] voiceless alveolo-palatal grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /zak/ [ʒək] བཞག་ ‘put’, /áʒã:/ [ʔé:ʒé:] ཇ་ལང་ ‘maternal uncle’
- [j] voiced palatal approximant; at least word-initially, in fast speech of some speakers: /zak/ [jək] བཞག་ ‘put’
- /h/ [h] voiceless laryngeal fricative; word-initially: /hap/ [hɛp] ཉམ་ ‘bark’, /hup/ [hɯp] ཉམ་ ‘mouthful’
- [ɦ] voiced laryngeal fricative; inter-vocalically: /màhi/ [mèɦɪ] མ་དྲེ་ ‘buffalo’, /pahip/ [péɦɪp] བ་དྲིབ་ ‘container for millet beer’
- /j/ [j] voiced palatal approximant; preceding non-front vowels: /jáʔ/ [jéʔ] གཡག་ ‘yak’, /jòu/ [jòu] ཡོལ་ ‘up’
- [ɦ] voiced laryngeal fricative; preceding front vowels: /jìgi/ [ɦìgi] ཡི་གེ་ ‘letter’, /jòʔ/~[jèʔ]/ [jòʔ]~[jèʔ]~[ɦèʔ] ཡོད་ ‘exist’

**/s/ vs. /z/ vs. /ɕ/ vs. /ʒ/**

- |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| /só/ མོ་ ‘tooth’           | /sà/ ཟ་ ‘eat’              |
| /zo/ བཟོ་ ‘make’           | /za:/ གཟུགས་ ‘day, planet’ |
| /ɕò/ རྩོ་ ‘dice, gambling’ | /ɕá/ ཤ་ ‘meat’             |
| /zo/ བཟོ་ ‘milk (v.)’      | /(d)za/ འང་ ‘rainbow’      |

**/s/ vs. /z/**

- /sík/ གསེག་ ‘shiver’
- /zik/ གཟིག་ ‘leopard’

**/ɕ/ vs. /ʒ/**

- /ɕé:/ ཤེས་ ‘know’
- /ʒe:/ བཞེས་ ‘have, eat (hon.)’

**/j/ vs. /h/**

- /jákeə/ གཡག་ཤ་ ‘yak meat’
- /hakeə/ ཉམ་ཤ་ ‘quality of bad(ly cooked) rice’

**/j/ vs. /h/ vs. /ŋ/ vs. /r/ vs. /z/ vs. /dz/**

- /já:/ [jé:] ཡང་ ‘again’
- /hā:/ [hé:] ཉང་ ‘squander’
- /ã:/ [ɦé:] འང་ ‘lie’

/rã:/	[rɛ̃:]	རང་	‘self’
/zan/	[zɛ̃:]	བཞུགས་	‘get up (hon.)’
/dzan/	[dzɛ̃:]	སྦྱང་	‘study’

In the word-initial position, /h/ contrasts phonetically with high register prevocalic [ʔ] and the low-register pre-vocalic [ɦ] (see contrastive set under glottal stop).

One consultant (TB, Ralang) pronounced the word /òtɛ/ [ɦòtɛ] རོག་སྒྲེ་ ‘down(hill)’ as [wɛ̃tɛ], giving some evidence for the phoneme /w/ in his speech. As this is the only evidence for /w/, the labio-velar in [wɛ̃tɛ] is here considered an allophonic effect of vowel rounding in /òtɛ/.

### 2.2.1.3 Nasals

Denjongke has eight nasals, the voiced /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/ and the voiceless or preaspirated /m̥/, /n̥/, /ɲ̥/, /ŋ̥/. The voiceless set is more precisely defined as voiced preceded by voicelessness, [m̥m] [n̥n] [ɲ̥ɲ] and [ŋ̥ŋ]. Some speakers do not pronounce the voiceless nasals, instead uttering them identically with high register voiced nasals. The voiced nasals occur syllable and word-initially, medially and finally, except for /ɲ/, which does not occur syllable or word-finally. The voiceless nasals occur only word-initially. There is no contrast between the velar and palatal nasals preceding front vowels; only the palatal nasal occurs preceding front vowels. Word-final alveolar /n/ and velar /ŋ/ alternate with a long, nasalized vowel, e.g. /són/ [són]~[sóñ] སོན་ ‘seed’, /tan/ [tán]~[táñ] བཏང་ ‘send’<sup>52</sup>. In continuous speech, nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant, e.g. /in-bo/<sup>53</sup> [ím-bo] ཞིན་བོ་ ‘EQU-2INF’. When speaking fast, some speakers pronounce /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ as [j] and [j̥] respectively.

/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /mí/ [mí] མི་ ‘human’, /dimiʔ/ [d̥imiʔ] རྩི་མིག་ ‘key’, /ám/ [ʔém] མཚན་ ‘mother’
/n/	[n]	voiced dento-alveolar (laminal) nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /nà:/ [nɛ̃:] ན་ ‘here’, /zɛ:nup/ [zɛ̃:nup̃] བཞེས་རུབ་ ‘three days ago’, /k’an/ [k’añ] གན་ ‘what?’
/ɲ/	[ɲ]	voiced alveolo-palatal nasal stop; word-initially and medially: /ɲà/ [ɲɛ̃] ཉ་ ‘fish’, /là:ɲa/ [lɛ̃:ɲɛ̃] ལག་ངར་ ‘upper arm’
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	voiced dental nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /ɲà/ [ɲɛ̃] ཅ་ ‘I’, /laɲa/ [lɛ̃ɲɛ̃] སྤང་ ‘pan’, /tã:/ or /tan/ [tɛ̃ɲ]~[tɛ̃:] བཏང་ ‘send’
/m̥/	[m̥]	voiceless bilabial nasal stop: word-initially: /m̥a/ [m̥ɛ̃] དམའ་ ‘down, low(er)’, /m̥ɛ:çam/ [m̥ɛ̃:çɛ̃m] <sup>54</sup> མཚན་ཤར་མ་ ‘young woman’
/n̥/	[n̥]	voiceless dento-alveolar (laminal) nasal stop: /n̥a(guʔ)/ [n̥ɛ̃(guʔ)] མྱ་གུ་ ‘nose’, /n̥ɛ:gum/ [n̥ɛ̃:gum] མྱ་གུ་ ‘nose ridge’

<sup>52</sup> Final velar is most of the time pronounced as a lengthened nasalized vowel, although I have also heard realizations as [ŋ], especially in Tashiding, West Sikkim.

<sup>53</sup> In example sentences in other chapters, however, nasals preceding plosives are written phonetically (i.e. *im-bo*) to ensure a smoother reading experience.

<sup>54</sup> Some pronounce the word [m̥ɛ̃ɛ̃m].

- /ŋ/ [ŋ] voiceless alveolo-palatal nasal stop; word-initially: /ŋou/ [ŋóu] ལྷུ, ལྷུ<sup>55</sup> ‘nasal mucus’
- /ŋ/ [ŋ]<sup>56</sup> voiceless velar nasal stop; preceding non-front vowels: /ŋaʔ/ [ŋéʔ] ལྷགས་ ‘invocation’, /ŋɔmpu/~[ŋømpu]/ [ŋómpu]~[ŋómpu]~[hómpu] ལྷན་ལུ ‘blue-green’
- [ŋ] voiceless palatal nasal stop; preceding front vowels: /ŋim/ [ŋím] ལྷིངས་ ‘sister-in-law’, /ŋy:naʔ/ [ŋý:néʔ] ལྷལ་ནག་ ‘sweat’

<b>/m/ vs. /n/ vs. /ɲ/ vs. /ŋ/</b>	<b>/m/ vs. /m̥/</b>	<b>/n/ vs. /ŋ/</b>
/mà/ མ་ ‘mother’	/mà/ མ་ ‘mother’	/nà:/ ན་ ‘here’
/nà:/ ན་ ‘here’	/má/ མ་ ‘wound’	/ná/ ན་ ‘ear’
/ɲà/ ཉ་ ‘fish’	/ɲa/ དམའ་ ‘down, low(er)’	/ŋa/ ལྷ་ ‘nose’
/ŋà/ ང་ ‘I’		

<b>/ɲ/ vs. /ŋ/</b>	<b>/ŋ/ vs. /ŋ/</b>
/ɲim/ ཉིམ་ ‘sun, day’ <sup>57</sup>	/ŋàk/ [ŋáʔ] ངག་ ‘speech’
/ŋim/ ལྷིངས་ ‘sister-in-law’	/ŋaʔ/ [ŋáʔ] ལྷགས་ ‘invocation’

The contrast between the voiceless alveolo-palatal and velar stops is very marginal. The only contrastive pair in my data, presented below, is based on alternate pronunciations of the word /ŋɔmpu/~[ŋømpu]/ ‘blue-green’. While some people pronounce the word with a velar nasal [ŋómpu], others use the alveolo-palatal [ŋømpu].

<b>/ŋ/ vs. /ŋ/</b>
/ŋou/ [ŋóu] ལྷུ, ལྷུ ‘nasal mucus’
/ŋɔmpu/~[ŋømpu]/ [ŋómpu]~[ŋómpu]~[hómpu] ལྷན་ལུ ‘blue-green’

The nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ occur as geminates both morpheme-internally (2.1) and across morpheme boundary (2.2).<sup>58</sup>

(2.1) <i>mènni</i>	མན་ནེ་	‘perhaps’
<i>lèmmo</i>	ལེགས་མོ་	‘good’ (RS) <sup>59</sup>
<i>dunyal</i>	སྤྲུག་བསྐྱལ་	‘suffering’

<sup>55</sup> The latter spelling suggests a connection with the word ལྷ་ ‘nose’.

<sup>56</sup> Some speakers pronounce /ŋ/ as [h], as in /ŋaru/ [ŋarɔ]~[harɔ] ‘morning’.

<sup>57</sup> A literary distinction can be made between ཉིན་ *nyin* ‘day’ and ཉིམ་ *nyim* ‘sun’.

<sup>58</sup> Disyllabic words are challenging for morphemic analysis, because it is not always clear whether the speakers are aware of the constitutive parts of the word.

<sup>59</sup> This seems a rare pronunciation of the word and may be connected particularly to the astrological context of good/auspicious and bad/inauspicious stellar positions, the context in which the word was spoken.

(2.2) <i>lám-mɛʔ</i>	ལམ་མེད་	‘below the road (lit. road-below)’
<i>néɲ=na</i>	གཤམ་ན་	‘at the wedding (lit. wedding=LOC)’
<i>kʰɛŋ-ŋa/kʰɛŋ-ga</i>	མཇུག་ག་	‘do (you) know (lit. know-PQ)’

### 2.2.1.4 Liquids

Denjongke has two lateral approximants, the voiced /l/ and the voiceless (or voiced preceded by a period of voicelessness) /l̥/. The voicing distinction holds only word-initially. All laterals are voiced word-medially. Word-finally /l/ only occurs in spelling-style and reading-style pronunciation (see Sprigg 1991) of words which end in /l/ in written form. In ordinary spoken language, however, the written final *-l* of WT/WD is realized as vowel fronting and lengthening, e.g. WT/WD གསལ་ *gsal* ‘clarify’ may be pronounced as [sɛ́l] when reading but is pronounced as [sé:] in ordinary conversation.

/l/	[l]	voiced dento-alveolar lateral approximant; syllable and word-initially and medially: /lú/ [lú] ལུ་ ‘song’, /tsʰilu/ [tsʰɪlu] ཚེ་ལུ་ ‘fat’
/l̥/	[l̥]	voiceless dento-alveolar lateral approximant; word-initially: /la/ [l̥é] ལྷ་ ‘deity’, /lok/ [l̥ók̚] ལོག་ ‘lift up’

There are two rhotics, a voiced and a voiceless one. Voicing distinction holds only in word-initial position. In the following list, the phones listed under /r/ depict tendencies, not fixed rules, i.e. /r/ may occasionally be word-initially realized as [r] as well as [ɹ], and word-finally as [r] as well as [r̥].

/r/	[ɹ]	voiced alveolar central fricative; utterance-initially: /ra/ [ɹɛ] ར་ ‘goat’, /ri/ [ɹi] རི་ ‘hill’ <sup>60</sup>
	[ɹ]	voiced alveolar central approximant; word-medially preceding /l/: /korlɛ/ [kóɹlɛ] ལྷོར་ལམ་ ‘about’
	[r]	voiced alveolar flap; word-medially: /áraʔ/ [ʔéɹɛʔ] ཇ་རག་ ‘liquor’, /dumra/ [d̥ùmɹɛ] ལུ་མ་ར་ ‘garden’
	[r]	voiced alveolar trill; word-finally: /kʰur/ [kʰùr] ལུར་ ‘tent’, /kor/ [kór] ལྷོར་ ‘theme’
/r̥/	[ɹ̥]~[r̥]~[r̥]	voiceless alveolar fricative, flap or trill, depending on the speaker; word-initially and possible word-medially (I have only one example): /r̥ɛ/ [r̥é:] རྩལ་ ‘tear’, /bakraʔ/ [bèkʰɹɛʔ] འབག་རྩལ་ ‘spider’

#### /l/ vs. /l̥/

/là/	ལ་ ‘pass’	/lò/	ལོ་ ‘year’	/lòk/	ལོག་ ‘return’
/lá/	ལཱ་ ‘life force’	/ló/	ལོ་ ‘mind’	/lók/	ལོག་ ‘cause to return’
/la/	ལྷ་ ‘deity’	/lo/	ལོ་ ‘south’	/lok/	ལོག་ ‘lift’

<sup>60</sup> Utterance-medially, as in the intervocalic position in the sentence *ódilo \_ lap goɛɛ bɛʔ* ‘It is to be called \_’, /ra/ and /ri/ are likely realized with a flap [ɹ].

/lùk/ ལྷག་ ‘drop (intr.); sheep’  
 /lúk/ ལྷག་ ‘pour’  
 /lók/ ལྷག་ ‘take apart’

**/r/ vs. /r̥/**

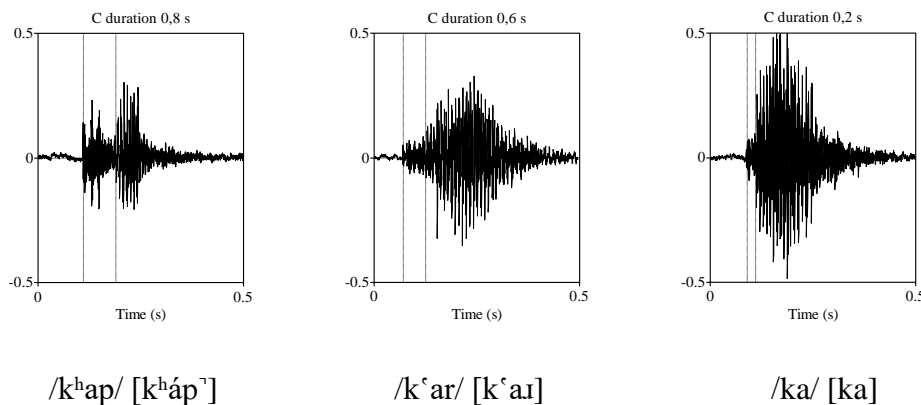
/rɛ:/ [rɛ:] རལ་ ‘be torn’                    /ram/ རམ་ ‘be broken’  
 /r̥ɛ/ [r̥ɛ:] རྩལ་ ‘tear’                        /r̥am/ རྩམ་ ‘break (trans.)’

**2.2.2 The lightly aspirated "breathy" consonants**

A major challenge in interpretation was how to treat the series of plosives and affricates that were above described as lightly but inconsistently aspirated and followed by breathy voice,<sup>61</sup> hence the IPA symbol [ʰ] for “light aspiration” for marking them. Eberhardt & Mehnert (1978: 129-130) have shown a difference in the degree of aspiration between the aspirated (“strong aspiration”) and the historically devoiced plosives and affricates (“less intense aspiration”) in three varieties of Tibetan (Lhasa, Bathang and Derge)<sup>62</sup>. Similarly, Watters (2002) describes the “devoiced series” in Dzongkha, Lhomi, Sherpa (Solu Khumbu), Dolpo Tibetan and Mugom Tibetan as “voiceless sometimes with slight aspiration and followed usually by breathy voice”, contrasting with “voiceless without aspiration” and “voiceless with heavy aspiration (followed by modal voice)”. Watters (2003) suggests that the consonants with slight aspiration have the feature [+spread], referring to the spread glottis causing the slight but inconsistent aspiration and often breathy vowel quality on the following vowel.

The difference in aspiration between /k<sup>h</sup>/, /k̥/ and /k/ in Denjongke is shown in Figure 2.3, where the duration of aspiration is 0,8 seconds (/k<sup>h</sup>ap/ ཁབ་ ‘needle’), 0,6 (/k̥ar/ ཁར་ ‘what?’) seconds and 0,2 seconds (/ka/ ཀ་ ‘who?’) respectively.

Figure 2.3. Initial consonant duration in /k<sup>h</sup>ap/ ‘needle’, /k̥ar/ ‘what?’ and /ka/ ‘who?’

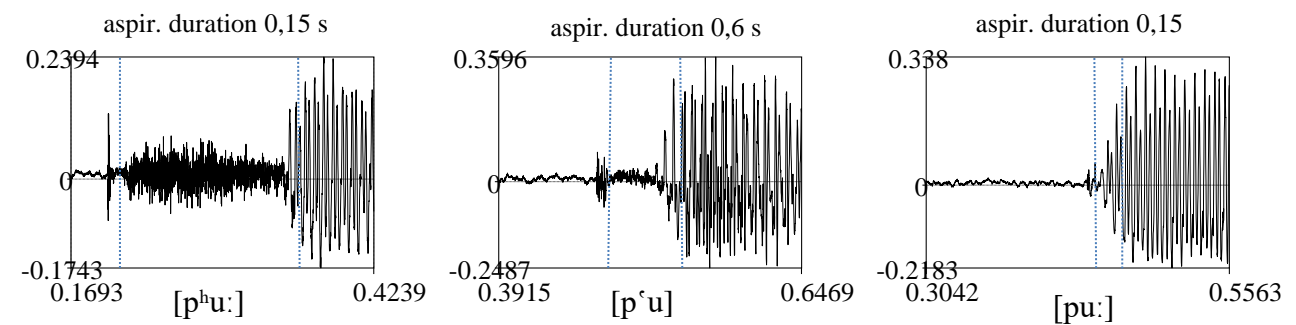


Similar difference in aspiration for the bilabial set /p<sup>h</sup>/, /p̥/, /p/ in /p<sup>h</sup>u:/ འཕུར་ ‘fly’, /p̥u/ རྩ་ ‘boy’ and /pu:/ རུས་ ‘pack’ respectively is given in Figure 2.4, where there are again clear differences in the duration of aspiration.

<sup>61</sup> These “devoiced consonants” were historically voiced but have since lost voicing and given rise to tonal contrasts in Tibetic languages. These consonants correspond to the WT (Written Tibetan) characters in the following way: /k̥/ > ཀ, /t̥/ > ཅ, /t̥/ > ཅ/ཁ/ཁ, /t̥/ > ཅ, /p̥/ > བ, /ts̥/ > ར.

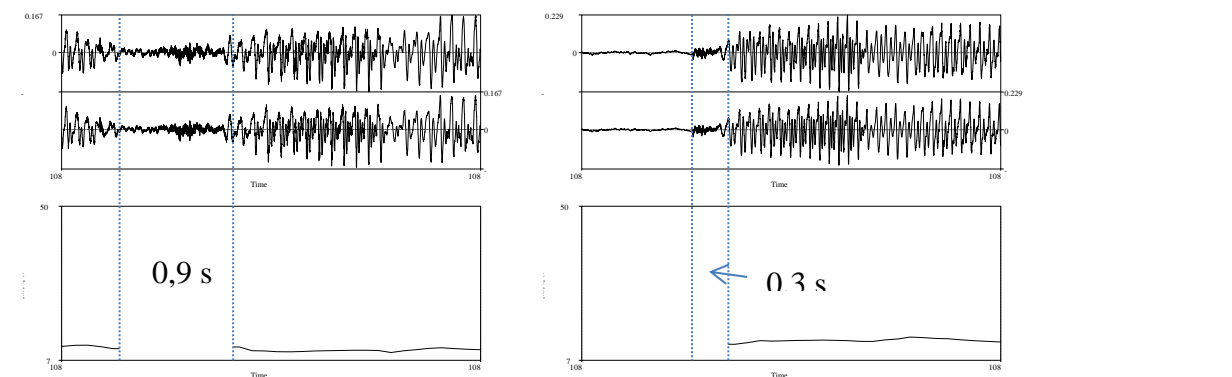
<sup>62</sup> In the Lhasa language variety, the difference in the degree of aspiration between low and high register words was smaller than in the other varieties, perhaps giving justification to present analyses of Lhasa Tibetan where no aspiration differences are reported as significant.

Figure 2.4. Consonant duration in /p<sup>h</sup>u:/ ‘fly’, /p<sup>ʰ</sup>u/ ‘boy’ and /pu:/ ‘pack’ (RB)



The aspiration in the breathy set, however, is not consistent, as shown in Figure 2.5, where the same word /k<sup>ʰ</sup>ε:/ [k<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛ:] ‘line, order’ has a considerable difference in aspiration between the two different pronunciations in the same story. The latter pronunciation is probably indistinguishable from an unaspirated plosive.

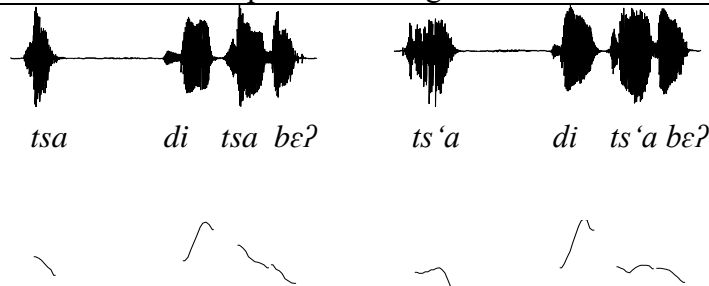
Figure 2.5. Two pronunciations (in context) of the word /k<sup>ʰ</sup>ε:/ [k<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛ:] ‘line, order’ (SG)



In Figure 2.5, the aspiration in the second pronunciation of /k<sup>ʰ</sup>ε:/ [k<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛ:] overlaps with the unaspirated /k/. The aspiration in the breathy series also occasionally overlaps with the aspirated /k<sup>h</sup>/. With one speaker, for instance, in three consecutive pronunciations of /k<sup>ʰ</sup>ε:/ [k<sup>ʰ</sup>ɛ:] ‘line, order’, one instance had more aspiration than the other two, overlapping with /k<sup>h</sup>ε:/ [k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:] ‘tax’ in duration of aspiration.

Figure 2.6 presents the wave forms and pitch of /tsa/ 𑄗 ‘grass’ vs. /ts<sup>ʰ</sup>a/ 𑄗 ‘make-up’, first pronounced in isolation and then in the frame *di \_ be?* ‘this is \_’.

Figure 2.6. Wave forms and pitch of /tsa/ ‘grass’ and /ts<sup>ʰ</sup>a/ ‘make-up’ (TB)



As shown in Figure 2.6, in isolation /ts<sup>ʰ</sup>a/ ‘make-up’ is pronounced longer than /tsa/ ‘grass’, whereas in context the length of the two words is probably indistinguishable. The



breathiness on *ts'a* is more clearly audible when the word is pronounced in isolation. Because length and breathiness are less distinctive in the sentence frame, pitch difference becomes more central. The pitch traces in the frame clauses in Figure 2.6 indicate that *ts'a* is pronounced in a considerably lower pitch than *tsa*.

The historically devoiced consonants are followed by low pitch and breathy voice. Therefore I refer to them as “breathy consonants”.<sup>63</sup> Precedents within Tibetic languages for analyzing breathiness as a consonantal feature are Causemann (1989: 31) and Watters (2003). Alternatively, breathiness could be analyzed as a vocalic or a suprasegmental feature. The benefits of analyzing breathiness as a consonantal feature are doing justice to the varying degrees of aspiration in consonants and making breathiness predictable on the basis of the consonant.<sup>64</sup>

The high and low register difference applies also to the sibilants, voiced nasals and voiced liquids.<sup>65</sup> Because there is no evidence for any consonantal phonetic difference between the high and low register sibilants, only one sibilant phoneme is posited for each place of articulation (similarly Watters 2002: 12). Similarly to sibilants, there is no phonetic difference between high and low register consonants for nasals and liquids, and therefore only one phoneme that corresponds to both registers is posited for each manner and place of articulation (excluding the voiced vs. voiceless distinction, which is represented).

## 2.3 Vowels

This section begins with an overview of Denjongke vowel phonemes and is followed by findings of an acoustic study of front unrounded vowels (§2.3.1). Then, each of the vowels is described in more detail and minimal pairs presented (§2.3.2). The last parts address diphthongs (§2.3.3) and vowel length (§2.3.4).

Denjongke vowel phonemes with length-values are presented in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2. Denjongke vowels

Front		Middle		Back	
Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
i	i: <sup>66</sup> y:			u	u:
	e: <sup>66</sup> ø:			o	o:
ε	ε:				
		a	a:		

Figure 2.7 below gives consultant TB’s vowel plot based on the average value of manual F1 and F2 measurements from four to six different words per vowel value (except *u:* had only two example words). The words along with the measuring results are given in Appendix 3.

<sup>63</sup> Beyer (1992: 27) also refers to the “breathiness” of Lhasa Tibetan reflexes of Old Tibetan voiced initials.

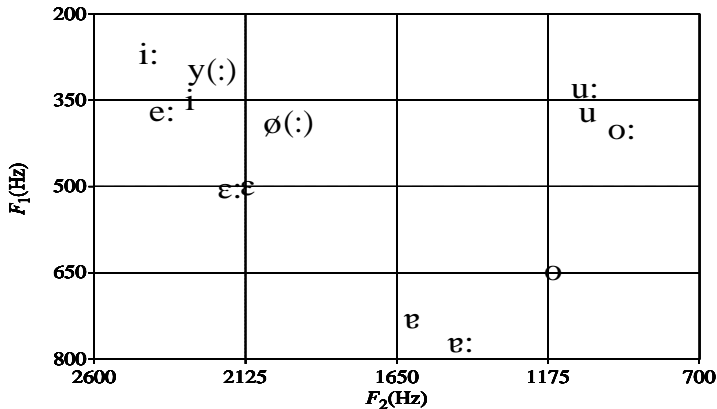
<sup>64</sup> Analyzing breathiness as a primarily vocalic feature would also cause the historically distinct identity between the voiceless and devoiced consonants, which is reflected in Denjongke writing, to be lost, i.e. both ཀ and ཀ་ would be seen as instances of /k/. That would be pedagogically disadvantageous, because for literate Denjongpos breathiness is already associated with certain consonant characters.

<sup>65</sup> Voiceless/preaspirated nasals and liquids are always high register. Among sibilants, WT ས and ས་ are realized as high register /s/ and /s/ respectively (high pitch, modal voice), and WT ས and ས་ as low register /s/ and /s/ respectively (low pitch, some breathiness).

<sup>66</sup> The long realization [e:] is in complementary distribution with a short variant which ends in a glottal [eʔ] (e.g. *dzeʔ* མཛེ ‘leprosy’), i.e. there is no contrast between [e:ʔ] and [eʔ]. As the glottal stop in [eʔ] is in sentential context often elided and causes vowel lengthening instead, [e:] and [eʔ] are phonologically interrelated and thus the short variant is not here represented as a separate phoneme.

Short and long vowels for /y/ and /ø/ are not given separately, because length is not as clearly contrastive in these two vowels as in the other vowels, see §2.3.2 on vowel length.

Figure 2.7. Vowel plot from consultant TB (Ralang)



The most conspicuous features of the vowel plot in Figure 2.7 are 1) the proximity of /i/ and /e:/, 2) the proximity of /u/ and /o:/, and 3) the relatively big F1 difference between /o/ and /o:/. Evidence for considering /o:/ as a lengthened variant of /o/ rather than the two being unrelated vowels /o:/ and /ɔ/ respectively is provided by the variant pronunciations of the word /gok/ [gòk]~[gòʔ] ‘crawl’. Because vowels followed by a glottal are pronounced analogously in quality to long vowels (see §2.3.1 below), the variation in the pronunciations of /gok/ [gòk]~[gòʔ] གོག་ ‘crawl’ suggests that /o/ [ɔ] and /o:/ [o:] should be considered, analogously to /ok/ [ɔk]~[oʔ], phonologically related so that /o:/ [o:] is the lengthened variant of /o/ [ɔ]. Lengthening, however, is accompanied by a considerable change in vowel height.

### 2.3.1 Phonetic descriptions and contrastive sets for vowel qualities

The following list describes the various vowel values and their allophones in Denjongke. Note that /e:/, /y:/ and /ø:/ are marked as intrinsically long vowels, which have short allophones in specific contexts.<sup>67</sup> With all the vowels /e:/, /y:/ and /ø:/ such a context is a following glottal stop (for the interrelationship of length and final glottal, see §2.3.2). Moreover, /y:/ and /ø:/ are realized as short allophones when they precede the nasal /n/. However, if the nasal is word-final, the pronunciation varies between [yn]~[ỹ:] and [øn]~[ø̃:], e.g. /dyn/ [d̥yn]~[d̥ỹ:] བདུན་ ‘seven’, /lópøŋ/ [l̥ópøŋ]~[l̥ópø̃:] ལྷོབ་དཔོན་ ‘teacher’

<sup>67</sup> The reason why /y:/ and /ø:/ are intrinsically long is that they have historically arisen from sequences where /u/ (in the case of present /y:/) and /o/ (in the case of present /ø:/) have been followed by one of the consonants *l*, *d*, *s* or *n*. Final *l* has resulted in vowel fronting and lengthening, e.g. *ky*: (WT ལྷུལ་ *skul*) ‘cause to move’ and *k<sup>h</sup>ø*: (WT ལྷོལ་ *khol*) ‘boil (intr.)’. Final *n* has resulted in vowel fronting followed by a nasal stop or nasalization, e.g. *pyn*/pỹ: (WT ལྷུན་ *spun*) ‘brother’ and *lópøŋ*/lópø̃: (WT ལྷོབ་དཔོན་ *slob-dpon*) ‘teacher’. Final *d* has resulted in vowel fronting and a final glottal stop, e.g. *lyʔ* (WT ལུད་ *lud*) ‘fertilizer’ and *jøʔ* (WT ཡོད་ *yod*) ‘exist’. The resulting vowel can be pronounced with various degrees of length and in utterance-medial position the glottal is typically omitted and the vowel sound lengthened, e.g. [l̥ỹʔ]~[l̥ỹ:ʔ]~[l̥ỹ:] ‘fertilizer’ and [j̥øʔ]~[j̥ø:ʔ]~[j̥ø:] ‘exist’. The reflexes of historical *u* and *o* followed by *s* are more irregular. Typically the final sibilant has not caused vowel fronting (e.g. *lùʔ* [WT ལུས་ *lus*] ‘remain’ and *t’oʔ* [WT ཅོས་ *dos*] ‘load’, *t<sup>h</sup>øʔ* [WT ཅོས་ *chos*] ‘teaching’), but there are some words in which, similarly to Central Tibetan, the vowel is fronted (e.g. *l̥ỹʔ*/l̥ỹ: [WT ལུས་ *lus*] ‘body’ and the Tibetan-influenced alternative spelling of *t<sup>h</sup>øʔ*, *t<sup>h</sup>ø̃ʔ* [WT ཅོས་ *chos*] ‘teaching’). Similarly to reflexes of final *d*, the vowel sound preceding the glottal stop occurs in various lengths and may be dropped altogether in utterance- medial context where the vowel occurs long.

- /i/ [i] short near-close front unrounded vowel: /k<sup>h</sup>i/ [k<sup>h</sup>i] ཁྱི ‘dog’, /k<sup>h</sup>im/ [k<sup>h</sup>ím] ཁྱིམ་ ‘house’, /si/ [sì] སྤོ་ ‘receive’
- /i:/ [i:] long close front unrounded vowel: /ki:/ [kí:] དཀྱིགས་ ‘wrap’, /sí:/ [sí:] བསེལ་ ‘cool’
- /e:/ [e:] long close-mid front unrounded vowel: /sé:/ [sé:] གསེར་ ‘gold’, /sé:p/ [sé:p] སེར་བ་ ‘yellow’, /ge:/ [gè:] འགྲེལ་ ‘fall’
- /ɛ/ [ɛ](~[ɛ̃]) short open-mid front unrounded vowel: /kɛ/ [kɛ́] སྐྱེ་ ‘neck’, /sé:m/ [sé:m] སེམས་ ‘mind’
- /ɛ:/ [ɛ:](~[ɛ̃]) long open-mid front unrounded vowel: /sé:/ [sé:] གསེལ་ ‘clear’, /gɛ:p/ [gɛ:p] རྒྱལ་བ་ ‘king’
- /a/ [ɐ] short near-open central unrounded vowel; when not preceding palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /k<sup>h</sup>a/ [k<sup>h</sup>ɛ́] ཁ་ ‘mouth’, /ra/ [rà] ར་ ‘goat’
- [æ](~[ɶ]) fronted near-open front unrounded vowel; following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /p<sup>h</sup>ja/ [p<sup>h</sup>jǽ] རྩ་ ‘chicken’, /tɕ<sup>h</sup>a/ [tɕ<sup>h</sup>ɛ́] ཇ་ ‘tea’, /j<sup>h</sup>à/ [j<sup>h</sup>ɶ] ཉ་ ‘fish’
- /a:/ [ɶ:] long near-open central unrounded vowel; in other contexts than when followed by a palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /p<sup>h</sup>a:/ [p<sup>h</sup>ɶ:] བར་ ‘interval’, /p<sup>h</sup>a:m/ [p<sup>h</sup>ɶ:m] ལྷམ་(?) ‘hug’ (TB)
- [æ:](~[ɶ:]) long fronted near-open front unrounded vowel; following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /j<sup>h</sup>á:ɕiŋ/ [j<sup>h</sup>æ:ɕiŋ] གཤམ་ཤིང་ ‘yoke’, /tɕ<sup>h</sup>a:lɛʔ/ [tɕ<sup>h</sup>æ:lɛʔ] ལྷག་ལས་ ‘work (hon.)’; however, nasalization seems to counteract the fronting, /ázã:/ [ézɛ:] ཇ་ཞང་ ‘maternal uncle’
- /u/ [ʊ] short near-close back rounded vowel; in short vowels: /ku/ [kú] སྐྱ་ ‘body’, /p<sup>h</sup>um/ [p<sup>h</sup>òm] ལུམ་ ‘girl’
- [ɯ] short close central rounded vowel; following palatal and alveolo-palatal consonants: /gjuk/ [j<sup>h</sup>ɯk<sup>h</sup>] རྒྱག་ ‘run’, /tɕu/ [tɕɯ] བཅུ་ ‘ten’
- /u:/ [u:] long close back rounded vowel; in other contexts than when followed by a palatal or alveolo-palatal consonant: /ku:/ [kú:] ཀུའུ་ ‘ladle for pouring rice flour dough’, /p<sup>h</sup>u:/ [p<sup>h</sup>ú:] ལུ་ ‘fly’
- [ɯ:] long close central rounded vowel; following palatal and alveolo-palatal consonants: /dzu:/ [d<sup>h</sup>ɯ:] འཇུས་ ‘be afraid’, /jù:/ [j<sup>h</sup>ɯ:] ལུ་ ‘weed out’
- /o/ [ɔ] short open-mid back rounded vowel; elsewhere: /t<sup>h</sup>om/ [t<sup>h</sup>òm] རྩམ་ ‘bear’, /ko/ [kó] མོ་ ‘dig’
- /o:/ [o:] long close-mid back rounded vowel: /t<sup>h</sup>o:m/ [t<sup>h</sup>òm] རྩམས་ ‘trousers’, /ko:/ [kó:] མོས་ ‘throw (away)’
- /y/ [y:] long close front rounded vowel; in other contexts than the ones specified below: /ky:/ [ký:] སྐྱལ་ ‘drive’, /p<sup>h</sup>y:/ [p<sup>h</sup>y:] ལུལ་ ‘offer’
- [y] long close front rounded vowel; when followed by /n/ or /ʔ/<sup>68</sup>: /dyn/ [d<sup>h</sup>yn]~[d<sup>h</sup>y:] བདུན་ ‘seven’, /pynlo/ [p<sup>h</sup>ynlo] སྐྱུན་ལོ་ ‘younger brother’, /l<sup>h</sup>yʔ/ [l<sup>h</sup>yʔ]~[l<sup>h</sup>y:] ལུད་ ‘fertilizer’

<sup>68</sup> There is also a marginal short /y/ in disyllabic compounds. If the first part of the compound is pronounced in isolation, it ends in a glottal. In the compound the glottal, however, may be elided, e.g. *te<sup>h</sup>ymi* ‘lamp for offering’ (from *te<sup>h</sup>øʔ* ‘offering’ and *mi* ‘fire’, the vowel quality ø assimilates into y in the compound).

- /ø/ [ø:] long close-mid front rounded vowel; in other contexts than the ones specified below: /kø:/ [kʰø:] ལྷོལ་ ‘boil (tr.)’, /rø:m/ [rʰø:m] རྩལ་མ་/རྩལ་མོ་ ‘cymbal’
- [ø] short close-mid front rounded vowel; when followed by /n/ or /ʔ/: /kʰøn/ [kʰʰøn]~[kʰʰø:] ལྷོལ་ ‘wear’, /pønpu/ [pʰømpu] དཔོན་པུ་ ‘chief’, /tøʔ/ [tʰøʔ]~[tʰøʔ(:)] ཚོད་ ‘you’

Denjongke unrounded front vowels proved complicated to analyze, a problem also faced in many other Tibetic languages.<sup>69</sup> Because of the initial difficulties, I carried out an acoustic study on F1 values (corresponding to vowel height) in monosyllabic words containing front unrounded vowels with five speakers from different locations. A detailed account of the study is found in Yliniemi (2014). Here I only summarize the main findings:

- 1) There is a two way contrast /i/ vs. /ɛ/ with short vowels but a three way contrast /i:/ vs. /e:/ vs. /ɛ:/ with long vowels.
- 2) There is some overlap in the F1 value of long /e:/ and short /i/.
- 3) The short vowel /i/ tends to be realized as lower [ɪ] than the long vowel /i:/ [i:].
- 4) Denjongke has both short /ɛ/ and long /ɛ:/ with roughly the same F1 values, contra Dzongkha (van Driem 1992: 67) and Dege Tibetan (Häsler 1999: 24) in which open-mid /ɛ/ is reported to occur only as a long vowel [ɛ:] and the short vowel contrasting with /i/ is the higher /e/).

The back rounded vowels /u/ and /o/ are realized as closer when long ([u:] [o:]), and more open when short ([ʊ] [ɔ]). A final glottal heightens vowel value similarly to length, e.g. /lɔ/ [lɔ] ལོ་ ‘mind’ vs. /lɔʔ/ [lɔʔ] ལོག་ ‘light’, /gok/ [gòk]~[gòʔ] ལོག་ ‘crawl’ (see also the section on glottal stop in §2.2.1.1 above). The following minimal sets give evidence for vowel quality differences between /i/, /ɛ/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /y/ and /ø/.

/kʰi/ ལྷི་ ‘dog’	/ki:/ དཀྱིགས་ ‘wrap’
/kʰɛ/ ལེ་ ‘profit’	/kɛ:/ ལྷེལ་ ‘bring’
/kʰa/ ལ་ ‘mouth’	/ka:/ ལྷ་ (?) ‘split’
/kʰo/ ལོ་ ‘need’	/ko:/ ལོས་ ‘throw’
/kʰu/ ལུ་ ‘he’	/ku:/ ལུའུ་ ‘ladle for pouring rice flour dough’
/kʰø:/ ལོལ་ ‘boil (intr.)’	/kø:/ ལྷོལ་ ‘boil (tr.)’
/kʰy:/(=kʰui/) ལུདི་ ‘his’	/ky:/ ལྷུལ་ ‘drive’

Within long vowels, an additional vowel /e:/ is introduced between /ɛ:/ and /i:/.

/sí:/ བསེལ་ ‘cool’	/gi:/ འགྱེར་ ‘go around’	/sì:p/ ཟླེལ་ ‘dew’
/sé:/ གསེར་ ‘gold’	/ge:/ འགྱེལ་ ‘fall’	/sé:m/ གསེར་མ་ ‘bamboo slat wall’
/sÉ:/ གསལ་ ‘clear’	/gÉ:/ ལྷེལ་ ‘win’	/sÉ:m/ ལྷེལ་མ་ ‘daughter (hon.)’

<sup>69</sup> Watters (2002: 16), having carried out a phonetic study of five Tibetic languages, calls /e/ and /ɛ/ “problematic” and continues that “it isn’t always clear whether the vowel is /e/ or /ɛ/ in short vowels, and as such whether or not /ɛ/ occurs only in long vowels where it is clearly heard as such.” Van Driem (1998: 66), on the other hand, posits a short /e/, a long /e:/ and an always long /ɛ:/ for Dzongkha, but comments that the difference between /e/ and /ɛ:/ is actually “more often one of timbre [=quality] than of length.” Furthermore, Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 35) describes /e/ and /ä/ (same as /ɛ/) as separate phonemes, but then comments on /e/ that when “followed by a consonant (closed syllable), it is pronounced like /ä/.”

Especially in varieties of Denjongke spoken in East and North Sikkim, /a/ followed by the velar nasal /ŋ/ is pronounced as [ɔ]~[ɔ̃], hence /taŋ/ འདྲ་ ‘send’ is typically pronounced [tɛŋ]~[tɛ̃:] in Tashiding (West Sikkim) but [tɔ̃:]~[tɔ̃:] in East and North Sikkim. Therefore, in eastern and northern varieties of Denjongke and opposition between /a/ and /o/ seems to neutralize before /ŋ/.

Particularly younger speakers are losing or have lost rounding in front vowels /ø/ and /y/, which are pronounced as [e]~[ɛ] and [i] respectively.<sup>70</sup> This development is probably affected by the lack of /ø/ and /y/ in Nepali and English. Interestingly, even speakers who clearly use /ø/ and /y/, tend to unround /ø/ when the infinitive marker -po/bo follows, e.g. /tʰøŋ/ [tʰɔ̃:]~[tʰɔ̃:] རྫོག་ ‘happen’ > [tʰɛm-bo] རྫོག་པོ་, /døʔ/ [døʔ] རྫོག་ ‘sit’ > [dɛ(:)pɔ] རྫོག་པོ་.

### 2.3.2 Length

Vowel length in Denjongke is a complex phenomenon related to other features like vowel quality and the presence/absence of the glottal stop. Historically, vowel length is derived from elided WT final consonants. In the careful, comparative pronunciations for the recording, long vowels were often pronounced as markedly long.<sup>71</sup> In the following minimal pairs, showing length contrast for each of the vowels, it is seen that the lengthened /i:/, /u:/ and /o:/ are higher in quality than their short counterparts /i/, /u/ and /o/.<sup>72</sup> The situation with the unrounded front vowels /e/ and /ɛ/, as described below, is more complicated.

/i/

/sɪ/ [sɪ] སྲི་ ‘trouble, envy’ /ki/ ལྷེ་ ‘be born’<sup>73</sup>

/sɪ:/ [sɪ:] བསེལ་ ‘(feel) cool’ /ki:/ དཀྲུགས་ ‘wrap’

/e:/ occurs only as a long vowel, contrasting with /i:/ and /ɛ:/.

/ɛ/

/kɛ/ སྐྱེ་ ‘neck’ /kʰɛʈaʔ/ ལེ་དྲགས་ ‘cheap’ /gɛp/ རྒྱེབ་ ‘bag’

/kɛ:/ རྒྱེལ་ ‘bring’ /kʰɛ:ʈaʔ/ ལེ་ལས་དྲགས་ ‘skilful’ /gɛ:p/ རྒྱེལ་བ་ ‘king’

/a/

/ka/ བཀའ་ ‘order’ /pʰa/ བ་ ‘cow’ /pʰam/ བམ་ ‘parents’

/ka:/ ཀླ་ (?) ‘split’ /pʰa:/ བར་ ‘interval’ /pʰa:m/ བླམ་ ‘hug’ (TB)

/u/

/kʰu/ [kʰó] ལུ་ ‘he’ /pʰu/ [pʰó] འཕུ་ ‘blow’ /zu/ [zò] འཇུ་ ‘melt’

/kʰu:/ [kʰú:] ལུའུ་ ‘bread’ /pʰu:/ [pʰú:] འཕུར་ ‘fly’ /zu:(?)/<sup>74</sup>[zù:] འཇུགས་ ‘to sit (hon.)’

<sup>70</sup> The generational difference is clearly illustrated on a song recording where a father ends a line in the long syllable [mø:] while his two children sing a resounding [me:].

<sup>71</sup> This is in line with Hildebrandt's (2005:24) observation that Manange words in isolation had longer vowels values than when pronounced medially in a context.

<sup>72</sup> In Diñri Tibetan (Herrmann 1989: 21) and Drokpa Tibetan (Kretschmar 1986: 23) the quality opposition for long and short vowels applies to all vowels.

<sup>73</sup> Vowel length in this word was somewhat inconsistent between different speakers.

<sup>74</sup> Some speakers have glottal ending, others do not.

/o/

/t<sup>h</sup>om/ [t<sup>h</sup>òm] རྩམ་ ‘bear’

/ts<sup>h</sup>o/ [ts<sup>h</sup>ó~ts<sup>h</sup>ó] མཚོ་ ‘lake’

/t<sup>h</sup>o:m/ [t<sup>h</sup>ò:m] རྩམ་ ‘trousers’

/ts<sup>h</sup>o:/[ts<sup>h</sup>ó:] ཚེ་བ་ ‘aunt's husband’

/ko/ [kó] རྩ་ ‘dig’

/ko:/ [kó:] རྩམ་ ‘throw’

/y/ and /ø/

The front rounded vowels /y/ and /ø/ are always long or short ending in a glottal (which varies in pronunciation with length). Short realizations are also possible when /y/ and /ø/ are followed by /n/, either word-finally or syllable-finally. Word-finally, the combination ends in a short vowel followed by a nasal stop or a lengthened nasalized vowel, e.g. /són/ [són]~[són:] ‘seed’. Syllable-finally (but word-medially) /n/ assimilates to the following plosive and the vowel is realized as short, e.g. /pøn-pu/ [pónpu] དཔོན་པུ་ ‘chief’.<sup>75</sup> Although no minimal pairs have been found for /y/ vs. /y:/ or /ø/ vs. /ø:/, the following two word pairs illustrate the occurrence of short and long realizations.

/çøn/ རྩོན་ ‘ride’

/t<sup>h</sup>yn/ མཐུན་ ‘fit, suit’

/çø:m/ རྩོམ་ ‘cockroach’

/t<sup>h</sup>y:p/ རྩིལ་བ་ ‘small bell’

The glottal stop affects length. Utterance-finally the sequence /Vʔ/ is usually realized with various vowel lengths that end in a glottal stop. In sentence-medial context, however, /Vʔ/ is usually realised as [V:] without the glottal (similarly Häslér 1999: 24 for Dege Tibetan). For instance, when pronounced in isolation, words ending in a glottal stop such as /dzeʔ/ རྩམ་ ‘gunpowder’, /dzeʔ/ མཚོ་ ‘leprosy’ and /ziʔ/ བཞིག་ ‘leopard’ have various degrees of length, but in continuous speech they are most of the time realized with a long vowel without the glottal.<sup>76</sup>

A syllable coda with a glottal stop works analogously to a coda with a long vowel in that it allows, unlike short syllables, a three-way contrast /iʔ/, /eʔ/, /εʔ/. This is shown in Table 2.3, which shows the F1 values of /εʔ/, /eʔ/, /ik/ [iʔ]~[ík] and /i:/ (the value of /i:/ is given for comparison) taken from an acoustic study with five consultants (RB, TB, PT, NB and TL). WD and WT refer to Written Denjongke and Written Tibetan respectively.

<sup>75</sup> See footnote 67 above for historical origin of /y/ and /ø/.

<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Causemann (1989: 29) notes that in Nangchen Tibetan glottal endings lengthen the vowel. Mazaudon and Michailovsky (1988: 123), on the other hand, point out that the WT rhymes -d, -g -s, which in Denjongke are often realized as a glottal stop, are in Dzongkha realized as length (and level pitch).

Table 2.3. Three-way contrast of /ɛʔ/ vs. /eʔ/ vs. /ik/ [iʔ]~[ik] shown by differing F1 values

Lexeme	Gloss	WD	WT	RB	TB	PT	TL
42. /dʒɛʔ/	<i>bullet</i>	rdzas	rdzas	405-440	550-560	580-600	565
43. /dzeʔ/	<i>leprosy</i>	mdze	mdze		350-410	370-400	400-430
44. RB /ziʔ/, PT /zik/ TB /dziʔ/	<i>leopard</i>	gzig	gzig	330-345	260-350	380	
47. /zi:/	<i>to split</i>	<sup>77</sup>	?			300-330	260-310

When a verb-final glottal is followed by verbal suffixes, the vowel may be realized as either short or long, depending on other verb forms with which a contrast needs to be established. If a contrast needs to be established with a long (glottal-less) vowel, the glottal stop is dropped without lengthening the vowel (WT below stands for Written Tibetan):

WT *shad* > /çéʔ/, /çé-çɛʔ/ ‘comb-INF’      WT *brjed* > /dʒɛʔ/, /dʒɛ-çɛʔ/ ‘forget-INF’  
 WT *bshal* > /çé:/, /çé:-çɛʔ/ ‘rinse-INF’      WT *mjal* > /dʒɛ:/, /dʒɛ:-çɛʔ/ ‘meet-INF’

If a contrast needs to be established with a short (glottal-less) vowel, the glottal stop is realized as a lengthed vowel:

WT *btag* > /taʔ/, /ta:-çɛʔ/ ‘append-INF’  
 WT *lta* > /ta/, /ta-çɛʔ/ ‘watch-INF’

Finally, vowel length in short monosyllabic words appears to be quite flexible, leaving a lot of room for context to arbitrate phonemic length. For instance, when hearing a recording of the comparative word pair /ta:çɛʔ/ [tʰɛ:çɛʔ] འདྲེན་ ‘to append’ and /taçɛʔ/ [tʰɛçɛʔ] ལྟ་ ‘to watch’ a consultant from Tashiding, without priming, thought that both words were instances of /taçɛʔ/ [tʰɛçɛʔ] ‘to watch’. Only after being reminded of the meaning ‘to append’, the consultant identified the difference between the words and then made in his own pronunciation of the two words a length distinction similar to the one he had heard on the recording.

### 2.3.3 Diphthongs

Diphthong is here defined as a combination of two vowel sounds within one syllable. The two vowel sounds within a diphthong are further considered to consist of two vowel phonemes. The most frequent second vowel of a diphthong is /u/, e.g. /jèu/ (WD དབྱེས་ *dbye-bo*) ‘differentiation’.<sup>78</sup> The following diphthongs have been found to occur in noun bases: /ou/, /eu/, /iu/, /ai/ and /oi/. Of these /oi/ and /ai/ are relatively rare within word stems, occurring mainly in the words /ói/ [ói]~[ói] ཨོཾ་ ‘hey!’ and /ái/ ཨོཾ་ ‘older sister’, /maicam/~/mɛ:cam/ མཐོན་

<sup>77</sup> NB commented: “We don’t yet have a written form for this word.”

<sup>78</sup> Final /u/ in a diphthong is traditionally typically written as ཙ་ bo, a form which functions both as a historical nominal suffix and a productive infinitivizer/nominalizer of verbs. Nowadays, some writers are experimenting with a more phonetic spelling འ་ *u*.

ཤར་མ་ ‘bachelorette’ respectively. The alternative pronunciation in the last of these words suggests what may have happened to erstwhile /ai/ sequences within word stems.

*Word stem-internal diphthongs*

/ou/~au/ <sup>79</sup>	/lóu/~láu/ ལྷོ་པོ་ ‘lungs’, /rou/~rau/ ར་པོ་ ‘fence’, /jòu/ ཡོ་ལྷོ་ ‘up’, /mòu/ མོ་ལྷོ་ ‘down’
/eu/	/ <sup>th</sup> eu/ ཐེ་ལྷོ་ ‘dust’, /p <sup>h</sup> jeu/ ཕེ་ལྷོ་ ‘hurry’, /jèu/ ཇེ་ལྷོ་ ‘differentiation’, /kjeu/ ཀེ་ལྷོ་ ‘rice measuring vessel’
/iu/	/liu/ ལེ་ལྷོ་ ‘phase’, /biu/ བེ་ལྷོ་ ‘snake’, /piu/ པེ་ལྷོ་ ‘monkey’, /diu/ དེ་ལྷོ་ ‘bullet’
/ai/	/ái/ ཨའི་ ‘older sister’, /maicam/~mɛ:cam/ མཚན་ཤར་མ་ ‘bachelorette’
/oi/	/ói/ [ói]~[ói] ཨོའི་ ‘hey!’

The following four words provide evidence for distinctions /eu/ vs. /ou/ and /iu/ vs. /eu/:

/eu/ vs. /ou/	/iu/ vs. /eu/
m̥eu མེ་ལྷོ་ ‘mole (in skin)’	tiu ཐེ་ལྷོ་, ཐེ་ལྷོ་ ‘navel’
mòu མོ་ལྷོ་ ‘down’	<sup>th</sup> eu ཐེ་ལྷོ་, ཐེ་ལྷོ་ ‘dust’

In addition to word stem-internal diphthongs, nouns ending in the vowels /ɛ/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ may take the genitive -i, forming the diphthongs /ɛi/, /ai/, /oi/, and /ui/.

*Genetival diphthongs*

/ɛi/	/kɛ-i/ ཀེ་ཨི་ ‘neck’s’, /pɛ-i/ པེ་ཨི་ ‘example’s’
/ai/	/sa-i/ སའི་ ‘soil’s’, /ra-i/ རའི་ ‘goat’s’
/oi/	/só-i/ སོ་ཨི་ ‘tooth’s’, /go-i/ གོ་ཨི་ ‘head’s’
/ui/	/mù-i/ མུ་ཨི་ ‘her’, /k <sup>h</sup> u-i/ ལུ་ཨི་ ‘his’

The diphthong /ɛi/ also occurs in the interjections *ádzei* ཨ་ཇེ་ (surprise) and *kei* ཀེ་ (honorific address), and /ai/ occurs in the interjection *aijo*: ཨེ་ཡོ་ (discomfort), underlining the phonologically distinct character of interjections.

**2.3.4 Nasalization**

Distinguishing between nasalization and nasal stops is challenging in Denjongke. All monophthong vowels except /e:/<sup>80</sup> occur as nasalized (and lengthened). Nasalization derives from a historical syllable-final nasal /n/ or /ŋ/. Often a nasalized vowel has an alternative pronunciation with a final /n/ or /ŋ/, although in some cases, where only a nasalized pronunciation exists in spoken language, it is impossible to determine the underlying nasal without reference to the written language. Pronunciations with a nasal stop are probably more usual with literary speakers in careful speech, whereas elsewhere nasalized vowels are used. In some speech varieties especially in North and East Sikkim the difference between /aŋ/~/ã:/ and /oŋ/~/õ:/ appears to disappear, because both are pronounced [õ:]~[õ:]. The distinction is, however, held in West Sikkim, for instance in Tashiding.

<sup>79</sup> The off-glide is pronounced at various degrees of fronting and roundedness between [au] and [ɔu]. There is no contrast between /au/ and /ou/.

<sup>80</sup> That is, I do not have evidence for a contrast between /ɛ:/ and /ɛ̃:/.



/p'in/	[p'ĩ:]~[p'ĩn]	ཕྱིན་	'give'
/séŋ/	[sɛ́:]~[sɛŋ]	སེང་	'elevate'
/tã:/	[tɛ́:]~[tɛŋ]	བཏང་	'send'
/k'un/	[k'ũ:]~[k'ũŋ]	གུང་	'roof'
/ó:/	[ɔ́:]	དབང་	'empowerment'
/pyn/	[pý:]~[pýn]	ཕྱུན་	'brother'
/k'øn/	[k'ǿ:]~[k'øŋ]	ཕྱོན་	'wear (clothes)'

A final velar nasal /ŋ/ seems to be more often preserved in pronunciation when it follows front vowels /i/ and /ɛ/ than when it follows back vowels /a/ and /o/, e.g. *éiŋ* རྗེང་ 'tree', *séŋ* སེང་ 'raise' but *tã:* བཏང་ 'send', *tʰõ:* མཐོང་ 'see'. There is a historically oriented functional explanation for this tendency. With /i/ and /ɛ/, the final velar nasal contrasts both historically and synchronically with the dental nasal /n/, e.g. *p'in* ཕྱིན་ 'give', *sén* གསན་ 'hear (hon.)'. Such contrast, however, does not occur with the back vowels, because historically a final /n/ has caused vowel fronting /a/ > /ɛ/, /o/ > /ø/, /u/ > /y/, e.g. WT འགན་ 'gan > Denjongke *gen* 'responsibility'.<sup>81</sup> Thus, within back vowels nasalization points necessarily towards a historical velar nasal which does not contrast synchronously with a dental nasal (contrast with bilabial *m* is unproblematic because *m* is always pronounced as a nasal stop), whereas with front vowels, nasalization is ambiguous between /ŋ/ and /n/.

The phonemic transcription used in this thesis marks nasalization rather than a nasal stop on back vowels /a/ and /o/ where it actually occurs in pronunciation. This practice allows the writing to correspond more clearly to pronunciation. It also does not cause any phonological (or even historical) information to disappear, because with back vowels nasalization is unequivocally traceable to a velar nasal. Following the back vowel /u/, however, a velar nasal is often heard instead of a nasal vowel. The reason for this may be that the physical effort involved in producing nasalization causes the back of the tongue to raise towards the velum/pharynx. Since the back of the tongue is already close to the velum in pronouncing /u/, the act of nasalization easily produces a velar nasal. A final velar nasal following /u/ is marked, because it is often heard as such in pronunciation, e.g. *tʰuŋ* འཇུང་ 'drink'.

Although word-finally a historical velar nasal following /a/ and /o/ is pronounced as a nasalized vowel, at the end of the first syllable of disyllabic words the velar nasal is often pronounced and thus also represented in the phonemic script, e.g. *t'anpu/t'ã:pu* དང་ཕུ 'long ago', *náŋtsʰi* གནངས་ཚེ 'the day after tomorrow'.

## 2.4 Syllable structure

The syllable in Denjongke is of the form (C) (G) V (C/V)<sup>82</sup>. The mandatory vowel may be preceded by any of the consonant phonemes listed in Table 2.1. The glide is almost always /j/, but there is also a marginal glide /r/, pronounced [r̥], which occurs rarely and not in all Denjongke varieties<sup>83</sup>. The glide /j/ may follow the velar stops /k/, /kʰ/, /g/ and /k'/, the bilabial stops /p/, /pʰ/, /b/ and /p'/, and the bilabial nasal /m/. All vowels may fill the

<sup>81</sup> An important exception to the fronting rule is *k'an* གན 'what', which is not pronounced *k'en* despite the final nasal.

<sup>82</sup> C = consonant, G = glide, V = vowel.

<sup>83</sup> However clusters such as /pr/ and /kr/ do occur in loan words (e.g. Nepali names) and ideophones (see §17.1).

mandatory vowel position, either as short or long. The second vowel position in diphthongs is reserved for close vowels /u/ and /i/. The last consonant may be a plosive /p/, /k/, /ʔ/, a nasal /m/, /n/, /ŋ/<sup>84</sup> or the rhotic /r/. The lateral /l/ occurs in syllable-final position in reading and spelling style pronunciations when the Written Tibetan (WT) or Written Denjongke (WD) has a final /l/, as in WT/WD *gsal* /sɛ́:/ [sɛ́:] ‘clarify’, reading-style [sal]. The syllable structure is summarized in Table 2.4 and examples of the various syllable patterns are given below. Diphthongs are here analyzed as VV and long vowels as V. The reason for the differing analyses is the difference in distribution: diphthongs do not occur in closed syllables.

Table 2.4. Syllable structure

(C)	(G)	V	(C)
All consonants except /ʔ/	/j/ and marginally /r/ in some speech varieties	All vowels	/p/, /k/, /ʔ/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /r/ and marginally /l/
			(V)
			/i/, /u/

### Open syllables

- CGVV /kʲɛu/ ཀྲེའུ་ ‘rice measuring vessel’ (KN), /pʲɛu/ རྩེའུ་ ‘hurry’  
 CGV /kja/ ལྷ་ ‘hair’, /pʲja/ འུ་ ‘do’, /bja/ འབྲུ་ ‘rice’, /pʲjo/ འུ་ ‘escape’  
 CVV /jòu/ ཡོའུ་ ‘up’, /kʰau/~kʰou/ ལ་པོ་ ‘snow’, /tʰɛu/ རྩེའུ་ ‘dust’  
 CV /là/ ལ་ ‘mountain pass’, /só/ སོ་ ‘tooth’, /kʰu:/ ལུ་ ‘bread’  
 V /ý:/ ཡུལ་ ‘country’, /ø:/ [hø:] འེའུ་ (?) ‘eagle’  
 VV /ái/ ཨ་འི་ ‘older sister’, /ói/~ói/ ཨ་འི་ ‘hey!’

### Closed syllables

- CGVC /gʲap/ ལྷ་པ་ ‘back’, /mjò:/ མྱོ་ ‘finish’, /prek/ [pɹɛk]<sup>85</sup> རྩོག་ ‘cut (grass)’ (RB),  
 CVC /kʰur/ ལུར་ ‘tent’, /sák/ འབས་གས་ ‘accumulate’, /tʰo:m/ རྩོར་མ་ ‘trousers’  
 VC /íp/ ཨིབ་ ‘hide’, /ám/ ཨ་མ་ ‘mother’, /à:m/ འུ་མ་ ‘jackal’

## 2.5 Segmental phonological processes

### 2.5.1 Vowel assimilation<sup>86</sup>

In Denjongke, vowel height, roundedness and frontness are affected by other vowels. This section provides only preliminary notes, which should be followed by a more detailed study. In the compound in example (2.3) below, assimilation is bi-directional in that the second vowel /i/ causes heightening of the first one from /ø/ to /y/ and the first vowel /ø/ causes the rounding of the second one from /i/ to /y/.

- (2.3) /tɛʰøʔ/ མཚོན་ ‘offering’, /mì/ མི་ ‘fire’ > /tɛʰými/ [tɛʰýmy]~[tɛʰými]<sup>87</sup> མོས་མི་ ‘lamp for offering’

<sup>84</sup> Final -n and -ŋ are often realized as nasalization and vowel lengthening.

<sup>85</sup> A more typical pronunciation is *pjek*.

<sup>86</sup> Vowel assimilation/harmony in Tibetic languages has been addressed by several researchers (Sprigg 1961, 1980, Miller 1966, Haller 2012). Hari (1979: 28) comments on Lhasa Tibetan that vowel analysis is complicated by “extensive and intricate processes of vowel height approximation in polysyllabic words”.

<sup>87</sup> WT/WD *mchod-me*

In (2.3), the height assimilation /ø/ > /y/ is more stable and may hence be considered to have become lexicalized so that speakers are not necessarily aware that the first syllable of /tɕ<sup>h</sup>y<sup>m</sup>i/ derives from /tɕ<sup>h</sup>øʔ/ ‘offering’. The rounding assimilation [y]~[i] in (2.3) is more subject to variation between different pronunciations of the word and may hence be considered allophonic.

In (2.3), assimilation works across syllable boundary. The next examples illustrate assimilation within the syllable. The most frequent type of assimilation within the syllable is the fronting of the previous vowel by syllable-final /i/, see (2.4), or the fronting of the following vowel by /j/ in the syllable onset, see (2.5).

- (2.4) a) /mù=i/ [mùì]~[mỳì]~[mỳ:] ཟུའི་ ‘her’  
 b) /oi/ [óì]~[ói] མོའི་ ‘hey!’  
 c) /maicam/~mɛ:cam/ མཱཱ་ཤར་མ་ ‘bachelorette, young woman’

- (2.5) /gjompo/ [gjòmpo]~[gjòmpo]~[gòmpo] དགོན་པོ་ ‘monastery’

In example (2.4a), the genitive marker =i is attached to a base ending in u. The first vowel /u/ determines rounding whereas the latter vowel /i/ determines frontness for the resulting long vowel [y:]. The variants in (2.4c) represent pronunciations in different localities, suggesting that /mɛ:cam/ is a stabilized fronted pronunciation of /maicam/. As suggested by (2.3-5) the front vowel /i/ is central factor in vowel assimilation.

### 2.5.2 Elision

Both vowels and consonants in frequently used constructions may be elided. In fast speech, final vowels are often elided, e.g. the reportative marker -se/si frequently becomes -s and the attention marker =eɔ is realized as =ɛ. The long vowel in /ma-œ: tɕ/ is dropped to form the idiom /maœtɕ/ ‘I don’t know, who knows’.

In fast speech, also medial consonants are often elided in frequently-used words, see (2.6-10).

- (2.6) འདྲ་མཁུ་  
 da beʔ > dɛ:/re:  
 similar EQU.NE  
 ‘be similar’

- (2.7) མོ་འདི་  
 ódi > ói  
 ‘that’

- (2.8) འདོ་འདི་  
 dodì > doi  
 ‘right this (one)’

- (2.9) ད་རིང་  
 t’ariŋ > t’eiŋ  
 ‘today’

- (2.10) ཀ་གིས་ ལབ་སོ་  
*ka-ki lãp-o* > *kai lãpo*  
 who=AGT say-2INF  
 ‘Who said (so)?.’ (Tashiding 5 p. 75)

### 2.5.3 Consonant lenition

Lenition is a process in which a consonant becomes more sonorous, or more vowel-like. Infinitive marker *-po/bo*, for instance, often goes in fast speech through vowel elision and consonant lenition, becoming *-m*. Table 2.5 illustrates this lenition process in the periphrastic past construction where the nominalizer is followed by an equative copula (for periphrastic past, see §8.1.1).

Table 2.5. Reduction of nominalizer *-po/bo* to *-m*

Full form		Abbr. form	Source
<i>tʰõ:-po i:</i>	མཐོང་བོ་ ཞིན་	> [tʰõ:m i:]	(PL)
<i>nã:-bo bɛ?</i>	གནང་བོ་ ཞིན་	> [nẽ:m bɛ?]	(CY)
<i>òm-bo bɛ?</i>	འོང་བོ་ ཟླད་	> [òm bɛ?]	(NB)
<i>sõ:-bo bɛ?</i>	སོང་བོ་ ཟླད་	> [sóm bɛ?]	(DB)

Other examples where the nominalizer is reduced to *-m* are (2.11) and (2.12):

- (2.11) གནང་བོ་དང་  
*nã:-bo-dã:* > *nã:-m-dã:*  
 do.HON-2INF-CONJ  
 ‘when doing’ (CY)

- (2.12) གནང་གནང་བོ་  
*nã:-nã:-bo* > *nã:-na-m*  
 do.HON-do.HON-2INF  
 ‘done’ (CY)

In intervocalic position /tʰa/ is often simplified to /s/.

- (2.13) ང་ འཇོལ་ཚང་  
*ŋà dzø:-tʰa:* > *ŋà dzø:-sa*  
 1SG make.mistake-CMPL  
 ‘I (have) made a mistake.’ (JD minimal pair recording)

- (2.14) ཟ་ཚང་  
*sà-tʰa:* > *sà-sa:*  
 eat-CMPL  
 ‘I have eaten’

- (2.15) ཚ་ལུམ་  
*tʰalum* > *salum* (when preceded by a word ending in a vowel).  
 ‘orange’

Voiced plosives may become nasals when followed by a nasalized vowel, e.g. /g/ > /ŋ/ (2.16) and /d/ > /n/ (2.17).

(2.16) མོ་འདི་འདྲི་སྐད་  
*ódi: gǎ: > ódi ŋǎ:*  
 that.GEN time  
 ‘at that time’

(2.17) a) དང་  
*t’ǎ:/dǎ:/dō: > nà/nò* (at least in Martam, East Sikkim)  
 ‘and’

b) ལཱ་པདལ་ལྷན་དང་ལཱ་པུལ་  
*lám palden nò lám p’ula?*  
 lama PN and lama PN  
 ‘lama Palden and lama Pulak’ (LT, KN kitchen)

Word-medial aspiration is weakened or disappears, especially in sentential context.

(2.18) ལཱ་ཁྱོར་  
*lánk<sup>h</sup>or > lan̄k<sup>h</sup>or~lánkor*  
 ‘taxi’

For regular morphophonemic alternation refer to §2.8 below.

## 2.6 Register, pitch and tone

Denjongke words occur in two registers, high and low. The two registers consist of a bundle of features listed in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6. Features of high and low register

High register	Low register
-Modal, stiff or creaky voice on vowel	-Breathy or modal voice on vowel
-High pitch	-Low pitch
-Voiceless and (strongly) aspirated consonants	-Breathy and voiced consonants
-After initials /p/, /p <sup>h</sup> a/, /t/, /t <sup>h</sup> /, /k/, /k <sup>h</sup> /, /tɕ/, /tɕ <sup>h</sup> /, /ts/, /ts <sup>h</sup> a/, /m̥/, /ŋ̥/, /p̥/, /ŋ̥/, /l̥/, /r̥/, /h/	-After initials /b/, /p <sup>ɕ</sup> /, /d/, /t <sup>ɕ</sup> /, /g/, /k <sup>ɕ</sup> /, /dz/, /tɕ <sup>ɕ</sup> /, /dz/, /ts <sup>ɕ</sup> /, /z/, /z/, /r/

As seen in Table 2.6, register is often predictable from the initial phoneme of the word. However, for the following initials register is not predictable (i.e. these initials occur both in high and low register): /V/, /s/, /ɕ/, /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/, /l/ and /j/. Because breathiness is not always very prominent with these initials, pitch plays an integral role in disambiguation<sup>88</sup>. Therefore Denjongke may be termed a tone language, although contrastive pitch does not bear as big a functional load in Denjongke as in well-known tone languages such as Mandarin Chinese and Vietnamese. High tone is phonetically a fall from high to low pitch (in long vowels pitch is not as sharply falling) and low tone is realized as a slight rise from low to

<sup>88</sup> This is unlike Lhomi, in which voice quality (modal vs. breathy) is more salient than pitch with sonorant initials (Watters 2003: 253).

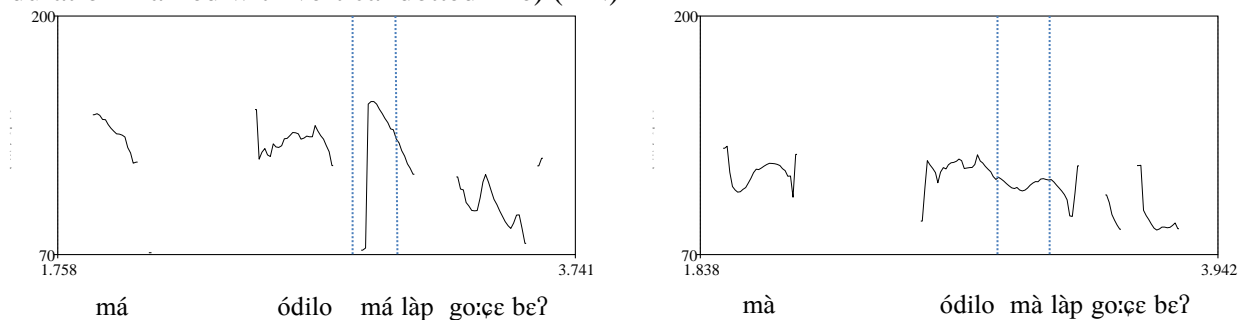
higher pitch (although pitch following voiced stops is not as clearly rising). The following sections show how the contrast of high and low pitch is phonetically realized.

In disyllabic words, the difference between high and low tone is the relative height of the first syllable in relation to the second syllable. Both high and low register disyllabic words have the syllable pitch pattern high-low, but in low tone words the first syllable starts lower than in high tone words and has a greater pitch difference to the second syllable than in high tone words. The following sections give evidence for these claims, §2.6.1 for monosyllables and §2.6.2 for disyllabic words.

### 2.6.1 Monosyllables

After initial tonal analysis with several speakers, I conducted a more systematic analysis of 84 monosyllabic nouns with KN from Upper Martam (East Sikkim). The words were first pronounced in isolation and then in a carrier sentence *ódilo \_ lãp go:çẽ bẽ?* ‘This has to be said...’. The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrastive pitch within sonorant initials (/má/  $\text{མ}$  ‘wound’ vs. /mà/  $\text{མ}$  ‘mother’), plosive initials in open syllable (/ká/  $\text{ཀ}$  ‘order’ vs. /k’a/  $\text{ཀ}$  ‘what, where’) and closed syllable (/kom/  $\text{ཀོམ}$  ‘thirst’ vs. /gom/  $\text{ཀོམ}$  ‘door’).

Figure 2.8. Pitch traces of /má/ ‘wound’ and /mà/ ‘mother’ in isolation and in context (word duration marked with vertical dotted line) (KN)



The defining pitch pattern in Figure 2.8, high falling in /má/ ‘wound’ and low rising in /mà/ ‘mother’, is seen on the latter part of the word on the vowel. The rapid rise at the onset of /má/ signifies a short pause and glottalization. In /mà/, the nasal has a falling pitch and the vowel a rising pitch both in isolation and sentential context.

The word pairs in Figures 2.9 and 2.10 illustrate that pitch with initials for which register is predictable is similar to /má/ and /mà/ in Figure 2.8.

Figure 2.9. Pitch traces of /ká/ ‘order’ and /k’a/ ‘what, where’ in isolation and in context (word duration marked with vertical dotted lines) (KN)

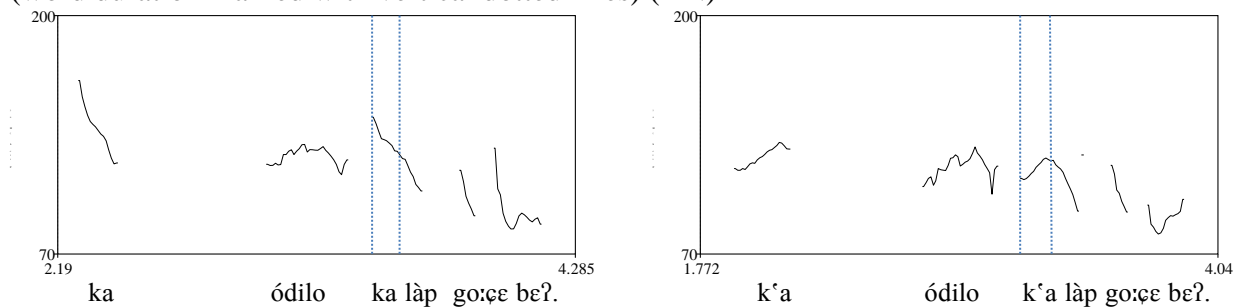
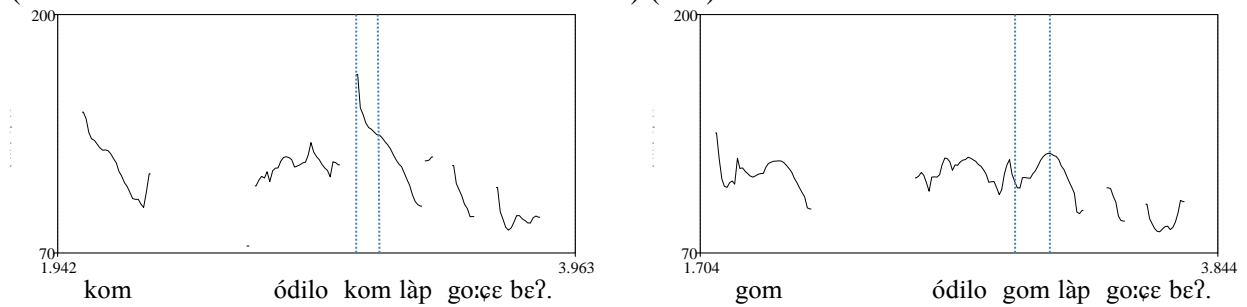


Figure 2.10. Pitch traces of /kom/ ‘dry (verb)’ and /gom/ ‘door’ in isolation and in context (word duration marked with vertical dotted lines) (KN)



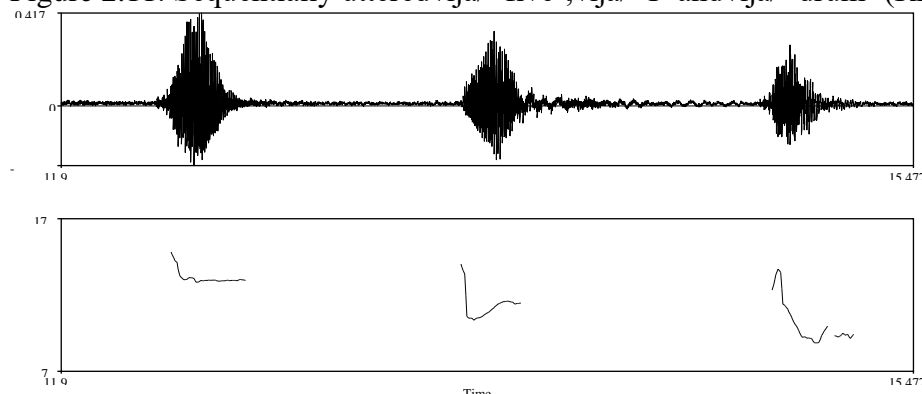
Figures 2.9-10, which show that the high register words have a falling pitch and the low register words a rising pitch, are representative of all the words recorded in the tonal study. All the high register words (both open and closed syllables) had a high falling pitch, although with long vowels the pitch was more level than with short ones. Low register words had a low rising pitch, although the pitch following voiced stops was not as clearly rising.

### 2.6.1.1 Register-internal pitch differences

In the four-tone systems suggested for some Tibetic (e.g. Vesalainen & Vesalainen 1976, Hari 1979) and other Himalayan languages (Watters 2002), register-internal tonal contrasts are reported both within the high and the low register. In Denjongke, however, it is difficult to find evidence for register internal tonal contrasts. Nevertheless, there are some word pairs that give some initial evidence for marginal register-internal pitch contrasts both in high-register and low register. I first give some evidence for limited tonal contrasts in the high register and then in the low register.

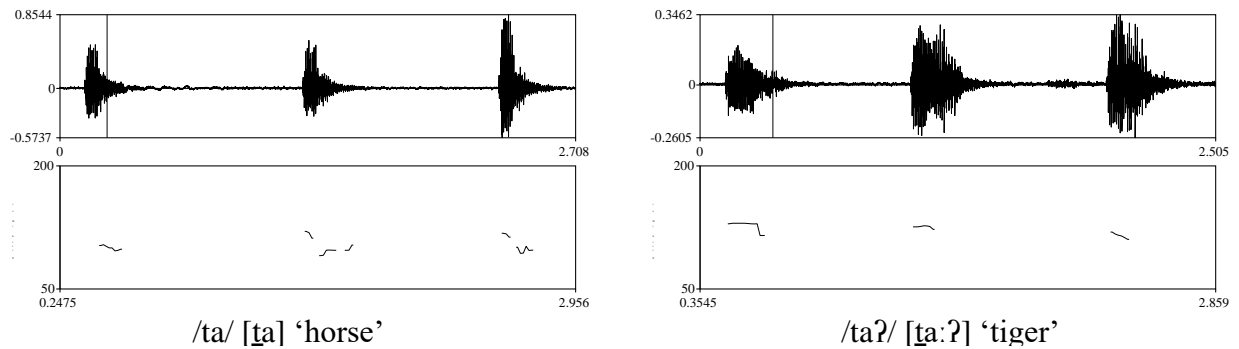
Consultants from Ralang (TB) and Upper Martam (KN) did not have a pitch difference between the words /ŋá/ (WT 𑄆 *nga*) ‘five’ and /ŋá/ (WT 𑄇 *nga*) ‘drum’. A consultant from Tashiding (RB), however, pronounced a pitch difference in /ŋá/ ‘five’ (high level) and /ŋá/ ‘drum’ (high falling). This is illustrated in Figure 2.11, presenting isolated pronunciations of /ŋá/ ‘five’, /ŋà/ ‘I’ and /ŋâ/ ‘drum’. More research is needed in order to determine whether Figure 2.11 shows list intonation, whether other triplets give evidence for a three way pitch contrast and whether the three-way contrast occurs in all vowels.

Figure 2.11. Sequentially uttered /ŋá/ ‘five’, /ŋà/ ‘I’ and /ŋâ/ ‘drum’ (RB, Tashiding)



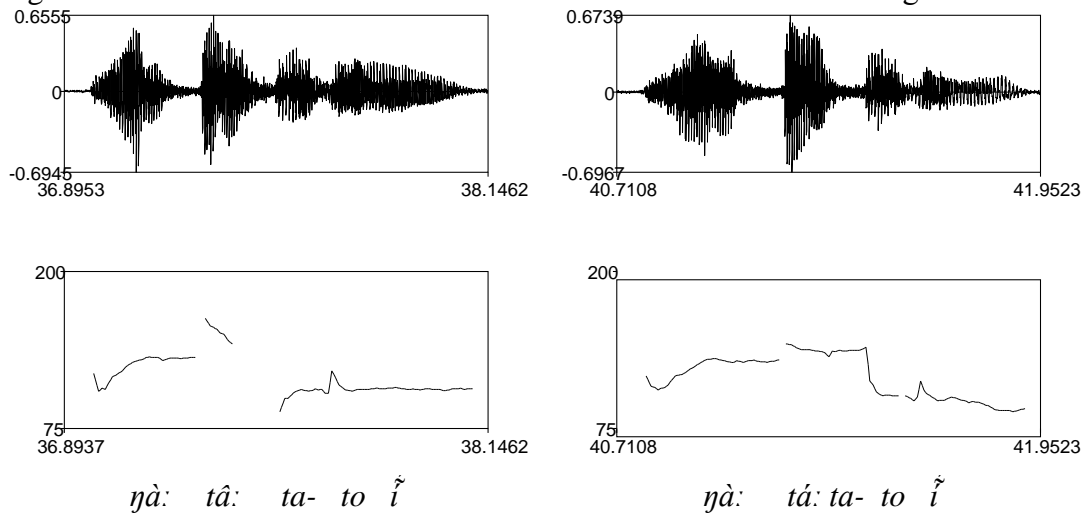
For the same speaker from Tashiding (RB), the words /ta/ 𑄉 ‘horse’ and /taʔ/ 𑄉𑄇 ‘tiger’ were segmentally contrastive when the words were pronounced in isolation, [tá] ‘horse’, [tá:ʔ] ‘tiger’. This can be seen in Figure 2.12 where /taʔ/ is pronounced longer than /ta/ (the words are pronounced three times on the recording).

Figure 2.12. Contrast between /ta/ ‘horse’ and /taʔ/ ‘tiger’ when pronounced in isolation



In sentential context, however, the glottal stop of /taʔ/ was elided and the two words /ta/ and /taʔ/ were pronounced with equal or almost equal length. The most obvious contrast became pitch, which was falling in /taʔ/ and level in /ta/. The pitch contrast is shown in Figure 2.13. The carrier sentence is *ŋà \_ tato ǐ̃* (ང་ \_ ལྷ་རྩི་ མིའི་) ‘I’m looking at \_’.

Figure 2.13. Contextual tonal contrast between /ta/ ‘horse’ and /taʔ/ ‘tiger’



It was shown above that one speaker from Tashiding (West Sikkim) may have a tonal contrast in the high register between high level and high falling tone. This contrast, however, has not been attested with other speakers. Several speakers, on the other hand, have provided some evidence for a tonal contrast in the low register. This is illustrated in Figure 2.14, featuring a pitch difference for segmentally identical words /zɪ:/ གཞིགས་ ‘look’ and /zɪ:/ གཞིར་ ‘split’. Both words are pronounced in an honorific imperative construction *ɕiŋ VERB-po ná:* resulting in meanings ‘Please look at the tree’ and ‘Please split the tree’ respectively.



Figure 2.14. Pitch contrast with voiced stop initials /zì:/ ‘look’ and /zì:/ ‘split’

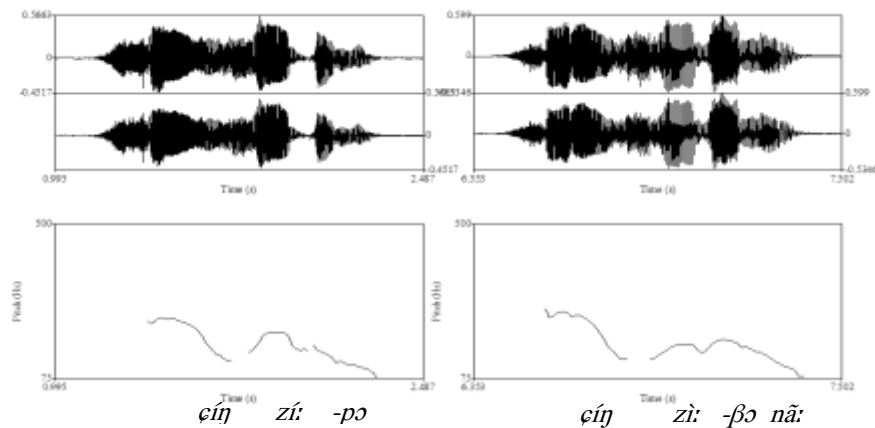


Figure 2.14 shows that /zì:/ ‘look’ is pronounced with high basically level pitch whereas /zì:/ ‘split’, analogously to typical low register words, is pronounced with a low lightly rising pitch. Thus, this word pair appears to exemplify a high vs. low register split within the low register. There is, however, also a segmental difference. The infinitive marker *-po/bo* is a voiceless [p] with /zì:/ ‘look’ and a voiced [β] with /zì:/ ‘split’.

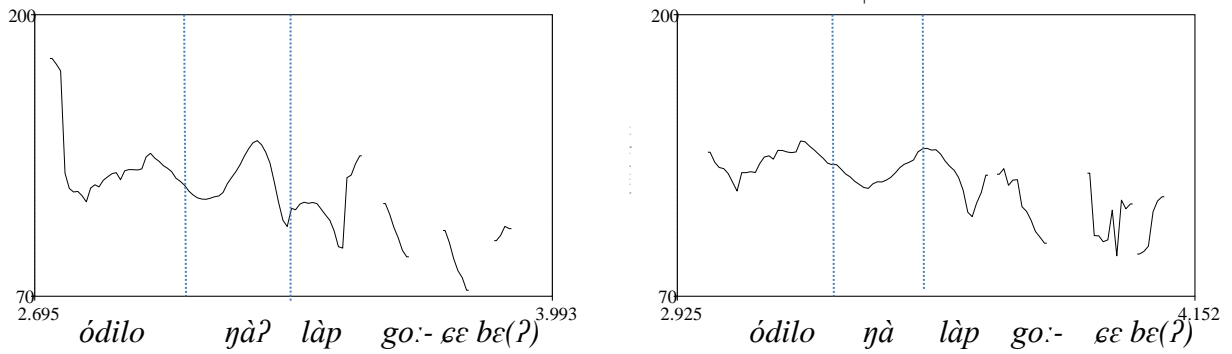
### 2.6.1.2 Final glottal and pitch

When pronounced in isolation, words ending in a glottal stop may be pronounced with various lengths, e.g. /k<sup>h</sup>aʔ/ [k<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ]~[k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:ʔ] ལག་ ‘soup’. In sentential context in the tonal study, the glottal was usually elided and the pitch was falling in both /k<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘mouth’ and /k<sup>h</sup>aʔ/ ‘soup’. The contrast between /k<sup>h</sup>aʔ/ and /k<sup>h</sup>a/ became one of length and perhaps also some glottal quality, or creakiness, on the vowel in /k<sup>h</sup>aʔ/. With back vowels, there is the additional contrast of vowel quality. The vowel in the open syllable is lower than in the closed, e.g. /lɔ/ [lɔ] ལོ་ ‘mind’, /lɔʔ/ [lɔʔ] (isolation) [lɔ:] (context) ལོག་ ‘electricity’.

In comparative recordings with KN (Martam), a high register word with a glottal ending (e.g. /ŋaʔ/ ལགས་ ‘incantation’) had a short vowel followed by a glottal stop when pronounced in isolation. In context, however, the words were pronounced with a falling pitch and a long vowel with the glottal elided. Thus, in sentential context, the difference between words with glottal ending and non-glottal ending was length, the glottal stop being pronounced as additional length.

Low register glottal ending, however, was pronounced even in context, as can be seen in Figure 2.15. The frame sentence is *ódilo \_ lǎp go:ɛɛ bɛʔ* (ཨོ་འདི་ལོ་\_ ལཔ་ དགོས་ཤད་ ལྷད།) ‘You are to call this \_’.

Figure 2.15. Contrast of glottal and non-glottal ending in /ɲàʔ/ རག་ ‘speech’ and /ɲà/ ར་ ‘I’



The glottal stop of /ɲàʔ/ in Figure 2.15 is seen as a sudden fall in the pitch at the end of the pronunciation of the word. Both words have a rising pitch on the vowel, but the pitch drop signifying the glottal is not seen in /ɲà/ ‘I’.

The next section extends the discussion on tone to disyllabic nouns.

### 2.6.2 Disyllables

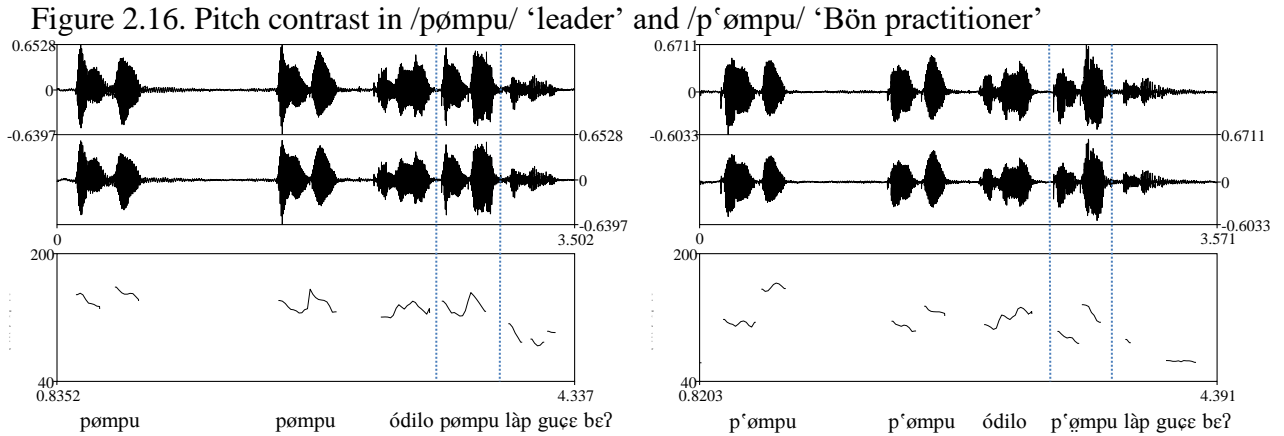
In an acoustic study of 29 disyllabic nouns with KN both high and low-register/tone<sup>89</sup> disyllabic nouns were pronounced in a low-high pitch pattern, although sometimes the starting point in the pitch of the falling first syllable was higher than the second syllable. When pronounced in isolation, the first syllable in high-tone disyllabic nouns was sometimes pronounced on equal pitch level with the second syllable. In context, however, the first syllable usually became lower in pitch than the second. The same pattern was observed also with other speakers: equal pitch levels or high(er)-low(er) pattern in disyllables were in clausal context changed to low(er)-high(er) pattern.

No consistent difference in the absolute pitch height of the second syllable of high vs. low-tone words was perceived. In some cases, the second syllable of a low-tone word was higher than the second syllable of a high-tone word. Consequently, the contrastive factors between high and low-tone words were 1) pitch height in the first syllable and 2) pitch difference between the first and second syllable. A low-tone (disyllabic) word had a lower starting pitch than a high-tone word, and low-tone words had at least 10 Hz greater pitch difference between the first and second syllable than high-tone words.

The difference of high and low-tone disyllabic words is illustrated in Figure 2.16 with the words /pømpu/ [pʰømpu] རོན་པོ་ ‘leader’ and /pʰømpu/ [pʰømpu] རོན་པོ་ ‘Bön practitioner’.<sup>90</sup> The words are first pronounced two times in isolation and then in the same carrier sentence as in Figure 2.16 (location of [pʰømpu]/[pʰømpu] in the sentence is marked by the dotted line).

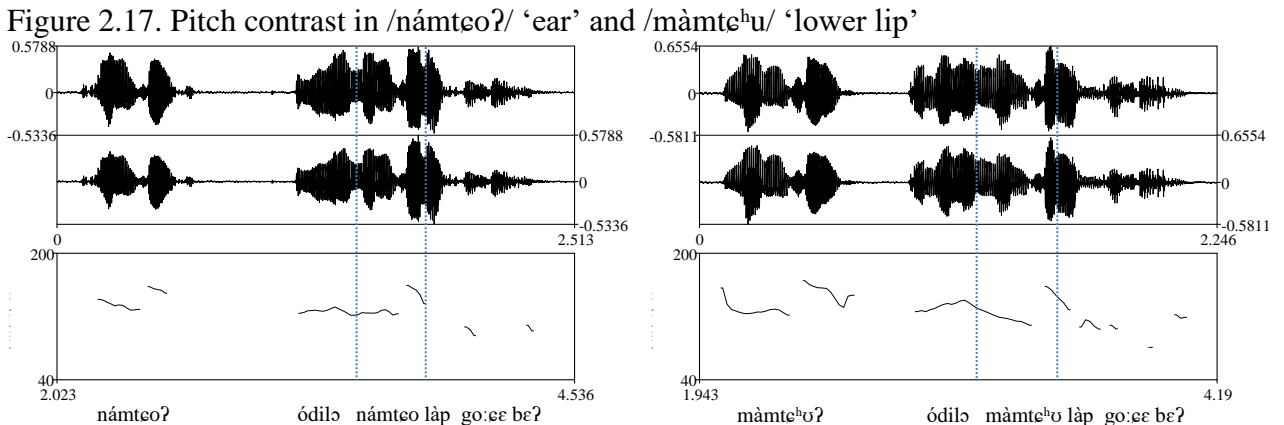
<sup>89</sup> Strictly speaking, the word “register” should be used for those words in which the pitch is predictable from the first consonant (e.g. the slightly aspirated “breathy” series) and “tone” for those words in which pitch is unpredictable from the first consonant. For brevity, however, I use “tone” in this section when “register/tone” is meant.

<sup>90</sup> Whereas the historical nominal suffix *-po* (often *-pu* in nominals), by which many nouns have been formed, is typically in nouns pronounced with higher pitch than the previous syllable, the synchronically operational infinitive marker *-po/bo* following verbs is typically pronounced with lower pitch than the preceding verb stem.



As can be seen in Figure 2.16, the pitch difference of the first and second syllable in the first utterance of [p’ømpu] is much greater than the same difference in [pømpu]. The second syllables are roughly on the same pitch level. The main factor in disambiguating /pømpu/ and /p’ømpu/ in context seems to be the level of the first syllable in comparison to the previous word. It is noteworthy that the characteristically rising pitch of low-tone monosyllables is changed for a level/falling pitch in the first syllable of disyllabic words.

Figure 2.17 illustrates the pitch difference in high and low-tone words with sonorant initials (/námtɕoʔ/ ལྷམ་མཚོག་ ‘ear’ and /màmtɕʰu/ མམ་མུ་ ‘lower lip’.



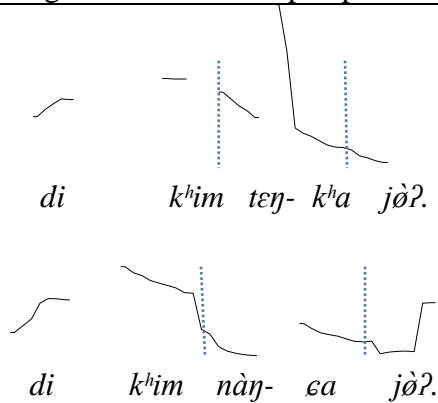
When pronounced in isolation, the low-tone word /màmtɕʰu/ has a rising pitch on the vowel of the first syllable. In context, however, the first syllable becomes falling, presumably because the syllable, which is voiced throughout, has to reach a lower level of pitch compared to equivalent high-tone word (cf. /námtɕoʔ/, which continues in a pitch level similar to the previous word).

Tonal differences are retained in disyllabic postpositions, as shown in Figure 2.18, which produces the pitch traces from the clauses in (2.19). In Figure 2.18, the high tone postposition *tɛŋkʰa* ལྷང་ཁ(ར)་ is contrasted in identical context with the low tone postposition *nàŋɕa* རྩང་ག་.

- (2.19) a) འདི་ ལྷིམ་ ལྷང་ཁར་ ཡོད།  
*di kʰim tʰɛŋkʰa jòʔ.*  
 this house above EX.PER  
 ‘It is on/above the house.’ (KUN e)

- b) འདི་ རྩིམ་ བང་གི་ ཡོད།  
*di k<sup>h</sup>im nàŋɛa jòʔ.*  
 this house inside EX.PER  
 ‘It is inside the house.’ (KUN e)

Figure 2.18. Pitch in postpositions *tɛŋk<sup>h</sup>a* and *nàŋɛa*



Note that with the postpositions in Figure 2.18 the high tone is realized as a high-low sequence and the low tone as low-high sequence. This somewhat contrasts with what was above reported on high and low tone in disyllabic nouns. With nouns, the most important correlate of tone was shown to be the degree of rise from low to high pitch (greater rise with low tone words and lesser rise with high tone words).

In summary of tone and register, Denjongke words can be divided into high and low register. High register is associated with high(er) pitch and modal or stiff voice. Low register is associated with low(er) pitch and breathy phonation type. Register is predictable from the initial consonant of the word except when the initial is a sibilant, voiced nasal, voiced lateral or a vowel. Breathiness appears to be more difficult to perceive in sibilants, nasals and laterals than in plosives and affricates. Pitch seems to be the decisive factor in disambiguation. Therefore, Denjongke may be called a tonal language. Pitch is only marginally contrastive within the same register. In disyllabic words, the difference between high and low tone is realized as a difference in pitch rise between the first syllable and the second syllable (low tone words have a lower starting point and a greater rise in pitch than high tone words).

## 2.7 Stress or tone

I have not found stress to be a useful category for describing Denjongke. Caplow’s (2016) study on disyllabic words in Balti, a toneless variety of Tibetic preserving archaic phonological features, shows that non-verbs (nouns, adjectives, numerals) stress the second syllable and verbs stress the first syllable. Moreover, Caplow (2016: 47) suggests that the transphonologization of stress, whose primary correlate is fundamental frequency<sup>91</sup>, into tone may explain how toneless Proto-Tibetan developed tones. Caplow’s observation bears resemblance to Denjongke in that Denjongke disyllabic nouns, when pronounced in clausal context, have higher pitch on the second syllable. There are, however, two reasons for not considering the pitch difference in disyllabic nouns in Denjongke as constituting stress. The first is that, Denjongke is sensitive to *how much* the pitch rises from the first syllable to the second one in disyllabic words (see §2.6.2), a distinction that is better described in terms of

<sup>91</sup> In Balti, vowel duration was found to be a “weaker and inconsistent” cue for stress while intensity was deemed “not a factor” (Caplow 2016: 47).

tone than stress. Second, the correlates of stress (pitch, intensity, vowel duration, vowel quality) are inconsistently pronounced in disyllabic words, especially when comparing words pronounced in context with those pronounced in isolation.

Similarly to stress in Balti (Caplow 2016), tone in verbs occurs on the first syllable, i.e. the monosyllabic verb root, whereas the tonally neutral verbal suffix attached to the verb may receive various pitches, depending on the intonational contexts. For instance, the nonfinal marker *-di/ti* may occur at either higher or lower pitch than the preceding verb root. One reason for heightened pitch on the verb suffix is anticipation of continuation, see §16.7.

## 2.8 Morphophonology

This section on morphophonology addresses variation of verbal suffixes (§2.8.1), variation of negator prefix *ma(n)-* (§2.8.2), reduction of the genitivized infinitive marker (§2.8.3) and variation in agentive marking (§2.8.4).

### 2.8.1 Verbal suffixes

Some verbal suffixes have two or more forms, depending on which sound the verb root ends in. These forms are summarized in Table 2.7. The form of the suffix following verb roots ending in /ŋ/ (usually pronounced as a lengthened nasalized vowel) cannot be phonologically predicted. Similarly, the form of the nonfinal suffix *-ti/di* is unpredictable with roots ending in a vowel. The verbs in Table 2.7 have the followings meanings: *kjap* རྒྱལ་ ‘strike, do’, *p<sup>h</sup>jak* འཕྱུག་ ‘sweep’, *ɛɛʔ* ཤང་ ‘comb’, *p’ja* ཏུས་ ‘do’, *zo* བཟོ་ ‘make’, *p<sup>h</sup>u* ལུ་ ‘blow’, *tea:* བཅའ་ ‘come (hum.)’, *ts<sup>h</sup>o:* ཚེ་ ‘feel’, *p<sup>h</sup>y:* ལུལ་ ‘offer’, *lèn* ལེན་ ‘take’, *bom* རྩམ་ ‘grow’, *mjô:* ལྷོང་ ‘finish’, *lô:* ལོང་ ‘stand’, *lǎ:* ལང་ ‘be enough’, *tǎ:* བཏང་ ‘send’, *nǎ:* གནང་ ‘give (hon.)’, *t<sup>h</sup>ô:* མཐོང་ ‘see’.

Table 2.7. Voicing alternation in verbal suffixes

Suffix	Preceding context	Form	Examples
Infinitivizer <i>-po/-bo</i>	voiceless	<i>-o</i>	<i>kjap-o, p<sup>h</sup>jak-o, ɛɛ-po (ɛɛʔ)</i>
	short vowel	<i>-u</i>	<i>p’ja-u, zo-u, p<sup>h</sup>u:</i>
	long vowel	<i>-bo/βo/wo</i>	<i>tea:-bo, ts<sup>h</sup>o:-bo, p<sup>h</sup>y:-bo</i>
	<i>-n, -m</i>	<i>-bo</i>	<i>lèn-bo, bom-bo</i>
	<i>-ŋ</i>	<i>-po</i> <i>-bo</i>	<i>mjô:-po, lô:-po</i> <i>tǎ:-bo, nǎ:-bo</i>
Past/perfective <i>-tɛɛ/zɛ</i>	voiceless	<i>-tɛɛ</i>	<i>kjap-tɛɛ, p<sup>h</sup>jak-tɛɛ, ɛɛ-tɛɛ (ɛɛʔ)</i>
	voiced	<i>-zɛ</i>	<i>p’ja-zɛ, zo-zɛ, lèn-zɛ, bom-zɛ</i>
	<i>-ŋ</i>	<i>-tɛɛ</i> <i>-zɛ</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ô:-tɛɛ, lô:-tɛɛ</i> <i>tǎ:-zɛ, nǎ:-zɛ,</i>
Progressive <i>-tɛɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/zin</i>	voiceless	<i>-tɛɛ̃:</i>	<i>kjap-tɛɛ̃:, p<sup>h</sup>jak-tɛɛ̃:, ɛɛ-tɛɛ̃: (ɛɛʔ)</i>
	voiced	<i>-zɛ̃:/zin</i>	<i>p’ja-zɛ̃:, zo-zɛ̃:, lèn-zɛ̃:, bom-zɛ̃:</i>
	<i>-ŋ</i>	<i>-tɛɛ̃:</i> <i>-zɛ̃:</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ô:-tɛɛ̃:, lô:-tɛɛ̃:</i> <i>tǎ:-zɛ̃:, nǎ:-zɛ̃:</i>
Imperfective <i>-to/do</i>	voiceless	<i>-to</i>	<i>kjap-to, p<sup>h</sup>jak-to, ɛɛ-to (ɛɛʔ)</i>
	voiced	<i>-do</i>	<i>p’ja-do, zo-do, lèn-do, bom-do</i>
	<i>-ŋ</i>	<i>-to</i> <i>-do</i>	<i>mjô:-to, lǎ:-to</i> <i>tǎ:-do, nǎ:-do</i>

Nonfinal -ti/di	voiceless	-ti	<i>kjap-ti, p<sup>h</sup>jak-ti, ɛ́ɛ-ti (ɛɛʔ)</i>
	voiced C (except -ŋ)	-di	<i>lèn-di, bom-di</i>
	vowel	-ti	<i>p'ja-ti, zo-ti</i>
		-di	<i>p<sup>h</sup>y:-di, sà-di</i>
-ŋ	-ti	<i>mjò:-ti, lǝ:-ti</i>	
	-di	<i>tã:-di, lǎ:-di</i>	

As suggested by the word ɛ́ɛʔ ‘comb’ in Table 2.7, root-final glottal stop, although it disappears when a suffix is added, is treated as a voiceless ending. Other examples in addition to ɛ́ɛʔ are *taʔ* བཏགས་ ‘append’ > *ta:-po* and ɛ́ʔ ཞིང་ ‘push’ > ɛ́-tɛɛn. As further seen in Table 2.7, verb roots ending in /ŋ/ may have either a voiceless or a voiced onset in the suffix. The correct form has to be learnt by heart. Table 2.8 presents the correct suffix forms for some common verbs ending in -ŋ.

Table 2.8. Verb suffixes with verb roots ending in /ŋ/

Voiceless (-po, -tɛɛ, tɛɛ:, -to)	Voiced (-bo, -zɛ, -zɛ:, do)	
<i>t<sup>h</sup>ò:</i> མཐོང་ ‘see’	<i>tã:</i> བཏང་ ‘send’	<i>t<sup>h</sup>uŋ</i> འཇུང་ ‘drink’
<i>lǎ:</i> ལངས་ ‘be enough’	<i>nǎ:</i> གནང་ ‘give (hon.)’	<i>tsò:</i> བཙོང་ ‘sell’
<i>lǝ:</i> ལོང་ ‘stand (up)’	<i>sò:</i> སོང་ ‘go.PFV (suppl.)’	<i>súŋ</i> གསུང་ ‘say (hon.)’
<i>mjò:</i> ལྷོང་ ‘finish’	<i>ò:</i> འོང་ ‘come’	<i>t'ǎ:</i> ལྷུངས་ ‘carry (hon.)’

The nominalizer *-po* occurs in four forms, *-o*, *-u*, *-po*, *-bo* (phonetically there is a fifth form *-bo/wo*, which is the realization of /b/ after long vowels). When preceded by root final /p/ or /k/, the bilabial stop is elided from the suffix, e.g. *kjap* རྒྱབས་ ‘strike’ > *kjap-o*, *p<sup>h</sup>jak* འཇུག་ ‘sweep’ > *p<sup>h</sup>jak-o*. Although root final /k/ is utterance-finally typically realized as a glottal stop [ʔ], there is a difference between roots having final /k/ [k]~[ʔ] and those having a final /ʔ/ [ʔ]. Whereas roots ending in /k/ retain the velar stop and delete the bilabial stop from the suffix, roots ending in /ʔ/ have a rather long vowel followed by the full infinitive marker *-po*, e.g. *t'ak* ལྷག་ ‘get well’ > *t'ako*, *taʔ* བཏགས་ ‘adorn’ > *ta.po*. When preceded by a root ending in a short (non-nasalized) vowel, the suffix becomes *-u*, e.g. *p'ja* ལྷས་ ‘do’ > *p'jau*, *zo* བཟོ་ ‘make’ > *zo-u*. In the case of final /o/, the vowel may also be just lengthened, e.g. *zo* བཟོ་ ‘make’ > *zo:*. If the vowel is long (usually because of a historical ending in /ɾ/, /l/ or /s/), the nominalizer becomes *-bo* [bo]~[βo]~[wo], as in *tea:* བཅར་ ‘come (hum.)’ > *tea:bo* [teá:βo], *ts<sup>h</sup>o:* ཚོར་ ‘feel’ > *ts<sup>h</sup>o:bo* [ts<sup>h</sup>ó:βo]. When preceded by the nasals /m/ and /n/, the suffix occurs as *-bo*, e.g. *bom* ལྷོས་ > *bom-bo* ‘getting big’, *lèn* ལེན་ > *lèm-bo* ‘taking’. Similarly to other suffixes, final /ŋ/ may obtain either voiceless or voiced suffix, e.g. *mjò:po* ལྷོང་པོ་ ‘finished, finishing’ vs. *tã:bo* བཏང་བོ་ ‘sent, sending’.

In verbal suffixes with initial *p-*, the initial plosive is elided (or alternatively the final plosive in the verb is elided) when the preceding verb root ends in *-p* or *-k*, as shown in Table 2.9 with example verbs *kjap* རྒྱབས་ ‘strike, do’ and *p<sup>h</sup>jak* འཇུག་ ‘sweep’.

Table 2.9. Consonant elision in verbal suffixes with initial *-p*

Suffix	Preceding context	Form	Example
Infinitivizer <i>-po/bo/u</i>	<i>-p, -k</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>kjap-o, p<sup>h</sup>jak-o</i>
Purpose/manner <i>-pa</i>	<i>-p, -k</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>kjap-a, p<sup>h</sup>jak-a</i>
Conditional <i>-patεεε</i>	<i>-p, -k</i>	<i>-atεεε</i>	<i>kjap-atεεε, p<sup>h</sup>jak-atεεε</i>

In verbal suffixes with initial *k-*, the initial plosive is elided when the preceding verb root ends in *-k*, making the interrogative and purposive/circumstantial forms of *p<sup>h</sup>jak* ‘sweep’ homophonous, *p<sup>h</sup>jak-a*, see Table 2.10 (and §15.5.1 for purposive/circumstantial marker).

Table 2.10. Consonant elision in verbal suffixes with initial *-k*

Suffix	Preceding context	Form	Example
Polar interrogative <i>-ka/ga</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>jak-a</i>
Attenuated interrogative <i>-kam/gam</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>jak-am</i>

### 2.8.2 Negating prefixes

The negating prefixes are *ma-* (perfective) and *mi-* (imperfective). With verb roots in the low register, a nasal occurs between the negator and verb root, e.g. *go?* དགོས་ ‘need’ > *miŋ-go?* མེན་ དགོས་ ‘need not’, *sà* ཟ་ ‘eat’ > *man-za* མན་ཟ་ ‘did not eat, don’t eat’. Table 2.11 contrasts negation in low-register and high-register words.

Table 2.11. Negation of low vs. high register verbs

Low register		High register	
Affirmative	Negated	Affirmative	Negated
<i>p'in</i> རྩོན་ ‘give’	<i>mam-bin, mim-bin</i>	<i>pik</i> རིག་ ‘pull out’	<i>ma-pik, mi-pik</i>
<i>t'ε:</i> དལ་ ‘have time to’	<i>man-de:, min-de:</i>	<i>tek</i> རྟེགས་ ‘place up’	<i>ma-tek, mi-tek</i>
<i>t'ō:</i> རྩོད་ ‘die (hon.)’	<i>man-dō:, min-dō:</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>uy</i> རྒྱང་ ‘shine (hon.)’	<i>ma-t<sup>h</sup>uy, mi-t<sup>h</sup>uy</i>
<i>k'o</i> རྟོག་ ‘understand’	<i>maŋ-go, miŋ-go</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ø:</i> རོལ་ ‘boil (intr.)’	<i>ma-k<sup>h</sup>ø:, mi-k<sup>h</sup>ø:</i>
<i>sà</i> ཟ་ ‘eat’	<i>man-za, min-za</i>	<i>só</i> རས་ ‘tend’	<i>ma-só, mi-só</i>
<i>bak</i> འབག་ ‘carry’	<i>mam-bak, mim-bak</i>	<i>pã:</i> རུང་ ‘forsake’	<i>ma-paŋ, mi-paŋ</i>
<i>dø?</i> རྩོད་ ‘sit’	<i>man-dø?, min-dø?</i>	<i>tøn</i> རཏོན་ ‘take out’	<i>ma-tøn, mi-tøn</i>
<i>go?</i> དགོས་ ‘need’	<i>maŋ-go?, miŋ-go?</i>	<i>kok</i> རོག་ ‘dig’	<i>ma-kok, mi-kok</i>
<i>zim</i> རཟིམ་ ‘sleep (hon.)’	<i>man-zim, min-zim</i>	<i>sák</i> རསགས་ ‘accumulate’	<i>ma-sak, mi-sák</i>
<i>zak</i> རཞག་ ‘put’	<i>man-zak, min-zak</i>	<i>éa:</i> རར་ ‘shine’	<i>ma-éa:, mi-éa:</i>
<i>dze:</i> རཇེལ་ ‘meet (hon.)’	<i>man-dze:, min-dze:</i>	<i>tea:</i> རཅར་ ‘come (hum.)’	<i>ma-tea:, mi-tea:</i>

The frequent verb *p'ja* has, in addition to the regular *mam-bja/mim-bja*, a special, reduced negated form *ma-jà/mi-jà*.

### 2.8.3 Reduction of the genitivized nominalizer

The genitivized infinitivizer *-bø:* [wø:] is by some speakers, and especially in fast speech, reduced to [i], see (2.20-21).

- (2.20) a) རུ་བའི་ རྒྱང་ འདི་  
*éù=wø:*                      *gã:=di*  
 say=2INF.GEN      time=DEMPH  
 ‘when saying’ (KLT)

- b) ལྷའི་གླེང་གི་  
*εù=i*                      *gǎ:=di*  
 say=2INF.GEN      time=DEMPH  
 ‘when saying’ (KLT)

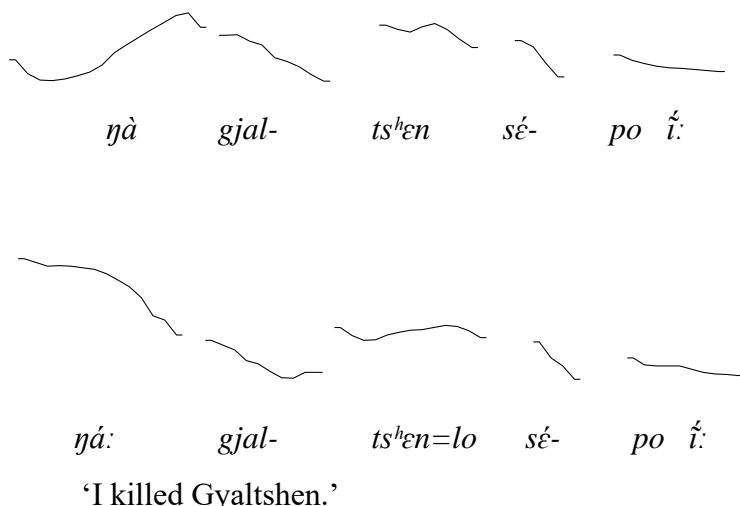
- (2.21) a) ལྷའི་གླེང་གི་  
*ta-wø:*                      *gǎ:*  
 look-2INF.GEN      time  
 ‘when looking’ (SD)

- b) ལྷའི་གླེང་གི་  
*ta-i*                              *gǎ:*  
 look-2INF.GEN      time  
 ‘when looking’ (SD)

### 2.8.4 Agentive case

With the personal pronouns *ηà* ། ‘I’, *k<sup>h</sup>u* ། ‘he’ and *mù* ། ‘she’ the agentive case can be marked by vowel lengthening and raise of tone from low to high.<sup>93</sup> With *k<sup>h</sup>u*, which is already high tone, the modification reduces to vowel lengthening, *k<sup>h</sup>u:* ། ‘I.AGT’. With *ηà* and *mù*, the tone changes from low to high along with vowel lengthening, *ηá:* ། ‘I.AGT’, *mú:* ། ‘she.AGT’. Figure 2.19 illustrates the tonal difference between *ηà* and *ηá:*. The clause with *ηà*, which is actually infelicitous, was produced just for comparison. Vowel length is not clearly visible in Figure 2.19, because the pitch traces also record prenasalization in /ŋ/. Manual measurements of vowel lengths in *ηà* and *ηá:* yielded 0,12 seconds and 0,22 seconds respectively, showing a clear difference in length. The agentivization of *mù* ‘she’ functions analogously to *ηà*.

Figure 2.19. *ηà* vs. *ηá:* in context (consultant KN)



<sup>92</sup> This written form, along with the analogous form in (2.18b), is highly experimental and used here only to provide a written representation of reduced pronunciation in spoken language.

<sup>93</sup> An alternative strategy is to use the agentive marker =*ki/gi*, e.g. *ηà(:)=gi*, *k<sup>h</sup>u(:)=gi*, *mù(:)=gi*.



## 2.9 Phonemic script

The phonetic/phonemic symbols are from the IPA except for /g/ representing IPA /g/ and /a/ representing IPA /ə/. When italicized in example sentences, /a/ becomes /a/. Two major issues related to the phonological script were how to treat nasals/nasalization and the glottal stop. For reasons given in §2.3.4, final nasal stops and nasalized vowels are in the examples written as they are actually pronounced. That is, the historical velar nasal following back vowels /a/ and /o/ is phonemically written as nasalization (i.e. *tã*: ་ཏང་ ‘send’, *tʰõ*: ་མོ་ ‘see’) while with other vowels the same historical velar tends to be retained in pronunciation (i.e. *éiŋ* ་ཤིང་ ‘tree’, *séŋ* ་ཤིང་ ‘raise’, *tʰuŋ* ་འཇུང་ ‘drink’). Similarly, lexeme-internal nasals and nasalized vowels are represented as actually pronounced. This means that verb root preceding a suffix may be written in various ways, depending on the suffix with which the root assimilates, i.e. the equative copula *t̃*: occurs in various forms: *ím-bo* (with infinitivizer *-po/bo*), *ín-do* (with imperfective marker *-to/do*) and *íŋ-kʰẽ*: (with nominalizer *-kʰẽ*:). A nasal which assimilates to a following retroflex is written as *n* (as in *ín-ʈo*) rather than *ŋ*, because the retroflex nasal does not occur as an independent phoneme. Nasal assimilation, however, is not represented over word boundaries which are marked by spaces, i.e. the complex copula *íŋ-kʰẽn bɛʔ* is written as such although its pronunciation is typically [íŋ-kʰẽm bɛʔ] (for reasons why the final auxiliary is written separately, see §1.2.7.2).

The second problematic issue in the phonemic script is the status of the glottal stop. The glottal is phonemic word-finally and it functions in an intricate relationship with pitch, vowel length and vowel quality, as discussed in §2.6.1.2. In brief, word-final glottal stops are marked in the phonemic scripts although they are realized only when followed by a pause. When a word-final glottal occurs in another context than preceding a pause, the glottal is typically realized as lengthening of the vowel and, at least for some speakers, a fall in pitch. The phonetic realization of underlying word-final glottals stops requires more research, and a fruitful starting point at this point is to mark them for those words in which the glottal occurs when the word is pronounced in isolation (and so also followed by a pause). However, stem-final glottal stops are not written if the stem is followed by other morphemes and, thus, the glottal is not word-final, e.g. *ta:=lo* ‘tiger=DAT’ (*taʔ* ‘tiger’), *ɛ́-ɛɛʔ* ‘tell-INF’ *ɛ́ʔ* (‘tell’). Moreover, the glottal in the infinitive marker *-ɛɛʔ* is not written when an auxiliary follows. Although the auxiliary is written separately it is phonologically part of the same utterance with *-ɛɛʔ* and hardly ever divided from the infinitive by a pause.

The phonemic transcription below attempts to follow spoken pronunciation, not reading or spelling style pronunciation (for discussion on the differences see Sprigg 1991), e.g. the progressive marker ་ཞིན་ *bzhin* is transcribed in literary examples, following spoken pronunciation, as *tɛẽ:/zẽ*: despite *zin* being the reading-style pronunciation.

## 2.10 Summary remarks

This chapter showed that Denjongke has 43 consonants all of which, with the exception of /ʔ/ (which is phonetic word-initially), occur word-initially and 8 of which occur word-finally. One of the distinguishing features of the present phonological analysis was seen to be that plosives and affricates have a four-way contrast in voicing/aspiration. A detailed treatment was given to the perhaps controversial category of lightly and inconsistently aspirated (“breathy”) consonants (§2.2.2). It was also shown that the phonemic category of voicing in voiced plosives and affricates can be phonetically produced as either prevoicing (i.e. [gka]) or prenasalization (i.e. [ŋga]). Moreover, Denjongke was seen to have quite a rich variety of preaspirated consonants, four nasals and two liquids.

This chapter also showed that Denjongke has eight vowels (if long vowels are not counted separately). It was shown that nasalization and length are contrastive in vowels. The relationship of front unrounded vowels proved particularly tricky for analysis, but a three-way distinction in long vowels between long vowels /i:/, /e:/ and /ɛ:/ was firmly established. Final glottal, which is pronounced utterance-finally, is realized as length utterance-medially.

The section on register, pitch and tone showed that Denjongke words are divided into high register and low register. High register was seen to be associated with stiff voice quality and high pitch and low register with breathy voice and low pitch. The conclusion was that because pitch is only partly but not always predictable from the initial consonant, Denjongke can be called a tone language. I also presented some initial evidence that there may be pitch-contrasts within the low register. A study of pitch phenomena in disyllabic words showed that both high-register and low-register disyllabic nouns (pronounced in a sentence-frame) have a high-low pitch pattern. The difference was shown to be that low-register words start lower and have a greater pitch difference between the first and the second syllable, whereas high-register words start higher and have a smaller frequency difference in pitch rise.

I also described some segmental phonological processes (vowel assimilation, phoneme elision and consonant lenition) and showed that within morphophonology, some allomorphs show a partly unpredictable voicing pattern which has to be learned on a case-by-case basis (e.g. nonfinal *-ti* vs. *-di* in §2.8.1).

### 3 Word classes, suffixes and clitics

This chapter provides an overview of Denjongke word classes, affixes and clitics. Whereas the discussion in this chapter focuses on morphology, the functions of the different formatives are described and discussed more in detail in later chapters. I begin with a general discussion on the terms word, affix and clitic (§3.1). That is followed by an introduction to word classes and the types of subclasses that can be identified within word classes.

Denjongke has four major (or open) word classes, nouns (§3.2), verbs (§3.3), adjectives (§3.4) and adverbs (§3.5). Major word classes differ from minor word classes in having more lexemes and in being more open to adding new lexemes (hence the term *open* word class). Moreover, major word classes typically consist of content words, which are less frequent and have a more specific meaning than the members of minor/closed word classes, which may also be called function words (Haspelmath 2001: 16539).

Minor word classes (see §3.6) have fewer lexemes than open word classes and they are less open to new words (hence the alternative term “closed word classes”). Minor word classes consist of words which may be described as functional words in opposition to content words of the major word classes (see Haspelmath 2001: 16539). Denjongke minor word classes are personal pronouns (§3.6.1), reflexive pronouns (§3.6.2), reciprocal pronouns (§3.6.3), indefinite pronouns (§3.6.4), demonstratives (§3.6.5), question words (§3.6.6), numerals (§3.6.7), postpositions (§3.6.8), connectives (§3.6.9), interjections (§3.6.10) and discourse particles (§3.6.11). Affixes are described with the word class they attach to. Clitics, because of their transcategorial nature (see §3.1), are treated under a separate heading in §3.7. Onomatopoeic words are treated as a subclass of ideophones, which are syntactically adjectives or adverbs but have distinctive phonological, morphological and semantic features, see §17.1.

#### 3.1 Words, affixes and clitics

This section briefly discusses the definition of word, affix and clitic in Denjongke. Word is crosslinguistically a challenging concept which may be defined using grammatical, phonological and/or orthographical criteria (Aikhenvald 2007: 1-2, Dixon 2010b: 3-19). Phonologically word in Denjongke may be defined, following Payne’s (2006: 20) working definition, as “the smallest structural unit that can occur between pauses”. This implies that words (unlike clitics) are not phonologically bound to other morphemes and may hence be used independently, for instance, as short answers to content questions.

Grammatical criteria and phonological criteria for wordhood, however, do not always coincide. For instance, some Denjongke postpositions have two forms, a disyllabic, phonologically independent form, which may occur as an answer to a content question (e.g. *sã:te* ‘until, straight on’ [consultant KT]), and a monosyllabic cliticised form, which typically cannot occur independently as an answer to a question (e.g. *=sã:* ‘until’).<sup>94</sup> A fact suggesting that *sã:te* ‘until’ is a word and *=sã:* ‘until’ a clitic is that the word *sã:te*, unlike its cliticized form, has, at least in some varieties of Denjongke, the (secondary) meaning ‘straight on’ (as in an answer to the question ‘Where shall we go from this crossroads?’). In the novel *Richhi*, *sã:te* (WD  $\text{ᠰᠠᠨᠤᠲᠡ}$  *zang-ste*) is separated in writing from the previous word by a space whereas the clitic *=sã:* (WD  $\text{ᠰᠠᠨᠤ}$  *zang*) is attached to the previous word. Grammatically, however, both *sã:te* ‘until, straight on’ and *=sã:* ‘until’ function essentially identically in phrases such as *t<sup>h</sup>orã: sã:te/t<sup>h</sup>orã:=sã:* ‘until tomorrow’, suggesting that the phonologically reduced form *=sã:*

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<sup>94</sup> These morphemes are somewhat analogous to *not* and *n’t* in English (see Dixon & Aikhenvald’s 2003: 27).

is as much a grammatical word as the fuller form *sá:te*. Another form which occurs both as a monosyllabic clitic and a disyllabic word is the relator noun *=tsa:/tsak<sup>h</sup>a* ‘at (the root of)’.

Affixes and clitics, in contrast to phonological words, depend phonologically on the word they are attached to. Syntactically, affixes and clitics “cannot govern or be governed by other words, cannot require or undergo agreement, and cannot head phrases” (Bickel & Nichols 2007: 172). The main criteria used here to distinguish clitics from affixes, following Bickel & Nichols (2007: 174-175), is transcategoriality: clitics are freer than affixes to occur with more than one type of part of speech or phrase. For instance, verbal affixes only occur attached to a verb stem. Case clitics, on the other hand, occur both with noun phrases and attached to the verb complex (see Tournadre 2010 for transcategoriality of Classical Tibetan cases). The plural marker *=tsu* occurs at the end of the NP, where it may attach to both nouns and noun modifiers. For that reason *=tsu* is here considered a clitic. Denjongke clitics can be divided into the following categories: case clitics (§3.7.1), emphatic clitics (§3.7.2), clausal clitics (§3.7.3) and other clitics (§3.7.4).

## 3.2 Nouns

This section introduces the characteristics and distinctive features of nouns in general (§3.2.1) and then goes on to describe ordinary and honorific nouns (§3.2.2), the principles of deriving nominals from verbs (§3.2.3), nominal suffixes (§3.2.4) and compounding (§3.2.5).

### 3.2.1 Introduction to nouns

Nouns (from Latin *nōmen* ‘name’) prototypically refer to physical entities such as objects, living creatures and places but are by extension also used for abstract entities (e.g. *bjak<sup>h</sup>a* འབྲུག་ ‘summer’, *nèŋk<sup>h</sup>a* ཉེན་ལ་ ‘danger’). Nouns differ from verbs and adjectives by their ability to be possessed and modified by numerals and adjectives. Moreover, unlike verbs, nouns allow the plural marker *=tsu*, case clitics, demonstratives and various emphatic clitics to be attached to the base form. Some of these morphemes may also be attached to the verb, but only after some additional verbal morphology such as the nominalizer in (3.2). In (3.1) the plural marker attaches to noun base but (3.2) illustrates that additional verbal morphology (here nominalizer *-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:*) has to be added to the verb before attaching the plural marker.

- (3.1) སའི་གི་<sup>95</sup> བདག་གུ་ཚུ་  
*sá=i=gi daku=tsu*  
 ground=GEN=GEN owner=PL  
 ‘Land-owners (lit. owner’s of land)’ (BP, BB discussion)

- (3.2) དེ་ཟང་ན་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ན་ འོང་མཁམ་ཚུ་ལོ་ མོ་འདི་ རྩོག་གུ་ ཡོད་བ་ལྷན་ལགས།  
*t’izã: nà: qɛndzõ:=na òŋ-k<sup>h</sup>en=tsu=lo ódi ɛóku jèbbe=la.*  
 but here Sikkim=LOC come-NMLZ=PL=DAT that paper EX.NE=HON  
 ‘But those who came to Sikkim had that document.’ (CY interview)

Examples (3.3) and (3.4) show that the same is true with case clitics: the dative-locative *=lo* may be directly attached to a noun base (3.3) but does not typically attach to a verb root without some additional marking (here progressive), see (3.4)<sup>96</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> I have not seen double genitive, which is prevalent in spoken Denjongke, been represented in written Denjongke. The innovative writing used here and elsewhere in this thesis is a written representation of spoken language and may seem contrary to good literary style.

<sup>96</sup> For an exception to this rule, see example (15.106c).

(3.3) མི་ལོ་ ཞེན་མཚོང་ མ་བསགས་སེ།  
*mí=lo*      *ɛ̀ɛntʰõ:*      *ma-sá:=s.*  
 human=DAT contempt NEG-heap=QUO  
 ‘Do not look down on people (it is said).’ (UU, Deer story 1)

(3.4) འདེ་རང་ འུས་བཞིན་ལོ་ ཟས་ ཟ་ ལྷོང་།  
*de:=rã:*      *p'ja-zẽ:=lo*      *sàm sà mjõ:*  
 like-that=AEMPH do-PROG=DAT food eat finish  
 ‘Doing like that, (they) finished eating.’ (Ricchi 21)

Most Denjongke nouns are mono- or disyllabic. Nouns containing more than two syllables are likely some type of compounds, such as *bjam-ka:-riŋ* ‘mosquito’ (lit. ‘fly-foot-long’), although exceptions exist, e.g. *kaŋkara* ‘crab’.<sup>97</sup>

### 3.2.2 Ordinary and honorific nouns

Typically of Tibetic languages, Denjongke has an honorific system in nouns, which means that two different lexical forms are used for the same referent, one in honorific register and the other in ordinary register. Not all nouns have an honorific form, and not all speakers know all the honorific forms, although using them is considered a sign of linguistic acumen. The honorific forms are often the same as or similar to honorific forms in Lhasa Tibetan. Honorific nouns are formed in several different ways, which are described here. Table 3.1 presents examples in which the ordinary and honorific forms bear no formal resemblance.

Table 3.1. Ordinary and honorific nouns with no formal resemblance

Ordinary register	Honorific register	Gloss
མགོ། <i>go</i>	དབུ། <i>ú</i>	head
ལ། <i>kha</i>	ཞལ། <i>ɛ̀ɛ:</i>	mouth
ལྗེ། <i>tɛɛ</i>	ལྗགས། <i>dza?</i>	tongue
ལྗགས། <i>ŋagu?</i>	གངས། <i>ɛ̀á:</i>	nose
ཀངས་, ཀང་པོ། <i>ka:m, kã:po</i>	ཞབས། <i>ɛ̀ap</i>	foot
མིག་རྩོག། <i>mì:do?</i>	སྤྱན། <i>tɛɛn</i>	eye
རྩམ་ལྗེ། <i>námteo?</i>	རྩམ་(ལྗེ།) <i>jén(teo?)</i>	ear
ཤོ། <i>só</i>	ཚམས། <i>tsʰɛm</i>	tooth
ལག་ཀོ། <i>làko</i>	བྱག། <i>tɛʰa?</i>	hand
ལྗ། <i>tɛʰu</i>	ཆབ། <i>tɛʰap</i>	water
ཁྱིམ། <i>kʰim</i>	གཟིམ་ཁང། <i>zimkʰã:</i>	house
ལྗམ། <i>lam</i>	ཞབས་ཅག། <i>ɛ̀aptea?</i>	shoe
རྩོགས་པ། <i>to:pa?</i>	གསོལ་དྲུམ། <i>só:tym</i>	vegetables (with rice)
ཤོས། <i>k'o</i>	ན་བཟའ། <i>nàza</i>	clothes
མིང། <i>mìŋ</i>	མཚན། <i>tsʰɛn</i>	name
ཨ་པོ། <i>ápo</i>	ཡབ། <i>jà:p</i>	father
ཨ་མ། <i>áma</i>	ཡུམ། <i>jùm</i>	mother
བུ། <i>p'u</i>	སྲས། <i>sé?</i>	son
བུམ། <i>p'um</i>	སྲསམ། <i>sé:m</i>	daughter

<sup>97</sup> Unanalyzable nouns having more than two syllables in Donwang Tibetan are typically names of small animals (Bartee 2007: 91). I am thankful for Bertil Tikkanen for pointing out that the word *kaŋkara* is an Indo-Aryan loan. In Nepali spoken in Sikkim the word occurs as *ganṅaṅa* ‘crab’. Oriya (*kaŋkaṅa* ‘crab’) and Tirahi (*kaŋgara* ‘spider’) also have pronunciations almost identical to Denjongke (Turner 1962-1966).

In other cases, the ordinary and honorific forms resemble each other. First, the honorific form may be a compound where a monosyllabic honorific word, either a noun referring to a body part or a relevant verb, may form a compound with the ordinary form, see Table 3.2. Typically the honorific noun is preposed to the ordinary form, but postposing the honorific word to the ordinary word is also possible (see *ke:dza?* རྒྱལ་སྐད་ ‘language’ in Table 3.2). Simple compounding is a common strategy when the ordinary noun is monosyllabic and thus the resulting form does not exceed two syllables.

Table 3.2. Honorific nouns formed by compounding

Independent use	Honorific with the affix	Ordinary register	Gloss
འབའ་ <i>εàp</i> ‘foot (hon.)’	འབའ་ལྷམ་ <i>εàplam</i>	ལྷམ་ <i>lam</i>	shoe
	འབའ་བསྐྱོར་ <i>εàpkor</i>	བསྐྱོར་ <i>kor</i>	tour
སྐྱ་ <i>ku</i> ‘body (hon.)’	སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ <i>kuzu?</i>	གཟུགས་ <i>zu?</i>	body
	སྐྱ་དབང་ <i>kuõ:</i>	དབང་ <i>õ:</i>	power
ཕྱག་ <i>te<sup>h</sup>a?</i> ‘hand (hon.)’	ཕྱག་དངུལ་ <i>te<sup>h</sup>api:</i>	དངུལ་ <i>ny:</i>	money
	ཕྱག་ལས་ <i>te<sup>h</sup>a:le?</i>	གཞིག་ <i>jó?</i> , ལས་ <i>lê?</i>	work, deed
རྒྱགས་ <i>dza?</i> ‘tongue (hon.)’	རྒྱགས་རྒྱགས་ <i>ke:dza?</i> <sup>98</sup>	རྒྱག་ <i>ke?</i>	language
སྐྱགས་ <i>t<sup>h</sup>u?</i> ‘mind (hon.)’	སྐྱགས་འགན་ <i>t<sup>h</sup>ugen</i>	འགན་ <i>gen</i>	responsibility
འལ་ <i>εé:</i> ‘face (hon.)’	འལ་གདོང་ <i>εé:dõ:</i>	གདོང་ <i>dõ:</i>	face
གསོལ་ <i>só:</i> ‘offer (hon.)’	གསོལ་ཇ་ <i>só:za</i>	ཇ་ <i>te<sup>h</sup>a</i>	tea
བཞས་ <i>ze:</i> ‘eat, have (hon.)’	བཞས་སྐྱུང་ <i>ze:t<sup>h</sup>um</i>	སྐྱུང་ <i>t<sup>h</sup>um</i>	spoon
གསུང་ <i>súnj</i> ‘say (hon.)’	གསུང་རྒྱད་ <i>súnjke?</i>	རྒྱད་ <i>ke?</i>	voice

In other instances, where the ordinary noun is disyllabic, the honorific word replaces the first syllable of the ordinary form, see Table 4.3.

Table 3.3. Honorific nouns formed by replacing a syllable

Ordinary		Honorific		Gloss
<i>pynte<sup>h</sup>e?</i>	སྐྱུ་མཚེད་	<i>kute<sup>h</sup>e?</i>	སྐྱུ་མཚེད་	sibling, relative
<i>ára?</i>	ཨ་རག་	<i>ze:ra?</i>	བཞིས་རག་	alcohol
<i>pa(h)ip</i>	པ་ཉིབ་	<i>só:(h)ip</i>	གསོལ་ཉིབ་	beer container (of bamboo)
<i>ákar</i>	ཨ་ཀར་	<i>ze:kar</i>	བཞིས་ཀར་	chilli
<i>døsa</i>	ཐོད་ས་	<i>zu:sa</i>	བཞུགས་ས་	residence
<i>zu:njẽ:</i>	གཟུགས་བརྟན་	<i>kunjẽ:</i>	སྐྱུ་བརྟན་	image
<i>mikçε:</i>	མིག་ཤེལ་	<i>tçεnçε:</i>	སྐྱུན་ཤེལ་	spectacles

The honorific prefix may also be prefixed to the ordinary form with the result that the final syllable of the ordinary form is dropped because there is a strong preference for disyllabicity in nouns, see Table 3.4, where the common syllable between the ordinary and honorific forms is given in bold. Note that there may be a phonological difference in how the historically same syllable is realized as the first syllable of a word and as the second syllable of the word (e.g. WD མཚན་ *smon* becomes *mε-* in *mélam* ‘prayer’ and *-mõ:* in *thumõ:* ‘prayer’).

<sup>98</sup> This meaning is from consultant CY. Consultant KUN, on the other hand, gave this word the meaning ‘accent, distinct way of pronouncing a language’. KUN did not have an honorific equivalent for *ke?* ‘language’.

Table 3.4. Honorific nouns formed by prefixing and final syllable elision

Ordinary		Honorific		Gloss
<i>mélam</i>	མོན་ལམ་	<i>thumǝ:</i>	ཐུགས་མོན་	prayer, wish
<i>èambu</i>	ཞུ་བུ་	<i>úza</i>	དབུ་ཞུ་	hat
<i>éóku</i>	ཤོག་ཀུ་	<i>te<sup>h</sup>aεo?</i>	ཕྱག་ཤོག་	paper
<i>kajǝ</i>	དཀར་ཡོལ་	<i>εé:kar</i>	ཞལ་དཀར་	cup
<i>tsampo</i>	ཚམ་པོ་	<i>só:tsam</i>	གསོལ་ཚམ་	tsampa
<i>dǝ:po</i>	འདོད་པོ་	<i>t<sup>h</sup>udǝ?</i>	ཐུགས་འདོད་	wish, desire
<i>petε<sup>h</sup>a</i>	དཔེ་ཆ་	<i>te<sup>h</sup>apε</i>	ཕྱག་དཔེ་	book
<i>júku</i>	ཇུ་ཀུ་	<i>te<sup>h</sup>ajnu?</i>	ཕྱག་ཇུ་ག་	pen
<i>kajǝ:</i>	དཀར་ཡོལ་	<i>εé:ka(r)</i>	ཞལ་དཀར་	cup, bowl
<i>qomo?</i>	ལྷོ་མོ་	<i>ze:qo</i>	བཞིལ་ལྷོ་	bamboo straw

### 3.2.3 Deriving nouns from verbs

In her analysis of Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas, Genetti (2011: 164) points out that nominalization may occur both on the morphological level (producing lexical nouns) and on the syntactic level (allowing a grammatical clause to be treated as a noun phrase). Denjongke has several productive morphemes that allow verbs to be treated as nouns or clauses to be treated as noun phrases, see Table 3.5.

Table 3.5. Nominalizing markers

Infinitive		Example with <i>p<sup>h</sup>y:</i> ‘offer (hon.)’
<i>-εε?</i>	‘to x’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>y:-εε?</i> ‘to offer’
<i>-ji</i>	‘to x’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>y:-ji</i> ‘to offer’ <sup>99</sup>
<i>-po/bo</i>	‘(the act of) x-ing’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>y:-bo</i> ‘(the act of) offering’
Nominalizer		
<i>-k<sup>h</sup>é:</i>	‘the one x-ing’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>y:-k<sup>h</sup>é:</i> ‘the one offering’
<i>-sa</i>	‘the place of x-ing’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>y:-sa</i> ‘place of offering’
<i>-tǎ:</i>	‘the way of x-ing’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>y:-tǎ:</i> ‘way of offering’

All the markers in Table 3.5 are highly productive in that they can be added to almost any verb. Semantically, the forms ending in *-εε?*, *-ji* and *-po/bo* are verbal nouns which refer to the action denoted by the verb, whereas the markers *-k<sup>h</sup>é:*, *-sa* and *-tǎ:* derive noun-like words referring to person, place or way of doing respectively. Because of this difference in semantics, it is useful to make a conceptual and terminological distinction between infinitive markers (*-εε?*, *-ji* and *-po/bo*) and other nominalizers (*-k<sup>h</sup>é:*, *-sa* and *-tǎ:*), although strictly speaking also the infinitives are nominalized forms in that they allow verbs and clauses to function like nouns or noun phrases. A syntactic distinction between the infinitive markers and the nominalizers *-sa* and *-tǎ:* is that the former participate in tense, aspect and evidentiality-marking auxiliary constructions (e.g. *p<sup>h</sup>y:-εε bε?* [offer-INF EQU.NE] ‘will offer, offers’) whereas the latter do not.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, infinitives are the forms used in complement clauses (see §14), which is the basic function of infinitives/masdars cross-linguistically (Shagal 2017: 5).

All the markers in Table 3.5 can nominalize a clause. To accommodate uses as clausal nominalizers, I refer to *-k<sup>h</sup>é:*, *-sa* and *-tǎ:* as nominalizers rather than as “nominal suffixes”. The general term nominalizer subsumes also infinitives, which are here considered a special

<sup>99</sup> *-ji* is close in meaning to *-εε?* but less productive. For more information, see §3.3.6.2 and §8.2.8.

<sup>100</sup> The nominalizer *-k<sup>h</sup>é:*, on the other hand, participates in the present habitual construction (*p<sup>h</sup>y:-k<sup>h</sup>é:n bε?* [offer-NMLZ EQU.NE] ‘offers’). However, because of its otherwise noun-like semantics, it is not called an infinitive.

class of nominalized forms (i.e. those nominalized forms which nominalize action itself). The three infinitive forms are discussed under verbal suffixes in §3.3.6. The next section describes the nominalizers *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃:*, *-sa* and *-tã:* and other nominal suffixes.

### 3.2.4 Nominal suffixes

The nominal suffixes described in this section can be divided into simple nominal suffixes and nominalizers. Simple nominal suffixes *-po* (§3.2.4.1) and *-m(u)* (§3.2.4.2) attach to a noun and derive another noun. They do not participate in clausal nominalization. Nominalizers *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃:* (§3.2.4.3), *-sa* (§3.2.4.4) and *tã:* (§3.2.4.5), on the other hand, not only derive nouns from verbs but also nominalize clauses.

#### 3.2.4.1 Nominal suffix *-po/bo*

The suffix *-po/bo* is related to the nominal suffix *-pa* (WT ཁ་ *pa*) ‘person having to do with’ (Beyer 1992: 120) and the nominalizer *-pa/ba* in Classical Tibetan (Beyer 1992: 299). The uses of *-po/bo* are varied and complex in Denjongke, as shown by the summary of uses in Table 3.5.

Table 3.6 Uses of the suffix *-po/bo*

	Unproductive	Productive				
Form	<i>-po</i>	<i>-po/bo</i>				
Attaches to	noun, verb (rare)	verb	numeral		noun	
					pers. name	place name
Glossing	not glossed	II infinitive	collective	ordinal	associative	associative

As suggested by Table 3.6, a distinction should be made between historical, unproductive uses (*-po*) and synchronic, productive uses (*-po/bo*).<sup>101</sup> Whereas the unproductive uses have generally resisted voicing assimilation (e.g. *lũŋ-po/lũmpo* ལུང་པོ་ ‘locality, place’), the productive uses are more prone to voicing assimilation (e.g. *òm-bo* ‘the act of coming’, see also Table 2.7). As shown by the last row in Table 3.6, in this thesis those uses of *-po* which are considered lexicalized and unproductive (i.e. when *-po* is seen attached to other nouns than personal names and place names) are not glossed at all. The productive uses, on the other hand, are glossed according to the specific uses, because this practice is more informative than using the same gloss (for instance “nominalizer”) for all the uses.

Historically, *-po* has been used to form lexical nouns from verbs:

*tsøpo/tsepo* ‘debate (noun)’ from WT རྩོད་ *rtsod* ‘debate (verb)’

More often, however, *-po* has derived nouns from other nouns:

*sampo* ‘bridge’ from WT མཚན་ *sam* ‘line, continuity’

*lũmpo* ‘locality, place’ from WT ལུང་ *lung* ‘valley, land’.

Synchronically, *-po/bo* may still attach as a derivational marker to nouns, but the productive uses seem to be limited to personal names and place names, which are associative in meaning. With noun referring to a person, the associative meaning is ‘those associated with

<sup>101</sup> For similar argumentation for *-pa* vs. *-pa/ba* in Purik, see Zemp (2018: 110).



person x' and with a location the meaning is 'person who is from location x'. For an associative meaning where *-po/bo* attaches to a personal noun, consider (3.5).<sup>102</sup>

(3.5) ཡུ་གྱེན་ ཚེ་ཤེན་པོ་ ང་འཁྱིལ་ སེ་ན་ hotel opening ལྷོ་ས་པ་ སོང་?

*úgjen tsheriŋ-bo t'ariŋ p'ina hoŋel oupeniŋ p'ja-wa*  
 PN PN-ASSOC today over.there hotel(Eng.) opening(Eng.) do-PUR  
*só:?*  
 go.PFV

'Did Ugyen Tshering and his family go to open the hotel today?' (interrogation by rising intonation) (PT kitchen discussion)

For examples of associative meaning with nouns referring to places, consider the following words:

<i>dendzong-po</i>	'Sikkim-dweller; person of Sikkimese Bhutia ethnicity'	from <i>dendzõ</i> : (འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ 'bras-ljongs 'Sikkim')
<i>gjarar-bo</i>	'Indian'	from <i>gjarar</i> 'India' (WD རྒྱ་གར་ <i>rgya-gar</i> )
<i>p'hiliŋ-po/</i>	'foreigner'	from <i>p'hiliŋ</i> 'out(side)' (WD ཕྱི་ལྗོངས་ <i>ph'yi-gling</i> )
<i>te'hiliŋ-po</i> <sup>103</sup>		from <i>te'hiliŋ</i> 'out(side)' (WD ཕྱི་ལྗོངས་ <i>phyi-gling</i> )

Occasionally, the more typically Central Tibetan ending *-pa/ba* is heard instead of *-po/bo*, e.g. *lâtœuŋba/lâtœuŋbo* 'person from Lachung', *p'hiliŋbo/p'hiliŋba* 'foreigner'.

Some more lexicalized forms may also be characterized as associative:

<i>nàpo</i>	'fisherman'	from WT ཉ་ <i>nya</i> 'fish'
<i>œiŋpo</i>	'farmer'	from WT ཞིང་ <i>zhing</i> 'field'
<i>nè:po</i>	'patient'	from WT ནད་ <i>nad</i> 'illness'
<i>nàŋpo</i>	'insider, Buddhist'	from WT ནང་ <i>nang</i> 'inside(s)'
<i>te'hipo</i>	'outsider, non-Buddhist'	from WT ཕྱི་ <i>phyi</i> 'outside'

Occasionally the suffix *-po/bo* also attaches to a verb to mark the agent, e.g. *k'hu: zo:-bo* [bread make-*po*] 'bread maker, baker', *tea? dum-bo* [iron hit-*po*] 'iron-hitter, blacksmith'. This use of *-po/bo* overlaps the semantic domain of the nominalizer *-k'hẽ:* (§3.2.4.3), which is the typical morpheme for referring to the doer of an action. My hypothesis is that when referring to the agent of an action, *-po/bo* is more lexicalized and refers to stable identity whereas *-k'hẽ:* is more likely used on an ad hoc basis and refers to the doer of an action in a specific situation.

As shown in Table 3.6, the suffix *-po* may also attach to numerals to form a collectivized nominal with the meaning 'a group consisting of x (number) instances of y (noun)' (see §3.6.7 for collective uses of *-po/bo* and the similarly functioning collectivizer *-ga*).

<sup>102</sup> For the associative use of the largely similar morpheme *-pa* in the Tibetic language Purik, see Zemp (2018: 112).

<sup>103</sup> The variant initials *te'hi* and *p'hi* derive from two different reflexes of WT ཕྱི་ *phyi* 'out(side)', the first corresponding to the typical Central Tibetan pronunciation and the latter (*p'hi*) to the typical Sikkimese reflex of ཕྱི. Yet another alternative pronunciation for the word is *te'hiriŋ-po*. The meaning foreigner may also be expressed by the word *te'higε:-po* (ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ *phyi-rgyal-po*).

### 3.2.4.2 Nominal suffix *-m(u)*

The full form of the nominal suffix *-m(u)* is homophonous with the feminine third person pronoun and mainly occurs in words that have female referents, see Table 3.7, although it also occurs in some words with no clear feminine connection, e.g. WT རོལ་མོ་ *rol-mo* > *rø:m* ‘cymbal’ (WD=Written Denjongke).

Table 3.7. Some masculine-feminine noun pairs

Masculine			Feminine		
Noun	WD	Meaning	Noun	WD	Meaning
<i>p'u</i>	བུ <i>pu</i>	‘boy’	<i>p'um</i>	བུམ་ <i>bum</i>	‘girl’
<i>la</i>	ལྷ་ <i>lha</i>	‘god’	<i>lamu</i>	ལྷ་མོ་ <i>lha-mo</i>	‘goddess’
<i>gɛ:p</i> , <i>gɛ:po</i> , <i>gɛ:pu</i>	རྒྱལ་བ་ <i>rgyalb</i> རྒྱལ་པོ་ <i>rgyal-po</i>	‘king’	<i>gɛ:m(u)</i>	རྒྱལ་མ་ <i>rgyalm</i> རྒྱལ་མོ་ <i>rgyal-mo</i>	‘queen’
<i>p'japu</i>	བྱ་ཕོ་ <i>b'ya-pho</i>	‘rooster, cockerel’	<i>p'jam</i>	བྱ་མ་ <i>b'yam</i>	‘female bird, hen’
<i>jóku</i>	གཡོག་ཀུ་ <i>gyog-ku</i>	‘servant’	<i>jó:m</i>	གཡོག་མ་ <i>gyogm</i>	‘servant (fem.)’
<i>gopøñ</i>	འགོ་དཔོན་ ' <i>go-dpon</i>	‘director, principal (m.)’	<i>gopøm</i>	འགོ་དཔོན་མ་ ' <i>go-dponm</i>	‘director, principal (fem.)’
<i>lópøñ</i>	སློབ་དཔོན་ <i>slo-dpon</i>	‘teacher (m.)’	<i>lópøm</i>	སློབ་དཔོན་མ་ <i>slo-dponm</i>	‘female teacher’
<i>lʰapøñ</i>	འཕྲུབ་དཔོན་ ' <i>khra-b-dpon</i>	‘actor’	<i>lʰapøm</i>	འཕྲུབ་དཔོན་མ་ ' <i>khra-b-dponm</i>	‘actress’

In Table 3.7, the last three words differ from other feminine words in that rather than replacing *-po/pu* with *-mo/mu* (as with *gɛ:m[u]*) or adding *-mo/mu* to the masculine stem (as with *lamu*), it is the form *-pøn* (WT དཔོན་ *dpon* ‘master’) which is modified by changing the final nasal.

Many Denjongke nouns are cognate with Written Tibetan nouns ending in *-po/pa* and *-mo/ma*. The realizations of these nominal suffixes, however, have three notable features each of which distinguish Denjongke from Lhasa Tibetan. First, the final vowel in the suffix is usually dropped if the root to which the suffix is added ends in a vowel, resulting in monosyllabic words ending in /p/ and /m/, e.g. WT མཚེར་པ་ *mcher-pa* > D *tɕʰi:p* ‘spleen’, WT སྲས་མོ་ *sras-mo* > D སྲས་མ་ *sɛ:m* ‘daughter (hon.)’. Second, WT *-pa*, which is retained in Lhasa Tibetan, usually results in *-po* in Denjongke, e.g. WT དགོན་པ་ *dgon-pa* > D དགོན་པོ་ *gømpo* ‘monastery’. Third, in Denjongke /p/ in the nominalizer is elided when preceded by a velar stop, WT ལག་པ་ *lag-pa* > D ལག་ཀོ་ *lako* ‘hand’.

A less frequent nominal suffix is *-kʰa*, which also functions as an adverbializer (see §3.2.4). It has derived some nouns from verbs, e.g. *dzɛ:* ‘meet (hon.)’ > *dzɛ:kʰa* མཇུག་པ་ ‘meeting’. However, *-kʰa* does not seem synchronically as productive a marker as *-po*, *-m(u)*, *-kʰɛ:*, *-sa* and *-tã:*.

### 3.2.4.3 Nominalizer *-kʰɛ:*

The nominalizer *-kʰɛ:* can be added to any verb which allows an actor. The combination refers to the person who does the action:

*p'ja-k'hě:* ལྷན་མཁན་ 'doer'  
*təŋ-k'hě:* ལྷོན་མཁན་ 'the one who shows'  
*tā:-k'hě:* བཏང་མཁན་ 'sender'

The form *-k'hě:* derives from Classical Tibetan མཁན་ *mkhan* 'skilled in' (Beyer 1992: 120). In Classical Tibetan, *-mkhan* may attach to nouns (e.g. *lam* 'road', *lam-mkhan* 'guide'), but in Denjongke it is postposed to verbs. Although in derivational nominalization, which is a lexical/morphological process, the nominalizer *-k'hě:* expresses the meaning 'the one who does action x', in clausal nominalization *-k'hě:* may express the meaning 'the one which is x-ed'. The use of *-k'hě:* in clausal nominalization is described in §13.2.1 (relative clauses).

#### 3.2.4.4 Nominalizer *-sa*

The spatial nominalizer *-sa* is quite productive in turning verbs into nouns meaning 'the place of/for x-ing'. The form is homophonous with the noun *sá* 'ground, earth, soil' (ས་ *sa*), which also occurs in Classical Tibetan and many other Tibetic languages.

*zak-sa* བཞག་ས་ 'place to put something, storage'  
*dø-sa* རྫོང་ས་ 'place to stay, dwelling'  
*zu:-sa* བཞུགས་ས་ 'place to stay, dwelling (hon.)'  
*dzim-sa* གཞིམས་ས་ 'place to sleep, bedroom (hon.)'  
*ki-sa* རླུང་ས་ 'place of birth'.

The use of *-sa* as a clausal nominalizer in relative clauses is described in §13.2.3.

In addition to nominalizing uses where *-sa* attaches to verbs to form nouns or noun phrases, *-sa* may attach to some nouns to form a compound:

*t<sup>h</sup>a:sa* ཐང་ས་ 'level place, plain' (lit. plain-place) (Richhi 60)

#### 3.2.4.5 Nominalizer *-tā:*

The nominalizer *-tā:*, deriving from WT མྱངས་ *stang* 'manner, mode', turns verbs into nouns with the meaning 'the manner of x-ing'.

*né:-tā:* གནས་སྣངས་ 'situation, condition (lit. dwell-manner)'  
*k<sup>h</sup>a-lap-tā:* ཁ་ལབ་སྣངས་ 'manner of speaking (lit. mouth-speak-manner)'  
*p'ja-tā:* ལྷན་སྣངས་ 'manner of doing (lit. do-manner)'  
*té<sup>h</sup>a:-tā:* ཚགས་སྣངས་ 'composition (lit. be.established-manner)'

### 3.2.5 Compounding

This section briefly outlines the ways compound nouns are formed in Denjongke. Compound formation processes are very similar to those already described in detail in related languages such as Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 255-257). Compound nouns can be of the forms NOUN + NOUN, NOUN + VERB and VERB + NOUN.

#### NOUN + NOUN

The semantic relationship of the two nouns that form a compound can be various. For instance, the nouns maybe (close to) synonyms, as in (3.6). The use of two similar nouns to form a new noun reveals the preference in Denjongke for disyllabicity in nouns. This

preference may be motivated by the need to disambiguate nominal lexemes from potentially homonymous monosyllabic verbal lexemes.

(3.6) *lùk-sø*: ལུགས་སློལ་ ‘tradition (lit. tradition-custom)’

The components of a compound may also be opposites of one type or another:

(3.7) *p<sup>h</sup>a-ma, p<sup>h</sup>am* བ་མ་, མ་མ་ ‘parents (lit. father-mother)’

Very often, the first part of the compound functions as a specifying attribute to the second part, see (3.8).

- (3.8) a) *mik-te<sup>h</sup>u* མིག་ཚུ་ ‘tear (lit. eye-water)’  
 b) *te<sup>h</sup>u-mi?* ཚུ་མིག་ ‘spring (lit. water-eye)’  
 c) *bja-ne?* འབྲུ་ནད་ ‘illness of the rainy season (lit. summer-illness or rice-illness)’  
 d) *ádzo-ta?* ཇལ་ཚོ་སྟག་ ‘tiger (lit. grandfather-tiger)’  
 e) *álu-kiu* ཇལ་ལུ་ཀུ་ ‘potato (lit. *alu*-root [*alu* is potato in Nepali])’

#### NOUN + VERB

Second, compounds may be of the form NOUN + VERB, see (3.9).

- (3.9) *ám-teuŋ* ཇམ་ཚུང་ ‘mother’s younger sister, father’s younger brother’s wife  
 (lit. mother-be.small)’  
*ám-bom* ཇམ་ཚློམ་ ‘mother’s elder sister, father’s elder brother’s wife  
 (lit. mother-be.big)’  
*k<sup>h</sup>im-p<sup>h</sup>ja?* བྱིམ་ཕྱོག་ ‘broom (lit. house-sweep)’

#### VERB + NOUN

Third, a verb may precede the noun in a VERB + NOUN structure, as shown in (3.10).

(3.10) *t<sup>h</sup>uŋ-te<sup>h</sup>u* འཇུང་ཚུ་ ‘drinking water (lit. drink-water)’

### 3.3 Verbs and verbal affixes

This section first introduces defining criteria for verbs (§3.3.1). The introduction is followed by three subsections on verb classification, i.e. stative and dynamic verbs (§3.3.2), controllable and non-controllable verbs (§3.3.3) and ordinary, honorific and humilific verbs (§3.3.4). The next two sections describe the morphological processes of reduplication (§3.3.5) and verbal affixation (§3.3.6). The last part provides an introduction to a special case of verbs, the copulas (§3.3.7).

#### 3.3.1 Defining criteria for verbs

Verbs in Denjongke are words that describe events (e.g. ‘to hit’), processes (e.g. ‘to walk’), states (e.g. ‘to love’, ‘to be long’) and being (e.g. ‘is’, ‘there is’). Basic Denjongke word order is APV (or SOV), and syntactically Denjongke verbs are distinguished from other word classes by their ability to act as the head of the predicate/verb complex, which occurs at the end of the clause. The three major divisions in verbs are stative vs. dynamic verbs, controlled vs. non-controlled verbs and honorific vs. ordinary verbs, see §3.3.2-4.

In his grammar of the Tibeto-Burman language Lahu, Matisoff (1973: 193) uses a criterion for verbhood which, he says, at the time also worked for all studied Tibeto-Burman languages, namely the ability to follow directly the “negative adverb *mā*”. This criterion also works quite nicely in Denjongke: it is almost exclusively verbs that can be preceded by the perfective negator *ma-* and imperfective negator *mi-*. The only problem with this definition is that there are a few adjectives derived from stative verbs that may also take the negating prefix, e.g. *ma-tsā:m* ‘dirty’ (cf. *tsā:po* ‘clean’) derived from the verb *tsā:* ‘be clean’. However, if these adjectives, and I have not found many, are seen as essentially nominalized verbs expressing a property concept, the definition holds.<sup>104</sup>

Another potential problem with applying Matisoff’s criterion to Denjongke is that the negated forms of copulas, which are here analyzed as verbs, do not use the prefixed *ma-* but have separate negated forms instead, i.e. personal negated equative *mē:* (cf. positive *ī:*), neutral negated equative *mēmbē* (cf. positive *bē?*), personal negated existential *mē?* (cf. positive *jō?*) and sensorial negated existential *mīndu?* (cf. positive *du?*). All of these negated copulas can, however, be easily seen as derived from positive constructions supplemented by the negators *ma-* and *mi-*.

Verbs are typically monosyllabic, a fact that distinguishes verbs from adjectives (if the monosyllabic property concept words are considered stative verbs, see §3.4.1), which tend to have two or more syllables (although some exceptions exist), but not from nouns, many of which are monosyllabic. In their base forms, many verbs and monosyllabic nouns that have unrelated meanings are homonymous, e.g. *p’ja* ལྷུ་ ‘do (verb)’ and *p’ja* ལྷུ་ ‘bird (noun)’, *ta* ལྷུ་ ‘look (verb)’ and *ta* ལྷུ་ ‘horse (noun)’, *ga* ལྷུ་ ‘laugh; like’ (verb) and *ga* ལྷུ་ ‘saddle’/*ga* ལྷུ་ ‘ginger’ (noun). Therefore, it is only when used in a sentence, in a certain syntactic position and with additional verbal morphology, that some verbs are distinguished from nouns. The presence of two or more syllables in a verb suggest that the verb in question is a phrasal verb (e.g. *lo tē?* ‘trust’, consisting of *ló* ‘mind’ and *tē?* ‘entrust’, see §4.2.2) or a serial verb construction (e.g. *bak ô:* ‘bring’ consisting of *bak* ‘carry’ and *ô:* ‘come’, see §4.2.3). Complex morphology is revealed by the position of the negative prefix, which occurs between the elements, e.g. *ló mi-tē?* ‘does not trust’, *bak mi-ô:* ‘does not bring’.

Unlike Written Tibetan and Lhasa Tibetan (see Denwood 1999: 105-108), Denjongke verbs do not have differing stems based on tense, aspect and mood (TAM) values. Verbs are uniform across different TAM values. Exceptions are *gju* ‘go, walk’ with the perfective (past and imperative) form *sô:*<sup>105</sup>, and *ô:* ‘come’ with the imperative form *éó?*. These two suppletive/irregular forms also occur in serialized constructions such as *bak gju* ‘take’ > *bak sô:* ‘take!; took’ and *bak ô:* ‘bring’ > *bak éó?* ‘bring!’.

Lastly, the verbhood of a word is revealed by the ability to receive exclusively verbal suffixes, which are listed in §3.3.6.

### 3.3.2 Stative and dynamic verbs

Denjongke verbs may be divided into stative and dynamic. Stative verbs express time-stable qualities (e.g. *ga* ལྷུ་ ‘love, like’), adjective-like property concepts (e.g. *rìŋ* ལྷུ་ ‘be long’) and being (e.g. equative *ī:* ལྷུ་ and existential *jō?* ལྷུ་), whereas dynamic verbs describe events (*kjok* ‘strike [of a snake]’) and processes (*gju* ལྷུ་ ‘walk, go’). Stative and dynamic verbs mainly differ in how they are semantically interpreted in the periphrastic past construction VERB-*po* EQU: dynamic verbs obtain an unequivocally past interpretation, as in (3.11), but stative verbs

<sup>104</sup> The usual nominalizing suffix *-po/bo*, as seen in the positive form *tsā:po* ‘clean’, is often reduced in spoken language to *-m* when preceded by a nasal vowel/nasal, e.g. *sô:-bo bē?* [go.PFV-NMLZ EQU] > *sóm bē?* ‘(someone) went’.

<sup>105</sup> In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the invariable verb *jà:* ‘go’ is often used instead of *gju* and *sô:*.

may describe situations that hold in the present, as in (3.12-14). (Note that in (3.14) *jèbbe?* is a reduced pronunciation of *jò-po be?* [EX-2INF EQU.NE].)

(3.11) ཉེ་ ང་ཅག་ བཏུ་ཤིས་ཐྱིང་ ལོག་ འོང་བོ་ ཡིན།  
*te nàtɕa? ʈaɕidiŋ lò(k) òm-bo ɿ̃.*  
 so 1PL TPN return come-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘So we came back to Tashiding.’ (DB day trip)

(3.12) ལུ་ ང་ལོ་ དགའ་བོ་ ཡིན།  
*kʰu nà=lo ga-u ɿ̃.*  
 3SGM 1SG=DAT like-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘He likes me.’ (KT e)

(3.13) འདི་ ཐག་གོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙོ་ རིང་བོ་ ཟ෍ད།  
*di tʰako=di átsi rim-bo be?*  
 this rope=DEMPH a.bit be.long-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘This rope is a bit too long.’ (KN e)

(3.14) Bill Gates ལོ་ དངུལ་ གེས་བ་ ཡོད་པ་ཟ෍ད།  
*bil geits=lo ny: kɛ:p jèbbe?*  
 Bill Gates=DAT money much EX.NE  
 ‘Bill Gates has a lot of money.’ (YR e)

Stative and eventive verbs also differ in their tendency to occur with certain verbal suffixes. For instance, I did not find naturally occurring examples of stative verbs occurring with the perfect marker *-tsʰa:*. In elicitation, however, it became clear that the completive suffix can occur with stative verbs, see (3.15), where the usually stative verbs *ga* ‘like’ and *ɛé:* ‘know’ refer to events.

(3.15) a) ལུ་ ང་ལོ་ དགའ་ཚད།  
*mù nà=lo ga:-tsʰa:*  
 3SGF 1SG=DAT like-CMPL  
 ‘She has liked me (=accepted my proposal).’ (KT e)

b) ལྷོ་ཚན་ འདི་ ཤེས་ཚད།  
*lóptsʰɛ:=di ɛé:-tsʰa:*  
 lesson=DEMPH know-CMPL  
 ‘(I) mastered the lesson (=completed knowing it).’ (KN e)

The bare roots of stative verbs without additional marking may be used as predicates describing steady states:

(3.16) ང་ ཚོད་ལོ་ དགའ།  
*nà tɕʰo:=lo ga.*  
 1SG 2SG.L=DAT like  
 ‘I like you.’ (KN e)

### 3.3.3 Controllable and non-controllable verbs

Similarly to other Tibetic languages, and also other Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Sun 1999, Ding 2014: 118.), many Denjongke verbs form phonetically similar pairs in which one of the verbs describes a non-controllable (or non-volitional) action that happens by itself (e.g. *te<sup>h</sup>a?* ཆག་ ‘break [intr.]’) and the other verb describes an equivalent controlled (or volitional) action as caused by someone (*tea?* བཅག་ ‘break [tr.]’). In other Tibetic languages this distinction has been referred to as controllable vs. non-controllable (Shigatse Tibetan and Themchen Tibetan, Haller 2000: 175-176; Dege (Sde.dge) Tibetan, Häslér 1999: 134), transitive vs. intransitive (Donwang Tibetan, Bartee 2007: 122) and causative vs. resultative (Standard Tibetan, Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 352). The terms transitive and intransitive are infelicitous for Denjongke, because both groups include both transitive and intransitive members, e.g. *dzy:* འཇུལ་ ‘enter (controlled)’ and *ts<sup>h</sup>y?* ཚུད་ ‘enter, end up (non-controlled)’ are both intransitive<sup>106</sup>, and *tsuk* བཅུག་ ‘insert (controlled)’ and *sùk* ཟུག་ ‘insert (non-controlled)’ both occur in transitive clauses. Example (5.7) illustrates the transitive use of non-controlled *sùk* ‘insert, pierce’.

- (3.17) ང་ རང་ལོ་ མ་མཐོང་བ་ འཇོལ་ལྗེ་གི་ ཟུག་གོ་ ཟ෍ད།  
*ŋà rã:=lo ma-t<sup>h</sup>õ:-pa dzø:-diki sùk-o be?*  
 1SG 2SG.M=DAT NEG-see-CIRC err-NF insert-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘I pricked you (with a needle) accidentally, not seeing.’ (KN e)

The same Denjongke verbs are also problematic when using terminology from Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 352), who define causative verbs as “both transitive and volitional” and resultative verbs as “usually both intransitive and non-volitional”, making a (syntactic) transitivity division between the two verb classes. Therefore I have here adopted the terms controllable vs. non-controllable verbs. An alternative choice of terminology could have been volitional vs. non-volitional verbs.

Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 352) comment that Classical Tibetan has more than 200 such verb pairs and add that in Central Tibetan the number has been reduced to “a few dozen”. Bartee (2007: 122-123) found thirteen such pairs in Dongwang Tibetan. Table 3.8 lists 45 such pairs in Denjongke. The disability to occur in the imperative may be used as a test for non-control verbs (Häslér 1999: 134).

Table 3.8. Non-controlled and controlled verb pairs

Non-controlled			Controlled		
<i>ba:</i>	འབར་	‘catch fire, burn’	<i>pa:</i>	ཟ෍ར་	‘set on fire, burn’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>ik</i>	ཚོགས་	‘burn (intr.)’	<i>sék</i>	ཐོག་	‘burn (tr.)’
<i>ŋè:</i>	ཉལ་	‘sleep’	<i>ŋe:</i>	ལྷལ་	‘put to sleep’
<i>te<sup>h</sup>ak</i>	ཆག་	‘be(come) broken’	<i>teak</i>	བཅག་	‘break’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>ap</i>	པབ་	‘come down, descend’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ap</i>	པབ་	‘take down, cause to come down’
<i>ram</i>	རམས་	‘be destroyed’	<i>ram</i>	རྒྱམ་	‘destroy’
<i>εik</i>	ཞིག་	‘be destroyed’	<i>εik</i>	བཞིག་	‘destroy’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>y?</i>	ཚུད་	‘enter (non-vol.), end up’	<i>dzy:</i>	འཇུལ་	‘enter’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>om</i>	ཁོམ་	‘become dry’	<i>kam</i>	སྐམ་	‘dry’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>ã:</i>	གང་	‘be filled’	<i>kã:</i>	སྐངས་	‘fill’
<i>εu</i>	ཐུ་	‘melt (intr.)’	<i>zu</i>	བཞུ་	‘melt (tr.)’

<sup>106</sup> if intransitivity is defined as the lack of an affected patient-like argument.

<i>lõ:</i>	ལོང་	‘stand’	<i>l̥õ:</i>	ལོང་	‘raise up’
<i>p’yɿ?</i>	ཕྱད་	‘be detached’	<i>p’hyɿ?</i>	ཕྱད་	‘detach’
<i>tɛʰɛ?</i>	ཅད་	‘be cut off’	<i>tɛɛ?</i>	བཅད་	‘cut off (e.g. rope, road)’
<i>p’ik</i>	ཕྱིག་	‘come off’	<i>pik</i>	ཕྱིག་	‘take off, remove’
<i>bõ:</i>	ལྷང་	‘get wet’	<i>bã:</i>	ལྷང་	‘make wet’
<i>kʰø:</i>	ལྷོལ་	‘boil (intr.)’	<i>kø:</i>	ལྷོལ་	‘boil (tr.)’
<i>k’uk</i>	ལུག་	‘be bowed, be bent’	<i>kuk</i>	ལུག་	‘bend’
			<i>guk</i>	འལུག་	‘bow, bend oneself’ <sup>107</sup>
<i>gak</i>	འགག་	‘stop (intr.)’	<i>kak</i>	བཀག་	‘stop (tr.)’
<i>sùk</i>	ལྷག་	‘be inserted’	<i>tsuk</i>	བཅུག་	‘insert’
<i>kʰuk</i>	ལུག་	‘be drawn, invite oneself’	<i>kuk</i>	ལུག་	‘call, invite’
<i>t’up</i>	ལྷུབ་	‘be fulfilled’	<i>dup</i>	འལུབ་	‘achieve’
<i>p’ok</i>	ཕྱོག་	‘be dislocated, removed’	<i>pok</i>	ཕྱོག་	‘dislocate, remove’
<i>tsʰo:</i>	ལྷོས་	‘be cooked’	<i>tso:</i>	བཅོས་	‘cook’
<i>bja:</i>	འབྱལ་	‘get stuck’	<i>pja:</i>	དུལ་	‘stick’
<i>ɖok</i>	འདྲོག་	‘become frightened’	<i>tok</i>	དུག་	‘frighten’
<i>tʰuk</i>	འལུགས་	be mixed	<i>tuk</i>	དུལ་	mix
<i>t’ø:</i>	ཏྲོང་	become a hole	<i>tø:</i>	བཏྲོལ་	make a hole
<i>tʰøn</i>	ལྷོན་	come out	<i>tøn</i>	ལྷོན་	take out
<i>t’ip</i>	ལྷོབ་	‘become polluted’	<i>dip</i>	ལྷོབ་	‘pollute’
<i>só:</i>	ལྷོས་	‘survive’	<i>só:</i>	གསོ་	‘rescue’
<i>dzak</i>	ལྷགས་	‘drip’	<i>tsak</i>	ཅག་	‘make drip’
<i>lùk</i>	ལྷག་	‘slip out from inside’	<i>luk</i>	ལྷག་	‘take out from inside’
<i>kʰi:</i>	འལྱེལ་	‘be encircled’	<i>ki</i>	དུལྱེ	‘encircle’
<i>t’õ:</i>	ལྷོངས་	‘die’	<i>tõ:</i>	བཏོངས་	‘kill (hon.)’
<i>tʰo:</i>	འལྲོང་	‘be scattered’	<i>to:</i>	གཏོང་	‘scatter’
<i>p’ɛ?</i>	བས་	‘explode (intr.)’	<i>gɛ?</i>	ཆས་	‘cause to explode’
<i>ɛy:</i>	ལྷུས་	‘be moved’	<i>ɛy:</i>	ལྷུས་	‘move’
<i>tɛ’ã:</i>	ལྷུང་	‘become trained’	<i>dzã:</i>	ལྷུང་	‘train’
<i>rɛ:</i>	རས་	‘be torn’	<i>rɛ:</i>	རྒྱལ་	‘tear’
<i>dy:</i>	འདྲུལ་	‘become soft, tame’	<i>ty:</i>	ལྷུས་	‘tame, soften’
<i>ɛàk</i>	ལྷགས་	‘lose taste (of beer)’	<i>ɛák</i>	འབག་	‘put taste (to beer)’ thicken
<i>k’õ:</i>	ལོང་	‘be bent’	<i>kõ:</i>	ལོང་	‘bend’
<i>jêŋ</i>	ལྷོངས་	‘be pacified, entertained’	<i>jêŋ</i>	གལེང་	‘pacify, entertain’
<i>p’jaŋ</i>	ཕྱུང་	‘hang (intr.)’	<i>pjaŋ</i>	དུལྱུང་	‘hang (tr.)’

Because the term volitionality has been mentioned in the discussion above, a note on the difference between Denjongke and Tournadre & Dorje’s (2003) “Standard Tibetan” is in order. In Denjongke the verbal morphology after the volitional verb *ta* ‘look’ in *ta-u ĩ:* ‘I looked’ is identical with the non-volitional *tʰõ:* ‘see’ in *tʰõ:-bo ĩ:* ‘I saw’ (*-bo* and *-u* are allomorphs), whereas the equivalent expressions in Standard Tibetan have differing auxiliaries, voluntary *-payin* and non-voluntary *-cung* (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 141). Hence, unlike on Standard Tibetan, volitionality is not coded in the Denjongke verbal endings.

<sup>107</sup> Here the reflexive form *guk* ‘bow, bend oneself’ form a triplet of phonologically and semantically similar verbs along with *k’uk* ‘be bowed, be bent’ and *kuk* ‘bend’



### 3.3.4 Ordinary, honorific and humilific verbs

Similarly to Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 447) and many other Tibetic languages, Denjongke uses different verbs to refer to the same situation on different levels of deference. A few actions may be described by three verbs on three different levels related to deference, ordinary, honorific and humilific. Usually, an ordinary verb is used with friends and one's social inferiors. Honorific and humilific verbs are used when talking to and referring to one's elders and social superiors. Using honorific verbs shows deference to the addressee and/or the referent of the clause, and the use of humilific verbs implies the speaker's humility. Humilific forms are rare, only a handful of verbs form triads of ordinary, honorific and humilific forms, see Table 3.9. As seen in Table 3.9, the honorific *ze:* and humilific *ɛ̀u* have a wide range of meanings corresponding to several more specific ordinary level verbs.

Table 3.9. Ordinary-honorific-humilific triads of verbs

Ordinary	Honorific	Humilific	Gloss
<i>sà</i> ཟ་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	<i>ɛ̀u</i> ལྷུ་	'eat'
<i>tʰuŋ</i> འཇུང་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	<i>ɛ̀u</i> ལྷུ་	'drink'
<i>lèn</i> ལེན་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	<i>ɛ̀u</i> ལྷུ་	'receive, accept'
<i>láp</i> ལཔ་	<i>súnŋ</i> གསུང་	<i>ɛ̀u</i> ལྷུ་	'say'
<i>p'in</i> ཕྱིན་	<i>nǎ:</i> གནང་	<i>pʰy:</i> ལུལ་	'give'
<i>ò:</i> འོང་	<i>tɛ'ɔn</i> ཕྱོན་	<i>tea:</i> བཅར་	'come'

Ordinary-honorific pairs are more frequent than triads presented in Table 3.9, see Table 3.10. Many verbs lack honorific or humilific equivalents. These verbs may be formed into honorific periphrastic constructions VERB-2INF *nǎ:* with the help of the verb *nǎ:* གནང་ 'grant, give (hon.)', e.g. *kjap* ལྷུབས་ > *kjap-o nǎ:* ལྷུབས་པོ་ གནང་ 'please do, strike'.

Table 3.10. Some ordinary-honorific pairs of verbs

Ordinary	Honorific	Gloss
<i>p'ja</i> ཕྱིས་	<i>nǎ:</i> གནང་	'do'
<i>gju</i> འཇུ་	<i>tɛ'ɔn</i> ཕྱོན་	'go'
<i>p'in</i> ཕྱིན་	<i>nǎ:</i> གནང་	'give'
<i>sà</i> ཟ་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	'eat'
<i>tʰuŋ</i> འཇུང་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	'drink'
<i>ta</i> ལྷ་	<i>zi:</i> གཟེགས་	'look'
<i>lò:</i> ལོང་	<i>zǎ:</i> བཞེས་	'stand'
<i>ɛ́:</i> རྗེས་	<i>kʰɛn</i> མཁྱེན་	'know'
<i>nèn</i> ཉན་	<i>sén</i> གསན་	'listen'
<i>ŋù</i> ཅུ་	<i>ɛ́um</i> འཇུམ་	'weep'
<i>bak</i> འབག་	<i>nám</i> བསྐྱམས་	'carry'
<i>ki</i> ལྷུས་	<i>(ku)tʰuŋ</i> འཇུངས་	'be born'
<i>nè:</i> ཉལ་	<i>zim</i> གཟེགས་	'sleep'
<i>nà</i> ལ་	<i>ŋúnŋ</i> ལྷུང་	'become ill'
<i>ɛ́</i> མི་	<i>t'ò:</i> ལྷུངས་	'die'
<i>kʰju:</i> ལུས་	<i>sí:</i> བསེལ་	'wash'
<i>ga</i> འགའ་	<i>ge:</i> འཇུས་	'rejoice'

In addition to the forms given in Table 3.10, the verbs for eating and drinking also have the hyper-honorific form *teʰøʔ* ‘eat, drink (hyper-honorific)’, which may be used, for instance, in the presence of high lamas and royalty.

The humilific forms given above are all speaker-oriented, i.e. they convey the speaker’s humble attitude. However, there are also two forms which could be termed addressee-oriented humilifics (hence the gloss AO.HUM): using the verbs *paʔ* བཀ། and *kyʔ* ལུང་ (?), which both refer to eating, communicates to the addressee that the speaker claims to be in position to command him or her. Consultant NB commented that these forms could be used when addressing servants and one’s own (disobedient) children. These verbs are not semantic extensions of other eating-related terms such as ‘swallow’; they appear to have no other meaning than simply eating when being forced. Example (3.18) from the novel *Richhi* is a fixed saying which the author metaphorically applies to one of the main characters in the novel in a context where the character has to do something against his will. Consultant KN commented that the distribution of *paʔ/kyʔ* is limited to the imperative.

- (3.18) ཟ་ན་ ཟ་ མན་ ཟ་ན་ བཀ།  
*sà-ne sà, man-za-ne paʔ*  
 eat-COND eat NEG-eat-COND eat.AO.HUM  
 ‘If you are about to eat, eat. If you are not about to eat, eat it anyway (because I am in position to tell you so).’ (*Richhi* 65)

As can be seen from Table 3.9 and 3.10, the humilific and honorific verbs have a wider meaning range than the equivalent ordinary verbs, often covering the meaning range of more than one (in the case of the humilific *εù* even four) ordinary level verb. For instance, the ordinary verb *ཟ་* *sà* has the meaning ‘eat’, whereas the honorific form *ཟེ་* *sa* has the meaning range ‘eat, drink, receive, acquire’<sup>108</sup>. In the same vein, the honorific verb *ཅེ་ཅོན་* *teʰon* means both ‘come’ and ‘go’, whereas the ordinary register has separate words *འོང་* *o* ‘come’ and *འགྱུ་* *gju* ‘go’. Similarly, the honorific *ཟི་* *zi* means both ‘look’ and ‘see’, when the ordinary register has two separate verbs *ཀློག་* *ta* ‘look’ and *མཐོང་* *tʰo* ‘see’. Polite and deferential forms of speech give more interpretative freedom to the addressee than ordinary forms. The following examples illustrate the use of ordinary verb *ལཔ་* *lap* (3.19), humilific *ལུ་* *lu* (3.20) and honorific *སྟུན་* *súnj* (3.21), which all have the meaning ‘say’. The speaker of (3.19) is a teacher who speaks to students that could be his children’s age and does not feel the need to show special deference to the person he is referring to in the clause. Examples (3.20) and (3.21), on the other hand, are from a public speech with some distinguished guests in the audience and a referent to be honored (Chief Minister).

- (3.19) དེ་བ་ འདི་ ལོང་ཆེན་ མ་བྱས་གོ་ ལཔ་པོ་ ཞིན།  
*tʰep=di kʰo:teʰẽ: ma-jà-ge lap-o t̃.*  
 book=DEMPH expensive NEG-do-HOR say-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I said (to him): ‘Let’s not make the book expensive.’’ (KL BLA 12)

<sup>108</sup> Nepali, in which most Denjongke speakers have at least some competence, functions analogically. When requesting someone to eat, using the word *linu* ‘take’ is considered more polite than *khanu* ‘eat’, e.g. *linuhos* ‘Please have (some).’ vs *khanuhos* ‘Please eat’.

- (3.20) ཚོག་གཅིག་གཉིས་ཅིག་གཅོ་མྱུ་ རྫོན་པའི་སྐྱ་མདུན་ཁར་ད་ང་ཅག་བཅར་ཟླ་གི་ལྷ་བོ་ཞིན།  
*tsʰik tei-ní:=teiʔ tsotei lémpø: kumdynkʰa t'a ηàteaʔ*  
 word one-two=INDF chief minister.GEN in.the.presence now 1PL  
*tea:-diki ɛ̀: ǎ̃:*  
 come.HUM-NF say.HUM. 2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Coming to the presence of the Chief Minister we said a few words.’ (NAB BLA 7)

- (3.21) ཁོང་ཨོ་འདི་ཡང་གསུང་ཞེ་ཡོད།  
*kʰõ: ódi =jã: súŋ-zɛ jòu.*  
 3SG.HON that=too say.HON-PST up.there  
 ‘He (the Chief Minister) also said (like) that up there.’ (NAB BLA 7)

### 3.3.5 Reduplication

Denjongke uses the morphological process of verb root reduplication to mark completion/resultativity, as shown by the perfect construction in (3.22), or iteration/continuity, as shown by the nominalized complement construction in (3.23):

- (3.22) འདི་སྐྱམ་བྱི་བོ་བོ་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ།  
*di dɔm=na tʰi-ti-u jèbbeʔ.*  
 this box=LOC write-RDP-2INF EX.NE  
 ‘There is (something) written in this box...’ (TB e)

- (3.23) སྐྱང་མ་ལྗང་ལོ་ལྗང་ལོ་མཐོང་པོ་སྟེ།  
*bja:m ηompu diŋ-diŋ-po tʰõ:-po beʔ.*  
 fly green hover-RDP-2INF see-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘(He) saw green flies hovering (and hovering over the corpse). (KT animal story)

Reduplication by itself may function as a nominalized construction, as shown by (3.24), where a postposition is postposed to a reduplicated verb stem, and by (3.25), where the reduplicated verb marks a complement clause functioning as an argument of the verb *ɲɛn* ‘listen’.<sup>109</sup>

- (3.24) འགོ་ལས་ཐོང་ཐོང་ཟང་ལྷེ་  
*go=lɛ mjõ:-mjõ: sã:te*  
 beginning=ABL finish-RDP until  
 ‘from the beginning until the end’ (TB e)

- (3.25) ལུ་གིས་སུ་ནི་(Nep.) རོགས་འདི་ལས་ལས་ཉན་ཟླ་གི་  
*kʰu=gi puni ro:=di læp-læp ɲɛn-diki*  
 3SGM=AGT also friend speak-RDP listen-NF  
 ‘He also listened to what the friend said (and)...’ (TB bull story)

The various constructions using reduplication, along with non-reduplicating constructions, are discussed more in detail in §8.

### 3.3.6 Verbal affixes

Verbal affixes in Denjongke consist of the negator prefixes *ma-* (perfective) and *mi-* (imperfective) and several inflectional suffixes listed in Table 3.11, where the affixes are

<sup>109</sup> With nouns, reduplication marks iteration, see §4.1.8.

grouped according to their distribution in the verb complex.<sup>110</sup> The first group of suffixes in Table 3.11 consists of forms that participate in finite constructions which can end a sentence (hence the full stop in the left-most column). The left-most column shows in which type of construction the suffix typically occurs, signalling the placing of the suffix by \_, e.g. VERB-\_  
EQU refers to a syntagm such as *kjap-εε beʔ* [do-INF EQU.NE] ‘does, will do’. Some suffixes, such as *-εεʔ* and *-tεē:/zē:* respectively, form finite constructions only in conjunction with an equative (EQU) or an existential auxiliary (EX). Others, such as *tsʰa:*, can finish a finite sentence with or without an equative auxiliary, while still others, such as *-tεε*, occur exclusively without an auxiliary.

The second group of suffixes consists of exclusively nonfinal forms, which cannot end a sentence by themselves (hence the three dots ... in the left-most column). These suffixes attach directly to the verb root (marked V) and are not followed by any other suffixes listed in Table 3.11.<sup>111</sup> Note that secondary verbs<sup>112</sup>, which may also mark aspectual and modal information (see §4.2.3), are not listed in Table 3.11. The column on the right refers to sections where the use of the suffix is illustrated in a specific construction.

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<sup>110</sup> The copulas are the least verb-like with respect to suffixes. The copulas do not typically occur with the perfect, past, progressive or nonfinal converb suffixes, and non-personal copulas *beʔ* and *duʔ* only occur with the polar question suffix.

<sup>111</sup> However, the emphatic clitic *=rā:* and the demonstrative-emphatic *=di* may follow at least some of these forms. Moreover, the dative-locative *=lo* and ablative *=le* may follow the circumstantial-purposive converb *-pa/ba* and progressive *-tεē:/zē:* when it functions as an adverbial clause marker.

<sup>112</sup> The word “secondary” refers to the secondary semantic effect that the secondary verbs have in a verb complex in comparison to the primary verbs, see §4.2.3 for details.

Table 3.11. Verbal suffixes

<b>Suffixes that participate in finite constructions<sup>113</sup></b>			
V- EQU.	- <i>εεʔ</i>	infinitive I	§8.2.5, §8.4, §13.4, §13.6.2, §14.1.3
	- <i>po</i>	infinitive II	§8.1.1, §8.1.4, §8.1.8, §13.2.2
	- <i>ni</i>	infinitive III	§8.2.8
	- <i>k<sup>h</sup>ē:</i>	nominalizer	§8.2.3
V- (EQU).	- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>a:</i>	completive	§8.1.2, §9.1.3
	- <i>to/do</i>	imperfective	§8.3.1
V- EX.	- <i>tēē:/zē:/zin<sup>114</sup></i>	progressive	§8.3.3
V- EX/EQU.	- <i>rap</i>	imminent future	§8.2.7
V- .	- <i>tεε/zε</i>	past	§8.1.1
	- <i>ʔo</i>	probabilitative	§8.5.1
	- <i>tē<sup>h</sup>i</i>	friendly imperative	§11.3.2
	- <i>da</i>	friendly imperative	§11.3.2
	- <i>na</i>	suggestive	§11.3.2
	- <i>kε/ge</i>	hortative	§11.4
	- <i>ka/ga</i>	polar interrogative	§11.1.1.2
	- <i>kam/gam</i>	attenuated interrogat.	§11.1.1.3
	- <i>løʔ</i>	exclamative	§11.1.3.4, §11.2.1
<b>Exclusively nonfinal suffixes</b>			
V- ...	- <i>ti/di</i>	nonfinal converb	§15.2
	- <i>pa/ba<sup>115</sup></i>	circumstantial/purposive converb	§15.5.1, §15.8.1
	- <i>(patεε)ne</i>	conditional converb	§15.6
	- <i>ruŋ</i>	concessive converb	§15.7
	- <i>sā:, sonzā:</i>	terminative converb	§15.12
	- <i>sondā:/sumdā:</i>	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.2
	- <i>kap</i>	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.4
	- <i>dÿ:</i>	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.5
	- <i>reŋk<sup>h</sup>a</i>	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.6

While the function of the verb suffixes in Table 3.11 is illustrated in later chapters (see references within the table), the following subsection provides etymological and comparative morphological information of the forms, along with introductory examples. The verb suffixes are discussed in the same order they occur in Table 3.11.

### 3.3.6.1 Infinitives -*εεʔ*, -*po/bo* and -*ni*

The present analysis posits three infinitive forms in Denjongke. As was already pointed out in §3.2.3, the term infinitive is applied to nominalizing suffixes which refer to the verbal action itself. The nominalizing suffixes marking more noun-like concepts, i.e. person (-*k<sup>h</sup>ē:*), place (-*sa*) or manner of doing (-*tā:*), are called by the general term nominalizer. Of the infinitive

<sup>113</sup> Some of these forms also participate in non-finite constructions, e.g. the infinitive -*εεʔ* may form complement clauses, see §14.1.2 and the progressive -*tēē:/zē:* adverbial clauses of manner, see §15.8.3.

<sup>114</sup> The form *zin* is the reading-style pronunciation used by literate speakers, *tēē:* and *zē:* are spoken variants. In Martam (East Sikkim) *teou* is used instead of *tēē:/zē:*.

<sup>115</sup> This form has developed some finite-looking uses, see §15.8.1.

markers, *-εεʔ* and *-po* are more central and productive, whereas *-ni* is more marginal and semantically close to *-εεʔ*.<sup>116</sup>

The difference between the two main infinitive markers *-εεʔ* and *-po/bo* may be described in terms of spatiotemporal boundedness. Whereas verbal action marked by *-po/bo* can be characterized as spatiotemporally bounded, *-εεʔ* marks unbounded action. Because the infinitive marked by *-εεʔ* is unbounded, it is used as a copula subject which refers to action in general (see §14.1.3). Unboundedness or open-endedness of the infinitive marked by *-εεʔ* is reflected in the fact that when followed by an auxiliary copula the construction with *-εεʔ* results in a future meaning (e.g. *ṡ-εε ṡ*: [come-INF EQU.PER] ‘is coming/will come’). The bounded infinitive marked by *-po/bo*, on the other hand, typically refers to a specific action. It occurs in constructions with an auxiliary and in complement clauses. When followed by an auxiliary copula, the construction obtains a past meaning (*ṡm-bo ṡ*: [come-2INF EQU.PER] ‘came’). The form *V-εεʔ* is preferable to *V-po/bo* as a dictionary form because many nouns end in *-po*. Therefore it would be difficult to distinguish verb forms ending in *-po* from nouns by formal criteria. The form *-εεʔ*, in contrast, is a distinctly verbal marker.

While the infinitive marker *-po/bo* has an etymon in the Classical Tibetan nominalizer *-pa/ba* (Beyer 1992: 299), the origin of the form *-εεʔ* (WD *ཤད* *shad*) is unknown. The infinitive marker *-εεʔ* is used in the finite nonpast construction (§8.2.5) and several non-finite constructions, i.e. noun complement clauses (§13.4.2), postposition complement clauses (§13.5.2), complement clauses (§14.1.3) and in the construction VERB-INF EX (§8.4). In addition, the infinitive *-εεʔ* also occurs in short questions such as *k’an p’ja-εεʔ?* [what do-INF] ‘what to do?’, *k’ana gju-εεʔ?* [where go-INF] ‘where to go?’.

The infinitive marker *-po/bo* occurs in a host of both finite and non-finite constructions. In finite constructions, it occurs in the periphrastic past (§8.1.1), perfect (§8.1.4) and iterative past constructions (§8.1.8). It is the default marker for clausal nominalization of action and is used in relative clauses (§13.2.2), correlative clauses (§13.3), noun complement clauses (§13.4.1), postposition complement clauses (§13.5.1), complement clauses (§14.1.1) and in various adverbial clause constructions (§15). The uses of *-εεʔ* and *-po/bo* are illustrated in (3.26), which exemplify the present habitual and periphrastic past constructions respectively. The first infinitive *-εεʔ* is glossed as simply INF, the second infinitive *-po/bo* as 2INF and the third infinitive *-ni* as 3INF.

(3.26) a) ཚོ་དི་ལོ་ འབི་ཀོ་ ལབ་གད་ ལྷད།  
*ódi=lo biko lâp-εε bεʔ.*  
 that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘It’s called “biko”.’ (PL interview)

b) ཚོ་འདེམ་ འདི་ ངས་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཞིན།  
*ódem=di ṡá: t<sup>ho</sup>:-po ṡ.*  
 like.that=DEMPH I hear-INF2 EQU.PER.  
 ‘I heard (a thing) like that.’ (KN e)

The uses of infinitive III (marked with *-ni*, written *ཉེ* *nye*) somewhat overlap with those of infinitive I (marked with *-εεʔ*). Sandberg (1895: 40) reports two infinitive forms *-she* (*-εεʔ*) and *-nyi* (*-ni*) for Denjongke and comments that the former is used in Denjongke spoken in

<sup>116</sup> Similarly to the analysis here, Zemp (2018: 435) applies the term infinitive to verb forms marked by *-pa*, which has similar functions to Denjongke *-po*. Yukawa (2017: 210ff), on the other hand, posits five infinitives marked by *བ* *pa*, *བྱ* *gyi*, *བྱ* *rgyu*, *ཚེས་* *rtsis* and *འདོད་* *dod* in Lhasa Tibetan.

Sikkim and the Tibetan variety spoken in the Tsang region of Tibet<sup>117</sup>, whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. Sandberg (1895: 40) gives *tʰuŋ-ŋi t̃:* as an alternative for *tʰuŋ-εε t̃:* ‘(I) shall drink’. In my data, which is from Sikkim, *-ŋi* does not occur as a regular alternative to *-εε(?)* but it does occur in quite a few fixed expressions, sometimes overlapping with *-εε(?)*. For an example of a specific construction where *-ŋi* is used, consider (3.27).

- (3.27) a) ཇ་ འཐུང་ཉེ་ བྱས་ལོ་ ཞིན།  
*tɛˈa tʰuŋ-ŋi pˈja-u t̃:*  
 tea drink-INF do-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I was about to drink tea./I attempted to drink tea/I would like to drink tea.’ (TB e)

For a more detailed discussion on the various uses of *-ŋi*, refer to §8.2.8.

### 3.3.6.2 Nominalizer *-kʰɛ:*

The nominalizer *-kʰɛ:* is related to Classical Tibetan མཁན་ *mkkān*, which functions both as a noun suffix meaning ‘skilled in’ (Beyer 1992:) and a nominalizer meaning ‘person involved in proposition’ (Beyer 1992: 301). Cognates of *-kʰɛ:* are found in both Tibetic (e.g. Lhomi, see Vesalainen 2016: 224; Dege Tibetan, see Häslér 1999: 240) and non-Tibetic Himalayan languages (e.g. Tshangla, see Andvik 2010: 238). In Denjongke, the basic function of the nominalizer *-kʰɛ:* is to derive from a verb a nominal that refers to the person who is the agent of the verb (quite similarly to English *-er* in *sow > sow-er*), see §3.2.4.3. However, *-kʰɛ:* also occurs as part of the present habitual auxiliary construction:

- (3.28) ལྷམ་ ལུ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ དགོན་པ་ན་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ སྤང།  
*lám ὲu-watɛɛnɛ gʲømpa=na zu:-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*  
 lama say.HUM-COND monastery=LOC live.HON-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘If (we) talk about lamas, (they) live at monastery.’ (YR interview)

For more examples of *-kʰɛ:* in the present habitual use, see §8.2.3

### 3.3.6.3 Completive *-tsʰa(:)*

The completive form *-tsʰa(:)* (written ཚར་ *tshar*) derives from the Classical Tibetan verb ཚར་ *tshar* ‘complete’ and denotes a completed action. Cognates of *-tsʰa:* are used in a sense similar to Denjongke in other Tibetic languages, such as Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016: 222), Dzongkha (Watters 2018: 258) and Lhasa Tibetan (Denwood 1999: 174). The completive attaches directly to the verb root and can finish a sentence, see (3.29).

- (3.29) ང་ གཤམ་ག་ བྱས་ཚར།  
*ŋà jóʔ pˈja-tsʰa:*  
 1SG work do-CMPL  
 ‘I finished the work (or ‘working’).’ (KN e)

The completive *-tsʰa(:)* still retains some regular verbal qualities such as the ability to be nominalized with *-po/bo* (resulting in the form *tsʰou* in some constructions), although it does not function as a fully productive verb. For a more detailed treatment, see §8.1.2 (completive construction), and §9.1.3 (evidentiality).

<sup>117</sup> Sandberg (1895: 12) reports Sikkimese Bhutias (=Denjongpos/Lhopos) to have originally come from the Tsang region in Tibet.

### 3.3.6.4 Imperfective *-to/do*

The imperfective marker *-to/do* (written ཏོ/དོ *to/do*) attaches directly to the verb root. A cognate progressive form *-do* is found in Dzongkha (Watters 2018: 464). The imperfective form of a verb can end a sentence either by itself or in conjunction with an equative copula (VERB-*to* འི་/པེ་?). The range of uses of the imperfective covers past habitual and progressive, present habitual and progressive, and immediate future. For a present habitual example, see (3.30).

- (3.30) བུ་མ་ རྒྱུ་ལོ་ ཚོད་ལྗིད་ ལ་བ་ཏོ་ ཐོད།  
*p'um tɛ<sup>h</sup>umbo tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɕki? ləp-to bɛ?*  
 girl small.one PN say-IPFV EQU.NE  
 '(My) youngest girl is called Choki.' (DB life story)

For the main discussion on *-to/do*, refer to §8.3.1.

### 3.3.6.5 Progressive *tɛɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/-zin* (also *tɛou/zou*)

This form derives from WD/WT བཞིན་ *bzhin*, which according to Jäschke (1881: 483) has the meanings 'face, countenance', 'agreeably, in conformity, according to' and 'like, as'. Jäschke (1881: 483) also notes that བཞིན་ *bzhin* may mark present participle and བཞིན་དུ་ *bzhin-du* gerund. The reading-style pronunciation of the form in Denjongke is *zin*, a form which also occurs in the spoken language of literate speakers. The forms *-tɛɛ̃:/zɛ̃:* are allomorphs, whereas *-tɛou* is the variant used in the village of Martam (and possibly also in other villages). The progressive suffix is used in conjunction with existential copulas in periphrastic finite progressive constructions, as shown in (3.31).

- (3.31) ཁོང་ ད་ལྟོ་ དེ་བ་ རྫོག་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*k<sup>h</sup>õ: t'ato t'ɛp ɖok-zin du?*  
 3SG.HON now book read-PROG EX.SEN  
 'He is reading now (I see).' (KN e)

Phonetically, *tɛɛ̃:/zɛ̃:* are realised as *tɛɛn/zɛn* when followed by a dental (i.e. *kjap-tɛɛn du?*). For more examples, consider §8.3.3 (progressive construction), and §15.8.3 (adverbial clause). The progressive form differs from English *-ing* in that the Denjongke form, unlike the English form, does not occur as a nominal modifier (e.g. dying man).

### 3.3.6.6 Imminent future marker *-rap*

The imminent future marker *-rap* is cognate with WT གྲམས་ *grabs* 'preparation, arrangements', which is used quite similarly to Denjongke in Jäschke's (1881) dictionary entry. It co-occurs with either an equative or an existential copula and marks something that, in the speaker's opinion, is just about to happen in the immediate future.

- (3.32) ལུ་ འགྲུ་རབ་ མིན་མཐུན་ཡོད་འདུག།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u gju-rap bɛ?*  
 3SGM go-IMF EQU.NE  
 'He's about to go.' (KN e)

For a more detailed treatment, refer to §8.2.7.



### 3.3.6.7 Past *-tɛɛ/zɛ*

The past marker *-tɛɛ/zɛ* (written ཅེ/ཞེ *ce/zhe*) likely derives from WT བྱས་ *byas* ‘do’. Sandberg (1895: 42) reports the forms “zhe and che” as past forms of the verb ‘do’:

- (3.33) (Sandberg 1895: 42)  
*pya-she* ‘to do’  
*zhe* or *che* ‘did’  
*zhe song* ‘has done’

A similar “witnessed past” form ཅི *ci* (with the allomorph ཞི *ji*) occurs in Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 267). The past suffix *-tɛɛ/zɛ* is a final marker which cannot be followed by other verbal markers (except the interrogative) or auxiliaries. In my data, *-tɛɛ/zɛ* occurs only as a past marker, not as a past tense form of the verb *p’ja* ‘do’, see (3.34).

- (3.34) ལས་གཤོག་བྱས་ཞེ།  
*ŋà:*            *jóʔ* *p’ja-zɛ.*  
 1SG.AGT    work do-PST  
 ‘I worked.’ (KN e)

For a more detailed treatment of the past marker, refer to §8.1.1.

### 3.3.6.8 Probabilitative *-to*

The probabilitative *-to* derives from Classical Tibetan འགོ་ *gro* ‘go’, reflexes of which are used as a marker similar to Denjongke probabilitative in many Tibetic languages, for instance Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 236), Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016: 203) and Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002: 188). Written forms of the probabilitative that I have seen used in written Denjongke are གོ་ *gro*, རོ་ *pro* (Richhi) and ཀོ་ *kro*, the last of which is used in this thesis to represent spoken examples.<sup>118</sup> The probabilitative marker attaches directly to the verb root, constructing a final verb form which signals that the speaker considers it possible or probable that the proposition is true, i.e. the meaning ranges from ‘maybe’ to ‘probably’.

- (3.35) མོད་ད་མཚོ་འདི་ཀླུ་མེ་རྒྱུགས་སྟོ།  
*tɛʰøʔ*    *t’a*    *tsʰo=di*            *gɛ:*    *mi-tsʰu:-to.*  
 2SG.L    now    lake=DEMPH    cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB  
 ‘Now you probably won’t be able to cross the lake.’ (KT animal story)

For more examples, refer to §8.5.1.

### 3.3.6.9 Imperative suffixes *-tɛʰi*, *-da* and *-na*

The friendly imperative forms *-tɛʰi* (WD ཆི་ *chi*, although the phonetically less accurate form ཅིག་ *cig* from Central Tibetan is used by many authors) and *-da* (WD ད་ *da*) and the suggestive *-na* (WD ན་ *na*) attach to the verb root. The two first ones have cognates WT ཞེག་ *shig* (phon. *-ɛi*) and WT དང་ *dang* (phon. *-ta*) in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003:

<sup>118</sup>The form ཀོ་ *kro* is preferable to གོ་ *gro*, because the latter would word-medially typically result in voiced pronunciation. The form ཀོ་ *kro* is also preferable to རོ་ *pro*, because the former retains the velar place of articulation suggested by the etymon འགོ་ *gro*.

244). Denwood (1999: 168) calls these two markers “friendly imperatives”, a term which is also adopted here because the use is similar.

(3.36) a)  $\text{འཇུག་པོ་གནང་ཚེ།}$   
*su:p ze:-po ná:-tɛ<sup>hi</sup>.*  
 soup(Eng.) have-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN  
 ‘Please, have (some) soup.’ (KT discussion with TB)

b)  $\text{ང་ལོ་ཚུ་ཤུག་ཅིག་གནང་ད།}$   
*ŋà=lo tɛ<sup>hu</sup> ɛy:tɛy? ná:-da.*  
 1SG=DAT water a.bit give.HON-IMP.FRN  
 ‘Please give me a bit water.’ (rnam-rtog 26)

Several consultants have assured me that one of the friendly imperative markers is indeed *-tɛ<sup>hi</sup>* and not *-tɛi*. Figure 3.1. provides some evidence, although the experiment was somewhat artificial. Consultant KUN was asked to contrast the nonsensical *p’ja-tɛi* with the imperative form *p’ja-tɛ<sup>hi</sup>*. The wave forms of the two forms are given in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Wave forms from nonsensical *p’ja-tɛi* and imperative *p’ja-tɛ<sup>hi</sup>* ‘do!’ (KUN)



As seen in Figure 3.1, the prevocalic affrication is more prominent in *p’ja-tɛ<sup>hi</sup>* than in *p’ja-tɛi*. I suspect that sometimes, although not in Figure 3.1, the difference to *-tɛi* is rather voicelessness, *tɛj*. At present, the form is written *-tɛ<sup>hi</sup>*.

The suggestive *-na* is probably an old conditional form, which, although typically nowadays pronounced as *-ne* (West Sikkim) or *-no/nu* (East and North Sikkim), is still often written as WD  $\text{ན་ na}$  and also pronounced *-na* by some literate speakers as *na*. Denwood (1999: 168) calls an analogous form in Lhasa Tibetan a “suggestive particle”, translated as “what if”, thus suggesting a relationship with the conditional form. Interestingly, the form *-na* is also used for making a request more polite in Nepali, a language in which most Denjongke speakers are at least to some degree bilingual. I follow Denwood (1999: 168) in naming *-na* a suggestive suffix, which softens the tone of the imperative. The term “honorific imperative”, which I first considered as a term, is not appropriate for *-na*, because the presence of honorifics requires the use of other honorifics in the same clause (i.e. the use of an honorific verb would in good style require also using an honorific noun), but *-na* may attach to both honorific and ordinary verb stems, see the use with an ordinary verb in (3.37).

(3.37)  $\text{མ་ལག་ལོག་གི་འགྲུ་ན་}$   
*màla? lòkti gju-na*  
 quick again go-SUG  
 ‘Please go quickly back...’ (Nga’i ’gan 9-10)

For a more detailed description of imperatives, see §11.3.2.

### 3.3.6.10 Hortative *-ke/ge*

The hortative form *-ke/ge*, which is used for first person singular ('let me') and plural ('let us') exhortation, is cognate with a similarly functioning morpheme in neighbouring Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 235).

- (3.38) ང་ཅག་གི་ཚུགས་རང་གི་སྐད་ལོ་ཡར་རྒྱས་བཏང་གེ་སྟེ།  
*ŋàtɛa? k'a: ts'u? raŋ=gi kɛ:=lo jàrgɛ?*  
 1PL what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development  
*taŋ-gɛ=s.*  
 send-HORT=QUO  
 'Let's do what we can to develop our own language, I tell.' (KT life story)

For a more detailed description and more examples, refer to §11.4.

### 3.3.6.11 Interrogative suffixes *-ka/ga* and *-kam/gam*

While the origin of the polar interrogative suffix *-ka/ga* is not known to me, the attenuated form *-kam/gam* seems related to the Classical Tibetan polar question marker *-am* (Beyer 1992: 357). The polar interrogative marker *-ka/ga* and the attenuated interrogative *-kam/gam* can attach either to the verb root or one of the suffixes *-to/do* (imperfective), *-tɛɛ/zɛ* (past) or *-ɛɛ(?)* (infinitive).

- (3.39) a) འདི་ལམ་འདི་སི་ལི་གུ་རི་སློབས་ཀྱི་?  
*di ləm=di siliguri ʃɛp-ka?*  
 this road=DEMPH TPN arrive-PQ  
 'Does this road reach Siliguri?' (KN e)
- b) འདི་ལམ་འདི་སི་ལི་གུ་རི་སློབས་ཀྱི་མ་?  
*di ləm=di siliguri ʃɛp-kam?*  
 this road=DEMPH TPN arrive-ATTQ  
 'Does this road reach Siliguri, I wonder?' (KN e)

For the full discussion, see §11.1.

### 3.3.6.12 Exclamative *-lɔ(?)*

The marker *-lɔ?* can attach to (monosyllabic) stative verbs. It is the reflex of Written Tibetan ལོས་ *los*, for which Jäschke (1881: 554) gives the meaning 'in truth, indeed' and provides the following example: *mgon-skyabs rang-los yin* 'He is indeed the helper.' In Standard Tibetan *-lɔ?* (WD ལོས་ *los*) forms a how-question attached to monosyllabic adjectives/verbs (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 230), but in Denjongke the form denotes an exclamative rhetorical question, see (3.40).

- (3.40) ག་སྒྲིམ་གང་དར་ལེགས་ལོས།  
*k'atem k'ɛ:da:<sup>119</sup> lɛ:-lɔ?*  
 how cleaning be.good-EXCLAM  
 'How well tidied up!' (Richhi 45)

<sup>119</sup> This word is used specifically for the cleaning done for the annual New Year's festival Losung.

For more information on *-lɔʔ*, see §11.1.3.4 (alternative questions) and §11.2.1 (exclamatives).

### 3.3.6.13 Nonfinal converb *-ti/di*

The nonfinal converb *-ti/di* (written ལྷོ་/ལྷི་ *sti/sdi*) is cognate with the form ལྷོ་/ལྷི་/དེ་ *ste/te/de* (pronounced *-di*) in Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 296) and bears functional similarity to Lhasa Tibetan subordination marker *-ni* (ནས་ *nas*) (Denwood 1999: 221). In the most basic sense the nonfinal converb shows that the sentence is not finished (hence the term nonfinal). It typically implies anteriority but the temporal relationship of the actions denoted by the nonfinal and final verbs is determined by the verb and other contextual factors. For an example, refer to (3.41).

- (3.41) ཏེ་ འདྲིའི་ རྫོན་ལས་ རྫོ་བ་ རྩོད་སྡི་ ཁ་ལག་ འཇུ།  
*te di: jénle t'o:pa ló:-ti<sup>120</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a-laʔ k<sup>h</sup>ju.*  
 then this.GEN before morning rise-NF mouth-hand wash  
 ‘Before that I rise up and wash my face and hands.’ (KT discussion with TB)

For more information on the nonfinal marker, refer to §15.2.

### 3.3.6.14 Circumstantial-purposive converb *-pa/ba*

The circumstantial-purposive converb *pa/ba* marks an attendant circumstance to the verb in the main clause, see (3.42).<sup>121</sup> Mainly with directional verbs (e.g. ‘come’, ‘go’), but also in other specific contexts, the form is interpreted as expressing purpose, see (3.43). Purposive uses are typically affirmative, whereas circumstantial uses are typically negated, although circumstantial uses also occur in the affirmative. In the glossing, circumstantial (negated) uses are marked CIRC and purposive (affirmed) uses PUR. The written Denjongke form of *-pa/ba* is བ(ར་)/བ(ར་) *pa(r)/ba(r)*, which is a reflex of the Classical/Written Tibetan nominalizer *-pa* followed by the (optional) locative case marker *-r*.

- (3.42) མོས་ ཀམ་ལོ་ ཡི་གེ་ མན་བྲི་བར་ ད་རིང་ ཟླ་བོ་ བཞི་ ལྷག་ཏོ།  
*mú: karma=lo jìgi man-qi-wa dou zi lak-to.*  
 3SGF.AGT PN=DAT letter NEG-write-CIRC month four exceed-IPFV  
 ‘It’s now (being) more than four months since she wrote a letter to Karma.’ (lit. ‘Her not writing a letter to Karma is now exceeding four months’) (Richhi 161)
- (3.43) ང་ཅག་ གཞིས་པོ་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ ལྷ་བར་ བཅར་བོ་ མིན།  
*ñàteaʔ ní:-po bhaila ta-wa tea:-bo í.*  
 1PL two-COL PN watch-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘The two of us came to see Bhaila.’ (Richhi 11)

The circumstantial form may be followed by dative-locative *=lo*, repeating a strategy which was already used historically (*-r*) but had become inconspicuous. Currently, as *-r* is not recognized as a locative anymore, a new locative marker *=lo* may be added. For more

<sup>120</sup> The voicing/voicelessness of *-ti/di* following a velar nasal (usually realized as a nasalized vowel) has to be learnt on a case by case basis, for instance *t<sup>h</sup>uy-di* ‘drinking’, *só:-di* ‘going’, *òn-di* ‘coming’, *riñdi* ‘becoming long’, but *mjorñ-ti/mjò:-ti* ‘finishing’, *te<sup>h</sup>ò:-ti* ‘rushing’ (see also §2.7.1).

<sup>121</sup> The North Western Tibetan language Purik (Jammu and Kashmir) also uses *-pa* for purposive clauses (Zemp 2018: 441). In Purik, however, *-pa* (called “infinitive”) has a wider range of uses than the Denjongke purposive marker, covering some of the uses similar to Denjongke infinitive *-po/bo*.

examples on the adverbial use, see §15.5.1. (purposive) §15.8.1 (circumstantial). The circumstantial *-pa/ba* also occurs as a final marker, the use of which I do not fully understand, see the latter part of §15.8.1.

### 3.3.6.15 Conditional converb *-(patɛɛ)nɛ/(batɛɛ)nɛ*

The conditional converb in Denjongke is formed by adding *-(patɛɛ)nɛ* or the allophone *-(batɛɛ)nɛ* (written བར་ཅེ་ནེ་/བར་ཅེ་ནེ་ *par-ce-ne/bar-ce-ne*) to the verb root or the completive marker *-tsʰa(:)*. The optional part *-patɛɛ* probably derives historically from a combination of *-pa/ba* and WT རྩེད་ *byed* ‘do’. Both the shorter form *-nɛ* and the longer form *-(patɛɛ)nɛ* occur both in the written and spoken language. The form *-nɛ* is the southern and western pronunciation (e.g. Tashiding, Ralang), whereas is in the north (e.g. Lachen, Lachung) and east (e.g. Martam, Barapathing) the form becomes *-(patɛɛ)no*. In some localities *-nu* is used instead of *-nɛ/no*. The form *-na* is also used, although it remains an open question whether *-na* represents a spoken variant in some location or only a literary pronunciation preferred by speakers influenced by Central Tibetan.<sup>122</sup> Occasionally *-pa* is replaced by *-pʰ* (as in *kjap-ʰtɛɛnɛ* ‘do-COND’), which looks like a genitivized form of *-pa* or *-po*. The conditional converb *-(patɛɛ)nɛ/(batɛɛ)nɛ* may be accompanied by the non-mandatory clause-initial *kʰɛ:si?* ‘if’. For an example of the conditional, consider (3.44).

- (3.44) ང་ཅག་ན་མི་གས་པོ་འཇོམས་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་  
*ŋàtɛa? nà: mí kɛ:po dzom-batɛɛnɛ...*  
 1PL here human a.lot gather-COND  
 ‘If we gather here as many people...’ (NAB BLA 7)

For the main discussion on conditional clauses, see §15.6.

### 3.3.6.16 Concessive converb *-ruŋ*

The concessive converb *-ruŋ* (written རུང་ *rung*) attaches directly to the verb stem to form subordinate clauses with the meaning ‘although, even if’, see (3.45).

- (3.45) ལྷ་མོ་དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ལྗེ་བུ་བརྒྱུད་ས་རུང་  
*tɛʰutsʰø? tɛuktei? duŋ-ruŋ*  
 clock.time eleven strike-CONC  
 ‘Although it’s (past) eleven o’clock...’ (Richhi 43)

Neighbouring language Dzongkha has a cognate concessive form *-ru* (van Driem 1998: 308). A more detailed treatment of Denjongke concessive clauses follows in §15.7.

### 3.3.6.17 Terminative converbs *-sã:* and *-sonzã:*

The terminative converbs *-sã:* and *-sonzã:* both probably derive from the terminative postposition *=sã:* (WD ཟང་ *zang*).<sup>123</sup> The first part of *-sonzã:* is probably historically the secondary verb WT *song* མོང་ ‘go’ (the sibilant in *=sã:* becomes voiced after *só:*). The terminative converb obtains a variety of meanings ranging from terminative to simultaneous to causal, the last of which is illustrated in (3.46). For more examples, see §15.12.

<sup>122</sup> The form used in the novel Richhi is ན་ *na*. Sandberg (1895: 56) reports the spoken *-nɛ* and *-nu* and literary *-na*. The conditional form *-na* is used in many Tibetic languages, such as Dege Tibetan (Häsler 1999: 250) and Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016: 250).

<sup>123</sup> An alternative origin is WT མཚན་ *tsang* ‘because’, which may be reflected in the causal uses of the terminative construction.

- (3.46) ཞོ་འདེམ་ ལྷགས་སློལ་ ཡོད་སྟངས་ཟང་  
*ódem lùksø: jò:-sonzã:*  
 like.that custom EX-TERM  
 ‘Since there is such a custom...’ (SGD wedding customs)

In my data, only the short form *-sã:* (WD ཟང་ *zang*) occurs in writing, whereas the spoken language uses both forms *-sã:* and *-sonzã:*.

### 3.3.6.18 Simultaneous converb *-sondã:/-sompdã:/-sumdã:/-tsubda:*

The simultaneous converbal endings *-sondã:/-sompdã:/-sumdã:/-tsubda:* do not occur in written language. My current hypothesis is that the forms derive from the nominalized/infinitivized form of the secondary verb *só:* ‘go (past)’ followed by the conjunct *t’ã:* ‘and’, *só:-bo t’ã:* [go.PFV-2INF and], a type of simultaneous construction that occurs in both written and spoken Denjongke, see §15.3.3.1. The two forms *-sompdã:~sumdã:* arise from the reduction of the nominalizer *-po/bo* to *-m*, a process which occurs elsewhere in fast speech, e.g. *t’õ:-bo be?* > *t’õ:-m be?* ‘(he) saw’. The form *son-dã:* could then be a further assimilation of the nasal. Although individual speakers may favour one of the forms *-sondã:/-sompdã:/-sumdã:*, the data bear some evidence that these three forms may fall within the enunciatory potential of one person.

The forms *sondã:/-sompdã:/-sumdã:* are to be contrasted with the form *-tsubda:*, which only occurs in the speech of one elderly speaker from Pemayangtse (West Sikkim). This form derives less likely from the secondary verb *só:*. A possible origin of the form is the nominalized completive marker *\*-ts<sup>h</sup>a:-bo=dã:* > *\*ts<sup>h</sup>ou=dã:* > *tsub-dã:*. These observations are as yet hypotheses. The forms are in this dissertation presented as unified converbal suffixes and written with the experimental Denjongke spellings རྩོད་དང་ *song-dang* for *-sondã:*, རྩོད་མ་དང་ *songm-dang* for both *-som-dã:* and *sum-dã:*, and རྩོད་དང་ *tsub-dang* for *-tsubdã:*. These forms code action that at least partly temporally overlaps with the action denoted by the following verb, see (3.47).

- (3.47) ཉེམ་ ཤར་སྟངས་དང་ ཞོ་འདེ་ ལྷི་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*jìm ɛá:-sumdã: óde: ɛí-k<sup>h</sup>en be?*  
 sun shine-SIM like.that die-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘When the sun shines, (they) die like that.’ (KT discussion with TB)

For more examples and discussion, see §15.3.3.2.

### 3.3.6.19 Simultaneity markers *-kap, -dÿ:* and *-reŋk<sup>h</sup>a*

The simultaneity markers *-kap* (written སྐབས་ *skabs*), *-dÿ:* (written དུས་ *dus*) and *-reŋk<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>124</sup> (written རར་ཁ་ *ran-kha*) derive from Written Tibetan words related to time, WT *skabs* ‘time, moment’, WT *dus* ‘time, season’ WT *ran* ‘be time to’. The last one is further supplemented by the locative suffix *-k<sup>h</sup>a*. They all attach directly to the verb root, as shown in (3.48-50), although *-kap* more typically occurs with a nominalized and genitivized verb.

- (3.48) རྩོད་ས་འཁོར་ན་ རྩོད་སོ་ འབྲུག་སྡེ་ འདེགས་སྐབས་...  
*lãŋk<sup>h</sup>or=na nè:po t<sup>h</sup>u-ti dek-kap...*  
 car=LOC patient pick-NF set.inside=SIM  
 ‘When the patient is being picked up and placed inside the car...’ (Richhi 172)

<sup>124</sup> Some speakers pronounce the final vowel long *-reŋk<sup>h</sup>a:*.

(3.49) འགོ་དང་པོ་ན་འོང་དུས་...  
*go t'anpo nà: òn-dj̄:...*  
 start first here some-SIM  
 'When (I) at first came here...' (KT life story)

(3.50) ང་སློབ་གྲྭ་ནང་གི་ཚོས་ཚུས་རན་ལར་  
*ŋà lóbɔa nàŋɕa tɛ<sup>h</sup>o? p'ja-reŋk<sup>h</sup>a*  
 1SG school inside stuyding do-SIM  
 'When I studied at school...' (KT life story)

All these suffixes express the meaning 'when, while'. A more detailed functional treatment of these forms is found in §15.3.3.4-6.

### 3.3.7 Copulas

Copulas are a subclass of verbs that have little independent meaning apart from linking two arguments. In other words, copulas “have relational rather than referential meaning” (Dixon 2010: 159). In Denjongke, copulas can be identified as those verbs which can link a nominal argument to an adjectival argument. This definition includes both equative copulas and existential copulas. Equative copulas can link together two unmarked noun phrases or an unmarked noun phrase to an adjective phrase. Existential copulas, in addition to linking an unmarked noun phrase to an adjective phrase, can occur with one argument (pure existential use) or link an unmarked noun phrase to a(n optionally) case-marked noun phrase (locative and possessive uses).

Morphologically copulas differ from other verbs in that through frequent use, interrogative and negating elements have merged into separate forms which do not occur with other verbs, e.g. *mɛ̄:* (< \**ma-í:*), *mèn-a* (< \**mèn-na*, the interrogative *-na* does not occur with other verbs). Denjongke copulas are not totally devoid of referential meaning (i.e. other meaning than mere linking function), because they encode evidential distinctions. Simple copulas are summarized in Table 3.12, which does not include interrogative forms of *jò?/mè?* and *du?/mĩndu?* which are formed regularly by the polar quation suffix *-ka/ga*.

Table 3.12. Simple copulas

		Personal		Sensorial	Neutral		
					Ordinary		Apparentive
		decl.	interr.		decl.	interr.	
EQ	PRS	<i>í:/mɛ̄:</i> མིན་/མན་	<i>ŋá/mèna</i> ན་/མན་ན		<i>bɛ?/mèmbe?</i> ཟང་/མན་ཟང་ (also = <i>pɛ?</i> བད་)	<i>bo/mèmbo</i> <sup>125</sup> བོ་/མན་བོ་	<i>dɛ:/rɛ:</i> འདད་ <sup>126</sup>
	PST						
EX (pos./neg.)		<i>jò?/mè?</i> ཡོད་/མེད་		<i>du?/mĩndu?</i> འདུག་/མིན་འདུག་	<i>(jèbbe?/mèbbe?)</i> (ཡོད་པ་ཟང་/མེད་པ་ཟང་)		

The use of the copulas is described in §7. Comments in this section are limited to phonology, morphology and etymology. While the personal equative *í:* and the existentials *du?* and *jò?* have clear Classical Tibetan etymons ཡིན་ *yin*, འདུག་ *'dug* and ཡོད་ *yod* respectively, the origin of

<sup>125</sup> This form is homophonic and homographic (in WD) with the nominalized form *mèm-bo* used in such expression as *mèm-bo bɛ?* 'is/was not'.

<sup>126</sup> This is an innovative WD form.

evidentially neutral equative  $b\epsilon?$ <sup>127</sup> is unclear. Semantically  $b\epsilon?$  is somewhat similar to Lhasa Tibetan རེད *red*. Morphologically it resembles the Shigatse evidentially neutral copula  $pi\dot{\epsilon}$  (Haller 2000: 186), the Lhomi copula  $bet$ <sup>128</sup> (neg. *mem-pet*, Vesalainen 2016) and the last syllable of the Kyirong Tibetan (Lende) copula  $jimbe:$ , which codes recently acquired generally valid facts (Huber 2000: 157). Moreover,  $[b\epsilon(?)]$  is found instead of  $[re?]/red/$  in some Tsang Tibetan varieties (Tournadre & Jiatso 2001: 82). According to Bielmeier (2000: 121), the Shigatse  $pi\dot{\epsilon}$  and Lhomi  $bet$  derive from Written Tibetan བྱེད *byed* ‘make’. The same may be true of Denjongke  $b\epsilon?$ .

The interrogative copula  $na$  very likely derives from a historical interrogated personal copula  $*in-na$ , which has productive cognates at least in Dzongkha *in-na* (van Driem 1998: 367), Shigatse Tibetan  $j\ddot{i}-na$  (Haller 2000: 75) and Standard Tibetan  $j\ddot{i}n-na$  (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 223). The historical affirmative interrogative  $*in-na$  has through frequent use been synchronically reduced to  $na$ , while its negative, still productive counterpart  $m\grave{e}n-(n)a$  leaves the copular origin more transparent ( $m\grave{e}n$  is the negation of personal equative  $\dot{i}$ ). It is not at all clear whether  $na$  retains high pitch/register which would be expected on the basis of the source form *in-na* མིན་ན་. As long as detailed phonological study on its behaviour is unavailable, I find it instructive to mark the high pitch in order to retain the connection to the source form and thus keep open to discussion the possible phonological/phonetic effects caused by the source. The apparentative equative  $d\grave{e}:/r\grave{e}:$ , which I have not seen used in Denjongke writing, is a reduction of the fuller form  $da\ b\epsilon?$  ‘be similar’, which is also in use.

The interrogated forms given in Table 3.12 have corresponding attenuated forms given in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13. Direct and attenuated questions with copulas

Marker type	Polarity	Direct polar questions		Att. polar and content questions	
Personal equative	Affirm.	$na, i\eta-ga$	ན་/མིན་, མིན་ག་	$na\dot{m}$ $i\eta-gam$	སྐྱམ་/མིན་མ་/མིན་ན་མ་ མིན་ག་མ་
	Neg.	$m\grave{e}n-a, m\grave{e}\eta-ga$	མན་ན་, མན་ག་	$m\grave{e}n-am, m\grave{e}\eta-gam$	མན་ན་མ་, མན་ག་མ་
Neutral equative	Affirm.	$bo, b\epsilon-ka$	བོ་, སྐད་ག་	$b\epsilon-kam$	སྐད་ག་མ་
	Neg.	$m\grave{e}mbo, m\grave{e}mb\epsilon-ka$	མན་བོ་, མན་སྐད་ག་	$m\grave{e}mb\epsilon-kam (?)$ <sup>129</sup>	མན་སྐད་ག་མ་

It is highly likely that Written Denjongke (WD) མིན་ན་མ་ *in-nam*, which occurs nine times in the novel *Richhi*, reflects the spoken pronunciation  $[na\dot{m}]$ , although  $[i-nam]$  is also heard in spoken language, especially as a tag appended to imperatives. Consequently, in examples taken from *Richhi* I have written WD མིན་ན་མ་ *in-nam* as  $na\dot{m}$  in the phonemic transcription.

The sensorial existential  $du?$  may occur together with the intensifier  $-k\epsilon$ , i.e.  $du-k\epsilon$ . As discussed in §7.2.2.3, the use of  $-k\epsilon$  seems to add assertiveness and certainty to the statement based on sensorial experience, although the exact semantics of  $-k\epsilon$  are difficult to unravel. The only other verbal root to which  $-k\epsilon$  can be attached is, to my knowledge, the verb འགྲིགས་ *'grigs*

<sup>127</sup> I have heard some older speakers in Barapathing, East Sikkim, use the form  $m\epsilon?$  instead of  $b\epsilon?$ . Similar ambivalence is seen in Grierson (1909: 121), who lists “*bā, pā* and *mā*” as copula options (in addition to “*in* or *yin*”). The story of the prodigal son accompanying Grierson's description (gotten through David MacDonald) has the written form སྐད་ *smad* and the pronunciation given as “*mā*” (Grierson 1909: 123, 125).

<sup>128</sup> Lhomi allows for word-final plosive  $/t/$  to be realized. In Denjongke, the dental plosive is reflected in writing སྐད་ *sbad*, but the spoken realization of the final plosive is a glottal stop or a lengthened vowel.

<sup>129</sup> I do not currently have examples of this negated form but its existence can be hypothesized on the basis of the positive form  $b\epsilon-kam$ .



‘be alright, suit’, which forms འགྲིགས་ཀེ *’grigs-ke /dike/* ‘it’s alright’.<sup>130</sup> Other constructions where the intensifier possibly occurs are the progressive construction *-teunḡe/zunḡe* (see §8.3.3) and the completive construction *ts<sup>h</sup>a-kε* (see §9.1.3), in both of which the last element may be *-kε* retained from reduced *-du-kε*. The intensifier *-kε*, which occurs with *du?* should not be confused with the homophonous hortative marker *-kε/gε*, see §11.4.

### 3.4 Adjectives

This section discusses the defining criteria of adjectives (§3.4.1) and then describes adjective forming suffixes (§3.4.1) and adjective-modifying suffixes (§3.4.2).

#### 3.4.1 Defining criteria for adjectives

In some languages, there is no separate class of adjectives, which would be distinguishable from verbs and nouns. In Denjongke, however, there are some morphosyntactic criteria for positing a separate class of adjectives. Adjectives are distinguishable from verbs by their ability to appear as copula complements and from nouns by their ability to act more freely as noun modifiers (but see §4.1.2.4 for examples of bare nouns as modifiers of other nouns). Most adjectives are di- or trisyllabic, and the monosyllabic ones derive historically from disyllabic constructions in which the last syllable has been reduced and incorporated into the first one, e.g. *lēm* ‘good’ < WT *legs-mo/legs-po*, *sá:p(u)* ‘new’ < WT *gsar.po*.

Because the suffix *-po* has been historically used to form both adjectives and nouns, for instance *t’apo* ‘monk’ and *zanpo* ‘good’, adjectives ending in *-po/bo* cannot be distinguished from nouns by the morphology of their citation forms. Synchronically, however, many adjectives are being formed by adjective suffixes such as *-ta?*, *-te<sup>h</sup>ite<sup>h</sup>i* and *-tom*, which attach to stative verbs, and *-te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>ta?*, which attaches to nouns, see (3.51).

(3.51)	<i>teā:-ta?</i>	ཅང་སྤྲུགས་	‘beautiful’	(from <i>teā:</i> ཅང་ ‘be beautiful’)
	<i>teā:-te<sup>h</sup>ite<sup>h</sup>i</i>	ཅང་ཚེ་ཚེ་	‘beautiful’	(from <i>teā:</i> ཅང་ ‘be beautiful’)
	<i>dzam-tom</i>	འཇམ་ཏོམ་	‘easy’	(from <i>dzam</i> འཇམ་ ‘be easy’)
	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ō:to-te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>ta?</i>	ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ཚེ་དྲགས་	‘quick to anger’	(from <i>k<sup>h</sup>ō:to</i> ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ ‘anger’)
	<i>gja-te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>ta?</i>	གླ་ཚེ་དྲགས་	‘vast’	(from <i>gja</i> གླ་ ‘extent’)

More adjective-forming suffixes are described below. Adjectives in general are derived through adjectival suffixes from stative verbs and nouns.

Apart from suffixes, another morphological cue for distinguishing adjectives from nouns is reduplication, which is frequent with adjectives but not with nouns (e.g. *dumdum* ‘short’, *te<sup>h</sup>unḡte<sup>h</sup>unḡ* ‘small’). Furthermore, gradient adjectives may be distinguished from nouns (and verbs) by the ability to take the superlative suffix *-εo?*, e.g. *zanpo* ‘good’ > *zā:-εo?* ‘best’, *k’ε:te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>ta?* ‘important’ > *k’ε:te<sup>h</sup>i-εo?* ‘the most important’. Adjectives do not have a separate comparative form (for comparison of adjectives, see §5.6.1.3.2).

Although adjectives can be distinguished from verbs morphosyntactically, there is a close relationship between some verbs and adjectives. Many adjectives are derived from monosyllabic property concept verbs, and many of these verbs are still used to express the same properties as the adjectives, e.g. *lê:* ‘be good’ > *lēm* ‘good’, *dzam* ‘be easy’ > *dzampu*, *dzamtom*, *dzamta?* ‘easy’, *rī:* ‘be long(er)’ > *riḡku*, *riḡta?* ‘long’. Some of the adjectives

<sup>130</sup> This form may be influenced by the frequent Hindi expression *t<sup>h</sup>ik he:* ‘it’s alright’.

derived from verbs also take the verbal negator prefix in adjectival negation, e.g. *teä:* > ‘be beautiful’ *teä:-ʃaʔ* ‘beautiful’ > *ma-teä:m* ‘ugly, not beautiful’.

Examples (3.52-55) illustrate the same root used a) as an adjective and b) as a verb. In (3.53b), the verbal strategy is the preferred one in forming an alternative question.

(3.52) a) ག་འདི་ འཇམ་ལུ་ ཟླད་?

*k'adi dzampu beʔ?*  
which easy EQU.NE  
‘Which (one) is easier?’ (KT e)

b) ག་འདི་ འཇམ་གམ་?

*k'adi dzam-gam?*  
which be.easy-ATTQ  
‘Which (one) is easier, I wonder?’ (KT e)

(3.53) a) ཉེ་ ལེབ་ མནོ་ནེ་ འདི་ བདེན་དྲགས་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།

*tɛ lɛp nɔ:-nɛ=di denʃa? dem=teɪ? du-kɛ.*  
then very.much think-COND=DEPMH true such=INDF EX.SEN-IN  
‘If (I) think hard about it, (it) looks like it’s true.’ (CY interview)

b) འདི་ ད་ བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་?

*di t'a deŋ-gam min-deŋ-gam?*  
this now be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ  
‘Now is that true or not true?’ (DR discussion with KL)

(3.54) a) འདི་ ཟུ་གུ་ འདི་ འདི་ལས་ རིང་ལྷ་ ཟླད།

*di juku=di di=le riŋku beʔ.*  
this pen=DEMPH this=ABL long EQU.NE  
‘This pen is longer than this.’ (TB e)

b) ཇ་བརྩུང་ འདི་ ཇ་ཙེ་ རིང་བོ་ ཟླད།

*tɛ'aduŋ=di átsi rim-bo beʔ.*  
tea-churn=DEMPH a.bit be(.too).long EQU.NE  
The tea churn is a bit (too) long. (PT e)

(3.55) a) ལྱོང་ རྒྱང་རྒྱང་ གཅིག་ རྣང་ག་ལོ་ ང་ ཟླེ་ སློམ།

*k'jɔ: tɛ'huŋtɛ'huŋ=teɪ? nəŋɛa=lo ŋà ki: bom.*  
village small=INDF inside=DAT 1SG be.born become.big  
‘I was born and grew up in a small village.’ (KT life story)

b) ང་ གཟུགས་ རྒྱང་ག་དང་ འདི་ རྒྱབས་སྡེ་...

*ŋà zu: tɛ'huŋ-ɛɛ=di kjap-ti...*  
1SG body be.small-INF=DEMPH do-NF  
‘because my body was small...’ (CY interview)

Adjectival uses of the monosyllabic, verb-like property concept words are rare but do exist, especially in idioms such as (3.56), where the interpretation of each monosyllabic adjective is aided by the presence of the other (*màŋpu* > *màŋ/mā:* ‘(be) many’, *riŋku* > *riŋ* ‘(be) long’).

- (3.56) ལོ་མང་ལུང་རིང་འདེམ་འདི་ནང་གཤོ་  
*lò maŋ yɔʔ riŋ dɛm=di nàŋɕa=lo*  
 year many time long such=DEMPH inside=DAT  
 ‘within so many years and so long a time’ (KL discussion with DR)

The short forms may also occur in contexts where a longer form would usually be expected, see (3.57) employing *ɛ̀m* ‘stupid’, although the longer form *ɛ̀mpo* is used elsewhere in the same story in identical position.

- (3.57) རྩ་ཞེན་མ་འདི་  
*t'om ɛ̀m=di*  
 bear stupid=DEMPH  
 ‘the stupid bear’ (KT animal story)

In some uses, it is not clear, whether the monosyllabic form is a verb or an adjective, see (3.58) where the form has an unmistakably verbal ending and (3.59), which occurs in a syntactic position where both verbs and adjectives may occur.

- (3.58) ཆར་བ་ལྷོ་ཚད།  
*te<sup>h</sup>a:p bom-ts<sup>h</sup>a:*  
 rain grow-CMPL  
 ‘Rain has increased.’ (oh, Tashiding)

- (3.59) ཆར་བ་ལྷོ་འདུག་གོ།  
*te<sup>h</sup>a:p bom du-kɛ.*  
 rain big/grow EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘Rain has increased.’ (oh, Tashiding)

After this introduction, the following two sections describe adjective forming suffixes and adjective-modifying suffixes.

### 3.4.2 Adjective-forming suffixes

Denjongke adjectives are formed from stative verb or noun roots. The most frequent adjective-forming suffix is *-taʔ*, which does not have the “excessive” meaning that its cognate has in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 229). It typically attaches to stative verbs but occasionally also to nouns (e.g. *ŋɛntaʔ* ‘pleasant to hear’ from ལྷན་ ‘ear [hon.]’). For examples, consider (3.60):

(3.60)				
<i>teã:-ta?</i>	ཅང་སྐྱག་, ཅང་དྲགས་ <sup>131</sup>	‘beautiful’	(from <i>teã:</i> ཅང་ ‘be beautiful’)	
<i>k’jã:-ta?</i>	གྲུང་དྲགས་	‘cold (of weather)’	(from <i>k’jã:</i> གྲུང་, ‘be cold’)	
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>a-ta?</i>	ཚ་སྐྱགས་, ཚ་དྲགས་	‘hot’	(from <i>ts<sup>h</sup>a</i> ཚ་ ‘be hot’)	
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>ik-ta?</i>	འཚོག་སྐྱགས་, འཚོག་དྲགས་	‘hot (of weather)’	(from <i>ts<sup>h</sup>ik</i> འཚོག་ ‘burn’)	
<i>nam-ta?</i>	མཉམ་དྲགས་	‘equal’	(from <i>nom</i> མཉམ་ ‘be equal’)	
<i>jã:-ta?</i>	ཡངས་སྐྱགས་, ཡངས་དྲགས་	‘wide’	(from <i>jã:</i> ཡངས་ ‘be wide’)	
<i>t’ok-ta?</i>	དོག་སྐྱགས་, དོག་དྲགས་	‘narrow’	(from <i>t’ok</i> དོག་ ‘be narrow’)	
<i>t<sup>h</sup>o-ta?</i>	ཐོ་དྲགས་	‘high’	(from <i>t<sup>h</sup>o</i> ཐོ་ ‘be high’)	
<i>ma-ta?</i>	དམའ་གྲགས་, དམའ་དྲགས་	‘low’	(from <i>ma</i> དམའ་ ‘be low’)	
<i>ɲen-ta?</i>	སྐྱེན་དྲགས་	‘pleasant to hear’	(from <i>ɲen</i> སྐྱེན་ ‘ear (hon.)’)	
<i>riŋ-ta?</i>	རིང་དྲགས་	‘long’	(from <i>riŋ</i> རིང་ ‘be long’)	
<i>lè:-ta?</i>	ལེགས་དྲགས་	‘good’	(from <i>lè:</i> ལེགས་ ‘be good’)	
<i>zã:-ta?</i>	བཟང་དྲགས་	‘good (of health)’	(from <i>zã:</i> བཟང་ ‘be good/healthy’)	
<i>ɛim-ta?</i>	ཞིམ་དྲགས་	‘delicious’	(from <i>ɛim</i> ཞིམ་ ‘be delicious’)	
<i>jàmts<sup>h</sup>en-ta?</i>	ཡ་མཚན་དྲགས་	‘amazing’	(from <i>jàmts<sup>h</sup>en</i> ཡ་མཚན་ ‘be amazed’)	
<i>k’juŋ-ta?</i>	གྲུང་དྲགས་	‘clever’	(from <i>k’juŋ</i> གྲུང་ ‘be clever’)	
<i>sé:-ta?</i>	གསལ་སྐྱགས་, གསལ་དྲགས་	‘clear’	(from <i>sé:</i> གསལ་ ‘be clear’)	
<i>den-ta?</i>	བདེན་དྲགས་	‘true’	(from <i>den</i> བདེན་ ‘be true’)	
<i>ga-ta?</i>	དགའ་དྲགས་	‘glad’	(from <i>ga</i> དགའ་ ‘rejoice, like’)	
<i>kjo-ta?</i>	སྨོ་དྲགས་	‘crooked’	(from <i>kjo</i> སྨོ་ ‘be sad’)	
<i>sá:-ta?</i>	གསང་སྐྱགས་	‘secret’	(from <i>sá:</i> བསང་ ‘keep secret’)	
<i>gja:-ta?</i>	རྒྱགས་དྲགས་	‘fat’	(from <i>gja:</i> རྒྱགས་ ‘be fat’)	
<i>tuk-ta?</i>	རྩྭག་དྲགས་	‘thick’	(from <i>tuk</i> རྩྭག་ ‘be thick’)	

The suffix *-p(o)*, which has been historically used in noun formation is also a historical adjectivizer. All the basic colour terms and some frequent adjectives have been derived by *-po*, as shown in (3.61). While *bompu* ལྗོ་ལུ་ ‘big’ and *riŋku* རིང་གུ་ ‘long’ derive from stative verbs, I have not seen short forms of the colour terms such as *má:* དམར་ used as verbs. The short colour terms, however, occur in compounds such as *t’o:-na?* དོས་ནག་ ‘load-black’ (time of economic oppression of peasants in Sikkimese history).

(3.61)			
<i>bom-pu</i> <sup>132</sup>	ལྗོ་ལུ་	‘big’	(from <i>bom</i> ལྗོ་ ‘be big’)
<i>riŋ-ku</i>	རིང་གུ་	‘long’	(from <i>riŋ</i> རིང་ ‘be long’)
<i>ɛim-pu</i>	ཞིམ་ལུ་	‘delicious’	(from <i>ɛim</i> ཞིམ་ ‘be delicious’)
<i>k<sup>h</sup>ak-u</i>	ཁག་གུ་	‘bitter’	(from <i>k<sup>h</sup>ak</i> ཁག་ ‘be bitter’)

<sup>131</sup> As shown by the different spellings for this word and others in (3.60), there is some variation in writing the adjectivizing suffix. For instance, the first variant here occurs in a dictionary (Lama 2013) and the second one in the novel *Richhi*. It seems safe to assume that the form དྲགས་ can be generally used for writing the adjectivizing suffix *-ta?*.

<sup>132</sup> Sandberg (1895: 32-33) lists *te<sup>h</sup>empo* and *te<sup>h</sup>e* as ‘great’ and *bompo* as ‘thick (also ‘loud’)’. Walsh (1905: 4) glosses *bompu* as ‘big’.

<i>má:p(u)</i>	དམར་བ་/དམར་པོ་	‘red’
<i>sé:p</i>	སེར་བ་/སེར་པོ་	‘yellow’
<i>ka:p(u)</i>	དཀར་བ་/དཀར་པོ་	‘white’
<i>nàku</i>	ནག་ཀླ་	‘black’
<i>ṅompu/ḡompu</i>	ཕྱོག་པོ་	‘blue/green’

All the words in (3.61) deriving from verbs, can also be adjectivized by *-taʔ*. A difference between the present description of Denjongke and that of Sandberg (1895) is that the adjectives in Sandberg’s description systematically take the ending *-po* (and *-mo* in some cases), whereas *-taʔ* is not mentioned at all as an adjective suffix, e.g. Sandberg’s (1895: 71) *tsʰapo* ‘hot’ (here *tsʰataʔ*) and Sandberg’s (1895: 69) *kʰakpo* ‘difficult’ (here *kʰaktaʔ*).

The suffix *-m(o)*, which has been used for deriving feminine nouns (see §4.2.6) is also used as an adjective-forming suffix in a few adjectives.

(3.62)			
<i>tʰø:-m</i>	རྩོད་མ་	‘warm’	(from <i>tʰøʔ</i> རྩོད་ ‘heat’)
<i>kʰø:-m</i>	ཁྱོད་མ་	‘cold (of liquid)’	(from <i>kʰøʔ</i> ཁྱོད་ ‘to be cold’)
<i>ky:-mo</i>	སྐྱུ་མོ་	‘common, ordinary’	(from WT སྐྱུ་ <i>skyus</i> ‘altogether’)
<i>lè-m</i>	ལེ་མ་/ལེག་མ་	‘good’	(from <i>lèʔ</i> ལེག་མ་ ‘be good’)
<i>mà-lɛ-m/mà-lɛ-p</i>	མ་ལེ་མ་/མ་ལེག་མ་ མ་ལེག་མ་པོ་	‘not good, bad’	

The derivational suffixes *-teʰiʔaʔ* (meaning ‘great, big’, written more traditionally ཆེ་དགས་ *che-drags* and more phonologically ཆེ་དགས་ *chi-drags*), *-teʰɛ* (meaning ‘great, big’) and *-teʰuŋ* (meaning ‘small’) turn nouns into adjectives:

(3.63)			
<i>kʰõ:ʈo-teʰiʔaʔ</i>	ཁོང་ཁོ་ཆེ་དགས་	‘quick-tempered’	(from <i>kʰõ:ʈo</i> ཁོང་ཁོ་ ‘anger’)
<i>tsa-teʰiʔaʔ</i>	རྩ་ཆེ་དགས་	‘invaluable’	(from <i>tsa</i> རྩ་ ‘root, nerve’)
<i>dzik-teʰiʔaʔ</i>	ལྗིད་ཆེ་དགས་	‘heavy’	(from WT ལྗིད་ <i>ljid</i> ‘weight, heaviness’)
<i>gja-teʰiʔaʔ</i>	ཐྱུ་ཆེ་དགས་	‘vast’	(from <i>gja</i> ཐྱུ་ ‘extent’)
<i>ɕúk-teʰɛ:</i>	ཤུགས་ཆེན་	‘strong’	(from <i>ɕúk</i> ཤུགས་ ‘strength’)
<i>kʰɛ:-teʰɛ:</i>	གལ་ཆེན་	‘important’	(from <i>kʰɛ:</i> གལ་ ‘importance’)
<i>ɲàm-teʰɛ:</i>	ཉམས་ཆེན་	‘proud’	(from <i>ɲàm</i> ཉམས་ ‘arrogance’)
<i>ɲàm-teʰuŋ</i>	ཉམས་མུང་	‘humble’	(from <i>ɲàm</i> ཉམས་ ‘arrogance’)
<i>sém-teʰuŋ</i>	སེམས་མུང་	‘humble’	(from <i>sém</i> སེམས་ ‘mind’)

The reduplicated suffix *-teʰiteʰi* (deriving from WT ཆེ་ *che* ‘great, big’) forms adjectives from stative verbs:

(3.64)				
<i>teã:-te<sup>hi</sup>te<sup>hi</sup></i>	ཅང་ཚེ་ཚེ་	‘beautiful’	(from <i>teã:</i> ཅང་ ‘be beautiful’)	
<i>dzam-te<sup>hi</sup>te<sup>hi</sup></i>	འཇམ་ཚེ་ཚེ་	‘easy’	(from <i>dzam</i> འཇམ་ ‘be easy’)	
<i>ga-te<sup>hi</sup>te<sup>hi</sup></i>	དགའ་ཚེ་ཚེ་	‘glad’	(from <i>ga</i> དགའ་ ‘rejoice, like’)	
<i>te<sup>hi</sup>uŋ-te<sup>hi</sup>te<sup>hi</sup></i>	ཚུང་ཚེ་ཚེ་	‘small’	(from <i>te<sup>hi</sup>uŋ</i> ཚུང་ ‘be small’)	
<i>ŋɛn-te<sup>hi</sup>te<sup>hi</sup></i>	སྟན་ཚེ་ཚེ་	‘pleasant to hear’	(from <i>ŋɛn</i> སྟན་ ‘ear (hon.)’)	
<i>pe:-te<sup>hi</sup>te<sup>hi</sup></i>	དཔེ་ཚེ་ཚེ་	‘charming (of child)’	(?)	

Specific intensifying suffixes not occurring with other adjectives may be used with the frequent adjectives *riŋku* and *bompū*. The suffix *-k<sup>h</sup>jam* (WD ལྷམ་ *khyam*) is used in Tashiding (West Sikkim) and *-pam/kam* (WD པམ་/ཀམ་ *pam/kam*) in Martam (East Sikkim) to form adjectives from stative verbs. The consultants thought that adjectives formed with *-k<sup>h</sup>jam* or *-pam/kam*, when compared with the ordinary forms with *-po*, implied a greater degree, see (3.65).

(3.65)	a) Tashiding			
	<i>bom-k<sup>h</sup>jam</i>	ཕྱོགས་ལྷམ་	‘big’ (bigger than <i>bom-pu</i> ཕྱོགས་པུ་)	
	<i>riŋ-k<sup>h</sup>jam</i>	རིང་ལྷམ་	‘long’ (longer than <i>riŋ-ku</i> རིང་ཀུ་)	
	b) Martam			
	<i>bompam</i>	ཕྱོགས་པམ་	‘big’ (bigger than <i>bom-pu</i> ཕྱོགས་པུ་)	
	<i>riŋkam</i>	རིང་ཀམ་	‘long’ (longer than <i>riŋ-ku</i> རིང་ཀུ་)	

The derivative suffix *-teen/teẽ:* (WT/WD ཅན་ *can*) has the meaning ‘having, bearing’. It attaches to nouns to form adjectives, see (3.66), but has historically also formed nouns, see (3.67).

(3.66)			
<i>k’ɛ:-teẽ:</i>	གལ་ཅན་	‘important’	(from <i>k’ɛ:</i> གལ་ ‘importance’)
<i>p’uzi-teẽ:</i>	བྱ་གཞིས་ཅན་	‘child-having’	(from <i>p’uzi</i> བྱ་གཞིས་ ‘children’)
<i>rik(o)-teẽ:</i>	རིག་ཤོ་ཅན་	‘intelligent’	(from <i>riko</i> རིག་ཤོ་ ‘intellect’)

(3.67)			
<i>sím-teẽ:</i>	སེམས་ཅན་	‘animal’	(from <i>sém</i> སེམས་ ‘mind’)

Other adjective-forming suffixes are *-tom* and *-ba/wa* (which looks like a circumstantial converb, see §15.8.1 ).

(3.68)			
<i>dzam-tom</i>	འཇམ་ཏོམ་	‘easy’	(from <i>dzam</i> འཇམ་ ‘be easy , soft’)
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>a-tom</i>	ཚ་ཏོམ་	‘hot’	(from <i>ts<sup>h</sup>a</i> ཚ་ ‘be hot’)
<i>nòr-wa, nòr-wo</i>	ནོར་བ་, ནོར་བོ་	‘mistaken, false’	(from <i>nòr</i> ནོར་ ‘err’)
<i>dzø:-wa</i>	འཚོལ་བ་	‘mistaken, false’	(from <i>dzø:</i> འཚོལ་ ‘err’)

Adjectives may also be formed by adding a reduplicated suffix to a stative verb. Consultant KN commented that the reduplicated derivative suffixes add intensity to the adjective beyond what is implied by a non-reduplicated suffix, e.g. *dzamtō:to* ‘easy’ is even easier than the alternatives *dzampu* or *dzamṭa?* ‘easy’.

(3.69)				
<i>dzam-tō:to</i>	འཇམ་རྟོང་རྟོ་	‘easy’	(from <i>dzam</i> འཇམ་ ‘be easy’)	
<i>si:-tō:to</i>	བསེལ་རྟོང་རྟོ་	‘refreshingly cold’	(from <i>si:</i> བསེལ་ ‘feel cool’)	
<i>kʰø:-si:si:</i>	ཁྱོལ་སེལ་སེལ་ <sup>133</sup>	‘chilly’	(from <i>kʰø:</i> ཁྱོལ་ ‘be cold’)	
<i>nàk-susu?</i>	ནག་སྤྱག་སྤྱག་	‘dark’	(from <i>nàk</i> ནག་ ‘black’)	
<i>pe:-tokto?</i>	དཔེས་རྟོག་རྟོག་	‘charming’	(origin unknown)	
<i>tsʰa-tokto?</i>	ཚ་རྟོག་རྟོག་	‘hot’	(from <i>tsʰa</i> ཚ་ ‘heat, hot’)	
<i>tʰo-tiptip</i> <sup>134</sup>	རྩོ་འཐེབ་འཐེབ་	‘warm’	(from <i>tʰø?</i> རྩོད་ ‘heat (v.)’)	
<i>kʰø:-takta?</i>	ཁྱོལ་ཉག་ཉག་	‘cold’	(from <i>kʰø:</i> ཁྱོལ་ ‘be cold’)	
<i>dum-bebe?</i>	འདུམ་བད་བད་	‘short’	(from <i>dum</i> འདུམ་ ‘be short’)	

(3.70) རྩོ་བའི་ཁྱོལ་སེལ་སེལ་རྩུང་མ  
*tʰo:pø:*                      *kʰø:si:si: lúnma*  
 morning.GEN chilly wind  
 ‘morning’s chilly wind’ (Richhi 1)

(3.71) མི་འདི་འདུམ་བད་བད་འདུག།  
*mí=di*                      *dumbebe?* *du?*  
 human=DEMPH short EX.SEN  
 ‘The man is short.’ (KN e)

Colour words excel in reduplicated suffixes that are rare in other words, see §.17.4.

Other adjectival endings, which are of unknown origin, are *-nam*, *-su?*, *-pʰem/pʰym* and *-ka*, see (3.72).

(3.72)				
<i>gja:-nam</i>	རྩུགས་ནམ་	‘fat’	( <i>gja:</i> རྩུགས་ ‘be fat’)	
<i>nàk-su?</i>	ནག་སྤྱག་	‘dark’	( <i>nàk</i> ནག་ ‘black’)	
<i>tuk-pʰem/tuk-pʰym</i>	སྤྱག་པེམ་	‘thick’	( <i>tuk</i> སྤྱག་ ‘be thick’)	
<i>pjaŋ-ka</i>	ཕྱོང་ཀ་	‘poor’	(WT ཕྱང་ sprang ‘poor’)	

While *-ta?* appears to be the most productive adjectival suffix, often two or more alternative adjectival endings may be attached to the same stative verb root, as shown in (3.73).

(3.73)  
*zan-po/zã:-po* བཟང་པོ་, *zan-ta?*/*zã:-ta?* བཟང་དྲགས་ ‘good’  
*ɛim-pu* ཞིམ་པུ་, *ɛim-ta?* ཞིམ་དྲགས་ ‘delicious’

<sup>133</sup> also ཁྱོལ་བསེལ་བསེལ་

<sup>134</sup> also *tʰø:tiptip*

*teä:-te<sup>h</sup>ite<sup>h</sup>i* ཅང་ཚེ་ཚེ, *teä:-ta?* ཅང་དྲགས་ ‘beautiful’  
*ts<sup>h</sup>a-tom* ཚ་རྟོམ་, *ts<sup>h</sup>a-ta?* ཚ་སྐྱགས་ ‘hot’  
*dzam-pu* འཇམ་པུ་, *dzam-ta?* འཇམ་དྲགས་, *dzam-tom* འཇམ་རྟོམ་, *dzamtö:to* འཇམ་རྟོང་རྟོ་,  
*dzam-te<sup>h</sup>ite<sup>h</sup>i* འཇམ་ཚེ་ཚེ ‘easy’  
*riŋ-ku* རིང་ཀུ་, *riŋ-ta?* རིང་དྲགས་, *riŋ-k<sup>h</sup>jam* རིང་རྒྱམ་ ‘long’  
*k’ε:-te<sup>h</sup>ita?* ཀ་ལ་ཚེ་དྲགས་, *k’ε:-te<sup>h</sup>ε:* ཀ་ལ་ཚེ་ན་, *k’ε:-te<sup>h</sup>ε:* ཀ་ལ་ཅན་ ‘important’

Reduplication is a frequent strategy for forming adjectives from stative verbs (e.g. *dumdum* ‘short’ from *dum* འདུམ་ ‘be short’). These forms also occur as non-reduplicated adjectives with a suffix (e.g. *dumta?* འདུམ་དྲགས་ ‘short’). Reduplication and near reduplication are here considered ideophonic features, which are essential in forming ideophones, see §17.1. Ideophones are often ambiguous with reference to their status as adjectives or adverbs. The words listed in (3.74) are used mainly adjectivally. Other reduplicated words, which seem more ambiguous with reference to adjective vs. adverb distinction are introduced under ideophones in §17.1.

(3.74)

<i>dum-dum</i>	འདུམ་འདུམ་	‘short (vertical)’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>uŋ-t<sup>h</sup>uŋ</i>	ཐུང་ཐུང་	‘short (horizontal)’
<i>te<sup>h</sup>uŋ-te<sup>h</sup>uŋ</i>	ཚུང་ཚུང་	‘small’
<i>nòp-nop</i>	ཉོབ་ཉོབ་	‘soft’
<i>sáp-sap</i>	སའབ་སའབ་	‘thin’
<i>sóp-sop</i>	སོབ་སོབ་	‘soft’
<i>jä:-jä:</i>	ཡང་ཡང་	‘light (opp. of heavy)’
<i>rip-rip</i>	རྩིབ་རྩིབ་	‘dim’
<i>dop-dop</i>	ཐོབ་ཐོབ་	‘slow (of animate being)’

### 3.4.3 Adjective-modifying suffixes

Adjectives can be modified by the diminutive and superlative suffixes, which attach to the adjective root. The diminutive suffix (WD སྐལ་/སྐལ་ or སྐལ་/སྐལ་), which replaces the last syllable of the adjective, lessens the quality or quantity expressed by the adjective.

(3.75)

<i>bom-pu</i>	ཐོམ་པུ་	‘big’	>	<i>bom-sy:</i>	ཐོམ་སྐལ་	‘quite big’
<i>te<sup>h</sup>uŋ-te<sup>h</sup>uŋ</i>	ཚུང་ཚུང་	‘small’	>	<i>te<sup>h</sup>uŋ-sy:</i>	ཚུང་སྐལ་	‘quite small’
<i>nòp-nop</i>	ཉོབ་ཉོབ་	‘soft’	>	<i>nòp-sy:</i>	ཉོབ་སྐལ་	‘quite soft’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>o-ta?</i>	མཐོ་དྲགས་	‘high’	>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>o-sy:</i>	མཐོ་སྐལ་	‘quite high’
<i>ma-ta?</i>	དམའ་དྲགས་	‘low’	>	<i>ma-sy:</i>	དམའ་སྐལ་	‘quite low’
<i>tuk-p<sup>h</sup>em</i>	རྩུག་ཕེམ་	‘thick’	>	<i>tuk-sy:</i>	རྩུག་སྐལ་	‘quite thick’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>ō:totε<sup>h</sup>i-ta?</i>	ཁོང་ཁོ་ཚེ་དྲགས་	‘quick to anger’	>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ō:totε<sup>h</sup>i-sy:</i>	ཁོང་ཁོ་ཚེ་སྐལ་	‘quite quick to anger’

The phonological realization of the diminutive in (3.75) comes from consultant KN. An alternative pronunciation *-εy:* is suggested by the word ཚབ་ཚེ་སྐལ་ *tshap-che-shus* /ts<sup>h</sup>aptεεy:/ ‘quite serious (of medical condition)’ in the novel Richhi. When shown this word in Richhi, KN responded by commenting that there is probably an error in the text, the right form being ཚབ་ཚེ་སྐལ་ *tshap-che-sus* /ts<sup>h</sup>aptεesy:/. However, the form *-εy:* represents more likely a variant pronunciation than an error, as shown by (3.76) below. The same formative appears to be



used as reduplicated in the quantifier *ɛyːɛyː* ‘a bit’ (WD ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ *shus-shus* or ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ *shul-shul*). It also occurs in the negated perfect construction *tsi-ɛyː mɛʔ* [play-trace EX.PER] ‘has not ever played’, see §8.1.4.

(3.76) ལྷོ་ལག་ འདི་ འདྲ་ལྷུ་ མིན་ལགས།  
*p'e:la=di*                      *ɖa-ɛyː*                      *íː=la*.  
 appearance=DEMPH similar-DIM EQU.PER=HON  
 ‘Their appearance is quite similar.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

(3.77) ལམ་བསེལ་དཀར་གཏོར་ ཙ་ཙོ་ ལྷོ་ལྷུ་གཅིག་  
*lamsika:tor*                      *átsi bom-syː=teiʔ*  
 type.of.dough.effigy a.bit big-DIM=INDF  
 ‘a rather big lamsika-torma (=dough effigy as offering)’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

The superlative marker *-ɛoʔ* (WD ཤོས་ *shos*) intensifies the degree of the adjective. It attaches to the root from which the adjective is derived, e.g. *teʰuŋteʰuŋ* ‘small’ > *teʰuŋɛoʔ* ‘the smallest’, *teʰam-taʔ* ‘agreeable’ > *teʰam-ɛoʔ* ‘the most agreeable’.

(3.78) ལུམ་ བར་མོ་ འདིས་ ལུམ་ རྒྱང་ཤོས་ལོ་ འདྲེ་ ལབ་ལོ་ ལྷད།  
*p'um*                      *p'amo=diː*                      *p'um*                      *teʰuŋ-ɛo=lo*                      *deː*  
 daughter middle.one=DEMPH.AGT daughter small-SUP=DAT like.this  
*láp-o*                      *bɛʔ*.  
 say-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘The middle-born daughter said like this to the youngest daughter:…’ (rna-gsung 2)

Denjongke does not have a separate comparative form of adjective. Comparison is accomplished with the help of the ablative case, see §5.6.1.3.2.

### 3.5 Adverbs

This section first provides an introduction to adverbs (§3.5.1) and then introduces the various types of adverbs and their derivation (§3.5.2).

#### 3.5.1 Introduction to adverbs

Adverbs are here defined as a somewhat heterogeneous group of words that modify other constituents than nouns (see Schachter & Shopen 2007: 20). That is, adverbs modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs and whole clauses. This definition of an adverb is mainly syntactic. Several time words such as *t'o:pa* ‘(in the) morning’ and *pʰiruʔ* ‘(in the) evening’ are interpreted as adverbs, because their citation forms occur as adverbials without case marking.

(3.79) ཏེ་ འདིའི་ ལྷོན་ལས་ ལྷོ་བ་ ལོང་ལྷོ་ ལ་ལག་ འཇུ།  
*te diː*                      *ɲénle*                      *t'o:pa*                      *lòː-ti*                      *kʰa-laʔ*                      *kʰju*.  
 then this.GEN before in.the.morning rise-NF mouth-hand wash  
 ‘Before that I rise up and wash my face and hands.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(3.80) ལྷོ་ལྷུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཟམ་ ཟ་ལྷོ་ ལྷོང་།  
*pʰiruʔ*                      *tʰamtɛɛʔ sàm*                      *sà-ti*                      *mjòː*.  
 in.the.evening all food eat-NF finish  
 ‘In the evening, everyone has finished eating.’ (Richhi 4)

Temporal and locative adverbs, however, also have the nominal feature of occurring as genitive modifiers:

- (3.81) ལྷོ་ལྷོ་གི་ རྒྱལ་ལག་  
*p<sup>h</sup>iru=ki* *ɛɛ:la?*  
 evening.GEN meal.HON  
 ‘evening’s meal’ (Richhi 62)

- (3.82) མོ་ན་གི་ ལྷོ་  
*óna=gi* *tɕ<sup>h</sup>u*  
 there=GEN water  
 ‘the water (of) there’ (UTR plains story)

Temporal and locative adverbs also take ablative case to express spatial or temporal starting point:

- (3.83) ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལས་ ཟུག་ ལ་རེ་ མེད་མཁམ་ སྤང།  
*t<sup>h</sup>o:pa=le* *sám* *k’are* *mè:-k<sup>h</sup>en* *bɛ?*  
 morning.ABL food.HON any NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU-NE.  
 ‘Since morning there has not been any food.’ (DB trip story)

Some locational and temporal adverbs may receive optional dative-locative marking, which is also a noun-like quality, e.g. *t<sup>h</sup>o:pa* ‘(in the) morning’ > *t<sup>h</sup>o:pa=lo* ‘in the morning’.

There is not always a clear distinction between adjectives and adverbs in that adjectives may be used adverbially without modification, as shown by the adverbial (3.84a) and adjectival use (3.84b) of *màla?* ‘quick(ly)’. For similar uses of *né:mu* ‘real(ly)’, consider the adverbial in (3.85) and adjective in (3.86).

- (3.84) a) མ་ལག་ འགྲུ།  
*màla?* *gju?*  
 quickly go  
 ‘Go quickly!’ (KN e)

- b) ལྷོ་གི་ bike འདི་ ལེ་བ་སྟེ་ མ་ལག་ ཡོད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u=i=gi* *baik=di* *lèpti* *màla?* *jò?*  
 3SGM=GEN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very fast EX.PER  
 ‘His (motor)bike is very fast.’ (NB e)

- (3.85) མན་ལྷོ་རང་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ བསྟན་འཛིན་ ལྷོ་ཚོང་ ལ་ཉིས་ལོ་ སྟེ་བས།  
*né:mu=rā:* *mém̄po* *tendzĩ:* *tɕ<sup>h</sup>utɕ<sup>h</sup>ø?* *ni:=lo* *l̄ɛp.*  
 really=AEMPH doctor Tenzing clock.time two=DAT arrive  
 ‘Doctor Tenzing really arrives at two o’clock.’ (Richhi 31)

- (3.86) ལྷོ་གྱིས་ ལྷོ་གིས་ ལ་ལྷོ་ལོ་ ལ་ལྷོ་ལོ་ མན་ལྷོ་ སྤང།  
*l̄ɛŋɛ:=ki* *súm-bo* *ná:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* *né:mu* *bɛ?*  
 PRN.HON=AGT say.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ true/real EQU.NE  
 ‘What you said is true.’ (TB e)

Morphological cues for adverbhood are discussed in the next section on adverb derivation (§3.5.2). For ideophones, a special category of adjectives and adverbs, refer to §17.1. For the use of adverbs in clausal context, see §5.6.3.

### 3.5.2 Adverb derivation and types of adverbs

The following paragraphs introduce manner (§3.5.2.1), locational (§3.5.2.2), temporal (§3.5.2.3), quantifying (§3.5.2.4) and other adverbs (§3.5.2.5). The last section describes the approximative and directional adverbial suffix *-teika* ‘-abouts, around; towards’ (§3.5.2.6).

#### 3.5.2.1 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are typically formed by the adverbializer *-p'ja(ti)*, which attaches to adjectives, see (3.87). The adverbializer *-p'ja(ti)* derives from the nonfinal converb form of the verb *p'ja* ‘do’, *p'ja-ti*, where the converbal ending may be dropped. Similar use of the verb ‘do’ as an adverbializer is reported for Lhasa Tibetan འགྲུབ་ *byas* /tɕɛ:/ (Denwood 1999: 186) and Dzongkha འབད་ *'bad* /be~bä/ (van Driem 1998: 317). Both the short form *p'ja* and the long form *p'ja-ti* are in use, as seen in (3.87) and (3.88). The short form *-p'ja* is written as a suffix, whereas the converbal form *p'ja-ti* is written separately, reflecting its less grammaticalized status.

(3.87)	<u>Adjective</u>			<u>Adverb</u>	
	<i>k'aly?</i>	ག་ལུས་	‘slow’	<i>k'aly-p'ja, k'aly p'ja-ti</i>	‘slowly’
	<i>lèm</i>	ལེགས་	‘good’	<i>lèm-p'ja, lèm p'ja-ti</i>	‘well’
	<i>dzamte<sup>hi</sup>ite<sup>hi</sup></i>	འཇམ་ཚེ་ཚེ་	‘soft’	<i>dzamte<sup>hi</sup>ite<sup>hi</sup>-p'ja, dzamte<sup>hi</sup>ite<sup>hi</sup> p'ja-ti</i>	‘softly’

(3.88)	འདྲ་བུས་	ག་ལུས་	ག་ལུས་	བྱས་ལྟེ་	འཇམ་ཚེ་ཚེ་	བྱས་	རྒྱབས་	སྦང་ཤོ་ལགས།
	<i>de:-p'ja</i>	<i>k'aly?</i>	<i>k'aly?</i>	<i>p'ja-ti</i>	<i>dzamte<sup>hi</sup>ite<sup>hi</sup>-p'ja</i>	<i>kjap</i>	<i>bɛ=ɛo=la.</i>	
	like.that-ADVZR	slow	slow	do-NF	soft-ADVZR	speak	EQU.NE=AT=HON	
	‘(They) speak like that, slowly, softly.’ (RL)							

Manner adverbs may also be formed from adjectives by reduplication, e.g. *k'aly? k'aly?* ‘slowly’, which is an alternative to *k'aly-p'ja*, although reduplication can also co-occur with the adverbializer *-p'ja(-ti)*, see (3.88). Reduplication is considered an ideophonic feature, see §17.1.

There are also nonderived adverbs of manner which are not marked by *p'ja(ti)*. Tables 3.15 and 3.16 list adverbs of manner related to sleeping and other adverbs of manner respectively.

Table 3.14. Adverbs of manner related to sleeping

<i>k'ò:kɛ</i>	གོང་རྒྱུས་	‘(sleeping) on one’s back’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>abup</i>	ཁ་བུས་	‘(sleeping) on one’s tummy’
<i>sù:te</i>	བྱུང་ལྟེ་	‘(sleeping) on one’s side’

Table 3.15. Other adverbs of manner

<i>námtei(lo)</i>	མཉམ་ཅིག་ལོ་	‘together’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>alamki</i>	ཁྲ་ལམ་གྱིས་	‘clearly’
<i>hatok<sup>h</sup>a, hatolo</i>	དྲང་ཐོག་ཁར་, དྲང་ཐོག་ལོ་	‘suddenly’

The adverb *námtei(lo)* ‘together’, is closely related to the postposition *námpu/námtei?* ‘with’. In my data, the adverb typically occurs with the dative-locative marker added to the postpositional form but in one instance a form identical with the postposition is used as an adverb.

For examples on the uses of the adverbs of manner, refer to §5.6.3.1.

### 3.5.2.2 Locative adverbs

Many locative adverbs are formed from nouns by the suffix *-k<sup>h</sup>a*. The form probably derives from WT ཁ་ *kha* ‘mouth, face, (front) side’ (Jäschke 1881: 34), which, as suggested by the written Denjongke form ཁར་ *khar* in the novel *Richhi*, is supplemented by the historical locative marker *-r*. The adverbializer *-k<sup>h</sup>a* is not as productive in forming locative adverbs as *-p’ja(ti)* is in forming manner adverbs.

- gjap* རྒྱལ་ ‘back’ > *gjap-k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘in the back’  
*sá* ས་ ‘soil’ > *sá-k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘on the floor, on the ground’  
*lám* ལམ་ ‘road’ > *lám-k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘on the road/way’

As an indication that *-k<sup>h</sup>a* is a derivational suffix rather than an inflectional marker like case, *-k<sup>h</sup>a* may be supplemented with the dative-locative marker, e.g. *lámk<sup>h</sup>a=lo*, *sák<sup>h</sup>a=lo*. The form *-k<sup>h</sup>a* also converts some verbs into nouns and thus functions as nominalizer, e.g. *dze:* ‘meet’ > *dze:-k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘meeting, place/occasion to meet’. Sometimes, *-k<sup>h</sup>a* appended to a noun does not change the meaning, e.g. *k’jō:* ‘village’ > *k’jōṅ-k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘village’.

Some other locative adverbs are listed in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16. Some locative adverbs

<i>t<sup>h</sup>a:ni</i>	ཐག་ནི་	‘close, near’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>a:riŋ</i>	ཐག་རིང་	‘far away’
<i>lámta?</i>	ལམ་ཏུག་	‘above the road’
<i>lámme?</i>	ལམ་སྐོད་	‘below the road’
<i>jà:<sup>135</sup>, jàte</i>	ཡར་, ཡ་སྐྱེ་	‘up(wards)’
<i>ò?, òte</i>	འོག་སྐྱེ་	‘down(wards)’

In addition to forms in Table 3.16, pro-adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *nà:* མ་ ‘here’, *ts<sup>h</sup>u:k<sup>h</sup>a* ལྷོ་ཁར་ ‘on this side, nearer’) and some postpositions (e.g. *nàŋeə* རྩང་གི་ ‘inside’, *paŋk<sup>h</sup>a* བར་ཁར་ ‘outside’, *p<sup>h</sup>ilo?* རྩུ་ལོག་ ‘outside’, *bu.na* ལྷོ་ནུབ་ ‘in the middle’) are used as locative adverbs. For the uses of locative adverbs in clausal context, see §5.6.3.2.

### 3.5.2.3 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs are here divided into those referring to times of day (Table 3.17), those referring to days and years (Table 3.18) and other temporal adverbs (Table 3.19). Words from the first two categories also function as nouns, although their most frequent use is adverbial.

<sup>135</sup> The shorter forms *jà:* and *ò?* are used especially with verbs of motion, e.g. *jà: ò? gju-k<sup>h</sup>ē:* ཡར་ འོག་ འགྲུ་མཁམ་ [up down go-NMLZ] ‘those who go up and down’ (Richhi 158) and *jà:* also with *ló:* ‘rise’, e.g. *jà: lō:* ཡར་ རོངས་ ‘rise up, stand up’.

Table 3.17. Noun-like temporal adverbs referring to times of day

<i>ɲaru, haru</i>	ཇཱ་རུ་, ཉ་རུ་	‘(in the) morning, tomorrow morning’
<i>t'o:pa</i>	རྩོ་པ་	‘(in the) morning’
<i>ɲima</i>	ཉི་མ་	‘(in) day-time’
<i>ɲiŋguŋ</i>	ཉེན་གུང་	‘(at) noon’
<i>ɲimp<sup>hi</sup>?</i>	ཉེམ་ཕྱེད་	‘(at) mid-day’
<i>p<sup>hi</sup>:ts<sup>h</sup>am</i>	ཕྱི་མཚམས་	‘(at) dusk’
<i>p<sup>hi</sup>(: )ru?</i>	ཕྱི་རུ་	‘(in the) evening, night (after dark)’
<i>ɲupp<sup>hi</sup>?</i>	ལྔ་ཕྱེད་	‘(at) midnight’

The adverbs referring to times of the day may be followed by the spatiotemporal markers *-k<sup>h</sup>a* and/or =*lo*, e.g. *ɲaru(lo)*, *ɲaru(khalo)* ‘in the morning’, *p<sup>hi</sup>:ts<sup>h</sup>amlo*, *p<sup>hi</sup>:ts<sup>h</sup>amk<sup>h</sup>a(lo)* ‘at dusk’. Moreover, the form *ɲalo* ཇཱ་ལོ་, which does not occur as a noun, can express ‘in the morning’.

Table 3.18. Days and years

<i>gu:nup</i>	དགུ་རུབ་	four days ago	<i>gu:niŋ</i>	དགུ་ནིང་	‘3rd year before this one’
<i>ze:nup</i>	གཞིས་རུབ་	three days ago	<i>zo:niŋ</i> <sup>136</sup>	གཞོ་ནིང་	‘the year before last year’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>anup</i>	ཁ་རུབ་	the day before yesterday			
<i>dā:</i>	མདང་	yesterday	<i>nàniŋ</i> <sup>137</sup>	ན་ནིང་	‘last year’
<i>t'ariŋ</i>	ད་རིང་	today	<i>t'utei?</i>	དུ་ཅིག་	‘this year’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>orā:</i>	ཇོ་རངས་	tomorrow	<i>sā:pø?</i>	སང་མེད་	‘next year’
<i>nāŋtsi</i>	གནངས་ཚེ་	the day after tomorrow			
<i>ze:tsi</i>	གཞིས་ཚེ་	in 3 days from now	<i>ze:pø?</i>	གཞིས་པོད་	‘2nd year after this one’
<i>gu:tsi</i>	དགུ་ཚེ་	in 4 days from now	<i>gu:pø?</i>	དགུ་པོད་	‘3rd year after this one’

Table 3.19. Other temporal adverbs

<i>k<sup>h</sup>atsā:</i>	ཁ་སང་	‘some days/time ago’
<i>t'itsi</i>	དི་ཅི་	‘recently’
<i>t'asā:</i>	ད་སང་	‘this morning’
<i>làmsā:</i>	ལམ་ཟང་	‘suddenly’
<i>t'ato</i>	ད་ལྟོ་	‘now’
<i>t'aruŋ</i>	ད་རུང་	‘again, yet, still’
<i>tɛ:ra</i>	ཉི་ར་	‘again’

In addition to the the above-mentioned temporal adverbs, the postpositions *gjablɛ* རྒྱབ་ལས་ ‘after(wards)’ and *ɲénlɛ/halɛ/hema* ལྗོན་ལས་/ཉ་ལས་/ཉི་མ་ ‘before’ are also used independently as temporal adverbs.

The indefinite temporal adverbs, which use reduplication, express an unspecific temporal reference point (cf. indefinite pronouns, which express indefinite person reference, see §6.3.1):

<sup>136</sup> also *zo:niŋ*

<sup>137</sup> also *nàni?* ན་ནིང་

Table 3.20. Indefinite temporal adverbs

<i>p'a.p'a:(na)</i>	བར་བར་(ན་)	'sometimes, now and then'
<i>kapkap(na)</i>	སྐབས་སྐབས་(ན་)	'sometimes, now and then'
<i>rega:(...rega:)</i>	རེ་འགའ་(...རེ་འགའ་)	'sometimes(..sometimes)'

For indefinite adverbial expressions corresponding to English *whenever*, *wherever*, *however* and *for whatever reason* (“*whyever*”) refer to §6.3.2. Temporal adverbs are exemplified in §5.6.3.3.

### 3.5.2.4 Quantifying adverbs

Because adverbs were above defined as words which modify other words than nouns, quantifying adverbs can be defined as words which quantitatively modify other words than nouns. Quantitative adverbs can be divided into verb-modifying (Table 3.21), adjective/adverb-modifying (Table 3.22) and numeral-modifying adverbs (Table 3.23). Two adverbs, *lèp(ti)*<sup>138</sup> ‘very (much)’ and *átsi(m)* ‘a bit’, occur as both verb and adjective modifiers.

Table 3.21. Verb-modifying quantitative adverbs

<i>lèp(ti)</i>	ལེབ་(ཏི་)	'very much'
<i>ke:p, ke:po</i> <sup>139</sup>	ཀེ་པ་, ཀེ་པོ་	'much, a lot'
<i>màŋpu, màŋpo</i> <sup>140</sup>	མང་པུ་, མང་པོ་	'much, a lot'
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>edē:</i>	ཚད་ལྡན་	'considerably'
<i>màŋts<sup>h</sup>ø?</i>	མང་ཚད་	'to great degree, more (than)'
<i>nùŋts<sup>h</sup>ø?</i>	ཉུང་ཚད་	'little, less (than)'
<i>éy:éy:</i>	ཤུས་ཤུས་	'a bit'
<i>éy:téy:</i>	ཤུས་ཅིག་	'a bit'
<i>éyry</i>	ཤུས་རེ་	'a bit'
<i>átsi(m)</i>	ཨ་ཅི་(མ་)	'a bit'
<i>átem</i>	ཨ་ལྷེ་མ་ (?)	'a bit' (rare)
<i>nùŋnuŋ</i>	ཉུང་ཉུང་	'little, few'
<i>tæ:/dze:</i>	ཅེ་/འཇེ་	'at all' (+negation)
<i>tσα(:)le</i>	ཚྭ་ལས་	'at all' (+negation)

<sup>138</sup> This form is often pronounced with markedly high intonation.

<sup>139</sup> *ke:p* is a frequent and versatile quantifying morpheme which can modify a verb/clause or a noun. It also occurs as the second (quantifying) argument of a copula and independently as an indefinite pronominal ‘many’.

<sup>140</sup> *màŋpu/màŋpo* is in meaning and versatility similar to *ke:po*, but according to some speakers *ke:po* is “real” Denjongke and *màŋpo* a loan from Tibetan. The use of the form *màŋta?*/*mà:ta?* at least partly overlaps the use of *màŋpu/màŋpo*. Because *màŋta?*, however, is formed with the adjectival ending *-ta?*, it is analyzed as a quantifying adjective. By the same logic, *nùŋta?*, which at least partly overlaps in function with *nùŋnuŋ*, is also analyzed as a quantifying adjective.

Table 3.22. Adjective and adverb-modifying adverbs

<i>lèp(ti)</i>	ལེབ་ལྷི་	‘very much’
<i>pemissiki</i>	དེའི་མི་ཐིང་གི་	‘extraordinarily’ (in Martam: <i>pesimipø:/pemisipo</i> )
<i>k’ä:mentsɛʔ</i>	གང་མཚན་ཚད་	‘limitless’
<i>átsi(m)</i>	ཨ་ཙི་(མ་)	‘a bit’

Table 3.23. Numeral-modifying adverbs

Pre-numeral		
<i>halam</i>	ཏ་ལམ་	‘about, approximately’
<i>t’y:mene</i>	དུས་མན་ནེ་	‘about, approximately; almost’
<i>de:teiʔ</i>	འདི་ཅིག་	‘about, this much’ (lit. ‘like.this-one’)
Post-numeral		
<i>laksʰøʔ</i>	ལྷག་ཚད་	‘over, more than’ (lit. more.than-limit)
<i>kortciʔ</i>	སྐོར་ཅིག་	‘about’ (literally ‘around-one’)

For examples of verb-modifying quantitative adverbs, see §5.6.3.4. Adjective/adverb-modifying adverbs and numeral-modifying adverbs are illustrated in §4.3.1 and §4.4 respectively.

### 3.5.2.5 Other adverbs

Other adverbs include the epistemic adverbs (Table 3.24) and the restrictive evaluative adverb *teiku/teuku* (ག)ཅིག་གྱ་ ‘only’.

Table 3.24. Epistemic adverbs

<i>né:mu(ra)</i>	མནེ་མུ་(ར་)	‘really’
<i>mèntɛnɛ/mèntɛno</i>	མན་ཅེ་ནེ་/མན་ཅེ་ནོ་	‘perhaps, maybe’
<i>mènne/mènni</i> <sup>141</sup>	མན་ནེ་	‘perhaps, maybe’

Epistemic adverbs and the evaluative *teiku* ‘only’ are, together with other verb/clause-modifying adverbs are exemplified in §5.6.3.5.

### 3.5.2.6 Directional and approximative suffix *-teika* ‘-abouts, around’

Adverbs of time and place may be followed by the suffix *-teika* ཅིག་གྱ་/ཅིག་ཁར་ which marks directionality ‘in the direction of, towards’ and/or approximateness ‘near, abouts’, thus functioning similarly to the Nepali affix *-tira*. The directional meaning is illustrated in (3.89) and (3.90).

- (3.89) ག་རི་ ལམ་གྱི་ འོག་རྩུར་ ཅིག་གྱ་ ཡོད།  
*gari lām=gi ò:tsa-teika jòʔ.*  
 car(Nep.) road=GEN below-direction EX.PER  
 ‘It’s downwards of the car-road.’ (KT discussion with TB)

<sup>141</sup> The form *mènni* is from consultant KN (Martam).

- (3.90) དགོན་པོ་ལས་ ཇའི་ ཡར་རྒྱུ་ ཅིག་གའ་  
*gjømpo=le átsi jà:tsa-teika*  
 monastery=ABL a.bit up-towards  
 ‘a bit upward from the monastery’ (KT discussion with TB)

The approximative meaning (glossed APPR) is illustrated in (3.91) and (3.92).

- (3.91) *p<sup>hi</sup>:ts<sup>h</sup>am-teika* ཕྱི་མཚམས་ཅིག་གའ་ ‘at about dusk, around dusk’,  
*k’ana-teika* གན་ ཅིག་གའ་ ‘approximately where, whereabouts’.  
*t’ä:pu-teika* དང་ལུ་ཅིག་གའ་ ‘once long ago’ (lit. long.ago-*teika*)  
*t’atar-teika* ད་ལྟར་ཅིག་གའ་ ‘at around this time, ‘?nowabouts’ (lit. now-*teika*)

- (3.92) མོ་འདྲེ་ཅིག་གའ་ར་ ད་ བཞག་གོ་ གནང་གོ།  
*óde-teika=ra t’a zak-o náŋ-ge.*  
 like.that-APPR=AEMPH now set-2INF do.HON-HORT  
 ‘Let’s leave (telling the story) just about like that.’ (DB life story)

In addition to the markers above, the quantifying nominalizer *-ts<sup>h</sup>e?* may attach to verbs to express ‘as much as is x-ed’, see §13.2.4.

### 3.6 Minor word classes

The minor word classes are personal pronouns (§3.6.1), reflexive pronouns (§3.6.2), reciprocal pronouns (§3.6.3), indefinite pronouns (§3.6.4), demonstratives (§3.6.5), question words (§3.6.6), numerals (§3.6.7), postpositions (§3.6.8), connectives (§3.6.9), interjections (§3.6.10) and discourse particles (§3.6.11).

#### 3.6.1 Personal pronouns

Denjongke personal pronouns are summarized in Table 3.25. The 2PL form *te<sup>h</sup>ø=tsu* is given in brackets because it is a marginal form not accepted by all speakers.

Table 3.25. Personal pronouns

			Singular	Plural
1p			<i>ŋà</i> ཇ	<i>ŋàtea?</i> ཇ་ཅག་
2p	low-level		<i>te<sup>h</sup>ø?</i> ཚོང་	( <i>te<sup>h</sup>ø:=tsu</i> ཚོང་ཚུ་) <i>k’utea?</i> ལྷ་ཅག་
	mid-level		<i>rã:</i> རང་	<i>rã:=tsu</i> རང་ཚུ་
	honorific		<i>ʃenge?</i> ལྷན་རྒྱས་	<i>k’utea ʃenge?</i> ལྷ་ཅག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ <i>ʃenge:(=tsu)</i> ལྷན་རྒྱས་(ཚུ་)
3p	ordinary	masc.	<i>k<sup>h</sup>u</i> ལུ་	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ø:</i> ལོང་
		fem.	<i>mù/mò</i> ལུ་	
	honorific		<i>k<sup>h</sup>ø:</i> ལོང་ <i>k<sup>h</sup>ø: ʃenge?</i> ལོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ø: ʃenge:(=tsu)</i> ལོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་

The first person pronoun is *ŋà* from which the plural form *ŋàtea?* is formed by adding the Classical Tibetan plural marker ཅག *cag*. According to Beyer (1992: 230), in Classical Tibetan ཅག *cag* occurs “only after personal determiners”, an observation that also holds for



Denjongke.<sup>142</sup> Unlike many Tibetic languages such as Old Tibetan (Hill 2010), Balti (Bielmeier 1985: 76), Amdo (Ebihara undated), Dongwang (Bartee 2007:108), Shigatse (Haller 2000: 50) and Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016: 21), which have an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in first person plural pronouns, Denjongke pronouns do not make a clusivity distinction.<sup>143</sup> The honorific personal pronoun *ʃengeʔ* is interesting in that I am not aware of it being used as a personal pronoun in other Tibetic languages.

The use of the personal pronouns is discussed in §6.1.

### 3.6.2 Reflexive pronouns

Denjongke has three reflexive pronouns based on *rã*: ‘self’:

Table 3.26. Reflexive pronouns

Form	Notes on use	Gloss
<i>=rã:/=ra</i> རང་	attaches to personal pronouns	‘-self’
<i>rã:mẽ:/rõ:mẽ:</i> རང་མཚན་	used independently	‘oneself’
<i>rã:rã: so:so:</i> རང་རང་ མོ་མོ་	distributive use, typically co-occurs with a noun, personal pronoun or indefinite pronoun	‘each oneself’

The same form is also used as the the mid-level second person singular pronoun, see §3.6.1. The reflexive *=rã:/=ra* has also grammaticalized into an anaphoric emphatic clitic, see §16.1.1. The uses of the reflexive pronouns are illustrated in §6.2.

### 3.6.3 Reciprocal pronouns

The three reciprocal pronominals occurring in my data are listed in Table 3.27.

Table 3.27. Reciprocal pronouns

Form	Gloss
<i>tɛi:=ki, tɛi:(=lo)</i> གཅིག་གིས་ གཅིག་(ལོ་)	‘one to another’ (lit. ‘one to one’)
<i>tɛi:=ki zen(=lo)</i> གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་(ལོ་)	‘one to another’ (used in Richhi instead of the first form)
<i>p<sup>h</sup>entsỹ</i> . <sup>144</sup> བན་ཚུན་	‘each other’

The forms from which the reciprocals are formed are the numeral *tɛiʔ* ‘one’ and the demonstrative *zen* ‘other’ (demonstrativity of *zen* is defined in opposition to something else determined by the context). The form *p<sup>h</sup>entsỹ*: བན་ཚུན་ also occurs in Written Tibetan with the meaning ‘mutual, reciprocal, hither thither, each other’. The reciprocal pronouns are further illustrated in §6.2.

### 3.6.4 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are words that can replace a noun phrase (hence the term pronoun) and refer to people, objects or places without exactly specifying the referent (hence the characterization indefinite). All indefinite pronouns listed in Table 3.28, except for the last two, can be further characterized as quantifying pronouns. In addition to independent uses, the indefinite pronouns are used as noun modifiers. The specific numeral *k’ã:pu* ‘one full measure of’ may follow *t<sup>h</sup>amtɛɛʔ*, *k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:lɛ* and *tɛ<sup>h</sup>a:lɛ* ‘all’ to emphasize the meaning

<sup>142</sup> However, Sandberg (1895: 23) reports *-tɛaʔ* as a plural marker that can be used, unlike in my data, with at least some common nouns, see §3.7.4.1.

<sup>143</sup> Neither does Dzongkha, another southern Tibetic language (van Driem 1998).

<sup>144</sup> The demonstrative expression *p<sup>h</sup>a: ts<sup>h</sup>u:* བན་ ཚུན་ ‘thither hither’ may be used in a similar sense.

Table 3.28. Indefinite pronouns

<i>tʰamtɛɛʔ</i> ( <i>k'ǎ:pu</i> )	ཐམས་ཅད་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>kʰɛ:lɛ</i> ( <i>k'ǎ:pu</i> )	ཁོ་ལོ་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>tɛʰa:lɛ</i> ( <i>k'ǎ:pu</i> )	ཆ་ལས་	‘all, everyone’
<i>dzanʃki</i>	ཇོང་གི་ <sup>145</sup>	‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)
<i>màŋtɛʰiɛoʔ</i>	མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་	‘most’ (includes the adjectival superlative ending <i>-ɛoʔ</i> )
<i>màŋtɛʰiʦaʔ</i>	མང་ཆེ་དྲགས་	‘most’ (includes the adjectival ending <i>-ʦaʔ</i> )
<i>kʰaɛɛʔ</i>	ཁ་ཤས་	‘some(one)’
<i>làriʔ</i>	ལ་རིས་	‘some(one)’
<i>rɛrɛ</i>	རེ་རེ་	‘each one’
<i>riʃni</i> ( <i>riʃni</i> )	རེ་གཉིས་ (རེ་གཉིས་)	‘a few (people)’ (lit. one-two)
<i>ka:kutɛiʔ</i>	ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་	‘a few’
<i>tɛi:ni:</i>	གཅིག་གཉིས་	‘a few’ (lit. one-two)
<i>làla...làla</i>	ལ་ལ་ ལ་ལ་	‘some...others’
<i>ri, -ri</i> (also <i>rɛ</i> )	རེ་	‘one, each’

The independent uses of the indefinite pronouns are described in §6.3.1, whereas uses as noun modifiers are exemplified in §4.1.3.3.

### 3.6.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic words which define a person, object or location in terms of its spatial relationship to the speaker. Demonstratives may be pronouns, pro-adjectives or pro-adverbs. With *zɛn* གཞན་ ‘other’, defining takes place negatively with respect to a deictically already determined person, object or location (other = ‘not this/that/here/there’). The roots from which demonstrative expressions are formed are listed in Table 3.29.

Table 3.29. Demonstrative roots

<i>di</i>	འདྲི་	proximal, ‘this’
<i>do-</i>	འདྲོ་	emphatic proximal, ‘this right here’
<i>ó-</i>	ཨོ་	distal, ‘that’
<i>nà:</i>	ན་	‘here’
<i>pʰou, pʰi-</i>	ཤོ་འུ་	‘over there’
<i>jòu, jì-</i>	ཡོ་འུ་, ཡི་	‘up (there)’
<i>mòu, mì-</i>	མོ་འུ་, མི་	‘down (there)’
<i>pʰa(:)</i>	ཕ་(ར་)	‘over there, thither, on the other side’
<i>tsʰu(:)</i>	ཚུ་(ར་)	‘here, hither’
<i>zɛn</i>	གཞན་	‘other’

Table 3.30 presents other demonstratives that derive from the roots of Table 3.29. The list of locative expressions in Table 3.30 is not exhaustive but only presents the forms which I have come across in my present data. Note the intensifying reduplication in locative forms. The first syllable of the reduplicated expressions is typically accompanied by a higher pitch.

<sup>145</sup> This written form given by consultant KUN is surprising in that it suggests pronunciation as *tsʰaŋki* rather than *dzanʃki*.

Table 3.30. Derived demonstratives

Root		Derived object	Derived location
<i>dò-</i>	emphatic proximal	<i>dodi</i> ‘this right here’	<i>dodik<sup>h</sup>a</i> , <i>dona</i> ‘right here’
<i>di</i>	proximal	<i>di</i> ‘this’	<i>dik<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘here’ (cf. <i>nà:</i> ‘here’)
<i>ó-</i>	distal	<i>ódi</i> ‘that’	<i>óna</i> , <i>ók<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘there’
<i>nà:</i>	‘here’	<i>nà=di</i> ‘the one here’	<i>nàk<sup>h</sup>a(=lo)</i> ‘here’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>ou</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>i-</i>	‘over there’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ou=di</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>idi</i> ‘that over there’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ou=na</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>ouk<sup>h</sup>a</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>ok<sup>h</sup>a</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>ina</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘over there’ <i>p<sup>h</sup>o:p<sup>h</sup>ina</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>o:p<sup>h</sup>ou=na</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>o:p<sup>h</sup>ouk<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘way over there’
<i>jòu</i> , <i>jì-</i>	‘up (there)’	<i>jòdi</i> , <i>jìdi</i> ‘that up there’	<i>jìna</i> , <i>jòuk<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘up (there)’ <i>jò:jina</i> , <i>jòina</i> ‘way up (there)’
<i>mòu</i> , <i>mì-</i>	‘down (there)’	<i>mòdi</i> , <i>mìdi</i> ‘that down there’	<i>mòu=na</i> , <i>mòuk<sup>h</sup>a=lo</i> , <i>mòu=lo</i> , <i>mìna</i> ‘down (there)’ <i>mò:mouk<sup>h</sup>a=lo</i> ‘way down (there)’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>a(:)</i>	‘further, on the other side’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>a:=di</i> ‘the one thither/further’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>a:k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘on the other side, further’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>u(:)</i>	‘closer, on this side’	<i>ts<sup>h</sup>u:=di</i> ‘the one hither/closer’	<i>ts<sup>h</sup>u:k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘on this side, nearer’
<i>zen</i>	‘other’	<i>zen=di</i> ‘the other’	<i>zenk<sup>h</sup>a(=lo)</i> ‘in another place’

It is a moot point whether some of the forms in Table 3.30 should be considered lexemes or combinations of a root lexeme with a following demonstrative-emphatic clitic =*di* or a case clitic =*na*/=lo. Forms such as *jìdi* ‘that up there’ and *p<sup>h</sup>ina* ‘over there’ are more lexeme-like than the semantically equivalent forms *jòu=di* and *p<sup>h</sup>ou=na* because *jì-* and *p<sup>h</sup>i-* do not occur independently whereas *jòu* and *p<sup>h</sup>ou* do. The forms *p<sup>h</sup>idi* and *p<sup>h</sup>ina* may be considered phonologically reduced, lexicalized variants of *p<sup>h</sup>ou=di* and *p<sup>h</sup>ou=na*.

Denjongke also has forms with the double function of proadverb of manner and proadjective, see Table 3.31.

Table 3.31. Proadverbs of manner and proadjectives

<i>dodem</i>	འདྲོ་འདྲེས་	‘like this right here’
<i>dɛ:</i> , <i>dɛm</i> , <i>dɛp</i>	འདྲེ་, འདྲེས་, འདྲེབ་	proximal, cataphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’
<i>óde:</i> , <i>ódem</i> , <i>ódep</i>	ཨོ་འདྲེ་, ཨོ་འདྲེས་, ཨོ་འདྲེབ་	distal, anaphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’

In addition to the derivations presented above, the distal *ó-* can combine with *-ts<sup>h</sup>ø?* ‘limit, as much as’ to form the quantitative *ó-ts<sup>h</sup>ø?*/*ó-dzø?* ཨོ་ཚྲོད་ ‘that much/many’ (cf. *k<sup>h</sup>adzø?* ཀ་ཚྲོད་ ‘how much/many’). Functionally similar words can also be formed from *dɛ:* and *óde:*, which combine with the indefiniteness marker =*tei?* to form *dɛ:tei?* ‘this much’ and *óde:tei?* ‘that much’. The form *dɛ:tei?* primarily functions as postnumeral approximating modifier ‘about’, see §4.4, whereas *óde:tei?* may be used independently or as a noun modifier.

Demonstrative forms are illustrated and further discussed in §6.4.

### 3.6.6 Question words

Denjongke question words are listed in Table 3.32.

Table 3.32. Question words

<i>k'an, k'ar</i>	གན་, གར་	what
<i>k'adi</i>	ག་འདི་	which
<i>k'ana, k'ak<sup>h</sup>a</i>	ག་ན་, ག་ཁ(ར་)	where
<i>ka</i>	ཀ་	who
<i>nàm</i>	ན་མ་	when
<i>k'ambja<sup>146</sup></i>	གན་ཕྱིན་	why
<i>k'adzø?, k'ats<sup>h</sup>ø?</i>	ག་ཚོད་	how many
<i>k'atəm</i>	ག་ལྗེན་	what kind
<i>k'atε</i>	ག་ལྗེ་	how
<i>k'a:<sup>147</sup></i>	ག་	what, where, why (general interrogative, contextually interpreted)

For examples on question words, consider §11.1.2. Question words are used as the basis for forming indefinite expressions with meanings such as ‘whatever’, ‘wherever’ and ‘for whatever reason’, see §6.3.2.

### 3.6.7 Numerals

Numerals are words that express exact numbers. Numerals can occur both as independent verbal arguments (3.93) or as noun modifiers (3.94). Note that in (3.93) the indefinite marker =*tei?* expresses the approximative meaning ‘some’.

- (3.93) ལྗོང་ཕྱག་ ལྗེ་ ལྷུག་ གཞིག་ འགྱུ་ འོང་།  
 [tõ:t<sup>h</sup>a?    *ŋá*    t'u:=tei?]    gju    õ:  
 thousand    five    six=INDF    go    FUT.UNC  
 ‘Some five to six thousand (rupees) will go (to buy it).’ (PD altar room video)

- (3.94) ང་ ཞག་ གསུམ་ ལྗོང་ལྷུག་ རྒྱུག་གོ།  
*ŋà*    [ɛà?    *súm*]    dø:-run    *dikε*.  
 1SG    night three stay-CONC    be.alright  
 ‘Even if I stay three nights, it’s alright.’ (RS duetto)

Numerals consist of cardinal and ordinal numbers, the latter of which, with the exception of number one (*tei?* གཞིག་ ‘one’, *t'anpo* ངང་པོ་ ‘first’), are formed from cardinal numbers by adding the nominalizer *-po*, e.g. *súm* གསུམ་ ‘three’ > *súm-po* གསུམ་པོ་ ‘third’. Number one is also used as an indefinite marker, see §4.1.6. Both decimal and vigesimal (based on the number twenty) systems are used in counting see Tables 3.33-36 and 3.39 respectively. Number zero is *lékor* ལྷུག་ཀོར་. The numbers from one to twenty (decimal system) are given in Table 3.33.

<sup>146</sup> Derives from *k'an* ‘what’ and *p'ja(-ti)* ‘do(-NF)’, also occurs as *k'amja*, and *k'amε* and in the fuller converbial construction *kan p'ja-ti* [what do+NF].

<sup>147</sup> Direction from location can be questioned ག་ལས་ ‘from where’.

Table 3.33. Numbers 1-20

1	<i>tei?</i>	གཅིག་	11	<i>teuktei?</i>	བརྒྱ་གཅིག་
2	<i>ni:</i>	གཉིས་	12	<i>teu:ni:</i>	བརྒྱ་གཉིས་
3	<i>súm</i>	གསུམ་	13	<i>teuksum</i>	བརྒྱ་གསུམ་
4	<i>zi</i>	བཞི་	14	<i>teipzi</i>	བརྒྱ་བཞི་
5	<i>ɲá</i>	ལྔ་	15	<i>tɛ:ɲa</i>	བཅོ་ལྔ་
6	<i>t'uʔ/t'uk</i>	དུག་	16	<i>teu:rup</i>	བརྒྱ་དུག་
7	<i>dyn</i>	བདུན་	17	<i>teopdyn</i>	བཅོ་བདུན་
8	<i>gɛ?</i>	བརྒྱད་	18	<i>teopgɛ?</i>	བཅོ་བརྒྱད་
9	<i>gu</i>	དགུ་	19	<i>teu:gu</i>	བརྒྱ་དགུ་
10	<i>teu(t<sup>h</sup>amba)</i>	བརྒྱ་(ཐམ་བ་)	20	<i>ɲieɯ(t<sup>h</sup>amba)</i>	ཉི་ཤུ་(ཐམ་བ་)

In counting numbers between 20 and 99, one morpheme (word) is used for full tens but another morpheme (clitic) is used to refer to the same full tens in the following nine digits, e.g. *ɲieɯ* ཉི་ཤུ ‘twenty’ but *tsa-tei?* ཚ་གཅིག་ ‘twenty-one’ and *tsa-gu* ཚ་དགུ་ ‘twenty-nine’, where the dependent form *tsa-* ཚ་ represents twenty in numbers 21-29. As shown in Table 3.34, many of the dependent forms marking full tens bear phonetic similarity to the corresponding numbers between two and nine (and 50 between 51 and 59 is identical with number five).

Table 3.34. Two forms for referring to full tens

20	<i>ɲieɯ</i>	ཉི་ཤུ་	21-29	<i>tsa-</i>	ཚ་
30	<i>súmteu</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་	31-39	<i>so-</i>	ཚོ་
40	<i>zipteu</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་	41-49	<i>ɛɛ-</i>	ཞི་
50	<i>ɲápteu</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་	51-59	<i>ɲá-</i>	ང་
60	<i>t'ukteu</i>	དུག་བརྒྱ་	61-69	<i>rɛ-</i>	ར་
70	<i>dynteu</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་	71-79	<i>t'ɔn-</i>	དོན་
80	<i>gɛteu</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་	81-89	<i>k'ja-</i>	ལྷ་
90	<i>gupteu</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་	91-99	<i>k'o-</i>	ལོ་

In counting (as in 19, 20, 21) twenty-one is expressed as *tsa-tei?* ཚ་གཅིག་, but when referring to one number in a sentence, for instance when telling one’s age, a more complex form is typically used.<sup>148</sup> The complex form combines the two morphemes for tens, e.g. *ɲieɯ tsa-tei?* ཉི་ཤུ་ ཚ་གཅིག་ ‘twenty-one’ (lit. ‘twenty twenty-one’). The full forms of numbers 21-100 are given in Table 3.35 and 3.36.

<sup>148</sup> Consultant RL from Lachen counted *ɲi: tsa-tei?* ‘21’, *ɲi: tsa-ɲi:* ‘22’.

Table 3.35. Decimal system numbers 21-60

21	<i>níeu tsa-tei?</i>	ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཅིག་	41	<i>zipteu eè-tei?</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞི་གཅིག་
22	<i>níeu tsa-ni:</i>	ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཉིས་	42	<i>zipteu eè-ni:</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞི་གཉིས་
23	<i>níeu tsa-sum</i>	ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་གསུམ་	43	<i>zipteu eè-súm</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞི་གསུམ་
24	<i>níeu tsa-zi</i>	ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི་	44	<i>zipteu eè-zi</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞི་བཞི་
25	<i>níeu tsa-ŋa</i>	ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་ལྔ་	45	<i>zipteu eè-ŋá</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞི་ལྔ་
26	<i>níeu tsa-t'u?</i>	ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་དྲུག་	46	<i>zipteu eè-t'u?</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞི་དྲུག་
27	<i>níeu tsa-dyn</i>	ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་བདུན་	47	<i>zipteu eè-dyn</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞི་བདུན་
28	<i>níeu tsa-ge?</i>	ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་	48	<i>zipteu eè-ge?</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞི་བརྒྱད་
29	<i>níeu tsa-gu</i>	ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་དགུ་	49	<i>zipteu eè-gu</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞི་དགུ་
30	<i>súmteu</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་	50	<i>ŋápteu</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་
31	<i>súmteu só-tei?</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་གཅིག་	51	<i>ŋápteu ŋá-tei?</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ད་གཅིག་
32	<i>súmteu só-ni:</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་གཉིས་	52	<i>ŋápteu ŋá-ni:</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ད་གཉིས་
33	<i>súmteu só-sum</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་གསུམ་	53	<i>ŋápteu ŋá-sum</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ད་གསུམ་
34	<i>súmteu só-zi</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་བཞི་	54	<i>ŋápteu ŋá-zi</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ད་བཞི་
35	<i>súmteu só-ŋa</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་ལྔ་	55	<i>ŋápteu ŋá-ŋa</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ད་ལྔ་
36	<i>súmteu só-t'u?</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་དྲུག་	56	<i>ŋápteu ŋá-t'u?</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ད་དྲུག་
37	<i>súmteu só-dyn</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་བདུན་	57	<i>ŋápteu ŋá-dyn</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ད་བདུན་
38	<i>súmteu só-ge?</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་	58	<i>ŋápteu ŋá-ge?</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ད་བརྒྱད་
39	<i>súmteu só-gu</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་དགུ་	59	<i>ŋápteu ŋá-gu</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ད་དགུ་
40	<i>zipteu</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་	60	<i>t'ukteu</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་

Table 3.36. Decimal system numbers 61-100

61	<i>t'ukteu re:-tei?</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ད་གཅིག་	81	<i>geteu k'ja-tei?</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་གཅིག་
62	<i>t'ukteu re:-ni:</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ད་གཉིས་	82	<i>geteu k'ja-ni:</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་གཉིས་
63	<i>t'ukteu re:-sum</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ད་གསུམ་	83	<i>geteu k'ja-sum</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་གསུམ་
64	<i>t'ukteu re:-zi</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ད་བཞི་	84	<i>geteu k'ja-zi</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་བཞི་
65	<i>t'ukteu re:-ŋa</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ད་ལྔ་	85	<i>geteu k'ja-ŋa</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་ལྔ་
66	<i>t'ukteu re:-t'u?</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ད་དྲུག་	86	<i>geteu k'ja-t'u?</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་དྲུག་
67	<i>t'ukteu re:-dyn</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ད་བདུན་	87	<i>geteu k'ja-dyn</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་བདུན་
68	<i>t'ukteu re:-ge?</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ད་བརྒྱད་	88	<i>geteu k'ja-ge?</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་བརྒྱད་
69	<i>t'ukteu re:-gu</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ད་དགུ་	89	<i>geteu k'ja-gu</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་དགུ་
70	<i>dynteu</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་	90	<i>gupteu</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་
71	<i>dynteu t'øŋ-tei?</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་གཅིག་	91	<i>gupteu k'o-tei?</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་གཅིག་
72	<i>dynteu t'øŋ-ni:</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་གཉིས་	92	<i>gupteu k'o-ni:</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་གཉིས་
73	<i>dynteu t'øŋ-súm</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་གསུམ་	93	<i>gupteu k'o-sum</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་གསུམ་
74	<i>dynteu t'øŋ-zi</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་བཞི་	94	<i>gupteu k'o-zi</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་བཞི་
75	<i>dynteu t'øŋ-ŋá</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་ལྔ་	95	<i>gupteu k'o-ŋa</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་ལྔ་
76	<i>dynteu t'øŋ-t'u?</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་དྲུག་	96	<i>gupteu k'o-t'u?</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་དྲུག་
77	<i>dynteu t'øŋ-dyn</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་བདུན་	97	<i>gupteu k'o-dyn</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་བདུན་
78	<i>dynteu t'øŋ-ge?</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་བརྒྱད་	98	<i>gupteu k'o-ge?</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་
79	<i>dynteu t'øŋ-gu</i>	བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་དགུ་	99	<i>gupteu k'o-gu</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལོ་དགུ་
80	<i>geteu</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་	100	<i>teik gja, gja tei?, gja(t'amba)</i>	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་, བརྒྱ་གཅིག་, བརྒྱད་ཐམ་བ་

Examples of numbers from one hundred onwards are given in Table 3.37, which introduces the words *tõ:(t'a?)* ལྷོང་(ལྷག་) ‘thousand’, *t'hi* ལྷི་ ‘ten thousand’, *bum* འབུམ་ ‘hundred thousand’ and *sája* ས་ཡ་ ‘million’.

Table 3.37. Examples of numbers from 100 onwards

100	<i>teik gja, gja tei?, gja(t<sup>h</sup>amba)</i>	གཅིག་བརྒྱ, བརྒྱ་གཅིག, བརྒྱད་ཐམ་བ་
180	<i>gja t'ã: geteu</i>	བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ
200	<i>ni: gja, gja ni:</i>	གཉིས་བརྒྱ, བརྒྱ་གཉིས་
1000	<i>teik tõi, tõi:t<sup>h</sup>a? tei?</i>	གཅིག་སྟོང་, སྟོང་ཕྱག་གཅིག་
2955	<i>ni: tõi: gubgja nàpteu nàgu</i>	གཉིས་སྟོང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དང་དགུ་
10,000	<i>teik t<sup>h</sup>i, t<sup>h</sup>i tei?, tõi:t<sup>h</sup>a? teu(t<sup>h</sup>amba)</i>	གཅིག་ཁྲི, ཁྲི་གཅིག, སྟོང་ཕྱག་བརྒྱ་(ཐམ་བ་)
100,000	<i>bum tei?</i>	འབྲུམ་གཅིག་
160,000	<i>bum tei? t'ã: tõi:ta? k<sup>h</sup>e: sùm<sup>149</sup></i>	འབྲུམ་གཅིག་དང་སྟོང་ཕྱག་ཁལ་གསུམ་
1,000,000	<i>sája tei?</i>	ས་ཡ་གཅིག་

As shown in Table 3.37, both orders of items were reported acceptable for 100 and 200. My data, however, suggests the following tendency: monosyllabic numbers 1-9 are placed before the hundred (e.g. *sùm gja* ‘three hundred’), whereas a greater number of hundreds expressed by a disyllabic form occurs after the hundreds (e.g. *gja tɛɛ:ŋa* ‘fifteen hundred’). The form *teik tõi:* གཅིག་སྟོང་, where the number of thousands comes before the word thousand, is used in referring to years, for instance 1974 *teiktõi: gubja dynteu t'ønzi* གཅིག་སྟོང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་བཞི་. The reverse order *tõi:t<sup>h</sup>a? tei?* སྟོང་ཕྱག་གཅིག་ is used for discussing prices, e.g. *tõi:t<sup>h</sup>a? teopge?* སྟོང་ཕྱག་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་ ‘eighteen hundred, 1800’. The numeral suffix *-t<sup>h</sup>a?* ཕྱག་ signals completion of a set or an abstract notion represented by a set of numbers, e.g. *tõi:t<sup>h</sup>a?* སྟོང་ཕྱག་ ‘thousand’, *dynt<sup>h</sup>a?* བདུན་ཕྱག་ ‘week’, *teut<sup>h</sup>a?* བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་ ‘full ten, decade’.

For other numerals, consider Table 3.38.

Table 3.38. Other numeral-related vocabulary

<i>tõi: k'ã:pu</i>	སྟོང་གང་ལུ་	‘all’	<i>lopo tõi: k'ã:pu</i> ལོཔོ་སྟོང་གང་ལུ་ ‘all the Lhopos’ (lit. full thousand Lhopos)
<i>p<sup>h</sup>i?</i>	ཕྱེད་	‘half’	<i>sùm t'ã: p<sup>h</sup>i?</i> གསུམ་དང་ཕྱེད་ ‘three and half’
<i>tɛ<sup>h</sup>a</i>	ཆ་	‘pair’	<i>lã: tɛ<sup>h</sup>a tei?</i> ལྷང་ཆ་གཅིག་ ‘a pair of bulls’
<i>k'ã:(pu)</i>	གང་ལུ་	‘(one) full’	<i>tɛ<sup>h</sup>um tsan<sup>h</sup>ku k'ã:</i> ལྷུམ་ཅོང་ལུ་གང་ [rice container full] ‘one container of rice’ <i>para k'ã:(pu)</i> བ་ར་གང་(ལུ་) ‘fistful’
<i>do/t'o</i>	དོ་	‘two’	<i>botor do</i> བོ་དོ་ར་དོ་ ‘two bottles’

The vigesimal system illustrated in Table 3.39 is build around the number twenty, for which the word *k<sup>h</sup>e:* ཁལ་ ‘twenty, score’ is used. The numbers before the next full score are expressed by adding a suitable number to the full score, e.g. fifty-five is ‘two scores and fifteen’. The conjunct *t'ã:* is used in conjoining the complex numerals.

<sup>149</sup> For *k<sup>h</sup>e:*, refer to the vigesimal system explained below.

Table 3.39. Examples of the vigesimal number system

20	<i>kʰɛ: tɛiʔ</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་	score-one
21	<i>kʰɛ: tɛiʔ (t'ã:) tɛiʔ</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་(དང་)གཅིག་	score-one (and) one
25	<i>kʰɛ: tɛiʔ (t'ã:) ŋá</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་(དང་)ལྔ་	score-one (and) five
30	<i>kʰɛ: tɛiʔ (t'ã:) tɛu(tʰamba)</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་(དང་)བརྒྱ(ཐམ་བ་)	score-one (and) ten
39	<i>kʰɛ: tɛiʔ tɛu t'ã: gu</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་བརྒྱད་དང་དགུ་	score-one ten and nine
40	<i>kʰɛ: ɲi:</i>	ཁལ་གཉིས་	score-two
41	<i>kʰɛ: ɲi: (t'ã:) tɛiʔ</i>	ཁལ་གཉིས་(དང་)གཅིག་	score-two (and) one
55	<i>kʰɛ: ɲi: t'ã: tɛɛ:ŋa</i>	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱེལ་	score-two and fifteen
59	<i>kʰɛ: ɲi: tɛu t'ã: gu</i>	ཁལ་གཉིས་བརྒྱད་དང་དགུ་	score-two ten and nine
60	<i>kʰɛ: súm</i>	ཁལ་གསུམ་	score-three
80	<i>kʰɛ: zi</i>	ཁལ་བཞི་	score-four
100	<i>tɛik gja, gja tɛiʔ, gja(tʰamba)</i>	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་, བརྒྱ་གཅིག་, བརྒྱ་ཉམ་བ་	(one) hundred

I have not carried out a detailed study on the division of labour of the decimal and vigesimal systems, but I here offer some initial observations. In my data, the vigesimal system is used at least when talking about prices of items (3.95), age of people (3.96) and number of people (3.97).

(3.95) ང་སྟོང་ཕྱག་ཁལ་གཅིག་བྱིན་ཤང་ཨོན།  
*ŋà tō:tʰaʔ kʰɛ: tɛiʔ p'in-ɛi:*  
 1SG thousand score one give-NPST.PER  
 'I will give twenty thousand (rupees).' (TB bulls story)

(3.96) ཇ་ཇོ་ཀླུ་པོ་ལོ་ཁལ་བཞི་ཚོད་  
*ádzo gɛ:po lò kʰɛ: zi-tʰøʔ*  
 grandfather old.man year score four-about  
 'old grandfather of some eighty years' (Richhi 78)

(3.97) a) ལྷལ་ཁང་བརྗེས་སྡོམ་ཁལ་བཞི་དང་ལྔ་ཟང།  
*kʰɛ:gã: dom-ti kʰɛ: zi t'ã: ŋá bɛʔ.*  
 family gather-NF score four and five EQU.NE  
 'There are altogether 85 families.' (Richhi 48)

b) ལྔ་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་ཤུ་ཙ་བརྒྱད་འདྲེ་ཅིག་སྟོ་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྟོ་བ་དཔོན་ཡོད།  
*ŋábgja ɲíɛu tsa:-gɛʔ dɛ:tɛiʔ ʃori=ki lópɛ:*  
 five.hundred twenty twenty-eight thus.much Lhopo.people=GEN teacher  
*jòʔ.*  
 EX.PER  
 'There are as many as 528 (language) teachers of the Lhopos.' (RD BLA9)

The decimal system is used for pointing out the year when something took place (3.98), the number of years since something happened (3.99) and dates (3.100)



- (3.98) རྩེ་ལོ་གཅིག་སྟོང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་བརྒྱད་ནང་ཤ་ལོ་  
*te<sup>h</sup>ilo<sup>150</sup> teik-tõ: gubgja dynteu t'on-gɛ? nàŋca=lo*  
 year one-thousand nine.hundred seventy seventy-eight inside=DAT  
 ‘In 1978’ (KT life story)
- (3.99) ད་ ང་ བཟའ་ཚང་ འགགས་སྟེ་ རྩོད་སྟེ་ ད་ ལོ་ གཉིས་ཤུ་ རྩ་བདུན་ ལོ་ ལང་ཚང་།  
*t'a ŋà za:ts<sup>h</sup>ã: dak-ti dø:-ti t'a lò jieu*  
 now 1SG married.couple bind-NF stay-NF now year twenty  
*tsapdÿ:-ts<sup>h</sup>ø? lã:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:=s.*  
 twenty.seven-about reach-CMPL=QUO  
 ‘Now it’s about twenty-seven years since I established the tie of matrimony (I tell).’  
 (KT life story)
- (3.100) ཚེས་ གཉིས་ཤུ་ འདི་ མི་ལེགས།  
*ts<sup>h</sup>e: jieu=di mi-lê?*  
 date twenty=DEMPH NEG-be.good  
 ‘The twentieth day is not good.’ (RS astrology)

In addition to the *jieu* ཉེ་ཤུ་, *k<sup>h</sup>e:* ལས་ and *tsa-* རྩ་, all meanings ‘twenty’, a fourth numeral *jèr* ཉེར་ is used for referring to twenty with respect to to dates of the month, i.e. the form is used for the 21-29th days of the month, e.g. *jèr=gu* ཉེར་དགུ་ ‘the twenty ninth day of the month’.<sup>151</sup>

- (3.101) A: ཉེ་ རུམ་ཏེག་ དགོན་པའི་གི་ འདི་ རམ་ མོ་, དགོན་པོ་ ལྷོང་གུ་གི་?  
*te rùnte? gjømpø:=gi=di nàm mo, gjømpo jingku=gi?*  
 so TPN monastery.GEN=GEN=DEMPH when EQU.NE.Q monastery old.=GEN  
 ‘So when is the Rumtek monastery’s (ceremony), the old monastery’s?’
- B: འདི་ ཉེར་ར་ རྩད། ལྷུ་ བརྒྱ་པའི་གི།  
*di jèr=ra be?, dou teu-pø:=gi.*  
 this twenties.of.a.month=AEMPH EQU.NE month ten-ORD.GEN=GEN  
 ‘It’s in the twenties (of the month), of the tenth month.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

Numerals are typically used as noun modifiers (see §4.1.3.2), although they may also occur independently (see [4.166] in §4.4).

The suffix *-t<sup>h</sup>amba* can be added not only to round tens and hundreds, as described for Standard Tibetan by Tournadre & Dorje (2003), but also to small non-round numbers, see (3.102). The suffix *-t<sup>h</sup>amba* has little other meaning than highlighting the presence of a numeral, hence the gloss NUM (numeral). It is particularly common with number ten, see (3.103).

<sup>150</sup> Lit. ‘outsider years’, referring to the western calendar years. A more local way of referring to years is through animals associated with each year in the Tibetan astrological twelve-year cycle (e.g. year of the horse).

<sup>151</sup> The word *ts<sup>h</sup>e:* ‘date of the month’ is used for referring to the dates of the month up to the twentieth day, *ts<sup>h</sup>e: jieu* ‘day twenty’. After that, the specific numeral *jèr* ‘twenties (of a month)’ is used for referring to days 21-29, i.e. *jèrgu* ‘the twenty ninth of the month’. The thirtieth day of the month is *námgã:*, which literally means ‘black moon’.

(3.102) ཉེ་ངའི་གོ་ན་བ་བྱ་གཞི་གསུམ་ཐམ་བ་ཡོད།  
*te jè:=gi nà: p'apuzi sùm-t<sup>h</sup>amba jò?*  
 then 1SG.GEN=GEN here children three-NUM EX.PER  
 'Then I have three children here.' (KT life story)

(3.103) ད་གཉེན་རྒྱབས་སྟེ་གོ་ད་ལྟོ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་བ་ལང་ཚད།  
*t'a jén kjap-tiki t'ato lò teu-t<sup>h</sup>amba lâ:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:*  
 now wedding do-NF now year ten-NUM arrive-CPML  
 'Now it's ten years since (they/he) got married.' (KT life story)

In addition to marking ordinal numbers, *-po/bo* can form collective nouns from numerals, see (3.104) and (3.105), where the noun preceding the numeral reveals what the collective entity consists of. The nominalized numeral signifies that the enumerated elements form one entity. This type of derivative use of *-po/bo* with numerals is here termed collectivizer (glossed COL).

(3.104) ང་ཅག་གཉིས་ལོ་ལྷའི་ལགས་ལྷ་བར་བཅར་ལོ་མིན།  
*ñàtea? ní:-po bhaila ta-wa tea:-bo í:*  
 1PL two-COL PN look-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER  
 'The two of us came to see Bhaila.' (Richhi 11)

(3.105) མོ་འདི་ཉི་རུག་ལྷ་ལོ་འདི་  
*ódi tiru? ñá-po=di*  
 that rupee five-COL=DEMPH  
 'those five rupees' (RS pupil joke)

Numerals referring to 2-9 people may be marked by another collectivizer, the suffix *-ga*.

(3.106) \**jè:*            *p'um    tei-ga    jò?*  
*jè:*                *p'um    níñ-ga    jò?*        'I have two daughters.'  
*jè:*                *p'um    sùm-ga    jò?*        'I have three daughters.'  
*jè:*                *p'um    zi-ga     jò?*        'I have four daughters.'  
*jè:*                *p'um    gu-ga     jò?*        'I have nine daughters.' (KN e)  
 \**jè:*                *p'um    teu-ga    jò?*  
 1SG.GEN    girl        NUM-COL    EX.PER

The suffix *-ts<sup>h</sup>ø?* ཚོད་ 'about, some, measure of' (from WT ཚོད་ *tshod* 'measure', which is in meaning very similar to WT ཚོད་ *tshad* 'measure') attaches to numerals and marks an inexact amount. For examples, refer to (3.99) above and §4.4 below. The restrictive suffix *-ma*, which attaches to numerals and quantifying words and which is accompanied by a negated existential, is described in §10.3.2.

### 3.6.8 Postpositions

In Denjongke, words marking various spatio-temporal and abstract relations such as 'on', 'after' and 'according to' are here termed postpositions, which underlines the syntactic fact that the word expressing the relation to the noun occurs after the nominal. Some of the postpositions bear more noun-like characteristics and can be described as relator nouns (RN), whereas for other postpositions such a characterization is less fitting. Thus, RNs are here considered a subcategory of postpositions. RNs are historical nouns which through frequent

use in relational contexts have shed some of their noun-like characteristics.<sup>152</sup> According to Aissen (1987:11) “[t]he term relational noun comes from Mayan grammatical theory and refers to a set of obligatorily possessed noun stems which denote grammatical or thematic relations. The nominal which actually bears the relation functions as genitive of the relational noun.” Those postpositions in Denjongke which most resemble Aissen’s (1987: 11) definition of relational nouns (=relator nouns), however, show further grammaticalization from Aissen definition in that Denjongke RNs are not obligatorily possessed, i.e. the nominal which bears the relation function is not always genitive marked.

Table 3.40 lists nominal roots from which postpositions derive, while postpositions are listed in Table 3.41. The suffixes which have been added to the root forms in Table 3.41 are *-tar* (WT/WD ལྟར་) ‘according to’, *-zin* (WT/WD འཛིན་) ‘likeness, similar to’, and the locative markers *-k<sup>h</sup>a* (locative suffix), *=lo* (dative-locative case), *=le* (ablative case) and *=na* (locative case). Although the postpositions in Table 3.41 are analyzed into their constitutive parts, the combinations have through frequent use grammaticalized towards lexicalization.

Table 3.40 Nominal roots used in postpositions listed in Table 3.41

Noun root		Gloss
<i>nàŋ</i>	ནང་	‘inside(s)’
<i>t’øn</i>	དོན་	‘meaning, purpose’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>ap</i>	ཚུལ་	‘replacement’
<i>t<sup>s</sup>a</i>	ཚུ་	‘root, base’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>oʔ</i>	ཚོ་	‘roof’
<i>go</i>	མགོ་	‘head’
<i>kor</i>	མཚུངས་	‘neighborhood’
<i>ŋo:</i>	དོན་	‘side, direction’
<i>g<sup>j</sup>ap</i>	ཚུལ་	‘back’
<i>dze:</i>	ཚུལ་	‘trace, trail’
<i>dyn</i>	མཚུན་	‘front’
<i>p’a:</i>	བར་	‘(space in) between’
<i>ŋén</i>	མཚུན་	‘earlier (time)’
<i>təŋ</i>	ལྗོངས་	‘top’
<i>òʔ</i>	ལོ་	‘low(er) place’
<i>bu(:)</i>	ལྷོ་	‘middle’
<i>boloʔ</i>	འཛིན་ལོ་	‘close’ <sup>153</sup>

<sup>152</sup> For a general discussion on relator nouns, see Starosta (1985). For particular languages, see DeLancey (1997b) for Classical and Lhasa Tibetan, Huber (2002: 112) for Kyirong Tibetan, Watters (2002: 137) for Kham (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal), Daudey (2014: 160-161) for Wangdu Pumi (Tibeto-Burman, China) and Watters (2018: 198ff) for Dzongkha (Tibetic, Bhutan).

<sup>153</sup> In Dzongkha, the cognate is written འཛིན་ལོ་.

Table 3.41. Postpositions

Postposition		Gloss
<i>nàŋ-tar, nàŋ-zin</i>	ནང་ལྟར་, ནང་བཞིན་	‘according to, similar to’
<i>t’øn-zin(gi)</i>	དོན་བཞིན་(གྱིས་)	‘according to, in accordance with, in view of’
<i>(t’ã:) námtei?, (t’ã:) námpu</i>	(དང་) མཉམ་ཅིག་, (དང་) མཉམ་ལུ་	‘with’
<i>sã.te, =sã:</i>	ཟད་ཏེ་, ཟད་	‘until’
<i>mèmbo<sup>154</sup></i>	མན་བོ་	‘except’
<i>mèntã: (rare)</i>	མན་བཏང་	‘except’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>ap=lo, ts<sup>h</sup>ama(=lo)</i>	ཚབ་ལོ་, ཚབ་མ་ལོ་	‘instead of’
<i>tsa-k<sup>h</sup>a, tsa:=lo, =tsa:</i>	ཙ་ཁ(ར་), ཙ་ལོ་, ཙ	‘at, by, with’
<i>t’øn=lo, t’øn=lɛ, t’ønda=lo, t’ønda=lɛ</i>	དོན་ལོ་, དོན་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལོ་, དོན་དག་ལས་	‘for (the purpose of)’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>o:=lɛ</i>	ཐོག་ལས་	‘through, via, on the basis of, by’
<i>(=lɛ) gjy:ti</i>	(ལས་) རྒྱུད་ཏེ་	‘through, via, by’
<i>go:=lɛ</i>	འགོ་ལས་	‘from, through’
<i>kor=lo, kor=lɛ</i>	སྐོར་ལོ་, སྐོར་ལས་	‘about’
<i>ŋo:=lo/hõ:=lo, ŋo:te/hõ:te ŋo:=lɛ/hõ:=lɛ</i>	ངོས་ལོ་, ངོས་ལྟེ་ ངོས་ལས་	‘toward, in the direction of’ ‘from the direction/side of, through’
<i>gjab=lo, gjab=lɛ</i>	རྒྱབ་ལོ་, རྒྱབ་ལས་	‘behind, after’
<i>dze:=lo<sup>155</sup></i>	རྗེས་ལོ་	‘after’
<i>(kum)dyn-k<sup>h</sup>a, (kum)dÿ:=lo, kumdÿ:</i>	(སྐྱུ་)མདུན་ཁ(ར་), (སྐྱུ་)མདུན་ལོ་, སྐྱུ་མདུན་	‘in front of, in the presence of’
<i>p’a:=na</i>	བར་ན་	‘between’
<i>nén=lo, nén=lɛ, nóma, hen=lɛ, hema</i>	སྔོན་ལོ་, སྔོན་ལས་, སྔོན་མ་, ཉན་ལས་, ཉན་མ་	‘before’
<i>teŋ-k<sup>h</sup>a, teŋ=lo =gu, gu=lo<sup>156</sup></i>	ཐྱིང་ཁ(ར་), ཐྱིང་ལོ་ མགུ་(ལོ་)- <sup>157</sup>	‘above, on’ ‘above, on’
<i>ò:=lo, ò:=lɛ</i>	འོག་ལོ་, འོག་ལས་	‘below’
<i>bu:=na, bu:=lo</i>	སྐྱུ་ན་, སྐྱུ་ལོ་	‘in the middle of’
<i>bolo(-k<sup>h</sup>a), bolo=lo</i>	འབོ་ལོག་ཁ(ར་), འབོ་ལོག་ལོ་	‘next to’
<i>nàŋɛa(=lo), nàŋ=lo, nàŋ=na</i>	ནང་ག་(ལོ་), ནང་ལོ་, ནང་ན་	‘inside’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>ilo?</i>	ཐྱི་ལོག་	‘outside’
<i>paŋk<sup>h</sup>a</i>	པང་ཁ(ར་)	‘outside’

The ability of the complement noun to occur in the genitive can be used as a delineating criterion for distinguishing RN (with which the noun complement may occur either with or without genitive marking) from other postpositions (with which the noun complement cannot occur in the genitive). Following this criterion, the seven first items in Table 3.40 (*nàŋtar*,

<sup>154</sup> Occurs in a negated or interrogated clause.

<sup>155</sup> This word from Tibetan is mainly used by literate people with monastic training.

<sup>156</sup> This form occurs only in data from Martam (East Sikkim). The innovative written form མགུ་ used here suggests an origin with མགོ་ ‘head’ and a vowel change from *o* to *u*. A cognate form =*gu* is used in Dzongkha as a “contact locative” (Watters 2018: 200).

<sup>157</sup> Experimental spelling reflecting the hypothesized origin *go* ‘head’ (WD མགོ་ *mgo*).

*nàŋzin*, *t'ònzin(gi)*, *námtei?*, *námpu*, *sǎ:te*, (=sǎ:) are postpositions which are not relator nouns whereas the rest are postpositions which are relator nouns. Note that most of the relator nouns have several forms, depending on which locational suffix or case clitic is used in their formation (e.g. *nàŋεa/nàŋlo* ‘inside’, *nàŋle* ‘from inside’).

Example (3.107) exemplifies a postposition which is an RN, because it may occur with a genitive-marked nominal complement (3.107a). The construction in (3.107b) can be considered a more grammaticalized use because there is no genitive marking. Note that the RN is in glossing treated like the other (non-RN-like) postpositions and not like a noun, hence the gloss ‘after’ rather than [back=ABL].

(3.107) a) ལོ་གཅིག་གི་རྒྱབ་ལས་  
*lò tci:=ki gjablε*  
 year one=GEN after  
 ‘One year later...’ (SGD wedding customs)

b) ཉིན་གཅིག་རྒྱབ་ལས་  
*nìim tci? gjablε*  
 day one after  
 ‘after one day...’ (KT animal story)

Example (3.108), on the other hand, illustrates a non-RN postposition. With these postpositions the complement noun is not genitivized.

(3.108) a) རྒྱལ་ལྗོངས་མཉམ་པུ་  
*ro:=tsu nàmpu*  
 friend=PL with  
 ‘with friends’ (TB phone call)

The remainder of this section provides a more detailed description on the characteristics of relator nouns. The latter part of the discussion points out the morpho-phonological factor which conditions whether the complement noun of a relator noun (RN) is genitive marked or not. Rarely, and exclusively in the spoken language, RNs occur in relational context in their bare monosyllabic root form:

(3.109) ཉིན་གསུམ་རྒྱབ་  
*nìim sùm gjap...*  
 day three back  
 ‘After three days...’ (TB funeral customs)

(3.110) ད་ཙམ་འདི་ལྗོངས་  
*t'a ó(d)i tεŋ...*  
 now that top  
 ‘Now above (=in addition to) that...’ (SGD wedding customs)

Typically RNs occur with additional spatial (dative/locative case =*lo*, ablative case =*ε*, locative suffix -*kʰa*) or genitive marking (=ki/gi).

(3.111) ཏེ་མོ་འདི་ལྷོང་ཁ་ལོ་  
*tɛ ódi tɛŋkʰa=lo*  
 the that above=DAT  
 ‘then above (in additional to) that...’ (CY interview)

(3.112) ལོ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་(གི་) ལྷོང་ལས་  
*lò ŋáptɛu(=gi) gjable*  
 year fifty(=GEN) after  
 ‘after fifty years’ (KN e)

(3.113) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རང་གི་ གཏམ་རྒྱུས་ཚུ་  
*qɛndzõ: nàŋ=gi tamgy: =tsu*  
 Sikkim inside=GEN legend=PL  
 ‘legends within Sikkim’ (SGD cave story)

In (3.112), the grammaticalization of the ablative form of *gjap* ‘back’ towards being a postposition (cum adverb) *gjable* is signified by the lack of clitic-marking = and the postpositional gloss ‘after’. In (3.111), the dative-locative in *tɛŋkʰa=lo* is separately marked, because =*lo* is an optional emphatic locative element, *tɛŋkʰa* itself already meaning ‘above’.

RNs have four features that distinguish them from typical nouns. One feature of grammaticalization towards being a postposition is semantic bleaching, where the meaning of a noun becomes less literal and more abstract (see DeLancey 1997b: 56). For instance, the dative-locative and ablative forms of the word *gjap* ‘back’, *gjab=lo/gjab=lɛ*, have through frequent use obtained the abstract meaning ‘after, behind’, whereas the literal meaning ‘in the back (of a human or an animal)’ has become to be marked with the less productive locative suffix *-kʰa*, *gjapkʰa*. Another non-noun-like feature of RNs is the ability to have a non-case-marked complement/modifier, whereas noun modifiers are typically genitive marked, e.g. *ɛá:lo(=ki) tɛŋkʰa* [bamboo.slit.wall(=GEN) on] ‘on the bamboo wall’. A third more postpositional than nominal feature of RNs is the ability to occur with a derivational suffix which does not occur with other nouns. For instance, the RN *nàŋ* ‘inside’ occurs in colloquial language with the formative *-ɛa*<sup>158</sup> (*nàŋɛa* ‘inside’), which does not occur with other nouns and whose origin is unclear (written language prefers the more typical nominal ending =*lo*, as in *nàŋ=lo* ‘inside’). A fourth feature of RNs is that their independent uses in non-relational contexts are rare. For instance, *tɛŋ/tɛ̃*: ‘top, upper surface’ rarely occurs outside the relational constructions with additional marking (*tɛŋkʰa/tɛŋ=lo* ‘above’, *tɛŋ=lɛ* ‘from above’, *tɛŋ=gi* ‘of above’).

RNs also have noun like features. Locative RNs inflect for the dative-locative, ablative and genitive case, e.g. *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo* ‘inside’ also occurs in the ablative form *nàŋ=lɛ* ‘from inside’ and genitive *nàŋ=gi* ‘of the inside’. Another noun-like feature is the ability to have genitive-marked nominal modifiers/complements, e.g. *ɛá:lo=ki tɛŋ=lo* ‘on the bamboo slit wall’. RNs also have adverbial characteristics. The locative adverbial suffix *-kʰa* is used in some RNs in variation with the dative-locative case marker =*lo*, e.g. *tɛŋkʰa*, *tɛŋ=lo* ‘on, above’, *dɛŋkʰa*, *dɛŋ=lo* ‘in front of’. Most of the RNs also have independent uses as adverbs, e.g. *ɲénlɛ* ‘(in) earlier (times)’, *gjable* ‘afterwards’, *nàŋɛa* ‘inside’.

A study of the most frequent RNs in the novel *Richhi*, *tɛŋ* ‘above’ (including forms *tɛŋkʰa*, *tɛŋ=lo*, *tɛŋ=gi*, altogether 81 instances) and *nàŋ* ‘inside’ (including *nàŋɛa*, *nàŋ=lo*, *nàŋ=lɛ*, *nàŋ=gi*, altogether 74 instances) yields the following result concerning genitive marking:

<sup>158</sup> Written ཤར་ *shar* in the novel *Richhi*.

those complements/modifiers which allow short genitive marking through vowel modification (glide or fronting) and do not add an extra syllable are genitive marked, whereas those complements/modifiers for which genitive marking would require adding a syllable (=ki/gi) are not genitive marked. Constructions with the short genitive are illustrated in (3.114-116).

(3.114) ངའི་ རྩེང་ལོ་

*ɲè:*            *tɛŋ=lo*  
1SG.GEN    top=DAT  
'on me' (Richhi 63)

(3.115) རོང་ཚུའི་ རྣང་ལས་

*kʰõ:=tsu=i*    *nàŋ=le*  
3PL=PL=GEN    inside=ABL  
'from among them' (Richhi 45)

(3.116) རྫོབ་གྲུའི་ རྣང་གི་ རྩེང་

*lóbqø:*        *nàŋ=gi*    *gjaʈʰi*  
school.GEN    inside=GEN    chair  
'chair from inside the school' (Richhi 88)

For the non-genitive-marked constructions in Richhi, consider (3.117-119).

(3.117) བླ་ལོ་ རྩེང་ལོ་

*ɛá:loʔ*            *tɛŋ=lo*  
bamboo.wall    top=DAT  
'on the bamboo wall' (Richhi 98)

(3.118) མཚོ་འཁོར་ རྣང་ལོ་

*tsʰokor*    *nàŋ=lo*  
pond    inside=DAT  
'in the pond' (Richhi 32)

(3.119) མོའི་ བྱིམ་ རྣང་གི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་

*mù=i*        *kʰim*    *nàŋ=gi*    *lògjuʔ*  
3SGF=GEN    house    inside=GEN    story  
'news from her home' (Richhi 95)

Two exceptions were found in which the long genitive form was used: *kʰɛp=ki tɛŋkʰa* 'on the cover', *ɛá:lo=ki tɛŋ=lo* 'on the bamboo wall'. In two cases, the short genitive form was omitted, *kɛ tɛŋ=lo* 'on the neck', *bu: nàŋ=gi* 'of the middle one'.

The observation made on the basis of the novel Richhi is confirmed by my spoken data. Out of the 714 instances of modifiers/complements for the forms *nàŋɛa*, *nàŋlo*, *nàŋle* and *nàŋ=gi* only 9 are marked with the longer genitive form *-ki/gi*. The other instances where the genitive obtains the longer form are not marked for genitive. On the other hand, those vowel-final complements/modifiers which can occur with short genitive marking are either genitive marked or non-marked, for instance the noun *lóbqə* 'school', which can occur in short genitive, occurs in my corpus both as non-marked (*lóbqə nàŋɛa*) and as genitive (*lóbqə: nàŋɛa*).

The general principle applies that genitive marking of RN complements is retained unless adding the genitive is phonologically too salient by also adding a syllable. This is a feature that makes RNs less noun-like and more postposition-like. For an illustration, consider (3.120) and (3.121), both used in the same story by the same speaker. The word meaning ‘foot’ has two forms, *kā:po* and *ka:m*. With the first one, the (short) genitive is formed by vowel modification, *kā:pø:*, whereas the latter uses the longer form =*ki/gi*. The word which allows short genitive marking is genitive marked (3.120), but the other word, which would occur with the longer genitive, remains non-marked (3.121).

(3.120) ཕྱི་ལྷུང་ཀླང་པའི་ནང་གི་  
*p'iteuŋ*<sup>159</sup> *kā:pø:* *nəŋɛa*  
 bird foot.GEN inside  
 ‘in the bird’s foot’ (PD bet story)

(3.121) ཕྱི་ལྷུང་གི་ཀླང་མ་རྗེས་ཁར་  
*p'iteuŋ=gi ka:m tɛŋkʰa*  
 bird=GEN foot above  
 ‘in (lit. on) the bird’s foot’ (PD bet story)

If the RN complement has an indefiniteness marker, no genitive marking is typically used.

(3.122) ད་ལྟ་བུ་བྱོ་གཅིག་རྗེས་ཁ་ལོ་དཔྱད་ལྗེ་གི་  
*t'a kʰu rubi=tei? tɛŋkʰa=lo pjã:-diki*  
 now 3SGM climber=INDF on=DAT hang-NF  
 ‘Now, hanging in a climber plant...’ (KTL animal story)

The use of postpositions and postposition phrases as adverbials are further exemplified in §5.6.2.

### 3.6.9 Discourse connectives

This class of words is termed discourse connectives (similarly Coupe 2007 for Monsen Ao) rather than conjunctions, because the word conjunction suggests the occurrence of coordination, in which two clauses are combined into one sentence. In Denjongke, however, it is not at all clear that the connected clauses would form one sentence, see §12. The term discourse connective applies here both to clause-combining and sentence-combining cohesion-adding words.

<sup>159</sup> Interestingly, the complement of the RN (*kā:pø:*) is genitive marked whereas the nominal modifier of *kā:po* ‘foot’, *p'iteuŋ* ‘bird’ remains non-marked. In example (4.22), however, the modifier is genitive-marked. This speaker may have a tendency to avoid two contiguous non-marked modifiers/complements.



Table 3.42. Clause/sentence connectors

<i>t'izã:</i>	དེ་ཟང་	'but'
<i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ཞིན་རུང་	'but, however', lit. 'although it is (so)' [EQU-CONC]
<i>inajã:</i>	ཞིན་ན་ཡང་	'but, however', lit. 'even it is (so)' [EQU-COND-even]
<i>indã:jã:</i>	ཞིན་དང་ཡང་	'but, however' lit. 'it is (so) and yet' [EQU-and-even]
<i>ĩ:jã:</i>	ཞིན་ཡང་	'but, however', lit. 'it is (so) yet' [EQU-even]
<i>zenne</i>	གཞན་ན་	'otherwise' lit. [other-COND] or [other-TOP]
<i>zẽ:mene</i>	གཞན་མན་ན་	'otherwise', lit. 'if there is nothing else' [other-NEG.EQU-COND]
<i>jã:</i>	ཡང་	'and, (then) again'
<i>jã:ne</i>	ཡང་ན་	'or'
<i>jã:mene</i>	ཡང་མན་ན་	'or in other case, otherwise', lit. 'and if it is not (so)' [and-NEG.EQU-COND]
<i>mi-ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ?</i>	མི་ཚད་	'not only (but also); moreover; in addition ', lit. not-stop(ping)
<i>k'ambjasene</i> <sup>160</sup>	གན་བྱས་སེ་ན་	'because, this is for the reason that', lit. 'if told why'
<i>dile</i>	འདྲི་ལས་	'then' (lit. 'this=ABL', probably already lexicalized)
<i>t'ene</i>	དེ་ན་	'then, in that case' (often collocates with <i>te</i> 'well, then', as in <i>te t'ene</i> 'well then...')

All the discourse connectors in Table 3.42 connect finite clauses and therefore, they are described, with two exceptions, in §12, which describes how finite clauses are connected. The first exception is *mi-ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ?* 'moreover, not only', which occurs both as a looser connector of finite clauses and an additive adverbial clause marker (see §12 and §15.9.1 respectively). The second exception is *k'amjasene* 'because', which is functionally similar to formally-subordinated causal adverbial clauses and is therefore described along with the functionally similar clauses in §15.4.

### 3.6.10 Interjections

Interjections are words that comprise an utterance in themselves. They are often phonologically distinct (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 57) and usually express the speaker's spontaneous emotions and reactions to something they have experienced or heard. Interjections usually occur at the beginning of a clause and are often followed by a pause. Phonologically distinctive characteristics of interjections are emphatically long vowels, the use of diphthongs /ei/ and /ai/, which do not otherwise occur in word roots (but do occur in the genitive forms, e.g. *kɛi* 'of neck', *sái* 'of ground') and the otherwise non-occurring final consonant /p<sup>h</sup>/ [f] in *úf* (discomfort). Table 3.43 lists some Denjongke interjections. The order of items follows loosely the order of positive-neutral-negative. The interjections of surprise are neutral in that they may involve either positive or negative emotions.

<sup>160</sup> The first part 'why' in this word may be pronounced *k'amja*, *k'ambja* or *k'amp'ja*, depending on the level of phonological reduction. The last pronunciation *k'amp'ja* suggests a succession of words rather than a single word, because *p'* typically only occurs word-initially. The word of speaking *sé* (which may be pronounced *sí*) can be replaced by *láp* 'say' or *ɛù* 'say (hum.)', e.g. *k'amjalapne*, *k'amjaɛune*. The last syllable, which is a conditional marker, may also take the forms *-no* and *-na*, the latter of which is probably affected by Tibetan spelling, e.g. *k'amjaseno* (eastern and northern pronunciation), *k'amjasena* (literary pronunciation).

Table 3.43. Some interjections

Form		Gloss	Function
<i>áme:</i>	ཨ་མེ་	‘wow’	expressing enthralment, rapture
<i>làso</i>	ལགས་སོ་	‘okay’	approval
<i>ák<sup>(h)</sup>a:</i>	ཨ་ཁ་		surprise, amazement
<i>ádzei</i>	ཨ་ཇེ་		surprise, amazement, quite similar to <i>ák<sup>h</sup>a:</i>
<i>óje, ói</i>	ཨོ་ཡེ་	‘oh, hey’	used getting someone’s attention
<i>é:, jà:</i>	ཨ་, ཡ་		expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going
<i>á:</i>	ཨ་	‘hey’, ‘yes’, ‘what’	1) informal address to get someone’s attention 2) response to being called (addressed to social/age inferior), like ‘what?’ (honorific <i>la:</i> )
<i>là:</i>	ལགས་	‘yes’ ‘excuse me?’	1) polite response to being called 2) expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said <sup>161</sup>
<i>kei</i>	ཀྲེ་, ཀྲེ་	‘O (address)’	honorific address (e.g. lama)
<i>tɛ<sup>h</sup>a</i>	ཆ་	‘alas’	disappointment (e.g. after a bad shot in a game of carrom or <i>kerembot</i> ), loan from Nepali
<i>tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɛ:</i>	ཆེ་	‘oh no’	disapproval, discomfort (e.g. when someone does not answer phone), the response to being tickled (TB 5, 151)
<i>úf</i>	ཨུཕ་	‘pew’	expression of pain or discomfort
<i>ádzi:</i>	ཨ་ཇེ་		1) (unpleasant) surprise, 2) fear
<i>áijo:</i>	ཨོ་ཡོ་		pain or fear of pain
<i>á(i)ja:</i>	ཨོ་ཡེ་, ཨ་ཡ་		
<i>óho:</i>	ཨོ་ཨོ་		sadness, response to bad news (KT) (neutral) surprise at information (KUN)

For examples of the interjections, consider §11.2.3.

### 3.6.11 Discourse particles

Two monosyllabic discourse particles, *t’a* ‘now’ (WD ད་ *da*) and *tɛ* (WD ཉེ་ *te*) ‘then, so’, are frequently used in spoken Denjongke. The two particles may co-occur, occur independently and occur more than once in a clause. For an illustrative example, consider (3.123).

- (3.123) ཉེ་ ད་ལྟོ་ ཉེ་ ད་ ལ་ཚུང་ལ་ ཉེ་ ད་ ཟස་  
*tɛ t’ato tɛ t’a làtɛ<sup>h</sup>uŋ=la tɛ t’a lí=di*  
 so now so now TPN=DAT so now apple=DEMPH  
 ‘So now in Lachung apples...’ (LA intro to Lachung)

As seen in (3.123), *t’a* and *tɛ* can be used as fillers, when the speaker is not yet sure what to say. For a more detailed description of *t’a* and *tɛ*, refer to §16.4

<sup>161</sup> Likely to be frequently heard by a language learner.

## 3.7 Clitics

Denjongke clitics are here divided into case clitics (§3.7.1), emphatic clitics (§3.7.2), clausal clitics (§3.7.3) and other clitics (§3.7.4).

### 3.7.1 Case clitics

This section first introduces the case clitics<sup>162</sup> (§3.7.1.1), then discusses monosyllabic postpositions, which resemble case-markers (§3.7.1.2), and lastly addresses case-stacking (§3.7.1.3).

#### 3.7.1.1 Introduction to case clitics

Case clitics are here termed clitics because of their transcategoriality, i.e. the ability to occur with more than one word class.<sup>163</sup> Within the noun phrase, case clitics attach to the last word, which may be a noun, adjective, demonstrative, numeral or a quantifier. Some cases also occur attached to adverbs and a few verbal suffixes (see example [3.4] above). Cases may be divided into grammatical cases (G in Table 3.44) and spatial cases (S in Table 3.44). Grammatical cases express syntactic relations (agent, patient, recipient, possessor in possessive constructions), whereas spatial cases express location and, by extension, time. The dative-locative case inhabits both categories, as suggested by its name and shown in Table 3.44.

Table 3.44. Case clitics

Case name	Form	Gram./Loc.	Origin	Functions and use described in
agentive	= <i>ki/gi</i> <i>high</i> <i>pitch</i> <sup>164</sup>	G	WT <i>gyis/kyis/kis/gis/s</i>	§9.1-2
genitive	= <i>ki/gi/i</i>	G	WT <i>kyi/gyi/ki/gi/i</i>	§3.6.1.2,
dative-locative	= <i>lo</i>	G and S	WT <i>lo</i>	§9.5.1.1
ablative	= <i>le</i>	S	WT <i>las</i>	§9.5.1.3
locative	= <i>na</i>	S	WT <i>nang</i> (?)	§9.5.1.2

The Classical Tibetan ཅཱ་ *dang*, which functions both as a coordinative (‘and’) and a comitative marker (‘with’) (Beyer 1992: 241, 271; Tournadre 2010: 113), has the reflex *t’ã*.<sup>165</sup> (WD ཅཱ་) in Denjongke. Denjongke *t’ã*: is most frequently used as a coordinating conjunction, but it also occurs as an optional element together with *jámpu* ‘with’ and *qau* ‘(be) similar’, e.g. *ηà (t’ã:) jámpu* ‘with me’, *ka (t’ã:) jámtēi?* ‘with whom’, *lamu (t’ã:) qau* ‘like a goddess’. The novel Richhi also has an interesting non-coordinating example of *t’ã*:, which resembles the Classical Tibetan “associative” function, see (3.124).<sup>166</sup>

<sup>162</sup> The word “case” derives from Latin *casus* ‘fall(ing)’, a loan from Greek *ptōsis* ‘fall(ing)’ (Haspelmath 2009: 506). Thus, the word suggests a falling away from the standard citation form (Blake 1994: 19).

<sup>163</sup> For transcategoriality of Classical Tibetan cases, see Tournadre (2010). The application of the term case to clitics differs from the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin based tradition where case is a word-level morphological category. In Denjongke, case functions on the phrasal level.

<sup>164</sup> In agentive pronouns *ηá*: (vs. *ηà*) and *mú*: (vs. *mù*).

<sup>165</sup> In sentential context typically pronounced *dã*.

<sup>166</sup> The term associative is in this thesis used differently. It refers to the use of suffix *-po* when it occurs with proper names or place names with the meaning ‘x and his/her associates’ or ‘person from x’ respectively.

- (3.124) ཚོ་མི་སྐྱོད་ཀྱིས་ མོའི་ ཨ་ལྗེ་ འདི་ དང་ ལྷ་སྐྱོད་ལོ་ རོ་ཤེས་ འགྲུགས་བཞིན་...  
*tɕʰøki=ki m̀ù=i ágja=di t'ã: l̥aki=lo ɲò ɛ́:*  
 PN=GEN 3SGF=GEN elder.brother=DEMPH with PN=DAT face know  
*dak-zɛ́:...*  
 make.known-PROG  
 ‘Choki, introducing her elder brother to (lit. with) Lhaki...’ (Richhi 70)

It seems that whereas Classical Tibetan is, in Stassen’s (2000) terminology, a WITH-language, which does not make a clear distinction between comitative and coordinative uses, Denjongke has developed towards being an AND-language, which tends to distinguish coordinative (marked with *t'ã:*) and comitative constructions (marked with *ɲámpu*).

The main functions of the grammatical and spatial case clitics are summarized here with references to relevant sections in later chapters. The **agentive** marker =*ki/gi* marks the animate (agentive) or inanimate (instrumental) causer of verbal action. Its use is partly syntactically and partly semantico-pragmatically governed. With nominals ending in a vowel, the agentive case may, alternatively, be marked by lengthening of the vowel and by high tone, e.g. *ɲà* ‘I’, *ɲá:=gi* ‘I=AGT’, *ɲá:* ‘I.AGT’; *nòrbu* ‘Norbu’, *nòrbu=gi* ‘Norbu=AGT’ *nòrbu:* ‘Norbu.AGT’. The use of the agentive in clausal argument marking is discussed in §5.2 (intransitive clauses) and §5.3 (transitive clauses).<sup>167</sup>

The **genitive** marker has two forms, longer =*ki/gi*, which is homophonous with the agentive case, and shorter =*i*. The shorter form can only be attached to stems ending in a short vowel. The genitive =*i* following final *-a* or *-o* in disyllabic words merges into *-ø:* (or *e:*). However, the longer form may also be used with vocally ending nouns, especially in spoken language. The main function of the genitive case is to mark a nominal or a clause as a modifier of a nominal, see §4.1.2.2. Although there is considerable variation as to the voicing/voiceless of *-ki/gi* in both the agentive and genitive, in the examples of this thesis =*gi* follows voiced consonants and vowels, whereas =*ki* follows voiceless consonants, including an underlying glottal stop (e.g. *tɕʰøʔ* ‘you’ > *tɕʰø:=ki* [you=GEN]).

The **dative-locative** case can mark nominal P(atient) and R(ecipient) arguments in a clause. It can also mark a nominal adverbial (attached to the noun phrase, §5.6.1.1), an adverbial clause (attached to a verb suffix, §15.5.1, §15.8.3) or a possessor in a possessive clause (§5.4.3). It also functions as an additional marker in locative postpositions (see, for instance, example [3.111]).

The **locative** case marker =*na* is almost homophonous with the locative demonstrative *nà:* ‘here’. Its basic function is to mark location within a three dimensional space, whereas the basic function of =*lo* is to locate an object two-dimensionally. The locative case marks nominal locative adverbials (e.g. *kʰim=na* ‘in[side] the house’, see §5.6.1.2). Unlike the dative-locative marker, =*na* may be attached to the short genitive form of a noun, a feature well understandable if =*na* derives from the relator noun *nàŋ* ‘inside’ (for relator nouns, see §3.6.8).

<sup>167</sup> At present it is unclear, whether agentive marking by lengthening the vowel in disyllabic words such as *nòrbu* is only part of the reading-style pronunciation, and hence used only by literate speakers, or whether it is also used by non-literate speakers. The reason why the reading-style pronunciation is motivated to lengthen the vowel is that the agentive case in words ending in a vowel may in writing be marked, in addition to full *-ki/gi*, by final letter *-s* ས་, which prompts a response from the reader to distinguish the form from the nominative. Another way to pronounce the final *-s* ས་ is to produce, in harmony with Tibetan spelling rules, a fronted vowel, e.g. /u/ > /y:/, /o/ > /ø:/, although in Denjongke cognates Written Tibetan final *-s* ས་ do not, most of the time, cause vowel fronting, e.g. WT ལུས་ *lus* > /lu:/ ‘remain’.

The **ablative** marker =*lɛ* encodes movement from a spatial source (e.g. from the house) or temporal source (e.g. from yesterday). Similarly to =*lo*, with which it sometimes overlaps, =*lɛ* occurs in both nominal (§5.6.1.3) and verbal adverbial uses (see §15.3.1.1). The ablative is also used for comparison, see §5.6.1.3.2 and §15.11.

### 3.7.1.2 Postpositions or cases: =*sã*: ‘until’ and =*tsa* ‘at, by, with’

The forms =*sã*: ‘until’ and *tsa* ‘at, by, with; place, root’ are problematic for analysis in that they resemble cases. In distribution =*sã*: resembles cases in being able to occur with nouns, adverbs and verbs, see (3.125-127) respectively.

- (3.125) ཐེ་ན་ འབར་གཉའ་ཟང་ སླེབས་པོ་ མེད།<sup>168</sup>  
*p<sup>h</sup>ina ba:pa=sã: l̥ɛp-o mɛ?*  
 over.there TPN=until arrive-2INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘I haven’t been able to arrive over there in Bermeok.’ (KT, discussion with TB)

- (3.126) གཏམ་ མོ་འདི་ ག་ཚོད་ཟང་ བདེན་དུགས་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་ལགས་?  
*tam ódi k’adzø=sã: dɛnʈa? jø:=kam=la?*  
 speech that how=until true EX.PER=ATTQ=HON  
 ‘I wonder to what degree that claim is true?’ (CY interview)

- (3.127) ང་ ད་ཟུང་ དབང་མོ་ ལོག་ མ་འོང་ཟང་ ལྷོད་ཤད་ མིན་  
*ŋà t’aruŋ óŋmu lòk ma-ò:=sã: dø:-ɛɛ ī.*  
 1SG still PN return NEG-come=TERM stay-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I’ll still stay until Wangmu comes back.’/ ‘I’ll still stay as long as Wangmo has not come.’ (Ricchi 28)

The clitic =*sã*:, however, is distinguished from case-markers by the ability to be formed into a full-blown disyllabic postposition, see (3.128), something which does not happen with case-markers.

- (3.128) ད་ལྟོ་ ཟང་སླེ་ ང་ ན་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ ནང་ག་ལོ་རང་ གཞོལ་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*t’ato sã:te ŋà nã: lápʈa nãŋɛa=lo=rã: jó? kjap-zɛ: jø?*  
 now until 1SG here school inside=DAT=AEMPH job do-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘Until now I have been working here at the school.’ (KT life story)

Because of the presence of two synonymic variant forms =*sã*: and *sã:te*, =*sã*: is here considered a cliticized form of the postposition *sã:te*. There is, however, some fluidity in this criteria, because the locative case marker =*na* also has a rather synonymic corresponding postposition *nãŋɛa/nãŋlo*, and thus =*na* could be argued, in analogy with =*sã*: and *sã:te*, to be a cliticized postposition *nãŋɛa/nãŋlo*. However, because =*na* is more frequently used in core argument marking and shows more phonological reduction from its corresponding postposition than =*sã*:, =*na* is here analyzed as a case marker (along with a separate postposition *nãŋɛa*) and =*sã/sã:te* as postposition with a longer and shorter form.

The monosyllabic form =*tsa*: ‘by, with’, which also resembles a case marker, is here analyzed as a postposition. A formal argument for this analysis is that the derivational locative suffix *-k<sup>h</sup>a* may be suffixed to (=)*tsa*(:). The suffix *-k<sup>h</sup>a* does not occur with cases but

<sup>168</sup> The way of writing སླར་གཉའ་ *sbar-gnya* ‘burnt-neck’ derives from Sandberg (1895: 124), who relies on Dr.Waddell.

it does occur with relator nouns, e.g. *teŋkʰa* ‘on, above’, *dyŋkʰa* ‘in front of’, *tsakʰa* ‘at (the root of)’. Example (3.129) illustrates the use of *tsa* without *-kʰa* (a) and with it (b).

- (3.129) a) ལྷོབས་འབྱོར་ རྩ་འདི་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་ ཡོད།  
*tobdzor=tsa:=di gja            ŋá jò?*  
 PN=at=DEMPH    hundred    five    EX.PER  
 ‘There were five hundred (rupees) with Topjor.’ (UTR, plains story)
- b) school རྩ་ཁ་ར་ ཨོན་ན་?  
*iskul                    tsakʰa=ra óna?*  
 school(Eng.) by=AEMPH there  
 ‘There at the school?’ (KT, discussion with TB)

A further phonological argument for a distinguishing =*sã:* and =*tsa:* from cases is that the vowels in =*sã:* and =*tsa:* tend to be long whereas all the cases have a short vowel<sup>169</sup>.

### 3.7.1.3 Case-stacking

A typologically interesting fact about Denjongke case-markers is that they can be stacked, i.e. a noun may be followed by two or sometimes even three consecutive case-markers.<sup>170</sup> The locative, agentive and genitive cases may attach either directly to the noun root or to the short genitive form of the noun (which involves only vowel alternation). With genitive case, this results in double genitive marking, which is quite frequent with pronouns, e.g. *ŋá* ‘I’, *ŋè:* [1SG.GEN] ‘my’, *ŋè:=gi* [1SG.GEN=GEN] ‘my’. However, double genitive marking is limited to nouns, which end in a vowel and have a modified vowel, rather than the full form =*ki*, as the genitive marker. Other cases can, similarly, only attach to the short genitive form, e.g. *súm-pø:-na* [three-ORD.GEN=LOC] ‘in the third one’. Double genitive marking is a feature of the spoken language, whereas in writing single marking is used.

The ablative case =*le* and dative-locative =*lo* may attach to the locative marker, as shown in (3.130) and (3.131) respectively.

- (3.130) རྩིན་ལས་ཀྱི་ རྩིན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་བུར་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སྐྱབས་ཤད་ འདིས་  
*tʰinlɛ:=ki    kʰim=na=le    tʰato<sup>171</sup>=sã:    ka=jã:    ma-ʎɛpɛɛ=di:*  
 Thrinley=GEN house=LOC=ABL now=until    who=even NEG-arrive=DEMPH.AGT  
 ‘Because no one has so far arrived from Thrinley’s house...’ (Richhi 43)

- (3.131) ལུང་ རྩིན་ལས་  
*pʰu=i    kʰim=na=lo*  
 boy=GEN    house=LOC=DAT  
 ‘In(side) the boy’s house.’ (SGD wedding customs)

Example (3.132) has the ablative appended to the genitive:

<sup>169</sup> An exception is the special case of agentive, where agentivity is shown by vowel lengthening, see §15.3.6.

<sup>170</sup> An analogy can be found in English postpositions combining two elements, e.g. *onto*, *upon*, *within*. For case-stacking in other languages, see for instance Sadler & Nordlinger (2006).

<sup>171</sup> The spoken form *tʰato* corresponds to ད་ལྟ་ *da-lta* ‘now’ used in Richhi. The form used in Richhi may be influenced by Written Tibetan.

- (3.132) ངའི་གི་བྱིམ་ ལྷན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལས་ རྗེ་ང་གུ་ མིན།  
*nè:=gi kʰim ʃeŋge:=ki=lɛ nɪŋku t̚:*  
 1SG.GEN=GEN house PRN.HON=GEN=ABL old EQU.PER  
 ‘My house is older than yours.’ (TB e)

A combination with an initial short genitive form may amount to three stacked cases, as illustrated by an example from the novel *Richhi*:

- (3.133) སློབ་གྲུབ་ན་ལོ་  
*lóbqø:=na=lo*  
 school.GEN=LOC=DAT  
 ‘in the school’ (*Richhi* 31)

An alternative interpretation would be to treat *nalo* and *nale* as reduced postpositions meaning ‘within’ and ‘from within’ respectively, co-existing with the postpositions *nàŋca/nàŋlo/nàŋle* ‘(from) inside’. However, the fact that the postpositional forms *nàŋca* and *nàŋlo* are more likely than *=na=lo* and *=na=lɛ* to be used alone as simple utterances favours the interpretation of *=na=lo* and *=na=lɛ* as instances of case marking. Although the examples of locative case stacking illustrate the gradience of linguistic categories, they cannot question the presence of the phenomenon of case-stacking in Denjongke. The construction *=ki=lɛ* with the grammatical genitive case in (3.132) is a clear example of case-stacking which cannot be interpreted as a postposition.

### 3.7.2 Emphatic clitics

Whereas case clitics express various relationships between verbal arguments, the use of emphatic clitics (see Table 3.45) directs the addressee’s attention in various ways to a certain constituent in the clause and sometimes the whole clause. Emphatic clitics occur after case clitics.

Table 3.45. Emphatic clitics

<i>=rã:/=ra</i>	རང་/ར་	anaphoric emphatic
<i>=to</i>	ཏོ་	contrastive emphatic
<i>=di</i>	འདི་	demonstrative-emphatic
<i>=ni/ne</i>	ནི་	topicalizer-emphatic

The anaphoric emphatic *=rã:* derives from Classical Tibetan རང་ *rang* ‘-self, same’ (Beyer (1992: 218), the meaning of which helps understand its cognate’s function in Denjongke, see §16.1.1. The contrastive emphatic *=to* is most likely a loan of the Nepali contrastive emphatic *ta* and/or the Hindi contrastive emphatic *to*, see §16.1.2.<sup>172</sup> The demonstrative-emphatic *=di* is a grammaticalized form of the proximal demonstrative *di* ‘this’, see §16.1.3. Likely cognates of the topicalizer-emphatic form *=ne/ni* have been termed “topicalizer” (Classical Tibetan, Beyer [1992: 275]), “topic marker” (Lhasa Tibetan, Denwood [1999: 103]), “topic particle” (Kyirong Tibetan, Huber [2002: 108]) and “focus marker” (Lamjung Yolmo, Gawne [2013: 487]), see §16.1.4.

<sup>172</sup> Huber (2002: 111) analyzes similarly functioning Kyirong Tibetan form *-ta* as a reflex of WT ཏ་ *da* ‘now’, for which Jäschke’s (1881) dictionary describes a colloquial emphatic use. In Denjongke, however, the reflex of WT ཏ་ *da* ‘now’, *t’a*, functions as an independent discourse particle which can occur clause-initially, a context in which Kyirong *-ta* does not occur.

### 3.7.3 Clausal clitics

Clausal clitics (see Table 3.45), which have scope over the whole preceding clause, attach to the end of the verb complex.

Table 3.46. Clausal clitics

= <i>lo</i>	ལོ་	reportative
= <i>s(ε)</i>	སེ་	quotative
= <i>la</i>	ལགས་	honorific (also attaches to nouns)
= <i>εo</i>	ཤོ་	attention marker (extended use with nouns)
= <i>ki</i>	གི་	non-commitment marker

The forms =*lo*, =*s(ε)* and =*la* have recognisable cognates in other Tibetic languages. For instance, the reportative =*lo* (WT ལོ་ *lo*) is found in Classical Tibetan (Jäschke 1881: 551-552), Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 405-406), Lamjung Yolmo (Gawne 2015), Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016:189) and Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002: 107). The quotative WT ཟེར་ *zer* and honorific WT ལགས་ *lags* are also widely attested in Tibetic languages. The honorific =*la* is listed in Table 3.46 because it also occurs as a clausal clitic but it is more fully introduced below in §3.7.4.3.

To my knowledge, anything resembling in form and function the attention marker =*εo* has not been reported in Tibetic languages. However, at least three Bhutanese, Eastern Bodish languages have a probable cognate of =*εo*. First, Kurtöp is reported to have an “emphatic particle” *sho* which occurs following both verbs and nominals (Hyslop 2011a: 500-502). Two of the example sentences given by Hyslop (2011a: 501), both of them postposed to a verb, are followed by exclamation markers, which are reported to be used with surprising information (p. 679-680), a use also covered by Denjongke =*εo*. Second, Hyslop and Tshering (2010) have also found a similarly functioning “sentence final particle” *ço* in Dakpa (a.k.a. Tawang Monpa). Third, Andvik’s (2010: 441) grammar of Tshangla describes a “marked topic particle” *sho*, which covers some of the same semantic field as Denjongke =*εo*. Nathan W. Hill (personal communication) suspects that =*εo* is derived from Classical Tibetan ཤོག་ *shog*, the imperative form for the verb ‘come’, which is also used in hortatives.

The non-commitment marker =*ki* is a loan from Nepali, where the question marker *ki* has developed a declarative use expressing the speaker’s non-commitment to and uncertainty about a statement.

The function of clausal clitics is described in §9.2 (=lo and =sε) and §16.2 (=la, =εo and =ki/gi).

### 3.7.4 Other clitics

There are four further morphemes which, because of their transcategorial nature, are analyzed as clitics. These clitics are the plural =*tsu* (§3.7.4.1), honorific clitics =*la(:)* and =*tε<sup>ho</sup>:* (§3.7.4.2), and the urgentive =*mø?* (§3.7.4.3).

#### 3.7.4.1 Plural clitic =*tsu*

The plural marker =*tsu* ཚུ་ is a clitic which occurs once at the end of the noun phrase after possible modifiers, e.g. *t’ep=tsu* ‘books’, *t’ep bompu=tsu* ‘big books’. Sandberg (1895: 23) does not mention =*tsu* as a plural marker but instead lists *-cha* (*-tεa?*) and *-ts’o* (*-ts<sup>ho</sup>*) as Denjongke plural markers, giving *nyi-lam cha* ‘dreams’ and *gya-mi ts’o* ‘Chinese’ as respective examples. The fact that *-ts<sup>ho</sup>* is the Central Tibetan plural marker suggests that the language variety recorded by Sandberg may be a northern variety with some Central Tibetan features. The example Sandberg gives of *-tεa?* (*nyi-lam cha*) is intriguing because it contrasts with Beyer’s (1992: 230) statement on Classical Tibetan that the plural *-tεa?* occurs “only



after personal determiners even in the oldest texts”. In my data, the plural *-teaʔ* does not occur in any other words than the personal pronouns *ŋàteaʔ* ‘we’ and *k’uteaʔ* ‘you (pl.)’. The uses of *=tsu* are illustrated and discussed in §4.1.5.

### 3.7.4.2 Indefiniteness clitic *=teiʔ*

The indefiniteness clitic *=teiʔ* derives from the numeral *teiʔ* ‘one’. While in some contexts it is phonologically, syntactically and even semantically difficult to distinguish between the numeral and the indefinite uses, the vowel in the clitic is typically pronounced shorter than in the numeral. For one example, consider (3.134), where the clitic is attached to the numeral.

- (3.134) སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གསུང་གསུང་བོ་གཅིག་ཅིག་སྟེ།  
*sáŋge:=ki súŋ-sum-bo tei:=teiʔ beʔ.*  
 Buddha=GEN say.HON-RDP-2INF one=INDF EQU.NE  
 ‘This is one (proverb) told by the Buddha.’ (YR canteen video)

For more examples, refer to §4.1.6.

### 3.7.4.3 Honorific clitics *=la(:)* and *=teʰo:*

By attaching one of the honorific clitics *=la(:)* (WD ལགས་ *lags*) or *=teʰo:* to a name or a title the speaker can show respect to the person referred to. The clitic *=la(:)* is a frequent general honorific which can be used of people from any social status or age group. In addition to uses attached to nouns, it also occurs as a clause-final honorific (§3.7.3, §16.2.1), independent interjection (§11.2.3) and as the initial element in affirmative answers (see [36] in Appendix one, Excerpt from discussion). It is also used as a lexicalized ending in some names, e.g. *bhaila* ‘Bhaila’ (*bhai* is the Nepali word for ‘younger brother’). In uses with nouns, the vowel tends to be long *=la:*, whereas in clausal uses, it tends to be short *=la*. As exemplified by (3.135), *=la:* may be used when addressing people (a) or when referring to them in their absence (b).

- (3.135) a) ལྷ་མ་ལགས་ ཁ་རྒྱུ་ ང་ཅའི་  
*team=la:, kʰanup ŋàtei...*  
 madam=HON the.day.before.yesterday 1PL.GEN  
 ‘Madam, the day before yesterday our...’ (Richhi 8)
- b) བ་ལགས་ མདང་ བྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་ ཐོན་མི་ བཞུགས་ ཡོད།  
*pa:=la: dā: kʰim=na lòk teʰon-di zu: jòʔ.*  
 father=HON yesterday house=LOC return come.HON-NF stay.HON EX.PER  
 ‘The father came back home yesterday and is (there/at home).’ (Richhi 55)

The less frequent clitic *=teʰo:* (WD མཚོག་ *mchog*) can be translated as ‘most excellent, honorable’ and is used of people of considerable social status. The morpheme *teʰo:* is considered a clitic because, similarly to plural *=tsu*, it attaches to the last word of the noun phrase, whether the last word is the head noun or a modifier.

- (3.136) a) ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ མཐུ་སྟོབས་ རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་མཚོག་  
*teʰoʔge: tʰutop námgeʔl=teʰo:*  
 king PN PN-most.excellent  
 ‘most excellent king (chogyal) Thutop Namgyal’ (CY interview)

- b) ལྷེང་ལར་ ལྷ་བར་ ལྷོམ་པོ་་་་་ཀམ་འི་ ཡབ་ རིང་བཤགས་ མཚོག་གི།  
*tɛŋkʰa kupaɾ bompʉ karmøː jaːp ɛiŋɕaː=teʰoː=ki*  
 above portrait big PN.GEN father.HON late-most.excellent=GEN  
 ‘Above (there is) a big portrait of Karma’s honorable late father.’ (Richhi 33)

#### 3.7.4.4 Urgetive clitic =*møʔ*

The urgentive marker =*møʔ*, which attaches to verbs, is analyzed as a clitic rather than an affix because it may attach, in addition to the verb root, also to other markers such as imperative, hortative and optative, see §11.3.3. The urgentive form most likely derives from WT མོད་ *mod*, an emphatic verb of being ‘to be indeed’. Sandberg (1895: 57) reports *møː* as an independent verb, but in my data such uses are not found.

- (3.137) མེ! ཉེ་ ལུ་ཐོ་ གནང་མོད།  
*éː, tɛ ɛùː náː=møʔ.*  
 oh so ask. 2INF do.HON=URG  
 ‘Oh, in that case ask (him), by all means.’ (KT animal story)

For further examples on =*møʔ* see, §11.3.3.

### 3.8 Summary remarks

This chapter, the only one focusing on morphology and etymology, introduced Denjongke word classes, affixes and clitics. The main criteria used in distinguishing clitics from affixes was transcategoriality, i.e. the ability to attach to words of more than one word class. It was shown that Denjongke has four major word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) and eleven minor word classes. Many nouns and verbs can be divided into ordinary and honorific registers. The discussion on verbs listed 45 phonologically related pairs of controlled vs. non-controlled verbs. I also provided etymological information on verbal suffixes and gave introductory examples of each form in clausal context.

Adjectives were shown to be a word class which, although deriving from stative verbs, is morphologically distinguished from other word classes by a number of adjectivizing suffixes. Adverbs were seen to be a word class which, although partly overlapping with adjectives, are also distinguished from them morphologically and syntactically. Time words such as *tʰoːpa* ‘(in the) morning’, which have both nominal and adverbial characteristics, were on distributional grounds analyzed as temporal adverbs. Numerals were seen to follow both decimal and vigesimal systems. It was shown that postpositions divide into more noun-like postpositions, which were called relator nouns, and less noun-like postpositions, i.e. relator nouns were treated as a subclass of postpositions.

The last major section introduced 21 clitics (all monosyllabic), which were divided into five case clitics, two cliticized postpositions, four emphatic clitics, five clausal clitics and five other clitics (plural, indefinite, urgentive and two honorific clitics). It was shown that cases divide into grammatical and spatial cases, with the dative-locative occupying both categories. A typologically interesting feature was seen to be case-stacking of up to three case markers.

## 4 Phrasal constituents

This chapter moves the discussion from morphology and etymology to syntax by describing the constituents in nouns phrases (§4.1), the verb complex (§4.2), adjective and adverb phrases (§4.3) and numeral phrases (§4.4).

### 4.1 Noun phrase

This section first provides an introduction to the structure of the noun phrase (§4.1.1) and then describes prenominal (§4.1.2) and postnominal modifiers (§4.1.3). The section after that describes the ordering of clitics at the end of the noun phrase (§4.1.4). This is followed by sections on the plural marker (§4.1.5), (in)definiteness (§4.1.6), coordination (§4.1.7) and reduplication (§4.1.8).

#### 4.1.1 Introduction to noun phrase

The noun phrase may consist of 1) a noun head with its preceding and/or following modifiers (4.1), 2) a proform (pronoun, demonstrative or question word) (4.2), or 3) a nominalized clause (4.3).<sup>173</sup> In the following discussion, square brackets are used for marking noun phrases, if the noun phrases are given in clausal context or if noun phrases are embedded within each other in a complex way. If the whole example consists of simply one noun phrase, there are no square brackets. When the noun phrase contains more than one word, the head noun and its equivalent in the English translation are underlined.

Noun with preceding and following modifiers

(4.1) a) ཉིན་དུའི་བུམ་གཞིན་རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ལོ་

*hindu-i p'um jén kjap-kjap-o=lo*  
Hindu=GEN girl wedding do-RDP-2INF=DAT

‘to a girl of Hindus’ who has been married...’/ ‘to a married Hindu girl...’ (sbar-phung 88)

b) ཚོ་འདི་བུམ་གཞིས་འདྲ་ཅིག་

*ódi p'um jí: de:tei?*  
that girl two that.much

‘those (as much as) two girls’ (SGD wedding customs)

Pro-form

(4.2) a) ལུ་ཕྱིས་པོ་སྤྲ།

*[k<sup>h</sup>u] p<sup>hi</sup>:-p(o) bɛ?*  
3SGM be.late-2INF EQU.NE  
‘[He] was late.’ (RS pupil joke)

b) ཚོ་འདི་ལོ་འདི་གན་ལའ་ཉོ་?

*[ódi=lo=di] [k'an] làp-to?*  
that=DAT=DEMPH what say-IPFV  
‘[What] is [that] called?’ (PD intro video)

<sup>173</sup> The nominalized clause in (4.3a) is analyzed as a complement clause (see §14.1.1) and (4.3b) as a headless relative clause (see §13.2.1.3)

Nominalized clause

(4.3) a) གནས་སྐོར་ ལེགས་ འུམ་གྱི་ ང་ཅག་ སྐོར་ ཚུགས་པོ་ འཕོན་ བཅུག།  
 [né:ko lém p'ja-ti ηàtɛa? kor ts<sup>h</sup>u-po] t<sup>h</sup>øŋ tɛu?  
 pilgrimage good do-NF 1PL go.around be.able.to-2INF become cause  
 ‘Let it happen (so) [that (we) will be able to make (this) pilgrimage well].’ (SGD cave story)

b) མཚམས་ལོ་ བཞུགས་མཁུན་ ཀེས་བ་ ཟུང་ ཨ་ཉོ་ལགས།  
 [ts<sup>h</sup>am=lo zu:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:] kɛ:p bɛ? áno=la:  
 retreat=DAT sit.HON-NMLZ many EQU.NE grandmother=HON  
 ‘[Those who sit in (mediation) retreat] are many, grandmother.’ (SM kitchen discussion)

The ensuing discussion focuses on the first option, the type and order of preceding and following modifiers in the noun phrase. The structure of Denjongke noun phrase is summarized in Figure 4.1, which summarizes the order of various constituents. The abbreviation =EMPH covers both =CEMPH and =AEMPH. The notion quantifier (QUA) includes quantifying pronouns and some versatile quantifying adverbs (see §4.1.3.3).

Figure 4.1. Structure of the noun phrase

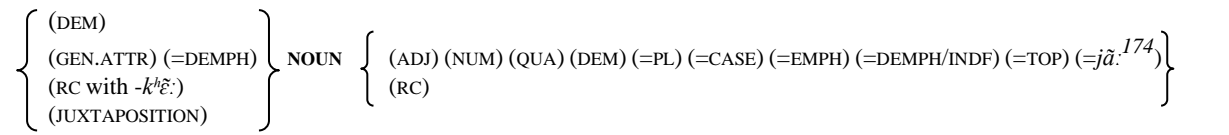
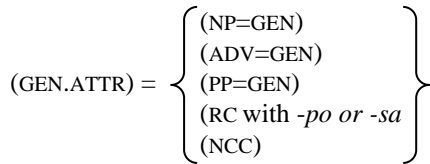


Figure 4.2. The structure of the genitive attribute in the noun phrase



(Abbreviations in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 (from left to right): DEM demonstrative, NP=GEN noun phrase in genitive, PP=GEN postpositional phrase in genitive, RC relative clause, NCC noun complement clause, =DEMPH demonstrative-emphatic, INDF=indefiniteness marker, ADJ adjective, NUM numeral, QUA quantifier, EMPH emphatic)

The order of noun modifiers is demonstrative + noun + adjective + numeral + quantifier (+ emphatic), see (4.4). Numerals and quantifiers are usually exclusive of each other, but certain quantifiers, such as t<sup>h</sup>amɛɛ? ‘all’ in (4.4) may co-occur with numerals, although the combination is not very frequent.

(4.4) ཨོ་འདི་ ཕྱི་ གསར་བ་ གསུམ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འདི་  
 ódi k<sup>h</sup>im sá:p súm t<sup>h</sup>amɛɛ=di  
 that house new three all=DEMPH  
 ‘all those three new houses’ (KN e)

<sup>174</sup> ‘too, even, yet’

The following subsections describe prenominal (§4.1.2) and postnominal modifiers (§4.1.3)

#### 4.1.2 Pre-nominal modifiers

A prenominal modifier of a noun phrase can be a demonstrative (§4.1.2.1), genitive attribute (§4.1.2.2), a relative clause with *-kʰɛ:* (§4.1.2.3) or a juxtaposed nominal (§4.1.2.4).

##### 4.1.2.1 Demonstrative

Distal *ódi*, proximal *di* and, less frequently, the emphatic proximal *dodi*, which can all occur as independent pronouns, do also occur either as prenominal modifiers or postnominal modifiers (for post-nominal uses, see §4.1.3.4). Examples (4.5a) and (4.5.b) illustrate prenominal uses of *ódi* and *di* respectively (for a postnominal use of *dodi*, see §4.5.2.3).

(4.5) a) དེ་ཟང་ན་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ན་ འོང་མཁན་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཚོ་འདི་ ཤོག་ཀྱི་ ཡོད་བ་སྒྲ་ལགས།  
*t'izã: nà: dɛndzõ:=na òŋ-kʰen=tsu=lo [ódi ɛóku] jèbbe=la.*  
 but here Sikkim=LOC come-NMLZ=PL=DAT that paper EX.NE=HON  
 'But those who came to Sikkim had [that document].' (CY interview)

b) འདི་ བྱི་མ་ འདི་ རྫོང་ལམ་ བཟོ་བཟོ་བོ་ སྒྲ།  
*[di kʰim=di] do tɛŋkʰa zo-zo-u bɛʔ.*  
 this house=DEMPH stone on make-RDP-2INF EQU.NE  
 '[This house] is built on stones.' (TB e)

In addition, the demonstrative pro-adverb *nà:* 'here' may modify a noun.

(4.6) ཀར་མཚན་ རྩེ་ལོ་ ཡར་ རྩེ་ལོ་ སྤྱི་ བྱི་ ལོ།  
*karma, tɛʰɕʔ [nà: óni=lo] jà:=tsa:=sã: kɛ: p'in lo.*  
 PN 2SG.L here small.child=DAT up=by=until bring give TAG.Q  
 'Karma, you take [the child here] all the way up, okay.' (Richhi 40)

Other pro-adverbial demonstratives, when used as noun modifiers, have to be genitive marked, see §4.1.2.2 below.

When co-occurring with a genitive-attribute, the reference of the demonstrative is contextually determined. In (4.7a), the demonstrative modifies the noun which functions as the genitive attribute, whereas in (4.7b) the demonstrative modifies the head noun, not the genitive-attribute. The modified word is underlined.

(4.7) a) ཚོ་འདི་ སྐང་གི་ སློན་པོ་ འདི་ཚུ་  
*[ódi gɛŋ=gi] lómpu di=tsu*  
 that time=GEN minister this=PL  
 'ministers of that time' (CY interview)

b) ཚོ་འདི་ རྩེ་ལོ་ལོ་ སྤྱི་ ལོ།  
*ódi tea:ɛo:=ki kʰim=di*  
 that corrugated.iron=GEN house=DEMPH  
 'that house of corrugated iron' (not: 'house of that corrugated iron') (KL, BB discussion)

### 4.1.2.2 Genitive attributes

The genitive-marked noun-modifier may be a noun phrase (4.8), adverb (4.9), postposition phrase (4.10), relative clause (4.12) or a noun complement clause (4.13). In the following illustrative examples, genitive attributes are marked with square brackets.

Noun phrase

(4.8) a) འཇི་མ་པོ་

[*nè:*] *ápo*  
1SG.GEN father  
'my father' (DB life story)

b) འ་ཅའི་གི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ མི་རིགས་

[[*ηàtci=gi*] *dɛndzɔŋ=gi*] *míri?*  
1PL.GEN=GEN Sikkim=GEN people  
'people of our Sikkim' (NAB BLA 7)

c) འ་ཅའི་གི་ འདི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་

[*ηàtci=gi=di*] *lògju?*  
1PL.GEN=GEN=DEMPH story  
'this story of ours' (YR canteen video)

Note that in (4.8c) the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* intervenes between the noun and its genitive modifier and that the genitive is double marked.

Adverb phrase (independent uses of postpositions are included within adverbs here)

(4.9) a) མོ་ན་གི་ ལྷ

[*óna=gi*] *tɕ<sup>h</sup>u*  
there=GEN water  
'the water (of) there' (UTR plains story)

b) ད་རིང་གི་ མོགས་འདུ་ འདི་ན་

[*t'ariŋ=gi*] *ts<sup>h</sup>o:du:=di*  
today=GEN meeting=DEMPH  
'in today's meeting' (RD BLA 9)

c) མོན་ལོ་གི་ ལོབ་གྲ

[*nenlo=gi*] *lóbɕa*  
before=GEN school  
'the school before' / 'the school of days gone' (Richhi 44)

d) འོག་གི་ མི་

[*ò:=gi*] *mí*  
under=GEN human  
'people (who live) down' (LA birth in Lachung)

- e) འཛོལ་གྱི་ རྒྱ་པར་ འཁོར་ལོའི་ རྒྱ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ ཐོས།  
 [bolo=ki] kɛ-par kʰorlɔː kɛʔ tɛiku tʰoː.  
 beside=GEN sound-picture wheel.GEN sound only hear  
 ‘Only the sound from the nearby television is audible.’ (Richhi 5)

In postposition phrases, the genitive marker =ki/gi replaces the last suffix/syllable of the non-case-marked postposition, as shown in (4.10), where the postpositions modify the noun *kʰim* (WD ཁྱིམ་ *khyim*) ‘house’.

- (4.10) *bolokʰa* འཛོལ་གྱི་ཁར་ ‘next to’ > *kʰim bolo=gi* ཁྱིམ་ འཛོལ་གྱི་  
*tɛŋkʰa/tɛŋ=lo* རྗེང་ཁར་/རྗེང་ལོ་ ‘above’ > *kʰim tɛŋ=gi* ཁྱིམ་ རྗེང་གི་  
*ò:lo/ò:le* འོག་ལོ་/འོག་ལས་ ‘under’ > *kʰim ò:=gi* ཁྱིམ་ འོག་གི་  
*nàŋɛa/nàŋlo* རྣང་ན(ར)་/རྣང་ལོ་ ‘inside’ > *kʰim naŋ=gi* ཁྱིམ་ རྣང་གི་

Postpositional phrases as genitival attributes frequently include other embedded genitive attributes, as shown by the examples of gradually increasing complexity in (4.11).

Postposition phrase

- (4.11) a) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རྣང་གི་ གཏམ་རྒྱུས་ཚུ་  
 [dʑendzɔː nəŋ=gi] tamgyː=tsu  
 Sikkim inside=GEN legend=PL  
 ‘legends within Sikkim’ (SGD cave story)
- b) ཀ་རྣའི་ འཛོལ་གྱི་<sup>175</sup> ལྷོ་བ་ལྷག་  
 [karmɔː] bolo=gi kupkjaʔ  
 PN.GEN next.to=GEN seat  
 ‘the seat next to Karma’ (Richhi 125)
- c) བོ་ཚའི་ མགོའི་ རྗེང་གི་ རྩ་  
 [[pʰotsɔː] go=i] tɛŋ=gi má  
 child.GEN head=GEN top=GEN wound  
 ‘wound on the child’s head’ (Richhi 3)

Relative clauses and noun complement clauses are discussed in detail in §13. These attribute types are here illustrated just by one example each:

Relative clause

- (4.12) ལྷུ་རུ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ དང་ལུ་ མཚན་མས་ བརྒྱགས་བརྒྱགས་པའི་ གནས་  
 [guru rimpute<sup>hɛ</sup> tʰã.pu tsʰam zuː-zu-bɔː] néː  
 guru Rimpoche long.ago solitary.meditation sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN site  
 ‘a site [where Guru Rimpoche used to meditate]’ (SGD cave story)

<sup>175</sup> Both the written forms འཛོལ་ *'bo-lo* and འཛོལ་གྱི་ *'bo-log* occur in Richhi.

### Noun complement clause

- (4.13) མག་གོ་ལོ་གསུམ་རྒྱབས་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
 [máko lò súm kjap-ø:] lògju?  
 son-in-law year three do-2INF.GEN story  
 ‘story [that the son-in-law does three years (of work)].’ (SGD wedding customs)

In spoken language, genitive marking is sometimes dropped from noun modifiers. Example (4.14) provides two phrases from the same story referring to the same event. In a) the modifier *p’iteuŋ* ‘bird’, modifying the noun *ka:m/ka:po* ‘foot’, occurs with genitive marking but in b) without.

- (4.14) a) ཕྱི་རྒྱུང་གི་རྒྱབས་སྤོང་ལས་  
 [p’iteuŋ=gi] ka:m teŋk<sup>h</sup>a  
 bird=GEN foot on  
 ‘in the bird’s foot’ (PAD bet story)
- b) ཕྱི་རྒྱུང་རྒྱབས་འདི་ནང་གི་  
 [p’iteuŋ] kã:pø: nàŋɕa  
 bird foot.GEN inside  
 ‘in the bird’s foot’ (PAD bet story)

Leaving out genitive marking is particularly frequent with toponymic modifiers, see §4.1.2.4.2.

#### 4.1.2.3 Relative clause with *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:*

Noun-modifying relative clauses with the nominalizer *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:*, which do not require (nor allow) genitive marking, are described in §13.2.1. For an introductory example, consider (4.15).

- (4.15) ཚོང་གྱི་སྒྲ་ལོ་དཔྱད་ཡོད་མཁམ་ཀང་ཀར་འདི་  
 [tɕ<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki ŋa=lo pjø: jø:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:] kaŋkara=di  
 2SG.L=GEN nose=DAT hang EX-NMLZ crab=DEMPH  
 ‘the crab [that was/is hanging from your nose]’ (rna-gsung 33)

#### 4.1.2.4 Juxtaposition

A noun may also be modified by a noun phrase which is placed in juxtaposition to the noun. In these cases, it is sometimes difficult to determine which noun phrase modifies which one. Constructions with juxtaposition are used to refer especially to people and places. Therefore a juxtapositional construction typically contains a personal name or a toponym, which is juxtaposed to another noun phrase. Juxtaposition may be either appositional or non-appositional. In appositional juxtaposition, a noun phrase which modifies a noun has the same referent as the noun it modifies (Haspelmath 1993: 256). In non-appositional juxtaposition, the juxtaposed noun is not co-referential with the modified noun.

##### 4.1.2.4.1 Appositional juxtaposition

An apposition to a personal name may be a title (4.16-17) or a kinship term (4.18). The kinship term typically occurs before the name, although a reverse order is also possible. Some frequent titles are listed in Table 4.1.



Table 4.1. Some titles

<i>kuɛap</i>	ལྷོ་ཞབས་	‘mister’
<i>team, lateam</i>	ལྷོ་མ་, ལྷོ་ལྷོ་མ་	‘mrs’
<i>lópøŋ</i>	སློབ་དཔོན་	‘teacher (m.)’
<i>lópøm</i>	སློབ་དཔོན་མ་	‘teacher (fem.)’
<i>tɛ<sup>h</sup>o:p</i>	ཚེས་བའ་/ཚེས་པོ་	‘monk’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>empo</i>	མཁན་པོ་	‘master of Buddhist studies’

(4.16) ཚོམ་མཛད་ བསམ་སྐབས་  
*ómdzɛʔ sámɖup*  
 second.lama PN  
 ‘omdze Samdrup’ (LT kitchen discussion)

(4.17) བཟ་ཤིས་ སློབ་དཔོན་  
*ʈæsi lópøŋ*  
 PN teacher  
 ‘teacher Tashi’ (oh, Martam)

(4.18) ཇ་ཁུ་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལུང་  
*áku bhaitɕuŋ*  
 father’s.younger.brother PN  
 ‘Uncle Bhaicung’ (KN kitchen discussion)

(4.19) ཇ་ཚོ་ མན་མེ་ཀོང་ས་ལང་  
*ádzo mɛnt<sup>h</sup>ekoŋsalä:*  
 grandfather PN  
 ‘grandfather Mon Thekongsalang’ (CY interview)

A person may also be referred to by two appositional titles:

(4.20) ཡེ་རབ་<sup>176</sup> captain  
*jà:p kæptɛn*  
 nobleman captain(Eng)  
 ‘Honorable Captain’ (KN CY interview)

In the following two examples, two appositional nouns refer to the same location. In (4.21), the latter noun clarifies the referent of the toponym by a common noun. In (4.22), the second word specifies a referent from a group of possible referents suggested by the first word (*bejyl*).

(4.21) གང་རྟོག་ ཁྲོམ་  
*gã:toʔ t<sup>h</sup>om*  
 TPN town  
 ‘Gangtok town’ / ‘the town of Gangtok’ (YR canteen video)

<sup>176</sup> This word is probably a phonologically reduced version of WT ཡེ་རབས་ *ya-rabs* ‘nobleman’, which has become homophonous with with *jà:p* ‘father (hon.)’ (WD ཡེ་རབ་ *yab*).

- (4.22) ལྷན་ཡུལ་ འབྲས་མ་རྫོང་ས་  
*bejyl demadzō:*  
 hidden.land fruit.valley/Sikkim  
 ‘hidden land of Sikkim’ (CY interview)

An appositional construction may also consists of a noun phrase and a personal pronoun (4.23) or two personal pronouns (4.24):

- (4.23) ཨ་ཚོ་ཁོང་ཚུ་གཅིག་ཅུ་ལས་ཨོ་འདྲེབ་སྟེ་གསལ་གསལ་པོ་ཡིད།  
*ádzo kʰõ:=tsu=tei? tsa=lɛ ódɛpti sɛn-sém-po jò?*  
 grandfather 3PL=PL=INDF by=ABL like.that hear.HON-RPD EX.PER  
 ‘(They) have heard like that from them grandfathers.’ (CY interview)

- (4.24) མཁོ་པོ་འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ཙོང་སྐད་ཡང་ཁོང་ལྷན་རྒྱས་མཁྱེན་སྲད།  
*gɛmpo di=tsu=gi tsoŋkɛ:=jã: kʰõ: lɛŋɣɛ? kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 elder this=PL=AGT Limbu=too 3PL PRN.HON know.HON EQU.NE  
 ‘...these elders, they also knew the Limbu language.’ (CY interview)

In some instances, appositions lexicalize. For instance, the form *ádzota?* ཨ་ཚོ་སྟག་ ‘tiger’ (TB) deriving from *ádzo ta?* ‘grandpa tiger’, is used by some speakers as the main word for referring to the feline.<sup>177</sup>

#### 4.1.2.4.2 Non-appositional juxtaposition

People may be identified with reference to their place of origin with a non-appositional construction where a toponym is combined with a kinship term or a title, see (4.25). Although these syntagms resemble compounds, they are distinct from prototypical nominal compounds in that the prototypical compound noun combines two monosyllabic words (e.g. *mik-te<sup>hu</sup>* ‘eye-water, tear’), whereas the non-appositional juxtaposition combines longer syntagms, which are much longer than what would be expected of a word in Denjongke, into a single concept (e.g. 4.25a). Prosodic phenomena involved in non-appositional juxtaposition, however, remain a subject for further study.

- (4.25) a) བ་རམ་སྐད་ ཨ་ཚོ་  
*pʰarɛgõ: ádzo*  
 TPN grandfather  
 ‘Paramgang grandfather’ / ‘Grandfather from/of Paramgang’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

- b) ཞིང་གཤེགས་<sup>178</sup> རྫོང་གི་ ཨ་ཉེ་  
*ɛiŋɛa? doliŋ áni*  
 late TPN father’s.sister  
 ‘the late aunt of Doling’ (sbar-phung v)

<sup>177</sup> A motivation for this grammaticalization may be that *ta?* is almost homophonous with *ta* ‘horse’.

<sup>178</sup> The Denjongke script here probably reflects the Classical Tibetan spelling, the Denjongke spelling met elsewhere being ཞིང་བཤགས་ *zhing-bshags*, see (4.8) above. The phonological script reflects the Denjongke spelling and pronunciation.

c) བདེན་གཏམ་ ཡབ་/ཡམས་ རྩོམ་པ་  
*dentam ja:p/jà:p bompu*  
 TPN father/nobleman big  
 ‘the great father/nobleman of Dentam’ (CY interview)

d) ང་ཅའི་ཀེ་ འབྲས་རྩོངས་ རྒྱལ་པོ་  
*ŋàtɕi=gi dɛndzõ: gɛ:pu*  
 1PL.GEN=GEN Sikkim king  
 ‘our king of Sikkim’ (CY interview)

Some adjectives (4.26a) and adverbs (4.26b) precede a noun without genitive marking:

(4.26) a) ཕྱི་ལྗོངས་ རྐང་  
*tɕʰiliŋ kɛʔ<sup>179</sup>*  
 foreign language  
 ‘English language’ (DR discussion with KL)

b) ཐགས་རིང་ ས་གནས་  
*tʰa:-riŋ sáneʔ*  
 ‘distance-long region’  
 ‘far-away region’ (Richhi 1)

Some nouns may also modify other nouns without genitivization. Each of the words used in (4.27) also occur independently as noun phrase heads.

(4.27) a) ཕྱོགས་ མི་ཅིག་  
*pʰogjaʔ mi=tɕiʔ*  
 husband human=INDF  
 ‘a male person’ (nga’i ’gan 8)

b) མི་ རྒྱུ་  
*mí gapu*  
 human elder  
 ‘an elder man’ (KN kitchen discussion)

b) མི་ ཕྱོགས་ རྒྱུ་  
*mí pʰogja gapu*  
 human husband elder  
 ‘an elderly male person’ (rnam-rtog 28)

### 4.1.3 Postnominal modifiers

Postnominal word-level modifiers (for clitics, see §4.1.4) occur in the following order: (ADJ) (NUM) (QUA) (DEM). Postnominal modifiers other than the genitive-marked relative clause bear no morphological cues revealing their modifying relationship to the head noun.

<sup>179</sup> For historical reasons, this combination, which literally means ‘foreigners’ language’ has acquired the more specific meaning ‘English language’. There is also a more specific word referring to English, *indzi kɛʔ* (WD དབྱིན་ ཇི་ རྐང་ *dbyin-ji skad*).

#### 4.1.3.1 Adjectival modifiers

A noun-modifying adjective phrase typically occurs postposed to the head noun.

- (4.28) མང་ ལྗང་ལྗང་  
*gã: tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ*  
 hill small  
 ‘a small hill’ (TB e)

- (4.29) གཉེན་ རྩོམ་ལུ་  
*ɲén bompɯ*  
 wedding big  
 ‘big wedding’ (DB life story)

The adjective itself may be preceded by a modifier:

- (4.30) ཇ་རི་ ལེབ་ རྩོམ་ལུ་  
*ári [lɛp bompɯ]*  
 paddy.field very.much big  
 ‘a very big paddy field’ (TB bull story)

- (4.31) ལུགས་རིགས་ གང་མན་ཚད་ མཁས་དྲགས་  
*tʰuri? [kʰã.mentɕe? kʰɛʈa?]*  
 understanding extremely sophisticated  
 ‘extremely sophisticated understanding’ (CY interview)

When co-occurring with a numeral modifier, the adjective (phrase) may occur preceding the noun, as shown in (4.32a). However, another consultant wanted to correct the order in (4.32a), after seeing it in writing, to (4.32b).

- (4.32) a) ཇོ་འདི་ ལྗང་ལྗང་ གྲི་ བཞི་བམ་བ་  
*ódi tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ kʰi zi-tʰamba*  
 that small dog four-NUM  
 ‘those four small dogs’ (TB e)
- b) གྲི་ ལྗང་ལྗང་ བཞི་བམ་བ་ འདི་ཚུ་  
*kʰi tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ zi-tʰamba di=tsu*  
 dog small four-NUM this=PL  
 ‘those/these four small dogs’ (PR e)

#### 4.1.3.2 Numeral modifiers

Numerals and quantifying pronouns can function as quantitative modifiers of nouns. Typically these two modifier types are exclusive of each other (4.33), but some quantifiers such as *tʰamtɕe?* ‘all’ can occur with numerals (4.34).

- (4.33) a) ལུམ་ གསུམ་  
*pʰum súm*  
 girl three  
 ‘three girls’ (KN e)

- b) ལུ་མ་ གེ་པ་ལོ་  
*p'um kɛ:p(o)*  
 girl many  
 'many girls' (KN e)

- (4.34) ཨོ་འདི་ ལྷི་མ་ གསར་བ་ གསུ་མ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འདི་  
*ódi kʰim sá:p súm tʰamtɛɛ=di*  
 that house new three all=DEMPH  
 'all those three new houses.' (KN e)

For two additional examples of modifying numerals, consider (4.35) and (4.36).

- (4.35) ཨ་ཇོ་ རྒྱ་མ་ལོ་ ལོ་ ལལ་ བཞི་ཚོད་  
*ádzo gɛ:po [lò kʰɛ: zi-tsʰøʔ]*  
 grandfather old.man year score four-about  
 'old grandfather of some eighty years' (Richhi 78)

- (4.36) ང་ རྒྱག་ གསུ་མ་ རྗོད་ཅུང་ རྒྱིག་གོ།  
*nà [ɛàʔ súm] dø:-ruŋ dʱike*  
 1SG night three stay-CONC be.alright  
 'Even if I stay three nights, it's alright.' (RS duetto)

When co-occurring with an adjectival modifier, the numeral may precede the noun in spoken language, as shown by spoken example (4.37a). According to consultant KUN, however, written language prefers the orderings given in (4.37b) and (4.37c).<sup>180</sup>

- (4.37) a) ཨོ་འདི་ གསུ་མ་ཐམས་བ་ དེ་བ་ རྗོ་མ་ལུ་  
*ódi súm-tʰamba t'ɛp bompu*  
 that three-NUM book big  
 'those three big books' (TB e)

- b) དེ་བ་ རྗོ་མ་ལུ་ གསུ་མ་ཐམས་བ་ ཨོ་འདི་  
*t'ɛp bompu súm-tʰamba ódi*  
 book big three-num that  
 'those three big books' (KUN e)

- c) ཨོ་འདི་ དེ་བ་ རྗོ་མ་ལུ་ གསུ་མ་ཐམས་བ་ འདི་  
*ódi t'ɛp bompu súm-tʰamba=di*  
 that book big three-num=demph  
 'those three big books' (KUN e)

#### 4.1.3.3 Quantifying modifiers

Quantifying modifiers include quantifying pronouns (a subclass of indefinite pronouns, see §3.6.4 and §6.3.1), versatile quantifying adverbs *kɛ:po* 'much, a lot', *màŋpo* 'much, a lot' and *nùŋnyuŋ* 'little, few' (see §3.5.2.4) and the specific numeral *k'ã:pu* 'one full (vessel)' (and the variant *k'o:m* from Lachung). Quantifying pronouns are listed in Table 4.2 and exemplified after the table. They also occur independently as pronouns, see §6.3.1.

<sup>180</sup> Yet another ordering suggested by one consultant was *súm-tʰamba ódi t'ɛp bompu*.

Table 4.2. Quantifying pronouns

<i>tʰamtɛɛʔ</i>	ཐམས་ཅད་	‘all, totally’.
<i>kʰɛ:lɛ</i>	ཁེ་ལེ་	‘all, totally’
<i>tɛʰa:(lɛ)</i>	ཆ་(ལས་)	‘all, totally’
<i>dzaŋki</i>	ཇང་གི་	‘all’ (Lachung)
<i>rɛrɛ</i>	རེ་རེ་	‘each (one)’
<i>màŋtɛiɛoʔ<sup>181</sup></i>	མན་ཆེ་ཤོས་	‘most’
<i>kʰaɛɛʔ</i>	ཁ་གས་	‘some’
<i>làriʔ</i>	ལ་རེས་	‘some’
<i>làla...(làla)</i>	ལ་ལ་...(ལ་ལ་)	‘some...(others)’
<i>riŋi (riŋi)</i>	རེ་གཉིས་ (རེ་གཉིས་)	‘a few (of people)’
<i>ka:kutɛiʔ</i>	ག་གུ་ཅིག་	‘a few’
<i>tɛi:ŋi:</i>	གཅིག་གཉིས་	‘a few’

(4.38) ད་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཉ་ལས་འདས།  
*tʰa [mí tʰamtɛɛʔ] halɛde:.*  
 now human all be.surprised  
 ‘Now all the people were amazed.’ (SGD cave story)

(4.39) ད་ ར་ཁེ་ ལྷང་ཁར་ གཟར་ལོ་ བཏང་ཚར།  
*tʰa [ra kʰɛ:lɛ] paŋkʰa dza:=lo tã:-tsʰa:.*  
 now goat all out graze=DAT send-CMPL  
 ‘Now all the goats have been sent out for grazing.’ (PD goat shed video)

(4.40) ང་ཅའི་ མར་ཉམ་གྱི་ མི་ ལྷ་ལས་ ལེགས་ ཡོད།  
*ŋàtɛi màrtam=gi [mí tɛʰa:lɛ] lɛm jòʔ.*  
 1PL.GEN TPN=GEN human all good EX.PER  
 ‘All people of our Martam are good.’ (KN e)

The use of the quantifying pronoun *dzaŋki* is in my data limited to a few elicited examples from a speaker from Lachung:

(4.41) འདི་ ཇང་གི་ འབག་ ཤོག་ལོ།  
*[di dzaŋki] baʔ ɛó:=lo.*  
 this all carry come=REP  
 ‘Bring this all, it was said.’ (KUN e)

(4.42) མི་ རེ་རེ་གི་ གེ་རྟའ་ (Nep.) ངས་ ཉོ་བོ་ མིན།  
*[mí rɛrɛ=gi] kitap ŋá: ɲò-u t̃:.*  
 human each=GEN book(Nep.) 1SG.AGT buy-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I bought each person’s book.’ (KL discussion with DR)

<sup>181</sup> This form uses the superlative suffix *-ɛoʔ* and hence formally resembles adjectives. It can, however, be used as an independent pronoun ‘most’. On this distributional basis, the word is here listed as a pronoun.

(4.43) མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་ བོད་པོ་ དང་ ཤེར་པོ་གིས་ ལྷན་བཞེས་ ལྷགས་སློལ་ མིན།  
 [màŋtɕʰiɛo p'ɔpo t'ã: ɛ́rpo=gi] k'om-bø: lüksø: í:  
 most Tibetan and Sherpa=AGT wear-2INF.GEN tradition EQU.PER  
 '(It) is the tradition of most Tibetans and Sherpas to wear (it).' (sbar-phung 93)

(4.44) a) མི་ ལ་ཤས་ཅིག་གི་ སྐད་ མོ་འདེབ་ འུས་སྟེ་ རྒྱལ་སྐད་ འདི་ རྒྱལ་སྐད་བཞིན་གོ།  
 [mí kʰaɛɛ=tei=ki] kɛ? ódep p'ja-ti kjap-ɛɛ=di  
 human some=INDF=AGT language like.that do-NF speak-INF=DEMPH  
 kjap-tɛou-kɛ?  
 speak-PROG-APH  
 'Some people indeed speak the language like that.' (KN field notes)

b) ང་ཅག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་གི་ འུས་ཚེད་ ལ་ཤས་ ལེན་ བཏང་རུང་  
 ɲàtɛa? lɛŋɛ:=tsu=gi [t'ytsʰø? kʰaɛɛ?] lɛn tã:-ruŋ  
 1PL PRN.HON=PL=GEN time some take VBLZ-CONC  
 'Even if we take some of your time...' (BLA Namdol)

(4.45) མི་ ལ་ཤིས་  
 mí làri?  
 human some  
 'some people' (CY interview)

(4.46) ལུ་ལྷུ་འདི་གི་ ལ་ཉེན་མཚན་ ལ་ལ་གིས་ འདི་...  
 p'umy:=gi [nɛntsʰɛ: làla=gi=di]  
 girl.GEN=GEN relative some=AGT=DEMPH  
 'Some(one) of the girl's relatives (says):' (SGD wedding customs)

(4.47) ཇམ་ན་ ལ་ཅིག་ཉིས་ཅིག་, ཉི་རུག་ ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་  
 ána<sup>182</sup> tɛi:ɲí:=tei?, tɪru? ka:kutsi?  
 currency.unit a.few=INDF rupee a.few  
 'a few paisa, a few rupees' (PD story)

The pronoun *riɲi* (*riɲi*) occurs in my data only in independent use, see §6.3.1, but presumably it may also modify a noun.

The versatile quantifying adverbs *kɛ:po* 'a lot, many' *màŋpu/màŋpo* 'a lot, many' and *ɲùŋɲuŋ* 'little, few', which occur as verb modifiers (see §5.6.3.4), can also be used for noun modification:

(4.48) འཇམ་གླིང་གི་ ཡུལ་ གེས་པོ་ ལ་ཅིག་ན་  
 dzamliŋ=gi ɣ̣: kɛ:po=tei=na  
 world=GEN place many=INDF=LOC  
 'in many places in the world' ('dzam-gling skad-yig 62)

(4.49) ད་ ད་ཅིག་) ལ་ཏམ་ གེས་པོ་ མོན་པོ་ སྐད།  
 t'a t'atei? [tam kɛ:po] tʰom-bo bɛ?  
 now recently speech many happen-2INF EQU.NE  
 'Just now, there was a lot of speaking.' (KL BLA 12)

<sup>182</sup> 50 paisa is equivalent to 8 *ána*. One *ána* is thus 6,25 paisa (1 paisa is a hundredth of a rupee).

Note, however, that in (4.49) *kɛ:po* could be analyzed two ways, either as modifier of *tàm* ('[many words] happened') or as a complement of the verb *tʰɔn* 'happen, become' ('[words] became [many]').

- (4.50) ཕྱི་སྒྲིང་བའི་ ཏུས་ཚོད་ རྣང་ག་ལོ་ ལྷགས་ མང་པོ་ཅེག་ འབྲུག་ལོ་ རོང་བོ་ ཟླད།  
*pʰiliŋbø: t'ytsʰø? nàŋɛa=lo [tɛʰuk màŋpo=tei?] duk=lo sɔ́:-bo*  
 foreigner.GEN time inside=DAT Nepali many=INDF Bhutan=DAT so.PST-2INF  
*bɛ?*  
 EQU.NE  
 'At the time of the foreigners, many Nepalis went to Bhutan.' (CY interview)

- (4.51) ང་ཅག་ མི་ ཉུང་ཉུང་ ཡིན་ཅུང་ ང་ཅག་ བྱས་ ཚུགས།  
*ŋàtɛa? [mí pùŋpuy] í:-ruŋ ŋàtɛa? p'ja tsʰu?*  
 1PL human few EQU-CONC 1PL do be.able.to  
 'Although we are few people, we can do (it).' (KN e)

The specific numeral and *k'ã:pu/k'ð:pu* གང་ལུ་ 'one full measure of' derives from WT གང་ *gang* 'full'. While *k'ã:pu/k'ð:pu* is a frequent and geographically widely used morpheme, the related form *k'o:m* མོང་མ་ occurs only once in my data from a consultant from Lachung (the first instance in [4.52]). While *k'ã:pu/k'ð:pu* occurs as an emphatic modifier of the words meaning 'all', i.e. *tʰamtɛɛ?* (*k'ã:pu*), *kʰɛ:lɛ* (*k'ã:pu*), *tɛʰa:lɛ* (*k'ã:pu*) 'entirely all', in the sole example *k'o:m* modifies an ordinary noun. The head word of *k'ã:pu* may either occur independently as a quantitative pronoun (the second instance in [4.52]) or as a noun-modifier (4.53).

- (4.52) གཉེན་མཚན་ གོང་མ་ ཞ་ཚུ་ ཞའི་ ཞ་ཚོ་ བ་མིང་ གན་ཅུང་ ཡོད་བ་ཅེ་ བྱས་ཅུང་ ཁེ་ལེ་ གོང་ལུ་གིས་ བཏགས་ཤད་ ཟླད།  
*[nɛ́ntsɛ́: k'o:m], áteu, ái, ádzo, pʰamiŋ,*  
 relatives full elder.brother elder.sister grandfather father's.relative  
*k'an-run jò-patɛɛ p'ja-run [kʰɛ:lɛ k'ð:pu=gi] ta:-ɛɛ bɛ?*  
 what-CONC EX-COND do-CONC entirely full=AGT append-INF EQU.NE  
 'All relatives, elder brother, elder sister, grandfather, father's side's relatives whatever (relative) is there, they all offer (a ceremonial scarf).' (LA intro to Lachung)

- (4.53) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གང་ལུ་ལོ་ ལྷ་གཟུགས་ བཟང་བོ།  
*[lɛŋɛ? tʰamtɛɛ? k'ã:pu=lo] kuzuzã:bo.*  
 PRN.HON all full=DAT greetings  
 'Greeting to you all.' (NAB BLA 7)

#### 4.1.3.4 Demonstrative modifiers

Distal *ódi*, proximal *di* and emphatic proximal *dodi* were above shown to occur as prenominal modifiers. They also occurs as postnominal modifiers:

- (4.54) ཚོགས་བཅད་ ཨོ་འདི་ན་  
*tsʰiktɛɛ? ódi=na*  
 poem that=LOC  
 '...in that poem...' (KL BLA 12)



(4.55) ལྷ་ཚུང་ཚུང་འདི་ཚུ་  
*la te<sup>h</sup>untε<sup>h</sup>un di=tsu*  
 god small this=PL  
 ‘these small gods’ (SGD wedding customs)

(4.56) ལོ་ན་གསལ་མོ་འདི་  
*ána gε:m ódi*  
 old.lady old.woman that  
 ‘that old lady’ (rna-gsung 6)

(4.57) ངའི་ཚིག་འདུམ་འདོའདི་  
*ne: ts<sup>h</sup>ik dum dodi*  
 1SG.GEN word short this.right.here  
 ‘these short words of mine’ (KT life story)

Other postnominal demonstrative modifiers are *p<sup>h</sup>ou=di/p<sup>h</sup>idi* རྗེ་འདི་མི་འདི་ ‘that over there’ *jòu=di/jìdi* ཡོ་འདི་ཡི་འདི་ ‘that up there’ and *mòudi/mìdi* མོ་འདི་མི་འདི་ ‘that down there’. For one example, consider (4.58).

(4.58) རྗེ་མི་འདི་ལོ་ལ་ཕ་ཅུ་  
*éiŋ p<sup>h</sup>idi=lo áru*  
 tree that.over.there=DAT peach  
 ‘that tree over there (has) peache(s)’ (PD surroundings video)

#### 4.1.3.5 Post-head relative clauses as modifiers

Noun phrases can have a modifying post-head relative clause. Example (4.59) illustrates such a use.

(4.59) ཇ་མོང་མོ་འདི་གུང་ལ་(རྒྱབས་) མ་རྒྱུགས་པོ་འདི་  
*ŋámú ódi [k<sup>h</sup>jan<sup>h</sup>a (k<sup>h</sup>ap) ma-ts<sup>h</sup>u-po=di]*  
 camel that counting (do) NEG-be.able.to-2INF =DEMPH  
 ‘those camels, which could not be counted’ (PAD bet story)

A fuller treatment of post-head relative clauses can be found in §13.2.1.2 and §13.2.2.2.

#### 4.1.4 Noun phrase -final clitics

Clitics attach to the noun phrase after the word-level modifiers. The order of the clitics is (=PL) (=CASE) (=AEMPH/CEMPH) (=DEMPH) (=TOP) (=jã: ‘even, too, yet’). Examples (4.60-67) provide evidence for this ordering. Typically only one of the clitics =AEMPH/CEMPH, =DEMPH, or =TOP occurs in a noun phrase, but some combinations are possible, see (4.64-65). For the complexity of analysing =DEMPH in relation to the proximal demonstrative *di*, see §16.1.3. The plural clitic =*tsu* is treated separately in §4.1.5.

##### NOUN=PL=CASE=jã:

(4.60) ལྷ་མོ་ཚུ་ལོ་ཡང་མལ་ན་ཇ་སྐྱེལ་བྱིན།  
*nùm=tsu=lo=jã: mè:=na te‘a ke: p’in.*  
 younger.sister.of.a.woman=PL=DAT=too bed=LOC tea bring give  
 ‘(She) also brings tea to bed for (her) younger sisters.’ (Richhi 5)

**NOUN=PL=CASE=DEMPH**

(4.61) དེང་དུས་ཀྱི་ བྱ་བུ་ཚུ་ལོ་ འདི་  
*t'indy:=gi p'jaby:=tsu=lo=di*  
present=GEN child=PL=DAT=DEMPH  
'For children of the present day...' (YR canteen video)

**NOUN=CASE=AEMPH**

(4.62) ང་ ད་ལྟ་ མི་སྲུང་ལོ་རང་ ཡོད།  
*ŋà t'ato maisur=lo=rã: jò?*  
1SG now TPN=DAT=AEMPH EX.PER  
'I'm now in Mysore (itself).' (Richhi 56)

**NOUN=CASE=TOP**

(4.63) གཞུང་གླུ་ ལབ་པ་ཅེ་ནི་ ད་ རྟེན་པ་ལི་ (Nep.) སྐད་ལས་ནི་ ལོག་གྲོག་ (Nep.)  
*zunlu làp-øtæne t'a nepali kɛ:=lɛ=nɛ loggit*  
folksong say-COND now Nepali language=ABL=TOP folksong(Nep.)  
'If (we) say [zunlu], now (that) is in Nepali language [loggit].' (RS)

It is quite rare for two emphatic clitics to occur contiguously but at least the combinations =AEMPH=DEMPH (4.64) and DEMPH=TOP (4.65) are possible:

**NOUN=AEMPH=DEMPH**

(4.64) མོ་འདི་རང་ འདི་  
*ódi=rã:=di*  
that=AEMPH=DEMPH  
'that indeed' (YR canteen video)

**NOUN=DEMPH=TOP**

(4.65) སེམས་ འདི་ནི་ གཏན་མེད་ བར་རྒྱུར་ འཕུར་...  
*sém=di=nɛ tenme? p<sup>h</sup>a: ts<sup>h</sup>u: p<sup>h</sup>u:...*  
mind=DEMPH=TOP impermanence thither hither fly  
'The mind flies here and there restlessly' (Richhi 86)

The clitic =*jã:* 'even, too, yet' is frequently postposed to =DEMPH, see (4.66).

**NOUN=DEMPH=*jã:***

(4.66) མ་པོ་ འདི་ཡང་  
*ápo=di=jã:*  
father=DEMPH=too  
'also the father'

In my data, *jã:* also occurs attached to =*rã:*, see (4.67). However, in all the instances =*rã:* functions as a simple reflexive (see §6.2) rather than in the more grammaticalized function of =AEMPH (see §16.1.1).

**NOUN=REFL=*jã:***

(4.67) མ་ཆེན་བཞི་པོ་ཁོང་རང་ཡང་ ཟས་ ཟ་གང་ ཞིན།  
*màtɕʰɛ̃: zi-po kʰõ:=rã:=jã: sàm sà-ɛɛ ɿ̃.*  
 cook four-COL 3PL=REFL=too food eat-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘The four cooks themselves also eat food.’ (Richhi 90)

In addition to the emphatic clitics, the attention marker =*eo*, which is a clausal clitic, can also attach to a noun phrase to mark a topic-switching question, see (4.68). Even in its phrasal use, =*eo* retains its clausal feature of being followed by a pause. For more on =*eo*, see §16.2.2.

(4.68) ང་ སྐན་པོའི་ སྐྱང་བདའ་ བྱས་དོ་ ཞིན། ཉེ་ བྱ་སྲིང་ཚུ་ཤོ་?  
*ŋà mémpø: dzã:dar p'ja-do ɿ̃. tɛ p'usim=tsu=eo?*  
 1SG physician.GEN training do-IPFV EQU.PER then younger.sister=PL=AT  
 ‘I’m doing physician’s training. And what about the sisters then?’ (Richhi 127)

Whereas the emphatic clitics are discussed more in detail in §16, the plural marker is described here.

**4.1.5 Plural marker =*tsu***

The plural marker =*tsu* is an enclitic, which attaches to the last word of the noun phrase, which may either be a noun, as in (4.69), or a noun modifier, as in (4.70) and (4.71).

(4.69) ཚོ་ཚུ་  
*do=tsu*  
 stone=PL  
 ‘stones’

(4.70) ཚོ་ སྐྱམ་བུ་ཚུ་  
*do bompu=tsu*  
 stone big=PL  
 ‘big stones’

(4.71) ཚོ་ སྐྱམ་བུ་ འདི་ཚུ་  
*do bompu di=tsu*  
 stone big this=PL  
 ‘these big stones’

The plural marker is frequently elided when plurality is otherwise obvious from the context. In (4.72) and (4.73), the plural marker is dropped with a numeral and a quantifier respectively, but (4.74) retains the plural marker despite the quantifier.

(4.72) བོ་ཚོ་ གསུམ་  
*p'otso súm*  
 child three  
 ‘three children’

(4.73) ལྗོ་གེས་བ་  
*do kɛ:p*  
 stone a.lot  
 ‘a lot of stones’

(4.74) ལོང་གི་བྱིམ་ན་དེ་བ་ཚུ་གེས་པོ་འདུག་གོ།  
*kʰoŋ=gi kʰim=na tʰep=tsu kɛ:po du-kɛ.*  
 3SG.HON=GEN house=LOC book=PL a.lot EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘There are a lot of books in his house.’ (YR e)

In a list of items, a final plural marker has the meaning ‘and so on; and such things; et cetera’ (cf. WT *la-sog-pa* ‘et cetera’), see (4.75).

(4.75) བཞེས་པོ་ཚུ་མཐོང་བཞག་ས་  
*zɛ:ro tsampo=tsu zak-sa*  
 rice.snack flour=PL put-SPAT.NMLZ  
 ‘a place to put zero (traditional snack made by frying strips of thin rice dough on a pan), flours and such things’ (PD, living room video)

The plural marker =*tsu* can also attach to an infinitive form of a verb:

(4.76) ལུས་འདི་གེས་གན་བྱས་ཤང་ལུ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ང་ཅག་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལོ་དགོན་པ་འགྲུ་ཕྱག་འཚམས་ཤང་ཚུ་  
*ly:=di=gi kʰan pʰja-ɛɛ? ɛù-wateɛ ɳàtea? rimputeʰɛ=lo*  
 body=DEMPH=AGT what do-INF say.HUM-COND 1PL rimpoche=DAT  
*gjømpa gju tɛʰa:tsʰɛ:-ɛɛ=tsu*  
 monastery go prostrate-INF=PL  
 ‘When it comes to what to do with this body, (we should practise) going to monastery to Rimpoche and doing prostrations and such things.’ (YR canteen video)

Mass nouns such as *tɛʰu* ‘water’ may receive plural marking.

(4.77) འདི་ཟངས་ཟང་, ཚུ་ཚུ་ལྷག་བཞག་ཤང་གྱི།  
*di sã: bɛ?, tɛʰu=tsu lúk zak-ɛɛ=ki.*  
 this copper(.cauldron) EQU.NE water=PL pour put-INF=GEN  
 ‘This is a copper cauldron, for pouring and keeping water(s).’ (PD outside video)

The plural marking in (4.77) could suggest spatial limitation, iterativity (i.e. the many different occasions when water is poured into the cauldron) or a meaning similar to that in (4.75) ‘and such things’.

The plural =*tsu* may also attach to personal names to refer, similarly to the suffix *-po/bo* in §4.2.1, to the person and those associated with him/her:

(4.78) ལྷལ་མཚན་ཚུ་  
*gjaltsʰen=tsu*  
 PN=PL  
 ‘Gyalchen and those associated with him’ (KN kitchen discussion)

#### 4.1.6 Definiteness and indefiniteness

Definiteness and indefiniteness may be expressed, respectively, by the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* and the indefiniteness marker =*tei(?)*<sup>183</sup>, which is homophonous with *tei?* ‘one’, although the vowel quality in the numeral tends to be pronounced longer. The semantic field covered by =*di* extends beyond typical definitions of definiteness because =*di* can also mark noun phrases which are by definition definite, e.g. personal names and personal pronouns. Moreover, the lack of the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* does not equate lack of definiteness, i.e. nouns that are semantically definite are not necessarily marked by =*di*. For a description of the uses of =*di*, see §16.1.3.

The fact that the indefinite marker is distinct from numeral *tei?* གཅིག་ ‘one’ is shown by the following examples, where =*tei(?)* follows the quantifier *ke:po* ‘many, a lot’ (4.79), the numeral *tei?* (4.80), other numbers (4.81) and the plural marker (4.82).

- (4.79) འཇམ་གླིང་གི་ ཡུལ་ གེས་པོ་ གཅིག་ན་  
*dzamliŋ=gi y: ke:po=tei=na*  
 world=GEN place many=INDF=LOC  
 ‘in many places in the world’ (‘dzam-gling skad-yig 62)
- (4.80) བངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ གསུང་གསུང་བོ་ གཅིག་ཅིག་ ཟླད།  
*sänge:=ki sūŋ-sum-bo tei:=tei? bε?*  
 Buddha=GEN say.HON-RDP-2INF one=INDF EQU.NE  
 ‘This is one (proverb) told by the Buddha.’ (YR canteen video)
- (4.81) ལྗོང་ལྷག་ ལྔ་ འུག་ཅིག་ འགྱུ་ འོང་།  
*tō.tʰa? ŋá tʰu:=tei? gju ǝ:*  
 thousand five six=INDF go FUT.UNC  
 ‘Some five-six thousand will go (to buy it).’ (PD altar room video)
- (4.82) ཇམ་ཚོ་ ཁོང་ལྟ་ གཅིག་ ཚུ་ལས་ ཞོ་འདྲེན་ལྟེ་ གསམ་གསམ་པོ་ ཡོད།  
*ádzo kʰǝ:=tsu=tei? tsa=lε ódepti sèn-sèn-po jò?*  
 grandfather 3PL=PL=INDF by=ABL like.that hear.HON-RPD EX.PER  
 ‘(they) have heard like that from them grandfathers’ (CY interview)

The indefiniteness marker may be followed by case marking, as in (4.79) and the first instance of =*tei?* in (4.83). In the second instance in (4.83), =*tei?* obtains the meaning ‘some’.

- (4.83) Bengali ཀེ་ ཟུལ་ གཅིག་ན་ ལྗོང་ལྟེ་ ཀེ་ ཟུལ་ གཅིག་ ཟུ་ ཞིན།  
*bengali=gi sàkʰǎ:=tei=na dʰ:-tiki sàm=tei? sòu t̃:*  
 Bengali=GEN restaurant=INDF=LOC sit-NF food=INDF eat.2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘(We) sat in a restaurant owned by Bengalis and ate some food.’ (DB day trip)

In indefinite expressions such as ‘whoever’ and ‘whatever’, which are formed from an interrogative word and a concessive form of the equative *t̃:*, the indefiniteness marker may occur either attached to the interrogative word (4.84) or the concessive suffix (4.85).

<sup>183</sup> The glottal is represented in the phonemic transcription word-finally (when a potential pause may occur) but not if the indefinite marker is followed by case marking.

(4.84) ག་རེ་གཅིག་ཨིན་ཅུང་  
*k'are=tei? i:ruŋ*  
 what=INDF EQU-CONC  
 ‘whatever’ (KT discussion with TB)

(4.85) གན་ཨིན་ཅུང་གཅིག་ཐོན་བ་ཅེ་ནི་  
*k'an i:ruŋ=tei? t'em-batεne*  
 what EQU-CONC=INDF happen-COND  
 ‘whatever happens’ (PED life story)

#### 4.1.7 Coordination of noun phrases

Coordination of noun phrases may be “asyndetic” or “monosyndetic” (see Haspelmath 2007: 6). In an asyndetic construction, there is no overt connector but coordination is accomplished through juxtaposition. Mere juxtaposition is especially used with elements which frequently occur together:

(4.86) ཁྱིམ་ན་ཨ་པོ་ཨ་མ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་  
*k'him=na ápo ám k'jo:m dik-ti*  
 house=LOC father mother gift arrange-NF  
 ‘At home, the father (and) mother arranging a gift...’ (SD wedding customs)

Monosyndetic coordination uses the connectors *t'ã:* ‘and’ for inclusive coordination and *jã:ne* ‘or’ for presenting options:

(4.87) ཚོས་སྤྱོད་, དབང་ཨོ་དང་ཀར་མ་  
*te<sup>h</sup>ødẽ:, óŋmu t'ã: karma*  
 PN PN and PN  
 ‘Choden, Wangmo and Karma’ (Richhi 2)

(4.88) ང་ལོ་, རང་ལོ་ཡང་ནི་ཞོང་ལོ་  
*ŋà=lo, rá:=lo jã:ne k'õ:=lo*  
 1SG=DAT 2sg.M=DAT or 3S.HON=DAT  
 ‘To me, you or him’ (KT discussion with TB)

The connector *jã:ne* ‘or’ is also frequently used for introducing alternative dictions and therefore in meaning resembles ‘in other words’. In (4.89) the speaker gives an interpretation of an old poetic expression (mother’s body’s curd is the milk from her breasts) and in (4.90) the speaker provides the Denjongke equivalent of an English word.

(4.89) ཨོམ་ཡང་ནི་རང་གི་ལུས་ཀྱི་ལྗོ་  
*óm jã:ne ràŋ=gi lỳ:=ki εò*  
 milk or own=GEN body=GEN curd  
 ‘milk, or (her) own body’s curd’ (SGD wedding customs)

(4.90) Buddhist ཡང་ནི་ནང་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ནང་ག་ལོ་  
*buddis jã:ne nàŋ-pø: te<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki nàŋεa=lo*  
 Buddhist(Eng.) or inside-NMLZ.GEN religious.teaching=GEN inside=DAT  
 ‘within Buddhist, or insiders’ teaching...’ (KTL life story)

### 4.1.8 Reduplication of noun phrase

Reduplication of the noun phrase (4.91) or in the noun phrase (4.92) marks iteration or distributive function:

(4.91) ལོ་ ལོ་ ཚར་ རེ་  
*lò lò tsʰa: rɛ*  
 year year turn one  
 ‘once every year’ (KN e)

(4.92) ཏི་རུག་ བརྒྱ་རེ་ བརྒྱ་རེ་  
*tiruʔ gja-ri gja-ri*  
 rupee hundred-one hundred-one  
 ‘one hundred and one hundred rupees (=a hundred rupees each)’ (DB day trip)

## 4.2 The verb complex

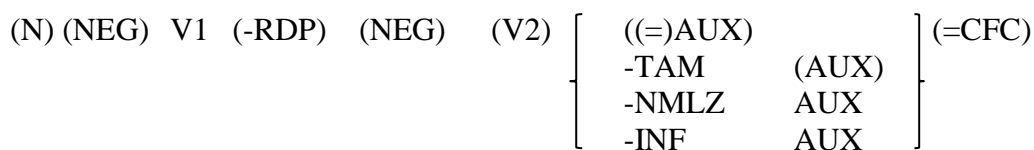
This section first introduces the structure of the verb complex (§4.2.1) and then describes complex verbs, namely phrasal verbs (§4.2.2) and serial verbs (§4.2.3). The last section gives examples of various types of combinations of elements in the verb complex (§4.3.4). In the ensuing discussion, “complex verb” refers to verbs consisting of more elements than one verb root (either phrasal verbs or serial verbs) and “verb complex” refers to the verb and all verbal suffixes and auxiliaries accompanying a verb in a clause.

### 4.2.1 Structure of the verb complex

The structure of Denjongke verb complex is presented in Figure 4.2, using the following abbreviations:

- N = Noun in a phrasal verb
- NEG = Negator prefix
- V1 = Primary verb, may consist of several verb roots forming the semantic core of the serial verb construction, as in (4.99)
- RDP = reduplication of the verb stem, occurs in some constructions
- V2 = Secondary verb, which does not belong to the semantic core of the primary verb but which brings nuance to the primary verbal meaning
- TAM = Tense/aspect/modality marking suffix (see §8)
- AUX = Equative auxiliary (*i:*, *bɛʔ*) or existential auxiliary (*jəʔ*, *duʔ*), also in complex, nominalized forms as in (4.135), may occur cliticized as in (4.132)
- NMLZ = Nominalizer *-kʰɛ:*
- INF = Infinitive marker *-po/bo* or *-ɛɛʔ*
- CFC = Clause final clitic(s) *=ɛo*, *=la*, *=lo*, *=sɛ*, *=ki* (see §3.7.3)

Figure 4.2. Structure of the verb complex in declarative mood



In Figure 4.2, the elements in brackets are optional and items without brackets obligatory. Thus the only obligatory element is the primary verb. The four sequences of items within the curly brackets present options, i.e. a verb root may be followed by ((=)AUX)<sup>184</sup>, -TAM (AUX), -NMLZ AUX or -INF AUX. Note that the elements within the curly brackets are attached either to the primary verbal expression V1, if there is no nuance-introducing secondary verb, or to the secondary verb V2, if there is one. Various combinations of the items in Table 4.2 are illustrated in the last section §4.2.4, after the complex verbs have been first introduced.

#### 4.2.2 Phrasal verbs

Complex verbal expressions, or briefly complex verbs, are here divided into two categories. The first is phrasal verbs (discussed in this section), in which a noun forms a verbal expression usually together with a semantically bleached verbalizer but also with other verbs. The second category is serial verbs (see §4.2.3.), in which two to four verb roots occur adjacently without intervening morphology.

Denjongke, like many other Tibetic languages, has plenty of complex predicates where a verb is accompanied by another preceding element, usually a noun but sometimes also an adjective or a verb. Denwood (1999: 109) calls these complex predicates “phrasal verbs”. Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 204) use the term “compound verbs”. Bartee (2007: 143) makes a distinction between “compound verbs” and “phrasal verbs”, the latter being formed with verbalizers. Because the term “compound verb” may invoke the idea of two verb roots joined together (termed here “serialization”), I apply the term “phrasal verbs” to all combinations of a noun with a verb.

The main verbal element in phrasal verbs is often a semantically rather vacuous verb, which may be called a “light verb” (Jespersen 1965: 117) or “verbalizer” (Denwood 1999: 109, Bartee 2007: 143, Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 403). The most common verbalizers in Denjogke are *p’ja* ལྷོས་ ‘do’, *kjap* རྒྱབས་ ‘do, strike’, *tã:* བཏང་ ‘send, do’, *tap* བཏབ་ ‘strike, sow, offer, do’. Phrasal verbs are illustrated in Tables 4.3 (with semantically bleached verbalizers) and 4.4 (with other verbs). Denwood (1999: 109) comments on Lhasa Tibetan that “[s]ometimes it can be difficult to decide whether a given case is better regarded as a phrasal verb or simply as a non-phrasal verb stem+object or subject, the two constructions shade off into one another.” The same is true of Denjongke.

Table 4.3. Some phrasal verbs formed with the verbalizers *p’ja*, *kjap*, *tã:* and *tap*

<i>p’etɕøʔ p’ja</i>	བཏོན་ལྷོས་	‘use’ (lit. use do)
<i>jóʔ p’ja</i>	གཤམ་ལྷོས་	‘work’ (lit. work do)
<i>ã: kjap</i>	འདྲ་རྒྱབས་	‘lie’ (lit. lie do/strike)
<i>daku kjap</i>	བདག་ལྷོས་	‘govern’ (lit. owner do/strike)
<i>nó:sam tã:</i>	མཚོན་བཏང་	‘think’ (lit. thought send)
<i>jàrgɛ tã:</i>	ཡར་རྒྱས་བཏང་	‘develop, progress’ (lit. progress send)
<i>mélam tap</i>	སྨོན་ལམ་བཏབ་	‘pray’ (lit. prayer sow)
<i>só tap</i>	སྔོ་བཏབ་	‘bite’ (lit. tooth strike).

Table 4.4. exemplifies some other phrasal verbs, in which a noun and a verb have a strong collocation but in which the verbal element is rarer and not semantically bleached, and therefore not a typical “verbalizer”.

<sup>184</sup> Brackets around the clitic marker in ((=)AUX) refer to the fact that the auxiliary may occur as cliticized or as a separate word (e.g. equative copula =*peʔ* vs. *beʔ*)



Table 4.4. Some other phrasal verbs

<i>sém ga:</i>	སེམས་ དགའ་	‘rejoice’ (lit. mind rejoice)
<i>k’jəpo to:</i>	ཕྱོད་པོ་ རྣམས་	‘be hungry’ (lit. ‘stomach be.hungry’)
<i>k<sup>h</sup>a kom</i>	ལ་ རྐྱེས་	‘be thirst’ (lit. mouth dry)
<i>go tsuk</i>	འགོ་ བརྩམས་	‘begin’ (lit. ‘start plant’),’
<i>ŋò éé:</i>	ངོ་ ཤེས་	‘know (a person)’ (lit. face know)
<i>mè:p zo</i>	མེད་པ་ བཟོ་	‘destroy’ (lit. not-existing make)

Phrasal verbs function as units in terms of their prosodic unity, but there is also some syntactic separateness in the components of compound verbs in that intervening elements may occur between them. Example (4.93b) illustrates an intervening negator *ma-*. The adverbial modifier *lèp* ‘very (much)’ may occur preceding the compound (4.94a) or within it (4.94b).

(4.93) a) སོ་ བཏབ།  
*só tap*  
 tooth strike  
 ‘Bite!’

b) སོ་ མ་བཏབ།  
*só ma-tap*  
 tooth NEG-strike  
 ‘Don’t bite!’

(4.94) a) མདང་ ང་ ལེབ་ སེམས་ དགའ་བོ་ མིན།  
*dā:            ŋà    lèp            sém ga-u            í:.*  
 yesterday 1SG very.much mind rejoice-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Yesterday I was very happy.’ (KN e)

b) མདང་ ང་ སེམས་ ལེབ་ དགའ་བོ་ མིན།  
*dā:            ŋà    sém lèp            ga-u            í:.*  
 yesterday 1SG mind very.much rejoice-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Yesterday I was very happy.’ (KN e)

Typically only one of the verbalizers may occur in a certain compound, but some constructions allow the use of two different verbalizers with no noticeable difference in meaning.

(4.95) a) *jó? p’ja/kjap* གཡོག་ བྱས་/རྒྱབས་ ‘work’  
 b) *jàrgε tã:/p’ja* ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་/ བྱས་ ‘develop (tr.)’  
 c) *éúk kjap/p’ja* རྒྱགས་ རྒྱབས་/བྱས་ ‘exert force’

Some bivalent compounds may be reduced to monovalent ones by using the verb *t<sup>h</sup>on* ‘become’:

(4.96) a) *jàrgε tã:* ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་ ‘develop (tr.)’  
 b) *jàrgε t<sup>h</sup>on* ཡར་རྒྱས་ ཐོན་ ‘develop (intr.)’

The verbalizer *p'ja* is commonly used in borrowing verbal expressions from other languages such as English.<sup>185</sup> The following three expressions were used in a public speech (English orthography in square brackets).

- (4.97) a) [changes] *p'ja* 'make changes'  
 b) [follow] *p'ja* 'follow'  
 c) [message pass] *p'ja* 'pass on a message' (NAB)

Although most phrasal verbs are transparent in that the speakers are aware of the individual meanings of the composite parts of the verb, some phrasal verbs, such as *hako* (or *ha k'o*) 'know, understand' are non-transparent in that speakers are not aware of the meaning of *ha*, although *k'o* has the independent meaning 'understand'.

### 4.2.3 Verb serialization

In verb serialization, two to four verb roots, which could occur independently<sup>186</sup>, occur adjacent to each other without any intervening morphology, see (4.98-101).

- (4.98) བྱ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་བ་ལྷོ་  
*p'ja kum kjap sà-ti...*  
 hen stealing strike eat-NF  
 'Stealing and eating a hen...' (KTL animal story)

- (4.99) ལུང་གི་ལྷ་རེ་འདི་བོག་ཐར་ལྷོ་གི་ཚུ་ནང་ག་ལྷུ་བོ་ལོ།  
*k<sup>hu</sup>=i=gi ta.ri=di p'ik t<sup>ha</sup>:-diki t<sup>ε</sup>hu nàŋɛa*  
 3SGM=GEN=GEN axe=DEMPH get.off be.released-NF water inside  
*lum-bo=lo.*  
 fall-2INF =REP  
 'His axe, slipping out (of his hand).' (JDF axe story)

- (4.100) ལྷམ་གཅིག་འཐུ་འབག་ལོང་སོང་འདུག་གོ།  
*à:m=tei<sup>187</sup> t<sup>hu</sup> bak lô: sô: du-ke.*  
 jackal=INDF pick carry rise go EX.SEN-IN  
 'A jackal took it and went away, (I see).' (PL interview)

- (4.101) མོ་འདི་ར་ཐར་འབག་ཡ་འགྲུ་ཟད།  
*óɛ=ra t<sup>ha</sup>: ba? jà: gju be?*  
 like.that=AEMPH be.released carry go go EQU.NE  
 'Like that (they) keep on going free.' (CY interview)

When asked how (4.101) would be negated, consultant KN offered the form in (4.102), which retains only one (the most central) verb from the affirmative construction. The number of verbs in a negated serial verb construction in my data is never more than two.

<sup>185</sup> An analogous process takes place in Nepali with the verbalizer *garnu* 'do to'.

<sup>186</sup> A verb which can occur independently as an ordinary verb participates, when occurring with other verbs, in "serialization". Further stages of grammaticalization in which the verb no longer functions independently as an ordinary verb are called "auxiliarization" and "morphologization" (see DeLancey 1991: 2). Verbs that have both independent and auxiliary uses, as the secondary verbs here do, can be called "versatile verbs" (Matisoff 1969, 1973, Delancey 1991).

<sup>187</sup> According to consultant KUN, an agentive form *tei=ki* would be expected in this clause.

- (4.102) མོ་འདྲེ་ར་ མི་ཐར་མཁམ་ སྐད།  
*ódera mi-tʰa:-kʰɛn beʔ.*  
 like.that NEG-be.released-NMLZ EQU.PER  
 ‘Like that, (they) are not released.’ (KN e)

These serial verb constructions (SVC) have most likely developed from nonfinal converbial constructions (see §15.2) where the converbial ending has been dropped (see DeLancey 1991: 4). Table 4.5 lists the most common combinations of two verbs which occur in both converbial and serialized constructions. The latter verb in these combinations is, with the exception of *mjô:* ‘finish’ a verb of motion.

Table 4.5. Serial verbs from converbs

Converbial	Serialized	Meaning
<i>kʰik-ti ô:</i> ཁྱིལ་ཉི་ འོང་	<i>kʰik ô:</i> ཁྱིལ་ འོང་	bring, lead (a human or a large animal) (lit. lead come)
<i>kʰik-ti gju</i> ཁྱིལ་ཉི་ འགྱུ་	<i>kʰik gju</i> ཁྱིལ་ འགྱུ་ (past <i>kʰik sô:</i> ཁྱིལ་ སོང་)	take, lead away (a human or a large animal) (lit. lead come)
<i>bak-ti ô:</i> འབག་ཉི་ འོང་	<i>bak ô:</i> འབག་ འོང་	bring (a thing) (lit. carry come)
<i>bak-ti gju</i> འབག་ཉི་ འགྱུ་	<i>bak gju</i> འབག་ འགྱུ་ (past <i>bak sô:</i> འབག་ སོང་)	take away (a thing) (lit. carry go)
<i>lòk-ti ô:</i> ལོག་ཉི་ འོང་	<i>lòk ô:</i> ལོག་ འོང་	return, come back (lit. return come)
<i>lòk-ti gju</i> ལོག་ཉི་ འགྱུ་	<i>lòk gju</i> ལོག་ འགྱུ་ (past <i>lòk sô:</i> ལོག་ སོང་)	go back (lit. return go)
<i>lô:-di gju</i> ལོང་ལྗི་ འགྱུ་	<i>lô: gju</i> ལོང་ འགྱུ་ (past <i>lô: sô:</i> ལོང་ སོང་) <sup>188</sup>	go away (lit. stand go)
VERB- <i>ti mjô:</i> ལྗི་ ལྗོང་	VERB <i>mjô:</i> ལྗོང་	finish doing something (lit. VERB finish)

In negation, the negator occurs in between the verbs, e.g. *lòk mi-ô:* ‘does not return’, *bak ma-sô:* ‘did not take (away)’. This feature violates Haspelmath’s (2016) criterion 6 for serial verb constructions, which states that the negator element in SVCs occurs “preceding the first verb or following the last verb”.

Examples (4.103) and (4.104) further illustrate the irregularity of nonfinal marking in a series of three verbs. Both examples, occurring in the same story, use the same three verbs but place the nonfinal marker in different places. Note that both examples resemble the SVC in (4.100) which has no nonfinal marking.

- (4.103) རང་དོང་ འཇུ་ཉི་ འབག་ འོང་བོ་ སྐད།  
*rã:dõ: tʰu-ti bak òm-bo beʔ.*  
 basket pick-NF carry come-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘(He) took and brought the box.’ (Class 8 textbook 14)

<sup>188</sup> Consultant KN (Martam, East Sikkim) comments that in Tashiding (West Sikkim) *jà: gju* (lit. go go) is used for ‘go away’ instead of *lô: gju*.

- (4.104) རང་དོང་འདི་གན་ འཇུ་ལྷོ་ འཇུ་ འབག་ལྷོ་ འོང་དོ?  
*rã:dõ:=di k'an p'ja-ti t'u bak-ti òn-do?*  
 basket=DEMPH what do-NF pick carry-NF come-IPFV  
 'Why are (you) taking and bringing the box?' (Class 8 textbook 15)

In serial verb constructions (SVC), the verbs may have three types of relationship to the other verbs in the construction. First, a component verb may be part of the semantic core meaning of the SVC. This is the case with the SVCs in Table 4.6, with the exception of *mjõ:* 'finish' which marks completive aspectual information. For instance, the act of bringing (*bak ò:*) essentially consists of both carrying (*bak*) and coming (*ò:*). A special case are synonymic sequences such as *t'ek da:* དེག་བདའ་ 'chase away', where both verbs mean 'chase'.<sup>189</sup>

Second, the SVC may consist of a combination of a verb that provides the semantic core of the expression and a semantically bleached verb, verbalizer, which provides not much more information than that the expression is a verb. For examples, refer to (4.105-108), where (a) exemplifies the verb without a verbalizer and (b) a use with verbalizer.<sup>190</sup>

- (4.105) a) འདི་གི་ ལྷུང་ འདི་ལོ་ རང་ ཡིད་ཆེས་ ཉོ་ག?  
*jè:=gi quŋ=di=lo rã: jite<sup>h</sup>e-to-ka?*  
 1SG.GEN=GEN story=DEMPH=DAT 2SG.M believe-IPFV-PQ  
 'Do you believe my story?' (PAD bet story)
- b) ལྷུང་ ལྷུང་ འདི་ལོ་ ལེབ་ ཡིད་ཆེས་ འཇུ་ དགོས་མཁམན་ ལྷུང།  
*k'hy: quŋ=di=lo lèp jite<sup>h</sup>e p'ja go:-k<sup>h</sup>en bɛ?*  
 he.GEN story=DEMPH=DAT very.much believe do be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 '(I) have to very much believe his story.' (PAD bet story)
- (4.106) a) གོས་ལག་ རྗེས་ལྷུང་ རྗེས་ལྷུང་ ལྷུལ་དོ་ ལྷུང།  
*k'ola? dzikta? dzikta? kɛ:-do bɛ?*  
 clothes excellent excellent bring-IPFV EQU.NE  
 '(They) bring fine, fine clothes.' (LA, birth in Lachung)
- b) འདི་ལ་ ལྷུལ་ འཇུ་ རན་ཁར་  
*dɛp kɛ: p'ja-rɛŋk<sup>h</sup>a*  
 like.this bring do-SIM  
 'when (she) brought (it) like this' (RB pear story)
- (4.107) a) དེ་ཟང་ ང་ཅའི་ མི་གོས་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་ ལྷོ་བོ་ ལྷུང།  
*t'izã: ñàtɛi mí=gi=di jàrgɛ? tɛiku ta-u bɛ?*  
 but 1PL.GEN human=AGT=DEMPH development only look-2INF EQU.NE  
 'But our people are only looking at development.' (KL BLA 12)

<sup>189</sup> Note that according to Haspelmath (2016) synonymic verb combinations are not Serial Verb Constructions.

<sup>190</sup> Already Sandberg (1894: 76-77), similarly to Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 204) later, noted that such compound forms in Central Tibetan were preferred to the more simple forms in colloquial Tibetan. A functional factor for this preference may be that by using the longer forms the speaker gives more processing time to the addressee and avoids homonymy, which is prevalent especially in monosyllables.

b) ཨོ་ན་ ཡར་ ལྷ་ ཚུར་ ལྷ་ འུམ་ལེ།  
*óna p<sup>h</sup>a: ta ts<sup>h</sup>u: ta p<sup>h</sup>ja-zɛ.*  
 there thither look hither look do-PST  
 ‘There (she) looked here and there.’ (UTR plains story)

(4.108) a) ད་ལྟོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རིང་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ འགྱུ་དོ།  
*t<sup>h</sup>ato t<sup>h</sup>amtɛɛʔ k<sup>h</sup>õ: lópta gju-do.*  
 now all 3PL school go-IPFV  
 ‘Now they all go to school.’ (PED life story)

b) ར་ལང་ན་ འགྱུ་ རྒྱལ་ས་ འབག་སློལ་གི་ འོང་ལྷེ་  
*ralã:=na gju kjap bak-tiki òn-di...*  
 TPN=LOC go strike carry-NF come-NF  
 ‘keeping on walking and coming to Ralang’ (PAD Tashiding story)

In (4.108b) the serial construction *gju kjap* ‘go strike’ may have a stronger association with actual walking than mere *gju* which typically refers to simply going. Moreover, in (4.108b), *gju kjap* is followed by a third serial verb, the secondary verb *bak*, which emphasizes durativity of action, see §8.3.4.

Third, in some cases the last member of the SVC is neither a verbalizer nor does it participate in forming the core lexical meaning of SVC but rather adds tense, aspect and modality related information or other semantic nuance to the SVC in question. These verbs are here termed secondary verbs, referring to the secondary nature of their semantic effect. Secondary verbs are summarized in Table 4.6, where the left-most column divides the verbs according to the construction in which they occur. The notion VERB refers to the primary verb in the construction, while the underscore \_ refers to the position of the secondary verb. The full stop in “VERB\_.” reveals that the sentence may end in the secondary verb root. The asterisk \* marks that the secondary verb collocates strongly with the construction in question (but is not completely limited to the construction).

The majority of the secondary verbs inflect like ordinary verbs because they also function as independent non-serialized verbs, i.e. ordinary verbs. The right-most column divides the verbs into clear tense-aspect markers (TA), clear modality markers (M), causative marker (C) and others (O). Delineation between the categories modality (M) and other (O) is by no means simple. The category modal is assigned to those markers which are in linguistics typically treated under the category modality (ability, obligation, permission, possibility).

Table 4.6. Secondary verbs

Constr.	Verb			Function	
VERB_.	<i>ts<sup>h</sup>a:</i>	ཚར་	‘complete’ <sup>191</sup>	completive	TA
	<i>ò:</i>	འོང་	‘come’	uncertain future	TA
VERB _ EX	<i>dø:</i>	ཟོད་	‘sit, stay’	continuous	TA
	<i>zak</i>	བཞག་	‘put’	resultative	TA
	<i>lò:</i>	ལོང་	‘have time to’	temporal abilitative	M
VERB_ <i>ti</i> *	<i>bak</i>	འབག་	‘carry’	durative	TA
VERB_ <i>ò:</i> *	<i>sí?</i>	ཤིད་	‘be possible’	possibility	M
VERB <i>mi</i> _*	<i>lè?</i>	ལེགས་	‘be good’	moral or practical evaluative	M
VERB( <i>_to</i> )	<i>rən</i>	རན་	‘be time to’	temporal evaluative	M
Like ordinary verb	<i>mjò:</i>	ཟྱོང་	‘finish; experience’	finished or experienced action	TA
	<i>ts<sup>h</sup>u?</i>	ཚུགས་	‘be able’	abilitative	M
	<i>ɛé:</i>	ཤེས་	‘know’		M
	<i>nùm</i>	བུམ་	‘dare’	mental abilitative	M
	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ø?</i>	ལྷུང་	‘have the strength to’	physical abilitative	M
	<i>go?</i> <sup>192</sup>	དགོས་	‘need to’	obligation/deontic	M
	<i>tɛ<sup>h</sup>o?</i>	ཚེག་	‘be alright’	objective permissive	M
	<i>tup</i>	བཏུབ་	‘deem fitting’	subjective permissive	M
	<i>ta</i>	ཉི་	‘look’	tentative or experimental action	M
	<i>tɛuk</i>	བཅུག་	‘cause’	causative	C
	<i>gju</i>	འགྲུ་	‘go’	translocativity or disappearing, gradual change towards a state	O
	<i>p’in</i>	བྱིན་	‘give’	benefactive	O
	<i>t<sup>h</sup>op</i>	ཐོབ་	‘find, receive’	beneficiary	O
	<i>tā:</i>	བཏང་	‘send’	literal sending; semantically bleached verbalizer; non-honorific imperative marker	O
<i>nā:</i>	གནང་	‘grant’	honorific imperative marker	O	

As shown by Table 4.6, all tense-aspect markers, with the exception of *bak* and *mjò:*, which inflect like an ordinary verb, are unlike ordinary verbs, either being sentence-final markers (*ts<sup>h</sup>a:*, *ò:*) or being followed by an existential auxiliary (*dø:*, *zak*, *lò:*). Modality markers occur either in specific constructions (*lò:*, *sí?*) or behave like ordinary verbs (e.g. *ts<sup>h</sup>u?*, *ɛé:*, *go?*, *tɛ<sup>h</sup>o?*, *tup*). Verbs in the category “others” behave like ordinary verbs.

While the use of tense-aspect marking and modality-marking secondary verbs are described in §8, this section illustrates the use of the secondary verbs categorized as “other” in Table 4.7. It should be noted that at least some of the verbs in Table 4.6 occur, in addition to SVCs, also in converb constructions, e.g. *sà-ti mjò:* [eat-NF finish] ‘finish eating’, *go-ti p’in* [divide-NF give] ‘divide and give’ (or possibly ‘divide for someone’s benefit’).<sup>193</sup>

<sup>191</sup> *ts<sup>h</sup>a:* is the only grammatical secondary verb which does not occur as a primary verb (having been replaced by *mjòŋ* ‘finish’). It, however, has some characteristics of a verb, such as the ability to occur in nominalized constructions, see §8.1.2.

<sup>192</sup> Occasionally pronounced *ko?* when preceded by a voiceless consonant.

<sup>193</sup> It is worth noting that *p’in* ‘give’, *zak* ‘put’ and *mjò:* ‘finish’ in compounds are used quite analogously with the equivalent Nepali verbs *dinu* ‘give’, *haalnu/raaknu* ‘put’ and *saknu* ‘finish’, although in Nepali the second verb is not attached to the other root directly but after an intervening connector vowel *-i-*, e.g. *bhan-i-di-nu* [say-LNK-give-INF] ‘to say (for me)’.

#### 4.2.3.1 Translocative secondary verb *gju* (past *só:*)

In addition to the uses where *gju* འགྱུ ‘go’ (past *só:* སོང་) belongs to the semantic core of the verbal expression (whether as lone primary verb or a part of a SVC), it is used as a secondary verb which emphasizes translocativity (going away from the speaker) which is already expressed by the primary verb, or gradual change of state. By extension, translocativity may refer to disappearance. In example (4.109) the secondary verb *só:* occurs with TAM-marking whereas in (4.110) TAM-marking is dropped.

- (4.109) ཉེན་གཅིག་ཁོང་ཚུའི་ལྷོ་འཕྲོག་ལས་བ་བད་ཚུམ་འདི་འབྲུང་སོང་བོ་སྟེ།  
*nìm=tei? kʰò:=tsu=i nòqo:=le p'a pedom=di bjā:*  
 day=INDF 3PL=PL=GEN cattle=ABL cow PN=DEMPH disappear  
*só:-bo be?*  
 go.PFV-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘One day the cow Pedom disappeared from their cattle.’ (rma-gsung 1)

- (4.110) མོ་ན་ལས་ཁུ་འབྲུང་སོང་།  
*ónale kʰu bjā: só:*  
 then 3SGM disappear go.PFV  
 ‘Then he disappeared.’ (KTL animal story)

Whereas in my data the secondary verb *só:* is associated with literal going or somewhat metaphorical going, disappearing, Sandberg (1895: 42) reports *só:* as a more grammaticalized past marker which does not have connection to literal going but may be used in phrases such as (produced in Sandberg’s orthography) *zhe song* ‘has done’, *shi song* ‘died’, *t’ong song zhe* ‘has seen’ and (4.111) (Denjongke script, glossing and emphasis mine, Roman script from Sandberg).

- (4.111) Sandberg (1895: 42)  
 ཁོ་ཡི་གེ་གཅིག་གྱི་<sup>194</sup>སོང་འདུག།  
*Kho yige chi p’i song du’.*  
 he letter INDF write go.PFV EX.SEN  
 ‘He has written a letter.’

Although example (4.110) above resembles in form Sandberg’s *zhe song* ‘has done’, the forms differ semantically in that (4.110) involves actual going out of sight whereas Sandberg’s *zhe song* ‘has done’ does not. Formulations such as the one exemplified in (4.111), which do not involve actual going, do not occur in my data nor are they accepted by my consultants. Borderline cases are (4.112) and (4.113), involving the verbs *t’ò:* ‘die (hon.)’ and *éi* ‘die’, which can be conceived as expressing a type of going or disappearing.

- (4.112) ལོ་ལྔ་གསུམ་ལོ་ངོ་ཙ་པོ་འདི་ཉི་མོང་སོང་།  
*lò kʰe: sùm=lo jè: ápo=di te t’ò: só:*  
 year score three=DAT 1SG.GEN father=DEMPH then die.HON go  
 ‘At the age of sixty my father then died.’ (DB life story)

<sup>194</sup> The more frequent form of the word is *t’i* ཉི. The pronunciation *p’i* recorded by Sandberg is here written as མྱ, because the form reflects the change of the WT glide *r* into *y*.

- (4.113) ལུ་ཤི་སོང་འདུག།  
*kʰu* *ɛi* *sɔ̃:* *du?*  
 3SGM die go EX.SEN  
 ‘He died (I saw). (NB e)

The borderline status of *ɛi sɔ̃:* is seen in the fact that upon asking about the felicity of the Sandbergian form *ɛi sɔ̃:-zɛ* [die go-PST], two of my consultants had varying responses. Whereas consultant PT (Tashiding) acknowledged the semantics suggested by Sandberg, see (4.114a), consultant KN (Martam) gave the clause a purposive reading, see (4.114b)

- (4.114) a) ཤི་སོང་ཞེ།  
*ɛi* *sɔ̃:-zɛ*.  
 die go-PST  
 ‘(He) died./(He) went and died.’ (PT e)

- b) ཤི་སོང་ཞེ།  
*ɛi* *sɔ̃:-zɛ*.  
 die go-PST  
 ‘(He) went (there) to die.’ (KN e)

The verb *gju* (past *sɔ̃:*) often forms a SVC with a preceding *lò:* ‘rise’ with the resulting meaning ‘go away’. This serial construction can also function as a complex secondary verbal construction which marks gradual change toward a state, see (4.115) and (4.116).

- (4.115) གནོད་པོ་ཞིན་ན་རྟོ་མ་ཚོ་གིས་འདེམ་ཟང་ལག་ལོག་གནང་བོ་ལས་དྲག་ལོང་འགྱུ་གད་ཞིན།  
*nó:po* *in-ne=to* *ádzo=gi* *dem=sã:* *láklok*  
 mischiefEQU-COND=CEMPH grandfather=AGT like.that=until IDEO.NN  
*ná:-bo=lɛ* *tʼak* *lò:* *gju-ɛɛ* *í:*.  
 do.HON-2INF=ABL be.cured rise go-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘If (this) is (about spiritual) mischief, after the grandfather has done so many (unintelligible) incantations, (the disease) will go and get healed.’ (rnam-rtog 17)

In (4.116), an elderly person has just commented on the wrinkles on his hands, comparing his skin to the smooth skin of younger people. Another person comments:

- (4.116) མ་པ་ལོ་གིས་ར་ལོ་གིས་ར་ག་སྐྱམ་འཛོན་ལོང་འགྱུ་མཁན་སྟེ།  
*ápa* *lò=gi=ra* *lò=gi=ra* *kʼajem* *tʰon* *lò:*  
 father year=AGT=AEMPH year=AGT=AEMPH what.is.it become rise  
*gju-kʰɛn* *bɛ?*  
 go-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Father, it’s year by year that (they) go on becoming what’s it (=wrinkled).’ (KNU kitchen discussion)

Some western varieties of Denjongke use *jà:* *gju* instead of *lò:* *gju* for ‘go away’. Both of the components *jà:* and *gju* mean ‘go’ and can be used independently. The serialization *jà:* *gju* may be used similarly to *lò:* *gju* as a secondary verbal construction expressing movement towards a state:



- (4.117) ལོ་གསུམ་བར་ལོ་ལྔ་འདྲེ་ཅིག་ཐོན་ཡང་སོང་མ་སྟེ།  
*lò sùmteu só.ŋa de:tei? tʰon jà: sǒ:-m bɛ?*  
 year thirty thirty-five that.much become go go.PFV-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Some thirty-five years went that happening.’ (NT BLA 6)

#### 4.2.3.2 Benefactive secondary verb *p'in* ‘give’

Although *p'in* is used in SVCs to refer to literal giving, see (4.118), it is also used as a benefactive secondary verb which expresses that an action is done for the benefit of some recipient, see (4.119).

- (4.118) ཡིག་མཁན་གྱིས་<sup>195</sup> ཡི་གེ་གསེས་སྤྱོད་ལོ་ལོ་ཡི་གེ་གཉིས་འཇུག་བྱིན།  
*jìkʰeŋ=gi jìgi sé:-di kʰõ:=lo jìgi ní: tʰu p'in.*  
 postman=AGT letter choose-NF 3PL=DAT letter two pick give  
 ‘The postman, selecting letters, picks two letters and gives to them.’ (Richhi 149)

- (4.119) ཀར་ལོང་སྟེ་སྐྱོན་བྱིན།  
*karma lǒ:-ti gom pʰi: p'in.*  
 PN rise-NF door open give  
 ‘Karma rises and opens the door (for the one who is knocking).’ (Richhi 135)

For further examples of benefactive use, consider (4.120-122), the last of which seems ambiguous between literal and benefactive reading.

- (4.120) ལ་ལ་ལོ་བྱིན་བཞོ་བྱིན་དོ་སྟེ།  
*lala=lo kʰim zo p'in-do bɛ?*  
 some=DAT house make give-IPFV EQU.NE  
 ‘For some a house is built (by the government)’ (RBM discussion on roof)
- (4.121) ང་ཅག་གིས་ཁོང་གི་སྐད་རྒྱུས་བྱིན་དོ་སྟེ།, རྒྱ་ཡི་(Nep.) སྐད།  
*ŋàtea=ki kʰoŋ=gi kɛ? kjap p'in-do bɛ?, nepali kɛ?*  
 1PL=AGT 3PL=GEN language strike give-IPFV EQU.NE Nepali language  
 ‘We are speaking their language, Nepali (for their benefit).’ (RS language situation)
- (4.122) ཉེ་ཙམ་ཞིག་གིས་སྐྱུ་བྱིན་ལྟེ་ལྷན་ལྷན་དུ་ཟུག་ཅུ་འབག་འོང་བྱིན་དོ་སྟེ།  
*te ázi=gi=ra duk p'ja-ti ŋàtea=lo ɛy:ɛy: t'a sàm=tsu*  
 then elder.sister=AGT=AEMPH pain do-NF 1PL=DAT a.bit now food=PL  
*ba? ǒ: p'in-do bɛ?*  
 carry come give-IPFV EQU.NE  
 ‘It was the elder sister who used to toil and bring a bit food (for us).’ (PED life story)

Although the secondary verb *p'in* typically expresses benefactive semantics, it may also be used to emphasize mere reciprocity in a context where the action is not (obviously and immediately) beneficial for the recipient:

<sup>195</sup> This form is surprising because here nominalizer *མཁན་ -kʰen* attaches to a noun instead of a verb. The author may have intended to write ཡིག་སྐྱེལ་མཁན་ *jì? kɛ:-kʰɛ:* ‘letter-bringer, postman’ (this is how another informant wanted to correct the expression).

- (4.123) ངས་ ལྷ་ལོ་ ཉི་བ་ ལྷོན་པོ་ མིན།  
*ŋá: kʰu=lo tip p'im-bo í:*  
 1SG.AGT 3SGM=DAT hit give-2INF EQU.PER  
 'I hit him.' (KN e)

#### 4.2.3.3 Beneficiary secondary verb *tʰop* 'find, receive'

Whereas with the secondary verb *p'in* the actor<sup>196</sup> in the clause is the benefactor, by using the secondary verb *tʰop* 'find, receive' the speaker takes the opposite viewpoint and sees the actor in the clause as a beneficiary who receives the opportunity denoted by the preceding verb. An apt English translation is 'get to do'. For examples, consider the affirmative uses in (4.124) and negated uses in (4.125).

- (4.124) a) མོད་པོ་ འཇམ་ཤང་ འདི་ འཇམ་ ཉི་ གནས་སྐོར་ རྒྱབས་ ཐོབ་ སྤང།  
*tsɔpo p'ja-εε=di=p'ja te né:kor kjap tʰop be?*  
 debate do-INF=DEMPH=ADVZR so sightseeing do receive EQU.NE  
 'Because of (participating) the debate (he) got (the opportunity) to do sightseeing.' (KNA kitchen discussion)

- b) རོགས་ཚུ་ དང་ ཀམ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ འབྲོད་ ཐོབ་པའི་ དགའ་ཚོད།  
*ro:=tsu t'ã: karma jámteci? pʰε? tʰop-ø: ga:tsʰo:*  
 friend=PL and PN with meet receive-2INF.GEN gladness  
 'the gladness of getting a chance to meet friends and Karma' (Richhi 67)

- (4.125) a) ངའི་ ཡ་ཞི་ ཚོས་ སློག་ མ་ཐོབ།  
*ŋè: ázi teʰo? dok ma-tʰop.*  
 1SG.GEN elder.sister doctrine read NEG-receive  
 'My sister didn't get (a chance) to study.' (PED life story)

- b) དེ་སང་ ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ ངའི་ ཀེ་ མེ་ཉླག་ འདི་ འཇིབ་ མི་ཐོབ་ བེ་, འཇིབ་ མི་ཚུགས་ བེ་ ལའ།  
*tizã: teʰø:=ki ŋè:=gi minto=di dzip mi-tʰop=s, dzip*  
 but 2SG.L=AGT 1SG.GEN=GEN flower=DEMPH suck NEG-receive=QUO suck  
*mi-tsʰu=s làp.*  
 NEG-be.able.to=QUO say  
 '(But [s]he) said, you will not get to suck (the nectar from) my flower, (you) cannot suck.' (RS bee story)

The use of the secondary verb *tʰop* is close in meaning to abilitative *tsʰu?* 'be able to'. Thus, *tʰop* could be alternatively be said to express "availability" as a modal category (for modal markers, see §8.5)

#### 4.2.3.4 Secondary verb *tã:* 'send'

The secondary verb *tã:* 'send' can be used in a context which involves quite literal sending (away), see (4.126), or in a more abstract verbalizing use with little meaning change, see (4.127).

<sup>196</sup> "Actor" here and elsewhere is used as a semantic term that refers to the person/entity initiating or causing action in either an intransitive clause or a transitive clause. I prefer "actor" to "agent" because the latter term may be associated with A argument and agentive case.

- (4.126) a) ཚོས་སྒྲིད་, དཔ་ལྷ་གི་ ཡི་གེའི་ ལན་ རྩི་ བཏང་ལོ།  
*te<sup>h</sup>øki?*, *pa:=la=gi*      *lèn*      *t'i*    *tā:*    *lo.*  
 PN      father=HON=GEN answer write send TAG.Q  
 ‘Choki, write and send an answer to the father, ok.’ (Richhi 138)
- b) ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱལ་ལས་ ང་ལོ་ རྒྱུ་མ་ན་ལས་ བཏོན་ བཏང་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*ódi gjaple*    *ɲà=lo*      *k<sup>h</sup>im=na=le*      *tøn*    *tā:-bo*      *í:*  
 that after 1SG=DAT house=LOC=ABL expel send-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘After that I was expelled from home.’ (TB life story)
- (4.127) a) ང་ཅག་ རྩན་རྒྱས་སྒྲི་གི་ དུས་ཚེད་ ལ་ཤས་ ལེན་ བཏང་རུང་།  
*ɲàtɕa?*    *ʃɛŋɕ:=tsu=gi*      *t'yts<sup>h</sup>ø?*    *k<sup>h</sup>aɕɕ?*    *lèn*    *tā:-ruŋ*  
 1PL      PRN.HON=PL=GEN time some take SEND-CONC  
 ‘Even if we take some of your time...’ (NAB BLA 7)
- b) འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ དུས་ཚེད་ཀྱིས་ བཏོན་བཏང་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ ཉིན་གཅིག་.....།  
*di*    *t<sup>h</sup>amtɕɕ?*    *t'yts<sup>h</sup>ø=ki*    *tøn*    *tā:*    *ɲàtɕa=lo*    *ɲim*    *tei?*  
 this all time=AGT show send 1PL=DAT day one  
 ‘All this time will tell us one day.’ (nga’i ‘gan 20)
- c) ཤ་ བསད་པ་ རོང་ ལབ་ བཏང་བོ་ སྤང།  
*ɕá*    *sé-pa*      *só:*      *làp*    *tā:-m*      *bɛ?*  
 meat kill-PUR go.PFV say send-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘(He) went to kill meat, (she) said.’ (KT animal story)
- d) མྱ་ངན་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་ རྩས་ བཏང་ཤད་ ཞིན།  
*kɛ:ða*    *te<sup>h</sup>uŋte<sup>h</sup>uŋ*    *p'ja*    *tā:-ɕɕ*      *í:*  
 sound small do send-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘(It) sends out a small sound.’ (Richhi 4)
- e) ཨོ་ན་ རྩོན་ལྡི་ ངའི་ མིང་ བཏོན་ལྡི་ ངི་བོ་ གནང་ན་ ལམ་སང་ ལབ་བྱོན་ བཏང་།  
*ónale*    *te'øn-di*      *ɲè:*      *mìŋ*    *tøn-di*      *t'i-u*      *ná:-nɛ*  
 then come.HON-NF 1SG.GEN name show-NF ask-2INF do.HON-COND  
*làmsā:*      *làp*    *p'in*    *tā:*  
 immediately say give send  
 ‘Then, if (you) go, show my name and ask, (they will) immediately tell (?and send you in the right direction).’ (Richhi 102)

Example (4.127e) is somewhat ambiguous between literal sending and a more grammaticalized use. Consultant KN commented that no literal sending is implied but in the context literal sending in the right direction (by instructing) would seem a natural reading.

The secondary verb *tā:* is also used as an additional marker in imperatives, see (4.128).

- (4.128) ཨོ་ཚོང་ དང་ འབེན་དུ་ ག་ བཏང་།  
*ótsõ:*    *t'ā:*    *benda*    *t'a:*    *tā:*  
 onion and tomato cut send  
 ‘Cut the onions and tomatoes.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

The imperative use of *tã:* and its honorific (imperative) counterpart *nã:* ‘grant’ are described in §11.3.

#### 4.2.4 Summarizing examples of the verb complex structure

This section provides summarizing examples of various combinations that the elements in the verb complex may take. The structure of the verb complex is, for the readers’ convenience, repeated in Figure 4.3 below.

Figure 4.3. Structure of the verb complex in declarative mood

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(N) (NEG) V1 (-RDP) (NEG) (V2)	{	((=)AUX)	(=CFC)
		-TAM (AUX)	
		-NMLZ AUX	
		-INF AUX	

---

Negation is more complicated than Figure 4.3 suggests, because in addition to using a negator prefix, negation can also be accomplished by a negated auxiliary copula, see (4.139) below. Negated serialized verbs cannot have more than two verbs in sequence, with the negator in between, see (4.130). The minimal verb complex consisting only of the primary verb, is presented in (4.129), exemplifying a steady-state present construction (see §8.2.1).

(4.129) ངས་ ཤེས།  
                   V1  
*ŋá:*     *éé:*  
 1SG.AGT know  
 ‘I know (it).’

For other combinations of elements, consider (4.130-139).

(4.130) ངའི་ ཇའི་ ཚོས་ ལྷོག་ མ་ཐོབ།  
   V1 NEG-V2  
*ŋè:*         *ázi*         *té<sup>h</sup>o?*     *ɬok ma-t<sup>h</sup>op.*  
 1SG.GEN     elder.sister doctrine read NEG-receive  
 ‘My sister didn’t get (a chance) to study.’ (PED life story)

(4.131) ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཁ་ གསལ་བྲགས་ ལྷོག་ མོ་འདི་ གསུང་ བཞག་ འདུག།  
   V1       V2   AUX  
*lògju?*   *k<sup>h</sup>a*         *sé:ɬa?* *p’ja-ti*   *óde:*   *súŋ*    *za:*    *du?*  
 story     mouth   clear do-NF   like.that say.HON put   EX.SEN  
 ‘It has been so said in clear words.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

(4.132) ང་ཅའི་ མྱེད་ འདི་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་ དགོས་པའད།  
   N           V1   V2=AUX  
*ŋàtsei*   *ké:=di=lo*           *jàrgɛ*     *tã:*    *go=pɛ?*  
 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH=DAT progress   send be.needed=EQU.NE  
 ‘Our language needs to be developed.’ (KL BLA 12)

- (4.133) ངས་གཡོག་འདི་བྱས་ཚུང་ཚར།  
 V1 V2-TAM  
*ŋá: jóʔ=di p'ja mjõ:-tsʰa:*  
 1SG.AGT work=DEMPH do finish-CMPL  
 ‘I finished doing the work.’ (KN e)
- (4.134) ལྷོ་བ་དཔོན་མཁྱེན་འོང་གྲོ་ལགས།  
 V1 V2-TAM=CFC  
*lópøŋ kʰɛ: õ:-ʈo=la.*  
 teacher know.HON come-PROB=HON  
 ‘(You) perhaps know (that) teacher.’ (KT discussion with TB)
- (4.135) འང་འདེམ་ཅིག་རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ཞིན་མཁན་སྣང།  
 V1-TAM AUX  
*ã: dem=teiʔ kjap-to iŋ-kʰen beʔ.*  
 lie like=INDF do-IPFV EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘he tells as a lie (like this:).’ (PAD bet story)
- (4.136) ཚོད་གན་འབྱང་ལབ་སྟེ་དྲི་སྟ་བོ་ལོ།  
 V1 V2-INF =CFC/AUX<sup>197</sup>  
*teʰøʔ kan bjõ: làp-ti ʈi ta-u=lo.*  
 2SG.L what disappear say-NF ask look-2INF =REP  
 ‘What of yours disappeared he said (so the story goes).’ (JDF axe story)
- (4.137) ར་ཚོ་སྟོན་སྟོན་བོ་འདུག་གོ།  
 V1-RDP-INF AUX  
*rodzou ten-tem-bo du-ke.*  
 horns show-RDP-2INF EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘(Its) horns are out showing (as I see in the picture).’ (KN e)
- (4.138) ང་ཅའི་སྐད་འདི་ཡར་རྒྱས་མི་འཛོན་གད་སྣང།  
 N NEG-V1-INF AUX  
*ŋàtei ke:=di jàrgɛʔ mi-tʰøn-ɛɛ beʔ.*  
 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH development NEG-happen-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Our language will not develop.’ (KL BLA 12)
- (4.139) ཏེ་སྟུ་ལྗོངས་རྒྱབས་གད་མེད།  
 V1-INF AUX  
*te mù ʃoke kjap-ɛɛʔ mɛʔ.*  
 so 3SGF Lhoke speak-INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘But she couldn’t speak Lhoke.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

Example (4.140) is challenging for the current analysis. The verb complex includes the element *jà: gju* which was above in §4.2.3.1 introduced as a complex translocative secondary verb but it also includes the durative secondary verb *bak/baʔ/ba:* ‘carry’ (see §8.3.4). Therefore it seems like in (4.140) there are, according to the present analysis, two secondary

<sup>197</sup> An equative auxiliary copula is expected here but the reportative can replace an equative copula, even when it is used as an auxiliary. For more information, see §7.2.5.2.

verbs. The first secondary verb (*bak*) gives a durative nuance to the primary verb *tʰa*: ‘be released, escape’ and that complex construction becomes the primary verb for the secondary verbal construction *jà: gju*, which further gives translocative nuance to the whole expression.

(4.140) མོ་འདྲེ་ར་ ཐར་ འབག་ ཡ་ འཇུ་ ཐང།  
 [V1            V2]            V2            AUX  
*óde=ra            tʰa:            ba?    já:    gju            bɛ?*  
 like.that=AEMPH be.released carry go    go            EQU.NE  
 ‘Like that (they) keep on going free.’ (CY interview)

### 4.3 Adjective and adverb phrases

The terms adjective phrase and adverb phrase refer here to a combination of an adjective/adverb and its modifier. The adjective phrase occurs either independently in an attributive/predicative clause or as a modifier following a noun. The adjective phrase consists of an adjective and a possible modifier. The adjective modifier may be an adverb (§4.3.1) or a nominalized clause (§4.3.2). In phrasal adjectives, which are a special case of adjective phrases, the adjective has a pre-modifying noun (§4.3.3). After addressing briefly reduplication (§4.3.4), this section finished with a couple of examples of adverb phrase, which is very similar in function to adjective phrases (§4.3.5).

#### 4.3.1 Quantifying adverb as modifier

The adjective and adverb-modifying adverbs occurring in my data are listed in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7. Adjective and adverb-modifying quantifying adverbs

<i>lèp(ti)</i>	ལེབ་ལྷོ་	‘very much’
<i>pemissiki</i>	དཔོ་མི་མྱོད་ཀྱི་	‘extraordinarily’ (Martam: <i>pesimipø:/pemisipo</i> )
<i>k’ã:mentse?</i>	གང་མན་ཚད་	‘limitlessly, extremely’
<i>átsi(m)</i>	ཨ་ཙོ་(མ)	‘a bit’

Example (4.141) shows that the adverbs in Table 4.7 may be used both with adjectives and adverbs of manner, i.e. with or without the adverbializer *p’ja(-ti)*.

(4.141) དཔོ་མི་མྱོད་ཀྱི་/གང་མན་ཚད་/ཨ་ཙོ་ ལེམ་(བྱེམ་)  
*pemissiki/k’ã:mentse?/átsi            lèm(-p’ja)*  
 extraordinarily/extremely/a.bit    good(-ADVZR)  
 ‘extraordinarily/extremely/a.bit good/well.’ (KN e)

The use of the modifiers is more frequent in adjective attribute clauses, where the adjective occurs independently (4.142), than it is when the adjective modifies a noun (4.143).

Independent uses

(4.142) a) ཨ་རི་ ལེབ་ མྱོམ་ཏུ་ འདུག་གོ།  
*ári            lèp            bompu    du-ke.*  
 paddy.field    very.much big            EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘The paddy field is very big (I see).’ (TB bull story)

- b) ལུ་དང་ང་ལེབ་སྟེ་འཆམ་ཤོས་མིན།  
*kʰu t'ā: ɲà lèpti tɕ'am-ɕo? ɿ:*  
 3SGM and 1SG very.much agreeable-SUP EQU.PER  
 'He and I are in the very best of terms.' (KN e)
- c) ཚོག་འདི་ལེབ་ལེགས་ཡོད་ཤད་འདི་བྱས་སྟེ་གི་  
*tsʰik=di lèp lèm jò-ɕɛ=di p'ja-tiki*  
 word=DEMPH very.much good EX-INF=DEMPH do-NF  
 'Because the words are very good...' (RS song intro)
- d) དང་སྤེའི་གསུང་འདི་ཚུ་ལེབ་ར་གལ་ཆེ་བྲགས་མིན།  
*t'ā.py: súŋ di=tsu lèp=ra k'ɛ:tɕʰiʈa? ɿ:*  
 long.age.GEN story this=PL very.much=AEMPH important EQU.PER  
 'These ancient stories are very important.' (KT animal story)
- e) གསུང་གླུ་ཨོ་འདིའི་གདངས་ལེབ་སྟེ་རང་སྟན་བྲགས་འདུག།  
*súnlu? ódi: dā: lèpti=ra ɲɛŋʈa? du?*  
 song.HON that.GEN melody very.much=AEMPH pleasant.to.hear EX.SEN  
 'The melody of that song is very pleasant.' (Richhi 90)
- f) འདི་གང་མན་ཚད་ལེགས་སྤང།  
*di k'ā:mentsɛ? lèm bɛ?*  
 this extremely good EQU.NE  
 'This is extremely good.' (KL discussion with DR)
- g) ང་ཚའི་གི་ལ་ཚུང་སེ་མཁན་འདི་དཔེ་མི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ལེགས་རྗེས་བྲགས།  
*ɲàtɕi=gi làtɕʰuŋ sɛ-kʰɛn=di pɛmisiki lèm, dzikʈa?*  
 1PL.GEN=GEN TPN say-NMLZ=DEMPH extraordinarily good excellent  
 'Our what is called Lachung (is) extraordinarily good, excellent.' (LA intro to Lachung)

Noun-modifying uses

(4.143) a) ཚོག་ལེབ་མན་བྲུ་

*tsʰik lèp màŋdɔu*  
 word very.much different  
 'very different words' (DR discussion with KL)

b) ལུགས་རིག་གང་མན་ཚད་མཁས་བྲགས་

*tʰuri? k'ā:mentsɛ? k'ɛ:ʈa?*  
 understanding extremely learned  
 'extremely learned way of thinking' (CY introduction)

c) ལམ་བལེལ་དཀར་གཏོར་ཨ་ཚོ་ཚྲོམ་ལུལ་གཅིག་

*lamsika.tor átsi bom-sy:=tɕi?*  
 type.of.dough.effigy a.bit big-DIM=INDF  
 'a rather big lamsika-torma' (KN apo, discussion in kitchen)

- d) དཀའ་ལས་ ཇའི་ ཚ་དཀའ་  
*kale?*      *útsi tsʰaʦa?*  
 difficulty a.bit hot  
 ‘rather difficult’ (TB discussion with KT)

Note that the modifier *lèp(ti)* ‘very much’ can modify the superlative form, indicating that the superlative does not necessarily refer to the last instance of a quality before the end of the scale.

- (4.144) ལུ་ དང་ ང་ ལེབ་ལྷི་ འཆམ་ཤོས་ མིན།  
*kʰu tʰä: ɲà lèpti tɕʰam-ɕo?*      *í:*  
 3SGM and 1SG very.much agreeable-SUP EQU.PER  
 ‘He and I are in the very best of terms.’ (KN e)

Moreover, using the superlative does not necessitate definiteness<sup>198</sup>, as shown by the co-occurrence of the superlative with an indefinite marker:

- (4.145) ང་ཅའི་ བ་ འཛོག་ཤོས་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདི་  
*ɲàtɕei pʰa dzik-ɕo=tɕei?*      *jò-po=di*  
 1PL.GEN cow excellent-SUP=INDF EX-2INF=DEMPH  
 ‘our cow which is a most excellent one’ (ma-gsung 2)

In spoken language, the adjective modifier may occur preposed to the noun that the adjective phrase modifies, as shown in (4.146) and (4.147).

- (4.146) དབྱད་ཞིབ་ ཐུས་ཤང་ འདི་ ལེབ་ དཀའ་ལས་ ཚ་དཀའ་ ཟུང།  
*tɕe:zip pʰja-ɕɛ=di lèp kale?*      *tsʰaʦa?*      *bɛ?*  
 research do-INF=DEMPH very.much difficulty hot EQU.NE  
 ‘Doing research is very difficult.’ (YR canteen video)

- (4.147) ད་ ཡུལ་ཚོ་ ཡུལ་ཚོ་ན་ ཇའི་ཅིག་ འགོ་ལེས་ འང་མིན་འང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཟུང།  
*tʰa j̣:tsɔ j̣:tsɔ=na útsi=tɕei?*      *ɖoly?*      *ɖaminɖa jò:-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 now village village=LOC a.bit=INDF tradition various EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Now, in different villages, the traditions are a bit different.’ (SGD wedding customs)

In an adjective attribute clause with a copula or a change-of-state verb, the adjective modifier may occur before the copula subject which is modified by the adjective phrase:

- (4.148) a) ང་ཅའི་ materials ལྷ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ འདི་ ལེབ་ ང་ཅག་ ལུང་དཀའ་ མིན་ལགས།  
*ɲàtɕei mətiəriəls ta-watɕɛnɛ=di lèp ɲàtɕa?*      *ɲùŋʦa?*  
 1PL.GEN materials(Eng.) look-COND=DEMPH very.much 1PL few  
*í:=la.*  
 EQU.PER=HON  
 ‘If (we) look at our (human?) materials, we are very few.’ (YR canteen video)

<sup>198</sup> Cf. English definite *the most wanted man* vs. indefinite *a most wanted man*.



b) གང་མན་ཚད་ རང་གི་རྟོ་ འཛིགས་དྲགས་ སྐད་ ལབ་ལོ།  
*k'ũ:mentse?* *raŋ=gi=to* *dzikta?* *be?* *láp=lo.*  
 extremely 2SG.M=GEN=CEMPH excellent EQU.NE say=REP  
 ‘(Story of) yours is extremely great, he said (so the story goes).’ (PAD bet story)

c) གང་མན་ཚད་ ང་ཅག་ སེམས་ དགའ་དྲགས་ ཟུང་ཞེ།  
*k'ũ:mentse?* *ŋàtea?* *sém* *gata?* *tɛ'uy-zɛ.*  
 extremely 1PL mind joyful become-PST  
 ‘We became extremely joyful.’ (CY interview)

In (4.148c), the modifier of *gata?* ‘joyful’ precedes both the experiencer (*ŋàtea?*) and the nominal element of the phrasal adverb (*sém*).

More frequently than as an adjective modifier *lèp* occurs as an independent verb-modifying adverb:

(4.149) a) ཐགས་ ལེབ་ རིང་ཞེ།  
*t<sup>h</sup>a:* *lèp* *riŋ-zɛ.*  
 distance very.much be.long-PST  
 ‘The distance became very long.’ (KN e)

b) ཨོ་འདི་ སྐད་ འདི་ ཉེ་ ལེབ་ གཞོན་པོ་ སྐྱེལ་གད་ ཞིན།  
*ódi* *gã:=di* *tɛ* *lèp* *népo* *kɛ:-ɛĩ:*  
 that time=DEMPH then very.much harm bring-NPST.PER  
 ‘That time it will wreak a lot of havoc.’ (PL interview)

Because the verb modifying uses are more frequent and adjective-modifying uses occur with a copula, it may be surmised that *lèp* is basically a verb-modifier but in the presence of a semantically vacuous verb, copula, the modifying potential can be directed to a predicate adjective. The basic nature of *lèp* as a verb-modifier also explains why other elements may occur between *lèp* and the adjective it modifies.

### 4.3.2 Nominalized clause as modifier

A nominalized clause as modifier may occur either before the adjective (4.150) or after it (4.151). In my data, the pre-adjectival modifying clause may be marked by *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* (4.150a) and *-po/bo* (4.150b-c) and (4.151). The clause marked with *-po/bo* may be either genitived (4.150b) or not genitived (4.150c) and (4.151).

(4.150) a) འབག་ མི་རྒྱུགས་མཁམ་ སློམ་པུ་  
*[bak mi-ts<sup>h</sup>u-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:]* *bompu*<sup>199</sup>  
 carry NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ big  
 ‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

b) འབག་ མི་རྒྱུགས་པའི་ སློམ་པུ་  
*[bak mi-ts<sup>h</sup>u-po:]* *bompu*  
 carry NEG-be.able.to-2INF.GEN big  
 ‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

<sup>199</sup> Consultant KUN would prefer the negator *ma-* in this construction.

- c) འབག་ མི་ཚུགས་པོ་ རྫོང་དུ་  
 [bak mi-ts<sup>h</sup>u-po]                      bompu  
 carry NEG-be.able.to-2INF      big  
 ‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

- (4.151) བྱིམ་འདིའི་ རང་ལོ་ ... རག་སྲུག་སྲུག་ མི་ཚུ་ ཀ་མི་ནམ་ རོ་འཕྲོད་ ལྱམ་ མི་ཚུགས་པོ་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྣང།  
 k<sup>h</sup>im=di:                      nàŋ=lo...      nàksusu?      [mí=tsu      ka      nám                      ŋòt<sup>h</sup>ø?  
 house=DEMPH.GEN      inside=DAT dark                      human=PL      who      EQU.ATTQ      recognition  
 p’ja mi-ts<sup>h</sup>u-po]                      jò-po                      bε?  
 do      NEG-be.able.to-2INF      EX-2INF      EQU.NE  
 ‘Inside the house it was (so) dark [that it was not possible to recognize who all  
 people were there].’ (rna-gsung 7)

The pro-adverb *dem* ‘like (it)’ may be used along with nominalization to form a comparative modifier. Note that the verb is reduplicated.

- (4.152) ལྱེ་ལག་ཡང་ ཉེམ་ དང་ ཟླ་པོ་ ཚེས་ཚེས་པོ་ འདེམ་ ལེགས་ དང་ ཅང་དྲགས་  
 p’e:la=jã:                      [nìm t’ã:      dau      ts<sup>h</sup>ε:-ts<sup>h</sup>ε:-po      dem]      lè̄m      t’ã:  
 appearance=also sun      and      moon      shine-RDP-2INF      like.it      good and  
 beautiful  
 tsã:ʈa?  
 ‘(her) appearance (is) also good and beautiful [like the shining of sun and moon].’  
 (rna-gsung 3)

**4.3.3 Phrasal adjectives**

In analogy to phrasal verbs (§4.5.1), an adjective with a preposed noun may be termed a phrasal adjective, see (4.153-157).

- (4.153) riko lè̄m                      རིག་ཀོ་ ལེགས་                      ‘intelligent (intellect good)’  
 riko ts<sup>h</sup>aʈaʈ                      རིག་ཀོ་ ཚྲ་དྲགས་                      ‘intelligent (intellect hot)’  
 sém t’ã:pu                      མེམས་ དྲང་པོ་                      ‘honest (mind straight)’  
 tìŋ riŋku                      གཏིང་ རིང་གུ་                      ‘deep (depth long)’  
 pu sópsop                      ལྷ་སྐྱོབ་སྐྱོབ་                      ‘fluffy with hair (hair fluffy)’  
 ŋum ri:ri:                      ལྷུམ་ རིལ་རིལ་                      ‘smooth (of skin) (oil round)’

- (4.154) ཚོད་ རིག་ཀོ་ ལེགས་ འདུག།  
 tε<sup>h</sup>øʈ?      [riko      lè̄m]      du?  
 2SG.L      intellect good      EX.SEN  
 ‘You are [intelligent], I see.’ (UT e)

- (4.155) མཚོ་ གཏིང་ རིང་གུ་  
 ts<sup>h</sup>o [tìŋ      riŋku]  
 lake depth long  
 ‘[deep] lake’ (KN e)

(4.156) ལག་གོ་ འདི་ ལྷ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ མཐོང་པོ་ ལྷད།  
*lako=di [pu sópsop] tʰõ:-po be?*  
 hand=DEMPH hair fluffy see-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘(She) saw that the hand was [fluffy with hair]’ (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 40)

(4.157) ངའི་ ཇ་མའི་ ལྷག་ ལྷུ་མ་ རིལ་རིལ་ ཡོད།  
*jè: ámø: tɛʰa? [num rì:ri:] jò?*  
 1SG.GEN mother.GEN hand.hon oil round EX.EQU  
 ‘My mother’s hand is [smooth].’ (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 40)

Ad hoc adjectivals can be formed from nouns by adding to a noun a nominalized existential:

*mí sém-cu? mè:-po* [man mind-strength NEG.EX-2INF] ‘cowardly man’  
*mí nè: mè:-kʰɛ:* [man illness NEG.EX-NMLZ] ‘man with no illness, healthy man’  
*tsʰo tij mè:-po/mè:-kʰɛ:* [lake depth NEG.EX-2INF/NMLZ] ‘shallow (=not deep) lake’

Formally these property concept expressions are post-head relative clauses, see §13.2.2.2.

The negation of adjectives is described in §10.2.3 under the chapter on negation.

#### 4.3.4 Reduplication

Reduplication of the full adjective in an adjective phrase denotes intensification of the quality:

(4.158) དང་ཕུའི་གི་ ལྷ་ཤག་ རྗེང་གྲ་ རྗེང་གྲ་ འདི་ཚུ་  
*t'á:py:=ki [nínku nínku] di=tsu*  
 long-ago.GEN=GEN monastery.building old old this=PL  
 ‘These [old, old] monastery buildings of long ago’ (DB trip story)

#### 4.3.5 Adverb phrase

Adjectives and adverbs are partly overlapping categories and adverbs are often derived from adjectives. Therefore it is no surprise that the same quantifying modifiers which are used in adjective phrases (see 4.2) can also be used with adverbs to form complex adverb phrases.

(4.159) ལེབ་རྗེ་ ཐག་རིང་ མེད།  
*[lèpti tʰa:riŋ] mè?*  
 very far.away NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘It’s not [very far away].’ (Richhi 70)

(4.160) ཁོང་གི་ འདི་ ཇ་ཙོ་ ལེགས་བྱས་ རྒྱབས་ཤང་ལགས།  
*kʰoŋ=gi=di [átsi lè̃m-p'ja] kjap-ɛɛ=la.*  
 3PL=AGT=DEMPH a.bit good-ADVZR strike-INF=HON  
 ‘They speak (the language) [rather well].’ (RL interview)

### 4.4 Numeral phrase

The term numeral phrase refers to a combination of a numeral and a quantifier which modifies it. Quantifiers may be preposed (Table 4.8) or postposed (Table 4.9) to numerals they modify.

Table 4.8. Pre-numeral modifiers

<i>t'y:mene</i>	དུས་མན་ནེ་	'about, approximately; almost'
<i>halam</i>	ཉ་ལམ་	'about, approximately'

The numeral-modifying quantifiers *t'y:mene* 'about; almost; almost' and *halam* 'about' are both preposed to their head word. The quantifier *t'y:mene*, analogously to Nepali *dz<sup>h</sup>andei*, covers both the meanings 'about' (4.161a-b) and 'almost' (4.161.c). Note the reduced form *t'y:min* in (4.161b). A nominal may intervene between the numeral and its modifier (4.161a).

- (4.161) a) རང་ཀ་ལས་ སྐང་རྟོག་ ཟག་སྟེ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ kilometre གསུམ་བཅུ་ འོང་གྲོ།  
*ran̄ka=le gā:to? sã:te t'y:mene kilomiṭə sũmteu ò:-to.*  
 TPN=ABL TPN until about kilometer(Eng) thirty come-PROB  
 'It's probably about thirty kilometres from Ranka to Gangtok.' (KN e)
- b) ལྷ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ བཅུ་དྲུག་ འདེ་ཅིག་ ལང་རྟོ་ ང་ ཟ་སྟེ་གྲོ།  
*p'ja t'y:min tceŋa teu:dup dø:tei? lō:-to t'a sà-tiki.*  
 hen about fifteen sixteen that much reach-IPFV now eat-NF  
 '(The number of) chicken (they) have eaten reaches now approximately some fifteen, sixteen.' (PL interview)
- c) དུས་མན་ནེ་ མོག་གོ་ སྐང།  
*t'y:mene p'ok-o be?*  
 almost hit-2INF EQU.NE  
 'It (=another car) almost hit (us).' (KUN e)

In the novel *Richhi*, both of the two instances of the pre-numeral modifier *halam* are followed by the post-numeral suffix *-ts<sup>h</sup>ø?* (see Table 4.9):

- (4.162) འདི་ལར་ སླེབས་སྟེ་ ཉ་ལམ་ ལྔ་ལོ་ བརྒྱད་ཚྛོང་ ལང་རྟོ་ ཨ་རྒྱ།  
*dik<sup>h</sup>a l̄ep-ti halam dau ge:-ts<sup>h</sup>ø? lã:-to ágja.*  
 here arrive-NF about month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother  
 'It's now about some eight months since I came here.' (*Richhi* 12)

The post-numeral modifiers are listed in Table 4.9 and illustrated in the same order below the table. The approximative suffix *-ts<sup>h</sup>ø?* is described here because it is functionally similar to the word-level numeral modifiers.

Table 4.9. Post-numeral modifiers

<i>de:tei?</i>	འདེ་ཅིག་	'about' (lit. 'like.that-one')
<i>lakts<sup>h</sup>ø?</i>	ལྷག་ཚྛོང་	'over, more than'
<i>màŋts<sup>h</sup>ø?</i>	མང་ཚྛོང་	'over, more than'
<i>kortei?</i>	སྐོར་ཅིག་	'around, about' (literally 'neighborhood-one')
<i>teiku, teuku</i>	(ག་)ཅིག་གྲུ་	'only'
<i>mèmbo (+NEG.VERB)</i>	མན་བོ་	'no more than, only'
<i>-ts<sup>h</sup>ø?</i>	ཚྛོང་	'about, some, amount of'

- (4.163) गणःतः (Nep.) गतिगः गणःतः (Nep.) गतिगः अदेःतिगः क्षुगः दगःसाः  
*għanṭa tci? għanṭa ni: de:tei? gu: go:=lo.*  
 hour(Nep.) one hour(Nep.) two like.that wait be.needed=REP  
 ‘(We) need to wait for some one or two hours, I hear.’ (DB day trip)

The modifier *laktsʰo?* (4.164a) derives from the verb *lak* ‘be more than’, which can be used also independently (4.164b).

- (4.164) a) སློབ་གྲྭ་ ཨོ་འདིའི་ན་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབ་སྟེ་ ལོ་ གསུམ་ ལྷག་ཚེད་ མོང་ཚར།  
*lóbḍa ódi:=na jó? kjap-ti lò súm laktsʰo? só:-tsʰa:.*  
 school that.GEN=LOC work do-NF year three more.than go.PFV-CMPL  
 ‘More than three years have gone her working at that school.’ (Richhi 11)

- b) ཕྱི་མཚམས་ཁའི་ ལྷ་ཚེད་ ལྷག་ ལྷག་ཚར།  
*phi:tsʰamkʰo: tʰutsʰo? tʰuk lak-tsʰa:.*  
 at.dusk.GEN clock.time six be.more.than-CMPL  
 ‘It’s more than six o’clock at dusk.’ (Richhi 92)

- (4.165) ལོ་ གཅིག་(ལས་) མང་ཚེད་  
*lò tci:(=lɛ) mǎntsʰo?*  
 year one(=ABL) more  
 ‘more than one year’ (KN e)

- (4.166) a) བརྒྱ་སྟོར་ཅིག་  
*tɛu kortci?*  
 ten about  
 ‘about ten’ (KN e)

- b) བརྒྱ་སྟོར་ཅིག་  
*gja kortci?*  
 hundred about  
 ‘about a hundred’ (KN e)

- c) བརྒྱ་གཅིག་ སྟོར་ཅིག་  
*\*tɛuktci? kortci?*  
 eleven about

- (4.167) ལུ་ ལྔ་ ལྷག་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་  
*pʰu ŋá tʰu? tɛiku*  
 boy five six only  
 ‘only five, six boys’ (PL interview)

The monosyllabic approximative suffix *-tsʰo?* ཚོད་ ‘about, some, as much as’, may attach to numerals.

(4.168) a) ཉ་ འདིའི་ སྐལ་བུ་ལས་ འབྲུ་ ཀའོ་ བཞིའི་ ཚོང་ ཐོན་པོ་ ཞིན།  
*ta=di: ge:pa=le du kilo zi<sup>hi</sup>-ts<sup>ho</sup>? t<sup>ho</sup>m-bo*  
 horse=DEMPH.GEN back=ABL rain kilo 40,000-about come.out-2INF  
 ཇི་.  
 EQU.PER  
 ‘Out of the back of the horse came out some 40,000 kilos of grain.’ (Class 7 textbook 61)

b) ང་ཅའི་ ཡབ་ གོངས་སྟེ་ ལོ་ གཉིས་ཚོང་ སློབས་ཚང།  
*ŋàtci jà:p t<sup>o</sup>:-ti lò ní:-ts<sup>ho</sup>? lep-ts<sup>ha</sup>:.  
 1PL.GEN father die.HON-NF year two-about arrive-CMPL  
 ‘Some two years have passed since our father died.’ (Richhi 35)*

The marker *mèmbo* (nominalized negated existential copula) is followed by a negated verb. When postposed to numerals, the construction has the meaning ‘no more than, only’:

(4.169) ཀར་ བོམ་བེའོ་ ལོག་སྟེ་ འགྲུ་བུ་ལོ་ ང་རིང་ལས་ ཉིན་ གཉིས་ མན་པོ་ མེད།  
*karma bombai=lo lòk-ti gju-wa=lo t<sup>o</sup>ariŋ=le jìm ní: mèmbo*  
 PN TPN=DAT return-NF go-CIRC=DAT today=ABL day two excep  
*mè?*  
 NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘Today it is no more than two days to Karma’s going to Bombay.’ (Richhi 92)

The formative *mèmbo* also functions as a marker of negated additive adverbial clauses, see §15.9.4.

The specific numeral *k’ã:pu/k’ò:pu* ‘one full measure of’ occurs as a numeral modifier in the idiom *tõ: k’ã:pu* ལྷོང་ གང་ལུ་ ‘all’ (lit. thousand-one.full.measure), illustrated in (4.170).

(4.170) འབྲས་སྒོངས་ཀྱི་ མི་རིགས་ ལྷོང་ གང་ལུ་ལོ་  
*dendzong=gi míri? tõ: k’a:pu=lo*  
 Sikkim=GEN people thousand full.measure.of=DAT  
 ‘to all the people of Sikkim’ (NAB BLA 7)

For the indefinite numeral *k’adzø? i:-ruŋ* ག་ཚོང་ ཞིན་ཅུང་ ‘however many’, consider §6.3.2.

## 4.5 Summary remarks

This chapter described how words can be combined into phrases or, in the case of verbs, into a “complex”. It was shown that nouns take both prenominal modifiers, which are typically genitive marked, and postnominal modifiers, which are typically not genitive marked. In clausal context nouns frequently take up to three clitics, including plural, case and emphatic clitics. The numeral *tci?* ‘one’ has grammaticalized into an indefiniteness marker.

The section on the verb complex showed that there are two types of complex verbs, phrasal verbs, which combine a nominal element to a verb, and serial verbs, which juxtapose two to four verb roots. Verbs in a serial verb construction were seen to have three types of semantic relationship. In the first, the verbs together form the semantic core of the construction (e.g. *bak ò:* ‘bring’, lit. ‘carry-come’). In the second (and rare) case, the combined verbs are synonymic (*t’ek da:* ‘chase away’ lit. chase-chase). In the third relationship, the last verb does not belong to the semantic core of the construction but brings semantic nuance to it. Verbs

which bring semantic nuance to the primary verb were termed secondary verbs, which often express tense, aspect and modality-related values.

Quantifying adjective modifiers were shown to be loosely connected with the adjective they modify in that other elements may come in between. It was also shown that adjectives, analogously to phrasal verbs, can occur as phrasal adjectives with nominal premodifiers. The last section illustrated the use of nine numeral modifiers.

## 5 Basic clause structure

This chapter discusses basic clause structure in Denjongke, focusing on the number and type of NP arguments that verbs may take. The treatment begins with an introduction to concepts and terminology (§5.1). Then the description is divided into intransitive clauses (§5.2), transitive clauses (§5.3), clauses with verbs of being and becoming (§5.4), valency modification (§5.5) and the use of adverbials (§5.6).

### 5.1 Introduction to concepts and terminology

The terms transitive and intransitive are here used syntactically<sup>200</sup> as referring to the potential<sup>201</sup> number of core argument of a verb. Transitive clauses have two potential core arguments, whereas intransitive clauses have only one argument. Transitive clauses are further divided into monotransitive clauses and ditransitive clauses, the latter having an additional argument expressing the recipient of the action. The discussion on argument structure uses the typologically motivated terms S, A, P, T and R. The term S refers to the sole core argument of an intransitive clause, such as (5.1). Argument S is given in bold.

- (5.1) ལུ་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་ འདུག་གོ།  
***k<sup>h</sup>u** gjuk-tɛɛn du-kɛ.*  
 3SGM run-PROG EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘He’s running.’ (TB e)

In addition to one core argument, an intransitive clause may have some additional, peripheral arguments such as adverbials expressing time, location and manner. Example (5.2) has one core argument S (*ŋà*) and two peripheral arguments, the temporal adverbial *ódi gjaple* ‘after that’ and the directional *gã:toʔ(=lo)* ‘to Gangtok’.

- (5.2) མོ་འདི་རྒྱལ་ལས་ ང་ སྐང་རྟོག་(ལོ་) འོང་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*ódi gjaple **ŋà** gã:toʔ(=lo) òm-bo í:*  
 that after 1SG TPN(=DAT) come-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘After that I came to Gangtok.’ (TB life story, KN e)

In a transitive clause, argument A is the most important argument for the success of the verbal action (and usually the most agent like argument, hence A), and P is the other argument in a transitive clause (and usually the most patient like argument, hence P), see (5.3) where A is underlined, P is typographically unmarked. Elements in brackets are pragmatically conditioned instances of differential marking of A and P, which is described more in detail below. The differential marking of the P argument was already hinted at by Sandberg (1895: 22) who reports both *k<sup>h</sup>im* (zero-marked) and *k<sup>h</sup>im=lo* (dative-locative-marked) as “accusative” forms of the word for ‘house’.

- (5.3) ལྷལ་མཚན་གྱི་ ཀམ་(ལོ་) བསད་བོ་ སྐང།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en(=gi) karma(=lo) sé-po bɛʔ.*  
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) kill-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Gyaltshen killed Karma.’ (KN e)

<sup>200</sup> In contrast to the more semantically oriented use of the terms in Hopper & Thompson (1980).

<sup>201</sup> The word “potential” refers to the prevalence of zero anaphora, or contextual elision of core arguments, which is described below.



Ditransitive clauses, such as those formed around verbs of giving, have, in addition to A, a recipient-like argument R and a theme-like argument T (Haspelmath 2005), see (5.4), where *làla=lo* ‘to some’ is R and *màṅ* ‘privilege’ T.

- (5.4) བུ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ ལ་ལ་ལོ་ མང་ (Nep.) ཕྱིན་དོ་ ཟླད།  
*zun=gi*            *làla=lo*    *màṅ*                    *p'in-do*    *bɛ?*  
 government=AGT some=DAT privilege(Nep.) give-IPFV EQU.NE  
 ‘The government is giving privileges to some.’ (RBM discussion on the roof)

The dominant word order in declarative clauses is SV in intransitive clauses and APV in transitive clauses. For a note on right-dislocation, in which arguments may occur after the verb, refer to §16.6. Ditransitive clauses have the order ATRV or ARTV, depending on whether T or R is more focal and thus comes first (see §5.3.3). Other arguments than the above-mentioned S, A, P, R and T are peripheral. Typically of clausal PV order, Denjongke genitives precede the noun they modify and postpositions are used rather than prepositions (conforming to Greenberg’s [1966] correlations).

In nominative-accusative (NA) languages, S and A are aligned in having the same form contrasting with O. Ergative-absolutive (EA) languages, on the other hand, align S and O, which contrast in form with A. Denjongke is clearly neither a NA language nor a EA language, because all of the three arguments S, A and P evince split patterns with two ways of marking depending on the context. In intransitive clauses, S argument is usually zero marked, but sometimes the same intransitive verb (which though has to be a controllable verb) may occur either as zero or agentive marked, depending on the context. In transitive clauses, A argument may be agentive or zero marked with the same verb, depending on the context. Lastly, P argument marking is also split between zero-marking and dative-locative marking. Factors that have been identified as conditioning this differential marking are animacy, specificity/identifiability and affectedness of the P argument, which are all exemplified in the discussion below. Because Denjongke does not have a clear EA alignment but allows considerable pragmatic conditioning of argument marking, I use the terms agentive rather than ergative for the A argument.<sup>202</sup> For the same reason, non-marked S and P arguments are called zero marked rather than absolutive. The options for clausal argument marking are summarized in Table 5.1, which, however, does not include information on obligatory agentive marking with certain past/perfective verb forms (see §5.3.2).

Table 5.1. Summary of argument marking options

Argument	Zero-marking	Agentive	Dative-locative
S	X	(X)	
A	X	X	(X)
P	X		X
R			X
T	X		

Instances marked with brackets in Table 5.1 occur infrequently. The agentive S arguments occur only in specific cases to emphasize identity or agentivity (see §5.2). The dative-locative A argument occurs with a couple of transitive verbs (see §5.3.1).

The reason for the splits in argument marking in Denjongke is that the argument marking in the language is to some degree directly controlled by semantics/pragmatics and not by

<sup>202</sup> The Denjongke agentive though may be seen as an ergative-in-making, see Coupe (2017).

syntactically-oriented grammatical relations, which are abstractions based on prototypical situations. Dixon (1994: 1) makes a distinction between languages that map semantics directly onto morphosyntax and languages that use an intermediate layer of grammatical relations where arguments are marked according a prototypical situation (e.g. the arguments of the English verb *hit* are marked the same way irrespective of whether the act was intentional or not). Dixon further notes that the division into NA and EA works only for the latter, syntactically oriented languages, not to semantically oriented languages. As a system where semantics/pragmatics play an important role in argument marking, Denjongke argument marking cannot, thus, be naturally termed either NA or EA.

According to LaPolla (1995: 189-190) argument marking within Tibeto-Burman languages may be divided into non-paradigmatic and paradigmatic, with a grammaticalization continuum from the former to the latter. In non-paradigmatic languages, overt marking of arguments is motivated by “disambiguation of two potential agents” (LaPolla 1995: 189). Paradigmatic languages, on the other hand, “have relatively stable paradigmatic ergative system” (LaPolla 1995: 216) with “semantic and pragmatic functions beyond simple disambiguation” (LaPolla 1995: 190). As examples of non-paradigmatic languages LaPolla (1995: 214) gives Dulong, Namuzi, Hani, Naxi, Achang, Nusu and Deng languages. Examples of paradigmatic languages are “Chepang, Newari, Kham, Sunwar, and most Tibetan dialects” (LaPolla 1995: 216). Even if it were true that most Tibetic languages have relatively stable paradigmatic ergative systems, Denjongke seems not to be one of them. As will be shown below, Denjongke evinces too much pragmatic conditioning and too little syntactic control, such as obligatory ergative or absolutive marking, for the system to be meaningfully called EA.

Coupe (2017), on the other hand, argues that instead of a syntactically oriented NA and EA patterns for argument marking, many Tibeto-Burman languages evince a pragmatically oriented agentive vs. anti-agentive pattern, a system which Coupe considers is a precursor to NA and EA patterns. Coupe (2017) further notes that the agentive vs. anti-agentive pattern has previously been falsely considered a type of EA system (similarly LaPolla 1995: 214) and lists the following Tibeto-Burman languages as evidence for the prevalence of pragmatic rather than syntactic patterning of clausal arguments: Qiang (LaPolla 2003), Darma (Willis 2011), Meithei (Chelliah 1997, 2009), Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007, 2011), Kurtöp (Hyslop 2010), Yongning Na (Lidz 2011), Singpho (Morey 2012), Sumi (Teo 2012), (Lhasa) Tibetan (Tournadre 1991). Partly inspired by Coupe (2017), the analysis here adopts the term agentive rather than ergative for overt marking of argument A. Although Denjongke is probably one of those Tibeto-Burman languages which in Coupe’s (2017) analysis are in a transitional stage from pragmatic core argument marking to purely syntactic alignment, Denjongke has not yet arrived in the destination.<sup>203</sup>

Analyzing transitivity in Denjongke is complicated because Denjongke, like probably all other Tibetic languages (e.g. Denwood [1999: 191] and Bartee [2007: 117]), excels in zero anaphora where core and peripheral arguments are elided when the speaker deems them sufficiently deducible from the previous context. Therefore it is difficult to make transitivity judgments on verbs based on purely syntactic, distributional criteria at the sentence level. Rather, transitivity of any verb and clause is determined by the potential number of core arguments. Moreover, zero anaphora should be distinguished from argument suppression (Andersen [1987: 285ff] and Andvik [2010: 115]). In zero anaphora, an argument is omitted because it is so central. The argument can be recovered from the context and therefore does not need to be mentioned. In argument suppression, on the other hand, the argument is suppressed because it is not important or identifiable, or in words of Payne (1997: 233), the

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<sup>203</sup> Similarly, Watters (2018: 217) characterizes argument marking in Dzongkha, a closely related language, as a “pragmatic marking system that does not distinguish consistently between grammatical and semantic roles.”

identity of the argument “has not been established and need not be established in order for the speaker to achieve his/her communicative goal.” Therefore, suppressing argument A will cause an effect that can be called a “functional passive” (Givon 1984: 164), see §5.5.1.

Making a morphosyntactic distinction between core and peripheral arguments in Denjongke is difficult at least for three reasons: First, arguments P and R (the latter corresponding to “indirect object”) and other, more peripheral arguments such as directionals (e.g. ‘to Gangtok’) may all be marked by dative-locative. Second, arguments typically considered peripheral, such as locationals and directionals may, similarly to P argument, occur zero marked. For instance, if the S argument is dropped, as in (5.5), disambiguation is purely semantic (“a toponym cannot be the goer”) and pragmatic (“[s]he is answering my question concerning person X”).

- (5.5) སྐད་ཉོག་ འགྲུ་དོ་ སྐད།  
*gã.to? gju-do be?*  
 TPN GO-IPFV EQU.NE  
 ‘(He’s) going to Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Thirdly, because of zero anaphora, core arguments may be elided from a clause, whereas peripheral arguments may be retained. The definition for core and peripheral arguments used here is adopted from Andvik’s (2010: 119) description of Tshangla, another Tibeto-Burman language with zero anaphora. A core argument is an argument “which can be omitted only if its reference is recoverable from the discourse context, i.e. under zero anaphora” (“omitting” here excludes argument suppression), whereas a peripheral argument is an argument “which can be omitted even when not recoverable from the discourse context” (Andvik 2010:119).

## 5.2 Intransitive clauses

The S argument in intransitive clauses is typically unmarked but may also be agentive marked to emphasize identity or agentivity, as will be shown below. For an unmarked S argument, consider (5.6) and (5.7) The S argument is given in bold:

- (5.6) མོ་འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ངའི་གི་ རྣད་ དྲག་གོ་ ཞིན།  
*ódi gjaple **je:=gi** nè? t’ak-o í.*  
 that after 1SG.GEN=GEN disease get.healed-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘After that my disease got healed.’ (TB life story)

- (5.7) ཕྱི་ལོ་ གཅིག་ལྗོངས་ དགུ་བརྒྱ་ དགུ་བརྒྱ་ ལོ་ལྔ་ ལོ་འདི་ རྣད་ཤ་ ང་ སྐད་ཉོག་ བཤད་ལྷ་ རྣད་ཤ་ མོང་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*tɛ<sup>hi</sup>-lo teiktõ: gubgja gupteu k’oŋá lò=i nàŋɛa*  
 outside-year one.thousand nine.hundred ninety ninety.five year=GEN inside  
**ŋà** *gã.to? ɛé:da nàŋɛa sǒ:-bo í.*  
 1SG TPN Buddhist.institute inside go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘In 1995 (of Gregorian calender), I went to the Higher Institute of Nyingmapa Studies in Gangtok.’ (RB life story)

In (5.7), the directional/destination is marked as an overtly peripheral argument with the postposition *nàŋɛa* ‘inside’. However, destination and location may also be unmarked, as shown in (5.8) and (5.9) respectively (the latter is a copula clause). In both cases, also the dative-locative =*lo* can optionally be used. When the destination argument is unmarked, disambiguation of the clause is based on word order and semantics of the argument lexemes.

(5.8) མོ་འདི་ ཟྱབ་ལས་ ང་ སྐང་རྟོག་(ལོ་) འོང་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*ódi gjable ŋà gã:toʔ(=lo) òm-bo í.*  
 that after 1SG TPN(=DAT) come-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘After that I came to Gangtok.’ (TB life story, KN e)

(5.9) ལུ་ སྐང་རྟོག་(ལོ་) ཡོད།  
*kʰu gã:toʔ(=lo) jòʔ.*  
 3SGM TPN(=DAT) EX.PER  
 ‘He is in Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Argument S is often elided if the context makes it obvious, as exemplified in the the following S-less pair of an intransitive subordinate and main clause:

(5.10) མོ་འདི་ འུ་མ་སོང་ངང་ མོ་འདི་ ཡམ་བག་ གཞོག་མཁན་ བདག་གུ་ འདི་ མདུན་ཁར་ སླེབས་ལྷི་ མོ་ན་ལས་ རོང་བོ་ ཟུང།  
*ódi p'ja-somdã: ódi ámbaʔ tokʰɛ: daku=di dynkʰa*  
 that do-SIM that guava pluck.NMLZ owner=DEMPH in.front.of  
*ʃep-ti ónale só:-bo beʔ.*  
 arrive-NF then go.PFV-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘As (they) were doing like that, (they) arrived by the guava-picking owner (of the guava tree), and then went away.’ (TB pear story)

The S argument of an intransitive clause, which is typically zero marked, may receive agentive marking for the purpose of emphasizing the identity of the actor, as in (5.11) where the S argument is also shifted to clause-final position. Similar pragmatic use of agentive with intransitive verbs, especially for marking contrastive agency, has been attested in Lhasa Tibetan (Tournadre 1991).

(5.11) ཡའི་ ཡ་རྒྱ་ འོན་ལེ། འོག་ འོན་ལོ་ ཡ་རྒྱ་གེས།  
*ái, ágja te'øn-zɛ. lòk te'ò:=lo*  
 elder.sister elder.brother come.HON-PFV return come.HON=REP  
*ágja=gi.*  
 elder.brother=AGT  
 ‘Sister, the brother came (back). (He) is said to have come back, the brother.’  
 (Richhi 53)

### 5.3 Transitive clauses

In this section, I first present some general comments on the morphosyntax of argument structure in monotransitive clauses and then describe the semantic/pragmatic factors in the split marking of A argument (§5.3.1) and P argument (§5.3.2). This is followed by a discussion on ditransitive clauses with T and R arguments (§5.3.3). Due to zero anaphora it is difficult to find enough examples of transitive clauses with all arguments in place to make trustworthy generalizations. Therefore this section includes quite a few elicited clauses.

Argument marking in monotransitive clauses is very flexible if the arguments are proper names. Consultant KN asserted that all the four different combinations of A and P marking in (5.12) and (5.13) can be used in spoken language. Example (5.12) represents a past/perfective clause, and (5.13) an imperfective one. The A argument may be either agentive or zero

marked while the P argument may be either dative-locative or zero marked. When marking on both arguments is dropped, see (5.12d) and (5.13d), disambiguation of arguments is done through word order, similarly to English.

(5.12) a) ལྷལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ཀམ་ལོ་ བསད་པོ་ ཟླ།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en=gi karma=lo sé-po bε?*  
 PN=AGT PN=DAT kill-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Gyaltshen killed Karma.’ (KN e)

b) ལྷལ་མཚན་ ཀམ་ལོ་ བསད་པོ་ ཟླ།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en karma=lo sé-po bε?*

c) ལྷལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ཀམ་ བསད་པོ་ ཟླ།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en=gi karma sé-po bε?*

d) ལྷལ་མཚན་ ཀམ་ བསད་པོ་ ཟླ།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en karma sé-po (bε?)*

(5.13) a) ལྷལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ཀམ་ལོ་ ཉིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en=gi karma=lo tip-tεen du?*  
 PN=AGT PN=DAT beat-PROG EX.SEN  
 ‘Gyaltshen is hitting Karma.’ (KN e)

b) ལྷལ་མཚན་ ཀམ་ལོ་ ཉིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en karma=lo tip-tεen du?*

c) ལྷལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ཀམ་ ཉིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en=ki karma tip-tεen du?*

d) ལྷལ་མཚན་ ཀམ་ ཉིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en karma tip-tεen du?*

It is my impression that some speakers who have received formal education in Denjongke writing rules are prone to implement the writing rules, which are to some degree affected by Classical Tibetan, to their grammaticality judgments of spoken language in a prescriptive rather than a descriptive way. Consequently, some of the above forms, especially (5.11d) and (5.12d), may be considered “ungrammatical” (i.e. against the rules of writing) by some speakers. A similar observation was made by Sandberg (1895: 25) about the use of the agentive case:

Where both subject and object occur in any sentence, the subject is put in the agentive case, except where the verb of the sentence is part of the verb “to be”. Rule though this is, it is generally not observed by the uneducated; and therefore we shall not keep to it in our conversational examples to be given hereafter, the nominative being usually heard as in English.”

Sandberg’s word “usually” with reference to the nominative (=zero-marking) leaves open the option that even “the uneducated” occasionally use agentive, suggesting that the use of the agentive was pragmatically conditioned even in Sandberg’s data. Finding natural examples of all the combinations of A and P argument marking would require an extensive corpus which is not available at the moment. This chapter offers some preliminary remarks.

If arguments are marked by pronouns or common nouns, rules for assigning the A argument are somewhat stricter than with proper nouns. In perfective past, as in (5.14a), agentive marking is usually mandatory, although see the natural example (5.17) below where

a past tense verb with a highly affected P has a zero-marked A argument.<sup>204</sup> In the future tense, as shown in (5.14b), agentive marking is also preferred. The A argument in imperfective clauses is typically zero marked, whereas agentive marking is reserved mainly for contrastive agency (5.14c). The P argument is either zero marked or dative-locative marked. Semantic/pragmatic differences between the two markings of P are discussed in §5.3.2

- (5.14) a) མདང་ངས་ལུ་(ལོ་) ཉིབ་ལོ་ ཞིན།  
*dǎ:*        *ŋá:*        *kʰu(=lo)*        *tip-o*        *í:*  
 yesterday I.AGT 3SGM(=DAT) beat-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I beat him yesterday.’ (KN e)
- b) མོ་རངས་ངས་ལུ་(ལོ་) ཉིབ་ཤང་ ཞིན།  
*tʰorǎ:*        *ŋá:*        *kʰu(=lo)*        *tip-εε*        *í:*  
 tomorrow I.AGT 3SGM(=DAT) beat-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I’ll beat him tomorrow.’ (KN e)
- c) ད་ལྟོ་ང་/ངས་ལུ་ལུ་(ལོ་) ཉིབ་ཏོ་ ཞིན།  
*t’ato ŋà/ŋá:*        *kʰu/kʰu=lo*        *tip-to*        *í:*  
 now 1SG/1SG.AGT 3SGM/3SGM=DAT beat-IPFV EQU.PER  
 ‘I’m beating him now.’ (KN e)

### 5.3.1 Argument A

As a system evolving from pragmatic argument marking towards syntactic alignment (see Coupe 2017), it is not surprising that Denjongke attests a combination of both syntactic and pragmatic control of clausal argument marking. As a sign of syntactic control, the A argument of some past verbs is obligatorily agentive marked (see Table 5.2 below). One sign that pragmatics has an effect on argument marking is that in elicitation both agentive and zero-marking are often offered for argument A, see (5.15).<sup>205</sup>

- (5.15) ལྷུ་མཚན་(ལྷིས་) དེབ་གཅིག་(ལོ་) གསེས་ལོ་ ལྷང།  
*gjaltsʰen(=gi) t’ep tɕi(=lo) sé:-bo bε?*  
 PN(=AGT) book one(=DAT) choose-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Gyaltshen chose a book.’ (KT e)

Another sign of pragmatic control is that the syntactic tendency to have an agentive A argument with a past tense verb (with highly affected P) may be broken, as shown in (5.16) and (5.17). In the question-answer pair (5.16), the A argument is zero marked in the question and agentive marked in the answer.

- (5.16) Q: ཇམ་རྒྱ་མདང་ཞལ་ལག་མ་བཞེས་ལོ་ འདྲ།  
*ájja dǎ: εè:la? man-ze:-po qa.*  
 elder.brother yesterday food.HON NEG-eat.HON-2INF be.similar  
 ‘It seems the brother (=you) didn’t eat yesterday.’

<sup>204</sup> Cf. DeLancey’s (1990: 306) observation on Lhasa Tibetan that ergative (here agentive) marking is required in the perfective aspect but is otherwise optional.

<sup>205</sup> Similar observation was made by Huber (2002: 75) on Kyirong Tibetan, in which the argument marking system bears close similarity to Denjongke.

A: ངས་ མདང་ ཟམ་ ལྷན་ཁང་ན་རང་ ཟ་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*ŋá: dǎ: sàm ménkʰǎ:=na=rǎ: sò-u í:.*  
 I.AGT yesterday food hospital=LOC=AEMPH eat-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I ate yesterday in the hospital.’ (Richhi 23)

The use of agentive in the answer in (5.16) is probably pragmatically motivated. The speaker’s sister has suspected that the speaker did not eat dinner the previous night. The speaker responds by (5.16), emphasizing his agency in eating the previous night. The fact that the speaker is actually lying may also trigger an increased claim of agency. The lack of agentive marking in the question in (5.16), on the other hand, may be affected by negation and decreased assertiveness marked by the apparentive construction ending in *-da* ‘be similar’.

In contrast to the agentive marking in the answer in (5.16), example (5.17) has a zero-marked A argument in an otherwise analogous clause, suggesting that the use of the ergative in the answer in (5.16) is indeed pragmatically conditioned.

(5.17) ང་ཅག་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཟམ་ ཟ་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*ŋàtea? ódi sàm sò-u í:.*  
 1PL that food eat-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘We ate that food.’ (DB trip story)

Coupe (2017) finds the following contexts for the use of pragmatic agentive in his survey of Tibeto-Burman languages: 1) to disambiguate semantics roles of NPs when they cannot be determined from the semantics of the NPs themselves, 2) to contrast one referent to another, 3) to express increased agency, 4) to encode the atypical or unexpected behavior of a referent. Similar pragmatic factors play a role also in Denjongke. Increased agency is illustrated by (5.18) where the use of the agentive, according to consultant KTL, would imply an intentional meeting and the use of zero-marking an incidental meeting.

(5.18) ལྷལ་མཚན་(གྲིས་) ཀར་(ལོ་) མདང་ འཕྲད་བོ་ ཟླ།  
*gjaltsʰen(=gi) karma(=lo) dǎ: pʰɛ-po beʔ.*  
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) yesterday meet-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Gyaltshen met Karma yesterday (intentionally).’ (KT e)

Similarly to intransitive clauses, agentive in transitive clauses is often used to mark contrastive agency, see (5.19). Zero-marking would be used in a non-contrastive context.

(5.19) ལྷོ་སྐད་ ལྷལ་ས་ དེ་ཟང་ ང་ཅག་ ལྷོ་བོ་ཚུ་གིས་ མོན་སྐད་ ལྷལ་ས་ མི་ཤེས་ལགས།  
*lokeʔ kjap tʰizǎ: ŋàtea? lopo=tsu=gi mènkeʔ kjap*  
 Lhoke speak but 1PL Lhopo=PL=AGT Lepcha speak  
*mi-ɛé:=la*  
 NEG-know-HON  
 ‘(The Lepchas in Dzongu) speak Lhoke, but we the Lhopos do not know the Lepcha language.’ (CY interview)

The pragmatic nature of agentive marking is further illustrated by comparing (5.20) and (5.21) which employ the same verbal expression *néndzop tǎ:* ‘oppress (lit. send oppression)’ used by the same person in two instances within the same piece of discourse.

(5.20) ཨོ་འདི་ དཔེ་ བཞག་སྟེ་གི་ ལོང་ གཞོན་རྗེས་ བཏང་བོ་ ཨོན་ སེ་ ཉེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ བཏང་བོ་ ཨོན་ སེ་ འདུག་གོ།  
*ódi pe zak-tiki k'ò: néndzop tã:-bo í:=s,*  
 that example set-NF 3SG.HON oppression send-2INF EQU.PER=QUO  
*te ódi gɛ:pu tã:-bo í:=s du-ke?*  
 then that king send-2INF EQU.PER=QUO EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘Taking that as an example, there was (the rumour) that he brought oppression (on the people), the king brought.’ (CY interview)

(5.21) ང་ཅག་ལོ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་འདེམ་ གཞོན་རྗེས་ གནང་བོ་ ཨོན།  
*ɳàtɛa=lo gɛ:py:=gi dem néndzop ná:-bo í.*  
 1PL=DAT king.GEN=AGT such oppression do.HON-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘The king brought such oppression on us.’ (CY interview)

In (5.20), A argument is zero marked and P argument is elided (it is recoverable from the context). In (5.21), on the other hand, argument A is agentive marked. Agentive marking in (5.21) may be motivated both by the overt presence of two arguments (contra 5.20, which has only one overt argument and another one tracable by zero anaphora) and the atypical word order where argument P is topicalized as the first argument.

DeLancey (1990: 306) reports ergative (here agentive) as mandatory in Lhasa Tibetan transitive perfective clauses. Similarly, Takeuchi & Takahashi (1995: 284) report that with perfective verbs “the transitive subject [in Central Tibetan] is almost obligatorily in the ergative case”. In some other Tibetic languages (e.g. Häsler 1999: 98), on the other hand, aspect is reported as insignificant for analysing ergativity/agentivity. In Denjongke, (mono)transitive verbs can be divided into two groups based on the occurrence of the agent marker in past (perfective) clauses, see Table 5.2. Consultant KN reported that the verbs in the first group, when occurring in the periphrastic past construction VERB-2INF EQU have an obligatorily agentive-marked A argument. The past tense A argument of the second group of verbs, on the other hand, may be either zero or agentive marked. A glance at the list reveals that affectedness of the P argument is not a clear conditioning factor as verbs such as *sà* ‘eat’ and *ɛik* ‘destroy’ fall within the second group. Further research is needed to fully unravel the intricacies of agentive marking.

Table 5.2. Marking of A argument in the past tense of some verbs (consultant KN)

Agentive obligatory (AGT)			Agentive pragmatically conditioned (AGT/ZERO)		
<i>tip</i>	ཉིབ་	‘hit’	<i>bak</i>	འབག་	‘carry’
<i>rɛ:</i>	ལྷལ་	‘tear’	<i>sà</i>	ཟ་	‘eat’
<i>dek</i>	ཐྲེག་	‘put inside’	<i>bɛ?</i>	འབལ་	‘weed (out)’
<i>dzip</i>	འཐོབ་	‘suck’	<i>ɛɛ?</i>	ཤང་	‘comb’
<i>hako</i>	ཉེ་གོ་	‘understand’	<i>ɛik</i>	ཤེགས་	‘destroy’
<i>ɛɛ:</i>	ཤེས་	‘(come to know)’	<i>da:</i>	བདར་	‘sharpen’
<i>ɛɛ:</i>	བཤལ་	‘rinse’	<i>zi:</i>	གཟིགས་	‘look, see (hon.)’
<i>dze:</i>	བརྗེད་	‘forget’	<i>dze:/pʰɛ</i>	མཇལ་/འཕྲད་ (ཕྲད་)	‘meet’
<i>ɛú</i>	བལྟ་	‘peel’			



The A argument of verbs which depict involuntary actions may receive dative-locative marking. This point is here illustrated with three verbs, *tʰop* ‘receive’, *goʔ* ‘need to’ and *ga* ‘love, like’. The A argument with the verb *tʰop* ‘receive’ can receive either zero, agentive or dative-locative marking. The reason for the possibility of dative marking is probably the semantics that run counter to the syntax: the A argument is actually the most patient like argument in the clause. The following clauses illustrate agentive, zero and dative-locative marking with *tʰop*, respectively.

(5.22) མོ་བྱང་གྱིས་ རོགས་ རོབ་ཤད་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་?

*mòby=ki pʰoʔ tʰop-εε jò:-ka?*  
 wife=AGT salary receive-INF EX.PER  
 ‘Does the wife receive salary?’ (BP BB discussion)

(5.23) ཉེ་ ཁོང་ ཤེས་ཅུང་ མ་ཤེས་ཅུང་ ཁོང་ དངུལ་ རོབ་པོ་ སྤང།

*te kʰõ: é:-run ma-é:-run kʰõ: ny: tʰop-o*  
 then 3PL know-CONC NEG-know-CCS 3PL money receive-2INF  
*bε?*  
 EQU.NE  
 ‘Now whether they knew (it) or not, they got money.’ (CY interview)

(5.24) ཁོང་ལོ་ཡང་ དབང་ཆ་, འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ དབང་ཆ་ འདི་ རོབ་པོ་ སྤང།

*kʰõ:=lo=jã: ò:teʰa, dɛndzɔŋ=gi ò:teʰa=di tʰop-o*  
 3PL=DAT=too authority Sikkim=GEN authority=DEMPH receive-2INF  
*bε?*  
 EQU.NE  
 ‘They too received authority, authority of Sikkim (subjects).’ (CY interview)

In elicitation, consultant KN accepted either agentive or dative-locative marking in (5.25) but judged the use of zero-marking infelicitous:

(5.25) ངས་/ང་ལོ་/\*ང་ མདང་ དེབ་ གཅིག་ རོབ་པོ་ ཞིན།

*ŋá:/ŋà=lo/\*ŋà dã: t'εp tei? tʰop-o í:.*  
 I.AGT/I=DAT/\*1SG yesterday book one receive-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I received a book yesterday.’ (KN e)

When the verb *tʰop* ‘receive’ occurs with a dative-locative-marked adverbial, the clause may have two dative-locative-marked arguments, which are disambiguated semantically and also perhaps by word order (the agentive *ŋá:* could replace *ŋà=lo* in 5.26).

(5.26) ང་ལོ་ དེབ་ འདི་ སྐང་རྟོག་ལོ་ རོབ་པོ་ ཞིན།

*ŋà=lo t'εp=di gã.to:=lo tʰop-o í:.*  
 1SG=DAT book=DEMPH TPN =DAT receive-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I got the book in Gangtok.’ (KT e)

The second verb that occurs with dative-locative marking of A argument is *go?* ‘be needed’, see (5.27). Similar to *t<sup>h</sup>op* ‘receive’, *go?* allows for both dative-locative and agentive marking of A argument, whereas zero-marking is infelicitous:<sup>206</sup>

- (5.27) ངས/ང་ལོ་ང་ལ་ཚུ་ཚན་ དགོས།  
*ŋá:/ŋà=lo/\*ŋà*                      *tɛ<sup>h</sup>u*      *go?*  
 1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/\*1SG    water      be.needed  
 ‘I need hot water.’ (KN e)

However, with the negative *miŋgo?* ‘be not needed’ all three forms, dative-locative, agentive and zero-marking were deemed acceptable.

- (5.28) ངས/ང་ལོ་ང་ལ་ཚུ་ཚན་ མིན་དགོས།  
*ŋá:/ŋà=lo/ŋà*                      *tɛ<sup>h</sup>uts<sup>h</sup>ɛ:*      *miŋ-go?*  
 1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/1SG hot.water    NEG-be.needed  
 ‘I don’t need hot water.’ (KT e)

The reason why the non-marked A can occur in a negated clause but not in the affirmed clause may be that negated clauses are lower on the semantic transitivity scale than affirmed clauses.<sup>207</sup>

The third verb that allows dative-locative marking of the A argument is *ga* ‘love, like’. For an example consider the question-answer pair (5.29-31). Note that in the forms volunteered by the consultant, the A argument in the affirmative form is dative-locative marked but the negated form remains unmarked.

- (5.29) མོ་ཏར་ དགའ་ཀ་?  
*moʈar<sup>208</sup>*      *ga-ga?*  
 pea              like-PQ  
 ‘Do you like peas?’ (PED e)

- (5.30) ང་ལོ་ ལེབ་ དགའ་བོ་ མིན།  
*ŋà=lo*      *lɛp*              *ga-u*              *ĩ:*<sup>209</sup>  
 1SG=DAT    very.much    like-2INF    EQU.PER  
 ‘I like (them) very much.’ (PED e)

- (5.31) ང་ མིན་དགའ།  
*ŋà*      *miŋ-ga.*  
 1SG    NEG-like  
 ‘I don’t like (them).’ (PED e)

<sup>206</sup> Based on feedback from two additional consultants, only the dative-locative marked form *ŋà=lo* appears to conform to the standards of the written language.

<sup>207</sup> I am grateful for Bertil Tikkanen for suggesting this hypothesis. In Finnish, for instance, an affirmed clause may receive either a genitive object (totally affected) or partitive object (partially affected). In a negated clause, however, only partitive marking is allowed. Thus, less affectedness, which is a feature of lower semantic transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980), is associated with negation in Finnish.

<sup>208</sup> Loan from Nepali.

<sup>209</sup> According to consultant KUN, also zero-marked *ŋà* and agentive-marked *ŋá:* could occur here instead of dative-marked *ŋà=lo*. KUN further noted that dative-marking is not felicitous with the negated clause (5.31).

In conclusion, the marking of argument A is conditioned by the nature of the verb and pragmatics.

### 5.3.2 Argument P

As shown in examples (5.12-13) above, argument P may be either zero marked or dative-locative marked. This optionality was noticed already by Sandberg (1895: 22), who comments that the accusative form of the word *k<sup>h</sup>im* ‘house’ may be either *k<sup>h</sup>im* (zero-marked) or *k<sup>h</sup>im=lo* (dative-locative-marked). For the existence of two “accusative” forms, Sandberg (1895: 24) offers a functional motivation based on disambiguation: “The accus[ative] case may be expressed by the simple word without the affix *lo*, where no ambiguity would result as to which were the nominative, especially in imperative sentences.”

In elicitation, consultant KN could not distinguish any difference in meaning between the zero-marking and dative-locative marking in (5.32).

- (5.32) a) ལྷལ་མཚན་(གྲིས་) ཀམ་(ལོ་) བསད་པོ་ སྤང།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en(=gi) karma(=lo) sé-po bɛ?*  
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) kill-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Gyaltshen killed Karma.’ (KN e)

In other instances, however, consultants were able to identify a pragmatic difference between zero-marked and dative-locative-marked P arguments. For an example, consider (5.33) and (5.34).

- (5.33) ལྷལ་མཚན་, བཀ་གོ་ འདི་ལོ་ བསད།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en, p<sup>h</sup>ako=di=lo sé?*  
 PN pig=DEMPH=DAT kill  
 ‘Gyaltshen, kill the pig.’ (KTL e)

- (5.34) ལྷལ་མཚན་, བཀ་གོ་ བསད།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en, p<sup>h</sup>ako sé?*  
 PN pig kill  
 ‘Gyaltshen, do pig-killing.’ (KTL e)

Consultant KTL commented that in (5.33) the P argument (pig) is identifiable in the context. It is a specific pig which most likely is in the speakers presence. In (5.34), on the other hand, the P argument is unidentifiable, unspecific. It should be noted that the clauses differ not only with respect to P marking; (5.33) also has a demonstrative-emphatic =*di* which can mark definiteness. Consultant KTL tended to identify a pragmatic difference in P marking mainly in imperative clauses.

For another case of reported pragmatic difference, consider (5.35) and (5.36).

- (5.35) ལུ་(གིས་) རྩ་ མཐོང་པོ་ ཨིན།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u(=gi) do t<sup>h</sup>õ:-po t̃:*  
 3SGM(=AGT) stone see-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘He saw a stone.’ (KN e)

(5.36) ལུ་གིས་ རྩོལ་ མཐོང་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*k<sup>hu</sup>(=gi) do=lo t<sup>h</sup>õ:-po t̃:*  
 3SGM(=AGT) stone=DAT see-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘He saw the stone (of all the things).’ (KN e)

Consultant KN reported that whereas (5.35) would be a fairly neutral statement, the use of the dative-locative in (5.36) implies that the speaker saw a stone and not the other things that were available for seeing. Consultant KUN, on the other hand, considered the dative form with an inanimate object in (5.36) infelicitous. He suggested replacing *do=lo* [stone=DAT] with *k<sup>h</sup>õ:=lo* [3SG.HON=DAT]. Based on comments from these two consultants, it may be initially summarized that P marking is conditioned by specificity/identifiability and animacy.

The role of animacy in differential P marking is confirmed by data from the novel Richhi, where specific human referents as P arguments of the verb *t<sup>h</sup>õ:* ‘see’ are always marked with dative-locative.<sup>210</sup> Negation does not appear to affect dative-locative marking of animate P-arguments, see negated (5.38b) which bears dative-locative marking.

(5.37) མིག་ ཡར་ཏེ་ སློབ་གུའི་ རྩོལ་ གཟུ་ལོ་ མཐོང་བའི་ རེ་ཆེ།  
*mik jàtɛ lóptɔ: jo:=lo karma=lo t<sup>h</sup>õ:-pø: ritɛ<sup>hi</sup>.*  
 eye up school.GEN direction=DAT PN=DAT see-2INF.GEN hope  
 ‘Eyes up towards the school, in hopes of seeing Karma.’ (Richhi 69)

(5.38) a) འབྲུག་མི་ཚུ་ བཅའ་ཚུ་ མི་ཉམས་ཀོ་ རྩོལ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་བོ་ལོ་ མཐོང་གླི།  
*p’uzi-tɛɛ: p<sup>h</sup>am=tsu m̩tako ɛó:-zɛ: jø? k<sup>h</sup>õ:*  
 children-AZR parents=PL impermanent feel-PROG EX.PER 3PL  
*ji:-po=lo t<sup>h</sup>õ:-ti.*  
 two-COL=DAT see-NF  
 ‘Parents with children have a feeling of impermanence when seeing the two of them.’ (Richhi 82)

b) ཚོད་ཀྱི་ ཇམ་པོ་ ཇམ་ཡི་ ཟུན་བོ་ བར་མོ་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཏོ་ ངས་གིས་ མ་མཐོང་།  
*tɛ<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki ápo ám ái gɛmpo*  
 2SG.L=GEN father mother elder.sister old(est).one  
*p’a:mo=tsu=lo=to ŋá:=gi ma-t<sup>h</sup>õ:.*  
 middle.one=PL=DAT=CEMPH 1SG=AGT NEG-SEE  
 ‘I didn’t see you father, mother or older sisters.’ (Rna-gsung 6)

However, when the P argument is the negative indefinite pronominal *ka-jã:* ‘nobody, not anyone’, no dative-locative marking is needed, because the referent is unidentifiable:<sup>211</sup>

(5.39) མོ་འདི་ ཚོད་ཁར་ གཟུ་ ཏང་ཐོག་ལོ་ གཉིན་ སང་གླི་ བར་ཚུར་ ལྷ་བོའི་ སྐང་ གཡལ་ མ་མཐོང་།  
*ódets<sup>h</sup>ika karma hã.to:lo ji:sé:-ti p<sup>h</sup>a:-ts<sup>h</sup>u:*  
 at.that.moment PN suddenly wake.up-NF thither-hither  
*ta-wø: gã: ka-jã: ma-t<sup>h</sup>õ:.*  
 look-2INF.GEN time who-even NEG-see  
 ‘At that time Karma suddenly wakes up and as he looks around he doesn’t see anyone’ (Richhi 115)

<sup>210</sup> Consultant KN, however, commented that *=lo* could be omitted in (5.36) and (5.37).

<sup>211</sup> According to KN *=lo* could not be added in (5.38).

While all human P arguments of the verb *tʰõ:* ‘see’ in the novel Richhi are marked as dative-locative, non-human (or inanimate) P referents of *tʰõ:* ‘see’ are zero marked:<sup>212</sup>

- (5.40) རྟ་པོའི་ མིང་ དང་ ལོ་ཚད་ མཐོང་ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ ལོ་ ཟེ་ཚོམ་ ཟ་གད་ ཨིན།  
*nè:pø:*            *mìŋ t’ũ:*    *lòtsʰe?*    *tʰõ:*    *lõ:*            *mè:-po*  
 patient.GEN    name and    age        see    have.time.to    NEG.EX.PER-2INF  
*kʰu*        *tʰetsom*    *sà-ɕe*     *ĩ:*  
 3SGM    doubt    eat-INF    EQU.PER  
 ‘As soon as he sees the patient’s name and age, he has doubts.’ (Richhi 170)

The difference between dative-locative and zero-marking of P, however cannot be reduced to animacy, because human P referents may also be zero marked if unidentifiable/unspecific (although the P argument in [5.41], according to KN, could also be marked with =*lo*):

- (5.41) ལུ་གེས་ མི་ གཅིག་ བསད་པོ་ ཟླ།  
*kʰu=gi*            *mí=tsi?*            *sép-o*            *bɛ?*  
 3SGM=AGT    (hu)man=INDF    kill-2INF    EQU.NE  
 ‘He killed a (hu)man.’ (KTL e)

Affectedness of the P argument also appears to be a factor in dative-locative vs. zero-marking: P arguments which are totally affected and change a state are zero marked whereas less affected P arguments may be locative marked. Dative-locative marking with a totally affected P argument in (5.42b) was considered infelicitous by consultant TB.

- (5.42) a) ལུ་གེས་ འའི་ computer གཅག་གོ་ ཟླ།  
*kʰu=gi*            *ɲè:*            *kompjutər*            *tɛak-o*            *bɛ?*  
 3SGM=AGT    1SG.GEN    computer(Eng.)    break-2INF    EQU.NE  
 ‘He broke my computer.’ (TB e)
- b) \*ལུ་གེས་ འའི་ computer ལོ་ གཅག་གོ་ ཟླ།  
 \**kʰu=gi*            *ɲè:*            *kompjutər=lo*            *tɛak-o*            *bɛ?*  
 3SGM=AGT    1SG.GEN    computer=DAT(Eng.)    break-2INF    EQU.NE

Affectedness, however, appears to interact with humanness vs. non-humanness of the actor, as suggested by (5.43) and (5.44) which are again from consultant TB. If the direction of the action was from an animal to a human, both dative-locative and zero-marking were accepted for marking the P argument, see (5.43). With a human A argument and animal P argument, on the other hand, dative-locative-marked P argument was not considered felicitous, see (5.44).

- (5.43) a) ཟླ་གེས་ མི་ བསད་བ་ཟླ།  
*láj=gi*            *mí*            *sé-b-bɛ?*  
 bull=AGT    human    kill-2INF-EQU.NE  
 ‘A/the bull killed a man.’ (TB e)

<sup>212</sup> However, consultant KN accepted using a dative-locative P argument instead of non-marking in (5.39).

b) ལྔ་གིས་ མི་ལོ་ བསད་བ་ཟད།  
*láj=gi mí=lo sé-b-be?*  
 bull=AGT human=DAT kill-2INF-EQU.NE  
 ‘A/the bull killed a man.’ (TB e)

(5.44) a) ལྔ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ལྔ་ བསད་པོ་ ཟད།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en=gi lá: sé-po be?*  
 Gyalsthen=AGT bull kill-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Gyaltshen killed a bull.’ (TB e)

b) ??ལྔ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ལྔ་ལོ་ བསད་པོ་ ཟད།  
 ??*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en=gi lá:=lo sé-po be?*  
 Gyalsthen=AGT bull=DAT kill-2INF EQU.NE

Analysing transitive clauses is complicated by complex predicates, where the predicate already contains an element that looks like a P argument. For an example, consider the complex predicate *ka:gjur tã:* ‘scold’ (lit. ‘instruction send’), which seems a semantically unified concept (as suggested by the English translation ‘instruct’) but syntactically looks like a PV sequence. Based on clauses (5.45) and (5.46), it indeed looks like the language system considers *ka:gjur* a P argument. In (5.45), the bare verb *tã:* occurs with the zero-marked argument *ópi=di:=tsu* ‘the children’, suggesting that in (5.46) *ka:gjur* is the P argument and the dative-locative *k<sup>h</sup>u=lo=di* a peripheral argument.

(5.45) རྩོད་གིས་ མོ་ཉེ་ འདི་ཚུ་ལོ་ རྩོད་ཐོང་ བཏང་བོ་ གནང་མ་ ཟད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>oŋ=gi ópi di=tsu dordziliŋ tã:-bo ná:-m be?*  
 3PL=AGT child this=PL TPN send-2INF do.HON-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘They sent the children to Darjeeling.’ (CY interview)

(5.46) ཉེ་ ལྔ་བ་དཔོན་ འདི་གིས་ ལྔ་ལོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙེ་ཅེག་ བཀའ་འགྲུར་ བཏང་བོ་ ཟད་ལོ་, མོ་འདི་ ལྔ་མོ་ འདི་ལོ་།  
*te lópøŋ=di=gi k<sup>h</sup>u=lo=di átsi=tei? ka:gjur tã:-bo*  
 then teacher=DEMPH=AGT 3SGM=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF instruction send-2INF  
*be:=lo, ódi gjammø=di=lo.*  
 EQU.PER=REP that latter=DEMPH=DAT  
 ‘Then the teacher instructed him a bit, the latter one (so the story goes).’ (RS pupil joke)

However, example (5.47) shows that the P argument of the verb *tã:* may also be marked as dative-locative, leaving it undecided whether *ka:gjur* in *ka:gjur tã:* ‘scold’ should be considered a P argument or part of the predicate.

(5.47) རན་པོའི་ གནད་སྤངས་ ཚབ་ཚེ་ཤུས་ ཡོད་ཤང་ འདིས་ ཀམ་ཀེས་ རན་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ དེ་གི་ བཏང་ཤང་ ལུས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*né:pø: né:tã: ts<sup>h</sup>aptæey: jø:æ=di: karma=gi*  
 patient.GEN condition serious EX.PER=DEMPH.AGT PN=AGT  
*né:po=di=lo dilli tã:-æe p’ja-zê: jø?*  
 patient=DEMPH=DAT TPN send-INF do-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘Because patient’s condition is serious, Karma is preparing to send the patient to Delhi.’ (Richhi 169)

Evidence for considering the P-like element in the verb complex a part of the verb and not the actual P argument comes from (5.48), where the P argument of the complex verb *jàrgɛ tã:* ‘develop (lit. send progress)’ is zero marked.

- (5.48) *dep p'ja-ti ηàtei y:=di jàrgɛ? tã:-εε=di ηà*  
 like.that do-NF our place=DEMPH progress send-INF=DEMPH 1SG  
*nó:sam=di tã:-do bε?*  
 thought=DEMPH send-IPFV EQU.NE  
 ‘Like that I’m thinking about developing our place.’ (PED life story)

The same verb may also occur with a dative-locative-marked P argument:

- (5.49) *ηàtei kε:=di=lo jàrgɛ? tã: go=pε?*  
 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH=DAT progress send be.needed=EQU.NE  
 ‘Our language needs to be developed.’ (KL BLA 12)

In conclusion, P marking is sensitive to animacy, identifiability/specificity and affectedness of the referent. The first two factors may be connected in that human referents are probably more likely to be identifiable than non-human referents.

### 5.3.3 Ditransitive clauses (T and R argument)

Ditransitive clauses have three arguments A(gent), T(heme) and R(ecipient)/S(ource) (Haspelmath 2005). Haspelmath (2005: 2) introduces three types of alignment in ditransitive (or ditransitive) clause: 1) indirective alignment where T argument of the ditransitive clause aligns with the P argument of the monotransitive clause, leaving R separately marked, 2) neutral alignment where P, T and R are all marked the same way, and 3) secundative alignment where P and R are aligned in opposition to T. As suggested by the discussion at the beginning of the chapter, Denjongke does not fit nicely in any of the three patterns because the marking of P is split between zero-marking, which is also used for argument T, and dative-locative marking, which is also used for argument R.

The order of arguments is ATRV, as in (5.50) or ARTV, as in (5.51), because either T or R may occur after A in the more focal position (see Givon 2001: 270). Occasionally, a topical R or T may also occur before A, see (5.57) further below. In (5.50), the R argument of the main clause, Choki, is already topical information whereas the T argument, letter, is new information and hence focal.

- (5.50) *tɛ'ɸki? p'ɪlo=lo t'ɔn-di òm-bø: kap=lo p'otso*  
 PN outside=DAT come.out-NF come-2INF.GEN time=DAT child  
*tɛi=ki jìgi=tɛi? mù=lo p'in-zɛ:*  
 one=AGT letter=INDF 3SGF=DAT give-PROG  
 ‘As Choki is coming outside, a boy gives her a letter (saying)...’ (Richhi 8)

In (5.51), on the other hand, argument R, being more focal, comes first.

- (5.51) ང་ ལྷོ་ལགས་ལོ་ ལྷོ་བར་ འགྲུ་ དགོས་པ་ད།  
*ŋà bhaila=lo mén p'im-ba gju go:=pɛ?*  
 1SG PN=DAT medicine give-PUR go be.needed-EQU.NE  
 'I have to go to give medicine to Bhaila.' (Richhi 34)

In (5.51), the speaker has just requested the addressee to stay in her place while she goes to the hospital to attend the patient Bhaila. Because meeting Bhaila implies a contrast in location (here vs. at the hospital), argument R (Bhaila) is in this context more focal information than argument T (medicine).

In ditransitive clauses A argument is either agentive or zero marked, T argument is zero marked and R argument is typically dative-locative marked but may occasionally also be zero marked or be marked with the postpositional clitic =*tsa*: 'at, by'. It should be remembered that because of zero anaphora and argument suppression none of the arguments is mandatorily overtly present in a clause with a ditransitive verb such as *p'in* 'give'. The following two examples illustrate ditransitive clauses with agentive-marked argument A. Arguments T and R are zero marked and dative-locative marked, respectively.

- (5.52) བཞུང་གིས་ ལ་ལ་ལོ་ མང་ (Nep.) རྩོད་དོ་ སྤང།  
*zun=gi làla=lo màŋ p'in-do bɛ?*  
 government=AGT some=DAT privilege(Nep.) give-IPFV EQU.NE  
 'The government is giving privileges to some.' (RBM discussion on the roof)

- (5.53) ཉེ་ ཨ་ཞི་གིས་ར་ ལྷུག་ བྱས་ལྷོ་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ ལྷུག་ལྷུག་ ད་ ཟམ་ཚུ་ འབག་ འོང་ རྩོད་དོ་ སྤང།  
*tɛ ázi=ki=ra duk p'ja-ti ŋàtɛa=lo ɛy:ɛy: t'a*  
 then elder.sister=AGT=AEMPH pain do-NF 1PL=DAT a.little now  
*sàm=tsu ba? ɔ̃: p'in-do bɛ?*  
 food.HON=PL carry come give-IPFV EQU.NE  
 'It was the elder sister who, toiling, used to bring a little food for us.' (PED life story)

The agentive (which resembles an instrumental in that the argument is inanimate) in (5.52) is probably motivated by the inanimacy of the argument because of which its causal relation to the other arguments needs to be stressed. In (5.53), on the other hand, the elder sister's agency is underlined, as also suggested by the emphatic marker =*ra*.

Examples (5.54) and (5.55) illustrate zero-marked argument A. In (5.55), argument R is elided because it is recoverable from the context.

- (5.54) ལུ་ རྩོད་ལོ་ ལྷོ་ རྩོད་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*kʰu kʰi=lo to p'in-zɛn du?*  
 3SGM dog=DAT cooked.rice give-PROG EX.SEN  
 'He's giving the dog rice.' (TB e)



- (5.55) ཉེ་མམ་འདི་ཉེ་མོ་<sup>213</sup>བྱིན།  
*tɛ ám=di tɛ t'om p'in.*  
 then mother=DEMPH then butter.dough<sup>214</sup> give  
 'Then the mother gives butter-dough (to the child).' (LA birth in Lachung)

In (5.56), the R argument is zero marked, similarly to directives and locatives (see §5.1).

- (5.56) ཉེ་མར་ཇུས་ཉེ་བོ་ཚའི་ཁ་ཉེ་བྱིན།  
*tɛ mà:dze.<sup>215</sup> tɛ p'otsə: kʰa tɛ p'in.*  
 then butter.flour.tea then child.GEN mouth then give  
 'Then the butter is given to the child's mouth.' (LA birth in Lachung)

The reason why the dative-locative marking can be elided in (5.56) is probably that the R argument is a location/destination rather than a person who can possess the item in an abstract sense. Argument A is here suppressed (not recoverable from the context), the clause becoming a “functional passive” (see §5.5.1).

Example (5.57) illustrates the use of the postposition =*tsa*: ‘at, by’ used in place of the dative-locative as a marker of the R argument. The T argument is the topic established by the previous context so it occurs here even before A argument.

- (5.57) ཉེ་མོ་འདི་སྐང་ཤོག་ལུ་མོ་འདི་PR Sir གྱིས་ཁོང་རྩར་འབག་འོང་ཟླེ་  
*tɛ ódi gã: éóku ódi pi:a:r sər=ki kʰõ:=tsa: baʔ*  
 then that time paper that PR(Eng.) sir(Eng.)=AGT 3SG.HON=at carry  
*òn-di*  
 come-NF  
 'Then at that time PR Sir brought that paper to her and...' (DR discussion with KL)

In elicitation, consultant KN provided past and future forms of *p'in* ‘give’ with an agentive A argument (5.58a-b) and the imperfective with a zero-marked A (5.58c).

- (5.58) a) མདང་ངས་ཁྱ་ལོ་དེབ་གཅིག་བྱིན་བོ་ཞིན།  
*dã: ñá: kʰu=lo t'ɛp=tɛiʔ p'in-bo t̃.*  
 yesterday I.AGT 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Yesterday I gave him a book.' (KN e)
- b) ཟླ་རངས་ངས་ཁྱ་ལོ་དེབ་གཅིག་བྱིན་ཤང་ཞིན།  
*tʰorã: ñá: kʰu=lo t'ɛp=tɛiʔ p'in-ɛɛ t̃.*  
 tomorrow I.AGT 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-INF EQU.PER  
 'Tomorrow I'll give him a book.' (KN e)
- c) ད་ལྟོ་ང་ཁྱ་ལོ་དེབ་གཅིག་བྱིན་དོ་ཞིན།  
*t'ato ñà kʰu=lo t'ɛp=tɛiʔ p'in-do t̃.*  
 now 1SG 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-IPFV EQU.PER  
 'Now I'm giving him a book.' (KN e)

<sup>213</sup> Consultant KT would write this word as མོ་མོ་ and pronounce it as *t'om*, exemplifying a dialectal difference between LA (Lachung, North Sikkim) and KT (Bermeok, South Sikkim).

<sup>214</sup> Cooked tsampo-dough mixed with butter.

<sup>215</sup> Mixture of butter, tea and flour, has harder texture than *t'om* ‘butter-dough’.

For T arguments marked by complement clauses, see §14.1.1.

## 5.4 Clauses with verbs of being and becoming

Copulas are used for expressing equation (§5.4.1), existence, location (§5.4.2), possession (§5.4.3) and attribution (§5.4.4). Two further verbs, *tʰon* མོན་ ‘come out, happen, become, turn out’ and *tɛʷŋ* ལྷུང་ ‘become, happen, turn out’, express the related concept of ‘becoming’, (§5.4.5). While this section describes the types of arguments taken by copulas, the evidential semantics of copulas are discussed in more detail in §7. Denjongke copulas are also the subject of Yliniemi (2017).

### 5.4.1 Equative clause

In a prototypical equative clause two unmarked noun phrases occur as copular arguments. The noun phrase may also be substituted by a nonfinite clause, see (5.60b). In equative clauses, the equative copulas *t̃:* and *bɛʔ* either equate two arguments (5.59) or identify/classify the first argument as a member of a category (5.60). Dryer (2007: 233) calls similar comparative categories “referential” and “non-referential” respectively, whereas Pustet (2003: 29) calls them “identificational” and “ascriptive” respectively.

(5.59) a) རྒྱལ་མཚན་<sup>216</sup> ལའ་མཁའ་ན་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་རང་ ལྷུང།  
*nílam l̥ap-kʰɛ:* *nílam=rã:* *bɛʔ.*  
 dream say-NMLZ dream=AEMPH EQU.NE  
 ‘A dream is (just) a dream.’ (Richhi 116)

b) མོ་ ངའི་ མོ་ལྷུང་ ཞིན།  
*mù jɛ:* *mòbyʔ t̃:*  
 3SGF 1SG.GEN wife EQU.PER  
 ‘She is my wife.’ (KN e)

(5.60) a) ཁོང་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ལྷུང།  
*kʰõ:* *ámdzi bɛʔ.*  
 3SG.HON doctor EQU.NE  
 ‘He is a doctor’

b) གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ བན་ལོ་ བྱས་ཤང་ དགོ་བའི་ གཡོག་ ཞིན།  
*tɛi:=ki zen=lo pʰempo pʰja-ɛɛʔ gɛwø:* *jóʔ t̃:*  
 one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN work EQU.PER  
 ‘Helping one another is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)

The second argument may be a genitive-marked nominal which identifies the second argument as the possessor of the first argument, see (5.61). This construction is best seen as a case of elision where the possessed item is elided from the second argument.

<sup>216</sup> This word may also be spelled གཉིང་ལམ་ *gnid-lam*, which reflects the pronunciation better.

- (5.61) a) འདི་ ངའི་ མིན།  
*di jè: í:*  
 this 1SG.GEN EQU.PER  
 ‘This is mine.’ (KN e)
- b) ཀུན་ཚེ་གཤམ་ ཡི་གེའི་ ལ་བྱང་ ལྷ་སྟེ་ མའི་ ཚོས་སྦྱིད་ཀྱི་ ཟུང་ སེ་ ལབ་བཞིན་  
*kante<sup>h</sup>i=gi jìgi: k<sup>h</sup>adzã: ta-ti*  
 younger.sister(NEP)=AGT letter.GEN address look-NF  
*ái te<sup>h</sup>øki=ki be:=sɛ làp-zɛ:*  
 elder.sister PN=GEN EQU.NE=QUO say-PROG  
 ‘Kanchi looks at the address in the letter and says (it) is elder sister Choki’s.’ (Richhi 139)

In spoken language, the equative copula is sometimes elided, hence the (round) brackets in the translation of (5.62).

- (5.62) ང་ཅའི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རང་ལོ་ སྤྱག་ཚེན་ བཞི་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཟླད། སྤྱག་ཚེན་ གཞིག་ འདི་ ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ གླས་སྤྱག།  
*ŋàtɕi dɛndzõ: nàŋlo p<sup>h</sup>uk-te<sup>h</sup>ɛ: zi jò:-k<sup>h</sup>en bɛ? p<sup>h</sup>uk-te<sup>h</sup>ɛ:*  
 1PL.GEN Sikkim inside cave-great four EX-NMLZ EQU.NE cave-great  
*tei:=di ɛár-te<sup>h</sup>o: be:p<sup>h</sup>u?*  
 one=DEMPH east-direction Bephuk  
 ‘In our Sikkim there are four great caves. One great cave (is) eastern Bephuk.’ (SGD cave story)

Equative copulas are also used in possessive constructions (§5.4.3), with predicate adjectives (§5.4.4) and, marginally, with locative arguments (§5.4.2).

### 5.4.2 Existential and locative clauses

Existential clauses have a single unmarked argument which occurs with an existential copula. The three basic existential copulas are the personal *jò?* (neg. *mè?*), neutral *jèbbe?*<sup>217</sup> and sensorial *du?* (neg. *mìndu?*). For the semantic differences between them and for examples of more marginal existential copulas, refer to §7.

- (5.63) ལུ་ ལྷིམ་ན་ ཡོད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>im=na jò?*  
 3SGM house=LOC EX.PER  
 ‘He is at home.’ (KT e)
- (5.64) ཚོང་གུ་ལོ་ ལེན་རྩི་ ཉོ་མཁན་ ཡོད་པ་སྤང་ཀ་?  
*dzongu=lo lëndzi jò-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: jèbbe-ka?*  
 TPN=DAT cardamum buy-NMLZ EX.NE-PQ  
 ‘Are there cardamum-buyers in Dzongu?’ (KT e)
- (5.65) Q: ཚོ་ ཐོ་སྤང་ཀ་?  
*ts<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>op-ka?*  
 salt find-PQ  
 ‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)

<sup>217</sup> Reduced from *jò-po bɛ?*, see §7.3.2.1

A: མིན་འདུག་མིང།  
*mìndu?/mè?*  
 NEG.EX.SEN/NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘There is not.’ (KN e)

As shown in the answer in (5.65), even the single argument may be elided if the context allows, thus leaving the existential copula the only obligatory word in an existential clause.

Locative clauses are an extension of existential clauses in that they add an adverbial argument which specifies the location of existence. The more topical argument comes first. In (5.66), the locative adverb is topical and therefore comes first. In (5.67), on the other hand, the argument that marks the located object is topical and hence comes first (note that [5.67] also has a temporal adverbial).

(5.66) a) ཁྱིམ་ན་ ཐོན་པོ་ ཀ་ཡང་ མང།  
*kʰim=na gɛmpo ka=jã: mè?*  
 house=LOC elder.male who=even NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘At home there aren’t any males.’ (Richhi 22)

b) ཁྱིམ་ན་ མི་ ཡོད་ཀྱི?  
*kʰim=na mí jò:-ka?*  
 house=LOC human EX.PER-PQ  
 ‘Is there anyone (lit. human) at home?’ (rna-gsung 5)

(5.67) a) ཚོམ་རྒྱུད་ ལུང་སེང་ན་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ཡོད་  
*tɕʰɔki? kʰunsiŋ=na kʰim=na jò?*  
 Choki holiday=LOC house=LOC EX.PER  
 ‘Choki is at home during the holiday.’ (Richih 157)

b) ད་ལྟ་ རྩའི་ལགས་ རྩན་ཁང་ན་ ཡོད་ཀྱི?  
*tʰato bhaila méŋkʰã:=na jò:-ka?*  
 now PN hospital=LOC EX.PER-PQ  
 ‘Is Bhaila now in hospital?’ (Richhi 24)

The locative argument may also occur in the antitopical right dislocated position.

(5.68) ལྷ་ལྷ་ འདི་ཡང་ འདུག་ ཁྱིམ་ན།  
*pa:=la:=di=jã: du? kʰim=na.*  
 father=HON=DEMPH=too EX.SEN house=LOC  
 ‘The father too is at home.’ (Richhi 153)

With frequently used toponyms elision of locative marking is quite frequent:

(5.69) ལུ་ རྩང་རྟོག་ ཡོད།  
*kʰu gã.to? jò?*  
 3SGM TPN EX.PER  
 ‘He is (in) Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Similar to equative copulas, existential copula may be elided in spoken language.

- (5.70) ཇ་ག་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ག་ན་?  
*áca lamo k'ana?*  
 PN PN where  
 ‘Where (is) Asha Lhamo?’ (SGD cave story)

Occasionally locative arguments may co-occur with an equative copula. While *bɛʔ* is fairly frequent in this use (5.71a), the only context in my data where a locative argument is accompanied by *í:* is telling one’s place of origin (5.71b).

- (5.71) a) ཞེ་, ཞོན་ ཟླད།  
*é:, óna bɛʔ.*  
 oh there EQU.NE  
 ‘Oh, it is there!’ (SM kitchen discussion)
- b) ངའི་ བ་ཡུལ་ བེ་རྩེ་ལོ་ ཞིན།  
*ɲè: pʰay: sínɛ=lo í:*  
 1SG.GEN fatherland Sinye=DAT EQU.PER  
 ‘My native place is (in) Sinye.’ (DB life story)

### 5.4.3 Predicative possession

In predicative possession, the possessor, which accompanies an existential copula, is expressed either by a locational (5.72) or a genitive-marked argument (5.73) (for these and other types of predicate possession, see Stassen 2009). The locational argument is marked either by dative-locative (5.72a) or the cliticized postposition =*tsa:* ‘at, beside’ (5.72b). Using the postposition =*tsa:* implies that the possessed item is with the speaker at the time of speaking.

- (5.72) a) ཇ་ ང་ལོ་ ཚ་ག་ གཞིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*t'a ɲá=lo tɛʰa:ka=tɛiʔ jò:-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*  
 now 1SG=DAT item=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Now, (let’s imagine) I have a certain item.’ (YR canteen video)
- b) འདི་ ངའི་ ཟུར་ ཡོད།  
*di ɲè:=tsa: jòʔ.*  
 this 1SG=at EX.PER  
 ‘I have it (with me).’/‘I have it on me.’ (KN e)
- (5.73) a) ཞོན་ལས་ ངའི་ ཇ་ཟུ་ ཡོད།  
*ónalɛ ɲè: áteu jòʔ.*  
 then 1SG.GEN elder.brother EX.PER  
 ‘Then I have an elder brother.’ (PED life story)
- b) ལྷའི་ བོ་ཚོ་ གསུམ་ འདུག།  
*kʰu=i p'otso súm duʔ.*  
 3SGM=GEN child three EX.SEN  
 ‘He has three children (I see/saw).’ (KN e)

- c) ཀམ་གཱི་ སྐང་རྟོག་ལོ་ དེབ་ གཞིས་ དང་ རྫོང་ལྗོངས་ དེབ་ གསུམ་ ཡོད།  
*karma=gi gā:to:=lo t'ep ní: t'ā: dordziliŋ=lo t'ep súm jò?*  
 PN=GEN TPN=dat book two and TPN=DAT book three EX.PER  
 'Karma has two books in Gangtok and three books in Darjeeling.' (KN e)

Although genitive-marked constructions have traditionally been termed “genitive possessives” (e.g. Heine 1997), Stassen (2009: 107) proposes the term “adnominal possessive”. The reason is that Stassen (2009) analyzes the adnominal possessive construction as having only one nominal constituent, where the genitive-marked possessor is a modifier of the following possessee argument (in English analogy, “[my house] exists” instead of “[my] [house] exists”). Stassen (2009: 113-115), however, acknowledges that if there is evidence against the status of the possessor and possessee as forming one argument (for instance, the possessor and possessee can be separated by another constituent), the genitive-marked possessive may in fact be a “variant of the Locational Possessive” (Stassen 2009: 113). Example (5.73c) indeed provides such evidence. The locative argument *gā:to:=lo* ‘in Gangtok’ follows the genitive-marked argument and so separates the purported modifier/adnominal (*karma=gi*) from its head (*t'ep*). Because I have no evidence from elsewhere that the constituents of a noun phrase could in prose<sup>218</sup> be separated in this way, I prefer to analyze the genitive-marked possessor as a separate constituent, which functions analogously with cases of locational possession.

If the possessor is marked locationally (i.e. with dative-locative or postposition =*tsa:*), it can occur as the second argument in constructions where the possessee is topicalized and hence occurs first, see (5.74a) and (5.74b). The genitive-marked possessor, however, cannot occur second in a possessive construction, see (5.74c).

- (5.74) a) ཨོ་འདི་ ཅ་ལག་ འདི་ ཁོང་ལོ་ ཡོད་འདུག།  
*ódi teala=di kʰõ:=lo jò?/du?*  
 that thing=DEMPH 3SG.HON=DAT EX.PER/EX.SEN  
 ‘He has that thing.’/‘That thing is with him.’ (KUN e)

- b) ཨོ་འདི་ ཅ་ལག་ འདི་ ཁོང་ ཟུར་ འདུག།  
*ódi teala=di kʰõ:=tsa: jò?/du?*  
 that thing=DEMPH 3SG.HON=with EX.PER/EX.SEN  
 ‘That thing is with him.’ (KUN e)

- c) \*ཨོ་འདི་ ཅ་ལག་ འདི་ ཁོང་གི་ ཡོད་འདུག།  
 \**ódi teala=di kʰoŋ=gi jò?/du?*  
 that thing=DEMPH 3SG.HON=GEN EX.PER/EX.SEN  
 ‘That thing is his.’ (KUN, KN e)

The possessive construction can, perhaps surprisingly, also occur with an agentive argument. A simple possessive construction has the possessor argument marked as dative-

<sup>218</sup> In poetic language, however, the usual ordering may be broken, as shown in the example below, where the typical prose ordering *jè:=gi sém* ‘my mind’ is changed and an adverbial occurs in between.

སེམས་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ དེ་གི་ རྩ་བོ་ སྐྱང།

*sém lèpti jè:=gi nà-u bε?*  
 mind very.much 1SG.GEN=GENbe.ill-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘My heart was in great pain.’ Lit. ‘My mind fell very ill.’ (Richhi 85)

locative (5.75), but when a P-like argument such as *l̥ɛŋgɛ:=lo* in (5.76) or *tɛ<sup>h</sup>θ:=lo* (5.77) is added, the possessor argument switches to agentive.<sup>219</sup>

(5.75) ང་ལོ་རི་ཆེ་ཡོད།  
*ŋà=lo rite<sup>hi</sup> jò?*  
 1SG=DAT hope EX.PER  
 ‘I have hope.’ (KN e)

(5.76) ངས་/ང་གིས་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ལོ་རི་ཆེ་ ཡོད།  
*ŋá:/ŋá:=gi l̥ɛŋgɛ:=lo rite<sup>hi</sup> jò?*  
 1SG.AGT/1SG=AGT PRN.HON=DAT hope EX.PER  
 ‘I have hope in you.’ (KN e)

(5.77) ངས་/ང་གིས་ ཚོད་ལོ་ རྫོགས་པ་ ཡོད་ ཅ།  
*ŋá:/ŋá:=gi tɛ<sup>h</sup>θ:=lo lóte: jò: ná.*  
 1SG.AGT/1SG=AGT 2SG.L=DAT trust EX.PER TAG.ASR  
 ‘I have trust in you, eh.’ (KN e)

#### 5.4.4 Predicate adjectives

Both the existentials (personal *jò?*, neutral *jèbbe?*, sensorial *du?*) and the equatives (personal *í.*, neutral *bɛ?*) are used in adjectival predication, analogously to the functionally similar forms in Lhasa Tibetan (Chang & Chang 1984: 608, 614-616; Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 119-122). For examples, see (5.78) for existentials and (5.79) for equatives. The semantic differences between the various copulas are addressed in more detail in §7.1.3.

(5.78) a) བུ་ལོ་ རི་ཆེ་ ལོ་ མ་ལག་ ཡོད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u=i=gi baik=di l̥ɛp màla? jò?*  
 3SGM=GEN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very.much fast EX.PER  
 ‘His (motor)bike is very fast.’ (NB e)

b) མོ་ན་ལས་ ཉིན་དེ་ ལོ་ རི་ཆེ་ རྫོགས་ ཡོད་པ་ཟུག།  
*ónale hindi=di l̥ɛp dzikta? jèbbe?*  
 then Hindi=DEMPH very excellent EX.NE  
 ‘Then, (their) Hindi is most excellent.’ (DR discussion with KL)

c) རྫོགས་པར་གྱི་ རྫོང་པོ་ ལོ་ རྫོགས་ ལོ་ ལུག།  
*ló?par=ki níŋpo l̥ɛpti l̥ɛm du?*  
 X-ray=GEN essence very good EX.SEN  
 ‘The results of the X-ray look very good.’ (Richhi 29)

(5.79) a) མོ་འདི་ ཉ་གོ་ དགོས་པོ་ གལ་ཆེན་ ཞེན།  
*ódi háko go:-po k'ɛ:tɛ<sup>h</sup>í: í.*  
 that understand need.to-2INF important EQU.PER  
 ‘It is important to understand that.’ (Richhi 7)

<sup>219</sup> *ŋá:* and *ŋá=gi* are two alternative ways to mark 1SG agentive.

- b) ངའི་ བོ་ཙཱ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ འཛོགས་དྲགས་ ཡིན། ལེགས་ ཡིན།  
*jè: p'otso t'amtɛɛ=le dzikʈa? ɿ̌. ləm ɿ̌.*  
 1SG.GEN child all=ABL excellent EQU.PER good EQU.PER  
 'My child is the best of all, a good one.' (RBM story of my son)
- c) ཨོ་འདི་ ལེགས་ལྟོ་ ལེགས་ ཟླད།  
*ódi lèpti ləm bɛ?*  
 that very good EQU.NE  
 'That is very good.'
- d) འཛོམས་ཟླེང་ འདིའི་ གནས་སྟངས་ མཐོ་སྤྱི་རང་ ཡ་མཚོ་དྲགས་<sup>220</sup> ཟླད།  
*dzamliŋ di: né:tã: né:mu=rã: jàmʈsʰiʈa? bɛ?*  
 world this.GEN condition really=AEMPH amazing EQU.NE  
 'The condition of this world is really amazing.' (Ricchi 136)

As already shown in §3.4.1, property concepts can be expressed, in addition to an adjective accompanied by a copula, also by property concept verbs which inflect like other verbs. The availability of these two options places Denjongke among languages which use “mixed” encoding type for property concepts (Stassen 2013a). For comparative constructions, see §5.6.1.3.2 below.

#### 5.4.5 Clauses of becoming and happening

The verbs *tʰon* (also *tʰen*) ཐོན་ 'come out, happen, become, turn out' and *tɛ'uŋ* ལྱུང་ 'become, happen, turn out' are used for expressing 'becoming', a meaning related to 'being'. The first one is both in my spoken and written data much more frequent than the latter one, which may be a loan word from Tibetan literature. The verbs of becoming may occur with a single argument with the meaning 'happen', 'arise' or even 'begin (to exist)':

- (5.80) a) གར་ ཐོན་བོ་ ཟླད་?  
*k'ar tʰom-bo bɛ??*  
 what happen-PSTEQU.NE  
 'What happened?' (TB bull story)
- b) ཨོ་ མ་ལྱུང་རུང་...  
*ó ma-tɛ'uŋ-ruŋ*  
 that NEG-become-CONC  
 'although that did not happen...' (BLA 6)
- c) སེམས་ལོ་ འཇུས་སྣང་ ལྱུང་རུང་  
*sém=lo dzu:na: tɛ'uŋ-ruŋ*  
 mind=DAT sensation.of.fear arise-CONC  
 'despite sensations of fear arising in the mind...' (Rna-gsung 3)

<sup>220</sup> This is an experimental phonetic spelling of the word. The form usually seen in writing is ཡ་མཚོ་དྲགས་, pronounced *jàmʈsʰenʈa?*



- d) ད་ལྟ་ སློབ་གྲུང་གི་ ལུང་སེང་ཡང་ རྩོམ་རབ་ ཡོད།  
*t'ato lóbdø: k'unʃin=jä: tʰon-rap jò?*  
 now school.GEN holiday=too become-IMF EX.PER  
 'Now also the school's holiday is about to begin.' (Richhi 62)

Predicate nominals can be nouns (5.81) or nominalized clauses (5.82). The noun phrases linked with *tʰon* in (5.81) and (5.82) are marked with square brackets.

- (5.81) རྗེ་བུ་ལི་གེ་ རྒྱ་དུ་ལྷགས་ འདི་ རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ རང་གཞི་ རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ རྒྱ་དུ་ལྷགས་ རྩོམ་ དགོས་ཤད་ འདི་གེས་  
 [nepali=gi kɛ:dza=di] gjagar=gi nàŋca=lo [gjagar=gi  
 Nepali=GEN language.HON=DEMPH India=GEN inside=DAT India=GEN  
 kɛ:dza?] *tʰon go:-ɛɛ=di=gi...*  
 language.HON become be.needed=INF=DEMPH=AGT  
 'Because the language of the Nepalis was to become within India a(n official) language of India...' (CY interview)

- (5.82) a) མོས་ རབས་ མེད་པོ་ རྩོམ་བོ་ སྤང།  
 [mú:] [tʰap mè:-po] *tʰom-bo bɛ?*  
 3SGF.AGT means NEG.EX-2INF become-2INF EQU.NE  
 'She became one without means (to do something).' (Rna-gsung 6)

- b) གལ་སྲིད་ གཏམ་ འདི་ མཁའ་འགྲོམ་ གསལ་ ཚུགས་པོ་ ལྷུང་ན་  
 k'ɛ:si? [tam=di] [kʰando: sɛn tsʰu-po] *tɛ'uŋ-nɛ...*  
 if speech=DEMPH fairy hear.HON be.able.to become-COND  
 'If this speech will become such that the fairy can hear it...' (rna-gsung 12)

For *tʰon* and *tɛ'uŋ* with predicate adjectives, consider the following examples (note that [5.85] has a phrasal adjective with a nominal element):

- (5.83) ལོ་ཐོག་ཚུ་ ལེགས་ རྩོམ་ཤད་ སྤང་, འདི་ ལུང་གྲིས།  
 lòtʰo=tsu lèŋ *tʰon-ɛɛ bɛ?, di lỳ:=ki.*  
 crop=PL good become-INF EQU.NE this fertilizer=AGT  
 'The crops will turn out good, with the help of this fertilizer.' (PD cow shed video)

- (5.84) ཏེ་ མོ་འདི་ ལེགས་པོ་ ལེས་ ལྷུང་ཞེ།  
*tɛ ódi lèpo lèŋ tɛ'uŋ-zɛ.*  
 so that very good become-PST  
 'So that turned out very good.' (RD BLA )

- (5.85) ང་ཅག་ སེམས་ དགའ་དྲགས་ ལྷུང་ཞེ།  
 ñàtɕa? sém gaʦa? *tɛ'uŋ-zɛ.*  
 1PL mind joyful become-PST  
 'We became happy.' (KN, CY interview)

With an ablative adverbial, the verb *tʰon* can also have the more concrete meaning 'exit, go/come out':

(5.86) a) ལུ་ ལྡོ་པ་ ལྷིམ་ལས་ རྩོམ་བའི་ སྐད་...  
*k<sup>h</sup>u tʰo:pa k<sup>h</sup>im=lɛ t<sup>h</sup>om-bø: gã:...*  
 3SGM morning house=ABL EXIT-2INF.GEN time  
 ‘When he left home in the morning...’ (RS driver joke)

b) ཉེ་ ང་ school ལས་ བང་ཁར་ རྩོམ་བོ་ སྐད་ ད།  
*tɛ nà iskol=lɛ paŋk<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>em-bo bɛ? tʰa.*  
 so 1SG school(Eng.)=ABL outside exit-2INF EQU.NE now  
 ‘So at that point I left school (permanently).’ (PED life story)

## 5.5 Valency modification

This section describes how valency, i.e. the number of verbal arguments, may be modified in Denjongke. The lexicalized phonological distinction between controlled and non-controlled verbs was already introduced in §3.3.3. The two strategies for valency change are argument suppression<sup>221</sup>, which decreases the valency of the clause, and causative construction, which increases clausal valency.

### 5.5.1 Argument suppression

Denjongke lacks a morphosyntactic passive construction marked on the verb which would elide an A argument and raise P in its place. Instead, Denjongke can form a “functional passive” (Givon 1984: 164) by eliding argument A. In (5.87), argument A is suppressed and a peripheral argument ‘from hospital’ is fronted to the initial position typical of the A argument. In this context, it is not important, who within the hospital is the actual giver of the leave of absence. Because the actual giver of the permission cannot be deduced from the previous context and therefore does not fall under zero anaphora, (5.87) exemplifies argument suppression.

(5.87) སྐྱམ་ཁང་ལས་ རྩད་པོ་ལོ་ དགོངས་པོ་ བཏང་དོ།  
*mɛŋk<sup>h</sup>ã:lɛ nɛ:po=lo gompo tã:-do.*  
 hospital=ABL patient=DAT leave.of.absence send-IPFV  
 ‘The patient is being discharged from the hospital.’ (Richhi 172)

In (5.88), the complement clause preceding the verb functions as the P argument, whereas A is again dropped. Here the A argument is unidentifiable and therefore (5.88) exemplifies a functional passive construction.

(5.88) ལ་ལོ་ ཁབ་ ལྷུམ་རུང་ རྩོམ།  
*sá=lo k<sup>h</sup>ap lum-run t<sup>h</sup>o:.*  
 ground=DAT needle drop-CONC hear  
 ‘Even the drop of a needle would be heard.’ (Richhi 6)

In example (5.89), the A argument of the verb *t<sup>h</sup>õ:* ‘see’ is suppressed and the P argument of the equivalent transitive clause occurs zero marked (in a monotransitive clause a dative-locative would likely occur with this type of a referent, see 5.3.2), suggesting that the verb has truly become intransitive in this clause (hence the intransitive translation ‘be visible’).<sup>222</sup>

<sup>221</sup> Argument suppression is to be distinguished from zero anaphora, see the introduction to this chapter.

<sup>222</sup> KN, however, commented that the dative-locative =*lo* could be added to the P argument here.

- (5.89) མཉམ་ཅིག་ རྗོད་མཁམ་ འགྲུལ་པོ་ཚུམ་ ལྷ་བའི་ སྐང་ལོ་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ བཟའ་ཚང་ འདྲ་པོ་ མཐོང་།  
*jámteɪ? døː-kʰɛː dʲyːpo=tsuː ta-wøː gǎː=lo kʰõː níː-po*  
 together sit-NMLZ traveller=PL.AGT look-2INF.GEN time=DAT 3PL two-COL  
*zaːtsʰǎː ɖau tʰõː.*  
 couple like be.visible  
 ‘When other travelers look at them, they look like a couple.’ (Richhi 129)

### 5.5.2 Causative

The valency of an intransitive verb may be increased through a causative construction formed with the help of the secondary verb *teu?* ‘cause, put into’.

- (5.90) ཐེལ་པ་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་ སྐྱོད།  
*pempa gjuk-o be?*  
 PN run-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Pempa ran.’ (KN e)
- (5.91) ཀར་ཀུམ་ ཐེལ་པ་(ལོ་) རྒྱལ་ བཟུག་ལོ་ སྐྱོད།  
*karma(=gi) pempa(=lo) gjuk teuk-o be?*  
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) run cause-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Karma made Pempa run.’ (KN e)

In elicitation, it was possible to increase the valency of a monotransitive verb. Example (5.92) illustrates a monotransitive clause, which is in (5.93) and (5.94) is changed into a ditransitive one through a causative construction.

- (5.92) རྒྱལ་མཚན་(གྲིས་) ཐེལ་པ་(ལོ་) ཉིབ་པོ་ སྐྱོད།  
*gjaltsʰen(=gi) pempa(=lo) tip-o be?*  
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) hit-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Gyaltshen hit Pempa.’ (KN e)
- (5.93) ཀར་ཀུམ་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལོ་ ཐེལ་པ་ ཉིབ་ བཟུག་ལོ་ སྐྱོད།  
*karma(=gi) gjaltsʰen=lo pempa tip teuk-o be?*  
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) PN hit cause-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Karma made Gyaltshen hit Pempa.’ (KN e)
- (5.94) ཀར་ཀུམ་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ ཐེལ་པ་ལོ་ ཉིབ་ བཟུག་ལོ་ སྐྱོད།  
*karma(=gi) gjaltsʰen pempa=lo tip teuk-o be?*  
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) PN=DAT hit cause-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Karma made Pema hit Gyaltshen.’ (KN e)

The A argument of the original bivalent clause of (5.92) is in the causative clause (5.93) marked as dative-locative, whereas the optionally dative-locative-marked P argument of (5.92) occurs in (5.93) as obligatorily zero marked. Example (5.94) shows that word order does not play a role in deciding who hit whom; the argument marked with dative-locative is the actor. Despite (5.93) and (5.94) were accepted in elicitation, I suspect that in actual language use such formulations are almost non-existent. Clauses such as (5.95), which elide the original P argument, are probably more common.

- (5.95) ཀར་(ཀིས་) ཀྱལ་མཚན་(ལོ་) ཏིབ་ བརླག་གོ་ སྤང།  
*karma(=gi) gjalts<sup>h</sup>en(=lo) tip tɛuk-o bɛʔ.*  
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) hit cause-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Karma made Gyaltshen hit (someone).’ (KN e)

The causative secondary verb *tɛuʔ* is also used in optative constructions, see §11.5.

## 5.6 Adverbial modification

Adverbials in a clause may be divided into non-clausal adverbials and clausal adverbials. Whereas clausal adverbials are discussed elsewhere (see §15), this section describes non-clausal adverbials, i.e. case-marked nouns/noun phrases, postposition phrases and adverbs.

### 5.6.1 Case-marked nouns as adverbials

The grammatical cases agentive and genitive do not participate in forming non-clausal adverbials<sup>223</sup> but spatial cases dative-locative<sup>224</sup> (§5.6.1.1), locative (§5.6.1.2) and ablative (§5.6.1.3) do.

#### 5.6.1.1 Dative-locative =lo

In addition to the patient, recipient and possessor functions, which were described above, the dative-locative also marks adverbials of location and time. For stative, adessive type of location, a case-marker is typically used (5.96), but especially with frequent toponyms case-marking may be dropped (5.97).

- (5.96) རྫོ་རྗེ་ སྤོང་ལོ་ ག་ན་ བརླགས་ཏི་?  
*dorjiliŋ=lo k'ana zu:-toʔ*  
 TPN=DAT where live-IPFV  
 ‘Where do you live in Darjeeling?’ (Richhi 13)

- (5.97) ལུ་ སྤང་ཏི་ག་ ཡོང།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u gã:toʔ jòʔ.*  
 3SGM TPN EX.PER  
 ‘He is in Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Allative type of goal-oriented directional meanings can be expressed with =lo (5.98), but non-cased-marked directionals seem to be more frequent with toponyms (5.99).

- (5.98) a) ལྷོ་ འཚོལ་བ་ རྣམས་ཚན་ལོ་ སོང་ཞེ།  
*to ts<sup>h</sup>ø:-wa nà:tsɛ:=lo sò:-zɛ.*  
 food<sup>225</sup> search-PUR forest=DAT go.PFV-PST  
 ‘(He) went to forest to look for food.’ (KT animal story)

<sup>223</sup> An exception to this rule is the adverb(ial) *l<sup>h</sup>alamgi* ལྷ་ལམ་གྱིས་ ‘clearly’, which seems to have an agentive/genitive ending.

<sup>224</sup> The dative-locative case is both a grammatical and a locative case, see §3.7.1.1.

<sup>225</sup> Here the word *to* ‘cooked rice’ obtains an extended meaning ‘food’. The clause refers to a tiger, a carnivorous predator.

- b) བོ་མ་བེ་ལོ་ སླེབས་ མི་ཚུགས་ལོ།  
*bombai=lo* *ʃɛp* *mi-tshu:=lo.*  
 TPN=DAT arrive NEG-be.able.to=REP  
 ‘He cannot arrive in Bombai, I hear.’ (Richhi 138)

- (5.99) a) ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱལ་ལས་ ང་ སྐང་ཏོག་ འོང་བོ་ ཨིན།  
*ódi gjaple ɲà gā:to? òm-bo í.*  
 that after 1SG TPN come-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘After that I came to Gangtok.’ (TB life story)

- b) ཀ་མ་ སི་ལི་གུརི་ འགྲུ་མཁམ་ བོ་སི་ན་ འཕྲིལ་ རྗོད་ ཡོད།  
*karma siliguri gju-khɛ: bosina dzy: dɔ: jø?*  
 PN TPN go-NMLZ bus=LOC enter stay EX.PER  
 ‘Karma has entered a bus going to Siliguri’ (Richhi 120)

It is my impression that case-marking in directionals is more frequently dropped in spoken language (5.100) than in written language (5.101).

- (5.100) ད་ ཡུལ་སྐོར་ འགྲུ་སོང་མ་དང་...  
*t'a y:kor gju-somda...*  
 now tour go-SIM  
 ‘Now, when going on a tour...’ (DB day trip)

- (5.101) ལ་ལོ་ ཡུལ་ སྐོར་ལོ་ འགྲུ་མཁམ།  
*lâlo y:kor=lo gju-khɛ:*  
 some tour=DAT go-NMLZ  
 ‘some (of them are) tour-goers’ (Richhi 120)

Example (5.102) illustrates the use of =lo for expressing time. The dative-locative is used exclusively with *gā*: ‘time’ (5.102a, b). The locative =na is more common with *t’yts’ø?* ‘time’, but =lo is also used (5.102c). Note that in (5.102c) the noun has a preceding complement clause (marked with square brackets).

- (5.102) a) ད་ ཨོ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙེ་ཅེག་ དགོངས་ཡངས་ གནང་བོ་ འདྲ་ སྐང་, ཨོ་འདི་ སྐང་ *thikadar* ཚུ་གེས།  
*t'a ódi=lo=di átsi=tei? gō:jā: ná:-bo qa*  
 now that=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF exemption grant-2INF be.similar  
*bɛ?, ódi gā:=lo tʰikadar=tsu=gi.*  
 EQU.NE that time=DAT thikadar=PL=AGT  
 ‘Now (it) was as if to them exemption was given, at that time, by the thikadar-rulers.’ (CY interview)

- b) མི་ ཁ་གས་ཀྱིས་ ཡང་ རྒྱལ་སུའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ སྐང་ལོ་...  
*mí kh’aεε=ki=jā: gɛ:py: t’yts’ø? gā:=lo...*  
 human some=AGT=too king.GEN time time=DAT  
 ‘At the time of the king, some people also...’ (CY interview)

- c) ང་ མོ་ན་ ཡོད་པའི་ ཏུས་ཚོད་ལོ་ ལུ་ཡང་ ཡོད་པོ་ མིན།  
 [ŋà óna jø-pø:] t'ytsʰø:=lo kʰu=jǎ: jø-po ǐ:  
 1SG there EX-2INF.GEN time=DAT 3SGM=too EX-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘At the time I was there, he was there too.’ (YR)

The dative-locative also occurs as an optional element in temporal adverbs referring to times of the day, such as *t'o:pa(lo)* ‘in the morning’, *t'ariŋ(lo)* ‘today’ and *pʰi:tsʰam(lo)* (see §6.3.3).

The dative-locative functions as an additional (non-obligatory) locative-marker in some relator noun constructions:

- (5.103) ང་ ལུ་ ཅུ་བྱོ་ གཅིག་ རྩེང་ལ་ལོ་ དབྱེང་སྟེ་གི་  
*t'a kʰu rubi?=tei? teŋkʰa=lo pjǎ:-tiki*  
 now 3SGM climber=INDF on=DAT hang-NF  
 ‘Now, hanging on a climber plant...’ (KT animal story)

- (5.104) ང་ཅའི་ མི་དབང་ ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ ཚེན་པོ་ལོ་ བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་གྱིས་ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ མོ་འདི་ རང་ག་ལོ་ འདྲེན་ཞུ་ གནང་བོ་ སྤང།  
*ŋàtei míwǎ: tʰøgɛl tʰimpu=lo p'ey: gɛ:pu=gi tɛŋɛ: ódi*  
 1PL sovereign king great.one=DAT Nepal king=GEN ceremony that  
*nàŋɛa=lo denɛu nǎ:-m bɛ?*  
 inside=DAT invitation do.HON-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘...our ruler, His Sovereign Majesty the King, was invited in that ceremony by the king of Nepal.’ (CY interview)

Furthermore, =lo, along with the ablative =le (e.g. *gjable* ‘after’), occurs in relator nouns such as *gjablo* ‘after’, *dze:lo* ‘after’, *dynlo* ‘before’, *teŋlo* ‘above, on’, etc. (see §3.6.6). The dative-locative may also attach to circumstantial clause marking progressive *tɛɛ:/zɛ:/zin* (§15.7.3) and purposive *-pa/ba* (§15.4.1).

The dative-locative-marker also occurs in case-stacking constructions (see §3.7.1.3) following the locative case marker =na, see (5.105). In spoken data, the construction occurs especially with the frequently used word *kʰim* ‘house’, see (5.105a)

- (5.105) a) ང་ རྒྱས་རྒྱས་ མེ་ཏོག་ བྱིས་ན་ལོ་ བཙུག་ཏོ་ ང་ཚོ།  
*ŋà ɛy:ɛy: minto? [kʰim=na=lo] tsuk-to t'ato.*  
 1SG a.bit flower house=LOC=DAT plant-IPFV now  
 ‘I’m planting a bit flowers at home now.’ (PED life story)

- b) བྱིས་ན་ལོ་ཡང་ མི་ཚུ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ མོ་འདེམ་བཟང་ ལ་ལབ་ མེད།  
*[kʰim=na=lo=jǎ:] mí=tsu námtei? ódem=sǎ: kʰa-lap*  
 house=LOC=DAT=even human=PL with that.much=until mouth-speak  
*mè?*  
 NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘Even at home, there is not that much talking with people.’ (Richhi 164-165)

Other examples of =na=lo in Richhi are given in (5.106).

(5.106) a) ཉིན་ཐོའི་དེབ་ན་ལོ་  
*jɪntʰo=i t'ɛp=na=lo*  
 day-list.GEN book=LOC=DAT  
 'in the calendar' (Richhi 7)

b) སློབ་གླའི་ན་ལོ་  
*lóbqø:=na=lo*  
 school=LOC=DAT  
 'inside the school' (Richhi 31)

c) ཇམ་མའི་སེམས་ན་ལོ་  
*ámø: sém=na=lo*  
 mother.GEN mind=LOC=DAT  
 'in the mother's mind' (Richhi 83)

### 5.6.1.2 Locative =na

The locative =na typically marks spatial (5.107-108) or temporal adverbials (5.109). Analogously to the dative-locative, the semantics of =na cover both inessive type of stative locatives (5.107) and illative type of goal-oriented directionals (5.108).

(5.107) a) ད་ལྟ་ རྫོང་ལགས་ མཱ་ན་ཁང་ན་ ཡོད་ཀྱི?  
*t'ato bhaila méŋkʰã:=na jø:-ka?*  
 now PN hospital=LOC EX.PER-PQ  
 'Is Bhaila now in the hospital?' (Richhi 24)

b) ཉིམ་ གཅིག་ འདྲེ་ཅིག་ ཉིམ་ན་ སྐྱམ།  
*jìim tei? dø:tei? jìim=na kam.*  
 day one that.much sun=LOC dry  
 '(they) are dried in the sun about one day' (PL interview)

(5.108) ང་ ཁྲོམ་ན་ འགྱུ་དོ་ ཡིན།  
*ŋà tʰom=na gju-do t̃i.*  
 1SG town=LOC go-IPFV EQU.PER  
 'I'm going to town/market.' (KN e)

(5.109) a) དེ་ཟང་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐབས་ན་ ལ་ལས་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ མན་བོ་ ཟ෌་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ལྷགས་སྲོལ་ མེད་བ་སྦད།  
*t'izã: [ódi kap=na] kʰa=lɛ kjap-ɕɛ? mèm-bo t'ice=ki lùksø:*  
 but that time=LOC mouth=ABL do-INF except write-INF=GEN tradition  
*mèbbe?*  
 NEG.EX.NE  
 'But [at that time], in addition to spoken language, there was no tradition of writing.' (KL BLA 12)

b) ཨོ་འདི་ ཏུས་ཚོད་ན་  
*ódi t'ytsʰø=na...*  
 that time=LOC  
 'At that time...' (PED life story)

### 5.6.1.3 Ablative =*le*

The ablative =*le* marks spatio-temporal adverbials (§5.6.1.3.1) and also the standard of comparison in comparative constructions (§5.6.1.3.2). Because the standard of comparison in comparative constructions is, similarly to locative adverbials, a peripheral NP, comparison is here treated under adverbial modification.

#### 5.6.1.3.1 Spatio-temporal uses

The ablative =*le* expresses a locative or temporal starting point. With locatives, =*le* typically expresses direction from a source (5.110), but especially with relator nouns, it is also used for expressing stative location (5.111). The ablative with relator nouns is not separated from the root with the clitic marker = (i.e. *gjable* instead of *gjab=le*), because the case ending has essentially merged into one word with the relator noun.

- (5.110) ལུ་ ལྔ་པ་ ཁྱིམ་ལས་ ཐོན་བའི་ སྐར་  
*kʰu tʰo:pa kʰim=le tʰøm-bø: gã:...*  
 3SGM morning house=ABL exit-2INF.GEN time  
 ‘In the morning when he was getting out of the house...’ (RS driver joke)

- (5.111) ལྷི་ ལྷུ་ལས་ བོ་ཙོ་ གཅིག་ ཟླ་ རྫོང་ འདུག།  
*[tʰi gjable] pʰotso=tei? ba dø: du?*  
 chair behind child=INDF hide stay EX.SEN  
 ‘A boy is hiding [behind the chair].’ (PD spatial topography interview)

Examples in (5.112) illustrate the use of =*le* as a temporal starting point.

- (5.112) a) ཚོ་(འདི་) འུས་སྟེ་ ལུ་ ལྷི་ལས་ འབྲུམ་ བརྩལ་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*ó(di) pʰja-ti kʰu [tʰutsei=le] bja:m tsuk-tæn du?*  
 that do-NF 3SGM this.year=ABL beginning plant-PROG EX.SEN  
 ‘Therefore he is beginning from this year (onwards).’ (TB discussion with KT)
- b) ད་རིང་  
*[tʰarɪŋ=le]*  
 today=ABL  
 ‘from today’ (SGD wedding customs)

Similarly to the dative-locative =*lo*, =*le* can attach to the locative case marker =*na*, see (5.113). The meaning is comparable to a relator noun construction such as the one in (5.114).

- (5.113) ཐྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་བུ་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སློབས་ཤད་ འདིས་  
*[tʰinle:=ki kʰim=na=le] tʰato=sã: ka-jã: ma-!epce?=di:*  
 Thrinley=GEN house=LOC=ABL now=until who-even NEG-arrive=DEMPH.AGT  
 ‘Because no one has so far arrived [from Thrinley’s house]...’ (Richhi 43)

- (5.114) མཚོ་ རང་ཤ་ལས་ རོག་སྟེ་ར་ ལྷ་རེ་ གཅིག་ ཉེ་ ལུ་ འོང་བོ་ལོ།  
*[tsʰo nãŋca=le] lòkti=ra ta:ri=tei? tɛ tʰu òm-bo=lo.*  
 lake inside=ABL again=AEMPH axe=INDF so pick come-2INF=REP  
 ‘So again (he) came [from within the lake] having picked up an axe.’ (JDF axe story)



### 5.6.1.3.2 Comparative uses

In comparative constructions, the standard of comparison is marked by the ablative case (=le), while the quality compared is expressed by an adjective (5.115), a stative verb (5.116) or an adverb (5.117). In Stassen’s (2013b) classification, this type of comparative construction is termed “locational” and, further, “from-comparative”. Denjongke has no separate comparative adjectival form. The standard of comparison may be presented, depending on topicalization, either before the comparee (5.115) or after the comparee (5.116). The quantifier *lako* ‘more (than), (in) excess’ may be used in addition to the ablative, see (5.117).

(5.115) འདི་ལས་ མོ་འདི་ རྫོས་ལུ་ འདུག།  
*di=le ódi bompu du?*  
 this=ABL that big EX.SEN  
 ‘That is bigger than this.’ (TB e)

(5.116) འདི་ ལྷག་ཀྱི་ འདི་ འདི་ལས་ རིང་ ལྷད།  
*di núku=di di=le riŋ be?*  
 this pencil=DEMPH this=ABL be.long EQU.NE  
 ‘This pencil is longer than this.’ (TB e)

(5.117) འདི་ལས་ ལྷག་གོ་ ལྷ་ཆེ་དྲགས་ ལྷས་ ལྷང་ རོབ་པོ་ དང་  
*di=le lako gjate<sup>h</sup>iʈaʔ-p’ja súŋ t<sup>h</sup>op-o-dã:*  
 this=ABL more great-ADVZR observe receive-2INF-CONJ  
 ‘when we get to hold (the celebration) in a more grandiose way than this...’ (Richhi 87)

In addition to being a noun, the standard of comparison may be a subordinate clause, see §15.11.

### 5.6.2 Postposition phrases as adverbials

Postpositions are listed in Table 5.3. The first four rows list items which do not typically occur with a genitive complement (i.e. *nàŋtar*, *nàŋzin*, *t’ønzin(gi)*, *jàmtɛiʔ*, *jàmpu*, *sã:ɛ*, =*sã:*). Other rows list postpositions whose complement noun may or may not be genitive marked (i.e. relator nouns). With locative postpositions, the ablative =le may substitute final =lo, especially if source is emphasized (e.g. *ò:le* ‘from below’, *tɛŋle* ‘from below’) but ablative is in spoken language frequently used also for non-directional stative location. Those ablative forms which are particularly frequently used for stative location are separately given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Postpositions

Postposition		Gloss
<i>nàŋtar, nàŋzin</i>	ནང་ལྟར་, ནང་བཞིན་	‘according to, similar to’
<i>t’ənzin(gi)</i>	དོན་བཞིན་(གྱིས་)	‘according to, in accordance with, in view of’
<i>(t’ā:) nāmtei?</i> , <i>(t’ā:) nāmpu</i>	(དང་) མཉམ་ཅིག་, (དང་) མཉམ་ལུ་	‘with’
<i>sā.te, =sā:</i>	ཟད་ཏེ་, ཟད་	‘until’
<i>mèmbō</i> <sup>226</sup>	མན་པོ་	‘except’
<i>mèntā:</i>	མན་བཏང་	‘except’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>aplo, ts<sup>h</sup>ama(lo)</i>	ཚབ་ལོ་, ཚབ་མ་ལོ་	‘instead of’
<i>tsak<sup>h</sup>a, tsa:lo, =tsa:</i>	ཙཱ་ལ(ར་), ཙཱ་ལོ་, ཙཱ	‘at, by, with’
<i>t’ənlō, t’ənlē,</i> <i>t’əndalo, t’əndalē</i>	དོན་ལོ་, དོན་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལོ་, དོན་དག་ལས་	‘for (the purpose of)’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>o:lē</i>	ཐོག་ལས་	‘through, via, on the basis of, by’
<i>(=lē) gjy:ti</i>	(ལས་) ལྷུང་ཏེ་	‘through, via, by’
<i>go:lē</i>	འགོ་ལས་	‘from, through’
<i>korlo, korlē</i>	སྐོར་ལོ་, སྐོར་ལས་	‘about’
<i>ŋo:lo/hō:lo, ŋo:te/hō:te</i> <i>ŋo:lē/hō:lē</i>	དོས་ལོ་, དོས་ཏེ་ དོས་ལས་	‘toward, in the direction of’ ‘from the direction/side of, through’
<i>gjablo, gjable</i>	རྒྱབ་ལོ་, རྒྱབ་ལས་	‘behind, after’
<i>dze:lo</i> <sup>227</sup>	རྗེས་ལོ་	‘after’
<i>(kum)dynk<sup>h</sup>a, (kum)dÿ:lo,</i> <i>kumdÿ:</i>	(སྐྱུ་)མདུན་ལ(ར་), (སྐྱུ་)མདུན་ལོ་, སྐྱུ་མདུན་	‘in front of, in the presence of’
<i>p’a:na</i>	བར་ན་	‘between’
<i>jnëlō, jênlē, jónma,</i> <i>henlē, hema</i>	ཐོན་ལོ་, ཐོན་ལས་, ཐོན་མ་, ཉན་ལས་, ཉན་མ་	‘before’
<i>teŋk<sup>h</sup>a, teŋlō</i>	ལྷིང་ལ(ར་), ལྷིང་ལོ་	‘above, on’
<i>=gu, gulo</i>	མགུ་(ལོ་)	‘above, on’
<i>ò:lo, ò:lē</i>	འོག་ལོ་, འོག་ལས་	‘below’
<i>bu:na, bu:lo</i>	སྐྱུ་ན་, སྐྱུ་ལོ་	‘in the middle of’
<i>bolo(-k<sup>h</sup>a), bololo</i>	འབོ་ལོ་ལ(ར་), འབོ་ལོ་ལོ་	‘next to’
<i>nàŋca(lo), nàŋlō, nàŋna</i>	ནང་ག་(ལོ་), ནང་ལོ་, ནང་ན་	‘inside’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>ilo?</i>	སྐྱུ་ལོག་	‘outside’
<i>paŋk<sup>h</sup>a</i>	བང་ལ(ར་)	‘outside’

The following examples illustrate the uses of postposition headed phrases as adverbials in the same order as they occur in the table. The example sentences illustrate simple uses with noun phrases. Examples (a) below have the complement noun in citation form, whereas examples (b) have a genitive-marked noun complement, if such forms are used. Some examples have (c), which illustrates an alternative form of the postposition. Most postpositions which are relator nouns are also used as independent adverb(ial)s, see the next section §5.6.3.

<sup>226</sup> Occurs in a negated or interrogated clause.

<sup>227</sup> This word from Tibetan is mainly used by literate people with monastic training.

(5.118) a) འཇིགས་དང་འགོ་ལྷན་ནང་ལྟར་ཚུགས་ནེ་ང་ལོ་བྱིག་སོང་།  
 [tʰim t'ä: doly? nàŋtar] tsʰu:-nɛ ηà=lo kʰik sɔ̃:  
 rule and custom according.to be.able.to-COND 1SG=DAT lead go.PFV  
 'If you are able (to do it) [according to (our) rule(s) and custom(s)], take (me as your wife).' (song lyrics)

b) མོ་འདི་གི་ནང་ལྟར་ང་ཅག་གཡོག་བྱས་བདའ་འགྱུ་གེ།  
 [ódi=gi nàŋtar] ηàtɛa? jó? p'ja da: gju-kɛ.  
 that=GEN according 1PL work do take go-HORT  
 'Let us take and do the work according to that.' (KN e)

b) ད་ལྟ་བུ་གི་ངའི་མཚོ་བསམ་ཚུ་འཆར་གཞི་དང་རེ་ཆེ་ཚུ་མི་ལམ་ནང་བཞུགས་མི་འཛོན་གཤམ།  
 t'ato sàŋ=gi jnè: nó:sam=tsu tɛʰa:zi t'ä: riteʰi=tsu [jnilam  
 now until=GEN 1SG.GEN thought=PL plan and hope=PL dream  
 nàŋzin] mi-tʰøŋ-ga?  
 similar.to NEG-become-PQ  
 'Are not my thoughts, plans and hopes that (I) have had so far becoming [like dreams].' (Richhi 147)

(5.119) ཁོ་རའི་མཚོ་དོན་བཞུགས་ཨིན་ན་རྟོ་སྐང་རྟོག་མཚོ་ཡོན་གྱི་སྐབས་ཁང་གང་ཅུང་གཅིག་ན་ཐོབ་པའི་རེ་ཆེ།  
 [kʰu=ri nó t'ənzin] ín-nɛ=to gä:to?  
 3SGM=AEMPH.GEN thought in.accordance.with EQU-COND=CEMPH TPN  
 tʰojøn=gi méŋkʰä:=na k'ä:ruŋ=teɪ=na tʰop-ø: riteʰi.  
 university=GEN hospital=LOC any=INDF=LOC receive-2INF.GEN hope  
 'When it comes to what is according to his own thinking, (he has) a hope to receive (employment) in any university hospital in Gangtok.' (Richhi 161)

(5.120) a) རོགས་ཚུ་མཉམ་ལུ་ལེགས་བྱས་ཚོང་ཨིན་ནམ།  
 [ro:=tsu jàmpu] lèŋ-p'ja dø: ín-(n)am.  
 friend=PL with good-ADVZR stay EQU.PER-ATTQ  
 'Live well with your friends, eh.' (TB phone call)

b) ཁོང་ང་དང་མཉམ་ཅིག་རང་སློབ་གྲྭ་ན་བྱུག་ལས་གནང་དོ་ཨིན་གྱི།  
 kʰö: [ηà t'ä: jámteɪ=rä:] lóbqɑ=na tɛʰa:lɛ? nã:-do  
 3SG.HON 1SG and with=AEMPH school=LOC work.HON do.HON  
 í:=ɛo  
 EQU.PER=AT  
 'She works with me at the school, you know.' (Richhi 12)

(5.121) a) ད་ལྟ་བུ་ཟླ་རྗེ་རྟོ་ལེགས་ར་ཡོང།  
 [t'ato sā:te=to] lèŋ=ra jò?  
 now until=CEMPH good=AEMPH EX.PER  
 '[Until now], (I) am well.' (PED life story)

b) ལྷན་དུག་གོ་བུ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚོགས།  
 [tʰyn t'uko=sā:] lóbqɑ tsʰo?  
 session sixth=until school gather  
 'The school is on [until the sixth session].' (Richhi 10)

The postposition *mèmbo* ‘except’ (nominalized form a negated existential copula) occurs either in a negated (5.122a) or an interrogative clause (5.122b).

(5.122) a) འདེམ་གནང་བོ་གནང་མཁན་ན་སློབ་དཔོན་ལགས་ཀྱིས་མན་བོ་གཞན་མོ་ངས་གེས་པོ་ངས་མ་ཐོང་།  
*dem nǎ:-bo náj-kʰɛ: ná: [lópɛn=la:=gi mèmbo] zɔmɔ*  
 like.that do.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ here teacher=HON=AGT except other  
*ɲá: kɛ:po ɲá: ma-tʰõ:.*<sup>228</sup>  
 I.AGT many I.AGT NEG-see  
 ‘I have not seen many, [except the teacher] here (=you), doing like that.’ (KL discussion with DR)

b) ཨ་བའི་ཚབ་ལོ་ཚོད་རང་མན་བོ་གཞན་གྱི་ཡོད་?  
*ápɔ: tsʰaplo [tɛʰɔ:=rǎ: mèmbo] zen ka jò??*  
 father.GEN in.place 2SG.L=REFL except other who EX.PER  
 ‘Who is there in place of (your) father [except yourself]?’ (Richhi 84)

(5.123) a) ཨ་བའི་ཚབ་ལོ་ཚོད་རང་མན་བོ་གཞན་གྱི་ཡོད་?  
*[ápɔ: tsʰaplo] tɛʰɔ:=rǎ: mèmbo zen ka jò??*  
 father.GEN in.place 2SG.L=REFL except other who EX.PER  
 ‘Who is there [in place of (your) father] except yourself?’ (Richhi 84)

b) བྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱིས་ཚབ་མ་ལོ་ད་རིང་གཡོག་རྒྱབས་པ་འོང་བོ་ཡིན།  
*[tɛi=ki tsʰamalo] tʰarij jó? kjap-a ɲà òm-bo í:*  
 PN=GEN in.place today work do-PUR 1SG come-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I came today to work in place of Tashi.’ (KN e)

The only example of *mèntǎ:* ‘except’ (literally ‘NEG-send’) occurs in an interrogative:

(5.124) རང་མན་བཏང་གཞན་མོ་སློབ་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ཐོབ་པོ་ཉེ་?  
*[rǎ: mèntǎ:] zɔmɔ=tsu=gi=jǎ: tʰop-o ná?*  
 you except other=PL=AGT=too receive-2INF EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Except you, did others also receive (it)?’ (KN e)

(5.125) a) ཡའབ་ཀའ་འེན་རྩ་ལས་གནང་བ་གཅིག་ཐོབ་ཀམ་?  
*[jà:p kæptɛn tsa:=lɛ] nǎ:wa=tci? tʰop-kam?*  
 father.HON Captain(Eng.) at=ABL permission=INDF receive-ATTQ  
 ‘..whether we will get a permission [from Captain Sir]’ (KN, CY interview)

b) ང་ཅག་གི་རྩ་ལས་འདི་ལོ་ཐོབ་མེད་པོ་སྤང་ཞིན་གཤམ་ལགས།  
*[ɲàtɛa=ki tsa:=lɛ] di=lo tʰetsʰom mè:-po bɛ?*  
 1PL=GEN by=ABL this=DAT doubt EX-2INF EQU.NE  
*ij-ga=la.*  
 EQU.PER-PQ=HON  
 ‘[From our side], there is no doubt about that, is there.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

<sup>228</sup> The repetition of *ɲá:* [I.AGT] here is unnecessary from the perspective of written and polished spoken language.

c) ཀམ་, ཚོང་ ན་ མོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ཡར་རྩ་ཟང་ རླེལ་ རྩོན་ ལོ།  
*karma, tɛʰøʔ nà: ójɪ=lo [jà:=tsa:=sã:] kɛ: p'in lo.*  
 PN 2SG.L here small.child=DAT up=by=until bring give TAG.Q  
 ‘Karma, you take the child here all the way up, okay.’ (Richhi 40)

(5.126) a) ཉེ་ ང་ཅའི་ རོན་དག་ལས་ དང་ བམ་ཚུའི་ རོན་དག་ལས་ སློབ་གྲྲ་ར་ མེད་མཁན་ སྤང།  
*tɛ [ɲàtɛi t'øndale dā: pʰam=tsy: t'øndale] lóptɑ=ra*  
 so 1PL.GEN for and parents=PL.GEN for school=AEMPH  
*mè:-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*  
 EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘So, [for us and for (our) parents] there wasn’t a school.’ (CY interview)

(5.127) a) མོ་འདི་ ངའི་གི་ དབྱུང་ཞིབ་ དང་ ངའི་གི་ ད་སྟོའི་ ཉམས་ཚུང་ ཐོག་ལས་ ང་ སེ་བ་ཅེ་ན་ འདི་  
*ódi [ɲè:=gi tɛe:zip t'ã: ɲè:=gi t'ato=i ɲàmjõ: tʰo:lɛ]*  
 that 1SG.GEN=GEN research and 1SG.GEN=GEN now=GEN experience through  
*ɲà sé-patsɛnɛ=di*  
 1SG say-COND=DEMPH  
 ‘If I tell that [by my research and by my present experience]...’ (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)

b) ཁོ་གོའི་ ནང་གི་ གཏམ་ཚུ་ ཡི་གེའི་ ཐོག་ལོ་ ཁྲ་ལམ་གྱིས་ གསལ་དགས་ བྱས་ལྟེ་ ཉ་གོ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*kʰokø: nàɲ=gi tam=tsu [jìgi: tʰo:lo] tʰalamgi sé:taʔp'ja-ti*  
 insides.GEN inside=GEN word=PL letter.GEN through clearly clear do-NF  
*hako-zɛ: jòʔ.*  
 understand-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘Inmost thoughts are [through letter(s)] clearly and unambiguously being understood.’ (Richhi 152)

(5.128) a) མོ་རང་གི་ ཁོ་གོའི་ན་ བསགས་ལྟེ་ བཞག་ ཡོད་པའི་ གཏམ་ཚུ་ ཡིག་ཐོག་ རྒྱུད་ལྟེ་ ཀམ་འི་ རྩམ་ཚོགས་ ལྷགས་ ཐོབ་ཤང་ འདིས།  
*mù=raɲ=gi kʰokø:=na sák-ti za: jò-pø:*  
 3SGF=REFL=GEN innards.GEN=LOC accumulate-NF set EX-2INF.GEN  
*tam=tsu [jiktʰoʔ gjy:ti] karmø: námteo=na lùk*  
 word=PL writing through PN=GEN ear=LOC pour  
*tʰop-ɛɛ=di:*  
 receive-INF=DEMPH.AGT  
 ‘...because she has gotten a chance to pour into Karma’s ear [through writing] the words that have been accumulated and stored in her own inmost being.’ (Richhi 148)

b) ཡི་གེའི་ ཁ་བྱང་ ལྷ་ཟང་ བོམ་ བེ་ལས་ རྒྱུད་ལྟེ་ སྤང་དོག་, སྤང་དོག་ལས་ རྒྱུད་ལྟེ་ ཐོམ་གྲ་རེ་ ཐི་ཐི་བོ་ སྤང་...  
*jìgi: kʰateã: ta-sã: [bombai=lɛ gjy:ti] gã:toʔ, [gã:to=lɛ*  
 letter.GEN address look-TERM TPN=ABL via PN TPN=ABL  
*gjy:ti] sòmbarɛ t'i-ti=u bɛʔ.*  
 via TPN write-RDP-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘As (she) looks at the letter’s address, (it) is written Gangtok via Bombay, Sombare via Gangtok...’ (Richhi 162)

(5.129) ལྷོང་ཐག་པའི་ འགོ་ལས་ ལྷགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ ལུ་ཤང་ ཡིན་ལགས།  
 [ɲintʰakpø: go:lɛ] tʰudziteʰɛ ɛ̀ù-ɛ̀iː=la.  
 bottom.of.heart.GEN through thank.you say.HUM-NPST.PER=HON  
 ‘I thank (you) [from the bottom of (my/our) heart].’ (CY interview)

(5.130) a) ད་ལྟ་ ཁོང་རང་ གཉིས་པོ་ ཅེག་ལྷ་ ལ་སང་གི་ སློབ་གྲའི་ དུས་སྟོན་ སྟོར་ལོ་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ བཤད་བཞིན་ལོ་  
 t'ato kʰu=rã: ɲiː-po teiku [kʰasaŋ=gi lóbqø: t'y:tøn  
 now 3SGM=AEMPH two-COL only yesterday=GEN school.GEN celebration  
 korlo] lógju? ɛ́é-zẽː=lo  
 about story tell-PROG=DAT  
 ‘Now only the two of them telling stories [about yesterday’s school celebration]’  
 (Richhi 99)

b) ད་རིང་ ད་ དཀར་ཟས་ ལའབ་མཁན་གྱི་ ཟམ་ དང་ དམར་ཟས་ ལའབ་མཁན་གྱི་ ཟམ་གྱི་ ཀོར་ལས་ ཚོག་ གཅིག་གཉིས་ཅིག་ ལུ་དོ་ ཡིན།  
 t'ariŋ ɲá [karzɛ: ləp-kʰɛŋ=gi sàm dā: márzɛ:  
 today I vegetarian.food say-NMLZ=GEN food and nonvegetarian.food  
 ləp-kʰɛŋ-gi sàm=gi korlɛ] tsʰik teɲiː=teɪ? ɛ̀ù-do ǎː.229  
 say-NMLZ=GEN food=GEN about word a.few=INDF say.HON-IPFV EQU.PER  
 ‘Today I will say a few words [about the food called karze and about the food  
 called marze].’ (DL about food)

(5.131) a) ལྷ་ལྷིད་ དང་ རོགས་ལྷའི་ མིག་ ལྷངས་འཁོར་ ངོས་ལོ།  
 ʎaki? t'ã: roː=tsu=i mik [ʎaŋkor ɲoːlo].  
 PN and friend=PL=GEN eye car toward  
 ‘Lhaki’s and friends’ eye(s are) toward (the) car.’ (Richhi 68)

b) ལྷིམ་ ངོས་སྤྱོད་ འགྲུ་དོ།  
 [kʰim ɲoːtɛ] gju-do.  
 house toward go-IPFV  
 ‘(I’m) walking towards the house.’ (TB e)

c) ང་ སྐང་ཏོག་ ལམ་ ལྷོང་མའི་ ངོས་ལས་ སོང་བོ་ ཡིན།  
 ɲà gã:to? [lám tømø: ɲoːlɛ] sòː-bo ǎː.  
 1SG TPN road upper.GEN from.the direction go.IPFV-PST EQU.PER  
 ‘I went to Gangtok through (=from the direction of) the upper road.’ (KN e)

Note that *gjablɛ* ‘behind, after’ can be used both spatially (5.132) and temporally (5.133).

(5.132) a) ལྷི་ ལྷུབ་ལས་ བོ་ཙོ་ གཅིག་ ལྷ་ ལྷོང་ འདུག།  
 [tʰi gjablɛ] p'otso=teɪ?ba dø: du?  
 chair behind child=INDF hide stay EX.SEN  
 ‘A boy is hiding [behind the chair].’ (PD spatial topography interview)

<sup>229</sup> According to consultant KUN, the words *karzɛ:* (lit. white-food) and *márzɛ:* (lit. red-food) refer to the colour of milk/eggs-whites and meat/blood respectively.

b) ལ་ལས་ རྒྱལ་སྐོའི་ མདུན་ལོ་ རྩོན་བོ་ ལེགས་སོ" དང་ རྒྱབ་ལོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟེ་ རས་ དཀར་བོའི་ རྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐེང་ཁ་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ བི་སྟེ་ དཔྱད་མཁམ།  
*lâlɛ [gɛ:go=i dynlo] tɛ'ømbolekso t'ã: gjablo] tʰudziteʰɛ ləp-ti*  
 some gate=GEN in.front.of welcome and behind thank.you say-NF  
*rɛ: ka:pø: jì:du tʰiŋkʰa kjap-ti t'i-ti pjaŋ-kʰɛ:*  
 cloth white.GEN letter azure do-NF write-NF hang-NMLZ  
 'Some (are those who) write and hang in front of the gate "welcome" and behind it "thank you" in blue letters on white cloth.' (Richhi 71)

(5.133) a) ཉེ་ ཉེམ་ གཅིག་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ ཤ་ རྒྱུམ་བ་ བདའ་བ་ འོང་ཤང་ ཞིན་ ཉ།  
*tɛ [nìm tɛi? gjablɛ] ηà éá kimba da:-wa ǝ:-ɛi: náj.*  
 so day one after 1SG meat loan take-PUR come-NPST.PER TAG.ASR  
 'So after one day I will come to take (back) the meat loan, eh.' (KT animal story)

b) ལོ་ གཅིག་གི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ཉེ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་ཤང་གི་ ང་ཚའི་གི་ འུས་ཚོང་ གཅིག་ ཡོང།  
*[lò tɛi:=ki gjablɛ] tɛ nén kjap-ɛɛ=ki ηàtɛi=gi*  
 year one=GEN after so marriage do-INF=GEN 1PL.GEN=GEN  
*t'ytsʰø:=tɛi? jò?*  
 time=INDF EX.PER  
 '[One year later] then we have a time for having the wedding.' (SGD wedding customs)

(5.134) ཉེམ་ གཉེམ་ རྗེས་ལོ་ འདི་ རྣལ་འབྱོར་ ཞལ་ཤ་ ལྷ་མོ་ འདི་ ལོག་སྟེ་ འུག་ཀུག་ན་ ཐོན་ཞེ་ལོ།  
*[nìm ní: dzɛ:lo=di] ná:dzor áɛa lamo=di lók-ti p'jaku=na*  
 day two after=DEMPH yogini PN PN=DEMPH return-NF cave=LOC  
*tʰøn-zɛ=lo.*  
 appear-PST=REP  
 '[After two days] yogini Asha Lhamo appeared back in the cave, it is said.' (SGD Sikkim caves)

(5.135) a) ཞོ་མའི་ མཚོ་ འདི་ མདུན་ཁ་ལོ་ ཞོ་ན་ ང་ཚའི་ བ་ཤིང་གི་ སུང་ བཞག་ འདུག་གི་ སེ།  
*[ómø: tsʰo=di dynkʰa=lo] óna ηàtɛi paɕiŋ=gi pʰuŋ*  
 milk.GEN lake=DEMPH in.front.of=DAT there 1PL.GEN bamboo=GEN heap  
*za: du-kɛ=s.*  
 set EX.SEN-IN=QUO  
 '[In front of the lake of milk], there was placed a heap of our bamboos, (it is said).' (SGD cave story)

b) བཞུན་འཛིན་གྱི་ མདུན་ལོ་ རྩོ་ རྩོམ་སུ་ གཅིག་ འདུག།  
*tenziŋ=gi dyn=lo do bompu=tɛi? du?*  
 PN=GEN in.front.of stone big=INDF EX.SEN  
 'There is a big stone in front of Tenzing' (KN e)

c) ཁོང་ རྣན་བོ་ཚུ་ རྒྱ་མདུན་ལས་ ང་གིས་ ཞོ་འདེབ་སྟེ་ ཐོས་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*[kʰõ: gɛmpo=tsu kumdÿ:=lɛ] ηá:=gi ódepti tʰo:-po í.*  
 3PL elder=PL in.front.of=ABL 1SG=AGT like.that hear-2INF EQU.PER  
 '[In the presence of them elders] I heard like that.' (CY interview)

- d) ང་གུ་བྱ་ཅིན་པོ་མེ་སྐུ་མདུན་བཅའ་ཟླི་  
*ŋà [guru rimpute<sup>hɛ</sup> kumd̥y:] tea:-di*  
 1SG guru precious.one in.front.of.HON come.HUM-NF  
 ‘I came to the presence of Guru Rimpoche and...’ (CY interview)

- (5.136) a) མར་ཏམ་དང་སྐང་ཏོག་བར་ན་ཅུམ་ཏོག་ཡོད།  
*[màrtam t'ã: gã.to? p'a:na] rumte? jò?*  
 TPN and TPN between TPN EX.PER  
 ‘[Between Martam and Gangtok] there is Rumtek.’ (KN e)

- b) ཨ་ཏང་གི་ཚོས་སྐྱིད་དང་ད་ལྟའི་ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་བར་ན་གནམ་དང་སའི་ལྗང་བར།  
*[átan=gi te<sup>h</sup>ɔki? t'ã: t'atø: te<sup>h</sup>ɔki=ki p'a:na] nám t'ã:*  
 always=GEN PN and now.GEN PN=GEN between sky and  
*sá=i k<sup>h</sup>epar.*  
 earth=GEN difference  
 ‘(There is) a difference of heaven and earth [between the usual Choki and the Choki of today].’ (Richhi 157)

- (5.137) a) ད་ཚོན་ལས་ང་འདི་ལས་ལོ་དུག་འདི་ཅིག་ཚོན་ལས་ཅིག་བཅར་ཞེ་ལགས།  
*t'a jénle ŋà [di=lɛ lò t'u? de:tei? jénle=tei?]*  
 now before 1SG this=ABL year six that.much before=INDF  
*tea:-zɛ=la.*  
 come.HUM-PST=HON  
 ‘Now earlier, I came (here) [some six years earlier than now].’ (unknown man on Bumchu video, see KLT)

- b) ཉིན་གསེལ་པོའི་ཚོན་ལོ་ཨ་རྒྱ་ལོ་ཚེས་བཏང་ལྷོ་རྩོང་ཚར།  
*[nim kɛ:pø: jénlo] ágja=lo tsi: te:-ti*  
 day many.GEN before elder.brother=DAT count entrust-NF  
*mjò:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:.*  
 complete-CMPL  
 ‘[Many days ago], I have completed entrusting (my body and mind) to the brother (=you).’ (Richhi 147)

- c) ང་ཅག་ཨོ་འདི་ཏན་མ་  
*ŋàtea? [ódi hema]...*  
 1PL that before  
 ‘[Before that] we...’ (DR discussion with KL)

- (5.138) a) ལུམ་འདི་མུ་སྐྱེང་ལར་ཉལ་ཚྱོད་འདུག་གོ།  
*p'um=di [te<sup>h</sup>u tɛŋk<sup>h</sup>a] nè: dø: du-ke.*  
 girl=DEMPH water above sleep stay EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘The girl is floating (lit. lying) [on the water].’ (TB e)

- b) ཁོང་གཉིས་མ་ད་ལྟ་ཉལ་ཁྲིའི་སྐྱེང་ལོ་ཚྱོད་ཡོད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>õ: ní:te<sup>h</sup>a t'ato [nè:t<sup>h</sup>i: tɛŋlo] dø: jò?*  
 3PL two.of.them now bed.GEN above sit EX.PER  
 ‘The two of them are now sitting [on the bed].’ (Richhi 18)



The relator noun *gu(lo)* occurs only in data from Martam (East-Sikkim), where the form occurs alongside *teŋkʰa/teŋlo*. Note in (5.139c) that the cliticized form =*gu* may also attach to the relator noun *teŋ* ‘up’.

(5.139) a) རྟེ་བལ་མགུ་ལོ་བཞག།  
 [teibl<sup>230</sup> **gulo**] za?  
 table upon put  
 ‘Put (it) [on the table].’ (KN e)

b) ལུ་ངའི་མགུ་འཇུབ་ཕྱག་(?) རྫོང་བོ་སྤང།  
 kʰu [ɲè:=**gu**] zuktɛa? l̥õ:-bo bɛ?  
 3SGM 1SG.GEN=on finger.pointing arouse-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘He put blame [on me].’ (KN e)

c) བ་ལང་རྩེང་མགུ་  
 [palaj<sup>231</sup> **teŋgu**]  
 bed on  
 ‘on the bed’ (KN e)

(5.140) a) ང་ཅག་ཁྱིམ་མོའུ་ཡོད་པ་སྤང་ཨོ་འདི་སྤང་ག་རི་ལམ་འོག་ལས།  
 ɲàtɛa?<sup>232</sup> kʰim mòu jèbbe? ódi gã:, [gari làm ò:lɛ].  
 1PL house down EX.NE that time car road below  
 ‘Our house was down (there) at that time, below the car-road.’ (DB life story)

b) Thikadar ཚུ་དུས་ཚོད་སྤང་ལོ་ཨོ་ན་ Ramasankha གི་འོག་ལས་གེས་པོ་སྤང་མི་ཚུ།  
 tʰikadar=tsu t'ytsʰø? gã:=lo óna [ramasankʰa=gi ò:lɛ] kɛ:p  
 thikadar=PL time time=DAT there PN=GEN under many  
 bɛ? mi=tsu.  
 EQU.NE human=PL  
 ‘At the time of the thikadar-rulers, there were a lot of people there [under Ramasankha].’ (TB discussion with KT)

(5.141) a) མི་མང་ལུ་སྤྱ་ན་ང་ལོ་མིག་བཙུམ་མ་རྒྱབས།  
 [mí mən̩pu **bu:na**] ɲà=lo mik-tsum ma-kjap.  
 human many in.the.middle 1SG=DAT eye-close NEG-do  
 ‘Do not wink at me [in the midst of many people].’ (song lyrics)

<sup>230</sup> This may perhaps be considered a lexicalized loan word from English, because it is so frequently used and refers to higher working desks and eating-tables than the traditional Lhopo table *teŋtɛ*.

<sup>231</sup> This word is so widely used that it should probably be considered a Nepali loan rather than an instance of code-mixing. The more Tibetic word for bed is *ɲè:tʰi* (WD རྩེང་ཁྱི་ *nyal-khri*).

<sup>232</sup> I am not sure whether this non-genitive form is a mistake or intentional.

b) ཁོང་ཚུའི་ ལྷན་གྱི་ གཞུང་ལུ་ ལག་ཁྱེད་ ལྷན་ལྷན་ འབག་ལྷན་ ལྷན་དབྱངས་ བཏང་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
 [kʰøː=tsu=i **bu:na**] karma=jäː lākaː d̪amɲɛː bak-ti  
 3PL=PL=GEN in.the.middle PN=too in.hand Tibetan.guitar carry-NF  
 lújãː tãː-zɛː jøː?  
 melody send-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘[Among them] Karma too, carrying a Tibetan guitar, is singing a song.’ (Richhi 120)

c) ལྷངས་འཁོར་ ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ འུས་བཞིན་ ལྷང་དོག་ ལྷོམས་ དེབ་རྩ་ལི་ ཚོང་ལྷོམ་ ལྷན་ལས་ འཛོན་ལྷོ་  
 lan̪kor kʰalyː kʰalyː pʰja-zɛː [gãːtoʔ tʰom, dɛorali tsʰøːtʰom  
 car slow slow do-INF TPN town TPN market  
**bu:na=le**] tʰon-di  
 in.the.middle=ABL come.out-NF  
 ‘Going slowly, the car comes out [from the midst of Gangtok town and Deorali market] and...’ (Richhi 120)

d) མི་མང་གི་ ལྷན་ནང་གི་, མི་ཚོགས་ ལྷང་གི་, ལྷན་ནང་གི་  
 [mímanɯ=gi **bu: nàŋɕa**] [mítʰo nàŋɕa, **bu: nàŋɕa**]...  
 multitude=GEN mid inside group.of.people inside mid inside  
 ‘In the midst of the multitude, in the multitude, in the midst...’ (KT discussion with TB)

(5.142) a) ལྷོ་གྲ་ འབོ་ལོག་ ཉལ་ཁྲི།  
 [gɛːka **boloʔ**] nɛːtʰi.  
 window beside bed  
 ‘(There is) a bed beside a window.’ (nga’i ’gan 1)

b) ཁོའི་ འབོ་ལོག་ལོ་ ལྷ་ཐང་ཁའི་ ཨ་ཇོ་ ལྷས་པོ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད།  
 [kʰu=i **bololo**] gjatʰãːkʰøː ádzo=tɛiʔ jøː?  
 3SGM=GEN beside Indian.plains.GEN grandfather=INDF EX.PER  
 ‘Next to him is a grandfather from the plains of India.’ (Richhi 120)

(5.143) a) འབྲས་ལྷོངས་ ལྷང་གི་ལོ་ ཨ་ཀུ་ ལྷོ་པོ་ལྷོ་ ལྷང་ལྷང་ལྷོ་ མེད་མཁན་ ལྷང་གོ་ལགས།  
 [dɛndzøː **nàŋɕa=lo**] áku lopo=tsu n̪ũɲnũɲ=tsu mɛː-kʰɛn bɛ=ɕo=la.  
 Sikkim inside=DAT uncle Lhopo=PL few=PL EX-NMLZ EQU.NE=AT=HON  
 ‘[Within Sikkim], Lhapos are not few.’ (KT discussion with TB)

b) ཡོ་ལོའི་ ལྷང་ལོ་ ལྷོའི་ ལྷང་ལྷོ་ ལྷན་ཆེ་ཆེ་ ལྷོ་ལྷན་ལྷོ་  
 [jøløː **nàŋlo**] lú=i kɛːda n̪ɛntɕʰitɕʰi d̪amɲɛː=na  
 curtain inside song=GEN sound pleasant Tibetan.guitar=LOC  
 ‘[Within the curtain] (there is) a pleasant sound from a Tibetan guitar.’ (Richhi 81)

c) ཨོ་ནང་གི་ དགོན་པོ་ ལྷང་གི་  
 [ónanɯ=gi gjømpo **nàŋna**]  
 there=GEN monastery inside  
 ‘within the monastery there’ (DB trip story)

The forms *pʰiloʔ* and *paŋkʰa*, both meaning ‘outside’, were in my natural data used independently as adverbs. Consultant KN, however, affirmed that they are also used as postpositions, as shown by elicited examples (5.144) and (5.145).

(5.144) ལུ་ ལྷིམ་(ལྷི་) ལྷི་ལོག་ ལོང་ ལྷོད་ འདུག།  
*kʰu kʰim(=gi) pʰiloʔ loː døː duʔ.*  
 3SGM house(=GEN) outside stand stay EX.SEN  
 ‘He is standing outside the house.’ (KN e)

(5.145) ལུ་ ལྷིམ་(ལྷི་) ལྷི་ལོག་ ལོང་ ལྷོད་ འདུག།  
*kʰu kʰim(=gi) pʰaŋkʰa loː døː duʔ.*  
 3SGM house(=GEN) outside stand stay EX.SEN  
 ‘He is standing outside the house.’ (KN e)

### 5.6.3 Adverbs as adverbials

This section exemplifies how adverbs are used for expressing manner (§5.6.3.1), location (§5.6.3.2), time (§5.6.3.3), quantification (§5.6.3.4) and other meanings (§5.6.3.5).

#### 5.6.3.1 Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner, which were introduced and listed in §3.5.2.1, are exemplified in (5.146-149).

(5.146) a) ད་ལྟ་ ལོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ལོ་ ལྟོ་ ཟ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*tʰato kʰõː ɲiː-po ɲámteilo to sà-zɛː jòʔ.*  
 now 3PL two-COL together food eat-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘Now the two of them are eating food together.’ (Richhi 20)

b) མིའི་ མདུན་ཁར་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ འགྱུ་ རོབ་པོ་ དང་  
*míː dyŋkʰa ɲámteɪʔ gju tʰop-o-dãː...*  
 human.GEN in.front.of together go receive-2INF-CONJ  
 ‘When getting (a chance) to go together in front of people...’ (NAB BLA 7)

(5.147) ཨོ་འདི་ ལྷིམས་ཡིག་ཚུ་ རང་གི་ གཞིགས་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ལྷ་ལམ་གྱིས་ གཞིགས་ཤང་ ལྷང་ ཨོ་ན།  
*ódi tʰimjiː=tsu nàŋɛa ziː-batsɛnɛ tʰalamgi ziː-ɛɛ*  
 that law.document=PL inside look.HON-COND clearly see.HON-INF  
*bɛʔ óna.*  
 EQU.NE there  
 ‘If (one) looks inside those legal documents, (it) will be clearly seen there’ (CY interview)

(5.148) ལུ་ ཏང་ཐོག་ཁར་ ལྷང་ལུ་ཆེ་གྱི་ ལྷུག་དོང་ རང་གི་ལས་ རང་གི་ འཇུལ་ལྷི་གི་  
*kʰu hatokʰa lǎːbutɛʰɛ=gi kjadõː nàŋɛa=le nàŋɛa dzyː-diki*  
 3SGM suddenly elephant=GEN anus inside=ABL inside enter-NF  
 ‘Suddenly he entered inside from within the the elephant’s anus.’ (KT animal story)

Three adverbs are used for manners of sleeping:

- (5.149) ལུ་གོང་སྐྱུལ་/ལ་བུབ་/བུར་སྒྲི་ ཉལ་ རྗོད་ འདུག།  
*kʰu kʰõ:kɛ/kʰabup/sù:te jɛ: dø: du?*  
 3SGM on.back/on.tummy/on.side sleep stay EX.SEN  
 ‘He’s is sleeping on (his) back/on (his) stomach/on (his) side.’ (KN e)

As suggested by examples (5.146-149), adverbs of manner generally tend to occur close to the final verb, see (5.146b), (5.147) and (5.149). Temporal adverbs, on the other hand occur more frequently in clause-initial position or otherwise well before the verb. The manner adverb *hatokʰa* ‘suddenly’, which has a temporal nuance, is in (5.148) positioned quite far-away from the verb.

### 5.6.3.2 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs typically occur in preverbal position (5.150) but may also be fronted if topical (5.151-152).

- (5.150) ལྷོ་ག་ རྟག་རྗོད་ལོ་ ས་ཁར་ གོས་ བཞག་ འདུག།  
*pʼja-ɛa dakdok=lo sákʰa ko: za: du?*  
 chicken-meat IDEO.NN ground throw set EX.SEN  
 ‘Chicken meat has been thrown on the ground in small pieces, I see/saw.’ (KN e)

- (5.151) ཐག་རིང་ལོ་ ལྷོ་བ་ མཐོང་བོ་ལས་ མོའི་ སེམས་ ལེབ་ དགའ་སྣོ་...  
*tʰa:riŋ=lo tʼuwa tʰõ:-po=lɛ mù=i sém lɛp ga-ti...*  
 far.away=DAT smoke see-2INF=ABL 3SGF=GEN mind very.much rejoice-NF  
 ‘Seeing smoke far away, she became very joyful (and)...’ (rna-gsung 4)

- (5.152) ཏར་གྲུ་ལས་ ཡར་ འཛོག་ཚུ་ལས་ ལམ་སྐྱད་ མོ་ན་ བྱིམ་ མོ་ན་ ཡོད།  
*tarku=lɛ ja: dzɛk-tsʰo-u=lɛ làmmɛ? óna kʰim óna<sup>233</sup>*  
 TPN=ABL up climb-CMPL-2INF=ABL below.road there house there  
*jø?*  
 EX.PER  
 ‘Having come up from Tarku, there is a house there, there below the road.’ (KT discussion with TB)

Most postpositions which are relator nouns (for definition, see §3.6.8) can be independently used as locative adverbials, see (5.153), which shows that postpositions used as locative adverbs typically occur just before the verb.

- (5.153) a) མོའི་ སེམས་ ལེབ་ དགའ་སྣོ་ མ་ལག་ མ་ལག་ འོག་ལོ་ བབ།  
*mù=i sém lɛp ga-ti màla? màla? ò:=lo pʼap.*  
 3SGF=GEN mind very.much rejoice-NF fast fast down=DAT descend  
 ‘Rejoicing in her mind very much, (she) came down very quickly.’ (rna-gsung 4)

- b) ལྷ་མུང་ དང་ སངས་རྒྱས་ རྒྱབ་ལོ་ རྗོད་སྣོ་  
*l̥ateuŋ tʼã: sánge? gjablo dø:-ti...*  
 PN and PN at.the.back sit-NF  
 ‘Lhachung and Sange, sitting in the back and...’ (Richhi 51)

<sup>233</sup> In written language and polished spoken language, the repetition of *óna* is considered infelicitous.

c) ལུ་ འདི་ ཡོ་ལུ་ ལྷོང་ཁར་ སོང་ཟྱི་

*kʰu=di jòu tɛŋkʰa sɔː-di*  
 3SGM=DEMPH up above go.PFV-NF  
 ‘He went up and...’ (KT animal story)

d) ང་ འོག་ལས་ ལུ་དོ་ མིན་ལགས།

*ŋà ɔː=le ɛù-do ʔiː=la.*  
 1SG down=ABL speak.HUM-IPFV EQU.PER=HON  
 ‘I speak from down (here).’ (KT phone call)

e) ཀེན་ཚོང་ འདི་ ལྷུ་ན་ བཞག།

*kintsɔː=di buːna zaʔ.*  
 maize=DEMPH in.the.middle set  
 ‘The maize is put in the middle.’ (PL interview)

g) ཉི་ རང་ག་ འཇུལ་ ལག།

*tɛ nàŋɕa dzyː làp.*  
 so inside enter say  
 ‘So enter inside, (he) says.’ (KT animal story)

For demonstrative pro-adverbs, see §3.6.5 and §6.4.

### 5.6.3.3 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs tend to occur in clause initial position (5.154) or after the agent (5.155-156), depending on topicality considerations. The examples below illustrate adverbs referring to time of day (5.154), day (5.155) and year (5.156).

(5.154) ལྱི་ལུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཟམ་ ཟ་ཟྱི་ ལྷོང་།

*pʰiruʔ tʰamtɕɛʔ sàm sà-ti mjòː.*  
 at.night all food eat-NF finish  
 ‘At night everyone has finished eating.’ (Richhi 4)

(5.155) མོ་ ད་རིང་ འཇུལ་ མེར་མེར་ ཡོད་, མ་ཉང་ དང་ མན་འབྲ་བོ།

*mù tʰariŋ dzum-mè.meː jòʔ, átãː tʰãː man-ɖou.*  
 3SGF today smile-IDEO EX.PER always and NEG-similar  
 ‘She is smily today, unlike usually.’ (Richhi 148)

(5.156) ང་ ལུ་ཅིག་ ད་ མ་སློབས་, ར་ཞིང་ འདི་ ཚར་ གཞིས་, ར་ཞིང་ མེད་བ་སྤང་, གཞིས་ཞིང་ འབྲ།

*ŋà tʰutɕiʔ tʰa ma-ʎɛp, nàŋiː=di tsʰaː ɲiː, nàniŋ*  
 1SG this.year now NEG-arrive last.year=DEMPH turn two last.year  
*mébbe, zɔːɲiŋ ɖa.*  
 NEG.EX.NE two.years.ago AP  
 ‘This year I didn’t go (there), last year two times, it wasn’t last year, it’s two years ago, I think.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The different placing of the temporal adverbials in (5.157) and (5.158) is conditioned by topicality.

(5.157) མདང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ མགོ་ བཏོག་ལྷོ་ འགྲིལ་ རྩོད་ ཡོད་སྐབས་ ལུ་མིང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ཅེན་ ལོ་ མོ་ན་རང་ ཤི་ཤང་ སྤང།  
*dā:*            *ŋàtei bhaila=ki go tok-ti d̥i: d̥ø: j̥ø:-kap*  
 yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall stay EX-SIM  
*p'usim=la: m̥è:-patɕɛn̥ kʰu óna=rã: ɛ́i-ɛɛ bɛ?*  
 younger.sister=HON NEG.EX-COND 3SGM there=AEMPH die-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Yesterday when our Bhaila was lying fallen after hitting his head, if it wasn’t for the sister, he would have died on the spot.’ (Richhi 12)

(5.158) ལོ་ མདང་ འགྲེལ་མི་ མགོ་ ཚད་ལྡན་ གཏོག་གོ་ལོ།  
*kʰu dā: ge:-di go tsʰɛd̥ɛ: tok-o=lo.*  
 3SGM yesterday fall-NF head considerably hit-2INF=REP  
 ‘He fell and hit his head quite badly yesterday, they say.’ (Richhi 6)

In (5.158), the topic (*kʰu* ‘he’) that has arisen from the previous context is fronted and the time adverbial *dā:* occurs within the comment/focus part which provides new information about the topic. In (5.157), on the other hand, the topic established by the previous context is *p'usim* ‘younger sister’ and the the proposition (5.157) draws attention to what happened the previous day in relation to the younger sister.

The postpositions *ŋénlo/ŋénlo* ‘before’ and *gjablo/gjable* ‘behind; after’ are also used as temporal adverbs, see (5.159). Whereas *ŋénlo/ŋénle* is temporal, *gjablo/gjable* can also mark location, see (5.153b) above.

(5.159) a) ཤིང་ འདི་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ མ་ཙེ་ རིང་ཤང་ ཞིན།  
*ɛ́iŋ=di gjable átsi riŋ-ɛɛ ǎ̃.*  
 tree=DEMPH afterwards a.bit be.long-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Later this tree will grow a bit.’ (KN e)

b) ལུ་ རྩོན་ལས་ ངའི་ རྩོགས་ཀྱི་ ཞིན་པོ་ སྤང།  
*kʰu ɲénle ɲè: t'oku ím-bo bɛ?*  
 3SGM earlier 1SG.GEN friend EQU-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Earlier he was my friend.’ (KT e)

Temporal adverbs *t'aruŋ* ད་རུང་ ‘again, yet, still’ and *tɛ:ra* ཉེ་ར་ ‘again’ express frequency:

(5.160) ད་ མོ་ན་ལས་ ད་ ད་རུང་ འགྲོ་ལེས་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང།  
*t'a ónale t'a t'aruŋ d̥oly=tei? j̥ø:-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 now then now still custom=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Now then there is still another custom.’ (SGD wedding customs)

(5.161) རྩོད་མ་ ཉེ་ར་ རྩོད་ཤི་?  
*tsim tɛ:ra tsi:-ɛa?*  
 game again play-INF.PQ  
 ‘Shall (we) play the game again?’ (PT kitchen discussion)

Example (5.162) illustrates an indefinite temporal adverb, which occurs in a repetitive bisyndetic construction.

- (5.162) རེ་འགའ་ མལ་ན་ ཉལ། རེ་འགའ་ ལོང་སྟེ་ བར་ཚུར་ འགྲུ།  
*rega: mɛː=na jɛː, rega: lɔː-ti pʰa: tsʰu: gju.*  
 sometimes bed=LOC sleep sometimes rise-NF thither hither go  
 ‘At times (he) lies on the bed, at times (he) rises up and walks to and fro.’  
 (Richhi 117)

### 5.6.3.4 Verb-modifying quantitative adverbs

Quantifying adverbs, which are summarized in Table 5.4 (see also §3.5.2.4), modify the verb or the whole clause. Each of the forms are exemplified after the table.

Table 5.4. Verb-modifying quantitative adverbs

<i>lɛp(ti)</i>	ལེབ་(ལྷི་)	‘very much’
<i>kɛ:p, kɛ:po</i>	གེས་བ་, གེས་པོ་	‘much, a lot’
<i>màŋpu, màŋpo</i>	མང་པུ་, མང་པོ་	‘much, a lot’
<i>tsʰɛdɛː</i>	ཚད་ལུན་	‘considerably’
<i>màŋtsʰøʔ</i>	མང་ཚད་	‘to great degree, more (than)’
<i>nùŋtsʰøʔ<sup>234</sup></i>	ཉུང་ཚད་	‘little, less (than)’
<i>ɛyːɛyː</i>	ཤུས་ཤུས་	‘a bit’
<i>ɛyːtɛyː</i>	ཤུས་ཅིག་	‘a bit’
<i>ɛyry</i>	ཤུས་རེ་	‘a bit’
<i>átsi(m)</i>	ཨ་ཅི(མ་)	‘a bit’
<i>átɛm</i>	ཨ་ལྷེམ་ (?)	‘a bit’ (rare)
<i>nùŋnuŋ</i>	ཉུང་ཉུང་	‘little, few’
<i>tɛɛ:/dʒɛː</i>	ཅེ་/འཇོ་	‘at all’ (+negation)
<i>tsa(:)le</i>	ཚུ་ལས་	‘at all, never’ (+negation)
<i>bekki</i>	བད་གི་	‘at all, anyhow’ (+negation) (Lachung)

- (5.163) བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ ཉེ་ ལེབ་ མཚོ་ནེ་ འདི་  
*dɛŋ-gam min-dɛŋ-gam tɛ lɛp nɔː-nɛ=di*  
 be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ so very.much think-COND=DEMPH  
 ‘So if one thinks a lot about whether it is true or not...’ (CY interview)

- (5.164) གེས་བ་ བཤད་བའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཟུང་ ད་ མིན་ག་ལགས།  
*kɛ:p ɛɛ-pøː lɔgju bɛʔ t'a iŋ-ga=la.*  
 a.lot tell-2INF.GEN story EQU.NE now EQU.PER-PQ=HON  
 ‘Now (it) is a much told story, isn’t it.’ (PT kitchen)

- (5.165) ཉེ་ གསལ་མཁལ་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ ད་ མང་པུ་ ལྷ་ཤད་ གན་འདི་ མེད།  
*te séŋ-kʰɛː ʃɛŋɛː=tsu=lo t'a máŋpu ɛ̀ù-ɛɛ kʰandɛː*  
 so listen.HON-NMLZ PRN.HON=PL=DAT now a.lot say.HUM-INF anything  
*mèʔ.*  
 NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘So, to you listeners (I) have not anything much to say.’ (KT life story)

<sup>234</sup> Also pronounced *nùŋtsʰiʔ*

(5.166) ཁོ་མདང་ འབྲེལ་ཕྱི་ མགོ་ ཚད་ལྡན་ གཏོག་གོ་ལོ།  
*kʰu dā: ge:-di go tʰɛdɛ: tok-o=lo.*  
 3SGM yesterday fall-NF head considerably hit-2INF=REP  
 ‘He fell yesterday and hit his head quite badly, it is said.’ (Richhi 6)

The quantitative adverb *màŋtsʰø?* ‘to great degree, more (than)’ expresses a great degree or majority of cases, see (5.167). Often an idea of comparison is involved and, hence, ‘more’ may be used in translation, see (b) and (c).

(5.167) a) མང་ཚད་ ཤེད་མའི་གི་ ན་ཚ་ ཐོན་ཤང་ ཡིན་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྤང་།  
*màŋtsʰø? ɛ́: mθ:=gi nàtsʰa tʰon-ɛɛ? ǐ: ódi gā:.*  
 great.degree measles=GEN illness become-INF EQU.PER that time  
 ‘There was a great deal of measles at that time.’ (PED life story)

b) ཁོང་ མཉམ་ལུ་ ཀ་ སྤོང་པོ་ མང་ཚད་  
*kʰõ: nàmpu ka de:-po màŋtsʰø?*  
 3RD.HON with who stay-2INF more  
 ‘...who stays with him/her most/more.’ (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)

c) དང་ལུ་གྱི་ དུས་ཚོད་ལས་ དེང་སང་ མི་ཚོགས་ མང་ཚད་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྤང་།  
*t'ã: pu=gi t'ytsʰø:=le t'insã: mítsʰo? màŋtsʰø? jò-po*  
 long.ago=GEN time=ABL nowadays crowd(s) great.degree EX-2INF  
*bɛ?*  
 EQU.NE  
 ‘Nowadays there are more people than in the earlier times.’ (KUN e)

(5.168) ཕུགས་ལོ་ འདི་ མང་ཚད་ དང་ ང་ཅག་ ལྷོ་མོན་ལོ་ འདི་ ཉུང་ཚད་ ལབ་མཁན་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ གནང་གནང་པོ་ མིན་འདུག་ཤོ་  
 ལགས།  
*tɛʰuk=lo=di màŋtsʰø? t'ã: ηàtea? l̥ø-mɛ:=lo=di*  
 Nepali=DAT=DEMPH more and 1PL Lhopo-Lepcha=DAT=DEMPH  
*jùŋtsʰi? làp-kʰɛ: ódi tɛʰøge:=gi nã:-nã:-bo minduk=ɛo=la.*  
 less say-NMLZ that king=AGT do.HON-RDP-2INF NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON  
 ‘The king did not do that (thing) [which is to say more (was to be given) to the Nepali and less to the Lhopos and Lepchas].’ (CY interview)

(5.169) ལུས་ལུས་ ཁ་ ལབ་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ འཕྲོན་ སྤོང་ འདུག།  
*ɛy:ey: kʰa làp tsʰu-po tʰon dø: du?*  
 a.bit mouth speak be.able.to-2INF become stay EX.SEN  
 ‘He has achieved a state where he is able to talk a bit.’ (Richhi 23)

(5.170) ཏེ་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ ལུས་ཅིག་ ཉན་ སྤོང་ ཡོད།  
*tɛ ηàtea=ki ɛy:tey: jɛn dø: jò?*  
 then 1PL=AGT a.bit listen stay EX.PER  
 ‘So we have listened to (these songs) a bit.’ (RS song intro)



- (5.171) ཀེན་ཚོང་གྲུ་རེ་  
*kintsō: ɛ́ry*  
 corn a.bit  
 ‘a little bit of corn’ (PL interview)
- (5.172) དཀའ་ལས་ མ་ཚེ་ ཚ་དྲགས་  
*kale? útsi tsʰaʦa?*  
 difficulty a.bit hot  
 ‘a bit difficulty’ (TB discussion with KT)
- (5.173) ད་ལྟོ་ ང་ཅག་ མ་ལྷེན་ རྩེ་ ཡོད།  
*t'ato ηàtea? átem p'jeu jò?*  
 now 1PL a.bit hurry EX.PER  
 ‘Now we are in a bit of a hurry’ (DB day trip)
- (5.174) ང་ཅག་ མོ་འདི་ སྐར་ ཟ་གད་ ལེབ་ ལུང་ལུང་ ཐོབ་གད་ ཞིན།  
*ηàtea? ódi gã: sà-εε? lɛp nùŋnuŋ tʰop-έ.*  
 1PL that time eat-INF very little receive-NPST.PER  
 ‘At that time we got very little to eat.’ (PED life story)

Three adverbs *tεε:* ཅེ, *tsa:le* ཅ་ལས་ and *bekki* ཅེད་གི་ occur with a negated verb and emphasize the fact that the action denoted by the verb was not done ‘at all’.

- (5.175) སྐར་ གཞུག་གོ་ འདི་ རྩོ་ ཅེ་ མན་ཟ་བ་ རྩོད་ འདུག་གོ།  
*lá: tɛuku=di p'i tεε: man-za-wa dø: du-kɛ.*  
 bull other=DEMPH fodder at.all NEG-eat-CIRC stay EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘The other bull stayed without eating any fodder.’ (TB bull story)
- (5.176) ཉེ་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་ ཅ་ལས་ར་ འཛོན་ མི་མིད།  
*tɛ di ηàtea? tsa:le=ra tʰon mi-si?*  
 then this 1PL at.all=AEMPH happen NEG-be.possible  
 ‘It is definitely not possible for us to make it happen.’ (NAB BLA 7)
- (5.177) མོ་འདི་ འཚོལ་ ལྟ་བོ་ ཞིན་མད་(?) བད་གི་ མ་རྟེད།  
*ódi tsʰø: ta-wo í:-mɛ. bekki ma-ŋe?.*<sup>235</sup>  
 that search look-2INF EQU.PER-?? at.all NEG-find  
 ‘I searched it (but) did not find it anyhow.’ (KUN e)

The initial syllable of *tɛʰa:le* ཅ་ལས་/ཅེ་ལས་ ‘all’ also occurs in a converb-looking construction, see (5.178). The verb-looking *tɛʰa:* is tentatively glossed as ‘be all’

<sup>235</sup> This clause from Lachung has two peculiarities. The first is the verbal ending *-mɛ*, which does not occur in my data elsewhere (hence the gloss ??) and which was reported by KUN to convey that the sentence is not complete. The form resembles Dzongkha “exophoric copula” *imme* (Watters 2018: 338, 442). The second peculiarity is the word *ŋe?* ‘find’ (WT རྟེད་ *rnyed* ‘gain, find’) instead of which *tʰop* ‘find’ is used elsewhere in my data.

- (5.178) རྣམ་ (དང་) ལྷ་རྩི་  
*t'oʔ (t'ã:) tɛʰa:-ti*  
 load (and) be.all-NF  
 'all the loads' (KN e)

The construction (*dã:*) *tɛʰa:-ti* can co-occur with additional quantification:

- (5.179) དེབ་ (དང་) ལྷ་རྩི་ བམས་ཅད་  
*t'ɛp (t'ã:) tɛʰa:-ti tʰamtɛʔ*  
 book (and) be.all-NF all  
 'all the books entirely' (KN e)

### 5.6.3.5 Other adverbs

Other adverbs include the epistemic adverbs *né:mu(ra)* མནེ་མུ་(ར་) 'really' (5.180), *mèntɛnɛ/mèntɛno* མན་ཅེ་ནེ་/མན་ཅེ་ནོ་ 'perhaps, maybe' (5.181) and *mènne/mènni*<sup>236</sup> མན་ནེ་ 'perhaps, maybe' (5.182).

- (5.180) ལྷ་རྩི་ མནེ་མུ་ར་ རོ་རངས་ ལྷོ་བོ་ གནང་ག་?  
*ʃɛŋɛʔ nɛ:mura tʰorã: tɛ'ɛm-bo náŋ-gaʔ*  
 PRN.HON really tomorrow come.HON-2INF do.HON-PQ  
 'Are you really coming tomorrow?' (TB e)

- (5.181) ལྷ་ཅག་ མན་ཅེ་ནོ་ རོ་རངས་ ཉེ་མ་ ལྷ་ཅག་ engineer ཡང་ རོ་རོ་ འོང་གྲོ།  
*k'utɛaʔ mèntɛno tʰorã: ɲima k'utɛaʔ endziniɔr=jã: tʰon*  
 2PL perhaps tomorrow day 2PL engineer(Eng.)=too become  
*ò:-ʈo.*  
 FUT.UNC-PROB  
 'You will perhaps in the coming days become engineers too.' (KL BLA 12)

- (5.182) མན་ནེ་ རོ་རངས་ ང་ མར་ཏམ་ འགྱུ་ འོང་གྲོ།  
*mènni tʰorã: ɲà màrtam gju ò:-ʈo.*  
 maybe tomorrow 1SG TPN go FUT.UNC-PROB  
 'Maybe I'll go to Martam tomorrow.' (KN e)

The postposition *t'ɔnlo* 'for the purpose of' can be amplified by the reflexive/anaphoric emphatic *=rã:* to form the epistemic adverb *t'ɔnlorã:* 'really, truly', see (5.183).

- (5.183) རྣོ་ལོ་རང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལས་ གནམ་རྣོ་ ཡོང་བར་ཅེ་ན་  
*t'ɔnlo=rã: ɲàtɛi lɛ:námko jò:-patɛnɛ...*  
 real=AEMPH 1PL.GEN fate EX-COND  
 'Really, if it is our fate...' (Richhi 113)

The restrictive adverb *tɛiku/tɛuku* (ག)ཅིག་གྱ་ 'only' is postposed to the element it modifies. It can modify the whole dependent clause (5.184), another adverb (5.185), a numeral (5.186) or a noun (5.187).

<sup>236</sup> The form *mènni* is from consultant KN (Martam).

- (5.184) a) ལོ་ལོག་སློབས་སྟེ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་ཉ་གོ།  
*kʰu lòk l̥ep-ti tɛiku hako.*  
 3SGM return arrive-NF only understand  
 ‘He understands (it) only upon returning.’ (Richhi 26)
- b) དེ་ལོ་ལས་སྟེ་ལ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་འོང་བོ་མེན་  
*tʰe:lu kʰa: kɛ:-wa tɛiku òm-bo ǐ:.*  
 just.like.that message bring-PUR only come-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I have just come like that to bring you a message.’ (nga’i ’gan 11)
- (5.185) ཅུ་བོའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ལོ་གིས་ད་ལྟ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་ཉ་གོ་བོ་མིན།  
*ŋù-wø: gjumtsʰɛ: kʰu=gi tʰato tɛiku hako-wo ǐ:.*  
 weep-2INF.GEN reason 3SGM=AGT now only know-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘only lama Chopel’ (Richhi 170)
- (5.186) ལུ་ཕྱ་དྲུག་ཅིག་ཀྱི་  
*pʰu ŋá tʰu? tɛiku*  
 boy five six only  
 ‘only five-six boys’ (PL interview on farming)
- (5.187) ལྷམ་ཚས་འཕེལ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་  
*lám tɛʰøpel tɛiku*  
 lama PN only  
 ‘only lama Chopel’ (LT kitchen discussion)

## 5.7 Summary remarks

This chapter showed that simple categorizing of Denjongke as either nominative-accusative or absolutive-ergative is not feasible, because argument marking of A and P is to a considerable degree conditioned by pragmatics and lexical choices. Therefore case-marking for the A argument was called agentive, a semantically-oriented term, rather than ergative. It was shown that the sole argument of intransitive clauses may be agentive marked for emphatic purposes, while the marking of A argument in transitive clauses shows signs of both syntactic control (some verbs require agentive-marking in the past tense) and pragmatic control (e.g. A arguments with and without agentive-marking are offered in elicitation). The marking of P argument was seen to be sensitive to animacy, identifiability/specificity and affectedness. Moreover, this chapter showed that alignment of ditransitive clauses does not clearly fit any of Haspelmath’s (2005) alignment types (indirective alignment, neutral alignment and secundative alignment), because the marking of P argument is split between zero-marking (also used for T[heme] argument in ditransitive clauses) and dative-locative-marking (also used for marking R[ecipient] argument).

It was shown that valency modification can be accomplished through valency decreasing argument suppression (resulting in “functional passive”, see Givon [1984: 164]), and valency increasing causative constructions. Adverbial modification (not including adverbial clauses) is accomplished through case-marked noun phrases, postposition phrases and adverbs. Comparative clauses accomplished by the ablative can be categorized as “locational” and further as “from-comparative” (Stassen 2013b).

## 6 Deixis and reference

This chapter addresses issues related to deixis and reference in Denjongke. Deixis refers to the way in which context helps to determine the referent of a linguistic expression (Levinson 1983: 54). For instance, the referent of the personal pronouns *I*, *you*, and *she* is determined by the context. Similarly, the referent of spatial terms such as *here* and *there* is revealed by the context. The term reference covers definite (e.g. *he*) and indefinite (e.g. *someone*) ways of referring to people and objects. The treatment is divided into personal pronouns (or personal deixis) (§6.1), reflexives and reciprocals (§6.2), indefinite reference (§6.3) and demonstratives (§6.4)

### 6.1 Personal pronouns

The use of the personal pronouns is described here. For ease of reference, the forms already introduced in §3.6.1 are reproduced in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Personal pronouns

			Singular	Plural
1p			<i>ŋà</i> ང་	<i>ŋàtɛa?</i> ང་ཅག་
2p	low-level		<i>tɛʰø?</i> ཚོད་	( <i>tɛʰø:=tsu</i> ཚོད་ཚུ་) <i>k'utɛa?</i> གུ་ཅག་
	mid-level		<i>rã:</i> རང་	<i>rã:=tsu</i> རང་ཚུ་
	honorific		<i>ʃɛŋɛ?</i> ལྷན་རྒྱས་	<i>k'utɛa ʃɛŋɛ?</i> གུ་ཅག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ <i>ʃɛŋɛ:(=tsu)</i> ལྷན་རྒྱས་(ཚུ་)
3p	ordinary	masc.	<i>kʰu</i> རུ་	<i>kʰõ:</i> རོང་
		fem.	<i>mù/mò</i> ལུ་	
	honorific		<i>kʰõ:</i> རོང་ <i>kʰõ: ʃɛŋɛ?</i> རོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་	<i>kʰõ: ʃɛŋɛ:(=tsu)</i> རོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་(ཚུ་)

The first person plural form does not take stance as to whether the addressee is included in the “we” or excluded from it (see §3.6.1). The use of *ŋà* is illustrated in (6.1). For inclusive and exclusive uses of *ŋàtɛa?*, refer to (6.2) and (6.3) respectively.

(6.1) མོ་འདིས་ བྱས་ ང་ རྫོག་ མ་ཚུགས།

*ódi-p'ja ŋà dok ma-tshu?*

that-ADVZR 1SG read NEG-be.able.to

‘Therefore I could not study.’ (PED life story)

(6.2) ང་ཅག་ རྗ་ མི་ གེས་པོ་ འཛོམ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་

*ŋàtɛa? nà: mí ke:po dzom-batɛɛne*

1PL here people a.lot gather-COND

‘If we (incl.) gather here as many people...’ (NT BLA 6)

(6.3) མང་ ལ་རུབ་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ རོང་ གཞོག་ རྒྱབས་ རྫོང་པའི་ སྤང་...

*dã: kʰa.nu:=lo ŋàtɛa? pʰou jó? kjap de:-pø:*

yesterday the.day.after.yesterday=DAT 1PL over.there word do sit-2INF

*gã:...*

time

‘A few days ago when we (excl.) were working over there...’ (PL interview)

Second person singular may be referred to on three levels. The familiar level *tɛʰøʔ* is used with close friends, social inferiors and those one despises. The mid-level *rǎ:*, which literally means ‘self’ (see §6.2 for reflexive pronouns) can be used with one’s equals or inferiors with whom a relationship already exists. The honorific *ʃɛŋgɛʔ* is typically used with social superiors, strangers and anyone to whom the speaker wants to show respect. The same form *ʃɛŋgɛʔ* is also used for referring to second person plural and as an honorific in conjunction with third person plural referents (it is not used for 3<sup>rd</sup> singular referents).<sup>237</sup> Because *ʃɛŋgɛʔ* is used for both 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person referents, it is here glossed just as an honorific pronoun (PRN.HON) whose exact reference has to be understood from the context.<sup>238</sup> The three levels of address in second person singular are illustrated in (6.4-6). Note that in examples (6.5) and (6.6), taken from a Denjongke vocabulary cum phrase book (the data there conforms to spoken data), *ʃɛŋgɛʔ* ‘you (hon.)/honorific pronoun’ occurs with the honorific noun *tsʰɛn* ‘name (hon.)’ whereas *rǎ:* ‘you’ is accompanied by the ordinary noun *mìŋ* ‘name’.

(6.4) ཚོད་མེད་གན་གན་བོ?  
*tɛʰøʔ*    *mìŋ*    *kʼar/kʼan*    *boʔ*  
 2SG.L    name what            EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘What’s your name?’

(6.5) རང་གི་མེད་གན་བོ?  
*raŋ=gi*            *mìŋ*    *kʼan*    *boʔ*  
 2SG.M=GEN    name what    EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘What is your name?’ (JWD book p. 115)

(6.6) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལོ་གན་ལྟུ་བོ་གནང་དོ་ལགས་?  
*ʃɛŋgɛ:=ki*            *tsʰɛn=lo*            *kʼan*    *ɛ̀ù-bo*            *nǎ:-do=laʔ*  
 PRN.HON=GEN    name.HON=DAT    what say.HUM-2INF    do.HON-IPFV=HON  
 ‘What is your name?’ (JWD book p. 115)

Ordinary level second person plural is *kʼuteaʔ*, as in (6.7). The honorific pronoun *ʃɛŋgɛʔ* is the default choice in formal situations, see (6.8). The mid-level *rǎ:* can also be pluralized, although this use is rare in my data. Note that (6.9) combines the use of *rǎ:=tsu* and *ʃɛŋgɛ:=tsu*. The use of *ʃɛŋgɛ:=tsu* in (6.9) seems to be a general reference to a group of individuals.

(6.7) ལྷ་ཅག་ལོ་བསམ་ལོ་བཟང་དྲགས་ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ནེ་  
*kʼutea=lo*    *sámpo*            *zǎ:taʔ*    *jò-pateɛ(ne)...*  
 2PL=DAT    intention    good    EX-COND  
 ‘If you have good intentions...’ (SGD wedding customs)

<sup>237</sup> People from the villages of Lachen and Lachung in North Sikkim are reported to have a more direct way of speaking called *kʼariʔ* *kʼatuʔ* ‘direct speech’ which is famous for the lack of honorifics. Lachenpas and Lachungpas may address even strangers by *tɛʰøʔ*, a practice which is considered vulgar by more southern speakers.

<sup>238</sup> An indication that *ʃɛŋgɛʔ* has wider semantics than 2SG is that once a person whom I addressed with *ʃɛŋgɛʔ* did not immediately understand I was referring to him personally.

(6.8) ང་ཚའི་སྐད་ འདི་ འདེབ་ ཚུམ་ལྷོ་གི་ ང་ལྟོ་ ལྷོ་བ་དཔོན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ ལྷག་ལས་ ག་ཚོང་ བཞེས་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ལྷད།  
*ŋàtɛi ke:=di dep tsom-diki t'ato lópɔn*  
 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH like.that compose-NF now teacher  
*ʃɛŋɛ:=gi tɛʰa:lɛʔ k'adzɔʔ zɛ: jò:-kʰɛn bɛʔ,*  
 PRN.HON=AGT work.HON how.much eat/obtain.HON EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
*iŋ-ga=la.*  
 EQU.PER-PQ=HON  
 'Making compositions in our language like that, you teachers have done so much work,  
 haven't you.' (RD BLA 9)

(6.9) ཨ་ཀུ་ རང་ཚུ་ འདེམ་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་གིས་ ལྷགས་བསམ་ མངའ་ དགོས་པོ་ གཤམ་ཆེ།  
*áku rá:=tsu dem ʃɛŋɛ:=tsu=gi tʰu:sam ŋá:*  
 paternal.uncle 2SG.M=PL like.that PRN.HON=PL=AGT thought.HON have.HON  
*go:-po k'ɛ:tɛʰi.*  
 be.needed-2INF important  
 'Uncle, it is important that individuals like you have (this) thought.' (sbar-phung ling-  
 dam 'gro-lis 92)

The plurality of *ʃɛŋɛʔ* can be made explicit by adding the plural marker =*tsu*, *ʃɛŋɛ:=tsu* 'you (pl.)':

(6.10) གསལ་མཁན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ བཏམ་གྱིས་བདེ་ལེགས།  
*séŋ-kʰɛ:* *ʃɛŋɛ:=tsu=lo taɛidileʔ.*  
 listen.HON-NMLZ PRN.HON=PL=DAT greeting  
 'Greetings to you, listeners.' (KT animal story)

Plurality may also be made explicit through modifying words, e.g. *ʃɛŋɛʔ tʰamtɛɛʔ* 'all of you', *ʃɛŋɛʔ tʰamtɛɛʔ k'ompu/k'á:pu* 'all of you', *ʃɛŋɛʔ nímpu* 'the two of you'. The ordinary level *k'uteaʔ* may be combined with *ʃɛŋɛʔ* into the honorific second person plural *k'uteaʔ ʃɛŋɛʔ*:

(6.11) ལུ་ཚག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གོང་ལུ་ མཁྱེན་བའི་ བདག་ལུ་ ལྷད།  
*k'uteaʔ ʃɛŋɛʔ tʰamtɛɛʔ k'ò:pu kʰɛm-bø: daku bɛʔ.*  
 you PRN.HON all entire know.HON-2INF.GEN owner EQU.NE  
 'All of you are possessors of (this) knowledge.' (NT BLA7)

The third person singular ordinary pronouns are *kʰu* for males and *mù/mò* for females:

(6.12) ལུ་ འདི་ ང་ མི་ རྗེས་བྲགས་ ལྷད།  
*kʰu=di t'a mí dzikʈaʔ bɛʔ.*  
 3SGM=DEMPH now person excellent EQU.NE  
 'He is a great guy.' (KT discussion with TB)

(6.13) ལུ་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ ལེགས་ ལྷབས་བད་ཀྱི་  
*mù ʃokɛ lèm kjap-(p)ɛ-kaʔ*  
 3SGF Lhoke good speak-EQU.NE-PQ  
 'Does she speak good Lhoke/Denjongke?' (PT kitchen discussion)

The honorific for both of them is the gender-neutral *kʰõ:* (see 6.14), which also functions as a third person plural pronoun (see 6.15). Often the plural *kʰõ:* is supplemented by the plural =*tsu* for disambiguation, as in (6.16).

- (6.14) དང་ཕུ་ མིན་ནོ་ བོ་རོ་ལོ་ཙ་ན་ རྒྱ་གར་ལས་ བོད་ལོ་ ཕྱིན་བའི་ སྐར་ ཁོང་ཏོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་བོ་ ཕྱིན་བོ་ལོ།  
*t'ã:pu ín-(n)o berotεana gjagar=le p'ø:=lo tε'øm-bø: gã:*  
 long.agoEQU-COND PN India=ABL Tibet=DAT come.HON-2INF time  
*kʰõ:=to lún dʷip-ti tε'øm-bo=lo.*  
 3SG.HON=CEMPH air achieve-NF come.HON-2INF=REP  
 'If it's the ancient times (we consider), when Berocana came from India to Tibet, he came through air, it is said.' (KL BB discussion)

- (6.15) ད་ལྟོ་ ང་ཅག་ ཁོང་ལོ་ ག་ལྟེ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་དོ།  
*t'ato nàtεa? kʰõ:=lo k'ate-p'ja ta-do.*  
 now 1PL 3PL=DAT how-ADVZR look-IPFV  
 'Now we somehow look after them (parents).' (PED life story)

- (6.16) ཁོང་ལྟེ་ལོ་ རྒྱ་བ་ལི་ རྒྱ་བས་ཤད་ འཇམ་ཕུ་ སྐད།  
*kʰõ:=tsu=lo nepali kjap-εε? dzampu be?*  
 3PL=PL=DAT Nepali speak-INF easy EQU.NE  
 'It is easier (lit. easy) for them to speak Nepali.' (RL interview)

In addition to the plural marker =*tsu*, another way to make plurality of *kʰõ:* explicit is to add a modifier to the pronoun, e.g. *kʰõ: tʰamtεε* 'they all', *kʰõ: kʰε:le* 'they all', *kʰõ: ním(pu)* 'the two of them', *kʰõ: sumpo* 'the three of them'.

As noted above, the pronoun *ʃεηγε?* may have either second person singular or plural meaning. In addition, *ʃεηγε?* is used in honorific references to the third person plural, following a noun or a pronoun with third person referent:

- (6.17) ང་ཀེས་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ བཀའ་ཚོལ་ འདི་ ཁོང་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལོ་ ད་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལོ་ ག་ལྟེ་ལོ་ བཀའ་ལོ་ བཀའ་ལོ་  
*ŋá:=gi εù-zo-u kamø=di kʰõ: ʃεηγε:=lo t'a*  
 1SG=AGT say.HUM-RDP-2INF discussion=DEMPH 3PL PRN.HON=DAT now  
*tʰupõ: sò:-patsenε*  
 benefit.HON offer-COND  
 'If what I have to say offers some benefit to them...' (CY interview)

- (6.18) ང་ཅའི་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལྷོ་ ད་ལྷོ་ལོ་ མི་ཤེས་མཁན་ སྐད་ལགས།  
*nàtεi lám ʃεηγε:=tsu lòkti índzi mi-εé:-kʰen be=la.*  
 1PL.GEN lama PRN.HUM=PL again English NEG-know-NMLZ EQU.NE=HON  
 'Our lamas again do not know English.' (YR canteen video)

In addition to independent uses, personal pronouns may be used as appositional modifiers of nouns, see §4.1.2.4.1.

## 6.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

It was shown above that *rã:* functions as a mid-level second person personal pronoun. Literally *rã:* means 'self' and it is used as an independent reflexive pronoun, as in (6.19), and

as a reflexive enclitic =*rǎ:/ra* on personal pronouns, as in (6.20-23). In spoken language the dependent reflexive form =*rǎ:* tends to be shortened and denasalized to =*ra*.

- (6.19) གལ་ཆེ་དྲགས་ འདི་ རང་གི་ སྐད་ འདི་ འགོ་ རྩོན་ལས་ ཤེས་ དགོས་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*k'ε:te<sup>h</sup>iʃa=di ray=gi kε:=di go jénlɛ cé:*  
 important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know  
*go:-k<sup>h</sup>en bε?*  
 be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'The important (thing is) that one has to know one's own language at first.' (KL BLA 12)

- (6.20) ངས་ དེབ་ འདི་གི་ འཛོ་ འདི་ ང་རང་གིས་ ཐག་བཅད་པོ་ ཞིན།  
*ŋá: t'ɛp di=gi dzo<sup>239</sup>=di ŋà=ray=gi t<sup>h</sup>aktɛɛ:-po í:*  
 I.AGT book this=GEN price=DEMPH 1SG=REFL=AGT decide-2INF EQU.PER  
 'I decided the price for that book by myself.' (KL BLA 12)

- (6.21) ཞོ་འདི་ མི་དམངས་ ཁོང་རང་ མ་ཤེས་བ་ཟླད།  
*ódi mínmǎ: k<sup>h</sup>ō:=rǎ: ma-ɛé:-b-bε?*  
 that mass(es) 3PL=REFL NEG-know-2INF-EQU.NE  
 'The masses themselves didn't know that.' (KL BLA 12)

- (6.22) ཚོས་སྤྱིད་ མོ་རང་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་ མལ་ན།  
*te<sup>h</sup>ɕki? mù=rǎ: teiku mɛ:=na.*  
 PN 3SGF=REFL only bed=LOC  
 'Only Choki herself (is) in bed.' (Richhi 4)

- (6.23) ད་ ཚོང་རང་གིས་རང་ ལྷམ་ འུས་སྤྱི་ བསམ་སྒོ་ བཏང་།  
*t'a te<sup>h</sup>ɕ=ray=gi=rǎ: ləm p'ja-ti sámlo tǎ:*  
 now 2SG.L=REFL=AGT=AEMPH good do-NF thought send  
 'Now think through it yourself carefully.' (Nga'i 'gan 14)

Note that in (6.23), the reflexive is followed by the homophonous anaphoric emphatic =*rǎ:/ra* (which is a further grammaticalization of the reflexive).

The form *rǎ:mě:/rō:mě:* རང་མན་ 'oneself' is also used, at least in Martam (East Sikkim):

- (6.24) རང་མན་གྱིས་ སློབ་ཕྱག་ ཟླད་ སེ།  
*rō:mɛŋ=gi ló(p)t<sup>h</sup>u? bε:=s.*  
 oneself=GEN student EQU.NE=QUO  
 '(He) is his own student.' (AB kitchen discussion)

- (6.25) ང་ཅག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རང་མན་ལོ་ བརྗེ་དྲགས་ འུས་ཤད་ ཞིན།  
*ŋàtea? t<sup>h</sup>amteɛ? ŋàtea? rǎ:mě:=lo teɛʈa? p'ja-ɛí:*  
 1PL all 1PL oneself=DAT loving do-NPST.PER  
 'All of us, we love ourselves.' (KN e)

<sup>239</sup> Also *gō:* (WD གོང་) and *rin/rí:* (WD རིན་) are used for referring to 'price'. All speakers do not recognize the word *dzo*.



Another reflexive form, which may be characterized as distributive because it encompasses all members in a group, is *rã:rã: so:so:* ‘each one themselves’:

- (6.26) ང་ཅག་རང་རང་སོ་སོ་ལོ་སྐྱོན་སྐྱོན་དགོས་ཤད་བོ་  
*ŋàtɛa? rã:rã:soso=lo kɔn tɔn go:-ɛɛ bo?*  
 1PL each.oneself=DAT blame show be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Are we to blame each one ourselves?’ (KN, CY interview)

The reflexive *=rã:/=ra* can also attach to other forms than personal pronouns. Then it functions as an anaphoric emphatic, see §16.1.1.

Three reciprocal pronominals occur in my data, see Table 6.2 (see Nedyalkov [2007: 12] for the basic difference between pronominal and verbal reciprocals).

Table 6.2. Reciprocal pronouns

Form	Gloss
<i>tei:=ki tei:(=lo)</i> གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་(ལོ་)	‘one to another’ (lit. ‘one to one’)
<i>tei:=ki zen(=lo)</i> གཅིག་གིས་གཞན་(ལོ་)	‘one to another’ (used in Richhi-novel) <sup>240</sup>
<i>p<sup>h</sup>entsy:</i> བན་ཚུན་	‘each other’

The first is *tei:=ki tei:(=lo)* [one=AGT one(=DAT)] ‘one to another, (to) each other’ (lit. ‘one to one’), see (6.27)

- (6.27) ཁོང་གཉིས་ལོ་ད་ཨོ་འདི་ཉེས་ཚེས་ཉེ་ད་ང་ཅའི་ཨིན་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ད་གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་བཟའ་ཚང་ཐོན་ལོ་སྐྱོད་ད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>õ: ñim-po t’a ódi ñimts<sup>h</sup>e te t’a, ŋàtɛi ím-batsene t’a*  
 3PL two-COL now that date then now 1PL.GEN EQU-COND now  
*tei:=ki tei? zats<sup>h</sup>ã: t<sup>h</sup>em-bo be? t’a.*  
 one=AGT one married.couple become-2INF EQU.NE now  
 ‘The two of them, on that day, when it comes to us (=our tradition), become each other’s spouses.’ (SGD wedding customs)

The second one, *teiki zen=lo* [one=AGT other=DAT] ‘one (to) another’, which occurs in the novel Richhi instead of the first construction. The form *teiki zen=lo* is more analogous to English and Nepali constructions, but I have not come across it elsewhere.

- (6.28) གཅིག་གིས་གཞན་ལོ་མན་བོ་བྱས་ཤད་དགོ་བའི་གཡོག་ཨིན།  
*tei:=ki zen=lo p<sup>h</sup>embo p’ja-ɛɛ? giwɔ jó? í.*  
 one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN word EQU.PER  
 ‘Helping one another is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)

The third reciprocal pronoun is *p<sup>h</sup>entsy:* བན་ཚུན་ ‘(to) each other’, which in (6.29) is preceded by the functionally analogous use of the demonstratives *p<sup>h</sup>ate ts<sup>h</sup>ute* བ་ཉེ་ཚུ་ཉེ་ ‘thither hither’.

<sup>240</sup> The novel Richhi is the only source where I have come across the construction *tei:=ki zen(=lo)* instead of *tei:=ki tei:(=lo)*. The reason may be either that the deviant construction is used in the novel’s author’s dialect area or that the construction is influenced by Nepali and/or English which both have reciprocal constructions analogous to *tei:=ki zen(=lo)*, i.e. Nepali *ek arkaa-lai* [one another=DAT] ‘to one another’, English *to one another*.

- (6.29) ང་ཅག་གཉིས་པ་ལྟེ་ཚུ་ལྟེ་ཕན་ཚུན་སྐྱེད་ག་ཅུང་གཅིག་བཤད་གོ་སྟེ།  
*ŋàtɛa? ní: pʰate tsʰute pʰentsy: dɯŋ k'ã:ruŋ=tei? ɛé-gɛ=s.*  
 1PL two thither hither each.other story any=INDF tell-HORT=QUO  
 ‘Let the two of us tell back and forth to each other one story whatever.’ (PAD bet story)

### 6.3 Indefinite reference

The discussion on indefinite reference is divided into indefinite pronouns (§6.3.1) and indefinite expressions formed by question words (§6.3.2).

#### 6.3.1 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are words that refer to people, objects or places without exactly specifying the referent, see Table 6.3. Indefinite pronouns also function as quantifiers which modify nouns, see §4.1.3.3.

Table 6.3. Indefinite pronouns

<i>tʰamtɛɛ?</i> ( <i>k'ã:pu</i> )	ཐམས་ཅད་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>kʰɛ:lɛ</i> ( <i>k'ã:pu</i> )	ཁེ་ལེ་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>tɛʰa:lɛ</i> ( <i>k'ã:pu</i> )	ཆ་ལས་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>dzaŋki</i>	ཇོང་གླི་ <sup>241</sup>	‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)
<i>k'o:m</i>	གོང་མ་	‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)
<i>màŋtɛʰiɛo?</i>	མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་	‘most’ (includes the adjectival superlative ending <i>-ɛo?</i> )
<i>màŋtɛʰiɿa?</i>	མང་ཆེ་དྲགས་	‘most’ (includes the adjectival ending <i>-ɿa?</i> )
<i>kʰaɛɛ?</i>	ཁ་ཤས་	‘some(one)’
<i>làri?</i>	ལ་རིས་	‘some(one)’
<i>rɛrɛ</i>	རེ་རེ་	‘each one’
<i>ka:kutei?</i>	ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་	‘a few, some’
<i>tei:ní:</i>	གཅིག་གཉིས་	‘a couple (of), a few’ (lit. ‘one-two’)
<i>riŋi</i> ( <i>riŋi</i> )	རེ་གཉིས་ (རེ་གཉིས་)	‘a couple (of), a few’ (lit. ‘one-two’)
<i>làla...làla</i>	ལ་ལ་ ལ་ལ་	‘some...others’
<i>ri, -ri</i> (also <i>rɛ</i> )	རེ་	‘one, each’

As shown by Table 6.3, several forms correspond to meaning ‘all, everyone’ and ‘a bit’. The variants represent some dialectal variation. The most frequent items for ‘all, everyone’ are *tʰamtɛɛ?* and *kʰɛ:lɛ*, the first of which seems to be more frequent in West Sikkim and the latter in East and North Sikkim, although both are readily understood all over Sikkim. The form *dzaŋki* and *k'o:m* are from Lachung.

The independent uses of indefinite pronouns, except for *tɛʰa:lɛ*, *k'o:m* and *màŋtɛʰiɿa?* (of which I have only noun-modifying examples), are below illustrated in the same order that they occur in Table 6.3.

- (6.30) ཐམས་ཅད་ མོ་འདྲེན་ཅིག་ མཚོ་བསམ་ བཏང་བོ་ཅེ་ སེ་ན་།  
*tʰamtɛɛ=ki ódem=tei? nó.sam tð:-botɛɛ sé-na*  
 all=AGT like.that=INDF thought send-COND say-COND  
 ‘If all think like that...’ (DR discussion with KL)

<sup>241</sup> This written form given by consultant KUN is surprising in that it suggests pronunciation as *tsʰaŋki* rather than *dzaŋki*.

(6.31) ལྐང་ འདི་ དོན་དག་ ལེ་ལེ་ གང་ལུ་ མཚོ་བསམ་ བཏང་ཟླི་  
*kɛ:=di t'ɔnda? kʰɛ:lɛ k'ɔ:po nɔ:sam tã:-di*  
 language=DEMPH significance everyone entirely though send-NF  
 '...everyone thinking about the significance of (our) language...' (KL BLA 12)

Note that in (6.32) *màŋtɛʰiɛo?* is followed by an appositional, explanatory noun. As a modifier *màŋtɛʰiɛo?* would typically follow the noun.

(6.32) མང་ཚེ་ཤོས་ འདི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རང་གི་ གཏམ་རྒྱུས་ལུ་ འདི་  
*màŋtɛʰiɛo=di dɛndzɔ: nàŋ=gi tamgy:=tsu=di*  
 most=DEMPH Sikkim inside=GEN legend=PL=DEMPH  
 'Most of (them), legends within Sikkim...' (SGD wedding customs)

(6.33) ཨོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ཡང་ ཁ་ཤས་གྱིས་ ལུ་བཞིན་གཤམ་ལགས།  
*ódem=tei=jã: kʰaɛɛ=ki ɛù-zouke=la.*  
 like.that=INDF=even some=AGT say.HUM-PROG.APH=HON  
 'Some (people) were even saying like that.' (CY interview)

(6.34) ད་ ལ་རིས་ ཅིག་གུ་ འདི་ དགོན་པར་ བཀའ་ཚམས་ན་ བཞུགས་ཤང་ འདིའི་ རྒྱབས་སྐྱོ་ ད་ ཨོ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ཨོ་ཙེ་ཅིག་ དགོངས་ཡངས་  
 གནང་བོ་ འདྲ་ སྤང་, ཨོ་འདི་ སྤང་ལོ་ འདི་, thikadar ལུ་གིས།  
*t'a làri? teiku=di gjɔmpa katɛʰɔ=na zu:-ɛɛ=di*  
 now some only=DEMPH monastery recitation=LOC sit.HON-INF=DEMPH  
*kjap-ti t'a ódi=lo=di átsi=tei? gɔ:jã: ná:-bo qa*  
 do-NF now that=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF excuse do.HON-2INF be.similar  
*bɛ?, ódi gã:=lo tʰikadar=tsu=gi.*  
 EQU.NE that time=DAT thikadar=PL=AGT  
 'At that time, only some, because they were doing recitation at monasteries, seemed to be a bit exempted (from labour duty) by the thikadar-rulers.' (CY interview)

(6.35) རང་ དང་ ད་ ཨོན་ཅི་ ཨོན་ཅི་ ལྷུང་ རེ་རེ་ བཤད་ དགོས།  
*rã: t'ã: ŋà ínteimentei duŋ rɛrɛ ɛé? go?*  
 2SG.L and 1SG necessarily story each.one tell be.needed  
 'You and I have to, by any means, tell a story each.' (PAD bet story)

(6.36) ལྔ་ ལྷུག་ གུ་གུ་ཅིག་ གཏོག་ནེ་ སྤྱིག་གོ།  
*ŋá t'u? ka:kutei? tok-ne t'ike.*  
 five six a.few pluck be.alright  
 'If (you) pluck five-six, a few (oranges), it will suffice.' (KN e)

(6.37) ལྷུང་ལགས་གྱིས་ བེས་གུར་ ཁ་ བཤེག་སྐྱོ་ གཅིག་ གཉིས་ ལུས་བཞིན་ ཨོ་མ་ལོ་ ལབ།  
*bhaila=ki biskut kʰa ɛik-ti tei:ŋi: p'ja-zɛ: áma=lo làp*  
 PN=AGT biscuit mouth unravel-NF a.few do-PROG mother=DAT say  
 'Bhaila opens the (box of) biscuits and taking a few says to the mother.' (Richhi 26)

(6.38) བཏཱ་ཤིས་ཐྱིང་ཁ་ཐུག་རེ་གཞིས་རེ་ཞིས་ཅིག་གིས་ང་ཚོག་ཨོ་འདི་བེད་སྤྱོད་བྱས་པོ་ཐོས།  
*ʈæidiŋ kʰatu? riji riji=tei=ki ɲà tsʰik ódi p'ɛtɛø? p'ja-u*  
 TPN side a.few a.few=INDF=AGT 1SG word that use do-2INF  
*tʰo:*  
 hear  
 'I have heard a few people around Tashiding use that word.' (KN e)

(6.39) ལ་ལ་འབྲས་ལབ་, ལ་ལ་འབྲུ་ལབ།  
*làla rɛ: làp, làla bja làp*  
 some rice.kernel say some rice.kernel say  
 'Some call it (=rice kernel) [rɛ], others call it [bja].' (PL interview)

(6.40) ཟམ་ཨོ་འདི་གི་གོང་འདི་ལོ་ཉི་ཅུག་བརྒྱ་རེ་བརྒྱ་རེ་, ཟམ་རེ་ལོ་ཉི་ཅུག་བརྒྱ་རེ་སྤང།  
*sàm ódi=gi gō:=di=lo tiru? gja-ri gja-ri,*  
 food that=GEN price=DEMPH=DAT rupee hundred-each hundred-each  
*sàm ri=lo tiru? gja-ri bɛ?*  
 food each=DAT rupee hundred-each EQU.NE  
 'The price of that food was hundred hundred each, a hundred rupees per one (portion of) food.' (DB trip story)

A phonologically reduced form of the question *k'an inam* (reading-style pronunciation)/*k'an nám* (spoken pronunciation) 'What is it?' is used as a frequent conversation filler, which signals that the speaker does not remember a word, see (6.41). Therefore the form can be considered an indefinite pronoun. Different stages of reduction are attested in spoken language: *k'an inam* > *k'an nám* > *k'ajem* > *k'aem* > *k'em*.

(6.41) a) མུ་རེ་འདི་ལོ་འདི་ང་ཅག་ཉེ་ཨོ་འདི་གན་སྐྱམ་ལབ་ཉོ་སྤང་, བ་ཡོག་<sup>242</sup>  
*murai di=lo=di ɲàtɛa? tɛ ódi k'ajem làp-to*  
 puffed.rice(Nep.) this=DAT=DEMPH 1PL so that what.is.it say-IPFV  
*bɛ?, bajo?*  
 EQU.NE puffed.rice  
 'Murai, ("puffed rice" in Nepali) we call that, whatever, /bajo?/. ' (PL interview)

b) ཉེ་ཁྱེ་གིས་ཨོ་ན་གན་སྐྱམ་བྱས་སྟེ་གི་ཨོ་འདི་གན་སྐྱམ་ཐོབ་ཚེ་ལས་འདི་སྐ་རེ་ཐོབ་ཚེ་ལས་  
*tɛ kʰu=gi óna k'ajem p'ja-tiki, ódi k'ajem*  
 so 3SGM=AGT there what.is.it do-NF that whatever  
*tʰop-sa-lɛ=di, ta:ri tʰop-sa=lɛ*  
 receive-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH axe receive-CMPL=ABL  
 'When he had done that whatever, received that whatever, received the axe...'  
 (JDF axe story)

### 6.3.2 Indefinite reference with question words

Meanings equivalent to such English indefinite expressions as *whoever*, *anyone*, *wherever*, *anywhere*, *whatever* and *anything* are formed with the help of question words. In affirmative clauses, conveying meanings of the type 'whoever', 'wherever' and 'whatever', the question word is supplemented with a concessive equative form *í:-ruŋ* 'EQU-CONC', see Table 6.4. Meanings which are semantically the polar opposites of meanings such as 'someone',

<sup>242</sup> According to consultant KT, this word should be *sàjo* ཟས་གཡོ་.

‘somewhere’, somehow’ (i.e. not anyone/no one, not anywhere/nowhere, not anyhow) are formed by a combination of a question word, an optional clitic =*jã*: ‘even’ and an obligatory negated verb, see Table 6.5.

Table 6.4. Affirmative indefinite reference with question words

<i>k'an</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ</i> <sup>243</sup>	གན་ཞིན་ཅུང་	‘whatever’
<i>k'ar(ε)</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ག་རེ་ཞིན་ཅུང་	‘whatever’
<i>k'adi</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ག་འདི་ཞིན་ཅུང་	‘whichever, whoever’
<i>ka</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ཀ་ཞིན་ཅུང་	‘whoever’
<i>nàm(lo)</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ནམ་(ལོ་)ཞིན་ཅུང་	‘whenever’
<i>k'ana</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ག་ན་ཞིན་ཅུང་	‘wherever’
<i>k'atem</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ག་ཉེས་ཞིན་ཅུང་	‘what ever kind’
<i>k'ate p'ja(ti</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ)</i>	ག་ཉེ་ཤུལ་(ཉེ་ཞིན་)ཅུང་	‘however’
<i>k'ambja</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	གན་ཤུལ་ཞིན་ཅུང་	‘for whatever reason (“whyever”)
<i>k'adzø?</i> <i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ག་ཚོད་ཞིན་ཅུང་	‘however many’

Table 6.5. Negated indefinite reference with question words

<i>k'an</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	གན་(ཡང་)	‘anything (+neg)’
<i>k'amo</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	གན་མོ་(ཡང་)	‘anything (+neg)’
<i>k'adi</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	ག་འདི་(ཡང་)	‘any(one) (+neg)’
<i>ka</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	ཀ་(ཡང་)	‘anyone (+neg)’
<i>nàm(lo)</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	ནམ་(ལོ་)(ཡང་)	‘ever (+neg)’
<i>k'ana</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	ག་ན་(ཡང་)	‘anywhere (+neg)’
<i>k'ate(m/p)</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	ག་ཉེས་(ཡང་)	‘any kind (+neg)’
<i>k'ate p'jati</i> = <i>jã</i> :	ག་ཉེ་ཤུལ་ཉེ་ཡང་	‘anyhow (+neg)’
<i>k'an p'jati</i> = <i>jã</i> : <sup>244</sup>	གན་ཤུལ་ཉེ་ཡང་	‘for any reason (+neg)’
<i>k'adzø</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	ག་ཚོད་(ཡང་)	‘any number of (+neg)’
<i>k'an</i> <i>ε</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	གན་འདྲེ་(ཡང་)	‘anything (+neg)’
<i>k'arε</i> (= <i>jã</i> :)	ག་རེ་(ཡང་)	‘anything (+neg)’

As suggested by Table 6.4 and Table 6.5, the concessive form *ĩ:ruŋ* is obligatory in the affirmative constructions, whereas the formative =*jã*: is not obligatory in the negated constructions. The last two words in Table 6.5 do not have independent interrogative uses in affirmative clauses but only occur in negated clauses, although *k'arε* also participates in the affirmative construction *k'arε* *ĩ:ruŋ* ‘whatever’. Some affirmative forms are illustrated in (6.42-45). Note that morphemes may intervene between the question word and the concessive equative, as exemplified by the anaphoric emphatic in (6.43) and (6.44).

- (6.42) གན་ཞིན་ཅུང་གཞིག་ཐོན་བ་ཅེ་ནི་  
*k'an* *ĩ:ruŋ*=*tci?* *t<sup>h</sup>em-batεene*  
 what EQU-CONC=INDF happen-COND  
 ‘whatever (might) happen(s)’ (PED life story)

<sup>243</sup> This form also occurs as གང་ཅུང་ *gang-rung*, with pronunciation [*k'ã:ruŋ*].

<sup>244</sup> The shorter form *k'ambja=jã*: was deemed infelicitous by consultant KN. The clitic =*jã*: is obligatory.

(6.43) བརྒྱ ངང་ ལྷོང་ ག་ཚོང་ར་ མེན་རུང་ ལྷོང་ཕྱག་ གསུམ་ ལྷག་གོ་ ཡོང།  
*gja t'ä: tō: k'adzø=ra í:-ruŋ tō:tʰa? súm*  
 hundred and thousand how.many=AEMPH EQU-CONC thousand three  
*lako jò?*  
 in.excess EX.PER  
 'However many hundreds and thousands it is, it is more than three thousand.' (KT discussion with TB)

(6.44) དྲག་གོ་ ཞེན་པོ་ ག་ལྷེམ་ར་ མེན་རུང་  
*t'ako ɛɛmpo k'atɛm=ra í:-ruŋ*  
 noble fool/poor how=AEMPH EQU-CONC  
 'noble or fool/poor, whatever (you) are like' (KT life story)

(6.45) ལྷམ་ར་ ལྷུང་རྩུང་<sup>245</sup> ག་ལྷེ་ འུམ་རུང་ འུམ་ ལྷུགས་ ལྷང།  
*lám=ra mýtsy? k'ate p'ja-ruŋ p'ja tsʰu bɛ?*  
 lama=AEMPH other how do-CONC do be.able.to EQU.NE  
 'The lama can do however the others are doing.' (AB kitchen discussion)

The equative may be dropped from the construction, making the result more lexeme-like than the full form:

(6.46) གཉེན་མཚན་ ལོང་མ་ ཨ་རུ་ ཨའི་ ཨ་ཚོ་ ང་མེང་ གན་རུང་ ཡོང་བ་ཅེ་ འུམ་རུང་ ཁེ་ལེ་ ལོང་ལུ་ཀེས་ བཏགས་ཤང་ ལྷང།  
*jéntsʰɛ: k'o:m, átɛu, ái, ádzɔ, pʰamiŋ,*  
 relatives all elder.brother elder.sister grandfather father's.relatives  
*k'an-ruŋ jò-patɛɛ p'ja-ruŋ kʰɛ:lɛ k'ò:pu=gi ta:-ɛɛ bɛ?*  
 what-CONC EX-COND do-CONC all full=AGT append-INF EQU.NE  
 'All relatives, elder brother, elder sister, grandfather, middle-man whatever (relative) is there' (LA intro to Lachung)

The negated clauses, both with or without the clitic =jã: are illustrated in (6.47-54).

(6.47) འུམ་ཐབས་ གན་ཡང་ མེད་བར་  
*p'ja-tap k'an=jã: mè:-pa<sup>246</sup>*  
 do-means what=even NEG.EX-CIRC  
 'there being no chance of doing anything' (Richhi 159)

(6.48) གན་མ་ལོ་ ལྷུང་པོ་ ག་ན་ མེད་  
*nám=lo huŋpo k'ana mè?<sup>247</sup>*  
 sky=DAT cloud where NEG.EX.PER  
 'In the sky, there aren't clouds anywhere.' (Richhi 151)

<sup>245</sup> WD for this word is adopted from Dokhangba (2001). Other WD forms I have been suggested are མི་ཅི་ *mi-ci*, མི་རུས་ *mi-tsus* and མི་ཅུ་ *mi-tsu*. The form from Dokhangba (2001) is chosen for use here because it corresponds most clearly with the spoken output *mýtsy?*.

<sup>246</sup> *k'anɛ:* could also be used here instead of *k'an=jã:* (KUN).

<sup>247</sup> The mere question word in conjunction with a negated verb here expresses the meaning 'anywhere'. However, as suggested by consultant KUN's desire to correct this clause by adding the clitic =jã:, the fuller form *k'ana=jã:* is probably more frequent.

- (6.49) དེ་ཟེང་ག་འདིས་ཡང་གན་འདྲེ་ལམ་མི་ཚུགས།  
*t'izã: k'adi=jã: k'andɛ: lãp mi-ts'hu?*  
 but which.one=even anything say NEG-be.able.to  
 'But anyone was not able to say anything.' (Richhi 53)
- (6.50) སེམས་ཅན་གན་འདྲེ་ཡང་མ་བསང་དགོས།  
*símtɛɛ: k'andɛ:=jã: ma-sé goʔ.<sup>248</sup>*  
 animal any=even NEG-kill be.needed  
 'One mustn't kill any animal.' (YR canteen video)
- (6.51) a) འདེམ་གོ་སྐབས་ང་ཅག་ནམ་ཡང་མི་ཐོབ་པད།  
*dɛm k'okap ηãtea? nãm-jã: mi-t'ho(p)=pɛ.*  
 such opportunity 1PL when-even NEG-receive=EQU.NE  
 'We will never get such an opportunity.' (KN e)
- b) ང་ཅག་པམ་ཚུས་བོ་ཙཱ་མ་ལགས་པོ་དང་སློབ་པམ་ནམ་ལོ་ཡང་མཚོ་བསམ་མི་བཏང་།  
*ηãtea? p'am=tsu p'otso=lo màlep t'ã: kjoʔa? nãm=lo=jã:*  
 1PL parent=PL child=DAT bad and crooked when=DAT=even  
*nó:sam mi-tã:.*  
 thought NEG-send  
 'We parent do not ever plan bad and crooked (things) for (their) children.' (Richhi 154)
- (6.52) མི་ག་ལྟམ་ཡང་ཉེམ་གཅིག་ན་སི་ལི་གུ་རི་སློབས་མི་ཚུགས།  
*mí k'atem=jã: jím tɛi:=na siliguri ʃɛp mi-ts'hu?*  
 human what.kind=even day one=LOC TPN arrive NEG-be.able.to  
 'Any kind of man cannot arrive in Siliguri (by walking) in one day.' (KN e)
- (6.53) ངའི་རྩར་ཚ་ལུམ་ག་ཚོད་ཡང་མེད།  
*jè:=tsa: ts'halum k'adzø=jã: mè?*  
 1SG.GEN=at orange how.many=even NEG.EX.PER  
 'I do not not have any number of oranges.' (KN e)
- (6.54) འདི་གན་བྱས་ལྟེ་ཡང་བྱས་མི་ཚུགས།  
*di k'an p'ja-ti=jã: p'ja mi-ts'hu?*  
 this what do-NF=even do NEG-be.able.to  
 'It cannot be done for any reason.' (KN e)

The general interrogative *k'a*: 'what, where, why' is used as a component of the following expressions which appear to have lexicalized:

- (6.55) *k'a:-jɔʔ* ག་ཡོད་ 'whatever (there is)' (lit. what-EX.PER)  
*k'a:-t'hoʔ* ག་ཐོབ་ 'wherever' (lit. where-find)  
*k'a-sa-k'a=lo* ག་ས་ག་ལོ་ 'wherever' (lit. what-ground-where=DAT)

<sup>248</sup> *k'an=jã:* and *k'an t'ruŋ* could here replace *k'andɛ:=jã:* (KUN).

These three words are illustrated below. Note that in the written Denjongke sources these expressions are written as one word.

(6.56) བཅོག་གོ་ག་ཡོད་ཚུ་གཡུར་ཚུའི་ན་རྒྱགས་གོ་ལས་  
*tsoko k'a:-jɔʔ tɕ<sup>h</sup>u-ju:=tsu=na lúk-o=lɛ*  
 cabbage what-EX.PER water-canal=PL=LOC pour-2INF=ABL  
 ‘when whatever cabbage is poured into water canals...’ (Class 8 textbook 23)

(6.57) ལྷག་ཁྱིམ་ག་ཐོབ་བཅོ།  
*kjak-k<sup>h</sup>im k'a:-t<sup>h</sup>op zo.*  
 faeces-house what-find make  
 ‘Toilets are built wherever (without consideration).’ (Class 8 textbook 23)

(6.58) ག་ས་ག་ལོ་འགྲུ་རུང་ར་  
*k'asak'alo gju-run=ra...*  
 wherever go-CONC=AEMPH  
 ‘Wherever (we) go...’ (song lyrics)

## 6.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic words which define a person, object or location in terms of its spatial relationship to the speaker. Demonstratives may be pronouns, pro-adjectives and pro-adverbs. Denjongke demonstratives occur both independently and as noun modifiers. The roots from which demonstrative expressions are formed are listed in Table 6.6. The roots that usually do not occur independently (except as homonyms having a different meaning) are marked with a hyphen. For instance, the distal marker *ó-* does not usually occur independently but has to be complemented by another element, e.g. *ódi* ‘that’, *óna* ‘there’, *ók<sup>h</sup>a* ‘there’. Occasionally, and exclusively in spoken language, *ó-* occurs by itself or with the plural marker =*tsu* as *ó=tsu* ‘they’, which is an alternative for the more frequent *ódi=tsu* ‘they’.

Table 6.6. Demonstrative roots

<i>di</i>	འདྲི་	proximal, ‘this’
<i>do-</i>	འདྲོ་	emphatic proximal, ‘this right here’
<i>ó-</i>	ཨོ་	distal, ‘that’
<i>nà:</i>	ན་	‘here’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>ou, p<sup>h</sup>i-</i>	ཕོ་འུ་	‘over there’
<i>jòu, jì-</i>	ཡོ་འུ་, ཡི་	‘up (there)’
<i>mòu, mì-</i>	མོ་འུ་, མི་	‘down (there)’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>a(:)</i>	ཕ(ར་)	‘over there, thither, on the other side’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>u(:)</i>	ཚུ(ར་)	‘here, hither’
<i>zen</i>	གཞན་	‘other’

The difference between the proximal *di* and the emphatic proximal *do-* is that whereas both can be accompanied by pointing to an object in the speaker’s proximity, the deictic force is stronger in the emphatic *do-* (i.e. the speaker is more likely to actually point at something). The more general proximal *di* has further grammaticalized into an emphatic particle that has lost its referential function, see §16.1.3. For a comment on the use of proximal =*di* as a definiteness marker, refer to §4.1.6.



More demonstratives may be derived from the roots of Table 6.6. Demonstrative pronouns are formed by combining a demonstrative root with the proximal *di*, e.g. *ódi* ‘that’. Demonstrative proadverbs of location are formed by supplementing the roots by the locative case marker =*na* (probably deriving from *nà*: ‘here’), dative-locative case marker =*lo* or the less productive locational suffix *-k<sup>h</sup>a*, see Table 6.7. Reduplication (e.g. *p<sup>h</sup>o:p<sup>h</sup>ouna* ‘way over there’) functions as an ideophonic strategy to imply further distance. The list of locative expressions in Table 6.7 is not exhaustive but only presents the forms which I have come across in my present data.

Table 6.7. Derived demonstratives

Root		Derived object	Derived location
<i>do-</i>	emphatic proximal	<i>dodi</i> ‘this right here’	<i>dodik<sup>h</sup>a</i> , <i>dona</i> ‘right here’
<i>di</i>	proximal	<i>di</i> ‘this’	<i>dik<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘here’
<i>ó-</i>	distal	<i>ódi</i> ‘that’	<i>óna</i> , <i>ók<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘there’
<i>nà:</i>	‘here’	<i>nà=di</i> ‘the one here’	<i>nàk<sup>h</sup>a(lo)</i> ‘here’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>ou</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>i-</i>	‘over there’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ou=di</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>idi</i> ‘that over there’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ou=na</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>ouk<sup>h</sup>a</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>ok<sup>h</sup>a</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>ina</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘over there’ <i>p<sup>h</sup>o:p<sup>h</sup>ina</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>o:p<sup>h</sup>ou=na</i> , <i>p<sup>h</sup>o:p<sup>h</sup>ouk<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘way over there’
<i>jòu</i> , <i>jì-</i>	‘up (there)’	<i>jòdi</i> , <i>jìdi</i> ‘that up there’	<i>jìna</i> , <i>jòu=k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘up (there)’ <i>jò:jina</i> , <i>jòina</i> ‘way up (there)’
<i>mòu</i> , <i>mì-</i>	‘down (there)’	<i>mòdi</i> , <i>mìdi</i> ‘that down there’	<i>mòuna</i> , <i>mòuk<sup>h</sup>alo</i> , <i>mòu=lo</i> , <i>mìna</i> ‘down (there)’ <i>mò:mouk<sup>h</sup>alo</i> ‘way down (there)’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>a(:)</i>	‘further, on the other side’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>a:=di</i> ‘the one thither/further’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>a:k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘on the other side, further’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>u(:)</i>	‘closer, on this side’	<i>ts<sup>h</sup>u:=di</i> ‘the one hither/closer’	<i>ts<sup>h</sup>u:k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘on this side, nearer’
<i>zen</i>	‘other’	<i>zen=di</i> ‘the other’	<i>zenk<sup>h</sup>a(=lo)</i> ‘in another place’

Demonstratives occur as pre-nominal (6.59) and post-nominal (6.60) noun modifiers but are also used independently (6.61). Whereas this section focuses on independent uses, pre-nominal and post-nominal uses as noun-modifiers are more fully discussed in §4.1.2.1 and §4.1.3.4 respectively.

(6.59) དེ་ཟང་ན་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ན་ འོང་མཁན་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཚོ་འདི་ རྟོག་ཀྱི་ ཡོད་བ་སྤང་ལགས།  
*t'izã: nà: qɛndzɔ:=na ɔŋ-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn=tsu=lo ódi ɛóku jèbbe=la.*  
 but here Sikkim=LOC come-NMLZ=PL=DAT that paper EX.NE=HON  
 ‘But those who came to Sikkim had that document.’ (CY interview)

(6.60) རྟོག་པ་བཅད་ ཚོ་འདི་ན་  
*ts<sup>h</sup>iktɛɛ? ódi=na*  
 poem that=LOC  
 ‘...in that poem...’ (KL BLA 12)

(6.61) ཚོ་འདི་ གས་ཆེ་དྲགས་ སྤང།  
*ódi k'ɛ:tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɪɬa? bɛ?*  
 that important EQU.NE  
 ‘That is important.’ (KL BLA 12)

Some of the above-mentioned deictic forms are exemplified in (6.62-6.71).

- (6.62) འདྲོ་འདི་འདི་ བོ་ཙོ་ཚུ་ ཉལ་སྐ།  
*dodi=di potsou=tsu jè:-sa.*  
 this.right.here=DEMPH child=PL sleep-place  
 ‘This right here (is) the children’s sleeping place.’ (PD altar room video)
- (6.63) ཉི་ མོ་འུ་ལས་ རྒྱབས་ འདི་ཁ་ལས་ ལན་ རྩོན་ དགོས་མཁམ་  
*te p'ou=le kjap dik'a=le lèn p'in go:-k'hě:*  
 so over.there=ABL do here=ABL reply give be.needed-NMLZ  
 ‘So (the boy) sings from over there (and) from here (the girl) has to reply.’ (RS intro to duetto)
- (6.64) རེ་རེ་ མོ་ཁ་ལས་, གཞིག་ འདི་ཁ་ལས་ འགྲོ་མ་དང་  
*rè-re ók'a=le, tci? dik'a=le gjom-da*  
 one-one there=ABL one here=ABL gather-CONJ  
 ‘when gathering one from there and one from here’ (KT e)

Example (6.65) illustrates the locative demonstrative *nà(k'halo)* ‘here’. Example (a) has bare *nà:*, whereas in (b) and (c) the form is complemented by two additional locative elements to form *nàk'halo*. Example (c) is interesting in that the deictic form *nàk'halo* allows a possessor as a genitive modifier, a construction that in English requires a noun such as *place* instead of the deictic *here* (\*‘in the old lady’s here’ > ‘old lady’s place’).

- (6.65) a) ན་ འབག་ ཤོག་ ཉ།  
*nà: bak éó: ná*  
 here carry come TAG.ASR  
 ‘Bring (it) here, eh.’ (PT kitchen discussion)
- b) ན་ཁ་ལོ་ གན་བྱས་ འོང་བོ?  
*nàk'a=lo k'ambja òm-bo?*  
 here=DAT why come-2INF  
 ‘Why did you come here?’ (rna-gsung 6)
- c) ང་ ད་རིང་ མ་ན་གི་ ན་ཁ་ལོ་ རང་ རྫོང་ཉེ།  
*ŋà t'ariŋ ána<sup>249</sup>=gi nàk'a=lo=rā: dø:-ni.*  
 1SG today old.lady=GEN here=DAT=AEMPH stay-3INF  
 ‘Today I will indeed stay in the grandmother’s (=your) place.’ (rna-gsung 7)

In addition to taking a modifier, *nà:* itself can function as a modifier meaning ‘the one here’, as shown in (6.66):

- (6.66) ཀམ་, ཚོང་ ན་ མོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ཡར་ རྩ་བའ་ རྒྱལ་ རྩོན་ ལོ།  
*karma, t'e'p? [nà: óni=lo] jà:=tsa:=sā: kɛ: p'in lo.*  
 PN 2SG.L here small.child=DAT up=by=until bring give TAG.Q  
 ‘Karma, you take this child here all the way up, okay.’ (Richhi 40)

<sup>249</sup> In kinship terms, *ána* refers to maternal grandparent’s brother’s wife, see §17.2.

In (6.67), *p<sup>h</sup>ou=di* is used independently, whereas the shorter form *p<sup>h</sup>idi* occurs as a noun modifier. Because the demonstrative-emphatic can attach to both locative adverbs and nouns, it is not clear whether *p<sup>h</sup>ou=di* should be interpreted as referring to location (‘over there’) or the item located (‘the one over there’).

- (6.67) སྐྱུ་འདི་ཤིང་ཕོ་འདི་ལོ་ཨ་རུ་  
*p<sup>h</sup>ou=di*                      *ɛiŋ*   *p<sup>h</sup>idi=lo*                      *áru*  
 one.over.there=DEMPH tree one.over.there=DAT peach(Nep.)  
 ‘That over there, the tree over there (is called) [aru].’ (PD surroundings video)
- (6.68) ཡི་ན་འདེམ་སེམས་ཅན་གཞིག་འདུག་གོ།  
*jina*                      *dem*                      *símtɛɛ̃:=tɛi?*                      *du-kɛ.*  
 up.there like.that animal=INDF EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘Up there, there is some type of an animal.’ (UU Deer story)
- (6.69) ན་ནིང་གཞོནིང་ཉི་ཡི་ན་ང་ཅག་ཨོ་འདི་སྐང་...  
*nàjnĩ:*                      *zø:nĩ:*                      *tɛ jòì=na*                      *ŋàtɛa?*                      *ódi*                      *gã:...*  
 last.year two.years.ago so up.there=LOC 1PL that time  
 ‘When we were up there last year or the year before...’ (KNA kitchen discussion)
- (6.70) མོ་མོ་ལོ་ལོ་དགོན་པོ་དང་ལྷ་ཁང་སོགས་ཀེས་པོ་འདུག་གོ།  
*mò:mou=lo*                      *gjompo*                      *t’ã:*                      *lqk’hã:*                      *só?*                      *ke:po*                      *du:=ɛo.*  
 down.there=DAT monastery and shrine etc many EX.SEN=AT  
 ‘Down there, there are many monasteries, shrines and such things, you know’ (rna-gsung 25)
- (6.71) ལྷོ་ས་གཞིག་ཁ་ལོ་, ཉེ་ས་གཞན་ཁ་ལོ།  
*kisa*                      *tɛi-k<sup>h</sup>a=lo,*                      *ŋɛsa*                      *zɛŋk<sup>h</sup>a=lo.*  
 birthplace one-at=DAT staying.place in.another.place=DAT  
 ‘Birth-place in a place, staying place elsewhere.’ (Richhi 160)

Denjongke also has forms with the double function of proadverb of manner and proadjective, see Table 6.8.

Table 6.8. Proadverbs of manner and proadjectives

<i>dodem</i>	འདྲོ་འདྲེམ་	‘like this right here’
<i>de:, dem, dep</i>	འདྲེ་, འདྲེམ་, འདྲེབ་	proximal, cataphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’
<i>óde:, ódem, ódep</i>	ཨོ་འདྲེ་, ཨོ་འདྲེམ་, ཨོ་འདྲེབ་	distal, anaphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’

The spatial orientation of the ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ forms in Table 6.8 with reference to the speaker is less clear than with other demonstratives, hence the exactly same glosses. In discourse, the proximal forms are typically cataphoric (6.72) and distal forms anaphoric (6.73). Example (6.72) is an announcement followed by a quotation of the prayer in question. The distal in example (6.73), on the other hand, refers to a topic discussed earlier.

(6.72) ཁོང་གིས་ ལྷོན་ལམ་ འདི་ བཏབ་པོ་ གནང་ འདུག་གོ།  
*kʰoŋ=gi mélam dɛ: tap-o nǎ: du-kɛ.*  
 3SG.HON=AGT prayer like.this sow-2INF do.HON EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘He prayed this kind of prayer.’ (KLT Bhumchu video)

(6.73) ང་ཅག་གིས་ ཞོ་འདི་ ལབ་ མི་ཚོག་མཁན་ ཟུང།  
*ŋàtɛa=ki ódɛ: làp mi-tɛʰo-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*  
 1PL=AGT like.that say NEG-be.alright-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘We are not allowed to say like that.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

A further indication that cataphoric reference is accomplished through proximal demonstratives is given by the cataphoric use of the proximal *di* in (6.74).

(6.74) ཁོང་ འདི་ཡང་ གསུང་ཞེ། འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རང་ག་ ལྷོ་པོ་ མི་རིགས་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཡོང་མཁན་ culture སྐད་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ རྗེགས་ཤོས་  
 ཟུང།  
*kʰõ: di=jǎ: súŋ-zɛ. dɛndzõ: nàŋɛa ʃopo míri=tsu=lo*  
 3SG.HON this=even say.HON-PST Sikkim within Lhopo people=PL=DAT  
*jò:-kʰɛ: kaltɛə kɛ:=di tʰamtɛɛ=lɛ dzik-ɕoʔ bɛʔ.*  
 EX.PER-NMLZ culture(Eng.) language=DEPMH all=ABL excellent-SUP EQU.NE  
 ‘He also said like this: The language and culture that the Lhopo people have is the most excellent in Sikkim.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Denjongke has further two demonstrative roots, *tsʰu(:)* ཚུར་ ‘closer to the speaker, towards the speaker, hither’ and *pʰa(:)* བར་ ‘(further) away from the speaker, thither’, which express both location and direction. They are often combined as *pʰa:tsʰu:* or *pʰate tsʰute* ‘hither and thither, here and there’, see (6.29) above. The demonstratives *tsʰu(:)* and *pʰa(:)* do not have separate forms which refer to objects/persons. Genitival modifying constructions are used instead, e.g. *tsʰu:=lɛ=gi núku* [closer.to.the.speaker=ABL=GEN pen] ‘the pen that is closer (to me/us)’.

## 6.5 Summary remarks

This chapter discussed deixis and indirect reference in Denjongke. It was shown that second person pronouns exhibit a three-way distinction in politeness (ordinary vs. mid-level vs. honorific), while third person pronouns have a two-way distinction (ordinary vs. honorific). The difference between masculine and feminine ordinary 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular forms is neutralized in the honorific register. A typologically interesting pronominal feature was seen to be the fact that Denjongke, unlike many Tibetic languages, does not make a clusivity (exclusive vs. inclusive) distinction in first person plural pronouns.

The section on indefinite reference showed that Denjongke uses question words to express affirmative concepts such as ‘whatever’ and ‘whoever’ and negated concepts such as ‘nothing/not anything’, ‘no one/not anyone’. In the first case (affirmative), the question word is accompanied by a concessive form of the equative copula. In the second case (negated), the question word is accompanied by the clitic =*jǎ:* ‘even’ and a negated verb.

This chapter also introduced an array of demonstratives which refer to objects, places, directions, amounts, manners and qualities. An interesting feature was shown to be the existence of two proximal forms, the emphatically deictic *dodi* ‘this right here’ and the less emphatically deictic *di* ‘this’.

## 7 Copulas and evidentiality in copulas

Typically of Tibetic languages, evidentiality in Denjongke largely derives from copulas, which, in addition to copular uses, also function as auxiliaries with other verbs. The current chapter discusses copulas and evidential phenomena associated with them. The auxiliary uses of copulas with other verbs are discussed later in §9 after the chapter on tense, aspect and mood (§8), because it is easier to discuss and understand evidentiality in periphrastic constructions only after those constructions have been introduced.

This chapter starts with the general discussion on evidentiality (§7.1) and then describes simple copulas (§7.2). The next section discusses complex copulas, which consist of more than one morpheme (§7.3). Lastly, simple copulas are compared with cognates in some other Tibetic languages, providing evidence of significant differences and suggesting a direction of diachronic change (§7.4). The discussion on copulas is largely based on Yliniemi (2017) but also improves on it.

### 7.1 Definition of evidentiality

Evidentiality is usually understood as being concerned with “information source” (Aikhenvald 2004). This definition, however, has proved problematic in Tibetic languages for describing the category that has been variously termed “egophoric” (Tournadre 2008), “ego” (Garrett 2001, Gawne 2013), “self” (Bartee 2007: 137), “personal” (Hill 2012: 391), “old knowledge” (Huber 2000), “assimilated knowledge” (van Driem 1998: 127) and “strong empathy” (Häsler 1999: 151). Following Hill (2012: 391), I use the term “personal” for reasons that will be given later in the chapter.<sup>250</sup> This “typologically unusual” category (DeLancey 2018: 9), which forms a system with other more typically evidential categories such as the sensorial evidential, has received differing responses from linguists. Lapolla and Tournadre (2014: 241) broaden the definition of evidentiality in order to subsume the Lhasa Tibetan category egophoric within the redefined definition of evidentiality. DeLancey (2018), on the other hand, specifically states that “[t]he Tibetic Egophoric category is not part of the evidential system”. Gawne (2013: 152) prefers the term “modality” to “evidentiality” as a cover term for copula distinctions in Yolmo in order to accommodate ego copulas within the same general descriptive category with other copulas. All of the above-mentioned scholars seem to agree that the definition of evidentiality as being simply concerned with information source is not applicable to the category ego(phoric)/personal in Tibetic languages.

Because the copulas function as a system and therefore receive part of their meaning in relation to other copulas, I find it useful to refer to all the copula categories with the same general term. For this pragmatic reason, I here adopt Lapolla and Tournadre’s (2014: 240) definition of evidentiality as “the representation of source and access to information according to the speaker’s perspective and strategy”. This definition subsumes within evidentiality the category ego(phoric)/personal.

### 7.2 Simple copulas

Simple copulas consist of the basic copula forms, see Table 7.1, and two additional forms, which have copular uses. The two additional forms are the verb  $\dot{o}$ : ‘come’, which has

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<sup>250</sup> Although I find the term “personal” helpful for describing Denjongke, it needs to be kept in mind that Hill (2012: 391) applies the term “personal” to Lhasa Tibetan, in which the category functions, as will be shown in this chapter, differently from Denjongke.

existential functions (see §7.2.5.1) and the reportative =*lo*, which may function as a reportative equative by substituting the typical equative copula *í:* or *bɛ?* (see §7.2.5.2). In Table 7.1, affirmative and negated forms are separated by a slash. Table 7.1 lists only unanalyzable interrogative copulas. Copulas may also be interrogated with the regular polar question marker *-ka/ga* (*íŋ-ga*, *mèŋ-ga*, *bɛ-ka*, *mèmbe-ka*, *jò:-ka*, *me:-ka*, *du-ka*, *mindu-ka*, *dɛ:-ka*, see §10.1.3.2).

Table 7.1. Basic copulas

		Personal		Sensorial	Neutral		Apparentive
		decl.	interr.		Ordinary		
					decl.	interr.	
EQ	PRS	<i>í:/mè:</i> ཨིན་/མན་	<i>ná/mèna</i> ན་/མན་ན	<i>(índu?)</i> (ཨིན་འདུག་)	<i>bɛ?/mèmbe?</i> ཟད་/མན་ཟད་	<i>bo/mèmbo</i> བོ་/མན་བོ་ <sup>251</sup>	<i>dɛ:/rɛ:</i> འདད་ <sup>252</sup>
	PST						
EX (pos./neg.)		<i>jò?/mè?</i> ཡོད་/མེད་		<i>du?/mindu?</i> འདུག་/ཨིན་འདུག་	<i>(jèbbe?/mèbbe?)</i> (ཡོད་ཟད་/མེད་ཟད་)		

As shown in Table 7.1., the types of evidentiality marked by Denjongke copulas are personal, sensorial and neutral. The neutral forms can further be divided into ordinary neutrals and the apparentive ‘(it)seems to be’. The equative copulas (*í:/mè:* and *bɛ?/mèmbe?*) have separate interrogative forms. The existential copulas, on the other hand, are interrogated by the regular polar question marker *-ka/ga*, e.g. *duka/minduka*.

The six basic declarative copulas are 1) the personal equative *í:* ཨིན་ (neg. *mè:* མན་), 2) the personal existential *jò?* ཡོད་ (neg. *mè?* མེད་), 3) the sensorial existential *du?* འདུག་ (neg. *mindu?* ཨིན་འདུག་), which can also be used, perhaps surprisingly, for past equation/identification, 4) the evidentially neutral *bɛ?* ཟད་ (neg. *mèmbe?* མན་ཟད་), which is basically equative but also has some existential type of uses, 5) the apparentative *dɛ:/rɛ:*, which is a merger of *da bɛ?* ‘be like’, and 6) neutral existential *jèbbe?*, which is given in brackets, because it is an abbreviation of the complex copula *jòpo bɛ?*, which is introduced later in § 7.2.2.1. Whereas the copulas *du?* and *bɛ?* are clearly distinct from ordinary verbs in that they do not inflect for tense, aspect and mood (e.g. present habitual *\*du-kʰen bɛ?*, *\*bɛ-kʰen bɛ?*), the personal copulas *í:* and *jò?* can form many of the same constructions as the ordinary verbs (e.g. present habitual *íŋ-kʰen bɛ?*, *jò:-kʰen bɛ?*).

This chapter focuses on declarative forms, with an emphasis on evidentiality. Interrogative forms are covered in the general discussion on interrogation in §11.1. Rather than describing each evidential category within the copulas by comparing them to some purported typological category established on the basis of other languages, it is useful to describe the evidentiality of each copula with reference to the other copulas within the system. The meaning of the copulas are defined as a system, with reference to each other. The personal copulas *í:* and *jò?* express the speaker’s personal knowledge. The knowledge is considered personal either because the speaker already possesses it (in contrast to recently acquired knowledge marked by sensorial copulas) or because the referent of the proposition is present at the time of speaking (in contrast to neutral copulas, which are used for spatiotemporal backgrounding). Moreover, in nominalized expressions ending in *í:*, “personalness” may be realized as the speaker’s emotional involvement (see §7.3.2.2). In addition, *í:* is associated with performing a

<sup>251</sup> This form is homophonic and homographic (in WD) with the nominalized form *mèm-bo* used in such expression as *mèm-bo bɛ?* ‘is/was not’. Some writers prefer to write the affirmed form འབོ་ ‘bo instead of བོ་ *bo*.

<sup>252</sup> This is an innovative WD form deriving from the full disyllabic འདད་ ཟད་.

type of speech act of identification, whereas *bεʔ* focuses on the consequences of identification (see §7.2.3).

The reason for using the term personal rather than egophoric for describing Denjongke is that Tournadre (2008: 296) defines the egophoric category in Standard Tibetan in a way that is not applicable to Denjongke: “Egophoric auxiliaries are used with the first person occurring overtly, covertly or by anticipation, regardless of its function in a given clause (subject, object, indirect object, locative complement, etc.)” The more semantically oriented personal category in Denjongke is syntactically less restricted by the first person than its counterpart in Lhasa/Standard Tibetan.<sup>253</sup> Tournadre (2017: 111) also specifically comments that “egophoric markers do not generally occur in the southern Himalayas”, where Denjongke speakers are situated.

In contrast to the personal copulas *í:* and *jòʔ*, which are based on the speaker’s already existing knowledge, the basically existential copula *duʔ* refers to a specific event where the knowledge was sensorially acquired (similarly Gawne’s [2013: 164] perceptual for Yolmo). When used for present occurrences, *duʔ* has overtones of newness (contra oldness implied by *jòʔ*). When used as an auxiliary, *duʔ* has overtones of momentariness (contra continuation implied by *jòʔ*). The term “sensorial”, earlier used by Tournadre & Jiatso (2001: 78), was chosen as a category name, because it is the shortest way to refer to sensory experiences. Alternative terms are “sensory evidential” (Hill 2012: 389), “testimonial” (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 110) and “perceptual” (Gawne 2013: 163).

The neutral, basically equative copula *bεʔ*, on the other hand, does not refer to a sensory experience as *duʔ*, and lacks the cognitive assimilation and spatiotemporal proximity implied by *í:/jòʔ*.<sup>254</sup> Even when having either old personal or recent sensorial knowledge about an event, the speaker may for contextual reasons background these sources of knowledge and instead use the neutral *bεʔ*.<sup>255</sup> When *bεʔ* syntactically overlaps with the sensorial *duʔ*, the use of *bεʔ* signifies that the proposition is generally asserted without reference to a specific sensory experience. It can be used, for instance, when the speaker and the addressee share the same visual experience at the moment of speech, and, therefore, it would be redundant for the speaker to use an evidential to make explicit how the information was received. According to DeLancey (2018: 17), the basic meaning of Lhasa Tibetan “factual” (analogous to Denjongke “neutral”) “is simply the absence of any specification of source of knowledge”. The same can be said of Denjongke, and thus the term “neutral” is adopted. The term “neutral” should not and cannot be understood as a typological category that could be applied as such to other languages. Its meaning derives from the Denjongke system where neutrality is defined as absence of sensorialness and personalness.

In the following subsections, the copulas marking the three basic evidential distinctions, personal (§7.2.1), sensorial (§7.2.2) and neutral (§7.2.3) are discussed separately. The section on neutral copulas provides summarizing, comparative examples. This is followed by a brief description of the apparentive equative (§7.2.4). The reportative *=lo* and the verb *ò:* ‘come’, which both have copular uses, are addressed last (§7.2.5).

### 7.2.1 Personal copulas

The personal knowledge expressed by the personal copulas may mean that 1) the proposition in question is evidentially based on their old, existing knowledge, 2) that the referent of the proposition is spatiotemporally proximate to the speaker or 3) the speaker is emotionally

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<sup>253</sup> Unfortunately, the difference of Denjongke and Lhasa Tibetan categories is hidden by the fact that the term “personal” is also used of Lhasa Tibetan (Hill 2012).

<sup>254</sup> Hein’s (2001 :43) defines Tabo/Spiti Tibetan category “speaker’s unspecified knowledge” very similarly to Denjongke “neutral”.

<sup>255</sup> See Hill (2013) for contextual semantics of Lhasa Tibetan.

involved in the event. The last sense has been attested only with *í:* as the final copula of nominalized constructions. The first two senses are expressed by both personal copulas *í:* and *jò?*. There is, however, a difference in that *í:* seems to primarily convey spatiotemporal proximity, whereas *jò?* expresses more clearly both old knowledge and spatiotemporal proximity. The reason for this difference between *í:* and *jò?* seems to be that the semantics of the personal copulas are affected by the other copulas they evidentially contrast with.

Because *jò?* in its ELPA-functions contrasts with both the sensorial *du?* and the neutral nominalized copula construction *jò-po be?/jèbbe*, it has developed semantics in opposition to both of these contrastive copulas. The focus on the speaker’s old, already existing (and hence personal) knowledge arises from the opposition to *du?*, which makes reference to a specific, usually recent knowledge-acquiring event. The sense of spatiotemporal proximity (“here and now”), on the other hand, arises from the contrast with the neutral nominalized construction *jò-po be?/jèbbe*, which is used for spatiotemporal backgrounding (“there and then”, similarly to mere *be?*).

The equative personal copula *í:*, in contrast, lacks a contrastive sensorial equative (the marginal combinatory sensorial equative *indu?*, see §7.3.1, does not contrast with *í:* in most contexts) and therefore the semantics of *í:*, focusing on spatiotemporal proximity, are mainly affected by its contrast with the neutral, spatiotemporally backgrounding *be?*. Nevertheless, as shown in §7.2.1.1, a case can be made for *í:* also making reference to the speaker’s already existing knowledge. In addition to the above three senses, *í:* is associated with a type of speech act of identification, as is shown in §7.2.3.

### 7.2.1.1 Personal equative *í:*

In equation, the personal *í:* contrasts frequently with the neutral *be?* (§7.2.3) and marginally with the sensorial *indu?* (§7.2.2). In attributive sentences, *í:* contrasts with the neutral *be?*, the personal *jò?* (§7.2.1.2), the sensorial *du?* and the neutral *jèbbe?* (from *jò-po be?*) (§7.3.2.1).

In equative sentences such as (7.1) and (7.2), it is usually not obvious that *í:* would mark older knowledge than *be?*, because both sentences could be used as soon as the knowledge is gained. The difference is rather characterized in terms of the presence or absence of the referent, the referent being present in (7.1) and absent in (7.2) (see also §7.1.3).

- |       |                           |            |                           |            |                        |
|-------|---------------------------|------------|---------------------------|------------|------------------------|
| (7.1) | <i>k<sup>h</sup>oŋ=gi</i> | <i>mìŋ</i> | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>eriŋ</i> | <i>í:</i>  | ཁོང་གི་མིང་ཚེ་རིང་ཨིན། |
| (7.2) | <i>k<sup>h</sup>oŋ=gi</i> | <i>mìŋ</i> | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>eriŋ</i> | <i>be?</i> | ཁོང་གི་མིང་ཚེ་རིང་ཟུང། |
|       | 3SG.HON=GEN               | name       | Tshering                  | EQU        |                        |
|       | ‘His name is Tshering.’   |            |                           |            |                        |

In attributive sentences such as (7.3) and (7.4), however, the difference of *í:* and *be?* with reference to integration of knowledge becomes clearer.

- |       |                        |                   |
|-------|------------------------|-------------------|
| (7.3) | ཁུ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཅན་ཨིན།      |                   |
|       | <i>k<sup>h</sup>u</i>  | <i>gja:nam í:</i> |
|       | 3SGM                   | fat EQU.PER       |
|       | ‘He is (a) fat (one).’ |                   |

- |       |                       |                    |
|-------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| (7.4) | ཁུ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཅན་ཟུང།     |                    |
|       | <i>k<sup>h</sup>u</i> | <i>gja:nam be?</i> |
|       | 3SGM                  | fat EQU.NE         |
|       | ‘He is fat.’          |                    |



Consultant KN commented that in order to say (7.3) of a person who is present, the referent has to be the speaker's earlier acquaintance, whereas (7.4) could be said when seeing the referent for the first time.<sup>256</sup>

The semantic difference between personal *í:* and neutral *bɛ?* is also seen when the copula is followed by the (clausal) attention marker =*ɛo*, which may mark a proposition as attention-worthy either to the speaker or to the addressee (see §16.2.2). When used with the personal copula *í:*, which marks integrated knowledge, =*ɛo* marks the information in the proposition as attention-worthy to the addressee, not to the speaker. For an example, see (7.5).

- (7.5) །་ ཁོང་གི་ སུ་ ཞིན་གོ།  
*ŋà kʰoŋ=gi p'u í:=ɛo.*  
 1PL 3SG.HON=GEN son EQU.PER =AT  
 'I'm actually his son (which you don't seem to know).' (PT e)

In (7.5), Person A and B are talking about a certain man. The man who is the topic of the discussion is actually A's father. In the course of the conversation, A has reason to believe that B is not aware of this fact. To counter this false assumption, A uses the attention marker to communicate to the addressee that he (the speaker) knows that what he is saying is probably unexpected and newsworthy, and hence attention-worthy, to the addressee.

With *bɛ?*, on the other hand, =*ɛo* may mark the proposition attention-worthy either to the speaker (7.6) or to the addressee (7.7).

- (7.6) ལྟོ་ མོ་ཉེ་ལགས་ཚུ་ ཟུང་གོ།  
*já:, óni=la:=tsu bɛ=ɛo.*  
 Oh child=HON=PL EQU.NE=AT  
 'Oh, it's the children.' (Richhi 25)

- (7.7) ལབ་མཁུ་ དོན་དག་ འདི་ མོ་འདི་ ཟུང་གོ།  
*láp-kʰɛ: t'onda=di ódi bɛ=ɛo.*  
 say-NMLZ meaning=DEMPH that EQU.NE=AT  
 'The meaning of the (afore)said is this.' (JDF axe story)

The proposition in (7.6) is accompanied by an exclamation to underline the noteworthy character of the information about the comers' identity to the speaker. In (7.7), in contrast, the speaker draws, by the use of =*ɛo*, the addressee's attention to the fact that he is going to tell the main teaching of his pedagogical story. The fact that with *í:=ɛo* attention-worthiness is addressee-oriented but with *bɛ=ɛo* either speaker or addressee-oriented suggests that *í:* is a marker of old, already existing knowledge, whereas *bɛ?* is neutral with respect to when and how the information was acquired.

The copula *í:* (as also *bɛ?*) co-occurs with any of the first, second or third person pronouns, see (7.8), showing that the "personal" semantics of *í:* have not been grammaticalized into a syntactic requirement for the first person to appear with *í:* or into a semantic requirement for the referent to be closely related to the speaker (contra description of "Standard Tibetan" by Garrett 2001: 141-142). The semantic difference of using *í:* and *bɛ?* is discussed in §7.2.3.

<sup>256</sup> The difference in choosing *bɛ?* rather than *du?* is addressed in §7.2.3.

- (7.8) ཁོང་/ལྷན་གྲུབ་/ང་ ལྷན་པོ་ ཡིན།  
*kʰõ:/l̥ɛŋɛʔ/ŋà mɛmpo ɨ̃:/bɛʔ.*  
 3SG.HON/PRN.HON/1SG doctor EQU.PER/EQU.NE  
 ‘He is a doctor./ You are a doctor./ I am a doctor.’

Prototypically equative copulas describe situations that exist in the present, but in appropriate contexts, they may refer to past events. This is exemplified in (7.9) where the adverbial ལྔ་ལས་ *jénle* ‘earlier’ enforces a past interpretation of the sentence with *ɨ̃*:

- (7.9) ང་ འདི་ ལྔ་ལས་ གན་འདི་ ཉ་མ་གོ་མཁན་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཡིན།  
*ŋà=di jénle kʰandɛ: ha-man-go-kʰɛ: mí=tɛiʔ*  
 1SG=DEMPH earlier anything understand-NEG-understand-NMLZ person=INDF  
*ɨ̃.*  
 EQU.PER  
 ‘Earlier I was a man who didn’t understand anything.’ (KT life-story)

When used with an adjectival argument, as in (7.10) and (7.11), the use of the equative copula *ɨ̃* implies that the adjective expresses a defining or identifying characteristic of the nominal it is linked with.

- (7.10) ཡོ་འདི་ ཉ་གོ་ དགོས་པོ་ གཤམ་ཆེན་ ཡིན།  
*ódi háko go:-po kʰɛ:tɛʰɨ̃: ɨ̃.*  
 that understand need.to-2INF important EQU.PER  
 ‘It is important to understand that.’ (Richhi 7)

- (7.11) ངའི་ བོ་ཚོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ འཛོགས་དྲགས་ ཡིན། ལྷག་མ་ ཡིན།  
*ŋè: pʰotso thamtɛɛ=lɛ dzikʰaʔ ɨ̃:, lɛm ɨ̃.*  
 1SG.GEN child all=ABL excellent EQU.PER good EQU.PER  
 ‘My child is the most excellent one (lit. excellent from all), a good one.’ (RBM story of my son)

The negative form of *ɨ̃* is usually *mɛ̃*, but in the constructions given in (7.12) and (7.13), *ɨ̃* occurs with the negator prefix *ma-*.

- (7.12) དམར་ཕུ་ མ་ཡིན་པོ་ འུ་ལྷོ་ ཡ་ཚོ་ ལྔ་ཕུ་  
*má:pu ma-ím-bo pʰja-ti átsi hɔmpu*  
 red NEG-EQU-2INF do-NF a.bit blue-green  
 ‘not being red, a bit blue-green’ (KN e)

- (7.13) དམར་ཕུ་ མ་ཡིན་པ་ ཡ་ཚོ་ ལྔ་ཕུ་  
*má:pu ma-ím-ba átsi hɔmpu*  
 red NEG-EQU-CIRC a.bit blue-green  
 ‘not being red, a bit blue-green’ (KN e)

More examples of *ɨ̃* are found in §7.2.3, where *ɨ̃* is contrasted with *bɛʔ* and the other copulas. The use of *ɨ̃* as the final copula of nominalized constructions is addressed in §7.3.2.2.

### 7.2.1.2 Personal existential *jòʔ*

Similar to *í*, the personal existential copula *jòʔ*<sup>257</sup> codes the speaker’s already existing knowledge (contra sensorially acquired knowledge marked by *duʔ*) and spatiotemporal proximity (contra spatiotemporally backgrounding nominalized copulas, e.g. *jò-po beʔ/jèbbeʔ*). The use of *jòʔ* usually also entails that the situation depicted in the sentence continues to exist at the moment of speech (contra *duʔ* which reports an observation at a particular moment). The personal *jòʔ* can only mark those experiences about which it is possible to acquire personal knowledge over time (e.g. what a friend’s character is like), whereas the other existential copula *duʔ* will be used for coding momentary experiences (e.g. what a friend is wearing today). It seems impossible to gain personal knowledge of distant historical events. If speakers need to distance themselves from the intimate knowledge and present actuality of the proposition implied by the use of *jòʔ*, they use the nominalized constructions *jò-po beʔ/jèbbeʔ* and *jò:-k<sup>h</sup>en beʔ*, which are discussed in §7.3.2.1.

The type of knowledge coded by *jòʔ* is illustrated by (§4).

- (7.14) ལཱི་གི་ བ་ཉིག་ འདི་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ མ་ལག་ ཡོད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u=i=gi baik=di lèpti màlaʔ jòʔ.*  
 3SGM=GEN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very fast EX.PER  
 ‘His motorbike is very fast.’ (NB e)

The condition of the motorbike in (7.14) is part of the already existing knowledge of the speaker, who knows the bike and its owner. When commenting on an unknown biker who just passes by fast, the immediate sensory evidential *duʔ* would be chosen. In Kyirong Tibetan, a sentence equivalent to (7.14) and a cognate of *jòʔ* as copula implies that the speaker has had a “personal experience” of the speed of the bike by riding it (Huber 2002: 138).<sup>258</sup> In Denjongke, however, riding the bike oneself is not required for a sentence such as (7.14). It is enough just to know the condition of the bike, for one reason or another, very well. In other words, *jòʔ* refers merely to the knowledge state of the speaker, not to any event where the knowledge was gained.

Example (7.15), taken from Bhaichung Tschudarpo’s novel *Ricchi*, shows how the author of a novel may use personal forms by virtue of having personal knowledge because he has created the characters and the storyline.<sup>259</sup>

- (7.15) ལུབ་ འབྲས་རྫོང་གི་ ཟོམ་ ལུ་རེ་ སླན་ཁང་ན་ སླན་པོ་ ཀམ་ ཡོད།  
*nùp dɛndzɔŋ=gi sòmbarɛ ménk<sup>h</sup>ã:=na mémpo karma jòʔ.*  
 west Sikkim=GEN TPN hospital=LOC doctor PN EX.PER  
 ‘It is in West Sikkim’s Sombare hospital that doctor Karma is.’ (Richhi 161)

The exact semantic interpretation of *jòʔ* is dependent on the context. This is illustrated in (7.16), in which *jòʔ* may convey either personal knowledge gained through metaphorical proximity to the referent (friendship) or personal knowledge gained by literal proximity (being in the referent’s presence).

<sup>257</sup> The copula *jòʔ* is pronounced by most children and young adults as *jèʔ*, without rounding in the vowel. Rounding in front vowels, in general, seems to be disappearing.

<sup>258</sup> *k<sup>h</sup>õ:* *pɑ<sup>h</sup>kpa:-de ts<sup>h</sup>ẽ:mè:* *jo:bā jø:*  
 he.GEN motorbike-DEF very fast EXPER  
 ‘His motorbike is very fast.’ (Kyirong, Huber 2002: 138 )

<sup>259</sup> The novel *Richhi* also quite systematically uses the personal auxiliary construction VERB-*po í* rather than the neutral VERB-*po beʔ* for third person referents’ past actions within the author’s omniscient narration. Using the cognate form VERB-*pa-yin* is infelicitous in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 206).

- (7.16) Bill Gates ལོ་དངུལ་གཤམ་ལོ་ཡོད།  
*bil geits=lo ny: ke:p jò?*  
 Bill Gates=LOC money a.lot EX.PER  
 ‘Bill Gates has a lot of money (as I have come to know personally either because Gates is close to me metaphorically [i.e. a friend] or close to me literally [i.e. present now]).’ (KT e)

Example (7.16) implies either that the speaker is Bill Gate’s friend and so personally knows about his wealth (contra sensorial *du?*) or that Bill Gates is present at the time of speaking (contra neutral *jèbbe?*).

The copula *jò?* is not a typical choice for a simple, second person attributive sentence, perhaps because it would seem arrogant to claim ingrained personal knowledge about another person’s qualities to their face, see (7.17).

- (7.17) ལུ་ང་/?ཚོད་རྒྱགས་ནམ་ཡོད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u/ŋà/?tɕ<sup>h</sup>ø?* *gja:nam jò?*  
 3SGM/1SG/?2SG.L fat EX.PER  
 ‘He is fat. / I am fat. / ?You are fat.’

According to van Driem (1998: 136), second person attributive sentences with the Dzongkha copula ཡོད་ *jø* (cognate of Denjongke *jò?*) are not allowed. Instead, འདུག་ *du:* (cognate of Denjongke *du?*) has to be used. Van Driem (1998: 136) states that in attributive sentences “knowledge about the second person referent is by definition objective” (and hence not personal). In Denjongke, however, the second person version of (7.17) is acceptable at least in the special case when the speaker tries to convince the addressee who is reluctant to believe the proposition. In these cases, the copula *jò?* may be followed by the attention marker =*eo* to emphasize the addressee’s counterexpectation and, hence, the newsworthiness of the claim for the addressee. All the other copulas, in different contexts, can more freely link the second person with an adjectival attribute. This is shown in (7.18). For semantic differences between the copulas in (7.18), see the discussion under example (7.52) below.

- (7.18) ཚོད་རྒྱགས་ནམ་མེན་/འདུག་/ཟླད།  
*tɕ<sup>h</sup>ø?* *gja:nam í:/du?/bɛ?*  
 2SG.L fat EQU.PER/EX.SEN/EQU.NE  
 You are a fat one./ (I see) you are fat./ You are fat.

It is a well-known phenomenon in Tibetic languages that when forming questions speakers do not evidentially base their copula choice on their own knowledge but on the anticipated knowledge of the addressee (cf. Tournadre’s [2008: 296, 300] “rule of anticipation” in Standard Tibetan, see also Hyslop [2014] for the same in non-Tibetic Kurtöp). For Denjongke, this is illustrated in the question and answer pairs (7.19) and (19.20), where the use of the personal copula in the question does not reflect the speaker’s own knowledge state but their estimation of the addressee’s knowledge state.

- (7.19) a) ངམ་ཡོད་ཀྱི?  
*ŋám jò:-ka?*  
 sugar EX.PER-PQ  
 ‘Is there sugar?’

- b) ཡོད།  
*jò?*  
 EX.PER  
 ‘Yes, there is.’

- (7.20) a) ཆ་རྒྱུ་ལྟེ་ཆ་རྒྱུ་ལོ་ བོ་ཙོ་ ལ་ཚོང་ ཡོད་པོ་?  
*te<sup>h</sup>ero=ki/te<sup>h</sup>ero=lo*      *p'otso*      *k'adzø?*      *jò-po?*  
 friend=GEN/friend=DAT      child      how.many      EX.PER-2INF  
 ‘How many children does the friend (=you) have?’

- b) ངའི་(རྒྱུ་)/ང་ལོ་ ལྷན་ ལ་སྐུ་ ཡོད།  
*je:(=gi)/ŋà=lo*      *p'um*      *súm*      *jò?*  
 1SG.GEN(=GEN)/1SG=DAT      daughter      three      EX.PER  
 ‘I have three daughters.’

In (7.19a) and (7.20a), the use of the personal copula *jò?* suggests that the speaker deems the addressee as someone who has personal knowledge of the questioned fact. It would be an interesting line of research to find out what copula is used in the answer if the copula in the question does not correctly reflect the addressee’s knowledge state. De Villiers et al (2009: 44) observed that “Tibetan children are not led by the evidential posed in a question, but base their answers on their own judgment of the scenario.”

More examples of *jò?* are provided in next sections §7.2.2 and §7.2.3, where its use is contrasted with *du?* and *bɛ?* respectively.

## 7.2.2 Sensorial copula *du?*

The discussion here is divided into existential uses of *du?* (§7.2.2.1), which form the great majority of cases, and past equative uses (§7.2.2.2). The last sections describes the intensifier suffix *-ke*, which may attach to *du?* (§7.2.2.3).

### 7.2.2.1 Existential uses of *du?*

The use of the sensorial existential *du?* indicates that the proposition is evidentially based on a specific, most often recent or current event that the speaker has sensorially (not necessarily visually) attested. Information expressed through the personal evidentials is also first acquired sensorially, but later with time and/or repeated exposure the knowledge becomes so assimilated that no reference to a specific event needs to be made (similarly Gawne [2013: 203] on Yolmo). Whereas *jò?* conveys that the speaker’s knowledge state has existed before (“I already know”), *du?* implies that the knowledge was recently acquired (“I came to know”). The neutral *bɛ?*, on the other hand, marks a proposition non-committed as to the type of knowledge. Whereas *bɛ?* is used when the speaker and the addressee share a sensorial experience, *du?* is primarily used when the addressee does not share the sensorial experience with the speaker.

Because *du?* often refers to a recent event where knowledge was acquired, it can gain overtones of “newness” or “mirativity” (DeLancey 1997). The overtones of newness in the cognates of this copula in other Tibetic languages have been reported, among others, by Bielmeier (2000: 104), Denwood (1999: 123), Hongladarom (2007: 29) and Huber (2002: 139). It should be noted, however, that “newness” does not necessarily entail “unexpectedness/surprise” (Zeisler 2000: 40). Hill (2012) argues for the basic meaning of *du?* in Standard Tibetan being sensorial rather than mirative. Although the use of *du?* in Denjongke often implies recently acquired knowledge, Denjongke has a separate attention marker *=ɛo* that can be attached even to the sensory evidential *du?* (*du:=ɛo*) to emphasize the

attention-worthiness (caused by surprise, counterexpectation, sudden realization etc.) of the information either to the speaker or to the addressee (see examples [7.22] and [7.27]). Although *du?* may have some undercurrents of newness, the Denjongke language system does not appear to grammaticalize any “surprise” value with *du?*.

The implied momentariness of *du?*, in contrast to the permanence suggested by *jò?*, is especially seen when the two copulas are used as auxiliaries. In auxiliary uses with the progressive *zē:*, both *kʰu jò? pʼja-zēn du?* ‘He was working’ and *kʰu jò? pʼja-zē: jò?* ‘He is working’ could be said in a situation where the speaker does not see the man working at the moment of speech. Choosing the option with *du?* implies that the speaker recently saw the referent working, but is agnostic as to whether the referent is still working at the moment of speech (hence the past translation). The option with *jò?*, however, implies the speaker’s personal knowledge that the action still continues at the time of speech (hence the present translation).

Examples (7.21-34) illustrate the evidential semantics of *du?*. First, consider (7.21), a question where the speaker has to make an estimate of the addressees’ state of knowledge.

- (7.21) ༄མ་ འདུག་ཀྱི་?  
*ŋám du-ka?*  
 sugar EX.SEN-PQ  
 ‘Is there (any) sugar?’

In (7.21), the speaker assumes that the addressee is not in personal possession of the knowledge asked for, i.e. that the addressee may have to look around right then to find out whether there is sugar. In (7.19) above, on the other hand, where the copula *jò?* is used instead of *du?* in the otherwise identical sentence, the speaker assumes that the addressee already has assimilated knowledge on the availability of sugar and can answer the question without searching.

In light of what was said above, example (7.22) seems at first sight anomalous.

- (7.22) a) ཚོད་ རྩོད་ ལྷོང་བོ་ལྟོ འདུག་ཀྱི་?  
*tɕʰø? nò: bjã:-bo=lo. du-ka?*  
 2SG.L cow disappear-2INF=REP EX.SEN-PQ  
 ‘Your cow is said to have disappeared. Is it (here)?’
- b) འདུག་གེ་ལོ་  
*du-kɛ=ɛo.*  
 EX.SEN-IN=AT  
 ‘Why, it is indeed.’ (TB e)

In (7.22), the first speaker has found a cow that he brings to the second speaker. When making an estimate of the addressee’s state of knowledge, speaker A in (7.22) would perhaps be expected to use the personal copula, because the addressee is supposed to have personal, integrated knowledge about his cows. The focus here, however, seems to fall on the specific sensory experience of identifying the cow, not on the existing knowledge state. The attention marker =*ɛo* in B’s answer expresses the speaker’s surprise, indicated by the old-fashioned exclamation ‘why’ in the translation.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>260</sup> Consultants KT and KUN commented that the question *du-ka* in (7.22a) has the meaning “Did you find it?”. KT and KUN considered the context of (7.22) strange or surprising.

The contrast of *du?* and *jø?* is further illustrated in (7.23-25). The question in (7.23) is formulated in a way that eliminates the possibility of echoing in the answer the same copula that was used in the question.

(7.23) ཚྱ་ ཐོབ་ཀྱི?  
*ts<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>op-ka?*  
 salt find-PQ  
 ‘Is there (any) salt?’

(7.24) མེད།  
*mè?*  
 NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘No, there isn’t.’

(7.25) མིན་འདུག།  
*mìndu?*  
 NEG.EX.SEN  
 ‘No, there isn’t.’

To a customer’s question (7.23) the shopkeeper may answer (7.24) if he knows from before that there is no salt (*mè?* is the negative of *jø?*), or (7.25), if he is not sure from the outset but finds out whether there is salt by looking around (*mìndu?* is the negative of *du?*).

In the above examples, *du?* refers to the speaker’s sensory experience at the time of speaking or just prior to the speech act. Examples (7.26-27), on the other hand, illustrate the uses of *du?* in which the sensory experience happened in more distant past.

(7.26) ཁོང་གཉིས་པོ་མི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མི་མེད་པའི་སྐབས་མོ་  
*k<sup>h</sup>õ: ni:-po mù=i k<sup>h</sup>im=na l̥ɛp-ø: gã: mù*  
 3PL two-COL 3SGF=GEN house=LOC reach-2INF.GEN time 3SGF  
 ‘When the two of them reached the house, she wasn’t  
 མི་མེད་པའི་སྐབས་མོ་  
*k<sup>h</sup>im=na mìn-du?*  
 house=LOC NEG-EX.SEN  
 at home.’ (Richhi 96)

At the time of arriving at their friend’s house, the protagonists in (7.26) sensorially attested that she was not at home. This use of *mìndu?* can either be seen as case of the author of this literary work taking the viewpoint of the characters or, as Zeisler (2000: 50) suggests, as the author looking at the scene as if from a window as an observer.

Now consider (7.27), another example of a past use of *du?*, and a rare instance of *du?* being used of the first person (see for instance Denwood [1999: 123] for similar examples from Lhasa Tibetan).

(7.27) མ་དང་ངས་གཉིད་ལམ་གཅིག་མཐོང་ཅེ་གཉིད་ལམ་ན་ང་  
*dã: ŋà: nilam=tei? t<sup>h</sup>õ:-tɛɛ. nilam=na ŋà*  
 yesterday 1SG dream=INDF see-PFV dream=LOC 1SG  
 ‘Yesterday I saw a dream. In the dream I was

མེན་ཁང་ན་            འདུག་གོ།  
*méŋkʰã: =na    du: =ɛo.*  
 hospital=LOC    EX.SEN=AT  
 in the hospital!’ (YR e)

Usually information about oneself is by definition personal, and hence marked by *t̃:* and *jò?*, but here the speaker has observed himself in a dream. When waking up from a dream, the dreamer gets an outsider’s perspective into their own life. Therefore, the sensorial evidential *du?* can be used when talking about oneself. The copula is here followed by the attention marker =*ɛo*, which indicates that the information was, and perhaps still is at the moment of speaking, surprising to the speaker.

In (7.28), the speaker is helping another person sit inside a car. The choice of *du?* as copula indicates either that the speaker does not expect his addressees to have definite knowledge about the whereabouts of the pillow or that he is speaking to himself.

(7.28) ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ འཇུལ་, འདི་ཁར་ རྒྱབ་ ཞེད་, ཀོ་ལོ་ རྩམ་འབོལ་ ག་ན་ འདུག་?  
*kʰaly? kʰaly? dzy:, dikʰa: gjap é?, kolo, ŋa:bø: kʰana du??*  
 slowly slowly enter here back press EXCLAM pillow where EX.SEN  
 ‘Come in slowly, slowly. Lean (your) back here. Hey, where is the pillow?’  
 (rnam-rtog 21)

In (7.29), a doctor is examining a patient’s X-ray pictures and comments on them:

(7.29) རྫོག་པར་གྱི་ རྫིང་པོ་ ལེབ་རྫི་ ལེམ་ འདུག།  
*lóp̄par=ki    níŋpo    lèpti    lèm    du?.*  
 X-ray=GEN    essence    very.much    good    EX.SEN  
 ‘The results of the X-ray look very good.’ (Richhi 29)

In (7.29) the doctor who looks at the X-ray pictures uses *du?* probably either because the addressee(s) cannot see what he sees or cannot interpret what they see as he can. The sensorial *du?* is mainly used when the addressee does not share the same sensorial experience as the speaker. If the speaker and the addressee both see the same thing *be?* is more likely used.

Although information coded by *du?* is most often visual, it can also mark knowledge as deriving from the other senses, hearing (7.30), tasting (7.31), smelling (7.32) or touching (7.33).

(7.30) བང་ཁར་ ཞ་ལུས་ འདུག།  
*paŋkʰa:    ály?    du?.*  
 outside    cat    EX.SEN  
 ‘There’s a cat outside (as I heard it meowing).’

(7.31) འདི་ གསོལ་གྱུ་མས་ ཞིམ་པོ་ འདུག།  
*di    só:tym    èìmpu    du?.*  
 this    curry    delicious    EX.SEN  
 ‘This curry is delicious (as I can taste).’



(7.32) འདི་ གསོལ་གུམས་ཀྱི་ ཇིམ་ ཞིམ་པོ་ འདུག།  
*di sò:ɥm=gi t'im ɛ̃mpu du?*  
 this curry=GEN smell delicious EX.SEN  
 ‘This curry smells delicious.’

(7.33) འདི་ གྱི་ འདི་ རྗེན་དགས་ འདུག།  
*di k'i=di ɲøta? du?*  
 this big.knife=DEMPH sharp EX.SEN  
 ‘This (big) knife is sharp (as I can feel).’ (PD)

Example (7.34) presents a problem for anchoring *du?* to the speaker’s specific sensory experience. The information has been heard from other people or read from books.

(7.34) ཇམ་གུ་གེས་ མ་གསལ་བོ་? དང་བོའི་ མཉམ་པོ་ཚུ་གེས་  
*áku=gi ma-sém-bo? t'anjpø: gempo=tsu=gi*  
 uncle=AGT NEG-hear-2INF long.ago.GEN old.man=PL=AGT  
 ‘Hasn’t the uncle heard? The elders of old (used to say):

“བོ་ཙཱ་ ད་ མོ་བུད་ ལེན་ཤང་ ཞིན་ནེ་ ག་ཚུང་ བརྟུང་”  
*p'otso t'a mòby? lèn-ɛɛ? ín-nɛ k'ateuŋ*  
 child now wife take-INF EQU.PER-COND metal.ornament  
 “If (your) child is to take a wife, make a kachung-plate.”

ཏི་ ག་ཚུང་ ལམ་སྟེ་ གཉེན་གྱི་ ཏྲགས་ བུ་མོ་གེས་ བཏགས་ཤང་  
*duŋ tɛ k'ateuŋ làp-ti ɲén=gi ta? p'umu=gi*  
 hit so metal.ornament say-NF wedding=GEN sign girl=AGT  
 So there is indeed an old tradition stating that “kachung” is the sign of

ཅིག་ དང་བུའི་ ལུང་བསྟན་ ཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།  
*ta:-ɛɛ=tei? tanpy: lùntɛ̃:=tei? du:=ɛo.*  
 wear-INF=INDF of.old tradition=INDF EX.SEN=AT  
 marriage worn by a girl.’ (sbar-phung 89)

Although the speaker of (7.34) probably has known the information for a long time, he cannot use the personal *jò?* here because that would imply that he was present himself at the time when the tradition was formed. Because it is not possible to gain personal knowledge of such a historically oriented word as “tradition”, the speaker uses sensorial *du?*, which makes reference to the event(s) in which he has gained the information. An alternative for using *du?* would be to background the handing down of information by using one of the evidentially neutral nominalized construction *jò-po bɛ/jebbe?* or *jò:-kʰen bɛ?*, the first of which is used analogously to (7.34) in (7.87).

### 7.2.2.2 Past equative uses of *du?*

In addition to existential uses, *du?* can be used for equative clauses that refer to situations that held in the past, see (7.35) for a declarative and (7.36) for an interrogative example.

(7.35) ང་ ལྷོབ་ལུག་ ཨིན་བའི་ ལྷོབ་ལོ་ ལྷོབ་ལོ་ འདི་ ང་ཚའི་གི་ གཙོ་ལྷོབ་ ལྷོབ་ལུ་ འདུག་གེ་གོ།  
*ŋà lóptʰu? ím-bø: kap=lo bhandari=di ŋàtɛi=gi tsotɛi*  
 1SG student EQU.PER-2INF.GEN time=DAT PN=DEMPH 1PL.GEN=GEN chief  
*lémpu du-kɛ=ɛo.*  
 minister EX.SEN-INT=AT  
 ‘When I was a student, Bhandari was our Chief Minister, you know.’ (KN e)

(7.36) བད་མ་, ཚོང་ ལྷོབ་ལུག་ ཨིན་བའི་ ལྷོབ་ལོ་ འདི་ ང་ཚའི་ གཙོ་ལྷོབ་ ལྷོབ་ལུ་ འདི་ ཀ་ བོ?  
*pɛma, tɛʰø? lóptʰu? ím-bø: kap=lo=di ŋàtɛi tsotɛi*  
 PN 2SG.L student EQU-2INF time=DAT=DEMPH 1PL.GEN chief  
*lémpu=di ka du-ko?*  
 minister=DEMPH who EX.SEN-2INF  
 ‘Pema, when you were student, who was our Chief Minister?’ (YR e)

According to consultant YR, using the sensorial *du?* in (7.36) implies that the same chief minister is no longer in power, whereas using the personal *jø?* (*jø-po/jè-po*) would leave open the possibility that the same chief minister is still in power. Example (7.37), however, suggests that *du?*, at least in the declarative, may be used for past equation even when the situation still holds in the present. In (7.37), a person who has been outside Sikkim for some ten years reacts to news about the name of the current Chief Minister:

(7.37) ཨ་རེ་, ང་ ལྷོབ་ལུ་ ལྷོབ་ལོ་ གཉིས་ལྷོབ་ བཞིན་ ལྷོབ་ ཡོང་བའི་ ལྷོབ་ ཨོ་འདྲེ་ཅིག་ཁ་ཡང་ བ་ལྷོབ་ ཚམ་གྲོང་ར་ འདུག་གོ།  
*arɛ, ŋà jéma tɛʰilo ní.tõ: zi=na nà: jø-pø: gã:*  
 EXCLAM(Nep.) 1SG earlier year 2000 four=LOC here EX-2INF.GEN time  
*ódetɛika=jã: pawan tsamliŋ=ra du:=ɛo.*  
 that.time=too PN PN=AEMPH EX.SEN=AT  
 ‘Wow, when I was earlier here in 2004, at that time too (it) was (the same) Pawan Chamling (as Chief Minister).’ (KN e)

Similar to present uses, past equative *du?* marks recently acquired sensory information. It may be used when expressing information about things and other persons than oneself (7.38a) but not when the speaker conveys information about oneself (7.38b).

(7.38) a) ལྷོབ་ལུ་ ང་ ཚོང་ མེང་ ལྷོབ་ཚོགས་ འདུག་གོ།  
*jéma t'a tɛʰø? mìn pʰyntsʰo? duk=ɛo.*  
 earlier now 2SG.L name PN EX.SEN=AT  
 ‘But earlier your name was Phuntso!’ (KN e)

b) \*ལྷོབ་ལས་ར་ ངའི་ མེང་ ལྷོབ་ཚོགས་ འདུག་གོ།  
*\*jénle=ra nè: mìn pʰyntsʰo? du?*  
 earlier=AEMPH 1SG.GEN name PN EX.SEN  
 (KN e)

Note that *du?* cannot be used for present identification/equation, as shown by (7.39), a faulty attempt to communicate ‘who is the man (now over there)?’.

- (7.39) \*མི་འདི་ཀ་ འདུག་གོ?  
 \*mi=di ka du-ko?  
 human=DEMPH who EX.SEN-2INF

### 7.2.2.3 Intensifier -kε

The sensorial *du?* is often accompanied by the suffix *-kε*, which is called here an intensifier. For instance, as an answer to the question *Is there salt?* by using the intensified *-kε* form *mindu-kε* instead of mere *mindu?*, the speaker can emphasize engagement in his/her involvement in the situation. Whereas *mindu?* could be said after just looking around, *mindu-kε* would be appropriate after spending some time moving objects while searching. In addition to personal involvement, the intensifier *-kε* may imply certainty. For instance, according to some of my consultants *du-kε* is considered to carry more certainty than mere *du?* when reporting sensory experience. In this respect, it is similar to *-kě/-gě:* in Kyirong Tibetan, which is reported to mark increased assertiveness (Huber 2002: 136).

When being prompted to comment on the difference between (7.40) and (7.41), consultant PTB commented that (7.40) would be more appropriate when the referent of *k<sup>hu</sup>* ‘he’ is no longer present, although *du?* may also be used in the referent’s presence.

- (7.40) ལུ་རྒྱགས་འགས་ འདུག།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> gja:ta? du?*  
 3SGM fat EX.SEN  
 ‘He is fat.’

- (7.41) ལུ་རྒྱགས་འགས་ འདུག་གོ།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> gja:ta? du-kε.*  
 3SGM fat EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘He is fat.’

### 7.2.3 Equative neutral *bε?* in comparison with other copulas

The copula *bε?* is a basically equative but it also syntactically overlaps with existential copulas *jø?* and *du?* not only in adjectival predication but also in quantified existentials and quantified locatives. The neutral *bε?* is evidentially non-committed unlike the sensorial *du?* and the personal copulas *jø?* and *í:*. Therefore *bε?* can be used in many contexts as a matter-of-fact generally asserting variant of the other copulas.

Probably the most difficult task in analyzing Denjongke copulas is to identify exactly what is the difference between equative sentences which differ only in the choice of copula *í:* vs. *bε?*. Two things, however, can be said. First, *í:* seems to perform a type of speech act of identifying whereas *bε?* takes the identification for granted and leaves room for the implications of this identification. For a very similar characterization of difference of *yin* and *ree* in Lhasa Tibetan, see Yukawa (2017: 193-194). For an example, consider the two questions-answer pairs in (7.42) and (7.43), which were volunteered by one of my consultants, when I was trying to tease out the difference between *í:* and *bε?*.

- (7.42) a) ལྷན་རྒྱུས་ཀ་ བོ?  
*lɛŋgɛ? ka bo?*  
 PRN.HON what EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Who are you?’

b) ང་ ཡམ་རྗེ་ ཡིན།  
*ŋà ámdzi í:*  
 1SG doctor EQU.PER  
 ‘I’m a doctor.’

(7.43) a) ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ གན་ བྱས་མཁན་ ལོ་  
*lɛŋɣɛ? k'an p'ja-kʰɛn bo?*  
 PRN.HON what do-NMLZ EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘What do you do (for living)?’

b) ང་ ཡམ་རྗེ་ ཟླ།  
*ŋà ámdzi bɛ?*  
 1SG doctor EQU.NE  
 ‘I’m a doctor.’ (TB)

In the above examples, *í:* is used in the answer to the question concerning identity (7.42), and *bɛ?* is used when the question relates to doing (7.43). This implies that *í:* is more concerned with the act of identifying itself, as if performing a type of speech act of identifying, whereas *bɛ?* takes some distance from identifying and so suggests focusing on the implications of this identification (e.g. activities of a doctor). These are, however, not fixed rules; in another instance, the same consultant gave the sentence *ŋà ámdzi bɛ?* as an answer to the question in (7.42).

The possibility of choosing between *í:* and *bɛ?* to convey different evidential nuances about the same situation shows, similarly to Lhasa Tibetan (Hill 2013: 50), that there is no strict epistemological hierarchy among the copulas within which the speaker would have to choose the one considered to carry the highest degree of certainty.

When bringing up this same topic of *í:* vs. *bɛ?* with two other consultants, they volunteered comparative sentence pairs (7.44-45) and (7.46-47) respectively (*mɛ:* and *mɛmbɛ?* are the negations of *í:* and *bɛ?* respectively).

(7.44) ང་ཅག་ རྫོབ་ཕྱག་ ཡིན།  
*ŋàtɛa? lòptʰu? í:*  
 1PL student EQU.PER  
 ‘We are students.’ (NB e)

(7.45) ང་ཅག་ རྫོབ་ཕྱག་ ཟླ། ང་ཅག་ འདེམ་ བྱས་ མི་ལེགས།  
*ŋàtɛa? lòptʰu? bɛ? ŋàtɛa? dem p'ja mi-lɛ?*  
 1PL student EQU.NE 1PL such do NEG-be.good  
 ‘We are students. We mustn’t do like that.’ (NB e)

(7.46) ང་ རྫོབ་ཕྱག་ མན།  
*ŋà lòptʰu? mɛ:*  
 1SG student NEG.EQU.PER  
 ‘I am not a student.’ (YR e)

(7.47) a) ཚོད་ འདི་ རྫོག་ཚེ།  
*tɛʰø? di ɖok-tɛʰ(i).*  
 2SG.L this read-IMP.FRN  
 ‘You, read this!’

- b) ང་ མོ་ལྟ་ལཱ་ མན་ཟུང་། ང་ ང་བྱིན་ཇི་ མོ་ལྟ་ མི་ཤེས།  
*ŋà lóptʰu? mèm-beʔ. ŋà índzi ɖok mi-ɛe.*  
 1SG student NEG-EQU.NE I English read NEG-know  
 ‘I’m not a student. I can’t read English.’ (YR e)

Again, in both (7.44) and (7.46) *í:* is used for simple identification of people, whereas the use of *beʔ* in both (7.45) and (7.47) it is the implications of identification that are in focus. Example (7.45) is concerned with responsibilities of students (they should behave in a certain way) and in (7.47) the central question is abilities of a student (they can read English). Whereas *í:* in (7.44) and (7.46) identifies certain people by their occupational status (or lack of it), the use of *beʔ* in (7.45) and (7.47) focuses on responsibilities and abilities of students in general.<sup>261</sup>

The above analysis based on the elicited examples is corroborated by the following example from the novel *Richhi*:

- (7.48) གཞུང་གི་ གཞོན་པ་ རྒྱལ་མཁན་ཉོ་ ཟུང་ ང་ལྟ་ བ་ ཡོང་ མོ་རངས་ ག་འགྱུ་  
*zuj=gi jóʔ kjap-kʰen=to beʔ. t'ato ná: jòʔ,*  
 government=GEN work do-NMLZ=CEMPH EQU.NE now here EX.PER  
*tʰorã: k'a: gju.*  
 tomorrow where go  
 ‘I’m a government employee. Now I’m here, tomorrow (who knows) where (I) go.’  
 (Richhi 95)

In (7.48), the speaker, rather than telling the addressee new information about his identity (in that case *í:* would be used), focuses on the undesirable consequences of being a government employee. The act of identifying is backgrounded and its consequences are foregrounded.

The second thing that can be said about the difference between *í:* and *beʔ* is that *í:* is associated with spatiotemporal proximity, with the “here and now”, whereas *beʔ* is associated with spatiotemporal distancing, “there and then”. A conditioning factor in choosing between *í:* and *beʔ* is the presence or absence of the referent in the clause. Consultant PT (Tashiding, West Sikkim) preferred the identifying, equative copula *í:* when the person referred to was present, whereas *beʔ* was preferred when the referent was absent. This observation is illustrated in examples (7.49-51) below:

- (7.49) a) ལུ་ རྒྱལ་མཁན་ མི་ལྟ།  
*kʰu gja:nam í:*  
 3SGM fat EQU.PER  
 ‘He’s (a) fat (one).’ (referent present)
- b) ལུ་ རྒྱལ་མཁན་ ཟུང་།  
*kʰu gja:nam beʔ.*  
 3SGM fat EQU.NE  
 ‘He is fat.’ (referent absent)

<sup>261</sup> Yukawa (2017: 193-194) provides a very similar analysis of the difference between Lhasa Tibetan *yin* and *red*. In Yukawa analysis of the clauses *khong slob-phrug yin* and *khong slob-phrug red*, both meaning ‘He is a student’, *yin* “is used simply to report that the speaker is a student (a fact she is imminently familiar with)” whereas the semantics of using *red* subsume “a nuance of obligation associated with being a student”.

- (7.50) a) ཁོང་ ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཡིན།  
*kʰõ:*        *tɛʰigɛ:bo*    *ĩ:*  
 3SG.HON    foreigner    EQU.PER  
 ‘He’s a foreigner.’ (referent present)
- b) ཁོང་ ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཟླ།  
*kʰõ:*        *tɛʰigɛ:bo*        *bɛ?*  
 3SG.HON    foreigner        EQU.NE  
 ‘He’s a foreigner.’ (referent in photo)
- (7.51) a) འདི་ ཁོང་གི་ བྱིམ་ ཡིན།  
*di*    *kʰoŋ=gi*        *kʰim*    *ĩ:*  
 this    3SG.HON=GEN    house    EQU.PER  
 ‘This is his house.’ (owner present)
- b) འདི་ ཁོང་གི་ བྱིམ་ ཟླ།  
*di*    *kʰoŋ=gi*        *kʰim*    *bɛ?*  
 this    3SG.HON=GEN    house    EQU.NE  
 ‘This is his house.’ (owner absent)

Consultant YR, when given the task of describing the difference between the sentences *kʰõ: ámdzi* *ĩ:* and *kʰõ: ámdzi bɛ?* ‘*he is a doctor*’, first commented that in the first sentence the person is alive and in the second one dead, thus just bringing the presence vs. absence distinction to another level and adding temporal distance to spatial distance. Similarly, Chang & Chang (1984: 609) provide an example from Lhasa Tibetan where a boy says about his dead father *tʰa tì ŋɛ: pápá rɛ:* ‘Now, this is my father’. As the copula *jì:* (or *yin*) would be usually used if the father were alive, Chang & Chang see the choice of *rɛ:* as copula to indicate “emotional distance”. Their analysis appears similar to Häsler’s (1999: 151) description of Derge Tibetan *jín* as marking “strong empathy” and *rɛ:* marking “weak empathy” and Kretschmar’s (1986: 65) “die innere Regung des Sprechers” (the speaker’s inner emotion).

It was already shown in (7.19) and (7.23-25) above that in questions Denjongke speakers make estimates about their addressee’s state of knowledge. In questions relating to identity, however, copula choice may also be conditioned by whether the questioner wants to present themselves as someone who already knows or at least has a hypothesis of the answer (*ĩ:*), or as someone who does not know the answer (*bɛ?*). For an example, consider (7.52).<sup>262</sup>

- (7.52) a) ཚོད་ རྫོང་ལྷན་ ཟླ་ག་?  
*tɛʰø?*    *lòptʰu?*        *bɛ-ka?*  
 2SG.L    student        EQU.NE-Q  
 ‘Are you a student?’
- b) ཚོད་ རྫོང་ལྷན་ ཡིན་ག་?  
*tɛʰø?*    *lòptʰu?*        *íŋ-ga?*  
 2SG.L    student        EQU.PER-Q  
 ‘You are a student, aren’t you?’

In swiftly transitory attributive situations, as shown in (7.53), *jò?* cannot be used because it suggests that the information in the sentence is old and ingrained. Then, the choice of copulas is narrowed down to *du?* and *bɛ?*.

<sup>262</sup> There are also other ways to form questions which are not treated here.

(7.53) a) འདི་ གོས་ལག་ཚུ་ དྲིག་ཀ་ ཟླད།  
*di k'ola=tsu t'ika be?*  
 this clothing=PL dirty EQU.NE  
 'These clothes are dirty.'

b) འདི་ གོས་ལག་ཚུ་ དྲིག་ཀ་ འདུག།  
*di k'ola=tsu t'ika du?*  
 this clothing=PL dirty EX.SEN  
 'These clothes are dirty (I see).'

One context for saying (7.53a) rather than (7.53b) is when the sensory experience where the knowledge acquired is shared by the speaker and the addressee. In these cases, there is no need to base one's assertion with an evidential.

In clock-times, *be?* is used in expressions where the minutes have gone past the hour (7.54), whereas *du?* is used when minutes have not yet reached the full hour (7.55).

(7.54) ལྷ་ཚེད་ གཞིག་ བརྒྱུ་མེ་ ཀམ་ བཅུ་ ཟླད།  
*te<sup>h</sup>uts<sup>h</sup>ø? tei? duŋ-di karma tsu be?*  
 clock.time one strike-NF minute ten EQU.NE  
 'It's ten past one.' (DB e)

(7.55) ལྷ་ཚེད་ གཞིག་ བརྒྱུ་བ་ ཀམ་ ལྔ་ འདུག།  
*te<sup>h</sup>uts<sup>h</sup>ø? ni: duŋ-ba karma ja du?*  
 clock.time two strike-PUR minute five EX.SEN  
 'It's five to two.' (DB e)

The last two examples (7.56) and (7.57) summarize the evidential differences between the basic declarative copulas by contrasting *be?* with other copulas in locative and attributive use respectively.

(7.56) a) ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྫོ་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཡོད། *eiŋ=di=na do ke:p(o) jø?*  
 b) ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྫོ་ ཀེས་པོ་ འདུག། *eiŋ=di=na do ke:p(o) du?*  
 'There are a lot of stones in the field.'  
 c) ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྫོ་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཟླད། *eiŋ=di=na do ke:p(o) be?*  
 d) ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྫོ་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཡིན། *eiŋ=di=na do ke:p(o) t̃i.*  
 field=DEMPH=LOC stone much COP  
 'The stones in the field are many.'

Whereas (7.56a) could be said by the owner of a field, who has old, personal knowledge about his field, (7.56b) would be said by someone who has just seen the field for the first time (or after a very long time) as a comment to someone else who does/did not share the same experience. Example (7.56c), in contrast, featuring the general neutral copula *be?*, can be said by someone who has never seen the field before to an accompanying friend who also sees the field. In this case, the sensory evidential *du?* is not needed, because the knowledge is mutual (they both see the field). Furthermore, (7.56c) could also be said in a situation where the speaker has knowledge about the field from before (old knowledge) but wants to, for some reason, distance himself from the epistemically more committed copula *jø?*, which would imply personalness of knowledge. Example (7.56d), using the personal equative, is somewhat marginal in that it seems rarer than options (a-c). Moreover, consultants' felicity judgments diverged with regard to (7.56d). It was rejected as infelicitous by consultant KT and KUN but

readily accepted by DB and YR. The semantic difference between (7.56c) and (7.56d) is probably similar to the difference described for examples (7.44-47).

The attributive use of *bɛʔ* in contrast with the other copulas is illustrated with the adjective *gjanam* ‘fat’ in (7.57) below.

- (7.57) a) ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལ་ལམ་ ཞིན། *kʰu gja:nam iː.* ‘He is a fat one (as I know).’  
 b) ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལ་ལམ་ ཡོད། *kʰu gja:nam jøʔ.* ‘He is fat (as I know).’  
 c) ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལ་ལམ་ འདྲུག། *kʰu gja:nam duʔ.* ‘He is fat (as I just saw).’  
 d) ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལ་ལམ་ ཟང། *kʰu gja:nam bɛʔ.* ‘He is fat (as I generally assert).’

The first sentence with *iː* (7.57a) identifies the referent as a member in the class of “fat ones”. The copula *duʔ* in (7.57c) is used when (or shortly after) meeting the described person for the first time (or after a long time). Whereas *duʔ* codes knowledge acquired by momentary recent observation, the use of *jøʔ* in (7.57b) suggests that the statement is based on the speaker’s already existing knowledge. The copula *bɛʔ* in (7.57d), on the other hand, is neutral in these respects, implying neither the personalness of *jøʔ* nor the immediacy and sensorialness of *duʔ*. With *bɛʔ*, the emphasis seems to fall on the information expressed in the sentence rather than on the type of knowledge the speaker purports to have.

#### 7.2.4 Apparentive equative *qɛ:/rɛ:*

The apparentive equative *qɛ:/rɛ:* merges the apparentive marker *qa* ‘(be) similar’ and the neutral equative *bɛʔ* to express the meaning ‘(it) seems to be’. Some informants were not aware that *qɛ:/rɛ:* originates with *qa bɛʔ* ‘be like’.

- (7.58) ཞེ་ དུ་ཅིག་ མ་ར་ན་སེ་ མན་དོ་ འདྲད་ (འདྲ་ ཟང) རོ།  
*ɛː, tʰuteiʔ waranasi mèn-do qɛː no.*  
 oh this.year TPN NEG.EQU-IPFV AP.EQU.NE TAG.ASR  
 ‘Oh, it does not seem to be in Varanasi this year, eh.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

- (7.59) མོ་འདི་ གན་ མོ་ མོ་འདི་ tourist<sup>263</sup> འདི་ འདྲད་ཤོ་ (=འདྲ་ ཟང་ཤོ།)  
*ódi kʰan mo? ódi tuərist(Eng)=di qɛː=ɛo.*  
 that what EQU.NE.Q that foreign=DEMPH AP.EQU.NE=AT  
 ‘What’s that? Apparently it’s foreign (I find).’ (KNU kitchen discussion)

For auxiliary uses of the apparentive copula, see §8.5.2.

#### 7.2.5 Other forms used as copulas

In addition to the exclusively copular words described above, the verb *ɔː* ‘come’ and the reportative marker =*lo* may function as copulas.

##### 7.2.5.1 The verb *ɔː* ‘come’ as existential

The verb *ɔː* ‘come’ has in some Denjongke varieties developed into an existential copula which, as shown in (7.60) and (7.61), is typically negated but which sometimes may also occur in the affirmative, as in (7.63). Consultant KT noted that he does not use this construction in his speech.

<sup>263</sup> The speaker seems to use the loan word “tourist” as an adjective. The Denjongke word for “tourist” is *qɔːkorwo* འབྲུག་སྐོར་བོ་.



(7.60) མ་འདི་ ཉེ་ ངའི་ ལུ་ཤང་ མ་ཉོང་།  
*ódi te jè:*            *ɛ̀ù-ɛɛ ma-hõ:*  
 that then 1SG.GEN say-INF NEG-come  
 ‘I cannot say that (lit. I do not have that to say).’ (PAD Tashiding story)

(7.61) ད་ལྟོ་ ད་ འཛམ་གླིང་ན་ མེ་འོང་གོ།, dinosaurs.  
*t'ato t'a dzamliŋna mi-õ̀:-ʈo,*            *dainoso:s.*  
 now now world NEG-come-PROB dinosaurs(Eng.)  
 ‘Nowadays there probably are no dinosaurs in the world.’ (KN e)

(7.62) Q: མུ་ འདུག་ཀྱང་/ཡོད་ཀྱང་?  
*tsʰa du-ka/jò:-ka?*  
 salt EX.SEN -Q/EX.PER.-Q  
 ‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)

(7.63) a) A1: མུ་ མ་ཉོང་།  
*tsʰa ma-hõ:*  
 salt NEG-come  
 ‘There isn’t (any) salt.’ (KN e)

b) A2: མུ་ འོང་ལོ།  
*tsʰa õ̀:-ʈo.*  
 salt come-PROB  
 ‘There maybe is salt.’ (KN e)

As seen in (7.60) and (7.61), both the perfective negator *ma-* and the imperfective negator *mi-* may negate the existential use of *õ̀:*. When *õ̀:* is negated by *ma-* in its ordinary verbal uses, the result is phonetically /ma-õ̀:/ > [mõ:]. In the existential use, on the other hand, the pronunciation is [mahõ:], probably to underline the difference to the regular verbal use. With the negator *mi-* no laryngeal occurs between the negator and the verb *õ̀:*, /mi-õ̀:/ > [miõ:]. The pronunciation difference between [mahõ:] and [miõ:] is reflected in WD here as མ་ཉོང་ *ma-hong* and མེ་འོང་ *mi-ong*.

I have come across one example of an interrogative existential *õ̀:*, which in (7.64) occurs alongside the proper existential (personal) copula form *jò?*.

(7.64) a) མུ་ ཡོད་ཀམ་?  
*tsʰa jò:-kam?*  
 salt EX.PER-ATTQ  
 ‘Is there salt, I wonder.’ (KN e)

b) མུ་ འོང་གམ་?  
*tsʰa òŋ-gam?*  
 salt come-ATTQ  
 ‘Is there salt, I wonder?’ (KN e)

In addition to the typical copula uses, *mahõ:* occurs as an alternative negative auxiliary to the personal *mè?* and sensorial *mĩndu?*, as shown in (7.66), which presents three alternative

answers to question (7.65). In contrast to *jø?* and *du?*, *õ:* appears to be evidentially neutral, although more research is needed to established that fact.

(7.65) Q: ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་བཞིན་འདུག་ཀྱེ།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> jø? p'ja-zen du-ka?*  
 3SGM work do-PROGEX.SEN-PQ  
 ‘Is he working?’

(7.66) a) A1: ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་པོ་མེད།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> jø? p'ja-u mè?*  
 3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘He’s not working (I know).’

b) A2: ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་པོ་མེན་འདུག།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> jø? p'ja-u mindu?*  
 3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.SEN  
 ‘He’s not working (I see).’

c) A2: ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་པོ་མ་རྟོང་།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> jø? p'ja-u ma-hõ:*  
 3SGM work do-2INF NEG-come  
 ‘He’s not working.’

In addition to the uses as an ordinary verb and a copula, *õ:* also occurs as an uncertain future auxiliary, see §8.2.6.

### 7.2.5.2 Reportative =*lo* as equative substitute

The reportative marker =*lo*<sup>264</sup> may replace an equative copula and thus function as a reportative copula, see (7.67). In existential reportative clauses, on the other hand, the copula is obligatorily present, as shown in (7.68) and (7.69).

(7.67) ལུ་ཨམ་རྗེ་ལོ།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> ámdzi=lo.*  
 3SGM doctor=REP  
 ‘He’s reportedly a doctor. / He’s a doctor, I hear.’ (YR e)

(7.68) ཨོན་ན་མུ་ཡོད་ལོ་འདུག་ལོ།  
*óna ts<sup>ha</sup> jø:=lo/du:=lo.*<sup>265</sup>  
 there salt EX.PER=REP/EX.SEN=REP  
 ‘There’s reportedly salt in there.’

(7.69) \*ཨོན་ན་མུ་ལོ།  
 \**óna ts<sup>ha</sup>=lo*  
 there salt=REP

<sup>264</sup> Some of the other Tibetic languages that employ =*lo* as a reportative/hearsay marker are Classical Tibetan (Jäschke 1881: 551-552), Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 405-406), Lamjung Yolmo (Gawne 2013:323), Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016:189) and Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002: 107).

<sup>265</sup> For the difference between *jø:lo* and *du:lo* see examples (85-86).

The use of the reportative marker =*lo* with the existential copulas *jò?* and *du?* shifts the evidential anchoring of the copula from the speaker to the person who is the source of information. In other words, “evidential information is retained from the the original utterance” (Gawne 2013: 135, see also Tournadre 2008: 295-296). The shifting of evidential anchoring is illustrated in (7.65-66).

- (7.70) a) ལུ་མྱེན་ཏོག་ན་ འདུག།  
*kʰu gã.to:=lo du?*  
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.SEN  
 ‘He’s in Gangtok (I saw him).’
- b) ལུ་མྱེན་ཏོག་ན་ འདུག་ལོ།  
*kʰu gã.to:=lo du:=lo.*  
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.SEN=REP  
 ‘He’s reported to be in Gangtok (they told they saw him).’
- (7.71) a) ལུ་མྱེན་ཏོག་ན་ ཡོད།  
*kʰu gã.to:=lo jò?*  
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.PER  
 ‘He’s in Gangtok (I know it well).’
- b) ལུ་མྱེན་ཏོག་ན་ ཡོད་ལོ།  
*kʰu gã.to:=lo jò:=lo.*  
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.PER=REP  
 ‘He’s reported to be in Gangtok (They know it well).’

Whereas in (7.70a) it is the speaker himself who saw the person under discussion, in (7.70b) the copula *du?* reports someone else’s sensory experience. Similarly, in (7.71a) the copula *jò?* implies the speaker’s personal, already existing knowledge, whereas (7.71b) reports a situation where the speaker has been persuaded that the source of his information has personal knowledge. By using *du?* the speaker just claims that at a past point the person in question has been seen to be in Gangtok but that there is no guarantee of the person still being there. The copula *jò?*, on the other hand, indicates more intimate knowledge, possibly based on personal involvement, and includes the claim that the referred person is still in Gangtok at the time of speech. The personal involvement could, for instance, take the form of the speaker having ordered the person in question to go to Gangtok for a few days and having seen him leave in the morning.

The discussion so far has focused on the lone occurrences of the basic copulas *í*, *jò?*, *du?*, *be?* and *bo* and the copula substitute =*lo*. The following section addresses the complex copula constructions.

### 7.3 Complex copulas

In addition to the basic copulas, Denjongke employs a number of complex copulas in which two basic copulas are combined together, either directly (combinatory copulas) or with the help of nominalization (nominalized copulas). These complex forms fill communicative gaps in the copula system, i.e. they help Denjongke speakers express evidential nuances that cannot be expressed by mere basic copulas, and by using them the speaker can avoid unwanted meanings that are implied by the basic copulas. I first describe the two combinatory copulas (§7.3.1) and then the several nominalized copulas (§7.3.2).

### 7.3.1 Combinatory copulas *ímbe?* and *índu?*

The basic copulas may be directly combined to form the emphatic equative *ímbe?* and the infrequent sensorial equative *índu?*. The emphatic equative *ímbe?*, which resembles in form the Dzongkha མིན་པས་ *'immä*, often marks the speaker's agreement with what the addressee has just said. In the same vein, Dzongkha མིན་པས་ *'immä* can be used to “politely punctuate someone else's narrative” (1998: 127) and “is found primarily in clauses of agreement” (Watters 2018: 342). In examples (7.72) and (7.73), the speaker concurs with somebody else's statement.

(7.72) a) མ་རྒྱ་ཡང་ དམག་མིའི་ ར་རང་ མན་བོ་?  
*ágja=jǎ:*                      *má:mi:=na=rǎ:*                      *mèmbō?*  
 big.brother=also              army.GEN=LOC=AEMPH              NEG.EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Isn't the brother also in the army?’

b) དམག་མིའི་ན་ མིན་སྟངས།  
*má:mi:=na*              *ímbe?*  
 army.GEN=LO              EQU.EMPH  
 ‘(Yes,) he is indeed in the army.’ (Richhi 56)

(7.73) མིན་སྟངས། མཚན་ རང་གིས་ ལབ་བོ་ བདེན་ སྟངས།  
*ímbe?*,              *ám*              *raŋ=gi*              *láp-o*              *dən*              *bə?*  
 EQU.EMPH              mother              2SG.M=AGT              say-2INF              true              EQU.NE  
 ‘It is indeed so. Mother, what you say is true.’ (rna-gsung 39)

It is noteworthy that in (7.72) both the negated question *mèmbō* and the concurring emphatic *ímbe?*, although both basically equative copulas, receive a locative argument (for a similar use of *bə?*, see §5.4.2).<sup>266</sup>

In addition to the concurring uses, *ímbe?* can be used for emphatic effect without an explicit previous statement with which to concur, see (7.74) and (7.75). The speaker of (7.74) is a smart farmer who flatters an over-confident peddler into beginning a story-telling competition:

(7.74) ང་ཅག་ གཞིས་ རང་ལས་ མཁས་ཤོས་ འདི་ རང་ མིན་སྟངས།  
*ŋàtəa?*              *ní:*              *nàŋ=lə*              *kʰɛ:-ɕo=di*              *rǎ:*              *ímbe?*  
 1PL              two              inside=ABL              skillful-SUP=DEMPH              2SG.M              EQU.EMPH  
 ‘You surely are the most skillful of us two.’ (Class 7 textbook 59)

Example (7.75) contrasts the emphatic equative *ímbe?* with non-emphatic *bə?*. In (7.75a), the speaker presumes that the pencil is indeed the addressee's and seeks confirmation for the claim from the addressee whereas in (7.75b) such a grammatically coded preconception is lacking.<sup>267</sup>

(7.75) a) འདི་ ཚོད་ཀྱི་ pencil མིན་སྟངས་ཀ་?  
*di*              *tɕʰø:=ki*              *pensil*              *ímbe-ka?*  
 this              2SG.L=GEN              pencil(Eng.)              EQU.EMPH-PQ  
 ‘Is this indeed your pencil?’ (TB e)

<sup>266</sup> The neutral equative *bə?*, however, appears in locatives

<sup>267</sup> Pragmatically, however, the very fact that the speaker is asking the question may be seen as an indication that they presume the questioned fact to be the case.

- b) འདི་ ཚོད་རྒྱི་ pencil ཟླང་ཀ་?  
*di teʰɕ:=ki pensil bɛ-ka?*  
 this 2SG.L=GEN pencil(Eng.) EQU.NE-PQ  
 ‘Is this your pencil?’ (TB e)

Now consider (7.76-78), which exemplify the sensorial equative *indu?*.

- (7.76) དྲོས་ལྷན་ མཁས་དྲགས་ ཞིན་འདུག།  
*nj̄:dup kʰe:ʈa? indu?*  
 Neydup skillful EQU.SEN  
 ‘Neydup is skillful (I have experienced).’ (PT e)
- (7.77) འདི་ རོགས་ འདི་ཡང་ ལྷོ་རྒྱ་ རྒྱབས་མཁན་ ཞིན་འདུག་གོ།  
*nè: ro:=di=jã: ʎoke kjap-kʰɛ: indu=ɛo.*  
 1SG.GEN friend=DEMPH=too Lhoke strike-NMLZ EQU.SEN=AT  
 ‘Why, my friend (=you) too is a Lhoke speaker, I see.’ (YR e)
- (7.78) པཎ་ལྷན་ ཚམ་གླིང་ འདི་ ང་ཚའི་ ལྷོན་པོ་ གཞོ་བོ་ ཅེག་ལུ་ མན་བར་  
*pawan tsamliŋ=di ŋàtei lómpu tsou teiku mèm-ba.<sup>268</sup>*  
 Pawan Chamling=DEMPH 1SG.GEN minister main only NEG.EQU-CIRC  
 ‘Pawan Chamling is not only our Prime Minister,  
 མི་ ཡིག་རིགས་ མཁས་དྲགས་ གཅིག་ ཞིན་འདུག།  
*mí jìgri? kʰe:ʈa?=tei? indu?*  
 person literature skillful=INDF EQU.SEN  
 but he is also a skillfull literary figure.’ (KT e)

The copula *indu?* combines some of the meanings of both copulas *í:* and *du?*. Whereas *í:* marks the equative function, *du?* implies that there was a past personal sensory experience where this knowledge was gained. In (7.78), for instance, the speaker both identifies Mr. PC as a skilful writer and implies that he has had the sensorial experience of reading Mr. PC’s writings.<sup>269</sup> The difference between *indu?* and the equative use of *du?* (see §7.2.2.2) is that *indu?* is used for present identification (based on past sensorial experience) and *du?* for past identification.

Apart from *imbɛ?* and *indu?*, no other combinations of basic copulas (e.g. *\*bedu?*, *\*dubɛ?*, *\*beí:*) were acceptable to my consultants.

### 7.3.2 Nominalized copula constructions

The dichotomy between *í:* and *bɛ?* within equative copulas, and *jò?* and *du?* within existential copulas, is neutralized in nominalized copula forms so that only *í:* and *jò?* may be nominalized by the markers *-ɛɛ?* (I infinitive) *-po/bo* (II infinitive), and *-kʰɛ:* (nominalizer) (reasons for distinguishing “infinitive” and “nominalizer” are given in §3.2.3).<sup>270</sup> Therefore, the morpheme glosses of nominalized copulas below do not have information on

<sup>268</sup> Consultant PTB (Tashiding) would use here instead of *mèm-bo* a more complex construction involving an adverbializing nonfinal converb, *ma-ím-bo p’jati* [NEG-EQU-NMLZ do-NF].

<sup>269</sup> My consultant’s attempt to translate *indu?* in (7.78) into Nepali was *हो रहेछ ho rahecha*.

<sup>270</sup> Garrett (2001: 105) considers these type of contexts, where only ego evidentials (the equivalents of *í:* and *jò?*) can appear, as evidence for his view that ego evidentiality is not coded lexically in the copulas, but is a “pragmatic property” caused by the absence of other, overt evidentials such as *འདུག་ ‘dug*.

evidentiality, e.g. *ím-bo* is glossed as EQU-2INF (not as EQU.PER-2INF). The evidential value of a nominalized construction is based on the last copula, e.g. *bɛʔ* in the construction *ím-bo bɛʔ* and *í:* in the construction *jò:-po í:*. The nominalized part of the construction only marks the equative vs. existential dichotomy, e.g. *ím-bo* in *ím-bo bɛʔ* marks the construction as equative and *jò:-po* in *jò:-po í:* marks the construction as existential.

The nominalized equative expressions are *ím-bo bɛʔ* (neg. *mèm-bo bɛʔ*), *ím-bo í:* (neg. *mèm-bo í:*), *íη-kʰɛn bɛʔ* (neg. *mèη-kʰɛn bɛʔ*), *íη-kʰɛ: í:* (neg. *mèη-kʰɛ: í:*), *í:-ɛɛ bɛʔ* (neg. *mè:-ɛɛ bɛʔ* [?]) and *í:-ɛɛ í:* (neg. *mè:-ɛɛ í:* [?]). The existential expressions are *jò:-po bɛʔ* (neg. *mè:-po bɛʔ*), *jò:-po í:* (neg. *mè:-po í:*), *jò:-kʰɛn bɛʔ* (neg. *mè:-kʰɛn bɛʔ*), *jò:-kʰɛ: í:* (neg. *mè:-kʰɛ: í:*), *jò:-ɛɛ bɛʔ* (neg. *mè:-ɛɛ bɛʔ* [?]) and *jò:-ɛɛ í:* (neg. *mè:-ɛɛ í:* [?]). Table 7.2 gives a summary of the different nominalized forms. Hypothetical (negated) forms of which I do not currently have any examples are marked with a question mark in brackets.

Table 7.2. Nominalized copulas

Equ./Ex.	Evid./epist.	Nominalised construction			
		Affirmative	Negated		
Equat	Personal	<i>ím-bo í:</i>	ཨིན་བོ་ཨིན་	<i>mèm-bo í:</i> (?)	མན་བོ་ཨིན་ (?)
		<i>íη-kʰɛ: í:</i>	ཨིན་མཁན་ཨིན་	<i>mèη-kʰɛ: í:</i>	མན་མཁན་ཨིན་
		<i>í:-ɛɛ í:</i>	ཨིན་གང་ཨིན་	<i>mè:-ɛɛ í:</i> (?)	མན་གང་ཨིན་ (?)
	Neutral or assertive	<i>ím-bo bɛʔ</i>	ཨིན་བོ་སྤང་	<i>mèm-bo bɛʔ</i>	མན་བོ་སྤང་
		<i>íη-kʰɛn bɛʔ</i>	ཨིན་མཁན་སྤང་	<i>mèη-kʰɛn bɛʔ</i>	མན་མཁན་སྤང་
		<i>í:-ɛɛ bɛʔ</i>	ཨིན་གང་སྤང་	<i>mè:-ɛɛ bɛʔ</i> (?)	མན་གང་སྤང་ (?)
Exist.	Personal	<i>jò:-po í:</i>	ཡོད་བོ་ཨིན་	<i>mè:-po í:</i>	མེད་བོ་ཨིན་
		<i>jò:-kʰɛ: í:</i>	ཡོད་མཁན་ཨིན་	<i>mè:-kʰɛ: í:</i>	མེད་མཁན་ཨིན་
		<i>jò:-ɛɛ í:</i>	ཡོད་གང་ཨིན་	<i>mè:-ɛɛ í:</i> (?)	མེད་གང་ཨིན་ (?)
	Neutral	<i>jò:-po bɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་བོ་སྤང་	<i>mè:-po bɛʔ</i>	མེད་བོ་སྤང་
		<i>jèbbɛʔ/jòbbɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་བ་སྤང་	<i>mèbbɛʔ</i>	མེད་བ་སྤང་
		<i>jò:-kʰɛn bɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་མཁན་སྤང་	<i>mè:-kʰɛn bɛʔ</i>	མེད་མཁན་སྤང་
		<i>jò:-ɛɛ bɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་གང་སྤང་	<i>mè:-ɛɛ bɛʔ</i> (?)	མེད་གང་སྤང་ (?)

Most frequently, the nominalized constructions end in the neutral copula *bɛʔ*. Constructions ending in the neutral copula *bɛʔ* are used by Denjongke speakers to dissociate themselves from the evidential values of *í:*, *jòʔ* and *duʔ*. I first give examples of neutral constructions ending in *bɛʔ* (§7.3.2.1) and after that personal constructions ending in *í:* (§7.3.2.2). More frequent forms with *-po/po* and *-kʰɛ:* are given first and the less frequent forms with *-ɛɛʔ* last.

### 7.3.2.1 Evidentially neutral constructions (ending in *bɛʔ*)

Nominalized copula constructions ending in *bɛʔ* are evidentially neutral. The following two subsections discuss first equative (§7.3.2.1.1) and then existential constructions (§7.3.2.1.2).

#### 7.3.2.1.1 Equative constructions

The neutral equative constructions are *ím-bo bɛʔ*, *íη-kʰɛn bɛʔ* and *í:-ɛɛ bɛʔ*. The first two may refer to both present and past states of being, whereas the last one is used for future and present uncertain states of being. In (7.79), the use of *ím-bo bɛʔ* conveys assertive force of coming to a certain conclusion. The speaker realizes in her mind that her father's advice had, after all (or indeed), been correct. Assertive force is further added by the adverbial *né:mu=rã:* 'surely, really, certainly'.

- (7.79) མོའི་ སེམས་ན་ འདི་ མཚོ་གད་ ཞིན་ མཚེ་ལུ་རང་ ཞིན་བོ་ སྤང།  
*mù=i sém=na de: nó:-εε í: né:mu=rǎ: ím-bo*  
 3SGF=GEN mind=LOC thus think-INF EQU.PER real=AEMPH EQU-2INF  
***bε?***  
 EQU.NE  
 ‘She thinks in her mind that it surely is like that.’ (Richhi 119)

For, the negated form, consider (7.80).

- (7.80) མོ་འདི་ གལ་ཆེ་དྲགས་ མན་བོ་ སྤང།  
*ódi k'ε:tε<sup>hi</sup>ta? mèm-bo bε?*  
 that important NEG.EQU-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘That is not important.’ (KL BLA 12)

In (7.81), *iy-k<sup>hen</sup> bε?* occurs as part of an even more complex assertive copula expression *í: iy-k<sup>hen</sup> bε?* (“it is indeed the case”). Similar to *ím-bo bε?* in (7.79), *iy-k<sup>hen</sup> bε?* in (7.81) signifies extra assertive force of coming to a conclusion. In (7.81), the omniscient narrator has taken the perspective of the novel’s characters that are admiringly looking at a young couple leading a ceremony.

- (7.81) མི་ཚོགས་ གེས་བོ་ལོ་ ལྷང་མ་ ལྷོན་ལྷེ་ མི་ཚུའི་ འདོད་ཡིང་།  
*míts<sup>ho</sup>? kε:po=lo tεm tɔn-di mí=tsu=i dø:ji?*  
 crowd a.lot=DAT show show-NF human=PL=GEN desires  
 ‘(They were) able to capture people’s deepest desires while acting in front of a

འཕྱོག་ ཚུགས་མཁམ། ཞིན་ ཞིན་མཁམ་ སྤང་, ད་ལྟ་ ཟང་གི་  
*p<sup>hi</sup>jok ts<sup>hu</sup>:-k<sup>h</sup>ε:.. í: íy-k<sup>hen</sup> bε?, t'ato sǎ:=gi*  
 snatch can-NMLZ EQU.PER EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE now until=GEN  
 great crowd. Indeed, all the arrangement so far

གོ་སྤྱོད་ལས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཁོང་ གཞིས་བོའི་ འགོ་འབྱོར་ན་  
*k'od<sup>i</sup>? t<sup>h</sup>amtεε? k<sup>h</sup>õ: ní:-pø: gok<sup>hi</sup>:na*  
 arrangement all 3PL two-2INF.GEN leading=LOC  
 had been (successfully) fulfilled under their

རྒྱུ་ ཡོད་བོ།  
*dup jò-po.*  
 fulfil EX-2INF  
 leadership.’ (Richhi 82)

The negation of *iy-k<sup>hen</sup> bε?* is *mèy-k<sup>hen</sup> bε?*:

- (7.82) དེ་ལོ་ མན་མཁམ་ སྤང།  
*t'ε:lu mèy-k<sup>hen</sup> bε?*  
 just.like.that NEG.EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘It is not (i.e. it does not happen) just like that.’ (DR discussion with KL)

In line with the above description of *iy-kʰen be?* and *im-bo be?* as somewhat assertive in meaning, consultant YR commented that the constructions *iy-kʰen be?* and *im-bo be?* are used in debates to make assertions that are true contemporaneously with the speech act.

In addition to present assertive uses, *im-bo be?* and *iy-kʰen be?* are compatible with past events/states. In (7.83-84), *im-bo be?* and *iy-kʰen be?* appear to be used quite interchangeably.

(7.83) ལུ་ རྩོན་ལས་ ངའི་ རྒྱགས་ཀྱི་ ཡིན་པོ་ ཟླད།  
*kʰu jénle jè: t'oku im-bo be?*  
 3SGM before 1SG.GEN friend EQU-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘He was my friend before.’ (KT e)

(7.84) ལུ་ ངའི་ རྒྱགས་ཀྱི་ ཡིན་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*kʰu jè: t'oku iy-kʰen be?*  
 3SGM 1SG.GEN friend EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘He was my friend.’ (PT e)

Formally *í:-εε be?*, which occurs only once in my data (see [7.85]) is a nonpast construction (see §8.2.5), which is used for referring to present and future states and events.

(7.85) དཔག་བསམ་ མེ་ཉླ་ འདི་ ལེབ་སྒྲི་ ཅང་དྲགས་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ ཚེ་ དགོས་པ་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ ཡོ་འདི་ ཡིན་ཤད་ ཟླད།  
*paksam minto=di lèpte tsã:ta? nàtea=gi tsi go:-p*  
 balsam flower=DEMPH very.much clean 1PL=AGT reckon be.needed-2INF  
*gjumtsʰen ódi í:-εε be?*  
 reason that EQU.PER-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘That may be the reason why we have to consider balsam flower very clean.’ (RS bee story)

Yeshe Rinzing Bhutia’s *Bhutia language learning course book* reports that the form *í:-εε be?* “indicates statements about which the speaker is not certain” (Bhutia 2008: 53). Uncertainty certainly is a natural corollary of future. Consultant KUN commented that the use of *í:-εε be?* in (7.85) should rather be translated as “maybe is” than as simply “is”. The form *í:-εε be?* thus presents an interesting case of interplay between tense-aspect and epistemic modality.

### 7.3.2.1.2 Existential constructions

Examples (7.86-93) illustrate the neutral existential constructions *jò-po be?*, *jò:-kʰen be?* and *jò:-εε be?*. First consider the semantically similar forms *jò-po be?* and *jò:-kʰen be?* illustrated in (7.86) and (7.87) respectively. (7.86a) and (7.87a) are taken from two folk-stories where the speaker does not want to give the impression, by using the lone copula *jò?*, that he was personally involved in the events of the story, or by using the the sensorial *du?*, that the event was recently sensorially attested by someone. Therefore, the neutral nominalized copula construction is chosen. Negated examples are given in (7.86b-c) and (7.87b).

(7.86) a) ཁོང་ཚུའི་ རྩོ་འབྲོག་ན་ བེམས་ཅན་ བ་ ཟླང་ ར་ དང་ ལྷག།  
*kʰõ:=tsy: nò:qo?=na símteén p'a lánj rà t'ã: lù?*  
 3PL=PL.GEN cattle=LOC animal cow bull goat and sheep  
 ‘In their cattle, they had a lot of animals such as cows, bulls, goats and



ལ་སྟག་ས་ ཀེ་པ་ རྟོ་པོ་ བེ།  
*làso: kɛ:p jò:-po bɛ?*  
 etc a.lot EX-2INF EQU.NE  
 'sheep etc.' (rna-gsung 1)

b) བེ་ཚེ་མ་ མེ་པོ་ བེ།  
*tʰɛtsʰom mɛ:-po bɛ?*  
 doubt NEG.EX-2INF EQU.NE  
 'There is no doubt (about that)' (KLT Bumchu video)

c) མི་ན་ རྗེ་མེད་ ལྷ་གར་ན་ འོང་མཁན་ཚུ་ལོ་ མོ་འདེམ་ རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ མེད་བ་སྣང་ལགས།  
*mìna dardziliŋ gjagar=na òŋ-kʰɛn=di=lo ódem ɛóku*  
 down TPN India=LOC come-NMLZ=DEMPH=DAT such paper  
*mɛbbɛ=la.*  
 NEG.EX.NE=HON  
 '(Those) who came down to Darjeeling in India did not have such a document.'  
 (CY interview)

(7.87) a) དང་པོ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་ ལྗོངས་གྲོང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ བེ།  
*t'ã:pu-tsika k'jò:=tɛi=na mí=tɛi? jò:-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 long.ago-APPR village=INDF=LOC man= INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'In a bygone time, there was a man in one village.'

b) དེ་བུ་ འདི་ དེའི་ ཚུར་ མེད་མཁན་ བེ།  
*t'ɛp=di jɛ:=tsa: mɛ:-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 book=DEMPH 1SG.GEN=at NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'I do not have that book.' (KL BLA 12)

The construction *jò:-po bɛ?*, which allows the existential meaning to be taken from *jò?* and the evidential meaning taken from *bɛ?*, is so common that in spoken language this evidentially neutral existential form (vs. existentials *jò?* and *du?* which are evidentially loaded) has merged into *jòbbe?*/*jèbbe?* (neg. *mɛbbe?*). The Standard/Lhasa Tibetan (close to) pragmatic equivalent to *jòbbe?*/*jèbbe?* is *jò.re:*, which is etymologically a nominalized construction as suggested by one of the alternative written forms *yod.pa.red* (Denwood 1999: 119, Hill 2010).<sup>271</sup> In Denwood's (1999: 122) analysis of Lhasa Tibetan, *jò.re:* "implies no such first hand knowledge [as *jò:* and *du:*], though it does not specifically rule it out." The same can be said of *jò-po bɛ?* (or *jòbbe?*/*jèbbe?*) in Denjongke. The neutral evidential value of the construction is derived from the last copula *bɛ?*.

In addition to being used for past events *jò-po bɛ?* and *jò:-kʰɛn bɛ?* are also used for present events.<sup>272</sup> In these cases, using the simple copula *jò?* is not desirable, because the information in the sentence is presented as uncontested, general knowledge. The following three examples exemplify the present uses of *jò:-po bɛ?* (7.88), *jò:-kʰɛn bɛ?* (7.89) and *jèbbe?* (7.90), the colloquial equivalent of *jò:-po bɛ?*.

<sup>271</sup> In Lhasa Tibetan, however, there is a current distinction between the historically nominalized form *jò.re:* and the synchronically nominalized construction *jò-bo-re:* (Denwood 1999: 119).

<sup>272</sup> This is in line with Goldstein, Rimpoche & Phuntshog's (1991: 58) observation on modern literary Tibetan that the nominalizer-copula sequence བ་རེད་ *-pa-red* (cf. Denjongke རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ *-po bɛ?*) following a verb may get either past or present habitual meaning.

(7.88) དུས་ ད་རིང་ཡང་ ང་ཅག་ མི་ཚུའི་ ཀྱང་བའི་ ཐེལ་ལོ་  
*t'y: t'ariŋ=jã: ŋàtɛa? mí=tsy: kã:pø: thi:=lo*  
 period today=too 1PL human=PL.GEN foot.GEN heel=DAT  
 'Even at present time there is a tradition saying that the fact that

ཉེག་སྐྱོང་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདི་ དུས་ མོ་འདིའི་ ལྷགས་ འདྲེ་མོས་  
*ŋèkjõ: jø-po=di t'y: ódi: kap qemø.<sup>273</sup>*  
 notch EX-2INF=DEMPH period that.GEN time demoness.AGT  
 there is a notch in the heel of the human foot is a mark of the demoness

པོག་སྐྱེ་ ཟ་ཟ་བའི་ བུལ་ལ་ མིན་ སེ་ ལབ་བའི་  
*pok-ti sà-sa-wø: éy: í:-sɛ ləp-ø:*  
 pluck-NF eat-RDP-2INF.GEN trace EQU.PER-QUO say-2INF.GEN  
 at that time having plucked and

ལྷགས་སྐྱོང་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྐད།  
*lüksø: jø-po bɛ?*  
 tradition EX-2INF EQU.NE  
 eaten (that place).' (rna-gsung 19-20)

(7.89) ང་ཅིའི་ ལེའུ་ མོ་འདེམ་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཡོད་མཁམ་ སྐད།  
*ŋàtɛi liu ódem kɛ:po jø:-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 1PL.GEN phase like.that many EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'We have many such phases.' (SG wedding customs)

Example (7.88) is the last line of a folkstory which purports to give the origin of a current fact, and (7.89) is a summary statement at the end of an exposition on the various phases involved in getting married among the Denjongpo. The information in both examples is presented as uncontested, general knowledge.

The example of *jèb-bɛ?* (7.90) comes from my discussion with one consultant.

(7.90) མོ་ན་ དགོན་པོ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་པ་སྐད།  
*óna gjømpo=tsi? jèbbe?*  
 there monastery=INDF EX.NE  
 'There's a monastery there.' (KN e)

In the context of (7.90), the consultant KN is telling about his father, who is an overseer of a small monastery. When I asked where the monastery is located, KN continued with a description of the location and ended in (7.90). The copula *jèbbe?* here marks generally known, uncontested knowledge. It is the location of the monastery that is the topic of the discussion, not whether or not there is a monastery somewhere. Had the original question been whether or not there is a monastery somewhere (potentially contested knowledge), the speaker would have more likely used the personal evidential *jø?* rather than the neutral *jèbbe?*.

Examples (7.91) and (7.92) illustrate the difference between *jø?* and *jèbbe?*.

<sup>273</sup> This reading-style pronunciation by consultant KT is likely influenced by the spelling, i.e. the final -s fronts the vowel.

(7.91) Bill Gates ལོ་ དུལ་ གེས་བ་ ཡོད།  
*bil geits=lo ny: ke:p jò?*  
 Bill Gates=LOC money a.lot EX.PER  
 ‘Bill Gates has a lot of money (as I have come to know personally).’ (KT e)

(7.92) Bill Gates ལོ་ དུལ་ གེས་བ་ ཡོད་པ་ཟུང་།  
*bil geits=lo ny: ke:p jèbbe?*  
 Bill Gates=LOC money a.lot EX.NE  
 ‘Bill Gates has a lot of money (as is generally known).’ (KT e)

Example (7.91) expresses the speaker’s personal knowledge by implying either that the speaker is Bill Gate’s friend or that Bill Gates is present at the time of speaking. In the latter case, the difference between *jò?* and *jèbbe?* is similar to the difference between *í:* and *bε?* in (7.49-51). Example (7.92), on the other hand, is a general statement where the connection to a specific sensory event (contra *du?*, which refers to a specific instance of finding out) and personal knowledge (contra *jò?*) are backgrounded by using the neutral *jèbbe?*.

The existential construction *jò:-εε bε?*, occurring nine times, is more frequent in my data than the equative construction *í:-εε bε?*. The construction *jò:-εε bε?* resembles in meaning the more frequent present habitual construction *jò:-k<sup>h</sup>en bε?*. Both constructions allow the speaker to express generally holding facts, as in (7.93).

(7.93) a) འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ འོ་ སོ་ storeroom གོ་མ་ རྒྱང་རྒྱང་ འདི་ལོ་ རྒྱ་སུ་ ཡོད་ཤང་ ཟུང་ འདི་ལོ་།  
*di=lo=di bo:, isto.rum, kot<sup>h</sup>a tε<sup>h</sup>uytεuy*  
 this=DAT=DEMPH storeroom storeroom (English) room(Nep.) small  
*di=lo nàksu jò:-εε bε? di=lo.*  
 this=DAT dark EX-INF EQU.NE DEMPH=DAT  
 ‘This (is called) [bo], a storeroom, this small room, it’s dark there, that one.’  
 (PD storeroom video)

b) འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ར་སུ་ ལ་བ་ཤང་ ཟུང་, གེན་ཚོང་ བཅུག་ཤང་གི་ ར་སུ་ རོ་ ལྷ་ཤང་གི་ གཞོན་མོ་ར་ ཡོད་ཤང་ ཟུང་།  
*di=lo=di rap<sup>h</sup>u làp-εε bε?, kintsõ:*  
 this=DAT=DEMPH maize.sowing.stick say-INF EQU.NE maize  
*tsuk-εε=ki rap<sup>h</sup>u. nò: ta-εε=gi zømø=ra*  
 plant-INF=GEN maize.sowing.stick cow look-INF=GEN other=AEMPH  
*jò:-εε bε?*  
 EX=INF EQU.NE  
 ‘This is called [rap<sup>h</sup>u], maize sowing [rap<sup>h</sup>u]. There are (or: will be) other (sticks) for herding cows.’ (PL interview)

Based on the decreased certainty implied by the equative nonpast construction *í:-εε bε?* (see [7.85]), future research should remain open to the option that in some contexts *jò:-εε bε?* may mark uncertainty, although such an interpretation does not seem to fit the sentences in (7.93).

### 7.3.2.2 Personal constructions (ending in *í:*)

The following two subsections discuss personal constructions ending in the personal copula *í:*, again first describing equatives (§7.3.2.2.1) and then existentials (§7.3.2.2.2). Thus far, I have found no examples of nominalized constructions ending in *í:* in naturally occurring texts, either spoken or written. Therefore, all of the examples below are elicited. A fuller description of personal nominalized copulas would require natural examples from an extensive corpus.

7.3.2.2.1 *Equative constructions*

The equative personal nominalized copulas illustrated here are *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: ǎ:*, *ím-bo ǎ:* and *ǎ:-ɛɛ ǎ:*. First consider the use of *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: ǎ:* in (7.94).

- (7.94) ལུ་ ངའི་ གཉེན་མཚན་ ཡིན་མཁན་ ཡིན། ཡིན་ཅུང་ ལུ་ ང་ལོ་  
*kʰu nɛ: nɛntsʰɛ̃: íŋ-kʰɛ̃: ǎ: ǎ:ruŋ kʰu ŋà=lo*  
 3SGM 1SG.GEN relative EQU-NMLZ EQU.PER still 3SGM 1SG=DAT  
 ‘He is (supposed to be) my relative. Still, he doesn’t look  
 ལོག་ལྷ་ མི་རྒྱལས་ སྤང།  
*lòkta mi-kja(p) bɛʔ*  
 care NEG-do EQU.NE  
 after me.’ (KT e)

In (7.94), by using the nominalized construction *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: ǎ:* rather than just *ǎ:*, the speaker appears to underline the fact that the referent is the speaker’s relative, thus giving rise to the idea of a relative’s obligations (which have been neglected). Using *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: ǎ:* seems to add some force to the proposition (“he is supposed to be”) compared to the lone *ǎ:*, which just identifies the referent as a relative. The speaker also shows his personal emotional involvement (he is disappointed) by using the personal *ǎ:* rather than the neutral *bɛʔ*. In (7.94), the latter clause, which uses the neutral copula *bɛʔ* as auxiliary, does not imply the speaker’s emotional involvement but rather just explains the reason for the speaker’s disappointment. In expressing present feelings of the speaker, the Denjongke *ǎ:* appears to bear resemblance to its cognate in Drokpa Tibetan, which is described as marking personal engagement (“personliche Engagement”) and inner (e)motion (“innere Regung”) (Kretschmar 1986: 65).

Now consider (7.95) and (7.96) where personal and neutral equatives are contrasted. Nominalized constructions are used because the sentences refer to the past.

- (7.95) ལུ་ རྗོན་ལས་ ངའི་ རྒྱལས་ལུ་ ཡིན་པོ་ ཡིན།  
*kʰu nɛnle nɛ: tʻoku ím-bo ǎ:*  
 3SGM before 1SG.GEN friend EQU-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘He was my friend before.’ (KT e)
- (7.96) ལུ་ རྗོན་ལས་ ངའི་ རྒྱལས་ལུ་ ཡིན་པོ་ སྤང།  
*kʰu nɛnle nɛ: tʻoku ím-bo bɛʔ*  
 3SGM before 1SG.GEN friend EQU-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘He was my friend before.’ (KT e)

Consultant KT commented that the difference between (7.95) and (7.96) is that in (7.95) the speaker expresses that (s)he is presently experiencing sadness about a broken relationship whereas (7.96) is a purely factual statement with no emotional overtones. Another consultant YR (from Kewsing), according to whom *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: ǎ:* and *íŋ-kʰɛ̃n bɛʔ* could also be used in (7.95) and (7.96) instead of *ím-bo ǎ:* and *ím-bo bɛʔ* respectively, commented that (7.96) is a neutral statement that does not presuppose any continuation of the discourse. The addressee of (7.95), on the other hand, is expecting the speaker to continue by giving the reason for his emotional involvement implied by the personal *ǎ:* at the end. YR also noted that (7.95) could be said on the basis of the referent being present at the time of speech. The justification for using *ím-bo ǎ:* or *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: ǎ:* in (7.95) could thus be either emotional involvement of the speaker or the presence of the referent.

Consultant PT, commenting on sentences (7.97) and (7.98),

(7.97) ལུ་ ངའི་ རྒྱལ་ལྷན་ ཞིན་མཁམ་ ཞིན།  
*kʰu jè: t'oku íŋ-kʰɛ: í:*<sup>274</sup>  
 3SGM 1SG.GEN friend EQU-NMLZ EQU.PER  
 'He was my friend.' (PT e)

(7.98) ལུ་ ངའི་ རྒྱལ་ལྷན་ ཞིན་མཁམ་ ཟླང།  
*kʰu jè: t'oku íŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 3SGM 1SG.GEN friend EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'He was my friend.' (PT e)

said that whereas in (7.98) the relationship is totally over, the personal evidential in (7.97) suggests that there is some continuation of the relationship in the form of perhaps seeing now and then. Thus, the use of the personal evidential seems to suggest some type of present personal relevance, or spatiotemporal foregrounding, for the speaker.

The speaker's current emotion is again the driving force in the use of the personal copula in (7.99). This time the emotion is confusion. The speaker's established belief is challenged by some new information. The use of the personal construction *ím-bo í:* (according to some consultants also *íŋ-kʰɛ: í:* could be used here), implying emotional involvement (here confusion), calls for an explanation that is given in the following sentence.

(7.99) མི་ འདི་ རྩོན་མ་ ཡམ་རྗེ་ ཞིན་འོ་ ཞིན།  
*mí=di jéma ámdzi ím-bo í:*  
 man=DEMPH before doctor EQU-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Earlier this man was a doctor,

ད་ལྟོ་ཉི་ འཁོར་ལོ་ ལྷུལ་མཁམ་ རོན་ཚར་གེ་ཤོ།  
*t'ato=to kʰorlo ky:-kʰɛ: tʰøŋ-tʰakɛ=ɛo.*  
 now=CEMPH wheel drive-NMLZ become-PFV.APH=AT  
 but now he has become a driver! (I'm confused)' (KN e)

In the speech of PT from Tashiding (West Sikkim), both *í:* and *ím-bo í:* can be used in the present meaning, as shown in (7.100) and (7.101).

(7.100) ཁོང་ ངའི་ ཡབ་ ཞིན།  
*kʰõ: jè: jà:p í:*  
 3SG.HON 1SG.GEN father.HON EQU.PER  
 'He is my father.' (PT e)

(7.101) ཁོང་ ངའི་ ཡབ་ ཞིན་འོ་ ཞིན།  
*kʰõ: jè: jà:p ím-bo í:*  
 3SG.HON 1SG.GEN father.HON EQU-2INF EQU.PER  
 'He is my father.' (PT e)

When inquired about the difference between (7.100) and (7.101), PT answered that the latter clause (with *ím-bo í:*) was "more calm", "more polite", "nicer" and "making the listener

<sup>274</sup> PT said that using *ím-bo ín* and *ím-bo bɛ?* in (11.95) and (11.96) would have about the same meaning as *íŋ-kʰɛ: ín* and *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?* respectively but that the former constructions are not actively used in his speech variety.

feel good”. Another consultant (YR), on the other hand, claimed that only (7.100) and not (7.101) could be used when the father is present.

As pointed out above, existential copulas have a clear motivation for forming nominalized evidentially neutral constructions, because both of the existentials *jøʔ* and *duʔ* are by themselves evidentially loaded. Among the equative copulas *í:* and *bεʔ*, however, it is more challenging to describe the exact difference between the sentences in (7.100).

- |         |    |  |                              |               |              |                      |
|---------|----|--|------------------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (7.102) | a) | ངའི་ ཇལ་པོ་ འདི་ ཇམ་རྩི་ ཞིན།          | <i>jè:</i>                   | <i>ápo=di</i> | <i>ámdzi</i> | <i>í:</i> .          |
|         | b) | ངའི་ ཇལ་པོ་ འདི་ ཇམ་རྩི་ ཟླ།           | <i>jè:</i>                   | <i>ápo=di</i> | <i>ámdzi</i> | <i>bεʔ</i> .         |
|         | c) | ངའི་ ཇལ་པོ་ འདི་ ཇམ་རྩི་ ཞིན་པོ་ ཟླ།   | <i>jè:</i>                   | <i>ápo=di</i> | <i>ámdzi</i> | <i>ím-bo bεʔ</i> .   |
|         | d) | ངའི་ ཇལ་པོ་ འདི་ ཇམ་རྩི་ ཞིན་མཁན་ ཟླ།  | <i>jè:</i>                   | <i>ápo=di</i> | <i>ámdzi</i> | <i>íŋ-kʰɛn bεʔ</i> . |
|         | e) | ངའི་ ཇལ་པོ་ འདི་ ཇམ་རྩི་ ཞིན་པོ་ ཞིན།  | <i>jè:</i>                   | <i>ápo=di</i> | <i>ámdzi</i> | <i>ím-bo í:</i> .    |
|         | f) | ངའི་ ཇལ་པོ་ འདི་ ཇམ་རྩི་ ཞིན་མཁན་ ཞིན། | <i>jè:</i>                   | <i>ápo=di</i> | <i>ámdzi</i> | <i>íŋ-kʰɛ: í:</i> .  |
|         |    |  | my                           | father=DEMPH  | doctor       | EQU                  |
|         |    |  | ‘My father is/was a doctor.’ |               |              |                      |

Some things, however, can be said. All the forms in (7.102) can be used for both past and present events/states, although with *í:*, and perhaps also with *bεʔ*, a past interpretation usually requires a past adverbial. The difference between the personal forms ending in *í:* (a, e, f) and the neutral forms ending in *bεʔ* (b, c, d) as already discussed in §7.1.3, is that the personal forms are concerned with the act of identification whereas the neutral forms leave more room for the consequences of the identification. In existential constructions the nominalizers *-po* and *-kʰɛ:* appear to be used quite interchangeably, but with equatives, *-po* and *-kʰɛ:* seem to have more specialized uses, at least for some speakers. For instance, PT from Tashiding can use (e) for a living person, whereas (f) would be preferred when speaking about a dead person. PT’s characterization of the difference between sentences analogous to (a) and (e) was already given with example (7.100) and (7.101). Furthermore, it has been shown above that (7.102c) and (7.102d) may add assertive force to a statement and that (7.102e) and (7.102f) may express the speaker’s emotional involvement.

At present, my hypothesis is that the speaker of sentences such as (7.102) will choose *ím-bo bεʔ* (c) instead of *bεʔ* (b) when they want to emphasize the equative function of *í:* (which is backgrounded by *bεʔ*) in contexts where the lone *í:* is undesirable either because of its personal evidentiality or because of its preference for deictical anchoring in the here and now. The nominalized copula constructions have a reduced anchoring to the present compared to lone copulas, lending themselves both to present and past uses (analogously to stative verbs<sup>275</sup>).

Nominalized personal equatives can also be formed by the infinitive marker *-εεʔ*. The only two examples in my data are presented in (7.103a) and (7.103b), which are both emphatic or assertive in meaning (hence the gloss *indeed*). Note that in (7.103b) the contrastive emphatic *=to* occurs between the nominalizer and the final auxiliary.

- (7.103) a) ལྷུང་ལྷུང་ ལྷམ་ ཞིན་ནེ་ ཞིན་གང་ ཞིན།  
*mýtsyʔ lám ín-ne í:-εε í:*  
 other lama EQU-COND EQU-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘If the other (one) is a lama, (he) is (or: will be) indeed a lama.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

<sup>275</sup> For eventive/dynamic verbs, the nominalizer/infinitivizer *-po/bo* has in effect become a past tense marker, e.g. *sà-bo í:* > *sà-u í:* ‘ate’, but for stative verbs the nominalized form can be used in the present meaning, e.g. *ga-bo í:* > *ga-u í:* ‘love’. Therefore the copulas side with stative verbs in letting the context be the final arbiter with reference to present vs. past meaning.

- b) མིན་ཤད་ཏོ་ མིན་ཉ་ མ་ཀྱ་ རིག་བཟང་ གསུང་ལོ་ འདི།  
*í:-εε=to*                      *í:*              *na*              *aku*                                      *rigzã:*  
 EQU-INF=CEMPH              EQU.PER TAG.ASR father's.younger.brother      PN  
*súm-bo=di.*  
 say.HON-2INF=DEMPH  
 'It is indeed (as you say), uncle Rigzang.' (sbar-phung 88)

7.3.2.2.2 *Existential constructions*

In personal existential constructions, existentiality is expressed by the nominalized copula *jò-po/jò-kʰɛ:/jò:-εε(?)* and the personal evidential value by final *í:*. For an example on *jò-po í:*, consider (7.104).

- (7.104) ང་ མོན་ ཡོད་པའི་ ཏུས་ཚོད་ལོ་ ལྷ་ཡང་ ཡོད་པོ་ མིན།  
*ŋà*              *óna*              *jò-pø:*                      *t'ytsʰø:=lo*              *kʰu=jã:*              ***jò-po***  
 1SG              there              EX-2INF.GEN              time=DAT              3SGM=too              EX-2INF  
*í:*  
 EQU.PER  
 'At the time I was there, he was (there) too.' (YR e)

In (7.104) the speaker uses the nominalized constructions *jò-po* rather than the mere copula *jò?* because *jò?* typically implies that the described situation persists at the moment of speech. The event referred to in (7.104), however, happened in the past and the speaker does not want to imply its present actuality. On the other hand, the personal copula *í:* rather than the neutral *bε?* is chosen as the final auxiliary because the speaker was personally present at the referred time.

(7.105) is another example of a personal existential construction. Here *jò:-kʰɛ: í:=εo* could be used in place of *jò-po í:=εo*.

- (7.105) མེ, དེས་ འདི་ ངའི་ ཟུར་ ཡོད་པོ་ མིན་གྱི།  
*é:*              *t'εp=di=to*                      *ŋè:=tsa:*              ***jò-po***              *í:=εo.*<sup>276</sup>  
 o              book= DEMPH=CEMPH              1SG.GEN-at              EX-2INF              EQU.PER=AT  
 'O, I would have had the book (all along), you know.' (KN e)

In (7.105), person A has been trying to get hold of a certain book by asking from his various friends. After finally managing to obtain the book, he meets person B who has not heard about A's need for the book. After A tells B about his search and finding the book, B answers (7.105). The nominalized *jò-po* is used instead of mere *jò?* because the speaker makes reference to a past point of time. He had the book when his friend was looking for it. Using mere *jò?* (or *jò:=εo*) would put the emphasis on having the book presently ("I have the book"), whereas the nominalized form enables to convey the past-oriented meaning equivalent to English "I would have had the book (if you had asked me)". The personal final copula *í:* in (7.105) most likely signifies the fact that the speaker had the personal experience (and thus personal knowledge) of possessing the book at the time when the addressee was looking for it.

For the only two examples of existential *jò:-εε í:* in my data, consider (7.106). In (7.106a), the glide /j/ in the existential is reduced to /fi/.

<sup>276</sup> As already shown in (7.5), with the personal copula *í:* the attention-worthiness marked by *=εo* is addressee-oriented.

(7.106) a) Beer ཡོད་ཤང་ མིན་གྱི།  
*biər* *fiɛ:-eiŋ=ɛo*.<sup>277</sup>  
 beer(Eng.) EX-NPST.PER=AT  
 ‘There’s beer (inside), you know.’(oh, Tashiding)

b) ང་ མོ་རངས་ མུ་ཚོང་ དགུ་ལོ་ བློ་མ་ན་ ཡོད་ཤང་ མིན།  
*ŋä* *tʰorã:* *tɛʰutsʰø?* *gu:=lo* *tʰom=na* *jð:-ɛɛ* *í:*  
 1SG tomorrow clock.time nine=DAT town=LOC EX-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I’ll be at town tomorrow nine o’clock.’(KN e)

As shown by (7.106), *jð:-ɛɛ í:* can refer to both currently holding (7.106a) and future states (7.106b). The latter use distinguishes *jð:-ɛɛ í:* from *jð:-kʰɛ: í:* (see §7.3.2.2), which can refer to present but not future states. Although the exact semantics of *jð:-ɛɛ í:* are difficult to pinpoint based on the scarce current data, my hypothesis is that in the use such as the one in (7.106a), which refers to a state that holds at the time of speaking, the meaning is, analogously to the equative *í:-ɛɛ í:*, emphatic/assertive compared to mere *jð?*. That is, whereas mere *jð?* would convey the meaning ‘there is (I know)’, the nominalized formulation in (7.106a) carries the meaning ‘there certainly is (you will find out if you check)’. Analyzing (7.106a) is made complex, however, by the attention marker =*ɛo* which by itself may convey the idea of insisting. In (7.106b), on the other hand, the nominalized (nonpast) construction seems to simply mark future.

#### 7.4 Simple copulas compared with some other Tibetic languages

This section briefly compares Denjongke basic copulas to copulas in the better known related languages Dzongkha and Standard/Lhasa Tibetan. A notable difference between the Denjongke copula system and that of Dzongkha (see Table 7.3 below), a closely related language, is the nature of contrast between equative copulas. Dzongkha makes a central contrast between old information (marked by *མིན་* ‘*ing*’, a cognate of Written Tibetan *ཡིན་* *yin*, similarly to Denjongke *í:*) and newly acquired information (marked by *མིན་བས་* ‘*immä*’) (van Driem 1998: 127). Denjongke, on the other hand, makes a central contrast among equatives between *í:*, which marks old information and spatiotemporal proximity, and *be?*, which marks evidential neutrality and spatiotemporal distance. Although the Denjongke sensorial equative *indu?* (see §7.3.1) bears some functional similarity to Dzongkha *‘immä*, the Denjongke marker is too marginal to be considered to correspond to the frequently used *‘immä*.<sup>278</sup>

Table 7.3. Dzongkha copulas (adapted from van Driem 1998)

	Assimilated (old)	Acquired (new)
Equative	མིན་ <i>‘ing</i>	མིན་བས་ <i>‘immä</i>
Existential	ཡོད་ <i>jö</i>	འདུག་ <i>du:</i>

<sup>277</sup> Some speakers pronounce [fi] for initial /j/. Rounded vowels also tend to get unrounded, especially with younger speakers. As a result of these two changes, /jð?/ may be pronounced as /fiɛ?~fiɛ?/. The form *-ei:* is a reduction of *-ɛɛ í:*

<sup>278</sup> I came across the first instance of *indu?* after several years of Denjongke studies. The form does not occur even once in my digitized data, which includes, among other things, the whole novel Richhi.



The difference in the nature of contrast between equatives appears to cause a slight semantic difference in the reflexes of WT ཡིན་ *yin* between Dzongkha and Denjongke. Dzongkha *'ing* essentially marks assimilated/old knowledge because it is contrasted with *'immā* marking the newly acquired knowledge. The meaning of Denjongke *ĩ:*, on the other hand, focuses on spatiotemporal proximity (rather than oldness of information) because it is paradigmatically contrasted, not with a copula expressing newly acquired knowledge, but with the neutral copula *be?*, which implies spatiotemporal backgrounding.

An important fact about Denjongke “personal evidential” is that it is not as much restricted by the concept of grammatical person as the related category “ego(phoric)” in “Standard Tibetan” (Garrett 2001, Tournadre & Dorje 2003). According to Garrett (2001: 103), ego(phoric) copula constructions are “rather free, allowing the overt or implied first-person to be a grammatical subject, object, possessor of a subject or object, or even a possessor of a possessor. Nevertheless, *all ego sentences share a first-person restriction of some kind*” [italics added]. Garrett (2001: 141-142) further notes that in some uses of *yin* [*jìn*], such as (7.107), the 1<sup>st</sup> person may be syntactically absent. In these cases, however, the referent has to be “closely related to the speaker, e.g. his son”. (The example is edited from the original.)

(7.107) Standard Tibetan (Garrett 2001: 142)

ཁོ་ དགོ་ཚུན་ ཡིན།  
*?kho dge.rgan yin.*  
 he teacher COP  
 ‘?He is a teacher.’  
 ‘He (my son) is a teacher.’

(7.108) Denjongke

ཁོང་ ལྷོ་བ་དཔོན་ ཡིན།  
*kʰõ: lópõ: ĩ:*  
 3SG.HON teacher EQU.PER  
 ‘He is a teacher.’

The difference between Standard Tibetan (7.107) and Denjongke (7.108) is that in Denjongke the personal copula *ĩ:* (cognate of ཡིན་ *yin*) is freely used without any requirement for the referent to be closely related to the speaker. In an interesting contrast to Garrett’s (2001: 141-142) description, Yukawa’s (2017: 192) discussion of Lhasa Tibetan provides example (7.109) with the following comment “the person denoted by *koŋ* is often a family member or a close friend, but the essential meaning here is that the speaker feels familiar with the fact that the person is a student”.

(7.109) Lhasa Tibetan (Yukawa 2017: 192)

ཁོང་ ལྷོ་བ་ ལྷུག་ ཡིན།  
*koŋ `labtuu yin.*  
 he/she student is  
 ‘He is a student.’

Yukawa’s gloss of (7.109) does not suggest a semantic restriction resembling that posed by Garrett (2001: 141-142). Instead, Yukawa (2017: 194) defines *yin* and *jod* (cognate of Denjongke *jõ?*) as denoting “a state with which the speaker (or the listener in interrogative sentences) feels familiar”. Thus, Yukawa’s description of *yin*, like my description on Denjongke, implies less syntactic restriction (of the first person) than Garrett’s description of “Standard Tibetan”. Yukawa’s language data, which seems to come from the end of the 1960s

or the beginning of the 1970s<sup>279</sup>, appears to have been collected roughly 30 years before Garrett (2001). This begs the question whether Yukawa's and Garrett's descriptions document a diachronic change from semantically oriented meaning towards more syntactic restriction.<sup>280</sup>

Such diachronic change is reported by Hongladarom (2007) for Rgyalthang Tibetan (a variety of Kham Tibetan). According to Hongladarom (2007: 22), Rgyalthang Tibetan folkstories and songs use “egophoric/self” forms in contexts where in everyday speech one expects a non-egophoric form. This suggests that Rgyalthang folkstories preserve an earlier form of the language, in which the current “egophoric/self” forms (somewhat corresponding to “personal” in Denjongke) are less restricted by the syntactic category of person than in the present spoken Rgyalthang.

Moreover, Widmer (2017: 7) notes a similar diachronic change from semantic marking to more syntactic restriction in Bunan (Tibeto-Burman, non-Tibetic):

In the genealect of the oldest speaker generation, which roughly comprises speakers that were born before 1950, set A endings can express *epistemic involvement regardless of the semantic role that the speaker assumes*. In the genealect of younger speaker generations, set A endings have a narrower range of application and can only express *epistemic involvement in contexts in which the speaker is co-referent with the most agent-like participant in the clause.*” (emphasis added)

If diachronic change towards more syntactic restriction has happened and perhaps is happening within Tibetic languages, Denjongke, along with Lhasa Tibetan described by Yukawa (2017[1975]), can be characterized as more “archaic” than Garrett's and Tournadre & Dorje's (2003) descriptions of “Standard Tibetan”.

Another Tibetic language, in which the cognate of WT ཡིན་ *yin* behaves more semantically than its Lhasa/Standard Tibetan counterpart, is Lamjung Yolmo. Gawne (2013: 192) comments that Yolmo “ego copulas do not relate to the subject of the sentence, or the relationship of the speaker to the subject, but instead express the speaker's knowledge.” Gawne (2017: 79), furthermore notes on the Classical Tibetan used in the biography of Milarepa by Gtsang smyon (1452-1507) (described by Oisel 2013: 81) that “*yin* was used in contexts that capture the personal knowledge of the speaker” and that “the distribution of the egophoric at this time was more like what we find in modern varieties such as Kyirong and Yolmo”. In other words, Yolmo and Kyirong (and Denjongke) preserve an earlier, semantically oriented use of the WT ཡིན་ *yin*, whereas Lhasa Tibetan has progressed towards more syntactic control (i.e. the requirement for the first person to occur with egophorics). Gawne (2017: 80) suggests that the split between Yolmo and Kyirong (and Denjongke) from Central dialects is likely to have taken place before increased syntactic control developed in Central Tibetan into “egophoric” in the sense of Tournadre (2008, 2017).

Similarly to Yolmo, Denjongke personal copulas refer to the speaker's personal knowledge rather than the speaker's involvement in the event<sup>281</sup> or relationship to the subject. A possible difference between Denjongke and Yolmo, however, is that in a sentence such as (7.108) (‘He is a teacher’) above the “personal” evidentiality of *ĩ*, owing to the contrast with the spatiotemporally backgrounding equative *be?*, appears to focus more on the spatiotemporal closeness of the referent (i.e. the person introduced is present) than on the speaker's already existing knowledge. Some other Tibetic languages, which do not share the 1<sup>st</sup> person

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<sup>279</sup> Yukawa (2017) is Nathan W. Hill's translation on an original Japanese article of (1975), which in turn is a revision of the same author's article of (1971).

<sup>280</sup> Other factors influencing the issue are the age of the consultants, dialectal differences and the researchers ways of describing.

<sup>281</sup> However, spatiotemporal proximity of the referent (see §7.2.3) and the speaker's emotional involvement (see 7.3.2.2) may be viewed as a weak type of speaker-involvement in Denjongke.

restriction of Standard Tibetan with reference to the cognate of the “egophoric” *yin*, are Balti, Purik and Lower Ladakhi/Nurla (Bielmeier 2000).

In summary, ego(phoric)/personal copulas in Tibetic languages appear to occur on a grammaticalization scale from more semantically oriented marking to more syntactic restriction by the first person. The most grammaticalized end seems to be occupied by Standard Tibetan, which has developed a syntactic requirement for the presence of the first person in association with the egophorics (corresponding to “personal” here) (Tournadre 2008: 296). Exceptions are only allowed if the referent is closely related to the speaker, see (7.107). Shigatse and Themchen Tibetan (Haller 2000: 187), on the other hand, appear not to have a syntactic restriction but have instead a semantic restriction: the speaker has to be involved in the event. Denjongke (together with Yolmo, see Gawne 2013: 191-193) represents a yet less grammaticalized stage. The use of *ĩ* as copula is not syntactically restricted to the first person, the referent in the clause does not need to have an especially close relationship to the speaker, and the speaker’s involvement may be non-existent or very weak.

The development from semantically oriented marking of speaker’s personal knowledge (e.g. Denjongke, Lamjung Yolmo) towards more syntactic control (Lhasa Tibetan) can be seen to arise quite naturally through speaker’s involvement, a notion which has been described as central, for instance, for Shigatse and Themchen Tibetan (Haller 2000:187). First, personal knowledge, which typically coincides with personal involvement, is reinterpreted as personal involvement. Then, personal involvement, which frequently coincides first person syntax (on agent, patient or other constituent), is reinterpreted as a need for the presence of first person syntax. This hypothesis for grammaticalization of WT ཡིན་ *yin* is schematized in Figure 7.1, where Yolmo and Denjongke take place towards the left of the continuum, Lhasa Tibetan towards the right, and Shigatse and Themchen Tibetan (based on Haller’s [2000:187] brief characterization) in the middle.

Figure 7.1. Hypothesis of grammaticalization of WT *yin*

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Speaker’s knowledge —> Speaker’s involvement —> Required first person syntax

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Note that the three concepts in Figure 7.1 are present in Tournadre’s (2017: 110) latest exposition of the category egophoric as he applies it to Tibetic languages (emphasis mine):

The use of an ‘egophoric’ auxiliary expresses the speaker’s **personal knowledge**. The speaker is often directly implied **involved** in the event that is being described (see Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 93), “Egophoric auxiliaries are used **with first person** occurring overtly, covertly [...] regardless of its function in a given clause (subject, object, indirect object, locative complement)” (Tournadre 2008: 296).

While Tournadre’s (2017: 110) definition describes the synchronic situation of those Tibetic languages which have arrived at the rightmost end of Figure 7.1<sup>282</sup>, the other terms in Figure 7.1 hypothesize the route through which the required first person syntax has arisen. Moreover, Figure 7.1 also suggests that the same grammaticalization cline is synchronously represented by various Tibetic dialects.

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<sup>282</sup> According to Tournadre (2017: 111), “[e]gophoric markers are found in Tibet (Ü-Tsang, Tö-Ngari, Kham and Amdo, etc.) but do not generally appear in the Tibetic languages in the southern and Western Himalayas.”

Sometimes the syntactically motivated terms “disjunct” (equivalents of *beʔ/duʔ*) and “conjunct” (equivalents of *ĩ:/jòʔ*), originating from Hale (1971, 1980), have been used in describing Tibetic copulas (e.g. DeLancey 1990, 1992). However, if applied to Denjongke, these syntactic terms referring to co-reference fail to facilitate an insightful analysis, because the real factors behind copula choice are semantic and pragmatic rather than syntactic. For a thorough criticism of using the concepts of “disjunct” and “conjunct” in describing Standard Tibetan, see Tournadre (2008).

## 7.5 Summary remarks

In this chapter on copulas and evidentiality, it was shown that Denjongke has a particularly wide array of copula forms, which mark three evidential values, personal, sensorial and neutral. The personal evidential is associated with well-integrated knowledge, spatiotemporal proximity of the referent and emotional involvement. The sensorial evidential refers to a sensory experience. Neutral evidentiality refers to the lack of personal and sensorial evidential values. It was shown that these evidential values are expressed through simple copulas and several complex constructions consisting of combinatory copulas and nominalized copulas. An interesting discovery was that the sensorial *duʔ*, which typically functions as an existential, can be used as an equative if the proposition describes something that held in the past. The last section of the chapter showed that the category “personal” in Denjongke differs from “egophoric” in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003) in that the Denjongke category is more semantically-oriented than the similar category in Standard Tibetan. I also outlined a hypothesis on how the more semantic type of marking, as exemplified by Denjongke, may have grammaticalized into the “egophoric” category that evinces more syntactic control, as exemplified by Standard Tibetan.

## 8 Tense, aspect and modality

This section describes verbal constructions which are related to tense, aspect and modality. Tense refers to how the action depicted by the verb relates to the time of speaking (e.g. past, present, future) (Timberlake 2007: 304). Aspect refers to the internal structure of the event described by the verb (e.g. progressive, imperfective, perfective) (Comrie 1976: 3). Modality is concerned with the speaker's judgments about a proposition, for instance certainty, obligation, permissibility and ability (cf. Palmer 2001: 8-10). While this chapter includes cursory remarks on evidentiality, a more detailed discussion on evidentiality is presented in §7 (copulas) and §9 (auxiliaries).

The following discussion is divided into five parts. The first part discusses those forms which describe past events from various aspectual standpoints (§8.1). The second part introduces present habitual and future forms (§8.2). The third part describes forms which mark ongoing action at a past or present time (§8.3). The various TAM-related uses of the possessive-like construction VERB-INF EX are addressed in (§8.4). The final section (§8.5), describes various modal forms expressing the speaker's assessments on certainty, permissibility, ability and obligation.

### 8.1 Past, completive and perfect forms

The different past constructions are summarized in Table 8.1. For simplicity, in the table *-tεε* stands for *-tεε/zε* (past marker) and *-po* for *-po~bo~u* (nominalizer). The auxiliary copulas referred to in Table 8.1 are *í:/bε?* (EQU) and *jò?*/*du?* (EX).

Table 8.1. Past constructions

Name	Form	Function
past	VERB- <i>tεε</i>	past action
periphrastic past	VERB- <i>po</i> EQU ( <i>dynamic verb</i> )	
	VERB- <i>po</i> EQU ( <i>stative verb</i> )	past or present state
completive	VERB <i>-ts<sup>h</sup>a:</i>	completed action
secondary verb 'finish'	VERB <i>mjò:</i> (inflects like an ordinary verb)	having completed/finished or experienced the action marked by the primary verb
perfect	VERB(-RDP)- <i>po</i> EX	past action/state with present relevance
resultative	VERB <i>jò?</i>	continuity of the results of an action (dynamic verbs), continuity of state (stative verbs)
sensorial past/present	VERB <i>du?</i>	sensorially attested (action or its results) present or past action/state
secondary resultative verb	VERB <i>za:</i> EX VERB <i>zak-o</i> EQU	emphasizes the lasting effect of a past action
iterative past	VERB- <i>po</i> VERB- <i>kjã:</i> EQU VERB- <i>po</i> (= <i>lε</i> ) VERB- <i>tεim</i> EQU	iterativity

#### 8.1.1 Past forms

Denjongke has two ways of expressing past tense, through the past verbal suffix *-tεε/zε* and through a periphrastic construction VERB-*po* EQU, where the verb root is nominalized with *-po/bo/u* and then followed by an equative copula. The equative copula is either *í:* or *bε?*,

depending on how the speaker presents the situation evidentially (see §9). As shown in Table 8.1, the meaning of the periphrastic past construction is dependent on the nature of the verb. With a stative verb (e.g. *ga* ‘love’, *jò?* ‘exist’) the construction may refer either to present or past states. Therefore the nominalizer/infinitivizer *-po/bo* is always glossed as an infinitive (2INF) and not as a past marker.

The suffix *-tɛɛ/zɛɛ*, on the other hand, is evidentially non-committed and does not need any additional morphology for finishing a sentence. For an example on *-tɛɛ/zɛɛ*, consider (8.1) and (8.2):

(8.1) ང་ མདང་ རྫོང་ཅེ་ ཡོ་ན།  
*ŋà dā: tʰõ:-tɛɛ óna.*  
 1SG yesterday see-PST there  
 ‘I saw (it) there yesterday.’ (DB trip story)

(8.2) བར་ རྩོན་བའི་ སྐང་ལོ་ འགག་ཆ་ རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ལགས།  
*pʰa: tɛ'øm-bø: gã:=lo gagdza kjap-tɛɛ=la.*  
 over.there come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT obstacle do-PST=HON  
 ‘When (he/we) came over there, (they) obstructed him.’ (CY interview)

In (8.3), the use of *-tɛɛ* imposes an eventive reading on the usually stative verb *ɛé:* ‘know’.

(8.3) ཉིམ་ གསུམ་ རང་ག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ ག་ཚོང་ ཤེས་ཅེ་, ལྷོ་སྐང་ ག་ཚོང་ ཤེས་ཅེ?  
*jɪm súm nàŋɛa lɛŋɛ:=ki k'adzø? ɛé:-tɛɛ, lɛkɛ? k'adzø?*  
 day three within PRN.HON=GEN how.much know-PST Lhoke how.much  
*ɛé:-tɛɛ?*  
 know-PST  
 ‘In (these) three days, how much did you come to know (=learn)? How much Lhoke did you come to know? (YB restaurant discussion)

For the periphrastic past construction, consider (8.4) and (8.5).

(8.4) ཡོ་འདེམ་ འདི་ ངས་ རོས་པོ་ ཡོ་ན།  
*ódem=di ŋá: tʰo:-po í.*  
 like.that=DEMPH I hear-2INF EQU.PER.  
 ‘I heard (a thing) like that.’ (KN e)

(8.5) བར་ རྩོན་བའི་ སྐང་ལོ་ འགག་ཆ་ མང་སྤ་ཅིག་ ཡོ་འདེམ་ལྷོ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ ལྷང།  
*pʰa: tɛ'øm-bø: gã:=lo gagdza màŋpu=tɛi? ódepti*  
 over.there come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT obstacle many=INDF like.that  
*kjap-o bɛ?*  
 do-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘When (he/we) came over there, (they) obstructed him in many ways.’ (CY interview)

Note that example (8.5) comes from the same speaker and piece of discourse as (8.2) and refers to the same situation. I am not aware of any other semantic difference between *-tɛɛ* and *-po bɛ?* in (8.2) and (8.5) respectively, except the fact that *-tɛɛ* remains evidentially neutral by definition and that the periphrastic construction *-po bɛ?* is evidentially neutral *by choice*, i.e. because the neutral copula *bɛ?* is chosen instead of the personal copula *í:*, which may also occur in this construction. In elicitation, speakers have not been able to describe any

difference between the verbal expressions in sentences such as (8.2) and (8.5). An extensive corpus study of the two forms would undoubtedly bring forth some results, but that type of undertaking is beyond the scope of this grammar.

The periphrastic past construction is also used in an idiomatic way to refer to imminent future:<sup>283</sup>

- (8.6) ལགས་སོ, ད་ལྟ་ ང་ འགྲུ་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*lāso, t'ato nà gju-wo*<sup>284</sup> *í.*  
 okay now 1SG go-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Okay, I'm going now (lit. I went).' (rnam-rtog 29)

Furthermore, it can also be used for irrealis reference in the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

- (8.7) མ་འོངས་པའི་ན་ སྐད་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ མ་ཐོན་ན་ འདི་ ཁོང་ཚུ་ གཞི་ བཟུག་གོ་ གནང་མཁན་ འདི་ ལྷང་མེད་ ཐོན་བོ་ སྐད།  
*màonpø:=na kɛ:=di jãrgɛ? ma-tʰøn-na=di kʰõ:=tsu*  
 future.GEN=LOC language=DEMPH proress NEG-happen-COND=DEMPH 3PL=PL  
*zi tsuk-o nã:-kʰɛ:=di nã:mè? tʰøm-bo bɛ?*  
 foundation plant-2INF do.HON-NMLZ=DEMPH neglected become-2INF EQU.NE  
 'If the language will not develop in the future, the foundation layers, they will have become neglected.' (KL BLA 12)

The verb in the periphrastic past construction may be reduplicated, see (8.8) and (8.9), although reduplication in this construction is rather infrequent. Reduplication emphasizes the resultativity of the action.

- (8.8) གུ་རུ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གིས་ ཞོ་འདེབ་ བཀའ་ གནང་གནང་མ་ ཞིན།  
*guru rimputɕʰɛ=gi ódep ka nã:-nã:-m í.*  
 Guru Rimpoche=AGT like.that order do.HON-RDP-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Guru Rimpoche has said so.' (CY interview)

- (8.9) ངའི་ རྒྱམ་ སེ་ལེ་ (Nep.) འདི་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ ཞིན།  
*jè: nùm saili*<sup>285</sup>*=di jén kjap-kjap-o*  
 1SG.GEN sister.of.a.woman third.daughter=DEMPH wedding do-RDP-2INF  
*í.*  
 EQU.PER  
 'My younger sister (who is the third daughter of my parents) is married.' (PED life story)

Reduplication is more characteristic of the perfect construction VERB-RDP-2INF EX, which is introduced in §8.1.3. It is difficult to say what the exact semantic difference is between periphrastic (reduplicated) past *ka nã:-nã:-m í:* and perfect *ka nã:-nã:-m jò?* forms.

The full nominalized form may also be reduplicated with the first instance in genitive case to add emphatic force to the statement, as shown in (8.10), where the emphatic nature of the

<sup>283</sup> This use is analogous to Nepali clauses *mo gaẽ* 'I went' and *mo gaeko* 'I have gone', by which the speaker may signal her departure.

<sup>284</sup> Or *gju:* [go.NMLZ]

<sup>285</sup> This is a loan from Nepali. The equivalent Denjongke expression is *nùm sumpo* 'third sister (of female)'.

clause is underlined by the presence of the contrastive emphatic =*to* and the conjunction *t'izã:* ‘but’ in the following clause.

- (8.10) གཉེན་ རྒྱལ་སྐྱེ་ མི་སར་ཉོ་ སྐང་བོའི་ སྐང་བོ་ མིན་ དེ་ཟང་...
- jén kjap-ti mísa:=to sǒ:-bø: sǒ:-bo í:*  
 wedding do-NF new.person=CEMPH went-2INF.GEN went-2INF EQU.PER  
*t'izã:...*  
 but  
 ‘She may indeed have married and gone to a stranger(’s house) but...’ (Richhi 164)

The periphrastic past form can be negated in three ways, by the prefix *ma-* (e.g. *ma-làp[-o bεʔ]*), by the prefix *mi-* (*mi-lap[-o bεʔ]*) or by negating the final copula (*làp-o mεmbεʔ*). The prefix *ma-* is the most frequent, neutral way of negating a past action, see (8.11).

- (8.11) a) མ་ཚུ་གི་ རྫོག་<sup>286</sup> འདི་ ལུས་ མ་ཐོས།
- ázan=gi lóu=di mú: ma-tʰo:*  
 maternal.uncle=GEN speech=DEMPH 3SGF.AGT NEG-hear  
 ‘She didn’t hear the uncle’s words.’ (SN kitchen discussion)
- b) རྫོག་གྱ་ འགྱ་ མ་ཐོབ་པོ་ སྤང།
- lópta gju ma-tʰop-o bεʔ.*  
 school go NEG-receive-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘(She) did not get to go to school.’ (PED life story)

Using the imperfective negator seems to force a past or present imperfective/continuous meaning on the clause, see (8.12) and (8.13). This construction is rare in my data,

- (8.12) མོ་འདི་ སྤང་ ད་ འདི་ཁར་ དདུལ་ ལའ་མཁན་ ལེགས་ མི་ཐོན་པོ་ སྤང།
- ódi gǎ: t’a dikʰa ny: làp-kʰɛ: lɛm mi-tʰem-bo bεʔ.*  
 that time now here money say-NMLZ good NEG-come.out-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Now at that time there was not much money around.’ (PED life story)
- (8.13) མི་རུབ་པོ་ སྤང།
- mi-nùp-o bεʔ.*  
 NEG-sink-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘(She) does/did not sink (under water).’ (TB comment on a video)

Negating the final copula results in an emphatic type of negation, which is frequently used in the context of persuading. Of the six examples of this construction in my written data, in three the speaker first expresses disagreement with the addressee by the negated interjection *mɛ̃:*, *mɛ̃:* ‘no, no’ and then uses the emphatic negation at the end of the clause, see (8.14). Also in (8.15), the speaker counters what the addressee has said previously.

<sup>286</sup> An innovative Denjongke spelling inspired by Dzongkha རྫོག་ ‘mind; conversation, speech, talk, word’.



(8.14) མན, མན, ངའི་ མིང་གཏམ་གྱི་ དོན་ལོ་ ང་གིས་ གཡོག་ འདི་ ལུས་བོ་ མན།  
*mɛ̃ː, mɛ̃ː, jɛː miŋtam=gi t'ɔnlo ŋáː=gi*  
 NEG.EQU.PER NEG.EQU.PER 1SG.GEN reputation=GEN for.purpose.of 1SG=AGT  
*jóː=di p'ja-u mɛ̃ː.*  
 work=DEMPH do-2INF NEG.EQU.PER  
 'No, No, I didn't do that thing for my reputation.' (nga'i 'gan 4)

(8.15) ལྷལ་མཚན་ ང་གིས་ ཚོད་ལོ་ དོན་མེད་ བདག་མེད་གྱི་ གཏམ་ བཤད་བོ་ མན།  
*gjaltsʰen ŋáː=gi tɛʰøː=lo t'ɔnmeʔ da.meː=ki tam ɛɛ-po*  
 PN 1SG=AGT 2SG.L=DAT vain void=GEN word tell-2INF  
*mɛ̃ː.*  
 NEG.EQU.PER  
 'Gyaltshen, I didn't tell you vain and void words.' (nga'i 'gan 10)

Another context for emphatic negation is contrast with an adjacent affirmative clause, as shown in (8.16) and (8.17), where the negated clause occurs first, followed by the affirmative clause.

(8.16) ད་ལྟོ་ ང་ཅག་ ག་རེ་ ལུ་བ་ བཅར་བོ་ མན། དེ་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ ད་རིང་ ན་ Sir ཚུར་ མཇལ་བ་ བཅར་བོ་ མིན།  
*t'ato ŋàteaʔ k'are ɛù-wa teaː-bo mɛ̃ː. t'ɛːlo*  
 now 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EQU.NE just.like.that  
*ŋàteaʔ t'ariŋ nàː sər=tsaː dzeː-wa teaː-bo íː.*  
 1PL today here sir(Eng.)=at meet.HON-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Now we didn't come to ask for anything. We just came here today to meet (you) Sir.' (NAB BLA 7)

(8.17) ནང་སྐྱོང་ འདི་ ང་རང་ གཅིག་ཀྱིས་ སློབ་བོ་ མན། ཨ་པ་ལགས་གྱི་ཡང་ སློབ་རོགས་ གནང་བོ་ མིན།  
*nàːdzõː=di ŋà=rãː teiku t'i-u mɛ̃ː.*  
 exercise=DEMPH 1SG=REFL only write-2INF NEG.EQU.PER  
*ápa=laː=ki=jãː t'i-roʔ náː-bo íː.*  
 father=HON=AGT=too write-help give.HON-2INF EQU.PER  
 'It wasn't only I myself who wrote the exercise. The father too gave writing-help.'  
 (Class 7 textbook 6)

The two negation strategies of using a prefix and negating the final copulas can also be combined to form a twice negated construction. Note that negated construction is followed, typically of emphatic negation, by an affirmative clause about the issue in question.

(8.18) ད་ལྟོ་ ཟང་ལྷེ་ གཙོ་ལྷུ་ ལྷོན་པོ་མཚོག་གིས་ ང་ཅག་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ ལྷོ་བོ་ མི་རིགས་ལོ་ མ་གནང་བོ་ མན་སྟངས།  
*t'ato sãːte tsotei lɛmpu=tɛʰoː=ki ŋàteaʔ ʧendzoy=gi ʃopo*  
 now until chief minster=honorable=AGT 1PL Sikkim=GEN Lhopo  
*míri=lo ma-náː-bo mɛ̃mbeʔ, keːpo náː zaː jòʔ.*  
 people=DAT NEG-give.HON-2INF NEG.EQU.NE a.lot give.HON put EX.PER  
 'It is not that until now the Chief Minister has not given to us Lhopo people, (he) has given a lot.' (NAB BLA 7)

In addition to the aforementioned past constructions, past meaning can also be conveyed, if the context allows, by bare verb roots. This practice is usual in story-telling, as exemplified in (8.19) and (8.20).

(8.19) ཏེ་མོ་ན་ལས་ ང་ཅག་ ངལ་འཚོ་ ལྷབས།  
*te ónale ηàtɛaʔ nɛ:tsʰo: kjap.*  
 so then 1PL resting do  
 ‘Then we rested.’ (DB trip story)

(8.20) བླ་ཤག་ བཟོ།  
*tʼaɛaʔ zo.*  
 house.at.monastery build  
 ‘(We) built a house (which is owned by the monastery).’ (DB life story)

In addition to past, the bare verb root may also mark imperative (see §11.3) and steady state present (see §8.2.1).

### 8.1.2 Completive

The completive form *-tsʰa(:)* derives from the Classical Tibetan verb ཚམ་ *tshar* ‘complete’ and denotes a completed action. The completion of action is illustrated in (8.21) where *-tsʰa* is contrasted with the past marker *-tɛɛ/zɛ*. In (8.21a), the speaker completed reading the whole book, while in (8.22b) the speaker finished an act of book-reading but did not necessarily read the book to the end.

(8.21) a) མདང་ ངས་ དེབ་ གཅིག་ ལྷོག་ཚར།  
*dã: ηá: tʼɛp=tɛiʔ qok-tsʰa:.*  
 yesterday I.AGT book=INDF read-CMPL  
 ‘Yesterday I finished reading a book.’ (NB e)

b) མདང་ ངས་ དེབ་ གཅིག་ ལྷོག་ཅེ།  
*dã: ηá: tʼɛp=tɛiʔ qok-tɛɛ.*  
 yesterday I.AGT book=INDF read-PST  
 ‘Yesterday I did some book-reading.’ (NB e)

Although *-tsʰa* has grammaticalized into an independent marker of completion that can end a sentence (8.22), it may be followed by an equative copula (8.23) or the existential copula *duʔ* (8.24). Moreover, *tsʰa:* resembles an ordinary secondary verb in that it occurs in nominalized periphrastic constructions as *-tsʰo-u* (8.25).

(8.22) ང་ཅའི་ ཡབ་ རྒོངས་སྟེ་ ལོ་ གཞིས་ཚལ་ ལྷེབས་ཚར།  
*ηàtɛi jà:p tʼõ:-ti lò nɪ:-tsʰøʔ lɛp-tsʰa:.*  
 1PL.GEN father.HON die.HON-NF year two-about reach-CMPL  
 ‘Some two years have passed since our father passed away.’ (Richhi 35)

- (8.23) a) ད་ལྟོ་ད་ driver<sup>287</sup> ཐོན་ཚར་ ཟུང།  
*t'ato t'a draivər tʰon-tsʰa: bɛʔ.*<sup>288</sup>  
 now then driver(Eng.) become-CMPL EQU.NE  
 'Now he's become a driver.' (KN e)
- (8.24) ལུ་ འོང་ཚར་ འདུག་གོ།  
*kʰu ɔn-tsʰa du-kɛ.*  
 3SGM come-CMPL EX.SEN-IN  
 'He's arrived.' (KN e)
- (8.25) a) ད་ལྟོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ག་རི་ སླེབས་ཚུའུ་ ཟུང།  
*t'ato tʰamtɛɛʔ gari ʎɛp-tsʰo-u bɛʔ.*  
 now all car reach-CMPL-2INF EQU.NE  
 'Now everything has arrived by car.' (RBM discussion on the roof)
- b) དེ་ཟང་ ང་ཅའི་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐང་ ད་ མི་བཅུག་ ལབ་སྟེ་ བཞག་སྟེ་གི་ འདི་ ལོ་ བཅུ་ཐམ་བ་ ལང་ཚུའུ་ ཟུང།  
*t'izā: ɲətɛi=di ɔdi gã: t'a mi-teuʔ ləp-ti*  
 but 1PL.GEN=DEMPH that time now NEG-insert say-NF  
*zak-tiki=di lò tcu-tʰamba lã:-tsʰo-u*  
 leave.aside-NF=DEMPH year ten-NUM come.up.to-COMPL-2INF  
*bɛʔ.*  
 EQU.NE  
 'But at that time our (parents) said (we) do not put (you to school) and leaving  
 (me outside school) I reached (the age of) ten years.' (PED life story)
- c) ཁྱིམ་ན་ འོག་ཚར་བོ་ ཨོན་ནམ་?  
*kʰim=na lək-tsʰo-u*<sup>289</sup> *ɲám?*  
 house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.ATTQ  
 'Has he returned home, I wonder?' (Richhi 24)
- d) ཉི་ ཨོ་འདི་ཅིག་ཁར་ ད་ ར་མོ་ འདི་ཚུ་ ངོས་ འབག་སྟེ་ འགྲུ་བའི་གི་, འགྲུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ཏུས་ཚོད་ སླེབས་ཚར་མཁན་ ཟུང།  
*tɛ ɔdetsika t'a ɲámo di=tsu t'oʔ bak-ti*  
 then that.time now camel these=PL load carry-NF  
*gju-wø:=gi, gju-ɛɛ=ki t'ytsʰøʔ ʎɛp-tsʰa-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*  
 going-2INF.GEN=GEN go-INF=GEN time arrive-CMPL-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'Now then at that time, the time had come for these camels to go carrying loads.'  
 (PD bet story)

In (8.26), the completive occurs with the past suffix *-zɛ*. The form *-tsʰou* is tentatively glossed as a secondary verb 'finish' without nominalization, because adding the past marker *-tɛɛ/zɛ* to a nominalized form would be the only such example in my data.

<sup>287</sup> The equivalent word in Denjongke given by consultant YR is ལུ་འོང་ཚར་ བཞག་སྟེ་གི་ *num-kʰor ky:-kʰɛ:* [oil-wheel drive-NMLZ].

<sup>288</sup> The original utterance has the verb ending *tʰon-tsʰa-kɛ=ɛo* [become-CMPL-IN=AT] but the consultant also re-uttered the clause with *tʰon-tsʰa bɛʔ*.

<sup>289</sup> This pronunciation represents typical spoken language. Reading-style pronunciation would be *lək-tsʰa:-bo*.

- (8.26) ལྷོན་ཚུ་ཞེ།  
*te'ɕn ts<sup>h</sup>ou-zɛ.*  
 go.HON finish-PST  
 '(They) already went.' (KT e)

In one instance in my data, the completive is followed by a morpheme which looks like the imperfective marker *-to* but which probably is the contrastive emphatic *=to* (see §16.1.2).

- (8.27) ལྷོན་ལས་ འོག་སྤེ་ ང་ལོ་ རྩོ་ འགྲེལ་ བཏང་སྤེ་ ངའི་ རྒྱབ་ལར་ རྩོ་ གཞེག་ རོག་ཚར་ ཏོ་ལོ།  
*p'ja:=le ɔte ŋə=lo do dɿ: tã:-di jè: gjapk<sup>h</sup>a*  
 precipice=ABL down 1SG=DAT stone fall send-NF 1SG.GEN back  
*do=teɿ? p<sup>h</sup>ok-ts<sup>h</sup>a=to=lo.*  
 stone=INDF hit-CMPL-CEMPH=REP  
 '(You) sent a stone-fall from the precipice towards me and a stone fell on my back,  
 (he said).' (UU deer story)

For evidential distinctions of the various constructions with *-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)*, consider §9.1.3.

### 8.1.3 Secondary verb *mjō̃*: 'finish, experience'

The verb *mjō̃*: ལྷོན་ 'finish' at the end of a SVC expresses that the action depicted by the SVC has ended or, less frequently, that the actor has experience of the action in question (also implying that the action has been completed). The former use has probably developed from the latter, as suggested by the meaning of the cognate WT ལྷོན་ *myong* 'experience'. It is likely that after having developed the meaning 'finish, complete' *mjō̃*: has pushed the earlier verb *ts<sup>h</sup>a*: with a similar meaning 'complete, finish' from ordinary verbhood towards becoming a grammatical completive marker. The secondary verb *mjō̃*: 'finish' differs from the completive morpheme *ts<sup>h</sup>a*: in that in addition to the serialized construction *mjō̃*: can occur in a nonfinal converbial construction (with little difference in meaning) whereas *ts<sup>h</sup>a*: cannot, e.g. *sà-ti mjō̃*: 'finished eating', \**sà-ti ts<sup>h</sup>a*:.

The use of *mjō̃*: referring to finished action is illustrated by (8.28) and (8.29).

- (8.28) ཐམས་ཅད་ ལྷོན་ ལྷོན།  
*t<sup>h</sup>amteɛ? p'ja mjō̃: bɛ?*  
 all do finishEQU.NE  
 '(We) finished doing all.' (DB life story)
- (8.29) མོ་ན་ ལྷོན་ ལྷོན་ ལྷོན།  
*óna kujō̃: ze: mjō̃:*  
 there education have.HON finish  
 '(He) finished taking education there.' (CY interview)

Examples (8.30) and (8.31) illustrate the use referring to experience, which in my impression are more frequent in negated clauses such as (8.31).

- (8.30) མོ་ཏོག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ བཅ་པ་པོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ལྷོ་གེས་ འཛེབ་ ལྷོན།  
*minto t<sup>h</sup>amteɛ? ɛá:-ɛa-p t<sup>h</sup>amteɛ? k<sup>h</sup>u=gi dzip mjō̃:*  
 flower all blossom-RDP-2INF all 3SGM=AGT suck experience  
 'All flowers, all the blossoming ones he had experienced sucking (the nectar out of).'

- (8.31) ད་ལྟོ་འདི་ ལྷན་ཚོང་ རང་གཞི་ བསྟོན་སྲུ་ མོ་འདེམ་ རྒྱལ་སྐབས་ ང་ མོས་ མ་ལྟོང་།  
*t'atə:* *t'ytsʰø?* *nàŋɛa=lo* *ty:lu* *ódem* *kjap-kʰɛ:* *ŋá:* *tʰo:*  
 now.GEN season inside=DAT ode like.that strike-NMLZ 1SG.AGT hear  
***ma-mjò:***  
 NEG-experience  
 'At the present time, I have not heard (people) who sing odes like that.' (KT intro to an ode)

### 8.1.4 Perfect

In the perfect construction VERB(-RDP)-*po/bo* EX the verb is usually reduplicated (8.32) but occasionally non-reduplicated (8.33). By using the perfect construction, Denjongke speakers suggest that the action/state or its results continue until the time of speaking and have present relevance.<sup>290</sup> In (8.32), the statement has present relevance because the speaker is going to reclaim an old loan.

- (8.32) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ མོ་འདེམ་ ཁོང་ལས་ རྒྱབས་སྒྲིག་ མོ་འདེམ་ ལྷ་ཀྱ་ ལྷ་ཀྱ་ ལྷ་ཀྱ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐང་ རང་གི་ ཨ་བ་ཀེས་ ངའི་ ཨ་པོའི་ རྩ་ལས་  
 ཉི་ཅུལ་ བདུན་བཅུ་ཐམ་བ་ འབག་སོང་སོང་བོ་ ཡོད་ སེ་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།  
*ŋè:* *ápo=di* *ódep* *ɛiŋ-lɛ:* *kjap-tiki* *ódep* *pʰjuku* *pʰjuku*  
 1SG.GEN father=DEMPH like.that field-work do-NF like.that rich rich  
*pʰjuku* *jò-pø:* *gã:* *raŋ=gi* *ápa=gi* *ŋè:* *ápø:* *tsa=lɛ*  
 rich EX-2INF.GEN time 2SG.M=GEN father=AGT 1SG.GEN father.GEN at=ABL  
*tiru?* *dynteu-tʰamba* ***bak-sō:-sō:-bo*** *jò:=s* *làp-o=lo.*  
 rupee seventy-NUM carry-go-RDP-2INF EX.PER=QUO say-2INF=REP  
 'At that time when my father got rich, very rich doing work in the fields, your father took (in loan) seventy rupees from my father, (he) said, so the story goes.' (PD betting story)

- (8.33) འདི་ལས་ མོ་འདི་ རྒྱབས་ལས་ ང་ ཉི་ ད་ལྟོ་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ ལབ་ས་ རང་གི་ ང་ ལྷུལ་སྲུ་ ལྷུང་ལྷུང་ གཅིག་ མཉམ་ལུ་ མོས་ ལྷུབ་  
 བཞིན་ ལྷུས་ ལྷོང་བོ་ ཡོད།  
*dile* *ódi* *gjable* *ŋà* *tɛ* *t'ato* *nà:* *jurop* *po:ɛn* *làp-sa*  
 then that after 1SG so now here Europe Poland say-NMLZ.SPAT  
*nàŋɛa* *ŋà* *t'y:ku* *tɛʰuŋtsuŋ=tsi?* *ɲámpu* *tɛʰo?*  
 inside 1SG reincarnated.teacher small=INDF with doctrine  
***lap-zin-p'ja*** ***dø:-po*** ***jò?***  
 teach-PROG-ADVZR stay-2INF EX.PER  
 'Then after that I have been staying here in Europe, Poland and taught a small tulku (reincarnated Buddhist teacher).' (RB life story)

- (8.34) ར་ཙོ་ ལྷོན་ལྷོན་བོ་ འདུག་གོ།  
*rodzou* ***ten-tem-bo*** ***du-ke.***  
 horns show-RDP-2INF EX.SEN-IN  
 '(Its) horns are out showing (as I see in the picture).' (KN e)

<sup>290</sup> In Jespersen's (1924: 269) definition, perfect "represents the present state as the outcome of past events, and may therefore be called a retrospective variety of present."

- (8.35) འདི་ ལྗོམ་ན་ ཟེ་ཟེ་བོ་ ཡོད་པ་ལྟར།  
*di dɔm=na tʰi-ti-u jèbbe?*  
 this box=LOC write-RDP-2INF EX.NE  
 ‘It’s written in this box...’ (TB e)

The perfect construction may be negated in two ways, by simply negating the final copula (8.36-37) or by a special negative construction VERB-*εy*: NEG.EX (8.38-39).

- (8.36) a) ང་ ད་ལྟོ་ ཟང་ལྟེ་ བས་ཀའ་བོལ་ (basketball) རྟོན་རྟོན་བོ་ མེད།  
*ŋà tʰato sà:te basketbol tsi-tsi-u mè?*  
 1SG now until basketball play-RDP-2INF NEG EX.PER  
 ‘I haven’t played basketball so far (in my life).’ (KN e)
- b) ཡོ་འདི་ ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གི་ གནང་གནང་བོ་ མེན་འདུག་ཤོ་ལགས།  
*ódi tɕʰøgɛ:=gi ná:-ná:-bo minduk=ɛo=la.*  
 that king=AGT do.HON-RDP-2INF NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON  
 ‘The king hadn’t done that, you know.’ (CY interview)
- c) ད་རིང་ ཟང་ལྟེ་ ང་ཅག་ ག་རེ་ ལུ་བ་ བཅར་བོ་ མེད།  
*tʰariŋ sà:te ŋàtea? kʰarɛ ɛù-wa tea:-bo mè?*  
 today until 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘Until today we haven’t come to ask for anything.’ (KN e)
- d) མཚོ་ལྷ་ རོགས་ཚུས་ ང་ལོ་ གན་འདྲེ་ གསུང་བོ་ མེད་ཀ་?  
*né:mu ro:=tsu ŋà=lo kʰandɛ: súm-bo mè:-ka?*  
 really friend=PL 1SG=DAT anything say.HON-2INF NEG.EX.PER-PQ  
 ‘Haven’t the friends really told anything to me?’ (Ricchi 69)

As shown by (8.36c) the non-reduplicated negated perfect construction can occur with a perfect meaning. The non-reduplicated construction, however, is also used in a future-oriented sense expressing lack of permission, intention or ability, see (8.37). Example (8.37b) leaves unclear whether the speaker expresses lack of ability or just lack of intention.

- (8.37) a) ང་ ལུའི་ རྩར་ འགྲུ་བོ་ མེད།  
*ŋà kʰu=i=tsa: gju-wo mè?*  
 1SG 3SGM=GEN=by go-2INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘I can’t go to his place (e.g. because we are not in good terms).’ Lit. ‘I have no going to his place.’ (KUN e)
- b) ང་ སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ འགྲུ་བོ་ མེད།  
*ŋà siliguru gju-wo mè?*  
 1SG TPN go-2INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘I have no going to Siliguri’ (KUN e)

The negated form illustrated in (8.37) is also used for negating progressive, continuous and imperfective constructions, see §8.3.

The second way of negating the perfect construction is to use the morpheme *-εy*, which etymologically likely derives from WT ལུལ་ *shul* ‘trace, remains’. Therefore *-εy*: is here

tentatively glossed as ‘trace’, which fits the clausal meaning. In the novel *Richhi*, both the forms ལྷུ་ *shul* and ལྷུས་ *shus* occur in writing.

- (8.38) ང་ ང་ལྟོ་ ཟང་ལྟོ་ basketball<sup>291</sup> རྩོད་ལྷུ་ མེད།  
*ŋà t'ato sā:te basketbol tsi:-ey: mè?*  
 1SG now until basketball(Eng.) play-trace NEG EX.PER  
 ‘I haven’t played basketball so far (in my life).’ (KN e)

- (8.39) ཡི་གེའི་ན་ལོ་གསེས་དྲགས་<sup>292</sup> ལྷུས་ལྟོ་ གན་འདྲེ་ བྲི་ལྷུ་ མིན་འདུག།  
*jigi:=na=lo<sup>293</sup> sé:ta? p'ja-ti k'anḡe: t'i-ey: mindu?*  
 letter.GEN=LOC=DAT clear do-NF anything write-trace NEG.EX.SEN  
 ‘Nothing (about the things the reader hopes to find) is written clearly within the letter.’ (Richhi 164)

The construction VERB-*ey:* NEG.EX is further illustrated in the question-answer-pair (8.40):

- (8.40) a) ང་ལྟོ་ ལྷུ་ལྟོ་ ལྷུ་ལྟོ་ ཡོད་?  
*t'ato bhaila k'ate jò??*  
 now PN how EX.PER  
 ‘How is Bhaila now?’
- b) ང་ལྟོ་ ལམ་ ལྷུས་ དྲག་ལྷུས་ མེད།  
*t'arun ləm-p'ja t'ak-ey: mè?*  
 yet good-ADVZR be.cured-trace NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘He hasn’t recovered well yet.’ (Richhi 26)

The positive construction VERB-*ey:* EX is rare in my data. The only instances in my data are the question answer pair (8.41) and clause (8.42) from the novel *Richhi*.

- (8.41) a) རང་ རྣམ་ལོ་ཡང་ མི་ལི་གྲུ་རི་ སློབས་ཅེ་ག?  
*rã: nàm=lo=jã: siliguri lɛp-tɛɛ-ga?*  
 2SG.M when=DAT=even TPN arrive-PST-PQ  
 ‘Did you ever go to Siliguri?’ (NAB e)
- b) ང་ སློབས་ལྷུས་ ཡོད།  
*ŋà lɛp-ey: jò?*  
 1SG arrive-trace EX.PER  
 ‘(Yes) I have gone (there).’ (NAB e)

<sup>291</sup> According to consultant YR, this word could be written བས་གེའི་ལོ་.  
<sup>292</sup> There is most likely a spelling-mistake here, the right spelling being གསེས་དྲགས་.  
<sup>293</sup> Morpheme analysis here follows the written form in the novel *Richhi*, which often has a genitive preceding the locative case. Following this analysis, here three cases are stacked together (GEN=LOC=DAT). An alternative would be to analyse *nalo* as a postposition meaning ‘inside’. For case-stacking, see §3.7.1.3.

- (8.42) བྱ་བའི་གནས་སྐབས་ཚབ་ཆེ་བྱས་ཡོད་ཤང་འདིས་ཀླ་གིས་བྱ་བའི་འདི་ལོ་དེ་སློལ་བཏང་ཤང་བྱས་བཞིན་ཡོད།  
*nè:pø: nè:tā: tsʰaptɛɛ-ɛy:²⁹⁴ jø:-ɛɛ=di: karma=gi*  
 patient.GEN condition become.severe-trace EX-INF=DEMPH PN=AGT  
*nè:po=di=lo dilli tā:-ɛɛ? p'ja-zē: jø?*  
 patient=DEMPH=DAT TPN send-INF do-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘Because the patient’s condition had signs of severeness, Karma is attempting to send the patient to Delhi.’ (Richhi 169)

### 8.1.5 Resultative

In harmony with its copular function, *jø?* following a verb root marks the present continuity of a state. With dynamic verbs, see (8.43-45), this implies that the state is a result of an action, hence the name resultative for this construction. Resultative forms are in meaning very close to the perfect construction described above. Examples (8.43) and (8.44) include both affirmed forms (a) and negated forms (b).

- (8.43) a) ལྷན་ལྷན་གྱིས་²⁹⁵ བ་བཞག་ཡོད།  
*mýtsy=ki nà: za: jø?*  
 others=AGT here set EX.PER  
 ‘Others have placed (them) here.’ (RS language situation)

- b) ལྷན་ལྷན་གྱིས་ བ་བཞག་བཞག་གོ་མེད།  
*mýtsy=ki nà: zak(-zak-o) mè?*  
 others=AGT here set(-RDP-2INF) NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘Others have not placed (them) here.’ (KN e)

- (8.44) a) ང་སློབས་ཡོད།  
*ηà lɛp jø?*  
 1SG arrive EX.PER  
 ‘I have arrived.’ (KN e)

- b) ང་སློབས་མེད། / ང་མ་སློབས།  
*ηà lɛp mè? ηà ma-lɛp.*  
 1SG arrive EX.PER 1SG NEG-arrive  
 ‘I haven’t arrived.’ ‘I did not arrive.’ (KN e)

Note that *jø?* may occur in a complex construction, as exemplified by *jø:ɛɛ be?* in the irrealis/future in (8.45).

- (8.45) མོ་འདིའི་ཁ་ལྷས་མན་ན་ང་གིས་མོ་འཕྲུལ་རྟོ་བྱས་ཡོད་ཤང་སྟེ།  
*ódi: kʰate mèn-ne ηá:=gi nòrtʰy:=to p'ja*  
 that.GEN speaking.manner NEG.EQU-COND 1SG=AGT mistake=CEMPH do  
*jø:-ɛɛ be?*  
 EX-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘If he does not have speaking manners, I will have made a mistake.’ (Nga’i ’gan 13)

<sup>294</sup> Consultant KN (Martam) suspected that there might be a mistake here because in his language variety *-sy:* would be used here instead of *-ɛy:* as a diminutive ‘a bit serious’.

<sup>295</sup> Some spell this word མི་ལྷོ་འི་ instead of ལྷན་ལྷན་.



With stative verbs, the meaning focuses on continuity:

- (8.46) མེ་ཉླག་ མེར་པོ་ དམར་པོ་ དཀར་པོ་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ནང་ལོ་ ཤར་ ཡོད།  
*minto sérpo, márpo, karpo*<sup>296</sup> *dendzõ: nàŋlo éá: jò?*  
 flower yellow red white Sikkim inside blossom EX.PER  
 ‘Yellow, red and white flowers are in blossom in Sikkim.’ (song lyrics)

According to the consultant KN, (8.46) can be negated by replacing a negated copula for the affirmed one, i.e. *éá: mè?*.

When used in the resultative construction, the verb *dø?* ‘sit’ is ambiguous as to dynamic (‘have taken a seat’) or stative reading (‘are sitting’) but nevertheless marks the continuing state of sitting:

- (8.47) ཁོང་ གཉིས་ཆ་ ད་ལྟ་ ཉལ་ཁྲིའི་ རྩེང་ལོ་ རྫོང་ ཡོད།  
*kʰõ: ni:-tea t'ato jè:tʰi: teŋlo dø: jò?*  
 3PL two-pair now bed.GEN on sit EX.PER  
 ‘The two of them are now sitting on the bed.’ (Richhi 18)

### 8.1.6 Sensorial resultative/past

The construction VERB *du?*, which is rather infrequent in my data, expresses sensorial resultative and sensorial past meanings. As shown in §7.2.2 and §9.1.2, sensoriality refers to the fact the speaker bases a proposition on a sensorial experience, typically visual. The difference to a similar construction with *jò?* is that whereas *jò?* implies that the resulted state continues at the time of speech, *du?* only makes reference to an event where knowledge was gained and remains uncommitted as to whether the state is still ongoing. A construction with *du?* only implies that the state-of-affairs held at the time of observing. In examples (8.48-52), where the time of observing coincides with the time of speaking, the construction is resultative, i.e. marking a state achieved by the verbal action.

- (8.48) ད་རིང་ མི་ལག་ བཞི་ འཛོམས་ འདུག།  
*t'ariŋ mila? zi dzom du?*  
 today person four gather EX.SEN  
 ‘Four people have/are gathered today, I see.’ (PTB e)

According to consultant KN, (8.48) cannot be negated by just replacing the affirmed existential with a negated one. Negation strategy is adopted from the perfect construction (see §8.1.3):

- (8.49) a) ད་རིང་ མི་ལག་ བཞི་ འཛོམས་པོ་ མིན་འདུག།  
*t'ariŋ mila? zi dzom-bo mindu?*  
 today person four gather-2INF NEG.EX.SEN  
 ‘The four people haven’t gathered today, I see.’ (KN e)

The copula may, however, be negated in a construction with (*p<sup>h</sup>a*)gɛ ‘except’, see (8.50). The meaning corresponds to English *more than* accompanied by a negated verb or the English *only* followed by an affirmative verb.

<sup>296</sup> The colour words in this song occur in disyllabic Tibetan-style forms instead of the typical monosyllabic Denjongke form (*sé:p, má:p, ka:p*) probably for poetic and rhythmic reasons.

- (8.50) ད་རིང་ མི་ལག་ བཞི་ (མ་)གོ་ འཛོམས་པོ་ མིན་འདུག།  
*t'arinj mila? zi (p<sup>h</sup>a)gɛ dzom mindu?*  
 today person four except gather NEG.EX.SEN  
 'Today there aren't (any) more than four people gathered, I see.'/'Today only four people have gathered, I see.'/ (KN e)

For another example of resultative use, consider (8.51) with an affirmed (a) and a negated (b) clause.

- (8.51) a) མཚོ་ན་ འཇའ་ ཟུག་ རོང་ འདུག།  
*ts<sup>h</sup>o=na dza sùk sò: du?*  
 lake=LOC rainbow touch go.PFV EX.SEN  
 'A rainbow is touching (or: has come and touched) the lake.' (DB, describing a picture)
- b) མཚོ་ན་ འཇའ་ ཟུག་(གོ་) མིན་འདུག།  
*ts<sup>h</sup>o=na dza sùk(-o) mindu?*  
 lake=LOC rainbow touch(-2INF) NEG.EX.SEN  
 'There is no rainbow touching the lake.' (KN e)

Note that in the negated version (8.51b) the secondary verb *sò:* is elided and the main verb may occur with the nominalizer or without.

The knowledge on which the statement with the construction VERB *du?* is based can be gained either through direct observation of the verbal event, as in (8.48-51) above<sup>297</sup>, or through observing the results of past action, as in (8.52).

- (8.52) མདང་ ལ་ཟུབ་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ རོའུ་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་ རྩོད་པའི་ རྣང་ ལྷམ་ གཅིག་ འཇུ་ འབག་ རོང་ རོང་ འདུག་གོ།  
*dā: k<sup>h</sup>a:nu:=lo ŋàtea? p<sup>h</sup>ou jó?*  
 yesterday the.day.before.yesterday=DAT 1PL over.there work  
*kjap de:-pø: gã: à:m=tcɪ<sup>298</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u bak ló: sò: du-kɛ.*  
 do stay-2INF.GEN time jackal=INDF pick carry rise go.PFV EX.SEN-IN  
 'The other day, when we were working over there, a jackal came and carried (the hen) away.' (PL interview)

The use of the sensorial *du-kɛ* in (8.52) is based on visible evidence of the event's results (a dead, half-eaten hen in the forest), not the event itself. That is, the evidence against the jackal is only circumstantial, not direct. Here it is worth noting that although some linguists (e.g. Hengeveld & Olberz 2012: 495, DeLancey 2012: 540) underline the fundamental difference between direct perception and indirect perception (or inference from the results of an action), Denjongke uses the sensorial *du?* for reporting both direct evidence of seeing an action and indirect evidence of seeing the results of an action. In both cases, something is sensorially perceived, and thus both instances can be marked with the sensorial *du?*. For the close

<sup>297</sup> Strictly speaking, in (8.51a) the speaker does not claim to have seen the movement of the rainbow onto the lake (as suggested by the verb 'go'). The speaker claims to see or have seen the state resulting from the movement of the rainbow onto the lake.  
<sup>298</sup> According to consultant KT, the lack of agentive and overt patient argument in this clause makes the jackal appear to be, on the clausal level, the patient and not the doer of the action. The context, however, makes clear that the jackal is the agent and a hen the patient.

connection of sensorial and inferential in Lhasa Tibetan and several other languages, see Hill (2017).

In contrast to (8.48-52), where the sensory experience coincides with the time of speaking or is a recent one, example (8.53) illustrates a reference to a past sensory event. The speaker describes an act by a historical figure about whom he has gained knowledge from a written document or by word of mouth. As in the previous example, in (8.53) the use of *du?* is not based on direct evidence of the depicted action but on written or spoken secondhand reports.

- (8.53) ཁོང་གིས་ ལྷོན་ལམ་ འདྲེ་ བཏུབ་པོ་ གནང་ འདུག་གོ།  
*kʰoŋ=gi mélam de: tap-o ná: du-ke.*  
 3SG.HON=AGT prayer like.this sow-2INF do.HON EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘He prayed this kind of prayer.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

According to consultant KN, (8.53) can be negated by replacing the affirmative existential with a negated one:

- (8.54) ཁོང་གིས་ ལྷོན་ལམ་ འདྲེ་ བཏུབ་པོ་ གནང་ འདུག་གོ།  
*kʰoŋ=gi mélam de: tap-o ná: mindu-ke.*  
 3SG.HON=AGT prayer such sow-2INF do.HON NEG.EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘He did not pray such a prayer.’ (KN e)

The auxiliary *du?* may also be used as a story-telling technique, where the speaker invites the addressee(s) to become part of the scene by observing events in real time, see (8.55).

- (8.55) ལམས་སང་ རྫོང་ འོང་ལྷེ་གི་ གཤོག་རྩེ་གིས་ ལུ་ལོ་ ཡར་ འབག་ རོང་ འདུག།  
*lamsã: gø? òn-diki éóktei=ki kʰu=lo jà: bak sò:*  
 immediately vulture come-NF wing=AGT 3SGM=DAT up carry go.PFV  
*du?*  
 EX.SEN  
 ‘Immediately a vulture came and carried (or: comes and carries) him up in his wings.’ (RB butcher story)

As suggested by uses in (8.51), (8.52) and (8.55), the construction VERB *du?* is particularly common with (the suppletive) verb *sò:* ‘went’.

### 8.1.7 Resultative secondary verb *zak*

The secondary verb *zak/za?* (often *za:*) ‘set, place, put’ (WD བཞག), which also occurs as a primary verb, may follow a primary verb to emphasize the resulting state and lasting effect caused by an action, as illustrated by the imperative construction in (8.56).<sup>299</sup> Note that *zak* does not have the meaning “improperly” or “to deleterious effect” as its cognate serial verb in Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1991: 9).

- (8.56) ལྷོན་ ལྷོ་ བཞག།  
*gom pʰi za?*  
 door open put  
 ‘Leave/keep the door open.’ (PT e)

<sup>299</sup> This frequent construction resembles the Nepali verbal forms supplemented by *hānu* and *rākhnu* ‘put’, e.g. *bhan-i-rākh-nu* [say-LNK-put-INF] ‘to say’.

In the indicative mood, the secondary verb *zak* can occur both in the resultative construction VERB EX, see (8.57) and (8.58), and the past periphrastic construction VERB-*po* EQU, see (8.59) and (8.60).

- (8.57) ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁ་གསལ་བྲགས་བྱས་ལྟེ་ཨོ་འདི་གསུངས་བཞག་འདུག།  
*lògju? kʰa sé:ʈa? p'ja-ti óde: súŋ za: du?*  
 story mouth clear do-NF like.that say.HON put EX.SEN  
 ‘It has been so said in clear words.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

- (8.58) ང་ཅའི་བྱིམ་ཆེན་གནང་བཞག་ཡོད།  
*ŋàtei kʰim-teʰé: ná: za: jò?*  
 1PL.GEN house-great give.HON put EX.PER  
 ‘(He) has given (us) our Khimchen-building.’ (NAB BLA 7)

- (8.59) བང་ཁ་ལས་གྱིག་རྒྱབས་བཞག་གོ་སྟེ།  
*paŋkʰalɛ k'iɽ<sup>300</sup> kjap zak-o bɛ?*  
 outside=ABL sticking.sap do put-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘From outside (they) left (it) smeared with glue-like sap (from a tree).’ (KT animal story)

- (8.60) གཅིག་འདི་བཏང་བཞག་གོ་ཨོན་བང་ཁ།  
*tei:=di tā: zak-o í:, paŋkʰa.*  
 one=DEMPH send put-2INF EQU.PER outside  
 ‘One (hen) I sent out (free), outside.’ (PL interview)

The construction may be negated by prefixing the negator *ma-* to the secondary verb.

- (8.61) ཁོང་གི་ང་ལོ་ཆ་ཀ་ཨོ་འདི་བཏང་མན་བཞག་གོ་སྟེ།  
*kʰoŋ=gi ŋà=lo teʰa:ka ódi tā: man-zak-o bɛ?*  
 3SG.HON=AGT 1SG=DAT item that send NEG-PUT-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘He did not send (or: has not sent) that item to me.’ (KN e)

The resultativity may be stressed by reduplicating *zak*.

- (8.62) དཔེ་ན་ཚོས་ལོངས་སྤུལ་གསུམ་བཅོ་བཞག་བཞག་ཡོད།  
*pɛ=na teʰo:lò:ty súm zo za:-za: jò?*  
 example=LOC Buddha.body three build put-RDP EX.PER  
 ‘For instance, (he) has built three Buddha-bodies.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Like many other complex verbal expressions, the construction VERB *zak* EX likely derives from converbial construction from which the converb morpheme has been dropped:

- (8.63) ལྷན་བས་གསུང་ཟླི་བཞག་ཡོད།  
*mémpa: súŋ-di za: jò?*  
 doctor.AGT say.HON-NF out EX.PER  
 ‘The doctor has said...’ (lit. ‘The doctor has by saying placed’) (Richhi 167)

<sup>300</sup> This word refers to a sticking glue-like sap from a certain tree.

### 8.1.8 Iterative past

Iterativity and intensity can be marked with two constructions which are both sound symbolic in that iterativity in meaning corresponds to iterativity of form.

#### 8.1.8.1 Iterative with *-kjã*:

The first construction, VERB-*po* VERB-*kjã*: EQU/*p'ja*, is formed with the help of =*kjã*:, which is an alternative form of the more frequent =*jã*:'too, even, again'. The construction may occur in a finite clause (followed by an equative auxiliary), see (8.64-65), or in an adverbial clause followed by the verb/adverbializer *p'ja* 'do', see (8.66). In (8.64), the meaning is clearly iterative. In (8.65) the action is not iterative but extends over a long period. In (8.66), it is not clear whether the action is continuous or consists of intermittent bursts.

- (8.64) ལྷ་མེད་ལགས་གཉིས་པོའི་སྐོར་ལོ་མ་མ་གཤིས་ང་ལོ་ངོ་བོ་གནང་བོ་གནང་གུང་ཞིན།  
*p'usim=la: ní:pø: korlo áma=gi ñà=lo t'iwa*  
 younger.sister=HON two-ORD.GEN about mother=AGT 1SG=DAT question  
*ná:-bo náñ=kjã: í:*  
 give.HON-2INF give.HON-again EQU.PER  
 'The mother has been keeping on asking me about the second sister.' (Richhi 27)

- (8.65) ལྷ་ན་རེག་གོ་ལས་གཉིད་ལྷག་པོ་ལྷག་གུང་ཞིན།  
*mén rek-o=le ní:k'u:-po k'u:-kjã: í:*  
 medicine contact-2INF =ABL sleep-2INF sleep-again EQU.PER  
 'After the medicine took effect, (he) has slept and slept.' (rnam-rtog 32)

- (8.66) འུ་བོ་འུ་གུང་བྱས་ཁའི་ན་རྩ་ཐེ་ཐེག་ཡང་མ་འཐུང་།  
*ñù-bo ñù=kjã:=p'ja k'a=i=na te<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>ik=jã: ma-t<sup>h</sup>uñ.*  
 weep-2INF weep-again=ADVZR mouth=GEN=LOC water.drop=even NEG-drink  
 'Weeping and weeping, she did not drink even a drop of water.' (Richhi 160)

In (8.67), the iterativity concerns several different undergoers, i.e. several different people have died.

- (8.67) མི་ཤི་བོ་ཤི་གུང་སྟེ།  
*mí éi-u éi-kjõ: bε?*  
 human die die-again EQU.NE  
 'People died and died.' (KN e)

#### 8.1.8.2 Iterative with *-teim*

The second construction with which iterativity and intensity may be marked is VERB-*po*(=*le*) VERB-*teim* EQU. The formative *-teim* is of unknown origin and is in (8.68-69) preliminarily glossed simply as a nominalizer.<sup>301</sup> In the emphatic construction (8.68) the same verb root occurs thrice. The iteration refers to different undergoers (i.e. several people died), not to one person undergoing the experience again and again (i.e. one person died many times).

<sup>301</sup> A possible origin is the progressive form *-zen/teen*, which has been nominalized with *-po/bo*, which has reduced to *-m*.

- (8.68) ཁོང་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཤི་སྟེ་གི་ ཤི་བོ་ལས་ ཤི་ཅིང་ སྣང།  
*kʰõ: tʰamtɛɛ? ɛi-tiki ɛi-u=lɛ ɛi-tɛim bɛ?*  
 3PL all die-NF die-2INF=ABL die-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘They all died and died.’ (PB discussion with TB)

Whereas in (8.68) *-tɛim* is followed by an equative copula, (8.69) shows that the nominalized construction ending in *-tɛim* may also be followed by the verbalizer *p’ja*.

- (8.69) ལུ་ ལུ་ཉག་ ལྷུབས་པོ་ ལྷུབས་ཅིང་ ལྷུབ་པོ་ སྣང།  
*mù úŋa? kjap-o kjap-tɛim p’ja-u bɛ?*  
 3SGF force strike-2INF strike-NMLZ.FEM do-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘She kept on forcing (one to do something).’ (KT e)

### 8.1.9 Note on the Sandberg’s (1895) past forms

The old variety of Denjongke recorded in Sandberg (1895) employs forms I have not come across in my data. One of these forms is the “past indefinite” tense formed with the help of the secondary verb *sõ*: ‘went’. One of Sandberg’s (1895: 42) examples of the past indefinite is “He has written a letter: *Kho yige chi p’i song du*”, corresponding to *kʰu jìgi tɛi? p’i<sup>302</sup> sõ: du?* [he letter=INDF write went EX.SEN]. According to Sandberg (1895), the verb *ɛi* ‘die’ “always forms the past tense with *song*”. He gives the examples *shi song* ‘he died’, *shi song zhe* ‘has (quite) died, is dead’ and *shi song du* ‘did die (emphatic)’. In my data, however, these forms are supplanted by the completive *ɛi-tsʰa*: ‘has died’ and periphrastic past *ɛi-u i:/bɛ?*. The form *ɛi sõ:-zɛ* (presumably corresponding to Sandberg’s *shi song zhe*) was reported by consultant KN to have a purposive meaning equivalent to *ɛi-wa só:zɛ* ‘went to die’. The form *ɛi sõ: du?*, on the other hand, was reported by consultant TB to be a curse-like wish, probably something in the effect ‘let him die’. For past tense of *p’ja* ‘do’, Sandberg (1895: 49) lists “*Zhe song*”, a form which seems to combine the Central Tibetan *tɛɛ* ‘do’ with the secondary verb *sõ*: ‘went’. In my data, *p’ja* employs the same past forms as other verbs, e.g. the perfective past *p’ja-zɛ*, periphrastic past form *p’ja-u i:/bɛ?*, and the completive *p’ja-tsʰa*:. It is noteworthy that Sandberg does not record the completive form *-tsʰa*: at all, suggesting that this form may be a later development.

## 8.2 Present habitual and future forms

There are four forms with which to express general facts holding in the present and three forms to express future, see Table 8.2.

<sup>302</sup> The language variety recorded by Sandberg (1895) has /p’i/ ‘write’ for what most speakers nowadays have /t’i/. I have heard that the form /p’i/, which is more faithful than /t’i/ to the general tendency of Denjongke to correspond WT /br/ with /py/, is still used in East Sikkim around Rhenock.

Table 8.2. Present habitual and future constructions

Name	Form	Function
steady-state present	VERB	present habitual
simple present	VERB <i>bɛʔ</i>	
present habitual I	VERB- <i>kʰɛ̃</i> : EQU	
present habitual II	STATIVE.VERB- <i>po</i> EQU	
nonpast	VERB- <i>ɛɛ</i> EQU	future
uncertain future	VERB <i>õː</i>	
imminent future	VERB- <i>rap</i> EQU/EX	be about to

The present and future forms are here discussed in the same order as they occur in Table 8.2. In addition to the productive forms presented in Table 8.2, some infinitival constructions are formed with *-ni/ɲɛ*, which resembles the Dzongkha infinitive *-ni* (van Driem 1998: 338). These infinitival constructions are discussed in §8.2.8. The imperfective *-to/do*, which is introduced in §8.3.1 below, may also express immediate future.

### 8.2.1 Steady state present

In the steady state present tense, a bare verb root expresses an ongoing state.<sup>303</sup> The verb is usually stative, as in (8.70) and (8.71), but can also be a dynamic/eventive one which expresses habituality, as in (8.72) and (8.73).

(8.70) ངས་ ཤེས།  
*ɲá: ɛé:*  
 1SG.AGT know  
 ‘I know (it).’

(8.71) ང་ ཚོད་ལོ་ དགའ།  
*ɲà tɛʰɕ:=lo ga.*  
 1SG 2SG.L=DAT like  
 ‘I like you.’ (KN e)

(8.72) རོ་སྐྱག་, སྐྱག་གོ་ འདི་ལོ་ འདྲུ་ག་ ལབ།  
*nò:-kja?, kjaɕo=di=lo dzuga ləp.*  
 cattle-excrement excrement=DEMPH=DAT cow-dung say  
 ‘Cow-dung, dung is called /dzuga/.’ (PL interview)

(8.73) a) བཟུང་འཛིན་གྱིས་ བག་ག་ ཟ་ག་?  
*tenziŋ=gi pʰak-ɛa sà-ga?*  
 Tenzing=AGT pig-meat eat-PQ  
 ‘Does Tenzing eat pork?’ (PT e)

<sup>303</sup> The name “steady state present” for this category is adopted from Van Driem’s (1998: 195) description of the analogous category in Dzongkha.

- b) ཟ།  
*sà.*  
 eat  
 ‘Yes, he does.’ (lit. ‘eats’) (PT e)

The steady state present is negated by the prefix *mi-*, see (8.74).

- (8.74) འདི་ལོ་ འབལ་གད མི་ལབ་  
*di=lo be:-εε? mi-làp.*  
 this=DAT uproot-INF NEG-say  
 ‘That is not called [bε:εε?].’ (PL interview)

Alternative ways to say approximately the same thing as (8.71) are (8.75) and (8.76).

- (8.75) ང་ ཚོད་ལོ་ དགའ་དོ།  
*ηà tε<sup>h</sup>φ:=lo ga-do.*  
 1SG 2SG.L=DAT like-IPFV  
 ‘I like you.’ (KN e)

- (8.76) ང་ ཚོད་ལོ་ དགའ་བོ་ མིན།  
*ηà tε<sup>h</sup>φ:=lo ga-u í.*  
 1SG 2SG.L=DAT like-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I like you.’ (KN e)

### 8.2.2 Simple present

The verb root may be followed by the evidentially neutral equative *bε?* (or the cliticized variant =*pε?*) to form a construction which is mainly used for present habitual meanings (8.77-79) but which, with an appropriate adverbial, may also express future events (8.80-81).

- (8.77) གངས་ མཚོ་བད།  
*k'ã: t<sup>h</sup>õ:=pε?*  
 snow-mountain see=EQU.NE  
 ‘The mountain is visible.’ (TB e)

- (8.78) a) ལུ་ གཡོག་ ལྷོས་ ལྷད་ཀ?  
*k<sup>h</sup>u jó? p'ja bε-ka?*  
 3SGM work do EQU.NE-PQ  
 ‘Does he work?’ (KN e)

- b) ལུ་ གཡོག་ མིན་ལྷོས་ ལྷད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u jó? mim-bja bε?*  
 3SGM work NEG-do EQU.NE  
 ‘He does not work.’ (KN e)

- (8.79) མོ་འདི་ར་ ཐར་ འབག་ ཡ་ འགྱུ་ ལྷད།  
*ódera t<sup>h</sup>a: ba? ja: gju bε?*  
 like that release carry go go EQU.NE  
 ‘(They) go free just like that.’ (CY interview)



(8.80) གནངས་ཚེ་ ལྷོ་པར་ ཚུ་ཚོང་ བརྩུ་ལོ་ རྫོག་པར་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ལྷ་གེ་ ངའི་ ལེམས་ན་ ད་ དག་ཡར་ འགྱུ་ སྤང།  
*náŋtsʰi tʰo.pa teʰutsʰøʔ teu=lo lóʔpar kjap-ti*  
 the.day.after.tomorrow morning clock.time ten=DAT X-ray do-NF  
*ta-gɛ. jɛː sém=na tʰa tʰak jàː gju bɛʔ.*  
 look-HORT 1SG.GEN mind=LOC now get.well go go EQU.NE  
 ‘Let’s take an X-ray at ten o’clock in the morning of the day after tomorrow and look. In my opinion, he’ll get better now.’ (Richhi 27)

(8.81) ལུ་ རོ་རངས་ བ་ཚར་ (Nep.) འགྱུ་ སྤང།  
*kʰu tʰorãː badzar gju bɛʔ.*  
 3SGM tomorrow market go EQU.NE  
 ‘He will go to the market tomorrow.’

Example (8.82) contrasts simple present and steady state present forms respectively. According to consultant PT, (8.82a) could be said if the speaker has just seen Tenzing eat pork, whereas (8.82b) implies old knowledge about Tenzing’s pork-eating habit.

(8.82) a) བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ སག་ག་ ཟ་ སྤང།  
*tenziŋ=gi pʰak-ɛa sà bɛʔ.*  
 Tenzing=AGT pig-meat eat EQU.NE  
 ‘Tenzing eats pork.’ (PT e)

b) བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ སག་ག་ ཟ།  
*tenziŋ=gi pʰak-ɛa sà.*  
 Tenzing=AGT pig-meat eat  
 ‘Tenzing eats pork.’ (PT e)

The simple present construction is negated by the prefix *mi-*.

(8.83) གན་ལྷོས་སེ་ན་ དུ་ཅིག་ ང་ བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ འོང་ མི་ཐོབ་པ་དང་  
*kʰamjasinɛ tʰuteiʔ ɲà bombai=lo ɔː mi-tʰo(p)=pɛʔ.*  
 because this.year 1SG TPN=DAT come NEG-receive=EQU.NE  
 ‘Because this year I have no chance to come to Bombay.’ (Richhi 147)

(8.84) ད་རིང་གི་ ཐག་གཅད་ འདི་ ད་ལྷ་རེ་ ཐོན་ མི་ཚུགས་ སྤང།  
*tʰariŋ=gi tʰakteɛː=di tʰatara tʰen mi-tʰu bɛʔ.*  
 today=GEN decision=DEMPH now happen NEG-be.able.to EQU.NE  
 ‘Today’s decision cannot be made now.’ (BB BB discussion)

### 8.2.3 Present habitual I

The present habitual construction, similar to steady state present, is used in contexts which are reports of ongoing, stable state-of-affairs, see (8.85)

(8.85) a) མོ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ཉེ་ མོ་འདི་ གན་ལྷོས་ མི་ལབ་མཁན་ སྤང།  
*ódi=lo=di te ódi kʰajem mi-làp-kʰen bɛʔ.*  
 that=DAT=DEMPH so that what.is.it NEG-say-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘It’s not called that, whatever.’ (PL interview)

b) ལྷམ་ ལྷ་བ་ཅེ་ནི་ དགོན་པ་ན་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*lám èù-wateene gjømpa=na zu:-kʰen bɛ?*  
 lama say.HUM-COND monastery=LOC live.HON-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘If (we) talk about lamas, (they) live at monastery.’ (YR interview)

c) གལ་ཆེ་དྲགས་ འདི་ རང་གི་ སྐད་ འདི་ འགོ་ རྫོན་ལས་ ཤེས་ དགོས་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*kʰɛ:teʰiʈa=di raŋ=gi kɛ:=di go nɛnle ɛɛ:*  
 important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know  
***go:-kʰen bɛ?***  
 be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘The important thing is that one has to know one’s own language at first.’ (KL  
 BLA 12)

The habitual present form lends itself to historical present uses, as shown in (8.86).

(8.86) དེ་ཟུང་ ལྷམ་ལུ་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐད་ དབང་ཆ་ ག་ཡང་ མེད་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*tʰizã: gɛ:pu=lo ódi gã: ó:teʰa kʰa:=jã: mɛ:-kʰen bɛ?*  
 but king=DAT that time authority what=even NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘But at that time the king didn’t have any power.’ (CY interview)

The construction *láp-kʰɛ: ɿ:/láp-kʰen bɛ?* can be negated either with the perfective negator *ma-* or the imperfective *mi-*. The instances in my data suggest that *ma-* is used for referring to events which have a natural ending point and which are viewed as a whole, see (8.87). The negator *mi-*, in contrast, is used for events/states which are ongoing or prospective, see (8.88).

(8.87) a) ང་ཅའི་གི་ literature ང་ཅུང་ ང་ཅའི་ university སློབས་ མ་ཚུགས་མཁན་ ཟླད་ ཉ།  
*ŋàtɛi=gi literarigi tʰaruŋ ŋàtɛi junivəsiti*  
 1PL.GEN=GEN literature(Eng.) so.far 1PL.GEN university(Eng.)  
***ʃɛp ma-tsʰu-kʰen bɛ: ɲá.<sup>304</sup>***  
 reach NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE TAG.ASR  
 ‘Our literature hasn’t so far been able to reach university-level, eh.’  
 (DR discussion with KL)

b) ལྷམ་མཁའ་ལས་ བབ་སྟེ་ མ་འོང་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*nàmka:=le pʰap-ti m(a)-òŋ-kʰen bɛ?*  
 sky=ABL descend-NF NEG-come-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘(They) do not come descending from the sky.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(8.88) a) ཁོང་ ལྷན་ལྷམ་ ཨོ་འདི་ མི་ལྟོན་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*kʰõ: ʃɛŋgɛ? ódi mi-kʰɛŋ-kʰen bɛ?*  
 3PL PRN.HON that NEG-know.HON-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘They did not know that.’ (CY interview)

<sup>304</sup> According to consultant YR, the Denjongke words for literature and university are བཞུགས་བཅོས་ *bstan-bcos* and གཞུགས་ལག་ སློབ་ཁང་ *gtsug-lag slob-khang* respectively.

b) ཨོ་འདི་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ གན་སྐྱམ་ མི་ལབ་མཁན་ ཟླད། ཨོ་འདི་ལོ་ འབི་གོ་ ལབ་ཤད་ ཟླད།  
*ódi=lo=di te ódi k'ajem mi-lâp-kʰen bɛ?*  
 that=DAT=DEMPH so that what.is.it NEG-say-NMLZ EQU.NE  
*ódi=lo biko lâp-ɛɛ bɛ?*  
 that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘It’s not called that, whatever. It is called ‘biko’.’ (PL interview)

c) ཨོ་འདི་ ཟླད་ ད་ རྩེ་སྤོང་ གཞུང་ འདི་ ལྷོ་ འཛམ་གྲུ་སྤོང་ རང་ཤ་ རྒྱ་གསལ་ཅན་ ཟླད། འབྲུ་སོང་ཟང་ རྒྱལ་སུ་ལོ་ཡང་ རྒྱལ་སུ་ གསུང་ མི་  
 རྒྱ་གསལ་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*ódi gā: t'a pʰiliŋ zuŋ=di lo dzambuliŋ nàŋɛa*  
 that time now foreign government=DEMPH south continent inside  
*ɛúkɬɛɛ: bɛ? pʰjasonzǎ: gɛ:pu=lo=jǎ: gɛ:pu súŋ*  
 powerful EQU.NE therefore king=DAT=even king say.HON  
*mi-tsʰu-kʰen bɛ?*  
 NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘At that time the foreign (=British) government was strong outside Sikkim.  
 Therefore the king couldn’t even be called a king.’ (CY interview)

A counter example to this basic pattern is (8.89), where the perfective negator *ma-* is used for an action that that generally holds in the present.

(8.89) ད་རིང་ རྩོངས་ལོ་ རོ་རངས་ འདི་ ཉེ་ ང་ཅའི་གི་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐུ་སུར་ ཨོ་འདི་ མ་བཏོན་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*t'ariŋ t'õ:-no tʰorǎ:=di te ŋàɬɛi=gi ódi kupur=di*  
 today die-COND tomorrow=DEMPH so 1PL.GEN=GEN that body=DEMPH  
*ma-təŋ-kʰen bɛ?*  
 NEG-take.out EQU.NE  
 ‘If (someone) dies today, tomorrow that body of ours is not taken out.’ (LA funerals)

Example (8.89), however, was spoken by a lady from Lachung, an area in North Sikkim which is dialectically somewhat different from more southern and western varieties. One consultant commented that the negator *mi-* should be used in the context of (8.89).

### 8.2.4 Present habitual II

As already discussed in §5.1, stative verbs (to which copulas are included), when nominalized by *-po/bo/u* and followed by an equative auxiliary, may refer, depending on the context, to present habitual state (8.90-92) or past state (8.93).

(8.90) ལུ་ ང་ལོ་ དགའ་བོ་ ཨིན།  
*kʰu ŋà=lo ga-u í:*  
 3SGM 1SG=DAT like-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘He likes me.’ (KT e)

(8.91) འདི་ ཐག་གོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙོ་ རིང་བོ་ ཟླད།  
*di tʰako=di átsi rim-bo bɛ?*  
 this rope=DEMPH a.bit be.long-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘This rope is a bit (too) long.’ (KN e)

(8.92) Bill Gates ལོ་དངུལ་གཞི་མོ་མང་པོ་ལྔ་པོ་  
*bil geits=lo ny: ke:p jèb-be?*  
 Bill Gates=DAT money much EX.NE  
 ‘Bill Gates has a lot of money.’ (YR e)

(8.93) a) ད་ཅིང་ཚོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་ལོ་དཔྱད་ཡོད་མཁམ་ཀང་ཀར་འདི་ཀང་ཀར་གེ་བོ་ཙཱ་མིན་བོ་སྐྱད།  
*t'ateĩ: teʰø:=ki na=lo pjø: jø:-kʰẽ: kaŋkara=di kaŋkara=gi*  
 recently 2SG.L=GEN nose=DAT hang EX-NMLZ crab=DEMPH crab=GEN  
*p'otso im-bo be?*  
 child EQU-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘The crab that was recently hanging from your nose is/was a baby crab.’ (rna-  
 gsung 33)

b) ངའི་མ་ལོ་འདི་མཁམ་ཚེ་མིན་བོ་སྐྱད།  
*ne: apo=di amdzi im-bo be?*  
 1SG.GEN father=DEMPH doctor EQU-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘My father is/was a doctor.’ (KN e)

However, consultant KN commented that a clause like (8.93b) would, taken out of any further context, suggest for him that the referent has passed away, thus making the past interpretation the default case.

### 8.2.5 Nonpast

The construction VERB-*εε* EQU can refer both to habitually true present facts and future events, hence the name nonpast (glossed NPST). The personal form -*εε* *ĩ:* is often abbreviated to -*εĩ:/-εiŋ* (see 8.101). Present habitual uses, which resemble in meaning the present habitual form VERB-*kʰẽ:* EQU, are illustrated in (8.94-96).

(8.94) མོ་དེ་ལོ་འབི་ཀོ་ལམ་གད་སྐྱད།  
*odi=lo biko læp-εε be?*  
 that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘It’s called “biko”.’ (PL interview)

(8.95) ང་བཏམ་ཤེས་ལྗོངས་ན་སྐྱོད་གད་མིན།  
*ŋà tæidiŋ=na dø:-εε ĩ:.*<sup>305</sup>  
 1SG TPN=LOC live-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I live in Tashiding.’ (JD life story)

(8.96) བྲེག་གད་མིན་སེ་བྱི་བྱ།  
*sék-εĩ:=s pʰiru?*  
 burn-NPST.PER-QUO at.night  
 ‘(My eyes) have a burning sensation at night.’ (TB discussion)

<sup>305</sup> This clause comes from a consultant from Tashiding, who was at the time fifteen years old. In the same piece of discourse, he also used other nonpast forms to refer to habitual actions. However, two other consultants, who hail from the villages of Lachung and Yangang, claimed that (8.95) is infelicitous as a habitual statement. In their opinion, the nonpast construction in (8.95) could only refer to future intention to stay in some place, whereas habitual residing in a place would be expressed through the imperfective *dø:-to ĩ:* (for the imperfective, see §8.3.1).

The nonpast construction may also function as a type of historical present, as shown by example (8.97) from a folkstory. The final equative is replaced by the reportative =*lo*, which may also replace pure equative copulas (see §7.2.5.2).

- (8.97) དབག་བསམ་ འདི་ རྣམ་ ཤར་ འོང་གམ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ འགྲིམ་ ལྷོད་ཤང་ལོ།  
*tɛ paksam=di nàm éá: òŋ-gam làp-ti gim*  
 so balsam(flower)=DEMPH when blossom come-ATTQ say-NF stare  
***dø:-ɛɛ=lo.***  
 stay-INF=REP  
 ‘Then he sat (lit. sits) observing when the balsam flower would blossom, so the story goes.’ (RS bee story)

The nonpast form can express what the speaker just did or is doing:

- (8.98) ང་ མོ་འདེམ་ ལྷན་པར་ཆེན་ལུ་ འདི་ མེད་ ལུ་ཤང་ ཞིན།  
*ŋà ódem k<sup>h</sup>ɛpartɛ<sup>h</sup>impu=di mɛ? ɛù-ɛɛ í:*  
 1SG such special=DEMPH NEG.EX.PER say.HUM-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I am not that special, I submit.’ (CY interview)

For future uses, consider (8.99-101).

- (8.99) ཞེ་ དེ་ནེ་ མོ་རངས་ ང་ རྩ་ ལྷོད་ཤང་ ཞིན།  
*é: t'ɛnɛ t<sup>h</sup>orǎ: ŋà nà: ba dø:-ɛɛ í:*  
 o then tomorrow 1SG here hide sit-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘O, in that case tomorrow I’ll sit hiding here.’ (KT animal story)
- (8.100) ད་ མོ་རངས་ གནངས་ཚེ་ ཡུརམ་ ལྷེ་བོ་ལས་ འབལ་ དགོས་ཤང་ ལྷན།  
*t'a t<sup>h</sup>orǎ: náŋts<sup>h</sup>i jù:m ki-u=lɛ bɛ:*  
 now tomorrow day.after.tomorrow weed grow-2INF=ABL uproot  
***go:-ɛɛ bɛ?***  
 be.needed-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Some time later when weed has grown, (it) will need to be weeded out.’ (PL interview)
- (8.101) མོ་ན་ ལྷབས་ཤང་ ཞིན་ ལོ།  
*óna kjap-ɛiŋ lá<sup>306</sup>.*  
 there strike-NPST.PER okay  
 ‘I’ll throw (the ball) there, okay?’ (oh, Tashiding)

Similar to the present habitual construction VERB-*k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃*: EQU, the nonpast construction may be used for historical present, see (8.102), where the speaker tells about his childhood.

<sup>306</sup> The typical Denjongke pronunciation is *lo* (the pronunciation here follows Nepali from which the morpheme is borrowed).

- (8.102) ཉེ་དང་སྤྱི་གི་<sup>307</sup> འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ སྐོར་དང་གྲུ་བུ་ཕྱས་གནས་འདི་གི་ སྐོར་གཞི་ནང་གཤམ་ཨོ་འདེབ་སྟེ་བཀའ་མོལ་ཨ་ཏང་ར་གནང་གད་ཨིན།  
*tɛ t'anpy:=gi dɛndzɔŋ=gi kor dā: guru benɛ=di=gi korzi*  
 then long.ago=GEN Sikkim=GEN about and guru hidden.land=DEMPH=GEN about  
*nàŋɛa=lo ódɛpti kamø átā:-ra nā:=ɛɛ í:.*  
 inside=DAT like.that discussion always-DEMPH do.HON=INF EQU.PER  
 'Then (we) would like that always hold discussions about ancient Sikkim and about the Guru's hidden land.' (CY interview)

The nonpast construction can be negated in three ways. In the first, the negator prefix *mi-* attaches to the verb root and no TAME-markers follow (8.103). In the second construction, the same prefix is used but is supplemented with infinitive and equative morphemes (8.104). The third construction negates the final auxiliary (8.105). Analogously with negation in periphrastic past constructions, the last construction (with negated auxiliary) is less frequent and here preliminarily considered an emphatic negating construction.

- (8.103) ཉེ་ཅམ་ཁ་གེས་ལབ་སྟེ་ཅེག་ཀྱང་འདི་མིན་སྟོགས་ལགས།  
*tɛ team kʰa=gi ləp-ti teiku=di min-dik=la.*  
 then haphazardly mouth=AGT say-NF only=DEMPH NEG-be.alright=HON  
 'It will be not (or: it is not) alright to just do it haphazardly orally.' (CY interview)

- (8.104) སེམས་ནད་མ་གནང་ཚར་ནོ་ང་ཅའི་སྐད་འདི་ཡར་རྒྱས་མི་ཐོན་གད་སྟངས།  
*sémne? ma-nā:-tsʰa-no ŋətɛi kɛ:=di jàrgɛ?*  
 mind.pain NEG-do.HON-CMPL-COND 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH development  
*mi-tʰon-ɛɛ bɛ?*  
 NEG-happen-INF EQU.NE  
 'If we do not have pangs of conscience, our language will not develop.' (KL BLA 12)

- (8.105) a) འདེ་རང་ཨིན་ན་ཉོ་ང་ཅག་ཚུ་རང་གི་བར་ན་གཅིག་གིས་གཞན་ལོ་སློ་རང་གཏང་གད་མན་སྟངས་ཨིན་ནམ་གྲོགས་ཀྱང་ཚུ།  
*dɛ:=rā: in-(n)ɛ=to ŋətɛa=tsu raŋ=gi p'a:na*  
 like.that=AEMPH EQU-COND=CEMPH 1PL=PL self=GEN in.between  
*tɛi:=ki zɛn=lo ló=rā: tɛ:-ɛɛ mɛmbe? in-(n)am*  
 one=AG other=DAT mind=AEMPH entrust-INF NEG.EQU.NE EQU.PER-ATTQ  
*t'oku=tsu.*  
 friend=PL  
 'In that case, there is no trust among us between each other, is there, friends.'  
 (mthun-sgril 4)

- b) ད་འདི་ང་ལོ་འདི་...གར་ས་...ཉི་ཅུག་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་བ་འདི་བྱིན་གད་མན་སྟངས།  
*t'a=di ŋà=lo=di... k'arsa... tiru? gja-tʰamba=di*  
 now=DEMPH 1SG=DAT=DEMPH what.to.say rupee hundred-NUM=DEMPH  
*p'in-ɛɛ mɛmbe?*  
 give-INF NEG.EQU.NE  
 'Now he won't give me...what to say...a hundred rupees.' (PD bet story)

<sup>307</sup> These type of double genitives, which are frequent in spoken language, do not occur in written Denjongke, where mere དང་སྤྱི་གི་ *t'ā.py:* is used instead.

The three three negating constructions are summarized in (8.106).

- (8.106) a) ལུ་ རྩོ་རངས་ བ་ཇོར་ (Nep.) མེན་འགྱུ་།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> t<sup>h</sup>orã: badzar miŋ-gju.*  
 3SGM tomorrow market NEG-go  
 ‘He will not go to the market tomorrow.’ (KN e)
- b) ལུ་ རྩོ་རངས་ བ་ཇོར་ (Nep.) མེན་འགྱུ་ཤད་ རྩད།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> t<sup>h</sup>orã: badzar miŋ-gju-εε bε?*  
 3SGM tomorrow market NEG-GO-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘He will not go to the market tomorrow.’ (KN e)
- c) ལུ་ རྩོ་རངས་ བ་ཇོར་ (Nep.) འགྱུ་ཤད་ མན་རྩད།  
*k<sup>hu</sup> t<sup>h</sup>orã: badzar gju-εε mèmebε?*  
 3SGM tomorrow market go-INF NEG.EQU.NE  
 ‘He will not go to the market tomorrow.’ (KN)

Consultant KN commented that the forms *gjuεε mèmebε?* (negating the final copula) and *miŋ-gjuεε i/be?* in (8.106) (using negator *mi-* but adding the infinitive followed by positive copula) implied less certainty than the mere *miŋ-gju*. Future research is needed to fully understand the semantic differences between the different negated future forms.

### 8.2.6 Uncertain future VERB འོ:

In the uncertain future construction, the main verb is followed by the secondary verb འོ: ‘come’, which functions as an auxiliary. It can refer to quite unlikely events, such as (8.107), or to very probable events, such as (8.108). When invited to comment on the difference between the nonpast construction (see §8.2.4) and the uncertain future construction, the consultants said that the event referred to by the nonpast form is more fixed, whereas the uncertain future form leaves more room for contingencies.

- (8.107) མན་རྩུག། རྩིས་ འོང།  
*maŋ-gju? dʒi: ɔ̃:*  
 NEG-run fall FUT.UNC  
 ‘Don’t run. (You)’ll fall.’ (NB e)
- (8.108) ལྷན་ གན་ གན་ ཉོ་ དགོས་པོ་ རྩོ་རངས་ ཟྱོན་ འོང།  
*mén k’an k’an nò: go:-po t<sup>h</sup>orã: tʃi p’in ɔ̃:*  
 medicine what what buy be.needed-2INF tomorrow write give FUT.UNC  
 ‘Tomorrow I’ll write for you what medicines you have to buy.’ (Richhi 29)
- (8.109) ལྷ་མཚོའི་ ལྷ་ ལོམ་ རྩད་ འོང།  
*gjamts<sup>h</sup>ø: tɛ<sup>hu</sup> k<sup>h</sup>om sí? ɔ̃:*  
 ocean.GEN water dry(intr.) be.possible FUT.UNC  
 ‘It will be possible for the water of the oceans to dry up.’ (song lyrics)

- (8.110) ལྗོང་མག་ལྔ་དུག་གཅིག་འགྲུ་འོང།  
*tø.tʰaʔ      ŋá      t'u:=tɛiʔ      gju      øː.*  
 thousand    five    six=INDF    go    FUT.UNC  
 ‘(Perhaps) some five to six thousand will go (to buy it).’ (PD altar room video)

The expression of uncertainty in this construction may be made more explicit by adding the probabilitative *-to* to form the construction VERB *øː-to*, see §8.5.1.

### 8.2.7 Imminent future

The imminent future suffix *-rap* is appended to the verb root. It codes something that, in the speaker’s opinion, is going to happen in the imminent future (glossed IMF). This form may be followed by either an equative or an existential copula, as shown in (8.111-113), or even by the verb *tʰon* ཐོན་ ‘come/go out, happen, become’, see (8.114).

- (8.111) ལུ་འགྲུ་རབ་ཨིན་མཐད་ཡོད་འདུག།  
*kʰu      gju-rap      t̃:/bɛʔ/jøʔ/duʔ.*  
 3SGM    go-IMF    EQU.PER/EQU.NE/EX.PER/EX.SEN  
 ‘He’s about to go.’ (KN e)
- (8.112) ཕྱི་ཚུ་གི་མུ་ཚོད་བརྒྱད་བརྟུང་རབ་མཐད།  
*pʰiru=ki      tɛʰutsʰøʔ      gɛʔ      duŋ-rap      bɛʔ.*  
 night=GEN    clock.time    eight hit-IMF      EQU.NE  
 ‘It’s about to strike eight o’clock at night.’ (Richhi 108)
- (8.113) འཕལ་ལན་དང་དར་བཏགས་ཀྱི་དུས་ཚོད་སླེབས་རབ་ཡོད།  
*ɛ̀ɛːlɛː      t̃.ãː      t̃.aː      ta:=ki      t̃ytsʰøʔ      l̥ɛp-rap      jøʔ.*  
 incantation.HON    and    ceremonial.scarf    append=GEN    time    arrive-IMF    EX.PER  
 ‘It’s almost time for the incantation and the offering of scarves.’ (Richhi 158)
- (8.114) ང་ཉོ་ལེབ་སྟེ་འཚོལ་རབ་འཛོན་པོ་མཐད།  
*ŋà=to      l̥ɛpti      tɛʰøː-rap      tʰom-bo      bɛʔ.*  
 1SG=CEMPH    very.much    become.mad-IMF    become-2INF    EQU.NE  
 ‘I was (lit. became) about to go very crazy.’ (nga’i ’gan 22)

The imminent future marker may also be followed by other elements than a copula, for instance a case marker, as in (8.115a), or the secondary verb *døʔ* ‘sit, live’, as in (8.115b).

- (8.115) a) མུ་ཚོད་བཞི་བརྟུང་ས་རབ་ལོ་གཉིད་བསད་སྟེ།  
*tɛʰutsʰøʔ      zi      duŋ-rap=lo      niʔ      sɛː-ti*  
 clock.time    four    hit-IMF=DAT    sleep kill-NF  
 ‘(He) wakes up when it’s about to strike four (and)...’ (Richhi 124)
- b) ཤི་རབ་ཚོད་བའི་སྐབས་ནང་ག་ལོ་...  
*ɛ́-rap      døː-pøː      kap      nàŋɛa=lo...*  
 die-IMF    stay-2INF.GEN    time    inside=DAT  
 ‘At the moment when he was about to die...’ (KT animal story)

The imminence of the action may be stressed by reduplication:



- (8.116) ང་ འཇུན་རབ་ འཇུང་རབ་ ཡོད།  
*ŋà tʰuŋ-rap tʰuŋ-rap jòʔ.*  
 1SG drink-IMF drink-IMF EX.PER  
 ‘I’m just about to drink.’ (DB e)

Imminent future construction does not occur negated in my natural data. When asking about the possibility of negation, consultant KN was at first reluctant to provide a negated example but then volunteered the following example (the translation is preliminary):

- (8.117) མུ་ཚོད་ བརྒྱད་ བརྒྱད་རབ་ མིན་འདུག།  
*teʰutsʰøʔ gɛʔ duŋ-rap mĩnduʔ.*  
 clock.time eight hit-IMF NEG.EX.SEN  
 ‘It is not (even) close to eight o’clock.’ (KN e)

### 8.2.8 Tense, aspect and modality with the infinitive *-ji*

Sandberg (1895: 40) reports two infinitive forms *-she* (*-ɛɛʔ*) and *-nyi* (*-ji*) for Denjongke and comments that the former is used in Denjongke spoken in Sikkim and the Tibetan variety spoken in the Tsang region of Tibet<sup>308</sup>, whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. In my data, the infinitive *-ji* is used in a variety of idiomatic constructions some of which also occur with the infinitive *-ɛɛʔ*. Because the uses of *-ji* seem more idiomatic than constructions with the more productive infinitive *-ɛɛʔ*, all the uses are described here under separate headings.

The uses of *-ji* in my data are associated with such concepts as future, irrealis mood and uncertainty and are divided into following categories: uncertain future, inability, unrealized planned activity, future-oriented question, request/suggestion and future conditional. Common to all these categories is that the actions denoted by the verbs are not known to have happened as the speaker is talking (hence the description “irrealis”).

#### 8.2.8.1 Uncertain future

Using *-ji* in future constructions such as (8.118) implies more uncertainty than the use of the regular nonpast construction VERB-*ɛɛ* EQU.

- (8.118) ང་ ཨོན་ རོ་རངས་ འགྱུ་ཉེ།  
*ŋà óna tʰorã: gju-ji.*  
 1SG there tomorrow go-3INF  
 ‘I may go there tomorrow.’ (UTR e)

Consultant UTR commented that the construction in (8.118) is not much used in Tashiding and involves uncertainty (hence ‘may’ in gloss).

Example (8.119) shows that *-ji* cannot function as a replacement of the infinitive *-ɛɛʔ* in the nonpast construction *gju-ɛɛ í:* ‘will go’ (b).

- (8.119) \*ང་ ང་ འགྱུ་ཉེ་ ཨོན།  
*\*tʰa ŋà gju-ji í:*  
 now 1SG go-3INF EQU.PER

<sup>308</sup> Sandberg (1895: 12) reports Sikkimese Bhutias (=Denjongpos/Lhopos) to have originally come from the Tsang region in Tibet.

The infinitive *-ni* may also express uncertain future, or resemblance, in conjunction with the demonstrative proadverb *dɛm* ‘like (it)’ (the infinitive *-ɛɛʔ* also occurs in this construction).

- (8.120) ཕྱིན་ཉེ་ འདེམ་ འདུག་གོ།  
*p'in-ni dɛm du-kɛ.*  
 give-3INF like.that EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘It looks like (we) are to give (our daughter in marriage).’ (SGD wedding customs)

### 8.2.8.2 Inability

Another irrealis use of *-ni* is the possessive-type-of construction which expresses inability. The infinitive *-ɛɛʔ* also occurs in this construction (§8.4).

- (8.121) ཉེ་ འདི་ བདེན་གམ་ མེན་བདེན་གམ་ འདི་ ང་ ང་ ལུ་ཉེ་ མེད།  
*tɛ di dɛŋ-gam min-dɛŋ-gam di t'a ŋà ɛù-ni*  
 then this be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ this now 1SG say.HUM-3INF  
*mɛʔ.*  
 NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘Now whether this story is true or not, I cannot tell.’ (RS bee story)

- (8.122) ང་ལོ་ འདི་ ལྷི་ཉེ་ མེད།  
*ŋà=lo di ɛù-ni mɛʔ.*  
 1SG=DAT this say.HUM-3INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘It’s not mine to tell (=I do not know).’ (PD interview)

### 8.2.8.3 Unrealized planned activity

Followed by the verb *p'ja* ‘do’, the infinitive *-ni* forms a construction which expresses what the speaker attempts/attempted to do or is/was hoping to do but has not been able to realize thus far.

- (8.123) ཇེ་ འཇུང་ཉེ་ ལུས་ལོ་ མིན།  
*tɛ'a tʰuŋ-ni p'ja-u ɿ̃.*  
 tea drink-3INF do-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I was about to drink tea./I attempted to drink tea/I would like to drink tea.’ (TB e)

- (8.124) ང་ གཡོག་ ལུས་ཉེ་ ལུས་ལོ་ མིན།  
*ŋà jɔʔ p'ja-ni p'ja-u ɿ̃.*  
 1SG work do-3INF do-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I was going to work (but...).’ (KN e)

Unrealized planned activity may also be expressed with the verb *nó*: ‘think’:

- (8.125) ང་ རྗེ་ སིམ་ཁར་ག་ བཅར་ཉེ་ མཚོ་བ་ ཉེ་ ཁོདི་ (Nep.) རྗེ་ མིན་དལ་ རྗེ།  
*ŋà pʰou simkʰarka tea:-ni nó:-wa tɛ kʰoi dʒɛ:*  
 1SG over.there TPN come.HUM-3INF think-CIRC so where(Nep.) at.all  
*min-dɛ: hou.*  
 NEG-have.time EXCLAM  
 ‘When I’ve been thinking to come to Simkharka, but how, I do not have time at all, eh.’ (KT discussion)

### 8.2.8.4 Future-oriented questions

Another mode of presentation where the verbal action has not taken place are future-oriented questions.

(8.126) ད་ འདེ་རང་ རྒྱུ་མ་ན་ བཞག་སྟེ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ གན་ སློག་ཉེ་ ཡོད་པོ་?  
*t'a de:=rã: k<sup>hi</sup>m=na zak-ti tɛiku k'an **dik-ni** jò-po?*  
 now like.that=AEMPH house=LOC set-NF only what be.alright-3INF EX-2INF  
 'How could it be alright to leave (the patient) at home like that?' (rnam-rtog 18)

(8.127) ད་ ཚོ་བོ་ རྩོན་ དགོས་ཤད་ མན་ནམ། གཞན་ ཀ་ འགྱུ་ཉེ་སེ།  
*t'a ts<sup>ho</sup>: tɛ'øŋ go:-ɛɛ mèn-nam?*  
 now elder.sister's.husband<sup>309</sup> go.HON be.needed-3INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ  
*zen ka **gju-ni**=sɛ.*  
 other who go-3INF=QUO  
 'Now, doesn't the brother-in-law need to go? Who else (but him) is to go, I ask?'  
 (rnam-rtog 30)

In example (8.128), the question functions as complement of *dau* 'like' and is therefore not a true question. The syntagm given in bold is an idiom used three times in the novel Richhi.

(8.128) ཀམ་ ད་རིང་ གན་ རྩམ་ ཉེ་ གན་ མ་བྱས་ཉེ་ འདྲ་བོ་ འཚོན་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*karma t'ariŋ **k'an p'ja-ni k'an mam-bja-ni** dau t<sup>h</sup>øŋ-zɛ:*  
 PN today what do-3INF what NEG-do-3INF like become-PROG  
*jò?*  
 EX.PER  
 'Karma is becoming today as someone who does not know what to do and what not to do.' (Richhi 93)

In the interrogative construction in (8.129), the uses of *-ni* (a) and *-ɛɛ?* (b) overlap syntactically.

(8.129) a) འགྱུ་ཉེ་ག་?  
*gju-ni-ga?*  
 go-3INF-PQ  
 'Are you going?' (UTR e)

b) འགྱུ་ཤ་? (from: འགྱུ་ཤད་ཀ་?)  
*gju-ɛa?* (from: *gju-ɛɛ-ga?*)  
 go-INF.PQ go-INF-PQ  
 'Are you going?' (UTR e)

### 8.2.8.5 Request and suggestion

Another context for *-ni* are urgent requests (8.130) and suggestions (8.131). The request construction with the urgentive *-mø?*, according to consultant KN, is used in Tashiding (West Sikkim) but not, for instance, in Martam (East Sikkim).

<sup>309</sup> This kinship term also has other meanings, see §17.2.1.

- (8.130) འཇུང་ཉེ་མོད།  
*tʰuŋ-ni=møʔ.*  
 drink-3INF=URG  
 ‘Drink, by all means!’ (KN e)

In (8.131), the construction VERB-*ni* EQU functions as a suggestion rather than a statement about future. The speaker has first inquired whether the addressee has any plans for the coming holiday, and upon hearing that there are no definite plans, he continues with:

- (8.131) བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ ཕྱོན་ཉེ་ ཟླ་ལྷན་ ལེ་བུ་ལྷོ་ ལེ་མ་ ཡོད།  
*bombai=lo teʰon-ni beʔ. pʰa: tsʰu: ta-εε lèpti lè̃m*  
 Bombay=DAT come.HON-3INF EQU.NE thither hither watch-INF very good  
*jòʔ.*  
 EX.PER  
 ‘There is (this option of) coming to Bombay. Doing sightseeing here and there is very good.’ (Richhi 101)

Example (8.131) presents a clear point of difference with infinitive -*εεʔ*. Using -*εεʔ* instead of -*ni* in (8.131) would result in a typical and frequent future construction meaning ‘(s)he will go to Bombay’.

### 8.2.8.6 Future conditional

The infinitive -*ni* also occurs in the future conditional construction VERB-*ni* EX-COND.

- (8.132) རྒྱ་ལགས་, རན་པོ་ གྲག་ཉེ་ ཡོད་ན་ ཟུན་པས་ ག་ན་ འབྱེགས་ལྷོ་ མོང་ གཞུང་ ཅུང་ འབྱེགས་ལྷོ་ འབྱུ་ཤང་ ཨིན།  
*ɖa:=la: nè:po tʰa:-ni jò:-nε mémpa: kʰana kʰik-ti*  
 doctor=HON patient get.well-3INF EX-COND physician.AGT where lead-NF  
*só: súŋ-run kʰik-ti gju-εε í:.*  
 go.IMP say.HON-CONC lead-NF go-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Doctor, if the patient is to get well, (I) will take (him) wherever the doctor tells (me) to.’ (Richhi 169)
- (8.133) ལྷོ་ འཇོམ་བྱ་སྤོང་ འདི་ བདེ་སྤྱིད་ ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་ལེ་ ཡོད་པའི་ཀེ་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ལྷོགས་ཉེ་ ཡོད་ནེ་  
*ʃo dzambulij=di di-ki pʰynsumtsʰo:=ni jò:-pø:-gi*  
 south world=DEMPH bliss-enjoyment perfection=TOP EX-2INF.GEN=GEN  
*ódem tsʰu:-ni jò:-nε...*  
 like.that be.able.to-3INF EX-COND  
 ‘If it can bring bliss and perfection to the world...’ (CY interview)

Conditionality can be combined with the use of *tem/dem* ‘like (it)’ to form a construction which is, in the realis-irrealis continuum, even further away from a realis assertion of a happened fact than a bare conditional.

- (8.134) ལྷོགས་ འདི་ཚུས་ བན་ཉེ་ ལྷོམ་ ཐོན་ན་ གཉེད་ ལེ་བུ་ལྷོ་ ལྷོགས་ཤང་ ཨིན།  
*mén di=tsu: pʰen-ni tem tʰon-nε niʔ lèpti kʰuk-εε*  
 medicine this=PL.AGT help-3INF like become-COND sleep a.lot sleep-INF  
*í:.*  
 EQU.PER  
 ‘If these medicines turn out like helping (him), (he) will sleep a lot.’ (rnam-rtog 32)

### 8.2.8.7 Other uses of *-ji*

Iterativity and excessiveness can be expressed by postposing to VERB-*ji* the same verb again as a type of reduplication:

- (8.135) ཏེ་ ལུ་ལོ་ ཉིམ་ ཚ་མེད་ མོ་འདེ་ར་ ཀ་ འོང་བོ་ ཁོང་ འབོ་སྟོ་ རེག་སྟེ་ ཉིམ་ ཚ་མེད་ལོ་ གཅིག་གིས་ འོང་ བརྟུང་ཉེ་ བརྟུང་ ལྗོང་པའི་  
 ལྷབས་ ཅང་ག་ལོ་...  
*tɛ kʰu=lo          jɪm tɛʰameʔ óde=ra          ka    òm-bo          kʰõ: boto*  
 so 3SGM=DAT    day every like.that=AEMPH who come-2INF    3PL beating  
*rek-ti    jɪm    tɛʰame:=lo    tɛi:=ki    ò:    duŋ-ji    duŋ    dø:-pø:          kap*  
 feel-NF day every=DAT one=AGT come hit-3INF hit stay-2INF.GEN time  
*nàŋɕa=lo...*  
 inside=DAT  
 ‘So when daily like that anyone who came beat him up, and as he received beating  
 after beating from anyone who came...’ (KT animal story)

The infinitive *-ji* also occurred in the following construction, where *-ji* appears to refer to a presently holding fact. Together with the discourse particle *tɛ* ‘so’, the reading is causal.

- (8.136) ལག་ཁྱེར་ ལེགས་ ཡོད་ཉེ་ ཏེ་ འོག་སྟེ་ ལྷིག་ འགྱུ་དོ་ སྤང་ ལྷི་རྒྱུལ་ལོ།  
*lakkʰel    lɛm    jø:-ji    tɛ    òtɛ    kʰik    gju-do    bɛʔ,    tɛʰige:=lo.*  
 handicraft good EX-3INF so down lead go-IPFV EQU.NE foreign=DAT  
 ‘Because (their) handicrafts are good, (they) are taken down abroad.’ (KN kitchen  
 discussion)

## 8.3 Imperfective, progressive and continuous forms

Denjongke has several partly overlapping ways of expressing the idea that action denoted by the verb is ongoing at the time of speech or, in the case of the imperfective, was ongoing at a past time, see Table 8.3. The terms progressive and continuous are very similar in meaning. The difference of progressive and continuous categories here, however, is based on the properties described for these categories in Denjongke, not on the semantics of the English terms. Different names for similar semantically similar construction are needed in order to refer to the constructions unambiguously.

Table 8.3. Imperfective, progressive and continuous constructions

Name	Form	Function
imperfective	VERB- <i>to/do</i> (EQU)	past habitual or ongoing action/state present habitual or ongoing action/state immediate future
continuous	VERB <i>dø:</i> EX VERB <i>dø:</i> (+normal inflection)	past, present, or future ongoing action/state (with atelic verbs, e.g. ‘stand’) past, present or future resultative (with telic verbs, e.g. ‘arrive’)
progressive	VERB- <i>tɛɛ:/zɛ:</i> EX	past or present ongoing action
alterphoric progressive	VERB- <i>tɛuŋgɛ/zuŋgɛ</i> (Tashiding) VERB- <i>tɛouge/zuŋgɛ</i> (Martam)	perceived ongoing action
durative	VERB <i>bak(-ti)</i>	emphasizes durativity of the action

### 8.3.1 Imperfective

The imperfective *-to/do* may refer to past habitual, past ongoing, present habitual, present ongoing or immediate future actions/states. Habitual uses, which seem more frequent than others in my data, are illustrated by examples (8.137) and (8.138).<sup>310</sup>

- (8.137) ཐམས་ཅད་ག་རི་མེད་མཁམ། ཐམས་ཅད་རྐང་མ་བཟུགས་ལྷི་འགྱུ་དོ་སྤང།  
*tʰamtɛɛ? gari mɛː-kʰɛː, tʰamtɛɛ? ka:m tsuk-ti gju-do bɛ?*  
 all car(Nep.) NEG.EX-NMLZ all foot plant-NF go-IPFV EQU.NE  
 ‘All were without car, everybody used to go by foot.’ (RBM discussion on roof)

- (8.138) རོ་མ་ landlord གི་ ཏུས་ཚོད་ སྐར་ལོ་... འདི་ཚུ་གི་ ལྷལ་ མང་ཚོད་ བཏབ་ཏོ་ སྤང་ལགས།  
*jóma landlo:d-gi t'ytshø? gãː=lo... di=tsu=gi kʰɛː mántsʰø?*  
 before landlord(Eng.) era time=DAT this=PL=AGT tax a.lot  
*tap-to bɛ=la.*  
 sow-IPFV EQU.NE=HON  
 ‘Before in the time of the landlords... they used to pay a lot of taxes.’ (CY interview)

In (8.139), the imperfective is used, perhaps surprisingly, for a past telic action (telling a lie). With this strategy of vivid storytelling, the speaker tells the story as if it were happening at the moment of speaking.

- (8.139) རྫོམ་གཏང་ རྫོན་ མ་བཟུགས་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དོན་དག་ལས་ འདི་ བྱས་ལྷི་གི་ འང་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ མིན་མཁམ་ སྤང།  
*ló-mi-tɛ tøn ma-tɛuk-ɛɛ=ki t'ønda=lɛ dɛː*  
 mind-NEG-entrust show NEG-CAUS-INF=GEN purpose=ABL like.this  
*p'ja-tiki ǎː dɛm=teɪ? kjap-to iŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 do-NF lie like=INDF strike-IPFV EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘In order that it wouldn’t be shown that he didn’t believe (the story), he tells as a lie (like this:)’ (PD story)

The rare nominalized copula construction *iŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?* in (8.139) appears to underline the nonhabitual (hence the identifying *iŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?* instead of the spatiotemporally backgrounding *bɛ?*) and past meaning (hence spatiotemporally backgrounding nominalized *iŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?* rather than mere personal *tʰi*).<sup>311</sup>

The following two clauses exemplify present habitual uses of the imperfective. Example (8.140) occurred in the same piece of discourse as (8.137) above. In the context, an elderly speaker compares the old style of living in her village to the present one.

- (8.140) དོས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ག་རི་ འབག་ འོང་དོ་ སྤང། མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རྐང་མ་ བཟུགས་ལྷི་ འགྱུ་ མན་དགོས་ཏོ་ སྤང།  
*t'o? tʰamtɛɛ? gari bak òn-do bɛ? mí tʰamtɛɛ? ka:m*  
 load all car carry come-IPFV EQU.NE people all foot  
*tsuk-ti gju maŋ-goː-to bɛ?*  
 plant-NF go NEG-be.needed-IPFV EQU.NE  
 ‘All loads are carried by cars. People don’t have to go by foot.’ (RBM discussion on the roof)

<sup>310</sup> The use of *-to/do* differs from the related language Dzongkha in that the homophonous morpheme in Dzongkha cannot refer to past time and cannot be used with past adverbials, such as ‘yesterday’ (van Driem 1998: 202). For past uses, the related form *dowä/deä* is used in Dzongkha.

<sup>311</sup> For identification and spatiotemporal backgrounding, see §7 on copulas and evidentiality.

- (8.141) ལུམ་ རྒྱུ་ལོ་ རྩོམ་གྱི་ ལའ་ཉོ་ སྤང།  
*p'um tɛ<sup>h</sup>umbo tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɔki? l̥ap-to bɛ?*  
 girl small.one PN say-IPFV EQU.NE  
 '(My) youngest daughter is called Choki.' (DB life story)

Examples (8.142) and (8.143) illustrate a context where the imperfective marks a present ongoing action/state. The equative copula may be dropped when presenting present ongoing and immediate future events.

- (8.142) ཚོད་ ག་འགྲུ་དོ་ མེ?  
*tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɔ? k'a: gju-do=s?*  
 2SG.L where go-IPFV=QUO  
 'Where are you going (he said)?' (KT animal story)

- (8.143) ད་ལྟ་ རྒྱུ་ཚོད་ གཅིག་ཉོ་ བརྒྱུ་དོ།  
*t'ato tɛ<sup>h</sup>uts<sup>h</sup>ɔ? tɛi:=to duŋ-do.*  
 now clock-time one=CEMPH hit-IPFV  
 'It's one o'clock now (lit. it's striking one o'clock now).' (Richhi 124)

For an immediate future use of *-to/do*, consider (8.144).

- (8.144) ལྐན་ཚེ་ ཚོད་ འགྲུ་བཞིན་ འུམ་ ང་ འོང་དོ།  
*kantɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>312</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɔ? gju-zɛ: p'ja, ŋà ɔn-do.*  
 younger.sister 2SG.L go-PROG do 1SG come-IPFV  
 'You go on, sister, I'm coming.' (Richhi 53)

The affirmative imperfective form has two corresponding negated forms. In past habitual use the construction is negated by prefixing the negator prefix *ma-* to the verb, see (8.140) above. In the present ongoing use, the negation strategy is borrowed from the non-reduplicated perfect construction (8.145b). In Tashiding (West Sikkim), it is also possible to use a third negated form, the imperfective followed by a negated existential (8.145c).

- (8.145) a) ལུ་ གཞོལ་ འུམ་དོ་ སྤང།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u jó? p'ja-do bɛ?*  
 3SGM work do-IPFV EQU.NE  
 'He is working.' (KN e)
- b) ལུ་ གཞོལ་ འུམ་ལོ་ མེད་པ་སྤང།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u jó? p'ja-u mɛbbɛ?*  
 3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.NE  
 'He is not working.' (KN e)
- c) Tashiding, West Sikkim  
 ལུ་ གཞོལ་ འུམ་དོ་ མེད་པ་སྤང།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u jó? p'ja-do mɛbbɛ?*  
 3SGM work do-IPFV NEG.EX.NE  
 'He is not working.' (KN e)

<sup>312</sup> A loan word from Nepali.

For negating the affirmative question in (8.146), several functionally roughly equivalent options are possible, see (8.147). In (147a), the negated form derives formally from the affirmed imperfective form. The negated forms (147b) and (147c) build on the non-reduplicated perfect form. Construction (147d) uses the typical past periphrastic question construction VERB-*po ná* put replaces the perfective negator *ma-*, which would occur in a past construction, with the imperfective negator *mi-*.

- (8.146) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ རྒྱ་བས་ཏོ་ ཉ་?  
*tɕʰøʔ indzi kɛʔ kjap-to ná?*  
 2SG.L English language strike-IPFV EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Do you speak English?’ (NAB e)
- (8.147) a) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ མི་རྒྱ་བས་ཏོ་ ཉ་?  
*tɕʰøʔ indzi kɛʔ mi-kjap-to ná?*  
 2SG.L English language NEG-strike-IPFV EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Don’t you speak English?.’ (NAB e)
- b) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ རྒྱ་བས་པོ་ མེད་ཀྱི་?  
*tɕʰøʔ indzi kɛʔ kjap-o mɛː-ka?*  
 2SG.L English language strike-2INF NEG.EX.PER-PQ  
 ‘Don’t you speak English?.’ (NAB e)
- c) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ རྒྱ་བས་པོ་ མེད་པོ་?  
*tɕʰøʔ indzi kɛʔ kjap-o mɛː-po?*  
 2SG.L English language strike-2INF NEG.EX.PER-2INF  
 ‘Don’t you speak English?.’ (NAB e)
- d) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ མི་རྒྱ་བས་པོ་ ཉ་?  
*tɕʰøʔ indzi kɛʔ mi-kjap-o ná?*  
 2SG.L English language NEG-strike-2INF EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Don’t you speak English?/Did you not speak English?’ (NAB e)

### 8.3.2 Continuous

The continuity of an action or its results can be expressed by the verb *døʔ* ‘sit, stay’ in two type of constructions. In the first, the secondary verb *døʔ* is followed by an existential auxiliary (personal *jøʔ*, sensorial *duʔ* or neutral *jøpo beʔ*). In the second, less grammaticalized use, *døʔ* ‘sit, stay’ postposed to a verb inflects like an ordinary verb, allowing nominalized/infinitivized forms. The more grammaticalized and probably more frequent uses with an existential auxiliary are first described in (8.148-161). Uses with typical verb inflection are exemplified in (8.162-163).

With atelic expressions, which have no natural end-point, the continuous construction marks actions and states which are ongoing. In (8.148) and (8.149), the action/state is ongoing at the time of speech, whereas in (8.150) the action was ongoing at a(n imaginary) past time.

- (8.148) ལུ་ གཟེམ་ རྫོད་ འདུག།  
*kʰu zim døː duʔ.*  
 3SGM sleep.HON stay EX.SEN  
 ‘He’s sleeping (I see/saw).’ (TB e)



- (8.149) ཉེམ་ལེབ་ལེགས་ཤར་ཚོད་འདུག།  
*n̥im l̥ɛp l̥ɛm ɛ́a: d̥o: du?*  
 sun very.much good shine stay EX.SEN  
 ‘The sun is shining very nicely (I see/feel).’ (TB e)
- (8.150) ལྷུ་པོའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ཨོ་འདི་སྤྲེང་ལོ་སྤྲེགས་པའི་སྐང་ཨོ་ན་ལྷུ་པོའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ནང་ག་མཐའ་སྐོར་ལོ་ཨོ་ན་ལྷུ་པོའི་བུམ་གཅིག་སྐྱ་  
 ཤད་བཞིན་ཤད་བཞིན་བཞུགས་ཚོད་ཡོད་མཁན་སྤང།  
*gɛ:p̥o: pʰoq̄ã: ódi t̥ɛ:=lo l̥ɛp-ø: gã: óna gɛ:p̥o:*  
 king.GEN palace that top=DAT arrive-2INF.GEN time there king.GEN  
*pʰo.q̄ã: n̄əŋɛa tʰa.kor=lo óna gɛ:p̥o: pʰum tei? kja*  
 palace inside surrounding=DAT there king.GEN girl one hair  
*ɛ́ɛ-tɛ́ɛ: ɛ́ɛ-tɛ́ɛ: zu: d̥o: j̥ò:-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 comb-PROG comb-PROG sit.HON stay EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘When he arrived up at that royal palace, inside the king’s palace, in the surroundings, there was a daughter of the king combing and combing (her) hair.’ (PD bet story)

The fact that *d̥o:*, the ordinary verb meaning ‘sit, stay’, in (8.150) occurs following the honorific *zu:* ‘sit, stay (hon.)’ shows that the use of *d̥o:* is grammatical rather than lexical. Lexically, one honorific form collocates with other honorific forms and thus the use of the honorific *zu:* would evoke the use of other lexical honorifics.

With telic expressions, which have a natural end point, the meaning is resultative, i.e. highlighting the ongoing state accomplished through the verbal action, see (8.151-154).

- (8.151) ལྷུང་ལྷུང་པའི་སྐང་འབྲུང་ཚོད་ཡོད་མཁན་སྤང།  
*mýtsy-ri kɛ? bjã: d̥o: j̥ò:-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 other-EMPH.GEN language disappear stay EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘The language of others has disappeared’ (RS interview)
- (8.152) ཁོང་འོང་ཚོད་ཡོད་པོ་མན་པོ་བོ་ཚོ་ཚུ?  
*kʰõ: õ: d̥o: j̥ò:-p(o) mèmbo, pʰotso=tsu?*  
 3PL come stay EX-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q child=PL  
 ‘They have returned, haven’t they, the children?’ (LT, KN kitchen)
- (8.153) དཔེ་ན་college<sup>313</sup> level རང་ག་ང་ཅག་ལོ་ང་ཅའི་སྐད་རིགས་སྤྲེགས་ཚོད་ཡོད།  
*pɛ=na kolidz leval n̄əŋɛa n̄àtea=lo n̄àtei*  
 example=LOC college(Eng.) level(Eng.) inside 1PL=DAT 1PL.GEN  
*keri? l̥ɛp d̥o: j̥ò?*  
 language arrive stay EX.PER  
 ‘For instance, our language has reached college level.’ (NAB BLA 7)

<sup>313</sup> The WD word is མཐོ་རིམ་སྐོབ་གྲུ་ *mtho-rim slob-grwa* (YR).

- (8.154) ལོ་སྐྱེ་ཁང་ན་སྐབས་པའི་སྐང་རྒྱུ་ལགས་དྲན་བོ་ཟེན་གྱི་ཤུས་ཤུས་ལ་ལབ་ཚུགས་པོ་འཛོམ་ཚོད་འདུག།  
*kʰu ménkʰã:=na l̥ep-ø: gã: bhaila tʼembo sin-di*  
 3SGM hospital=LOC arrive=2INF.GEN time PN consciousness awaken-NF  
*ɛy:ɛy: kʰa-làp tsʰu-po tʰon dø: du?*  
 a.bit mouth-speak be.able.to-2INF become stay EX.SEN  
 ‘When he arrived at the hospital, Bhaila had regained consciousness and was able to talk a bit.’ (Richhi 23)

The continuous construction may also be used for future actions/states if the final copula is in the nonpast construction *jò:-ɛɛ í:*, see (8.155), contrasting with analogous past (8.156) and present expressions (8.157).<sup>314</sup>

- (8.155) ང་མོ་རངས་ཚུ་ཚོད་དགུ་ལོ་ཁྲོ་ན་འགྲུ་ཚོད་ཡོད་ཤང་ཨིན།  
*ŋà tʰorã: tɛʰutsʰø? gu=lo tʰom=na gju dø: jò:-ɛɛ í:*  
 1SG tomorrow clock.time nine=DAT town=LOC go stay EX-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Tomorrow one o’clock I will have gone to town.’ (BT grammar exposition)

- (8.156) ང་མངས་ཚུ་ཚོད་དགུ་ལོ་ཁྲོ་ན་འགྲུ་ཚོད་ཡོད།  
*ŋà dã: tɛʰutsʰø gu:=lo tʰom=lo gju: dø: jò?*  
 1SG yesterday clock.time nine=DAT town=LOC go stay EX.PER  
 ‘Nine o’clock yesterday I had gone to town.’ (BT grammar exposition)

- (8.157) ང་ད་ལྟོ་འགྲུ་ཚོད་ཡོད།  
*ŋà tʼato gju: dø: jò?*  
 1SG now go stay EQU.PER  
 ‘I keep on walking now.’ (TB e)

The continuous construction has most probably developed through the also existing converbal construction VERB-NF *dø: EX* by eliding the converbial marker *-ti/di*, see (8.158) and (8.159).

- (8.158) ང་ལྷུ་ཁང་བཅུག་ལྷི་ད་འདེབ་ཚོད་ཡོད་ང་ཅག་ན།  
*tʼa kʰɛ:gã: tsuk-ti tʼa dɛp dø: jò?, ŋàtɛa? nà:*  
 now family plant-NF now like.that stay EX.PER 1PL here  
 ‘Now here we live like that, having established families.’ (DB life story)

- (8.159) མོ་སྐང་གཞུག་གོ་འདི་བྱོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཟ་སྟེ་ལེབ་འགྲངས་སྟེ་ཚོད་འདུག།  
*ó lá: tsuko=di pʼi tʰamtɛɛ? sà-ti lèp*  
 that bull other=DEMPH fodder all eat-NF very.much  
*dã:-ti dø: du?*  
 be.satisfied-NF stay EX.SEN  
 ‘The other bull ate all the fodder and stayed very satisfied.’ (TB bull story)

At least some verbs may occur in both a converbal (8.160) and continuous constructions (8.161).

<sup>314</sup> It is not possible to form a future construction of the other existential copula, sensorial *du?*.

(8.160) ལ་ལས་ རྫོང་ས་ མ་ཐོབ་ བར་ རོང་སྟེ་ རྫོང་ ཡོད།  
*làla dɔsa ma-tʰop-(p)a lɔː-ti dɔː jøʔ.*  
 some.AGT sitting-place NEG-find-CIRC stand-NF stay EQU.PER  
 ‘Some, not finding a place to sit, are standing.’ (Richhi 75)

(8.161) ལམ་ཁར་ རོང་ རྫོང་ འདུག།  
*lámkʰa lɔː dɔː duʔ.*  
 on.the.road stand stay EX.SEN  
 ‘(They) are standing on the road.’ (TB e)

The converbial construction in (8.160) places emphasis on the manner of staying, i.e. standing, which is contrasted with the possibility of sitting, whereas the continuous construction in (8.161) is a simple statement about what the speaker sees people doing.

In addition to the auxiliary construction where *dɔʔ* is followed by an existential, *dɔʔ* may be inflected like a typical verb. In some of the uses, the verb *dɔʔ* has a more grammatical sense where it underlines continuity of the action, see (8.162). In other uses, the secondary verb *dɔʔ* is used in a more concrete way with the meaning ‘sit, stay’, see (8.163).

(8.162) a) བུ་མ་ འདི་ ཆལ་ཚོལ་ བུ་མ་ འགྱུ་ རྫོང་བ་ རྫོང་།  
*pʼum=di tɕʰalteʰol-pʼja gju dɛ-b=bɛʔ.*  
 girl=DEMPH IDEO.NN-ADVZR go stay-2INF=EQU.NE  
 ‘The girl keeps on going (around) acting like a deranged person.’ (KN e)

b) མི་ འདི་ ཕྱར་ཕྱོར་ བུ་མ་ འགྱུ་ རྫོང་བ་ རྫོང་།  
*mí=di pʰjarpʰjor-pʼja gju dɔː-po bɛʔ.*  
 human=DEMPH IDEO.NN-ADVZR go stay-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘That person keeps on going (around) not wearing clothes properly.’ (KN e)

c) ད་ ང་ཉི་ རྒྱང་རྒྱང་ལས་ ར་ འོག་སྟེ་ འོང་སྟེ་ བཞག་སྟེ་ རྫོང་ རྫོང་བ་ལྷུང་།  
*tʼa ŋà=to tɕʰuŋtɕuŋ=lɛ nàː ɔ̀tɛ ɔ̀n-di jàk-ti<sup>315</sup> dɔː*  
 now 1SG=CEMPH small=ABL here down come-NF set-NF stay  
*dɛ-b=bɛʔ.*  
 sit-2INF=EQU.NE  
 ‘Now, I have come and settled down here from an early age.’ (LA intro to Lachung)

(8.163) a) རྒྱུང་ ཕུག་སྟེ་གི་ རྩ་ རྫོང་གང་ ཡོན།  
*gjuŋ pʰuk-tiki ba dɔː-ɛɛ t̃ː.*  
 basket pierce-NF hide stay-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Piercing the basket I will stay hiding (there).’ (KTL animal story)

b) འདི་ལས་ བ་སྟེ་ རྒྱུང་ རྟོན་ རྫོང་།  
*dile pʰatɛ gjap tɔ̀n dɔʔ.*  
 then over.there back show stay  
 ‘Then stay over there your back turned.’ (KTL animal story)

<sup>315</sup> This speaker from Lachung frequently used the verb *zak/jàk* ‘set, put’ together with other verbs. Consultant YR noted that the use of *zak/jàk* here “doesn’t sound good”.

- c) ང་ལོ་བརྒྱ་བར་ལྷོ་བཟླ་ཤིས་ལྗོངས་དགོན་པའི་སློབ་གྲྭ་ནང་ལ་ཚོས་བྱས་སྡོད་པོ་མིན།  
*yá lò teu sã:te ta:idiŋ gjompø: lóbda nàŋ=la<sup>316</sup> te<sup>h</sup>o?*  
 I year ten until TPN monastery.GEN school inside=DAT doctrine  
***p'ja dø:-po í.***  
 do stay-2INF EQU.PER  
 'I stayed as long as ten years studying at the Tashiding monastery school.' (RB life story)

Note that in (8.162c) the concrete use of *dø?* is followed by a grammatical use.

### 8.3.3 Progressive VERB-*teē:/zē:/zin* EX and VERB-*teunŋe/zunŋe*

The progressive constructions VERB-*teē:/zē:/zin* EX and VERB-*teunŋe/zunŋe* (in Martam: VERB-*teouke*) mark the verbal action as ongoing at a specific time determined by the existential copula (in VERB-*teē:/zē:/zin* EX) and the context. The form *-teē:/zē:* occurs in writing as WD/WT བཞིན་ *bzhin*. The reading-style pronunciation is *zin*, a form which also occurs in the spoken language of literate speakers. The historic origin of the form *teunŋe/zunŋe* is more difficult to determine because I have not come across it in written Denjongke.<sup>317</sup>

The semantics of the progressive *teē:/zē:/zin* seem more limited to a certain specific time than the semantics of continuous secondary verb *dø:*, which may include habituality in addition to continuity at a specific point of time. For instance, consultant NAB commented that *gju-zin du?* [go-PROG EX.SEN] refers to an event happening at the time of speaking but *gju dø: du?* [go stay EX.SEN] could also refer to habitual action.

#### 8.3.3.1 Progressive VERB-*teē:/zē:/zin* EX

The construction ending in the existential *jø?* implies that the the speaker is personally well-acquainted with the situation and that the action is ongoing at a specific reference time, which typically is the time of speaking. In (8.164), the author of the novel Richhi uses the structure with *jø?* as type of historical present.

- (8.164) འདྲེ་རང་བྱས་དགོན་པོ་མཇུག་མཁན་མི་རེ་རེ་གཉིས་གཉིས་བྱས་བཞིན་འོང་བཞིན་ཡོད།  
*dε:=rã:=p'ja gømpo dzε:-k<sup>h</sup>ē: mí rε-rε ní:-ní:*  
 like.that=AEMPH=ADVZR monastery meet-NMLZ person each-each two-two  
***p'ja-zē: ò:-zē: jø?***  
 do-PROG come-PROG EX.PER  
 'Like that people visiting the monastery are coming each two by two.' (Richhi 2)

The first instance of *-zē:* in (8.164), *p'jazē:*, illustrates an adverbial use without a following auxiliary. In this respect, *-teē:/zē:/zin* resembles the English progressive form *-ing*, which occurs both as an adverbial without an auxiliary and as an element in a finite construction followed by an auxiliary.

In (8.165), the use of *-teen* with *láp* 'say' marks the continuing factuality of a proposition heard earlier (he disappeared) rather than the fact that a third person is speaking at the same time as the speaker and the addressee of (8.165) are speaking.

<sup>316</sup> Dative-locative form =*la* instead of =*lo* here is Tibetan influence.

<sup>317</sup> Consultant KT specifically stated that *-teunŋe/zunŋe* is only used in oral, not written language.

- (8.165) འགྲུང་བོ་ ཡིན་ ལའ་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*bjɔː-bo*                      *íː*                      *l̥ap-tɛɛn*      *du?*  
 disappear-2INF      EQU.PER say-PROG      EX.SEN  
 ‘(He) disappeared, (they) are saying.’ (TB phone call)

The aspect marker *-tɛɛː/zɛɛː/zin* is the only verbal suffix which may be supplemented by the infinitive marker *-po/bo*. The nominalized construction may be used in identical contexts with the non-nominalized construction, as shown by the two possible answers (8.167a) and (8.167b) to the question (8.166).

- (8.166) ལྷལ་མཚན་ ད་ལྟོ་ གན་ བྱས་བཞིན་ འདུག?  
*gjaltsʰɛn*    *t'ato* *k'an* *p'ja-zɛn*      *du??*  
 Gyalsthen now what do-PROG      EX.SEN  
 ‘What is Gyalsthen doing now?’ (KN e)

- (8.167) a) ཁོང་ ད་ལྟོ་ དེ་བ་ སློག་བཞིན་བོ་ འདུག།  
*kʰɔː*                      *t'ato* *t'ɛp*      *ɖok-zim-bo*<sup>318</sup>      *du?*  
 3SG.HON      now book read-PROG-2INF      EX.SEN  
 ‘He is now reading a book (I see).’ (KN e)

- b) ཁོང་ ད་ལྟོ་ དེ་བ་ སློག་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*kʰɔː*                      *t'ato* *t'ɛp*      *ɖok-zin*      *du?*  
 3sg.HON now book read-PROG      EX.SEN  
 ‘He is now reading a book (I see).’ (KN e)

In addition, the nominalized form, however, can be used for what in English are called present perfect continuous meanings:

- (8.168) ང་ཅག་ བྱིམ་ཆེན་ འདི་ན་ བྱི་ལོ་ གཉིས་ལྗོང་ གཅིག་ལས་ ཚོགས་བོ་ ཚོགས་བཞིན་བོ་ ཡོད་ལགས།  
*ŋàtea=di*      *kʰimɛʰɛː*      *di=na*      *tɛʰilo* *niːt̥ɔː*      *tɛiː=lɛ*      *tsʰokpo*  
 1PL=DEMPH      house-greatthis=LOC      year 2000 one=ABL      meeting  
*tsʰoː-zim-bo*                      *j̥ɔː=la*.  
 gather-PROG-2INF      EX.PER=HON  
 ‘We have been meeting in this Khimchen-house since 2001.’ (BT grammar exposition)

The nominalized progressive also occurs with an equative as auxiliary. The construction has a past (hence *-po* EQU) progressive (hence *-tɛɛː/zɛɛː/zin*) meaning, as in (8.169).

- (8.169) མདང་ ལྷན་ལྷན་ ང་ལོ་ call ལྷགས་པའི་ སྐང་ ང་ ཁྲོམ་ ལོ་ འགྱུ་བཞིན་བོ་ ཡིན།  
*dãː*                      *ʃɛŋɛ?*                      *ŋà=lo*      *kol*                      *kjap-øː*                      *gãː*      *ŋà tʰom=lo*  
 yesterday      PRN.HON      1SG=DAT      call(Eng.)      do-2INF.GEN      time I marker=DAT  
*gju-zim-bo*                      *íː*.  
 go-PROG-2INF      EQU.PER  
 ‘When you phoned me yesterday, I was going to town.’ (KN e)

<sup>318</sup> For some reason, the consultant used here and in the following example the literary pronunciation instead of the typical oral *-tɛɛn*.

Finally, the progressive occurs in an idiomatic construction followed by the verb *p'ja* 'do':

(8.170) བཞུགས་བཞིན་ བྱུས་བོ་ གནང་།  
*zu:-teẽ: p'ja-u ná:.*  
 sit-PROG do-2INF do.HON  
 'Please sit (and wait here)' (lit. 'Please do sitting'). (oh)

(8.171) ཤིང་རྒྱུ་ གཏོག་བཞིན་ བྱུས་རན་ལར་  
*éiŋto? tok-teẽ: p'ja-reŋkʰa...*  
 fruit pluck-PROG do-SIM  
 'when (he was) plucking fruit...' (RB pear story)

(8.172) ངས་ གངན་ཞུས་ ཡི་གེ་ བྲི་བཞིན་ བྱུས་ཤང་ ཡིན།  
*ŋá: denzu jìgi t'i-zẽ: p'ja-εε í:.*  
 I.AGT invitation letter write-PROG do-INF EQU.PER  
 'I will be writing an invitation letter.' (Richhi 42)

The use of the progressive in (8.170) underlines the durative nature of the action. A simple request *zu:-po ná:* [sit.HON-2INF do.HON] 'Please sit down' would be used when a standing guest is advised to sit down. Example (8.170), on the other hand, was used when the guest was already sitting and the host needed to go away for a while. In (8.171), the progressive construction underlines the iterativity and duration of the action. The alternative shorter construction *tok-reŋkʰa:* 'when plucking' without the progressive could be interpreted as being about one fruit, whereas (8.171) presupposes an iterative process of plucking. In (8.172), the speaker announces her immediate future action, focusing on the durativity of that action.

According to Jäschke (1881: 483), the etymon of the progressive marker *-teẽ:/zẽ:*, WT *བཞིན་ bzhin*, has the meanings 'face, countenance', 'agreeably, in conformity, according to' and 'like, as'. These WT meanings are reflected when *-zin* occurs as a component of the postpositions *t'ønzin(=gi)* 'in accordance with' (*t'øn* 'purpose') and *pakozin(=gi)* 'similarly, in accordance with' (the origin of the form *pako* is unknown to me at present).

(8.173) ཏེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ སུལ་བོ་ རོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ད་ ང་ཅག་ འདེབ་ དེ་ལོ་ རྗོད་ནེ་ མིན་སྐྱིག་གོ།  
*te ódi pʰy:-bo t'ønzinŋi t'a ŋàtea? dep t'ε:lu*  
 so that offer-2INF in.accordance now 1PL like.that unoccupied  
*dø:-ne min-dike.*  
 sit-COND NEG-be.alright  
 'In accordance with the purpose of giving that (responsibility to us), it is not good if we just stay unoccupied.' (CY interview)

(8.174) ཏེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ དཔག་གོ་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྗོ་ལོ་ འདི་ལྷོ་གིས་, མན་ལོ་ འདི་ལྷོ་གིས་ ཙོང་རྒྱུ་ ཡང་ ཁོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ མཁྱེན་ སྤང།  
*te ódi pakozinŋi ŋàtei lopo di=tsu-gi, gempo di=tsu=gi*  
 so that similarly 1PL.GEN Lhopo this=PL=AGT old.man this=PL=AGT  
*tsøŋke:=jä: kʰõ: lʷeŋŋe? kʰen be?*  
 Limbu=also 3PL PRN.HON know.HON EQU.NE  
 'Similarly to that our Lhopos, the elderly ones, also knew Limbu (language).' (CY interview)

For more on the postpositions *t'ənzin(=gi)* and *pakozin(=gi)*, see §3.6.8, §5.6.2 and §15.8.4.3.

Finally, (8.175) records a unique (interrogative) example of a local non-standard construction where an equative auxiliary accompanies the progressive:

- (8.175) ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ མདང་ སྐད་ཏོག་ན་ སྐོར་བཞིན་ སྐད་པོ་?  
*ləŋgɛ?*      *dã:*              *gãto:=na kor-zin*              *bɛ-po*<sup>319</sup>?  
 PRN.HON    yesterday    TPN=LOC    go.around-PROG    EQU.NE-2INF  
 ‘Were you roaming in Gangtok yesterday?’ (PL e)

### 8.3.3.2 Alterphoric progressive VERB-*teuŋgɛ/zunŋɛ*

The progressive construction VERB-*teuŋgɛ/zunŋɛ* (also *-teyŋgɛ/zyŋgɛ*, in Martam *teouge*) does not occur in written Denjongke. This construction is probably an abbreviation of the fuller form VERB-*tɛn duke*, which also occurs in writing. Because in my data VERB-*teuŋgɛ/zunŋɛ* does not occur with 1SG actors, I have tentatively and analogously to the completive construction, which most likely uses the same marker (see §9.1.3), glossed *-teuŋgɛ/zunŋɛ* as alterphoric progressive (PROG.APH). The term alterphoric here simply means that the form is incompatible with first person actors.<sup>320</sup> The alterphoric progressive is here illustrated in (8.176-178).

- (8.176) ཟླ་བ་ རྣམས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ སྐད་ ཐོན་བཞིན་གེ་ ཡོད།<sup>321</sup>  
*dawa námgɛ:=gi kɛ?*    *t'ən-zyŋgɛ*              *jòu.*  
 PN              PN=GEN              voice become-PROG.APH    up  
 ‘Dawa Namgyal’s voice is calling out from up (there).’ (PT kitchen discussion)

- (8.177) མི་འདི་ འདི་ཁར་ སེམས་ཅན་ འདི་ལོ་ ཚུ་སྟེ་ འགྲོག་ཅོད་གེ།  
*mí=di*              *dik<sup>h</sup>a símtɛ̃:=di=lo*              *ts<sup>h</sup>ute*    *ʃok-teouge.*  
 human=DEMPH    here    animal=DEMPH=DAT    hither    frighten-PROG.APH  
 ‘The man is frightening the animal here.’ (KN photo discussion)

- (8.178) འདི་ཚུ་ ཉེ་ར་ ལྷག་རོགས་ འུས་སྟེ་གེ་ ཁོང་ལོ་ རོགས་རམ་ འུས་བཞིན་གེ།  
*di=tsu*    *tɛ:ra lúk-ro:*    *p'ja-tiki k<sup>h</sup>õ:=lo*              *rò:ram*    *p'ja-zyŋgɛ.*  
 this=PL    again pour-help    do-NF    3SG.HON=DAT help    do-PROG.APH  
 ‘They again, giving help in pouring (in the guavas), are helping him.’ (RB pear story)

### 8.3.4 Durative secondary verb *bak*

The secondary verb *bak* ‘carry’ can be used either quite literally referring to carrying something on oneself, as in (8.179), or more metaphorically referring to carrying on doing an action, see (8.180) and (8.181). In the latter case, *bak* has overtones of durativity or continuity, as suggested by the fact that carrying something along is an event of some duration. In (8.181), durativity/iteration is further signaled by reduplication of *ts<sup>h</sup>ø*: *bak* ‘search carry’. As suggested by all the three examples, the secondary verb *bak* typically occurs in a nonfinal construction (i.e. followed by *-ti/di*).

<sup>319</sup> Attaching *-po* to the neutral equative *bɛ?* is a marginal phenomenon, see §11.1.2.2. One consultant wanted to replace *bɛ-po* here with *jò-po*.

<sup>320</sup> The examples in my data have third person actors. Uses with second person actors are left open for future research.

<sup>321</sup> One consultant wanted to replace ཐོན་བཞིན་གེ་ *t'ən-zyŋgɛ* with ཐོན་བཞིན་ འདུག་གེ་ *t'ən-zɛn du-kɛ*, underlining the fact that the former is probably a reduction of the latter.

- (8.179) ཀར་མཆོག་རིལ་བུ་ཉོས་འབག་ལྷོ་ལོག་སློབ་པ།  
*karma mén ri:bu jò: bak-ti lòk l̥ep.*  
 PN medicine tablet buy carry-NF return arrive  
 ‘Karma, having bought and brought the medicine, arrives. (Richhi 11)
- (8.180) ཕྱི་མཚམས་མུ་ཚོད་བཞི་ལོ་ཀར་དང་ནོར་བུ་ཚོད་སྐྱིད་ཚོད་ས་སོང་རེ་ཆེ་སློམ་པོ་བཏང་འབག་ལྷོ།  
*pʰi:tsʰam tɛʰutsʰø? zi=lo karma t'ã: nòrbu tɛʰøki? d̥øsa*  
 dusk clock.time four=DAT PN and PN PN dwelling  
*s̥ó: riteʰi bompu tap bak-ti.*  
 went hope big sow carry-NF  
 ‘Around dusk at four o’clock Karma and Norbu go to Choki’s dwelling, having great hopes.’ (Richhi 96)
- (8.181) ཨོ་འདྲིས་ལྷན་ཁུ་གྱིང་ན་སྐང་འཚོལ་འབག་འཚོལ་འབག་སོང་ལྷོ་གྱིང་གཅིག་ན་སྐང་ཆ་གཅིག་ཐོབ་ལྷོ།  
*ódi-p'ja kʰu k'jõ:=na lá: tsʰø: bak tsʰø: bak*  
 that-ADVZR 3SGM village=LOC bull search carry search carry  
*s̥ó:-di k'jõ:=tei=na lá: tɛʰa=tei? tʰop-ti...*  
 go.PFV-NF village=INDF=LOC bull pair=INDF find-NF  
 ‘Therefore going to village(s) keeping on searching and searching for bull(s) and finding a pair of bulls in one village he...’ (TB bull story)

#### 8.4 Tense, aspect and modality with the construction VERB-INF EX

The construction VERB-INF EX resembles an existential clause (8.182) or a locative/possessive clause (8.183) where a verbal action in infinitive occurs in place of a located/possessed noun.

- (8.182) མནེ་མུ་རང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལེགས་ངན་དང་རྟེན་གཞིའི་བརྟག་དབྱེད་ལྷ་ཤང་ཡོད་པོ་སྣང།  
*né:mu=rã: tendɛ: lè:-jɛ: t'ã: tagzi: taktɛɛ?*  
 really=AEMPH omen good-evil and criteria.of.study investigation  
*ta-ɛɛ? jò-po bɛ?*  
 look-INF EX. 2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria.’ (Richhi 107)
- (8.183) ལུ་ལོ་/ལུ་འི་/ལུ་གཞོག་ལྷན་ཤང་ཡོད་འདུག།  
*kʰu=lo/kʰu=i/kʰu jó? p'ja-ɛɛ? jò?/du?*  
 3SGM=DAT/3SGM=GEN/3SGM work do-INF EX.PER/EX.SEN  
 ‘He has work to do./ He is about to work.’ (KN e)

As a sign of grammaticalization, the genitive or locative marking of the possessor/location in (8.183) has become optional.

The construction is negated by replacing an affirmative copula by a negated one. For negated declaratives, consider (8.184) and for negated interrogatives, see (8.185).

- (8.184) a) ང་མོ་རངས་གཞོག་ལྷན་ཤང་མེད།  
*ŋà tʰorã: jó? p'ja-ɛɛ? mɛ?*  
 1SG tomorrow work do-INF NEG.EX  
 ‘I’ll not work tomorrow’/‘I have no work to do tomorrow.’ (KN e)



- b) ད་ དལ་ཤད་ མེན་འདུག་ལགས།  
*t'a t'ɛ:-ɛɛ? mɪndu:=la ...*  
 now have.time-INF NEG.EX.SEN=HON  
 'Now I do not have the time/I haven't had the time.' (KT discussion with TB)

- (8.185) a) ལུ་ གཡོག་ ལྷོས་ཤད་ མེན་འདུག་ཀ་?  
*k<sup>h</sup>u jó? p'ja-ɛɛ? mɪndu-ka?*  
 3SGM work do-INF NEG.EX.SEN-PQ  
 'Isn't he working?'/ 'Isn't he going to work?' (KN e)

- b) ལུ་ གཡོག་ ལྷོས་ཤད་ མེད་ཀ་?  
*k<sup>h</sup>u jó? p'ja-ɛɛ? mɛ:-ka?*<sup>322</sup>  
 3SGM work do-INF NEG.EX.PER-PQ  
 'Isn't he working?'/ 'Isn't he going to work?' (KN e)

The construction VERB-INF EX can obtain various shades of meaning. Whereas (8.183) above marks prospective action in the future, (8.186) and (8.187) below express abstract possession of a tradition (in the past) and something to say (in the present/future), respectively.

- (8.186) དང་ལུ་ རྩོན་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ རིན་ བཞེས་ཤད་ ཡོད་མཁན་ རྣམ་ ད།  
*t'ã:pu jɛnlo ηàtɛa? rɪn zɛ:-ɛɛ? jθ:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn bɛ? t'a.*  
 long.ago before 1PL price obtain.HON-INF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE now  
 'Long ago earlier we had (the custom of) receiving money (for the bride).' (SGD marriage customs)

- (8.187) ད་ལྟོ་ ལུ་ཅག་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ གན་ ལུ་ཤད་ ཡོད་?  
*t'ato k'utɛa? ηàtɛa=lo k'an ɛ̀-ɛɛ? jθ?*  
 now you 1PL=DAT what request-INF EX.PER  
 'Now what do you have to request from us?' (NAB BLA 7)

In example (8.188), the meaning is present habitual.

- (8.188) མོ་ལུད་ཀྱི་ རོགས་ རོབ་ཤད་ ཡོད་ཀ་?  
*mòby=gi p<sup>h</sup>o? t<sup>h</sup>op-ɛɛ? jθ:-ka?*  
 wife=AGT salary receive-INF EX.PER-PQ  
 'Does the wife get a salary?' (BP BB discussion)

The same construction can also express what the speaker can or cannot do, referring either to ability, as in (8.189-191), or willingness, as in (8.192).

<sup>322</sup> The difference between (8.185a) and (8.185b) lies in what the speaker expects the addressee's level of knowledge to be. If the addressee is supposed to have personal knowledge, *mɛ:-ka* is used. On the other hand, if the speaker expects that the addressee needs to check what the case is, *mɪnduka* would be used. For further information on evidentiality in questions, see §7.2.1.2 and §7.2.2.1.

- (8.189) སེམས་ཅན་ ལབ་མཁན་ འདི་ ཡང་ ལ་ ལབ་ཤད་ མེད་ཅུང་ མཐོ་བསམ་ བཏང་ཤད་ འདུག་གོ།  
*símtɛ̃: ləp-kʰen=di=jã: kʰa ləp-ɛɛ? mə:-ruŋ nɔ:sam*  
 animal say-NMLZ=DEMPH=even mouth say-INF NEG.EX-CONC thought  
*tã:-ɛɛ? du-ke.*  
 send-INF EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘The animal, even though it cannot talk, can think (I see).’ (RB butcher story)
- (8.190) ཇམ་ཚུ་གེས་ ལ་གཏམ་ ལེབ་ རྗེས་དྲགས་ ལབ་ཤད་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང།  
*ádzo=tsu=gi kʰatam lèp dzikʰa? ləp-ɛɛ? jò:-kʰen be?*  
 grandfather=PL=AGT proverb very excellent say-INF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘The grandfathers are able to tell excellent proverbs.’ (KN field notes)
- (8.191) ཉེ་ ལུ་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ མེད།  
*te mù ʃokɛ kjap-ɛɛ? mə?*  
 then 3SGF Lhoke speak-INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘But she couldn’t speak Lhoke.’ (SN kitchen discussion)
- (8.192) ང་ ལུའི་ རྩེ་ འགྱུ་ཤད་ མེད།  
*ŋà kʰu=i=tsa: gju-ɛɛ? mə?*  
 1SG 3SGM=GEN=at go-INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘I cannot go to his place (because of our bad relationship)’, Lit. ‘I have no going to his place.’ (KUN e)

The negative form of the verb *ò:* ‘come’, *ma-hò:* [maɦõ:]<sup>323</sup>, can replace *mè?*/*mindu?* as negated existential (see §7.2.5.1):

- (8.193) མོ་འདི་ འདི་ ཉེ་ ངའི་ ལུ་ཤད་ མ་འོང།  
*ódi=di te jè: ɛ̀-ɛɛ? ma-hò:*  
 that=DEMPH so 1SG.GEN say.HUM-INF NEG-come  
 ‘I cannot tell that.’ (PAD Tashiding story)

## 8.5 Modality (probability, possibility and necessity)

The term modality in this thesis refers the speaker’s judgments about a proposition in a very general sense.<sup>324</sup> Judgments about the factuality/certainty of the proposition are epistemic modals. Other types of modal judgments which may be made explicit in Denjongke grammar are judgments about obligation, possibility, permissiveness, temporality, morality, ability and trustworthiness/genuineness (pretensive construction). As shown by Table 8.4, the grammatical means for expressing modality distinctions can be divided into one suffix, three complex constructions and eight secondary verbs. Among secondary verbs, the category “modality” is assigned to those markers which are in linguistics typically treated under the category modality (ability, obligation, permission, possibility). For other secondary verbs and introduction to secondary verbs in general, consider §4.2.3.

<sup>323</sup> The pronunciation differs from the non-copular negation *ma-ò:* > [mõ:].

<sup>324</sup> This definition is inspired by Palmer’s (2001: 8) characterization of epistemic and evidential modalities as expressing the speaker’s judgments about a proposition.

Table 8.4. Modality markers

Function		Form		Meaning	Morpheme type
Epistemic/ certainty	probabilitative	<i>-to</i>	མོ་, གོ་, རོ་	‘maybe, probably’	suffix
	apparentative	<i>(-po) qa</i> (EQU)	འདྲ་	‘seem’	complex constr.
	approximative	<i>ra:gju, tʰɛ:gju</i>	?	‘seem’	
Obligation/ deontic		<i>goʔ</i>	དགོས་	‘need to, must’	secondary verb
Permission	objective	<i>tɛʰoʔ</i>	ཚོག་	‘be allowed’	
	subjective	<i>tup</i>	བཏུབ་	‘deem fit’	
Evaluation	temporal	<i>ren</i>	རན་	‘be time to’	
	practical/moral	<i>(mi-)lɛʔ<sup>325</sup></i>	(མི་)ལེགས་	‘be good to’	
Ability	general	<i>tsʰuʔ</i>	ཚུགས་	‘be able to’	
		<i>ɛɛː</i>	ཤེས་	‘know (how to)’	
	physical	<i>kʰøʔ</i>	ཁྱེད་	‘have strength to’	
	temporal	<i>lõː</i>	ལོང་	‘have time to’	
Possibility		<i>siʔ</i>	ཤིད་	‘be possible’	
Tentativity		<i>ta</i>	ལྟ་	‘look’	
Pretension		<i>-dzin tʰap</i>	རྩོམ་ ཐབ་	‘pretend to’	complex constr.

### 8.5.1 Probabilitative *-to*

The probabilitative *-to* attaches directly to the verb root (8.194) or the completive marker *-tsʰa:* (8.195) and is not followed by any tense, aspect or evidentiality markers. The certainty implied by *-to* varies between ‘maybe’ and ‘probably’.

(8.194) རོལ་མོ་ ལུ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ མཚུན་གྲོ།  
*rolmo ɛ̀u-watɛnɛ kʰɛn-to.*  
 cymbal say.HON-COND know-PROB  
 ‘If (I) say [rolmo] (you) probably know (what it is).’/‘(You) probably know (what is a) [rolmo].’ (YR canteen video)

(8.195) ཐག་རིང་ལས་ ལྷོན་ཤང་འདིས་ ལལ་ རྫོང་ཚར་གྲོ།  
*tʰa:riŋ=lɛ tɛʰon-ɛɛ=diː ɛɛː kom-tsʰa:-to.*  
 far.away=ABL come.HON-INF=DEMPH.AGT mouth.HON thirst-CMPL-PROB  
 ‘Since (you) have come from far away, (you) are perhaps thirsty.’ (rnam-rtog 5)

The probabilitative is negated by the prefix *mi-*.

(8.196) ཉེ་ ལ་ལ་ མཚུན་རུང་ འདི་ ལུགས་ལོ་ མི་བཞག་གྲོ།  
*tɛ lala kʰɛn-run di tʰuː=lo mi-za:-to.*  
 then some know.HON-CONC this mind.HON=DAT NEG-set-PROB  
 ‘Then although some (may) know (the story), (they) may not have committed it to memory.’ (PAD bet story)

<sup>325</sup> This form mainly occurs as negated.

- (8.197) ཚོད་ ང་ མཚོ་ འདི་ ཀལ་ མི་ཚུགས་ཀྱོ།  
*tɕʰøʔ t'a tsʰo=di gɛ: mi-tsʰu:-to.*  
 2SG.L now lake=DEMPH cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB  
 ‘Now you probably won’t be able to cross the lake.’ (KT animal story)

The probabilitive co-occurs with personal copulas, see (8.198) and (8.199), but not with neutral (8.200) or sensorial copulas (8.201).

- (8.198) ཚོམ་ ཨིན་གྱོ།  
*tsʰom ín-to.*  
 mortar EQU-PROB  
 ‘It’s maybe a mortar.’ (TB e)
- (8.199) སློབ་གྲུའི་ གཡོག་ གལ་ཅན་རྟོ་ མེད་གྱོ?  
*lóbqø: jóʔ k'ɛ:tcɛ̃:=to mè:-to.*  
 school.GEN work important=CEMPH NEG.EX-PROB  
 ‘There’s probably no important school work.’ (Richhi 55)
- (8.200) \*ཚོམ་ ཟུང་གྱོ།  
 \**tsʰom bɛ-to.*  
 mortar EQU.PER-PROB
- (8.201) \*སློབ་གྲུའི་ གཡོག་ གལ་ཅན་རྟོ་ མིན་འདུག་གྱོ།  
 \**lóbqø: jóʔ k'ɛ:tcɛ̃:=to mĩndu:-to.*  
 school.GEN work important=CEMPH NEG.EX-PROB

The probabilitive also attaches to auxiliary copulas:

- (8.202) ཏུས་མན་ཞེ་ར་ 1,50000 འདེ་ཅིག་ སོང་བ་ ཨིན་གྱོ། བྱིམ་ བཅོས་པའི་ སྐང་།  
*t'y:mɛnɛ=ra dɛ:d lak dɛ:tcɛi? sǒ:-bo ín-to, kʰim*  
 about=AEMPH 1,5(Nep.) lakh(Nep.) that.much go.PFV-2INF EQU-PROB house  
*tcɔ:-pø: gǎ:.*  
 repair-2INF.GEN time  
 ‘Maybe about some 1,5 lakh (rupees) went when repairing the house.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The verb *ǒ:* ‘come’ functions as an existential, which often co-occurs with the probabilitive marker:

- (8.203) ཚུ་ འོང་གྱོ།  
*tsʰa ǒ:-to.*  
 salt come-PROB  
 ‘There’s probably salt.’ (KN e)

The form *ǒ:-to* may be postposed as an auxiliary to verb roots instead of mere *-to* (compare with 8.194):

- (8.204) ལོཔཾ་ལོ་མཚུན་ འོང་གོ་ལགས།  
*lópø: kʰɛn ɔ̃:-fo=la.*  
 teacher know.HON come-PROB=HON  
 ‘(You) perhaps know (that) teacher.’ (KT discussion with TB)

In the novel *Ricchi*, *-fo* is six times out of total seven followed by the morpheme *ni* (spelled both རྟེ་ *ni* and རྟེ་ *ne*), which is probably a loan of the Nepali discourse-oriented attention marker *ni* (see Yliniemi 2016b), rather than a cognate of the Classical Tibetan topicalizer *-ni* (see Beyer 1992: 275-278). This collocation may be typical of Denjongke spoken in Yanggang, the native place of the author. The rest of my data has dozens of examples of *-fo* but only one followed by *ni*. If *ni* in (8.205) is indeed an attention marker, it probably signals a slight change in the topic of the discussion.

- (8.205) ཧུ་པ་ བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ མན་བྱོན་ལྷོ་ རྟེ་ མེན་ག་?  
*hapa bombai=lo man-dzøŋ-fo ni iŋ-ga.*  
 now Bombay=DAT NEG-come.HON-PROB AT(Nep.) EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘You perhaps haven’t so far been to Bombay, have you?’ (Richhi 101)

### 8.5.2 Apparentive *qa*

The Classical Tibetan verb འདྲ་ *qa* ‘be similar’ (see Beyer 1992: 254) also occurs in Denjongke as a marker which expresses what, in the speaker’s opinion, apparently is the case, hence the term apparentive and the gloss AP. The apparentive occurs independently without other verbal elements and also postposed to the verbal suffixes *-εε(?)* (1. infinitive), *-po/bo* (2. infinitive) and *-to/do* (imperfective). For the independent, copular type of uses, consider (8.206) and (8.207).<sup>326</sup>

- (8.206) ང་ འུ་ཅིག་ ང་ མ་སླེབས་, ར་ཟིང་ འདི་ ཚ་ གཞིས་, ར་ཟིང་ མེད་བ་སྐང་, གཞོས་ཟིང་ འདྲ།  
*ŋà t’utei? t’a ma-ŋep, nàniŋ=di ts’ha ni:, nàniŋ*  
 1SG this.year now NEG-arrive last.year=DEMPH turn two last.year  
*mébbe, zø:niŋ qa.*  
 NEG.EX.NE two.years.ago AP  
 ‘This year I didn’t go (there), last year two times, it wasn’t last year, it’s two years ago, I think.’ (KT)

- (8.207) ལོང་རྟོ་ gang འདྲ་སྟེ།  
*kʰø:=to gɛŋ qa=s.*  
 3PL=CEMPH gang(Eng.) AP=QUO  
 ‘They seem (like belonging to) one group.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

Uses of *qa* postposed to a combination of verb and verbal suffix are more frequent than independent copular type of uses. The following examples illustrate the co-occurrence of *qa* with past action marked by the second infinitive *-po/bo/u* (8.208-212), future action marked by the first infinitive *-εε?* (8.213-215) and ongoing action marked by the imperfective *-to/do* (8.216-220).

<sup>326</sup> It would be problematic to name *qa* a apparentive copula, because it is very frequently followed by an equative copula. The combination *qa be?*, however, merges into an apparentive equative copula *qɛ:/rɛ:*, which is discussed in §7.2.4.

### Past with *-po*-infinitive

When preceded by the *-po*-infinitive form of the verb, the main verbal action in the apparentive construction is typically understood as having taken place in the past, see (8.208-210). Example (8.208b) illustrates the negated construction.

(8.208) a) ལུ་མདང་འོང་བོ་འདྲ་ཟླད།

*k<sup>h</sup>u dǎ: òm-bo qa bɛ?*  
 3SGM yesterday come-2INF APEQU.NE  
 ‘It seems he came yesterday.’ (KUN e)

b) ལུ་མདང་མ་འོང་བོ་འདྲ་ཟླད།

*k<sup>h</sup>u dǎ: ma-ò-m-bo qa bɛ?*  
 3SGM yesterday NEG-come-2INF APEQU.NE  
 ‘It seems he didn’t come yesterday.’ (KUN e)

(8.209) མནའམ་འདི་མདང་ལ་རུབ་ལོག་བྱེད་པོ་འདྲ།

*nám=di dǎ: k<sup>h</sup>a:nup lòk tɛ’ø-m-bo*  
 daughter-in-law=DEMPH yesterday the.day.before.yesterday return come-2INF  
*qa.*  
 AP

‘Apparently the daughter-in-law returned yesterday or the day before yesterday.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

(8.210) མོ་འདི་ལོ་འདི་ཨ་ཙོ་ཅིག་དགོངས་ཡངས་གནང་བོ་འདྲ་ཟླད་མོ་འདི་སྐང་ལོ་ thikadar ཚུ་གིས།

*ódi=lo=di átsi=tei? gō.jǎ: nǎ:-bo qa bɛ?, ódi*  
 that=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF exemption do.HON-2INF APEQU.NE that  
*gǎ:=lo t<sup>h</sup>ikadar=tsu=gi.*  
 time=DAT thikadar=PL=AGT

‘(They) gave them a bit exemption (of taxes) it seems, at that time, the thikadars.’ (CY interview)

Exceptions to the generalization that the apparentive constructions with *-po*-infinitive refer to past actions are stative verbs, see (8.211), and forms negated with the imperfective negator *mi-*, see (8.212). The copula (which is a stative verb) in (8.211) expresses a state holding at the time of speaking. In (8.212), on the other hand, the *-po*-infinitive is negated by *mi-*, which implies that the reported state holds at the time of speaking and in the projected future. The negation in (8.212) contrasts with the negation with *ma-* in (8.208b), where one past act is negated.

(8.211) ད་རིང་ང་ཚའི་མཚོ་འདིའི་མཇལ་ལ་མཐའ་མོ་ཞིན་བོ་འདྲ་ཞིན་ག་ཨ་རྒྱ།

*t’ariŋ ŋàtei mí-ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ di: dze:k<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>amo ím-bo qa*  
 today 1PL.GEN human-life this.GEN meeting last EQU-NMLZ AP  
*íŋ-ga?*  
 EQU.PER-PQ

‘It seems like today is our last meeting in this human life, doesn’t it?’ (Richhi 173)

- (8.212) ལུ་གཡོག་འདི་མི་བྱས་པོ་འདྲ།  
*kʰu jó:=di mi-jò-u qa.*  
 3SGM work=DEMPH NEG-do-2INF AP  
 ‘Apparently he’s not doing the work.’ (KN e)

**Future with -εε-infinitive**

With -εε-infinitive, the apperentive construction refers to apparent future action.

- (8.213) ལོ་ཉེ་གྱ་འདེ་ཅིག་ད་ ང་ཅའི་སྐད་འདི་ཡལ་གད་འདྲ་མིན་ལགས།  
*lò níeu de:tei? t’a ηàtei ke:=di jè:-εε qa*  
 year twenty that.much now 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH disappear-INF AP  
*í:=la.*  
 EQU.PER=HON  
 ‘Now (in) some twenty years it seems our language will disappear.’ (RL interview)

- (8.214) དེ་ནེ་ང་ཅག་གཉིས་ཀའི་མཚོ་དོན་མིན་འགྲུབ་གད་འདྲ་མིན་ག་ཨ་གྱ།  
*t’ene ηàtea? ní:-kø: nódõ: min-ɖup-εε qa íη-ga*  
 then 1PL two-COL.GEN purpose NEG-fulfil-INF AP EQU.PER-PQ  
*ágja.*  
 elder.brother  
 ‘Then it seems the purpose of the two of us will not be fulfilled, doesn’t it brother.’  
 (Richhi 99)

- (8.215) ད་ལོ་ཉེ་གྱ་འདེ་ཅིག་ད་ ང་ཅའི་སྐད་འདི་ཡལ་གད་འདྲ་མིན་ལགས།  
*t’a lò níeu de:tei? t’a ηàtei ke:=di jè:-εε qa*  
 now year twenty that.much now 1PL.GEN language==DEMPH vanish-INF AP  
*í:=la.*  
 EQU.PER=HON  
 ‘Now (in) some twenty years it seems our language will disappear.’ (RL interview)

**Ongoing with imperfective**

In conjunction with progressive marker the apperentive construction, unsurprisingly, refers to apparent ongoing action. It is noteworthy that the equative copula *í:* (neg. *mě:*) may occur in the progressive apperentive construction occurs (8.217) and (8.218).

- (8.216) ལལ་ལག་རྫོད་འདྲ་སྤྲ།  
*εè:la? ηó-do qa bε?*  
 food.HON fry-IPFV APEQU.NE  
 ‘(She) is apparently frying food.’ (RS driver joke)
- (8.217) མོ་འདེ་མ་ཅིག་མིན་དོ་འདྲ།  
*ódem=tei? ín-do qa.*  
 like.that=INDF EQU-IPFV AP  
 ‘It seems to be like that.’ (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)
- (8.218) མན་དོ་འདྲ།  
*mèn-do qa.*  
 NEG.EQU-PROG AP  
 ‘It seems not to be (so).’ (KNM kitchen discussion)

(8.219) ད་རིང་ རྒྱ་ འདི་ཀེས་ ཤུ་བོ་ འདི་ལོ་ གནོད་པོ་ བསྐྱེལ་བ་ འོང་དོ་ འདྲ་ ཟླད།  
*t'ariŋ kʰi=di=gi ɛ́au=di=lo nó:po ke:-wa ɔ́n-do*  
 today dog=DEMPH=AGT deer=DEMPH=DAT harm bring-PUR come-PROG  
**qa be?**  
 AP EQU.NE  
 'It seems like the dog is today coming to inflict harm on the deer.' (mi-la raspa 9)

(8.220) ད་ལྟ་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ ཡུལ་ ཐག་རིང་ལོ་ གཉེན་ རྗེས་ཀྱི་ སྦྱང་སྦྱང་ གནས་སྐོར་ (ཉོ་ བྱི་སྐྱེན) ལོ་ འགྲུ་དོ་ འདྲ་བོ་ ཡོད།  
*t'ato kʰò: ní:-po yí: tʰa:riŋ=lo jén dzɛ:=ki ki:-ki:*  
 now 3PL two-COL place far.away=DAT marriage after=GEN enjoyment-RDP  
*né:kor (hanimun=lo) gju-do qa-u jò?*  
 sighseeing.tour honeymoon(Eng.)=DAT go-IPFV AP-2INF EX.PER  
 'Now the two of them are as if going on a post-wedding enjoyment-tour (honeymoon).' (Richhi 129)

In the majority of instances in my data, *qa* is followed by an equative copula, most often *be?*, see (8.208a), (8.210), (8.216), (8.219), (8.221) and (8.222), but also with *í.*, see (8.213) and (8.215).

In fast spoken language, *qa be?* is often abbreviated to *qɛ:/qɛ?/rɛ:/rɛ?*. Some of my consultants were not aware that *qɛ:/rɛ:* is related to *qa be?*.

(8.221) མོ་འདི་ སྐར་ ཉོ་ཉོ་ འདྲད་ཤོ། (=འདྲ་ ཟླད་ཤོ།)  
*ódi gā: jò:-jò: rɛ:=ɛo.*  
 that time buy-buy AP.EQU.NE=AT  
 '(They) had apparently bought (those) at that time (I found out).' (TB discussion with KT)

(8.222) མོ་འདི་ གན་ མོ? མོ་འདི་ tourist འདི་ འདྲད་ཤོ། (=འདྲ་ ཟླད་ཤོ།)  
*ódi k'an mo? ódi tuərist=di qɛ:=ɛo.*  
 that what EQU.NE.Q that foreign(Eng.)=DEMPH AP.EQU.NE=AT  
 'What's that? Apparently it's foreign (I find).' (KNU kitchen discussion)

In both (8.221) and (8.222), *qa* is accompanied by the attention marker *=ɛo* which marks attention-worthy, often new information (see §16.2.2 and Yliniemi 2016a). The co-occurrence is quite natural, because both markers are used in the context of finding out something new. For the independent uses of *qɛ:/rɛ:* as an apparentive copula, refer to §7.2.4.

When *-qa* is negated by the negator-prefix *mi-*, the meaning of the form is 'be different':

(8.223) ད་རུང་ར་ ལེབ་ ལ་ མེན་འདྲ་ཤོ་ལགས།  
*t'aruŋ=ra lèp kʰa min-qa=ɛo=la.*  
 still=AEMPH very.much mouth NEG-AP=AT=HON  
 'Still (his) language is very different, you know.' (PTB apa kitchen)

(8.224) དེ་ཟང་ དང་སྤུ་ འདེམ་ མེན་འདྲ་ ཟླད།  
*t'iza: t'ā:pu dɛm min-qa be?*  
 but long.ago like.that NEG-AP EQU.NE  
 'But (it) was different from how (things were in) in earlier times.' (DB day trip)



Because the negation of *da* (*bɛʔ*), *min-da* (*bɛʔ*), has the meaning ‘be different’, *da* itself cannot be negated and retain the meaning ‘does not seem’. Rather, the associated verb needs to be negated, quite analogously to the English expression ‘seems not to’.<sup>327</sup> Example (8.225) is negated in (8.226).

(8.225) ལུ་མདང་འོང་བོ་འདྲ་སྟེ།  
*kʰu dǎ: òm-bo da bɛʔ.*  
 3SGM yesterday come-2INF AP EQU.NE  
 ‘He seems to have come yesterday.’ (KN e)

(8.226) ལུ་མདང་མ་འོང་བོ་འདྲད་(འདྲ་སྟེ།)  
*kʰu dǎ: m-ò:-b=dɛʔ.*  
 3SGM yesterday NEG-come-2INF=AP.EQU.NE  
 ‘He seems not to have come yesterday.’ (KN e)

In addition to the apparentive uses, *da* is used as the base of the adjectives *dau/dou* ‘similar, like’ (neg. *man-dau/man-dou* ‘dissimilar, unlike’), see (8.227), and *da:mandau/da:minḍa* ‘different kinds of’, see (8.228).

(8.227) ལུ་མ་འདྲི་མོ་ལུ་འདྲུ་མིན་སེ།  
*pʼum=di nòrbu dou i:=s.*  
 girl=DEMPH gem like EQU.PER=QUO  
 ‘The girl is like a gem (it is said).’ (SGD wedding customs)

(8.228) ལྷ་མ་རྒྱུས་འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་གས་པོ་ཡོད་མཁམ་སྟེ།  
*tamgyʔ daminḍa kɛ:po jø:-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*  
 legend different.kinds.of a.lot EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘There are a lot different types of legends.’ (SGD cave story)

### 8.5.3 Approximatives *da:gju* and *tʰɛ:gju*

There are further two constructions that resemble in meaning the probabilitive and apparentive forms, *da:gju/da:kju* (may also be pronounced *ra:gju/ra:kju*) and *tʰɛ:gju*, which occur in the same positions as the apparentive *da* (*bɛʔ*). The form *da:gju/da:kju*, which may include the apparentive *da*, is used at least in Ralang and Tashiding in West Sikkim whereas *tʰɛ:gju* is used in Martam, East Sikkim. The two forms are here, inspired by the use in (8.229), tentatively glossed as ‘approximative’ (APPR). However, the meaning is in many instances indistinguishable from the probabilitive and apparentive form. Similarly to copulas, the approximative forms may occur independently without other verbal marking.<sup>328</sup>

<sup>327</sup> English has two options for negating the apparentive *seem*, ‘He doesn’t seem to have come’ and ‘He seems not to have come’, whereas in Denjongke the negation of the apparentive is possible only analogously to the latter English construction.

<sup>328</sup> My data has no examples of the independent use of *tʰɛ:gju*, but because *tʰɛ:gju* seems the Martam equivalent of *ra:gju*, independent uses probably exist.

(8.229) ལྷ་པོ་ལོ་རྟོ་ school བི་ fee ལྷ་བརྩུ་ འདྲ་འགྲུ་ལགས།  
*dou=lo=to* *iskul=gi* *p<sup>hi</sup>:* *ŋábgja* *ra:kju=la.*<sup>329</sup>  
 month=DAT=CEMPH school(Eng.)=GEN fee(Eng) 500 APPR=HON  
 ‘The monthly school fees are around 500 (rupes).’ (TB discussion with KT)

(8.230) མོ་ན་ བཟོ་ དགོས་ ཤད་ འདྲ་འགྲུ།  
*óna dzo go:=εε* *ra:kju.*  
 there build be.needed=INF APPR  
 ‘It appears (we) have to build (it) there.’ (TB discussion with KL)

The following examples illustrate the use of the approximative in auxiliary position. Examples (8.231-233) illustrate uses postposed to a nominalized verb, and (8.234) a use with the progressive.

(8.231) ངའི་ ཡམ་ རྒྱུ་མེད་ ད་ ལོ་ བརྩུ་ བཙོ་ལྷ་ ལངམ་ འདྲ་འགྲུ།  
*ŋè:* *ám* *t’ò:-ti* *t’a* *lò* *tɛu* *tɛŋa* *lám*  
 1SG.GEN mother die.HON-NF now year ten fifteen reach.2INF  
*ɖa:gju.*  
 APPR  
 ‘It’s probably ten to fifteen years since my father died.’ (DB life story)

(8.232) བཏང་བོ་ འདྲ་འགྲུ་, ང་ མ་ཐོབ་བོ་ ཟུད།  
*tã:-bo* *ɖa:(k)ju,* *ŋà* *ma-t<sup>h</sup>ob=bɛ?*  
 send-2INF APPR 1SG NEG-receive.2INF=EQU.NE  
 ‘Probably (they) sent (it), (but) I didn’t receive (it).’ (PED life story)

(8.233) ལྷམ་ རབ་རྩུ་ འདི་ཡང་ ཡོད་རྟོ་ ཡོད་བོ་ ཐེ་འགྲུ།  
*lám* *rabge:=di=jã:* *jò:-to* *jò-p(o)* *t<sup>h</sup>ɛ:gju.*  
 lama Rabgen=DEMPH=too EX.PER-CEMPH(or PROG) EX-2INF APPR  
 ‘Lam Rabgen probably is there too.’ (AB kitchen)

(8.234) རྟེ་ མོ་འདེ་ མིན་དོ་ ཐེ་འགྲུ།  
*tɛ* *óde:* *ín-do* *t<sup>h</sup>ɛ:gju.*  
 so like.that EQU.PER-PROG APPR  
 ‘So it seems to be like that.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

#### 8.5.4 Permissives *tɛ<sup>h</sup>o?* and *tup*

The two permissive secondary verbs *tɛ<sup>h</sup>o?* ‘be allowed’ and *tup* ‘be fitting, be proper’ have partly overlapping semantics. By using the secondary verb *tɛ<sup>h</sup>o?* ‘be allowed, be right’ the speaker’s evaluates whether something is permissible or not with reference to some moral or other norm. Hence *tɛ<sup>h</sup>o?* may be termed an objective permissive in contrast to subjective permissive *tup*, which is concerned with ad hoc evaluation by the speaker. The permissives may be negated by either *ma-* or *mi-*, the former having a past meaning and the latter a present meaning. According to informant KN, the past form of the affirmative *tɛ<sup>h</sup>o?* is *tɛ<sup>h</sup>ok-o* *í:/bɛ?*,

<sup>329</sup> This clause is a typical case of code-mixing. The official language in schools is English and therefore the speakers are more used to the English expression “school fee” than its Denjongke equivalent *lópɬa=gi lá* ལྷ་བཟོ་ལགས་ལྷ་པོ་ལོ་རྟོ་

although this form does not occur in my natural examples. See (8.235) for an affirmative example and (8.236-237) for negated examples. Note that in (8.235) the affirmative use has the meaning ‘should’.

(8.235) བཤེད་དོ་ འདེམ་ ལྷན་ ཚོགས།  
*ɛ́é:-to dem p'ja tɛ'ho?*  
 seize-PROG like.that do be.allowed  
 ‘it’s like (they) should be caught’ (CY interview)

(8.236) འཇུ་ ཀོས་ མི་ཚོགས།  
*tʰu ko: mi-tɛ'ho?*  
 pick throw NEG-be.allowed  
 ‘It’s not right to throw (it) away (like that).’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

(8.237) ང་ཅག་གིས་ འདི་ རྒྱལ་ རྒྱབས་ མི་ཚོགས་ ལ།  
*ŋàtea=ki=di kum kjap mi-tɛ'ho:=s.*  
 1PL=AGT=DEMPH stealing do NEG=be.allowed=QUO  
 ‘We are not allowed to steal.’ (YR canteen video)

The affirmative form may be followed by an equative copula (in my data, the negated form is not followed by an equative):

(8.238) རང་ ངའི་ རྩ་ ལྷོན་པོ་ གནང་ནེ་ ལྷོན་པོ་ གནང་ ཚོགས་ མིན།  
*rã: ɲé:=tsa: tɛ'ɛm-bo nã:-ne tɛ'ɛm-bo nã:*  
 2SG.L 1SG.GEN=at come.HON-2INF do.hon-COND come-2INF do.HON  
*tɛ'ho í:*  
 be.allowed EQU.PER  
 ‘If you come to my place, you can (=are allowed) come.’ (KT phone call)

(8.239) ལླ་མ་ ལབ་རུང་ ལབ་ ཚོགས་ ལྷད།  
*láma làp-run làp tɛ'ho bɛ?*  
 lama say-CONC say be.allowed EQU.NE  
 ‘It’s alright to call (it) [lama]’ (lit. ‘Even if you call (it) a lama, it’s alright.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

Whereas *tɛ'ho?* ‘be allowed’ makes reference to some objective norm against which an action is evaluated, the secondary verb *tup* ‘deem fitting’ expresses a more subjective evaluation of the appropriateness of an action, see (8.240-242). In (8.240), an M.C. is asking a festival crowd whether they enjoy the program.

(8.240) བཏུབ་ཀྱི་?  
*tup-ka?*  
 deem.fitting-PQ  
 ‘Is (it) fitting/alright?’ (NAB, oh)

(8.241) ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ མཇུ་སྟོབས་ རྣམས་རྒྱལ་གིས་ གསན་ མ་བཏུབ་པོ།  
*tɛ'hoŋɛ: tʰutop námɛ:=gi sɛn ma-tup-o.*  
 king PN PN=AGT listen.HON NEG-be.fitting-2INF  
 ‘King Thutop Namgyal did not seem it fit to obey.’ (CY interview)

- (8.242) གལ་སྲིད་... རང་རྩལ་གནང་སྲི་གི་འདུ་སྟོང་ཕྱིན་མ་བཟུང་ནེ་ངས་ཁམ་ཚུ་སྐྱེལ་ཤང་ཨིན་མེ་ལབ་པོ་ལོ།  
*kʰɛ:si ... rã:=tsa: ná:-diki du-ti p'in ma-tup-nɛ ɣá:*  
 if 2SG.L=at give-NF collect-NF give NEG-be.fitting-COND 1SG.AGT  
*kʰamteʰu kɛ:=ɕĩ:=s lãp-o=lo.*  
 court.case bring=NPST.PER=QUO say-2INF=REP  
 ‘If...(I) having asked you and collected, you do not deem it fit to give, I will take this case to court.’ (SD bet story)

Although in (8.240-242) a human agent makes the evaluation, *tup* may also occur in contexts without a human agent, as if fate is personified:

- (8.243) ལྷམ་ཚོས་སྐུ་བས་ཟང་ནེ་photo རྩོམ་མ་བཟུང་པོ་ལོ་སྟེ།  
*lám teʰøpʰɛl kjap=sã:=nɛ pʰoʈo (Eng.) dze: tʰøŋ*  
 lama PN do=until=TOP photo at.all become  
*ma-tup-o=lo=s.*  
 NEG-be.fitting-2INF=REP=QUO  
 ‘When a picture was being taken of Lama Chopel, it did not deem fit to work out at all, it is said.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

The permissive *tup* is also used in contexts analogous with *teʰoʈ*, as shown by comparison of (8.244) with (8.237) above. Based on other uses, it may be surmised that *tup* in (8.244) leans towards expediency and *teʰoʈ* in (8.237) towards moral obligation. The generally valid statement in (8.244) is negated by *mi-* and the past statement in (8.243) by *ma-*.

- (8.244) ང་ཅག་གིས་སྐྱོག་གཅོད་མི་བཟུང།  
*ɣàtea=ki só: teéʔ mi-tup.*  
 1PL=AGT life cut NEG-be.fitting  
 ‘We shouldn’t take life.’ (YR canteen video)

### 8.5.5 Temporal evaluative *ren* ‘be time to’

By using the secondary verb *ren* ‘be time to’ the speaker expresses that in their evaluation a time for the verbal action (denoted by the primary verb) has come. The verb *ren* differs from other secondary verbs in that it does not occur as a primary verb, and even as a secondary verb it has a very limited distribution. It either occurs as the final marker in the clause, see (8.245) or is followed by the imperfective marker *-to* (8.246). Other constructions, such as the periphrastic past \*VERB *ren-bo beʔ* and completive \*VERB *ren-tsʰa:* do not occur. A nominalized form, however, occurs in the idiom given in (8.247).

- (8.245) ད་ལྟོ་ཁོང་སྐྱབས་རན།  
*t'ato kʰõ: ʃɛp ren.*  
 now 3SG.HON arrive be.time.to  
 ‘Now it’s time for him to come.’ (KUN e)

- (8.246) མོམ་ཁོལ་རན་ཏོ་མ་ལག་ལྷ་ཚེ།  
*óm kʰø: ren-to. màlaʔ ta-teʰi.*  
 milk boil be.time.to-IPFV quick look-IMP.FRN  
 ‘It’s time for milk to boil. Look at (it) quickly.’ (KUN e)

- (8.247) འགྲུ་རན་ཚོང་རན་པོ་ལས་ད་འདེམ་གན་བྱས་པོ་ཞིན།  
*gju ren do: ren-po=le t'a dem k'an p'ja-u t̃:?*  
 go be.time.to stay be.time.to-2INF=ABL now such what do-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Just as everything was going smoothly, why did (you) do like that?’ (KUN e)

Note that in (8.246) the person has not seen the milk boil but evaluates that sufficient time has passed for the action to take or have taken place.

Sandberg (1895: 74) reports a similar use of *ren*. His imperfective marker, however, has a voiced initial (*-do*) in contrast to *-to* in my data.

- (8.248) Sandberg (1895: 74) (WD, transcription and glossing mine)  
 ཟ་རན་དོ།  
*sà ren-do*  
 eat be.time.to-IPFV  
 ‘It’s time to eat’

### 8.5.6 Moral and practical evaluative (*mi-)*le? ‘be (not) good’

The secondary verb (*mi-)*le?, which typically occurs negated, expresses the speaker’s evaluation about the goodness or practicality of a course of action.

- (8.249) མོ་འདི་བྱས་མི་ལགས།  
*ódi p'ja mi-le?*  
 that do NEG-be.good  
 ‘It is not good to do that.’ (KN, CY interview)
- (8.250) ཟས་འདི་ཚོང་གིས་ཟ་མི་ལགས།  
*sàm=di te<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki sà mi-le?*  
 food=DEMPH 2SG.L=AGT eat NEG-be.good  
 ‘It is not good for you to eat the food.’ (Rna-gsung 9)
- (8.251) ཆེ་ཙ་ཀྱུ་བཞེས་པོ་གནང་ཚོང་། ཡང་ན་ང་ཅའི་ལག་ཀ་ལས་བཞེས་མི་ལགས་པོ་?  
*te<sup>h</sup>ε: àgja, ze:-po ná:-mø? jã:ne ηàtɛi làka=le*  
 oh.no elder.bother eat.HON-2INF do.HON-URG or 1PL.GEN hand=ABL  
*ze: mi-lè:-po?*  
 eat.HON NEG-be.good-2INF  
 ‘Oh no, brother, please eat, by all means. Or is it not good to eat from our hands?’  
 (Richhi 20)

In many situation, *mi-le?* is functionally very close to negated permissives *mi-te<sup>h</sup>o?* ‘be not allowed’ and *mi-tup* ‘deem not fitting’.

### 8.5.7 General abilitatives *ts<sup>h</sup>u?* ‘be able to’ and *εé:* ‘know’

The secondary verbs *ts<sup>h</sup>u?* ‘be able to’ (WT ཚུགས་ *ts<sup>h</sup>ugs*) and *εé:* ‘know’ (WT ཤེས་ *shes*) express the speaker’s evaluation about the proposition’s actor’s ability to do something. The form *ts<sup>h</sup>u?* is described first, then *εé:*. The abilitative *ts<sup>h</sup>u?* may occur as the sentence-final morpheme or be followed by other verbal suffixes. The negated forms are present/future *mi-ts<sup>h</sup>u?* (EQU) and past *ma-ts<sup>h</sup>u?* (EQU). The affirmative past form is *ts<sup>h</sup>u-po* EQU. In (8.252) and (8.253) *ts<sup>h</sup>u?* occurs as sentence-final morpheme.

(8.252) ཉེ་རང་རྟོ་ལ་ཤ་ནགས་ཚམ་ནང་ཤ་བྱག་འདི་ཚུའི་ནང་ཤ་ལེབ་རྒྱག་ཚུགས།  
*te rã:=to k'aea nã:tsɛ: nãŋea p'ja? di=tsu=i nãŋea lɛp*  
 then 2SG.L=CEMPH deer forest inside cliff this=PL=GEN inside very.much  
***gjuk ts'hu?***  
 run be.able.to  
 'But you, a deer, are able very well to run in the forest and these cliffs.' (UU deer story)

(8.253) མོ་འདིས་བྱས་ང་སློག་མ་ཚུགས།  
*ódi-p'ja ŋà ɖok ma-ts'hu?*  
 that-ADVZR 1SG study NEG-be.able.to  
 'That's why I could not study.' (PED life story)

Both the affirmative (8.254-255) and negated forms (8.256) can also be followed by an equative copula.

(8.254) འདི་རྟོ་ཟླ་ལོ་གཉིས་འདེ་ཅིག་ཉེ་བྱིམ་ན་བཞག་ཚུགས་སྟངས།  
*di=ta<sup>330</sup> dau jí: de:tei? te k'him=na zak ts'hu bɛ?*  
 this=CEMPH month two that.much then house=LOC set be.able.to EQU.NE  
 'It can then be placed inside the house for some two months.' (PL interview)

(8.255) མོ་འདི་རྟོ་བུ་བུམ་ཀ་ཀེས་བྱས་ཅུང་བྱས་ཚུགས་ཨིན།  
*ódi=ta p'u p'um ka=gi p'ja-run p'ja ts'hu í:*  
 that=CEMPH boy girl who=AGT do-CONC do be.able.to EQU.PER  
 'That (work) can be done by either boys or girls.' (Lit. 'Even if a boy or a girl did (it), (they) can do it'. (PL interview)

(8.256) ད་རིང་གི་ཐག་གཅད་འདི་ད་ལྟ་རེ་ཐོན་མི་ཚུགས་སྟངས།  
*t'ariŋ=gi t'hakteɛ:=di t'atare t'en mi-ts'hu bɛ?*  
 today=GEN decision=DEMPH now happen NEG-be.able.to EQU.NE  
 'Today's decision cannot be made right now.' (BB BB discussion)

The following examples illustrate the nonpast, past and present habitual uses of *ts'hu?* respectively:

(8.257) ཀ་ན་འགྱུ་ཚུགས་ཤང་ཨ་བ་?  
*k'ana gju ts'hu:-ɛɛ? ápa?*  
 where go be.able.to-INF father  
 'Where will (we) be able to go, father?' (AB kitchen discussion)

(8.258) ང་ལོ་སྐད་རིགས་ཀྱི་སློབ་དཔོན་གཡོག་ཐོབ་ཚུགས་པོ་ཨིན།  
*ŋà=lo kerí=ki lópɔ̃: jó? t'op ts'hu-po í:*  
 1SG=DAT language=GEN teacher work receive be.able.to-2INF EQU.PER  
 'I was able to get a job as a language teacher.' (KT life story)

<sup>330</sup> Here the contrastive emphatic is pronounced in the Nepali way as *ta* and not as typical Denjongke *to*. The written Denjongke, however, has ཏོ *to*. The same happens, with the same speaker, in (8.255).

- (8.259) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་གནས་འདི་ལོ་<sup>331</sup>སྐོར་མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་སྤང།  
*d̪endzɔŋ=gi nɛː=di po kor*  
 Sikkim=GEN sacred.site=DEMPH EMPH(Nep.) go.round  
*mi-tsʰu-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*  
 NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘(He) is not able to visit even the sacred sites of Sikkim.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

In addition to uses as primary verb, *ɛéː* ‘know’ can be used as a secondary verb marking ability:

- (8.260) ཁོང་གི་མ་ཤེས་ཅུང་སྐད་འདི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལགས་ཨོ་འདི་སྤང།  
*kʰõː tʰi ma-ɛéː-ruŋ kɛː=di kjap ɛéː-to=la, ódi gãː.*  
 3PL write NEG-know-CONC language=DEMPH strike know-IPFV=HON that time  
 ‘Although they could not write, (they) could speak the language, at that time.’ (RL interview)
- (8.261) ཚོགས་ཤེས་ཀ?  
*dok ɛéː-ka?*  
 read know-PQ  
 ‘Can you read?’ (UT e)
- (8.262) སྐང་ཚོ་ཤེས་ཀམ་?  
*láː mó ɛéː-kam?*  
 bull plough know-ATTQ  
 ‘Can he plough with a bull, I wonder?’ (SGD weddin customs)

Abilitative modality may also be expressed by the construction VERB-*ɛɛ* EX, see §8.4.

### 8.5.8 Mental abilitative *nùm* ‘dare, have courage to’

The secondary verb *nùm* ‘dare, have courage’, which may be characterized as one type of mental ability (alongside, for instance, intellectual ability), typically, and perhaps exclusively, occurs as a negated declarative (8.263) or an interrogative (8.264). I do not have affirmative declarative examples.

- (8.263) ང་འགྲུ་མི་རུམ།  
*ŋà gju mi-nùm.*  
 1SG go NEG-dare  
 ‘I don’t dare to go.’ (KTL e)
- (8.264) ཐྱོ་བྱ་འདི་བསད་རུམ་ཀ?  
*biu=di séʔ nùm-ka?*  
 snake=DEMPH kill dare-PQ  
 ‘Do you dare to kill the snake?’ (KTL e)

<sup>331</sup> ལོ here represents the Nepali emphatic *po*.

### 8.5.9 Physical abilitative *kʰø?* ‘to have the strength to’

The secondary verb *kʰø?* (WD ལྷོད *khyod*) expresses a special case of abilitative, ‘to have the strength to’. This verb collocates especially with the verb *bak* ‘carry’:

- (8.265) ལུ་ ཚོ་ འདི་ན་ ལྷོག་གོ་ མ་ལུན་ འདེམ་ ལྷོས་ ཚོ་ བམ་ན་ ལུ་ ལྷོག་གོ་ ལོ་འདི་ འབག་ ལྷོད་ཀྱི་?  
*kʰu tsʰɛ=di=na diko ma-nun dɛm-pʼja tsʰɛ pʰam=na*  
 3SGM life=DEMPH=LOC sin NEG-few such-ADVZR life other.side=LOC  
*kʰu diko ódi bak kʰø:-ka?*  
 3SGM sin that carry have.strength-PQ  
 ‘Because of so many sins in this life, will he be able to carry that sin in the coming life?’ (KN e)

### 8.5.10 Temporal abilitative *lò:* ‘have time to’

The secondary verb *lò:*, which does not occur as an independent verb (and thus cannot be termed “versatile”, see Matisoff 1969, 1973 and Delancey 1991), is homophonous with the verb *lò:* ‘stand’, but differs from it syntactically in that whereas *lò:* ‘stand’ functions like a typical verb, *lò:* ‘have time to’ is always followed by an existential auxiliary. Typically the construction is negated, as in (8.266) and (8.267), but it also occurs as affirmed, see (8.268) and (8.269).

- (8.266) གསོལ་ཇ་ ལྷོ་ལོང་ མེད།  
*só:za èu lò: mè?*  
 tea.HON have.HUM have.time.to NEG.EX.PER.  
 ‘(We) do not have time to have tea.’ (DB trip story)
- (8.267) ད་ལྟོ་ ང་ མ་ཚུ་ ཚུར་ འགྱུ་ ལོང་ མེད། ལྷོས་ན་ གཡོག་ ཡོད།  
*t'ato ŋà áteu=tsa: gju lò: mè? kʰim=na jó?*  
 now 1SG elder.brother=at go have.time.to NEG.EX.PER house=LOC work  
*jò?*  
 EX.PER  
 ‘I have now no time to come to the brother’s (=your) place. I have work at home.’  
 (YR e)
- (8.268) ང་ གཡོག་ མེད། འགྱུ་ལོང་ ཡོད།  
*ŋà jó? mè? gju lò: jò?*  
 1SG work NEG.EX.PER go have.time.to EX.PER  
 ‘I do not have work. I have time to go (there).’ (YR e)
- (8.269) ང་ ད་ཅི་ལས་ འོང་ལེ་ ལྷོས་ཟང་ གན་མའི་ འོང་ལོང་ འདུག་གོ་?  
*ŋà t'atei=lɛ ó:-ni pʼja=sã: k'amø: ó: lò:*  
 1SG a.bit.earlier=ABL come-3INF do-TERM what.GEN come have.time.to  
*duk-o?*  
 EX.SEN-2INF  
 ‘Although I tried to come a bit earlier but whence the time for coming? (rnam-rtog 1)

A particularly frequent nominalized adverbial use of *lò:* ‘have time to’, expressing the semantic equivalent of English ‘as soon as’, is exemplified in (8.270):



- (8.270) བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ ལྷོབས་ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ ཡི་གེ་ རྩི་གད་ མིན་  
*bombai=lo jɛp lɔː mɛː-po jigi tʰi-ɛɛ t̃i.*  
 TPN=DAT arrive have.time.to NEG.EX-2INF letter write-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I’ll write a letter as soon as I arrive in Bombay.’ (Richhi 138)

The reason why *lɔː* ‘have time’ is not used as primary verb is probably that Denjongke has another verb *tʰɛː* ‘have time to’, which can be used independently:

- (8.271) མིན་དལ་ལོ།  
*mìn-deː=lo.*  
 NEG-have.time=REP  
 ‘(He) does not have time, (they) heard (him say).’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

### 8.5.11 Deontic modal *go?* ‘be needed, must’

The affirmative form of the deontic modal secondary verb *go?* ‘be needed, must’ indicates that something, in the speaker’s opinion, needs to be done (in affirmative), see (8.272).

- (8.272) ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ དེབ་ རྩི་ དགོས།  
*tɛʰɕː=ki tʰɛp tʰi go?*  
 2SG.L=AGT book write be.needed  
 ‘You have to write a book/books.’ (YR canteen video)

The construction can be negated in two ways, which bear a semantic difference. Preposing the negator prefix to the secondary verb *go?* has the meaning ‘does not need to’ (8.273), whereas preposing the negator to the primary verb has the meaning ‘must not’ (8.274).

- (8.273) ཨོམ་མཛད་ བསམ་གྲུབ་ རྫོད་ མིན་དགོས་ཤོ།  
*ómdzɛ? sámɕup dɔː miŋ-goː=ɛo.*  
 second.lama PN sit NEG-be.needed=AT  
 ‘Omze Samdrup does not need to participate (in the ceremony), you know.’ (LT kitchen discussion)

- (8.274) ང་ཅག་གིས་ རྩོག་ མ་བསད་ དགོས།  
*ŋàtɛa=ki sók ma-sɛ go?*  
 1PL=AGT life NEG-kill be.needed  
 ‘We mustn’t take life.’ (YR canteen video)

The form can also be used as an independent primary verb (i.e. without a preceding verb) with the meaning ‘need to have’ (the various forms of the S argument in these clauses are commented in §5.3.1):

- (8.275) ངས་/ང་ལོ་/\*ང་ རྩི་ དགོས།  
*ŋáː/ŋà=lo/\*ŋà tɛʰu go?*  
 1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/\*1SG water be.needed  
 ‘I need water.’ (KN e)

- (8.276) ངས་/ང་ལོ་/ང་ ལྷ་ཚན་ མིན་དགོས།  
*ŋá:/ŋà=lo/ŋà tɛ<sup>h</sup>uts<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* *miŋ-go?*  
 1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/1SG hot.water NEG-be.needed  
 ‘I don’t need hot water.’ (KT e)

The equative copula *bɛʔ/=pɛʔ* may follow *goʔ* (the equative *í:* does not occur in this position in my data).

- (8.277) ཨ་རྒྱ་ དགོངས་པོ་ ལྷ་དགོས་པད།  
*ágya gom(po) ɛ̀ù go:ʔ=pɛʔ.*  
 elder.brother permission request be.needed-EQU.NE  
 ‘Brother, I need to request permission (to leave).’ (Richhi 70)

- (8.278) མོ་འདེམ་ ལྷ་ མིན་དགོས་ ཟླ་ཤོ།  
*ódem ɛ̀ù min-goʔ bɛ=ɛo.*  
 like.that say.HUM NEG-be.needed EQU.NE=AT  
 ‘(They) shouldn’t say like that, you know.’ (KN kitchen)

Typically *goʔ* is postposed to the verb root, but in some instances it is appended to an infinitival form of the verb:

- (8.279) ཐབ་ར་ན་ ཉེ་ར་ ལྷ་ ལུལ་ཤང་ དགོས་ཤང་ ཟླ།  
*t<sup>h</sup>abra=na tɛ:ra tɛ<sup>h</sup>u p<sup>h</sup>y:-ɛɛ go:-ɛɛ bɛʔ.*  
 fireplace=LOC again water offer-INF be.needed-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Again water has to be offered in the fireplace.’ (SGD wedding customs)

In addition to the nonpast form exemplified in (8.279), *goʔ* may occur in the periphrastic past (8.280) and present habitual construction (8.281):

- (8.280) རྫོས་གར་ན་ འགན་ ལེན་མཁན་ཚུའི་ རང་ལས་ རྫོབ་དཔོན་ ལྷ་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ཉི་ ལྷ་རང་ མ་དགོས་པོ་ ཟླ།  
*dø:gar=na gen lɛŋ-k<sup>h</sup>en=tsu=i nàŋ=lɛ lópɕn*  
 play=LOC responsibility take-NMLZ=PL=GEN inside=ABL teacher  
*ʃɛŋgɛ:=tsu=lo=to ɛ̀ù=rã: maŋ-go:-po bɛʔ.*  
 PRN.HON=PL=DAT=DEMPH say.HUM=AEMPH NEG-be.needed-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘From among those who took responsibilities in the play, I didn’t even have to mention you, teachers.’ (Richhi 70)

- (8.281) ད་ གཡོག་ ལྷས་ དགོས་མཁན་ ཟླ།  
*t'a jóʔ p'ja go:-k<sup>h</sup>en bɛʔ.*  
 now work do be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Now work needs to be done.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Denjongke does not have an exact equivalent of the English verb ‘want’. Resembling semantics, however, may be expressed through a combination of the deontic modal and the verb *no* ‘think’:

(8.282) མོས་ ཀམ་ མཉམ་པོ་ ལ་ ལབ་ དགོས་ མཐོ་ཅང་  
*mú:*        *karma*   *jàmpu*   *kʰa-lap*        *go?*        *nó-ruŋ*  
 3SGF.AGT   PN        with        mouth-speak   be.needed   think-CONC  
 ‘Although she wanted to talk with Karma...’ (lit. ‘thought she must talk’) (Richhi 126)

(8.283) འགྱུ་ དགོས་ མཐོ་བོ་ མིན།  
*gju*   *go?*        *nó-u*        *í:*  
 go   be.needed   think-2INF   EQU.PER  
 ‘(I) wanted to go.’ (lit. ‘I though I must go.’) (TB e)

### 8.5.12 Possibility with *si?* ‘be possible’

The rather infrequent secondary verb *si?* expresses possibility and, as negated, impossibility.

(8.284) ལྷ་མཚོའི་ ལྷ་ ལོམ་ སྲིད་ འོང་།  
*gjamtsʰo:*   *tɛʰu*        *kʰom*        *si?*        *ò:*  
 sea.gen   water   become.dry   be.possible   FUT.UNC  
 ‘It is possible for the water of the ocean(s) to dry up.’ (song lyrics)

Consultant KN commented that *si?* does not occur in past constructions, while example (8.285) shows that *si?* does occur in the nonpast construction:

(8.285) མ་གཞི་ འགོ་ལེས་ ཆ་སྟོམས་པོ་ ལྷུང་སྲིད་ཤད་ ལྷད།  
*màzi*   *doli?*        *tɛʰa*   *jóm-po*   *tɛʰuŋ*        *si:-ɛɛ*        *bɛ?*  
 actually   tradition   pair   level   become   be.possible-INF   EQU.NE  
 ‘Actually, it will be possible for the tradition to become equal (for the rich and the poor).’ (sbar-phung 91)

The negated examples below suggest a frequent collocation of negated *si?* with *tʰon* ‘happen, become’ and *tsalɛ* ‘at all’:

(8.286) ཉེ་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་ ལྷ་ལས་ར་ འཛོན་ མི་སྲིད།  
*tɛ*   *di*        *ɲàtɛa?*   *tsalɛ=ra*        *tʰon*        *mi-si?*  
 so this   1PL        at.all=AEMPH   happen   NEG-be.possible  
 ‘It is definitely not possible for us to make it happen.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(8.287) མན་ འདི་ཉོ་ ལྷ་ལས་ འཛོན་ མི་སྲིད།  
*mɛ:*   *de:=to*        *tsalɛ*   *tʰon*        *mi-si?*  
 no   like.that=CEMPH   at.all   happen   NEG-be.possible  
 ‘No, it is not at all possible that that happens.’ (Richhi 116)

### 8.5.13 Tentativity with *ta* ‘look’

The secondary verb *ta* ‘look’ denotes tentative and experimental action whose outcome is uncertain. Similar use of the verb ‘see’ to mark “tentative aspect” has been reported, for instance, in Tibeto-Burman Lahu (Matisoff 1973) and Galo (Post 2007: 497), the Tai-Kadai language Maonan (Lu 2008: 310) and Indo-Aryan Assamese (Post 2008: 65). I consider, however, tentative modality a better term, because the category is not essentially about time-perspective. The secondary verb *ta* frequently collocates with *tʰi* ‘ask’, which denotes an action the result of which is by definition uncertain, see (8.288) and (8.289). Because

experimental action is frequently expressed through a suggestion, the secondary verb *ta* often occurs in the hortative mood, see (8.289), (8.290) and (8.291) or another type of suggestive construction, see (8.292).

- (8.288) ཚོད་གན་འབྲང་ལབ་སྟེ་དྲི་སྟོན་ལོ།  
*tɛʰøʔ kan bjð: làp-ti tʰi ta-u=lo.*  
 2SG.L what disappear say-NF ask look-2INF=REP  
 ‘What of yours disappeared he asked (so the story goes).’ (JDF axe story)
- (8.289) ཨ་པོ་ཨ་མ་ལོ་ཨ་ཚེ་ཅིག་ང་ཅག་དྲི་སྟེ།  
*ápo áma=lo átsi=tɛiʔ ηàteaʔ tʰi ta-gɛ.*  
 father mother a.bit=INDF 1PL ask look-HORT  
 ‘Let’s see and ask father and mother.’ (SGD wedding customs)
- (8.290) ཇ་བཟོ་བྱིན་སྟེ་གེ་སེ་མོ་བྱང་ལོ།  
*tɛʼa zo pʼin ta-gɛ=s jɛ: mòby=lo.*  
 tea make give look-HORT=QUO 1SG.GEN wife=DAT  
 ‘Let’s look and make tea for my wife.’ (KT e)
- (8.291) རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིལོ་ལོག་ཅན་རང་ལ་ལབ་སྟེ་གེ།  
*gɛ:po=di=lo lòkteɛ=rã: kʰa-lap ta-gɛ-tɛʰi.*  
 king=DEMPH=DAT again=AEMPH mouth-speak look-HORT-IMP.FRN  
 ‘Let’s again try and speak (in incantation) to this (spirit) king.’ (rnam-rtog 8)
- (8.292) སྐྱམ་ཁང་ན་བྱིག་སྟེ་སྟོན་སྟེ་གེ་ཤོ་  
*mɛŋkʰã:=na kʰik-ti tɔŋ ta-nɛ=ɛoʔ*  
 hospital=LOC lead-NF show look-COND=AT  
 ‘What if (we) look (or try) and take and show him at the hospital?’ (rnam-rtog 17)

The honorific equivalent *zi*: ‘look, see (hon.)’ can also be used in similar function to *ta*.

- (8.293) དྲི་གཟེགས་པོ་གནང་ཆེ།  
*tʰi zi:-po nã:-tɛʰi.*  
 ask look.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN  
 ‘Try and ask (him/her).’ (KN e)

#### 8.5.14 Pretensive -*dzin tʰap*

The pretensive is formed by postposing to the verb -*dzin tʰap*, consisting of WT རྩུན་ *rdzun* ‘lie’ and the verbalizer *tʰap* of uncertain etymological origin (possibly WT འཐབ་ *’thab* ‘fight, quarrel’).

- (8.294) ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་རྩུན་ཐབ་པོ་སྤང།  
*kʰu jóʔ pʼja-dzin tʰap-o bɛʔ.*  
 3SGM work do-PRET VBLZ-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘He pretended he was working.’ (KN e)

When the pretensive is used with a constituent complement clause, the verb occurs twice, the complement being formed from a genitivized infinitive or nominalized form, see (8.295), where *gju-ɛɛ=ki* [go-INF=GEN] could be replaced by *gju-bø*: [go-2INF.GEN].

- (8.295) ལུ་ན་ལས་ འགྲུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ འགྲུ་རྒྱན་ ཐབ་པོ་ སྤང།  
*kʰu* [nà:=lɛ *gju-ɛɛ=ki*] *gju-dzin tʰap-o beʔ*.  
 3SGM here=ABL go-INF=GEN go-PRET VBLZ-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘He pretended he was going from here.’ (KN e)

The pretensive form, which attaches directly to the verb root, is a grammaticalization of the complex verb *dzin tʰap* ‘pretend’, which occurs with a nominalized complement (complement given in square brackets):

- (8.296) དེ་ཟང་ གནད་སྐབས་ འདིས་ ལུས་སྟེ་ མོས་ ང་ལོ་ ངོ་ ཤེས་རུང་ ངོ་ མ་ཤེས་པའི་ རྒྱན་ ཐབ་པོ་ འད།  
*tʰizã: né:tã:=di: pʼja-ti mú: ηà=lo ηò ɛé:-ruŋ*  
 but situation=DEMPH.AGT do-NF 3SGF.AGT 1SG=DAT face know-CON  
 [*ηò ma- ɛé:-pø:*] *dzin tʰap-o da*.  
 face NEG-know-2INF.GEN lie VBLZ-2INF be.similar  
 ‘But because of this situation, although she knows me, it is as if (she) pretends (she) does not know.’ (Richhi 171)

## 8.6 Summary remarks

This lengthy chapter described constructions which express tense, aspect and modality. The discussion on tense and aspect was divided into past oriented constructions, present/future constructions, and progressive/durative constructions. A lot of semantic overlap was shown to exist between forms expressing completion (completive, perfect, resultative, secondary verb ‘finish’) and durativity (imperfective, continuous, progressive, durative). Nuances of difference between the semantically similar constructions call for further research.

The present analysis was shown to differ from Sandberg (1895), especially with reference to past and completive forms: Sandberg reports a ‘past’ form (-sõ:) that does not occur in the present description and does not report the completive form which does occur in the present description (-tsʰa:). It was also noted that the infinitive forms -ɛɛʔ and =ɲi syntactically overlap in some constructions but not in others. Furthermore, I described 16 modality-expressing markers, most of them secondary verbs. As an example of modal functions, secondary verbs can express ability from several perspectives, general, mental, physical and temporal.

## 9 Evidentiality marked by auxiliaries and clitics

This chapter continues the discussion on evidentiality which began in chapter 7 on copulas. Chapter 8 on tense, aspect and modality-marking construction was placed between the two chapters on evidentiality because it is easier to understand the discussion on the evidential uses of copulas and clitics in various constructions after those construction have been introduced. The current chapter widens the discussion on evidentiality into two directions. First, here the discussion on evidential functions of copulas is extended to their auxiliary uses at the end of the verb complex (§9.1). Second, this chapter addresses the evidential clitics, reportative =*lo* and quotative =*se* (§9.2). For a definition of evidentiality, see §7.1.

The description in this chapter concerns only finite main clauses. Reportative and quotative markers do not occur in dependent clauses,<sup>332</sup> and in dependent clauses evidential contrasts in auxiliaries are neutralized so that only the personal copulas *í:* and *jò?* (and not neutral *bɛ?* and sensorial *du?* and) occur.<sup>333</sup> The concessive construction in (9.1) exemplifies an evidentially neutral, dependent construction. In (9.1), *í:* cannot be replaced by *bɛ?*.

- (9.1) ཉེ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ཚུ་ག་ག་བཞུགས་མཁམ་ཞིན་ཅང་  
*tɛ ʎɛŋgɛ:=tsu k'a: zu:-kʰɛ: í:-ruŋ...*  
 so PRN.HON=PL where live.HON-NMLZ EQU-CONC  
 'So wherever you live...' (KT life story)

### 9.1 Evidentiality marked by auxiliaries

As shown by the ensuing discussion, the copulas *í:*, *bɛ?*, *jò?* and *du?* retain their basic meaning when used as auxiliaries. The use of the personal equative *í:* and personal existential *jò?* is associated with 1) well-integrated old knowledge, 2) spatiotemporal proximity and 3) emotional involvement, whereas the neutral auxiliary *bɛ?* is associated with the lack of these three characterizations. The sensorial existential *du?* is associated with sensoriality and momentariness<sup>334</sup>.

The discussion below first addresses equative auxiliaries (§9.1.1) and then existential auxiliaries (§9.1.2). The final section (§9.1.3) discusses evidentiality of the various completive constructions which involved the completive *tsʰa(:)*.

#### 9.1.1 Equative copulas *í:* and *bɛ?* as auxiliaries

The equatives *í:* and *bɛ?* occur in past (VERB-*po* EQU)<sup>335</sup>, present habitual (VERB-*kʰɛ:* EQU), imperfective (VERB-*do* EQU), future (VERB-*ɛɛ* EQU) and nominalized progressive (VERB-*zim-bo* EQU) constructions. Table 9.1 summarizes these constructions and exemplifies each form with the verb(alizer) *kjap* 'do'.

<sup>332</sup> The quotative =*se* can mark an embedded clause but this embedded clause (a quotation) is not dependent in that it can also occur independently.

<sup>333</sup> However, causal clauses with *k'ambjasene* (see §15.4.1) and causal/purposive clauses with *làpti* (see §15.4.4 and §15.5.3) allow finite constructions and thus also occur with *bɛ?* and *du?*.

<sup>334</sup> Momentariness refers to the fact that by using the auxiliary *du?* the speaker claims only to have had a sensory experience but does not necessarily claim that the reported state-of-affairs continues at the time of speaking. In contrast, the personal auxiliary *jò?* typically suggests continuation of the action or its results at the time of speaking.

<sup>335</sup> With stative verbs, this structure may also have a present habitual meaning.

Table 9.1. Structures with equative auxiliaries

Name	Form	Example of personal	Example of neutral
past (periphrastic)	VERB- <i>po</i> EQU	<i>kjap-o ǐ:</i>	<i>kjap-o bε?</i>
present habitual	VERB- <i>kʰɛ:</i> EQU	<i>kjap-kʰɛ: ǐ:</i>	<i>kjap-kʰɛn bε?</i>
imperfective	VERB- <i>do</i> (EQU)	<i>kjap-to ǐ:</i>	<i>kjap-to bε?</i>
nonpast	VERB- <i>εε</i> EQU	<i>kjap-εε ǐ:</i>	<i>kjap-εε bε?</i>
nom. prog.	VERB- <i>zim-bo</i> EQU	<i>kjap-zim-bo ǐ:</i>	<i>kjap-zim-bo bε?</i>

The evidential meaning of the personal auxiliary *ǐ:* is essentially the same as the meaning of the copula *ǐ:*. By using the auxiliary *ǐ:* the speaker claims familiarity with the reported situation. Similarly to the copular use of *bε?*, the auxiliary use of *bε?* implies that the speaker distances themselves from the claim of familiarity with the situation. Typically, when talking about oneself, one feels familiar with one's situation and hence the personal copula is used. The use of the neutral auxiliary *bε?* with 1st person actor<sup>336</sup> implies that the speaker distances herself from the proposition. When talking about non-1SG subjects, the neutral auxiliary is frequently used, but in certain contexts, which are exemplified below, the personal auxiliary may be used for situations which have a non-1st person actor.

The following examples will illustrate personal forms with 1st person actor (§9.1.1.1), personal forms with non-1st person actor (§9.1.1.2), neutral forms with non-1st person actor (§9.1.1.3) and neutral forms with 1st person actor (§9.1.1.4). Section §9.1.1.5 describes evidentiality with complex equative auxiliaries. More space is given to the less frequent combinations (personal forms with non-1st person actor and neutral forms with 1st person actor) than to the more frequent combinations (personal forms with 1st person actor and neutral forms with a non-1st person actor). The exceptions to the default collocations of the personal forms with 1st person actor and neutral form with the non-1st person actor are instructive for understanding the phenomena involved.

### 9.1.1.1 Personal forms with 1st person actor

Clauses with 1st person actor are typically marked with personal copula *ǐ:*, which implies familiarity. People are by default well familiar with their own actions. The examples below illustrate the periphrastic past (9.2), present habitual (9.3), imperfective (9.4) and nonpast contexts (9.5). The nonpast form *-εε ǐ:* is often, as in (9.6), reduced to *-εǐ:* in spoken language.

- (9.2) དབ་ འདི་ གོང་ཆེན་ མ་བྱུ་གེ་ ལ་བ་པོ་ ཞིན།  
*t'εp=di k'ð:teʰɛ: ma-jà-gε ləp-o ǐ:*  
 book=DEMPH expensive NEG-do-HORT say-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Let's not make (the price of) the book expensive, I said.' (KL BLA 12)

- (9.3) ང་ ད་ལྟོ་ བཀའ་ལློན་གྱི་ རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་ མཁམ་ ཞིན།  
*ɲà t'ato kalimponɲ dθ:-kʰɛ: ǐ:*  
 1SG now TPN live-NMLZ EQU.PER  
 'I stay now in Kalimpong.' (TB e)

<sup>336</sup> The word actor is here defined in a very loose sense so that it includes experiencers of events such as seeing and hearing.

(9.4) འདི་ ལྷ་བཞིན་ལས་ ངའི་ ཚོག་ འདུམ་ འདོ་འདི་ ན་ བཞག་ཏོ་ ཞིན་སྟེ།  
*de:      ɛ̀ù:-zin=le                      nè:              tsʰik dum dodì                      nà:*  
 like.that say.HUM-PROG=ABL      1SG.GEN      word short this.right.here here  
**zak-to      ǎ̀:**  
 put-IPFV      EQU.PER=QUO  
 ‘Having said that, I hereby end these few words of mine.’ (KTL life story)

(9.5) གན་ལྟོས་སེ་ནེ་ ལྷ་ལོ་ ངས་ བསད་ཤད་ ཞིན།  
*k'amjasine kʰu=lo                      ɲá:                      sɛ́-ɛ̀ī.*  
 because      3SGM=DAT      1SG.AGT      kill-NPST.PER  
 ‘Because I will kill him.’ (KTL animal story)

In (9.3), the present habitual construction with the personal equative (VERB-*kʰɛ̃:* ǎ̀) functions similarly to the equative copula ǎ̀: in that it identifies the person as being someone who has the quality which is described by the nominalized verb. Using the neutral auxiliary *bɛ?* in (9.3) would imply that the identifying function is backgrounded, i.e. VERB-*kʰɛ̃n bɛ?* puts more emphasis on verbal action than on identifying (see also the discussion in §7.2.3).

### 9.1.1.2 Personal forms with non-1st person actor

The use of personal forms with non-1st person actors in Denjongke is more frequent and semantically and syntactically less limited than the use of the equivalent egophoric forms in Standard Tibetan (see §7.4). The three examples (9.6-8) illustrate the past construction. In (9.6), the speaker reminds the addressees of something that they have just said. By using the personal form in (9.6) the speaker probably emphasizes the fact that he himself just recently heard his conversation partners utter the words referred to.

(9.6) ད་ཅི(ག)་ ལྷ་ཅག་ ལ་བ་པོ་ ཞིན་པོ་ ཞིན་ག།  
*t'atei?                      k'utea? l̥ap-o                      ǎ̀:=ɛ̀o                      íŋ-ga.*  
 a.bit.earlier      2PL      say-2INF      EQU.PER=AT      EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘You (pl.) just said (so), didn’t you.’ (KL BLA 12)

Example (9.7) shows that the omniscient narrator of a novel is entitled to use the personal form in third person narration.

(9.7) ལྷ་པོའི་ ལྷ་མཚན་ ལོ་གིས་ ད་ལྷ་ ཅིག་ལྷ་ ཏུ་གོ་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*ɲù-wø:                      gjumtsʰɛ̃:      kʰu=gi                      teiku hako-wo                      ǎ̀.*  
 weep-2INF.GEN      reason      3SGM=AGT      only know-2INF      EQU.PER  
 ‘Only he knew the reason of (her) weeping.’ (Richhi 170)

In (9.8), a boy delivers a letter and reports to the addressee from whom the letter is. Similarly to (9.6), the personal knowledge implied by the use of the personal auxiliary in (9.8) probably derives from the speaker’s personal experience and involvement in the process.

(9.8) ཨ་རྒྱ་ ཀར་ཀེས་ བཏང་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*ágya                      karma=gi      t̥ã:-bo                      ǎ̀.*  
 elder.brother      PN=AGT      send-2INF      EQU.PER  
 ‘Brother Karma sent (this).’ (Richhi 8)



Examples (9.6-8) show that Denjongke personal forms have wider distribution than the cognate intentional egophoric *pa-yin* in Standard Tibetan. The Standard Tibetan form can only be used with a 1st person subject (Tournadre 2008: 296).<sup>337</sup>

The following examples illustrate the use of personal forms with non-1st person actor in present habitual (9.9), imperfective (9.10) and nonpast construction (9.11-12). The use of the personal auxiliary in (9.9) suggests that the speaker knows very well the person he refers to.

- (9.9) ལོཔཾ་ ལེ་ཤཱ་=ལོ་, ལེ་ཤཱ་ གནང་མཁམ་ ཞིན་ཤོ།  
*lópø: é:ða=lo, é:ða nàŋɛa lópøŋ*  
 teacher Buddhist.institute=DAT Buddhist.institute inside teacher  
*náŋ-kʰɛ: í:=ɛo.*  
 do.HON-NMLZ EQU.PER.=AT  
 ‘The teacher has a teacher’s tenure at the Shedra-institute, within Shedra-institute.’ (KL phone call)

The speaker of (9.10) quotes the words he heard the previous day from the guard of a sacred lake, who gave the speaker instruction on why not to feed the fish with puffed rice. The use of the personal auxiliary reflects the guard’s familiarity with anything concerning the lake.

- (9.10) མཚོ་ ཉམས་ཏོ་ ཞིན་སེ།  
*tsʰo nàm-to í:=s.*  
 lake weaken-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO  
 ‘The lake is getting weaker, (he) said’ (DB day trip)

In (9.11), the doctor who has just examined an unconscious patient has the authority to claim such familiarity with the situation as to use the personal nonpast form:

- (9.11) བད་པོ་ ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ བྱས་ལྷི་ དུན་པོ་ ཟེན་ཤང་ ཞིན།  
*nè:po k’aly? k’aly? p’ja-ti t’embo sìn-ɛɛ í:.*  
 patient slow slow do-NF consciousness catch-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘The patient will slowly, slowly regain consciousness.’ (Richhi 14)

Similarly to (9.7) above, the omniscient narrator of (9.12) uses a personal construction, because he is familiar with the characters he has written in the story. I did not find personal forms in the narrative parts of folkstories, which are (typically) not of the storyteller’s own design.

- (9.12) གཏམ་ འདིའི་ སྐོར་ལོ་ གམ་གཤིས་ ལེབ་ལྷི་ མཚོ་བསམ་ བཏང་ཤང་ ཞིན།  
*tam di: korlo karma=gi lèpti nó:sam tã:-ɛɛ í:.*  
 talk this.GEN about PN=AGT very.much though send-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Karma thinks a lot about that thing.’ (Richhi 36)

<sup>337</sup> A second difference is that, unlike for Standard Tibetan VERB-*pa-yin*, the action does not have to be intentional in Denjongke for the construction VERB-*po í:* to be used.

### 9.1.1.3 Neutral forms with non-1st person actor

Clauses with non-1st person actors are typically marked with neutral forms, because speakers are less likely to feel familiar with other people's actions. The past, present habitual, progressive and nonpast constructions are presented in (9.13-16) respectively.

- (9.13) ངའི་ཨ་ཅུ་ཚོས་ཨ་ཚེ་སློབ་ཤིང་ལྟ་སྦྱོར།  
*ŋè: áteu te<sup>h</sup>o? átsi dok t<sup>h</sup>op-o bɛ?*  
 1SG.GEN elder.brother doctrine a.bit read receive-2INF EQU.NE  
 'My elder brother got (an opportunity) to study a bit.' (PED life story)
- (9.14) ད་གཡོག་ལྷོས་དགོས་མཁམ་སྦྱང།  
*t'a jó? p'ja go:-k<sup>h</sup>en bɛ?*  
 now work do be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'Now work needs to be done.' (NAB BLA 7)
- (9.15) ད་རིང་ཚོགས་དོ་སྦྱང།  
*t'ariŋ ts<sup>h</sup>o:-do bɛ?*  
 today gather-IPFV EQU.NE  
 '(The ceremony) is taking place today.' (LT kitchen discussion)
- (9.16) མདང་ང་ཚའི་ལྷོས་ལགས་ཀྱི་མགོ་བརྟོག་མྱི་འགྲིལ་སྔོན་ཡོད་སྐབས་བུ་སྲིང་ལགས་མེད་པར་ཅེན་ཁོ་ཙོ་ན་རང་གི་ཤད་སྦྱང།  
*dã: ŋàtɛi bhaila=ki go tok-ti qi: dø: jò:-kap*  
 yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall sit EX-SIM  
*p'usim=la: mè:-patɛne k<sup>h</sup>u óna=rã: ɛí-ɛɛ bɛ?*  
 younger.sister=HON NEG.EX-COND 3SGM there=EMPH die-INF EQU.NE  
 'Yesterday when our Bhaila was lying fallen after hitting his head, if it wasn't for the sister, he would have died on the spot.' (Richhi 12)

It should be kept in mind, however, that there are also other factors than the actor's personality that affect the choice of auxiliary. Temporal distance in (9.13) and imaginary action (irrealis mood) in (9.16) can result in even the speaker using *bɛ?* of their own actions, as shown in the next section.

### 9.1.1.4 Neutral forms with 1st person actor:

By using an evidentially neutral form, the speakers distance themselves from the situation depicted by the proposition. Some reasons for distancing are the following: focusing on the consequences of the action rather than the action itself (9.17), historical distance and lack of control (9.18), speaker's imagined (irrealis) action (9.19-20) and distant, theoretically understood future rather than immediate future (9.21),

According to consultant KN, (9.17) would be appropriate as an answer to the question "How did you get that wound?". Similar to the copular use of *bɛ?* (see §7.2.3), the use of the auxiliary *bɛ?* backgrounds the event itself and focuses the addressee's attention on the consequences of the event.

- (9.17) ང་འགྲིལ་བོ་སྦྱང།  
*ŋà qi:-bo bɛ?*  
 1SG fall-2INF EQU.NE  
 'I fell.' (KN e)

Spatiotemporal backgrounding may also be used about distant events that happened to oneself, as in (9.18), where the speaker is telling the birth order of her siblings. Lack of control may also be a factor in using the evidentially neutral auxiliary.

- (9.18) མོ་ན་ལས་ ང་ རློ་བོ་ ཟླད།  
*ónale ηà ki-u be?*  
 then 1SG be.born-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Then I was born.’ (PED life story)

Denwood (1999: 143) comments that the “other-centred” (contra “self-centred”) Lhasa Tibetan past construction VERB-*pa-red*, which is somewhat equivalent to the Denjongke construction used in (9.17) and (9.18), “is said to be possible with a first-person subject and is certainly found in writing..., but I have not heard it in spontaneous speech.” This suggests that Denjongke and written language in Lhasa may embody more “archaic” grammar than spoken Lhasa Tibetan.

The following two examples illustrate the use of neutral evidentiality in imagined, irrealis situations. The speaker of (9.19) asked in a telephone conversation, jokingly, the addressee to put a hefty sum of money on his account. After having been pried as to what he would do with the money, the speaker spontaneously answered:

- (9.19) ང་ འགྲུ་དོ་ ཟླད་, ཐག་རིང་ རློ་བོ་ འབག་རྩི་  
*ηà gju-do be?, t<sup>h</sup>a:riη, kor bak-ti.*  
 1SG go-IPFV EQU.NE far.away tour carry-NF  
 ‘I’m going, far away, roaming around.’ (KN phone call 2)

Example (9.20), on the other hand, is a build-up sentence for a linguistic example, sketching an irrealis situation.

- (9.20) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ལོ་ བ་རྩེ་ གི་བ་ ང་ གི་གད་ ཟླད།  
*lɛŋɛ:=lo p<sup>h</sup>ate t<sup>h</sup>iwa ηà t<sup>h</sup>i-ɛɛ be?*  
 PRN.HON=DAT thither question 1SG ask-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘(Let’s imagine) I’ll ask you a question.’ (KN e)

Lastly, (9.21) reports the words of Siddhartha Gautama, who after seeing a dead person realizes that the same fate awaits him, not necessarily in the near future but at some indefinite point.

- (9.21) ད་ ང་ འུ་ནི་ (Nep.) ཞི་གད་ ཟླད།  
*t’a ηà puni<sup>338</sup> ɛi-ɛɛ be?*  
 now 1SG too(Nep.) die-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Now, I too will die (one day).’ (TB story of Buddha)

A clause analogous to (9.21) but said by a very sick person, on the other hand, would likely have the personal auxiliary *t<sup>h</sup>i*: Proposition (9.21) refers to a theoretical understanding about the reality of death, not to one’s immediate projected fate.

<sup>338</sup> The equivalent Denjongke morpheme is =jã:.

### 9.1.1.5 Evidentiality with complex equative auxiliaries

Occasionally, the final auxiliary is a complex nominalized or infinitival copula. The nominalized copula construction *ín-kʰen bɛʔ* in (9.22) underlines the nonhabitual (hence *ín-kʰen bɛʔ* instead of mere *bɛʔ*) and past meaning (hence spatiotemporally backgrounding nominalized *ín-kʰen bɛʔ* rather than mere personal *í:*) of the clause.

- (9.22) ལོ་མི་གཏང་ ལྷོན་ མ་བརྩལ་ཤང་གྱི་ འདྲི་ བྱས་སྣང་གི་ འང་ འདེམ་ཅིག་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ཞིན་མཁན་ སྣང།  
*ló mi-te tɔn ma-tɕuk-ɕɛ=ki t'ɔnda=lɛ dɛ:*  
 mind NEG-entrust show NEG-CAUS-INF=GEN purpose=ABL like.this  
*p'ja-tiki á: dɛm=tɛiʔ kjap-to íŋ-kʰen bɛʔ.*  
 do-NF lie like=INDF strike-IPFV EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'In order that it wouldn't be shown that he didn't believe (the story), he was telling as a lie (like this:)' (PAD bet story)

In (9.23) the nominalized auxiliary *ím-bo í:* makes the past interpretation of verbal action more explicit than if the auxiliary were mere *í:*, although the temporal interpretation of the verb form is also revealed by the adverb *jénlɛ* 'earlier'. By choosing a personal copula (*ím-bo í:*) instead of a neutral one (*ím-bo bɛʔ*) the speaker underlines his own involvement in seeing the flowers himself.

- (9.23) ལྷོན་མ་ ར་ཏོ་ ཤིང་ མེ་ཏོག་ ཅང་དྲགས་ གཅིག་ རྫོན་དོ་ ཞིན་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*jéma ná:=to éiŋ mintoʔ tɛá:ʈa=tɛiʔ tʰon-do ím-bo*  
 earlier here=CEMPH tree flower beautiful=INDF come.out-IPFV EQU-2INF  
*í:*  
 EQU.PER  
 'Earlier beautiful tree flowers used to blossom here.' (KN e)

Example (9.24) combines a typical past tense nominalization with a neutral nonpast copular construction *í:-ɕɛ bɛʔ*.

- (9.24) འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ འདི་ ང་ལོ་ བསང་ཤང་གྱི་ ལུས་ བཏང་བོ་ ཞིན་ཤང་ སྣང།  
*di=tsu=gi=di kʰõ: ŋá=lo sɛ:-ɕɛ=ki tɛ'y tã:-bo*  
 this=PL=AGT=DEMPH 3PL 1SG=DAT kill-INF =GEN means send-2INF  
*í:-ɕɛ bɛʔ.*  
 EQU-INF EQU.NE  
 'These guys, they are plotting to kill me.' (KT Animal story)

In the context of (9.24), the main protagonist, a marten, has seen a tiger's tail peeking out from under a basket, making him suspect that the tiger-couple, whom he is visiting, are plotting to kill him. As the simple auxiliaries *bɛʔ* and *í:* would typically mark an event which happened prior to the time of speaking, the use of the complex copula *í:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* rather than *bɛʔ* or *í:* shows that the action is ongoing at the time of speaking.

### 9.1.2 Existential auxiliaries *jòʔ* and *duʔ*

The existentials *jòʔ* and *duʔ* are used as auxiliaries in the constructions given in Table 9.2. The table also includes the non-copula form *-kɛ/gɛ*, which was earlier shown to occur as an intensifier attached to sensorial *duʔ* (see §7.2.2.3).

Table 9.2. Constructions with existentials as auxiliaries

Name	Form	Example with <i>jò?</i>	Example with <i>du?</i>
completive	VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>a</i> (:) EX VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>ake</i> (VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>ou</i> EX) <sup>339</sup> VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>ouke</i>		<i>kjap-ts<sup>h</sup>a du(ke)</i> <i>kjap-ts<sup>h</sup>ake</i> ( <i>kjap-ts<sup>h</sup>ou du(ke)</i> ) <i>kjap-ts<sup>h</sup>ouke</i>
perfect	VERB(VERB)- <i>po/bo</i> EX	<i>kjap(kjap)-o jò?</i>	<i>kjap(kjap)-o du(ke)</i>
resultative	VERB EX	<i>kjap jò?</i>	<i>kjap du(ke)</i>
progressive	VERB- <i>tɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/zin</i> EX VERB- <i>tɛ̃ŋgɛ/zɛ̃ŋgɛ</i> <sup>340</sup> (Martam VERB- <i>tɛ̃ouke</i> )	<i>kjap-tɛ̃: jò?</i>	<i>kjap-tɛ̃n du(ke)</i> <i>kjap-tɛ̃ŋgɛ</i> (Martam <i>kjap-tɛ̃ouke</i> )
continuous	VERB- <i>dø:</i> EX	<i>kjap-dø: jò?</i>	<i>kjap-dø: du(ke)</i>
possessive-like	VERB- <i>ɛɛ</i> EX	<i>kjap-ɛɛ jò?</i>	<i>kjap-ɛɛ du(ke)</i>

The use of personal auxiliary *jò?* implies the speaker's personal acquaintance/familiarity with the proposition. It also stresses the present relevance of a past action or suggests that the action is still ongoing at a reference time, which is usually the time of speaking. By using *du?*, in contrast, the speaker bases her proposition on sensory evidence. The interpretation of what the speaker has seen depends on the nature of the event (as coded by tense and aspect markers). If the action is presented as ongoing with progressive or continuous forms, the sensory evidence implied by *du?* most likely refers to seeing the action itself. If the action has been completed earlier, as suggested by the completive and perfect forms, the sensory evidence implied by *du?* refers to some result of the action rather than the action itself.<sup>341</sup>

In Table 9.2, *-ke/ge* again occurs as an element that may be appended to *du?*, but in the completive and progressive forms *-ke/ge* also occurs independently of *du?*. The uses without *du?* (VERB-*ts<sup>h</sup>ake*, VERB-*ts<sup>h</sup>ouke*, VERB-*tɛ̃ŋgɛ/zɛ̃ŋgɛ*) are hypothesized to be abbreviated forms, which may have originally retained the sensorial meaning but are currently becoming to be used in contexts where there is no sensory evidence. The forms VERB-*ts<sup>h</sup>ake*, VERB-*ts<sup>h</sup>ouke* and VERB-*tɛ̃ŋgɛ/zɛ̃ŋgɛ* are preliminarily termed alterphoric, because in my data they do not occur with the first person.

The discussion below is divided into personal forms with 1st person actor (§9.1.2.1), personal forms with non-1st person actor (§9.1.2.2), sensorial and neutral forms with non-1st person actor (§9.1.2.3) and sensorial and neutral forms with 1st person actor. Complex evidential auxiliaries are briefly addressed in §9.1.2.5.

### 9.1.2.1 Personal forms with 1st person actor

The speaker is typically well familiar with propositions which have a first person actor. Therefore clauses with a first person actor usually opt for a personal rather than a sensorial or neutral auxiliary (counter-examples are given later). The examples below exemplify perfect (9.25), resultative (9.26), progressive (9.27) and continuous forms (9.28).

<sup>339</sup> This form was reported as marginal by consultant KN.

<sup>340</sup> This form is probably an abbreviation from VERB-*tɛ̃n duke*.

<sup>341</sup> See Hill (2017) for an illuminating study on how sensorial/experiential forms may have inferential semantics.

(9.25) ང་ཅའི་ བ་ཚོ་ འདི་ཚུ་གི་ གོང་མའི་གི་ ཇཱ་ཇོ་ གོང་ཇོ་ཚུ་ རྩར་ལས་ ཇོ་འདེབ་ལྟེ་ གསན་གསན་བོ་ ཡོད།  
*ŋàtei p<sup>h</sup>amo di=tsu=gi k'ò:mø:=gi ádzo k'ò:dzo=tsu*  
 1PL.GEN parents this=PL=GEN elder.GEN=GEN grandfather forefather=PL  
*tsa=lɛ ódɛpti sɛn-sem-po jò?*  
 at=ABL like.that hear.HON-RDP-2INF EX.PER  
 'I have heard like that from our parents, elders, grandfathers and forefathers.'  
 (CY interview)

(9.26) ང་ ལྷོབས་ ཡོད།  
*ŋà lɤp jò?*  
 1SG arrive EX.PER  
 'I have arrived.' (KN e)

(9.27) ད་ལྟོ་ ཟང་ལྟེ་ ང་ ན་ ལྷོག་ལོ་ (?) གཞུང་ཞབས་ ལུ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*t'ato sã:te ŋà nà: wo:=lo zuŋɛap ɛù:-zin jò?*  
 now until 1SG here TPN=DAT government.service do.HUM-PROG EX.PER  
 'Until now, I am doing government service in Wok.' (KT life story)

A complex auxiliary with *jò:-ɛɛ í:* is used in (9.28) to refer to the future.

(9.28) ང་ རོ་རངས་ རྩ་ཚོད་ དགུ་ལོ་ ལྷོམ་ན་ འགྲུ་ལྷོད་ ཡོད་ཤང་ ཞིན།  
*ŋà t'horã: tɛ<sup>h</sup>uts<sup>h</sup>ø? gu=lo t<sup>h</sup>om=na gju dø: jò:-ɛɛ í.*  
 1SG tomorrow clock.time none=DAT town=LOC go stay EX-INF EQU.PER  
 'Tomorrow nine o'clock I will have gone to town' (BT grammar exposition)

In (9.28), evidentiality is marked as personal with *í:*, whereas *jò?*, which occurs in an evidentially neutralized position (*du?* does not occur with infinitive), only marks the construction as an existential.

### 9.1.2.2 Personal forms with non-1st person actor

Personal auxiliary *jò?* also occurs with non-1st person actors, if the speaker wants to claim familiarity with the situation. Note that these uses fall outside the purview of Standard Tibetan egophoric, a category similar to Denjongke personal.

(9.29) ལྷུད་ལྷུད་ཀྱིས་ ན་ བཞག་ ཡོད།  
*my<sup>h</sup>tsy=ki nà: za: jò?*  
 others=AGThere set EX.PER  
 'Others have placed (them) here.' (RS interview)

(9.30) མེ་ཉྟག་ སེར་ལོ་ དམར་ལོ་ དཀར་ལོ་ འབྲས་ལྷོངས་ ནང་ལོ་ ཤར་ ཡོད།  
*minto sérpo, márpo, karmo dɛndzõ: nàŋ=lo ɛá: jò?*  
 flower yellow red white Sikkim inside=DAT blossom EX.PER  
 'Yellow, red and white flowers are in blossom in Sikkim.' (PTB song lyrics)

(9.31) ང་ཅའི་ ཁྱིམ་ཆེན་ གནང་ བཞག་ ཡོད།  
*ŋàtei khim-tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɛ: nã: za: jò?*  
 1PL.GEN house-great give.HON set EX.PER  
 '(He) has given (us) our Khimchen-building.' (NAB BLA 7)

- (9.32) དབེ་ན་ college<sup>342</sup> level ནང་ག་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ ང་ཅིག་ སྐད་རིགས་ སློབས་ཚུང་ ཡོད།  
*pɛ=na kolidz levəl nəŋɛa ɲàtɛa=lo ɲàtɛi keri?*  
 example=LOC college(Eng.) level(Eng.) inside 1PL=DAT 1PL.GEN language  
*lep dɔː jò?*  
 arrive stay EX.PER  
 ‘For instance, our language has reached college level.’ (NAB BLA 7)

In the novel Richhi, the omniscient narrator is entitled to use the personal forms in third person narration:

- (9.33) ད་ལྟ་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ལོ་ ལྷོ་ ཟ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*t'ato k'hò: ɲi:-po ɲámɬɛi=lo to sà-zɛ: jò?*  
 now 3PL two-COL together=DAT cooked.rice eat-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘Now the two of them are eating rice/food together.’ (Richhi 20)
- (9.34) ཁོང་ གཉིས་ཆ་ ད་ལྟ་ ཉལ་ཁྲིའི་ སྤོང་ལོ་ ཚུང་ ཡོད།  
*k'hò: ɲi:-tɛa t'ato ɲɛ:ʈhi: tɛŋlo dɔː jò?*  
 3PL two-pair now bed.GEN on sit EX.PER  
 ‘The two of them are now sitting on the bed.’ (Richhi 18)

Example (9.35) illustrates the use of the personal form with the reportative =*lo*. The speaker reports the words of a guard at a sacred lake. Similar to (9.10) above, by using the personal auxiliary, the speaker reports the guard’s (and not his own) familiarity with the proposition.

- (9.35) ཉལ་ལོ་ ཟས་ མ་བྱིན་ སེ་ གསུང་ བཞག་ ཡོད་ལོ།  
*ɲà=lo sàm mam-bi:=s súŋ za: jò:=lo.*  
 fish=DAT food NEG-give=QUO say.HON set EX.PER=REP  
 ‘It has been said, do not give food to the fish, I heard.’ (DB trip story)

### 9.1.2.3 Sensorial and neutral forms with non-1st person actor

Sensorial and neutral forms are quite typically used with non-1st person actors because it is rarer to claim familiarity (marked by the personal forms) with propositions concerning other people. I first describe the use of sensorial forms and then neutral forms. Using the evidential auxiliary *du?* usually implies a recent or current sensorial experience by the speaker, see (9.36), where a doctor comments on the x-ray pictures in front of him.

- (9.36) ད་ ལྷུ་མ་ འཛོན་ཚར་ འདུག།  
*t'a lɛm t'hon-ts'ha du?*  
 now good become-CMPL EX.SEN  
 ‘Now (the patient) has turned out well.’ (Richhi 29)

The sensory event, however, may also have taken place a long time ago, as in (9.37), where an elderly speaker reports what he saw decades ago.

<sup>342</sup> WD equivalent མཐོ་རིམ་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ *mtho-rim slob-grwa* ‘high-level school’.

(9.37) ་་ མོ་འདི་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ འཛིན་བདག་ འདི་ཚུ་ཡང་ དགོན་པ་ མོ་འདེབ་ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་རིགས་ མོན་རིགས་ ཚོང་རིགས་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ རིགས་ འདི་ཚུ་ཡང་ མོ་འདེབ་ལྷོ་ བཅར་བཞིན་ འདུག།

*te ódi gǎ:=lo y:kʰø:=gi dzinda? di=tsu=jǎ: gjompa ódepti*  
 so that time=DAT village.GEN=GEN sponsor this=PL=too monastery like.that  
*ʃori? mèri? tsõ:ri? p'ja-tiki tɛʰuri? di=tsu=jǎ: ódepti tɛa:-zen*  
 Lhapos Lepchas Limbus do-NF Nepali this=PL=too like.that come.HUM-PROG  
**du?**

EX.SEN

‘At that time also sponsors from the village, Lhapos, Lepchas, Limbus and also Nepalis were coming like that to the monastery.’ (CY interview)

The sensory progressive form is frequently used with verbs of saying. In (9.38), where the speaker explains why he thinks the absent referent is in the toilet, the reference to a specific sensory event is clear. In examples (9.39) and (9.40), on the other hand, *du?* do not seem to refer to a specific sensory experience but generally to what people can be heard to say.

(9.38) ད་ཅི་ལས་ ལུབ་པོ་ ར་བོ་ མིན་ ལབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

*t'ateile súpo ná-u í: làp-teen du?*  
 recently stomach fall.ill-2INF EQU.PER say-PROG EX.SEN

‘He is saying his stomach has become ill lately.’ (Richhi 98)

(9.39) འདི་ལོ་ ད་ bowl ལབ་བཞིན་ འདུག། ད།

*di=lo t'a boul làp-teen du? t'a.*  
 this=DAT now bowl(Eng.) say-PROG EX.SEN now

‘Now this is called [boul]’ (PL interview)

(9.40) ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ལ་ གསལ་བྲགས་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ མོ་འདེབ་ གསུང་ བཞག་ འདུག།

*lògju? kʰa sé:ʃa? p'ja-ti óde: súŋ za: du?*  
 story mouth clear do-NF like.that say.HON set EX.SEN

‘It has been so said in clear words.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

The sensoriality marked by *du?* may refer to indirect evidence (inference) rather than direct evidence. Example (9.41) is a comment by a farmer, who has lost a hen the previous night. Half of the eaten hen has been found in the forest. The likely culprit is a jackal. The sensory experience implied by *du?* is not that of the action itself depicted by the verb but of a result of that action (half of a ripped hen in the forest). Example (9.41) shows that the sensorial marker can with a past telic action express inferential semantics, i.e. the sensorial implies seeing the results of an action, not the action itself.

(9.41) ཟ་ཚར་ འདུག་གེ་ ལྷོ་ད་ག།

*sà-tsʰa: du-ke pʰeka.*  
 eat-CMPL SEN-IN half

‘(It) has eaten half (I saw).’ (PL interview)

As with the copula *du?*, the sensoriality implied by the auxiliary *du?* does not have to be visual but may be gained through other senses, as shown illustrated by (9.42), which is based on gustatory evidence.



- (9.42) ཡབ་ དགོས་པ་དང་, ཡབ་ དགོས་པ་དང་, འཚོས་ཚར་ འདུག།  
*p<sup>h</sup>ap go:=pe?*, *p<sup>h</sup>ap go:=pe?*, *ts<sup>h</sup>o:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:*  
 take.down be.needed=EQU.NE take.down be.needed=EQU.NE be.cooked-CMPL  
*du?*  
 EX.SEN  
 ‘It needs to be taken down, it needs to be taken down, it’s cooked.’ (Richhi 89)

It was shown above that an omniscient narrator can use personal forms when talking about characters (s)he has designed. The omniscient narrator may also invite the reader/hearer to take the viewpoint of one of the story’s characters by using the sensorial form. In the continuous(-resultative) construction in (9.43), the reader of the novel Richhi is invited to view “in real time” the scene from the perspective of the protagonist who enters a hospital room:

- (9.43) ཁོ་ སྤོ་ཁང་ན་ སླེབས་པའི་ སྤང་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ དྲན་པོ་ ཟེན་སྲི་ ལྷན་ལྷན་ ཁ་ ལབ་ རྒྱགས་པོ་ འཛོན་ རྫོང་ འདུག།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u méŋk<sup>h</sup>ã:=na ʃep-ø:* *gã: bhaila t'embo sin-di*  
 3SGM hospital=LOC arrive-2INF.GEN time PN consciousness awaken-NF  
*ɛy:ey: k<sup>h</sup>a-làp ts<sup>h</sup>u-po t<sup>h</sup>on dø: du?*  
 a.bit mouth-speak be.able.to-2INF become stay EX.SEN  
 ‘When he arrived at the hospital, Bhaila had regained consciousness and was able to talk a bit.’ (Richhi 23)

The neutral existential auxiliaries *jòpo be/jèbbe* and *jò:-k<sup>h</sup>en be?* are used when the speaker wants to background sensoriality and personality (or familiarity), i.e. put full emphasis on the content of the proposition without revealing how he received the information.

- (9.44) འདི་ སློམ་ན་ ཟེ་ཟེ་པོ་ ཡོད་པ་སྤྲ།  
*di dóm=na t'i-ti-u jèbbe?*  
 this box=LOC write-RDP-2INF EX.NE  
 ‘(Something) is written in this box...’ (TB e)
- (9.45) ཞོ་ན་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལྷོ་པོ་ ཅང་ཅང་ རྫོང་ ཡོད་པ་སྤྲ།  
*óna t<sup>h</sup>amtɛɛ? dɛndzõ: ʃopo tsã.tsã: dø: jèbbe?*  
 there all Sikkim Lhopo purely live EX.NE  
 ‘All who live there are purely Lhopos of Sikkim.’ (CY Interview)
- (9.46) སངས་རྒྱས་ བཙུན་ལྷན་འདས་ ཞོ་འདི་ གསུངས་ བཞག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤྲ།  
*sánge tsomdendē: ódi súŋ za: jò:-k<sup>h</sup>en be?*  
 PN PN that say.HON set EX.PER-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Sange Tsomdenden (=Shakyamuni Buddha) has said so.’ (YR canteen video)
- (9.47) ལྷན་རྒྱུད་རའི་ སྤྲ་ འབྲང་ རྫོང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤྲ།  
*mýtsy-ri ke? bjã: dø: jò:-k<sup>h</sup>en be?*  
 other-EMPH.GEN language disappear stay EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘The language of other’s has disappeared’ (RS language situation)

In (9.48), it would not be desirable to use the personal auxiliary *jò?* because it would imply that the action were still ongoing at the time of speaking. The neutral form allows the progressive action a reasonable ending point before the time of speaking.

- (9.48) ད་ ལུ་ རུ་བྱོ་ གཅིག་ རྩེང་ལ་ལོ་ དབྱེང་སྟེ་གི་ ག་ལོ་ ཡོ་མ་ལུང་ དབྱེང་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཟུང།  
*t'a k'hu rubi=tei? teŋkʰa=lo pjaŋ-tiki k'alo ómteuŋ*  
 now 3SGM creeper=INDF on=DAT hang-NF what.is.it swinging  
*pjaŋ-zin jè-po be?*  
 hang-PROG EX-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Now, hanging from creeper, he was, what's that, swinging.' (KT animal story)

#### 9.1.2.4 Sensorial and neutral forms with 1st person actor

Sensorial and personal forms with first person actor are in my data less frequent with auxiliary copulas than with pure copulas. As already mentioned in §7.2.2, a person asking a question takes the repliers point of view and thus may use the sensorial form with a first person actor. In my data, the only natural examples of sensorial auxiliary with first person actor are real questions (9.49) or indirect questions for which a reply is not expected (9.50).

- (9.49) ད་ ངའི་ རྩོ་སྐད་ འདི་ ག་ཚོད་ གོ་བཤ་ རྩོད་པོ་ ངས་ རྒྱབས་ འདུག།  
*t'a jè: loke=di k'adzø? k'odaʈøpo ŋá: kjap du??*  
 now my Lhoke=DEMPH how.much understandable 1SG.AGT strike EX.SEN  
 'Now how understandable Lhoke did I speak?' (PAD bet story)

- (9.50) ད་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ རང་གིས་རང་ ལུགས་བསམ་ བཞེས་པོ་ གནང་ ང་ ག་ཚོད་ཟང་ དགའ་སློབ་སྟེ་ རྩོད་ འདུག། ང་གིས་ ག་ཚོད་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ལོ་ རི་  
 ཆེ་ བཏབ་སྟེ་ རྩོད་ འདུག།  
*t'a ágja, raŋ=gi=ra t'hu:sam ze:-po ná:*  
 now elder.brother 2SG.M=AGT=AEMPH though.HON have.HON-2INF do.HON  
*ŋà k'adzø=sã: gaʈo-ti dø: du? ŋá:=gi k'adzø? sã:te*  
 1SG how.much=until rejoice-NF live EX.SEN 1SG=AGT how.much until  
*àgja=lo rite<sup>h</sup>i tap-ti dø: du?*  
 elder.brother=DAT hope sow-NF stay EX.SEN  
 'Now brother, you think for yourself how happy I am, how I've put my hope in the brother (=you).' (Richhi 146)

Like the sensorial copula (see §7.2.2), the sensorial auxiliary may also be used in special circumstances where the speakers seem himself/herself, for instance, in a dream on a video-recording:

- (9.51) གཞིན་ལམ་ འདི་ན་ ང་ football རྩེ་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*ŋilam=di=na ŋà futbol tsi-zen du?*  
 dream=DEMPH=LOC 1SG football(Eng.) play-PROG EX.SEN  
 'In the dream I was playing football.' (KT e)

By using a neutral auxiliary with first person actor, the speaker creates distance towards his own action, see (9.52), where the actions is non-voluntary (mistake).<sup>343</sup>

<sup>343</sup> Cf. Takeuchi's (2015: 412) characterization of Lhasa, Central and Kham Tibetan *yin* as "within the speakers will" and *red* as "outside the speakers will".

- (9.52) མོ་འདི་འི་ ལ་སྐས་ མན་ན་ ང་གིས་ རྗོར་འཁྲུལ་ཏོ་ བྱས་ ཡོད་ཤང་ ཟླད།  
*ódi: kʰate mèn-ne ŋá:=gi nòrtʰy:=to pʰja*  
 that.GEN speaking.manner NEG.EQU-COND 1SG=AGT mistake=CEMPH do  
*jò:-εε bε?*  
 EX-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘If he does not have speaking manners, I will have made a mistake.’ (Nga’i ’gan 13)

Example (9.53) shows that the speaker may create distance to an action which happened a long time ago by using the neutral copula, see (9.53a). In (9.53b), on the other hand, the the breaking of the cup has taken place just a while ago.

- (9.53) a) ཚོག་ཚེ་ ལྗེན་གྱི་ དཀར་ཡོལ་ འདི་ ང་གིས་ གཙག་གོ་ ཟླད།  
*tsoxtsi tɛŋ=gi kajø:=di ŋá:=gi tɛak-o bε?*  
 table top=GEN cup=DEMPH 1SG=AGT break-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘It was I who broke the cup that was on the table (long time ago).’ (KT e)
- b) ཚོག་ཚེ་ ལྗེན་གྱི་ དཀར་ཡོལ་ འདི་ ང་གིས་ གཙག་གོ་ མིན།  
*tsoxtsi tɛŋ=gi kajø:=di ŋá:=gi tɛak-o í:*  
 table top=GEN cup=DEMPH 1SG=AGT break-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘It was I who broke the cup that was on the table (just now).’ (KT e)

### 9.1.2.5 Evidentiality with complex existential auxiliaries

In my data, only one construction with an existential auxiliary, the existential/possessive-like construction VERB-INF EX (see §8.4), occurs with a complex copula. In the construction VERB-INF EX, the final existential auxiliary can occur in the complex evidentially neutral forms *jò-po bε?*, see (9.54) and *jò:-kʰen bε?*, see (9.55). The first construction conveys a past meaning and the second one a present habitual meaning.

- (9.54) མན་མུ་རང་ རྗོན་འབྲེལ་ ལེགས་ངན་ དང་ རྟག་གཞིའི་ བརྟག་དབུང་ ལྟ་ཤང་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཟླད།  
*né:mu=rã: tɛndɛ: lè:-jɛ: t'ã: tagzi: taktɛɛ? ta-εε*  
 really=AEMPH omen good-evil and criteria.of.study investigation look-INF  
*jò-po bε?*  
 EX. 2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria.’ (Richhi 107)
- (9.55) མ་ཚོ་ཚུ་གིས་ ལ་གཏམ་ ལེབ་ རྗོགས་དྲགས་ ལལ་ཤང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*ádzo=tsu=gi kʰatam lèp dziktʰa? làp-εε? jò:-kʰen bε?*  
 grandfather=PL=AGT proverb very excellent say-INF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘The grandfathers have most excellent proverbs to tell.’ / ‘The grandfathers are able to tell most excellent proverbs.’ (KN field notes)

The investigation mentioned in (9.54) refers to inauspicious omens which have just taken place, an uneven number of orange pieces and a broken curd bowl.

### 9.1.3 Evidentiality with the completive *-tsʰa(:)*

The completive marker *-tsʰa(:)* deserves a separate treatment, because it forms several constructions with other morphemes (see Table 9.3) and occurs in a construction to which the heretofore used evidential terms personal, sensorial and neutral seem inapplicable. The new category is tentatively termed “alterphoric” (glossed APH) and described below.

Table 9.3. Constructions with the completive *-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)*

Construction	Evidentiality
VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>a</i> :	neutral
VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>a</i> EQU	personal/neutral
VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>o-u</i> EQU	personal/neutral
VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>a-k<sup>h</sup>en</i> EQU	personal/neutral
VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>a du(kε)</i>	sensorial
VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>o-u du?</i>	sensorial
VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>a-kε</i>	alterphoric
VERB- <i>ts<sup>h</sup>o-u-kε</i>	alterphoric

As suggested by Table 9.3, *-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)* may occur alone as the final marker or be followed by one of the following formatives: equative copula (*i:/bε?*), existential copula *du?* or the morpheme *-kε*. Moreover, *-ts<sup>h</sup>a* forms constructions both without nominalization and with *-po/bo/u* and *-k<sup>h</sup>ε*. The evidentiality of the constructions ending in an equative auxiliary copula depends on the copula, as outlined above in this chapter (*i*: personal and *bε?* neutral). The discussion here focuses on the other forms, which do not use equative copulas as auxiliaries. For examples on the equative auxiliaries in conjunction with the completive *-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)*, refer to §8.1.2.

With completive *-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)* (henceforth just *-ts<sup>h</sup>a* within the text), the typical contrast with the personal *jò?* and sensorial *du?* is neutralized in that the personal auxiliary does not occur postposed to *-ts<sup>h</sup>a*. In the completive construction, however, the sensorial evidential contrasts with neutral evidentiality (i.e. lack of evidential marking) implied by the lone *-ts<sup>h</sup>a*. As evidentially neutral, the lone *-ts<sup>h</sup>a* occurs both with 1SG (9.56) and non-1st person actors (9.57). The forms *-kε* and *du(kε)*, on the other hand, typically occur only with non-1st person actors (9.58-9.61), and possibly in highly marked contexts with 1SG (no examples in my data but perhaps allowable when seeing oneself in a dream or on a video).

(9.56) ང་ འོང་ཚེ།  
*ŋà òn-ts<sup>h</sup>a*.  
 1SG come-CMPL  
 ‘I’ve arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.57) ཁུ་ འོང་ཚེ།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u òn-ts<sup>h</sup>a*.  
 3SGM come-CMPL  
 ‘He’s arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.58) ?ང་ འོང་ཚེ་གོ།  
*?ŋà òn-ts<sup>h</sup>ake*.  
 1SG come-CMPL.APH  
 ‘?I’ve arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.59) ?ང་ འོང་ཚེ་ འདུག་གོ།  
*?ŋà òn-ts<sup>h</sup>a du(-kε)*.  
 1SG come-CMPL EX.SEN(-IN)  
 ‘?I’ve arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.60) ལུ་ འོང་ཚར་གེ།  
*kʰu òn-tsʰakɛ.*  
 3SGM come-CMPL.APH  
 ‘He’s arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.61) ལུ་ འོང་ཚར་ འདུག་གེ།  
*kʰu òn-tsʰa du-kɛ.*  
 3SGM come-CMPL EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘He’s arrived.’ (KN e)

The difference between *-tsʰa* and *-tsʰa du(kɛ)* is that *-tsʰa du(kɛ)*, as in (9.62), makes reference to a specific sensory event, whereas *-tsʰa* does not, see (9.63). Example (9.62) are words of a doctor, after checking a patient’s pulse.

(9.62) ད་ ལྷམ་ འཕོན་ཚར་ འདུག།  
*tʼa lɛm tʰon-tsʰa du?*  
 now good become-CMPL EX.SEN  
 ‘Now (the patient) has turned out well.’ (Richhi 29)

(9.63) ང་ཅའི་ ཡབ་ གོངས་སྟེ་ ལོ་ གཉིས་ཚེད་ སླེབས་ཚར།  
*ŋàtei jà:p tʼò:-ti lò nɪ:-tsʰø? lɛp-tsʰa:*  
 1PL.GEN father.HON die.HON-NF year two-about reach-CMPL  
 ‘Now about two years have passed since our father passed away.’ (Richhi 35)

The completive marker occurs both as non-nominalized *-tsʰa* and nominalized *-tsʰou*. I am not aware of a semantic difference between these two forms. The nominalized form is illustrated in (9.64).

(9.64) Facebook<sup>344</sup> ལྷ་ འོང་ཚུ་གེ་ལོ།  
*feisbuk=na ò:-tsʰouke=lo.*  
 facebook(Eng.)=LOC come-CMPL.2INF.APH=REP  
 ‘(It)’s been posted in Facebook, I heard’ (LT kitchen discussion)

The completive may be supplemented by either *-du(kɛ)* as in (9.65) or *-kɛ* as in (9.66-9.67). In (9.65), the speaker, having found a child with a wound from hitting his head in a stone, hands over the child to his mother.

(9.65) ཇམ་ལགས་, རོ་ཚའི་ མགོ་ ལེབ་ གཏོགས་ཚར་ འདུག།  
*ám-la:, pʼotsø: go lèp tok-tsʰa du?*  
 mother-HON child.GEN head very.much hit-CMPL EX.SEN  
 ‘Mum, the child’s head has been severy hit.’ (Richhi 3)

(9.66) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ ཁ་གདོང་ འདི་ ལེབ་ ཞེན་ཚ་གེ་ཤོ།  
*lɛŋɛ? kʰadõ:=di lèp ɛ̀n-tsʰake=ɛo.*  
 PRN.HON face==DEMPH very.much get.thin-CMPL.APH=AT  
 ‘Your face has become very slim.’ (KN e)

<sup>344</sup> According to consultant YR, the WD equivalent is གདོང་དེབ་ *gdong-deb* [face-book].

- (9.67) ཚོ་ཐང་ ལམ་ལུ་ འདི་ རྒྱུ་ལོ་ འདི་ལོ་ མན་ལམ་ འོང་དོ་ མིན་ མན་བསམ་ གཏང་ཚར་གེ།  
*tsʰotʰã: ázã:=di*                      *tɕʰumpe:=di=lo nám*                      *òn-do*  
 TPN            maternal.uncle=DEMPH PN=DEMPH=DAT daughter-in-law come-IPFV  
 ་ི་            *nó:sam tã:-tsʰakɛ.*  
 EQU.PER thought send-CMPL.APH  
 ‘Tshothang Uncle had thought that Chumpe had come in as a daughter-in-law.’  
 (SN kitchen discussion)

Commenting on the difference between *du(-kɛ)* and *-kɛ*, consultant KT said that whereas in (9.68a) the proposition is visually attested, in (9.68b) it does not have to be so.

- (9.68) a) ལུ་ འོང་ཚར་ འདུག་གེ།  
*kʰu            òn-tsʰa            du(-kɛ).*  
 3SGM        come-CMPL        EX.SEN(-IN)  
 ‘He’s come (I saw him).’
- b) ལུ་ འོང་ཚར་གེ།  
*kʰu            òn-tsʰakɛ.*  
 3SGM        come-CMPL.APH  
 ‘He’s come (I didn’t necessarily see him).’

KT’s observation is supported by the examples above in that the proposition with *du?* (9.65), is based on a visual experience, while in examples with *-kɛ* (9.66) is based on the speaker’s own visual evidence but (9.67) is likely based on a story the speaker has heard (furthermore, he could not see Tshothang Uncles thought’s).

Further evidence that action marked with *tsʰa-kɛ* does not have to be sensorially attested is provided in (9.69), where (9.69a) presents a question posed on the telephone and (9.69b) a comment after the phone call. The comment (9.69b) is evidentially based on a report heard on the telephone, not on sensorially (most likely visually) witnessing the event or its results.

- (9.69) a) ཕོ་ལུ་ སླེབས་ཚར་པོ་ ཉ་?  
*pʰou            ʎɛp-tsʰo-u            ɲá?*  
 over.there reach-CMPL-2INF        EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Has he arrived over there?’ (KN phone call 3)
- b) ཕོ་ལུ་ སླེབས་ཚར་གེ།  
*pʰou            ʎɛp-tsʰakɛ.*  
 over.there reach-CMPL.APH  
 ‘He’s arrived over there.’ (KN conversation)

The form VERB-*tsʰa-kɛ* may have originated as an abbreviated version of VERB-*tsʰa du-kɛ*. This is suggested by the fact that, in contrast to *-tsʰa du(kɛ)*, I have not come accross *-tsʰa-kɛ* in written Denjongke. I hypothesize that while the abbreviated form *-tsʰa-kɛ* originally retained the sensory meaning from the full form *-tsʰa duke* (and hence even synchronously *-tsʰa-kɛ* does not occur with 1st person actors), the lack of *du?* in the construction is currently being reinterpreted as innecessity of sensoriality (hence 9.69b). Because *-tsʰa-kɛ* does not occur with first person actors (association with the first person could be called “egophoric”) and because it does not seem to be necessitate sensoriality, I tentatively name it “alterphoric”,

a term that suggests not much else than that the category is disassociated with the first person. Further research is needed to clarify the semantics of *-duke* vs. *-ke*.

A distinction similar to that between completive *-du(ke)* and *-ke* can possibly be posited between the progressive forms *-tɛɛn du(ke)* and *tɛuŋ-ge*, see §8.3.3.2. The latter form, which does not occur in written Denjongke may be a spoken reduction of the former. At present, however, I do not have adequate evidence to show an evidential distinction (sensorial vs. alterphoric) between the two progressive forms.

## 9.2 Evidentiality marked by clitics

Evidentiality concerns source and access to information (see the definition in §7.1). Therefore, the reportative (§9.2.1) and quotative markers (§9.2.2), which are both used for referring to information gained from another person than the speaker, fall under the purview of evidentiality.

### 9.2.1 Reportative =*lo*

The use of =*lo* in a clause implies that the speaker presents the proposition as originating with someone else. This section briefly illustrates the declarative (§9.2.1.1), interrogative (§9.2.1.2) and imperative uses of =*lo* (§9.2.1.3).

#### 9.2.1.1 Declarative use

Examples (9.70-72) illustrate the typical declarative uses of the reportative.

- (9.70) ཇ་པོ་ རྒྱུངས་ཚང་ལོ།  
*ápo t'õ:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:=lo.*  
 father die.HON-PRF=REP  
 '(His) father has died, he says.' (BP BB discussion)

- (9.71) མ་དང་ལས་ ཚོགས་པོ་ སྤང་ལོ། Facebook ན་ རོང་ཚུ་གེ་ལོ།  
*dã:=le ts<sup>h</sup>o:-b(o) bɛ=lo. feisbuk=na*  
 yesterday=ABL gather-2INF EQU.NE=REP facebook=LOC  
*õ:-ts<sup>h</sup>ouke=lo.*  
 come-CMPL.2INF.APH=REP  
 '(The meeting) started yesterday, I hear. It's come on Facebook, I hear.' (LT kitchen discussion)

- (9.72) དང་པུ་ སྤང་པུ་ གཅིག་ འདྲེན་ ལམ་ རང་ག་ འགྲུ་དོ་ལོ།  
*t'ã:pu lã:bu=tei? dep ləm nàŋɛa gju-do=lo.*  
 Long.ago elephant=INDF like.this road within go-IPFV=REP  
 'Long ago an elephant was walking like this on the road (so the story goes).' (UU deer story)

In (9.70), a group of people are talking about a person who has just left their company for a while. The addressees know who has uttered the reported proposition (9.70). In the context of (9.71), on the other hand, several people are trying to determine the date of a Buddhist ceremony. The addressees are not likely to know who told the speaker about the Facebook update. Example (9.72) is the beginning line of a folk-story. Here even the speaker does not know who originated the proposition. The use of the reportative in story-telling is frequent, see the folk-story in the appendix.

A more rare declarative use of =*lo* is illustrated in (9.73), taken from a story about a marten.

- (9.73) ཞེ་, ངའི་ ལག་གོ་ ཅིག་གུ་ལོ་, ངའི་ ཀླུ་ལོ་ ཡོད་ཤོ་ ལམ།  
*é:*, *jè:* *làko* *teiku=lo*, *jè:* *kã:po* *jò:=εo* *làp.*  
 eh, 1SG.GEN hand only=REP 1SG.GEN foot EX.PER=AT say  
 ‘(I thought) I had only hands, (but) I have also feet, I realize.’ (KT animal story)

In the story, the marten’s hands have one by one been stuck onto a wall smeared with glue-like sap from a tree. Then the marten realizes that his earlier thought that he could only use his hands to get off the glue was false; he can also use his feet. The interesting feature about the use of =*lo* here is that the speaker is not reporting someone else’s proposition but rather reporting his own earlier thoughts that he is now questioning.

### 9.2.1.2 Interrogative use

In some works on related languages, interrogative uses of the cognates of the reportative =*lo* are not commented on (van Driem 1998), reported not to exist (Vesalainen 2016: 189) or limited to a narrow context with a question word (Huber 2002: 108, Gawne 2015). In Denjongke, on the other hand, the reportative is used in interrogatives (without question word), see (9.74).

- (9.74) ཕྱོད་ཤ་ལོ།  
*te'øp-εa=lo?*  
 come.HON-FUT.Q=REP  
 ‘Shall we go, I was asked.’/ ‘Will you go, I was asked.’ (oh, Tashiding)

The speaker of (9.74), taking cover from rain, has just heard a friend offer a car ride. He conveys the invitation to his friends in another room by shouting.

### 9.2.1.3 Imperative use

In addition to declaratives and interrogatives, the reportative is used in imperatives, a feature which is rarely exemplified in Tibetic languages (exception: Gawne 2015) and which places Denjongke within a typological minority. Aikhenvald (2004: 250) states that “[a]n overwhelming majority of languages with evidentials do not use them at all in imperative clauses.” Example (9.75), illustrating the imperative use, was spoken to me by my host TB, who had just visited the kitchen and was conveying an invitation from his wife.

- (9.75) མོའུ་ བཞེས་པ་ ཕྱོད་ལོ་ གནང་ལོ།  
*sòu ze.pa* *te'øm-bo* *ná:=lo.*  
 food eat.HON-SUP come.HON-2INF grant=REP  
 ‘Please come to eat, (she) says.’ (TB, oh)

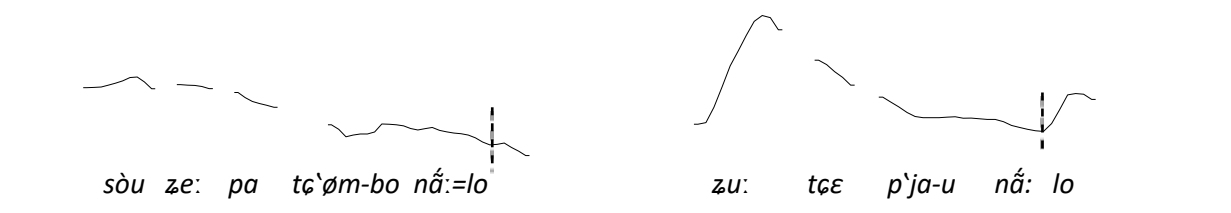
The reportative =*lo* in Denjongke is pronounced as unstressed with a low pitch. However, Denjongke also has a segmentally identical tag question *lo*, a loan of the frequent Nepali tag *la*. The tag question, which is pronounced with rising intonation, is often used in syntactic contexts identical with the reportative, as in (9.76).



- (9.76) །གཞུགས་བཞིན་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ གནང་ ལོ།  
*zu:tɕɛ: p'ja-u nã: lo.*  
 sitting do-2INF grant TAG.Q  
 'Please stay here, ok (while I go away for a while).' (TB, oh)

The pitch traces of (9.75) and (9.76) (recorded later with TB) in Figure 9.1 below show that whereas =*lo* is pronounced with a low pitch, the pitch rises with the tag question *lo*. The starting point of the reportative =*lo* (left) and tag question *lo* (right) are henceforth marked in the pitch trace with a vertical line line.

Figure 9.1. The pitch in reportative =*lo* (9.69) and tag question *lo* (9.70) contrasted (TB)



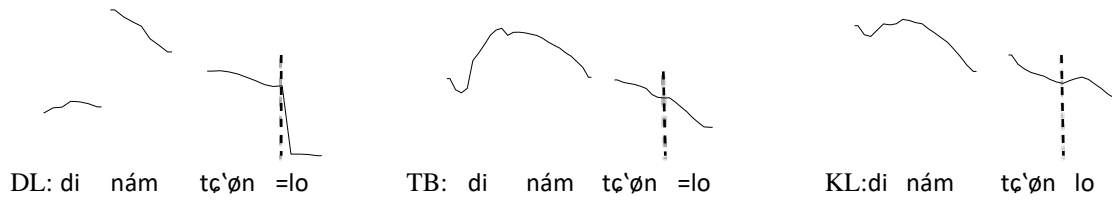
In some languages (see Aikhenvald 2015: 263), the reportative may be extended to such uses where the speaker is not reporting someone else's proposition. In these uses, the reportative helps the speaker to save face by presenting a request indirectly, and hence more politely, as if it came from someone else. This appears to happen also in Denjongke, as shown in (9.77). The following discussion, however, shows that interpreting the data is not straightforward.

- (9.77) འདི་ བསྐྱམས་ཕྱོག་ལོ།  
*di nám tɕ'øn=lo.*  
 this carry.HON go.HON=REP  
 'Please take this away.' (BBP BB discussion)

Example (9.77) occurs on an audio-recording which was recorded over a lunch. The speaker, DL, an elderly gentleman, hands over a dish to someone else, saying (9.77). When I played this recording to consultant KT (male, 60 years), he commented that the speaker is an old person who speaks in a polite, humble way. KT contrasted this non-stressed, low pitch use of =*lo* with the tag question *lo*, which is pronounced with rising intonation. KT commented that whereas the man on the recording used =*lo* to make a polite request, using the tag question *lo* with rising intonation would suggest insisting.

I played (9.77) from the recording to two more consultants, TB (male 40 years) and KL (male 45-50 years). TB viewed (9.77) as an instance of reportative =*lo* instead of the tag question *lo*. He, however, was not aware of the extended indirect use of =*lo* but rather just commented that the speaker of (9.77) speaks as if transmitting some else's request onwards. Consultant KL, on the other hand, did not recognize (9.77) as an instance of the reportative =*lo* at all but considered it an instance of the tag question *lo*, which he specifically said comes from Nepali. I asked both TB and KL to repeat on recording what they thought DL had said on the original recording. Figure 9.2 presents the pitch traces from the original recording with TB's and KL's repetitions of it. A difference on the last syllable is obvious between TB and KL.

Figure 9.2. Pitch trace of original (9.71) and TB's and KL's repetitions of it respectively



Whereas DL's original recording and TB's repetition of it have a low intonation pattern typical of the reportative =*lo*, KL produces a rise in intonation typical of the tag question, albeit in an attenuated way, probably because on the original recording there is no rise at all. My hypothesis, based on the facts mentioned above, is that Denjongke reportative has developed an extended use marking indirectness/politeness. This extended use appears to be limited to certain conversational contexts (KT specifically mentioned handing over items to other people) and possibly to certain dialectal areas. However, because of bilinguality of most Denjongke speakers in Nepali and the ubiquity of the Nepali tag question *la*, even those uses of =*lo* which are extensions of the reportative marker, and hence a language-internal development, are currently being reinterpreted as cases of the borrowed tag question *lo*.

In conclusion, the Denjongke reportative =*lo* can be used in declarative, interrogative and imperative moods. I drew attention to two rare uses that, to my knowledge, have not been reported in related languages. One is the declarative use in which the speaker reports their own earlier proposition/thought rather than someone else's proposition. In the second extended function, =*lo* in (honorific) imperatives/requests is used as an indirectness/politeness marker. The request is presented *as if* it originated with someone else to attenuate its force. This indirect use appears to be currently reinterpreted as the tag question *lo* borrowed from Nepali.

### 9.2.2 Quotative =s(ɛ)

The quotative marker is an enclitic that is appended to the end of a clause. Its basic meaning is to indicate that someone is being quoted. The quotation may come from a person other than the speaker, or the speaker may quote something that they themselves said earlier. Typically, =sɛ functions as a complementizer for verbs of saying and writing, as shown in (9.78) and (9.79).

- (9.78) ལྷོ་བླ་མ་ འདི་ཀེས་ རྩ་བཞིན་ལས་ར་ མ་ཚོ་བ་ སེ་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།<sup>345</sup>  
*lópɕʰu=di=gi      ɲù:-zin=lɛ=ra      ma-tʰop=s      làp-o=lo.*  
 pupil=DEMPH=AGT weep-PROG=ABL=AEMPH NEG-find=QUO say-2INF=REP  
 'Weeping, the pupil says "I didn't find (it)", (so the story goes).' (RS pupil joke)

- (9.79) ལྷོ་མེད་ལགས་, ད་རིང་ལས་ ང་ལོ་ ཨ་ཀྱུ་ སེ་ གསུངས་པོ་ གནང་ལོ།  
*p'usim=la:,      t'ariŋ=lɛ      ɲà=lo      ágja=s      súm-bo*  
 younger.sister=HON today=ABL 1SG=DAT elder.brother=QUO say.HON-2INF  
*ná: lo.*  
 do.HON TAG.Q  
 'Sister, from today, please call me brother, okay.' (Richhi 133)

<sup>345</sup> In Denjongke authors' works, the quotative can be seen either written separately or attached to the previous word (the same author may use both ways of writing). In the spoken examples here, I have written the quotative separately. Examples from written sources follow original conventions.

Note that in (9.78) =*s* marks a quotation within the story/discourse, whereas the reportative =*lo*, which follows, is a type of metacomment on the story, meaning something like “so the story goes”.

The complementizer may occur in a different clause than the verb of saying/writing:

- (9.80) ཚོས་སློང་, སླ་ལྷ་གི་ ཡི་གེའི་ ལན་ བྲི་ བཏང་ལོ། ཏུ་ཅིག་ ང་ཅག་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ མི་སློབས་སེ།  
*tɕʰøki?*, *pa:la:=gi* *jigi:* *lɛn* *tʰi* *tã:* *lo.* *tʰutɕi?* *ɲatɕa?*  
 PN father=GEN letter.GEN answer write send TAG.Q this.year 1PL  
*ɲámɕei?* *ágja* *mi-lɛp=s(ɛ).*  
 with elder.brother NEG-arrive=QUO  
 ‘Choki, write a letter to the father, okay, saying that the elder brother is not coming with us this year.’ (Richhi 138)

Often, however, the verb *láp* ‘say’ or its converbal form *lapti* functions as an additional complementizer.<sup>346</sup> In these cases =*s(ɛ)* is little more than a “closing quotation mark” (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 214 for the cognate in Standard Tibetan).

- (9.81) ལྷ་ཅག་ལོ་ བསམ་པོ་ བཟང་དྲགས་ ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་(ནི་) རྣ་ལས་ འོག་སྟེ་ རང་ཤ་ལས་ ལྱོན་ རྩོགས་པ་དང་ ཉ་ སེ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ གསུང་བོ་ལོ།  
*kʰutɕa=lo* *sámpo* *zanɕa?* *jø-patɕɛ(nɛ)* *nà:=lɛ* *ɔtɛ* *nàɲɕa=lɛ*  
 2PL=DAT thought good EX-COND here=ABL down inside=ABL  
*tɕʰøn* *tsʰu=pe* *ɲá=s* *láp-ti* *súm-bo=lo.*  
 come.HON be.able.to=EQU.NE TAG.ASR=QUO say-NF say.HON-2INF=REP  
 ‘Then (someone) says (lit. said) “if you have good intentions, you can indeed go down from inside here” (so the story goes).’ (SGD Wedding customs)

If the context reveals with whom a saying or opinion originated, the quotative can appear as the final marker without any words of saying. In (9.82), the speaker is explaining the rationale for an old marriage custom. The quotative refers the proposition back to ancestors.

- (9.82) ལུས་ འདི་ རྣོར་བུ་ འདུལ་ ཞིན་སེ།  
*pʰum=di* *nòrbu* *qou* *í:=s.*  
 girl=DEMPH gem like EQU.PER=QUO  
 ‘The girl is like a gem (it is said).’ (SGD wedding customs)

In some uses of =*s(ɛ)*, the speaker appears to quote themselves, see (9.83-85). In (9.83), the speaker responds to the question “Where are the children?”. Looking around, he is surprised to find out that the children who were there just a moment ago are nowhere to be seen. By using the quotative in (9.83), the speaker appears to repeat, and thus quote, his own earlier thought.

- (9.83) ད་ལྟོ་ རྣ་ ཡོད་སེ།  
*tʰato* *nà:* *jø:=s.*  
 now here EX.PER=QUO  
 ‘(But they) just were here.’ (KT e)

<sup>346</sup> *láp-ti* also functions as a complementizer by itself without =*sɛ*, see §14.2.2.1.

Similarly to (9.83), the quotative is used in (9.84) in a situation where the speaker’s earlier assumption is challenged: a pencil is no longer in a place where the speaker expected it to be.

- (9.84) མོ་ན་ ཡོད་ སེ། ག་ སོང་བོ་ ལྷན་?  
*óna jò:=s(ɛ). k'a: sò:-bo jám?*  
 there EX.PER=QUO where go.PFV-2INF EQU.ATTQ  
 ‘There (it) was. Where did it go, I wonder?’ (YR e)

When the addressee does not hear or believe what the speaker has said, the speaker may use =sɛ as a forceful restatement of his/her case with a peremptory tone and possibly showing irritation:

- (9.85) a) ཡོད་ སེ་ (ཡོད་)  
*jò:=sɛ (jò?).*  
 EX.PER=QUO (EX.PER)  
 ‘(Yes) there is, I tell you.’ (PTB e)

The quotative can occur postposed to the reportative, see (9.86) and (9.87).

- (9.86) ད་ མེན་བཞེས་ལོ་སེ།  
*t'a min-ze:=lo=s.*  
 now NEG-have.HON=REP=QUO  
 ‘He’s not having (drinks) now, I heard him say.’ (PT kitchen discussion)
- (9.87) ཉི་ ཁོང་གིས་ འདི་ མེན་འགྱུ་རང་ འགྱུ་ལོ་ སེ་ ལགས།  
*te k'hoŋ=gi=di maŋ-gju=rõ: gju=lo=si=la.*  
 so 3SG.HON=AGT=DEMPH NEG-go=DEMPH go=REP=QUO=HON  
 ‘He says (cf. =sɛ) he heard (cf. =lo) he has no way of not going.’ (AB kitchen discussion; all instances of ‘he’ in the translation have the same referent)

Whereas =lo refers more generally to the fact that the speaker has heard something from others, the quotative seems to make more clear reference to a specific speech act. In the preliminary translations in (9.86) and (9.87), =lo is translated as ‘I heard’ and =s(ɛ) as ‘him say’. The semantic nuances of =sɛ and its relationship to the reportative =lo deserve further study.

### 9.3 Summary remarks

This chapter described evidentiality marked by copula auxiliaries and two clitics (reportative and quotative). The focus was on describing the less typical combinations of evidential value and person marking, i.e. personal forms with non-1<sup>st</sup> person actor (context where sensorial and neutral forms are more frequent), and sensorial/neutral forms with the first person actor (context where personal forms are more frequent). It was shown that, similar to copulas, Denjongke personal forms occur more freely with non-1<sup>st</sup> person actors than “egohopric” forms in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003).

Inquiry into evidentiality in various completive constructions marked by -ts<sup>h</sup>a: gave preliminary evidence for the category “alterphoric”, which refers to disassociation with the first person. The reportative marker was shown to occur in declarative, interrogative and imperative uses, the last one of which is typologically rare (Aikhenvald 2004: 250). Finally, it

was also seen that, in addition to prototypical uses, the quotative can refer to speaker's own earlier thoughts or speech, possibly conveying counterexpectation or annoyance.

## 10 Negation

While negation strategies for individual constructions have been discussed under relevant headings, this chapter summarizes negation patterns in Denjongke. A few words on the terminology of the ensuing discussion are in order. I will use the terms symmetric and asymmetric negation deriving from Miestamo (2000, 2003, 2005). In a symmetrically negated construction, the negated clause differs from the corresponding affirmative clause by nothing else than adding a negator morpheme. An example of this can be taken from English: the affirmative clause *I'm going there* is negated by adding the negator morpheme *not*, as in *I'm not going there*. No other modifications take place.

Asymmetry in negation, on the other hand, may be viewed from two perspectives, as constructional asymmetry or paradigmatic asymmetry. In constructional asymmetry, a negated statement differs from the affirmative clause also by some other modification(s) than the adding of a negator. As an example Miestamo (2005: 3) gives the Finnish sentence *nuku-n [sleep-1SG] 'I sleep. /'I'm sleeping'*, which is negated as *e-n nuku [NEG-1SG sleep.CNG] 'I do not sleep /'I'm not sleeping.'* Here negating is more complex than merely adding a negator morpheme: the negative auxiliary takes personal inflection and the inflected verb of the affirmative clause occurs in non-finite form.

Paradigmatic asymmetry in negation means that negative forms in the verbal paradigm do not have one-to-one correspondence to the affirmative forms. For instance, one negated form may correspond to more than one affirmed form, or the other way round.

The treatment is divided, taking inspiration from Miestamo's (2016) questionnaire for describing the negation system of a language, into clausal negation (§10.1), non-clausal negation (§10.2.) and, finally, notes on other aspects on negation (§10.3).

### 10.1 Clausal negation

Denjongke accomplishes clausal negation through the negating prefixes *ma-* and *mi-*, which attach to the verb, and through negative forms of the copulas working either as pure copulas or as auxiliaries. The negators are summarized in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1. Clausal negation formatives

Prefixes	མི <i>mi-</i>		imperfective (present, future)
	མ <i>ma-</i>		perfective (past, imperative)
Copulas	<i>mɛ̃:</i> མན་	(affirm. <i>ín</i> མིན་)	personal equative
	<i>mɛ̃mbɛ?</i> མན་ཟླད་	(affirm. <i>bɛ?</i> ཟླད་)	neutral equative
	<i>mɛ?</i> མེད་	(affirm. <i>jò?</i> ཡོད་)	personal existential
	<i>mĩndu?</i> མིན་འདུག་	(affirm. <i>du?</i> འདུག་)	sensorial
	<i>mɛ̃mbo</i> མན་བོ་	(affirm. <i>bo</i> བོ་)	interrogated equative neutral
	<i>mɛ̃na</i> མན་ན་	(affirm. <i>na</i> ན་)	interrogated equative personal

With the perfective negator *ma-* the verb has either past or imperative meaning, e.g. *man-dɔ?* མན་ཟླད་ 'did not, do not sit'. With the imperfective negator *mi-* the meaning is present habitual or future oriented, e.g. *min-dɔ?* མིན་ཟླད་ 'does not sit, will not sit'.

Negation in declarative verbal main clauses, excluding copulas and existentials (which often have a differing negation strategy), is called standard negation (Miestamo 2013). The following subsections first describe standard negation (10.1.1) and then negation in copular clauses (10.1.2), non-declarative clauses (10.1.3) and subordinate clauses (10.1.4).

### 10.1.1 Standard negation

In Denjongke, standard negation is accomplished either symmetrically by attaching a negating prefix (*mi-* or *ma-*) to the verb root, as in (10.1), or asymmetrically by replacing the affirmed final auxiliary copula with a negated copula, as in (10.2). The asymmetrical use is emphatic and typically occurs in contrastive contexts, such as the one in (10.2)

- (10.1) a) འོ་ལོ་སྐྱུག་སྐྱུག་གོ་འདི་ལོ་འཇུག་ལ་བ།  
*nò:-kja?*, *kjako=di=lo* *dzuga* *láp.*  
 cattle-excrement excrement=DEMPH=DAT cow-dung say  
 ‘Cow-dung, dung is called /dzuga/.’ (PL interview)
- b) འདི་ལོ་འབལ་ཤད་མི་ལ་བ།  
*di=lo* *bɛ:-ɛɛ?* *mi-láp.*  
 this=DAT uproot-INF NEG-say  
 ‘That is not called [bɛ:ɛɛ?].’ (PL interview)
- (10.2) ད་ལྟོ་ང་ཅག་ག་རེ་ལྷོ་བ་བཅར་བོ་མན། དེ་ལོ་ང་ཅག་ད་རིང་ན་ Sir ཟུར་མཇལ་བ་བཅར་བོ་ཞིན།  
*t'ato* *ɲàtea?* *k'are* *ɛù-wa* *tea:-bo* *mɛ̃:.* *t'ɛ:lo*  
 now 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EQU.NE just.like.that  
*ɲàtea?* *t'ariŋ* *nà:* *sər=tsa: dzɛ:-wa* *tea:-bo* *í:.*  
 1PL today here sir=by meet.HON-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Now we didn’t come to ask for anything. We just came here today to meet (you) Sir.’ (NAB BLA 7)

In serial verbs, the negator occurs before the last verb<sup>347</sup>, as shown by the affirmative and negated pair in (10.3).

- (10.3) a) འཇུ་གོས་བོ་ཞིན།  
*tʰu* *ko:-bo* *í:.*  
 pick throw.away-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘(He) picked and threw (it) away’. (KN e)
- b) འཇུ་མ་གོས།  
*tʰu* *ma-ko.*  
 pick NEG-throw.away  
 ‘Do not pick and throw (it) away.’ (KN e)

The correspondance of affirmed and negated constructions in standard negation is summarized in Table 10.2, where EQU = *í/bɛ?*, NEG.EQU = *mɛ̃:/mèmbɛ*, EX = *jò?/du?* and NEG.EX = *mè?/mindu?* (for evidential distinctions marked by these distinctions, see §7). The parts in square brackets may be added to the shorter forms. The simplified glosses in Table 10.2 do not convey all the semantic nuances.

<sup>347</sup> Negated serial verbs do not have more than two verbs.

Table 10.2. Negation of declarative final forms

Constr.	Affirmative	Gloss	Negated	Gloss
state	<i>lâp</i>	‘is called, says’	<i>mi-lâp</i>	‘is not called’
simp. prs	<i>lâp bɛ?</i>	‘says’	<i>mi-lâp bɛ?</i>	‘does not say’
IPFV	<i>lâp-to</i> (EQU)	‘used to say, is saying’	<i>ma-lâp-to</i> (EQU)	‘used not to say’
			<i>lâp-o</i> NEG.EX <sup>348</sup>	‘is not saying’
CONT	<i>lâp dɔ:</i> EX	‘is saying’		
PROG	<i>lâp-tɛɛn</i> EX	‘is saying’		
periphr. PST	<i>lâp-o</i> EQU	‘said’	<i>lâp-o</i> NEG.EQU	‘did not say (emphatic)’
			<i>mà-lap(-o)</i> EQU	‘did not say’
PST	<i>lâp-tɛɛ</i>	‘said’		
CMPL	<i>lâp-ts<sup>h</sup>a:</i>	‘has said’		
PRF	<i>lâp-lâp-o</i> EX		<i>lâp-lâp-o</i> NEG.EX	‘has not said’
			<i>lâp-ɛy:</i> NEG.EX	‘has not said’
RES	<i>lâp jò?</i>	‘has said’	<i>lâp mè?</i>	‘has not said’
SEN.PST/ SEN.RES	<i>lâp du?</i>	‘said’	<i>lâp mîndu</i>	‘did not say’
			<i>lâp-o mîndu</i>	‘did not say’
NPST	<i>lâp-ɛɛ</i> EQU	‘will say’	<i>lâp-ɛɛ</i> NEG.EQU	‘will not say (emphatic)’
			<i>mi-lâp(-ɛɛ)</i> EQU	‘will not say’
FUT.UNC	<i>lâp ɔ̃:</i>	‘will say’		
poss.like	<i>lâp-ɛɛ</i> EX	‘has/had...to say’	<i>lâp-ɛɛ</i> NEG.EX	‘has/had not (anything) to say’
HAB. PRS	<i>lâp-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:</i> EQU	‘said, says’	<i>ma-lâp-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:</i> EQU	‘didn’t say’
			<i>mi-lâp-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:</i> EQU	‘doesn’t say’
			<i>mi-lap-o</i> EQU	‘does not say, used not to say’

As seen in Table 10.5, there is a slightly smaller number of affirmative constructions (15) than negated construction (17), showing paradigmatic asymmetry. Further asymmetry is evident in that:

1) Negation of the imperfective is split into symmetric negation, which is used for the past habitual use (*ma-lâp-to* [EQU]), and non-symmetric negation, which is formally borrowed from non-reduplicated perfect construction and which occurs in the present continuous use (*lâp-o* NEG.EX).

2) In the progressive-type of constructions (imperfective, progressive, continuous), there is mismatch of form and function in that negated form (*lâp-o* NEG.EX) for these constructions are not derived from the any of the three progressive type of constructions but from the non-reduplicated perfect construction (*lâpo* EX). In this respect, Denjongke works analogously to Indo-Aryan Nepali, which uses same negation strategy for perfect and present continuous.<sup>349</sup>

3) The same negated construction *ma-lâp(o)* EQU corresponds to three affirmed forms, the periphrastic past (*-po* EQU), past (*-tɛɛ?*) and the completive (*-ts<sup>h</sup>a:*).

4) The periphrastic past and nonpast constructions both have one affirmed form corresponding to two negated forms, a neutral negation accomplished through a negator prefix and an emphatic negation accomplished through negating the final auxiliary copula.

<sup>348</sup> In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the construction *lâpto mè?* is also used.

<sup>349</sup> Nep. *paani par-dai cha*. [water fall-PROG EX.NPST.3SG] ‘It’s raining.’, *paani par-e-ko chaina* [water fall-PFV-NMLZ NEG.EX.NPST.3SG] ‘It’s not raining./It has not rained.’



5) The uncertain future (VERB  $\acute{o}$ .) form is negated by the same construction (*mi-làp*[- $\epsilon\epsilon$  EQU]) as the nonpast construction (- $\epsilon\epsilon$  EQU).

6) The affirmed perfect construction has two corresponding negated constructions, one of them involving a morpheme not occurring anywhere else in the negation system (- $\epsilon\gamma$ ., etymologically probably  $\text{शुल}$  *shul* ‘trace’).

7) The habitual present form (- $k^h\acute{\epsilon}$ : EQU) is typically negated by symmetric constructions formed with *ma-* and *mi-*, but occasionally a symmetric negation of the periphrastic past form with *mi-* (*mi-VERB-po* EQU) functions analogously (see the last row in Table 10.2).

Table 10.3 summarizes the types of finite clause negation in terms of two types of symmetry. The first is constructional symmetry, which tells whether the negated form in question is formed simple by adding a negator morpheme to an affirmative form (symmetric) or by other means (asymmetric). The second type of symmetry value marked in Table 10.3 expresses the relationship of the negated form to its functionally equivalent affirmative form. If the negated counterpart of a certain affirmative construction is formed from the affirmative construction itself negation is symmetrically related to the affirmative form. If the negated form is based on another affirmative construction the relationship is asymmetric. For instance, the relationship between the affirmative past form *làp $\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon$*  and its negated form *ma-làp-o be?* is asymmetric, because the negated form is formed/borrowed from the affirmative periphrastic past form *làp-o be?*. As seen in Table 10.3 constructional symmetry and relational symmetry may have opposite values. For instance, the negated construction *ma-làp-o be?* is constructionally symmetric because it is formed from the affirmative form *làp-o be?* by simple adding a negator morpheme. However, *ma-làp-o be?* is also the negated equivalent of the affirmative completive form *làp-ts<sup>ha</sup>*., with which the relationship is asymmetric because the negated form is not formed from the completive but borrowed from another construction.

In Table 10.3, S refers to symmetry and AS to asymmetry. The use of brackets in “(S)” means symmetry if the final TAME-marking is present (i.e. *mà-lap-o  $\acute{\epsilon}$* : is symmetric negation of *làp-o  $\acute{\epsilon}$* , while the shorter form *mà-lap* is not).

Table 10.3. (A)symmetry in finite negated constructions

Constr.	Affirmative	Negated	Constructional symmetry	Relational symmetry of neg. and affirm. form
state	<i>láp</i>	<i>mi-láp</i>	S	S
simp. prs	<i>láp bε?</i>	<i>mi-lap bε?</i>	S	S
IPFV	<i>láp-to</i> (EQU)	<i>ma-láp-to</i> (EQU) <i>mi-láp-to</i> (EQU)	S	S
		<i>láp-o</i> NEG.EX <sup>350</sup>	AS	AS
CONT	<i>láp dø:</i> EX			AS
PROG	<i>láp-tεen</i> EX			AS
periphr. PST	<i>láp-o</i> EQU	<i>láp-o</i> NEG.EQU	AS	S
		<i>mà-lap(-o)</i> EQU)	(S)	S
PST	<i>láp-tεε</i>			AS
CMPL	<i>láp-ts<sup>h</sup>a:</i>			AS
PRF	<i>(láp-)</i> <i>láp-o</i> EX	<i>(láp-)</i> <i>láp-o</i> NEG.EX	AS	S
		<i>láp-εy:</i> NEG.EX	AS	AS
RES	<i>láp jò?</i>	<i>láp mè?</i>	AS	S
SEN.PST/ SEN.RES	<i>láp du?</i>	<i>láp mнду</i>	AS	S
		<i>láp-o mнду</i>	AS	AS
NPST	<i>láp-εε</i> EQU	<i>lápεε</i> NEG.EQU	AS	S
		<i>mi-lap(-εε)</i> EQU)	(S)	(S)
FUT.UNC	<i>láp ǝ:</i>			AS
poss.like	<i>láp-εε</i> EX	<i>láp-εε</i> NEG.EX	AS	S
HAB. PRS	<i>láp-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:</i> EQU	<i>ma-láp-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:</i> EQU	S	S
		<i>mi-láp-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:</i> EQU		
		<i>mi-lap-o</i> EQU	S	AS

A deeper discourse-oriented analysis of negation may reveal further complexities, perhaps a complex network of relations between affirmative and negated forms similar to Contini-Morava's (1989) description of Swahili negation.

### 10.1.2 Negation in copular clauses

This section summarizes negation in copulas, which may be divided into simple copulas, combined copulas and nominalized copulas, which were already introduced in §7. As shown in Table 10.1 above, negated forms of simple copulas seem to historically derive from symmetric constructions, where the negator prefix attaches a positive copula. Thus, negation in copulas may be termed historically symmetric (because the negated copula was formed by adding a negator prefix) but synchronically asymmetric (because the process is no longer transparent or productive).<sup>351</sup> The combinatory copulas, emphatic *ímbe?* and sensorial equative *indu?* (see §7.3.1), do not have distinct negated forms. The form *mèmbε?* negates both the neutral equative *bε?* and the emphatic *ímbe?*. No negated form for *indu?* has been attested in natural speech or elicitation, and the hypothetical form *\*mèndu?* was rejected in elicitation.

I am aware of only one construction, the circumstantial adverbial, where a negator prefix attached to a copula is used instead of a negated copula:

<sup>350</sup> In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the construction *lápto mè?* is also used.

<sup>351</sup> Croft (1991) has put forward a hypothetical cycle according to which standard negation evolves from negation in existentials (see also Veselinova 2014).

(10.4) a) ལུ་མི་ ཅང་དྲགས་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ མ་ཞིན་པ་ རིག་ཅན་ཡང་ ཞིན།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u mí tɛã:taʔ tɛiku ma-ím-ba riktɛen=jã: í:.*  
 3SGM human beautiful only NEG-EQU.PER-CIRC intelligent=also EQU.PER  
 ‘He is not only a handsome person but also intelligent.’ (referent present) (PT e)

b) མན་ འདི་ མི་ མ་ཞིན་པ་ འདྲེ་མོ་ འཇིག་ལྷ་ ཅུང་པོ་ གཅིག་ ཞིན།  
*ána=di mí ma-ím-ba qɛmo dziksu runpo=teɪʔ*  
 old.lady=DEMPH human NEG-EQU.PER-CIRC demoness PN PN=INDF  
*í:.*  
 EQU.PER  
 ‘The old lady, not being a human, is one demoness Dziksi Rungpo.’ (rna-gsung 10)

The negated forms of nominalized copulas are given in Table 10.4. The nominalizers are *-po/bo* (2. infinitive), *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* (nominalizer) and *-ɛɛʔ* (1. infinitive). Nominalized copula constructions have two copulas, the first making the equative vs. existential distinction and the second one making the evidential distinction personal vs. neutral. The first, nominalized copula is always one of the personal copulas *í:* (neg. *mɛ̃:*) or *jòʔ* (neg. *mèʔ*). The final, evidentiality marking copula is either personal *í:* or neutral *bɛʔ*. The forms given with a question mark do not occur in my data. However, consultant KUN commented that he has heard all of them used, with the exception of *mèm-bo í:*, the felicity of which he doubted.

Table 10.4. Nominalized copulas

Equ./ Ex.	Evid./epist.	Nominalised construction			
		Affirmative	Negated		
Equat	Personal	<i>ím-bo í:</i>	ཞིན་པོ་ ཞིན་	<i>mèm-bo í: (?)</i>	མན་པོ་ ཞིན་ (?)
		<i>ín-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: í:</i>	ཞིན་མཁན་ ཞིན་	<i>mèŋ-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: í:</i>	མན་མཁན་ ཞིན་
		<i>í:-ɛɛ í:</i>	ཞིན་གད་ ཞིན་	<i>mɛ̃:-ɛɛ í: (?)</i>	མན་གད་ ཞིན་ (?)
	Neutral or assertive	<i>ím-bo bɛʔ</i>	ཞིན་པོ་ ཟུང་	<i>mèm-bo bɛʔ</i>	མན་པོ་ ཟུང་
		<i>ín-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn bɛʔ</i>	ཞིན་མཁན་ ཟུང་	<i>mèŋ-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn bɛʔ</i>	མན་མཁན་ ཟུང་
		<i>í:-ɛɛ bɛʔ</i>	ཞིན་གད་ ཟུང་	<i>mɛ̃:-ɛɛ bɛʔ (?)</i>	མན་གད་ ཟུང་ (?)
Exist.	Personal	<i>jò:-po í:</i>	ཡོད་པོ་ ཞིན་	<i>mè:-po í:</i>	མེད་པོ་ ཞིན་
		<i>jò:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: í:</i>	ཡོད་མཁན་ ཞིན་	<i>mè:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: í:</i>	མེད་མཁན་ ཞིན་
		<i>jò:-ɛɛ í:</i>	ཡོད་གད་ ཞིན་	<i>mè:-ɛɛ í: (?)</i>	མེད་གད་ ཞིན་ (?)
	Neutral	<i>jò:-po bɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་པོ་ ཟུང་	<i>mè:-po bɛʔ</i>	མེད་པོ་ ཟུང་
		<i>jèbbeʔ/jòbbeʔ</i>	ཡོད་པ་ ཟུང་	<i>mèbbeʔ</i>	མེད་པ་ ཟུང་
		<i>jò:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn bɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་མཁན་ ཟུང་	<i>mè:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn bɛʔ</i>	མེད་མཁན་ ཟུང་
<i>jò:-ɛɛ bɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་གད་ ཟུང་	<i>mè:-ɛɛ bɛʔ (?)</i>	མེད་གད་ ཟུང་ (?)		

The nominalized copula construction are cases of asymmetric negation where the first, nominalized copula is replaced by a negated one, while the last, evidentiality-marking copula stays the same. For examples, refer to §7.3.2.

Although I do not currently have examples, the nominalized copulas have additional negated forms in which the final copula, not the first one, is negated (e.g. *í:-ɛɛ mèmbeʔ* instead of *mè:-ɛɛ bɛʔ*, and *jò-po mèmbeʔ* instead of *mè:-po bɛʔ*). For examples on analogous negated constructions with other verbs, see §8.1.1 (past construction) and §8.2.5 (nonpast construction). Consultant KUN commented that the affirmative forms in Table 10.4 could be

negated by negating the final copula, i.e.  $\acute{i}:-\epsilon\epsilon \acute{i}:$  >  $\acute{i}:-\epsilon\epsilon m\acute{e}:$ . The only form that he was not certain about was the form  $j\grave{o}:-\epsilon\epsilon m\acute{e}:$ , which he said he had not heard used. Negation of complex copulas leaves much to be investigated.

### 10.1.3 Negation in non-declarative clauses

Negation in non-declarative clauses is here addressed in two parts, non-copular clauses (§10.1.3.1) and copular clauses (§10.1.3.2)

#### 10.1.3.1 Negation in interrogative, imperative, hortative and optative

The negation in imperative, hortative and optative moods is accomplished by adding the prefix *ma-* to the affirmative form, i.e. non-declarative negation in symmetrical, see Table 10.5. In imperative and hortative moods, the negator is prefixed to the verb root, while in the optative mood the negator occurs between the verb root and optative marker. Negation is not applicable to the exclamative mood (see §11.2).

Table 10.5. Negation of non-declarative non-copular clauses

IMP	<i>l\grave{a}p(-t\epsilon^hi)</i>	‘say!’	<i>ma-l\grave{a}p(-t\epsilon^hi)</i>	‘do not say’	symmetric
HORT	<i>l\grave{a}p-k\epsilon</i>	‘let me/us say’	<i>ma-l\grave{a}p-k\epsilon</i>	‘let us/me not say’	
OPT	<i>l\grave{a}p-t\epsilonuk</i>	‘let (her) say’	<i>l\grave{a}p ma-t\epsilonuk</i>	‘let (her) not say’	

Negation of interrogated clauses is summarized in Table 10.6, where the glosses are simplified. As in Table 10.3, constructional symmetry (S) refers to the fact that the negation is accomplished by simple adding a negator morpheme to an affirmative form (in any tense-aspect category). Constructional asymmetry (AS) refers to all other cases. Relationally symmetric are those negated forms which are derived from the temporally and aspectually corresponding affirmative form. Relational asymmetry refers to negated forms which are formed on the basis of another (non-corresponding) affirmative form. For a more detailed description of tense, aspect and modality expressed by the forms in Table 10, refer to §8, and for question formation, see §11. The forms in Table 10.6 mostly reflect consultant KN’s language. As a general rule, it seems that questions negated by the negated interrogative equative auxiliaries *m\grave{e}mbo*, *m\grave{e}na*, *m\grave{e}\eta-ga* and the affirmative interrogative *\acute{i}\eta-ga* are in effect like tag questions, whereas questions negated by other means are normal non-tag questions.

Table 10.6. Negation of interrogatives

Constr	Affirm.	Gloss	Negated	Gloss	Constr. symm.	Relation. symm.
state	<i>kjap-ka</i>	‘does he do’	<i>mi-kjap-ka</i>	‘does he not do’	S	S
simp. prs	<i>kjap b\epsilon-ka</i>	‘does he do’	<i>kjap m\grave{e}mb\epsilon-ka</i>	‘does he not do’	AS	S
IPFV	<i>kjap-to-ka</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>mi-kjap-ka</i>	‘does he not do’	S	AS
			<i>(mi-kjap-to-kam)</i>	‘is he not doing’		S
	<i>kjap-to n\acute{a}</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>ma-kjap n\acute{a}</i>	‘is he not doing’	S	S
			<i>(ma-kjap-to n\acute{a}/bo)</i>			
			<i>kjap-to m\grave{e}na</i> <sup>352</sup>	‘he is doing, isn’t he’	AS	S
<i>ma-kjap-to m\grave{e}na</i>	‘he is not doing, is he’	AS	S			
<i>kjap-to \acute{i}\eta-ga</i>	‘he is doing, isn’t he’	<i>kjap-to m\grave{e}\eta-ga,</i>	‘he is doing, isn’t he’	AS	S	

<sup>352</sup> The Nepali equivalent offered by KN was *bandaicha*, *hoina*

	<i>kjap-to bo</i>	‘is he doing (I wonder)’	<i>ma-kjap-to bo</i> ( <i>alternative question</i> )	‘whether he is not doing or...’	S	S
			<i>kjap-to mèmbo</i>	‘he is doing, isn’t he’	AS	S
			<i>ma-kjap-to mèmbo</i>	‘he is not doing, is he’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-to bε-ka</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-to mèmbe-ka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	S
			<i>kjap-o mè:-po kjap-o mĩndu-ko</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
			<i>kjap-o mè:-ka kjap-o mĩndu-ka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
			<i>ma-kjap-o ná/bo</i>	‘is he not doing, did he not do’	S	AS
PROG	<i>kjap-tεen jø:- ka/du-ka</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-o mè:ka/ mĩndu-ka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
	<i>kjap-tεen jø- po kjap-tεen du- ko</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-tεen mè:-po/ mĩndu-ko kjap-o mè:-po/ mĩndu-ko</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	S
				‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
CONT	<i>kjap dø: jø:- ka/du-ka</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-o mè:-ka kjap-o mĩndu-ka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	S
			<i>kjap dø:-p mè:-ka kjap dø:-p minduka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
	<i>kjap dø: jø- po kjap dø: du- ko</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-o mè:-po kjap-o mĩndu-ko kjap dø:-p mè:-po kjap dø:-p mĩndu- ko</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
				‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
per. PST	<i>kjap-o ná</i>	‘did he do’	<i>ma-kjap-o ná ma-kjap ná kjap-o mènna kjap-o mènη-ga ma-kjap-o mènna ma-kjap-o mènη-ga</i>	‘did he not do’ ‘did he not do’ ‘he did, didn’t he’ ‘he did not do, did he’	S S AS AS	S AS S AS
	<i>kjap-o bo</i>	‘did he do (I wonder)’	<i>ma-kjap-o bo kjap-o mèmbo ma-kjap-o mèmbo</i>	‘did he not do’ ‘he did, didn’t he’ ‘he did not do, did he’	S S AS	S S S
	<i>kjap-o</i> <sup>353</sup>	‘did he do’	<i>ma-kjap-o</i>	‘did he not do’	S	S
PST	<i>kjap-tεε ná/*bo</i>	‘did he do’	<i>ma-kjap ná kjap-tεε mènna</i>	‘did he not do’ ‘he did, didn’t he’	S AS	AS S

<sup>353</sup> Essential for this form and the corresponding negation is raised pitch.

			<i>kjap-tɛɛ, mɛ̀mbo</i>	‘he did, didn’t he’	AS	AS
	<i>kjap-tɛɛ-ka</i> <i>kjap-tɛa</i>	‘did he do’	<i>ma-kjap ná</i>	‘did he not do’	S	AS
CMPL	<i>kjap-tsʰa: ná</i> <i>kjap-tsʰo-u ná</i>	‘has he done’	<i>ma-kjap-o ná</i>	‘did he not do’, ‘has he not done’	S	AS
			<i>kjap-tsʰo-u mɛ̀na</i>	‘he has done, hasn’t he’		S
	<i>kjap-tsʰa: bo</i> <i>kjap-tsʰo-u bo</i>	‘has he done’	<i>ma-kjap-o bo</i>	‘did he not do’, ‘has he not done’	S	AS
			<i>kjap-tsʰo-u mɛ̀mbo</i>	‘he has done, hasn’t he’	AS	S
PRF	<i>(kjap-)kjap-o jò:-ka, (kjap-)kjapo du-ka</i>	‘has he done’	<i>(kjap-)kjap-o mɛ̀:-ka, (kjap-)kjap-o mĩndu-ka</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S
	<i>(kjap-)kjap-o jò-po, (kjap-)kjap-o duko</i>	‘has he done’	<i>(kjap-)kjap-o mɛ̀:-po, (kjap-)kjap-o mĩndu-ko</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-ɛy: jò:-ka, kjap-ɛy: du-ka</i>	‘has he done’	<i>kjap-ɛy: mɛ̀:-ka, kjap-ɛy: mĩndu-ka</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-ɛy: jò-po, kjap-ɛy: du-ko</i>	‘has he done’	<i>kjap-ɛy: mɛ̀:-po, kjap-ɛy: mĩndu-ko</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S
RES	<i>kjap jò:-ka</i>	‘has he done’	<i>kjap mɛ̀:-ka</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S
SEN.PST SEN.RES	<i>kjap du-ka</i>	‘did he do’	<i>kjap mĩndu-ka</i> <i>kjap mĩndu-ko</i>	‘did he not do’	AS	S
NPST	<i>kjap-ɛɛ ná</i> <i>(kjap-ɛa)</i>	‘will he do’	<i>mi-kjap ná</i> <sup>354</sup>	‘will he not do’	S	AS
			<i>mi-kjap-ka</i>	‘will he not do’	S	AS
			<i>kjap-ɛɛ mɛ̀na</i>	‘he will do, won’t he’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-ɛɛ bo</i>	‘will he do’	<i>mi-kjap-ka</i>	‘will he not do’	S	S
<i>kjap-ɛɛ mɛ̀mbo</i>			‘he will do, won’t he’	AS	S	
FUT.UNC	<i>kjap òŋ-ga</i>	‘will he do’	<i>mi-kjap-ka(m)</i> <sup>355</sup>	‘will he not do’	S	AS
poss.like	<i>kjap-ɛɛ jò:-ka, kjap-ɛɛ du-ka</i>	‘has he to do’	<i>kjap-ɛɛ mɛ̀:-ka, kjap-ɛɛ mĩndu-ka</i>	‘he has not to do’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-ɛɛ jò-po, kjap-ɛɛ du-ko</i>	‘has he to do’	<i>kjap-ɛɛ mɛ̀:-po, kjap-ɛɛ mĩndu-ko</i>	‘he has not to do’	AS	S
HAB. PRS	<i>kjap-kʰɛ: ná</i>	‘is he the one doing’	<i>ma-kjap-kʰɛ: ná</i> <i>mi-kjap-kʰɛ: ná</i>	‘is he (the one) not doing’	S	S
			<i>kjap-kʰɛ: mɛ̀na</i>	‘he is (the one)	AS	S

<sup>354</sup> This may also be a statement.

<sup>355</sup> The addition of *-m* makes form an attenuated question. The attenuation in the negated question is functionally similar to uncertainty implied by *ò:* in the affirmative question.

			<i>kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃: mènŋ-ga</i>	doing, isn't he'		
			<i>ma-kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃: mèna</i>	'he is not (the one) doing, is he'	AS	S
			<i>ma-kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃: mènŋ-ga</i>		AS	S
			<i>mi-kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃: mèna</i>		AS	AS
			<i>mi-kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃: mènŋ-ga</i>			
	<i>kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn bo</i>	'is he the one doing (I wonder)'	<i>ma-kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn bo</i>	'is he (the one) not doing'	S	S
			<i>kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃: mèmbo</i>	'he is (the one) doing, isn't he'	AS	S
			<i>ma-kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃: mèmbo</i>	'he is not (the one) doing, is he'	AS	S
			<i>mi-kjap-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃: mèmbo</i>			
			<i>mi-kjap-o bo</i>	'does he not do', 'is he not doing'	S	AS

Table 10.6 underlines the richness and complexity of question formation in Denjongke. For clausal examples of some of the negated questions, refer to §11. The semantic nuances of question formation in Denjongke leave a lot to be covered by further research.

### 10.1.3.2 Negation of interrogative copulas

My data has no examples of imperative, hortative or optative forms of the copulas. Verbs of becoming *t<sup>h</sup>on* 'come out, happen, become' and *tɛ'uy* 'become', on the other hand, are used in the optative form, *t<sup>h</sup>on ma-tɛu?*, *tɛ'uy ma-tɛu?* 'let not be/become'. The non-declarative forms of proper copulas consist of interrogatives, which are given in Tables 10.7 (equative copulas) and 10.8 (existential copulas).

Table 10.7. Negation of interrogated equative copulas

	Q type	Affirmed		Negated	
P	suffix	<i>iŋ-ga</i>	'is (it)' (tag)	<i>mènŋ-ga</i>	'isn't (it)' (tag)
E		<i>iŋ-gam</i>	'I wonder whether (it) is'	<i>mènŋ-gam</i>	'I wonder whether (it) is not'
R	neg. cop.	<i>ɲá</i>	'is (it)'	<i>mèna</i>	'isn't (it)' (tag)
		<i>ɲám</i>	'I wonder whether (it) is'	<i>mènam</i>	'I wonder whether (it) is not'
N	suffix	<i>bɛ-ka</i>	'is it'	<i>mèmbe-ka?</i>	'is (it) not'
E	neg. cop.	<i>bo</i>	'is (it I wonder)'	<i>mèmbo</i>	'isn't (it)' (tag)

Table 10.8. Negation of interrogated existential copulas

	Affirmative		Negated	
Per	<i>jø(:)-ka</i>	'is (there)'	<i>mè(:)-ka</i>	'is (there) not'
	<i>jø(:)-kam</i>	'I wonder whether (there) is'	<i>mè(:)-kam</i>	'I wonder whether (there) is not'
Sen	<i>du-ka</i>	'is (there)'	<i>mindu-ka</i>	'is (there) not'

As seen in Table 10.7 and Table 10.8, both equative and existential copulas may be interrogated with the the suffix *-ka/ga* and its attenuated counterpart *-kam/gam*, whereas only equative interrogatives have separate negated forms (*mèna*, *mènam*, *mèmbo*). The attenuated forms occur only in the personal copulas *í:* and *jø?*, which represent diachronically older forms, tracing back to Classical Tibetan.

### 10.1.4 Negation in subordinate clauses

Negation of those adverbial clauses for which I have data on negation is summarized in Table 10.10. The negation of copulas differs from other verbs in that copulas are negated by replacing the affirmative copula by the negated copula.

Table 10.9. Negation of nonfinal forms

Form	Function	Affirmative	Negative	Construct. symmetry	Relational symmetry
<i>-ne/no</i> <sup>356</sup>	conditional	<i>kjap-ne</i>	<i>ma-kjap-ne</i>	S	S
<i>-ruŋ</i>	concession	<i>kjap-ruŋ</i>	<i>ma-kjap-ruŋ</i>	S	S
<i>-ti</i>	nonfinal	<i>kjap-ti</i>	<i>ma-kjap-a</i>	S	AS
<i>-pa(r)</i>	circumstance	<i>kjap-a</i>			S
<i>-podã:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-o-dã:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-o-dã:</i>	S	S
<i>-tsubdã:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-tsubdã:</i>			AS
<i>-sondã:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-sondã:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-sondã:</i>	S	S
<i>-sompã:</i>		<i>kjap-sompã:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-sompã:</i>		
<i>-kap</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-kap</i>	<i>ma-kjap kap</i>	S	S
		<i>kjapø: kap</i>	<i>ma-kjapø: kap</i>		
<i>-dy:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-dy:</i>	<i>ma-kjapdy:</i>	S	S
<i>-reŋk<sup>ha</sup></i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-reŋk<sup>ha</sup></i>	<i>ma-kjap-reŋk<sup>ha</sup></i>	S	S
<i>gã:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-ø: gã:</i>	<i>ma-kjap gã:</i>	AS	AS
<i>p'a:pu</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-kjap</i>	<i>ma-kjap p'a:pu</i>	AS	AS
		<i>p'a:pu</i>			
<i>-sã:, sonzã:</i>	terminative	<i>kjap-sonzã:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-sonzã:</i>	S	S
<i>-εε di:</i>	causal	<i>kjap-εε=di:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-εε=di:</i>	S	S

As shown by Table 10.10, negation in non-finite clauses is constructionally mostly symmetric, showing asymmetry in only two constructions (simultaneous *gã:* and *p'a:pu*). Two constructions (nonfinal and simultaneous *-tsubdã:*) show paradigmatic asymmetry in deriving the negated form from another construction. Simultaneous constructions with *gã:* and *p'a:pu* evince a peculiar paradigmatic asymmetry in having a unique negated construction which is not derived from any affirmative construction. The simultaneous construction formed with *gã:* ‘time’ differs from the functionally equivalent affirmative construction by dropping the nominalizer *-po* and the simultaneous construction formed by *p'a:pu* ‘in between’ differs from its functionally equivalent affirmative form by eliding reduplication.

## 10.2 Non-clausal negation

### 10.2.1 Negative replies

While Denjongke has no word corresponding to English *no*, one word negative replies are possible with the negated copulas. Negated existentials *mĩndu?* and *mè?* can function as one-word replies to questions relating to existence and location.

<sup>356</sup> Speakers literate in Tibetan also use the form *-na*, a loan from Classical Tibetan.



(10.5) Q: ཚྭ་ ཚོབ་ཀྱི་?  
*tsʰa tʰop-ka?*  
 salt find-PQ  
 ‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)

A: མིན་འདུག་མེད།  
*mĩndu?/mè?*  
 NEG.EX.SEN/ NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘There is not.’ (KN e)

The negated equative *mè:* is used in the meaning ‘it is not as you are saying’ for contending with what the speaker’s interlocutor has said. Typically, however, the form is not used totally independently but is followed by a further negated verb form.

(10.6) མཚན་ ད་རིང་ བཞེས་པོ་ མེད་ལོ།  
*mè:, tʰariŋ ze:-p(o) mè:=lo.*  
 NEG.EQU.PER today eat.HON-2INF NEG.EX.PER=REP  
 ‘No, (he) is not eating today, I hear.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

An affirmative and a negated question differ with respect to whether they allow a one word negated answer. In an affirmative question (10.7a), a negative reply with a mere negated copula was deemed infelicitous (10.7c). A negated verb is needed in addition (10.7b).

(10.7) a) Q: མདང་ ཚེ་རིང་ལོ་ འཕྲད་པོ་ ཉི?  
*dā: tsʰeriŋ=lo pʰε-po ná?*  
 yesterday PN=DAT meet-2INF EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Did you meet Tshering yesterday?’ (KN e)

b) A1: མཚན་ མ་ཕྱེད།  
*mè:, ma-pʰε?*  
 NEG.EQU.PER NEG-meet  
 ‘No, (I) didn’t meet.’ (KN e)

c) A2: \*མཚན།  
 \**mè:*  
 NEG.EQU.PER  
 ‘No.’ (KN e)

In a negated question, on the other hand, a reply with a mere negative existential copula was deemed felicitous:

(10.8) Q: མདང་ ཚེ་རིང་ལོ་ འཕྲད་པོ་ མཚན་གྱི་?  
*dā: tsʰeriŋ=lo pʰε-po mètŋ-ga?*  
 yesterday PN=DAT meet-2INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘Didn’t you meet Tshering yesterday?’ (KN e)

A1: མན, (མ་འཕྲིད་)  
*mɛː* (ma-pʰɛʔ).  
 NEG.EQU.PER NEG-meet  
 ‘No (I did not meet).’ (KN e)

A2: མན (ཉ་)  
*mɛː* (ɲá).  
 NEG.EQU.PER TAG.ASR  
 ‘No (indeed). (KN e)

### 10.2.2 Negative indefinites and quantifiers

Negative indefinites with meanings such as ‘nobody’, ‘never’, and ‘nothing’ are formed by adding =*jã*: ‘even, too’ to an interrogative word such as ‘who’, ‘when’, and ‘what’ and negating the following verb, see (10.9) and (10.10). Two forms, *kʼandɛː* and *kʼarɛ*<sup>357</sup> ‘(not) anything’, do not function as interrogatives at all but only occur in negated statements, see (10.10) and (10.13).

(10.9) ལྷ་པོ་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐང་ དབང་ཆ་ ག་ཡང་ མེད་མཁན་ སྤང།  
*gɛːpu=lo ódi gãː óːtɛʰa kʼaː=jãː mɛː-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*  
 king=LOC that time power what=even EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘At that time the king didn’t have any power.’ (CY interview)

(10.10) དེ་བུང་ ག་འདིས་ཡང་ གན་འདྲེ་ ལབ་ མི་རྩོགས།  
*tʰizãː kʼadiː=jãː kʼandɛː ləp mi-tsʰuʔ.*  
 but which.one.AGT=even anything say NEG-be.able.to  
 ‘But anyone was not able to say anything.’ (Richhi 53)

For more examples on negative indefinites, refer to §6.3.2.

In quantification, (surprisingly) big numbers/amounts are often expressed through negated constructions. The negated item is typically the verb (10.11-13) but at least in once instance a quantifying adjective, *ma-ɲuŋ* ‘not a few, many’ (10.14).

(10.11) ཨ་ཡོ་ ཉན་མཁན་ མི་ འདི་ འུས་ཅིག་ མ་འོང་གོ།  
*ájoː ɲɛŋ-kʰɛː mí=di ɛyːtɛyʔ m-óː=ɛo.*  
 EXCLAM listen.NMLZ human=DEMPH a.little NEG-come=AT  
 ‘O my goodness, it wasn’t a few people who came to listen.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(10.12) ཨ་མ་མ་ འུས་ཅིག་ མེད།  
*ámmamma, ɛyːtɛyʔ mɛʔ.*  
 EXCLAM(Nep.) a.little NEG.EQU.PER  
 ‘O my goodness, it’s not a few (stray dogs that we have here).’ (PL interview)

(10.13) ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ མ་བྱས་པོ་ ག་རེ་ མེད།  
*tɛʰoː=ki mam-bja-u kʼarɛ mɛʔ.*  
 2SG.L=AGT NEG-do-2INF anything NEG.EQU.PER  
 ‘There is not anything you haven’t done.’ (’dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 45)

<sup>357</sup> *kʼarɛ* may be a shortened form of *kʼandɛː*. The retroflex /d/ alternates with /t/ also elsewhere.

- (10.14) ད་ ང་ འདེམ་ མ་ཉུང་ དངུལ་ ཕྱིན་ལྷོ་གི་  
*t'a ηà dɛm ma-juŋ jɣyː p'in-diki*  
 now 1SG such NEG-be.few money give-NF  
 'Now I, having given so much money...' (TB bull story)

### 10.2.3 Negation of adjectives

Adjectives are negated either through a negator prefix attached to the adjective, see Table 10.10, or through a nominalized negative copula following the property concept word, see Table 10.11.

Table 10.10. Adjectives negated by a prefix

Positive		Negative	
<i>lɛm</i>	good	<i>mà-lɛm, mà-lɛp</i> <sup>358</sup>	bad
<i>tɛðːʈaʔ</i> (TB), <i>tɛãːʈaʔ</i> (KT)	beautiful	<i>ma-tɛom</i> (TB) <i>ma-tɛã.po</i> (KT)	ugly, not beautiful
<i>tsãːʈaʔ</i>	clean	<i>ma-tsã.m</i>	dirty, unclean
<i>ɖau</i>	similar	<i>man-ɖau</i>	dissimilar
<i>dɛmpo</i>	true	<i>man-dɛmpo</i>	untrue

As seen in Table 10.10, adjectives are mainly negated by the perfective negator prefix *ma-*. The imperfective *mi-* may be used when forming future-oriented ad-hoc adjectives from verbs through nominalization, as shown in (10.15).

- (10.15) Positive  
 ལྱུང་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་  
*ts'uŋ ts'hu-po*  
 happen be.able.to-2INF  
 'possible'
- Negative  
 ལྱུང་ མི་རྒྱལ་ལོ་  
*ts'uŋ mi-ts'hu-po*  
 happen NEG-be.able.to-2INF  
 'impossible'

When an adjective is negated through a nominalized negative existential copula (*mèː-kʰɛː* or *mèː-po*), the adjectival suffix (e.g. *-ʈaʔ*, *-tɛʰɛː*), which occurs in the positive form, is dropped and the resulting form, which is negated, is rather a noun describing a quality (e.g. sharpness, strength) than an adjective. This way of negating adjectives seems more productive than prefixing a negator, which has become more lexicalized. A few examples are given in Table 10.11.

Table 10.11. Adjectives negated by a negated copula

Positive		Negative	
<i>ŋøʈaʔ</i> རྫོང་ལགས་	sharp	<i>ŋø mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</i> རྫོང་མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་	blunt, not sharp
<i>sém-ɛúkɛʰɛː</i> སེམས་ཤུགས་ཆེན་	courageous	<i>sém-ɛúk mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</i> སེམས་ཤུགས་མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་	coward, not courageous,
<i>ɛúk-tɛʰɛː</i> ཤུགས་ཆེན་ <i>top-tɛʰɛː</i> ལྗོངས་ཆེན་	strong (lit. strength big)	<i>ɛúk mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</i> ཤུགས་མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་ <i>top mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</i> ལྗོངས་མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་	weak, not strong

<sup>358</sup> There is no other, non-derived form meaning 'bad'.

The adjectival meanings ‘different’ and ‘different kinds’ are expressed through negation by constructions listed in Table 10.12.

Table 10.12. Adjectives meaning ‘different (kinds of)’

<i>min-qa</i>	མིན་འདྲ་	[NEG-be.similar]	‘different’
<i>ma-teik-o</i>	མ་གཅིག་གོ་	[NEG-one-NMLZ]	‘different, not one’
<i>qa man-qa</i>	འདྲ་མན་འདྲ་	[be.similar NEG-be.similar]	‘different kinds of’
<i>qa min-qa</i>	འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་	[be.similar NEG-be.similar]	‘different kinds of’
<i>man-qa gun-qa</i>	མན་འདྲ་ དགུ་འདྲ་	[NEG-be.similar nine-be.similar]	‘different kinds of’

(10.16) དེ་ཟང་ དང་ཕུ་ འདེམ་ མིན་འདྲ་ སྟེ།  
*t'iza: t'ã:pu dem min-qa be?*  
 but long.ago like.that NEG-be.similar EQU.NE  
 ‘But it was different from long ago.’ (DB trip story)

(10.17) མི་ འདི་ མ་གཅིག་གོ་ ལའ་ལྟེ།  
*mi=di ma-teik-o lap-ti...*  
 human=DEMPH NEG-one-NMLZ say-NF  
 ‘saying these people (are) different...’ (LA intro to Lachung)

(10.18) ད་ ཡུལ་ཚོ་ ཡུལ་ཚོ་ན་ ཡ་ཙེ་ཅིག་ འགྲོ་ལེས་ འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྟེ།  
*t'a y:tso y:tso=na átsi=tei? qoly? qaminqa jò:-kʰen be?*  
 now village village=LOC a.bit=INDF tradition various EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Now, in different villages, the traditions are a bit different.’ (SGD wedding customs)

For an example of the negated idiom *man-qa gun-qa*, refer to §10.3.3 below.

### 10.2.4 Privatives

Privative (or abessive) meanings (cf. English *without* N, *N-less*, *un-N*) are expressed through negated existential copulas, see (10.19). This strategy is identical with negating certain adjectives, see Table 10.11 above.

(10.19) ང་རང་ ཅིག་གུ་ འདེབ་ ཡུལ་སྐོར་ འབག་ལྟེ་ རི་ལུང་ མེད་པོ་ འབྲམ་ འབག་ལྟེ་ འགྲུ་ རྩོད་ ཡོད།  
*ŋà=rã: teuku dep y:kor bak-ti ri-luy mè:-po kʰjam*  
 1SG=AEMPH only like.this tour carry-NF hill.valley EX-2INF roam  
*bak-ti gju dø: jò?*  
 carry-NF go sit EX.PER  
 ‘Like this I’m travelling alone, without a place (to stay) in the hills or valleys, roaming around.’ (PAD bet story)

Clausal privatives (cf. ‘without doing’) are expressed through negated circumstantial converb or through the construction NEG-VERB-*po p’ja(ti)*, see §15.8.1.

## 10.3 Other aspects of negation

This section provides a note on negation in complex clauses (§10.3.1) and describes two idiomatic constructions involving negation, the negated restrictive *-ma* (§10.3.2) and the variety marking idiom NEG-VERB *gu-VERB* (§10.3.3).

### 10.3.1 A note on negation in complex clauses

The negated connector *mi-tshɛ?* (NEG-stop) ‘not only, in addition’ functions both as a clause connector and a more loose discourse connector, see §12.2 and §15.9.1. There are no forms corresponding to English *neither...nor*, but the same function is covered by using the connector *já:* ‘and, again’ and a negated verb in both clauses, see §12.3.

A functional approximation of English subordinate clauses with *lest* can be formed by *mènne/mènni*, which was in §3.5.2.5 introduced as an epistemic adverb meaning ‘maybe, perhaps’. The form *mènne/mènni* likely derives from the conditional form of the negated personal equative *mɛ̃:* and thus seems to have an air of negation similar to English *lest*. In (10.20), the relatives of a bride insist on seeing the prospective groom, lest they be deceived.

- (10.20) མག་གོ་འདི་ག་ན་ཡོད་པོ་, གོ་ལས་སེ། མག་གོ་མན་ནེ་ མིག་ལ་ཞུ་རང་ འོང་།  
*máko=di k'ana jè-po, kolɛ=s. máko mèn(ɛ)*  
 groom=DEMPH where EX-2INF where=QUO groom perhaps  
*mik-ɛa:zou=rõ: õ̃:*  
 eye-lame=AEMPH come  
 ‘Where is the groom? Where? Lest the groom be blind.’ (SGD wedding customs)

In (10.21), *mènni*, in combination with the preceding conditional construction and following negated verb, forms a functional approximation of the English imperative followed by a *lest*-clause.

- (10.21) དུག་མན་ཟ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ མན་ནེ་ ཚོད་ མི་གྲི།  
*t'u? man-za-itɛne mènni tɛʰɔ? mi-ɛí.*  
 poison NEG-eat-COND perhaps 2SG.L NEG-die  
 ‘If (you) do not eat poison, perhaps you will not die.’/ ‘Don’t eat poison, lest you die.’ (KN e)

Note that while English *lest* co-occurs with an affirmed verb, *mènni* is followed by a negated verb.

### 10.3.2 Negated restrictive -ma ‘more than (+NEG.EX), only’

The restrictive suffix *-ma*, which is distinct from the negator prefix *ma-*, attaches to quantifying words and together with a negated existential expresses about the same meaning as English ‘(there is) no more than’. It is functionally close to the adverb *tsiku* ‘only’ used with an affirmative existential. Consultant KN commented that *=ma* in (10.22) could be replaced by the marker *p<sup>h</sup>a:ge* or *ma:ge* and retain the same meaning.

- (10.22) ང་ཅག་མི་ ཉུང་ཉུང་མ་ མེད་རུང་ ང་ཅག་ བྱིས་ ཚུགས།  
*ɲàtsa? mí jùnjun-ma mɛ:-ruŋ ɲàtsa? p'ja tsʰu?*  
 1PL people few-(no.)more.than NEG.EX-CON 1PL do be.able.to  
 ‘Although we aren’t more than a few, we can do (it).’ (KN e)

- (10.23) དྭ་ རྩམ་ཅིག་མ་ མེད་, འདི་ བམས་ཅད་ འཇུང་།  
*t'a ɛy:tey:-ma mɛ?, di tʰamtɛɛ? tʰuŋ.*  
 now a.bit-(no.)more.than EX.PER it all drink  
 ‘Now there isn’t more than a bit, drink it all.’ (rnam-rtog 20)

In the novel *Richhi* and the audio-play *nam-rtog*, *=ma* is written together with the word it is postposed to, see (10.23-25). In the context of (10.24), a man and a woman are each counting pieces of an orange split in two to find out whether the comparative number of orange pieces bodes well for their prospective marriage.

- (10.24) A: ཚེ་མེད་ཚ་ཉི་བདུན་མ་ མིན་འདུག། ཨ་ལྷ་གི་ལྗོ་གཞི་ད་ འདུག?
- te<sup>h</sup>e:*     *je:*=*tsa:*=*to*                     *dyn-ma*                     *mìndu?*  
 Oh.no 1SG.GEN=at=CEMPH seven-(no.)more.than NEG.EX.SEN  
*ágja=gi=eo*                     *k'adzø?*     *du?*  
 elder.brother=GEN=AT how.may EX.SEN  
 'Oh no, I have no more than seven (pieces of orange). And what about the brother, how many do (you) have?' (Ricchi 99)

- B: ངེ་མེད་ཚ་ལང་བདུན་མ་ མིན་འདུག།
- je:*             *tsa=lo=jã:*                     *dyn-ma*                     *mìndu?*  
 1SG.GEN at=DAT=even seven-(no.)more.than NEG.EX.SEN  
 'I too haven's (any) more than seven.'

- (10.25) A: ལྷ་ལྷ་འདི་ མཚ་ལྷོགས་ཀམ་ ཨ་ལྷ།
- mén=di*                     *man-dzo:-kam*                     *ágja?*  
 medicine=DEMPH NEG-be.finished-ATTQ elder.brother  
 'Isn't the medicine finished, brother?'

- B: ད་ ལྷ་ཚེག་མ་ མིན་འདུག། ལྷོགས་རབ་ ལྷ།
- t'a*     *éy:tey:-ma*                     *mìndu?*                     *dzo:-rap*                     *bé?*  
 now a.bit-(no.)more.than NEG.EX.SEN be.finished-IMF EQU.NE  
 'Now there's no more than a bit. It's about to be finished.' (nam-rtog 33)

A similar meaning may be expressed by *mèmbó* accompanied by a negated verb:

- (10.26) ཚེ་ཕོ་ཀི་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ཚུ་ ལྷི་མ་ན་ ལོག་ལྷོ་ འགྲུ་བར་ ད་ ཉིན་ གཅིག་ མཚ་ལོ་ མེད།
- te<sup>h</sup>øki?*     *pyn=tsu*     *k'im=na*     *lòk-ti*                     *gju-wa*     *t'a*     *jìim*     *tei?*     *mèmbó*  
 PN             sibling=PL house=LOC return-NF go-PUR now day one NEG.EQU.NE  
*mè?*  
 NEG.EX.PER  
 'It is no more than one day and Choki will return (her) sibling's house.' (Richhi 136)

### 10.3.3 Variety marking idiom NEG-VERB *gu*-VERB

The negated construction NEG-VERB *gu*-VERB marks undefined variety, an apt translation often being 'doing various kinds of'. The formative *gu* means nine, rendering a literal translation 'not doing nine doing'. In the novel *Richhi*, the construction always collocates with the verb *nó* or *nó:sam tã:*, which both mean 'think', see (10.27)

- (10.27) མོ་འདི་ལི་ ལྷ་མེ་ ཀལ་གིས་ མཚོ་བསམ་ མི་བཏང་ དགུ་བཏང་ གས་ལོ་ བཏང་ཤང་ ཞིན།
- ódi:*             *nùpts<sup>h</sup>i*                     *karma=gi*     *nó:sam*     *mi-tã:*                     *gu-tã:*                     *ke:po tã:-εε*  
 that.GEN night.time PN=AGT thought NEG-send nine-send a.lot send-INF  
*t̃:*  
 EQU.PER  
 'That night Karma thinks many various kinds of thoughts.' (Richhi 171)

- (10.28) མན་ལྟ་ དགུ་ལྟ་  
*man-qa*                    *gun-qa*  
NEG-be.similar    nine-be.similar  
'various kinds of' (TB, oh)

#### 10.4 Summary remarks

This chapter provided a summary on features related to negation. Special emphasis was given to the concept of symmetry and asymmetry, which was addressed from two perspectives, constructional and relational. It was shown that some negated tense-aspect constructions do not have a distinct negated form but borrow the negation strategy from another construction, leading into less negated forms than affirmative forms. This tendency, however, is counterbalanced by that fact that some affirmative constructions can be negated in more than one way, leading into more negated forms than affirmative forms. For instance, past and nonpast constructions have, in addition to the ordinary negated construction (formed by the negator prefix), also an emphatic negated form (formed by negating the final auxiliary copula).

Negation of questions was found to be highly complex and deserving of further study. Adjectives are negated in two ways the first of which resembles verbal negation (negator prefix) and the other one nominal privative constructions (negated and nominalized existential).

## 11 Non-declarative clauses

While other chapters of this thesis discuss mainly declarative sentences, this chapter focuses on non-declarative sentence moods: interrogative (§11.1), exclamative (§11.2), imperative (§11.3), hortative (§11.4) and optative (§11.5). The bulk of the discussion addresses interrogatives, which show a wide variety of constructions, while the other clause types receive less attention. The imperative is concerned with second person commands and requests, hortative first person suggestions and optative third person wishes.

### 11.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative clauses in Denjongke consist of polar questions, content questions, alternative questions and tag questions.<sup>359</sup> Polar interrogatives, also known as yes/no-questions, question whether something is the case, or in the negative whether something is not the case. Although ideally a polar question expects a “yes” or a “no” as an answer, there is a range of replying possibilities in between, for instance ‘most likely’, ‘maybe’ or ‘hardly’. Content questions, on the other hand, employ wh-words such as ‘who’, ‘where’ and ‘why’. Through content questions, also known as “constituent interrogatives” and “information questions” (König & Siemund 2007: 291), the speaker seeks information the type of which is revealed by a wh-word in the clause, for instance ‘who’ for identity, ‘where’ for location’ and ‘why’ for reason. Alternative questions present the addressee with two alternatives and seek information as to which is the case, for instance ‘Would you like to have apples or oranges?’. Tag questions in Denjongke are combinations of an equative copula with the polar interrogative (*iŋ-ga, be-ka*), which are appended to the end of the clause to make a declarative clause an interrogative. At the same time, tag questions raise expectations about the answer (König & Siemund 2007: 296).

Denjongke interrogative markers are briefly introduced in Table 11.1. Their use is exemplified in the following sections. Formally interrogative markers can be divided into interrogative suffixes and interrogative equative copulas. Existential copulas do not have separate interrogative forms but they are interrogated by the same question suffixes *-ka/ga* as the other verbs.

Table 11.1. Interrogative morphemes

Verb type	Polarity	Direct questions	polar	Attenuated polar and content questions	
All Vs	-	<i>-ka/ga</i>	ḡ/ḡ	<i>-kam/gam</i>	ḡḡ/ḡḡ
Personal equative	Affirm.	<i>ná</i>	ḡ/ḡḡḡ <sup>360</sup>	<i>nám</i> <sup>361</sup>	ḡḡḡ/ḡḡḡḡḡ/ḡḡḡḡḡ
	Neg.	<i>mèna</i>	ḡḡḡ	<i>mènam</i>	ḡḡḡḡḡ
Neutral equative	Affirm.	<i>bo</i>	ḡḡ		
	Neg.	<i>mèmbo</i>	ḡḡḡḡḡ		

<sup>359</sup> It is possible to make a difference between the concept of question (pragmatic act) and interrogation (grammatical category) so that what functions as a question is not necessarily an instance of grammatical interrogation. This thesis, however, does not take into account such a distinction.

<sup>360</sup> Both these forms occur in Denjongke writing. I am using the simpler form *ná*, although it does not represent high register implied by the initial of the source form (ḡḡḡ). Note that the form suggested to me for writing the attenuated form *nám* ḡḡḡ has a superscript which implies high register.

<sup>361</sup> The form *nám* most likely derives from the interrogated personal copula *in-(n)am* (in WD both ḡḡḡḡḡ and ḡḡḡḡḡ are used), which is still productive in both polar and content questions



As shown in Figure 11.1, the interrogative suffixes, which can attach to the verb root or verbal suffixes, are *-ka/ga*<sup>362</sup> and its attenuated counterpart *-kam/gam*. The attenuated question suffix *-kam/gam* (along with the attenuated interrogative copula *jám*) tones down the directness of a question by posing it as if the speaker were wondering to themselves quite like in the English expression *I wonder (whether)*.<sup>363</sup> While *-ka/ga* is a polar question marker, *-kam/gam* occurs in both polar and content questions, and is the preferred choice in interrogative complement clauses. The pre-verbal polar interrogative *á*, which is used in village of Lachung (North Sikkim), is not included in the table but is separately described in §11.1.1.5.

The interrogative equative copulas are personal *já* (neg. *mèn-a*), its attenuated counterpart *jám* (neg. *mènam*) and evidentially neutral *bo* (neg. *mèmbo*). While the interrogative copula *já* is used in polar questions, its attenuated counterpart *jám* occurs in both polar and content questions, and is the preferred choice in interrogative complement clauses. The interrogative *bo*, similarly to declarative *bε?* (§5.4.2) may in addition to equation also be used for location, e.g. *k'ana bo?* [where EQU.NE.Q] ‘Where is it?’. The marker *bo* occurs in polar, content and alternative questions. Finally, there is a marginal alternative question marker *-lø?*, which will be illustrated in §11.1.3.4.

In addition to the separate interrogative forms, copulas can be interrogated, similar to other verbs, by the suffixes *-ka/ga* and *-kam/gam*, as shown in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2. Negating copulas with *-ka/ga*

Copula type	Polarity	Direct polar questions		Attenuated polar and content questions	
Personal equative	Affirm.	<i>ij-ga</i>	ཨིན་ག་	<i>ij-gam</i>	ཨིན་གམ་
	Neg.	<i>mèŋ-ga</i>	མན་ག་	<i>mèŋ-gam</i>	མན་གམ་
Neutral equative	Affirm.	<i>bε-ka</i>	ཟུང་ཀ་	<i>bε-kam</i>	ཟུང་ཀམ་
	Neg.	<i>mèmbe-ka</i>	མན་ཟུང་ཀ་	<i>mèmbe-kam (?)</i> <sup>364</sup>	མན་ཟུང་ཀམ་ (?)
Per. ex.	Affirm.	<i>jò:-ka</i>	ཡོད་ཀ་	<i>jò:-kam</i>	ཡོད་ཀམ་
	Neg.	<i>mè:-ka</i>	མེད་ཀ་	<i>mè:-kam</i>	མེད་ཀམ་
Sen. ex.	Affirm.	<i>du-ka</i>	འདུག་ཀ་	<i>du-kam</i> <sup>365</sup>	འདུག་ཀམ་
	Neg.	<i>mindu-ka</i>	མེན་འདུག་ཀ་	<i>mindu-kam</i>	མེན་འདུག་ཀམ་

As shown by Tables 11.1 and 11.2, the equative copulas have two types of interrogated forms, the separate interrogative copulas *já* (neg. *mèna*), *jám* (neg. *mènam*) and *bo*, and the regularly formed corresponding *ij-ga* (neg. *mèŋ-ga*), *ij-gam* (*mèŋ-gam*), *bε-ka* (neg. *mèmbe-ka*), and *bε-kam* (neg. *mèmbe-kam*). The existential copulas have only the regular interrogated forms with *-ka/ga* and *-kam/gam*.

Sandberg (1895: 47) reports *-na* as an interrogative morpheme and gives the example *Chhō ām chi t'ong-che-na* ‘Did you see a silver fox’, which is given in edited version in (11.1).

<sup>362</sup> The phonetic output tends to be /g/ when preceded by voiced sounds and /k/ when preceded by voiceless sounds.

<sup>363</sup> Consultant KL translated the clause *k'ana sò:-bo jám?* [where went-PST EQU.PER.Q] ‘Where did (he) go, I wonder?’ into Nepali as *kahā ga-yo holā* [where go-PST.3SG COP.PROB.3SG] ‘Where might he have gone?’ using the Nepali dubitative copula *holā* to correspond to Denjongke *jám*.

<sup>364</sup> I do not currently have examples of this negated form but its existence can be hypothesized on the basis of the positive form *bε-kam*.

<sup>365</sup> I have heard the forms *du-kam* and *mindu-kam* in use but I have no example sentences of them.

(11.1) Sandberg (1895: 47) (edited transcription, WD and glossing mine)

ཚོང་ ལྷ་མ་ གཞིག་ མཐོང་ཅེ་ན་?  
*tɕʰø?*    *à:m=tɕi?*    *tʰõ:-tɕɛ-na?*  
 2SG.L    fox=INDF    see-PST-PQ  
 ‘Did you see the silver fox.’

In my data, however, *-na* does not occur as a question marker outside the copula forms *ín-na(m)* > *já(m)*, *mèn-na(m)*.

The following sections are divided into polar questions (§11.1.1), question words and content questions (§11.1.2), alternative questions (§11.1.3), tag questions (§11.1.4), questions with the reportative =*lo* (§11.1.5), and exclamative questions with (*h*)*o*: (§11.1.6). For the affirmed and negated polar questions in various tense and aspect constructions, refer to Table 10.5 in §10.1.3.1.

### 11.1.1 Polar questions

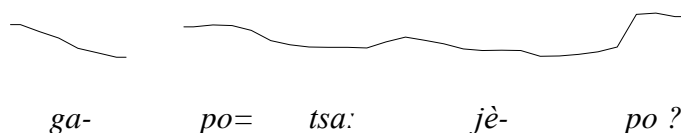
Polar questions in Denjongke may be formed by rising intonation accompanied by *-po*-infinitive (§11.1.1.1). More frequently, however, polar questions are formed by the polar interrogative suffix *-ka/ga* or the polar interrogative copula *já* (often phonetically reduced to *já*) but also by other markers, which occur both in polar questions and content questions: the attenuated interrogative suffix *-kam/gam*, the attenuated interrogative copula *jám* (often reduced to *jám*) and the interrogative copula/auxiliary *bo* (neg. *mèmbō*). The polar uses of these markers are discussed in §11.1.1.2 (*-ka/ga* and *já*), §11.1.1.3 (*-kam/gam* and *jám*) and §11.1.1.4 (*bo*). The last section under polar questions (§11.1.1.5) describes a further interrogative marker *á*, which is used in Lachung. Section §11.1.1.6 provides a summary on polar questions.

#### 11.1.1.1 Polar questions with rising intonation and *-po*-infinitive

Polar questions in Denjongke may be formed by rising intonation at the end of a clause which ends in a *-po*-infinitive, see (11.2) and (11.3) and their pitch traces in Figure 11.1 and Figure 11.2 respectively. With stative verbs (11.2) the question concerns a present state, whereas with eventive verbs (11.3) the question concerns a past event.

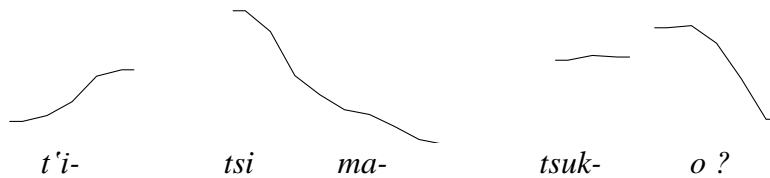
(11.2) ག་པོ་ ཚུར་ ཡོད་པོ་?  
*gapo=tsa:    jè-po?*  
 elder.man=at    EQU.PER-2INF  
 ‘Does sir (=you) have ( that)?’. (DR discussion with KL)

Figure 11.1. Intonation in polar question (11.2)



- (11.3) དེ་ཚེ་མ་བཅུག་གོ?  
*t'itsi ma-tsuk-o?*  
 a.few.days.ago NEG-set-2INF  
 '(You) haven't put (it there) lately?' (TB telephone call)

Figure 11.2. Intonation in polar question (11.3)



Sandberg (1895: 73) reports the polar question *chhö ts'ongkhen hlam du' bo?*, which is given in edited form as (11.4). As suggested by the glossing in (11.4), I assume that Sandberg's final morpheme is the nominalizer/infinitivizer *-po/bo*, which does not assimilate to the underlying velar in *duk/du?* (hence *du-bo*<sup>366</sup>). For comparison, see example (11.5) where the nominalizer reduces to *-o* (hence *duk-o*).<sup>367</sup>

- (11.4) Sandberg (1895: 73) (WD, phonological transcription and glossing mine)

ཚོང་འཚོང་མཁན་ ལྷ་མ་ འདུག་པོ?  
*te<sup>h</sup>ø? ts<sup>h</sup>oŋ-k<sup>h</sup>ɛː lam du-bo?*  
 2SG.L sell-NMLZ shoe EX.SEN-2INF  
 'Have you any boots to sell?'

- (11.5) བཀའ་ཚོན་སྐྱུང་ན་ འདེམ་ འདུག་གོ?  
*kalimpoŋ=na dem duk-o?*

TPN=LOC such EX.SEN-2INF  
 'Are there such (things) in Kalimpong?' (KN photo discussion)

Because the nominalizer does not in my data attach to the sensorial *du?* in other contexts than questions,<sup>368</sup> it is possible that the suffix *-po/bo/o* is in conjunction with *du?* becoming in effect a question marker.

### 11.1.1.2 Polar questions with *-ka/ga* and *na*

The polar question markers *-ka/ga* and *na* differ from each other in that *na*, being an interrogative copula, replaces the equivalent declarative equative copula (11.6), whereas *-ka/ga* may be appended to both equative (11.7) and existential copulas (11.8) to form interrogatives.

<sup>366</sup> I would have expected *-po* instead of *-bo* because final glottal (such as the one in *du?*) is in my data followed by voiceless sounds.

<sup>367</sup> Sandberg reports also words with the sequence /kp/ which in current Denjongke have been reduced to /k/, e.g. Sandberg's (1895: 33) reports *nak-po* 'black' whereas my data has *naku* 'black'.

<sup>368</sup> In other contexts with nominalization, the evidential distinction between personal existential *jø?* and sensorial *du?* is neutralized so that only *jø?* occurs as nominalized with *-po/bo* (*jø-po*).

(11.6) a) ཚོད་སྟེ་འདི་ཉི་  
*te<sup>h</sup>ɕʰɔ?*    *ta:ri di*    *ɲá?*  
 2SG.L    axe    this    EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Is your axe this one?’ (JDF axe story)

b) ཚོད་སྟེ་འདི་མིན།  
*te<sup>h</sup>ɕʰɔ?*    *ta:ri di*    *í:*  
 2SG.L    axe    this    EQU.PER  
 ‘Your axe is this (one).’ (KN e)

(11.7) ཚོད་སྟེ་སློབ་སྦྱོལ་སྦྱང་ལྟེ་  
*te<sup>h</sup>ɕʰɔ?*    *lɔpʰu?*    *bɛ-ka?*  
 2SG.L    student    EQU.NE-PQ  
 ‘Are you a student?’

(11.8) ཇི་ཡོད་ལྟེ་  
*te‘a*    *jò:-ka?*  
 tea    EX.PER-PQ  
 ‘Is there tea?’ (Barapathing discussion)

However, when copulas function as auxiliaries, they are often elided in interrogatives. This results in *ɲá* and *-ka/ga* occurring in syntactically analogous environments, as shown in (11.9) and (11.10) respectively. Example (11.10b) shows that with the imperfective *-to/do* the auxiliary is optional even in the declarative form, hence *bɛ?* in brackets.

(11.9) a) ལྷན་རྒྱལ་གཞི་སྦྱོར་ཉི་  
*ʎɛŋɕɛ?*    *jó?*    *kjap-to*    *ɲá?*  
 PRN.HON    work do-IPFV    EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Are you working?’ (KN e)

(11.10) a) ལྷོང་བཟང་ལེགས་འཛོམས་དོ་ག་  
*dzã:dar lɛm tʰɔn-do-ga?*  
 training good happen-IPFV-PQ  
 ‘Is the training turning out good.’ (Richhi 69)

b) ལྷོང་བཟང་ལེགས་འཛོམས་དོ་ (སྦྱང་)?  
*dzã:dar lɛm tʰɔn-do*    (*bɛ?*).  
 training good happen-IPFV    (EQU.NE)  
 ‘The training is turning out good.’ (KN e)

Based on the distribution of *-ka/ga* and *ɲá* with copulas (*ɲá* replaces equative copulas and *-ka/ga* is appended to both equatives and existentials), it can be said that in (11.9) the copula is replaced by *ɲá*, whereas in (11.10a) the copula is elided. The syntactically overlapping and non-overlapping contexts of *-ka/ga* and *ɲá* are described in more detail later in this section.

Both *-ka* (11.11) and *ɲá* (11.12) may be postposed to a verb root:

(11.11) a) དམ་ ལའ་ཀ་?  
*ŋá:* *láp-ka?*  
 I.AGT say-PQ  
 ‘Shall I tell?’ (KN e)

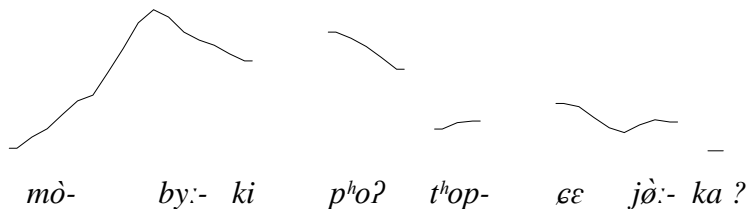
b) ཇའི, རང་ མི་ཚོང་ ཀ་?  
*ái,* *rǎ:* *mi-ts<sup>h</sup>ij-ka?*  
 elder.sister 2SG.M NEG-get.angry-PQ  
 ‘Sister, won’t you get angry?’ (Richhi 41)

(11.12) ཟུག་ རྒྱབས་ ཉ་?  
*sùk kjap já?*  
 pain strike EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Is it hurting?’ (TB e)

The intonation in polar interrogatives with *-ka/ga* rises at the end of the clause, however not on final *-ka/ga* but on the penultimate syllable, as seen in Figure 11.3, which gives the pitch trace from (11.13), and in Figure (11.4), which provides the pitch trace from (11.14).

(11.13) མོ་བུད་ཀྱིས་ རོགས་ རོབ་གད་ ཡོད་ཀ་?  
*mòby:=ki p<sup>h</sup>o? t<sup>h</sup>op-εε jò:-ka?*  
 wife=AGT salary receive-INF EX.PER-PQ  
 ‘Does (your) wife get salary?’ (Bp BB discussion)

Figure 11.3. Intonation in polar question (11.13) with *-ka/ga*



(11.14) རྫོག་གཏེད་ཅེ་ག་? ཡིད་ཚེས་ ལྷན་ཞེ་ག་?  
*ló tɛ:-tɛɛ-ga? jì-tei p'ja-zɛ-ga?*  
 mind entrust-PST-PQ faith do-PST-PQ  
 ‘Did you trust? Did you believe?’ (PAD bet story)

Figure 11.4. Intonation in polar question (11.14) with *-ka/ga*

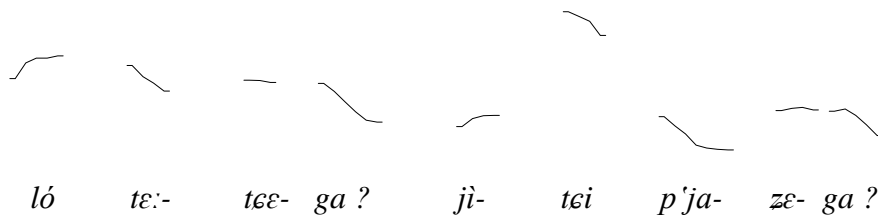
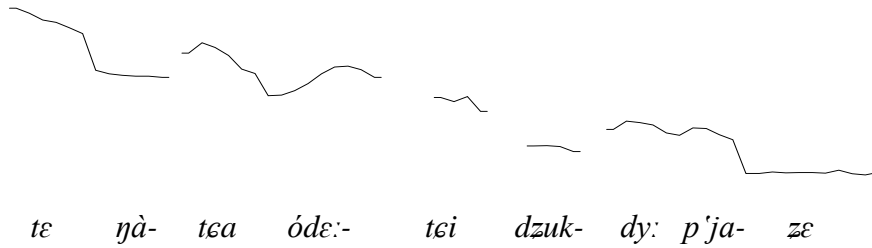


Figure 11.5 presents the pitch trace from (11.15), which is a declarative clause with the same past suffix *-tɛɛ* as in Figure 11.4, illustrating that while the pitch on declarative *-zɛ* is

lower than the previous word *p'ja* 'do', the pitch on the interrogative *-zε* is higher than on *p'ja*.

- (11.15) ཉེ་ང་ཅག་མོ་འདི་ཅིག་མཐུག་བསྐྱུད་ལྷན་ལེ།  
*tε nàtεa? ódε:=tεi? dzuk-dy: p'ja-zε.*  
 then 1PL like.that=INDF ending do-PST  
 'So at that point we ended.' (NAB BLA 7)

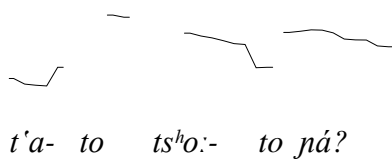
Figure 11.5. Intonation in declarative (11.15), cf. Figure 11.3



Intonation in polar questions with the interrogative copula *ná* is exemplified in Figures 11.6 and 11.7, which give the pitch traces from (11.16) and (11.17) respectively. In Figure 11.5, the decrease in the pitch trace at the end of syllable *ts<sup>h</sup>o:* is caused by background noise. The pitch in both clauses has a slight rise on the penultimate syllable, thus resembling interrogative intonation with *-ka/ga*.

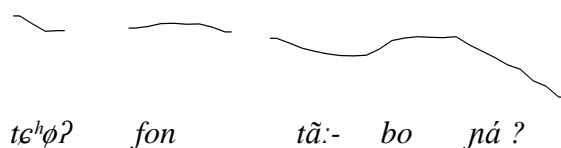
- (11.16) ད་ལྟོ་ཚོགས་ཉེ་ཉེ?  
*t'ato ts<sup>h</sup>o:-to ná?*  
 now gather-IPFV EQU.PQ  
 'Are (they) gathering now.' (KN kitchen discussion)

Figure 11.6. Intonation in polar question (11.16) with *ná*



- (11.17) ཚོད་མོན་(Eng.)བཏང་བོ་ཉེ?  
*tε<sup>h</sup>ø? fon tã:-bo ná?*  
 2SG.L phone(Eng.) send-2INF EQU.PQ  
 'Did you call?' (KN e)

Figure 11.7. Intonation in polar question (11.17) with *ná*



The interrogative suffix *-ka/ga* does not have a negated form, but the interrogative copula *ná* has the specific negated form *mèn-a*, which functions very similarly to the regularly formed *mèṅ-ga*. In my data, *mèn-a* is more frequent than *mèṅ-ga*, the use of which is limited to consultant KN.

Example (11.18) illustrates an independent copular use of *mèna*, while (11.19) provides auxiliary uses. For *mèṅ-ga*, consider (11.20).

- (11.18) གསུམ་ གསུམ་ རྒྱབས་ དགོས་ཤད་ སྣད། མན, བཞི་ བཞི་ མན་ན།  
*súm súm kjap go:-εε bε? mē:, zi zi*  
 three three do be.needed-INF EQU.NE NEG.EQU.PER four four  
*mèn-a?*  
 NEG.EQU.PER-Q  
 ‘Three of each needs to be made. No, isn’t (it) four each.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

- (11.19) a) རང་ ཞོང་ཁྱ་ བསགས་ཉོ་ མན་ན་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།  
*rã: kʰõ:ʈa sák-to mèn-a làp-o=lo.*  
 2SG.L anger accumulate-IPFV NEG.EQU.PER-Q say-2INF=REP  
 ‘Aren’t you getting angry, he said (so the story goes).’ (PD bet story)

- b) ཡ, ད་ ཉལ་ཤད་ མན་ན, ལྗོ་བར་ ལྗོ་ལས་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་ཤད་ མན་པོ?  
*jà: t’a jè:-εε mèn-a? t’o:pa t’ole gju go:-εε*  
 well now sleep-INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ morning early go be.needed-INF  
*mèmba?*  
 NEG.EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Well, now shan’t we go to sleep. Don’t we need to go early in the morning?’  
 (Richhi 67)

- c) ད་ ང་ཅག་ གཉིས་པོ་ དགོངས་པོ་ ལྷ་ཤད་ མན་ན།  
*t’a ṅàtɕa? ní:-po gompo εù-εε mèn-a.*  
 now 1PL two-COL leave ask-INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘Aren’t the two of us taking a leave.’ (Richhi 28)

- (11.20) a) ལུ་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ མན་ག?  
*kʰu ámdzi mèṅ-ga?*  
 3SGM doctor NEG.EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘Isn’t he a doctor (assuming he is)?’ (KN e)

- b) མདད་ ཚེ་རིང་ འཕྱད་པོ་ མན་ག?  
*dã: tsʰerij pʰe-po mèṅ-ga?*  
 yesterday PN meet-2INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘You met Tshering yesterday, didn’t you?’ (KN e)

In addition to interrogative uses, *ná* also occurs as a frequently used tag in declarative and imperative clauses. This tag, which has likely developed from a tag question that has lost its interrogative force, adds assertive force to a statement or a request/command. Declarative instances of *ná* are postposed to the equative and existential copulas (11.21b), whereas interrogative *ná* can only replace an equative copula (11.21a). The clause given as A2 (11.21c) is infelicitous as an answer (i.e. a declarative clause), because this construction with

*ná* is by definition a question. The declarative uses of *ná*, which are here termed assertive tags, are treated in more detail in §16.3.1.

(11.21) a) Q: ལྷན་ཀྱིས་གཡོག་རྒྱབས་དྲོ་ཉི?  
*ʃɛŋgɛ? jó? kjap-to ná?*  
 PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Are you working?’ (KN e)

b) A1: ང་གཡོག་རྒྱབས་དྲོ་མིན་ཉི  
*ŋà jó? kjap-to í: ná.*  
 1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER TAG.ASR  
 ‘I am indeed working.’ (KN e)

c) A2: \*ང་གཡོག་རྒྱབས་དྲོ་ཉི?  
*\*ŋà jó? kjap-to ná?*  
 1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q

Although *-ka/ga*<sup>369</sup> is a suffix and *ná* a copula, they have partly overlapping distributions. Distributions overlap when *ka/ga* and *ná* are postposed to a verb root, imperfective marker *-to/do*, future-marking infinitive *-εε* and marginally to the past marker *-tεε*, of which I have only one interrogative example with *ná* and several with *-ka/ga*. Overlapping uses of *-ka/ga* and *ná* are here described first and distinctive uses after that.

### Verb root

When *-ka/ga* attaches to a bare affirmative verb stem, the action refers to immediate future, as in (11.22a), or is a general fact, as in (11.22b).

(11.22) a) ང་འགྱུ་ཀ?  
*ŋà gju-ga?*<sup>370</sup>  
 1SG go-PQ  
 ‘Shall I go?’

b) འདི་ལམ་འདི་སི་ལི་གྲུ་རི་སློབས་ཀ?  
*di làm=di siliguri ʃɛp-ka?*  
 this road=DEMPH TPN reach-PQ  
 ‘Does this road lead to Siliguri?’ (KN e)

Negated verb stems in polar questions with *-ka/ga* are future-oriented (or general facts) when negated by the imperfective negator *mi-*, see (11.23), and past-oriented when negated by the perfective negator *ma-*, see (11.24).

(11.23) ཚོད་ཀྱིས་རབ་ལྷན་ལོ་མི་ལབ་ཀ?  
*te<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki rabden=lo mi-làp-ka?*  
 2SG.L=AGT PN=DAT NEG-say-PQ  
 ‘Aren’t you telling (it) to Rabden?’ (KN e)

<sup>369</sup> A cognate of *-ka/ga* occurs in Standard Tibetan as a future interrogative marker (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 170).

<sup>370</sup> Another consultant preferred the perfective form of the suppletive verb here, *ŋà sð:-ga* ང་སོང་ག?



- (11.24) ཚོས་སྒྲིད་ ཚོང་ལོ་ འཕྲད་པར་ འོང་གད་ ཡིན་ ལཔ་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཐོས་ཅེ་ མ་འོང་ག་?  
*tɕʰøki?* *tɕʰø:=lo* *pʰɛ-pa* *õ:-ɛɛ* *ĩ:* *láp-ø:* *lògju?*  
 PN 2SG.L=DAT meet-PUR come-INF EQU.PER say-2INF.GEN story  
*tʰo:-tɛɛ*, *ma-òŋ-ga?*  
 hear-PST NEG-come-PQ  
 ‘(I) heard the news that Choki comes to meet you. Didn’t she come? (Richhi 93)’

The interrogative copula *já* may sometimes attach directly to the verb root, as shown in (11.25). In these cases, the corresponding declarative also has a copula, see (11.25b). Consultant KN commented that *-ka/ga* instead of *já* would not be acceptable in (11.25a), although *-ka/ga* was acceptable in (11.22) above. The difference may be caused by lexical semantics of the verbs.

- (11.25) a) ཟུག་ རྒྱབས་ ཉ?  
*sùk kjap já?*  
 pain do EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Does it hurt?’ (KN e)

- b) ཟུག་ རྒྱབས་པད།  
*sùk kjap=(p)ɛ?*  
 pain do=EQU.NE  
 ‘It hurts.’ (KN e)

Both *-ka/ga* and *já* may occur with deontic modality marker *tɕʰo?* ‘be allowed’, see (11.26) and (11.27). I am not aware of any semantic difference between the two clauses. The equative interrogative copula *bo* also occurs in analogous contexts, following *tɕʰo:* ‘be allowed’.

- (11.26) ང་ ན་ སྒོད་ ཚོག་ ཉ?  
*ŋà nà: dø: tɕʰo: já?*  
 1SG here sit be.allowed EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Can I sit here?’ (GB e)

- (11.27) ང་ ན་ སྒོད་ ཚོག་ག་?  
*ŋà nà: dø: tɕʰo:-ga?*  
 1SG here sit be.allowed-PQ  
 ‘Can I sit here?’ (GB e)

Similarly to *-ka/ga* in (11.23), *já* may be postposed to a negated verb stem, see (11.28) and (11.29). Both examples feature the imperfective negator *mi-*, because *ma-* does not occur in my data in this context.

- (11.28) ཚོད་ རྡོ་རྗེ་གླིང་ མིན་འགྱུ་ ཉ?  
*tɕʰø?* *dordziliŋ miŋ-gju já?*  
 2SG.L TPN NEG-go EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Are you not going to Darjeeling?’ (KN e)

- (11.29) འདི་ལམ་ འདི་སི་ལི་གུ་རི་མི་སློབ་སྒྲིག་ ཉ?
- di ləm=di siliguri mi-lɛp nɑ?*  
 this road=DEMPH TPN NEG-arrive EQU.PER.Q  
 Doesn't this road lead to Siliguri? (KN e)

**Imperfective**

Both *-ka/ga* and *nɑ* occur postposed to the imperfective marker *-to/do*.

- (11.30) ལྷུང་བཅར་ ལེམ་ འཕྲོན་དོ་ ག?
- dzɑ:dar ləm tʰon-do-ga?*  
 training good happen-IPFV-PQ  
 'Is the training turning out good.' (Richhi 69)

- (11.31) Q: ད་ལྟོ་ ཚོགས་ཏོ་ ཉ?
- t'ato tsʰo:-to nɑ?*  
 now gather-IPFV EQU.PER.Q  
 'Are (they) gathering now?' (KN kitchen discussion)

A: ཚོགས་ཏོ་ ཟུང།

*tsʰo:-to bɛ?*  
 gather-IPFV EQU.NE  
 '(Yes they) are gathering.' (LT kitchen discussion)

Example (11.32) below provides a further comparative example, showing that there may be semantic differences in the choice between *nɑ* and *-ka/ga*, although this is the only contrastive example I have to show as evidence.

- (11.32) a) ལྷུང་རྒྱལ་ football<sup>371</sup> ཚེད་པོ་ གནང་དོ་ ཉ?
- lɛŋgɛ? futbol tsi:-bo nɑ:-do nɑ?*  
 PRN.HON football(Eng.) play-2INF DO.HON-IPFV EQU.PER.Q  
 'Are you playing football (right now)?' (TB e)

b) ལྷུང་རྒྱལ་ football ཚེད་པོ་ གནང་དོ་ག?

*lɛŋgɛ? futbol tsi:-bo nɑ:-do-ga?*  
 PRN.HON football(Eng.) play-2INF do.HON-IPFV=PQ  
 'Do you (habitually) play football?' (TB e)

**Past**

Both *-ka/ga* and *nɑ* occur with the past marker *-tɛɛ* in my data, although there are several examples of *-ka/ga*, two of which are given in (11.33-34), but only one elicited example of *nɑ* in this construction (11.35). In colloquial language, *VERB-tɛɛ-ka* often merges into *VERB-tɛɛ*, see (11.34).

<sup>371</sup> The Denjongke term for 'football' given by consultant YR is ཀང་ཚེ་པོ་ལི་ *kā:tsipoli*.

(11.33) ད་རང་གི་ངའི་རྒྱུ་འདི་ལོ་ ལོ་གཏང་ཅེ་ག་, ཡིད་ཆེས་ བྱས་ཞེ་ག་?  
*t'a ran=gi nɛ: duŋ=di=lo lóte:-tɛɛ-ga, jite<sup>hi</sup> p'ja-zɛ-ga?*  
 now you=AGT 1SG.GEN story=DEMPh=DAT trust-PST-PQ faith do-PST-PQ  
 'Now, did you believe this story of mine, did you trust it?' (PAD bet story)

(11.34) ད་ཅིག་གི་ meeting ན་ བཞུགས་ཅ? *t'atɛi=ki mi:tiŋ=na zu:-tɛa?*  
 recent=GEN meeting(Eng.)=LOC sit.HON-PST.PQ  
 'Did you sit in the recent meeting?' (oh, Barapathing)

(11.35) ལམ་ཅེ་ ཉ?  
*lâp-tɛɛ ná?*  
 say-PST EQU.PER.Q  
 'Did you/(s)he/they say (it)? (KN e)

One of the reasons why the use of *ná* in (11.35) may be marginal is that the past marker *-tɛɛ* in the declarative cannot take a copular auxiliary, unlike the imperfective *-to/do* (*í:/bɛ?*) and the periphrastic past *-po í:/bɛ?*. Consequently, it is not clear whether *ná* in clauses such as (11.35) is interrogative or declarative (at least in the segmental level). In imperfective and periphrastic past clauses, on the other hand, the occurrence of the copula auxiliary disambiguates between interrogative (*ná* replaces copula) and declarative uses (*ná* occurs after copula).

### Nonpast

Both *-ka/ga* and *ná* may interrogate the periphrastic nonpast form VERB-*ɛɛ* *í:/bɛ?*, which marks both habitual present facts and future actions, see (11.36-38). Similarly to the past construction *-tɛɛ-ka*, which is abbreviated to *-tɛa*, the future *-ɛɛ-ka* is often reduced to *-ɛa* in spoken language, see (11.37).

(11.36) མོ་བུད་ཀྱིས་ རོགས་ རོབ་ཤང་ག་?  
*mòby:=ki p<sup>h</sup>o? t<sup>h</sup>op-ɛɛ-ka?<sup>372</sup>*  
 wife=AGT salary receive-INF-PQ  
 'Does the wife receive salary?' (BP BB discussion)

(11.37) རྩེད་མ་ ཉེ་ར་ རྩེད་ཤ?<sup>373</sup>  
*tsim tɛ:ra tsi:-ɛa?*  
 game again play-INF.PQ  
 'Shall we play a game again?' (PT kitchen discussion)

(11.38) ལུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཤང་ ཉ?  
*k<sup>h</sup>u jó? p'ja-ɛɛ ná?*  
 3SGM work do-INF EQU.PER.Q  
 'Will he work?' (TB e)

<sup>372</sup> One consultant wanted to correct this question into *mòby:=ki p<sup>h</sup>o? t<sup>h</sup>op-ɛɛ jò:-ka?*.

<sup>373</sup> ཤ is an innovative Denjongke spelling, which represents the merged pronunciation *-ɛɛ-ka > -ɛa*.

### Distinctive uses

The examples above illustrated the use of *-ka/ga* and *ná* in identical environments. What follows describes the distinctive uses of the two markers, beginning with copular questions. The fact that the interrogative equative copula *ná* simply replaces the corresponding declarative copula was already illustrated in (11.6) above. Being an equative, *ná* is not used for interrogating the existentials copulas *jò?* and *du?*. The suffix *-ka/ga*, on the other hand, co-occurs with both equative and existential copulas. This leaves two copula forms interrogated with the suffix *-ka/ga*, *íη-ga* and *bε-ka*, which roughly correspond to the equative interrogative copula *ná*. The form *íη-ga*, however, has developed uses that set it semantically apart from *ná*. The interrogative *íη-ga* is mainly used as an often-heard tag question, see (11.39), but it also occurs as an exclamation upon hearing new information, see (11.40), and as an ordinary (non-tag) question, see (11.41). By using *íη-ga* as a non-tag question the speaker is predisposed to believe that the questioned claim is true.

- (11.39) ཡར་རྒྱལ་ དགོས་ཤད་ ཟུང་ ཞིན་ག?
- jàrgε?*            *go:-εε*            *bε?*            *íη-ga?*  
 development be.needed-INF EQU.NE EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘Development is needed, isn’t it?’ (KL BLA 12)

- (11.40) ཞེ་ ཞིན་ག་ལགས?
- é:*, *íη-ga=la*.  
 oh EQU.PER-PQ=HON  
 ‘Oh, is it so?’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

- (11.41) ཚོད་ ལྷོང་ལྷུག་ ཞིན་ག?
- tε<sup>h</sup>ø?*    *lópt<sup>h</sup>u?*    *íη-ga?*  
 2SG.L student EQU.PER-Q  
 ‘Are you a student (I think you are)?’ (YR e)

By using the evidentially neutral equative *bε?* in a polar question, on the other hand, the speaker does not reveal their preconceptions about the answer, see (11.42), contrasting with (11.41).

- (11.42) ཚོད་ ལྷོང་ལྷུག་ ཟུང་ག?
- tε<sup>h</sup>ø?*    *lópt<sup>h</sup>u?*    *bε-ka?*  
 2SG.L student EQU.NE-PQ  
 ‘Are you a student?’ (YR e)

The semantic difference of *íη-ga* in (11.41) and *bε-ka* in (11.42) is particularly noteworthy, because it reflects a difference in the speaker’s own epistemic stance towards the proposition, ‘I think it is the case’ for *íη-ga* and ‘I do not know’ for *bε-ka*. In descriptions of other Tibetic languages, the speaker’s choice of copula in questions is usually determined not by the speaker’s own beliefs about the truth value of the statement but by what copula the speaker anticipates the addressee to use in their answer based on the addressee’s own knowledge, see Tournadre’s (2008: 296, 300) rule of anticipation. The rule of anticipation is more prominent with existential interrogatives *jò:-ka* and *du-ka* as will be pointed out a few paragraphs below.

Example (11.43), where *ná* is used instead of *bε-ka*, is very close in meaning to (11.42). I hypothesize that the difference here can be understood in terms of the rule of anticipation: in (11.43) the anticipated answer has the personal equative *í:* (focusing on the identification),

whereas in (11.42) the anticipated answer has the neutral equative *bɛ?* (focusing on the consequences of identification). For the difference of *í:* and *bɛ?*, refer to §7.2.3.

- (11.43) ཚོད་སློབ་ཕྱག་ཉེ?  
*tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɔ?*    *lɔpt<sup>h</sup>u?*    *ɲá?*  
 2SG.L    student    EQU.PQ  
 ‘Are you a student?’ (YR e)

The interrogative *bɛ-ka* is also used as a tag question (but not as often as *íŋ-ga*), as shown in (11.44).

- (11.44) དེ་ཟང་ཁོང་འདི་རང་སྐད་ང་ཅའི་སྣ་སྐད་འདི་ཁོང་གིས་མི་མཁྱེན་བོ་སྣང་ལགས་, མི་མཁྱེན་མཁན་སྣང་, སྣང་ག་ལགས?  
*t'iza: k<sup>h</sup>õ:=di    raŋ-kɛ?    ɲàtɛi    ʃokɛ=di    k<sup>h</sup>oŋ=gi*  
 but 3PL=DEMPH    own-language 1PL.GEN Lhoke=DEMPH    3PL=AGT  
*mi-k<sup>h</sup>ɛm-bo    bɛ=la,    mi-k<sup>h</sup>ɛŋ-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn*  
 NEG-know.HON-2INF    EQU.NE=HON    NEG-know.HON.  
*bɛ?,    bɛ-ka=la?*  
 EQU.NE    EQU.NE-PQ=HON  
 ‘But they don’t know our own language Lhoke, don’t know, isn’t it (so)?  
 (YR canteen video)

It also occurs with nominalized copulas in ordinary (non-tag) questions:

- (11.45) ཚོང་གུ་ལོ་ལེན་རྗེ་ཉོ་མཁན་ཡོད་པ་སྣང་ག?  
*dzongu=lo lèndzi    ɲò:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:    jèbbɛ-ka?*  
 TPN=DAT    cardamum buy-NMLZ    EX-NE-PQ  
 ‘Are there cardamum-buyers in Dzongu?’ (KT e)

The interrogator *bɛ-ka* also occurs as an auxiliary. Consequently, although *-ka/ga* cannot directly attach to nominalized verbs like the interrogative copula *ɲá* can, *-ka/ga* may interrogate the periphrastic past construction VERB-2INF EQU by attaching to the final copula, see (11.46). Consultant KN reported that (11.46) may either be a question or an exclamation (for more on the use of *bɛ?* in exclamation, see §11.2.2), without difference in intonation. It appears that this constructions for interrogating the periphrastic past is rather infrequent, construction with *ɲá* being more frequent (11.47).

- (11.46) ལུ་འོང་བོ་སྣང་ག?  
*k<sup>h</sup>u    òm-bo    bɛ-ka?*  
 3SGM    come-2INF    EQU.NE-PQ  
 ‘Did he come?’/‘He came, eh. (KN e)

- (11.47) ལུ་འོང་བོ་ཉེ?  
*k<sup>h</sup>u    òm-bo    ɲá?*  
 3SGM    come-2INF    EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Did he come?’ (KN e)

Only *-ka/ga* (and not *já*<sup>374</sup>) occurs as an interrogator with existential copulas *jò?* and *du?*, forming *jò:-ka* and *du-ka*, as exemplified in (11.48) and (11.49). The choice of copula between *jò?* and *du?* in existential questions depends on whether the speaker thinks the addressee has personal information of the questioned fact or not. When addressee's personal information is presupposed and hence anticipated in the answer, the copula in the question is *jò?*, otherwise *du?*.

- (11.48) ཇ་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་?  
*te'a jò:-ka?*  
 tea EX.PER-PQ  
 'Is there tea?' (oh, Barapathing)

- (11.49) རྗེ་མོ་ལྷ་གྲོ་འདུ་གཤམ་ དགོན་པོ་ བཞུགས་སོ་ འདུག་ཀྱི་ལགས་?  
*p<sup>h</sup>ou=ra gju-εε? gjømpo zu:so du-ka=la?*  
 over.there=AEMPH go-INF monastery residence.HON EX.SEN-PQ=HON  
 'Is there a residence to go at the monastery?' (KN kitchen discussion)

My data includes one elicited counter-example to considering *=ka/ga* as an exclusively polar question marker. In (11.50), *-ka/ga* occurs in a content question, although the interrogative can also be formed by omitting *-ka/ga*.

- (11.50) ལུ་ རྣམ་ འོང་དོག་?  
*k<sup>h</sup>u nàm òn-do-ga?*  
 3SGM when come-IPVF-PQ  
 'When is he coming?' (KN e)

Two further constructions in which *já* and *-ka/ga* have differing distributions are the periphrastic past construction *-po be/í.*, which is negated in differing ways by *já* and *-ka/ga*, as already shown in (11.46-47) above, and the perfect *-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)*, which in my data is interrogated with *já* but not with *-ka/ga*. Example (11.51) was used in a telephone conversation not many minutes after I had initially concluded, upon elicitation, that such a form does not exist. While (11.51) presents the form that was actually used in the conversation, (11.52) and (11.53) were reported as variants which are semantically roughly equivalent (the same variation occurs in the declarative, see §8.1.2).

- (11.51) སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སླེབས་ཚར་ ཉ་?  
*siliguri jɛp-ts<sup>h</sup>a: já?*  
 TPN arrive-CMPL EQU.PER.Q  
 'Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?' (KT phone call 3)

- (11.52) སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སླེབས་ཚར་གེ་ ཉ་?  
*siliguri jɛp-ts<sup>h</sup>ake já?*  
 TPN arrive-CMPL.APH EQU.PER.Q  
 'Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?' (KT e)

<sup>374</sup> Declarative *já* may, however, be postposed existentials to form *jò: ja* and *du: ja*.

- (11.53) སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སླེབས་ཚུལ་ ཉ?
- siliguri* *lep-ts'o-u* *ná?*  
 TPN arrive-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER.Q  
 'Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?' (KT e)

Finally, I have one elicited example where *ná* co-occurs with the nominalized existential *duk-o*, which could, with rising intonation, form a question by itself without *ná*, see (11.54). It may be that here *ná* is used as an assertive tag rather than as a question marker (see §16.3.1 for uses of *ná* as an assertive tag).

- (11.54) ལུ་ ཨོན་ འདུག་གོ་ ཉ?
- k'hu* *óna duk-o* *ná?*  
 3SGM there EQU.SEN-2INF EQU.PER.Q  
 'Is he there (I think he is)?' (KT e)

In conclusion, *ná* is a polar equative interrogative copula which historically originated as an interrogated copula *ín-na* and synchronically forms a question by replacing the corresponding declarative copula (which may function as an auxiliary). The polar question suffix *-ka/ga*, on the other hand, is a non-copular question marker which attaches to copulas but still has an overlapping distribution with *ná* when occurring with verb roots, the imperfective *-to/do*, periphrastic future *-εε í/be?* and marginally past form *-tεε*.

### 11.1.1.3 Simple polar questions with the attenuated markers *-kam/gam* and *nám*

The attenuated interrogative markers *-kam/gam* and *nám* mainly occur in alternative questions but occasionally also in simple polar questions, as illustrated for *-kam/gam* in (11.55) and (11.56). The only verbal suffix that *-kam/gam* attaches to in my data is the imperfective marker *-to/do*.

- (11.55) ལྷང་བར་ ཨ་ཙི་ ཡོད་ཉོ་གམ?
- k'epar* *átsi jò:-to-gam?*  
 difference a.bit EQU.PER-IPFV-ATTQ  
 'Is there perhaps a bit difference?' (KN e)

- (11.56) མན་ན་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ འདི་ལོ་ བུམ་ གཞན་ ཡོད་ཉོ་གམ། མན་ན་ གཞེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ ཡིན་དོ་ གམ།
- mènni* *ágja=di=lo* *p'um zen* *jò:-to-gam.* *mènni*  
 perhaps big.brother=DEMPH=DAT girl another EQU.PER-ATTQ perhaps  
*jnën* *kjap-kjap-o* *ín-do-gam.*  
 wedding do-do-2INF EQU.PER-IPFV-ATTQ  
 'I wonder whether the big brother perhaps has another girl. I wonder whether he has perhaps gotten married.' (Richhi 130)

The use of *nám* in a polar question I illustrated in (11.57).

- (11.57) འདེམ་ འདེམ་ མི་བཞེས་མཁན་ལགས། བཞེས་ཉོ་ ལྷམ་?
- dem dem mi-ze:-k'hě:=la.* *ze:-to* *nám?*  
 such such NEG-drink.HON-NMLZ=HON have.HON-IPFV EQU.ATTQ  
 'He doesn't drink such and such things. (Or) does he perhaps drink?' (SM kitchen discussion)

Because (11.57) is structurally not a typical alternative interrogative, it is here grouped among simple polar questions. Semantically, however, (11.57) resembles an alternative question in that the question is preceded by negated speculation about the state of affairs. For more typical polar alternative questions with *-kam/gam* and *ñám*, refer to §11.1.3.1.

The negated form of *ñám*, *mènam*, similarly to negated interrogatives in general, forms a leading question in which the speaker presumes the affirmative proposition to be true, see (11.58) and (11.59). The gloss ‘I ask’ in brackets in (11.58) attempts to transfer the meaning of the final quotative.

(11.58) ད་ ཚོ་བོ་ ལྷོན་ དགོས་ཤང་ མན་ནམ། གཞན་ ཀ་ འགྱུ་ཉེ་སེ།  
*t'a ts'ho: te'øñ go:-εε mèn-am? zen ka*  
 now son.in.law go.HON be.needed-INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ another who  
*gju-ni=s(ε)?*  
 go-3INF=QUO  
 ‘Now shouldn’t the son-in-law go? Who else is to go (I ask)?’ (rnam-rtog 30)

(11.59) ད་ མན་འ་མོ་, བན་བོན་ འབོང་ཐིང་བོ་ལོ་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཟང་ཉེ་ རྫོ་ གཏང་ཤང་ མ་བྱས་ན་ དྲག་ཤང་ མན་ནམ།  
*t'a nám, p'embõ: boyt'ijbo=lo<sup>375</sup> teiku ódem sá:te lóte:-εε*  
 now daughter-in-law Bon.priest Lepcha.priest=DAT only such until trust-INF  
*mam-bja-ne f'ak-εε mèn-am?*  
 NEG-do-COND be.alright-INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ  
 ‘Now, daughter-in-law, wouldn’t it be better not to put your trust only in Bon priests and bongthings?’ (rnam-rtog 32)

The negated question *mènam* may be followed by the affirmative tag question *iyga*, see (11.60), where it is challenging to translate a tag questions following a negated question into English. Interestingly, Bhaicung Tschudarpo, the author of the play *rnam-rtog*, from which examples (11.58-60) are taken, uses the question mark only after examples such as (11.60), which have a tag question, but not with tagless (11.58) and (11.59).

(11.60) ད་རྩ་ ལག་གོ་ འདིའི་ ལྷོང་ལོ་ རྒྱབས་ཤང་ མན་ནམ་ ཨོན་ག་?  
*t'ato lako di: tɛŋlo kjap-εε mèn-am iy-ga?*  
 now hand this.GEN on do-INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘Now isn’t it done on this hand, or what?’ (rnam-rtog 27)

#### 11.1.1.4 Polar questions with the interrogative copula *bo*

The third affirmative interrogative copula, apart from *ñá* (neg. *mè-na*) and *ñám* (neg. *mè-na*), is *bo* (neg. *mèmbõ*), which, like *ñám*, occurs both in polar and content questions. For examples in polar questions, consider (11.61) for affirmative and (11.62) for negated constructions:

(11.61) a) ལོ་ ཚང་མེད་ ལྷོན་བོ་ གནང་དོ་ བོ་?  
*lò ts'ame? te'em-bo nã:-do bo?*  
 year every come.HON-2INF do.HON-IPFV EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Do you come (here) every year?’ (Bumchu-video)

<sup>375</sup> WD བན་བོན་ *ban-bon* refers to ‘Buddhist and Bon priests’ while WD འབོང་ཐིང་(བོ་) *'bong-thing(-bo)* denotes a ‘male ritual specialist of the Lepchas’ (Balicki 2008: 378)



- b) ཟུག་རྒྱབས་པོ་བོ?  
*sùk kjap-o bo?*  
 pain do-2INF EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Did it hurt?’ (NB e)

The negated form *mèmbō* is in effect similar to English negative tag question following an affirmed clause, i.e. the speaker suspects that the affirmative is the case.

- (11.62) a) ཁོང་འོང་ཚོང་ཡོང་བ་མཚུངས་པོ?  
*kʰõ: ǝ: dø: jø:-p mèmbo, p'otso=tsu?*  
 3PL come stay EX.PER-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q child=PL  
 ‘Aren’t they coming, the children?’/ ‘They are coming, aren’t they, the children?’  
 (LT kitchen discussion)

- b) རྩོ་པ་རྩོ་ལས་འགྱུ་དགོས་ཤིང་མཚུངས་པོ?  
*t'o:pa t'ole gju go:-εε mèmbo?*  
 morning early go be.needed-INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘(We) have to leave early in the morning, don’t we.’ (TB phone call 2)

While the negated equative *mèŋ-ga* is used alongside the more frequent specific negated equative *mèna* (at least by one of my consultants), I do not currently have examples of evidentially neutral *mèmbe-ka*, which would be a form analogous to personal *mèŋ-ga*.

### 11.1.1.5 Polar interrogatives with *á* (Lachung)

The polar interrogative *á* (or *á-*), which does not occur in the southern and western varieties of Denjongke is used at least in the village of Lachung in North Sikkim. This formative is placed before the verb.

- (11.63) མོ་འདྲེ་མེ་ལ་མཚུངས་པོ?  
*ódem=to á i:?*  
 like.that=CEMPH PQ EQU.PER  
 ‘Is (it) like that?’ (KUN e)

- (11.64) ལུ་མོ་འདྲེ་མེ་ལས་པོ?  
*kʰu ódε: á ləp?*  
 3SGM like.that PQ say  
 ‘Does he say like that?’ (KUN e)

Yukawa (2017: 191, 194) reports that a similar interrogative marker *a* (WD མེ) in Lhasa Tibetan may precede *yöö* (cognate with *jø?*) and *yin* (cognate with *i:*) but not *ree* (functionally quite similar to *bε?*). Yukawa’s translation for questions with *a* includes the frame ‘I wonder whether’. A similar question marker *a*<sup>53</sup> is also reported for Dongwang Tibetan (Bartee [2007: 412]). Moreover, a pre-verbal vocalic element for polar questions (prefix *i-*) is found in the Tibetan variety spoken in Brag-g.yab (Schwieger [1989: 50]).

### 11.1.1.6 Summary on polar questions

In conclusion, polar questions can be formed by four interrogative morphemes (excluding *á*, which is specific to Lachung) and also by mere intonation. These five options are illustrated in (11.65). Three of the interrogative morphemes, *já*, *nam* and *bo*, are interrogative copulas,

which may occur in a syntactically identical environment (see a-c). The interrogative marker *-ka/ga*, on the other hand, attaches to the copula (d). In the last example (e), the interrogative is formed by mere raised intonation on the last copula, which in a declarative would have a descending pitch.

- (11.65) a) ལུ་གཉེན་རྒྱབས་པོ་ཉ་?  
*kʰu nɛn kjap-o ɲá?*  
 3SGM wedding do-2INF EQU.PER.Q  
 ‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)
- b) ལུ་གཉེན་རྒྱབས་པོ་སྐམ་?  
*kʰu nɛn kjap-o ɲám?*  
 3SGM wedding do-2INF EQU.ATTQ  
 ‘I wonder if he got married?’ (KN e)
- c) ལུ་གཉེན་རྒྱབས་པོ་བོ་?  
*kʰu nɛn kjap-o bo?*  
 3SGM wedding do-2INF EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)
- d) ལུ་གཉེན་རྒྱབས་པོ་སྐད་ཀ་?  
*kʰu nɛn kjap-o bɛ-ka?*  
 3SGM wedding do-2INF EQU.NE-PQ  
 ‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)
- e) ལུ་གཉེན་རྒྱབས་པོ་སྐད་?  
*kʰu nɛn kjap-o bɛ??* (rising intonation on final copula)  
 3SGM wedding do-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)

At this stage, the question whether there is an evidential difference between (11.65a) and (11.65c) and whether the speaker anticipates the use of a different copulas in the answers to these two questions (*ɿ*: for *ɲá* and *bɛ?* for *bo*) has to be left open for further research.

### 11.1.2 Question words and content questions

Content questions are expressed by placing a question word in the clause. Therefore content questions may be formed without other interrogative markers than the question word, as illustrated by the declarative copula in the interrogative clause (11.66a), or with additional interrogative markers such as *ɲám* in (11.66b) and *bo* in (11.66c).

- (11.66) a) འདི་གན་སྐད་?  
*di k'an bɛ??*  
 this what EQU.NE  
 ‘What is this?’ (KN e)
- b) འདི་གན་སྐམ་?  
*di k'an ɲám*  
 this what EQU.ATTQ  
 ‘I wonder what this is?’ (KN e)

- c) འདི་གན་བོ?  
*di k'an bo?*  
 this what EQU.NE.Q  
 'What is this?' (KN e)

The discussion on content questions is divided into question words (§11.1.2.1), content questions without final question markers (§11.1.2.2), content questions with *-kam/gam* and *nam* (§11.1.2.3) and content questions with *bo* (§11.1.2.4).

### 11.1.2.1 Question words

Table 11.2 lists Denjonke question words, which are illustrated in sentential context after the table.

Table 11.2. Question words

<i>k'an, k'ar</i>	གན་, གར་	what
<i>k'adi</i>	ག་འདི་	which
<i>k'ana</i>	ག་ན་	where
<i>ka</i>	ཀ་	who
<i>nam</i>	ནམ་	when
<i>k'am-p'ja</i> <sup>376</sup>	གན་ལྟུང་	why
<i>k'adzø?, k'ats'ø?</i>	ག་ཚོད་	how many
<i>k'atem</i>	ག་ལྗེས་	what kind of
<i>k'ate</i>	ག་ལྟ་	how

- (11.67) གན་གནང་དོ?  
*k'an ná:-do?*  
 what do.HON-IPFV  
 'What (are you) doing?' (TB e)

- (11.68) ལུ་ག་འདི་བོ?  
*k<sup>hu</sup> k'adi bo?*  
 3SGM which EQU.NE.Q  
 'Which one is he?' (TB e)

- (11.69) ཡུལ་འདི་ག་ན་སྐྱམ་?  
*y:=di k'ana nam?*  
 place=DEMPH where EQU.ATTQ  
 'Where is that place?' (AB kitchen discussion)

- (11.70) བོ་ཚ་གེས་ད་ཨབ་ཨམ་ལོ་མ་རྩ་ཞེ་ཀ་རྩ་གད?  
*p'otsa:=gi t'a áp am=lo ma-ta-ne ka ta-ee?*  
 child=AGT now father mother=DAT NEG-look-COND who look-INF  
 'If children won't care for (their) father and mother, who will care?' (PED life story)

<sup>376</sup> This form consists of *k'an* 'what' supplemented by the adverbializer *-p'ja(ti)*. The word also occurs as *k'ambja* and *k'amja*, and in the fuller converbal construction *kan p'ja-ti* [what do+NF].

(11.71) མོ་འདི་ན་མ་ བོ་ལགས་? ལོ་ གཞིས་ ཉ་ལས་?  
*ódi nàm bo=la? lò jù: hale?*  
 that when EQU.NE.Q=HON year two before  
 ‘When was that? Two years ago?’ (RS [in]auspicious days)

(11.72) གན་བྱས་ འདེབ་ རྩོལྱི་ འོང་བོ?  
*k’ambja dəp p<sup>hi</sup>:-ti òm-bo?*  
 why like.that be.late-NF come-2INF  
 ‘Why did you come late like that?’ (RS pupil joke)

(11.73) ད་ཟུང་ ཉིམ་ ག་ཚོད་ རྫོད་ཤད?  
*t’aruj jìim k’adzø? dø:-εε??*  
 still day how.many stay-INF  
 ‘Still how many days will (you) stay (here)?’ (oh, Tashiding)

The answer to *k’atem* ‘what kind’ tends to be an adjective, whereas the answer to *k’ate* ‘how’ tends to be an adverb. The adverbial nature of *k’ate* ‘how’ is revealed by the indefinite form *k’ate p’jati í.ruŋ* ‘however’, which in opposition to *k’atem í.ruŋ* ‘whatever kind’, includes the adverbializing converb *p’jati* (see §6.3.2).

(11.74) དེ་ཟུང་ མོ་རང་ཉོ་ ལམ་བྱས་ མ་ཤེས་བོ། ག་ཞན་ལོ་ ག་ཉེ་ སྐབ་བྱིན་ ཚུགས་ཤད?  
*t’izã: mù=rã:=to lèm-p’ja ma-éé:-po. zen=lo k’ate lap*  
 but 3SGF=REFL=CEMPH good-ADVZR NEG-know-2INF other=DAT how teach  
*p’in ts’u:-εε??*  
 give be.able.to-INF  
 ‘But she herself does not know (it) well. How to be able to teach other(s)?’ (Richhi 65)

(11.75) a) ནད་བ་ལོ་ ཞལ་ལག་ ག་ལྷེམ་ བཞེས་ བཅུག་ཏོ?  
*nè:po=lo éé:la? k’atem ze: teuk-to?*  
 patient=DAT food.HON what.kind.of eat cause-IPFV  
 ‘What kind of food is the patient being fed?’ (rnam-rtog 23)

b) ག་ལྷེམ་ གཞིས་བོ་ གནང་བོ?  
*k’atem zim-bo ná:-bo?*  
 what.kind.of sleep.HON-2INF do.HON-2INF  
 ‘How did you sleep?’ (TB e)

The uses of *k’atem* ‘what kind’ and *k’ate* ‘how’ overlap when asking how people are doing:

(11.76) a) ད་ལྟ་ ལྷེམ་ལགས་ ག་ལྷེམ་ ཡོད་ ལགས་?  
*t’ato bhaila k’atem jø:=la?*  
 now PN what.kind.of EX.PER=HON  
 ‘How is Bhaila now?’ (Richhi 10)

- b) “ད་ལྟ་ ལྷོ་ལགས་ ག་ལྟ་ ཡོད་?”  
*t'ato bhaila k'ate jø??*  
 now PN how EX.PER  
 ‘How is Bhaila now?’ (Richhi 25)

The word *k'ama* is used, at least in riddles, similarly to *k'an bo/mo* ‘What is it?’. In addition to the above questions words, the form *k'a:* is used as a more general, contextually decipherable question word with a meaning covering ‘what’, ‘where’ and ‘why’, see (11.77) and (11.78).

- (11.77) ཚོད་ ག་ འགྲུ་དོ་ལེ།  
*te<sup>h</sup>ø? k'a: gju-do=s.*  
 2SG.L where go-IPFV=QUO  
 ‘Where are you going (he said)?’ (KT animal story)

- (11.78) འདེབ་ ཆར་བ་ རྒྱབས་ནེ་ ག་རི་ ག་ འགྲུ་?  
*dɛp te<sup>h</sup>a:p kjap-ne gari k'a: k<sup>h</sup>ju?*  
 like.that rain strike-COND car why/what wash  
 ‘If it’s raining like that why wash a car?’ (oh, Lachen)

### 11.1.2.2 Content questions without final question markers

As shown above, the question markers *jám*, *-kam/gam* and *bo* occur both in polar questions and in content questions. Content questions, however, can also be formed without these final question markers. With existential copulas *jø?* and *du?*, content questions usually have the copula nominalized with *-po*:

- (11.79) ག་ན་ ཡོད་པོ་?  
*k'ana jè-po?*  
 where EX.PER-2INF  
 ‘Where is (he)? (SG wedding customs)

- (11.80) ཚོད་པོ་ ག་ལྷེ་མ་ འདུག་གོ་?  
*ts<sup>h</sup>ɛpo k'atem duk-o?*  
 sweat how EX.SEN-2INF  
 ‘How hot is it?’ (TB phone call)

Bare copulas are also sometimes used:

- (11.81) ལྷ་ལྷོད་ གནས་ཚུལ་ ག་ན་ ཡོད་?  
*laki? né:ts<sup>h</sup>y: k'an jø??*  
 PN news what EQU.PER  
 ‘What news are there, Lhaki?’ (Richhi 69)

- (11.82) ཞ་རྒྱ་གེ་ལྷོ་ ག་ཚོད་ འདུག་?  
*ágja=gi=ɛo k'adzø? du??*  
 elder.brother=GEN=AT how.many EX.SEN  
 ‘And how many does the big brother (=you) have?’ (Richhi 99)

Some Denjongke-speaking communities also allow *-po* to be appended to the neutral equative *bɛ?*:

- (11.83) དབ་འདི་གི་འཛོ་ག་ཚོད་སྤང་པོ་?  
*t'ɛp=di=gi dzo: k'adzø? bɛ-po?*  
 book=DEMPH=GEN price how.many EQU.NE-2INF  
 'What is the price of this book?' (KT e)

Other communities prefer an assimilated nominalized form, *bɛ-go* (note that the preferred word for 'price' also changes):

- (11.84) དབ་འདི་གི་གོང་ག་ཚོད་སྤང་གོ་?  
*t'ɛp=di=gi gõ: k'adzø? bɛ-go?*  
 book=DEMPH=GEN price how.many EQU.NE-2INF  
 'What is the price of this book?' (PT e)

Yet other communities, however, prefer the use of the interrogative copula *bo* in contexts such as (11.83-84), i.e. the forms *bɛ-po* and *bɛ-go* are replaced by mere *bo*. Interrogative clause is the only context where *bɛ?* occurs as nominalized with *-po* in my data. This nominalized use of *bɛ?* in interrogatives is probably triggered by analogy with the existential nominalized forms *jø-po* and *du-ko*. It is also possible that through constant association with interrogation, the nominalizer/infinitivizer attaching to copulas in questions has been or is being reinterpreted as a question marker.

The following three examples further illustrate content questions which lack a final question marker, see completive (11.85), past (11.86) and periphrastic past<sup>377</sup> (11.87):

- (11.85) ན་བྱོན་ཟླ་གི་ཉེས་ག་ཚོད་ལང་ཚར་?  
*nà: tɛ'øn-diki jìm k'adzø? lã:-ts'a:?*  
 here come.HON-NF day how.many come.up.to-PRF  
 'How many days is it since you came here?' (oh, Tashiding)

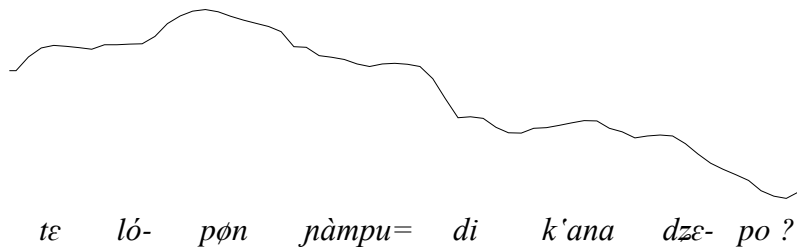
- (11.86) ཚོས་ག་ཚོད་སློག་ཅེ་?  
*tɛ'ho? k'adzø? dɔk-tɛɛ?*  
 studies how.many read-PST  
 'How much did (s)he study?' (BP BB discussion)

- (11.87) ཉེ་སློབ་དཔོན་མཉམ་སུ་འདི་ག་ན་མངལ་པོ་?  
*tɛ lópøn námpu=di k'ana dze-po?*  
 so teacher with=DEMPH where meet.HON-2INF  
 'Where then did he meet the teacher (=you)?' (BB discussion)

Figure 11.8 produces the pitch trace from (11.87), showing that no clause-final rise in intonation is needed because of the presence of a *wh*-word that marks the clause as a question.

<sup>377</sup> In the interrogative, however, the form is not periphrastic because the copula is dropped.

Figure 11.8. Intonation in content question (with a wh-word) (11.87)



Finally, my data contains one example of a question marker *-go* which occurred in an interrogated progressive sentence (11.88). The interrogative *-go* corresponds to declarative *-kɛ/gɛ*, see §12.3.3.2.

- (11.88) ངས་གར་བྱས་བཞིན་གོ?  
*ɲá: k'ar p'ja-zuŋ-go?*  
 I.AGT what do-PROG-Q  
 'What I am doing?' (KN e)

I suspect that (11.88) is a spoken abbreviated version of the fuller form (11.89).

- (11.89) ངས་གར་བྱས་བཞིན་འདུག་གོ?  
*ɲá: k'ar p'ja-zen duk-o?*  
 I.AGT what do-PROG EX.SEN-2INF  
 'What I am doing?' (KN e)

Note that the auxiliary used with first person actor in (11.89) is a sensorial, because the speaker anticipates the addressee to answer using the sensorial auxiliary.

### 11.1.2.3 Content questions with *-kam/gam* and *ɲám*

In addition to polar alternative interrogatives (and marginally simply polar interrogatives), the attenuated markers *-kam/gam* and *ɲám* occur in content questions. Example (11.90) gives an example of a content interrogative with *ɲám* in a complement clause:

- (11.90) དེ་ཟང་མིའི་ཡིག་ལན་ ད་རུང་ཟང་ མ་སྒྲིབས་པའི་ ལྷ་མཚན་ གན་ ཡིན་ནམ་ མཚོ་བཞིན་ ཉའི་ མཚོན་ མོང་མྱི་ སེམས་ན་  
 གཏམ་ ཀེས་པོ་ དྲན་ཤང་ ཡིན།  
*t'izã: mù=i jìglê: t'aruŋ=sã: ma-ʃep-ø: gjumts<sup>h</sup>ẽ: k'an*  
 but 3SGF=GEN letter.answer still=until NEG-arrive-2INF.GEN reason what  
**ɲám** *nó:-zẽ: ɲà=i ts<sup>h</sup>o=na só:-di sém=na tam*  
 EQU.ATTQ think-PROG fish=GEN lake=LOC go.IPFV-NF mind=LOC saying  
*kɛ:po t'en-ɛɛ í:*  
 a.lot remember-INF EQU.PER  
 'Thinking what might be the reason for the letter-answer having not arrived he goes to the fish pond and reminisces in his mind many words.' (Richhi 151)

The following two examples illustrate independent (non-complement) content questions with *ɲám*:

(11.91) གཚོད་བར་ ལྷོན་ དགོས་ཤང་ མིན་ནམ་?  
*k'adzø?* *p'a:* *tɛ'øŋ* *go:-ɛɛ* *nám?*  
 how.many interval come.HON be.needed-INF EQU.ATTQ  
 'What time shall I come, I wonder?' (Richhi 57)

(11.92) མོ་འདི་ ག་སྐབ་ འུས་སྡི་ བཞག་ དགོས་ཤང་ ལྷོན་ ཡར་སྤྱི་ ཚོར་སྤང་ རང་གཞི་?  
*ódi k'atep p'ja-ti za?* *go:-ɛɛ* *nám* *jà:pu=gi*  
 that how do-NF set be.needed-INF EQU.ATTQ nobleman=GEN  
*ts'ho:na: nàŋɛa=lo?*  
 feeling inside=DAT  
 'How should it be preserved in Sir's opinion, I wonder?' (KN, CY interview)

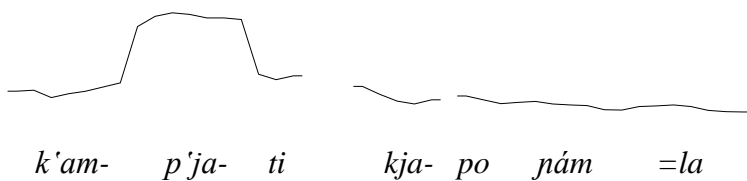
Example (11.93) exemplifies the use of *-kam/gam* in a content question with a question word:

(11.93) གཏམ་ མོ་འདི་ གཚོད་ཟང་ བདེན་དྲགས་ ཡོད་ཀམ་ལགས་?  
*tam ódi k'adzø=sã:* *dɛŋɕa?* *jò:-kam=la?*  
 saying that how.much=until true EX.PER-ATTQ=HON  
 'To what degree is that word true, I wonder?' (KN, CY interview)

Figure 11.9 below presents the intonation contour in content question (11.94) with the attenuated copular interrogative *nám*. The stress is on the wh-word, which has a raised pitch. No rise in pitch is observable at the end of the clause.

(11.94) གན་འུས་སྡི་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ ལྷོན་?  
*k'amp'jati kjap-o nám=la?*  
 why do-2INF EQU.ATTQ=HON  
 'Why did (they) do that?' (KN, CY interview).

Figure 11.9. Intonation in content question (11.94) with *nám*



#### 11.1.2.4 Content questions with *bo*

The evidentially neutral interrogative equative *bo* alternates with its declarative counterpart *bɛ?* in content questions. Examples (11.95) and (11.96) further illustrate the overlap of *bo* and *bɛ?* respectively in analogous complement clauses.

(11.95) ཏེ་ འདི་ གན་ བོ་ མེ་ནེ་ ཏེ་ ངའི་ འདི་ ག་ མིན་སེ།  
*tɛ di k'an bo sɛ-ne tɛ jnè:=di ɛá t̃:=s.*  
 so this what EQU.NE.Q say-COND then 1SG.GEN=DEMPH meat EQU.PER=QUO  
 'So when it comes to what this is, it is my meat.' (KT animal story)



- (11.96) གན་བྱས་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཐོན་བོ་ ཟུང་ སེ་ནེ་ ཁོང་ thikadar ལྷ་ལོ་ དབང་ཆ་ ཡོད་པ་ཟུང།  
*k'amja ódi t'øm-bo bε? sí-nε k'hõ: t'ikadar=tsu=lo*  
 why that happen-2INF EQU.NE say-COND 3PL thikadar=PL=DAT  
*õ:tε<sup>h</sup>a jèbbe?*  
 power EX.NE  
 'When it comes to the reason why that happened, they, the thikadars, had power.'  
 (CY interview)

Examples (11.97) and (11.98) exemplify copular and auxiliary uses of *bo* respectively.

- (11.97) ལུ་ ཀ་ བོ?  
*k<sup>h</sup>u ka bo?*  
 3SGM who EQU.NE.Q  
 'Who is he?' (KN e)

- (11.98) ཉེ་ ར་ནི་སྤུལ་ ཀའི་ ཚར་ རྫོད་ཤད་ བོ?  
*tε ranipul kε:=tsa: dø:-εε bo?*  
 so TPN who.GEN=at sit-INF EQU.NE.Q  
 'So with whom will (she) stay in Ranipool?' (KN kitchen discussion)

In interrogative periphrastic future constructions (I infinitive followed by an equative copula), *bo* may be elided, as seen in (11.99), where the latter of two almost identical clauses has no copula.

- (11.99) ད་ ཚོད་ ག་ཉེ་ཉི་ བྲག་ཤད་བོ? ཚོས་ རྒྱུད་ ད་ ཚོད་ ག་ཉེ་ཉི་ བྲག་ཤད?  
*t'a tε<sup>h</sup>ø? k'ateti t'ak-εε bo? tε<sup>h</sup>øki? t'a tε<sup>h</sup>ø? k'ateti*  
 now 2SG.L how get.well-INF EQU.NE.Q PN now 2SG.L how  
*t'ak-εε?*  
 get.well-INF  
 'Now how will you get well? Choki, now how will you get well?' (Richhi 171)

That *bo* is the interrogative equivalent of the declarative *bε?* is born out by the fact that *bo*, similarly to *bε?* (and unlike *ná*), occurs in locative uses:

- (11.100) འོང་ལྷི་ཀེ་ མེ་ ཟུན་མཁན་ འདི་ ག་ན་ བོ་ ལ་བ་པའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ རྣང་ཤ་  
*òn-diki mì: sÿn-k<sup>h</sup>en=di k'ana bo làp-ø:*  
 come-NF fire kindle-NMLZ=DEMPH where EQU.NE.Q say-2INF.GEN  
*t'yts<sup>h</sup>ø? nàŋεa*  
 time inside  
 '...she came there and at the time when she said (to herself) where is the one who lighted the fire...' (PAD Tashiding story)

### 11.1.3 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are formed mainly by the attenuated markers *-kam/gam*, *nám* and the interrogative copula *bo* but also with the direct marker *-ka/ga* (with existential copulas) and the more marginal suffix *-lø?*. The interrogative copula *ná* does not occur in alternative questions in my data.

### 11.1.3.1 Alternative questions with *-kam/gam* and *ńám*

Example (11.101) illustrates the use of an attenuated question markers *ńám* and *-kam/gam* in a context where, having been asked about the whereabouts of a person named Bhaila, the speaker comments:

- (11.101) ལྷོན་ལམ་ལོ་ ངྲིས་ ལྷོ་གོ། ལྷོན་ན་ ལོག་ཚར་བོ་ ཞིན་ནམ་? ལྷོན་ཁང་ན་རང་ ལྷོང་ ཡོད་ཀམ་?  
*tʰinle=lo tʰi ta-gɛ. kʰim=na lòk-tsʰo-u*  
 Thrinley=DAT ask look-HOR house=DAT return-CMPL-2INF  
***ńám?*** *méŋkʰã:=na dø: jø:-kam?*  
 EQU.ATTQ hospital=LOC sit EX.PER-ATTQ  
 ‘Let’s see and ask Thrinley. I wonder whether he (Bhaila) is back home or whether he is in the hospital?’ (Richhi 24)

In (11.101) the connection between the clauses marked by *ńám* and *-kam* is somewhat looser than in typical alternative questions, as suggested by the use of two different interrogating morphemes. Example (11.102) exemplifies the use of *ńám* in a typical alternative question, where the same interrogating morpheme occurs in both clauses.

- (11.102) ལྷུའུ་ཚེན་ ལྷོན་ ཀན་ ལྷོན་ མི་ཤེས།  
*dupɕeʰɛ: ńám kʰan ńám mi-ɛé:*  
 Dupchen.ceremony EQU.ATTQ what EQU.ATTQ NEG-know  
 ‘I do not know whether it is a Dupchen (ceremony) or what.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

Interestingly, (11.102) combines a polar question (first) and a content question (second). The interrogative occurs as a complement clause, i.e. as an argument of another clause. With complement interrogatives, the whole clause does not function as a question unless the superordinate clause forms a question as well.

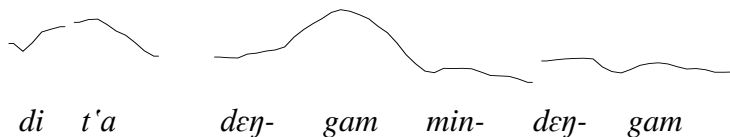
In independent interrogative clauses, the use of attenuated question markers instead of the more direct question markers *-ka/ga* and *ńá* seems to imply more politeness. In complement clauses, on the other hand, *-kam/gam* and *ńám* appear to completely displace *-ka/ga* and *ńá* as question markers. Polar questions with the attenuated question markers are usually presented as alternative questions of the type ‘is it or is it not’ and ‘did he or did he not’, see (11.103) for an independent use and (11.104) for uses in a complement clause. The glosses in (11.104) do not include ‘I wonder’ because the distinction between *-ka/ga* vs. *-kam/gam* does not occur in complement clauses.

- (11.103) a) འདི་ ད་ བདེན་གམ་ མེན་བདེན་གམ་?  
*di tʰa dɛŋ-gam min-dɛŋ-gam?*  
 this now be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ  
 ‘Now is that true or not true, I wonder?’ (DR discussion with KL)
- b) ལྷོང་པོ་ འདི་ ལྷོང་ཚར་བོ་ ལྷོན་ མ་ལྷོང་བ་ ལྷོན་?  
*tsøpo=di mjõ:-tsʰo-u ńám ma-mjõ:-p ńám?*  
 debate=DEMPH finish-CMPL-2INF ATTQ NEG-finish-2INF ATTQ  
 ‘Has the debate ended or not, I wonder?’ (AB kitchen discussion)

- (11.104) a) མིན་གམ་ མན་གམ་ ད་ ང་ མི་ཤེས།  
*íŋ-gam mɛŋ-gam t'a ŋà mi-ɛ́:*  
 EQU.PER-ATTQ NEG.EQU-ATTQ now 1SG NEG-know  
 ‘Now I don’t know whether it is or is not (so).’ (KNA kitchen discussion)
- b) ད་ འདི་ ལོ་ ལྷན་ ལོ་ ལྷན་ གཟེགས་ བཞག་སྟེ་  
*t'a de: pʰo nám mò nám zi: zak-ti...*  
 now like.that male EQU.ATT female EQU.ATT see.HON set-NF  
 ‘Now like that it is seen whether it is a male or a female (and)...’ (SGD wedding customs)

In alternative questions, the interrogative morpheme at the end of the first alternative has a raised pitch in anticipation of the second alternative. For a pitch trace of (11.103a), consider Figure 11.9.

Figure 11.9. Intonation in alternative question (11.103a) with *-gam*.



As seen in the example above, the interrogative copula *nám* always occurs two times in alternative questions. The interrogative suffix *-kam/gam* (along with the more direct *-ka/ga*), on the other hand, may be repeated, as shown in (11.105), or not repeated, as shown in (11.106).

- (11.105) ད་ དིང་སང་ ལོ་འདེམ་ རྩོན་མཁན་ ཡོད་ཀམ་ མེད་ཀམ་ མི་ཤེས།  
*t'a t'ijzã: ódem p'ij-k'ê: jò:-kam mɛ:-kam*  
 now nowadays such give-NMLZ EX.PER-ATTQ NEG.EX.PER-ATTQ  
*mi-ɛ́:*  
 NEG-know  
 ‘Now I don’t know whether there are such givers nowadays.’ (LA Intro to Lachung)
- (11.106) ཡར་བ་ captain རྩ་ལས་ གནང་བ་ ཡོད་ཀམ་ མེད་ ལས་སྟེ་ ལོ་འདེམ་ གན་སྟམ་ གཅིག།  
*jà:p kaepten tsa=lɛ ná:wa jò:-kam mɛ?*  
 nobleman captain(Eng.) at=ABL permission EQU.PER-ATTQ NEG.EX.PER  
*làp-ti ódem k'ajem=teɪ?...*  
 say-NF like.that what.is.it=INDF  
 ‘Whether (we) have a permission or not from Captain Sir, something like that...’  
 (KN, CY interview)

### 11.1.3.2 Alternative questions with *bo*

The interrogative copula *bo* may be repeated in alternative questions, as in (11.107), or the second occurrence may be elided, as in (11.108). Note that in (11.108), the sentence-final *-bo* is a nominalizer and not the interrogative copula *bo*.

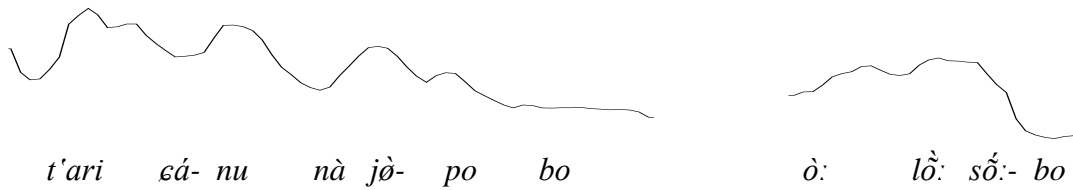
(11.107) a) ཇ་རྒྱ་ལགས་ཤོ་བྱོན་བོ་གནང་ཤང་བོ་, བཞུགས་ཤང་བོ?”  
*á gja=la:=eo, tɛ'ɔm-bo ná:-ɛɛ bo zu:-ɛɛ*  
 elder.brother=HON=AT go.HON-2INF do.HON-INF EQU.NE.Q sit.HON-INF  
**bo?**  
 EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Now what about the big brother, are you going or staying?’ (Richhi 28)

b) འདི་ གྲི་ བོ་ ཇ་ལུས་ བོ?  
*di kʰi bo ály? bo?*  
 this dog EQU.NE.Q cat EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Is it a dog or a cat?’ (KN e)

(11.108) ད་རེ་ ཤ་རུ་ ན་ ཡོད་པོ་ བོ་ འོག་ རིང་སོང་བོ?  
*t'ari éánu ná: jò-po bo ò: lò sò:-bo?*  
 nowadays PN here EX.PER-2INF EQU.NE.Q down rise go.PFV-2INF  
 ‘Is Shanu nowadays here or has he gone away down?’ (KN kitchen discussion)

The intonation contour of (11.108) is given in Figure 11.10. The stress (rising/higher pitch and intensity) is on information that is being questioned, in the first part on the word *nà:* ‘here’ and in the second part on the syllable *lò:* from *lò: sò:-bo*.

Figure 11.10. Intonation in alternative question (11.108) with *bo*



### 11.1.3.3 Alternative questions with *-ka/ga*

The polar question marker *-ka/ga* is used for asking more direct alternative questions than the attenuated marker *-kam/gam*. The question marker typically occurs only once after the affirmed verb and is not repeated after the negative:

(11.109) ཚོད་ བུ་ དགའ་ག་ བུ་ དགའ་?  
*tɛ'ɔp? p'u ga-ga p'um ga?*  
 2SG.L boy like-PQ girl like  
 ‘Do you like (i.e. would you like to have as a child) a boy or a girl?’ (DB e)

(11.110) ད་རིང་ གྲི་བདག་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་ མེད་?  
*t'ariŋ kʰimda? jò:-ka mɛ??*  
 today house.owner EX.PER-PQ NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘Is the house-owner at home today or not?’ (KT animal story)

(11.111) ལལ་ གཅིག་ དུག་ཀྱི་ མིན་འདུག་?  
*kʰɛ: tɛi? du-ka mindu??*  
 score one EX.SEN-PQ NEG.EX.SEN  
 ‘Is there twenty or (is there) not?’ (KT discussion with TB)

### 11.1.3.4 Alternative questions with *-lɔʔ*

The marginal bisyndetic alternative question marker *-lɔʔ* only occurs in my data twice, both times as a complement clause, see (11.112) and (11.113). The latter one is spoken by a balsam flower to an overly confident bumble bee in a folk story.

(11.112) འཇུང་ལོད་ མ་འཇུང་ལོད་ ལྷ་ཚེ།  
*tʰuŋ-lɔʔ ma-tʰuŋ-lɔʔ ta-teʰi.*  
 drink-Q NEG-drink-Q look-IMP.FRN  
 ‘Look whether (the cow) drank it or not.’ (TB e)

(11.113) དེ་ནི་ འཇིབ་ལོད་ མན་འཇིབ་ལོད་ ལྷ་གེ་ སེ་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།  
*tʰɛɛ dzip-lɔʔ man-dzip-lɔʔ ta-ge=s ləp-o=lo*  
 then suck-Q NEG-suck-Q look-HORT=QUO say-2INF=REP  
 ‘Then, let’s see (whether you will) suck or not (nectar from me), it said.’ (RS bee story)

A cognate of *-lɔʔ* is found in Standard Tibetan, where it occurs as a question marker (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 230). The morpheme *-lɔʔ* is also used in exclamation, see §11.2.1.

### 11.1.4 Tag questions

Denjongke uses interrogated equative copulas as tag questions, which are separate utterances, often preceded by a pause. By tag questions the speaker invites the addressee to listen attentively. Often a tag question also manages to trigger some type of verbal response from addressee (e.g. *la-ĩ*: [HON-EQU.PER] ‘yes it is so’). The tag questions are the interrogated copulas *ij-ga* and *bɛ-ka*, and the Nepali loan *lo*. Examples (11.114) and (11.115) exemplify *ij-ga*:

(11.114) ད་ལྟོ་ ད་ རང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ར་ ཡོད་བ་ཟུང་གོ་ ཞིན་ག་ལགས་?  
*tʰato tʰa rã: námteɪ=ra jèbbe=ɛo, ij-ga=la?*  
 now now 2SG.L with=AEMPH EX.NE=AT EQU.PER-PQ=HON  
 ‘Now she’s with you, isn’t she?’ (BB BB discussion)

(11.115) དེས་ འདི་ ངའི་ རྩར་ མེད་མཁམ་ ཟུང་ ཞིན་ག་?  
*tʰɛp=di nɛ:=tsa: mɛ:-kʰɛn bɛʔ, ij-ga?*  
 book=DEMPH 1SG.GEN=at NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU.NE EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘I don’t have the book with me, do I?’ (KL BLA 12)

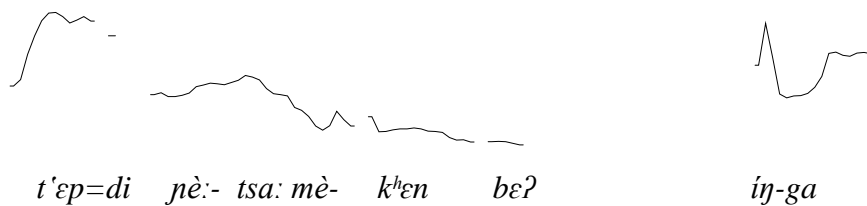
In (11.114), speaker looks for a spoken confirmation of his preconceived idea, so the sentence is also pragmatically a request for information. In (11.115), on the other hand, the speaker, by using the tag question, is not trying to confirm the truth value of the clause but rather just aiming at keeping the addressee engaged in listening.

For the less frequent copular tag question *bɛ-ka* consider:

- (11.116) དེ་ཟང་ཁོང་འདི་རང་སྐད་ ང་ཅའི་ རྫོགས་ འདི་ ཁོང་གིས་ མི་མཁུན་པོ་ ཟུང་ལགས་, མི་མཁུན་མཁུན་ ཟུང་ ཟུང་ཀ་ལགས་?  
*t'iza: kʰø:=di ray-ke? ηàtei lʊke=di kʰoŋ=gi*  
 but 3PL=DEMPH own-language 1PL.GEN Lhoke=DEMPH 3PL=AGT  
*mi-kʰem-bo bɛ:=la, mi-kʰeŋ-kʰen*  
 NEG-know.HON-2INF EQU.NE=HON NEG-know.HON-NMLZ  
*bɛ?, bɛ-ka=la?*  
 EQU.NE=HON EQU.NE-PQ=HON  
 ‘But they don’t know their own language, our Lhoke, they don’t know, isn’t it (so)? (YR canteen video)’

A tag question is typically pronounced with a raised pitch. Figure 11.11 illustrates the intonation rise on the tag question *ij-ga* from (11.115).

Figure 11.11. Intonation with tag question *ij-ga* in (11.115)

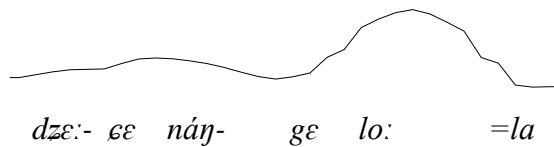


Another tag question, *lo*, is a loan of the frequent Nepali tag question *la*. Using *lo* in requests or orders is polite because the speaker requests for the addressee’s compliance rather than takes it for granted.

- (11.117) ང་ འགྱུ་ ལོ།  
*ηà gju lo.*  
 1SG go TAG.Q  
 ‘I’m going now, okay?’ (oh, Martam)
- (11.118) བཞུགས་བཞིན་ ལྷོས་པོ་ གནང་ ལོ།  
*zu:teɛ: p'ja-u ná: lo.*  
 sitting do-2INF do.HON TAG.Q  
 ‘Please stay here, okay (while I go away for a while)?’ (oh, TB)
- (11.119) ངའི་ number འདི་ མེན་ ལོ་ལགས།  
*ηè: nambəɾ di i: lo:=la*  
 1SG.GEN number(Eng.) this EQU.PER TAG.Q=HON  
 ‘This is my number, eh.’ (KT phone call)
- (11.120) མཇལ་ཤང་ གནང་གེ་ ལོ་ལགས།  
*dʒɛ:-ɛɛ náŋ-gɛ lo:=la.*  
 meet.HON-INF do.HON-HORT TAG.Q=HON  
 ‘So, let’s keep on meeting, okay?’ (KT phone call)

The tag question marker *lo* is pronounced with raised pitch, as shown in Figure 11.12, which presents the pitch trace from (11.120). When *lo* is followed by the honorific clitic =*la*, as in Figure 11.12, the vowel is lengthened to [lo:].

Figure 11.12. Intonation with tag question *lo* in (11.120)



### 11.1.5 Questions with the reportative =*lo*

Interrogatives may be marked by the reportative *lo*, which can replace equative copulas (see §7.2.5.2). Examples (11.121) and (11.122), which were used during a phone call, exemplify a polar interrogative and a content interrogative respectively. While the exact context for the utterances is unclear, (11.121) appears to ascertain that the wedding mentioned in the phone call (hence the reportative) was indeed the addressee’s own wedding. The use of =*lo* in (11.122) is more difficult to decipher. The use of the reportative perhaps indicates that the date of the gathering mentioned in the clause is announced by someone else than the addressee, ultimately presumably by an astrologer who determines an auspicious date.

- (11.121) རང་གི་གཞིན་ལོ་?  
*ranj=gi jén=lo?*  
 you=GEN wedding=REP  
 ‘(Are you saying/Did you say) it’s your wedding?’ (KN oh, phone call)

- (11.122) ཚོགས་ཤང་འདི་ནམ་ལས་ལོ་?  
*tsʰo:-ɛɛ=di nàm=lɛ=lo?*  
 gather-INF=DEMPH when=ABL=REP  
 ‘When is the gathering together (according to them)?’ (KN oh, phone call)

Intonation in (11.121) and (11.122) follows the pattern already established above. The polar interrogative (Figure 11.13) has a rising pitch and the content interrogative a low pitch at the end of the utterance (Figure 11.14).

Figure 11.13. Rising intonation with *lo* in polar question (11.121)

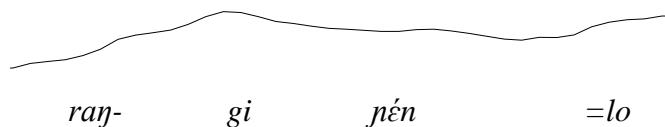
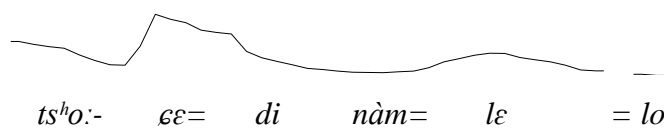


Figure 11.14. Low intonation with *lo* in content question (11.122)



### 11.1.6 Exclamative questions with (*h*)*ó*:

The formative (*h*)*ó*?, which is most likely a borrowing of the Nepali equative copula *ho*, also occurs in equative polar questions where it replaces both the copula and the question marker and has the meaning ‘is it true that, is it so that’, see (11.123-125). Because (*h*)*ó*? also occurs as a non-interrogatory exclamative tag (see §16.3.2) it has an air of exclamativity. This exclamativity is reflected also in the interrogative, hence the gloss as exclamative question (EXCLAM.Q). Because clauses with (*h*)*ó*? here are treated as basically interrogative but having exclamative nuance, they are discussed here under interrogation (§11.1) rather than under exclamation (§11.2).

(11.123) ཅམ་པོ་བརྒྱུང་མཁམ་འདི་ཨོ?

*tsampo duŋ-kʰen=di ó:?*  
 flour beat-NMLZ=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q  
 ‘Is (it) the one who beat the flour.’ (PT e)

(11.124) A: ཏུ་ཅིག་ direct རྫོང་གཞན་ལོ་ར་འདྲ་ སྐད། ཨོ་འདེ་ ལམ་བཞིན་གཤམ།

*t’utei? dairekt dordzidɛ:=lo=ra qa bɛ?*  
 this.year direct TPN=DAT=AEMPH be.similar EQU.NE  
*óde: ləp-zɛŋgɛ.*  
 like.that say-PROG.APH  
 ‘This year it looks like it’s going to be directly in Dorjiden.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

B: རྫོང་པོ་འདི་ཨོ?

*tsɕpo=di ó:?*  
 debate=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q  
 ‘You mean the debate?’ (KN kitchen discussion)

(11.125) a) མནེ་མུ་རང་ཨོ?

*nɛ:mu=rã: ó:?*  
 really=AEMPH TAG.EXCLAM  
 ‘Really, is it?’ (Richhi 99)

b) རད་པོ་འདེམ་ ཚབ་ཆེ་ལོད་ སྐྱེན་ཁང་ན་ བྱིག་སྐྱོ་ འག་ཤད་ ཡོད་ སེ་ ཨོ།

*nɛ:po dem tsʰaptɛɛ-lɔ? mɛŋkʰã:=na kʰik-ti t’ak-ɛɛ*  
 patient such serious-EXCLAM hospital=LOC lead-NF get.well-INF  
*jò:=sɛ ó:?*  
 EX.PER=QUO EXCLAM.Q

‘Is it so that taken to the hospital in such a serious condition the patient is to get well?’ (rnam-rtog 17)

The quotative =sɛ in (11.125b) shows that the speaker refers to another person’s words/idea. The tag *ó*? functions in (11.125b) as an interrogative predicate which has a declarative clause as an argument.

## 11.2 Exclamatives

Exclamative clauses not only inform but also “express an affective response to what is taken to be a fact” (König & Siemund 2007: 316). Exclamative clauses can be formed by using the



suffix *-lɔʔ*, which typically collocates with specific other words described below (§11.2.1), by non-interrogatory use of the interrogated copula *bɛ-ka* (§11.2.2) or through interjections (§11.2.3). Interjections are words that comprise an utterance in themselves (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 57) and express the speaker’s spontaneous emotions and reactions to something they have experienced or heard. Therefore interjections can be considered a special case of exclamation.

### 11.2.1 Exclamation with *-lɔʔ*

The exclamative suffix *-lɔʔ* can be added to stative verbs to form an exclamation, e.g. ‘how tasty!’. Whereas in Lhasa Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 230) the cognate of *lɔʔ* occurs in genuine questions, in Denjongke the formative is used in exclamative rhetorical question. The use of *-lɔʔ* is illustrated in (11.126-129) with examples of *ɛim* ‘be tasty’ (*ɛimpu/ɛimɕaʔ* ‘tasty’), *lɛʔ* ‘be good’ (cf. *lɛm* ‘good’), *dzik* ‘be excellent’ (cf. *dzikɕaʔ* ‘excellent’) and *ga* ‘rejoice’ (*gataʔ* ‘happy’). In exclamative clauses *-lɔʔ* collocates with a question word (11.126-127) or forms an idiomatic succession with the reportative *=lo* (11.128).

- (11.126) གན་མོའི་ བུ་ལོས་ རོ, ཨོ་ཡེ! ལྷ་ཤ།  
*k'amə:*      **ɛim-lɔʔ**                      *bo,*                      *óje,*      *p'ja-ɛa!*  
 what.GEN be.tasty-EXCLAM EQU.NE.Q oh chicken-meat  
 ‘How tasty it is, oh, chicken-meat. (Richhi 89)

- (11.127) ག་ལྷེམ་ གད་དར་ ལེགས་ལོས།  
*k'atɛm*      *k'ɛ:da:*      **lɛ:-lɔʔ!**  
 what.kind cleaning be.good- EXCLAM  
 ‘How well tidied up!’ (Richhi 45)

- (11.128) མི་ འདི་ རྗེགས་ལོས་ལོ།  
*mi=di*                      **dzik-lɔʔ**=*lo*<sup>378</sup>!  
 (hu)man=DEMPH excellent-EXCLAM=REP  
 ‘How great that man is!’ (KT e)

In example (11.129), *-lɔʔ* does not occur with a question word or the reportative *=lo* but is followed by the demonstrative *ódem* ‘such, like that’. Here *-lɔʔ*, together with the demonstrative, functions rather as an intensifier of the property concept (‘such happy’) than as a marker of clausal level exclamation.

- (11.129) དགའ་ལོས་ ཨོ་འདེམ་མའི་ བྱིམ་གཞིས་ ཀོས་མྱེ་  
**ga:-lɔʔ**                      *ódemə:*      *k<sup>h</sup>imzi*      *ko:-di*  
 rejoice-EXCLAM such.GEN home throw.away-NF  
 ‘forsaking such a happy home...’ (nga’i ’gan 14)

The form *-lɔʔ* is also used in alternative questions, see §11.1.3.4. For etymological information on *-lɔʔ*, see §3.3.6.12.

<sup>378</sup> With consultant KT, *-lɔʔ* typically collocates with *=lo* (or). The reportative *=lo* is segmentally homophonous with the tag *lo*. Further exploration is needed to find out for certain which one is used here.

### 11.2.2 Exclamative use of the interrogated copula *bɛ-ka*

In addition to the interrogatory uses, the interrogated neutral copula can be used for exclamation, as in (11.130) and (11.131). The difference between glosses a) and b) in (11.131) has to be determined contextually.

(11.130) ཇ་འདི་ཞིམ་ཕུ་ཟླ་ཀླ།  
*tɛ'a=di ɛɪmpu bɛ-ka!*  
 tea=DEMPH delicious EQU.NE-PQ  
 'Isn't this tea good!' / 'How good this tea is!' (KT e)

(11.131) Company ང་ལ་ phone བཏང་དོ་ཟླ་ཀླ?/!  
*kompani ŋà=lo fon tã:-do bɛ-ka*  
 company 1SG=DAT phone(Eng) send-IPFV EQU.NE-PQ  
 a) 'Does the company keep on phoning me?' (question)  
 b) 'How the company keeps on phoning me!' (exclamation) (KN e)

### 11.2.3 Interjections

An illustrative list of Denjongke interjections, which occurred in §3.6.10, is reproduced in Table 11.3. Some of the interjections are exemplified below the table.

Table 11.3. Some interjections

Form		Gloss	Function
<i>áme:</i>	ཨ་མེ་	'wow'	expressing enthralment, rapture
<i>làso</i>	ལ་སྐགས་	'okay'	approval
<i>ák<sup>(h)</sup>a:</i>	ཨ་ཁ་		surprise, amazement
<i>ádzei</i>	ཨ་ཇེ་		surprise, amazement, quite similar to <i>ák<sup>h</sup>a:</i>
<i>óje:, ói</i>	ཨོ་ཡེ་	'oh, hey'	used for getting someone's attention
<i>é:, jà:</i>	ཨེ་, ཡ་		expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going
<i>á:</i>	ཨ་	'hey', 'yes', 'what'	1. informal address to get someone's attention 2. response to being called (addressed to social/age inferior), like 'what?' (honorific <i>la:</i> )
<i>là:</i>	ལགས་	'yes' 'excuse me?'	1. polite response to being called 2. expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said <sup>379</sup>
<i>kei</i>	ཀྱེ་	'O (address)'	honorific address (e.g. lama)
<i>tɛ<sup>h</sup>a</i>	ཆ་	'alas'	disappointment (e.g. bad shot in a game of kerembot)
<i>tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɛ:</i>	ཆེ་	'oh no'	disapproval, discomfort (e.g. when someone does not answer phone), the response to being tickled (TB 5, 151)
<i>úf</i>	ལུས་		expression of pain or discomfort
<i>ádzi:</i>	ཨ་ཇེ་		1) (unpleasant) surprise, 2) fear
<i>áijo:</i>	ཨི་ཡོ་		pain of fear of pain
<i>á(i)ja:</i>	ཨི་ཡུ་, ཨ་ཡ་		
<i>óho:</i>	ཨོ་ཤོ་		expressing sadness, response to bad news

<sup>379</sup> Likely to be frequently heard by a language learner.

- (11.132) ཇམ་མེ་ ལེགས་ལོས་ལོ!  
*ámɛ: lɛː-løː=lo!*  
 wow be.good-EXCLAM=REP  
 ‘Wow, how good it is.’ (KT e)
- (11.133) ལགས་སོ་ དེ་ནི་ ལྷོན་པོ་ གནང་།  
*lâso, tʻɛnɛ tɛʻøm-bo nãː.*  
 alright then go.HON-2INF do.HON  
 ‘Alright, in that case please go.’ (Richhi 17)
- (11.134) a) གན་མོའི་ ཞིས་ལོས་ བོ, ཇོ་ཡེ! བྱ་ག།  
*kʻamø: ɛim-løʔ bo, ójɛ, pʻja-ɛa!*  
 what.GEN be.tasty-EXCLAM EQU.NE.Q oh chicken-meat  
 ‘How tasty it is, oh, chicken-meat. (Richhi 89)
- b) ཇོ་ཡེ! བྱི་མ་ན་ མི་ཡོད་ཀྱ?  
*ójɛ:, kʻim=na mí jøː-ka?*  
 hey house=LOC human EX.PER-PQ  
 ‘Hey, is anyone at home?’ (rna-gsung 5)
- (11.135) ཇི་ ཇོ་ན་ ཟུང་། ང་ ད་ལྟོ་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཞིན།  
*é: óna bɛʔ. ŋà tʻato tʻoː-po ǎː.*  
 o there EQU.NE 1SG now hear-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘O, it’s there. I heard it (only) now.’ (PT kitchen discussion)
- (11.136) ཐྲིན་ལས, ཇཱ་ ཐྲིན་ལས།  
*tʻhinlɛ, á: tʻhinlɛ!*  
 PN hey PN  
 ‘Thrinley, hey Thrinley!’ (Richhi 24)
- (11.137) a) ཀར་མེ!  
*karma!*  
 PN  
 ‘Karma!’
- b) ལགས། གན་ གསུང་བོ?  
*la:, kʻan súm-bo?*  
 yes what say.HON-2INF  
 ‘Yes, what did you say?’ (Richhi 15)
- (11.138) a) ཇཱ་ཇི་ བྱི་མ་ན་ཏོ་ མན་འགྱུ་གོ།  
*ádzi:, kʻim=na=to maŋ-gju-ke!*  
 oh.no house=LOC=CEMPH NEG-go-HORT  
 ‘Oh no, let’s not go to (his) home.’ (reaction to suggestion) (Richhi 24)

- b) ལྷ་ཚེ། མཚན་ ལམ་ལགས།  
*ádzi:, mɛː ám=la:!*  
 oh.no NEG.EQU.PER mother=HON  
 ‘Oh no, no mother.’ (Richhi 34)

- (11.139) ཚ།  
*tɛʰa!*  
 darn  
 ‘Darn! (after an unsuccessful strike in a game of kerembot)’ (oh, Tashiding)

- (11.140) ལྷུལ་ གན་མའི་ ཚད་པོ་ འཚོག་ལོད་པོ།  
*uf, k'amə: tsʰɛpo tsʰik-lɔʔ bo!*  
 phew what.GEN heat hot-EXCLAM EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘PheW, how scorching the heat is!’ (nga’i ’gan 15)

- (11.141) ཨོ་འདེ་ ཚོད་ཁར་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ ལྷུན་སྐད། "ཨ་ཡ། ཨ་ཡ།  
*ódetsʰika bhaila=ki kʰyŋkɛʔ ája: ája:!*  
 at.that.time PN=GEN sound.of.moaning ouch ouch  
 ‘At that time, Bhaila’s sound of moaning (goes) ouch, ouch. (Richhi 14)

- (11.142) ཨི་ཡོ་ ང་, ཁབ་ འདི་ མི་ རྒྱབས་ ཨི་ཡོ།  
*àijo: ŋà, kʰap=di mi-kjap áijo:!*  
 ouch 1SG needle=DEMPH NEG-strike ouch  
 ‘Ouch, do not inject the needle, ouch.’ (rnam-rtog 28)

### 11.3 Imperative

Sentences in imperative mood convey commands and requests. Imperatives in Denjongke can be expressed by using the bare verb root (§11.3.1) or by imperative suffixes *-tɛʰi*, *-da* and *-na* (§11.3.2). Urgentive nuance to imperatives can be provided by *=mɔʔ* (§11.3.3).

#### 11.3.1 Verb root as imperative

The simplest imperative form consists of the bare verb root, see (11.143)

- (11.143) ལགས་པོ།, ཨ་ལྷུ་ གཟིམས་པར་ ལྱོན།  
*làso ágja, zim-pa tɛʰɔː.*  
 alright elder.brother sleep.HON-PUR go.HON  
 ‘Alright brother, please go to sleep.’ (Richhi 57)

Example (11.144) further illustrates that the imperative mood is negated by the perfective prefix *ma-* and that the imperative may be followed by an assertive tag (see §16.3.1).

- (11.144) ཁ་ བརྒྱུ་ རྫོད། ཨ་ལབ་ རོ།  
*kʰa tsum dɔʔ. ma-làp no.*  
 mouth closed sit NEG-speak TAG.ASR  
 ‘Be silent. Don’t speak, I tell you.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

Imperative with the periphrastic honorific verbal form VERB-*po ná:* is illustrated in (11.145) and (11.146). The negative prefix attaches to the honorific verb *ná:* ‘do (hon.), grant’.

(11.145) ད་ཅུང་གསུང་བོ་གནང་།  
*t'a(r)uj súm-bo ná:*  
 again say.HON-2INF do.HON  
 ‘Please say it again.’ (TB e)

(11.146) བྱོན་མོ་མ་གནང་།  
*te'em-bo ma-ná:*  
 come/go-2INF NEG-do.HON  
 ‘Please do not come/go.’ (TB e)

Using the bare verb root for imperative causes ambiguity on the clausal level (which context usually disambiguates on the discourse level), because final suffixes and auxiliaries are often elided in declarative clauses, as shown in (11.147).

(11.147) ཉེ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚུ་ནང་གི་སྤེལ་བོ་གནང་།  
*te lópɽa=tsu nàŋɛa pɛl-bo ná:*  
 so school=PL within spread-2INF do.HON  
 ‘So (they) spread (them) within schools.’ (CY interview)

Example (11.147) is clearly a declarative on the discourse level but could be mistaken for an imperative on the clause level.

Sandberg (1895: 42) lists three imperative construction: bare verb root, the root appended with *tã:* (ordinary) and the root appended with *nã:* or *ja* (honorific). The secondary verb (or verbalizer) *tã:* ‘send’ also sometimes accompanies the verb root in imperative in my data:

(11.148) གུ་ཅག་གན་སྐྱམ་བུ་སྤེལ་བཏང་། མོ་ཚོང་དང་འབེན་དུ་བྲ་བཏང་།  
*k'utea? k'ajem p'ja tã: ótsõ: dã: benda t'a: tã:*  
 2PL what.is.that do send onionand tomato slice send  
 ‘You, do what’s that, slice onions and tomatos.’ (PT kitchen)

Sandberg’s (1895: 42) more polite form, where the verb *nã:* ‘do (hon.), grant’ is directly appended to the verb root, also occurs in my data, see (11.149), but not as frequently as the nominalized construction exemplified in (11.145) above:

(11.149) མཐོང་ཡོད་ན་ང་ལོ་གསུང་གནང་།  
*t'hõ: jò:-ne ŋà=lo súŋ ná:*  
 see EX-COND 1SG=DAT say.HON do.HON  
 ‘If you see, please tell me.’ (rna-gsung 6)

### 11.3.2 Imperative suffixes *-te<sup>hi</sup>*, *-da*, *-na*

While the bare verb root can function as an imperative, the imperative mood may also be marked unambiguously by the suffixes *-te<sup>hi</sup>*, *-da* and *-na*. Using *-te<sup>hi</sup>* and *-da* makes the request/command more friendly than using the bare verb root, hence the term “friendly imperative” (similarly Denwood 1999: 168). I have not, however, been able to find any

semantic difference between *-te<sup>hi</sup>* and *-da*, which are illustrated in (11.150) and (11.151). Example (11.150), taken from the novel *Richhi*, presents a doctor's polite instruction to a nurse:

- (11.150) རྒྱ་སྲི་ ལྷན་ཡིག་ཚུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འདི་ཁར་ བསྐྱམ་ ཕྱོག་བོ་ གནང་ཞེ།  
*nè:pø:*                *ménji:=tsu*                *t<sup>h</sup>amtɛɛ?* *dik<sup>h</sup>a nám*                *tɛ'øm-bo*  
 patient.GEN    prescription=PL    all                here carry.HON    come.HON-2INF  
*ná:-te<sup>hi</sup>.*  
 do.HON-IMP.FRN  
 'Please bring all the patients prescriptions here.' (Richhi 169)

- (11.151) ང་ལོ་ ལྷ་ རྒྱས་ཅིག་ གནང་ད།  
*ɲà=lo*                *tɛ<sup>hu</sup>*                *ɛy:tei?*                *ná:-da.*  
 1SG=DAT    water    a.bit                give.HON-IMP.FRN  
 'Please give me a bit of water.' (rnam-rtog 26)

Although the use of imperative suffixes in negated imperatives is rare in my data, at least *-te<sup>hi</sup>* occurs in a negated imperative:

- (11.152) ཀན་ཆེ་ ག་ལྷས་ ག་ལྷས་ མ་བྱས་ཞེ།  
*kantɛ<sup>hi</sup>*                *k'aly?*                *k'aly?*                *ma-jà-te<sup>hi</sup>*  
 youngest.daughter    slow                slowly    NEG-do-IMP.FRN  
 'Kanchi, do not do (it) slowly.' (Richhi 107)

The suggestive *-na* (glossed *SUG*), on the other hand, softens down the tone of the imperative towards a suggestion and thus make a request/command more polite than using the bare verb root or one of the other suffixes. The use of *-na* is illustrated in (11.153) and (11.154) by sentences from the novel *Richhi* and the play *nga'i 'gan*, respectively. In the first example, *-na* is used in an honorific verbal expression and in the second with an ordinary verb root, showing that *-na* does not directly participate in the honorific system, where the use of one honorific (e.g. an honorific noun) in good style requires the use of other honorifics (e.g. an honorific verb).

- (11.153) འུ་མིང་ལགས་ མདང་ འུ་མིང་རང་ ཅིག་ཀྱས་ བསྐྱོན་བོ་ གནང་མཁན་ གསུང་གླུ་ ད་རིང་ལོ་ ཚར་ གཅིག་ བསྐྱོན་བོ་ གནང་ན།  
*p'usimla,*                *dã:*                *p'usim=rã:*                *teiku:*  
 younger.sister=HON    yesterday    younger.sister=AEMPH    only.AGT  
*gøm-bo*                *ná:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:*                *súnlu*                *t'ariŋ=lo*                *ts<sup>h</sup>a: tei?*  
 sing.HON-2INF    do.HON-NMLZ    song.HON    today=DAT    turn    one  
*gøm-bo*                *ná:-na.*  
 sing.HON-2INF    do.HON-SUG  
 'Sister, would you perhaps like to sing today once the song that you (lit. sister) sang alone yesterday.' (Ricchi 90)

- (11.154) ཨོ་ཤེས་ ལྷ་མཁུའི་ རིན་འཛིན་ ཚོད་ རང་ལས་ མ་ལག་ ལོག་ལྷོ་ འགྲུ་ན་ དོན་དག་ མེད་པའི་ གཏམ་ ཞེས་པོ་ མ་བཤད་པར།  
*óεε:kukʰɛ: rindzĩ:, tɛʰøʔ nàŋ=le màlaʔ lòkti gju-na t'øndaʔ*  
 please PN 2SG.L inside=ABL quick again go-SUG meaning  
*mè:-pø: tam kɛ:po ma-ɛé-pa.*  
 NEG.EX-2INF speech many NEG-tell-CIRC  
 ‘Please Rinzing, what about going back quickly from inside (this room) without speaking those meaningless words.’ (Nga’i ’gan 9-10)

The suggestive *-na* differs from friendly imperatives *-tɛʰi* and *-da* in that *-na* attaches to the imperfective root of the verb *gju* (*gju-na* ‘go, what about going’), where as *-tɛʰi* and *-da* attach to the suppletive perfective form *só:* of the same verb (e.g. *só:-tɛʰi* ‘go!’).

Example (11.155) summarizes the four different imperative constructions, all essentially meaning ‘please come here’. Note that the bare verb root as imperative is in (11.155a) represented by the final verb *ná:* of the honorific nominalized construction. The use of the honorific construction results in all the forms in (11.155) being basically polite. Simpler, and less honorific forms for a bare verb imperative would be *ɛóʔ* ‘come! (direct)’ and *tɛʰon* ‘please come! (hon.)’.

- (11.155) a) རྣ་ རྩོན་པོ་ གནང་།  
*nà: tɛʰem-bo ná:*  
 here come.HON-2INF do.HON  
 ‘Please come here.’ (polite)
- b) རྣ་ རྩོན་པོ་ གནང་ཟེ།  
*nà: tɛʰem-bo ná:-tɛʰi.*  
 here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN  
 ‘Please come here.’ (polite, friendly)
- c) རྣ་ རྩོན་པོ་ གནང་དང་།  
*nà: tɛʰem-bo ná:-da.*  
 here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN  
 ‘Please come here.’ (polite, friendly)
- d) རྣ་ རྩོན་པོ་ གནང་ན།  
*nà: tɛʰem-bo ná:-na.*  
 here come.HON-2INF do.HON-SUG  
 ‘If you would please come here.’ (polite, suggestive)

Imperatives may be supplemented with the exclamative tags *já* and *inam*<sup>380</sup>, which add nuance to the command. Whereas *já* is considered friendly, *inam* is usually spoken by a person of a greater social standing than the addressee and has an air of obligation. Example (11.156), illustrating *já*, was spoken by a younger person to an elder one, whereas (11.157), illustrating *inam*, was spoken on the telephone by an older brother to a younger brother who was working in the Indian capital Delhi.

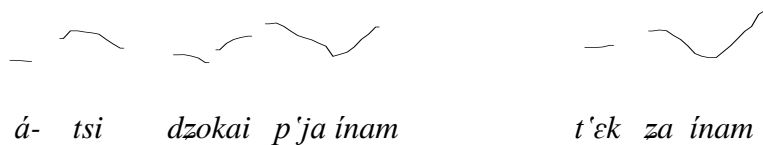
<sup>380</sup> The form *inam* is segmentable as *in-(n)am* [EQU.PER-ATTQ], whereas the form *ja* has merged into a unit from the historical segments *in-(n)a* [EQU.PER-PQ].

- (11.156) གསལ་བོ་གནང་ག།  
*sém-bo ná: ná.*  
 listen.HON do.HON TAG.ASR  
 ‘Please listen (to me), will you.’ (PB discussion with TB)

- (11.157) ཇཱ་ཚོ་ཚོ་གེ་ (Nep.) ལྷོས་ ཞིན་ནམ། དེག་ བཞག་ ཞིན་ནམ།  
*átsi dzokai p'ja ín-(n)am! t'ek za: ín-(n)am!*  
 a.bit saving(Nep.) do EQU.PER-ATTQ store set EQU.PER-ATTQ  
 ‘Save a bit (money), I tell you! Set (it) aside, I tell you!’ (TB phone call)

The pitch trace from (11.157) is presented in Figure 11.15, showing the rising pitch on *ínam*.

Figure 11.15. Rising intonation with *ínam* in imperative (11.157)



In some language varieties, the forms *ino* (Bermeok) and *no* (Martam) as used for *ná/ína*:

- (11.158) ལྷོ་ལ་ (??) འདི་ཚུ་ ལུབ་ ཞིན་ནོ།  
*gjaŋ<sup>h</sup>a di=tsu súp ino.*  
 hatch this=PL close TAG.ASR  
 ‘Close the hatches, will you.’ (KT animal story)

- (11.159) ལ་ བཞུམ་ ཚོད། མ་ལལ་ རོ།  
*k<sup>h</sup>a tsum dɔʔ. ma-làp no.*  
 mouth closed sit NEG-speak TAG.ASR  
 ‘Be silent. Don’t speak, eh.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

### 11.3.3 Urgentive =*mɔʔ*

The enclitic =*mɔʔ* (pronounced also as =*meʔ*) can be added to imperatives, hortatives and optatives to make a plea more urgent. Within imperatives =*mɔʔ* may attach to the suggestive *-na* but not to the friendly imperatives *-te<sup>hi</sup>* and *-da*. Rather than forming a sentence mood of its own, =*mɔʔ* may be seen as a modifier of the imperative, hortative and optative moods. One consultant commented that =*mɔʔ* may be used when all other verbal persuasion resources have been exhausted. Because =*mɔʔ* may attach to several elements it is not analysed as a suffix but as an enclitic. The following examples illustrate the use of =*mɔʔ* appended to verb root (11.160-162), imperative *-na* (11.163), hortative *-ke/ge* (11.164) and infinitive *-ni* (11.165-166). The use with optative *-tsuʔ* is illustrated in §11.5 below. In example (11.160), a folk story on animals, a bear has just heard from a marten that the marten might be able to offer him (the bear) a good job by asking the king. The bear responds to the marten:



(11.160) ཞེ་ ཉི་ ལྷ་ གནང་མོད།  
*é:, tɛ ɛ̀ù nǎ: =mø?*  
 oh then ask.2INF do.HON=URG  
 ‘Oh, then ask (him), by all means.’ (KT animal story)

(11.161) རྗ་ རོང་ལོ་ ཉ་གོ་ག་ ལབ་ རི་ ལྷ་མོད།  
*nà: kʰɔ: =lo hako-ga làp tʰi ta =mø?*  
 here 3SG.HON=DAT understand-PQ say ask look=URG  
 ‘Ask him here, by all means, whether he knows (the story I am about to tell).’  
 (JDF discussion on the roof)

(11.162) བཞེས་ཀར་ བཞེས་མོད།  
*ze:kar ze: =me?*  
 chilli.HON eat.HON=URG  
 ‘Go ahead and take chilli.’ (PTM kitchen discussion)

Of the imperative forms, *=mø?* may attach at least to the suggestive imperative *-na*:

(11.163) ཟས་ ཟ་ན་མོད།  
*sàm sà-na =mø?*  
 food eat-IMP.SUG=URG  
 ‘Please eat!’ (PT e)

In (11.164), a line from a contemporary Denjongke song, the urgency marker is appended to hortative *-gɛ*:

(11.164) ང་ཅག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ བསྐྱན་པོ་ འདི་ ལེགས་བྱས་ གཟུངས་གེ་མོད།  
*ɲàtɕa? tʰamtɕe? tempo =di lèm-pʰja zuŋ-gɛ =mø?*  
 1PL all teaching=DEMPH well-ADVZR preserve-HORT=URG  
 ‘Let us all, by all means, memorize this teaching.’ (song lyrics)

Consultant KN also reported that *=mø?* is used, especially in Tashiding (not the consultant’s native place), in the following idiomatic expressions that employ the infinitive form *-ni*, see (11.165-166).

(11.165) ཟ་ཉེ་མོད།  
*sà-ni =mø?*  
 eat-3INF -URG  
 ‘Eat, by all means.’ (KN e)

(11.166) འཇུང་ཉེ་མོད།  
*tʰuŋ-ni =mø?*  
 drink-3INF -URG  
 ‘Drink, by all means.’ (KN e)

## 11.4 Hortative *-kɛ/gɛ*

Whereas the imperative concerns second person commands and requests, the hortative is mainly used for first person suggestions either in the singular, as in (11.167), or plural, as in (11.168). The hortative marker *-kɛ/gɛ* is appended directly to the verb root. Note that in (11.167) the velar is elided because the preceding verb root also ends in a velar.

(11.167) ང་ འབག་གེ།  
*ŋà bak-ɛ.*  
 1SG carry-HORT  
 ‘Let me carry (it).’ (GB oh)

(11.168) ང་ཅག་གི་ ཚུགས་ རང་གི་ རྐང་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་གེ་སྟེ།  
*ŋàtɕa? k'a: tsʰu? raŋ=gi kɛ:=lo jàrgɛ?*  
 1PL what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development  
*taŋ-gɛ=s.*  
 send-HORT=QUO  
 ‘Let’s do what we can to develop our own language.’ (KT life story)

The friendly imperative suffixes may be appended to the hortative, as exemplified by *-tɕʰi* in (11.169).

(11.169) རྒྱལ་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ འོག་ཅན་རང་ ཁ་ལབ་ ལྷ་གོ་ཆེ།  
*gɛ:po=di=lo lòktɕɛ=rã: kʰa-lap ta-gɛ-tɕʰi.*  
 king=DEMPH=DAT again=AEMPH mouth-speak look-HORT-IMP.FRN  
 ‘Let’s try and speak again to this (spirit) king.’ (rnam-rtog 8)

Although the hortative is mainly used in the first person, I heard the second person plural address (11.170) in Martam (East Sikkim). The overheard clause has two optional translations.

(11.170) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ གསོལ་ཇ་ བཞེས་གོ་ལགས།  
*ʃɛŋgɛ? sʰo:za ze:-kɛ=la.*  
 PRN.HON tea.HON have.HON-HORT=HON  
 ‘Please have (some) tea.(?)’ / ‘You, let’s have tea.(?)’ (oh, Martam)

The hortative construction is negated by the perfective negator prefix *ma-*, see (11.171) and (11.172).

(11.171) མན་ ལྷ་སྒྲིང་ ད་ལྷ་ ཇ་ མ་འཇུང་གོ།  
*mɛ: ʃaki? t'ato tɕ'a ma-tʰuŋ-gɛ.*  
 NEG.EQU.PER PN now tea NEG-drink-HORT  
 ‘No Lhaki, let’s not drink tea now.’ (Richhi 17)

(11.172) དེབ་ འདི་ གོང་ཆེན་ མ་བྱས་གོ་ ལབ་པོ་ ཨིན།  
*t'ɛp=di k'ð:tɕʰɛ: ma-jà-gɛ<sup>381</sup> làp-o t̃.*  
 book=DEMPH expensive NEG-do-HORT say-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Let’s not make the book expensive, I said.’ (KL BLA 12)

<sup>381</sup> The verb *p'ja* ‘do’ is usually reduced to *jà* when a negator is prefixed.

## 11.5 Optative with *teu?*

Optative mood expresses hopes about desirable future. The optative is formed by the causative secondary verb *teu?* བརྟུག་ ‘cause’ (see §5.5.2.) which attaches to the verb root without tense, aspect and modality marking. For an example, consider (11.173), which also employs =*mø?* to mark urgency (see §11.3.3).

- (11.173) དེ་ནི་ མོ་འདེམ་ གཤམ་ ང་ལོ་ཡང་ རྩོམ་ བརྟུག་མོད་སེ།  
*t'ɛnɛ ódɛm jó? ηà=lo=jã: tʰop teu=mò:=s.*  
 then such work 1SG=DAT=even receive cause=URG=QUO  
 ‘Then, by all means, let me also get such work, he said.’ (KTL animal story)

The optative construction may be used in purposive adverbial clauses, see affirmative (11.174) and negated (11.175), which is negated by prefixing *ma-* to the secondary verb.

- (11.174) ངའི་ཀི་ birthday party ན་ སུ་ འོང་བརྟུག་ ལམ་གྱི་ ང་ རོན་ བྱས་པོ་ མིན།  
*ɲè:=gi bəððɛipa.ti=na kʰu ò: teu? làp-ti ηà*  
 1SG.GEN=GEN birthday.party(Eng.)=LOC 3SGM come cause say-NF 1SG  
*fon p'ja-u í:.*  
 phone(Eng.) do-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I phoned (him) so that he would come to my birthday party.’  
 (literally: ‘Saying let him come to my birthday party, I phoned.’) (KN e)

- (11.175) ཁོང་ འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཚས་རྒྱལ་ ན་ རང་ག་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ འོག་ བྱོན་ མ་བརྟུག་ བེ་མཁལ་ འདི་ མོ་འདེམ་ རྒྱབས་གྱི་  
 ཁོང་ འགག་ཚ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྤང།  
*kʰõ:=di=tsu=gi tʰamtɛɛ=ki tɛʰøgɛ: nà: nàŋɛa qɛndzõ lòk*  
 3PL=DEMPH=PL=AGT all=AGT king here inside Sikkim return  
*tɛ'øŋ mà-teu? sé-kʰɛn=di ódɛp kjap-ti kʰõ:*  
 come.HON NEG-cause say-NMLZ=DEMPH like.that do-NF 3PL  
*gagdza kjab-be?*  
 obstacle do.2INF-EQU.NE  
 ‘All of them like that made obstacles so the king could not come back here to Sikkim.’ (CY interview)

Usually the optative and causative uses of *teu?*/*teuk* can be distinguished by the presence/absence of tense/aspect/modality/evidentiality (TAME) marking: the optative is not followed by TAME markers whereas the causative is. In causative (11.176), however, the periphrastic past construction is elided because it is retrievable from the context (*dzy: teuk-o be?* > *dzy: teu?*). Thus, in the absence of tense and aspect marking, the context is the arbiter between optative and causative reading of *teu?*.

- (11.176) ཉི་ རང་ག་ འཇུལ་ ལམ་ འོག་ བེད་རྩ་ རང་ག་ལོ་ དོམ་ འདི་ རང་ག་ འཇུལ་ བརྟུག།  
*tɛ nàŋɛa dzy: làp lòk pʰɛtsa nàŋɛa=lo t'om=di nàŋɛa*  
 so inside enter QUO back sack inside=DAT bear=DEMPH inside  
*dzy: teu?*  
 enter CAUS  
 ‘So, saying “enter in” (he) caused the bear to go back inside the sack.’ (KT animal story)

## 11.6 Summary remarks

This chapter described non-declarative clauses, i.e. interrogatives, exclamatives, imperatives, hortatives and optatives. The main focus was on interrogatives, which form a complex system. Polar questions can be formed either by polar question markers or by intonation without segmental interrogation markers. Polar interrogatives include the suffix *-ka/ga* and several interrogative copulas (formed either with *-ka/ga* or by other means). Attenuated interrogating morphemes are used for softening down questions by making them resemble speaker's speech to themselves. Attenuated question markers are also used in content questions, which, however, do not necessarily require any other interrogatory marking than the question word. Some more marginal question marking morphemes were also described.

Interjections were shown to be a special case of exclamatives, which also include the formally interrogated copula *be-ka* and the suffix *-lɔʔ* (which has an interrogating cognate in Standard Tibetan [Tournadre & Dorje 2003]). The various imperative constructions express such semantic nuances as directness, politeness, friendliness, suggestiveness and urgency. The hortative marker occurs both with singular ('let me do') and plural first person ('let us do'). Lastly, it was shown that optative clauses are formed by postposing the causative secondary verb stem to the primary verb.

## 12 Connecting finite clauses

The discussion on clause combining is divided into four chapters. Connections between finite clauses are described in this chapter. The following three chapters address constituent-modifying clauses (§13)<sup>382</sup>, complement clauses (§14) and adverbial clauses (§15). The discussion in this chapter begins with an introduction to concepts and terminology (§12.1) and continues with a description of the uses of monosyndetic (§12.2) and bisyndetic (§12.3) connectors.

### 12.1 Introduction

Crosslinguistically, connections between finite clauses may occur in a range from coordination-resembling connections to looser discourse connections. According to Haspelmath's definition (2007: 1), in coordination "two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit". The last part of the definition, "combined into a larger unit", is particularly challenging to apply to Denjongke because it is uncertain whether the connector words (see §3.6.9) combine the clauses, as Haspelmath's (2007:1) definition posits, "into a larger unit" called sentence, or whether the connectives provide looser logical connections between individual sentences. Consequently, the words "connect" and "connective" are used instead of "combine" and "conjunction" because the latter pair of words suggests coordination, in which two clauses "combined" with a "conjunction" form a larger entity, sentence. The words "connect" and "connective" are meant to include looser relationship between two clauses than the one implied by coordination.<sup>383</sup>

The reason why coordination in Haspelmath's (2007: 1) definition is not a prominent feature of Denjongke is that Denjongke is a clause-chaining language. Longacre (2007: 375) divides languages into co-ranking languages such as English, in which it is possible to have several verbs "of the same rank" within one sentence, and chaining languages such as many New Guinean languages, in which it is not possible to have more than one final verb form in a sentence. Denjongke is one of the chaining languages in which only the last verb in a sentence is finite and previous, dependent verbs within the same sentence are not "of the same type" as the final verb. This means that Denjongke uses a structurally different strategy for describing situations which in English are expressed through coordination. For instance, consider the Denjongke equivalent of the English clause 'Go today and stay home tomorrow':

- (12.1) ད་རིང་ འགྲུ་སྒྲིབ་ བོ་རངས་ བྱིམ་ན་ རྫོང།  
*t'ariŋ gju-ti t<sup>h</sup>orã: k<sup>h</sup>im=na dø?*<sup>384</sup>  
today go-NF tomorrow house=LOC stay  
'Go today and stay home tomorrow.' (Richhi 59)

Although the Denjongke and its English translation in (12.1) are semantically equivalent, they differ structurally in two important respects. First, English uses verb forms of the same type, whereas Denjongke uses two different verb forms, nonfinal converbal form marked with

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<sup>382</sup> Constituent-modifying clauses represent clause combining in that the constituent which is modified is an argument in another clause.

<sup>383</sup> Payne's (1997: 443) definition of coordination as "linking two clauses of equal grammatical status" leaves open whether the linking results in a new entity. Thus Payne's definition would perhaps subsume looser connections under coordination than the ones allowed in Haspelmath's (2007: 1) definition.

<sup>384</sup> One consultant would have preferred the perfective form of the verb *só:* to imperfective *gju* in the nonfinal clause.

-*ti/di* and the verb root, which functions as an imperative. Second, English uses the conjunction ‘and’, whereas Denjongke sentence lacks a conjunction because the nonfinal verb form can convey analogous semantics to the English conjunction ‘and’. In summary, (12.1) is structurally not an instance of coordination but of subordination/dependency although it is functionally analogous to an English coordinated sentence.

However, while finite clauses in Denjongke cannot be coordinated by *t’ã*: ‘and’, nominalized clauses can:

- (12.2) ཟམ་ ཟ་ མ་ཐོབ་པོ་ དང་ འཐུང་ མ་ཐོབ་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ མང་པོ་ འདུག།  
 [sàm sà ma-thop-o] t’ã: [tʰuŋ ma-tʰop-ø:] lògju? màŋpu  
 food eat NEG-find-2INF and drink NEG-find-2INF.GEN story a.lot  
*du?*  
 EX.SEN  
 ‘There are a lot of stories [that (people) haven’t found food to eat] and [haven’t found (anything) to drink].’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 134)

There are other connectors than *t’ã*: ‘and’ that connect finite clauses. My intention in this chapter is to show how finite clauses are linked through these connectives, without entering into a discussion on whether and by what criteria the connected elements should be considered units. The connectors vary in how amenable they are to coordinative interpretation. The connective *t’izã*: ‘but, however’, for instance, is at times used like a coordinating conjunction. The connector *t’ene* ‘then, in that case’, on the other hand, is hardly a coordinating conjunction because it typically implies, in addition to a semantic/logical connection, that the speaker has changed.

## 12.2 Monosyndetic connectors

Table 12.1 lists monosyndetic connectors, which have a single connector.

Table 12.1. Monosyndetic clause connectors

<i>t'izã:</i>	དེ་ཟང་	'but'
<i>í:ruŋ</i>	ཨིན་རུང་	'but, however', lit. 'although it is (so)' [EQU-CONC]
<i>ínajã:</i>	ཨིན་ན་ཡང་	'but, however', lit. 'even if it is (so)' [EQU-COND-even]
<i>índã:jã:</i>	ཨིན་དང་ཡང་	'but, however' lit. 'it is (so) and yet' [EQU-and-even]
<i>í:jã:</i>	ཨིན་ཡང་	'but, however', lit. 'it is (so) yet' [EQU-even]
<i>zɛnne/zɛne/zɔne</i>	གཞན་ནེ་	'otherwise' lit. [other-COND] or [other-TOP]
<i>zɛ:mene</i>	གཞན་མན་ནེ་	'otherwise', lit. 'if there is nothing else' [other-NEG.EQU-COND]
<i>jã:</i>	ཡང་	'and, (then) again'
<i>jã:ne</i>	ཡང་ནེ་	'or'
<i>jã:mene</i>	ཡང་མན་ནེ་	'or in other case, otherwise', lit. 'and if it is not (so)' [and-NEG.EQU-COND]
<i>mi-ts<sup>h</sup>e?</i>	མི་ཚང་	'not only (but also); moreover; in addition', lit. 'not-stop(ping)'
<i>k'ambjasɛne</i> <sup>385</sup>	གན་བྱས་སེ་ནེ་	'because, this is for the reason that', lit. 'if told why'
<i>dile</i>	འདི་ལས་	'then (temporal sequence)' (lit. 'this=ABL', but because of frequent use should probably be considered a lexeme)
<i>t'ɛne</i>	དེ་ནེ་	'then, in that case (logical consequence)' (often collocates with <i>tɛ</i> 'well, then', as in <i>tɛ t'ɛne</i> 'well then...')
<i>ódi=lɛ=to</i>	ཨོ་འདི་ལས་ཏོ་	'rather' (lit. that= ABL=CEMPH)

The examples below illustrate the use of the connectors from Table 12.1 in the same order they occur in the table. The two forms which are most often used as contrastive connectors are *t'izã:* 'but' and *í:ruŋ* 'but, however'. The contrastive connector *t'izã:* is of unknown etymological origin. In written Denjongke, *t'izã:* occurs, depending on the author and possibly the context, either as a sentence-initial marker (following །, the closest equivalent to full stop in written Denjongke), as in (12.3), or as a sentence-medial marker (without །), as in (12.4).

- (12.3) ཚོས་སྐྱེད་ ཉལ་བའི་ ཉལ་བོ་ ཨིན། དེ་ཟང་ གཞིང་རང་ མི་ལྷགས།  
*tɛ<sup>h</sup>ɔki?* *jɛ:-bø:* *jɛ:-bo* *í:* ***t'izã:*** *ni:=rã:*  
 PN lie.down-2INF.GEN lie.down-2INF EQU.PER but sleep=AEMPH  
*mi-k<sup>h</sup>u?*  
 NEG-sleep  
 'Choki keeps lying down but does not fall asleep.' (Richhi 58)

- (12.4) དམངས་པོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འཛོམས་ཞེ་ དེ་ཟང་ འགོ་རྗེ་ ཁོ་རང་ མན་བྱོན།  
*mánpu* *t<sup>h</sup>amteɛ?* *dzom-zɛ* ***t'izã:*** *godzɛ* *k<sup>h</sup>u=rã:* *man-dzɔn.*  
 multitude all gather-PST but leader 3SGM=REFL NEG-come  
 'All the people gathered but the leader himself did not come.' (Class 9-10 grammar, 135)

In (12.3), the actor (Choki) is elided in the second clause, suggesting coordination, where the clauses belong to the same sentence. However, argument elision is frequent even in

<sup>385</sup> The first part 'why' in this word may be pronounced *k'amja*, *k'ambja* or *k'amp'ja*, depending on the level of phonological reduction. The last pronunciation *k'amp'ja* suggests a succession of words rather than a single word, because *p'* typically only occurs word-initially. The verb of speaking *sé* (also *sí*) can be replaced by *láp* 'say' or *ɛù* 'say (hum.)', e.g. *k'amjalapne*, *k'amjaɛune*. The last syllable, which is a conditional marker, may also take the forms *-no* and *-na*, the latter of which is probably affected by Tibetan spelling, e.g. *k'amjaseno* (eastern and northern pronunciation), *k'amjasena* (literary pronunciation).

independent clauses, and therefore this argument for the presence of coordination is not fully persuasive. Of all the connectors, *t'izã:* is the most amenable to coordinating interpretation (which is also suggested by the omission of | in Denjongke writing). Prosodic phenomena in the clause, however, deserve further study.

The contrastive connector *í:ruŋ* (or *í:-ruŋ*) ‘but, however’ is the concessive form of the equative *í:*, which through frequent use may be considered to have lexicalized. It is not clear, whether (12.5) and (12.6) should be considered to consist of one sentence or two sentences.

- (12.5) ལུ་ ངའི་ གཤེན་མཚན་ ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན། ཨིན་ཅུང་ ལུ་ ང་ལོ་ ལོག་ལྷ་ མི་རྒྱལས་ ཟླད།  
*kʰu nè: néntsʰɛ: íŋ-kʰɛ: í: í:-ruŋ kʰu ŋà=lo*  
 3SGM 1SG.GEN relative EQU-NMLZ EQU.PER EQU-CONC 3SGM 1SG=DAT  
*lòkta mi-kjap bɛ?*  
 care NEG-do EQU.NE  
 ‘He is (supposed to be) my relative. However/but, he doesn't look after me.’ (KT e)

- (12.6) ཐམས་ཅད་ ཁོང་ ང་ལྟོ་གཡོག་ ང་ མེད། ཨིན་ཅུང་ ང་ལྟོ་ ཁོང་ ཤེས་ཡོན་ ལེན་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*tʰamtɛɛ? kʰõ: t'ato jó? t'a mɛ? í:-ruŋ t'ato kʰõ: ɛé:jõ:*  
 all 3PL now work now NEG.EX.PER EQU-CONC now 3PL education  
*lén-zin jò?*  
 take-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘All of them are jobless now. However/but, they are now taking education.’ (KT life story)

Three additional, more complex forms *ínajã:*, *índã:jã:*, *í:jã:* are used for contrastive cohesion. These forms begin with the equative copula *í:* and end in the clitic *=jã:* ‘too, even, yet, still’. The difference is what, or whether anything, occurs in between. In *ínajã:*, the copula occurs with the literary conditional form *ín-(n)a* (which also occurs in Central Tibetan), see (12.7) and (12.8). In *índã:jã:*, the intervening element is the conjunctive *t'ã:* ‘and’, conveying the meaning ‘it is so and yet’, see (12.9). The last form *í:jã:* has no intervening element, conveying the equivalent of English ‘it is so yet’, see (12.10).

- (12.7) མོ་འདྲེབ་ འུས་བའི་ སྐང་ འདི་ ཉི་ མོ་ རང་ག་ལོ་ ང་ཅའི་ སྐང་ འདི་ ང་ ལེགས་ འུས་ལྷོ་ སྐབ་ཤད་ཉོ་ མོ་འདྲེམ་ཉོ་ མེད་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
 ཨིན་ན་ཡང་ མོ་འདི་ སྐང་གི་ ང་ ཆན་པོ་ འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ སྐང་ལྷགས་ གཞན་མོ་ ལྷགས་སྐང་ འདི་ མི་མཁྱེན་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*ódep p'ja-wø: gã:=di tɛ ó nàŋɛa=lo ŋàtɛi*  
 like.that do-2INF.GEN time=DEMPH so that inside=DAT 1PL.GEN  
  
*kɛ:=di t'a lɛm p'ja-ti lap-ɛɛ=to ódem=to*  
 language=DEMPH now good do-NF teach-INF =CEMPH like.that=CEMPH  
  
*mè:-kʰɛn bɛ? ínajã: ódi gã:=gi t'a gɛmpo di=tsu=gi*  
 NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU.NE however that time=GEN now elder this=PL=AGT  
  
*kɛ:dza? zømø, tɛʰuke=di mi-kʰɛŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 language.HON other Nepali.language=DEMPH NEG-know.HON-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘When doing like that, within that, our language was not taught well. However, the elder people in those times did not know other languages, did not know Nepali.’ (CY interview)



Example (12.8) illustrates that occasionally connecting words, here *t'izã:* and *ínajã:*, co-occur.

- (12.8) ཉེ་མོ་འདི་ ལྷན་སྐྱེ་ ང་ཅའི་ རྒྱལ་ཅིག་ མོ་འདེབ་སྐྱེ་ ཉམས་ཆག་ མོང་བོ་ མིན། དེ་ཟང་ མིན་ན་ཡང་ ད་ལྟོ་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ འདི་ རང་ག་  
 ཡོད་ཤད་ ལྷན་སྐྱེ་གི་ མོ་འདེབ་ གེས་སོ་ཏོ་ རྒྱལ་ འབག་ འདའ་ མ་སོང་།  
*tɛ ódi p'ja-ti ɲàtɛi kɛʔ ɛyːtɛyʔ ódepti ɲàmɛʰaʔ*  
 so that do-NF 1PL.GEN language a.bit like.that decline
- sóː-bo íː t'izã: ínajã: t'ato lóptɑ=di nàɲɛa*  
 go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER but however now school=DEMPH inside
- jøː-ɛɛʔ kjap-tiki ódep kɛːpo=to lák bak daː ma-sóː.*  
 EX-INF do-NF like.that much=CEMPH be.ruined carry chase NEG-go.PFV  
 ‘So for that reason our language went into decline like that. But however (the case), because (the language) is within schools it has not been that badly damaged.’ (CY interview)

- (12.9) མོན་ཏོ་ གན་འདྲེ་ མེད། མིན་དང་ཡང་ འདི་ཁར་ ང་ཅག་ ལྷམ་རང་ འདུག་ སེ་ ལབ་ གནང་།  
*lòn=to k'andɛː mɛʔ. índã:jã: dikʰa ɲàtɛaʔ lèm=rã:*  
 message=CEMPH any NEG.EX.PER however here 1PL good=AEMPH  
*duː=sɛ làp náː.*  
 EX.SEN=QUO say do.HON  
 ‘(I) do not have any message. But tell (them) we are alright here.’ (nga’i ’gan 15)

- (12.10) ད་ལྟོ་ བར་ ང་ཅག་ བན་ཚུན་ བར་མཇལ་ ཚུར་མཇལ་ མེད་པས་ ཞལ་ འཚོ་ མ་ཚུགས། མིན་ཡང་ ངའི་ རོགས་མོ་ ལྷ་སྐྱིད་  
*t'atawa: ɲàtɛaʔ pʰentsʰyː pʰa: dzɛː tsʰu: dzɛː*  
 nowadays 1PL mutual thither meet.HON hither meet.HON  
*mèː-peː ɛɛː tsʰo ma-tsʰuʔ. íːjã: ɲèː*  
 NEG.EX-2INF.AGT face recover NEG-be.able.to however 1SG.GEN  
*roːm lɛki...*  
 female.friend PN  
 ‘These days, because we have not met each other here and there (I) could not recognize (him). However, my friend Lhaki...’ (Richhi 46)

Still other contrastive connectors are built around the word *zen* ‘other’. These forms are *zenne/zene/zøne* (12.11-12), *zɛːmɛn* (12.13), *zɛːmɛnɛ* (12.14). The ending *-ne* in *zenne* and *zene/zøne*, which probably represents a reduced pronunciation of *zenne*, may be etymologically a conditional form<sup>386</sup> or possibly the topicalizer *=nɛ*. The other two forms supplement *zen* with the negated equative *mɛː*, which may occur alone, as in *zɛːmɛn* (12.13) or in the conditional form, as in *zɛːmɛnɛ* (12.14).

<sup>386</sup> As the conditional marker attaches only to verbs, *zen-ne* may represent a reduction of the more complex *zɛː-mɛ-nɛ* [other-NEG.EQU.PER-COND].

(12.11) ཚོད་པོ་ འདི་གི་ འདི་གི་ འདི་གི་ འདི་གི་ འདི་གི་ འདི་གི་ འདི་གི་ འདི་གི་ འདི་གི་ འདི་གི་  
*tsøpo p'ja-εε=di=p'ja tε né:kor kjap tʰop bε? zenne*  
 debate do-INF=DEMPH=ADVZR so sightseeing do receive EQU.NE otherwise  
*mi-tʰop-kʰen bε no.*  
 NEG-find-NMLZ EQU.NE TAG.ASR  
 ‘Because of (participating) the debate (he) gets to do sightseeing. Otherwise it is not available, eh. (KNA kitchen discussion)

(12.12) མཐུན་ མཐུན་ མཐུན་ མཐུན་ མཐུན་ མཐུན་ མཐུན་ མཐུན་ མཐུན་ མཐུན་  
*tʰap mè:-nε teuku sà-εiŋ=gi, zøne min-za.*  
 means NEG.EX-COND only eat-NPST.PER=NC otherwise NEG-eat  
 ‘(They) eat (it) only if there is no other option, otherwise (they) do not eat.’ (PL interview)

(12.13) མོ་འདི་ འདི་གི་ མོ་འདི་ མོ་འདི་ མོ་འདི་ མོ་འདི་ མོ་འདི་ མོ་འདི་ མོ་འདི་ མོ་འདི་  
*mù=ri godze kjokju ódi: p'ja-ti mí zen=tsu:*  
 3SGF=AEMPH.GEN leader crooked that.GEN do-NF human other=PL.AGT  
*tʰõ:-sa mù=rã: kònteË: tʰõ:-po mèmbo zË:men=to*  
 see-NMLZ.SPAT 3SGF=AEMPH guilty see-2INF except otherwise=CEMPH  
*mù=lo køñ mè: =εo.*  
 3SGF=DAT blame NEG.EX.PER=AT  
 ‘She has become the culprit in the eyes of other people for no other reason than this crooked leader of hers. Otherwise, she is not to be blamed for anything, you know. (nga’i ’gan 4)

(12.14) གཤམ་མཐུན་ གཤམ་མཐུན་ གཤམ་མཐུན་ གཤམ་མཐུན་ གཤམ་མཐུན་ གཤམ་མཐུན་ གཤམ་མཐུན་ གཤམ་མཐུན་ གཤམ་མཐུན་  
*k'ε:si? tam=di kʰando: sén tsʰu-po tε 'uŋ-nε*  
 if word=DEMPH dakini.AGT listen.HON be.able.to-2INF become-COND  
*kʰando: sã:tʰa? tã: p'im-bo ná:-di kjop-nε kjop*  
 dakini.AGT copper-rope send give-2INF do.HON-NF protect-COND protect  
*tsʰu õ: zË:menε dεmo mù=i kʰa=lε*  
 be.able.to FUT.UNC otherwise she.demon 3SGF=GEN mouth=ABL  
*tʰa:-kʰË: tεa:so? dup-o=tsu=lε mi-õ:*  
 be.released-NMLZ iron-life fulfil-2INF=PL=ABL NEG-FUT.UNC  
 ‘If this word will become audible to the dakini and the dakini, sending a rope of copper, protects (you), (you) will be protected. Otherwise, no one except those of iron-body will escape from the mouth of the she-demon.’ (rna-gsung 12)

The following three connectors build on the word *jã:* ‘again, and’, an independent form related to the clitic =*jã:* ‘too, even, yet, still’. The connector *jã:* occasionally occurs alone to mark that the information presented in the clause is somehow added to the information in the previous clause (12.15).

(12.15) ཡང་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་  
*jã: ge:py:=gi k'utea=lo màlep p'ja-nε...*  
 again king.GEN=AGT 2PL=DAT bad do-COND  
 Again, if the king did bad things to you... (CY interview)

The connector *jā:* may be supplemented, similarly to the connectors presented above, by *-nε*, which is likely a conditional marker or a topicalizer (12.16-17), or by *mεnε*, a conditional form of a negated equative (12.18-19). When used with negated verbs in both clauses, the connector *jā:nε* expresses meanings corresponding to English *nor* (which marks additional negated information), see (12.17).

- (12.16) ཆེ་ཨ་རྒྱུ་བཞེས་པོ་གནང་མོད། ཡང་ན་ང་ཅིའི་ལག་ཀ་ལས་བཞེས་མི་ལགས་པོ་?  
*te<sup>h</sup>ε:*    *àgja*                    *ze:-po*                    *nā:=mø?*                    *jā:nε* *ηàtεi*    *làka=lε*  
 oh.no    elder.bother    eat.HON-2INF    do.HON=URG    or    1PL.GEN hand=ABL  
*ze:*        *mi-lè:-po?*  
 eat.HON NEG-be.good-2INF  
 ‘Oh no, brother, please eat, by all means. Or is it not good to eat from our hands?’  
 (Richhi 20)

- (12.17) ང་ཅག་ནི་ས་ཐག་རིང་བོ་ལས་མཚོ་མེད་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོས་ཤད་མིན་འདུག། ཡང་ན་ཕར་རྒྱུར་མིའི་འགྲུལ་ཡང་མེད།  
*ηàtεa=nε*    *sát<sup>h</sup>a?*                    *rim-bo=lε*                    *nóme?*                    *lògju?*                    *t<sup>h</sup>o:-εε?*  
 1PL=TOP    distance    be.long-2INF=ABL    thoughtless story    hear-INF  
*mìndu?*        *jā:nε* *p<sup>h</sup>a:*                    *ts<sup>h</sup>u:*                    *mí:*                    *ɕy:=jā:*                    *mè?*  
 NEG.EX.SEN    or    thither    hither    human.GEN travel=too    NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘We do not hear thoughtless stories from far away. Nor are there people traveling here and there.’ (rnam-rtog 4)

- (12.18) ང་ཅག་གི་ནི་མི་གི་རྒྱུས་ལས་ལ་ལོ་མི་ལགས་བསོད་ནམས་བཟང་བོ་ཡོད་ནི་འདི་མི་ལོ་མི་ལྷན་ཐོབ་ཡང་མན་ནི་སེམས་ཅན་ཡང་  
 རྒྱུ་ལས་འཁོར།  
*ηàtεa?*    *εí-nε*                    *mí*                    *εí-tsub=lε*                    *làlo mí*                    *lèm sónam*  
 1PL    die-COND    human    die-CMPL.2INF=ABL    some human    good merit  
*zanpo*    *jò:-nε=di*                    *mí=lo*                    *mí-ly:*                    *t<sup>h</sup>op*                    *jā:mεnε*  
 good    EX-COND=DEMPH    human=DAT    human-body    receive    or.in.other.case  
*símtεē:*    *jā:nε* *bu?*    *làp*    *k<sup>h</sup>or.*  
 animal    or    bug    say    rotate  
 ‘If we die, after a person’s death, someone, if (s)he is a good person of good merit, that person receives a human body. Otherwise, (the person) transmigrates as an animal or a bug.’ (KT discussion with TB)

- (12.19) ལྐང་མ་ཆག་ཆག་གོ་ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ནི་ཡང་མན་ནི་ཞེན་པོ་རང་ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ནི་ང་ཅིའི་བུ་མ་ག་ལྷོ་བྱིན་ཤད་སེ?  
*ka:m* *te<sup>h</sup>ak-te<sup>h</sup>ak-o*                    *jò-patsenε*    *jā:mεnε*                    *εèmpo=rā:*  
 foot    be.broken-RDP-2INF    EX-COND    or.in.other.case    stupid=AEMPH  
*jò-patsenε* *ηàtεi*    *p<sup>h</sup>um* *k<sup>h</sup>ate* *p<sup>h</sup>in-εε=s?*  
 EX-COND    1PL.GEN girl    how    give-INF=QUO  
 ‘If (his) feet are broken or he is mentally handicapped, how (would we) give our daughter (in marriage to him)?’ (SGD wedding customs)

The negated form of the verb *ts<sup>h</sup>ε?* ཚད་ ‘stop, break off, discontinue’, *mi-ts<sup>h</sup>ε?*, is used as a conjunction meaning ‘not only, but also; moreover; in addition’. It can be used either as a looser connector, which does not combine two clauses into one sentence but provides logical cohesion (akin to English ‘moreover, furthermore’), see (12.20), or it can be used with a nominalized and thus subordinated construction. The subordinated use is described later under adverbial clauses, see §15.9.1.

(12.20) འདི་ མན་ན་ དིང་སང་གི་ སྤྱོད་ གཞེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ལྟེན་ པང་གདན་ བཀའ་ མི་ཏུབ། མི་ཚད་ པང་གདན་ འདི་ ལུས་ཀྱི་ གོས་ཆས་  
 ཅིག་ ཨིན་བའི་ ལྷང་ཁར་ མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་ བོད་པོ་ དང་ ཤར་པོ་གིས་ རྒྱན་བའི་ ལུགས་སྒོལ་ ཨིན།  
*di mèn-ne t'ijzay=gi p'um jén kjap-kjap-o=tsu:*  
 this NEG.EX-COND nowadays=GEN girl marriage do-RDP-2INF=PL.AGT

*pã:dě: kap mi-tup. mitsʰɛ? pã:dě:=di lỳ:=ki*  
 apron cover NEG-deem.fitting moreover apron=DEMPH body=GEN

*k'ø:teʰɛ? =tei? im-bø: tɛŋkʰa màŋteʰiɛo? p'øpo t'ã: éérpo=gi*  
 clothing=INDF EQU-2INF.GEN above most Tibetan and Sherpa=AGT

*k'øm-bø: lùksø: í:*  
 wear-2INF.GEN tradition EQU.PER

‘Otherwise, married girls nowadays do not want to wear pangden-apron. Moreover, in addition to pangden-apron being a clothing for the body, most Tibetans and Sherpas have a tradition of wearing (it).’ (sbar-phung 93)

The connector *mitsʰɛ?* may also occur sentence-initially following a demonstrative:

(12.21) འདི་ མི་ཚད་ ངས་ཀྱི་ མི་ཚེ་ འདི་ རང་གཤམ་  
*di mitsʰɛ? jè:=gi mí-tsʰɛ=di nàŋɛa=lo...*  
 this in.addition 1SG.GEN=GEN human-life=DEMPH inside=DAT  
 ‘In addition to this, in my life...’ (KT life story)

A possible origin of *mitsʰɛ?* as a nonfinal form *mi-tsʰɛ-ti(ki)* is suggested by (12.22), which is the only recorded instance of a negated nonfinal converb in my data (the negated form is usually borrowed from the circumstantial construction *ma-V-pa*). A possible reason why negation is possible with a nonfinal form here is that through frequent use the form has lost the connotation of negatedness in the mind of the speakers and has instead developed semantics akin to ‘in addition, adding to what was said’.

(12.22) ཟས་ལུས་ འབྲས་མ་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ རྫོང་གཞིན་ མི་ཚད་སྟེ་གི་ ང་ རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་ སྐང་  
*bejyl demadzoy=gi korzi=na mi-tsʰɛ-tiki ŋà teʰuŋteʰuŋ gã:...*  
 hidden.land Sikkim=GEN topic=LOC NEG-stop-NF 1SG small time  
 ‘Still continuing about the topic of the hidden land Sikkim, when I was a child...’  
 (CY interview)

For the causality marking connector *k'ambjasɛnɛ* (and its variants), refer to §15.4.1. The connector *dile* ‘then’ connects finite clauses. It expresses temporal sequence:

(12.23) ང་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ བཤད་གྲ་ བར་ཕྱིན་པོ་ ཨིན། འདི་ལས་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ བཤད་གྲ་ ཚས་ སློགས་ རྒྱུང་པའི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་  
*ŋà dɛndzõ: é:da tʰartɛim-po í: dile dɛndzõ: é:da*  
 1SG Sikkim institute reach.end-2INF EQU.PER then Sikkim institute  
*teʰo? dok mjõ:-pø: gjable...*  
 doctrine read finish-2INF.GEN after  
 ‘I finished (studying at) the Higher Institute of Nyingmapa studies. Then, after finishing studies at the Higher institute of Nyingmapa studies...’ (RB life story)

The connector *t'enε* 'then, in that case' has two main functions. It expresses a logical consequence of what was said before and it also denotes a change in the speaker. In other words, the speaker reacts to something that another person has said. By denoting that the speaker has changed *t'enε* helps the listener to track who is speaking in a story. The connector *t'enε* typically occurs at the beginning of the clause (12.24) but after interjections (12.25) and discourse particles (12.26). It frequently co-occurs with the discourse particle *tε* 'so' to form *tε t'enε* or *t'enε tε* 'so then, so in that case', see (12.26)

(12.24) དེ་ནི་ཚོད་ན་ འཇུང་ཐེན་ ལྷོད།

*t'enε tε<sup>h</sup>ø?*    *nà:*    *buŋt<sup>h</sup>ẽ:*    *dø?*

then 2SG.L    here    while    stay

'In that case, stay a while here.' (KT animal story)

(12.25) a) ཨོ་ དེ་ནི་ ཐོ་རངས་ ང་ ན་ ལྷོད་ཤང་ ཨིན།

*é:*    *t'enε t<sup>h</sup>orã:*    *ŋà*    *nà:*    *ba*    *dø:-εε*    *ĩ.*

oh    then tomorrow 1SG    here    hide    sit-INF    EQU.PER

'O, in that case I'll sit hiding here tomorrow.' (KT animal story)

b) ལགས་སོ་ དེ་ནི་ ལྷོད་ཐོ་ གནང།

*làso*    *t'enε tε'øm-bo*    *nã:*

alright then go.HON-2INF    do.HON

'Alright, in that case please (feel free to) go.' (Richhi 17)

(12.26) a) དེ་ དེ་ནི་ བོ་ཚོའི་ བཅའ་ཚུ་ལོ་ ད་རིང་རང་ ཕྱག་ཁྱི་ ཕུལ་གོ་ ཨིན་ག།

*tε t'enε p'otsø:*    *p<sup>h</sup>am=tsu=lo*    *t'ariŋ=rã:*    *tε<sup>h</sup>aqi*    *p<sup>h</sup>y:-gε,*

so then child.GEN    parent=PL=DAT    today=AEMPH letter.HON    offer-HORT

*ij-ga?*

EQU.PER-PQ

'So then let's today offer a letter to the children's parent, shan't we.' (Richhi 20)

b) དེ་ནི་ ཉེ་ ཚོད་ཀྱི་ ལྷ་རེ་ འདི་ འདི་ཉ་?

*t'enε tε tε<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki*    *ta:ri=di*    *di*    *ja?*

then so 2SG.L=GEN axe=DEMPH    this    EQU.PER.Q

'So then is this your axe?' (JDF axe story)

Occasionally, *t'enε* may precede the verb:

(12.27) ད་ ལོག་ལྷོ་ར་ དེ་ནི་ ལྷོ་གོ།

*t'a*    *lòkti=ra*    *t'enε ta-gε.*

now again=AEMPH then look-HORT

'Now in that case, let's look again.' (JDF axe story)

My written data has six instances of *t'enε*, all marking a change in speaker within a dialogue. In spoken data, 16 out of 18 clauses with *t'enε* imply a speaker change. The two exceptions are given in (12.28) and (12.29) respectively. In the narrative example (12.28) *t'enε* seems to occur within the narrator's own meta-speech, not within the narrative's characters' dialogue. I am not certain whether the iteration of linguistic form denotes iteration of action or the speaker's hesitation.

- (12.28) ཉེ་ལོག་ལྷི་ར་དེ་ནི་དེ་ནི་དེ་ནི་ལོག་ལྷི་ར་ལོག་ལྷི་ར་ཚུ་ནང་གི་འཇུག་བོ་ལོ།  
*te lòkti=ra, t'ene t'ene t'ene lòkti=ra lòkti=ra te<sup>hu</sup> nàŋɛa*  
 so again=AEMPH then then then again=AEMPH again=AEMPH water inside  
*dzy:-bo=lo.*  
 enter-2INF=REP  
 'Then again, then then then again again (he) entered the water (so the story goes).'

The other example, (12.29), is from a monologue, where *t'ene* introduces a new item in a lengthy list.

- (12.29) International level རང་གི་ག་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ ཉེ་ expose འཇུག་དགོས་ཤིང་ བོ་མིན་ག་? དེ་ནི་ scholar ལྷོ་ག་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་  
 welcome འཇུག་དགོས་ཤིང་ བོ?  
*inʦənæɛənəl lɛvl nàŋɛa k'atepti te ikspous p'ja*  
 international(Eng.) level(Eng.) inside how so expose(Eng.) do  
*go:-ɛɛ bo, iŋ-ga? t'ene skolər=tsu k'atepte*  
 be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q EQU.PER-PQ then scholar(Eng.)=PL how  
*wɛlkam p'ja go:-ɛɛ bo?*  
 welcome(Eng.) do be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q  
 '(We have to think) how to expose our language to the international level, isn't it? Then, how to welcome (international) scholars?' (DR discussion with KL)

The last monosyndetic connector is *ódi=lɛ=to* (that=ABL=CEMPH) 'rather', see (12.30) and (12.31).

- (12.30) མོ་འདི་ཉོ་གཏན་གཏན་བར་སྤོང་མི་ཚུགས། མོ་འདི་ལས་ཉོ་ཨ་རྒྱ་གི་ཁ་བྱང་ང་ལོ་གནང་ན།  
*óde:=to tentɛ: daʦø? mi-ts<sup>hu</sup>?. ódi=lɛ=to*  
 like.that=CEMPH certain communicate NEG-be.able.to that=ABL=CEMPH  
*ágja=gi k'ateã: ŋà=lo ná:.*  
 elder.brother=GEN address 1SG=DAT give.HON  
 'Communication like that is really not possible. Rather, give me the brother's (=your) address.' (Richhi 102)

- (12.31) ཚོང་ད་མཚོ་འདི་ཀལ་མི་ཚུགས་ཀྱོ། མོ་འདི་ལས་ཉོ་ངའི་རྒྱབ་ཁར་ཚོང་ཞོན་ལྷི་གི་ཤོག།  
*te<sup>h</sup>ø? t'a ts<sup>h</sup>o=di gɛ: mi-ts<sup>hu</sup>:-ʦo. ódi=lɛ=to jè:*  
 2SG.L now lake=DEMPH cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB that=ABL=CEMPH my  
*gjak<sup>h</sup>a te<sup>h</sup>ø? ɛøn-diki ɛó?*  
 in.back 2SG.L ride-NF come  
 'Now, you probably cannot (by yourself) cross the lake. Rather, you come and ride on my back.' (KT animal story)

### 12.3 Bisyndetic connectors

Bisyndetic constructions are formed by using the same conjunction twice, once at the beginning of the first clause and another time at the beginning of the second clause. Table 12.2 lists bisyndetic connectors.

Table 12.2. Bisyndetic clause connectors

= <i>jǎ:</i> ...= <i>jǎ:</i> = <i>jǎ:</i> NEG.VERB...= <i>jǎ:</i> NEG.VERB	ཡང་...ཡང་	‘both...and’ (lit. even...even) ‘neither...nor’
<i>jǎ:ne</i> ... <i>jǎ:ne</i> <sup>387</sup>	ཡང་ནི་...ཡང་ནི་	‘either...or’ (lit. or...or)

Preposing *jǎ:* ‘too’ to two clauses results in the meaning ‘both...and’, see (12.32).

- (12.32) ཡང་ ཁོ་རང་ ཟ་བོ་ སྤང་ ཡང་ མི་ལོ་ ཟ་བཅུག་གོ་ སྤང།  
*jǎ:* *kʰu=rǎ:* *sà-u* *bɛ?* *jǎ:* *mí=lo* *sà* *teuk-o*  
 both 3SGM=REFL eat-2INF EQU.NE and human=DAT eat cause-2INF  
*bɛ?*  
 EQU.NE  
 ‘He both ate himself and fed (other) people.’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 135)

When both connectors in =*jǎ:*...=*jǎ:* are followed by a negated verb, the meaning becomes ‘neither...nor’, see (12.33), where the speaker explains the meaning of the word ‘*dij*’ mediocre’:

- (12.33) རབ་ཡང་ མེད, མཐའ་མ་ཡང་ མེད།  
*rap=jǎ:* *mè?*, *tʰama=jǎ:* *mè?*  
 supreme=even NEG.EX.PER last=even NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘(It) is neither first-class nor last (in quality).’ (KN e)

Clause-initial use of *jǎ:ne* ‘or’ in adjoining clauses expresses two options in a way similar to English ‘either...or’, see (12.34).

- (12.34) ཡང་ནི་ ཡིག་ལན་ མན་ཟེ་བོ་ ཟུམ་ མོ་རང་ འདི་ཁར་ འོང་དོ་ ལྷན། ཡང་ནི་ མོས་ ང་ལོ་ མགོ་ སྐོར་དོ་ བཏང་བོ་ མན་གམ་?  
*jǎ:ne jik-len* *man-qi-u-p'ja* *mù=rǎ:* *dikʰa òn-do*  
 or letter-answer NEG-write-2INF-ADVZR 3SGF=REFL here come-IPFV  
*jám,* *jǎ:ne* *mú:* *ŋà=lo* *gokor=to* *tǎ:-bo*  
 EQU.PER.ATTQ or 3SGF.AGT 1SG=DAT deception=CEMPH send-2INF  
*mèŋ-gam?*  
 NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ  
 ‘I wonder whether she is coming here herself without answering (my) letter or whether she is perhaps not deceiving me.’ (Richhi 149)

## 12.4 Summary remarks

This chapter described clausal connectors and how finite clauses are connected through them. It was shown that some clausal connectors may facilitate coordination-like linking (particularly *t'izǎ:* ‘but, however’) whereas others are looser cohesion-adding connectors (e.g. *t'ene* ‘then, in that case’, which typically implies that the speaker has just changed). Denjongke was shown to have both monosyndetic and bisyndetic connectors.

<sup>387</sup> The monosyndetic form *jǎ:ne* ཡང་ནི་ ‘or’ is used in the coordination of noun phrases, see §4.1.7.

## 13 Constituent-modifying clauses

This chapter continues the discussion on clause combining by dealing with constituent-modifying clauses. As detailed in the introduction (§13.1), constituent-modifying clauses can be divided into relative clauses (§13.2), correlative clauses (§13.3), noun-modifying infinitive clauses (§13.4), noun complement clauses (§13.5) and postposition complement clauses (§13.6).

### 13.1 Introduction

Thompson et al (2007: 238) divide subordinate clauses into three categories: 1) complement clauses, which function like noun phrases, 2) relative clauses, which modify nouns, and 3) adverbial clauses, which modify the verb complex or the entire clause. The same division, with one modification, is followed in this thesis. Complement clauses and adverbial are discussed in §14 and §15 respectively, while Thompson et al's category "relative clauses" is extended into "constituent-modifying clauses", which covers relative clauses, noun complement clauses and postposition complement clauses. The reason for this modification is that these three types of clauses are morphologically identical in being genitive-marked nominalized clauses, see Table 13.1. (relative clauses formed with the nominalizer *-kʰɛ:*, however, are not genitive marked). The nominalizing suffixes in Table 13.1 are the infinitive markers *-ɛɛ(?)* and *-po/bo* and the nominalizers *-kʰɛ:* and *-sa*.

Table 13.1. Constituent-modifying clauses

Constituent-modifying clauses	Noun-modifying clauses	Relative clauses	<i>-kʰɛ:</i>	No genitive
			<i>-po/bo</i> + GEN	Genitive-marked
		<i>-sa</i> + GEN		
	Noun complement clauses	<i>-po/bo</i> + GEN		
		<i>-ɛɛ</i> + GEN		
		Postposition-modifying clauses/ postposition complement clauses	<i>-po/bo</i> + GEN	
<i>-ɛɛ</i> + GEN				

Relative clauses and complement clauses are distinguished by a syntactic criterion: in relative clauses, the modified noun functions as an argument (whether core or peripheral) in the modifying clause whereas in complement clauses it does not. The modifying clause types are introduced in examples (13.1-5). A fuller discussion follows. The RCs and complement clauses are given in brackets. The head noun phrase of the RCs, noun complement clauses and postposition complement clauses is underlined.

#### Relative clause

- (13.1) ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ དེབ་  
 [tʰamtɛɛ=ki jɔ̀: tsʰu-pø:] tʰɛp  
 all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF.GEN book  
 ‘book [that everybody can buy]’ (KN e)

#### Clausal complement clause

- (13.2) དེབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པོ་ འདི་ ལྷོས་གོ།  
 tʰɛp=di [tʰamtɛɛ=ki jɔ̀: tsʰu-po=di] pʼja-gɛ.  
 book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF =DEMPH do-HORT  
 ‘Let’s make the book [(such) that everybody can buy it].’ (KL BLA 12)



Noun complement clause

- (13.3) དབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ རི་ཆེ་  
 [t'ɛp=di tʰamtɛɛ=ki jɔː tsʰu-pøː] riteʰi  
 book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF.GEN hope  
 'hope [that everybody can buy the book].' (KN e)

Postposition complement clause with *-po* + genitive

- (13.4) དབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ རྫོན་ལོ་  
 [t'ɛp=di tʰamtɛɛ=ki jɔː tsʰu-pøː] t'ɔnlo  
 book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF.GEN for.the purpose.of  
 'For the purpose [that everybody can buy the book]' (KN e)

Postposition complement clause with *-εε* + genitive

- (13.5) དབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ རྫོན་ལོ་  
 [t'ɛp=di tʰamtɛɛ=ki jɔː tsʰuː-εε=ki] t'ɔnlo  
 book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-INF=GEN for.the purpose.of  
 'For the purpose [that everybody can buy the book]' (KN e)

In many languages, verb forms which modify nouns are termed participles. In Tibeto-Burman languages, however, participles and nominalizers tend to merge together, i.e. the same form may be used for both noun modification and argument nominalization (e.g. Chantyal nominalizer *-wa* in Noonan [1997: 375-377]). If the decision between an analysis as participle or nominalizer is made based on the primary function, which is the main criteria used by many typologists (Shagal 2016: 31-32), it may be argued that the markers *-po/bo* and *-sa* are nominalizers<sup>388</sup>, because their citation forms are used for nominalizing clausal arguments whereas their noun-modifying (more participial like) uses have to be further marked for genitive, i.e. the modifying uses are extensions of the uses as clausal arguments. The marker *-kʰɛː*, however, is not genitive marked when functioning as a noun-modifier, and therefore it is not as clear whether noun-modifying or argument nominalizing uses are primary.<sup>389</sup> However, the present productive use of *-kʰɛː* in derivatation favours an interpretation as a nominalizer, see §3.2.4.3 (similarly DeLancey 2002 on the cognate of *-kʰɛː* in Lhasa Tibetan). In summary, all the markers used in constituent modification are here analysed as nominalizers, although when used in nominal modification they may be functionally termed participles (forms with *-kʰɛː*) or participial constructions (genitivized forms with *-po*, *-sa* and *-εε?*).

Constituent-modifying clauses are now discussed in the same order they occur in Table 13.1.

### 13.2 Relative clauses

Relative clause (henceforth RC) in Denjongke is here defined as an embedded clause which modifies a noun phrase in the main clause and which shares a common argument with the main clause (the shared argument need not be in the same syntactic role in both clauses).<sup>390</sup> The modifying function distinguishes RCs from (clausal) complement clauses. A complement clause is similar to a RC in involving nominalization but it differs from an RC in that, instead

<sup>388</sup> The suffix *-po* is further categorized as infinitive marker because it creates a nominalized form that refers to action itself, whereas *-sa* creates a form which refers to a place where the action is done.

<sup>389</sup> Sandberg (1895: 38) describes “*kʰen*” as participle marker.

<sup>390</sup> See Andvik (2010: 238) for a similar definition of RC in Tshangla.

of modifying an argument in the main clause, the complement clause *is* one of the arguments of the main clause. As a sign of modifying function, the pre-head relativizing nominalizer *-po* is genitivized as *-pø:*, whereas clausal complement clause marking *-po* is not genitivized. The second feature in the definition of an RC, the requirement for a common argument between the RC and the main clause, on the other hand, excludes from the definition noun complement clauses (§13.5) and postposition complement clauses (§13.6).

Denjongke employs two basic strategies for forming RCs. One is the typically Tibeto-Burman strategy of appending a nominalized clause to a noun. The other option is the typically Indo-Aryan strategy of having an RC with a relative pronoun followed by the main clause with a presumptive demonstrative.<sup>391</sup> This latter use can be called a correlative (or co-relative) construction, because the two clauses can be argued to instantiate coordination rather than embedding (Dixon 2010b: 356). In Denjongke correlative clauses, interrogative pronouns are used in place of separate relative pronouns. As pointed out by Genetti (1992: 408), who found a similar (typically) Indo-Aryan relativizing strategy in Dolakha Newar, this latter strategy “is probably due to contact influence”. Nominalized relative clauses are the topic of this section, while correlative clauses are described in §13.3.

Nominalized RCs in Denjongke are mainly externally headed or headless but one example of internally-headed clauses was also found. Relativization is achieved mainly through the second infinitive *-po/bo* and the nominalizer *-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:*, and more rarely through the spatial nominalizer *-sa* and the quantitative nominalizer *-ts<sup>h</sup>e?* (“as much as is x-ed”). RCs usually precede the head noun but may occasionally also follow it. Pre-head RCs formed with *-po/bo* and *-sa* are marked as noun modifiers through genitivization. Post-head RCs are generally not genitivized and thus function syntactically as appositions. RCs with *-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:* are not genitivized even in pre-head position.

Table 13.2 summarizes the various forms that pre-head RCs take with *-po/bo*, *-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:* and *-sa*. The empty cells represent forms that do not occur in my data (but could, perhaps, be possible).

Table 13.2. Temporal and aspectual values in pre-head RCs

<b>-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:</b>	<b>-po</b>	<b>-sa</b>	<b>Temporal/aspectual function</b>
VERB- <i>k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:</i>	VERB- <i>pø:</i>	VERB- <i>sø:</i>	neutral (although unlikely future)
VERB <i>jò:-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:</i>	VERB <i>jò-pø:</i>		resultative (dynamic verbs), progressive (stative verbs)
	VERB-RDP- <i>pø:</i>		iterativity, habitualness (past or present)
	VERR(- <i>ti</i> ) <i>za: jò-pø:</i>		resultative
VERB- <i>zin p'ja-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:</i> . <sup>392</sup>	VERR- <i>zin-pø:</i>		progressive
	VERB- <i>zin jò-pø:</i>		progressive
	VERB- <i>zin dø: jò-pø:</i> (+time word)		progressive
	VERB-( <i>ti</i> ) <i>dø: jò-pø:</i> (+time word)		progressive
	VERB-INF <i>mè:-pø:</i>		future (‘which will not be x-ed’)

As seen in Table 13.2, *-k<sup>h</sup>ẽ:*, *-po* and *-sa* all may attach directly to the verb, forming a construction the temporal perspective of which is determined by the context. Temporal and aspectual values can be explicitly expressed by various constructions ending in the

<sup>391</sup> This is a subcase of Payne’s (1997: 437) “pronoun retention” strategy of forming RCs.

<sup>392</sup> This construction employs a combination of the progressive marker *-zin* and the verb *p'ja* ‘do’, see (13.12).

nominalized (genetivized) existential auxiliary *jò?*. The infinitivizer *-po/bo* occurs in the greatest number of constructions, e.g. progressive VERB-*zin* (*dø:*) *jò-pø:*, perfect VERB-RDP-*pø:*, and resultatives VERB *jò-pø:* (expressing, however, progressivity with stative verbs such as *dø?* ‘sit, stay’) and VERB *za:* *jò-pø:*.

The head word of an RC is usually a noun, but may also be a personal pronoun (13.6) or a demonstrative such as *ódi* (13.7-8) or *ódem=tei?* ‘one like that’ (13.9).<sup>393</sup> Note that the personal pronoun in (13.6) refers to second person plural. In Kham (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal), for instance, “the referent of the subject relative clause is always 3RD person” (Watters 2002: 201). In (13.7), the nominalized form *làp-k<sup>h</sup>é:* does double duty as a complementizer to the clause on its left and as a nominalized modifier to the head pronoun on its right.

- (13.6) གསན་མཁན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ བཟུ་ཤེས་བདེ་ལེགས་སེ།  
 [sɛŋ-k<sup>h</sup>é:]                    ʎɛŋɛ:=tsu=lo                    tɛsidele:=s.  
 listen.HON-NMLZ PRN.HON=PL=DAT greeting=QUO  
 ‘Greetings to you, [who listen] (I say).’ (KT animal story)
- (13.7) ལྷགས་ལོ་ འདི་ མང་ཚོད་ དང་ ང་ཅག་ ལྷོ་མོན་ལོ་ འདི་ ལྷང་ཚོད་ ལབ་མཁན་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ གནང་གནང་བོ་ མིན་འདུག་གོ་  
 ལགས།  
 [tɛ<sup>h</sup>uk=lo=di                    mánts<sup>h</sup>ø?                    dā:                    ŋàtɛa?                    ʎø-mě:=lo=di  
 Nepali=DAT=DEMPH                    more                    and                    1PL                    Lhopo-Lepcha=DAT=DEMPH  
 jùŋts<sup>h</sup>i? làp-k<sup>h</sup>é:]                    ódi                    tɛ<sup>h</sup>øɣɛ:=gi                    ná:-ná:-bo                    mɪnduk=ɛo=la.  
 less                    say-NMLZ                    that                    king=AGT                    do-RDP-2INF                    NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON  
 ‘The king did not do that (thing) [which is to say more (was to be given) to the Nepali and less to the Lhopos and Lepchas].’ (CY interview)
- (13.8) ཏྲ་ལས་ གོངས་མཁན་ཚུ་ ཨོ་འདི་ འདི་ཚུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ དང་ལུ་ རྗེས་ ན་ཉི་ གོང(ས)མ་སྤང།  
 [hale                    t’ò:-k<sup>h</sup>en=tsu]                    ó(d)i                    di=tsu                    t<sup>h</sup>amtɛe?                    t’anpu  
 before                    die.HON-NMLZ=PL                    that                    this=PL                    all                    long.ago  
 ɛé:m                    nà:-ti                    t’ò:-m                    be?  
 measles fall.ill-NF                    die.HON-2INF                    EQU.NE  
 ‘Those [who died earlier] all died long ago falling ill with measles.’ (PED life story)
- (13.9) ཉེན་ ཚང་མེད་ མ་ལེབ་རོ་ མ་ལེབ་ ལྷག་གོ་ གནང་ལྷི་ ལྷོང་མཁན་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ཡང་ ཡོད།  
 [jɪn                    tɛ<sup>h</sup>eme?                    màlep=ro                    màlep                    tɛuko                    ná:-di                    dø:-k<sup>h</sup>é:]  
 day                    ceaseless                    bad=AEMPH                    bad                    only                    do.HON-NF                    stay-NMLZ  
 ódem=tei=jā:                    jò?  
 like.that=INDF=too                    EX.PER  
 ‘There are also those of such kind [who live committing only bad (deeds) upon bad (deeds) every day].’ (SS Proverb explanation)

The following sections present a separate treatment for RC formed by *k<sup>h</sup>é:*, *-po/bo*, and *-sa* respectively.

### 13.2.1 Relativization by *-k<sup>h</sup>é:*

The nominalizer *-k<sup>h</sup>é:* can be used in both headed (§13.2.1.1 and §13.2.1.2) and headless relative clauses (§13.2.1.2). The nominalizer *-k<sup>h</sup>é:* is the most usual nominalizer when the

<sup>393</sup> The demonstrative adjective/adverbial *ódem* ‘like that, such’ is here nominalized with a strategy similar to English strategy for the expression ‘one like that’, i.e. employing the word for ‘one’, *tei?*, which also functions as an indefinite marker.

head noun is coreferential with the actor/agent in the RC. However, as shown below, *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* may also occur with patient and locative arguments. The construction with *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* is in itself neutral with respect to time-reference, which has to be deduced from the context.<sup>394</sup> The RC with the nominalizer *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* may occur either before the head noun of the RC (§13.2.1.1) or after it (§13.2.1.2). With the indefinite expression *ka:(=ki)=jã:* ‘whoever’, it may also form an internally headed RC (§13.2.1.3). The term pre-head RC used here means that the RC precedes the head noun. Thus “pre-head RC” corresponds in meaning to “post-headed RC” used by some authors.

### 13.2.1.1 Pre-head RCs

Typically the nominalizer *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* occurs before its head noun. The head noun of the RC may be an actor, a patient or a locative.

#### Head noun as RC actor

The head noun functioning as the actor of an RC formed with *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* may be either animate (13.10) or inanimate (13.11).

- (13.10) ཚོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་ལོ་དབྱར་ཡོད་མཁམ་གང་གའ་ར་འདི་གང་གའ་ར་གི་བོ་ཙཱ་ཞིན་བོ་སྤང།  
 [tɛ<sup>h</sup>θ:=ki ɲa=lo p̄jõ: jò:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:] kaŋkara=di kaŋkara=gi p'otso  
 2SG.L=GEN nose=DAT hang EX-NMLZ crab=DEMPH crab=GEN child  
 ím-bo bɛʔ.  
 EQU-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘The crab [that was hanging from your nose] was a baby crab.’ (rna-gsung 33)

- (13.11) ལྷ་ནང་གི་སྐྱུ་མ་མཁམ་འདི་སྐྱ་རེ་འདི་  
 [tɛ<sup>h</sup>u nàŋɕa lum-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn=di ta:ri=di  
 water inside fall-NMLZ=DEMPH axe=DEMPH  
 ‘the axe [that fell into the water]’ (JDF roof discussion)

Note that in (13.11) the demonstrative-emphatic =di occurs two times, both after the RC and after the head noun.

Example (13.12) illustrates a specific construction with the verb *p'ja* ‘do’, enabling explicit progressive marking:

- (13.12) ཏུ་བཞིན་བྱས་མཁམ་བོ་ཙཱ་འདི་ལོ་  
 [ɲù-zin p'ja-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:] p'otso=di=lo  
 weep-PROG do-NMLZ child=DEMPH=DAT  
 ‘to the child, [who was weeping]’ (RS pupil joke)

#### Head noun as RC patient

The head noun may also be a patient argument in the RC.

- (13.13) བུ་མ་ལུ་ལྷ་གྲ་མཁམ་ལྷ་  
 [p'umtɛ<sup>h</sup>u=na lú-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:] tɛ<sup>h</sup>u  
 Bumchu.festival=LOC pour-NMLZ water  
 ‘Water [that is poured at Bumchu-festival]’ (KLT Bhumchu video)

<sup>394</sup> Sandberg (1895: 38) refers to “*k<sup>h</sup>en*” as “the participle” and notes that “we find no difference in expression between the present and the past participle. The context must determine the time to the English speaker.”

Example (13.14) shows that a genitive modifier (here  $\epsilon\delta=i$ ) occurs closer to the head noun than the RC, which modifies the same head noun.

- (13.14) ཀར་ལོ་ རླུང་ཤང་ འུམ་མཁན་ རོའི་ རྩི་ལྗང་  
 [karma=lo ke:- $\epsilon\epsilon$  p'ja- $k^h\epsilon:$ ]  $\epsilon\delta=i$  gila  
 PN=DAT bring-INF do-NMLZ curd=GEN glass  
 'the glass of curd [that is (being) brought to Karma]' (Richhi 106)

A frequent context in which an RC with  $-k^h\epsilon:$  is used for a patient argument is with verbs of saying (*làp* 'say', *súŋ* 'say [hon.]', *sé* 'say, be called'), referring to what items are 'called':

- (13.15) རི་ཚེ་ ལབ་མཁན་ དེབ་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ རྩེ་ ཡོད་པོ?  
 [rite<sup>hi</sup> làp- $k^h\epsilon:$ ] t'ep [ɲŋge:=tsa: jè-po?  
 hope say-NMLZ book PRN.HON=at EX-2INF  
 'Do you have (the) book [(that is) called Richhi]?' (KN e)

### Head noun as RC locative

In (13.16), the head noun is a locative argument in the RC (board on which something is written). The RC, on the other hand, modifies the patient role in the main clause.

- (13.16) རོང་གིས་ ཡི་གེ་ རྩི་མཁན་ བང་ལེབ་ གཅིག་ གནང་ཐྱི་  
 k<sup>h</sup>oŋ=gi [jigi t'i- $k^h\epsilon:$ ] pã:lep=tcɪ? nã:-di...  
 3SG.HON=AGT letter write-NMLZ board=INDF request.HON-NF  
 'He requested for a board [on which to write letters] and...' (KT e)

### 13.2.1.2 Post-head RCs

RCs marked by  $-k^h\epsilon:$  may also occur after the head noun. In the three examples (13.17-19) below, the head nouns take an actor role in the RC. Based on these three examples, therefore, it may be hypothesized that post-head RCs with  $-k^h\epsilon:$  only allow the relativization of the highest ranking member of the relativization accessibility hierarchy, the subject (Keenan & Comrie 1972). Note that the adjectival modifiers in (13.17) and (13.18) occur closer to the head than the RC.

- (13.17) མོ་ ལམ་ རྩེ་རྩེ་ འགྲུ་མཁན་ ཡོད་ཤོ།  
 ó làm te<sup>h</sup>uŋteuŋ [gju- $k^h\epsilon:$ ] jò:= $\epsilon\sigma$ .  
 there road small go-NMLZ EX.PER=AT  
 'There's a small road [that goes there], you know.' (TB discussion with KT)

- (13.18) མི་གཞན་ འགོ་ལེས་ ཤེས་མཁན་ཅིག་ བར་མི་ བཟོས་ལྷོ་  
 mí zɛn [doli?  $\epsilon\epsilon:-k^h\epsilon:$ ]=tcɪ? p'a:mi zo-ti...  
 man another custom know-NMLZ=INDF mediator make-NF  
 'Another man [who knows the (wedding) customs] is made a mediator and....' (sbar-phung)

- (13.19) ཏེ་ ཨོན་འདི་ ཨོན་འདི་ རོག་ཀའི་ བར་མི་ འོང་མཁན་ འདི་ ལྷག་ལུལ་ ལས་ལན་ རྒྱབས་སྐྱི་གི་  
*te óna=di ódi [p<sup>h</sup>okø: p'a:mi òŋ-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃:=di]*  
 so there=DEMPH that groom.side.GEN mediator come-NMLZ=DEMPH  
*te<sup>h</sup>a:p<sup>h</sup>y: k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃:l̃ɛ: kjap-tiki...*  
 prostration incantation do-NF  
 ‘So there the one [who comes as the groom’s mediator] does prostrations and incantation and...’ (SGD wedding customs)

### 13.2.1.3 Headless RCs

The clause nominalized with *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃:* typically describes an animate, usually human, referent (‘the one who does x’). Because the animate referent is presumed, *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃:* naturally forms headless relative clauses which “themselves refer to the noun that they modify” (Payne 1997: 433). Typically the implied head noun is the actor in the RC (13.20-23), but other semantic roles are also possible, as shown by examples of patient (13.24-25) and oblique (13.26).

#### Implied head noun as RC actor

- (13.20) མཚམས་ལོ་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ གེས་བ་ སྤང་ ཨ་ཉོ་ལགས།  
*[ts<sup>h</sup>am=lo zu:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃:] kɛ:p be? áŋo=la:*  
 retreat=DAT sit.HON-NMLZ many EQU.NE grandmother=HON  
 ‘[Those who sit in (meditation) retreat] are many, grandmother.’ (PTB SM kitchen)
- (13.21) དེ་ཟང་ ན་ འབྲས་རྫོངས་ན་ འོང་མཁན་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཨོན་འདི་ རོག་ཀུ་ ཡོང་བ་སྤང་ལགས།  
*t'izã: [nà: dɛndzõ:=na òŋ-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃n=tsu=lo] ódi<sup>395</sup> ɛóku jèbbɛ=la.*  
 but here Sikkim=LOC come-NMLZ=PL=DAT that paper EX.NE=HON  
 ‘But [the ones who came here to Sikkim] had that paper.’ (CY interview)
- (13.22) ནད་པའི་ ལྷ་མཁུན་ལོ་ བཞུགས་མཁན་གྱིས་ ལེམ་ གནང་ཟྱི་ གཟེགས་ དགོས་ཀྱི།  
*[nɛ:pø kumɔ̃:=lo zu:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃ŋ=gi] lèm nã:-di zi:*  
 patient.GEN in.front.of=DAT stay.HON-NMLZ=AGT good do.HON-NF look  
*go: ná.*  
 be.needed TAG.ASR  
 ‘[The one who stays with the patient] needs to look after him well, eh.’  
 (rnam-rtog 28-29 )
- (13.23) མེད་བཅན་ དང་ ལྷག་ རོག་སྐྱི་ རྫོང་མཁན་ཚུའི་ འབས་ཕྱི་ ལུ་ན་ བན་ཡོན་ རོབ་ཤང་ ཨིན།  
*[mè:ptɛ̃: t'ã: du? p<sup>h</sup>ok-ti dø:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃n=tsu=i] ɛàptɛi ɛù-nɛ*  
 one.who.has.not and suffering fall-NF sit-NMLZ=PL=GEN service do.HON-  
 COND  
*p<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃:jǝ: t<sup>h</sup>op-ɛɛ ǐ:*  
 merit receive-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘If one does service [of the ones who are in need and have fallen into suffering], one gets merit.’ (Richhi 113)

<sup>395</sup> Note that the complement clause is here, similarly to correlative clauses (see §13.3), followed by a demonstrative. The difference of (13.21) to correlative clauses is that, unlike in correlative clauses, the modifying clause does not have a questions word which is coreferential with the demonstrative.

### Implied head noun as RC patient

(13.24) འཕྲབ་དཔོན་ ལབ་མཁན་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་པ་སྟེ།

[*tʰapɔn ləp-kʰɛː=teiʔ*] *jəbbɛʔ*.

performer say-NMLZ=INDF EX.NE

‘There’s [someone who is called [*tʰapɔː*]].’ (SGD wedding customs)

(13.25) ཇམ་ཚེ་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ བཀའ་ གནང་མཁན་ འདི་ ངས་ ཁས་ ལེན་ཤང་ ཞིན།

[*ádzo=laː=gi ka náː-kʰɛn=di*] *ŋáː kʰɛːlən-ɛɛ*

grandfather=HON=AGT word give.HON-NMLZ=DEMPH I.AGT accept-INF

*íː*.

EQU.PER

‘I accept [what the grandfather (=you) is saying].’ (Richhi 49)

### Implied head noun as RC oblique

(13.26) ཟླ་ལོ་ལས་ཀྱིས་ མངའ་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ བཤད་མཁན་ འདི་ ཟླ་ཀྱི་

[*tʰinle=ki dāː ləgjuʔ ɛɛ-kʰɛn=di*] *bɛ-kaʔ*

Thrinley=AGT yesterday story tell-NMLZ=DEMPH EQU.NE-PQ

‘Is (she) [the one about whom Thrinley told the story yesterday]?’ (Richhi 27)

The argument roles taken by the clauses with *-kʰɛː* in the main clauses above are equative copula subject (13.20), dative-locative-marked possessor in a possessive/locative sentence with existential copula (13.21), A(ctor) argument (13.22), genitive modifier of a P(atient) argument (13.23), the only argument of an existential copula (13.24), unmarked P(atient) argument (13.25), copula complement<sup>396</sup> (13.26). Complement marking *-kʰɛː* can occur in various cases, as shown by the dative-locative in (13.21), agentive in (13.22) and genitive in (13.23).

The nominalized forms of the verbs of saying *ləp-kʰɛː*, *súŋ-kʰɛː* and *sékʰɛː* express the meaning “the one which is called”. These forms derive from the productive verbs *ləp* ‘say’ and *súŋ* ‘say (hon.)’, whereas *sé* in my data is used only in the nominalized construction *sé-kʰɛː* and as the quotative =*s(ɛ)~s(i)*.

(13.27) ཇུག་ ལབ་མཁན་ རྣམ་ལོ་ མན་ཟ་ དགོས།

[*tʰuʔ ləp-kʰɛː*] *nəmlo man-za goʔ*.

poison say-NMLZ ever NEG-eat be.needed

‘One should never eat [(the thing) called poison].’ (KN e)

(13.28) མ་ལག་ ཟུན་ཁང་ན་ འབྲིག་ རྩོན་ གསུང་མཁན་ ན་ བུ་མིང་ ཟླ་ཤོ།

[*màlaʔ ménkʰāː=na kʰik tɛʼɔn súŋ-kʰɛː*] *nàː pʼusim*

quickly hospital=LOC lead go-HON say.HON-NMLZ here younger.sister

*bɛ=ɛo*.

EQU.NE=AT

‘[(The one) who told (us) “take (him) quickly to hospital”] is the sister here.’ (Richhi 12)

<sup>396</sup> The terms copula subject and copula complement are from Dixon (2010b). Copula subject is the first argument and complement the second argument of a copula.

(13.29) ང་ཅའི་གི་ ལ་ཚུང་ སེ་མཁམ་ འདི་ དཔེ་མི་སྲིད་གི་ ལེགས།  
 [ɲətɕi=gi lətɕʰuŋ sɛ-kʰɛn=di] pɛmisiki lɛm.  
 1PL.GEN=GEN Lachung say-NMLZ=DEMPH extraordinarily good excellent  
 ‘[Our (place) called Lachung] (is) extraordinarily good.’ (LA Lachung intro)

### 13.2.1.4 Internally-headed RCs

In an internally-headed RC, the head word occurs within the RC, not outside of it (Dryer 2013). Denjongke can use an internally headed RC-construction at least with the indefinite expression *ka:(=ki)=jã*: ‘whoever’ (see §8.1.5), as shown in (13.30).

(13.30) མི་ ཀ་གིས་ཡང་ རྩ་ འོང་མཁམ་ ཟུ་ལོ་ཡང་ བརྟུང་ ཉ།  
 [mɪ ka:=ki=jã: nà: òŋ-kʰɛ:] kʰu=lo=jã.<sup>397</sup> duŋ já.  
 human who=AGT=even here come-NMLZ 3SGM=DAT=even beat TAG.ASR  
 ‘[Whosoever person comes here] even beat him, eh.’ (KT animal story)

### 13.2.2 Relativization by *-po/bo*

The II infinitive marker *-po/bo* can form both pre-head and post-head RCs. Pre-head clauses are typically marked as noun modifiers by genitivization, although with reduplicated roots genitivization seems optional, see (13.32) and (13.35) below. Post-head clauses are generally not genitivized but their end is marked by the demonstrative-emphatic *=di* or the plural marker *=tsu*. Similarly to Lhasa Tibetan, *-po/bo* is generally used when the “head noun is coreferential with a non-actor NP in the RC” (DeLancey 1999: 234). The actor role is typically marked by the nominalizer *-kʰɛ:*, although it also occurs in other roles. The ensuing discussion addresses pre-head and post-head RCs marked with *-po/bo*.

#### 13.2.2.1 Pre-head RCs

The majority of RCs occur before the head noun. The examples here are categorized according to the semantic role that the head word takes in the RC.

##### Head noun as RC actor

Although RC actor role is typically marked with *-kʰɛ:*, the nominalizer *-po/bo* may also suffix to RC verbs where the modified noun is in the actor role. In (13.31), the head noun (*mɪ=tɕi?*) is coreferent with the actor of the intransitive verb ‘come’ in the RC. The RC modifies the copula complement of the main clause.

(13.31) དང་ཕུ་ ངའི་ མ་ཚོ་ བོ་ཚོ་ འུ་མཚན་ལས་ ང་ buddhist ཡང་ནེ་ རྩང་བའི་ ཚོས་ཀྱི་ རྩང་ག་ལོ་ འོང་བའི་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཞིན།  
 t'ã:pu jɛ: ádzo podzo t'ytsʰø:=lɛ ŋà [budis jã:ne  
 long.ago my grandfather forefather time=ABL 1SG Buddhist(Eng.) or  
 nã:pø: tɕʰø:=ki nàŋɕa=lo òm-bø:] mɪ=tɕi? i:  
 insider.GEN teaching=GEN inside=DAT come-2INF.GEN human=INDF EQU.PER  
 ‘From bygone times of my grandfathers and forefathers, I am a man [who came within the Buddhist (or: insiders’) religion].’ (KT life story)

In (13.32), the head noun functions again as the actor of the RC. Note that the reduplicated verb stem is not genitivized.

<sup>397</sup> The use of *=jã:* may be a mistake, because there is nothing in the context suggesting that there is an additional object for beating (which would be the natural reading of *=jã:* here).



- (13.32) ཏེ་ང་ཅའི་ཡུལ་ལོ་སྤོང་སྤོང་པོ་བོད་པོ་འདི་ཚོ་  
*te* [ɲàtɕi y̐:=lo dø:-dø:-pɔ] p'ɔbo di=tso<sup>398</sup>...  
 then 1PL.GEN place=DAT stay-RDP-2INF Tibetan DEMPH=PL  
 'Then the Tibetans [who live in our place]...' (LA Intro to Lachung)

Example (13.33) presents another example of an actor argument marked with *-po/bo* in an intransitive clause. The example is a proverb and may thus embody a form (perhaps influenced by Classical Tibetan), which is not preferred in current spoken language.

- (13.33) ཟ་མ་སྤྱོད་པའི་མི་ཟ་, རྟེན་གཅིག་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཟམ་འགྲུ་མ་སྤྱོད་པའི་མི་འགྲུ་, ཐེམ་པ་ལ་བསམ།  
 [sà ma-mjɔ:-pɔ:] mí sà,  
 eat NEG-experience-2INF.GEN human eat  
 ɲeu=tɕi? p<sup>h</sup>oka sàm,  
 snot=INDF taste food  
 [gju ma-mjɔ:-pɔ:] mí gju,  
 go NEG-experience-2INF.GEN human go  
 t<sup>h</sup>empa là: sám  
 threshold pass think  
 'A man [who is not acquainted with eating] eats and finds the taste of snot (like) food. A man [who is not acquainted with walking] walks and thinks a threshold is a mountain pass.' (UT proverb)

**Head noun as RC patient**

In the following two examples, the head noun functions as the P(atient) argument of the RC. Note that the reduplicated stem in (13.35) is not genitivized.

- (13.34) གེས་པོ་བཤད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤང་དྲ་མིན་ག་ལགས།  
 [ke:p é:-pɔ:] lògju bɛ? t'a iŋ-ga=la.  
 a.lot tell-2INF.GEN story EQU.NE now EQU.PER-PQ=HON  
 'Now (it) is a story [that is much told], isn't it.' (PT kitchen)

- (13.35) ཚོ་འདི་བོ་ཚ་ཚུ་ཐོབ་ཐོབ་པོ་ medal ཚུ་སྤང།  
 ódi [p'otsa=tsu t<sup>h</sup>op-t<sup>h</sup>op-o] medal=tsu bɛ?  
 that child=PL receive-RDP-2INF medal=PL EQU.NE  
 'Those are medals [that the children have received].' (PD altar room video)

**Head noun as RC locative argument**

In the three examples below, the head noun is semantically the locative argument of the RC, expressing where the action denoted by the nominalized verb took or takes place. In (13.36) and (13.37) the RC functions as the copula complement in a copular clause where both the copula subject and copula itself are elided. In (13.38), the RC modifies a noun which functions as a complement of a locative postposition.

- (13.36) མཚོམས་བརྒྱགས་བརྒྱགས་པའི་གནས་ཅང་ཅང་།  
 [tsham zu:-zu-pɔ:] né: tsã:tsã:  
 meditation sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN site purely  
 '(it's) a site [that is purely for sitting in meditation]' (SM kitchen)

<sup>398</sup> The plural form =tso in the northern village of Lachung resembles the Central Tibetan plural form =ts<sup>h</sup>o.

(13.37) གུ་རུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ དང་ལུ་ མཚོ་མས་ བཞུགས་བཞུགས་པའི་ གནས་  
 [guru rimpute<sup>hε</sup> t'ā:pu ts<sup>h</sup>am zu:-zu-pθ:] nÉ:  
 guru Rimpoche long.ago meditation sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN site  
 '(it's) a site [where Guru Rimpoche used to meditate long ago]' (SGD cave story)

(13.38) འདིའི་ ལག་ཀོ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སོ་རྩམ་ འོག་ལས་ མོ་ན་ ལུལ་ རྟོག་ལྷི་གེ་ རྩོད་ བཏོན།  
 di: [lāko jò-pθ:] p'otεum ò:lε óna εý: hok-tiki t'õ:  
 this.GEN hand EX-2INF.GEN lower.stomach below there a.bit scratch-NF hole  
 tθn.  
 tear  
 'Scratching a bit, tear a hole below this lower stomach, [where the foot is].' (spoken  
 by a marten from within a dead elephant's body to a tiger outside) (KT animal story)

**Head noun as copula subject of an existential RC**

In (13.39), the head noun is the copula subject of the existential RC, and the RC modifies the copula subject of the existential main clause (in which the existential is elided).

(13.39) མངའ་ ལ་རྩལ་ ལུལ་ གཅིག་ཁར་ ཡོད་པའི་ མི་ འདི་ ད་རིང་ ལུལ་ གཞན་ལོ།  
 [dā: k<sup>h</sup>a:nup ý: tɛi-k<sup>h</sup>a jò-pθ:] mi=di  
 yesterday the.day.before.yesterday place one-at EX-2INF.GEN human=DEMPH  
 t'ariŋ ý: zεn=lo  
 today place another=DAT  
 'The man [that was in one place the other day] (is) in another place today.' (Richhi 136)

**13.2.2.2 Post-head RCs**

RCs that occur after the head noun are less frequent in my data than those preceding the head. Unlike pre-head RCs, post-head RCs with -po/bo do not require genitive marking. Instead, they are typically marked by a final demonstrative-emphatic =di, see (13.42). Case marking of the noun phrase occurs after the post-head RC, see (13.40) and (13.41). Note that the reduplicated verb *kjap-kjap-θ* in (13.41) occurs in the genitive not to mark relativization but to make the form amenable to agentive marking.

(13.40) དཔེ་ན་ ཉིན་དུའི་ བྱམ་ གཞེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་སོ་ལོ་ ”མང་སྐལ་ ལུ་ཏུ་” བཏགས་ཤང་ ཡོད་ནེ་  
 pε=na hindu=i p'um [nén kjap-kjap-θ]=lo  
 example=LOC Hindu=GEN girl wedding do-RDP-2INF =DAT  
 mangalsutra ta:-εε? jò:-nε  
 mangalsutra.necklace(Nep.) append-INF EX-COND  
 'For instance, if there is (the tradition of) tying the mangalsutra-necklace on a Hindu girl [who has been married]...' (sbar-phung ling-dam 'gro-lis 88)

(13.41) མོ་ན་ དང་ལུ་ ཏ་ལས་ ལ་ཚང་ ས་གཡོས་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པའི་གེས་ ཇམ་ཏེམ་ཅིག་ ཚ་བ་ ཏུམ་ འདུག་གེ།  
 óna t'ā:pu hale k<sup>h</sup>atsā: sáiy? [kjap-kjap-θ]=gi  
 there long.ago before some.time.ago earthquake strike-RDP-2INF.GEN=AGT  
 átem=tɛi? tsawa řam du-kε.  
 a.bit=INDF foundation destroy EX.SEN-IN  
 'There before some time ago an earthquake, [which struck], destroyed the foundation a bit (I saw).' (DB day trip)

Post-head RCs seem more appositive in nature than pre-head RCs and can convey meanings similar to English unrestricted RCs. In (13.42), the post-head relative clause presents information that the speaker already knows. There are no other camels to be contrasted with than the ones mentioned in the RC. Therefore, the post-head RC here is more descriptive of the content of the head noun than it is restrictive of its reference, hence the English translation with a comma. The head noun is the patient argument in the main clause. The RC occurs after the demonstrative modifier *ódi*.

- (13.42) ཇ་མོང་ མོ་འདི་ གྲང་ལ་ (རྒྱབས་) མ་རྒྱལས་པོ་ འདི་ བྱི་རུང་གི་ རྐང་མ་ རྩེང་ལར་ རྐྱང་མི་ འདི་ ད་གྲིགས་སྟེ་  
*ṅámu ódi [k'jan̥kʰa (kjap) ma-tsʰu-po=di] p'itsun=gi*  
 camel that counting (do) NEG-be.able.to-2INF =DEMPH bird=GEN  
*ka:m tɛŋkʰa kimi=di ki:-ti*  
 foot on thread=DEMPH tie-NF  
 'those camels, [which could not be counted], being tied by a thread to the bird's feet...' (PAD bet story)

Example (13.43) presents another post-head RC that is more descriptive/appositive than restrictive:

- (13.43) འདིས་ བྱས་ཟང་ དེའི་ ལོག་ཀའི་ རང་གི་ ལཱ་མ་ཚུ་ ཉིན་ལྷག་ དང་ ཟླ་པོ་ གེས་པོ་ ཟང་ བསགས་སྟེ་ བཞག་ཡོད་པོ་ འདི་ ད་རིང་ ཡི་  
 གེ་ འདིའི་ན་ བཤད་རྟོ་ མིན།  
*di: p'ja=sã: jè: kʰokø: nàŋ=gi tam=tsu [jɿ:za?*  
 this.AGT do=TERM 1SG.GEN innards.GEN inside=GEN word=PL day.and.night  
*t'ä: dau ke:po=sã: sák-ti za: jò-po=di] t'ariŋ*  
 and month many=until accumulate-NF set EX-2INF=DEMPH today  
*jìgi di:=na éé-to í:.*  
 letter this.GEN=LOC tell-IPFV EQU.PER  
 'Therefore I'm telling (you) today (my) inmost words, [which have been stored accumulating day and night for many months].' (Richhi 143)

Example (13.44) illustrates a complex post-head RC with two clauses:

- (13.44) ལུ་ རྐྱལ་སྟེ་གི་ རྩེང་རྩེང་གོ་  
*teʰu [kø:-tiki ɽɛŋ-rɛŋ-ko]<sup>399</sup>*  
 water boil-NF make.cool-RDP-2INF  
 'water [that is boiled and made cool]' (TB e)

In (13.45), the post-head RC occurs in the genitive because the RC is part of a pre-head adjectival modifier of the noun *t'ubdɛ:*

- (13.45) ལྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ རྫོག་པར་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པའི་ ལུབ་འབྲས་ ལ་རྩེམ་ ཡོད་ཀམ་  
*bhaila=gi ló?par [kjap-kjap-ø:] t'ubdɛ: k'atɛm jò:-kam?*  
 PN=GEN X-ray do-RDP-2INF.GEN result how EX.PER-ATTQ  
 'What is the result of the X-ray [that was made] of Bhaila (I wonder)?' (Richhi 29)

<sup>399</sup> Consultant KUN commented that in his language variety *ɽɛŋ-rɛŋ-ko* would require the patient argument *t'ø?* 'heat', which expresses what is being cooled, [*kø:-tiki t'ø? ɽɛŋ-rɛŋ-ko*].

One motivation for placing the nominalized (and reduplicated) verb after the noun in (13.45) probably is that if the nominalized verb would be placed before the noun (*bhaila=ki kjap-kjap-ø: ló?par*), Bhaila would easily be interpreted as the actor who takes the X-ray, with the genitive =*ki* taken, when the text is read aloud, as the homophonous agentive marker.

Lastly, (13.46) illustrates a post-head RC without a final =*di*, ending in the construction *t'ā: qau* '(be) similar, resemble'. Note that another, pre-head locative RC, modifying the noun *né:* 'site', is embedded within the RC which modifies *p'jadqo* 'feather'.

- (13.46) ཀམ་མེད་ སེམས་ རྩམ་སྒྲོ་ ལྷུང་གིས་ འབག་གོ་ འདེམ་ ཚགས་སའི་ གནས་ མེད་པོ་ ངང་ འབྲ་བོ།  
*karmø: sém p'jadqo* [*lúnj=gi bak-o dem [te<sup>h</sup>a:-sø:] né:*  
 PN.GEN mind feather air=AGT carry-2INF like alight-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN site  
*mè:-po]* *t'ā: qau.*  
 NEG.EX-2INF and similar  
 'Karma's mind resembles a feather [which, like carried by the wind, is without place [in which to alight.]]' (Richhi 172)

Summarizing the examples above, RCs formed with *-po/bo* may occur preceding their head noun or following the head noun. Moreover, the RC head noun (or common argument) may occur at least in the following roles in the RC: actor, patient, locative, copula subject of an existential clause. In the main clause, the head noun may occur at least in the following roles: actor, patient, copula complement in equative clause, complement of a locative postposition and copula subject of an existential clause. RCs nominalized with *-po/bo* can express various temporal and aspectual distinctions listed in Table 13.2 above.

### 13.2.3 Spatial nominalizer *-sa*

The construction VERB-*sa* can roughly be translated as 'a place where x is or can be done', x representing the verb to which the nominalizer *-sa* is attached. In my data, constructions nominalized with *-sa* occur in pre-head and headless clauses.

#### 13.2.3.1 Pre-head RCs

All the headed constructions occur preceding the headword and are genitivized. Based on my current corpus, RCs with *-sa* are more frequent in writing than in speech. A rare example of a headed RC with *-sa* from spoken data is (13.47). In spoken language, nominalizations with *-po/bo* and *-k<sup>h</sup>é:*, which can both be used when the head noun has a locative function in the RC, are used in place of written constructions with *-sa*.

- (13.47) ལུ་ འོང་སའི་ ལམ་ཁ་ཅེག་ཀ་ མི་ ཉམ་རྒྱུང་ གཅིག་ མཉམ་པུ་ འབྲུང་བོ་ ལྷུང་ལགས།  
 [*k<sup>h</sup>u ò:-sø:*] *lám-k<sup>h</sup>a-tsika mí... jàmtc<sup>h</sup>uŋ=tei? jàmpu*  
 3SGM come-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN road-at-about human humble=INDF with  
*p<sup>h</sup>ε-po bε=la.*  
 meet-2INF EQU.NE=HON  
 'On the road [that he came], he met a poor a man.' (PAD bet story)

The personal pronoun *k<sup>h</sup>u* in (13.47) could be taken either as belonging to the RC (as suggested by the square brackets) or to the main clause, in which case the relative clause would consist of merely the nominalized verb.

Most of the following examples in this section illustrate uses of *-sa* found in written sources. The head noun is always in locative function in the RC. The examples are headlined based on the role of the head noun in the main clause (MC).

### Head noun as MC patient

In (13.48), the head noun *zo:m* ‘tub’ functions as the patient of the main clause verb *tøn* ‘show’.

- (13.48) ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ ལུ་སའི་ གཞོང་བོ་ ལྷོན་བཞིན།  
*[tsʰo:dzeʔ pʰy:-sø:] zo:m tøn-zɛ:*  
 feast.substances offer-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN tub show-PROG  
 ‘showing the tub [where feast substances can be offered]’ (Richhi 1)

- (13.49) མི་ཚུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རང་རང་ སོ་སོའི་ རྫོད་སའི་ ས་གནས་ འཚོལ་ལྷེ་ རྫོད་ ཡོད།  
*mí=tsu tʰamtɛʔ rã:rã:so:sø: [dø:-sø:] sáneʔ tsʰø:-ti*  
 human=PL all each.oneself.GEN sit-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN place seek-NF  
*dø: jøʔ.*  
 sit EX.PER  
 ‘All people are sitting, each having sought their own place [where to sit].’ (Richhi 75)

### Head noun as MC locative adverbial

In the following two examples, the head noun functions as a locative argument in the main clause. The locative expression *gã:toʔ méŋkʰã:=na* ‘in Gangtok hospital’ in (13.50) can be seen either as part of the RC or the main clause (the brackets follow the latter interpretation).

- (13.50) སྐང་རྟོག་ ལྷན་ཁང་ན་ འཇུག་ རྒྱུ་མིག་ན་  
*gã:toʔ méŋkʰã:=na [pʰum=ø: nè:po zak-sø:] kʰimmik=na...*  
 TPN hospital=LOC girl=GEN patient set-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN room=LOC  
 ‘In Gangtok hospital, in the room [where female patient are placed]...’ (Richhi 166)

- (13.51) མོ་ རྒྱུགས་བཞིན་ ཏུ་སྐད་ འོང་སའི་ རྫོགས་ལོ་ སློབས་སྐབས།  
*mù gjuk-zɛ: [ŋü-keʔ ð̣:-sø:] tɛʰo:=lo lɛp-kap*  
 3SGF run-PROG cry-sound come-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN direction=DAT arrive-SIM  
 ‘When she arrives running to the direction [from which the sound of crying comes]...’ (Richhi 2)

For some reason, in (13.52), the RC is not genitivized. The form *lâpsa* also occurs as a headless RC, see §13.2.3.2

- (13.52) ཆེ་ཆེ་བོ་ ལའ་ས་ ལྷོལ་ རྒྱང་ག་ རྫོང་ལོ།  
*[tɛʰɛtɛʰɛbo lâp-sa] ỵ: nàŋɛa bɛ:=lo.*  
 TPN say-NMLZ place inside EQU.NE=REP  
 ‘It’s in a place [(that is) called Chechebo], it was said.’ (PD Tashiding story)

### Head noun as a genitive attribute in MC

In (13.53), the RC head word *zimtsuŋ* ‘bedroom’ is a genitival modifier of another noun, *gom* ‘door’.

- (13.53) ཁོས་ ག་ལུས་ འུས་ལྷོ་ ཁོ་རང་ ཉལ་སའི་ གཟེམ་སུང་གི་ རྫོམ་ ལྷོས་ལྷོ་  
*kʰú:* *k'aly?* *p'ja-ti* [*kʰu=rã:* *ɲɛː-sø:*] *zimtcuŋ=gi* *gom*  
 he.AGT slowly do-NF 3SGM=REFL sleep-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN bedroom=GEN door  
*pʰiː-ti*  
 open-NF  
 ‘Slowly he opens the door of the bedroom [where he himself had been sleeping (or sleeps)] and...’ (Richhi 22)

In (13.54), the head noun *ɛá:lo?* ‘bamboo wall’ is a genitivized modifier of the postposition *teŋlo* ‘on’.

- (13.54) ཀར་ཀེས་ རྫོས་གར་ འབྲབ་སའི་ ཤག་ལོག་གི་ རྟེང་ལོ་ལྷོ་བྱེ་ལྷོ་  
*karma=gi* [*dø:gar tʰap-sø:*] *ɛá:lo=ki* *teŋ=lo...* *tʰi-ti*  
 PN=AGT play act-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN bamboo.wall=GEN top=DAT write-NF  
 ‘Karma writes... on the wall [of the place where the play is going to be acted] and...’  
 (Richhi 71)

### Head noun as the only argument of an existential in the MC

The head noun of an RC formed with *-sa* may function as the only argument in an existential clause (although the existential copula is elided in the below example).

- (13.55) རྫོ་ཁའི་ ཟུར་ ཅིག་ལོ་ ཉ་ གསོ་སའི་ མཚོ་འཁོར།  
*gokʰø:* *sù:* *teiː=lo* [*ɲà só-sø:*] *tsʰokor*  
 doorway.GEN side one=DAT fish keep.alive-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN pond  
 ‘on one side of the doorway, (there is) a pond [where fish are kept]’ (Richhi 32)

I have no examples of post-head RCs with *-sa*.

### 13.2.3.2 Headless RCs

Because of its nominal origin (*sá* ‘ground’) the nominalizer *-sa* can be used as a headless relative clause, which itself refers to the noun it modifies (definition from Payne 1997: 328). Therefore, when *-sa* is used in a headless RC, the English translations below express the implied head noun by the word *place*. Many headless uses of *-sa* may be considered already lexicalized or close to being lexicalized. The forms which should likely be considered lexicalized because of their frequency include words such as *zak-sa* ‘place to put something, storage’, *dø-sa* ‘place to stay, dwelling’, *zuː-sa* ‘place to stay, dwelling (hon.)’, *dzim-sa* ‘place to sleep, bedroom (hon.)’, *ki-sa* ‘place of birth’. For examples of headless RC with *-sa*, consider (13.56-58).

- (13.56) ལུས་ཅིག་ འུས་ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་བྱེ་ ཀ་ རོབ་ས་ འགྲུ་ཤད་ མི་ལོགས།  
*pʰum=tei?* *p'ja-ti* *pʰiru?* [*ka tʰop-sa*] *gju-ɛɛ?* *mi-lɛ?*  
 girl=INDF do-NF at.night who find-NMLZ.SPAT go-INF NEG-be.good  
 ‘Being a girl, it is not good to go at night [to the place of anyone one finds].’ (Richhi 119)

(13.57) ཐག་རིང་ མི་འགྲུལ་ བྱི་འགྲུལ་ མེད་ས་ རྫོང་ན་  
*tʰa:riŋ [mí-dy: kʰi-dy: mɛ̀:-sa] dø:-ne*  
 far.away human-travel dog-travel EX-NMLZ.SPAT live-COND  
 ‘If one lives far away [in a place where there is no roaming of either people or dogs]...’ (nga’i ’gan 5)

(13.58) ང་ འོག་ ལའ་ས་ལོ་ འོང་ལྷི་  
*ŋà [òʔ làp-sa]=lo òn-di*  
 1SG TPN say-NMLZ=DAT come-NF  
 ‘I came to [the place (that is) called Wok] and...’ (KT life story)

### 13.2.4 Quantifying nominalizer *-tsʰɛʔ*

The quantifying nominalizer *-tsʰɛʔ*, which derives from WT ཚད་ *tshad* ‘limit, degree’ is rather rare in my data. It attaches directly to a verb root and forms a post-head RC with the meaning ‘as much as is x-ed’ or ‘the (full) extent of x-ing’. The RC is postposed to a noun which it modifies. Note that in the English translations the RC is in the pre-head position, as in (13.59), or scattered on both sides of the head noun, as in (13.60) and (13.61).

(13.59) མོ་འདི་ནེ་ ལྷེ་མ་ བྱས་ལྷི་ ཞིབ་དཔྱད་ མ་བྱས་བར་ ལྷོན་ ཡོད་ཚད་ ལྷོལ་མ་གེ་རང་ ཨིན་སེ་ ལའ་མཁམ་ ལྷད།  
*ódi=ne lɛ̀m p’ja-ti zip-tɛɛʔ man-bja-wa kʰɔ̀n [jò:-tsʰɛʔ]*  
 that=TOP good do-NF research NEG-do-CIRC blame EX-limit  
*dʰɔ̀lma=ki=rã: t̃:=se làp-kʰɛ̀n bɛʔ.*  
 PN=GEN=AEMPH EQU.PER=QUO say-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Without investigating that well, (they) say that [as much as there is] fault (it) is Drolma’s.’ (nga’i ’gan 11)

The RC formed with *-tsʰɛʔ* may be followed by additional quantifying modifiers, the most typical of which, based on examples (13.60) and (13.61), is *k’ã:pu tʰamtɛɛʔ* ‘totally all’.

(13.60) ཇ་ འཇུང་ཚད་ གང་སྤ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ལེགས་ མི་ཚོན།  
*tɛ̀’a [tʰuŋ-tsʰɛʔ] k’ã:pu tʰamtɛɛʔ lɛ̀m mi-tʰɔ̀n.*  
 tea drink-limit full all good NEG-become  
 ‘[The full extent of] all tea(s) [to be drunk] do not turn out good.’ (KN e)

(13.61) གཡོག་ བྱས་ཚད་ གང་སྤ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ལེགས་ ག་ ཚོན་གད་?  
*jóʔ [p’ja-tsʰɛʔ] k’ã:pu tʰamtɛɛʔ lɛ̀m k’a: tʰɔ̀n-ɛɛʔ?*  
 work do-limit full all good how become-INF  
 ‘How could [the full extent of] all the work [(one) does] turn out good.’ (KUN e)

## 13.3 Correlative clauses

Correlative clauses consist of two clauses with a common argument marked in the first clause by a question word and in the second clause by a coreferential resumptive demonstrative. The interrogative pronoun occurs in a truly question-like construction, but the presence of the resumptive demonstrative in the following clause distinguishes correlative clauses from indirect question clauses. The term correlative (or co-relative) refers to the clauses being “essentially coordinated, rather than one being embedded within the other” (Dixon 2010b: 356). The first clause in each of the examples (13.62-65) could occur as an independent

question. The question word in the following examples is given in bold and the presumptive pronoun is underlined.

(13.62) ད་ རྗེན་མ་ གར་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ར་ བཞག་ དགོས།

[*t'a jéma k'ar jò-po*] [*óðɛ=ra zak go?*]  
 now earlier what EX-2INF like.that=AEMPH set be.needed  
 'Whatever was before, has to be preserved like that.' (CY interview)

(13.63) ག་ཚོང་ བཟོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ མ་ལང་མཁམ་ སྤང།

[*k'adzø? zo*] [*óðɛ: ma-lõ:-kʰɛn bɛ?*]  
 how.may make like.that NEG-be.enough-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'However many are made, that' s not enough.' (DR discussion with KL)

(13.64) དེ་ནི་ བོ་ཙོ་འི་ བམ་ཚུ་ ག་ཀ་ལོ་ གཤན་ ལུ་ དགོས་པོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ཚུ་འི་ མཚན་ཐོ་ ཅིག་ བཟོ་ལོ།

[*t'ene p'otsø: pʰam=tsu ka-ka=lo denɛu go:-po*]  
 then child.GEN parent=PL who-RDP=DAT invite be.needed-2INF  
*ódi=tsu=i tsʰɛn-tʰo=tei? zo lo.*  
 that=PL=GEN name.HON-list=INDF make TAG.Q  
 'Then make a name-list of all those parents of the children who need to be invited, okay.' (Richhi 42)

(13.65) ཨོ་འདི་ སྐང་ གན་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདི་ ད་ དིང་སང་ མིན་འདུག།

[*ódi gã: k'an jò-po[=di]* *t'a t'ijzã: mindu?*]  
 that time what EX-2INF=DEMPH now nowadays NEG.EX.SEN  
 'What was (there) at that time, is not (there) nowadays.' (CY interview)

As suggested by the brackets, the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* in (13.65) behaves somewhat differently from the other demonstratives in that it belongs phonologically to the first clause but syntactically to the latter clause, where it functions as the resumptive demonstrative. If =*di* is dropped, (13.65) becomes formally an interrogative clause that functions as a clausal complement. Those clauses where the resumptive demonstrative is co-referential with the whole first clause and not just the question word are analyzed as complement clauses, see §14.2.3.

### 13.4 Noun complement clauses

Noun complement clauses are a special case of complementation. The clause complementing a noun is typically nominalized and genitivized. Typically nominalization is accomplished by the infinitive marker *-po/bo* (§13.4.1), although the infinitive marker *-ɛɛ?* is also used (§13.4.2.). However, the noun complement clause may also be a finite clause which is followed by a nominalized verb of saying, which functions as a complementizer (§13.4.3). Only rarely is a noun complement clause formed by attaching the genitive clitic directly to the finite clause (§13.4.4).

#### 13.4.1 Nominalization with *-po/bo*

The nominalized and genitivized complement clauses resemble in form relative clauses. The only difference to relative clauses, however, is that the noun to which a complement is appended is not an argument within the complement clause. The head noun of a relative clause, on the other hand, is an argument within the relative clause. For instance, the



complementized noun *lʰim* ‘law’ in (13.66) is not an argument in the complement clause *láteʰa=jǎ: pʰinɕeʔ mè:-pø:* ‘(that) even wages are not given’. Rather, the complement clause explains what the law is about. The complemented noun is underlined and the complement clause is given in square brackets.

- (13.66) ལྷ་ཆ་ཡང་ བྱིན་ཤད་ མེད་པའི་ བྲིམས་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ བཟོ་སྟོག་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ སྲིད་སྲུག་ སྲུག་ བཏང་བོ་ ཨོན།  
 [láteʰa=jǎ: pʰinɕeʔ mè:-pø:] lʰim ódem=teiʔ zo-tiki ódem kiduʔ  
 wages=too give-INF EX-2INF.GEN law such=INDF make-NF such suffering  
 du: tǎ:-bo i:  
 misery send-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘(They) even made such a rule [that even wages are not to be given] and (thus) caused such pain and suffering.’ (KN, CY interview)

- (13.67) ལུ་ ཐོན་བའི་ ལྷས་ འཇོག་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྟེན།  
 kʰu [lʰom-bø:] teʰyʔ pʰja-zin jø-po beʔ.  
 3SGM exit-2INF.GEN means do-PROG EX-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘He was searching a way [of getting out].’ (KT animal story)

- (13.68) ལ་ལ་ལོ་ མག་གོ་ ལོ་ གསུམ་ རྒྱབས་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྟེན།  
 lala=lo [máko lò súm kjap-ø:] lògiuʔ jø-po beʔ.  
 some=DAT son-in-law year three do-2INF.GEN story EX-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Some have a story [that the son-in-law does three years (of work service with in-laws)].’ (SGD wedding customs)

- (13.69) ང་ འདིའི་ རྩམ་ལས་ ཉི་རུག་ གང་དོ་ཅིག་ ང་ ལེན་བའི་ ཐབས་ འཇོག་ ཨོན་སེ།  
 ηà [di: tsa=le tiruʔ kʰã:dotɕiʔ ηà ləm-bø:] lʰap pʰja-ɕɛ  
 1SG this.GEN at=ABL rupee some 1SG take-2INF.GEN means do-INF  
 i: =s.  
 EQU.PER=QUO  
 ‘I’ll find a means [to take from this one a few rupees], he said.’ (PAD bet story)

- (13.70) ཨོ་འདེམ་ བྱིན་བའི་ ལྷག་གསོལ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྟེན།  
 [ódem pʰim-bø:] lùksø: jø:-kʰen beʔ.  
 like.that give-2INF.GEN tradition EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘There’s a tradition [of giving (something) like that].’ (SGD wedding customs)

- (13.71) ཨོ་འདི་ མ་གནས་པའི་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ འདི་  
 [ódi ma-né:-pø:] gjumtsʰɛ: =di  
 that NEG-reside-2INF.GEN reason=DEMPH  
 ‘The reason [why that (condition) did not remain]’ (CY interview)

In the novel Richhi, the author may use either a temporally neutral form (13.72) or a progressive form (13.73) to refer to events that are taking place at the time of speaking/writing/reading.

- (13.72) ལྷི་ འ་ལུ་ འ་ལུ་ལོ་ ཉལ་བའི་ རྟན།  
 [kʰi àu àu=lo hap-ø:] keʔ  
 dog woof woof=DAT bark-2INF.GEN sound  
 ‘the sound [of a dog barking woof woof]’ (Richhi 1)

- (13.73) བག་རིང་ ས་གནས་ལས་ ཏུང་ ཟུ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐད་སྒྲ་ ལུ་ཅུ་།།  
 [tʰa:riŋ sánɛ:=lɛ t'uŋ pʰu:-zin jø-pø:] kɛ:da p'u:  
 far.away region=ABL conch blow-PROG EX-2INF.GEN sound toot  
 'the sound [of a conch being blown from a far-away region], toot' (Richhi 1)

Time adverbial words often receive a complement clause:

- (13.74) ཉི་ གཟིགས་པའི་ ཏུས་ཚོད་ན་ རོང་ ཉ་ཐང་ཚད།  
 tɛ [zi:-pø:] t'ytsʰø:=na kʰõ: hatã:tcʰø?  
 then look.HON-2INF.GEN time=LOC 3SG.HON be.amazed  
 'Then at the time [(that she) looked (at it)], she was amazed.' (PAD Tashiding story)
- (13.75) མནང་ཚང་ ཟུར་ བཅར་པའི་ ཉེམ་ཚོས་  
 [nã:tcʰã:=tsa: tɛa:-pø:] nìmtsʰi=di  
 bethrotal=at come.HON-2INF.GEN date=DEMPH  
 '(on) the day [when coming to the bethrotal]' (SGD wedding customs)
- (13.76) ཚོགས་འདུ་ ཚོགས་པའི་ མཚམས་ཚེ་ སླེབས་ཏོ།  
 [tsʰo:du tsʰo:-pø:] tsʰamtsʰi lɛp-to.  
 meeting gather-2INF.GEN moment arrive-IPFV  
 'The moment [when the meeting is held] is arriving.' (Richhi 43)
- (13.77) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལོག་ ལྷོན་པའི་ སྐང་ལོ་  
 [dɛndzõ: lòk tɛ'øm-bø:] gã:=lo...  
 Sikkim return come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT  
 'at the time [when coming back to Sikkim]' (CY interview)

Example (13.78) presents an exception to the description presented above: a genitivized complement clause occurs in post-head position. Note that there is a relative clause (*kʰim=na lɛp lò: mè:-po karma tsa=lɛ õ: jø-pø:*) within the complement clause.

- (13.78) ཚོས་སྤྱིད་ཀྱི་ རེ་ཚེ་ བྱིན་ན་ སླེབས་ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ ཀམ་འི་ཙ་ལས་ རོང་ ཡོད་པའི་ ཡི་གེ་ སློགས་ཐོབ་པའི།  
 tɛʰøki=ki ritɛʰi [kʰim=na lɛp lò: mè:-po karmø: tsa=lɛ õ:  
 PN=GEN hope house=LOC arrive have.time EX-2INF PN.GEN by=ABL come  
 jø-pø: jìgi tʰop-ø:].  
 EX-2INF letter receive-2INF.GEN  
 'Choki (has) a hope [(of) finding, as soon as she arrives home, a letter that has come from Karma)].' (Richhi 151)

The reason for the exceptional constituent order in (13.78) is likely that it is easier to process a long RC after its head noun rather than before it (for the effect of processing on grammar, see Hawkins 2004). Significantly, (13.78) occurs in a piece of writing, giving an air of standardization to this unorthodox-looking construction.

The complement clause may start with *mènɛ* 'not perhaps', a grammaticalized conditional form of a negated equative. By using *mènɛ*, the content of the hope is expressed with an air of negation, i.e. 'a hope that Karma comes' becomes in form more like 'a hope that Karma would not perhaps come'.

- (13.79) མོ་ལོ་ ད་རུང་རང་ རེ་ཆེ་ ཡོད་, མན་ན་དོ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ གཞན་ལ་ ལོག་གེདི་ རྩོན་ལོ་ དུས་ཅིག་ མོ་ལོ་ འབྲེད་པར་ འོང་བོདི།  
*mù=lo t'arun=rã: ritɛ<sup>hi</sup> jò?* [*mènɛ=to ágja*  
 3SGF=DAT still=AEMPH hope EX.PER not.perhaps=CEMPH elder.brother  
*karma: lòk-ø: jénlo t'utsi? mù=lo p<sup>h</sup>ɛ-pa*  
 PN.AGT return-2INF.GEN before this.year 3SGF=DAT meet-PUR  
*òm-bø:]*  
 come-2INF.GEN  
 ‘She still has a hope [that perhaps brother Karma will come to meet her this year before he returns].’ (Richhi 119)

### 13.4.2 Nominalization with -ɛɛ?

Noun complement clauses may also be formed by genitive-marked -ɛɛ-infinitive clauses, although these type of clauses are less frequent than those nominalized by -po/bo.

- (13.80) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ གན་ འུས་ལོ་ གནང་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དགའ་ཚེར་ ཡོད་ལོ་?  
*ʎɛŋgɛ? [k'an p'ja-u nã:-ɛɛ=ki] ga:ts<sup>h</sup>o: jè-po?*  
 PRN.HON what do-2INF do.HON-INF=GEN liking EX-2INF  
 ‘What would you like to do?’ Lit. ‘You have enjoyment [of doing what]?’ (TB e)
- (13.81) རང་ལོ་ མན་ལོ་ ད་ གཞན་ལོ་ གཞེན་ མི་རྒྱབས་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དམ་བཅའ་  
*[rã:=lo mèm-bo t'a zɛn=lo jén mi-kjap-ɛɛ=ki] t'amtɛa*  
 2SG.M=DAT except now another=DAT marriage NEG-do-INF=GEN promise  
 ‘promise [to now not to marry anyone else except you]’ (Richhi 143)
- (13.82) འོང་གིས་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ ལེགས་འུས་ རོགས་རམ་ ཡུལ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ བཀའ་སློབ་ བཀའ་སློབ་ གནང་ཞེ།  
*k<sup>h</sup>oŋ=gi ŋàtɛa=lo lèm-p'ja [ro:ram p<sup>h</sup>y:-ɛɛ=ki] kalop kalop*  
 3SG.HON=AGT 1PL=DAT good-ADVZR help offer-INF=GEN advice advice  
*nã:-zɛ.*  
 give.HON-PST  
 ‘He gave us well advice (and) advice [which helped].’ (or ‘[helpful] advice’, or ‘advice [in order to help]’) (NAB BLA 7)
- (13.83) མ་ཆེན་གྱི་ གཡོག་ འདི་ ཟམ་ གཙོ་, ཆོས་པ་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཞབས་ཕྱི་ ལྷ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ གཡོག་ ཨིན།  
*màtɛ<sup>h</sup>ɛ:=gi jó:=di [sàm tso, tɛ<sup>h</sup>o:p=tsu=lo ɛàptɛi ɛù-ɛɛ=ki]*  
 cook=GEN work=DEMPH food prepare monk=PL=DAT service do.HUM-INF=GEN  
*jó? í.*  
 work EQU.PER  
 ‘The work of the cook (at the monastery) is work [of preparing food and serving the monks]. (TB life in gumpa)

### 13.4.3 Finite clause with a complementizer

Although noun complement clauses are typically nominalized, also finite clauses may complement nouns if followed by a complementizer, see (13.84) and (13.85), where a nominalized form a verb of saying functions as a complementizer. The complementizer is nominalized either by -k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:, which does not occur with genitive, or -po/bo, which is genitivized. Note that the English translation of (13.84) has an indirect question clause.

(13.84) མི་ འདྲ་ལུ་ ལེབ་ འདྲ་ལུ་ དགོས་པོ་ ལབ་མཁན་ དོན་དག་ མོ་འདི་ ཟླ་ཤོ།  
 [mí t'ä:pu lèp t'ä:pu go:-po làp-k'h̃:] t'õnda? ódi  
 human honest very.much honest be.needed-2INF say-NMLZ reason that  
 bε=εo.  
 EQU.NE=AT  
 'The reason [why a man needs to be honest, very honest], is that, you know.' (JDF  
 axe story)

(13.85) མནེ་མུ་ ཚོས་སྤྲད་ཀྱིས་ ཚོས་ལོ་ ལེབ་སྤྱི་ ལེམས་ཤོར་བོ་ མིན་ལོ་ ལབ་བའི་ ལོ་རྒྱས་ ཐོས་ཅེ།  
 né:mu [tɛʰø:ki=ki tɛʰø:=lo lèpti sèm εó:-bo í:=lo  
 really PN=AGT 2SG.L=DAT very.much mind lose.control-2INF EQU.PER=REP  
 làp-ø:] lògiu? tʰo:-tɛ.  
 say-2INF.GEN story hear-PST  
 'Really, I heard the story [that Choki is said to have fallen for you].' (Richhi 94)

(13.86) ཁོས་ མི་ལོ་ རོགས་རམ་ གནང་ དགོས་ ལེམས་མནོ་སམས་ ག་རེ་ མན་བྱང་བོ་ ཟླ།  
 kʰú: [mí=lo ro:ram ná: go? sɛ-k'h̃:] nó:sam k'are  
 he.AGT human=DAT help give.HON be.needed say-NMLZ thought any  
 man-dzum-bo bε?  
 NEG-become-2INF EQU.NE  
 'A thought [that people should be helped] did not at all come to (his) mind.' (Class 7  
 textbook 52)

### 13.4.4 Genitive-marked finite clause

Lastly, a non-nominalized genitive-marked clause may also occasionally complement a noun:

(13.87) ད་ ཁོང་ དེབ་ འདི་ ག་རྗེས་ ཡོད་ དང་ མེད་ཀྱི་ གཏམ་ རང་ཤ་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་ མ་སོང་མཁན་ ཟླ།  
 t'a [k'h̃ð: t'ɛp=di k'atɛm jò? t'õ: mɛ:=ki]  
 now 3SG.HON book=DEMPH how EX.PER and NEG.EX.PER=GEN  
 tam nàŋɛa=di ŋàtɛa? ma-sóŋ-k'h̃ɛn bε?  
 speech inside=DEMPH 1PL NEG-go.PFV-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'Now we didn't go into speaking (lit. word/speech) [what his book was like or not  
 like].' (KL BLA 12)

## 13.5 Postposition complement clauses

Postpositions may take three types of complement clauses. The first is marked by a genitivized *-po*-infinitive (§13.5.1). The second is marked by the bare non-genitivized *-εε*-infinitive (§13.5.2). The third option is a sentence-like complement clause with a resumptive demonstrative in the following clause (§13.5.3). The aspectual choices for these types of clauses are the same as those given for RCs in Table 13.2. Table 13.3 lists some postpositions that can take a nominalized and genitivized clause as a complement.

Table 13.3. Some postpositions which take complement clauses

<i>nénle, nénlo</i>	ཕྱིན་ལས་, ཕྱིན་ལོ་	'before'
<i>gjable, gjablo</i>	རྒྱབ་ལས་, རྒྱབ་ལོ་	'after'
<i>nàŋle, nàŋlo, nàŋɛa</i>	ནང་ལས་, རང་ལོ་, རང་ཤ་	'inside'
<i>t'õnlo, t'õnle, t'õndale, t'õndalo</i>	དོན་ལོ་, དོན་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལོ་	'for the purpose of'
<i>kor, korle, korlo</i>	སློབ་, སློབ་ལས་, སློབ་ལོ་	'about'

### 13.5.1 Genitivized *-po*-infinitive

The order of presentation here follows the order of postpositions in Table 13.3.

- (13.88) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ལོ་ མན་བྱོན་བའི་ ལྗོན་ལས་ འདི་  
 [dɛndzo:=lo man-dzɔm-bø:] nɛnlɛ=di  
 Sikkim=DAT NEG-come.HON-2INF.GEN before=DEMPH  
 ‘before [coming to Sikkim]...’ (KLT Bhumchu video)
- (13.89) རྒྱ་མཚོག་ ཐོས་ཚར་བའི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་  
 [námteɔ? tʰo:-tsʰa:-wø:]<sup>400</sup> gjablɛ  
 ear hear-CMPL/finish-2INF after  
 ‘after [having heard with ears]...’ (KL BLA 12)
- (13.90) ཨོ་འདིས་ རྒྱས་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ རྣོད་ རྣོད་བའི་ རང་ལས་ ཚད་ལྡན་ རྩོས་ཚར།  
 ódi: [kʼjo? kjap-ti dø:-dø-pø:] nàn=lɛ tsʰedɛ:  
 that.AGT chatting do-NF sit-RDP-2INF.GEN inside=ABL considerable  
 pʰi:-tsʰa:  
 be.late-CMPL  
 ‘Thus, as [(they) sit (and sit) chatting] it becomes quite late.’ (lit. ‘within sitting’)  
 (Richhi 110)
- (13.91) a) ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ རེ་ཆེ་ བསྐང་བའི་ དོན་ལོ་  
 [tʰamteɛ=ki ritɛʰi kâ:-bø:] tʼonlo  
 all=GEN hope fill-2INF.GEN for.purpose.of  
 ‘In order [to fulfil the hope of all]...’ (Richhi 75-76)
- b) ཨིན་རུང་ཡང་ གཏུམ་ དམ་དྲགས་ གཉིས་, དམ་དྲགས་ གཉིས་ཅིག་ ང་ ལུ་ཅག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ ཚོགས་པོ་ གསར་པུའི་ཀི་ སྐྱེ་མའུན་ལོ་ མན་  
 བཞག་ཀའི་ དོན་ལོ་ མ་ཚུགས་པོ་ འདེམ་ཅིག་ ཚོར་ཞེ།  
 tʼ:ruŋ=jã: [tam tʼamɕa? ni:, tʼamɕa? ni:=tɛi? ŋà kʼutea lɛŋgɛ?  
 however=still word tight two tight two=INDF 1SG 2PL PRN.HON  
 tsʰokpo sá.py:=gi kumdỹ:=lo man-zak-ø:] tʼon=lo  
 association new.GEN=GEN in.front.of=DAT NEG-set-2INF.GEN purpose=DAT  
 ma-tsʰu-po dem=tɛi? tsʰo:-zɛ.  
 NEG-be.able.to-2INF such=INDF feel-PST  
 ‘Yet, however, I felt like someone who is not able to [withhold (myself) from presenting a few concise words in the presence of you, the new association.]’ (lit. ‘Yet, however, I felt like someone who is not able for the purpose of [not presenting a few concise words in the presence of you, the new association.]’)  
 (NT BLA 7)
- (13.92) a) ངས་ ཚུགས་པའི་ སྟོར་...  
 [ŋá: tsʰu-pø:] kor  
 I.AGT be.able.to-2INF.GEN about  
 ‘about [what I am able (to do)]’ (Richhi 36)

<sup>400</sup> The fact that *tsʰa(:)* is nominalized shows that Denjongke grammar treats *tsʰa(:)* in this construction like a secondary verb meaning ‘finish’ rather than as a fully grammaticalized completive marker.

- b) ད་ལྟོ་བཟུང་ལྷོ་ཁོ་གི་ འཇོན་ལྷན་ རང་གི་ལོ་ རྩ་འཇུག་ འཁོར་གཡོག་གི་ ལྷོ་བཟུང་ལྟོ་གི་ རང་བཞིན་ ཡོང་བའི་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་  
གསན་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ལྟོ།  
[t'ato sā:te k'hoŋ=gi dzamliŋ nàŋea=lo dzutʰul k'ho:jo:=ki  
now until 3SG.HON=AGT world inside=DAT miracles servant=AGT  
lò:m=tsu=gi nǎ:-zin jò-pø:] korlo tʰamtɛɛ=ki  
disciple=PL=AGT do.HON-PROG EX-2INF.GEN about all=AGT  
sén-zin jò:-to.  
hear.HON-PROG EX-PROB  
'All are probably hearing about [(the fact) that his servants, disciples are doing miracles in the world]. (KT life story)

As shown by the progressive form in (13.92b), the nominalized verbal construction may be complex.

### 13.5.2 Bare -ɛɛ-infinitive

The postposition complement clause may also be a non-nominalized infinitive clause marked by -ɛɛ?

- (13.93) ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉ་གོ་གང་ དོན་དག་ལས་  
[tʰamtɛɛ=ki hako=ɛɛ?] t'øndale  
all=AGT understand for.the.purpose.of  
'in order for [all to understand]' (DR discussion with KL)
- (13.94) རང་རང་ ལོ་སའི་ ལྷགས་སོལ་ ཚེ་གང་ དང་ འདི་ཚུ་ ཡར་རྒྱུད་ བཏང་གང་ ལྷོ་ལོ་  
[rā:rā:so:sø: lüksø: tsi-ɛɛ? t'ā: di=tsu jà:ke: tǎ:-ɛɛ?]  
each.oneself.GEN tradition esteem-INF and this=PL increase send-INF  
kor=lo  
about=DAT  
'about [esteeming and furthering (the cause of) one's own tradition]...'  
(sbar-phung 92-93)
- (13.95) མོ་འདི་ འདྲེ་ཅིག་ལོ་ རྩི་གང་ རང་གི་ལོ་  
[ódi de:tei=lo t'i-ɛɛ?] nàŋea=lo  
that that.much=DAT write-INF inside=DAT  
'Within [writing that (dictionary) to that extent]...' (DR discussion with KL)

### 13.5.3 Sentence-like complement

Finally, a postposition complement can be a sentence-like clause (i.e. the form could occur independently) followed by a resumptive demonstrative (in genitive), which is coreferential with the whole previous clause. In my data, this may happen with the postposition *korlo* 'about' (WD ལྷོ་ལོ་).

- (13.96) འདི་ལས་ འཇུག་དཔོན་ དང་ འཇུག་དཔོན་མ་ ཀ་ཀ་ལོ་ གསེས་ དགོས་གང་ལོ་ འདིའི་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ གཉིས་པོས་ ལྷོས་བསྐྱུན་ ལྷོས་གོ།  
[dile tʰapø: t'ā: tʰapøm ka-ka=lo sé: go:-ɛɛ bo]  
then actor and actress who-RDP=DAT choose be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q  
di: korlo ŋàtea? ní:-po: k'jotyn kjap-ke.  
this.GEN about 1PL two-COL.AGT discussion do-HORT  
'Then let the two of us discuss about [who all should be chosen as actors and actresses.]' (Richhi 41)

- (13.97) མིན་རིང་ ཚོ་མག་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ཡང་ རང་སྐད་ འདི་ག་ཉེ་ ཞབས་ལུ་ དགོས་ཤང་ བོ་ འདིའི་ ལྷོར་ལོ་ ང་ བསམ་སྒོ་ བཏང་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*t̥:-ruŋ* [ts<sup>h</sup>imaʔ nàŋɛa=lo=jã: raŋ-ke:='di k'ate ɛàpɛù  
 however future.life inside=DAT=too own.language=DEMPH how serve  
*go:-ɛɛ bo] di: korlo ŋà sámlo tã:-zin jòʔ.*  
 be.needed EQU.NE.Q this.GEN about 1SG thought send-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘However, I’m thinking about [how I should serve (the cause of) my mother tongue  
 also in the future].’ (KT life story)

The first clause in both (13.96) and (13.97) could function as an independent question but is here linked with the second clause with the help of the resumptive proximal demonstrative *di*, which is coreferential with the whole interrogative clause. The second clause could also occur independently. Example (13.96) comes from the novel *Richhi*, where the writer signals the linking relationship achieved by juxtaposition and resumptive demonstrative by leaving out the equivalent of the full stop (.), which would normally occur at sentence boundary.

### 13.6 Summary remarks

This chapter described “constituent-modifying clauses”, a term which covers all clauses that modify a single word. The modified word can be a noun (relative clauses and noun complement clauses) or a postposition (postposition complement clauses). The modifying clause is nominalized and typically genitivized. Genetivization does not take place in post-head RCs or if the modifying clause is nominalized with *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:*. It was also shown that reduplicated verb roots are treated distinctly in that they do not require nominalization (but can occur nominalized). All the relativizing nominalizers *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:*, *-po/bo*, and *-sa* were seen to occur in headed RCs and two of them, *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* and *-sa*, also in headless RCs. The nominalizer *-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:* was seen to have a marginal internally-headed use. Moreover, this chapter showed that correlative clauses, which are probably Indo-Aryan influence (see Genetti 1992: 408), are functionally similar but formally dissimilar to RCs. Correlative clauses, while not demanding nominalization and genitivation, require a question word in the first and a resumptive demonstrative in the second clause. Finally, I defined the difference between relative clauses and noun complement clauses in the following way: the noun to which a complement is appended is not an argument within the complement clause, but the head noun of a relative clause is an argument within the relative clause.

## 14 Complement clauses

This chapter continues the discussion on clause combining and subordinate clauses. Complement clauses are clauses that function as an argument of another clause (Noonan 2007: 52). They can be either non-finite or finite (or sentence-like). The following subsections discuss non-finite complement clauses (§14.1), finite complement clauses (§14.2) and complementation in indirect speech (§14.3).

### 14.1 Non-finite complement clauses

In my data, non-finite complement clauses may be marked by the elements listed in Table 14.1:

Table 14.1. Elements forming complement clauses

- 
- 1) II infinitive marker *-po/bo* (§14.1.1)
  - 2) I infinitive marker *-εε?* (§14.1.2)
  - 3) progressive marker *-tεē:/zē:/zin* (§14.1.3)
  - 4) postposition *kor* ‘about’ heading a postposition complement clause (§14.1.4)
- 

Headless relative clauses marked by *-k<sup>h</sup>ē:* and *-sa* resemble complement clauses, but because headless clauses with *-k<sup>h</sup>ē:* and *-sa* imply a referent that is modified (person who does with *-k<sup>h</sup>ē:*, and place where something is done with *-sa*), they are categorized as relative clauses, see §13. The infinitives in Table 14.1 may occur with or without demonstrative-emphatic *=di*. Infinitival complement clauses typically occur as copula subjects. The four types of complement clause are described in the following subsections in the same order they occur in Table 14.1.

#### 14.1.1 Complement clauses with *-po*-infinitive

In my data, complement clauses marked by *-po*-infinitive occur as the copula subject or the copula complement of change-of-state verbs and copulas, or as the P argument of other types of verbs listed in Table 14.2 (where “collocate” means “in my data typically co-occurs”). The verbs listed in Table 14.2 do not include the honorific equivalents of certain verbs (*zi:* བཞིགས་ ‘see [hon.]’, *sén* བསམ་ ‘hear [hon.]’, *dzε:* མཇུག་ ‘meet [hon.]’). Although I do not have examples of the honorific verbs, it is safe to assume that they behave analogously to the ordinary verbs.



Table 14.2. Verb types receiving a complement clause with *-po/bo*

a) Being:	<i>í:</i> ཞིན་, <i>be?</i> ཟླ་ (equative), <i>jò?</i> ཡོད་, <i>du?</i> འདུག་ (existential); collocate with all types of verbs; structurally receive a complement clause, but functionally the combination marks tense/aspect/modality
b) Change of state:	<i>tʰon</i> ཐོན་ ‘come out, become, happen’, <i>te ‘uŋ</i> ཟུང་ ‘become’, <i>zo</i> བཟོ་ ‘make (into)’, <i>í:</i> ཞིན་ ‘be (equ.)’ <i>jò?</i> ཡོད་ ‘be (ex.)’; collocate with <i>go:-po</i> [be.needed-2INF] and <i>tsʰu-po</i> [be.able.to-2INF]
c) Perception:	<i>tʰõ:</i> མཐོང་ ‘see’, <i>tʰo:</i> ཐོས་ ‘hear’; collocate with all types of verbs
d) Mental activity:	<i>hako</i> ཏཱ་གོ་ ‘know, understand’, <i>tʰensin</i> རྒྱ་ཟེན་ ‘remember’, <i>nó:</i> མཚོ་ ‘think’; <i>hako</i> and <i>tʰensin</i> collocate with all types of verbs, <i>nó:</i> collocates with <i>go:-po</i> དགོས་པོ་ [be.needed-2INF] <sup>401</sup>
e) Meeting <sup>402</sup> :	<i>pʰe?</i> འཕྲད་ ‘meet’, <i>tʰuk</i> ཟུག་ ‘touch, meet, face’; <i>pʰe?</i> collocates with <i>jò-po</i> ཡོད་པོ་ [EX-2INF], <i>tʰuk</i> collocates with <i>go:po</i> དགོས་པོ་ [be.needed-2INF]
f) Speaking and writing:	<i>tʰi</i> རྩེ་ ‘write’, <i>é?</i> བཤད་ ‘tell’; collocate with <i>go:-po</i> [be.needed-2INF]

As seen in the list above, the verb *go?* ‘be needed’ occurs frequently as the verb which is heading the complement clause. The complement clauses with the various types of verbs are now exemplified in the same order they occur in the list above.

*Verbs of being*

(14.1) a) ང་ འགྲིལ་བོ་ ཞིན་ཟླ་ད།

*ŋà qi:-bo í:/be?*  
 1SG fall-2INF EQU.PER/EQU.NE  
 ‘I fell.’ (KN e)

b) ད་རིང་ ཟླ་ལྟེ་ ང་ཅག་ ག་རེ་ ལྷོ་བ་ བཅར་བོ་ མེད།

*tʰariŋ sã:te ŋàtea? kʰare èu-wa tea:-bo mè?*  
 today until 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘Until today we haven’t come to ask for anything.’ (KN e)

As shown by (14.1), both the equative and existential copulas occur postposed to clauses marked by *-po*. Because these constructions look formally like the complement constructions described below, they are briefly mentioned here. Since the function of the combination, however, has become more grammatical (the construction in [14.1a] marks past tense and the one in [14.1b] perfect aspect), a fuller description is presented in §8.1.1. and 8.1.4 respectively.

*Verbs of change of state*

Note that the demonstrative pro-adverb *dem* is used alongside nominalization to introduce comparison, see (14.2c).

<sup>401</sup> Even more often *nó:* collocates with *go?* without the nominalizer, e.g. *pʰja go? nó* [do be.needed think] ‘think that one has to do’.

<sup>402</sup> Covers concrete (*pʰe?*) and metaphorical (*tʰuk*) meeting.

- (14.2) a) ལུས་ཤུགས་ཁ་ལབ་ ཚུགས་པོ་ འཛོན་ རྗོད་ འདུག།  
 [ɛy:ɛy: kʰa lɑp tsʰu-po] tʰon dø: du?  
 a.bit mouth speak be.able.to-2INF become stay EX.SEN  
 ‘He has become [able to talk a bit].’ (Richhi 23)
- b) ཨོན་ཡང་ ཁོས་ ཁོང་ལྟོ་ འདི་ མནན་གྱི་ རྗོད་ དགོས་པོ་ ཐོན་པོ་ སྤང།  
 i:jã: kʰu [kʰõ:tʰo=di nɛn-di dø: go:-po]  
 however 3SGM anger=DEMPH suppress-NF stay be.needed-2INF  
 tʰom-bo bɛ?  
 become-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘However, he became [obliged to keep his anger suppressed].’ (Class 7 textbook 61)
- c) དེ་ཟང་ འདི་ན་ ལུགས་བསམ་ བཞེས་བཞེས་པོ་ འདེམ་ ཐོན་ མ་ཚུགས།  
 t'izã: di=na [tʰu:sam ze:-ze:-p(o) dem] tʰon  
 but this=LOC thought.HON have.HON-RDP-2INF like.it become  
 ma-tsʰu?  
 NEG-be.able.to  
 ‘But it could not turn out [as (good as he had) thought].’ (CY interview)
- d) ཉེ་ དེ་ནེ་ གསར་བཅོག་ ག་ལྟེ་ རྒྱབས་ལྟེ་ ང་ཅིའི་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ ལུམ་ཚུ་གེས་ དུས་ གཏན་རྒྱང་ ག་རྒྱང་ བཏགས་ ཚུགས་པོ་  
 བཟོ་ཤད་?  
 te t'ɛnɛ sɑ:teo? k'atɛ kjap-ti [ɲatɛi nɛn kjap-kjap-o p'um=tsu=gi  
 so then reform how do-NF 1PL.GEN marriage do-RDP-2INF girl=PL=AGT  
 t'y: tɛŋkjã: k'atɛuŋ ta? tsʰu-po] zo-ɛɛ??  
 time always khachung-plate append be.able.to-2INF make-INF  
 ‘So then how to do a reform to make [our married girls to be able to always wear the khachung-plate?].’ (sbar-phung lingdam 'gro-lis 90)
- e) གལ་མེད་ གཏམ་ འདི་ མཁའ་འགྲོས་ གསན་ ཚུགས་པོ་ ལྷུང་ན་  
 k'ɛ:si? tam=di [kʰandɔ: sɛn tsʰu-po] tɛ'uy-nɛ...  
 if speech=DEMPH fairy.AGT hear.HON be.able.to become-COND  
 ‘If this speech will become [such that the fairy can hear it...].’ (rna-gsung 12)

*Verbs of perception*

- (14.3) a) གུར་ཤིང་ བཤུ་བཞིན་ ཟ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཐོང་པོ་ སྤང།  
 [k'ursiŋ ɛu-zɛ: sɑ-zɛ: jɛ-po] tʰõ:-po bɛ?  
 sugar.cane peel-PROG eat-PROG EX-2INF see-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘(He) saw (him) [peeling and eating sugarcane].’ (KTL animal story)
- b) དུས་ དིང་སང་ ལུ་ཚུ་གེས་ གསེར་གྱི་ ཉག་ཐག་ “ལོ་གེར་” ཡང་ནེ་ གཡུ་ཁྲའི་ ལོ་གེར་ བཏགས་པོ་ གཟེགས་ཅེ་ག་?  
 t'y: t'ɪŋzã: [p'u=tsu=gi sé:=gi nɑ:tʰa? lokɛt jã:ne  
 time nowadays boy=PL=AGT gold=GEN necklace locket(Eng.) or  
 jútʰa=i lokɛt ta:-po] zi:-tɛɛ-ka?  
 spotted.turquoise=GEN locket(Eng.) append-2INF see.HON-PST-PQ  
 ‘Have you nowadays seen [boys wear a locket-necklace of gold or a locket-necklace of spotted turquoise?].’ (sbar-phung 90)

- c) ང་ཚའི་ བ་མོ་ ལྷ་བཟེས་ འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ བཀའ་ གནང་བོ་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཡིན།  
 [ɲàtɛi p<sup>h</sup>amo kuɖe: di=tsu=gi ódep ka ná:-bo] t<sup>h</sup>o:-po  
 1PL.GEN parents elder this=PL=AGT like.that order do.HON-2INF hear-2INF  
 ཇི་.  
 EQU.PER  
 ‘I heard [these parents and elders of ours say like that].’ (CY interview)

*Verbs of mental activity*

- (14.4) a) ཨ་མ་ ལོག་ ལྷོབས་པོ་ ཏ་གོ་སྟེ་

[ám lòk l̥ɛp-o] hako-ti  
 mother return arrive-2INF know-NF  
 ‘finding out [that the mother has returned]’ (Richhi 32)

- b) ཚོས་སྐྱོད་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ལྷོས་ ལྷོབས་ ལྷོབས་པོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ དྲན་ཟིན།

[tɛ<sup>h</sup>øki? námtɛi? k'jo? kjap-kjap-o t<sup>h</sup>amtɛɛ?] t<sup>h</sup>ensin  
 PN with chatting do-RDP-2INF all remember  
 ‘(He) remembers [all the discussions with Choki]’ (Richhi 116)

- c) ཚོད་ཀྱི་ ཨ་པོ་ ཨ་མ་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ ལྷོ་མ་ ཨ་ཞེ་ ལུ་ལྷོ་ལུ་ ཉེན་ལུབ་ མིག་ཚུ་ ལག་ཏུ་གིས་ ལྷོ་བཞིན་ ཚོད་ དགོས་པོ་ ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ མཚོ་ ཚུགས་ པོ་.....།

[tɛ<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki ápo ám pélopyntɛ<sup>h</sup>a ázi p<sup>h</sup>usim=tsu  
 2SG.L=GEN father mother male.relatives elder.sister younger.sister=PL  
 jint<sup>h</sup>up miktɛ<sup>h</sup>u là:na=gi p<sup>h</sup>i:-zɛɛ: dø: go:-po] tɛ<sup>h</sup>ø=ki nó:  
 all.day tear arm=AGT wipe-PROG stay be.needed-2INF 2SG.L=AGT think  
 ts<sup>h</sup>u-po?  
 be.able.to-2INF  
 ‘Are you able to think [that your father, mother, brothers and sisters have to live daily wiping their tears to their arms]?’ (nga’i ’gan 7)

*Verbs of meeting*

- (14.5) a) ཨོ་འདི་ ཚོད་ཁར་ ཀན་ཚེ་ དང་ ལྷ་མཚོས་ ཚོད་ཁར་ལས་ ཅི་ནི་ ཉོས་ འབག་སྟེ་ ལོག་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ འཕྱོད།

ódi ts<sup>h</sup>øka [kantei t'ã: l̥adzi? ts<sup>h</sup>oŋk<sup>h</sup>ã:=le teini jò: bak-ti  
 that time PN and PN market=ABL sugar(Nep.) buy carry-NF  
 lòk-zɛɛ: jò-po] p<sup>h</sup>ɛ?<sup>403</sup>  
 return-PROG EX-2INF meet  
 ‘At that time (they) met [Kanchi and Lhadzi returning from the market, carrying sugar (they) had bought].’ (Richhi 40)

<sup>403</sup> The complement clause here could alternatively be analysed as an NP with a following post-head RC, that is [kantei t'ã: l̥adzi? [ts<sup>h</sup>oŋk<sup>h</sup>ã:=le teini jò: bak-ti lòk-zɛɛ: jò-po]]. Two facts suggests that an analysis as a complement clause is better: 1) In the novel Richhi, where the example is from, the NP expressing the patient of the verb p<sup>h</sup>ɛ? ‘meet’ is typically, although not exclusively, marked with the dative-locative =lo or postposition námtɛi? ‘with’. Dative-locative marking of post-head RCs occurs at the end of the RC, as shown in (13.40). The absence of case or postposition marking on the potential post-head RC (or the nouns), suggests that (14.5) is likely a complement clause. 2) Clear post-head RCs are typically not as complicated as the potential one in (14.5).

- b) རེ་ཚེ་ བཏབ་སྟེ་ རྫོང་རྫོང་པའི་ རང་ལོ་ རེ་ཐག་ ཚད་ དགོས་པོ་ ལུག།  
*rite<sup>hi</sup> tap-ti dø:-dø:-pø: nàŋlo [rit<sup>ha</sup>:tɛ<sup>h</sup>e? go:-po]*  
 hope sow-NF sit-RDP-2INF.GEN inside be.disappointed be.needed-2INF  
*t<sup>h</sup>uk.*  
 meet  
 ‘In the midst of keeping on hoping, he is faced with [having to be disappointed].’  
 (Richhi 116)

*Verbs of writing and speaking*

- (14.6) a) ལྷན་ གན་ གན་ ཉི་ དགོས་པོ་ རོ་རངས་ རི་ ཕྱིན་ འོང།  
*[mén k'an k'an jò: go:-po] t<sup>h</sup>orã: t<sup>i</sup> p'in ò:.*  
 medicine what what buy be.needed-2INF tomorrow write give FUT.UNC  
 ‘Tomorrow (I) will write for you [what medicines need to be bought].’ (Richhi 29)

- b) མི་ འདྲ་བུ་ ལེབ་ འདྲ་བུ་ དགོས་པོ་ ལེབ་མཁམ་ དོན་དག་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྤང་གོ།  
*[mí t<sup>i</sup>ã:pu lɛp t<sup>i</sup>ã:pu go:-po] lãp-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: t<sup>i</sup>ɔnda? ódi*  
 human honest very.much honest be.needed-2INF say-NMLZ reason that  
*bɛ=ɛo.*  
 EQU.NE=AT  
 ‘The reason for saying [the person has to be honest, very honest] is that.’ (SGD wedding customs)

Clauses marked by *-po*-infinitive are also used as arguments in copular clauses of quantification (14.7), attribution (14.8) and existence (14.9). As suggested by the examples below, the nominalized verb is typically *go?* ‘be needed’.

- (14.7) ཁོ་ལོ་ དགོས་པོ་རང་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཚོད་ ཨིན།  
*[k<sup>h</sup>u=lo go:-po=rã:] ódi-ts<sup>h</sup>ø? í:.*  
 3SGM=DAT be.needed-2INF =AEMPH that-as.much.as EQU.PER  
 ‘[What he needs] is that much.’ (Richhi 102)
- (14.8) བསམ་འཚར་ བཏང་ དགོས་པོ་ ལྷེ་ གལ་ཅན་ ཨིན་པོ་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ ཉ་གོ་ སྤང།  
*[[sámte<sup>h</sup>a: tã: go:-po=di] k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:tɛɛ: im-bo] ŋàtɛa=gi*  
 plan send be.needed-2INF =DEMPH important EQU.PER-2INF 1PL=AGT  
*hako bɛ?*  
 understand EQU.NE  
 ‘We understand [that it is important [that (we) have to do planning].’ (sbar-phung 92-93)
- (14.9) ཀ་ལོ་ ལྟ་སྟེ་ འཇུས་ དགོས་པོ་ དང་ ཇོ་ཚ་ དགོས་པོ་ མེད།  
*[ka=lo ta-ti dzu: go:-po t<sup>i</sup>ã: ŋò ts<sup>h</sup>a go:-po]*  
 who=DAT look-NF fear be.needed-2INF and face be.hot be.needed-2INF  
*mɛ?*  
 NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘There isn’t [necessity to look at someone and feel afraid or ashamed].’ (Richhi 129)

Finally, nominalized *go?* ‘be needed’ collocates with *k'ε:te<sup>hi</sup>* in a construction which may be characterized either as verbless attribution or a verbal use of the adjective *k'ε:te<sup>hi</sup>* ‘important’:

- (14.10) ཐུགས་རིག་གནང་དགོད་པོ་གལ་ཆེ།  
 [t<sup>h</sup>uri? ná: go:-po] k'ε:te<sup>hi</sup>.  
 insight do.HON be.needed-2INF (be.)important  
 ‘[Applying insight] is important.’ (sbar-phung 90)

#### 14.1.2 Complement clauses with -εε?

A complement clause may also be formed by an infinitive marked by -εε?. An infinitive marked by -εε?, which typically refers to an action in a more abstract way than -po/bo, occurs at least as the copula subject (14.11) and as a patient of the verb *p'ja* ‘do’ (14.12).

- (14.11) a) རང་སྐད་ འབྱེད་ཤད་ འདི་ ལུ་ར་ (Nep.) མ་ལེགས་ ཟླད།  
 [raŋ-kε? bjã:-εε=di] pura màlep bε?.  
 own-language disappear=INF=DEMPH very(Nep.) bad EQU.NE  
 ‘(It) is very bad [that the mother tongue disappears].’ (YR canteen video)

- b) གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ བན་པོ་ བྱས་ཤད་ དགོ་བའི་ གཡོག་ མིན།  
 [tei:=ki zen=lo p<sup>h</sup>empo p'ja-εε?] gεwø: jó? í:.  
 one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN work EQU.PER  
 ‘[Helping one another] is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)

- (14.12) a) བ་སྟེ་ ཚུ་སྟེ་ བྱིན་ཤད་ བྱས་གོ།  
 [p<sup>h</sup>ate ts<sup>h</sup>ute p'in-εε?] p'ja-gε.  
 thither hither give-INF do-HORT  
 ‘Let us do [giving mutually (to each other)].’ (PD bet story)

- b) འདིའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ང་ བློས་ཁང་ རང་ལོ་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་ཤད་ བྱས་དོ་ མིན།  
 di: t'øŋ=lo ŋà [t<sup>h</sup>imk<sup>h</sup>ã: nàŋ=lo gju go:-εε?]  
 this.GEN purpose=DAT 1SG court.of.law inside=DAT go be.needed-INF  
 p'ja-do í:.  
 do-IPFV EQU.PER  
 ‘Therefore I’m thinking (lit. doing) [that (I) need to go to the court (with this case)].’ (Class 7 textbook 61)

#### 14.1.3 Complement clauses with progressive -teĩ:/zeĩ:/zin

The progressive form of the verb can act as a complement of sensory verbs.

- (14.13) བ་ཁར་ མི་ མྱོས་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ མཐོང་བད།  
 [p<sup>h</sup>a:k<sup>h</sup>a mí k'jo? kjap-zin] t<sup>h</sup>ø:=pε?.  
 over.there human chatting do-PROG see=EQU.NE  
 ‘It is visible (to me) [that there are people chatting over there].’ (KN e)

#### 14.1.4 Postposition clause with kor ‘about’ as a clausal complement

The postposition *kor* ‘about’ together with its complement clause may function as a clausal complement:

- (14.14) ད་ལྟོ་ཟང་སྟེ་ཁོང་གིས་ འཛམ་གླིང་ རང་གཞི་ རྩ་འཇུག་ འཁོར་གཡོག་གིས་, སློབ་མ་ཚུ་གིས་ གནང་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐོར་ལོ་ བམས་ཅད་  
 གྱིས་ གསལ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ཟོ།  
 [t'ato sā:te k'hoŋ=gi dzamliŋ nàŋɛa=lo dzuʈʰul k'ho:jo:=ki  
 now until 3SG.HON=AGT world inside=DAT miracles servant=AGT  
 ló:m=tsu=gi ná:-zín jò-pø: korlo] tʰamtɛɛ=ki sɛn-zín  
 disciple=PL=AGT do.HON-PROG EX-2INF.GEN about all=agt hear.HON-  
 jò-to.  
 EX-PROB  
 'All are probably hearing [about (the fact) that his servants, disciples are doing  
 miracles in the world until now].' (KT life story)

## 14.2 Finite (clause-like) complement clauses

Finite, or clause-like complement clauses are such clauses which could occur independently. They may occur without a complementizer (§14.2.1) or with a complementizer (§14.2.2). Moreover, the finite complement clause may occur with a resumptive demonstrative (§14.2.3).

### 14.2.1 Finite complement clauses without complementizer

Finite complement clauses may be either declarative (§14.2.1.1) or interrogative (§14.2.1.2)

#### 14.2.1.1 Declarative complement

Declarative complement clauses without a complementizer are frequent with the verb *nó:* 'think', see (14.15) and (14.16), but also occur with other verbs, see (14.17).

- (14.15) ང་ཉོ་ ཚོང་ལོ་ རང་མི་ མིན་ མཚོ་སྟེ་ དེ་ལོ་ ཁས་ སྟེལ་བ་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་ འོང་བོ་ མིན་  
 ŋà=to tɛʰø:=lo [rã:-mi í:] nó:-ti t'ɛ:lu kʰa:  
 1SG=CEMPH 2SG.L=DAT own-human EQU.PER think-NF just.like.that message  
 kɛ:-wa teiku òm-bo í:  
 bring-PUR only come-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Thinking [that (you) are (my) own people] I have just come like that to bring you a  
 message.' (nga'i 'gan 11)

- (14.16) ལྷུ་ གཅིག་ རྩི་དགོས་ མཚོ་སྟེ་  
 [lú=tei? t'i goʔ] nó:-ti  
 song=INDF write be.needed think-NF  
 'Thinking [(that I) have to write a song]...' (nga'i 'gan 11)

- (14.17) ག་ལྟས་ འུས་ བཞག་ མ་ཤེས་པོ་?  
 [k'aly:-p'ja za?] ma-ɛé:-po?  
 slow-ADVZR set NEG-know-2INF  
 'Did you not know (enough) [to place it (there) slowly].' (Richhi 106)

#### 14.2.1.2 Interrogative complement

Interrogative clauses functioning as indirect questions occur as complements in the same form in which they would occur as independent questions.

- (14.18) འོང་བོ་ཉ་ མ་མཐོང་།  
 [òm-bo ná] ma-tʰõ:  
 come-2INF EQU.PER.PQ NEG-see  
 'I did not see [whether he came].' (DB' wife, oh)

- (14.19) བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ ཉེ་ ལེབ་ མཚོ་ནེ་  
 [dɛŋ-gam min-dɛŋ-gam] tɛ lɛp nɔː-nɛ=di  
 be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ so much think-COND=DEMPH  
 ‘so when carefully (lit. a lot) thinking [whether it is true or not]...’ (CY interview)
- (14.20) མིའི་ སེམས་ན་ གན་གན་ ཡོང་ ཀ་གིས་ ལབ་ ཚུགས་པོ།  
 [mɪː sém=na k'an k'an jòʔ] ka-ki làp tsʰu-po?  
 human.GEN mind=LOC what what EX.PER who=AGT say be.able.to-2INF  
 ‘Who can tell [what all is within the human mind]?’ (Richhi 2)
- (14.21) ཐྲིན་ལས་ གན་ སོང་བོ་ ཀ་གིས་ ཉེ་གོ་?  
 [tʰinle k'ana sɔː-bo] ka=gi hako?  
 Thrinley where go.PFV-2INF who=AGT know  
 ‘Who knows [where Thrinley has gone]?’ (Richhi 6)
- (14.22) རོག་ཀའི་ན་ གན་ ཡོང་བོ་ བསྐྱམས་མྱི་ བཞག་ མི་ལེགས་ལོ་  
 [kʰokθː=na k'an jò-po] dam-di zak mi-lèː=lo.  
 innerds.GEN=DAT what EX-2INF bind-NF set NEG-be.good=REP  
 ‘It’s not good to bind and store [what is inside], it’s said.’ (Richhi 143)

Note that (14.20-22) resemble correlative clauses in that they, like correlative clauses, have a question word in the first clause (see §13.3). The difference, however, is that the complement clauses are not followed by a resumptive demonstrative in the main clause.

Both the declarative and interrogative examples of complement clauses without a complementizer are rather short, suggesting that complement clauses without a complementizer may on average be shorter than those with a complementizer. The presence of a complementizer naturally aids in processing the clause and thus could allow longer complements.

## 14.2.2 Finite complement clauses with complementizer

The main complementizers are =sɛ and làpti, which both derive from verbs of saying (see §14.2.2.1). The more marginal complementizer ki is loan from Nepali (see §14.2.2.2).

### 14.2.2.1 Complementizers =sɛ and làp(ti)

The complementizers =s(ɛ)/s(i) and làp(ti)<sup>404</sup> can occur independently or as a combination =sɛ làp(ti). Finite complement clauses with a complementizer occur especially with verbs of speaking, writing, thinking and knowing.

- (14.23) ལོག་སྟེ་ ཐྱོན་དོ་ ཞིན་སེ་ མ་གསུང་བར་ ཐྱོན་བོ་ ཟུང།  
 [lòk-ti tɛ'ɸn-do t̃ː=s] ma-súm-ba  
 return-NF come.HON-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO NEG-say.HON-CIRC  
 tɛ'ɸm-bo bɛʔ.  
 go.HON-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘(He) left without saying [that he is coming back].’ (Richhi 98)

<sup>404</sup> The nonfinal converbial form làp-ti functions analogously with the Nepali complementizer bhan-era ‘say-NF’.

(14.24) ཉེ་ཚོང་འདི་གན་བྱས་ཕྱི་ལོ་ལབ་སྟེ་དྲི་སོང་ཟང་  
*tɛ* [*tɛʰø:=di*            *k'amja* *pʰi:-po*            *lâp-ti*] *t'i-sonzã:*  
 then 2SG.L=DEMPH    why    be.late-2INF    say-NF    ask-SIM  
 'Then when asked [why you were late]...' (RS pupil joke)

(14.25) རང་གལས་བྱོན་ཚུགས་པད་ཉ་སེ་ལབ་སྟེ་གསུང་བོ་ལོ།  
*[nãŋɛa=lɛ*    *tɛ'ɕn*            *tsʰu=pɛ*                            *ná=s*                            *lâp-ti*]  
 inside=ABL    come.HON    be.able.to=EQU.PER    TAG.ASR=QUO    say-NF  
*súm-bo=lo.*  
 say.HON-2INF=REP  
 '(He) says [that (they) can come from inside], so the story goes.' (SGD wedding customs)

(14.26) ལྷ་སྟེ་ཞེ་གམ་སེ་ལབ་སྟེ་མོ་འདི་ལོ་དྲི་བོ་ལོ།  
*[tɛʰu*    *só:-zɛ-gam=s*                            *lâp-ti*]    *mò=di=lo*                            *t'i-u=lo.*  
 water    warm-PST-ATTQ=QUO    say-NF    3SGF=DEMPH=DAT    ask-2INF=REP  
 '(He) asked her [whether (she) had warmed water], so the story goes.' (RS driver joke)

The fact that the honorific form is used in the complement clause shows that (14.23) does not exemplify direct quotation. If the complement were a direct quotation, a non-honorific word choice (*lòk-ti òn-do í:*) would be expected, i.e. speakers are not expected to use honorifics when referring to themselves. As a result, the use of honorifics can be used as a test for determining directness vs. indirectness of speech.

According to consultant KN, a complementizer is not needed when the actor of the main clause and the quoted person is the speaker (14.27). If the quoted person is someone else than the speaker (14.28) or if the actor of the main clause is someone else than the speaker (14.29), a complementizer is used. Note that the second clause in (14.27) is functionally a complement clause although the two clauses are, in the absence of the complementizer, formally juxtaposed finite clauses.

(14.27) ང་དམ་བཅའ་བྱས་ཤད་ཞིན་ང་ལོ་རྒྱབ་མ་ལོག་འོང་ཤད་ཞིན།  
*ŋà*    *t'amtea?*    *p'ja-ɛɛ*    *í:*            [*ŋà*    *ló*    *gjabma*    *lòk*    *ò:-ɛɛ*]  
 1SG    promise    do-INF    EQU.PER    1SG    year    following    return    come-INF  
*í:*.  
 EQU.PER  
 'I promise [I come back the following year].' (KN e)

(14.28) ལྷ་དམ་བཅའ་བྱས་བོ་ཞིན་ང་ལོ་རྒྱབ་མ་ལོག་འོང་ཤད་ཞིན་ལབ་སྟེ།  
*kʰu*    *t'amtea?*    *p'ja-u*            *í:*                            [*ŋà*    *ló*    *gjabma*    *lòk*]  
 3SGM    promise    do-2INF    EQU.PER    1SG    year    following    return  
*ò:-ɛɛ*    *í:*            *lâp-ti*.  
 come-INF    EQU.PER    say-NF  
 'He promised [that he would come back the following year].' Lit. 'He made a promise [saying I come back the following year].' (KN e)



- (14.29) ཚོད་ ཡིད་ཚེས་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་ ང་ མར་གཏམ་ལས་ འོང་བོ་ ཞིན་ ལའ་ལྷོ།  
*tɛʰo:(=lo) jiteʰɛ? jò:-ka [ɣà mærtam=lɛ òm-bo ɪ: ləp-ti].*  
 2SG.L(=DAT) faith EX.PER-PQ 1SG TPN=ABL come-2INF EQU.PER say-NF  
 ‘Do you believe [that I came from Martam]?’ (KN e)

Examples (14.27-29) above already exemplify sentences where the complement follows the main clause. Sentences (14.30-32) below are analogous in the order of clauses in the sentence but differ in that the main clause has another filler-word taking the place where complement clause would occur if it were embedded. The filler-word makes the main clause syntactically complete.<sup>405</sup> Therefore what follows in the next clause is not in the same way required by the syntax as with embedded complement clauses in (14.27-29). It is noteworthy that this construction occurs several times in the novel *Richhi*, suggesting some degree of acceptability/standardization of ending a sentence with a complementizer if a coreferential filler-word occurs in the main clause. Now consider (14.30), where the coreferential filler-word is represented by *it* in the English translation. The word in the main clause that replaces the moved complement clause is underlined.

- (14.30) མོ་ལོ་ གན་འདྲེ་ ལའ་ཤད་ མེད་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ མོའི་ ཡི་གེ་ ལྷེབས་ ཡོད་ ལའ་ལྷོ།  
*mù=lo k'andɛ: ləp-ɛɛ mɛ? [t'ato=sã: mù=i jìgi lɛp*  
 3SGF=DAT anything say-INF EX.PER now=until 3SGF=GEN letter arrive  
*jò? ləp-ti].*  
 EX.PER say-NF  
 ‘She cannot tell it at all [that her letter (=letter to her) has arrived].’ (Ricchi 139)

In (14.30), the main clause *mù=lo k'andɛ: ləp-ɛɛ mɛ?* could occur independently, because the filler word *k'andɛ:* fills the position where an embedded complement clause would occur.

For two more examples, consider (14.31) and (14.32).

- (14.31) ཏེ་ མོ་ རང་ཤ་ལས་ ཚོས་ གཉིས་པོ་ན་ གན་ གསུང་བོ་ ལའ་ནེ་ནེ་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ འདི་ ལྷམ་ ལྷབས་ མི་ཚོག་ བེ་ ལའ་ལྷོ།  
*te ó nàŋɛa=lɛ tɛʰo? jì:po=na k'an sùm-bo*  
 then that inside=ABL teaching second=LOC what say.HON-2INF  
*ləp-nɛ=nɛ, [ɣàtɛa=ki=di kum kjap mi-tɛʰo:=s ləp-ti].*  
 say-COND=TOP(?) 1PL=AGT=DEMPH theft do NEG-be.allowed=QUO say-NF  
 ‘Then if we speak of what is said in the second teaching within that, [that it is not permissible for us to steal].’ (YR canteen video)

- (14.32) དེ་ཟང་ གཏམ་ འདི་ ཚོས་སྐྱེད་ལོ་ ལའ་ཤད་ མེད། ལྷའི་ལགས་ ད་རིང་ ལྷམ་ཁང་ལས་ དགོངས་བོ་ ཐོབ་ཏོ་ ཞིན་ ལའ་ལྷོ།  
*t'izã: tam=di tɛʰoki=lo ləp-ɛɛ mɛ? [bhaila t'ariŋ ménkʰã:=lɛ*  
 but word=DEMPH PN=DAT say-INF EX.PER PN today hospital=ABL  
*gompo tʰop-to ɪ: ləp-ti].*  
 permission receive-IPFV EQU.PER say-NF  
 ‘But Choki does not know this fact [that Bhaila is getting a permission to leave the hospital today].’ (Richhi 30)

<sup>405</sup> The filler-word is somewhat analogous to *that* in English *that*-complement clauses, although in English the filler-word has grammaticalized into a complementizer. In present English, a better analogy is the clause *I know the fact [that x]*, where *the fact* functions as a filler that makes the main clause syntactically complete even without the complement clause.

The motivation for placing the complement clause after the main clause in (14.31) and (14.32) is probably that this order is easier to process when the complement is long.

The last two examples illustrate two alternative strategies for making a complement clause for the noun *rite<sup>hi</sup>* ‘hope’. The first involves a finite clause with the complementizer *láp-ti* whereas the second uses a non-finite strategy, genitivized *-po*-infinitive.

- (14.33) ཚོས་སྐྱེད་ ཉིན་ཚད་མེད་ རེ་ཆེ་ བཏང་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ ཀརྨའི་ ཙ་ལས་ ཡི་གེ་ སྐབས་ འོང་སེ་ ལབ་སྟེ།  
*te<sup>h</sup>øki?* *nìm* *te<sup>h</sup>ame?* *rite<sup>hi</sup>* *tap-z̥ɛ:* *jò?* [*karmø:* *tsa=le* *jìgi* *lep*  
 PN day every hope sow-PROG EX.PER Karma.GEN at=ABL letter arrive  
 ò:=s *láp-ti*].  
 come=QUO say-NF  
 ‘Choki hopes every day [that a letter would come from Karma].’ (Richhi 138)

- (14.34) ད་ ང་ཅེ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ རང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ འཕྱོད་ ཐོབ་པའི་ རེ་ཆེ་ མེད།  
*t'a* *ŋà=ni* [*ágja* *rã:* *jàmtɛi?* *p<sup>h</sup>ɛ?* *t<sup>h</sup>op-ø:*] *rite<sup>hi</sup>*  
 now 1SG=TOP elder.brother 2SG.M with meet receive-2INF.GEN hope  
*mɛ?*  
 NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘Now as for me, I don’t have a hope [that I would get to meet you, brother].’ (Richhi 163)

#### 14.2.2.2 Complementizer *ki* (loan from Nepali)

The Nepali complementizer *ki* is occasionally used also in spoken Denjongke. As a sign of its approval as a loan among some speakers, it is used in an example sentence of class 9-10 Denjongke grammar and spelling textbook:

- (14.35) ཚེ་རིང་གིས་ ལབ་སྟེ་ ཟུང་གི་ ཁོས་ རྣམ་ལོ་ འང་ མེ་སྐབས།  
*ts<sup>h</sup>erij=gi* *láp-o* *bɛ?* [*ki* *k<sup>h</sup>u:* *nàmlo* *ã:* *mi-kjap*].  
 PN=AGT say-2INF EQU.NE COMP 3SGM.AGT ever lie NEG-strike  
 ‘Tshering said [that he never lies].’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 136)

#### 14.2.3 Complement clauses with a resumptive demonstrative

These clauses differ from correlative clauses (see §13.3) in that the resumptive demonstrative is not coreferent with the question word in the first clause (as is the case in a correlative clause) but with the first clause as a whole. The complement clause is given in brackets and the resumptive demonstrative is underlined.

- (14.36) ངའི་ བུ་མ་ འདི་ལོ་ གསོ་ ཚུགས་པད་ མེ་ཚུགས་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཁོང་གིས་ ལྷ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ རོན་ལས་ འདི་  
 [*ŋɛ:* *p<sup>h</sup>um=di=lo* *só* *ts<sup>h</sup>u=pɛ?* *mi-ts<sup>h</sup>u?* *ódi* *k<sup>h</sup>oŋ=gi*  
 my girl=DEMPH=DAT care be able.to=EQU.NE NEG-be.able.to that 3PL=AGT  
*ta-ɛɛ=ki* *t<sup>h</sup>onle=di*  
 see-INF=GEN for.purpose.of=DEMPH  
 ‘For the purpose of seeing (the fact) [whether or not he will be able to care for their (lit. my) daughter] they...’ (SGD wedding customs)

- (14.37) འགོ་ དང་པོ་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ ལ་བ་མཁན་ འདི་ གན་ བོ་ མོ་འདི་ ཉ་གོ་ དགོས་པོ་ གལ་ཆེན་ མིན།  
*go t'anyo ηàtea=ki [teits<sup>h</sup>o? làp-k<sup>h</sup>en=di k'an bo]*  
 beginning at.first 1PL=AGT community say-NMLZ=DEMPH what EQU.NE.Q  
*ódi hako go:-po k'ε:te<sup>h</sup>ĩ: í:*  
 that understand be.needed-2INF important EQU.PER  
 'First, it is of importance to need to understand [what (the thing) called society is].'  
 (Richhi 7)

Examples (14.36) and (14.37) resemble clauses (14.30-32) in having a filler-word in the main clause which is coreferent with the whole complement clause. There are, however, three differences. First, the order of the clauses is different, in (14.30-32) [main clause + complement clause] and (14.36-37) [complement clause + main clause]. Second, in (14.36-37) the filler-word is a demonstrative whereas (14.30-32) use other filler-words. Third, the complement clauses in (14.30-32) have a complementizer whereas the ones in (14.36-37) do not.

### 14.3 Summary remarks

This chapter described complement clauses, which occur in non-finite and finite forms. Non-finite complement clauses can be formed by infinitives *-po* and *-εε?*, the progressive marker *-teĩ:/zĩ:/zin* and postposition *korlo* 'about'. It was shown that finite complement clauses can be formed with or without a complementizer. Constructions without the complementizer occur both in the declarative and the interrogative. Complement clauses with a complementizer seem longer on average than those without the complementizer, suggesting that the presence of the complementizer aids processing and enables longer clauses. Denjongke was seen to have two main complementizers, which can be used indendently or together, and a third form borrowed from Nepali. The last section introduced complement clauses with a resumptive pronoun, which differ from correlative clauses in that the resumptive demonstrative is coreferent with the whole complement clause, not one word in the complement clause (as in correlative clauses).

## 15 Adverbial clauses

This chapter discusses adverbial clauses. The other types of subordinate clauses are treated in §13 (constituent complement clauses, including relative clauses) and §14 (clausal complement clauses). Adverbial clauses modify the verb complex or the entire clause (Thompson et al 2007: 238). The treatment begins with an introduction in which the various constructions used in adverbial clauses are categorized according to form into four types (form-to-function ordering) (§15.1). In the actual discussion after that, the various constructions are described under functionally motivated headings (function-to-form ordering). The functional headings are the following: nonfinal clauses (§15.2), temporal clauses (§15.3), causal clauses (§15.4), purposive clauses (§15.5), conditional clauses (§15.6), concessive clauses (§15.7), circumstance and manner clauses (§15.8), additive clauses (§15.9), substitutive clauses (§15.10), comparative clauses (§15.11) and various uses of the terminative converb (§15.12).

### 15.1 Introduction to forms

The types of formal marking used in adverbial clauses are converb, postposition with accompanying modifying clause, noun with accompanying modifying clause and other types of marking respectively, see Tables 15.1-4. Note that the form *kap* (WD སྐབས་ *skabs*) occurs both as a converb (*-kap*) attached directly to the verb root and as a noun (*kap* ‘time’) with a nominalized and genitivized complement clause.

Table 15.1. Converbial endings used in adverbial clauses

<i>-ti/di</i>	ཉི་མེ	nonfinal
<i>-pa/ba</i>	བ(ར)/བ(ར)	circumstantial-purposive
<i>-(patce)ne</i>	བ(ར)ཅེན	conditional
<i>-runj</i>	རུང་	concessive
<i>-sondā:, -sompdā:,</i>	སོང་དང་, སོངམ་དང་	simultaneous
<i>-tsubdā:</i>	ཚུབ་དང་	simultaneous
<i>-kap</i>	སྐབས་	simultaneous
<i>-dy:</i>	དུས་	simultaneous
<i>-renk<sup>h</sup>a</i>	རན་ཁར་	simultaneous
<i>-sā:, -sonzā:</i>	ཟང་, སོང་ཟང་	terminative

Table 15.2. Postpositions heading adverbial clauses

<i>nàŋca, nàŋlo</i>	ནང་ག་, ནང་ལོ་	‘inside’, circumstantial
<i>t’ønlø</i>	དོན་ལོ་	‘for the purpose of’, purposive
<i>gjablæ</i>	རྒྱབ་ལས་	‘after’, anterior
<i>nénle</i>	ཕྱོད་ལས་	‘before’, posterior
<i>nàŋtar, nàŋzin</i>	ནང་ལྟར་, ནང་བཞིན་	‘according to’, comparative manner
<i>t’ønzin(gi)</i>	དོན་བཞིན་(གྱིས་)	‘in accordance with, in view of’, comparative manner
<i>p’a:pu</i>	བར་ལོ་	‘in between’, simultaneous

Table 15.3. Nouns heading adverbial clauses

<i>ken</i>	རྒྱན་	‘cause, condition’, causal
<i>gā:</i>	མཱ་	‘time’, simultaneous
<i>kap</i>	སྐབས་	‘time’, simultaneous

Table 15.4. Other constructions used in adverbial clauses

= <i>ki/gi</i> (agentive)	-( <i>ཀི</i> ) <i>ས</i>	causal
= <i>le</i> (ablative)	- <i>ལས</i>	anterior (temporal)
- <i>po-dã</i> . <sup>406</sup>	<i>པོ་དང་</i>	2INF-CONJ, simultaneous
<i>k'amjasenε</i>	<i>གན་བྱས་སེ་ནེ་</i>	connector 'because', causal
<i>mits<sup>h</sup>ε?</i>	<i>མི་ཚད་</i>	connector 'in addition' (lit. 'not stopping'), additive
<i>mèmbo</i>	<i>མན་པོ་</i>	connector 'except (+negation in the following main clause)', negated additive
<i>lò: mè:po</i>	<i>ལོང་མེད་པོ་</i>	'no sooner...than', 'as soon as', immediate anteriority
- <i>po tsamgi</i>	<i>པོ་ཙམ་གྱིས་</i>	'as soon as', immediate anteriority
<i>làpti</i>	<i>ལཔ་ལྷི་</i>	nonfinal converb of <i>làp</i> 'say', purpose and causality
<i>téË:/zë:/zin</i>	<i>བཞིན་</i>	progressive marker, circumstance/manner

The analysis here applies the term converb to several Denjongke verbal forms. Therefore a brief discussion on converbs is in order. Haspelmath (1995: 3-8) defines a converb as “a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination”. Converbs are subordinate forms, which modify verbs but not nouns. They are characterized as verbal adverbs which do not function as either clausal or nominal complements (Haspelmath [1995: 3-8]). This definition fits Denjongke with two caveats. The first caveat is that, similar to many other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2006: 146), one of Denjongke converbal suffixes, nonfinal *-ti/di*, can be used, in Coupe’s (2006: 146) words, “in a more coordinative manner” to form clause chains, which describe sequences of events. The second caveat is that the conditional converbal suffix may attach either to a verb root, in which case the construction is clearly non-finite, or it may attach to the final auxiliary of a periphrastic construction with temporal and aspectual values, both features of finiteness. Only those verbal suffixes that attach directly to the verb root and involve no clear nominalization are here considered converbal suffixes.

Other verb-modifying adverbial clauses involve nominalization and the use of cases and postpositions. The ten converbs are the nonfinal converb marked by *-ti/di*, the circumstantial-purposive converb marked by *-pa/ba*, the conditional converb marked by *-(patε)ne/- (bateε)ne*, the concessive converb marked by *-run*, the simultaneous converbs marked by *-podã:*, *-sondã:/sompdã:*, *-tsubdã:*, *-kap*, *-dy:* and *-reŋk<sup>h</sup>a* respectively, and the terminative converb marked by *-sonzã:*, see Table 15.1. These converbs occur at various levels of specialization. For instance, the nonfinal one is, in Nedjalkov’s (1995: 106-110) terms, “contextual” in that its meaning is context-dependent, whereas the conditional and concessive converbs are highly “specialized” in that their basic meaning is invariable.

## 15.2 Nonfinal *-ti/di*

The most basic function of the nonfinal converb marker *-ti/di* is to indicate that another verb is following, i.e. that the sentence is not complete. Therefore *-ti/di* is here glossed merely as nonfinal (NF).<sup>407</sup> In practice, most of the instances are conceived as anterior to the main verb but in many cases, as shown below, the verbal action marked by *-ti/di* is temporally simultaneous to the main verb. This is especially the case when the nonfinal converb modifies

<sup>406</sup> This form, along with *-sondã:*, *-sompdã:* and *-tsubdã:* often occurs in a reduced pronunciation without nasalization on the final vowel, *-poda(:)*, *sonda(:)*, *-sompda(:)* and *-tsubda(:)*. The forms given here reflect a more conservative pronunciation

<sup>407</sup> See Watters (2018) for the same glossing for the cognate category in Dzongkha and DeLancey (1991: 3) for the same glossing of a functionally equivalent category in Lhasa Tibetan.

a nonspecific verb of motion, for instance *gju* (WD འགྱ) ‘go’. In a clause-chaining language such as Denjongke, the nonfinal converb is often used where non-clause-chaining languages such as English would use coordination. The most natural English translation is often, as in (15.1), mere ‘and’.

- (15.1) ཏེ་འདྲིའི་ རློན་ལས་ རྫོང་པ་ ལོང་སྟེ་ ཁ་ལག་ འགྱ།  
*te di: jénle t'o:pa lō:-ti*<sup>408</sup> *k<sup>h</sup>a-la?* *k<sup>h</sup>ju.*  
 then this.GEN before morning rise-NF mouth-hand wash  
 ‘Before that I rise up and wash my face and hands.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The clause-chaining construction in (15.1) may be described as dependent in that it is followed by another verb form.<sup>409</sup> On the other hand, the clause-chaining uses of *-ti/di* are not clearly subordinate in the sense that they would modify the matrix clause. Hence the clause-chaining uses have been termed “cosubordinate”, see Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 453-454) for a general discussion and Watters (forthcoming) for application to the related language Dzongkha. More complex clause-chaining with *-ti/di* is illustrated in (15.2) with four instances (given in bold), each having an anterior function where the verbal action marked by the nonfinal marker temporally precedes the action marked by the following verb. Note that the whole example (15.2) forms a simultaneous clause ending in *kap* ‘time’ (see §15.3.3.4), and that there is also a manner clause marked by the progressive *zē:* (see §15.8.3) and a complement clause ending in *-po*-infinitive (see §14.1.1). All the cosubordinate/subordinate clauses are marked with square brackets.

- (15.2) བོ་ཙོ་ ཏང་ཏང་ཅིག་ རྫོང་ཕུང་ རློང་ལས་ ལྷུ་མ་སྟེ་ མགོ་ལས་ བྱུག་ ཐོན་བཞིན་ ཡོང་བོ་ མཐོང་སྟེ་ བམ་ཕྱེ་དྲ་ རང་ལས་ ཏོ་རས་ འགྱ་སྟེ་ ཏོ་  
 རས་ཀྱིས་ བྱུག་ ཕྱིས་ ཕྱིན་བཞིན་ ཡང་བར་ ལེན་སྟེ་ རྫོང་ ཡོང་བའི་ སྐབས།  
 [*p'otso tā:tā:=tei?* *do-p<sup>h</sup>uŋ* *tɛŋ=lo* ***lum-di***] [*go=le* *k<sup>h</sup>ja?*  
 child middle.size=INDF stone-pile top=DAT fall-NF head=ABL blood  
*t<sup>h</sup>on-zē:* *jò-po* ***t<sup>h</sup>ō:-ti***] [*ámp<sup>h</sup>i* *nàŋ=le* *tora*  
 come.out-PROG EX-2INF see-NF breast.pocket inside=ABL handkerchief  
***t<sup>h</sup>u-ti***] [*tora=gi* *k<sup>h</sup>ja?* *p<sup>h</sup>i:* *p'in-zē:* *p<sup>h</sup>a:pa:* ***lèn-di***] *dø:*  
 pick-NF handkerchief=AGT blood wipe give-PROG lap.LOC take-NF stay  
*jø-pø:* *kap*  
 EX-2INF.GEN time  
 ‘When she saw that a middle-size child had fallen off a stone-pile and blood was coming out of his head, she picked a handkerchief from her breast-pocket and, wiping out blood with the handkerchief, took (him) into (her) lap...’ (Richhi 2)

In addition to anterior sequence, the verbal action marked by *-ti/di* may be simultaneous to the verbal action that follows. In these cases, the converb may be seen as an adverbial modifier to the accompanying action, a more typically converbal function than clause chaining illustrated in (15.2). The converbal construction itself does not suggest a difference between sequential and modifying relationship (similarly Genetti 2005: 50 for Dolakhā Newar). The context, which to a high degree consists of verb choice, determines the interpretation. While example (15.3) is ambiguous between anterior/consecutive (“having sat down”) and simultaneous reading (“sitting”), in the examples in (15.4-6) the simultaneous

<sup>408</sup> The voicing/voicelessness of *-ti/di* following a velar nasal (usually realized as a nasalized vowel) has to be learnt on a case by case basis, for instance *t<sup>h</sup>uŋ-di* ‘drinking’, *sō:-di* ‘going’, *òn-di* ‘coming’, *riŋdi* ‘becoming long’, but *mjòŋ-ti/mjō:-ti* ‘finishing’, *tē<sup>h</sup>ō:-ti* ‘rushing’ (see also §2.8.1).

<sup>409</sup> For a defence for allowing converbs to mark clause-chaining (contra Haspelmath 1995), see Genetti (2005).

reading is preferable. The nonfinal converbs in (15.4-6) modify/specify the general verbs *gju* ‘go’ and *ta* ‘look’ by specifying manners of going and looking.

(15.3) ལྷ་སྒྱིད་ ཐང་ས་ གྱི་མིའི་ རྩེང་ལོ་ རྩོད་སྟེ་ ཇ་ འཐུང་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*lʌki? tʰã:sa gjaʈʰi: tɛŋ=lo dɔ:-ti tɛ'a tʰuŋ-zɛn du?*  
 PN flat.place chair.GEN top=DAT sit-NF tea drink-PROG EX.SEN  
 ‘Sitting on a chair in a flat place Lhaki drinks tea.’/‘Having sat down on a chair in a flat place, Lhaki is drinking tea.’ (Richhi 60)

(15.4) ཕར་ཚུར་ མིག་ འགྱིར་ཟླེ་ ལྷ་ཟང་  
*pʰa:tsʰu: mi:k gir-di ta-sã:*  
 thither-hither eye stare-NF look=TERM  
 ‘When/as (she) looks intently here and there....’ (Richhi 98)<sup>410</sup>

(15.5) ཇ་ལོ་དྲོ་ མཐོང་རུང་ མ་མཐོང་པོ་ འདེམ་ བཟུང་ཟླེ་ འགྱུ་བོ་ ཟླད།  
*ŋà=lo=to tɔ:-ruŋ ma-tʰø:-po dɛm zu:-di gju:*  
 1SG=DAT=CEMPH see-CONC NEG-see-2INF like.it avoid-NF go.2INF  
*bɛ?*  
 EQU.NE  
 ‘Although (he) saw me (he) walked avoiding me, as if not seeing (me).’ (nga’i ’gan Richhi 23)

(15.6) a) ལྷན་ཁང་ན་ ལྷིག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་ན་  
*mɛŋkʰã:=na kʰik-ti gju-nɛ*  
 hospital=LOC lead-NF go-COND  
 ‘If (he) is taken to the hospital...’ (rnam-rtog 7)

b) ཉེ་ མོ་འདེ་ཅིག་ཀྱང་ ཇ་ ར་མོང་ འདི་ཚུ་ ངོས་ འབག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་བའི་གེ་, འགྱུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ཏུས་ཚོང་ སློབས་ཚར་མཁམ་ ཟླད།  
*tɛ ódetsika t'a ŋámo di=tsu t'o? bak-ti gju-wø:=gi,*  
 then that.time now camel these=PL load carry-NF go-2INF.GEN=GEN  
*gju-ɛɛ=ki t'ytsʰø? lɛp-tsʰa-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 go-INF=GEN time arrive-CMPL-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Now then at that time, the time had come for these camels to go [carrying loads].’ (PD bet story)

Whereas in (15.3), the converbal form expresses an attendant circumstance to the finite verb, in (15.4) and (15.5) the converb, rather than joining two clauses, functionally forms a complex predicate with the main verb. These types of constructions, in which the latter verb is typically a verb of motion, have given rise to serial verb constructions by dropping the converbal marker. The clauses in (15.6) exemplify such forms where the converbal ending could be dropped, *kʰik-ti gju* > *kʰik gju* ‘bring (a human or a large animal)’, *bak-ti gju* > *bak gju* ‘take away (a thing)’. For more details on serial verbs, see §4.2.3.

When the converb marked by *-ti/di* is used, the actor of the converbal clause and the main clause are usually the same. Indeed, by using the nonfinal converb, the speaker typically indicates that the following verb has the same actor as the converbal clause. In contexts where the actor switches, one of the simultaneous constructions is typically used (see §15.3.3).

<sup>410</sup> The construction *ta=sã:* is analogous to Nepali *her-e-samma* [look-PFV-until] ‘when looking, as far as one can see’.

These facts suggest that Denjongke is developing a switch-reference system, which has already been described for the Tibetic languages Shigatse Tibetan (Haller 2009) and Dzongkha (Watters forthcoming). However, example (15.7) provides an exception to the rule that *-ti/di* presumes an unchanged actor. This example, I suspect, may be somewhat confusing to the hearer, because the changed actor of the last clause is not explicitly mentioned.

- (15.7) ཨོ་འདིས་ འུ་ལྷོ་ན་ སྐང་ འཚོ་ལ་ འབག་ འཚོ་ལ་ འབག་ སོང་ལྷོ་ འུ་ལྷོ་ གཅིག་ན་ སྐང་ མ་ གཅིག་ རོབ་ལྷོ་ སྐང་ འདི་ འདྲོ་ འདི་  
 ལྷོང་ཕག་ ལལ་ གཅིག་ ལལ་ལོ་ སྐང།  
*ódi-p'ja k'hu k'jò:=na lá: ts'hø: bak ts'hø: bak só:-di*  
 that-ADVZR 3SGM village=LOC bull search carry search carry go.PFV-NF  
*k'jò: tci:=na lá: tɕʰa tci? t'op-ti lá:=di dzo:=di*  
 village one=LOC bull pair one find-NF bull=DEMPH price=DEMPH  
*tõ.tʰa? k'hɛ: tci? làp-o bɛ?*  
 thousand score one say-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Therefore he went into villages searching and searching and in one village he found a pair of bulls and (the seller) said the price was 20,000 rupees.' (TB bull story)

The nonfinal converb construction is typically used for expressing how long the results of a previous action have existed:

- (15.8) འདི་ལར་ སྐབས་ལྷོ་ ཉ་ལམ་ ལྷ་ལོ་ བརྒྱད་ཚྲོད་ ལང་ཉོ་ ཨོ་ལྷ།  
*dikʰa læp-ti halam dau ge:-ts'hø? lá:-to ágja.*  
 here arrive-NF about month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother  
 'It's about some eight months since I arrived here, brother.' (Richhi 12)

In spoken language, *-ti/di* is often accompanied by the marker *-ki/gi*, which looks like a genitive or an agentive, see (15.9). This form almost never occurs in written language, although the novel Richhi has one instance written ཀི་ *-ki* (བཤད་སྟེ་ཀི་ *bshad-sti-ki* [ɕétiki] 'saying'), suggesting that the author considers the marker a genitive (ཀི་ *-ki*) rather than an agentive (ཀིས་ *-kis*).

- (15.9) ལུ་གིས་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐང་ འདི་ལོ་ ལྷོང་ཕག་ ལལ་ གཅིག་ གཉིས་ ལྷོན་ལྷོ་ཀི་ ལུ་ སྐང་ འདི་ ཉོ་སྟོན་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ སྐང།  
*k'hu=gi ódi lá:=di=lo tõ.tʰa? k'hɛ: tci? ji: p'in-diki k'hu*  
 3SGM=AGT that bull=DEMPH=DAT thousand score one two give-NF 3SGM  
*lá:=di jò:-ti kʰi? òm-bo bɛ?*  
 bull=DEMPH buy-NF lead come-2INF EQU.NE  
 'Giving 22,000 for the bull, he bought the bull and brought it (home).' (TB bull story)

The nonfinal converb may be followed by the dative-locative =*lo* when the clause expresses manner of doing:

- (15.10) ཅུབ་སྟོན་ལོ་ རབ་ཅུབ་ ལྷོས་གོ།  
*rup-ti=lo raprup p'ja-gɛ.*  
 join.together-NF=DAT together do-HORT  
 'Let's join and do it together.' (LT e)



The nonfinal marker does not co-occur with the negative prefixes, \**ma*-VERB-*ti*, \**mi*-VERB-*ti*<sup>411</sup>. Negation is accomplished in a strategy identical with the circumstantial converb, *ma*-VERB-*pa*. This is quite natural, because when an anterior action is negated, it in effect becomes a manner or circumstance for the following action. For instance, when the *eating* in *I ate and came* is negated, it becomes a manner or circumstance of coming, *I came without eating*. For examples on negating the circumstantial converb *-pa/ba*, refer to §15.8.1. There is, however, a circumlocution of the unacceptable form \**ma*-VERB-*ti* which combines nominalization and the nonfinal form of the verbalizer *p'ja* ‘do’. In (15.11), in order to avoid the infelicitous \**ma*-VERB-*ti*, the speaker nominalizes the expression as *man-zak-o* and assigns the nonfinal marking to the following verbalizer. A functionally equivalent alternative would be to use the negated circumstantial converb *man*-VERB-(*p*)*a*.

(15.11) a) སེར་རྒྱམ་, ཚོད་ མེ་ཏྲིག་ ཅེ་ མན་བཞག་གོ་ འཛིབ་མཁན་ ཞིན།  
*sé:bjam, tɛʰøʔ míntoʔ tɛɛ: man-zak-o p'ja-ti dzip-kʰɛ: í:*  
 bumble.bee 2SG.L flower at.all NEG-leave-2INF do-NF suck-NMLZ EQU.PER  
 ‘Bumble bee, you are one who sucks flowers without leaving any aside.’ (RS bee story)

b) ཅམ་ ཅམ་ འབྲུང་ཐེན་ ཅིག་ སར་ ཚུར་ མ་བྱོད་པོ་ འཛིབ་མེ་ ཞིན། ཞིན། ཞིན། ཞིན།  
*team team buntʰɛ: tɛiʔ pʰa: tsʰu: ma-pʰɛ-po*  
 quietly quietly moment one thither hither NEG-budge-2INF  
*p'ja-ti dø: ná.*  
 do-NF sit TAG.ASR  
 ‘Quietly, quietly, sit a while without budging, will you.’ (rnam-rtog 28)

In my written data, the nonfinal marker does not occur with copulas. Consultant KN, however, commented that while using *-ti/di* is perfectly acceptable with the existential *jøʔ*, see (15.12), its use with the equative *í:* is limited to uses in ritual language of incantations, see (15.13), where the translation is tentative.<sup>412</sup>

(15.12) རང་གི་ མྱེད་ འདི་ བརྗེ་བླགས་ ཡོད་ལྟོ་ རང་གི་ མྱེད་ རྒྱལ་ས་ཤང་ རྒྱུད།  
*raŋ=gi kɛ:=di tɛɛʔaʔ jø-ti raŋ-gi kɛʔ kjap-ɛɛ*  
 self=GEN language=DEMPH lovable EX-NF self=GEN language strike-INF  
*bɛʔ.*  
 EQU.NE  
 ‘(One’s) own language being lovable, (he) speaks (his) own language.’ (YR canteen video)

(15.13) ད་ འདི་ལས་ ཞིན་ཞི་ འཛིབ་ དང་ ཐོག་མོ་ཉིད་ལོ་ འཛོམས་བྱ་བྱེད་ འདིའི་ རྣ་ གནམ་ འཁོར་ལོ་ ཚེ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་ གུང་ལུབ།  
*t'a di=lɛ ín-di p'ja-run t'a:tʰomɔɲi:=lo dzambuliŋ*  
 now this=ABL EQU-NF do-CONC very.beginning=DAT world  
*di:=na nám kʰorlo tɛɛ-ge:=ki k'uŋ-pʰup*  
 this.GEN=LOC sky sphere peak-eight=AGT roof-cover  
 ‘Even if we do it thus being (?), at the very beginning in this world the sphere of the sky was covered by eight peaks.’ (sbar-phung 35)

<sup>411</sup> I have one recorded exception, see *mi-tsʰe-tiki* in example (12.22). Moreover, consultant KN commented that he has heard some people use forms *mi-kjap-ti(ki)* or *ma-kjap-ti(ki)* but he considers them incorrect forms.

<sup>412</sup> However, I have some initial evidence that some speakers may accept a wider use of *ín-di*.

### 15.3 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are divided into anterior, posterior and simultaneous clauses, based on the temporal relationship between the subordinate and main clause. Anterior clauses mark verbal action that happens before the following main verb. It was already shown in §15.2 that nonfinal clauses are typically interpreted as anterior. Anterior constructions described here, however, mark anteriority more explicitly than the nonfinal converb, which may also have simultaneous uses expressing manner, as described above. Posterior constructions, or ‘before’-clauses, mark action that happened after the action presented by the verb in the following main clause. Simultaneous constructions, on the other hand, mark actions that are at least partly simultaneous with the following verb.

#### 15.3.1 Anterior clauses

General anteriority can be marked by two constructions. The first construction is formed by the ablative marker =*le*, which can attach to *-po*-infinitive or the completive marker *-ts<sup>h</sup>a*: (§15.3.1.1). The second construction expressing general anteriority employs the postposition *gjable* ‘after’ or *dze:(lo)* ‘after’ (§15.3.1.2). In addition, two construction (VERB-*lō*: *mè*:-*po* and VERB-*po tsamgi*) express immediate anteriority, which corresponds to the expressions “as soon as” and “no sooner than” (§15.3.1.3).

##### 15.3.1.1 Anteriority with ablative =*le*

The ablative marker =*le* may be combined to *-po*-infinitive (15.14), the completive *-ts<sup>h</sup>a*(:) (15.15) or its nominalized form *-ts<sup>h</sup>a-u/ts<sup>h</sup>o-u* (15.16) to mark an action that precedes the action coded by the following main clause. Of these forms, the first and the last occur both in the spoken language and the novel *Richhi*, whereas the form *ts<sup>h</sup>a=le* has been only attested in the spoken language.

- (15.14) མམ་གྲོངས་པོ་ལས་ ང་ཅག་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ རྫོང་ཤང་ བཏང་ཚར།  
*ám t̪’ō:-po=le n̄àtɕa? kʰim=na d̪ø:-ɛɛ? t̪ã:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:*  
 mother die-2INF=ABL 1PL house=LOC live-INF leave-CMPL  
 ‘After mum died, we stopped living in (our) house.’ (*Richhi* 133)

- (15.15) ཏང་རྟོ་མ་ ཡོལ་ལས་ རྗེན་ཐུམ་ རྒྱབས་ཚར་ལས་ ལྷག་ འདི་ འུག་ལས་ འོག་ལྷོ་ ལུམ་ཇི་ ཤེ་བོ་ ཞིན།  
*hã:toma j̄òu=le dokt<sup>h</sup>um kjap-ts<sup>h</sup>a=le ta:=di p’ja:=le òtɛ*  
 suddenly up=ABL kick do-CMPL=ABL tiger=DEMPH cliff=ABL down  
*lum-di ɛí-u t̪̃:*  
 fall-NF die-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘As a result of (him) having given a kick from above, the tiger fell off the cliff and died.’ (KT animal story)

- (15.16) ང་ཅག་ མིའི་ ལུས་ ལེན་ཟླེ་ འོང་ཚར་བོ་ལས་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ ཡན་བོའི་ གཡོག་ འུག་ཤང་ འདི་རང་ དགོ་བ་ ཞིན།  
*n̄àtɕa? mí: l̪y: l̪èn-di ò:-ts<sup>h</sup>o-u=le tɕi:=ki*  
 1PL human.GEN body take-NF come-CMPL-2INF=ABL one=AGT  
*zen=lo p<sup>h</sup>emb̪ø: j̄ó? p’ja-ɛɛ=di=rã: giu t̪̃:*  
 another=DAT help.GEN work do-INF= DEMPH=AEMPH merit EQU.PER  
 ‘Since we have come to take a human body, it is helping one another that is a meritorious act.’ (*Richhi* 5)

The construction with the nominalized completive form is realized in spoken language in various reduced forms, depending on the language community. The following forms occur in my data: *-ts<sup>h</sup>ou=le*, *-tsub=le*, *-ts<sup>h</sup>o:=le* and *-so:=le*. The last two are phonologically

conditioned variants given by the same speaker. The form *-tsub=le* was said by a consultant to be a reduced form of *ts<sup>h</sup>a-u=le* (< *ts<sup>h</sup>a-wo=le*). For examples, consider (15.17-19). The form *-tsub=le* is here illustrated by two examples (15.18-19) by two different consultants from different locations (Bermeok and Lingdum) to show that the form is not restricted to one locational variety of Denjongke:

(15.17) ཏར་ཀུ་ལས་ ཡར་ འཛོག་ཚུ་ལས་ ལམ་སྐྱད་ མོ་ན་ བྱིམ་ མོ་ན་ ཡོད།  
*tarku=le jà: dzek-ts<sup>h</sup>o-u=le lām-mε? óna k<sup>h</sup>im óna jò?*  
 TPN=ABL up climb-CMPL.2INF=ABL road-below there house there EX.PER  
 ‘Having climbed up from Tarku, there’s a house below the road there.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(15.18) ང་ཅག་ ཤི་ནེ་ མི་ ཤི་ཚུབ་ལས་ ལ་ལོ་ མི་ ལེགས་ བསོད་ནམས་ བཟང་པོ་ ཡོད་ནེ་ འདི་  
*ŋàtea? éi-nε mí éi-tsub=le làlo mí lêm sónam*  
 1PL die-COND human die-CMPL.2INF=ABL some human good merit  
*zaypo jò:-nε=di...*  
 good EX-COND=DEMPH  
 ‘If we die, after a human dies, if someone is a person of good luck...’ (KT discussion with TB)

(15.19) བར་ འདི་ སྐྱེ་བོ་ སྐྱད། ང་ སྐྱེ་ཚུབ་ལས་ ཇཱ་ཙོ་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ཏེ་, ཏལ་ཏ་ (Nep.) གཉིས་ གསུམ་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ འདི་ལོ་ རྫོང་ འགོས་ཤང་ སྐྱད།  
*p'a:=di ki-u be? t'a ki-tsub=le átsi gjaple*  
 interval=DEMPH grow-2INF EQU.NE now grow-CMPL.2INF=ABL a.bit after  
*te... hapta jí: súm gjaple t'a di=lo ko: go:-εε be?*  
 then week two three after now this=DAT dig be.needed-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Meanwhile it grows. Then a little after having grown, after two or three weeks it then has to be dug.’ (PL interview)

The forms *-ts<sup>h</sup>o:le*, see (15.20), and *-so:le*, see (15.21), were conditioned in the speech of consultant SGD so that the reduced form *-so:le* occurred when the verb had an initial affricate<sup>413</sup> (e.g. *ts<sup>h</sup>ã:-so:=le* ‘after completing’, *tea:-so:=le* ‘after coming’), whereas the fuller form *-ts<sup>h</sup>o:le* occurred otherwise (e.g. *mjò:-ts<sup>h</sup>o:=le* ‘after finishing’, *dik-ts<sup>h</sup>o:=le* ‘after arranging’). The reduced pronunciation illustrates the tendency to reduce or elide the second aspirated sound in a word, especially if the second aspiration occurs in a verbal suffix.

(15.20) ལས་ལེན་ རྒྱུང་ཚོའ་ལས་ ང་ འབའ་དར་ བཏགས་ཤང་ སྐྱད།  
*k<sup>h</sup>e:lē: mjò:-ts<sup>h</sup>o:=le t'a bada ta:-εε be?*  
 incantation finish-CMPL.2INF=ABL now silk.scarf append-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘After the incantation is finished, ceremonial scarves are then offered.’ (SGD wedding customs)

<sup>413</sup> Consultant RS has *-so:le* also with initial aspirated lateral /l/, e.g. *lep-so:=le* (RS) vs. *lep-ts<sup>h</sup>o:=le* ‘after arriving’ (SGD).

- (15.21) ལུ་མའི་བྱིམ་ན་བཅར་ཚོའི་ལས་འདི་བུའི་གི་ཡབ་དང་ཡུ་མ་འདི་གིས་  
*p'umy: k<sup>h</sup>im=na tea:-so:=le=di p'u-i-gi*  
 girl.GEN house=LOC come.HUM-CMPL.2INF=ABL=DEMPH boy=GEN=GEN  
*jà.p t'ã: jùma=di=gi*  
 father.HON and mother.HON=DEMPH=AGT  
 'Having come to the girl's house, the boy's father and mother...' (SGD wedding customs)

**15.3.1.2 Anteriority with the postpositions *gjable* 'after' and *dze:(lo)* 'after'**

Anterior constructions are also formed by attaching the postposition *gjablo/gjable* 'after' or *dze:(lo)* 'after' to the genitive form of a nominalized verb. As suggested by the three examples below, the construction is particularly common with the secondary verb *mjò:* 'finish'. Note that in (15.23) the nominalizer attaches to the completive marker *-ts<sup>h</sup>a:*.

- (15.22) འདི་ལས་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་བཤད་གྲ་ཚོས་སྒྲིགས་ལྗོངས་འདི་རྒྱལ་ལས་ང་སྐད་དོག་དཔེར་བརྗོད་ལྷ་ཁང་ནང་ག་གཡོག་ལྷོས་བཞེན་པོ་ལྷོས་སྡོད་པོ་ཨིན།  
*dile [dʑendzɔŋ ɛ́:da tɛ<sup>h</sup>o? dok mjò:-pø: gjable] ŋà gã:to?*  
 then Sikkim institute doctrine read finish-2INF.GEN after 1SG TPN  
*perdzø? ʃak<sup>h</sup>ã: nãŋɛa jø? p'ja-zin-po-p'ja dø:-po í:*  
 library shrine inside word do-PROG-2INF-ADVZR live-2INF EQU.PER  
 'Then, [after finishing studies at the the (Buddhist) institute,] I lived working at a Buddhist library in Gangtok.' (RB life story)

- (15.23) མོན་ལམ་བཏབ་ལྗོངས་ཚར་བའི་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ཁོང་གཉིས་པོས་དགོན་པོ་སྐར་བ་བསགས།  
*[mélam tap mjò:-ts<sup>h</sup>a-wø: gjablo] k<sup>h</sup>õ: jí:-po: gømpo*  
 prayer sow finish-CMPL-2INF.GEN after 3PL two-COL.AGT monastery  
*korwa sá?*  
 going.around accumulate  
 '[After finishing prayer,] the two of them accumulate monastery circumambulations.' (Richhi 2)

- (15.24) ཚོས་བཤད་ལྷོ་ལྗོངས་སོང་མ་རྒྱལ་ལས་  
*[tɛ<sup>h</sup>o? ɛ́-ti mjò:-sum gjable]...*  
 doctrine tell-NF finish-go.PFV.NMLZ(?) after  
 '[After finishing (his) teaching]...' or 'He finished teaching. Afterwards...' (TB boat story)

Note that the verb in (15.24) is not genitivized. The formative *-sum*, which typically occurs in the simultaneous construction *-sumdã:* (see §15.3.3.2) is here used as the sole verbal marker. Consultant KN commented that *gjable* here is probably rather a clause initial adverb (see the second translation option) than an anteriority marking relator noun.

The postposition *dze:(lo)* 'after' is used by some speakers alongside *gjable*. According to some speakers *dze:(lo)* is more Central Tibetan than Denjongke.

- (15.25) ཚང་ལྷན་དུས་ཚོད་སོང་བའི་རྗེས་ལོ་ལྷ་སྐྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཚོས་སྐྱེད་ལོ་  
*[ts<sup>h</sup>edɛ: t'yts<sup>h</sup>ø? sò:-bø: dze:lo] ʃaki=ki tɛ<sup>h</sup>øki=lo*  
 considerable time go.PFV-2INF after PN=AGT PN=DAT  
 '[After considerable time has passed], Lhaki (says) to Choki...' (Richhi 28)

- (15.26) འདེ་རང་ ཉེན་ ཡུན་རིང་ མཉམ་པོ་ བཞུགས་པའི་ རྗེས་  
 [de:=ra                    jìm   y:riŋ                    námpu   zu:-pø:                    dze:]  
 like.that=AEMPH   day   long.time   together stay.HON-2INF.GEN   after  
 ‘[After having stayed together for a long time]...’ (rna-gsung 20)

### 15.3.1.3 Immediate anteriority

Two constructions mark immediate anteriority, corresponding to the English expression ‘as soon as’ and ‘no sooner than’. These constructions emphasize that the action in the main verb follows immediately after the action depicted by the subordinate verb. The first construction, which is more frequent, is VERB *lò: mè:po*, consisting of the modal secondary verb *lò:*<sup>414</sup> ‘have time to’ (see §8.5.9) and the negated existential in *-po*-infinitive *mè:-po*.

- (15.27) ཉེ་ ང་ཅའི་ བོ་ཚོ་ཚུ་ མཐོང་ ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ བོ་ཚོ་ ལྷ་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ བོས་པ་ འོང་ཅེ།  
 te [ŋàtɕi<sup>415</sup> p'otso=tsu tʰõ:                    lò:                    mè:-po]                    p'otso   ŋá  
 so 1PL.GEN child=PL   see   have.time.to   NEG.EX-2INF   child   five  
 ŋàtɕa=lo   p'o:-pa   ð:-tɕɛ.  
 1PL=DAT   call-PUR   come-PST  
 ‘So [as soon as (they) saw us (lit. our) children], (they) came to call us five children.’  
 (UTR plains story)

- (15.28) ཇ་རྒྱ་ ཇ་རྒྱ་ ང་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ལས་ འོག་རྒྱེ་ སྤོངས་ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ ཡི་གེ་ སྐྱག་ སྐྱག་པར།  
 ágja                    ágja                    [ŋà   dɛndzõ:=le   lòk-ti                    lɛp                    lò:  
 elder.borther   elder.brother   1SG   Sikkim=ABL   return-NF   arrive   have.time.to  
 mè:-po]                    jìgi                    gu:                    gu:-pa  
 EX-2INF   letter   wait   wait-CIRC  
 ‘Brother, brother, [as soon as (or: since) I arrived back from Sikkim], I have been waiting and waiting a letter.’ (Richhi 146)

The second and less frequent construction is VERB-*po tsamgi*, which is based on WD ཅམ་ *tsam* ‘barely’.

- (15.29) སྐྱགས་ འདི་ཡང་ ག་རྒྱེབ་ འ་ཉ་གིས་ ལབ་པོ་ ཅམ་གིས་ སྐྱས་པའི་ ཟུར་ཁར་ ཁ་གིས་ ལག་གོ་ མེན་མོ་གིས་ རོང་ ཕྱག་སྐྱ་གི་  
 ta:=di=jã:                    k'atɛp                    [ã:nja=gi                    làp-o                    tsamgi]                    súpø:  
 tiger=DEMPH=too   how   marten=AGT   say-2INF   as.soon.as   belly.GEN  
 sù:kʰa                    kʰa=gi                    làko                    símo=gi                    t'õ:                    pʰuk-tiki...  
 corner   mouth=AGT   hand nail=AGT   hole   pierce-NF  
 ‘Somehow the tiger too, [as soon as the marten had said (so)], pierced a hole in the corner of the (elephant’s) side with (his) mouth and hand nails, and...’ (KT animal story)

<sup>414</sup> homophonous with *lò:* ‘stand’  
<sup>415</sup> The use of the genitive here is surprising, perhaps a mistake. The speaker is referring to a group of five people one of whom he is himself.

- (15.30) མཐོང་པོ་ ཅམ་གྱིས་ རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ སེམས་ལོ་ འདི་ འདྲི་མོ་ རང་ ཟླད། སེ་ མནོ་བོ་ མི་ཚད་  
 [tʰõ:-**po tsamgi**] rã:zingi sém=lo=di qɛmo=rã:  
 see-2INF as.soon.as by.itself mind=DAT=DEMPH she.demon=AEMPH  
 bɛ:=sɛ nó:-bo mi-tsʰɛ?...  
 EQU.NE=QUO think-2INF NEG-stop  
 ‘[As soon as (she) saw (her)], (she) naturally not only thought that (this) is indeed a she-demon...’ (rna-gsung 5)

### 15.3.2 Posterior clauses with postposition *jénle* ‘before’

Posterior constructions with the postposition *jénle* (also *jénlo* and *hénle*) ‘before’ (i.e. ‘before’-clauses) mark action that happened after the action presented by the verb in the following main clause. This means that the order of the actions in the sentence is contrary to the real life temporal sequence. Similarly to constituent-modifying clauses (relative clause, noun complement clause and postposition complement clause), the complement of *jénle* is a genitivized *-po*-infinitive, see (15.31-33). Note that the posterior clause in (15.33) has an embedded nonfinal clause (*mú: jìgi ɛik-ti*).

- (15.31) ལྷུང་བརྟན་ འགོ་ བཙུགས་ཀྱི་ རྩོན་ལོ་ ལྷ་སྦྱིད་གྱིས་ རོགས་ཚུ་ལོ་  
 [dzã:dar go tsuk-ø: **jénlo**] ʃaki=ki ro:=tsu=lo  
 training beginning plant-2INF.GEN before PN=AGT friend=PL=DAT  
 ‘[Before beginning the training], Lhaki (says) to the friends.’ (Richhi 64)
- (15.32) དེ་ཟང་ ལྷུ་ ཉན་བའི་ རྩོན་ལོ་ ཚོད་ལོ་ གཏམ་ གཅིག་ ལབ་པར་ འོང་བོ་ ཨིན་ རྒྱལ་མཚན།  
 [tʰizã: lú jém-bø: **jénlo**] tɕʰø:=lo tam=tɕi? ləp-a  
 but song listen-2INF.GEN before 2SG.L=DAT word=INDF say-PUR  
 òm-bo ǐ: gjaltsʰɛn.  
 come-2INF EQU.PER PN  
 ‘[But before listening to (your) song], I have come to tell you a message, Gyaltsen.’  
 (nga’i ’gan 24)
- (15.33) མོས་ ཡི་གེ་ བཞག་ལྷོ་ རྩོགས་ཀྱི་ རྩོན་ལོ་ རྩོད་པའི་ ལྷུང་ལར་ ཚར་ གསུམ་ ལྷུར།  
 [mú: jìgi ɛik-ti dok-ø: **jénlo**] tʰøpø: tɛŋkʰa tsʰa:  
 3SGF.AGT letter break-NF read-2INF.GEN before forehead.GEN above turn  
 súm dza:.  
 three stick  
 ‘[Before she opens and reads the letter], (she) touches (her) forehead three times (with the letter).’ (Richhi 141)

When the event in the main clause has already taken place, the posterior clause is negated, see (15.34) and (15.35). The negated verb may occur non-nominalized (15.34) or nominalized (15.35-36).

- (15.34) Paul གཞེན་ མ་རྒྱལས་ རྩོན་ལས་ ངའི་ ཨམ་ འདི་ སྲོང་ཚད།  
 [pol jén ma-kjap **jénle**] jè: ám=di tʰõ:-tsʰa:.  
 PN marriage NEG-do before my mother=DEMPH die.HON-CMPL  
 ‘[Before Paul married], my mother died.’ (DB life story)

- (15.35) ངའི་ཨ་པ་གིས་མན་གྲོངས་པོའི་ཚེན་ལོ་གསུང་བོ་གནང་ཟེ་བཞག་ཡོད།  
*jè:*      *ápa=gi*      [*man-dõ:-pø:*      *ñénlo*]      *súm-bo*  
 1SG.GEN father=AGT      NEG-die.HON-2INF.GEN      before      say.HON-2INF  
*ná:-di*      *za:*      *jò?*  
 do.HON-NF set      EX.PER  
 ‘My father said (so) [before he died].’ (Richhi 116)

- (15.36) འབྲས་ཚལ་ལོ་མན་བྱོན་བའི་ཚེན་ལས་འདི་  
 [*dendzo:=lo*      *man-dzø-m-bø:*      *ñénle=di*]  
 Sikkim=DAT      NEG-come.HON-2INF.GEN      before=DEMPH  
 ‘[before coming to Sikkim]...’ (KLT Bumchu story)

As an alternative to *-po*-infinitive, the complement of the postposition may be a genitivized *-εε*-infinitive:

- (15.37) འདི་ཁ་ར་འོང་གན་གི་ཉན་ལས་  
 [*dik<sup>h</sup>a=ra*      *õ:-εε=ki*      *henle*]  
 here=AEMPH      come-INF=GEN      before  
 ‘[Before coming here]...’ (PTA kitchen discussion)

### 15.3.3 Simultaneous constructions

Denjongke has several constructions which imply at least partial temporal overlap between the verbs in the subordinate clause and the main clause (these are comparable to English when-clauses). The various constructions are listed in Table 15.5 and described in the following subsections.

Table 15.5. Simultaneous dependent verbal constructions

Construction	Origin
VERB- <i>po-da:</i>	nominalizer <i>-po/bo</i> and temporal extension of coordinator <i>t'ã:</i> ‘and’
VERB- <i>sondã:</i>	<i>sõ:-bo</i> [go.PFV-2INF] + <i>t'ã:</i> ‘and’ (?)
VERB- <i>somdã:</i>	<i>sõ:-bo</i> [go.PFV-2INF] + <i>t'ã:</i> ‘and’ (?)
VERB- <i>sumdã:</i>	<i>sõ:-bo</i> [go.PFV-2INF] + <i>t'ã:</i> ‘and’ (?)
VERB- <i>tsubdã:</i> (CY)	<i>ts<sup>h</sup>o-u</i> [CMPL-2INF] + <i>t'ã:</i> ‘and’ (?)
VERB- <i>pø: gã:</i>	WT (བ)སྐང་ <i>sgang</i> ‘time’
VERB- <i>kap</i>	WT སྐབས་ <i>skabs</i> ‘time’
VERB- <i>dÿ:</i>	WT ཏུས་ <i>dus</i> ‘time, season’
VERB- <i>reŋ-k<sup>h</sup>a</i>	WT རན་ <i>ran</i> ‘be time to’ + spatial suffix <i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i>
VERB <i>lõ: mè:po</i>	secondary verb WT རོང་ <i>long</i> ‘have time to’ + NEG.EX-2INF
VERB-RDP <i>p'a:pu</i> NEG-VERB <i>p'a:pu</i>	WD བར་པོ་ <i>bar-po</i> ‘in between, while (negated ‘while not’)’ (from WT བར་ <i>bar</i> ‘between, middle’)

The great number of options for expressing simultaneity in Table 15.5 naturally raises the question, what, if any, the functional differences are between the different constructions. The following subsections present only the beginning of the enquiry into the simultaneous constructions. More understanding remains to be gained through further study.

**15.3.3.1 Simultaneous -po-dã.<sup>416</sup>**

Similar to other simultaneous constructions, the use of VERB-*po-dã*: (sometimes reduced to VERB-*m-dã*:) implies at least partial temporal overlap between two actions/states:

- (15.38) ད་ལྟོ་ར་བང་ཁྲོམ་གྱི་ཨ་ཙཱིལ་མེད་འོག་སྤེ་བྱུང་བོ་དང་སྐར་ལུང་ལིང་དམ་ལལ་མཁའ་ཨ་ན་གྲོང་གཅིག་ཡོད་མཁའ་སྤོང་།  
*t'ato [rawã: tʰom=gi átsi=tei? mòu òtɛ tɛ'ɛm-bo-dã:] barfun*  
 now TPN town=GEN a.bit=INDF down down go.HON-2INF-CONJ TPN  
*lĩṅdam làp-kʰɛ: óna k'jo:=tei? jò:-kʰen bɛ?*  
 TPN say-NMLZ there village=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'Now when (one) comes a bit down of the town of Rabang, there is a village there called Barphung Lingdam.' (SGD wedding customs)

Usually constructions with *-dã*: signify a switch in the actor referent, as seen in (15.39), where each instance of *-po-dã*: is followed by a switched actor (clock-Indians-bear-people). The two instances of *-ti/di*, on the other hand, signify actor continuity.

- (15.39) སྤྱི་མུ་ཚེན་བཅུ་གཉིས་སྤོང་བོ་དང་ལོག་ཀྱི་ཚུ་གེས་པོ་ཉེ་ཏྲག་འབག་འོང་སྤེ་ལོག་དོམ་འདི་ལོ་ཐེངས་གཉིས་ཉི་བཟོ་བོ་དང་དོམ་མེད་ལས་འཇུག་སྤེ་སྐད་ཤོར་བོ་དང་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱོས་ཡ་བོ།  
*[tʰik tɛ'utsʰø? tɛu.ni: tʃɛp-o-dã:] lòk gjatɛʰu=tsu kɛ:po tɛ:ta?*  
 exactly clock.time twelve arrive-2INF-CONJ again Indian=PL many stick  
*ba? òn-di [lòk t'om=di=lo tʰɛŋki tip-tip-o-dã:] t'om*  
 carry come-NF again bear=DEMPH=DAT suddenly hit-RDP-2INF-CONJ bear  
*mòu=le dzu:-ti [kɛ? ɛó:-bo-dã:] mí tʰamtɛɛ? p'jo:*  
 down=ABL be.afraid-NF sound call-2INF-CONJ human all escape  
*jà:-bo.*  
 go-2INF  
 'When it was exactly 12 o'clock, the Indians came back bringing sticks and started hitting (him) suddenly. Then when the bear was afraid and let out a cry from under (the sack-cloth), all the people escaped.' (KT Animal story)

Example (15.40) is the only instance of VERB-*po-dã*: in the novel *Richhi*. The clauses are functional passives, so actor switching or retaining is not applicable in this sentence.

- (15.40) འདི་ཚུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཙལ་དང་ང་ཅའི་ཙལ་བསྐྱམས་པོ་དང་ཉི་རྩ་ག་སྤོང་ཕྱག་བཅུ་ཐམ་པ་འཛོན་སྤོང་།  
*[di=tsu tʰamtɛɛ? tsa=le t'ã: nãtɛi tsa=le dom-bo-dã:] tiru?*  
 this=PL all by=ABL and 1PL.GEN by=ABL combine-2INF-CONJ rupee  
*tʃò.tʰa? tɛu-tʰamba tʰon bɛ?*  
 thousand ten-NUM become EQU.NE  
 '[When combining from them all and from us], it comes to ten thousand rupees.'  
 (Richhi 48)

The construction is negated by the prefix *ma-*. The form *m-ò:-b-dã*: in (15.41) is an abbreviation of *ma-òm-bo-dã*: [NEG-come-2INF-CONJ].

<sup>416</sup> Sandberg (1895: 49) reports the similar form *-pa tang*, as in *Ngá minda kyap-pa tang, mi sum hlum song zhe* 'On my firing the gun, three men fell.'



(15.41) ལུ་མ་འོང་བོ་དང་ང་གཞིག་འདི་ལྷོས་ལྷོང་ཚར།  
 [kʰu m-ò:-b-dã:] ηà jó:=di p'ja mjò:-tsʰa:  
 3SGM NEG-come-2INF-CONJ 1SG work=DEMPH do finish-CMPL  
 'I finished the work [before he came]. ' (KN e)

(15.42) འཕོས་ཀ་གིས་མ་ཚུགས་པ་ཚུགས་པ་དང་།  
 [kʰɛ:ga=gi ma-tsʰu:-tsʰu-p-dã:]  
 strength=AGT NEG-be.able.to-RDP-2INF-CONJ  
 '[when I wasn't able to do (those things) with (my) strength]' (CY interview)

Note that the negated simultaneous construction in (15.41) becomes, in effect, a temporal 'before'-clause. Negated simultaneous constructions are used in many languages, which do not have a morpheme meaning 'before', to express 'before'-clauses (Thompson et al 2007: 248).

In addition to the grammaticalized temporal use, *-po t'ã:* also occurs in the non-temporal conjunctive meaning:

(15.43) ལྷོས་ལྷོས་པོ་དང་འར་ལུར་གྱི་སྒྲ།  
 k'joʔ kjap-o t'ã: àrur=gi da  
 chatting do-2INF and hurly-burly=GEN sound  
 'the sound of chatting and hurly-burly' (rnam-tog 24)

### 15.3.3.2 Simultaneous converb markers *-sondã:/sompã:/sumdã:/tsubdã:*

The use of the converbal markers *-sondã:/sompã:/sumdã:/tsubdã:*, which I have only come across in spoken language, suggests that the converbal action is at least partly simultaneous with the action marked by the verb in the following clause. For hypotheses of the origin of these forms, which do not occur as such in written Denjongke, see §3.3.6.18. The four forms are illustrated in (15.44-47). The construction is negated by the prefix *ma(n)-*, see (15.45).

(15.44) རོགས་འདི་ལྷོ་བཞིན་ལས་ཡ་སོང་དང་ཉེ་ལུ་  
 [ro:=di ηù-zɛ:=lɛ jà:-sondã:] tɛ kʰu...  
 friend=DEMPH weep-PROG=ABL go-SIM so 3SGM  
 '[When (his) friend goes away weeping], he...' (RS pupil joke)

This simultaneous construction may, depending on the context, also express reason:

(15.45) ལྷོང་མན་གྱི་གསེང་མ་དང་ང་ང་ན་ལྷོ་གི་ལྷོས་པོ་སྤང།  
 [lúŋ man-ɖik-sompã:] t'a ηà nà:-tiki lù-b=bɛʔ.  
 air NEG-be.fitting-SIM now 1SG be.ill-NF remain-2INF=EQU.NE  
 '[Since the air was not fitting (for me)], I was left ailing.' (PED life story)

Sometimes both a simultaneous and causative interpretations are possible:

(15.46) ཉེ་མ་ཤར་སོང་མ་དང་ཨོ་འདི་གི་མཁམ་སྤང།  
 [nìm éa:-sumdã:] óde: éí-kʰen bɛʔ.  
 sun shine-SIM like.that die-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 '[When/because the sun shines], (the seeds) die like that.' (KT discussion with TB)

In (15.47), the simultaneous construction is followed by an explicitly causal construction *ódi p'ja-ti* ‘because of that’ (lit. ‘that doing’).

- (15.47) ད་ ཨོ་འདྲེབ་སྟེ་ ལྷོ་བསྐྱགས་ ལེབ་ བཏང་ ཚུགས་པོ་དང་ ཉེ་ ཨོ་འདྲི་ འུས་སྟེ་ ང་ཅའི་ སྐད་ རྒྱལ་ཅིག་ ཨོ་འདྲེབ་སྟེ་ ཉམས་ཆག་ སོང་ པོ་ ཞིན།  
*t'a ódepti [kʰjapɖa: lɛp tã:-tsubdã:]<sup>417</sup> tɛ ódi p'ja-ti ɲətɛi*  
 now like.that spreading much send-SIM so that do-NF 1PL.GEN  
*kɛʔ ɛy:tɛy? ódepti ɲàmteʰaʔ sɔ́:-bo ǎ̃.*  
 language a.bit like.that decline go.IPFV-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Now, [when (the Nepali language) was much promoted], for that reason our language went a bit into a decline.’ (CY interview)

The fact that *-tsubda:* is in (15.47) followed by a causal construction suggest that although a causative interpretation is at times possible, the basic meaning of *-tsubdã:* and the related forms *-sondã:/sompdã:/-sumdã:* is simultaneous.

### 15.3.3.3 Simultaneity with *gã:* ‘time’

The next four simultaneous constructions use an explicit word referring to time. The word *gã:(=lo)*:<sup>418</sup> ‘time’ is postposed to genitivized *-po-*infinitive to mark simultaneity, a typical noun complement construction (see §13.4). Phonetically *gã:* is frequently reduced to [ɲã:].

- (15.48) ཀམ་ ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ ལུས་ འདེམ་ རོབ་བའི་ སྐད་ གཉེན་ མ་རྒྱབས་ན་ ལྷོ་ལོ་ འགྲོད་པོ་ སྐྱེས་ འོང།  
*karma [tɛʰø:=ki p'um dem tʰop-ø: gã:] ɲén ma-kjap-ne*  
 PN 2SG.L=AGT girl such receive-2INF.GEN time wedding NEG-do-COND  
*k'ø:po ki ǎ̃.*  
 regret be.born FUT.UNC  
 ‘Karma, [when you are getting such a girl], if you do not marry (her), you will regret.’ (Richhi 94)

In (15.48), the construction with VERB-*pø:* *gã:* and the following clause have the same actor. Example (15.49), on the other hand, shows that the construction also occur when the actor switches.

- (15.49) ཨོ་ན་ལས་ ཨོ་འདྲི་ རོ་རངས་ཅིག་ བདག་ཀྱི་ འདྲི་ སོང་བའི་ སྐད་ ཨོ་ སྐད་ ལུག་ཀོ་ འདྲི་ རྩོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཟ་སྟེ་ ལེབ་ འགྲངས་སྟེ་ རྣོད་ འདུག།  
*[ónale ódi tʰorã:=tɛi? daku=di sɔ́:-bø: gã:] ó*  
 then that tomorrow=INDF owner=DEMPH go.PFV-2INF.GEN time that  
*lǎ̃: tsuko=di p'i tʰamtɛɛʔ sà-ti lɛp ɖǎ:-ti dø:*  
 bull other=DEMPH fodder all eat-NF very.much be.satisfied-NF sit  
*du?*  
 EX.SEN  
 ‘Then, the following day, at a time when the owner had gone away, the other bull ate all the fodder and appeared very satisfied.’ (TB bull story)

<sup>417</sup> This unclear form could either be a reduced version of *tã:-tsʰar-bo t'ã:* (cf. VERB-*tsʰar-bo=le* > VERB-*tsʰub=le*) or have the abilitative secondary verb *tsʰu?* ‘be able to’, *tã: tsʰu-po-dã:* > *tã: tsʰub-dã:*. In the latter case, example (15.47) would be an instance of simultaneous construction *-po-dã:*, see §15.3.3.1. Strictly speaking, also *-tsubdã:* and *-sondã:/sompdã:/-sumdã:* are here analyzed as phonologically reduced *-po-dã:* constructions of old secondary verbs *tsʰar* ‘finish’ and *sɔ́:* ‘go.PFV’.

<sup>418</sup> This word may also be directly postposed to demonstratives, nouns and adjectives, e.g. *ódi gã:(=lo)* ‘that time’, *p'jaby: gã:* ‘when being child’, *tɛʰuŋtɛʰuŋ gã:* ‘when being small’.

The expression may be supplemented by the dative-locative (15.50) or ablative marker (15.51):

- (15.50) ལར་ ལྷོན་བའི་ སྐང་ལོ་ འགག་ཆ་ རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ལགས།  
 [p<sup>h</sup>a: tɛ'ø̃m-bø: gã:=lo] gakdza kjap-tɛɛ=la.  
 over.there come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT obstruction do-PST=HON  
 ‘[When (he) came over there], (they) obstructed (him).’ (CY interview)

- (15.51) ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོས་ ཇ་ འཇུང་མྱི་ མ་ཐོང་ སྐང་ལས་ ཀུན་ཆེ་ དང་ ལྷ་མཛོས་ཀྱིས་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ལོ་ ཞལ་ལག་ འབག་ལྷོ་ སྐབས།  
 [k<sup>h</sup>õ: nɪ:-po tɛ'a t<sup>h</sup>uŋ-di ma-mjõ: gã:=lɛ] kante<sup>h</sup>i  
 3PL two-COL tea drink-NF NEG-finish time=ABL youngest.daughter(Nep.)  
 t'ã: ʎadzi=ki k<sup>h</sup>õ: nɪ:-po=lo ɛɛ:la? bak-ti ʎɛp.  
 and PN=AGT 3PL two-COL=DAT food.HON carry-NF arrive  
 ‘[When the two of them haven’t (yet) finish drinking tea], Kanchi and Lhadze arrive, bringing food to the two of them.’ (Richhi 19)

Example (15.51) above illustrates a negated form, which occurs without nominalization and genitivization. The nominalizer many also be dropped if the verb root is reduplicated:

- (15.52) ལྷོ་ཇེ་སྐོང་ ལོང་ལོང་ སྐང་ འདི་  
 [dordziliŋ sõ:-sõ: gã:=di]  
 TPN go.PFV-RDP time=DEMPH  
 ‘[When I was going to Darjeeling]...’ (UTR plains story)

The reduplication in (15.52) probably emphasizes that the verbal action in the following clause happened on the way to a location (“when I was going”) and not after the speaker had reached the location (“when I went”).

### 15.3.3.4 Simultaneity with *kap* ‘time’

Another simultaneity marker deriving from WT word for time (WT སྐབས་ *skabs*), *kap*, can be postposed to a genitivized *-po*-infinitive (15.53-54) and progressive forms (15.55) of the verb, or to their combination (15.56). The word *kap* may head the time adverbial by itself or be followed by case or postpositional marking. Unlike *gã:*, which collocates with the dative-locative =*lo*, *kap* frequently collocates with the postposition *naŋɛa* ‘inside’ (*kap=na* and *kap=lo* also occur). One consultant, see (15.54), used the Central Tibetan equivalent *kapsu* ‘when, while’ accompanied by the dative-locative. The actor of the clause following a construction with *kap* may be either the same as or different from the clause with *kap*.

- (15.53) ལྷོན་བའི་ སྐབས་ རང་ག་ལོ་  
 [tɛ'ø̃m-bø: kap naŋɛa=lo]  
 come.HON-2INF.GEN time inside=DAT  
 ‘[When coming]...’ (KT phone call)

(15.54) ཉེ་ཨོ་འདི་ རྟོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ འདི་ ཇ་ གསེར་ཁྲི་མངའ་གསོལ་ རོ་བུ་ བཞུགས་པའི་ ལྷན་སྐྱེས་ལོ་ ང་ཅའི་ མི་དབང་  
 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ ཚམ་ལོ་ལོ་ བལ་ཡུལ་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་གིས་ ཉེན་འབྲེལ་ ཨོ་འདི་ རང་ཤ་ལོ་ གང་ན་ལུ་ གནང་མ་ སྤང།  
*te ódi t'onzinggi* [*p'ey:=gi gɛ:pu=di t'a sé.tʰijásol pʰou*  
 so that according Nepal=GEN king=DEMPH now enthronement over.there  
*zu:-pø:* *kapsu=lo*] *ɲátci míwã: tɛʰøgɛl tɛʰimpu=lo p'ey:*  
 sit.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT 1PL.GEN ruler king great.one=DAT Nepal  
*gɛ:pu=gi tɛndɛ:* *ódi nàŋɛa=lo denɛu ná:-m bɛ?*  
 king=AGT ceremony that inside=DAT invitation give.HON-2INF EQU.NE  
 'So in accordance to that, [now when the King of Nepal was having coronation over there], our ruler, the great king, was invited in that ceremony by the king of Nepal.'  
 (CY interview)

(15.55) ལུ་ ག་ལྷེ་ བང་ཁར་ རོན་ཤང་ མཚོ་བསམ་ བཏང་བཞིན་ ལྷན་སྐྱེས་ རང་ཤ་ལོ་ ཉེ་ ལྷག་ འོང་བོ་ ཉ་གོ་སྟེ་གི་ ལུ་ རོན་བའི་ ལྷན་ བྱས་བཞིན་  
 ཡོད་ལོ་ སྤང།  
*[kʰu k'atɛ? paŋkʰa tʰøŋ-ɛɛ? nó:sam tã:-zin kap nàŋɛa=lo] tɛ*  
 3SGM how outside come.out-INF thought send-PROG time inside=DAT  
 then  
*ta? òm-bo hako-tiki kʰu tʰøm-bø: tɛ'y? p'ja-zin*  
 tiger come-2INF know-NF 3SGM come.out-2INF.GEN plot do-PROG  
*jø-po bɛ?*  
 EX-2INF EQU.NE  
 'When he was thinking how to get out, he, having found out that a tiger had come, was scheming to get out.' (KT animal story)

(15.56) གསོལ་ཇ་ གསོལ་ཞིབ་ ཟ་བཞིན་བའི་ ལྷན་སྐྱེས་ མཚོ་སྐྱེས་ ལྷིམ་  
*[sò:za sò:ɛip sà-zɛ:-pø: kap]*  
 tea.HON snacks eat-PROG-NMNZ.GEN time  
 'as (they) are/were enjoying tea and snacks... ' (Richhi 12)

In written language, however, *kap* may be directly postposed to the verb root (in Richhi *kap* occurs both with non-nominalized and nominalized verbs). The form directly attached to the verb root is here considered a converbal ending and glossed as simultaneous (SIM).

(15.57) ཨ་ཇི་ ངའི་ ལྷན་པོའི་ ལྷུང་བདར་ ལྷོང་སྐབས་ལོ་ འདེམ་ ག་མའི་ བར་ཆད་བོ།  
*ádzi:, [ɲè: mémpø: dzã:dar mjõ:-kap=lo] dem k'amø: p'a:tɛɛ?*  
 darn 1SG.GEN doctor training finish=SIM=DAT such what.GEN obstale  
*bo.*  
 EQU.NE.Q  
 'Darn! What an obstacle (just) [when I'm finishing medical studies]. ' (Richhi 116)

(15.58) ལྷངས་འཁོར་ན་ རང་ལོ་ འཇུག་སྟེ་ འདེགས་སྐབས་ ལྷན་ལོ་ ཀམ་  
*[lánkʰor=na nɛ:po tʰu-ti dɛk-kap] mémpo karma...*  
 car=LOC patient pick-NF set.inside=SIM doctor PN  
 'When the patient is being picked up and placed inside the car, doctor Karma...'  
 (Richhi 172)

The construction is negated by *ma-*.

- (15.59) ད་ཅིག་ཆར་བ་མ་རྒྱབས་(བའི་)སྐབས་རང་གི་ན་ཡོད་པོ་?  
 [t'atei? tɛ<sup>h</sup>a:p ma-kjap(-pø:) kap] rã: k'ana jè-po?  
 earlier.today rain NEG-strike(-2INF.GEN) time 2SG.M where EX.PER-2INF  
 'Where were you [earlier today when it was not raining]?' (KN e)

**15.3.3.5 Simultaneous converb -dy:**

The simultaneous converb marker *-dy:* (derives from དུས་ *t'y:* 'time, period') is attached directly to the verb root. This use is less frequent in my data than the other simultaneous constructions.

- (15.60) ན་ལས་འོང་མཁམ་འདི་ཚུ་ཉི་དེ་མེ་སྐད་རྒྱབས་དུས་  
 nà:=le òŋ-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: di=tsu=to t'a lɔkɛ kjap-dy:...  
 here=ABL come-NMLZ DEMPH=PL=CEMPH now Lhoke do-SIM  
 'But now when those who come from here speak Lhoke...' (RL interview)

- (15.61) འགོ་དང་པོ་རང་འོང་དུས་  
 go t'anpo nà: òn-dy:  
 start first here some-SIM  
 'When (I) at first came here...' (KT life story)

In the novel Richhi, *-dy:* occurs only once, in a poem:

- (15.62) མི་ལུས་ཐོབ་དུས་  
 mi-ly: t<sup>h</sup>op-dy:  
 human-body receive-SIM  
 'When receiving a human body...' (Richhi 74)

The converb *-dy:* occurs once in my data in a type of double simultaneity marking construction with *kapsu*, which also occurs in (15.63) above as the variant *kapsu*.

- (15.63) ལོ་བཅུ་ལྔ་སྐབས་དུས་སྐབས་སོ་རང་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་བཤད་གྲ་ནང་གི་ཚོས་བྱས་སྡོད་པོ་མིན།  
 lò tɛø:ŋa lɛp-dy: kapsu ŋà ɖɛndzø: ɛé:ɖa nàŋɛa  
 year fifteen reach-SIM time 1SG Sikkim Buddhist.institute inside  
 tɛ<sup>h</sup>o? p'ja dø:-po ɛ̃.  
 doctrine do sit-2INF EQU.PER  
 'When I reached fifteen years (of age), I stayed at Gangtok Shedra studying.' (RB life story)

Negation is accomplished by the prefix *ma-* and genetivization is optional.

- (15.64) མདང་རང་སྐད་ཉིག་འགྱུ་མ་ཐོབ་(བའི་)དུས་རང་ལེབ་སེམས་སློབ་མིན།  
 dā: ŋà gā:to? gju ma-t<sup>h</sup>op(-ø:)-dỹ: ŋà lèp sém  
 yesterday 1SG TPN go NEG-receive(-2INF.GEN)-SIM I very.much mind  
 kjo-u ɛ̃.  
 grieve-2INF EQU.PER  
 'When/since I couldn't go to Gangtok yesterday, I was very sad.' (KN e)

**15.3.3.6 Simultaneous converb -*reŋkʰa***

The third construction based on the WT for ‘time’ (WT རྩ་ *ran* ‘[it is] time’) is the converb formed with the suffix *-reŋkʰa*, which combines the secondary verb *ren* ‘be time to’ with the locational/temporal derivative suffix *-kʰa* (which some speakers reduce to *-ka*). For uses of *ren* as a secondary verb, see §8.5.5.

- (15.65) འོང་རན་ཁར་ ལྷལ་བ་ འོང་དོ་ འདེམ་ འོང་།  
 [ð̣:-*reŋkʰa*] *gɛ:p òn-do dem ọ̀:*  
 come-SIM king come-PROG like come  
 ‘[When coming], it comes like a king is coming.’ (UT riddle)
- (15.66) ཉེ་ ལོག་རན་ཁར་ འདི་ ལམ་ཁ་ལས་ གན་འདྲེ་ ཐོབ་ཤད་ མེད་པ་གིས་ ལྷ་གིས་ ལྷོང་མ་ འགྲོམ་ལྷི་གི་  
 [*tɛ lòk-reŋkʰa=di*] *làmkʰa=lɛ tɛ kʰandɛ: tʰop-ɛɛ mè:-pa-ki*  
 then return-SIM=DEMPH road=ABL then any find-INF NEG.EX-CIRC=AGT  
*kʰu=gi bja:m gjom-diki...*  
 3SGM=AGT fly gather-NF  
 ‘[Then when returning], as there wasn’t anything to be found on the road, he collected flies (and)...’ (KT)

The construction VERB-*reŋkʰa* is negated by the negator prefix *ma-*, *ma-VERB-reŋkʰa*.

- (15.67) ལུ་ ལུ་རའི་གི་ རྩ་ ལྷང་བ་ རང་ག་ ཤིང་རྟོག་ གཏོག་བཞིན་ ལྷས་རན་ཁར་ འོག་ལྷེ་ མ་མཐོང་རན་ཁར་  
 [*kʰu kʰu-ri-gi nà: ŋawa<sup>419</sup> nàŋɛa ɛiŋto? tok-tɛɛ:*  
 3SGM 3SGM=AEMPH.GEN=GEN here thought inside fruit pick-PROG  
*pʰja-reŋkʰa*] [*òtɛ ma-tʰò:-reŋkʰa*].  
 do-SIM down NEG-see-SIM  
 ‘[When he was picking fruit into his basket here] (and) [when he did not see down]...’ (RB pear story)

In the novel *Richhi*, the construction VERB-*reŋkʰa* occurs only once, see (15.68). In addition, རྩ་ *ran* [rɛn] is once in *Richhi* used without the suffix *-kʰa*, see (15.69).

- (15.68) ཆེ་ མ་ཚོ་ ཤི་རན་ཁར་ ད་ གན་མོའི་ མ་ཉི་ བརྒྱུས་ཤད་?  
*tɛʰɛ: [ádzo ɛí-reŋkʰa] tʰa kʰamø: màni gjã:-ɛɛ??*  
 EXCLAM grandfather die-time now what.GEN prayers extend-INF  
 ‘Oh heck, [when the grandpa (=you) is dying], what’s (the use of) saying prayers?’  
 (*Richhi* 79)
- (15.69) ད་ ཤི་རན་ཉོ།  
*tʰa ɛí-ren=to.*  
 now die-time=IMPFV  
 ‘Now it’s (my) time to die.’ (*Richhi* 79)

**15.3.3.7 Simultaneity with *pʰa:pu* ‘in between’**

The formative<sup>420</sup> *pʰa:pu* is used in two constructions to express about the same idea in an affirmed (‘while, as long as’) and a negated way (‘while not, as long as not’). In the affirmed construction, the verb root is reduplicated:

<sup>419</sup> According to consultant KN, this word is a loan from Tibetan.

- (15.70) ལྷོད་ ལྷོད་ བར་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ མཐུན་ལྷི་ ལྷོད་ཀེ་ ཨིན་ནམ་ ལྷོགས་ཀུ་ཚུ་།  
 [dø:-dø: p'a:pu] ηàtɛa? tʰamtɛɛ? tʰyn-di dø:-kɛ ín-am  
 stay-RDP between 1PL all agree-NF stay-HORT EQU.PER-ATTQ  
 t'oku=tsu.  
 friend=PL  
 '[While being alive,] let us live agreeably, eh, friends.' (mthun-sgril 5)

In the negated construction, the non-reduplicated verb root is preceded by the negator prefix *ma-*. In its original context, example (15.71) directly follows (15.70), adding a negated perspective ('while we are not dead') to the affirmed perspective ('while we are alive').

- (15.71) མ་ཤི་ བར་ལོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ མཐུན་ལྷི་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ རྟགས་ རམ་མདའ་ ལྷོགས་ལྷི་ སན་བོའི་ གཞོགས་ལྷི་ ལྷོགས་གོ།  
 [ma-ɕí p'a:pu] tʰamtɛɛ? tʰyn-di tɕi:=ki zɛn=lo ro:ramda: p'ja-ti  
 NEG-die between all agree-NF one=AGT other=DAT help do-NF  
 pʰembø: jó:=tsu p'ja-gɛ.  
 benefit.GEN work=PL do-HORT  
 '[While not dead,] let us all agree, help each other and do beneficial works.' (mthun-sgril 5)

## 15.4 Causal clauses

This section describes eight reason-marking constructions. The terminative =sã: 'until', which may also express reason, is not discussed here but in §15.12. The constructions described here are the following:

- 1) finite clause marked by the connector *k'amjasene* 'because' (§15.4.1)
- 2) clause employing the noun *gjumtsɛ:* 'reason, cause' (WD རྒྱ་མཚན་ *rgyu-mtshan*) (§15.4.2)
- 3) construction based on the word *ken* 'cause, condition' (WD རྐྱེན་ *rkyen*) (§15.4.3)
- 4) converbal form *láp-ti* [say-NF] 'saying, having said' (§15.4.4)
- 5) ablative construction with a copula (which with other verbs marks anteriority) (§15.4.5)
- 6) agentive marking (§15.4.6)
- 7) the converbal form *p'ja-ti(ki)* [do-NF] 'doing, having done' (§15.4.7)
- 8) circumstantial converb which is used causally (§15.4.8)

### 15.4.1 Causality with connector *k'amjasene* 'because'

The connector *k'amjasene* 'because' has a clausal origin as *k'amja sé-ne* [why say-COND] 'if said why'.<sup>420</sup> Three facts suggest that the speakers are still aware of the clausal origin of *k'amjasene*. First, the speakers may change the verb of saying used in the connector (*k'amjasene/k'amjalapne/k'amjacune*, using *sé/sí* 'say', *láp* 'say' and *ɕù* 'say.HUM' respectively), Second, Denjongke authors may write the form both separately as *k'amjasene* and separately *k'amja sene*. Third, *k'amjasine* may be interrupted by other elements:

<sup>420</sup> I am hesitant to call *p'a:pu* a postposition because it does not occur with nouns in my data.

<sup>421</sup> Nepali has analogous *kinabhane* 'because', which consists of *kina* 'why' and *bhan-e* 'say-PFV'

- (15.72) ལྡོ་ཕམ་ཇི་གན་བྱས་ཕམ་བོ་སི་ནེ་  
*ló pʰam-di k'amja pʰam-bo sí-ne*  
 mind be.defeated -NF why be.defeated-2INF say-COND  
 '(Our) mind being downcast, if (we) talk about why (our) mind is downcast...' (RS language situation)

Typically *k'amjasenε* is used as a word-like connector/conjunction meaning 'because', see (15.73-75). Causal clauses with *k'amjasenε* are finite

- (15.73) ཏེ་སློབ་དཔོན་འདི་གིས་ཁུ་ལོ་འདི་ཨ་ཙེ་ཅིག་བཀའ་འགྲུར་བཏང་བོ་སྣང་ལོ་, ཨོ་འདི་རྒྱབ་མཐོང་འདི་ལོ་གན་བྱས་སི་ནེ་དངུལ་འཇུ་བོ་སྣང་གོ།  
*tε lópɕn=di=gi kʰu=lo=di átsi=tei? ka:gjur tã:-bo*  
 then teacher=DEMPH=AGT 3SGM=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=indf instruction send-2INF  
*bε:=lo, ódi gjammø=di=lo [k'amjasinε jy: tʰu:*  
 EQU.NE=REP that latter=DEMPH=DAT because money pick.2INF  
*bε=εo.]*  
 EQU.NE=AT  
 'Then the teacher instructed him a bit, you know, the latter one, [because (he) had taken the money].' (RS pupil joke)

- (15.74) ཏེ་ཅིག་ཨ་ཙེ་ལེགས་ཐོན་ཞེ་གན་བྱས་སི་ནེ་ལོང་གིས་ང་ལོ་གསོལ་རས་གནང་བོ་ཞིན་གི་ལགས།  
*t'utci? átsi lêm tʰon-zε [k'amjasenε kʰoŋ=gi ηà=lo*  
 this.year a.bit good become-PST because 3SG.HON=AGT 1SG=DAT  
*só:ra ná:-bo íŋ=gi=la.]*  
 gift give.HON-2INF EQU.PER=NC=HON  
 'This year was a bit good, [because he gave me a gift].' (KT discussion with TB)

- (15.75) མོ་ཏེ་ཅིག་བོམ་བེ་ལོ་སླེབས་མི་རྒྱལ་ལོ་གན་བྱས་སི་ནེ་ཨ་པོའི་བཀའ་དོན་བཞིན་མི་སྲུང་ལོ་འགྲུ་དགོས།  
*mù t'utci? bombai=lo ]εp mi-tsʰu:=lo. [k'amjasenε ápø:*  
 3SGF this.year TPN=DAT arrive NEG-be.able.to=REP because father.GEN  
*ka t'ønzin màisur=lo gju go?*  
 order according TPN=DAT go be.needed  
 'She cannot come to Bombay this year, we hear, because (she) has to, according to the father's word, go to Mysore.' (Richhi 150)

Longer form of the conditional (see §15.6) may also be used:

- (15.76) ང་ཡང་ཕྱི་པོ་ཞིན་ལའ་པོ་ལོ་གན་བྱས་སི་བེ་ཅེ་ནེ་ཁུ་བེ་ས་འདི་ཨོ་འདི་ཏི་རུག་ལྔ་པོ་འདི་སྤུམ་རུང་།  
*ηà=jã: pʰi:-po í: làp-o=lo. [k'amja sí-betsenε kʰu*  
 1SG=too be.late-2INF EQU.PER say-2INF =REP why say-COND 3SGM  
*paisa=di ódi tiru? ηá-po=di ]um-runj...]*  
 money(Nep.)=DEMPH that rupee five-COL=DEMPH fall-CONC  
 'I too am late, (he) says, [because although his five rupees fell...]' (RS pupil joke)

In addition to occurring independently as a causal marker, *k'amjasenε* may co-occur with the causal construction VERB-INF=DEMPH.AGT, which also occurs as the sole reason marker (see §15.4.6):



- (15.77) ཚོས་མཛེས་ ངོ་ཚ་བཞིན་ ཡོད། གན་བྱས་སེ་ན་ རྩོམ་ལོ་ ངོ་ མ་ཤེས་པའི་ མི་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ན་ག་ཤལ་ གཅིག་ བཀའ་སྟེ་ ཉལ་ཤང་ འདིས།  
*te<sup>h</sup>ɔdzi ɲòts<sup>h</sup>a-zɛː jɔʔ k'amjasene ɲò ma-ɕeː-pøː*  
 Chodzi be.ashamed-PROG EX.PER because face NEG-know-2INF.GEN  
*mí námteɪ? nagacɛl(?) tɛi? kap-ti ɲɛː-ɕe=diː*  
 human with blanket one cover-NF sleep-INF=DEMPH.AGT  
 ‘Chodzi is ashamed, because she has slept covering (herself) in the same blanket with an unknown person.’ (Richhi 131)

#### 15.4.2 Causality with *gjumts<sup>h</sup>ɛː*: ‘reason’

Causality/reason may also be expressed by a simple juxtaposition of a complement clause headed by the word *gjumts<sup>h</sup>ɛː*: ‘reason’ and a clause that explains what the reason is. Both examples (15.78) and (15.79) have the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* following *gjumts<sup>h</sup>ɛː*, suggesting that the emphatic may be obligatory or preferred in this construction.

- (15.78) མོ་འདི་ མ་གནས་པའི་ ལྷ་མཚན་ འདི་ མི་ ལ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཡང་ ལྷལ་སྤྱི་ དུས་ཚོད་ སྤང་ལོ་  
*[ódi ma-néː-pøː gjumts<sup>h</sup>ɛː=di] [mí k<sup>h</sup>aɕe=ki=jǎː*  
 that NEG-abide-2INF.GEN reason=DEMPH human some=AGT=too  
*gɛːpyː t'yts<sup>h</sup>øʔ gǎː=lo...]*  
 king.GEN time.period time=DAT  
 ‘[The reason why (the situation) did not remain (was)] [(that) in the days of the king...]’ (CY interview)

- (15.79) མེད་པའི་ཀྱི་ ལྷ་མཚན་ འདི་ རྩོམ་མ་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ ཐོན་པོ་ལོ།  
*[mèː-pøː=ki gjumts<sup>h</sup>ɛː=di] [ɲéma dem=tɛi?*  
 NEG.EX-2INF.GEN=GEN reason=DEMPH earlier like.that=INDF  
*t<sup>h</sup>øm-bo=lo.]*  
 happen-2INF=REP  
 ‘[The reason why it is not there (is)] [(that) it happened like long ago.]’ (PAD story on Tashiding)

The second clause, which defines the reason, may also be introduced with *k'amjasene* ‘because’ (note that =*di* is not obligatory here).

- (15.80) མེད་པའི་ ལྷ་མཚན་ གན་བྱ་སི་ན་ ལུ་མའི་ གཞེན་ཚན་ཚུ་ལོ་ ལུག་མཇལ་ སློག་ དགོས་པའི་ རོན་དག་ གཞིས་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྤང།  
*[mèː-pøː gjumts<sup>h</sup>ɛː:] [k'amjasine p'umøː ɲénts<sup>h</sup>ɛː=tsu=lo*  
 NEG.EX-2INF.GEN reason because girl.GEN relative=PL=DAT  
*te<sup>h</sup>andzɛː dik goː-pøː t'øndaʔ ɲiː jø-po beʔ].*  
 present.HON arrange be.needed-2INF.GEN purpose two EX-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘[The reason why it is not there (is)] [because there are two purposes for having to arrange a present to the girls’ relatives].’ (sbar-phung 15)

Spoken language often resorts to longer expressions than mere *k'amjasine* to accompany *gjumts<sup>h</sup>ɛː*: ‘reason’.

(15.81) འདི་ ང་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ བཤད་ དགོས་པའི་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ འདི་ གན་བྱས་ ལྷོ་བོ་ མིན་ གསུང་བེ་ཅེ་ན་ འདི་ན་ ང་ཚའི་ ལྷོ་རྒྱུས་ འདི་ ལྷོ་ཤོ་ལགས།  
 [di nà lògju? éé? go:-pø: gjumts<sup>h</sup>é:=di] [k'amja  
 this 1SG story tell be.needed-2INF.GEN reason=DEMPH why  
 ལུ་: རྩི་: sùŋ-betɛna di=na ŋàtɛi ʃokɛ=di  
 tell.HUM.2INF EQU.PER say.HON-COND this=LOC 1PL.GEN Lhoke=DEMPH  
 bɛ=ɛo=la].  
 EQU.NE=AT=HON  
 'If I am to tell the reason why I had to tell this story, why I told it, (it's because) in it is our Lhoke (=Denjongke language).' (PAD bet story)

In (15.81), *gjumts<sup>h</sup>é:* is followed by a second reference to telling the story (*ལུ* 'say.HUM' restates what was expressed by *ལེེ?* 'tell' in the previous clause). In addition, *k'amjasine*, which has grammaticalized from a conditional clause (meaning 'if (I) tell why') into a connector word, is replaced by a more explicitly conditional clause *k'amja...sùŋ-betɛna*.

In yet another construction, *gjumts<sup>h</sup>é:* 'reason' co-occurs with the dummy verb *p'ja* 'do' in a simultaneous construction which is interpreted as expressing reason.

(15.82) ཉེ་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ མོ་འདི་ བྱས་སོང་དང་ འདི་  
 [tɛ gjumts<sup>h</sup>é: ódi p'ja-sondã:=di]...  
 so reason that do-SIM=DEMPH  
 '[So for that reason]...' Lit. '[Because of the doing of that reason]...' (PAD Tashiding story)

### 15.4.3 Causality with *ken* 'cause, condition'

Another way to express reason/causation through a dependent clause is to append the word *ken* 'cause, condition' (WT རྒྱན་ *rkyen*) followed by agentive/instrumental or ablative marking to the nominalized and genitived form of the verb. Agentive marking is exemplified in (15.83) and ablative marking in (15.84).

(15.83) a) ང་གིས་ བྲི་ མ་ཚུགས་པའི་ རྒྱན་གྱིས་ ཉང་ཐོག་ ཟང་ལྷེ་ ན་ recording ནང་ག་ལོ་ ཚོག་ མ་མཚུངས་པོ་ མིན་ནོ་  
 [ŋá:=gi t'i ma-ts<sup>h</sup>u-pø: kɛŋ=gi] hato? sã:tɛ nà:  
 1SG=AGT write NEG-be.able.to-2INF.GEN cause=AGT suddenly until here  
 reko:diŋ nàŋɛa=lo ts<sup>h</sup>ik ma-ts<sup>h</sup>uŋ-po ín-(n)o...  
 recording (Eng.) inside=DAT word NEG-fit-2INF EQU-COND  
 'If there are, suddenly, unfit words on this recording [because I was not able to write (the story down)]...' (KT animal story)

b) དེ་ཟང་ རྒྱུ་མགོ་ མམ་ འདི་ ཅིག་གྱ་ རྒྱུ་ན་ ཡོང་པའི་ རྒྱན་གྱིས་  
 [t'izã: k<sup>h</sup>imgo ám=di teuku k<sup>h</sup>im=na jò-pø: kɛŋ=gi]...  
 but host mother=DEMPH only house=LOC EX-2INF.GEN cause=AGT  
 '[But because only the mistress of the house was at home]...' (KT animal story)

(15.84) འདིའི་ ནང་ མི་རིགས་ རྒྱངས་མེད་ གནས་པའི་ རྒྱན་ལས་  
 [di: nàŋ<sup>422</sup> míri? k'jã:me? né:-pø: ken=ɛ]...  
 this.GEN inside people countless reside-2INF.GEN cause=ABL  
 '[Because countless people reside(d) in it (=Sikkim)]...' (da-lto'i 'bras-ljongs 1)

<sup>422</sup> In spoken language, the case marker =na (WD ན་) or a disyllabic postposition *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo* (ནང་ག་/ནང་ལོ་) is typically used instead of this written short postpositional form ནང་ *nang*.

In spoken language, the construction with *ken* occurred mainly in the speech of consultant KT.

#### 15.4.4 Causality with nonfinal converb *lâp-ti* ‘saying’

Reason can also be expressed by the nonfinal converb *lâp-ti* ‘saying’, which refers to the mental process of rationalization by the actor of the clause.

- (15.85) ཚོད་གནངས་ཚེ་ལོག་ཏུ་ལོ་ལའ་སྟེ་འབྲེད་བར་འོང་བོ་མིན།  
 [tɛʰø? nánɣtsʰi lòk-to=lo lâp-ti] pʰɛ-pa òm-bo  
 2SG.L the.day.after.tomorrow return-IPFV=REP say-NF meet-PUR come-2INF  
 ǿ:  
 EQU.PER  
 ‘(I) came to meet you [because (lit. “saying”) it is said you are leaving the day after tomorrow].’ (Richhi 93)

The same form can also be used as a purposive, see §15.5.3.

#### 15.4.5 Causality with ablative =*lɛ*

In addition to anteriority (§15.3.1.1), the ablative marker =*lɛ* may mark causality. The causal uses seem to be more frequent with stative verbs, see (15.86) and (15.87), although they also occur with dynamic verbs, see (15.88). In my data, =*lɛ* attaches either to the completive marker *-tsʰa(:)*, as in (15.86) or *-po*-infinitive, as in (15.87-15.88). With copulas, due to their stative nature, the usually anterior construction *-tsʰa=lɛ* is reinterpreted to express reason, see (15.86), where the full completive form *-tsʰa:* is reduced to *-sa*.

- (15.86) མི་དྲང་ལུ་མིན་ཚེ་ལས་ཏེ་ཐམས་ཅད་བཤད་བོ་ལོ།  
 [mí tʰã:pu ín-sa=lɛ] tɛ tʰamtɛɛ? ɛé-po=lo.  
 human honest EQU-CMPL=ABL then all tell-2INF=REP  
 ‘[Because he was an honest man], he then told everything.’ (JDF axe story)
- (15.87) ལྷུང་མ་ལྷོལ་བམིལ་བམིལ་འདིས་གྲངས་བོ་ལས་  
 [lúnɣma kʰø:si:si:=di: kʰjã:-bo=lɛ]...  
 wind chilly=DEMPH.AGT be.cold-2INF=ABL  
 ‘[Because the chilly wind made them feel cold]...’ (Richhi 118)
- (15.88) ཁོང་གི་དུས་ཚོད་ད་བུང་མ་སླེབས་བོ་ལས་  
 [kʰoŋ=gi tʰytsʰø? tʰaruŋ ma-ʎɛp-o=lɛ]...  
 3SG.HON=GEN time yet NEG-arrive-2INF=ABL  
 ‘[Because his time had not yet come]...’ (KT e)

#### 15.4.6 Causality with agentive

In written language, reason may also be expressed by two agentive-marked constructions. In nominal uses, the agentive marks the argument which causes or is the instrument of the verbal action. In clausal use, it is the verbal action, or the whole clause, that is seen as the causer of another verbal action. In the first construction, the agentive-marked demonstrative-emphatic =*di:* (WD འདིས་ ‘*dis*’) attaches to *-ɛɛ*-infinitive form of the verb.

(15.89) མི་ལས་ཀྱི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སླེབས་ཤང་ འདིས་  
 [tʰinlɛ=gi kʰim=na=lɛ t'ato=sã: ka=jã: ma-ʎɛp-ɛɛ=di:]...  
 Thrinley=GEN house=LOC=ABL now=until who=even NEG-arrive-INF=DEMPH.AGT  
 ‘Because nobody has so far arrived from Thrinley’s house...’ (Richhi 43)

(15.90) མདང་ དེའི་ ཨ་ལྷ་ གཞིམ་ཁང་ལས་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ད་ཅག་ལོ་ ལོག་ ལེན་བར་ ལྷོན་ཤང་ འདིས་ ད་རིང་ ད་ཅག་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་དོ་ ཨིན།  
 [dã: jɛ: ágja zimkʰã:=lɛ sã:te ɲàtɛa=lo lõk  
 yesterday 1SG.GEN elder.brother house.HON=ABL direct 1PL=DAT return  
 ləm-ba tɛ'ɔn-ɛɛ=di:] t'ariɲ ɲàtɛa? kʰim=na lõk-ti  
 take-PUR come.HON-INF=DEMPH.AGT today 1PL house=LOC return-NF  
 gju-do t̃:.  
 go-PROGEQU.PER  
 ‘[Because my brother came yesterday directly from home to take us back], we are  
 going back home today.’ (Richhi 59)

In the second construction, which is mainly used in literary language, the formative *-pe:/be:* (WD དཔས་/བས་ *pas/bas*), which looks like an nominalizer in agentive case, attaches to the verb root (15.91) or the completive suffix (15.92).

(15.91) ཤ་ ཟ་བའི་ ལོང་ཤོར་ ཡོད་པས་  
 [eá sà-wø: lɔ̃:ɛu jø:-pɛ:]...  
 meat eat-2INF.GEN habit EX-2INF.AGT  
 ‘[Because (she) had the habit of eating meat]...’ (rna-gsung 8)

(15.92) འདིའི་ ལྷུ་ལས་ ཁོང་ཚུ་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ མཐོ་དགས་ ས་ལོ་ སླེབས་ ཚར་བས་ འདྲེ་མོས་ བརྗོས་ མ་ཚུགས་པོ་ དང་  
 [di: gjablɛ kʰõ:=tsu læpti tʰoʈa? sá=lo  
 this.GEN after 3PL=PL very.much high ground=DAT  
 ʎɛp-tsʰa-bɛ:] dɛmo: jɔ? ma-tsʰu-po-dã: ...  
 arrive-CMPL-2INF.AGT she.demon.AGT reach NEG-be.able.to-2INF-CONJ  
 ‘[Since they after that arrived in a very high place], the she-demon could not reach  
 (them) and...’ (rna-gsung 17)

With verbs of saying, the use of *-pe:/be:* is rather sequential than causal (although a line in a conversation can be seen as causing the next line by the other speaker).

(15.93) མི་ལ་ རས་པ་གེས་ ལྷ་མ་ལོ་ འདྲེ་སྟེ་ ལྷུ་བས་ ལན་ལོ་ ལྷ་མས་ འདྲེ་ གསུང་བོ་ སྣང།  
 [mɪlarepa=gi lám=lo dɛ:ti ɛù-bɛ:] lèn=lo láma:  
 PN=AGT lama=DAT like.this say.HUM-2INF.AGT answer=DAT lama.AGT  
 dɛ: súm-bo bɛ?.  
 like.this say.HON-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘[When Milarepa had said like that to the lama], the lama answered like this:’ (mi-la ras-pa 3)

The spoken language prefers phonologically more complex forms than mere vowel modification for marking causation. There are two potential reasons. First, vowel length, such as the one that is suggested by the reading pronunciation of written འདིས་ *'dis* [di:], is not such a prominent feature of spoken Denjongke as to be the only phonological clue of causation on sentence level. Second, agentive marking is more central in written language than in spoken

language. In spoken language, the agentive form of the deictic emphatic is expressed more explicitly with =*ki*, see (15.94-95).<sup>423</sup>

- (15.94) རྗེ་བ་ལི་གི་ མྱེད་ལྗེས་ལ་ འདི་ ལྷོ་གར་གྱི་ རྣམ་གཞག་ ལྷོ་གར་གྱི་ མྱེད་ལྗེས་ མོན་ དགོས་ཤིང་ འདི་གིས་  
 [nepali=*gi*    *kɛ:dza=di*                      *gʲagar=gi*    *nàŋɕa=lo*                      *gʲagar=gi*  
 Nepali=GEN    language.HON=DEMPH    India=GEN    inside=DAT                      India=GEN  
*kɛ:dza?*                      *tʰøn*                      *go:-ɕɛ=di=gi*]...  
 language.HON    become    be.needed=INF=DEMPH=AGT  
 ‘[Because the language of the Nepalis was to become within India a(n official) language of India...]’ (CY interview)

- (15.95) ང་ཅའི་རེ་ མྱེད་ ལྷོ་གར་གྱི་ འདི་གིས་  
 [ʎətɕei=*ri*                      *kɛ?*                      *kʲap-ɕɛ=di=gi*]...  
 1PL.GEN=AEMPH.GEN    language    strike-INF=DEMPH=AGT  
 ‘...[because (they) spoke our language]...’ (RL interview)

Example (15.96) illustrates a rarer agentive form of which I have only one example

- (15.96) བདེན་རེ་བ་ཅན་གྱིས་  
 [*denri-wa-tɕɛn=gi*]...  
 believe-CIRC-PROG/ADJZR=AGT  
 ‘[because you believed]’ or ‘[you being a believing one]’ (TB discussion with KT)

Here the agentive is attached to the form *-tɕɛn*, which occurs as a progressive marker but is also a derivative suffix, which attaches to nouns to form adjectives, see §3.4.2. In (15.96), the verb is accompanied by the circumstantial marker *-ba*, which makes the verb more amenable to nominal operations, such as the use of the adjectivizer *-tɕɛn*.

#### 15.4.7 Causality through nonfinal converb *p’ja-ti(ki)* ‘doing’

In spoken causal clauses, it is more usual to use the nonfinal converb *p’ja-ti(ki)* ‘doing’ than it is to use the agentive (see §15.4.6). The converb typically occurs following *-ɕɛ*-infinitive accompanied by =*di*, see (15.97), but occasionally directly following the infinitive, see (15.98).

- (15.97) ཚེས་ འདི་ ལེབ་ ལེགས་ ཡོད་ཤིང་ འདི་ ལྷོ་གར་གྱི་  
 [*tsʰik=di*                      *lɛp*                      *lɛm*    *jò:-ɕɛ=di*                      *p’ja-tiki*]...  
 word=DEMPH    very.much    good    EX-INF=DEMPH    do-NF  
 ‘Because the words are very good...’ (RS song intro)

- (15.98) གཞུ་ལེ་ རྣམ་གཞག་ ཡོད་ཤིང་ ལྷོ་གར་གྱི་  
 [*zu=i*                      *nàŋɕa=lo*                      *jò-ɕɛ?*    *p’ja-tiki*]...  
 bow=GEN    inside=DAT                      EX-INF    do-NF  
 ‘[because (it) is inside the bow]...’ (RS bee story)

The nonfinal form *p’ja-ti(ki)* and its reduced form *p’ja* also attach to nouns (15.99) and pronouns (15.100):

<sup>423</sup> Another phonologically more explicit construction is the one with converb *p’jati(ki)*, see §15.4.7.

(15.99) དེ་ཟང་གནད་ལྷངས་འདིས་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་  
 [t'izā: né:tā:=di: p'ja-ti]...  
 but condition=DEMPH.AGT do-NF  
 '[Because of the condition (of hers)]...' (Richhi 171)

(15.100) མོ་འདི་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་  
 a) ódi p'ja  
 b) ódi p'ja-ti  
 c) ódi p'ja-tiki  
 that do-NF  
 'Because of that...'

### 15.4.8 Causal uses of the circumstantial-purposive converb

In certain contexts, such as (15.101) and (15.102), the circumstantial converb can be interpreted as expressing reason/causality:

(15.101) མོ་ལུང་ འདི་ ལེགས་ མ་ལྷོ་བ་ ཤི་བོ་ ལྷང་།  
 [mòby=di lèm ma-jà-wa] εí-u bε?.  
 wife=DEMPH good NEG-do-CIRC die-2INF EQU.NE  
 '[(His) wife not doing well (in caring for him)], he died'/'He died [because (his) wife did not do well (in caring for him)].' (KN e)

(15.102) ང་ ལྷོ་ ཡ་ཡ་བ་ ལེབ་ ལྷོ་བ་ ལྷོ་གས་ཚང་།  
 [ɲà gjuk jà:-ja-wa] lèp k'jop to:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:.  
 1SG run go-RDP-CIRC very.much stomach hunger-CMPL  
 '[Having run and run], I became very hungry.' (KN e)

For circumstantial uses, refer to §15.8.1.

## 15.5 Purposive clauses

Denjongke uses mainly three constructions for expressing purpose: 1) circumstantial-purposive converb marker *-pa/ba* used with a verb of motion and a few other verbs, 2) postposition complement clause with *t'ønlo* 'for the purpose of', and 3) the nonfinal converb *làp-ti* 'saying'. Purpose and reason are naturally related concepts, as supported by the fact that the converb *làp-ti* is used for expressing both.

### 15.5.1 Purpose with circumstantial-purposive converb *-pa/ba*

The uses of the converb *-pa/ba* can be roughly divided into affirmed purposive uses and negated circumstantial uses.<sup>424</sup> A similar connection between manner (similar to circumstantial) and purposive converbs is noted by Vanhove (2016: 330), who comments that in Beja (Cushitic) "the Manner converb of action verbs may encode a purposive interclausal relation if the following verb is a verb of motion." The purposive uses of *-pa/ba* occur with verbs of motion (15.103), and some other verbs illustrated by *go?* be 'needed' (15.1104) and *t<sup>h</sup>op* 'receive' (15.105). Note that the purposive may be followed by dative-locative case-marking, see (15.104) and (15.105).

<sup>424</sup> However, see exceptions in §15.8.1.

- (15.103) ང་ཅག་གཉིས་པོ་ ལྷོ་ལག་ལ་ ལྷ་བར་བཅར་བོ་ མིན།  
*ŋàtɕa? ní:-po [bhaila ta-wa] tɕa:-bo í:*  
 1PL two-COL PN watch-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘The two of us came [to see Bhaila].’ (Richhi 11)
- (15.104) སེ་བའི་གདམས་ངག་ ལྷུ་བ་པ་ལོ་ ཞག་བདུན་ལས་ ལྷག་གོ་མ་དགོས།  
*[sɛ:wø: damŋa? dup-a=lo] ɛà? dyn=lɛ ʃako maŋ-go?*  
 hail.GEN instruction achieve-PUR=DAT night seven=ABL more NEG-be.needed  
 ‘(He) did not need more than seven nights [in order to achieve (mastery of) the hail-mantra]. (mi-la ras-po 4)
- (15.105) རང་ཡུལ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ ཐོན་བའོ་ བན་ཐོགས་ ཐོབ་རྒྱུགས་མཁལ་ སྤང།  
*[rã:-y: jàrgɛ? thom-ba=lo] pʰɛnto? thop tsʰu-kʰɛn*  
 own-place progress become-PUR=DAT help receive be.able.to-NMLZ  
*bɛ?*  
 EQU.NE  
 ‘It will be possible to get help [in order to develop (our) own place].’ (mthun-sgril 18)

In spoken language, the converbal marker may be dropped if context allows. According to consultant KN, all the forms (15.106) are possible for a purposive construction.

- (15.106) a) *ŋà sɛ? sɔ́:-zɛ* ཉ་བསད་སོང་ཞེ།  
 b) *ŋà sɛ -pa sɔ́:-zɛ* ཉ་བསད་པ་སོང་ཞེ།  
 c) *ŋà sɛ =lo sɔ́:-zɛ* ཉ་བསད་ལོ་སོང་ཞེ།  
 d) *ŋà sɛ -pa =lo sɔ́:-zɛ* ཉ་བསད་པ་ལོ་སོང་ཞེ།  
 I kill -PUR =DAT go.PFV-PST  
 ‘(I) went fishing.’ Lit. ‘(I) went [to kill fish].’ (KN e)

Another example of a mere verb root as purposive is (15.107).

- (15.107) མོ་འདྲེབ་ college ལྷུང་སོང་བོ་ མིན།  
*ódep [kolite dzã:] sɔ́:-bo í:*  
 like.that college(Eng.) train go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Like that I went [for college training].’ (CY interview)

Similarly, Sandberg (1895: 66) gives the example clause *Ngá chhō tá ong che* ‘I have come to see you’, where the mere verb root is used purposively. The clause is given in edited form in (15.108).

- (15.108) Sandberg (1895: 66) (WD, transcription and glosses mine)  
 ང་ ཚོས་ ལྷ་ འོང་ཅེ།  
*ŋà tɕʰø? ta ɔ́:-tɕɛ.*  
 1SG 2SG.L look come-PST  
 ‘I have come to see you’

The actor of the converbal clause with *-pa/ba* is always the same as that of the main clause. If the actor is different, a construction with the complementizer *lapti* is used, see §15.5.3.

### 15.5.2 Purpose with the postposition *t'ønle/t'ønlo*

Purpose clauses can also be formed by adding a complement clause to the relator noun *t'ønle/t'ønlo* (also *t'ønla?/t'ønla?/t'ønla?*) ‘for the purpose of, in order to; because’, deriving from the noun *t'øn(da?)* ‘meaning, sense; purpose; reason’. The complement clause may either be a genitivized *-po*-infinitive-clause (15.109) or a clause with *-εε*-infinitive, either with genitive marking (15.110) or without further marking (15.111).

- (15.109) ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རེ་ཆེ་བསྐྱར་བའི་དོན་ལོ་སློག་གི་ཤད་ཨིན།  
 [tʰamtεε=ki ritεʰi kã:-wø: t'ønlo] ló? εí-εε í:  
 all=GEN hope fill-2INF.GEN for.purpose.of light die-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘[In order to fulfil the hope of all (of seeing the performance)], the light goes out.’  
 (Richhi 75-76)

- (15.110) གསོལ་ཇ་ཆབ་ཚན་ཚུ་བྲངས་ཤད་ཀྱི་དོན་དག་བཟོ་བོ།  
 [sò:za: tεʰaptsɛ:=tsu t'ã:-εε=ki t'ønla?] dzo-u.  
 tea.HON hot.water.HON=PL carry.HON-INF=GEN for.purpose.of make-2INF  
 ‘(It) was made [to carry tea, hot water and such things].’ (PD outside video)

- (15.111) ལུ་དཔག་བསམ་མེ་ཉོག་འཛིབ་ཤད་དོན་དག་ལས་ས་འོག་ལས་ཚང་བཟོ་སྡི་གི་སློག་ཚོད་ཤད་ལོ་སོ།  
 kʰu [paksam εiŋ=gi minto? dzip-εε? t'ønlaε] sá  
 3SGM balsam tree=GEN flower suck-INF for.purpose.of ground  
 ò:=lε tsʰã: zo-tiki gu: dø:-εε=lo=s.  
 below=ABL nest make-NF wait sit-INF=REP=QUO  
 ‘[In order to suck (nectar from) balsam tree’s flower], he makes a nest underground and sits waiting, (so the story goes).’ (RS bee story)

In (15.112), the purpose clause is postposed to the main clause, resulting in a clause that ends in a postposition rather than a verb.

- (15.112) ཇམ་པོ་འདི་ཡང་དགོངས་པོ་ལེན་སྡི་བྱིན་ན་རང་ཡོད་བྱ་མའི་གཉེན་རྒྱལས་པའི་དོན་ལོ།  
 ápo=di=jã: gompo lèn-di kʰim=na=rã: jò? [p'umø:  
 father=DEMPH=too leave take-NF house=LOC=AEMPH EX.PER girl.GEN  
 jén kjap-ø: t'ønlo].  
 wedding do-2INF.GEN for.purpose.of  
 ‘The father, having taken a leave-of-absence, is also at home, in order to marry  
 (his) daughter.’ (Richhi 157)

The reason why the purpose clause in (15.112) is postposed to the main clause is probably that it would be difficult to process such a long clause if it were placed between the topical actor *ápo* ‘father’ and the patient *gompo* ‘leave-of-absence’ in the main clause. The dependence of the purpose clause is signalled by the lack of the sentence boundary marker | in Denjongke writing.

### 15.5.3 Purpose with nonfinal converb *làpti* ‘saying’

In addition to forming causal clauses (see §15.4.4) and functioning as a complementizer (see §14.2.2.1), the nonfinal form of the verb *láp* ‘say’ may also form purpose clauses by attaching to declarative (15.113), optative (15.114) and hortative verb forms (15.115).<sup>425</sup> Example

<sup>425</sup> Similar to Nepali purposives with *bhanera*-constructions (bhan-era [say-CPTCP]).



(15.113) is a comment by a house-owner about the purpose of the 40-centimeter-high threshold. Example (15.114), on the other hand, was an answer to the question, what is the purpose of heaping earth at the feet of maize stalks.

(15.113) a) འདི་ ད་ རྩི་ ཨ་ལུས་ཚུ་ རང་ག་ འཇུལ་གང་ ཨིན་ ལའ་ལྷི་ དང་པའི་ མི་གེས་ འདེམ་ བཟོ་བོ་ ཨིན་ལེ།  
*di t'a [kʰi ály:=tsu nàŋɛa dzy:-ɛi: ləp-ti] t'ã:py:*  
 this now dog cat=PL inside enter-NPST.PER say-NF long.ago.GEN  
*mí=gi dem dzo-u í:=s.*  
 human=AGT like.that build-2INF EQU.PER=QUO  
 'Now people long ago built this like this [so that dogs and cats would not enter inside]. (Lit. 'People long ago built this like this [saying that dogs and cats will enter inside].') (PD living room video)

b) ཨོ་འདི་ འདི་ ཀེན་ ཚོང་ ལེགས་ རོན་གང་ ཨིན་ ལའ་ལྷི།  
*ódi=di [kintsõ: ləm tʰøn-ɛɛ í: ləp-ti].*  
 that=DEMPH maize good become-INF EQU.PER say-NF  
 'That (is done) [so that the maize will turn out good]. Lit. It's done [saying that the maize will turn out good]. (PL interview)

Negated purpose clauses are formed by negating the optative construction by prefixing *-ma* to the secondary verb. For an affirmative and negated counterparts, see (15.114a-b).

(15.114) a) ངའི་ཀེ་ birthday party ར་ རྩུ་ འོང་བཞུག་ ལའ་ལྷི་ ང་ རོན་ འུས་བོ་ ཨིན།  
*[ɲé:-gi bəððɛipa:ti=na kʰu ɔ̃: tɛu? ləp-ti] ɲà*  
 my=GEN birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM come cause say-NF 1SG  
*fon p'ja-u í:.*  
 phone(Eng.) do-2INF EQU.PER  
 'I phoned (him) [so that he would come to my birthday party].'  
 (literally: '[Saying let him come to my birthday party,] I phoned.') (KN e)

b) ངའི་ཀེ་ birthday party ར་ རྩུ་ འོང་བཞུག་ ལའ་ལྷི་ ང་ རོན་ འུས་བོ་ ཨིན།  
*[ɲé:-gi bəððɛipa:ti=na kʰu ɔ̃: ma-tɛu? ləp-ti] ɲà*  
 my=GEN birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM come NEG-cause say-NF 1SG  
*fon p'ja-u í:.*  
 phone(Eng.) do-2INF EQU.PER  
 'I phoned (him) [so that he would not come to my birthday party].'  
 (literally: '[Saying let him not come to my birthday party,] I phoned.') (KN e)

(15.115) ང་ རོན་ལུའི་ཚང་ འགྲུ་གེ་ ལའ་ལྷི་ རོང་བོ་ ཨིན།  
*ɲà nòrby:=tsa: gju-gɛ ləp-ti sò:-bo í:.*  
 1SG PN.GEN=at go-HORT say-NF go.PFV-PST EQU.PER  
 'I went in order to go to Norbu's place.' Lit. 'I went saying let me go to Norbu's place.' (Richhi 110)

## 15.6 Conditional clauses

A conditional clause is formed by an obligatory final converb *-(patεε)ne*, which may be accompanied by the optional initial word *k'ε:si?* 'if'.<sup>426</sup> I am not aware of any meaning difference between the shorter form *-ne* and the longer form *-patεεne*. The relator noun *teŋle* '(from) upon' may also be used in a conditional sense, see (15.133). The conditional marker attaches to the verb root (which may be a final auxiliary copula) or the completive *-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)*. In (15.116), the conditional attaches to the simple verb root and, typically of this construction, obtains a present/future reading. In (15.117), on the other hand, the conditional is postposed to the final auxiliary copula, a construction which allows referring to the past. As a general rule, those TAME<sup>427</sup>-constructions which end in an auxiliary copula, either equative or existential, can occur in the conditional form (for the various constructions, see §8).

- (15.116) a) ཤ་ཁམ་གཅིག་ རྩིན་ནེ་ གཏམ་ རྗེས་གཅིག་ ལའ་འོང་།  
 [εá k<sup>h</sup>am tei? p'in-ne] tam ts<sup>h</sup>ik tei? làp ò:  
 meat mouthful one give-COND speech word one speak FUT.UNC  
 '[If (you) give one mouthful of meat], (I) will give one word of speech.' (rna-  
 sung 8)
- b) གལ་སྲིད་ མོའི་ཚ་ལས་ ལ་བྱང་ ཐོབ་ན་ ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ མོ་ལོ་ ཚོད་ཀྱི་ ལ་བྱང་ བྱི་ན།  
 [k'ε:si? mù=i tsa=lε k<sup>h</sup>ateã: t<sup>h</sup>op-ne] te<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki=jã:  
 if 3SGF=GEN at=ABL address receive-COND 2SG.L=AGT=too  
 mù=lo te<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki k<sup>h</sup>ateã: p'in.  
 3SGF=DAT 2SG.L=GEN address give  
 '[If (you) get an address from her], you also give her your address.' (Richhi 95)
- (15.117) གལ་སྲིད་ ང་ཚག་གིས་ འདི་ན་ རྣོར་འཁྲུལ་ ཤོར་བོ་ ཡིན་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ང་ཚག་ ལྷགས་བདེན་ དགོངས་དག་ ལུ་ཤད་ ཡིན།  
 [k'ε:si? ñàtea=ki di=na nórt<sup>h</sup>y: εó:-bo ìm-bateεε] ñàtea?  
 if 1PL=AGT this=LOC mistake slip-2INF EQU-COND 1PL  
 t<sup>h</sup>udê:gõ:da? εù-εε í:  
 apology request-INF EQU.PER  
 '[If in this we made mistake(s)], we apologize.' (NAB BLA 7)

The conditional only attaches to the personal copulas *í:* and *jò?* and not to neutral *be?* and sensorial *du?*, e.g. \**be-(patεε)ne*, \**duk-(atεε)ne*. Thus evidential distinctions are neutralized with the conditional.

The optional *k'ε:si?* 'if' is not strictly initial in that other elements may precede, i.e. a term of address and a temporal adverbial in (15.118).

- (15.118) ཇ་རྒྱ་ ལུང་མེང་ ལྷགས་ན་ གལ་སྲིད་ བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ འོང་བར་ཅེ་ན་ བར་ཚུ་ ང་རང་ འབག་ ལྷེབས་འོང་།  
 ágja [k'uŋsiŋ kap=na k'ε:si? bombai=lo òm-bateεε  
 elder.bother holiday time=LOC if TPN=DAT come-COND  
 par=tsu ñà=rã: bak læp ò:  
 picture=PL 1SG=AEMPH carry arrive FUT.UNC  
 'Brother, [if I come to Bombay during the holiday], I will arrive bringing the  
 pictures myself.' (Richhi 108)

<sup>426</sup> *k'ε:si?* functions quite analogously to the optional Nepali *jedi* 'if'.

<sup>427</sup> Tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality

The conditional marker may attach to the completive marker *-ts<sup>h</sup>a*, allowing an aspectual value to be expressed within a conditional clause. In (15.119), *-ts<sup>h</sup>a* is preposed to the longer form *-patεenε* and in (15.120) to the short form *-nε*.

- (15.119) དེ་ཟང་གན་བྱས་ཤད་མི་ལོ་དུས་ཚད་ཀྱིས་རང་བར་བཅིངས་བཏབ་ཚ་བར་ཅེ་ན།  
*t'izã: k'an p'ja-εε?* [mi=lo t'yts<sup>h</sup>ø=ki=rã: partsĩ:  
 but what do-INF human=DAT time=AGT=AEMPH obstacle  
*tap-ts<sup>h</sup>a-wateεnε*?  
 sow-CMPL-COND  
 'But what to do, [if times throw an obstacle at a person]?' (Richhi 59)

- (15.120) ད་ མོ་ ཉེ་ དགུ་གཏོར་ ང་ མོང་ འགྲུ་ཏོ་ ལབ་བཞིན་ ཉེ་ མ་ཉན་ཚར་ བེ་ གན་ བྱས་ཤད་?  
*t'a ó te gutor ηà só: gju=to làp-zin [te*  
 now that so gutor-offering 1SG go.PFV go=CEMPH say-PROG so  
*mà-nεn-ts<sup>h</sup>a-nε*] *k'an p'ja-εε?*  
 NEG-listen-CMPL-COND what do-INF  
 'Now, so when I tell him to go to the gutor-offering either with me or alone, [so if (he) does not listen], what to do?'<sup>428</sup> (AB kitchen discussion)

The conditional construction is negated by *ma-*, which may reduce to *m-* with vowel initial roots:

- (15.121) a) འབག་ མ་འོང་ནི་ ལྷན་ལྷན་ལོ་ མ་ལབ།  
*[ba? m(a)-ò:-nε]* *mytsy=lo ma-làp.*  
 carry NEG-come-COND other=DAT NEG-say  
 'If it is not brought, don't tell (it) to others.' (KNA kitchen)
- b) ད་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ མ་མཁྱེན་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་...  
*[t'a lokε ma-k<sup>h</sup>em-bateεnε]*  
 now Lhoke NEG-know.HON-COND  
 'Now if (they) do not know Lhoke...' (YR canteen video)

Note, however, that the imperfective negator *mi-* may be used with a verb if the conditional form of the verb *sé/si* 'say' follows:

- (15.122) མནང་ཚང་ ཉི་མ་ཚོས་ ད་ མག་གོ་ ལོ་ གཞིས་ མི་རྒྱལས་ སེ་ནེ་ ང་ཅག་ མག་གོ་འི་གི་ སྐྱེད་ ངི་ དགོས་ཤད་ སྐད།  
*ná:te<sup>h</sup>ã: jìmts<sup>h</sup>i [t'a máko lò jí: mi-kjap sí-nε]* *ηàtea?*  
 engagement date now groom year two NEG-do say-COND 1PL  
*mákø:=gi ke? t'i go:-εε be?*  
 groom.GEN=GEN gain ask be.needed-INF EQU.NE  
 'On the day of the engagement, [now if the groom says (he) is not going to work for two years (in the bride's home)], we have to ask for the groom's gift.' (SGD wedding customs)

In the following two clauses the completive conditional form *bom-ts<sup>h</sup>a-ne* 'if (one) grows' is used for prospective future.

<sup>428</sup> The translation 'either with me or alone' derives from the apposed forms *só:* and *gju*. The first, *só:*, is a command to the second person, whereas the second form, *gju*, is used as a hortative 'let's go', which includes both the speaker and the addressee.

(15.123) དེ་ཟང་རྒྱབ་ལས་སློམ་ཚར་ནེ་གར་ཐོན་གས་ཨོ་འདི་ང་ཅག་ཉ་གོ་མི་ཚུགས།  
 [t'izã: gjablɛ **bom-ts<sup>h</sup>a-nɛ**] k'ar t<sup>h</sup>øŋ-gam ódi ηàtɛa? hako  
 but after grow-CMPL-COND what happen-ATTQ that 1PL know  
 mi-ts<sup>h</sup>u?  
 NEG-.be.able.to  
 '[But afterward if/when<sup>429</sup> (he) has grown], what will happen, that we cannot know.' (PED life story)

(15.124) ཨ་ཙོ་སློམ་བཞིན་འགྲུ་དང་, སློམ་ཚར་ནེ་ཉེ་ཨ་ཙོ་ཉ་གོ་མཁན་གྱི།  
 átsi bom-zɛ: gju-dã:, [**bom-ts<sup>h</sup>a-nɛ**] tɛ átsi hako-k<sup>h</sup>ɛn bɛ?  
 a.bit grow-PROG go-CONJ grow-CMPL-COND then a.bit know-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 'When (he) goes about growing, [when/if he has grown], he will understand a bit.'  
 (SM kitchen discussion)

I suggest two hypothetical motivations for using the completive conditional form to convey an essentially anterior future meaning in (15.123) and (15.124). The first is that there may be a division of function between the completive anterior construction *ts<sup>h</sup>a=lɛ*, which is restricted to past and habitual uses, and the completive conditional construction *ts<sup>h</sup>a-nɛ*, which covers future anterior uses. The second is that the past uncertainty of a child to survive into adulthood has been encoded in the grammar as uncertainty implied by the conditional. If the latter is true, *bom-ts<sup>h</sup>a-nɛ* in (15.124) could have the implied meaning 'if he will have managed to grow up'

The conditional construction can also be used counterfactually to describe a past alternative reality, i.e. what would have happened if something else had not taken place, see (15.125) and (15.126)

(15.125) མདང་ང་ཙའི་ལྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་མགོ་བཏོག་སྟེ་འགྲིལ་སྤོང་ཡོད་སྐབས་བུ་སྲིང་ལགས་མེད་བར་ཅེ་ན་ཁོ་ཨོ་ན་རང་གི་ཤང་གྱི།  
 dā: ηàtɛi bhaila=ki go tok-ti d̪i: d̪ø: j̪ø:-kap  
 yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall stay EX-SIM  
 [p'usim=la: **mè:patɛnɛ**] k<sup>h</sup>u óna=rã: ɛí-ɛɛ bɛ?  
 younger.sister=HON NEG.EX-COND 3SGM there=EMPH die-INF EQU.NE  
 'Yesterday when our Bhaila was lying fallen after hitting his head, [if it wasn't for the sister], he would have died on the spot.' (Richhi 12)

(15.126) ཨ་ཙོ་འཛོང་ཐིང་གི་ཞལ་ལོ་ཉན་སྟེ་ད་རུང་བྱིམ་ན་བཞག་ན་གར་ཐོན་ཐོན་ཀ་གིས་ལབ་ཚུགས་པོ་  
 [ádzo boŋt<sup>h</sup>iŋ=gi ɛɛ:=lo j̪èn-di t'aruŋ  
 grandfather Lepcha.priest=GEN mouth.HON=DAT listen-NF still  
 k<sup>h</sup>im=na **zak-nɛ**] k'an t<sup>h</sup>øŋ t<sup>h</sup>øŋ ka=gi làp  
 house=LOC leave-COND what happen happen who=AGT say  
 ts<sup>h</sup>u-po?  
 be.able.to-2INF  
 '[If we had listened grandfather bongthing's words and left (the patient) still at home], who can tell, what all would have happened.' (rnam-rtog 31)

The conditional marker may be followed by the demonstrative-emphatic =*di*.

<sup>429</sup> In English, it is more natural to talk about such an everyday occurrence as the growing of a child with the temporal expression 'when'.

(15.127) ཉེ་ལེབ་མནོ་ནེ་འདི་བདེན་བླགས་འདེམ་གཅིག་འདུག་གོ།  
 [te lèp **nó:-nɛ=di**] denʈa? dem=tsi? du-ke.  
 then very.much think-COND=DEPMH true such=INDF EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘[If (I) think hard about it], (it) looks like it’s true.’ (CY interview)

(15.128) བང་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གན་ལྷོ་ལབ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་འདི་  
 [sánɣɛ:=ki k’an èù-do **làp-atɛnɛ=di**]...  
 Buddha=AGT what say.HUM-IPFV say-COND=DEMPH  
 ‘[If (we) talk about what the Buddha is saying]...’ (YR canteen video)

While (15.128) exemplifies a frequent use where the conditional form of a verb of speaking introduces a new topic for discussion, (15.129) provides a metacomment on the discourse.

(15.129) ད་མནོ་མུ་ལྷོ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ཉེ་མ་གོ་འདི་བྱིག་སྟེ་ཁ་ཚང་ཉམ་ཚེས་སྟོན་དགོས་ལབ་སྟེ་ཡོད་བ་སྤང།  
 [t’a né:mu **èù-watsɛnɛ**] te máko=di kʰik-ti  
 now real(ly) say-COND then son-in-law=DEMPH lead-NF  
 kʰateʰã: nĩmtsʰi tɕn go:=s làp-ti jòbbe?  
 Khachang-ceremony date show be.needed=QUO say-NF EX.NE  
 ‘[If (we) speak the truth], there is (the custom) that the son in law has to be brought and shown on the date of the Khachang-ceremony (of marrying).’ (SGD wedding customs)

In fast speech, the full conditional form *-patɛnɛ* may be reduced to *-patɛ* (15.130) or even *-pa*, represented by the allophonic variant *-a* in (15.131).

(15.130) གཏམ་ག་སྟེ་བཤད་དགོས་ལབ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ང་ཅག་གིས་...  
 [tam=tsu k’atɛ **ɛé?** go? **làp-atɛɛ**] ɲàtɛa=ki...  
 word=PL how tell be.needed say-COND 1PL=AGT  
 ‘[If (we) speak about how the words should be told], we...’ (YR canteen video)

(15.131) ད་ཚེས་པའི་ཙ་འགྲུ་སྟེ་གི་ཚེས་སྟོན་ག་ཅེ་ནེ་ད་མནོ་ཚང་སྟེལ་ཚོག་སྤང།གལ་སྲིད་ཚེས་མནོ་སྟོན་ག་  
 t’a tsi:pø:=tsa: gju-tiki [tsi? **ɖik-atsɛnɛ**] t’a ná:tɛʰã ke:  
 now astrologer.GEN=at go-NF astrology fit-COND now betrothal bring  
 (t)ɛʰo bɛ?. [k’ɛ:si? tsi? **man-ɖik-a**]...  
 be.allowed EQU.NE if astrology NEG-fit-COND  
 ‘Now, having gone to the astrologer, [if the astrological calculations (of the prospective bride and groom) are fitting], betrothal can be arranged. [If the astrological calculations do not fit]...’ (SGD wedding customs)

In (15.131), context helps the addressee interpret the abbreviated form *man-ɖik-a* as a conditional rather than the homophonous circumstantial-purposive converbial form. First, *man-ɖik-a* forms a logical pair with the full conditional form *ɖik-atsɛnɛ* in the previous clause. Second, the short form is accompanied by *k’ɛ:si?* ‘if’, which helps to disambiguate the clause as conditional.

In addition to the typical converbial uses illustrated above, the conditional form *-nɛ* is used in an idiomatic construction with the secondary verb *ta* ‘look’ and the attention marker =*ɛo* to form questions/suggestions presenting an alternative course of action.

- (15.132) མཉམ་ལང་ན་ བྱིག་སྟེ་ ལྟོན་ ལྟོན་ལོ?  
*ménk'hã:=na k'hik-ti tɔn ta-ne=ɛo?*  
 hospital=LOC lead-NF show look-COND=AT  
 ‘What if we look and take and show him at the hospital?’ (nam-tog 17)

The relator noun *teŋle* ‘(from) upon’ is once in my data used in a conditional sense:

- (15.133) མཉམ་འདི་ ལེགས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ཟ་བའི་ རྗེང་ལས་ མན་ནེ་ ཚོང་ མི་གྲི།  
*[mén=di lèm p'ja-ti sà-wɔ: teŋle] mènni tɛʰɔ? mi-éi.*  
 medicine=DEMPH good do-NF eat-2INF.GEN upon perhaps 2SG.LNEG-die  
 ‘[If (you) eat the medicine well], perhaps you will not die.’ (KN e)

### 15.7 Concessive clauses

The concessive converb marker *-ruŋ* is suffixed to the verb root and functions similarly to the English concessive ‘although’ and “concessive conditional” ‘even if’ (Thompson et al 2007: 261). Unlike the conditional *-(patɛ)ne*, my data has no examples of *-ruŋ* attached to the completive marker *-tsʰa*. The time reference in concessive clauses of the form VERB-*ruŋ* has to be deduced from the context. In (15.134), the verbal action marked by *-ruŋ* has already taken place.

- (15.134) ལྷ་ཚོང་ བཟུ་གཅིག་ བརྒྱུད་ཅུང་ ཐེན་ལས་ཀྱི་ བྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་བུ་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སློབས་ཤད་ འདིས་  
*[tɛʰutsʰɔ? tɛuktei? duŋ-ruŋ] tʰinle:=ki kʰim=na=le t'ato=sã:*  
 clock.time eleven strike-CONC PN=GEN house=LOC=ABL now=until  
*ka=jã: ma-ʃep-ɛɛ=di:...*  
 who=even NEG-arrive-INF=DEMPH.AGT  
 ‘[Although it’s (past) eleven o’clock], nobody has so far arrived from Thrinley’s house. Therefore...’ (Richhi 43)

In (15.135), the time reference is present and in (15.136) hypothetical future.

- (15.135) མིའི་ ཀླགས་ བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ ཡོད་ཅུང་ སེམས་ འདིས་ འཛོམ་སྤོང་ བསྐོར་བ་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།  
*[mí: zu? bombai=lo jò:-ruŋ] sém=di: dzamliŋ korwa*  
 human.GEN body TPN=DAT EX-CONC mind=DEMPH.AGT world roaming  
*kjap-zɛ: jò?*  
 do-PROG EX.PER  
 ‘[Although (his) human body is in Bombay], his mind is travelling around the world.’ (Richhi 135)
- (15.136) འདེམ་ མིན་ན་ཉི་ གོ་ཚག་རང་ ག་ན་ འགྱུ་ཅུང་ སོང་ ད་ གོ་ཚག་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ མིན་འགྱུ།  
*dem ín-(n)ɛ=to k'utea=rã: [k'ana gju-ruŋ] sô:. ñà*  
 like.that EQU-COND=CEMPH 2PL=AEMPH where go-CONC go.PFV 1SG  
*k'utea? námtei? miŋ-gju.*  
 2PL with NEG-go  
 ‘In that case, you (pl.) go [wherever you go]. I’ll not go with you (pl.).’  
 (Richhi 80)

As seen in (15.136), a concessive verb postposed to an interrogative word functions similarly to English ‘-ever’ suffixed to a question word. Other examples are *k’an p’ja-ruŋ* [what do-CONC] ‘whatever (he) do(es)’, *ka i:-ruŋ* [who EQU-CONC] ‘whoever (she/he is)’, see §6.3.2.

The concessive verb is negated by the prefix *ma-*. A construction which juxtaposes the affirmative and negated concessive uses functions similarly to English expression ‘whether...or not’:

- (15.137) ཉེ་ཁོང་ཤེས་ཅུང་མ་ཤེས་ཅུང་ཁོང་དངུལ་ཐོབ་པོ་སྤང།  
*tɛ* [*kʰø:* *ɛé:-ruŋ*] [*ma-ɛé:ruŋ*] *kʰø:* *ɲý:* *tʰop-o* *bɛʔ.*  
 so 3PL know-CONC NEG-know-CONC 3PL money receive-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘So [whether they knew it] (or) [did not know], they received money.’ (CY interview)

- (15.138) ཟ་མཁན་ཡོད་ཅུང་མེད་ཅུང་དུས་ཚོད་ན་ཟམ་བཟོ་བཞག།  
*[sà-kʰɛ:* *jò:-ruŋ*] [*mè:-ruŋ*] *t’ytsʰø:=na sàm zo zaʔ.*  
 eat-NMLZ EX-CONC NEG.EX-CONC time=LOC food make put  
 ‘[Whether there are eaters] (or) [not], have the food prepared in time.’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 135)

The initial *k’ɛ:siʔ*, which occurs with the conditional marker *-(patɛɛɛ)ne*, can also be used with *-ruŋ* with the meaning ‘even if’. The uses with *-ruŋ*, however, seem rare. The only example in my data is (15.139).

- (15.139) གལ་སྲིད་ད་ལྟ་ཟང་གི་ང་ཅའི་ལས་རིམ་འདིའི་ན་ཚོར་འཕུལ་གན་འཇོན་ཅུང་  
*[k’ɛ:siʔ* *t’ato=sã:=gi* *ɲàtɛi* *lè:rim* *di:=na* *nòrtʰy: k’an*  
 if now=until=GEN 1PL.GEN program this.GEN=LOC mistake what  
*tʰon-ruŋ*  
 happen-CONC  
 ‘[Even if some mistakes (may) have taken place in the program so far]...’ (Richhi 86)

The verb root to which the concessive marker *-ruŋ* attaches may be the final copula of a complex predicate. In these cases, tense values are explicitly marked by the verb complex, in contrast to the earlier examples, where the temporality was contextually interpreted. For instance, (15.140) exemplifies a concessive present habitual construction.

- (15.140) ཏེ་ ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ལུ་ ག་ བཞུགས་མཁམན་ ཨིན་ཅུང་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལྷོགས་ བཞི་ མཚམས་ བརྒྱུད་ན་, ལྷོགས་ ག་ བཞུགས་མཁམན་ ཨིན་ཅུང་  
 ང་ཅག་ ག་ ལྷོགས་ རང་གི་ ལྷན་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱལ་ བཏང་གི་སྟེ།  
 [te ʎɛŋgɛ:=tsu k'a: zu:-kʰɛ: í:-ruŋ] [dʑendzɔ̃: tɛʰo: zi  
 so PRN.HON=PL where live.HON-NMLZ EQU-CONC Sikkim direction four  
 tsʰam gɛ:=na tɛʰo: k'a: zu:-kʰɛ: í:-ruŋ] ɲàtɕa?  
 border eight=LOC direction where live.HON-NMLZ EQU-CONC 1PL  
 k'a: tsʰu? raŋ=gi kɛ:=lo jàrgɛ taŋ-gɛ=s.  
 what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development send-HORT=QUO  
 ‘[So wherever you live], [wherever you live in the four directions and eight  
 borders of Sikkim], let’s develop, however we can, our own language.’ (KT life  
 story)

The copula concessive form *í:-ruŋ* has further developed into a contrastive conjunction ‘but, however’, see §12.2.

## 15.8 Clauses of circumstance and manner

Denjongke uses several constructions for forming adverbial clauses which express an attendant circumstance or manner associated with the main verb. The constructions described here are formed around the circumstantial converb marker *-pa/ba* (§15.8.1), the postposition *nàŋɕa/nàŋlo* ‘inside’ (§15.8.2), progressive marker *-tɛɛn/zɛn* (§15.8.3), the word *kʰa=lo* ‘mouth=DAT’ (§15.8.4), comparative manner markers *dɛm* ‘like (it)’, *nàŋtar(gi)* ‘according to’, *nàŋzin* ‘according to, similar to’ and *t’ɔnzin(gi)* ‘in accordance with’ (§15.8.5), and genitivized *-po*-infinitive (§15.8.6). These markers and the constructions associated with them are addressed in the following subsections.

### 15.8.1 Circumstantial-purposive converb *-pa/ba*

The circumstantial-purposive converb *-pa/ba* can mark both attendant circumstance to the action in the following main verb (mainly in negated clauses) and purpose (in affirmative clauses mainly with verbs of motion). The purposive uses are described in §15.5.1 above. While affirmative circumstantial uses do exist in my data, the majority of affirmative uses of *-pa/ba* are purposive. All negated uses, whether occurring with verbs of motion or not, are by necessity circumstantial (e.g. *I came here without eating*), because purposive uses are highly unlikely (e.g. *I came here in order not to eat*).

Examples (15.141-142) illustrate the rare affirmative circumstantial uses of *-pa/ba*. Note that in (15.141) the converb, which typically occurs before the main clause, is postposed to the main clause. In (15.142), the reduplication of the verb root likely confirms the circumstantial (instead of purposive) interpretation.

- (15.141) གན་ ཐོན་ཤང་ འདི་ལར་ བཞུགས་པར།  
 k'an tʰɔn-ɕɛ? [dikʰa zu:-pa]?  
 what happen-INF here stay.HON-CIRC  
 ‘What (undesirable) will happen [by staying here]?’ (Richhi 38)

- (15.142) ང་གིས་ ལུའི་ མིང་ འདི་ བརྗོད་བརྗོད་པ་ ལྷོད་པོ་ ལྷང།  
 ɲá:=gi [kʰu=i miŋ=di dʑɛ:-dʑɛ:-pa] dɛ:-po bɛ?  
 1SG=AGT 3SGM=GEN name=DEMPH forget-RDP-CIRC stay-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘I keep on forgetting his name.’ lit. ‘I sit/stay [forgetting his name].’ (PT e)



The negated circumstantial use of *-pa/ba*, which also functions as the negation of the nonfinal converb *-ti/di*, is illustrated in (15.143). Note that (15.143d) has a clause chain where the negated verb occurs with *-pa/ba* and the affirmed one with *-ti/di*.

- (15.143) a) མོག་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ མ་གཙོང་བ་ ཉེ་ ཁོང་ལོ་ ཚོ་ བར།  
 [só:=di      ηàtɛa=ki    **ma-tɛɛ:-pa**]    tɛ    kʰõ:=lo    tsʰɛ    tʰa:.  
 life=DEMPH    1PL=AGT    NEG-cut-CIRC so 3PL=DAT    life    release  
 ‘[Not killing life,] we (are to) release them (=sentient beings) alive.’ (YR canteen video)
- b) ད་ འབྲུང་ འབྲེན་ཅིག་ མ་བྱོད་བར་ བཞུགས་ཉ་  
 t'a    buntʰɛ:    tɛi?    [**ma-pʰɛ-pa**]      zu:      ja.  
 now moment one    NEG-budge-CIRC sit.HON TAG.ASR  
 ‘Now sit a while [without budging], will you.’ (rnam-rtog 28)
- c) ཉེ་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ འདི་ ཚོག་ འདི་ ལེབ་ འཇུས་དྲགས་ མ་བྱོས་བ་ ཞེད་སྣང་ མ་སློང་བ་ ང་ཅའི་ ཚོག་ འདི་ ལྷན་དྲགས་ ལྷན་དྲགས་ བྱས་ ལུ་ཤད་ གཞོན་མོ་ མ་ཚུ་ལོ།  
 tɛ    ηàtɛa=ki=di      [tsʰik=di      lɛp    dzukʰa?      **ma-jà-wa**]    [ɛɛnǎ:  
 so 1PL=AGT=DEMPH    word=DEMPH very frightening    NEG-do-CIRC anger  
**ma-ló:-pa**]      ηàtɛi    tsʰik=di      ɲɛŋʈa?    ɲɛŋʈa?-p'ja    ɛù-ɛɛ?  
 NEG-make.rise-CIRC 1PL.GEN word=DEMPH soft      soft-ADVZR    say.HUM-INF  
 zɔmɔ    mí=tsu=lo.  
 other human=PL=DAT  
 ‘So we, [not making our words very frightening] (and) [not arousing anger], are to speak in soft, soft words to other people.’ (YR canteen video)
- d) དེ་ཟང་ གཏམ་ འདི་ཚུ་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ ངའི་ ཁ་ལས་ མ་འཐོན་བར་ ལེམས་ནང་རང་ ཟུལ་ཕྱི་ ལུས་པོ་ མིན།  
 t'izǎ:    tam=di=tsu      t'ato=sǎ:    [ɲè:      kʰa=lɛ      **ma-tʰom-ba**]<sup>430</sup>  
 but word=DEMPH=PL    now=until 1SG.GEN mouth=ABL    NEG-come.out-CIRC  
 sém=na=rǎ:      ry:-di    lù:-po      í:  
 mind=LOC=AEMPH    rot-NF    remain-2INF    EQU.PER  
 ‘But [without getting out of (my) mouth] these words have until now remained rotting in my mind.’ (Richhi 143)

As already pointed out in §15.2, an alternative to the simple negation (15.144) is the periphrastic construction (15.145).

- (15.144) མར་ལོ་ ལུ་ མ་སྐྱུག་ཀ།  
 [mà:=lo    tɛʰu      **ma-lúk-a**]  
 butter=DAT water    NEG-pour-CIRC  
 ‘[without pouring water into the butter]’ (KN e)
- (15.145) མར་ལོ་ ལུ་ མ་སྐྱུག་གོ་ བྱས་ཉི་  
 [mà:=lo    tɛʰu      **ma-lúk-o**      **p'ja-ti**]  
 butter=DAT water    NEG-pour-2INF    do-NF  
 ‘[without pouring water into the butter]’ (LA birth in Lachung)

<sup>430</sup> Here and elsewhere it is not always clear whether certain words, like *t'ato=sǎ:* here, belong to the subordinate clause or are part of the main clause.

Converb marked with *-pa/ba* may also express how much time is left until something happens, see (15.146). The gloss purposive may fit this future-oriented context better than circumstantial.

- (15.146) མི་འཁོར་ འགྲུ་བར་ ཇ་རུང་ རྒྱ་ཚེད་ གསུམ་ཚེད་ འདུག།  
 [mìnk<sup>h</sup>or gju-wa] t'aruŋ tɛ<sup>h</sup>uts<sup>h</sup>ø? súm-ts<sup>h</sup>ø? du?  
 train go-PUR yet clock.time three-about EX.SEN  
 ‘There’s still some three hours [before the train goes] (I see).’/ ‘[In order for the train to go], there’s still three hours’ (Richhi 125)

The negated *-pa/ba* may express how much time has passed since something happened, see (15.147). This form also functions as the negated functional equivalent of the affirmative nonfinal construction (VERB-*ti*), see (15.8) above.

- (15.147) མོས་ ཀམ་ལོ་ ཡི་གེ་ མན་བྲི་བར་ ཇ་རིང་ ཟླ་ལོ་ བཞི་ ལྷག་དྲོ།  
 [mú: karma=lo jìgi man-qi-wa] dou zi lak-to  
 3SGF.AGT PN=DAT letter NEG-write-CIRC month four exceed-IPFV  
 ‘It’s today (being) more than four months [since she wrote a letter to Karma].’  
 (Richhi 161)

In clock-times, *-pa/ba* expresses how many minutes are left before the full hour, see (15.148), whereas the nonfinal form *-ti/di*, faithful to its tendency to mark anteriority, expresses how many minutes have gone since the last full hour, see (15.149).

- (15.148) རྒྱ་ཚེད་ བཞི་ བརྒྱུང་བར་ ལྷ་མོ་ བརྒྱ་ལོ་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ བྲོལ།  
 [tɛ<sup>h</sup>uts<sup>h</sup>ø? zi dum-ba] karmo tɛu=lo lóbqɑ t'ø:  
 clock.time four strike-PUR minute ten=DAT school finish  
 ‘The school finishes at ten to four o’clock.’ Lit. ‘The school finishes at ten minutes [to strike four o’clock].’ (Richhi 43)

- (15.149) རྒྱ་ཚེད་ ཇ་གུ་ བརྒྱུང་མྱི་ ཀམ་ བརྒྱ་ལྔ་ སློབ་ས་ཚར་གཤེ།  
 [tɛ<sup>h</sup>uts<sup>h</sup>ø? gu duŋ-di] karma tɛɛ:ŋɑ lɛp-ts<sup>h</sup>ake.  
 clock.time nine strike-NF minute fifteen arrive-CMPL.APH  
 ‘It’s (already) fifteen past nine (o’clock).’ Lit. ‘It is already fifteen minutes [nine o’clock having struck]’ (KN e)

The circumstantial marker occurs both with the equative *í:* and the existential *jò?*. For examples, refer to (15.150) and (15.151) respectively. The use of *-pa* especially in (15.150a) deserves further research.

- (15.150) a) མ་ཞང་ ཀན་ཅ་ འབྲུང་བོ་ལོ་ སེ་ ཞིན་བ་, ཐོས་ཅ?  
 ázã: kantea bjõ:-bo=lo=s  
 maternal.uncle youngest.male(Nep.) disappear-2INF=REP=QUO  
 ím-pa, t<sup>h</sup>o:-tɛa?  
 EQU-CIRC hear-PST.PQ  
 ‘Uncle is said to have disappeared, did you hear?’ (translation tentative) (TB phone call)

- b) མན་ ད་ཅི་ ཇམ་ཇོ་གེས་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ ལེ་བཟླ་ ཞལ་ལན་ གནང་ཞེ། མན་ན་ ཇོ་འདིས་ བན་དོ་ གམ། མན་བ་ ལྷན་ འདིས་ བན་དོ་ གམ་?

*mɛ:*                    *t'atei*    *ádzo=gi*                    *gɛ:po=di=lo*                    *lɛpti*    *ɛ̀:lé:*  
 NEG.EQU.PER    recently grandfather=AGT king=DEMPH=DAT    a.lot incantation  
*ná:-zɛ.*                    *mènni*    *ódi:*                    *pʰɛn-do-gam.*                    [*mɛ̀m-ba*]  
 do.HON-PST    perhaps that.AGT    help-IPFV-ATTQ    NEG.EQU-CIRC  
*mén*                    *di:*                    *pʰɛn-do-gam?*  
 medicine    this.AGT    help-IPFV-ATTQ  
 'No, the grandfather just made many incantations to the (spirit) king. I wonder if that would perhaps help. [In case not], I wonder whether this medicine will help.' (rnam-rtog 31)

- (15.151) a) ལྷན་ལྷན་ན་ སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་གྲི་འཛེབ་འགོ་ན་ ཡོད་པ་  
*[mýtsy? ná: lópɕn=gi=gi tɛʰipɕo=na jò:-pa]...*  
 other(s) here teacher=GEN=GEN car.HON=LOC EX-CIRC  
 '[The others being in the car of the teacher here]...' (KL BB discussion)

- b) ལྷ་ རྒྱབས་མཁན་ མེད་པ་ ངས་ ལྷ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྤང།  
*[là: kjap-kʰɛ: mɛ̀:-pa]                    ɲá:                    là:                    kjap-o                    bɛ?*  
 field do-NMLZ    NEG.EX-CIRC    I.AGT    field do-2INF EQU.NE  
 '[As there was no plougher], I ploughed (the fields).' (DB life story)

In a 12<sup>th</sup> class text book called འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ གསུང་གཏམ་ *'bras-ljongs gsung-gtam* the circumstantial converb is used somewhat differently from the description given above and attested by my oral and written data elsewhere. Whereas data from elsewhere has a rough distinction between negated circumstantial uses and affirmed purposive uses (with motion verbs), *'bras-ljongs gsung-gtam* has plenty of affirmative circumstantial uses and a different strategy for purposive uses. Instead of the converbal form, the purposive uses in *'bras-ljongs gsung-gtam* drop the converb marker *-pa/ba* and attach the dative-locative *=lo* directly to the verb root, e.g. བསེལ་ལོ་ སྤོན་ *si:=lo tɛ'ɕn* [wash.HON=DAT go.HON] 'go to wash'. Example (15.152) illustrates an affirmative circumstantial use of *-pa/ba* in *'bras-ljongs gsung-gtam*. Consultant KN did not approve the use in (15.152) and would have used the nonfinal converb instead.

- (15.152) ཇོ་ལག་ བབའ་མི་ གཉིས་གྲིས་ བྱིམ་ཚོས་ སྤྱིའི་ ཅིག་ སློབས་པར་ སྤྱིད་པོ་ མ་བྱོང་ཅུང་ བྱས་ཐབས་ གན་ཡང་ མ་ཐོབ་པོ་ སྤང།  
*ó:la? za:mi                    ní:=gi                    [kʰimtsʰɛ                    biu=tei?                    ɽɛp-a]                    kipu*  
 crow householder    two=AGT    neighbor    snake=INDF    arrive-CIRC enjoyment  
*man-dzun-run                    p'ja-tap                    k'an=jã:                    ma-tʰop-o                    bɛ?*  
 NEG-become-CONC    do-means    what=even    NEG-find-2INF    EQU.NE  
 'As a snake arrived (to live) as a neighbour, although the crow couple was not happy (they) could not find means to interfere anyhow.' (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 13)

In addition to dependent uses listed above, *-pa/ba* sometimes occurs as the final verb form, see (15.153-158). The glosses are tentative (and hence accompanied by a question mark), because the semantics of these constructions need further study. In the context of (15.153), six people are going to be divided into three pairs for working. One of the six says to the one who is responsible for dividing the pairs:

- (15.153) ལྷལ་མཚན་ དང་ ང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ གཡོག་ ལྷབས་པ།  
*gjalts<sup>h</sup>en t'ã: ηà jámtei? jó? kjap-a.*  
 PN and 1SG together work do-CIRC  
 ‘Gyaltshen and I (are to) work together.’ (?) (KN e)
- (15.154) ང་ཚེ་ ཨ་ཚོ་ ད་རིང་ ག་ཚོང་ བར་ལོ་ ལྷོན་གམ་ མཚོ་སྤོ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་བར།  
*ηà=ni ádzo t'ariη k'adzø? p'a:=lo te'øη-gam*  
 1SG=TOP grandfather today how.much interval=DAT come.HON-ATTQ  
*nó:-ti ta-ta-wa.*  
 think-NF watch-RDP-CIRC  
 ‘As for me, I have been looking and looking, thinking at what time the grandfather (=you) would come.’ (?) (rnam-rtog 1)
- (15.155) ང་ འདི་ཁར་ བཀའ་ཚོན་སྤུང་ ཡོད་པ།  
*ηà dik<sup>h</sup>a kalimpon jò:-pa.*  
 1SG here TPN EX-CIRC  
 ‘I’m here in Kalimpong.’ (?) (TB phone call)
- (15.156) ང་ རོལ་ མིམ་ཁར་ཀ་ བཅར་ཉེ་ མཚོ་བ་ ཉེ་ ལེ་ རོ་ མིན་དལ་ ཉོལ།  
*ηà p<sup>h</sup>ou simk<sup>h</sup>arka tea:-ji nó:-wa te k<sup>h</sup>oi*  
 1SG over.there TPN come.HUM-INF think-CIRC then where(Nep.)  
*dzɛ: min-de: hou*  
 at.all NEG-have.time EXCLAM  
 ‘I’ve been thinking to come to Simkharka, but how, I do not have the time, eh.’  
 (?) (KT discussion)
- (15.157) ཨ་རྒྱ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ ང་ འབྲས་ཚོང་ལས་ ལོག་སྤོ་ སྤོབས་ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ ཡི་གེ་ ལྷུག་ ལྷུག་པར།  
*ágja ágja ηà dɛndzø:=le lòk-ti lɛp*  
 elder.brother elder.brother 1SG Sikkim=ABL return-NF arrive  
*lò: mè:-po jigi gu: gu:-pa.*  
 have.time.to EX-2INF letter wait wait-CIRC  
 ‘Brother, brother, as soon as (or: since) I arrived back from Sikkim, I have been waiting and waiting a letter.’ (?) (Richhi 146)
- (15.158) ང་ ཡིག་ཚོང་ གཅིག་ བཟོ་ བཞག་ ཡོད་པ།  
*ηà jìgdō:=tei? zo zak jò:-pa.*  
 1SG sentence=INDF make put EX-CIRC  
 ‘I have made one sentence (in writing)’<sup>431</sup> (?) (KN e)

Consultant KN commented that the form *jò:-pa*, as used in (15.159b), cannot be found in books, suggesting that clause-final *-pa* is mainly an oral construction.

- (15.159) a) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ ད་ལྷོ་ བཀའ་ཚོན་སྤུང་ན་ ཡོད་པོ?  
*lɛŋɛ? t'ato kalimpon=na jò-po?*  
 PRN.HON now TPN=LOC EX.PER-2INF  
 ‘Are you now is Kalimpong?’

<sup>431</sup> KN’s Nepali translation was *maile euṭa sentence bana-e-ko chu ta* [1SG.ERG one sentence build-PFV-NMLZ EX.NPST.1SG CEMPH].

- b) ང་ད་ལྟོ་བཀའ་ལློན་སྐྱབས་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ།  
*ŋà t'ato kalimpoŋ=na=ra jò:-pa.*  
 1SG now TPN=LOC=AEMPH EX-CIRC  
 'I'm now indeed in Kalimpong.' (?) (KN e)

The finite-looking uses of *-pa* need more investigation.

### 15.8.2 Circumstantial construction with postposition *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo* 'inside'

The postposition *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo/nàŋle* preceded by a genitivized infinitive can be used for forming circumstantial adverbial clauses roughly corresponding to the English clauses with 'as', (e.g. *As they were drinking tea...*). The novel *Richhi* has twelve examples of this construction and in all of them the nominalized verb is reduplicated.

- (15.160) འདེམ་གེས་པོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་བོའི་ནང་ལོ་ལོ་གཉིད་ཞིམ་དྲགས་ལྷག།  
*[dem ke:po nó:-no:-wø: nàŋlo] kʰu ni? ɛimʈa? kʰu?*  
 like.that many think-RDP-2INF.GEN inside 3SGM sleep sweet sleep  
 '[As he is thinking many thoughts like that,] he falls into a sweet sleep.'  
 (Richhi 114)

- (15.161) འདེ་རང་བྱས་བཞིན་ལྷོས་རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་བའི་ནང་ལོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱུད་རབ་ཐང།  
*[dɛ:=rã: p'ja-zɛ: k'jo? kjap-kjap-ø: nàŋlo] pʰiru=gi*  
 like.that=AEMPH do-PROG chatting do-do-2INF.GEN inside evening=GEN  
*tɛʰutsʰø? gɛ? duŋ-rap bɛ?*  
 clock.time eight strike-IMF EQU.NE  
 '[As (they) keep on chatting like that,] it is (suddenly) almost eight o'clock in the evening.'  
 (Richhi 108)

### 15.8.3 Circumstantial/manner use of progressive *-tɛɛ:/zɛ:/zin*

The progressive marker *-tɛɛ:/zɛ:/zin*, which forms finite constructions with existential auxiliaries, may also be used without the final auxiliary as a dependent adverbial clause marker.<sup>432</sup> These uses mark a manner or attendant circumstance for the following main verb. In this use, the progressive may occur alone (15.162) or with dative-locative (15.163) or ablative case-marking (15.164):

- (15.162) མོས་ཕར་འགྲུ་ཚུར་འགྲུ་བྱས་བཞིན་དུས་ཚོད་ཡ་ཅེ་སྟེ་སྐྱལ།  
*mú: [pʰa: gju tsʰu: gju p'ja-zɛ:] t'ytsʰø? átsi ky:*  
 3SGF.AGT thither go hither go do-PROG time a.bit cause.to move  
 'She spends a bit time [going here and there].'  
 (Richhi 44)

- (15.163) ཐྲིན་ལས་ - “ལགས་,” ལབ་བཞིན་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་སྐྱེ་མཁུན་ལོ་བཅས།  
*tʰinle [là: ləp-zɛ:=lo] kʰø:=tsu=i kumdÿ:=lo tea:*  
 Thrinley yes say-PROG=DAT 3PL=PL=GEN in.presence.HON=DAT come.HUM  
 'Thrinley, [saying yes], comes to their presence.'  
 (Richhi 25)

<sup>432</sup> The progressive form does not modify nouns and cannot therefore be termed a participle.

- (15.164) བླ་ལུ་ ཨོ་འདི་ རྣང་ག་ མཚམས་ བཅད་བཞིན་ བཅད་བཞིན་ལས་ འབྲུང་བོ་ལོ།<sup>433</sup>  
 [t'aku ódi nàŋɛa ts<sup>h</sup>am ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ:-zín ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ:-zín=lɛ] bjã:-bo=lo.  
 cave that inside retreat do-PROG do-PROG=ABL disappear-2INF =REP  
 ‘(She) disappeared, [from (the midst of) practicing and practicing retreat in that cave], it is told.’ (SGD cave story)

The progressive frequently co-occurs with verbs of motion (especially *gju* ‘go’), providing a manner or attendant circumstance of literal going<sup>434</sup>, as in (15.165), or metaphorical going, that is, changing, as in (15.166).

- (15.165) ལྷན་ཁང་ན་ སླེབས་སྟེ་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ ག་ན་ ཡོད་ཀྱིས་ འཚོམ་བཞིན་ མོང་བས་  
 méŋk<sup>h</sup>ã:=na lɛp-ti [bhaila k'ana jø:-kam ts<sup>h</sup>ø:-zɛ:]  
 hospital=LOC arrive-NF PN where EX.PER-ATTQ search-PROG  
 s<sup>h</sup>o:-bɛ:<sup>435</sup>  
 go.PFV-when  
 ‘(They) arrive at the hospital and as (they) go [searching where Bhaila is]...’  
 (Richhi 10)

- (15.166) ཨ་ཙཱ་ མྱོམ་བཞིན་ འགྲུ་བོ་དང་  
 [átsi bom-zɛ:] gju:-dã:  
 a.bit grow-PROG go.2INF-CONJ  
 ‘As (they) go (on) [growing a bit]...’ (SM kitchen discussion)

Repetition of the progressive emphasizes duration, as shown by (15.164) above and (15.167) below.

- (15.167) ལྷོས་ ལྷུབས་བཞིན་ ལྷུབས་བཞིན་ འགྲུ་བོའི་ ལྷུབས་...  
 [k'jo? kjap-zɛ: kjap-zɛ:] gju-wø: kap...  
 chatting do-PROG do-PROG go-2INF.GEN time  
 ‘As (they) go on chatting and chatting...’ (Richhi 130)

The circumstantial/manner use of the progressive is negated by the prefix *ma-*.

- (15.168) གུ་ཅག་ འདི་ གན་བྱས་ ལྷན་ མ་ཤེས་བཞིན་ ལྷགས་ལྷན་ གམ་ ལྷུབས་ཏི་?  
 k'utea=di k'amja [kɛ? ma-ɛé:-tɛɛ:] tɛ<sup>h</sup>uke? k'am kjap-to?  
 2PL=DEMPH why language NEG-know-PROG Nepali why strike-IPFV  
 ‘Why do you, [not knowing the language], why speak Nepali?’ (CY interview)

#### 15.8.4 Circumstantial clauses with *k<sup>h</sup>a=lo*

Circumstantial clauses can also be formed using the the dative-locative form of the word *k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘mouth’, preceded by genitivized *-po-*infinitive. The meaning is close to both simultaneous and causal clauses, as suggested by the gloss ‘as/when/since’.

<sup>433</sup> Here the written form *bcad* (suggesting pronunciation as *tɛɛ?*), which is considered “correct”, does not correspond to the actual pronunciation *ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ:*.

<sup>434</sup> For a similar use of the nonfinal *-ti/di*, consider examples (15.3-6) above.

<sup>435</sup> *bas* [bɛ:] is a Central Tibetan clause connector which does not occur in my spoken data.

(15.169) ང་རའི་རྩམ་མེད་པའི་ཁ་ལོ་རང་ལོ་ག་ལྟེ་བྱིན་གང་བོ?  
*ŋà-ri=tsa: mè:-pø: kʰa=lo ŋá rǎ:=lo k'ate*  
 1SG-AEMPH.GEN=with NEG.EX-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT I 2SG.M=DAT how  
*p'in-εε bo?*  
 give-INF EQU.NE.Q  
 'As/when/since I do not have myself, how could I give to you?' (KN e)

(15.170) ང་ལོ་རྒྱ་ལོ་ག་རེ་མེད་པའི་ཁ་ལོ་ཉེ་བོ་གཉེན་ཚན་སྤངས།  
*ŋà=lo gjunor k'are mè:-pø: kʰa=lo jù:ŋentsʰẽ:*  
 1SG=DAT riches any NEG.EX-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT relatives  
*pǎ:.*  
 renounce  
 'As/when/since I didn't have any riches, my relatives renounced me. (Class 7 textbook 10)

Further research is needed in order to find out whether this use of *kʰa=lo* is limited to collocating with the negated existential *mè?*, which occurs in both (15.169) and (15.170).

The dative-locative form *kʰa=lo* also marks additive meaning (§15.9.3), and the suffix *-kʰa* is used in locative adverbs (§3.5.2.2).

### 15.8.5 Comparative manner

Comparative manner can be expressed with a nominalized construction involving one of the following words: demonstrative pro-adverb *dem* 'like (it)' (§15.8.5.1) or one of the postpositions *nàntar(gi)* 'according to', *nànzin* 'according to, similar to' (§15.8.5.2) or *t'ənzin(gi)* 'in accordance with' (§15.8.5.3).

#### 15.8.5.1 Comparative manner with *dem*

The verb preceding *dem* 'like (it)' is typically a *-po*-infinitive (without genitivation), see (15.171) and (15.172), but the imperfective form also occurs in this position, see (15.173).

(15.171) མོ་འདི་མནེ་ལྷ་རང་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ལབ་པོ་འདེམ་ལབ་ལྷོ་སྐྱོད་གས་སྤང།  
*ódi né:mu=ra [tɛʰø:=ki làp-o dem] lèpti kjoʈa? bɛ?*  
 that really=AEMPH 2SG.L=AGT say-2INF like.it very.much sad EQU.NE  
 'That really is, [like you said], very sad.' (nga'i 'gan 25)

(15.172) ང་ལོ་ཉོ་མཐོང་རུང་མ་མཐོང་བོ་འདེམ་བཟུང་སྤྱི་འགྲུབ་སྤང།  
*ŋà=lo=to tʰõ:-run [ma-tʰõ:-po dem] zu:-di gju:*  
 1SG=DAT=CEMPH see-CONC NEG-see-2INF like.it avoid-NF go.2INF  
*bɛ?*  
 EQU.NE  
 'Although (he) saw me, (he) walked avoiding me[, as if not seeing (me)]' (nga'i 'gan Richhi 23)

(15.173) འོང་རན་ཁར་རྒྱལ་བ་འོང་དོ་འདེམ་འོང།  
*ò:-reŋkʰa [gɛ:p òn-do dem] ò:.*  
 come-SIM king come-PROG like come  
 'When coming, (it) comes [like a king is coming].' (UT riddle)

In line with its function as a proadverb of manner, *dem* may be followed by manner adverbializer *p'ja(ti)*:

- (15.174) ད་རིང་ ལབ་ འདེམ་ ལུ་བོ་ འདེམ་ ལུ་སྟེ་ ལབ་ མན་དགོས་པོ་ སྟུན།  
 [t'ariŋ ləp dəm, ɛ̀ù-bo dəm p'ja-ti] ləp  
 today say like.it say.HUM-2INF like.it do-NF say  
 maŋ-go:-b-be?  
 NEG-be.needed-2INF-EQU.NE  
 'It was not needed to mention [as we speak (it), as we say (it) today].' (NT BLA 6)

### 15.8.5.2 Comparative manner with *nàŋtar(gi)/nàŋzin*

The postpositions *nàŋtar(gi)* and *nàŋzin* 'according to, similarly to' may head adverbial clauses of manner which include an idea of comparison. Note that (15.175) and (15.177) are functionally close to causal clauses.

- (15.175) ཁོང་ གཞི་ བཅུག་གོ་ རང་ལྷན་གེས་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ འདྲ་སྟེལ་ལྟེ་  
 [kʰø: zi tsuk-o nàŋtargi=di] ɲàtɕa? tʰamtɕɛ=ki  
 3PL foundation sow-2INF according.to=DEMPH 1PL all=AGT  
 ɖakɛ:-di  
 make.effort-NF  
 '[Similarly/in accordance to them having laid the foundation], we, making effort...' (KL BLA 12)

- (15.176) ལླ་མས་ གསུང་བོ་ རང་བཞིན་  
 [láma: súm-bo nàŋzin]...  
 lama.AGT say.HON-2INF according.to  
 '[According to what the lama had said]...' (mi-la ras-po 6)

- (15.177) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ བོས་པོ་ རང་ལྷན་ ད་རིང་ རྟ་ བཅའ་བོ་ ཞིན།  
 [ʃɛŋɕɛ:=ki p'o:-po nàŋtar] t'ariŋ nà: tɕa:-bo  
 PRN.HON=AGT invite-2INF according.to today here come.HUM-2INF  
 ǎ.  
 EQU.PER  
 'I came here today [on the basis of you having invited (me)].' (KN e)

### 15.8.5.3 Comparative manner with *t'ənzin(gi)*

A clause headed by the postposition *t'ənzin(gi)* 'in accordance with' can be postposed to the verb root (15.178), bare *-po*-infinitive (15.179), genitivized *-po*-infinitive (15.180) or a correlative clause (15.181).

- (15.178) ད་རིང་གི་ ཚོགས་འདུའི་ན་ བཀའ་ཚོལ་ ཐག་བཅད་ གནང་ དོན་བཞིན་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ རང་རང་ སོ་སའི་ ལྷགས་འགན་ ཞལ་  
 བཞིས་ གནང་བས་ ལྷགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ ལུ་ཤད་ ཞིན།  
 [t'ariŋ=gi ts'ho:dy:=na kamø tʰa:tɕɛ? nǎ: t'ənzin]  
 today=GEN meeting.GEN=LOC discussion decision do.HON in.accordance.with  
 tʰamtɕɛ=ki rǎ:rǎ:só:sø: tʰu:gen ɛ̀è: zɛ:  
 all=AGT each.oneself.GEN responsibility.HON mouth.HON eat.HON  
 nǎ:-be: tʰudziteʰɛ ɛ̀ù-ɛɛ ǎ.  
 do-2INF.AGT thank.you say.HUM-INF EQU.PER  
 'I offer thanks because (you) all have taken the responsibilities [in accordance with the decision we took in today's meeting.]' (Richhi 51)



- (15.179) ཏེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ལུ་ལོ་ རོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ད་ ང་ཅག་ འདེབ་ དེ་ལུ་ རྗོད་ནེ་ མེན་སྒྲིག་གེ།  
*tɛ [ódi pʰy:-bo t'ɔnzɪŋgi] t'a ɲàtɕa? dep t'ɛ:lu dø:-ne*  
 so that offer-2INF in.view.of now 1PL like.that idle stay-COND  
*mìn-dike.*  
 NEG-be.alright  
 ‘So now, [in view of having been offered that (responsibility)], now if we stay (just) like that idle, it is not right.’ (NAB BLA 7)
- (15.180) ཁོང་གིས་ ཡོ་ལུ་ དམ་བཅའ་ བཞེས་བའི་ རོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་  
*[kʰoŋ=gi jòu t'amtɕa? ze:-pø: t'ɔnzɪŋgi]...*  
 3SG.HON=AGT up vow accept.HON-2INF.GEN in.accordance.with  
 ‘[in accordance with the vow he had taken up (there)]’ (LT Bumchu)
- (15.181) གུ་རུ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གིས་ གན་ གསུང་གསུང་བོ་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ རོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ལུགས་བསམ་ བཞེས་སྒྲིག་ ལུག་ལས་ གན་ན་དོ་ སྣང།  
*[guru rimputɕʰɛ=gi k'an sún-sum-bo jò-po ódi*  
 guru precious.one=AGT what say.HON-RDP-2INF EX-2INF that  
*t'ɔnzɪŋgi] tʰu:sam ze:-tiki tɕʰa:lɛ? ná:-do bɛ?*  
 in.accordance.with thought.HON take.HON work.HON do.HON-IPFV EQU.NE  
 ‘(The king) used to work thinking [in accordance with what Guru Rimpoche had said].’ (CY interview)

A postpositional phrase headed by *t'ɔnzin* may be supplemented by the adverbializer *-p'ja(ti)*, which forms adverbials of manner (see §3.5.2.1):

- (15.182) འདི་ལས་ ལུ་མོས་ཀྱང་ ཨོ་མས་ གན་ བཀའ་ གནང་བའི་ རོན་བཞིན་ ལུས་ རྗོད་པོ་ སྣང།  
*dile p'umu=jä: [áma: k'an ka ná:-bø:*  
 then girl=too mother.AGT what order give.HON-2INF.GEN  
*t'ɔnzin]-p'ja dø:-po bɛ?*  
 according.to-ADVZR stay-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Then the daughter did (lit. stayed/sat/abided) according to what the mother had ordered.’ (‘dres-ljongs gsung-gtam, class 12, 39)

**15.8.6 Genitivized -po-infinitive**

A genitivized *-po*-infinitive may, although infrequently, form an adverbial clause of circumstance/manner:

- (15.183) ལམ་ཤད་ བཞག་ཤད་ མེད་བའི་ མེད་ གྱིམ་ན་ འགྲུ་ཤད་ རོ་ཚ་བཅ།”  
*[láp-ɕɛ? zak-ɕɛ? mɛ:-pø:] mí: kʰim=na gju-ɕɛ? ɲò*  
 say-INF set-INF EX-2INF.GEN human.GEN house=LOC go-INF face  
*tsʰa-wa.*  
 be.hot-CIRC  
 ‘It’s shameful to go to a man’s house [without anything to say or give].’  
 (Ricchi 24)

**15.9 Additive clauses**

Affirmative additive clauses can be formed by postposing to a *-po*-infinitive form one of the forms *mitsʰɛ?* ‘in addition, not stopping’ (§15.9.1), *teŋlo* ‘on, above’ (§15.9.2) or *kʰa=lo* which literally means ‘at the mouth’ (§15.9.3). The first one is the most frequent, while I am aware of only one instance of each of the latter two. In addition to the three affirmative

constructions, negated additive clauses may be formed by *mèmbo*, which is followed by a negated or an interrogated clause (§15.9.4).

### 15.9.1 Additive with *mits<sup>h</sup>ε?*

Additive clauses can be formed by postposing *mits<sup>h</sup>ε?* ‘in addition, not stopping’ to the bare *-po*-infinitive form of the verb. The additive clause precedes the main clause:

- (15.184) འདི་ འདྲ་པོ་ བཙོན་འགྲུལ་ མན་བྱས་ན་ ཉོན་ལང་ མིན་འགྲུལ་པོ་ མི་ཚད་ ལྷག་བཟུལ་ ལྷོ་མ་པོ་ ལྷོང་གད་ ཨིན།  
*di qau tsyndy: mam-bja-ne [t'ɔn=jã: min-ɖup-o mi-ts<sup>h</sup>ε?]*  
 this like effort NEG-do-COND purpose=too NEG-fulfil-2INF NEG-stop  
*duŋŋal bompu mjò:-εε t̃:*  
 difficulty big experience-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘If (we) do not make effort like that [it is not only that (our) purpose will not be fulfilled] (but) that (we) have to go through big trouble.’ (Class 7 textbook 5)

The form *mi-ts<sup>h</sup>ε?* also occurs as a looser cohesive marker ‘moreover, furthermore’ following a finite clause, see §12.2.

### 15.9.2 Additive with *teŋlo*

The relator noun *teŋlo* ‘on, upon, above’ can mark additive clauses:

- (15.185) ཨ་ན་ ཀས་མ་ འདི་ ལེ་བ་ལྷི་ ལོ་ཀས་ལྷི་ ལུ་ལྷག་བྲགས་ མོན་ ཡོད་པོ་ ད་ལྷོ་རང་ ལྷི་རབ་ འདེམ་ ཡོད་པའི་ ལྷོང་ལོ་ ལྷོ་འདི་ རིང་གུ་  
*ána ge:m=di [lèpti lò ge:-ti ùdu:ta?*  
 old.lady old.lady=DEMPH very.much year become.old-NF out.of.breath  
*t<sup>h</sup>ɔn jò-po t'ato=rã: éi-rap dem jò-pø: teŋlo]*  
 become EX-2INF now=AEMPH die-IMF like.it EX-2INF.GEN upon  
*ŋa=di rinku...*  
 nose=DEMPH long  
 ‘The old lady, [in addition to having become out of breath with age (and) being as if about to die right at that moment], (had) a long nose...’ (rna-gsung 5)

### 15.9.3 Additive with *k<sup>h</sup>a=lo*

In addition to circumstance (see §15.8.4), *k<sup>h</sup>a=lo* ‘mouth=DAT’ may express additive meanings:

- (15.186) ངས་ ད་རིང་རྟོ་ ལེ་ལྷེ་ གང་ ཟ་བའི་ ལ་ལོ་ beer བོ་རེར་ ཉོ་ འཇུང་བོ་ ཨིན།  
*ŋá: t'ariŋ=to [lè:de: k'ã: sà-wø: k<sup>h</sup>a=lo] biar*  
 I.AGT today=CEMPH plate full eat-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT beer(Eng)  
*botr do t<sup>h</sup>uŋ-bo t̃:*  
 bottle two drink-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘Today, [in addition to eating a full plate], I drank two bottles of beer.’ (KN e)

### 15.9.4 Negated additive with *mèmbo*

The form *mèmbo*, which is a somewhat grammaticalized form of the negated interrogative equative *mèm-bo* [NEG.EQU.NE.Q], can form an additive construction, if followed by a negated or (rhetorical) interrogated main clause. When followed by a negated declarative clause, as in (15.187), *mèmbo* forms a type of negated additive, telling that the verbal action of the main clause did/does/will not happen in addition to the action in the subordinate first clause.

- (15.187) དེ་ཟང་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐབས་ན་ ལ་ལས་ རྒྱབས་ཤང་ མན་ལོ་ ཟེ་ཤང་གྱི་ ལྷགས་སྲོལ་ མེདབ་སྤང།  
*t'izã: ódi kap=na [k<sup>h</sup>a=lɛ kjap-ɛɛʔ mèmbo] t'i-ɛɛ=ki*  
 but that time=LOC mouth=ABL do-INF except write-INF=GEN  
*lüksø: mèbbeʔ.*  
 tradition NEG.EX.NE  
 'But at that time, [in addition to spoken language], there was no tradition of writing.' (KL BLA 12)

When the main clause is a rhetorical question, as in (15.188), the assumed answer is negative, i.e. the action in the main interrogated clause will not happen in addition to the action in the dependent clause marked with *mèmbo*.

- (15.188) དེ་ཟང་ སློལ་མ་ འདེ་མའི་ ལུམ་ འདི་ལོ་ ཟོན་སློར་ དང་ རྒྱབ་སློར་ འུས་ལྷི་ རང་གི་ བཟའ་ཟླ་ བཟོ་སྟེ་ མཐའ་ལུག་ན་ ཚོད་རའི་ ལྷང་  
 ལར་ མིང་གཏམ་ དན་ལོ་ དང་ འཕྱར་ལ་ མོས་ཤང་ མན་ལོ་ གཞན་ ཚོད་གྱིས་ མི་སྲིད་ སྲིག་གའི་ མིང་གཏམ་ སློལ་ལོ་ གན་ མོབ་.....།  
*t'izã: dɔlma demø: p'um=di=lo sòŋkor t'ã: gjapkor p'ja-ti*  
 but PN like.GEN girl=DEMPH=DAT care and support do-NF  
  
*ran̄gi za:da zo-ti t<sup>h</sup>a:p<sup>h</sup>u=na [tɛ<sup>h</sup>ø:=ri tɛŋk<sup>h</sup>a m̄iŋtam*  
 own=GEN spouse make-NF end=LOC 2SG.L=AEMPH.GEN above fame  
  
*jèmpo t'ã: p<sup>h</sup>jark<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>o:-ɛɛʔ mèmbo] zɛn tɛ<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki m̄isisikø:*  
 bad and disgrace hear-INF except other 2SG.L=GEN ridiculous.GEN  
  
*m̄iŋtam bompu k'an t<sup>h</sup>op?*  
 reputation big what receive  
 'But having cared for and supported a girl like Dolma and having made her your spouse, what other grandly ridiculous reputation can you get, [except of (or: in addition to) hearing at the end disrepute and disgrace (directed) at yourself]?' (nga'i 'gan 4)

### 15.10 Substitutive clauses with *ts<sup>h</sup>aplo*

Substitutive clauses are formed with the help of the relator noun *ts<sup>h</sup>aplo/ts<sup>h</sup>amalo* 'in place of', which is appended to a genitivized infinitive form:

- (15.189) ལུ་ལོ་ ཕྱིན་བའི་ ཚོབ་ལོ་ འདི་ དདུལ་ འདི་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལོ་ ཕྱིན་གཤེ།  
*[k<sup>h</sup>u=lo p'im-bø: ts<sup>h</sup>aplo] di ny':=di mù=lo*  
 3SGM=DAT give-2INF.GEN in.place.of this money=DEMPH 3SGF=DAT  
*p'ij-gɛ.*  
 give-HORT  
 'Let's give this money to her [instead of giving (it) to him].' (KN e)

### 15.11 Comparative clauses with =*lɛ* (*lako*=EMPH)

Comparative clauses can be formed by attaching the ablative =*lɛ*, optionally followed by *lako* 'more, (in) excess, rather', to a nominalized verb form. In (15.190) and (15.191), nominalization is accomplished by *-po*-infinitive and the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* respectively. The word *lako* may be followed by an emphatic, see =*to* in (15.190b) and =*di* in (15.191).

- (15.190) a) སྐང་རྟོག་ལོ་ རྫོང་པོ་ལས་ གནམ་རྩེ་ལོ་ འགྲུ་བོ་ ཏུག།  
 [ga:to:=lo dθ:-po=lɛ] nām̥tsi=lo gju-wo tʰak.  
 TPN=DAT stay-2INF=ABL TPN=DAT go-2INF be.better  
 ‘It better to go to Namchi [than to stay in Gangtok].’ (KUN e)
- b) ལྷལ་མཚན་ལོ་ རྫོང་པོ་ལས་ ལྷག་གོ་རྟོ་ ཀམ་ལོ་ རྫོང་པོ་ ཏུག།  
 [gjaltsʰen=lo pʰim-bo=lɛ] lako=to karma=lo pʰim-bo tʰak.  
 PN=DAT give-2INF=ABL more=CEMPH PN=DAT give-2INF be.better  
 ‘It is better rather to give to Karma [than to give to Gyaltsen].’ (KN e)
- (15.191) ང་ཅག་ འདི་ ཁོང་གིས་ གི་བོ་ གནང་སོང་ཟང་ འདི་ལས་ ལྷག་གོ་ འདི་ མིན་དགོས་ ཟླད།  
 ḡàtɛa=di [kʰon=gi tʰi-u nã:-sonzã:=di=lɛ]  
 1PL=DEMPH 3SG.HON=AGT write-2INF do.HON-TERM=DEMPH=ABL  
 lako=di miŋ-goʔ beʔ.  
 excess=DEMPH be.needed EQU.NE  
 ‘We do not need (anything) more than the extent that he has written.’ (KL discussion with DR)

For uses of the comparative construction =lɛ (lako) with nouns, see §5.6.1.3.2.

## 15.12 Various functions of the terminative converbs -sã: and -sonzã:

The terminative converb has two markers, -sã: and -sonzã:, which both probably derive from the postposition =sã:(tɛ) ཟང་སྟེ་ ‘until’. The longer form -sonzã: is most probably a historical combination of the secondary verb sô: (WD སོང་ song) and the postposition =sã:. The general meaning of both converbs may be approximated by the English expression *as far as*, although, as will be seen, the forms have considerable interpretive freedom, expressing meanings such as terminative, simultaneous and causal.

The terminative use, which most resembles the postpositional use of =sã: with nominals, (i.e. clearly expresses the semantics of ‘until’) is illustrated as negated in (15.192) and affirmed in (15.193).

- (15.192) ང་ ད་རུང་ དབང་མོ་ ལོག་ མ་འོང་ཟང་ རྫོང་ཤང་ ཨིན་  
 ḡà tʰaruŋ [óŋmu lòk ma-ò:-sã:] dθ:-ɛɛ ǎ.  
 1SG still PN return NEG-come=TERM stay-INF EQU.PER  
 ‘I’ll still stay [until Wangmu comes back]’/ ‘I’ll still stay [as long as Wangmo has not come.]’ (Ricchi 28)
- (15.193) ལྷང་བཅར་ ལྷོང་ལྷོང་ ཟང་ ང་ ཅམ་བོའི་ འགན་ ཚོས་སྐྱེད་ལོ།  
 [dzã:dar mjõ:-mjõ:-sã:] tɛʰa tsampø: gen tɛʰøki=lo.  
 training finish-RDP-TERM tea tsampa responsibility PN=DAT  
 ‘[Until the training is finished], Choki (has) the responsibility for tea and snacks.’  
 (Richhi 52)

In (15.192), the speaker is waiting for something that has not yet happened. Therefore the verb with =sã: occurs in a negative form. In (15.193), on the other hand, the speaker is waiting for an ongoing activity to stop from happening and therefore an affirmed, reduplicated verb form is used.

Frequently, =sã: expresses simultaneity:

- (15.194) ང་ ཡོན་ རོང་ཟང་ ལུ་ ཡོན་ མིན་འདུག།  
 [ŋà óna s̄oː-s̄aː] kʰu óna m̄indu?  
 1SG there go.PFV-TERM 3SGM there NEG.EX.SEN  
 ‘[When I went there], he was not there.’ (KL e)
- (15.195) མདང་ ང་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལོ་ མཐོང་ཟང་ ལུ་ རྩོས་ ཡ་འོ་ མིན།  
 [dã: ŋà gjaltsʰen=lo tʰõː-s̄oː] kʰu pʼjoʔ jàː-bo íː.  
 yesterday 1SG PN=DAT see-TERM 3SGM escape go-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘[Yesterday when/as I saw Gjaltshen], (he) escaped.’ (TB e)
- (15.196) བད་མྱོང་ རླེབས་ཟང་ ང་ ང་ཅག་ ཟམ་ ཟ་ཤང་ ལེབ་ གག་དུས་ག།  
 [peliŋ l̄ep-s̄aː] tʼa ŋàtɛaʔ sàm sà-ɛɛʔ l̄ɛp kʼakʈaʔ.  
 TPN arrive=TERM now 1PL food eat-INF very.much difficult  
 ‘[When (we) arrived in Pelling], it (was) very difficult for us (to find a place) to eat.’ (DB trip story)
- (15.197) ཉི་ ང་ཅག་ culture program བཏོན་གེ་ ལབ་ཟང་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ stage མིན་འདུག།  
 tɛ [ŋàtɛaʔ kalɛə prougram t̄oŋ-gɛ l̄àp-s̄aː]  
 then 1PL culture(Eng.) program(Eng.) take.out-HORT say=TERM  
 ŋàtɛa=lo steidz m̄indu?  
 1PL=DAT stage(Eng.) NEG.EX.SEN  
 ‘Then [when we say let’s hold a cultural program], we do not have a stage.’ (NAB  
 BLA 7)
- (15.198) བར་ཚུར་ མིག་ འགྱུར་མི་ ལྷ་ཟང་ རོར་བུ་ཉི་ ལམ་ ལྷགས་ལྷི་ ལྷི་ལོ་ལོ་ འགྱུ་བོ་ མཐོང་ལྷི་  
 [pʰaː tsʰuː m̄ik gir-di ta-s̄aː] nòrbu=to làm ɛ̀ùk-ti  
 thither hither eye stare-NF look=TERM PN=CEMPH road enter-NF  
 kʰim ŋoː=lo gjuː tʰõː-ti  
 house direction=DAT go. 2INF see-NF  
 ‘[When/as (she) looks intently here and there], (she) sees Norbu going along the road toward (his) home, and....’ (Richhi 98)<sup>436</sup>

The terminative may be followed by the conditional marker:

- (15.199) ང་ ལྷ་ཟང་ནེ་ ལྷལ་ འདི་ ཅང་དགས་ འདུག།  
 [ŋà ta=s̄aː-nɛ] yː=di tɛãːʈaʔ duʔ.  
 1SG look-TERM-COND place=DEMPH beautiful EX.SEN  
 ‘[If I look (at it)] this place is beautiful.’ (KN e)<sup>437</sup>

A verbal construction with =s̄aː can also express reason:

<sup>436</sup> The construction *ta=s̄aː* is analogous to Nepali *her-e-samma* [look-PFV-until] ‘when looking, as far as one can see’.

<sup>437</sup> The speaker KN himself volunteered a translation into Nepali with the simultaneous construction *her-da-kʰeri*.

- (15.200) ཀམ་གེས་མན་ཟ་ཟང་ཚོས་སྐྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཡང་མེན་ཟ།  
 [karma=gi **man-za-sã:**] tɕʰøki=ki=jã: min-za.  
 PN=AGT NEG-eat-TERM PN=AGT=too NEG-EAT  
 ‘[Because Karma does not eat], Choki does not eat either.’ (Richhi 20)
- (15.201) ངས་ དེབ་ འདི་ སློག་ཤང་ འགོ་ བརྒྱུག་ཟང་ ངའི་གི་ རོགས་ ལེབ་སློ་ སློག་ མ་ཐོབ།  
 [ŋá: tɛp=di dɔk-ɛɛ? go **tsuk-sã:**] nɛ:=gi  
 I.AGT book=DEMPH read-INF beginning insert-TERM 1SG.GEN=GEN  
 ro? lɛp-ti dɔk ma-tʰop.  
 friend arrive-NF read NEG-receive  
 ‘[Because I had started to read the book], my friend, having arrived, could not read (it).’ (KN e)

With verbs of speaking, the meaning may approximate ‘according to, as far as (someone) says’:

- (15.202) ལུ་ ལབ་ཟང་ ལུ་ སྐང་རྟོག་ འོང་ཤང་ལོ།  
 [kʰu **láp-sã:**] kʰu gã:to? ɔ̃:-ɛɛ=lo.  
 3SGM say-TERM 3SGM TPN come-INF=REP  
 ‘[As far as he says], he is coming to Gangtok, I heard.’ / ‘[According to what he says], he’s coming to Gangtok, I heard.’ (KN e)

In some contexts, the meaning may be concessive, as illustrated by (15.203), where the speaker offers an excuse for being late.

- (15.203) ང་ ད་ཅི་ལེ་ འོང་ངེ་ འུས་ཟང་ གན་མའི་ འོང་ལོང་ འདུག་གོ།  
 [ŋà t’atei=lɛ ɔ̃:-ni **p’ja-sã:**] k’amø: ɔ̃: lô:  
 1SG recently=ABL come-INF do-TERM what.GEN come have.time.to  
 duk-o?  
 EX.SEN-2INF  
 ‘[Although I tried to come sooner], from where would I have the time to come?’  
 (rnam-rtog 1)

The longer form of the terminative is *-sonzã:*. Its use in examples (15.204) and (15.205) is akin to the English expression *as far as* (or ‘according to’), which is clearly semantically related to the semantic content of the postposition *sã:(tɛ) until*. Example (15.204) occurs in the book *sbar-phung ling-dam ’sgro-lis*, where the form is written *སོང་ཙང་ song tsang*, suggesting an origin in WT *ཙང་ tsang* ‘because’, although the clause does not express reason.

- (15.204) མི་ ལ་ལ་གེས་ ལབ་སོང་ཙང་ གཞེན་གྱི་ རྟགས་ འདི་ བང་གངན་ མིན་ལོ།  
 [mí lála=gi **láp-sonzã:**] nɛn=gi ta:=di pã:dɛ:  
 human some=AGT say-TERM marriage=GEN sign=DEMPH apron  
 t̃:=lo.  
 EQU.PER=REP  
 ‘As far as some people say, the sign of marriage is the pangden apron, I hear.’ /  
 ‘[According to what some people say], I’ve heard, the sign of marriage is the pangden apron.’ (*sbar-phung* 89)

- (15.205) དེ་ཟང་ མོ་འདི་ འགག་ཆ་ འདི་ ངས་ རྒྱབ་མ་ མཐོང་སོང་ཟང་ བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ ཏེ་ ལེབ་ མཐོ་ནེ་ འདི་ བདེན་དྲགས་  
 འདམ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།  
*t'izã: ódi gagdza=di [ɲá: gjapma tʰõ:-sonzã:] deŋ-gam*  
 but that obstacle=DEMPH I.AGT after see-TERM be.true-ATTQ  
*min-deŋ-gam te lèp nó:-ne=di denʃa? dem=tei?*  
 NEG-be.true-ATTQ so much think-COND=DEMPH true like=INDF  
*duke.*  
 EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘But that obstacle, [as far as I see it (now) afterwards], if considering carefully  
 whether it was true or not, it seemed to be true.’ (CY interview)

For simultaneous/anterior use, consider (15.206), and for a clearer simultaneous use, see (15.207), where the differing pronunciation *-sumzã:* raises the question of different etymology from the typical form *-sonzã:*.

- (15.206) ཇི་སོང་ཟང་ ཏེ་ ལྷས་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ་  
*[tʰi-sonzã:] te kʰú: làp-o=lo*  
 ask-TERM then 3SGM.AGT say-2INF=REP  
 ‘[As (the teacher) asked], he then said, (so the story goes):’ (RS pupil joke)
- (15.207) འོང་སོང་མ་ཟང་ གཅིག་གོ་ འདི་ ཏུ་བཞིན་ འོང་བཞིན་གེ་ལོ།  
*[òn-sumzã:] teuku=di ɲù-zin òn-teuŋɛ=lo.*  
 come-TERM other=DEMPH weep-PROG come-PROG.APH=REP  
 ‘[When (they) come], the other one comes crying, (so the story goes).’ (RS pupil  
 joke)

In (15.208) and (15.209), the construction expresses reason:

- (15.208) འདི་ མན་སློག་སོང་ཟང་ ལུ་ཅག་ དགོངས་ལྷེལ་ མ་གནང་སྟེ།  
*[di man-ɕik-sonzã:] kʰutea? gomʰi: ma-ná:=s.*  
 this NEG-arrange-TERM 2PL be.offended NEG-do.HON=QUO  
 ‘Please don’t be offended, [because (or: although) it (=the marriage) was not  
 arranged].’ (SGD wedding customs)
- (15.209) མོ་འདེམ་ ལྷགས་སློལ་ ཡོང་སོང་ཟང་ མག་གོ་ འདི་ ཨིན་ཅིག་ མེན་ཅིག་ ལ་ཆང་ཆོས་ བྱིག་སྟེ་ ལྟོན་ དགོས་མཁན་ ལྷད།  
*[ódem lüksø: jò:-sonzã:] máko=di ínteimintei?*  
 like.that tradition EX-TERM son-in-law=DEMPH necessarily  
*kʰatehã:-tsʰi kʰik-tiki tɔn go:-kʰen be?*  
 khachang.ceremony-date bring-NF show be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘[Since there is such a tradition], the son-in-law necessarily has to show up on the  
 date of the khachang ceremony.’ (SGD wedding customs)

The terminative *-sonzã:* may be followed by the demonstrative-emphatic *=di*, which functions as a type of nominalizer, see (15.210), where the ablative-marked terminative clause occurs as a comparative complement of *lako* ‘more, (in) excess’.

- (15.210) ང་ཅག་འདི་ཁོང་གིས་ ཟླ་བོ་གནང་སོང་ཟང་འདི་ལས་ ལྷག་གོ་འདི་ མིན་དགོས་ ཟུང།  
*ɲàtɕa=di* [kʰon=gi tʰi-u nãː-sonzãː=di=lɛ]  
 1PL=DEMPH 3SG.HON=AGT write-2INF do.HON-TERM=DEMPH=ABL  
*ʎako=di miŋ-goʔ bɛʔ.*  
 excess=DEMPH be.needed EQU.NE  
 ‘We do not need (anything) more than the extent that he has written.’ (KL discussion with DR)

Both the short form *-sãː* and the long form *-sonzãː* occur in spoken language, although the long form is more frequent. The novel Richhi does not have any examples of the typical spoken form *-sonzãː*; see (15.211), but instead uses the shorter form *-sãː*; see (15.212). The negation of *in-sonzãː* is *mêː-sonzãː*.

- (15.211) མོ་འདིས་ མིན་སོང་ཟང་ (or: མིན་སོང་ཙང་)  
*[ódi: in-sonzãː]...*  
 that.AGT EQU-TERM  
 ‘[Because of that]...’ (CY interview)

- (15.212) འདིས་ མིན་ཟང་ (or: མིན་ཙང་)  
*[di: in-zãː]...*  
 this.AGT EQU-TERM  
 ‘[Because of this]...’ (Richhi 60)

In written language, the demonstrative in (15.212) is marked as an agentive/instrumental. I suspect that in spoken language, the contrast with the non-marked and agentive-marked demonstrative is non-existent, especially because the difference is only in vowel length, a feature which is contrastive but does not bear much functional load. For the time being, however, even the spoken form in (15.211) is here marked as agentive.

### 15.13 Summary remarks

This lengthy chapter described the variety of constructions used in forming adverbial clauses, which were organized under eleven main functional headings: nonfinal, temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, concessive, circumstantial, additive, substitutive, comparative and terminative. The constructions used in forming adverbial clauses were seen to include ten converbs, seven postpositional clauses, three noun-headed clauses and ten other constructions. Some of the markers, such as the terminative converb, were shown to occur in a variety of uses and thus to be highly context sensitive, whereas other markers, such as the concessive and conditional markers, were seen to have specialized uses. The circumstantial-purposive marker showed an interesting polarity-related division: affirmative uses tend to be purposive and negated uses circumstantial, although in one literary source these forms were seen to function differently. Simultaneity (expressed with seven constructions) and causality (expressed with eight constructions) were seen to be the functions which showed the greatest constructional variety, both leaving room for further research.



## 16 Discourse phenomena

This chapter addresses discourse and context related markers and phenomena, which typically make reference beyond the clause. For instance, the contrastive clitic =*to* suggests that a contrast is being made with another proposition/clause in discourse and the honorific =*la* suggests that the speaker has made an evaluation of their own social status in relation to the addressee in the non-linguistic context. The bulk of the discussion will focus on phrase-level emphatic clitics (§16.1), clause-final clitics (§16.2.), assertive and exclamative tags (§16.3) and discourse particles (§16.4). Briefer treatment is given to recapitulation (§16.5), right-dislocation (§16.6) and intonation in discourse (§16.7).

### 16.1 Emphatic clitics

Denjongke has four emphatic clitics, which in various ways invite the addressee to pay attention to a certain constituent in the clause. Being aware of Payne’s (1997: 345) claim that “focus” and “emphatic” “are probably the most overused and misused terms in linguistics”, I aim to, at least, specify the distinguishing characteristics of the emphatics.

Table 16.1. Emphatic clitics

= <i>rã</i> :/= <i>ra</i>	རང་/ར་	anaphoric emphatic
= <i>to</i>	ཏོ་	contrastive emphatic
= <i>di</i>	འདི་	demonstrative-emphatic
= <i>ni/ne</i>	ནི་	topicalizer-emphatic

As exemplified in (16.1), emphatic clitics in a noun phrase occur after case-marking.

- (16.1) ལྷན་ལྔ་གས་གསུམ་འདི་ཙོ་འདི་རྣམ་ལས་རང་ཡོད་གསུངས་བཞིན་འདུག།  
*ke:dza?*      *súm de:*      *ódi gã:=le=ra*      *jò?*      *sún=zen*  
 language.HON three like.that that time=ABL=AEMPH EX.PER say.HON=PROG  
*du?*  
 EX.SEN  
 ‘From just that time there were thus three languages, (they) say.’ (CY interview)

In the following sections, the emphatic clitics are discussed in the same order they occur in Table 16.1.

#### 16.1.1 Anaphoric emphatic =*rã*:

The emphatic clitic =*rã*: (or =*ra*<sup>438</sup>) can add general emphasis to almost any clausal element. The marker =*rã*: also has similar anaphoric potential as its etymon རང་ *rang* ‘-self, same’ in Classical Tibetan. Beyer (1992: 218) offers the following description of nominals followed by *rang* in Classical Tibetan: “These reflexives specify the scope of the nominal as limited to an entity or set of entities already stated or implied in the preceding text.” In line with that description, Denjongke =*rã*: is often, although not exclusively, used in contexts where the referent to which =*rã*: is appended has already been mentioned in the discourse and has thus been activated in the speaker’s mind. Topical continuity in the English translations below is often conveyed by ‘indeed’. Because of its anaphoric potential, =*rã*: sits naturally together with anaphoric demonstratives describing referents that are already given, e.g. *ódi=ra* ‘that

<sup>438</sup> In spoken language, the emphatic =*rã*: tends to become shortened and denasalized =*ra*, although consultant KN commented that both nasalized and non-nasalized forms are heard.

indeed', *ódem=ra* 'indeed like that'. Example (16.2) shows a use of the emphatic, where the referent to which the emphatic is attached has already been mentioned. A group of people are discussing where a certain ceremony is going to be held. One person has suggested Varanasi but person B has objected. Then, person A in (16.2) suggests the right location, Dorjeden, to which B concurs and marks the location, now the new topic of discussion, with the emphatic *=ra*.

(16.2) A: དུ་ཅིག་ རྗེ་རྒྱུ་ལོ་ལོ།  
*t'utei? dordzidē:=lo.*  
 this.year TPN=DAT  
 'This year (it's going to be) in Dorjeden.'

B: དུ་ཅིག་ direct རྗེ་རྒྱུ་ལོ་ལོ་ར་ འབྲང་ (=འབྲ་ རྒྱུ།)  
*t'utei? dairekt dordzidē:=lo=ra dɛ?*  
 this.year direct(Eng.) TPN=DAT=AEMPH AP.EQU.NE  
 'This year it indeed seems to be directly in Dorjeden.' (KN kitchen discussion)

In (16.3), the emphatic demonstrative adverb *óde=ra* 'just like that' makes anaphoric reference to the previous clause in the same sentence:

(16.3) ད་ རྗེ་མ་ གར་ ཡོད་པོ་ མོ་འདེ་ར་ བཞག་ དགོས།  
*t'a jéma k'ar jò-po óde:=ra za: go?*  
 now earlier what EQU-2INF like.that=AEMPH set be.needed  
 'What was before, needs to be preserved just as it is/was.' (CY interview)

As shown in §6, the form *ར་ rang* is also used as a second person singular pronoun and a reflexive marker. Example (16.4) shows that the emphatic *=rã:* is distinct from the reflexive 'self' in that both forms may occur in the same clause. The reflexive attaches to the pronoun before case-marking, whereas the emphatic is postposed to the case-marker. This time the meaning is hardly anaphoric, as in the two examples above, but generally emphatic. In the translation emphasis is suggested by 'all' in 'all by myself'.

(16.4) དམ་ གན་ ལྷོས་ དགོས་ ང་རང་གིས་ རང་ ཐག་བཅད་ མི་རྒྱུགས།  
*ŋá: k'an p'ja go? ŋà-ran=gi=rã: t'ak-ɛɛ?*  
 I.AGT what do be.needed 1SG-REFL=AGT=AEMPH decide  
*mi-ts'hu?*  
 NEG-be.able.to  
 'I cannot decide all by myself what I should do.' (Richhi 112)

The emphatic *=rã:* attaches to a variety of word classes and constructions. The examples above already illustrated uses with a noun (16.2), demonstrative adverb (16.3) and pronoun (16.4). In the following three examples, *=rã:* attaches to an adjective (16.5), postposition (16.6) and a question word (16.7).

(16.5) ད་ལྷོ་ ཟང་ལྷོ་ཉོ་ ལེགས་ར་ ཡོད།  
*t'ato sã:te=to lēm=ra jò?*  
 now until=CEMPH good=AEMPH EX.PER  
 'We are well until now.' (PED life story)

(16.6) དེ་ནི་ མོ་ཉེ་ཚུ་ཡང་ ཁོ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་རང་ ཐོན།  
*t'ene óji=tsu=jǎ: k<sup>hu</sup> námtɛi=rǎ: tɛ'ɔn.*  
 then children=PL=too 3SGM with=AEMPH go.HON  
 ‘Then (you) children also go with him.’ (Richhi 15)

(16.7) level གར་ར་ མིན་རུང་  
*levl k'ar=ra í:-ruŋ*  
 level(Eng.) what=AEMPH EQU-CONC  
 ‘whatever level (it is)’ (KL BLA 12)

The emphatic =*rǎ:/ra* also attaches to numerals, as shown in (16.8-10). In (16.8) the numeral functions as a noun modifier. Example (16.9) illustrates an independent use of *tei?* ‘one’ with =*ra*, obtaining the meaning ‘(one and) the same’. In (16.10), the emphatic attaches to =*tei?*, which functions as an indefinite marker.

(16.8) མོ་འདི་ གསུམ་ར་ འགྲུ་ཤད་ མིན་, ལུས་ ངག་ ཡིག་ གསུམ་ ལབ་ལྷོ་གི་  
*ódi súm=ra gju-ɛí:, lý? ɲà? jì? súm làp-tiki*  
 that three=AEMPH go-NPST.PER body words mind three say-NF  
 ‘those three go (within that), (those) called body, words (and) mind.’ (YR canteen video)

(16.9) ལོག་ ལེགས་ མ་ལེགས་ ལབ་མཁན་ གཅིག་ར་ མིན།  
*lòk lèm màlep làp-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: tɛi:=ra í:*  
 again good bad say-NMLZ one=AEMPH EQU.PER  
 ‘Again, good and bad are the same.’ (PED life story)

(16.10) ཉེ་ མོ་འདི་ ཞིང་པོ་ འདི་ཡང་ ལ་ཚོ་ མཚོ་རིགས་ཆེ་དགས་ གཅིག་ར་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཟླད།  
*te ódi ɛiŋpo=di=jǎ: átsi nórite<sup>h</sup>ɪta? =tɛi=ra*  
 so that field.labourer=DEMPH=also a.bit clever=INDF=AEMPH  
*jò:-k<sup>h</sup>en be?*  
 EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Now that farmer too was rather clever.’ (PAD bet story)

The following examples exemplify the use of =*rǎ:/ra* in conjunction with verbs. The emphatic occurs attached to -*ɛɛ*-infinitive marking a clausal complement (16.11), to the first part of the phrasal verb *ha-ko* ‘know’ (16.12), to -*po*-infinitive in the periphrastic past construction (16.13) and directly to the verb root (16.14-15).

(16.11) ངའི་ ལབ་ཤད་རང་ འདི་ མིན།  
*ɲɛ: làp-ɛɛ=rǎ: di í:*  
 my say-INF=AEMPH this EQU.PER  
 ‘What I have to say is this.’ (Nga’i ’gan 10)



- (16.18) ཉེ་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ ཐོག་མ་ མཁྱེན་རང་ མཁྱེན་རང་ མཁྱེན་བོ་ར་ ཡིན།  
*te lɔkɛ tʰoma kʰɛn=rã: kʰɛn=rã:*  
 so Lhoke beginning know.HON=AEMPH know.HON=AEMPH  
*kʰɛm-po=ra í.*  
 know.HON-2INF=AEMPH EQU.PER  
 ‘So (they) certainly knew Lhoke in earlier times.’ (CY interview)

A negator prefix may be preposed either to the first or the second verb in the copy verb construction. When the negator is prefixed to the first verb, the construction underlines obligation to do the action perhaps even against one’s own will, see (16.19). In my data, the negator in this position is always *ma-*.

- (16.19) a) མ་འབག་རང་ འབག་ ཟླད།  
*ma-bak=rã: bak be?*  
 NEG-carry=AEMPH carry EQU.NE  
 ‘There is no way of not carrying/It has to be carried.’ (KN e)

- b) A: ཤ་རུ་ཉི་ ད་ ཚོད་པོ་ རྒྱབས་པ་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་ཤད་ ཟླད།  
*ɛánu=to t’a tsɔpo kjap-a gju go:-ɛɛ be?*  
 PN=DEMPH now debate do-PUR go be.needed-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Now Shanu has to go to the debate.’

- B: ལུ་ ལགས་ཡིན་ལགས། ཉེ་ ཁོང་གིས་ འདི་ མན་འགྱུ་རང་ འགྱུ་ལོ་ སེ་ ལགས།  
*kʰu la-í:=la. tɛ kʰoŋ=gi=di maŋ-gju-rõ:<sup>441</sup>*  
 3SGM HON-EQU.PER=HON then 3SG.HON=AGT=DEMPH NEG-go-AEMPH  
*gju=lo=si=la.*  
 go=REP=QUO=HON  
 ‘He, yes. He says (cf. =sɛ) he heard (cf. =lo) he has no way of not going.’ (AB kitchen discussion; all instances of ‘he’ in the translation have the same referent)

When the negator is prefixed to the second verb, the main verbal action is negated and focus is on the absoluteness of inability of the verbal action to happen, see (16.20). In my data, the negator in this position is always *mi-*.

- (16.20) འདི་ མཐོང་རང་ མི་མཐོང་བོ་ ཟླད།  
*di tʰõ:=rã: mi-tʰõ:-bo be?*  
 this see=AEMPH NEG-see-2INF EQU.NE  
 ‘There’s absolutely no seeing this (unclear photocopy).’ (RL oh)

- (16.21) མོ་འདི་ རྣང་ཤ་ ཐོན་རང་ མི་ཐོན་མཁན་ ཟླད་སྟེ།  
*ódi nàŋɛa tʰon-ra mi-tʰoŋ-kʰɛn be=s.*  
 that within happen-AEMPH NEG-happen-NMLZ EQU.NE=QUO  
 ‘Within that, there is no way of that happening.’ (CY interview)

<sup>441</sup> =rõ: is a dialectal variant of =rã:.

- (16.22) གཞོན་མོ་ མཉམ་ལུ་ མཉམ་ར་ མི་མཉམ་མཁམ་  
*ʒɔmɔ̃ nám̥pu jám-ra mi-jám-kʰɛ̃:*  
 other with match-AEMPH NEG-match-NMLZ  
 ‘it (is of the kind that) absolutely does not match with others’ (KT discussion with TB)

The negated copy verb construction with the existential copula, illustrated in (16.23) and (16.24), can be either once (16.24a) or twice negated (16.24b):

- (16.23) ལ་ཆེན་ ལ་རྒྱུང་ རྣང་ག་ལོ་ ལྷགས་ སེ་མཁམ་ ཡོད་རང་ མེད་བ་ཟླ།  
*làtɛ̃hɛ̃: làtɛ̃huj nəŋɛa=lo tɛ̃huk sí-kʰɛ̃: jò:-ra mɛ̀bbe?*  
 TPN TPN inside=DAT Nepali say-NMLZ EX-AEMPH EX.NE  
 ‘There is absolutely no Nepalis in Lachen and Lachung.’ (CY interview)

- (16.24) a) ཡོད་རང་ མེད་མཁམ་ ཟླ།  
*jò:=rã: mɛ̀:(-kʰɛ̃n bɛ?*  
 EX=AEMPH NEG.EX(-NMLZ EQU.NE)  
 ‘there absolutely is not’ (TB e)

- b) མེད་རང་ མེད་མཁམ་ ཟླ།  
*mɛ̀:=rã: mɛ̀:(-kʰɛ̃n bɛ?*  
 NEG.EX=AEMPH NEG.EX(-NMLZ EQU.NE)  
 ‘there absolutely is not’ (TB e)

### 16.1.2 Contrastive emphatic =to

The contrastive emphatic =to differs from the general and potentially anaphoric emphatic =rã: in that =to introduces an air of contrast to emphasis. In (16.25), for instance, the use of =to with the adverbial ‘until now’ suggests that the speaker makes a contrast between the past and the unknown future: thus far life has been good, but she does not know about the future.

- (16.25) ད་ལྟོ་ ཟང་ལྟེ་རྟོ་ ལེགས་ར་ ཡོད།  
*t'ato sã:tɛ=to ləm=ra jò?*  
 now until=CEMPH good=AEMPH EX.PER  
 ‘(We) are well until now (but I do not know about the future).’ (PED life story)

In (16.26), speaker A presents an assumption (in the form of a question) which contrasts with what speaker B knows: lama Kaching cannot be the proctor because he is abroad.

- (16.26) A: ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་ལོ་ འདི་ ལྷམ་ བཀའ་ཚིང་ ལབ་ མོ་ ཀ་ གཅིག་ ལྷམ་ མོ་ གཅིག་?  
*tɛ̃hɔ̃timbo=di lám katsʰij làp mò ka=tɛi? lám*  
 proctor=DEMPH lama PN say EQU.NE.Q who=INDF lama  
*mò=tɛi?*<sup>442</sup>  
 EQU.NE.Q=INDF  
 ‘Is the proctor lama Kaching? (Or) which lama is it?’

<sup>442</sup> The use of the indefinite marker/numeral =tɛi? after the interrogative copula here is surprising.

B: ལམ་བཀའ་ཚེང་ཏོ་མཱུ་ཟང་, ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ཟང།  
*lám kats<sup>h</sup>iŋ=to mðu bɛ?*, *tɛ<sup>h</sup>igɛl bɛ?*  
 lam PN=CEMPH down EQU.NE abroad EQU.NE  
 ‘(But) lama Khaching is down. (He) is abroad.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

In (16.27), the speaker contrasts a man with his wife. The contrast is reflected by “but” in the English translation.

(16.27) ཀས་མ་ ཏེ་ མ་འཕྱོད་, ཀཔ་ཏོ་ རྗེགས་དྲགས་ ཟང།  
*gɛm tɛ ma-p<sup>h</sup>ɛ?*, *gap=to dzikɬa? bɛ?*<sup>443</sup>  
 elderly.lady so NEG-meet elder.man=CEMPH excellent EQU.NE  
 ‘I haven’t met the lady, but the man is excellent.’ (KL BB discussion)

In (16.28), those who do not know the language of their ethnic community are contrasted with those who do.

(16.28) རང་གི་ མྱེད་ མ་ཤེས་ནེ་ཏོ་ གཤམ་དྲགས་ ཟང་གོ།  
*raŋ=gi kɛ? ma-ɛé:-nɛ=to k’akɬa? bɛ=ɛo.*  
 own=GEN language NEG-know-COND=CEMPH difficult EQU.NE=AT  
 ‘If one doesn’t know one’s language, it will be difficult, you know.’ (oh, Whatsapp)

The use of the contrastive emphatic may also convey disapproval, as in (16.29):

(16.29) འདེམ་ ཟང་ལྷེ་ཏོ་ མ་གསུང་མོད།  
*dɛm sã:tɛ=to ma-súŋ=mø?*  
 like.that until=CEMPH NEG-say.HON=URG  
 ‘Please do not by all means go that far in speaking.’ (Richhi 20)

Now consider (16.30), which has two instances of =to.

(16.30) A: ལྷ་ཇི་! ཕྱི་མ་ཏོ་ མཉམ་འགྲུ་གོ། ལབ་ཤད་ བཞག་ཤད་ མེད་པའི་ མིའི་ ཕྱི་མ་ན་ འགྲུ་ཤད་ རོ་ཚ་བར།  
*ádzi:, k<sup>h</sup>im=na=to man-gju-ge. làp-ɛɛ? zak-ɛɛ?*  
 oh.no home=LOC=CEMPH NEG-go-HOR say-INF put-INF  
*mè:-pø: mí: k<sup>h</sup>im=na gju-ɛɛ? ŋò ts<sup>h</sup>a-wa:.*  
 NEG.EX-2INF.GEN person.GEN home=LOC go-INF face be.hot-CIRC  
 ‘Darn! Let’s not go to (his) home. It is embarrassing to go to a man’s home without anything to say or give.’

<sup>443</sup> The words *gɛm* and *gap* can refer to people of advanced years or to younger people who are shown respect.

B: ད་རེ་རྟོ་ བྱང་ མེད་ཤོ། ང་ཚག་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ལོ་ ལྷ་བར་ འོང་བོ་ མིན་སེ་ ལབ་ཚག་ མིན་གྱི།  
*t'are=to* *kʰɛ:* *mè:=ɛo.* *ɲàtɛa?*  
 now=CEMPH difference NEG.EQU.PER=AT 1PL  
*bhaila=lo ta-wa òm-bo Ì:=sɛ làp tɛʰo?*  
 PN=DAT see-PUR come-2INF EQU.PER=QUO say be.allowed  
*Ì:=ɛo.*  
 EQU.PER=AT  
 ‘But now it doesn’t matter. We can say that we have come to see Bhaila.’ (Richhi 24)

In (16.30), person B has suggested that she and person A should go to see a boy named Bhaila in his home. Person A expresses her disapproval/disagreement in (16.30) by using the contrastive marker =to, followed by the reason for disagreement. Person B, in turn, uses the contrastive emphatic with the adverbial ‘now’ (*t'are=to*) in order to claim that the circumstances at the time are, contrary to what person A thinks, conducive to the action she has suggested. The latter instance of =to is accompanied by the clause-final attention marker =ɛo, which underlines the attention-worthiness of the proposition caused by the contrast.

The contrastive emphatic quite frequently collocates with the conditional form of the verb:

(16.31) ཁོང་ཚུ་ནེ་ རྗེ་ འདི་ མ་རྒྱབས་ནེ་ རྟོ་ ང་ཚའི་ ལྷོན་པོ་ འདི་ དགོངས་མ་ ལྷེལ་ཤང་ ལྷང།  
*kʰõ:=tsu=nɛ dzɛi di ma-kjap-nɛ=to* *ɲàtɛi lómpu=di*  
 3PL=PL=TOP oh.no this NEG-do-COND=CEMPH 1PL.GEN minister=DEMPH  
*gomʰi:-ɛɛ?* *bɛ?*  
 get.angry-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘They (said): Oh no, if we do not do this, our minister will get angry.’ (CY interview)

The contrastive emphatic may occur in the middle of a complex copula construction to convey the meaning ‘although it is the case that’:

(16.32) མོ་འདི་ མིན་ཤང་རྟོ་ མིན་(བོ་ མིན་) དེ་ཟང་  
*ódi Ì:-ɛɛ=to im(-bo Ì:) t'izã:...*  
 that EQU-INF=CEMPH EQU(-2INF EQU.PER) but...  
 ‘That might indeed be the case but...’ (PT e)

Finally, =to occurs in an negated emphatic copy verb construction VERB=to NEG-VERB (for copy verbs, see Ozerov & Daudey 2017):

(16.33) ཁོང་ཚུ་ རྒྱངས་རྟོ་ མི་རྒྱངས་བ།  
*kʰõ:=tsu gjã:=to miŋ-gjã:-wa*  
 3PL=PL fill.up=CEMPH NEG.fill.up-CIRC  
 ‘They do not at all fill up (mutterings of prayer)’ (TB discussion with PB)

### 16.1.3 Demonstrative-emphatic =di

In addition to the demonstrative uses discussed in §6.4, the proximal *di* ‘this’ has been grammaticalized into demonstrative-emphatic<sup>444</sup> =*di*, which does not have referential function

<sup>444</sup> The term “demonstrative” refers both to the origin of the emphatic marker and to its present, more demonstrative-like uses. The term “emphatic” underlines the fact that the marker has developed discourse-



but brings emphasis to the element it is postposed to. The use of the demonstrative-emphatic is prevalent in spoken language, sometimes occurring several times in one clause. It co-occurs with the pronominal modifying demonstratives *ódi* (16.34) and *di* (16.35).

- (16.34) མོ་འདི་མི་འདི་གི་སྐྱུ་འདི་གན་འདྲེ་མེད་མཁན་སྟེ།  
*ódi mí=di=gi gju=di k'anqε: mè:-kεn*  
 that man=DEMPH=GEN possessions=DEMPH anything NEG.EX-NMLZ  
*bε?*  
 EQU.NE  
 'That man didn't have any possessions.' (JDF axe story)

- (16.35) འདི་དེབ་འདི་འཇོ་གཞི་ཅོ་  
*di t'εp=di dzo: k'adzø? bo?*  
 this book=DEMPH price how.much EQU.NE.Q  
 'How much is the price of this book?' (KT e)

In (16.36a), *=di* functions as a specifier which signifies that one referent is chosen from among others. In (16.36b) without the emphatic, on the other hand, the (topic) selection had already been established.

- (16.36) a) ལུ་འདི་ཨམ་རྩེ་ཨིན།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u=di ámdzi í:*  
 3SGM=DEMPH doctor EQU.PER  
 'He is a doctor.' (YR e)
- b) ལུ་ཨམ་རྩེ་ཨིན།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u ámdzi í:*  
 3SGM doctor EQU.PER  
 'He is a doctor.' (YR e)

Sandberg (1895: 21) notes that “[o]rdinarily *di* follows its noun; but where any singling out of the noun is desired we have one *di* placed before and another *di* after the word.” Similarly, Zeisler (2011: 278) observes that in the Kenhat dialect of Ladakhi the “definiteness marker” *-de* co-occurs with pronominal demonstratives and can even be postposed directly to the proximal /i/ *hdi* ‘this’ and distal /a/ *ha* ‘that’ to form /ire/ *hdi-de* and /are/ *ha-de* respectively. A similar use of the “definite article” *-de* occurs in Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002: 70).

Although the semantic range of *=di* in Denjongke subsumes functions which in other languages have been characterized as “definiteness”, its uses go beyond definiteness. Such categories as proper nouns, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns are by definition definite, as suggested by the fact that the English definite article does not co-occur with them. The Denjongke *=di*, however, may be postposed to all the three above-mentioned categories and also to others.<sup>445</sup> Example (16.37) illustrates the use of the demonstrative-emphatic with a

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oriented functions which do not naturally fall under the umbrella of categories such as “demonstrative” and “definite”.

<sup>445</sup> Similar extended, non-referential, emphatic use of the demonstrative *se* ‘it’ occurs in Finnic languages (Grünthal 2015: 277, Kittilä & Yurayong (forthcoming). Grünthal (2015: 280), for instance, describes the non-referential use of *se* in Veps (Finnic) as an “unspecific focus particle”. Moreover, in Classical Greek (e.g.

proper noun and a demonstrative pronoun, and example (16.38) exemplifies a use with a personal pronoun.

(16.37) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ འདི་ ལྗོ་ འཛམ་གླིང་ན་ ཡུལ་ ག་འདི་ དང་ མིན་འདྲ་, འདི་ འདི་ ལེགས་ལྗོ་ གནས་ ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་ མིན་གཤམ།  
*dʰendzõ:=di lo dzambulij=na y: k'adi t'ã: minda,*  
 Sikkim=DEMPH south continent=LOC region which and unlike  
*di=di læpti né: tsa:te<sup>h</sup>impo t̃:=s.*  
 this=DEMPH very.much place invaluable EQU.PER=QUO  
 ‘Sikkim (is) different from any region in the rest of the world, this is very precious place.’ (CY Interview)

(16.38) དེ་ཟང་ ང་ འདི་ མོ་འདེམ་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ལྷོད་པར་ཅན་ འདི་ མེད་ ལྷ་ཤད་ མིན།  
*t'izã: ñà=di ódem sã.te k<sup>h</sup>epartẽ:=di mè? èù-εε*  
 but 1SG=DEMPH like.that until special=DEMPH NEG.EX. say.HUM-INF  
*t̃:.*  
 EQU.PER  
 ‘But I’m not that special, I submit.’ (CY Interview)

Examples (16.39-41) further illustrate that =*di* may attach to postnominal demonstrative modifiers *ódi*, *di* and *dodi* respectively.

(16.39) ད་ དོམ་ མོ་འདི་ འདི་ ལེགས་ལྗོ་ ལྷོགས་སྟེ་ མོ་ན་ ལྷོགས་སྟེ་ འོང་གོ།  
*t'a t'om ódi=di læp=ra to:-ti óna læp-ti*  
 now bear that=DEMPH very.much=AEMPH be.hungry-NF there arrive-NF  
*òm-bo.*  
 come-2INF  
 ‘Now that bear arrived there very hungry.’ (KT animal story)

(16.40) དེབ་ འདི་ འདི་  
*t'ep di=di*  
 book this=DEMPH  
 ‘this book (holding the book in hand)’ (SGD wedding customs)

(16.41) འདོ་འདི་ འདི་ བོ་ཙོ་ཙུ་ ཉལ་ས།  
*dodi=di potso=tsu ñè:-sa.*  
 this.right.here=DEMPH child=PL sleep-place  
 ‘This right here (is) the children’s sleeping place.’ (PD altar room video)

A demonstrative-based marker *di/=di* may occur either before the plural marker (16.42) or after it (16.43).

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Xenophon’s Anabasis) and Koine Greek (e.g. New Testament), the “definite” article, which has a demonstrative origin, may be preposed to personal names, a use which seems to fall outside the purview of “definiteness”.

- (16.42) ཁོང་ འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ ར་ རང་ཤ་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལོག་ རྩོན་ མ་བརྩུག་ བེ་མཁའ་ འདི་ མོ་འདེབ་ རྒྱབས་སློ་ ཁོང་  
འགག་ཆ་ རྒྱབས་ལོ་ སྤང་ལགས།  
*kʰõ:* **di**=*tsu=gi* *tʰamtɛɛ=ki* *tɛʰøge:* *nà:* *nàŋɛa* *ɕɛndzõ* *lòk*  
3PL this=PL=AGT all=AGT king here inside Sikkim return  
*tɛ'øŋ* *mà-tɛu?* *sé-kʰɛn=di* *ódeɸ* *kjap-ti* *kʰõ:*  
come.HON NEG-cause say-NMLZ=DEMPH like.that do-NF 3PL  
*gagdza* *kjab-be?*  
obstacle do.2INF-EQU.NE  
'All of them like that made obstacles so the king could not come back here to  
Sikkim.' (CY interview)

- (16.43) ཏེ་ ཁོང་ཚུ་ འདི་ མོ་ ལྷ་མཁའ་ སྤང།  
*tɛ* *kʰõ:*=*tsu=di* *mò* *ta-kʰɛn* *bɛ?*  
so 3PL=PL=DEMPH divination look-NMLZ EQU.NE  
'They were (lit. are) diviners.' (UT plains story)

Apart from positioning, a further formal difference between *di* in (16.42) and *=di* in (16.43) is that the vowel in pre-plural *di* tends to be somewhat longer than in the emphatic post-plural *=di*, suggesting that the pre-plural *di* begins a new phonological word whereas post-plural *=di* is a clitic attached to the previous word. Differing distribution and phonology suggest a possible difference of meaning. I am, however, not aware of such a difference. Nevertheless, to reflect the different positioning and phonology, the pre-plural variant *di* is in this thesis written as a separate word and glossed as a proximal demonstrative 'this', whereas the post-plural variant is written as a clitic glossed as an emphatic =DEMPH.

Furthermore, *di/=di* may occur on both sides of the plural marker, as in (16.44), or two times with an intervening case-marker, see (16.45).

- (16.44) ཚོགས་བཅད་ འདི་ཚུ་ འདི་  
*tsʰiktɛɛ?* **di**=*tsu=di*  
poem this=PL=DEMPH  
'These poems' (KL BLA 12)

- (16.45) ལས་ལན་ གནང་མཁན་ མི་ འདི་གིས་ འདི་  
*kʰɛ:lɛ:* *ná:-kʰɛ:* *mí* **di**=*gi=di*...  
incantation do.HON-NMLZ human this=AGT=DEMPH  
'The person who does the incantation (will)...' (SGD wedding customs)

The first instance of *=di* (preceding the plural marker) in (16.44) and (16.45) functionally covers the fields of demonstrativity and definiteness. The second use (following the plural marker) adds further emphasis on the noun phrase. However, with a singular instance of *di/=di* in a noun phrase, the position of the morpheme in relation to the plural marker is not necessarily a trustworthy indication of its function as either demonstrative/definiteness marker or an emphatic. This is illustrated by the following examples, in which both the post-plural *=di* (16.46) and pre-plural *=di* (16.47-48) occur with an already definite nominal, a personal pronoun (16.46-47) or a demonstrative (16.48).<sup>446</sup>

<sup>446</sup> Somewhat analogously, the Finnish plural demonstrative *ne* 'they' has grammaticalized into a plural emphatic which may attach to the homophonous demonstrative, *ne=ne* 'they-DEMPH' (personal knowledge).

(16.46) ཁོང་ཚུ་འདི་  
*kʰõː=tsu=di...*  
 3PL=PL=DEMPH  
 ‘They...’ (UTR plains story)

(16.47) ཁོང་འདི་ཚུ་  
*kʰõː di=tsu...*  
 3PL this=PL  
 ‘They...’ (CY interview)

(16.48) མོ་འདི་འདི་ཚུ་  
*ó(d)i di=tsu...*  
 that this=PL  
 ‘They...’ (PED life story)

The demonstrative-emphatic can intervene between a noun and its genitive modifier, as shown in (16.49), where =*di* seems to bring emphasis on the possessor.

(16.49) ང་ཅའི་གི་འདི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
*ŋàtɛi=gi=di lògju?*  
 1PL.GEN=GEN=DEMPH story  
 ‘our story’ (YR canteen video)

It also attaches to postpositions:

(16.50) ང་མཉམ་ལུ་འདི་  
*ŋà námpu=di*  
 1SG with=DEMPH  
 ‘With me’ (RS animal song intro)

In (16.51) the first instance of =*di* occurs as a type of substantivizer/nominalizer attached to an adjective:

(16.51) གལ་ཆེ་དྲགས་འདི་ རབག་གི་ རྒྱན་འདི་ འགོ་ རྩོན་ལས་ ཤེས་ དགོས་མཁམ་ རྒྱད།  
*k'ɛːtɛʰiʈa=di raŋ=gi kɛː=di go jénle ééː*  
 important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know  
*goː-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*  
 be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘The important (thing) is to first know one’s own language.’ (KL BLA 12)

Moreover, =*di* attaches to verb forms. Co-occurrence with an infinitive is exemplified in (16.52).

(16.52) རང་རྒྱན་འདི་ བེད་སྦྱོད་ ལུས་ཤང་འདི་ ང་ཚོ།  
*raŋ-kɛː=di p'ɛtɛøʔ p'ja-ɛɛ=di ŋòtsʰaː.*  
 own-language=DEMPH use do-INF=DEMPH be.ashamed  
 ‘(They) are ashamed to use (their) own language.’ (KL BLA discussion 12)

Other adverbial clauses to which =*di* can attach are the anterior construction shown in (16.53) and the nonfinal construction in (16.54).

- (16.53) མོ་བ་གཞི་གི་ མཐུན་ཁར་ སློབ་ས་ཚོའི་ལས་ འདི་  
*lóbqø:=gi dynk<sup>h</sup>a: ʃep-so:=lə=di*  
 school.GEN=GEN in.front.of arrive-CMPL.2INF=ABL=DEMPH  
 ‘After arriving in front of the school...’ (RS pupil joke)

- (16.54) ལྷ་མོ་གཞི་གི་ བྱོན་ཞི་གི་ འདི་ ཉེ་ ཚོང་ གན་ འབྲང་ གན་ འབྲང་ ལབ་སྟེ་གི་ ཇི་ ལྷ་བོ་ལོ།  
*tɛ<sup>h</sup>u-ʃa=tɛi? tɛ<sup>h</sup>ʔn-diki=di “tɛ tɛ<sup>h</sup>ʔ k’an bjõ:,*  
 water-god=INDF come.HON-NF=DEMPH so 2SG.L what disappear  
*k’an bjõ:” làp-tiki ʃi ta-u=lo.*  
 what disappear say-NF ask look-2INF=REP  
 ‘A water-god came and asked (him): “What of yours disappeared? What disappeared?”’ (JDF Axe story)

The demonstrative-emphatic can attach only to the longer, nonfinal form *-tiki/diki*, not the short form *-ti/di*, presumably because of the phonetic similarity of =*di* and *-ti-di*. The longer converbal form occurs almost exclusively in spoken language. In writing, mere *tɛ<sup>h</sup>ʔn-di* would be used in place of *tɛ<sup>h</sup>ʔn-di=ki=di*.

Moreover, =*di* can be added to *-po*-infinitive forms:

- (16.55) ང་ཅག་ལོ་ འདི་ གནང་བ་ བྱོན་བོ་ འདི་ལོ་ སློང་ཐག་པའི་ འགོ་ལས་ ལུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ ལུ་ཤད་ ཡིན་ལགས།  
*ɲàtɛa=lo=di ná:wa p'im-bo=di=lo ɲint<sup>h</sup>akpø:*  
 1PL=DAT=DEMPH permission give-2INF=DEMPH=DAT bottom.of.heart.GEN  
*go:lɛ t<sup>h</sup>udzite<sup>h</sup>e ɛù-ɛi:=la.*  
 through thank.you say.HUM-NPST.PER=HON  
 ‘I thank you from the bottom of (my/our) heart for giving us the the permission.’  
 (CY interview)

The emphatic =*di* makes nominalized verbal constructions more conducive to nominal operations such as case-marking. In (16.55), for instance, adding the dative-locative case-marker directly to the nominalized form (*p'im-bo=lo*) would result in a form that sounds like a typical past reportative construction often heard in stories (=lo is both a dative-locative and a reportative marker). An intervening =*di* thus functions as a disambiguator. Especially in written language, the agentive form of =*di* attached to *-ɛɛ*-infinitive marks causation, see §15.4.6.

#### 16.1.4 Topicalizer-emphatic =*ni/nɛ*

The topicalizer-emphatic =*ni/nɛ* is typically used for activating new referents in discourse. In this way, it is dissimilar to the emphatic =*rã:*, which typically emphasizes already activated referents but similar to =*di* and =*to* both of which it semantically overlaps. In some of its uses =*nɛ* can be characterized as a topicalizer in that it draws the addressee’s attention to new topics. In other uses, it is safer to just say that =*nɛ* simply emphasizes a certain constituent without necessarily making it the topic under discussion in the next clause. The term topic is here defined in a non-technical sense as something that the sentence is about.

The topicalizing function of =*nɛ* is illustrated in (16.56) and (16.57).

(16.56) ཚོད་ལོ་ ཡ་པོ་ནེ་ མེད་, ཡ་པའི་ ཚོད་ལོ་ ཚོད་རང་ མན་བོ་ གཞན་ ཀ་ ཡོད་?  
*teʰø:=lo ápo=ne mèʔ. ápø: tsʰaplo teʰø:=rã: mèmbo*  
 2SG.L=DAT father=TOP NEG.EX.PER father.GEN instead 2SG.L=REFL except  
*zen ka jøʔʔ?*  
 other who EX.PER  
 ‘You don’t have a father. Who is there in place of your father except yourself?’  
 (Richhi 83)

(16.57) ཀམ་, ཚོད་ ག་ན་ མོང་བོ་ འགྱུ་དོ་ ཨོན་ མ་ལབ་པར། ང་ཅག་ནེ་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ སེམས་སྐྱུག་ རྫོད་ ཡོད།  
*karma teʰøʔ k'ana só:-boʔ gju-do í: ma-làp-a. ηàteα=ne*  
 Karma 2SG.L where go.PFV-PST go-IPFV EQU.PER NEG-say-CIRC 1PL=TOP  
*lèpti sémduʔ dø: jøʔ.*  
 very.much worry stay EX.PER  
 ‘Karma, where did you go, without saying you were going? As for we, we were very  
 worried.’ (Richhi 110)

In (16.56) the word *ápo* ‘father’ is topicalized by *=ne* and occurs as the topic of the next sentence. In (16.57), the use of *=ne* signifies a topic-switch from the addressee to the speaker (and her reference group).

Example (16.58), presents a longer stretch of text in order to illustrate three instances of *=ne* in context. In the example, a girl threatened by an undesirable marriage is talking in her head to her hoped-for groom (sadly, in vain).

(16.58) ཀམ་, ཚོད་ ང་ལོ་ ལེན་བར་ མ་ལག་ ཤོག། ང་ ང་ནེ་  
*karma, teʰøʔ ηà=lo lèm-ba màlaʔ éóʔ. t'a ηà=ne*  
 Karma 2SG.L 1SG=DAT take-PUR quick come.IMP now 1SG=TOP  
  
 རྟེན་ ཟུན་རབ་ འཛོམ་ཚན། རྟེན་ཐག་ བཅད་མཁན་ ང་ ཚོད་ མན་བོ་  
*ηε=na sÿn-rap tʰøn-tsʰa:. ηε-tʰaʔ tεε:-kʰɛ: t'a teʰøʔ mèmbo*  
 trap=LOC enter-IMF become-CMPL trap-rope break-NMLZ now 2SG.L except  
  
 བཞན་ ཀ་གེས་ཡང་ མི་ཚུགས། ཀམ་, གཞན་ ཀ་གེས་ཡང་  
*zen ka=gi=jã: mi-tsʰu?. karma, zen ka=gi=jã:*  
 other who=AGT=even NEG-be.able.to Karma other who=AGT=even ང་ ངས་ གན་ མི་  
  
 ཚུགས། འུས་ཤད་ ངའི་ཚར་ ཐབས་ལམ་ གཞན་ནེ་  
*mi-tsʰu?. t'a ηá: k'an p'ja-εεʔ, ηè:=tsa: tʰaplam zen=ne*  
 NEG-be.able.to now I.AGT what do-INF 1SG.GEN=at means other=TOP  
  
 གན་འདྲེ་ཡང་ མེད། གལ་སྲིད་ ཤོག་ཚོབ་ ཡོད་ན་རྟོ་ གན་མ་ལས་ འཕུར་ཟླ་  
*k'andε:=jã:meʔ. k'ε:siʔ éóktsʰip jø:-ne=to nám=lε pʰu:-di*  
 any=even NEG.EX.PER if wing EX.PER-COND=CEMPH sky=ABLfly-NF

འོང་ཚོག་ ཡིན། ཡོ་འདི་ནི་ ང་ལོ་ ཤོག་ཚོབ་ མེད།

ó: tɛ<sup>ho</sup> í: ódi=**nɛ** ŋà=lo ɛóktsh<sup>ip</sup> mɛ?  
 come be.allowed EQU.PER that=TOP 1SG=DAT wing NEG.EX.PER

‘Karma, come quickly to take me. I [=nɛ] have become one about to be entrapped. There is now no one except you who can break the trap-rope. Now what should I do? I have no other means [=nɛ]. If I had wings, I could come flying through the sky. But there it is [=nɛ] (lit. that=nɛ): I do not have wings.’ (Richhi 155)

The first use =nɛ (ŋà=nɛ) in (16.58), topicalizes the speaker’s own situation. The second use (*t<sup>h</sup>aplām zɛn=nɛ*) introduces a new topic, i.e. ways of escaping the present situation. The third use (*ódi=nɛ*), which resembles a verbless clause, directs the addressee’s attention to a relevant facet in the previous clause, which, again, is a new topic.

In harmony with its name as topicalizer-emphatic, some of the uses of =nɛ are better described as an simply emphatics rather than as topicalizers. For an examples, consider (16.59), with two instances of =ni.

(16.59) ཀམ་ ཚོང་ ང་ནི་ མོས་ཚས། རང་བ་ལོ་ ལྷ་སྟོས་ བྱས་མཁན་ ལྷན་པོ་ནི་ འཕོན་ཚས།

karma tɛ<sup>h</sup>ø? t’a=**nɛ** bom-ts<sup>h</sup>a: nɛ:pa=lo tatø? p’ja-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:  
 Karma 2SG.L now=TOP become.big=CMPL patient=DAT care do-NMLZ  
 mémpo=**nɛ** t<sup>h</sup>øŋ-ts<sup>h</sup>a:  
 doctor=TOP become-CMPL

‘Karma, you have now become important. You have become a doctor who takes care of patients.’ (Richhi 114)

The topicalizer-emphatic =nɛ can be used contrastively very similarly to =to, see (16.60) and (16.61). Note that in (16.60) =nɛ attaches to a pronominal expression which signifies topic continuation rather than new topic. The function of =nɛ is rather to bring into focus the contrast between the past and the present. In (16.61), the contrast is reflected as *but* in the translation.

(16.60) ཏྲེ་ ཡོ་འདི་ཚུ་ནི་ དྲིང་སང་ མེན་འདུག་གེ། ལྷ་ཤང་ ཡིན།

te ódi=tsu=**nɛ** t’iŋzã: mindu-ke ɛù-ɛɛ í:  
 so that=PL=TOP nowadays NEG.EX.SEN-IN say.HUM-INF EQU.PER

‘Those are not there nowadays, I submit.’ (CY interview)

(16.61) འདྲེ་ཚོང་ཁར་ གལ་སྲིད་ ངའི་ ལྷན་པོ་འདི་ ལྷོང་ལྷོང་ལོ་ ཡིན་ན་ མོ་ལོ་ ང་ལྷ་རང་ གཉེན་ ལྷབས་ཚོག་ ཡིན། ལྷོང་ལྷོང་ མ་ ལྷོང་སྐང་ལས་ནི་ མེན་སྲིགས།

dɛ:ts<sup>h</sup>ika k’ɛ:si? jɛ: mémpø: dzã:dar mjò:-mjò:-po ín-nɛ  
 at.that.time if my doctor.GEN training finish-RDP-2INF EQU-COND  
 mù=lo t’ato=rã: jén kjap tɛ<sup>ho</sup>? í: dzã:dar ma-mjò:  
 3SGF=DAT now=AEMPH marriage do be.allowed EQU.PER training NEG-finish  
 gã:=lɛ=**nɛ** min-dik.  
 time=ABL=TOP NEG-be.fitting

‘At that time, if my training is finished, (it) would be acceptable to marry her immediately. (But) while the training is not finished, (it) is not fitting.’ (Richhi 112)

The topicalizer-emphatic can also attach to quantifiers:

(16.62) ད་ ངའི་ ལྷོང་བརྟུན་ ལྷོང་བར་ལོ་ གེས་པོ་ནི་ མེད།  
*t'a jè: dzā:dar mjò:-pa=lo kɛ:po=nɛ mè?*  
 now my training finish-PUR=DAT a.lot=TOP NEG.EX.PER  
 'It's not long before my training finishes.' (Richhi 113)

Lastly, =nɛ is used in clauses which define, see (16.63) and (16.64). The emphatic functions as the drawer of the addressee's attention before the definition is given. In these uses, =di could be used instead of =nɛ. In an attempt to reflect the Denjongke structure, the English translations are somewhat cumbersome.

(16.63) གཞུང་གླུ་ ལབ་པ་ཅེ་ནི་ ད་ རྗེ་ས་ལི་ ལྷོང་ལས་ནི་ ལོག་གི་ཏུ་ (Nep.)  
*zunjlu ləp-øtɛɛnɛ t'a nepali kɛ:=lɛ=nɛ loggit*  
 folksong say-COND now Nepali language=ABL=TOP folksong(Nep.)  
 'If talking of folksong(s), as for Nepali language, (it's called) [loggit].' (RS on songs)

(16.64) ལྷོ་ དྲངས་མཁན་ནི་ བོང་བུ་ ཡོད།  
*k'jo t'ā:-kʰɛ:=nɛ p'ō:bu jò?*  
 wheat carry-NMLZ=TOP donkey EX.PER  
 'As for carriers of wheat, there were donkeys.' (PD bet story)

## 16.2 Clause-final clitics

Clause-final clitics are listed in Table 16.2.

Table 16.2. Clausal clitics

=lo	ལོ་	reportative
=se/si/s	སེ་	quotative
=la	ལགས་	honorific
=ɛo	ལོ་	attention marker
=ki/gi	གི་	non-committment marker

Reportative =lo and quotative =se were discussed under treatment of evidentiality in §9. This section addresses the remaining clausal clitics =la (§16.2.1), =ɛo (§16.2.2) and =ki/gi (§16.2.3),

### 16.2.1 Honorific =la

By placing the honorific enclitic at the very end of the clause, the speaker shows respect to the hearer. The honorific occurs after other clausal clitics (16.65) and tags (16.66):

(16.65) a) རྩོ་གོམ་ འདི་ རོག་གོ་ལོ་ལགས།  
*dogom=di pʰok-o=lo=la.*  
 stone=DEMPH hit-2INF=REP=HON  
 '...the stone hit, so the story goes.' (UU deer story)

b) ཆགས་པོ་ ཞིན་ སེ་ ལགས།  
*tɕʰa:-po t̚i:=s=la.*  
 descend-2INF EQU.PER=QUO=HON  
 '...descended, so the story goes.' (PAD bet story)



c) མིན་བཞིས་ཤོ་ལགས།  
*min=ze:=eo=la.*  
 NEG=have.HON=AT=HON  
 ‘(he) doesn’t drink (it), you know.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

d) འདེམ་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་ལགས།  
*dem jò:=gi=la*  
 like.it EX.PER=NC=HON  
 ‘...(it) is like it.’ (KL BLA 12)

(16.66) a) ད་ལྟོ་ ད་ རང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ར་ ཡོད་བ་ཟུང་ཤོ་ མིན་ག་ལགས་?  
*t’ato t’a rã: námtei=ra jèbbe=eó, iy-ga=la?*  
 now now 2SG.L with=AEMPH EX.NE=AT EQU.PER-PQ=HON  
 ‘You know, now she’s with you, isn’t she?’ (BB BB discussion)

b) མཇལ་ཤད་ གནད་གེ་ ལོ་ལགས།  
*dze:-eɛ? náŋ-gɛ lo=la.*  
 meet.HON-INF do.HON-HORT TAG.Q=HON  
 ‘Let’s meet, okay.’ (KTL phone call)

The clitic =*la*: (typically pronounced with a longer vowel) is also used in forming honoric nouns referring to persons, see §3.7.4.3.

### 16.2.2 Attention marker = *eo*

The uses of the attention marker =*eo* are more fully described in Yliniemi (2016). This section provides a brief summary. The presence of the attention marker, which may be either speaker or addressee-oriented, indicates that something is brought to the forefront of the speaker’s or the addressee’s attention. The attention marker =*eo* occurs in declarative uses postposed to a verb and in interrogative uses postposed to other parts of speech (verbless uses). The attention in verbal uses, which resemble the notion “mirativity”, is either speaker or addressee-oriented, whereas verbless uses, which resemble the notion “contrastive focus”, are always addressee-oriented. When occurring with copulas, the function of =*eo* as either speaker or addressee-oriented is partly dependent on the evidentiality of the copulas. With other verbs, the orientation of =*eo* is dependent on other contextual factors.

A typologically interesting feature is that the same marker =*eo* has both speaker-oriented uses (marking the proposition as newsworthy to the speaker) and addressee-oriented uses (marking the proposition as newsworthy to the addressee). The following two examples illustrate a speaker-oriented use (16.67) and an addressee-oriented use (16.68) of =*eo* attached to the equative copula *bɛ?*. Speaker vs. addressee-orientation is contextually determined.

(16.67) ལྷ། མོ་ཉི་ལགས་ཚུ་ ཟུང་ཤོ།  
*já:, óni=la:=tsu bɛ=eó.*  
 o child=HON=PL EQU.NE=AT  
 ‘O, it’s the children.’ (Richhi 25)

- (16.68) ལབ་མཁན་ རྟོན་དག་ འདི་ མོ་འདི་ ཟུང་གོ།  
*làp-kʰɛː t'ɔnda=di ódi be=ɛo.*  
 say-NMLZ meaning=DEMPH that EQU.NE=AT  
 ‘The meaning of the (afore)said is this.’ (JDF axe story)

In (16.67), the speaker expresses the newsworthiness of the information for herself (as also suggested by the use of the interjection *jáː*). In (16.68), on the other hand, the speaker is carrying out a pedagogical monologue and wants, by using =*ɛo*, to direct his addressees’ attention to the significance of the story he has just told.

A frequent context for using =*ɛo* is when the speakers provide information that they think is contrary to what the addressees believe:

- (16.69) A: འདི་ ཉར་ར་ ཟུང་, ཟླ་ལོ་ བརྩ་བའི་གོ།  
*di nɛr=(r)a bɛ?, dou tɛu-pøː=gi.*  
 this twenties.of.month.days=AEMPH EQU.NE month ten-2INF.GEN=GEN  
 ‘It’s on the 20-29, of the tenth month.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

- B: མོ་འདི་ ཟླ་ལོ་ བརྩ་བའི་གོ་ མན་གོ། བརྩ་གཉིས་ན་ མིན།  
*ódi dou tɛu-pøː=gi mɛː=ɛo. tɛu:niː=na ɿː.*  
 that month ten-NMLX.GEN=GEN NEG.EQU.PER=AT twelve=LOC EQU.PER  
 ‘It’s not the tenth month, you know. It’s the twelfth.’ (AB kitchen discussion)

Although many uses of =*ɛo* resemble clauses which in other languages have been termed “mirative”<sup>447</sup>, example (16.70) shows that uses of =*ɛo* are not determined in terms of newness to “overall knowledge structure” (DeLancey’s [1997: 33] description of mirativity) but in terms of attention-worthiness of the proposition.

- (16.70) མེ་ ངའི་ ལག་གོ་ ཅིག་གུ་ ལོ? ངའི་ རྩ་ལོ་ ཡོད་གོ་ ལབ།  
*ɛː, nɛː làko tsiku=lo? nɛː kã:po jòː=ɛo làp.*  
 eh, 1SG.GEN hand only=REP 1SG.GEN foot EX.PER=AT say  
 ‘Do I have only hands? I have also feet, I see, (he) said.’ (KT animal story)

In (16.70), the information that he has feet is definitely not new to the speaker’s “overall knowledge structure”. Rather, this old piece of information is particularly useful, and thus attention-worthy, in the situation the speaker is in (hence ‘I see’ in the translation). The speaker, a marten, is stuck in glue and has tried to get out of the trouble by using his feet. When his feet are stuck in glue, he comes up, with sad consequences, with a new realization of further limbs. Counter-arguments for subsuming the uses of =*ɛo* under “mirativity” are presented in Yliniemi (2016).

Verbless uses of =*ɛo* are topic-switching questions that direct the addressee’s attention to a new item. The topic-switching question may be translated ‘(and/but) what about...?’. When occurring within the clause, as in (16.71), the attention marker is followed by a pause (in harmony with its use as a clause-final clitic).

<sup>447</sup> Especially when mirativity, following Hengeveld & Olbertz (2012), is defined as consisting of both speaker and addressee-oriented uses (p. 487) and being “a linguistic category that characterizes a proposition as newsworthy, unexpected, or surprising” (p. 488).

- (16.71) འོ་ན་ལྟོ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཤོ་དེ་ལྟ་ཟང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལོ་ཕན་བོདི་གཡོག་གན་གན་བྱས་ཞེ་  
*nòrden tɛʰø:=ki=εo, t'ato=sā: tɛi-tsʰo:=lo pʰemp̄ø: jó? k'an*  
 PN 2SG.L=AGT=AT now=until community=DAT benefit.GEN work what  
*k'an p'ja-zɛ?*  
 what do-PST  
 'Norden, what about you, what all things have you done so far to help the  
 community?' (Richhi 8)

A noun phrase with =εo can also form an independent topic-switching question, as illustrated by (16.72), where the speaker shifts the topic from himself to the addressees.

- (16.72) ང་སྐབས་བོདི་སྤྱད་བཅར་བྱས་དོ་ཞིན། ཏེ་བུ་སྲིད་སྤྱོད་ཤོ་  
*ŋà mémp̄ø: dzā:dar p'ja-do í: tɛ p'usim=tsu=εo?*  
 1SG physician.GEN training do-IPFV EQU.PER then younger.sister=PL=AT  
 'I'm doing physician's training. And what about the sisters then?' (Richhi 127)

Also verbal uses can be used for announcing new topics:

- (16.73) ང་ཅག་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པ་འདི་ཞིན་གྲོ་ལགས། འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པ་འདི་ཐུང་ཐུང་བྱས་ཟླི་ན་མ་ལོ་མི་ལག  
*ŋàtea? dɛndzɔŋpa=di í:=εo=la. dɛndzɔŋpa=di tʰuŋtʰuŋ*  
 1PL Denjongpa=DEMPH EQU.PER=AT=HON Denjongpa=DEMPH short  
*p'ja-ti nàmlo mi-làp.*  
 do-NF ever NEG-say  
 'We, on the other hand, are Denjongpas. The Denjongpas never say (their name) in  
 short.' (oh, Tashiding)

- (16.74) ཏེ་མི་ལོ་ང་ཅའི་ཨ་ཁུ་ལྟོ་བོ་གཅིག་ཡོད་གྲོ་ལགས།  
*timi=lo ŋàtɛi áku lɔpo=tɛi? jò:=εo=la.*  
 TPN=DAT 1PL.GEN uncle Lhopo=INDF EX.PER=AT=HON  
 'In Timi there is one of our Lhopo men, you know.' (KT discussion with TB)

It is typologically interesting that =εo has both clausal “mirative” like uses and phrasal “contrastive focus” like uses, highlighting the similarity (i.e. directing attention) between the concepts mirative and contrastive focus.

### 16.2.3 Non-commitment marker =ki/gi

The final marker =ki/gi is a loan from Nepali, where ki is used as a question particle, conjunction ‘or’ and also as a very frequent clause-final marker. I have not yet fully understood the meaning of this marker in Nepali or, by extension, in Denjongke. Preliminarily, I name it, in harmony to its other uses in Nepali, a non-commitment marker (glossed NC).

- (16.75) ངས་ལག་ཤད་གྱི་དོན་མཚན་འདི་ར་ཨོ་འདི་སྤང་གློ།  
*ŋá: làp-εε=ki t'øntsʰɛ:=di=ra ódi bɛ:=ki.*  
 I.AGT say-INF=GEN subject=DEMPH=AEMPH that EQU.NE=NC  
 'The subject of my talking is just that.' (KL BLA 12)

(16.76) ཨ་ཙི་ རོགས་རམ་ སུ་ནི་ (Nepali) བྱིས་ཤད་ལོ་གླི།  
*átsi ro:ram pun p'ja-εε=lo=gi.*  
 a.bit help also(Nep.) do-INF=REP=NC  
 '(He) is also going to help us, I hear.' (TB discussion with KT)

(16.77) ང་ཅག་ ར་ལས་ ཏ་རིག་ (Nepali) བསུ་བདུན་ལོ་ སོང་བོ་ ཞིན་གི་ལགས།  
*ŋàtea? nà:=le ta:rik tεopd̥y̆:=lo s̄ó:-bo iŋ=gi=la.*  
 1PL here=ABL date(Nep.) seventeen=DAT go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER=NC=HON  
 'We went from here on the seventeenth.' (PT kitchen discussion)

Note that the homophonous *ki*, also a loan from Nepali, functions as an occasional complementizer, see §14.2.2.2.

### 16.3 Assertive and exclamative tags

The assertive tag *ná* and exclamative tag (*h*)*o*: are morphemes which are more loosely connected to the rest of the sentence than suffixes and clitics and are also used for interrogation. For interrogative uses of *ná* and (*h*)*o*:, see §11.1.1.2 and §11.1.6 respectively. The tag *ná* adds assertive nuance (§16.3.1) and (*h*)*o*: exclamative nuance to the proposition (§16.3.2).

#### 16.3.1 Assertive tag *ná*

The form *ná* was in §11.1 shown to be an interrogated form of the personal copula *í*:. This form has, however, also grammaticalized into a non-interrogatory assertive tag which may attach even to copulas. The tag *ná* (along with its dialectal variants *ino* and *no*) occurs in declarative and imperative clauses. The phonological status of *ná* (both the copulas and tag) is open for more detailed research. For now, I have retained high pitch marking on the vowel to preserve connection to the source form *ín-na* ཞིན་ན་. By using the assertive tag the speaker, rather than seeking a response from the addressee, adds exclamative force or nuance to the statement or command, as if adding the equivalent of English 'I (certainly) tell you' or 'indeed'.

Example (16.78) illustrates the use of an interrogative *ná* in a question (a) and the exclamative *ná* in the answer to the same question (b):

(16.78) a) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ གཤམ་གྱི་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ཉ་?  
*l̥ɛŋɛ? jó? kjap-to ná?*  
 PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q  
 'Are you working?' (KN e)

b) ང་ གཤམ་གྱི་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ཞིན་ ཉ།  
*ŋà jó? kjap-to í: ná.*  
 1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER TAG.ASR  
 'I am indeed working.' (KN e)

For two further examples of *ná* and *ino* appended to copulas, consider (16.79) and (16.80) respectively (the assertive force is suggested in the translation by *I tell you*).

(16.79) བོ་ཙོ་ རྗེ་གསུང་གསུང་ ཡིན་ཀྱི།  
*p'otso dzikta? í: ná.*  
 child excellent EQU.PER TAG.ASR  
 '(The) child is excellent, I tell you. (SN kitchen discussion)

(16.80) མི་ ལེགས་ འདུག་ ཡི་ནོ། ལྷ་ འདི་ མི་ རྗེ་གསུང་གསུང་ སྤང།  
*mí lèm du: íno. k'u=di t'a mí dzikta?*  
 person good EX.SEN TAG.ASR 3SGM=DEMPH now person excellent  
*bɛ?*  
 EQU.NE  
 '(The) man is good, I tell you. Now he's a great guy.' (KT discussion with TB)

In (16.81), the assertive tag is appended to a reportative form.

(16.81) ཨོ་འདི་ བ་རམ་སྐང་ ལོང་ ཨ་པོ་ ཤི་མཁན་ འདི་ཀུས་ར་ ཨ་ཙོ་ ལྷོ་བ་དཔོན་ལོ་ བཤད་བོ་ལོ་ རྒྱ།  
*ódi p'aregð: ápo éi-k'en=di=gi=ra ádzo*  
 that TPN father die-NMLZ-DEMPH=AGT=AEMPH grandfather  
*lópø:=lo é-po=lo no.*  
 teacher=DAT say-2INF=REP TAG.ASR  
 'It was Paramgang Father who (just) died that is said to have said that to Grandpa teacher, I tell you'. (KNM kitchen discussion)

For an example of *ná* attached to an imperative, consider (16.82), which contains two imperatives. The speaker attaches *ná* to his second, emphatic appeal.

(16.82) ད་ ལྷོང་ལྷོང་པའི་ གཏམ་གྱི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ བདག་མེད་ མ་བཤད། དག་དག་གི་འདི་ མ་ ལྷོང་ན་ ཟུག་ ལོག་ཅན་རང་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ ཡིན། ད་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
 མ་བཤད་ཀྱི་ རྗེས་ཅེ་གསུང་ དབང་ལོ།  
*t'a mjò:-mjò:-pø: tam=gi lògju? da:mè? ma-ɛɛ?*  
 now finish-RDP-2INF.GEN word=GEN story void NEG-tell  
*t'ak-t'ak-ø: má kjo:-ne sù: lòtɛɛ=rã: kjap-ɛɛ í:*  
 heal-RDP. 2INF.EN wound repeat-COND pain again=AEMPH strike-INF EQU.PER  
*t'a lògju? ma-ɛɛ? ná t'ho:-tɛɛ-gam óŋmu?*  
 now story NEG-tell TAG.ASR hear-PST-ATTQ PN  
 'Now do not in vain tell finished stories. If you repeat old wounds, it hurts again. Now do not tell (this) story, I tell you, did you hear me, Wangmu?' (nga'i 'gan 19)

In instructions, the tag *ná* may emphasize the obligation of the addressees:

(16.83) དེ་ཟང་ རལ་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ སྤང་ བསྐྱུག་ དགོས་ ཀྱི།  
*t'izã: è: lèpti súŋ teuk go: ná*  
 but mouth.HON very.much guard cause be.needed TAG.ASR  
 'But the (patient) should be made to guard his mouth (from wrong food), I tell you.'  
 (rnam-rtog 24)

Consultant YR commented on (16.83) that if the tag *ná* were to be replaced by the equative copula *=pɛ?*, the sentence would turn from an instruction given to others to a declaration which the speaker herself would be obliged to observe. That is, *ná* marks what “you have to do” whereas *=pɛ?* would mark what “we have to do”. As a further illustration of the point, YR

volunteered the following two clauses the first of which concerns a common obligation of the speaker and the addressee and the latter one the addressee's obligation:

(16.84) མོ་རངས་ ང་ཅག་ ལྟོ་སྐད་ སྐབ་ དགོས་པ་ད།  
*t<sup>h</sup>orã:*      *ŋãtɛa?*    *lɔkɛ?*    *lap*    *go:=pe?*  
 tomorrow 1PL      Lhoke    learn    be.needed=EQU.NE  
 'Tomorrow we have to learn Lhoke.' (YR e)

(16.85) མོ་རངས་ ལྷན་རྒྱུས་ ཨོན་ རང་ཀ་ སྐབ་གྲ་ན་ འགྱུ་ འགྲུ་ རྒྱུས་ ཉ།  
*t<sup>h</sup>orã:*      *ŋɛŋɛ?*      *óna ranka*    *lóbɔa=na*    *gju*    *go:*      ***ɲá.***  
 tomorrow PRN.HON    there TPN    school=LOC    go    be.needed TAG.ASR  
 'Tomorrow you need to go there to Ranka school, I tell you.' (YR e)

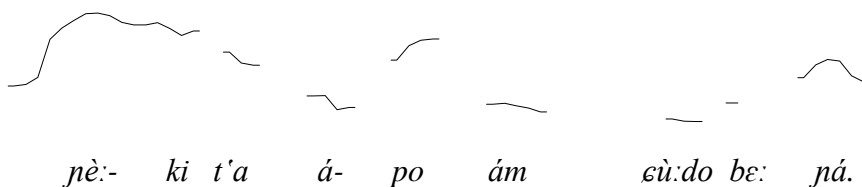
A further example of the addressee's obligation is provided by (16.86).

(16.86) ངའི་ རྒྱུ་ འདི་ལོ་ ཡིང་ མ་ཆེས་ནི་ རང་གིས་ ང་ལོ་ ཉི་རྩ་ག་ བརྒྱ་ཐམ་བ་ རྒྱུན་ དགོས་ ཉ།  
*ɲè:*      *ɖuŋ=di=lo*      *jì:*      *ma-te<sup>h</sup>e-ne*      *raŋ=gi*      *ŋà=lo*  
 1SG.GEN    story=DEMPH=DAT    believe    NEG-believe-COND    you=AGT    1SG=DAT  
*tiruk*    *gja-t<sup>h</sup>amba*    *p'in*    *go:*      ***ɲá.***  
 rupee    hundred-NUM    give    be.needed TAG.ASR  
 'If you do not believe this story of mine, you have to pay me, I tell you, a hundred rupees.' (PD bet story)

Declarative *ɲá* is often pronounced with a rise in intonation, as in Figure 16.1, which provides the pitch trace from (16.87) and in Figure 16.2, which provides the pitch trace of (16.88). In the latter clause (16.88), the pitch on *ɲá* is particularly high, and the clause triggered a response from the interlocutor, who said *lai* 'yes' (comes from WD ལགས་ཨིན་ *lags-in*).

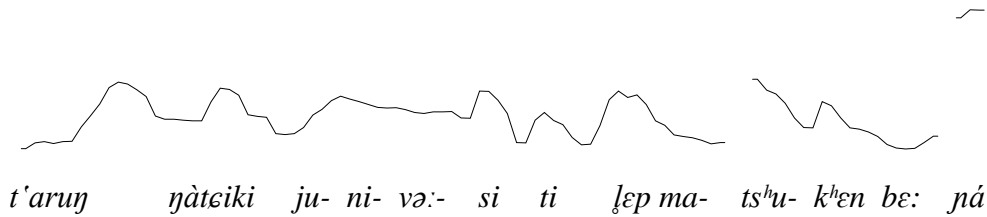
(16.87) ངའི་ཀི་ ད་ ཨ་པོ་ ཨམ་ ལུ་དོ་ སྐད་ ཉ།  
*ɲè:=gi*      *t'a*    *ápo*    *ám*    *ɛù-do*      *bɛ:*      ***ɲá.***  
 1SG.GEN=GEN    now    father    mother    say.HUM-IPFV    EQU.NE TAG.ASR  
 'My father and mother used to say (like that), I tell you.' (CY interview)

Figure 16.1. Rising intonation on *ɲá* in (16.87)



- (16.88) ད་ཅུང་ ང་ཅི་གི་ university སློབ་མ་ མ་ཚུགས་མཁམ་ སྤང་ ཉ།  
*t'aruŋ ɳàtɕi=gi junivə:siti ʎɛp ma-tʂu-kʰɛn be:*  
 still 1PL.GEN=GEN university(Eng.) arrive NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE  
***ɳá.***  
 TAG.ASR  
 '(It) hasn't yet been able to reach our university (level), I tell you.' (DR discussion with KL)

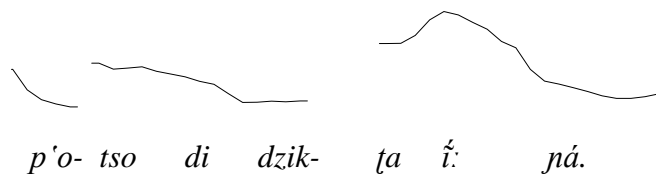
Figure 16.2. Rising intonation on *ɳá* in (16.88)



However, pitch is not always raised with declarative *ɳá*. Figures 16.3 and 16.4, providing the pitch trace from (16.89) and (16.90) respectively illustrate a falling pitch pattern on *ɳá*. Further research is needed in order to determine whether raised pitch is more likely to evoke a response from the addressee than low pitch.

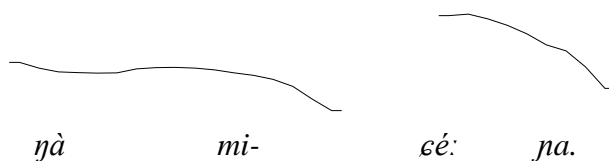
- (16.89) བོ་ཙོ་ འདི་ རྫོགས་པོ་ ཞིན་ ཉ།  
*p'o-tso=di dzikʈa? ɿ: ɳá.*  
 child=DEMPH excellent EQU.PER TAG.ASR  
 'That child is excellent, I tell you.' (KL phone call)

Figure 16.3. Falling intonation on *ɳá* in (16.89)



- (16.90) ང་ མི་ཤེས་ ཉ།  
*ɳà mi-ɕé: ɳá.*  
 1SG NEG-know TAG.ASR  
 'I don't know, I tell you.' (PTW kitchen discussion)

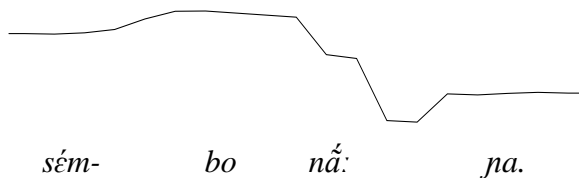
Figure 16.4. Falling intonation on *ɳá* in (16.90)



In the imperative, tags tend to have a pitch level which is raised from the previous context, see Figure 16.5 presenting the pitch trace from (16.91).

- (16.91) ༀས་མཁོ་གནང་ལྟེ།  
*sém-bo ná: ná.*  
 listen.HON-2INF give.HON TAG.ASR  
 ‘Please listen, eh.’ (PB discussion with TB)

Figure 16.5. Slightly raised intonation with *ná* in (16.91)



### 16.3.2 Exclamative tag (*ho*):

Another commonly used tag is *ho:/ó:*, an exclamative tag which adds exclamative force or nuance to both declarative and imperative clauses. The marker is most likely a borrowing of the Nepali equative copula *ho*, which functions as a similar clause-final exclamative also in Nepali. The same form also occurs as an interrogation marker, see §11.1.6. In (16.92) (*ho*): is used in a declarative and in (16.93) in an imperative clause.

- (16.92) ༀཀམ་པའི་གསོལ་འདེབས་སྐྱོར་བའ་མ་མཐའ་གཡེས་རྩི་མེ་སྐྱོར་བོ་ལ་བ་བོ་ལོ་ ཉི།  
*karmapø: sódep kjo:-sā: te<sup>ha</sup> t<sup>ha</sup>jedordzi kjo:-bo*  
 Karmapa.GEN prayer recite-TERM all Thaye.Dorje recite-2INF  
*làp-o=lo ho:*  
 say-2INF=REP TAG.EXCLAM  
 ‘When reciting Karmapa’s prayer, he is said to have read all Thaye Dorje(’s text), eh.’ (KNM kitchen discussion)

- (16.93) ད་མ་ལམ་ ཉི།  
*t’a ma-lap ho:*  
 now NEG-say TAG.EXCLAM  
 ‘Now don’t speak, eh. (KNM kitchen discussion)

Example (16.94) provides a corresponding use from Nepali (Hutt & Subedi [1999: 249], Romanization mine):

- (16.94) Nepali (Hutt & Subedi [1999: 249])  
*hijo maile tapāī aspatāl jā-na lāg-e-ko dekh-e-ko*  
 yesterday I.AGT you.HON hospital go-INF begin-PFV-NMLZ see-PFV-NMLZ  
*thiē, ho.*  
 COP.PST.1SG COP.EQ.NPST.3SG  
 ‘I saw you going to the hospital, eh.’

In (16.95) the motivation for using (*ho*): was reported to be irritation of not being, at first, heard by the addressee.



- (16.95) བང་ག་ལོར་ འགྱུ་དོ་ ཟུང་ ལོ།  
*banjalor gju-do be? ó:*  
 TPN go-IPFV EQU.NE TAG.EXCLAM  
 ‘(She) is going to Bangalore, eh.’ (PT phone call, within kitchen discussion)

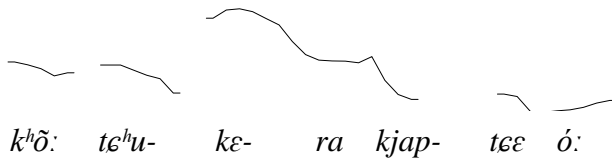
Another context is emphasizing disagreement:

- (16.96) མན་ཟུང་ ལོ།  
*mèmbep? ó:*  
 NEG.EQU.NE TAG.EXCLAM  
 ‘(It) is not (that), eh.’ (PT, oh)

With the tag (*h*)*o*: the pitch is usually raised from the previous context, but the rise may be marginal, as shown in Figure 16.6, which presents the pitch trace of (16.97).

- (16.97) རོང་ ལྷགས་སྐད་ར་ རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ ལོ།  
*k<sup>h</sup>õ: tɛ<sup>h</sup>ukɛ=ra kjap-tɛɛ ó:*  
 3PL Nepali=AEMPH speak-PST TAG.EXCLAM  
 ‘It was Nepali they spoke, eh.’ (CY interview)

Figure 16.6. Intonation with the tag (*h*)*o*:



## 16.4 Discourse particles *t'a* and *tɛ*

The particle *t'a* ‘now’ is sometimes used, similarly to the fuller form *t'ato* ‘now’, to refer to the present time, see (16.98), where the short form *t'a* and the long form *t'ato* appear both to be time-referential.

- (16.98) ད་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་སྐྱེ་གི་ ད་ལྟོ་ ལོ་ བར་ཐམ་བ་ ལང་ཚམ།  
*t'a jén kjap-tiki t'ato lò tɛu-t<sup>h</sup>amba lǎ:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:*  
 now wedding do-NF now year ten-NUM arrive-CPML  
 ‘Now it’s ten years since (they/he) got married.’ (KT life story)

Typically, however, *t'a* is used somewhat similarly to the English *now* in clauses such as *Now, I’ve got something to tell you*, where *now* has a discourse function rather than a referential function referring to the present time. In (16.99), discourse-functional *t'a* co-occurs with time-referential *t'ato* ‘now’.

- (16.99) ཏེ་ ད་ལྟོ་ ཏེ་ ད་ ལ་ཅུང་ལ་ ཏེ་ ད་ ལྷི་ འདི་  
*tɛ t'ato tɛ t'a lǎtɛ<sup>h</sup>uy=la tɛ t'a lí=di*  
 so now so now TPN=DAT so now apple=DEMPH  
 ‘So now in Lachung apples...’ (LA intro to Lachung)

The particle *t'a* can occur clause-initially (16.100), medially (16.101) and finally (16.102). In spoken language, the particle may also occur more than once in a clause, see (16.102).

- (16.100) ད་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་ ཉ་ལས་འདས།  
*t'a mí t<sup>h</sup>amtɛɛ? halɛɛ:*  
 now human all be.surprised  
 ‘Now (=as a result) all the people were amazed.’ (SGD cave story)
- (16.101) ཚོད་ ད་ མཚོ་ འདི་ བཀལ་ མི་ཚུགས་ཀྱི།  
*tɛ<sup>h</sup>ø? t'a ts<sup>h</sup>o=di gɛ: mi-ts<sup>h</sup>u:-tɔ.*  
 2SG.L now lake=DEMPH cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB  
 ‘Now you probably won’t be able to cross the lake.’ (KT animal story)
- (16.102) ད་ ཨོ་དི་ ཉིམ་ཚེས་ ཉེའུ་གཉེན་མཚན་ མག་གོ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ ངོ་ ལྷོན་ དགོས་ཤད་ ཟུང་ ད།  
*t'a ódi jìmts<sup>h</sup>i jù:nents<sup>h</sup>ɛ: máko=di t<sup>h</sup>amtɛɛ=lo jò tøn*  
 now that date relative son-in-law=DEMPH all=DAT face show  
*go:-ɛɛ be? t'a.*<sup>448</sup>  
 be.needed-INF EQU.NE now  
 ‘Now on that day the groom has to be shown to all relatives.’ (SGD wedding customs)

The particle *tɛ* signifies little more than that the speaker continues to speak. Its meaning can be approximated by some uses of the English words *well*, *then*, *so*<sup>449</sup>, *moreover*. Just like *t'a*, the particle *tɛ* occurs clause initially, medially and finally, and may occur more than once. For an initial use, see (16.103), and for medial and final uses, consider (16.104), which has two instances of *tɛ* in one clause.

- (16.103) ཉེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ལྷེང་ལ་ལོ་ ལོང་ར་ ལྷོན་ལུ་ གཤེས་ལྷེ་ བཀོད།  
*tɛ ódi tɛŋk<sup>h</sup>a=lo k<sup>h</sup>õ:=ra lómpu sé:-di kø?*  
 then that above=DAT 3PL=AEMPH minister choose-NF appoint  
 ‘Then in addition it was they who chose and appointed a minister.’ (CY interview)
- (16.104) ཨོ་འདི་ ཚེས་ འདི་ ཉེ་ ཡོའུ་ འབས་གཏན་ ཟུང་གོ་ ཉེ།  
*ódi ts<sup>h</sup>e:=di tɛ jòu ɛàptɛ: be=ɛo tɛ.*  
 that date=DEMPH so up ritual EQU.NE=AT so  
 ‘so then on that day there is a ritual’ (SN kitchen discussion)

The use of *tɛ* may indicate topic change:

<sup>448</sup> There is probably a mistake in word order here, the right order being: *t'a ódi jìmts<sup>h</sup>i máko=di jù:nents<sup>h</sup>ɛ: t<sup>h</sup>amtɛɛ=lo jò tøn go:-ɛɛ be? t'a.*

<sup>449</sup> In such uses as *So, what do you think of my new jacket?*, which are not closely connected to what was said before.

- (16.105) ང་ཅག་མི་ལག་བརྒྱ་པོའི་ནང་ལས་ཁོ་དང་ང་ལེ་ལྷི་འཆམ་ཤོས་ཨིན། ཏེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཚུའི་སློབ་གྲྭའི་གྲང་མེད་ནམ་ལས་འཕྲོན་ཤད་པོ་?
- ɲàtɕa? mila? tɕu-pø: nàŋ=le kʰu t'ã: ɲà lɛ̃pti*  
 1PL person ten-2INF.GEN inside=ABL 3SGM and I very.much  
*tɕʰam-ɕo? ɛ̃: tɕ p'usim=tsu=i lóbqø:*  
 agreeable-SUP EQU.PER so younger.sister=PL=GEN school.GEN  
*k'unjsiŋ nàm=le tʰøŋ-ɕɛ=po<sup>450</sup>?*  
 holiday when=ABL happen-INF=EQU.NE.Q  
 'Among us ten, he and I are the closest. So/then, when does the sisters' school's holiday start?' (Richhi 100)

## 16.5 Recapitulation

Recapitulation (see Genetti 2005: 49) refers to a technique in story-telling, where the speaker repeats what was said in the previous (finite) clause. The repeated form is typically presented in the nonfinal converbal construction. The following examples come from a story of a trip the speaker had made on the previous day. The recapitulated parts are given in bold.

- (16.106) རྒྱལ་ཤུལ་ ཉོ་བ་ཅ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྤང། ཉོ་བ་ཅ་ རྒྱབས་ལྷི་ ཨོ་ན་ ཨོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ལྷམ་ གཅིག་ ཉོ། ལྷམ་ ཉོ།
- ɛy:ɛy: ɲòptɕa kjap-o bɛ? ɲòptɕa kjap-ti óna*  
 a.bit shopping do-2INF EQU.NE shopping do-NF there  
*óɲi=lo lam=teɪ? ɲò: lam ɲò:...*  
 small.child=DAT shoe=INDF buy shoe buy  
 '(They) did a bit shopping. Having done shopping, (they) bought shoes to a child. (They) bought shoes.' (DB trip story)
- (16.107) tyre རྒྱང་མ་ ཐར་ལྷི་ རྒྱང་མ་ གང། རྒྱང་མ་ གང་ལྷི་ ཨོ་ན་ལས་
- taiər=di lúnma tʰa:-di lúnma k'ã: lúnma k'ã:-di ònale...*  
 tyre(Eng)=DEMPH air escape-NF air fill air fill-NF then  
 'As air had escaped from a tyre, we filled air (to the tyre). Having filled (the tyre with) air, (we) then...' (DB trip story)

## 16.6 Right-dislocation

Typically Denjongke clauses end in a verb but occasionally clausal arguments occur postposed to the verb. In spontaneous spoken language right-dislocation is a frequently used way for speakers to correct themselves and add information that helps the addressee to disambiguate the clause. The right-dislocated element may be a core argument, as in (16.108) or a peripheral argument, as in (16.109). The dislocated element may but is not always preceded by a pause. The dislocated elements are given in bold.

- (16.108) ཨོ་ན་ དགོན་པ་ན་ ཚུ་གྲུལ་ ལ་བ་མཐན་ ཡུལ་ན་ རྗོད་ཤད་ ཨིན་ ང།
- óna gjompa=na tshukal làp-kʰɛ: y:=na dø:-ɕɛ ɛ̃: ɲà.*  
 there monastery=LOC TPN say-NMLZ place=LOC live-INF EQU.PER 1SG  
 'I live there at the monastery in a place called Tshukal.' (JD life story)

<sup>450</sup> Denjongke script has པོ [po], which is probably a cliticized form of the interrogative equative *bo* (cf. declarative equative *bɛ?/=pɛ?*).

- (16.109) ཁོ་ལོ་ མི་ལྷན་མཁམ་ སྐད་ ལྷན་ཏི་ བང་ག།  
*k<sup>h</sup>orlo miŋ-gju-k<sup>h</sup>en be?, basti nàŋea.*  
 car NEG-go-NMLZ EQU.NE village(Nep.) inside  
 ‘Cars are not going, in the village.’ (BP BB discussion)

Right-dislocation finds even written expression in the novel Richhi. Example (16.110) presents three consecutive instances.

- (16.110) a) ཟ་ན་ ཟ་ མན་ ཟ་ན་ བག་ ལ་བ་པོ་ དང་ འདྲ་བོ་ འཕྲོན་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ ཀམ་ལོ།  
*sà-ne sà, man-za-ne pa? làp-o t'ã: qau*  
 eat-COND eat NEG-eat-COND eat.AO.HUM say-2INF and similar  
*t<sup>h</sup>on-zê: jò? karma=lo.*  
 become-PROG EX.PER PN=DAT  
 ‘It is happening to Karma as it says (in the proverb): “If you are about to eat, eat. If you are not about to eat, eat (anyway because you have to).”’  
 (Richhi 65)
- b) འདི་ ཉིན་ གསུམ་པོ་ ག་ལྟེ་ གཏོགས་ཤང་བོ་, ལོ་ གསུམ་ལས་ ལྷག་ཚོད་ ཚོར་བཞིན་ ཀམ་ལོ་ ད་ལྟ།  
*di jìim sùm-po k'ate to:-εε bo? lò sùm=le*  
 this day three-COL how contain-INF EQU.NE.Q year three=ABL  
*lakts<sup>h</sup>ø? ts<sup>h</sup>o:-zê: karma=lo t'ato.*  
 more.than feel-PROG PN=DAT now  
 ‘How to endure these three days, feeling like more than three years for Karma?’ (Richhi)
- c) ཚོ་སྐྱོད་ མེད་ཅུང་ སྐྱུང་བཅར་ཏོ་ བྱས་བཞིན་ ཉིན་ ཚང་མེད་ ཁོང་ཚུས།  
*te<sup>h</sup>øki? mè:-ruŋ dzã:dar=to p'ja-zê: jìim te<sup>h</sup>ame? k<sup>h</sup>o:=tsu:*  
 PN EX-CONC training=CEMPH do-PROG day every 3PL=PL.AGT  
 ‘Although Choki is not there, they are practising every day.’ (Richhi 65)

### 16.7 A note on intonation and discourse

The pitch at the end of an affirmative statement may rise as a sign that the speaker is about to continue the discourse, as shown Figure 16.7 representing the pitch trace from (16.111), the first sentence of a story.

- (16.111) དང་ལུ་ཅིག་ཁར་ ལྷོང་ གཅིག་ན་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁམ་ སྐད།  
*t'ã:pu-teika k'jõ:=tei=na mí=tei? jò:-k<sup>h</sup>en be?*  
 long.ago-APPR village=INDF=LOC human=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Long ago there was a man in one village.’ (TB bull story)

Figure 16.7. Sentence-final rise in intonation in anticipation of continuation (16.111)

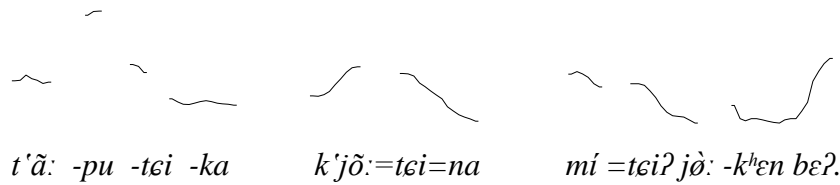
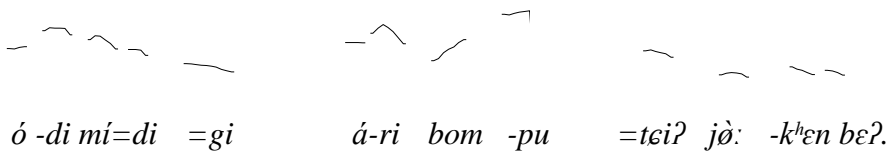


Figure 16.7 can be contrasted with Figure 16.8, which presents the non-rising intonation of (16.112), the second sentence in the same story:

- (16.112) ཨོ་འདི་ མི་ འདི་གི་ ཡ་རི་ ལྗོངས་ལུ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ལྷན།  
*ódi mí=di=gi ári bompu=tɛi? jò:-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 that human=AEMPH=GEN paddy.field big=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘That man had a large paddy field.’ (TB bull story)

Figure 16.8. No sentence final rise in intonation (16.112)



## 16.8 Summary remarks

This chapter described discourse phenomena, with an emphasis on emphatic clitics, clause-final clitics and non-interrogative tags. It was shown that Denjongke has four emphatic clitics which bring differing but partly overlapping semantic nuance to emphasis. For instance, the anaphoric emphatic *=rã:* typically highlights a topical referent which has already been mentioned (hence the term anaphoric). The demonstrative-emphatic *=di* has developed from a proximal demonstrative into a non-referential marker the meaning of which subsumes definiteness but goes beyond it (demonstratives and personal pronouns can be marked with *=di*). Therefore *=di* was not named a definiteness marker, although that term is used for cognate morphemes in related languages.

The attention marker *=ɛo*, which does not seem to have reported cognates in other Tibetic languages, was shown to resemble the category mirative but also to be distinct from it. It was also shown that the tags *já* and *(h)o:*, which are also used for interrogation, have developed non-interrogative uses: *já* can bring assertive and *(h)o:* exclamative nuance to a declarative proposition. The uses of the non-commitment marker *ki* borrowed from Nepali remain a fertile ground for future research (in both Nepali and Denjongke).

## 17 Notes on lexicon

This chapter describes vocabulary from five semantic domains which show particularly rich variety, such as ideophones (§17.1), or are otherwise crosslinguistically or culturally interesting, such as kinship terms (§17.2), names (§17.3), colours (§17.4) and language used with small children (§17.5).

### 17.1 Ideophones

In this section, I first introduce the concept of ideophones (§17.1.1). This is followed by description of various types of ideophones. Semantically ideophones are grouped into nonnormative ideophones (§17.1.2) and those ideophones for which normativity is not an issue (§17.1.3-5). Those ideophones for which normativity is not an issue are morphologically divided into reduplicating (§17.1.3) and near reduplicating words. The near reduplicating words are further divided into those which change a vowel quality (§17.1.4) and those which change the initial consonant (§17.1.5). A somewhat distinct group are onomatopoeic ideophones (§17.1.6). There are also ideophonic, reduplicated suffixes, which can vividify adjectives (§17.1.6).

#### 17.1.1 Introduction

Ideophones (or ideophonic adjectives and adverbs) in Denjongke are words which behave syntactically as adjectives and/or adverbs but are morphologically, phonologically and semantically distinct from other adjectives and adverbs. The morphologically distinct characteristics are reduplication, near reduplication and rhyming. The phonological distinctness consists of consonantal phenomena not attested in non-ideophones. Semantically, ideophones are more vivid representations of sensory experiences than non-ideophonic descriptions. Onomatopoeia is considered here to fall within the description “vivid”, and thus onomatopoeic words are considered a subclass of ideophones (see §17.1.6). Other ideophones, however, are not as clearly connected with onomatopoeia, i.e. mimicking sounds.

The term ideophone was first introduced from within Bantu linguistics by Doke (1935: 118), who defined an ideophone as “a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, color, smell, action, state, or intensity.” A more recent definition is provided by Dīngemāse (2011:25): “Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory imagery”. Dīngemāse adds to Doke’s definition the idea of “markedness” of ideophones. This means that ideophones stand out from the rest of the language by their phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Ideophones are theoretically interesting because they fall under sound symbolism, a concept that challenges one of the basic tenets of structuralist linguistics, the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign (Nuckolls 1999: 226). In Denjongke, ideophone are syntactically adjectives and/or adverbs but they have morphological, phonological and semantic characteristics which set the, apart from other word classes.<sup>451</sup>

Ideophones employ reduplication, as in *ts<sup>h</sup>umts<sup>h</sup>um* ཚུམ་ཚུམ་ ‘opening and closing or being on and off intermittently’, or near-reduplication by vowel change, as in *barbur* འབར་འབར་ ‘with bulges’, or near reduplication by initial consonant change (rhyming), as in *k’atepmatep* ཀ་རྟེའ་མ་རྟེའ་ ‘in one way or another, at any cost’. Ideophones are also often phonologically marked in that they employ syllable-initial consonant clusters that are otherwise non-existent in the vocabulary<sup>452</sup>, for instance /kr/ in *krakrok* ཀྲ་ཀྲ་ ‘sound of a dysfunctional body’ and /pr/ in

<sup>451</sup> For the analogous category “expressives” in the closely related language Dzongkha, see Waters (2018: 297).

<sup>452</sup> Except for some foreign loan words.

*praprop* (see Table 17.9 for meanings). Moreover, syllable-final /l/, which typically simply causes vowel fronting, and /r/, which often simply causes vowel lengthening, are pronounced in ideophones, i.e. *tɛʰaltɛʰol* ཚལ་ཚལ་, *gargor* འགར་འགོར་ (see Table 17.9 for meanings).

Reduplicated adjectives occupy a gray area in terms of ideophonic status. Reduplication and near reduplication are the central strategies for forming ideophones. Reduplication in Denjongke (and probably in most other languages) evokes the idea of iteration and thus provides perhaps a more “vivid representation” (description used in Doke’s [1935: 118] definition of an ideophone) than arbitrary sound combinations without reduplication. That would amount to saying that the reduplicated adjective *dumdum* འདུམ་འདུམ་ is a more vivid representation of ‘short’ than the non-reduplicated counterpart *dumʈaʔ* འདུམ་ཇུགས་.

Many or most ideophones can be used both adjectivally and adverbially, as shown by (17.1), where (a) is adjectival and (b) adverbial. In the examples below, the ideophones expressing nonnormative qualities and behaviour are glossed simply as IDEO.NN and approximately translated in the free translation.

(17.1) a) མི་འདི་ ཚབ་ཚོབ་ ལྷད།  
*mí=di tɛʰaptɛʰop bɛʔ.*  
 human=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE  
 ‘That man is reprehensible.’ (KN e)

b) ཟས་འདི་ ཚབ་ཚོབ་ མཉན་ཟ།  
*sàm=di tɛʰaptɛʰop man-za.*  
 food=DEMPH IDEO.NN NEG-eat  
 ‘Do not eat the food inconsiderately.’ (KN e)

The ambiguity of ideophones with respect adjective vs. adverb distinction is further illustrated by (17.2), where *sàbzap* ཟབ་ཟབ་ ‘careful(ly)’ is in (a) used alone adverbially and in (b) with the adverbializer *pʼjati* ལྷོས་ལྷི་, which turn adjectives into adverbs .

(17.2) a) ཟབ་ཟབ་ ལྷོད།  
*sàbzap dɔʔ.*  
 careful sit  
 ‘Remain careful(ly).’ (KN e)

b) ཟབ་ཟབ་ ལྷོས་ལྷི་ ལྷོད།  
*sàbzap pʼja-ti dɔʔ.*  
 careful do-NF sit  
 ‘Remain careful(ly).’ (KN e)

Ideophones can even be used like nouns, as shown by (17.3) and (17.4). In both examples, (a) presents an adjectival/adverbial use of an ideophone and (b) a noun-like use of the same word.

(17.3) a) མི་ཚུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ལྷོ་སིམ་སིམ་ ཡོད།  
*mí=tsu tʰamtɛɛʔ kʰusimsim jøʔ.*  
 human=PL all silent(ly) EX.PER  
 ‘All the people are silent(ly).’ (Richhi 84)

- b) ད་ལྟ་ འཛིན་གྲལ་ན་ ལྷ་ཟེམ་ཟེམ་ ཡོད།  
*t'ato dzingɛ:=na kʰusimsim jòʔ.*  
 now class=LOC silence EX.PER  
 ‘Now there is silence in the classroom.’ (Richhi 6)

- (17.4) a) ད་ལྟ་ ཚད་ལྡན་ ཉམ་པོ་ སོ་ལེ་ ལྷ་ཉི་མ་ འཛོལ་ཚད།  
*t'ato tsʰedɛ: jòmpo sòlɛ ʃaprip tʰøn-tsʰa:.*  
 now considerably evening dusk dim become-CMPL  
 ‘It has become considerably dim with evening dusk.’ (Richhi 40)

- b) ང་ཅག་ ལྷ་ཉི་མ་ན་ ལྷེ་བའ་པོ་ ཞིན།  
*ɣàtɛaʔ ʃaprip=na ʃɛp-o t̃i:.*  
 1PL dim(ness)=LOC arrive-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘We arrived at dusk.’ (KT e)

In (17.3b), *kʰusimsim* ལྷ་ཟེམ་ཟེམ་ is used like an abstract noun ‘silence’ as a copula subject in a locative clause, and in (17.4b), on the other hand, *ʃaprip* ལྷ་ཉི་མ་ receives locative marking, which is typical of nouns, and the meaning becomes ‘in the dimness, at dusk’.

Consider, furthermore, the riddle in (17.5), which uses three ideophones. Each ideophone is used like an abstract noun in a copulaless locative clause. The Denjongke writing and translation are preliminary.

- (17.5) ལྷེ་ ཡོ་མ་ཡོ་མ་, བར་ ལྷལ་ལྷལ་, འོག་ ཚད་ཚད།  
*teː jòmjom, p'ar kʰjukʰjuk, ɔʔ tsʰɛtsɛʔ.*  
 above full.to.brim middle straight.movement below limit-limit(?)  
 ‘Above, full to the brim. Between, movement. Below, limit(?)’ (JDG fieldnotes)

The riddle in (17.5) describes water/river. The first ideophone refers to water which fills the river, the second ideophone describes the movement of the fish in the water, and the last ideophone refers to the sand at the bottom of the river.

### 17.1.2 Ideophones expressing nonnormativity

The phonological sequence *Clac2.CloC2*<sup>453</sup> (where C is a consonant and the numbers indicate that the same consonant is repeated in the second syllable) is in Denjongke associated with a quality or state of affairs that deviates from some type of norm. For instance, the word *ʃakrok* ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ refers to tree trunks and roads which are not smooth/level (the norm) but bulgy/bumby. Some nonnormative ideophones are listed in Table 17.1 and exemplified after the table. The words in Table 17.1 are from consultants KL (Barapathing, East Sikkim) and KN from Martam (East Sikkim). The expressions have some local variation, as shown by the alternatives *k'abzi k'obzi* ཀ་བ་ཞི་ ཀོ་བ་ཞི་ (Barapathing) and *k'abzi k'odun/hapzi hodun* ལྷ་བ་ཞི་ ལྷོ་དུང་ (Martam). The order of presentation is phonetic, beginning with bilabial initials and moving backwards through alveolars, palatals and velars to laryngeal fricative.

<sup>453</sup> With reduplicated disyllabic words such as *k'abzi k'obzi*, *Clac2.CloC2*



Table 17.1. Ideophones expressing nonnormativity

<i>pappop</i>	ཕབ་ཕྱོབ་	‘having mixed big and small inappropriately’
<i>pjarpjor</i>	ཕྱུར་ཕྱུར་	‘onomatopoeic for a disturbing sound of pouring liquid’ (e.g. diarrhea or pouring water from a container to another)
<i>praprop</i>	ཕྱབ་ཕྱོབ་	‘in only slight resemblance of how something should be done, badly done’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>jarp<sup>h</sup>jor</i> <i>te<sup>h</sup>arte<sup>h</sup>or</i> <i>dzardzor</i>	འཕྱར་འཕྱོར་ ཕྱུར་ཕྱུར་ འཕྱར་འཕྱོར་	‘clothes not appropriately worn’
<i>babbop</i>	འབབ་འབྱོབ་	‘with bulges of fat (of a fat person)’
<i>bjarbjor</i>	འཕྱར་འཕྱོར་	‘inappropriately prepared (of food)’ (e.g. mixing items not to be mixed or cooking unhygienically)
<i>mjàkmjok</i>	ཕྱོག་ཕྱོག་	‘tasteless (of tea or millet-beer)’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>amt<sup>h</sup>om</i>	ཐམ་ཐམ་	‘not being able to function properly (of people)’
<i>dakdok</i>	དྲག་དྲོག་	‘occurring as an assortment of small items of various sizes’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>apts<sup>h</sup>op</i>	ཚབ་ཚོབ་	‘placed in an unorganized way’ (e.g. pictures on the wall)
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>arts<sup>h</sup>or</i>		‘unknown sound (in the forest)’ (KL 5, 230)
<i>sàrsor</i>	ཟར་ཟོར་	‘unpleasant, unclear sound (also human voice can have this quality during a cold)’ (KL, KN)
<i>làklok</i>	ལག་ལོག་	‘non-essential enough to be able to be given away’
<i>làplop</i>	ལབ་ལོབ་	‘lukewarm (not hot, not cold)’
<i>raŋroŋ</i>	རང་རོང་	‘here and there (of big stones/rocks in the soil)’
<i>ɣakrok, ɣaprop</i>	རྩག་རྩོག་, རྩབ་རྩོབ་	‘with bulges, not smooth (of a road, floor plank, of a stone-wall in which some stones are loose), also <i>ɣaja ɣuja p<sup>h</sup>ja</i> རྩ་ཡ་ རྩ་ཡ་ རྩས་ ‘make uneven with bulges’
<i>te<sup>h</sup>alte<sup>h</sup>ol</i>	ཚལ་ཚོལ་	‘doing this and that without completing anything, of foolish behavior (“like a mad person” [KN])’
<i>te<sup>h</sup>apte<sup>h</sup>op</i>	ཚབ་ཚོབ་	‘in a careless and inconsiderate way (e.g. eating, of a person)’
<i>éápeop</i> <sup>454</sup>	ཤབ་ཤོབ་	‘softness of leaves and hay in the forest’ (KT)
<i>jàrŋor</i>	ཉར་ཉོར་	‘speak around the real subject’ (also used of dog’s sound) (KL 5, 230)
<i>jàrjor</i>	ཡར་ཡོར་	‘uncontrolled walk of a drunk person’
<i>kjakkjok</i>	ཀྱག་ཀྱོག་	‘bulgy (of a tree)’
<i>krakrok</i>	ཀྲག་ཀྲོག་	‘onomatopoeic for sounds coming from a wrecked body’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>apk<sup>h</sup>op</i>	ཁབ་ཁོབ་	‘with bulges (of a hilly horizon, figure of land)’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>jakk<sup>h</sup>jok,</i> <i>gjàgjak (KN)</i>	ཁྱག་ཁྱོག་	‘abnormal (of walking of a drunk or sick person)’ (KN e)
<i>k<sup>h</sup>japk<sup>h</sup>jop</i>	ཁྱབ་ཁྱོབ་	‘walking here and there’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>jark<sup>h</sup>jor (KL)</i>	ཁྱར་ཁྱོར་	‘weak (of walking style or sick animal)’ (KL 5, 230) (e.g. the walk of a drunken man)
<i>gapgop</i> <i>gaptagopta?</i> <i>gaptagopta?</i>	འགབ་འགོབ་, འགབ་དྲགས་ འགོབ་དྲགས་	‘out of usual shape (of a tree trunk with bulges, of something drawn or written inappropriately)’
<i>gargor</i>	འགར་འགོར་	‘mistaken forms in writing, bad hand-writing’ (KL 5,

<sup>454</sup> Consultant KN uses *sápsop* instead of *éápeop* for this meaning.

		230)
<i>k'abzi k'obzi (KL)</i> <i>k'abzi k'oduŋ (KN)</i> <i>hapzi hoduŋ (LT)</i>	གལ་ཞི་གོ་བ་ཞི་ གལ་ཞི་གོ་རྩུངས་ ཏྲ་ཞི་ཏྲ་རྩུངས་	'do something fast and inattentive of surroundings' (e.g. with <i>giu</i> 'walk' > <i>k'abzi k'obzi giu</i> 'rush' and with <i>sà</i> 'eat' > <i>hapzi hoduŋ(lo) sà</i> 'gulp')
<i>harhor</i>	ཏྲ་ཏྲ་	'unplanned, fast, haphazard action' (e.g. entering someone's unoccupied house uninvited, see [17.90] below)

As shown in Table 17.1, several ideophones express bulginess. Clausal examples are given in (17.6). Note that the English translations are less vivid than the originals.

- (17.6) *làm=di rakrok bɛ?* ལམ་ འདི་ ཏྲག་ལྗོག་ ཟད། 'The road is rough.'  
*ɛiŋ=di gapgop bɛ?* ཤིང་ འདི་ ཆལ་ཚོབ་ ཟད། 'The tree is bulgy.'  
*mí=di babbop bɛ?* མི་ འདི་ ཆལ་ཚོབ་ ཟད། 'The man is bulgy.'  
*ri=di kʰapkʰop bɛ?* རི་ འདི་ ལབ་ལོབ་ ཟད། 'The mountain-range is curvy.'<sup>455</sup>  
N=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE

- (17.7) རྩོ་ བབ་ཕོབ་ མན་བཞག།  
*do pappop man-za.*  
stone IDEO.NN NEG-place  
'Do not place the stones in a disorderly manner.' (DB e)

- (17.8) a) མོ་ཉེ་ འདི་ ལྷུག་གོ་ ཕྱར་ཕྱོར་ བཏང་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*óni=di kjako pjarpjor tã:-zɛn du?*  
baby=DEMPH faeces IDEO.NN send-PROG EX.SEN  
'The child has an explosive diarrhoea.' (KT e)

- b) ལྷུ་ ཕྱར་ཕྱོར་ མ་བྱས།  
*tɛʰu pjarpjor ma-jà.*  
water IDEO.NN NEG-do  
'Do not make disturbing sound with water.' (KN e)

- (17.9) འདི་ ཤིང་ འདི་ན་ རྩོ་ ཕོབ་ཕོབ་ གེསབ་ འདུག།  
*di ɛiŋ=di=na do praprop kɛ:p du?*  
this field=DEMPH=LOC stone IDEO.NN a.lot EX.SEN  
'This field is loaded with (small) stones.' (KT e)

- (17.10) ལུ་མ་ འདི་གེས་ གོས་ལག་ ཕྱར་ཕྱོར་/ཕྱར་ཕྱོར་/འབྲུར་འབྲུར་ ལྷོན།  
*p'um=di=gi k'ola pʰjarpjor/tɛʰartsʰor/dzardzor k'ɔn.*  
girl=DEMPH=AGT clothes IDEO.NN wear  
'That girl does not wear clothes properly (e.g. buttons attached in wrong places).'

<sup>455</sup> This example is the only one which may be argued not to instantiate nonnormativity, because Sikkim is enveloped in a hilly landscape. A possible reason for this exception is that *kʰapkʰop* originates as a nonnormative description of something else and is then extended to hills.

- (17.11) ལུ་མ་ འདི་ཀེས་ ཟམ་ འབྲུང་འབྲོར་ བཟོ་བོ་ ཟླད།  
*p'um=di=gi sàm bjarbjor zo-u bε?*  
 girl=DEMPH=AGT food IDEO.NN make-2INF EQU.NE  
 'The girl prepared the food in an inappropriate (i.e. unhygienic) way.' (KN e)
- (17.12) ཇ་ འདི་ ལྷན་ལྷོག་ ཟླད།  
*te'a:=di mjàkmjok bε?*  
 millet.beer=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE  
 'This tea is tasteless.' (KN e)
- (17.13) a) ཐམ་ཐོམ་ ཐོན་ཚད།  
*tʰamtʰom tʰøn-tʰa:*  
 IDEO.NN become-CPML  
 '(He) has become unable to work.' (KT e)
- b) ལེབ་ ཐམ་ཐོམ་ འགྲུ་ལྷོག་  
*lèp tʰamtʰom gju-di*  
 very.much IDEO.NN walk-NF  
 'walking very difficultly' (KN e)
- (17.14) འདི་ རི་མོ་ ཚབ་ཚབ་ འདུག།  
*di rimo tsʰaptsʰop du?*<sup>456</sup>  
 this picture IDEO.NN EX.SEN  
 'These pictures are placed haphazardly.' (KN e)
- (17.15) ང་ ཚར་ཚར་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཞིན།  
*ŋà tsʰartsʰor tʰo:-bo i:.*<sup>457</sup>  
 1SG IDEO.NN hear-2INF EQU.PER  
 'I heard an unrecognizable sound (and was afraid).' (KL e)
- (17.16) དང་དྲིང་ ཟར་ཟོར་ ལྷན་བའི་ ལྷོ།  
*t'anjt'ij sàrsor p'ja-bø: qa*  
 clang-clang IDEO.NN do-2INF.GEN sound  
 'the sound of noise-making, clang clang.' (Richhi 30)
- (17.17) ལྷ་ཅའི་ ལྷར་ ལམ་ལོག་ ལམ་ལོག་ ཡོད་ནེ་ ང་ལོ་ ལོན་ བཏང་།  
*k'utei=tsa: jó? làklok jø:-ne ŋà=lo lòn tã:*  
 2PL PL=at work IDEO.NN EX-COND 1SG=DAT message send  
 'If you have (some) temporary work (to offer), send me a message.' (KN e)
- (17.18) ལྷ་ འདི་ ལམ་ལོག་ ཟླད།  
*teʰu=di làplop bε?*  
 water=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.PER  
 'The water is lukewarm.' (KT e)

<sup>456</sup> According to consultant KUN *tʰaretʰore* used in place of *tsʰaptsʰop* could convey the same meaning.

<sup>457</sup> The nonnormativity here probably consists of the fact that the speaker does not recognize what or who made the sound.

(17.19) རྫོག་རང་འདྲུག་གོ།  
*do raproy du-ke.*  
 stone IDEO.NN EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘There are (big) stones here and there (and everywhere).’ (KN e)

(17.20) a) ཁྱིམ་རབ་འོག་གེས་པོ་འདྲུག་གོ།  
*kʰim raprop ke:p du-ke.*  
 house IDEO.NN a.lot EX.SEN-IN  
 ‘There are a lot of (inappropriately) small houses, I see/saw.’ (KN e)

b) ངས་རབ་འོག་བྱས་འོག་མིན།  
*ŋá: raprop-pʼja tʼi-u í:*  
 I.AGT IDEO.NN-ADVZR write-2INF EX.SEN  
 ‘I wrote it haphazardly.’ (KN e)

(17.21) ལུང་འདི་ཚལ་ཚོལ་བྱས་འགྱུ་སྐྱོད་པོ་སྤང།  
*pʼum=di teʰalteʰol-pʼja gju de-b=beʔ<sup>458</sup>.*  
 girl=DEMPH IDEO.NN-ADVZR go stay.2INF=EQU.NE  
 ‘The girl keeps going (around) out of her mind.’ (KN e)

(17.22) a) མི་འདི་ཚལ་ཚོལ་སྤང།  
*mí=di teʰapteʰop beʔ.*  
 human=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE  
 ‘That man is reprehensible.’ (KN e)

b) ཟས་འདི་ཚལ་ཚོལ་མན་བ།  
*sàm=di teʰapteʰop man-za.*  
 food=DEMPH IDEO.NN NEG-eat  
 ‘Do not eat food inconsiderately.’ (KN e)

(17.23) ལྱོ་བྱ་འདི་ནགས་ཚན་གཤམ་ཤོག་ན་ཉལ་སྐྱོད་འདྲུག།  
*biu=di ná:tsɛ: cápcop=na<sup>459</sup> jè: dø: duʔ.*  
 snake=DEMPH forest IDEO.NN=LOC lie stay EX.SEN  
 ‘The snake is lying in the undergrowth of the forest.’ (KT e)

(17.24) ཉར་ཉོར་གན་ལམ་བོ་?  
*jàrjor kʼan làp-o?*  
 IDEO.NN what say-2INF  
 ‘What did you say in unclear mutter?’ (KL e)

(17.25) མི་འདི་ཚང་འཐུང་སྤྱི་ཡར་ཡོར་ལོ་འགྱུ་བཞེན་གོ།  
*mí=di teʰǎ: tʰuŋ-di jàrjor=lo gju-zouke.*  
 human=DEMPH millet.beer drink-NF IDEO.NN =DAT go-PROG.SEN  
 ‘The man has drunk beer and walks in halting steps, I see/saw.’ (KN e)

<sup>458</sup> This form comes from either *gju dø:po beʔ* འགྱུ་སྐྱོད་པོ་སྤང་ or *gju dø: jø-po beʔ* འགྱུ་སྐྱོད་ཡོད་པོ་སྤང་.

<sup>459</sup> It is not obvious how this ideophone referring to the undergrowth in the forest is “non-normative”. Perhaps soft undergrowth is not considered stable walking-ground.

- (17.26) རྗེ་འདི་ རྒྱ་ལྷོག་ སྣང།  
*ɛiŋ=di kjakkjok bɛ?*  
 tree=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE  
 ‘The tree is bulgy (and not straight).’ (KN e)
- (17.27) གཟུགས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གྲག་ལྷོག་ ཐོན་ལྷི་གེ།  
*zu? tʰamtɛɛ? krakrok tʰon-diki...*  
 body all IDEO.NN become-NF  
 ‘All (my) body has become wrecked...’ (KN e)
- (17.28) a) ལམ་འདི་ རྒྱ་ལྷོག་ སྣང།  
*lâm=di kʰjakkʰjok bɛ?*  
 road=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE  
 ‘The road is curvy.’ (KT e)
- b) ར་བཟེ་བོ་ ལམ་ལོ་ རྒྱ་ལྷོག་ལོ་ འགྲུ་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*ra:zipo lâm=lo kʰjakkʰjok=lo gju-zɛn du?*  
 drunkard road=DAT IDEO.NN=DAT go-IMPF EX.SEN  
 ‘A drunkard is walking here and there on the road.’ (KUN e)
- (17.29) མི་འདི་ རྒྱ་ལྷོག་ལྷོས་ འགྲུ་བཞིན་ འདུག།  
*mí=di kʰjapkʰjop-pʼja gju-zɛn du?*  
 human=DEMPH IDEO.NN-AVDZR go-PROG EX.SEN  
 ‘The man is walking feebly (like a sick person).’ (KT e)
- (17.30) a) ལོ་འདི་ རྒྱ་ལྷོག་ སྣང།  
*nò:=di kʰjarkʰjor bɛ?*  
 cow=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE  
 ‘The cow is weak/sick’. (KT e)
- b) ཨ་ཙོ་ ད་འིང་ གསོལ་ཆང་ བཞེས་བོ་ འདད་ (=འདད་ སྣང།) ། ཞབས་ ཨ་ཙོ་ བར་ རྒྱ་ལྷོག་ རྒྱ་བས་སྟེ་ ཕྱོན་དོ།  
*ádzo tʼariŋ sò:tɛʰõ: ze:-p dɛ?*  
 grandfather today millet.beer.HON drink.HON-2INF APP.EQU.NE  
*ɛàp átsi pʰa: tsʰu: kʰjarkʰjor kjap-ti tɛʼøŋ-do.*  
 foot.HON a.bit thither hither IDEO.NN strike-NF go.HON-IPFV  
 ‘Grandfather seems to have drunk beer today, walking a bit unsteadily stepping here and there.’ (KL e)
- (17.31) ཡི་གེ་ འགས་འགོལ་ལོ་ གན་ ཅི་བོ་  
*jìgi gapgop=lo kʼan tʼi-u?*  
 letter IDEO.NN=DAT what write-2INF  
 ‘What did you write in such shapeless strokes?’ (KN e)

(17.32) ཚོད་གལ་ཞི་གོ་བ་ཞི་རྒྱབས་སྡི་གན་འགྱུ་དོ?  
*te<sup>h</sup>ø?* **k'abzik'obzi**<sup>460</sup> *kjap-ti k'ana gju-do?*  
 2SG.L IDEO.NN do-NF where go-IPFV  
 'Where are you going in such a hurry?' (KL e)

(17.33) a) སློམ་ཏར་ཏོར་ལོ་ཕྱི་སྡི་ནང་ག་འོང་བཏང་ཞེ།  
*gom harhor=lo p<sup>hi</sup>:-ti ŋəŋea ð̃: tã:-zɛ.*  
 door IDEO.NN=DAT open-NF inside come send-PST  
 '(He) opened the door and came in uninvited.' (KN e)

b) ལུ་ཕྱི་ལྷག་ཏར་ཏོར་ལྷོས་ལུབ་བཞིན་འདུག།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u p<sup>hi</sup>tu? harhor-p'ja hup-tɛen du?*  
 3SGM gruel IDEO.NN-ADVZR slurp-PROG EX.SEN  
 'He is slurping his gruel inconsiderately fast.' (KN e)

The ideophone *dakdok* 'occurring as an assortment of small items of various sizes' is exceptional in that it is not inherently negatively evaluated. In (17.34), (a) and (b) seems to have a negative context, but (c) and (d) present positive or neutral evaluations.

(17.34) a) མི་འདི་ལ་ལས་ལྷག་ཚོག་རྟག་རྟོག་ཐོན་ཚར།  
*mí=di k<sup>h</sup>a=lɛ k<sup>h</sup>jakts<sup>hi</sup>? dakdok t<sup>h</sup>øŋ-ts<sup>h</sup>a:.*  
 human=DEMPH mouth=ABL blood.in.spit IDEO.NN become.COMPL  
 'Blood-clots in spit have come out of that man's mouth.' (KN e)

c) ཕྱ་ག་རྟག་རྟོག་ལོ་ས་ཁར་གོས་བཞག་འདུག།  
*p'ja-ɛa dakdok=lo sák<sup>h</sup>a ko: za: du?*  
 chicken-meat IDEO.NN ground throw set EX.SEN  
 'Chicken meat has been thrown on the ground in small pieces, I see/saw.' (KN e)

c) ག་ཉོན་རྟོག་མ་རྟག་རྟོག་ལོ་བཏགས་ཚོད་འདུག།  
*k'əŋø: doma dakdok=lo ta: dø: du?*  
 cucumber fruit IDEO.NN=DAT attach stay EX.SEN  
 'Cucumbers are growing abundantly.'

d) མོ་ཉེ་རྟག་རྟོག་གས་པོ་འདུག།  
*óŋi dakdok kɛ:p(o) du?*  
 child IDEO.NN a.lot EX.SEN  
 'There are a lot of children (of various sizes), I see/saw.' (KN e)

### 17.1.3 Fully reduplicated ideophones

This section describes fully reduplicated ideophones (e.g. *ts<sup>h</sup>apts<sup>h</sup>ap* ཚབ་ཚབ་ 'restless, hurried'), which are neutral with respect to normativity. Other ideophones which are neutral with respect to normativity are near-reduplicated words with a change in vowel (e.g. *barbur* འབར་འབར་ 'bulgy', see §17.1.4), near-reduplicated words with a change in initial consonant (e.g. *k'atepmatep* ག་ལྷེ་བ་མ་ལྷེ་བ་ 'one way or another, at any cost', see §17.1.5) and onomatopoeic words, which are considered a subclass of ideophones (e.g. *kukurikã*: ལྷུ་ལྷུ་རི་ཀང་ 'cock-a-doodle-

<sup>460</sup> Consultant KL gave the Nepali equivalent *laḍḍai paḍḍai*.

doo', see §17.1.6). Some fully reduplicated ideophones are listed in Table 17.2 and exemplified after that in the same order.

Table 17.2. Fully reduplicated ideophones

<i>sàbzap</i>	ཟབ་ཟབ་	'careful(ly)'
<i>laplap</i>	ལྷབ་ལྷབ་	'flicker (n.), show unsteady light' (of a light bulb and fire)', also <i>laplap p'ja</i> 'flicker (v.)' (see also <i>pja laplap</i> in Table 17.3)
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>umts<sup>h</sup>um</i>	ཚུམ་ཚུམ་	'open and close or be on and off intermittently'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>akt<sup>h</sup>ak</i>	ཐག་ཐག་	'clearly (of reading)'
<i>te<sup>h</sup>opte<sup>h</sup>op</i>	ཚེབ་ཚེབ་	'right texture for chewing (of meat and some vegetables)'
<i>gjopgjop</i>	མགྲོབ་མགྲོབ་	'hastily'
<i>dapdap</i>	འདབ་འདབ་	'texture of (a bit too wet) rice that sticks to ladle'
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>apts<sup>h</sup>ap</i>	འཚབ་འཚབ་	'restless, (overly) quick in action' <i>ts<sup>h</sup>apts<sup>h</sup>ap p'ja</i> 'be hurried, restless' (TB e)
<i>leplep</i>	ལྷུབ་ལྷུབ་	'of scanty meat of a lean animal'
<i>jòppop</i>	ཉོབ་ཉོབ་	'soft, such that can be depressed with a finger (e.g. meat, skin)' (opposite of <i>takta?</i> 'hard') (KT)
<i>burbur</i>	འབྱར་འབྱར་	'bulging' (TB 4, 186)' from <i>bur</i> 'spring up', <i>te<sup>h</sup>u bur-εε?</i> 'springing up of water'
<i>riprip</i>	རྩིབ་རྩིབ་	'dim(ly)'
<i>k'ukk'uk</i>	སྒྲུག་སྒྲུག་	'moving up and down (e.g. nodding head or moving finger)'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>akt<sup>h</sup>ak</i>	ཐག་ཐག་	'clear (at least of reading from memory)'

(17.35) ལྷ་སྐྱོངས་ ཟབ་ཟབ་ འཇུག་གྱི་ ལྷོ་ཐག་  
*takjò:*            *sàpzap*    *p'ja=εε=ki*    *lòt<sup>h</sup>a?*  
 looking.after carefully    do=INF=GEN    decision  
 'decision to look after carefully' (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam, for class 12, 13)

(17.36) ཁོའི་ མང་ལུག་ རྩོད་ འདི་ཡང་ ཚུམ་ཚུམ་ འཇུག་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྤང།  
*k<sup>h</sup>u=i*    *á:bu?*    *t'ò:=di=jã:*    *ts<sup>h</sup>umts<sup>h</sup>um*    *jò-po*    *bε?*  
 3SGM=GEN bottom<sup>461</sup>    hole=DEMPH=too on.and.off    EX-2INF    EQU.NE  
 'Even his anus was palpitating (with fear).' (rna-gsung 33)

(17.37) མགྲོབ་མགྲོབ་ འོང་གད་ ཞིན།  
*gjopgjop*    *ò:-εε*    *í:*  
 hastily    come-INF    EQU.PER  
 '(I)'ll come hastily.' (DB e)

(17.38) ལྷོག་ འདི་ ལྷབ་ལྷབ་ སྤང།  
*lò?*=*di*    *laplap*<sup>462</sup>    *bε?*  
 light=DEMPH flickering    EQU.NE  
 'The light is flickering.' (KN e)

<sup>461</sup> This word may refer both to the front side (genitals) and the back side (buttock) of the anatomical bottom.

<sup>462</sup> This ideophone is also used for expressing paleness of colour, see §17.4.2.

(17.39) ད་ལྟ་ནང་སོ་ཤུལ་རེ་བྱུང་སྟེ་མི་ངོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ངོ་ཤེས་སོ་བའང་འཛོལ་སྟོང་ཡོད།  
*t'ato nê:po ɛyry t'empo sɤn-di mi-ŋo ɽriprip=lo*  
 now patient a.bit memory awaken-NF human-face dim=DAT  
*ŋò ɛé:-po=sã: tʰon dø: jø?*  
 face know-2INF=until become stay EX.PER  
 'Now the patient has regained consciousness and has come to dimly recognize human faces.' (Richhi 168)

(17.40) མགོ་གུག་གུག་བྱས་བཞིན་  
*go k'ukk'uk p'ja-zɛ:*  
 head up.and.down do-PROG  
 'nodding (his) head' (mthun-sgril 17)

(17.41) ལུ་དབེ་ཆ་འདི་ལེ་བ་ཐག་ཐག་གཟུངས་འདུག་གོ།  
*kʰu peteʰa=di lèp tʰaktʰak zuŋ du-ke.*  
 3SGM book=DEMPH very.much clearly read.from.memory EX.SEN-IN  
 'He reads the scripture very clearly from memory.' (KN e)

Fully reduplicated ideophones also occur in phrasal constructions with a preceding monosyllabic element which may be either a noun or a verb, see Table 17.3. Some of the prefixed elements such as *pja* (meaning unclear) in *pja-laplap* 'eating greedily' seem tightly connected to the ideophonic suffix, whereas other elements, such as *re:po* 'hair' in *re:po siŋziŋ* 'entangled hair' form a looser ideophonic syntagm which may be intervened by other words, see (17.46).

Table 17.3. Complex ideophones

<i>jè:-laplap</i> <i>jè:-dapdap</i> (KT, KN)	ཡལ་སྐབ་སྐབ་	'seeing unclearly as if alternately disappearing and appearing' (KN), combining <i>jè:</i> 'disappear' with <i>laplap</i> 'flicker (n.), show unsteady light' (of a light bulb and fire)'
<i>pja-laplap</i> (KN) <i>p'ja(?)-leplep</i>	བྱས་སྐབ་སྐབ་ <sup>463</sup> བྱག་ལེ་ལེ་	'eating greedily, impatient behavior in front of food consisting of stretching hands here and there to taste various dishes (typical of children)' (latter written form from <i>Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam</i> 45)
<i>pu-sópsop</i>	སྤྱ་སྟོབ་སྟོབ་	'fluffy with hair (of skin), also associated with leanness', <i>pu</i> 'skin hair' ( <i>Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam</i> 40)
<i>num-ri:ri:</i> <i>num-tã:tã:</i> (KNA)	སྤྱམ་རིལ་རིལ་ སྤྱམ་བཏང་བཏང་	'smooth (of skin), also associated with fatness', <i>num</i> 'oil' ( <i>Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam</i> 40)
<i>kʰø:-sí:si:</i>	སྤྱིལ་བསལ་བསལ་	'chilly, cold', <i>kʰø:</i> 'chill'
<i>hampo ɛø:ɛø</i>	ཏུམ་པོ་ཞོལ་ཞོལ་	'loads of mold', <i>hampo</i> 'mold'
<i>re:po siŋziŋ</i>	རལ་པོ་བྱིང་བྱིང་	'tangled hair', <i>re:po</i> 'hair'
<i>go dzokdzok</i>	མགོ་འཛོག་འཛོག་	'bowing, nodding, bending (of human, of trees in wind)', <i>go</i> 'head'

<sup>463</sup> Here, there is a mismatch with pronunciation and suggested Denjongke spelling: KN pronounced *pja* instead of *p'ja*.



- (17.42) བོ་ཚོ་བྱས་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བ་མ་བྱས།  
*p'otso pjalaplap ma-jà.*  
 child impatient.eating.manner NEG-do  
 'Child, do not eat greedily.' (KN e)
- (17.43) ཡལ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བ་མཐོང་མ་ སྟངས།  
*jè:-laplap tʰõ:-m beʔ.*  
 disappear-intermittent see-2INF EQU.PER  
 '(I) saw (it) unclearly.' (KN e)
- (17.44) ལག་གོ་ འདི་ ལྷ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བ་ མཐོང་བོ་ སྟངས།  
*lako=di pu-sópsop tʰõ:-po beʔ.*  
 hand=DEMPH hair-fluffy see-2INF EQU.NE  
 '(She) saw that the hand was fluffy with hair.' (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 40)
- (17.45) ལྷུང་མ་ ལྷོ་བ་ བསིལ་ བསིལ་འདིས་ གྲུངས་བོ་ལས་  
*lúnma kʰõ:-si:si:=di: k'jã:-bo=lɛ*  
 wind coldness-chilly=DEMPH.AGT be.cold-2INF=ABL  
 'Because the chilly wind made them feel cold...' (Richhi 118)
- (17.46) མགོ་འི་ ལྷུ་ ཉམ་བོ་ ལོལ་ལོལ་ འང་ རལ་བོ་ གན་མ་ལོ་ ཟེང་ཟེང་བོ།  
*go=i kja hampo ɛð:ɛð: t'ã: re:po nám=lo siŋziŋ-po*  
 head=GEN hair mold covered and curls sky=DAT tangled-2INF  
 'head's hair moldy and tangled curls (sticking) skywards' (rna-gsung 5)
- (17.47) ལ་ཚོ་ བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ མགོ་ འཛོག་འཛོག་ བྱས་བཞིན་  
*ádzo tendziŋ=gi go dzok-dzok p'ja-zɛ:...*  
 grandfather PN=AGT head nod-nod do-PROG  
 'grandfather Tenzing, nodding his head...' (KT e)

Many reduplicated adjectives could be added to this category on the basis of the formal criteria of reduplication.

#### 17.1.4 Near-reduplicated ideophones

Some near-reduplicated ideophones are listed in Table 17.4 and some of them are illustrated below. Only the vowel changes between the two syllables of the ideophone. In the examples in my data, the second vowel is typically a high vowel (/i/ or /u/) and always higher than the first vowel.

Table 17.4. Near-reduplicated ideophones

<i>raprip</i>	རྒྱབ་རྒྱབ་	‘dim, dimness’ <i>rapripna</i>
<i>barbur</i>	འབར་འབར་	‘knotty, buckled, with bulges, uneven when it should be even’ (KN, KL 5, 230), collocates at least with ལྷག་ <i>lúk</i> ‘cast (of metal), pour’, <i>barbur lúk-ts<sup>h</sup>a-kε</i> ‘it has been cast bulgy (not even)’
<i>damdum</i>	འདམ་འདམ་	‘short’
<i>làblep</i>	ལབ་ལབ་	‘in small pieces (of wood)’
<i>gragrik</i>	འགྲོག་འགྲོག་	‘uneven (of unpleasant texture of meat in the mouth, of the tactile feeling of non-smooth, rough stone surface)’ (KT)
<i>laklek</i> <i>lakta lekta</i>	ལྷག་ལྷག་	‘mud-like, too wet texture of boiled rice or dough’ (may also refer to a thick texture of paint) (YR, KN)
<i>rakruk</i>	རག་རུག་	‘(small) stones (the size of goat poo) here and there’ (cf. <i>do ranroŋ</i> ‘big stones here and there’)
<i>dzardzir</i>	འདར་འདར་	‘texture of ground that has been watered enough to resemble dough (but not wet enough to become mud)’
<i>sámsum</i>	སམ་སམ་	‘disorganized, unfolded (of clothes)’
<i>tε‘akte‘ik</i>	ངག་ངག་	‘having sucked in water (e.g. marshy land)’
<i>màrmur</i>	མར་མར་	‘indistinctive muttering of words’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>amts<sup>h</sup>um</i>	ཚམ་ཚམ་	‘distressed mental state, mental state after hearing or experiencing something unpleasant’
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>apts<sup>h</sup>up</i>	ཚབ་ཚབ་	‘nervous’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>amt<sup>h</sup>um,</i> <i>t<sup>h</sup>amci<sup>h</sup>umci</i>	ཐམ་ཐམ་, ཐམ་ཐི་ཐམ་ཐི་	‘of a drowsy person’s eyes’

The examples below first exemplify those uses which occur independently and then those which strongly collocate with a noun to which they are postposed.

(17.48) ང་ཅག་ རྒྱབ་རྒྱབ་ན་ སྐབས་ལོ་ ཞིན།  
*ŋàtea? raprip=na l̥ep-o t̥:*  
 1PL dim(ness)=LOC arrive-2INF EQU.PER  
 ‘We arrived at dusk.’ (KT e)

(17.49) འབར་འབར་ ལྷག་ལྷག་གོ་ མན་བོ་?  
*barbur lúk-luk-o mèmbo?*  
 dented pour-RDP-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q  
 ‘Hasn’t (this vessel) been dented?’ (KL e)

(17.50) a) ཤིང་ འདམ་འདམ་ གཏོག་ལྷི་ བཞག།  
*εiŋ damdum tok-ti za?*  
 tree short cut-NF put  
 ‘Leave the tree cut in small pieces’ (KN e)

b) ཞབས་རྟེན་ འདམ་འདམ་ བྱེ་ཤད་  
*εápten damdum p’ja-εε?*  
 ritual short do-INF  
 ‘make a short (religious) ritual’ (KN phone call)

(17.51) འཕ་ལག་འདི་ ལྷག་ལྷེག་ གསོན་འཇམ་ བཀོལ་ལྷི་ བཞེས་བཅུག།  
*ɛ̀ɛːla=di laklək sɔ̀ndzam kəː-di zeː tɕu?*  
 food.HON=DEMPH wet.and.soft rice.HON boil-NF eat.HON cause  
 ‘Boil the rice and serve (lit. cause to be eaten) the food wet and soft.’ (mam-rtog 25)

(17.52) རྩ་ འདོ་འདི་ རག་ཅུག་ ལྷད།  
*do do=di rakruk bɛ?*  
 stone stone=DEMPH lots.of.small.items EQU.NE  
 ‘The (small) stones right here are numerous.’ (KN e)

(17.53) ཁོང་རའི་ བར་ན་ མར་ལུར་ལོ་ གྲོས་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་  
*kʰõː-riː pˈaː=na màrmur=lo kˈjo? kjap-zɛː...*  
 3PL-REFL.GEN in.between=LOC muttering=DAT chatting do-PROG  
 ‘chatting among themselves in indistinct mutter...’ (mthun-sgril 9)

(17.54) ད་རིང་ ང་ ལེབ་ ཚམ་ཚུམ་ ཐོན་ལྷི་  
*tˈariŋ nə lɛp tsʰamtsʰum tʰøn-di*  
 today 1SG very.much afflicted become-NF  
 ‘Today I’m very distressed.’ (KL e)

In the following examples, the ideophone strongly collocates with a noun which makes the meaning of the ideophone more explicit.

(17.55) གོས་ལག་ སམ་སྤམ་ མན་བཞག།  
*kˈola? sámsum man-za?*  
 clothes disorganized NEG-put  
 ‘Do not leave the clothes disorganized (not folded)’ (KN e)

(17.56) ས་ཆ་ ལྷ རག་ཇིག་ ཡོད་སའི་ ཐག་ཉེ་ གཅིག་ལོ་  
*sátɛʰa tɛʰu tɛˈagdzik jò-søː tʰa.ji=teɪ=lo*  
 land water having.sucked.in.water EX-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN near=INDF=DAT  
 ‘In the neighbourhood of a piece of marshy land’ (rna-sung 30)

(17.57) སེམས་ ཚབ་ཚུབ་  
*sém tsʰaptsʰup*  
 mind nervous  
 ‘in a nervous state of mind’ (KT e)

(17.58) ཤིང་ མོ་འདེམ་ ལབ་ལེབ་ འགྲོམ་ འབག་ ཤོག།  
*ɛ́iŋ ódem làblep gjom ba? ɛ́o?*  
 tree like.that small.pieces gather carry come  
 ‘Collect and bring such small pieces of wood.’ (KN e)

(17.59) ད་རིང་ ང་ མིག་རྩོག་ ཐམ་སིད་ལུམ་སིད་ རྒྱབས་ལྷི་  
*tˈariŋ nə miːdo? tʰamsitʰumsi? kjap-ti*  
 today 1SG eye drowsy do-NF  
 ‘Today my eyes are drowsy...’ (KN e)

The partly reduplicated ideophonic construction *k'jotip k'joruj / k'jorum k'jotip*, whose etymology and literal meaning are unknown to me, is an intensified quantifier approximating the meaning ‘so many/much, crammed with’.

(17.60) a) ད་རིང་ ཨོན་ མི་ གྲོ་ཏིབ་ གྲོ་ཐུང་ འོང་ཚར་གཤེན།  
*t'ariŋ óna mí k'jotip k'jorum ò:-tsʰake.*  
 today there human very.many very.many come-CMPL.APH  
 ‘Today so many people came there.’ (KUN e, imitating speech of Tashiding)

b) ད་རིང་ ཟེར་ལོ་ གྲོ་ཐུམ་ གྲོ་ཏིབ་ བཏང་ཚར།  
*t'ariŋ sèu k'jorum k'jotip tã:-tsʰa:.*  
 today hail very.much very.much send-CMPL  
 ‘Today it hailed heavily.’ (KUN e, imitating speech of Tashiding)

### 17.1.5 Rhyming ideophones

In rhyming ideophones reduplication is accompanied by a change in the initial consonant of the reduplicated syllable while the rest of the syllable is fully reduplicated. The change of consonant in the second syllable results in an independently meaningless syllable. For instance, the word *k'atep* ག་ལྟེབ་ ‘how’ functions as base for the ideophone *k'atepmatep* ག་ལྟེབ་མ་ལྟེབ་, which has a rhyming but independently nonsensical second part *-matep*.

Table 17.5. Rhyming ideophones

<i>k'atepmatep</i>	ག་ལྟེབ་མ་ལྟེབ་	‘(able to do) one way or another’
<i>inteimintei?</i>	ཨོན་ཅིག་ མན་ཅིག་	‘at any cost, necessarily’

Rhyming ideophones are exemplified in (17.61-63). Example (17.61) was an apology for mistakes in telling a folk-story.

(17.61) འདིས་ འུས་ལྟེ་ ང་ འདི་ ཚབ་ཚབ་ ག་ལྟེབ་མ་ལྟེབ་ ཨོན་ཐུང་ ན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ གསུང་ འདི་ ལུལ་དོ་ ཨོན།  
*di: p'ja-ti nə=di tɛʰaptɛʰop k'atɛmatɛp i:-ruŋ*  
 this.AGT do-NF 1SG=DEMPH IDEO.NN in.whatever.way EQU.PER-CONC  
*nà: ʎɛŋɛ:=tsu=lo sɯŋ=di pʰy:-do i:.*  
 here PRN.HON=PL=DAT story=DEMPH offer-IPFV EQU.PER  
 ‘Therefore I here offer to you this story, although it is a spontaneous approximation (of the real thing)’ (KT animal story)

(17.62) ལྟེབ་མའི་ ལོ་ ང་ ག་ལྟེབ་ མ་ལྟེབ་ འུས་ ང་ ལོག་ བཅར་ཤད་ ཨོན།  
*gjamø: lò nə k'atepmatɛp-p'ja nə lòk tɛa:-ɛi:.*  
 latter year 1SG in.whatever.way-ADVZR I return come.HUM-NPAST.PER  
 ‘A year after, I will return, whatever it takes.’ (DB e)

(17.63) ཨོན་ཐུང་ ང་ སྐང་དོག་ ཨོན་ཅིག་ མན་ཅིག་ ད་ འགྲུ་ དགོས་མཁན་ སྐད།  
*i:ruŋ nə gã:to? inteimintɛi t'a gju go:-kʰɛn bɛ?*  
 but 1SG TPN necessarily now go be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘but, now, I necessarily have to go to Gangtok’ (RS [in]auspicious days)

### 17.1.6 Onomatopoeic ideophones

Onomatopoeic ideophones differ from other ideophones in that they more clearly mimic real sounds and are often appositional. Like with other ideophones, reduplication is typical of onomatopoeic words. Whereas other ideophones are syntactically adjectives or adverbs, onomatopoeic words often fall outside the basic clause structure. For instance, in (17.64-70) the onomatopoeic words given in bold are appositional elaborations of the underlined nouns. Note that example (17.68) evokes not necessarily only the sound but also the feeling of the wind.

- (17.64) རྒྱལ་ཚོན་ རྩོལ་ཚུའི་ རྣམ་ ཅ་རབ་ ཅི་རིབ་  
*nà:tsɛ̃: p'iteuŋ=tsu=i kɛʔ **tsarap-tsirip***  
 forest small.bird=PL=GEN sound tweet-tweet  
 ‘sound of the forest birds tweet tweet’ (Richhi 1)
- (17.65) བཀ་རིང་ མ་གནས་ལས་ ཏུང་ ལུ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ རྣམ་སྒྲ་ ལུ་ལྷ་  
*tʰa:riŋ sánɛ:=le t'uŋ pʰu:-zin jø-pø: **kɛ:da p'u:***  
 far.away region=ABL conch blow-PROG EX-2INF sound toot  
 ‘the sound [of a conch being blown from a far-away region], toot’ (Richhi 1)
- (17.66) ལྷ་ཕོ་ འཕོད་པའི་ རྣམ་ ལུ་ལུ་རི་ ཀང་  
*p'japu bø:-pø: **kɛʔ kukurikā:***  
 cockerel call-2INF.GEN sound cuck.a.doodle.doo  
 ‘the sound of a rooster calling: cuck-o-doodle-do’ (Richhi 1)
- (17.67) རྒྱང་རྒྱང་ བརྒྱུང་པའི་ རྣམ་སྒྲ་  
***tiŋ tiŋ** duŋ-pø: **kɛ:da***  
 clang clang hit-2INF.GEN sound  
 ‘the sound of clanging clang clang’ (Richhi 1)
- (17.68) རྒྱུང་མ་ སིར་ སིར་ སིར་ རྒྱབས་ཕོ་དང་  
***lúnma sír sír sír** kjap-o-dã:*  
 wind whoosh whoosh whoosh do-2INF-CONJ  
 ‘When the wind goes whoosh whoosh whoosh...’ (KT animal story)
- (17.69) རྩོལ་ འ་ལུ་ འ་ལུ་ལོ་ ཏེབ་པའི་ རྣམ་  
*kʰi àu àu=lo hap-ø: **kɛʔ***  
 dog woof woof=DAT bark-2INF.GEN sound  
 ‘the sound of a dog barking woof woof’ (Richhi 1)
- (17.70) ལུ་ རྩོ་བསགས་ ཞེག་ཞེག་(ལོ་) རྒྱབས་ འབག་སྒྲི་ འཇུ་ཚྱོད་ ཡོད།  
*kʰu **lósəʔ** **kʰɛkkʰɛk**(=lo) kjap bak-ti gju dø: jøʔ.*  
 3SGM cough cough.cough(=DAT) do carry-NF go stay EX.PER  
 ‘He keeps on walking around coughing cough-cough.’ (KN e)

Note that in (17.65) and (17.66) the onomatopoeic word is marked with dative-locative case, suggesting that the syntax treats the onomatopoeic word as an adverb.

An onomatopoeic word may co-occur with another ideophone, as in (17.71), where onomatopoeic *t'ant'ij* elaborates on the nonnormative ideophone *sàrsor*, which is used like a nominal.

- (17.71) དང་དྲིང་ ཟར་ཟོར་ ལྷན་བའི་ ལྷ  
*t'ant'ij*      *sàrsor*      *p'ja-wø:*      *ɖa*  
 clang-clang    IDEO.NN    do-2INF.GEN    sound  
 'the sound of noise-making, clang clang.' (Richhi 30)

For an example of onomatopoeia in quoted speech, consider (17.72).

- (17.72) ཉེ་ མོ་ འདི་ ཉེ་ཉེ་ ལབ་སྟེ་གེ་ ཉེ་ཉེ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ དགའ་བོ་ལོ།  
*te*    *mò=di*      *hehe* *lâp-tiki*    *hihi* *lâp-ti*    *ga-u=lo.*  
 so    3SGF=DEMPH    haha say-NF    hehe say-NF    laugh-2INF=REP  
 'So she laughed saying haha, saying hehe, so the story goes.' (RS driver joke)

In (17.73), the onomatopoeic expressions are used like adjectivals in a verbless clause.

- (17.73) ཐམས་ཅད་ ཚོག་ཚོག་ ཟོར་ཟོར་ ཚོག་ཚོག་ ཟོར་ཟོར་ ཅང་ཅང་།  
*t'amtæ?*    *ts'ekts'ek*      *sòrsor*      *ts'ekts'ek*      *sòrsor*  
 all            scratch.of.a match    sound.of.fire    scratch.of.a match    sound.of.fire  
*tsā:tsā:*  
 purely  
 '(They) all (are) purely fire and brimstone, fire and brimstone.' (mthun-sgril 14-15)

### 17.1.7 Ideophonic suffixes

Ideophonic, reduplicating suffixes are used for making adjectives, especially colour terms more vivid. The basic colours may be followed by the ideophonic suffixes *-tiŋtiŋ* (WD ཉིང་ཉིང་ or དྲིང་དྲིང་), *-si:si:* (WD སེ་སེ་, བསེལ་བསེལ་?), *-ri:ri:* (WD རི་རི་, རིལ་རིལ་?) and *-tõ:tõ:* (WD ཉོང་ཉོང་). For instance, the ordinary colour word *ma:p/ma:pu* དམར་བའ་/དམར་པུ་ 'red' may be formed into *má:tiŋtiŋ* (དམར་ཉིང་ཉིང་), *má:si:si:* (དམར་སེ་སེ་), *má:ri:ri:* (དམར་རི་རི་) and *má:tõ:tõ:* (དམར་ཉོང་ཉོང་) '(bright) red' to bring intensity and vividness to description.

- (17.74) ཚོག་སྟེང་ ངོ་ ཚོག་སྟེ་ རྩོན་ལོ་ མེ་ དང་ ཉེ་མའི་ འོང་འདིས་ གདོང་ དམར་རི་རི་ ལྷང་ལོ་ ད་ལྷ་ འུ་ཤའི་ གཏམ་ འདིས་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ རང་ དམར་  
 རི་རི་ འཛོམ།  
*te'øki?*    *ŋò*    *ts'ha-ti*      *ɲénlo*    *mì*    *t'ã:*    *ɲimø:*      *t'ø:=di:*      *dõ:*  
 PN            face    be.hot-NF    before    fire    and    sun.GEN    heat=DEMPH.AGT    face  
*má:-ri:ri:*    *teŋlo*      *t'ato*    *p'jaɕa=i*                      *tam=di:*  
 red-IDEO    above    now    chicken.meat=GEN    word=DEMPH.AGT  
*lèpti=ra*                      *mà:-ri:ri:*    *t'øn.*  
 very.much=AEMPH    red-IDEO    become  
 'Being ashamed, Choki's face which was earlier made red by the heat of the fire and the sun gets now very red because of the word about chicken-meat.' (Richhi 90)

Reduplicated ideophonic suffixes, which are frequently used with colour terms, are also used in some other contexts. Example (17.75) illustrates three ideophonic suffixes, which are used with the noun *dzum* འཇུམ་ 'smile'. One of them is *-ri:ri:* རི་རི་, the other two, *-mè:mè* (or *-mermer*) མེར་མེར་ and *-ɛkɛk* རྟེག་ཤེག་. I have not come across other words than *dzum* which use the latter two suffixes.

- (17.75) a) *dzum-ri:ri:*      འཇུམ་རི་རི་      ‘smilingly’  
 b) *dzum-me:me:*      འཇུམ་མེ་མེ་      ‘smiling secretly’  
 c) *dzum-εεkεk*<sup>464</sup>      འཇུམ་ཤེག་ཤེག་      ‘smiling very widely’

For *-mè:mè:* in clausal content, consider (17.76).

- (17.76) མོ་ ད་རིང་ འཇུམ་ མེ་མེ་ཡོད་ ཨ་ཉང་ དང་ མན་འདྲ་བོ།  
*mù t'ariŋ dzum-mè:me: jòʔ, átã: t'ã: man-ɖou*  
 3SGF today smile-IDEO EX.PER always and NEG-similar  
 ‘She is smily today, unlike usually.’ (Richhi 148)

Another stem with which the suffix *-ri:ri:* occurs in my data is *sí:* བསྐལ་ ‘be cool’, from which the adjective *sí:ʈaʔ* བསྐལ་དྲགས་ ‘cool (positive evaluation)’ is derived. The form *sí:-ri:ri:* in (17.77) makes the description vivid, perhaps evoking memories of feeling the cool mid-day wind.

- (17.77) རླུང་ བསྐལ་རི་རི་ རླུངས་པོ་དང་  
*lúnj sí:-ri:ri: kjap-o-dã:*  
 wind cool-IDEO strike-2INF-CONJ  
 ‘when the wind goes whoosh...’ (KT animal story)

The suffix *-tõ:tõ:* occurs in several other adjectives/adverbs than the colour terms:

- (17.78) a) *hã:*      ཉང་      ‘feel loneliness’      > *hã:tõ:tõ:*      ‘feeling of loneliness’  
 b) *dzam* འཇམ་      ‘be easy’      > *dzamtõ:tõ:*      ‘easy, easily’ (cf. *dzamʈaʔ*)  
 c) *ɲen*      ལྷན་      ‘be sweet to hear’      > *ɲentõ:tõ:*      ‘soft(ly) (of speaking)’ (cf. *ɲenʈaʔ*)

For clausal uses consider the following:

- (17.79) རོགས་ གཅིག་ མ་འཕྲད་པ་ འདྲེ་རང་ ཉང་ཉོང་ཉོང་བྱས་སྟེ་གི།  
*ro:=tɛiʔ ma-p<sup>h</sup>e-pa dɛ:=rã: hã:-tõ:tõ: p'ja-tiki*  
 friend=INDF NEG-meet-CIRC like.this=DEMPH feel.loneliness-IDEO do-NF  
 ‘...without meeting a friend, feeling lonely like this...’ (PAD bet story)

- (17.80) (ལ་) འཇམ་ཉོང་ཉོང་ ལབ།  
*dzam-tõ:tõ: ləp.*  
 easy-IDEO speak  
 ‘Speak easily.’ (KN e)

- (17.81) (སྐད་) ལྷན་ཉོང་ཉོང་ ལབ།  
*ɲen-tõ:tõ: ləp.*  
 easy-IDEO speak  
 ‘Speak softly.’ (KN e)

<sup>464</sup> This expression used in a song made by a speaker from Tashiding, but consultant KN (Martam) does not recognize the form.

## 17.2 Kinship terminology

Denjongke kinship terminology is presented here under generational headings with comments in between. Many kinship terms begin with *á*, reflecting the historical prefix *a-*, which occurs in many Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 2003:105). The description is divided between consanguineal relatives (one’s own blood-relatives and their spouses), see §17.2.1, and relatives through marriage (in-laws), see §17.2.2.

### 17.2.1 Consanguineal relatives and their spouses

Kinship terms for the ego’s grandparents’ generation and beyond are given in Table 17.6. Terms for consanguineal (related by blood) relatives are given first, followed by terms for relevant affinal relatives (consanguineal relatives’ spouses). Note that the paternal vs. maternal distinction in Table 17.6 is based on a difference in affinal terms, while the consanguineal terms are invariant.

Table 17.6. Ego’s grandparents’ generation and beyond

grandfather			<i>ádzo</i> ཨ་ཚོ་	
grandmother			<i>áno</i> ཨ་ཉོ་	
great-grandfather			<i>te'odzo</i> རྩོ་ཚོ་	
great-grandmother			<i>nòno</i> ཉོ་ཉོ་	
forefather			<i>p<sup>h</sup>adzo</i> ཕ་ཚོ་	
paternal grandfather's elder brother			<i>ádzo bompu</i> ཨ་ཚོ་ ལྷོ་མ་ལུ་	wife: <i>áno bompu</i> ཨ་ཉོ་ ལྷོ་མ་ལུ་
maternal grandfather's elder brother			<i>ádzo bompu</i> ཨ་ཚོ་ ལྷོ་མ་ལུ་	wife: <i>ána bompu</i> ཨ་ན་ ལྷོ་མ་ལུ་
paternal grandfather's younger brother			<i>ádzo te<sup>h</sup>un<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>un</i> ཨ་ཚོ་ རྩུང་རྩུང་	wife: <i>áno te<sup>h</sup>un<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>un</i> ཨ་ཉོ་ རྩུང་རྩུང་
maternal grandfather's younger brother			<i>ádzo te<sup>h</sup>un<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>un</i> ཨ་ཚོ་ རྩུང་རྩུང་	wife: <i>ána te<sup>h</sup>un<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>un</i> ཨ་ན་ རྩུང་རྩུང་
grandparent's elder sister			<i>áno bompu</i> ཨ་ཉོ་ ལྷོ་མ་ལུ་	husband: <i>ádzo</i> ཨ་ཚོ་
grandparent's younger sister			<i>áno te<sup>h</sup>un<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>un</i> ཨ་ཉོ་ རྩུང་རྩུང་	husband: <i>ádzo</i> ཨ་ཚོ་

As shown in Table 17.6, no distinction is made between maternal and paternal grandparents. Neither is there a difference in terms between one’s grandfather’s and grandmother’s siblings (hence “grandparent” in Table 17.6). Among grandparents’ siblings’ spouses, however, a distinction is made based on whether the grandparent is patrilineal or matrilineal, hence *áno* and *ána* respectively.

Whereas matrilineal and patrilineal terms are identical in the ego’s grandparents’ generation, ego’s parent’s siblings have different matrilineal and patrilineal terms, see Table 17.7 and 17.8. On the mother’s side, an age distinction (elder or younger) occurs with sisters but not with brothers. On the father’s side, on the other hand, an age distinction is made between brothers but not sisters.



Table 17.7. Matrilineal parents' generation

mother	<i>ám</i> ཇམ་, <i>áma</i> ཇམ་མ་, <i>jùm</i> རུམ་ (hon.)	
mother's brother	<i>ázã:</i> , <i>ázõ:</i> ཇམ་འདྲ་	wife: <i>áni</i> ཇམ་ཉི་, ཇམ་ཉེ་
mother's elder sister	<i>ámbom</i> ཇམ་མོ་སྒྲུ་	husband: <i>ába bombu</i> ཇམ་བ་ མོ་སྒྲུ་པུ་, <i>ápo bompu</i> ཇམ་པོ་ མོ་སྒྲུ་པུ་
mother's younger sister	<i>ámteuj</i> ཇམ་མུང་	husband: <i>áku</i> ཇམ་ཁུ་

Table 17.8. Patrilineal parents' generation

father	<i>ápo</i> ཇམ་པོ་, <i>já:p</i> ཡམ་ (hon.)	
father's elder brother	<i>ápo bompu</i> ཇམ་པོ་ མོ་སྒྲུ་པུ་	wife: <i>ámbom</i> ཇམ་མོ་སྒྲུ་
father's younger brother	<i>áku</i> ཇམ་ཁུ་	wife: <i>ámteuj</i> ཇམ་མུང་
father's sister	<i>áni</i> ཇམ་ཉི་	husband: <i>ts<sup>h</sup>o:</i> ཚོ་བོ་ ( <i>áku</i> ཇམ་ཁུ་) <sup>465</sup>

When a kinship term does not express birth order, e.g. *áni* 'father's sister', it may be supplemented by the attributes *gempo* 'old one', *te<sup>h</sup>unjo/te<sup>h</sup>umbo/te<sup>h</sup>unjte<sup>h</sup>un* 'small one', *p'amo* 'middle-one' and the Nepali terms *maili* (fem.) / *maila* (masc.) 'second in birth', *saili* (fem.) / *saila* (masc.) 'third in birth', *kaili* (fem.) / *kaila* (masc.) 'fourth in birth'. For instance, father's eldest sister may be called *áni gempo*, father's youngest sister *áni te<sup>h</sup>unjte<sup>h</sup>un* and father's second sister *áni maili*. According to a consultant from Tashiding, in families where two or more brothers have sexual relations with the same woman, the children may address their legal father as *aku* 'father's younger brother' instead of *ápo* 'father'.

Table 17.9 presents terms for (typically) one's own generation.

Table 17.9. Ego's own generation

elder brother, elder male cousin	<i>áteu</i> ཇམ་མུ་, <i>ágja</i> ཇམ་རྒྱ་	wife: <i>mátei?</i> མ་ཅིག་
younger brother, younger male cousin	<i>pynlo</i> ལྷན་ལོ་	wife: <i>nám</i> མན་ལམ་
elder sister, elder female cousin	<i>ázi</i> ཇམ་ཞི་, <i>ái</i> ཇམ་འི་, ཇམི་	husband: <i>ts<sup>h</sup>o:</i> ཚོ་བོ་
younger sister of a man, younger female cousin of a man	<i>p'usim</i> ལུ་ སྤོང་མ་	husband: <i>álo</i> ཇམ་ལོ་
younger sister of a woman, younger cousin of a woman	<i>nùm</i> ལུམ་	husband: <i>álo</i> ཇམ་ལོ་
mother's brother's daughter	<i>áni</i> ཇམ་ཉི་	husband: <i>ts<sup>h</sup>o:</i> ཚོ་བོ་
husband	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ogja?</i> པོ་རྒྱལ་	
wife	<i>mòby?</i> མོ་བུད་	
maternal uncle's son	<i>áteu</i> ཇམ་མུ་, <i>ágja</i> ཇམ་རྒྱ་, <i>ázã:</i> <i>te<sup>h</sup>unjte<sup>h</sup>un</i> ཇམ་འདྲ་ རྒྱང་རྒྱང་, <i>áni</i> ཇམ་ཉི་, <i>ěã:te<sup>h</sup>un</i> འདྲ་རྒྱང་	wife: <i>mátei?</i> མ་ཅིག་,
guardian brother	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ami</i> པོ་མི་	

As can be seen in Table 17.9, maternal uncle's son has, in addition to the typical ཇམ་མུ་ *áteu*, ཇམ་རྒྱ་ *ágja* 'elder brother' and ལྷན་ལོ་ *pynlo* 'younger brother' the alternative terms ཇམ་འདྲ་ རྒྱང་རྒྱང་ *ázã: te<sup>h</sup>unjte<sup>h</sup>un* and འདྲ་རྒྱང་ *ěã:te<sup>h</sup>un*, which literally mean 'small (maternal) uncle'. In the same

<sup>465</sup> Consultant KT (Bermeok) accepts *áku*, which is the term for mother's younger sister's husband, as an alternative term for *ts<sup>h</sup>o:* both for father's sister's husband. Consultant TB (Ralang), however, accepts only *ts<sup>h</sup>o:* here.

vein, consultant KT (Bermeok) noted that in some communities maternal uncle’s daughter may be called མ་ཚེག་ *màtei?*. Often circumlocutions are used in referring to husband and wife. Husband may be called གྱིམ་ ལ་ལོ་ *kʰim ápo* ‘father of the house’ and wife གྱིམ་ ལ་མ་ *kʰim ám* ‘mother of the house’ or *bjaru?* ‘friend (hon.)’. The term ད་མི་ *pʰami* refers to a girl’s brother who functions as her guardian until she is married.

Classical Tibetan makes several distinctions in kinship terminology based on the gender of the ego, resulting in such forms as *phubo* ‘older brother of a man’, *nubo* ‘younger brother of a man’, *phumo* ‘older sister of a woman’ and *numo* ‘younger sister of a woman’ (Beyer 1992: 158). In Denjongke these distinctions based on ego’s gender are reduced to one pair: *nùm* ‘younger sister of a woman’ and *pʰusim* ‘younger sister of a man’. Consequently, a man can address a woman younger than himself by saying

- (17.82) འུ་མེད་ལགས་ཀྱི་ རྒྱུ་ཚུ་  
*pʰusim=la:=ki* *nùm=tsu...*  
 younger.sister.of.a.man=HON=GEN younger.sister.of.a.woman=PL  
 ‘Sister’s (=your) little sisters...’ (Richhi 37)

Relatives (typically) younger than the ego are given in Table 17.10.

Table 17.10. Generations younger than ego

son	<i>pʰu</i> འུ, <i>sé?</i> སེལ་ (hon.)	wife: <i>nám</i> མཚནམ་
daughter	<i>pʰum</i> འུམ་, <i>sé:m</i> སེལམ་ (hon.)	husband: <i>màko</i> མག་ཀོ
child	<i>pʰotso</i> བོ་ཚོ་, <i>ópi</i> ཨོ་ཉི་	
grandson, cousin’s son, nephew	<i>tsʰapʰju?</i> ཚ་ཕྱལ་	wife: <i>nám</i> མཚནམ་
granddaughter	<i>tsʰam</i> <sup>466</sup> ཚམ་	husband: <i>màko</i> མག་ཀོ
niece, cousin’s daughter	<i>tsʰam</i> ཚམ་	husband: <i>màko</i> མག་ཀོ, <i>álo</i> ལ་ལོ་
male descendant	<i>jàpʰju?</i> <sup>467</sup> ཇམ་ཕྱལ་	wife: <i>nám</i> མཚནམ་
female descendant	<i>jàm</i> ཇམ་	husband: <i>màko</i> མག་ཀོ

Parents call their children either by name or by endearing terms such as *bhaitseuŋ* (combining the Nepali word for younger brother *bhāi* and the Denjongke word *teʰuŋ* ‘small’), *sémla:* (honorific word for daughter followed by the honorific marker =*la:*), *pʰoteuŋ* ‘small child’ and *bahinila:* (Nepali for ‘younger sister’ followed by the honorific marker). The word *bhaitseuŋ* has become a personal name of several Denjongpo men, who presumably are youngest sons in their families.

Consanguineal kinship terms are also used to refer to and address strangers, see Table 17.11. A few more general terms are also included in the list.

<sup>466</sup> Consultant KT (from Bermeok) commented that in his speech variety *tsʰapʰju?* is used both for grandson and granddaughter and that *tsʰam*, the word here given for ‘granddaughter’, only has the meaning ‘niece’.

<sup>467</sup> The terms *jàpʰju?* and *jàm* come from consultant TB (Ralang). Consultant KT (Bermeok), on the other hand, used the term *tsʰapju?* for male and female descendant beyond the grandchildren’s generation.

Table 17.11. Terms for addressing strangers of various ages

young child (appr. 0-6 years, male or female)	<i>óni</i> ཨ་ཉེ་
child (0-15 years, male or female)	<i>p'jaby:</i> བྱ་བུས་
child, underaged (appr. 0-18 years, male or female)	<i>p'otso</i> བོ་ཚོ་
female younger than oneself (said by man)	<i>p'usim</i> བྱ་སྲིང་/བྱ་སྲིང་མ་
female younger than oneself (said by woman)	<i>nùm</i> ལུ་མ་
male younger than oneself	<i>pynlo</i> ལྷན་ལོ་
female slightly older than oneself	<i>ázi</i> ཨ་ཞི་, <i>ái</i> ཨ་འི་
male slightly older than oneself	<i>áteu</i> ཨ་ཅུ་, <i>ágja</i> ཨ་གྱུ་
female approximately one's mother's age	<i>áni</i> ཨ་ཉི་, <i>ámteuj</i> ཨ་མ་རུང་, <i>ámpla:</i> ཨ་མ་ལགས་
male approximately one's father's age	<i>áku</i> ཨ་ཁུ་
female approximately one's grandmother's age	<i>áno</i> ཨ་འོ་
male approximately one's grandfather's age	<i>ádzo</i> ཨ་ཚོ་
nun	<i>ánila:</i> ཨ་ཞི་ལགས་
monk	<i>lám(a)la:</i> ལྷ་མ་ལགས་, <i>jà:pla:</i> ཡཔ་ལགས་

The term ཡཔ་ལགས་ *jà:pla:* (*ja:p* ‘father (hon.)’, *la:* honorific suffix/enclitic), which at least in Tashiding may be used for monks, is used for referring to male persons of considerable social standing. The terms *óni* ཨ་ཉེ་ and *p'jaby:* བྱ་བུས་ are also used by elderly people to refer to reasonably young adults, probably in an endearing way.

### 17.2.2 One's spouses relatives

The closest of ego's in-laws are listed in Table 17.12.

Table 17.12. Spouses relatives

father-in-law	<i>ápo k'jo:p</i> ཨ་པོ་ ལྷོས་བ་	
mother-in-law	<i>ám gjum</i> ཨ་མ་ ལྷུག་མ་	
grandfather-in-law	<i>ádzo k'jo:p</i> ཨ་ཚོ་ ལྷོས་བ་	
grandmother-in-law	<i>áno gjum</i> ཨ་འོ་ ལྷུག་མ་	
wife's older sister	<i>ázi gjum</i> ཨ་ཞི་ ལྷུག་མ་	husband: <i>ts<sup>h</sup>o:</i> ཚོ་བོ་
wife's younger sister	<i>jim</i> ལྷིང་མ་	husband: <i>pynlo</i> ལྷན་ལོ་, <i>áteu</i> ཨ་ཅུ་
wife's older brother	<i>áteu k'jo:p</i> ཨ་ཅུ་ ལྷོས་བ་	wife: <i>ázi (gjum)</i> ཨ་ཞི་ (ལྷུག་མ་)
wife's younger brother	<i>kipu</i> ཀིཔུ་, ལྷུང་པོ་	wife: <i>nùm</i> ལུ་མ་, <i>nám</i> མན་འམ་

As can be seen in Table 17.12, the terms *k'jo:p* ‘male in-law’ and *gjum* ‘female in-law’ are used in forming affinal relational terms from consanguineal ones. There are, however, two notable exceptions, *jim* ‘wife's younger sister’ and *kipu* ‘wife's younger brother’, the two exclusively affinal relational terms which are not used for consanguineal relatives. Other terms referring to the relatives of one's spouse are generally formed in the same way as one's own relatives and supplemented by *k'jo:p* for male and *gjum* for female relatives, e.g. ཨ་བ་ ལྷོས་བ་ *ába bompu k'jo:p* ‘wife's mother's elder sister's husband, wife's father's elder brother’. However, there are a few exceptions. The word *ts<sup>h</sup>o:* cannot be supplemented by *k'jo:p* (*\*ts<sup>h</sup>o: k'jo:p*), thus making its meaning by definition ambiguous between one's own (parent's) elder sister's husband and one's wife's (parent's) elder sister's husband.

### 17.3 Names

Denjongpo personal names typically consist of two parts, both usually disyllabic, e.g. *p<sup>h</sup>urba ts<sup>h</sup>eriŋ*<sup>468</sup>, *ɲim(a) ts<sup>h</sup>eriŋ*, *dawa námgeː*, *karma kuŋŋa*, *pasəŋ ɭamu*, *sónam ɖoma*. The first name is often, for instance in *p<sup>h</sup>urba ts<sup>h</sup>eriŋ* and *ɲim(a) ts<sup>h</sup>eriŋ*, derived from the day of the week the child was born. The names derived from week days/planets are given in Table 17.13.

Table 17.13. Names associated with days of the week

<i>za: dou</i>	གཟའ་ ལྷ་པོ་	‘Monday’ (Moon)	>	<i>dawa</i>	ལྷ་པོ་
<i>za: miŋmar</i>	གཟའ་ མིག་དམར་	‘Tuesday’ (Mars)	>	<i>miŋma</i>	མིག་དམར་
<i>za: ɭako</i>	གཟའ་ ལྷ་ག་གོ་	‘Wednesday’ (Mercury)	>	<i>ɭakpa</i>	ལྷ་ག་པོ་
<i>za: p<sup>h</sup>urbo</i>	གཟའ་ ལུ་པོ་	‘Thursday’ (Jupiter)	>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>urba</i>	ལུ་པོ་
<i>za: pasāː</i>	གཟའ་ པ་སངས་	‘Friday’ (Venus)	>	<i>pasəŋ</i>	པ་སངས་
<i>za: pempo</i>	གཟའ་ སྟེན་པོ་	‘Saturday’ (Saturn)	>	<i>pempa</i>	སྟེན་པོ་
<i>za: ɲim</i>	གཟའ་ ཉིམ་	‘Sunday’ (Sun)	>	<i>ɲim(a)</i>	ཉིམ་/ཉི་མ་

Some names are exclusively feminine and others exclusively masculine, while still others are used as names for both genders, see Table 17.14.

Table 17.14. Names according to gender

Male names		Female names		Neutral names	
<i>paljor</i>	དངམས་འབྱོར་ ‘wealth’	<i>diki?</i>	བདེ་སྲིད་ ‘bliss and delight’	<i>dawa</i>	ལྷ་པོ་ ‘moon’
<i>ɖaɖul</i>	དབྱེ་འདུལ་ ‘conquerer of enemy’	<i>ɖoma</i>	སྐྱོལ་མ་ ‘Tara, saviouress’	<i>ɲima</i>	ཉི་མ་ ‘sun’
<i>tobdzor</i>	སྟོབས་འབྱོར་ ‘strength and wealth’	<i>kipa</i>	སྐྱིད་པ་ ‘delight’	<i>ts<sup>h</sup>εðː</i>	ཚོ་དབང་ ‘life empowerment’
<i>dzikdal</i>	འཇིག་བླམ་ ‘imperishable’	<i>te<sup>h</sup>ɕki?</i>	ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ ‘delight in dharma’	<i>pema</i>	པད་མ་ ‘lotus’
<i>lòbzəŋ</i>	ལྷོ་བཟང་ ‘good mind’	<i>ɭamu</i>	ལྷ་མུ་ ‘goddess’	<i>ts<sup>h</sup>eriŋ</i>	ཚོ་རིང་ ‘long life’
<i>dordzi</i>	རྩོ་རྩོ་ ‘thunderbolt sceptre’	<i>kiɖɕən</i>	སྐྱིད་སྐྱོན་ ‘delight-builder’	<i>karma</i>	ཀམ་ ‘action’
<i>tobgeː</i>	སྟོབས་རྒྱལ་ ‘king of strength’	<i>kilamu</i>	སྐྱིད་ལྷ་མུ་ ‘goddess of delight’	<i>taei</i>	བཀྲ་ཤིས་ ‘good luck’
<i>óŋgel</i>	དབང་རྒྱལ་ ‘conquest’	<i>ɭá(d)zeː/ ɭándzeː</i>	ལྷ་རྩམ་ ‘divine substance’	<i>rinziŋ</i>	རིན་འཛིན་ ‘precious’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>ynts<sup>h</sup>o?, pynts<sup>h</sup>o?</i>	ལུན་ཚོགས་ ‘abundance’	<i>ɲánki?</i>	གཡང་སྐྱིད་ ‘prosperous delight’	all names based on week days	
<i>námgeː</i>	རྩམས་རྒྱལ་ ‘all-victorious’	<i>ɲángeː</i>	གཡང་ཅན་ ‘prosperous one’		

<sup>468</sup> I have heard this name being reduced to *p<sup>h</sup>urts<sup>h</sup>iŋ* by people who use it often to refer to their relative.

As a last name in official documents, Denjongpos may use the pan-Tibetan term for “Sikkim-dwellers”, འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པ་/འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པོ་ Denjongpa/Denjongpo (also written as Denzongpa), the generic word ལྷོ་ཁྱིམ་ Bhutia, which is an exonym used for all Tibetan-related groups in the Southern Himalayas, or a clan name such as ལྷག་ལུང་དར་པོ་ Takchungdarpo or ཚེས་བཟུ་དར་པོ་ Tschudarpo.<sup>469</sup> Inhabitants of the northern villages of Lachen and Lachung use the place-related last names Lachenpa and Lachungpa. Clan names are discussed in some detail in Mullard (2011).

## 17.4 Colours

Denjongke has five commonly used basic colour terms, see Table 17.15.

Table 17.15. Basic colour terms

<i>má:p(u)</i>	དམར་བ་, དམར་པོ་	red
<i>sé:p(u)</i>	སེར་བ་, སེར་པོ་	yellow
<i>ka:p(u)</i>	དཀར་བ་, དཀར་པོ་	white
<i>nàku</i>	ནག་ཀྱུ་	black
<i>ŋomp̥u/ŋomp̥u/homp̥u</i>	ཕྱོག་པོ་	blue/green

A cause of considerable confusion for Denjonke speakers is what to make of the English terms green and blue, which may both be referred to as ཕྱོག་པོ་ *ŋomp̥u/ŋomp̥u*. For instance, in common parlance ཕྱོག་པོ་ *ŋomp̥u/ŋomp̥u* may refer both to the colour the tree-leaves and the colour of the clear sky. More specific terms for ‘green’ and ‘azure blue’, deriving from Classical Tibetan, are ལྗང་ལུ་ *dzan̥ku* and མཐེང་ལ་ *tʰiŋkʰa* respectively, but these terms, especially མཐེང་ལ་ *tʰiŋkʰa*, are not as widely used as the other simple colour terms.

There are also compound expressions, which often employ one of the generic terms for colour, མདོག་ *doʔ*, ཚོན་མདོག་ *tsʰendoʔ* and ཀྱུག་ *kjaʔ*, see Table 17.16.

Table 17.16. Some compound colour terms

<i>námdoʔ</i>	གནམ་མདོག་	sky-blue (lit. sky-colour)
<i>tsʰodoʔ</i>	མཚོ་མདོག་	sea/lake-blue (lit. sea/lake-colour)
<i>dolom kjaʔ</i>	རྩ་ལོམ་ ཀྱུག་	violet (lit. eggplant-colour)
<i>kʰotʰeu kjaʔ</i>	གོ་ཐེའུ་ ཀྱུག་	grey (lit. ash-colour)
<i>tsʰalum kjaʔ</i>	ཚོ་ལུམ་ ཀྱུག་	orange (lit. orange-colour)

Genitive constructions may also be used: *námkʰe: doʔ* གནམ་མཁའའི་ མདོག་ ‘colour of the sky’ (KN e), *dolomki kjaʔ* རྩ་ལོམ་གྱི་ ཀྱུག་ ‘colour of the eggplant’ (KN e).

### 17.4.1 Clear colours

When describing the clearest, most distinctive specimens of each of the basic colours, the colour term may be supplemented by several reduplicated ideophonic suffixes which, based on elicitation with consultant KN, appear to be (close to) synonymic. KN reported the following suffixes as being used with clear specimens of basic colours: *-tõ:tõ:* ཉོང་ཉོང་, *-tã:tã:* ཉང་ཉང་, *-tʰiŋtʰiŋ* ཉིང་ཉིང་ (also *-tiŋtiŋ* ཉིང་ཉིང་), *-ri:ri:* རི་རི་ (in some communities, such as Bermeok also *-ruru* རུ་རུ་), *-si:si:* སེ་སེ་, *-hu:hu:* ལུ་ལུ་. As shown in Table 17.17, in the ideophonic

<sup>469</sup> Romanizations of clan names used here are those used by some Denjongpo authors themselves.

expressions the colour term *ka:p(u)* དཀར་པོ་ 'white' can be replaced by *kja* གྲག་ '(pale) colour'. e.g. *kjatiñtiñ* གྲག་དྲིང་དྲིང་ 'clean white'.

Table 17.17. Colours terms with ideophonic suffixes

<i>sé:tō:tō:, sé:tā:tā:, sé:tiñtiñ, sé:ri:ri:, sé:si:si:, sé:hu:hu:</i>	bright yellow, very yellow
<i>nà:tō:tō:, nà:tā:tā:, nà:tiñtiñ, nà:ri:ri:, nà:si:si:, nà:hu:hu:</i>	totally black
<i>má:tō:tō:, má:tā:tā:, má:tiñtiñ, má:ri:ri:, má:si:si:, má:hu:hu:</i>	bright red
<i>kjatō:tō:, kjatā:tā:, kjatiñtiñ, kjari:ri:, kjasi:si:</i>	clean white
<i>ñotō:tō:, ñotā:tā:, ñotiñtiñ, ñori:ri:, ñosi:si:, ñohu:hu:</i>	bright blue/green

Note that *kjahu:hu:* 'clean white' is absent from Table 17.17. The reason is that its meaning was described as 'the (pale almost colourless) colour of the desert'. Although *nà:hu:hu:* basically describes a totally black colour, it may extend to metaphorical uses which should not be taken literally:

(17.83) ད་རིང་ ཉིམ་ འདི་ གན་ལྗང་ རག་སུ་སུ་ སྒང་གོ་?  
*t'ariñ ñim=di k'amja nà:hu:hu: bε=εo?*  
 today day=DEMPH why totally.black EQU.NE=AT  
 'Why is the sky (lit. day/sun) pitch-black today?' (KN e)

(17.84) གན་ལྗང་ ད་རིང་ ཆེད་གྱི་ གདོང་ འདི་ རག་སུ་སུ་ སྒང་གོ་?  
*k'amja t'ariñ tε<sup>h</sup>ø:=ki dō:=di nà:hu:hu: bε=εo?*  
 why today 2SG.L=GEN face=DEMPH totally.black EQU.NE=AT  
 'Why is your face today black (of anger)?' (KN e)

The term *nà:k<sup>h</sup>ok<sup>h</sup>o?* རག་ཁོ་ཁོག་ was reported by KN to be synonymic with *nà:hu:hu:* རག་སུ་སུ་.

In addition to the terms in Table 17.17, clear specimens of colours may be emphasized by the use of *t'angi* དང་གི་ and *t'ingi* དྲིང་གི་, which appear to be genitivized forms of two of the forms from Table 17.13, e.g. *má:t'angi* དམར་དང་གི་ 'clear red'. For a clausal example, consider (17.85).

(17.85) ཁ་པོ་ གྲབས་སྒྲི་ ལུལ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གྲག་ དྲིང་གི་ ཐོན་ཚར་གྱུ།  
*k<sup>h</sup>ou kjap-ti y: t<sup>h</sup>amtεε? kja? t'ingki t<sup>h</sup>øn-t<sup>h</sup>ake.*  
 snow strike-NF place all colour bright become-CMPL.APH  
 'Having snowed, all the surroundings became clean-white.' (KN e)

Of the ideophonic suffixes listed above, at least *-tiñtiñ* ཉིང་ཉིང་ and *-tō:tō:* ཉོང་ཉོང་ can also be used with other adjectives than colours, e.g. *dzamtiñtiñ, dzamtō:tō:* 'very easy'.

### 17.4.2 Pale colours

The forms *-lop* or *-sa lòksy:* are used for referring to pale colour terms. In Tashiding (consultant DB), the suffix *-lop* is added to the colour term, see Table 17.18.

Table 17.18. Pale colours with *-lop* (Tashiding)

<i>kjalop</i>	གྲག་ལོབ་	pale colour, colourless
<i>má:lop</i>	དམར་ལོབ་	pale red, pink
<i>sé:lop</i>	སེར་ལོབ་	pale yellow
<i>ñolop</i>	སྒོ་ལོབ་	pale blue/green

In Martam (consultant KN), the colour term is followed by a more complex construction *-sa lòksy*: ས་ འོག་སྤྱུལ་, see Table 17.19.

Table 17.19. Pale colours with *-sa lòksy*: (Martam)

<i>má:sa lòksy</i> :	དམར་ས་ འོག་སྤྱུལ་	pale red, pink
<i>sé:sa lòksy</i> :	སེར་ས་ འོག་སྤྱུལ་	pale yellow
<i>ṅosa lòksy</i> :	ཚོ་ས་ འོག་སྤྱུལ་	pale blue/green

In Martam mere *lòksy*: can be added to complex colour terms which end in the word *kja?* ‘(pale) colour’, e.g. *dolom=gi kja loksy*: ‘pale/light purple/violet’ (lit. eggplant’s colour *lòksy*:). The construction COLOUR *laplap* may also be used for referring to pale colours, quite similarly to construction COLOUR-*sa lòksy*:, e.g. *má: laplap* དམར་ལྗང་ལྗང་ ‘pale/light red’, *sé: laplap* སེར་ལྗང་ལྗང་ ‘pale/light yellow’. Moreover, *kjalemlem* ཀྱག་ལེམ་ལེམ་ refers to pale/light grey.

### 17.4.3 Dark colours

In Martam (consultant KN) dark colours are referred to with the construction *-na? lòksy*: རྒྱ་ འོག་སྤྱུལ་, which suggests that black *nà?* རྒྱ་ is mixed to the colour in question, see Table 17.20.

Table 17.20. Dark colours with *-na? lòksy*: (Martam)

<i>má:na? lòksy</i> :	དམར་རྒྱ་ འོག་སྤྱུལ་	dark red
<i>sé:na? lòksy</i> :	སེར་རྒྱ་ འོག་སྤྱུལ་	dark yellow
<i>ṅona? lòksy</i> :	ཚོ་རྒྱ་ འོག་སྤྱུལ་	dark blue/green

An alternative longer construction to *má:na? lòksy*: is *má: teṅk<sup>h</sup>a nàksa lòksy*: དམར་ རྗེང་ཁར་ རྒྱ་ས་ འོག་སྤྱུལ་ (lit. ‘above red black’-*sa lòksy*:).

### 17.4.4 Other colour terms

Mixed colours can be expressed with the formative *-t<sup>h</sup>a* རྩ་ ‘variegated (colour)’. In Tashiding (consultant DB), the expression *ka:p tashi?* དཀར་པ་ རྩ་ཤིག་ refers to basically white but mixed with other colours. In Martam (consultant KN), on the other hand, *ka:t<sup>h</sup>a* དཀར་པ་ རྩ་ or *ka:t<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>a* དཀར་པ་པ་པ་ རྩ་ refer to white colour occurring on a background of other colour(s). For instance, the expression *ka:p teṅk<sup>h</sup>a ṅot<sup>h</sup>a* དཀར་པ་ རྗེང་ཁར་ ཚོ་པ་ ‘on white blue/green mixed’ can be used for referring to blue ink on a white paper.

Finally, Table 17.21 presents some additional colours terms from Tashiding.

Table 17.21. Other colour terms from Tashiding (consultant DB)

<i>nà:mu?</i>	རྒྱ་སྤྱུག་	dark (but not black)
<i>má:mu?</i>	དམར་སྤྱུག་	brown (?)
<i>kjazã:</i>	ཀྱག་སངས་	bright-coloured, clear colour
<i>kjami?</i>	ཀྱག་མེད་	colourless, pale

## 17.5 Vocabulary used with small children

Some words are specifically used when talking to small children. The words I am aware are listed in Table 17.22 (with equivalent ordinary words given, if known) and some of them exemplified below. The verbs used in Table 17.22 are *tã:* ཏང་ ‘send’, *lúk* ལུག་ ‘pour’, *p’ja* ཕྱིས་

‘do’, *kjap* ལྷུབས་ ‘strike’, *sà* ཟ་ ‘eat’ and *ze*: བཞེས་ ‘eat, have (hon.)’, although all of them tend to get semantically bleached when combined with other elements. As seen in Table 17.22, reduplication, probably accompanied by onomatopoeia, is prevalent when talking to small children (*éyey*, *á?ã?*, *mámam*, *bunbun*, *tea:tea*, *bulubulu*). The words referring to animals *òmba* ‘cow (child talk)’, *lè:le:/lè:la* ‘goat (child talk)’ and *te’idzi* ‘pig (child talk)’ are the same as the words addressed to these animals when prompting them to move.

Table 17.22. Child talk vocabulary

Ordinary	Child talk	Gloss
<i>éé:p tã:</i>	<i>éy:~éyey tã:</i> , <i>íe tã:</i> , <i>eyl tã:</i> (KN), <i>te<sup>h</sup>ulu lúk</i> (TB)	urinate
<i>kjako tã:</i>	<i>é: tã:</i> , <i>á?ã? tã:</i>	defecate
<i>to sà, èè:la? ze:</i>	<i>mámam ze:</i>	eat food, rice
<i>te’a ze:</i>	<i>è: ze:</i>	have tea
<i>jà:, zim</i>	<i>jà:je: p’ja</i> , <i>zimzim p’ja</i>	sleep
<i>qì:</i>	<i>bun(bun) p’ja</i>	fall
<i>gju</i>	<i>tea:tea: p’ja</i> (PT), <i>p<sup>h</sup>a:</i> (KN)	walk
<i>te<sup>h</sup>uce kjap</i>	<i>bulubulu p’ja</i>	wash
<i>ákar</i>	<i>áka:</i>	chilli
	<i>paija:</i>	spank
<i>p<sup>h</sup>en tã:</i>	<i>puk tã:</i>	fart (verb)
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>atã?</i>	<i>átsh<sup>a</sup>:</i> , <i>áta:</i> , <i>hɛ:hɛ:</i>	hot
<i>t’ika</i>	<i>haka</i> , <i>teíteɛ</i> , <i>áté<sup>h</sup>i(te<sup>h</sup>i)</i> , <i>te<sup>h</sup>ite<sup>h</sup>i</i> (KN)	dirty
<i>teã:te<sup>h</sup>ite<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>ásisi</i>	beautiful
<i>nò</i>	<i>òmba</i> (cf. <i>óm</i> ‘milk’)	cow
<i>ra</i>	<i>lè:la</i> , <i>lè:le:</i>	goat
<i>p<sup>h</sup>ako</i>	<i>te’idzi</i>	pig
<i>óm</i>	<i>bubu</i> (KN)	milk
	<i>è:pa</i> (KN)	sweet (of taste)

Some words in Table 17.22 code adult’s empathy towards children. One sign of empathy is phonetic assimilation to what the child would likely produce in attempting to say the “grown-up” version of the word: *ákar* ‘chilli’ is simplified to *aka:*, *teã:te<sup>h</sup>ite<sup>h</sup>i* ‘beautiful’ to *ásisi* and *ts<sup>h</sup>atã?* ‘hot’ to *áta:*. The word for cow, *òmba*, likely derives from *óm bak* ‘carry milk’, thus coding empathy in that the word is linked with the child’s existing experience of drinking milk. The word *bunbun* presents onomatopoeically and emphatically what will happen to a child if (s)he falls.

Some of the words from Table 17.22 are illustrated in (17.86-94). In the glosses, CHT refers to “child talk”.

- (17.86) ལོ་ཉི་ ལྷུབས་ བཏང་།  
*óni éy: tã:*  
 child wee send  
 ‘Child, go wee-wee.’ (PTB 5, 39)

- (17.87) ལོ་ཉི་ ཞེང་ བཏང་།  
*óni é: p’ja.*  
 child poo do  
 ‘Child, go poo-poo.’ (PTB 5, 39)



(17.88) མ་མམ་ བཞེས།  
*màmam ze:*  
 food.CHT have.hon  
 ‘Please eat some food/rice.’

(17.89) དེ་ བཞེས།  
*è: ze:*  
 tea.CHT have.hon  
 ‘Please have some tea.’

(17.90) འབྲང་འབྲང་ བྱས་ཤད་ སྤང།  
*bujbuj p'ja-εε bε?*  
 falling.CHT do-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘(You) will fall (and hurt yourself).’

The reduplicated word *tea:tea* in (17.91) refers to the unstable walk of small children who are still struggling not to fall. The word *tea:* is also the humilific form for ‘come’ in ordinary language (for explanation of the term humilific, see §3.3.4). Adults may repeat *tea: tea: tea:* to a child who is just learning to walk.

(17.91) ཚོ་ཉི་ བཅའ་བཅའ་ བྱས།  
*óni tea:tea: p'ja.*  
 child walking.CHT do  
 ‘Child, walk.’ (PTB 5, 39)

(17.92) གོས་ལག་ ཇམ་སི་ སྤང།  
*k'ola? ásisi bε?*  
 clothes beautiful.CHT EQU.NE.  
 ‘(Your) clothes are beautiful.’ (KT)

(17.93) དྲ་ ལྷག་ བཏང་ཚར།  
*t'a puk tã:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:*  
 now fart.CHT send-CMPL  
 ‘Now you let out a fart.’ (KN e)

(17.94) འབྲུ་འབྲུ་ འཐུང།  
*bubu t<sup>h</sup>uj.*  
 milk.CHT drink  
 ‘Drink (some) milk!’ (KN e)

Lastly, (17.95) records an expression which an adult may say to a child who has done something wrong and should show remorse.

(17.95) སྐྱ་མཐུན་ བྱས་ (?)  
*kuk<sup>h</sup>ε: p'ja*  
 apologise.CHT(?) do  
 ‘Be sorry/Apologise!’ (TB, PT)

## 17.6 Summary remarks

This chapter presented Denjongke vocabulary from five different domains: ideophones, kinship terms, names, colour terms and vocabulary used when talking to children. A major part of the discussion addressed ideophones which occur in wide array and which have not been, to my knowledge, addressed in detail in other Tibetan languages than Dzongkha (see “expressives” in Watters [2018]). Ideophones were categorized both by formal criteria (e.g. fully reduplicated, near-reduplicated) and functional criteria (e.g. nonnormative, onomatopoeic). A particularly interesting group of ideophones was seen to be nonnormative ideophones, which associate a certain sequence of phonemes (*C1aC2.C1oC2*) with nonnormativity (e.g. walking like a drunkard instead of walking normally).

Within kinship terms, it was shown that terms for ego’s spouse’s relatives are formed from the same terms that are used for ego’s own relatives by adding in the end *k’jo:p* ‘male in-law’ and *gjum* ‘female in-law’. Two exceptions were the terms for ego’s wife’s younger sister (*jim*) and wife’s younger brother (*kipu*), which are expressed by dedicated terms not occurring among incosanguineal relatives. This, naturally, raises the question on the significance of these in-laws in Bhutia/Denjongpo culture.

This chapter further showed that Denjongke first names are strongly associated with astrology (names based on week day names based on planets) and Buddhism. Moreover, it was shown that Denjongke has five commonly used basic colour terms, with the same word being used for blue and green (although there exists a more literary dedicated word for green). Clear colours, pale colours and dark colours were shown to be expressed with specific constructions. Terms expressing clear colours were seen to excel in the use of reduplicated ideophonic suffixes. The last section introduced some vocabulary used by adults when they talk to children. It was shown that the vocabulary used when talking to children reflects adults’ empathy toward children in terms of children’s enunciatory ability and life-experiences.

## Appendix 1: Text excerpts

This section provides some interlinearized and translated examples of various language genres with notes on the specific characteristics of each genre. The genres represented are proverbs (1), riddles (2), folkstory (3), novel (4) and conversation (5).

### Proverbs

Proverbs excel in scanty expression where interpretation may be highly dependent on collocation and word order rather than grammatical marking. In ordinary prose, the verb *ta* would in (1) below in both clauses occur in nonfinal converbal form *ta-ti*. Proverbs typically consist of two lines which say analogous or somehow opposite things in parallel constructions, using partly the same words.

- (1) མི་ ལྟ་ གཞོག་ལྷན། ལྟ་ ལྟ་ མ་འཇུང་།  
*mí ta jóʔ p'ja, p'ja ta tɛ<sup>h</sup>u ma-t<sup>h</sup>uŋ.*  
 human look work do hen look water NEG-drink  
 'Looking (for an example) at people, do your work. Looking at the hen (for an example), do not drink water.' (KN)
- (2) མི་ལྟ་ལོ་ གཏམ་, ལྷང་ ལྟ་ལོ་ ཤ།  
*mí gɛ:=lo tam, lá: gɛ:=lo ɛá.*  
 human (be.)old=DAT word bull (be.)old=DAT meat  
 'Old (hu)man has sayings, old bull has meat.' (KN)
- (3) ར་ཤ་ ཟ་བའི་ ལྷང་ ལྟེ་ ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ། ར་རིན་ ལྟ་བའི་ ལྷང་ མིག་ ལྟུག་ལྟུག།  
*ra-ɛa sà-wø: gã: tɛɛ ʃapʃap, ra-rĩ: ta-wø: gã*  
 goat-meat eat-2INF.GEN time tongue lick.lick goat-price look-2INF.GEN time  
*mik ʃukʃuk.*  
 eyes wide.open  
 'When eating goat-meat, tongue goes lick-lick. When looking at the goat-price the eyes go wide open (in surprise).' (KN)
- (4) མི་ མཚོ་རིགས་ མི་གཅིག། ལྟེ་ ལྟུ་རིགས་ མི་གཅིག།  
*mí nóriʔ mi-tɛiʔ, p'ja pu-riʔ mi-tɛiʔ.*  
 human thought-kind NEG-one bird feather-kind NEG-one  
 'People's ways of thinking are various. Bird's feathers are various.' (SS)
- (5) ཇ་ཀར་ མེད་ཅེ་ ཟམ་ མེན་ཟ། མོ་བུད་ མེད་ཅེ་ ལྷ་ མི་ཆགས།  
*ákar mè:-nɛ sàm min-za. mòbyʔ mè:-nɛ lá mi-tɛ<sup>h</sup>aʔ.*  
 chillyNEG.EX-COND food NEG-eat wife NEG.EX-COND enjoy NEG-enjoy  
 'Without chilli, there is no eating. Without a wife, there is no enjoyment.' (KN)

- (6) ཤིང་ ལྷག་ཅན་ལོ་ འཛོག་ འཛོ་སྒྲི་མི་ ལྷག་ཅན་ལོ་ ལབ་ འཛོ་སྒྲི།  
*ɛ́ɪŋ ɛ̀àga-tɛ̀ɛ̀:=lo dzɛk dzo-ti, mí*  
 tree branch-ADJZR=DAT climb be.comfortable-NF human  
*k'o-wa-tɛ̀ɛ̀:=lo làp dzo-ti.*  
 understand-CIRC-ADJZR=DAT speak be.comfortable-NF  
 'It is easy to climb to a tree with many branches. It is easy to speak to a man of understanding.' (UT)
- (7) ལམ་ འཛོ་ལ་ན་ ལོག་སོ་ ཡོད། ལ་ འཛོ་ལ་ན་ ལོག་སོ་ མེད།  
*lám dzø:-na lòkso jò? kʰa dzø:-na lòkso mè?*  
 road err-COND returning EX.PER mouth err-COND returning NEG.EX.PER  
 'If one errs in road, there is returning. If one errs in speech, there is no returning.' (UT)
- (8) མི་ འཕྱོམ་ ལ་ ཕྱོམ་, ར་ འཕྱོམ་ ཚེ་ལུ་ འཕྱོམ།  
*mí kʰjom kʰa kʰjom, ra kʰjom tsʰilu kʰjom.*  
 man difficulty mouth difficulty goat difficulty fat difficulty  
 'Man's bane is the mouth, goat's bane is the fat.' (explanation: A human being runs into trouble because of his/her mouth, and a goat runs into trouble [of being eaten] because of its fat) (UT)
- (9) ལྗོ་ འབྲུ་ལྗོ་ ཟ་བ་ ལྗོ་བ་ མིན་དགོས། ལམ་ བེ་ཉེ་ འགྲུ་བ་ ཉོག་མ་ མིན་དགོས།  
*to bja:to sà-wa topa? miŋ-go?. lám pʰi:je: gju-wa to:ma?*  
 rice countryside.rice eat-CIRC curry NEG-needed road level go-CIRC stick  
*miŋ-go?*  
 NEG-needed  
 'When eating countryside rice for rice, no curry is needed. When walking on a level road, no (walking) stick is needed.' (UT)
- (10) ལྗི་ཤིག་ བསད་བ་ ལྗོ་རེ་ མིན་དགོས། སོག་མ་ བསད་བ་ རོ་བོ་ མིན་དགོས།  
*kiɛik sé-pa ta:ri miŋ-go?. sóma sé-pa tʰo:*  
 black.flea kill-PUR axe NEG-be.needed flea.egg kill-PUR hammer  
*miŋ-go?*  
 NEG-be.needed  
 'To kill fleas, no axe is needed. To kill flea-eggs, no hammer is needed.' (UT)
- (11) ལབ་སྐྱབས་ ཡོད་ནེ་ ལའི་ རོན། འགྲུ་སྐྱབས་ ཡོད་ནེ་ རྐང་བའི་ རོན།  
*làp-tā: jò:-nɛ kʰa=i sòŋ, gju-tā: jò:-nɛ*  
 speak-manner EX-COND mouth=GEN caution walk-manner EX-COND  
*kā.pø: sòŋ.*  
 foot.GEN caution  
 'If there is speaking manner, mouth's caution. If there is walking manner, feet's caution.' (UT)

- (12) དག་གོ་མིན་ནེ་བྱིན་དགོས་མཚོ། ཞེན་པོ་མིན་ནེ་སྐལ་དགོས་མཚོ།  
*t'ako ín-ne p'in goʔ nó. ɛ̀ɛmpo ín-ne ky:*  
 nobleman EQU-COND give be.needed think fool EQU-COND cause.to.move  
*goʔ nó.*  
 be.needed think  
 'If (someone) is a nobleman, think that (you) have to give (him). If (someone) is a fool, think that (you) have to use (him).' (UT)
- (13) ཞེན་མ་ལོ་བྱིག་ཤང་མིན་མ་ལལ། འུང་ཀ་ལོ་བྱིན་ཤང་མིན་མ་ལལ།  
*ɛ̀ɛ:m=lo k'hik-ɛ́i: ma-làp. pjan̄ka=lo p'in-ɛ́i: ma-làp.*  
 foolish.woman=DAT lead-NPAST.PER NEG-say poor=DAT give-NPAST.PER NEG-say  
 'Don't say to a foolish woman "I will take (you as my wife)", don't say to the poor "I will give".'
- (14) རྩུ་ལ་ཤ་ཟ། བརྟུང་བོ་ར་བརྟུང།  
*sòu k'haca sà, duy-bo rà duy*  
 food deer eat beat-2INF goat beat  
 'Deer ate the food, goat bore the beating.' (UT)
- (15) ཞེན་པོ་བྱོ་ནེ་གཅིག་སྐལ་ཐང་། དག་གོ་བྱོ་ནེ་གཉིས་སྐལ་ཐོབ།  
*ɛ̀ɛmpo k'hjo:-ne teiʔ ke: pã:. t'ako k'hjo:-ne ni: ke:*  
 fool get.angry-COND one portion forsake nobleman get.angry two portion  
*t'hop.*  
 find  
 'If a fool gets angry, do not give (even) one gift. If a nobleman gets angry, (he) shall receive two gifts.' (UT)
- (16) ལྷ་ལྷ་མི་ཚུགས། འུང་ཀ་ཤེད་མི་ཚུགས།  
*p'hjuku ki-u mi-ts'huʔ. pjan̄ka ɛ́i-u mi-ts'huʔ.*  
 rich be.born-2INF NEG-be.able.to poor die-2INF NEG-be.able.to  
 'The rich are not able to be born. The poor are not able to die (properly).' (UT)
- (17) མོ་ལོ་བརྟུང་ལ་མ་བྱིན་མ་རེ། མོ་ལོ་བརྟུང་ལ་ད་གཏམ་མ་རེ།  
*mò=lo tɛɛ:ŋa áma k'ø̄n ma-ri. p'ho=lo tɛɛ:ŋa ápa tam*  
 female=DAT fifteen mother wear NEG-hope male=DAT fifteen father word  
*ma-ri.*  
 NEG-hope  
 'A girl of fifteen (years), do not count on mummy clothing (you). A boy of fifteen (years), do not count on father's advice (but make your own decisions).' (UT)
- (18) དགོན་པའི་བྱི་རྩོ་གོམ་རྒྱབས་ནེ་ལ་མའི་ལྷགས་ལོ་ཐོག་ཤང་ཐང།  
*gjømpø: k'hi dogom kjap-ne lámø: t'hu:=lo p'ok-ɛɛ*  
 monastery.GEN dog stone strike-COND lama.GEN mind.HON=DAT hit-INF  
*beʔ.*  
 EQU.NE  
 'If you stone the monastery's dog, it will hit the lama's mind.' (UT)

(19) རང་དོན་ འགྲུབ་ནེ་ ཚ་ལྷན་<sup>470</sup> ངན་རྩང་ རྩེད་པར་ མེད།  
*rã:dõ: dup-ne te<sup>h</sup>aly? jèn-run k<sup>h</sup>epar mè?*  
 own.goal fulfil-COND style be.bad-CONC difference NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘If one’s own goal is achieved, it does not matter even though the means is bad.’ / ‘The end justifies the means.’ (KL)

(20) ཟ་ མ་ཚོའ་པའི་ མི་ ཟ་ རྟེན་ གཅིག་ ལྷོག་ཀ་ ཟམ། ། འགྲུ་ མ་ཚོའ་པའི་ མི་ འགྲུ་ རེམ་པ་ ལ་ བསམ།  
*sà ma-mjõ:-pø: mí sà, j̥eu=tei? p<sup>h</sup>joka sàm*  
 eat NEG-experience-NMLZ.GEN human eat snot=INDF taste food  
*gju ma-mjõ:-pø: mí gju, t<sup>h</sup>empa là sám*  
 walk NEG-experience-NMLZ.GEN human walk threshold pass think  
 ‘An inexperienced eater eats and thinks a taste of snot is food. An inexperienced walker walks and thinks a threshold is a mountain pass.’

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<sup>470</sup> This WD form given by consultant KL may correspond to dictionary form ཚ་ལྷན་ ‘style, fashion, custom’.

## Riddles

- (1) ཕྱི་ལོ་གཤམ་ལས་ བོས་ལག་ མེད་མཁམ་, ནང་གཤམ་ འུ་སྒྲིང་ མེད་མཁམ།  
*pʰilo=le k'ola mè:-kʰɛ: nàŋɛa=le t'unij mè:-kʰɛ:*  
 outside=ABL clothes NEG.EX-NMLZ inside=ABL heart NEG.EX.PER  
 ‘Outside no clothes, inside no heart.’

answer: རྡོ།  
 do  
 stone  
 ‘stone’ (JDG)

- (2) དབུགས་ མེད། ཀླུང་(ལོ་) མེད། འཛམ་གླིང་ རྫོང་ལྗེ་ ལོན་ རྒྱལ་མཁམ།  
*ú? mè?, kã:(po) mè? dzamliŋ kor-di lòn*  
 breath NEG.EX.PER foot NEG.EX.PER world go.around-NF message  
*ke:-kʰɛ:*  
 bring-NMLZ  
 ‘(It) has no breath and no feet (but) going around the world (it) brings messages.’

answer: ཡི་གེ།  
 jìgi  
 letter  
 ‘letter’ (JDG)

- (3) ལྷོ་ལས་ ལོང་སྟེ་ འུང་ཏོག་ ནང་གཤམ་ ལག་ལྗོ་ རྒྱབས་ལོ། གན་ སྐད་?  
*t'o:le lô:-ti t'unto? nàŋɛa làko kjap-o. k'an bɛ??*  
 early rise-NF tea.churn inside hand strike-2INF what EQU.NE  
 ‘Rising early, putting hand in a tea-churn. What is it?’ (JDG)

answer: ལྷོང་གོས་ རྒྱན་ལོ། ཟུ་ལྷང།  
*tø:gu? k'øm-bo or pʰylun/pʰyduŋ*  
 short wear-2INF sleeve  
 ‘putting on a shirt’ ‘sleeve’

- (4) མི་ འདི་ མི་ལག་ གསུམ་, རྗེ་རགས་ གཅིག། འདི་ གན་སྐད་?  
*mí=di míla? súm, kera tei? di k'an bɛ??*  
 human=DEMPH person three belt one this what EQU.NE  
 ‘Three people, one belt. What is it?’

Answer: ཇམ་རག་ བཏོན་བཏོན་ལོ། ཇམ་རག་ གཅག་གད།  
*ára? ten-tem-bo or ára? teak-ɛɛ?*  
 liquor extract-RDP-2INF liquor cut-INF  
 ‘extracting liquor’ ‘making liquor’ (JDG)

Explanation (KN): The liquor-maker binds three vessels with one belt, which prevents the liquor from breaking the vessels.

- (5) ལྷ་ལས་ བོད་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ལ་དར་ བཏགས་ བཏང་བོ།  
*gja=le p'ø? sã:te kʰada ta: tã:-bo*  
 India=ABL Tibet until scarf append send-2INF  
 'It extends a khada-scarf from India to Tibet.'

answer: ལྷ།  
*te<sup>h</sup>u*  
 water  
 'water' (JDG)

- (6) ཐག་གོ་ རིང་ལྷམ་ བཞེས་སྟོ་ ཞིམ་ལ།  
*tʰoko riŋkʰjam, eè:go? eìmpu*  
 rope long food tasty  
 'Long rope, tasty food.'

answer: ཉ་ བསད་ཤད།  
*na sè-εε?*  
 fish kill-INF  
 'to fish' (JDG)

- (7) མར་ལུ་ རོར་བོ་ གང་གིས་ འཇོམ་སྤོང་ ལྷབ་པོ།  
*mà:kʰu pʰo:po k'ã:=gi dzamliŋ kʰjap-o.*  
 liquid.butter bowl full=AGT world spread.far-2INF  
 'A full bowl of liquid butter extends over the world.'

answer: ཉིམ།  
*niim*  
 sun  
 'sun' (JDG)

- (8) ག་ཚོད་ ཟ་བོ་ མོ་ཚོད་ ལྷག་གོ་ བཏང་མཐུན།  
*k'adzø? sò-u, ódzø? kjacko tã:-kʰê:.*  
 how.much eat-2INF that.much faeces send-NMLZ  
 'As much as it eats, it defecates.' (JDG)

answer: རང་འཐག།  
*rã:tʰa?*  
 mill  
 'mill' (JDG)

- (9) ཉེ་དྲག་ མེ་ཉེ་ གཅིག་ ལྷང་ལར་ ལྷ་ལྷང་ འུག་གིས་ ལྷ་ ལྷབས་པོ།  
*te:ta? pʰi:ne:=tei? teŋkʰa p'itsun t'u:=ki lú kjack-o*  
 stick horizontal=INDF on small.bird six=AGT song do-2INF

answer: ལྷ་སྤོང་ ལ། སྤོང་ལུ་ ལ།  
*gjalij pʰu* or *límbu pʰu*  
 gyaling.trumpet blow flute blow  
 'blowing the gyaling-trumpet' 'blowing the flute'



(10) ཇམ་ ཟིན་མོ་, ལུ་མ་ མཁའ་འགོ་, གན་ འདུག་?

*ám símo, p'um kʰandʉ, k'an duʔ?*  
mother cannibal.demoness daughter dakini what EX.SEN  
'The mother a demon, the daughter an angel, what is it?'

answer: ལྷོ་ལུ་མ།

*tsʰe:lum*  
tshelum-plant  
'tshelum plant' (a plant with thorns but sweet fruit)

(11) འགྲུ་རན་ཁར་ ཏྲ་ འདེམ་ རྒྱགས། རྣོད་རན་ཁར་ རྒྱན་ཅན་ འདེམ་ རྣོད། འོང་རན་ཁར་ རྒྱལ་བ་ འོང་དྲོ་ འདེམ་ འོང་། འདི་ གན་ བོ་?

*gju-reŋkʰa ta dem gjuk. dø:-reŋkʰa kyntɛɛ: dem dʘʔ. ɔ̃:-reŋkʰa gɛ:p*  
go-SIM horse like run sit-SIM thief like sit come-SIM king  
*òŋ-do dem ɔ̃: di k'an bo?*  
come-PROGlike come this what EQU.NE.Q

'When going, it runs like a horse. When sitting, it sits like a thief. When coming (back), it comes like a king. What is it?'

answer: རྒྱག་གོ་ བཏང་ཤད།

*kjako tã:-ɛɛʔ*  
faeces send-INF  
'defecating' (UT)

(12) ཀོམ་བའི་ མེ་མདའ་རྒྱུད་གི་ རྩམ་ ས་ལོ་ རྒྱབས་རན་ཁར་ ལྷ་གུ་ རྣོང་ཁར་ བོག། འདི་ གན་ བོ་?

*kompø: minda lún=gi dzɛʔ sá=lo kjap-reŋkʰa*  
leather.GEN gun air=GEN bullet ground=DAT strike-SIM  
*ŋagu teŋkʰa pʰok. di k'an bo?*  
nose on hit this what EQU.NE.Q

'When the gunpowder of a leather gun is shot toward the ground, it hits the nose. What is it?'

answer: བན།

*pʰen*  
fart  
'fart' (UT)

## Folkstory

Folstories are often pedagogic discourses about animals. Frequent use of the reportative =lo, typical of folk tales, reveals that the speaker has heard the story from others. The use of the reportative is in the story below typically translated as ‘(so the story goes)’ (the brackets indicate that Denjongke is not as explicit as the English equivalent). The quotative =s(ε), as shown by the first line of the story, can also mark that the speaker is repeating what has been said by others.

- (1) མི་ལོ་ ཞེན་མཐོང་ མ་བསགས་ སེ།  
*mí=lo      ɛ̀ɛntʰõ:      ma-sá:=s.*  
 human=DAT contempt NEG-gather=QUO  
 ‘Do not heap contempt on people, it is said.’
- (2) མི་ལོ་ ཞེན་མཐོང་ བསགས་ཀ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ལ་ཤ་ར་ འདེམ་ ཐོན་ཤང་ ཞིན་ སེ།  
*mílo      ɛ̀ɛntʰõ:      sák-etsenɛ      kʰaɕa=ra      (de)m      tʰon-ɛɛ*  
 human=DAT contempt gather-COND deer=AEMPH like become-INF  
*í:=s.*  
 EQU.PER=QUO  
 ‘If (you) heap contempt on people, you will end up like the deer.’
- (3) ལ་ཤ་ འདི་ ལུའི་ཀི་ འདེམ་ ལྷ་གུ་ འདེབ་ ལུམ་ལུམ་བོ་ ཡོང་ལོ།  
*kʰaɕa=di      kʰu=i=gi      dem      ŋaku dep      súm-sum-bo      jò:=lo.*  
 deer=DEMPH 3SGM=GEN=GEN like.that nose like.that shrink-RDP-2INF EX.PER=REP  
 ‘The deer, its nose is shrunken like that, it is said.’
- (4) ཨོ་འདི་ གན་ ལུམ་བོ་ སི་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ དང་ལུ་ ལྷང་ལུ་ གཅིག་ འདེབ་ ལམ་ རང་ཤ་ འགྲུ་དོ་ལོ་, འུག་ རང་ཤ་ལས།  
*ódi      kʰan      súm-bo      sí-betsenɛ      tʰanpu      lá:bu=teɪ?      dep      lám*  
 that what shrink-2INF say-COND long.ago elephant=INDF like.it road  
*nàŋɕa      gju-do=lo,      pʰja?      nàŋɕa=lɛ.*  
 inside go-IPFV=REP cliff inside=ABL  
 ‘If (I) tell what shrank it, long ago an elephant was walking on a road like this, on a cliff.’
- (5) འགྲུ་བའི་ ལྷང་ འདི་ ལྷང་ལུ་ འདི་ཀི་ ལྷབ་ལར་ ཡོ་ལུ་ འུག་ འདི་ལས་ འོག་ལྷེ་ རོ་གོམ་ གཅིག་ འགྲིལ་བ་ འོང་ལྷི་ དུག་ལོ་ རོ་གོམ་ འདི་ ཐོག་གོ་  
 ལོ་ལགས།  
*gju-wø:      gǎ:=di      lá:bu=di=gi      gjapkʰa jòu      pʰja:=di=lɛ*  
 go-2INF.GEN time=DEMPH elephant=DEMPH=GEN in.back up cliff=DEMPH=ABL  
*òtɛ      dogom=teɪ?      dɪ:      ba?      òn-di      tʰa:glo      dogom=di*  
 down stone=INDF fall carry come-NF EXCLAM stone=DEMPH  
*pʰok-o=lo=la.*  
 hit-2INF=REP=HON  
 ‘When going, a stone came down falling from the cliff and slam the stone hit the elephant’s back (so the story goes).’
- (6) རོ་གོམ་ འདི་ ཐོག་ཚར་ལས་ འདི་ ལྷབ་ལས་ ལྷབ་ལས་ འདི་ ལ་ཤ་ འདི་ འོང་དོ་ལོ།  
*dogom=di      pʰok-sa=lɛ=di      gjablɛ      gjablɛ=di      kʰaɕa=di      òn-do=lo.*  
 stone=DEMPH hit-CMPL=ABL after after=DEMPH deer=DEMPH come-IPFV=REP  
 ‘Stone having hit, afterwards, afterwards a deer is coming (so the story goes).’

- (7) ཉེ་ཁ་ཤ་འདི་ལོ་སྐྱང་བུ་འདི་འདེབ་ལྷ་བཞག་ལབ་པོ་ལོ།  
*tɛ kʰaɕa=di=lo lǎ:bu=di dep ta za: lǎp-o=lo.*  
 so deer=DEMPH=DAT elephant=DEMPH like.this look put say-2INF=REP  
 ‘So the elephant looked at the deer and said like this.’
- (8) མོ་འདི་རང་ཉོ་ལོ་འདི་གན་པོ་མི་ན་?  
*óí rǎ:=to, di k’a: bo ín-a<sup>471</sup>?*  
 Oh 2SG.M=CEMPH this what EQU.NE.Q EQU.PER-Q  
 ‘Hey, you...what is this?’
- (9) སྐྱག་ལས་འ་སྟེ་ང་ལོ་རྩོ་འགྲིལ་བཏང་མྱི་ངའི་རྒྱབ་ཁར་རྩོ་གཅིག་ཕོག་ཚར་ཉོ་ལོ།  
*p’ja:=lɛ òtɛ ŋà=lo do d̪i: tǎ:-di jnè: gjapkʰa do=tɕi?*  
 cliff=ABL down 1SG=DAT stone fall send-NF 1SG.GEN in.back stone=INDF  
*pʰok-tsʰa-to=lo.*  
 hit-CMPL-CEMPH=REP  
 ‘A stone was sent down falling from the cliff and it hit my back (so the story goes).’
- (10) ཁ་ཤ་འདི་ལོ་ལབ་པོ་ལོ་སྐྱང་བུ་གེས་ལགས།  
*kʰaɕa=di=lo lǎp-o=lo lǎ:bu=gi=la.*  
 deer=DEMPH=DAT say-2INF=REP elephant=AGT=HON  
 ‘The elephant said (this) to the deer.’
- (11) ཉེ་རང་ཉོ་ཁ་ཤ་ནགས་ཚན་ནང་ག་ཕྱག་འདི་ཚུའི་ནང་ག་ལེབ་རྒྱག་ཚུགས།  
*tɛ rǎ:=to kʰaɕa, nà:tsɛ: nàŋɕa, p’ja? di=tsu=i nàŋɕa*  
 so 2SG.M=CEMPH deer forest inside precipise this=PL=GEN inside  
*lɛp gjuk tsʰu?*  
 very.much run be.able.to  
 ‘So you (are) a deer, (you) are very well able to run in the forest and in these cliffs.’
- (12) རང་ལོ་ལྷུ་རྒྱགས་སོང་མྱི་ལྷ་སོང་ཆེ།  
*rǎ: jòu gjuk sǒ:-di ta sǒ:-tɕʰi.*  
 2SG.M up run go.PFV-NF look go.PFV-IMP.FRN  
 ‘You go up running to look.’
- (13) ག་རྩེམ་གཅིག་འདུག་གེ་འདི་ང་ལོ་རྩོ་རྩོག་འགྲིལ་མཁན་འདི་ལབ་མཁན་?  
*k’atem=tɕi? du-kɛ di ŋà=lo do lok d̪i:-kʰɛn=di*  
 how=INDF EX.SEN-IN this 1SG=DAT stone remove fall-NMLZ=DEMPH  
*lǎp-kʰɛ:ʔ<sup>472</sup>*  
 say-NMLZ  
 ‘What kind is the one who displaced and made the stone fall on me?’

<sup>471</sup> This form is typically pronounced *ja*.

<sup>472</sup> The last syllable is unclear on recording. The nominalizer *-kʰɛ:* was an educated guess by a consultant.

- (14) དེ་ཟང་ རྩོ་ རྩོག་ འགྲེལ་མཁན་ འདི་ རྩོ་དུད་མ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་ལོ་ལགས་, porcupine.  
*t'izā: do lok di:-kʰen=di p'idim=tei? du:=lo=la,*  
 but stone remove fall-NMLZ=DEMPH porcupine=INDF EX.SEN=REP=HON  
*po:kjupain.*  
 porcupine(Eng.).  
 'But the one who displaced the stone and made it fall is (I see) a porcupine (so the story goes).'
- (15) ཉེ་ ལུ་ ལ་ག་ འདི་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།  
*tɛ kʰu kʰaɕa=di ləp-o=lo*  
 so 3SGM deer=DEMPH say-2INF=REP  
 'So he, the deer, says (so the story goes):'
- (16) ཡི་ན་ འདེམ་ སེམས་ཅན་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།  
*ji=na dem sɪmtɕɛ:=tei? du-kɛ.*  
 up=LOC such animal=INDF EX.SEN-IN  
 'There is such an animal up there.'
- (17) གཟུགས་ རྩང་ རོང་རོང་ འདོ་འདེམ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།  
*zu? tsā: roŋroŋ dodɛm=tei? du-kɛ.*  
 body thorn here.and.there right.like.this=INDF EX.SEN-IN  
 'It is one with body covered with thorns like this.'
- (18) ཨོ་འདི་གེས་ འདེབ་ དོང་ ཀླག་ཚར་ལས་ འདི་ རྩོ་ འདི་ འགྲེལ་ འབག་ འོང་ལྷི་གོ་, ག་ལྷེ་ལོ་, ངའི་ རྩུབ་ལར་ སོག་གོ་ སྦང་སོ།  
*ódi=gi dɛp t'õ: kok-sa=lɛ=di do=di di: ba?*  
 that=AGT like.that hole dig-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH stone=DEMPH fall carry  
*òŋ-diki, k'atelo, jɛ.<sup>473</sup> gjapkʰa pʰok-o bɛ:=s.*  
 come-NF how=DAT 1SG.GEN in.back hit-2INF EQU.NE=QUO  
 'That one like that dug a hole and (as a result) a stone fell and came and, how, hit my (probably should be: your) back (so the story goes)'
- (19) ཉེ་ རྩང་བུ་ འདི་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།  
*tɛ lá:bu=di ləp-o=lo*  
 so elephant=DEMPH say-2INF=REP  
 'So the elephants said (so the story goes):'
- (20) ལུ་ལོ་ འདི་ལར་ ངའི་ མདུན་ལར་ ལུག་ སོ།  
*kʰu=lo dikʰa jɛ: dyŋkʰa kuk=s.*  
 3SGM=DAT here 1SG.GEN in.front.of call=QUO  
 'Call him here in front of me, (he) said'
- (21) ལུ་ གན་ འདི་ རྩོ་ རྩོ་ བཏང་བོ་?  
*kʰu k'an p'ja-ti do=di tã:-bo?*  
 3SGM what do-NF stone=DEMPH send-2INF  
 'Why did he send the stone?'

<sup>473</sup> This should be ཚོད་(ཀྱི) 'your' as the speaker is the deer.

- (22) ཉེ་ ལྷང་བུ་ འདི་ ལ་བ་བོ་ལོ་  
*tɛ læ̃.bu=di læ̃p-o=lo.*  
 so elephant=DEMPH say-2INF=REP  
 ‘So the elephant said (so the story goes):’
- (23) རང་ ཡ་ལྷེ་ འུག་ རང་ཤ་ འདོག་ལྷེ་ ཡོ་ལུ་ ལུའི་ རྩར་ འགྲུ་ དགོས་ ཡོ་ལའི་ འདི་གེས་ ཤོག་ ལ་བ་བཞིན་གེ་ སེ་ ལ་བ་ཚར་ལས།  
*rã: jàtɛ p'ja? nàncə dzɛk-ti jòu kʰu=i=tsa: gju go?*  
 2SG.M up cliff inside climb-NF up 3SGM=GEN=at go be.needed  
*jòkʰø:=di=ki ɛó? læ̃p-dzyɲɣɛ=s læ̃p-sa=lɛ.*  
 up.GEN=DEMPH=AGT come say-PROG.APH=QUO say-CMPL=ABL  
 ‘You have to climb up the cliff and go to him, because the one up (there) is saying “come”.’
- (24) ལྷང་བུ་ འདི་ ང་ ཡ་ལྷེ་ཉོ་ འགྲུ་ མི་ཚུགས།  
*lã:bu=di nə jàtɛ=to gju mi-tsʰu?*  
 elephant=DEMPH 1SG up=CEMPH go NEG-be.able.to  
 ‘Elephant (said): I am not able to go up.’
- (25) ང་ ལུའི་ མདུན་ཁར་ འགྲུ་ མི་ཚུགས།  
*nə kʰu=i dynkʰa gju mi-tsʰu?*  
 1SG 3SGM=GEN in.front.of go NEG-be.able.to  
 ‘I am not able to go in front of him.’
- (26) ལུ་ལོ་ འདི་ འོག་, འོག་ལྷེ་ ཤོག་ སེ་ ལ་བ་ས་ལས་ འདི་ ཉེ་ ལ་ཤ་ འདི་གེས་  
*kʰu=lo=di ɔ?, ɔtɛ ɛó:=s læ̃p-sa=lɛ=di tɛ*  
 3SGM=DAT=DEMPH down down come.IMP=QUO say-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH so  
*kʰaɛa=di=gi*  
 deer=DEMPH=AGT  
 ‘When he had said “Come down, down”, so the deer (said):’
- (27) ཅི་, རང་ཉོ་ འདེམ་ གཞུགས་ ལྷོ་མ་ཚུང་, རང་ འདེམ་ གཞུགས་ ལྷོ་མ་ཚུང་, ལུ་ འདེམ་ ལྷོ་མ་ག་ གཅིག་ མདུན་ཁར་ འགྲུ་ མི་ཚུགས་མཁུན་ ཡང་  
 ལ་བ་ལྷེ་ insult འུག་བོ་ལོ་ལགས།  
*tsei rã:=to dem zu? bomtɕuŋ, rã: dem zu? bomtɕuŋ, kʰu*  
 EXCLAM 2SG.M=CEMPH such body size 2SG.M suck body size 3SGM  
*dem pʰima=tci? dynkʰa gju mi-tsʰu-kʰɛ:=jã: læ̃p-ti*  
 such small=INDF in.front.of go NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ=even say-NF  
*insol p'ja-u=lo=la, ɛɛntʰõ: sák-o=lo.*  
 insult(Eng.) do-2INF=REP=HON contempt gather-2INF=REP  
 ‘Wow, you (are) of such a body-size, you (are) of such a body-size, but still you are not able to go in front of such a small one as he, insulted, heaped contempt (on him) (so the story goes).’

(28) ཞེན་མཐོང་བསགས་ཚར་ལས་ ལྷ་ཀེས་ འདི་... ཨོ་དི་ elephant ལྷེང་ཁར་, ལྷང་བུ་ ལྷེང་ཁར་ ཞེན་མཐོང་བསགས་ཚར་ལས་... ཡིག་ མ་  
 ཚེས་བ་ རྗོ་ ལབ་བའི་ ལྷང་ ཉེ་ ལུའི་ཀི་ ལྷ་བུ་ འདི་ འདྲེབ་ ལུམ་ལྷི་ ལྷོད་པོ་ལོ་ལགས།

*ɛ̀ɛntʰõ:*      *sák-sa=le*                      *kʰu=gi=di*                      *ódi*    *elifənt*                      *tɛŋkʰa,*  
 contempt gather-CMPL=ABL    3SGM=GEN=DEMPH    that    elephant(Eng.)    on  
*lá:bu*    *tɛŋkʰa*    *ɛ̀ɛntʰõ:*      *sák-sa=le,*                      *jìʔ*      *ma-tɛʰi-pa*                      *tɛʰi:*  
 elephant on      contempt gather-CMPL=ABL    believe    NEG-believe-CIRC    EXCLAM  
*làpø:*              *gã:*    *tɛ*    *kʰu=i=gi*                      *ŋaku=di*                      *dɛp*                      *súm-di*  
 say-2INF.GEN    time    so    3SGM=GEN=GEN    nose=DEMPH    like.that    shrink-NF  
*dø:-po=lo=la.*

stay-2INF=REP=HON

‘Having heaped contempt his...having heaped contempt on that elephant, when, not believing, he said darn, his nose shrunk and stayed (like that) (so the story goes).’

(29) འདི་ འབྲས་ལྷོངས་ཀྱི་ གཞུང་གཏམ་ རྒྱང་རྒྱང་ གཅིག་ འདི་ ཨོན་ལགས།

*di*    *dʑendzɔŋ=gi*    *súnɰtam*    *tɛʰuŋtɛuŋ=tɛiʔ*    *di*    *í:=la.*  
 this    Sikkim=GEN    story    small=INDF    this    EQU.PER=HON

‘This is a short Sikkimese story.’ (UTU)

## Excerpt from the Novel Richhi

The novel Richhi by Bhaichung Tsichudarmo, published in 1996, remains the only existing Denjongke novel. Below is an excerpt from the novel (p. 12-13). The excerpt is slightly modified from Yliniemi (2016a).

ཚོས་སློན་གྱིས་གསོལ་ཇ་བཟོ་དྲི་ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་དྲངས་བཞིན་ལོ་བེ་ལུང་

*tɕʰɔqɕ̥:=gi sɔːza zoː-ti tʰamtɕɕ=lo tʰã-zɕ̥:=lo pɛːluŋ*

Choden=AGT tea.HON make-NF all=DAT carry-PROG=DAT bowl

Choden makes tea, brings it to everyone and puts snacks in a basket in their

ནང་གི་གསོལ་ཞིབ་ཅན་དྲི་སྤང་ལོ་སྐྱུ་ན་བཞག།

*nəŋ=gi sɔːɕip tɕente tɕylo bu=na zaʔ. tʰato kʰɔ̃:=tsu nãmtɕiʔ*

inside=GEN snacks table on middle=LOC put now 3PL=PL with

midst on the table.

ད་ལྟ་ཁོང་ཚུ་མཉམ་ཅིག།

*tʰato kʰɔ̃:=tsu nãmtɕiʔ*

now 3PL=PL with

Now as they sit together

སྤོང་སྤྱི་གསོལ་ཇ་གསོལ་ཞིབ་ཟ་བཞིན་པའི་སྐབས་མཉེ་སྤྱི་རང་གྱིས་

*døː-ti sɔːza sɔːɕip sà-zɕ̥:-pøː kap nɛːmu=rãː kʰim*

sit-NF tea.HON snacks eat-PROG-NMNZ.GEN time really=AEMPH home

enjoying tea and snacks they are really like members

གཅིག་གི་བཟའ་ཚང་འདྲ་བོ།

*tɕiː=ki zaːtsʰãː dau.*

one=GEN family.members like

of one household.

གྱོས་ཀྱབས་བཞིན་ཀྱབས་བཞིན་ཀམ་གཤིས་

*kʰjoʔ kjap-zɕ̥ː kjap-zɕ̥ː karma=gi*

talk do-PROG do-PROG PN=AGT

As (they) are talking, Karma says

ལྷ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ “ན་བུ་སྤྱི་ལགས་གན་བཞུགས་མཁན་བོ?”

*lɕi=lo nãː pʰusim=laː kʰana zuː-kʰɛn boʔ*

PN=DAT here younger.sister=HON where live.HON-NMNZ EQU.NE.Q

to Lhaki: “Where does the sister here live?”

ལྷ་སྤྱི་ - “ཁོང་ང་དང་མཉམ་ཅིག་རང་སློབ་གྲྭ་ན་ཕྱག་ལས་གནང་དོ།

*lɕiʔ kʰɔ̃ː nã tʰãː nãmtɕi=rãː lɔbɕa=na tɕʰaːlɛʔ nãː-do*

PN 3SG.HON 1SG and with=AEMPH school=LOC work do.HON-IPFV

Lhaki: "She works together with me at the school.

ཨིན་ཤོ།

*íː=ɕo.*

EQU.PER=AT

དོ་རྩེ་སྤོང་ལོ་བཞུགས་མཁན་ཨིན།

*dordziliŋ=lo zuː-kʰɕ̥ː íː*

TPN=DAT live-NMLZ EQU.PER

(She) lives in Darjeeling.

འདི་ཁར་སྤོངས་སྤྱི་ཉ་ལམ་

*dikʰa lɕɛp-ti hálam*

here arrive-NF about

(She) came here about eight months

ཟླ་བོ་བརྒྱད་ཚོང་ལང་དོ་ཨ་གྲུ།”

*dou gɛː-tsʰøʔ lãː-to ágja.*

month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother

ago, brother. ”

ཀམ་ - “ཨོ་འདིས་དྲི།

*Karma - ódiː=to*<sup>474</sup>.

PN that.AGT=CEMPH

Karma: “That's it.

<sup>474</sup> The expression *ódiː=to* is a challenging to understand and translate in this context. It can be said, for instance, with hindsight to a child, who without heeding a warning, experiences the unpleasant outcome.

མདང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ མགོ་ བཏོག་སྟེ་ འགྲུལ་ རྒྱུ་ ཡོད་སྐབས་  
*dā:*      *ɲətɕi* *bhaila-ki* *go*      *tok-ti* *d̪i:* *d̪ø:* *j̈ø:-kap*  
 yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall sit EX-SIM  
 Yesterday when Bhaila fell and hit his head, if it wasn't for the sister, he would

ལྷ་སྲིང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ ཅེ་ན་ ཁོང་ ཨོ་ན་རང་ ཤི་ཤད་ སྐད།      མདང་  
*p'usim=la:*      *mè:-patɕɛɛ* *kʰõ:*      *óna=rã:*      *ɕi-ɕɛ?* *bɛ?*.      *dā:*  
 little.sister=HON NEG.EX-COND 3SG.HON there=AEMPH die-INF EQU.NE yesterday  
 have died on the spot.      Yesterday

ང་ཅག་སྲུ་ རྒྱུ་ དང་ ཉང་པའི་ ལྷགས་ན་ ལྷ་སྲིང་ལགས་ལོ་  
*ɲətɕa=tsu* *p'jeu* *t'ä:* *hã:pø:*      *ɕúk=na*      *p'usim=la:=lo*  
 1PL=PL hurry and shock.GEN strength=LOC little.sister=HON=DAT  
 in the heat of the hurry and shock we didn't even manage

ལྷགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཡང་ ལུ་མ་ཚུགས།”      “ཨ་མ་ལགས་! མདང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྷའི་ལགས་  
*tʰudzitɕʰɛ=jã:*      *ɕù*      *ma-tsʰu?*      *ám=la:*      *dā:*      *ɲətɕi* *Bhaila*  
 thank.you=even say.HUM NEG-can mother=HON yesterday we.GEN PN  
 to thank the sister.      “Mother! Yesterday when Bhaila fell it

འགྲུལ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐར་ བང་པར་ ལེན་མི་ ལྷག་ རྩོལ་བཞིན་  
*ge:* *j̈ø-pø:*      *gã:* *pʰã:pa:* *lèn-di* *kʰja?*      *pʰi:-zɛ:*  
 fall EX-2INF.GEN time lap.DAT take-NF blood wipe-PROG  
 was the sister here who took him to her lap, wiped the blood,

ཨ་མའི་ བང་པར་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ གཏང་བཞིན་ ཨ་མ་ལགས་! མ་ལགས་ སྐར་ཁང་ན་  
*ámø:*      *pʰã:pa:* *Bhaila* *tɛ:-zɛ:*      *ám=la:*,      *màla?*      *méŋkʰã:=na*  
 mother.GEN lap.DAT PN entrust-PROG mother=HON quick hospital=LOC  
 handed him to the mother's lap and and said: 'Mother, take her quickly

འཕྲིག་ རྩོན་ གསུང་མཁན་ ན་ ལྷ་སྲིང་ སྐད་ཤོ།      ཨ་མས་ ངོ་  
*kʰik* *tɛ'øɲ* *sún-kʰɛ:*      *nà:* *p'usim* *bɛ=ɕo.*      *áma:*      *ɲò*  
 take go.HON say-NMLZ here little.sister EQU.NE=AT mother.AGT face  
 to the hospital!      Did the mother

མཐུན་ཞེ་གས་?”      ཨ་མ་ - “ཨོ་ནྟོ་ངས་ ངོ་ མ་ཤེས་ཤོ།      མདང་  
*kʰɛn-zɛ-gam?*      *ama* -      *ãhã:* *ɲò*      *ma-ɕé:-ɕo.*      *dā:*  
 know.HON-PST-ATTQ mother aha face NEG-know-AT yesterday  
 recognise her?”      Mother: “No, I didn't recognise her.      Yesterday in the

རྩོལ་ ཚབ་ཚུབ་ན་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ལྷ་ལོང་རང་ མེད།      ཡུ! ཨོ་ནེ་  
*p'jeu* *tsʰaptsʰup=na* *ódem* *ta* *lõ:=rã:*      *mè?*      *já:*      *óni*  
 hurry action=LOC like.that look have.time.to=AEMPH NEG.EX.PER EXCLAM child  
 midst of hurry and action I didn't even have time for as much as a look.      Aha, the child



སློབ་གྲྭ་ འདི་འི་ ར་རང་ ཕྱག་ལས་ གནང་དོ?” ཨ་མའི་ ལན་ལོ་  
*lóbq̄a di:=na=rã.*<sup>475</sup> *te<sup>h</sup>a:lɛ?* *ná:-do?* *ámø:* *lèn=lo*  
 school this.GEN =LOC=AEMPH work do.HON-IPFV mother.GEN answer=LOC  
 works here at the school?” Choki's reply to Mother:

ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱིས་ - “ལགས་ མིན། ང་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ འདི་འི་ར་རང་ གཞོགས་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ མིན།  
*te<sup>h</sup>øki-ki là-í:* *ɲà lópɽa di:=na=rã:* *jó? kjap-to í:*  
 PN=AGT HON-EQU.PER 1SG school this=LOC=AEMPH work do-IPFV EQU.PER  
 “Yes I do. I work at the school.”

འདི་ཁར་ སློབས་སྟེ་ ད་ ཟླ་ལོ་ བརྒྱད་ཚྛོད་ ལངས་ཏོ།”  
*dik<sup>h</sup>a: lɛp-ti t'a dau gɛ:-ts<sup>h</sup>ø? lá:-to.*  
 here arrive-NF now month eight-about reach-IPFV  
 It is now some eight months since I arrived here.”

“འདི་ཁར་ ཀ་ དང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ག་ན་ བཞུགས་ཏོ?” ཨ་མའི་ ཇི་བ།  
*di-k<sup>h</sup>a ka t'ã: námtɛi? k'ana zu:-to?* *ámø:* *t'iwa.*  
 here who and with where stay.HON-IPFV mother.GEN question  
 “With whom and where do you live here?” the mother asks.

ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ - “སློབ་དཔོན་ བཞུགས་ཤག་ ར་ རྩོད་ཏོ་ མིན། ང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ངའི་ ལུ་མ་  
*te<sup>h</sup>øki? - lópɽon zu:ɛa:=na dø:-to í:* *ɲà námtɛi? nɛ: nùm*  
 PN - teacher room=LOC stay-IPFV EQU.PER 1SG with 1SG.GEN younger.sister  
 Choke: “I am staying in the teachers' quarters. And I have my two little sisters

གཉིས་ཡང་ ཡོད་ལགས།” ཨ་མས་ - “དོ་རྗེ་ རྗེ་ལོ་ ག་ན་ བཞུགས་ཏོ?”  
*ni:=jã: jø:=la:.* *áma: - dordziliŋ=lo k'ana zu:-to?*  
 two=also EX.PER=HON mother.AGT TPN=DAT where stay.HON-IPFV  
 with me too.” Mother: “Where do you live in Darjeeling?”

ཡབ་ དང་ ཡུ་མ་གོ་ བཞུགས་ ཡོད་ཀ་?”  
*jà:p t'ã: jùm=ɛo zu: jø:-ka?*  
 father.HON and mother.HON=AT live.HON EX.PER-PQ  
 What about your father and mother, are (they) alive?”

ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ - “དོ་རྗེ་ རྗེ་ལོ་ ལུ་མ་ དགོན་པོའི་ཅང་། ཡབ་ དང་  
*te<sup>h</sup>øki? - dordziliŋ=lo gum gjømpø:=tsa:* *jà:p t'ã:*  
 PN TPN=DAT TPN monastery=by father.HON and  
 Choki: “In Darjeeling by the Ghoom monastery. Father and

ཡུ་མ་ གཉིས་ཆ་ བཞུགས་ ཡོད།”  
*jùm ní:te<sup>h</sup>a zu: jø?*  
 mother.HON both live.HON EX.PER  
 mother are both alive.”

<sup>475</sup> Or *lóbq̄a di:=na=rã:* [school this.GEN=LOC=AEMPH]. The use of *di* ‘this’ is here not deictic in that the speaker is not at the school when speaking. The meaning is ‘the school’ rather than ‘this school’.

## Excerpt from discussion

The following text is an excerpt from an unstructured discussion between six family members four of whom (marked K, B, T and F) are involved in the discussion excerpt. The recording was done in my absence by consultant KN, one of the family members. The representation of the discussion is simplified in that at times several people spoke at the same time and more than one line of discussion was ongoing.

- (8) K ད་རེ་ག་རུ་ན་ ཡོད་པོ་ བོ་ འོག་ ལོང་སོང་ བོ?  
*t'ari éánu ná: jò-po bo ò? ló: só:-bo?*  
 these.days PN here EX-2INF EQU.NE.Q down rise go.PFV-2INF  
 'Is Shanu these days here or has he gone away down (from the mountains).'
- (9) B ག་རུ་ མོའུ་ ཟུང་། ལ་ར་ན་སི་ བཀའ་ཚམས་ལས་ ཞིན།  
*éánu mòu bε?. waranasi k'atε<sup>h</sup>θ:=lε í.*  
 PN down EQU.NE TPN teaching=ABL EQU.PER  
 'Shanu is down. (He) is at (Buddhist) teaching in Varanasi.'
- (10) T ལོང་ འོང་ ཟློད་ ཡོད་པ་ མན་པོ་, བོ་ཚོ་ལྟ།  
*k<sup>h</sup>õ: òn dø: jò:-p mèmbo, p'otso=tsu.*  
 3PL come stay EX-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q child=PL  
 'They have come too, haven't they, the children?'
- (11) B ལོང་ ཉེ་ འདི་... གན་ལོ་... ཚོའི་ རྒྱབས་ དགོས་པ་དེ་གོ།  
*k<sup>h</sup>õ: tε=di... k'anlo... tsø? kjap go:=pε=εo.*  
 3PL so=DEMPH what.is.it debate do be.needed=EQU.NE=AT  
 'They have to participate, what's that, a debate, you know.'
- (12) T མན་ པ་ལས་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཚུ་ ཡོད་པ་ མན་པོ་?  
*mε:, p<sup>h</sup>a:=lε gjalts<sup>h</sup>en=tsu jò:-p mèmbo?*  
 NEG.EQU.PER over.there=ABL PN=PL EX-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q  
 'No, from over there Gyaltshen and his associates are there, aren't they?'
- (13) B ཞི་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ ཡོད།  
*é: gjalts<sup>h</sup>en jò?*  
 oh PN EX.PER  
 Oh, Gyaltshen is there.
- (14) T ཉེ་ དགུ་གཉོར་ ཚོགས་པ་ འོང་ ཚོག་ ཟུང་གོ, ལུས་ཉོ།  
*tε gutor ts<sup>h</sup>okpa ò: tε<sup>h</sup>o bε=εo, k<sup>h</sup>a:s=to.*  
 so gutor-offering meeting come be.alright EQU.NE=AT in.fact(Nep.)=CEMPH  
 'He is allowed to come to the gutor-offering meeting, in fact.'

- (15) B དེ་ཙེ་ན་ ལྷ་མཚོད་ལོ་ སོང་ཟང་ནི་ ངོ་ཚུ་ལོ་གེ།  
*t'itsi nà: ʃatɛʰø:=lo sô:-sã:-ni*  
 a.few.days.ago here worship=DAT go.PFV-TERM-TOP  
*ŋòtsʰo-u=lo=ki.*  
 be.ashamed=2INF=REP=NC  
 ‘A few days ago when (I told him) go to the worship ceremony, he said he was ashamed.’
- (16) ད་ ང་ ཨོ་ ཉེ་ དགུ་གཏོར་ ང་ སོང་ འགྱུ་ཉོ་ ལབ་བཞིན་ ཉེ་ མ་ཉན་ཚང་ ཉེ་ གན་ བྱས་ཤད་?  
*t'a ŋà ó tɛ gutor ŋà sô: gju=to làp-zin tɛ*  
 now 1SG DISTAL so gutor-offering 1SG go.PFV go=CEMPH say-PROG so  
*mà-ŋɛn-tsʰa-nɛ k'an p'ja-ɛɛʔ?*  
 NEG-listen-CMPL-COND what do-INF  
 ‘Now, so when I tell him to go to the gutor-offering either with me or alone, [so if (he) does not listen], what to do?’ <sup>476</sup>
- (17) F ཤ་ལུ་ཉོ་ ད་ ཚོད་པོ་ རྒྱབས་པ་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་ཤད་ སྤད།  
*ɛánu=to t'a tsøpo kjap-a gju go:-ɛɛ beʔ.*  
 PN=CEMPH now debate do-PUR go be.needed EQU.NE  
 ‘Now Shanu has to go to participate in the debate.’
- (18) B ལུ་ ལགས་ཨིན་ལགས། ཉེ་ ཁོང་གིས་ འདི་ མན་འགྱུ་རང་ འགྱུ་ལོ་ སེ་ ལགས།  
*kʰu là=í:=la. tɛ kʰoŋ=gi=di maŋ-gju=rõ:*  
 3SGM HON=EQU.PER=HON so 3SG.HON=AGT=DEMPH NEG-go=AEMPH  
*gju=lo=si=la.*  
 go=REP=QUO=HON  
 ‘He, yes. He says (cf. =sɛ) he heard (cf. =lo) he has no way of not going.’
- (19) F ཚོད་པོ་ བྱས་ཤད་ འདི་ བྱས་ ཉེ་ གན་སྐོར་ རྒྱབས་ ཐོབ་ སྤད།  
*tsøpo p'ja-ɛɛ=di p'ja tɛ né:kor kjap tʰop beʔ.*  
 debate do-INF=DEMPH do so sightseeing do find EQU.NE  
 ‘Because of debating, (he) gets to do sightseeing.’
- (20) གཞན་ནེ་ མི་ཐོབ་མཁན་ སྤད་ནོ།  
*zɛnne mi-tʰop-kʰɛn be no.*  
 otherwise NEG-find-NMLZ EQU.NE TAG.ASR  
 ‘Otherwise (it) is not available, I tell you.’
- (21) B ལགས་སྤད།  
*la=beʔ*  
 HON=EQU.NE  
 ‘Yes, it is (so).’

<sup>476</sup> For clarification of meaning, see the footnote under example (15.120).

- (22) F གཞན་དོ་ རྫོང་གདན་ ལ་ར་ན་སི་ལུ།  
*zen=to dordzidē: waranasi=tsu...*  
 other=CEMPH TPN TPN=PL  
 ‘Otherwise Dorjeden and Varanasi...’
- (23) B ང་ཅའི་ ལས་ཅོགས་ ཨ་པ་ འགྲུ་བཞིན་ ལབ་ནེ་ ག་ན་ འགྲུ་ ཚུགས་ཤང་ ཨ་པ་?  
*ŋàtei k<sup>h</sup>artsa=gi ápa gju-zin làp-nε k'ana gju*  
 1PL.GEN expenses(Nep.)=AGT father go-PROG say-COND where go  
*ts<sup>h</sup>u:-εε? ápa.*  
 be.able.to-INF father  
 ‘Because of the expenses for us, father, even if (one) says he’s going, where could (one) go, father.’
- (24) F འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ གནས་ འདི་ ལོ་ རྫོང་ མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་ སྤང།  
*dɛndzɔŋ=gi né:=di=po kor mi-ts<sup>h</sup>u-k<sup>h</sup>en bε?*  
 TPN=GEN site=DEMPH=even(Nep.) make.tour NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE  
 ‘Even Sikkim’s sights (we) are not able to tour.’
- (25) ང་ མོ་འདིས་ འུགས་ འུས་ལྷོ་ གནས་རྫོང་ རྒྱབས་, ལེ་ལེ།  
*t'a ódi: éúk p'ja-ti né:kor kjap, k<sup>h</sup>ε:lε.*  
 now that.AGT power do-NF sightseeing do all  
 ‘Now because of that (i.e. the debate) (he gets to) do sightseeing to great extent, everything.’
- (26) B ལགས་སྤང།  
*la=bε?*  
 HON=EQU.NE  
 ‘Yes, it is (so).’
- (27) phone རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ ལབ་ཅེ།  
*p<sup>h</sup>on kjap-tεε làp-tεε.*  
 phone(Eng) do-PST say-PST  
 ‘(Somebody) told (me) that (he) phoned.’ (i.e. Shanu, who is the son of B, had phoned to a member of B’s household)
- (28) ཚོད་ལོ་ འདི་ རྩོད་ཚུའུ་ ལྷམ་ མ་ཚོད་ལ་ ལྷམ་?  
*tsɔpo=di mjõ:-ts<sup>h</sup>ou nám ma-mjõ:-p nám?*  
 debate=DEMPH finish-CMPL.2INF EQU.ATTQ NEG-finish-2INF EQU.ATTQ  
 ‘I wonder whether the debate has ended or not.’ (i.e. having heard some of the contents of the phone call, the speaker still did not know whether the debate had ended)
- (29) F ཡ།  
*jà:*  
 aha  
 ‘Aha.’

- (30) K མེན་ལས་ ཁོང་ཏོ་ མ་ར་ན་སི་ འགྲུ་ཤང་ ཟུང།  
*jenle kʰõː=to waranasi gju-ɛɛ be?*  
 before 3SG=CEMPH TPN go-INF EQU.NE  
 ‘Before (going to Dorjeden) he goes to Varanasi.’
- (31) B མ་ར་ན་སི་ འོང་ ཚོད་པོ། མོའུ་ རྒྱལ་ཤང་ ལ་གི་ (Nep.) ཟུང་སི།  
*waranasi õː tsɔpo. mòu kjap-ɛɛ lagi be=si.*  
 TPN come debate down do-INF for(Nep.) EQU.NE=QUO  
 ‘The debate is probably in Varanasi. It is in order to do it down there, I tell.’
- (32) K མེ་ ཏུ་ཅིག་ མ་ར་ན་སི་ མན་དོ་ འདྲང་ རྒྱ། (=འདྲ་ ཟུང་ རྒྱ།)  
*éː, tʼutei? waranasi mèn-do dɛː no (=da be no).*  
 oh this.year TPN NEG.EQU-IPFV EQU.AP TAG.ASR APEQU.NE TAG.ASR  
 ‘Oh, it does not seem to be in Varanasi this year, I tell you.’
- (33) T ཏུ་ཅིག་ རྫོང་གཞན་ལོ།  
*tʼutei? dordzidɛː=lo.*  
 this.year TPN=DAT  
 ‘This year in Dorjeden.’
- (34) K ཏུ་ཅིག་ direct རྫོང་གཞན་ལོ་ར་ འདྲང། (=འདྲ་ ཟུང།) མོ་འདྲེ་ ལབ་བཞིང་གོ།  
*tʼutei? dairekt dordzidɛː=lo=ra dɛ? ódɛː làp-tɛyngɛ.*  
 this.year direct(Eng.) TPN=DAT=AEMPH EQU.AP like.that say-PROG.APH  
 ‘This year (it) seems to be directly in Dorjeden. So (they) are saying.’
- (35) F ཚོད་པོ་ འདི་ མོ་  
*tsɔpo=di ó*  
 debate=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q  
 ‘The debate?’
- (36) T ལགས་མིན་ལགས་  
*la-íː=la*  
 HON-EQU=HON  
 ‘Yes.’
- (37) F མེ་ མིན་ག།  
*éː, íŋ-ga.*  
 oh EQU.PER-PQ  
 ‘Oh, is (it) really (so)?’
- (38) B ཏུ་ཅིག་ མ་ར་ན་སི་ ལབ་ འདྲ།  
*tʼutei? waranasi làp da.*  
 this.year TPN say AP  
 ‘This year it’s in Varanasi (they) seem to say.’

(39) རྩོན་ལས་ འདི་ རྣམ་ ལྷན་ཅིག་ལས་ བ་སྟེ་ དབང་ ཡོད་ལོ་ སེ།  
*jénle=di nàm nám=teɪ=lɛ p<sup>h</sup>ate ɔ̃:*  
 earlier=DEMPH when EQU.ATTQ=INDF=ABL over.there empowerment  
*jə̃:=lo=se.*  
 EX.PER=REP=QUO  
 ‘I wonder what (they) said earlier, when the the empowerment ceremony is in there.’

(40) F མོང་ མོང་  
*ɔ̃: ɔ̃:*  
 yes yes  
 ‘Yes, yes.’

(41) B མདང་ ལུ་ འདི་ཁར་ phone རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ ལབ་ཅེ།  
*dɔ̃: k<sup>h</sup>u dik<sup>h</sup>a fon kjap-tɛɛ ləp-tɛɛ.*  
 yesterday 3SGM here phone do-PST say-PST  
 ‘(Somebody) told (me) that he phoned here yesterday.’

## Appendix 2: Differences between spoken and written language

Differences between spoken and written language were discussed throughout the grammar. Table 1 below provides a summary of the differences and refers to sections in the grammar where the differences are more fully illustrated and discussed. The headings in Table 1 describe the ways in which spoken language differs from written language. Spoken language is associated with phonological reduction and modification, morphosyntactic reduction (and possibly accompanying phonological reduction), semantic reduction (one example), morphosyntactic expansion, morphosyntactic flexibility, frequency of discourse-related constructions, and influence from Nepali and English (as opposed to influence from Literary Tibetan in written language).

Table 1. How spoken language differs from written language

<b>Phonological reduction and modification</b>	
VERB- <i>po</i> may be abbreviated to VERB- <i>b</i> (with verbs ending in the glottal stop or <i>p</i> and followed by the equative <i>bɛʔ</i> ) or to VERB- <i>m</i> (with verbs ending in the velar nasal and followed by the equative <i>bɛʔ</i> or <i>ĩ:</i> ).	§1.2.7.3
In spoken language WD <i>-al</i> and <i>-ar</i> , which are occasionally pronounced in careful and spelling-style speech as /al/ and /ar/ respectively, are pronounced as /ɛ:/ and /a:/ respectively.	§2.2.1.4
Written progressive marker འཛིན་ <i>bzhin</i> , which is pronounced /zin/ in spelling-style pronunciation, becomes /zɛː/~teɛː/ in typical spoken language (but /teou/ in Martam).	§3.3.6.5
The written conditional form ཅ་ <i>na</i> corresponds to spoken forms /nɛ/~no/~nu/ (depending on locality)	§3.3.6.15
The frequent anaphoric emphatic clitic རང་ <i>rang</i> tends to occur as short and denasalized = <i>ra</i> in spoken language.	§6.2
The frequently-used complex copula རྟོག་པོ་ ཟླ་ <i>jò-po bɛʔ</i> (neg. <i>mè:-po bɛʔ</i> ) is in spoken language reduced to <i>jòbbeʔ/jèbbeʔ</i> (neg. <i>mèbbeʔ</i> ).	§7.3.2.1
The nominalized completive form ཚ་བོ་ལས་ <i>tshar-bo-las</i> , suggesting the spelling-style pronunciation <i>ts<sup>h</sup>ar-bo-lɛ</i> , is in spoken language, depending on the consultant and phonological environment, reduced to <i>-ts<sup>h</sup>o-u=lɛ</i> , <i>-tsu-b=lɛ</i> , <i>-ts<sup>h</sup>o:=lɛ</i> or <i>-so:=lɛ</i> .	§15.3.1.1
Most probably because of influence from Written Tibetan, many nouns that in pronunciation end in <i>-pu</i> are written as ཤོ་ <i>po</i> by many writers (e.g. <i>pømpu</i> དཔོན་ཤོ་ <i>dpon-po</i> ).	
Written ཤོ་ <i>bo</i> , when following short vowels, reduces to <i>-u</i> in pronunciation (e.g. ཟླ་བོ་ <i>zla-bo</i> > <i>dau/dou</i> ‘month’, ལྟ་བོ་ ལྟ་ <i>lta-bo in</i> > <i>ta-u</i> <i>ĩ:</i> ‘I looked’).	
<b>Morphosyntactic reduction (possibly also phonological reduction)</b>	
The often used written form of the interrogative copula ལྟན་ལྟན་ <i>in-nam</i> , suggesting a bimorphemic interpretation, merges in spoken language to monosyllabic/monomorphemic <i>nám</i> .	§3.3.7
Relator nouns, which are in spoken language always followed by a case-marker, are occasionally in spoken language used without a case-marker, e.g. <i>teŋ=lo</i> > <i>teŋ</i> ‘on, above’.	§3.6.8
In spoken language, genitive-marking may be dropped from noun modifiers.	§4.1.2.2

In equative and locational clauses in spoken language, the copula may be elided.	§5.4.1 and §5.4.2
Case-marking in directionals seems more frequently dropped in spoken language than in written language.	§5.6.1.1
The frequent spoken filler-question /kʰapam/~kʰajem/~kʰaem/ /~/kʰem/ is an abbreviation of the written གན་ ཞིན་ནམ་ <i>gan in-nam</i> .	§6.3.1
The apparentive construction <i>qa be?</i> , which corresponds to written འདྲ་ ཟུན་ <i>'dra sbad</i> and occurs as such in slower speech, is often in faster speech reduced to <i>qe:/re:</i> .	§8.5.2
The non-past construction <i>-εε t̃:</i> (WD ཤད་ ཞིན་ <i>shad in</i> ) often reduces to <i>-εĩ:/εiŋ</i> , which does not have a strictly corresponding written form.	§9.1.1.1
Past interrogative construction <i>-tεε-ka</i> and future interrogative construction <i>-εε-ka</i> in spoken language often reduce to <i>-tεa</i> and <i>-εa</i> respectively. To my knowledge, the reduced forms do not have standardized written equivalents.	§11.1.1.2
In spoken language purpose-marking converbal marker <i>-pa/ba</i> (WD འ(ར)/འ(ར)) may be dropped.	§15.5.1
The simultaneous converbal endings <i>-sondã:/-sompã:/-sumdã:/-tsubda:</i> used in spoken language probably derive from the longer construction <i>sõ:-bo t'ã:</i> [go.PFV-2INF and].	§15.3.3.2
<b>Semantic reduction</b>	
The distinction of meaning between dative-locative and ablative case-marking, which is carefully retained in written language, largely collapses in spoken language (ablative is used for expressing non-directional stable location).	§5.6.2
<b>Morphosyntactic expansion</b>	
In spoken language, unlike in writing, the nonfinal converbal ending <i>-ti/di</i> is often accompanied by the marker <i>-ki/gi</i> , which looks like a genitive or an agentive.	§15.2
Whereas in written language causality may be expressed through agentive marking by the grapheme <i>-ས</i> <i>-s</i> , which suggests a lengthened vowel in spelling-style pronunciation, spoken language uses additional morphosyntax for the same purpose, i.e. the emphatic <i>=di</i> and the nonfinal converb <i>p'jati(ki)</i> .	§15.4.6, §15.4.7
Double/marking of genitive is frequent in spoken language and almost non-existent in written language.	§3.7.1.3
Both the terminative endings <i>-sã:</i> and <i>-sonzã:</i> occur in spoken language but only the short <i>-sã:</i> in written language.	§3.3.6.18
<b>Morphosyntactic flexibility</b>	
In spoken language, the head noun of a noun phrase may occur between the adjective modifier and adjective.	§4.3.1
Agentive-marking in spoken language seems more pragmatically conditioned than in written language, which tends to be affected by prescriptive rules inherited from Classical Tibetan.	§5.3
The morphologically dependent distal demonstrative form <i>o-</i> 'that' is occasionally in spoken language used independently	§6.4
<b>Frequency of discourse-related morphemes and phenomena</b>	
Unlike in written language, the use of the demonstrative-emphatic <i>=di</i> is prevalent in spoken language, sometimes occurring several times in one clause.	§16.1.3
Discourse particles <i>t'a</i> and <i>tε</i> are more frequent in spoken than in written	§16.4



language because they are used as fillers when the speaker does not know what to say.	
In spontaneous spoken language right-dislocation is a frequently used way for speakers to correct themselves and add information that helps the addressee to disambiguate the clause.	§16.6
<b>Influence of Nepali and English rather than Tibetan</b>	
Code-mixing with Nepali/English and Nepali/English loan words are more frequent in spoken than in written language.	
Because Denjongke does not have a long literary history, the written language lacks standardized words for many concepts. Therefore authors, especially when translating, are likely to use Tibetan loan words which are not readily understood by non-literate speakers.	

### Appendix 3: Vowel plot measurements

Table 2 below presents the F1 and F2 measurements for short and long vowels pronounced by TB, see Figure 2.7 in chapter 2 on phonology. It would have been ideal to record formant values in monosyllabic words but, because the audio data was recorded for other purposes than this particular study, disyllabic words are used in some cases to increase the number of examples.

Table 2. Vowel plot measurements

Short vowel	word	F1	F2	Long vowel	word	F1	F2
<b>i</b>	<i>ɛi</i> ‘die’	388	2175	<b>i:</b>	<i>phi:ru</i> ‘night’	287	2337
	<i>k<sup>h</sup>i</i> ‘dog’	386	2309		<i>ki:</i> ‘bind’	268	2565
	<i>mi</i> ‘man’	256	2419		<i>si:p</i> ‘dew’	291	2327
	<i>p<sup>h</sup>i</i> ‘open’	368	2292		<i>dzi:ɛɛ?</i> ‘to split’	238	2423
	<b>Average:</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>2299</b>		<b>Average:</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>2413</b>
				<b>e:</b>	<i>ge:</i> ‘fall’	391	2441
					<i>ge:</i> ‘weigh’	363	2529
					<i>dze:</i> ‘place up’	373	2297
					<i>sé:p</i> ‘yellow’	353	2218
					<b>Average:</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>2371</b>
<b>ɛ</b>	<i>kɛ</i> ‘neck’	471	2322	<b>ɛ:</b>	<i>gɛ:</i> win	471	2303
	<i>gɛp</i> ‘bag’	501	2018		<i>bɛ:p</i> frog	626	1914
	<i>dɛ</i> ‘ghost’	493	2119		<i>gɛ:p</i> king	455	2146
	<i>ɛmmo</i> ‘left’	506	2147		<i>shɛ:</i> rinse	461	2271
	<i>pɛpo</i> ‘leech’	524	1912		<b>Average:</b>	<b>503</b>	<b>2159</b>
<b>a</b>	<i>tʂa</i> ‘grass’	676	1640	<b>a:</b>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>a:tei?</i> ‘again’	713	1626
	<i>t<sup>h</sup>atei?</i> ‘recently’	701	1627		<i>te<sup>h</sup>a:ka</i> ‘thing’	855	1576
	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i> ‘mouth’	746	1450		<i>ma:p</i> ‘red’	686	1314
	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a?</i> ‘soup’	793	1629		<i>ka:p</i> ‘whit’e	769	1498
	<i>ŋà</i> ‘I’	747	1480		<i>te<sup>h</sup>a:p</i> ‘rain’	832	1401
	<i>ápo</i> ‘father’	711	1292		<b>Average:</b>	<b>771</b>	<b>1434</b>
<b>o</b>	<i>ko</i> ‘dig’	644	1093	<b>o:</b>	<i>ko:</i> ‘throw’	386	791
	<i>p<sup>h</sup>jo</i> ‘pour’	645	1245		<i>p<sup>h</sup>jo:</i> ‘escape’	411	1072
	<i>tsho</i> ‘lake’	701	1136		<i>tsho:</i> ‘father’s	414	892
	<i>do</i> ‘stone’	598	1156		sister’s husband’		
	<b>Average:</b>	<b>647</b>	<b>1158</b>		<i>do:</i> ‘touch’	394	957
				<b>Average:</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>928</b>	
<b>u</b>	<i>súpo</i> ‘stomach’	376	1221	<b>u:</b>	<i>phu:</i> ‘fly’	317	960
	<i>khu</i> ‘he’	333	894		<i>dzu:</i> ‘be afraid’	343	1128
	<i>chu</i> ‘water’	377	948		<b>Average:</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>1044</b>
	<i>tup</i> ‘be alright’	397	1137				
	<b>Average:</b>	<b>371</b>	<b>1050</b>				
				<b>y:</b>	<i>ky:ɛɛ?</i> ‘drive’	310	2319
					<i>doly?</i> ‘custom’	311	2326
					<i>dyn</i> ‘seven’	323	2165
					<i>y:</i> ‘place’	242	2303
					<b>average:</b>	<b>297</b>	<b>2278</b>

				<b>ø:</b>	<i>εø:m</i> 'cockroach'	448	2125
					<i>só:na</i> 'soot'	401	1946
					<i>ó:laʔ</i> 'raven'	373	1962
					<i>só:za</i> 'tea (hon.)'	343	2066
					<b>average:</b>	<b>391</b>	<b>2025</b>

## Appendix 4: Letter of informed consent

Informed consent from the consultants was received through the following Denjongke letter, which is translated into English on the next page. As suggested at the end of the written form, the contents of the letter were explained to the signers in spoken language.

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གནང་བ་ ཐོབ་པའི་ ཡི་གེ།

འོག་ལོ་ ཏཱ་གས་ རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ ངས་ University of Helsinki་ལས་ རྩོན་མཁན་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ན་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ བྱས་ མཁན་ Juha Yliniemi་ལོ་ ང་ཀེས་ ལབ་ ཡོད་པའི་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ recording་ཚུ་ དང་ ངས་ བཤད་ ཡོད་ པའི་ ཚོག་ དང་ ཚོག་རྒྱུ་ཚུ་ ཁོང་གི་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ ཚུམ་བྱི་ཚུའི་ ཐོག་ལས་ ལྷོ་ འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་གི་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ གནང་བ་ ལུལ་དོ་ ཨིན།

འོག་ལོ་ ཏཱ་གས་ རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ ང་ཀེས་ ལབ་ ཡོད་པའི་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ recording་ཚུ་ Juha Yliniemi་ལོ་ ཅིག་ ཀྱི་ མན་པོ་ གཞན་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ གནང་མཁན་ མི་ཚུ་ དང་ དོ་སྣང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ གསན་ པོ་ གནང་ཤད་, ལྷོ་ག་ཀོ་ གནང་ཤད་ དང་ (video-recording) གཟིགས་པོ་ གནང་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཐོབ་ ཚུགས་ བཅུག་ཀའི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ལུལ་དོ་ ཨིན།

ང་ཀེས་ ལབ་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཚོག་ཚུ་ དང་ ཚོག་རྒྱུ་ཚུ་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ ཚུམ་བྱི་ཚུའི་ རང་ཤ་ ཐོབ་པའི་ སྐང་

ངའི་ མིང་ ཐམས་ཅད་ བྱི་པོ་ གནང་ཤད་ཀྱི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ལུལ་དོ་ ཨིན།

ངའི་ མིང་ཡིག་ (initials) ཅིག་ཀྱི་ བྱི་པོ་ གནང་ཤད་ཀྱི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ལུལ་དོ་ ཨིན།

ངའི་ མིང་ ཡང་ཞེ་ མིང་ཡིག་ བྱི་ མི་ལེགས།

ཤོག་ཀྱི་ འདི་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཚོག་ཚུའི་ དོན་དག་ འདི་ ང་ལོ་ གསལ་བྲགས་ བྱས་ལྷོ་ ལ་སྐད་ན་ བཤད་ ཡོད།

ཚོ་གངས་: \_\_\_\_\_

མཚན་: \_\_\_\_\_

དགུང་ལོ་: \_\_\_\_\_

རྒྱུས་ས་: \_\_\_\_\_

Letter of permission

I \_\_\_\_\_ by ticking (the box) below grant permission to Juha Yliniemi from the University of Helsinki, who carries out research on Lhoke, to make known the words and sentences recorded from me to all people in the world through his research writing.

By ticking (the box) below, I grant permission to make available the recordings of my speech for the purpose of listening, reading and watching (video-recordings) not only to Juha Yliniemi but also to other researchers and anyone who is interested.

When words and sentences spoken by me occur in research writings

- I give the permission to use my full name.
- I give the permission to use my initials only.
- my name or initials should not be used.

The contents of this letter have been clearly explained to me in spoken language.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Birth place: \_\_\_\_\_

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