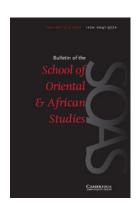
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R. K. Sprigg

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VERBAL PHRASES IN LHASA TIBETAN—I

By R. K. Sprigg

Lhasa Tibetan

THIS article is based on a study of selected utterances in 'Lhasa Tibetan' (LT) as spoken by Mr. Righdzin dBanpo (R.) in a particular style ('speaking style'). The term LT is used for the class-dialect spoken by members of the sku-drag class in Lhasa and elsewhere, and also by other Tibetans who associate with members of this class. R.'s utterances may be considered in terms of three styles, 'spelling style', 'reading style', and 'speaking style', each requiring a separate statement at phonetic, grammatical, and lexical levels 'alike. The material presented below is drawn from utterances in the 'speaking style'; all utterances appropriate to the reading and quoting of written texts, 'reading-style' utterances, have been excluded from it.

Verbal Phrases

The 'verbal phrase' is defined for LT as the 'word' (see 'Prosodic' Systems, B 1 below) or the group of two, and more rarely three, 'words' that, at the level of grammatical analysis, requires statement in terms of the two categories 'verb' and 'verb particle'. These two categories are defined as follows:—

A. 'VERB'

1. Flexion

Certain 'verbs' inflect. The LT 'verb' thus requires to be stated in terms of three categories, according to the number of 'verbal' forms, as 'one-form', 'two-form', and 'three-form'. Flexion is a characteristic of the 'verb' alone.

- ¹ Mr. Righdzin dBanpo, a Lhasa-born Tibetan of 29 years of age, was employed as a Research Assistant at the School of Oriental and African Studies from December, 1948, to September, 1949, and subsequently for a further period of six months at Kalimpong, West Bengal. Though not himself a sku-drag, R. had attended the same school as members of that class, and was a speaker of LT. His 'speaking-style' LT has, however, been described by other Tibetans as somewhat bookish.
- ² The use of single quotation marks, to indicate a technical term, has been discontinued once the technical sense is considered to have been established by operation. The justification for using this device is that it draws attention to a technical use, with special reference to Tibetan phonology, of a vocabulary that might otherwise be considered that of general language. Thus, such a term as 'verb' is to be understood in the sense in which it is defined below for Tibetan.
- ³ See Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., *The People of Tibet*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 71, 64. Of the provincial dialects of Tibet LT is considered to resemble the dialect of dBus more than that of any other province.
- ⁴ cf. R. H. Robins, 'The Phonology of the Nasalized Verb Forms in Sundanese', BSOAS., xv, 1953. p. 138.
- ⁵ I should like to express my thanks to Rani S. T. Dorji, to David Macdonald, Esq., and to Dr. G. de Roerich, of Kalimpong, West Bengal, whose criticism of much of the material presented below I have found valuable.

e.g. (a) 'One-form':--

- (I) শব্দ: (i) শব্দ: মদ:শব্দ:শি:মিদ: ।
 - (ii) दे-द्रीर-प्रदंश-स्रय- ग्रीस-स्र- श्र- था व्यवस म्यास्त्र स्त्र- यादत ।
 - (iii) ष्यः भ्रुमसः समसः ग्रीसः दमः र्देनः ग्रुसः ने रेरः सरः क्रीनः र्देनः मन्दः द्वः दर्भसः।
- (II) मह्रम्यः (i) रःमदेः स्याप्तः स्याप्तः स्वाप्तः स्वापतः स्वापत
 - (ii) रेषु क्रिया वास्त्रीया साम्या विषया मान्या विषया वास्त्री ।
- (b) 'Two-form':-
 - (I) वि. (i) में ब.चर्ट्र-ट.पट्ट. न्रेचन व.र.चेट. श्र.चण ८. मूल. र. मूल.
 - ब्रुमु, लूर्। श्रुम्, ज.लट. ह्रम्थ, मुथ, मुर्-कुष्, श्रुम्, ज. प्रथ, मु. लूट, हुम, ट. पट, पक्र, सूर, ग्रु, श्रुम्, र्मान्य, म्य, मु.
 - (II) মর্ন্ন (i) 'Switzerland ' ল. ব্র. ক্র্র্ন্ন ন্ন্ন্ন ন্ন্ন ন্ন্ন্ন ন্ন্ন ন্ন্ন্ন ন্ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন্ন ন্ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন্ন ন্ন ন্ন
 - (ii) ह्व. श्रीट. त्य. भु. पू. प्य. , atom pomp, हुन.
 - (iii) दुरु धर्म ग्रेर महेला ।

¹ The spelling adopted in all Tibetan examples in this article is that given either by R. himself or by another educated Tibetan, dPal-hByor Phun-Tshogs. These Tibetan spellings are given only in order that the examples may be identified. In practice LT is to all intents and purposes an unwritten language; utterances in LT are, when written down, regularly translated into the vocabulary, morphology, syntax, and style of 'written Tibetan'. (cf. Sir Basil Gould, C.M.G., C.I.E., and Hugh Edward Richardson: Tibetan Word Book, Oxford University Press, 1943, p. xii: 'What is most of all wanted is that Tibetans themselves should realize what their colloquial speech is capable of, and that some Tibetan should appear who, with the courage of a Dante, will write books that any Tibetan of average education can understand.' cf. also Kazi Dousamdup, An English-Tibetan Dictionary; Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1919, p. vii: 'Care has been taken to give the Tibetan words as correctly spelt where possible, but where colloquial words had to be used in preference to classical words, . . . no strictly correct spelling could be adhered to . . .' The difficulty of symbolization is particularly great in the case of the 'verb' (cf. Gould and Richardson: Tibetan Verb Roots, Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong, 1949, pp. iii-v). As a result the Tibetan spelling in more than a few examples appears at variance with the phonological analysis.

$$(c)$$
 'Three-form':—

2. 'COLLIGATION' WITH 'VERB PARTICLES'

'Verbs' are colligated with certain 'particles' ('verb particles') within the limits of the 'word'. 'verbs' may not be 'colligated' with any but 'verb particles'; similarly the 'verb-particle' category may be 'colligated' only with the 'verb' category.

¹ Most of the examples are taken from recordings of R. in conversation with other Tibetans, and from other material volunteered by R. In the course of research considerable use was made of *Tibetan Word Book*, by Sir Basil Gould, C.M.G., C.I.E., and Hugh Edward Richardson, and the allied series *Tibetan Sentences*, etc. I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the authors of this series both for the use that I was able to make of it myself and for their making their personal copy of *Tibetan Word Book*, containing new and unpublished material, available to me. Where examples are taken from works in this series, they are acknowledged by the use of double quotation marks.

² The technical specialization of the term 'colligation' is to be distinguished from the usual dictionary 'meanings' (q.v.).

The following note is contributed by Prof. J. R. Firth: 'The application of this term is determined by its systematic use in statements of meaning in terms of linguistics at a series of mutually congruent levels, such as meaning in context of situation, meaning by collocation, and meaning by colligation, supported by statements of syllabic structure, of contonation, and other prosodic or phonematic features and structures.

'The place and company an institutionalized word or piece keeps in mutual expectancy with other words in text, which constitute its various meanings by collocation, is to be distinguished from the inter-relations in mutual expectancy of the more abstract syntactical categories in formally established grammatical structures.'

For the first employment of 'colligation' in this sense see H. F. Simon, 'Two Substantival Complexes in Standard Chinese', BSOAS., xv, 1953, p. 327. For 'contonation', see A. E. Sharp, 'A Tonal Analysis of the Disyllabic Noun in the Machame Dialect of Chaga', in the present number.

(' Verb ': -; ' Particle ': =)

'Verb particles' may be colligated with 'verbs' within the 'word' up to a recorded maximum of six, e.g.:—

In addition to the verb particles that may be 'colligated' with the 'verb' within the 'word' there is one, the 'negative particle' **, for which colligation is not within 'word' boundaries; the 'particle' ** is exceptional, in being itself a 'word', and in preceding the 'verb', e.g.:—

- (I) रामग्रीवे रे के गर्सेव महि वस सेवस मा हुव केंद्र - -
- (II) दे द्वा के विषय व क्षु र भ व व र के र र र र वे क्षें व स में र र में र वे र व मुर ।
- (III) र भे रि प क्रिंस मनस र्रेन परे के सम्बद्ध कर के प्रति के स्वर्ध के सम्बद्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्य के स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्ध के स्वर्य के स्वर्य के स्वर्ध के स
 - 3. Phonetic Features of the Syllable Initial

No valid example has been recorded of a 'verb' in syllable-initial voiceless alveolar friction (4) or glottal friction (h).

Any 'syllable' therefore with a syllable initial in either of these sounds may be stated as non-'verbal', e.g.

¹ It is doubtful whether the sole example of syllable-initial voiceless alveolar friction (‡) to be recorded (ξη°) αςη°|, ξη°μ°λζς°|—μubgidu(:), μɔbəɹe) is a valid example of 'spoken' LT.

4. 'PLACE' IN 'CLAUSE' AND 'SENTENCE'

If two 'places' be recognized in 'clause' and 'sentence' one of these 'places' correlating with the final 'word', or, in the case of two- and three- 'word' verbal phrases the final two, or three, 'words' of the 'clause' or 'sentence' ('final place') and the other correlating with the remaining 'words' ('non-final place'), then the verbal phrase regularly occupies the 'final place', e.g.

To this criterion there are, however, exceptions as follows:-

(a) 'Verbless sentence'; certain 'sentences' are without verbal phrases, e.g.

(b) 'Low-pitch phrase'; in those 'verbal sentences' in which the 'verb' does not occupy the 'final place' all words following the verbal phrase are characterized by a distinctive pitch feature, a (low) level pitch, e.g.

Examples of the 'low-pitch-phrase' type are limited to the final 'clause' of the 'sentence'. Subject therefore to the two exceptions stated above 'place' in 'clause' and 'sentence' may also be used as a criterion for the definition of the 'verb'.

5. Monosyllable

All 'verbs' are monosyllabic; polysyllables may therefore be considered as non-'verbal', e.g.

B. 'VERB PARTICLE'

The criteria for defining the 'verb particle' comprise:-

1. COLLIGATION WITH VERB

Verb particles are colligated with verbs, and with verbs alone, within the limits of the word (see Prosodic Systems B 1 below) with the sole exception of the negative particle (§ A 2 above).

2. Monosyllabic

All 'verb particles' are monosyllabic; polysyllables are therefore excluded from the category of 'verb particle'. This definition is, however, of limited usefulness since by no means all monosyllables are 'verb particles'.

3. 'PLACE' IN THE WORD

Since it is a convenience in statement to consider the two grammatical categories 'verb' and 'verb particle' as colligated with each other within the limits of the 'word', two 'places' need to be recognized within the 'word', there being a correlation of 'place' with grammatical category. If the initial 'syllable' of a 'word' in a verbal phrase be said to be in the 'initial place', and any subsequent 'syllable' or 'syllables' in the 'word' be said to be in the 'final place', then a correlation may be set up between the 'initial place' and the verb category, and between the 'final place' and the 'verb-particle' category, i.e. (verb: —; 'particle': —).

The maximum number of 'verb particles' to be recorded in one 'word' is six, e.g.

'Verb particles' require to be stated in terms of a 'verb-particle' system of six terms, 'sentence-final', 'clause-final', 'head-verb', 'initial-verb', 'medial-verb', 'nominalizing':—

two different (prosodic) contexts (see 'word prosodies', 'closure') (22)

This article is, however, concerned only with certain of the 'sentence-final particles'.

The Syntactic Pattern V + P1 + P2

The material presented below is restricted not only to those verbal phrases in which the particles are sentence-final only but, further, to those trisyllabic verbal phrases which may be stated at a grammatical level of analysis as verb + 'particle 1' + 'particle 2', where the particle symbolized as $\mathbb{D}^{\bullet}/\mathbb{D}^{\bullet}/\mathbb{T}^{\bullet}$ and as $\mathbb{D}^{\bullet}/\mathbb{T}^{\bullet}/\mathbb{T}^{\bullet}/\mathbb{T}^{\bullet}/\mathbb{T}^{\bullet}$ (see below, 'closure') occupies the 'particle 1' 'place' (medial 'syllable'), and the four particles $\mathbb{Q}^{\bullet}, \mathbb{Q}^{\bullet}, \mathbb{Q}^{\bullet}, \mathbb{Q}^{\bullet}$, and $\mathbb{Q}^{\bullet}, \mathbb{Q}^{\bullet}$ may be substituted one for another in the, 'particle 2' 'place' (final 'syllable'), e.g.

V	P1	P2	V	P 1	$\mathbf{P}2$
श्रूय.	D .	५३मः।	ম রিক•	71•	नेरः।
মস্ত্রু হ	1 1•	षेद् ।	พีรุ•	۲•	५३गः।
ũζ·	D •	देरः।	छेद∙	Ð	चेद ा
G •	यो•	र्षेद् ।	双翼工。	ম•	ũζ• 1

The substitution one for another of the four P2 particles $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$, $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$, and $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$ is subject to a stylistic limitation; $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$ and $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$ may not be collocated with $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$, $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$, or indeed any syllable that, at the stylistic level of analysis, may be assigned to the 'honorific' category. They may be collocated with 'non-honorific' syllables such as $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$, $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$, $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$, $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$, $\widetilde{\mathbb{W}}\zeta^*$.

Syllable Structure

The structure of the 'syllables' in the above 'words' may be stated as follows:—

Initial/Final 'Syllables': CVC (i.e. CVC and
$$C_2V_2C_2$$
)
Medial 'Syllable': CV (i.e. C_1V_1)

In addition 'prosodic' systems, of the 'syllable initial' (I) and 'syllable final' (F), may be stated for the initial 'syllable', but not for the medial and final 'syllables'.

The 'Consonant' and 'Vowel' systems of the medial and final syllables are constant; those of the initial syllable are related to the w/y/ and θ 'prosodies' of the 'word', and require a separate statement in each case.

'Prosodic' Systèms

A. 'SENTENCE'

1. 'Intonation' Systems

The (two) 'intonation' systems of the particular type of 'word' chosen for statement are correlated with the number of 'words' in the 'sentence', as follows:—

- (a) Sentence of one 'word': 2-term system (1S, 2S)
- (b) Sentence of more than one 'word': ,, ,, ,,

The phonetic exponents of the terms in these two systems require to be stated with reference to the 'tone' and 'closure' systems (see below, Prosodic Systems of the 'Word' 2—'Tone'; 3—'Closure').

I. 'Close words' (cW; see below, 'Prosodic' systems $B\ 3$)

The phonetic exponents of the two terms, features of pitch, characterize (i) ('tone-one words') the final syllable, (ii) ('tone-two words') all three syllables, the medial syllable being either of the same pitch as the initial syllable (2S) or different in pitch from it (1S).

¹ See J. R. Firth, 'Sounds and Prosodies', Transactions of the Philological Society (1948), more especially pages 127-8, 151-2, and Eugénie J. A. Henderson, 'Prosodies in Siamese', Asia Major, i, pt. ii.

² i.e. intonation-one sentence (IS) and intonation-two sentence (2S). This statement of LT 'intonation' as a two-term system is provisional only; further research may require a statement with a larger number of terms. In particular one or two examples have been recorded as follows:—

'cW' (see Prosodic Systems of the Word, III, 'closure').

The level pitch of the final 'syllable', as opposed to a fall in pitch (cf. Intonation, (b) I (a) and (b) I (β)), might perhaps be regarded as an exponent of a third ('continuative') term, i.e. 3S.

¹ The symbols used in the phonetic transcription are based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (revised to 1951). The I.P.A. comprises 138 letters and signs grouped under the five heads "consonants" (55), "vowels" (20), "other sounds" (31), "length, stress, pitch" (12), "modifiers" (20). As is well known, each of the letters and signs symbolizes one, and in some cases more than one, type of human articulation. With regard to letters that symbolize more than one general-phonetic category the usage of this article is as follows:—

- t, d: dental plosive; n: dental nasal; 1: alveolar fricative; c, j: palatal plosive; j: palatal semi-vowel. Affricates are symbolized by groups of two "consonants", and not by ligatures, t, etc.:—
- tg, dz: alveolo-palatal; tJ, dJ: alveolar; ts: alveolar. The use of h in the symbolization of aspirated plosives is here extended to affricates (tgh, tsh) no provision having been made for aspirated affricates in the I.P.A. Of the alternative symbols for "tongue retracted" has been used. '(e.g. g') has been used to symbolize occlusion without plosion, following Eugénie J. A. Henderson, 'Prosodies in Siamese' Asia Major, i, pt. 2, p. 190.

The graphic representation of pitch is not that of the I.P.A.; it comprises the following eight symbols:—

A. · · · Pitch of preceding syllables left unsymbolized;

Each symbol is to be associated with a syllable.

In the sections dealing with intonation and tone a pitch-pattern has been given for each phonetic transcription; in other sections pitch-patterns are dispensed with and tone-marks used. Since tone is an abstraction of a phonological, and not of a general-phonetic, order it would be fruitless to look for appropriate symbols to the I.P.A. The following symbols have therefore been adopted for use, where necessary, as tone-marks:—

- A. Tone one: absence of symbol,
- B. Tone two: 'preceding the transcription of the word, e.g. A. ga:gəle, B. 'ga:gəle. The tone-marks symbolize:—
 - A. Any one of the possible tone-one or tone-two pitch-patterns.
- B. Correlated features of (1) voice-quality, (2) length/shortness of vowel in the final syllable.

Except where there is evidence to the contrary (e.g. र न न न प्राप्त sigidu \ _ _ _ ;

∧ _ ¬ \ has not been recorded), it is assumed that every one of the pitch-patterns stated is valid for each example.

The phonetic transcriptions are in general what is considered adequate for a 'reading transcription', but a more detailed transcription has been given where appropriate.

Correlated with the pitch-feature of the 2S term (rise-fall) is a degree of vowel length in the final syllable greater than that of the 1S term, e.g. pungydu:., pungydu:.

II. 'Open words' (oW; see below, 'Prosodic' systems B 3)

The phonetic exponents of the two terms, features of pitch, characterize the initial syllable of the word as follows:—

(b) Sentence of More than one 'Word'

I. 'Close words' (cW; § B 3 below)

The phonetic exponents of the two terms characterize the three syllables as follows as far as pitch is concerned:—

A further exponent, length of vowel, may be stated for the final syllable, as follows:—

- (a) 1S: length of vowel
- (b) 28: shortness of vowel, e.g.

- (a) 1S: (i) ব্ৰিশ'শামাশ'নেরমান স্থান শ্রী আঁবি । (lybgijø:) (. . . - \)
 - (ii) ८स. स्वा. ४स. ४४. ४मन. मुंच. मुं. लूब. । (thingiji:)
 - (iii) रे॰से८॰वि॰स८॰वरस॰यउदि॰श्चम॰से॰से॰ (tɕʌːgijøː)
 न्र-थ॰वेद॰स्थ-स्य-धे॰श्च-९द्दि॰व॰
 - (iv) वि.स्म. लचा. च्या. च्या. च्या. च्या. च्या. (uvidene:)
 - 2S: (i) ζ'Ψ'-┸Ҁ'Ψ¬С'-Ψ'-Ҳ'- (папделе) (_ Λ _ _ _)
 - (ii) रे वर्ळे वे क्रीं र व रग बुल गावर गो व ठ्या । (nangidu) (_ \ _ _)
 - (iii) ''यहेम'र्येद् कुं ध्वर्या में य कुं क्यं प्रामेश किंद्र ।'' (cingijø) (_ \ _ _ _ _)
 - (iv) "দেই ম দ্ব্ৰ ম দ্বৰ ম দ্বৰ
- (β) 1S: (i) ण८.८.४८.५्टू.पूर.ध्रय.ध्रुदे.भ्रुदे.ध्रुदे
 - (ii) रे.श्रेर.कं.लं. व्या.श्रेय.श्रेय.श्रेय.श्रेय.श्रेय.श्रेय. (/tchigijø:)
 - (iii) रे.णून. १८८ अ. च. च. च. च. च. च. च. च. ५८० (ˌˈɛugyjīː) ,,
 - (iv) ર•દ•લ્ક્રિને•લરેલે ચના•સ્રાર•શે• ર્સ્રેદ•ષ્ટ• $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$

2S: (i) ৭ই ৭ের্ম 🖹 ম খ্রী ৭ের্ম ।	('sigidu)	(_ \)
(ii) 34.2c. jy. gla.abt.nt. x. y. g.	(\juŋgydu)	(/\\
द्रगः प्रिं - गै - ८ दुग - ।		
(iii) र॰ग॰रू८॰बेर॰ग्रै॰रुजुग॰।	('sigidu)	(\)
(iv) ५२५. क्रेंब. क्रेंब. क्रियं अ. हे. क्रेंच. क्रेंब. वंदेंब. ।	(")	(/_\)
II. 'Open words' (oW; see below, 'closure')		
Here the phonetic exponents of the two syllable of the word:—	terms chara	acterize the initial
	tial Syllable	
(a) 'Tone one':		
18:	fall	(\)
28 :	level	()
(eta) 'Tone two':		
18:	fall	(、)
28:	level	(), e.g.
(a) 1S: (i) 제·ਧ·和ጚ·ਧ·국ጚ·	(the:pare)	(/)
(ii) ''भै सेर्यः व ेले द्या च सक्त र्ये च यद्द र द	(nanase)	(,,)
ने र ा"	, , ,	
(iii) केमक र्वद विषय मन्य में में में में में में में प्र	(ererca)	(,,)
(iv) रे रे रे र र दे र र वे र से प्राप्त र के मार्थिय सामा	(phe:bajø)	(,,)
र्षेद• ।		
2S: (i) विंम व चर य रेर ।	(the:beae)	(\)
(ii) गः ने ग्वर गः धरः यः नेरः।	(")	(\)
(iii) र्वेर चि सु सु सु तर तर्द्ध कु नग नग के के नग		(\\)
नेरः।		
(iv) ''व्रुं'यं'यदी सूत्रां रुसः यञ्जूर्यः धेदः।''	('dɛ:bəjī)	(_ ^ \)

2. 'RATE OF UTTERANCE' SYSTEM

(_ -- \ _ _ _)

A two-term 'rate-of-utterance' system is recognized: (a) 'fast sentence' (fS), (b) 'slow sentence' (sS).

The phonetic exponents of these two terms are not given here but appear below where appropriate. Where phonetic exponents are stated without any specific mention of either term it is to be understood that they are valid for 'fast' and 'slow' 'rates of utterance' alike.

B. 'WORD'

1. 'JUNCTION' SYSTEM

A two-term 'junction' system may be stated for the relations in junction of syllables 1 in 'Lhasa Tibetan'. This 'junction' system may be used to

- ¹ Prosodic grounds for the delimitation of syllables may be advanced as follows:—
- A. Syllable Initial
 - I. Plosion (p-, ph-, b-; t-, th-, d-; c-, ch-, 1-; k-, kh-)
 - II. Affrication (tg-, tgh, dz-; ts-, tsh-. dz-; ts, ty-, ds-)
 - III. Friction (except + labialization-voice, i.e. ϕ) (s-, g-, β -)
 - IV. Lateralization (1-, 1-)
 - V. Nasality + palatalization (n-)
 - VI. Semi-vowel (w-, j-, y-)
- B. Syllable Final
 - I. Occlusion (without plosion) (-p', -b'; -k', -g').

delimit units within the sentence ('words'). It is therefore convenient to use the name 'interverbal junction' for the term whose phonetic exponents are associated with 'word' limits, and 'intraverbal junction' for the term whose phonetic exponents are associated with absence of 'word' limits. These phonetic exponents characterize 'syllable-initial' and 'syllable-final'. They are here stated with reference to the three-syllable verbal phrase chosen for study above, but, with few exceptions, they are valid for all verbal phrases.¹

(a) 'Interverbal Junction'

I. Syllable Initial

(i) Affrication

(ii) Lateralization

$$\hat{a}_{4}$$
, \hat{a}_{5} , \hat{a}_{7} , \hat{a}

(iii) Labio-velarity

¹ The overall phonetic exponents of 'Junction' for the verb are given for comparison:—A. 'Interverbal Junction'

- I. Syllable Initial
 - (1) Affrication voice (ts-, tsh-; tg-, tgh-; tx-, tx-). + voice + alveolarity (dx-).
 - (2) Lateralization (1-, 1-).
 - (3) Labio-velarity (W-).
 - (4) Nasality + palatalization (n-).
 - (5) Plosion voice (k-, kh; c-, ch; t-, th-; p-, ph-) + voice + palatalization (-1).
 - (6) Vowel initial (x) (the sole recorded example).
 - (7) Palatal plosion + front-spread vowel (11-).
- II. Syllable Final.

Occlusion/friction + labialization + voicelessness
$$(-p'/-\bar{\phi})$$
.

- B. 'Intraverbal Junction'
 - I. Syllable Initial
 - (1) Affrication + voice + alveolarity (+ dz-).
 - (2) Nasality + plosion (+ nd-).
 - (3) Labio-palatalization (+ u-).
 - (4) Velarity + front-spread vowel (+ gi).
 - (5) Friction + velarization/labialization ($+ \nabla \beta$).
 - II. Syllable Final
 - (1) Occlusion + velarization (-g' +).
 - (2) , + labialization + voice (-b +).
 - (3) Nasality + velarization (-n +).
 - (4) Central vowel-quality (-9 +).

र्जुथ.ग.मूर.। (,Îe:pəтe)

(v) Vowel initial

ച और.ब. रुर.। (,Intere)

+ voice + palatalization.

(vi) Palatal plosion + front-spread vowel

(vii) Friction + palatalization

(viii) Nasality (except + velarity)

II. Syllable Final

Nasality of vowel, e.g

¹ A few instances have been recorded of plosion-voice (velar/labial) in intraverbal junction, e.g. lᡑpkəjī(:) (བསྡུ་་ལྡུ་་ལྡུ་་ལྡུ་་ལྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་རྡུ་་་ངུ་
these examples are taken are, however, considered to be artificially slow and have been disregarded.

(b) 'Intraverbal Junction'

I. Syllable Initial

(i) Velar plosion + front-spread vowel, e.g.

(ii) Nasality + plosion (sS), e.g.

(iii) Labio-palatal semi-vowel, e.g.

(iv) Friction + labiality/velarity

II. Syllable Final

(i) Velar nasality, e.g.

च्रेद्रभा∙५५मा	बुदःयः देरः ।	गद्र-मे-५रुगः।
('dingidu(:))	(,tehnūpəre)	(nangidu(:))
यसूद्रशीः भेदः।	र्गेद शे भेद ।	भद्यर ग्री त्र्या ।
(tɛŋgəjī)	(`khyŋgyjī(:))	(thyngydu(:))

(ii) Labial nasality, e.g.

बेद शि सेर ।	गत्रम गरेद ।	द <u>्</u> रिंभ∙य•से्र•
('simgiae)	$(\mathtt{saed} \underline{\mathbf{m}} \mathtt{sa})$	$(\operatorname{\mathtt{ared}} \overline{\mathbf{m}} \operatorname{\mathtt{cz}}')$
मञ्जूर'य:मेर्'।	र्बेद्•य•भेद•।	भन्नद.ग.मुर.।
(tempəre)	thømbəjî	(thymboae)

(iii) Labial stop, e.g.

(iv) Velar stop (sS), e.g.

(pered form) (pered form) (pered form) (pered form) (pered form)
$$\frac{\pi}{2}$$

(v) Central vowel-quality

In oW the vowel of the medial syllable has a central quality. This vowelquality is restricted to the medial syllable, and indicates that the preceding syllable is initial in the word, e.g.

2. 'Tone' System

The trisyllabic 'verbal phrase' may be stated in terms of a two-term 'tone' system, as 'tone-one' and 'tone-two' words (1W, 2W). The phonetic exponents of these two terms comprise (a) features of pitch, (b) features of the syllable-initial of the initial syllable. The pitch features require a statement with reference to the intonation systems already stated, and to the 'closure' system stated below.

I. Sentence of one word

18: Tone one:
$$high$$
 low high fall $(-- \)$ ($-- \)$ ($-- \)$ 28: Tone one: $high$ $high$ $rise-fall$ $(-- \)$ ($-- \)$ ($-- \)$ ($-- \)$

In 1S the differentiating feature of 1W and 2W is in the pitch relations of the initial and medial syllables, i.e. whether those two syllables are (i) the same in pitch (1W) or (ii) different in pitch (2W); in 2S, however, it is in the pitch-relations of the final syllable with the preceding two syllables, whether it is (i) not higher in pitch (1W) or (ii) higher in pitch (2W), e.g.

II. Sentence of more than one Word

Init. Syll. Med. Syll. Fin. Syll.

1S: Tone one:
$$\begin{array}{ccc} high \\ ,, & two: \end{array}$$
 high fall $\begin{array}{ccc} (-- \ \ \ \) \\ (-- \ \ \ \ \) \end{array}$
2S: Tone one: $\begin{array}{cccc} \\ ,, & two: \end{array}$ level level $\begin{array}{cccc} \\ (---) \\ \end{array}$

In 1S the differentiating feature of pitch is the same as for the one-word

sentence above; in 2S the 'tone' system is without exponents of pitch (for other non-pitch phonetic exponents of 'tone' see below).

(b) 'Open words' (oW; see below, § B 3, 'closure')

I. Sentence of One Word

Init. Syll. Med. Syll. Fin. Syll.

18: Tone one:
$$\begin{array}{c} high \text{ fall} \\ \text{,, two:} & low \text{,,} \end{array}$$
 level level $\begin{array}{c} (\ \ \ \ \ \ \) \end{array}$ 28: Tone one: $\begin{array}{c} fall \\ \text{,, two:} & rise-fall \end{array}$ level level $\begin{array}{c} (\ \ \ \ \ \ \) \end{array}$

In both 1S and 2S the differentiating feature is the pitch of the initial syllable. Correlated with this pitch feature is a feature of voice-quality:—

II. Sentence of more than One Word

In 18 the pitch features are the same as those of the one-word sentence as in (b) I above; in 28 the two terms are without phonetic exponents of pitch (for other non-pitch phonetic exponents of 'tone' see below).

Phonetic exponents other than those of pitch may be stated for the 'tone' system. These non-pitch exponents are features of the syllable initial of the initial syllable. They do not require to be stated with reference to the intonation systems (§ A 1 above) and the 'closure' system (§ B 3 below).

- (a) 1W:—
 (i) Glottalization
 (ii) Voicelessness—
 - (ii) Voicelessness—aspiration + plosion
 - (iii) ,, ,, + affrication
 - (iv) ,, + lateralization
 - (v) Voiceless occlusion
- (b) 2W:-
 - (i) Voice + plosion
 - (ii) ,, + affrication
 - (iii) ,, + friction
 - (iv) Voiced occlusion
 - (v) Labio-velarization
 - (vi) Vowel initial, e.g.

Aspiration + plosion characterizes either term, and has thus no prosodic

function. Nor have nasality, friction-voice; cf. Part II, wW/yW/oW, II B 2 (a).

'Prosodic' Systems Correlated with the Tone System

It seems appropriate to state here two further 'prosodic' systems that (a) correlate with the tone system, (b) refer to particular 'syllable-initial consonants'. The grounds for stating these systems at this point, and not immediately before the 'consonant' system to which they refer, is that they are not correlated with the three-term 'prosodic' system of the 'word', 'rounding', 'spreading', 'neutrality' (§ B 4 below), in terms of which the material in Part II is presented, and that to give them anew with each of the 'consonant' systems (wW, yW, oW) would result in an unnecessary triplication of statement.

The systems are:-

- (a) 1W:-
 - (i) 'Aspiration' (h)
 - (ii) 'Non-aspiration' (nh);
- (b) 2W:—
 - (i) 'Voice' (v)
 - (ii) 'Non-voice' (nv).

These systems relate to members of the 'initial-consonant' systems of the initial syllable, and that syllable only, as follows:—

- (a) (i) P, T, K; (ii) yL, rC_{α} -.
- (b) (i) P, T, K; (ii) rC_{α} -.

No valid example has, however, been recorded of the former system in combination with wL-, but only with yL.¹ Nor has any example been recorded of the latter in combination with yT-, but only with wT-; in the case of L- and T- the 'prosodic' system of the 'syllable initial' (Part II, wW/yW/əW, II A 2a) has also to be taken into account.

The phonetic exponents of these systems are :-

(a)	1W	'Aspiration'	'Non-aspiration'		
	P, K	voicelessness + aspiration	voicelessness — aspiration		
	y/wT:	,, + ,,	,,		
	$\mathrm{rC}_{oldsymbol{lpha}^{-}}$:	voiceless release	voiced release		
	yL:	voicelessness	voice		
(b)	2W.	'voice'	'non-voice'		
	P, K: voice - aspiration		voicelessness + aspiration		
	\mathbf{wT} :	,, – ,,	,, + ,,		
	${ m rC}_{m{a}^-}$:	voice	voicelessness, e.g.		

¹ See p. 137, note 1.

1W.

IW.				
hP:	मेग्स.ग.मेर.।	(bpe:pare)	पत्र र. की. पर्यं।	(pha:gidu:)
	मक्ट्रिंश ग्री त्रुगः।	(tehumgydu:)	क्रे.ब.दूर.।	(areqa ua)
hK :	द्रिवयःयः देरः।	(kp@rare)	لمح. م. ح. خ. ا	(khanase)
	महिद.बी.पर्येग.।	(chingidu:)	ष्ट्रेस.म.मेर्.।	(cperare)
hwT:	मर्बेद मैं त्र्गा	(thuŋgydu:)	म्बर-मी-लूर-।	(thyŋgyjĩ:)
	व∰द•व•दे र •।	(tshonase)	दक्ष्मय.ग.म्रेरः।	(sreq:iqs)
$\mathrm{hrC}_{oldsymbol{lpha}}$ - :	: बह्दरजुःभव् ।	(taugyjī:)	हिर यः सेरः।	(tir:pare)
	झैब.म.स्रेर.।	($\overline{1}e$:pəre)	ञ्चगः ये . ५ दुगः।	(la:gidu:)
	श्रेव ची नेरा।	(be:gəre:)	ग्रसःग्रीः ८३मः।	(<u>p</u> i:gidu:)
	यहम् यः भेदः ।	(teajajī)	मध्यासःमः देरः।	(ereq:var)
$^{\mathrm{n}}\mathrm{h}\mathrm{K}:$	मञ्जील-ग्री•ा द्वाः।	(ky:gydu:)	यज्ञुंब•य•सेद•।	(k a:pere)
	मञ्जीस-म-म्रेरः।	(e:pəre)	वर्क्केष्ट की सेरा।	(супдуле:)
$^{n}\mathrm{hwT}:$	न्नु-म-नेद-।	(tabele)	य ृद्•म्, लुद्र ।	(taŋgəjĩ:)
n hy T :	हे∙य∙देर∙।	(tsepare)	यहू.मी.परीया.।	(tsugydu:)
${}^{\mathrm{n}}\mathrm{hr}\mathrm{C}_{lpha}$ -:	ञ्च्ररःग्रैःभेदः।	(tie:gəjî:)	क्षेण यः ने रः ।	(ereq:raip)
$^{\mathrm{n}}\mathrm{hyL}:$	ब्रदःयी ५ द्वा ।	(langidu:)	यध्रीयथ.ग्र.लूद.।	(læbəjĩ)
2W.				
	प्यरं श्रु. पर्यः।	(`ba:gidu:)	षबुवायाः देरा ।	(areq:aq.)
	९ में र पर हेरा	(arerezp.)	हर-जी-वर्गः।	('dzigidu:)
vK:	ञ्चयःयः ८ द्यः।	('gu:gydu:)	रमायः मीः मेरः।	(:sregva/)
	यश्चिर.य.र्रर.।	(,intare)	मञ्जीवयः मः मुर्	(əreq:nf/)
\mathbf{vwT} :	ब्रेट्-म-देर-।	('dinase)	चर्चेद्र.म.णूर्यः ।	('dɛːbəjĩ)
	क्षेय मे ९ द्या।	('d1i:gidu:)	तर्मेगःमेः ८५गः।	('dxi:gidu:)
^{n}vP :	यवस्याः देरः ।	$(\mathtt{areq}_{\mathbf{A}}\mathbf{d}\mathbf{d}_{\boldsymbol{\prime}})$	पश्चरायः नेरः।	(areq:kqd_)
	मेद∵ग्री•५दुगः।	(['] t¢higidu:)	ब्रुट् वः सेरः।	('tchunase)
ⁿ vK:	र्गे मे ५ द्या।	('khugydu:)	र्गेद्रःशुः भद्रः।	(`khyŋgyjî:)
	गुरु-ग्र-मेद्र-।	(ereq:3q5,)		
$^{\mathbf{n}}\mathbf{vwT}:$	देदःयः देदः।	(areq:aq,)	रवास्यः सेरः।	(therare)
${}^{n}\mathrm{vr}\mathrm{C}_{lpha^{-}}$:	वैयाजी मेर ।	(`tai:gijî:)	देस∙णु∙षद•।	(`t.i:gijî:)

Thus P/T/K + 'aspiration' are phonetically identical with P/T/K + 'non-voice'. The phonological role of the feature of aspiration that characterizes both terms is, however, as has been stated above, very different according as the 'word' is tone one or tone two. This difference is also valid at the grammatical level of analysis; 'aspiration' and 'non-aspiration' are exponents of the grammatical categories 'transitive' and 'intransitive'; 'voice' and 'non-voice' have not this role.

Examples of this grammatical function of 'aspiration' and 'non-aspiration' may be given as follows:—

'Intransitive' 'Transitive' #. 45. [an. 3). 424.1 K— (निंद्र मेना) खु त्देर मर्जे वर ग्री वर्षा । (He) is boiling the water.1 · The water is boiling. (ky:gydu:) (khy:gydu:) K— (निंद्र-मैत्रा) खः र्क्येर-वर्र-मग्र्यार सेरा। @. ð र. ५८. Lec. n. र र. 1 This pot filled. (He) filled this pot. (khanbəre) (kanbəre) K-(元て・カタン) かず・数エ・エ・ナイン! भर्ने प्रिंद या देर। (He) deceived (him). He was confused. (khəzaze) (korare) P- (គឺ도・취취・) Հጣエ・ਘੱਕ・ਕਵੈ・ਕਫ਼ਗ・ਸ・ਜੇਵ・। रगाम धिवा वरे क्या मारे रेर। He broke this cup. This cup broke. (tcha:beze) (tca:bəze) P- (দিন্-শীরা) মীন্-দেই-শাত্র-মা-নিরা। मिद्राम्बर्गकर्मा सेर्। He cut this wood. This wood split. (tche:beie) (tgs:beae) P- (テོང་གན་) གོང་འརི་སྲང་ར་རེང་। मॅद १ दरे १ द स र १ य र रेर ।। (He) raised the price. The price rose. (by arare) (parare) अगम र्से व पर दि पर्के प्रमेश में पर मा। P- (बिंद्र नेतर) स्वत्र र्स्व प्रदेश के स्वेष प्रति । These customs spread. (He) spreads these customs. (phe:gidu:) (pe:gidu:) T- (AC. 44) PC. 11. P. 11. P. 12. 12. 12. 1 MC. 7. 43. 43. 4. 4. 4. 4. 1 This building was destroyed. (He) destroyed this building. (thouase) (tolale)

¹ 'Translation meanings' in English have been added to the Tibetan text only where there appears to be a gain in clarity of exposition.

The ten examples given above are all that have been recorded of this grammatical function of 'aspiration' and 'non-aspiration'.

In some instances 'aspiration' and 'non-aspiration' appear to be in free variation, though it may well be that stylistic factors are involved, e.g.

In addition <u>trubage</u> and <u>try:bage</u> were recorded as alternative pronunciations to <u>trubage</u> and <u>try:bage</u> (ABJ'D'ZJ'), and with the spellings AJ'A'ZJ') and AJA'D'ZJ', but not as often.

3. 'CLOSURE'

Certain features of vowel closure may most profitably be stated in terms of a 'prosodic' system of two terms, 'close' and 'open', at the word level of analysis: cW, oW. As a matter of convenience, however, the phonetic exponents of these two terms are not stated here, but within the framework of the three-term prosodic system (wW, yW, ow) stated below.

4. 'ROUNDING', 'SPREADING', AND 'NEUTRAL' PROSODIES (W, y, a)

It is convenient to abstract features of rounding, of spreading, and other non-rounding and non-spreading features and state them at the word level of analysis, since all three syllables of the word whole are in some degree concerned. For this purpose a three-term system must be stated and symbolized. A word may be assigned to any one of the three terms of this prosodic system 'Rounding' (wW), 'Spreading' (yW), 'Neutrality' (aW). The balance of the material is stated within this framework (wW, yW, aW) as Part II.