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A Descriptive Grammar of Denjongke (Sikkimese Bhutia)

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Abstract

This work is a 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 or action may be referred to by two different lexical items. Similarly to many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Denjongke has phonologically related pairs of controllable vs. non-controllable 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 =*ɕo* provides interesting insight into phenomena surrounding the concepts of contrastive focus and 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 *duʔ*, 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 genetivized 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 grammar 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.

སྔོན་བརྗོད་ (Foreword in Denjongke)

རང་གིས་ ཕྱག་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དེབ་ འདི་ཀི་ མིང་ དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ སྐད་ན་ ”A descriptive grammar of Denjongke” (ཡང་ ནེ་ ”འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལྕ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ བཤད་སྟོང་ འགྲེལ་བརྗོད་ཅན་ཀྱི་ གཞུང་”) སེ་ ཞུ་དོ་ ཨིན། འདི་ མིང་གི་ དོན་དག་ ནས་ ན་ ཚིག་ གཅིག་གཉིས་ གཅིག་ ཕྱུ་སྟེ་ གསལ་ཁད་ ཨིན། འགོ་ དང་པོ་ནེ་ དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ སྐད་ཀྱི་ grammar ལབ་མཁན་ ཚིག་ འདི་ བར་བར་ ན་ ལྕ་སྐད་ན་ ཁྲིམས་ཏག་ སེ་ སྐད་སྒྱུར་ བྱས་ཏུང་ ནས་ བྱི་ ཡོད་པའི་ དེབ་ འདི་ ལྕོ་ཡིག་ ཁྲིམས་ཏག་ མན། རྒྱུ་མཚན་ འདི་ ཁྲིམས་ཏག་ ལབ་མཁན་ ནང་ཁ་ བྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ བྱི་སྒྲོམ་ དང་ དགའ་ཚོ་ལོ་ འགྲོལ་ཁད་ རྒྱབས་ ཆོང་ དེ་ཟང་ དེ་ འདི་ ཁ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ལུགས་སྲོལ་ཆུ་ལོ་ འགྲོལ་ཁད་ རྒྱབས་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་ བྱི་བྱི་པོ་ ཨིན། ཨོ་འདི་ ཕྱུས་སྟེ་ དེབ་ འདི་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དཔེའི་ ཚིག་སྒྱུབ་ཙུ་ ནང་ལས་ ཁ་ཧས་ བྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ བྱི་སྒྲོལ་ལོ་ ཉུ་སྟེ་ ཨ་ཚོ་ མ་མཚུངས་པོ་ འདུག་ ཚོར་ འོང་ཀོ།

གཉིས་པོ་ འདི་ནེ་ དེབ་ འདིའི་ མིང་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ descriptive ལབ་མཁན་ ཚིག་ འདིའི་ དོན་དག་ ཏུ་གོ་ དགོས་ཁད་ སྦད། Descriptive སེ་མཁན་གི་ ལྕོག་ཕྱོགས་ འདི་ prescriptive ཨིན། Prescriptive grammar ལབ་མཁན་ འདི་ སྐད་ གུ་ཇེ་ བྱི་ དགོས་པོ་ དང་ ལབ་ དགོས་པོ་ འདི་ ཚད་གཞི་ (standard) བཟོ་བའི་ དོན་ལོ་ བྱི་ ཡོད་ ནས་ བྱི་ ཡོད་པའི་ དེབ་ འདི་ prescriptive grammar མན་བའི་ རྒྱེན་ཀྱིས་ ལྕ་སྐད་ འདི་ ག་ཇེ་ རྒྱབས་ དགོས་པོ་ དང་ བྱི་ དགོས་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་ བྱི་བྱི་པོ་ མན། འདིའི་ དོན་ལོ་ སློབ་གྲུབའི་ སློབ་དེབ་ཏུ་ ཕོབ་ཁད་ ཡོད་ རང་གི་ ཕྱག་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དེབ་ འདི་ descriptive grammar ཨིན་པའི་ རྒྱེན་ཀྱིས་ ནས་ དེབ་ འདིའི་ ནང་ན་ མང་ཆེབ་ སེ་ སྐྱས་མོ་ཀོས་ རྒྱབས་མཁན་ ཁ་སྐད་ འདི་ འགྲོལ་ཁད་ རྒྱབས་ ཡོད།

ཁ་སྐད་ དང་ བྱི་སྐད་ན་ ཁྱད་པར་ ཕོག་ཀོ་ལས་ ཁ་སྐད་ན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པའི་ ཚིག་སྒྱུབ་ཏུ་ ལྕོ་ཡིག་ན་ བྱི་རན་ཁར་ ནས་ བར་ བར་ན་ ལྕོན་ལས་ ཡིག་ཕོག་ལོ་ བྱེ་ མིག་པའི་ ཚིག་ཚུ་ཡང་ བྱི་ དགོས་པོ་ ཕྱག་ཀོ་ ཨིན། ཨོ་འདིམ་ ཚིག་ཚུ་ བྱི་བའི་ སྐང་ སྲོམ་པ་པོ་ གཞན་ཚུ་ཀིས་ བྱི་སྒྲངས་ ཨིན་འཕུ་ འོན་ཀོ། ཚོམ་པ་པོ་ གཞན་ཚུའི་ དེབ་ཏུ་ན་ཡང་ ཚིག་ གཅིག་གི་ བྱི་སྒྲོལ་ གཉིས་ གསུམ་ མཐོང་ ཡོད། གལ་སྲིད་ བའི་ དེབ་ཀྱི་ དཔེའི་ ཚིག་སྒྱུབ་ཀྱི་ ཕོན་ས་ ཡང་ནེ་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ འདི་ ཚོམ་པ་པོ་ གཞན་ཀྱི་ དེབ་ན་ ཡོད་ནེ་ ནས་ སློ་ཡིག་གོས་ དགའ་ཆ་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ལས་ ལེན་པོ་ ཨིན། དཔེའ་ བཤག་ནེ་ དཔེའི་ ཚིག་སྒྱུབ་ཀྱི་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ འདི་ སྦུའི་ཏུང་ ཚོམ་ བཙུ་དར་པོའི་ རེ་ཆེ་ ལབ་མཁན་ རྣམ་ཐར་ ཨིན་ནེ་ དས་ཡང་ རེ་ཆེན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དགའ་ཆ་ ནང་ལྟར་ བྱི་པོ་ ཨིན། བྱི་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐད་ཀྱི་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ གཀས་པོ་ ཡོད་པའི་ རྒྱེན་ཀྱིས་ དེ་ འདི་ན་ ཚིག་ གཅིག་གི་ བྱི་སྒྲོལ་ གཉིས་ གསུམ་ ཕོབ་ ཚུགས (དཔེར་ན་ ལེགས, ལེས, ལྗེས)།

གལ་སྲིད་ དཔེའི་ ཚིག་སྒྱུབ་ཀྱི་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ འདི་ ཁ་སྐད་ ཨིན་ནེ་ ནས་ སློ་ཡིག་ཡང་ ཁ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ཚིག་སྒྲ་ ནང་ལྟར་ བྱི་ བཞག་ ཡོད་ དཔེའ་ བཞག་ནེ་ བྱི་སྐད་ན་ ”འོང་ཚར་པོ་ལས་” བྱི་རུང་ ཁ་སྐད་ན་ འབྱོན་པའི་ ཚིག་སྒྱུབ་ཚིའི་ ཚིག་སྒྲ་ བྱི་སྐད་ན་ སློ་བའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ནས་ བྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ལུགས་སྲོལ་ མ་སྐྱུབ ”འོང་ཚོཕ་ལས་” བྱི་པོ་ ཨིན། གཞན་ དཔེའི་ཏུ་ འོང་ལོ་ བྱི་ བཞག་ ཡོད།

བྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ བྱི་སྒྲོལ་ ནང་ལྟར་ བྱི་ ཡོད་པོ		དེབ་ འདི་ན་ ཁ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ཚིག་སྒྲ་ ནང་ལྟར་ བྱི་ ཡོད་པོ
ཁོ/མོ [kʰo]/[mò]	>	ཁྱུ་/མྱུ་ [kʰu]/[mù]
བོམ་པོ་ [bompo]	>	བོམ་པུ་ [bompu]
ད་ལྟ་ [tˈata]	>	ད་ལྟོ་ [tˈato]
ཚུགས་ན་ [tsʰuːna]	>	ཚུགས་ནེ་ [tsʰuːnɛ] / ཚུགས་ནོ་ [tsʰuːno]
གེས་པོ་ [kɛːpo]	>	གེས་བ་ [kɛːp] / གེས་པོ་ [kɛːpo]
གནང་པོ་ སྦད་ [nã́ŋbo bɛʔ]	>	གནངམ་ སྦད་ [nã́ːm bɛʔ] / གནང་པོ་ སྦད་ [nã́ːbo bɛʔ]
འཇོག་ཚར་པོ་ལས་ [dzɛktsʰarbolɛ]	>	འཇོག་ཚོཕ་ལས་ [dzɛktsʰoulɛ]
སྨྱོང་ཚར་པོ་ལས་ [mjòŋtsʰarbolɛ]	>	སྨྱོང་ཚོའི་ལས་ [mjõ̀ːtsʰoːlɛ]
ཉི་ཚར་པོ་ལས་ [ɕitsʰarbolɛ]	>	ཉི་ཚུབ་ལས་ [ɕitsublɛ]
ཕྱས་སོང་པོ་དང་ [pˈjasõːbodãː]	>	ཕྱས་སོངས་དང་ [pˈjasomdãː]
ཐོས་ཅེ་ཀ? [tʰoːtɕɛka]	>	ཐོས་ཅ? [tʰoːtɕa]
ཕྱས་བཞིན་ འདུག་གེ་ [pˈjazɛndukɛ]	>	ཕྱས་བཞིན་གེ་ [pˈjazyŋgɛ] (Tashiding)

དེབ་ འདི་ སྐྱེ་ འཛམ་བུ་སྐ྄ྱིང་གི་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ སྐ྄ྱ་སྐྱ྄ད་ ལབ་མཁན་ སྐ྄ྱ྄ྀ་པོ་ཚའི་ སྐ྄ྱད་ འདི་ ལེབ་ ཕྱག་ཀ྄ུ་ ཡོད་ སེ་ ཏ྄ུ་གོ་ བཅུག་ག྄ིའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཅིག་ག྄ུ་ མན྄་བ་ འཕྲས་སྐ྄ྱྀངས྄ན྄་ སྐ྄ྱ྄ྀསྐ྄ྱད་ ཡར྄་ཀྱུས྄་ བཏང྄་བའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཕན྄་ཐོག྄ས྄་ཆ྄ེ་དག྄ོས྄ འཛ྄ྀན྄ བཅུག་ སེ་ ལབ་སྟ྄྄ེ ངའི་ ར྄ེ་ཚ྄྄ེ ཡོད།

དེབ་ འད྄྄ིི དོན྄྄་ལ྄ོ ཐམས྄་ཞིབ྄ ཕྱས྄་པ྄ོ དང྄ ཐམས྄་ཞིབ྄་ཀ྄ྱ྄ི སྐ྄ྱུབ྄་འཕྲས྄ བྲ྄ི་བའ྄ི སྐ྄ྱད྄ ང྄་ལ྄ོ ར྄ོགས྄྄་རམ྄ གནང྄྄་མཁན྄ ཨ྄་ཁ྄ུ སྐ྄ྱ྄ྀཔ྄ོ སྐ྄ྱུན྄྄་ཀ྄ྱུས྄ ཐམས྄་ཅད྄྄་ལ྄ོ དང྄ ཤ྄ེས྄྄་རབ྄ གནང྄྄་མཁན྄ ཡར྄ དག྄ོན྄྄་མཆོག྄ལ྄ོ སྐ྄ྱིང྄ ཐག྄་ག྄ོ་ལས྄ ཐུག྄ས྄྄་ར྄ྗ྄྄ེ་ཆ྄ེ ཐ྄ུལ྄྄་བཞ྄ྀན྄ ང྄འ྄ི གཏམ྄ འ྄ད྄ུམ྄་འད྄ུམ྄ འད྄ི འད྄ིཅ྄ྀག྄་ན྄ བ྄ཞག྄་ཏ྄྄ོ ཡྀན྄། ཐ྄ུག྄ས྄྄་ར྄ྗ྄྄ེ་ཆ྄ེ།

ཡ྄ུ་ཏ྄྄ུ ཡ྄ུད྄་ལ྄ི་ན྄ི་མ྄ི
(Juha Yliniemi)

Acknowledgements

Brief Table of contents

ix

Full Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Maps

Abbreviations			
1	first person	IN	intensifier
2	second person	INDF	indefinite
3SGM	third person singular masculine	INF	infinitivizer
3SGF	third person singular feminine	L	low-level
ABL	ablative	LNK	linker
ADJZR	adjectivizer	LOC	locative
ADVZR	adverbializer	M	mid-level

AEMPH	anaphoric emphatic	NC	non-commitment
AGT	agentive	NE	neutral
AO	addressee-oriented	NF	nonfinal
APH	alterphoric	NEG	negative
APPR	approximative	NMLZ	nominalizer
ASR	assertive	NN	nonnormative
ASSOC	associative	NPST	nonpast
AT	attention marker	NUM	numeral
ATTQ	attenuated question	ORD	ordinal number
CEMPH	contrastive emphatic	PER	personal
CHT	child talk	PFV	perfective
CIRC	circumstantial	PL	plural
CMPL	completive	PN	personal name
CNG	connegative	PRF	perfect
CNTJ	conjunction	PQ	polar question
COL	collectivizer	PRET	pretensive
COMP	complementizer	PROB	probabilitative
COND	conditional	PROG	progressive
CONJ	conjunction	PST	past
COP	copula	PUR	purposive
DAT	dative-locative	Q	question
DEMPH	demonstrative-emphatic	QUA	quantifier
DIM	diminuative	QUO	quotative
EGO	ego(phoric)	REFL	reflexive pronoun
EMPH	emphatic	REP	reportative
EQU	equative	SEN	sensorial
EX	existential	SG	singular
EXPER	experiental	SIM	simultaneous
EXCLAM	exclamative	SPAT	spatial
FRN	friendly	SUG	suggestive
FUT	future	SUP	superlative
GEN	genitive	TAG	tag
HON	honorific	TERM	terminative
HON	honorific	TOP	topicalizer-emphatic
HORT	hortative	TPN	toponym
IDEO	ideophone	URG	urgentive
IMF	imminent future	VBLZ	verbalizer
IMP	imperative	WD	written Denjongke
IPFV	imperfective	WT	Written Tibetan

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[1]), 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 of Denjongke (§1.1.11).

1.1.1 Name of the language

The language which is the subject of this grammar has four main names none of which are without problems: Denjongke, Lhoke, Bhutia and Sikkimese.[2] The ISO 639-3 code for the language is 'sip', while the glottocode (see glottolog.org) is 'sikk1242'. The name "Denjongke" /ɖɛndzoŋkɛʔ/[3] (འབྲས་ ལྗོངས་སྐད་ *'bras-ljongs-skad* 'the language of Sikkim') is chosen as the main title because it is probably the least problematic. The word *ɖɛŋdzõː*, 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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[1] 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.

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

[3] An alternative romanized spelling for the language is "Drenjongke/Dränjongkä," which makes explicit the historical retroflexifying consonant *r* in the written form འབྲས་ལྗོངས་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 /ɖ/, 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).[4] According to their traditional lore, the Lhopos started to spread to Sikkim and Ha through Chumbi valley (Balikci 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.[5] However, as the data presented in this grammar were gathered in Sikkim, the geopolitically based term "Denjongke," 'language of Sikkim', is descriptive of the data.

Another name for the language is "Lhoke" (ལྷོ་སྐད་ *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. Tsichudarpa'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,[6] along with his notes on verb forms[7] and historical

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[4] The language spoken in Chumbi is in Lachung (North Sikkim) called *tɕ'umbø: kɛʔ* (གྱུང་བའི་ སྐད་ *gyung-ba'i skad*).

[5] 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).

[6] Tromowa words are most of the time identical with "Sikhimese" (=Denjongke) and both contrast with Tibetan.

[7] 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.

phonology,[8] indeed give preliminary evidence that the Tibetic variety 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[9] མ་སངས་ ཁྱུང་འདུས/བདུད་ *ma-sangs khyung-'dus/bdud*), who is said to reside near the point where the borders of Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan join (Balikci 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 Balikci (2008: 73) to hypothesize that earlier in history these areas "were perhaps once populated by a somewhat homogenised Lhopo population." Balikci (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

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[8] 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 $\tilde{a}ː$ vs $\tilde{o}ː$ so that only $\tilde{o}ː$ is used. The same feature also occurs in Denjongke spoken in North and East Sikkim (but not in West Sikkim, where there still is a contrast between $\tilde{a}ː$ and $\tilde{o}ː$). 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. *tɕa*). 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. *ʈa* 'hair' (Central Tibetan, *r* causes retroflexivization).

[9] Throughout the grammar, WD refers to written Denjongke and WT to Written Tibetan.

3

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 "Bhōṭiā 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 13th edition of the Ethnologue (Grimes 1996) lists "Lhoke" as an alternative 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"[10] word for Bhutan, in constrast 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" 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]).[11]

Within Sikkim, the typically used exonym for Denjongke, when speaking either English or Nepali, is "Bhutia/Bhotia" (Nepali भोटिया *bʰuṭia/bʰoṭia*).[12] 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 *bhoṭ* 'Tibet' (Nepali)[13]. When more precision is needed, the term is amplified by a geographical location, e.g. "Bhōṭiā 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,[14] but as far as I understand, this distinction has not received overall acceptance, especially within other linguistically related groups.[15]

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[10] Tibetic variety spoken in the Chumbi valley (of China) situated between Sikkim and Bhutan.

[11] I once heard a Lhomi speaker refer to his language as [l̥okɛʔ].

[12] 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.

[13] This Nepali word most likely derives from Written Tibetan བོད་ *bod* 'Tibet'.

[14] This view is expressed in the Wikipedia article on "Bhutia" (13 Feb 2018)

[15] 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.

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" (Balikci 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.

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

To summarize, the main language name chosen for this grammar 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). Moreover, it is reflected in later references such as Genetti's (1986: 387) "Danjongka"[16], 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" is 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.

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[16] 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).

Table 1.1. Summary of language names

Name of language			Brief description
Denjongke	[ɖɛndʑoŋkɛʔ]	'language of Sikkim'	Pan-Tibetan endonym geopolitically limited to Sikkim (used when speaking Tibetan and Denjongke)
Lhoke	[l̥okɛʔ]	'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	[bʰuʈia/bʰoʈia]	'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 ('southener')
Bhutia	Bhutia ('person/people of Tibetan origin')
Sikkimese	Sikkimese (obsolete as a reference to Denjongke/Denjongpos only)

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 Tsichudarpo 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 Ethonologue 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.[17]

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).

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
Dandźongka
East Bodish unit
Tshangla branch
Rgyarong branch
Gurung branch
West Himalayish section
West Central Himalayish section
East Himalayish section
Newarish
Digarish
Midźuish
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

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[17] 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).

distinguishing Central Bodish from South Bodish ("[c]haracterisized by the shift of [WT] -r- to -y-") it becomes clear that the language described in this grammar is identified as Sikkimese and/or Dandźongka of the South Bodish unit in Shafer's work. The terms "Lhoskad (Lhoke)" and "Sikkim" under Central Tibetan remain somewhat mysterious.[18] The term "Dandźongka" 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).

Figure 1.2. Bradley's (2002) grouping of Tibeto-Burman languages
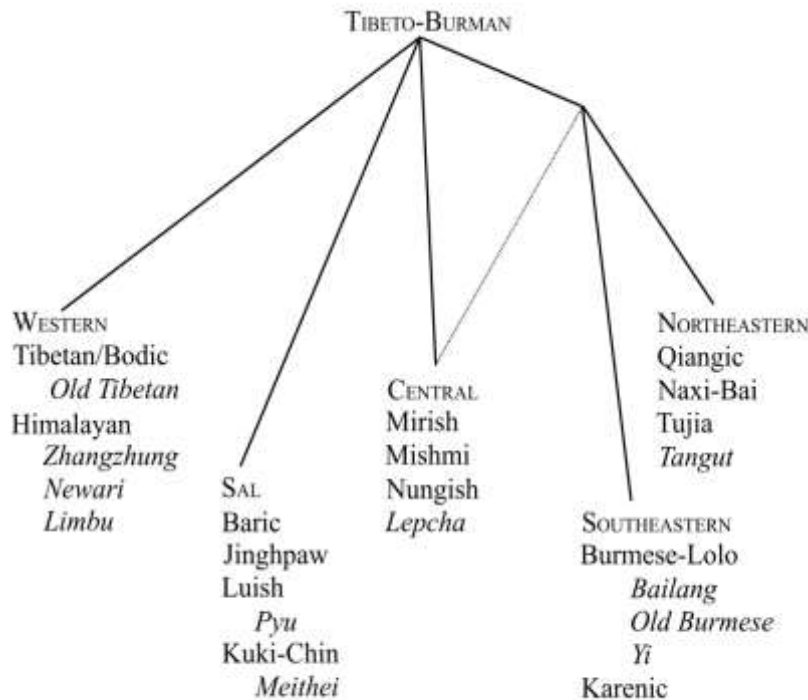
The Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig 2017) lists Denjongke (using the name "Sikkimese"), along with Dzongkha (Bhutan) and seven smaller languages spoken in Bhutan and Chumbi valley (China), as a Western Tibeto-Burman, Bodish, Central Bodish, Southern language. Denjongke may also be referred to as a Tibetic language. The term "Tibetic" refers to languages derived from Old Tibetan (Tournadre 2008: 283; Tournadre 2014). "Tibetic" differs from "Bodish" in exluding "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.

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[18] 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 1.3. 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 animals names, toponyms and a collections of Lepcha[19] words and phrases.

Grierson's (1909:119-128) survey entry on "Ḍänjong-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 languge (WT གྲོ་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) decribes the functions of Denjongke attention marker $=\varepsilon o$ and also provides a glossed text sample from Bhaichung Tsichudarpo'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 work 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.

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[19] 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).

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 20th 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) and Balikci (2008: 65-74). 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 13th century. Guru Tashi's son Gye Bumsa (WD གྱད་ འབུམ་གསགས་ *gyad 'bum-gsags* [kˤɛ bumsa(ʔ)] '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 Sikkim to seek the blessing of a male descendant from the Lepcha bongthing[20] 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.

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 first Bhutia king Phuntsog Namgyal (WT *phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal*) who reigned 1642-1670[21] (Mullard 2011: 5). In Denjongke and Tibetan, this agreement is known as ལྷོ་ མོན་ ཙོང་ གསུམ་ *lho mon tsong gsum* /ɬo mèn tsõ: súm/ '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 22nd state of India.

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[20] Male ritual specialist of the Lecphas (Balikci 2008: 378).
[21] According to the traditional account. Mullard (2011) argues for the years c. 1646 - c. 1670.

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 *Norden Tshering Bhutia* ནོར་ལྡན་ ཚེ་རིང་ ལྷོ་ཁེ་ཡ་ 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་ལྡན་ ལ་ཆུང་པ་ and then extensively by *Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo* པད་མ་ རིག་འཛིན་ སྟག་ ཆུང་དར་པོ་, both as Text Book Officers of the Government of Sikkim.

More recently, other types of literature have appeared. In 1996, *Bhaichung Tsichudarpo* བྷའེ་ཆུང་ ཚོས་བཅུ་དར་པོ་ (the then Text Book Officer, Government of Sikkim) published the first Denjongke novel called *richhi* རེ་རྩེ་ '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 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་ལྟོའེ་ 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. There are currently plans to start republishing the paper.

Currently, the Bhutia Language Website Development Committee (ལྷོ་ཁེ་ཡ་ སྐད་རིགས་ ད་ལྟོངས་ ལྷན་ཚོགས་) 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.

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 Tsichudarpo 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 *bɛy:* (WD སྦས་ཡུལ་ *sbas-yul*) 'hidden land', one of the sacred valleys which the 8th 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.[22] Moreover, Sikkim is viewed by many Denjongpos as a paradise on earth whose fate foretells the fate of the whole world (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 *ɕèŋkɛʔ* ཞེན་སྐད་ 'language of the simple' or *pʰɛ(l)kɛʔ* ཕལ་སྐད་ 'common language' and the honorific words known as *ɕɛ̀ːso* ཞེ་ས་ 'honorific'.[23] 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 southeners, 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 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) ཆོད་ག་འགྱུ?
    tɕʰøʔ   *kˈaː*   *gju*?
    2SG.L   where   go
    'Where are you going?'

(1.2) སྔན་རྒྱས་གན་ཆྱོན་པོ་གནང་དོ་(བོ་)?
    ļɛŋgɛʔ   *kˈana*   *tɕˈøm-bo*   *nǎ̀ː-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

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[22] A Tibetan monk's attempt to open the passage to the spiritual realm through a gateway location in Sikkim is recorded in Shor (2017).

[23] 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.

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, according to whom 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 [24] 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 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)
definitely endangered	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

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[24] https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status (consulted 13 Feb 2018)

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* /pˈjakɛː/ 'chicken-bringing'[25]) was released. Currently, the Bhutia Literary Association (BLA) is preparing website, 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, *gɛʔ* 'eight' is written བརྒྱད་ *brgyad* and *ő:* '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

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[25] The name refers to the customs of bringing chicken meat to the family of a new-born baby.

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 ideophones, which are used for vivid representation of ideas.

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 1st 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 grammar. 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, /ãː/ and /õː/, which are distinguished in West Sikkim merge into /õː/ 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/ or /ni/ in South and West Sikkim.[26]

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.

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[26] 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.

Table 1.4. Some linguistic differences between Tashiding and Lachung

Lexeme	Tashiding	Lachung
'after'	*gjablɛ*	*ɕýːlɛ* (the same as in Dzongkha)
'flower'	*mìntoʔ*	*mèːtoʔ* (Central Tibetan pronunciation)
'tradition'	*lùksøː*	*lòksoː/lòːsoː*
'coral'	*pʼjuru*	*tɕuru* (Central Tibetan pronunciation)
Other morpheme		
plural	*=tsu*	*=tso* (Central Tibetan pronunciation)
pre-verbal negation particle *á* (see §11.1.1.5)	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 *jàːkeʔ* ཡར་སྐད་ 'language of the highlands', which is the description of some Lachenpas and Lachungpas of their own language, but *màːkeʔ* མར་སྐད་ 'language of the lowlands', a word used by some higlanders of those living at lower altitudes and in more southern locations.[27]

The greatest contributor to the written Denjongke data used as data in this grammar is Bhaichung Tsichudarpo, whose works make up approximately 90% of the digitized written data (134 pages and 56,474 words according to MS-Word). As a result, Tsichudarpo'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, my research 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

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[27] I record, however, some examples from speakers of Lachen and particularly Lachung.

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 grammar 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 grammar 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 grammar 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 grammar come 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.[28] Developing my own intuitions about the language also helped make the analysis more reliable. Although many example sentences in the present work 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 and KT) were competent in English. An illustrative collection of Denjongke texts is provided in Appendix 1. I am planning to make later available some material from Appendix 1 and also other analyzed texts through archiving (preliminarily in FINCLARIN's language bank[29]). The following types of spoken data have been used in the analysis and examples:

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[28] For a defense of the monolingual method, see Everett (2001).
[29] https://kitwiki.csc.fi/twiki/bin/view/FinCLARIN/KielipankkiFrontpage

18

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.

9) One example, (9.58b), is taken from Kunzang Rapten Denjongpo's 2021 short film གཉིད་ལམ *gnyid-lam* /ɲílam/ 'dream' (1:12), see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SBp2FAZ94AY

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.[30]

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, 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 grammar 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

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[30] 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/.

JD	m. 15	Tashiding	Life story (00:47)
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 of 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 in 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 (monastery) (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 Tsichudarpo 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 Tsichudarpo (WD སྦྲའི་ཅུང་ ཚེས་བཅུ་དར་པོ་ *bha'i-cung tshes-bcu-dar-po*):

    1) A novel called རེ་ཆེ་ *richhi* /riteʰi/ 'hope', 173 pages, see Tsichudarpo (1996).[31]

    2) A play called རྣམ་རྟོག་ *rnam-rtog* /námtoʔ/ 'superstition', 42 pages, see Tsichudarpo (1997).

    3) A play called ངའི་ འགན་ *nga'i 'gan* /ŋè: gɛn/ 'my responsibility', 27 pages, within Tsichudarpo (2008).

    4) A play called མཐུན་སྒྲིལ་ *mthun-sgril* /tʰyndʑiː/ 'unity', 19 pages, within Tsichudarpo (2008).

    5) A play called རྗེ་བཙུན་ མི་ལ་ རས་པོ་ དང་ ཁྱི་ར་ རས་པོ་ མགོན་པོ་ རྡོ་རྗེ་ *rje-btsun mi-la ras-po dang khyi-ra ras-po mgon-po rdo-rje* /dzɛtsyn mìlarɛpo tˈãː kʰirarɛpo gømpo dordʑi/ 'Venerable Milarepo and Kirarepo Gompo Dorje', 28 pages, within Tsichudarpo (2008).

Work by Karma Lobsang Bhutia (WD ཀརྨ་ བློ་བཟང་ བྷོ་ཊི་ཡ་ *kar-ma blo-bzang bho-Ti-ya*):

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[31] This is the first and, thus far, the only Denjongke novel.

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

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

7) A description of Denjongpo marriage customs སྦར་ཕུང་ ལིང་དམ་ འགྲོ་ལིས་ *sbar-phung ling-dam 'gro-lis* /barpʰuŋ lìŋdam ɖoliʔ/ '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་ སྟག་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 (WD ཚེ་རིང་ དོན་གྲུབ་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པོ་ *tshe-ring don-grub 'bras-ljongs-po*) and Thupten Palzang Bhutia (WD ཐུབ་བསྟན་ དཔལ་བཟང་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པོ་ *thub-bstan dpal-bzang 'bras-ljongs-po)*:

9) A discussion on language situation in the world འཛམ་གླིང་ སྐད་ཡིག་གི་ སྐྱེ་ཤི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ མུན་གསེལ་ སྒྲོན་མེ་ བཞུགས་སོ་ *'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[32] of Tashi Denjongpo (WD བཀྲ་ཤིས་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པོ་ *bkra-shis 'bras-ljongs-po*), Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo (WD པད་མ་ རིག་འཛིན་ སྟག་ཅུང་དར་པོ་ *pad-ma rig-'dzin stag-cung-dar-po*) and Bhaichung Tsichudarpo (WD བྷའི་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 སུམ་རྟགས་ དང་ བྲི་རྩོམ་ འཛིན་གྱལ་ དགུ་ལས་ མཐོ་སློབ་ བར་གྱི་ དོན་ལོ་ *sum-rtags dang bri-rtsom 'dzin-gyal dgu-las mtho-slob bar-gyi don-lo*.

13) Annual magazine of the newspaper ད་ལྟོའི་ 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 Tsichudarpo, the first story in 6 (28 pages) and a dialogue from 7 (6 pages).

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

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). Words were also acoustically analyzed 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.

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. 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 show 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[33] within Denjongke speech are on the first line written in Denjongke/Tibetan script followed by the same word written in Roman script in brackets, see (1.3).

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[33] 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.

(1.3) ད་རུང་ ང་ཅ�འི་གི་ ཡུ་ནི་ཝ་སི་ཏི་ (university) ས�លེབས་ མ་ཚུགས་མཁན་ སྦད་ ་ག།
     tʼaruŋ   ŋàtɕi=gi   junivəːsiti   ɭɛp   ma-tsʰu-kʰɛn   bɛː
     yet   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 word represents a Denjongke writing of a Nepali word, see (1.4), where the Nepali word *pʌni* 'also' is adapted to Denjongke pronunciation as *pun(i)*.[34] Morphemes addressed in the discussion are typically given in bold, see *pun* in (1.4).

(1.4) ཨ་ཚོ་ རོགས་རམ་ པུ་ནི་ (Nep.) བྱ་འད་ལོ་ཀི།
     *átsi   roːram   **pun**   pʼja-ɕɛ=lo=ki*[35].
     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) *junivəːsiti* 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་ཀ།
     sà-tsʰa   du-kɛ   pʰɛka.[36]
     eat-CMPL   SEN-IN   half
     '(It) has eaten half (I saw).' (PL interview)

(1.6) དེབ་ འདི་ གོང་ཆེན་ མ་བྱས་གི་ ལབ་པོ་ ཨིན།
     tʼɛp=di   kʼõːtɕʰɛ̃ː   ma-jà-gɛ   làp-o   ĩ́ː.
     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)

Three dots (…) in the middle of an example sentence mean that some words have been elided. Incomplete sentences are marked in the examples in three ways: 1) in Denjongke script by ending with the syllable-break marker · (rather than the equivalent of full stop །), 2) in the phonemic script

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[34] Similar to English code-mixing, the most frequently used Nepali words may have attained the status of a loan word. In the case of Nepali *pʌni* 'also', 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 =*jã̀ː*.
[35] =*ki* is a loan from Nepali, see §16.2.3.
[36] The word order in this spoken example is unconventional. The verb complex (here *sà-tsʰa du-kɛ*) typically occurs finally.

by ending with no punctuation (in opposition to marking the end of the sentence by a full stop), and 3) in the free translation by ending with three dots, in opposition to a full stop.

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 to represent spoken language in Denjongke writing (§1.2.7.2-4). The remainder of this grammar 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་[37] (as ྅ in ྒྱ) 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 ྒྱ and ྒྱ 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 ཀྱ and པྱ respectively because ཀྲ and པྲ without a *tsha-lag* are pronounced as a retroflex /ʈ/. Another innovation in WD is word-breaks (see any example clause). The non-standardized character of the written language is also seen in that some words are spelled in various ways by different authors, and sometimes by the same author, e.g. ལེགས་, ལེམ་ and ལ�བེམ་ for *lèm* 'good'.[38]

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 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 grammar. The discussion is divided into the topics of word-breaks (§1.2.7.2), syllable merging (§1.2.7.3) and phonological writing (§1.2.7.4)

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[37] Also known as སྒྲ་རྟགས་ ཚ་ལག་ *sgra-rtags tsha-lag.*

[38] According to an emerging standard, the correct spelling at present is ལེགས་, which retains the etymological connection to the related form ལེགས་ '(be) good'.

1.2.7.2 Word breaks

Monosyllabic clause-medial clitics ཡང་ =*jã:* 'too, even', རང་ =*rã:* (anaphoric emphatic), དུ་ =*to* (contrastive emphatic) and clause-final clitics ཅོ་ =*ɕo* (attention marker), ལགས་ *la(:)* (honorific), སེ་ =*sɛ/si* (quotative) and ལོ་ =*lo* (reportative) are written together with the word they follow, e.g. ང་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 Tsichudarpo 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་སྟེ་ *khim sà:tɛ* 'until home/house', ཁྱིམ་ ཚ(ར)་ *kʰim=tsa:* 'at home/house', ཁྱིམ་ ཚཁར་ *kʰim tsakʰa* 'at home/house'.

Similarly to Tsichudarpo, double case marking, or case stacking, is written together, e.g. locative following a genitive ཁའི་ན་ *kʰa=i=na* 'in the mouth' (occurs also as simply locative ཁ་ན་ *kʰa=na*). Serialized verbs are written separately, e.g. འབག་ འོང་དི་ *bak òn-di* (also *ba: òn-di*) 'is bringing (lit. carry come-NF)'. Interrogative copulas ཉ་ *ɲá* and ཉམ་ *ɲám*, in analogy to copulas and copular auxiliaries are written separately, whereas interrogative suffixes ཀ་/ག་ *-ka/ga* and གམ་/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་པོ་ བྱད་ *nã̌:-bo bɛʔ* 'did (hon.)', གནང་བཞིན་ འདུག་ *nã̌:-ʑen duʔ* '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 dropped in some constructions, e.g. *kjap-to (t̂:/bɛʔ)* 'is doing', *kjap-o (t̂:/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་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་མཁན་ དོ་ བྱད།
            ʑuŋ=gi   *jóʔ*   *kjap-kʰɛn=**to***   *bɛʔ*.
            government=GEN   work do-NMLZ=CEMPH   EQU.NE
            '(I) am a government employee.' (KT e)

    b) སྙན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ཀྱིས་ མཁྱེན་པའི་ བདག་ཀུ་ བྱད་, མཁྱེན་ མཁྱེན་པོ་ར་ བྱད།
            lɛŋgɛ:=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 possessors of (this) knowledge, (you) indeed know.' (CY interview)

    c) ཨིན་ཁྱད་དོ་ ཨིན་ཉ་ ཨ་ཀུ་ རིག་བཟང་ གསུང་པོ་ འདི།
            *t̂:-ɕɛ=**to***   *t̂:*   *ɲá*   *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 *i̋ː*). The abbreviated form is represented in an experimental way in the Denjongke script by omitting vowel marking from the infinitive marker *-po* པོ་ and representing the consonant value (either *-b* or *-m*) in the previous syllable (changing པ into བ because པ does not occur syllable-finally), e.g. བསད་པོ་ སྲུད་ *sé-po bɛʔ* 'killed' vs. བསདབ་སྲུད་ *séb-bɛʔ* 'killed'; གནང་པོ་ སྲུད་ *nã̋ː-bo bɛʔ* vs. གནངམ་ སྲུད་ *nã̋ːm-bɛʔ* 'did (hon.)'.[39] 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* རྩེདམ་ (*rtsedm*) 'game' (Richhi 37) and *p'usim* བུ་སྲིངམ་ (*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 grammar 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 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་ ཨིན་ནམ?
      kʰim=na   lòk-tsʰaː-bo   ín-nam?
      house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF   EQU.PER-ATTQ
      'I wonder whether (he) has returned home.' (Richhi 24)

    b) ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་ཚའུ་ ཉམ?
      kʰim=na   lok-tsʰo-u   ɲám?
      house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF   EQU.PER.ATTQ
      'I wonder whether (he) has returned home.' (KN e)

The spelling innovations in (1.8b) are ཚའུ་ instead of ཚར་བོ་ to represent colloquial pronunciation *-tsʰou* and ཉམ་ instead of ཨིན་ནམ་ to represent the colloquial pronunciation *ɲám*.

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

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[39] The auxiliary in བསདབ་སྲུད་ *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/ [bː].

word *lómpu* 'minister' is here written as བློན་པུ་ *blon-pu* rather than as བློན་པོ་ *blon-po*.[40] 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 accross in literature is the double genitive, which is prevalent in spoken Denjongke, e.g. the spoken form *ŋàtɕi=gi* [we.GEN=GEN] is represented as ང་ཚའི་ཀི་ *nga-ca'i-ki*, although in written language the simple genitival expression ང་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* ◌ , which occurs on bilabial and velar stops and bilabial nasals in written Denjongke but not in Tibetan, is represented by an inverted apostrophe ʻ, e.g. མྱོང་ *m'yong* 'finish', གྲག་གྲོག་ *k'rak'rok* 'sound of a dysfunctional body'.[41] 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* [mjòː] 'finish' vs. མྱོང་ *myong* [ɲòː] 'endure'; གྲག་གྲོག་ *k'rak'rok* [krakrok] 'sound of a dysfunctional body' vs. བཀྲ་ཤིས་ *bkra-shis* [ʈaɕi] '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	tsa	ཚ	tsha	ཛ	dza	ཝ	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 linguistic forms as the

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[40] However, if the word occurs in a written source, I follow the original spelling.
[41] *Tsha-lag* also occurs with ཤ resulting in ཤྲ་ *sh'ra*.

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 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 the present work. 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 can be predicted based on the initial phoneme. With sibilants and sonorants (nasals and liquids), however, register is unpredictable. The lack of clear voicing difference (breathy vs. modal) and unpredictability of register with some initials 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/ [ʔɐ́po] 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	ʈ		k	ʔ
	Voiceless aspirated	pʰ	tʰ	ʈʰ		kʰ	
	Voiced	b	d	ɖ		g	
	"breathy"	pˤ	tˤ	ʈˤ		kˤ	
Affricate	Voiceless unaspirated		ts		tɕ		
	Voiceless aspirated		tsʰ		tɕʰ		
	Voiced		dz		dʑ		
	"breathy"		tsˤ		tɕˤ		
Fricative	Voiceless		s		ɕ		h
	Voiced		z		ʑ		
Nasal	Voiced	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
	Voiceless	m̥	n̥		ɲ̊	ŋ̊	
Lateral	Voiced		l				
	Voiceless		l̥				
Rhotic	Voiced		r				
	Voiceless		r̥				
Central approximant					j		

All consonants, except the glottal /ʔ/, occur word-initially[42]. 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.[43] 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.[44] 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.

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[42] The glottal stop, however, occurs word-initially phonetically.

[43] Similarly Watters (2002) on five other Tibetic languages spoken in the Southern Himalayas.

[44] The slightly aspirated breathy consonants become voiced word-medially, e.g. ʈˤuʔ ཏྲུག 'six', /tɕuɖup/ [tɕuɾup] བཅུདྲུག 'sixteen' (lit. 'ten-six').

There may be dialectal variation in the realization of word-medial aspiration. For instance, the word /kʰatʰuʔ/ ཁ་ཐུག་ 'direct' was pronounced [kʰét̪ʰuʔ] by consultant KN from Martam (East Sikkim) and [kʰét̪uʔ] 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 *kʼɛːtɕɛ̃ː* and *kʼɛːtɕʰɛ̃ː*, both meaning 'important' but using different adjectivizing suffixes.

Figure 2.1. Wave forms from *kʼɛːtɕɛ̃ː* (top) and *kʼɛːtɕʰɛ̃ː* (bottom)
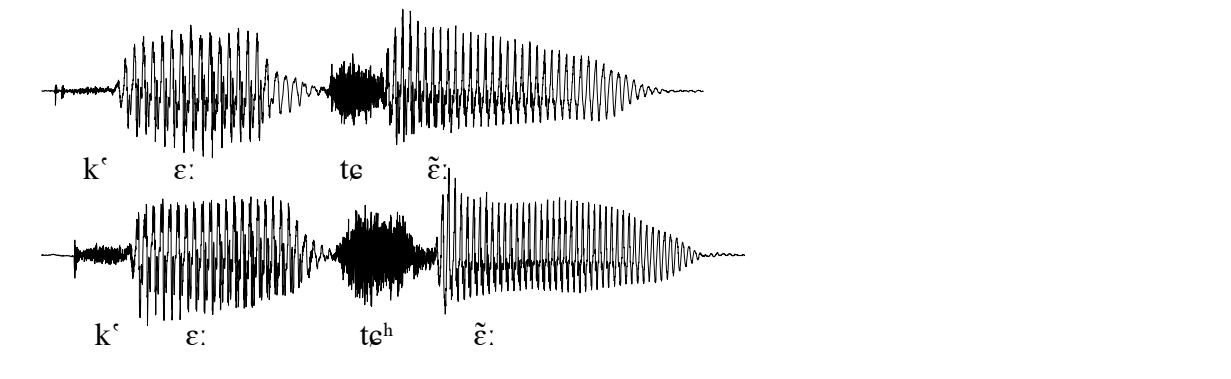
In word-final position, only the voiceless unaspirated /p/, /k/ and /ʔ/ occur, /p/ mostly realized as unreleased [pˀ] and the velar alternating with the glottal stop [k]~[ʔ]. The glottal stop, in addition to being an allophone of word-final /k/, also contrasts with non-glottal endings in other environments.

Voiced stops fricativize word-medially with some speakers, e.g. /kʰɛdi/ [kʰéði] མཁལ་རིལ་ *mkhal-ril* 'kidney', /pˀõːbu/ [pˀõ̰ːβʊ] 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/ སྒོག་ཀོ་ *sgog-ko* 'garlic' as pronounced by RB (Tashiding) and TB (Ralang).

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

[ⁿ   gɔ   kɔ] (RB)   [g   kɔ   kɔ] (TB)
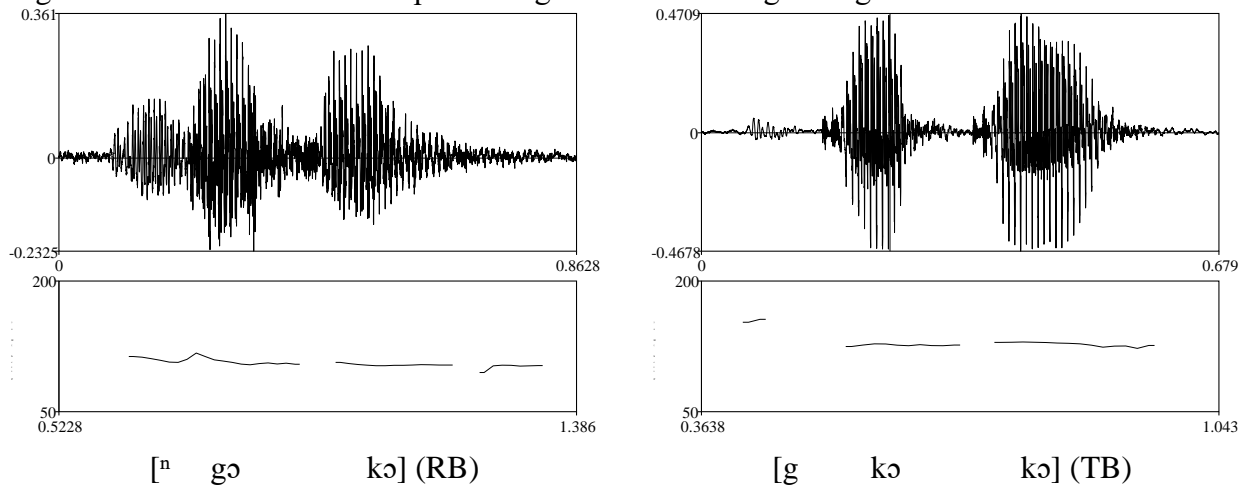
As can be seen in Figure 2.2, the prenasalized onset of [ⁿgɔkɔ] is voiced throughout, but the second word, written here as [gkɔkɔ], has a period of weak voicing (shown by the wave form and

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: /paː/ [pɐ́ː] སྦར་ 'kindle', /ápo/ [ʔɐ́po] ཨ་ཕོ་ 'father', /hap sɛ́kʰɛ̃ː/ [hɐ́p sɛ̰kʰɛ̃ː] ཧབ་ ཟེ་མཁན་ '(the word) called [hɐp] ('to bark')'

[p̚] voiceless unreleased bilabial plosive; utterance-finally: /hap/ [hɐ́p̚] ཧབ་ 'bark (v.)', /íp/ [íp̚] ཨིབ་ 'hide (intr.)'

/pʰ/ [pʰ] voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /pʰjak/ [pʰjǽk̚]~[pʰjǽʔ] འཕྱག་ 'sweep', /kʰimpʰjaʔ/ [kʰímpʰjǽʔ] ཁྱིམ་འཕྱག་ 'broom'

[ɸ] voiceless bilabial fricative; inter-vocalically with some speakers: /ɖupʰuʔ/ [ɖùɸuʔ] (RB)~[ɖùk̚pʰuʔ] སྦུག་ཕུག་ (TB) 'cave'

/b/ [b] voiced bilabial plosive; word-initially, word-medially following nasal, and also inter-vocalically in variation with [β]: /bu/ [bò] སྦུ་ 'middle', /ámbiʔ/ [ʔɐ́mbiʔ] ཨམ་བི་ 'mango', /pˈõːbu/ [pˈ̀õ̰ːβʊ]~[pˈ̀õ̰ːbʊ] བོང་བུ་ 'donkey'

[β] voiced bilabial fricative; inter-vocalically preceding vowels other than /a/, in variation with /b/: /pˈõːbu/ [pˈ̀õ̰ːβʊ]~[pˈ̀õ̰ːbʊ] བོང་བུ་ 'donkey', /rỳbɛ/ [ɹ̀ỳβɛ] རུས་སྦལ་ 'tortoise'

[w] voiced labio-velar approximant; inter-vocalically preceding /a/: /ʈˈiba/ [ʈˈ̀ìwɐ] དྲི་བ་ 'question', /ɲába/ [ɲǽwɐ] དམྱལ་བ་ 'hell'[45]; the nominalizer /-po~bo/ is intervocalically variously realized as [-bo~βo~wo]

/pˈ/ [pˈ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated bilabial plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /pˈa/ [pˈɐ̰] བ་ 'cow', /pˈoː/ [pˈò̰ː] བོས་ 'call'

/pu/	སྤུ་	'skin hair'	/pjak/	དཔྱག	'peel'	/paː/	སྦར་	'kindle'
/pʰu/	ཕུ་	'blow'	/pʰjak/	འཕྱག	'sweep'	/pʰaː/	ཕར་	'expand'
/bu/	སྦུ་	'middle'	/bjak/	སྦྱག	'come close'	/ba/	སྦ(ས)་	'hide'
/pˈu/	བུ་	'boy'	/pˈjaʔ/	ཕྱག	'rock'	/pˈaː/	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. jə̀-po bɛʔ (WD ཡོད་པོ་ སྦད་ yod-po sbad) > jè̀bbɛʔ (WD ཡོད་བ་སྦད་ yodb-sbad).

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[45] Although [w] can be shown to be an allophone of /b/, the transcription in example clauses follows a more phonetic writing ʈˈiwa 'question' and ɲáwa '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/ and /ɹ/, which are alveolar).

/t/   [t̪]   voiceless unaspirated dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /ta/ [t̪é] རྟ་ 'horse', /pitoʔ/ [pít̪oʔ] དཔྱི་ཏོག་ 'hip'

/tʰ/   [t̪ʰ]   voiceless aspirated dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /tʰo/ [t̪ʰɔ́] ཐོ་ 'list', /tʰuŋtʰuŋ/ [t̪ʰúŋt̪ʰʊŋ] ཐུང་ཐུང་ 'short'

       [θ]   voiceless dental fricative; word-medially, with some speakers: /tʰaːtʰaʔ/ [t̪ʰéːθɐʔ] ཐབ་ཏུག་ 'back of neck'

/d/   [d̪]   voiced dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /da/ [d̪è] མདའ་ 'arrow', /gaduŋ/ [gèd̪ʊŋ] སྣ་ཧྲུང་ 'mortar'

/tˤ/   [t̪ˤ]   voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated dento-alveolar plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /tˤa/ [t̪ˤè̤] ད་ 'now', /tˤom/ [t̪ˤɔ̤̀m] དོམ་ 'bear'

/ta/   ལྟ་   'look'   /tɛk/   སྟེགས་   'place up, keep'
/tʰa/   མཐའ་   'end'   /tʰak/   འཐག་   'grind'
/da/   མདའ་   'arrow'   /dɛk/   རྟེག་   'place inside'
/tˤa/   ད་   'now'   /tˤɛk/   དེག་   'chase away'

/ts/   [t̪s̪]   voiceless unaspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /tsi/ [t̪s̪í] རྩིས་ 'astrology', /nèːtso/ [n̪èːt̪s̪ɔ] ནེ་ཙོ 'parrot'

/tsʰ/   [t̪s̪ʰ]   voiceless aspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /tsʰo/ [t̪s̪ʰɔ́] མཚོ་ 'lake', /ɲèːtsʰo/ [ɲèːt̪s̪ʰɔ] དབལ་འཚོ་ 'rest'

/dz/   [d̪z̪]   voiced dento-alveolar laminal affricate; word-initially and word-medially /dziŋ/ [d̪z̪ìŋ] འཛིང་ 'fight', /dzabridzobri/ [d̪z̪èbrɪd̪z̪ɔbrɪ] འཛབ་རི་འཛོབ་རི་ 'uneven (of landscape)', /kˤadzøʔ/ [kˤè̤d̪z̪ø̤ʔ] ག་ཚོད་ 'how many'

/tsˤ/   [t̪s̪ˤ]   voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /tsˤa/ [t̪s̪ˤè̤] ཙ་ 'make-up'

/tsa/   རྩ་   'vein'
/tsʰa/   ཚ་   'salt'
/dʐa/   འཇའ་   'rainbow' (also /dza/ [TB] and /ʑa/ [RB])
/tsˤa/   ཙ་   '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.

/ʈ/   [ʈ]   voiceless unaspirated postalveolar apical plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /ʈakʈaʔ/ [ʈék̚ʈɐʔ] གྱག་དྲགས་ 'hard', /tsʰaʈaʔ/ [t̪s̪ʰéʈɐʔ] ཚ་དྲགས་ 'hot'

/ʈʰ/   [ʈʰ]   voiceless aspirated postalveolar apical plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /ʈʰom/ [ʈʰɔ́m] ཁྲོམ་ 'town', /sáʈʰa/ [séʈʰɐ] ས་ཁྲ་ 'map'

/ɖ/   [ɖ]   voiced postalveolar apical plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /ɖik/ [ɖìk] སྒྲིག་ 'arrange', /pʰoɖaŋ/ [pʰɔ́ɖɐ̤̀ː] ཕོ་བྲང་ 'palace'

| [ɾ] | voiced alveolar flap; intervocalically in /tɕuɖup/ [tɕúɾup] བཅུ་དྲུག་ 'sixteen', and also in /ɖa bɛʔ/ འདྲ་ སྡུད་ abbreviated to /ɖɛː/ [ɖɛ̀ː]~[rɛ̀ː] འདྲད་ 'to be similar'. |
| /ʈˤ/ | [ʈˤ] | voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated postalveolar apical plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /ʈˤuʔ/ [ʈˤṳ̀ʔ] དྲུག་ 'six', /ʈˤo·pa/ [ʈˤɔ̀ːpa] རྲོ་པ་ 'morning' |

/ʈak/ གྲག་ '(be) hard'
/ʈʰap/ འཕྲབ་ 'act'
/ɖak/ སྒྲག་ 'join'
/ʈˤak/ དྲག་ 'get well'

Alveolo-palatal affricates
/tɕ/	[tɕ]	voiceless unaspirated alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /tɕɛ/ [tɕɛ́] ཇེ་ 'tongue', /sòtɕaʔ/ [sòtɕɐʔ] རོ་ཙག་ 'nettle'
/tɕʰ/	[tɕʰ]	voiceless aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /tɕʰaʔ/ [tɕʰɐ̀ʔ] ཕྱག་ 'hand (h.)', /tsʰatɕʰu/ [tʂʰɐ́tɕʰʊ] ཚ་ཆུ་ 'hot spring'
/dʑ/	[dʑ]	voiced alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /dʑip/ [dʑ̀ìp] འཇིབ་ 'suck', /ádʑo/ [ʔɐ́dʑɔ] ཨ་ཇོ་ 'grandfather'
/tɕˤ/	[tɕˤ]	voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated alveolo-palatal affrecate followed by breathy voice: word-initially /tɕˤa/ [tɕˤɐ̀] ཇ་ 'tea', /tɕˤum/ [tɕˤʊ̀m] ཇམ་ 'lady, madam'
	[ʑ]	voiced alveolo-palatal fricative; inter-vocalically: /sǿːtɕˤa/ [sǿːʑɐ] གསོལ་ཇ་ 'tea (hon.)'

/tɕak/ བཙག་ 'break (tr.)'
/tɕʰak/ ཆག་ 'break (int.)'
/dʑaʔ/ ལྗགས་ 'tongue (h)'
/tɕˤako/ ཇག་ཀོ་ '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, word-medially in syllable-initial and syllable-final position when not followed by /j/ or /i/, also word-finally utterance-medially: /ka/ [ké] བཀའ་ 'word, order', /áku/ [ʔéku] ཨ་ཁུ་ 'father's younger brother', /ókɕɛʔ/ [ʔókɕɛʔ] ཨོག་ཤད་ 'to draw (water)', /tiruk súmgja/ [tírʊk sómgjæ] 'three hundred rupees'
	[k˺]~[ʔ]	utterance-finally: /zik/ [zìk˺]~[zìʔ] གཟིག་ 'leopard'
	[c]	voiceless unaspirated palatal plosive; word-initially and word-medially when followed by /j/ or /i/: /kjokjuʔ/ [cjócjuʔ] ཀྱོག་ཀྱོག་ 'crooked', /kjuʔ/ [cjǘʔ]~[cjǘːʔ] སྐྱུག་ 'vomit', /ki/ [cí] སྐྱེ་ 'be born'
/kʰ/	[kʰ]	voiceless aspirated velar plosive; word-initially and word-medially when not followed by /j/ or /i/: /kʰa/ [kʰé] ཁ་ 'mouth', /ókʰa/ [ʔókʰɐ] ཨོ་ཁར་ 'there'

[cʰ] voiceless aspirated palatal plosive; word-initially and word-medially when followed by /j/ or /i/: /kʰjaʔ/ [cʰjǽʔ] ཁྲག་ 'blood', /p'ikʰjap/ [p'ɪ̀cʰjæp˺] བེ་ཁྱབ་ 'rice-sifting plate', /kʰi/ [cʰí] ཁྱི་ 'dog'

/g/ [g] voiced velar plosive; word-initially and word-medially in other contexts than inter-vocalically or when followed by /j/ or /i/: /ga/ [gè] སྒ་ 'ginger', /l̥eŋgɛʔ/ [l̥éŋgɛʔ] ཁྱེན་རྒྱས་ 'you (h.)'

[ɟ] voiced palatal plosive; word-initially and medially when followed by /j/ or /i/: /gjuk/ [ɟjʊ̀k] རྒྱུགས་ 'run'[46], /pʰoːgjaʔ/ [pʰóːɟjɐʔ] པོ་རྒྱགས་ 'husband', /gim/ [ɟìm] འགྱིམ་ 'gaze'

[ɣ] voiced velar fricative; word-medially inter-vocalically: /rigõː/ [ɹìɣõ̀ː] རི་གོང་ 'rabbit', /tɕʰigɛː/ [tɕʰíɣɛː] ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ 'foreign'

/kʻ/ [kʻ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated velar plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /kʻan/ [kʻàn] གན་ 'what', /kʻolaʔ/ [kʻɔ̀lɐʔ] གོས་ལག་ 'clothes'

[cʻ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated palatal plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially when followed by /j/ or /i/: /kʻjõː/ [cʻjɔ̀ː] གྱོང་ 'village', /kʻi/ [cʻì] གྱི་ '(big) knife'

/kɛː/	སྐྱེལ་	'bring'	/ka/	བཀའ་	'order'	/kom/	སྐོམ་	'thirst'
/kʰɛː/	ཁྱལ་	'tax'	/kʰa/	ཁ་	'mouth'	/kʰom/	ཚོམ་	'dry (intr.)'
/gɛː/	རྐྱལ་	'cross'	/ga/	སྒ་	'ginger'/	/gom/	སྒོམ་	'door'
/kʻɛː/	གས་	'separate'	/kʻaː/	ག་	'what, where'	/kʻom/	གོམ་	'gain experience'

The velar stop does not typically occur as a geminate although my data has two exceptions, *tʰukky* (CY)/*tʰukkɛ* (PT) 'fixed, not moving' and *tɕʰukkɛʔ* 'Nepali language' (CY)[47].

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/ [k˺]~[ʔ].[48]

/kʰɛʔ/	[kʰέʔ]	ཁྱད་	'difference'
/kʰɛk/	[kʰέk˺]~[kʰέʔ]	ཁྱག་	'freeze'
/kʰɛ/	[kʰέ]	ཁེ་	'profit'

/tsʰoʔ/	[tsʰóʔ]	ཚོགས་	'offering'	/kʰaʔ/[kʰɐ́ʔ]	ལྭག་	'liquid, soup'
/tsʰo/	[tsʰɔ́]	མཚོ་	'lake'	/kʰa/ [kʰɐ́]	ཁ་	'mouth'

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[46] 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."

[47] Other consultants pronounced this word without gemination as *tɕʰukɛʔ*.

[48] Historically, the contrast between /ʔ/ [ʔ] and /k/ [k]~[ʔ] derives from differing WT finals, WT *-g* > /k/ [k]~[ʔ], WT *-d* /ʔ/ [ʔ], WT *-s* > /ʔ/ [ʔ] in some words, elided in others.

Word-initially, the glottal stop phonetically contrasts with the high register [h] and the low register [ɦ].[49] 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'.[50]

/ám/ [ʔém] ཨམ་ 'mother'
/háp/ [hép˺] དབ་ 'to bark'
/àːm/ [ɦɛ̀ːm] འབམ་ '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.[51] 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/ [dzɛ̀ʔ]~[dzɛ̀ːʔ]~[dzɛ̀ː] རྫས་ 'element'
/dzeʔ/ [dzè ʔ]~[dzèːʔ]~[dzèː] མཛེ་ 'leprosy'
/ziʔ, (dziʔ)/[52] [zìʔ]~[zìːʔ]~[zìː] གཟིག་ 'leopard'

Within back vowels, the presence of a glottal stop, similarly to vowel length, raises vowel quality, e.g. /lò/ [lɔ̀] ལོ་ 'year' vs. /lóʔ/ [lóʔ] གློག་ 'light' (cf. /ko/ [kɔ́] ཀོ་ 'dig' vs. /koː/ [kóː] ཀོས་ 'throw') and /lú/ [lú] གླུ་ 'song' vs. /lúʔ/ [lúʔ] ལུག་ 'sheep' (cf. /ku/ [kó] སྐུ་ 'body' vs. /kuː/ [kúː] ཁུག་ 'laddle for pouring rice flour dough'). The same phenomenon is also seen within different pronunciations of words with *-k/ʔ* variation at the coda: one consultant pronounced */gok/* སྐྲག་ 'to crawl' both as [gɔ̀k] (F1 550 Hz) and as [gɔ̀ʔ] (F1 400 Hz).

A phonetic glottal stop often occurs accompanying an utterance-final nasalized vowel, e,g. /sáŋ/ [sɛ̃́ʔ] བསང་ 'incense'. At least in the speech of consultant TB, the glottal distinction between /ʈáʔ/ སྟག་ 'tiger' and /ta/ 'horse' རྟ་ is neutralized when a case marker is added, i.e. /ʈa(ʔ)=lo/ [ʈé = lɔ] སྟག་ ལོ་ 'to the tiger' and /ta/ [ʈé = lɔ] རྟ་ལོ་ 'to the horse' become indistinguishable.

2.2.1.2 Fricatives and central approximants

Denjongke has five fricatives /s, z, ɕ, ʑ, 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 initial [ʔ]. Low register initial vowels, on the other hand, have an intrinsic initial [ɦ], which does not contrast with other

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[49] In WT/WD, [ʔ], [h] and [ɦ] correspond to ཨ, ཧ and འ respectively.
[50] 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."
[51] Similar observation on the interrelatedness of the glottal stop and length in Tibetan spoken in Nangchen has been made by Causemann (1989: 29).
[52] 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.

laryngeal or glottal initials. Consequently, word-initial [ʔ] and [ɦ] 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/ [só] ཚོ་ 'tooth', /pʼusim/ [pʼùsɪm] བུ་སྲིང་ས་ 'younger sister'

/z/   [z]   voiced alveolar grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /zo/ [zò] བཟོ་ 'make', /kuzuʔ/ [kúzuʔ] སྐུ་གཟུགས་ 'body (hon)'

/ɕ/   [ɕ]   voiceless alveolo-palatal grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /ɕó/ [ɕó] ཤོ་ 'dice', /ɕò/[ɕɔ̀] ཞོ་ 'curd', /søːɕip/ [søːɕip˺]~[søːʑip˺] གསོལ་ཞིབ་ 'snacks'

/ʑ/   [ʑ]   voiceless alveolo-palatal grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /ʑak/ [ʑè̝k] བཞག་ 'put', /áʑãː/ [ʔé̝ːʑè̝ː] ཨ་ཞང་ 'maternal uncle'

     [j]   voiced palatal approximant; at least word-initially, in fast speech of some speakers: /ʑak/ [jè̝k] བཞག་ 'put'

/h/   [h]   voiceless laryngeal fricative; word-initially: /hap/ [hép˺] ཧབ་ 'bark', /hup/ [húp˺] ཧུབ་ 'mouthful'

     [ɦ]   voiced laryngeal fricative; inter-vocalically: /màhi/ [mèɦi̠] མ་ཧེ་ 'buffalo', /pahip/ [péɦi̠p] པ་ཧིབ་ 'container for millet beer'

/j/   [j]   voiced palatal approximant; preceding non-front vowels: /jáʔ/ [jé̝ʔ] གཡག་ 'yak', /jòu/ [jòu] ཡོབུ་ 'up'

     [ɦ]   voiced laryngeal fricative; preceding front vowels: /jìgi/ [ɦìgɪ] ཡི་གེ་ 'letter', /jòʔ/~/jèʔ/ [jɵ̀ʔ]~[jè̝ʔ]~[ɦè̝ʔ] ཡོད་ 'exist'

/s/ vs. /z/ vs. /ɕ/ vs. /ʑ/

/só/	ཚོ་	'tooth'		/sà/	ཟ་	'eat'
/zo/	བཟོ་	'make'		/zaː/	གཟའ་	'day, planet'
/ɕò/	ཞོ་	'dice, gambling'		/ɕá/	ཤ་	'meat'
/zo/	བཞོ་	'milk (v.)'		/(d)za/	འཇའ་	'rainbow'

/s/ vs. /z/   **/ɕ/ vs. /ʑ/**

/sík/	གསིག་	'shiver'		/ɕéː/	ཤེས་	'know'
/zik/	གཟིག་	'leopard'		/ʑeː/	བཞེས་	'have, eat (hon.)'

/j/ vs. /h/

/jákɕa/   གཡག་ཤ་   'yak meat'
/hakɕa/   ཧག་ཤ་   'quality of bad(ly cooked) rice'

/j/ vs. /h/ vs. /Ṽ/ vs. /r/ vs. /ʑ/ vs. /dʑ/

/jã̀ː/	[jè̝ː]	ཡང་	'again'
/hã́ː/	[hé̝ː]	ཧང་	'squander'
/ã̀ː/	[ɦè̝ː]	འང་	'lie'
/rã̀ː/	[rè̝ː]	རང་	'self'
/ʑaŋ/	[ʑè̝ː]	བཞེངས་	'get up (hon.)'
/dʑaŋ/	[dʑè̝ː]	སྦྱང་	'study'

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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] འོག་སྟེ་ 'down(hill)' as [wètɛ], giving some evidence for the phoneme /w/ is his speech. As this is the only evidence for /w/, the labio-velar in [wètɛ] 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/ /ɲ̊/ /ŋ̊/. The voiceless set is more precisely defined as voiced preceded by voicelessness, [m̥m] [n̥n] [ɲ̊ɲ] and [ŋ̊ŋ]. 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 palata nasal occurs preceding front vowels. Word-final alveolar /n/ and velar /ŋ/ alternate with a long, nasalized vowel, e.g. /sǿn/ [sǿn]~[sǿ̃ː] སོན་ 'seed', /taŋ/ [t̪áŋ]~[t̪ã́ː] བཏང་ 'send'[53]. In continuous speech, nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant, e.g. /ín-bo/[54] [ím-bo] ཨིན་པོ་ 'EQU-2INF'. When speaking fast, some speakers pronounce /ɲ/ and /ɲ̊/ as [j] and [j̊] respectively.

/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /mí/ [mí] མི་ 'human', /dimiʔ/ [d̪ìmiʔ] ལྡེ་མིག་ 'key', /ám/ [ʔém] ཨམ་ 'mother'
/n/	[n̪]	voiced dento-alveolar (laminal) nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /nàː/ [n̪è̪ː] ན་ 'here', /ʑeːnup/ [ʑèːn̪up˺] བཞེས་ནུབ་ 'three days ago', /kʼan/ [kʼe̪n] གན་ 'what?'
/ɲ/	[ɲ]	voiced alveolo-palatal nasal stop; word-initially and medially: /ɲà/ [ɲè] ཉ་ 'fish', /làːɲa/ [l̥èːɲɐ] ལག་ངར་ 'upper arm'
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	voiced dental nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /ŋà/ [ŋè] ང་ 'I', /l̥aŋa/ [l̥éŋɐ] སླང་ 'pan', /tãː/ or /taŋ/ [t̪éŋ]~[t̪ë́ː] བཏང་ 'send'
/m̥/	[m̥]	voiceless bilabial nasal stop: word-initially: /m̥a/ [m̥é] དམའ་ 'down, low(er)', /m̥ɛːɕam/ [m̥éːɕɐm][55] སྨན་ཕྲས་ 'young woman'
/n̥/	[n̥]	voiceless dento-alveolar (laminal) nasal stop, word-initially: /n̥a(guʔ)/ [n̥é(guʔ)] སྣ་ (གུ་) 'nose', /n̥ɛːgum/ [n̥éːgum] སྣེ་གུམ་ 'nose ridge'
/ɲ̊/	[ɲ̊]	voiceless alveolo-palatal nasal stop; word-initially: /ɲ̊ou/ [ɲ̊óʊ] སྣོད་, སྙེད་[56] 'nasal mucus'
/ŋ̊/	[ŋ̊][57]	voiceless velar nasal stop; word-initially preceding non-front vowels:/ŋ̊aʔ/ [ŋ̊éʔ] སྔགས་ 'invocation', /ŋ̊ɔmpu/~/ŋ̊ømpu/ [ŋ̊ɔ́mpu]~[ŋ̊ǿmpu]~[h̊ǿmpu] སྔོན་པོ་ 'blue-green'
	[ɲ̊]	voiceless palatal nasal stop; word-initially preceding front vowels: /ɲ̊im/ [ɲ̊ím] སྙིངས་ 'sister-in-law', /ɲ̊yːnaʔ/ [ɲ̊ýːnɐʔ] རྔུལ་ནག་ 'sweat'

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[53] 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.

[54] In example sentences in other chapters, however, nasals preceding plosives are written phonetically (i.e. *ím-bo*) to ensure a smoother reading experience.

[55] Some pronounce the word [m̥ɐiɕɐm].

[56] The latter spelling suggests a connection with the word སྣ་ 'nose'.

[57] Some speakers pronounce /ŋ̊/ as [h], as in /ŋ̊aru/ [ŋ̊arʊ]~[harʊ] 'morning'.

/m/ vs. /n/ vs. /ɲ/ vs. /ŋ/		/m/ vs. /m̥/			/n/ vs. /n̥/	
/mà/	མ་ 'mother'	/mà/	མ་	'mother'	/nà:/	ན་ 'here'
/nà:/	ན་ 'here'	/má/	རྨ་	'wound'	/ná/	རྣ་ 'ear'
/ɲà/	ཉ་ 'fish'	/m̥a/	དམའ་	'down, low(er)'	/n̥a/	སྣ་ 'nose'
/ŋà/	ང་ 'I'					

/ɲ/ vs. /ɲ̥/		/ŋ/ vs. /ŋ̥/		
/ɲìm/	ཉིམ་ 'sun, day'[58]	/ŋàk/ [ŋà̰ʔ]	ངག་	'speech'
/ɲ̥im/	སྙིངམ་ 'sister-in-law'	/ŋaʔ/ [ŋá̰ʔ]	སྔགས་	'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 /ŋ̥ompu/~/ɲ̥ømpu/ 'blue-green'. While some people pronounce the word with a velar nasal [ŋ̥ómpu], others use the alveolo-palatal [ɲ̥ømpu].

/ɲ̥/ vs. /ŋ̥/

/ɲ̥ou/ [ɲ̥ó̰ʊ] སྣྫུ་, སྙུ་ 'nasal mucus'
/ŋ̥ompu/~/ɲ̥ømpu/ [ŋ̥ómpu]~[ɲ̥ómpu]~[h̥ømpu] སྔོན་པུ་ 'blue-green'

The nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ occur as geminates both morpheme-internally (2.1) and across morpheme boundary (2.2).[59]

(2.1)	*mè**nn**i*	མན་ནེ་	'perhaps'
	*lè**mm**o*	ལེགས་མོ་	'good' (RS)[60]
	*du**ŋŋ**al*	སྡུག་བསྔལ་	'suffering'

(2.2)	*là**m-m**ɛʔ*	ལམ་སྨད་	'below the road (lit. road-below)'
	*ɲɛ́**n=n**a*	གཉེན་ན་	'at the wedding (lit. wedding=LOC)'
	*kʰɛ**ŋ-ŋ**a/kʰɛŋ-ga*	མཁྱེན་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 [sél] when reading but is pronounced as [sɛ́:] in ordinary conversation.

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[58] A literary distinction can be made between ཉིན་ *nyin* 'day' and ཉིམ་ *nyim* 'sun'.

[59] 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.

[60] 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.

/l/	[l̪]	voiced dento-alveolar lateral approximant; syllable and word-initially and medially: /lú/ [l̪ú] ꣲ 'song', /tsʰilu/ [t̪s̪ʰíl̪u] ꣲꣲ 'fat'
/l̥/	[l̪̥]	voiceless dento-alveolar lateral approximant; word-initially: /l̥a/ [l̪̥é] ꣲ 'deity', /l̥ok/ [l̪̥ɔ́kˀ] ꣲꣲ '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 [ɾ] as well as [ɹ], and word-finally as [ɾ] as well as [r].

/r/	[ɹ̝]	voiced alveolar central fricative; utterance-initially: /ra/ [ɹ̝ɐ̀] ᠵ 'goat', /ri/ [ɹ̝ì] ᠵ 'hill'[61]
	[ɹ]	voiced alveolar central approximant; word-medially preceding /l/: /korlɛ/ [kɔ́ɹlɛ] ꣲꣲꣲ 'about'
	[ɾ]	voiced alveolar flap; word-medially: /áraʔ/ [ʔɛ́ɾɐʔ] ꣲꣲꣲ 'liquor', /dumra/ [d̪ùmrɐ] ꣲꣲꣲ 'garden'
	[r]	voiced alveolar trill; word-finally: /kˈur/ [kˈ ùr] ꣲꣲ 'tent', /kor/ [kɔ́r] ꣲꣲ 'theme'
/r̥/	[ɹ̥]~[ɾ̥]~[r̥]	voiceless alveolar fricative, flap or trill, depending on the speaker; word-initially and possibly word-medially (I have only one example): /r̥ɛ/ [r̥ɛ́ː] ꣲꣲ 'tear', /bakr̥aʔ/ [bɛ̀kʰrɐʔ] ꣲꣲꣲ 'spider'

/l/ vs. /l̥/

/là/	ꣲ 'pass'	/lò/	ꣲ 'year'	/lòk/	ꣲꣲ 'return'
/lá/	ꣲ 'life force'	/ló/	ꣲ 'mind'	/lók/	ꣲꣲ 'cause to return'
/l̥a/	ꣲ 'deity'	/l̥o/	ꣲ 'south'	/l̥ok/	ꣲꣲ 'lift'

/lùk/	ꣲꣲ	'drop (intr.); sheep'
/lúk/	ꣲꣲ	'pour'
/l̥uk/	ꣲꣲ	'take apart'

/r/ vs. /r̥/

/rɛː/	[rɛ̀ː]	ᠵꣲ	'be torn'	/ram/	ᠵꣲ	'be broken'
/r̥ɛ/	[r̥ɛ́ː]	ꣲꣲ	'tear'	/r̥am/	ꣲꣲ	'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,[62] hence the IPA symbol [ˈ] 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

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[61] Utterance-medially, as in the intervocalic position in the sentence *ódilo _ lap goɕɛ bɛʔ* 'It is to be called _', /ra/ and /ri/ are likely realized with a flap [ɾ].

[62] These "devoiced consonants" were historically voiced but have since lost voicing and given rise to tonal constrasts in Tibetic languages. These consonants correspond to the WT (Written Tibetan) characters in the following way: /kˈ/ > ꣲ, /tɕˈ/ > ꣲ, /ʈˈ/ > ꣲ/ꣲ/ꣲ, /tˈ/ > ꣲ, /pˈ/ > ꣲ, /tsˈ/ > ꣲ.

(Lhasa, Bathang and Derge)[63]. 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 /kʰ/, /kˤ/ and /k/ in Denjongke is shown in Figure 2.3, where the duration of aspiration is 0,8 seconds (/kʰap/ ཁབ་ 'needle'), 0,6 (/kˤar/ གར་ 'what?') seconds and 0,2 seconds (/ka/ ཀ་ 'who?') respectively.

Figure 2.3. Initial consonant duration in /kʰap/ 'needle', /kˤar/ 'what?' and /ka/ 'who?'

| /kʰap/ [kʰáp˺] | /kˤar/ [kˤaɹ] | /ka/ [ka] |
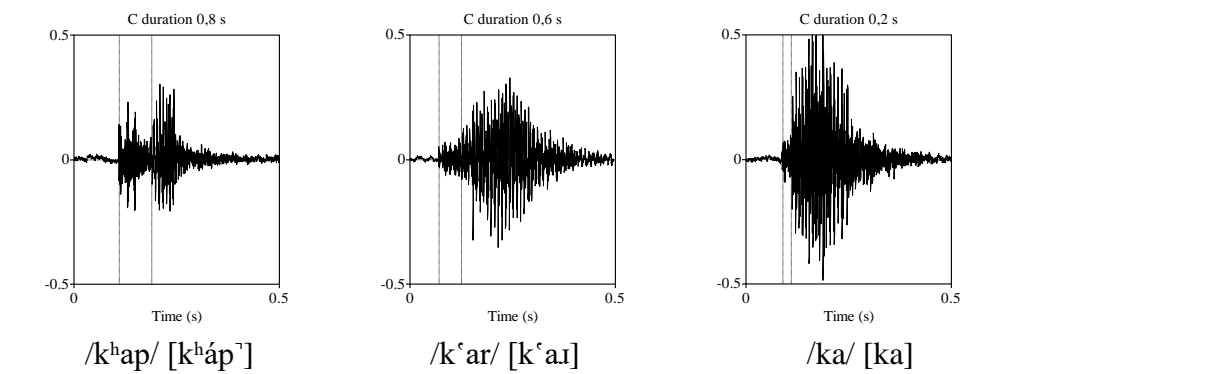
Similar difference in aspiration for the bilabial set /pʰ/, /pˤ/, /p/ in /pʰuː/ འཕུར་ 'fly', /pˤu/ བུ་ 'boy' and /puː/ སྤུས་ 'pack' respectively is given in Figure 2.4, where there are again clear differences in the duration of aspiration.

Figure 2.4. Consonant duration in /pʰuː/ 'fly', /pˤu/ 'boy' and /puː/ 'pack' (RB)

| [pʰuː] | [pˤu] | [puː] |
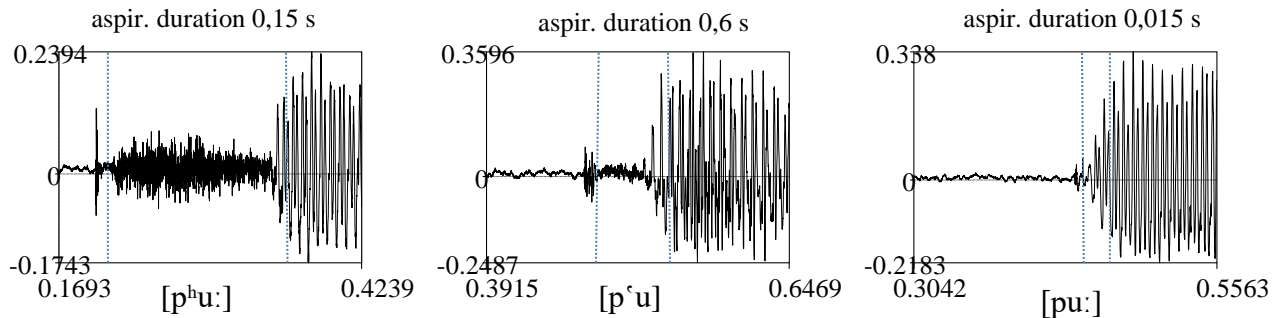
The aspiration in the breathy set, however, is not consistent, as shown in Figure 2.5, where the same word /kˤɛː/ [kˤɛ̀ː] གྱལ་ 'line, order' has a considerable difference in aspiration between the two different pronunciations in the same story. The latter pronunciation is probably indistinguishable from an unaspirated plosive.

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[63] 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 2.5. Two pronunciations (in context) of the word /kˤɛː/ [kˤɛː] 'line, order' (SG)
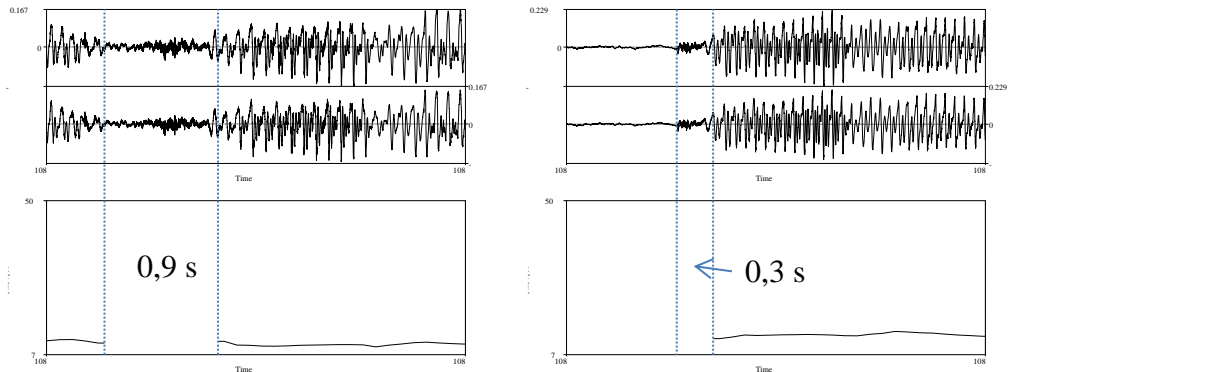
In Figure 2.5, the aspiration in the second pronunciation of /kˤɛː/ [kˤɛ̀ː] overlaps with the unaspirated /k/. The aspiration in the breathy series also occasionally overlaps with the aspirated /kʰ/. With one speaker, for instance, in three consecutive pronunciations of /kˤɛː/ [kˤɛ̀ː] 'line, order', one instance had more aspiration than the other two, overlapping with /kʰɛː/ [kʰɛ́ː] ཁྲལ 'tax' in duration of aspiration.

Figure 2.6 presents the wave forms of the affricate minimal pair /tsa/ རྩྭ 'grass' vs. /tsˤa/ ཚ 'make-up', first pronounced in isolation and then in the frame *di _ bɛʔ* 'this is _'.

Figure 2.6. Wave forms and pitch of /tsa/ 'grass' and /tsˤa/ 'make-up' (TB)
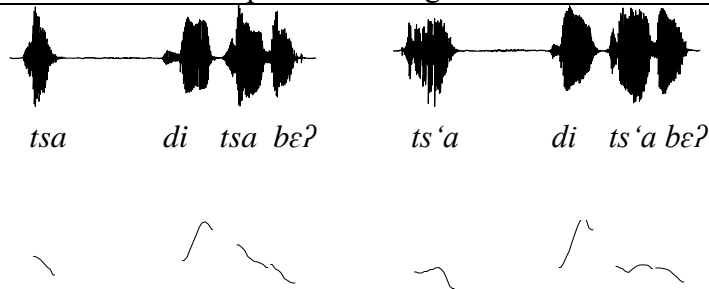
As shown in Figure 2.6, in isolation /tsˤa/ 'make-up' is pronounced longer than /tsa/ 'grass', whereas in context the length of the two words is probably indistinguishable. The breathiness on *tsˤa* is more clearly audible when the word is pronounced in isolation. Because length and breathiness are less distinctive in the sentence frame, pitch difference becomes more central. The pitch traces in the frame clauses in Figure 2.6 indicate that *tsˤa* 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."[64] 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 or analyzing

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[64] Beyer (1992: 27) also refers to the "breathiness" of Lhasa Tibetan reflexes of Old Tibetan voiced initials.

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.[65]

The high and low register difference applies also to the sibilants, voiced nasals and voiced liquids.[66] 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. Then, each of the vowels is described in more detail and minimal pairs presented (§2.3.1). That is followed by a discussion on vowel length (§2.3.2), diphthongs (§2.3.3) and nasalization (§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	iː	yː			u	uː
	eː[67]	øː			o	oː
ɛ	ɛː					
			a	aː		

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 *uː* had only two example words). The words along with the measuring results are given in Appendix 3. 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.

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[65] 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 ག would be seen as instances of /k/. That would be pedagogically disadvantageous, because for literate Denjongpos breathiness is already associated with certain consonant characters.

[66] Voiceless/preaspirated nasals and liquids are always high register. Among sibilants, WT ཤ and ཧྲ are realized as high register /s/ and /ɕ/ respectively (high pitch, modal voice), and WT ཟ and ཞ as low register /s/ and /ɕ/ respectively (low pitch, some breathiness).

[67] The long realization [eː] 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 [eːʔ] and [eʔ]. As the glottal stop in [eʔ] is in sentential context often elided and causes vowel lengthening instead, [eː] and [eʔ] are phonologically interrelated and thus the short variant is not here represented as a separate phoneme.

Figure 2.7. Vowel plot from consultant TB (Ralang)
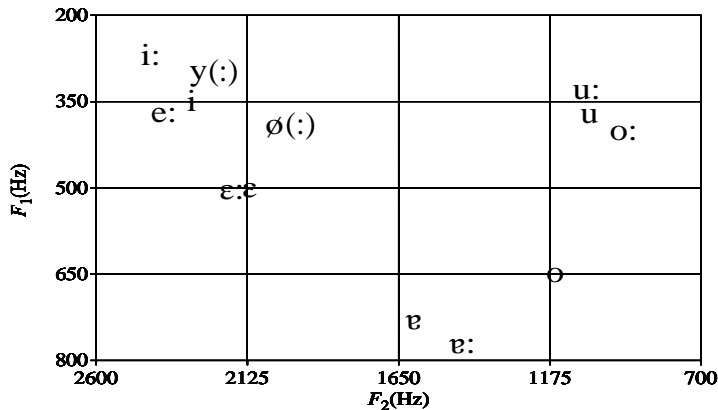
The most conspicuous features of the vowel plot in Figure 2.7 are 1) the proximity of /i/ and /e:/, 2) the proximity of /u/ and /o:/, and 3) the relatively big F1 difference between /o/ and /o:/. Evidence for considering /o:/ as a lengthened variant of /o/ rather than the two being unrelated vowels /o:/ 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, the variation in the pronunciations of /gok/ [gòk]~[gòʔ] ﬔྐྱ '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 decribes 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.[68] 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/ [d̪ỳn]~[d̪ỹ̀:] བདུན་ 'seven', /lópøn/ [l̥ópøn]~[l̥ópø̃:] སློབ་དཔོན་ 'teacher'

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[68] 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 སྐུལ་ *skul*) 'cause to move' and *kʰø:* (WT ཁོལ་ *khol*) 'boil (intr.)'. Final *n* has resulted in vowel fronting followed by a nasal stop or nasalization, e.g. *pyn/pỹ:* (WT སྤུན་ *spun*) 'brother' and *lópøn/lópø̃:* (WT སློབ་དཔོན་ *slob-dpon*) 'teacher'. Final *d* has resulted in vowel fronting and a final glottal stop, e.g. *lyʔ* (WT ལུད་ *lud*) 'fertilizer' and *jòʔ* (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. [l̥ỳʔ]~[l̥ỳ:ʔ]~[l̥ỳ:] 'fertilizer' and [jòʔ]~[jò:ʔ]~[jò:] '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 དོས་ *dos*] 'load', *tɕʰoʔ* [WT ཆོས་ *chos*] 'teaching'), but there are some words in which, similarly to Central Tibetan, the vowel is fronted (e.g. *lyʔ/lỳ:* [WT ལུས་ *lus*] 'body' and the Tibetan-influenced alternative spelling of *tɕʰoʔ*, *tɕʰøʔ* [WT ཆོས་ *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/ [ɪ] short near-close front unrounded vowel: /kʰi/ [kʰí] ཁྱི་ 'dog', /kʰim/ [kʰím] ཁྱིམ་ 'house', /sì/ [sì] ཞེ་ 'receive'

/iː/ [iː] long close front unrounded vowel: /kiː/ [kíː] དཀྱིགས་ 'wrap', /síː/ [síː] བསིལ་ 'cool'

/eː/ [eː] long close-mid front unrounded vowel: /séː/ [séː] གསེར་ 'gold', /séːp/ [séːp] སེརབ་ 'yellow', /geː/ [gèː] འགྱེལ་ 'fall'

/ɛ/ [ɛ](~[ɛ̝]) short open-mid front unrounded vowel: /kɛ/ [kɛ́] སྐེ་ 'neck', /sɛ́m/ [sɛ́m] སེམས་ 'mind'

/ɛː/ [ɛː](~[ɛ̝]) long open-mid front unrounded vowel: /sɛ́ː/ [sɛ́ː] གསལ་ 'clear', /gɛːp/ [gɛ̀ːp] རྒྱལབ་ 'king'

/a/ [ɐ] short near-open central unrounded vowel; when not preceding palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /kʰa/ [kʰɐ́] ཁ་ 'mouth', /ra/ [rɐ̀] ར་ 'goat'

   [æ](~[ɐ̝]) fronted near-open front unrounded vowel; following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /pʿja/ [pʿjæ̀] བྱ་ 'chicken', /tɕʿa/ [tɕʿa̤] ཇ་ 'tea', /ɲà/ [ɲɐ̀] ཉ་ 'fish'

/aː/ [ɐː] long near-open central unrounded vowel; when not preceeding palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /pʿaː/ [pʿɐ̀ː] བར་ 'interval', /pʰaːm/ [pʰɐ́ːm] སྐས་(?) 'hug' (TB)

   [æː](~[ɐ̝ː]) long near-open front unrounded vowel; following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /ɲáːɕiŋ/ [ɲǽːɕiŋ] གཉའ་ཤིང་ 'yoke', /tɕʰaːlɛʔ/ [tɕʰǽːlɛʔ] ཕྱག་ལས་ 'work (hon.)'; however, nasalization seems to counteract the fronting, /ázã̀ː/ [ɐ́zɐ̃̀ː] ཨ་ཞང་ 'maternal uncle'

/u/ [ʊ] short near-close back rounded vowel; when not following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /ku/ [kʊ́] སྐུ་ 'body', /pʿum/ [pʿʊ̀m] བུམ་ 'girl'

   [ʉ] short close central rounded vowel; following palatal and alveolo-palatal consonants: /gjuk/ [ɟjʉ̀kˀ] རྒྱུག་ 'run', /tɕu/ [tɕʉ́] བཅུ་ 'ten'

/uː/ [uː] long close back rounded vowel; when not following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /kuː/ [kúː] ཀུའུ་ 'laddle for pouring rice flour dough', /pʰuː/ [pʰúː] སྦུར་ 'fly'

   [ʉː] long close central rounded vowel; following palatal and alveolo-palatal consonants: /dʑuː/ [dʑʉ̀ː] འཇུས་ 'be afraid', /jùː/ [jʉ̀ː] ཡུ་ 'weed out'

/o/ [ɔ] short open-mid back rounded vowel; elsewhere: /tʿom/ [ʈʿɔ̀m] དོམ་ 'bear', /ko/ [kɔ́] ཀོ་ 'dig'

/oː/ [oː] long close-mid back rounded vowel: /tʿoːm/ [ʈʿòːm] དོརམ་ 'trousers', /koː/ [kóː] གོས་ 'throw (away)'

/y/ [yː] long close front rounded vowel; when not followed by /n/ or /ʔ/: /kyː/ [ký́ː] སྐྱིལ་ 'drive', /pʰyː/ [pʰýː] ཕུལ་ 'offer'

   [y] short close front rounded vowel; when followed by /n/ or /ʔ/[69]: /dyn/ [ɖỳn]~[ɖỹ̀ː] བདུན་ 'seven', /pynlo/ [pýn̥lo] སྤུན་ལོ་ 'younger brother', /l̥ỳʔ/ [l̥ỳʔ]~[l̥ỳː] ལུད་ 'fertilizer'

/ø/ [øː] long close-mid front rounded vowel; when not followed by /n/ or /ʔ/: /køː/ [kǿː] སྐོལ་ 'boil (tr.)', /røːm/ [rø̀ːm] རོལམ་/རོལམོ་ 'cymbal'

   [ø] short close-mid front rounded vowel; when followed by /n/ or /ʔ/: /kʿøn/ [kʿǿn]~[kʿ̀ø̃̀ː] གྱོན་ 'wear', /pønpu/ [pǿmpu] དཔོན་པུ་ 'chief', /tɕʰøʔ/ [tɕʰǿʔ]~[tɕʰǿ(ː)] ཆོད་ 'you'

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[69] 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. *tɕʰymi* 'lamp for offering' (from *tɕʰøʔ* 'offering' and *mì* 'fire', the vowel quality *ø* assimilates into *y* in the compound).

Denjongke unrounded front vowels proved complicated to analyze, a problem also faced in many other Tibetic languages.[70] 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 /iː/ vs. /eː/ vs. /ɛː/ with long vowels.
2) There is some overlap in the F1 value of long /eː/ and short /i/.
3) The short vowel /i/ tends to be realized as lower [ɪ] than the long vowel /iː/ [iː].
4) Denjongke has both short /ɛ/ and long /ɛː/ 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 [ɛː] and the short vowel contrasting with /i/ is the higher /e/).

The back rounded vowels /u/ and /o/ are realized as closer when long ([uː] [oː]), and more open when short ([ʊ] [ɔ]). A final glottal heightens vowel value similarly to length, e.g. /ló/ [ló] སློ་ 'mind' vs. /lóʔ/ [lóʔ] སློག་ 'light', /gok/ [gòk]~[gòʔ] སློག་ '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/	ཁྱི་	'dog'	/kiː/	དཀྱིགས་	'wrap'
/kʰɛ/	ཁེ་	'profit'	/kɛː/	སྐྱེལ་	'bring'
/kʰa/	ཁ་	'mouth'	/kaː/	ཀ་ (?)	'split'
/kʰo/	མཁོ་	'need'	/koː/	ཀོས་	'throw'
/kʰu/	ཁུ་	'he'	/kuː/	ཀུའ་	'laddle for pouring rice flour dough'
/kʰøː/	འཚོལ་	'boil (intr.)'	/køː/	སྐོལ་	'boil (tr.)'
/kʰyː/(=/kʰui/)	ཁུའི་	'his'	/kyː/	སྐུལ་	'drive'

Within long vowels, an additional vowel /eː/ is introduced between /ɛː/ and /iː/.

/síː/	བསིལ་	'cool'	/giː/	འགྱིར་	'go around'	/sìːp/	ཟིལབ་	'dew'
/séː/	གསེར་	'gold'	/geː/	འགྱེལ་	'fall'	/séːm/	གསེརཨ་	'bamboo slat wall'
/sɛ́ː/	གསལ་	'clear'	/gɛː/	རྒྱལ་	'win'	/sɛ́ːm/	སྲསཨ་	'daughter (hon.)'

Especially in varieties of Denjongke spoken in East and North Sikkim, /a/ followed by the velar nasal /ŋ/ is pronounced as [ɒ]~[ɔ], hence /taŋ/ བཏང་ 'send' is typically pronounced [téŋ]~[tɛ̃ː] in Tashiding (West Sikkim) but [tɔ̃ː]~[tɒ̃ː] in East and North Sikkim. Therefore, in eastern and northern varieties of Denjongke and opposition between /a/ and /o/ seems to neutralize before /ŋ/.

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[70] Watters (2002: 16), having carried out a phonetic study of five Tibetan 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 /eː/ and an always long /ɛː/ for Dzongkha, but comments that the difference between /e/ and /eː/ 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/."

Particularly younger speakers are losing or have lost rounding in front vowels /ø/ and /y/, which are pronounced as [e]~[ɛ] and [i] respectively.[71] 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. /tʰøn/ [tʰø̃ː]~[tʰǿn] ཐོན་ 'happen' > [tʰém-bɔ] ཐོན་པོ་ , /døʔ/ [dø̀ʔ] སྡོད་ 'sit' > [dè̠(ː)pɔ] སྡོད་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.[72] In the following minimal pairs, showing length contrast for each of the vowels, it is seen that the lengthened /iː/, /uː/ and /oː/ are higher in quality than their short counterparts /i/, /u/ and /o/.[73] The situation with the unrounded front vowels /e/ and /ɛ/, as described below, is more complicated.

/i/

| /sí/ | [sí] | སྙི་ | 'trouble, envy' | | /ki/ | སྐྱེ་ | 'be born'[74] |
| /síː/ | [síː] | བསིལ་ | '(feel) cool' | | /kiː/ | དཀྱིགས་ | 'wrap' |

/eː/ occurs only as a long vowel, contrasting with /iː/ and /ɛː/.

/ɛ/

| /kɛ/ | སྐེ་ | 'neck' | | /kʰɛʈaʔ/ | ཁེ་དྲགས་ | 'cheap' | | /gɛp/ | སྐྱེབ་ | 'bag' |
| /kɛː/ | སྐྱེལ་ | 'bring' | | /kʰɛːʈaʔ/ | མཁས་དྲགས་ | 'skilful' | | /gɛːp/ | རྒྱལབ་ | 'king' |

/a/

| /ka/ | བཀའ་ | 'order' | | /pˤa/ | བ་ | 'cow' | | /pʰam/ | ཕམ་ | 'parents' |
| /kaː/ | ཀ་ (?) | 'split' | | /pˤaː/ | བར་ | 'interval' | | /pʰaːm/ | འཁམ་ | 'hug' (TB) |

/u/

| /kʰu/ | [kʰú] | ཁུ་ | 'he' | | /pʰu/ | [pʰú] | འབུ་ | 'blow' | | /ʑu/ | [ʑò̠] | བཞུ་ | 'melt' |
| /kʰuː/ | [kʰúː] | ཁུག་ | 'bread' | | /pʰuː/ | [pʰúː] | འཕུར་ | 'fly' | | /ʑuː(ʔ)/[75] | [ʑùː] | བཞུགས་ | 'to sit (hon.)' |

/o/

| /tˤom/ | [tˤɔ̠m] | དོམ་ | 'bear' | | /tsʰo/ | [tsʰɔ́~tsʰɓ́] | མཚོ་ | 'lake' |
| /tˤoːm/ | [tˤo̠ːm] | དོརམ་ | 'trousers' | | /tsʰoː/ | [tsʰóː] | ཚོ་བོ་ | 'aunt's husband' |

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[71] The generational difference is clearly illustrated on a song recording where a father ends a line in the long syllable [møː] while his two children sing a resounding [meː].

[72] 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.

[73] In Diṅri Tibetan (Herrmann 1989: 21) and Drokpa Tibetan (Kretscmar 1986: 23) the quality opposition for long and short vowels applies to all vowels.

[74] Vowel length in this word was somewhat inconsistent between different speakers.

[75] Some speakers have glottal ending, others do not.

/ko/ [kɔ́] ཀོ་ 'dig'
/ko:/ [kó:] ཀོས་ 'throw'

/y/ and /ø/

The front rounded vowels /y/ and /ø/ are basically long but may be realized as short when ending in a glottal stop (which varies in pronunciation with length). Short realizations as [y] and [ø] are also possible when the vowel is 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. /søn/ [søn]~[sø̃:] 'seed'. Syllable-finally (but word-medially) /n/ assimilates to the following plosive and the vowel is realized as short, e.g. /pøn-pu/ [pǿmpu] དཔོན་པུ་ 'chief'.[76] 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/   ཞོན་   'ride'   /tʰyn/   མཐུན་   'fit, suit'
/çø:m/   ཞོལམ་ 'cockroach'   /ʈˤy:p/   དྲིལབ་   '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 Häsler 1999: 24 for Dege Tibetan). For instance, when pronounced in isolation, words ending in a glottal stop such as /dzeʔ/ ཛས་ 'gunpowder', /dzeʔ/ མཛེ་ 'leprosy' and /ziʔ/ གཟིག་ 'leopard' have various degrees of length, but in continuous speech they are most of the time realized with a long vowel without the glottal.[77]

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/, /ɛʔ/. This is shown in Table 2.3, which shows the F1 values of /ɛʔ/, /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.

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

Lexeme	Gloss	WD	WT	RB	TB	PT	TL
42. /dzɛʔ/	*bullet*	rdzas	rdzas	405-440	550-560	580-600	565
43. /dzeʔ/	*leprosy*	mdze	mdze		350-410	370-400	400-430
44. RB /ziʔ/, PT /zik/ TB /dziʔ/	*leopard*	gzig	gzig	330-345	260-350	380	
47. /zi:/	*to split*	[78]	?			300-330	260-310

[76] See footnote 68 above for historical origin of /y/ and /ø/.
[77] 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).
[78] NB commented: "We don't yet have a written form for this word."

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 established with a long (glottal-less) vowel, the glottal stop is dropped without lengthening the vowel (WT below stands for Written Tibetan):

WT *shad* > /ɕɛ́ʔ/, /ɕɛ́-ɕɛʔ/ 'comb-INF'   WT *brjed* > /dʑɛʔ/, /dʑɛ-ɕɛʔ/ 'forget-INF'
WT *bshal* > /ɕɛ́ː/, /ɕɛ́ː-ɕɛʔ/ 'rinse-INF'   WT *mjal* > /dʑɛː/, /dʑɛː-ɕɛʔ/ 'meet-INF'

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

WT *btag* > /taʔ/, /taː-ɕɛʔ/ 'append-INF'
WT *lta* > /ta/, /ta-ɕɛʔ/ '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 /taːɕɛʔ/ [t̪éːɕɛ] བཏགས་ 'to append' and /taɕɛʔ/ [t̪éɕɛ] ལྟ་ 'to watch' a consultant from Tashiding, without priming, thought that both words were instances of /taɕɛʔ/ [t̪éɕɛ] '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 དབྱེ་བོ་ *dbye-bo*) 'differentiation'.[79] The following diphthongs have been found to occur in noun bases: /ou/, /ɛu/, /iu/, /ai/ and /oi/. Of these /oi/ and /ai/ are relatively rare within word stems, occurring mainly in the words /ói/ [ói]~[ǿi] ཨོའི་ 'hey!' and /ái/ ཨའི་ 'older sister', /m̥aiɕam/~/m̥ɛːɕam/ སྨད་འརཎ་ '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/[80]   /lóu/~/láu/ གློ་བོ་ 'lungs', /rou/~/rau/ ར་བོ་ 'fence', /jòu/ ཡོའུ་ 'up', /mòu/ མོའུ་ 'down'
/ɛu/   /tʰɛu/ ཐེའུ་ 'dust', /p'jeu/ བྱེའུ་ 'hurry', /jèu/ དབྱེ་བོ་ 'differentiation', /kjɛu/ ཀྱུའུ་ 'rice measuring vessel'
/iu/   /lìu/ ལེའུ་ 'phase', /biu/ སྦྲུའུ་ 'snake', /piu/ སྤྲེའུ་ 'monkey', /diu/ མདེའུ་ 'bullet'
/ai/   /ái/ ཨའི་ 'older sister', /m̥aiɕam/~/m̥ɛːɕam/ སྨད་འརཎ་ 'bachelorette'
/oi/   /ói/ [ói]~[ǿi] ཨོའི་ 'hey!'

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[79] Final /u/ in a diphthong is traditionally typically written as བོ་ *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 འུ *'u*.

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

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

/ɛu/ vs. /ou/   /iu/ vs. /ɛu/

m̥ɛu ཨྨེའོ་ 'mole (in skin)'   tiu ཏེའུ་, ཏེའོ་ 'navel'

mòu མོའུ་ 'down'   tʰɛu ཐེའུ་, ཐེའོ་ '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/ ཀེའི་ 'neck's', /pɛ-i/ དཔེའི་ 'example's'

/ai/   /sa-i/ སའི་ 'soil's', /ra-i/ རའི་ 'goat's'

/oi/   /só-i/ སོའི་ 'tooth's', /go-i/ མགོའི་ 'head's'

/ui/   /mù-i/ མུའི་ 'her', /kʰu-i/ ཁུའི་ 'his'

The diphthong /ɛi/ also occurs in the interjections *ádzɛi* ཨཛེ་ (surprise) and *kɛi* ཀྱེ་ (honorific address), and /ai/ occurs in the interjection *aijo:* ཨེཡོ་ (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 /eː/[81] 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/~/ãː/ and /oŋ/~/õː/ appears to disappear, because both are pronounced [ɔ̃ː]~[õː]. The distinction is, however, held in West Sikkim, for instance in Tashiding.

/pˀin/   [pˀĩ̀ː]~[pˀìn]   བྱིན་   'give'

/séŋ/   [sḗ́ː]~[séŋ]   སེང་   'elevate'

/tã̀ː/   [t̪ḗ́ː]~[t̪éŋ]   བཏང་   'send'

/kˀuŋ/   [kˀṹ̀ː]~[kˀùŋ]   གུང་   'roof'

/ő:ː/   [ɔ̃́ː]   དབང་   'empowerment'

/pyn/   [pý̃ː]~[pýn]   སྤུན་   'brother'

/kˀøn/   [kˀø̃́ː]~[kˀø̀n]   གྱོན་   '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 vowels /a/ and /o/, e.g. *ɕíŋ* ཤིང་ 'tree', *séŋ* སེང་ 'raise' but *tã̀:* བཏང་ 'send', *tʰő̀:* མཐོང་ 'see'. There is a historically oriented functional explanation for

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[81] That is, I do not have evidence for a contrast between /ɛ̃ː/ and /ẽː/.

53

this tendency. With /i/ and /ɛ/, the final velar nasal contrasts both historically and syncronically with the dental nasal /n/, e.g. *p'in* ྱིན་ 'give', *sɛ́n* 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 *gɛn* 'responsibility'.[82] 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 grammar 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* འཐུང་ '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'aŋpu/t'ã:pu* དང་པུ་ '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).[83] 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 [ɹ], which occurs rarely and not in all Denjongke varieties[84]. The glide /j/ may follow the velar stops /k/, /kʰ/, /g/ and /kˤ/, the bilabial stops /p/, /pʰ/, /b/ and /pˤ/, and the bilabial nasal /m/. All vowels may fill the 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/[85] 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: dipthongs do not occur in closed syllables.

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[82] An important exception to the fronting rule is *k'an* གན་ 'what', which is not pronounced *k'ɛn* despite the final nasal.
[83] C = consonant, G = glide, V = vowel.
[84] However clusters such as /pr/ and /kr/ do occur in loan words (e.g. Nepali names) and ideophones (see §17.1).
[85] Final *-n* and *-ŋ* are often realized as nasalization and vowel lengthening.

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/ ꞉ 'rice measuring vessel' (KN), /pˈjɛu/ ꞉ 'hurry'
CGV   /kja/ ꞉ 'hair', /pˈja/ ꞉ 'do', /bja/ ꞉ 'rice', /pˈjo/ ꞉ 'escape'
CVV   /jòu/ ꞉ 'up', /kʰau/~/kʰou/ ꞉ 'snow', /tʰɛu/ ꞉ 'dust'
CV   /là/ ꞉ 'mountain pass', /só/ ꞉ 'tooth', /kʰuː/ ꞉ 'bread'
V   /ỳː/ ꞉ 'country', /ø̀ː/ [ɦøː] ꞉ (?) 'eagle'
VV   /ái/ ꞉ 'older sister', /ói/~/ǿi/ ꞉ 'hey!'

Closed syllables
CGVC   /gjap/ ꞉ 'back', /mjõ̀ː/ ꞉ 'finish', /prɛk/ [pɻék][86] ꞉ 'cut (grass)' (RB),
CVC   /kˈur/ ꞉ 'tent', /sák/ ꞉ 'accumulate', /tˈoːm/ ꞉ 'trousers'
VC   /íp/ ꞉ 'hide', /ám/ ꞉ 'mother', /àːm/ ꞉ 'jackal'

2.5 Segmental phonological processes

2.5.1 Vowel assimilation[87]
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) /tɕʰøʔ/ ꞉ 'offering', /mì/ ꞉ 'fire' > /tɕʰými/ [tɕʰýmy]~[tɕʰými][88] ꞉ 'lamp for offering'

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 /tɕʰými/ derives from /tɕʰøʔ/ '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).

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[86] A more typical pronunciation is *pjɛk*.
[87] Vowel assimilation/harmony in Tibetic languges 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."
[88] WT/WD *mchod-me*

(2.4) a) /mù=i/ [mùi]~[mỳi]~[mỳː] སྨུའི་ 'her'
    b) /oi/ [ói]~[ǿi] ཚོའི་ 'hey!'
    c) /m̥aiɕam/~/m̥ɛːɕam/ སྨན་པརམ་ 'bachelorette, young woman'

(2.5) /gjompo/ [gjòmpo]~[gjǿmpo]~[gǿmpo] 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 [yː]. The variants in (2.4c) represent pronunciations in different localities, suggesting that /m̥ɛːɕam/ is a stabilized fronted pronunciation of /m̥aiɕam/. As shown 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 constructrions may be elided. In fast speech, final vowels are often elided, e.g. the reportative marker =sɛ/si frequently becomes =s and the attention marker =ɕo is realized as =ɕ. The long vowel in /ma-ɕeː tɛ/ is dropped to form the idiom /maɕtɛ/ '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་སྲད་
    ɖa   bɛʔ   > ɖɛː/rɛː
    similar EQU.NE
    'be similar'

(2.7) ཚོ་འདི་
    ódi   > ói
    'that'

(2.8) འདོ་འདི་
    dodi   > doi
    'right this (one)'

(2.9) ད་རིང་
    t'ariŋ   > t'ɛiŋ
    'today'

(2.10) ག་གིས་ ལབ་པོ?
       ka-ki   làp-o   > kai làpo
       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
tʰõ̀:-po ĩ́:	མཐོང་པོ་ཨིན་	>	[tʰõ̀:m ĩ́:]	(PL)
nɛ̃́:-bo bɛʔ	གནང་བོ་ཨིན་	>	[nɛ̃́:m bɛʔ]	(CY)
òm-bo bɛʔ	འོང་པོ་སྲད་	>	[òm bɛʔ]	(NB)
sṍ:-bo bɛʔ	སོང་པོ་སྲད་	>	[sóm bɛʔ]	(DB)

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

(2.11) གནང་པོ་དང་
      nɛ̃́:-bo-dã: >   *nɛ̃́:-m-dã:*
      do.HON-2INF-CONJ
      'when doing' (CY)

(2.12) གནང་གནང་པོ་
      nɛ̃́:-nã:-bo   >   *nɛ̃́:-na-m*
      do.HON-do.HON-2INF
      'done' (CY)

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

(2.13) ང་འཛོལ་ཚར་
      ŋà   dzø̀:-tsʰa: >   *ŋà dzø̀:-sa*
      1SG   make.mistake-CMPL
      'I (have) made a mistake.' (JD minimal pair recording)

(2.14) ཟ་ཚར་
      sà-tsʰa: > *sà-sa:*
      eat-CMPL
      'I have eaten'

(2.15) ཚ་ལུམ་
      tsʰalum > *sálum* (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) ཨོ་འདིའི་སྐབ་
      ódi: gã: > *ódi ŋã:*
      that.GEN time
      'at that time'

(2.17) a) དང་
   tʼã̃:/dã̃:/dõ: > nà/nò (at least in Martam, East Sikkim)
   'and'

  b) བླམ་ དཔལ་ལྡན་ དང་ བླམ་ བུ་ལག་
   lám paldɛn nò lám pʼula?
   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) ས་འཁོར་
   láŋkʰor > laŋkʰor~láŋkor
   '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/, /pʰ/, /t/, /tʰ/, /k/, /kʰ/, /tɕ/, /tɕʰ/, /ts/, /tsʰ/, /m̥/, /n̥/ /ɲ̥/ /ŋ̥/, /l̥/, /r̥/, /h/	-After initials /b/, /pʼ/, /d/, /tʼ/, /g/, /kʼ/, /dʑ/, /tɕʼ/, /dz/, /tsʼ/, /z/, /ʑ/, /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.[89] 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 higher pitch (although pitch following voiced stops is not as clearly rising).

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[89] This is unlike Lhomi, in which voice quality (modal vs. breathy) is more salient than pitch with sonorant initials (Watters 2003: 253).

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 dissyllabic 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 _ làp goːɕɛ bɛʔ* 'This has to be said...'. The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrastive pitch within sonorant initials (/má/ �རྨ་ 'wound' vs. /mà/ ཨམ་ 'mother'), plosive initials in open syllable (/ka/ བཀའ་ 'order' vs. /kˑa/ ག་ 'what, where') and closed syllable (/kom/ སྐོམ་ 'thirst' vs. /gom/ སྒོམ་ 'door'). Word duration in Figures 2.8-10 is marked with vertical dotted lines.

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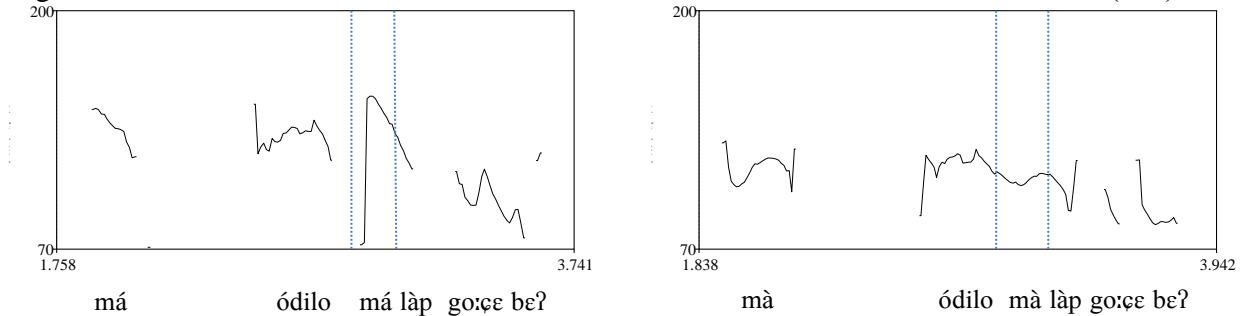
The defining pitch pattern in Figure 2.8, high falling in /má/ 'wound' and low rising in /mà/ 'mother', is seen on the latter part of the word on the vowel. The rapid rise at the onset of /má/ signifies a short pause and glottalization. In /mà/, the nasal has a falling pitch and the vowel a rising pitch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

The word pairs in Figures 2.9 and 2.10 illustrate that pitch in predictably high/low register words is similar to /má/ and /mà/ in Figure 2.8.

Figure 2.9. Pitch traces of /ká/ 'order' and /kˑa/ 'what, where' in isolation and in context (KN)

59
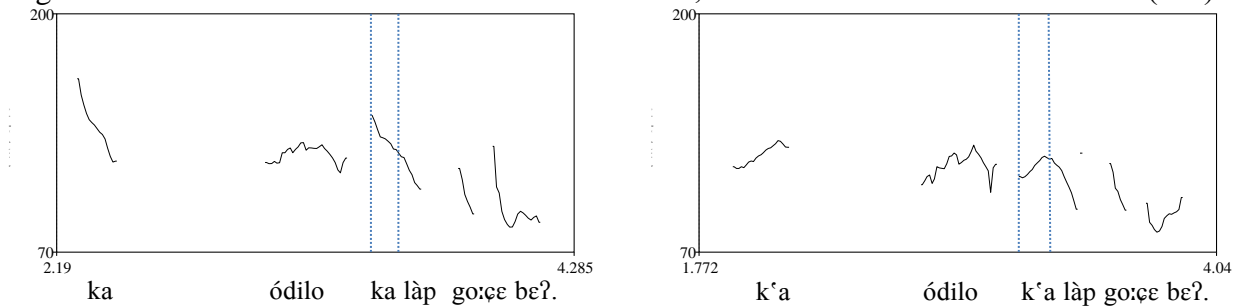
Figure 2.10. Pitch traces of /kom/ 'dry (verb)' and /gom/ 'door' in isolation and in context (KN)

kom   ódilo kom làp goːɕɛ bɛʔ.   gom   ódilo gom làp goːɕɛ bɛʔ.
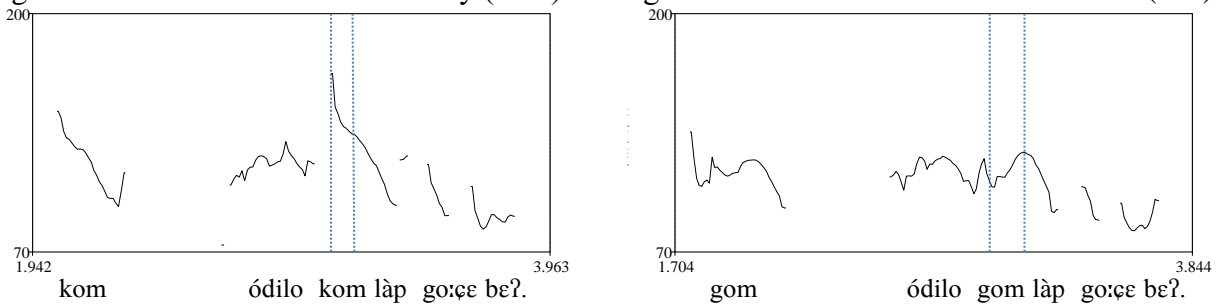
Figures 2.9-10, which show that the high register words have a falling pitch and the low register words a rising pitch, are representative of all the words recorded in the tonal study. All the high register words (both open and closed syllables) had a high falling pitch, although with long vowels the 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 ལྔ་ *rnga*) 'five' and /ŋá/ (WT རྔ་ *rnga*) '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)
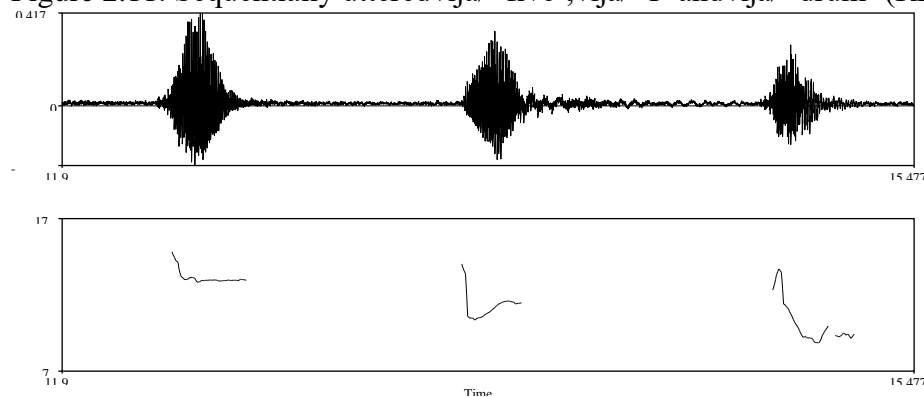
For the same speaker from Tashiding (RB), the words /ta/ རྟ་ 'horse' and /taʔ/ སྟག་ 'tiger' were segmentally contrastive when the words were pronounced in isolation, [ʈa] 'horse', [ʈáːʔ] 'tiger'.

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

/ta/ [t̪a] 'horse'   /taʔ/ [t̪a:ʔ] 'tiger'
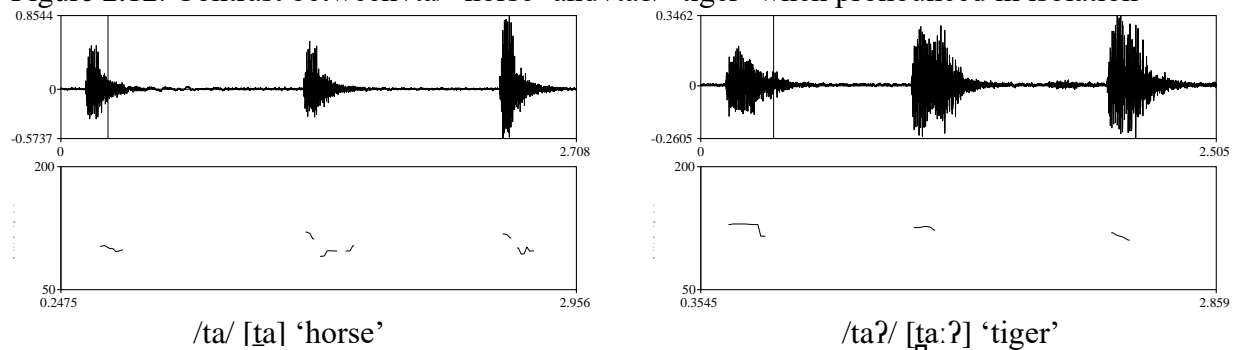
In sentential context, however, the glottal stop of /taʔ/ was elided and the two words /ta/ and /taʔ/ were pronounced with equal or almost equal length. The most obvious contrast became pitch, which was falling in /taʔ/ and level in /ta/. The pitch contrast is shown in Figure 2.13. The carrier sentence is *ŋà _ tato í́ː* (ང་ _ སྟ་ཏོ་ ཨིན་) 'I'm looking at _'.

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

ŋà: tâ: ta- to ĩ̀.   ŋà: tá: ta- to ĩ̀.
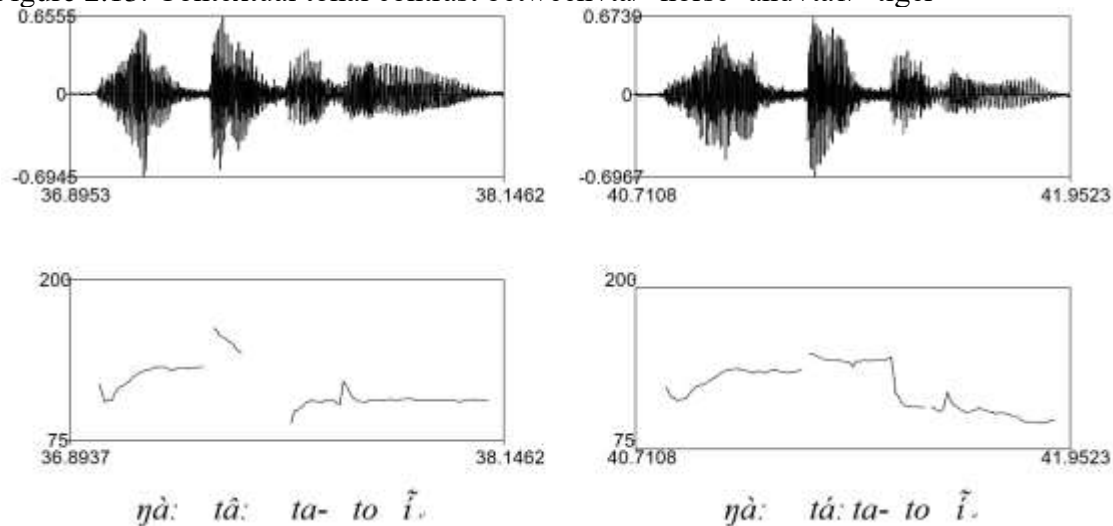
It was shown above that one speaker from Tashiding (West Sikkim) may have a tonal contrast in the high register between high level and high falling tone. This contrast, however, has not been attested with other speakers. Several speakers, on the other hand, have provided some evidence for a tonal contrast in the low register. This is illustrated in Figure 2.14, featuring a pitch difference for segmentally identical words /zíː/ གཟིགས་ 'look' and /zìː/ གཟིར་ 'split'. Both words are pronounced in an honorific imperative construction *ɕíŋ VERB-po nǎ̀ː* resulting in meanings 'Please look at the tree' and 'Please split the tree' respectively.

61

Figure 2.14. Pitch contrast with voiced stop initials /zí:/ 'look' and /zì:/ 'split'

ɕíŋ   zí: -pɔ nã: ɕíŋ   zì: -βɔ nã:
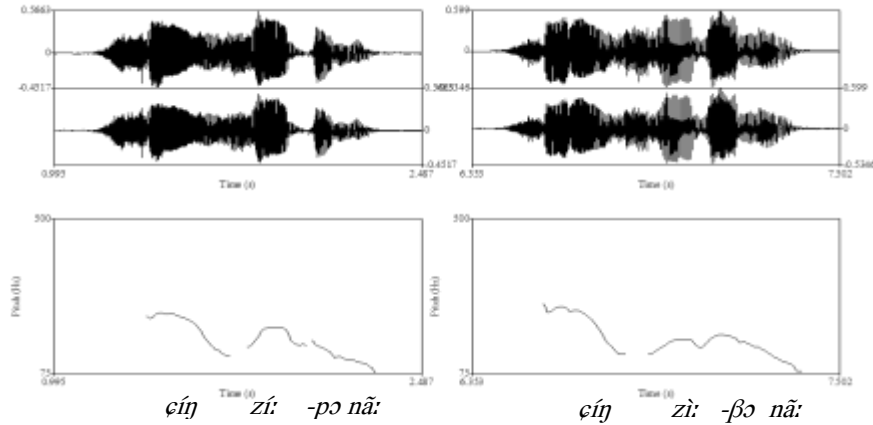
Figure 2.14 shows that /zí/ 'look' is pronounced with higher and basically level pitch whereas /zì:/ 'split', analogously to typical low register words, is pronounced with a lower lightly rising pitch. Thus, this word pair appears to exemplify a high vs. low register split within the low register. There is, however, also a segmental difference. The infinitive marker *-po/bo* is a voiceless [p] with /zí:/ '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. /kʰaʔ/ [kʰɐʔ]~[kʰɐːʔ] ཁག 'soup'. In sentential context in the tonal study, the glottal was usually elided and the pitch was falling in both /kʰa/ 'mouth' and /kʰaʔ/ 'soup'. The contrast between /kʰaʔ/ and /kʰa/ became one of length and perhaps also some glottal quality, or creakiness, on the vowel in /kʰaʔ/. 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. /ló/ [lɔ̂] ཀློ 'mind', /lóʔ/ [l̩óʔ] (isolation) [l̩ôː] (context) ཀློག 'electricity'.

In comparative recordings with KN (Martam), a high register word with a glottal ending (e.g. /ŋaʔ/ ཤགས '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, where a glottal ending is contrasted with a non-glottal ending. The frame sentence is *ódilo _ làp goːɕɛ bɛʔ* (ཚོ་འདི་ལོ་ _ ལབ་ དགོས་གད་ སྲད) 'You are to call this _'.

Figure 2.15. Contrast of glottal and non-glottal ending in /ŋàʔ/ 'speech' and /ŋà/ 'I'

ódilo   ŋàʔ   làp   goː- ɛɛ bɛ(ʔ)   *ódilo   ŋà   làp   goː- ɛɛ bɛ(ʔ)*
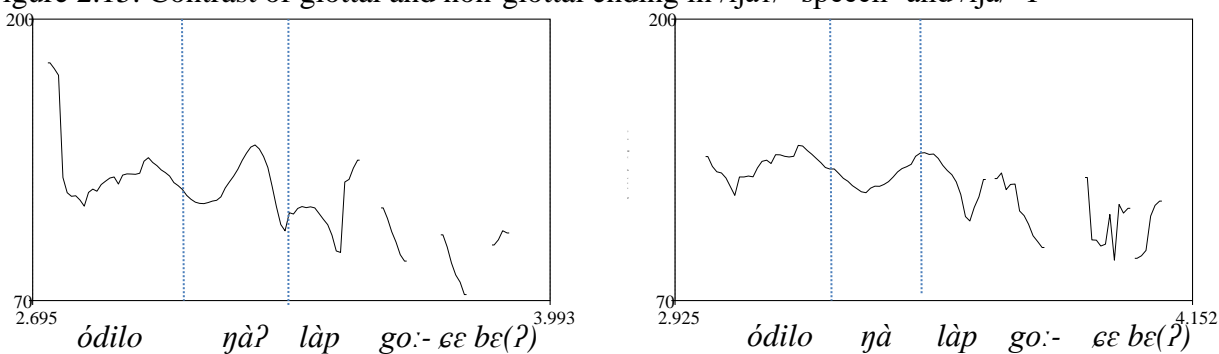
The glottal stop of /ŋàʔ/ (*ngag*) in Figure 2.15 is seen as a sudden fall in the pitch at the end of the pronunciation of the word. The effect of the glottal on the pitch trace can be clearly seen by comparing /ŋàʔ/ 'speech' to the non-glottal ending in /ŋà/ (*nga*) 'I'.

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[90] 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 /pǿmpu/ [pǿmpʊ] དཔོན་པོ་ 'leader' and /pˈømpu/ [pˈø̀mpʊ] བོན་པོ་ 'Bön practitioner'.[91] The words are first pronounced two times in isolation and then in the same carrier sentence as in Figure 2.16 (location of [pǿmpʊ]/[pˈø̀mpʊ] in the sentence is marked by the dotted line).

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[90] 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.

[91] 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.

Figure 2.16. Pitch contrast in /pømpu/ 'leader' and /pˤømpu/ 'Bön practitioner'

pømpu   pømpu   ódilɔ pømpu làp guɕɛ bɛʔ

pˤømpu   pˤømpu   ódilɔ   pˤømpu làp guɕɛ bɛʔ
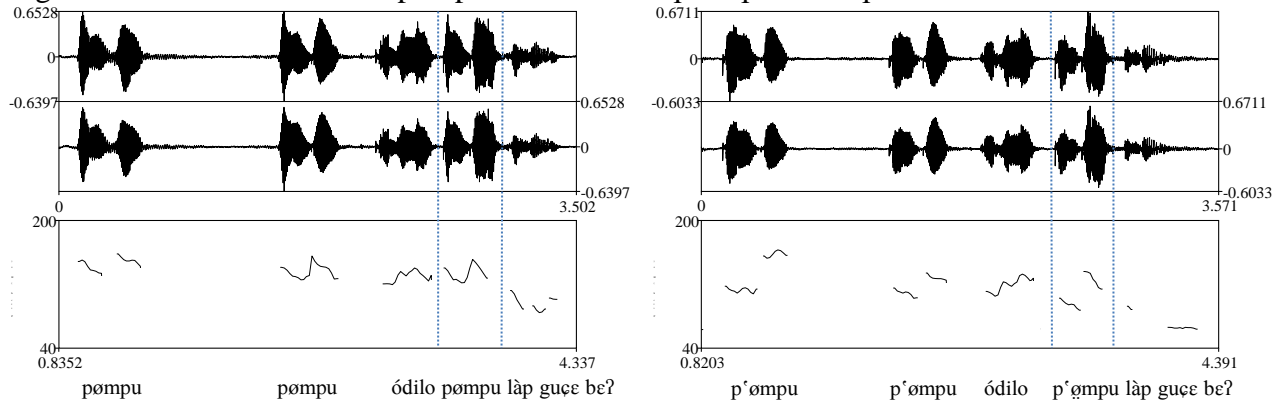
As can be seen in Figure 2.16, the pitch difference of the first and second syllable in the first utterance of /pˤømpu/ is much greater than the same difference in /pømpu/. The second syllables are roughly on the same pitch level. The main factor in disambiguating /pømpu/ and /pˤønpu/ in context seems 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/ རྣ་མཆོག་ 'ear' and /màmtɕʰu/ མམ་ཆུ 'lower lip').

Figure 2.17. Pitch contrast in /námtɕoʔ/ 'ear' and /màmtɕʰu/ 'lower lip'

námtɕoʔ   ódilɔ námtɕo làp go:ɕɛ bɛʔ

màmtɕʰʊʔ   ódilɔ màmtɕʰʊ làp go:ɕɛ bɛʔ
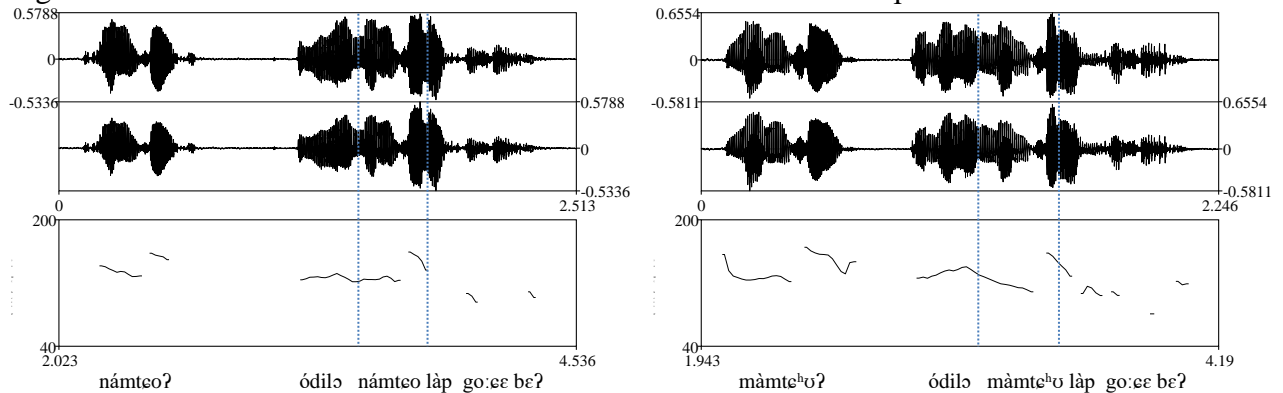
When pronounced in isolation, the low-tone word /màmtɕʰu/ has a rising pitch on the vowel of the first syllable. In context, however, the first syllable becomes falling, presumably because the syllable, which is voiced throughout, has to reach a lower level of pitch compared to equivalent high-tone word (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* སྟེང་ཁ(ར)་ is contrasted in identical context with the low tone postposition *nàŋɕa* ནང་ཤ་.

(2.19) a) འདི་ ཁྱིམ་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡོད།
        di   kʰim   tʰɛŋkʰa   jɵ̀ʔ.
        this   house   above   EX.PER
        'It is on/above the house.' (KUN e)

     b) འདི་ ཁྱིམ་ ནང་ཤ་ ཡོད།
        di   kʰim   nàŋɕa   jɵ̀ʔ.
        this   house   inside   EX.PER
        'It is inside the house.' (KUN e)

Figure 2.18. Pitch in postpositions *tɛŋkʰa* and *nàŋɕa*

di   kʰim   tɛŋ- kʰa   jɵ̀ʔ.

di   kʰim   nàŋ-   ɕa   jɵ̀ʔ.
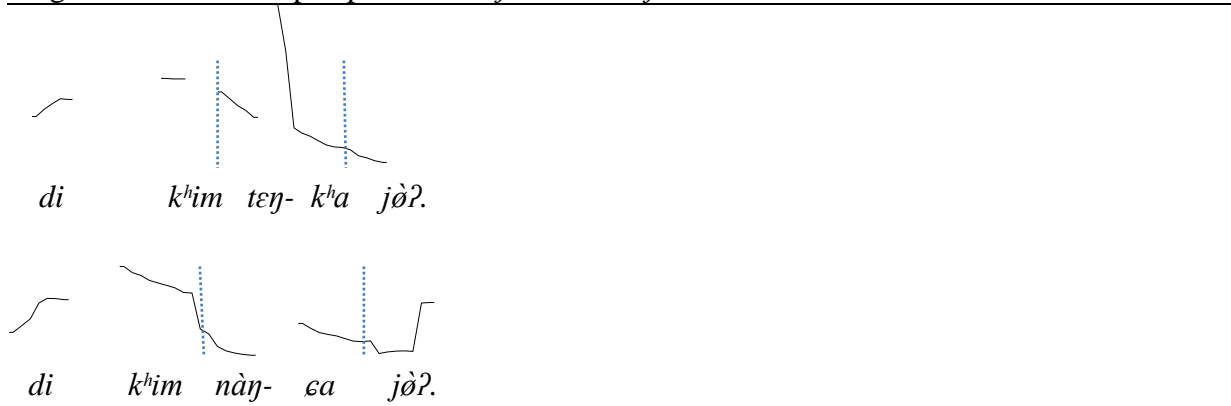
Note that with the postpositions in Figure 2.18 the high tone is realized as a high-low sequence and the low tone as low-high sequence. This somewhat contrasts with what was above reported on high and low tone in disyllabic nouns. With nouns, the most important correlate of tone was shown to be the degree 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 varity 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

65

primary correlate is fundamental frequency[92], 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 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* རྒྱབས་ 'strike, do', *pʰjak* འཕྱག་ 'sweep', *ɕɛ́ʔ* ཤད་ 'comb', *p'ja* བྱས་ 'do, *zo* བཟོ་ 'make', *pʰu* ཕུ་ 'blow', *tɕa:* བཙའ་ 'come (hum.)', *tsʰo:* ཚོར་ 'feel', *pʰy:* ཕུལ་ 'offer, *lèn* ལེན་ 'take', *bom* སྦོམ་ 'grow', *mjõ̀:* སྒྱིང་ 'finish, *lò̀:* ལོང་ 'stand, *là̃:* ལང་ 'be enough', *tã:* བཏང་ 'send', *nã̌:* གནང་ 'give (hon.)', *tʰõ̌:* མཐོང་ 'see'.

Table 2.7. Voicing alternation in verbal suffixes

Suffix	Preceding context	Form	Examples
Infinitivizer *-po/-bo*	voiceless	*-o*	*kjap-o, pʰjak-o, ɕɛ́-po (ɕɛ́ʔ)*
	short vowel	*-u*	*p'ja-u, zo-u, pʰu:*
	long vowel	*-bo/βo/wo*	*tɕa:-bo, tsʰo:-bo, pʰy:-bo*
	-n, -m	*-bo*	*lèm-bo, bom-bo*
	-ŋ	*-po*	*mjõ̀:-po, lò̀:-po*
		-bo	*tã:-bo, nã̌:-bo*
Past/perfective *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ*	voiceless	*-tɕɛ*	*kjap-tɕɛ, pʰjak-tɕɛ, ɕɛ́-tɕɛ (ɕɛʔ)*
	voiced	*-ʑɛ*	*p'ja-ʑɛ, zo-ʑɛ, lèn-ʑɛ, bom-ʑɛ*
	-ŋ	*-tɕɛ*	*tʰõ̌:-tɕɛ, lò̀:-tɕɛ*
		-ʑɛ	*tã:-ʑɛ, nã̌:-ʑɛ*

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[92] 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).

	voiceless	-tɕɛ̃:	kjap-tɕɛ̃:, pʰjak-tɕɛ̃:, ɕɛ́-tɕɛ̃: (ɕɛʔ)
Progressive -tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/zin	voiced	-zɛ̃:/zin	p'ja-zɛ̃:, zo-zɛ̃:, lèn-zɛ̃:, bom-zɛ̃:
	-ŋ	-tɕɛ̃:	tʰõ:-tɕɛ̃:, lỗ:-tɕɛ̃:
		-zɛ̃:	tã:-zɛ̃:, nấ:-zɛ̃:
Imperfective -to/do	voiceless	-to	kjap-to, pʰjak-to, ɕɛ́-to (ɕɛʔ)
	voiced	-do	p'ja-do, zo-do, lèn-do, bom-do
	-ŋ	-to	mjõ̀:-to, lã̀:-to
		-do	tã:-do, nấ:-do
Nonfinal -ti/di	voiceless	-ti	kjap-ti, pʰjak-ti, ɕɛ́-ti (ɕɛʔ)
	voiced C (except -ŋ)	-di	lèn-di, bom-di
	vowel	-ti	p'ja-ti, zo-ti
		-di	pʰy:-di, sà-di
	-ŋ	-ti	mjõ̀:-ti, lõ̀:-ti
		-di	tã:-di, lã̀:-di

As suggested by the word *ɕɛ́ʔ* '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 *ɕɛ́ʔ* are *taʔ* བདགས་ 'append' > *ta:-po* and *ɛ́ʔ* ཨེད་ 'push' > *ɛ́-tɕɛn*. 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, -zɛ, tɕɛ̃:, -to)	Voiced (-bo, -zɛ, -zɛ̃:, do)	
tʰõ: མཐོང་ 'see'	*tã:* བཏང་ 'send'	*tʰuŋ* འཐུང་ 'drink'
lã̀: ལང་ས་ 'be enough'	*nấ:* གནང་ 'give (hon.)'	*tsõ:* བཙོང་ 'sell'
lõ̀: ལོང་ 'stand (up)'	*sỗ:* སོང་ 'go.PFV (suppl.)'	*súŋ* གསུང་ 'say (hon.)'
mjõ̀: རྫོང་ 'finish'	*õ̀:* འོང་ 'come'	*ʈ'ã:* དངས་ 'carry (hon.)'

The nominalizer *-po* occurs in four forms, *-o*, *-u*, *-po*, *-bo* (phonetically there is a fifth form -*βo/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*, *pʰjak* འཕྱག་ 'sweep' > *pʰjak-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. *ʈ'ak* དྲག་ 'get well' > *ʈ'ak-o*, *taʔ* བདགས་ 'adorn' > *ta:-po*. When preceded by a root ending in a short (non-nasalized) vowel, the suffix becomes *-u*, e.g. *p'ja* བྱས་ 'do' > *p'ja-u*, *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 /r/, /l/ or /s/), the nominalizer becomes *-bo* [bo]~[βo]~[wo], as in *tɕa:* བཅར་ 'come (hum.)' > *tɕa:-bo* [tɕá:βo], *tsʰo:* ཚོར་ 'feel' > *tsʰo:-bo* [tsʰó:βo]. When preceded by the nasals /m/ and /n/, the suffix occurs as *-bo,* e.g. *bom* སྦོམ་ > *bom-bo* 'getting big', *lèn* ལེན་ > *lèm-bo* 'taking'. Similarly to other suffixes, final /ŋ/ may obtain either voiceless or voiced suffix, e.g. *mjõ̀:-po* རྫོང་པོ་ 'finished, finishing' vs. *tã:-bo* བཏང་པོ་ 'sent, sending'.

In verbal suffixes with initial *p-*, the initial plosive 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 *pʰjak* འཕྱག་ 'sweep'.

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

Suffix	Preceding context	Form	Example
Infinitivizer *-po/bo/u*	*-p, -k*	*-o*	*kjap-o, pʰjak-o*
Purpose/manner *-pa*	*-p, -k*	*-a*	*kjap-a, pʰjak-a*
Conditional *-patɕɛnɛ*	*-p, -k*	*-atɕɛnɛ*	*kjap-atɕɛnɛ, pʰjak-atɕɛnɛ*

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 *pʰjak* 'sweep' homophonous, *pʰjak-a*, see Table 2.10 (and §15.5.1 for purposive/circumstantial marker).

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

Suffix	Preceding context	Form	Example
Polar interrogative *-ka/ga*	*-k*	*-a*	*pʰjak-a*
Attenuated interrogative *-kam/gam*	*-k*	*-am*	*pʰjak-am*

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. *goʔ* དགོས་ 'need' > *miŋ-goʔ* མིན་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**
p'in བྱིན་ 'give'	*mam-bin, mim-bin*	*pik* དིག་ 'pull out'	*ma-pik, mi-pik*
t'ɛ: དལ་ 'have time to'	*man-dɛ:, min-dɛ:*	*tɛk* སྟེགས་ 'place up'	*ma-tɛk, mi-tɛk*
ʈ'õ: གྲོངས་ 'die (hon.)'	*man-ɖõ:, min-ɖõ:*	*tʰuŋ* བྱུང་ 'shine (hon.)'	*ma-ʈʰuŋ, mi-ʈʰuŋ*
k'o གོ་ 'understand'	*maŋ-go, miŋ-go*	*kʰø:* ཚོལ་ 'boil (intr.)'	*ma-kʰø:, mi-kʰø:*
sà ཟ་ 'eat'	*man-za, min-za*	*só* གསོ་ 'tend'	*ma-só, mi-só*
bak འབག་ 'carry'	*mam-bak, mim-bak*	*pã:* སྤང་ 'forsake'	*ma-paŋ, mi-paŋ*
dø̀ʔ སྡོད་ 'sit'	*man-døʔ, min-døʔ*	*tøn* བཏོན་ 'take out'	*ma-tøn, mi-tøn*
goʔ དགོས་ 'need'	*maŋ-goʔ, miŋ-goʔ*	*kok* རྐོག་ 'dig'	*ma-kok, mi-kok*
zim གཟིམ་ 'sleep (hon.)	*man-zim, min-zim*	*sák* བསགས་ 'accumulate'	*ma-sak, mi-sák*
zak བཞག་ 'put'	*man-zak, min-zak*	*ɕá:* ཤར་ 'shine'	*ma-ɕa:, mi-ɕá:*
dzɛ: མཇལ་ 'meet (hon.)'	*man-dzɛ:, min-dzɛ:*	*tɕa:* བཅར་ 'come (hum.)'	*ma-tɕa:, mi-tɕa:*

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 genetivized infinitivizer

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

(2.20) a) ཞུ་བའི་སྐབང་འདི་
    ɕù=wø: *gã:=di*
    say=2INF.GEN   time=DEMPH
    'when saying' (KLT)

    b) ཞུའི་[93] སྐབང་འདི་
    ɕù=i   *gã:=di*
    say=2INF.GEN   time=DEMPH
    'when saying' (KLT)

(2.21) a) ལྟ་བའི་སྐབང་
    ta-wø: *gã:*
    look-2INF.GEN   time
    'when looking' (SD)

    b) ལྟའི་སྐབང་
    ta-i   *gã:*
    look-2INF.GEN   time
    'when looking' (SD)

2.8.4 Agentive case

With the personal pronouns *ŋà* ང་ 'I', *kʰu* ཁུ་ 'he' and *mù* མུ་ 'she' the agentive case can be marked by vowel lengthening and raise of tone from low to high.[94] With *kʰu*, which is already high tone, the modification reduces to vowel lengthening, *kʰu:* ཁུས་ 'I.AGT'. With *ŋà* and *mù*, the tone changes from low to high along with vowel lengthening, *ŋá:* ངས་ 'I.AGT', *mú:* མུས་ 'she.AGT'. Figure 2.19 illustrates the tonal difference between *ŋà* and *ŋá:*. The clause with *ŋà*, 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 the voicing in /ŋ/. Manual measurements of vowel lengths in *ŋà* and *ŋá:* yielded 0,12 seconds and 0,22 seconds respectively, showing a clear difference in length. The agentivization of *mù* 'she' functions analogously to *ŋà*.

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[93] This written form, along with the analogous form in (2.21b), is highly experimental and used here only to provide a written representation of reduced pronunciation in spoken language.

[94] An alternative strategy is to use the agentive marker *=ki/gi*, e.g. *ŋà(:)=gi*, *kʰu(:)=gi*, *mù(:)=gi*.

Figure 2.19. *ŋà* vs. *ŋá:* in context (consultant KN)

| | | | | | |
| *ŋà* | *gjal-* | *tsʰɛn* | *sɛ́-* | *po* | *í:* |

| | | | | | |
| *ŋá:* | *gjal-* | *tsʰɛn=lo* | *sɛ́-* | *po* | *í:* |

'I killed Gyaltshen.'
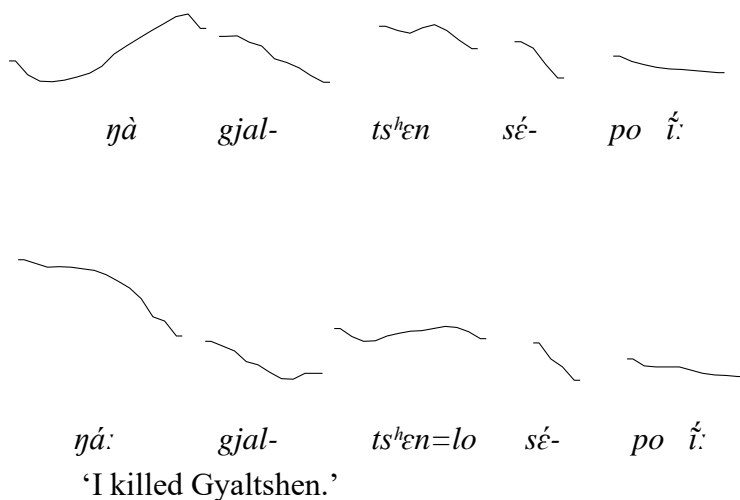
2.9 Phonemic script

The phonetic/phonemic symbols are from the IPA except for /g/ representing IPA /ɡ/ and /a/ representing IPA /ɐ/. 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:* བཏང་ 'send', *tʰõ:* མཐོང་ 'see') while with other vowels the same historical velar tends to be retained in pronunciation (i.e. *ɕíŋ* ཤིང་ 'tree', *séŋ* སེང་ 'raise', *tʰuŋ* འཐུང་ '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 assimiates, i.e. the equative copula *í:* occurs in various forms: *ím-bo* (with infinitivizer *-po/bo*), *ín-do* (with imperfective marker *-to/do*) and *íŋ-kʰɛ̃:* (with nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃:*). 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-kʰɛn bɛʔ* is written as such although its pronunciation is typically [íŋ-kʰɛm 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'), *ɕɛ́-ɕɛʔ* 'tell-INF' *ɕɛ́ʔ* ('tell'). Moreover, the glottal in the infinitive marker *-ɕɛ(ʔ)* is not

written when an auxiliary follows. Although the auxiliary is written separately it is phonologically part of the same utterance with *-εε(ʔ)* 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 བཞིན་ *bzhin* is transcribed in literary examples, following spoken pronunciation, as *tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:* 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 /iː/, /eː/ and /ɛː/ 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, 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 low-high 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 in more 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), consisting of function words, have fewer lexemes than open word classes and are less open to new words (hence the alternative term "closed word classes"). 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. *sã̀:tɛ* 'until, straight on' [consultant KT]), and a monosyllabic cliticised form, which typically cannot occur independently as an answer to a question (e.g. *=sã̃:* 'until').[95] A fact suggesting that *sã̀:tɛ* 'until' is a word and *=sã̃:* 'until' a clitic is that the word *sã̀:tɛ*, 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, *sã̀:tɛ* (WD ཟང་སྟེ་ *zang-ste*) is separated in writing from the previous word by a space whereas the clitic *=sã̃:* (WD ཟང་ *zang*) is attached to the previous word. Grammatically, however, both *sã̀:tɛ* 'until, straight on' and *=sã̀:* 'until' function essentially identically in phrases such as *tʰorã̃: sã̀:tɛ/tʰorã̃:=sã̃:* 'until tomorrow',

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[95] These morphemes are somewhat analogous to *not* and *n't* in English (see Dixon & Aikhenvald's 2003: 27).

suggesting that the phonologically reduced form =sã: is as much a grammatical word as the fuller form sằ:tɛ. Another form which occurs both as a monosyllabic clitic and a disyllabic word is the relator noun =tsa:/tsakʰa '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. bjakʰa འཇུག་ཁ 'summer', ɲèŋkʰa ཉེན་ཁ '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 -kʰɛ̃:) has to be added to the verb before attaching the plural marker.

(3.1) སའི་གི་[96] 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་མཁན་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ གོག་གུ ཡོད་བ་སྲད་ལགས།
   *t'izã: nà: ɖɛndzõ:=na   **òŋ-kʰɛn=tsu=lo**   ódi   ɕóku   jèbbɛ=la.*
   but   here   Sikkim=LOC   come-NMLZ=PL=DAT   that   paper   EX.NE=HON
   'But those who came here to Sikkim had that document.' (CY interview)

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[96] 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 grammar is a written representation of spoken language and may seem contrary to good literary style.

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)[97].

(3.3) མི་ལོ་ ཞེན་མཐོང་ མ་བསགས་སོ།
    mí=lo   *ɕènt^hõ̀ː*   *ma-sáː=s.*
    human=DAT   contempt   NEG-heap=QUO
    'Do not look down on people (it is said).' (UU, Deer story 1)

(3.4) འདེ་རང་ བྱས་བཞིན་ལོ་ ཟམ་ ཟ་ ཚོང་།
    dɛː=rã̀ː   ***p'ja-zɛ̃ː=lo***   *sàm sà*   *mjõ̀ː.*
    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-kaː-riŋ* 'mosquito' (lit. 'fly-foot-long'), although exceptions exist, e.g. *kaŋkara* 'crab'.[98]

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་	*go*	དབུ་	*ú*	head
ཁ་	*kha*	ཞལ་	*ɕèː*	mouth
ལྕེ་	*tɕɛ*	ལྗགས་	*dzaʔ*	tongue
ས་གུག་	*ŋaguʔ*	གཤངས་	*ɕã̌ː*	nose
རྐང་མ་, རྐང་པོ་	*kaːm, kã̀ːpo*	ཞབས་	*ɕàp*	foot
མིག་རྡོག་	*mìːdoʔ*	སྤྱན་	*tɕɛn*	eye
རྣམ་ཅོག་	*námtɕoʔ*	སྙན་(ཅོག་)	*ɲɛ́n(tɕoʔ)*	ear
སོ་	*só*	ཚེམས་	*tsʰɛm*	tooth
ལག་གོ་	*làko*	ཕྱག་	*tɕʰaʔ*	hand
ཆུ་	*tɕʰu*	ཆབ་	*tɕʰap*	water

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[97] For an exception to this rule, see example (15.106c).
[98] 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 *gaŋŋaʈa* 'crab'. Oriya (*kaŋkaʈa* 'crab') and Tirahi (*kaŋgara* 'spider') also have pronunciations almost identical to Denjongke (Turner 1962-1966).

ཁྱིམ་	*kʰim*	གཟིམ་ཁང་	*zimkʰã:*	house
ལྷམ་	*ḻam*	ཞབས་ཆག	*ɕàptɕaʔ*	shoe
ཐོགས་པ་	*to:paʔ*	གསོལ་ཚིགས་	*sǿ:ʈym*	vegetables (with rice)
གོས་	*k'o*	ན་བཟའ་	*nàza*	clothes
མིང་	*mìŋ*	མཚན་	*tsʰɛn*	name
ཨ་པོ་	*ápo*	ཡབ་	*jà:p*	father
ཨ་མ་	*áma*	ཡུམ་	*jùm*	mother
བུ་	*p'u*	སྲས་	*sɛ́ʔ*	son
བུམ་	*p'um*	སྲས་མ་	*sɛ́:m*	daughter

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, forms 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 *kɛ:dzaʔ* སྐད་ལྕགས་ '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**
ཞབས་ *ɕàp* 'foot (hon.)'	ཞབས་ལྷམ་ *ɕàplam*	ལྷམ་ *ḻam*	shoe
	ཞབས་བསྐོར་ *ɕàpkor*	བསྐོར་ *kor*	tour
སྐུ་ *ku* 'body (hon.)'	སྐུ་གཟུགས་ *kuzuʔ*	གཟུགས་ *zuʔ*	body
	སྐུ་དབང་ *kuõ:*	དབང་ *ő:*	power
ཕྱག་ *tɕʰaʔ* 'hand (hon.)'	ཕྱག་དངུལ་ *tɕʰaɲi:*	དངུལ་ *ɲý:*	money
	ཕྱག་ལས་ *tɕʰa:lɛʔ*	གཡོག་ *jóʔ*, ལས་ *lèʔ*	work, deed
ལྗགས་ *dzaʔ* 'tongue (hon.)'	སྐད་ལྗགས་ *kɛ:dzaʔ*[99]	སྐད་ *kɛʔ*	language
ཐུགས་ *tʰuʔ* 'mind (hon.)'	ཐུགས་འགན་ *tʰugɛn*	འགན་ *gɛn*	responsibility
ཞལ་ *ɕè:* 'face (hon.)'	ཞལ་གདོང་ *ɕè:dõ:*	གདོང་ *dõ:*	face
གསོལ་ *sǿ:* 'offer (hon.)'	གསོལ་ཇ་ *sǿ:za*	ཇ་ *tɕ'a*	tea
བཞེས་ *ze:* 'eat, have (hon.)'	བཞེས་ཐུར་མ་ *ze:tʰum*	ཐུར་མ་ *tʰum*	spoon
གསུང་ *súŋ* 'say (hon.)'	གསུང་སྐད་ *súŋkɛʔ*	སྐད་ *kɛʔ*	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.

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[99] 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 *kɛʔ* 'language'.

Table 3.3. Honorific nouns formed by replacing a syllable

Ordinary		Honorific		Gloss
pyntɕʰeʔ	སྤུན་མཆེད་	*kutɕʰeʔ*	སྐུ་མཆེད་	sibling, relative
áraʔ	ཨ་རག་	*ze:raʔ*	བཞེས་རག་	alcohol
pa(h)ip	པ་ཧིབ་	*sø̀:(h)ip*	གསོལ་ཧིབ་	beer container (of bamboo)
ákar	ཨ་གར་	*ze:kar*	བཞེས་གར་	chilli
døsa	སྡོད་ས་	*zu:sa*	བཞུགས་ས་	residence
zu:ɲɛ̃:	གཟུགས་བརྙན་	*kuɲɛ̃:*	སྐུ་བརྙན་	image
mìkɕɛ:	མིག་ཤེལ་	*tɕɛnɕɛ:*	སྤྱན་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 སྨོན་ *smon* becomes *mɛ-* in *mɛ́lam* 'prayer' and *-mõ̀:* in *thumõ̀:* 'prayer [hon.]').

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

Ordinary		Honorific		Gloss
mɛ́lam	སྨོན་ལམ་	thu**mõ̀:**	ཐུགས་སྨོན་	prayer, wish
ɕàmbu	ཞྭ་བུ་	ú**za**	དབུ་ཞུ་	hat
ɕóku	ཤོག་གུ་	tɕʰa**ɕo**ʔ	ཕྱག་ཤོག་	paper
kajø	དཀར་ཡོལ་	ɕè:**kar**	ཞལ་དཀར་	cup
tsampo	རྩམ་པོ་	sø̀:**tsam**	གསོལ་རྩམ་	tsampa
dø̀:po	འདོད་པོ་	tʰu**dø̀**ʔ	ཐུགས་འདོད་	wish, desire
pɛtɕʰa	དཔེ་ཆ་	tɕʰa**pɛ**	ཕྱག་དཔེ་	book
ɲúku	སྙུ་གུ་	tɕʰa**ɲu**ʔ	ཕྱག་སྙུག་	pen
kajø:	དཀར་ཡོལ་	ɕè:**ka(r)**	ཞལ་དཀར་	cup, bowl
ɖomoʔ	སྦོ་མོ་	ze:**ɖo**	བཞེས་སྦོ་	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 *pʰyː* 'offer (hon.)'	
-ɕɛʔ	'to x'	*pʰyː-ɕɛʔ*	'to offer'
-ɲi	'to x'	*pʰyː-ɲi*	'to offer'[100]
-po/bo	'(the act of) x-ing'	*pʰyː-bo*	'(the act of) offering'
Nominalizer			
-kʰɛ̃ː	'the one x-ing'	*pʰyː-kʰɛ̃ː*	'the one offering'
-sa	'the place of x-ing'	*pʰyː-sa*	'place of offering'
-tã̃ː	'the way of x-ing'	*pʰyː-tã̃ː*	'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 *-ɕɛʔ*, *-ɲi* and *-po/bo* are verbal nouns which refer to the action denoted by the verb, whereas the markers *-kʰɛ̃ː*, *-sa* and *-tã̃ː* 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 (*-ɕɛʔ, -ɲi* and *-po/bo*) and other nominalizers (*-kʰɛ̃ː, -sa* and *-tã̃ː*), 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 *-tã̃ː* is that the former participate in tense, aspect and evidentiality-marking auxiliary constructions (e.g. *pʰyː-ɕɛ beʔ* [offer-INF EQU.NE] 'will offer, offers') whereas the latter do not.[101] 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 *-kʰɛ̃ː*, *-sa* and *-tã̃ː* as "nominalizers" rather than as "nominal suffixes." The general term "nominalizer" subsumes also infinitives, which are here considered a special 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 *-kʰɛ̃ː*, *-sa* and *-tã̃ː* 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 *-kʰɛ̃ː* (§3.2.4.3), *-sa* (§3.2.4.4) and *tã̃ː* (§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 པ *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.

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[100] *-ɲi* is close in meaning to *-ɕɛʔ* but less productive. For more information, see §3.3.6.1 and §8.2.8.

[101] The nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃ː*, on the other hand, participates in the present habitual construction (*pʰyː-kʰɛn beʔ* [offer -NMLZ EQU.NE] 'offers'). However, because of its otherwise noun-like semantics, it is not called an infinitive.

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

	Unproductive	Productive				
Form	*-po*	*-po/bo*				
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*).[102] Whereas the unproductive uses have generally resisted voicing assimilation (e.g. *lùŋ-po*/*lùmpo* 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 grammar 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/tsɛpo 'debate (noun)'   from WT རྩོད་ *rtsod* 'debate (verb)'

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

sàmpo 'bridge'   from WT ཟམ་ *sam* 'line, continuity'
lùmpo '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 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).[103]

(3.5) ཨུ་རྒྱན་ ཚེ་རིང་པོ་ ད་རིང་ ཕི་ན་ ཧོ་ཏེལ་ ཨོ�;ུ་པེ་ནིང་ (hotel opening) བྱས་པ་ སོང་?
    úgjɛn   *tsʰɛriŋ-**bo**   *t´ariŋ*   *pʰina*   *hoṭɛl*   *oupɛniŋ*   *p´ja-wa*
    PN   PN-ASSOC   today   over.there   hotel(Eng.)   opening(Eng.)   do-PUR
    ső:?
    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:

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[102] For similar argumentation for *-pa* vs. *-pa/ba* in Purik, see Zemp (2018: 110).

[103] For the associative use of the largely similar morpheme *-pa* in the Tibetic language Purik, see Zemp (2018: 112).

ɖɛndzoŋ-po	'Sikkim-dweller; person of Sikkimese Bhutia ethnicity'	from *ɖɛndzõː* (འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ *'bras-ljongs* 'Sikkim')
gjagar-bo	'Indian'	from *gjagar* 'India' (WD རྒྱ་གར་ *rgya-gar*)
pʰiliŋ-po/	'foreigner'	from *pʰiliŋ* 'out(side)' (WD ཕྱི་གླིང་ *ph'yi-gling*)
tɕʰiliŋ-po[104]		from *tɕʰiliŋ* 'out(side)' (WD ཕྱི་གླིང་ *phyi-gling*)

Occasionally, the more typically Central Tibetan ending *-pa/ba* is heard instead of *-po/bo*, e.g. *làtɕuŋba/làtɕuŋbo* 'person from Lachung', *pʰiliŋbo/pʰiliŋba* 'foreigner'.

Some more lexicalized forms may also be characterized as associative:

ɲàpo	'fisherman'	from WT ཉ་ *nya* 'fish'
ɕìŋpo	'farmer'	from WT ཞིང་ *zhing* 'field'
nɛ̀ːpo	'patient'	from WT ནད་ *nad* 'illness'
nàŋpo	'insider, Buddhist'	from WT ནང་ *nang* 'inside(s)'
tɕʰipo	'outsider, non-Buddhist'	from WT ཕྱི་ *phyi* 'outisde'

Occasionally the suffix *-po/bo* also attaches to a verb to mark the agent, e.g. *kʰuː zoː-bo* [bread make-po] 'bread maker, baker', *tɕaʔ dum-bo* [iron hit-po] 'iron-hitter, blacksmith'. This use of *-po/bo* overlaps the semantic domain of the nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃ː* (§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 *-kʰɛ̃ː* 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*).

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. WD རོལ་མོ་ *rol-mo* > *røːm* 'cymbal'.

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[104] The variant initials *tɕʰi* and *pʰi* derive from two different reflexes of WT ཕྱི་ *phyi* 'out(side)', the first corresponding to the typical Central Tibetan pronunciation and the latter (*pʰi*) to the typical Sikkimese reflex of ཕྱི་. Yet another alternative pronunciation for the word is *tɕʰiriŋ-po*. The meaning 'foreigner' may also be expressed by the word *tɕʰigɛː-po* (ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ *phyi-rgyal-po*).

Table 3.7. Some masculine-feminine noun pairs

Masculine			Feminine		
Noun	**WD**	**Meaning**	**Noun**	**WD**	**Meaning**
p'u	ཕུ་ *pu*	'boy'	*p'um*	ཕུམ་ *bum*	'girl'
ḷa	ལྷ་ *lha*	'god'	*ḷamu*	ལྷ་མོ་ *lha-mo*	'goddes'
gɛːp, *gɛːpo,* *gɛːpu*	རྒྱལབ་ *rgyalb* རྒྱལ་པོ་ *rgyal-po*	'king'	*gɛːm(u)*	རྒྱལམ་ *rgyalm* རྒྱལ་མོ་ *rgyal-mo*	'queen'
p'japu	བྱ་ཕོ་ *b'ya-pho*	'rooster, cockerel'	*p'jam*	བྱམ་ *b'yam*	'femal bird, hen'
jóku	གཡོག་ཀུ་ *gyog-ku*	'servant'	*jóːm*	གཡོགམ་ *gyogm*	'servant (fem.)'
gopøn	འགོ་དཔོན་ *'go-dpon*	'director, principal (m.)	*gopøm*	འགོ་དཔོནམ་ *'go-dponm*	'director, principal (fem.)'
lópøn	སློབ་དཔོན་ *slo-dpon*	'teacher (m.)'	*lópøm*	སློབ་དཔོནམ་ *slo-dponm*	'female teacher'
ʈʰapøn	འཁྲབ་དཔོན་ *'khrab-dpon*	'actor'	*ʈʰapøm*	འཁྲབ་དཔོནམ་ *'khrab-dponm*	'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 *gɛːm[u]*) or adding *-mo/mu* to the masculine stem (as with *ḷamu*), 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 མཆེར་པ་ *mcher-pa* > D *tɕʰiːp* 'spleen', WT སྲས་མོ་ *sras-mo* > D སྲསམ་ *séːm* '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 §3.5.2.2). It has derived some nouns from verbs, e.g. *dʑɛː* 'meet (hon.)' > *dʑɛːkʰa* མཇལ་ཁ་ 'meeting'. However, *-kʰa* does not seem synchronically as productive a marker as **-po**, *-m(u)*, *-kʰɛ̃ː*, *-sa* and *-tã̃ː*.

3.2.4.3 Nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃ː*

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

p'ja-kʰɛ̃ː བྱས་མཁན་ 'doer'
tøŋ-kʰɛ̃ː སྟོན་མཁན་ 'the one who shows'
tã̃ː-kʰɛ̃ː བཏང་མཁན་ 'sender'

The form *-kʰɛ̃ː* 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 -*kʰɛ̃ː* expresses the meaning 'the one who does action x', in clausal nominalization -*kʰɛ̃ː* may express the meaning 'the one which is x-ed'. The use of -*kʰɛ̃ː* 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' (WD ས་ *sa*), which also occurs in Classical Tibetan and many other Tibetic languages.

zak-sa	བཞག་ས་	'place to put something, storage'
dø-sa	སྡོད་ས་	'place to stay, dwelling'
zuː-sa	བཞུགས་ས	'place to stay, dwelling (hon.)'
dzim-sa	གཟིམས་ས་	'place to sleep, bedroom (hon.)'
ki-sa	སྐྱེས་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:

tʰaːsa	ཐང་ས་	'level place, plain' (lit. plain-place) (Richhi 60)

3.2.4.5 Nominalizer -*tã̃ː*

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

nɛ́ː-tã̃ː	གནས་སྟངས་	'situation, condition (lit. dwell-manner)'
kʰa-lap-tã̃ː	ཁ་ལབ་སྟངས་	'manner of speaking (lit. mouth-speak-manner)'
pʼja-tã̃ː	བྱས་སྟངས་	'manner of doing (lit. do-manner)'
tɕʰaː-tã̃ː	ཆགས་སྟངས་	'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 may be (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-sø̀ː* ལུགས་སྲོལ་ 'tradition (lit. tradition-custom)'

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

(3.7) *pʰa-ma*, *pʰam* པ་མ་, པམ་   '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) *mìk-tɕʰu*   མིག་ཆུ་   'tear (lit. eye-water)'
      b) *tɕʰu-miʔ*   ཆུ་མིག་   'spring (lit. water-eye)'
      c) *bja-nɛʔ*   འབྱོ་ནད་   'illness of the rainy season (lit. summer-illness or rice-illness)'
      d) *ádzo-taʔ*   ཨ་ཛོ་སྟག་   'tiger (lit. grandfather-tiger)'
      e) *álu-kiu*   ཨ་ལུ་ཀིའུ་   '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-tɕuŋ*   ཨམ་ཅུང་   'mother's younger sister, father's younger brother's wife
                        (lit. mother-be.small)'
      ám-bom   ཨམ་བོམ་   'mother's elder sister, father's elder brother's wife
                        (lit. mother-be.big)'
      kʰim-pʰjaʔ   ཁྱིམ་ཕྱག་   '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)   *tʰuŋ-tɕʰu* འཐུང་ཆུ་   '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, controllable vs. non-controllable 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 *mâ*." This criterion also works quite nicely in

Denjongke: it is almost exlusively 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-tsã:m* 'dirty' (cf. *tsã:po* 'clean') derived from the verb *tsã:* 'be clean' (WD གཙང་ *gtsang*).[105] However, if these adjectives, and I have not found many, are seen as essentially nominalized verbs expressing a property concept, the definition holds.

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 *mẽ:* (cf. positive *ı́:*), neutral negated equative *mèmbɛ* (cf. positive *bɛʔ*), personal negated existential *mèʔ* (cf. positive *jòʔ*) and sensorial negated existential *mìnduʔ* (cf. positive *duʔ*). 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* བྱས་ 'do (verb)' and *p'ja* བྱ་ 'bird (noun)', *ta* ལྟ་ 'look (verb)' and *ta* རྟ་ 'horse (noun)', *ga* དགའ་ 'laugh; like' (verb) and *ga* སྒ་ 'saddle'/*ga* སྒ་ '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 tɛʔ* བློ་ གཏད་ 'trust', consisting of *ló* 'mind' and *tɛʔ* 'entrust', see §4.2.2) or a serial verb construction (e.g. *bak ò̃:* འབག་ འོང་ 'bring' consisting of *bak* 'carry' and *ò̃:* 'come', see §4.2.3). Complex morphology is revealed by the position of the negator prefix, which occurs between the elements, e.g. *ló mi-tɛʔ* 'does not trust', *bak mi-ò̃:* '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* འགྱུ་ 'go, walk' with the perfective (past and imperative) form *sṍ:* སོང་ [106], and *ò̃:* འོང་ 'come' with the imperative form *ɕóʔ* ཤོག་. These two suppletive/irregular forms also occur in serialized constructions such as *bak gju* 'take' > *bak sṍ:* 'take!; took' and *bak ò̃:* 'bring' > *bak ɕoʔ* '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* དགའ་ 'love, like'), adjective-like property concepts (e.g. *rìŋ* རིང་ 'be long') and being (e.g. equative *ı́:* ཨིན་ and existential *jòʔ* ཡོད་), whereas dynamic verbs describe events (*kjok* 'strike [of a snake']) and processes (*gju* འགྱུ་ '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 may describe situations

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[105] The usual nominalizing suffix -*po/bo*, as seen in the positive form *tsã:po* 'clean', is often reduced in spoken language to -*m* when preceded by a nasal vowel/nasal, e.g. *sṍ:-bo bɛʔ* [go.PFV-NMLZ EQU]> *sóm bɛʔ* '(someone) went'.
[106] In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the invariable verb *jà:* 'go' is often used instead of *gju* and *sṍ:*.

that hold in the present, as in (3.12-14). Note that in (3.14) *jèbbɛʔ* is a reduced pronunciation of *jɤ̀-po bɛʔ* [EX-2INF EQU.NE].

(3.11) དེ་ ང་ཚག་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ ལྡིང་ ལོག་ འོང་པོ་ ཨིན།
      tɛ   *ŋàtɕaʔ*   *ʈaɕidiŋ*   *lò(k)*   *òm-bo*   * í̠:.*
      so   1PL   TPN   return   come-2INF   EQU.PER
      'So we came back to Tashiding.' (DB day trip)

(3.12) ཁུ་ ང་ལོ་ དགའ་པོ་ ཨིན།
      kʰu   *ŋà=lo*   *ga-u*   *í̠:.*
      3SGM 1SG=DAT   like-2INF   EQU.PER
      'He likes me.' (KT e)

(3.13) འདི་ ཐག་ཀོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙི་ རིང་པོ་ སྦད།
      di   *tʰako=di*   *átsi*   *rim-bo*   *bɛʔ.*
      this   rope=DEMPH   a.bit   be.long-2INF   EQU.NE
      'This rope is a bit too long.' (KN e)

(3.14) བིལ་ གེ་ཊྶ་ས་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་ དངུལ་ གེ་སབ་ ཡོདཔ་སྦད།
      bil   *gɛits=lo*   *ɲý:*   *kɛːp*   *jèbbɛʔ.*
      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 *-tsʰaː*. 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 *ɕéː* 'know' refer to events.

(3.15) a) མུ་ ང་ལོ་ དགའ་ཚར།
         mù   *ŋà=lo*   *gaː-tsʰaː.*
         3SGF 1SG=DAT   like-CMPL
         'She has liked me (=accepted my proposal).' (KT e)

       b) སློབ་ཚན་ འདི་ ཤེས་ཚར།
         lóptsʰɛ̃:=di   *ɕéː-tsʰaː.*
         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་ ཆོད་ལོ་ དགའ།
         ŋà   *tɕʰø̃:=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. *tɕʰaʔ* ཆག་ 'break [intr.]') and the other verb describes an equivalent controllable (or volitional) action as caused by someone (*tɕaʔ* 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, Häsler 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:* འཛུལ་ 'enter (controllable)' and *tsʰyʔ* ཚུད་ 'enter, end up (non-controllable)' are both intransitive[107], and *tsuk* བཙུག་ 'insert (controllable)' and *sùk* ཟུག་ 'insert (non-controllable)' both occur in transitive clauses. Example (5.7) illustrates the transitive use of non-controllable *sùk* 'insert, pierce'.

(3.17) ང་ རང་ལོ་ མ་མཐོང་པ་ འཛོལ་སྟེ་ཀི་ ཟུག་གོ་ སྦད།

 ŋà   rã:=lo   ma-tʰõ:-pa   dzø:-diki   sùk-o   bɛʔ.
 1SG   2SG.M=DAT   NEG-see-CIRC   err-NF   insert-2INF   EQU.NE
 'I pricked you (with a needle) accidently, 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-controllable verbs (Häsler 1999: 134). The words in Table 3.8 are listed according to the place of articulation of the first consonant, beginning from labial and proceeding through alveolar and palatal to velar.

Table 3.8. Non-controllable and controllable verb pairs

Non-controllable			Controllable		
p'ap	བབ་	'come down, descend'	*pʰap*	ཕབ་	'take down, cause to come down'
p'ɛʔ	བས་	'explode (intr.)'	*gɛʔ*	གས་	'cause to explode'
p'ik	བིག་	'come off'	*pik*	པིག་	'take off, remove'
p'ok	བོག་	'be dislocated, removed'	*pok*	སྤོག་	'dislocate, remove'
p'yʔ	བུད་	'be detached'	*pʰyʔ*	ཕུད་	'detach'
p'jaŋ	བྱང་	'hang (intr.)'	*pjaŋ*	དཔྱང་	'hang (tr.)'
ba:	འབར་	'catch fire, burn'	*pa:*	སྦར་	'set on fire, burn'

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[107] if intransitivity is defined as the lack of an affected patient-like argument.

_bõ:_	སྦོང་	'get wet'	_bã:_	སྦང་	'make wet'
bja:	འབྱས་	'get stuck'	_pja:_	དབྱེ་	'stick'
tʰo:	འབྱོར་	'be scattered'	_to:_	གཏོར་	'scatter'
tʰøn	ཐོན་	come out	_tøn_	སྟོན་	take out
_t'ø:_	རྡོང་	become a hole	_tø:_	བཏོལ་	make a hole
_dy:_	འདུལ་	'become soft, tame'	_ty:_	བཏུལ་	'tame, soften'
dzak	ཇགས་	'drip'	_tsak_	ཚག་	'make drip'
tsʰik	ཚིགས་	'burn (intr.)'	_sɛ́k_	སྲེག་	'burn (tr.)'
tsʰo:	ཚོས་	'be cooked'	_tso:_	བཙོ་	'cook'
tsʰyʔ	ཚུད་	'enter (non-vol.), end up'	_dzy:_	འཛུལ་	'enter'
sùk	ཟུག་	'be inserted'	_tsuk_	བཙུག་	'insert'
_sø:_	སོས་	'survive'	_só_	གསོ་	'rescue'
lùk	ལུག་	'slip out from inside'	_ɭuk_	ཀླུག་	'take out from inside'
_lõ̀:_	ལོང་	'stand'	_ɭõ:_	སློང་	'raise up'
ram	རམས་	'be destroyed'	_ɽam_	ཅན་	'destroy'
_rɛ:_	རས་	'be torn'	_ɽɛ:_	ཧྲལ་	'tear'
ʈʰuk	འཁྲུགས་	be mixed	_ʈuk_	དཀྲུག་	mix
_ʈ'ip_	གྲིབ་	'become polluted'	_ɖip_	སྒྲིབ་	'pollute'
_ʈ'õ:_	གྲོངས་	'die'	_ʈõ:_	བཀྲོངས་	'kill (hon.)'
_ʈ'up_	གྲུབ་	'be fulfilled'	_ɖup_	འགྲུབ་	'achieve'
ɖok	འདྲོག་	'become frightened'	_ʈok_	དཀྲོག་	'frighten'
ɕàk	ཞགས་	'lose taste (of beer)'	_ɕák_	ཤག་	'put taste (to beer)' thicken
ɕìk	ཞིག་	'be destroyed'	_ɕík_	བཤིག་	'destroy'
_ɕù_	ཞུ་	'melt (intr.)'	_zu_	བཞུ་	'melt (tr.)'
_ɕỳ:_	ཞུས་	'be moved'	_ɕý:_	ཤུས་	'move'
tɕʰak	ཆག་	'be(come) broken'	_tɕak_	བཅག་	'break'
tɕʰɛʔ	ཆད་	'be cut off'	_tɕɛʔ_	བཅད་	'cut off (e.g. rope, road)'
_tɕ'ã:_	བྱང་	'become trained'	_dzã:_	སྦྱང་	'train'
_ɲè:_	ཉལ་	'sleep'	_ɲe:_	སྙལ་	'put to sleep'
_jɛ̃̀ŋ_	ཡེངས་	'be pacified, entertained'	_jɛ̃́ŋ_	གཡེང་	'pacify, entertain'
kʰi:	འཁྱིལ་	'be encircled'	_ki_	དཀྱི་	'encircle'
kʰom	ཁོམ་	'become dry'	_kam_	སྐམ་	'dry'
kʰuk	ཁུག་	'be drawn, invite oneself'	_kuk_	གུག་	'call, invite'
_k'ã:_	གང་	'be filled'	_kã:_	སྐངས་	'fill'
_k'õ:_	གོང་	'be bent'	_kõ:_	གོང་	'bend'
_k'uk_	གུག་	'be bowed, be bent'	_kuk_	གུག་	'bend'
			guk	འགུག་	'bow, bend oneself'[108]
kʰø:	ཁོལ་	'boil (intr.)'	_kø:_	སྐོལ་	'boil (tr.)'
gak	འགག་	'stop (intr.)'	_kak_	བཀག་	'stop (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

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[108] Here the reflexive form _guk_ 'bow, bend oneself' forms a triplet of phonologically and semantically similar verbs along with _k'uk_ 'be bowed, be bent' and _kuk_ 'bend'

Denjongke the verbal morphology after the volitional verb *ta* ་ 'look' in *ta-u t̂:* 'I looked' is identical with the non-volitional *tʰõ:* མཐོང་ 'see' in *tʰõ:-bo t̂:* '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.

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 *ɕù* 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
sà	ཟ་	*ze:*	བཞེས་	*ɕù*	ཞུ་	'eat'
tʰuŋ	འཐུང་	*ze:*	བཞེས་	*ɕù*	ཞུ་	'drink'
lèn	ལེན་	*ze:*	བཞེས་	*ɕù*	ཞུ་	'receive, accept'
làp	ལབ་	*súŋ*	གསུང་	*ɕù*	ཞུ་	'say'
p'in	བྱིན་	*nǎ̃:*	གནང་	*pʰy:*	ཕུལ་	'give'
ô:	འོང་	*tɕ'øn*	བྱོན་	*tɕa:*	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 *nǎ̃:* with the help of the verb *nǎ̃:* གནང་ 'grant, give (hon.)', e.g. *kjap* རྐྱབས་ > *kjap-o nǎ̃:* རྐྱབས་པོ་ གནང་ 'please do, please strike'.

Table 3.10. Some ordinary-honorific pairs of verbs

Ordinary		Honorific		Gloss
p'in	བྱིན་	*nǎ̃:*	གནང་	'give'
p'ja	བྱས་	*nǎ̃:*	གནང་	'do'
bak	འབག་	*nám*	བསྣམས་	'carry'
ta	ལྟ་	*zi:*	གཟིགས་	'look'
tʰuŋ	འཐུང་	*ze:*	བཞེས་	'drink'
sà	ཟ་	*ze:*	བཞེས་	'eat'
nà	ན་	*ɲúŋ*	སྨྱུང་	'become ill'
lõ̂:	ལོང་	*zã:*	བཞེངས་	'stand'
ɕé:	ཤེས་	*kʰɛn*	མཁྱེན་	'know'
ɕí	ཤི་	*ʈ'õ:*	གྲོངས་	'die'
ɲè:	ཉལ་	*zim*	གཟིམས་	'sleep'
ɲèn	ཉན་	*sén*	གསན་	'listen'

ki	སྐྱེས་	*(ku)tʰuŋ*	འཁྲུངས་		'be born'
kʰjuː	ཁྲུས་	*síː*	བསིལ་		'wash'
ga	དགའ་	*geː*	དགྱེས་		'rejoice'
gju	འགྱུ་	*tɕˈøn*	བྱོན་		'go'
ŋù	ང་	*ɕúm*	བཤུམ་		'weep'

In addition to the forms given in Table 3.10, the verbs for eating and drinking also have the hyper-honorific form *tɕʰøʔ* '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* པག་ and *kyʔ* གྱུད་ (?), 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་ པག་
      sà-nɛ   *sà,*   *man-za-nɛ*   **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 (under duress).' (Richhi 65)

As can be seen from Table 3.9 and Table 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 *ɕù* even four) ordinary level verb. For instance, the ordinary verb ཟ་ *sà* has the meaning 'eat', whereas the honorific form *zeː* བཞེས་ has the meaning range 'eat, drink, receive, acquire'[109]. In the same vein, the honorific verb *tɕˈøn* བྱོན་ means both 'come' and 'go', whereas the ordinary register has separate words *ôː* འོང་ 'come' and *gju* འགྱུ་ 'go'. Similarly, the honorific *ziː* གཟིགས་ means both 'look' and 'see', when the ordinary register has two separate verbs *ta* ལྟ་ 'look' and *tʰõː* མཐོང་ '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 *làp* ལབ་ (3.19), humilific *ɕù* ཞུ་ (3.20) and honorific *súŋ* གསུང་ (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).

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[109] 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'.

(3.19) དེབ་འདི་ གོང་ཆེན་ མ་བྱས་གོ་ ལབ་པོ་ ཨིན།
        t'ɛp=di   *k'õ:tɕʰɛ̂:*   *ma-jà-gɛ*   **làp-o**   *ĩ́:.*
        book=DEMPH expensive   NEG-do-HOR   say-2INF   EQU.PER
        'I said (to him): 'Let's not make the book expensive.'' (KL BLA 12)

(3.20) ཚིག་ གཅིག་གཉིས་ཅིག་ གཙོ་སྐྱེ་ བློན་པོའི་ སྐུ་མདུན་ཁར་ ད་ ང་ཚག་ བཅར་སྟེ་གི་ ཞུ་པོ་ ཨིན།
        tsʰik   *tɕi-ɲí:=tɕiʔ*   *tsotɕi lémpø:*   *kumdyŋkʰa*   *t'a*   *ŋàtɕaʔ*
        word one-two=INDF   chief minister.GEN   in.the.presence   now   1PL
        tɕa:-diki   **ɕù:**   *ĩ́:.*
        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་ ཡོལུ།
        kʰõ: *ódi =jã̀:*   **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་ སྒྲོམ་ བྲི་བྲི་པོ་ ཡོདབ་སྲད།
        di   *ɖom=na*   **ʈ'i-ʈi-u**   *jɛ̀bbɛʔ.*
        this   box=LOC   write-RDP-2INF   EX.NE
        'There is (something) written in this box.' (TB e)

(3.23) སྦྱངམ་ ལྗོན་པོ་ ལྡིང་ལྡིང་པོ་ མཐོང་པོ་ སྲད།
        bja:m ŋompu **diŋ-diŋ-po**   *tʰõ̀:-po*   *bɛʔ.*
        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 *ɲèn* 'listen'.[110]

(3.24) འགོ་ལས་ སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་ ཟད་སྟེ་
        go=lɛ   **mjõ̀:-mjõ̀:**   *sằ:tɛ*
        beginning=ABL   finish-RDP   until
        'from the beginning until the end' (TB e)

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[110] With nouns, reduplication marks iteration, see §4.1.8.

(3.25)　ཁུ་གིས་ཕུ་ནེ་ (Nep.) རོགས་འདི་ ལབ་ལབ་ ཉན་སྟེ་གི་

       kʰu=gi　　　　*puni　roː=di* ***làp-lap***　　*ɲɛ́n-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 grouped according to their distribution in the verb complex.[111] 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-ɕɛ bɛʔ* [do-INF EQU.NE] 'does, will do'. Some suffixes, such as *-ɕɛʔ* and *-tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː* respectively, form finite constructions only in conjunction with an equative (EQU) or an existential auxiliary (EX). Others, such as *tsʰaː*, can finish a finite sentence with or without an equative auxiliary, while still others, such as *-tɕɛ,* 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.[112] Note that secondary verbs[113], 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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[111] 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 *bɛʔ* and *duʔ* only occur with the polar question suffix.

[112] However, emphatic clitics such as *=rã̀ː*, *=di* and *=jã̀ː* (see §16.1) may follow at least some of these forms. Moreover, the dative-locative *=lo* and ablative *=lɛ* may follow the circumstantial-purposive converb *-pa/ba* and progressive *-tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː* when it functions as an adverbial clause marker.

[113] 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

Suffixes that participate in finite constructions[114]			
V-_ EQU.	*-ɕɛ(ʔ)*	infinitive I	§8.2.5, §8.4, §13.4.2, §13.5.2, §14.1.2
	-po	infinitive II	§8.1.1, §8.1.4, §8.1.8, §13.2.2
	-ɲi	infinitive III	§8.2.8
	-kʰɛ̃ː	nominalizer	§8.2.3
V-_ (EQU).	*-tsʰaː*	completive	§8.1.2, §9.1.3
	-to/do	imperfective	§8.3.1
V-_ EX.	*-tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː/zin*[115]	progressive	§8.3.3
V-_ EX/EQU.	*-rap*	imminent future	§8.2.7
V-_ .	*-tɕɛ/zɛ*	past	§8.1.1
	-ʈo	probabilitative	§8.5.1
	-tɕʰi	friendly imperative	§11.3.2
	-da	friendly imperative	§11.3.2
	-na	suggestive	§11.3.2
	-kɛ/gɛ	hortative	§11.4
	-ka/ga	polar interrogative	§11.1.1.2
	-kam/gam	attenuated interrogative	§11.1.1.3
	-løʔ	exclamative	§11.1.3.4, §11.2.1
Exclusively nonfinal suffixes			
V-_...	*-ti/di*	nonfinal converb	§15.2
	-pa/ba[116]	circumstantial/purposive converb	§15.5.1, §15.8.1
	-(patɕɛ)nɛ	conditional converb	§15.6
	-ruŋ	concessive converb	§15.7
	-sãː, -sonzãː	terminative converb	§15.12
	-sondãː/sumdãː	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.2
	-kap	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.4
	-dỹː	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.5
	-rɛŋkʰa	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 *-ɕɛʔ*, *-po/bo* and *-ɲi*
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

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[114] Some of these forms also participate in non-finite constructions, e.g. the infinitive *-ɕɛʔ* may form complement clauses, see §14.1.2, and the progressive *-tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː* adverbial clauses of manner, see §15.8.3.

[115] The form *zin* is the reading-style pronunciation used by literate speakers, *tɕɛ̃ː* and *zɛ̃ː* are spoken variants. In Martam (East Sikkim) *tɕou* is used instead of *tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː*.

[116] This form has developed some finite-looking uses, see §15.8.1.

91

itself. The nominalizing suffixes marking more noun-like concepts, i.e. person (-*kʰɛ̀ː*), place (-*sa*) or manner of doing (-*tã̀ː*), are called by the general term nominalizer. Of the infinitive markers, -*ɕɛʔ* and -*po* are more central and productive, whereas -*ɲi* is more marginal and semantically close to -*ɕɛʔ*.[117]

The difference between the two main infinitive markers -*ɕɛʔ* and -*po/bo* may be described in terms of spatiotemporal boundedness. Whereas verbal action marked by -*po/bo* can be characterized as spatiotemporally bounded, -*ɕɛʔ* marks unbounded action. Because the infinitive marked by -*ɕɛʔ* is unbounded, it is used as a copula subject which refers to action in general. Unboundedness or open-endedness of the infinitive marked by -*ɕɛʔ* is reflected in the fact that when followed by an auxiliary copula the construction with -*ɕɛʔ* results in a future meaning (e.g. *ò-ɕɛ ĩ́ː* [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 (*òm-bo ĩ́ː* [come-2INF EQU.PER] 'came'). The form V-*ɕɛʔ* 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 -*ɕɛʔ*, 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 -*ɕɛʔ* (WD ཤད་ *shad*) is unknown. The infinitive marker -*ɕɛʔ* 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 (§14.1.2) and in the construction VERB-INF EX (§8.4). In addition, the infinitive -*ɕɛʔ* also occurs in short questions such as *kʼan pʼja-ɕɛʔ?* [what do-INF] 'what to do?', *kʼana gju-ɕɛʔ?* [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 -*ɕɛʔ* and -*po/bo* are illustrated in (3.26), which exemplify the present habitual and periphrastic past constructions respectively. The first infinitive -*ɕɛʔ* is glossed as simply INF, the second infinitive -*po/bo* as 2INF and the third infinitive -*ɲi* as 3INF.

(3.26)　a) ཚོ་དེ་ལོ་ འབི་ཀོ་ ལབ་ཤད་ ཥྱིད།
　　　　 *ódi=lo   biko   làp-**ɕɛ   bɛʔ**.*
　　　　 that=DAT   stick say-INF EQU.NE
　　　　 'It's called "biko" (stick).' (PL interview)

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[117] 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 པ་ *pa*, གྱི་ *gyi*, རྒྱུ་ *rgyu*, རྩིས་ *rtsis* and འདོད་ *'dod* in Lhasa Tibetan.

b) ཚོ་འདྲས་འདི་ ངས་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཨིན།
　　ódɛm=di　　*ŋá:*　　*tʰoː-po*　　*íː.*
　　like.that=DEMPH　I　　hear-2INF　EQU.PER.
　　'I heard (a thing) like that.' (KN e)

The uses of infinitive III (marked with *-ɲi*, written ཉེ་ *nye*) somewhat overlap with those of infinitive I (marked with *-ɕɛ[ʔ]*). Sandberg (1895: 40) reports two infinitive forms *-she* (*-ɕɛʔ*) and *-nyi* (*-ɲi*) 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[118], whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. Sandberg (1895: 40) gives *tʰuŋ-ɲi íː* as an alternative for *tʰuŋ-ɕɛ íː* '(I) shall drink'. In my data, which is from Sikkim, *-ɲi* does not occur as a regular alternative to *-ɕɛ(ʔ)* but it does occur in quite a few fixed expressions, sometimes overlapping with *-ɕɛ(ʔ)*. For an example of a specific construction where *-ɲi* is used, consider (3.27).

(3.27)　ཇ་ འཐུང་ཉེ་ བྱས་པོ་ ཨིན།
　　tɕʼa　*tʰuŋ-ɲi*　*pʼja-u*　*íː.*
　　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 *-ɲi*, refer to §8.2.8.

3.3.6.2 Nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃ː*
The nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃ː* is related to Classical Tibetan མཁན་ *mkkan*, which functions both as a noun suffix meaning 'skilled in' (Beyer 1992: 120) and a nominalizer meaning 'person involved in proposition' (Beyer 1992: 301). Cognates of *-kʰɛ̃ː* are found in both Tibetic (e.g. Lhomi, see Vesalainen 2016: 224; Dege Tibetan, see Häsler 1999: 240) and non-Tibetic Himalayan languages (e.g. Tshangla, see Andvik 2010: 238). In Denjongke, the basic function of the nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃ː* 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, *-kʰɛ̃ː* also occurs as part of the present habitual auxiliary construction:

(3.28)　བླམ་ ཞུ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ དགོན་པ་ན་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ སྨྡ།
　　lám　*ɕù-watɕɛnɛ*　*gjømpa=na*　*zuː-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 *-kʰɛ̃ː* in the present habitual use, see §8.2.3

3.3.6.3 Completive *-tsʰa(ː)*
The completive form *-tsʰa(ː)* (written ཚར་ *tshar*) derives from the Classical Tibetan verb ཚར་ *tshar* 'complete' and denotes a completed action. Cognates of *-tsʰaː* are used in a sense similar to Denjongke in other Tibetic languages, such as Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016: 222), Dzongkha (Watters

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[118] Sandberg (1895: 12) reports Sikkimese Bhutias (=Denjongpos/Lhopos) to have originally come from the Tsang region in Tibet.

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་ གཡོག་ བྱུས་ཚར།
      *ŋà   jóʔ   p'ja-**tsʰa**ː.*
      1SG   work do-CMPL
      'I finished the work (or 'working').' (KN e)

The completive *-tsʰa(ː)* 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).

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 íː/bɛʔ*). 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) བུམ་ ཆུང་པོ་ ཆོད་སྐྱིད་ ལབ་ཏོ་ བྱད།
      *p'um tɕʰumbo   tɕʰøkiʔ   làp-**to**   bɛʔ.*
      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 *-tɕɛ̃ː/ʑɛ̃ː/zin* (also *-tɕou/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 *-tɕɛ̃ː/ʑɛ̃ː* are allomorphs, whereas *-tɕou* 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་ཙོ་ དེབ་ སློག་བཞིན་ འདུག།
      *kʰõː   t'ato t'ɛp ɖok-**zin**   duʔ.*
      3SG.HON   now book read-PROG EX.SEN
      'She/he is reading a book now (I see).' (KN e)

Phonetically, *-tɕɛ̃ː/ʑɛ̃ː* is realised as *-tɕɛn/ʑɛn* when followed by a dental (i.e. *kjap-tɕɛn duʔ*). 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 གྲབས་ *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)　ཁུ་ འགྱུ་རབ་ བེད།
　　　　kʰu　　　*gju-**rap**　bɛʔ*.
　　　　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 *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ*

The past marker *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ* (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 ཅེ་ *ci* (with the allomorph ཡི་ *yi*) occurs in Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 267). The past suffix *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ* is a final marker which cannot be followed by other verbal markers (except the interrogative) or auxiliaries. In my data, *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ* occurs only as a past marker, not as a past tense form of the verb *p'ja* 'do', see (3.34).

(3.34)　ངས་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཞེ།
　　　　ŋà:　　　*jóʔ*　*p'ja-**ʑɛ***.
　　　　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 *-ʈo*

The probabilitative *-ʈo* derives from Classical Tibetan འགྲོ་ *'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 གྲོ་ *gro*, པྲོ་ *pro* (Richhi) and ཀྲོ་ *kro*, the last of which is used in the present work to represent

spoken examples.[119] 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) ཆོད་ད་ མཚོ་ འདི་ ཀྲལ་ མི་ཚུགས་པྲོ།
        tɕʰøʔ   *t'a*   *tsʰo=di*   *gɛ:*   *mi-tsʰu:-ʈo*.
        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 *-tɕʰi*, *-da* and *-na*

The friendly imperative forms *-tɕʰi* (WD ཆེ་ *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 ཤིག་ *shig* (phon. *-ɕi*) and WT དང་ *dang* (phon. *-ta*) in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 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) སུབ་ (soup) བཞེས་པོ་ གནང་ཆེ།
           su:p   *ze:-po*   *nǎ̃:-tɕʰi*.
           soup(Eng.) have-2INF   do.HON-IMP.FRN
           'Please, have (some) soup.' (KT discussion with TB)

        b) ང་ལོ་ ཆུ་ ཤུས་ཅིག་ གནང་ད།
           ŋà=lo   *tɕʰu*   *ɕý:tɕyʔ*   *nǎ̃:-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 *-tɕʰi* and not *-tɕi*. Figure 3.1. provides some evidence, although the experiment was somewhat artificial. Consultant KUN was asked to contrast the nonsensical *p'ja-tɕi* with the imperative form *p'ja-tɕʰi*. The wave forms of the two forms are given in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Wave forms from nonsensical *p'ja-tɕi* and imperative *p'ja-tɕʰi* 'do!' (KUN)

p'ja-   tɕi   p'ja-   tɕʰi

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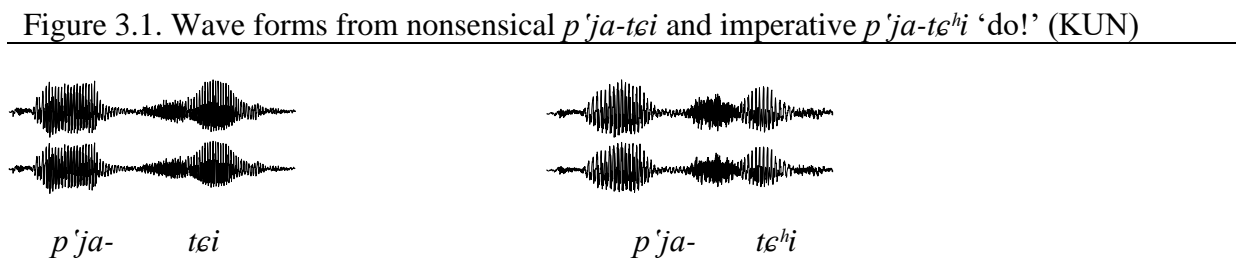
[119] The form ཀྲོ་ *kro* is preferable to གྲོ་ *gro*, because the latter would word-medially typically result in voiced pronunciation. The form ཀྲོ་ *kro* is also preferable to ཕྲོ་ *pro,* because the former retains the velar place of articulation suggested by the etymon འགྲོ་ *'gro*.

As seen in Figure 3.1, the prevocalic affrication is more prominent in *p'ja-tɕʰi* than in *p'ja-tɕi*. I suspect that sometimes, although not in Figure 3.1, the difference to *-tɕi* is rather voicelessness, *tɕi̥*. At present, the form is written *-tɕʰi*.

The suggestive *-na* is probably an old conditional form, which, although typically nowadays pronounced as *-nɛ/ni* (West Sikkim) or *-no/nu* (East and North Sikkim), is still often written as WD 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)   ཨ་ལགས་ ལོག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་ན་
       *màlaʔ   lòkti gju-**na***
       quick   again go-SUG
       'What if you go quickly back…' (Nga'i 'gan 9-10)

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

3.3.6.10 Hortative *-kɛ/gɛ*

The hortative form *-kɛ/gɛ*, 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་ཚག་ ག་ ཆུགས་ རང་གི་ སྐད་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་གེ་ས།
       ŋàtɕaʔ k'a: tsʰuʔ   raŋ=gi   kɛ:=lo   jàrgɛʔ
       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), *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ* (past) or *-ɛɛ(ʔ)* (infinitive).

(3.39) a) འདི་ ལམ་ འདི་ སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སྐྱེབས་ཀ?
       di   *làm=di*   *siliguri*   *ḻɛp-**ka**?*
       this   road=DEMPH   TPN   arrive-PQ
       'Does this road arrive in Siliguri?' (KN e)

       b) འདི་ ལམ་ འདི་ སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སྐྱེབས་ཀམ?
       di   *làm=di*   *siliguri*   *ḻɛp-**kam**?*
       this   road=DEMPH   TPN   arrive-ATTQ
       'Does this road arrive in Siliguri, I wonder?' (KN e)

For the full discussion, see §11.1.

3.3.6.12 Exclamative *-lø(ʔ)*

The marker *-løʔ* 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 *-løʔ* (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་སྟེམ་ གད་དར་ ལེགས་ལོས།
       k'atɛm   *k'ɛːdaː*[120]   *lèː-**løʔ**.*
       how   cleaning   be.good-EXCLAM
       'How well tidied up!' (Richhi 45)

For more information on *-løʔ,* 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 སྟེ་/སྡི་ *sti/sdi*) is cognate with the form སྟེ་/ཏེ་/དེ་ *ste/te/de* (pronounced *-di*) in Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 296) and bears functional similarity to Lhasa Tibetan subordination marker *-nı* (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) དེ་ འདིའི་ སྔོན་ལས་ རོ་པ་ ལོང་སྟེ་ ཁ་ལག་ འཁྲུ།
       tɛ   *diː*   *ɲénlɛ*   *ʈ'oːpa*   *lõ̀ː-**ti**[121]*   *kʰa-laʔ*   *kʰju.*
       then   this.GEN before   morning rise-NF   mouth-hand   wash
       'Then 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.

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[120] This word is used specifically for the cleaning done for the annual New Year's festival Losung.

[121] 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 *tʰuŋ-di* 'drinking', *sõ̌ː-di* 'going', * òn-di* 'coming', *riŋdi* 'becoming long', but *mjoŋ-ti/mjõ̌ː-ti* 'finishing', *tɕʰõ̌ː-ti* 'rushing' (see also §2.8.1).

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).[122] 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 པ(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) ཚོས་ གཀྲ་ལོ་ ཡི་གི་ མན་བྲི་བར་ ད་རིང་ ཟླ་པོ་ བཞི་ ལྷག་ཏོ།
  mú: *karma=lo jìgi man-ɖi-**wa**   dou   zi   ḷak-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་ཚག་ གཉིས་པོ་ བྷའི་ལྷགས་ ལྟ་བར་ བཚར་པོ་ ཨིན།
  *ŋàtɕaʔ ɲí:-po bhaila ta-**wa**   tɕa:-bo   íʼ:.*
  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 examples on the adverbial use, see §15.5.1 (purposive) and §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 *-(patɕɛ)nɛ/(batɕɛ)nɛ*

The conditional converb in Denjongke is formed by adding *-(patɕɛ)nɛ* or the allophone *-(batɕɛ)nɛ* (written པར་ཅེ་ནེ་/བར་ཅེ་ནེ་ *par-ce-ne/bar-ce-ne*) to the verb root or the completive marker *-tsʰa(:)*. The optional part *-patɕɛ* probably derives historically from a combination of *-pa/ba* and WT བྱེད་ *byed* 'do'. Both the shorter form *-nɛ* and the longer form *-(patɕɛ)nɛ* occur both in the written and spoken language. The forms *-nɛ* and *-ni* are the southern and western pronunciations (e.g. Tashiding, Ralang), whereas in the north (e.g. Lachen, Lachung) and east (e.g. Martam, Barapathing) the form becomes *-no/nu*. 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.[123] Occasionally *-pa* is replaced by *-pø* (as in *kjap-øtɕɛnɛ* 'do-COND'), which looks like a genitivized form of *-pa* or *-po*. The conditional converb -

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[122] The North Western Tibetic 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*.

[123] 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).

(patɕɛ)nɛ/(batɕɛ)nɛ may be accompanied by the non-mandatory clause-initial *k'ɛːsiʔ* 'if'. For an example of the conditional, consider (3.44).

(3.44) ང་ཚག་ ན་ མི་ གས་པོ་ འཛིམས་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་
       ŋàtɕaʔ *nàː*   *mí*   *kɛːpo dzom-batɕɛnɛ*
       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) ཆུ་ཚོད་ བཅུ་གཅིག་ བཏངས་རུང་
       tɕʰutsʰøʔ   *tɕuktɕiʔ* *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 *-sã̀ː* and *-sonzã̀ː*

The terminative converbs *-sã̀ː* and *-sonzã̀ː* both probably derive from the terminative postposition *=sã̀ː* (WD ཟང་ *zang*).[124] The first part of *-sonzã̀ː* is probably historically the secondary verb WT *song* སོང་ 'go' (the sibilant in *=sã̀ː* becomes voiced after *sṍː*). 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.

(3.46) ཨོ་འདེམ་ ལུགས་སོལ་ ཡོད་སོང་ཟང་
       ódɛm   *lùksøː*   *jø̀ː-sonzã̀ː*
       like.that custom   EX-TERM
       'Since there is such a custom...' (SGD wedding customs)

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

3.3.6.18 Simultaneous converb *-sondã̀ː/somdã̀ː/sumdã̀ː/tsubdaː*

The simultaneous converbal endings *-sondã̀ː/somdã̀ː/sumdã̀ː/tsubdaː* do not occur in written language. My current hypothesis is that the forms derive from the nominalized/infinitivized form of the secondary verb *sṍː* 'go (past)' followed by the conjunct *t'ã̀ː* 'and', *sṍː-bo t'ã̀ː* [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 *-somdã̀ː~sumdã̀ː* arise from the reduction of the nominalizer *-po/bo* to *-m*,

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[124] An alternative origin is WT ཚང་ *tsang* 'because', which may be reflected in the causal uses of the terminative construction.

a process which occurs elsewhere in fast speech, e.g. *tʰõ̀:-bo bɛʔ* > *tʰõ̀:-m bɛʔ* '(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:/somdã:/sumdã:*,** the data bear some evidence that these three forms may fall within the enunciatory potential of one person.

The forms *-sondã:/somdã:/sumdã:* are to be contrasted with the form *-tsubda:*, which only occurred in the speech of one elderly speaker from Pemayangtse (West Sikkim). This form derives less likely from the secondary verb *sö̌:*. A possible origin of the form is the nominalized completive marker **-tsʰa:-bo=dã:* > **tsʰou=dã:* > *tsub-dã:*. These observations are as yet hypotheses. The forms are in the present work presented as unified converbal suffixes and written with the experimental Denjongke spellings སོང་དང་ *song-dang* for *-sondã:*, སོངམ་དང་ *songm-dang* for both *-som-dã:* and *sum-dã:,* and ཚུབ་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)　ཉིམ་ ཤར་སོངམ་དང་ ཨོ་འདེ་ ཤི་མཁན་ སྡུད།
　　　　*ɲìm　ɕá:-**sumdã:**　ódɛ:　ɕí-kʰɛn　bɛʔ.*
　　　　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, -dỹ:* and *-rɛŋkʰa*

The simultaneity markers *-kap* (written སྐབས་ *skabs*), *-dỹ:* (written དུས་ *dus*) and *-rɛŋkʰa*[125] (written རན་ཁར་ *ran-khar*) 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 *-kʰa*. They all attach directly to the verb root, as shown in (3.48-50), although *-kap* and *-dỹ:* may also follow a nominalized and genitivized verb.

(3.48)　ཨྠངས་འཁོར་ན་ ནད་པོ་ འཐུས་སྟེ་ འདེགས་སྐབས་
　　　　*láŋkʰor=na nɛ̀:po　tʰu-ti　dɛk-**kap***
　　　　car=LOC　patient　pick-NF　set.inside=SIM
　　　　'When the patient is being picked up and placed inside the car...' (Richhi 172)

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

(3.50)　ང་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ ནང་ན་ ཚོས་ བྱས་རན་ཁར་
　　　　*ŋà　lóbɖa　nàŋɕa　tɕʰoʔ　p'ja-**rɛŋkʰa***
　　　　1SG　school　inside　stydying　do-SIM
　　　　'When I studied at school...' (KT life story)

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[125] Some speakers pronounce the final vowel long, *-rɛŋkʰa:*.

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 non-marked noun phrases or a non-marked noun phrase to an adjective phrase.[126] Existential copulas, in addition to linking an non-marked noun phrase to an adjective phrase, can occur with one non-marked argument (pure existential use) or link a non-marked noun phrase to a(n optionally) case-marked noun phrase (locative and possessive uses).

Morphohologically 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. *mɛ̃ː* (< *ma-íː*), *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 *jə̀ʔ/mèʔ* and and *duʔ/minduʔ* 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	*íː/mɛ̃ː* ཨིན་/མན་	*ɲá/mèna* ན་/མན་ན		*bɛʔ/mèmbɛʔ* བད་/མན་བད་	*bo/mèmbo*[127] བོ་/མན་བོ་	*ɖɛː/rɛː* འདུང་,[128]
	PST			*duʔ/mìnduʔ* འདུག་/མིན་འདུག་	(also =*pɛʔ* པད་)		
EX (pos./neg.)		*jə̀ʔ/mèʔ* ཡོད་/མེད་			(*jèbbɛʔ/mèbbɛʔ*) (ཡོད་བད་/མེད་བད་)		

The use of the copulas is described in §7. Comments in this section are limited to phonology, morphology and etymology. While the personal equative *íː* and the existentials *duʔ* and *jə̀ʔ* have clear Classical Tibetan etymons ཨིན་ *yin*, འདུག་ *'dug* and ཡོད་ *yod* respectively, the origin of evidentially neutral equative *bɛʔ*[129] is unclear. Semantically *bɛʔ* is somewhat similar to Lhasa Tibetan རེད་ *red*. Morphologically it resembles the Shigatse evidentially neutral copula *pìɛ̀* (Haller 2000: 186), the Lhomi copula *bet*[130] (neg. *mem-pet*, Vesalainen 2016) and the last syllable of the Kyirong Tibetan

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[126] "Non-marked" noun refers to a noun stem with no overt case marking.
[127] This form is homophonic and homographic (in WD) with the nominalized form *mèm-bo* used in such expression as *mèm-bo bɛʔ* 'is/was not'.
[128] This is an innovative WD form.
[129] I have heard some older speakers in Barapathing, East Sikkim, use the form *mɛʔ* instead of *bɛʔ*. Similar ambivalence is seen in Grierson (1909: 121), who lists "*bä, pä* and *mä*" 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 སྨད་ *smad* and the pronunciation given as "*mä*" (Grierson 1909: 123, 125).
[130] Word-final /t/ is realized as a glottal stop in Lhomi copulas (Olavi Vesalainen, personal communication).

(Lende) copula *jìmbɛː*, which codes recently acquired generally valid facts (Huber 2000: 157). Moreover, *[bɛ(ʔ)]* is found instead of *[reʔ]* /red/ in some Tsang Tibetan varieties (Tournadre & Jiatso 2001: 82). According to Bielmeier (2000: 121), the Shigatse *piɛ̀* and Lhomi *bet* derive from Written Tibetan བྱེད་ *byed* 'make'. The same may be true of Denjongke *bɛʔ*. The neutral existential forms *jɔ̀bbɛʔ* and *mɛ̀bbɛʔ* are phonological reductions of the fuller nominalized forms *jøː-po bɛʔ* and *meː-po bɛʔ* (see also §7.3.2).

The interrogative copula *ɲá* very likely derives from a historical interrogated personal copula *ín-na*, which has productive cognates at least in Dzongkha *ín-na* (van Driem 1998: 367), Shigatse Tibetan *jĩ̀-na* (Haller 2000: 75) and Standard Tibetan *jìn-na* (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 223). The historical affirmative interrogative *ín-na* has through frequent use been synchronically reduced to *ɲá*, while its negative, still productive counterpart *mɛ̀n-(n)a* leaves the copular origin more transparent (*mɛ̀n* is the negation of personal equative *íː*). It is not at all clear whether *ɲá* retains high pitch/register which would be expected on the basis of the source form *ín-na* ཨིན་ན་. As long as a 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 apparentive equative *ɖɛː/rɛː*, which I have not seen used in Denjongke writing, is a reduction of the fuller form *ɖa bɛʔ* '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.	*ɲá, íŋ-ga*	ཉ་/ཨིན་, ཨིན་ག་	*ɲám* *íŋ-gam*	སྣམ་/ཨིནམ་/ཨིན་ནམ་ ཨིན་གམ་
	Neg.	*mɛ̀n-a, mɛ̀ŋ-ga*	མན་ན་, མན་ག་	*mɛ̀n-am, mɛ̀ŋ-gam*	མན་ནམ་, མན་གམ་
Neutral equative	Affirm.	*bo, bɛ-ka*	བོ་, སྤད་ག་	*bɛ-kam*	སྤད་གམ་
	Neg.	*mɛ̀mbo, mɛ̀mbɛ-ka*	མན་བོ་, མན་སྤད་ག་	*mɛ̀mbɛ-kam (?)*[131]	མན་སྤད་གམ་

It is highly likely that WD ཨིན་ནམ་ *in-nam*, which occurs nine times in the novel *Richhi*, reflects the spoken pronunciation [ɲám], 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 ཨིན་ནམ་ *in-nam* as *ɲám* in the phonemic transcription.

The sensorial existential *duʔ* may occur together with the intensifier -*kɛ*, i.e. *du-kɛ*. As discussed in §7.2.2.3, the use of -*kɛ* seems to add assertiveness and certainty to the statement based on sensorial experience, although the exact semantics of -*kɛ* are difficult to unravel. The only other verbal root to which -*kɛ* can be attached is, to my knowledge, the verb འགྲིགས་ *'grigs* 'be alright, suit', which forms འགྲིགས་ཀེ་ *'grigs-ke* /ɖikɛ/ 'it's alright'.[132] Other constructions where the intensifier possibly occurs are the progressive construction -*tɕuŋɛ/ʑuŋɛ* (see §8.3.3) and the completive

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[131] I do not currently have examples of this negated form but its existence can be hypothesized on the basis of the positive form *bɛ-kam*.

[132] This form may be influenced by the frequent Hindi expression *ʈʰik hɛː* 'it's alright'.

construction *-tsʰa-kɛ* (see §9.1.3), in both of which the last element may be *-kɛ* retained from reduced *-du-kɛ*. The intensifier *-kɛ*, which occurs with *duʔ* should not be confused with the homophonous hortative marker *-kɛ/gɛ*, see §11.4.

3.4 Adjectives

This section discusses the defining criteria of adjectives (§3.4.1) and then describes adjective forming suffixes (§3.4.2) and adjective-modifying suffixes (§3.4.3).

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. *lèm* 'good' < WT *legs-mo/legs-po*, *sáːp(u)* 'new' < WT *gsar.po*.

Because the suffix *-po* has been historically used to form both adjectives and nouns, for instance *ʈ'apo* 'monk' and *zaŋpo* '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 *-ʈaʔ*, *-tɕʰitɕʰi* and *-tom,* which attach to stative verbs, and *-tɕʰiʈaʔ*, which attaches to nouns, see (3.51).

(3.51)	*tɕã̃ː-ʈaʔ*	ཅང་དགས་	'beautiful'	(from *tɕã̃ː* ཅང་ 'be beautiful')
	tɕã̃ː-tɕʰitɕʰi	ཅང་ཅེ་ཅེ་	'beautiful'	(from *tɕã̃ː* ཅང་ 'be beautiful')
	dzam-tom	འཇམ་ཏོམ་	'easy'	(from *dzam* འཇམ་ 'be easy')
	kʰõ̃ːʈo-tɕʰiʈaʔ	ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ཅེ་དགས་	'quick to anger'	(from *kʰõ̃ːʈo* ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ 'anger')
	gja-tɕʰiʈaʔ	རྒྱ་ཅེ་དགས་	'vast'	(from *gja* རྒྱ་ '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', *tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* 'small'). Furthermore, gradient adjectives may be distinguished from nouns (and verbs) by the ability to take the superlative suffix *-ɕoʔ*, e.g. *zaŋpo* 'good' > *zã̃ː-ɕoʔ* 'best', *k'ɛːtɕʰiʈaʔ* 'important' > *k'ɛːtɕʰi-ɕoʔ* '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. *lèː* 'be good' > *lèm* 'good', *dzam* 'be easy' > *dzampu, dzamtom, dzamʈaʔ* 'easy', *rì̃ː* 'be long(er)' > *rìŋku, rìŋʈaʔ* 'long'. Some of the adjectives derived from verbs also take the verbal negator prefix in adjectival negation, e.g. *tɕã̃ː* 'be beautiful' > *tɕã̃ː-ʈaʔ* 'beautiful' > *ma-tɕã̃ːm* '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་པུ་ ཨིན?

        *k'adi   **dzampu** bɛ??*
        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) དེ་ ལེབ་ མནོ་ནེ་ འདི་ བདེན་དྲགས་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།

        *tɛ   lèp   nó:-nɛ=di   **dɛnʈaʔ** dɛm=tɕiʔ 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   **dɛŋ**-gam   min-**dɛŋ**-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་ སྙུ་གུ་ འདི་ འདི་ལས་ རིང་ཀུ་ ཨིན།

        *di   ɲúku=di   di=lɛ   **riŋku** bɛʔ.*
        this pen=DEMPH   this=ABL   long EQU.NE
        'This pen is longer than this.' (TB e)

    b) ཇ་བཏུང་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙི་ རིང་པོ་ ཨིན།

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

(3.55) a) གྱོང་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ གཅིག་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ ང་ སྐྱེ་ བོམ།

        *k'jõ: **tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ**=tɕiʔ nàŋɕa=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་ ཆུང་ཤད་ འདི་ རྐྱབས་ཏེ་

        *ŋà   zu: **tɕʰuŋ**-ɕɛ=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/mằ:* '(be) many', *riŋku > riŋ* '(be) long').

(3.56) ལོ་ མང་ ཡུད་ རིང་ འདེམ་ འདི་ ནང་ཤ་ལོ་
   lò **màŋ** *ýʔ* **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 *ɕèm* 'stupid', although the longer form *ɕèmpo* is used elsewhere in the same story in identical position.

(3.57) དོམ་ ཞེནམ་ འདི་
   tʻom **ɕèm***=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) ཆརབ་ སྦོམ་ཚར།
   tɕʻa:p **bom***-tsʰa:.*
   rain   grow-CMPL
   'Rain has increased.' (oh, Tashiding)

(3.59) ཆརབ་ སྦོམ་ འདུག་གོ།
   tɕʻa: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 *-ʈaʔ*, 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. *ɲ̥ɛnʈaʔ* 'pleasant to hear' from སྙན་ 'ear [hon.]'). For examples, consider (3.60):

(3.60)

m̥a-ʈaʔ	དམའ་གྱགས་, དམའ་དགས་	'low'	(from *m̥a* དམའ་ 'be low')
tuk-ʈaʔ	སྟུག་དགས་	'thick'	(from *tuk* སྟུག་ 'be thick')
tʰo-ʈaʔ	ཐོ་དགས་	'high'	(from *tʰo* ཐོ་ 'be high')
t'ok-ʈaʔ	དོག་སྐགས་, དོག་དགས་	'narrow'	(from *t'ok* དོག་ 'be narrow')
dɛn-ʈaʔ	བདེན་དགས་	'true'	(from *dɛn* བདེན་ 'be true')
tsʰa-ʈaʔ	ཚ་སྐགས་, ཚ་དགས་	'hot'	(from *tsʰa* ཚ་ 'be hot')
tsʰik-ʈaʔ	འཚིག་སྐགས་, འཚིག་དགས་	'hot (of weather)'	(from *tsʰik* འཚིག་ 'burn')
sǽ:-ʈaʔ	གསང་སྐགས་, གསང་དགས་	'secret'	(from *sǽ:* བསང་ 'keep secret')
sɛ́:-ʈaʔ	གསལ་སྐགས་, གསལ་དགས་	'clear'	(from *sɛ́:* གསལ་ 'be clear')
zã̀:-ʈaʔ	བཟང་དགས་	'good (of health)'	(from *zã̀:* བཟང་ 'be good/healthy')
lɛ̀:-ʈaʔ	ལེགས་དགས་	'good'	(from *lɛ̀:* ལེགས་ 'be good')
riŋ-ʈaʔ	རིང་དགས་	'long'	(from *riŋ* རིང་ 'be long')
ɕìm-ʈaʔ	ཞིམ་དགས་	'delicious'	(from *ɕìm* ཞིམ་ 'be delicious')
tɕã̀:-ʈaʔ	ཅང་སྐགས་, ཅང་དགས་[133]	'beautiful'	(from *tɕã̀:* ཅང་ 'be beautiful')
ɲám-ʈaʔ	མཉམ་དགས་	'equal'	(from *ɲom* མཉམ་ 'be equal')
ɲɛn-ʈaʔ	སྙན་དགས་	'pleasant to hear'	(from *ɲɛn* སྙན་ 'ear (hon.)')
jã̀:-ʈaʔ	ཡངས་སྐགས་, ཡངས་དགས་	'wide'	(from *jã̀:* ཡངས་ 'be wide')
jàmtsʰɛn-ʈaʔ	ཡ་མཚན་དགས་	'amazing'	(from *jàmtsʰɛn* ཡ་མཚན་ 'be amazed')
kjo-ʈaʔ	སྐྱོ་དགས་	'crooked'	(from *kjo* སྐྱོ་ 'be sad')
k'jã̀:-ʈaʔ	གྱང་དགས་	'cold (of weather)'	(from *k'jã̀:* གྱང་, 'be cold')
k'juŋ-ʈaʔ	གྱུང་དགས་	'clever'	(from *k'juŋ* གྱུང་ 'be clever')
ga-ʈaʔ	དགའ་དགས་	'glad'	(from *ga* དགའ་ 'rejoice, like')
gja:-ʈaʔ	རྒྱགས་དགས་	'fat'	(from *gja:* རྒྱགས་ 'be fat')

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* སྦོམ་པུ་ 'big' and *riŋku* རིང་ཀུ་ '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:-naʔ* དོས་ནག་ 'load-black' (time of economic oppression of peasants in Sikkimese history).

(3.61)

bom-pu[134]	སྦོམ་པུ་	'big'	(from *bom* སྦོམ་ 'be big')
riŋ-ku	རིང་ཀུ་	'long'	(from *riŋ* རིང་ 'be long')
ɕìm-pu	ཞིམ་པུ་	'delicious'	(from *ɕìm* ཞིམ་ 'be delicious')
kʰak-u	ཁག་ཀུ་	'bitter'	(from *kʰak* ཁག་ 'be bitter')
má:p(u)	དམརབ/ དམར་པོ་	'red'	
sɛ́:p(u)	སེརབ/ སེར་པོ་	'yellow'	

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[133] 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 དགས་ can be generally used for writing the adjectivizing suffix *-ʈaʔ*.
[134] Sandberg (1895: 32-33) lists *tɕʰempo* and *tɕʰɛ* as 'great' and *bompo* as 'thick (also 'loud')'. Walsh (1905: 4) glosses *bompu* as 'big'.

nàku	ནག་ཀུ་	'black'	
ɲompu/ŋompu	སྔོན་པོ་	'blue/green'	
ka:p(u)	དཀརབ་/དཀར་པོ་	'white'	

All the words in (3.61) deriving from verbs, can also be adjectivized by *-ʈaʔ*. 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* is some cases), whereas *-ʈaʔ* is not mentioned at all as an adjective suffix, e.g. Sandberg's (1895: 71) *tsʰapo* 'hot' (here *tsʰaʈaʔ*) and Sandberg's (1895: 69) *kʰakpo* 'difficult' (here *k'akʈaʔ*).

The suffix *-m(o)*, which has been used for deriving feminine nouns (see §3.2.4.2), is also used as an adjective-forming suffix in a few adjectives.

(3.62)

ʈ'ø:-m	ཏྲོདམ་	'warm'	(from *ʈ'øʔ* ཏྲོད་ 'heat')
kʰø:-m	ཁྱལམ	'cold (of liquid)'	(from *kʰø:* ཁྱལ་ 'to be cold')
ky:-mo	སྐྱུས་མོ་	'common, ordinary'	(from WT སྐྱུས་ *skyus* 'altogether')
lɛ̀-m	ལེམ་/ལེགམ་	'good'	(from *lɛ̀ʔ* ལེགས་ 'be good')
mà-lɛ-m/mà-lɛ-p	མ་ལེམ་/མ་ལེགམ་ མ་ལེགས་པོ་	'not good, bad'	

The derivational suffixes *-tɕʰiʈaʔ* (meaning 'great, big', written more traditionally ཆེ་དྲགས་ *che-drags* and more phonologically ཆི་དྲགས་ *chi-drags*), *-tɕʰɛ* (meaning 'great, big') and *-tɕʰuŋ* (meaning 'small') turn nouns into adjectives:

(3.63)

tsa-tɕʰiʈaʔ	རྩ་ཆེ་དྲགས་	'invaluable'	(from *tsa* རྩ་ 'root, nerve')
sém-tɕʰuŋ	སེམས་ཆུང་	'humble'	(from *sém* སེམས་ 'mind')
dzik-tɕʰiʈaʔ	ཛིད་ཆེ་དྲགས	'heavy'	(from WT ལྗིད་ *ljid* 'weight, heaviness')
ɕúk-tɕʰɛ̃:	ཤུགས་ཆེན་	'strong'	(from *ɕúk* ཤུགས་ 'strength')
ɲàm-tɕʰɛ̃:	ཉམས་ཆེན་	'proud'	(from *ɲàm* ཉམས་ 'arrogance')
ɲàm-tɕʰuŋ	ཉམས་ཆུང་	'humble'	(from *ɲàm* ཉམས་ 'arrogance')
kʰõ:ʈo-tɕʰiʈaʔ	ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ཆེ་དྲགས་	'quick-tempered'	(from *kʰõ:ʈo* ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ 'anger')
k'ɛ:-tɕʰɛ̃:	གལ་ཆེན་	'important'	(from *k'ɛ:* གལ་ 'importance')
gja-tɕʰiʈaʔ	རྒྱ་ཆེ་དྲགས་	'vast'	(from *gja* རྒྱ་ 'extent')

The reduplicated suffix *-tɕʰitɕʰi* (deriving from WT ཆེ་ *che* 'great, big', written ཆེ་ཆེ་ or ཆེ་ཆེ་) forms adjectives from stative verbs:

(3.64)

peː-tɕʰitɕʰi	དཔེས་ཆེ་ཆེ་	'charming (of child)'	(?)
tɕã̀ː-tɕʰitɕʰi	ཚང་ཆེ་ཆེ་	'beautiful'	(from *tɕã̀ː* ཚང་ 'be beautiful')
tɕʰuŋ-tɕʰitɕʰi	ཆུང་ཆེ་ཆེ་	'small'	(from *tɕʰuŋ* ཆུང་ 'be small')
dzam-tɕʰitɕʰi	འཇམ་ཆེ་ཆེ་	'easy'	(from *dzam* འཇམ་ 'be easy')
ɲ̊ɛn-tɕʰitɕʰi	སྙན་ཆེ་ཆེ་	'pleasant to hear'	(from *ɲɛn* སྙན་ 'ear (hon.)')
ga-tɕʰitɕʰi	དགའ་ཆེ་ཆེ་	'glad'	(from *ga* དགའ་ 'rejoice, like')

Specific intensifying suffixes not occuring with other adjectives may be used with the frequent adjectives *riŋku* and *bompu*. The suffix *-kʰjam* (WD བྱམ་ *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 *-kʰjam* or *-pam/kam,* when compared with the ordinary forms with *-po*, implied a greater degree, see (3.65).

(3.65)   a) Tashiding

bom-kʰjam	སྦོམ་བྱམ་	'big' (bigger than *bom-pu* སྦོམ་པུ་)
riŋ-kʰjam	རིང་བྱམ་	'long' (longer than *riŋ-ku* རིང་ཀུ་)

b) Martam

bompam	སྦོམ་པམ་	'big' (bigger than *bom-pu* སྦོམ་པུ་)
riŋkam	རིང་ཀམ་	'long' (longer than *riŋ-ku* རིང་ཀུ་)

The derivative suffix ***-tɕɛn/tɕɛ̃ː*** (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)

kʼɛ̀ː-tɕɛ̃ː	གལ་ཅན་	'important'	(from *kʼɛ̀ː* གལ་ 'importance')
pʼuzi-tɕɛ̃ː	བུ་གཞིས་ཅན་	'child-having'	(from *pʼuzi* བུ་གཞིས་ 'children')
rik(o)-tɕɛ̃ː	རིག་གོ་ཅན་	'intelligent'	(from *riko* རིག་གོ་ 'intellect')

(3.67)

sím-tɕɛ̃ː	སེམས་ཅན་	'animal'	(from *sɛ́m* སེམས་ 'mind')

Other adjective-forming suffixes are ***-tom*** and ***-ba/wa*** (which looks like a circumstantial converb, see §15.8.1).

(3.68)

tsʰa-tom	ཚ་ཏོམ་	'hot'	(from *tsʰa* ཚ་ 'be hot')
dzam-tom	འཇམ་ཏོམ་	'easy'	(from *dzam* འཇམ་ 'be easy , soft')
dzø̀ː-wa	འཛོལ་བ་	'mistaken, false'	(from *dzø̀ː* འཛོལ་ 'err')
nòr-wa, nòr-wo	ནོར་བ་, ནོར་པོ་	'mistaken, false'	(from *nòr* ནོར་ '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. *dzamtõ:to* 'easy' is even easier than the alternatives *dzampu* or *dzamʈaʔ* 'easy'.

(3.69)

peː-toktoʔ	དཔེས་ཏོག་ཏོག་	'charming'	(origin unknown)
dum-bɛbɛʔ	འདུམ་བད་བད་	'short'	(from *dum* འདུམ་ 'be short')
tsʰa-toktoʔ	ཚ་ཏོག་ཏོག་	'hot'	(from *tsʰa* ཚ་ 'heat, hot')
síː-tõːto	བསིལ་ཏོང་ཏོ་	'refreshingly cold'	(from *síː* བསིལ་ 'feel cool')
nàk-susuʔ	ནག་སུག་སུག་	'dark'	(from *nàk* ནག་ 'black')
ʈʼo-tiptip[135]	རྡོ་འཐིབ་འཐིབ་	'warm'	(from *ʈʼøʔ* རྡྩང་ 'heat (v.)')
dzam-tõːto	འཇམ་ཏོང་ཏོ་	'easy'	(from *dzam* འཇམ་ 'be easy')
kʰøː-taktaʔ	ཁྱིལ་ཏག་ཏག་	'cold'	(from *kʰøː* ཁྱིལ་ 'be cold')
kʰøː-síːsíː	ཁྱིལ་སེལ་སེལ་[136]	'chilly'	(from *kʰøː* ཁྱིལ་ 'be cold')

(3.70) རྡོ་པའི་ ཁྱིལ་སེལ་སེལ་ རླུང་མ
ʈʼoːpøː   *kʰøːsíːsíː lúŋma*
morning.GEN   chilly   wind
'morning's chilly wind' (Richhi 1)

(3.71) མི་ འདི་ འདུམ་བད་བད་ འདུག།
mí=di   *dumbɛbɛʔ*   *duʔ.*
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 unkonwn origin, are *-nam*, *-suʔ*, *-pʰɛm/pʰym* and *-ka*, see (3.72).

(3.72)

gjaː-nam	རྒྱགས་ནམ་	'fat'	(*gjaː* རྒྱགས་ 'be fat')
nàk-suʔ	ནག་སུག་	'dark'	(*nàk* ནག་ 'black')
tuk-pʰɛm/tuk-pʰym	སྟུག་ཕེམ་	'thick'	(*tuk* སྟུག་ 'be thick')
pjaŋ-ka	སྤྱོང་ཀ་	'poor'	(WT སྤྲང་ sprang 'poor')

While *-ʈaʔ* 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).

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[135] also *ʈʼøːtiptip*
[136] also ཁྱིལ་བསེལ་བསེལ་

(3.73)

zaŋ-po/zã:-po བཟང་པོ་, *zaŋ-ʈaʔ/zã:-ʈaʔ* བཟང་དགས་ 'good'

tsʰa-tom ཚ་ཏོམ་, *tsʰa-ʈaʔ* ཚ་དགས་ 'hot'

riŋ-ku རིང་ཀུ་, *riŋ-ʈaʔ* རིང་དགས་, *riŋ-kʰjam* རིང་ཁྱམ་ 'long'

tɕã:-tɕʰitɕʰi ཅང་ཀྱེ་ཀྱེ་, *tɕã:-ʈaʔ* ཅང་དགས་ 'beautiful'

dzam-pu འཇམ་པུ་, *dzam-ʈaʔ* འཇམ་དགས་, *dzam-tom* འཇམ་ཏོམ་, *dzamtõ:to* འཇམ་ཏོང་ཏོ་,
dzam-tɕʰitɕʰi འཇམ་ཀྱེ་ཀྱེ་ 'easy'

ɕìm-pu ཞིམ་པུ་, *ɕìm-ʈaʔ* ཞིམ་དགས་ 'delicious'

kˈɛ:-tɕʰiʈaʔ གལ་ཆེ་དགས་, *kˈɛ:-tɕʰɛ̃:* གལ་ཆེན་, *kˈɛ:-tɕɛ̃:* གལ་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. *dumʈaʔ* འདུམ་དགས་ '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)

dop-dop	སྦོབ་སྦོབ་	'slow (of animate being)'
dum-dum	འདུམ་འདུམ་	'short (vertical)'
tʰuŋ-tʰuŋ	ཐུང་ཐུང་	'short (horizontal)'
sáp-sap	སྲབ་སྲབ་	'thin'
sóp-sop	སོབ་སོབ་	'soft'
ṛip-rip	ཉིབ་ཉིབ་	'dim'
tɕʰuŋ-tɕʰuŋ	ཆུང་ཆུང་	'small'
ɲòp-ɲop	ཉོབ་ཉོབ་	'soft'
jã̀:-jã:	ཡང་ཡང་	'light (opp. of heavy)'

3.4.3 Adjective-modifying suffixes

Adjectives can be modified by the diminuative and superlative suffixes, which attach to the adjective root. The diminuative suffix (WD ཤུལ་/ཤུས་ or ཤལ་/ཤས་), which replaces the last syllable of the adjective, lessens the quality or quantity expressed by the adjective.

(3.75)

bom-pu	སྦོམ་པུ་	'big'	>	*bom-sy:*	སྦོམ་ཤུལ་	'quite big'
m̥a-ʈaʔ	དམའ་དགས་	'low'	>	*m̥a-sy:*	དམའ་ཤུལ་	'quite low'
tʰo-ʈaʔ	མཐོ་དགས་	'high'	>	*tʰo-sy:*	མཐོ་ཤུལ་	'quite high'
tuk-pʰɛm	སྟུག་ཕེམ་	'thick'	>	*tuk-sy:*	སྟུག་ཤུལ་	'quite thick'
tɕʰuŋ-tɕʰuŋ	ཆུང་ཆུང་	'small'	>	*tɕʰuŋ-sy:*	ཆུང་ཤུལ་	'quite small'
ɲòp-ɲop	ཉོབ་ཉོབ་	'soft'	>	*ɲòp-sy:*	ཉོབ་ཤུལ་	'quite soft'
kʰõ:ʈotɕʰi-ʈaʔ	ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ཆེ་དགས་	'quick to anger'	>	*kʰõ:ʈotɕʰi-sy:*	ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ཆེ་ཤུལ་	'quite quick to anger'

The phonological realization of the diminuative in (3.75) comes from consultant KN. An alternative pronunciation *-ɕy:* is suggested by the word ཚབ་ཆེ་ཤུས་ *tshap-che-shus* /tsʰaptɕɛɕy:/ 'quite

111

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་ཆེ་ལུས་ *tshap-che-sus* /tsʰaptɕɛsyː/. However, the form *-ɕyː* represents more likely a variant pronunciation than an error, as shown by (3.76) below. The alternative form *-syː* is illustrated in (3.77). The same formative appears to be used as reduplicated in the quantifier *ɕýːɕyː* 'a bit' (WD ཤུས་ཤུས་ *shus-shus* or ཤུལ་ཤུལ་ *shul-shul*). It also occurs in the negated perfect construction *tsi-ɕyː mèʔ* [play-trace EX.PER] 'has not ever played', see §8.1.4.

(3.76) བྱོ་ལག་ འདི་ འད་ཤུས་ ཨིན་ལགས།
     p'eːla=di   **ɖa-ɕyː**   *íː=la.*
     appearance=DEMPH similar-DIM   EQU.PER=HON
     'Their appearance is quite similar.' (SN kitchen discussion)

(3.77) ལམ་བསེལ་དཀར་གཏོར་ ཨ་ཙི་ བོམ་ཤུལ་གཅིག
     làmsikaːtor   *átsi* **bom-syː**=tɕiʔ
     type.of.dough.effigy   a.bit big-DIM=INDF
     'a rather big lamsika-torma (=dough effigy as offering)' (KNA kitchen discussion)

The superlative marker *-ɕoʔ* (WD ཤོས་ *shos*) intensifies the degree of the adjective. It attaches to the root from which the adjective is derived, e.g. *tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* 'small' > *tɕʰuŋɕoʔ* 'the smallest', *tɕʰam-ʈaʔ* 'agreeable' > *tɕʰam-ɕoʔ* 'the most agreeable'.

(3.78) བུམ་ བར་མོ་ འདིས་ བུམ་ ཆུང་ཤོས་ལོ་ འདི་ ལབ་པོ་ སྦྲད།
     p'um   *p'amo=diː*   *p'um*   **tɕʰuŋ-ɕo**=lo   *dɛː*
     daughter   middle.one=DEMPH.AGT daughter   small-SUP=DAT like.this
     làp-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'oːpa* དྲོ་པ་ '(in the) morning' and *pʰiruʔ* ཕྱི་རུ་ '(in the) evening' are interpreted as adverbs, because their citation forms occur as adverbials without case marking.

(3.79) དེ་འདིའི་སྔོན་ལས་ཏྲོ་པ་ལོང་སྟེ་ཁ་ལག་འཁྲུ།

tɛ   *di:*   *ɲɛ́nlɛ*   ***ʈʼoːpa***   *lõ̀:-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) ཕྱི་རུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཟམ་ཟ་སྟེ་མྱོང་།

pʰiruʔ   *tʰamtɕɛʔ sàm*   *sà-ti*   *mjõ̀:.*

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) ཕྱི་རུ་གི་ཞལ་ལག

pʰiru=gi   *ɕɛ̀:laʔ*

evening.GEN   meal.HON

'evening's meal' (Richhi 62)

(3.82) ཨོ་ན་གི་ཆུ་

óna=gi   *tɕʰu*

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) ཏྲོ་པ་ལས་ཟམ་ག་རེ་མེད་མཁན་སྲུད།

ʈʼoːpa=lɛ   *sàm*   *kʼarɛ mè:-kʰɛn*   *bɛʔ.*

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. *ʈʼoːpa* '(in the) morning' > *ʈʼoːpa=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 *màlaʔ* མ་ལག 'quick(ly)'. For similar uses of *nɛ́:mu* མ་ནེ་མུ་ 'real(ly)', consider the adverbial in (3.85) and adjective in (3.86).

(3.84)   a) མ་ལག་འགྱུ།

       màlaʔ   *gjuʔ.*

       quickly   go

       'Go quickly!' (KN e)

b) ཁུའི་ཀི་ བ་ཉིག་ (bike) འདི་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ ཨ་ལག\ ཡོད\
   kʰu=i=gi   *baik=di*   *lɛ̀pti* **màlaʔ**   *jə̀ʔ.*
   3SGM=GEN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very fast   EX.PER
   'His (motor)bike is very fast.' (NB e)

(3.85) ཨནེ་སུ་རང་ སྨན་པོ་ བསྟན་འཛིན་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ གཉིས་ལོ་ ས�ླེབས\
       nɛ́:mu=rã̀:   *mɛ́mpo* *tɛndzĩ̀:*   *tɕʰutɕʰøʔ* *ɲí:=lo*   *ɭɛp.*
       really=AEMPH doctor PN   clock.time two=DAT arrive
       'Doctor Tenzing really arrives at two o'clock.' (Richhi 31)

(3.86)   སྤྱན་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ གསུང་པོ་ གནང་མཁན་ ཨནེ་སུ་ སྲད\
       ɭɛŋgɛ:=ki   *súm-bo*   *nã̌:-kʰɛ̃:*   **nɛ́:mu** *bɛʔ.*
       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 *-tɕika* '-abouts, around; towards' (§3.5.2.6).

3.5.2.1   Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are typically formed by the adverbializer *-p'ja(ti)* བྱས་(སྟེ་)*,* 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 བྱས་ *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 from *-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>
      k'alyʔ   གཱ་ལུས་   'slow'   *k'aly-p'ja, k'aly p'ja-ti*   'slowly'
      lɛ̀m   ལེགས་   'good'   *lɛ̀m-p'ja, lɛ̀m p'ja-ti*   'well'
      dzamtɕʰitɕʰi འཇམ་ཆེ་ཆེ་ 'soft'   *dzamtɕʰitɕʰi-p'ja, dzamtɕʰitɕʰi p'ja-ti* 'softly'

(3.88) འདེ་བྱས་ གཱ་ལུས་ གཱ་ལུས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ འཇམ་ཆེ་ཆེ་ བྱས་ རྒྱབས་ སྲད་པོ་ལགས\
       dɛ:-p'ja   *k'alyʔ k'alyʔ* **p'ja-ti** *dzamtɕʰitɕʰi-p'ja* *kjap*   *bɛ=ɕo=la.*
       like.that-ADVZR slow slow   do-NF   soft-ADVZR   speak   EQU.NE=AT=HON
       '(They) speak like that, slowly, softly, you know.' (RL)

Manner adverbs may also be formed from adjectives by reduplication, e.g. *kʼalyʔ kʼalyʔ* ག་ལུས་ ག་ ལུས་ 'slowly', which is an alternative to *kʼaly-pʼja*, although reduplication can also co-occur with the adverbializer *-pʼja(-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 *pʼja(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

kʼõ:kɛ	གོང་རྐྱལ་	'(sleeping) on one's back'
kʰabup	ཁ་བུབ་	'(sleeping) on one's tummy'
sù:tɛ	བུར་སྙེ་	'(sleeping) on one's side'

Table 3.15. Other adverbs of manner

ɲámtɕi(lo)	མཉམ་ཅིག་(ལོ་)	'together'
ʈʰalamki	ཁྲ་ལམ་གྱིས་	'clearly'
hatokʰa, hatolo	དྲང་ཐོག་ཁར་, དྲང་ཐོག་ལོ་	'suddenly'

   The adverb *ɲámtɕi(lo)* མཉམ་ཅིག་(ལོ་) 'together', is closely related to the postposition *ɲámpu/ɲámtɕiʔ* མཉམ་པུ་/མཉམ་ཅིག་ '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 *-kʰa*. 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 *-kʰa* is not as productive in forming locative adverbs as *-pʼja(ti)* is in forming manner adverbs.

gjap རྒྱབ་ 'back' > *gjap-kʰa* 'in the back'
sá ས་ 'soil' > *sá-kʰa* 'on the floor, on the ground'
làm ལམ་ 'road' > *làm-kʰa* 'on the road/way'

   As an indication that *-kʰa* is a derivational suffix rather than an inflectional marker like case, *-kʰa* may be supplemented with the dative-locative marker, e.g. *làmkʰa=lo, sàkʰa=lo*. The form *-kʰa* also converts some verbs into nouns and thus functions as nominalizer, e.g. *dʑɛ:* མཇལ་ 'meet' > *dʑɛ:-kʰa* 'meeting, place/occasion to meet'. Sometimes, *-kʰa* appended to a noun does not change the meaning, e.g. *kʼjõ:* གྱོང་ 'village' > *kʼjoŋ-kʰa* 'village'.

   Some other locative adverbs are listed in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16. Some locative adverbs

tʰaːɲi	ཐག་ཉེ་	'close, near'
tʰaːriŋ	ཐག་རིང་	'far away'
làmtaʔ	ལམ་ཏག་	'above the road'
làmmɛʔ	ལམ་སྨད་	'below the road'
jàː,[137] jàtɛ	ཡར་, ཡ་སྟེ་	'up(wards)'
òʔ, òtɛ	འོག་, འོག་སྟེ་	'down(wards)'

In addition to forms in Table 3.16, pro-adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *nàː* ན་ 'here', *tsʰuːkʰa* ཚུ་ཁར་ 'on this side, nearer') and some postpositions (e.g. *nàŋɛa* ནང་ན་ 'inside', *paŋkʰa* པང་ཁར་ 'outside', *pʰiloʔ* ཕྱི་ལོག་ 'outside', *buːna* སྦུ་ན་ '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.

Table 3.17. Noun-like temporal adverbs referring to times of day

ŋaru, haru	Å་ར, ཧ་ར་	'(in the) morning, tomorrow morning'
ʈʼoːpa	རྡོ་པ་	'(in the) morning'
ɲìma	ཉེ་མ་	'(in) day-time'
ɲìŋguŋ	ཉིན་གུང་	'(at) noon'
ɲìmpʰiʔ	ཉིམ་ཕྱེད་	'(at) mid-day'
pʰiːtsʰam	ཕྱི་མཚམས་	'(at) dusk'
pʰi(ː)ruʔ	ཕྱི་ར་	'(in the) evening, night (after dark)'
nùppʰiʔ	ནུབ་ཕྱེད་	'(at) midnight'

The adverbs referring to times of the day may be followed by the spatiotemporal markers *-kʰa* and/or *=lo*, e.g. *ŋaru(lo), ŋaru(khalo)* 'in the morning', *pʰiːtsʰamlo, pʰiːtsʰamkʰa(lo)* 'at dusk'. Moreover, the form *ŋalo* Å་ལོ་, which does not occur as a noun, can express 'in the morning'.

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[137] The shorter forms *jàː* and *òʔ* are used especially with verbs of motion, e.g. *jàː òʔ gju-kʰɛ̀ː* ཡར་ འོག་ འགྱུ་མཁན་ [up down go-NMLZ] 'those who go up and down' (Richhi 158) and *jàː* also with *lóː* 'rise', e.g. *jàː lõ̀ː* ཡར་ ལོངས་ 'rise up, stand up'.

Table 3.18. Days and years

gu:nup	དགུ་ནུབ་	four days ago	gu:niŋ	དགུ་ཉིང་	'3rd year before this one'
ze:nup	གཞེས་ནུབ་	three days ago	zo:niŋ[138]	གཞོ་ཉིང་	'the year before last year'
kʰanup	ཁ་ནུབ་	the day before yesterday			
dã:	མདང་	yesterday	nàɲiŋ[139]	ན་ཉིང་	'last year'
t'ariŋ	ད་རིང་	today	t'utɕiʔ	དུ་ཅིག་	'this year'
tʰorã:	ཐོ་རངས་	tomorrow	sã̃:pøʔ	སང་ཕོད་	'next year'
náŋtsi	གནངས་ཚེ་	the day after tomorrow			
ze:tsi	གཞེས་ཚེ་	in 3 days from now	ze:pøʔ	གཞེས་ཕོད་	'2nd year after this one'
gu:tsi	དགུ་ཚེ་	in 4 days from now	gu:pøʔ	དགུ་ཕོད་	'3rd year after this one'

Table 3.19. Other temporal adverbs

kʰatsã:	ཁ་སང་	'some days/time ago'
t'itsi	ཏི་ཚེ་	'recently'
t'asã:	ད་སང་	'this morning'
làmsã:	ལམ་ཟང་	'suddenly'
t'ato	ད་ལྟོ་	'now'
t'aruŋ	ད་རུང་	'again, yet, still'
tɛ:ra	ཏེ་ར་	'again'

In addition to the above-mentioned temporal adverbs, the postpositions *gjablɛ* རྒྱབ་ལས་ 'after(wards)' and *ɲénlɛ/halɛ/hɛma* སྔོན་ལས་/ཧ་ལས་/ཧན་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):

Table 3.20. Indefinite temporal adverbs

p'a:p'a:(na)	བར་བར་(ན་)	'sometimes, now and then'
kapkap(na)	སྐབས་སྐབས་(ན་)	'sometimes, now and then'
rɛga:(…rɛga:)	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)

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[138] also *zø:niŋ*
[139] also *nàɲiʔ* ན་ཉིང་

and numeral-modifying adverbs (Table 3.23). Two adverbs, *lèp(ti)*[140] ལེབ་(ཏི་) 'very (much)' and *átsi(m)* ཨ་ཙི(མ་) 'a bit', occur as both verb and adjective modifiers.

Table 3.21. Verb-modifying quantitative adverbs

lèp(ti)	ལེབ་(ཏི་)	'very much'
kɛːp, kɛːpo[141]	གོས་བ་, གོས་པོ་	'much, a lot'
màŋpu, màŋpo[142]	མང་པུ་, མང་པོ་	'much, a lot'
tsʰɛdɛ̃ː	ཚད་ཐུན་	'considerably'
màŋtsʰøʔ	མང་ཚོད་	'to great degree, more (than)'
ɲùŋtsʰøʔ	ཉུང་ཚོད་	'little, less (than)'
ɕýːɕyː	ཤུས་ཤུས་	'a bit'
ɕýːtɕyː	ཤུས་ཅིག་	'a bit'
ɕýry	ཤུས་རེ་	'a bit'
átsi(m)	ཨ་ཙི(མ་)	'a bit'
átɛm	ཨ་ཙེམ་ (?)	'a bit' (rare)
ɲùŋnuŋ	ཉུང་ཉུང་	'little, few'
tɕɛː/dzɛː	ཅེ་/འཛེ་	'at all' (+negation)
tsa(ː)lɛ	རྩ་ལས	'at all' (+negation)

Table 3.22. Adjective and adverb-modifying adverbs

lèp(ti)	ལེབ་(ཏི་)	'very much'
pɛmissiki	དཔེ་མི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་	'extraordinarily' (in Martam: *pɛsimipøː/pɛmisipo*)
kʼã̀ːmɛntsɛʔ	གང་མན་ཚོད་	'limitless'
átsi(m)	ཨ་ཙི(མ་)	'a bit'

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[140] This form is often pronounced with markedly high intonation.

[141] *kɛːp* 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'.

[142] *màŋpu/màŋpo* is in meaning and versatility similar to *kɛːpo*, but according to some speakers *kɛːpo* is "real" Denjongke and *màŋpo* a loan from Tibetan. The use of the form *màɳʈaʔ/mã̀ːʈaʔ* at least partly overlaps the use of *màŋpu/màŋpo*. Because *màɳʈaʔ*, however, is formed with the adjectival ending *-ʈaʔ*, it is analyzed as a quantifying adjective. By the same logic, *ɲùɳʈaʔ*, which at least partly overlaps in function with *ɲùŋnuŋ*, is also analyzed as a quantifying adjective.

Table 3.23. Numeral-modifying adverbs

Pre-numeral		
halam	དུ་ལམ་	'about, approximately'
t'yːmɛnɛ	དུས་མན་ནེ་	'about, approximately; almost'
dɛːtɕiʔ	འདི་ཅིག་	'about, this much' (lit. 'like.this-one')
Post-numeral		
ɭaktsʰøʔ	ལྷག་ཚོད་	'over, more than' (lit. 'more.than-limit')
kortɕiʔ	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 *tɕiku/tɕuku* (ག)ཅིག་ཀུ་ 'only'.

Table 3.24. Epistemic adverbs

nɛ́ːmu(ra)	མནེ་མུ་(ར་)	'really'
mèntɕɛnɛ/mèntɕɛno	མན་ཅེ་ནེ་/མན་ཅེ་ནོ་	'perhaps, maybe'
mènnɛ/mènni[143]	མན་ནེ་	'perhaps, maybe'

Epistemic adverbs and the evaluative *tɕiku* 'only' are, together with other verb/clause-modifying adverbs are exemplified in §5.6.3.5.

3.5.2.6 Directional and approximative suffix -*tɕika* '-abouts, around'

Adverbs of time and place may be followed by the suffix -*tɕika* ཅིག་ཀ་/ཅིག་ཁར་ which marks directionality 'in the direction of, towards' and/or approximativeness '-abouts, around', 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་ཚར་ ཅིག་ཀ་ ཡོད།
   gari   *làm=gi* ***òːtsa-tɕika*** *jòʔ.*
   car(Nep.) road=GEN below-direction EX.PER
   'It's downwards of the car-road.' (KT discussion with TB)

(3.90)   དགོན་པོ་ལས་ ཨ་ཙི་ ཡར་ཚར་ ཅིག་ཀ་
   gjømpo=lɛ   *átsi* ***jàːtsa-tɕika***
   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).

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[143] The form *mènni* is from consultant KN (Martam).

(3.91) p^hi:ts^ham-tɕika ཕྱི་མཚམས་ཅིག་ག་ 'at about dusk, around dusk',
        k'ana-tɕika ག་ན་ ཅིག་ག་ 'approximately where, whereabouts'.
        t'ã:pu-tɕika དང་པུ་ཅིག་ག་ 'once long ago' (lit. 'long.ago-tɕika')
        t'atar-tɕika ད་ཙར་ཅིག་ག་ 'at around this time, '?nowabouts' (lit. 'now-tɕika')

(3.92) ཚོ་འདེ་ཅིག་ག་ར་ ད་ བཞག་གོ་ གནང་གེ
        ódɛ-tɕika=ra   t'a   ʐak-o   náŋ-gɛ.
        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^hɛʔ ཚད་ 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 tɕ^hø=tsu ཆོད་ཙུ is given in brackets because it is a marginal form not accepted by all speakers.

Table 3.25. Personal pronouns

			Singular	Plural	
1p			ŋà ང་	ŋàtɕaʔ ང་ཅག་	
2p	low-level		tɕ^høʔ ཆོད་	(tɕ^hø:=tsu ཆོད་ཙུ)	k'utɕaʔ གུ་ཅག་
	mid-level		rã: རང་	rã:=tsu རང་ཙུ	
	honorific		ḽɛŋgɛʔ ཞུན་རྒྱས་	k'utɕa ḽɛŋgɛʔ གུ་ཅག་ ཞུན་རྒྱས་	
				ḽɛŋgɛ:(=tsu) ཞུན་རྒྱས་(ཙུ)	
3p	ordinary	masc.	k^hu ཁུ	k^hõ: ཁོང་	
		fem.	mù/mò མུ་		
	honorific		k^hõ: ཁོང་	k^hõ: ḽɛŋgɛ:(=tsu) ཁོང་ ཞུན་རྒྱས་ཙུ	
			k^hõ: ḽɛŋgɛʔ ཁོང་ ཞུན་རྒྱས་		

The first person pronoun is ŋà ང་ from which the plural form ŋàtɕaʔ ང་ཅག་ 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.[144] 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

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[144] However, Sandberg (1895: 23) reports -tɕaʔ as a plural marker that can be used, unlike in my data, with at least some common nouns, see §3.7.4.1.

(Vesalainen 2016: 21), which have an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in first person plural pronouns, Denjongke pronouns do not make a clusivity distinction.[145] The honorific personal pronoun *ɭɛngɛʔ* སྐུན་རྒྱས་ 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:* རང་ 'self':

Table 3.26. Reflexive pronouns

Form		Notes on use	Gloss
=rã:/=ra	རང་	attaches to personal pronouns	'-self'
rã:mɛ̃:/rõ:mɛ̃:	རང་མན་	used independently	'oneself'
rã:rã: so:so:	རང་རང་ སོ་སོ་	distributive use, typically co-occurs with a noun, personal pronoun or indefinite pronoun	'each oneself'

The same form *rã:* is also used as 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
tɕi:=ki, tɕi:(=lo)	གཅིག་གིས་ གཅིག་(ལོ་)	'one to another' (lit. 'one to one')
tɕi:=ki zɛn(=lo)	གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་(ལོ་)	'one to another' (used in Richhi instead of the first form)
pʰɛntsỹ:[146]	ཕན་ཚུན་	'each other'

The forms from which the reciprocals are formed are the numeral *tɕiʔ* གཅིག་ 'one' and the demonstrative *zɛn* གཞན་ 'other' (demonstrativity of *zɛn* is defined in opposition to something else determined by the context). The form *pʰɛntsʰy:* ཕན་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 *kʼã:pu* གང་པུ་ 'one full measure of' may follow *tʰamtɕɛʔ* ཐམས་ཅད་, *kʰɛ:lɛ* ཁེ་ལེ་ and *tɕʰa:lɛ* ཆ་ལས་ 'all' to emphasize the meaning.

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[145] Neither does Dzongkha, another southern Tibetic language (van Driem 1998).

[146] The demonstrative expression *pʰa: tsʰu:* ཕར་ ཚུར་ 'thither hither' may be used in a similar sense.

Table 3.28. Indefinite pronouns

tʰamtɕɛʔ (k'ã:pu)	ཐམས་ཅད་ (གང་སུ་)	'all, everyone'
kʰɛ:lɛ (k'ã:pu)	ཞེ་ལེ་ (གང་སུ་)	'all, everyone'
tɕʰa:lɛ (k'ã:pu)	ཆ་ལས་	'all, everyone'
dzaŋki	ཛང་ཀི་[147]	'all, everyone' (Lachung)
màŋtɕʰiɕoʔ	མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་	'most' (includes the adjectival superlative ending *-ɕoʔ*)
màŋtɕʰiʈaʔ	མང་ཆེ་དྲགས་	'most' (includes the adjectival ending *-ʈaʔ*)
kʰaɕɛʔ	ཁ་ཤས་	'some(one)'
làriʔ	ལ་རིས་	'some(one)'
rɛrɛ	རེ་རེ་	'each one'
riɲi (riɲi)	རེ་གཉིས་ (རེ་གཉིས་)	'a few (people)' (lit. one-two)
ka:kutɕiʔ	ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་	'a few'
tɕi:ɲi:	གཅིག་གཉིས་	'a few' (lit. one-two)
làla…làla	ལ་ལ་... ལ་ལ་	'some…others'
ri, -ri (also *rɛ*)	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

di	འདི་	proximal, 'this'
do-	འདོ་	emphatic proximal, 'this right here'
ó-	ཨོ་	distal, 'that'
nà:	ན་	'here'
pʰou, pʰi-	ཕོའུ་, ཕི་	'over there'
jòu, jì-	ཡོའུ་, ཡི་	'up (there)'
mòu, mì-	མོའུ་, མི་	'down (there)'
pʰa(:)	ཕ(ར)་	'over there, thither, on the other side'
tsʰu(:)	ཚུ(ར)་	'here, hither'
zɛn	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.

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[147] This written form given by consultant KUN is surprising in that it suggests pronunciation as *ts'aŋki* rather than *dzaŋki.*

Table 3.30. Derived demonstratives

Root		Derived object	Derived location
do-	emphatic proximal	*dodi* 'this right here'	*dodikʰa, dona* 'right here'
di	proximal	*di* 'this'	*dikʰa* 'here' (cf. *nà:* 'here')
ó-	distal	*ódi* 'that'	*óna, ókʰa* 'there'
nà:	'here'	*nà=di* 'the one here'	*nàkʰa(=lo)* 'here'
pʰou, pʰi-	'over there'	*pʰou=di, pʰidi* 'that over there'	*pʰou=na, pʰoukʰa, pʰokʰa, pʰina, pʰikʰa* 'over there' *pʰo:pʰina, pʰo:pʰou=na, pʰo:pʰoukʰa* 'way over there
jòu, jì-	'up (there)'	*jòdi, jìdi* 'that up there'	*jìna, jòukʰa* 'up (there)' *jò:jina, jòina* 'way up (there)'
mòu, mì-	'down (there)'	*mòdi, mìdi* 'that down there'	*mòu=na, mòukʰa=lo, mòu=lo, mìna* 'down (there)' *mò:moukʰa=lo* 'way down (there)'
pʰa(:)	'further, on the other side'	*pʰa:=di* 'the one thither/further'	*pʰa:kʰa* 'on the other side, further'
tsʰu(:)	'closer, on this side'	*tsʰu:=di* 'the one hither/closer'	*tsʰu:kʰa* 'on this side, nearer'
ʑɛn	'other'	*ʑɛn=di* 'the other'	*ʑɛnkʰa(=lo)* '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 *pʰina* 'over there' are more lexeme-like than the semantically equivalent forms *jòu=di* and *pʰou=na* because *jì-* and *pʰi-* do not occur independently whereas *jòu* and *pʰou* do. The forms *pʰidi* and *pʰina* may be considered phonologically reduced, lexicalized variants of *pʰou=di* and *pʰou=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

dodɛm	འདོ་འདྲས་	'like this right here'
dɛ:, dɛm, dɛp	འདི་, འདྲས་, འདེབ	proximal, cataphoric, 'like this', 'like that', 'such'
ódɛ:, ódɛm, ódɛp	ཨོ་འདི་, ཨོ་འདྲས་, ཨོ་འདེབ	distal, anaphoric, 'like this', 'like that', 'such'

In addition to the derivations presented above, the distal *ó-* can combine with *-tsʰø?* 'limit, as much as' to form the quantitative *ó-tsʰø?/ó-dzø?* ཨོ་ཚོད་ 'that much/many' (cf. *k'adzø?* ག་ཚོད་ 'how much/many'). Functionally similar words can also be formed from *dɛ:* and *ódɛ:*, which combine with the indefiniteness marker *=tɕi?* to form *dɛ:tɕi?* འདི་ཅིག་ 'this much' and *ódɛ:tɕi?* ཨོ་འདི་ཅིག་ 'that much'. The form *dɛ:tɕi?* primarily functions as postnumeral approximating modifier 'about', see §4.4, whereas *ódɛ:tɕi?* 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.

123

Table 3.32. Question words

k'an, k'ar	གན་, གར་	what
k'adi	ག་འདི་	which
k'ana, k'akʰa	ག་ན་, ག་ཁ(ར)་	where
ka	ཀ་	who
nàm	ནམ་	when
k'ambja[148]	གན་བྱས་	why
k'adzøʔ, k'atsʰøʔ	ག་ཚོད་	how many
k'atɛm	ག་སྙེམ་	what kind
k'atɛ	ག་བྱེ་	how
k'aː[149]	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 *=tɕiʔ* expresses the approximative meaning 'some'.

(3.93) སྟོང་ཕྲག་ ལྔ་ དྲུག་ གཅིག་ འགྱུ་ འོང་།
     [*tõ:ʈʰaʔ*   ***ŋá***   ***ʈ'uː=tɕiʔ***]   *gju*   *ò:.*
     thousand   five   six=INDF   go   come
     'Some five to six thousand (rupees) will go (to buy it).' (PD altar room video)

(3.94) ང་ ཞག་ གསུམ་ སྡོད་རུང་ སྐྱིག་གོ།
     ŋà   [*ɕàʔ* ***súm***] *dø:-ruŋ*   *ɖikɛ.*
     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 (*tɕiʔ* གཅིག་ 'one', *t'aŋpo* དང་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* ཀླད་ཀོར་. The numbers from one to twenty (decimal system) are given in Table 3.33.

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[148] Derives from *k'an* 'what' and *p'ja(-ti)* 'do(-NF)', also occurs as *k'amja, and k'amɛ* and in the fuller converbal construction *kan p'ja-ti* [what do+NF].

[149] Direction from location can be questioned ག་ལས་ 'from where'.

Table 3.33. Numbers 1-20

1	*tɕiʔ*	གཅིག་	11	*tɕuktɕiʔ*	བཅུ་གཅིག་
2	*ɲíː*	གཉིས་	12	*tɕuːɲiː*	བཅུ་གཉིས་
3	*súm*	གསུམ་	13	*tɕuksum*	བཅུ་གསུམ་
4	*ʑi*	བཞི་	14	*tɕipʑi*	བཅུ་བཞི་
5	*ŋá*	ལྔ་	15	*tɕɛːŋa*	བཅོ་ལྔ་
6	*ʈʼuʔ/ʈʼuk*	དྲུག་	16	*tɕuːrup*	བཅུ་དྲུག་
7	*dyn*	བདུན་	17	*tɕopdyn*	བཅོ་བདུན་
8	*gɛʔ*	བརྒྱད་	18	*tɕopgɛʔ*	བཅོ་བརྒྱད་
9	*gu*	དགུ་	19	*tɕuːgu*	བཅུ་དགུ་
10	*tɕu(tʰamba)*	བཅུ་(ཐམ་པ་)	20	*ɲíɕu(tʰamba)*	ཉི་ཤུ་(ཐམ་པ་)

   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. *ɲíɕu* ཉི་ཤུ་ 'twenty' but *tsa-tɕiʔ* ཉྩ་གཅིག་ 'twenty-one' and *tsa-gu* ཉྩ་དགུ་ 'twenty-nine', where the dependent form *tsa-* ཉྩ་ 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 segmentally identical with number five).

Table 3.34. Two forms for referring to full tens

20	*ɲíɕu*	ཉི་ཤུ་	21-29	*tsa-*	ཙ་
30	*súmtɕu*	གསུམ་བཅུ་	31-39	*so-*	སོ་
40	*ʑiptɕu*	བཞི་བཅུ་	41-49	*ɕɛ̀-*	ཞེ་
50	*ŋáptɕu*	ལྔ་བཅུ་	51-59	*ŋà-*	ང་
60	*ʈʼuktɕu*	དྲུག་བཅུ་	61-69	*rɛ-*	རེ་
70	*dyntɕu*	བདུན་བཅུ་	71-79	*tʼøn-*	དོན་
80	*gɛtɕu*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་	81-89	*kʼja-*	གྱ་
90	*guptɕu*	དགུ་བཅུ་	91-99	*kʼo-*	གོ་

   In counting (as in 19, 20, 21) twenty-one is expressed as *tsa-tɕiʔ* ཙ་གཅིག་, but when referring to one number in a sentence, for instance when telling one's age, a more complex form is typically used.[150] The complex form combines the two morphemes for tens, e.g. *ɲíɕu tsa-tɕiʔ* ཉི་ཤུ་ ཙ་གཅིག་ 'twenty-one' (lit. 'twenty twenty-one). The full forms of numbers 21-100 are given in Table 3.35 and 3.36.

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[150] Consultant RL from Lachen counted *ɲíː tsa-tɕiʔ* '21', *ɲíː tsa-ɲiː* '22'.

Table 3.35. Decimal system numbers 21-60

21	*ɲíɕu tsa-tɕiʔ*	ཉི་ཤུ་ རྩ་གཅིག	41	*ziptɕu ɕɛ̀-tɕiʔ*	བཞི་བཅུ་ ཞེ་གཅིག
22	*ɲíɕu tsa-ɲiː*	ཉི་ཤུ་ རྩ་གཉིས	42	*ziptɕu ɕɛ̀-ɲiː*	བཞི་བཅུ་ ཞེ་གཉིས
23	*ɲíɕu tsa-sum*	ཉི་ཤུ་ རྩ་གསུམ	43	*ziptɕu ɕɛ̀-súm*	བཞི་བཅུ་ ཞེ་གསུམ
24	*ɲíɕu tsa-zi*	ཉི་ཤུ་ རྩ་བཞི	44	*ziptɕu ɕɛ̀-zi*	བཞི་བཅུ་ ཞེ་བཞི
25	*ɲíɕu tsa-ŋa*	ཉི་ཤུ་ རྩ་ལྔ	45	*ziptɕu ɕɛ̀-ŋá*	བཞི་བཅུ་ ཞེ་ལྔ
26	*ɲíɕu tsa-ʈ'uʔ*	ཉི་ཤུ་ རྩ་དྲུག	46	*ziptɕu ɕɛ̀-ʈ'uʔ*	བཞི་བཅུ་ ཞེ་དྲུག
27	*ɲíɕu tsa-dyn*	ཉི་ཤུ་ རྩ་བདུན	47	*ziptɕu ɕɛ̀-dyn*	བཞི་བཅུ་ ཞེ་བདུན
28	*ɲíɕu tsa-gɛʔ*	ཉི་ཤུ་ རྩ་བརྒྱད	48	*ziptɕu ɕɛ̀-gɛʔ*	བཞི་བཅུ་ ཞེ་བརྒྱད
29	*ɲíɕu tsa-gu*	ཉི་ཤུ་ རྩ་དགུ	49	*ziptɕu ɕɛ̀-gu*	བཞི་བཅུ་ ཞེ་དགུ
30	*súmtɕu*	གསུམ་བཅུ	50	*ŋáptɕu*	ལྔ་བཅུ
31	*súmtɕu só-tɕiʔ*	གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་གཅིག	51	*ŋáptɕu ŋà-tɕiʔ*	ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་གཅིག
32	*súmtɕu só-ɲiː*	གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་གཉིས	52	*ŋáptɕu ŋà-ɲiː*	ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་གཉིས
33	*súmtɕu só-sum*	གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་གསུམ	53	*ŋáptɕu ŋà-sum*	ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་གསུམ
34	*súmtɕu so-zi*	གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་བཞི	54	*ŋáptɕu ŋà-zi*	ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་བཞི
35	*súmtɕu só-ŋa*	གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་ལྔ	55	*ŋáptɕu ŋà-ŋa*	ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་ལྔ
36	*súmtɕu só-ʈ'uʔ*	གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་དྲུག	56	*ŋáptɕu ŋà-ʈ'uʔ*	ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་དྲུག
37	*súmtɕu só-dyn*	གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་བདུན	57	*ŋáptɕu ŋà-dyn*	ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་བདུན
38	*súmtɕu só-gɛʔ*	གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་བརྒྱད	58	*ŋáptɕu ŋà-gɛʔ*	ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་བརྒྱད
39	*súmtɕu só-gu*	གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་དགུས	59	*ŋáptɕu ŋà-gu*	ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་དགུ
40	*ziptɕu*	བཞི་བཅུ	60	*ʈ'uktɕu*	དྲུག་བཅུ

Table 3.36. Decimal system numbers 61-100

61	*ʈ'uktɕu rɛ̀ː-tɕiʔ*	དྲུག་བཅུ་ རེ་གཅིག	81	*gɛtɕu k'ja-tɕiʔ*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ གྱ་གཅིག
62	*ʈ'uktɕu rɛ̀ː-ɲiː*	དྲུག་བཅུ་ རེ་གཉིས	82	*gɛtɕu k'ja-ɲiː*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ གྱ་གཉིས
63	*ʈ'uktɕu rɛ̀ː-sum*	དྲུག་བཅུ་ རེ་གསུམ	83	*gɛtɕu k'ja-sum*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ གྱ་གསུམ
64	*ʈ'uktɕu rɛ̀ː-zi*	དྲུག་བཅུ་ རེ་བཞི	84	*gɛtɕu k'ja-zi*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ གྱ་བཞི
65	*ʈ'uktɕu rɛ̀ː-ŋa*	དྲུག་བཅུ་ རེ་ལྔ	85	*gɛtɕu k'ja-ŋa*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ གྱ་ལྔ
66	*ʈ'uktɕu rɛ̀ː-ʈ'uʔ*	དྲུག་བཅུ་ རེ་དྲུག	86	*gɛtɕu k'ja-ʈ'uʔ*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ གྱ་དྲུག
67	*ʈ'uktɕu rɛ̀ː-dyn*	དྲུག་བཅུ་ རེ་བདུན	87	*gɛtɕu k'ja-dyn*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ གྱ་བདུན
68	*ʈ'uktɕu rɛ̀ː-gɛʔ*	དྲུག་བཅུ་ རེ་བརྒྱད	88	*gɛtɕu k'ja-gɛʔ*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ གྱ་བརྒྱད
69	*ʈ'uktɕu rɛ̀ː-gu*	དྲུག་བཅུ་ རེ་དགུ	89	*gɛtɕu k'ja-gu*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ གྱ་དགུ
70	*dyntɕu*	བདུན་བཅུ	90	*guptɕu*	དགུ་བཅུ
71	*dyntɕu t'øn-tɕiʔ*	བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་གཅིག	91	*guptɕu k'o-tɕiʔ*	དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་གཅིག
72	*dyntɕu t'øn-ɲíː*	བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་གཉིས	92	*guptɕu k'o-ɲíː*	དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་གཉིས
73	*dyntɕu t'øn-súm*	བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་གསུམ	93	*guptɕu k'o-sum*	དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་གསུམ
74	*dyntɕu t'øn-zi*	བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་བཞི	94	*guptɕu k'o-zi*	དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་བཞི
75	*dyntɕu t'øn-ŋá*	བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་ལྔ	95	*guptɕu k'o-ŋa*	དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་ལྔ
76	*dyntɕu t'øn-ʈ'uʔ*	བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་དྲུག	96	*guptɕu k'o-ʈ'uʔ*	དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་དྲུག
77	*dyntɕu t'øn-dyn*	བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་བདུན	97	*guptɕu k'o-dyn*	དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་བདུན
78	*dyntɕu t'øn-gɛʔ*	བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་བརྒྱད	98	*guptɕu k'o-gɛʔ*	དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་བརྒྱད
79	*dyntɕu t'øn-gu*	བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་དགུ	99	*guptɕu k'o-gu*	དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་དགུ
80	*gɛtɕu*	བརྒྱད་བཅུ	100	*tɕik gja, gja tɕiʔ, gja(tʰamba)*	གཅིག་ བརྒྱ, བརྒྱ་ གཅིག, བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ

Examples of numbers from one hundred onwards are given in Table 3.37, which introduces the words *tõ:(ʈʰaʔ)* སྟོང་(ཕྲག་) 'thousand', *ʈʰi* ཁྲི་ 'ten thousand', *bum* འབུམ་ 'hundred thousand' and *sája* ས་ཡ་ 'million'.

Table 3.37. Examples of numbers from 100 onwards

100	*tɕik gja, gja tɕiʔ, gja(tʰamba)*	གཅིག་ བརྒྱ་, བརྒྱ་ གཅིག་, བརྒྱད་ཐམ་པ་
180	*gja t'ã: gɛtɕu*	བརྒྱ་ དང་ བརྒྱད་བཅུ་
200	*ɲí: gja, gja ɲí:*	གཉིས་ བརྒྱ་, བརྒྱ་ གཉིས་
1000	*tɕik tõ:, tõ:ʈʰaʔ tɕiʔ*	གཅིག་ སྟོང་, སྟོང་ཕྲག་ གཅིག་
2955	*ɲí: tõ: gubgja ɲáptɕu ŋàgu*	གཉིས་ སྟོང་ དགུ་བརྒྱ་ ལྔ་བཅུ་ ང་དགུ་
10,000	*tɕik ʈʰi, ʈʰi tɕiʔ, tõ:ʈʰaʔ tɕu(tʰamba)*	གཅིག་ ཁྲི་, ཁྲི་ གཅིག་, སྟོང་ཕྲག་ བཅུ་(ཐམ་པ་)
100,000	*bum tɕiʔ*	འབུམ་ གཅིག་
160,000	*bum tɕiʔ t'ã: tõ:ʈaʔ kʰɛ: súm*[151]	འབུམ་ གཅིག་ དང་ སྟོང་ཕྲག་ ཁལ་ གསུམ་
1,000,000	*sája tɕiʔ*	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. *súm gja* གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ 'three hundred'), whereas a greater number of hundreds expressed by a disyllabic form occurs after the hundreds (e.g. *gja tɕɛːŋa* བརྒྱ་ བཅོ་ལྔ་ 'fifteen hundred'). The form *tɕik tõ:* གཅིག་ སྟོང་, where the number of thousands comes before the word thousand, is used in referring to years, for instance 1974 *tɕiktõ: gubja dyntɕu t'ønzi* གཅིག་ སྟོང་ དགུ་བརྒྱ་ བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་བཞི་. The reverse order *tõ:ʈʰaʔ tɕiʔ* སྟོང་ཕྲག་ གཅིག་ is used for discussing prices, e.g. *tõ:ʈʰaʔ tɕopgɛʔ* སྟོང་ཕྲག་ བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ 'eighteen hundred, 1800'. The numeral suffix *-ʈʰaʔ* ཕྲག་ signals completion of a set or an abstract notion represented by a set of numbers, e.g. *tõ:ʈʰaʔ* སྟོང་ཕྲག་ 'thousand', *dyntʰaʔ* བདུན་ཕྲག་ 'week', *tɕuʈʰaʔ* བཅུ་ཕྲག་ 'full ten, decade'.

For other numerals, consider Table 3.38.

Table 3.38. Other numeral-related vocabulary

tõ: k'ã:pu སྟོང་ གང་པོ་	'all'	*ḷopo tõ: k'ã:pu* ལྷོ་པོ་ སྟོང་ གང་པོ་ 'all the Lhopos' (lit. full thousand Lhopos)
pʰiʔ ཕྱེད་	'half'	*súm t'ã: pʰiʔ* གསུམ་ དང་ ཕྱེད་ 'three and half'
tɕʰa ཆ་	'pair'	*lä̌: tɕʰa tɕiʔ* གླང་ ཆ་ གཅིག་ 'a pair of bulls'
k'ã:(pu) གང་པོ་	'(one) full'	*tɕʰum tsaŋku k'ã:* ཆུམ་ ཚང་ཀུ་ གང་ [rice container full] 'one container of rice' *para k'ã:(pu)* པ་ར་ གང་(པུ་) 'fistful'
do/t'o དོ་	'two'	*botor do* པོ་ཏོར་ དོ་ 'two bottles'

The vigesimal system illustrated in Table 3.39 is build around the number twenty, for which the word *kʰɛ:* 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.

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[151] For *kʰɛ:*, refer to the vigesimal system explained below.

Table 3.39. Examples of the vigesimal number system

20	*kʰɛ: tɕiʔ*	ཁལ་ གཅིག་	score-one
21	*kʰɛ: tɕiʔ (t'ã:) tɕiʔ*	ཁལ་ གཅིག་ (དང་) གཅིག་	score-one (and) one
25	*kʰɛ: tɕiʔ (t'ã:) ŋá*	ཁལ་ གཅིག་ (དང་) ལྔ་	score-one (and) five
30	*kʰɛ: tɕiʔ (t'ã:) tɕu(tʰamba)*	ཁལ་ གཅིག་ (དང་) བཅུ་(ཐམ་པ་)	score-one (and) ten
39	*kʰɛ: tɕiʔ tɕu t'ã: gu*	ཁལ་ གཅིག་ བཅུ་ དང་ དགུ་	score-one ten and nine
40	*kʰɛ: ɲí:*	ཁལ་ གཉིས་	score-two
41	*kʰɛ: ɲí: (t'ã:) tɕiʔ*	ཁལ་ གཉིས་ (དང་) གཅིག་	score-two (and) one
55	*kʰɛ: ɲí: t'ã: tɕɛ:ŋa*	ཁལ་ གཉིས་ དང་ བཅོ་ལྔ་	score-two and fifteen
59	*kʰɛ: ɲí: tɕu t'ã: gu*	ཁལ་ གཉིས་ བཅུ་ དང་ དགུ་	score-two ten and nine
60	*kʰɛ: súm*	ཁལ་ གསུམ་	score-three
80	*kʰɛ: zi*	ཁལ་ བཞི་	score-four
100	*tɕik gja, gja tɕiʔ, gja(tʰamba)*	གཅིག་ བརྒྱ་, བརྒྱ་ གཅིག་, བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ	(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་ཕྲག་ ཁལ་ གཅིག་ ཕྲིན་་གད་ ཨིན།

      *ŋà   tõ:ʈʰaʔ   **kʰɛ: tɕiʔ**   p'in-ɕĩ:.*
      1SG   thousand   score one   give-NPST.PER
      'I will give twenty thousand (rupees).' (TB bulls story)

(3.96) ཨ་ཇོ་ རྒས་པོ་ ལོ་ ཁལ་ བཞི་ཚོད་

      *ádzo   gɛ:po   lò   **kʰɛ: zi**-tsʰøʔ*
      grandfather   old.man   year   score four-about
      'old grandfather of some eighty years' (Richhi 78)

(3.97) a) ཁྱིལ་ཁང་ བསྡོམས་སྟེ་ ཁལ་ བཞི་ དང་ ལྔ་ སྦད།

        *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་ རྩ་བརྒྱད་ འདེ་ཚིག་ ལྷོ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ སློབ་དཔོན་ ཡོད།

        ***ŋábgja   ɲíɕu   tsa:-gɛʔ**   dɛ:tɕiʔ   ɭori=ki   lópɛ̃:*
        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)   ཕྱི་ལོ་ གཅིག་ སྟོང་ དགུ་བརྒྱ་ བདུན་བཅུ་ དོན་བརྒྱད་ ནང་ག་ལོ་

teʰilo[152] **tɕik-tõ:**   **gubgja**   **dyntɕu** **t'øn-gɛʔ**   *nàŋɕa=lo*
year   one-thousand nine.hundred seventy seventy-eight inside=DAT
'In 1978' (KT life story)

(3.99)   ད་ ང་ བཟའ་ཚང་ འགྱགས་སྟེ་ སྡོད་སྟེ་ ད་ ལོ་ གཉིས་བུ་ རྩ་བདུན་ཚོད་ ལང་ཚར་ས།

t'a *ŋà* *za:tsʰã:*   *ɖak-ti* *dø:-ti* *t'a* *lò* **ɲíɕu**
now 1SG married.couple   bind-NF stay-NF now year twenty
tsapdỹ:-tsʰøʔ   *lã:-tsʰa:=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་བུ་ འདི་ མི་ལེགས།

tsʰe: **ɲíɕu=di**   *mi-lèʔ.*
date twenty=DEMPH   NEG-be.good
'The twentieth day is not good.' (RS astrology)

In addition to the *ɲíɕu* ཉི་བུ་, *kʰɛ:* ཁལ་ and *tsa-* རྩ་, all meanings 'twenty', a fourth numeral *ɲèr* 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. *ɲèr=gu* ཉེར་དགུ་ 'the twenty ninth day of the month'.[153]

(3.101)   A: དེ་ རུམ་ཏེག་ དགོན་པའི་ཀི་ འདི་ ནམ་ མོ་, དགོན་པོ་ སྙིང་ཀུ་ཀི?

tɛ *rùmtɛʔ* *gjømpø:=gi=di*   *nàm mo,*   *gjømpo* *ɲiŋku̥=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 སྲད་ རྣུ་ བཅུ་པའི་ཀི།

di **ɲèr=ra**   *bɛʔ,*   *dou* *tɕu-pɸ:=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 -*tʰamba* 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

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[152] Lit. 'outsider years', referring to the western calender 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).

[153] The word *tsʰe:* 'date of the month' is used for referring to the dates of the month up to the twentieth day, *tsʰe: ɲíɕu* 'day twenty'. After that, the specific numeral *ɲèr* 'twenties (of a month)' is used for referring to days 21-29, i.e. *ɲèrgu* 'the twenty ninth of the month'. The thirtieth day of the month is *námgã:,* which literally means 'black moon'.

-tʰamba 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).

(3.102) ཏེ་ ངའི་གི་ ན་ བ་བུ་གཞི་ གསུམ་ཐམ་པ་ ཡོད།

      tɛ   *ɲè:=gi*   *nà:* *p'apuʑi* **súm-tʰamba** *jə̀ʔ.*

      then 1SG.GEN=GEN   here children three-NUM   EX.PER

      'Then I have three children here.' (KT life story)

(3.103) ད་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་ཊེ་གི་ ད་སྟོ་ ལོ་ བཅུ་ཐམ་པ་ ལང་ཚར།

      t'a *ɲén*   *kjap-tiki t'ato lò*   **tɕu-tʰamba** *là̰:-tsʰa:.*

      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་ཚག་ གཉིས་པོ་ བྷའི་ལ་ ལྟ་བར་ བཅར་བོ་ ཨིན།

      ŋàtɕaʔ **ɲí:-po**   *bhaila*   *ta-wa*   *tɕa:-bo*   *ḭ̀:.*

      1PL   two-COL   PN   look-PUR   come.HUM-2INF   EQU.PER

      'The two of us came to see Bhaila.' (Richhi 11)

(3.105) ཚོ་འདི་ ཊི་རུག་ ལྔ་པོ་ འདི་

      ódi *tiruʔ*   **ŋá-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) **ɲè:*   *p'um*   **tɕi-ga**   *jə̀ʔ.*

       ɲè: *p'um*   **ɲíŋ-ga** *jə̀ʔ.*   'I have two daughters.'

       ɲè: *p'um*   **súm-ga** *jə̀ʔ.*   'I have three daughters.'

       ɲè: *p'um*   **ʑi-ga**   *jə̀ʔ.*   'I have four daughters.'

       ɲè: *p'um*   **gu-ga**   *jə̀ʔ.*   'I have nine daughters.' (KN e)

      *ɲè: *p'um*   **tɕu-ga** *jə̀ʔ.*

      1SG.GEN   girl   NUM-COL EX.PER

The suffix *-tsʰøʔ* ཚོད་ 'about, some, measure of' (from WT ཚོད་ *tshod* 'measure', which is in meaning very similar to WT ཚད་ *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.

130

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. [154] 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 བཞིན་) 'likeness, similar to', and the locative markers *-kʰa* (locative suffix), *=lo* (dative-locative case), *=lɛ* (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
nàŋ	ནང་	'inside(s)'
t'øn	དོན་	'meaning, purpose'
tsʰap	ཚབ་	'replacement'
tsa	རྩ་	'root, base'
tʰoʔ	ཐོག་	'roof'
go	མགོ་	'head'
kor	སྐོར་	'neighborhood'
ŋo̥ː	ངོས་	'side, direction'
gjap	རྒྱབ་	'back'
dzɛː	རྗེས་	'trace, trail'
dyn	མདུན་	'front'
p'aː	བར་	'(space in) between'
ɲén	སྔོན་	'earlier (time)'
tɛŋ	སྟེང་	'top'
òʔ	འོག་	'low(er) place'
bu(ː)	སྦུ་	'middle'
boloʔ	འབོ་ལོག་[155]	'close'

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[154] 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).

[155] In Dzongkha, the cognate is written སྦོ་ལོགས་.

Table 3.41. Postpositions

Postposition		Gloss
nàŋ-tar, nàŋ-zin	ནང་ལྟར་, ནང་བཞིན་	'according to, similar to'
t'øn-zin(gi)	དོན་བཞིན་(གྱིས་)	'according to, in accordance with, in view of'
(t'ã:) ɲámtɕi?, *(t'ã:) ɲámpu*	(དང་) མཉམ་ཅིག་, (དང་) མཉམ་པུ་	'with'
sã̀:tɛ, =sã̀:	ཟང་སྟེ་, ཟང་	'until'
mèmbo[156]	མན་པོ་	'except'
mèntã̀: (rare)	མན་བཏང་	'except'
tsʰap=lo, tsʰama(=lo)	ཚབ་ལོ་, ཚབ་མ་(ལོ་)	'instead of'
tsa-kʰa, tsa:=lo, =tsa:	རྩ་ཁ་(ར)་, རྩ་ལོ་, རྩ་(ར)་	'at, by, with'
t'øn=lo, t'øn=lɛ, *t'ønda=lo, t'ønda=lɛ*	དོན་ལོ་, དོན་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལོ་, དོན་དག་ལས་	'for (the purpose of)'
tʰo:=lɛ	ཐོག་ལས་	'through, via, on the basis of, by'
(=lɛ) gjy:ti	(ལས་) རྒྱུད་སྟེ་	'through, via, by'
go:=lɛ	འགོ་ལས་	'from, through'
kor=lo, kor=lɛ	སྐོར་ལོ་, སྐོར་ལས་	'about'
ŋo:=lo/hõ:=lo, ŋo:tɛ/hõ:tɛ *ŋo:=lɛ/hõ:=lɛ*	ངོས་ལོ་, ངོས་སྟེ་, ངོས་ལས་	'toward, in the direction of' 'from the direction/side of, through'
gjab=lo, gjab=lɛ	རྒྱབ་ལོ་, རྒྱབ་ལས་	'behind, after'
dzɛ:=lo[157]	རྗེས་ལོ་	'after'
(kum)dyn-kʰa, (kum)dỹ:=lo, *kumdỹ:*	(སྐུ་)མདུན་ཁ(ར)་, (སྐུ་)མདུན་ལོ་, སྐུ་མདུན་	'in front of, in the presence of'
p'a:=na	བར་ན་	'between'
ɲén=lo, ɲén=lɛ, ɲǿma, *hɛn=lɛ, hɛma*	སྙོན་ལོ་, སྙོན་ལས་, སྙོན་མ་, ཧན་ལས་, ཧན་མ་	'before'
tɛŋ-kʰa, tɛŋ=lo	སྟེང་ཁ(ར)་, སྟེང་ལོ་	'above, on'
=gu, gu=lo[158]	མགུ་(ལོ་),[159]	'above, on'
ò:=lo, ò:=lɛ	འོག་ལོ་, འོག་ལས་	'below'
bu:=na, bu:=lo	སྦུ་ན་, སྦུ་ལོ་	'in the middle of'
bolo(-kʰa), bolo=lo	འབོ་ལོག་(ཁར་)་, འབོ་ལོག་ལོ་	'next to'
nàŋɕa(=lo), nàŋ=lo, *nàŋ=na*	ནང་ཤ་(ལོ་), ནང་ལོ་, ནང་ན་	'inside'
pʰilo?	ཕྱི་ལོག་	'outside'
paŋkʰa	པང་ཁ(ར)་	'outside'

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[156] Occurs in a negated or interrogated clause.

[157] This word from Tibetan is mainly used by literate people with monastic training.

[158] 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).

[159] Experimental spelling reflecting the hypothesized origin *go* 'head' (WD མགོ་ *mgo*).

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, nàŋzin, t'ønzin(gi), ɲámtɕiʔ, ɲámpu, sã̀ːtɛ, =sã̀ː*) 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. *nàŋɕa/nàŋlo* 'inside', *nàŋlɛ* '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 　*tɕiː=ki* 　　**gjablɛ**
　　　　　year 　one=GEN 　　after
　　　　　'one year later' (SGD wedding customs)

　　　　b) ཉིམ་ གཅིག་ རྒྱབ་ལས་

　　　　　ɲìm 　*tɕiʔ* 　**gjablɛ**
　　　　　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)　རོགས་ཚུ་ མཉམ་པུ་

　　　　　roː=tsu 　　**ɲàmpu**
　　　　　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-phonolological 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)　ཉིམ་ གསུམ་ རྒྱབ་

　　　　　ɲìm 　*súm* 　**gjap**
　　　　　day 　three 　back
　　　　　'After three days…' (TB funeral customs)

(3.110) ད་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྟེང་
   *t'a ó(d)i **tɛŋ***
   now that top
   'Now above (=in addition to) that…' (SGD wedding customs)

Typically RNs occur with additional spatial (dative-locative case *=lo*, ablative case *=lɛ*, locative suffix *-kʰa*) or genitive marking (*=ki/gi*).

(3.111) ཏེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྟེང་ཁ་ལོ
   *tɛ ódi **tɛŋkʰa=lo***
   the that above=DAT
   'then above (in additional to) that…' (CY interview)

(3.112) ལོ་ ལྔ་བཅུ་(གི་) རྒྱབ་ལས་
   *lò ŋáptɛu(=gi) **gjablɛ***
   year fifty(=GEN) after
   'after fifty years' (KN e)

(3.113) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ནང་གི་ གཏམ་རྒྱུས་ཚུ
   *ɟɛndzõ: **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) *gjablɛ* 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. *ɕá: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 *-ɕa*[160] (*nàŋɕa* '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/tẽ:* 'top, upper surface' rarely occurs outside the relational constructions with additional marking (*tɛŋkʰa/tɛŋ=lo* 'above', *tɛŋ=lɛ* 'from above', *tɛŋ=gi* 'of above').

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[160] Written ཤར་ *shar* in the novel Richhi.

RNs also have noun like features. Locative RNs inflect for the dative-locative, ablative and genitive case, e.g. *nàŋɕa/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. *ɕá: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', *dyŋkʰa, dyn=lo* 'in front of'. Most of the RNs also have independent uses as adverbs, e.g. *ɲénlɛ* '(in) earlier (times)', *gjablɛ* 'afterwards', *nàŋɕa* 'inside'.

A study of the most frequent RNs in the novel Richhi, *tɛŋ* སྟེང་ 'above' (including forms *tɛŋkʰa, tɛŋ=lo, tɛŋ=gi*, altogether 81 instances) and *nàŋ* ནང་ 'inside' (including *nàŋɕa, nàŋ=lo, nàŋ=lɛ, nàŋ=gi*, altogether 74 instances) yields the following result concerning genitive marking: those complements/modifiers which allow short genitive marking through vowel modification (glide or fronting) and, consequently, 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. In other words, typically only the short genitive is marked. Constructions with the short genitive are illustrated in (3.114-116).

(3.114) ངའི་ སྟེང་ལོ་

       ɲè: *tɛŋ=lo*
       1SG.GEN   top=DAT
       'on me' (Richhi 63)

(3.115) ཁོང་ཚུའི་ ནང་ལས་

       kʰõ:=tsu=i   *nàŋ=lɛ*
       3PL=PL=GEN   inside=ABL
       'from among them' (Richhi 45)

(3.116) སློབ་གྲྭའི་ ནང་གི་ རྒྱ་ཁྲི

       lóbɖø: *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) ཤུག་ལོག་ སྟེང་ལོ་

       ɕá:loʔ   *tɛŋ=lo*
       bamboo.wall   top=DAT
       'on the bamboo wall' (Richhi 98)

(3.118) མཚོ་འཁོར་ ནང་ལོ་

       tsʰokor   *nàŋ=lo*
       pond   inside=DAT
       'in the pond' (Richhi 32)

(3.119) ཚོའི་ ཁྱིམ་ ནང་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* ཁེབ་ཀྱི་ སྟེང་ ཁར་ 'on the cover', *ɕá:lo=ki tɛŋ=lo* ཤག་ལོག་གི་ སྟེང་ལོ་ 'on the bamboo wall'. In two cases, the short genitive form was omitted, *kɛ tɛŋ=lo* སྐེ་ སྟེང་ལོ་ 'on the neck', *bu: nàŋ=gi* སྦུ་ ནང་གི་ '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 *nàŋɕa, nàŋlo, nàŋlɛ* and *nàŋ=gi* only 9 are marked with the longer genitive form *-ki/gi*. The other instances where the genitive would obtain 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 *lóbɖa* 'school', which can occur in short genitive, occurs in my corpus both as non-marked (*lóbɖa nàŋɕa*) and as genitive (*lóbɖø: nàŋɕa*).

    The general principle applies that RN complements may be genitive marked unless marking the genitive increases morphophonological complexity by adding an extra syllable. 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, *kã:po* ཀང་པོ་ and *ka:m* ཀངམ་. With the first one, the (short) genitive is formed by vowel modification, *kã: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) བྱི་ཅུང་ ཀང་པའི་ ནང་ག

      *p'itɕuŋ[161]   **kã:pø:**   nàŋɕa*

      bird   foot.GEN   inside

      'in the bird's foot' (PD bet story)

(3.121) བྱི་ཅུང་གི་ ཀངམ་ སྟེང་ཁར་

      *p'itɕuŋ=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་ ཁུ་ རུ་བྲི་ གཅིག་ སྟེང་ཁ་ལོ་ དཔྱང་སྟི་ཀི་

      *t'a   kʰu   rubi=**tɕiʔ**   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.

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[161] Interestingly, the complement of the RN (*kã:pø:*) is genitive marked whereas the nominal modifier of *kã:po* 'foot', *p'itɕuŋ* 'bird' remains non-marked. In example (4.22), however, the modifier if genitive-marked. This speaker may have a tendency to avoid two contiguous non-marked modifiers/complements.

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.

Table 3.42. Clause/sentence connectors

t'izã:	དེ་ཟང་	'but'
ĩ:ruŋ	ཨིན་རུང་	'but, however', lit. 'although it is (so)' [EQU-CONC]
ínajã:	ཨིན་ན་ཡང་	'but, however', lit. 'even if it is (so)' [EQU-COND-still]
índã:jã:	ཨིན་དང་ཡང་	'but, however' lit. 'it is (so) and yet' [EQU-and-still]
ĩ:jã:	ཨིན་ཡང་	'but, however', lit. 'it is (so) yet' [EQU-still]
zɛnnɛ	གཞན་ནེ་	'otherwise' lit. [other-COND] or [other-TOP]
zɛ̃:mɛnɛ	གཞན་མན་ནེ་	'otherwise', lit. 'if there is nothing else' [other-NEG.EQU-COND]
jã̀:	ཡང་	'and, (then) again, still'
jã̀:nɛ	ཡང་ནེ་	'or'
jã̀:mɛnɛ	ཡང་མན་ནེ་	'or in other case, otherwise', lit. 'and if it is not (so)' [and-NEG.EQU-COND]
mi-tsʰɛʔ	མི་ཚད་	'not only (but also); moreover; in addition ', lit. 'not-stop(ping)'
k'ambjasɛnɛ[162]	གན་བྱས་སེ་ནེ་	'because, this is for the reason that', lit. 'if told why' [why-say-COND]
dilɛ	འདི་ལས་	'then' (lit. 'this=ABL', probably already lexicalized)
t'ɛnɛ	དེ་ནས་	'then, in that case' (often collocates with *tɛ* 'well, then', as in *tɛ t'ɛnɛ* '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-tsʰɛʔ* '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'amjasɛnɛ* '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 dintinctive characteristics of interjections are emphatically long vowels, the use of diphthongs /ɛi/ and /ai/, which do not otherwise occur in word roots (but do occur in the genitive forms, e.g. *kɛi* སྐེའི་ 'of neck', *sái* སའི་ 'of

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[162] 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 *làp* 'say' or *ɕù* 'say (hum.)', e.g. *k'amjalapnɛ, k'amjaɕunɛ*. 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'amjasɛno* (eastern and northern pronunciation)*, k'amjasɛna* (literary pronunciation)*.*

ground') and the otherwise non-occurring final consonant /pʰ/ [f] in *úf* ཤུབ་ (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.

Table 3.43. Some interjections

Form		Gloss	Function
ámɛ:	ཨ་མེ་	'wow'	expressing enthrallment, rapture
làso	ལགས་སོ་	'okay'	approval
ák(ʰ)a:	ཨ་ཁ་	'gee, gosh'	surprise, amazement
ádzɛi	ཨ་རྫེ་	'gee, gosh'	surprise, amazement, quite similar to *ákʰa:*
ójɛ, ói	ཨོ་ཡེ་, ཨོའི་	'oh, hey'	used for getting someone's attention
ɛ́:, jà:	ཨེ་, ཡ་	'oh'	expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going
á:	ཨ་	'hey', 'yes', 'what?'	1) informal address to get someone's attention 2) non-honorific response to being called, addressed to social inferior (corresponds to honorific *la:* below)
là:	ལགས་	'yes' 'excuse me?'	1) polite response to being called 2) expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said[163]
kɛi	ཀྱེ་, ཀྱེ་	'O (voc.)'	honorific address (e.g. 'O lama')
tɕʰa	ཚ་	'alas'	disappointment (e.g. after a bad shot in a game of carrom or *kerembot*), loan from Nepali
tɕʰɛ:	ཚེ་	'ah, oh no'	disapproval, discomfort (e.g. when someone does not answer phone), the response to being tickled
úf	ཤུབ་	'phew'	expression of pain or discomfort
ádzi:	ཨ་རྫི་	'oh no'	1) (unpleasant) surprise, 2) fear
áijo: *á(i)ja:*	ཨེ་ཡོ་ ཨེ་ཡ་, ཨ་ཡ་	'ouch'	pain or fear of pain
óho:	ཨོ་ཏོ་	'oh no', 'gosh'	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, *tˈa* 'now' (WD ད་ *da*) and *tɛ* (WD དེ་ *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) དེ་ད་སྟོ་ དེ་ད་ ལ་ཆུང་ལ་ དེ་ད་ སྨྲི་
      tɛ tˈato tɛ tˈa   làtɕʰuŋ=la tɛ tˈa   lí=di
      so now so now TPN=DAT   so now apple=DEMPH
      'So now in Lachung apples…' (LA intro to Lachung)

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[163] Likely to be frequently heard by a language learner.

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

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 [164] (§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.[165] 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./Spat.	Origin	Functions described in
agentive	=*ki/gi* high pitch[166]	G	WT ཀྱི་ -*kyis*, གིས་ -*gis*, གྱིས་ -gyis, ས་ -*s*, ཡིས་ -*yis*	§5.1-3, §15.4.6
genitive	=*ki/gi/i*	G	WT ཀྱི་ -*kyi*, གྱི་ -*gyi*, གི་ -*gi*, འི་ -'*i*, ཡི་ -*yi*	§3.6.8, §5.4.3, §15.8.6
dative-locative	=*lo*	G and S	WT ལ་ *la* (dative) (?)	§5.3.2, §5.4.3 §5.6.1.1
ablative	=*lɛ*	S	WT ལས་ *las* (elative)	§5.6.1.3, §15.3.1.1, §15.4.3
locative	=*na*	S	WT ན་ *na* (locative)	§5.6.1.2

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[164] The word "case" derives from Latin *casus* 'fall(ing)', a loan from Greek *ptõsis* 'fall(ing)' (Haspelmath 2009: 506). Thus, the word suggests a falling away from the standard citation form (Blake 1994: 19).

[165] 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.

[166] In agentive personal pronouns *ŋá:* (vs. *ŋà*) and *mú:* (vs. *mù*).

The Classical Tibetan དང་ *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:*[167] (WD དང་) in Denjongke. Denjongke *t'ã:* is most frequently used as a coordinating conjunction, but it also occurs as an optional element together with *ɲámpu/ɲámtɕiʔ* མཉམ་པུ་/མཉམ་ཅིག་ 'with' and *ɖau* འདྲ་ '(be) similar', e.g. *ŋà (t'ã:) ɲámpu* ང་ (དང་) མཉམ་པུ་ 'with me', *ka (t'ã:) ɲámtɕiʔ* ཀ་ (དང་) མཉམ་ཅིག་ 'with whom', *ḻamu (t'ã:) ɖau* ཨ་ཨ (དང་) འདྲ་ '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).[168]

(3.124) ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱིས་ མོའི་ ཨ་རྐྱ་ འདི་ དང་ ལྷ་སྐྱིད་ལོ་ ངོ་ ཤེས་ འགྲགས་བཞིན་

     tɕʰøki=ki   *mù=i*   *ágja=di*   *t'ã:*   *ḻaki=lo* *ŋò* *ɕé:*

     PN=GEN   3SGF=GEN elder.brother=DEMPH with PN=DAT face know

     ɖak-zɛ̃:

     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. *ŋà* 'I', *ŋá:=gi* 'I=AGT', *ŋá:* '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).[169]

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 vocalically 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 in the voicing of the velar plosive in -*ki/gi* in both the agentive and genitive, in the examples of this grammar =*gi* follows voiced consonants and

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[167] In sentential context typically pronounced *dã:*.

[168] The term "associative" is in the present work 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.

[169] At present it is unclear, whether agentive marking by lengthing 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་ in reading 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'.

vowels, whereas *=ki* follows voiceless consonants, including an underlying glottal stop (e.g. *tɕʰøʔ* ཆོད་ 'you' > *tɕʰøː=ki* ཆོད་ཀྱི་ [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 *nàː* 'here'. Its basic function is to mark location within 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* ཁྱིམ་ན་ '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).

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: *=sãː* 'until' and *=tsa(ː)* 'at, by, with'

The forms *=sãː* ཟང་ 'until' and *=tsa(ː)* རྩ(ར)་ 'at, by, with' are problematic for analysis in that they resemble cases. In distribution *=sãː* resembles cases in being able to occur with nouns, adverbs and verbs, see (3.125-127) respectively.

(3.125) ཕི་ན་ འབར་གཉའ་ཟང་ སླེབས་པོ་ མེད།[170]
         pʰina   **ba:ɲa=sãː**   *ḻɛp-o*   *mèʔ.*
         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་ ཨོ་འདི་ ག་ཚོད་ཟང་ བདེན་དྲགས་ ཡོད་ཀམ་ལགས?
         tam   *ódi*   **k'adzø=sãː**   *ɖɛnʈaʔ*   *jə̀ː=kam=la?*
         speech   that   how.much=until   true   EX.PER=ATTQ=HON
         'I wonder to what degree that claim is true?' (CY interview)

(3.127) ང་ དྲུང་ དབང་མོ་ ལོག་ མ་འོང་ཟང་ སྡོད་ཤད་ ཨིན་
         ŋà   *t'aruŋ*   *óŋmu*   *lòk*   **ma-ò̀ː=sãː**   *dø̀ː-ɕɛ*   *ĩ́ː.*
         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 *=sãː*, 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.

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[170] The way of writing སྦར་གཉའ་ *sbar-gnya'* 'burnt-neck' derives from Sandberg (1895: 124), who relies on Dr. Waddell.

(3.128) ད་ཁྱོ་ ཟང་སྐྱེ་ ང་ ན་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ ནང་ཤ་ལོ་རང་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

t'ato **sằ:tɛ** ŋà nà: lápʈa nàŋɕa=lo=rã: jóʔ kjap-zɛ̃: jờʔ.
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 sằ:tɛ, =sã: is here considered a cliticized form of the postposition sằ:tɛ. There is, however, some fluidity in this criteria, because the locative case marker =na also has a rather synonymic corresponding postposition nàŋɕa/nàŋlo, and thus =na could be argued, in analogy with =sã: and sã:tɛ, to be a cliticized postposition nàŋɕa/nàŋlo. 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 nàŋɕa) and =sã/sằ:tɛ 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 -kʰa may be suffixed to (=)tsa(:). The suffix -kʰa does not occur with cases but it does occur with relator nouns, e.g. tɛŋkʰa '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) སྟོབས་འབྱོར་ ཚར་ འདི་ བརྒྱ་ ལྔ་ ཡོད།

tobdzor=**tsa:**=di gja ŋá jờʔ.
PN=at=DEMPH hundred five EX.PER
'There were five hundred (rupees) with Topjor.' (UTR, plains story)

b) སྐྲིས་ཀུལ་ (school) ཚཁར་ ཨོ་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 longer than the short vowels in case markers.[171]

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.[172] 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. ŋà ང་ 'I', ɲè: ངའི་ [1SG.GEN] 'my', ɲè:=gi ངའི་གི་ (WD spelling experimental) [1SG.GEN=GEN] 'my'. However, double genitive marking is limited to nouns that end in a vowel and, thus, can have a modified vowel, rather than the full form =ki/gi, as the genitive marker. Other cases can, similarly, only attach to the short genitive

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[171] An exception is the special case of agentive, where agentivity is shown by vowel lengthening, see §15.4.6.
[172] 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).

form, e.g. *súm-pø:=na* གསུམ་པའི་ན་ [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 *=lɛ* and dative-locative *=lo* may attach to the locative marker, as shown in (3.130) and (3.131) respectively.

(3.130) ཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ ག་ཡང་ མ་སླེབས་ཤད་ འདིས་

        tʰinlɛ:=ki   *kʰim=**na=lɛ***   *t'ato*[173]*=sã:*   *ka=jã:*   *ma-ḻɛp-ɕɛ=di:*

        PN=GEN   house=LOC=ABL now=until   who=even NEG-arrive-INF=DEMPH.AGT

        'Because no one has so far arrived from Thrinley's house...' (Richhi 43)

(3.131) བུའི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལོ་

        p'u=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:

(3.132) ངའི་གི་ ཁྱིམ་ ཁྱུན་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ལས་ རྙིང་ཀུ་ ཨིན།

        ɲè:=gi   *kʰim*   *ḻɛŋgɛ:=**ki=lɛ***   *ɲíŋku*   *ĩ̀:.*

        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་གྲྭའི་ན་ལོ་

        *lóbɖø:=**na=lo***

        school.GEN=LOC=DAT

        'in the school' (Richhi 31)

An alternative interpretation would be to treat *nalo* and *nalɛ* as reduced postpositions meaning 'within' and 'from within' respectively, co-existing with the postpositions *nàŋɕa/nàŋlo/nàŋlɛ* '(from) inside'. However, the fact that the postpositional forms *nàŋɕa* 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.

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[173] The spoken form *t'ato* corresponds to ད་ལྟ་ *da-lta* 'now' used in Richhi. The form used in Richhi is influenced by Written Tibetan.

Table 3.45. Emphatic clitics

Form		Label	Function described in
=rã:/=ra	རང་/ར་	anaphoric emphatic	§16.1.1
=to	ཏོ་	contrastive emphatic	§16.1.2
=di	འདི་	demonstrative-emphatic	§16.1.3
=ni/nɛ	ནེ་	topicalizer-emphatic	§16.1.4
=jã:	ཡང་	additive emphatic	§16.1.5

The anaphoric emphatic *=rã:* derives from Classical Tibetan རང་ *rang* '-self, same' (Beyer (1992: 218), the meaning of which also helps understand the use of the Denjongke clitic. The contrastive emphatic *=to* ཏོ་ is most likely a loan of the Nepali contrastive emphatic *ta* त and/or the Hindi contrastive emphatic *to* तो.[174] The demonstrative-emphatic *=di* འདི་ is a grammaticalized form of the proximal demonstrative *di* 'this'. The topicalizer-emphatic *=nɛ/ni* ནེ་ derives from Classical Tibetan "topicalizer" ནི་ *ni* (Beyer 1992: 275). Its cognates in other Tibetic languages have been termed "topic marker" (Lhasa Tibetan, Denwood [1999: 103]), "topic particle" (Kyirong Tibetan, Huber [2002: 108]) and "focus marker" (Lamjung Yolmo, Gawne [2013: 487]). The additive emphatic *=jã:* ཡང་ derives from Classical Tibetan, where it is used in a similar way (Jäschke 1881: 505). For full functional description of the emphatic clitics, see §16.1.

3.7.3 Clausal clitics
Clausal clitics (see Table 3.46), which have scope over the whole preceding clause, attach to the end of the verb complex.

Table 3.46. Clausal clitics

Form		Label	Function described in
=lo	ལོ་	reportative	§9.2.1
=s(ɛ)	སེ་	quotative	§9.2.2
=la	ལགས་	honorific (also attaches to nouns)	§16.2.1 (also §3.7.4.3, §11.2.3)
=ɕo	ཤོ་	attention marker (extended use with nouns)	§16.2.2
=ki/gi	གི་	non-commitment marker	§16.2.3

The forms *=lo*, *=s(ɛ)* and *=la* have recognisable cognates in other Tibetic languages. For instance, the reportative *=lo* (WT ལོ་ *lo*), deriving from Classical Tibetan (Jäschke 1881: 551-552), has cognates at least in 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 Tibetan languages. In addition to being a clausal clitic, the honorific *=la* also attaches to nouns (§3.7.4.3) and functions as an interjection (§11.2.3)..

To my knowledge, anything resembling in form and function the attention marker *=ɕo* ཤོ་ has not been reported in Tibetic languages. However, at least three Bhutanese, Eastern Bodish languages

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[174] Huber (2002: 111) analyzes similarly functioning Kyirong Tibetan form *-ta* as a reflex of WT ད་ *da* 'now', for which Jäschke's (1881) dictionary describes a colloquial emphatic use. In Denjongke, however, the reflex of WT ད་ *da* 'now', *t'a*, functions as an independent discourse particle which can occur clause-initially, a context in which Kyirong *-ta* does not occur.

have a probable cognate of =ɕo. 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 =ɕo. 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 =ɕo. Nathan W. Hill (personal communication) suspects that =ɕo 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/gi* is a loan from Nepali *ki* कि, which has been mainly used for marking polar questions and 'or' in alternative questions (see, for instance, Turner 1962-1966) but which has lately 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 =*sɛ*) and §16.2 (=*la*, =ɕo and =*ki/gi*).

3.7.4 Other clitics

There are five further morphemes which, because of their transcategorial nature, are analyzed as clitics. These clitics are the plural =*tsu* ཚུ་ (§3.7.4.1), the indefiniteness clitic =*tɕiʔ* (ག)ཅིག་ (§3.7.4.2), the honorific clitics =*la(:)* ལགས་ and =*tɕʰo:* མཆོག་ (§3.7.4.3), and the urgentive =*møʔ* མོད་ (§3.7.4.4).

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'ɛp=tsu* དེབ་ཚུ་ 'books', *t'ɛp bompu=tsu* དེབ་ བོམ་པུ་ཚུ་ 'big books'. Sandberg (1895: 23) does not mention =*tsu* as a plural marker but instead lists -*cha (-tɕaʔ)* and -*ts'o (-tsʰo)* as Denjongke plural markers, giving *nyi-lam cha* 'dreams' and *gya-mi ts'o* 'Chinese' as respective examples. The fact that -*tsʰo* 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 -*tɕaʔ* (*nyi-lam cha*) is intriguing because it contrasts with Beyer's (1992: 230) statement on Classical Tibetan that the plural -*tɕaʔ* occurs "only after personal determiners even in the oldest texts." In my data, the plural -*tɕaʔ* does not occur in any other words than the personal pronouns *ŋàtɕaʔ* 'we' and *k'utɕaʔ* 'you (pl.)'. The uses of =*tsu* are illustrated and discussed in §4.1.5.

3.7.4.2 Indefiniteness clitic =*tɕiʔ*

The indefiniteness clitic =*tɕiʔ* (ག)ཅིག་ derives from the numeral *tɕiʔ* གཅིག་ '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་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ གསུང་གསུང་བོ་ གཅིག་ཅིག་ སྲད།
     sáŋgɛː=ki   *súŋ-sum-bo*   *tɕiː=**tɕiʔ***   *bɛʔ.*
     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(ː)* and =*tɕʰoː*

By attaching one of the honorific clitics =*la(ː)* (WD ལགས་ *lags*) or =*tɕʰoː* (WD མཆོག་ *mchog*) to a name or a title the speaker can show respect to the person referred to. The clitic =*la(ː)* 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 =*laː*, whereas in clausal uses, it tends to be short =*la*. As exemplified by (3.135), =*laː* may be used when addressing people (a) or when referring to them in their absence (b).

(3.135) a) ཙམ་ལགས་ ཁ་ཉུབ་ ང་ཚའི་

        *tɕam=**laː**,*   *kʰanup*   *ŋàtɕi*
        madam=HON   the.day.before.yesterday   1PL.GEN
        'Madam, the day before yesterday our…' (Richhi 8)

     b) པ་ལགས་ མདང་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་ ཇོན་སྟེ་ བཞུགས་ ཡོད།

        *paː=**laː***   *dã̀ː*   *kʰim=na*   *lòk*   *tɕʼɸn-di*   *ʑuː*   *jɵ̀ʔ.*
        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 =*tɕʰoː* can be translated as 'most excellent, honorable' and is used of people of considerable social status. The morpheme *tɕʰoː* 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) ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ མཐུ་སྟོབས་ རྣམ་རྒྱལ་མཆོག་

        tɕʰɸgɛː   *tʰutop*   *námgɛl=**tɕʰoː***
        king   PN   PN-most.excellent
        'most excellent king (chogyal) Thutop Namgyal' (CY interview)

     b) སྟེང་ཁར་ སྐུ་པར་ སྦོམ་པོ་…གཀརྨའི་ ཡབ་ ཞིང་བཤགས་ མཆོག་གི།

        tɛŋkʰa   *kupar*   *bompu*   *karmɸː*   *jàːp*   *ɕìŋɕaː=**tɕʰoː**ː=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 =*mɸʔ*

The urgentive marker =*mɸʔ* ཨོད་, 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 ཨོད་ *mod*, an emphatic verb of being 'to be indeed'. Sandberg (1895: 57) reports *mɵ̀ː* as an independent verb, but in my data such uses are not found.

(3.137) ཨེ! དེ་ ཞུ་པོ་ གནང་ཤོད།

       έː, tɛ ɕùː   *nã̌ː=**mòʔ**.*

       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 controllable vs. non-controllable 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 *ʈ'oːpa* '(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. That is, 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 consists 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).[175] 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 embebbded 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) ཧིན་དུའི་ བུམ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ལོ་
hindu-i   *p'um*   *ɲɛ́n*   *kjap-kjap-o=lo*
Hindu=GEN   girl   wedding   do-RDP-2INF =DAT
'to a <u>girl</u> of Hindus' who has been married…'/ 'to a married Hindu <u>girl</u>…' (sbar-phung 88)

   b) ཨོ་འདི་ བུམ་ གཉིས་ འདེ་ཙིག་
   ódi   *p'um*   *ɲíː*   *dɛːtɕiʔ*
   that   girl   two   that.much
   'those (as much as) two <u>girls</u>' (SGD wedding customs)

Pro-form

(4.2) a) ཁུ་ ཕྱིས་པོ་ ཟེད།
       [*kʰu*]   *pʰiː-p(o)*   *bɛʔ.*
       3SGM   be.late-2INF   EQU.NE
       '[He] was late.' (RS pupil joke)

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[175] 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)

b) ཨོ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ གན་ ལབ་ཏོ?

   [ódi=lo=di]   [k'an]   làp-to?

   that=DAT=DEMPH   what   say-IPFV

   '[What] is [that] called?' (PD intro video)

Nominalized clause

(4.3) a) གནས་སྐོར་ ལེགས་ བྱས་ཏེ་ ང་ཚག་ སྐོར་ ཆུགས་པོ་ འཐོན་ བཅུག།

   [nɛ́:ko   lɛ́m p'ja-ti ŋàtɕaʔ kor   tsʰu-po]   tʰøn   tɕuʔ.

   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་མཁན་ ཀེསབ་ བེད་ ཨ་ནོ་ལགས།

   [tsʰam=lo   ʑu:-kʰɛ̃:]   kɛ:p bɛʔ   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

$$\left.\begin{matrix} \text{(DEM)} \\ \text{(GEN.ATTR) (=DEMPH)} \\ \text{(RC with -}k^h\tilde{\varepsilon}\text{:)} \\ \text{(JUXTAPOSITION)} \end{matrix}\right\} \textbf{NOUN} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{(ADJ) (NUM) (QUA) (DEM) (=PL) (=CASE) (=EMPH) (=DEMPH/INDF) (=TOP) (=}j\tilde{a}\text{:}^{176}) \\ \text{(RC)} \end{matrix}\right\}$$
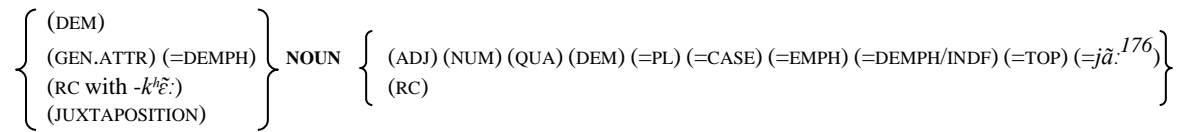
Figure 4.2. The structure of the genitive attribute in the noun phrase

$$\text{(GEN.ATTR)} = \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{(NP=GEN)} \\ \text{(ADV=GEN)} \\ \text{(PP=GEN)} \\ \text{(RC with -}po\text{ or -}sa \\ \text{(NCC)} \end{matrix}\right\}$$
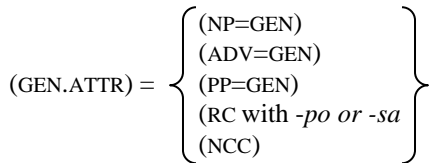
(Abbreaviations in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 (from left to right): DEM demonstrative, NP=GEN noun phrase in genitive, PP=GEN postpositional phrase in genitive, RC relative clause, NCC noun complement clause, =DEMPH demonstrative-emphatic, INDF=indefiniteness marker, ADJ adjective, NUM numeral, QUA quantifier, 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

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[176] The additive emphatic 'too, even, yet'

quantifiers, such as *tʰamtɕɛʔ* 'all' in (4.4) may co-occur with numerals, although the combination is not very frequent.

(4.4) ཨོ་འདི་ ཁྱིམ་ གསར་བ་ གསུམ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འདི་

    ódi   *kʰim*   *sá:p* *súm* *tʰamtɕɛ=di*

    that   house   new three all=DEMPH

    'all those three new <u>houses</u>' (KN e)

The following subsections describe prenominal (§4.1.2) and postnominal modifiers (§4.1.3)

4.1.2 Prenominal 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 *-kʰɛ̃:* (§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 postnominal uses, see §4.1.3.4). Examples (4.5a) and (4.5.b) illustrate prenominal uses of *ódi* and *di* respectively.

(4.5) a) དེ་ཟིང་ ན་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ན་ འོང་མཁན་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཤོག་ཀུ་ ཡོདཔ་སྲདཔ་ལགས།

    t'izã: nà: *ɖɛndzõ:=na*   *òŋ-kʰɛn=tsu=lo*   [*ódi* *ɕóku*]   *jɛ̀bbɛ=la.*

    but   here   Sikkim=LOC   come-NMLZ=PL=DAT   that paper   EX.NE=HON

    'But those who came here to Sikkim had [that <u>document</u>].' (CY interview)

    b) འདི་ ཁྱིམ་ འདི་ རྡོ་ སྟེང་ཁར་ བཟོ་བཟོ་བོ་ སྲད།

    [*di*   *kʰim=di*]   *do* *tɛŋkʰa*   *zo-zo-u*   *bɛʔ.*

    this   house=DEMPH stone on   make-RDP-2INF EQU.NE

    '[This <u>house</u>] is built on stones.' (TB e)

In addition, the demonstrative pro-adverb *nà:* 'here' may modify a noun.

(4.6) གཀྲ, ཆོད་ ན་ ཨོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ཡར་རྩ་ཟང་ སྐྱེལ་ བྱིན་ ལོ།

    karma, tɕʰøʔ   [*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 <u>child</u> 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) ཨོ་འདི་ སྐབང་གི་ བློན་པོ་ འདི་ཚུ་

       [*ódi* <u>*gaŋ=gi*</u>]   *lǿmpu* *di=tsu*
       that   time=GEN   minister this=PL
       'ministers of that time' (CY interview)

   b) ཨོ་འདི་ ལྕགས་ཁོག་གི་ ཁྱིམ་ འདི་

       ódi   *tɕaːɕoː=ki*   <u>*kʰim=di*</u>
       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 (4.10-11), 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) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་

       [*ŋèː*]   *ápo*
       1SG.GEN father
       'my father' (DB life story)

   b) ང་ཚའི་གི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ མི་རིགས་

       [[*ŋàtɕi=gi*]   *ɖɛndzoŋ=gi*]   *míriʔ*
       1PL.GEN=GEN Sikkim=GEN   people
       'people of our Sikkim' (NAB BLA 7)

   c) ང་ཚའི་གི་ འདི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་

       [*ŋàtɕi=gi=di*]   *lògjuʔ*
       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 inluded within adverbs here)
(4.9) a) ཨོ་ན་གི་ ཆུ་

       [*óna=gi*]   *tɕʰu*
       there=GEN   water
       'the water (of) there' (UTR plains story)

   b) ད་རིང་གི་ ཚོགས་འདུ་ འདི་ན་

       [*tˈariŋ=gi*] *tsʰoːduː=di=na*
       today=GEN meeting=DEMPH=LOC
       'in today's meeting' (RD BLA 9)

151

c) སྔོན་ལོ་ཀི་ སློབ་གྲྭ་

    [*ɲénlo=gi*]   *lóbḍa*

    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) འབོ་ལོག་གི་ སྐད་པར་ འཁོར་ལོའི་ སྐད་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ ཐོས།

    [*bolo=ki*]   *kɛ-par*   *kʰorlø:*   *kɛʔ*   *tɕiku tʰo:.*

    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*   འབོ་ལོག་ཁར་   'next to' > *kʰim bolo=gi*   ཁྱིམ་ འབོ་ལོག་གི་

         tɛŋkʰa/tɛŋ=lo   སྟེང་ཁར་/སྟེང་ལོ་   'above' > *kʰim tɛŋ=gi*   ཁྱིམ་ སྟེང་གི་

         ò:lo/ò:lɛ   འོག་ལོ་/འོག་ལས་   'under' > *kʰim ò:=gi*   ཁྱིམ་ འོག་གི་

         nàŋɕa/nàŋlo   ནང་ཤ(ར)་/ནང་ལོ་   'inside' > *kʰim naŋ=gi*   ཁྱིམ་ ནང་གི་

Postpositional phrases as genitival attributes frequently include other embdedded genitive attributes, as shown by the examples of gradually increasing complexity in (4.11).

Postposition phrase

(4.11)   a) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ནང་གི་ གཏམ་རྒྱུས་ཚུ་

         [*ḍendzõ: nàŋ=gi*]   *tamgy:=tsu*

         Sikkim   inside=GEN   legend=PL

         'legends within Sikkim' (SGD cave story)

   b) གཀྲའི་ འབོ་ལོ་གི་[177] ཀུབ་ཀྱག་

         [*karmø:*]   *bolo=gi*]   *kupkjaʔ*

         PN.GEN   next.to=GEN   seat

         'the seat next to Karma' (Richhi 125)

   c) བོ་ཚོའི་ མགོའི་ སྟེང་གི་ རྨ་

         [[*pʼotsø:*]   *go=i*]   *tɛŋ=gi*] *má*

         child.GEN   head=GEN   top=GEN wound

         'wound on the child's head' (Richhi 3)

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[177] Both the written forms འབོ་ལོ་ *'bo-lo* and འབོ་ལོག་ *'bo-log* occur in Richhi.

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)　གུ་རུ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ དང་ཕུ་ མཚམས་ བཞུགས་བཞུགས་པའི་ གནས་

[*guru rimputɕʰɛ   t'ã:pu   tsʰam   zu:-ʑu-bøː*]   *nɛ́:*
guru Rimpoche long.ago   seclusion   sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN   site
'a site [where Guru Rimpoche used to sit in solitary meditation]' (SGD cave story)

Noun complement clause

(4.13)　མག་གོ་ ལོ་ གསུམ་ རྒྱབས་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་

[*máko   lò   súm   kjap-øː*]   *lògjuʔ*
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'itɕuŋ* 'bird', modifying the noun *ka:m/ka:po* 'foot', occurs with genitive marking but in b) without.

(4.14)　a) བྱི་ཅུང་གི་ ཀང་མ་ སྟེང་ཁར་

[*p'itɕuŋ=gi*]   *ka:m tɛŋkʰa*
bird=GEN   foot   on
'in the bird's foot' (PAD bet story)

b) བྱི་ཅུང་ ཀང་པའི་ ནང་ག

[*p'itɕuŋ*]   *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 -*kʰɛ̃:*

Noun-modifying relative clauses with the nominalizer -*kʰɛ̃:*, which do not require (nor allow) genitive marking, are described in §13.2.1. For an introductory example, consider (4.15).

(4.15)　ཆོད་ཀྱི་ སྣ་ལོ་ དཔྱང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཀང་ཀ་ར་ འདི་

[*tɕʰøː=ki   ŋa=lo   pjõ: jø̀:-kʰɛ̃:*]   *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 (4.18-19). 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

kuɕap	སྐུ་ཞབས་	'mister'
tɕam, ɭatɕam	ལྕམ་, ལྕ་ལྕམ	'mrs'
lópøn	སློབ་དཔོན་	'teacher (m.)'
lópøm	སློབ་དཔོནམ	'teacher (fem.)'
tɕʰoːp	ཆོས་པ་/ཆོས་པོ་	'monk'
kʰɛmpo	མཁན་པོ་	'doctor of Buddhist studies'

(4.16) ཨོམ་མཛད་ བསམ་གྲུབ་
      ómdzɛʔ   *sámɖup*
      second.lama   PN
      'omdze Samdrup' (LT kitchen discussion)

(4.17) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ སློབ་དཔོན་
      ʈaɕi   *lópøn*
      PN   teacher
      'teacher Tashi' (oh, Martam)

(4.18) ཨ་ཁུ་ བྷའི་ཅུང་
      áku   *bhaitɕuŋ*
      father's.younger.brother   PN
      'Uncle Bhaicung' (KN kitchen discussion)

(4.19) ཨ་རྫོ་ མན་ཐེ་ཀོང་ས་ལང་
      ádzo   *mèntʰɛkoŋsalã:*
      grandfather   PN
      'grandfather Mon Thekongsalang' (CY interview)

A person may also be referred to by two appositional titles:

(4.20)   ཡ་རབ་¹⁷⁸ ཀབ་ཏེན་ (captain)

    jàːp   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 (*bɛjyl*).

(4.21)   སྒང་ཏོག་ གྲོམ་

    gã̀ːtoʔ   t^hom
    TPN   town
    'Gangtok town' / 'the town of Gangtok' (YR canteen video)

(4.22)   སྦས་ཡུལ་ འབྲས་མ་ལྗོངས་

    bɛjyl   ɖɛmadzõ̀ː
    hidden.land   fruit.valley/Sikkim
    'hidden land of Sikkim' (CY interview)

An appositional construction may also consist of a noun phrase and a personal pronoun (4.23) or two personal pronouns (4.24):

(4.23)   ཨ་རྫོ་ ཁོང་ཚུ་ གཅིག་ ཙ་ལས་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ཏི་ གསན་གསན་པོ་ ཡོད།

    ádzo   **k^hõ̀ː=tsu**=tɕiʔ tsa=lɛ ódɛpti sén-sɛ́m-po   jø̀ʔ.
    grandfather   3PL=PL=INDF at=ABL like.that hear.HON-RPD EX.PER
    '(They) have heard like that from them grandfathers.' (CY interview)

(4.24)   གནན་པོ་ འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ ཙོང་སྐད་ཡང་ ཁོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ མཁྱེན་ སྦད།

    *gɛmpo   di=tsu=gi   tsoŋkɛ̀ː=jã̀ː **k^hõ̀ː** **ɭɛŋgɛʔ**   k^hɛn   bɛʔ.*
    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 *ádzotaʔ* ཨ་རྫོ་སྟག་ 'tiger' (TB) deriving from *ádzo taʔ* 'grandpa tiger', is used by some speakers as the main word for referring to the feline.[179]

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. *mìk-tɕ^hu* 'eye-water, tear'), whereas the non-appositional juxtaposition combines longer syntagms, which are much longer than

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[178] This word is probably a phonologically reduced version of WT ཡ་རབས་ *ya-rabs* 'nobleman', which has become homophonous with *jàːp* 'father (hon.)' (WD ཡབ་ *yab*).

[179] A motivation for this grammaticalization may be that *taʔ* སྟག་ is almost homophonous with *ta* རྟ་ 'horse'.

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) པ་རམ་སྒང་ཨ་རྫོ་
         pʰarɛgõː   ádzo
         TPN   grandfather
         'Paramgang grandfather' / 'Grandfather from/of Paramgang' (KNA kitchen discussion)

         b) ཞིང་གཤགས་[180] རྡོ་གླིང་ ཨ་ཉི་
         ɕìŋɕaʔ   doliŋ   áɲi
         late   TPN   father's.sister
         'the late aunt of Doling' (sbar-phung v)

         c) བདེན་གཏམ་ ཡབ་/ཡརབ་ བོམ་པུ་
         dɛntam   jàːp/jàːp   bompu
         TPN   father/nobleman big
         'the great father/nobleman of Dentam' (CY interview)

         d) ང་ཚའི་གི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རྒྱལ་པུ་
         ŋàtɕi=gi   ɖendzõː   gɛːpu
         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་གླིང་ སྐད་
         tɕʰiliŋ   kɛʔ[181]
         foreign   language
         'English language' (DR discussion with KL)

         b) ཐག་རིང་ ས་གནས་
         tʰaːriŋ   sánɛʔ
         '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) may also occur independently as a noun phrase head.

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[180] 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.

[181] 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, *índzi kɛʔ* (WD དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ *dbyin-ji skad*).

(4.27)   a) ཕོ་རྒྱགས་ མི་ཅིག་
　　　　　　　　pʰogjaʔ   mi=tɕiʔ
　　　　　　　　husband human=INDF
　　　　　　　　'a male person' (nga'i 'gan 8)

　　　　　　b) མི་ རྒ་པུ་
　　　　　　　　mí　　　gapu
　　　　　　　　human　elder
　　　　　　　　'an elder man' (KN kitchen discussion)

　　　　　　b) མི་ ཕོ་རྒྱགས་ རྒ་པོ་
　　　　　　　　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.

4.1.3.1 Adjectival modifiers

A noun-modifying adjective phrase typically occurs postposed to the head noun.

(4.28)   སྒང་ ཅུང་ཅུང་
　　　　　　gã̀ː   tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ
　　　　　　hill   small
　　　　　　'a small hill' (TB e)

(4.29)   གཉེན་ སྦོམ་པུ་
　　　　　　ɲɛ́n　　　bompu
　　　　　　wedding   big
　　　　　　'big wedding' (DB life story)

　　　The adjective itself may be preceded by a modifier:

(4.30)   ཨ་རི་ ལེབ་ སྦོམ་པུ་
　　　　　　ári　　　　　[lɛ̀p　　　bompu]
　　　　　　paddy.field   very.much big
　　　　　　'a very big paddy field' (TB bull story)

(4.31)   ཕྱུགས་རིགས་ གང་མན་ཚད་ ཁལས་དྲུགས་
　　　　　　tʰuriʔ　　　　　[kˈã̀ːmɛntsɛʔ   kʰɛʈaʔ]
　　　　　　understanding   extremely   sophisticated
　　　　　　'extremely sophisticated understanding' (CY interview)

157

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) ཨོ་འདི་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ ཁྱི་ བཞི་ཐམ་པ་

       ódi   *tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ*   *kʰi*   *zi-tʰamba*

       that   small   dog   four-NUM

       'those four small dogs' (TB e)

       b) ཁྱི་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ བཞི་ཐམ་པ་ 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 *tʰamtɕɛʔ* 'all' can occur with numerals (4.34).

(4.33) a) བུམ་ གསུམ་

       pˈum súm

       girl   three

       'three girls' (KN e)

       b) བུམ་ གོས་པོ་

       pˈum kɛ:p(o)

       girl   many

       'many girls' (KN e)

(4.34) ཨོ་འདི་ ཁྱིམ་ གསར་པ་ གསུམ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འདི་

      ódi   *kʰim*   *sá:p súm*   *tʰamtɕɛ=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་རྗོ་ རྒས་པོ་ ལོ་ ཁལ་ 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་ ཞག་ གསུམ་ སྡོད་རུང་ སྐྱག་གོ།

      ŋà   [*ɕàʔ súm*]   *dø:-ruŋ*   *ɖikɛ.*

      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).[182]

(4.37)   a) ཨོ་འདི་ གསུམ་ཐམ་པ་ དེབ་ བོམ་པུ་

        ódi   súm-tʰamba   t'ɛp   bompu
        that   three-NUM   book   big
        'those three big books' (TB e)

    b) དེབ་ བོམ་པུ་ གསུམ་ཐམ་པ་ ཨོ་འདི་

        t'ɛp   bompu   súm-tʰamba   ódi
        book   big   three-NUM   that
        'those three big books' (KUN e)

    c) ཨོ་འདི་ དེབ་ བོམ་པུ་ གསུམ་ཐམ་པ་ 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 *kɛːpo* 'much, a lot', *màŋpo* 'much, a lot' and *ɲùŋɲuŋ* 'little, few' (see §3.5.2.4) and the specific numeral *k'ã̀ːpu* 'one full (vessel)' (and the variant *k'òːm* 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.

Table 4.2. Quantifying pronouns

tʰamtɕɛʔ	ཐམས་ཅད་	'all, totally'.
kʰɛːlɛ	ཁེ་ལེ་	'all, totally'
tɕʰaː(lɛ)	ཆ་(ལས་)	'all, totally'
dzaŋki	ཛང་གི་	'all' (Lachung)
rɛrɛ	རེ་རེ་	'each (one)'
màŋtɕiɛoʔ[183]	མན་ཆེ་ཤོས་, མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་	'most'
kʰaɛɛʔ	ཁ་ཤས་	'some'
làriʔ	ལ་རེས་	'some'
làla...(làla)	ལ་ལ་...(ལ་ལ་)	'some...(others)'
riɲi (riɲi)	རེ་གཉིས་ (རེ་གཉིས་)	'a few (of people)'
kaːkutɕiʔ	ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་	'a few'
tɕiːɲíː	གཅིག་གཉིས་	'a few'

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[182] Yet another ordering suggested by one consultant was *súm-tʰamba ódi t'ɛp bompu*.
[183] 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.

(4.38) ད་མེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཧ་ལས་འདུག

[mí   tʰamtɕɛʔ] halɛdɛː.
t'a
now human all   be.surprised
'Now all the people were amazed.' (SGD cave story)

(4.39) ད་ར་ཞི་ལེ་སྤུང་ཁར་གཟར་ལོ་བཏང་ཚར།

t'a [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་ཚའི་མར་ཏམ་གྱི་མི་ཚ་ལས་ལེགས་ཡོད།

ŋàtɕi   màrtam=gi [mì   tɕʰa:lɛ] lèm   jɤ̀ʔ.
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 ɕóː=lo.
this all   carry come=REP
'Bring this all, it was said.' (KUN e)

(4.42) མི་རེ་རེ་གི་གི་དྲབ (Nep.) ངས་ཉོ་བོ་ཨིན།

[mí   rɛrɛ=gi] kitap ŋá: ɲò-u   ĩ̀:.
human eack=GEN book(Nep.) 1SG.AGT buy-2INF EQU.PER
'I bought each person's book.' (KL discussion with DR)

(4.43) མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་བོད་པོ་དང་ཤེར་པོ་གིས་གྱོན་པའི་ལུགས་སྲོལ་ཨིན།

[màŋtɕʰiɕo p'øpo t'ã: ɕérpo=gi] k'øm-bø: lùksø: ĩ̀:.
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་ཁ་ཤས་ཅིག་གིས་སྐད་ཨོ་འདེབ་བྱས་སྟེ་རྒྱབས་གད་འདི་རྒྱབས་བཞིན་གོ།

[mí   kʰaɕɛ=tɕi=ki] kɛʔ   ódɛp p'ja-ti kjap-ɕɛ=di
human some=INDF=AGT language like.that do-NF speak-INF=DEMPH
kjap-tɕou-kɛʔ.
speak-PROG-APH
'Some people indeed speak the language like that.' (KN field notes)

b) ང་ཅག་སྤྱུན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་གི་དུས་ཚོད་ཁ་ཤས་ལེན་བཏང་རུང

ŋàtɕaʔ ḷɛŋgɛ:=tsu=gi   [t'ytsʰøʔ kʰaɕɛʔ] lèn tã:-ruŋ
1PL   PRN.HON=PL=GEN   time   some   take send-CONC
'Even if we take some of your time…' (BLA Namdol)

160

(4.45)   མི་ ལ་རིས་

    mí   *làriʔ*
    human some
    'some people' (CY interview)

(4.46) བུ་མོའི་གི་ གཉེན་མཚན་ ལ་ལ་གིས་ འདི་

    pʼumyː=gi   [*nɛ́ntsʰɛ̃ː*   *làla=gi=di*]
    girl.GEN=GEN relative   some=AGT=DEMPH
    'Some(one) of the girl's relatives (says):' (SGD wedding customs)

 (4.47) ཨ་ན་ གཅིག་ཉིས་ཅིག་, ཏི་རུག་ ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་

    ána[184]   *tɕiːɲíː=tɕiʔ,*   *tiruʔ*   *kaːkutɕiʔ*
    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 *kɛːpo* '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) འཛམ་གླིང་གི་ ཡུལ་ གིས་པོ་ གཅིག་ན་

    dzamliŋ=gi   *ỳː*   *kɛːpo=tɕi=na*
    world=GEN   place   many=INDF=LOC
    'in many places in the world' ('dzam-gling skad-yig 62)

(4.49) ད་ ད་ཅི(ག)་ གཏམ་ གིས་པོ་ ཐོན་པོ་ བྱད

    tʼa *tʼatɕiʔ* [*tam*   *kɛːpo*] *tʰøm-bo*   *bɛʔ.*
    now recently speech many   happen-2INF EQU.NE
    'Just now, there was a lot of speaking.' (KL BLA 12)

Note, however, that in (4.49) *kɛːpo* could be analyzed two ways, either as modifier of *tàm* ('[many words] happened') or as a complement of the verb *tʰøn* 'happen, become' ('[words] became [many]').

(4.50) ཕྱི་གླིང་པའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ ཉུགས་ མང་པོ་ཅིག་ འབྲུག་ལོ་ སོང་པོ་ བྱད

    pʰiliŋbøː   *tʼytsʰøʔ*   *nàŋɕa=lo* [*tɕʰuk*   *màŋpo=tɕiʔ*] *ɖuk=lo*   *ső̃ː-bo*
    foreigner.GEN time   inside=DAT Nepali many=INDF   Bhutan=DAT go.PFV-2INF
    bɛʔ.
    EQU.NE
    'In the times of the foreigners, many Nepalis went to Bhutan.' (CY interview)

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[184] 50 paisa is equivalent to 8 *ána*. One *ána* is thus 6,25 paisa (1 paisa is a hundredth of a rupee).

(4.51) ང་ཚག་མེ་ཉུང་ཉུང་ཨིན་རུང་ང་ཚག་བྱས་ཚུགས།

      ŋàtɕaʔ [*mí   **nùŋɲuŋ***] *ĩ́:-ruŋ   ŋàtɕaʔ p'ja tsʰuʔ.*

      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'ã̀:pu/k'õ̀:pu* གང་སྤུ་ 'one full measure of' derives from WT གང་ *gang* 'full'. While *k'ã̀:pu/k'õ̀:pu* is a frequent and geographically widely used morpheme, the related form *k'o:m* གོངམ་ occurs only once in my data from a consultant from Lachung (the first instance in [4.52]). While *k'ã̀:pu/k'õ̀:pu* occurs as an emphatic modifier of the words meaning 'all', i.e. *tʰamtɕɛʔ (k'ã̀:pu), kʰɛ:lɛ (k'ã̀:pu), tɕʰa:lɛ (k'ã̀:pu)* 'entirely all', in the sole example *k'o:m* modifies an ordinary noun. The head word of *k'ã̀: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་གོངམ་ཨ་ཅུ་ཨའི་ཨ་ཛོ་པ་མིང་གན་རུང་ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་བྱས་རུང་ལེ་ལེ་གོང་སྤུ་གིས་བཏགས་ཡད་སྲད།

      [*nɛ́ntsɛ̃̀: **k'o:m***], *átɕu,   ái,   ádzo,   pʰamiŋ,*

      relatives full   elder.brother elder.sister grandfather   father's.relative

      *k'an-ruŋ   jɵ̀-patɕɛ   p'ja-ruŋ   [kʰɛ:lɛ   **k'õ̀:pu**=gi] ta:-ɕɛ   bɛʔ.*

      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) སྐུན་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་གང་སྤུ་ལོ་སྐུ་གཟུགས་བཟང་པོ།

      [*lɛŋɡɛʔ   tʰamtɕɛʔ **k'ã̀:pu**=lo] kuzuzã̀: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 occur as postnominal modifiers:

(4.54) ཚིགས་བཅད་ཨོ་འདི་ན་

      *tsʰiktɕɛʔ **ódi**=na*

      poem   that=LOC

      '…in that poem…' (KL BLA 12)

(4.55) ལྷ་ཆུང་ཆུང་འདི་ཚུ

      *la   tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ **di**=tsu*

      god small   this=PL

      'these small gods' (SGD wedding customs)

(4.56) ཨ་ན་རྒས་མ་ཨོ་འདི་

      *ána   gɛ:m   **ódi***

      old.lady old.woman that

      'that old lady' (rna-gsung 6)

(4.57)　　ངའི་ ཚིག་ འདུམ་ འདོ་འདི་

　　　　　　*ɲè:　　ts^{h}ik　dum　**dodi***
　　　　　　1SG.GEN word short this.right.here
　　　　　　'these short words of mine right here' (KT life story)

Other postnominal demonstrative modifiers are *p^{h}ou=di/p^{h}idi* ཕོུ་འདི་/ཕི་འདི་ 'that over there' *jòu=di/jìdi* ཡོུ་འདི་/ཡི་འདི་ 'that up there' and *mòu=di/mìdi* མོུ་འདི་/མི་འདི་ 'that down there'. For one example, consider (4.58).

(4.58)　　ཤིང་ ཕི་འདི་ལོ་ ཨ་རུ

　　　　　　*ɕíŋ　**p^{h}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)　　ང་མོང་ ཨོ་འདི་ གྱང་ཁ་ (ཀྱབས་) མ་ཚུགས་པོ་ འདི་

　　　　　　ŋámu　　ódi　[k'jaŋk^{h}a　(kjap)　ma-ts^{h}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 word-level modifiers. The order of 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 analyzing =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)　　ནུམ་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཡང་ མལ་ན་ ང་ སྐྱེལ་ བྱིན།

　　　　　　nùm=tsu=lo=jã:　　　　　　　　　　*mè:=na　　tɕ'a　kɛ:　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)　　དིང་དུས་ཀྱི་ ཕྲུ་གུད་ཚུ་ལོ་ འདི་

　　　　　　*t'iŋdy:=gi　**p'jaby:=tsu=lo=di***
　　　　　　present=GEN　child=PL=DAT=DEMPH
　　　　　　'For children of the present day…' (YR canteen video)

163

NOUN=CASE=AEMPH

(4.62)   ང་ད་ལྟ་ མེ་སུར་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་བླ་ ལབ་པ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ད་ ནེ་པ་ལི་ (Nep.) སྐད་ལས་ནེ་ ལོག་གི་ཏུ། (Nep.)

     *zuŋlu   làp-ØtɕɛnƐ t'a nɛpali **kƐ:=lƐ=nƐ**   loggit.*

     folksong say-COND now Nepali language=ABL=TOP folksong(Nep.)

     'If (we) say [zuŋlu], 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)   ཚོ་འདི་རང་ འདི་

     ódi=rã:=di

     that=AEMPH=DEMPH

     'that indeed' (YR canteen video)

NOUN=DEMPH=TOP

(4.65)   སེམས་ འདི་ནེ་ གཏན་མེད་ ཕར་ཚུར་ འཕུར་

     sɛ́m=di=nƐ   *tɛnme?   pʰa: tsʰu: pʰu:*

     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)   ཨ་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་ཤད་ ཨིན།

     *màtɕʰɛ̃: zi-po   **kʰõ:=rã:=jã:**   sàm sà-ɕɛ ĩ́:.*

     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 =ɕo, 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, =ɕo retains its clausal feature of being followed by a pause. For more on =ɕo, see §16.2.2.

(4.68) ང་ སྨན་པོའི་ སྦྱང་བདར་ ཕྱས་དོ་ ཨིན། དེ་ བུ་སྲིང་ཚུ་གོ?
ŋà   mémpø: dzã:dar p'ja-do ĩ:.   tɛ   **p'usim=tsu=ɕo?**
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 §16.1, 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) རྡོ་ཚུ་
*do=**tsu***
stone=PL
'stones'

(4.70) རྡོ་ སྦོམ་པུ་ཚུ་
*do   bompu=**tsu***
stone big=PL
'big stones'

(4.71) རྡོ་ སྦོམ་པུ་ 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) རྡོ་ ཀེསབ་
do   kɛ:p
stone   a.lot
'a lot of stones'

165

(4.74) ཁོང་གི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ དེབ་ཚུ་ ཀ'ས་པོ་ འདུག་གོ།

       kʰoŋ=gi   *kʰim=na* *t'ɛp=**tsu***   *kɛːpo 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་རོ་ ཙམཔོ་ཚུ་ བཞག་ས་

       zeːro   *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་གིས་ གན་ བྱས་པད་ ཞུ་བ་ཆེ་ནེ་ ང་ཚག་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལོ་ དགོན་པ་ འགྱུ་ ཕྱག་འཚལ་པད་ཚུ་

       lỳː=di=gi   *k'an p'ja-ɕɛʔ ɕù-watɕɛ*   *ŋàtɕaʔ rimputɕʰɛ=lo*

       body=DEMPH=AGT what do-INF say.HUM-COND 1PL   Rimpoche=DAT

       gjømpa   *gju*   *tɕʰaːtsʰɛː-ɕɛ=**tsu***

       monastery go   prostrate-INF=PL

       'When it comes to what to do with the body, (we should practise) going to monastery to Rimpoche and doing prostrations and such things.' (YR canteen video)

Mass nouns such as *tɕʰu* 'water' may receive plural marking.

(4.77) འདི་ ཟངས་ སྱད་, ཆུ་ཚུ་ བླུག་ བཞག་པད་ཀྱི།

       di   *sɛ̃ː*   *bɛʔ,*   *tɕʰu=**tsu***   *lúk* *zak-ɕɛ=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:[185]

(4.78) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཚུ་

       *gjaltsʰɛn=**tsu***

       PN=PL

       'Gyalchen and those associated with him' (KN kitchen discussion)

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[185] In Nepali, the plural marker *-haru* is used similarly.

4.1.6 Definiteness and indefiniteness

Definiteness and indefiniteness may be expressed, respectively, by the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* and the indefiniteness marker =*tɕi(ʔ)*[186], which is homophonous with *tɕiʔ* '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 *tɕiʔ* གཅིག་ 'one' is shown by the following examples, where =*tɕi(ʔ)* follows the quantifier *kɛːpo* 'many, a lot' (4.79), the numeral *tɕiʔ* (4.80), other numbers (4.81) and the plural marker (4.82).

(4.79) འཛམ་གླིང་གི་ ཡུལ་ གོས་པོ་ གཅིག་ན་
    dzamliŋ=gi   *ỳː*   *kɛːpo=**tɕi**=na*
    world=GEN   place   many=INDF=LOC
    'in many places in the world' ('dzam-gling skad-yig 62)

(4.80) སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ གསུང་གསུང་པོ་ གཅིག་ཅིག་ བྱེད།
    sáŋgɛː=ki   *súŋ-sum-bo*   *tɕiː=**tɕiʔ***   *bɛʔ.*
    Buddha=GEN   say.HON-RDP-2INF   one=INDF   EQU.NE
    'This is one (proverb) told by the Buddha.' (YR canteen video)

(4.81) སྟོང་ཁག་ ལྔ་ དྲུག་ གཅིག་ འགྱུ་ འོང་།
    tõːʈʰaʔ   *ŋá*   *ʈʼuː=**tɕiʔ***   *gju*   *ȍ̀ː.*
    thousand   five   six=INDF   go   come
    'Some five-six thousand will go (to buy it).' (PD altar room video)

(4.82) ཨ་ཙོ་ ཁོང་ཚུ་ གཅིག་ ཙ་ལས་ ཨོ་འདེ་བ་སྟེ་ གསན་གསན་པོ་ ཡོད།
    ádzo   *kʰõː=tsu=**tɕiʔ*** *tsa=lɛ*   *ódɛpti*   *sɛ́n-sɛ́n-po*   *jȍ̀ʔ.*
    grandfather   3PL=PL=INDF   at=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 =*tɕiʔ* in (4.83). In the second instance in (4.83), =*tɕiʔ* obtains the meaning 'some'.

(4.83) བེང་ག་ལི་ (Bengali) གི་ ཟ་ཁང་ གཅིག་ན་ སྡོད་སྟེ་ཀི་ ཟམ་ གཅིག་ ཟ་པོ་ ཨིན།
    bɛngali=gi   *sàkʰãː=**tɕi**=na*   *dɸ̀ː-tiki*   *sàm=**tɕiʔ***   *sòu*   *í̀ː.*
    Bengali=GEN   restaurant=INDF=LOC   sit-NF   food=INDF   eat.2INF   EQU.PER
    '(We) sat in a restaurant of 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 *í̀ː*, the indefiniteness marker may occur either attached to the interrogative word (4.84) or the concessive suffix (4.85).

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[186] 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་རུང་

　　　　*k'arɛ=**tɕiʔ** í:ruŋ*

　　　　what=INDF EQU-CONC

　　　　'whatever' (KT discussion with TB)

(4.85)　གན་ ཨིན་རུང་ གཅིག་ ཐོན་བ་ཅེ་ན་

　　　　*k'an í:ruŋ=**tɕiʔ*** *tʰɛm-batɕɛnɛ*

　　　　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་ ཨམ་ ཁྱོམ་ སྒྲིག་སྟེ་

　　　　*kʰim=na **ápo ám** kʰjo:m ɖik-ti*

　　　　house=LOC father　mother gift　　arrange-NF

　　　　'At home, the father (and) mother arrange a gift (and)…' (SD wedding customs)

Monosyndetic coordination uses the connectors *t'ã:* 'and' for inclusive coordination and *jã̀:nɛ* 'or' for presenting options:

(4.87)　ཆོས་སྒྲོན་, དབང་མོ་ དང་ སྐར་མ་

　　　　*tɕʰøɖɛ̃:, óŋmu **t'ã:** karma*

　　　　PN　　　PN　　　and　PN

　　　　'Choden, Wangmo and Karma' (Richhi 2)

(4.88)　ང་ལོ་, རང་ལོ་ ཡང་ན་ ཁོང་ལོ་

　　　　*ŋà=lo, rã̀:=lo **jã̀:nɛ** kʰõ̀:=lo*

　　　　1SG=DAT　2SG.M=DAT or　3S.HON=DAT

　　　　'To me, you or him' (KT discussion with TB)

The connector *jã̀:nɛ* '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)　འོམ་ ཡང་ན་ རང་གི་ ལུས་ཀྱི་ ཞོ་

　　　　*óm **jã̀:nɛ** ràŋ=gi lỳ:=ki ɕò*

　　　　milk or　own=GEN body=GEN curd

　　　　'milk, or (her) own body's curd' (SGD wedding customs)

(4.90)   འབུ་དྲིས་ཏ་ (Buddhist) ཡང་ནེ་ ནང་པའི་ ཆོས་ཀྱི་ ནང་ག་ལོ་

       buddis   **jã̀:nɛ** *nàŋ-pɸ:*   *tɕʰɸ:=ki*   *nàŋɕa=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)   ཊི་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 (§4.2.4). 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 (*ǐ:*, *bɛʔ*) or existential auxiliary (*jð̀ʔ*, *duʔ*), also in complex, nominalized forms as in (4.135), may occur cliticized as in (4.132)

NMLZ = Nominalizer -*kʰɛ̃:*

INF   = Infinitive marker -*po/bo* or -*ɕɛʔ*

CFC   = Clause final clitic(s) =*ɕo*, =*la*, =*lo*, =*sɛ*, =*ki* (see §3.7.3)

Figure 4.2. Structure of the verb complex in declarative mood

(N) (NEG) V1 (-RDP) (NEG) (V2)	((=)AUX)		(=CFC)
	-TAM	(AUX)	
	-NMLZ	AUX	
	-INF	AUX	

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)[187], -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* རྫས་ '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.

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[187] 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 =pɛʔ vs. bɛʔ)

Table 4.3. Some phrasal verbs formed with the verbalizers *p'ja, kjap, tã:* and *tap*

p'ɛtɕøʔ p'ja	བེད་སྤྱོད་བྱས་	'use' (lit. 'use do')
jóʔ p'ja	གཡོག་བྱས་	'work' (lit. 'work do')
ằ: kjap	འང་རྒྱབས་	'lie' (lit. 'lie do/strike')
daku kjap	བདག་གུ་རྒྱབས་	'govern' (lit. 'owner do/strike')
nó:sam tã:	མནོ་བསམས་བཏང་	'think' (lit. 'thought send')
jàrgɛ tã:	ཡར་རྒྱས་བཏང་	'develop, progress' (lit. 'progress send')
mélam tap	སྨོན་ལམ་བཏབ་	'pray' (lit. 'prayer sow')
só tap	སོ་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."

Table 4.4. Some other phrasal verbs

sém ga:	སེམས་དགའ་	'rejoice' (lit. 'mind rejoice')
k'jøpo to:	གྱོད་པོ་ལྟོགས་	'be hungry' (lit. 'stomach be.hungry')'
kʰa kom	ཁ་སྐོམ་	'be thirsty' (lit. 'mouth dry')
go tsuk	འགོ་བཙུགས་	'begin' (lit. 'start plant'),'
ŋò ɕé:	ངོ་ཤེས་	'know (a person)' (lit. 'face know')
mè:p zo	མེད་པ་བཟོ་	'destroy' (lit. 'not-existing make')

Phrasal verbs function as units is 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་པོ་ཨིན།
         dã: ŋà   lèp   sém ga-u   ĩ́:.
         yesterday 1SG very.much mind rejoice-2INF   EQU.PER
         'Yesterday I was very happy.' (KN e)

b) ཨ་དང་ ང་ སེམས་ ལེབ་ དགའ་པོ་ ཨིན།

dã: *ŋà*   *sɛ́m*   *lɛ̀p*   *ga-u*   *ǐ:.*
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) *jóʔ p'ja/kjap*   གཡོག་ བྱས་/རྒྱབས་   'work'
         b) *jàrgɛ tã:/p'ja*   ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་/ བྱས་   'develop (tr.)'
         c) *ɕúk kjap/p'ja*   ཤུགས་ རྒྱབས་/བྱས་   'exert force'

Some bivalent compounds may be reduced to monovalent ones by using the verb *tʰøn* 'become':

(4.96)   a) *jàrgɛ tã:*   ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་   'develop (tr.)'
         b) *jàrgɛ tʰøn*   ཡར་རྒྱས་ ཐོན་   'develop (intr.)'

The verbalizer *p'ja* is commonly used in borrowing verbal expressions from other languages such as English.[188] The following three expressions were used in a public speech (English ortography 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[189], occur adjacent to each other without any intervening morphology, see (4.98-101).

(4.98)   བྱ་ ཀུམ་ རྒྱབས་ ཟ་སྟེ་

p'ja   *kum*   **kjap**   *sà-ti*
hen   stealing   strike eat-NF
'Stealing and eating a hen…' (KTL animal story)

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[188] An analogous process takes place in Nepali with the verbalizer *garnu* 'do to'.

[189] 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 may be called "auxiliarization" and "morphologization" (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).

(4.99) ཁུའི་གི་ སྟ་རེ་ འདི་ པིག ཐར་ཐེ་གི་ ཆུ་ ནང་ག་ ལྫུམ་པོ་ལོ།

kʰu=i=gi   *ta:ri=di*   **p'ik**   **tʰa:-diki**   *tɕʰu*   *nàŋɛa*
3SGM=GEN=GEN   axe=DEMPH   get.off   be.released-NF water   inside
ʝum-bo=lo.
fall-2INF =REP
'His axe slipped out (of his hand) and fell into water (so the story goes).' (JDF axe story)

(4.100) ཝཱམ་ གཅིག་ འཐུ་ འབག་ ལོང་ སོང་ འདུག་གི།

à:m=tɕi?[190]   **tʰu**   **bak**   **lȭ:**   **sȭ:**   *du-kɛ.*
jackal=INDF   pick   carry   rise   go   EX.SEN-IN
'A jackal took it and went away, (I see).' (PL interview)

(4.101) ཨོ་འདེ་ར་ ཐར་ འབག་ ཡ་ འགྱུ་ བྲད།

ódɛ=ra   **tʰa:**   **ba?**   **jà:**   **gju**   *bɛ?.*
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.

(4.102) ཨོ་འདེ་ར་ མི་ཐར་མཁན་ བྲད།

ódɛra   **mi-tʰa:-kʰɛn**   *bɛ?.*
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 converbal constructions (see §15.2) where the converbal ending has been dropped (see DeLancey 1991: 4). Table 4.5 lists the most common combinations of two verbs which occur in both converbal and serialized constructions. The latter verb in these combinations is, with the exception of *mjȭ:* 'finish' a verb of motion.

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[190] According to consultant KUN, an agentive form *tɕi=ki* would have been expected in this clause.

Table 4.5. Serial verbs from converbs

Converbal	Serialized	Meaning
kʰik-ti ȭ: ཁྲིག་སྟེ་འོང་	*kʰik ȭ:* ཁྲིག་འོང་	bring, lead (a human or a large animal) (lit. lead come)
kʰik-ti gju ཁྲིག་སྟེ་འགྱུ་	*kʰik gju* ཁྲིག་འགྱུ་ (past *kʰik sǒ:* ཁྲིག་སོང་)	take, lead away (a human or a large animal) (lit. lead come)
bak-ti ȭ: འབག་སྟེ་འོང་	*bak ȭ:* འབག་འོང་	bring (a thing) (lit. carry come)
bak-ti gju འབག་སྟེ་འགྱུ་	*bak gju* འབག་འགྱུ་ (past *bak sǒ:* འབག་སོང་)	take away (a thing) (lit. carry go)
lòk-ti ȭ: ལོག་སྟེ་འོང་	*lòk ȭ:* ལོག་འོང་	return, come back (lit. return come)
lòk-ti gju ལོག་སྟེ་འགྱུ་	*lòk gju* ལོག་འགྱུ་ (past *lòk sǒ:* ལོག་སོང་)	go back (lit. return go)
lȭ:-ti gju བོང་སྟེ་འགྱུ་	*lȭ: gju* བོང་འགྱུ་ (past *lȭ: sǒ:* བོང་སོང་)[191]	go away (lit. stand go)
VERB-*ti mjȭ:* -སྟེ་�ྗོང་	VERB *mjȭ:* ཇྙྟོང་	finish doing something (lit. VERB finish)

In negation, the negator occurs in between the verbs, e.g. *lòk mi-ȭ:* 'does not return', *bak ma-sǒ:* '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་འཕུ་སྟེ་འབག་འོང་པོ་ཟྲད།
     rã:dõ: **tʰu-ti** **bak** **òm**-bo *bɛʔ.*
     basket pick-NF carry come-2INF EQU.NE
     '(He) took and brought the box.' (Class 8 textbook 14)

(4.104) རང་དོང་འདི་གན་བྱས་སྟེ་འཕུ་འབག་སྟེ་འོང་དོ?
     rã:dõ:=di *kʼan pʼja-ti* **tʰu** **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 *mjȭ:* 'finish', which marks completive aspectual information. For instance, the act of bringing (*bak ȭ:*) essentially consists of

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[191] Consultant KN (Martam, East Sikkim) comments that in Tashiding (West Sikkim) *jà: gju* (lit. go go) is used for 'go away' instead of *lȭ: gju*.

both carrying (*bak*) and coming (*ŏ̀ː*). A special case are synonymic sequences such as *t'ɛk da:* དེག་ བདའ་ 'chase away', where both verbs mean 'chase'.[192]

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.[193]

(4.105) a) ངའི་གི་ སྒྲུང་ འདི་ལོ་ རང་ ཡིད་ཆེས་ཏོ་ཀ?
       ɲèː=gi   ɖuŋ=di=lo   rã: jìtɕʰɛ-to-ka?
       1SG.GEN=GEN story=DEMPH=DAT 2SG.M believe-IPFV-PQ
       'Do you believe my story?' (PAD bet story)

     b) ཁུའི་ སྒྲུང་ འདི་ལོ་ ལེབ་ ཡིད་ཆེས་ བྱས་ དགོས་མཁན་ སྦད།
       kʰy: ɖuŋ=di=lo   lɛ̀p   jìtɕʰɛ p'ja go:-kʰɛn   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་ རྫིགས་དྲགས་ རྫིགས་དྲགས་ སྐྱེལ་དོ་ སྦད།
       k'ola? dzikʈa? dzikʈa? kɛ:-do bɛ?.
       clothes excellent excellent bring-IPFV EQU.NE
       '(They) bring fine, fine clothes.' (LA, birth in Lachung)

     b) འདེབ་ སྐྱེལ་ བྱས་རན་ཁར་
       dɛp   kɛ: p'ja-rɛŋkʰa
       like.this bring do-SIM
       'when (she) brought (it) like this…' (RB pear story)

(4.107) a) དེ་ཟང་ ང་ཚའི་ མི་གིས་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ ལྟ་བོ་ སྦད།
       t'izã: ɲàtɕi   mí=gi=di   jàrgɛ?   tɕiku 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)

     b) ཨོ་ན་ ཕར་ ལྟ་ ཚུར་ ལྟ་ བྱས་ཞེ།
       óna pʰa: ta   tsʰu: ta p'ja-ʐɛ.
       there thither look hither look do-PST
       'There (she) looked here and there.' (UTR plains story)

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[192] Note that according to Haspelmath (2016) synonymic verb combinations are not Serial Verb Constructions.
[193] 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.

(4.108) a) ད་ལྟོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ ཁོང་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ འགྱུ་དོ།

　　　　　*t'ato t^hamtɕɛʔ k^hõ: lópʈa   **gju**-do.*
　　　　　now   all   3PL   school go-IPFV
　　　　　'Now they all go to school.' (PED life story)

　　　b) ར་ལང་ན་ འགྱུ་ རྒྱབས་ འབག་སྟེ་གི་ འོང་སྟེ་

　　　　　*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 the secondary verb occurs. 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_.	*tsʰaː*	ཚར་	'complete'[194]	completive	TA
	õ̀ː	འོང་	'come'	future	TA
VERB _ EX	*dø̀ː*	སྡོད་	'sit, stay'	continuous	TA
	zak	བཞག་	'put'	resultative	TA
	lõ̀ː	ལོང་	'have time to'	temporal abilitative	M
VERB_ *ti**	*bak*	འབག་	'carry'	durative	TA
VERB_ *õ̀ː** VERB *mi*_*	*síʔ*	སྲིད་	'be possible'	possibility	M
VERB *mi*_*	*lɛ̀ʔ*	ལེགས་	'be good'	moral or practical evaluative	M
VERB(_*to*)	*rɛn*	རན་	'be time to'	temporal evaluative	M
Like ordinary verb	*mjõ̀ː*	མྱོང་	'finish; experience'	finished or experienced action	TA
	tsʰuʔ	ཚུགས་	'be able'	abilitative	M
	ɕéː	ཤེས་	'know'		M
	nùm	ནུས་	'dare'	mental abilitative	M
	kʰø̀ʔ	ཁྱོད་	'have the strength to'	physical abilitative	M
	goʔ[195]	དགོས་	'need to'	obligation/deontic	M
	tɕʰoʔ	ཆོག་	'be alright'	objective permissive	M
	tup	བཏུབ་	'deem fitting'	subjective permissive	M
	ta	ལྟ་	'look'	tentative or experimental action	M
	tɕuk	བཅུག་	'cause'	causative	C
	gju	འགྱུ་	'go'	translocativity or disappearing, gradual change towards a state	O
	p'in	བྱིན་	'give'	benefactive	O
	tʰop	ཐོབ་	'find, receive'	beneficiary	O
	tã̀ː	བཏང་	'send'	literal sending; semantically bleached verbalizer; non-honorific imperative marker	O
	nã̌ː	གནང་	'grant'	honorific imperative marker	O

As shown by Table 4.6, all tense-aspect markers, with the exception of *bak* and *mjõ̀ː*, which inflect like an ordinary verb, are unlike ordinary verbs, either being sentence-final markers (*tsʰaː, õ̀ː*) or being followed by an existential auxiliary (*dø̀ː, zak, lõ̀ː*). Modality markers occur either in specific constructions (*lõ̀ː, síʔ*) or behave like ordinary verbs (e.g. *tsʰuʔ, ɕéː, goʔ, tɕʰoʔ, 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

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[194] *tsʰaː* is the only grammatical secondary verb which does not occur as a primary verb (having been repleced by *mjòŋ* 'finish'). It, however, has some characteristics of a verb, such as the ability to occur in nominalized constructions, see §8.1.2.
[195] Occasionally pronounced *koʔ* when preceded by a voiceless consonant.

converbal constructions, e.g. *sà-ti mjõ̀ː* [eat-NF finish] 'finish eating', *go-ti p'in* [divide-NF give] 'divide and give' (or possibly 'divide for someone's benefit').[196]

4.2.3.1 Translocative secondary verb *gju* (past *ső̂ː*)

In addition to the uses where *gju* འགྱུ་ 'go' (past *ső̂ː* 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 *ső̂ː* occurs with TAM-marking whereas in (4.110) TAM-marking is dropped.

(4.109) ཉིན་གཅིག་ ཁོང་ཚུའི་ ནོ་འབྲོག་ལས་ བ་ པད་ཕྱོམ་ འདི་ འབྱང་ སོང་པོ་ བྱད།

      ɲìm=tɕiʔ   *kʰõ̀ː=tsu=i*   *nòɖoː=lɛ*   *p'a*   *pɛdom=di* **bjã̀ː**

      day=INDF   3PL=PL=GEN   cattle=ABL cow PN=DEMPH disappear

      ső̂ː-bo   *bɛʔ.*

      go.PFV-2INF   EQU.NE

      'One day the cow Pedom disappeared from their cattle.' (rna-gsung 1)

(4.110) ཨོ་ན་ལས་ ཁུ་ འབྱང་ སོང་།

      ónalɛ kʰu   **bjã̀ː**   **ső̂ː.**

      then 3SGM   disappear go.PFV

      'Then he disappeared.' (KTL animal story)

Whereas in my data the secondary verb *ső̂ː* is associated with literal going or somewhat metaphorical going, disappearing, Sandberg (1895: 42) reports *ső̂ː* 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 ortography) *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་ ཕྲི་[197] 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

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[196] It is worth noting that *p'in* 'give', *zak* 'put' and *mjõ̀ː* '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)'.

[197] The more frequent form of the word is *ʈ'i* བྲི་. The pronunciation *p'i* recorded by Sandberg is here written as བྱི་, because the form reflects the change of the WT glide *r* into *y*.

are (4.112) and (4.113), involving the verbs *ʈ'õ:* 'die (hon.)' and *ɕí* 'die', which can be conceived as expressing a type of going or disappearing.

(4.112) ལོ་ཁལ་གསུམ་ལོ་ངའི་ཨ་པོ་འདི་དེ་གྲོང་སོང་།

    lò   *kʰɛ: súm=lo*   *ɲè:*   *ápo=di*   *tɛ* **ʈ'õ:** **sṍ:**.

    year score three=DAT 1SG.GEN   father=DEMPH   then die.HON go

    'At the age of sixty my father then died.' (DB life story)

(4.113) ཁུ་ནི་སོང་འདུག།

    kʰu   *ɕí*   **sṍ:** *duʔ*.

    3SGM   die go   EX.SEN

    'He died (I saw). (NB e)

The borderline status of *ɕí sṍ:* is seen in the fact that upon asking about the felicity of the Sandbergian form *ɕí sṍ:-ʑɛ* [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) ནི་སོང་ཞེ།

        ɕí   *sṍ:-ʑɛ*.

        die   go-PST

        '(He) died./(He) went and died.' (PT e)

    b) ནི་སོང་ཞེ།

        ɕí   *sṍ:-ʑɛ*.

        die   go-PST

        '(He) went (there) to die.' (KN e)

The verb *gju* (past *sṍ:*) 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་ཨིན་ན་དོ་ཨ་རྫོ་གིས་འདེམ་ཟང་ལག་ལོག་གནང་པོ་ལས་དག་ལོང་འགྱུ་ཏད་ཨིན།

    nö̀:po   *ín-nɛ=to*   *ádzo=gi*   *dɛm=sã̀:*   *làklok*

    mischief   EQU-COND=CEMPH   grandfather=AGT like.that=until IDEO.NN

    nã̀:-bo=lɛ   *ʈ'ak*   *lõ̀:*   *gju-ɕɛ*   *ĩ́:*.

    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) ཨ་པ་ ལོ་གིས་ར་ ལོ་གིས་ར་ ག་སྨུལ་ འཐོན་ ལོང་ འགྱུ་མཁན་ སྨྲ་བད།

    ápa   *lò=gi=ra*   *lò=gi=ra*   *k'ajɛm*   **tʰøn**   **lȭ̀:**

    father   year=AGT=AEMPH   year=AGT=AEMPH   what.is.it   become   rise

    gju-*kʰɛn*   *bɛʔ.*

    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 *lȭ̀: 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 *lȭ̀: gju* as a secondary verbal construction expressing movement towards a state:

(4.117) ལོ་ གསུམ་བཅུ་ སོ་ལྔ་ འདེ་ཚིག་ ཐོན་ ཡ་ སོངམ་ སྨྲ་བད།

    lò   *súmtɕu*   *só:ŋa*   *dɛ:tɕiʔ*   **tʰøn**   **jà:**   **sȫ̀:**-*m*   *bɛʔ.*

    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* བྱིན་ 'give' 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་[198] ཡི་གི་ གསེས་སྟེ་ ཁོ་ལོ་ ཡི་གི་ གཉིས་ འཐུ་བྱིན།

    jìkʰɛŋ=gi   *jìgi*   *sé:-di*   *kʰõ̀:=lo*   *jìgi*   *ɲí:*   **tʰu**   **p'in.**

    postman=AGT   letter   choose-NF   3PL=DAT   letter   two   pick   give

    'The postman, selecting letters, picks two letters and gives (them) to him.' (Richhi 149)

(4.119) གཀྲ་ ལོང་སྟེ་ སྒོམ་ ཕྱིས་ བྱིན།

    karma   *lȭ̀:-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་ ཁྱིམ་ བཟོ་ བྱིན་དོ་ སྨྲ་བད།

    làla=lo   *kʰim*   **zo**   **p'in**-*do*   *bɛʔ.*

    some=DAT   house   make   give-IPFV   EQU.NE

    'For some houses are being built (by the government).' (RBM discussion on roof)

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[198] This form is surprising because here nominalizer མཁན་ *-kʰɛn* attaches to a noun instead of a verb. The author may have intended to write ཡིག་ སྐྱེལ་མཁན་ *jìʔ kɛ:-kʰɛ̃:* 'letter-bringer, postman' (this is how another informant wanted to correct the expression).

(4.121) ང་ཚོ་གྱིས་ ཁོང་གི་ སྐད་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ བྱིན་དོ་ སྲད་, ནེ་པ་ལི་ (Nep.) སྐད།

ŋàtɕa=ki   kʰoŋ=gi   kɛʔ   **kjap**   **p'in**-do   bɛʔ,   nɛpali   kɛʔ.
1PL=AGT   3PL=GEN   language   strike   give-IPFV   EQU.NE   Nepali   language
'We are speaking their language, Nepali language (for their benefit).' (RS language situation)

(4.122) ཏེ་ ཨ་ཞི་གིས་ར་ སྡུག་ བྱས་ཏེ་ ང་ཚག་ལོ་ ཤུས་ཤུས་ ད་ ཟམ་ཙུ་ འབག་ ཤོང་ བྱིན་དོ་ སྲད།

tɛ   ázi=gi=ra   duk   p'ja-ti   ŋàtɕa=lo   ɕý:ɕy: t'a   sàm=tsu
then   elder.sister=AGT=AEMPH   pain   do-NF   1PL=DAT   a.bit   now   food=PL
baʔ   **ồ:**   **p'in**-do   bɛʔ.
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 recipiency in a context where the action is not (obviously and immediately) beneficial for the recipient:

(4.123) ངས་ ཁུ་ལོ་ ཏིབ་ བྱིན་པོ་ ཨིན།

ŋá: kʰu=lo   **tip**   **p'im**-bo   î̃:.
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[199] in the clause is the benefactor, by using the secondary verb *tʰop* ཐོབ་ '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) རྩོད་པོ་ བྱས་ཁད་ འདི་ བྱས་ ཏེ་ གནས་སྐོར་ རྒྱབ་ ཐོབ་ སྲད།

tsøpo   p'ja-ɕɛ=di=p'ja   tɛ   né:kor   **kjap**   **tʰop**   bɛʔ.
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་ ཀརྨ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ འཕྲད་ ཐོབ་པའི་ དགའ་ཚོར།

ro:=tsu   t'ã: karma   ɲámtɕiʔ   **pʰɛʔ**   **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)

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[199] "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.

(4.125) a) ང་འི་ཨ་ཞི་ཆོས་ཀློག་མ་ཐོབ།

      *ŋè: ázi   tɕʰoʔ   **ɖok 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་ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ངའི་ཀི་མེ་ཏོག་འདི་འཇིབ་མི་ཐོབ་སེ་, འཇིབ་མི་ཚུགས་སེ་ལབ།

      *tizã: tɕʰø:=ki   ŋè:=gi   mìnto=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 *tsʰuʔ* '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:* བཏང་ '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 additional meaning to the primary verb, see (4.127).

(4.127) a) ཆོས་སྐྱིད, པ་ལ་ཀི་ཡི་གེའི་ལན་བྲི་བཏང་ལོ།

      *tɕʰøkiʔ, pa:=la=gi   lèn   **ʈʼi tã: 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་རྒྱབ་ལས་ང་ལོ་ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་བཏོན་བཏང་པོ་ཨིན།

      *ódi gjaplɛ ŋà=lo   kʰim=na=lɛ   **tøn   tã:-bo   ĩ́:.***
      that   after   1SG=DAT house=LOC=ABL   put.out send-2INF EQU.PER
      'After that I was expelled from home.' (TB life story)

(4.127) a) ང་ཚག་སྔོན་རྒྱུས་ཚུ་གི་དུས་ཚོད་ཁ་ཤས་ལེན་བཏང་རུང་

      *ŋàtɕaʔ ļɛŋgɛ:=tsu=gi   tʼytsʰøʔ kʰaɕɛʔ **lèn   tã:-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་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་བཏོན་བཏང་ང་ཚག་ལོ་ཉིན་གཅིག་·······།

      *di   tʰamtɕɛʔ tʼytsʰø=ki   **tøn   tã:** ŋàtɕa=lo   ɲìm tɕiʔ*
      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་སོང་ལབ་བཏང་པོ་སྲད།

    *ɕá   sé-pa   sŏ̀:   **làp tã̀:-m   bɛʔ.***

    meat kill-PUR   go.PFV say send-2INF EQU.NE

    '(He) went to kill meat, (she) said.' (KT animal story)

d) སྐད་སྒྲ་ཆུང་ཆུང་ཐྱལ་བཏང་ཡད་ཨེན།

    *kɛ:ɖa   tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ **p'ja tã̀:-ɕɛ**   ĩ̀:.*

    sound   small   do send-INF   EQU.PER

    '(It) sends out a small sound.' (Richhi 4)

e) ཨོན་ཐྱོན་སྟེ་ངའི་མིང་བཏོན་སྟེ་ཏི་པོ་གནང་ན་ལམ་སང་ལབ་ཐྱིན་བཏང་།

    ónalɛ   tɕ'øn-di   ɲè: mìŋ tøn-di   ʈ'i-u   nã̌:-nɛ

    then   come.HON-NF 1SG.GEN   name show-NF ask-2INF do.HON-COND

    làmsã̀:   làp p'in tã̀:.

    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 *tã̀:* is also used as an additional marker in imperatives, see (4.128).

(4.128) ཨོ་ཚོང་དང་འབེན་དུ་ད་བཏང་།

        *ótsõ: t'ã̀:   bɛnda **ʈ'a: tã̀:.***

        onion   and tomato cut   send

        'Cut the onions and tomatoes.' (PT kitchen discussion)

    The imperative use of *tã̀:* and its honorific (imperative) counterpart *nã̌:* 'grant' are described in §11.3.

4.2.4 Summarizing examples of the structure of the verb complex

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

(N) (NEG) V1 (-RDP) (NEG) (V2) ⎡ ((=)AUX)   ⎤ (=CFC)

                                  ⎢ -TAM   (AUX) ⎢

                                  ⎢ -NMLZ   AUX   ⎢

                                  ⎣ -INF   AUX   ⎦
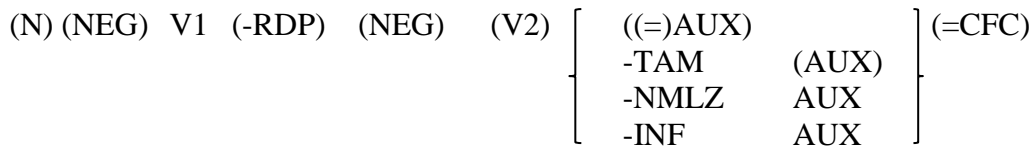
Negation is more complicated than Figure 4.3 suggests, because in addition to using a negator prefix, negation can also be accomplished by a negated auxiliary copula, see (4.139) below.

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: ***ɕé:***.
1SG.AGT know
'I know (it).'

For other combinations of elements, consider (4.130-139).

(4.130) ངའི་ ཨ་ཞེ་ ཆོས་ སློག་ མ་ཐོབ།

                                      V1   NEG-V2
ɲè: *ázi*   *tɕʰoʔ*   ***ɖok*** ***ma-tʰop***.
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་དགས་ བྱས་ཏེ་ ཨོ་འདེ་ གསུང་ བཞག་ འདུག།

                                       V1   V2   AUX
lògjuʔ *kʰa*   *sé:ʈaʔ* *p'ja-ti* *ódɛ:* ***súŋ***   ***za:*** ***duʔ***.
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་ཚའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་ དགོས་པད།

                                   N   V1   V2=AUX
ɲàtɕi *kɛ:=di=lo*   ***jàrgɛ***   ***tã:*** ***go=pɛʔ***.
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་ ཚྱོང་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) སློབ་དཔོན་ མཁྱེན་ འོང་གྲོ་ལགས།

           V1   V2-TAM=CFC
lópøn *kʰɛ̃:*   ***õ̀:-ʈo=la***.
teacher know.HON come-PROB=HON
'(You) perhaps know (that) teacher.' (KT discussion with TB)

184

(4.135) འང་ འདེམ་ཅིག་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ བྱད།

        V1-TAM   AUX

ằ: dɛm=tɕiʔ   **kjap-to**   **íŋ-kʰɛn**   **bɛʔ.**

lie like=INDF   do-IPFV   EQU-NMLZ   EQU.NE

'he tells such a lie' (PAD bet story)

(4.136) ཚོད་ གན་ འགྱུང་ ལབ་སྟེ་ དི་ སྐུ་པོ་ལོ།

              V1   V2-INF =CFC/AUX[200]

tɕʰøʔ   *kan*   *bjõ:*   *làp-ti*   **ʈʼi**   **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་ཚ་ སྟོན་སྟོན་པོ་ འདུག་གི།

        V1-RDP-INF   AUX

rodzou   **tɛn-tɛm-bo**   **du-kɛ.**

horns   show-RDP-2INF   EX.SEN-IN

'(Its) horns are out showing (as I see in the picture).' (KN e)

(4.138) ང་ཚའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ མི་འཐོན་ཁད་ བྱད།

            N   NEG-V1-INF   AUX

ŋàtɕi   *kɛ:=di*   **jàrgɛʔ**   **mi-tʰøn-ɕɛ**   **bɛʔ.**

1PL.GEN language=DEMPH   development   NEG-happen-INF   EQU.NE

'Our language will not develop.' (KL BLA 12)

(4.139) དེ་ མུ་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ རྒྱབས་ཁད་ མེད།

         V1-INF   AUX

tɛ   *mù*   *ɭokɛ*   **kjap-ɕɛʔ**   **mèʔ.**

well   3SGF   Lhoke   speak-INF   NEG.EX.PER

'Well, she cannot 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 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.

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[200] Here the reportative is used in place of an equative copula auxiliary. For more examples of the reportative substituting equative copulas, see §7.2.5.2.

(4.140) ཚོ་འདི་ར་ ཐར་ འབག་ ཡ་ འགྱུ་ སྦད།

	[V1	V2]	V2	AUX
ódɛ=ra	***tʰaː***	***baʔ***	***jàː***	***gju***	***bɛʔ.***
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

lɛ̀p(ti)	ལེབ་སྟེ་	'very much'
pɛmissiki	དཔེ་མི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་	'extraordinarily' (Martam: *pɛsimipøː/pɛmisipo*)
kʼãːmɛntsɛʔ	གང་མན་ཚད་	'limitlessly, extremely'
átsi(m)	ཨ་ཙི(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 *pʼja(-ti)*.

(4.141) དཔེ་མི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་/གང་མན་ཚད་/ཨ་ཙི་ ལེམ་(བྱས་)

pɛmissiki/kʼãːmɛntsɛʔ/átsi   *lɛ̀m(-pʼja)*
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་ བོམ་པུ་ འདུག་གོ།

ári   *lɛ̀p*   *bompu*   *du-kɛ.*
paddy.field   very.much   big   EX.SEN-IN
'The paddy field is very big (I see).' (TB bull story)

b) ཁུ་ དང་ ང་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ འཆམ་ཤོས་ ཨིན།
   *kʰu   t'ã: ŋà   **lèpti**   tɕʰam-ɕoʔ   î́:.*
   3SGM   and 1SG very.much agreeable-SUP EQU.PER
   'He and I are in the very best of terms.' (KN e)

c) ཚིག་ འདི་ ལེབ་ ལེགས་ ཡོད་ཁད་ འདི་ བྱས་སྟེ་ཀི་
   *tsʰik=di   **lèp**   **lèm** jə̀-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་པུའི་ གསུང་ འདི་ཚུ་ ལེབ་ར་ གལ་ཆེ་དྲགས་ ཨིན།
   *t'ã:py: súŋ di=tsu **lèp=ra**   k'ɛ:tɕʰiʈaʔ î́:.*
   long.ago.GEN story this=PL very.much=AEMPH important EQU.PER
   'These ancient stories are very important.' (KT animal story)

e) གསུང་ལུ། ཨོ་འདིའི་ གདངས་ ལེབ་སྟེ་རང་ སྙན་དྲགས་ འདུག།།
   *súŋluʔ ódi: dã: **lèpti=ra**   n̥enʈaʔ   duʔ.*
   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་ བེད།
   *di   **k'ã:mɛntsɛʔ**   **lèm** bɛʔ.*
   this extremely   good EQU.NE
   'This is extremely good.' (KL discussion with DR)

g) ང་ཚའི་ཀི་ ལ་ཆུང་ སེ་མཁན་ འདི་ དཔེ་མི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ ལེགས་ རྗིགས་དྲགས།
   *ŋàtɕi=gi   làtɕʰuŋ sé-kʰɛn=di   **pɛmisiki**   **lèm**, dzikʈaʔ.*
   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) ཚིག་ ལེབ་ མན་དྲུ་
       *tsʰik **lèp**   **mànɖou***
       word very.much different
       'very different words' (DR discussion with KL)

   b) ཕྲུགས་རིག་ གང་མན་ཚད་ མཁས་དྲགས་
      *tʰuriʔ   **k'ã:mɛntsɛʔ** kʰɛ:ʈaʔ*
      understanding extremely   learned
      'extremely learned way of thinking' (CY introduction)

c) ལམ་བསིལ་དཀར་གཏོར་ ཨ་ཙི་ སློམ་ཤུལ་ གཅིག

   làmsika:tor   ***átsi*** ***bom-sy:=tɕiʔ***

   type.of.dough.effigy   a.bit big-DIM=INDF

   'a rather big lamsika-torma' (KN apo, discussion in kitchen)

d) དཀའ་ལས་ ཨ་ཙི་ ཚ་དྲགས

   kalɛʔ   ***átsi*** *tsʰaʈaʔ*

   difficulty   a.bit hot

   'rather difficult' (TB discussion with KT)

Note that the modifier *lɛ̀p(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)   ཁུ་ དང་ ང་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ འཆམ་ཚོས་ ཨིན

   kʰu   *t'ã:*   *ŋà*   ***lɛ̀pti***   *tɕʰam-ɕoʔ*   *ĩ́:.*

   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[201], as shown by the co-occurrence of the superlative with an indefinite marker:

(4.145)   ང་ཚའི་ བ་ འཇིག་ཚོས་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདི་

   ŋàtɕi   *p'a*   ***dzik-ɕo=tɕiʔ***   *jɵ̀-po=di*

   1PL.GEN cow   excellent-SUP=INDF EX-2INF=DEMPH

   'our cow which is a most excellent one' (rna-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)   དཔྱད་ཞིབ་ བྱས་ཕད་ འདི་ ལེབ་ དཀའ་ལས་ ཚ་དྲགས་ བྲད

   tɕe:zip *p'ja-ɕɛ=di*   ***lɛ̀p***   *kalɛʔ*   ***tsʰaʈaʔ*** *bɛʔ.*

   research do-INF=DEMPH   very.much difficulty hot   EQU.NE

   'Doing research is very difficult.' (YR canteen video)

(4.147)   ད་ ཡུལ་ཚོ་ ཡུལ་ཚོན་ ཨ་ཙི་ཅིག་ འགྲོ་ལིས་ འད་མིན་འད་ ཡོད་མཁན་ བྲད

   t'a *ỳ:tso* *ỳ:tso=na*   ***átsi=tɕiʔ*** *ɖolyʔ*   ***ɖaminɖa*** *jɵ̀:-kʰɛn*   *bɛʔ.*

   now district district=LOC a.bit=INDF tradition various   EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE

   'Now, in different districts, 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:

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[201] Cf. English definite *the most wanted man* vs. indefinite *a most wanted man*.

(4.148) a) ང་ཚོའི་ མ་ཏེ་རི་ཨལས་ (materials) ལྟ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ འདི་ ལེབ་ ང་ཚའ༹ ཉུང་དྲགས་ ཡིན་ལགས།

ŋàtɕi   mətiəriəls   ta-watɕɛnɛ=di   **lèp**   ŋàtɕaʔ   **ɲùɳʈaʔ**
1PL.GEN materials(Eng.) look-COND=DEMPH very.much 1PL   few
ǐ̃ː=la.
EQU.PER=HON
'If (we) look at our (human?) materials, we are very few.' (YR canteen video)

b) གང་ཨན་ཚོད་ རང་གི་ཏོ་ འཛིགས་དྲགས་ བྱད་ ལབ་ལོ།

k'ã̃ːmɛntsɛʔ   raŋ=gi=to   **dziktʂaʔ**   bɛʔ   làp=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་ཨན་ཚོད་ ང་ཚག༹ སེམས་ དགའ་དྲགས་ བྱུང་ཞེ།

k'ã̃ːmɛntsɛʔ   ŋàtɕaʔ   sɛ́m   **gaʈaʔ**   tɕ'uŋ-ʐɛ.
extremely 1PL   mind joyful become-PST
'We became extremely joyful.' (CY interview)

In (4.148c), the modifier of *gaʈaʔ* 'joyful' precedes both the experiencer (*ŋàtɕaʔ*) and the nominal element of the phrasal adverb (*sɛ́m*).

More frequently than as an adjective modifier *lèp* occurs as an independent verb-modifying adverb:

(4.149) a) ཐགས་ ལེབ་ རིང་ཞེ།

tʰaː   **lèp**   riŋ-ʐɛ.
distance very.much be.long-PST
'The distance became very long.' (KN e)

b) ཚོ་འདི་ རྒྱང་ འདི་ ཏེ་ ལེབ་ གནོད་པོ་ སྐྱེལ་ཤད་ ཡིན།

ódi   gã̃ː=di   tɛ   **lèp**   nɛ́po kɛː-ɕĩ̀ː
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 *-kʰɛ̃ː*, as shown in (4.150a), or *-po/bo*, as shown in (4.150b-c) and (4.151). The clause marked with *-po/bo* may be either genitivized as in (4.150b) or not genetivized as in (4.150c) and (4.151).

(4.150) a) འབག་ མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་ སྦོམ་པུ་

        [*bak mi-ts^{h}u-**k^{h}ɛ̃ː**]   *bompu*[202]

        carry NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ   big

        '(so) big (it) cannot be carried' (KN e)

    b) འབག་ མི་ཚུགས་པའི་ སྦོམ་པུ་

        [*bak mi-ts^{h}u-**pøː**]   *bompu*

        carry NEG-be.able.to-2INF.GEN   big

        '(so) big (it) cannot be carried' (KN e)

    c) འབག་ མི་ཚུགས་པོ་ སྦོམ་པུ་

        [*bak mi-ts^{h}u-**po**]   *bompu*

        carry NEG-be.able.to-2INF   big

        '(so) big (it) cannot be carried' (KN e)

(4.151) ཁྱིམ་འདིའི་ ནང་ལོ་... ནག་སུག་སུག་ མི་ཚུ་ ག་ཨིནམ་ ངོ་འཛིན་ བྱས་ མི་ཚུགས་པོ་ ཡོད་པོ་ བྲད།

    k^{h}im=diː   *nàŋ=lo...* <u>*nàksusuʔ*</u> [*mí=tsu ka ɲám   ŋòʈ^{h}øʔ*

    house=DEMPH.GEN inside=DAT dark   human=PL who EQU.ATTQ recognition

    *p'ja mi-ts^{h}u-**po***]   *jø̀-po*   *bɛʔ.*

    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 people were].' (rna-gsung 7)

The pro-adverb *dɛm* 'like (it)' may be used along with nominalization to form a comparative modifier. Note that the verb is reduplicated.

(4.152) ཕྱེ་ལག་ཡང་ ཉིམ་ དང་ ཟླ་པོ་ ཚེས་ཚེས་པོ་ འདེམ་ ལེགས་ དང་ ཅང་དགས་

    p'eːla=jã̀ː   [*ɲìm t'ã̀ː dau   ts^{h}ɛ̀ː-ts^{h}ɛ̀ː-**po** **dɛm**] <u>*lèm*</u> *t'ã̀ː*

    appearance=also sun and moon   shine-RDP-2INF   like.it   good and

    tɕã̀ːʈaʔ

    beautiful

    '(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 (§4.2.2), an adjective with a preposed noun may be termed a phrasal adjective, see (4.153-157).

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[202] Consultant KUN would prefer the negator *ma-* in this construction.

(4.153) *riko lèm*   རིག་ཀོ་ ལེགས་   'intelligent (intellect good)'
         riko tsʰaʈaʔ   རིག་ཀོ་ ཚ་དྲགས་   'intelligent (intellect hot)'
         sém ʈ'ã:pu   སེམས་ དྲང་པོ་   'honest (mind straight)'
         tiŋ riŋku   གཏིང་ རིང་ཀུ་   'deep (depth long)'
         pu sópsop   སྤུ་སྦོབ་སྦོབ་   'fluffy with hair (hair fluffy)'
         ɳum ri:ri: སྣུམ་ རིལ་རིལ་   'smooth (of skin) (oil round)'

(4.154) ཆོད་ རིག་ཀོ་ ལེགས་ འདུག།
         tɕʰøʔ   [*riko   lèm*] *duʔ.*
         2SG.L   intellect good EX.SEN
         'You are [intelligent], I see.' (UT e)

(4.155) མཚོ་ གཏིང་ རིང་ཀུ་
         tsʰo [*tiŋ   riŋku*]
         lake depth   long
         '[deep] lake' (KN e)

(4.156) ལག་ཀོ་ འདི་ སྤུ་སྦོབ་སྦོབ་ མཐོང་པོ་ བྱད།
         làko=di   [*pu   sópsop*] *tʰõ̀:-po*   *bɛʔ.*
         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་ ཨ་མའི་ ཕྱག་ སྣུམ་ རིལ་རིལ་ ཡོད།
         ɲè: *ámø:*   *tɕʰaʔ*   [*ɳum rì:ri:*]   *jø̀ʔ.*
         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-ɕuʔ mè:-po   [man mind-strength NEG.EX-2INF]   'cowardly man'
mí nè: mè:-kʰɛ̃:   [man illness NEG.EX-NMLZ]   'man with no illness, healthy man'
tsʰo tiŋ mè:-po/mè:-kʰɛ̃: [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་ཀི་ གྲ་ཁག་ རྙིང་ཀུ་ རྙིང་ཀུ་ འདི་ཚོ་
         ʈ'ã:py:=ki   *ʈ'aɕaʔ*   [*ɲiŋku ɲíŋku*] *di=tsu*
         long.ago.GEN=GEN monastery.building old   old   this=PL
         'These [old, old] monastery buildings of long ago' (DB trip story)

191

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་སྟེ་ ཐག་རིང་ མེད།

     [*lèpti tʰaːriŋ*]   *mèʔ*.

     very far.away   NEG.EX.PER

     'It's not [very far away].' (Richhi 70)

(4.160) ཁོང་གི་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙོ་ ལེགས་བྱས་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ལགས།

     kʰoŋ=gi=di   [*átsi lèm-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

t'yːmɛnɛ	དུས་མན་ནེ་	'about, approximately; almost'
halam	ཧ་ལམ་	'about, approximately'

The numeral-modifying quantifiers *t'yːmɛnɛ* 'about, approximately; almost' and *halam* 'about, approximately' are both preposed to their head word. The quantifier *t'yːmɛnɛ*, analogously to Nepali *dzʰanɖɛi*, covers both the meanings 'about' (4.161a-b) and 'almost' (4.161.c). Note the reduced form *t'yːmin* in (4.161b). A nominal may intervene between the numeral and its modifier (4.161a).

(4.161) a) རང་ཀ་ལས་ སྒང་ཏོག་ ཐག་སྟེ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ kilometer གསུམ་བཅུ་ འོང་གྲོ།

     raŋka=lɛ   *gãːtoʔ*   *sã̀ːtɛ* **t'yːmɛnɛ** *kilomiʈə*   *súmtɕu* *õ̀ː-ʈo*.

     TPN=ABL   TPN   until about   kilometer(Eng) thirty   come-PROB

     'It's probably about thirty kilometers from Ranka to Gangtok.' (KN e)

    b) བྱ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ བཅོ་ལྔ་ བཅུ་དྲུག་ འདི་ཚིག་ ལང་ཏོ་ ད་ ཟ་སྟེ་ཀི།

     p'ja **t'yːmin** *tɕɛŋa* *tɕuːɖup* *dø̀ːtɕiʔ*   *lõ̀ː-to*   *t'a*   *sàː-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་ ཕོག་གོ་ བྱད།

     t'yːmɛnɛ   *pʰok-o*   *bɛʔ*.

     almost   hit-2INF   EQU.NE

     '(It) 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 *-tsʰøʔ* (see Table 4.9):

(4.162) འདི་ཁར་སླེབས་སྟེ་ ཧ་ལམ་ ཟླ་བོ་ བརྒྱད་ཚོད་ ལང་ཏོ་ ཨ་རྒྱ།

དꞮᵏʰᵃ ɭᵉᵖ-ᵗⁱ **halam** dau gɛ:-**tsʰøʔ** là̰:-to ágja.
here arrive-NF about month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother
'It's now about some eight months since I arrived 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 *-tsʰøʔ* is described here because it is functionally similar to the word-level numeral modifiers.

Table 4.9. Post-numeral modifiers

dɛ:tɕiʔ	འདི་ཅིག་	'about' (lit. 'like.that-one')
ɭaktsʰøʔ	ལྷག་ཚོད་	'over, more than'
màŋtsʰøʔ	མང་ཚོད་	'over, more than'
kortɕiʔ	སྐོར་ཅིག་	'around, about' (literally 'neighborhood-one')
tɕiku, tɕuku	(ག)ཅིག་ཀུ་	'only'
mèmbo (+NEG.VERB)	མན་པོ་	'no more than, only'
-tsʰøʔ	ཚོད་	'about, some, amount of'

(4.163) གྷཎྚ་ (Nep.) གཅིག་ གྷཎྚ་ (Nep.) གཉིས་ འདི་ཅིག་ སྒུག་ དགོས་ལོ།

ghaṇṭa tɕiʔ ghaṇṭa ɲi: **dɛ:tɕiʔ** 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 *ɭaktsʰøʔ* (4.164a) derives from the verb *ɭak* 'be more than', which can be used also independently (4.164b).

(4.164) a) སློབ་གྲྭ་ ཨོ་འདིའི་ན་ གཡོག་ རྐྱབས་སྟེ་ ལོ་ གསུམ་ ལྷག་ཚོད་ སོ་ཚར།

lóbɖa ódi:=na jóʔ kjap-ti lò súm **ɭaktsʰøʔ** ső̀:-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.'/ 'More than three years have gone (since she started) working at that school.' (Richhi 11)

b) ཕྱི་མཚམས་ཁའི་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ དྲུག་ ལྷག་ཚར།

pʰi:tsʰamkʰø: tɕʰutsʰøʔ ʈ'uk **ɭak-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་ཚོད་

lò tɕi:(=lɛ) **màŋtsʰøʔ**
year one(=ABL) more
'more than one year' (KN e)

193

(4.166) a) བཅུ་ སྐོར་ཅིག་

    tɕu   **kortɕiʔ**
    ten   about
    'about ten' (KN e)

    b) བརྒྱ་ སྐོར་ཅིག་

    gja   **kortɕiʔ**
    hundred about
    'about a hundred' (KN e)

    c) བཅུ་གཅིག་ སྐོར་ཅིག་

    *tɕuktɕiʔ   **kortɕiʔ**
    eleven   about

(4.167) བུ་ ལྔ་ དྲུག་ ཅིག་ཀུ་

    p'u *ŋá* *ʈ'uʔ* **tɕiku**
    boy five six only
    'only five, six boys' (PL interview)

In addition to being a formative in such words as *ḻaktsʰøʔ* and *màŋtsʰøʔ* ('over, more than'), the monosyllabic approximative suffix *-tsʰøʔ* ཚོད་ 'about, some, as much as', attaches to numerals.

(4.168) a) རྟ་ འདིའི་ རྒྱལ་པ་ལས་ འབྲུ་ ཀི་ལོ་ བཞི་ཁྲི་ ཚོད་ ཐོན་པོ་ ཨིན།

    ta=di: *gɛ:pa=lɛ* *ɖu* *kilo* *ziʈʰi-**tsʰøʔ*** *tʰøm-bo*
    horse=DEMPH.GEN   back=ABL rain kilo 40,000-about come.out-2INF
    í̤:.
    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་ གྲོངས་སྟེ་ ལོ་ གཉིས་ཚོད་ སླེབས་ཚར།

    ŋàtɕi *jà:p* *ʈ'õ̤:-ti*   *lò* *ɲí:-**tsʰøʔ*** *ḻɛp-tsʰa:.*
    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) ཀརྨ་ བོམ་བའི་ལོ་ ལོག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་བ་ལོ་ ད་རིང་ལས་ ཉིན་ གཉིས་ མན་པོ་ མེད།

    karma *bombai=lo* *lòk-ti*   *gju-wa=lo* *t'ariŋ=lɛ* *ɲim* *ɲí:* **mèmbo**
    PN   TPN=DAT   return-NF go-CIRC=DAT today=ABL day two excep
    mèʔ.
    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 *kʼãːpu/kʼõːpu* 'one full measure of' occurs as a numeral modifier in the idiom *tõː kʼãːpu* སྟོང་གང་པུ་ 'all' (lit. thousand-one.full.measure), illustrated in (4.170).

(4.170) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ མི་རིགས་ སྟོང་ གང་པུ་ལོ

       ɖɛndzoŋ=gi   *míriʔ*   *tõː*   **kʼaːpu**=*lo*

       Sikkim=GEN   people   thousand   full.measure.of=DAT

       'to all the people of Sikkim' (NAB BLA 7)

For the indefinite numeral *kʼadzøʔ ǐ̃ː-ruŋ* ག་ཚོད་ ཨིན་རུང་ '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 *tɕiʔ* '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 ʌ̃̀ː* 'bring', lit. 'carry-come'). In the second (and rare) case, the combined verbs are synonymic (*tʼɛk daː* '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 [203] as referring to the potential [204] number of core arguments 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). In this section (§5.1), argument S is given in bold, while A is underlined. Other arguments are not marked typographically.

(5.1) ཁུ་ རྒྱུག་བཞིན་ འདུག་ཀེ།

    kʰu   *gjuk-tɕɛn*   *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 gjaplɛ* 'after that' and the directional *gã:toʔ(=lo)* 'to Gangtok'.

(5.2) ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ སྒང་ཏོག་(ལོ་) འོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

    ódi   *gjaplɛ*   ***ŋà***   *gã:toʔ(=lo)* *òm-bo*   *ĩ́:.*

    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). 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 *kʰim* (zero-marked) and *kʰim=lo* (dative-locative-marked) as "accusative" forms of the word for 'house'.

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[203] In contrast to the more semantically oriented use of the terms in Hopper & Thompson (1980).

[204] The word "potential" is used because of the prevalence of zero anaphora, or contextual elision of core arguments, which is described below.

(5.3) རྒྱལ་མཚན་(གྱིས་) ཀརྨ་(ལོ་) བསད་པོ་ སྲད།

    gjaltsʰɛn(=gi)   _karma(=lo)_   _sɛ́-po_   _bɛʔ._

    PN(=AGT)   PN(=DAT)   kill-2INF   EQU.NE

    'Gyaltshen killed Karma.' (KN e)

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 _màŋ_ 'privilege' T.

(5.4) བཞུང་གིས་ ལ་ལ་ལོ་ མང་ (Nep.) བྱིན་དོ་ སྲད།

    ẕun=gi   _làla=lo_   _màŋ_   _p'in-do_   _bɛʔ._

    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 term "agentive" rather than "ergative" for the A argument.[205] 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).

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[205] The Denjongke agentive though may be seen as an ergative-in-making, see Coupe (2017).

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 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 paradigmatic EA.

Coupe (2017), on the other hand, argues that instead of 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 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. Altough 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 aligment, Denjongke has not yet arrived in the destination.[206]

Analyzing transitivity in Denjongke is complicated because Denjongke, like probably all other Tibetic languages (e.g. Denwood 1999: 191; 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; 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 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) སྐྱང་ཏོག་ འགྱུ་དོ་ ཟད།
    gã:toʔ   gju-do   bɛʔ.
    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 non-marked but may also be agentive marked to emphasize identity or agentivity, as will be shown below. For a non-marked S argument, consider (5.6) and (5.7). The S argument is given in bold:

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[206] 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."

(5.6) ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ངའི་གི་ ནད་ དྲག་ཀོ་ ཨིན།

    ódi   *gjaplɛ*   ***ɲèː=gi***   ***nɛ̀ʔ***   *ʈʼak-o*   *í̤ː.*

    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་སྟོང་ དགུ་བརྒྱ་ དགུ་བཅུ་ གོ་ལྔ་ ལོའི་ ནང་ཆ་ ང་ སྐྱང་ཏོག་ བཤད་གྲྭ་ ནང་ཆ་ སོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

    tɕʰi-lo   *tɕiktõː*   *gubgja*   *guptɕu*   *kʼoŋá*   *lò=i*   *nàŋɛa*

    outside-year   one.thousand   nine.hundred   ninety   ninety.five year=GEN   inside

    ŋà   *gã:toʔ*   *ɕɛ́:ɖa*   *nàŋɛa*   *sõ̌ː-bo*   *í̤ː.*

    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 non-marked, 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 non-marked, disambiguation of the clause is based on word order and semantics of the argument lexemes.

(5.8) ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ སྐྱང་ཏོག་(ལོ་) ཨོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

    ódi   *gjablɛ*   ***ŋà***   *gã:toʔ(=lo)*   *òm-bo*   *í̤ː.*

    that   after   1SG   TPN(=DAT)   come-2INF   EQU.PER

    'After that I came to Gangtok.' (TB life story, KN e)

(5.9) ཁུ་ སྐྱང་ཏོག་(ལོ་) ཡོད།

    kʰu   *gã:toʔ(=lo)* *jø̀ʔ.*

    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 following S-less pair of an intransitive subordinate and main clause:

(5.10) ཨོ་འདི་ བྱས་སོངམ་དང་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཨམ་བག་ གཏོག་མཁན་ བདག་ཀྱུ་ འདི་ མདུན་ཁར་ སླེབས་ཏེ་ ཨོན་ལས་ སོང་པོ་ སྦད།

    ódi   *pʼja-somdã:*   *ódi*   *ámbaʔ*   *tokʰɛ̃ː*   *daku=di*   *dyŋkʰa*

    that   do-SIM   that   guava   pluck.NMLZ   owner=DEMPH   in.front.of

    l̥ɛp-ti   *ónalɛ*   *sõ̌ː-bo*   *bɛʔ.*

    arrive-NF   then   go.PFV-2INF   EQU.NE

    'As (they) were doing 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) ཨའི་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ ཕྱིན་ཞེ། ལོག་ ཕྱིན་ལོ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་གིས།

    ái,   ***ágja***   *tɕˈøn-zɛ.*   *lòk*   *tɕˈø̃ː=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 natural 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) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ཀརྨ་ལོ་ བསད་པོ་ སྲད།

         gjaltsʰɛn=gi   *karma=lo* *sé-po*   *bɛʔ.*

         PN=AGT   PN=DAT   kill-2INF   EQU.NE

         'Gyaltshen killed Karma.' (KN e)

   b) རྒྱལ་མཚན་   ཀརྨ་ལོ་   བསད་པོ་ སྲད།

     gjaltsʰɛn   *karma=lo* *sé-po bɛʔ.*

   c) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་   ཀརྨ་   བསད་པོ་ སྲད།

     gjaltsʰɛn=gi   *karma*   *sé-po bɛʔ.*

   d) རྒྱལ་མཚན་   ཀརྨ་   བསད་པོ་ སྲད།

     gjaltsʰɛn   *karma*   *sé-po (bɛʔ).*

(5.13)   a) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ཀརྨ་ལོ་ ཏིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

         gjaltsʰɛn=gi   *karma=lo* *tip-tɕɛn*   *duʔ.*

         PN=AGT   PN=DAT   beat-PROG EX.SEN

         'Gyaltshen is hitting Karma.' (KN e)

   b) རྒྱལ་མཚན་   ཀརྨ་ལོ་   ཏིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

     gjaltsʰɛn   *karma=lo* *tip-tɕɛn*   *duʔ.*

   c) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་   ཀརྨ་   ཏིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

     gjaltsʰɛn=ki   *karma*   *tip-tɕɛn*   *duʔ.*

d) རྒྱལ་མཚན་   ཀརྨ་   ཏིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

    gjaltsʰɛn   *karma*   *tip-tɕɛn*   *duʔ.*

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.[207] 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་ ཁུ་(ལོ་) ཏིབ་པོ་ ཨིན།

        dã: *ŋá:*   *kʰu(=lo)*   *tip-o*   *ĩ̀:.*

        yesterday   I.AGT   3SGM(=DAT)   beat-2INF   EQU.PER

        'I beat him yesterday.' (KN e)

    b) ཐོ་རངས་ ངས་ ཁུ་(ལོ་) ཏིབ་གད་ ཨིན།

        tʰorã: *ŋá:*   *kʰu(=lo)*   *tip-ɕɛ*   *ĩ̀:.*

        tomorrow   I.AGT   3SGM(=DAT)   beat-INF EQU.PER

        'I'll beat him tomorrow.' (KN e)

    c) ད་ཙོ་ ང་/ངས་ ཁུ་/ཁུ་ལོ་ ཏིབ་ཏོ་ ཨིན།

        t'ato   *ŋà/ŋá:*   *kʰu/kʰu=lo*   *tip-to*   *ĩ̀:.*

        now 1SG/1SG.AGT   3SGM/3SGM=DAT   beat-IPFV   EQU.PER

        'I'm beating him now.' (KN e)

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[207] Cf. DeLancey's (1990: 306) observation on Lhasa Tibetan that ergative (here agentive) marking is required in the perfective aspect but is otherwise optional.

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).[208] Argument A is given in bold.

(5.15) ཀྲུས་མཚན་(གྲིས་) དེབ་ གཅིག་(ལོ་) གསེས་པོ་ སྲུད།
        gjaltsʰɛn(=gi) *t'ɛp* *tɕi(=lo)* *sɛ́:-bo* *bɛʔ.*
        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: ཨ་ཀྱུ་ མདང་ ཞལ་ལག་ མ་བཞེས་པོ་ འདྲ།
        ágja *dã:* *ɕɛ̀:laʔ* *man-ze:-po* *ɖa.*
        elder.brother yesterday food.HON   NEG-eat.HON-2INF   be.similar
        'It seems the brother (=you) didn't eat food yesterday.'

        A: ངས་ མདང་ ཟམ་ སྲུན་ཁང་ན་རང་ ཟ་པོ་ ཨིན།
        ŋá: *dã:* *sàm* *méŋkʰã:=na=rã:* *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 responses 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 descreased assertiveness marked by the apparentive construction ending in *-ɖa* '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་ཚག་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཟམ་ ཟ་པོ་ ཨིན།
        ŋàtɕaʔ *ódi* *sàm* *sò-u* *í:.*
        1PL   that   food eat-2INF EQU.PER
        'We ate that food.' (DB trip story)

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[208] Similar observation was made by Huber (2002: 75) on Kyirong Tibetan, in which the argument marking system bears close similarity to Denjongke.

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) རྒྱལ་མཚན་(གྱིས་) ཀརྨ་(ལོ་) མདང་ འཕྲད་པོ་ བྱད།
      gjaltsʰɛn(=gi) *karma(=lo)* *dã:* *pʰɛ-po* *bɛʔ.*
      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་ རྒྱབས་ དེ་ཟེང་ ང་ཚག་ ལྷོ་པོ་ཚུ་ཀྱིས་ ཨོན་སྐད་ རྒྱབས་ མི་ཤེས་ལགས།
      ɭokɛʔ *kjap* *tʼizã:* **ŋàtɕaʔ** **ɭopo=tsu=gi** *mèŋkɛʔ* *kjap*
      Lhoke speak but   1PL   Lhopo=PL=AGT Lepcha speak
      mi-ɕé:=la.
      NEG-know-HON
      '(The Lepchas in Dzongu) speak Lhoke, but we the Lhopos cannot speak 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 tã:* '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་ཀི་ ཁོང་ གནོན་རྫོབ་ བཏང་པོ་ ཨིན་ སེ་ དེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱལ་པུ་ བཏང་པོ་ ཨིན་ སེ་ འདུག་ཀེ།
      ódi *pɛ*   *zak-tiki* **kʰõ:**   *néndzop* *tã:-bo* * í:=s,*
      that example set-NF 3SG.HON oppression send-2INF EQU.PER=QUO
      tɛ *ódi* **gɛ:pu** *tã:-bo*   *í:=s*   *du-kɛʔ.*
      then that king   send-2INF EQU.PER=QUO EX.SEN-IN
      'Setting that as an example, there was (the rumour) that he brought oppression (on the people), the king brought that.' (CY interview)

(5.21) ང་ཚག་ལོ་ རྒྱལ་པུའི་ཀི་ འདེམ་ གནོན་རྫོབ་ གནང་པོ་ ཨིན།
      ŋàtɕa=lo **gɛ:py:=gi**   *dɛm* *néndzop* *nǎ:-bo*   *í:.*
      1PL=DAT   king.GEN=AGT such oppression do.HON-2INF EQU.PER
      'It was the king who 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) is probably 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) state 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 analyzing 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 *ɕík* '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)		
tip	ཏིབ་	'hit'	*bak*	འབག་	'carry'
ɽɛ:	རུལ་	'tear'	*sà*	ཟ་	'eat'
dɛk	སྐྱེག་	'put inside'	*bɛʔ*	འབལ་	'weed (out)'
dzip	འཛིབ་	'suck'	*ɕɛ́ʔ*	ཤད་	'comb'
hako	ཧ་གོ་	'understand'	*ɕík*	ཤིགས་	'destroy'
ɕɛ́:	ཤེས་	'(come to) know'	*da:*	བདར་	'sharpen'
ɕɛ́:	བཤལ་	'rinse'	*zi:*	གཟིགས་	'look, see (hon.)'
dzɛ:	བརྗེད་	'forget'	*dzɛ:/pʰɛ*	མཇལ་/འཕྲད་ (ཕྲད་)	'meet'
ɕú	བཤུ་	'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) ཨོ་བུད་ཀྱིས་ ཕོགས་ ཐོབ་ཤད་ ཡོད་ག?
mòby=ki *pʰoʔ* *tʰop-ɕɛ* *jò:-ka?*
wife=AGT salary receive-INF EX.PER
'Does the wife receive salary?' (BP BB discussion)

(5.23) དེ་ ཁོང་ ཤེས་རུང་ མ་ཤེས་རུང་ ཁོང་ དངུལ་ ཐོབ་པོ་ སྲད།
tɛ *kʰõ:* *ɕɛ́:-ruŋ* *ma-ɕɛ́:-ruŋ* **kʰõ:** *ɲý:* *tʰop-o*
then 3PL know-CONC NEG-know-CCS 3PL money receive-2INF
bɛʔ.
EQU.NE
'Now whether they knew (it) or not, they got money.' (CY interview)

205

(5.24) ཁོང་ལོ་ཡང་དབང་ཆ, འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་དབང་ཆ་འདི་ཐོབ་པོ་ བྱད།

ཀ**ʰ**õ**ː**=lo=jã**ː**   ő**ː**tɕ**ʰ**a,   dʑɛndzoŋ=gi   ő**ː**tɕ**ʰ**a=di   t**ʰ**op-o
3PL=DAT=too   authority   Sikkim=GEN   authority=DEMPH   receive-2INF
bɛʔ.
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་ ཐོབ་པོ་ ཨིན།

ŋá**ː**/**ŋà=lo**/*ŋà   dã**ː**   t'ɛp   tɕiʔ   t**ʰ**op-o   í**ː**.
I.AGT/I=DAT/*1SG   yesterday   book   one   receive-2INF   EQU.PER
'I received a book yesterday.' (KN e)

When the verb t**ʰ**op '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**ː** could replace ŋà=lo in 5.26).

(5.26) ང་ལོ་ དེབ་ འདི་ སྒང་ཏོག་ལོ་ ཐོབ་པོ་ ཨིན།

ŋà=lo   t'ɛp=di   gã**ː**to**ː**=lo   t**ʰ**op-o   í**ː**.
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 goʔ 'be needed', see (5.27). Similar to t**ʰ**op 'receive', goʔ allows for both dative-locative and agentive marking of A argument, whereas zero-marking is infelicitous:[209]

(5.27) ངས/ང་ལོ་/*ང་ ཆུ་ཚན་ དགོས།

ŋáː**/ŋà=lo**/*ŋà   tɕ**ʰ**u   goʔ.
1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/*1SG   water   be.needed
'I need hot water.' (KN e)

However, with the negated miŋgoʔ 'be not needed' all three forms, dative-locative, agentive and zero-marking were deemed acceptable.

(5.28) ངས/ང་ལོ་/ང་ ཆུ་ཚན་ མིན་དགོས།

ŋáː**/ŋà=lo/ŋà**   tɕ**ʰ**uts**ʰ**ẽ**ː**   miŋ-goʔ.
1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/1SG   hot.water   NEG-be.needed
'I don't need hot water.' (KT e)

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[209] 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.

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.[210]

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 non-marked.

(5.29) ཀོ་ཏར་དགའ་ག?

  moṭar[211]   *ga-ga?*
  pea   like-PQ
  'Do you like peas?' (PED e)

(5.30) ང་ལོ་ ལེབ་ དགའ་པོ་ ཨིན།

  ŋà=lo   *lèp*   *ga-u*   *ì:*.[212]
  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)

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 *kʰim* 'house' may be either *kʰim* (zero-marked) or *kʰim=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). Argument P is given in bold.

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[210] 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.

[211] Loan from Nepali.

[212] 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).

(5.32)   ཀྱུལ་མཆན་(ཀྱིས་) ཀརྨ་(ལོ་) བསད་པོ་ སྨད།

      gjaltsʰɛn(=gi) **karma(=lo)** *sɛ́-po*   *bɛʔ.*
      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)   ཀྱུལ་མཆན་, ཕག་གོ་ འདི་ལོ་ བསད།

      gjaltsʰɛn, **pʰako=di=lo** *sɛʔ.*
      PN   pig=DEMPH=DAT kill
      'Gyaltshen, kill the pig.' (KTL e)

(5.34)   ཀྱུལ་མཆན་, ཕག་གོ་ བསད།

      gjaltsʰɛn, **pʰako** *sɛʔ.*
      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)   ཁུ་(གིས་) རྡོ་ མཐོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

      kʰu(=gi)   **do**   *tʰõː-po*   *ĩ́ː.*
      3SGM(=AGT)   stone see-2INF   EQU.PER
      'He saw a stone.' (KN e)

(5.36)   ཁུ་(གིས་) རྡོ་ལོ་ མཐོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

      kʰu(=gi)   **do=lo**   *tʰõː-po*   *ĩ́ː.*
      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 *kʰõː=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 *tʰõː* 'see' are always marked with dative-

locative, see (5.37) and (5.38a).[213] 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་གྲྭའི་ ངོས་ལོ་ གཀར་ལོ་ མཐོང་པོའི་ རེ་ཆེ།

      mìk   *jàtɛ*   *lópʈø:*   *ɲo:=lo*   **karma=lo**   *tʰõ:-pø:*   *ritɕʰi.*

      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) བུ་གཞིས་ཅན་ ཕམ་ཚུ་ མི་ཏག་ཀོ་ ཉོར་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ལོ་ མཐོང་སྟེ།

         p'uzi-tɕɛ̃:   *pʰam=tsu*   *mìtako*   *ɕó:-zɛ̃:*   *jø̀ʔ*   **kʰõ:**

         children-AZR   parents=PL impermanent feel-PROG EX.PER   3PL

         ɲí:-po=lo   *tʰõ:-ti.*

         two-COL=DAT see-NF

         'Parents with children have a feeling of impermanence when seeing the two of them.' (Richhi 82)

      b) ཆོད་ཀྱི་ ཨ་པོ་ ཨམ་ ཨ་ཡེ་ རྒན་པོ་ བར་མོ་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཏོ་ ངས་གིས་ མ་མཐོང་།

         tɕʰø:=ki   *ápo*   *ám*   *ái*   *gɛmpo*

         2SG.L=GEN   father   mother elder.sister old(est).one

         p'a:mo=tsu=lo=*to*   *ŋá:=gi*   *ma-tʰõ:.*

         middle.one=PL=DAT=CEMPH   1SG=AGT NEG-SEE

         'I didn't see your father, mother or older sisters.' (Rna-gsung 6)

However, when the P argument is the pronominal *ka-jã:* '(not) anyone' (always followed by a negated verb), no dative-locative marking is needed, because the referent is unidentifiable:[214]

(5.39) ཨོ་འདེ་ ཚོད་ཁར་ གཀར་ ཧྱང་ཐོག་ལོ་ གཉིད་ སད་སྟེ་ ཕར་ཚུར་ ལྟ་པོའི་ སྐང་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་མཐོང་།

      ódɛtsʰika   *karma*   *hã:to:lo*   *ɲí:sɛ́:-ti*   *pʰa:-tsʰu:*

      at.that.moment   PN   suddenly   wake.up-NF   thither-hither

      ta-wø: *gã:*   **ka-jã:**   *ma-tʰõ:.*

      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)

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:[215]

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[213] Consultant KN, however, commented that =*lo* could be omitted in (5.37) and (5.38a).

[214] According to KN =*lo* could not be added in (5.39).

[215] However, consultant KN accepted using a dative-locative P argument instead of non-marking in (5.40).

(5.40) ནད་པོའི་ མིང་ དང་ ལོ་ཚོད་ མཐོང་ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ ཁོ་ ཐེ་ཚོམ་ ཟ་གད་ ཨིན།

nὲ:pø: **mìŋ**   **t'ã:**   **lòtsʰɛʔ**   tʰõ: lõ̀:   **mὲ:-po**
patient.GEN   name   and   age   see   have.time.to   NEG.EX.PER-2INF
kʰu   *tʰɛtsom*   *sà-ɕɛ*   í̃:.
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) ཁུ་གིས་ མི་ གཅིག་ བསད་པོ་ ཟྲད།

kʰu=gi   *mí=tɕiʔ*   *sép-o*   *bɛʔ.*
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 afftected P argument in (5.42b) was considered infelicitous by consultant TB.

(5.42) a) ཁུ་གིས་ ངའི་ ཀོམ་པྱུ་ཏར་ (computer) གཅག་གོ་ ཟྲད།

     kʰu=gi   *ɲὲ:*   *kompjutər*   *tɕak-o*   *bɛʔ.*
     3SGM=AGT   1SG.GEN   computer(Eng.)   break-2INF   EQU.NE
     'He broke my computer.' (TB e)

     b) *ཁུ་གིས་ ངའི་ ཀོམ་པྱུ་ཏར་ (computer) ལོ་ གཅག་གོ་ ཟྲད།

     *kʰu=gi   *ɲὲ:*   *kompjutər=lo*   *tɕak-o*   *bɛʔ.*
     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) གླང་གིས་ མི་ བསད་བ་ཟྲད།

     láŋ=gi   *mí*   *sɛ́-b-bɛʔ.*
     bull=AGT   human   kill-2INF-EQU.NE
     'A/the bull killed a man.' (TB e)

     b) གླང་གིས་ མི་ལོ་ བསད་བ་ཟྲད།

     láŋ=gi   *mí=lo*   *sɛ́-b-bɛʔ.*
     bull=AGT   human=DAT   kill-2INF-EQU.NE
     'A/the bull killed a man.' (TB e)

(5.44) a) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ གླང་ བསད་པོ་ སྲད།

      gjaltsʰɛn=gi   ***lǎ:***   *sɛ́-po*   *bɛʔ.*
      Gyalsthen=AGT   bull   kill-2INF   EQU.NE
      'Gyaltshen killed a bull.' (TB e)

     b) ??རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ གླང་ལོ་ བསད་པོ་ སྲད།

      ??gjaltsʰɛn=gi   ***lǎ:=lo***   *sɛ́-po*   *bɛʔ.*
      Gyalsthen=AGT   bull=DAT   kill-2INF   EQU.NE

Analyzing 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:* 'instruct' (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 *óɲi=di:=tsu* 'the children', suggesting that in (5.46) *ka:gjur* is the P argument and the dative-locative *kʰu=lo=di* a peripheral argument.

(5.45) ཁོང་གིས་ ཨོ་ཉི་ འདི་ཚུ་ལོ་ རྡོ་རྗེ་གླིང་ བཏང་པོ་ གནང་མ་ སྲད།

      kʰoŋ=gi   ***óɲi di=tsu***   *dordʑiliŋ*   *tã:-bo*   *nǎ:-m*   *bɛʔ.*
      3PL=AGT   child this=PL   TPN   send-2INF   do.HON-2INF   EQU.NE
      'They sent the children to Darjeeling.' (CY interview)

(5.46) དེ་ སློབ་དཔོན་ འདི་གིས་ ཁུ་ལོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཚ་ཅིག་ བཀའ་འགྱུར་ བཏང་པོ་ སྲད་ལོ, ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱ་མོ་ འདི་ལོ།

      tɛ   *lópøn=di=gi*   ***kʰu=lo=di***   *átsi=tɕiʔ*   ***ka:gjur***   *tã:-bo*
      then   teacher=DEMPH=AGT   3SGM=DAT=DEMPH   a.bit=INDF   instruction   send-2INF
      bɛ:=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:* 'instruct' should be considered a P argument or part of the predicate.

(5.47) ནད་པོའི་ གནད་སྟངས་ ཚབ་ཆེ་ཤུས་ ཡོང་ཁད་ འདིས་ ཀརྨ་གིས་ ནད་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ དེལླི་ བཏང་ཁད་ བྱས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

      nɛ́:pø: *nɛ́:tã:*   *tsʰaptɕɛɛy:*   *jø̀:ɕɛ=di:*   *karma=gi*
      patient.GEN   condition   serious   EX.PER=DEMPH.AGT   PN =AGT
      nɛ́:po=di=lo   *dilli*   ***tã:-ɕɛ***   *p'ja-zẽ:*   *jø̀ʔ.*
      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) འདེབ་ཕྱས་སྟེ་ ང་ཅའི་ ཡུལ་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་ཤད་ འདི་ ང་ མནོ་བསམ་ འདི་ བཏང་དོ་ སྲད།

*dɛp   p'ja-ti **ŋàtɕi ỳ:=di   jàrgɛʔ   tã:-ɕɛ=di   ŋà***
like.that   do-NF   our   place=DEMPH progress   send-INF=DEMPH   1SG

nó:sam=di   tã:-do   bɛʔ.
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) ང་ཅའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་ དགོས་པད།

*ŋàtɕi   **kɛ:=di=lo**   jàrgɛʔ   tã: go=pɛʔ.*
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 the main clause 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) ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ ཕྱི་ལོག་ལོ་ འཐོན་སྟེ་ འོང་བའི་ སྐབས་ལོ་ པོ་ཙོ་ གཅིག་གིས་ ཡི་གེ་ གཅིག་ མོ་ལོ་ ཕྲིན་བཞིན་

tɕʰøkiʔ   pʰilo=lo   tʰøn-di   òm-bø: kap=lo   p'otso
PN   outside=DAT   come.out-NF   come-2INF.GEN   time=DAt child

tɕi=ki   jìgi=tɕiʔ   mù=lo   p'in-ʑɛ̃:
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་ བྷཻལའི་ལགས་ལོ་ སྨན་ ཕྱིན་པར་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་པད།

ŋà   bhaila=lo mɛ́n   p'im-ba   gju   goː=pɛʔ.
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 =tsaː '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.) ཕྱིན་དོ་ སྨད།

zun=gi   làla=lo   màŋ   p'in-do   bɛʔ.
government=AGT   some=DAT privilege(Nep.) give-IPFV EQU.NE
'The government is giving privileges to some.' (RBM discussion on the roof)

(5.53) དེ་ ཨ་ཞི་གིས་ར་ སྡུག་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ང་ཚག་ལོ་ ཤུས་ཤུས་ ད་ ཟམ་ཚུ་ འབག་ འོང་ ཕྱིན་དོ་ སྨད།

tɛ   ázi=ki=ra   duk p'ja-ti ŋàtɕa=lo ɕýːɕyː   t'a
then elder.sister=AGT=AEMPH   pain do-NF   1PL=DAT   a.little now
sàm=tsu   baʔ ồː p'in-do   bɛʔ.
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 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), the agentive underlines the elder sister's agency, which is further highlighted 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) ཁུ་ ཁྱི་ལོ་ སྟོ་ ཕྱིན་བཞིན་ འདུག།

kʰu   kʰi=lo   to   p'in-zɛn   duʔ.
3SGM   dog=DAT cooked.rice   give-PROG EX.SEN
'He's giving the dog rice.' (TB e)

213

(5.55)　 དེ་ ཨམ་ འདི་ དེ་ ཐུལམ་²¹⁶ ཕྱིན།

　　　tɛ　ám=di　　　　tɛ　ʈ'om　　　　　p'in.
　　　then　mother=DEMPH　then　butter.dough²¹⁷　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)　དེ་ མར་ རྩས་ དེ་ པོ་ཚེའི་ ཁ་ དེ་ ཕྱིན།

　　　tɛ　　mà:dzɛ:²¹⁸　　　tɛ　p'otsø:　　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 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)　དེ་ ཚོ་འདི་ སྐབས་ ཤོག་གུ་ ཚོ་འདི་ པི་ ཨར་ སར་ (PR Sir) གྱིས་ ཁོང་ རྩར་ འབག་ འོང་སྟེ་

　　　tɛ　ódi　gã:　　ɕóku　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་ ཁུ་ལོ་ དེབ་ གཅིག་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ ཨིན།
　　　　　dã:　　　ŋá:　　kʰu=lo　　　　t'ɛp=tɕiʔ　p'im-bo　　î:.
　　　　　yesterday　I.AGT　3SGM=DAT　　book=INDF　give-2INF　EQU.PER
　　　　　'Yesterday I gave him a book.' (KN e)

　　　b) ཐོ་རངས་ ངས་ ཁུ་ལོ་ དེབ་ གཅིག་ ཕྱིན་གད་ ཨིན།
　　　　　tʰorã:　　ŋá:　　kʰu=lo　　　　t'ɛp=tɕiʔ　p'in-ɕɛ　　î:.
　　　　　tomorrow　I.AGT　3SGM=DAT　　book=INDF　give-INF　EQU.PER
　　　　　'Tomorrow I'll give him a book.' (KN e)

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²¹⁶ Consultant KT would write this word as ཐོངམ་ and pronounce it as *ʈ'ø:m*, exemplifying a dialectal difference between LA (Lachung, North Sikkim) and KT (Bermeok, South Sikkim).

²¹⁷ Cooked tsampo-dough mixed with butter.

²¹⁸ Mixture of butter, tea and flour, has harder texture than *ʈ'om* 'butter-dough'.

c) ད་ལྟོ་ང་ཁུ་ལོ་དེབ་གཅིག་ཕྲིན་དོ་ཨིན།

    t'ato ŋà   kʰu=lo   t'ɛp=tɕiʔ   p'in-do   ĩ́:.
    now 1SG 3SGM=DAT   book=INDF give-IPFV   EQU.PER
    'Now I'm giving him a book.' (KN e)

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, *tʰøn* (འ)ཐོན་ 'come out, happen, become, turn out' and *tɕ'uŋ* བྱུང་ '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 non-marked 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 *ĩ́:* 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) རྨི་ལམ་[219] ལབ་མཁན་ རྨི་ལམ་རང་ སྦད།

        ɲílam   làp-kʰɛ̃́:   ɲílam=rã̀:   bɛʔ.
        dream   say-NMLZ   dream=AEMPH EQU.NE
        'A dream is (just) a dream.' Lit. '(The thing) called dream is indeed a dream.' (Richhi 116)

    b) མོ་ ངའི་ མོ་བྲུད་ ཨིན།

        mù   ɲè: mòbyʔ   ĩ́:.
        3SGF 1SG.GEN   wife   EQU.PER
        'She is my wife.' (KN e)

(5.60) a) ཁོང་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ སྦད།

        kʰõ̀:   ámdzi   bɛʔ.
        3SG.HON doctor   EQU.NE
        'He is a doctor'

    b) གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ ཕན་པོ་ བྱས་ཧད་ དགེ་བའི་ གཡོག་ ཨིན།

        tɕiː=ki   ʑɛn=lo   pʰɛmpo   p'ja-ɕɛʔ   gɛwø: jóʔ   ĩ́:.
        one=AGT   other=DAT   help   do-INF   merit.GEN   work   EQU.PER
        'Helping one another is a meritorious act.' (Richhi 5)

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[219] This word may also be spelled གཉིད་ལམ་ *gnid-lam*, which reflects the pronunciation better.

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.

(5.61) a) འདི་ ངའི་ ཨིན།
      di   ɲè: í:.
      this 1SG.GEN   EQU.PER
      'This is mine.' (KN e)

    b) གུན་ཆེ་གིས་ ཡི་གོའི་ ཁ་བྱང་ ལྟ་སྟེ་ ཨའི་ ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་ སྲུད་ ས་ ལབ་བཞིན་
      kantɕʰi=gi   jìgi: kʰadzã: ta-ti
      younger.sister(NEP)=AGT   letter.GEN   address   look-NF
      ái   tɕʰøki=ki   bɛ:=sɛ   làp-zɛ̃:
      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་ཚའི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ནང་ལོ་ ཕུག་ཆེན་ བཞི་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྲུད་ ཕུག་ཆེན་ གཅིག་ འདི་ ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ སྦྲ་ཕུག།
    ŋàtɕi   ɖɛndzõ: nàŋlo pʰuk-tɕʰɛ̃: zi jò:-kʰɛn   bɛ?.   pʰuk-tɕʰɛ̃:
    1PL.GEN Sikkim inside   cave-great four EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE   cave-great
    tɕi:=di   ɕár-tɕʰo: bɛ:pʰu?.
    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 non-marked argument which occurs with an existential copula. The three basic existential copulas are the personal *jò?* (neg. *mè?*), neutral *jèbbɛ?* (neg. *mèbbɛ?*)[220] and sensorial *du?* (neg. *mìndu?*). For the semantic differences between them and for examples of more marginal existential copulas, refer to §7.

(5.63) ཁུ་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ཡོད།
    kʰu   kʰim=na jò?.
    3SGM   house=LOC EX.PER
    'He is at home.' (KT e)

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[220] Reduced from nominalized construction *jò:-po bɛ?* (neg. *mè:-po bɛ?*), see §7.3.2.1.2.

(5.64) རྫོང་གུ་ལོ་ ལེན་རྫི་ ཉོ་མཁན་ ཡོད་བ་སྲུད་ཀ?
        dzoŋgu=lo lὲndʑi   ɲò-kʰɛ̃:   jὲbbɛ-ka?
        TPN=DAT   cardamum buy-NMLZ EX.NE-PQ
        'Are there cardamum-buyers in Dzongu?' (KT e)

(5.65) Q: ཚྭ་ ཐོབ་ཀ?
           tsʰa   tʰop-ka?
           salt   find-PQ
           'Is there salt?' (KN e)

        A: མིན་འདུག/མེད།
           mìnduʔ/mὲʔ.
           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་ རྒན་པོ་ ཀ་ཡང་ མེད།
           kʰim=na   gɛmpo   ka=jã: mὲʔ.
           house=LOC elder.male who=even NEG.EX.PER
           'At home there aren't any males.' (Richhi 22)

        b) ཁྱིམ་ན་ མི་ ཡོད་ཀ?
           kʰim=na   mí   jὸ:-ka?
           house=LOC human   EX.PER-PQ
           'Is there anyone (lit. human) at home?' (rna-gsung 5)

(5.67) a) ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ གུང་སེང་ན་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ཡོད་
           tɕʰøkiʔ k'uŋsiŋ=na   kʰim=na   jὸʔ.
           Choki   holiday=LOC house=LOC EX.PER
           'Choki is at home during the holiday.' (Richih 157)

        b) ད་ལྟ་ བྷའི་ལགས་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཡོད་ཀ?
           t'ato   bhaila   méŋkʰã:=na   jὸ:-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)　 པ་ལ་ འདི་ཡང་ འདུག ཁྱིམ་ན།

　　　　pa:=la:=di=jã:　　　　duʔ　　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)　ཁུ་ སྒང་ཏོག་ ཡོད།

　　　　kʰu　　　gã:toʔ　jə̀ʔ.
　　　　3SGM　　TPN　　EX.PER
　　　　'He is (in) Gangtok.' (KN e)

Similar to equative copulas, existential copula may be elided in spoken language.

(5.70)　ཨ་ཤ་ ལྷ་མྱུ་ གན?

　　　　áɕa　　ḷamo　　kʼana?
　　　　PN　　PN　　　where
　　　　'Where (is) Asha Lhamo?' (SGD cave story)

Occasionally locative arguments may co-occur with an equative copula. While the evidentially neutral *bɛʔ* is fairly frequent in this use (5.71a), the only context in my data where a locative argument is accompanied by personal *t́:* is telling one's place of origin (5.71b).

(5.71)　a) ཨེ་, ཨོན་ བྱད།

　　　　　ɛ́:,　óna　bɛʔ.
　　　　　oh there　EQU.NE
　　　　　'Oh, it is there!' (SM kitchen discussion)

　　　　b) ངའི་ ཕ་ཡུལ་ སི་ཉེ་ལོ་ ཨིན།

　　　　　ɲè:　　　pʰay:　　　síɲɛ=lo　　t́:.
　　　　　1SG.GEN fatherland　Sinye=DAT EQU.PER
　　　　　'My native place is (in) Sinye.' (DB life story)

5.4.3 Predicative possession

In predicative posssession, 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) ད་ ང་ལོ་ ཅ་ག་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ བྱད།

　　　　　t'a　　ŋà=lo　　tɕʰa:ka=tɕiʔ　jə̀:-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་ རྩར་ ཡོད།

di   ɲè̤ː=tsaː   jø̀ʔ.
this   1SG.GEN=at   EX.PER
'I have it (with me).'/'I have it (on me).' (KN e)

(5.73) a) ཚོ་ན་ལས་ ངའི་ ཨ་ཅུ་ ཡོད།

ónalɛ ɲèː   átɕu   jø̀ʔ.
then 1SG.GEN   elder.brother EX.PER
'Then I have an elder brother.' (PED life story)

b) ཁུའི་ པོ་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) ཀརྨ་གི་ སྒང་ཏོག་ལོ་ དེབ་ གཉིས་ དང་ རྫོ་རྗེ་གླིང་ལོ་ དེབ་ གསུམ་ ཡོད།

karma=gi   gã̀ːtoː=lo   t'ɛp ɲíː   t'ã̀ː   dordʑiliŋ=lo   t'ɛp súm   jø̀ʔ.
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 *gã̀ːtoː=lo* 'in Gangtok' follows the genitive-marked argument and so separates the purported modifier/adnominal (*karma=gi*) from its head (*t'ɛp*). Because I have no evidence from elsewhere that the constituents of a noun phrase could in prose[221] 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 *=tsaː*), 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).

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[221] In poetic language, however, the usual ordering may be broken, as shown in the example below, where the typical prose ordering *ɲèː=gi sém* 'my mind' is changed and an adverbial occurs in between.

སེམས་ ལེབ་�སྟེ་ ངའི་གི་ ན་བོ་ སླད།

sém   lèpti   ɲèː=gi   nà-u   bɛʔ.
mind   very.much   1SG.GEN=GEN   be.ill-2INF EQU.NE
'My heart was in great pain.' Lit. 'My mind fell very ill.' (Richhi 85)

219

(5.74) a) ཚོ་འདི་ ཅ་ལག་ འདི་ ཁོང་ལོ་ ཡོད/འདུག།

        ódi   *tɕala=di*   *kʰ�õ:=lo*   *jɤ̀ʔ/duʔ.*

        that   thing=DEMPH   3SG.HON=DAT   EX.PER/EX.SEN

        'He has that thing.'/'That thing is with him.' (KUN e)

       b) ཚོ་འདི་ ཅ་ལག་ འདི་ ཁོང་ ཅུར་ འདུག།

        ódi   *tɕala=di*   *kʰõ:=tsa:*   *jɤ̀ʔ/duʔ.*

        that   thing=DEMPH   3SG.HON=with   EX.PER/EX.SEN

        'That thing is with him.' (KUN e)

       c) *ཚོ་འདི་ ཅ་ལག་ འདི་ ཁོང་གི་ ཡོད/འདུག།

        *ódi   *tɕala=di*   *kʰoŋ=gi*   *jɤ̀ʔ/duʔ.*

        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-locative (5.75), but when a P-like argument such as *ḷɛŋgɛ:=lo* in (5.76) or *tɕʰø:=lo* (5.77) is added, the possessor argument switches to agentive.[222]

(5.75)   ང་ལོ་ རེ་ཆེ་ ཡོད།

        ŋà=lo   *ritɕʰi jɤ̀ʔ.*

        1SG=DAT   hope EX.PER

        'I have hope.' (KN e)

(5.76)   ངས/ང་གིས་ ས�ྱན་ རྐྱས་ལོ་ རེ་ཆེ་ ཡོད།

        ŋá:/ŋá:=gi   *ḷɛŋgɛ:=lo*   *riɕʰi jɤ̀ʔ.*

        1SG.AGT/1SG=AGT   PRN.HON=DAT hope EX.PER

        'I have hope in you.' (KN e)

(5.77)   ངས/ང་གིས་ ཆོད་ལོ་ བློ་གཏད་ ཡོད་ ག།

        ŋá:/ŋá:=gi   *tɕʰø:=lo*   *lótɛ: jɤ̀:*   *ɲá.*

        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 *jɤ̀ʔ,* neutral *jɛ̀bbɛʔ,* sensorial *duʔ*) and the equatives (personal *ĩ̀:,* neutral *bɛʔ*) 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 especially in §7.2.3.

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[222] *ŋá:* and *ŋá=gi* are two alternative ways to mark 1SG agentive.

(5.78) a) ཁྱུའི་གི་ བ་ཌིག་ (bike) འདི་ ལེབ་ མ་ལག་ ཡོད།

        kʰu=i=gi   baik=di   lɛ̀p   màlaʔ   jə̀ʔ.

        3SGM=GEN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very.much fast   EX.PER

        'His (motor)bike is very fast.' (NB e)

b) ཨོ་ན་ལས་ ཧིན་དི་ འདི་ ལེབ་ རྫིགས་དགས་ ཡོད་བ་སྲད།

        ónalɛ hindi=di   lɛ̀p   dzikʈaʔ   jɛ̀bbɛʔ.

        then Hindi=DEMPH   very excellent   EX.NE

        'Then, (their) Hindi is most excellent.' (DR discussion with KL)

c) བློག་པར་གྱི་ སྙིང་པོ་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ ལེམ་ འདུག།

        lóʔpar=ki   ɲín̥po   lɛ̀pti   lɛ̀m   duʔ.

        X-ray=GEN   essence very good EX.SEN

        'The results of the X-ray look very good.' (Richhi 29)

(5.79) a) ཨོ་འདི་ ཧ་གོ་ དགོས་པོ་ གལ་ཆེན་ ཨིན།

        ódi   háko   goː-po   k'ɛːtɕʰî̀ː   î̀ː.

        that understand need.to-2INF   important EQU.PER

        'It is important to understand that.' (Richhi 7)

b) ངའི་ བོ་ཚོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ འཛིགས་དགས་ ཨིན་ ལེགས་ ཨིན།

        ŋɛ̀ː   p'otso tʰamtɕɛ=lɛ   dzikʈaʔ   î̀ː,   lɛ̀m   î̀ː.

        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་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ ལེམ་ བྲད།

        ódi   lɛ̀pti   lɛ̀m   bɛʔ.

        that   very good EQU.NE

        'That is very good.'

d) འཛམ་གླིང་ འདིའི་ གནས་སྟངས་ མནེ་མུ་རང་ ཡ་མཚོ་དགས་[223] བྲད།

        dzamliŋ   diː   nɛ́ːtã̀ː   nɛ́ːmu=rã̀ː   jàmtsʰiʈaʔ   bɛʔ.

        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 *tʰøn* (also *tʰɛn*) (འ)ཐོན་ 'come out, happen, become, turn out' and *tɕ'uŋ* བྱུང་ 'become, happen, turn out' are used for expressing 'becoming', a meaning related to 'being'. The first one

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[223] This is an experimental phonetic spelling of the word. The form usually seen in writing is ཡ་མཚན་དགས་, pronounced *jàmtsʰɛnʈaʔ*.

221

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་པོ་ བྱུད?
      *k'ar **tʰøm-bo** bɛʔ?*
      what happen-PST EQU.NE
      'What happened?' (TB bull story)

    b) ཨོ་ མ་བྱུང་རུང་
      *ó   ma-**tɕ'uŋ**-ruŋ*
      that   NEG-become-CONC
      'although that did not happen…'(BLA 6)

    c) སེམས་ལོ་ འཇུགས་སྣང་ བྱུང་རུང་
      *sém=lo   dʑuːnaː   **tɕ'uŋ**-ruŋ*
      mind=DAT   sensation.of.fear   arise-CONC
      'despite sensations of fear arising in the mind…' (Rna-gsung 3)

    d) ད་ལྟ་ སློབ་གྲྭའི་ གུང་སེང་ཡང་ ཐོན་རབ་ ཡོད།
      *t'ato lóbɖøː   k'uŋsiŋ=jã̀ː   **tʰøn**-rap   jø̀ʔ.*
      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 *tʰøn* in (5.81) and (5.82) are marked with square brackets.

(5.81) ནེ་པ་ལི་གི་ སྐད་ཡིགས་ འདི་ རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ ནང་ཤ་ལོ་ རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ སྐད་ཡིགས་ ཐོན་ དགོས་ཤད་ འདི་གིས་
    [*nɛpali=gi   kɛːdʑa=di*]   *gjagar=gi nàŋɕa=lo   [gjagar=gi*
    Nepali=GEN   language.HON=DEMPH India=GEN inside=DAT   India=GEN
    kɛːdʑaʔ]   ***tʰøn***   *goː-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)

(5.82) a) ཆོས་ ཐབས་ མེད་པོ་ ཐོན་པོ་ བྱུད།
      [*múː*]   [*tʰap   mèː-po*]   ***tʰøm*-bo**   *bɛʔ.*
      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་འགྲོས་ གསན་ ཚུགས་པོ་ བྱུང་ན་
      *k'ɛːsiʔ [tam=di]   [kʰanɖoː sén   tsʰu-po]   **tɕ'uŋ**-nɛ*
      if   speech=DEMPH   dakini.AGT hear.HON be.able.to become-COND
      'If this speech will become such that the dakini can hear it…' (rna-gsung 12)

222

For *tʰøn* and *tɕʼuŋ* 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་ ཐོན་ཡད་ སྲུད་, འདི་ ལུད་ཀྱིས།

        *lòtʰo=tsu   lèm   **tʰøn**-ɕɛ   bɛʔ,   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) དེ་ ཚོ་འདི་ ལེགས་པོ་ ལེམ་ བྱུང་ལེ།

        *tɛ ódi   lɛ̀po lɛ̀m **tɕʼuŋ**-zɛ.*

        so that very good become-PST

        'So that turned out very good.' (RD BLA)

(5.85) ང་ཚག་ སེམས་ དགའ་དགགས་ བྱུང་ལེ།

        *ŋàtɕaʔ   sɛ́m gaʈaʔ   **tɕʼuŋ**-zɛ.*

        1PL   mind joyful   become-PST

        'We became happy.' (KN, CY interview)

With an ablative adverbial, the verb *tʰøn* can also have the more concrete meaning 'exit, go/come out':

(5.86) a) ཁུ་ དྲོ་པ་ ཁྱིམ་ལས་ ཐོན་པའི་ སྐབ་

           *kʰu   t'o:pa   kʰim=lɛ   **tʰøm**-bø: gã:*

           3SGM   morning house=ABL EXIT-2INF.GEN   time

           'When he left home in the morning...' (RS driver joke)

        b) དེ་ ང་ སྐྲེས་ཀྱུལ་ (school) ལས་ པང་ཁར་ ཐོན་པོ་ སྐྱད་ དག

           *tɛ ŋà   iskul=lɛ   paŋkʰa **tʰɛm**-bo   bɛʔ   t'a.*

           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 controllable and non-controllable verbs was already introduced in §3.3.3. The two strategies for valency change are argument suppression[224], 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

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[224] Argument suppression is to be distinguished from zero anaphora, see the introduction to this chapter.

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)　 སྨན་ཁང་ལས་ ནད་པོ་ལོ་ དགོངས་པོ་ བཏང་དོ།

　　　　méŋkʰã:=lɛ　　nè: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 main clause following the concessive clause consists simply of the verb. Here the missing A argument is unidentifiable and therefore (5.88) exemplifies a functional passive construction.

(5.88)　ས་ལོ་ ཁབ་ ལྷུམ་རུང་ ཐོས།

　　　　sá=lo　　　　kʰap　　ɭum-ruŋ　　tʰo:.
　　　　ground=DAT　needle　drop-CONC　hear
　　　　'Even if a needle were to drop, (it would) be heard.' (Richhi 6)

In example (5.89), the A argument of the verb *tʰõ:* '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').[225]

(5.89)　མཉམ་ཅིག་ སྡོད་མཁན་ འགྲུལ་པོ་ཚོས་ ལྟ་བའི་ སྐབས་ལོ་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ བཟའ་ཚང་ འདྲ་པོ་ མཐོང་།

　　　　ɲámtɕi? dø:-kʰɛ̀:　　ɖy:po=tsu:　　　ta-wø:　　　　　gã:=lo　　kʰõ:　　ɲí:-po
　　　　together sit-NMLZ　traveller=PL.AGT　look-2INF.GEN　time=DAT　3PL　　two-COL
　　　　za:tsʰã:　　ɖau　　tʰõ:.
　　　　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 *tɕu?* 'cause, put into'.

(5.90)　པེན་པ་ རྒྱུགས་ཀོ་ བྱད།

　　　　pɛmpa　gjuk-o　　bɛ?.
　　　　PN　　　run-2INF　　EQU.NE
　　　　'Pempa ran.' (KN e)

(5.91)　གཀྲ་(ཀིས་) པེན་པ་(ལོ་) རྒྱུགས་ བཅུག་ཀོ་ བྱད།

　　　　*karma(=gi) pɛmpa(=lo)　gjuk **tɕuk**-o　　bɛ?.*
　　　　PN(=AGT)　　PN(=DAT)　　run　cause-2INF　EQU.NE
　　　　'Karma made Pempa run.' (KN e)

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[225] KN, however, commented that the dative-locative *=lo* could be added to the P argument here.

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) changed into a ditransitive one through a causative construction.

(5.92)　རྒྱལ་མཚན་(གྱིས་) སྟེན་པ་(ལོ་) ཏིབ་པོ་ སྲད།
　　　　gjalts^hɛn(=gi)　pɛmpa(=lo)　tip-o　　bɛʔ.
　　　　PN(=AGT)　　　PN(=DAT)　　　hit-2INF EQU.NE
　　　　'Gyaltshen hit Pempa.' (KN e)

(5.93)　གཀྲ་(ཀྱིས་) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལོ་ སྟེན་པ་ ཏིབ་ བཅུག་གོ་ སྲད།
　　　　*karma(=gi)　gjalts^hɛn=lo　pɛmpa　tip　**tɕuk**-o　　bɛʔ.*
　　　　PN(=AGT)　　　PN(=DAT)　　　PN　　hit　cause-2INF EQU.NE
　　　　'Karma made Gyaltshen hit Pempa.' (KN e)

(5.94)　གཀྲ་(ཀྱིས་) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ སྟེན་པ་ལོ་ ཏིབ་ བཅུག་གོ་ སྲད།
　　　　*karma(=gi) gjalts^hɛn　pɛmpa=lo tip　**tɕuk**-o　　bɛʔ.*
　　　　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)　གཀྲ་(ཀྱིས་) རྒྱལ་མཚན་(ལོ་) ཏིབ་ བཅུག་གོ་ སྲད།
　　　　*karma(=gi) gjalts^hɛn(=lo)　tip　**tɕuk**-o　　bɛʔ.*
　　　　PN(=AGT)　PN(=DAT)　　　hit　cause-2INF EQU.NE
　　　　'Karma made Gyaltshen hit (someone).' (KN e)

The causative secondary verb *tɕuʔ* 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 (adverbials that are dependent clauses in a sentence). 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[226] but spatial cases dative-locative[227] (§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 decribed 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). In the examples, discussed items are given in bold, and adverbials longer than one word are given in square brackets.

(5.96) རྡོ་རྗེ་གླིང་ལོ་ ག་ན་ བཞུགས་ཏོ?

   dorjiliŋ=lo *k'ana*   *zuː-to?*
   TPN=DAT   where   live-IPFV
   'Where do you live in Darjeeling?' (Richhi 13)

(5.97) ཁུ་ སྒང་ཏོག་ ཡོད།

   kʰu   ***gã̀ːtoʔ***   *jø̀ʔ.*
   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) རྟོ་ འཚོལ་བ་ ནགས་ཚན་ལོ་ སོང་ཞེ།

    to   *tsʰøː-wa*   ***nà̀ːtsẽ̀ː=lo*** *ső̀ː-ʑɛ.*
    food[228]   search-PUR   forest=DAT go.PFV-PST
    '(He) went to forest to look for food.' (KT animal story)

   b) བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ སླེབས་ མི་ཚུགས་ལོ།

    bombai=lo *ḽɛp*   *mi-tsʰuː=lo.*
    TPN=DAT   arrive   NEG-be.able.to=REP
    'He cannot arrive in Bombai, I hear.' (Richhi 138)

(5.99) a) ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ སྒང་ཏོག་ འོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

    ódi   *gjaplɛ*   *ŋà̀*   ***gã̀ːtoʔ***   *ò̀m-bo*   *ĩ́ː.*
    that   after   1SG   TPN   come-2INF   EQU.PER
    'After that I came to Gangtok.' (TB life story)

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[226] An exception to this rule is the adverb(ial) *tʰalamgi* ཁྲ་ལམ་གྱིས་ 'clearly', which seems to have an agentive/genitive ending.

[227] The dative-locative case is both a grammatical and a locative case, see §3.7.1.1.

[228] Here the word *to* 'cooked rice' obtains an extended meaning 'food'. The clause refers to a tiger, a carnivorous predator.

b) གཀྲ་ སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ འགྱུ་མཁན་ པོ་སི་ན་ འཛུལ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

    karma **siliguri** *gju-kʰɛ̃̀:   bosi=na   dzy: dø: jɔ̀ʔ.*
    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་ འགྱུ་སོངམ་དང་

     t'a **ỳ:kor** *gju-somda*
     now tour   go-SIM
     'Now, when going on a tour...' (DB day trip)

(5.101) ལ་ལོ་ ཡུལ་ སྐོར་ལོ་ འགྱུ་མཁན།

     làlo **y:kor=lo** *gju-kʰɛ̃̀:*
     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 *gã:* 'time' (5.102a, b). The locative =*na* is more common with *t'ytsʰøʔ* 'time', but =*lo* is also used (5.102c). Note that in (5.102c) the noun has a preceding genitive-marked complement clause.

(5.102) a) ད་ ཙོ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཚོ་ཅིག་ དགོངས་ཡངས་ གནང་པོ་ འདུ་ སྣང་, ཙོ་འདི་ སྐབ་ ཐི་ཀ་དར་ (thikadar) ཚུ་གིས།

     t'a *ódi=lo=di*   *átsi=tɕiʔ* *gõ:jã:*   *nã̌:-bo*   *ɖa*
     now that=DAT=DEMPH   a.bit=INDF exemption grant-2INF be.similar
     bɛʔ,   [*ódi* **gã:=lo**]   *ʈʰikadar=tsu=gi.*
     EQU.NE that time=DAT thikadar=PL=AGT
     'Now (it) seems a bit exemption was given to them, [at that time], by the thikadar-rulers.' (CY interview)

    b) མི་ ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ ཡང་ རྒྱལ་པོའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ སྐབ་ལོ་

     mí   *kʰaɕɛ=ki=jã:*   [*gɛ:py:*   **t'ytsʰøʔ** **gã:=lo**]
     human some=AGT=too king.GEN time   time=DAT
     '[At the time of the king], some people also…' (CY interview)

    c) ང་ ཙོན་ ཡོད་པོའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ལོ་ ཁུ་ཡང་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨིན།

     [*ŋà* *óna* *jɔ̀-pø:*   **t'ytsʰø:=lo**] *kʰu=jã:*   *jɔ̀-po*   *ĩ́:.*
     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 *ʈ'o:pa(lo)* 'in the morning', *t'ariŋ(lo)* 'today' and *pʰi:tsʰam(lo)* (see §3.5.1).

The dative-locative functions as an additional (non-obligatory) locative-marker in some relator noun constructions:

(5.103) ད་ཁུ་ རུ་བྲི་ གཅིག་ སྟེང་ཁ་ལོ་ དཔྱང་སྟེ་ཀི་

t'a   kʰu   [rubiʔ=tɕiʔ   **tɛŋkʰa=lo**] pjã:-tiki
now   3SGM   climber=INDF   on=DAT   hang-NF
'Now, hanging [on a climber plant]…' (KT animal story)

(5.104) ང་ཚའི་ མི་དབང་ ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ ཆེན་པོ་ལོ་ བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ རྒྱལ་པུ་གྱིས་ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ནང་ན་ལོ་ འཛིན་ཞུ་ གནང་པོ་ སྲད།

ŋàtɕi míwã: tɕʰøgɛl tɕʰimpu=lo   p'ɛy: gɛ:pu=gi [tɛnɖɛ: ódi
1PL sovereign king   great.one=DAT   Nepal king=GEN ceremony that
nàŋɕa=lo] dɛnɛu   nã̌:-m   bɛʔ.
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 =lɛ (e.g. *gjablɛ* 'after'), occurs in relator nouns such as *gjablo* 'after', *dʑɛ:lo* 'after', *dynlo* 'before', *tɛŋlo* 'above, on', etc. (see §3.6.8). The dative-locative may also attach to circumstantial clause marking progressive *-tɕɛ̃:/ʑɛ̃:/ʑin* (§15.8.3) and circumstantial-purposive *-pa/ba* (§15.5.1).

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་ ཤུས་ཤུས་ མེ་ཏོག་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལོ་ བཙུག་ཏོ་ ད་ཐྲོ།

ŋà   ɕý:ɕy: mìntoʔ **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) ཁྱིམ་ན་ལོ་ཡང་ མི་ཚུ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ཟང་ ཁ་ལབ་ མེད།

kʰim=na=lo=jã: mí=tsu   ɲámtɕiʔ ódɛm=sã: kʰa-lap
house=LOC=DAT=even human=PL with   that.much=until   mouth-speak
mèʔ.
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). Note that in (5.106) =na=lo attaches to a genitive marked noun, presenting an instance of three stacked cases (for more on case stacking, see §3.7.1.3).

(5.106) a) ཉིན་ཐོའི་ དེབ་ན་ལོ་

[ɲìntʰo=i   t'ɛp=**na=lo**]
day-list.GEN   book=LOC=DAT
'[in the calender]' (Richhi 7)

b) སློབ་གྲྭའི་ན་ལོ་

*lóbɖø:=**na=lo***
school.GEN=LOC=DAT
'inside the school' (Richhi 31)

c) ཨ་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་ བྷའི་ལགས་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཡོད་ཀ?

*t'ato bhaila **méŋkʰã:=na** jø̀:-ka?*
now PN hospital=LOC EX.PER-PQ
'Is Bhaila now in the hospital?' (Richhi 24)

b) ཉིམ་ གཅིག་ འདེ་ཅིག་ ཉིམ་ན་ སྐམ།

*ɲìm tɕiʔ dø:tɕiʔ **ɲìm=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་ ཨིན།

*ŋà **tʰom=na** gju-do ĩ́:.*
1SG town=LOC go-IPFV EQU.PER
'I'm going to town/market.' (KN e)

(5.109) a) དེ་ཟང་ ཚོ་འདི་ སྐབས་ན་ ཁ་ལས་ རྒྱབས་པད་ མན་པོ་ བྲི་པད་ཀྱི་ ལུགས་སྲོལ་ མེད་བ་སྦད།

*t'izã̀: [ódi **kap=na**] kʰa=lɛ kjap-ɕɛʔ mɛ̀m-bo ʈ'i-ɕɛ=ki lùksø:*
but that time=LOC mouth=ABL do-INF except write-INF=GEN tradition
mɛ̀bbɛʔ.
NEG.EX.NE
'But [at that time], in addition to spoken language, there was no tradition of writing.' (KL BLA 12)

b) ཚོ་འདི་ དུས་ཚོད་ན་

[*ódi **t'ytsʰø=na***]
that time=LOC
'[at that time]' (PED life story)

5.6.1.3 Ablative *=lɛ*

The ablative *=lɛ* 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 =lɛ expresses a locative or temporal starting point. With locatives, =lɛ 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. *gjablɛ* instead of *gjab=lɛ*), because the case ending has essentially merged into one word with the relator noun.

(5.110) ཁུ་ དྲོ་པ་ ཁྱིམ་ལས་ ཐོན་པའི་ སྐབང་

    kʰu   *ʈʼoːpa*   **kʰim=lɛ**   *tʰøm-bøː*   *gã:*
    3SGM   morning   house=ABL   exit-2INF.GEN time
    'In the morning when he was getting out [from the house...]' (RS driver joke)

(5.111) ཁྲི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ བོ་ཚོ་ གཅིག་ སྦ་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

    [*ʈʼi*   **gjablɛ**]   *pʼotso=tɕiʔ*   *ba*   *døː*   *duʔ.*
    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 =lɛ as a temporal starting point.

(5.112) a) ཨོ་(འདི་) བྱས་སྟེ་ ཁུ་ དུ་ཚིག་ལས་ འབྱུལ་ བཙུག་བཞིན་ འདུག།

    ó(di) *pʼja-ti*   *kʰu*   **tʼutɕi=lɛ**   *bjaːm*   *tsuk-tɕɛn* *duʔ.*
    that do-NF   3SGM   this.year=ABL beginning   plant-PROG EX.SEN
    'Therefore he is beginning from this year (onwards).' (TB discussion wih KT)

    b) དུ་རིང་ལས་

    tʼariŋ=lɛ
    today=ABL
    'from today' (SGD wedding customs)

Similarly to the dative-locative =lo, =lɛ 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) ཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སྐྱེབས་ཧད་ འདིས་

    [*tʰinlɛː=ki*   **kʰim=na=lɛ**]   *tʼato=sã:*   *ka-jã:*   *ma-ɭɛp-ɕɛʔ=di:*
    Thrinley=GEN house=LOC=ABL now=until who-even   NEG-arrive-INF=DEMPH.AGT
    'Because no one has so far arrived [from Thrinley's house]...' (Richhi 43)

(5.114) མཚོ་ ནང་ནྒ་ལས་ ལོག་སྟེ་ར་ སྟ་རེ་ གཅིག་ དེ་ འཕུ་ འོང་པོ་ལོ།

    [*tsʰo*   **nàŋɕa=lɛ**]   *lòkti=ra*   *taːri=tɕiʔ*   *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 (=*lɛ*), 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 *ḷako* 'more (than), (in) excess' may be used in addition to the ablative, see (5.117).

(5.115) འདི་ལས་ ཆོ་འདི་ སྦོམ་པུ་ འདུག།

        *di=**lɛ***   *ódi*   *b̥ompu*   *duʔ.*

        this=ABL   that   big   EX.SEN

        'That is bigger than this.' (TB e)

(5.116) འདི་ སྨྱུག་གུ་ འདི་ འདི་ལས་ རིང་ སྦད།

        di   *ɲúku=di*   *di=**lɛ***   *riŋ*   *b̥ɛʔ.*

        this   pencil=DEMPH   this=ABL   be.long EQU.NE

        'This pencil is longer than this.' (TB e)

(5.117) འདི་ལས་ ལྷག་གོ་ རྒྱ་ཆེ་དགས་ འབྱོས་ སྲུང་ ཐོབ་པོ་ དང་

        *di=**lɛ***   ***ḷako*** *gjatɕʰiʈaʔ-pˈja*   *súŋ*   *tʰop-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 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 genetive complement (i.e. *nàŋtar, nàŋzin, tˈønzin(gi), ɲámtɕiʔ, ɲámpu, sã̀:tɛ, =sã̀:*). Other rows list postpositions whose complement noun may or may not be genitive marked (i.e. relator nouns). Locative postpositions have forms ending in both dative-locative =*lo* and ablative =*lɛ*. While the ablative forms are used especially to express source (e.g. *ò:lɛ* 'from below', *tɛŋlɛ* 'from above'), some ablative forms are in spoken language also frequently used for non-directional stative location (e.g. *ò:lɛ* 'below'). Those ablative forms which are particularly frequently used for stative location are listed as separate morphemes in Table 5.3.

231

Table 5.3. Postpositions

Postposition		Gloss
nàŋtar, nàŋzin	ནད་ལྟར་, ནད་བཞིན་	'according to, similar to'
t'ønzin(gi)	དོན་བཞིན་(གྱིས་)	'according to, in accordance with, in view of'
(t'ã:) námtɕiʔ, (t'ã:) námpu	(དང་) མཉམ་ཅིག་, (དང་) མཉམ་པུ་	'with'
sà̃:tɕ, =sã̃:	ཟང་སྟེ་, ཟང་	'until'
mèmbo[229]	མན་བོ་	'except'
mèntã:	མན་བཏང་	'except'
tsʰaplo, tsʰama(lo)	ཚབ་ལོ་, ཚབ་མ་ལོ་	'instead of'
tsakʰa, tsa:lo, =tsa:	རྩ་ཁ(ར)་, རྩ་ལོ་, རྩ་(ར)་	'at, by, with'
t'ønlo, t'ønlɛ, t'øndalo, t'øndalɛ	དོན་ལོ་, དོན་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལོ་, དོན་དག་ལས་	'for (the purpose of)'
tʰo:lɛ	ཐོག་ལས་	'through, via, on the basis of, by'
(=lɛ) gjy:ti	(ལས་) རྒྱུད་སྟེ་	'through, via, by'
go:lɛ	འགོ་ལས་	'from, through'
korlo, korlɛ	སྐོར་ལོ་, སྐོར་ལས་	'about'
ŋo:lo/hõ:lo, ŋo:tɛ/hõ:tɛ ŋo:lɛ/hõ:lɛ	ངོས་ལོ་, ངོས་སྟེ་ ངོས་ལས་	'toward, in the direction of' 'from the direction/side of, through'
gjablo, gjablɛ	རྒྱབ་ལོ་, རྒྱབ་ལས་	'behind, after'
dzɛ:lo[230]	རྗེས་ལོ་	'after'
(kum)dynkʰa, (kum)dỹ:lo, kumdỹ:	(སྐུ་)མདུན་ཁ(ར)་, (སྐུ་)མདུན་ལོ་, སྐུ་མདུན་	'in front of, in the presence of (*kum-* is honorific prefix)'
p'a:na	བར་ན་	'between'
nénlo, nénlɛ, nóma, hɛnlɛ, hɛma	སྔོན་ལོ་, སྔོན་ལས་, སྔོན་མ་, ཧུན་ལས་, ཧུན་མ་	'before'
tɛŋkʰa, tɛŋlo	སྟེང་ཁ(ར)་, སྟེང་ལོ་	'above, on'
=gu, gulo	མགུ་(ལོ་)་	'above, on'
ò:lo, ò:lɛ	འོག་ལོ་, འོག་ལས་	'below'
bu:na, bu:lo	སྦུ་ན་, སྦུ་ལོ་	'in the middle of'
bolo(-kʰa), bololo	འབོ་ལོ་(ཁར་), འབོ་ལོ་ལོ་	'next to'
nàŋɕa(lo), nàŋlo, nàŋna	ནད་ཤ་(ལོ་), ནད་ལོ་, ནད་ན་	'inside'
pʰiloʔ	ཕྱི་ལོག་	'outside'
paŋkʰa	པང་ཁ(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

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[229] Occurs in a negated or interrogated clause.
[230] This word from Tibetan is mainly used by literate people with monastic training.

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.

(5.118) a) ཁྲིམས་ དང་ འགྲོ་ལུགས་ ནང་ལྟར་ ཆུགས་ནེ་ ང་ལོ་ ཁྲིག་ སོང་།

    [*tʰim t'ã: ɖolyʔ* **nàŋtar**]   *tsʰuː-nɛ*   *ŋà=lo*   *kʰik sõ̌ː.*

    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) ཨོ་འདི་གི་ ནང་ལྟར་ ང་ཚག་ གཡོག་ བྱོས་ བདའ་ འགྱུ་གོ།

    [*ódi=gi* **nàŋtar**]   *ŋàtɕaʔ*   *jóʔ* *p'ja da:*   *gju-kɛ.*

    that=GEN according 1PL   work do pursue go-HORT

    'Let us go and pursue to do the work [according to that (example)].' (KN e)

    b) ད་ལྟ་ཟང་གི་ ངའི་ མནོ་བསམས་ཚུ, འཆར་གཞི་ དང་ རེ་ཚ་ཚུ་ རྨི་ལམ་ ནང་བཞིན་ མི་འཐོན་གའ།

    t'ato sàŋ=gi   *ɲèː*   *nóːsam=tsu*   *tɕʰaːzi* *t'ã:* *ritɕʰi=tsu* [*ɲílam*

    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་ མནོ་དོན་བཞིན་ ཡིན་ན་ཏོ་ སྒང་ཏོག་ མཐོ་ཡོན་གྱི་ སྨན་ཁང་ གང་རུང་ གཅིག་ན་ ཐོབ་པའི་ རེ་ཁེ།

    [*kʰu=ri*   **nó**   **t'ønzin**]   *ín-nɛ=to*   *gã:toʔ*

    3SGM=AEMPH.GEN thought in.accordance.with EQU-COND=CEMPH TPN

    tʰojøn=gi   *mɛ́ŋkʰã:=na* *k'ã:ruŋ=tɕi=na* *tʰop-ø:*   *ritɕʰi.*

    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་པུ་ ལེགས་མ་བྱོས་ སྡོད་ ཡིན་ནམ།

    [*roː=tsu*   **ɲàmpu**] *lɛ̀m-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་ ཕྱག་ལས་ གནང་དོ་ ཡིན་གོ།

    kʰõ: [*ŋà* *t'ã:* **ɲámtɕi=rã:**] *lóbɖa=na* *tɕʰa:lɛʔ* *nã̌:-do*

    3SG.HON 1SG and with=AEMPH school=LOC work.HON do.HON

    ĩ̌:=ɕo.

    EQU.PER=AT

    'She works [with me] at the school, you know.' (Richhi 12)

(5.121) a) ད་ལྟོ་ཟང་སྟེ་ཏོ་ ལེགས་ར་ ཡོད།

    [*t'ato **sã:tɛ**=to*] *lèm=ra*   *jɘ̀ʔ.*
    now until=CEMPH good=AEMPH EX.PER
    '[Until now], (I) am well.' (PED life story)

   b) ཕྱུན་ དྲུག་ཀོ་ཟང་ སློབ་གྲ་ ཚོགས།

    [*tʰyn*   *ɖ'uko=**sã:**]* *lóbɖa* *tsʰoʔ.*
    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་པོ་ གནང་མཁན་ ན་ སློབ་དཔོན་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ མན་པོ་ གཞན་མོ་ ངས་ གོས་པོ་ ངས་ མ་ཐོང་།

    ɖɛm *nɑ̃́:-bo*   *náŋ-kʰɛ̃̀:* *nà:* [*lópɛn=la:=gi* ***mèmbo***] *zɸmɸ*
    like.that do.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ here teacher=HON=AGT except other
    ŋá: *kɛ:po* *ŋá:* *ma-tʰõ:.*[231]
    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་པའི་ ཚབ་ལོ་ ཆོད་རང་ མན་པོ་ གཞན་ ཀ་ ཡོད?

    ápɸ: [*tsʰaplo* [*tɕʰɸ:=rã:* ***mèmbo***] *zɛn* *ka* *jɘ̀ʔ?*
    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་པའི་ ཚབ་ལོ་ ཆོད་རང་ མན་པོ་ གཞན་ ཀ་ ཡོད?

    [*ápɸ:* ***tsʰaplo***] *tɕʰɸ:=rã:* *mèmbo* *zɛn* *ka* *jɘ̀ʔ?*
    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) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱིས་ ཚབ་མ་ལོ་ ད་རིང་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་པ་ ང་ འོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

    [*ʈaɕi=ki **tsʰamalo***] *t'ariŋ* *jóʔ* *kjap-a* *ŋà* *òm-bo* *ĩ́:.*
    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 *mèntã:* 'except' (literally 'NEG-send') occurs in an interrogative:

(5.124) རང་ མན་བཏང་ གཞན་མོ་ཚུ་ཀིས་ཡང་ ཐོབ་པོ་ ན?

    [*rã:* ***mèntã:***] *zɸmɸ=tsu=gi=jã:* *tʰop-o*   *ɲá?*
    you except other=PL=AGT=too receive-2INF EQU.PER.Q
    '[Except you], did others also receive (it)?' (KN e)

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[231] The repetition of *ŋá:*[I.AGT] here is unnecessary from the perspective of written and polished spoken language.

(5.125) a) ཡ་རབ་ ཀ་བ་ཏེན་ (captain) རྩ་ལས་ གནང་བ་ གཅིག་ ཐོབ་ཀམ?

    [*jà:p*   *kæpʈɛn*   **tsa:=lɛ**] *nǎ̃:wa=tɕiʔ*   *tʰop-kam?*

    nobleman.HON   Captain(Eng.) at=ABL   permission=INDF receive-ATTQ

    '(I wonder) whether (we) will get a permission [from Captain Sir].' (KN, CY interview)

    b) ང་ཚག་གི་ རྩ་ལས་ འདི་ལོ་ ཐེ་ཚོམ་ མེད་པོ་ སྲད་ ཨིན་ག་ལགས།

    [*ŋàtɕa=ki* **tsa:=lɛ**] *di=lo*   *tʰɛtsʰom mè:-po bɛʔ*

    1PL=GEN   by=ABL this=DAT   doubt   EX-2INF EQU.NE

    íŋ-ga=la.

    EQU.PER-PQ=HON

    '[From our side], there is no doubt about that, is there?' (KLT Bumchu video)

    c) ཀརྨ, ཚོད་ ན་ ཨོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ཡར་རྩ་ཟང་ སྐྱེལ་ བྱིན་ ལོ།

    karma, tɕʰøʔ   nà: óɲi=lo   [*jà:=**tsa:=sã̃:**] 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) དེ་ ང་ཚའི་ དོན་དག་ལས་ དང་ ཕམ་ཚུའི་ དོན་དག་ལས་ སློབ་གྲྭར་ མེད་མཁན་ སྲད།

    tɛ [*ŋàtɕi* *t'øndalɛ*   *dã: pʰam=tsy:*   **t'øndalɛ**] *lópʈa=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) ཨོ་འདི་ ང་འི་གི་ དཔྱད་ཞིབ་ དང་ ང་འི་གི་ ད་ལྟའི་ ཉམས་མྱོང་ ཐོག་ལས་ ང་ ཞེ་པ་ཅེ་ནེ་ འདི་

    ódi [*ɲè:=gi*   *tɕe:zip t'ã: ɲè:=gi*   *t'ato=i ɲàmjõ: **tʰo:lɛ**]

    that   1SG.GEN=GEN research and   1SG.GEN=GEN now=GEN experience through

    ŋà   sé-patsɛnɛ=di

    1SG say-COND=DEMPH

    'If I tell that [by my research and my present experience]...' (YR boys' and girls' clothing)

    b) ཁོག་གོའི་ ནང་གི་ གཏམ་ཚུ་ ཡི་གེའི་ ཐོག་ལོ་ ཁ་ལམ་གྱིས་ གསལ་དགས་ བྱས་ སྟེ་ ཧ་གོ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

    kʰokø: nàŋ=gi   tam=tsu [*jìgi: **tʰo:lo**] ʈʰalamgi sé:ʈaʔ p'ja-ti*

    insides.GEN inside=GEN word=PL letter.GEN through clearly clear   do-NF

    hako-zɛ̃:   jǿʔ.

    understand-PROG EX.PER

    'Inmost thoughts are [through letter(s)] clearly and unambiguously being understood.' (Richhi 152)

(5.128) a) ཨོ་རང་གི་ ཁོག་ཀོའི་ན་ བསགས་ཏེ་ བཞག་ ཡོད་པའི་ གཏམ་ཚུ་ ཡིག་ཐོག་ རྒྱུད་ཏེ་ ཀརྨའི་ རྣ་ཚོག་ན་ བླུགས་ ཐོབ་ཁད་ འདིས།

mù=raŋ=gi	*kʰokø:=na*	*sák-ti*		*za: jø̀-pø:*
3SGF=REFL=GEN	innards.GEN=LOC	accumulate-NF		set EX-2INF.GEN

tam=tsu [*jìktʰoʔ* **gjy:ti**] *karmø: námtɕo=na*   *lùk*
word=PL   writing   through   PN=GEN ear=LOC   pour

tʰop-ɕɛ=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་ ལྟ་བང་ བོམ་བེ་ལས་ རྒྱུད་ཏེ་ སྒང་ཏོག, སྒང་ཏོག་ལས་ རྒྱུད་ཏེ་ ཟོམ་བྲ་རེ་ བྲི་བྲི་པོ་ སྡུང་

jìgi:	*kʰatɕã*	*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* *ʈʼi-ʈi=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) སྙིང་ཐག་པའི་ འགོ་ལས་ ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ ཞུ་ཡད་ ཡིན་ལགས།

[*ɲintʰakpø:*   **go:lɛ**] *tʰudzitɕʰɛ*   *ɕù-ɕĩ:=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་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ ཁ་སང་གི་ སློབ་གྲྭའི་ དུས་སྟོན་ སྐོར་ལོ་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ བཤད་བཞིན་ལོ་

tʼato	*kʰu=rã:*	*ɲí:-po*	*tɕiku*	[*kʰasaŋ=gi*	*lóbɖø:* *tʼy:tøn*
now	3SGM=AEMPH	two-COL	only	yesterday=GEN	school.GEN celebration

korlo] *lógjuʔ* *ɕɛ́-zɛ̃:=lo*
about   story   tell-PROG=DAT

'Now only the two of them telling stories [about yesterday's school celebration]' (Richhi 99)

b) ད་རིང་ ང་ དཀར་ཟས་ ལབ་མཁན་གྱི་ ཟས་ དང་ དམར་ཟས་ ལབ་མཁན་གྱི་ ཟས་གྱི་ སྐོར་ལས་ ཚིག་ གཅིག་གཉིས་ཅིག་ ཞུ་དོ་ ཡིན།

tʼariŋ	*ŋá*	[*karzɛ:*	*làp-kʰɛŋ=gi*	*sàm dã:*	*márzɛ:*
today	I	vegetarian.food	say-NMLZ=GEN	food and	nonvegetarian.food

làp-kʰɛŋ-gi   *sàm=**gi***   **korlɛ**] *tsʰik tɕiɲí:=tɕiʔ* *ɕù-do*   *ĩ́:.*[232]
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)

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[232] 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.

(5.131) a) ལྷ་སྐྱིད་ དང་ རོགས་ཚུའི་ མིག་ ཀྲངས་འཁོར་ ངོས་ལོ།

        ḷakiʔ t'ã: ro:=tsu=i   mìk [ḷaŋkor ŋo:lo].
         PN   and friend=PL=GEN eye car   toward
         'Lhaki's and friends' eye(s are) [toward (the) car].' (Richhi 68)

      b) ཁྱིམ་ ངོས་ཏེ་ འགྱུ་དོ།

         [*kʰim   **ŋo:tɛ**] *gju-do.*
         house   toward go-IPFV
         '(I'm) walking [towards the house].' (TB e)

      c) ང་ སྒང་ཏོག་ ལམ་ སྟོད་མའི་ ངོས་ལས་ སོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

         *ŋà   gã:toʔ [làm tømø: **ŋo:lɛ**]   ső:-bo   î:.*
         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) ཁྲི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ པོ་ཚོ་ གཅིག་ སྦ་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

         [*tʰi   **gjablɛ**] *p'otso=tɕiʔba   dø: duʔ.*
         chair behind   child=INDF hide stay EX.SEN
         'A boy is hiding [behind the chair].' (PD spatial topography interview)

      b) ལ་ལས་ རྒྱབ་སྒོའི་ མདུན་ལོ་ ཆྱོན་པོ་ ཨེགས་སོ" དང་ རྒྱབ་ལོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟེ་ རས་ དཀར་པོའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ བྲི་སྟེ་ དཔྱོང་མཁན།

         *làlɛ   [gɛ:go=i   dynlo]   tɕ'ømbolɛkso t'ã: [**gjablo**] tʰudzitɕʰɛ   làp-ti*
         some   gate=GEN   in.front.of welcome   and   behind thank.you say-NF
         rɛ: ka:pø: jì:ɖu tʰiŋkʰa kjap-ti   ʈ'i-ti   pjaŋ-kʰɛ̃:
         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) དེ་ ཉིམ་ གཅིག་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ ཤ་ སྐྱིན་པ་ བདའ་བ་ འོང་ཤད་ ཨིན་ ག།

         *tɛ [ɲìm tɕiʔ **gjablɛ**] ŋà ɕá kimba da:-wa   ő:-ɕĩ: ɲá.*
         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་ དེ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ང་ཚའི་གི་ དུས་ཚོད་ གཅིག་ ཡོད།

         [*lò   tɕi:=ki   **gjablɛ**] *tɛ ɲén   kjap-ɕɛ=ki   ŋàtɕi=gi*
         year one=GEN   after   so marriage do-INF=GEN   1PL.GEN=GEN
         t'ytsʰø:=tɕiʔ   jɤ̀ʔ.
         time=INDF   EX.PER
         '[One year later] we have then a time for having the wedding.' (SGD wedding customs)

(5.134) ཉིམ་གཉིས་རྗེས་ལོ་འདི་ རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཨ་ཤ་ ལྷ་མོ་ འདི་ ལོག་སྟེ་ ཕུག་གུག་ན་ ཐོན་ཞེ་ལོ།

[ɲìm ɲí: **dzɛ:lo**=di] ná:dzor áɕa ḷamo=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) ཨོ་མའི་ མཚོ་ འདི་ མདུན་ཁ་ལོ་ ཨོན་ ང་ཅའི་ པ་ཤིང་གི་ ཕུང་ བཟའ་ འདུག་གེ་ སེ།

[ómø: **tsʰo**=di **dyŋkʰa=lo**] óna ŋàtɕi paɕiŋ=gi pʰuŋ za:
milk.GEN lake=DEMPh in.front.of=DAT there 1PL.GEN bamboo=GEN heap
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) བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱི་ མདུན་ལོ་ རྡོ་ བོམ་པུ་ གཅིག་ འདུག།

[tɛnziŋ=gi **dyn=lo**] do bompu=tɕiʔ duʔ.
PN=GEN in.front.of stone big=INDF EX.SEN
'There is a big stone [in front of Tenzing].' (KN e)

c) ཁོང་ རྒན་པོ་ཚུ་ སྐུ་མདུན་ལས་ ང་གིས་ ཨོ་འདེ་བ་སྟེ་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཨིན།

[kʰõ̀: gɛmpo=tsu **kumdỹ:=lɛ**] ŋá:=gi ódɛpti 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་རུ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ སྐུ་མདུན་ བཅའ་སྟེ་

ŋà [guru rimputɕʰɛ **kumdỹ:**] tɕa:-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་ སྒང་ཏོག་ བར་ན་ རུམ་ཏེག་ ཡོད།

[màrtam t'ã: gã:toʔ **p'a:na**] rumteʔ jø̀ʔ.
TPN and TPN between TPN EX.PER
'[Between Martam and Gangtok] there is Rumtek.' (KN e)

b) ཨ་ཏང་གི་ ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ དང་ ད་ལྟའི་ ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་ བར་ན་ གནམ་ དང་ སའི་ ཁྱད་པར།

[átaŋ=gi tɕʰøkiʔ t'ã: t'atø: tɕʰøki=ki **p'a:na**] nám t'ã:
always=GEN PN and now.GEN PN=GEN between sky and
sá=i kʰɛpar.
earth=GEN difference
'(There is) a difference of heaven and earth [between the usual Choki and the Choki of today].' (Richhi 157)

238

(5.137) a) ང་སྔོན་ལས་ ང་འདི་ལས་ ལོ་ དྲུག་ འདི་ཅིག་ སྔོན་ལས་ཅིག་ བཅར་ཞེ་ལགས།

t'a ɲénlɛ ŋà [di=lɛ lò ʈ'uʔ dɛ:tɕiʔ **ɲènlɛ=tɕiʔ**]
now before 1SG this=ABL year six that.much before=INDF
tɕa:-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་ གཀས་པོའི་ སྔོན་ལོ་ ཨ་ཇུ་ལོ་ རྩིས་ བཏད་སྟེ་ སྨྱོང་ཚར།

[ɲìm kɛ:pø: **ɲénlo**] ágja=lo tsi: tɛ:-ti
day many.GEN before elder.brother=DAT count entrust-NF
mjõ̀:-tsʰa:.
complete-CMPL
'[Many days ago], I have completed entrusting (my body and mind) to the brother (=you).' (Richhi 147)

c) ང་ཚག་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཧུན་མ་

ŋàtɕaʔ [ódi **hɛma**]
1PL that before
'[Before that] we...' (DR discussion with KL)

(5.138) a) བུམ་ འདི་ ཆུ་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཉལ་ སྡོད་ འདུག་ཀེ།

p'um=di [tɕʰu **tɛŋkʰa**] ɲè: dø: du-kɛ.
girl=DEMPH water above sleep stay EX.SEN-IN
'The girl is floating (lit. lying) [on the water].' (TB e)

b) ཁོང་ གཉིས་ཆ་ ད་ལྟ་ ཉལ་ཁྲིའི་ སྟེང་ལོ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

kʰõ̀: ɲí:tɕʰa t'ato [ɲè:ʈʰi: **tɛŋlo**] dø: jø̀ʔ.
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 *tɛŋkʰa/tɛŋlo*. Note in (5.139c) that the cliticized form =*gu* may also attach to the relator noun *tɛŋ* 'up'.

(5.139) a) ཅེ་བལ་ མགུ་ལོ་ བཞག།

[tɕɛibl²³³ **gulo**] zaʔ.
table upon put
'Put (it) [on the table].' (KN e)

---

²³³ 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 *tɕɛntɛ*.

b) ཁུ་ ངའི་མགུ་ འཛུབ་ཕྱུག་(?) སློང་པོ་ བྱད།

k^hu [$\eta\grave{e}{:}{=}\textbf{gu}$] $zukt\varepsilon a?$ $l\tilde{\varrho}{:}{-}bo$ $b\varepsilon?.$
3SGM 1SG.GEN=on finger.pointing arouse-2INF EQU.NE
'He put blame [on me].' (KN e)

c) པ་ལང་ སྟེང་མགུ་

[$pala\eta^{234}$ **$t\varepsilon\eta gu$**]
bed on
'on the bed' (KN e)

(5.140) a) ང་ཚག་ ཁྱིམ་ མོའུ་ ཡོད་བ་བྱད་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐབ་ ག་རི་ ལམ་ འོག་ལས།

$\eta\grave{a}t\varepsilon a?^{235}$ k^him $m\grave{o}u$ $j\grave{\varepsilon}bb\varepsilon?$ $\acute{o}di$ $g\tilde{a}{:},$ [$gari$ $l\grave{a}m$ **$\grave{o}{:}l\varepsilon$**].
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) ཐི་ཀ་དར་ (Thikadar) ཚུ་ དུས་ཚོད་ སྐབ་པོ་ ཨོ་ན་ ར་མ་སང་ཁ་ (Ramasanhkha)གི་ འོག་ལས་ ཀེས་པོ་ སྐབ་ མི་ཚུ།

$t^hikadar{=}tsu$ $t'yts^h\phi?$ $g\tilde{a}{:}{=}lo$ $\acute{o}na$ [$ramasa\eta k^ha{=}gi$ **$\grave{o}{:}l\varepsilon$**] $k\varepsilon{:}p$
thikadar=PL time time=DAT there PN=GEN under many
$b\varepsilon?$ $mi{=}tsu.$
EQU.NE human=PL
'At the time of the thikadar-rulers, there were a lot of people there [under Ramasangkha].' (TB discussion with KT)

(5.141) a) མི་ མང་པུ་ སྦུ་ན་ ང་ལོ་ མིག་བཙུམ་ མ་རྐྱབས།

[$m\acute{i}$ $m\grave{a}\eta pu$ **$bu{:}na$**] $\eta\grave{a}{=}lo$ $m\grave{i}k{-}tsum$ $ma{-}kjap.$
human many in.the.middle 1SG=DAT eye-close NEG-do
'Do not wink at me [in the midst of many people].' (song lyrics)

b) ཁོང་ཚུའི་ སྦུ་ན་ ཀར་མ་ཡང་ ལག་ཀར་ སྒྲ་སྙན་ འབག་སྟེ་ སྒྲ་དབྱངས་ བཏང་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

[$k^h\tilde{\varrho}{:}{=}tsu{=}i$ **$bu{:}na$**] $karma{=}j\tilde{a}{:}$ $l\grave{a}ka{:}$ $\d{a}m\eta\tilde{\varepsilon}{:}$ $bak{-}ti$
3PL=PL=GEN in.the.middle PN=too in.hand Tibetan.guitar carry-NF
$l\acute{u}j\tilde{a}{:}$ $t\tilde{a}{:}{-}z\tilde{\varepsilon}{:}$ $j\grave{\phi}?.$
melody send-PROG EX.PER
'[Among them] Karma too, carrying a Tibetan guitar, is singing a song.' (Richhi 120)

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[234] 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 $\eta\grave{e}{:}\d{t}^hi$ (WD ཉལ་ཁྲི་ nyal-khri).

[235] I am not sure whether this non-genitive form is a mistake or intentional.

c) ཕྱངས་འཁོར་ ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ བྱས་བཞིན་ སྐྱང་དུག་ ཁྲོམས, དེ་ར་ལི་ ཚོང་ཁྲོམ་ སྐྱ་ན་ལས་ འཐོན་སྟེ་

lⱥŋkor k'aly: k'aly: p'ja-zɛ̃: [gã:toʔ ʈʰom, dɛorali tsʰõ:ʈʰom
car   slow   slow   do-INF TPN   town   TPN   market
bu:na=lɛ]   tʰøn-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་ སྦུ་ ནང་ༀ, མི་ཚོགས་ ནང་ༀ, སྦུ་ ནང་ༀ

[**mímaŋ=gi bu: nàŋɛa**] [mítsʰo   nàŋɛa, **bu: nàŋɛa**]
masses=GEN mid inside group.of.people inside   mid   inside
'[In the midst of masses], [inside...in the midst of the crowd]...' (KT discussion with TB)

(5.142) a) སྒེ་ག་ འབོ་ལོག་ ཉལ་ཁྲི།

[gɛ:ka **boloʔ**] ɲè:ʈʰi.
window beside   bed
'(There is) a bed [beside a window].' (nga'i 'gan 1)

b) ཁོའི་ འབོ་ལོག་ལོ་ རྒྱ་ཐང་ཁའི་ ཨ་ཙོ་ ཉས་པོ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད།

[kʰu=i   **bololo**] gjatʰã:kʰø: ádzo=tɕiʔ   jø̀ʔ.
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་ལྗོངས་ ནང་ༀ་ལོ་ ཨ་ཀུ་ ལྷོ་པོ་ཚུ་ ཉུང་ཉུང་ཚུ་ མེད་མཁན་ སྐྱང་བོ་ལགས

[ɖɛndzõ: **nàŋɛa=lo**] áku ɭopo=tsu ɲùŋɲuŋ=tsu mè:-kʰɛn   bɛ=ɕo=la.
Sikkim inside=DAT uncle Lhopo=PL few=PL   EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE=AT=HON
'[Within Sikkim], Lhopos are not few.' (KT discussion with TB)

b) ཡོལ་ལོའི་ ནང་ལོ་ གླུའི་ སྐད་སྦྲ་ སྙན་ཆེ་ཆེ་ སྦ་སྙན་ན།

[jòlø: **nàŋlo**] lú=i   kɛ:ɖa ɲɛntɕʰitɕʰi ɖamɲɛ̃:=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་ ནང་ན་

[ónaŋ=gi gjɸmpo **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) ཁུ་ ཁྱིམ་(གྱི་) ཕྱི་ལོག་ ལོང་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

     kʰu   *kʰim(=gi)*   **pʰiloʔ**   *lɔ̀ː*   *døː*   *duʔ.*

     3SGM   house(=GEN)   outside   stand   stay   EX.SEN

     'He is standing outside the house.' (KN e)

(5.145) ཁུ་ ཁྱིམ་(གྱི་) པང་ཁར་ ལོང་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

     kʰu   *kʰim(=gi)*   **pʰaŋkʰa**   *lɔ̀ː*   *dø:*   *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་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ལོ་ ཏོ་ ཟ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

        t'ato kʰõ̀ː   *ɲĩ̌ː-po*   **ɲámtɕilo**   *to*   *sà-zɛ̃̀ː*   *jø̀ʔ.*

        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་ ཐོབ་པོ་ དང་

        míː   *dyŋkʰa*   **ɲámtɕiʔ** *gju*   *tʰop-o-dã̀ː*

        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་ ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཚུ་ ནང་ཕ་ གཟིགས་བ་ཅེ་ན་ ཁ་ལམ་གྱིས་ གཟིགས་ཀད་ སྡད་ ཨོ་ན།

     ódi   *tʰimjiː=tsu*   *nàŋɕa*   *ziː-batsɛnɛ*   **tʰalamgi**   *ziː-ɕɛ*

     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) ཁུ་ ཧ་ད་ཐོག་ཁར་ གླང་བུ་ཆེ་གྱི་ རྐུག་དོང་ ནང་ཕ་ལས་ ནང་ཕ་ འཛུལ་ཐྲི་ཀི

     kʰu   **hatokʰa**   *lã̀ːbutɕʰɛ=gi*   *kjadõ̀ː*   *nàŋɕa=lɛ*   *nàŋɕa*   *dzyː-diki*

     3SGM   suddenly   elephant=GEN   anus   inside=ABL   inside   enter-NF

     'Suddenly he entered inside from within the elephant's anus.' (KT animal story)

   Three adverbs are used for manners of sleeping:

(5.149) ཁུ་ གོང་སྐྱལ་/ཁ་བུབ་/ཟུར་སྟེ་ ཉལ་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

     kʰu   **k'õ̀ːkɛ/kʰabup/sùːtɛ**   *ɲɛ̀ː*   *døː*   *duʔ.*

     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) བྱ་ཤ་ དྲག་རྟོག་ལོ་ ས་འབར་ གོས་ བཞག་ འདུག།

p'ja-ɕa	*dakdok=lo*	**sákʰa**	*ko:*	*za:*	*duʔ.*
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་ དུ་བ་ མཐོང་པོ་ལས་ མོའི་ སེམས་ ལེབ་ དགའ་སྟེ་

tʰa:riŋ=lo	*t'uwa*	*tʰõ:-po=lɛ*	*mù=i*	*sɛ́m*	*lɛ̀p*	*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་ཀུ་ལས་ ཡར་ འཛེག་ཚོའུ་ལས་ ལམ་སྨད་ ཨོ་ན་ ཁྱིམ་ ཨོ་ན་ ཡོད།

tarku=lɛ	*ja:*	*dzɛk-tsʰo-u=lɛ*	**làmmɛʔ**	*óna*	*kʰim*	*óna*[236]
TPN=ABL	up	climb-CMPL-2INF =ABL	below.road	there	house	there

jø̀ʔ.
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་སྟེ་ མ་ལག་ མ་ལག་ འོག་ལོ་ བབ།

mù=i	*sɛ́m*	*lɛ̀p*	*ga-ti*	*màlaʔ*	*màlaʔ*	**ò:=lo**	*p'ap.*
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་ཆུང་ དང་ སངས་རྒྱས་ རྒྱབ་ལོ་ སྡོད་སྟེ་

ɭatɕuŋ	*t'ã:*	*sáŋgɛʔ*	**gjablo**	*dø:-ti*
PN	and	PN	at.the.back	sit-NF

'Lhachung and Sange, sitting in the back and... ' (Richhi 51)

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[236] In written language and polished spoken language, the repetition of *óna* is considered infelicitous.

243

c) ཁུ་ འདི་ ཡོའུ་ སྟེང་ཁར་ སོང་སྟེ་

   kʰu=di   *jòu*   **tɛŋkʰa**   *sö̌:-di*
   3SGM=DEMPH   up   above   go.PFV-NF
   'He went up above and...' (KT animal story)

d) ང་ འོག་ལས་ ཞུ་དོ་ ཨིན་ལགས།

   ŋà   **ò:=lɛ**   *ɕù-do*   *ĩ̌:=la.*
   1SG   down=ABL speak.HUM-IPFV EQU.PER=HON
   'I speak from down (here).' (KT phone call)

e) གེན་ཚོང་ འདི་ སྦུ་ན་ བཞག།

   kintsõ̌:=di   **bu:na**   *zaʔ.*
   maize=DEMPH   in.the.middle set
   'The maize is put in the middle.' (PL interview)

g) དེ་ ནང་ཤ་ འཛུལ་ ལབ།

   tɛ   **nàŋɕa**   *dzy:*   *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) ཕྱི་རུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཟས་ ཟ་སྟེ་ མྱོང་།

   pʰiruʔ   *tʰamtɕɛʔ* *sàm* *sà-ti*   *mjö̌:.*
   at.night all   food eat-NF   finish
   'At night everyone has finished eating.' (Richhi 4)

(5.155) མོ་ ད་རིང་ འཛུམ་ མེར་མེར་ ཡོད, ཨ་ཏང་ དང་ མན་འདྲ་པོ།

   mù   **t'ariŋ**   *dzum-mè:me:* *jò̌ʔ,*   *átã:*   *t'ã:*   *man-ɖou.*
   3SGF today   smile-IDEO   EX.PER always and NEG-similar
   'She is smily today, unlike usually.' (Richhi 148)

(5.156) ང་ དུ་ཅིག་ ད་ མ་སླེབས, ན་ནིང་ འདི་ ཚར་ གཉིས, ན་ནིང་ མེད་པ་སྨད, གཞེས་ནིང་ འདྲ།

   ŋà   **t'utɕiʔ**   *t'a* *ma-ɭɛp,*   **nàɲĩ̌:=di**   *tsʰa:* *ɲí:,*   **nàniŋ**
   1SG this.year   now NEG-arrive last.year=DEMPH turn two last.year
   mɛ́bbɛ,   **zø:ɲiŋ**   *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) ཨ་དང་ ང་ཚའི་ རྣེའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ མགོ་ བཏོག་སྟེ་ འགྲེལ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་སྐབས་ བུ་སྲིང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ཆེན་ ཁོ་ ཨོན་རང་ ཤི་ཤད་ སྦད།

dã: ŋàtɕi   bhaila=ki go   tok-ti   ɖi: dø: jò̀:-kap
yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN   head hit-NF   fall stay EX-SIM
p'usim=la: mè:-patɕɛnɛ   kʰu   óna=rã̀:   ɕí-ɕɛ   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) ཁོ་ ཨ་དང་ འགྱེལ་སྟེ་ མགོ་ ཚད་ཐུན་ གཏོག་ཀོ་ལོ།

kʰu   **dã:**   geː-di   go   tsʰɛdẽ̀:   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 *dã:* 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 proposition (5.157) draws attention to what happened the previous day in relation to the younger sister.

The postpositions *ɲénlo/ɲénlo* 'before' and *gjablo/gjablɛ* 'behind; after' are also used as temporal adverbs, see (5.159). Whereas *ɲénlo/ɲénlɛ* is temporal, *gjablo/gjablɛ* can also mark location, see (5.153b) above.

(5.159) a) ཤིང་ འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ཨ་ཙི་ རིང་ཤད་ ཨིན།

ɕíŋ=di   **gjablɛ**   átsi   riŋ-ɕɛ   ĩ́:.
tree=DEMPH afterwards   a.bit be.long-INF   EQU.PER
'Later this tree will grow a bit.' (KN e)

b) ཁུ་ སྟོན་ལས་ ངའི་ གྲོགས་ཀུ་ ཨིན་པོ་ སྦད།

kʰu   **ɲénlɛ**   ŋè: ʈ'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 *tɛːra* ཏེ་ར 'again' express frequency:

(5.160) ད་ ཨོན་ལས་ ད་ ད་རུང་ འགྲོ་ལིས་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྦད།

t'a   ónalɛ t'a **t'aruŋ**   ɖoly=tɕi?   jò̀:-kʰɛn   bɛ?.
now   then   now still   custom=INDF EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE
'Now then there is still another custom.' (SGD wedding customs)

(5.161) ཚེད་མ་ ཏེ་ར་ ཚེད་ཤ?
 tsim **tɛːra** *tsiː-ɕa?*
 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 repetitious bisyndetic construction.

(5.162) རེ་འགའ་ མལ་ན་ ཉལ, རེ་འགའ་ ལོང་སྟེ་ ཕར་ཚུར་ འགྲོ།
 rɛga: *mɛ̀ː=na ɲɛ̀ː,* **rɛga:** *lõ̀ː-ti pʰaː tsʰuː 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

lɛ̀p(ti)	ལེབ་(སྟེ་)	'very much'
kɛːp, kɛːpo	གོསབ་, གོས་པོ་	'much, a lot'
màŋpu, màŋpo	མང་པུ་, མང་པོ་	'much, a lot'
tsʰedɛ̃ː	ཚད་ཕྲན་	'considerably'
màŋtsʰøʔ	མང་ཚོད་	'to great degree, more (than)'
ɲùŋtsʰøʔ[237]	ཉུང་ཚོད་	'little, less (than)'
ɕýːɕyː	ཤུས་ཤུས་	'a bit'
ɕýːtɕyː	ཤུས་ཆིག་	'a bit'
ɕýry	ཤུས་རེ་	'a bit'
átsi(m)	ཨ་ཙི(མ་)	'a bit'
átɛm	ཨ་སྟེམ་ (?)	'a bit' (rare)
ɲùŋnuŋ	ཉུང་ཉུང་	'little, few'
tɕɛː/dzɛː	ཅེ་/འཇེ་	'at all' (+negation)
tsa(ː)lɛ	རྩ་ལས	'at all, never' (+negation)
bɛkki	བད་ཀི་	'at all, anyhow' (+negation) (Lachung)

(5.163) བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ དེ་ ལེབ་ མནོ་ནེ་ འདི་
 dɛŋ-gam min-dɛŋ-gam tɛ **lɛ̀p** *nó:-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)

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[237] Also pronounced *ɲùŋtsʰiʔ*

(5.164) གོསབ་ བཤད་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ སུད་ ད་ ཨིན་ག་ལགས།

kɛ:p ɕɛ́-pø: lòɡju bɛʔ   t'a   íŋ-ɡa=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) དེ་ གསན་མཁན་ སྟུན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ ད་ མང་པུ་ ཞུ་ཁད་ གནན་འདི་ མེད།

tɛ séŋ-kʰɛ̃̀:   ḷeŋɡɛ:=tsu=lo   t'a   **máŋpu** ɕù-ɕɛ   k'anɖɛ:

so listen.HON-NMLZ   PRN.HON=PL=DAT   now   a.lot   say.HUM-INF   anything

mè?.

NEG.EX.PER

'So, to you listeners now (I) have not anything much to say.' (KT life story)

(5.166) ཁོ་ མདང་ འགྱེལ་སྟེ་ མགོ་ ཆད་སྟན་ གཏོག་ཀོ་ལོ།

kʰu   dã: ɡe:-di   ɡo   **tsʰɛdɛ̃:**   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 *màŋtsʰøʔ* '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་ཆད་ ཤེད་མའི་གི་ ན་ཚ་ ཐོན་ཁད་ ཨིན་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྟང་།

màŋtsʰøʔ   ɕɛ́:mø:=ɡi   nàtsʰa   tʰøn-ɕɛʔ   ĩ̀:   ódi   ɡã:.

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་པུ་ ག་ སྡོད་པོ་ མང་ཆད་

kʰõ̀:   ɲàmpu   ka   dɛ:-po   **màŋtsøʔ**

3RD.HON   with   who   stay-2INF   more

'...who stays with him/her most/more.' (YR boys' and girls' clothing)

c) དང་པུ་གྱི་ དུས་ཆད་ལས་ དེང་སང་ མི་ཚོགས་ མང་ཆད་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྟད།

t'ã̀:pu=ɡi   t'ytsʰø:=lɛ t'insã̀:   mítsʰoʔ   **màŋtsʰøʔ**   jø̀-po

long.ago=GEN time=ABL nowadays   crowd(s)   great.degree   EX-2INF

bɛʔ.

EQU.NE

'Nowadays there are more people than in the earlier times.' (KUN e)

(5.168) ཕྱུགས་ལོ་ འདི་ མང་ཆད་ དང་ ང་ཚག་ ལྷོ་མོན་ལོ་ འདི་ ཞུང་ཆད་ ལབ་མཁན་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ གནང་གནང་པོ་ མིན་འདུག་ཙོ་ལགས།

tɕʰuk=lo=di   **máŋtsʰøʔ** t'ã̀:   ŋàtɕaʔ ḷø-mɛ̃̀:=lo=di

Nepali=DAT=DEMPH   more   and 1PL   Lhopo-Lepcha=DAT=DEMPH

ɲùŋtsʰiʔ làp-kʰɛ̃̀:   ódi   tɕʰøɡɛ:=ɡi nã̌:-nã̀:-bo   mìnduk=ɕo=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) ཤུས་ཤུས་ཁ་ལབ་ཚུགས་པོ་འཐོན་སྡོད་འདུག

ɕý:ɕy:　kʰa　làp　tsʰu-po　　　　tʰøn　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) དེ་ང་ཚག་གིས་ཤུས་ཅིག་ཉན་སྡོད་ཡོད།

tɛ　　ŋàtɕa=ki　**ɕy:tɕy:**　ɲèn　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) ད་ལྟ་ནད་པོ་ཤུས་རེ་དྲན་པོ་སྲུན་སྟེ

t'ato　nè:po　**ɕỳry**　ʈ'ɛmpo　sỳn-di
now　patient　a.bit　memory　awaken-NF
'Now the patient has regained consciousness a bit (and)…' (Richhi 168)

(5.172) འདི་ཐག་ཀོ་འདི་ཨ་ཙི་རིང་པོ་སྲད།

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)

(5.173) ད་ལྟོ་ང་ཚག་ཨ་སྟེམ་བྱིའུ་ཡོད།

t'ato　ŋàtɕa?　**átɛm**　p'jɛu　jò?.
now　1PL　　a.bit　hurry　EX.PER
'Now we are in a bit of a hurry' (DB day trip)

(5.174) ང་ཚག་ཨོ་འདི་སྲུང་ཟ་གད་ལེབ་ལུང་ལུང་ཐོབ་གད་ཨིན།

ŋàtɕa?　ódi　gã:　sà-ɕɛ?　lèp　**ɲùŋɲuŋ**　tʰop-ɕí:.
1PL　　that　time　eat-INF　very　little　　receive-NPST.PER
'At that time we got very little to eat.' (PED life story)

Three adverbs *tɕɛ:*, *tsa:lɛ* and *bɛkki* occur with a negated verb and emphasize the fact that the action denoted by the verb was not done 'at all'.

(5.175) སླང་གཅུག་ཀོ་འདི་ཕྱི་ཅེ་མན་ཟ་བ་སྡོད་འདུག་ཀེ

lã̀:　tɕuku=di　p'i　**tɕɛ:**　man-za-wa　dø:　du-kɛ.
bull　other=DEMPH　fodder　at.all　NEG-eat-CIRC　stay　EX.SEN-IN
'The other bull lived without eating any fodder.' (TB bull story)

(5.176) དེ་འདི་ང་ཚག་རྩ་ལས་ར་འཐོན་མི་སྲིད།

tɛ　di　ŋàtɕa?　**tsa:lɛ**=ra　tʰøn　mi-si?.
well　this　1PL　　at.all=AEMPH　happen　NEG-be.possible
'Well, it's not at all possible for us to make it happen.' (NAB BLA 7)

(5.177) ཨོ་འདི་ འཚོལ་ ལྟ་པོ་ ཨིན་མད་(?) དྲང་གི་ མ་རྙེད

ódi   tsʰø: ta-wo   ĩ̀:-mɛ.   **bɛkki** ma-ɲeʔ.[238]
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 *tɕʰa:lɛ* 'all' also occurs in a converb-looking construction, see (5.178). The verb-looking *tɕʰa:* is tentatively glossed as 'be all'

(5.178) དོས་ (དང་) ཀྲ་སྟེ་

tˈoʔ   (tˈã:)   tɕʰa:-ti
load   (and)   be.all-NF
'all the loads' (KN e)

The construction *(dã:) tɕʰa:-ti* can co-occur with additional quantification:

(5.179) དེབ་ (དང་) ཀྲ་སྟེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་

tˈɛp   (tˈã:)   tɕʰa:-ti   tʰamtɕɛʔ
book   (and)   be.all-NF   all
'all the books entirely' (KN e)

5.6.3.5   Other adverbs

Other adverbs include the epistemic adverbs *nɛ́:mu(ra)* མནེ་མུ་(ར་) 'really' (5.180), *mɛ̀ntɕɛnɛ/mɛ̀ntɕɛno* མན་ཅེ་ནེ་/མན་ཅེ་ནོ་ 'perhaps, maybe' (5.181) and *mɛ̀nnɛ/mɛ̀nni*[239] མན་ནེ་ 'perhaps, maybe' (5.182).

(5.180) ཤུན་རྒྱས་ མནེ་མུ་ར་ ཐོ་རངས་ ཕྱོན་པོ་ གནང་ག?

*ɭɛŋgɛʔ   **nɛ̀:mura**   tʰorã: tɕˈɛm-bo   náŋ-ga?*
PRN.HON   really   tomorrow   come.HON-2INF   do.HON-PQ
'Are you really coming tomorrow? ' (TB e)

(5.181) གུ་ཅག་ མན་ཅེ་ནོ་ ཐོ་རངས་ ཉི་མ་ གུ་ཅག་ ཨེན་ཌི་ནི་ཡར་ (engineer) ཡང་ ཐྱོན་ འོང་གྱོ།

*kˈutɕaʔ   **mɛ̀ntɕeno**   tʰorã: ɲìma   kˈutɕaʔ   ɛndʑiniər=jã: tʰøn*
2PL   perhaps   tomorrow   day   2PL   engineer(Eng.)=too   become
ồ:-ʈo.
come-PROB
'You will perhaps in the coming days become engineers too.' (KL BLA 12)

(5.182) མན་ནེ་ ཐོ་རངས་ ང་ མར་ཏམ་ འགྱུ་ འོང་གྱོ།

***mɛ̀nni**   tʰorã: ŋà   màrtam   gju   ồ:-ʈo.*
maybe   tomorrow   1SG   TPN   go   come-PROB
'Maybe I'll go to Martam tomorrow.' (KN e)

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[238] 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 *ɲeʔ* 'find' (WT རྙེད *rnyed* 'gain, find') instead of which *tʰop* 'find' is used elsewhere in my data.

[239] The form *mɛ̀nni* is from consultant KN (Martam).

The postposition *t'ønlo* དོན་ལོ་ 'for the purpose of' can be amplified by the reflexive/anaphoric emphatic =*rã:* to form the epistemic adverb *t'ønlorã:* 'really, truly', see (5.183).·

(5.183) དོན་ལོ་རང་ ང་ཚའི་ལས་ གནམ་སྐྲོ་ ཡོད་པར་ཅེ་ན་

        t'ønlo=rã: *ŋàtɕi*   *lὲːnámko*   *jὸ:-patɕɛnɛ*

        real=AEMPH   1PL.GEN fate   EX-COND

        'Really, if it is our fate...' (Richhi 113)

The restrictive adverb *tɕiku/tɕuku* (ག)ཅིག་གུ་ '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).

(5.184) a) ཁོ་ ལོག་ ས�លེབས་ཏི་ ཅིག་གུ་ ཧ་གོ།

            kʰu   *lòk*   *ļɛp-ti*   **tɕiku** *hako.*

            3SGM   return   arrive-NF   only   understand

            'He understands (it) only upon returning.' (Richhi 26)

       b) དེ་ལོ་ ཁས་ སྐྱེལ་བ་ ཅིག་གུ་ འོང་བོ་ ཨིན་

            t'ɛːlu   *kʰaː*   *kɛː-wa*   **tɕiku** *òm-bo*   *ĩ̀ː.*

            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)   དུ་བོའི་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ ཁོ་གིས་ ད་ལྟ་ ཅིག་གུ་ ཧ་གོ་བོ་ ཨིན།

        ŋù-wøː   *gjumtsʰɛ̃ː*   *kʰu=gi*   *t'ato* **tɕiku** *hako-wo*   *ĩ̀ː.*

        weep-2INF.GEN   reason   3SGM=AGT   now   only   understand-2INF   EQU.PER

        'He understood the reason of (her) weeping only now.' (Richhi 170)

(5.186) བུ་ ལྔ་ དྲུག་ ཅིག་གུ་

        p'u   *ŋá*   *ʈ'uʔ*   **tɕiku**

        boy   five   six   only

        'only five-six boys' (PL interview on farming)

(5.187) བླམ་ ཆོས་འཕེལ་ ཅིག་གུ་

        lám   *tɕʰøpɛl*   **tɕiku**

        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			*ŋà* ང་	*ŋàtɕaʔ* ང་ཚག་	
2p	low-level		*tɕʰøʔ* ཁྱོད་	(*tɕʰøː=tsu* ཁྱོད་ཚོ་)	*kʼutɕaʔ* གུ་ཚག་
	mid-level		*rã̀ː* རང་	*rã̀ː=tsu* རང་ཚོ་	
	honorific		*l̥eŋɡɛʔ* ལྷན་རྒྱས་	*kʼutɕa l̥eŋɡɛʔ* གུ་ཚག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་	
				l̥eŋɡɛː(=tsu) ལྷན་རྒྱས་(ཚོ་)	
3p	ordinary	masc.	*kʰu* ཁུ་	*kʰõ̀ː* ཁོང་	
		fem.	*mù/mò* མུ་		
	honorific		*kʰõ̀ː* ཁོང་	*kʰõ̀ː l̥eŋɡɛː(=tsu)* ཁོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་(ཚོ་)	
			kʰõ̀ː l̥eŋɡɛʔ ཁོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་		

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 *ŋàtɕaʔ*, refer to (6.2) and (6.3) respectively.

(6.1) ཨོ་འདི་བྱས་[240] ང་ སློག་ མ་ཚུགས།
 ódi-pʼja **ŋà** *ɖok ma-tsʰuʔ.*
 that-ADVZR 1SG read NEG-be.able.to
 'Therefore I could not study.' (PED life story)

(6.2) ང་ཚག་ ན་ མི་ གོས་པོ་ འཛོམ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་
 ŋàtɕaʔ *nà̀ː mí kɛːpo dzom-batɕɛnɛ*
 1PL here people a.lot gather-COND
 'If we (incl.) gather here as many people…' (NT BLA 6)

(6.3) ཨ་ད་ ཁ་ཉུབ་ལོ་ ང་ཚག་ ཕོའུ་ གཡོག་ ཀྱབས་ སྡོད་པའི་ སྐབ་

    dã: *kʰa:nu:=lo*   **ŋàtɕaʔ**   *pʰou*   *jóʔ*   *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 *tɕʰøʔ* is used with close friends, social inferiors and those one despises. The mid-level *rã:*, 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 *ļɛŋgɛʔ* is typically used with social superiors, strangers and anyone to whom the speaker wants to show respect. The same form *ļɛŋgɛʔ* 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 3rd singular referents).[241] Because *ļɛŋgɛʔ* is used for both 2nd and 3rd person referents, it is here glossed just as an honorific pronoun (PRN.HON) whose exact reference has to be understood from the context.[242] 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), *ļɛŋgɛʔ* 'you (hon.)/honorific pronoun' occurs with the honorific noun *tsʰɛn* 'name (hon.)' whereas *rã:* 'you' is accompanied by the ordinary noun *mìŋ* 'name'.

(6.4) ཆོད་ མིང་ གར་/གན་ བོ?

    tɕʰøʔ   *mìŋ*   *k'ar/k'an*   *bo?*

    2SG.L   name   what   EQU.NE.Q

    'What's your name?'

(6.5) རང་གི་ མིང་ གན་ བོ?

    raŋ=gi   *mìŋ*   *k'an*   *bo?*

    2SG.M=GEN   name   what   EQU.NE.Q

    'What is your name?' (JWD book p. 115)

(6.6) སྤྱན་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ མཚན་ལོ་ གན་ ཞུ་བོ་ གནང་དོ་ལགས?

    ļɛŋgɛ:=ki   *tsʰɛn=lo*   *k'an*   *ɕù-bo*   *nǎ̃:-do=la?*

    PRN.HON=GEN   name.HON=DAT   what   say.HUM-2INF   do.HON-IPFV=HON

    'What is your name?'/ 'What is your name called?' (JWD book p. 115)

Ordinary level second person plural is *k'utɕaʔ*, as in (6.7). The honorific pronoun *ļɛŋgɛʔ* is the default choice in formal situations, see (6.8). The mid-level *rǎ̃:* can also be pluralized, although

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[241] People from the villages of Lachen and Lachung in North Sikkim are reported to have a more direct way of speaking called *kʰariʔ kʰatuʔ* ཁ་རིགས་ ཁ་ཐུག་ 'direct speech' which is famous for the lack of honorifics. Lachenpas and Lachungpas may address even strangers by *tɕʰøʔ*, a practice which is considered vulgar by more southern speakers.

[242] An indication that *ļɛŋgɛʔ* has wider semantics than 2SG is that once a person whom I addressed with *ļɛŋgɛʔ* did not immediately understand I was referring to him personally.

this use is rare in my data. Note that (6.9) combines the use of *rã:=tsu* and *ḷɛŋgɛ:=tsu*. The use of *ḷɛŋgɛ=tsu* in (6.9) seems to be a general reference to a group of individuals.

(6.7) ཀྱུ་ཚག་ལོ་ བསམ་པོ་ བཟང་དྲགས་ ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ན་

    k'utɕa=lo   *sámpo*   *zã:ʈaʔ*   *jǒ-patɕɛ(nɛ)*

    2PL=DAT   intention   good   EX-COND

    'If you have good intentions…' (SGD wedding customs)

(6.8) ང་ཚའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ འདེབ་ རྩོམ་སྤྱེ་ཀྱི་ དག་ྲྩོ་ སློབ་དཔོན་ སྐྱན་རྒྱུས་ཀྱིས་ ཕྱག་ལས་ ག་ཚོད་ བཞེས་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྐྲད་ ཨིན་ག་ལགས།

    ŋàtɕi   *kɛ:=di*   *dɛp*   *tsom-diki*   *t'ato lópøn*

    1PL.GEN language=DEMPH   like.that compose-NF   now teacher

    ḷɛŋgɛ:=gi   *tɕʰa:lɛʔ*   *k'adzøʔ*   *ze:*   *jǒ:-kʰen*   *bɛʔ,*

    PRN.HON=AGT work.HON   how.much eat/obtain.HON   EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE

    íŋ-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་ འདེབ་ སྐྱན་རྒྱུས་ཙུ་ཀྱིས་ ཕྱགས་བསམ་ མངའ་ དགོས་པོ་ གལ་ཆེ།

    áku   ***rã̀:=tsu***   *dɛm*   ***ḷɛŋgɛ:=tsu**=gi*   *tʰu:sam*

    father's.younger.brother   2SG.M=PL   like.that PRN.HON=PL=AGT   thought.HON

    ŋá: *go:-po*   *k'ɛ:tɕʰi.*

    have.HON   be.needed-2INF   important

    'Uncle, it is important that individuals like you have (this) thought.' (sbar-phung 92)

The plurality of *ḷɛŋgɛʔ* can be made explicit by adding the plural marker *=tsu*, *ḷɛŋgɛ:=tsu* 'you (pl.)':

(6.10) གསན་མཁན་ སྐྱན་རྒྱུས་ཙུ་ལོ་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས།

    séŋ-kʰɛ̃:   ***ḷɛŋgɛ:=tsu**=lo*   *ʈaɕidileʔ.*

    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. *ḷɛŋgɛʔ tʰamtɕɛʔ* 'all of you', *ḷɛŋgɛʔ tʰamtɕɛʔ k'ompu/k'ã:pu* 'all of you', *ḷɛŋgɛʔ ɲímpu* 'the two of you'. The ordinary level *k'utɕaʔ* may be combined with *ḷɛŋgɛʔ* into the honorific second person plural *k'utɕaʔ ḷɛŋgɛʔ*:

(6.11) ཀྱུ་ཚག་ སྐྱན་རྒྱུས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གོང་པུ་ མཁྱེན་པའི་ བདག་ཀུ་ སྐྲད།

    k'utɕaʔ ḷɛŋgɛʔ   *tʰamtɕɛʔ k'õ: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)   ཁུ་འདི་ད་མི་རྫིགས་དགས་བད།
      ***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)   མུ་ལྷོ་སྐད་ལེགས་རྒྱབས་པད་ཀ?
      mù   *ɭokɛ*   *lɛ̀m* *kjap-(p)ɛ-ka?*
      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་པུ་ཨིན་ནོ་བེ་རོ་ལོ་ཙ་ན་རྒྱ་གར་ལས་བོད་ལོ་ཕྱིན་པའི་སྐང་ཁོང་ཏོ་རླུང་སྒྲུབ་སྟེ་ཕྱིན་པོ་ལོ།
      t'ã̀:pu *ín-(n)o*   *bɛrotɕana*   *gjagar=lɛ* *p'ø̀:=lo*   *tɕ'øm-bø̀:*   *gã̀:*
      long.ago EQU-COND   PN   India=ABL   Tibet=DAT come.HON-2INF   time
      kʰõ̀: *=to*   *lúŋ*   *ɖup-ti*   *tɕ'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་སྦོ་ང་ཚག་ཁོང་ལོ་ག་སྟེབ་བྱས་ལྟ་དོ།
      t'ato *ŋàtɕaʔ*   ***kʰõ̀:*** *=lo*   *k'atɛ-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་ཚུ་ལོ་ནེ་པ་ལི་རྒྱབས་ཁད་འཇམ་པུ་བད།
      kʰõ̀: *=tsu=lo*   *nɛpali*   *kjap-ɕɛʔ*   *dzampu*   *bɛʔ.*
      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: tʰamtɕɛɛ* 'they all', *kʰõ: kʰɛ:lɛ* 'they all', *kʰõ: ɲím(pu)* 'the two of them', *kʰõ: súmpo* 'the three of them'.

As noted above, the pronoun *ɭɛŋgɛʔ* may have either second person singular or plural meaning. In addition, *ɭɛŋgɛʔ* is used in honorific references to the third person plural, following a noun or a pronoun with third person referent:

(6.17) ད་གིས་ཞུ་ཞུ་པོ་བཀའ་མོལ་འདི་ ཁོང་ སྐུན་རྒྱས་ལོ་ ད་ ཐུགས་ཕན་ གསོལ་བ་ཙེ་ན་

ŋá:=gi ɕù-zo-u kamɸ=di **kʰõ: ḷɛŋgɛ:=lo** t'a
1SG=AGT say.HUM-RDP-2INF discussion=DEMPH 3PL PRN.HON=DAT now
tʰupõ̀: sø̀:-patsɛnɛ
benefit.HON offer-COND
'Now if what I say offers some benefit to them…' (CY interview)

(6.18) ང་ཚའི་ བླམ་ སྐུན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ ལོག་སྟེ་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ མི་ཤེས་མཁན་ སྲུང་ལགས།

ŋàtɕi **lám ḷɛŋgɛ:=tsu** lòkti índzi mi-ɕé:-kʰɛn bɛ=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 *=rã:/=ra* on personal pronouns, as in (6.20-23). In spoken language the dependent reflexive form *=rã:* tends to be shortened and denasalized to *=ra*.

(6.19) གལ་ཆེ་དྲགས་ འདི་ རང་གི་ སྐད་ འདི་ འགོ་ སྟོན་ལས་ ཤེས་ དགོས་མཁན་ སྲུད།

k'ɛ:tɕʰiʈa=di **raŋ=gi** kɛ:=di go ɲɛ́nlɛ ɕé:
important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know
go:-kʰɛn bɛʔ.
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་ ཨིན།

ŋá: t'ɛp di=gi dzo²⁴³=di **ŋà=raŋ=gi** tʰaktɕɛ:-po ĩ́:.
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) ཚོ་འདི་ མི་དམངས་ ཁོང་རང་ མ་ཤེས་བ་སྲུད།

ódi mímã̀: kʰõ̀:=**rã:** ma-ɕé:-b-bɛʔ.
that mass(es) 3PL=REFL NEG-know-2INF-EQU.NE
'The masses themselves didn't know that.' (KL BLA 12)

(6.22) ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ མོ་རང་ ཅིག་གུ་ མལ་ན།

tɕʰøkiʔ **mù=rã:** tɕiku mɛ̀:=na.
PN 3SGF=REFL only bed=LOC
'Only Choki herself (is) in bed.' (Richhi 4)

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²⁴³ Also *gõ̀:* (WD གོང་) and *rin/rĩ:* (WD རིན་) are used for referring to 'price'. All speakers do not recognize the word *dzo*.

256

(6.23)   ད་ ཆོད་རང་གིས་རང་ ལྔེམ་ བྱས་སྟེ་ བསམ་བློ་ བཏང་།

t'a   tɕʰø=**raŋ**=gi=rã: lèm p'ja-ti sámlo tã:.
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 =*rã:/ra* (which is a further grammaticalization of the reflexive).

The form *rã:mɛ̃:/rõ:mɛ̃:* རང་མན་ 'oneself' is also used, at least in Martam (East Sikkim):

(6.24)   རང་མན་གྱིས་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་ སྟད་ སེ།

rõ:mɛŋ=gi   ló(p)tʰuʔ bɛ:=s.
oneself=GEN   student EQU.NE=QUO
'(He) is his own student.' (AB kitchen discussion)

(6.25)   ང་ཆག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རང་མན་ལོ་ བརྩེ་དགས་ བྱས་ཤད་ ཨིན།

ŋàtɕaʔ tʰamtɕɛʔ ŋàtɕaʔ **rã:mɛ̃:=lo**   tɕɛʈaʔ p'ja-ɕĩ:.
1PL   all   1PL   oneself=DAT loving   do-NPST.PER
'All of us, we love ourselves.' (KN e)

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་ཆག་ རང་རང་ སོ་སོ་ལོ་ སྐྱོན་ སྟོན་ དགོས་ཤད་ བོ?

ŋàtɕaʔ **rã:rã:soso**=lo   køn   tøn go:-ɕɛ   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
tɕi:=ki tɕi:(=lo)	གཅིག་གིས་ གཅིག་(ལོ་)	'one to another' (lit. 'one to one')
tɕi:=ki zɛn(=lo)	གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་(ལོ་)	'one to another' (used in Richhi-novel)[244]
pʰɛntsỹ:	ཕན་ཚུན་	'each other'

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[244] The novel Richhi is the only source where I have come across the construction *tɕi:=ki zɛn(=lo)* instead of *tɕi:=ki tɕi:(=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 *tɕi:=ki zɛn(=lo)*, i.e. Nepali *ek arkaa-lai* [one another=DAT] 'to one another', English *to one another*.

The first is *tɕiː=ki tɕiː(=lo)* [one=AGT one(=DAT)] 'one to another, (to) each other' (lit. 'one to one'), see (6.27)

(6.27) ཁོང་གཉིས་པོ་ད་ཨོ་འདི་ཉིམ་ཚེས་ དེ་ད་ང་ཚའི་ ཨེན་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ད་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཅིག་ བཟའ་ཚང་ ཐོན་པོ་ སྲྀད་ད།
 kʰõː ɲím-po tʼa ódi ɲìmtsʰɛ tɛ tʼa, ŋàtɕi ím-batsɛnɛ tʼa
 3PL two-COL now that date then now 1PL.GEN EQU-COND now
 tɕiː=ki tɕiʔ *zatsʰã̀ː tʰɛm-bo bɛʔ tʼa.*
 one=AGT one married.couple become-2INF EQU.NE now
 'The two of them, on that day, now when it comes to our (tradition), become each other's spouses.' (SGD wedding customs)

The second one is *tɕiki zɛn=lo* [one=AGT other=DAT] 'one (to) another', which occurs in the novel Richhi instead of the first construction. I have not come across *tɕiki zɛn=lo* elsewhere in my data.

(6.28) གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ ཕན་པོ་ བྱས་པད་ དགེ་བའི་ གཡོག་ ཨིན།
 tɕiː=ki zɛn=lo *pʰɛmbo pʼja-ɕɛʔ giwø jóʔ ĩ́ː.*
 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 *pʰɛntsyː* ཕན་ཚུན་ '(to) each other', which in (6.29) is preceded by the functionally analogous use of the demonstratives *pʰatɛ tsʰutɛ* པ་སྟེ་ ཚུ་སྟེ་ 'thither hither'.

(6.29) ང་ཚག་ གཉིས་ པ་སྟེ་ ཚུ་སྟེ་ ཕན་ཚུན་ སྒྲུང་ ག་རུང་གཅིག་ བཤད་གེ་ སེ།
 *ŋàtɕaʔ ɲíː **pʰatɛ tsʰutɛ pʰɛntsỹ̀ː** ɖuŋ kʼã̀ːruŋ=tɕiʔ ɕɛ́-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

tʰamtɛɛʔ (kʼãːpu)	ཐམས་ཅད་ (གང་སུ་)	'all, everyone'
kʰɛːlɛ (kʼãːpu)	ཁེ་ལེ་ (གང་སུ་)	'all, everyone'
tɕʰaːlɛ (kʼãːpu)	ཆ་ལས་ (གང་སུ་)	'all, everyone'
dzaŋki	རྫང་གི་[245]	'all, everyone' (Lachung)
kʼoːm	གོངམ་	'all, everyone' (Lachung)
màŋtɕʰiɛoʔ	མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་	'most' (includes the adjectival superlative ending -ɛoʔ)
màŋtɕʰiʈaʔ	མང་ཆེ་དགས་	'most' (includes the adjectival ending -ʈaʔ)
kʰaɛɛʔ	ཁ་ཤས་	'some(one)'
làriʔ	ལ་རེས་	'some(one)'
rɛrɛ	རེ་རེ་	'each one'
kaːkutɕiʔ	ག་གུ་ཅིག་	'a few, some'
tɕiɲiː	གཅིག་གཉིས་	'a couple (of), a few' (lit. 'one-two')
riɲi (riɲi)	རེ་གཉིས་ (རེ་གཉིས་)	'a couple (of), a few' (lit. 'one-two')
làla...làla	ལ་ལ་ ལ་ལ་	'some...others'
ri, -ri (also rɛ)	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 *tʰamtɛɛʔ* and *kʰɛːlɛ*, 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 *kʼoːm* are from Lachung.

The independent uses of indefinite pronouns, except for *tɕʰaːlɛ*, *kʼoːm* and *màŋtɕʰiʈaʔ* (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་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ མནོ་བསམ་ བཏང་པོ་ཆེ་ སེ་ན་

      ***tʰamtɕɛ*=ki**   ódɛm=tɕiʔ   nóːsam tõ:-botɕɛ   sé-na

      all=AGT   like.that=INDF thought send-COND say-COND

      'If all think like that…' (DR discussion with KL)

(6.31) སྐད་ འདི་ དོན་དག་ ཁེ་ལེ་ གང་སུ་ མནོ་བསམ་ བཏང་སྟེ་

      kɛ:=di   tʼønda ʔ   **kʰɛːlɛ**   **kʼõːpo** nóːsam 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) *màŋtɕʰiɛoʔ* is followed by an appositional, explanatory noun. As a modifier *màŋtɕʰiɛoʔ* would typically follow the noun.

(6.32) མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་ འདི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ནང་གི་ གཏམ་རྒྱུས་ཚུ་ འདི་

      ***màŋtɕʰiɛo*=di** ɖɛndzõː nàŋ=gi   tamgy:=tsu=di

      most=DEMPH Sikkim inside=GEN   legend=PL=DEMPH

      'Most of (them), legends within Sikkim…' (SGD wedding customs)

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[245] This written form given by consultant KUN is surprising in that it suggests pronunciation as *tsʼaŋki* rather than *dzaŋki*.

(6.33) ཨོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ཡང་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ཞུ་བཞིན་གོ་ལགས།

ódɛm=tɕi=jã: **kʰaɕɛ=ki**   ɕù-zoukɛ=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་རེས་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ འདི་ དགོན་པར་ བཀའ་ཚོས་ན་ བཞུགས་ཏད་ འདིའི་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ད་ ཨོ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙི་ཅིག་ དགོངས་ཡངས་ གནང་པོ་
འད་ སྡད་, ཨོ་འདི་ སྐད་ལོ་ འདི་, ཁྲི་ཀ་དར་ (thikadar) ཚུ་གིས།

t'a **làriʔ** tɕiku=di   gjømpa   katɕʰø=na   zu:-ɕɛ=di
now some only=DEMPH monastery recitation=LOC   sit.HON-INF=DEMPH
kjap-ti t'a ódi=lo=di   átsi=tɕiʔ gõ:jã: nǎ:-bo   ɖa
do-NF now that=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF excuse do.HON-2INF be.similar
bɛʔ,   ódi gã:=lo   ʈʰikadar=tsu=gi.
EQU.NE that time=DAT   thikadar=PL=AGT
'At that time, only some, because they were living in monasteries doing recitation, now it
seems exemption (from labour duty) was given to them by the thikadar-rulers.' (CY
interview)

(6.35) རང་ དང་ ང་ ཨིན་ཚེ་ མེན་ཚེ་ སྐྲུང་ རེ་རེ་ བཤད་ དགོས།

rã: t'ã: ŋà íntɕimɛntɕi ɖuŋ rɛrɛ   ɕéʔ goʔ.
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་ དྲུག་ ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་ གཏོག་ནེ་ ཡིག་གོ།

ŋá ʈ'uʔ **ka:kutɕiʔ** tok-nɛ   ʈ'ikɛ.
five six a.few   pluck   be.alright
'If (you) pluck five-six, a few (oranges), it will suffice.' (KN e)

(6.37) བྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ བིས་ཀུཊ་ ཁ་ བཞིག་སྟེ་ གཅིག་ གཉིས་ བྱེད་བཞིན་ ཨ་མ་ལོ་ ལབ།

bhaila=ki biskuʈ kʰa   ɕík-ti   **tɕi:ɲi:** p'ja-zɛ̃:   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) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྡིང་ ཁ་ཕྱུག་ རེ་གཉིས་ རེ་ཉིས་ཅིག་གིས་ ང་ ཚིག་ ཨོ་འདི་ བེད་སྤྱོད་ བྱས་པོ་ ཐོས།

ʈaɕidiŋ kʰatuʔ **riɲi** **riɲi=tɕi=ki**   ŋà   tsʰik ódi p'ɛtɕøʔ 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་ ཏི་རུག་ བརྒྱ་རེ་ བརྒྱ་རེ་, ཟམ་ རེ་ལོ་ ཏི་རུག་ བརྒྱ་རེ་ སྲད།

    *sàm ódi=gi   gõ:=di=lo   tiruʔ   gja-**ri**   gja-**ri**,*
    food that=GEN   price=DEMPH=DAT rupee   hundred-each hundred-each
    *sàm **ri**=lo   tiruʔ   gja-**ri**   bɛʔ.*
    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 *kʼan ínam* (reading-style pronunciation)/*kʼan ɲám* (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: *kʼan ínam* > *kʼan ɲám* > *kʼajɛm* > *kʼaɛm* > *kʼɛm*.

(6.41) a) སྱུ་རེ་ འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ང་ཚག་ ཏེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ གན་སྣམ་ ལབ་ཏོ་ སྲད, ཧ་ཡོག་[246]།

      *murai   di=lo=di   ɲàtɕaʔ tɛ ódi **kʼajɛm**   làp-to*
      puffed.rice(Nep.)   this=DAT=DEMPH 1PL   so that what.is.it say-IPFV
      bɛʔ,   bajoʔ.
      EQU.NE puffed.rice
      'Murai, ("puffed rice" in Nepali), well we call that, whatever, /bajoʔ/.' (PL interview)

  b) ཏེ་ ཁུ་གིས་ ཨོ་ན་ གན་སྣམ་ བྱས་ཏེ་གི་ ཨོ་འདི་ གན་སྣམ་ ཐོབ་ཚ་ལས་ འདི་ སྱུ་རེ་ ཐོབ་ཚ་ལས་

      *tɛ khu=gi   óna **kʼajɛm**   p'ja-tiki,   ódi **kʼajɛm***
      so 3SGM=AGT   there what.is.it do-NF   that what.is.it
      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 questions word is supplemented with a concessive equative form *ǐː-ruŋ* 'EQU-CONC', see Table 6.4. Meanings which are semantically the polar opposites of meanings such as 'someone', '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.

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[246] According to consultant KT, this word should be *sàjo* ཟས་གཡོ་.

Table 6.4. Affirmative indefinite reference with question words

k'an ǐ:ruŋ[247]	གན་ ཨེན་རུང་	'whatever'
k'ar(ɛ) ǐ:ruŋ	ག་(རེ་) ཨེན་རུང་	'whatever'
k'adi ǐ:ruŋ	ག་འདི་ ཨེན་རུང་	'whichever, whoever'
ka ǐ:ruŋ	ཀ་ ཨེན་རུང་	'whoever'
nàm(lo) ǐ:ruŋ	ནམ་(ལོ་) ཨེན་རུང་	'whenever'
k'ana ǐ:ruŋ	ག་ན་ ཨེན་རུང་	'wherever'
k'atɛm ǐ:ruŋ	ག་ཙེམ་ ཨེན་རུང་	'what ever kind'
k'atɛ p'ja(ti ǐ:)ruŋ	ག་ཙེ་ བྱས་(ཙི་ ཨེན་)རུང་	'however'
k'ambja ǐ:ruŋ	གན་བྱས་ ཨེན་རུང་	'for whatever reason ("whyever")'
k'adzøʔ ǐ:ruŋ	ག་ཚོད་ ཨེན་རུང་	'however many'

Table 6.5. Negated indefinite reference with question words

k'an(=jã:)	གན་(ཡང་)	'anything (+neg)'
k'amo(=jã:)	གན་མོ་(ཡང་)	'anything (+neg)'
k'adi(=jã:)	ག་འདི་(ཡང་)	'any(one) (+neg)'
ka(=jã:)	ཀ་(ཡང་)	'anyone (+neg)'
nàm(lo)(=jã:)	ནམ་(ལོ་)(ཡང་)	'ever (+neg)'
k'ana(=jã:)	ག་ན་(ཡང་)	'anywhere (+neg)'
k'atɛ(m/p)(=jã:)	ག་ཙེམ་(ཡང་)	'any kind (+neg)'
k'atɛ p'jati=jã:	ག་ཙེ་བྱས་ཙི་ཡང་	'anyhow (+neg)'
k'an p'jati=jã:[248]	གན་བྱས་ཙི་ཡང་	'for any reason (+neg)'
k'adzø=(jã:)	ག་ཚོད་(ཡང་)	'any number of (+neg)'
k'anɖɛ:(=jã:)	གན་འདེ་(ཡང་)	'anything (+neg)'
k'arɛ(=jã:)	ག་རེ་(ཡང་)	'anything (+neg)'

As suggested by Table 6.4 and Table 6.5, the concessive form *ǐ: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'arɛ* also participates in the affirmative construction *k'arɛ ǐ: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་ ཨེན་རུང་ གཅིག་ ཐོན་བ་ཙེ་ནེ་
    k'an ǐ:ruŋ=tɕiʔ   *tʰɛm-batɕɛnɛ*
    what EQU-CONC=INDF happen-COND
    'whatever (might) happen(s)' (PED life story)

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[247] This form also occurs as གང་རུང་ *gang-rung*, with pronunciation [*k'ã:ruŋ*].
[248] The shorter form *k'ambja=jã:* was deemed infelicitous by consultant KN. The clitic *=jã:* is obligatory.

(6.43) བརྒྱ་ དང་ སྟོང་ ག'་ཚོད་ར་ ཨིན་རུང་ སྟོང་ཐག་ གསུམ་ ལྷག་ཀོ་ ཡོད།

gja   t'ã: tõ: **k'adzø=ra**   **ĩ:-ruŋ**   tõ:ʈʰaʔ   súm
hundred and thousand how.many=AEMPH EQU-CONC thousand three

ḻako   jø̀ʔ.
in.excess EX.PER

'However many hundreds and thousands it is, it is more than three thousand.' (KT discussion with TB)

(6.44) དྲག་ཀོ་ ཞེན་པོ་ ག'་ཇེམ་ར་ ཨིན་རུང་

ʈ'ako   ɕèmpo   **k'atɛm=ra**   **ĩ:-ruŋ**
noble   fool/poor   how=AEMPH   EQU-CONC

'noble or fool/poor, whatever (you) are like' (KT life story)

(6.45) བླམ་ར་ རྨུད་རྨུད་²⁴⁹ ག'་ཇེ་ བྱས་རུང་ བྱ་ཚུགས་ བྲེད།

lám=ra   mýtsyʔ   **k'atɛ p'ja-ruŋ**   p'ja   tsʰu   bɛʔ.
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་ གོངས་ ཨ་ཅུ་, ཨའི་, ཨ་ཙོ་, ཕ་མིང་, གན་རུང་ ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ བྱས་རུང་ ཞེ་ལེ་ གོང་སུ་གིས་ བཏགས་གད་ བྲེད།

ɲéntsʰẽ̀:   k'o:m,   átɕu,   ái,   ádzo,   pʰamiŋ,
relatives   all   elder.brother   elder.sister grandfather   father's.relatives

k'an-ruŋ   jø̀-patɕɛ   p'ja-ruŋ   kʰɛ:lɛ   k'õ:pu=gi ta:-ɕɛ   bɛʔ.
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, each and every one offer (a silk scarf).' (LA intro to Lachung)

The negated clauses, both with or without the clitic =jã: are illustrated in (6.47-54).

(6.47) བྱས་ཐབས་ གན་ཡང་ མེད་པར་

p'ja-tap   **k'an=jã:**   mè:-pa²⁵⁰
do-means   what=even   NEG.EX-CIRC

'there being no chance of doing anything' (Richhi 159)

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[249] WD for this word is adopted from Dokhangba (2001). Other WD forms I have been suggested are མི་ཅི་ *mi-ci*, མི་ཚུས་ *mi-tsus* and མི་ཚུ་ *mi-tsu*. The form from Dokhangba (2001) is chosen for use here because it corresponds most clearly with the spoken output *mýtsyʔ*.

[250] *k'anɖɛ:* or *karɛ* could also be used here instead of *k'an=jã:* (KUN).

(6.48)   གནམ་ལོ་ ཧུང་པོ་ ག་ན་ མེད།
nám=lo   huŋpo   **k'ana**   mèʔ.[251]
sky=DAT   cloud   where   NEG.EX.PER
'In the sky, there aren't clouds anywhere.' (Richhi 151)

(6.49)   དེ་རིང་ ག་འདིས་ཡང་ གན་འདྲེ་ ལབ་ མི་ཚུགས།
t'izã: **k'adi=jã:**   k'anɖɛ: làp   mi-tsʰuʔ.
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་བསད་ དགོས།
símtɛ̃ɛ̃:   **k'anɖɛ:=jã:**   ma-sɛ́   goʔ.[252]
animal   any=even   NEG-kill   be.needed
'One mustn't kill any animal.' (YR canteen video)

(6.51)   a)   འདེམ་ གོ་སྐབས་ ང་ཚག་ ནམ་ཡང་ མི་ཐོབ་པད།
dɛm   k'okap   ŋàtɕaʔ   **nàm-jã:**   mi-tʰo(p)=pɛ.
such   opportunity   1PL   when-even   NEG-receive=EQU.NE
'We will never get such an opportunity.' (KN e)

           b)   ང་ཚག་ ཕམ་ཚུས་ པོ་ཙོ་ལོ་ མ་ལེགས་པོ་ དང་ སྐྱོ་དགས་ ནམ་ལོ་ཡང་ མནོ་བསམ་ མི་བཏང་།
ŋàtɕaʔ   pʰam=tsu   p'otso=lo   màlɛp   t'ã: kjoʈaʔ   **nàm=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་སྟེམ་ཡང་ ཉིམ་ གཅིག་ན་ སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སྐྲེབས་ མི་ཚུགས།
mí   **k'atɛm=jã:**   ɲìm   tɕi:=na   siliguri   ļɛp   mi-tsʰuʔ.
human   what.kind=even   day   one=LOC   TPN   arrive   NEG-be.able.to
'A human, whatever kind (s)he is, cannot arrive in Siliguri (by walking) in one day.'
(KN e)

(6.53)   ངའི་ རྩར་ ཚ་ལུམ་ ག་ཚོད་ཡང་ མེད།
ɲè:=tsa: tsʰalum   **k'adzø=jã:**   mèʔ.
1SG.GEN=at   orange   how.many=even   NEG.EX.PER
'I do not not have any number of oranges.' (KN e)

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[251] 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.
[252] k'an=jã: and k'an t́:ruŋ could here replace k'anɖɛ:=jã: (KUN).

(6.54) འདི་ གན་ བྱས་ཏེ་ཡང་ བྱས་ མི་ཚུགས།

    di   ***k'an p'ja-ti=jã:***   *p'ja*   *mi-tsʰuʔ.*

    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:-jøʔ*   ག་ཡོད་   'whatever (there is)' (lit. what-EX.PER)

        k'a:-tʰop   ག་ཐོབ་   'wherever' (lit. where-find)

        k'a-sa-k'a=lo ག་ས་ག་ལོ་   'wherever' (lit. what-ground-where=DAT)

These three words are illustrated below. Note that in the written Denjongke sources these expressions are written as one word.

(6.56) བཙོག་ཀོ་ ག་ཡོད་ ཆུ་ གཡུར་ཚུའི་ན་ ཀླུགས་ཀོ་ལས་

    tsoko   ***k'a:-jøʔ***   *tɕʰu-ju:=tsu=na*   *lúk-o=lɛ*

    carbage   what-EX.PER   water-canal=PL=LOC   pour-2INF=ABL

    'when whatever carbage is poured into water canals...' (Class 8 textbook 23)

(6.57) སྐྱག་ཁྱིམ་ ག་ཐོབ་ བཟོ།

    kjak-kʰim   ***k'a:-tʰop***   *zo.*

    faeces-house   what-find   make

    'Toilets are built wherever (without consideration).' (Class 8 textbook 23)

(6.58) ག་ས་ག་ལོ་ འགྱུ་རུང་ར་

    k'asak'alo *gju-ruŋ=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', *ókʰa* '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

di	འདི་	proximal, 'this'
do-	འདོ་	emphatic proximal, 'this right here'
ó-	ཨོ་	distal, 'that'
nà:	ན་	'here'
pʰou, pʰi-	ཕོའི་	'over there'
jòu, jì-	ཡོའི་, ཡི་	'up (there)'
mòu, mì-	མོའི་, མི་	'down (there)'
pʰa(:)	ཕ(ར)་	'further, thither, on the other side'
tsʰu(:)	ཚུ(ར)་	'closer, hither, on this side'
zɛn	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 *-kʰa*, see Table 6.7. Reduplication (e.g. *pʰo:pʰouna* '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
do-	emphatic proximal	*dodi* 'this right here'	*dodikʰa, dona* 'right here'
di	proximal	*di* 'this'	*dikʰa* 'here'
ó-	distal	*ódi* 'that'	*óna, ókʰa* 'there'
nà:	'here'	*nà=di* 'the one here'	*nàkʰa(lo)* 'here'
pʰou, pʰi-	'over there'	*pʰou=di, pʰidi* 'that over there'	*pʰou=na, pʰoukʰa, pʰokʰa, pʰina, pʰikʰa* 'over there' *pʰoːpʰina, pʰoːpʰou=na, pʰoːpʰoukʰa* 'way over there
jòu, jì-	'up (there)'	*jòdi, jìdi* 'that up there'	*jìna, jòu=kʰa* 'up (there)' *jòːjina, jòina* 'way up (there)'
mòu, mì-	'down (there)'	*mòdi, mìdi* 'that down there'	*mòuna, mòukʰalo, mòu=lo, mìna* 'down (there)' *mòːmoukʰalo* 'way down (there)'
zɛn	'other'	*zɛn=di* 'the other'	*zɛnkʰa(=lo)* 'in another place'
pʰa(:)[253]	'further, thither, on the other side'	*pʰa:=di* 'the one thither/further'	*pʰa:kʰa* 'on the other side, further'
tsʰu(:)	'closer, hither, on this side'	*tsʰu:=di* 'the one hither/closer'	*tsʰu:kʰa* 'on this side, closer'

Demonstratives occur as prenominal (6.59) and postnominal (6.60) noun modifiers but are also used independently (6.61). Whereas this section focuses on independent uses, prenominal and postnominal 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་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཤོག་ཀུ་ ཡོདཔ་སྦྲད་ལགས།
t'izã: nà: ɖɛndzõ:=na   òŋ-kʰɛn=tsu=lo   **ódi**   ɕóku   jèbbɛ=la.
but   here Sikkim=LOC   come-NMLZ=PL=DAT   that   paper   EX.NE=HON
'But those who came here to Sikkim had that document.' (CY interview)

(6.60) ཚིགས་བཅད་ ཨོ་འདི་ན་
tsʰiktɕɛʔ **ódi**=na
poem   that=LOC
'…in that poem…' (KL BLA 12)

(6.61) ཨོ་འདི་ གལ་ཆེ་དྲགས་ སྦད།
ódi   k'ɛ:tɕʰiʈaʔ   bɛʔ.
that   important   EQU.NE
'That is important.' (KL BLA 12)

Some of the deictic forms from Table 6.7 are exemplified in (6.62-6.71).

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[253] According to consultant KN, forms derived from *pʰa:* and *tsʰu:* are marginal, not used by all Denjongke speaking communities.

(6.62)　འདོ་འདི་ འདི་ པོ་ཚོ་ཚུ་ ཉལ་ས།

dodi=di　　　　　　　potso=tsu　pè:-sa.
this.right.here=DEMPH　child=PL　　sleep-place
'This right here (is) the children's sleeping place.' (PD altar room video)

(6.63)　དེ་ ཕོུ་ལས་ རྒྱབས་ འདི་ཁ་ལས་ ལན་ སྦྱིན་ དགོས་མཁན་

tɛ **p^hou=lɛ**　　　　　kjap **dik^ha=lɛ**　lèn　p'in　go:-k^hɛ̃:
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་ ཨོ་ཁ་ལས་, གཅིག་ འདི་ཁ་ལས་ འགྲོམ་དང་

rè-rɛ　**ók^ha=lɛ,**　*tɕiʔ* **dik^ha=lɛ**　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' > 'in the old lady's place').

(6.65)　a) ན་ འབག་ ཤོག་ ཉ།

　　　　nà:　bak　ɕó:　ɲá
　　　　here　carry　come　TAG.ASR
　　　　'Bring (it) here, eh.' (PT kitchen discussion)

　　　b) ན་ཁ་ལོ་ གན་ཇུས་ ཽང་པོ?

　　　　nàk^ha=lo　k'ambja　òm-bo?
　　　　here=DAT　why　　　come-2INF
　　　　'Why did you come here? '(rna-gsung 6)

　　　c) ང་ ད་རིང་ ཨ་ན་གི་ ན་ཁ་ལོ་ རང་ སྡོད་ཉི།

　　　　ŋà　　t'ariŋ　**ána²⁵⁴=gi**　nàk^ha=lo=rã:　　dø:-ɲi.
　　　　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):

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²⁵⁴ In kinship terms, *ána* refers to maternal grandparent's brother's wife, see §17.2.

(6.66) གཀརྨ, ཆོད་ ན་ ཨོ་ཉི་ལོ་ ཡར་རྩ་ཟང་ སྐྱེལ་ ཕྱིན་ ལོ།
        karma, tɕʰøʔ **[nà: óɲi=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 this child here all the way up, okay?' (Richhi 40)

In (6.67), *pʰou=di* is used independently, whereas the shorter form *pʰidi* occurs as a noun modifier. Because the demonstrative-emphatic can attach to both locative adverbs and nouns, it is not clear whether *pʰou=di* should be interpreted as referring to location ('over there') or the item located ('the one over there').

(6.67) ཕོུ་ འདི་ ཤིང་ ཕོ་འདི་ལོ་ ཨ་རུ
        pʰou=di   *ɕíŋ*   **pʰidi=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་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གེ།
        jìna   *dɛm*   *símtɕɛ̃:=tɕiʔ*   *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་ཞིང་ གཞོ་ཞིང་ དེ་ ཡོའི་ན་ ང་ཅག་ ཨོ་འདེ་ སྐབ་…
        nàɲĩ: *zø:ɲĩ:*   *tɛ* **jòi=na**   *ŋàtɕaʔ ódi gã:…*
        last.year   two.years.ago so up.there=LOC 1PL   that time
        'Last year or the year before that, up there, at that time we…' (KNA   kitchen discussion)

(6.70) ཚོ་མོའི་ལོ་ དགོན་པོ་ དང་ ལྷ་ཁང་ སོགས་ གོས་པོ་ འདུག་ གོ།
        mò:mou=lo   *gjompo   t'ã: lạkʰã: sóʔ kɛ:po du:=ɕo.*
        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) སྐྱེས་ གཅིག་ཁ་ལོ, ཉེ་ས་ གཞན་ཁ་ལོ།
        kisa   tɕi-kʰa=lo,   ɲèsa   zɛŋkʰa=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

dodɛm	འདོ་འདྲེམ་	'like this right here'
dɛː, dɛm, dɛp	འདི་, འདྲེམ་, འདེབ་	proximal, cataphoric, 'like this', 'like that', 'such'
ódɛː, ódɛm, ódɛp	ཨོ་འདི་, ཨོ་འདྲེམ་, ཨོ་འདེབ་	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་ སྨོན་ལམ་ འདི་ བཏབ་པོ་ གནང་ འདུག་གོ།

       kʰoŋ=gi   *mɛ́lam* **dɛː**   *tap-o*   *nɛ̃́ː*   *du-kɛ.*

       3SG.HON=AGT   prayer like.this sow-2INF do.HON EX.SEN-IN

       'He prayed like this.' (KLT Bhumchu video)

(6.73) ང་ཅག་གིས་ ཨོ་འདི་ ལབ་ མི་ཚོག་མཁན་ བྱད།

       ŋàtɕa=ki   **ódɛː**   *làp* *mi-tɕʰo-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་ ནང་ད་ ལྷོ་པོ་ མི་རིགས་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཀུལ་ཅོད་ (culture) སྐད་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ ཛིགས་ ཆོས་ བྱད།

       kʰõː   **di=jã̀ː**   *súŋ-zɛ.*   *ɖɛndzõ̀ː nàŋɕa* *ɭopo* *míri=tsu=lo*

       3SG.HON   this=even say.HON-PST Sikkim within Lhopo people=PL=DAT

       jø̀ː-kʰɛ̃́ː   *kaltɕə*   *kɛː=di*   *tʰamtɕɛ=lɛ dzik-ɕoʔ*   *bɛʔ.*

       EX.PER-NMLZ culture(Eng.) language=DEPMH all=ABL   excellent-SUP   EQU.NE

       'He also said this: In Sikkim the culture and culture that the Lhopo people have is the most excellent.' (NAB BLA 7)

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 3rd 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 additive clitic =*jã:* '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.[255] 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.

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[255] 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, somewhat differently from Denjongke.

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 *ò̤:* 'come', which has 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 *bɛʔ* (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, mèmbɛ-ka, jò̤:-ka, mè:-ka, du-ka, mìndu-ka, ɖɛ:-ka*, see §10.1.3.2).

Table 7.1.Basic copulas

		Personal		Sensorial	Neutral		
					Ordinary		Apparentive
		decl.	interr.		decl.	interr.	
EQ	PRS	*í:/mè̤:* ཨིན་/མན་	*ɲá/mèna* ཉ་/མན་ན་	*(índuʔ)* (ཨིན་འདུག་)	*bɛʔ/mèmbɛʔ* སྦད་/མན་སྦད་	*bo/mèmbo* བོ་/མན་བོ་[256]	*ɖɛ:/rɛ:* འདྲད་[257]
	PST						
EX (pos./neg.)		*jò̤ʔ/mèʔ* ཡོད་/མེད་		*duʔ/mìnduʔ* འདུག་/མིན་འདུག་	*(jèbbɛʔ/mèbbɛʔ)* (ཡོདབ་སྦད་/མེདབ་སྦད)		

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:/mè̤:* and *bɛʔ/mèmbɛʔ*) have separate interrogative forms. The existential copulas, on the other hand, are interrogated by the regular polar question marker *-ka/ga*, e.g. *duka/mìnduka*.

The six basic declarative copulas are 1) the personal equative *í:* ཨིན་ (neg. *mè̤:* མན་), 2) the personal existential *jò̤ʔ* ཡོད་ (neg. *mèʔ* མེད་), 3) the sensorial existential *duʔ* འདུག་ (neg. *mìnduʔ* མིན་འདུག), which can also be used, perhaps surprisingly, for past equation/identification, 4) the evidentially neutral *bɛʔ* སྦད་ (neg. *mèmbɛʔ* མན་སྦད་), which is basically equative but also has some existential type of uses, 5) the apparentive *ɖɛ:/rɛ:*, which is a merger of *ɖa bɛʔ* 'be like', and 6) neutral existential *jèbbɛʔ*, which is given in brackets, because it is an abbreviation of the complex copula *jò̤po bɛʔ*, which is introduced later in §7.3.2.1.2. The sensorial equative *índuʔ* is so rare that it is given in brackets in Table 7.1 and introduced under combinatory copulas in §7.3.1. Whereas the copulas *duʔ* and *bɛʔ* are clearly distinct from ordinary verbs in that they do not inflect for tense, aspect and mood (e.g. present habitual **du-kʰɛn bɛʔ, *bɛ-kʰɛn bɛʔ*), the personal copulas *í:* and *jò̤ʔ* can form many of the same constructions as the ordinary verbs (e.g. present habitual *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ, jò̤:-kʰɛn bɛʔ*).

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 *jò̤ʔ* express the speaker's personal

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[256] This form is homophonic and homographic (in WD) with the nominalized form *mèm-bo* used in such expression as *mèm-bo bɛʔ* 'is/was not'. Some writers prefer to write the affirmed form འབོ་ *'bo* instead of བོ་ *bo*.

[257] This is an innovative WD form deriving from the full disyllabic འདུ་ སྦད་.

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 $\acute{\hat{\imath}}$:, "personalness" may be realized as the speaker's emotional involvement (see §7.3.2.2). In addition, $\acute{\hat{\imath}}$: is associated with performing a type of speech act of identification, whereas *bɛʔ* 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.[258] 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 $\acute{\hat{\imath}}$: and *jə̀ʔ,* 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 *jə̀ʔ*). When used as an auxiliary, *duʔ* has overtones of momentariness (contra continuation implied by *jə̀ʔ*). 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 *bɛʔ*, on the other hand, does not refer to a sensory experience as *duʔ*, and lacks the cognitive assimilation and spatiotemporal proximity implied by $\acute{\hat{\imath}}$:/jə̀ʔ.[259] 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 *bɛʔ*[260]. When *bɛʔ* syntactically overlaps with the sensorial *duʔ*, the use of *bɛʔ* 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 Denjongle 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

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[258] 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).

[259] Hein's (2001: 43) defines Tabo/Spiti Tibetan category "speaker's unspecified knowledge" very similarly to Denjonke "neutral."

[260] See Hill (2013) for contextual semantics of Lhasa Tibetan.

274

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 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 *jò͈ʔ*. There is, however, a difference in that *í:* seems to primarily convey spatiotemporal proximity, whereas *jò͈ʔ* expresses more clearly both old knowledge and spatiotemporal proximity. The reason for this difference between *í:* and *jò͈ʔ* seems to be that the semantics of the personal copulas are affected by the other copulas they evidentially contrast with.

Because *jò͈ʔ* in its ELPA-functions contrasts with both the sensorial *duʔ* and the neutral nominalized copula construction *jò͈-po bɛʔ/jèbbɛ*, 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 *duʔ*, 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 *jò͈-po bɛʔ/jèbbɛ*, which is used for spatiotemporal backgrounding ("there and then," similarly to mere *bɛʔ*).

The equative personal copula *í:*, in contrast, lacks a contrastive sensorial equative (the marginal combinatory sensorial equative *índuʔ*, 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 *bɛʔ*. 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 shown in §7.2.3.

7.2.1.1 Personal equative *í:*

In equation, the personal *í:* contrasts frequently with the neutral *bɛʔ* (§7.2.3) and marginally with the sensorial *índuʔ* (§7.2.2). In attributive sentences, *í:* contrasts with the neutral *bɛʔ*, the personal *jò͈ʔ* (§7.2.1.2), the sensorial *duʔ* and the neutral *jèbbɛʔ* (from *jò͈-po bɛʔ*) (§7.3.2.1.2).

In equative sentences such as (7.1) and (7.2), it is usually not obvious that *í:* would mark older knowledge than *bɛʔ*, 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 §7.2.3).

(7.1)	*kʰoŋ=gi*	*mìŋ*	*tsʰeriŋ*	*í:*.	ཁོང་གི་ མིང་ ཚེ་རིང་ ཨིན།
(7.2)	*kʰoŋ=gi*	*mìŋ*	*tsʰeriŋ*	*bɛʔ*.	ཁོང་གི་ མིང་ ཚེ་རིང་ རེད།
	3SG.HON=GEN	name	PN	EQU	
	'His name is Tshering.'				

In attributive sentences such as (7.3) and (7.4), however, the difference of *í:* and *bɛʔ* with reference to integration of knowledge becomes clearer.

275

(7.3)   ཁུ་ རྒྱགས་ནམ་ ཨིན།

  *kʰu gjaːnam **ǐː.***
  3SGM fat   EQU.PER
  'He is (a) fat (one).'

(7.4)   ཁུ་ རྒྱགས་ནམ་ བྱད།

  *kʰu gjaːnam **bɛʔ.***
  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.[261]

  The semantic difference between personal *ǐː* and neutral *bɛʔ* is also seen when the copula is followed by the (clausal) attention marker *=ɕo*, 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 *ǐː,* which marks integrated knowledge, *=ɕo* marks the information in the proposition as attention-worthy to the addressee, not to the speaker. For an example, see (7.5).

(7.5)   ང་ ཁོང་གི་ བུ་ ཨིན་གོ།

  *ŋà kʰoŋ=gi p'u **ǐː=ɕo.***
  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 *bɛʔ*, on the other hand, *=ɕo* may mark the proposition attention-worthy either to the speaker (7.6) or to the addressee (7.7).

(7.6)   ཡཱ! ཨོ་ཉི་ལགས་ཚུ་ བྱད་གོ།

  *jáː, óɲi=laː=tsu **bɛ=ɕo.***
  Oh child=HON=PL EQU.NE=AT
  'Oh, it's the children.' (Richhi 25)

(7.7)   ལབ་མཁན་ དོན་དག་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདི་ བྱད་གོ།

  *làp-kʰɛ̃ː t'ønda=di   ódi **bɛ=ɕo.***
  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

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[261] The difference in choosing *bɛʔ* rather than *duʔ* is addressed in §7.2.3.

speaker draws, by the use of =ɕo, the addressee's attention to the fact that he is going to tell the main teaching of his pedagogical story. The fact that with ǐː=ɕo attention-worthiness is addressee-oriented but with bɛ=ɕo either speaker or addressee-oriented suggests that ǐː is a marker of old, already existing knowledge, whereas bɛʔ is neutral with respect to when and how the information was acquired.

The copula ǐː (as also bɛʔ) co-occurs with any of the first, second or third person pronouns, see (7.8), showing that the "personal" semantics of ǐː have not been grammaticalized into a syntactic requirement for the first person to appear with ǐː 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 ǐː and bɛʔ is discussed in §7.2.3.

(7.8) ཁོང་/ཁྱུན་རྐྱུས་/ང་ སྨན་པོ་ ཨིན་/སྤྲད།
     kʰõː/ļɛŋgɛʔ/ŋà   mémpo   **ǐː/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 སྔོན་ལས་ ɲénlɛ 'earlier' enforces a past interpretation of the sentence with ǐː

(7.9) ང་ འདི་ སྔོན་ལས་ གན་འདེ་ ཧ་མ་གོ་མཁན་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཨིན།
     ŋà=di   ɲénlɛ   k'anɖɛː   ha-maŋ-go-kʰɛ̃ː   mí=tɕiʔ
     1SG=DEMPH earlier anything understand-NEG-understand-NMLZ person=INDF
     ǐːː.
     EQU.PER
     'I was earlier 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 ǐː implies that the adjective expresses a defining or identifying characteristic of the nominal it is linked with.

(7.10) ཨོ་འདི་ ཧ་གོ་ དགོས་པོ་ གལ་ཆེན་ ཨིན།
     ódi   háko   goː-po   k'ɛːtɕʰǐː   **ǐːː**.
     that   understand   need.to-2INF   important EQU.PER
     'It is important to understand that.' (Richhi 7)

(7.11) ངའི་ ཕོ་ཚོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ འཛིགས་ད་གས་ ཨིན། ལེགམ་ ཨིན།
     ɲèː   p'otso   tʰamtɕɛ=lɛ   dzikʈaʔ   **ǐːː**,   lèm   **ǐːː**.
     1SG.GEN child   all=ABL   excellent EQU.PER   good   EQU.PER
     'My child is the best of all·(lit. excellent from all), a good one.' (RBM story of my son)

The negated form of ǐː is mɛ̀ː, except in the circumstantial construction (see §15.8.1), where ǐː is negated by the prefix ma-. For examples, consider (7.12) and (7.13), which present two alternatives ways to negate the circumstantial-purposive converb.

(7.12) དམར་པུ་ ཨ་ཨིན་བ་ ཨ་ཚོ་ སྔོན་པུ་

má:pu	*ma-ím-ba*	*átsi*	*hømpu*
red	NEG-EQU-CIRC	a.bit	blue-green

'not being red, a bit blue-green' (KN e)

(7.13) དམར་པུ་ ཨ་ཨིན་བོ་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ཨ་ཚོ་ སྔོན་པུ་

má:pu	*ma-ím-bo*	*p'ja-ti*	*átsi*	*hømpu*
red	NEG-EQU-2INF	do-NF	a.bit	blue-green

'not being red, a bit blue-green' (KN e)

More examples of *t́:* are found in §7.2.3, where *t́:* is contrasted with *bɛʔ* and the other copulas. The use of *t́:* as the final copula of nominalized constructions is addressed in §7.3.2.2.

7.2.1.2 Personal existential *jə̀ʔ*

Similar to *t́:*, the personal existential copula *jə̀ʔ*[262] codes the speaker's already existing knowledge (contra sensorially acquired knowledge marked by *duʔ*) and spatiotemporal proximity (contra spatiotemporally backrounding nominalized copulas, e.g. *jə̀-po bɛʔ/jèbbɛʔ*). The use of *jə̀ʔ* 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 *jə̀ʔ* 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 *jə̀ʔ*, they use the nominalized constructions *jə̀-po bɛʔ/jèbbɛʔ* and *jə̀:-kʰen bɛʔ*, which are discussed in §7.3.2.1.

The type of knowledge coded by *jə̀ʔ* is illustrated by (7.14).

(7.14) ཁྱུའི་ཀི་ བ་ཅིག་ (bike) འདི་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ མ་ལག་ ཡོད།

kʰu=i=gi	*baik=di*	*lὲpti*	*màlaʔ*	*jə̀ʔ*.
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 *jə̀ʔ* as copula implies that the speaker has had a "personal experience" of the speed of the bike by riding it (Huber 2002: 138).[263] 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, *jə̀ʔ* expresses the knowledge state of the speaker but does not reveal how the knowledge was gained.

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[262] The copula *jə̀ʔ* 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.

[263]

kʰō̄:	*pa̱ʰkpà:-de*	*tsʰɛ̄:mὲ:*	*ɟo:bā*	*jǫ:*
he.GEN	motorbike-DEF	very	fast	EXPER

'His motorbike is very fast.' (Kyirong, Huber 2002: 138)

278

Example (7.15), taken from Bhaichung Tsichudarpo'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.[264]

(7.15)   ནུབ་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ རྫོམ་ བུ་རེ་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ སྨན་པོ་ གཀྨ་ ཡོད།
          *nùp   ɖɛndzoŋ=gi   sòmbarɛ   mɛ́ŋkʰã̀:=na   mɛ́mpo   karma   **jð̀ʔ.**
          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 *jð̀ʔ* is dependent on the context. This is illustrated in (7.16), in which *jð̀ʔ* 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).

(7.16)   བྲིལ་ གོ་ཨྲེཏ་སེ་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་ དངུལ་ གོས་པོ་ ཡོད།
          *bil   gɛits=lo   ɲ̀:   kɛ:p   **jð̀ʔ.**
          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 *duʔ*, which would imply recent discovery) or that Bill Gates is present at the time of speaking (contra neutral and spatiotemporally backgrounding *jèbbɛʔ* with no such implication).

The copula *jð̀ʔ* 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)   ཁུ་/ང་/ʔཚོད་ རྒྱགས་ནམ་ ཡོད།
          *kʰu/ŋà/ʔtɕʰø̀ʔ   gja:nam   **jð̀ʔ.**
          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 *jð̀ʔ*) are not allowed. Instead, འདུག་ *du:* (cognate of Denjongke *duʔ*) 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 *jð̀ʔ* may be followed by the attention marker *=ɛo* to emphasize the addressee's counterexpectation and, hence, the newsworthiness of the claim for the addressee. All the other

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[264] The novel *Richhi* also quite systematically uses the personal auxiliary construction VERB-*po ǐ:* rather than the neutral VERB-*po bɛʔ* 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).

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)　ཁྱོད་ རྒྱགས་ནས་ ཨིན་/འདུག་/སྲད།
　　　　tɕʰøʔ　*gja:nam*　***í:/duʔ/bɛʔ***.
　　　　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 (7.20), 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)　ངརམ་ ཡོད་ཀ?
　　　　　　ŋám　*jòː-ka?*
　　　　　　sugar　EX.PER-PQ
　　　　　　'Is there sugar?'

　　　　b)　ཡོད།
　　　　　　jòʔ.
　　　　　　EX.PER
　　　　　　'Yes, there is.'

(7.20)　a)　ཆ་རོགས་ཀྱི/ཆ་རོགས་ལོ་ བོ་ཚོ་ ག་ཚོད་ ཡོད་པོ?
　　　　　　tɕʰɛro=ki/tɕʰɛro=lo　　　*p'otso*　*k'adzøʔ*　　*jò-po?*
　　　　　　friend=GEN/friend=DAT　　child　how.many　EX.PER-2INF
　　　　　　'How many children does the friend (=you) have?'

　　　　b)　ངའི་(ཀྱི་)/ང་ལོ་ བུམ་ གསུམ་ ཡོད།
　　　　　　ɲèː(=gi)/ŋà=lo　　　　　*p'um*　*súm*　*jòʔ*.
　　　　　　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 *jòʔ* 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 *jòʔ* are provided in next sections §7.2.2 and §7.2.3, where its use is contrasted with *duʔ* and *bɛʔ* respectively.

7.2.2 Sensorial copula *duʔ*

The discussion here is divided into existential uses of *duʔ* (§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 -*kɛ*, which may attach to *duʔ* (§7.2.2.3).

7.2.2.1 Existential uses of *duʔ*

The use of the sensorial existential *duʔ* 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 *jɤ̀ʔ* conveys that the speaker's knowledge state has existed before ("I already know"), *duʔ* implies that the knowledge was recently acquired ("I came to know"). The neutral *bɛʔ*, on the other hand, marks a proposition non-committed as to the type of knowledge. Whereas *bɛʔ* is used when the speaker and the addressee share a sensorial experience, *duʔ* is primarily used when the addressee does not share the sensorial experience with the speaker.

Because *duʔ* 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 *duʔ* in Standard Tibetan being sensorial rather than mirative. Although the use of *duʔ* in Denjongke often implies recently acquired knowledge, Denjongke has a separate attention marker =*ɕo* that can be attached even to the sensory evidential *duʔ* (*duː=ɕo*) 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 *duʔ* may have some undercurrents of newness, the Denjongke language system does not appear to grammaticalize any "surprise" value with *duʔ*.

The implied momentariness of *duʔ*, in contrast to the permanence suggested by *jɤ̀ʔ*, is especially seen when the two copulas are used as auxiliaries. In auxiliary uses with the progressive -*zɛ̃ː*, both *kʰu jóʔ p'ja-zɛn duʔ* 'He was working' and *kʰu jóʔ p'ja-zɛ̃ː jɤ̀ʔ* '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 *duʔ* 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 *jɤ̀ʔ*, 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 *duʔ*. First, consider (7.21), a question where the speaker has to make an estimate of the addressees' state of knowledge.

(7.21)　　ངརམ་འདུག་ཀ?
　　　　ŋám　　***du**-kaʔ*
　　　　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 *jɤ̀ʔ* is used instead of *duʔ* 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)   ཆོད་ ནོ་ སྦྱང་པོ་ལོ།   འདུག་ག?
             *tɕʰøʔ   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་གོ།
             du-kɛ=ɕo.
             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 =ɕo in B's answer expresses the speaker's surprise, indicated by the old-fashioned exclamation 'why' in the translation.[265]

The contrast of *duʔ* and *jòʔ* 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)   ཚ་ ཐོབ་ག?
         tsʰa   tʰop-ka?
         salt   find-PQ
         'Is there (any) salt?'

(7.24)   མེད།
         mèʔ.
         NEG.EX.PER
         'No, there isn't.'

(7.25)   མིན་འདུག།
         mìnduʔ.
         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 (*mèʔ* is the negated form of *jòʔ*), or (7.25), if he is not sure from the outset but finds out whether there is salt by looking around (*mìnduʔ* is the negated form of *duʔ*).

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[265] 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.

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་ མོའི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ས�လེབས་པའི་ སྐབས་ མོ་

$k^h\tilde{o}$:	$\mathfrak{n}i$:-po	$m\grave{u}=i$	$k^him=na$	$\underline{l}\varepsilon p$-ø:	$g\tilde{a}$:	$m\grave{u}$
3PL	two-COL	3SGF=GEN	house=LOC	reach-2INF.GEN	time	3SGF

'When the two of them reached the house, she wasn't

ཁྱིམ་ན་   མེན་འདུག།

$k^him=na$	***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.[266]

(7.27) མདང་ ངས་ གཉིད་ལམ་ གཅིག་ མཐོང་ཙེ། གཉིད་ལམ་ན་ ང་

$d\tilde{a}$:	$\eta\grave{a}$:	$\mathfrak{n}ilam=t\varepsilon i?$	$t^h\tilde{o}$:-$t\varepsilon\varepsilon$.	$\mathfrak{n}ilam=na$	$\eta\grave{a}$
yesterday	1SG.AGT	dream=INDF	see-PFV	dream=LOC	1SG

'Yesterday I saw a dream. In the dream I was

སྨན་ཁང་ན་   འདུག་གོ།

$m\acute{\varepsilon}\eta k^h\tilde{a}$:=na	***du:***=εo.
hospital=LOC	EX.SEN=AT

in the hospital!' (YR e)

Usually information about oneself is by definition personal, and hence marked by $\acute{\textit{i}}$: 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 =*εo*, 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.

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[266] See, for instance, Denwood (1999: 123) for similar examples from Lhasa Tibetan.

(7.28)　ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ འཛུལ, འདི་ཁར་ རྒྱབ་ ཨེད་, ཀོ་ལོ་ སྤྲས་འབོལ་ ག་ན་ འདུག?

　　　　k'aly? k'aly? dzy:, dikʰa gjap ɛ?, kolo ŋa:bø: k'ana 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)　བློག་པར་གྱི་ སྙིང་པོ་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ ལེམ་ འདུག།

　　　　ló?par=gi ɲiŋpo lèpti lèm du?.
　　　　X-ray=GEN essence very.much good EX.SEN
　　　　'The results of the X-ray look very good.'

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 *bɛ?* 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)　པང་ཁར་ ཨ་ལུས་ འདུག།

　　　　*paŋkʰa: ály? **du?**.*
　　　　outside cat EX.SEN
　　　　'There's a cat outside (as I heard it meowing).'

(7.31)　འདི་ གསོལ་ཀྲུམས་ ཞིམ་པོ་ འདུག།

　　　　*di sø̀:ʈym ɕìmpu **du?**.*
　　　　this curry delicious EX.SEN
　　　　'This curry is delicious (as I can taste).'

(7.32)　འདི་ གསོལ་ཀྲུམས་གྱི་ དྲིམ་ ཞིམ་པོ་ འདུག།

　　　　*di sø̀:ʈym=gi ʈ'im ɕìmpu **du?**.*
　　　　this curry=GEN smell delicious EX.SEN
　　　　'The smell of this curry is delicious.'

(7.33)　འདི་ གྱི་ འདི་ རྣོན་དྲགས་ འདུག།

　　　　*di k'i=di ŋøʈa? **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.

284

(7.34) ཨ་ཀུ་གིས་ མ་གསན་བོ? ང་པོའི་ ཀུན་པོ་ཚུ་གིས་

áku=gi   ma-sɛ́m-bo?   t'aŋpø: gɛmpo=tsu=gi
father's.younger.brother =AGT   NEG-hear-2INF   long.ago.GEN   old.man=PL=AGT
'Hasn't the uncle heard? The elders of old (used to say):

"བོ་ཚོ་ ད་ མོ་བྱད་ ལེན་ཤད་ ཨིན་ནེ་ ག་ཆུང་ བཏུང་"

p'otso   t'a   mòbyʔ   lɛ̀n-ɕɛʔ   ín-nɛ   k'atɕuŋ   duŋ
child   now   wife   take-INF   EQU.PER-COND   metal.ornament   hit
"If (your) child is to take a wife, make a kachung-plate."

དེ་ གཆུང་ ལབ་སྟེ་ གཉེན་གྱི་ རྟགས་ བུ་མོ་གིས་

tɛ   k'atɕuŋ   làp-ti   ɲɛ́n=gi   taʔ   p'umu=gi
so   metal.ornament   say-NF   wedding=GEN sign   girl=AGT
So there is indeed an old tradition stating that "kachung" is the sign of

བཏགས་ཤད་ ཅིག་ ང་པུའི་ ལུང་བསྟན་ ཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།

ta:-ɕɛ=tɕiʔ   taŋpy: lùŋtẽ:=tɕiʔ   du:=ɕo.
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 *jɵ̀ʔ* 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 *duʔ,* which makes reference to the event(s) in which he has gained the information. An alternative for using *duʔ* would be to background the handing down of information by using one of the evidentially neutral nominalized construction *jɵ̀-po bɛ/jɛbbɛʔ* or *jɵ̀:-kʰɛn bɛʔ,* the first of which is used analogously to (7.34) in (7.87).

7.2.2.2 Past equative uses of *duʔ*
In addition to existential uses, *duʔ* 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་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་ ཨིན་པའི་ སྐབས་ལོ་ བྷན་ད་རི་ འདི་ ང་ཚའི་གི་ གཙོ་སྐྱི་ བློན་པུ་ འདུག་ཀེ་གོ།

ŋà   lópʈʰuʔ   ím-bø: kap=lo   bhandari=di   ŋàtɕi=gi   tsotɕi
1SG   student   EQU.PER-2INF.GEN   time=DAT PN=DEMPH   1PL.GEN=GEN   chief
lɛ́mpu   du-kɛ=ɕo.
minister   EX.SEN-INT=AT
'When I was a student, Bhandari was our Chief Minister, you know.'(KN e)

(7.36) པད་མ, ཁྱོད་ ལོབ་ཕྲུག་ ཨིན་པའི་ སྐབས་ལོ་ འདི་ ང་ཚའི་ གཙོ་སྐྱི་ བློན་པུ་ འདི་ ཀ་ བོ?

pɛma,   tɕʰøʔ   lópʈʰuʔ   ím-bø: kap=lo=di   ŋàtɕi   tsotɕi
PN   2SG.L   student   EQU-2INF   time=DAT=DEMPH   1PL.GEN   chief
lɛ́mpu=di   ka   du-ko?
minister=DEMPH   who   EX.SEN-2INF
'Pema, when you were student, who was our Chief Minister?'(YR e)

285

According to consultant YR, using the sensorial *duʔ* in (7.36) implies that the same chief minister is no longer in power, whereas using the personal *jø̀ʔ* (*jø̀-po/jè-po*) would leave open the possibility that the same chief minister is still in power. Example (7.37), however, suggests that *duʔ*, 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་སྟོན་མ་ཕྱི་ལོ་གཉིས་སྟོང་བཞིན་ན་ ཡོད་པའི་སྐབས་ ཨོ་འདེ་ཆིག་ཁ་ཡང་པ་སྦན་ཚམ་སླིང་ར་ འདུག་གོ

arɛ,   ŋà   ɲéma   tɕʰilo ɲíːtõ: ʑi=na   nà: jø̀-pø: gã:
EXCLAM(Nep.) 1SG earlier year 2000 four=LOC here EX-2INF.GEN   time
*ódɛtɕika=jã: pawan tsamliŋ=ra   **duː**=ɕo.*
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), you know.' (KN e)

Similar to present uses, past equative *duʔ* 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) སྟོན་མ་ད་ཆོད་མིང་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ འདུག་གོ

*ɲéma   t'a   tɕʰø̀ʔ   mìŋ   pʰyntsʰoʔ   **duk**=ɕo.*
earlier now 2SG.L   name PN   EX.SEN=AT
'But earlier your name was Phuntso!' (KN e)

b) *སྟོན་ལས་ར་ངའི་མིང་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ འདུག་གོ

**duʔ.*
earlier=AEMPH   1SG.GEN   name   PN   EX.SEN
(KN e)

Note that *duʔ* 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་ག་ འདུག་གོ?

mi=di   ka   **du-ko?*
human=DEMPH   who   EX.SEN-2INF

7.2.2.3 Intensifier *-kɛ*

The sensorial *duʔ* is often accompanied by the suffix *-kɛ*, which is called here an intensifier. For instance, as an answer to the question *Is there salt?* by using the intensified *-kɛ* form *mìndu-kɛ* instead of mere *mìnduʔ,* the speaker can emphasize his/her engagement or involvement in the situation. Whereas *mìnduʔ* could be said after just looking around, *mìndu-kɛ* would be appropriate after spending some time moving objects while searching. In addition to personal involvement, the intensifier *-kɛ* may imply certainty. For instance, according to some of my consultants *du-kɛ* is considered to carry more certainty than mere *duʔ* when reporting sensory experience. In this respect, it is similar to *-ké̃/-gé̃:* 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 *kʰu* 'he' is no longer present, although *duʔ* may also be used in the referent's presence.

(7.40) ཁུ་རྒྱགས་དགས་འདུག །
      kʰu   *gjaːṭaʔ* ***duʔ***.
      3SGM   fat   EX.SEN
      'He is fat.'

(7.41) ཁུ་རྒྱགས་དགས་འདུག་གེ །
      kʰu   *gjaːṭaʔ* ***du-kɛ***.
      3SGM   fat   EX.SEN-IN
      'He is fat.'

7.2.3 Equative neutral *bɛʔ* in comparison with other copulas

The copula *bɛʔ* is basically equative but it also syntactically overlaps with existential copulas *jòʔ* and *duʔ* not only in adjectival predication but also in quantified existentials and quantified locatives. The neutral *bɛʔ* is evidentially non-committed unlike the sensorial *duʔ* and the personal copulas *jòʔ* and *ǐː*. Therefore *bɛʔ* 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 *ǐː* vs. *bɛʔ*. Two things, however, can be said. First, *ǐː* seems to perform a type of speech act of identifying, whereas *bɛʔ* 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 *ǐː* and *bɛʔ*.

(7.42) a) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ག་ བོ?
          l̥ɛŋgɛʔ   *ka*   *bo?*
          PRN.HON   what   EQU.NE.Q
          'Who are you?'

      b) ང་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན །
          ŋà   *ámdzi* ***ǐː***.
          1SG   doctor   EQU.PER
          'I'm a doctor.'

(7.43) a) ལྷན་རྒྱས་གན་ བྱས་མཁན་ བོ?
          l̥ɛŋgɛʔ   *kʼan*   *pʼja-kʰɛn*   *bo?*
          PRN.HON   what   do-NMLZ   EQU.NE.Q
          'What do you do (for living)?'

b) ང་ ཨམ་རྫི་ ཡིན།

ŋà   *ámdzi*   ***bɛʔ***.
1SG   doctor   EQU.NE
'I'm a doctor.' (TB)

In the above examples, *t̃:* is used in the answer to the question concerning identity (7.42), and *bɛʔ* is used when the question relates to doing (7.43). This implies that *t̃:* is more concerned with the act of identifying itself, as if performing a type of speech act of identifying, whereas *bɛʔ* 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 bɛʔ* as an answer to the question in (7.42).

The possibility of choosing between *t̃:* and *bɛʔ* 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 *t̃:* vs. *bɛʔ* with two other consultants, they volunteered comparative sentence pairs (7.44-45) and (7.46-47) respectively (*mɛ̃:* and *mèmbɛʔ* are the negations of *t̃:* and *bɛʔ* respectively).

(7.44)   ང་ཚག་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་ ཡིན།
         ŋàtɕaʔ   *lòpt̪ʰuʔ*   ***t̃:*.**
         1PL   student   EQU.PER
         'We are students.'   (NB e)

(7.45)   ང་ཚག་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་ ཡིན་ད་ང་ཚག་ འདེམ་ བྱས་ མི་ལེགས།
         ŋàtɕaʔ   *lòpt̪ʰuʔ*   ***bɛʔ***.   *ŋàtɕaʔ*   *dɛm*   *p'ja*   *mì-lɛʔ*.
         1PL   student   EQU.NE   1PL   such   do   NEG-be.good
         'We are students.   We mustn't do like that.' (NB e)

(7.46)   ང་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་ མན།
         ŋà   *lópt̪ʰuʔ*   ***mɛ̃̀:*.**
         1SG   student   NEG.EQU.PER
         'I am not a student.' (YR e)

(7.47)   a)   ཁྱོད་ འདི་ སློག་ཅེ།
              tɕʰøʔ   *di*   *ɖok-tɕʰ(i)*.
              2SG.L   this   read-IMP.FRN
              'You, read this!'

         b)   ང་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་ མན་སྲད་ ང་ དབྱིན་རྗི་ སློག་ མི་ཤེས།
              ŋà   *lópt̪ʰuʔ*   ***mèm-bɛʔ***.   *ŋà*   *índzi*   *ɖok*   *mì-ɕe:*.
              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) *t̃:* is used for simple identification of people, whereas in the use of *bɛʔ* 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 *ǐ:* in (7.44) and (7.46) identifies certain people by their occupational status (or lack of it), the use of *bɛʔ* in (7.45) and (7.47) focuses on responsibilities and abilities of students in general.[267]

The above analysis based on elicited examples is corroborated by the following example from the novel Richhi:

(7.48)   གཞུང་གི་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་མཁན་ཏོ་ སྐྱེད་ དང་ལྟ་ ན་ ཡོད་ ཕོ་རངས་ ག་འགྱུ་

        ʑuŋ=gi   *jóʔ*   *kjap-kʰɛn=to*   ***bɛʔ.***   *t'ato nà:*   *jə̀ʔ,*

        government=GEN   work do-NMLZ=CEMPH   EQU.NE now here EX.PER

        tʰorã̀:   *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 *ǐ:* 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 *ǐ:* and *bɛʔ* is that *ǐ:* is associated with spatiotemporal proximity, with the "here and now," whereas *bɛʔ* is associated with spatiotemporal distancing, "there and then." A conditioning factor in choosing between *ǐ:* and *bɛʔ* is the presence or absence of the referent in the clause. Consultant PT (Tashiding, West Sikkim) preferred the identifying, equative copula *ǐ:* when the person referred to was present, whereas *bɛʔ* was preferred when the referent was absent. This observation is illustrated in examples (7.49-51) below:

(7.49)   a)   ཁུ་ རྒྱགས་ནམ་ ཨིན།

            kʰu   *gja:nam*   ***ǐ:.***

            3SGM   fat   EQU.PER

            'He's (a) fat (one).' (referent present)

    b)   ཁུ་ རྒྱགས་ནམ་ སྦད།

            kʰu   *gja:nam*   ***bɛʔ.***

            3SGM   fat   EQU.NE

            'He is fat.' (referent absent)

(7.50)   a)   ཁོང་ ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཨིན།

            kʰõ: *tɕʰigɛ:bo*   ***ǐ:.***

            3SG.HON   foreigner   EQU.PER

            'He's a foreigner.' (referent present)

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[267] 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."

b) ཁོང་ ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ སྲད།

    kʰõ: *tɕʰigɛːbo*   ***bɛʔ.***

    3SG.HON   foreigner   EQU.NE

    'He's a foreigner.' (referent in photo)

(7.51)   a)   འདི་ ཁོང་གི་ ཁྱིམ་ ཨིན།

                di   *kʰoŋ=gi*   *kʰim*   ***íː.***

                this   3SG.HON=GEN   house   EQU.PER

                'This is his house.' (owner present)

    b)   འདི་ ཁོང་གི་ ཁྱིམ་ སྲད།

                di   *kʰoŋ=gi*   *kʰim*   ***bɛʔ.***

                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 *kʰõː ámdʑi íː* and *kʰõː ámdʑi bɛʔ* '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 ŋɛː pápá rèː* 'Now, this is my father'. As the copula *jìː* (or *yin*) would be usually used if the father were alive, Chang & Chang see the choice of *rèː* 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 *rèː* 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 (*íː*), or as someone who does not know the answer (*bɛʔ*). For an example, consider (7.52).[268]

(7.52) a) ཆོད་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་ སྲད་ག?   b) ཆོད་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་ ཨིན་ག?

          tɕʰøʔ   *lóptʰuʔ*   ***bɛ-ka?***   *tɕʰøʔ*   *lòptʰuʔ*   ***íŋ-ga?***

          2SG.L   student   EQU.NE-Q   2SG.L   student   EQU.PER-Q

          'Are you a student?'   'You are a student, aren't you?'

    In swiftly transitory attributive situations, as shown in (7.53), *jòʔ* 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 *duʔ* and *bɛʔ*.

(7.53)   a)   འདི་ གོས་ལག་ཚུ་ དྲེག་ག་ སྲད།།

                di   *kʼola=tsu*   *ʈʼika*   ***bɛʔ.***

                this   clothing=PL   dirty   EQU.NE

                'These clothes are dirty.'

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[268] There are also other ways to form questions which are not treated here but in §11.1.

b)　འདི་ གོས་ལྭག་ཚུ་ རྗེག་ཀ་ འདུག

di　k'ola=tsu　ʈ'ika　**duʔ**.
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, *bɛʔ* is used in expressions where the minutes have gone past the hour (7.54), whereas *duʔ* is used when minutes have not yet reached the full hour (7.55).

(7.54)　ཆུ་ཚོད་ གཅིག་ བརྡུང་སྟེ་ ཀརྨ་ བཅུ་ བྱད

tɕʰutsʰøʔ　tɕiʔ　duŋ-di　karma　tɕu　**bɛʔ**.
clock.time one　strike-NF　minute　ten　EQU.NE
'It's ten past one.' / 'One hour having struck, (it) is ten minutes.' (DB e)

(7.55)　ཆུ་ཚོད་ གཉིས་ བརྡུང་བ་ ཀརྨ་ ལྔ་ འདུག

tɕʰutsʰøʔ　ɲíː　duŋ-ba　karma　ɲà　**duʔ**.
clock.time two　strike-PUR　minute　five　EX.SEN
'It's five to two.' / 'To strike two hours, (it) is five minutes.' (DB e)

The last two examples (7.56) and (7.57) summarize the evidential differences between the basic declarative copulas by contrasting *bɛʔ* with other copulas in locative and attributive use respectively.

(7.56)　a)　ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྡོ་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཡོད　ɕìŋ=di=na　　　　do　　kɛːp(o)　**jø̀ʔ**.
　　　　b)　ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྡོ་ ཀེས་པོ་ འདུག　ɕìŋ=di=na　　　　do　　kɛːp(o)　**duʔ**.
　　　　　　　　　　　　'There are a lot of stones in the field.'
　　　　c)　ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྡོ་ ཀེས་པོ་ བྱད　ɕìŋ=di=na　　　　do　　kɛːp(o)　**bɛʔ**.
　　　　d)　ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྡོ་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཨིན　ɕìŋ=di=na　　　　do　　kɛːp(o)　**íː**.
　　　　　　　　　　　　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 *bɛʔ*, 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 *duʔ* 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 *jø̀ʔ*, 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)	ཁུ་རྒྱགས་ནས་ ཨིན།	*kʰu*	*gja:nam*	***ǐ:*.**	'He is a fat one (as I know).'
	b)	ཁུ་རྒྱགས་ནས་ ཡོད།	*kʰu*	*gja:nam*	***jə̀ʔ*.**	'He is fat (as I know).'
	c)	ཁུ་རྒྱགས་ནས་ འདུག།	*kʰu*	*gja:nam*	***duʔ*.**	'He is fat (as I just saw).'
	d)	ཁུ་རྒྱགས་ནས་ བྱད།	*kʰu*	*gja:nam*	***bɛʔ*.**	'He is fat (as I generally assert).'

The first sentence with *ǐ:* (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 *jə̀ʔ* 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 *jə̀ʔ* nor the immediacy and sensorialness of *duʔ*. With *bɛʔ*, the emphasis falls on the information expressed in the sentence rather than on the type of knowledge the speaker purports to have.

7.2.4 Apparent equative *ɖɛ:/rɛ:*

The appentive equative *ɖɛ:/rɛ:* merges the apparent marker *ɖa* '(be) similar' and the neutral equative *bɛʔ* to express the meaning '(it) seems to be'. Some informants were not aware that *ɖɛ:/rɛ:* originates with *ɖa bɛʔ* 'be like'.

(7.58) ཨེ་ དུ་ཅིག་ ཝཱ་ར་ན་སེ་ མན་དོ་ འདྲད་ (འདྲ་ བྱད་) ནོ།
    é:,   *t'utɕiʔ*   *waranasi*   *mə̀n-do*   ***ɖɛ:***   *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) ཨོ་འདི་ གན་ མོ? ཨོ་འདི་ ཏུ་ཨ་རིསྟ་ (tourist)[269] འདི་ འདྲད་གོ (=འདྲ་ བྱད་གོ)།
    ódi   *k'an*   *mo?*   *ódi*   *ʈuərist(Eng)=di*   ***ɖɛ:*=ɕo.**
    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 describes above, the verb *ò:* 'come' and the reportative marker *=lo* may function as copulas.

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[269] The speaker seems to use the loan word "tourist" as an adjective. The Denjongke word for "tourist" is *ɖy:korwo* འཁྲུལ་སྐོར་བོ་.

7.2.5.1 The verb ǒ̀ː 'come' as existential

The verb ǒ̀ː '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.

(7.60) ཨོ་འདི་ དེ་ ངའི་ ཞུ་གད་ མ་ཚོང་།
     *ódi   tɛ   ɲèː   ɕù-ɕɛ   **ma-hõ̀ː.***
     that then 1SG.GEN   say-INF NEG-come
     'I cannot say that.' Lit. 'That's not mine to say.' (PAD Tashiding story)

(7.61) ད་ཕྲོ་ ད་ འཛམ་གླིང་ན་ མི་འོང་ཀྲོ་, དེ་ནོ་སྲོས་ (dinosaurs).
     *t'ato t'a   dzamliŋna **mi-ǒ̀ː-ʈo,**   dainosoːs.*
     now now world   NEG-come-PROB dinosaurs(Eng.)
     'Nowadays (they) aren't there in the world, dinosaurs.' (KN e)

(7.62) Q: ཚ་ འདུག་ཀ་/ཡོད་ཀ?
     tsʰa duː-ka/jø̀ː-ka?
     salt EX.SEN -Q/EX.PER.-Q
     'Is there salt?' (KN e)

(7.63) a) A1: ཚ་ མ་ཚོང་།
            *tsʰa **ma-hõ̀ː.***
            salt NEG-come
            'There isn't (any) salt.' (KN e)

     b) A2: ཚ་ འོང་ཀྲོ།
            *tsʰa **ǒ̀ː-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 ǒ̀ː. When ǒ̀ː is negated by *ma-* in its ordinary verbal uses, the result is phonetically /ma-ǒ̀ː/ > [mõ̀ː]. In the existential use, on the other hand, the pronunciation is [mahõ̀ː], probably to underline the difference to the regular verbal use. With the negator *mi-* no laryngeal occurs between the negator and the verb ǒ̀ː, /mi-ǒ̀ː/ > [miǒ̀ː]. The pronunciation difference between [mahõ̀ː] and [miǒ̀ː] is reflected in WD here as མ་ཚོང་ *ma-hong* and མི་འོང་ *mi-ong* respectively.

    I have come across one example of an interrogative existential ǒ̀ː, which in (7.64) occurs alongside the proper existential (personal) copula form *jø̀ʔ*.

(7.64) a) ཚ་ ཡོད་གམ?
            *tsʰa **jø̀ː-kam?***
            salt EX.PER-ATTQ
            'Is there salt, I wonder.' (KN e)

b) ཚ་ 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 negated auxiliary to the personal *mèʔ* and sensorial *mìnduʔ*, as shown in (7.66), which presents three alternative answers to question (7.65). In contrast to *jòʔ* and *duʔ*, *ồ:* appears to be evidentially neutral, although more research is needed to established that fact.

(7.65)   Q: ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་བཞིན་ འདུག་ག?
         kʰu   *jóʔ p'ja-zɛn du-ka?*
         3SGM   work do-PROG EX.SEN-PQ
         'Is he working?'

(7.66)   a) A1:   ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་པོ་ མེད།
                  *kʰu   jóʔ p'ja-u **mèʔ**.*
                  3SGM   work do-2INF NEG.EX.PER
                  He's not working (I know).'

         b) A2:   ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་པོ་ མིན་འདུག།
                  *kʰu   jóʔ p'ja-u **mìnduʔ**.*
                  3SGM   work do-2INF NEG.EX.SEN
                  'He's not working (I see).'

         c) A3:   ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་པོ་ མ་ཚོང་།
                  *kʰu   jóʔ 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, *ồ:* also occurs as a future auxiliary, see §8.2.6.

7.2.5.2   Reportative *=lo* as equative substitute

The reportative marker *=lo*[270] 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)   ཁུ་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ལོ།
         *kʰu   ámdzi=**lo**.*
         3SGM   doctor=REP
         'He's reportedly a doctor. / He's a doctor, I hear.' (YR e)

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[270] 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).

(7.68) ཚོན་ ཚ་ ཡོད་ལོ/འདུག་ལོ

óna   tsʰa   jə̀ː=lo/duː=**lo**.[271]
there   salt   EX.PER=REP/EX.SEN=REP
'There's reportedly salt in there.'

(7.69) *ཚོན་ ཚ་ལོ

*óna   tsʰa=**lo**
there   salt= REP

The use of the reportative marker =*lo* with the existential copulas *jə̀ʔ* and *duʔ* 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 original utterance" (Gawne 2013: 135, see also Tournadre 2008: 295-296). The shifting of evidential anchoring is illustrated in (7.70-71).

(7.70) a) ཁུ་ སྐྱང་ཏོག་ན་ འདུག

            kʰu   gã:toː=lo   **duʔ**.
            3SGM   TPN=DAT   EX.SEN
            'He's in Gangtok (I saw him).'

        b) ཁུ་ སྐྱང་ཏོག་ན་ འདུག་ལོ

            kʰu   gã:toː=lo   **duː=lo**.
            3SGM   TPN=DAT   EX.SEN=REP
            'He's reported to be in Gangtok (they told they saw him).'

(7.71) a) ཁུ་ སྐྱང་ཏོག་ན་ ཡོད

            kʰu   gã:toː=lo   **jə̀ʔ**.
            3SGM   TPN=DAT   EX.PER
            'He's in Gangtok (I know it well).'

        b) ཁུ་ སྐྱང་ཏོག་ན་ ཡོད་ལོ

            kʰu   gã:toː=lo   **jə̀ː=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 *duʔ* reports someone else's sensory experience. Similarly, in (7.71a) the speaker bases their statement on their own personal, already existing knowledge, whereas in (7.71b) the speaker presents that information as personal knowledge to someone else. The reason why the speaker consider their source to have personal knowledge in (7.71b) could be, for instance, that the source of information has personally ordered the person in question to go to Gangtok and has seen them leave in the morning. The use of *duʔ* (7.70a-b) implies that the speaker just claims that at a past point the person in question was reported to have been seen in Gangtok but that there is no guarantee of the person still being there. The use of *jə̀ʔ* in (7.71a-b), on the other hand, suggests

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[271] For the difference between *jə̀:lo* and *du:lo* see examples (7.70-71).

not only that the information is based on personal knowledge but also that the person in question is still in Gangtok.

The discussion so far has focused on the basic copulas (*t́ː, jə̀ʔ, duʔ, bɛʔ, bo* and *ɖɛ:*) and two other monosyllabic forms with copular functions (*ò̤ː* and *=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 copula constructions (§7.3.2).

7.3.1 Combinatory copulas *ímbɛʔ* and *índuʔ*

The basic copulas may be directly combined to form the emphatic equative *ímbɛʔ* and the infrequent sensorial equative *índuʔ*. The emphatic equative *ímbɛʔ*, which resembles in form the Dzongkha ཨིན་པས་ *'immä,* often marks the speaker's agreement with what the addressee has just said. In the same vein, Dzongkha ཨིན་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) ཨ་རྐྱུ་ཡང་ དམག་མིའི་ ན་རང་ མན་པོ?
    ágja=jã: *má:mi:=na=rã:*   *mè̀mbo?*
    elder.brother=also army.GEN=LOC=AEMPH NEG.EQU.NE.Q
    'Isn't the brother also in the army?'

   b) དམག་མིའི་ན་ ཨིན་སྲད།
    má:mi:=na   **ímbɛʔ.**
    army.GEN=LO EQU.EMPH
    '(Yes,) he is indeed in the army.' (Richhi 56)

(7.73) ཨིན་སྲད! ཨམ་ རང་གིས་ ལབ་པོ་ བདེན་ སྲད།
  ímbɛʔ. *ám* *raŋ=gi* *làp-o* *dɛn* *bɛʔ.*
  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 *mè̀mbo* and the concurring emphatic *ímbɛʔ,* although both basically equative copulas, receive a locative argument (for a similar use of *bɛʔ*, see §5.4.2).

In addition to the concurring uses, *ímbɛʔ* 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་ཚག་གཉིས་ནང་ལས་མཁས་ཤོས་འདི་རང་ཨིན་སྲིད།

　　　ŋàtɕaʔ　ɲí:　nàŋ=lɛ　kʰɛ:-ɕo=di　　　rã:　　**ímbɛʔ**.
　　　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 *ímbɛʔ* with non-emphatic *bɛʔ*. 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.[272]

(7.75)　a)　འདི་ཆོད་ཀྱི་ པེན་སིལ་ (pencil) ཨིན་སྲིད་ཀ?

　　　　　di　*tɕʰø:=ki*　　*pɛnsil*　　　**ímbɛ-ka?**
　　　　　this　2SG.L=GEN　　pencil(Eng.)　EQU.EMPH-PQ
　　　　　'Is this indeed your pencil?' (TB e)

　　　b)　འདི་ཆོད་ཀྱི་ པེན་སིལ་ (pencil) སྲིད་ཀ?

　　　　　di　*tɕʰø:=ki*　　*pɛnsil*　　　**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 *índuʔ*.

(7.76)　དངོས་གྲུབ་ མཁས་དགས་ ཨིན་འདུག

　　　ɲý:ɖup　*kʰɛ:ʈaʔ*　**índuʔ**.
　　　Neydup　skillful　EQU.SEN
　　　'Neydup is skillful (I have experienced).' (PT e)

(7.77)　ངའི་ རོགས་ འདི་ཡང་ ཀློ་སྐད་ རྒྱབས་མཁན་ ཨིན་འདུག་གོ

　　　ɲè:　　*ro:=di=jã:*　　*ɭokɛ*　　*kjap-kʰɛ̃:*　　**índu**=ɕo.
　　　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)　པ་སྭན་ ཚམ་གླིང་ འདི་ ང་ཚའི་ བློན་པོ་ གཙོ་བོ་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ མན་བར

　　　pawan　　*tsamliŋ=di*　　　*ŋàtɕi*　　*lǿmpu*　*tsou*　*tɕiku*　*mèm-ba:*.[273]
　　　Pawan　　Chamling=DEMPH　1SG.GEN　minister　main　only　NEG.EQU-CIRC
　　　'Pawan Chamling is not only our Prime Minister,

　　　མི་ ཡིག་རིགས་ མཁས་དགས་ གཅིག་ ཨིན་འདུག

　　　mí　　　*jìgriʔ*　　*kʰɛ:ʈaʔ=tɕiʔ*　　**índuʔ**.
　　　person　　literature　skillful=INDF　　EQU.SEN
　　　but he is also a skillfull literary figure.' (KT e)

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[272] Pragmatically, however, the very fact that the speaker is asking the question in (7.75b) may be seen as an indication that they presume the questioned fact to be the case.

[273] Consultant PTB (Tashiding) would use here instead of *mèm-ba:* a more complex construction involving an adverbializing nonfinal converb, *ma-ím-bo p'jati* [NEG-EQU-2INF do-NF].

The copula *índuʔ* combines some of the meanings of both copulas *í:* and *duʔ*. Whereas *í:* marks the equative function, *duʔ* 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.[274] The difference between *índuʔ* and the equative use of *duʔ* (see §7.2.2.2) is that *índuʔ* is used for present identification (based on past sensorial experience) and *duʔ* for past identification.

Apart from *ímbɛʔ* and *índuʔ,* no other combinations of basic copulas (e.g. **bɛduʔ, *dubɛʔ, *bɛí:*) were acceptable to my consultants.

7.3.2 Nominalized copula constructions

The dichotomy between *í:* and *bɛʔ* within equative copulas, and *jə̀ʔ* and *duʔ* within existential copulas, is neutralized in nominalized copula forms so that only *í:* and *jə̀ʔ* may be nominalized by the markers *-ɕɛʔ* (I infinitive) *-po/bo* (II infinitive) and *-kʰɛ̃:* (nominalizer) (reasons for distinguishing "infinitive" and "nominalizer" are given in §3.2.3).[275] Therefore, the morpheme glosses of nominalized copulas below do not have information on 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 *jə̀:-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 *jə̀:-po* in *jə̀:-po í:* marks the construction as existential.

The nominalized equative expressions are *ím-bo bɛʔ* (neg. *mɛ̀m-bo bɛʔ*), *ím-bo í:* (neg. *mɛ̀m-bo í:*), *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* (neg. *mɛ̀ŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ*), *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: í:* (neg. *mɛ̀ŋ-kʰɛ̃: í:*), *í:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* (neg. *mɛ̃̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* [?]) and *í:-ɕɛ í:* (neg. *mɛ̃̀:-ɕɛ í:* [?]). The existential expressions are *jə̀:-po bɛʔ* (neg. *mɛ̀:-po bɛʔ*), *jə̀:-po í:* (neg. *mɛ̀:-po í:*), *jə̀:-kʰɛn bɛʔ* (neg. *mɛ̀:-kʰɛn bɛʔ*), *jə̀:-kʰɛ̃: í:* (neg. *mɛ̀:-kʰɛ̃: í:*), *jə̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* (neg. *mɛ̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* [?]) and *jə̀:-ɕɛ í:* (neg. *mɛ̀:-ɕɛ 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.

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[274] My consultant's attempt to translate *índuʔ* in (7.78) into Nepali was हो रहेछ *ho rahecha.*
[275] Garrett (2001: 105) considers these type of contexts, where only ego evidentials (the equivalents of *í:* and *jə̀ʔ*) 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.*

Table 7.2. Nominalized copulas

Equ./Ex.	Evid./epist.	Nominalized construction			
		Affirmative		**Negated**	
Equat.	Personal	*ím-bo t́:*	ཨིན་པོ་ཨིན་	*mèm-bo t́:* (?)	མིན་པོ་ཨིན་ (?)
		íŋ-kʰɛ̃: t́:	ཨིན་མཁན་ཨིན་	*mèŋ-kʰɛ̃: t́:*	མིན་མཁན་ཨིན་
		t́:-ɕɛ t́:	ཨིན་གད་ཨིན་	*mɛ̃̀:-ɕɛ t́:* (?)	མིན་གད་ཨིན་ (?)
	Neutral or assertive	*ím-bo bɛʔ*	ཨིན་པོ་སྲིད་	*mèm-bo bɛʔ*	མིན་པོ་སྲིད་
		íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ	ཨིན་མཁན་སྲིད་	*mèŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ*	མིན་མཁན་སྲིད་
		t́:-ɕɛ bɛʔ	ཨིན་གད་སྲིད་	*mɛ̃̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* (?)	མིན་གད་སྲིད་ (?)
Exist.	Personal	*jø̀:-po t́:*	ཡོད་པོ་ཨིན་	*mè:-po t́:*	མེད་པོ་ཨིན་
		jø̀:-kʰɛ̃: t́:	ཡོད་མཁན་ཨིན་	*mè:-kʰɛ̃: t́:*	མེད་མཁན་ཨིན་
		jø̀:-ɕɛ t́:	ཡོད་གད་ཨིན་	*mè:-ɕɛ t́:* (?)	མེད་གད་ཨིན་ (?)
	Neutral	*jø̀:-po bɛʔ* *jèbbɛʔ/jø̀bbɛʔ*	ཡོད་པོ་སྲིད་ ཡོད་བ་སྲིད་	*mè:-po bɛʔ* *mèbbɛʔ*	མེད་པོ་སྲིད་ མེད་བ་སྲིད་
		jø̀:-kʰɛn bɛʔ	ཡོད་མཁན་སྲིད་	*mè:-kʰɛn bɛʔ*	མེད་མཁན་སྲིད་
		jø̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ	ཡོད་གད་སྲིད་	*mè:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* (?)	མེད་གད་སྲིད་ (?)

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 *t́:*, *jø̀ʔ* and *duʔ*. I first give examples of neutral constructions ending in *bɛʔ* (§7.3.2.1) and after that personal constructions ending in *t́:* (§7.3.2.2). More frequent forms with *-po/po* and *-kʰɛ̃:* are given first and the less frequent forms with *-ɕɛʔ* 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*, *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* and *t́:-ɕɛ bɛʔ*. The first two may refer to both present and past states of being, whereas the last one is used for futute 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་ ཨིན་ མའེ་མུ་རང་ ཨིན་པོ་ སྲིད།

  mù=i   *sém=na*   *dɛ:*   *nó:-ɕɛ*   *t́:*   *né:mu=rã:*   **ím-bo**
  3SGF=GEN   mind=LOC   like   think-INF   EQU.PER   real=AEMPH   EQU-2INF
  bɛʔ.
  EQU.NE
  'She thinks in her mind like this: (it) really is (like that).' (Richhi 119)

For, the negated form, consider (7.80).

299

(7.80) ཚོ་འདི་ གལ་ཆེ་དྲགས་ མན་པོ་ སྱད།
       ódi   *k'ɛːtɕʰiɬaʔ*   **mèm-bo**   *bɛʔ*.
       that   important   NEG.EQU-2INF   EQU.NE
       'That is not important.' (KL BLA 12)

In (7.81), *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* occurs as part of an even more complex assertive copula expression *ǐː íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* ("it is indeed the case"). Similar to *ím-bo bɛʔ* in (7.79), *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* 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་ གོས་པོ་ལོ་ སྟངས་ སྟོན་སྟེ་ མི་ཚུའི་ འདོད་ཡིད་
       mítsʰoʔ   *kɛːpo=lo*   *tɛm*   *tøn-di*   *mí=tsu=i*   *døːjiʔ*
       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་མཁན། ཡིན་ ཡིན་མཁན་ སྱད, ད་ལྟ་ ཟང་གི་
       pʰjok   *tsʰuː-kʰɛ̃ː.*   *ǐː*   **íŋ-kʰɛn**   *bɛʔ*,   *t'ato*   *ã̃ː=gi*
       snatch   can-NMLZ   EQU.PER   EQU-NMLZ   EQU.NE   now   ıntil=GEN
       great crowd. Yes indeed, all the arrangement so far

       གོ་སྒྲིགས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོའི་ འགོ་འཁྲིད་ན་
       k'oɖiʔ   *tʰamtɛɛʔ*   *kʰõː*   *níː-pøː*   *gokʰiː=na*
       arrangement   all   3PL   two-2INF.GEN   leading=LOC
       had been (successfully) fulfilled under their

       སྱབ་ ཡོད་པོ།
       ɖup   *jə̀-po.*
       fulfil   EX-2INF
       leadership.' (Richhi 82)

The negation of *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* is *mèŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ*:

(7.82) དེ་ལོ་ མན་མཁན་ སྱད།
       t'ɛːlu   **mèŋ-kʰɛn**   *bɛʔ*.
       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 *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* and *ím-bo bɛʔ* as somewhat assertive in meaning, consultant YR commented that the constructions *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* and *ím-bo bɛʔ* are used in debates to make assertions that are true contemporaneously with the speech act.

In addition to present assertive uses, *ím-bo bɛʔ* and *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* are compatible with past events/states. In (7.83-84), *ím-bo bɛʔ* and *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* appear to be used quite interchangeably.

300

(7.83) ཁུ་ སྔོན་ལས་ ངའི་ གྲོགས་ཀྱུ་ ཨིན་པོ་ སྦད།

       kʰu   *ɲénlɛ*   *ɲèː*   *ʈ'oku*   **ím-bo**   **bɛʔ**.

       3SGM   before   1SG.GEN   friend   EQU-2INF   EQU.NE

       'He was my friend before.' (KT e)

(7.84) ཁུ་ ངའི་ གྲོགས་ཀྱུ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ སྦད།

       kʰu   *ɲèː*   *ʈ'oku*   **íŋ-kʰɛn**   **bɛʔ**.

       3SGM   1SG.GEN   friend   EQU-NMLZ   EQU.NE

       'He was my friend.' (PT e)

Formally *t̃ː-ɕɛ bɛʔ*, which occurs only once in my data, in (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་ཏོག་ འདི་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ ཚང་དྲགས་ ང་ཚག་གིས་ རྩི་ དགོནབ་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཨིན་པད་ སྦད།

       paksam   *mìnto=di*   *lèptɛ*   *tsã̃ːʈaʔ*   *ŋàtɕa=gi*   *tsi*   *goː-p*

       balsam   flower=DEMPH   very.much   clean   1PL=AGT   reckon   be.needed-2INF

       gjumtsʰɛn   *ódi*   **t̃ː-ɕɛ**   **bɛʔ**.

       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 *t̃ː-ɕɛ bɛʔ* "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 *t̃ː-ɕɛ bɛʔ* in (7.85) should rather be translated as "maybe is" than as simply "is." The form *t̃ː-ɕɛ bɛʔ* 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 *jə̀-po bɛʔ*, *jə̀ː-kʰɛn bɛʔ* and *jə̀ː-ɕɛ bɛʔ*. First consider the semantically similar forms *jə̀-po bɛʔ* and *jə̀ː-kʰɛn bɛʔ* illustrated in (7.86) and (7.87) respectively. Examples (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 *jə̀ʔ*, that he was personally involved in the events of the story, or by using the sensorial *duʔ*, 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་ ནོ་འཕྲོག་ན་ སེམས་ཅན་ བ་ སྐྱང་ ར་ དང་ ལུག་

       kʰõ̀ː=tsyː   *nò̀ːɖoʔ=na*   *símtɕɛ̃ː*   *p'a*   *lə̃̀ː*   *rà*   *t'ã̀ː*   *lùʔ*

       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་སོགས་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྦད།

       làsoː   *kɛːp*   **jə̀ː-po**   **bɛʔ**.

       etc   a.lot   EX-2INF   EQU.NE

       sheep etc.' (rna-gsung 1)

b) ཁྱེ་ཚོམ་ མེད་པོ་ བྱད།

  tʰɛtsʰom **mèː-po** *bɛʔ*.
  doubt   NEG.EX-2INF   EQU.NE
  'There is no doubt (about that).' (KLT Bumchu video)

c) མི་ན་ དར་རྫི་སྐྱིང་ རྒྱ་གར་ན་ འོང་མཁན་ཚུ་ལོ་ འོ་འདེམ་ ཤོག་ཀུ་ མེད་བ་ཛྱད་ལགས།

  mìna   *dardʑiliŋ*   *gjagar=na* *òŋ-kʰɛn=di=lo*   *ódɛm*   *ɕóku*
  down   TPN   India=LOC   come-NMLZ=DEMPH=DAT such   paper
  mɛ̀bbɛ=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་ག་ གྲོང་ གཅིག་ན་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ བྱད།

  t'ã̀ːpu-tɕika   *k'jõ̀ː=tɕi=na*   *míː=tɕiʔ*   ***jø̀ː-kʰɛn*** *bɛʔ*.
  long.ago-APPR   village=INDF=LOC   man= INDF   EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE
  'In a bygone time, there was a man in one village.'

  b) དེབ་ འདི་ ངའི་ རྩར་ མེད་མཁན་ བྱད།

  t'ɛp=di   *ɲèː=tsaː*   ***mèː-kʰɛn*** *bɛʔ*.
  book=DEMPH 1SG.GEN=at   NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
  'I do not have that book.' (KL BLA 12)

The construction *jø̀ː-po bɛʔ*, which allows the existential meaning to be taken from *jø̀ʔ* and the evidential meaning taken from *bɛʔ*, is so common that in spoken language this evidentially neutral existential form (vs. existentials *jø̀ʔ* and *duʔ* which are evidentially loaded) has merged into *jø̀bbɛʔ/jèbbɛʔ* (neg. *mɛ̀bbɛʔ*). The Standard/Lhasa Tibetan (close to) pragmatic equivalent to *jø̀bbɛʔ/jèbbɛʔ* is *jòːreː*, which is etymologically a nominalized construction as suggested by one of the alternative written forms *yod.pa.red* (Denwood 1999: 119, Hill 2010).[276] In Denwood's (1999: 122) analysis of Lhasa Tibetan, *jòːreː* "implies no such first hand knowledge [as *jòː* and *duː*], though it does not specifically rule it out." The same can be said of *jø̀-po bɛʔ* (or *jø̀bbɛʔ/jèbbɛʔ*) in Denjongke. The neutral evidential value of the construction is derived from the last copula *bɛʔ*.

In addition to being used for past events *jø̀-po bɛʔ* and *jø̀ː-kʰɛn bɛʔ* are also used for present events.[277] In these cases, using the simple copula *jø̀ʔ* is not desirable, because the information in the sentence is presented as uncontested, general knowledge. The following three examples exemplify the present uses of *jø̀ː-po bɛʔ* (7.88), *jø̀ː-kʰɛn bɛʔ* (7.89) and *jèbbɛʔ* (7.90), the colloquial equivalent of *jø̀ː-po bɛʔ*.

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[276] In Lhasa Tibetan, however, there is a current distinction between the historically nominalized form *jòːreː* and the synchronically nominalized construction *jø̀-bo-reː* (Denwood 1999: 119).

[277] This is in line with Goldstein, Rimpoche & Phuntshog's (1991: 58) observation on modern literary Tibetan that the nominalizer-copula sequence པ་རེད་ -*pa-red* (cf. Denjongke པོ་ བྱད་ -*po bɛʔ*) following a verb may obtain either past or present habitual meaning.

302

(7.88)　དུས་ ད་རེང་ཡང་ ང་ཚག་ མི་ཚུའི་ ཀང་པའི་ ཐིལ་ལོ་

t'y:　　t'ariŋ=jã:　　ŋàtɕaʔ　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་ ཚོ་འདིའི་ རླབས་ འདྲེ་མོས་

ɲèkjõ:　jə̀-po=di　　　　t'y:　　ódi:　　kap　　ɖɛmø:.278
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་སྟེ་ ཟ་ཟ་པའི་ བརྐྱལ་ ཨིན་ སེ་ ལབ་པའི་

pok-ti　　　sà-sa-wø:　　　　ɕý:　　î:=sɛ　　　làp-ø:
pluck-NF　eat-RDP-2INF.GEN　trace　EQU.PER=QUO　say-2INF.GEN
at that time having plucked and

ལུགས་སྲོལ་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྲད།

lùksø:　　jə̀-po　　　bɛʔ.
tradition　EX-2INF　EQU.NE
eaten (that place).' (rna-gsung 19-20)

(7.89)　ང་ཚིའི་ ཞེབུ་ ཚོ་འདེམ་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྲད།

ŋàtɕi　　lìu　　ódɛm　　kɛ:po　jə̀:-kʰɛn　　bɛʔ.
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-bɛʔ* (7.90) comes from my discussion with one consultant.

(7.90)　ཚོ་ན་ དགོན་པོ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་བ་སྲད།

óna　　gjømpo=tɕiʔ　　jèbbɛʔ.
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 *jèbbɛʔ* 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

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278 This reading-style pronunciation by consultant KT is likely influenced by the spelling, i.e. the final *-s* fronts the vowel.

somewhere (potentially contested knowledge), the speaker would have more likely used the personal evidential *jə̀ʔ* rather than the neutral *jèbbɛʔ*.

Examples (7.91) and (7.92) illustrate the difference between *jə̀ʔ* and *jèbbɛʔ*.

(7.91) བྲིལ་ གི་སྐྱེ་ཏེ་སེ་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་ དངུལ་ ཀེསབ་ ཡོད།

     bil   *gɛits=lo*   *ɲ́:*   *kɛ:p*   ***jə̀ʔ.***

     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) བྲིལ་ གི་སྐྱེ་ཏེ་སེ་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་ དངུལ་ ཀེསབ་ ཡོདབ་སྲེད།

     bil   *gɛits=lo*   *ɲ́:*   *kɛ:p*   ***jèbbɛʔ.***

     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 *jə̀ʔ* and *jèbbɛʔ* is similar to the difference between *t̃:* and *bɛʔ* in (7.49-51). Example (7.92), on the other hand, is a general statement where the connection to a specific sensory event (contra *duʔ*) and personal knowledge (contra *jə̀ʔ*) are backgrounded by using the neutral *jèbbɛʔ*.

The existential construction *jə̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ*, occurring nine times, is more frequent in my data than the equative construction *t̃:-ɕɛ bɛʔ*. The construction *jə̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* resembles in meaning the more frequent present habitual construction *jə̀:-kʰɛn bɛʔ*. Both constructions allow the speaker to express generally holding facts, as in (7.93).

(7.93) a) འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ འབོ་ སྐྱེས་ཏོ་རུམ་ (storeroom) ཀོ་ཐ་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ འདི་ལོ་ ནགསུ་ ཡོད་ཕད་ སྲེད་ འདི་ལོ།

      di=lo=di   *bo:,*   *isto:rum,*   *kotʰa*   *tɕʰuɲtɕuŋ*

      this=DAT=DEMPH   storeroom   storeroom (Eng.)   room(Nep.)   small

      di=lo   *nàksu*   ***jə̀:-ɕɛ***   ***bɛʔ***   *di=lo.*

      this=DAT   dark   EX-INF   EQU.NE   DEMPH=DAT

      'This (is called) [bo], a stroreroom, this small room, it's dark there, that one.'

      (PD storeroom video)

     b) འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ར་ཕུ་ ལབ་ཕད་ སྲེད་, ཀིན་ཚོང་ བཙུག་ཕད་ཀྱི་ ར་ཕུ་ ནོ་ ལྟ་ཕད་ཀྱི་ གཞན་མོ་ར་ ཡོད་ཕད་ སྲེད།

      di=lo=di   *rapʰu*   *làp-ɕɛ*   *bɛʔ,*   *kintsõ:*

      this=DAT=DEMPH   maize.sowing.stick   say-INF   EQU.NE   maize

      tsuk-ɕɛ=ki   *rapʰu.*   *nò:*   *ta-ɕɛ=gi*   *zømø=ra*

      plant-INF=GEN   maize.sowing.stick   cow   look-INF=GEN   other=AEMPH

      jə̀:-ɕɛ   ***bɛʔ.***

      EX=INF   EQU.NE

      'This is called [rapʰu], maize sowing [rapʰu]. There are (or: will be) other (sticks) for herding cows.' (PL interview)

Based on the decreased certainty implied by the equative nonpast construction *t̃:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* (see [7.85]), future research should remain open to the option that in some contexts *jə̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* 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 *t́:*)

The following two subsections discuss personal constructions ending in the personal copula *t́:*, 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 *t́:* 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: t́:*, *ím-bo t́:* and *t́:-ɕɛ t́:*. First consider the use of *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: t́:* in (7.94).

(7.94) ཁུ་ ངའི་ གཉེན་མཚན་ ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན། ཨིན་རུང་ ཁུ་ ངའ་ལོ

kʰu	*ɲè:*	*ɲéntsʰɛ̃:*	**íŋ-kʰɛ̃:**	**t́:.**	*t́: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་ལྟ་ མི་རྒྱབས་ སྲད།

lòkta	*mi-kja(p)*	*bɛʔ*
care	NEG-do	EQU.NE

after me.' (KT e)

In (7.94), by using the emphatic nominalized construction *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: t́:* rather than just *t́:*, 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 that have been neglected ("he is supposed to be"). Using mere *t́:* would simply identify the referent as a relative. In (7.94), the speaker also shows his personal emotional involvement (he is disappointed) by using the personal auxiliary *t́:* rather than neutral *bɛʔ*. The latter clause of (7.94), 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 *t́:* 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) ཁུ་ སྔོན་ལས་ ངའི་ གྲོགས་ཀུ་ ཨིན་པོ་ ཨིན།

kʰu	*ɲénlɛ*	*ɲè:*	*ʈʼoku*	**ím-bo**	**t́:.**
3SGM	before	1SG.GEN	friend	EQU-2INF	EQU.PER

'He was my friend before.' (KT e)

(7.96) ཁུ་ སྔོན་ལས་ ངའི་ གྲོགས་ཀུ་ ཨིན་པོ་ སྲད།

kʰu	*ɲénlɛ*	*ɲè:*	*ʈʼoku*	**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: t̃:* and *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* could also be used in (7.95) and (7.96) instead of *ím-bo t̃:* 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 *t̃:* 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 t̃:* or *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: t̃:* 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) ཁུ་ ངའི་ གྲོགས་ཀུ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན།
      *kʰu   ɲè: t̩'oku   **íŋ-kʰɛ̃:**   **t̃:**.*[279]
      3SGM 1SG.GEN friend   EQU-NMLZ   EQU.PER
      'He was my friend.' (PT e)

(7.98) ཁུ་ ངའི་ གྲོགས་ཀུ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ སྤུད།
      *kʰu   ɲè: t̩'oku   **íŋ-kʰɛn**   **bɛʔ**.*
      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 t̃:* (according to some consultants also *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: t̃:* could be used here), implying emotional involvement, calls for an explanation that is given in the following sentence.

(7.99) མི་ འདི་ སྔོན་མ་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན་པོ་ ཨིན།
      *mí=di   ɲɛ́ma   ámdzi   **ím-bo**   **t̃:**.*
      man=DEMPH   before   doctor   EQU-2INF   EQU.PER
      'Earlier this man was a doctor,

      ད་སྟོ་ཏོ་ འཁོར་ལོ་ སྐུལ་མཁན་ ཐོན་ཚགས་ཀོ་ཤོ།
      t̩'ato=to   kʰorlo   ky:-kʰɛ̃:   tʰøn-tsʰakɛ=ɕo.
      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 *t̃:* and *ím-bo t̃:* can be used in the present meaning, as shown in (7.100) and (7.101).

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[279] PT said that using *ím-bo t̃:* and *ím-bo bɛʔ* in (11.95) and (11.96) would have about the same meaning as *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: t̃:* and *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* respectively but that the former constructions are not actively used in his speech variety.

(7.100) ཁོང་ ངའི་ ཡབ་ ཨིན།

  kʰõ: *ɲè:* *jà:p* ***t́:.***
  3SG.HON 1SG.GEN father.HON EQU.PER
  'He is my father.' (PT e)

(7.101) ཁོང་ ངའི་ ཡབ་ ཨིན་པོ་ ཨིན།

  kʰõ: *ɲè:* *jà:p* ***ím-bo*** ***t́:.***
  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 t́:*) was "more calm," "more polite," "nicer" and "making the listener 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 above, existential copulas have a clear motivation for forming nominalized evidentially neutral constructions, because both of the existentials *jə̀ʔ* and *duʔ* are by themselves evidentially loaded. Among the equative copulas *t́:* and *bɛʔ*, however, it is more challenging to describe the exact difference between the sentences in (7.100).

(7.102) a) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན། *ɲè:* *ápo=di* *ámdzi* *t́:.*
  b) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ སྲེད། *ɲè:* *ápo=di* *ámdzi* *bɛʔ.*
  c) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན་པོ་ སྲེད། *ɲè:* *ápo=di* *ámdzi* *ím-bo bɛʔ.*
  d) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ སྲེད། *ɲè:* *ápo=di* *ámdzi* *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ.*
  e) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན་པོ་ ཨིན། *ɲè:* *ápo=di* *ámdzi* *ím-bo t́:.*
  f) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན། *ɲè:* *ápo=di* *ámdzi* *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: t́:.*
  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 *t́:*, and perhaps also with *bɛʔ*, a past interpretation usually requires a past adverbial. The difference between the personal forms ending in *t́:* (a, e, f) and the neutral forms ending in *bɛʔ* (b, c, d), as already discussed in §7.2.3, 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 *-kʰɛ̃:* appear to be used quite interchangably, but with equatives, *-po* and *-kʰɛ̃:* 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 bɛʔ* (c) instead of *bɛʔ* (b) when they want to emphasize the equative function of *t̀:* (which is backrounded by *bɛʔ*) in contexts where the lone *t̀:* 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.[280]

Nominalized personal equatives can also be formed by the infinitive marker *-ɕɛʔ*. 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) རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་ བླམ་ ཨིན་ནེ་ ཨིན་ཁད་ ཨིན།

       mýtsyʔ   *lám*   *ín-nɛ*   *í̃ː-ɕɛ*   *í̃ː.*

       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)

     b) ཨིན་ཁད་ཏོ་ ཨིན་ཏུ་ ཨ་ཀུ་ རིག་བཟང་ གསུང་པོ་ འདི།

       í̃ː-ɕɛ=to   *í̃ː*   *ɲá*   *áku*   *rigzã:*

       EQU-INF=CEMPH   EQU.PER   TAG.ASR father's.younger.brother   PN

       súm-bo=di.

       say.HON-2INF=DEMPH

       'It is indeed, uncle Rigzang, as (you) said.' (sbar-phung 88)

7.3.2.2.2 Existential constructions

In personal existential constructions, existentiality is expressed by the nominalized copula *jɘ̀-po/jɘ̀-kʰɛ̃ː/jɘ̀ː-ɕɛ(ʔ)* and the personal evidential value by final *í̃ː*. For an example on *jɘ̀-po í̃ː*, consider (7.104).

(7.104)   ང་ ཚོན་ ཡོད་པོའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ལོ་ ཁུ་ཡང་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨིན།

       ŋà   *óna*   *jɘ̀-pø:*   *t'ytsʰø:=lo*   *kʰu=jã:*   *jɘ̀-po*

       1SG   there   EX-2INF.GEN   time=DAT   3SGM=too   EX-2INF

       í̃ː.

       EQU.PER

       'At the time I was there, he was (there) too.' (YR e)

In (7.104) the speaker uses the nominalized construction *jɘ̀-po* rather than the mere copula *jɘ̀ʔ* because *jɘ̀ʔ* 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 *í̃ː* rather than the neutral *bɛʔ* 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 *jɘ̀ː-kʰɛ̃ː í̃ː=ɕo* could be used in place of *jɘ̀-po í̃ː=ɕo*.

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[280] For eventive/dynamic verbs, the infinitivizer *-po/bo* has in effect become a past tense marker, e.g. *sà-bo í̃ː > sà-u í̃ː* 'ate', but for stative verbs the nominalized form can be used in the present meaning, e.g. *ga-bo í̃ː > ga-u í̃ː* 'love'. Therefore the copulas side with stative verbs in letting the context be the final arbiter with reference to present vs. past interpretation.

(7.105) ཨེ, དེབ་ འདི་ ངའི་ རྩར་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨིན་གོ།

 ɛ́:   t'ɛp=di=to   ɲè:=tsa: **jə̀-po**   ĭ:=ɕo.[281]

 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 *jə̀-po* is used instead of mere *jə̀ʔ* because the speaker makes reference to a past point of time. He had the book when his friend was looking for it. Using mere *jə̀ʔ* (or *jə̀:=ɕo*) 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 *ĭ:* 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 *jə̀:-ɕɛ ĭ:* in my data, consider (7.106). In (7.106a), the glide /j/ in the existential is reduced to /ɦ/.

(7.106) a) བི་ཨཱར་ (beer) ཡོད་ཤད་ ཨིན་གོ།

 biər   ***ɦɛ:-ɕiŋ**=ɕo.*[282]

 beer(Eng.)   EX-NPST.PER=AT

 'There's beer (inside), you know.'(oh, Tashiding)

 b) ང་ ཐོ་རངས་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ དགུ་ལོ་ ཁྲོམ་ན་ ཡོད་ཤད་ ཨིན།

 ŋà   *tʰorã:*   *tɕʰutsʰøʔ*   *gu:=lo*   *tʰom=na*   ***jə̀:-ɕɛ***   ***ĭ:.***

 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), *jə̀:-ɕɛ ĭ:* can refer to both currently holding (7.106a) and future states (7.106b). The latter use distinguishes *jə̀:-ɕɛ ĭ:* from *jə̀:-kʰẽ̀: ĭ:*, which can refer to present but not future states. Although the exact semantics of *jə̀:-ɕɛ ĭ:* 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 *ĭ:-ɕɛ ĭ:*, emphatic/assertive compared to mere *jə̀ʔ*. That is, whereas mere *jə̀ʔ* 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 =*ɕo* 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.

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[281] As already shown in (7.5), with the personal copula *ĭ:* the attention-worthiness marked by =*ɕo* is addressee-oriented.
[282] Some speakers pronounce [ɦ] for initial /j/ when it is followed by a front vowel. Rounded vowels also tend to get unrounded, especially with younger speakers. As a result of these two changes, /jə̀ʔ/ may be pronounced as /ɦeʔ~ɦɛʔ/. The form -*ɕĩ:* is a reduction of -*ɕɛ ĭ:*

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 ཨིན་ *'ing*, a cognate of Written Tibetan ཡིན་ *yin*, similarly to Denjongke *í·*) and newly acquired information (marked by ཨིན་པས་ *'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 *bɛʔ*, which marks evidential neutrality and spatiotemporal distance. Although the Denjongke sensorial equative *induʔ* (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.*[283]
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Table 7.3. Dzongkha copulas (adapted from van Driem 1998)

	Assimilated (old)	Aqcuired (new)
Equative	ཨིན་ *'ing*	ཨིན་པས་ *'immä*
Existential	ཡོད་ *jö*	འདུག་ *du:*

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 *'immä*, which marks newly acquired knowledge. The meaning of Denjongke *í·,* 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 *bɛʔ*, 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 1st 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)

ʔཁོ་ དགེ་རྒན་ ཡིན།

ʔkho   dge.rgan   yin.

he   teacher   COP

'ʔHe is a teacher.'

'He (my son) is a teacher.'

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[283] I came across the first instance of *induʔ* 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.

(7.108)   Denjongke
　　　　 ཁོང་ སློབ་དཔོན་ ཨིན།
　　　　 kʰõ:　　*lópø̃:*　　*í:.*
　　　　 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 *í:* (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 ˉ*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་སློབ་ཕྲུག་ཡིན།
　　　　 ˉ*koŋ*　　ˋ*labʈuu 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 *jø̀ʔ*) 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[284], 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.[285]

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.[286]

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

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[284] 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).

[285] Other factors influencing the issue are the age of the consultants, dialectal differences and the researchers ways of describing.

[286] For another example where a difference between spoken and written language gives evidence to diachronic change in evidentiality, see the comment on Denwood (1999) under example (9.18).

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[287] 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 *bɛʔ*, 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 1st person 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

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[287] 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.

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*

Speaker's knowledge $\longrightarrow$	Speaker's involvement $\longrightarrow$	Required first person syntax

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[288], 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.

Sometimes the syntactically motivated terms "disjunct" (equivalents of *bɛʔ/duʔ*) and "conjunct" (equivalents of *ĩ̀·/jə̀ʔ*), 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

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[288] 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."

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 in 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 *-tɕɛ* stands for *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ* (past marker) and *-po* for *-po/bo/u* (infinitivizer). The auxiliary copulas referred to in Table 8.1 are equatives *ĩ̀ː* and *bɛʔ* (EQU) and existentials *jə̀ʔ, duʔ* and (less frequently) *jɛ̀bbɛʔ* (EX).

Table 8.1. Past constructions

Name	Form	Function
past	VERB-*tɕɛ*	past action
periphrastic past	VERB-*po* EQU (*dynamic verb*)	
	VERB-*po* EQU (*stative verb*)	past or present state
completive	VERB -*tsʰaː*	completed action
secondary verb 'finish'	VERB *mjõ̀ː* (inflects like an ordinary verb)	having completed/finished or experienced the action marked by the primary verb
perfect	VERB(-RDP)-*po* EX	past action/state with present relevance
resultative	VERB *jə̀ʔ*	continuity of the results of an action (dynamic verbs), continuity of state (stative verbs)
sensorial past/present	VERB *duʔ*	sensorially attested (action or its results) present or past action/state
secondary resultative verb	VERB *ʑaː* EX VERB *ʑak-o* EQU	emphasizes the lasting effect of a past action
iterative past	VERB-*po* VERB-*kjã̀ː* EQU VERB-*po*(=*lɛ*) VERB-*tɕim* EQU	iterativity

8.1.1 Past forms

Denjongke has two ways of expressing past tense, through the past verbal suffix *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ* and through a periphrastic construction VERB-*po* EQU, where the verb root is infinitivized with *-po/bo/u* and then

315

followed by an equative copula. The equative copula is either *íː* or *bɛʔ*, 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', *jòʔ* 'exist'), the construction may refer either to present or past states. Therefore the nominalizer/infinitivizer *-po/bo/u* is always glossed as an infinitive (2INF) and not as a past marker.

The suffix *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ*, on the other hand, is evidentially non-committed and does not need any additional morphology for finishing a sentence. For an example on *-tɕɛ/ʑɛ*, consider (8.1) and (8.2):

(8.1) ང་མདང་ཐོང་ཆེ་ཨོ་ན།

ŋà	*dã̀ː*	**tʰõ̀ː-tɕɛ**	*óna.*
1SG	yesterday	see-PST	there

'I saw (it) yesterday, there.' (DB trip story)

(8.2) ཕར་ཕྱིན་པའི་སྐང་ལོ་འགག་ཚ་རྒྱབས་ཆེ་ལགས།

pʰaː	*tɕʼøm-bøː*	*gã̀ː=lo*	*gagdza*	**kjap-tɕɛ**=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 *-tɕɛ* imposes an eventive reading on the usually stative verb *ɕéː* 'know'.

(8.3) ཉིམ་གསུམ་ནང་པ་ ཁྱུན་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ ག་ཚོང་ ཤེས་ཆེ, ཐྐ་སྐད་ ག་ཚོང་ ཤེས་ཆེ?

ɲìm	*súm*	*nàŋɕa*	*ḷɛŋɛː=ki*	*kʼadzøʔ*	**ɕéː-tɕɛ,**	*ḷɛkɛʔ*	*kʼadzøʔ*
day	three	within	PRN.HON=AGT	how.much	know-PST	Lhoke	how.much

ɕéː-tɕɛ?
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) ཨོ་འདེམ་ འདི་ ངའ་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཨིན།

ódɛm=di	*ŋáː*	**tʰoː-po**	*íː.*
like.that=DEMPH	I.AGT	hear-2INF	EQU.PER.

'I heard (a thing) like that.' (KN e)

(8.5) ཕར་ཕྱིན་པའི་སྐང་ལོ་འགག་ཚ་མང་པུ་ཅིག་ཨོ་འདེབ་སྟེ་རྒྱབས་པོ་སྐད།

pʰaː	*tɕʼøm-bøː*	*gã̀ː=lo*	*gagdza*	*màŋpu=tɕiʔ*	*ódɛpti*
over.there	come.HON-2INF.GEN	time=DAT	obstacle	many=INDF	like.that

kjap-o *bɛʔ.*
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 *-tɕɛ* and *-po bɛʔ* in (8.2) and (8.5) respectively, except the fact that *-tɕɛ* remains evidentially neutral by definition and

316

that the periphrastic construction *-po bɛʔ* is evidentially neutral *by choice*, i.e. because the neutral copula *bɛʔ* is chosen instead of the personal copula *ı̃́ː*, which may also occur in this construction. In elicitation, speakers have not been able to describe any semantic 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:[289]

(8.6) ལགས་སོ། ད་ལྟ་ང་འགྱུ་པོ་ཨིན།

    làso, t'ato ŋà   **gju-wo**[290]   *ı̃́ː.*
    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་ བརྩག་གོ་ གནང་མཁན་ འདི་ སྣང་མེད་ ཐོན་པོ་ སྦད།

    màoŋpøː=na   *kɛː=di*   *jàrgɛʔ*   *ma-tʰøn-na=di*   *kʰõː=tsu*
    future.GEN=LOC language=DEMPH   proress NEG-happen-COND=DEMPH   3PL=PL
    zi   *tsuk-o*   *nã̌ː-kʰɛ̃ː=di*   *nã̌ːmèʔ* neglected   **tʰøm-bo**   *bɛʔ.*
    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་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ བཀའ་ གནང་གནངམ་ ཨིན།

    guru rimputɕʰɛ=gi   *ódɛp*   *ka*   **nã̌ː-nã̃ː-m**   *ı̃́ː.*
    Guru Rimpoche=AGT   like.that order do.HON-RDP-2INF   EQU.PER
    'Guru Rimpoche has said so.' (CY interview)

(8.9) ངའི་ ནུམ་ སཻ་ལི་ (Nep.) འདི་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ ཨིན།

    ɲèː   *nùm*   *saili*[291]*=di*   *ɲén*   **kjap-kjap-o**
    1SG.GEN sister.of.a.woman   third.daughter=DEMPH wedding   do-RDP-2INF
    ı̃́ː.
    EQU.PER
    'My younger sister (who is the third daughter of my parents) is married.' (PED life story)

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[289] 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.

[290] Or *gjuː* [go.NMLZ]

[291] This is a loan from Nepali. The equivalent Denjongke expression is *nùm súmpo* 'third sister (of female)'.

Reduplication is more characteristic of the perfect construction VERB-RDP-2INF EX, which is introduced in §8.1.4. It is difficult to say what the exact semantic difference is between periphrastic (reduplicated) past *ka nǎː-nã̌ː-m t̃́ː* and perfect *ka nǎː-nã̌ː-m jò̌ʔ* 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 clause is underlined by the presence of the contrastive emphatic *=to* and the conjunction *t'izã̌ː* 'but' in the following clause.

(8.10)   གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ མི་སར་ཏོ་ སོང་པོའི་ སོང་པོ་ ཨིན་ དེ་ཟང་

         ɲén   *kjap-ti*   *mísaː=to*   **sǒ̌ː-bø̌ː**   **sǒ̌ː-bo**   *t̃́ː*
         wedding   do-NF   new.person=CEMPH go.PFV-2INF.GEN go.PFV-2INF   EQU.PER
         t'izã̌ː…
         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 bɛʔ])*, by the prefix *mi-* (e.g. *mi-lap[-o bɛʔ]*) or by negating the final copula (e.g. *làp-o mɛmbɛʔ*). The prefix *ma-* is the most frequent, neutral way of negating a past action, see (8.11).

(8.11)   a) ཨ་ཞང་གི་ སློུ་.²⁹² འདི་ མུས་ མ་ཐོས།

            ázaŋ=gi   *lóu=di*   *múː*   **ma-tʰoː.**
            maternal.uncle=GEN   speech=DEMPH   3SGF.AGT   NEG-hear
            'She didn't hear the uncle's words.' (SN kitchen discussion)

          b) སློབ་གྲྭ་ འགྱུ་ མ་ཐོབ་པོ་ བྱད།

            lópʈa   *gju*   **ma-tʰop-o**   *bɛʔ.*
            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)   ཚོ་འདི་ སྐབས་ ད་ འདི་ཁར་ དངུལ་ ལབ་མཁན་ ལེགས་ མི་ཐོན་པོ་ བྱད།
         ódi   *gã̌ː*   *t'a*   *dikʰa*   *ɲý̌ː*   *làp-kʰɛ̃̌ː*   *lèm*   **mi-tʰɛm-bo**   *bɛʔ.*
         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་ནུབ་པོ་ བྱད།
         mi-nù̌p-o   *bɛʔ.*
         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

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²⁹² An innovative Denjongke spelling inspired by Dzongkha སློུ་ 'mind; conversation, speech, talk, word'.

speaker first expresses disagreement with the addressee by the negated interjection *mɛ̃ː, mɛ̃ː* '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.

(8.14)　 མན, མན, ངའི་ མིང་གཏམ་གྱི་ དོན་ལོ་ ང་གིས་ གཡོག་ འདི་ བྱས་པོ་ མན།

　　　　mɛ̃ː,　　　　　*mɛ̃ː,*　　　　　*ɲèː*　　*mìŋtam=gi*　　*t'ønlo*　　　*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)　རྒྱལ་མཚན་ ང་གིས་ ཆོད་ལོ་ དོན་མེད་ བདག་མེད་ཀྱི་ གཏམ་ བཤད་པོ་ མན།

　　　　gjaltsʰɛn　　*ŋáː=gi*　　*tɕʰɸ̀ː=lo*　　*t'ønmeʔ da:meː=ki*　*tam*　　**ɕɛ́-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་སྟོ་ ང་ཚག་ ག་རེ་ ཞུ་བ་ བཅར་པོ་ མན། དེ་ལོ་ ང་ཚག་ ད་རིང་ ན་ སར་ (Sir) ཀྱུར་ མཇལ་བ་ བཅར་པོ་ ཨིན།

　　　　t'ato ŋàtɕaʔ k'arɛ　　*ɕù-wa*　**tɕa:-bo**　　　**mɛ̃ː.**　　　*t'ɛ:lo*
　　　　now 1PL　　anything　ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EQU.NE　just.like.that
　　　　ŋàtɕaʔ t'ariŋ　*nà: sər=tsa:*　　*dʑɛ:-wa*　**tɕa:-bo**　　** í:.**
　　　　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་སྦྱོང་ འདི་ ང་རང་ གཅིག་གུས་ བྲི་པོ་ མན། ཨ་པ་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ བྲི་རོགས་ གནང་པོ་ ཨིན།

　　　　nã̀ːdzõː=di　　　*ŋà=rã̀ː*　　*tɕiku* **t'i-u**　　　**mɛ̃ː.**
　　　　exercise=DEMPH　1SG=REFL　only　write-2INF NEG.EQU.PER
　　　　ápa=laː=ki=jã̀ː　　　*t'i-roʔ*　　**nã́ː-bo**　　　　　**í:.**
　　　　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་སྟེ་ གཙོ་སྨྱི་ བློན་པོ་མཆོག་གིས་ ང་ཚག་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ ལྷོ་པོ་ མི་རིགས་ལོ་ མ་གནང་པོ་ མན་སྲིད།

t'ato sã̀:tɛ tsotɕi   lɛ̀mpu=tɕʰo:=ki   ŋàtɕaʔ ɖɛndzoŋ=gi   ḷopo
now until chief   minster=honorable=AGT 1PL   Sikkim=GEN   Lhopo
míri=lo   **ma-nã́:-bo**   **mɛ̀mbɛʔ,**   kɛ:po nã̀:   za: jɵ̀ʔ.
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) དེ་ ཨོ་ན་ལས་ ང་ཚག་ ངལ་འཚོ་ རྒྱབས།

tɛ ónalɛ   ŋàtɕaʔ   ɲè:tsʰo: **kjap.**
so then   1PL   resting   do
'Then we rested.' (DB trip story)

(8.20) གྲ་ཤག་ བཟོ།

ḷ'aɕaʔ   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 ཚར་ *tshar* 'complete' and denotes a completed action. The completion of action is illustrated in (8.21) where *-tsʰa:* is contrasted with the past marker *-tɕɛ*. 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་ སློག་ཚར།

dã̀:   ŋá: t'ɛp=tɕiʔ **ḍok-tsʰa:.**
yesterday I.AGT book=INDF read-CMPL
'Yesterday I finished reading a book.' (NB e)

b) མདང་ ངས་ དེབ་ གཅིག་ སློག་ཆེ།

dã̀:   ŋá: t'ɛp=tɕiʔ **ḍok-tɕɛ.**
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).

320

(8.22) ང་ཚའི་ཡབ་གྲོངས་སྟེ་ལོ་གཉིས་ཚོད་ ས�│ེབས་ཚར།

ŋàtɕi   jà:p   ʈʼõ̀:-ti   lò   ɲí:-tsʰøʔ   ɭɛp-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) ད་ཙོ་ད་ � འི་བར་ (driver)[293] ཐོན་ཚར་ བྱད།

tʼato tʼa   draivər   tʰøn-tsʰa: bɛʔ.[294]
now then driver(Eng.)   become-CMPL EQU.NE
'Now he's become a driver.' (KN e)

(8.24) ཁུ་ འོང་ཚར་ འདུག་ཀེ།

kʰu   òn-tsʰa   du-kɛ.
3SGM come-CMPL   EX.SEN-IN
'He's arrived.' (KN e)

(8.25) a) ད་ཙོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གཱ་རི་ སྲེབས་ཚོའུ་ བྱད།

tʼato tʰamtɕɛʔ   gari   ɭɛp-tsʰo-u   bɛʔ.
now all   car   reach-CMPL-2INF   EQU.NE
'Now everything has arrived by car.' (RBM discussion on the roof)

    b) དེ་ཟ྄ར་ ང་ཚའི་ འདི་ ཚོ་འདི་ སྲད་ ད་ མི་བཙུག་ ལབ་སྟེ་ བཞག་སྟེ་ཀི་ འདི་ ལོ་ བཙུ་ཐམ་པ་ ལྷད་ཚོའུ་ བྱད།

tʼizã̀: ŋàtɕi=di   ódi   gã̀: tʼa   mi-tɕuʔ   làp-ti
but   1PL.GEN=DEMPH   that   time now NEG-insert say-NF
ʐak-tiki=di   lò   tɕu-tʰamba   lɛ̀:-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་ ལོག་ཚར་པོ་ ཨིན་ནམ?

kʰim=na   lòk-tsʰo-u   ɲám?[295]
house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF   EQU.ATTQ
'Has he returned home, I wonder?' (Richhi 24)

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[293] The equivalent word in Denjongke given by consultant YR is ཉུམ་འཁོར་ བསྐུལ་མཁན་ ɲum-kʰor ky:-kʰɛ̃: [oil-wheel drive-NMLZ].

[294] The original utterance has the verb ending tʰøn-tsʰa-kɛ=ɛo [become-CMPL-IN=AT] but the consultant also re-uttered the clause with tʰøn-tsʰa bɛʔ.

[295] This pronunciation represents typical spoken language. Reading-style pronunciation would be lòk-tsʰa:-bo.

d) དེ་ ཨོ་འདེ་ཙིག་ཁར་ ད་ ང་མོ་ འདི་ཚུ་ དོས་ འབག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་བའི་གི་, འགྱུ་ཡད་ཀྱི་ དུས་ཚོད་ སླེབས་ཚར་མཁན་ སྲད།

tɛ	*ódɛtɕika*	*t'a*	*ŋámo*	*di=tsu*	*t'oʔ*	*bak-ti*
then	that.time	now	camel	these=PL	load	carry-NF

gju-wøː=gi,	*gju-ɕɛ=ki*	*t'ytsʰøʔ*	*ḷɛp-**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, 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 *-tɕɛ/zɛ* to a nominalized form would be the only such example in my data.

(8.26)   བྱོན་ཚོའུ་ཞེ།

tɕ'øn	***tsʰou-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)   བྱག་ལས་ འོག་སྟེ་ ང་ལོ་ རྡོ་ འགྱིལ་ བཏང་སྟེ་ ངའི་ རྒྱབ་ཁར་ རྡོ་ གཅིག་ ཕོག་ཚར་ཏོ་ལོ།

p'jaː=lɛ	*òtɛ*	*ŋà=lo*	*do*	*ḍiː*	*tã:-di*	*ŋèː*	*gjapkʰa*
precipice=ABL	down	1SG=DAT	stone	fall	send-NF	1SG.GEN	back

do=tɕiʔ	***pʰok-tsʰa=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 *-tsʰa(ː)*, consider §9.1.3.

8.1.3   Secondary verb *mjõ̀ː* 'finish, experience'

The verb *mjõ̀ː* སྨྱོང་ '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 སྨྱོང་ *myong* 'experience'. It is likely that after having developed the meaning 'finish, complete' *mjõ̀ː* has pushed the earlier verb *tsʰaː* with a similar meaning 'complete, finish' from ordinary verbhood towards becoming a grammatical completive marker. The secondary verb *mjõ̀ː* 'finish' differs from the completive morpheme *tsʰaː* in that in addition to the serialized construction *mjõ̀ː* can occur in a nonfinal converbal construction (with little difference in meaning) whereas *tsʰaː* cannot, e.g. *sà-ti mjõ̀ː* 'finished eating', **sà-ti tsʰaː.*.

The use of *mjõ̀ː* referring to finished action is illustrated by (8.28) and (8.29).

(8.28)   ཐམས་ཅད་ བྱས་ སྨྱོང་ སྲད།

tʰamtɕɛʔ	***p'ja***	***mjõ̀ː***	*bɛʔ.*
all	do	finish	EQU.NE

'(We) finished doing all.' (DB life story)

322

(8.29) ཚོ་ན་ སྐུ་ཡོན་ བཞེས་ སྐྱོང་།

      óna   *kujõ̀:*   ***ʑe:***   ***mjõ̀:.***

      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) མེ་ཏོག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཤར་ཤར་པོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཁུ་གིས་ འཇིབ་ སྐྱོང་།

      mìnto   *tʰamʨɛʔ*   *ɕá:-ɕa-p*   *tʰamʨɛʔ kʰu=gi*   ***dʑip mjõ̀:.***

      flower all   blossom-RDP-2INF   all   3SGM=AGT   suck experience

      'All flowers, all the blossoming ones he had experienced sucking (the nectar out of).' (RS bee story)

(8.31) ད་ལྟའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ བསྟོད་གླུ་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ རྒྱབས་མཁན་ ངས་ ཐོས་ མ་སྐྱོང་།

      t'atø: *t'ytsʰøʔ*   *nàŋɕa=lo*   *ty:lu* *ódɛm* *kjap-kʰɛ̃:*   *ŋá:*   ***tʰo:***

      now.GEN   season   inside=DAT   ode   like.that strike-NMLZ   1SG.AGT   hear

      ma-mjõ̀:.

      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.[296] In (8.32), the statement has present relevance because the speaker is going to reclaim an old loan.

(8.32) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཞིང་ལས་ རྒྱབས་ཏེ་ཀི་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཕྱུ་ཀུ་ ཕྱུ་ཀུ་ ཕྱུ་ཀུ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐབང་ རང་གི་ ཨ་པ་གིས་ ངའི་ ཨ་པའི་ རྩ་ལས་ ཊི་རུག་ བདུན་བཅུ་ཐམ་པ་ འབག༔ སོང་སོང་པོ་ ཡོད་ སེ་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།

      ɲè: *ápo=di*   *ódɛp*   *ɕìŋ-lɛ:*   *kjap-tiki ódɛp*   *pʰjuku* *pʰjuku*

      1SG.GEN father=DEMPH   like.that field-work do-NF   like.that rich   rich

      pʰjuku *jø̀-pø:*   *gã:*   *raŋ=gi* *ápa=gi* *ɲè:*   *ápø:*   *tsa=lɛ*

      rich   EX-2INF.GEN   time 2SG.M=GEN father=AGT 1SG.GEN father.GEN at=ABL

      tiruʔ   *dynʨu-tʰamba*   ***bak-sõ̀:-sõ̀:-bo***   ***jø̀:=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)

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[296] 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."

(8.33) འདི་ལས་ ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ དེ་ ད་ལྟོ་ ན་ ཡུ་རོབ་ པོ་ལེན་ (Europe Poland) ལབ་ས་ ནང་ཁ་ ང་ སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ གཅིག་ མཉམ་ ལུ་ ཆོས་ སླབ་བཞིན་ ཕྱུ་ སྡོད་པོ་ ཡོད།

dilɛ   ódi   gjablɛ   ŋà   tɛ   t'ato   nà: jurop   po:lɛn   làp-sa
then   that   after   1SG so   now   here Europe   Poland   say-NMLZ.SPAT
nàŋɛa   ŋà   t'y:ku   tɕʰuŋtɕuŋ=tɕiʔ   ɲámpu   tɕʰoʔ
inside   1SG   reincarnated.teacher   small=INDF   with   doctrine
ḻap-ẓin-p'ja   **dø:-po**   **jøʔ.**
teach-PROG-ADVZR   stay-2INF   EX.PER
'Then after that I have been staying here in Europe, Poland, teaching a small tulku
(reincarnated Buddhist teacher).' (RB life story)

(8.34) ར་ཚོ་ སྟོན་སྟོན་པོ་ འདུག་གོ།

rodzou   **tɛn-tɛm-bo**   **du-kɛ.**
horns   show-RDP-2INF   EX.SEN-IN
'(Its) horns are out showing (as I see in the picture).' (KN e)

(8.35) འདི་ སྒྲོམ་ན་ བྲི་བྲི་པོ་ ཡོད་བ་སྲེད།

di   ɖom=na   **t'ì-ṭi-u**   **jɛ̀bbɛʔ.**
this box=LOC   write-RDP-2INF   EX.NE
'It's written (something) 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 the special negated construction VERB-ɕy: NEG.EX (8.38-39).

(8.36) a) ང་ ད་ལྟོ་ ཟང་སྟེ་ བྲས་གེ་ཏ་སྦོལ་ (basketball) རྩེད་རྩེད་པོ་ མེད།
        ŋà   t'ato   sằ:tɛ   baskɛtbol   **tsi-tsi-u**   **mèʔ.**
        1SG now   until   basketball   play-RDP-2INF   NEG EX.PER
        'I haven't played basketball so far (in my life).' (KN e)

     b) ཨོ་འདི་ ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གི་ གནང་གནང་པོ་ མིན་འདུག་ཆོ་ལགས།
        ódi   tɕʰøgɛ:=gi   **nằ:-nằ:-bo**   **mìnduk=ɕo=la.**
        that   king=AGT   do.HON-RDP-2INF   NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON
        'That hadn't been done by the king, you know.' (CY interview)

     c) ད་རིང་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ང་ཚག་ ག་རེ་ ཞུ་བ་ བཅར་པོ་ མེད།
        t'ariŋ   sằ:tɛ   ŋàtɕaʔ   k'arɛ   ɕù-wa   **tɕa:-bo**   **mèʔ.**
        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) མནེ་མུ་ རོགས་ཚུས་ ང་ལོ་ ག་ན་འདི་ གསུང་པོ་ མེད་ཀ?
        nɛ́:mu   ro:=tsu   ŋà=lo   k'anɖɛ: **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་ཁུའི་ རྩར་ འགྱུ་བོ་ མེད།

    *ŋà kʰu=i=tsaː **gju-wo** **mèʔ**.*
    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་ འགྱུ་བོ་ མེད།

    *ŋà siliguru **gju-wo** **mèʔ**.*
    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 *-ɕyː*, which etymologically likely derives from WT ཤུལ་ *shul* 'trace, remains'. Therefore *-ɕyː* is here tentatively glossed as 'trace', which fits the clausal meaning. In the novel Richhi, both the forms ཤུལ་ *shul* and ཤུས་ *shus* occur in writing.

(8.38) ང་ ད་ཙོ་ ཟང་སྟེ་ བྲས་ཀེཏ་བྷོལ་ (basketball) རྩེད་ཤུལ་ མེད།

    *ŋà tʼato sãːtɛ baskɛtbol **tsiː-ɕyː** **mèʔ**.*
    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་ གསལ་དགས་[297] ཕྱས་སྟེ་ གན་འདེ་ བྲི་ཤུལ་ མིན་འདུག།

    *jìgiː=na=lo[298] sɛ́ːʈaʔ pʼja-ti kʼaŋɖɛː **ʈʼi-ɕyː** **minduʔ**.*
    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-*ɕyː* NEG.EX is further illustrated in the question-answer-pair (8.40):

(8.40) a) ད་ཙོ་ བྷའི་ལའི་ལགས་ ག་ཏེ་ ཡོད?

    tʼato bhaila kʼatɛ jòʔʔ?
    now PN how EX.PER
    'How is Bhaila now?'

---

[297] There is most likely a spelling-mistake here, the right spelling being གསལ་དགས་.

[298] 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 analyze *nalo* as a postposition meaning 'inside'. For case-stacking, see §3.7.1.3.

b) ད་རུང་ ཞིམ་ བྱས་ དྲག་ཤུས་ མེད།

    t'aruŋ   *lèm-p'ja*   **ʈ'ak-ɕy:**   **mèʔ.**

    yet   good-ADVZR   be.cured-trace   NEG.EX.PER

    'He hasn't recovered well yet.' (Richhi 26)

The positive construction VERB-*ɕy:* 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་ ནམ་ལོ་ཡང་ སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སླེབས་ཆེ་ག?

        rã: *nàm=lo=jã:*   *síliguri*   *ḷɛp-tɕɛ-ga?*

        2SG.M   when=DAT=even   TPN   arrive-PST-PQ

        'Did you ever go to Siliguri?' (NAB e)

    b) ང་ སླེབས་ཤུལ་ ཡོད།

        ŋà   **ḷɛp-ɕy:**   **jòʔ.**

        1SG   arrive-trace   EX.PER

        '(Yes) I have gone (there).' (NAB e)

(8.42)   ནད་པོའི་ གནས་སྟངས་ ཚབ་ཆེ་ཤུས་ ཡོད་ཤད་ འདིས་ གཱ་རྨ་གིས་ ནད་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ དེ་ལ�លི་ བཏང་ཤད་ བྱས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

    nὲ:pø: *né:tã:*   **tsʰaptɕɛ-ɕy:**[299]   **jò:-ɕɛ=di:**   *karma=gi*

    patient.GEN   condition   become.severe-trace   EX-INF=DEMPH.AGT   PN=AGT

    nὲ:po=di=lo   *dilli*   *tã:-ɕɛʔ*   *p'ja-zɛ̃:*   *jòʔ.*

    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, *jòʔ* 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) མྱད་ཙྱད་ཀྱིས་[300] ན་ བཞག་ ཡོད།

        mýtsy=ki   *nà:*   **za:**   **jòʔ.**

        others=AGT   here   set   EX.PER

        'Others have placed (them) here.' (RS language situation)

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[299] Consultant KN (Martam) suspected that there might be a mistake here because in his language variety *-sy:* would be used here instead of *-ɕy:* as a diminutiave 'a bit serious'.

[300] Some spell this word ཨེ་ཚའི་ instead of ཙྱད་ཙྱད་.

b) རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་ ན་ བཞག་(བཞག་གོ་) མེད།

    *mýtsy=ki   nà: **zak(-zak-o)**   **mèʔ.***

    others=AGT   here set(-RDP-2INF)   NEG.EX.PER

    'Others have not placed (them) here.' (KN e)

(8.44) a) ང་ སླེབས་ ཡོད།

    *ŋà **ḷɛp** **jɔ̀ʔ.***

    1SG arrive EX.PER

    'I have arrived.' (KN e)

    b) ང་ སླེབས་ མེད།   /   ང་ མ་སླེབས།

    *ŋà **ḷɛp** **mèʔ.**   *ŋà **ma-ḷɛp.***

    1SG arrive EX.PER   1SG NEG-arrive

    'I haven't arrived.'   'I did not arrive.' (KN e)

Note that *jɔ̀ʔ* may occur in a complex construction, as exemplified by *jɔ̀:ɕɛ bɛʔ* in the irrealis/future in (8.45).

(8.45) ཨོ་འདིའི་ ཁ་ལ�. མན་ན་ ང་གིས་ ནོར་འཁྲུལ་ཏོ་ བྱ་ ཡོད་ཁད་ སྲེད།

    *ódi: kʰatɛ   mèn-nɛ   ŋá:=gi   nòrʈʰy:=to   **p'ja***

    that.GEN speaking.manner NEG.EQU-COND 1SG=AGT mistake=CEMPH do

    jɔ̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ.

    EX-INF EQU.NE

    'If he does not have speaking manners, I will have made a mistake.' (Nga'i 'gan 13)

With stative verbs, the meaning focuses on continuity:

(8.46) མེ་ཏོག་ སེར་པོ་ དམར་པོ་ དཀར་པོ་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ནང་ལོ་ ཤར་ ཡོད།

    mìnto   sérpo,   márpo,   karpo[301] *ḍɛndzõ: nàŋlo   **ɕá:**   **jɔ̀ʔ.***

    flower yellow red   white   Sikkim inside   blossom   EX.PER

    'Yellow, red and·white flowers are in blossom in Sikkim.' (song lyrics)

According to consultant KN, (8.46) can be negated by replacing a negated copula for the affirmed one, i.e. *ɕá: mèʔ.*

    When used in the resultative construction, the verb *døʔ* '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་ སྟེང་ལོ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

    *kʰõ: ɲí:-tɕa   t'ato ɲɛ̀:ʈʰi: tɛŋlo **dø:** **jɔ̀ʔ.***

    3PL two-pair now bed.GEN on   sit   EX.PER

    'The two of them are now sitting on the bed.' (Richhi 18)

---

[301] 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.

8.1.6 Sensorial resultative/past

The construction VERB *duʔ*, 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 *jòʔ* is that whereas *jòʔ* implies that the resulted state continues at the time of speech, *duʔ* only makes reference to an event where knowledge was gained and remains uncommitted as to whether the state is still ongoing. A construction with *duʔ* 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   mílaʔ   zi   **dzom   duʔ**.*
         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 §8.1.4):

(8.49)   ད་རིང་ མི་ལག་ བཞི་ འཛོམས་པོ་ མིན་འདུག།
         *t'ariŋ   mílaʔ   zi   **dzom-bo   mìnduʔ**.*
         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 *(pʰa)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.

(8.50)   ད་རིང་ མི་ལག་ བཞི་ (པ)གེ་ འཛོམས་པོ་ མིན་འདུག།
         *t'ariŋ   mílaʔ   zi   **(pʰa)gɛ   dzom   mìnduʔ**.*
         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་ སོང་ འདུག།
            *tsʰo=na   dza   **sùk   sǒː   duʔ**.*
            lake=LOC   rainbow   pierce   go.PFV   EX.SEN
            'A rainbow is touching (or: has come and touched) the lake.' (DB, describing a picture)

b) མཚོ་ན་འཇའ་རྗུག་(གོ་) མེན་འདུག །

  tsʰo=na   dza   sùk(-o)   mìnduʔ.
  lake=LOC   rainbow   pierce(-2INF) NEG.EX.SEN
  'There is no rainbow touching the lake.' (KN e)

Note that in the negated version (8.51b) the secondary verb *sǒː* is elided and the main verb may occur with the nominalizer or without.

   The knowledge on which the statement with the construction VERB *duʔ* is based can be gained either through direct observation of the verbal event, as in (8.48-51) above[302], or through observing the results of past action, as in (8.52).

(8.52)   མདང་ ཁ་ཉུབ་ལོ་ ང་ཚག་ ཕོའུ་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་ སྟོད་པའི་ སྐབས་ ལྨ་ གཅིག་ འཐུ་ འབག་ ལོང་ སོང་ འདུག་ཀེ །

  dã: kʰaːnuː=lo   ŋàtɕaʔ pʰou   jóʔ
  yesterday the.day.before.yesterday=DAT   1PL   over.there   work
  kjap deː-pøː: gã: à:m=tɕiʔ[303]   tʰu   bak   lǒː: sǒː: 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 *duʔ* 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 *duʔ*. For the close connection of sensorial and inferential in Lhasa Tibetan and several other languages, see Hill (2017).

   In contrast to (8.48-52), where the sensory experince 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 *duʔ* is not based on direct evidence of the depicted action but on written or spoken secondhand reports.

(8.53)   ཁོང་གིས་ སྨོན་ལམ་ འདི་ བཏབ་པོ་ གནང་ འདུག་ཀེ །

  kʰoŋ=gi   mɛ́lam dɛ: tap-o   nǎ̃ː   du-kɛ.
  3SG.HON=AGT   prayer like.this sow-2INF   do.HON   EX.SEN-IN
  'He prayed like this.' (KLT Bumchu video)

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[302] 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.

[303] 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.

According to consultant KN, (8.53) can be negated by replacing the affirmative existential with a negated one:

(8.54)　ཁོང་གིས་སྨོན་ལམ་འདེ་བཏབ་པོ་གནང་འདུག་ཀེ།

　　　　kʰoŋ=gi 　　　*mélam dɛ:* **tap-o** 　**nǎ̌:** 　**mìndu-kɛ.**
　　　　3SG.HON=AGT 　prayer　such　sow-2INF 　do.HON　NEG.EX.SEN-IN
　　　　'He did not pray such a prayer.' (KN e)

The auxiliary *duʔ* 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)　ལམ་སང་གོད་ཝོང་ཏྲི་ཀི་གཤོག་རྩེ་གིས་ཁུ་ལོ་ཡར་འབག་སོང་འདུག

　　　　làmsã: 　　　*gøʔ* 　　*òn-diki* 　　*ɕóktɕi=gi* 　*kʰu=lo* 　　*jà:* **bak** **sǒ̌:**
　　　　immediately 　vulture　come-NF 　wing=AGT　3SGM=DAT 　up　carry　go.PFV
　　　　duʔ.
　　　　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 *duʔ* is particularly common with the suppletive verb *sǒ̌:* 'went'.

8.1.7　Resultative secondary verb *zak*

The secondary verb *zak/zaʔ* (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).[304] 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)　སྒོམ་ཕྱི་བཞག

　　　　gom **pʰi** **zaʔ.**
　　　　door　open　put
　　　　'Leave/keep the door open.' (PT e)

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་དགས་བྱས་ཏེ་ཨོ་འདེ་གསུངས་བཞག་འདུག

　　　　lògjuʔ 　*kʰa* 　　*sé:ʈaʔ* 　*p'ja-ti* 　*ódɛ:* **súŋ** 　　*za:* **duʔ.**
　　　　story 　　mouth 　clear 　　do-NF 　　like.that 　say.HON 　put 　EX.SEN
　　　　'It has been so said in clear words.' (KLT Bumchu video)

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[304] This frequent construction resembles the Nepali verbal forms supplemented by *hālnu* or *rākhnu* 'put', e.g. *bhan-i-rākh-nu* [say-LNK-put-INF] 'to say'.

(8.58)　ང་ཚོའི་ ཁྱིམ་ཆེན་ གནང་ བཞག་ ཡོད།

　　　ŋàtɕi　*kʰim-tɕʰɛ̃:*　**nã́:**　　**za:**　**jə̀ʔ**.
　　　1PL.GEN house-great　give.HON　put　EX.PER
　　　'(He) has given (us) our Khimchen-building.' (NAB BLA 7)

(8.59)　པང་ཁ་ལས་ ཀྱིག་ ཀྱབས་ བཞག་ཀོ་ བྱད།

　　　paŋkʰalɛ　*k'iʔ*[305]　　**kjap**　**zak-o**　　**bɛʔ**.
　　　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་ཀོ་ ཨིན་ པང་ཁ།

　　　tɕi:=di　　**tã:**　**zak-o**　　**ĩ́:,**　　*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་གིས་ ང་ལོ་ ཆ་ཀ་ ཨོ་འདི་ བཏང་ མན་བཞག་ཀོ་ བྱད།

　　　kʰoŋ=gi　　　*ŋà=lo*　*tɕʰa:ka*　*ódi*　**tã:**　**man-zak-o**　　**bɛʔ**.
　　　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་ ཆོས་ལོངས་སྤྲུལ་ གསུམ་ བཟོ་ བཞག་བཞག་ ཡོད།

　　　pɛ=na　　*tɕʰo:lõ:ʈy*　*súm*　**zo**　**za:-za:**　**jə̀ʔ**.
　　　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 converbal construction from which the converb morpheme has been dropped:

(8.63)　སྨན་པས་ གསུང་སྟེ་ བཞག་ ཡོད།

　　　mɛ́mpa:　　**súŋ-di**　　*za:*　*jə̀ʔ*.
　　　doctor.AGT　say.HON-NF　out　EX.PER
　　　'The doctor has said...' Lit. 'The doctor has by saying placed' (Richhi 167)

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 additive clitic =*jã:* 'too, even, again'. The construction may

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[305] This word refers to a sticking glue-like sap from a certain tree.

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)　བུ་སྲིང་ལགས་ གཉིས་པོའི་ སྐོར་ལོ་ ཨ་མ་གིས་ ང་ལོ་ དྲི་བོ་ གནང་པོ་ གནང་ཀྱུང་ ཨིན།

    p'usim=la:　　　　*ɲí:pø:*　　　　*korlo*　*áma=gi*　*ŋà=lo*　*ʈ'iwa*
    younger.sister=HON　two-ORD.GEN　about　mother=AGT　1SG=DAT　question
    nã̌:-bo　　　　***náŋ=kjã:***　　　　*ĩ̌:.*
    give.HON-2INF　give.HON-again　EQU.PER
    'The mother has been keeping on asking me about the second sister.' (Richhi 27)

(8.65)　སྨན་ རེག་ཀོ་ལས་ གཉིད་ ཁུག་པོ་ ཁུག་ཀྱུང་ ཨིན།

    mén　　　　*rɛk-o=lɛ*　　　　***ɲí:kʰu:-po***　*kʰu:-kjã:*　　　　*ĩ̌:.*
    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)　ངུ་པོ་ ངུ་ཀྱུང་ བྱས་ ཁའི་ན་ ཆུ་ཐིག་ཡང་ མ་འཐུང་།

    ŋù-bo　　　　***ŋù=kjã:=p'ja***　*kʰa=i=na*　　　　*tɕʰutʰik=jã:*　　　　*ma-tʰuŋ.*
    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་པོ་ ཤི་ཀྱུང་ སྲད།

    mí　　　　***ɕí-u***　*ɕí-kjõ:*　　　　*bɛʔ.*
    human　die　die-again　EQU.NE
    'People died and died.' (KN e)

8.1.8.2　Iterative with *-tɕim*

The second construction with which iterativity and intensity may be marked is VERB-*po(=lɛ)* VERB-*tɕim* EQU. The formative *-tɕim* is of unknown origin and is in (8.68-69) preliminarily glossed simply as a nominalizer.[306] In the emphatic construction (8.68), the same verb root occurs thrice. The iteration refers to different undegoers (i.e. several people died), not to one person undergoing the experience again and again (i.e. one person died many times).

(8.68)　ཁོང་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཤི་སྟི་ཀི་ ཤི་པོ་ལས་ ཤི་ཅིམ་ སྲད།

    kʰõ:　*tʰamtɕɛʔ*　*ɕí-tiki*　***ɕí-u=lɛ***　　　　***ɕí-tɕim***　*bɛʔ.*
    3PL　all　die-NF　die-2INF=ABL　die-NMLZ　EQU.NE
    'They all died and died.' (PB discussion with TB)

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[306] A possible origin of *-tɕim* is nominalization of the progressive form *-ʑɛn/tɕɛɛn* (*tɕɛɛm-bo*) where the nominalizer has reduced to *-m*.

Whereas in (8.68) -*tɕim* is followed by an equative copula, (8.69) shows that the nominalized construction ending in -*tɕim* may also be followed by the verbalizer *p'ja*.

(8.69) ཨུ་ ཨུ་ཏག། ཀྱབས་པོ་ ཀྱབས་ཅིམ་ བྱས་པོ་ སྲད།

       *mù   úŋaʔ **kjap-o**   **kjap-tɕim**   **p'ja-u** bɛʔ.*

       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 *ső:* '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 tɕiʔ p'i[307] sõ: duʔ* [he letter=INDF write went EX.SEN]. According to Sandberg (1895: 42), the verb *ɕí* '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 *ɕí-tsʰa:* 'has died' and periphrastic past *ɕí-u ĭ:/bɛʔ*. The form *ɕí sõ:-zɛ* (presumably corresponding to Sandberg's *shi song zhe*) was reported by consultant KN to have a purposive meaning equivalent to *ɕí-wa só:zɛ* 'went to die'. The form *ɕí ső: duʔ*, 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 *tɕɛ* 'do' with the secondary verb *ső:* '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 ĭ:/bɛʔ*, 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

As shown in Table 8.2, there are five constructions that express general facts holding in the present and three constructions that express future. The nonpast construction is used for both.

Table 8.2. Present habitual and future constructions

Name	Form	Function
steady-state present	VERB	present habitual
simple present	VERB *bɛʔ*	
present habitual I	VERB-*kʰɛ̃:* EQU	
present habitual II	STATIVE.VERB-*po* EQU	
nonpast	VERB-*ɕɛ* EQU	
		future
future	VERB *ő:*	
imminent future	VERB-*rap* EQU/EX	'be about to'

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[307] The language variety recorded by Sandberg (1895) has /p'i/ 'write' for what most speakers nowadays have /ʈ'i/. I have heard that the form /p'i/, which is more faithful than /ʈ'i/ to the general tendency of Denjongke to correspond WT /br/ with /py/, is still used in East Sikkim around Rhenock.

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 *-ɲi/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.[308] 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།
      ŋá: ***ɕé:*.**
      1SG.AGT know
      'I know (it).'

(8.71) ང་ ཆོད་ལོ་ དགའ།
      ŋà   *tɕʰø̀:=lo*   ***ga*.**
      1SG   2SG.L=DAT like
      'I like you.' (KN e)

(8.72) ནོ་སྐྱག་, སྐྱག་ཀོ་ འདི་ལོ་ འཇུ་ག་ ལབ།
      nò:-kjaʔ,   *kjako=di=lo*   *dzuga*   ***làp*.**
      cattle-excrement excrement=DEMPH=DAT   cow-dung say
      'Cow-dung, dung is called /dzuga/.' (PL interview)

(8.73) a) བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ ཕག་ཤ་ ཟ་ག?
          tɛnziŋ=gi   *pʰak-ɕa*   ***sà-ga?***
          Tenzing=AGT pig-meat   eat-PQ
          'Does Tenzing eat pork?' (PT e)

        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་ཤད་ མི་ལབ་
      di=lo   *bɛ:-ɕɛʔ*   ***mi-làp*.**
      this=DAT uproot-INF   NEG-say
      'That is not called [bɛ:ɕɛʔ]'. (PL interview)

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[308] The name "steady state present" for this category is adopted from Van Driem's (1998: 195) description of the analogous category in Dzongkha.

Alternative ways to say approximately the same thing as (8.71) are (8.75) and (8.76).

(8.75) ང་ཆོད་ལོ་དགའ་དོ།
   *ŋà tɕʰø:=lo **ga-do**.*
   1SG 2SG.L=DAT like-IPFV
   'I like you.' (KN e)

(8.76) ང་ཆོད་ལོ་དགའ་བོ་ཨིན།
   *ŋà tɕʰø:=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 *bɛʔ* (or the cliticized variant *=pɛʔ*) 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). In interrogatives, the bare verb root may also be followed by the interrogative personal equative copula *ɲá* (historically *ín-na*), see later example (11.12) and also Table 10.6.

(8.77) གངས་མཐོང་པད།
   k'ã: tʰõ:=pɛʔ.
   snow-mountain see=EQU.NE
   'The mountain is visible.' (TB e)

(8.78) a) ཁུ་གཡོག་བྱས་སྲུང་ཀ?
    *kʰu jóʔ **p'ja bɛ-ka**?*
    3SGM work do EQU.NE-PQ
    'Does he work?' (KN e)

   b) ཁུ་གཡོག་མིན་བྱས་སྲད།
    *kʰu jóʔ **mim-bja** **bɛʔ**.*
    3SGM work NEG-do EQU.NE
    'He does not work.' (KN e)

(8.79) ཨོ་འདི་ར་ཐར་འབག་ཡ་འགྱུ་སྲད།
   *ódɛra **tʰa:** **baʔ** **ja:** **gju** **bɛʔ**.*
   like that realease carry go go EQU.NE
   '(They) go free just like that.' (CY interview)

(8.80) གནངས་ཚེ་དྲོ་པར་ཆུ་ཚོད་བཅུ་ལོ་སྐྱོག་པར་རྒྱབ་སྟེ་ལྟ་གོ། ངའི་སེམས་ན་ད་དྲག་ཡར་འགྱུ་སྲད།

náŋtsʰi   ṭˈoːpa   tɕʰutsʰøʔ   tɕu=lo   lóʔpar   kjap-ti
the.day.after.tomorrow   morning   clock.time ten=DAT   X-ray   do-NF
ta-gɛ.   ɲèː   sém=na   tˈa   **ṭˈak**   **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) ཁུ་ཐོ་རངས་བ་ཛར་ (Nep.) འགྱུ་སྲད།

kʰu   tʰorã: 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་ ཕག་ཤ་ ཟ་ སྲད།

tɛnziŋ=gi   pʰak-ɕa   **sà**   **bɛʔ**.
Tenzing=AGT   pig-meat   eat   EQU.NE
'Tenzing eats pork.' (PT e)

b) བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ ཕག་ཤ་ ཟ།

tɛnziŋ=gi   pʰak-ɕa   **sà**.
Tenzing=AGT   pig-meat   eat
'Tenzing eats pork.' (PT e)

The simple present construction is negated by the prefix *mi-*.

(8.83) གན་ཕུལས་སེ་ན་ དུ་ཚིག་ ང་ བོམ་བའི་ལོ་ འོང་ མི་ཐོབ་པད་

kˈamjasinɛ tˈutɕiʔ   ŋà   bombai=lo   ȭ: **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་ལྟ་རེ་ ཐོན་ མི་ཚུགས་ སྲད།

tˈariŋ=gi   tʰaktɕɛ:=di   tˈatarɛ   tʰɛn   **mi-tsʰu**   **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) ཨོ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ཏེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ གན་སྐྱམ་ མི་ལབ་མཁན་ བྱད།

      ódi=lo=di   *tɛ ódi k'aɟɛm*   **mi-làp-kʰɛn**   *bɛʔ.*

      that=DAT=DEMPH   so that what.is.it   NEG-say-NMLZ   EQU.NE

      'It's not called that, whatever.' (PL interview)

    b) བླམ་ ཞུ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ དགོན་པ་ན་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ བྱད།

      lám ɕù-watɕɛnɛ   *gjømpa=na*   **ʑuː-kʰɛn**   *bɛʔ.*

      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་ སྟོན་ལས་ ཤེས་ དགོས་མཁན་ བྱད།

      k'ɛːtɕʰiʈa=di   *raŋ=gi*   *kɛː=di*   *go*   *ɲénlɛ ɕéː*

      important=DEMPH   own=GEN   language=DEMPH   beginning   first   know

      goː-kʰɛn   *bɛʔ.*

      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་ཟིནྡ་ རྒྱལ་པུ་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐད་ དབང་ཚ་ ག་ཡང་ མེད་མཁན་ བྱད།

    t'izã: gɛːpu=lo ódi gãː *ő:tɕʰa*   *k'aː=jãː*   **mèː-kʰɛn**   *bɛʔ.*

    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 *làp-kʰɛ̂: î:/làp-kʰɛn bɛʔ* 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་ཚའི་ཀི་ བ�립་རི་ཚོད་ (literature) ད་རུང་ ང་ཚའི་ ཡུ་ནི་ཝ་སི་ཏི་ (university) སླེབས་ མ་ཚུགས་མཁན་ བྱད་ ཉ།

      ŋàtɕi=gi   *literarigi*[309]   *t'aruŋ ŋàtɕi junivəsiti*

      1PL.GEN=GEN   literature(Eng.)   yet   1PL.GEN university(Eng.)

      ļɛp ma-tsʰu-kʰɛn   *bɛː*   *ɲá.*[310]

      reach NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ   EQU.NE   TAG.ASR

      'Our literature hasn't yet been able to reach university-level, eh.'

      (DR discussion with KL)

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[309] The English loan word here occurs here in a surprising form (in genitive case), which is on the first line "corrected" to *literature*.

[310] According to consultant YR, the Denjongke words for literature and and university are བསྟན་བཅོས་ *bstan-bcos* and གཙུག་ལག་ སློབ་ཁང་ *gtsug-lag slob-khang* respectively.

b) ནམ་མཁའ་ལས་ བབ་སྟེ་ མ་འོང་མཁན་ སྲད།

    nàmkʰa:=lɛ   *p´ap-ti*   ***m(a)-òŋ-kʰɛn***   *bɛʔ*.

    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་རྒྱས་ ཚོ་འདི་ མི་ཤྲིན་མཁན་ སྲད།

    kʰõ: *ḻɛŋgɛʔ*   *ódi*   ***mi-kʰɛŋ-kʰɛn***   *bɛʔ*.

    3PL   PRN.HON   that   NEG-know.HON-NMLZ   EQU.NE

    'They did not know that.' (CY interview)

  b) ཚོ་འདི་ལོ་ ཚོ་འདི་ གན་སྐྱས་ མི་ལབ་མཁན་ སྲད། ཚོ་འདི་ལོ་ འབི་ཀོ་ ལབ་ཡད་ སྲད།

    ódi=lo=di   *tɛ ódi*   *k´ajɛm*   ***mi-làp-kʰɛn***   *bɛʔ*.

    that=DAT=DEMPH   so that   what.is.it   NEG-say-NMLZ   EQU.NE

    ódi=lo   *biko*   *làp-ɕɛ*   *bɛʔ*.

    that=DAT   stick   say-INF   EQU.NE

    'It's not called that, whatever. It is called 'biko'.' (PL interview)

  c) ཚོ་འདི་ སྐབ་ ད་ ཕྱི་སྐྱིང་ གཞུང་ འདི་ ཚོ་ འཛམ་བུ་སྐྱིང་ ནང་ག ཤུགས་ཅན་ སྲད། ཐྲས་སོང་བང་ རྒྱལ་པུ་ལོ་ཡང་ རྒྱལ་པུ་ གསུང་ མི་ཚུགས་

    མཁན་ སྲད།

    ódi   *gã:*   *t´a*   *pʰiliŋ*   *zuŋ=di*   *ḻo*   *dzambuliŋ nàŋɛa*

    that   time now   foreign   government=DEMPH   south   continent   inside

    ɕúktɕẽ: *bɛʔ*.   *p´jasonzã:* *gɛ:pu=lo=jã:*   *gɛ:pu*   ***súŋ***

    powerful   EQU.NE   therefore   king=DAT=even   king   say.HON

    mi-tsʰu-kʰɛn   *bɛʔ*.

    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 generally holds in the present.

(8.89) ད་རིང་ གྲོངས་ནོ་ ཐོ་རངས་ འདི་ དེ་ ན་ཚའི་ཀི་ ཚོ་འདི་ སྐུ་པུར་ ཚོ་འདི་ མ་བཏོན་མཁན་ སྲད།

    t´ariŋ   *ṭ´õ:-no*   *tʰorã:=di*   *tɛ ŋàtɕi=gi*   *ódi*   *kupur=di*

    today   die-COND   tomorrow=DEMPH   so 1PL.GEN=GEN   that   body=DEMPH

    ma-tøŋ-kʰɛn   *bɛʔ*.

    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) ཁུ་ ང་ལོ་ དགའ་པོ་ ཨིན།
 *kʰu   ŋà=lo   **ga-u**   **ĩ́:**.*
 3SGM   1SG=DAT   like-2INF   EQU.PER
 'He likes me.' (KT e)

(8.91) འདི་ ཐག་ཀོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཚི་ རིང་པོ་ སྦད།
 *di   tʰako=di   átsi   **rim-bo**   **bɛʔ**.*
 this   rope=DEMPH   a.bit   be.long-2INF   EQU.NE
 'This rope is a bit (too) long.' (KN e)

(8.92) བིལ་ གེ་སྩེ་ས་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་ དངུལ་ ཀེསབ་ ཡོདཔ་སྦད།
 *bil   gɛits=lo   ɲý: kɛ:p   **jèb-bɛʔ**.*
 Bill   Gates=DAT   money   much   EX.NE
 'Bill Gates has a lot of money.' (YR e)

(8.93) a) ད་ཅིང་ ཆོད་ཀྱི་ སྣ་ལོ་ དཔྱང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ གང་ཀ་ར་ འདི་ གང་ཀ་ར་གི་ པོ་ཚོ་ ཨིན་པོ་ སྦད།
 t'atɛĩ: tɕʰø̈:=ki   ŋa=lo   pjõ: jò̀:-kʰɛ̃:   kaŋkara=di   kaŋkara=gi
 recently   2SG.L=GEN   nose=DAT   hang   EX-NMLZ   crab=DEMPH   crab=GEN
 *p'otso   **ím-bo**   **bɛʔ**.*
 child   EQU-2INF   EQU.NE
 'The crab that was recently hanging from your nose is/was a baby crab.' (rna-gsung 33)

 b) ངའི་ ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན་པོ་ སྦད།
 *ŋè: ápo=di   ámdzi   **ím-bo**   **bɛʔ**.*
 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-*ɕɛ* EQU can refer both to habitually true present facts and future events, hence the name nonpast (glossed NPST). The personal form -*ɕɛ ĩ́:* is often abbreviated to -*ɕĩ́:/-ɕiŋ* (see 8.101). Present habitual uses, which resemble in meaning the present habitual form VERB-*kʰɛ̃:* EQU, are illustrated in (8.94-96).

(8.94) ཚོ་དེ་ལོ་ འབི་ཀོ་ ལབ་ཤད་ སྦད།
 *ódi=lo   biko   **làp-ɕɛ**   **bɛʔ**.*
 that=DAT   stick   say-INF   EQU.NE
 'It's called "biko".' (PL interview)

(8.95) ང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྗོངས་ན་ སྡོད་ཡད་ ཨིན།

    ŋà   *ʈaɕidiŋ=na*   ***dø:-ɕɛ***   *í:.*[311]

    1SG   TPN=LOC   live-INF   EQU.PER

    'I live in Tashiding.' (JD life story)

(8.96) ཤེག་ཡད་ ཨིན་ མེ་ ཕྱི་རུ།

    sék-ɕí:=s   *pʰiruʔ.*

    burn-NPST.PER-QUO at.night

    '(My eyes) have a burning sensation at night.' (TB discussion)

Similar to the present habitual construction VERB-*kʰɛ̃:* EQU, the nonpast construction may be used for historical present, see (8.97) and (8.98). The nonpast construction in (8.97) ends in the reportative =*lo*, which can replace equative copulas in both pure copula and auxiliary uses (see §7.2.5.2) and which frequently occurs in storytelling. In (8.98), the speaker tells about his childhood.

(8.97) དཔག་བསམ་ འདི་ ནམ་ ཤར་ འོང་གམ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ འགྱིམ་ སྡོད་ཡད་ལོ།

    tɛ *paksam=di*   *nàm* *ɕá:*   *òŋ-gam* *làp-ti*   *gim*

    so balsam(flower)=DEMPH   when blossom come-ATTQ say-NF stare

    dø:-ɕɛ=lo.

    stay-INF=REP

    'Then he sat (lit. sits) observing when the balsam flower would blossom, so the story goes.' (RS bee story)

(8.98) དེ་ དང་ཕུའི་ཀི་[312] འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ སྐོར་ དང་ གུ་རུ་ སྦས་གནས་ འདི་ཀི་ སྐོར་གཞི་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདེ་བ་སྟེ་ བཀའ་མོལ་ ཨ་ཏང་ར་ གནང་ཡད་ ཨིན།

    tɛ *t'aŋpy:=gi*   *ɖɛndzoŋ=gi*   *kor* *t'ã:*   *guru* *bɛnɛ=di=gi*   *korzi*

    then long.ago=GEN Sikkim=GEN about and guru hidden.land=DEMPH=GEN about

    nàŋɕa=lo   *ódɛpti* *kamø*   *átã:-ra*   ***nǽ:=ɕɛ***   *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 form can express what the speaker just did or is doing:

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[311] 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 í:* (for the imperfective, see §8.3.1).

[312] These type of double genitives, which are frequent in spoken language, do not occur in written Denjongke, where mere དང་ཕུའི་ *t'ã:py:* is used instead.

(8.99)   ང་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཁྱད་པར་ཆེམ་པུ་ འདི་ མེད་ ཞུ་གད་ ཨིན།

ŋà   ódɛm   kʰɛpartɕʰimpu=di   mèʔ   **ɕù-ɕɛ**   **ínː.**

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 (8.100-102).

(8.100)   ཨེ་ དེ་ནས་ ཐོ་རངས་ ང་ ན་ སྦ་ སྡོད་གད་ ཨིན།

é: tʼɛnɛ tʰorã: ŋà   nà: ba **dø:-ɕɛ**   **ínː.**

o   then tomorrow   1SG here hide sit-INF   EQU.PER

'O, in that case tomorrow I'll sit hiding here.' (KT animal story)

(8.101)   ད་ ཐོ་རངས་ གཞནས་ཚེ་ ཡུརམ་ སྐྱེ་པོ་ལས་ འབལ་ དགོས་གད་ བད།

tʼa   tʰorã: náŋtsʰi   jù:m ki-u=lɛ   bɛ:

now tomorrow day.after.tomorrow weed grow-2INF=ABL uproot

go:-ɕɛ   **bɛʔ.**

be.needed-INF EQU.NE

'Some time later when weed has grown, (it) will need to be weeded out.' (PL interview)

(8.102)   ཨོ་ན་ རྒྱབས་གད་ ཨིན་ ལོ།

óna **kjap-ɕiŋ**   la[313].

there strike-NPST.PER okay

'I'll throw (the ball) there, okay?' (oh, Tashiding)

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)   དེ་ ཅམ་ ཁ་གིས་ ལབ་སྟེ་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ འདི་ མིན་སྒྲིགས་ལགས།

tɛ   tɕam   kʰa=gi   làp-ti tɕiku=di   **min-ɖik=la.**

then just.like.that mouth=AGT say-NF only=DEMPH NEG-be.alright=HON

'It will be not (or: it is not) alright to just do it just like that orally.' (CY interview)

(8.104)   སེམས་ནད་ མ་གཞནང་ཆར་རོ་ ང་ཅའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ མི་ཐོན་གད་ བད།

sémnɛʔ   ma-nã́:-tsʰa-no   ŋàtɕi kɛː=di   jàrgɛʔ

mind.pain NEG-do.HON-CMPL-COND 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH   development

mi-tʰøn-ɕɛ   **bɛʔ.**

NEG-happen-INF EQU.NE

'If we do not have pangs of conscience, our language will not develop.' (KL BLA 12)

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[313] The typical Denjongke pronunciation is *lo* (the pronunciation here follows Nepali from which the morpheme is borrowed).

(8.105) a) འདི་རང་ ཨིན་ན་ཏོ་ ང་ཚལ*$་ཚུ་ རང་གི་ བར་ན་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ སྟོ་རང་ གཏད་ཁད་ མན་སྲད་ ཨིན་ནམ་ གྲོགས་ཀུ་ཚུ།

<blockquote>

dɛ:=rã: *ín-(n)ɛ=to*   *ŋàtɕa=tsu raŋ=gi*   *p'a:na*
like.that=AEMPH EQU-COND=CEMPH 1PL=PL   self=GEN   in.between

*tɕi:=ki   zɛn=lo   **ló=rã:**   **tɛ:-ɕɛ**   **mɛ̀mbɛʔ**   ín-(n)am*
one=AG other=DAT mind=AEMPH entrust-INF NEG.EQU.NE   EQU.PER-ATTQ

ʈ'oku=tsu.
friend=PL

'In that case, there is no trust among us between each other, is there, friends.' (mthun-sgril 4)

</blockquote>

b) ད་ འདི་ ང་ལོ་ འདི་, གར་ས, ཏེ་ཐུག་ བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་ འདི་ བྱིན་ཁད་ མན་སྲད།

<blockquote>

t'a=di   ŋà=lo=di,   k'arsa,   tiruʔ   gja-tʰamba=di
now=DEMPH 1SG=DAT=DEMPH what.to.say rupee   hundred-NUM=DEMPH

p'in-ɕɛ mɛ̀mbɛʔ.
give-INF NEG.EQU.NE

'Now he won't give me, what's that, a hundred rupees.' (PD bet story)

</blockquote>

The three three negating constructions are summarized in (8.106).

(8.106) a) ཁུ་ ཐོ་རངས་ བ་ཛར་ (Nep.) མིན་འགྱུ།

<blockquote>

*kʰu   tʰorã: badzar **miŋ-gju**.*
3SGM   tomorrow market NEG-go

'He will not go to the market tomorrow.' (KN e)

</blockquote>

b) ཁུ་ ཐོ་རངས་ བ་ཛར་ (Nep.) མིན་འགྱུ་ཁད་ སྲད།

<blockquote>

*kʰu   tʰorã: badzar **miŋ-gju-ɕɛ**   **bɛʔ**.*
3SGM   tomorrow market NEG-GO-INF   EQU.NE

'He will not go to the market tomorrow.' (KN e)

</blockquote>

c) ཁུ་ ཐོ་རངས་ བ་ཛར་ (Nep.) འགྱུ་ཁད་ མན་སྲད།

<blockquote>

*kʰu   tʰorã: badzar **gju-ɕɛ**   **mɛ̀mbɛʔ**.*
3SGM   tomorrow market go-INF   NEG.EQU.NE

'He will not go to the market tomorrow.' (KN)

</blockquote>

Consultant KN commented that the forms *gjuɕɛ mɛ̀mbɛʔ* (negating the final copula) and *miŋ-gjuɕɛ í/bɛʔ* 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 formally different nagated nonpast forms.

8.2.6 Future with secondary verb *ò̃:* 'come'

In the future construction, the main verb is followed by the secondary verb *ò̃:* '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 §8.2.5) and the future construction, the consultants said that the event referred to

by the nonpast form is more fixed, whereas the future construction leaves more room for contingencies. [314]

(8.107) ཨན་རྒྱུག། སྦྱེལ་ འོང་།
     maŋ-gjuʔ. ***ɖiː*** ***ɔ̀ː.***
     NEG-run   fall   come
     'Don't run. (You)'ll fall.' (NB e)

(8.108) སྨན་ གན་ གན་ ཅོ་ དགོས་པོ་ ཆོ་རངས་ བྲི་ བྱིན་ འོང་།
     mɛ́n   *k'an k'an ɲòː*   *goː-po*   *tʰorã̀ː*   ***t'i*** ***p'in*** ***ɔ̀ː.***
     medicine what what buy be.needed-2INF tomorrow write give come
     'Tomorrow I'll write for you what medicines you have to buy.' (Richhi 29)

(8.109) རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ ཆུ་ ཁོམ་ སྲིད་ འོང་།
     gjamtsʰø̀ː   *tɕʰu*   *kʰom*   ***síʔ***   ***ɔ̀ː.***
     ocean.GEN water dry(intr.) be.possible come
     'It will be possible for the water of the oceans to dry up.' (song lyrics)

(8.110) སྟོང་ཕྲག་ ལྔ་ དྲུག་ གཅིག་ འགྱུ་ འོང་།
     tõːʈʰaʔ   *ŋá*   *ʈ'uː=tɕiʔ*   ***gju*** ***ɔ̀ː.***
     thousand five six=INDF go   come
     '(Perhaps) some five to six thousand will go (to buy it).' (PD altar room video)

The future construction may be made explicitly uncertain by adding the probabilitative *-ʈo* to form the construction VERB *ɔ̀ː-ʈo*, 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 *tʰøn* ཐོན་ 'come/go out, happen, become', see (8.114).

(8.111) ཁུ་ འགྱུ་རབ་ ཨིན་/སྲད་/ཡོད་/འདུག།
     kʰu   ***gju-rap*** *ĩ́ː/bɛʔ/jø̀ʔ/duʔ.*
     3SGM   go-IMF   EQU.PER/EQU.NE/EX.PER/EX.SEN
     'He's about to go.' (KN e)

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[314] In my original PhD thesis, I used the term "uncertain future" for this construction. The qualification "uncertain" reflected the less fixed nature of the future event compared to more certain future events expressed by the nonpast construction. However, because there are no other constructions termed simply "future," it is superfluous to define the only "future" form as "uncertain." Therefore the description here adopts the simple term "future" for this construction. The events described by the future construction vary in degree of certainty/fixedness but are generally perceived as less fixed than future uses of the nonpast construction.

(8.112) ཕྱི་རུ་ཀི་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ བརྒྱད་ བཏང་རབ་ སྲད།

   pʰiru=ki   *tɕʰutsʰøʔ*   *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) ཞལ་ལན་ དང་ དར་ བཏགས་ཀྱི་ དུས་ཚོད་ སླེབས་རབ་ ཡོད།

   ɕɛ̀:lɛ̃:   *t'ã:*   *t'a:*   *ta:=ki*   *t'ytsʰøʔ*   **ḷɛp-rap**   *jø̀ʔ*.
   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་དྷོ་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ འཚལ་རབ་ འཐོན་པོ་ སྲད་

   ŋà=to   *lèpti*   **tɕʰø̀:-rap**   *tʰøm-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) ཆུ་ཚོད་ བཞི་ བཏངས་རབ་ལོ་ གཉིད་ བསད་སྟེ་

   tɕʰutsʰøʔ *ʑi* **duŋ-rap=lo**   *ɲíʔ*   *sɛ́:-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་ སྡོད་པའི་ སྐབས་ ནང་ག་ལོ་

   ɕí-rap **dø̀:-pø̀:**   *kap*   *nàŋɕa=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་ འཐུན་རབ་ འཐུང་རབ་ ཡོད།

   ŋà   **tʰuŋ-rap**   **tʰuŋ-rap**   *jø̀ʔ*.
   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) ཆུ་ཚོད་ བརྒྱད་ བཏང་རབ་ མིན་འདུག།

   tɕʰutsʰøʔ   *gɛʔ*   **duŋ-rap mìnduʔ**.
   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 *-ɲi*

Sandberg (1895: 40) reports two infinitive forms *-she* (*-ɕɛʔ*) and *-nyi* (*-ɲi*) 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[315], whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. In my data, the infinitive *-ɲi* is used in a variety of idiomatic constructions some of which also occur with the infinitive *-ɕɛ(ʔ)*. Because the uses of *-ɲi* seem more idiomatic than constructions with the more productive infinitive *-ɕɛʔ*, all the uses are described here under separate headings.

The uses of *-ɲi* 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 *-ɲi* in future constructions such as (8.118) implies more uncertainty than the use of the regular nonpast construction VERB-*ɕɛ* EQU.

(8.118) ང་ ཨོན་ ཐོ་རངས་ འགྱུ་ཉི།

 ŋà   óna   tʰorã: **gju-ɲi**.
 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 *-ɲi* cannot function as a replacement of the infinitive *-ɕɛ(ʔ)* in the nonpast construction *gju-ɕɛ í:* 'will go' (b).

(8.119) *ད་ ང་ འགྱུ་ཉི་ ཨིན།

 *tʼa ŋà   **gju-ɲi**   í:.
 now   1SG go-3INF   EQU.PER

The infinitive *-ɲi* may also express uncertain future, or resemblance, in conjunction with the demonstrative proadverb *dɛm* 'like (it)' (the infinitive *-ɕɛʔ* also occurs in this construction).

(8.120) བྱིན་ཉེ་ འདེམ་ འདུག་གོ།

 pʼin-ɲi   **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 *-ɲi* is the possessive-type-of construction which expresses inability. The infinitive *-ɕɛʔ* also occurs in an analogous construction (see §8.4).

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[315] Sandberg (1895: 12) reports Sikkimese Bhutias (=Denjongpos/Lhopos) to have originally come from the Tsang region in Tibet.

(8.121) ཏེ་ འདི་ བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ འདི་ ད་ ང་ ཞུ་ཉེ་ མེད།

     tɛ   *di*   *dɛŋ-gam*   *min-dɛŋ-gam*   *di*   *t'a*   *ŋà*   ***ɕù-ɲi***

     then   this   be.true-ATTQ   NEG-be.true-ATTQ   this   now   1SG   say.HUM-3INF

     mèʔ.

     NEG.EX.PER

     'Now whether this story is true or not, I cannot tell.' (RS bee story)

(8.122) ང་ལོ་ འདི་ ཞུ་ཉེ་ མེད།

     ŋà=lo   *di*   ***ɕù-ɲi***   *mèʔ.*

     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 *-ɲi* 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. The *-ɕɛ*-infinitive could replace *-ɲi* in this construction without any or much change in meaning.

(8.123) ཇ་ འཐུང་ཉེ་ བྱས་པོ་ ཨིན།

     tɕ'a   ***tʰuŋ-ɲi***   ***p'ja-u***   *í:.*

     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་ བྱས་ཉེ་ བྱས་པོ་ ཨིན།

     ŋà   *jóʔ*   ***p'ja-ɲi***   ***p'ja-u***   *í:.*

     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་ ཕོའུ་ སིམ་ཁར་ཀ་ བཅར་ཉེ་ མནོ་བ་ དེ་ ཁོའི་ (Nep.) ཇེ་ མིན་དལ་ ཧོའུ།

     ŋà   *pʰou*   *simkʰarka*   ***tɕa:-ɲi***   ***nó:-wa***   *tɛ* *kʰoi*   *dzɛ:*

     1SG   over.there   TPN   come.HUM-3INF   think-CIRC   so where(Nep.)   at.all

     min-dɛ: *hou.*

     NEG-have.time   EXCLAM

     'I've been thinking to come to Simkharka, but how, I don't 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་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ བཞག་སྟེ་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ གན་ སྟིག་ཉེ་ ཡོད་པོ?

     t'a   *dɛ:=rã:*   *kʰim=na*   *zak-ti*   *tɕiku* *k'an*   ***ɖik-ɲi***   *jɵ̀-po?*

     now   like.that=AEMPH   house=LOC   set-NF   only   what   be.alright-3INF   EX-2INF

     'How could it be alright to simply leave (the patient) at home like that?' (rnam-rtog 18)

(8.127) ད་ ཚོ་པོ་ ཏྲུན་ དགོས་ཁད་ མན་ནམ གནན་ ཀ་ འགྱུ་ཉེ་སེ།

    t'a   *tsʰo:*   *tɕˈøn*   *go:-ɕɛ*   *mɛ̀n-nam?*

    now   elder.sister's.husband[316]   go.HON   be.needed-3INF   NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ

    zɛn *ka*   **gju-ɲi**=*sɛ́.*

    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 *ɖau* '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) གཁྲ་ ད་རིང་ གན་ བྱས་ ཉེ་ གན་ མ་བྱས་ཉེ་ འདུ་པོ་ འབྱོན་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

    karma   *t'ariŋ*   **k'an p'ja-ɲi k'an mam-bja-ɲi**   *ɖau*   *tʰøn-zɛ̃:*

    PN   today   what do-3INF what NEG-do-3INF   like   become-PROG

    jø̀?.

    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 *-ɲi* (a) and *-ɕɛ?* (b) overlap syntactically.

(8.129) a) འགྱུ་ཉེ་ག?

       gju-ɲi-ga?

       go-3INF-PQ

       'Are you going?' (UTR e)

    b) འགྱུ་ན?   (from: འགྱུ་ཁད་ག?)

       gju-ɕa?   (from: *gju-ɕɛ-ga?*)

       go-INF.PQ   go-INF-PQ

       'Are you going?' (UTR e)

8.2.8.5 Request and suggestion

Another context for *-ɲi* 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).

(8.130) འཐུང་ཉེ་མོད།

    tʰuŋ-ɲi=*mø?.*

    drink-3INF=URG

    'Drink, by all means!' (KN e)

In (8.131), the construction VERB-*ɲi* 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:

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[316] This kinship term also has other meanings, see §17.2.1.

(8.131) བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ ཕྱོན་ཉེ། སྲད་ ཕར་ཚུར་ ལྟ་ཏད་ ལེབ་ཏི་ ལེམ་ ཡོད།

bombai=lo **tɕ'øn-ɲi** *bɛʔ.* *pʰa:* *tsʰu:* *ta-ɕɛ* *lèpti lèm*
Bombay=DAT come.HON-3INF EQU.NE thither hither watch-INF very good
jø̀ʔ.
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 *-ɕɛʔ*. Using *-ɕɛʔ* instead of *-ɲi* 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 *-ɲi* also occurs in the future conditional construction VERB-*ɲi* EX-COND.

(8.132) ཉྲ་ལགས། ནད་པོ་ དྲག་ཉེ་ ཡོད་ན་ སྲན་པས་ ག་ན་ འཁྲིགས་ཏེ་ སོང་ གསུང་ རུང་ འཁྲིགས་ཏེ་ འགྱུ་ཏད་ ཨིན།

ɖa:=la: *nὲ:po* **t'a:-ɲi** **jø̀:-nɛ** *mɛ́mpa:* *k'ana* *kʰik-ti*
doctor=HON patient get.well-3INF EX-COND physician.AGT where lead-NF
sø̌: *súŋ-ruŋ* *kʰik-ti* *gju-ɕɛ* *ǐ:.*
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) ལོ་ འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་ འདི་ བདེ་སྐྱིད་ ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་ནེ་ ཡོད་པའི་གི་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཚུགས་ཏེ་ ཡོད་ནེ་

ḷo *dzambuliŋ=di* *di-ki* *pʰynsumtsʰo:=ni* *jø̀:-pø:-gi*
south world=DEMPH bliss-enjoyment perfection=TOP EX-2INF.GEN=GEN
ódɛm **tsʰu:-ɲi** **jø̀:-nɛ**
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 *tɛm/dɛm* '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) སྨན་ འདི་ཚུས་ ཕན་ཉེ། དེམ་ ཐོན་ན་ གཉིད་ ལེབ་ཏི་ ཁུག་ཏད་ ཨིན།

mɛ́n *di=tsu:* **pʰɛn-ɲi** *tɛm* *tʰøn-nɛ* *ɲíʔ* *lèpti* *kʰuk-ɕɛ*
medicine this=PL.AGT help-3INF like become-COND sleep a.lot sleep-INF
ǐ:.
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 *-ɲi*
Iterativity and excessiveness can be expressed by postposing to VERB-*ɲi* the same verb again as a type of reduplication:

(8.135) དེ་ཁྱུ་ལོ་ཉིམ་ཚ་མེད་ ཨོ་འདེ་ར་ ག ཝོང་པོ་ ཝོང་ འཝོ་སྟེ་ རེག་སྟེ་ ཉིམ་ ཚ་མེད་ལོ་ གཅིག་གིས་ ཝོང་ བཏུང་ནེ་ བཏུང་ སྡོད་པའི་ སྐབས་ ནང་ཤ་ལོ་

te kʰu=lo   ɲìm tɕʰameʔ ódɛ=ra   ka òm-bo   kʰõ: boto
so 3SGM=DAT   day every like.that=AEMPH who come-2INF 3PL beating
rɛk-ti ɲìm tɕʰameː=lo tɕiː=ki ȍ: **duŋ-ɲi 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 every day beating after beating from anyone who came...' (KT animal story)

The infinitive *-ɲi* also occured in the following construction, where *-ɲi* appears to refer to a presently holding fact. Together with the discourse particle *tɛ* 'so', the reading is causal.

(8.136) ལག་ཁྲེར་ ལེགས་ ཡོང་ནེ་ དེ་ འཝོག་སྟེ་ ཁྲིག་ འགྱུ་དོ་ སྲང་ ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ལོ་
        *làkkʰɛl   lɛ̀m **jȍ:-ɲi** tɛ òtɛ   kʰik gju-do bɛʔ,   tɕʰigɛ:=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 that the 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 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-*to/do* (EQU)	past habitual or ongoing action/state, present habitual or ongoing action/state, immediate future
continuous	VERB *dø:* EX VERB *dø:* (+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-*tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:* EX	past or present ongoing action
alterphoric progressive	VERB-*tɕuŋgɛ/zuŋɛ* (Tashiding) VERB-*tɕougɛ/zuŋɛ* (Martam)	perceived ongoing action
durative	VERB *bak(-ti)*	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. [317] Habitual uses seem more frequent than others in my data. Past habitual uses are illustrated by examples (8.137) and (8.138).

(8.137) ཐམས་ཅད་ ག་རི་ (Nep.) མེད་མཁན། ཐམས་ཅད་ རྐང་མ་ བཙུགས་ཏེ་ འགྱུ་དོ་ བྱད།

    tʰamtɕɛʔ gari   mè:-kʰɛ̃:,   tʰamtɕɛʔ ka:m tsuk-ti **gju-do bɛʔ.**

    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) རྫོན་མ་ ལཧང་ལོ་ (landlord) གྱི་ དུས་ཚོད་ སྐང་ལོ་... འདི་ཚུ་གི་ ཁྱལ་ མང་ཚོད་ བཏབ་ཏོ་ སྐད་ལགས།

    ɲǿma   landlo:d-gi   t'ytsʰøʔ gã:=lo... di=tsu=gi   kʰɛ: máŋtsʰøʔ

    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 appears to bring the addressees in the middle of the action within the story.

(8.139) བློ་མི་གཏད་ སྟོན་ མ་བཅུག་ཡད་ཀྱི་ དོན་དག་ལས་ འདི་ ཐྱས་སྟེ་ཀི་ འང་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ རྐྱབས་ཏོ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ སྐད།

    ló-mi-tɕ   tøn ma-tɕuk-ɕɛ=ki   t'ønda=lɛ dɛ:

    mind-NEG-entrust   show NEG-CAUS-INF=GEN   purpose=ABL like.this

    p'ja-tiki ã̀: dɛm=tɕiʔ **kjap-to íŋ-kʰɛn 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's telling as a lie like this:' (PD story)

For the evidential implications of using the nominalized copula construction *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ* as the auxiliary in (8.139), refer to example (9.22) in §9.1.1.5.

Examples (8.140) and (8.141) illustrate the present habitual use of the imperfective. Note that both (8.141) and (8.137) above occur in the same piece of discourse where an elderly lady compares the old style of living in her village to the present one. Whereas in (8.137) the imperfective construction is used for a past habitual action, in (8.141) the same construction (negated) describes present reality.

(8.140) བུམ་ ཆུང་པོ་ ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ ལབ་ཏོ་ སྐད།

    p'um tɕʰumbo   tɕʰøkiʔ **làp-to bɛʔ.**

    girl small.one   PN   say-IPFV EQU.NE

    '(My) youngest daughter is called Choki.' (DB life story)

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[317] 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.

(8.141) དྲོས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ག་རི་ འབག་ འོང་དོ་ སྲད། མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རྐང་མ་ བཅུག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་ མན་དགོས་ཏོ་ སྲད།

t'oʔ tʰamtɕɛʔ gari bak òn-do   bɛʔ.   mí   tʰamtɕɛʔ ka:m
load all   car carry come-IPFV EQU.NE people all   foot
tsuk-ti   gju **maŋ-goː-to   bɛʔ**.
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)

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་འགྱུ་དོ་ སེ?

tɕʰøʔ   k'aː   **gju-do**=s?
2SG.L   where   go-IPFV=QUO
'Where are you going (he said)?' (KT animal story)

(8.143) ད་ལྟ་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ གཅིག་ཏོ་ བརྡུང་དོ།

t'ato tɕʰutsʰøʔ   tɕiː=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) གུན་ཆེ་ ཚོད་ འགྱུ་བཞིན་ བྱོས་ ང་ འོང་དོ།

kantɕʰi[318]   tɕʰøʔ   gju-zɛ̃ː   p'ja, ŋà **òn-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 several corresponding negated forms. The first, negation
by the negator prefix *ma-*, was already ilustrated in (8.141). Initial data from consultants KN and
KUN suggests, secondly, that the prefix *mi-* could be used instead of *ma-* without change in
meaning. The third negation strategy is borrowed from the non-reduplicated perfect construction,
as shown in (8.145b), which negates (8.145a). The fourth strategy, which according to consultant
KN is used at least in Tashiding (West Sikkim), is to negate the final existential of the affirmed
imperefective construction (8.145c).

(8.145) a) ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱོས་དོ་ སྲད།

khu   jóʔ   **p'ja-do bɛʔ**.
3SGM   work   do-IPFV EQU.NE
'He is working.' (KN e)

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[318] A loan word from Nepali.

b) ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་པོ་ མེདབ་ལྟད།

   *kʰu   jóʔ **p'ja-u mɛ̀bbɛʔ**.*
   3SGM   work do-2INF NEG.EX.NE
   'He is not working.' (KN e)

c) Tashiding, West Sikkim
   ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་དོ་ མེདབ་ལྟད།

   *kʰu   jóʔ **p'ja-do mɛ̀bbɛʔ**.*
   3SGM   work do-IPFV NEG.EX.NE
   'He is not working.' (KN e)

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 periprastic question construction VERB-*po ɲá* put replaces the perfective negator *ma-*, which would occur in a past construction, with the imperfective negator *mi-*.

(8.146) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ན?

       *tɕʰøʔ   índzi   kɛʔ   **kjap-to   ɲá**?*
       2SG.L   English language   strike-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
       'Do you speak English?' (NAB e)

(8.147) a) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ མི་རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ན?

         *tɕʰøʔ   índzi   kɛʔ   **mi-kjap-to   ɲá**?*
         2SG.L   English language   NEG-strike-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
         'Don't you speak English?.' (NAB e)

      b) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ མེད་ག?

         *tɕʰøʔ   índzi   kɛʔ   **kjap-o   mɛ̀:-ka**?*
         2SG.L   English language   strike-2INF NEG.EX.PER-PQ
         'Don't you speak English?.' (NAB e)

      c) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ མེད་པོ?

         *tɕʰøʔ   índzi   kɛʔ   **kjap-o   mɛ̀-po**?*
         2SG.L   English language   strike-2INF NEG.EX.PER-2INF
         'Don't you speak English?.' (NAB e)

      d) ཚོད་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ མི་རྒྱབས་པོ་ ན?

         *tɕʰøʔ   índzi   kɛʔ   **mi-kjap-o   ɲá**?*
         2SG.L   English language   NEG-strike-2INF EQU.PER.Q
         'Don't you 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

jɤ̀ʔ, sensorial *duʔ* or neutral *jɤ̀po bɛʔ*). In the second, less grammaticalized use, *dɤʔ* '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 illustrated 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 imaginery) past time.

(8.148) ཁུ་གཟིམ་སྡོད་འདུག།

    kʰu   **zim**   **dø:**   **duʔ.**

    3SGM   sleep.HON stay EX.SEN

    'He's sleeping (I see/saw).' (TB e)

(8.149) ཉིམ་ལེབ་ལེགས་ཤར་སྡོད་འདུག།

    ɲìm *lɛ̀p*   *lɛ̀m* **ɕá:** **dø:** **duʔ.**

    sun   very.much good shine stay EX.SEN

    'The sun is shining very nicely (I see/feel).' (TB e)

(8.150) རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ཚོ་འདི་སྟེང་ལོ་སླེབས་པའི་སྐབས་ཨོན་རྒྱལ་པའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ནང་ག་མཐའ་སྐོར་ལོ་ཨོན་རྒྱལ་པའི་བུ་མ་གཅིག་སྐྲ་ཤད་བཞིན་ ཤད་བཞིན་བཞུགས་སྡོད་ཡོད་མཁན་བྱད།

    gɛ:pø: *pʰodʑ̃ã:* *ódi* *tɛ̃:=lo*   *ḷɛp-ø:*   *gã:* *óna* *gɛ:pø:*

    king.GEN   palace   that top=DAT   arrive-2INF.GEN time there king.GEN

    pʰo:dʑ̃ã: *nàŋɕa* *tʰa:kor=lo*   *óna* *gɛ:pø:*   *p'um* *tɕiʔ* *kja*

    palace   inside   surrounding=DAT there king.GEN   girl   one   hair

    ɕé-tɕɛ̃:   *ɕé-tɕɛ̃:*   **zu:**   **dø:** **jɤ̀:-kʰɛn**   **bɛʔ.**

    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 *dø:*, the ordinary verb meaning 'sit, stay', in (8.150) occurs following the honorific *zu:* 'sit, stay (hon.)' shows that the use of *dø:* 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 honorics.

With telic expressions, which have a natural end point, the meaning is resultative, i.e. highlightning the ongoing state accomplished through the verbal action, see (8.151-154).

(8.151) རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་པའི་སྐད་འབྱོང་སྡོད་ཡོད་མཁན་བྱད།

    mýtsy-ri   *kɛʔ*   **bjã:**   **dø:** **jɤ̀:-kʰɛn**   **bɛʔ.**

    other-EMPH.GEN language   disappear stay EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE

    'The language of others has disappeared' (RS interview)

(8.152) ཁོང་འོང་སྡོད་ཡོད་པོ་མན་པོ་ཕོ་ཚོ་ཚུ?

    kʰõ: *ɔ̃̀:*   **dø:** **jɤ̀:-p(o)**   *mɛ̀mbo,*   *p'otso=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་ཀོ་ལི་ཇི་ ལེ་ཝལ་ (college level)[319] ནང་ན་ ང་ཚག་ལོ་ ང་ཚའི་ སྐད་རིགས་ སླེབས་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

　　　pɛ=na　　　kolidʐ　　　lɛvəl　　　nàŋɕa　　　ŋàtɕa=lo　　　ŋàtɕi
　　　example=LOC college(Eng.) level(Eng.) inside　　1PL=DAT　　1PL.GEN

　　　kɛriʔ　　　ḷɛp　　　dø:　　　jɤ̀ʔ.
　　　language　arrive　stay　EX.PER

　　　'For instance, our language has reached college level.' (NAB BLA 7)

(8.154) ཁོ་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ སླེབས་པའི་ སྐང་ བྷཻ་ལའི་ལགས་ དན་པོ་ ཟིན་ཏི་ ཤུས་ཤུས་ ཁ་ ལབ་ ཚུགས་ལོ་ འཛོན་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

　　　kʰu　　　méŋkʰã:=na　　　ḷɛp-ø:　　　gã:　bhaila　　ʈʼɛmbo　　　sìn-di
　　　3SGM　hospital=LOC　arrive=2INF.GEN time PN　consciousness awaken-NF

　　　ɕý:ɕy:　　　kʰa-làp　　　tsʰu-po　　　tʰøn　　dø:　　duʔ.
　　　a.bit　　　mouth-speak　be.able.to-2INF　become stay　EX.SEN

　　　'When he arrives at the hospital, Bhaila has regained consciousness and has become 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 *jɤ̀:-ɕɛ ĩ́:*, see (8.155), contrasting with analogous past (8.156) and present expressions (8.157).[320]

(8.155) ང་ ཐོ་རངས་ རྒྱ་ཚོད་ དགུ་ལོ་ ཁྲོམ་ན་ འགྱུ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་ཀང་ ཨིན།

　　　ŋà　　tʰorã:　　　tɕʰutsʰøʔ　　gu=lo　　ʈʰom=na　gju　　dø:　jɤ̀:-ɕɛ　ĩ́:.
　　　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་ མདང་ རྒྱ་ཚོད་ དགུ་ལོ་ ཁྲོམ་ལོ་ འགྱུ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

　　　ŋà　　dã:　　　tɕʰutsʰø　　gu:=lo　　　ʈʰom=lo　gju:　dø:　jɤ̀ʔ.
　　　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་ དཀྲོ་ འགྱུ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

　　　ŋà　　tʼato gju:　dø:　jɤ̀ʔ.
　　　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) ད་ ཁྱིམ་ཁང་ བཙུགས་སྟེ་ ད་ འདེབ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་ ང་ཚ་ ན།

　　　tʼa　kʰɛ:gã:　tsuk-ti　　t'a　dɛp　　dø:　jɤ̀ʔ,　　ŋàtɕaʔ　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)

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[319] The WD word is མཐོ་རིམ་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ *mtho-rim slob-grwa* (YR).

[320] It is not possible to form a future construction of the other existential copula, sensorial *duʔ*.

(8.159) ཨོ་ སྤྱང་ གཅུག་ཀོ་ འདི་ བྲི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཟ་སྟེ་ ལེབ་ འགྱངས་སྟེ་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

ó   lǎ: tsuko=di   p'i   tʰamtɕɛʔ sà-ti   lὲp
that bull other=DEMPH fodder all   eat-NF   very.much

ɖã̀:-**ti**   **dø:**   duʔ.
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).

(8.160) ལ་ལས་ སྡོད་ས་ མ་ཐོབ་པར་ ལོང་སྟེ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

làla   døsa   ma-tʰop-(p)a   **lǒ̀:-ti**   **dø:**   jὸʔ.
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་ ལོང་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

làmkʰa   **lǒ̀:**   **dø:**   duʔ.
on.the.road   stand   stay   EX.SEN

'(They) are standing on the road.' (TB e)

The converbal 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 *døʔ* is followed by an existential, *døʔ* may be inflected like a typical verb. In some of the uses, the verb *døʔ* has a more grammatical sense where it underlines continuity of the action, see (8.162). In other uses, the secondary verb *døʔ* is used in a more concrete way with the meaning 'sit, stay', see (8.163).

(8.162) a) བུམ་ འདི་ ཆལ་ཚོལ་ བྱས་ འགྱུ་ སྡོད་བ་ སྲད།

p'um=di   tɕʰaltɕʰol-p'ja   **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་ བྱས་ འགྱུ་ སྡོད་པོ་ སྲད།

mí=di   pʰjarpʰjor-p'ja   **gju**   **dø:-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་ཏོ་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ལས་ ན་ འོག་སྟེ་ འོང་སྟེ་ བཞག་སྟེ་ སྡོད་ སྡོབ་སྲད།

t'a   ŋà=to   tɕʰuŋtɕuŋ=lɛ   nà: òtɛ   òn-di   jàk-ti³²¹   **dø:**
now   1SG=CEMPH   small=ABL   here   down   come-NF   set-NF   stay

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³²¹ 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."

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་ སྦ་ སྡོད་པད་ ཨིན།

gjuŋ   pʰuk-tiki   ba   dø:-ɕɛ   í:.
basket   pierce-NF   hide   stay-INF   EQU.PER
'Piercing the basket I will stay hiding (there).' (KTL animal story)

b) འདི་ལས་ ཕ་སྟེ་ རྒྱབ་ སྟོན་ སྡོད།

dilɛ   pʰatɛ   gjap   tøn   døʔ.
then   over.there   back   show   stay
'Then stay over there your back turned.' (KTL animal story)

c) ང་ ལོ་ བཅུ་ ཟང་སྟེ་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྟེང་ས་ དགོན་པའི་ སློབ་གྲ་ ནང་ལ་ ཆོས་ བྱས་ སྡོད་པོ་ ཨིན།

ŋá lò   tɕu   sã̀:tɛ   ʈaɕidiŋ   gjompø: lóbɖa   nàŋ=la³²²   tɕʰoʔ
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 *døʔ* is followed by a grammatical use.

8.3.3 Progressive VERB-*tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/zin* EX and VERB-*tɕuŋɛ/zuŋɛ*

The progressive constructions VERB-*tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/zin* EX and VERB-*tɕuŋɛ/zuŋɛ* (in Martam: VERB-*tɕoukɛ*) mark the verbal action as ongoing at a specific time determined by the existential copula and the context. The form *-tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:* 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 *tɕuŋɛ/zuŋɛ* is more difficult to determine because I have not come across it in written Denjongke.³²³

The semantics of the progressive *tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/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 duʔ* [go-PROG EX.SEN] refers to an event happening at the time of speaking but *gju dø: duʔ* [go stay EX.SEN] could also refer to habitual action.

8.3.3.1 Progressive VERB-*tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/zin* EX

The construction ending in the existential *jɔ̀ʔ* implies that 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 *jɔ̀ʔ* as if to invite the readers to observe a real-time event.

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³²² Dative-locative form =*la* instead of =*lo* here is Tibetan influence.
³²³ Consultant KT specifically stated that -*tɕuŋɛ/zuŋɛ* is only used in oral, not written language.

(8.164) འདི་རང་ཕྱུས་དགོན་པོ་མཇལ་མཁན་ མི་ རེ་རེ་ གཉིས་གཉིས་ ཕྱུས་བཞིན་ འོང་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

  dɛː=rã̃=p'ja   *gømpo*   *dzɛː-kʰɛ̃ː*   *mí*   *rɛ-rɛ*   *ɲíː-ɲíː*
  like.that=AEMPH=ADVZR   monastery   meet-NMLZ   person   each-each   two-two
  p'ja-zɛ̃ː   **õ̀ː-zɛ̃ː**   **jø̀ʔ.**
  do-PROG   come-PROG   EX.PER
  'Like that, people visiting the monastery are coming each two by two.'(Richhi 2)

The first instance of *-zɛ̃ː* in (8.164), *p'jazɛ̃ː*, illustrates an adverbial use without a following auxiliary. In this respect, *-tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː/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 *-tɕɛn* with *làp* '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.

(8.165) འབྱོང་པོ་ ཨིན་ ལབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

  bjõ̀ː-bo   *ĩ̀ː*   **làp-tɕɛn**   **duʔ.**
  disappear-2INF   EQU.PER say-PROG   EX.SEN
  '(He) disappeared, (they) are saying.' (TB phone call)

The aspect marker *-tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː/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) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ ད་སྟོ་ གན་ ཕྱུས་བཞིན་ འདུག?

  gjaltsʰɛn   *t'ato*   *k'an*   **p'ja-zɛn**   **duʔ?**
  Gyalsthen   now   what   do-PROG   EX.SEN
  'What is Gyalsthen doing now?' (KN e)

(8.167) a) ཁོང་ ད་སྟོ་ དེབ་ སློག་བཞིན་པོ་ འདུག།

  kʰõ̀ː   *t'ato*   *t'ɛp*   **ɖok-zim-bo³²⁴**   **duʔ.**
  3SG.HON   now   book   read-PROG-2INF   EX.SEN
  'He is now reading a book (I see).' (KN e)

  b) ཁོང་ ད་སྟོ་ དེབ་ སློག་བཞིན་ འདུག།

  kʰõ̀ː   *t'ato*   *t'ɛp*   **ɖok-zin**   **duʔ.**
  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:

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[324] For some reason, the consultant used here and in the following example the literary pronunciation instead of the typical oral *-tɕɛn*.

(8.168) ང་ཚོག་ ཁྱིམ་ཆེན་ འདི་ན་ ཕྱི་ལོ་ གཉིས་སྟོང་ གཅིག་ལས་ ཚོགས་པོ་ ཚོགས་བཞིན་པོ་ ཡོད་ལགས།

ŋàtɕa=di   kʰimtɕʰɛ̃ː   di=na   tɕʰilo ɲíːtõː tɕi:=lɛ   tsʰokpo
1PL=DEMPH   house-great   this=LOC   year   2000 one=ABL   meeting
tsʰoː-zim-bo   jə̀ː=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 *-tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː/zin*) meaning, as shown in (8.169).

(8.169) མདང་ སྐྱེན་རྒྱས་ ང་ལོ་ སྐུལ་ (call) རྒྱབས་པའི་ སྐབས་ ང་ ཁྲོམ་ལོ་ འགྱུ་བཞིན་པོ་ ཨིན།

dã: l̥ɛŋɡɛʔ   ŋà=lo   kol   kjap-ø: gã: ŋà ʈʰom=lo
yesterday PRN.HON 1SG=DAT call(Eng.) do-2INF.GEN time I   marker=DAT
gju-zim-bo   í:.
go-PROG-2INF   EQU.PER
'When you phoned me yesterday, I was going to town.' (KN e)

Finally, the progressive occurs in an idiomatic construction followed by the verb *p'ja* 'do':

(8.170) བཞུགས་བཞིན་ བྱས་པོ་ གནང་།

*zuː-tɕɛ̃ː **p'ja**-u   nã̌ː.*
sit-PROG do-2INF   do.HON
'Please sit (and wait here)' Lit. 'Please do sitting'. (oh)

(8.171) ཤིང་ཏོག་ གཏོག་བཞིན་ བྱས་རན་ཁར་

ɕíŋtoʔ   tok-**tɕɛ̃ː**   **p'ja**-rɛŋkʰa
fruit   pluck-PROG   do-SIM
'when (he was) plucking fruit…' (RB pear story)

(8.172) ངས་ གདན་ཞུས་ ཡི་གི་ ཕྲི་བཞིན་ བྱས་ཀྱད་ ཨིན།

ŋáː   dɛnzu   jìgi   ʈ'i-**zɛ̃ː**   **p'ja**-ɕɛ   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 *zuː-po nã̌ː* [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-rɛnkʰa:* '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 *-tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː.*, 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, in view of' (*t'øn* 'purpose') and *pakozin(=gi)* 'similarly, in accordance with' (the origin of the form *pako* is unknown to me at present).

(8.173) དེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཕུལ་པོ་ དོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ད་ ང་ཚག་ འདེབ་ དེ་ལོ་ སྡོད་ནེ་ མིན་སྐྱིག་ཀ།

tɛ	*ódi*	*pʰyː-bo*	**t'ønziŋgi**	*t'a*	*ŋàtɕaʔ*	*dɛp*	*t'ɛːlu*
so that	offer-2INF	in.accordance	now	1PL	like.that	unoccupied

dø:-nɛ   min-ɖikɛ.
sit-COND   NEG-be.alright

'In view of the (responsibility) offered (to us), it is not good if we just stay unoccupied.' (CY interview)

(8.174) དེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ དཔག་ཀོ་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ང་ཚའི་ སློ་པོ་ འདི་ཙུ་ཀིས་, གུན་པོ་ འདི་ཙུ་ཀིས་ ཙོང་སྐད་ཡང་ ཁོང་ ཤུན་རྒྱས་ མཐྱིན་ སྲད།

tɛ	*ódi*	**pakoziŋgi**	*ŋàtɕi*	*ḷopo*	*di=tsu-gi,*	*gɛmpo*	*di=tsu=gi*
so that	similarly	1PL.GEN	Lhopo	this=PL=AGT	old.man	this=PL=AGT

tsoŋkɛː=jã: kʰõ: ḷeŋgɛʔ   kʰɛn   beʔ.
Limbu=also   3PL   PRN.HON   know.HON   EQU.NE

'Similarly to that our Lhopos, the elderly ones, they also knew Limbu (language).' (CY interview)

For more on the postpositions *t'ønzin(=gi)* and *pakozin(=gi)*, see §3.6.8, §5.6.2 and §15.8.5.3.

Finally, (8.175) records a unique (interrogative) example of a local non-standard construction where an equative auxiliary accompanies the progressive:

(8.175) ཤུན་རྒྱས་ མདང་ སྐད་ཏོག་ན་ སྐོར་བཞིན་ སྲད་པོ?

ḷeŋgɛʔ	*dã:*	*gãto:=na*	**kor-zin**	*bɛ-po?*
PRN.HON	yesterday	TPN=LOC	go.around-PROG	EQU.NE-2INF

'Were you roaming in Gangtok yesterday?' (PL e)

Attaching *-po* to the neutral equative *beʔ* is a marginal phenomenon, see §11.1.2.2. One consultant wanted to replace *bɛ-po* here with *jə̀-po*.

8.3.3.2 Alterphoric progressive VERB-*tɕuŋgɛ/zuŋgɛ*

The progressive construction VERB-*tɕuŋgɛ/zuŋgɛ* (also -*tɕyŋgɛ/zyŋgɛ*, in Martam *tɕouɕɛ*) does not occur in written Denjongke. This construction is probably an abbreviation of the fuller form VERB-*tɕɛn dukɛ,* which also occurs in writing. Because in my data VERB-*tɕuŋgɛ/zuŋgɛ* 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 -*tɕuŋgɛ/zuŋgɛ* as alterphoric progressive (PROG.APH). The term "alterphoric" here simply means that the form is incompatible with first person actors.[325] The alterphoric progressive is here illustrated in (8.176-178).

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[325] The examples in my data have third person actors. Uses with second person actors are left open for future research.

(8.176) ཟླ་བ་ རྣམས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ སྐད་ ཐོན་བཞིན་གོ་ ཡོའུ།[326]

dawa námgɛ:=gi kɛʔ ***tʰøn-ʐyŋgɛ*** *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་ཅོའུ་གོ།

mí=di dikʰa símtɕɛ̃:=di=lo tsʰutɛ ***ʈok-tɕougɛ.***
human=DEMPH here animal=DEMPH=DAT hither frighten-PROG.APH
'The man is frightening this animal here.' (KN photo discussion)

(8.178) འདི་ཚུ་ ཏེ་ར་ བླུག་རོགས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ཀི་ ཁོང་ལོ་ རོགས་རམ་ བྱས་བཞིན་གོ།

di=tsu tɛːra lúk-roː p'ja-tiki kʰõ:=lo ròːram ***p'ja-ʐyŋgɛ.***
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 *tsʰø: 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*).

(8.179) ཀརྨ་ སྨན་ རིལ་བུ་ ཉོས་ འབག་སྟེ་ ལོག་ སླེབས།

karma mén riːbu ***ɲòː bak-ti*** *lòk ḷɛp.*
PN medicine tablet buy carry-NF return arrive
'Karma, having bought and brought the medicine, arrives back. (Richhi 11)

(8.180) ཕྱི་མཚམས་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ བཞི་ལོ་ ཀརྨ་ དང་ ནོར་བུ་ ཆོད་སྐྱིད་ སྡོད་ས་ སོང་ རེ་ཚེ་ སྐྱོམ་པོ་ བཏབ་ འབག་སྟེ།

pʰiːtsʰam tɕʰutsʰøʔ ʐi=lo karma t'ã: nòrbu tɕʰøkiʔ døsa
dusk clock.time four=DAT PN and PN PN dwelling
sõ̃: ritɕʰi 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)

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[326] One consultant wanted to replace ཐོན་བཞིན་གོ་ *tʰøn-ʐyŋ-gɛ* with ཐོན་བཞིན་ འདུག་གོ་ *tʰøn-ʐɛn du-kɛ*, underlining the fact that the former is probably a reduction of the latter.

(8.181) ཨོ་འདི་བྱས་ ཁུ་ སྐྱོང་ན་ སྐྲང་ འཚོལ་ འབག་ འཚོལ་ འབག་ སོང་སྟེ་ སྐྱོང་ གཅིག་ན་ སྐྲང་ ཆ་གཅིག་ ཐོབ་སྟེ་

ódi-p'ja   kʰu   k'jõ̀:=na   lǎ̃: **tsʰø** **bak** **tsʰø** **bak**
that-ADVZR 3SGM   village=LOC bull search carry search carry
sǒ̃:-di   k'jõ̀:=tɕi=na   lǎ̃:   tɕʰa=tɕiʔ   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་ ཧྲག་གཞིའི་ བརྟག་དཔྱད་ ལྟ་ཁད་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྲད།

néːmu=rã̀:   tɛndɛ: lèː-ɲɛː   t'ã̀ tagzi: taktɕɛʔ
really=AEMPH omen   good-evil and criteria.of.study investigation
ta-ɕɛʔ   **jø̀-po**   **bɛʔ**.
look-INF   EX. 2INF   EQU.NE
'There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria.' (Richhi 107)

(8.183) ཁུ་ལོ་/ཁུའི་/ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཁད་ ཡོད་འདུག

kʰu=lo/kʰu=i/kʰu   jóʔ p'ja-ɕɛʔ jø̀ʔ/duʔ.
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 genetive or locative marking of the possessor/location in (8.183) has became 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་ ཐོ་རངས་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཁད་ མེད།

ŋà   tʰorã̀:   jóʔ **p'ja-ɕɛʔ mèʔ**.
1SG tomorrow work do-INF NEG.EX
'I'll not work tomorrow'/'I have no work to do tomorrow.' (KN e)

b) ད་ དལ་ཁད་ མིན་འདུག་ལགས།

t'a   **t'ɛː-ɕɛʔ**   **mìnduː=la**.
now have.time-INF NEG.EX.SEN=HON
'Now (I) do not have the time'/'Now (I) haven't had the time.'
(KT discussion with TB)

(8.185) a) ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཁད་ མིན་འདུག་ག?

kʰu   jóʔ **p'ja-ɕɛʔ mìndu-ka**?
3SGM work do-INF NEG.EX.SEN-PQ
'Isn't he working?'/'Isn't he going to work?' (KN e)

b) ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཤད་ མེད་ཀ?

　　kʰu　　jóʔ　　p'ja-ɕɛʔ　mè:-ka?[327]
　　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་པུ་ སྔོན་ལོ་ ང་ཚག་ རིན་ བཞེས་ཤད་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྦྱད་ད།

　　t'ã:pu　　pénlo　ŋàtɕaʔ　rìn　ze:-ɕɛʔ　　jò:-kʰɛn　bɛʔ　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་རྩོ་ གུ་ཚག་ ང་ཚག་ལོ་ གན་ ཞུ་ཤད་ ཡོད?

　　t'ato　k'utɕaʔ　ŋàtɕa=lo　k'an　ɕù-ɕɛʔ　　jò:.
　　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)　ཨོ་བྱད་ཀྱིས་ ཕོགས་ ཐོབ་ཤད་ ཡོད་ཀ?

　　mòby=gi　pʰoʔ　　tʰop-ɕɛʔ　jò:-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).

(8.189)　སེམས་ཅན་ ལབ་མཁན་ འདི་ཡང་ ཁ་ ལབ་ཤད་ མེད་རུང་ མརྩོ་བསམ་ བཏང་ཤད་ འདུག་གོ།

　　símtɕẽ:　làp-kʰɛn=di=jã:　　kʰa　làp-ɕɛʔ　mè:-ruŋ　nó:sam
　　animal　say-NMLZ=DEMPH=even　mouth　say-INF　NEG.EX-CONC　thought
　　tã:-ɕɛʔ　　du-kɛ.
　　send-INF　EX.SEN-IN
　　'The animal, even though it cannot talk, can think (I see).' (RB butcher story)

(8.190) ཨ་རྫོ་ཚུ་གིས་ཁ་གཏམ་ལེབ་རྗིགས་དགས་ལབ་གནད་ཡོད་མཁན་བྱད།

ádzo=tsu=gi   kʰatam lὲp dziktaʔ   **làp-ɕɛʔ**   **jɔ̀ː-kʰɛn**   bɛʔ.
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)

(8.191) དེ་མུ་ལྷོ་སྐད་རྒྱབས་གནད་མེད།

tɛ   mù   ɭokɛ   **kjap-ɕɛʔ**   **mὲʔ**.
well   3SGF   Lhoke   speak-INF   NEG.EX.PER
'Well, she cannot speak Lhoke.' (SN kitchen discussion)

(8.192) ང་ཁྱུའི་རྩར་འགྱུ་གནད་མེད།

ŋà   kʰu=i=tsaː   **gju-ɕɛʔ**   **mὲʔ**.
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 negated form of the verb ʔ̀ò̃ː 'come', ma-hʔ̀ò̃ː [maɦõː][328], can replace mὲʔ/minduʔ as negated existential (see §7.2.5.1):

(8.193) ཚོ་འདི་འདི་དེ་ངའི་ཞུ་གནད་མ་འོང་།

ódi=di   tɛ ɲὲː   **ɕù-ɕɛʔ**   **ma-hʔ̀ò̃ː**.
that=DEMPH   so 1SG.GEN   say.HUM-INF   NEG-come
'I cannot tell that.' Lit. 'That is not mine to tell.' (PAD Tashiding story)

8.5 Modality (probability, possibility and necessity)

The term "modality" here refers to the speaker's judgments about a proposition in a very general sense.[329] Judgments about the factuality/certainty of a proposition are epictemic 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, see §4.2.3.

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[328] The pronunciation differs from the non-copular negation ma-ʔ̀ò̃ː > [mõː].

[329] This definition is inspired by Palmer's (2001: 8) characterization of epistemic and evidential modalities as expressing the speaker's jugdments about a proposition.

Table 8.4. Modality markers

Function		Form		Meaning	Morpheme type
Epistemic/ certainty	probabilitative	*-ʈo*	ཏྱོ་, ཏྱོ་, ཏྱོ་	'maybe, probably'	suffix
	apparentive	*(-po) ɖa* (EQU)	འདུ་	'seem'	complex constr.
	approximative	*raːgju, tʰɛːgju*	?	'seem'	
Obligation/ deontic		*goʔ*	དགོས་	'need to, must'	secondary verb
Permission	objective	*tɕʰoʔ*	ཆོག་	'be allowed'	
	subjective	*tup*	བཏུབ་	'deem fit'	
Evaluation	temporal	*rɛn*	རན་	'be time to'	
	practical/moral	*(mi-)lɛʔ*[330]	(མི་)ལེགས་	'be good to'	
Ability	general	*tsʰuʔ*	ཚུགས་	'be able to'	
		ɕéː	ཤེས་	'know (how to)'	
	physical	*kʰøʔ*	ཁྱུང་	'have strength to'	
	temporal	*lõ̀ː*	ལོང་	'have time to'	
Possibility		*síʔ*	སྲིད་	'be possible'	
Tentativity		*ta*	ལྟ་	'look'	
Pretension		*-dzin tʰap*	འཛིན་ ཐབས་	'pretend to'	complex constr.

8.5.1 Probabilitative *-ʈo*

The probabilitative *-ʈo* attaches directly to the verb root (8.194) or the completive marker *-tsʰaː* (8.195) and is not followed by any tense, aspect or evidentiality markers. The certainty implied by *-ʈo* varies between 'maybe' and 'probably'.

(8.194) རོལ་མོ་ ཞུ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ མཁྱེན་ཏྱོ།

    *rolmo   ɕù-watɕɛnɛ   **kʰɛn-ʈo**.*
    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་ ཕྱོན་ཁད་འདིས་ ཞལ་ སྐོམ་ཚར་ཏྱོ།

    *tʰaːriŋ=lɛ   tɕˈøn-ɕɛ=diː   ɕèː   **kom-tsʰaː-ʈo**.*
    far.away=ABL come.HON-INF=DEMPH.AGT   mouth.HON   thirst-CMPL-PROB
    'Since (you) have come from far away, (you) have perhaps become thirsty.'
    (rnam-rtog 5)

  The probabilitative is negated by the prefix *mi-*.

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[330] This form mainly occurs as negated.

(8.196) དེ་ ལ་ལ་ མཁྱེན་རུང་ འདི་ ཐུགས་ལོ་ མི་བཞག་གྲོ།

       tɛ   làla kʰɛn-ruŋ   di   tʰuː=lo   **mi-zaː-ʈo**.

       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)

(8.197) ཆོད་ ད་ མཚོ་ འདི་ རྒལ་ མི་ཚུགས་གྲོ།

       tɕʰøʔ   t'a   tsʰo=di   gɛː   **mi-tsʰuː-ʈo**.

       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 probabilitative 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་གྲོ།

       tsʰom   **ín-ʈo**.

       mortar EQU-PROB

       'It's maybe a mortar.' (TB e)

(8.199) སློབ་གྲྭའི་ གཡོག་ གལ་ཆན་ཏོ་ མེད་གྲོ?

       lóbɖøː   jóʔ   k'ɛːtɕɛ̃ː=to   **mèː-ʈo**.

       school.GEN work important=CEMPH NEG.EX-PROB

       'There's probably no important school work.' (Richhi 55)

(8.200) *ཚོམ་ བྱད་གྲོ།

       *tsʰom   **bɛ-ʈo**.

       mortar   EQU.PER-PROB

(8.201) *སློབ་གྲྭའི་ གཡོག་ གལ་ཆན་ཏོ་ མིན་འདུག་གྲོ་

       *lóbɖøː jóʔ k'ɛːtɕɛ̃ː=to   **mìnduː-ʈo**.

       school.GEN work important=CEMPH NEG.EX-PROB

The probabilitative also attaches to auxiliary copulas:

(8.202) དུས་མན་ནེ་ར་ 1,50000 འདི་ཅིག་ སོང་པོ་ ཨིན་གྲོ་ ཁྱིམ་ བཅོས་པའི་ སྐྱད།

       t'yːmɛnɛ=ra   ɖɛːɖ   lak   dɛːtɕiʔ   **ső̀ː-bo**   **ín-ʈo**,   kʰim

       about=AEMPH 1,5(Nep.) lakh(Nep.) that.much go.PFV-2INF EQU-PROB house

       tɕoː-pøː   gã̀ː.

       repair-2INF.GEN time

       'Maybe about some 1,5 lakh (rupees) went when repairing the house.' (KT discussion with TB)

The verb ő̀ː 'come' functions as an existential, which often co-occurs with the probabilitative marker:

(8.203) ཚ་ འོང་གོ།

    tsʰa ø̀ː-ʈo.

    salt come-PROB

    'There's probably salt.' (KN e)

The form *ø̀ː-ʈo* may be postposed as an auxiliary to verb roots instead of mere *-ʈo* (compare with 8.194):

(8.204) སློབ་དཔོན་ མཁྱེན་ འོང་གོ་ལགས།

    lópø̃ː   kʰɛn   ø̀ː-ʈo=la.

    teacher know.HON come-PROB=HON

    '(You) perhaps know (that) teacher.' (KT discussion with TB)

In the novel Ricchi, *-ʈo* is six times out of total seven followed by the morpheme *ni* (spelled both ནེ་ *ni* and ནེ་ *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 *-ʈo* 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) ད་པ་ བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ མན་བྱོན་པོ་ ནེ་ ཨིན་ག?

    hapa bombai=lo man-dzøn-ʈo   ni   íŋ-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 *ɖa*

The Classical Tibetan verb འདྲ་ *ɖa* '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 *-ɕɛ(ʔ)* (1. infinitive), *-po/bo* (2. infinitive) and *-to/do* (imperfective). It would be problematic to name *ɖa* a apparentive copula, because it is very frequently followed by an equative copula.[331] For the independent, copular type of uses, consider (8.206) and (8.207):

(8.206) ང་ དུ་ཅིག་ ད་ མ་སླེབས, ན་ནིང་ འདི་ ཚ་ གཉིས་, ན་ནིང་ མེད་པ་སྲང་, གཞེས་ཉིང་ འདྲ།

    ŋà   t′utɕiʔ   t′a ma-ɭɛp, nàniŋ=di   tsʰa ɲíː, nàniŋ

    1SG this.year   now NEG-arrive last.year=DEMPH turn two last.year

    mɛ́bbɛ,   zø̀ːɲiŋ   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)

---

[331] The combination *ɖa bɛʔ*, however, merges into an apparentive equative copula *ɖɛː/rɛː*, which is discussed in §7.2.4.

(8.207) ཁོང་ཏོ་ གང་ (gang) འདྲ་ས།

       kʰõ:=to   *gɛŋ*   **ɖa=s.**
       3PL=CEMPH   gang(Eng.) AP=QUO
       'They seem (to belong to) one group.' (KN kitchen discussion)

Uses of *ɖa* 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 *ɖa* with past action marked by the second infinitive *-po/bo/u* (8.208-212), future action marked by the first infinitive *-ɕɛʔ* (8.213-215) and ongoing action marked by the imperfective *-to/do* (8.216-220).

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) ཁུ་ མདང་ འོང་པོ་ འདྲ་ སྲད།

         kʰu   *dã:*   *òm-bo*   **ɖa bɛʔ.**
         3SGM   yesterday   come-2INF AP EQU.NE
         'It seems he came yesterday.' (KUN e)

      b) ཁུ་ མདང་ མ་འོང་པོ་ འདྲ་ སྲད།

         kʰu   *dã:*   *ma-òm-bo*   **ɖa bɛʔ.**
         3SGM   yesterday   NEG-come-2INF   AP EQU.NE
         'It seems he didn't come yesterday.' (KUN e)

(8.209) མནའམ་ འདི་ མདང་ ཁ་ནུབ་ ལོག་ཚྱོན་པོ་ འདྲ།

       nám=di   *dã:*   *kʰa:nup*   *lòk*   **tɕˈøm-bo**
       daughter-in-law=DEMPH   yesterday   the.day.before.yesterday   return   come-2INF
       ɖa.
       AP
       'Apparently the daughter-in-law returned yesterday or the day before yesterday.' (SN kitchen discussion)

(8.210) ཚ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཚི་ཅིག་ དགོངས་ཡངས་ གནང་པོ་ འདྲ་ སྲད་ ཚ་འདི་ སྲང་ལོ་ ཁྲི་ཀ་དར་ (thikadar) ཚུ་གིས།

       ódi=lo=di   *átsi=tɕiʔ*   *gõ:jã:*   **nǎ̌:-bo**   **ɖa bɛʔ,**   *ódi*
       that=DAT=DEMPH   a.bit=INDF   exemption   do.HON-2INF   AP EQU.NE   that
       gã:=lo   *tʰikadar=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་ཚོའི་མི་ཚེ་འདིའི་མཇལ་ཁ་མཐའ་མོ་ཨིན་པོ་འདུ་ཨིན་ག། ཨ་རྒྱ།

<blockquote>

*t'ariŋ   ŋàtɕi   mí-tsʰɛ   di: dʑɛ:kʰa tʰamo **ím-bo   ɖa***
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)

</blockquote>

(8.212) ཁུ་གཡོག་འདི་མི་བྱོས་པོ་འདུ།

<blockquote>

*kʰu   jó:=di   **mi-jò-u   ɖa**.*
3SGM   work=DEMPH NEG-do-2INF AP
'Apparently he's not doing the work.' (KN e)

</blockquote>

Future with -ɕɛ-infinitive
With -ɕɛ-infinitive, the apparentive construction refers to apparent future action. In (8.215), the sequence *ɖa bɛʔ* merges into the apparentive copula *ɖɛʔ* (also *ɖɛ:/rɛ:/rɛʔ*).

(8.213) ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་འདེ་ཚིག་ད་ང་ཚོའི་སྐད་འདི་ཡལ་ཤད་འདུ་ཨིན་ལགས།

<blockquote>

*lò   ɲíɕu   de:tɕiʔ   t'a   ŋàtɕi   kɛ:=di   **jɛ̀:-ɕɛ   ɖa***
year   twenty that.much now 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH   disappear-INF AP
í:=la.
EQU.PER=HON
'Now it seems that (in) some twenty years our language will disappear.' (RL interview)

</blockquote>

(8.214) དེ་ནས་ང་ཚག་གཉིས་ཀའི་མཆོ་དོན་མིན་འགྲུབ་ཤད་འདུ་ཨིན་ག་ཨ་རྒྱ།

<blockquote>

*t'ɛnɛ   ŋàtɕaʔ   ɲí:-kø: nódõ: **min-ɖup-ɕɛ   ɖa***   íŋ-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)

</blockquote>

(8.215) ཨེ་དོན་ཏོ་ར་ནི་པུལ་ལོ་སྡོད་ཤད་འདྲ། (=འདུ་སྲད།)

<blockquote>

*ɛ:, t'øn=to   ranipul=lo dø:-**ɕɛ   ɖɛʔ**.*
oh meaning=CEMPH TPN=DAT   stay-INF AP.EQU.NE
'Oh, (that) means it looks like (she) will stay (the night) in Ranipool.'
(KNM kitchen discussion)

</blockquote>

Ongoing with imperfective
In conjunction with progressive marker, the apparentive construction, unsurprisingly, refers to apparent ongoing action. It is noteworthy that the equative copula *í:* (neg. *mɛ̃̀:*) may occur in the progressive apparentive construction, as shown in (8.217) and (8.218).

(8.216) ཞལ་ལག་ རྩོ་དོ་ འདྲ་ སྲྡ།
ɕɛ̀:laʔ **ŋó-do** *ɖa bɛʔ.*
food.HON fry-IPFV AP EQU.NE
'(She) is apparently frying food.' (RS driver joke)

(8.217) ཨོ་འདྲེམ་ཅིག་ ཨིན་དོ་ འདྲ།
ódɛm=tɕiʔ **ín-do** *ɖa.*
like.that=INDF EQU-IPFV AP
'It seems to be like that.' (YR boys' and girls' clothing)

(8.218) མན་དོ་ འདྲ།
mɛ̀n-do *ɖa.*
NEG.EQU-PROG AP
'It seems not to be (so).' (KNM kitchen discussion)

(8.219) ད་རིང་ ཁྱི་ འདི་ཀྱིས་ ཤྭ་བོ་ འདི་ལོ་ གནོད་པོ་ བསྐྱལ་བ་ ཡོང་དོ་ འདྲ་ སྲྡ།
t'ariŋ kʰi=di=gi ɕáu=di=lo nø̀:po kɛ:-wa **òn-do**
today dog=DEMPH=AGT deer=DEMPH=DAT harm bring-PUR come-PROG
ɖa bɛʔ.
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་ སྐྱིད་སྐྱིད་ གནས་སྐོར་ (ཧོ་ ནི་མུན) ལོ་ འགྱུ་དོ་ འདྲ་པོ་ ཡོད།
t'ato kʰõ̀: ɲí:-po ý: tʰa:riŋ=lo ɲén dzɛ:=ki ki:-ki:
now 3PL two-COL place far.away=DAT marriage after=GEN enjoyment-RDP
né:kor (hanimun=lo) **gju-do** *ɖa-u jø̀ʔ.*
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, *ɖa* is followed by an equative copula, most often *bɛʔ*, see (8.208), (8.210), (8.216), (8.219), (8.221) and (8.222), but also with *í:*, see (8.213).

Through frequent use, the combination *ɖa bɛʔ* has merged into an apparentive equative copula *ɖɛ:/ɖɛʔ/rɛ:/rɛʔ,* see also §7.2.4. Some of my consultants were not aware that *ɖɛ:/rɛ:* is related to *ɖa bɛʔ*. The apparentive copula is often accompanied by the attention marker *=ɕo,* which marks attention-worthy, often new information (see §16.2.2 and Yliniemi 2016a). The co-occurrance of the apparentive copula with the attention marker is quite natural, because both markers are often used in the context of finding out something new, as illustrated in (8.221) and (8.222).

(8.221) ཨོ་འདི་ སྐབས་ ཉོ་ཉོ་ འདྲད་ཤོ། (=འདྲ་སྲྡ་ཤོ།)
ódi gã̀: ɲò:-ɲò: **rɛ:**=ɕo.
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) ཚོ་འདི་ གན་ མོ? ཚོ་འདི་ ཏུ་ཨ་རིསྟ་ (tourist) འདི་ འདུད་པོ་ (=འད་ སྣད་གོ)

     ódi   k'an mo?   ódi   tuərist=di   ɖɛ:=ɕo.

     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)

When *-ɖa* is negated by the negator-prefix *mi-*, the meaning of the form is 'be different':

(8.223) ད་རུང་ར་ ལེབ་ ཁ་ མིན་འད་པོ་ལགས།

     *t'aruŋ=ra   lèp   kʰa   **min-ɖa**=ɕo=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་པུ་ འདེམ་ མིན་འད་ སྣད།

     *t'iza: t'ã:pu   dɛm   **min-ɖa** bɛʔ.*

     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 *ɖa (bɛʔ), min-ɖa (bɛʔ),* has the meaning 'be different', *ɖa* 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'.[332] Example (8.225) is negated in (8.226).

(8.225) ཁུ་ མདང་ ཨོང་པོ་ འད་ སྣད།

     *kʰu   dã: **òm-bo**   ɖa   bɛʔ.*

     3SGM   yesterday come-2INF AP   EQU.NE

     'He seems to have come yesterday.' (KN e)

(8.226) ཁུ་ མདང་ མ་ཨོང་པོ་ འདུད་ (འད་སྣད)།

     *kʰu   dã: **m-õ̀-:b=ɖɛʔ.***

     3SGM   yesterday NEG-come-2INF=AP.EQU.NE

     'He seems not to have come yesterday.' (KN e)

In addition to the apparentive uses, *ɖa* is used as the base of the adjectives *ɖau/ɖou* 'similar, like' (neg. *man-ɖau/man-ɖou* 'dissimilar, unlike'), see (8.227), and *ɖa:manɖau/ɖa:minɖa* 'different kinds of', see (8.228).

(8.227) བུམ་ འདི་ ནོར་བུ་ འདྲུ་ ཨིན་ སེ།

     p'um=di   nòrbu   ɖou   í:=s.

     girl=DEMPH   gem   like   EQU.PER=QUO

     'The girl is like a gem (it is said).' (SGD wedding customs)

---

[332] 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.

(8.228) གཏམ་རྒྱུས་འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་ཀེས་པོ་ཡོད་མཁན་བེད།

tamgyʔ   ḍaminḍa   kɛːpo   jòː-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 *ḍaːgju* and *tʰɛːgju*

There are further two constructions that resemble in meaning the probabilitative and apparentive forms, *ḍaːgju/ḍaːkju* (may also be pronounced *raːgju/raːkju*, written tentatively as འདྲ་འགྱུ) and *tʰɛːgju* (written tentatively as ཐེ་འགྱུ), which occur in the same positions as the apparentive *ḍa (bɛʔ)*. The form *ḍaːgju/ḍaːkju*, which may include the apparentive *ḍa*, is used at least in Ralang and Tashiding in West Sikkim, whereas *tʰɛːgju* 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 probabilitative and apparentive forms. Similarly to copulas, the approximative forms may occur independently without other verbal marking:[333]

(8.229) ཟླ་པོ་ལོ་ཏོ་ ཨིསྐུལ་ (school) གྱི་ཕི་ (fee) ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ འདྲ་འགྱུ་ལགས།

*dou=lo=to   iskul=gi   pʰiː   ŋábgja   **raːkju**=la.*[334]
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) ཨོན་ བཟོ་ དགོས་ གད་ འདྲ་འགྱུ།

*óna   dzo   goː=ɕɛ   **raːkju**.*
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་ ཨམ་ གྲིངས་སྟེ་ ད་ ལོ་ བཅུ་ བཅོ་ལྔ་ ལྷངས་ འདྲ་འགྱུ།

*ɲèː   ám   ʈʼõ̀ː-ti   tʼa   lò   tɕu   tɕɛŋa   **làm***
1SG.GEN   mother   die.HON-NF   now   year   ten   fifteen   reach.2INF
ḍaːgju.
APPR
'It's probably ten to fifteen years since my father died.' (DB life story)

(8.232) བཏང་པོ་ འདྲ་འགྱུ, ང་ མ་ཐོབ་པོ་ བེད།

tã̀ːbo   ḍaː(k)ju,   ŋà   ma-tʰob=bɛʔ.
send-2INF APPR   1SG   NEG-receive.2INF=EQU.NE
'Probably (they) sent (it), (but) I didn't receive (it).'(PED life story)

---

[333] My data has no examples of the independent use of *tʰɛːgju*, but because *tʰɛːgju* seems the Martam equivalent of *raːgju*, independent uses probably do exist.

[334] 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 *lópʈa=gi lá* སློབ་གྲ་གི་ ལ྄.

(8.233) ཤ་མ་རབ་རྒྱལ་འདི་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ་ཡོད་པོ་ཟེ་འགྱུ།

      lám   rabgɛ:=di=jã: jɤ̀:=to   **jɤ̀-p(o) tʰɛ:gju**.

      lama PN=DEMPH=too   EX.PER=CEMPH(or PROG) EX-2INF APPR

      'Lam Rabgen probably is there too.' (AB kitchen)

(8.234) དེ་ཚོ་འདེ་ཨིན་དོ་ཟེ་འགྱུ།

      *tɛ ódɛ: **ín-do**   **tʰɛ:gju**.*

      so like.that EQU.PER-PROG   APPR

      'So it seems to be like that.' (KN kitchen discussion)

8.5.4 Permissives *tɕʰoʔ* and *tup*

The two permissive secondary verbs *tɕʰoʔ* 'be allowed' and *tup* 'deem fitting, deem proper' have partly overlapping semantics. By using the secondary verb *tɕʰoʔ* 'be allowed, be right' the speaker evaluates whether something is permissible or not with reference to some moral or other norm. Hence *tɕʰoʔ* may be termed an objective permissive in contrast to subjective permissive *tup*, which expresses that evaluation happens with reference to individual person's tastes and practical purposes. The permissives may be negated by either *ma-* or *mi-*, used with past and present respectively. According to informant KN, the past form of the affirmative *tɕʰoʔ* is *tɕʰok-o ̌ǐ:/bɛʔ,* 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) བཞེ་དོ་འདེམ་བྱས་ཆོག།

      *ɕé:-to   dɛm   **p'ja tɕʰoʔ**.*

      seize-PROG like.that do   be.allowed

      'it's like (they) should be caught' (CY interview)

(8.236) འཐུ་གོས་མི་ཆོག།

      ***tʰu ko: mi-tɕʰoʔ**.*

      pick throw   NEG-be.allowed

      'It's not right to throw (it) away (like that).' (KNA kitchen discussion)

(8.237) ང་ཚག་གིས་འདི་ཀུམ་རྒྱབས་མི་ཆོག་སེ།

      *ŋàtɕa=ki=di   **kum**   **kjap mi-tɕʰo:=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་ རྩར་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ གནང་ནེ་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ གནང་ ཆོག་ ཨིན།

　　　　*rã:　　ɲè:=tsa:　　　tɕˈɛm-bo　　　nǟ:-nɛ　　　tɕˈɛm-bo　**nǟ:***
　　　　2SG.L　1SG.GEN=at　come.HON-2INF　do.hon-COND　come-2INF　do.HON
　　　　tɕʰo*　　　*ǐ:.
　　　　be.allowed　EQU.PER
　　　　'If you come to my place, you can (=are allowed) come.' (KT phone call)

(8.239) བླ་མ་ ལབ་རུང་ ལབ་ ཆོག་ སྲད།

　　　　*láma làp-ruŋ　**làp　tɕʰo**　　　bɛʔ.*
　　　　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 *tɕʰoʔ* '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་ག?

　　　　***tup*-ka?**
　　　　deem.fitting-PQ
　　　　'Is (it) fitting/alright?' (NAB, oh)

(8.241) ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ མཐུ་སྟོབས་ རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ གསན་ མ་བཏུབ་པོ།

　　　　*tɕʰøgɛ:　tʰutop　námgɛ:=gi　**sèn　　ma-tup-o**.*
　　　　king　PN　　PN=AGT　　　listen.HON　NEG-deem.fitting-2INF
　　　　'King Thutop Namgyal did not seem it fit to obey.' (CY interview)

(8.242) གལ་སྲིད་... རང་ རྩར་ གནང་སྟེ་ཀི་ འདུ་སྟེ་ ཕྱིན་ མ་བཏུབ་ནེ་ ངས་ ཁམས་ཆུ་ སྐྱེལ་ཤད་ ཨིན་ སེ་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།

　　　　*kʰɛ:si ... rã:=tsa:　　nǟ:-diki du-ti　　**pˈin　ma-tup**-nɛ　　　　　　ŋá:*
　　　　if　　　2SG.L=at　give-NF　collect-NF　give　NEG-deem.fitting-COND　1SG.AGT
　　　　kʰamtɕʰu　kɛ:=ɕĩ:=s　　　　　làp-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) བླམ་ཆོས་འཕེལ་རྒྱབས་ཟང་ནེ་ པོ་ཏོ་ (photo) རེ་ ཐོན་ མ་བཏུབ་པོ་ལོ་ སེ།

　　　lám tɕʰøpʰɛl kjap=sã:=nɛ pʰoṭo (Eng.) dzɛ: tʰøn
　　　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 *tɕʰoʔ*, 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 *tɕʰoʔ* 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་ཚག་གིས་ སྲོག་ གཅོང་ མི་བཏུབ།

　　　ŋàtɕa=ki só: tɕɛ́ʔ mi-tup.
　　　1PL=AGT life cut NEG-be.fitting
　　　'We shouldn't take life.' (YR canteen video)

8.5.5 Temporal evaluative *rɛn* 'be time to'

By using the secondary verb *rɛn* '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 *rɛn* 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 perihrastic past *VERB *rɛn-
bo bɛʔ* and completive *VERB *rɛn-tsʰa:* do not occur. A nominalized form, however, occurs in the
idiom given in (8.247).

(8.245) ད་ཙོ་ ཁོང་ སླེབས་ རན།

　　　t'ato kʰõ: ḷɛp rɛn.
　　　now 3SG.HON arrive be.time.to
　　　'Now it's time for him to come.' (KUN e)

(8.246) ཚོམ་ ཁོལ་ རན་ཏོ་ མ་ལག་ ལྟ་ཆེ།

　　　óm kʰø: rɛn-to. màlaʔ ta-tɕʰi.
　　　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) འགྱུ་ རན་ སྡོད་ རན་པོ་ལས་ ད་ འདེམ་ གན་ བྱས་པོ་ ཨིན།

　　　gju rɛn dø: rɛn-po=lɛ *t'a dɛm k'an p'ja-u ĩ:ʔ*
　　　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 *rɛn*. 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   rɛn-do
eat   be.time.to-IPFV
'It's time to eat'

8.5.6 Moral and practical evaluative *(mi-)lɛʔ* 'be (not) good'

The secondary verb *(mi-)lɛʔ*, which typically occurs negated, expresses the speaker's evaluation about the goodness or practicality of a course of action.

(8.249) ཚོ་འདི་ བྱས་ མི་ལེགས།
ódi   p'ja   mi-lɛʔ.
that   do   NEG-be.good
'It is not good to do that.' (KN, CY interview)

(8.250) ཟམ་འདི་ ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ ཟ་ མི་ལེགས།
sàm=di   tɕʰø:=ki   sà   mi-lɛʔ.
food=DEMPH   2SG.L=AGT eat   NEG-be.good
'It is not good for you to eat the food.' (Rna-gsung 9)

(8.251) ཆེཿ ཨ་རྒྱ, བཞེས་པོ་ གནང་མོད། ཡང་ན་ ང་ཚོའི་ ལག་ག་ལས་ བཞེས་ མི་ལེགས་པོ?
tɕʰɛ: àgja,   ʑe:-po   nã̌:-mǿʔ.   jã̌:nɛ ŋàtɕi   làka=lɛ
oh.no   elder.bother   eat.HON-2INF   do.HON-URG   or   1PL.GEN hand=ABL
ʑe: mi-lɛ̀:-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 situations, *mi-lɛʔ* is functionally very close to negated permissives *mi-tɕʰoʔ* 'be not allowed' and *mi-tup* 'deem not fitting'.

8.5.7 General abilitatives *tsʰuʔ* 'be able to' and *ɕé:* 'know'

The secondary verbs *tsʰuʔ* 'be able to' (WT ཚུགས་ *tshugs*) and *ɕé:* 'know' (WT ཤེས་ *shes*) express the speaker's evaluation about the proposition's actor's ability to do something. The form *tsʰuʔ* is described first, then *ɕé:*. The abilitative *tsʰuʔ* may occur as the sentence-final morpheme or be followed by other verbal suffixes. The negated forms are present/future *mi-tsʰuʔ (EQU)* and past *ma-tsʰuʔ (EQU)*. The affirmative past form is *tsʰu-po EQU*. In (8.252) and (8.253) *tsʰuʔ* occurs as sentence-final morpheme.

(8.252) དེ་ རང་ཏོ་ ཁ་ཤ་ ནགས་ཚལ་ ནང་ཤ་ བྱག་ འདི་ཚུའི་ ནང་ཤ་ ལེབ་རྒྱག་ ཚུགས།
tɛ   rã̌:=to   kʰaɕa nà:tsẽ̌:   nàŋɕa   p'jaʔ di=tsu=i   nàŋɕa   lɛ̀p
then   2SG.L=CEMPH deer forest   inside   cliff this=PL=GEN   inside   very.much
gjuk tsʰuʔ.
run   be.able.to
'But you, a deer, are able very well to run in the forest and cliffs.' (UU deer story)

(8.253) ཨོ་འདི་བྱུས་ ང་ སློབ་ མ་ཚུགས།

      ódi-p'ja   *ŋà*   **ɖok**   **ma-tsʰuʔ**.

       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་ཏོ་ ཟླ་པོ་ གཉིས་ འདེ་ཅིག་ དེ་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ བཞག་ ཚུགས་ སྦད།

       di=ta[335]   *dau*   *ɲíː*   *dɛːtɕiʔ*   *tɛ*   *kʰim=na*   **ʐak**   **tsʰu**   **bɛʔ**.

       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) ཨོ་འདི་ཏོ་ བུ་ བུམ་ ག་གིས་ བྱས་རུང་ བྱས་ ཚུགས་ ཨིན།

       ódi=ta   *p'u*   *p'um ka=gi*   *p'ja-ruŋ*   **p'ja**   **tsʰu**   **ĩ́ː**.

       that=CEMPH   boy   girl   who=AGT   do-CONC   do   be.able.to   EQU.PER

       'Whoever does it, boy or girl, can do (it).' (PL interview)

(8.256) ད་རིང་གི་ ཐག་གཅད་ འདི་ ད་ལྟ་རེ་ ཐོན་ མི་ཚུགས་ སྦད།

       t'ariŋ=gi   *tʰaktɕɛ̃ː=di*   *t'atarɛ*   **tʰɛn**   **mi-tsʰu**   **bɛʔ**.

       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 *tsʰuʔ* respectively:

(8.257) ག་ན་ འགྱུ་ ཚུགས་ཤད་ ཨ་པ?

       k'ana   **gju**   **tsʰuː-ɕɛʔ**   *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   *kɛri=ki*   *lópõ̀ː*   *jóʔ*   **tʰop**   **tsʰu-po**   **ĩ́ː**.

       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)

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[335] 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་པོ་[336] སྐོར་ མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་ བྱུང་།

      ɖendzoŋ=gi   né:=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, *ɕé:* 'know' can be used as a secondary verb marking ability:

(8.260) ཁོང་ འབྲི་ མ་ཤེས་རུང་ སྐད་ འདི་ རྒྱབ་ ཤེས་ཏོ་ལགས་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐབ་།

      kʰõ: ʈ'i   ma-ɕé:-ruŋ   kɛ:=di   kjap ɕé:-to=la,   ódi   gã:.

      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) ཀློག་ ཤེས་ག?

      ɖok   *ɕé:-ka*?

      read   know-PQ

      'Can (you) read?' (UT e)

(8.262) གླང་ རྨོ་ ཤེས་གམ?

      lã̀:   mó   ɕé:-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-INF EX, see §8.4.

8.5.8 Mental abilitative *nùm* 'dare, have courage to'

The secondary verb *nùm* 'dare, have courage' may be characterized as one type of mental ability (alongside, for instance, intellectual ability). The following examples illustrate the use of *nùm* in a negated statement (8.263), a question (8.264a) and an affirmative answer to a question (8.264b). Note that in (8.264b), where the primary verb in undertood from the context (the question), *nùm* can be used independently.

(8.263) ང་ འགྱུ་ མི་ནུམ།

      ŋà   gju   mi-nùm.

      1SG   go   NEG-dare

      'I don't dare to go.' (KTL e)

(8.264) a) སྦྲུལ་ འདི་ བསད་ ནུམ་ག?

      biu=di   séʔ   nùm-ka?

      snake=DEMPH kill   dare-PQ

      'Do (you) dare to kill the snake?' (KTL e)

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[336] ཕོ་ here represents the Nepali emphatic *po*.

b) ཌས་ རྗུམ།

    ŋá: **nùm**.

    1SG.AGT dare

    'I (do) dare.' (KUN e)

8.5.9 Physical abilitative *kʰøʔ* 'to have the strength to'

The secondary verb *kʰøʔ* (WD ཁྱོད་ *khyod*) expresses a special case of abilitative, 'to have the strength to'. This verb collocates especially with the verb *bak* 'carry':

(8.265) ཁུ་ ཚེ་ འདི་ན་ ཉྲིག་ཀོ་ མ་ཉུན་ འདེམ་ བྱུས་ ཚེ་ ཕམ་ན་ ཁུ་ ཉྲིག་ཀོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ འབག་ ཁྱོད་ཀ?

    kʰu   *tsʰɛ=di=na*   *diko ma-ɲun*   *dɛm-pˈja*   *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 *lȭ:* 'have time to'

The secondary verb *lȭ:*, 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 *lȭ:* 'stand', but differs from it syntactically in that whereas *lȭ:* 'stand' functions like a typical verb, *lȭ:* '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་ ཞུ་ལོང་ མེད།

    sȭ:ʑa   *ɕù*   **lȭ:**   *mèʔ*.

    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་ ཨ་ཅུ་ རྩར་ འགྱུ་ ལོང་ མེད། ཁྱིམ་ན་ གཡོག་ ཡོད།

    tˈato   *ŋà*   *átɕu=tsa:*   **gju**   **lȭ:**   *mèʔ*.   *kʰim=na*   *jóʔ*

    now   1SG   elder.brother=at go   have.time.to NEG.EX.PER house=LOC work

    jȭʔ.

    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   *jòʔ*   *mèʔ*.   **gju**   **lȭ:**   *jȭʔ*.

    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་ངེ་ བྱས་ཟིང་ གན་མའི་ འོང་ལོང་ འདུག་གོ?

    ŋà   *t'atɕi=lɛ*   *ò̤:-ɲi*   *p'ja=sã:*   *k'amø:*   **ò̤:**   **lò̤:**
    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 *lò̤:* 'have time to', expressing the semantic equivalent of English 'as soon as', is exemplified in (8.270):

(8.270) བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ ས�្លེབས་ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ ཡི་གེ་ བྲི་ཤད་ ཨིན་

    bombai=lo   *ḽɛp*   **lò̤:**   **mè:-po**   *jìgi*   *ʈ'i-ɕɛ*   *ĩ́:.*
    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 *lò̤:* 'have time' is not used as primary verb is probably that Denjongke has a another verb *t'ɛ:* 'have time to', which can be used independently:

(8.271) མིན་དལ་ལོ།

    mìn-dɛ:=lo.
    NEG-have.time=REP
    '(He) does not have time, (they) heard (him say).' (KNA kitchen discussion)

8.5.11 Deontic modal *goʔ* 'be needed, must'

The affirmative form of the deontic modal secondary verb *goʔ* 'be needed, must' indicates that something, in the speaker's opinion, needs to be done (in affirmative), see (8.272).

(8.272) ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ དེབ་ བྲི་ དགོས།

    tɕʰø:=ki   *t'ɛp*   **ʈ'i**   **goʔ.**
    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 *goʔ* 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་ སྡོད་ མིན་དགོས་གོ།

    ómdzɛʔ   *sámḍup*   **dø:**   **miŋ-go:=ɕo.**
    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་ཚག་གིས་ སྲོག་ མ་བསད་ དགོས།

    ŋàtɕa=ki   *sók*   **ma-sɛ́**   *goʔ.*
    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་ ཆུ་ དགོས།
     *ŋá:/ŋà=lo/*ŋà*   *tɕʰu*   **goʔ**.
     1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/*1SG   water   be.needed
     'I need water.' (KN e)

(8.276) ངས་/ང་ལོ་ /ང་ ཆུ་ཚན་ མིན་དགོས།
     ŋá:/ŋà=lo/ŋà   *tɕʰutsʰɛ̃:*   **miŋ-goʔ**.
     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 *ĩ̀:* does not occur in this position in my data).

(8.277) ཨ་རྒྱ་ དགོངས་པོ་ ཞུ་ དགོས་པད།
     ágya   *gom(po)*   **ɕù**   **goː=pɛʔ**.
     elder.brother   permission request   be.needed-EQU.NE
     'Brother, I need to request permission (to leave).' (Richhi 70)

(8.278) ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཞུ་ མིན་དགོས་ སྲད་གོ།
     ódɛm   **ɕù**   **min-goʔ**   *bɛ=ɕo*.
     like.that   say.HUM   NEG-be.needed   EQU.NE=AT
     '(They) needn'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་ ཏེ་ར་ ཆུ་ ཕུལ་གད་ དགོས་གད་ སྲད།
     tʰabra=na   *tɛːra tɕʰu*   **pʰyː-ɕɛ**   **goː-ɕɛ**   *bɛʔ*.
     fireplace=LOC again water   offer-INF   be.needed-INF EQU.NE
     'Again water has to be offered in the fireplace.' / 'Again (the act of) offering water in the fireplace is needed.' (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) ཁློས་གར་ན་ འབག་ ལེན་མཁན་ཚུའི་ ནང་ལས་ སློབ་དཔོན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ཏོ་ ཞུ་རང་ མ་དགོས་པོ་ སྦད།

དø:gar=na gɛn lèŋ-kʰɛn=tsu=i nàŋ=lɛ lópøn
play=LOC responsibility take-NMLZ=PL=GEN inside=ABL teacher
ḷɛŋgɛ:=tsu=lo=to ɕù=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་ བྱ་ས་ དགོས་མཁན་ སྦད།

t'a jóʔ p'ja go:-kʰɛn 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་ གཏམ་ མཉམ་པོ་ ཁ་ལབ་ དགོས་ མནོ་རུང་

mú: karma ɲàmpu kʰa-lap goʔ nó-ruŋ
3SGF.AGT PN with mouth-speak be.needed think-CONC
'Although she wanted to talk with Karma...' Lit. 'Although she thought she must talk with Karma...' (Richhi 126)

(8.283) འགྱུ་ དགོས་ མནོ་པོ་ ཨིན།

gju goʔ 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 *síʔ* 'be possible'

The rather infrequent secondary verb *síʔ* expresses possibility and, as negated, impossibility.

(8.284) རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ ཆུ་ ཁོམ་ སྲིད་ འོང་།

gjamtsʰø: tɕʰu kʰom síʔ ồ:.
sea.GEN water become.dry be.possible come
'It is possible for the water of the ocean(s) to dry up.' (song lyrics)

Consultant KN commented that *síʔ* does not occur in past constructions, while example (8.285) shows that *síʔ* does occur in the nonpast construction:

(8.285) མ་གཞི་ འགྲོ་ལུགས་ ཆ་སྙོམས་པོ་ བྱུང་སྲིད་མད་ སྦད།

màzi ɖoliʔ tɕʰa ɲómpo tɕ'uŋ sí:-ɕɛ bɛʔ.
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 *síʔ* with *tʰøn* 'happen, become' and *tsalɛ* 'at all':

(8.286) ཏེ་ འདི་ ང་ཚག་ རྩ་ལས་ར་ འཐོན་ མི་སིད།

      *tɛ di   ŋàtɕaʔ **tsalɛ=ra**   tʰøn   mi-siʔ.*

      so this   1PL   at.all=AEMPH happen NEG-be.possible

      'It is not at all possible for us to make it happen.' (NAB BLA 7)

(8.287) མན་ འདེ་དྷོ་ རྩ་ལས་ འཐོན་ མི་སིད།

      *mɛ̃̀:   dɛ:=to   **tsalɛ** tʰøn   mi-siʔ.*

      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 *ʈ'i* 'ask', which denotes an action whose result 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) ཆོད་ གན་ འཐུང་ ལབ་སྟེ་ ཊི་ ལྟ་པོ་ལོ།

      *tɕʰøʔ   kan bjõ: làp-ti   **ʈ'i**   **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་ཙི་ཅིག་ ང་ཚག་ ཊི་ ལྟ་གེ།

      *ápo   áma=lo átsi=tɕiʔ ŋàtɕaʔ   **ʈ'i**   **ta**-gɛ.*

      father   mother a.bit=INDF 1PL   ask   look-HORT

      'Let's see a bit and ask father and mother.' (SGD wedding customs)

(8.290) ཇ་བཟོ་ བྱིན་ ལྟ་གེ་ སེ་ ངའི་ མོ་བྱུད་ལོ།

      *tɕ'a   zo   **p'in ta**-gɛ=s   ɲɛ̀:   mòby=lo.*

      tea   make give look-HORT=QUO   1SG.GEN wife=DAT

      'Let's look and make tea to give to my wife.' (KT e)

(8.291) རྒྱལ་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ ལོག་ཅན་རང་ ཁ་ལབ་ ལྟ་གེ་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 again try and speak (in incantation) to this (spirit) king.' (rnam-rtog 8)

(8.292) སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཁྲིག་སྟེ་ སྟོན་ ལྟ་ན་གོ?

       mɛ́ŋkʰã̀:=na   kʰik-ti   tøn   ta-nɛ=ɕo?

       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་ གཟིགས་པོ་ གནང་ཆེ།

       ʈʰi   zi:-po   nã̌:-tɕʰi.

       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 རྫུན་ *rdzun* 'lie' and the verbalizer *tʰap* of uncertain etymological origin (possibly WT འཐབ་ *'thab* 'fight, quarrel').

(8.294) ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་རྫུན་ ཐབ་པོ་ སྨད།

       *kʰu   jóʔ   **p'ja-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, and the complement is formed from a genitivized infinitive or nominalized form, see (8.295), where *gju-ɕɛ=ki* [go-INF=GEN] could be replaced by *gju-bø:* [go-2INF.GEN].

(8.295) ཁུ་ ན་ལས་ འགྱུ་ཁད་ཀྱི་ འགྱུ་རྫུན་ ཐབ་པོ་ སྨད།

       *kʰu   [nà:=lɛ   gju-ɕɛ=ki]   **gju-dzin**   **tʰap**-o   bɛʔ.*

       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་ཟིང་ གནད་སྟངས་ འདིས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ མོས་ ང་ལོ་ དོ་ ཤེས་རུང་ དོ་ མ་ཤེས་པའི་ རྫུན་ ཐབ་པོ་ འདྲ།

       t'izã̀:   nɛ́:tã̀:=di: p'ja-ti   mú: ŋà=lo   ŋò   ɕɛ́:-ruŋ

       but   situation=DEMPH.AGT   do-NF   3SGF.AGT 1SG=DAT face   know-CON

       *[ŋò   ma- ɕɛ́:-pø:]   **dzin tʰap**-o   ɖa.*

       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. Second, Sandberg does not report the completive form which does occur in the present description (*-tsʰa:*). It was also noted that the infinitive forms *-ɕɛʔ* 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 =*sɛ* (§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,[337] and in dependent clauses evidential contrasts in auxiliaries are neutralized so that only the personal copulas *ĭ:* and *jə̀ʔ* (and not neutral *bɛʔ* and sensorial *duʔ*) occur.[338] The concessive construction in (9.1) exemplifies an evidentially neutral, dependent construction. In (9.1), *ĭ:* cannot be replaced by *bɛʔ*.

(9.1) དེ་ སྐྱེན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ ག་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ ཨིན་རུང་

　　　tɛ ɭɛŋgɛ:=tsu　k'a:　zu:-kʰɛ̃:　　　ĭ:-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 *ĭ:*, *bɛʔ*, *jə̀ʔ* and *duʔ* retain their basic meaning when used as auxiliaries. The use of the personal equative *ĭ:* and personal existential *jə̀ʔ* is associated with 1) well-integrated old knowledge, 2) spatiotemporal proximity and 3) emotional involvement, whereas the neutral auxiliary *bɛʔ* is associated with the lack of these three characterizations. The sensorial existential *duʔ* is associated with sensoriality and momentariness[339].

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 involve the completive *tsʰa(:)*.

9.1.1 Equatives *ĭ:* and *bɛʔ* as auxiliaries

The equatives *ĭ:* and *bɛʔ* occur in past (VERB-*po* EQU)[340], present habitual (VERB-*kʰɛ̃:* EQU), imperfective (VERB-*do* [EQU]), future (VERB-*ɕɛ* EQU) and nominalized progressive (VERB-*ʑim-bo* EQU) constructions. Table 9.1 summarizes these constructions and exemplifies each form with the verb(alizer) *kjap* 'strike, do'.

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[337] The quotative =*sɛ* can mark an embedded clause but this embedded clause (a quotation) is not dependent in that it can also occur independently.

[338] However, causal clauses with *k'ambjasɛnɛ* (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 *bɛʔ* and *duʔ*.

[339] Momentariness refers to the fact that by using the auxiliary *duʔ* 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 *jə̀ʔ* typically suggests continuation of the action or its results at the time of speaking.

[340] With stative verbs, this structure may also have a present habitual meaning.

Table 9.1. Constructions with equatives as auxiliaries

Name	Form	Example of personal	Example of neutral
past (periphrastic)	VERB-*po* EQU	*kjap-o í̃:*	*kjap-o bɛʔ*
present habitual	VERB-*kʰɛ̃:* EQU	*kjap-kʰɛ̃: í̃:*	*kjap-kʰɛn bɛʔ*
imperfective	VERB-*do* (EQU)	*kjap-to í̃:*	*kjap-to bɛʔ*
nonpast	VERB-*ɕɛ* EQU	*kjap-ɕɛ í̃:*	*kjap-ɕɛ bɛʔ*
nom. prog.	VERB-*ʑim-bo* EQU	*kjap-ʑim-bo í̃:*	*kjap-ʑim-bo bɛʔ*

The evidential meaning of the personal auxiliary *í̃:* is essentially the same as the meaning of the copula *í̃:* By using the auxiliary *í̃:* the speaker claims familiarity with the reported situation. Similarly to the copular use of *bɛʔ*, by using the auxiliary *bɛʔ* speakers imply that they distance 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 *bɛʔ* with 1st person actor [341] 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 *í̃:*, 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 *-ɕɛ í̃:* is often, as in (9.6), reduced to *-ɕĩ:* in spoken language.

(9.2) དེབ་འདི་གོང་ཆེན་མ་བྱོས་གོ་ལབ་པོ་ ཨིན།

t'ɛp=di   k'õ:tɕʰɛ̃:   ma-jà-gɛ   **làp-o**   **í̃:.**
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)

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(9.3) ང་ད་ལྟོ་བཀའ་བློན་སྤུང་ སྡོད་མཁན་ ཨིན།

ŋà   t'ato kalimpoŋ   **dø:-kʰɛ̃:**   **í̃:.**
1SG   now TPN   live-NMLZ   EQU.PER
'I stay now in Kalimpong.' (TB e)

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[341] 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) འདེ་ ལུ་བཞིན་ལས་ ངའི་ ཚིག་ འདུམ་ འདོ་འདེ་ ན་ བཞག་ཏོ་ ཨིན་ནོ།

    dɛː   *ɕùː-zin=lɛ*   *ɲèː*   *tsʰik dum dodi*   *nàː*

    like.that say.HUM-PROG=ABL   1SG.GEN   word short this.right.here here

    zak-to   *ĩ́ː=s.*

    put-IPFV   EQU.PER=QUO

    'Having said that, I hereby end these few words of mine.' (KTL life story)

(9.5) གན་ཕུམས་སེ་ནེ་ ཁུ་ལོ་ ངའ་ བསད་ཉད་ ཨིན།

    k'amjasinɛ kʰu=lo   *ŋáː*   **sɛ́-ɕĩ́ː.**

    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-*kʰɛ̃ː ĩ́ː*) functions similarly to the equative copula *ĩ́ː* in that it identifies the person as being someone who has the quality which is described by the nominalized verb. Using the neutral auxiliary *bɛʔ* in (9.3) would imply that the identifying function is backgrounded, i.e. VERB-*kʰɛn bɛʔ* 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་ཚི(ག)་ གུ་ཆག་ ལབ་པོ་ ཨིན་ཙོ་ ཨིན་ག །

    t'atɕiʔ   *k'utɕaʔ làp-o*   *ĩ́ː=ɕo*   *íŋ-ga.*

    a.bit.earlier   2PL   say-2INF   EQU.PER=AT   EQU.PER-PQ

    'You (pl.) just said (so), you know, 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) དུ་པོའི་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ ཁོ་གིས་ ད་ལྟ་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ ཧ་གོ་པོ་ ཨིན།

    ŋù-wøː   *gjumtsʰɛ̃ː*   *kʰu=gi*   *t'ato tɕiku* **hako-wo**   *ĩ́ː.*

    weep-2INF.GEN   reason   3SGM=AGT   now only understand-2INF EQU.PER

    'He understood the reason of (her) weeping only now.' (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་ཇྱ་ གཀྲ་ཀིས་ བཏང་བོ་ ཨིན།

ágja   karma=gi **tã:-bo**   **í̃:.**
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).[342]

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) སློབ་དཔོན་ བཤད་གྲྭ་ལོ་, བཤད་གྲྭ་ ནང་ཁ་ སློབ་དཔོན་ གནང་མཁན་ ཨིན་ཀོ།

lópõ̀:   ɕɛ́:ɖa=lo,   ɕɛ́:ɖa   nàŋɕa   lópøn
teacher Buddhist.institute=DAT   Buddhist.institute   inside   teacher
náŋ-kʰɛ̃:   **í̃:=ɕo.**
do.HON-NMLZ   EQU.PER.=AT
'The teacher (=he) has a teacher's tenure at the Shedra-institute, within Shedra-institute, you know.' (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་ ཨིན་སེ།

tsʰo   **ɲàm-to**   **í̃:=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) ནད་པོ་ ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ བྱས་ཏེ་ དྲན་པོ་ ཟིན་ཀད་ ཨིན།

nè:po   kˈalyʔ   kˈalyʔ   pˈja-ti   ʈˈɛmbo   **sìn-ɕɛ**   **í̃:.**
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.

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[342] 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 í̃:* to be used.

(9.12) གཏམ་འདིའི་སྐོར་ལོ་ཀརྨ་ཀྱིས་ལེབ་ཏི་མནོ་བསམ་བཏང་ཤད་ཨིན།

tam di: korlo karma=gi lèpti   nó:sam **tã:-ɕɛ**   **í:**.
talk this.GEN about PN=AGT   very.much though send-INF   EQU.PER
'Karma thinks a lot about that thing.' (Richhi 36)

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་ཆོས་ཨ་ཙི་སློག་ཐོབ་པོ་སྲད།

ɲè: átɕu   tɕʰoʔ   átsi ɖok **tʰop-o**   **bɛʔ**.
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་བྱུས་དགོས་མཁན་སྲད།

t'a jóʔ p'ja **go:-kʰɛn**   **bɛʔ**.
now work do   be.needed-NMLZ   EQU.NE
'Now work needs to be done.' (NAB BLA 7)

(9.15) ད་རིང་ཚོགས་དོ་སྲད།

t'ariŋ   **tsʰo:-do** **bɛʔ**.
today   gather-IPFV EQU.NE
'(The ceremony) is taking place today.' (LT kitchen discussion)

(9.16) མདང་ང་ཚའི་བྷའི་ལའི་ཀྱི་མགོ་བཏོག་སྟེ་འགྱེལ་སྡོད་ཡོད་སྐབས་བུ་སྲིང་ལགས་མེད་པར་ཆེ་ན་ཁོ་ཨོ་ན་རང་ཤི་ཤད་སྲད།

dã: ŋàtɕi bhaila=ki go   tok-ti ɖi: dø: jò:-kap
yesterday   1PL.GEN PN=GEN   head hit-NF fall sit EX-SIM
p'usim=la: mè:-patɕɛnɛ   kʰu   óna=rã: **ɕí-ɕɛ**   **bɛʔ**.
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 person 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 *bɛʔ* 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, 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 *bɛʔ* (see §7.2.3), the use of the auxiliary *bɛʔ* backgrounds the event itself and focuses the addressee's attention on the consequences of the event.

389

(9.17)　ང་འགྱེལ་པོ་བྱད།

　　　　ŋà　　***ɖi:-bo***　　　***bɛʔ***.
　　　　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)　ཨོ་ན་ལས་ ང་ སྐྱེ་པོ་ བྱད།

　　　　ónalɛ　*ŋà*　　***ki-u***　　　　***bɛʔ***.
　　　　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་ འགྱུ་དོ་ བྱད་, ཐག་རིང་ སྐོར་ འབག་སྟེ་

　　　　ŋà　　***gju-do bɛʔ***,　　　*tʰa:riŋ*,　　　*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)　སྤྱན་རྒྱས་ལོ་ པ་ཕྲེ་ ཏི་བ་ ང་ ཏྲི་ཉད་ བྱད།

　　　　ʮeŋgɛ:=lo　　　　*pʰatɛ*　　*ʈʼiwa*　*ŋà*　***ʈʼi-ɛɛ***　　　***bɛʔ***.
　　　　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་ཕུ་ནི་ (Nep.) ཤི་ཤད་སྲད།

      t'a　　*ŋà*　　*puni*[343]　　***ɕí-ɕɛ***　　***bɛʔ***.

      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 *ǐ:*. Proposition (9.21) refers to a theoretical understanding about the reality of death, not to one's immediate projected fate.

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-kʰɛn bɛʔ* in (9.22) underlines the nonhabitual (hence *ín-kʰɛn bɛʔ* instead of mere *bɛʔ*) and irrealis/past meaning (hence spatiotemporally backgounding nominalized *ín-kʰɛn bɛʔ* rather than mere personal *ǐ:*) of the clause.

(9.22)　ལོ་མི་གཏད་ སྟོན་ མ་བཅུག་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དོན་དག་ལས་ འདེ་ ཕྱས་སྟེ་ཀི་ འང་ འདེམ་ཅིག་ རྐྱབས་ཏོ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ སྲད།

  ló　　*mi-tɛ*　　　　*tøn*　　*ma-tɕuk-ɕɛ=ki*　　*t'ønda=lɛ*　　*dɛ:*

  mind　NEG-entrust　show　NEG-CAUS-INF=GEN　purpose=ABL　like.this

  p'ja-tiki　　*ǎ: dɛm=tɕiʔ*　　***kjap-to***　　***íŋ-kʰɛn***　　***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 (it) as a lie like this.' (PAD bet story)

In (9.23) the nominalized auxiliary *ím-bo ǐ:* makes the past interpretation of verbal action more explicit than if the auxiliary were mere *ǐ:*, although the temporal interpretation of the verb form is also revealed by the adverb *nénlɛ* 'earlier'. By choosing a personal copula (*ím-bo ǐ:*) instead of a neutral one (*ím-bo bɛʔ*) the speaker underlines his own involvement in seeing the flowers himself.

(9.23)　ཉེན་མ་ ན་ཏོ་ ཤིང་ མེ་ཏོག་ ཚང་དགས་ གཅིག་ ཐོན་དོ་ ཨིན་བོ་ ཨིན།

  nɛ́ma　　*nà:=to*　　　*ɕíŋ*　*mìntoʔ*　*tɕã:ʈa=tɕiʔ*　***tʰøn-do***　　　***ím-bo***

  earlier　here=CEMPH　tree　flower　beautiful=INDF　come.out-IPFV　EQU-2INF

  ǐ:.

  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 *ǐ:-ɕɛ bɛʔ*.

(9.24)　འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ འདི་ ང་ལོ་ བསད་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ཐྱུས་ བཏང་བོ་ ཨིན་ཤད་ སྲད་

  di=tsu=gi=di　　　*kʰõ:*　*ŋà=lo*　*sɛ́:-ɕɛ=ki*　　*tɕ'y*　　***tã:-bo***

  this=PL=AGT=DEMPH　3PL　1SG=DAT　kill-INF =GEN　means　send-2INF

  ǐ:-ɕɛ　　***bɛʔ***.

  EQU-INF　EQU.NE

  'These guys, they are probably plotting to kill me.' (KT Animal story)

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[343] The equivalent Denjongke morpheme is *=jã:*.

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 *t�* would typically mark an event which happened prior to the time of speaking, the use of the complex copula *t̪́ː-ɕɛ bɛʔ* rather than *bɛʔ* or *t̪́ː* shows that the action is ongoing at the time of speaking. Based on the copular use of *t̪́ː-ɕɛ bɛʔ* in example (7.85) above and its context here, the auxiliary use in (9.24) probably also indicates uncertainty.

9.1.2 Existentials *jə̀ʔ* and *duʔ* as auxiliaries

The existentials *jə̀ʔ* 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 *jə̀ʔ*	Example with *duʔ*
completive	VERB-*tsʰa(ː)* EX VERB-*tsʰakɛ* (VERB-*tsʰou* EX)[344] VERB-*tsʰoukɛ*		*kjap-tsʰa du(kɛ)* *kjap-tsʰakɛ* (*kjap-tsʰou du[kɛ]*) *kjap-tsʰoukɛ*
perfect	VERB(VERB)-*po/bo* EX	*kjap(kjap)-o jə̀ʔ*	*kjap(kjap)-o du(kɛ)*
resultative	VERB EX	*kjap jə̀ʔ*	*kjap du(kɛ)*
progressive	VERB-*tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː/zin* EX VERB-*tɕuŋgɛ/zuŋgɛ*[345] (Martam VERB-*tɕoukɛ*)	*kjap-tɕɛ̃ː jə̀ʔ*	*kjap-tɕɛn du(kɛ)* *kjap-tɕuŋgɛ* (Martam *kjap-tɕoukɛ*)
continuous	VERB-*dø̀ː* EX	*kjap-dø̀ː jə̀ʔ*	*kjap-dø̀ː du(kɛ)*
possessive-like	VERB-*ɕɛ* EX	*kjap-ɕɛ jə̀ʔ*	*kjap-ɕɛ du(kɛ)*

The use of personal auxiliary *jə̀ʔ* 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 *duʔ*, in constrast, 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 *duʔ* 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 *duʔ* refers to some result of the action rather than the action itself.[346]

In Table 9.2, *-kɛ/gɛ* occurs as an element that may be appended to *duʔ*, but in the completive and progressive forms *-kɛ/gɛ* also occurs independently of *duʔ*. The uses without *duʔ* (VERB-*tsʰakɛ*, VERB-*tsʰoukɛ*, VERB-*tɕɛŋgɛ/zɛŋgɛ*) are hypothesized to be abbreviated forms, which may have originally retained the sensorial meaning but are currently, because of the absence of *duʔ*, becoming to be used in contexts where there is no sensory evidence. The forms VERB-*tsʰakɛ*, VERB-*tsʰoukɛ*

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[344] This form was reported as marginal by consultant KN.
[345] This form is probably an abbreviation from VERB-*tɕɛn dukɛ*.
[346] See Hill (2017) for an illuminating study on how sensorial/experiential forms may have inferential semantics.

and VERB-*tɕɛŋɡɛ/ʑɛŋɡɛ* 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 (§9.1.2.4). 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).

(9.25) ང་ཚོའི་ཕ་མོ་འདི་ཚུ་གི་ གོང་མའི་གི་ ཨ་ཇོ་ གོང་ཏོ་ཙུ་ རྩར་ལས་ ཚོ་འདེབ་བ་སྟེ་ གསན་གསན་པོ་ ཡོད།

      ŋàtɕi   phamo   di=tsu=gi   k'õːmøː=gi   ádzo   k'õːdzo=tsu

      1PL.GEN parents this=PL=GEN elder.GEN=GEN grandfather forefather=PL

      *tsa=lɛ   ódɛpti   **sɛ́n-sɛm-po**   **jɤ̀ʔ**.*

      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་ སླེབས་ ཡོད།

      *ŋà   **ḷɛp**   **jɤ̀ʔ**.*

      1SG arrive EX.PER

      'I have arrived.' (KN e)

(9.27) ད་ཙོ་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ང་ ན་ ཕོག་ལོ་ (?) གཞུང་ཞབས་ ཞུ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

      *t'ato sã́ːtɛ ŋà   nàː   woː=lo   zuŋɕap   **ɕùː-ʑin**   **jɤ̀ʔ**.*

      now until 1SG here TPN=DAT government.service do.HUM-PROG EX.PER

      'Until now, I am doing government service here in Wok.' (KT life story)

A complex auxiliary with *jɤ̀ː-ɕɛ í̀ː* is used in (9.28) to refer to the future.

(9.28) ང་ ཐོ་རངས་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ དགུ་ལོ་ ཁྲོམ་ན་ འགྱུ་སྡོད་ ཡོད་ཀད་ ཨིན།

      *ŋà   thorã̀ː   tɕhutshøʔ gu=lo   ʈhom=na **gju**   **døː** **jɤ̀ː-ɕɛ** **í̀ː**.*

      1SG tomorrow clock.time nine=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 *í̀ː*, whereas *jɤ̀ʔ*, which occurs in an evidentially neutralized position (*duʔ* 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 *jɤ̀ʔ* 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)　ཀྱུད་ཆྱུད་ཀྱིས་ ན་ བཞག་ ཡོད།

　　　　*mýtsy=ki　nà:　**za:　jɵ̀ʔ.***

　　　　others=AGT here　set　EX.PER

　　　　'Others have placed (them) here.' (RS interview)

(9.30)　མེ་ཏོག་ སེར་པོ་ དམར་པོ་ དཀར་པོ་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ནང་ལོ་ ཕར་ ཡོད།

　　　　mìnto　sérpo,　márpo,　karpo　ḍendzõ:　nàŋ=lo　　ɕá:　　jɵ̀ʔ.

　　　　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་ཚའི་ ཁྱིམ་ཆེན་ གནང་ བཞག་ ཡོད།

　　　　*ŋàtɕi　khim-tɕhẽ̀:　**nɑ̃́:　　za:　jɵ̀ʔ.***

　　　　1PL.GEN house-great　give.HON　set　EX.PER

　　　　'(He) has given (us) our Khimchen-building.' (NAB BLA 7)

(9.32)　དཔེ་ན་ ཀོ་ལི་ཌི་ ལེ་བལ (college level)[347] ནང་ན་ ང་ཚག་ལོ་ ང་ཚི་ སྐད་རིགས་ སླེབས་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

　　　　pɛ=na　　kolidz　　lɛvəl　　nàŋɕa　ŋàtɕa=lo　ŋàtɕi　　kɛriʔ

　　　　example=LOC college(Eng.) level(Eng.) inside　1PL=DAT　1PL.GEN　language

　　　　ḷɛp　　dɵ:　jɵ̀ʔ.

　　　　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་ ཟོ་ ཟ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

　　　　*t'ato　khõ:　ɲí:-po　　námtɕi=lo　　to　　**sà-zɛ̃:　jɵ̀ʔ.***

　　　　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་ཚ་ ད་ལྟ་ ཉལ་ཁྲིའི་ སྟེང་ལོ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

　　　　*khõ:　ɲí:-tɕa　　t'ato　ɲɛ̀:ʈhi:　tɛŋlo　**dɵ:　jɵ̀ʔ.***

　　　　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.

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[347] WD equivalent མཐོ་རིམ་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ *mtho-rim slob-grwa* 'high-level school'.

(9.35)   ཉ་ལོ་ ཟམ་ མ་བྱིན་ སེ་ གསུང་ བཞག་ ཡོང་ལོ།

        ɲà=lo   *sàm mam-biː=s*   **súŋ**   **za:**   **jòː=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 *duʔ* 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་ ལེམ་ འཐོན་ཚར་ འདུག།

        t'a   *lèm* **tʰøn-tsʰa**   **duʔ.**

        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.

(9.37)   དེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐབས་ལོ་ ཡུལ་ཁའི་གི་ འཛིན་བདག་ འདི་ཚུ་ཡང་ དགོན་པ་ ཨོ་འདེབ་སྟེ་ ལྷོ་རིགས་ མོན་རིགས་ ཙོང་རིགས་ བྱ་སྟེ་གི་ ཕྱགས་རིགས་ འདི་ཚུ་ཡང་ ཨོ་འདེབ་སྟེ་ བཅར་བཞིན་ འདུག།

        tɛ *ódi*   *gãː=lo*   *ỳːkʰøː=gi*   *dzindaʔ di=tsu=jãː*   *gjompa*   *ódɛpti*

        so that time=DAT village.GEN=GEN sponsor this=PL=too monastery like.that

        ɭoriʔ   *mèriʔ*   *tsõːriʔ* *p'ja-tiki tɕʰuriʔ* *di=tsu=jãː*   *ódɛpti* **tɕaː-zɛn**

        Lhopos Lepchas Limbus do-NF   Nepali this=PL=too   like.that come.HUM-PROG

        duʔ.

        EX.SEN

        'At that time also sponsors from the village, Lhopos, 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, *duʔ* 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་ སྲུབ་པོ་ ན་བོ་ ཨིན་ ལབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

        t'atɕilɛ súpo   *nà-u*   *ĩ́ː*   **làp-tɕɛn**   **duʔ.**

        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་ བོ་ཕྱུལ་ (bowl) ལབ་བཞིན་ འདུག་ ད།

        di=lo   *t'a*   *boul*   **làp-tɕɛn**   **duʔ**   *t'a.*

        this=DAT now bowl(Eng.) say-PROG EX.SEN now

        'Now this is called [boul].' (PL interview)

(9.40)　ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁ་གསལ་དགས་བྱས་ཏེ་ཨོ་འདེ་ གསུང་ བཞག་ འདུག།

　　　　lògjuʔ   kʰa   séːʈaʔ   pʼja-ti   ódeː   súŋ   zaː   duʔ.
　　　　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 *duʔ* 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 *duʔ* 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་ ཕྱེད་ཀ།

　　　　sà-tsʰaː   ***du-kɛ***   *pʰɛka.*
　　　　eat-CMPL   SEN-IN   half
　　　　'(It) has eaten half (I saw).' (PL interview)

As with the copula *duʔ*, the sensoriality implied by the auxiliary *duʔ* 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)　ཐབ་ དགོས་པད, ཐབ་ དགོས་པད, འཚོས་ཚར་ འདུག།

　　　　pʰap   *goː=pɛʔ,*   *pʰap*   *goː=pɛʔ,*   ***tsʰoː-tsʰaː***
　　　　take.down   be.needed=EQU.NE   take.down   be.needed=EQU.NE   be.cooked-CMPL
　　　　duʔ.
　　　　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་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ སྟེབས་པའི་ སྐབ་ སྦྲའི་ལགས་ དྭན་པོ་ ཟིན་སྟེ་ ཤུས་ཤུས་ ཁ་ ལབ་ རྩུགས་པོ་ འབྱོན་ སྟོང་ འདུག།

　　　　kʰu   *méŋkʰãː=na*   *ɭep-øː*   *gã*   *bhaila*   *ʈʼɛmbo*   *sìn-di*
　　　　3SGM   hospital=LOC   arrive-2INF.GEN   time   PN   consciousness   awaken-NF
　　　　ɕýːɕyː   *kʰa-làp*   *tsʰu-po*   *tʰøn*   *døː*   *duʔ.*
　　　　a.bit   mouth-speak   be.able.to-2INF   become   stay   EX.SEN
　　　　'When he arrives at the hospital, Bhaila has regained consciousness and has become able to talk a bit.' (Richhi 23)

The neutral existential auxiliaries *jø̀po bɛ/jè̀bbɛ* and *jø̀ː-kʰɛn bɛʔ* 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 they received the information.

(9.44) འདི་སྒྲོམ་ན་ ཁྲི་ཁྲི་པོ་ ཡོད་བ་སྲད།

 di ɖom=na **ʈʼi-ʈi-u** **jɛ̀bbɛʔ.**
 this box=LOC write-RDP-2INF EX.NE
 '(Something) is written in this box.' (TB e)

(9.45) ཨོ་ན་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལྷོ་པོ་ ཙང་ཙང་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་བ་སྲད།

 óna tʰamtɕɛʔ ɖɛndzõ: ḷopo tsã:tsã: **dø:** **jɛ̀bbɛʔ.**
 there all Sikkim Lhopo purely live EX.NE
 'All who live there are purely Lhopos of Sikkim.' (CY Interview)

(9.46) སངས་རྒྱས་ བཙོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ ཨོ་འདི་ གསུངས་ བཞག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྲད།

 sáŋgɛ tsomdɛndẽ: ódi súŋ **za:** **jə̀:-kʰɛn** **bɛʔ.**
 PN PN that say.HON set EX.PER-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'Sange Tsomdenden (=Shakyamuni Buddha) has said so.' (YR canteen video)

(9.47) རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་རའི་ སྐད་ འབྱོང་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྲད།

 mýtsy-ri kɛʔ **bjã:** **dø:** **jə̀-kʰɛn** **bɛʔ.**
 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 *jə̀ʔ* 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་ ཁུ་ རུ་བྲོ་ གཅིག་ སྟེང་ཁ་ལོ་ དཔྱང་སྟེ་ཀི་ ག་ལོ་ ཨོམ་ཅུང་ དཔྱང་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྲད།

 tʼa kʰu rubi=tɕiʔ tɛŋkʰa=lo pjaŋ-tiki kʼalo ómtɕuŋ
 now 3SGM creeper=INDF on=DAT hang-NF what.is.it swinging
 pjaŋ-zin **jɛ̀-po** **bɛʔ.**
 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་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ འདི་ ག་ཚོད་ གོ་བད་ སྡོད་པོ་ ངས་ རྒྱབས་ འདུག།

 tʼa ɲè: ḷokɛ=di kʼadzøʔ kʼodaʈøpo ŋá: **kjap** **duʔ?**
 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་ཇུ, རང་གིས་རང་ ཕྱགས་བསམ་ བཞིས་པོ་ གནང་ ང་ ག་ཚོད་ཟང་ དགའ་སྤྲོ་སྦྲེ་ སྤྲོད་ འདུག །ང་གིས་ ག་ཚོད་ ཟང་སྦྲེ་ ཨ་ཇུ་ལོ་ རེ་ཚེ་ བཏབ་སྦྲེ་ སྤྲོད་ འདུག །

t'a   ágja,   raŋ=gi=ra   tʰu:sam   ʑe:-po   nắ:
now elder.brother 2SG.M=AGT=AEMPH though.HON have.HON-2INF do.HON
ŋà   k'adzø=sã: gaʈo-ti   **dø:** **duʔ.** ŋá:=gi   k'adzøʔ   sằ:tɛ
1SG how.much=until rejoice-NF live EX.SEN 1SG=AGT how.much until
àgja=lo   ritɕʰi tap-ti   **dø:** **duʔ.**
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 circumstamces, such as seeing oneself in a dream or on a video-recording:

(9.51) གཉིད་ལམ་ འདི་ན་ ང་ ཕུཏ་བྲོལ་ (football) རྩེ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

ɲílam=di=na   ŋà   futbol   **tsi-zɛn**   **duʔ.**
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).[348]

(9.52) ཨོ་འདིའི་ ཁ་ལུགས་ མན་ན་ ང་གིས་ ནོར་འཁྲུལ་ཏོ་ བྱོས་ ཡོད་ཐད་ སྦད།

ódi: kʰatɛ   mèn-nɛ   ŋá:=gi   nòrʈʰy:=to   **p'ja**
that.GEN speaking.manner NEG.EQU-COND 1SG=AGT mistake=CEMPH do
jò:-ɕɛ **bɛʔ.**
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 breaking of the cup has taken place just a while ago.

(9.53) a) ཚོག་རྩེ་ སྟེང་གི་ དཀར་ཡོལ་ འདི་ ང་གིས་ གཅག་ཀོ་ སྦད།

tɕoktsi   tɛŋ=gi   kajø:=di   ŋá:=gi   **tɕak-o**   **bɛʔ.**
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་རྩེ་ སྟེན་གི་ དཀར་ཡོལ་ འདི་ ང་གིས་ གཅག་ཀོ་ ཨིན།

tɕoktsi   tɛŋ=gi   kajø:=di   ŋá:=gi   **tɕak-o**   **í:.**
table top=GEN cup=DEMPH 1SG=AGT break-2INF EQU.PER
'It was I who broke the cup that was on the table (just now).' (KT e)

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[348] 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."

9.1.2.5 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 *jə̀-po bɛʔ* (9.54) and *jə̀ː-kʰɛn bɛʔ* (9.55). The first construction conveys a past meaning and the second one a present habitual meaning.

(9.54) ཨནེ་མུ་རང་ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ ལེགས་ངན་ དང་ རྟག་གཞིའི་ བརྟག་དཔྱད་ ལྟ་ཡད་ ཡོད་པོ་ བྱད།
     néːmu=rã̀ː   *tɛnɖɛː*   *lèː-ɲɛː*   *t'ã̀ː* *tagzì:*   *taktɛɛʔ*   ***ta-ɕɛ***
     really=AEMPH omen   good-evil and criteria.of.study investigation look-INF
     jə̀-po   ***bɛʔ.***
     EX. 2INF   EQU.NE
     'There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria.' (Richhi 107)

(9.55) ཨ་རྫོ་རྩུ་གིས་ ཁ་གཏམ་ ལེབ་ རྫིགས་དགས་ ལབ་ཡད་ ཡོད་མཁན་ བྱད།
     ádzo=tsu=gi   *kʰatam lèp dzikʈaʔ*   ***làp-ɕɛʔ***   ***jə̀ː-kʰɛn***   ***bɛʔ.***
     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(ː)*

The completive marker *-tsʰa(ː)* 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 *-tsʰa(ː)*

Construction	Evidentiality
VERB-*tsʰaː*	neutral
VERB-*tsʰa* EQU	personal/neutral
VERB-*tsʰo-u* EQU	personal/neutral
VERB-*tsʰa-kʰɛn* EQU	personal/neutral
VERB-*tsʰa du(kɛ)*	sensorial
VERB-*tsʰo-u duʔ*	sensorial
VERB-*tsʰa-kɛ*	alterphoric
VERB-*tsʰo-u-kɛ*	alterphoric

As suggested by Table 9.3, *-tsʰa(ː)* may occur alone as the final marker or be followed by one of the following formatives: equative copula (*í̃ː/bɛʔ*), existential copula *duʔ* or the morpheme *-kɛ*. Moreover, *-tsʰa* forms constructions both without nominalization and with *-po/bo/u* and *-kʰɛ̃ː*. The evidentiality of the constructions ending in an equative auxiliary copula depends on the copula, as outlined above in this chapter (*í̃ː* personal and *bɛʔ* 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 *-tsʰa(ː)*, refer to §8.1.2.

With completive *-tsʰa(ː)* (henceforth just *-tsʰa* within the text), the typical contrast with the personal *jò̰ʔ* and sensorial *dṵʔ* is neutralized in that the personal auxiliary does not occur postposed to *-tsʰa*. In the completive construction, however, the sensorial evidential contrasts with neutral evidentiality (i.e. lack of evidential marking) implied by the lone *-tsʰa*. As evidentially neutral, the lone *-tsʰa* occurs both with 1SG (9.56) and non-1st person actors (9.57). The sensorial form *-tsʰa du(kɛ)* and the alterphoric form *-tsʰakɛ*, on the other hand, typically occur with non-1st person actors, as shown by (9.58a) and (9.59-61). Exceptions are "endopathic"[349] and sensorial clauses where the speaker may be conceived to observe themselves. Example (9.58b) with *-tsʰakɛ* illustrates an endopathic use, the first words of a boy who wakes up after having fallen asleep while tending a cow. Having observed his own state of consciousness, he speaks about himself to himself with the same verbal form that would typically be used when speaking about a third person to an interlocutor. I suspect that using the sensorial *-tsʰa du(kɛ)* is also possible with first person actor when the speaker sees themselves in a dream or on a video, although my data has no such examples.

(9.56)   ང་འོང་ཚར།
    ŋà   ***òn-tsʰaː***.
    1SG   come-CMPL
    'I've arrived.' (KN e)

(9.57)   ཁུ་འོང་ཚར།
    kʰu   ***òn-tsʰaː***.
    3SGM   come-CMPL
    'He's arrived.' (KN e)

(9.58)   a) ʔང་འོང་ཚ་ཀེ།
       ʔŋà   ***òn-tsʰakɛ***.
       1SG   come-CMPL.APH
       ?'I've arrived.' (KN e)

    b) ཡ་, ང་ཉི་ཁུག་ཚ་ཀེ་ཡོ།
       jaʔ, *ŋà*   *mikʰuː-tsʰakɛ=ɕo*
       oh   1SG   fall.asleep-CMPL.APH=AT
       'Oh, I fell asleep (I realize).' (Short film *Dream*)

(9.59)   ʔང་འོང་ཚར་འདུག་ཀེ།
    ʔŋà   ***òn-tsʰa***   ***du(-kɛ)***.
    1SG   come-CMPL   EX.SEN(-IN)
    ?'I've arrived.' (KN e)

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[349] The term "endopathic" is adopted from LaPolla and Tournadre (2014: 242-244) and refers to a type of access to information that is based on the speaker's self-awareness and is only available to the speaker.

(9.60) ཁུ་འོང་ཚ་ཀེ༎

     kʰu   òn-tsʰakɛ.

     3SGM   come-CMPL.APH

     'He's arrived.' (KN e)

(9.61) ཁུ་འོང་ཚར་འདུག་ཀེ༎

     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་ལ���མ་འཐོན་ཚར་འདུག༎

     tʼa   lὲm   tʰɵn-tsʰa   duʔ.

     now   good become-CMPL EX.SEN

     'Now (the patient) has turned out well.' (Richhi 29)

(9.63) ང་ཚའི་ཡབ་གྲོངས་སྟེ་ལོ་གཉིས་ཚོད་སླེབས་ཚར༎

     ŋὰtɕi   jὰ:p   tʼõ̀:-ti   lò   ɲí:-tsʰɵʔ   ʈɛp-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) ཕེ་སྦྲིས་བུག་ (facebook)[350] ན་འོང་ཚའུ་ཀེ་ལོ༎

     fɛisbuk=na   õ̀:-tsʰoukɛ=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) ཨམ་ལགས, པོ་ཚའི་མགོ་ལེབ་གཏོགས་ཚར་འདུག༎

     ám-la:,   pʼotsɵ: go   lὲp   tok-tsʰa   duʔ.

     mother-HON   child.GEN head very.much hit-CMPL   EX.SEN

     'Mum, the child's head has been severy hit.' (Richhi 3)

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[350] According to consultant YR, the WD equivalent is གདོང་དེབ་ *gdong-deb* [face-book].

(9.66)　 སྐུན་རྒྱས་ ཁ་གདོང་ འདི་ ལེབ་ ཞེན་ཚ་ཀེ་ཤོ།

ʐeŋgɛʔ　　 kʰadõ:=di　 lèp　　　**ɕèn-tsʰakɛ=ɕo.**
PRN.HON　 face==DEMPH very.much get.thin-CMPL.APH=AT
'Your face has become very slim, you know.' (KN e)

(9.67)　 ཚོ་ཐང་ ཨ་ཞང་ འདི་ རྒྱམ་པེ་ འདི་ལོ་ མནའམ་ འོང་དོ་ ཨིན་ མནོ་བསམ་ གཏང་ཚ་ཀེ།

tsʰotʰã:　 ázã:=di　　　　　　　 tɕʰumpe:=di=lo　nám　　　　　　 òn-do
TPN　　 maternal.uncle=DEMPH PN=DEMPH=DAT　daughter-in-law　come-IPFV
 í:　　　 nó:sam　**tã:-tsʰakɛ.**
EQU.PER thought　send-CMPL.APH
'Tshothang Uncle had thought that Chumpe is coming 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) ཁུ་ འོང་ཚར་ འདུག་ཀེ།

kʰu　　　 **òn-tsʰa**　　　 *du(-kɛ).*
3SGM　　 come-CMPL　 EX.SEN(-IN)
'He's come (I saw him).'

　　　 b) ཁུ་ འོང་ཚ་ཀེ།

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 *duʔ*, (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 thoughts).

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 witnessing the event or its results.

(9.69)　 a) ཕོའུ་ སླེབས་ཚར་པོ་ ན?

pʰou　　　 **ʐɛp-tsʰo-u**　　　 ɲá?
over.there　reach-CMPL-2INF　 EQU.PER.Q
'Has he arrived over there?' (KN phone call 3)

　　　 b) ཕོའུ་ སླེབས་ཚ་ཀེ།

pʰou　　　 **ʐɛp-tsʰakɛ.**
over.there　reach-CMPL.APH
'He's arrived over there.' (KN conversation)

402

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 dukɛ* (and hence even synchronously *-tsʰa-kɛ* does not occur with 1st person actors), the lack of *duʔ* in the construction is currently being reinterpreted as unnecessity of sensoriality (hence 9.69b). Because *-tsʰa-kɛ* does not typically 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 have tentatively named it "alterphoric," a term just suggesting that the category is typically disassociated with first person actors, although endopathic uses such as the one exemplified in (9.58b) are an exception. Further research is needed to clarify the semantics of *-dukɛ* vs. *-kɛ*.

A distinction similar to that between completive *-du(kɛ)* and *-kɛ* can possibly be posited between the progressive forms *-tɕɛn du(kɛ)* and *tɕuŋ-gɛ*, 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) ཨ་པོ་ གྲོངས་ཚར་ལོ།

  ápo   *ʈʻõ:-tsʰa:=**lo***.
  father   die.HON-PRF=REP
  '(His) father has died, (he) says.' (BP BB discussion)

(9.71) མདང་ལས་ ཚོགས་པོ་ སྲད་ལོ། པེ་སྐྲིས་བུག (facebook) ན་ འོང་ཚོུ་ཀི་ལོ།

  dã:=lɛ   *tsʰo:-b(o)*   *bɛ=**lo***.   *fɛisbuk=na*
  yesterday=ABL   gather-2INF   EQU.NE=REP   facebook=LOC
  *õ̀:-tsʰoukɛ=**lo***.
  come-CMPL.2INF.APH=REP
  '(The meeting) started yesterday, I hear. It's come on Facebook, I hear.' (LT kitchen discussion)

(9.72) ད་སྤུ་ གླང་བུ་ གཅིག་ འདེབ་ ལམ་ ནང་ག་ འགྱུང་དོ་ལོ།

t'ã:pu   lǎ:bu=tɕiʔ   dɛp   làm   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) ཨེ་, ངའི་ ལག་ཀོ་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ལོ, ངའི་ ཀང་པོ་ ཡོད་རོ་ ལབ།

ɛ́:, ɲè: làko   tɕiku=**lo**, ɲè: kã:po   jø̀:=ɕo   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) ཆོན་ཤ་ལོ?

tɕ'øn-ɕa=**lo**?
come.HON-FUT.Q=REP
'Shall (we) go, (he) asks.'/ 'Will (you) go, (he) asks.' (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)   ཟོའུ་ བཞེས་པ་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ གནང་ལོ།

        sòu   *ʑe:-pa*   *tɕ'øm-bo*   *nǎ:=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, may be used in syntactic contexts identical with the reportative, as shown by (9.76), which is syntactically analogous to (9.75)

(9.76)   གཞུགས་བཞིན་ ཕྱས་པོ་ གནང་ ལོ།

        ʑu:-tɕẽ: *p'ja-u*   *nǎ:*   *lo.*
        sit.HON-PROG   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)

    sòu   *ʑe:*   *pa*   *tɕ'øm-bo*   *nǎ:=lo*   *ʑu:*   *tɕɛ*   *p'ja-u*   *nǎ:*   *lo*
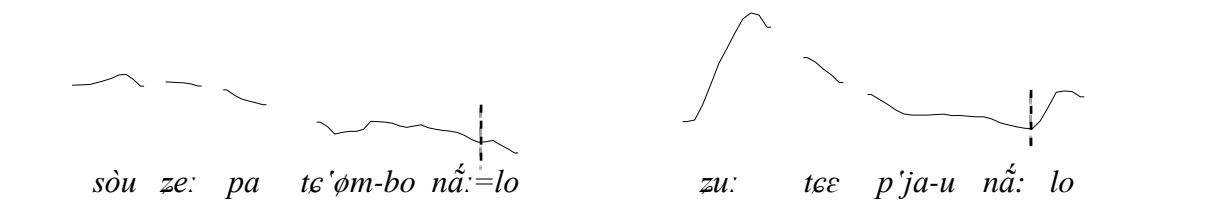
In some languages (see Aikhenvald 2015: 263), the reportative may be extended to such uses where the speaker is not reporting someone else's proposition. In these uses, the reportative helps the speaker to save face by presenting a request indirectly, and hence more politely, as if it came from someone 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་ ཕྱིན་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

DL: di nám tɕ'ø̃n =lo   TB: di nám tɕ'ø̃n =lo   KL:di nám tɕ'ø̃n lo
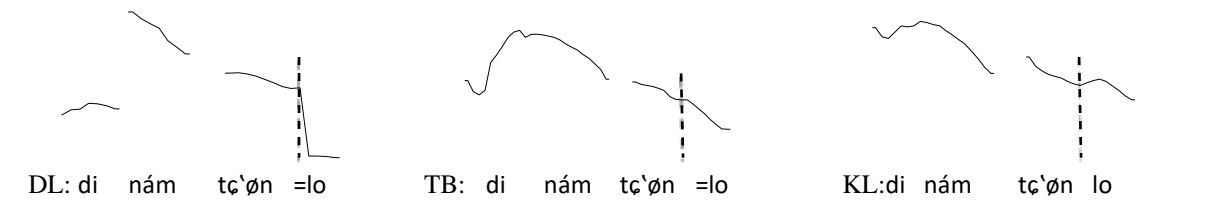
Whereas DL's original recording and TB's repetition of it have a low intonation pattern typical of the reportative =*lo*, KL produces a rise in intonation typical of the tag question, albeit in an attenuated way, probably because on the original recording there is no rise at all. My hypothesis, based 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) བློབ་ཕྲུག་ འདི་ཀིས་ དུ་བཞིན་ལས་ར་ མ་ཐོབ་ སེ་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།[351]

lópʈʰu=di=gi   ŋù:-ʑin=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) བུ་སྲིང་ལགས, ད་རིང་ལས་ ང་ལོ་ ཨ་ཅུ་ སེ་ གསུངས་པོ་ གནང་ལོ།

p'usim=la:,   t'ariŋ=lɛ   ŋà=lo   ágja=s   súm-bo
younger.sister=HON today=ABL   1SG=DAT elder.brother=QUO say.HON-2INF
nã̌:   lo.
do.HON TAG.Q
'Sister, from today, please call me brother, okay.' (Richhi 133)

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) ཆོས་སྐྱིད, པ་ལ་ཀི་ ཡི་གེའི་ ལན་ བྲི་ བཏང་ལོ། དུ་ཅིག་ ང་ཅག་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ཨ་ཅུ་ མི་སླེབས་ས།

tɕʰøki?, pa:la:=gi   jìgi: lèn   ʈ'i   tã̀:   lo.   t'utɕi?   ŋàtɕa?
PN   father=GEN letter.GEN answer write send TAG.Q this.year 1PL
ɲámtɕi? ágja   mi-ɭɛp=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 làp 'say' or its converbal form làpti functions as an additional complementizer.[352] 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) གུ་ཅག་ལོ་ བསམ་པོ་ བཟང་དགས་ ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་(ནེ་) ན་ལས་ འོག་ལྟེ་ ནང་ག་ལས་ ཕྱིན་ ཆུགས་པད་ ཏུ་ སེ་ ལབ་ཏི་ གསུང་པོ་ལོ།

k'utɕa=lo sámpo zaŋʈa? jø̀-patɕɛ(nɛ) nà:=lɛ   òtɛ   nàŋɛa=lɛ
2PL=DAT   thought good   EX-COND   here=ABL   down   inside=ABL
tɕ'øn   tsʰu=pɛ   ɲá=s   làp-ti   súm-bo=lo.
come.HON   be.able.to=EQU.NE   TAG.ASR=QUO say-NF   say.HON-2INF=REP
'Then (someone) 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.

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[351] 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.

[352] làp-ti also functions as a complementizer by itself without =sɛ, see §14.2.2.1.

(9.82) བུམ་འདི་ནོར་བུ་འདྲ་ཨིན་སེ།
p'um=di   nòrbu   ɖou í̤ː=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(ε)*, speakers appear 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་སྟོ་ན་ཡོད་སེ།
t'ato nàː jø̀ː=**s**.
now   here EX.PER=QUO
'(But they) just were here.' (KT e)

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) ཙོ་ན་ཡོད་སེ། ག་སོང་པོ་ཉམ?
óna   jø̀ː=**s(ε)**.   k'aː   ső̀ː-bo   ɲám?
there EX.PER=QUO   where go.PFV-2INF EQU.ATTQ
'(But) it was there. Where did it go, I wonder?' (YR e)

When the addressee does not hear or believe what was said, speaker may use =*sε* as a forceful restatement of their case with a peremptory tone and possibly showing irritation:

(9.85) ཡོད་སེ་ (ཡོད་)
jø̀ː=**sε**   (jø̀ʔ).
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་མིན་བཞེས་ལོ་སེ།
t'a   min-ʑeː=lo=**s**.
now   NEG-have.HON=REP=QUO
'He's not having (drinks) now, I heard him say.' (PT kitchen discussion)

(9.87) ཏེ་ཁོང་གིས་འདི་མན་འགྱུ་རང་འགྱུ་ལོ་སེ་ལགས།
tε kʰoŋ=gi=di   maŋ-gju=rõ̀ː   gju=lo=**si**=la.
so 3SG.HON=AGT=DEMPH   NEG-go=DEMPH   go=REP=QUO=HON
'He says (cf. =*sε*) 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 derserve 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-1st 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 auxiliaries occur more freely with non-1st person actors than "egohopric" forms in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003).

Inquiry into evidentiality in various completive constructions marked by -tsʰa(ː) 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 relevent 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 negated auxiliary takes personal inflection and the inflected verb of the affirmative clause occurs in non-finite form.

Paradigmatic asymmetry in negation means that negated 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 negated 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་ *mi-*		imperfective (present, future)
	མ་ *ma-*		perfective (past, imperative)
Copulas	*mɛ̀ː* མན་	(affirm. í ཨིན་)	personal equative
	mèmbɛʔ མན་སྲང་	(affirm. *bɛʔ* སྲང་)	neutral equative
	mèʔ མེད་	(affirm. *jòʔ* ཡོང་)	personal existential
	mìnduʔ མིན་འདུག་	(affirm. *duʔ* འདུག་)	sensorial
	mèmbo མན་པོ་	(affirm. *bo* བོ་)	interrogated equative neutral
	mèna མན་ན་	(affirm. *ɲá* ཉ་)	interrogated equative personal

With the perfective negator *ma-*, the verb has either past or imperative meaning, e.g. *man-døʔ* མན་སྲང་ 'did not sit, do not sit!'. With the imperfective negator *mi-*, the meaning is present habitual or future oriented, e.g. *min-døʔ* མེན་སྲོང་ '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) ནོའི་སྐྱགས, སྐྱག་ཀོ་ འདི་ལོ་ འཇུག་ག་ ལབ།

　　　　　　*nò:-kjaʔ,　　　kjako=di=lo　　　dzuga　　**làp**.*
　　　　　　cattle-excrement　excrement=DEMPH=DAT　cow-dung　say
　　　　　　'Cow-dung, dung is called /dzuga/.' (PL interview)

　　　　b) འདི་ལོ་ འབལ་ཤད་ མི་ལབ།

　　　　　　*di=lo　　　bɛ:-ɕɛʔ　　　**mi-làp**.*
　　　　　　this=DAT　uproot-INF　NEG-say
　　　　　　'That is not called [bɛːɕɛʔ]'. (PL interview)

(10.2)　ད་ཙོ་ ང་ཚག་ ག་རེ་ ལུབ་ བཙར་བོ་ མན། དེ་ལོ་ ང་ཚག་ ད་རིང་ ན་ སར་ (Sir) རྩར་ མཇལ་བ་ བཙར་བོ་ ཨིན།

　　　　*t'ato ŋàtɕaʔ k'arɛ　　　ɕù-wa　　tɕa:-bo　　　　**mɛ̃̀:**.　　　t'ɛ:lo*
　　　　now 1PL　　anything　ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF　NEG.EQU.NE　just.like.that
　　　　*ŋàtɕaʔ　t'ariŋ　　nà:　sər=tsa: dzɛ:-wa　　　　**tɕa:-bo**　　　　**ĩ́:**.*
　　　　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[353], as shown by the affirmative and negated pair in (10.3).

(10.3)　a) འཐུ་ ཀོས་བོ་ ཨིན།

　　　　　　t^hu　ko:-bo　　　　***ĩ́:***.
　　　　　　pick　throw.away-2INF　EQU.PER
　　　　　　'(He) picked and threw (it) away'. (KN e)

　　　　b) འཐུ་ མ་ཀོས།

　　　　　　t^hu　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 = *ĩ́:/bɛʔ*, NEG.EQU = *mɛ̃̀:/mɛ̀mbɛ*, EX = *jø̀ʔ/duʔ* and NEG.EX = *mèʔ/minduʔ*

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[353] Negated serial verbs do not have more than two verbs.

(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.

Table 10.2. Negation of declarative final forms

Constr.	Affirmative	Gloss	Negated	Gloss
state	*làp*	'is called, says'	*mi-làp*	'is not called'
simp. prs	*làp bɛʔ*	'says'	*mi-làp bɛʔ*	'does not say'
IPFV	*làp-to* (EQU)	'used to say, is saying'	*ma-làp-to* (EQU) *mi-làp-to* (EQU)[354]	'used not to say, is not saying'
			làp-o NEG.EX[355]	'is not saying'
CONT	*làp dø:* EX	'is saying'		
PROG	*làp-tɕɛn* EX	'is saying'		
periphr. PST	*làp-o* EQU	'said'	*làp-o* NEG.EQU	'did not say (emphatic)'
			mà-lap(-o EQU)	'did not say'
PST	*làp-tɕɛ*	'said'		
CMPL	*làp-tsʰa:*	'has said'		
PRF	*làp-làp-o* EX	'has said'	*làp-làp-o* NEG.EX	'has not said'
			làp-ɕy: NEG.EX	'has not said'
RES	*làp jø̀ʔ*	'has said'	*làp mèʔ*	'has not said'
SEN.PST/ SEN.RES	*làp duʔ*	'said'	*làp mìndu*	'did not say'
			làp-o mìndu	'did not say'
NPST	*làp-ɕɛ* EQU	'will say'	*làp-ɕɛ* NEG.EQU	'will not say (emphatic)'
			mi-làp(-ɕɛ EQU)	'will not say'
FUT	*làp ő̀:*	'will say'		
poss.like	*làp-ɕɛ* EX	'has/had...to say'	*làp-ɕɛ* NEG.EX	'has/had not (anything) to say'
HAB. PRS	*làp-kʰɛ̃:* EQU	'said, says'	*ma-làp-kʰɛ̃:* EQU	'didn't say'
			mi-làp-kʰɛ̃: EQU	'doesn't say'
			mi-lap-o 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:

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[354] I have have no evidence that the choice of negator (*ma-* vs. *mi-*) would mark a semantic distinction in this construction. However, I suspect that *ma-* can be used both for past and present (habitual) actions ("used not to say, is not saying"), whereas *mi-* is only used for present actions ("is [in the habit of] saying ").

[355] In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the construction *làpto mèʔ* is also used.

1) Negation of the imperfective is split into symmetric negation (*ma-làp-to* [EQU] or *mi-làp-to* [EQU]), and non-symmetric negation, which is formally borrowed from non-reduplicated perfect construction and which occurs in the present continuous use (*làp-o* NEG.EX).

2) In the progressive type of constructions (imperfective, progressive, continuous), there is mismatch of form and function in that the negated form (*làp-o* NEG.EX) for these constructions is not derived from any of the three progressive type of constructions but from the non-reduplicated perfect construction (*làpo* EX). In this respect, Denjongke works analogously to Indo-Aryan Nepali, which uses the same negation strategy for perfect and present continuous.[356]

3) The same negated construction *ma-làp*(-*o* EQU) corresponds to three affirmed forms, the periphrastic past (-*po* EQU), past (-*tɛɛʔ*) and the completive (-*tsʰaː*).

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.

5) The future form (VERB *ò̠ː*) is negated by the same construction (*mi-làp*[-*ɛɛ* EQU]) as the nonpast construction (-*ɛɛ* 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 (-*ɛyː*, etymologically probably ཤུལ *shul* 'trace').

7) The habitual present form (-*kʰɛ̃ː* EQU) is typically negated by symmetric constructions formed with *ma-* and *mi-*, but occasionally asymmetric 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 simply 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 relationhip 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 relationhip is asymmetric. For instance, the relationhip between the affirmative past form *làptɛɛ* and its negated form *ma-làp-o bɛʔ* is asymmetric, because the negated form is formed/borrowed from the affirmative periphrastic past form *làp-o bɛʔ*. As seen in Table 10.3, constructional symmetry and relational symmetry may have opposite values. For instance, the negated construction *ma-làp-o bɛʔ* is constructionally symmetric because it is formed from the affirmative form *làp-o bɛʔ* by simple adding a negator morpheme. However, *ma-làp-o bɛʔ* is also the negated equivalent of the affirmative completive form *làp-tsʰaː*, 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 ǐː* is symmetric negation of *làp-o ǐ*, while the shorter form *mà-lap* is not).

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[356] 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.'

Table 10.3. (A)symmetry in finite negated constructions

Constr.	Affirmative	Negated	Constructional symmetry	Relational symmetry of neg. and affirm. form
state	*làp*	*mi-làp*	S	S
simp. prs	*làp bɛʔ*	*mi-làp bɛʔ*	S	S
IPFV	*làp-to* (EQU)	*ma-làp-to* (EQU) *mi-làp-to* (EQU)	S	S
		làp-o NEG.EX[357]	AS	AS
CONT	*làp dø:* EX			AS
PROG	*làp-tɕɛn* EX			AS
periphr. PST	*làp-o* EQU	*làp-o* NEG.EQU	AS	S
		mà-lap(-o EQU*)*	(S)	S
PST	*làp-tɕɛ*			AS
CMPL	*làp-tsʰa:*			AS
PRF	*(làp-)làp-o* EX	*(làp-)làp-o* NEG.EX	AS	S
		làp-ɕy: NEG.EX	AS	AS
RES	*làp jɞʔ*	*làp mèʔ*	AS	S
SEN.PST/ SEN.RES	*làp duʔ*	*làp mìndu*	AS	S
		làp-o mìndu	AS	AS
NPST	*làp-ɕɛ* EQU	*làp-ɕɛ* NEG.EQU	AS	S
		mì-lap(-ɕɛ EQU*)*	(S)	(S)
FUT	*làp õ̀:*			AS
poss.like	*làp-ɕɛ* EX	*làp-ɕɛ* NEG.EX	AS	S
HAB. PRS	*làp-kʰɛ̃:* EQU	*ma-làp-kʰɛ̃:* EQU *mi-làp-kʰɛ̃:* EQU	S	S
		mi-lap-o 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 to an affirmative 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).[358] The combinatory copulas, emphatic *ímbɛʔ* and sensorial equative *índuʔ* (see §7.3.1), do not have distinct negated forms. The form *mèmbɛʔ* negates both the neutral equative *bɛʔ* and the emphatic *ímbɛʔ*. No

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[357] In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the construction *làpto mèʔ* is also used.

[358] Croft (1991) has put forward a hypothetical cycle according to which standard negation evolves from negation in existentials (see also Veselinova 2014).

negated form for *índuʔ* has been attested in natural speech or elicitation, and the hypothetical form **mènduʔ* 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:

(10.4)   a) ཁུ་ མི་ ཚང་དྲགས་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ མ་ཨིན་བ་ རིག་ཅན་ཡང་ ཨིན།

      kʰu   *mí*   *tɕã:ʈaʔ*   *tɕiku*   **ma-ím-ba**   *riktɕɛn=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) ཨ་ན་ འདི་ མི་ མ་ཨིན་བ་ འདྲེ་མོ་ འཇིག་སུ་ རུང་པོ་ གཅིག་ ཨིན།

      ána=di   *mí*   **ma-ím-ba**   *ɖɛmo*   *dziksu*   *ruŋpo=tɕiʔ*

      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 Dziksu Rungpo.' (rna-gsung 10)

The negated forms of nominalized copulas are given in Table 10.4. The nominalizers are *-po/bo* (2. infinitive), *-kʰɛ̃:* (nominalizer) and *-ɕɛʔ* (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. *mɛ̃̀:*) or *jɵ̀ʔ* (neg. *mɛ̀ʔ*). 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 *mɛ̀m-bo í:*, the felicity of which he doubted.

Table 10.4. Nominalized copulas

Equ./ Ex.	Evid./epist.	Nominalized construction			
		Affirmative		**Negated**	
Equat.	Personal	*ím-bo í:*	ཨིན་པོ་ ཨིན་	*mɛ̀m-bo í:* (?)	མན་པོ་ ཨིན་ (?)
		íŋ-kʰɛ̃: í:	ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན་	*mɛ̀ŋ-kʰɛ̃: í:*	མན་མཁན་ ཨིན་
		í:-ɕɛ í:	ཨིན་ཤད་ ཨིན་	*mɛ̃̀:-ɕɛ í:* (?)	མན་ཤད་ ཨིན་ (?)
	Neutral or assertive	*ím-bo bɛʔ*	ཨིན་པོ་ སྡུད་	*mɛ̀m-bo bɛʔ*	མན་པོ་ སྡུད་
		íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ	ཨིན་མཁན་ སྡུད་	*mɛ̀ŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ*	མན་མཁན་ སྡུད་
		í:-ɕɛ bɛʔ	ཨིན་ཤད་ སྡུད་	*mɛ̃̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* (?)	མན་ཤད་ སྡུད་ (?)
Exist.	Personal	*jɵ̀:-po í:*	ཡོད་པོ་ ཨིན་	*mɛ̀:-po í:*	མེད་པོ་ ཨིན་
		jɵ̀:-kʰɛ̃: í:	ཡོད་མཁན་ ཨིན་	*mɛ̀:-kʰɛ̃: í:*	མེད་མཁན་ ཨིན་
		jɵ̀:-ɕɛ í:	ཡོད་ཤད་ ཨིན་	*mɛ̀:-ɕɛ í:* (?)	མེད་ཤད་ ཨིན་ (?)
	Neutral	*jɵ̀:-po bɛʔ* *jɛ̀bbɛʔ/jɵ̀bbɛʔ*	ཡོད་པོ་ སྡུད་ ཡོད་བ་སྡུད་	*mɛ̀:-po bɛʔ* *mɛ̀bbɛʔ*	མེད་པོ་ སྡུད་ མེད་བ་སྡུད་
		jɵ̀:-kʰɛn bɛʔ	ཡོད་མཁན་ སྡུད་	*mɛ̀:-kʰɛn bɛʔ*	མེད་མཁན་ སྡུད་
		jɵ̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ	ཡོད་ཤད་ སྡུད་	*mɛ̀:-ɕɛ bɛʔ* (?)	མེད་ཤད་ སྡུད་ (?)

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. *t́:-ɕɛ mèmbɛʔ* instead of *mè:-ɕɛ bɛʔ,* and *jɵ̀-po mèmbɛʔ* 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. *t́:-ɕɛ t́: > t́:-ɕɛ mɛ̂:.* The only form that he was not certain about was the form *jɵ̀:-ɕɛ mɛ̂:,* which he haid 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

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	*làp(-tɕʰi)*	'say!'	*ma-làp(-tɕʰi)*	'do not say'	symmetric
HORT	*làp-kɛ*	'let me/us say'	*ma-làp-kɛ*	'let us/me not say'	
OPT	*làp-tɕuk*	'let (her) say'	*làp ma-tɕuk*	'let (her) not say'	

Negation of interrogated clauses is summarized in Table 10.6, where the glosses are simplified. Analogously to Table 10.3, constructional symmetry (S) refers to the fact that negation is accomplished simply by adding a negator morpheme to the formally corresponding affirmative interrogative (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 instance, the affirmed imperfective interrogative *kjap-to-ka* 'is he doing' has two semantically corresponding negated forms *mi-kjap-ka* and the more marginal *mi-kjap-to-ka*. Both of the negated forms are constructionally symmetric in that they derive from an affirmed form by simply adding the negator prefix. In terms of relational symmetry, however, *mi-kjap-to-ka* is symmetric because the form is derived from the affirmed imperfective interrogative *kjap-to-ka.* The other negated form, *mi-kjap-ka,* is relationally asymmetric, because it is formally derived from another construction, the steady state present form *kjap-ka.*

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 the language of consultant KN who judged the forms in brackets marginal. As a general rule, it seems that questions negated by the negated interrogative equative auxiliaries *mèmbo, mèn-a, mèŋ-ga* and the affirmative interrogative *íŋ-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	*kjap-ka*	'does he do'	*mi-kjap-ka*	'does he not do'	S	S
simp. prs	*kjap bɛ-ka*	'does he do'	*kjap mɛ̀mbɛ-ka*	'does he not do'	AS	S
	kjap ɲá	'does he do'	*mi-kjap ɲá*	'does he not do'	S	S
			kjap mɛ̀na	'he does, doesn't he'	AS	S
IPFV	*kjap-to-ka*	'is he doing'	*mi-kjap-ka (mi-kjap-to-ka)*	'does he not do' 'is he not doing'	S	AS S
	kjap-to ɲá	'is he doing'	*ma-kjap ɲá (ma-kjap-to ɲá/bo)*	'is he not doing'	AS S	AS S
			kjap-to mɛ̀na[359]	'he is doing, isn't he'	AS	S
			ma-kjap-to mɛ̀na	'he is not doing, is he'	AS	S
	kjap-to íŋ-ga	'he is doing, isn't he	*kjap-to mɛ̀ŋ-ga,*	'he is doing, isn't he'	AS	S
	kjap-to bo	'is he doing (I wonder)'	*ma-kjap-to bo (alternative question)*	'whether he is not doing or...'	S	S
			kjap-to mɛ̀mbo	'he is doing, isn's he'	AS	S
			ma-kjap-to mɛ̀mbo	'he is not doing, is he'	AS	S
	kjap-to bɛ-ka	'is he doing'	*kjap-to mɛ̀mbɛ-ka*	'is he not doing'	AS	S
			kjap-o mɛ̀ː-po kjap-o mìndu-ko	'is he not doing'	AS	AS
			kjap-o mɛ̀ː-ka kjap-o mindu-ka	'is he not doing'	AS	AS
			ma-kjap-o ɲá ma-kjap-o bo	'is he not doing, did he not do'	S	AS
PROG	*kjap-tɕɛn jɔ̀ː-ka, kjap-tɕɛn du-ka*	'is he doing'	*kjap-o mɛ̀ːka kjap-o mìndu-ka*	'is he not doing'	AS	AS
	kjap-tɕɛn jɔ̀-po, kjap-tɕɛn du-ko	'is he doing'	*kjap-tɕɛn mɛ̀ː-po kjap-tɕɛn mindu-ko*	'is he not doing'	AS	S
			kjap-o mɛ̀ː-po kjap-o mindu-ko	'is he not doing'	AS	AS
CONT	*kjap dø̀ː jɔ̀ː-ka, kjap dø̀ː du-ka*	'is he doing'	*kjap-o mɛ̀ː-ka kjap-o mìndu-ka*	'is he not doing'	AS	AS
			kjap dø̀ː-p mɛ̀ː-ka	'is he not doing'	AS	AS

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[359] The Nepali equivalent offered by KN was *gar-dai-cha, hoina* [do-PROG-NPST.3SG EQU.NPST.NEG.3SG]

417

			kjap dø:-p mìndu-ka			
	kjap dø: jə̀-po *kjap dø: du-ko*	'is he doing'	*kjap-o mè:-po* *kjap-o mìndu-ko*	'is he not doing'	AS	AS
			kjap dø:-p mè:-po *kjap dø:-p mindu-ko*	'is he not doing'	AS	AS
periphr. PST	*kjap-o ɲá*	'did he do'	*ma-kjap-o ɲá*	'did he not do'	S	S
			ma-kjap ɲá	'did he not do'	AS	AS
			kjap-o mèna *kjap-o mèŋ-ga*	'he did, didn't he'	AS AS	S AS
			ma-kjap(-o) mèna *ma-kjap(-o) mèŋ-ga*	'he did not do, did he'	AS AS	S AS
	kjap-o bo	'did he do (I wonder)'	*ma-kjap-o bo*	'did he not do'	S	S
			kjap-o mèmbo	'he did, didn't he'	AS	S
			ma-kjap(-o) mèmbo	'he did not do, did he'	AS	S
	kjap-o[360]	'did he do'	*ma-kjap-o*	'did he not do'	S	S
PST	*kjap-tɕɛ ɲá, *kjap-tɕɛ bo*	'did he do'	*ma-kjap ɲá*	'did he not do'	AS	AS
			kjap-tɕɛ mèna	'he did, didn't he'	AS	S
			kjap-tɕɛ mèmbo	'he did, didn't he'	AS	AS
	kjap-tɕɛ-ka *kjap-tɕa*	'did he do'	*ma-kjap ɲá*	'did he not do'	AS	AS
CMPL	*kjap-tsʰa: ɲá* *kjap-tsʰo-u ɲá*	'has he done'	*ma-kjap-o ɲá*	'did he not do', 'has he not done'	S	AS
			kjap-tsʰo-u mèna	'he has done, hasn't he'	AS	S
	kjap-tsʰa: bo *kjap-tsʰo-u bo*	'has he done'	*ma-kjap-o bo*	'did he not do', 'has he not done'	S	AS
			kjap-tsʰo-u mèmbo	'he has done, hasn't he'	AS	S
PRF	*(kjap-)kjap-o jə̀:-ka, (kjap-) kjapo du-ka*	'has he done'	*(kjap-)kjap-o mè:-ka, (kjap-)kjap-o mìndu-ka*	'has he not done'	AS	S

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[360] Essential for this form and the corresponding negation is raised pitch at the end.

					AS/S	AS/S
	(kjap)-kjap-o jə̀-po, (kjap-)kjap-o duko	'has he done'	*(kjap)-kjap-o mè:-po, (kjap-)kjap-o mìndu-ko*	'has he not done'	AS	S
	kjap-ɛy: jə̀:-ka, kjap-ɛy: du-ka	'has he done'	*kjap-ɛy mè:-ka, kjap-ɛy: mìndu-ka*	'has he not done'	AS	S
	kjap-ɛy: jə̀-po, kjap-ɛy: du-ko	'has he done'	*kjap-ɛy: mè:-po, kjap-ɛy: mìndu-ko*	'has he not done'	AS	S
RES	*kjap jə̀:-ka*	'has he done'	*kjap mè:-ka*	'has he not done'	AS	S
SEN.PST SEN.RES	*kjap du-ka*	'did he do'	*kjap mìndu-ka kjap mìndu-ko*	'did he not do'	AS	S
NPST	*kjap-ɛɛ ɲá (kjap-ɕa)*	'will he do'	*mi-kjap ɲá*[361]	'will he not do'	AS	AS
			mi-kjap-ka	'will he not do'	S	AS
			kjap-ɛɛ mèna	'he will do, won't he'	AS	S
	kjap-ɛɛ bo	'will he do'	*mi-kjap-ka*	'will he not do'	S	AS
			kjap-ɛɛ mèmbo	'he will do, won't he'	AS	S
FUT	*kjap òŋ-ga*	'will he do'	*mi-kjap-ka(m)*[362]	'will he not do'	S	AS
poss.like	*kjap-ɛɛ jə̀:-ka, kjap-ɛɛ du-ka*	'has he to do'	*kjap-ɛɛ mè:-ka, kjap-ɛɛ mìndu-ka*	'he has not to do'	AS	S
	kjap-ɛɛ jə̀-po, kjap-ɛɛ du-ko	'has he to do'	*kjap-ɛɛ mè:-po, kjap-ɛɛ mìndu-ko*	'he has not to do'	AS	S
HAB. PRS	*kjap-kʰɛ̃: ɲá*	'is he the one doing'	*ma-kjap-kʰɛ̃: ɲá mi-kjap-kʰɛ̃: ɲá*	'is he (the one) not doing'	S	S
			kjap-kʰɛ̃: mèna kjap-kʰɛ̃: mèŋ-ga	'he is (the one) doing, isn't he'	AS	S
			ma-kjap-kʰɛ̃: mèna,	'he is not (the one) doing, is he'	AS	S
			ma-kjap-kʰɛ̃: mèŋ-ga,		AS	AS
			mi-kjap-kʰɛ̃: mèna,		AS	S
			mi-kjap-kʰɛ̃: mèŋ-ga		AS	AS
	kjap-kʰɛn bo	'is he the one doing (I wonder)'	*ma-kjap-kʰɛn bo*	'is he (the one) not doing'	S	S
			kjap-kʰɛ̃: mèmbo	'he is (the one) doing, isn't he'	AS	S

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[361] This may also be a statement.
[362] The addition of *-m* makes the form an attenuated question.

| | | | ma-kjap-kʰɛ̃: mɛ̀mbo mi-kjap-kʰɛ̃: mɛ̀mbo | 'he is not (the one) doing, is he' | AS | S |
| | | | mi-kjap-o bo | '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 the relevant constructions in §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 *tʰøn* 'come out, happen, become' and *tɕˈuŋ* 'become', on the other hand, are used in the optative form, *tʰøn ma-tɕuʔ*, *tɕˈuŋ ma-tɕuʔ* '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	*íŋ-ga*	'is (it)' (tag)	*mɛ̀ŋ-ga*	'isn't (it)' (tag)
E		*íŋ-gam*	'I wonder whether (it) is'	*mɛ̀ŋ-gam*	'I wonder whether (it) is not'
R	neg. cop.	*ɲá*	'is (it)'	*mɛ̀na*	'isn't (it)' (tag)
		ɲám	'I wonder whether (it) is'	*mɛ̀nam*	'I wonder whether (it) is not'
N	suffix	*bɛ-ka*	'is it'	*mɛ̀mbɛ-ka*	'is (it) not'
E	neg. cop.	*bo*	'is (it, I wonder)'	*mɛ̀mbo*	'isn't (it, I wonder)' (tag)

Table 10.8. Negation of interrogated existential copulas

	Affirmative		Negated	
Per	*jø(:)-ka*	'is (there)'	*mɛ̀(:)-ka*	'is (there) not'
	jø(:)-kam	'I wonder whether (there) is'	*mɛ̀(:)-kam*	'I wonder whether (there) is not'
Sen	*du-ka*	'is (there)'	*mindu-ka*	'is (there) not'

As seen in Table 10.7 and Table 10.8, both equative and existential copulas may be interrogated with the suffix *-ka/ga* and its attenuated counterpart *-kam/gam,* whereas only equative interrogatives have separate negated forms (*mɛ̀na, mɛ̀nam, mɛ̀mbo*). The attenuated forms occur only in the personal copulas *ǐ:* and *jə̀ʔ*, which represent diachronically older copulas, 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 in subordinate clauses differs from other verbs in that copulas are negated by replacing the affirmative copula by the negated copula.

420

Table 10.9. Negation of nonfinal forms

Form	Function	Affirmative	Negative	Constructional symmetry	Relational symmetry
-nɛ/no[363]	conditional	kjap-nɛ	ma-kjap-nɛ	S	S
-ruŋ	concession	kjap-ruŋ	ma-kjap-ruŋ	S	S
-ti	nonfinal	kjap-ti	ma-kjap-a	S	AS
-pa(r)	circumstance	kjap-a			S
-podã:	simultaneous	kjap-o-dã:	ma-kjap-o-dã:	S	S
-tsubdã:	simultaneous	kjap-tsubdã:			AS
-sondã: -somdã:	simultaneous	kjap-sondã: kjap-somdã:	ma-kjap-sondã: ma-kjap-somdã:	S	S
-kap	simultaneous	kjap-kap kjapø: kap	ma-kjap-kap ma-kjapø: kap	S	S
-dy:	simultaneous	kjap-dy:	ma-kjap-dy:	S	S
-rɛŋkʰa	simultaneous	kjap-rɛŋkʰa	ma-kjap-rɛŋkʰa	S	S
gã:	simultaneous	kjap-ø: gã:	ma-kjap gã:	AS	AS
pˈaːpu	simultaneous	kjap-kjap pˈaːpu	ma-kjap pˈaːpu	AS	AS
-sã:, sonzã:	terminative	kjap-sonzã:	ma-kjap-sonzã:	S	S
-ɕɛ=di:	causal	kjap-ɕɛ=di:	ma-kjap-ɕɛ=di:	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 *pˈaːpu*). Two constructions (nonfinal and simultaneous *-tsubdã:*) show paradigmatic asymmetry in deriving the negated form from another construction. Simultaneous constructions with *gã:* and *pˈaːpu* 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 *pˈaːpu* 'in between' differs from its functionally equivalent affirmative form by eliding reduplication.

10.2 Non-clausal negation

10.2.1 Negated replies
While Denjongke has no word corresponding to English *no*, one word negated replies are possible with the negated copulas. Negated existentials *mìnduʔ* and *mèʔ* can function as one-word replies to questions relating to existence and location.

(10.5) Q: ཚྭ་ ཐོབ་ག?

    tsʰa *tʰop-ka?*
    salt find-PQ
    'Is there salt?' (KN e)

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[363] Speakers literate in Tibetan also use the form *-na*, a loan from Classical Tibetan.

A: ཨེན་འདུག/མེད།
mìndu?/mè?.
NEG.EX.SEN/ NEG.EX.PER
'There is not.' (KN e)

The negated equative *mὲ:* 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)   ᨕᨘᨊᨗ, ᨉᨗᨑᨗᨊ ᨅᨔᨗᨔᨚ ᨕᨗᨉᨚᨒᨚ།
mὲ̃:,   *t'ariŋ*   *ʑe:-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)

Affirmed and negated questions differ with respect to whether they allow a one-word negated answer. In an affirmative question (10.7a), a negated reply with a mere negated copula was deemed infelicitous (10.7c). A negated verb is needed in addition (10.7b).

(10.7)   a) Q: ᨕᨉᨗᨊ ᨆᨗᨑᨗᨊᨒᨚ ᨕᨔᨗᨉᨗᨔᨚ ᨎᨕ?
            dã: *tsʰeriŋ=lo* *pʰɛ-po*   *ɲá?*
            yesterday PN=DAT   meet-2INF   EQU.PER.Q
            'Did you meet Tshering yesterday?' (KN e)

        b) A1:   ᨕᨘᨊᨗ, ᨆᨕᨒᨗᨉᨗ།
            mὲ̃:,   **ma-pʰɛ?.**
            NEG.EQU.PER   NEG-meet
            'No, (I) didn't meet.' (KN e)

        c) A2:   *ᨕᨘᨊᨗ།
            ***mὲ̃:.**
            NEG.EQU.PER
            'No (it is not like that).' (KN e)

In a negated question, on the other hand, a reply with a mere negated existential copula was deemed felicitous:

(10.8)   Q: ᨕᨉᨗᨊ ᨆᨗᨑᨗᨊᨒᨚ ᨕᨔᨗᨉᨗᨔᨚ ᨆᨊᨗᨀ?
            dã: *tsʰeriŋ=lo* *pʰɛ-po*   *mὲŋ-ga?*
            yesterday PN=DAT   meet-2INF   NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
            'Didn't you meet Tshering yesterday?' (KN e)

        A1:   ᨕᨘᨊᨗ, (ᨆᨕᨔᨗᨉᨗ)
            mὲ̃:   **(ma-pʰɛ?).**
            NEG.EQU.PER   NEG-meet
            'No (I did not meet).' (KN e)

A2: ཨན་(ནི་)

mɛ̀ː *(n̄á).*
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 appending the additive clitic *=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, *k'anɖɛː* and *k'arɛ*[364] '(not) anything', do not function as interrogatives at all but only occur in negated statements, see (10.10) and (10.13).

(10.9) རྒྱལ་པོ་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐྱང་ དབང་ཆ་ ག་ཡང་ མེད་མཁན་ སྲིད།

       *gɛːpu=lo ódi gã: ŏ̀ːtɕʰa **k'aː=jã:** mɛ̀ː-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་ཟང་ ག་འདིས་ཡང་ གན་འདེ་ ལབ་ མི་ཚུགས།

       *t'izã: **k'adiː=jã:** **k'anɖɛː** làp 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་ ཤུས་ཅིག་ མ་འོང་ཁོ།

       *ájoː ɲɛ̀ŋ-kʰɛ̀ː mí=di **ɕý:tɕyʔ m-ŏ̀ː=ɕo.***
       EXCLAM listen.NMLZ human=DEMPH a.little NEG-come=AT
       'O my goodness, it wasn't a few people who came to listen, you know.' (KT discussion with TB)

(10.12) ཨ་མ་མ་ ཤུས་ཅིག་ མེད།

       ámmamma, ɕý:tɕyʔ mɛ̀ʔ.
       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) ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ མ་བྱས་པོ་ ག་རེ་ མེད།

       *tɕʰø̀ː=ki mam-bja-u **k'arɛ** mɛ̀ʔ.*
       2SG.L=AGT NEG-do-2INF anything NEG.EQU.PER
       'There is not anything you haven't done.' ('dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 45)

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[364] *k'arɛ* is probably a shortened form of *k'anɖɛː*. The retroflex /ɖ/ alternates with /r/ also elsewhere.

(10.14) ད་ ང་ འདེམ་ མ་ཉུང་ དངུལ་ བྱིན་སྟེ་ཀི་

      *t'a   ŋà   dɛm **ma-ɲuŋ**   ɲý: 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 negated copula following the property concept word, see Table 10.11.

Table 10.10. Adjectives negated by a prefix

Positive		Negative	
lɛ̀m	good	*mà-lɛm, mà-lɛp*[365]	bad
tɕõ̀:ʈaʔ(TB),	beautiful	*ma-tɕom* (TB)	ugly, not beautiful
tɕã̀:ʈaʔ (KT)		*ma-tɕã̀:po* (KT)	
tsã̀:ʈaʔ	clean	*ma-tsã̀:m*	dirty, unclean
ɖau	similar	*man-ɖau*	dissimilar
dɛmpo	true	*man-dɛmpo*	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   Negative

       བྱུང་ ཚུགས་པོ་   བྱུང་ མི་ཚུགས་པོ་

       tɕ'uŋ   tsʰu-po   *tɕ'uŋ   mi-tsʰu-po*

       happen be.able.to-2INF   happen NEG-be.able.to-2INF

       'possible'   'impossible'

When an adjective is negated through a nominalized negated existential copula (*mè:-kʰɛ̃:* or *mè:-po*), the adjectival suffix (e.g. *-ʈaʔ*, *-tɕʰɛ̃:*), 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	
ŋøʈaʔ རྣོ་དགས་	sharp	*ŋø mè:kʰɛ̃:/mè:po* རྣོ་ མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་	blunt, not sharp
sém-ɕúktɕʰɛ̃: སེམས་ཤུགས་ཆེན་	courageous	*sém-ɕúk mè:kʰɛ̃:/mè:po* སེམས་ཤུགས་ མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་	coward, not courageous,
ɕúk-tɕʰɛ̃: ཤུགས་ཆེན་ *top-tɕʰɛ̃:* སྟོབས་ཆེན་	strong (lit. strength big)	*ɕúk mè:kʰɛ̃:/mè:po* ཤུགས་ མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་ *top mè:kʰɛ̃:/mè:po* སྟོབས་ མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་	weak, not strong

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[365] 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)'

min-ɖa	མིན་འདྲ་	[NEG-be.similar]	'different'
ma-tɕik-o	མ་གཅིག་ཀོ་	[NEG-one-NMLZ]	'different, not one'
ɖa man-ɖa	འདྲ་མན་འདྲ་	[be.similar NEG-be.similar]	'different kinds of'
ɖa min-ɖa	འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་	[be.similar NEG-be.similar]	'different kinds of'
man-ɖa gun-ɖa	མན་འདྲ་དགུ་འདྲ་	[NEG-be.similar nine-be.similar]	'different kinds of'

(10.16) དེ་ཟེང་དང་ཕུ་འདེམ་ མིན་འདྲ་ བྱེད།

        t'iza: t'ã:pu   *dɛm*   **min-ɖa**   *bɛʔ.*

        but   long.ago   like.that   NEG-be.similar   EQU.NE

        'But it is different from how (it was) long ago.' (DB trip story)

(10.17) མི་ འདི་ མ་གཅིག་ཀོ་ ལབ་སྟེ་

        mí=di   **ma-tɕik-o**   *làp-ti*

        human=DEMPH   NEG-one-NMLZ   say-NF

        'saying these people (are) different…' (LA intro to Lachung)

(10.18) ད་ ཡུལ་ཚོ་ ཡུལ་ཚོན་ ཨ་ཙི་ཅིག་ འགྲོ་ལིས་ འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ བྱེད།

        t'a   *ỳ:tso*   *ỳ:tso=na*   *átsi=tɕiʔ*   *ɖolyʔ*   **ɖaminɖa**   *jɜ̀:-kʰɛn*   *bɛʔ.*

        now   district   district=LOC   a.bit=INDF   tradition   various   EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE

        'Now, in different districts, the traditions are a bit different.' (SGD wedding customs)

For an example of the negated idiom *man-ɖa gun-ɖa*, 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་ཀུ་ འདེབ་ ཡུལ་སྐོར་ འབག་སྟེ་ རི་ལུང་ མེད་པོ་ འཁྱམ་ འབག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

        ŋà=rã: *tɕuku dɛp*   *ý:kor bak-ti*   **ri-luŋ**   **mɛ̀:-po**   *kʰjam*

        1SG=AEMPH   only like.this   tour   carry-NF   hill.valley   EX-2INF   roam

        bak-ti   *gju*   *dø:*   *jɜ̀ʔ.*

        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-tsʰɛʔ* (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 either the independent connector *jã̀ː* 'and, again' or its cliticized form *=jã̀ː* with a negated verb in both clauses, see §12.3.

A functional approximation of English subordinate clauses with *lest* can be formed by *mɛ̀nnɛ/mɛ̀nni*, which was in §3.5.2.5 introduced as an epistemic adverb meaning 'maybe, perhaps'. The form *mɛ̀n(n)ɛ/mɛ̀n(n)i* likely derives from the conditional form of the negated personal equative *mɛ̃̀ː* 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) ཨ་ག་ཀོ་འདི་ག་ན་ཡོད་པོ་, གོ་ལས་སེ། ཨ་ག་ཀོ་ མན་ནེ་ མིག་ཞ་ཞུ་རང་འོང་།

máko=di   k'ana jè-po,   kolɛ=s. máko **mɛ̀n(ɛ)**
groom=DEMPH   where EX-2INF   where=QUO groom perhaps
mik-ɕaːʐou=rõ̀ː   õ̀ː.
eye-lame=AEMPH   come
'Where is the groom? Where? Lest the groom be blind.' (SGD wedding customs)

In (10.21), *mɛ̀nni,* 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་ཤི།

t'uʔ   man-za-itɕɛnɛ   mɛ̀nni tɕʰøʔ   mi-ɕí.
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, *mɛ̀nni* in (10.21) 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 *tɕiku* 'only' used with an affirmative existential. Consultant KN commented that *=ma* in (10.22) could be replaced by the marker *pʰaːgɛ* or *maːgɛ* and retain the same meaning.

426

(10.22) ང་ཚོག་ མི་ ཉུང་ཉུང་མ་ མེད་རུང་ ང་ཚོག་ བྱ་ ཚུགས།

ŋàtɕaʔ   mí   ɲùŋɲuŋ-ma   mè:-ruŋ   ŋàtɕaʔ   p'ja   tsʰuʔ.
1PL   people   few-(no.)more.than   NEG.EX-CONC   1PL   do   be.able.to
'Although we aren't more than a few, we can do (it).' (KN e)

(10.23) ད་ ཤུས་ཅིག་མ་ མེད, འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འཐུང་།

t'a   ɕý:tɕy:-ma   mèʔ,   di   tʰamtɕɛʔ   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 *rnam-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: ཚེཿ ངའི་ཚོ་ཏོ་ བདུན་མ་ མིན་འདུག། ཨ་ཀྱུ་གི་ལྟོ་ ག་ཚོད་ འདུག?

tɕʰɛ: ɲè:=tsa:=to   dyn-ma   mìnduʔ.
Oh.no   1SG.GEN=at=CEMPH   seven-(no.)more.than   NEG.EX.SEN
ágja=gi=ɕo   k'adzøʔ   duʔʔ
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: ངའི་ཚོ་ལོ་ཡང་ བདུན་མ་ མིན་འདུག །"

ɲè: tsa=lo=jã: dyn-ma   mìnduʔ.
1SG.GEN   at=DAT=even   seven-(no.)more.than   NEG.EX.SEN
'I too haven't (any) more than seven.'

(10.25) A: སྨན་ འདི་ མན་ཚོགས་ཀམ་ ཨ་ཀྱུ།

mɛ́n=di   man-dzo:-kam   ágja?
medicine=DEMPH   NEG-be.finished-ATTQ   elder.brother
'Isn't the medicine finished, brother?'

B: ད་ ཤུས་ཅིག་མ་ མིན་འདུག ཚོགས་རབ་ སྲད།

t'a   ɕý:tɕy:-ma   mìnduʔ.   dzo:-rap   bɛʔ.
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.' (rnam-rtog 33)

A similar meaning may be expressed by *mèmbo* accompanied by a negated verb:

(10.26) ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ སྤུན་ཚོ་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་བར་ ད་ ཉིན་ གཅིག་ མན་པོ་ མེད།

tɕʰøkiʔ *pyn=tsu* *kʰim=na* *lòk-ti* *gju-wa* *t'a* *ɲìm* *tɕiʔ* **mèmbo**
PN   sibling=PL house=LOC return-NF   go-PUR now day one NEG.EQU.NE
mèʔ.
NEG.EX.PER
'It is no more than one day and Choki will return to (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 *nóːsam tãː*, which both mean 'think', see (10.27)

(10.27) ཨོ་འདིའི་ ནུབ་ཆེ་ གཀར་ཀྱིས་ མནོ་བསམ་ མི་བཏང་ དགུ་བཏང་ ཀོས་པོ་ བཏང་ཨད་ ཨིན།

ódiː   *nùptsʰi*   *karma=gi* *nóːsam* **mi-tãː**   **gu-tãː**   *kɛːpo tãː-ɕɛ*
that.GEN   night.time PN=AGT   thought NEG-send   nine-send   a.lot send-INF
íː.
EQU.PER
'That night Karma thinks many various kinds of thoughts.' (Richhi 171)

(10.28) མན་འད་ དགུ་འད་

man-ɖa   **gun-ɖa**
NEG-be.similar   nine-be.similar
'various kinds of' (TB, oh)

10.4 Summary remarks

This chapter provided a summary of 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 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.[366] Polar interrogatives, also known as yes/no-questions, question whether something is the case, or, when negated, 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 whose type 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 interrogated affirmative and negated equative copulas (affirmed *íŋ-ga, bɛ-ka* and negated *mèmbo, mèna, mèŋ-ga*), 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 as the other verbs (*-ka/ga* and *-kam/gam*).

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[366] 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 grammar, however, does not take into account such a distinction. Question and interrogation are used synonymously, referring to grammatical category.

Table 11.1. Interrogative morphemes

Verb type	Polarity	Direct polar questions		Attenuated polar and content questions	
All Vs	-	*-ka/ga*	ཀ་/ག	*-kam/gam*	གམ་/གམ་
Personal equative	Affirm.	*ɲá*	ན་/ཨིན་ན་ [367]	*ɲám*[368]	སྣམ་/ཨིནམ་/ཨིན་ནམ་
	Neg.	*mèna*	མན་ན་	*mènam*	མན་ནམ་
Neutral equative	Affirm.	*bo*	(འ)བོ་		
	Neg.	*mèmbo*	མན་བོ་		

As shown in Figure 11.1, the interrogative suffixes, which can attach to the verb root or verbal suffixes, are *-ka/ga* [369] and its attenuated counterpart *-kam/gam*. The attenuated question suffix *-kam/gam* (along with the attenuated interrogative copula *ɲám*) 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).*[370] 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 *ɲá* (neg. *mèn-a*), its attenuated counterpart *ɲám* (neg. *mènam*) and evidentially neutral *bo* (neg. *mèmbo*). While the interrogative copula *ɲá* is used in polar questions, its attenuated counterpart *ɲám* occurs in both polar and content questions, and is the preferred choice in interrogative complement clauses. The interrogative *bo*, similarly to declarative *bɛʔ* (§5.4.2), may in addition to equation also be used for location, e.g. *kʼana 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 *-løʔ*, which will 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.

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[367] Both these forms occur in Denjongke writing. I am using the simpler form *ɲá*, although it does not represent high register implied by the initial of the source form (ཨིན་ན). Note that the form suggested to me for writing the attenuated form *ɲám* སྣམ་ has a superscript which implies high register.

[368] The form *ɲám* most likely derives from the interrogated personal copula *ín-(n)am* (in WD both ཨིན་ནམ་ and ཨེནམ་ are used), which is still productive in both polar and content questions

[369] The phonetic output tends to be /g/ when preceded by voiced sounds and /k/ when preceded by voiceless sounds, including the glottal stop.

[370] Consultant KL translated the clause *kʼana sǒ:-bo ɲám?* [where go.PFV-PST EQU.PER.Q] 'Where did (he) go, I wonder?' into Nepali as *kahã̃ 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 *ɲám*.

Table 11.2. Negating copulas with *-ka/ga*

Copula type	Polarity	Direct polar questions		Attenuated polar and content questions	
Personal equative	Affirm.	*íŋ-ga*	ཨིན་ག་	*íŋ-gam*	ཨིན་གམ་
	Neg.	*mèŋ-ga*	མན་ག་	*mèŋ-gam*	མན་གམ་
Neutral equative	Affirm.	*bɛ-ka*	སྦད་ཀ་	*bɛ-kam*	སྦད་ཀམ་
	Neg.	*mèmbɛ-ka*	མན་སྦད་ཀ་	*mèmbɛ-kam (?)*[371]	མན་སྦད་ཀམ་ (?)
Per. ex.	Affirm.	*jø̀:-ka*	ཡོད་ཀ་	*jø̀:-kam*	ཡོད་ཀམ་
	Neg.	*mè:-ka*	མེད་ཀ་	*mè:-kam*	མེད་ཀམ་
Sen. ex.	Affirm.	*du-ka*	འདུག་ཀ་	*du-kam*[372]	འདུག་ཀམ་
	Neg.	*mindu-ka*	མིན་འདུག་ཀ་	*mìndu-kam*	མིན་འདུག་ཀམ་

As shown by Tables 11.1 and 11.2, the equative copulas have two types of interrogated forms, the separate interrogative copulas *ɲá* (neg. *mèna*), *ɲám* (neg. *mènam*) and *bo*, and the regularly formed corresponding *íŋ-ga* (neg. *mèŋ-ga*), *íŋ-gam* (*mèŋ-gam*), *bɛ-ka* (neg. *mèmbɛ-ka*), and *bɛ-kam* (neg. *mèmbɛ-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 *Chhö ām chi t´ong-che-na* 'Did you see a silver fox', which is given in edited version in (11.1).

(11.1)   Sandberg (1895: 47) (edited transcription, WD and glossing mine)
ཆོད་ འཛམ་ གཅིག་ མཐོང་ཆེ་ན?
tɕʰø̀ʔ   à:m=tɕiʔ   tʰõ̀:-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) > ɲá(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 *ɲá* (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 *ɲám* (often reduced to *jám*) and the interrogative copula/auxiliary *bo* (neg. *mèmbo*). The polar uses of these markers are discussed in §11.1.1.2 (*-ka/ga* and *ɲá),* §11.1.1.3 (*-kam/gam* and *ɲám*) and §11.1.1.4 (*bo*). The last section under

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[371] I do not currently have examples of *mèmbɛ-kam* but its existence can be hypothesized on the basis of the positive form *bɛ-kam*.

[372] I have heard the forms *du-kam* and *mìndu-kam* in use but I have no example sentences of them.

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) ནུ་པོ་ ཚར་ 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)

    ga-   *po=*   *tsa:*   *jè-*   *po ?*

(11.3) དེ་ཚེ་ མ་བཙུགས་ཀོ?
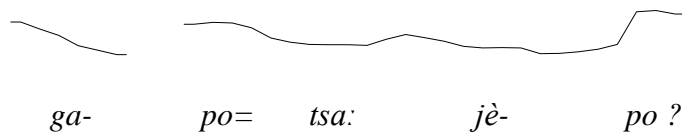
     t'itsi   *ma-tsuk-o?*

     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)

    t'i-   *tsi*   *ma-*   *tsuk-*   *o ?*
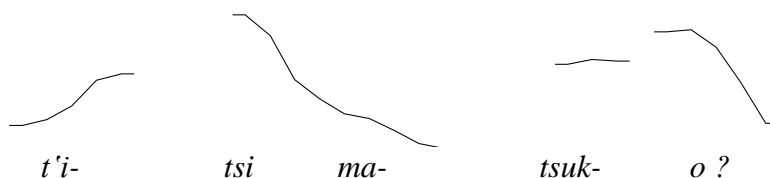
Sandberg (1895: 73) reports the polar question *chhö ts'ongkhen hlam du' bo?*, which is given in edited form as (11.4). As suggested by the glossing in (11.4), I assume that Sandberg's final morpheme is the nominalizer/infinitivizer *-po/bo*, which does not assimilate to the underlying velar in *duk/duʔ* (hence *du-bo*[373]). For comparison, see example (11.5) where the nominalizer reduces to *-o* (hence *duk-o*).[374]

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[373] I would have expected *-po* instead of *-bo* because final glottal (such as the one in *duʔ*) is in my data followed by voiceless sounds.

[374] 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 *nàku* 'black'.

(11.4)   Sandberg (1895: 73) (WD, phonological transcription and glossing mine)

ཆོད་ འཆོང་མཁན་ ལྷམ་ འདུག་པོ?

tɕʰø̃ʔ   tsʰoŋ-kʰɛ̃:   l̪am   du-bo?

2SG.L   sell-NMLZ   shoe   EX.SEN-2INF

'Have you any boots to sell?'

(11.5)   བཀའ་བློན་སྤུང་ན་ འདེམ་ འདུག་ཀོ?

kalimpoŋ=na   dɛm   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 *duʔ* in other contexts than questions,[375] it is possible that the suffix *-po/bo/o* is in conjunction with *duʔ* becoming in effect a question marker.

11.1.1.2 Polar questions with *-ka/ga* and *ɲá*

The polar question markers *-ka/ga* and *ɲá* differ from each other in that *ɲá*, 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.

(11.6)   a) ཆོད་ སྟ་རེ་ འདི་ ཉ?

*tɕʰø̃ʔ   ta:ri di   **ɲá**?*

2SG.L   axe   this EQU.PER.Q

'Is your axe this (one)?' (JDF axe story)

b) ཆོད་ སྟ་རེ་ འདི་ ཨིན།

tɕʰø̃ʔ   ta:ri di   ĩ́:.

2SG.L   axe   this EQU.PER

'Your axe is this (one).' (KN e)

(11.7)   ཆོད་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་ སྦད་ཀ?

*tɕʰø̃ʔ   lóptʰuʔ   bɛ-**ka**?*

2SG.L   student   EQU.NE-PQ

'Are you a student?'

(11.8)   ཇ་ ཡོད་ཀ?

*tɕ'a   jø̀:-**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

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[375] In other contexts with nominalization, the evidential distinction between personal existential *jø̀ʔ* and sensorial *duʔ* is neutralized so that only *jø̀ʔ* occurs as nominalized with *-po/bo* (*jø̀-po*).

(11.10) respectively. Example (11.10b) shows that with the imperfective *-to/do* the auxiliary is optional even in the declarative form, hence *bɛʔ* in brackets.

(11.9)　ལྷན་རྒྱས་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ན?
　　　　ḻeŋgɛʔ　　*jóʔ*　*kjap-to* ***ɲá?***
　　　　PRN.HON　　work do-IPFV　EQU.PER.Q
　　　　'Are you working?' (KN e)

(11.10)　a)　སྦྱོང་བཟྷར་ ལེམ་ འཐོན་དོ་ ག?
　　　　　　*dzã:dar lèm tʰøn-do-**ga?***
　　　　　　training good happen-IPFV-PQ
　　　　　　'Is the training turning out good.' (Richhi 69)

　　　　　b)　སྦྱོང་བཟྷར་ ལེགས་ འཐོན་དོ་ (བྱད)?
　　　　　　dzã:dar lèm tʰøn-do　　　*(bɛʔ).*
　　　　　　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)　ངས་ ལབ་ག?
　　　　　　ŋá:　　　*làp-**ka?***
　　　　　　I.AGT　　say-PQ
　　　　　　'Shall I tell?' (KN e)

　　　　　b)　ཨའི, རང་ མི་ཚིང་ ག?
　　　　　　ái,　　　　*rã:*　　　*mi-tsʰiŋ-**ka?***
　　　　　　elder.sister 2SG.M　NEG-get.angry-PQ
　　　　　　'Sister, won't you get angry?' (Richhi 41)

(11.12)　ཟུག་ རྒྱབས་ ན?
　　　　sùk　*kjap*　***ɲá?***
　　　　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).

434

(11.13) ཨོ་བྱད་ཀྱིས་ ཕོགས་ ཐོབ་ཁད་ ཡོད་ཀ?

       *mòby:=ki pʰoʔ   tʰop-ɕɛ   jø̀:-**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*

       mò-   by:- ki   pʰoʔ   tʰop-   ɕɛ   jø̀:- ka ?

(11.14) བློ་ གཏེད་ཆེ་ག? ཡིད་ཆེས་ བྱས་ཤེ་ག?
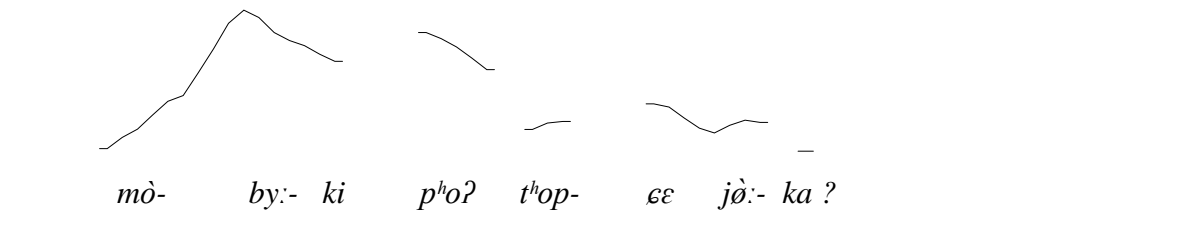
       *ló   tɛ:-tɕɛ-ga?   jì-tɕi p'ja-zɛ-**ga**?*

       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*

       ló   tɛ:-   tɕɛ- ga ?   jì-   tɕi   p'ja- zɛ- ga ?
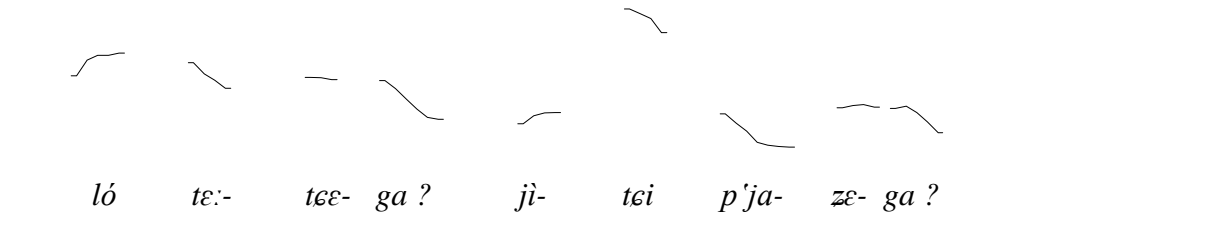
Figure 11.5 presents the pitch trace from (11.15), which is a declarative clause with the same past suffix *-tɕɛ* as in Figure 11.4, illustrating that while the pitch on declarative *-zɛ* is lower than the previous word *p'ja* 'do', the pitch on the interrogative *-zɛ* is higher than on *p'ja*.

(11.15) དེ་ ང་ཚག ཨོ་འདེ་ཅིག མཇུག་བསྡུད་ བྱས་ཤེ།

       tɛ   ŋàtɕaʔ ódɛ:=tɕiʔ   dzuk-dy: p'ja-zɛ.

       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

| *tɛ* | *ŋà-* | *tɕa* | *ódɛː-* | *tɕi* | *dʑuk-* | *dyː* | *pˈja-* | *zɛ* |
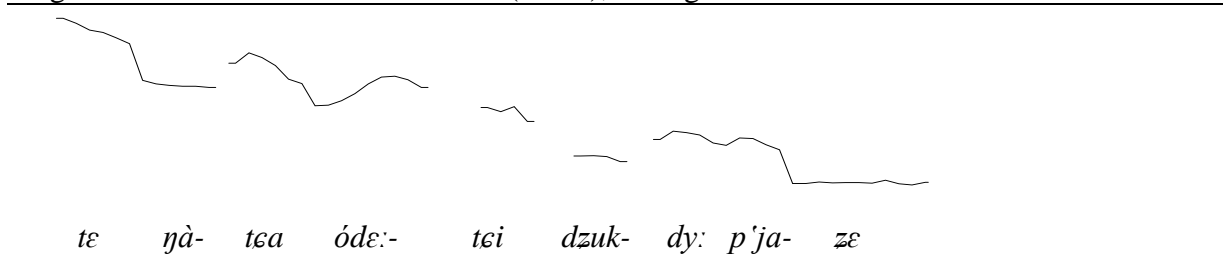
Intonation in polar questions with the interrogative copula *ɲá* is exemplified in Figures 11.6 and 11.7, which give the pitch traces from (11.16) and (11.17) respectively. In Figure 11.5, the decrease in the pitch trace at the end of syllable *tsʰoː* is caused by background noise. The pitch in both clauses has a slight rise on the penultimate syllable, thus resembling interrogative intonation with *-ka/ga*.

(11.16) ད་ཙྭོ་ཚོགས་ཏོ་ཉ?

       tˈato tsʰoː-to   **ɲá?**

       now gather-IPFV   EQU.PQ

       'Are (they) gathering now.' (KN kitchen discussion)

Figure 11.6. Intonation in polar question (11.16) with *ɲá*

| *tˈa-* | *to* | *tsʰoː-* | *to* | *ɲá?* |
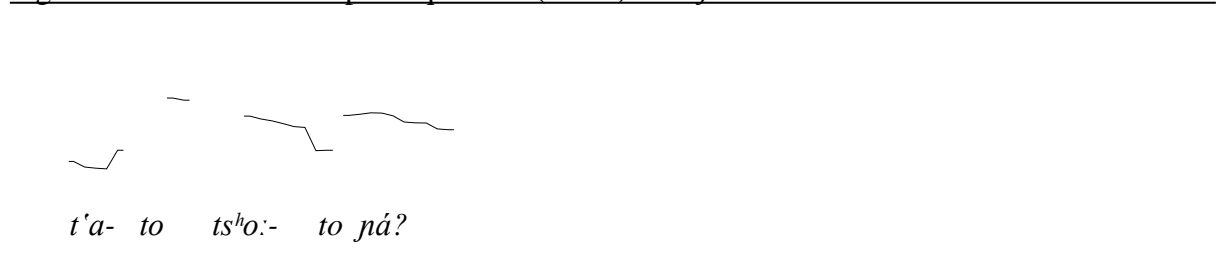
(11.17) ཚོད་སྟོན་ (phone) བཏང་པོ་ཉ?

       tɕʰøʔ   *fon*   *tãː-bo*   **ɲá?**

       2SG.L   phone(Eng.)   send-2INF   EQU.PQ

       'Did you call?' (KN e)

Figure 11.7. Intonation in polar question (11.17) with *ɲá*

| *tɕʰøʔ* | *fon* | *tãː-* | *bo* | *ɲá ?* |
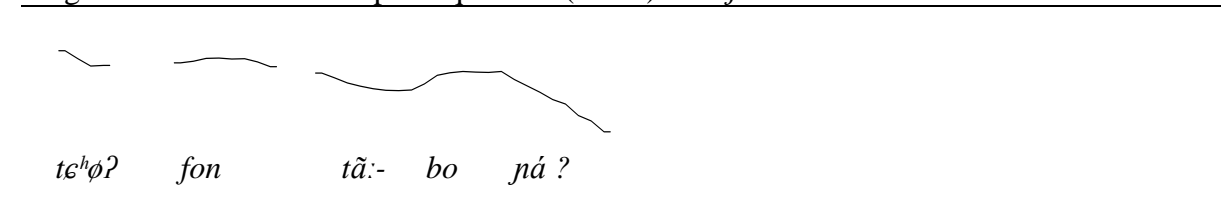
The interrogative suffix *-ka/ga* does not have a negated form, but the interrogative copula *ɲá* has the specific negated form *mèn-a*, which functions very similarly to the regularly formed *mèŋ-ga*. In my data, *mèn-a* is more frequent than *mèŋ-ga*, the use of which is limited to consultant KN.

Example (11.18) illustrates an independent copular use of *mèna*, while (11.19) provides auxiliary uses, which correspond to English tag questions. For *mèŋ-ga*, consider (11.20).

(11.18) གསུམ་གསུམ་རྐྱབས་དགོས་ཤད་སྐྱོད། མན, བཞི་བཞི་མན་ན།

súm súm kjap go:-ɕɛ *bɛʔ.* *mɛ̃:,* *zi* *zi*
three three do be.needed-INF EQU.NE NEG.EQU.PER four four
mèn-a?
NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
'Three of each needs to be made. No, isn't (it) four each?' (KNA kitchen discussion)

(11.19) a) རང་ཁོང་ཁྲ་བསགས་ཏོ་ མེན་ན་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།

rã: *kʰõ:ʈa* *sák-to* ***mèn-a*** *làp-o=lo.*
2SG.L anger accumulate-IPFV NEG.EQU.PER-PQ say-2INF=REP
'You are getting angry, aren't you, he said (so the story goes).' (PD bet story)

b) ཡ, ད་ ཉལ་ཤད་ མན་ན, དྲོ་པར་ དྲོ་ལས་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་ཤད་ མན་པོ?

jà: *t'a* *ɲɛ̀:-ɕɛ* ***mèn-a?*** *t'o:pa* *t'olɛ* *gju* *go:-ɕɛ*
well now sleep-INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ morning early go be.needed-INF
mèmbo?
NEG.EQU.NE.Q
'Well, now we shall go to sleep, shan't we? We need to go early in the morning, don't
we?' (Richhi 67)

c) ད་ ང་ཚག་ གཉིས་པོ་ དགོངས་པོ་ ཞུ་ཤད་ མན་ན།

t'a *ŋàtɕaʔ* *ɲí:-po* *gompo* *ɕù-ɕɛ* ***mèn-a.***
now 1PL two-COL leave ask-INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
'The two of us are taking a leave now, aren't we?' (Richhi 28)

(11.20) a) ཁུ་ ཨམ་རྫི་ མན་ག?

kʰu *ámdzi* ***mɛ̀ŋ-ga?***
3SGM doctor NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
'Isn't he a doctor (assuming he is)?' (KN e)

b) མདང་ ཚེ་རིང་ འཕྲད་པོ་ མན་ག?

dã: *tsʰeriŋ* *pʰɛ-po* ***mɛ̀ŋ-ga?***
yesterday PN meet-2INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
'You met Tshering yesterday, didn't you?' (KN e)

In addition to interrogative uses, *ɲá* 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 *ɲá* are postposed to the equative and existential copulas (11.21b), whereas interrogative *ɲá* 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 *ɲá* is by definition a question. The declarative uses of *ɲá*, which are here termed assertive tags, are treated in more detail in §16.3.1.

(11.21) a) Q: སྨན་རྒྱས་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ན?

ḷɛŋgɛʔ jóʔ kjap-to **ɲá?**
PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
'Are you working?' (KN e)

b) A1: ང་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ཨིན་ ན།

ŋà jóʔ kjap-to ǐ: **ɲá.**
1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER TAG.ASR
'I am indeed working.' (KN e)

c) A2: *ང་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ན?

*ŋà jóʔ kjap-to **ɲá?**
1SG work do -IPFV EQU.PER.Q

Although *-ka/ga*[376] is a suffix and *ɲá* a copula, they have partly overlapping distributions. Distributions overlap when *ka/ga* and *ɲá* are postposed to a verb root, imperfective marker *-to/do*, future-marking infinitive *-ɕɛ* and marginally to the past marker *-tɕɛ*, of which I have only one interrogative example with *ɲá* and several with *-ka/ga*. Overlapping uses of *-ka/ga* and *ɲá* 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་ག?

ŋà **gju-ga?**[377]
1SG go-PQ
'Shall I go?'

b) འདི་ ལམ་ འདི་ སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སླེབས་ག?

di làm=di siliguri ḷɛp-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) ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ རབ་སྟན་ལོ་ མི་ལབ་ག?

tɕʰøː=ki rabdɛn=lo **mi-làp-ka?**
2SG.L=AGT PN=DAT NEG-say-PQ
'Aren't you telling (it) to Rabden?' (KN e)

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[376] A cognate of *-ka/ga* occurs in Standard Tibetan as a future interrogative marker (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 170).
[377] Another consultant preferred the perfective form of the suppletive verb here, *ŋà sõ:-ga* ང་ སོང་ག?

(11.24) ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ ཆོད་ལོ་ འཕྲད་པར་ འོང་ཁད་ ཨིན་ ལབ་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཐོས་ཚེ, མ་འོང་ག?

        tɕʰøkiʔ   *tɕʰøː=lo*   *pʰɛ-pa*   *ȍː-ɕɛ*   *íː*   *làp-øː*   *lògjuʔ*

        PN   2SG.L=DAT   meet-PUR   come-INF   EQU.PER   say-2INF.GEN   story

        tʰoː-tɕɛ,   ***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 *ɲá* 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 *ɲá* 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***   ***ɲá?***

         pain   do   EQU.PER.Q

         'Does it hurt?' (KN e)

     b) ཟུག་ རྒྱབས་པད།

         sùk   *kjap=(p)ɛʔ*

         pain   do=EQU.NE

         'It hurts.' (KN e)

Both -*ka/ga* and *ɲá* may occur with deontic modality marker *tɕʰoʔ* '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 *tɕʰoː* 'be allowed'.

(11.26) ང་ ན་ སྡོད་ ཆོག་ ཉ?

        ŋà   *nàː*   *døː*   ***tɕʰoː***   ***ɲá?***

        1SG   here   sit   be.allowed   EQU.PER.Q

        'Can I sit here?' (GB e)

(11.27) ང་ ན་ སྡོད་ ཆོག་ག?

        ŋà   *nàː*   *døː*   ***tɕʰoː-ga?***

        1SG   here   sit   be.allowed-PQ

        'Can I sit here?' (GB e)

Similarly to -*ka/ga* in (11.23), *ɲá* 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) ཆོད་ རྡོ་རྗེ་སྐླིང་ མིན་འགྱུ་ ཉ?

        tɕʰøʔ   *dordziliŋ*   ***miŋ-gju ɲá?***

        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་སྲེབས་ ཉ?

     *di   làm=di   siliguri **mi-ɭɛp**   **ɲá?***

     this   road=DEMPH TPN   NEG-arrive EQU.PER.Q

     Doesn't this road lead to Siliguri? (KN e)

Imperfective

Both *-ka/ga* and *ɲá* occur postposed to the imperfective marker *-to/do*.

(11.30) སྦྱང་བརྡར་ ལེམ་ འབྱོན་དོ་ ག?

     *dzã:dar lɛ̀m   **tʰøn-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**   **ɲá?***

     now   gather-IPFV   EQU.PER.Q

     'Are (they) gathering now?' (KN kitchen discussion)

     A: ཚོགས་ཏོ་ བྲད།

     tsʰo:-to   bɛʔ.

     gather-IPFV EQU.NE

     '(Yes they) are gathering.' (LT kitchen discussion)

    Example (11.32) below provides a further comparative example, showing that there is a semantic differences in the choice between *ɲá* and *-ka/ga* in some contexts, although this is the only contrastive example I have to show as evidence.

(11.32) a) སྤུན་རྒྱས་ ཕུཏ་བྲོལ་ (football)[378] རྩེད་པོ་ གནང་དོ་ ཉ?

     *ɭɛŋgɛʔ   futbol   tsi:-bo   **nǽ:-do**   **ɲá?***

     PRN.HON   football(Eng.) play-2INF DO.HON-IPFV EQU.PER.Q

     'Are you playing football (right now)?' (TB e)

     b) སྤུན་རྒྱས་ ཕུཏ་བྲོལ་ (football) རྩེད་པོ་ གནང་དོ་ག?

     *ɭɛŋgɛʔ   futbol   tsi:-bo   **nǽ:-do-ga?***

     PRN.HON   football(Eng.) play-2INF do.HON-IPFV-PQ

     'Do you (habitually) play football?' (TB e)

Past

Both *-ka/ga* and *ɲá* occur with the past marker *-tɕɛ* 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 *ɲá* in this construction (11.35). In colloquial language, VERB-*tɕɛ-ka* often merges into VERB-*tɕa*, see (11.34).

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[378] The Denjongke term for 'football' given by consultant YR is གང་རྩེ་པོ་ལི་ *kã:-tsi-poli* 'foot-play-ball'.

(11.33) ང་ རང་གི་ འདི་ སྐྱང་ འདི་ལོ་ བློ་གཏད་ཅེ་ག, ཡིད་ཆེས་ བྱས་ཞེ་ག?

      t'a   *raŋ=gi*   *ɲè:*   *ɖuŋ=di=lo*   **lótɛ:-tɕɛ-ga**,   *jìtɕʰi*   *p'ja-ʑɛ-ga?*

      now you=AGT 1SG.GEN story=DEMPH=DAT trust-PST-PQ   faith   do-PST-PQ

      'Now did you trust this story of mine, did you believe it?' (PAD bet story)

(11.34) ད་ཚིག་གི་ མི་ཏིང་ (meeting) ན་ བཞུགས་ཚ?

      t'atɕi=ki   *mi:tiŋ=na*   **zu:-tɕa?**

      recent=GEN   meeting(Eng.)=LOC sit.HON-PST.PQ

      'Did you sit in the recent meeting?' (oh, Barapathing)

(11.35) ལབ་ཆེ་ ཉ?

      làp-tɕɛ   *ɲá?*

      say-PST EQU.PER.Q

      'Did you/(s)he/they say (it)? (KN e)

One of the reasons why the use of *ɲá* in (11.35) may be marginal is that the past marker *-tɕɛ* in the declarative cannot take a copular auxiliary, unlike the imperfective *-to/do (t̆:/bɛʔ)* and the periphrastic past *-po t̆:/bɛʔ*. Consequently, it is not clear whether *ɲá* 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 (*ɲá* replaces copula) and declarative uses (*ɲá* occurs after copula).

Nonpast

Both *-ka/ga* and *ɲá* may interrogate the periphrastic nonpast form VERB-*ɕɛ t̆:/bɛʔ*, which marks both habitual present facts and future actions, see (11.36-38). Similarly to the past construction *-tɕɛ-ka*, which is abbreviated to *-tɕa*, the future *-ɕɛ-ka* is often reduced to *-ɕa* in spoken language, see (11.37).

(11.36) མོ་བྱད་ཀྱིས་ ཕོགས་ ཐོབ་ཆད་ག?

      mòby:=ki   *pʰoʔ*   **tʰop-ɕɛ-ka?**[379]

      wife=AGT   salary   receive-INF-PQ

      'Does the wife receive salary?' (BP BB discussion)

(11.37) ཅེདམ་ ཏེ་ར་ ཅེད་ཕ?[380]

      tsim   *tɛ:ra*   **tsi:-ɕa?**

      game again play-INF.PQ

      'Shall we play a game again?' (PT kitchen discussion)

(11.38) ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཆད་ ཉ?

      kʰu   *jóʔ*   **p'ja-ɕɛ**   *ɲá?*

      3SGM   work do-INF   EQU.PER.Q

      'Will he work?' (TB e)

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[379] One consultant wanted to correct this question into *mòby:=ki pʰoʔ tʰop-ɕɛ jɵ̀:-ka?*.

[380] ཕ་ is an innovative Denjongke spelling, which represents the merged pronunciation *-ɕɛ-ka > -ɕa*.

Distinctive uses

The examples above illustrated the use of *-ka/ga* and *ɲá* in identical environments. What follows describes the distinctive uses of the two markers, beginning with copular questions. The fact that the interrogative equative copula *ɲá* simply replaces the corresponding declarative copula was already illustrated in (11.6) above. Being an equative, *ɲá* is not used for interrogating the existentials copulas *jə̀ʔ* and *duʔ*. This leaves two copula forms interrogated with the suffix *-ka/ga*, *íŋ-ga* (neg. *mèŋ-ga*) and *bɛ-ka* (neg. *mèmbɛ-ka*), which roughly correspond to the equative interrogative copula *ɲá*. The form *íŋ-ga*, however, has developed uses that set it semantically apart from *ɲá*. The interrogative *íŋ-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 *íŋ-ga* as a non-tag question the speaker is predisposed to believe that the questioned claim is true.

(11.39) ཡར་རྒྱས་དགོས་ཁད་སྲུད་ ཨིན་ག?

        jàrgɛʔ   *goː-ɕɛ*   *bɛʔ,*   **íŋ-ga?**

        development   be.needed-INF EQU.NE EQU.PER-PQ

        'Development is needed, isn't it?' (KL BLA 12)

(11.40) ཨེ་ ཨིན་ག་ལགས?

        ɛ́ː, **íŋ-ga=la.**

        oh EQU.PER-PQ=HON

        'Oh, is it so?' (KNA kitchen discussion)

(11.41) ཁྱོད་ སློབ་ཕྲུག ཨིན་ག?

        tɕʰø̀ʔ   *lópʈʰuʔ* **íŋ-ga?**

        2SG.L   student EQU.PER-Q

        'Are you a student (I think you are)?' (YR e)

    By using the evidentially neutral equative *bɛʔ* 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) ཁྱོད་ སློབ་ཕྲུག སྲུད་ག?

        tɕʰø̀ʔ   *lópʈʰuʔ* **bɛ-ka?**

        2SG.L   student EQU.NE-PQ

        'Are you a student?' (YR e)

    The semantic difference of *íŋ-ga* in (11.41) and *bɛ-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 *íŋ-ga* and 'I do not know' for *bɛ-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 *jə̀ː-ka* and *du-ka,* as will be pointed out a few paragraphs below.

    Example (11.43), where *ɲá* is used instead of *bɛ-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 *t́:* (focusing on the identification), whereas in (11.42) the anticipated answer has the neutral equative *bɛʔ* (focusing on the consequences of identification). For the difference of *t́:* and *bɛʔ*, refer to §7.2.3.

(11.43)　ཆོད་སློབ་ཕྲུག་ 丂?

　　　　tɕʰø̀ʔ　　*lópt̪ʰuʔ*　　***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་ཟིང་ ཁོང་ འདི་ རང་སྐད་ ང་ཚའི་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ འདི་ ཁོང་གིས་ མི་མཁྱེན་པོ་ ལྷད་ལགས, མི་མཁྱེན་མཁན་ ལྷད་, ལྷད་ག་ལགས?

　　　　t'iza: kʰõ̀:=di　　　*raŋ-kɛʔ*　　*ŋàtɕi*　*ḷokɛ=di*　　*kʰoŋ=gi*
　　　　but　3PL=DEMPH　own-language 1PL.GEN Lhoke=DEMPH　3PL=AGT
　　　　mi-kʰɛm-bo　　　　　*bɛ=la,*　　　　*mi-kʰɛŋ-kʰɛn*
　　　　NEG-know.HON-2INF　EQU.NE=HON　　NEG-know.HON.
　　　　bɛʔ,　　　***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, as shown in (11.45), where *jɛ̀bbɛ-ka* is a reduction of *jə̀-po bɛ-ka*:

(11.45)　རྫོང་གུ་ལོ་ ལེན་རྫི་ ཉོ་མཁན་ ཡོད་པ་ལྷད་ག?

　　　　dzoŋgu=lo lɛ̀ndzi　　*ɲò:-kʰɛ̃:*　　***jɛ̀bbɛ-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 *bɛʔ* 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)　ཁུ་ འོང་པོ་ ལྷད་ག?

　　　　kʰu　　***òm-bo***　　*bɛ-ka?*
　　　　3SGM　come-2INF EQU.NE-PQ
　　　　'Did he come?'/'He came, eh. (KN e)

(11.47) ཁུ་འོང་པོ་ཉ?

    kʰu   **òm-bo**   *ɲá?*
    3SGM   come-2INF   EQU.PER.Q
    'Did he come?' (KN e)

Only *-ka/ga* (and not *ɲá*[381]) occurs as an interrogator with existential copulas *jòʔ* and *duʔ*, forming *jòː-ka* and *du-ka,* as exemplified in (11.48) and (11.49). The choice of copula between *jòʔ* and *duʔ* 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 *jòʔ*, otherwise *duʔ*.

(11.48) ཇ་ཡོད་ག?

    tɕʼa   **jòː-ka***?*
    tea   EX.PER-PQ
    'Is there tea?' (oh, Barapathing)

(11.49) ཕོའུ་ར་འགྱུ་ཡད་དགོན་པོ་བཞུགས་སོ་འདུག་ག་ལགས?

    pʰou=ra   *gju-ɕɛʔ*   *gjømpo*   *zuːso*   ***du-ka**=la?*
    over.there=AEMPH   go-INF   monastery   residence.HON   EX.SEN-PQ=HON
    'Is there a residence to go at the monastery over there?' (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) ཁུ་ནམ་འོང་དོ་ག?

    kʰu   *nàm*   *òn-do-ga?*
    3SGM   when come-IPVF-PQ
    'When is he coming?' (KN e)

Two further constructions in which *ɲá* and *-ka/ga* have differing distributions are the periphrastic past construction *-po bɛ/íː*, which is negated in differing ways by *ɲá* and *-ka/ga*, as already shown in (11.46-47) above, and the perfect *-tsʰa(ː),* which in my data is interrogated with *ɲá* 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   *ɭɛp-tsʰaː*   *ɲá?*
    TPN   arrive-CMPL   EQU.PER.Q
    'Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?' (KT phone call 3)

---

[381] However, declarative *ɲá* (see §16.3.1) may be postposed to existentials to form *jòː ɲá* and *duː ɲá*.

(11.52) ཤི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སླེབས་ཚཀེ་ ཉ?

    siliguri   *ḷɛp-tsʰakɛ*   ***ɲá?***

    TPN   arrive-CMPL.APH EQU.PER.Q

    'Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?' (KT e)

(11.53) ཤི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སླེབས་ཚ�ཉ? ཉ?

    siliguri   *ḷɛp-tsʰo-u*   ***ɲá?***

    TPN   arrive-CMPL-2INF   EQU.PER.Q

    'Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?' (KT e)

Finally, I have one elicited example where *ɲá* co-occurs with the nominalized existential *duk-o*, which could, with rising intonation, form a question by itself without *ɲá*, see (11.54). It may be that here *ɲá* is used as an assertive tag rather than as a question marker (see §16.3.1 for uses of *ɲá* as an assertive tag).

(11.54) ཁུ་ ཨོ ན་ འདུག་ཀོ་ ཉ?

    kʰu   *óna* *duk-o*   ***ɲá?***

    3SGM   there EQU.SEN-2INF EQU.PER.Q

    'Is he there (I think he is)?' / 'Is he indeed there?' (KT e)

In conclusion, *ɲá* 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 *ɲá* when occurring with verb roots, the imperfective *-to/do*, nonpast *-ɕɛ í̃/bɛʔ* and (marginally) past form *-tɕɛ*.

11.1.1.3 Simple polar questions with the attenuated markers *-kam/gam* and *ɲám*

The attenuated interrogative markers *-kam/gam* and *ɲám* 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) ཁྱད་པར་ ཨ་ཚི་ ཡོད་ཏོ་གམ?

    kʰɛpar   *átsi* ***jò̀:-to-gam?***

    difference a.bit EQU.PER-IPFV-ATTQ

    'Is there perhaps a bit difference?' (KN e)

(11.56) མ་ནི་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ འདི་ལོ་ བུམ་ གཞན་ ཡོད་ཏོ་གམ། མ་ནི་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ ཨིན་ཏོ་ གམ།

    mènni   *ágja=di=lo*   *p'um ʑɛn* ***jò̀:-to-gam.***   *mènni*

    perhaps big.brother=DEMPH=DAT girl another EQU.PER-ATTQ   perhaps

    ɲén   *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 *ɲám* in a polar question is illustrated in (11.57).

(11.57) འདྲེམ་ འདྲེམ་ མི་བཞེས་མཁན་ལགས། བཞེས་ཏོ་ སྙམ?

dɛm   dɛm   mi-ʐeː-kʰɛ̃ː=la.   ʐeː-to   ɲám?
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 uses where *-kam/gam* and *ɲám* form polar alternative questions, refer to §11.1.3.1.

The negated form of *ɲám, 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་པོ་ བྱོན་ དགོས་ཁད་ མན་ནམ། གཞན་ ཀ་ འགྱུ་ཉི་སེ།

t'a   tsʰoː   tɕ'øn   goː-ɕɛ   mèn-am?   ʐen   ka
now son.in.law go.HON be.needed-INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ another who
gju-ɲi=s(ɛ)?
go-3INF =QUO
'Now the son-in-law should go, shouldn't he? Who else is to go (I ask)?' (rnam-rtog 30)

(11.59) ད་ མནའ་མོ, བན་བོན་ འབོང་ཐིང་པོ་ལོ་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ ཨོ་འདྲེམ་ ཟང་ཏེ་ བློ་ གཏད་ཁད་ མ་བྱས་ན་ དྲག་ཁད་ མན་ནམ།

t'a   nám,   p'ɛmbõː   boŋtʰiŋbo=lo[382]   tɕiku ódɛm sã̌ːtɕ lóteː-ɕɛ
now daughter-in-law Bon.priest Lepcha.priest=DAT   only such until trust-INF
mam-bja-nɛ   t'ak-ɕɛ   mèn-am?
NEG-do-COND be.alright-INF   NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ
'Now, daughter-in-law, it would be better not to put your trust only in Bon priests and bongthings, wouldn't it?' (rnam-rtog 32)

The negated question *mènam* may be followed by the affirmative tag question *íŋga*, see (11.60). Interestingly, Bhaicung Tsichudarpo, 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་ལྟ་ ལག་ཀོ་ འདིའི་ སྟེང་ལོ་ རྒྱབས་ཁད་ མན་ནམ་ ཨིན་ག?

t'ato làko di: tɕŋlo kjap-ɕɛ mèn-am   íŋ-ga?
now hand this.GEN on do-INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ   EQU.PER-PQ
'Now it's done on this hand, isn't it, or what?' (rnam-rtog 27)

---

[382] 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' (Balikci 2008: 378)

11.1.1.4 Polar questions with the interrogative copula *bo*

The third interrogative copula, apart from *ɲá* (neg. *mè-na*) and *ɲám* (neg. *mè-nam*), is *bo* (neg. *mèmbo*), which, like *ɲám*, 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་ཆད་མེད་ བྱོན་པོ་ གནང་དོ་ བོ?

        lò   *tsʰameʔ*   *tɕʼɛm-bo*   *nä̃ː-do*   ***bo?***

        year   every   come.HON-2INF   do.HON-IPFV   EQU.NE.Q

        'Do you come (here) every year?' (Bumchu-video)

    b) ཟུག་ རྐྱབས་པོ་ བོ?

        sùk   *kjap-o*   ***bo?***

        pain   do-2INF   EQU.NE.Q

        'Did it hurt?' (NB e)

The negated form *mèmbo* is in effect similar to English negated tag question following an affirmed clause, i.e. the speaker suspects that the affirmative is the case.

(11.62) a) ཁྱོད་ འོང་ སྡོད་ ཡོདཔ་ མནཔོ?

        kʰõː   *ò̃ː*   *døː*   *jò̃ː-p*   ***mèmbo,***   *pʼotso=tsu?*

        3PL   come   stay   EX.PER-2INF   NEG.EQU.NE.Q   child=PL

        'They have come, haven't they, the children?' (LT kitchen discussion)

    b) རྟོ་པར་ རྟོ་ལས་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་ཤད་ མནཔོ?

        ʈʼoːpa   *ʈʼolɛ*   *gju*   *goː-ɕɛ*   ***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 *mèn-a* (at least by one of my consultants), I do not currently have examples of evidentially neutral *mèmbɛ-ka*, which would be a form analogous to personal *mèŋ-ga*.

11.1.1.5 Polar interrogatives with preverbal *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) ཨོ་འདེམ་ཏོ་ ཨ་ ཨིན?

        ódɛm=to   ***á*** *ĩ́ː?*

        like.that=CEMPH   PQ EQU.PER

        'Is (it) like that?' (KUN e)

(11.64) ཁུ་ ཨོ་འདེ་ ཨ་ ལབ?

        kʰu   *ódɛː*   ***á*** *làp?*

        3SGM   like.that   PQ   say

        'Does he say like that?' (KUN e)

Yukawa (2017: 191, 194) reports that a similar interrogative marker *a* (WD ཨ་) in Lhasa Tibetan may precede *yöö* (cognate with *jòʔ*) and *yin* (cognate with *ĩ́:*) but not *ree* (functionally quite similar to *bɛʔ*). Yukawa's translation for questions with *a* includes the frame 'I wonder whether'. A similar question marker *a⁵³* 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 Bragg.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, *ɲá, ɲám* 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) ཁུ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ ཉ?

        kʰu   *ɲén*   *kjap-o*   *ɲá?*
        3SGM   wedding   do-2INF   EQU.PER.Q
        'Did he get married?' (KN e)

    b) ཁུ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྙམ?

        kʰu   *ɲén*   *kjap-o*   *ɲám?*
        3SGM   wedding   do-2INF   EQU.ATTQ
        'I wonder if he got married?' (KN e)

    c) ཁུ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ བོ?

        kʰu   *ɲén*   *kjap-o*   *bo?*
        3SGM   wedding   do-2INF   EQU.NE.Q
        'Did he get married?' (KN e)

    d) ཁུ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྦྲད་ཀ?

        kʰu   *ɲén*   *kjap-o*   *bɛ-ka?*
        3SGM   wedding   do-2INF   EQU.NE-PQ
        'Did he get married?' (KN e)

    e) ཁུ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྦྲད?

        kʰu   *ɲén*   *kjap-o*   *bɛʔ?*   (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 (*ĩ̃:* for *ɲá* and *bɛʔ* 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་བྱད?

     di   k'an bɛʔʔ

     this   what EQU.NE

     'What is this?' (KN e)

    b) འདི་གན་སྣམ?

     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 *ɲám* (§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

k'an, k'ar	གན་, གར་	what
k'adi	ག་འདི་	which
k'ana, k'akʰa	ག་ན་, ག་ཁ(ར)་	where
ka	ཀ་	who
nàm	ནམ་	when
k'ambja[383]	གན་ཆོས་	why
k'adzøʔ, k'atsʰøʔ	ག་ཚོད་	how many
k'atɛm	ག་ཉེམ་	what kind of
k'atɛ	ག་ཉེ་	how

(11.67) གན་གནང་དོ?

     k'an *nã̀ː-do?*

     what do.HON-IPFV

     'What (are you) doing?' (TB e)

---

[383] Also occurs in longer form *kan p'ja(ti)* and in more reduced forms *k'amja* and *k'amɛ*.

(11.68) ཁུ་ག་འདི་བོ?

    kʰu   ***k'adi***   *bo?*

    3SGM   which   EQU.NE.Q

    'Which one is he?' (TB e)

(11.69) ཡུལ་འདི་ག་ན་ཉམ?

    ỳ:=di   ***k'ana***   *ɲám?*

    place=DEMPH   where   EQU.ATTQ

    'Where is that place, I wonder?' (AB kitchen discussion)

(11.70) བོ་ཙ་ཀིས་ད་ཨབ་ཨམ་ལོ་མ་ལྟ་ནེ་ག་ལྟ་གད?

    p'otsa:=gi t'a   *áp*   *ám=lo*   *ma-ta-nɛ*   ***ka***   *ta-ɕɛ?*

    child=AGT now   father   mother=DAT   NEG-look-COND   who   look-INF

    'If children won't look after (their) father and mother, who will look?' (PED life story)

(11.71) ཨོ་འདི་ནམ་བོ་ལགས? ལོ་གཉིས་ཧ་ལས?

    ódi   ***nàm*** *bo=la?*   *lò*   *ɲì:*   *halɛ?*

    that   when EQU.NE.Q=HON   year two   before

    'When was that? Two years ago?' (RS [in]auspicious days)

(11.72) གན་ཆུས་འདེབ་ཕྱི་སྟེ་འོང་བོ?

    k'ambja   *dɛp*   *pʰi:-ti*   *òm-bo?*

    why   like.that   be.late-NF   come-2INF

    'Why did you come late like that?' (RS pupil joke)

(11.73) ད་རུང་ཉིམ་ག་ཚོད་སྡོད་གད?

    t'aruŋ   *ɲìm*   ***k'adzø?***   *dø:-ɕɛ??*

    still   day   how.many   stay-INF

    'How many days will (you) still stay (here)?' (oh, Tashiding)

    The answer to *k'atɛm* 'what kind' tends to be an adjective, whereas the answer to *k'atɛ* 'how' tends to be an adverb. The adverbial nature of *k'atɛ* 'how' is revealed by the indefinite form *k'atɛ p'jati ĩ̀:ruŋ* 'however', which in opposition to *k'atɛm ĩ̀:ruŋ* 'whatever kind', includes the adverbializing converb *p'jati* (see §6.3.2).

(11.74) དེ་ཟ་མོ་རང་ཏོ་ལེམ་ཆུས་མ་ཤེས་པོ་གཞན་ལོ་ག་ཏེ་སླབ་བྱིན་ཚུགས་གད?

    t'izã: mù=rã:=to   *lèm-p'ja*   *ma-ɕé:-po.*   *zen=lo*   ***k'atɛ*** *ḷap*

    but   3SGF=REFL=CEMPH   good-ADVZR   NEG-know-2INF   other=DAT   how   teach

    p'in   *tsʰu:-ɕɛ??*

    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་པ་ལོ་ ཞལ་ལག་ག་ སྟེམ་ བཞེས་ བཅུག་ཏོ?

       nɛ̀ːpo=lo   *ɕɛ̀ːlaʔ*   **k'atɛm**   *ze:*   *tɕuk-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་སྟེམ་ གཟིམ་པོ་ གནང་པོ?

       k'atɛm   *zim-bo*   *nǎ̀ː-bo?*

       what.kind.of   sleep.HON-2INF   do.HON-2INF

       'How did you sleep?' (TB e)

The uses of *k'atɛm* 'what kind' and *k'atɛ* 'how' overlap when asking how people are doing:

(11.76) a) ད་ལྟ་ བྷའི་ལགས་ ག་སྟེམ་ ཡོད་ ལགས?

       t'ato bhaila   **k'atɛm**   *jø̀ː=la?*

       now   PN   what.kind.of   EX.PER=HON

       'How is Bhaila now?' (Richhi 10)

       b) ད་ལྟ་ བྷའི་ལགས་ ག་སྟེ་ ཡོད?

       t'ato bhaila   **k'atɛ** *jø̀ʔʔ*

       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'aː* 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) ཆོད་ ག་ འགྱུ་ དོ་ས།

       tɕʰøʔ   **k'aː**   *gju-do=s.*

       2SG.L   where   go-IPFV=QUO

       'Where are you going (he said)?' (KT animal story)

(11.78) འདེབ་ ཆརབ་ རྒྱབས་ནེ་ ག་རི་ ག་ འཁྲུ?

       dɛp   *tɕʰaːp*   *kjap-nɛ*   *gari* **k'aː**   *kʰju?*

       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 *ɲám*, *-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 *jø̀ʔ* and *duʔ*, content questions usually have the copula nominalized with *-po*:

(11.79) གཱན་ ཡོད་པོ?

    k'ana   jè-po?
    where   EX.PER-2INF
    'Where is (he)? (SG wedding customs)

(11.80) ཚད་པོ་ གཱ་ལྟེམ་ འདུག་ཀོ?

    tsʰɛpo   k'atɛm   duk-o?
    heat   how   EX.SEN-2INF
    'How hot is it?' (TB phone call)

    Bare copulas are also sometimes used:

(11.81) ལྷ་སྐྱིད་ གནས་ཚུལ་ གཱན་ ཡོད?

    l̥akiʔ   nɛ́:tsʰy: k'an   jɒ̀ʔ?
    PN   news   what   EQU.PER
    'What news are there, Lhaki?' (Richhi 69)

(11.82) ཨ་རྒྱ་གི་ཕྲོ་ གཚོད་ འདུག?

    ágja=gi=ɕo   k'adzøʔ   duʔ?
    elder.brother=GEN=AT   how.many   EX.SEN
    'And as for the big brother, how many do (you) have?' (Richhi 99)

    Some Denjongke-speaking communities also allow *-po* to be appended to the neutral equative *bɛʔ*:

(11.83) དེབ་ འདི་གི་ འཛོ་ གཚོད་ སྲུད་པོ?

    t'ɛp=di=gi   dzo: k'adzøʔ   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) དེབ་ འདི་གི་ གོང་ གཚོད་ སྲུད་གོ?

    t'ɛp=di=gi   gõ: k'adzøʔ   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 *bɛʔ* occurs as nominalized with *-po* in my data. This nominalized use of *bɛʔ* in interrogatives is probably triggered by analogy with the existential nominalized forms *jɒ̀-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[384] (11.87):

(11.85) ན་ ཕྱོན་སྟེ་ཀི་ ཉིམ་ ག་ཚོད་ ལྷང་ཚར?

       nà: tɕˈøn-diki   ɲìm k'adzøʔ   lɑ̂:-tsʰa:?

       here come.HON-NF day how.many come.up.to-PRF

       'How many days is it since you came here?' (oh, Tashiding)

(11.86) ཆོས་ ག་ཚོད་ སློག་ཅེ?

       tɕʰoʔ   k'adzøʔ   ɖok-tɕɛ?

       studies how.many read-PST

       'How much did (s)he study?' (BP BB discussion)

(11.87) ཏེ་ སློབ་དཔོན་ མཉམ་པུ་ འདི་ ག་ན་ མཇལ་པོ?

       tɛ lópøn   ɲámpu=di   k'ana   dʑɛ:-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.

Figure 11.8. Intonation in content question (with a wh-word) (11.87)

    tɛ   ló-   pøn   ɲàmpu=   di   k'ana   dʑɛ- po ?
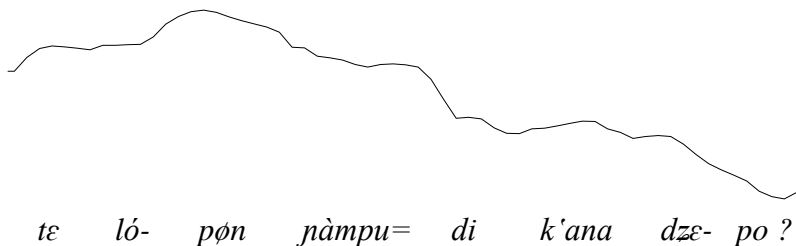
Finally, my data contains one example of a question marker *-go* which occurred in an interrogated progressive sentence (11.88). The interrogative *-go* corresponds to declarative *-kɛ/gɛ*, see §8.3.3.2.

(11.88) ངས་ གར་ བྱས་བཞིན་གོ?

       ŋá: k'ar p'ja-zuŋ-go?

       I.AGT what do-PROG-Q

       'What am I doing?' (KN e)

I suspect that (11.88) is a spoken abbreviated version of the fuller form (11.89).

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[384] In the interrogative, however, the form is not periphrastic because the copula is dropped.

(11.89) ངས་ གར་ བྱས་པ་ཞིན་ འདུག་གོ?

ŋá: k'ar p'ja-zɛn   duk-o?
I.AGT what do-PROG   EX.SEN-2INF
'What am I 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་རིང་ མོའི་ ཡིག་ལན་ ད་རུང་རིང་ མ་སྔེབས་པའི་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ གང་ ཡིན་ནམ་ མནོ་བཞིན་ འདི་ མཚོན་ སོང་སྟེ་ སེམས་ན་ གཏམ་ ཀེས་པོ་ དྲན།
ཀད་ ཨིན།

t'izã: mù=i   jìglɛ̃:   t'aruŋ=sã: ma-ɭɛp-ø: gjumtsʰɛ̃: k'an
but 3SGF=GEN letter.answer still=until NEG-arrive-2INF.GEN reason   what
***ɲám**   nó:-zɛ̃:   ɲà=i   tsʰo=na   sɔ̃́:-di   sɛ́m=na   tam*
EQU.ATTQ   think-PROG fish=GEN lake=LOC go.IPFV-NF mind=LOC saying
kɛ:po ʈ'ɛn-ɕɛ   ĩ́:.
a.lot remember-INF EQU.PER
'Thinking what might be the reason for the letter-answer having not yet arrived he goes to the fish pond and reminisces many things in his mind.' (Richhi 151)

The following two examples illustrate independent (non-complement) content questions with *ɲám:*

(11.91) ག་ཚོད་བར་ བྱོན་ དགོས་ཀད་ ཡིན་ནམ?

*k'adzøʔ   p'a: tɕ'øn   go:-ɕɛ   **ɲám?***
how.many interval come.HON be.needed-INF EQU.ATTQ
'What time shall I come, I wonder?' (Richhi 57)

(11.92) ཨོ་འདི་ ག་ལྟེབ་ བྱས་ཏེ་ བཞག་ དགོས་ཀད་ སྐྱམ་ ཡར་སྤུ་ཀི་ ཚོར་སྣང་ ནང་ན་ལོ?

*ódi k'atɛp p'ja-ti zaʔ go:-ɕɛ   **ɲám**   jà:pu=gi*
that how   do-NF   set be.needed-INF   EQU.ATTQ   nobleman=GEN
tsʰo:na: nàŋɕa=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་ ཨོ་འདི་ ག་ཚོད་རིང་ བདེན་དྲགས་ ཡོད་ཀམས་ལགས?

*tam   ódi k'adzø=sã: ɖɛnʈaʔ jø̀:-**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 *ɲám*. 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་བྱུས་སྟེ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྣམ?
       k'amp'jati kjap-o   ***ɲám=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 *ɲám*

    k'am-   *p'ja-*   *ti*   *kja-* *po*   *ɲám*   *=la*
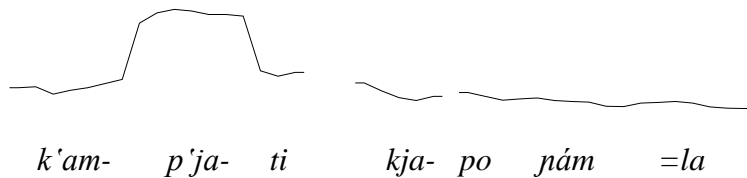
11.1.2.4 Content questions with *bo*

The evidentially neutral interrogative equative *bo* alternates with its declarative counterpart *bɛʔ* in content questions. Examples (11.95) and (11.96) further illustrate the overlap of *bo* and *bɛʔ* respectively in analogous complement clauses.

(11.95) ཏེ་ འདི་ གན་ པོ་ སེ་ནེ་ ཏེ་ ངའི་ འདི་ ཤ་ ཨིན་སེ།
       tɛ di   *k'an* ***bo***   *sé-nɛ*   *tɛ*   *ɲè:=di*   *ɕá*   *í:=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་བྱུས་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཐོན་པོ་ བྱུད་ སེ་ནེ་ ཁོང་ ཐི་ག་དར་ (thikadar) ཆུ་ལོ་ དབང་ཚ་ ཡོད་བ་སྱུད།
       k'amja ódi   *tʰøm-bo*   ***bɛʔ***   *sí-nɛ*   *kʰõ:*   *tʰikadar=tsu=lo*
       why   that   happen-2INF EQU.NE say-COND 3PL   thikadar=PL=DAT
       õ̀:tɕʰa   *jèbbɛʔ.*
       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) ཁུ་ ག་ བོ?
       kʰu   *ka*   ***bo?***
       3SGM   who EQU.NE.Q
       'Who is he?' (KN e)

(11.98) ཏེ་ ར་ནི་པུལ་ ཀའི་ ཚར་ སྡོད་ཤད་ པོ?

        *tɛ ranipul kɛ:=tsa: dø:-ɛɛ   **bo**?*

        SO TPN   who.GEN=at   sit-INF   EQU.NE.Q

        'So with whom will (she) stay in Ranipool?' (KN kitchen discussion)

In interrogative nonpast constructions (*-ɛɛ*-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་ ཆོད་ ག་ཟེ་སྟེ་ དྲག་ཤད་པོ? ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ ད་ ཆོད་ ག་ཟེ་སྟེ་ དྲག་ཤད?

        *t'a tɕʰøʔ k'atɛti ʈ'ak-ɛɛ   **bo**?   tɕʰøkiʔ t'a tɕʰøʔ k'atɛti*

        now 2SG.L how   get.well-INF   EQU.NE.Q   PN   now 2SG.L how

        ʈ'ak-ɛɛʔʔ

        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 *bɛʔ* is born out by the fact that *bo*, similarly to *bɛʔ* (and unlike *ɲá*), occurs in locative uses:

(11.100) འོང་སྟེ་ཀི་ མེ་ སྦྱན་མཁན་ འདི་ ག་ན་ པོ་ ལབ་པའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ ནང་ན

        *òn-diki   mì: sỳn-kʰɛn=di   k'ana **bo**   làp-ø:*

        come-NF   fire kindle-NMLZ=DEMPH   where   EQU.NE.Q   say-2INF.GEN

        t'ytsʰøʔ nàŋɛa

        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, ɲám* and the interrogative copula *bo* but also with the direct marker *-ka/ga* (with existential copulas) and the more marginal suffix *-løʔ*. The interrogative copula *ɲá* does not occur in alternative questions in my data.

11.1.3.1 Alternative questions with *-kam/gam* and *ɲám*

Example (11.101) illustrates the use of the attenuated question markers *ɲám* and *-kam/gam* in a context where, having been asked about the whereabouts of a person named Bhaila, the speaker comments:

(11.101) ཕྲིན་ལས་ལོ་ དྲིས་ ལྟ་གོ། ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་ཚར་པོ་ ཨིན་ནམ? སྨན་ཁང་ན་ རང་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་ཀམ?

        tʰinlɛ=lo   ʈ'i   ta-gɛ.   kʰim=na   lòk-tsʰo-u

        Thrinley=DAT ask   look-HOR   house=DAT return-CMPL-2INF

        ***ɲám**?   mɛ́ŋkʰã:=na dø: jø̀:-**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 *ɲám* 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 *ɲám* in a typical alternative question, where the same interrogating morpheme occurs in both clauses.

(11.102) སྒྲུབ་ཆེན་ སྣམ་ གའན་ སྣམ་ མི་ཤེས།

        dupteʰɛ̃̄:   **ɲám**   *k'an* **ɲám**   *mi-ɕé:.*

        Dupchen.ceremony EQU.ATTQ what EQU.ATTQ NEG-know

        'I do not know whether (it) is a Dupchen (ceremony) or what (it) is.' (KNA kitchen discussion)

Interestingly, (11.102) combines a polar question (first) and a content question (second). The interrogative clauses occurs as a complement clause, i.e. as an argument of another clause ('I do not know…'). 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 *ɲá* seems to imply more politeness. In complement clauses, on the other hand, *-kam/gam* and *ɲám* appear to completely displace *-ka/ga and ɲá* 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་གａম་ མིན་བདེན་གａ?

        di   *t'a*   *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) རྩོད་པོ་ འདི་ གྲོང་ཆར་པོ་ སྣམ་ མ་གྲོང་བ་ སྣམ?

        tsøpo=di   *mjɔ̃̄:-tsʰo-u*   **ɲám** *ma-mjɔ̃̄:-p*   **ɲám**?

        debate=DEMPH   finish-CMPL-2INF   ATTQ NEG-finish-2INF ATTQ

        'Has the debate ended or not, I wonder?' (AB kitchen discussion)

(11.104) a) ཡིན་གａམ་ མན་གａམ་ ད་ ང་ མི་ཤེས།

        *íŋ-**gam***   *mɛ̀ŋ-**gam***   *t'a*   *ŋà* *mi-ɕé:*

        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་ པོ་ སྣམ་ མོ་ སྣམ་ གཟིགས་ བཞག་སྟེ་

        t'a *dɛ:* *pʰo* **ɲám**   *mò*   **ɲám**   *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*.

di   t'a   dɛŋ-   gam   min-   dɛŋ-   gam
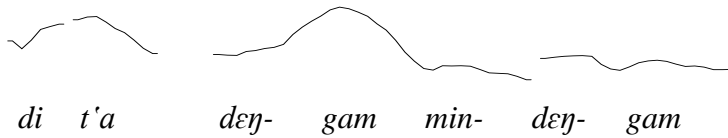
As seen in the example above, the interrogative copula *ɲám* always occurs two times in alternative questions. The interrogative suffix *-kam/gam* (along with the more direct *-ka/ga*), on the other hand, may be repeated, as shown in (11.105), or not repeated, as shown in (11.106).

(11.105)   ད་དིང་སང་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ བྱིན་མཁན་ ཡོད་ཀས་ མེད་ཀས་ མི་ཤེས།
           t'a   t'iŋzã: ódɛm p'iŋ-kᵏɛ̂:   jɵ̀:-kam   mè:-kam
           now nowadays such give-NMLZ EX.PER-ATTQ NEG.EX.PER-ATTQ
           mi-ɕé:.
           NEG-know
           'Now I don't know whether there are such givers nowadays.' (LA Intro to Lachung)

(11.106)   ཡརབ་ གཔ་ཏེན་ (captain) རྩ་ལས་ གནངབ་ ཡོད་ཀས་ མེད་ ལབ་སྟེ་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ གན་སྙམ་ གཅིག
           jà:p   kæptɛn   tsa=lɛ   nã̃́:wa   jɵ̀:-kam   mè?
           nobleman captain(Eng.) at=ABL permission EQU.PER-ATTQ   NEG.EX.PER
           làp-ti   ódɛm   k'ajɛm=tɕi?
           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) ཨ་རྒྱ་ལགས་ཕོ་ བྱིན་པོ་ གནང་ཕད་པོ, བཞུགས་ཕད་པོ?"
           ágja=la:=ɕo,   tɕ'ɵm-bo   nã̃́:-ɕɛ   bo   zu:-ɕɛ
           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)

458

b) འདི་ཁྱི་བོ་ཨ་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་ནུ་ན་ཡོད་པོ་བོ་འོག་ལོང་སོང་བོ?

    *tˈari   ɕánu nà: jə̀-po   **bo**   ò: lṑ   ső:-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 *lṑ* from *lṑ ső:-bo*.

Figure 11.10. Intonation in alternative question (11.108) with *bo*

    tˈari   ɕá- nu   nà jə̀- po   bo   ò: lṑ: ső:- bo
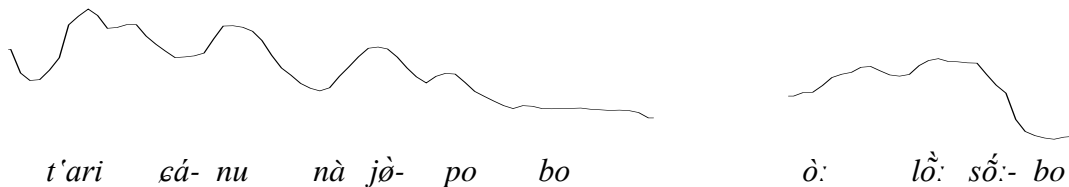
11.1.3.3 Alternative questions with *-ka/ga*

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)   ཁྱོད་བུ་དགའ་ག་བུམ་དགའ?

    *tɕʰø?   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་ཁྱིམ་བདག་ཡོད་ག་མེད?

    *tˈariŋ   kʰimda?   jə̀:-**ka**   mè??*

    today house.owner EX.PER-PQ   NEG.EX.PER

    'Is the house-owner at home today or not?' (KT animal story)

(11.111)   ཁལ་གཅིག་དུག་ག་མིན་འདུག?

    *kʰɛ: tɕi? du-**ka**   mìndu??*

    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 *-løʔ*

The marginal bisyndetic alternative question marker *-løʔ* only occurs in my data twice, both times as a complement clause of the verb *ta* 'look', 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)　འཐུང་ལོད་ མ་འཐུང་ལོད་ ལྟ་ཆེ།
　　　　　*tʰuŋ-**løʔ*** *ma-tʰuŋ-**løʔ*** 　　*ta-tɕʰi.*
　　　　　drink-Q NEG-drink-Q 　　look-IMP.FRN
　　　　　'Look whether (the cow) drank it or not.' (TB e)

(11.113)　དེ་ནས་ འཇིབ་ལོད་ མན་འཇིབ་ལོད་ ལྟ་གེ་ སེ་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།
　　　　　*t'ɛnɛ dzip-**løʔ*** *man-dzip-**løʔ*** *ta-gɛ=s* 　　　*làp-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 *-løʔ* is found in Standard Tibetan, where it occurs as a question marker (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 230). The morpheme *-løʔ* 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-íˊː* [HON-EQU.PER] 'yes, it is so'). The tag questions described here are the interrogated copulas *íŋ-ga* and *bɛ-ka,* and the Nepali loan *lo*. In addition, the negated copulas *mèmbo, mèna* and *mɛŋga* are used in questions pragmatically similarly to tag questions, see Table 10.6 above. Examples (11.114) and (11.115) exemplify *íŋ-ga*:

(11.114)　ད་ཙོ་ ད་ རང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ར་ ཡོདབ་སྦྲད་གོ་ ཨིན་ག་ལགས?
　　　　　t'ato t'a 　*rã:* 　　*ɲámtɕi=ra* 　　*jèbbɛ=ɕo,* 　***íŋ-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)　དེབ་ འདི་ ངའི་ རྩར་ མེད་མཁན་ སྦྲད་ ཨིན་ག?
　　　　　t'ɛp=di 　　*ɲè:=tsa:* 　　*mè:-kʰɛn* 　　*bɛʔ,* 　　***íŋ-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་ཚའི་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ འདི་ ཁོང་གིས་ མི་མཁྱེན་པོ་ སྲད་ལགས་, མི་མཁྱེན་མཁྱེན་ སྲད་, སྲད་ཀ་ལགས?

　　　　t'iza: kʰõ:=di　　raŋ-kɛʔ　　ŋàtɛi　ḷokɛ=di　　　　kʰoŋ=gi
　　　　but 3PL=DEMPH　own-language 1PL.GEN Lhoke=DEMPH　3PL=AGT
　　　　mi-kʰɛm-bo　　　　　　bɛ:=la,　　mi-kʰɛŋ-kʰɛn
　　　　NEG-know.HON-2INF　　EQU.NE=HON　NEG-know.HON-NMLZ
　　　　*bɛʔ,　　　　　　　　　**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 *íŋ-ga* from (11.115).

Figure 11.11. Intonation with tag question *íŋga* in (11.115)

　　　t'ɛp=di　　ɲè:-　tsa: mè-　kʰɛn　　bɛʔ　　　　　　*íŋ-ga*
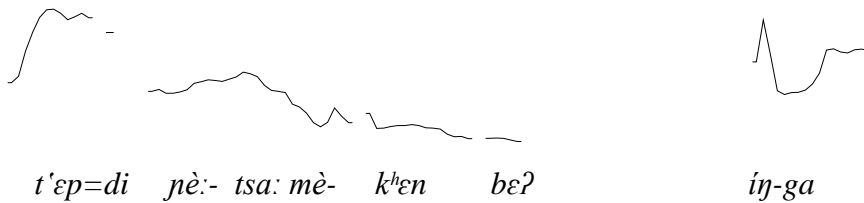
Another tag question, *lo*, is a loan of the frequent Nepali tag question *la*. Using *lo* in requests or orders is polite because the speaker requests for the addressee's compliance rather than takes it for granted.

(11.117)　ང་ འགྱུ་ ལོ།
　　　　*ŋà　　gju　　**lo**.*
　　　　1SG　go　　TAG.Q
　　　　'I'm going now, okay?' (oh, Martam)

(11.118)　བཞུགས་བཞིན་ བྱས་པོ་ གནང་ ལོ།
　　　　*zu:tɕɛ̃:　p'ja-u　　nã̌:　　**lo**.*
　　　　sitting　do-2INF　　do.HON　TAG.Q
　　　　'Please stay here, okay (while I go away for a while)?' (oh, TB)

(11.119)　ངའི་ ནམ་བར་ (number) འདི་ ཨིན་ ལོ་ལགས།
　　　　*ɲè:　　　　nambər　　di　í:　　　**lo:**=la*
　　　　1SG.GEN　number(Eng.)　this　EQU.PER　TAG.Q=HON
　　　　'This is my number, eh.' (KT phone call)

(11.120)　མཇལ་ཕད་ གནང་གི་ ལོ་ལགས།
　　　　*dzɛ:-ɕɛ　　　náŋ-gɛ　　　**lo:**=la.*
　　　　meet.HON-INF　do.HON-HORT　TAG.Q=HON
　　　　'So, let's keep on meeting, okay?' (KT phone call)

461

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)

dʑɛ:- ɕɛ   náŋ-   gɛ   lo: =la
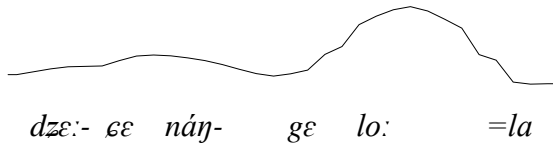
11.1.5 Questions with the reportative =*lo*

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་ གཉེན་ལོ?
        *raŋ=gi   ɲɛ́n=**lo**?*
        you=GEN   wedding=REP
        '(Are you saying/Did you say) it's your wedding?' (KN oh, phone call)

(11.122) ཚོགས་ཤད་ འདི་ ནམ་ལས་ལོ?
        *tsʰo:-ɕɛ=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)

raŋ-   gi   ɲɛ́n   =lo
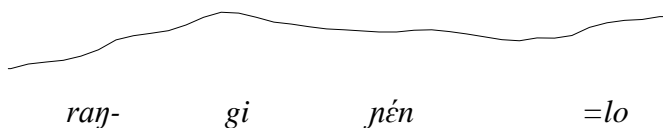
Figure 11.14. Low intonation with *lo* in content question (11.122)

$ts^ho:$- $\varepsilon\varepsilon=$ *di*   *nàm=*   *lε*   *= lo*
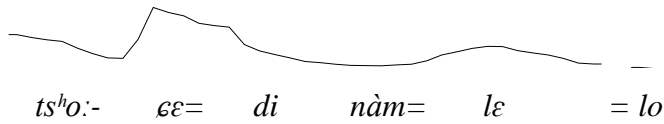
11.1.6 Exclamative questions with *(h)o:*

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)o:* 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)   ཚམ་པོ་བརྡུང་མཁན་འདི་ཨོ?
        tsampo   duŋ-kʰεn=di   ó:?
        flour   beat-NMLZ=DEMPH   EXCLAM.Q
        'Is (it) the one who beat the flour.' (PT e)

(11.124)   A: དུ་ཚིག་ ཉེ་རྗེགཏ་ (direct) རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ལོ་ར་ འདྲ་ སྦད། ཨོ་འདེ་ ལབ་བཞིན་གོ།
        tʼutɕiʔ   dairεkt   dordzidễ:=lo=ra   ɖa   bεʔ.
        this.year direct   TPN=DAT=AEMPH   be.similar   EQU.NE
        ódε: làp-zεŋgε.
        like.that say-PROG.APH
        'This year it looks like it's going to be directly in Dorjiden. (They) are saying like that.' (KNA kitchen discussion)

        B: རྩོད་པོ་འདི་ཨོ?
        tsøpo=di   ó:?
        debate=DEMPH   EXCLAM.Q
        'You mean the debate?' (KN kitchen discussion)

(11.125)   a) མནེ་སུ་རང་ ཨོ?
        nέ:mu=rã: ó:?
        really=AEMPH TAG.EXCLAM
        'Really, is it?' (Richhi 99)

b) ནད་པོ་འདེམ་ཚབ་ཆེ་ལོད་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཁྲིག་སྟེ་ དྒ་ཁད་ ཡོད་ ས་ ཨོ །

    nὲ:po   dɛm   tsʰaptɛɛ-løʔ   mɛ́ŋkʰã̀:=na   kʰik-ti   ʈʻak-ɛɛ

    patient   such   serious-EXCLAM   hospital=LOC   lead-NF   get.well-INF

    jɔ̀:=sɛ   ó:ʔ

    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 *-løʔ*, 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 *-løʔ*

The exclamative suffix *-løʔ* 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 *løʔ* occurs in genuine questions, in Denjongke the formative is used in exclamative rhetorical questions. The use of *-løʔ* is illustrated in (11.126-129) with examples of *ɕìm* 'be tasty' (cf. *ɕìmpu/ɕimʈaʔ* 'tasty'), *lὲʔ* 'be good' (cf. *lὲm* 'good'), *dʑik* 'be excellent' (cf. *dʑikʈaʔ* 'excellent) and *ga* 'rejoice' (cf. *gaʈaʔ* 'happy'). In exclamative clauses *-løʔ* collocates with a question word (11.126-127) or forms an idiomatic succession with the reportative *=lo* (11.128).

(11.126)   གན་མོའི་ ཞིམ་ལོས་ བོ, ཨོ་ཡེ! བྱ་ཤ །

        kʻamø: ɕìm-løʔ   bo,   ójɛ,   pʻja-ɕa!

        what.GEN   be.tasty-EXCLAM   EQU.NE.Q   oh   chicken-meat

        'How tasty it is, oh, chicken-meat!' (Richhi 89)

(11.127)   ག་སྟེམ་ གད་དར་ ལེགས་ལོས།

        kʻatɛm   kʻɛ:da: lὲ:-løʔ!

        what.kind   cleaning   be.good- EXCLAM

        'How well tidied up!' (Richhi 45)

(11.128)   ཨེ་ འདི་ རྫིགས་ལོས་ལོ།

        mí=di   ***dzik-løʔ*=*lo*[385]*!*

        (hu)man=DEMPH excellent-EXCLAM=REP

        'How great that man is!' (KT e)

In example (11.129), *-løʔ* does not occur with a question word or the reportative *=lo* but is followed by the demonstrative *ódɛm* 'such, like that'. Here *-løʔ*, 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་ ཁྱིམ་གཞིས་ཀོས་སྟེ་

        gaː-løʔ   *ódɛmø:*   *kʰimzi*   *koː-di*

        rejoice-EXCLAM such.GEN home   throw.away-NF

        'forsaking such a happy home…' (nga'i 'gan 14)

The form *-løʔ* is also used in alternative questions, see §11.1.3.4. For etymological information on *-løʔ*, see §3.3.6.12.

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་པུ་ སྨད་ཀ།

        tɕʼa=di   *ɕìmpu*   ***bɛ-ka!***

        tea=DEMPH   delicious   EQU.NE-PQ

        'Isn't this tea good!' / 'How good this tea is!' (KT e)

(11.131)   ཀོམ་པ་ནི་ (Company) ང་ལོ་ སྟོན་ (phone) བཏང་དོ་ སྨད་ཀ?/!

        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.

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[385] With consultant KT, *-løʔ* 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.

Table 11.3. Some interjections

Form		Gloss	Function
ámɛ:	ཨ་མེ་	'wow'	expressing enthrallment, rapture
làso	ལགས་སོ་	'okay'	approval
ák(ʰ)a:	ཨ་ཁ་	'gee, gosh'	surprise, amazement
ádzɛi	ཨ་ཛེ་	'gee, gosh'	surprise, amazement, quite similar to *ákʰa:*
ójɛ, ói	ཨོ་ཡེ་	'oh, hey'	used for getting someone's attention
ɛ́:, jà:	ཨེ་, ཡ་	'oh'	expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going
á:	ཨ་	'hey', 'yes', 'what?'	1) informal address to get someone's attention 2) non-honorific response to being called, addressed to social inferiors (corresponds to honorific *la:* below)
là:	ལགས་	'yes' 'excuse me?'	1) polite response to being called 2) expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said
kɛi	ཀྱེ་, ཀྱེ་	'O (voc.)'	honorific address (e.g. 'O lama')
tɕʰa	ཚ་	'alas'	disappointment (e.g. after a bad shot in a game of carrom or *keremboʈ*), loan from Nepali
tɕʰɛ:	ཚེ་	'ah, oh no'	disapproval, discomfort (e.g. when someone does not answer phone), the response to being tickled
úf	ཕུབ་	'phew'	expression of pain or discomfort
ádzi:	ཨ་ཛོ་	'oh no'	1) (unpleasant) surprise, 2) fear
áijo: *á(i)ja:*	ཨེ་ཡོ་ ཨེ་ཡུ་, ཨ་ཡ་	'ouch'	pain or fear of pain
óho:	ཨོ་ཧོ་	'oh no', 'gosh'	sadness, response to bad news (KT) (neutral) surprise at information (KUN)

(11.132)   ཨ་མེ་ ལེགས་ལོས་ལོ!

       ámɛ: lɛ̀:-lø:=lo!
       wow be.good-EXCLAM=REP
       'Wow, how good it is.' (KT e)

(11.133)   ལགས་སོ་ དེ་ནས་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ གནང་།

       làso,   t'ɛnɛ tɕ'øm-bo   nɑ̃́:.
       alright   then go.HON-2INF   do.HON
       'Alright, in that case please go.' (Richhi 17)

(11.134)   a) གན་མོའི་ ཞིམ་ལོས་ བོ, ཨོ་ཡེ! བྱ་ཤ །

       k'amø: ɕìm-lø?   bo,   ójɛ, p'ja-ɕa!
       what.GEN   be.tasty-EXCLAM EQU.NE.Q   oh   chicken-meat
       'How tasty it is, oh, chicken-meat. (Richhi 89)

b) ཨོ་ཡེ! ཁྱིམ་ན་ མི་ཡོད་ཀ?

    ***ójɛ:**, kʰim=na   mí   jø̀:-ka?*
    hey   house=LOC human   EX.PER-PQ
    'Hey, is anyone at home?' (rna-gsung 5)

(11.135)   ཨེ་ ཨོ་ན་ སྦད། ང་ ད་སྟོ་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཨིན།

    ɛ́: óna   bɛʔ.   ŋà   t'ato tʰo:-po   ĩ́:.
    o there EQU.NE   1SG now hear-2INF EQU.PER
    'O, it's there. I heard it (only) now.' (PT kitchen discussion)

(11.136)   ཕྲིན་ལས, ཨཱ་ ཕྲིན་ལས།

    *ʈʰinlɛ, **á:**   ʈʰinlɛ!*
    PN   hey PN
    'Thrinley, hey Thrinley!' (Richhi 24)

(11.137)   a) གཉྫ!

    karma!
    PN
    'Karma!'

    b) ལགས། གན་ གསུང་པོ?

    ***la:**, k'an súm-bo?*
    yes   what say.HON-2INF
    'Yes, what did you say?' (Richhi 15)

(11.138)   a) ཨ་ཙི! ཁྱིམ་ན་ཏོ་ མན་འགྱུ་གེ།

    ***ádzi:**, kʰim=na=to   maŋ-gju-kɛ!*
    oh.no   house=LOC=CEMPH NEG-go-HORT
    'Oh no, let's not go to (his) home.' (reaction to suggestion) (Richhi 24)

    b) ཨ་ཙི། མན་ ཨམ་ལགས།

    ***ádzi:**, mẽ̀:   ám=la:!*
    oh.no   NEG.EQU.PER mother=HON
    'Oh no, no mother.' (Richhi 34)

(11.139)   ཆ།

    tɕʰa!
    darn
    'Darn! (after an unsuccessful strike in a game of kerembot)' (oh, Tashiding)

(11.140)   ཕུལ་ གན་མའི་ ཚད་པོ་ འཚིག་ལོད་པོ།

    ***uf**, k'amø: tsʰɛpo tsʰik-lø̀ʔ   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་ རྒུའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ ཁྱུན་སྐད། "ཨ་ཡ! ཨ་ཡ!

ódɛtsʰika   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) ཨེ་ཡོ་ ང, ཁབ་ འདི་ མི་ རྒྱབས་ ཨེ་ཡོ!

àijo: ŋà,   kʰap=di   mi-kjap   áijo:!
ouch 1SG   needle=DEMPH   NEG-strike ouch
'Woe is me, 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 *-tɕʰi, -da* and *-na* (§11.3.2). Urgentive nuance to imperatives can be provided by *=møʔ* (§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་སོ, ཨ་རྒྱུ་ གཟིམས་པར་ བྱོན།

làso   ágja,   zim-pa   tɕˈõ̀:.
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་ བཙུམ་ སྡོད། མ་ལབ་ ནོ།

kʰa   tsum   døʔ. 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 nǎ̌:* is illustrated in (11.145) and (11.146). The negator prefix attaches to the honorific verb *nǎ̌:* 'do (hon.), grant'.

(11.145) ད་རུང་ གསུང་པོ་ གནང་།

t'a(r)uŋ súm-bo   nǎ̌:.
again   say.HON-2INF   do.HON
'Please say it again. ' (TB e)

(11.146) བྱོན་པོ་ མ་གནང་།

tɕˈɛm-bo   ma-nǎ̌:.
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)   དེ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚུ་ ནང་ག སྤེལ་པོ་ གནང་།
            *tɛ lópʈa=tsu nàŋɛa **pɛl-bo** **nə̌ː**.*
            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 *ɲá* (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་ བྱུས་བཏང་། ཨོ་ཚོང་ དང་ འབེན་དུ་ དུ་ བཏང་།
            *k'utɛaʔ k'ajɛm **p'ja tã:**. ótsõː dã: bɛnda **ʈ'a: tã:**.*
            2PL   what.is.that do send onion and tomato slice send
            'You, do what's that, slice onions and tomatos.' (PT kitchen)

Sandberg's (1895: 42) more polite form, where the verb *nə̌:* '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་།
            *tʰõ: jø̀:-nɛ ŋà=lo **súŋ** **nə̌ː**.*
            see EX-COND 1SG=DAT say.HON do.HON
            'If you see, please tell me.' (rna-gsung 6)

11.3.2 Imperative suffixes *-tɕʰi, -da, -na*

While the bare verb root can function as an imperative, the imperative mood may also be marked unambiguously by the suffixes *-tɕʰi, -da* and *-na*. Using *-tɕʰi* 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 *-tɕʰi* and *-da*, which are illustrated in (11.150) and (11.151). Example (11.150), taken from the novel Richhi, presents a doctor'a polite instruction to a nurse:

(11.150)   ནད་པོའི་ སྨན་ཡིག་ཚུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འདི་ཁར་ བསྐྱམ་ བྱོན་པོ་ གནང་ཆེ།
            *nɛ̀:pø: **ménji:=tsu** tʰamtɕɛʔ dikʰa nám tɕ'øm-bo*
            patient.GEN prescription=PL all here carry.HON come.HON-2INF
            *nə̌:-**tɕʰi**.*
            do.HON-IMP.FRN
            'Please bring all the patient's prescriptions here.' (Richhi 169)

(11.151)　ང་ལོ་ཆུ་ཤུས་ཅིག་གནང་ད།

       ŋà=lo   *tɕʰu*   *ɕ ́y:tɕiʔ*   * nǎ̃:-**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 *-tɕʰi* occurs in a negated imperative:

(11.152)　གན་ཆེ, ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ མ་བྱེས་ཆེ།

       kantɕʰi   *k'alyʔ*   *k'alyʔ*   ***ma-jà-tɕʰi***.

       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)　བུ་སྲིང་ལགས, མདང་ བུ་སྲིང་རང་ ཅིག་ཀྱིས་ བསྐྱོན་པོ་ གནང་མཁན་ གསུང་གླུ་ ད་རིང་ལོ་ ཚར་ གཅིག་ བསྐྱོན་པོ་ གནང་ན།

       p'usimla,   *dã:*   *p'usim=rã:*   *tɕiku:*

       younger.sister=HON yesterday   younger.sister=AEMPH only.AGT

       gøm-bo   *nǎ̃:-kʰɛ̃:*   *súŋlu*   *t'ariŋ=lo* *tsʰa:* *tɕiʔ*

       sing.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ song.HON today=DAT turn one

       gøm-bo   ***nǎ̃:-na***.

       sing.HON-2INF do.HON-SUG

       'Sister, what if you'd please sing today once the song that you (lit. sister) sang alone yesterday.' (Ricchi 90)

(11.154)　ཨོ་ཤེས་ རྒྱ་མཚེན་ རིན་འཛིན་ ཚོད་ ནང་ལས་ མ་ལག་ ལོག་སྟེ་ འགྱུན་ དོན་དག་ མེད་པའི་ གཏམ་ ཀེས་པོ་ མ་བཤད་པར།

       óɕe:kukʰɛ̃:   *rindzĩ:,*   *tɕʰøʔ*   *nàŋ=lɛ*   *màlaʔ* *lòkti* ***gju-na***   *t'ønda?*

       please   PN   2SG.L   inside=ABL quick again go-SUG   meaning

       mè:-pø: *tam*   *kɛ:po* *ma-ɕɕ́-pa.*

       NEG.EX-2INF speech many   NEG-tell-CIRC

       'Please Rinzing, what if you go quickly back from inside (this room) without speaking those meaningless words.' (Nga'i 'gan 9-10)

The suggestive *-na* differs from friendly imperatives *-tɕʰi* and *-da* in that *-na* attaches to the imperfective root of the verb *gju* (*gju-na* 'go, what about going'), where as *-tɕʰi* and *-da:* attach to the suppletive perfective form *sǒ:* of the same verb (e.g. *sǒ:-tɕʰi* '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 *nǎ̃:* 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 *ɕóʔ* 'come! (direct)' and *tɕ'ɸn* 'please come! (hon.)'.

(11.155)   a) ན་ ཆྱིན་པོ་ གནང་།
           nà: *tɕ'ɛm-bo*   *nǎ̀:.*
           here come.HON-2INF do.HON
           'Please come here.' (polite)

        b) ན་ ཆྱིན་པོ་ གནང་ཆེ།
           nà: *tɕ'ɛm-bo*   *nǎ̀:-tɕʰi.*
           here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN
           'Please come here.' (polite, friendly)

        c) ན་ ཆྱིན་པོ་ གནང་དང་།
           nà: *tɕ'ɛm-bo*   *nǎ̀:-da.*
           here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN
           'Please come here.' (polite, friendly)

        d) ན་ ཆྱིན་པོ་ གནང་ན།
           nà: *tɕ'ɛm-bo*   *nǎ̀:-na.*
           here come.HON-2INF do.HON-SUG
           'What if you would please come here.' (polite, suggestive)

Imperatives may be supplemented with the exclamative tags *ɲá* and *ínam*[386], which add nuance to the command. Whereas *ɲá* is considered friendly, *ínam* is usually spoken by a person of a greater social standing than the addressee and has an air of obligation. Example (11.156), illustrating *ɲá*, was spoken by a younger person to an elder one, whereas (11.157), illustrating *ínam*, was spoken on the telephone by an older brother to a younger brother who was working in the Indian capital Delhi.

(11.156)   གསན་པོ་ གནང་ ཞ།
        sém-bo *nǎ̀:*   **ɲá**.
        listen.HON do.HON TAG.ASR
        'Please listen (to me), will you.' (PB discussion with TB)

(11.157)   ཨ་ཚི་ ཛོ་ཀེ་ (Nep.) བྱོས་ ཨིན་ནམ། དེག་ བཞག་ ཨིན་ནམ།
        átsi *dzokai*   *p'ja* **ín-(n)am**!   *t'ɛk* *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*.

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[386] The form *ínam* is segmentable as *ín-(n)am* [EQU.PER-ATTQ], whereas the form *ɲa* has merged into a unit from the historical segments *ín-(n)a* [EQU.PER-PQ].

Figure 11.15. Rising intonation with *ínam* in imperative (11.157)

á- tsi   dzokai p'ja ínam   t'ɛk za ínam
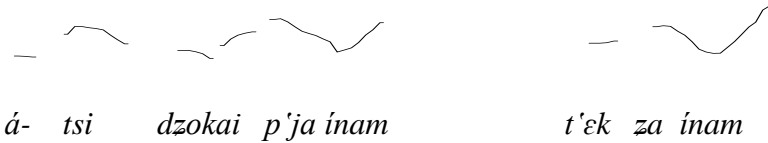
In some language varieties, the forms *íno* (Bermeok) and *no* (Martam) as used for *ɲá/ína*:

(11.158)   རྒྱ་ཁ་ (??) འདི་ཚུ་ སུབ་ ཨིན་ནོ།
            gjaʈʰa   di=tsu   súp   íno.
            hatch   this=PL close TAG.ASR
            'Close the hatches, will you.' (KT animal story)

(11.159)   ཁ་ བཙུམ་ སྡོད། མ་ལབ་ ནོ།
            *kʰa   tsum   dø?. ma-làp   **no***.
            mouth   closed   sit   NEG-speak TAG.ASR
            'Be silent. Don't speak, eh.' (KNA kitchen discussion)

11.3.3 Urgentive =*mø?*
The enclitic =*mø?* (pronounced also as =*me?*) can be added to imperatives, hortatives and optatives to make a plea more urgent. Within imperatives =*mø?* may attach to the verb root and suggestive *-na* but not to the friendly imperatives *-tɕʰi* and *-da*. Rather than forming a sentence mood of its own, =*mø?* may be seen as a modifier of the imperative, hortative and optative moods. One consultant commented that =*mø?* may be used when all other verbal persuasion resources have been exhausted. Because =*mø?* may attach to several elements it is not analyzed as a suffix but as an enclitic. The following examples illustrate the use of =*mø?* appended to verb root (11.160-162), imperative *-na* (11.163), hortative *-kɛ/gɛ* (11.164) and infinitive *-ɲi* (11.165-166). The use with optative *-tɕu?* 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)   ཨེ་ དེ་ ཞུ་བོ་ གནང་ མོད།
            *έ:, tɛ   ɕù: nǎ̀:=**mø̀?***.
            oh then ask.2INF do.HON=URG
            'Oh, then ask (him), by all means.' (KT animal story)

(11.161)   ན་ ཁོང་ལོ་ ཧ་གོ་ག་ ལབ་ ཊི་ ལྟ་མོད།
            *nà: kʰõ̀:=lo   hako-ga   làp ʈ'i   ta=**mø?***.
            here 3SG.HON=DAT   understand-PQ say   ask look=URG
            'Try and ask him here, by all means, whether he knows (the story I am about to tell).'
            (JDF discussion on the roof)

472

(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 suffixes, the urgentive may attach to the suggestive *-na*:

(11.163)   ཟམ་ ཟ་ན་མོད།
            *sàm   sà-na=**mø?**.*
            food   eat-IMP.SUG=URG
            'Would you eat (some) food, by all means!' (PT e)

In (11.164), a line from a contemporary Denjongke song, the urgency marker is appended to hortative *-gɛ*:

(11.164)   ང་ཚག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ བསྟན་པོ་ འདི་ ལེགམ་ཕྱུས་ གཟུངས་གེ་མོད།
            *ŋàtɕaʔ   tʰamtɕɛʔ tɛmpo=di   lɛ̀m-p'ja   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 *-ɲi*, see (11.165-166).

(11.165)   ཟ་ཉེ་མོད།
            *sà-ɲi=**mø?**.*
            eat-3INF=URG
            'Eat, by all means.' (KN e)

(11.166)   འཐུང་ཉེ་མོད།
            *tʰuŋ-ɲi=**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་ཀེ།
            *ŋà   bak-**ɛ**.*
            1SG   carry-HORT
            'Let me carry (it).' (GB oh)

473

(11.168)　ང་ཚག་ག་ཚུགས་རང་གི་སྐད་ལོ་ཡར་རྒྱས་བཏང་གི་ས།

        ŋàtɕaʔ k'a: tsʰuʔ raŋ=gi kɛ:=lo jàrgɛʔ

        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་སློག་ཚན་རང་ཁ་ལབ་ལྟ་གི་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)　ཧྱུན་རྒྱས་གསོལ་ཇ་བཞེས་ཀི་ལགས།

        *ʝeŋgɛʔ sǿ: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་སྐྱིད་ད་ལྟ་ཇ་མ་འཐུང་གི།

        *mɛ̃̀:   ɭakiʔ 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་གི་ལབ་པོ་ཨིན།

        *t'ep=di   k'õ:tɕʰɛ̃: **ma-jà-gɛ**[387] làp-o ĩ́:.*

        book=DEMPH expensive NEG-do-HORT say-2INF EQU.PER

        'Let's not make the book expensive, I said.' (KL BLA 12)

11.5 Optative with *tɕuʔ*

Optative mood expresses hopes about desirable future. The optative is formed by the causative secondary verb *tɕuʔ* བཅུག་ '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 *=mǿʔ* to mark urgency (see §11.3.3).

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[387] The verb *p'ja* 'do' is usually reduced to *jà* when a negator is prefixed.

(11.173)   དེ་ནས་ཨོ་འདེམ་གཡོག་ང་ལོ་ཡང་ཐོབ་བཅུག་མོད་སེ།

t'ɛnɛ ódɛm   jóʔ   ŋà=lo=jã: tʰop   **tɕu**=mờ:=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་གི་བྲད་དེའི་པ་ཏེ་ (birthday party) ན་ཁུ་འོང་བཅུག་ལབ་ཏེ་ང་ཕོན་ཕྱས་པོ་ཨིན།

ɲè:=gi   bəð̃ðɛipa:ʈi=na   kʰu   ồ: **tɕuʔ**   làp-ti   ŋà
1SG.GEN=GEN birthday.party(Eng.)=LOC 3SGM come cause   say-NF   1SG
fon   *p'ja-u*   ĩ̀:.
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་ཙུ་ཀིས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ན་ནང་ན་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ལོག་ཕྱོན་མ་བཅུག་སེ་མཁན་འདི་ཨོ་འདེབ་རྒྱབས་ཏེ་ཁོང་འགགག་
ཚ་རྒྱབས་པོ་སྲད།

kʰõ:=di=tsu=gi   tʰamtɕɛ=ki tɕʰøgɛ: nà: nàŋɛa   ɖɛndzõ lòk
3PL=DEMPH=PL=AGT   all=AGT   king   here inside Sikkim return
tɕ'øn   **mà-tɕuʔ**   *sɛ́-kʰɛn=di*   *ódɛp*   *kjap-ti*   *kʰõ:*
come.HON   NEG-cause   say-NMLZ=DEMPH   like.that   do-NF   3PL
gagdza kjab-bɛʔ.
obstacle do.2INF-EQU.NE
'All of them like that made obstacles so the king would not come back here to Sikkim.'
(CY interview)

Usually the optative and causative uses of *tɕuʔ/tɕuk* 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: tɕuk-o bɛʔ > dzy: tɕuʔ*). Thus, in the absence of tense and aspect marking, the context is the arbiter between optative and causative reading of *tɕuʔ*.

(11.176)   ཏེ་ནང་ན་འཛུལ་ལབ་ལོག་ཕེད་ཚ་ནང་ག་ལོ་དོམ་འདི་ནང་ན་འཛུལ་བཅུག།

tɛ nàŋɛa dzy: làp lòk pʰɛtsa nàŋɛa=lo t'om=di   nàŋɛa
so inside enter QUO back sack   inside=DAT bear=DEMPH   inside
dzy: tɕuʔ.
enter cause
'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 *bɛ-ka* and the suffix *-løʔ*. The various imperative constructions express such semantic nuances as directness, politeness, friendliness, suggestiveness and urgentness. 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)[388], 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.[389]

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་འགྱུ་སྟེ་ ཐོ་རངས་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ སྡོད།
　　　　t´ariŋ　*gju-ti*　*tʰorã:*　*kʰim=na*　*dø?.*[390]
　　　　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,

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[388] Constituent-modifying clauses represent clause combining in that the constituent which is modified is an argument in another clause.

[389] 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 Haspelmath's (2007: 1) definition does.

[390] One consultant would have preferred the perfective form of the verb *sǿ:* to imperfective *gju* in the nonfinal clause.

whereas Denjongke uses two different verb forms, nonfinal converbal form marked with -*ti/di* and the verb root, which functions as an imperative. Second, English uses the conjunction 'and', whereas the 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:*]   *lògjuʔ màŋpu*
food eat NEG-find-2INF   and   drink NEG-find-2INF.GEN   story   a.lot
duʔ.
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'ɛnɛ* '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

t'izã:	དེ་ཟང་	'but'
í̃:ruŋ	ཨིན་རུང་	'but, however', lit. 'although it is (so)' [EQU-CONC]
inajã:	ཨིན་ན་ཡང་	'but, however', lit. 'even if it is (so)' [EQU-COND-even]
índã:jã:	ཨིན་དང་ཡང་	'but, however' lit. 'it is (so) and yet' [EQU-and-even]
í̃:jã:	ཨིན་ཡང་	'but, however', lit. 'it is (so) yet' [EQU-even]
zɛnnɛ/zɛnɛ/zønɛ	གཞན་ནེ་	'otherwise' lit. [other-COND] or [other-TOP]
zɛ̃:mɛnɛ	གཞན་མན་ནེ་	'otherwise', lit. 'if (it) is not elsehow' [other-NEG.EQU-COND]
jã̀:	ཡང་	'and, (then) again'
jã̀:nɛ	ཡང་ནེ་	'or'
jã̀:mɛnɛ	ཡང་མན་ནེ་	'or in other case, otherwise', lit. 'and if it is not (so)' [and-NEG.EQU-COND]
mi-tsʰɛʔ	མི་ཚད་	'not only (but also); moreover; in addition', lit. 'not-stop(ping)'
k'ambjasɛnɛ[391]	གན་བྱས་སེ་ནེ་	'because, this is for the reason that', lit. 'if told why'
dilɛ	འདི་ལས་	'then (temporal sequence)' (lit. 'this=ABL', but because of frequent use should probably be considered a lexeme)
t'ɛnɛ	དེ་ནས་, དེ་ནས་	'then, in that case (logical consequence)' (often collocates with *tɛ* 'well, then', as in *tɛ t'ɛnɛ* 'well then…')
ódi=lɛ=to	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 *í̃: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་སྐྱིད་ ཉལ་པོའི་ ཉལ་པོ་ ཨིན་ དེ་ཟང་ གཉིད་རང་ མི་ཁུགས།

　　　　tɕʰøkiʔ 　　*ɲè:-bø:* 　　　　　*ɲè:-bo* 　　　　*í̃:* 　　　*t'izã:* *ɲí:=rã:*
　　　　PN 　　　　lie.down-2INF.GEN 　lie.down-2INF 　EQU.PER but 　sleep=AEMPH
　　　　mi-kʰuʔ.
　　　　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།

　　　　máŋpu 　　*tʰamtɕɛʔ* *dzom-zɛ* 　*t'izã:* *godzɛ* 　*kʰu=rã:* 　　*man-dzøn.*
　　　　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)

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[391] 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 *làp* 'say' or *ɕù* 'say (hum.)', e.g. *k'amjalapnɛ*, *k'amjaɕunɛ*. 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'amjasɛno* (eastern and northern pronunciation)*,* *k'amjasɛna* (literary pronunciation).

479

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 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 *t́:ruŋ* (or *t́:-ruŋ*) 'but, however' is the concessive form of the equative *t́:*, 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) ཁུ་ ང་འི་ གཉེན་མཚན་ ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན། ཨིན་རུང་ ཁུ་ ང་ལོ་ ལ�̄ག་ལྟ་ མི་རྐྱབས་ སྦད།

    kʰu   nè: néntsʰɛ̃:   íŋ-kʰɛ̃:   t́:.   í̀:-ruŋ   kʰu   ŋà=lo
    3SGM 1SG.GEN relative EQU-NMLZ EQU.PER   EQU-CONC 3SGM 1SG=DAT
    lòkta mi-kjap bɛʔ.
    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་ ད་རྟྟ་ གཡt̄ག་ ད་ མེད་ ཨིན་རུང་ ད་རྟྟ་ ཁོང་ ཤེས་ཡt̄ན་ ལེན་བཞིན་ ཡt̄ད།

    tʰamtɕɛʔ kʰõ: t'ato jóʔ t'a mèʔ.   í̀:-ruŋ   t'ato kʰõ: ɕé:jõ̀:
    all   3PL   now work now NEG.EX.PER EQU-CONC now   3PL   education
    lɛ́n-zin   jø̀ʔ.
    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:*, *t́:jã:* are used for contrastive cohesion. These forms begin with the equative copula *t́:* 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 *t́:jã:* has no intervening element, conveying the equivalent of English 'it is so yet', see (12.10).

(12.7) ཨt̄་འདྲ་ བྱས་པའི་ སྐབས་ འདི་ དེ་ ཨt̄་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ ང་ཚའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ ད་ ལེགས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ སྦྱ་ང་དt̄་ ཨt̄་འདེམ་དt̄་ མེད་མཁན་ སྦད། ཨིན་ན་ཡང་ ཨt̄་འདི་ སྐང་གི་ ད་ རྐན་པt̄་ འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ སྐད་རྫགས་ གཞན་མt̄་ བྱགས་སྐད་ འདི་ མི་མཁྱེན་མཁན་ སྦད།

    ódɛp   p'ja-wø: gã:=di   tɛ ó   nàŋɕa=lo ŋàtɕi
    like.that   do-2INF.GEN time=DEMPH so that inside=DAT 1PL.GEN
    kɛ:=di   t'a lèm p'ja-ti ļap-ɕɛ=to   ódɛm=to
    language=DEMPH   now good do-NF teach-INF =CEMPH like.that=CEMPH
    mè:-kʰɛn   bɛʔ.   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:dzaʔ   zømø, tɕʰukɛ=di   mi-kʰɛŋ-kʰɛn   bɛʔ.
    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.

480

(12.8) དེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ང་ཚའི་ སྐད་ ཤུས་ཅིག་ ཨོ་འདེབ་སྟེ་ ཉམས་ཆག་ སོང་པོ་ ཡིན། དེ་ཟང་ ཨིན་ན་ཡང་ ད་ལྟོ་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ འདི་ ནང་ག་ ཡོད་ཕད་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་གི་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ གོས་པོ་དོ་ ལྐག་ འབག་ འདའ་ མ་སོང་།

tɛ ódi   p'ja-ti ŋàtɕi   kɛʔ   ɕýːtɕyʔ ódɛpti ɲàmtɕʰaʔ
so that do-NF   1PL.GEN   language   a.bit   like.that decline
sõ̌ː-bo   ǐ̃ː.   **t'izã: ínajã:**   t'ato lópṭa=di   nàŋɕa
go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER but   however   now   school=DEMPH   inside
jɵ̀ː-ɕɛʔ   kjap-tiki ódɛp   kɛːpo=to   lák   bak daː ma-sõ̌ː.
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) ལོན་ཏོ་ གན་འདི་ མེད། ཨིན་དང་ཡང་ འདི་ཁར་ ང་ཚག་ ལེགས་རང་ འདུག་ སེ་ ལབ་ གནང་།

lòn=to   k'anḑɛː mèʔ.   **índãːjã:** dikʰa ŋàtɕaʔ lɛ̀m=rã:
message=CEMPH   any   NEG.EX.PER however   here 1PL   good=AEMPH
duː=sɛ   làp nã̌ː.
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་ལྟ་ བར་ ང་ཚག་ ཕན་ཚུན་ བར་མཇལ་ ཆུར་མཇལ་ མེད་པས་ ཞལ་ འཚོ་ མ་ཚུགས། ཨིན་ཡང་ ངའི་ རོགས་མོ་ ལྷ་སྐྱིད་

t'atawaː ŋàtɕaʔ pʰɛntsʰỹ̀ː   pʰaː   dzɛː   tsʰuː   dzɛː
nowadays 1PL   mutual   thither meet.HON hither   meet.HON
mèː-pɛː   ɕèː tsʰo   ma-tsʰuʔ.   **ǐ̃ːjã:**   ɲèː
NEG.EX-2INF.AGT face recover NEG-be.able.to however   1SG.GEN
roːm   ḷaki
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 *ʑɛn* 'other'. These forms are *ʑɛnnɛ/ʑɛnɛ/ʑønɛ* (12.11-12), *ʑɛːmɛn* (12.13), *ʑɛ̃ːmɛnɛ* (12.14). The ending *-nɛ* in *ʑɛnnɛ* and *ʑɛnɛ/ʑønɛ*, which probably represents a reduced pronunciation of *ʑɛnnɛ*, may be etymologically a conditional form[392] or possibly the topicalizer *=nɛ*. The other two forms supplement *ʑɛn* with the negated equative *mɛ̃ː*, which may occur alone, as in *ʑɛːmɛn* (12.13) or in the conditional form, as in *ʑɛ̃ːmɛnɛ* (12.14).

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[392] As the conditional marker attaches only to verbs, *ʑɛn-nɛ* may represent a reduction of the more complex *ʑɛn mɛ̀n-nɛ* [other NEG.EQU.PER-COND].

(12.11) རྩོད་པོ་བྱས་ཁད་འདིས་བྱས་ཏེ་གནས་སྐོར་རྒྱབས་ཐོབ་བྱད། གཞན་ནེ་མི་ཐོབ་མཁན་ བྱད་ནོ།

tsøpo   p'ja-ɕɛ=di=p'ja   tɛ né:kor   kjap tʰop   bɛʔ.   **zɛnnɛ**
debate   do-INF =DEMPH=ADVZR   so sightseeing do   receive EQU.NE otherwise
mi-tʰop-kʰɛn   bɛ   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) ཐབས་ མེད་ནེ་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ ཟ་ཁད་ ཉིན་ གི', གཞན་ནེ་ མིན་ཟ།

tʰap   mè:-nɛ   tɕuku   sà-ɕiŋ=gi,   **zønɛ**   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་རའི་ འགོ་ཇེ་ སྐྱོ་སྐྱོ་ ཨོ་འདིས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ མི་ གཞན་ཚུས་ མཐོང་སར་ མོ་རང་ སྐྱོན་ཅན་ མཐོང་པོ་ མན་པོ་ གཞན་ མན་ཏུ་ མོ་ལོ་ སྐྱོན་ མེད་གོ།

mù=ri   godzɛ   kjokju ódi: p'ja-ti mí   zɛn=tsu:
3SGF=AEMPH.GEN leader   crooked that.GEN do-NF human other=PL.AGT
tʰõ̀:-sa   mù=rã̀:   køntɕɛ̃̀:   tʰõ̀:-po   mèmbo **zɛ̃̀:mɛn**=to
see-NMLZ.SPAT 3SGF=AEMPH guilty   see-2INF   except otherwise=CEMPH
mù=lo   køn   mè̀:=ɕo.
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) གལ་སྲིད་ གཏམ་འདི་ མཁའ་འགྲོས་ གསན་ ཚུགས་པོ་ བྱུང་ན་ མཁའ་འགྲོས་ ཟངས་ཐག་ བཏང་ བྱིན་པོ་ གནང་སྟེ་ སྐྱོབས་ན་ སྐྱོབས་ ཚུགས་འོང་། གཞན་ མན་ན་ འདྲེ་མོ་ མོའི་ ཁ་ལས་ མཐར་མཁན་ ལྕགས་སྲོག་ འགྲུབ་པོ་ཚུ་ལས་ མི་འོང་

k'ɛ:siʔ   tam=di   kʰanɖo: sén   tsʰu-po   tɕ'uŋ-nɛ
if   word=DEMPH dakini.AGT listen.HON be.able.to-2INF become-COND
kʰanɖo: sã̀:tʰaʔ   tã: p'im-bo nã̀:-di   kjop-nɛ   kjop
dakini.AGT copper-rope send   give-2INF do.HON-NF protect-COND protect
tsʰu   õ̀:.   **zɛ̃̀:mɛnɛ** ɖemo   mù=i   kʰa=lɛ
be.able.to come   otherwise   she.demon 3SGF=GEN   mouth=ABL
tʰa:-kʰɛ̃̀:   tɕa:soʔ   ɖup-o=tsu=lɛ   mi-õ̀:
be.released-NMLZ   iron-life   fulfil-2INF=PL=ABL   NEG-come
'If this word will become audible to the dakini and the dakini, sending a rope of copper,
protects (you), (you) will be able to 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 *jã̀:* 'again, and', an independent form related
to the clitic *=jã̀:* 'too, even, yet, still'. The connector *jã̀:* 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་པོའི་གིས་ ཀྱུ་ཚག་ལོ་ མ་ལེགབ་ བྱས་ནེ་

    jã: *gɛ:py:=gi*   *k'utɕa=lo*   *màlɛp*   *p'ja-nɛ*

    again   king.GEN=AGT   2PL=DAT   bad   do-COND

    'Again, if the king did bad things to you…' (CY interview)

The connector *jã̀:* may be supplemented, similarly to the connectors presented above, by *-nɛ*, which is likely a conditional marker or a topicalizer (12.16-17), or by *mɛnɛ*, a conditional form of a negated equative (12.18-19). When used with negated verbs in both clauses, the connector *jã:nɛ* expresses meanings corresponding to English *nor* (which marks additional negated information), see (12.17).

(12.16) ཚེཿ ཨ་རྒྱ, བཞེས་པོ་ གནང་མོད། ཡང་ན་ ང་ཚའི་ ལག་ག་ལས་ བཞེས་ མི་ལེགས་པོ?

    tɕʰɛ: *àgja*   *ʑe:-po*   *nã̌:=mø?*.   **jã̀:nɛ** *ɳàtɕi*   *làka=lɛ*

    oh.no   elder.bother   eat.HON-2INF   do.HON=URG   or   1PL.GEN hand=ABL

    ʑe: *mi-lɛ̀:-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་ཚག་ནེ་ ས་ཐག་ རིང་པོ་ལས་ མནོ་མེད་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཐོས་ཕད་ མིན་འདུག ། ཡང་ན་ ཕར་ཚུར་ མིའི་ འགྲུལ་ཡང་ མེད།

    ɳàtɕa=nɛ   *sátʰa?*   *rim-bo=lɛ*   *nóme?*   *lògju?*   *tʰo:-ɕɛ?*

    1PL=TOP   distance   be.long-2INF=ABL   thoughtless story   hear-INF

    mìndu?.   **jã:nɛ** *pʰa:*   *tsʰu:*   *mí:*   *ɖy:=jã:*   **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་ཚག་ ཤི་ནེ་ མི་ ཤི་ཚུབ་ལས་ ལ་ལོ་ མི་ ལེགས་ བསོད་ནམས་ བཟང་པོ་ ཡོད་ནེ་ འདི་ མི་ལོ་ མི་ལུས་ ཐོབ་ ཡང་མན་ནེ་ སེམས་ཅན་ ཡང་ནེ་ འབུ་ལབ་ འཁོར།

    ɳàtɕa?   *ɕí-nɛ*   *mí*   *ɕí-tsub=lɛ*   *làlo mí*   *lɛ̀m sǿnam*

    1PL   die-COND   human   die-CMPL.2INF=ABL   some human   good merit

    zaŋpo   *jò:-nɛ=di*   *mí=lo*   *mí-ly:*   *tʰop*   **jã:mɛnɛ**

    good   EX-COND=DEMPH   human=DAT   human-body   receive   or.in.other.case

    símtɕɛ̃:   **jã:nɛ** *bu?*   *làp*   *kʰor.*

    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) ཀ̈ང་ཚག་ཆག་ཀོ་ ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ན་ ཡང་མན་ན་ ཞེན་པོ་རང་ ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ན་ ང་ཚའི་ བུམ་ ག་ལྟེ་ ཕྱིན་ཤད་སེ?

ka:m tɕʰak-tɕʰak-o   jə̀-patsɛnɛ **jã:mɛnɛ**   ɕèmpo=rã:
foot be.broken-RDP-2INF   EX-COND   or.in.other.case   stupid=AEMPH

jə̀-patsɛnɛ   ŋàtɕi   p'um k'atɛ p'in-ɕɛ=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 $ts^h\varepsilon$ཚད་ 'stop, break off, discontinue', $mi-ts^h\varepsilon$, is used as a conjunction meaning 'not only (but also); morerover; 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་ དེང་སང་གི་ བུམ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ཚུས་ པང་གདན་ བགབ་ མི་ཏུབ། མི་ཚད་ པང་གདན་ འདི་ ལུས་ཀྱི་ གོས་ཆས་ ཅིག་ ཨིན་ པའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་ བོད་པོ་ དང་ ཤེར་པོ་ཀིས་ གྱོན་པའི་ ལུགས་སྲོལ་ ཨིན།

di   mèn-nɛ   t'iŋzaŋ=gi   p'um ɲɛ́n   kjap-kjap-o=tsu:
this   NEG.EX-COND   nowadays=GEN   girl   marriage   do-RDP-2INF=PL.AGT

pã:dɛ̃:   kap   mi-tup.   **mitsʰɛ?**   pã:dɛ̃:=di   lỳ:=ki
apron   cover   NEG.deem.fitting moreover   apron=DEMPH body=GEN

k'ø:tɕʰɛ?=tɕi? ím-bø: tɛŋkʰa   màntɕʰiɕo? p'øpo   t'ã: ɕɛ́rpo=gi
clothing=INDF EQU-2INF.GEN   above   most   Tibetan and   Sherpa=AGT

k'øm-bø: lùksø: ĩ́:.
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 $mits^h\varepsilon$ may also occur sentence-initially following a demonstrative:

(12.21) འདི་ མི་ཚད་ ངས་ཀྱི་ མི་ཚེ་ འདི་ ནང་ག་ལོ་

di   **mitsʰɛ?**   ɲè:=gi   mí-tsʰɛ=di   nàŋɕa=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 $mits^h\varepsilon$ as a nonfinal form $mi-ts^h\varepsilon-ti(ki)$ 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) སྦས་ཡུལ་འབྲས་མ་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་གཞིན་ མི་ཚད་སྟེ་གི་ ང་ཆུང་ཆུང་ སྐབ་

bɛjyl	ɖɛmadzoŋ=gi korzi=na	**mi-tsʰɛ-tiki**	ŋà	tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ	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 *dilɛ* 'then' connects finite clauses. It expresses temporal sequence:

(12.23) ང་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ བཀོད་གྲུ་ ཐར་ཕྱིན་པོ་ ཨིན། འདི་ལས་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ བཀོད་གྲུ་ ཚོས་ སྒྲུབགས་ སྒྱོང་པའི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་

ŋà	ɖendzõ:	ɕɛ́:ɖa	tʰartɕim-po	ĩ́:.	**dilɛ**	ɖendzõ:	ɕɛ́:ɖa
1SG	Sikkim	institute	reach.end-2INF	EQU.PER	then	Sikkim	institute

tɕʰoʔ	ɖok	mjõ̀:-pø:	gjablɛ
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'ɛnɛ* 'then, in that case' has two main functions. It expresses a logical consequence of what was said before and it also typically indicates a change of speaker. In other words, when *t'ɛnɛ* is used the speaker typically reacts to something that another person has said. By suggesting that the speaker has changed *t'ɛnɛ* helps the listener to track who is speaking in a story. The connector *t'ɛnɛ* 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 *tɛ* 'so' to form *tɛ t'ɛnɛ* or *t'ɛnɛ tɛ* 'so then, so in that case', see (12.26)

(12.24) དེ་ནས་ ཆོད་ ན་ འབྱུང་ཞིན་ སྡོད།

t'ɛnɛ	tɕʰøʔ	nà:	buŋtʰɛ̃:	døʔ.
then	2SG.L	here	while	stay

'In that case, stay a while here.' (KT animal story)

(12.25) a) ཨེ་ དེ་ནས་ ཐོ་རངས་ ང་ ན་ སྦ་ སྡོད་ཀྱང་ ཨིན།

ɛ́:	**t'ɛnɛ**	tʰorã:	ŋà	nà:	ba	dø:-ɕɛ	ĩ́:.
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་ནས་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ གནང་།

làso	**t'ɛnɛ**	tɕ'øm-bo	nã́:.
alright	then	go.HON-2INF	do.HON

'Alright, in that case please (feel free to) go.' (Richhi 17)

(12.26) a) དེ་དེ་ནས་བོ་ཚོའི་ཕམ་ཚུ་ལོ་ ད་རིང་རང་ ཕྱག་བྲི་ ཕུལ་གེ་ ཨིན་ག

tɛ t'ɛnɛ p'otsø: pʰam=tsu=lo   t'ariŋ=rã: tɕʰaɖi   pʰy:-gɛ,
so then child.GEN   parent=PL=DAT   today=AEMPH   letter.HON   offer-HORT
íŋ-ga?
EQU.PER-PQ
'So then let's today offer a letter to the children's parent, shan't we.' (Richhi 20)

b) དེ་ནས་ཏེ་ ཆོད་ཀྱི་ སྟ་རེ་ འདི་ འདི་ཞ?

t'ɛnɛ tɛ tɕʰø:=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'ɛnɛ* may precede the verb:

(12.27) ད་ ལོག་སྟེ་ར་ དེ་ནས་ ལྟ་གེ

*t'a   lòkti=ra   **t'ɛnɛ** ta-gɛ.*
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'ɛnɛ*, all marking a change in speaker within a dialogue. In spoken data, 16 out of 18 clauses with *t'ɛnɛ* imply a speaker change. The two exceptions are given in (12.28) and (12.29) respectively. In the narrative example (12.28) *t'ɛnɛ* 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) ཏེ་ ལོག་སྟེ་ར་ དེ་ནས་ དེ་ནས་ དེ་ནས་ ལོག་སྟེ་ར་ ལོག་སྟེ་ར་ ཆུ་ ནང་ན་ འཛུལ་བོ་ལོ

*tɛ lòkti=ra,   **t'ɛnɛ t'ɛnɛ t'ɛnɛ** lòkti=ra   lòkti=ra   tɕʰu   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).' (JDF axe story)

The other example, (12.29), is from a monologue, where *t'ɛnɛ* introduces a new item in a lengthy list.

486

(12.29) ཨིན་ཏ་ན་ག་ནལ་ ལེ་ཐྲེལ་ (international level) ནང་ན་ གཱ་ལྟེབ་སྟེ་ དེ་ ཨེག་སེ་པོ་ཤྲུས་ (expose) བྱས་ དགོས་ཁད་ པོ་ ཨིན་ག?

དེ་ནས་ ཨེས་ཀོ་ལར་ (scholar) ཚུ་ གཱ་ལྟེབ་སྟེ་ ཐྲེལ་ཀམ་ (welcome) བྱས་ དགོས་ཁད་ པོ?

iɳ̩ənæɕənəl   *lɛvl*   *nàɳɕa*   *kʼatɛpti*   *tɛ ikspous*   *pʼja*
international(Eng.)   level(Eng.)   inside   how   so expose(Eng.)   do
goː-ɕɛ   *bo,*   *íŋ-ga?*   **tʼɛnɛ** *skolər=tsu*   *kʼatɛptɛ*
be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q   EQU.PER-PQ   then   scholar(Eng.)=PL   how
wɛlkam   *pʼja*   *goː-ɕɛ*   *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) ཨོ་ འདེ་ཏོ་ གཅན་གཅན་ བད་ སྟོང་ མི་ཆུགས། ཨོ་འདི་ལས་ཏོ་ ཨ་ཀྱུ་ཀི་ ཁ་བྱང་ ང་ལོ་ གནང་ན།

ódɛː=to   *tɛntẽ̀ː*   *daʈøʔ*   *mi-tsʰuʔ.*   **ódi=lɛ=to**
like.that=CEMPH   certain   communicate   NEG-be.able.to   that=ABL=CEMPH
ágja=gi   *kʼatɕã̀ː*   *ŋà=lo*   *nã̀ː.*
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) ཆོད་ ད་ མཚོ་ འདི་ རྒལ་ མི་ཆུགས་གྲོ། ཨོ་འདི་ལས་ཏོ་ ངའི་ རྒྱབ་ཁར་ ཆོད་ ཞོན་སྟེ་ཀི་ ཤོག།

tɕʰøʔ *tʼa*   *tsʰo=di*   *gɛː*   *mi-tsʰuː-ʈo.*   **ódi=lɛ=to**   *ɲèː*
2SG.L now   lake=DEMPH   cross   NEG-be.able.to-PROB   that=ABL=CEMPH   my
gjapkʰa tɕʰøʔ   *ɕø̀n-diki ɕóʔ.*
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 in each clause. Table 12.2 lists bisyndetic connectors.

Table 12.2. Bisyndetic clause connectors

jã̀ː…jã̀ː or *=jã̀ː…=jã̀ː*	ཡང་…ཡང་	'both…and' (lit. also…also, even…even)
(=)jã̀ː NEG.VERB…*(=)jã̀ː* NEG.VERB		'neither…nor'
jã̀ːnɛ…jã̀ːnɛ[393]	ཡང་ནེ་…ཡང་ནེ་	'either…or' (lit. or…or)

When *(=)jã̀ː* is followed by an affirmative verb in both clauses, the meaning is 'both…and', see (12.32).

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[393] The monosyndetic form *jã̀ːnɛ* ཡང་ནེ་ 'or' is used in the coordination of noun phrases, see §4.1.7.

(12.32) ཡང་ ཁོ་རང་ ཟ་བོ་ སྲུང་ ཡང་ མི་ལོ་ ཟ་བཅུག་གོ་ སྲུང།

> ***jã:*** *kʰu=rã̀:* *sà-u* *bɛʔ* ***jã:*** *mí=lo* *sà* *tɕuk-o*
> both 3SGM=REFL eat-2INF EQU.NE and human=DAT eat cause-2INF
> *bɛʔ.*
> EQU.NE
> 'He both ate himself and fed (other) people.' (Class 9-10 grammar, 135)

When *(=)jã…(=)jã:* is followed by a negated verb in both clauses, the meaning becomes 'neither…nor', see (12.33), where the speaker explains the meaning of the word '*ɖiŋ*' mediocre':

(12.33) རབ་ཡང་ མེད་, མཐའ་མ་ཡང་ མེད།

> *rap=**jã:*** ***mèʔ,*** *tʰama=**jã:*** *mèʔ.*
> 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 *jã̀:nɛ* 'or' in adjoining clauses expresses two options in a way similar to English 'either…or', see (12.34).

(12.34) ཡང་ན་ ཡིག་ལན་ མན་ཏྲི་བོ་ ཐུས་ ཁོ་རང་ འདི་ཁར་ འོང་དོ་ སྙམ། ཡང་ན་ ཁོས་ ང་ལོ་ མགོ་ སྐོར་ཏོ་ བཏང་བོ་ མན་གམ?

> ***jã̀:nɛ*** *jìk-lɛn* *man-ɖi-u-pʼja* *mù=rã̀:* *dikʰa òn-do*
> or letter-answer NEG-write-2INF-ADVZR 3SGF=REFL here come-IPFV
> *ɲám,* ***jã̀:nɛ*** *mú:* *ŋà=lo* *gokor=to* *tã̀:-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 *tʼizã̀:* 'but, however') whereas others are looser cohesion-adding connectors (e.g. *tʼɛnɛ* 'then, in that case', which typically implies that the speaker has just changed). Denjongke was shown to have both monosyndetic and bisyndetic connectors.

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 complement clauses (§13.4) and postposition complement clauses (§13.5).

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 here. 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 -*kʰɛ̃:*, however, are not genitive marked). The nominalizing suffixes in Table 13.1 are the infinitive markers -*ɕɛ(ʔ)* and -*po/bo* and the nominalizers -*kʰɛ̃:* and -*sa*.

Table 13.1. Constituent-modifying clauses

Constituent-modifying clauses	Noun-modifying clauses	Relative clauses	-*kʰɛ̃:*	No genitive
			-*po/bo* + GEN	Genitive-marked
			-*sa* + GEN	
		Noun complement clauses	-*po/bo* + GEN	
			-*ɕɛ* + GEN	
	Postposition-modifying clauses/ postposition complement clauses		-*po/bo* + GEN	
			-*ɕɛ* + 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་

[*tʰamtɕɛ=ki ɲòː tsʰu-pøː*] *t'ɛp*
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་ བྱས་གེ།

　　　　t'ɛp=di　　　[*tʰamtɕɛ=ki　　ɲò:　　tsʰu-po=di*]　　　　　*p'ja-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)　དེབ་འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ རེ་ཚེ་

　　　　[*t'ɛp=di　　　tʰamtɕɛ=ki ɲò: tsʰu-pø:*]　　　　　<u>*ritɕʰi*</u>
　　　　book=DEMPH　all=AGT　　buy　be.able.to-2INF.GEN　hope
　　　　'<u>hope</u> [that everybody can buy the book].' (KN e)

Postposition complement clause with *-po* + genitive

(13.4)　དེབ་འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་

　　　　[*t'ɛp=di　　　tʰamtɕɛ=ki ɲò: tsʰu-pø:*]　　　　　<u>*t'ønlo*</u>
　　　　book=DEMPH　all=AGT　　buy　be.able.to-2INF.GEN　for.the purpose.of
　　　　'<u>For the purpose</u> [that everybody can buy the book]' (KN e)

Postposition complement clause with *-ɕɛ* + genitive

(13.5)　དེབ་འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་

　　　　[*t'ɛp=di　　　tʰamtɕɛ=ki ɲò: tsʰu:-ɕɛ=ki*]　　　　<u>*t'ønlo*</u>
　　　　book=DEMPH　all=AGT　　buy　be.able.to-INF=GEN　　for.the purpose.of
　　　　'<u>For the purpose</u> [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[394], 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 *-kʰɛ̃:*, 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.[395] However, the present productive use of *-kʰɛ̃:* in derivativation favours an interpretation as a nominalizer, see §3.2.4.3 (similarly DeLancey 2002 on the cognate of *-kʰɛ̃:* in Lhasa Tibetan). In summary, all the markers used in constituent modification are here analyzed as nominalizers, although when used in nominal modification they may be functionally termed participles (forms with *-kʰɛ̃:*) or participial constructions (genitivized forms with *-po*, *-sa* and *-ɕɛʔ*).

Constituent-modifying clauses are now discussed in the same order they occur in Table 13.1.

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[394] 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.
[395] Sandberg (1895: 38) describes "*kʰen*" as participle marker.

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). [396] 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 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 genetivized as *-pøː*, 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 (§13.4) and postposition complement clauses (§13.5).

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. [397] 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 *-kʰɛ̃ː*, and more rarely through the spatial nominalizer *-sa* and the quantitative nominalizer *-tsʰɛʔ* ("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 *-kʰɛ̃ː* are not genitivized even in pre-head position.

Table 13.2 summarizes the various forms that pre-head RCs take with *-po/bo*, *-kʰɛ̃ː* and *-sa*. The empty cells represent forms that do not occur in my data (but could, perhaps, be possible).

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[396] See Andvik (2010: 238) for a similar definition of RC in Tshangla.
[397] This is a subcase of Payne's (1997: 437) "pronoun retention" strategy of forming RCs.

Table 13.2. Temporal and aspectual values in pre-head RCs

-$k^h\tilde{\varepsilon}$ː	**-po**	**-sa**	**Temporal/aspectual function**
VERB-$k^h\tilde{\varepsilon}$ː	VERB-pøː	VERB-søː	neutral (although unlikely future)
VERB jɜ̀ː-$k^h\tilde{\varepsilon}$ː	VERB jɜ̀-pøː		resultative (dynamic verbs), progressive (stative verbs)
	VERB-RDP-pøː		iterativity, habitualness (past or present)
	VERR(-ti) zaː jɜ̀-pøː		resultative
VERB-ʑin p'ja-$k^h\tilde{\varepsilon}$ː[398]	VERR-ʑin-pøː		progressive
	VERB-ʑin jɜ̀-pøː		progressive
	VERB-ʑin døː jø-pøː (+time word)		progressive
	VERB-(ti) døː jø-pøː (+time word)		progressive
	VERB-INF mèː-pøː		future ('which will not be x-ed')

As seen in Table 13.2, -$k^h\tilde{\varepsilon}$ː, -po and -sa all may attach directly to the verb, forming a construction whose temporal perspective is determined by the context. Temporal and aspectual values can be explicitly expressed by various constructions ending in the nominalized (genetivized) existential auxiliary jɜ̀ʔ. The infinitivizer -po/bo occurs in the greatest number of constructions, e.g. progressive VERB-ʑin (døː) jɜ̀-pøː, perfect VERB-RDP-pøː, and resultatives VERB jɜ̀-pøː (expressing, however, progressivity with stative verbs such as døʔ 'sit, stay') and VERB zaː jɜ̀-pøː.

The head word of an RC is usually a noun, but may also be a personal pronoun (13.6) or a demonstrative such as di 'this' (13.7), ódi 'that' (13.8) or ódɛm=tɕiʔ 'one like that' (13.9).[399] 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-$k^h\tilde{\varepsilon}$ː 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་ཚོ་ལོ་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་སོ།
       [sén-$k^h\tilde{\varepsilon}$ː]   <u>ḷɛngɛː=tsu=lo</u>   ʈaɕidelɛː=s.
       listen.HON-NMLZ   PRN.HON=PL=DAT   greeting=QUO
       'Greetings to <u>you</u>, [who listen] (I say).' (KT animal story)

(13.7) ན་ལས་ འོང་མཁན་ འདི་ཚོ་ཏོ་ ད་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ རྒྱབས་དུས་
       [nà=lɛ   õ̀ː-$k^h\tilde{\varepsilon}$ː]   <u>di=tsu=to</u>   t'a   ḷokɛ   kjap-dỹː
       here=ABL   come-NMLZ   this=PL=CEMPH   now   Lhoke   strike-SIM
       'But now when <u>those</u> [who come from here] speak Lhoke…' (RL e)

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[398] This construction employs a combination of the progressive marker -ʑin and the verb p'ja 'do', see (13.12).

[399] The demonstrative adjective/adverbial ódɛm 'like that, such' is here nominalized with a strategy similar to the English strategy for the expression 'one like that', i.e. employing the word for 'one', tɕiʔ, which also functions as an indefinite marker.

(13.8) ཕྱུགས་ལོ་ འདི་ མང་ཚོད་ དང་ ང་ཚོ་ སྟོ་མོན་ ལོ་ འདི་ ལུང་ཚོད་ ལབ་མཁན་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ གནང་གནང་པོ་ མིན་འདུག་བོ་ལགས།

[*tɕʰuk=lo=di* *máŋtsʰøʔ* *dã:* *ŋàtɕaʔ* *ḷø-mɛ̃:=lo=di*
Nepali=DAT=DEMPH more and 1PL Lhopo-Lepcha=DAT=DEMPH
ɲùŋtsʰiʔ làp-kʰɛ̃:] *ódi* *tɕʰøgɛ:=gi nã̀:-nã̀:-bo* *mìnduk=ɕo-la.*
less say-NMLZ that king=AGT do-RDP-2INF NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON
'The king did not do <u>that</u> (thing) [which is to say more (was to be given) to the Nepali and less to the Lhopos and Lepchas].' (CY interview)

(13.9) ཉིན་ ཆད་མེད་ མ་ལེབ་རོ་ མ་ལེབ་ ཅུག་ཀོ་ གནང་སྟེ་ སྡོད་མཁན་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ཡང་ ཡོད།

[*ɲìn* *tɕʰɛmeʔ* *màlɛp=ro* *màlɛp* *tɕuko* *nã̀:-di* *dø:-kʰɛ̃:*]
day ceaseless bad=AEMPH bad only do.HON-NF stay-NMLZ
ódɛm=tɕi=jã̀: *jø̀ʔ.*
like.that=INDF=too EX.PER
'There are also those of <u>such kind</u> [who live committing only bad (deeds) upon bad (deeds) every day].' (SS Proverb explanation)

The following sections present a separate treatment for RCs formed by *kʰɛ̃:, -po/bo*, and *-sa* respectively.

13.2.1 Relativization by *-kʰɛ̃:*

The nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃:* can be used in both headed (§13.2.1.1 and §13.2.1.2) and headless relative clauses (§13.2.1.3). The nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃:* is the most usual nominalizer when the head noun is coreferential with the actor/agent in the RC. However, as shown below, *-kʰɛ̃:* may also occur with patient and locative arguments. The construction with *-kʰɛ̃:* is in itself neutral with respect to time-reference, which has to be deduced from the context.[400] The RC with the nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃:* 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)=jã̀:* 'whoever', it may also form an internally headed RC (§13.2.1.4). 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 *-kʰɛ̃:* 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 *-kʰɛ̃:* may be either animate (13.10) or inanimate (13.11).

(13.10) ཆོད་ཀྱི་ སྣ་ལོ་ དཔྱང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ གང་ཀ་ར་ འདི་ གང་ཀ་ར་གི་ པོ་ཚོ་ ཨིན་པོ་ བེ།

[*tɕʰø:=ki* *ŋa=lo* *pjõ* *jø̀:-kʰɛ̃:*] <u>*kaŋkara=di*</u> *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 <u>crab</u> [that was hanging from your nose] was a baby crab.' (rna-gsung 33)

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[400] Sandberg (1895: 38) refers to "*kʰen*" 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."

(13.11) རྒྱུ་ནང་ག་ ལྷུམ་མཁན་ འདི་ སྟ་རེ་ འདི་

       [tɕʰu nàŋɕa ɭum-kʰɛn=di]   ta:ri=di

       water inside   fall-NMLZ=DEMPH   axe=DEMPH

       'the <u>axe</u> [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) དུ་བཞིན་ བྱས་མཁན་ པོ་ཙོ་ འདི་ལོ་

       [ŋù-zin   p'ja-kʰɛ̃:]   p'otso=di=lo

       weep-PROG do-NMLZ   child=DEMPH=DAT

       'to the <u>child</u>, [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) བུམ་ཆུ་ན་ བླུག་མཁན་ ཆུ

       [p'umtɕʰu=na   lú-kʰɛ̃:]   tɕʰu

       Bumchu.festival=LOC   pour-NMLZ water

       '<u>Water</u> [that is poured at Bumchu-festival]' (KLT Bhumchu video)

    Example (13.14) shows that a genitive modifier (here ɕò=i) occurs closer to the head noun than the RC, which modifies the same head noun.

(13.14) གཀྵ་ལོ་ སྐྱེལ་ཁད་ བྱས་མཁན་ ཞོའི་ སྐྱེ་ལ་

       [karma=lo kɛ:-ɕɛ   p'ja-kʰɛ̃:]   ɕò=i   gila

       PN=DAT   bring-INF do-NMLZ   curd=GEN glass

       '<u>the glass of curd</u> [that is (being) brought to Karma]' (Richhi 106)

    A frequent context in which an RC with -kʰɛ̃: is used for a patient argument is with verbs of saying (làp 'say' , súŋ 'say [hon.]', sɛ́ 'say, be called'), referring to what items are 'called':

(13.15) རི་ཆེ་ ལབ་མཁན་ དེབ་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ ཚར་ ཡོད་པོ?

       [ritɕʰi   làp-kʰɛ̃:] t'ɛp ɭɛŋɕɛ:=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) ཁྱོང་གིས་ ཡི་གེ་ བྲི་མཁན་ པང་ལེབ་ གཅིག་ གནང་སྟེ།

      kʰoŋ=gi   [*jìgi* *ʈ'i-kʰɛ̃ː*]   *pã:lɛp=tɕiʔ*   *nɛ̃̌ː-di*

      3SG.HON=AGT   letter write-NMLZ   board=INDF   request.HON-NF

      'He requested for a <u>board</u> [on which to write letters] and…' (KT e)

13.2.1.2 Post-head RCs

RCs marked by *-kʰɛ̃ː* 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 *-kʰɛ̃ː* only allow the relativization of the highest ranking member of the relativization accessibility hierarchy, the subject (Keenan & Comrie 1977). Note that the adjectival modifiers in (13.17) and (13.18) occur closer to the head than the RC.

(13.17) ཨོ་ ལམ་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ འགྱུ་མཁན་ ཡོད་གོ།

      ó   <u>*làm*</u> *tɕʰuŋtɕuŋ* [*gju-kʰɛ̃ː*]   *jø̀ː=ɕo.*

      there road small   go-NMLZ   EX.PER=AT

      'There's a small <u>road</u> [that goes there], you know.' (TB discussion with KT)

(13.18) མི་གཞན་ འགྲོ་ལུགས་ ཤེས་མཁན་ཅིག་ བར་མི་ བཟོས་སྟེ།

      <u>*mí*</u>   <u>*ẓɛn*</u>   [*ɖoliʔ* *ɕèː-kʰɛ̃ː*]=*tɕiʔ*   *p'aːmi*   *zo-ti*

      man another custom know-NMLZ=INDF mediator   make-NF

      '<u>Another man</u> [who knows the (wedding) customs] is made a mediator and….' (sbar-phung)

(13.19) ཏེ་ ཨོ་ན་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཕོག་ཀའི་ བར་མི་ འོང་མཁན་ འདི་ ཕྱག་ཕུལ་ ཁས་ལན་ རྐྱབས་སྟེ་ཀི།

      tɛ *óna=di*   <u>*ódi*</u>   [*pʰokø:*   *p'aːmi*   *òŋ-kʰɛ̃ː=di*]

      so there=DEMPH that groom.side.GEN mediator   come-NMLZ=DEMPH

      tɕʰaːpʰy: *kʰɛ:lɛ̃:*   *kjap-tiki*

      prostration incantation   do-NF

      'So there the <u>one</u> [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 *-kʰɛ̃ː* typically describes an animate, usually human, referent ('the one who does x'). Because the animate referent is presumed, *-kʰɛ̃ː* 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 the patient role in (13.24) and oblique in (13.25).

Implied head noun as RC actor

(13.20) མཚམས་ལོ་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ གེ་ལབ་ སྡུད་ ཨ་ནོ་ལགས།

      [*tsʰam=lo*   *ẓuː-kʰɛ̃ː*]   *kɛːp* *bɛʔ*   *ájno=laː.*

      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་ལྗོངས་ན་ འོང་མཁན་ཚུ་ལོ་ མོ་འདི་ ཕོག་ཀུ་ ཡོདཔ་སྲུད་ལགས།

   t'izã: [*nà: ɖɛndzõ:=na òŋ-**kʰɛn**=tsu=lo*]   *ódi*[401] *ɕóku*   *jɛ̀bbɛ=la.*

   but   here   Sikkim=LOC   come-NMLZ=PL=DAT   that   paper   EX.NE=HON

   'But [those who came here to Sikkim] had that paper.' (CY interview)

(13.22) ནད་པའི་ སྐུ་མདུན་ལོ་ བཞུགས་མཁན་གྱིས་ ལེམ་ གནང་སྟེ་ གཟིགས་ དགོས་ཤ།

   [*nɛ̀:pø*   *kumdỹ:=lo*   *zu:-**kʰɛŋ**=gi*]   *lɛ̀m nã̌:-di*   *zi:*

   patient.GEN   in.front.of=DAT   stay.HON-NMLZ=AGT   good do.HON-NF look

   go: *ɲá.*

   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་པ་ཅན་ དང་ སྡུག་ ཕོག་སྟེ་ སྡོད་མཁན་ཚུའི་ ཞབས་ཏྲི་ ཞུན་ པན་ཡོན་ ཐོབ་ཆད་ ཨིན།

   [*mɛ̀:ptɕɛ̃:*   *t'ã: du?*   *pʰok-ti dø:-**kʰɛn**=tsu=i*]   *ɕàptɕi*

   one.who.has.not and   suffering   fall-NF   sit-NMLZ=PL=GEN   service

   ɕù-nɛ   *pʰɛ̃:jõ:*   *tʰop-ɕɛ*   *ĩ́:.*

   do.HON-COND   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)

Implied head noun as RC patient

(13.24) ཨ་རྗོ་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ བཀའ་ གནང་མཁན་ འདི་ ངས་ ལེན་ཆད་ ཨིན།

   [*ádzo=la:=gi*   *ka nã̌:-**kʰɛn**=di*]   *ŋá:*   *kʰɛ:lɛ̀n-ɕɛ*

   grandfather=HON=AGT word give.HON-NMLZ=DEMPH   I.AGT   accept-INF

   ĩ́:.

   EQU.PER

   'I accept [what the grandfather (=you) is saying].' (Richhi 49)

Implied head noun as RC oblique

(13.25) ཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱིས་ མདང་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ བཤད་མཁན་ འདི་ སྲེད་ཀ?

   [*ʈʰinlɛ=ki*   *dã:*   *lògju? ɕɛ́-**kʰɛn**=di*]   *bɛ-ka?*

   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 *-kʰɛ̃:* 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), non-
marked P(atient) argument (13.24), copula complement[402] (13.25). Complement marking *-kʰɛ̃:* can

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[401] 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.

[402] 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.

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 *làp-kʰɛ̃ː*, *sɛ́-kʰɛ̃ː* and *súŋ-kʰɛ̃ː* frequently form headless RCs. The forms *làp* and *súŋ* occur as productive verbs, whereas *sɛ́* in my data is used only in the nominalized construction *sɛ́-kʰɛ̃ː* and as the quotative *=s(ɛ)~s(i)*. The non-honorific forms *làp-kʰɛ̃ː* and *sɛ́-kʰɛ̃ː* tend to follow a noun and express the meaning "the one which is called" (13.26-27),

(13.26) a) འཁྲབ་དཔོན་ ལབ་མཁན་ གཅིག་ ཡོདཔ་སྲེད།

[*tʰapøn   làp-**kʰɛ̃ː**=tɕiʔ*]   *jòbbɛʔ*.
performer say-NMLZ=INDF   EX.NE
'There's [someone who is called [tʰapø̃ː]].' (SGD wedding customs)

b) དུག་ ལབ་མཁན་ ནམ་ལོ་ མན་ཟ་ དགོས།

[*t'uʔ   **làp-kʰɛ̃ː***]   *nàmlo   man-za   goʔ*.
poison say-NMLZ   ever   NEG-eat be.needed
'One should never eat [(the thing) called poison].' (KN e)

(13.27) ང་ཚའི་གི་ ལ་ཆུང་ སེ་མཁན་ འདི་ དཔེ་མི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ ལེགས།

[*ŋàtɕi=gi   làtɕʰuŋ   **sɛ́-kʰɛn=di**]   *pɛmisiki   lɛ̀m*.
1PL.GEN=GEN TPN   say-NMLZ=DEMPH   extraordinarily good excellent
'[Our (place) called Lachung] (is) extraordinarily good.' (LA Lachung intro)

The headless relative use of *súŋ-kʰɛ̃ː* may refer to the content of what is being said, as in (13.28), or to the person who is saying something, as in (13.29).

(13.28) ལགས་ཡིན་ ཨ་ཀུས་ གསུང་མཁན་ མནེ་མུ་རང་ བདེན་ ཐག་ཆོད་ སྲེད།

la-ĩ̀ː,   [*áku: súŋ-kʰɛ̃ː*]   *nɛ́:mu=rã: dɛn*
HON-EQU.PER father's.younger.brother.AGT say.HON-NMLZ   really-AEMPH true
tʰa:tɕʰøʔ bɛʔ.
decision EQU.NE
'Yes, [what the uncle is saying] is indeed the right decision.' (rnam-rtog 40)

(13.29) མ་ལག་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ འཁྲིག་ ཕྱོན་ གསུང་མཁན་ ན་ བུ་སྲིང་ སྲེད་ཁོ།

[*màlaʔ   méŋkʰã̀ː=na   kʰik   tɕ'øn   **súŋ-kʰɛ̃ː***]   *nà: p'usim*
quickly hospital=LOC lead go-HON say.HON-NMLZ   here younger.sister
bɛ=ɕo.
EQU.NE=AT
'[(The one) who told (us) "take (him) quickly to hospital"] is the sister here.' (Richhi 12

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 §6.3.2), as shown in (13.30).

(13.30) ཨེ་ ག་ཀེས་ཡང་ ན་ འོང་མཁན་ ཁྱ་ལོ་ཡང་ བརྡུང་ ག།

    [*mí*   *ka:=ki=jã:*   *nà: òŋ-k^hɛ̃:*]   *k^hu=lo=jã.*[403]   *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 genetivization seems optional, see (13.32) and (13.35) below. Post-head clauses are generally not genetivized 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 *-k^hɛ̃:*, 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 *-k^hɛ̃:*, 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 (*mí=tɕiʔ*) 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་ འདའི་ ཨ་ཇོ་ པོ་ཇོ་ དུས་ཚོད་ལས་ ང་ བུ་རྡིས་ (Buddhist) ཡང་ནེ་ ནང་པའི་ ཆོས་ཀྱི་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ འོང་པའི་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཨིན།

    t'ã:pu   *nè:*   *ádzo*   *podzo*   *t'ytsʰø:=lɛ*   *ŋà*   [*budis*   *jã:nɛ*

    long.ago   my   grandfather   forefather   time=ABL   1SG   Buddhist(Eng.)   or

    nã̀:pø: *tɕʰø:=ki*   *nàŋɕa=lo*   *òm-bø:*]   *mí=tɕiʔ*   *ĩ̀:.*

    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.

(13.32) དེ་ ང་ཚའི་ ཡུལ་ལོ་ སྡོད་སྡོད་པོ་ བོད་པོ་ འདི་ཚོ

    tɛ   [*ŋàtɕi*   *ỳ:=lo*   *dø:-dø:-po*]   *p'øbo*   *di=tso*[404]

    then   1PL.GEN   place=DAT   stay-RDP-2INF   Tibetan   DEMPH=PL

    'Then the Tibetans [who live in our place]...' (LA Intro to Lachung)

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[403] 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).

[404] The plural form *=tso* in the northern village of Lachung resembles the Central Tibetan plural form *=tsʰo*.

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་ཀྱོང་པའི་ མི་ ཟ་, སྣེའུ་ གཅིག་ ཕྱོག་ཀ་ ཟམ། འགྱུ་ མ་ཀྱོང་པའི་ མི་ འགྱུ་, ཐེམ་པ་ ལ་ བསམ།

    [*sà   ma-mjõ:-**pø:**]   *mí   sà*,
    eat   NEG-experience-2INF.GEN human eat
    ɲɛu=tɕiʔ   pʰjoka   sàm,
    snot=INDF taste   food
    [*gju ma-mjõ:-**pø:**]   *mí   gju,*
    go   NEG-experience-2INF.GEN   human go
    tʰɛmpa   là: sám
    threshold   pass think
    'A <u>man</u> [who is not acquainted with eating] eats and finds the taste of snot (like) food. A <u>man</u> [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)   གཏམ་པོ་ བཤད་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ རེད་ ད་ ཨིན་ག་ལགས།

    [*kɛ:p ɕé-**pø:**]   *lògju bɛʔ   tʼa íŋ-ga=la.*
    a.lot   tell-2INF.GEN   story EQU.NE now EQU.PER-PQ=HON
    'Now (it) is a <u>story</u> [that is much told], isn't it.'(PT kitchen)

(13.35)   ཁོ་འདི་ པོ་ཙ་ཚུ་ ཐོབ་ཐོབ་པོ་ མེ་ཌལ་ (medal) ཚུ་ རེད།

    ódi [*pʼotsa=tsu   tʰop-tʰop-**o**]   *mɛdal=tsu bɛʔ.*
    that child=PL   receive-RDP-2INF   medal=PL EQU.NE
    'Those are <u>medals</u> [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)   མཚམས་ བཞུགས་བཞུགས་པའི་ གནས་ ཙང་ཙང་།

    [*tsʰam   zu:-zu-**pø:**]   *nɛ́:   tsã:tsã:*
    seclusion   sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN site purely
    '(it's) a <u>site</u> [that is purely for sitting in solitary meditation]' (SM kitchen)

(13.37) གུ་རུ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ དང་སུ་ མཚམས་ བཞུགས་བཞུགས་པའི་ གནས་

[*guru rimpute$^h\varepsilon$ t'ã:pu   ts^{h}am   zu:-ẕu-pø:*]   <u>*nέ:*</u>
guru Rimpoche long.ago seclusion   sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN   site
'(it's) a <u>site</u> [where Guru Rimpoche used to sit in solitary meditation long ago]' (SGD cave story)

(13.38) འདིའི་ ལག་གོ་ ཡོད་པའི་ པོ་ཙུམ་ འོག་ལས་ ཨོ་ན་ ཤུལ་ ཏོག་ཙེ་གི་ དོང་ བཏོན།

di: [*làko jɞ̀-**pø:***]   <u>*p'otɕum*</u>   *ò:lɛ*   *óna*   *ɕý:*   *hok-tiki*   *t'ɔ̃:*
this.GEN hand EX-2INF.GEN   lower.stomach   below   there a.bit scratch-NF hole
tøn.
tear
'Scrathing a bit, tear a hole below this <u>lower stomach</u>, [where the hand 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) མདང་ ཁ་རྩུབ་ ཡུལ་ གཅིག་ཁར་ ཡོད་པའི་ མི་ འདི་ ད་རིང་ ཡུལ་ གཞན་ལོ།

[*dã:*   *k^{h}a:nup*   *ỳ:*   *tɕi-k^{h}a*   *jɞ̀-**pø:***]   <u>*mi=di*</u>
yesterday the.day.before.yesterday place one-at   EX-2INF.GEN   human=DEMPH
t'ariŋ   *ỳ:*   *ẕɛn=lo*
today   place another=DAT
'The <u>man</u> [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 genetive 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-ø* in (13.41) occurs in the genitive not to mark relativization but to make the form amenable to agentive marking.

(13.40) དཔེ་ན་ ཧིན་དུའི་ བུམ་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ལོ་ "མང་སྐལ་ སུ་ཏྲ" བཏགས་ཤད་ ཡོད་ནེ་

pɛ=na   *hindu=i*   <u>*p'um*</u> [*nέn*   *kjap-kjap-**o***]=*lo*
example=LOC Hindu=GEN   girl   wedding   do-RDP-2INF =DAT
maŋgalsutra   *ta:-ɕɛʔ*   *jɞ̀:-nɛ*
mangalsutra.necklace(Nep.)   append-INF   EX-COND
'For instance, if there is (the tradition of) tying the mangalsutra-necklace on a <u>Hindu girl</u> [who has been married]…' (sbar-phung 88)

500

(13.41) ཨོ་ན་ དང་སུ་ དུ་ལས་ ཁ་ཚང་ ས་གཡོས་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པའི་གིས་ ཨ་ཏེམ་ཅིག་ རྩ་བ་ རུམ་ འདུག་ག།

      óna   *t'ã:pu*   *halε*   *kʰatsã:*   <u>*sájyʔ*</u>   [*kjap-kjap-ø:*]=<u>*gi*</u>

      there   long.ago   before   some.time.ago   earthquake strike-RDP-2INF.GEN=AGT

      átεm=tɕiʔ   *tsawa*   *ɽam*   *du-kε.*

      a.bit=INDF   foundation destroy   EX.SEN-IN

      'There before some time ago an <u>earthquake</u>, [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) རྔ་མོང་ ཨོ་འདི་ གྱང་ཁ་ (རྒྱབས་) མ་ཚུགས་པོ་ འདི་ བྱི་ཅུང་གི་ རྐང་མ་ སྟེང་ཁར་ སྐུད་མི་ འདི་ དཀྱིགས་སྟེ་

      ŋámu   *ódi*   [*k'jaŋkʰa*   *(kjap)*   *ma-tsʰu-po=di*]   *p'itɕuŋ=gi*

      camel   that   counting   (do)   NEG-be.able.to-2INF =DEMPH   bird=GEN

      ka:m   *tεŋkʰa*   *kimi=di*   *ki:-ti*

      foot   on   thread=DEMPH   tie-NF

      'those <u>camels</u>, [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་ འདི་ ཁོག་གའི་ ནང་གི་ གཏམ་ཚོ་ ཉིན་ཞག་ དང་ ཟླ་པོ་ གེས་པོ་ ཟང་ བསགས་སྟེ་ བཞག་ཡོད་པོ་ འདི་ ད་རིང་ ཡི་གེ་ འདིའི་ན་ བཤད་དོ་ ཨིན།

      di: *p'ja=sã:*   *ɲè:*   *kʰokø:*   *nàŋ=gi*   <u>*tam=tsu*</u>   [*ɲ̀i:zaʔ*

      this.AGT   do=TERM   1SG.GEN innards.GEN   inside=GEN word=PL   day.and.night

      t'ã: *dau*   *kε:po=sã:*   *sák-ti*   *za:*   *jø̀-po=di*]   *t'ariŋ*

      and   month   many=until   accumulate-NF   set   EX-2INF=DEMPH   today

      jìgi   *di:=na*   *ɕέ-to*   *í̀:.*

      letter   this.GEN=LOC   tell-IPFV   EQU.PER

      'Therefore I'm telling (you) today (my) <u>inmost words</u>, [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:

501

(13.44) ཆུ་ སྐོལ་སྟེ་ཀོ་ ཉིང་ཉིང་ཀོ་

    <u>*tɕʰu*</u>   [*kø:-tiki ɻɛŋ-rɛŋ-**ko***]⁴⁰⁵

    water   boil-NF make.cool-RDP-2INF

    '<u>water</u> [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 *ʈʼubɖɛ:*

(13.45) བྷཻལའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ སྐྱག་པར་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པའི་ གྲུབ་འབྲས་ ག་ཉྗེམ་ ཡོད་ཀམ་

    bhaila=gi <u>*lóʔpar*</u> [*kjap-kjap-**ø**ː*]   *ʈʼubɖɛ:* *kʼatɛm* *jɒ̀:-kam?*

    PN=GEN   X-ray   do-RDP-2INF.GEN result   how   EX.PER-ATTQ

    'What is the result of the <u>X-ray</u> [that was made] of Bhaila (I wonder)?' (Richhi 29)

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: lóʔpar*), 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 *ʈʼã: ɖau* '(be) similar, resemble'. Note that another, pre-head locative RC, modifying the noun *nɛ́:* 'site', is embedded within the RC which modifies *pʼjaɖo* 'feather'.

(13.46) གཉྫའི་ སེམས་ ཕྱས་སྐྱོ་ རླུང་གིས་ འབག་ཀོ་ འདེམ་ ཚགས་ལའི་ གནས་ མེད་པོ་ དང་ འདྲ་པོ་

    karmø: *sɛ́m* <u>*pʼjaɖo*</u> [*lúŋ=gi bak-o*   *dɛm* [*tɕʰa:-sø:*]   <u>*nɛ́:*</u>

    PN.GEN mind feather air=AGT carry-2INF like alight-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN site

    *mè:-**po***]   *ʈʼã:* *ɖau.*

    NEG.EX-2INF and similar

    'Karma's mind resembles a <u>feather</u> [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 and 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 existentiual 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.

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⁴⁰⁵ Consultant KUN commented that in his language variety *ɻɛŋ-rɛŋ-ko* would require the patient argument *ʈʼøʔ* 'heat', which expresses what is being cooled, [*kø:-tiki ʈʼøʔ ɻɛŋ-rɛŋ-ko*].

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 -*kʰɛ̀ː,* 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) ཁུ་ འོང་སའི་ ལམ་ཁ་ཅིག་ཀ་ མི་... ཉམ་ཆུང་ གཅིག་ མཉམ་དུ་ འཕྲད་པོ་ བྱད་ལགས།

     [*kʰu*   *ö̀ː-**søː**]*   *làm-kʰa-tɕika*   *mí...*   *ɲàmtɕʰuŋ=tɕiʔ*   *ɲàmpu*
     3SGM   come-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN   road-at-abouts   human   humble=INDF   with
     pʰɛ-po   *bɛ=la.*
     meet-2INF   EQU.NE=HON
     'On the <u>road</u> [that he came], he met a poor a man.' (PAD bet story)

    The personal pronoun *kʰu* 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 *zoːm* 'tub' functions as the patient of the main clause verb *tøn* 'show'.

(13.48) ཚོགས་རྫས་ ཕུལ་སའི་ གཞོང་པོ་ སྟོན་བཞིན་

     [*tsʰoːdzɛʔ*   *pʰyː-**søː**]*   *zoːm* *tøn-zɛ̃ː*
     feast.substances   offer-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN   tub   show-PROG
     'showing the <u>tub</u> [where feast substances are offered]' (Richhi 1)

(13.49) མི་ཚུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རང་རང་ སོ་སོའི་ སྡོད་སའི་ ས་གནས་ འཚོལ་ཏེ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

     mí=tsu   *tʰamtɕɛʔ*   *rã̀ːrã̀ːsoːsøː*   [*døː-**søː**]*   *sánɛʔ*   *tsʰø̀ː-ti*
     human=PL   all   each.oneself.GEN   sit-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN   place   seek-NF
     dø̀ː   *jø̀ʔ.*
     sit   EX.PER
     'All people are sitting, each having sought their own <u>place</u> [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 *gã̀ːtoʔ méŋkʰã̀ː=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) སྒང་ཏོག་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ བུ་སྨོའི་ ནད་པོ་ བཞག་སའི་ ཁྱིམ་མིག་ན་

     gã̀ːtoʔ   *méŋkʰã̀ː=na*   [*pˈum=ø̀ː*   *nè̀ːpo*   *zak-**søː**]*   *kʰimmik=na*
     TPN   hospital=LOC   girl=GEN   patient   set-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN   room=LOC
     'In Gangtok hospital, in the <u>room</u> [where female patient are placed]...' (Richhi 166)

(13.51) ཨོ་ རྒྱུགས་བཞིན་ ད་སྐྱད་ འོང་སའི་ ཕྱོགས་ལོ་ སླེབས་སྐབས།

    mù   *gjuk-zɛ̃ː*   [*ŋù-kɛʔ*   * õ̱ː-sø:*]   *tɕʰoː=lo*   *ļɛp-kap*

    3SGF   run-PROG   cry-sound   come-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN   direction=DAT   arrive-SIM

    'When she arrives running to the <u>direction</u> [from which the sound of crying comes]...'
    (Richhi 2)

For some reason, in (13.52), the RC is not genetivized. The form *làpsa* also occurs as a headless
RC, see §13.2.3.2

(13.52) ཆེ་ཆེ་བོ་ ལབ་ས་ ཕྱུལ་ ནང་ཤ་ སྡད་ལོ།

    [*tɕʰetɕʰɛbo*   *làp-sa*]   *ỳː*   *nàŋɛa*   *bɛː=lo.*

    TPN   say-NMLZ.SPAT   place   inside   EQU.NE=REP

    'It's in a <u>place</u> [(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 *zimtɕuŋ* 'bedroom' is a genitival modifier of another noun, *gom*
'door'.

(13.53) ཁོས་ ག་ལུས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ཁོ་རང་ ཉལ་སའི་ གཟིམ་ཅུང་གི་ སྒོམ་ ཕྱིས་སྟེ་

    kʰúː   *k'alyʔ*   *p'ja-ti*   [*kʰu=rã̀ː*   *ɲὲː-sø:*]   *zimtɕuŋ=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 <u>bedroom</u> [where he himself had been sleeping (or sleeps)]
    (and)...' (Richhi 22)

In (13.54), the head noun *ɕáːloʔ* 'bamboo wall' is a genitivized modifier of the postposition *tɛŋlo*
'on'.

(13.54) ཀརྨ་གིས་ རྩེས་གར་ འཁྲབ་སའི་ ཕག་ལོག་གི་ སྟེང་ལོ་... བྲི་སྟེ་

    karma=gi   [*døːgar*   *ʈʰap-sø:*]   *ɕáːlo=ki*   *tɛŋ=lo...*   *ʈ'i-ti*

    PN=AGT   play   act-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN   bamboo.wall=GEN   top=DAT   write-NF

    'Karma writes... on the <u>wall</u> [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) སྒོ་ཁའི་ ཟུར་ ཅིག་ལོ་ ཉ་ གསོ་སའི་ མཚོ་འཁོར།

    gokʰø̀ː   *sùː*   *tɕiː=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 <u>pond</u> [where fish are kep]t' (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 *ʐak-sa* 'place to put something, storage', *dø-sa* 'place to stay, dwelling', *ʐuː-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) བུམ་ཅིག་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ཕྱི་རུ་ ཀ་ ཐོབ་ས་ འགྱུ་ཕད་ མི་ལེགས།

    p'um=tɕiʔ p'ja-ti pʰiruʔ [*ka tʰop-**sa***] *gju-ɕɛʔ mi-lèʔ.*

    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་འགྱུལ་ ཁྱི་འགྱུལ་ མེད་ས་ སྡོད་ན་

    tʰaːriŋ [*mí-ɖyː kʰi-ɖyː mèː-**sa***] *døː-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་ ལབ་ས་ལོ་ འོང་སྟེ་

    ŋà [*òʔ làp-**sa***]=*lo òn-di*

    1SG TPN say-NMLZ.SPAT=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) ཨོ་འདི་ནེ་ ལེམ་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ཞིབ་དཔྱད་ མ་བྱས་བར་ སྐྱོན་ ཡོད་ཚད་ སྒྲོལ་མ་གི་རང་ ཨིན་སེ་ ལབ་མཁན་ བྱད།

    ódi=ne lèm p'ja-ti zip-tɕɛʔ man-bja-wa <u>*køn*</u> [***jòː-tsʰɛʔ***]

    that=TOP good do-NF research NEG-do-CIRC blame EX-limit

    ɖølma=ki=rã̀ː í̃ː=se làp-kʰen bɛʔ.

    PN=GEN=AEMPH EQU.PER=QUO say-NMLZ EQU.NE

    'Without investigating that well, (they) say that [as much as there is] <u>fault</u> (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'ã̀ːpu tʰamtɕɛʔ* 'totally all'.

(13.60) ང་འཐུང་ཚོད་ གང་པུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ལེགས་ མི་ཐོན།

       _tɕ'a_ [**tʰuŋ-tsʰɛʔ**] _k'ã:pu_ _tʰamtɕɛʔ_ _lɛ̀m_ _mi-tʰøn._
       tea   drink-limit full   all   good NEG-become
       '[The full extent of] all <u>tea(s)</u> [to be drunk] do not turn out good.' (KN e)

(13.61) གཡོག་ བྱས་ཚོད་ གང་པུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ལེགས་ ག་ ཐོན་ཤད?

       jóʔ [**p'ja-tsʰɛʔ**] _k'ã:pu_ _tʰamtɕɛʔ_ _lɛ̀m_ _k'a:_ _tʰøn-ɕɛʔʔ?_
       work do-limit   full   all   good how become-INF
       'How could [the full extent of] all the <u>work</u> [(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་ སྔོན་མ་ གར་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨོ་འདེ་ར་ བཞག་ དགོས།

       [_t'a_ _ɲéma_ **k'ar** _jɒ̀-po_] [_ódɛ=ra_ _zak_ _goʔ._]
       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་ཚོད་ བཟོ་ ཨོ་འདེ་ མ་ལང་མཁན་ སྲད།

       [**k'adzøʔ** _zo_] [_ódɛ:_ _ma-lõ:-kʰɛn_ _bɛʔ._]
       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་ནས་ པོ་ཚོའི་ ཕམ་ཚུ་ ཀ་ཀ་ལོ་ གདན་ ཞུ་ དགོས་པོ་ ཨོ་འདེ་ཚུའི་ མཚན་ཐོ་ ཅིག་ བཟོ་ལོ།

       [_t'ɛnɛ_ _p'otsø:_ _pʰam=tsu_ **ka-ka=lo** _dɛnɕu_ _go:-po_]
       then   child.GEN   parent=PL   who-RDP=DAT   invite   be.needed-2INF
       [<u>_ódi=tsu=i_</u> _tsʰɛn-tʰo=tɕiʔ_ _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་འདེ་ སྐྱང་ གན་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདེ་ ད་ དིང་སང་ མིན་འདུག།

       [_ódi_ _gã:_ **k'an** _jɒ̀-po_[=<u>_di_</u>] _t'a_ _t'iŋzã:_ _mìnduʔ._]
       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 usually nominalized and genitivized. Typically nominalization is accomplished by the infinitive marker *-po/bo* (§13.4.1), although the infinitive marker *-ɕɛʔ* 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, functioning 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 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 *ʈʰim* 'law' in (13.66) is not an argument in the complement clause *látɕa=jã: p'inɕɛʔ 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) རྨ་ཆ་ཡང་ ཕྱིན་ཤད་ མེད་པའི་ ཁྲིམས་ ཚོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ བཟོ་སྟེ་གི་ ཚོ་འདེམ་ སྐྱིད་སྡུག་ སྡུག་ བཏང་པོ་ ཨིན།

      [*látɕʰa=jã: p'inɕɛʔ mè:-pø:*]   *ʈʰim ódɛm=tɕiʔ zo-tiki ódɛm kiduʔ*
      wages=too give-INF EX-2INF.GEN   law such=INDF make-NF   such suffering
      du: tã:-bo ĩ:.
      misery send-2INF EQU.PER
      '(They) even made such <u>a rule</u> [that even wages are not to be given] and (thus) caused such pain and suffering.' (KN, CY interview)

(13.67) ཁུ་ ཐོན་པའི་ བྱུས་ བྱས་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྡད།

      kʰu   [*tʰøm-bø:*]   *tɕ'yʔ p'ja-ʑin jø̀-po bɛʔ.*
      3SGM exit-2INF.GEN   means do-PROG EX-2INF   EQU.NE
      'He was searching a <u>way</u> [of getting out].' (KT animal story)

(13.68) ལ་ལ་ལོ་ མག་ཀོ་ ལོ་ གསུམ་ རྒྱབས་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱས་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྡད།

      làla=lo   [*máko lò súm kjap-ø:*]   *lò̀gjuʔ jø̀-po bɛʔ.*
      some=DAT   son-in-law year three do-2INF.GEN story EX-2INF   EQU.NE
      'Some have the <u>narrative</u> [that the son-in-law does three years (of work service with in-laws)].' (SGD wedding customs)

(13.69) ང་འདིའི་ རྩར་ལས་ ཏེ་ཊུག་ གང་དོ་ཅིག་ ང་ ལེན་པའི་ ཐབས་ ཐུལ་ཤད་ ཨིན་སེ།

ŋà [di: tsa=lɛ tiruʔ k'ã:dotɕiʔ ŋà lὲm-bø:] *tʰap* *p'ja-ɕɛ*
1SG this.GEN at=ABL rupee some 1SG take-2INF.GEN means do-INF
í̃:=s.
EQU.PER=QUO
'I'll find a <u>way</u> [to take from this one a few rupees], he said.' (PAD bet story)

(13.70) ཨོ་འདེམ་ བྱིན་པའི་ ལུག་གསོལ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྲད།

[ódɛm p'im-bø:] *lùksø:* *jὸ:-kʰɛn* *bɛʔ.*
like.that give-2INF.GEN tradition EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
'There's a <u>tradition</u> [of giving (something) like that].' (SGD wedding customs)

(13.71) ཨོ་འདི་ མ་གནས་པའི་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ འདི་

[ódi ma-nέ:-pø:] *gjumtsʰέ̃:=di*
that NEG-reside-2INF.GEN reason=DEMPH
'The <u>reason</u> [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) ཁྱི་ འའུ་ འའུ་ལོ་ ཉབ་པའི་ སྐད

[kʰi àu àu=lo hap-ø:] *kɛʔ*
dog woof woof=DAT bark-2INF.GEN sound
'the <u>sound</u> [of a dog barking woof woof]' (Richhi 1)

(13.73) ཐག་རིང་ ས་གནས་ལས་ དུང་ ཕུ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐད་སྒྲ་ བུ་འུ་·····།

tʰa:riŋ *sánɛ:=lɛ* [t'uŋ pʰu:-zin jὸ-pø:] *kɛ:ɖa* *p'u:*
far.away region=ABL conch blow-PROG EX-2INF.GEN sound toot
'from a far-away region the <u>sound</u> [of a conch being blown], toot' (Richhi 1)

Time adverbial words often receive a complement clause:

(13.74) ཏེ་ གཟིགས་པའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ན་ ཁོང་ ཧ་ཐང་ཆད

tɛ [zi:-pø:] *t'ytsʰø:=na* *kʰõ:* *hatã:tɕʰøʔ.*
then look.HON-2INF.GEN time=LOC 3SG.HON be.amazed
'Then at the <u>time</u> [(that she) looked (at it)], she was amazed.' (PAD Tashiding story)

(13.75) མནའ་ཚང་ རྩར་ བཅར་པའི་ ཉིམ་ཚེས་

[nǎ̃:tɕʰã̃:=tsa: tɕa:-pø:] *nìmtsʰi=di*
bethrotal=at come.HON-2INF.GEN date=DEMPH
'(on) the <u>day</u> [when coming to the bethrotal]' (SGD wedding customs)

508

(13.76) ཚོགས་འདུ་ ཚོགས་པའི་ མཚམས་ཚེ་ ས��ེབས་ཏོ།

[*tsʰoːdu tsʰoː-pøː*] *<u>tsʰamtsʰi</u>* *ḷɛp-to.*
meeting gather-2INF.GEN moment arrive-IPFV
'The <u>moment</u> [when the meeting is held] is arriving.' (Richhi 43)

(13.77) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལོག་ བྱོན་པའི་ སྐད་ལོ་

[*ɖɛndzõː lòk tɕʼøm-bøː*] *gã̀ː=lo*
Sikkim return come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT
'...at the <u>time</u> [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 ḷɛp lõ̀ː mèː-po karma tsa=lɛ ò̀ː jø̀-pøː*) within the complement clause.

(13.78) ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་ རེ་ཚེ་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ སྲ�ེབས་ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ གཀྲའི་ཚ་ལས་ འོང་ ཡོད་པའི་ ཡི་གེ་ �ོགས་ཐོབ་པའི།

tɕʰøki=ki *<u>ritɕʰi</u>* [*kʰim=na ḷɛp lõ̀ː* *mèː-po karmøː tsa=lɛ ò̀ː*
PN=GEN hope house=LOC arrive have.time EX-2INF PN.GEN at=ABL come
jø̀-pøː *jìgi tʰop-øː*].
EX-2INF letter receive-2INF.GEN
'Choki (has) a <u>hope</u> [(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་ཚེ་ ཡོད, མན་ན་ཏོ་ ཨ་ཇྱུ་ གཀྲས་ ལོག་ཀོའི་ �ོན་ལོ་ དུས་ཅིག་ མོ་ལོ་ འཕྲེད་པར་ འོང་པོའི།

mù=lo *tʼaruŋ=rã̀ː* *<u>ritɕʰi</u> jø̀ʔ* [*mènɛ=to* *ágja*
3SGF=DAT still=AEMPH hope EX.PER not.perhaps=CEMPH elder.brother
karmaː lòk-øː *ɲénlo tʼutɕiʔ mù=lo pʰɛ́-pa*
PN.AGT return-2INF.GEN before this.year 3SGF=DAT meet-PUR
ò̀m-bøː]
come-2INF.GEN
'She still has a <u>hope</u> [that perhaps brother Karma will come to meet her this year before he returns].' (Richhi 119)

13.4.2 Nominalization with -*ɕɛʔ*

Noun complement clauses may also be formed by genitive-marked -*ɕɛ*-infinitive clauses, although these type of clauses are less frequent than those nominalized by -*po/bo*.

(13.80) སྐུན་རྒྱས་ གཏན་ བྱས་པོ་ གནང་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དགའ་ཚོར་ ཡོད་པོ?

[k'an p'ja-u   nã̌:-ɕɛ=ki]   *ga:tsʰo: jè-po?*
PRN.HON   what do-2INF   do.HON-INF=GEN liking   EX-2INF
'What would you like to do?' Lit. 'You have <u>enjoyment</u> [of doing what]?' (TB e)

(13.81) རང་ལོ་ མན་པོ་ ད་ གཞན་ལོ་ གཉེན་ མི་རྐྱབས་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དམ་བཅའ་

[rã̌:=lo   mèmbo t'a   zɛn=lo   ɲɛ́n   mi-kjap-ɕɛ=ki]   *t'amtɕa*
2SG.M=DAT   except now   another=DAT marriage   NEG-do-INF=GEN promise
'<u>promise</u> [to now not marry anyone else except you]' (Richhi 143)

(13.82) ཁོང་གིས་ ང་ཚག་ལོ་ ལེགས་ཕྱས་ རོགས་རམ་ ཕུལ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ བཀའ་སློབ་ བཀའ་སློབ་ གནང་ཞེ།

kʰoŋ=gi   *ŋàtɕa=lo*   *lèm-p'ja*   [ro:ram pʰy:-ɕɛ=ki]   *kalop   kalop*
3SG.HON=AGT 1PL=DAT   good-ADVZR help   offer-INF=GEN   advice   advice
nã̌:-zɛ.
give.HON-PST
'He gave us well <u>advice (and) advice</u> [which helped].' (or '[helpful] advice', or 'advice
[in order to help]) (NAB BLA 7)

(13.83) མ་ཆེན་གྱི་ གཡོག་ འདི་ ཟམ་ གཙོ, ཆོས་བ་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཞབས་ཕྱི་ ཞུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ གཡོག་ ཨིན།

màtɕʰɛ̃̌:=gi jó:=di   [sàm tso,   tɕʰo:p=tsu=lo   ɕàptɕi   ɕù-ɕɛ=ki]
cook=GEN   work=DEMPH food   prepare monk=PL=DAT   service   do.HUM-INF=GEN
jóʔ ĩ̌:.
work EQU.PER
'The work of the cook (at the monastery) is <u>work</u> [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 *-kʰɛ̃̌:*, 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་ དྲང་པུ་ ལེབ་ དྲང་པུ་ དགོས་པོ་ ལབ་མཁན་ དོན་དག་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྲད་གོ།

[mí   ʈ'ã:pu lèp   ʈ'ã:pu go:-po   làp-kʰɛ̃̌:]   *t'øndaʔ ódi*
human honest very.much honest be.needed-2INF say-NMLZ reason   that
bɛ=ɕo.
EQU.NE=AT
'The <u>reason</u> [why a man needs to be honest, very honest], is that, you know.' (JDF axe
story)

(13.85) ཨནེ་མུ་ ཆོས་སྐྱུད་ཀྱིས་ ཆོས་ལོ་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ སེམས་ཐོར་པོ་ ཨིན་ལོ་ ལབ་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཐོས་ཆེ།

    né:mu [*tɕʰø:ki=ki tɕʰø:=lo lèpti sèm ɕó:-bo í:=lo*
    really   PN=AGT   2SG.L=DAT very.much mind lose.control-2INF EQU.PER=REP
    làp-ø:]   *lògjuʔ* *tʰo:-tɕɛ.*
    say-2INF.GEN story   hear-PST
    'Truly, I heard the <u>story</u> [that Choki is said to have really fallen for you].' (Richhi 94)

(13.86) ཁོས་ མི་ལོ་ རོགས་རམ་ གནང་ དགོས་ སེ་མཁན་ ཨནོ་སམས་ ག་རེ་ མན་བྱུང་པོ་ བྱད།

    kʰú: [*mí=lo ro:ram nǎ̃: goʔ sé-kʰɛ̃:*] <u>*nó:sam*</u> *k'arɛ*
    he.AGT human=DAT help   give.HON be.needed say-NMLZ thought any
    man-dzum-bo   *bɛʔ.*
    NEG-become-2INF   EQU.NE
    'A <u>thought</u> [that people should be helped] did not at all come to (his) mind.' (Class 7 textbook 52)

13.4.4 Genetive-marked finite clause

Lastly, a non-nominalized genitive-marked clause may also occasionally complement a noun:

(13.87) ད་ ཁོང་ དེབ་ འདི་ ག་སྟེམས་ ཡོད་ དང་ མེད་ཀྱི་ གཏམ་ ནང་ཝ་ འདི་ ང་ཚག་ མ་སོང་མཁན་ བྱད།

    t'a [*kʰõ: t'ɛp=di k'atɛm jòʔ t'õ: mè:=**ki***]
    now 3SG.HON   book=DEMPH how   EX.PER and   NEG.EX.PER=GEN
    <u>*tam*</u> *nàŋɕa=di*   *ŋàtɕaʔ ma-sóŋ-kʰɛn*   *bɛʔ.*
    speech inside=DEMPH 1PL   NEG-go.PFV-NMLZ   EQU.NE
    'Now we didn't go into speaking (lit. <u>word/speech</u>) [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 *-ɕɛ-*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

ɲénlɛ, ɲénlo	སྔོན་ལས་, སྔོན་ལོ་	'before'
gjablɛ, gjablo	རྒྱབ་ལས་, རྒྱབ་ལོ་	'after'
nàŋlɛ, nàŋlo, nàŋɕa	ནང་ལས་, ནང་ལོ་, ནང་ཝ་	'inside'
t'ønlo, t'ønlɛ, t'øndalɛ, t'øndalo	དོན་ལོ་, དོན་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལོ་	'for the purpose of'
kor, korlɛ, korlo	སྐོར་, སྐོར་ལས་, སྐོར་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་པའི་ སྔོན་ལས་ འདི་

[ɖɛndzo:=lo   man-dzøm-bø:]   _nénlɛ=di_
Sikkim=DAT   NEG-come.HON-2INF.GEN   before=DEMPH
'before [coming to Sikkim]...' (KLT Bhumchu video)

(13.89) རྣམ་མཆོག་ ཐོས་ཚར་བའི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་

[námtɕoʔ   tʰo:-tsʰa:-wø:][406]   _gjablɛ_
ear   hear-CMPL/finish-2INF   after
'after [having heard with (own) ears]...' (KL BLA 12)

(13.90) ཨོ་འདིས་ ཀྱོས་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ སྡོད་ སྡོད་པའི་ ནང་ལས་ ཆད་ལྡུན་ ཕྱོས་ཚར།

ódi: [k'joʔ kjap-ti   dø:-dø-pø:]   _nàŋ=lɛ_   _tsʰɛdɛ̃:_
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་ཚེ་ བསྐང་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་

       [tʰamtɕɛ=ki   ritɕʰi kã:-bø:]   _t'ønlo_
       all=GEN   hope fill-2INF.GEN   for.purpose.of
       'In order [to fulfil the hope of all]...' (Richhi 75-76)

       b) ཨིན་རུང་ཡང་ གཏམ་ དག་དགགས་ གཉིས་, དག་དགགས་ གཉིས་ཅིག་ ང་ གུ་ཅག་ སྐྱེན་རྒྱས་ ཚོགས་པོ་ གསར་པུའི་ཀི་ སྐུ་མདུན་ལོ་ མན་ བཞག་ཀའི་ དོན་ལོ་ མ་ཚུགས་པོ་ འདེམ་ཅིག་ ཚོར་ཞེ།
       ĩ:ruŋ=jã: [tam t'amʈaʔ ɲí:,   t'amʈaʔ ɲí:=tɕiʔ   ŋà   k'utɕa   ḻɛŋgɛʔ_
       however=still word tight   two   tight two=INDF   1SG 2PL   PRN.HON
       _tsʰokpo   sá:py:=gi   kumdỹ:=lo   man-zak-ø:]   _t'øn=lo_
       association new.GEN=GEN   in.front.of=DAT NEG-set-2INF.GEN   purpose=DAT
       ma-tsʰu-po   dɛm=tɕiʔ   tsʰo:-zɛ.
       NEG-be.able.to-2INF   such=INDF   feel-PST
       'However, I felt like I can not refrain (myself) from presenting a few concise words in
       your presence, (members of) the new association.]' (lit. '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) ང་ས་ ཚུགས་པའི་ སྐོར་··

       [ŋá: tsʰu-pø:]   _kor_
       I.AGT be.able.to-2INF.GEN   about
       'about [what I am able (to do)]' (Richhi 36)

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[406] 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.

512

b) དུ་ལྟ་ རང་རྗེ་ ཁོང་གི་ འཛམ་གླིང་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་ འཁོར་གཡོག་གི་ སློབ་མ་ཚུ་གི་ ནང་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐོར་ལོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ གསན་ བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ།

[t'ato sã:tɛ kʰoŋ=gi   dzamliŋ nàŋɕa=lo   dzuʈʰul kʰo:jo:=ki
now until 3SG.HON=GEN   world inside=DAT   miracles servant=AGT
ló:m=tsu=gi   *nǎ̃:-ʑin*   *jɵ̀-pø:*]   *korlo*   *tʰamtɕɛ=ki*
disciple=PL=AGT do.HON-PROG EX-2INF.GEN about   all=AGT
sɛ́n-ʑin   *jɵ̀:-ʈo.*
hear.HON-PROG EX-PROB
'All are probably hearing <u>about</u> [(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 in the complement clause may be complex.

13.5.2 Bare -ɕɛ-infinitive
The postposition complement clause may also be a non-nominalized infinitive clause marked by *-ɕɛ?*:

(13.93) ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཧ་གོ་གད་ དོན་དག་ལས་
[*tʰamtɕɛ=ki*   *hako=ɕɛ?*]   <u>*t'øndalɛ*</u>
all=AGT   understand   for.the.purpose.of
'<u>in order for</u> [all to understand]' (DR discussion with KL)

(13.94) རང་རང་ སོ་སོའི་ ལུགས་སྲོལ་ རྩི་གད་ དང་ འདི་ཚུ་ ཡར་སྐྱེད་ བཏང་གད་ སྐོར་ལོ་
[*rã:rã:so:sø:*   *lùksø:*   *tsi-ɕɛ?*   *t'ã:*   *di=tsu*   *jà:kɛ:*   *tã:-ɕɛ?*]
each.oneself.GEN tradition esteem-INF and   this=PL increase   send-INF
<u>*kor=lo*</u>
about=DAT
'<u>about</u> [esteeming and furthering (the cause of) one's own tradition]...'
(sbar-phung 92-93)

(13.95) ཚོ་འདི་ འདི་ཙིག་ལོ་ བྲི་གད་ ནང་ག་ལོ་
[*ódi*   *dɛ:tɕi=lo*   *ʈ'i-ɕɛ?*]   <u>*nàŋɕa=lo*</u>
that that.much=DAT write-INF   inside=DAT
'<u>Within</u> [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 སྐོར་ལོ་).

(13.96) འདི་ལས་ འཁྲབ་དཔོན་ དང་ འཁྲབ་དཔོནམ་ ཀ་ཀ་ལོ་ གསེས་ དགོས་མད་པོ་ འདིའི་ སྐོར་ལོ་ ང་ཚག་ གཉིས་པོས་ གྲོས་བསྡུན་ རྒྱབས་ཀེ།"

[dilɛ ʈʰapø̃: t'ã: ʈʰapøm ka-ka=lo séː goː-ɕɛ bo]

then actor and actress who-RDP=DAT choose be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q

_di:_ _korlo_ ŋàtɕaʔ ɲíː-poː k'jotyn kjap-kɛ.

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) ཨིན་རིང་ ཚེ་མག་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ཡང་ རང་སྐད་ འདི་ ག་ཏེ་ ཞབས་ཞུ་ དགོས་མད་ པོ་ འདིའི་ སྐོར་ལོ་ ང་ བསམ་བློ་ བཏང་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

í:-ruŋ [tsʰimaʔ nàŋɕa=lo=jã: raŋ-kɛ:=di k'atɛ ɕàpɕù

however future.life inside=DAT=too own.language=DEMPH how serve

goː-ɕɛ bo] _di:_ _korlo_ ŋà sámlo tã:-ẓin jø̀ʔ.

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 genetivized. Genetivization does not take place in post-head RCs or if the modifying clause is nominalized with -kʰɛ̃ː. Morever, genitivization is not mandatory when the verb root is reduplicated. All the relativizing nominalizers -kʰɛ̃ː, -po/bo, and -sa were seen to occur in headed RCs and two of them, -kʰɛ̃ː and -sa, also in headless RCs. The nominalizer -kʰɛ̃ː was seen to have a marginal internally-headed use. Moreover, this chapter showed that correlative clauses, which are probably Indo-Aryan influence (see Genetti1992: 408), are functionally similar but formally dissimilar to RCs. Correlative clauses, while not demanding nominalization and genitivization, 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 (sentence-like). The following subsections discuss non-finite complement clauses (§14.1) and finite complement clauses (§14.2).

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 -*ɕɛʔ* (§14.1.2)
3) progressive marker -*tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː/zin* (§14.1.3)
4) postposition *kor* 'about' heading a postposition complement clause (§14.1.4))

Headless relative clauses marked by -*kʰɛ̃ː* and -*sa* resemble complement clauses, but because headless clauses with -*kʰɛ̃ː* and -*sa* imply a referent that is modified (person who does with -*kʰɛ̃ː*, 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 (*ziː* གཟིགས་ 'see [hon.]', *sén* གསན་ 'hear [hon.] ', *dzɛː* མཇལ་ 'meet [hon]'). Although I do not have examples of the honorific verbs, it is safe to assume that that they behave analogously to the ordinary verbs.

Table 14.2. Verb types receiving a complement clause with *-po/bo*

a) Being:	*í:* ཨིན་, *bɛʔ* སྐད་ (equative), *jə̀ʔ* ཡོད་, *duʔ* 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:	*tʰøn* ཐོན་ 'come out, become, happen', *tɕ'uŋ* བྱུང་ 'become', *zo* བཟོ་ 'make (into)', *í:* ཨིན་ 'be (equ.)' *jə̀ʔ* ཡོད་ 'be (ex.)'; collocate with *go:-po* [be.needed-2INF] and *tsʰu-po* [be.able.to-2INF]
c) Perception:	*tʰɔ̃:* མཐོང་ 'see', *tʰo:* ཐོས་ 'hear'; collocate with all types of verbs
d) Mental activity:	*hako* ཧ་གོ་ 'know, understand', *ʈ'ɛnsin* དྲན་ཉིན་ 'remember', *nó:* མནོ་ 'think'; *hako* and *ʈ'ɛnsin*; collocate with all types of verbs, except *nó:*, which collocates with *go:-po* དགོས་པོ་ [be.needed-2INF][407]
e) Meeting[408]:	*pʰɛʔ* འཕྲད་ 'meet', *tʰuk* ཐུག་ 'touch, meet, face'; *pʰɛʔ* collocates with *jə̀-po* ཡོད་པོ་ [EX-2INF], *tʰuk* collocates with *go:po* དགོས་པོ་ [be.needed-2INF]
f) Speaking and writing:	*ʈ'i* བྲི་ 'write', *ɕéʔ* བཤད་ 'tell'; collocate with *go:-po* [be.needed-2INF]

As seen in the list above, the verb *goʔ* '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་པོ་ ཨིན་/སྐད།

ŋà   ɖi:-**bo**   **í:/bɛʔ**.
1SG   fall-2INF   EQU.PER/EQU.NE
'I fell.' (KN e)

b) ད་རིང་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ང་ཚག་ ག་རེ་ ཞུ་བ་ བཅར་པོ་ མེད།

t'ariŋ   sã̀:tɛ ŋàtɕaʔ k'arɛ   ɕù-wa   tɕa:-**bo**   **mè̀ʔ**.
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 *dɛm* is used alongside nominalization to introduce comparison, see (14.2c).

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[407] Even more often *nó:* collocates with *goʔ* without the nominalizer, e.g. *p'ja goʔ nó* [do be.needed think] 'think that one has to do'.

[408] Covers concrete (*pʰɛʔ*) and metaphorical (*tʰuk*) meeting.

(14.2) a) ཤུས་ཤུས་ ཁ་ ལབ་ ཚུགས་པོ་ འཐོན་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

      [ɕý:ɕy: kʰa làp tsʰu-**po**] **tʰøn** dø: duʔ.

      a.bit mouth speak be.able.to-2INF become stay EX.SEN

      'He has become [able to talk a bit].' (Richhi 23)

    b) ཨིན་ཡང་ ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ འདི་ མནན་སྟེ་ སྡོད་ དགོས་པོ་ ཐོན་པོ་ སྦད།

      ĩ́:jã: kʰu [kʰõ:ʈʰo=di nén-di dø: go:-**po**]

      however 3SGM anger=DEMPH suppress-NF stay be.needed-2INF

      tʰøm-bo bɛʔ.

      become-2INF EQU.NE

      'However, he became [obliged to keep his anger suppressed].' (Class 7 textbook 61)

    c) དེ་ཟང་ འདི་ན་ ཐུགས་བསམ་ བཞེས་བཞེས་པོ་ འདེམ་ ཐོན་ མ་ཚུགས།

      t'izã: di=na [tʰu:sam ze:-ze:-**p(o)** **dɛm**] tʰøn

      but this=LOC thought.HON have.HON-RDP-2INF like.it become

      ma-tsʰuʔ.

      NEG-be.able.to

      'But it could not turn out [as (good as he had) thought].' (CY interview)

    d) དེ་ དེ་ནས་ གསར་བཅོག་ ག་སྟེ་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ང་ཚོའི་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ བུམ་ཚུགིས་ དུས་ གཏན་རྐྱང་ ག་ཆུང་ བདགས་ ཚུགས་པོ་ བཟོ གད?

      tɛ t'ɛnɛ sá:tɕoʔ k'atɛ kjap-ti [ŋàtɕi ɲén 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'atɕuŋ taʔ tsʰu-**po**] **zo-ɕɛʔʔ**?

      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 90)

    e) གལ་སྲིད་ གཏམ་ འདི་ མཁའ་འགྲོས་ གསན་ ཚུགས་པོ་ བྱུང་ན་

      k'ɛ:siʔ tam=di [kʰanɖo: sén tsʰu-**po**] **tɕ'uŋ**-nɛ...

      if speech=DEMPH dakini.AGT hear.HON be.able.to become-COND

      'If this speech will become [such that the dakini can hear it…]' (rna-gsung 12)

Verbs of perception

(14.3) a) གུར་ཤིང་ བཤུ་བཞིན་ ཟ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཐོང་པོ་ སྦད།

      [k'urɕiŋ ɕú-zɛ̃: sà-zɛ̃: jè-**po**] tʰõ̃:-po bɛʔ.

      sugarcane peel-PROG eat-PROG EX-2INF see-2INF EQU.NE

      '(He) saw (him) [peeling and eating sugarcane].' (KTL animal story)

b) དུས་ དེང་སང་ བུ་ཚོ་ཀྱིས་ གསེར་གྱི་ ཕྱག་ཕྲག་ "ལོ་ཀེཊ་" ཡང་ན་ གཡུ་ཁྲའི་ ལོ་ཀེཊ་ བཏགས་པོ་ གཟིགས་ཆེ་ག?

t'y: *t'iŋzã:* [*p'u=tsu=gi* *sé:=gi* *ɲà:tʰaʔ* *lokeṭ* *jã:nɛ*
time nowadays boy=PL=AGT gold=GEN necklace locket(Eng.) or
júṭʰa=i *lokeṭ* *ta:-po*] ***zi:-tɕɛ-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་ ཕ་མོ་ རྐུ་བགྲེས་ འདི་ཚུ་ཀྱིས་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ བཀའ་ གནང་པོ་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཨིན།

[*ŋàtɕi* *pʰamo* *kuɖe:* *di=tsu=gi* *ódɛp* *ka* *nã̌:-bo*] ***tʰo:-po***
1PL.GEN parents elder this=PL=AGT like.that order do.HON-2INF hear-2INF
ǐ:.
EQU.PER
'I heard [these parents and elders of ours say like that].' (CY interview)

Verbs of mental activity
(14.4) a) ཨམ་ ལོག་ སླེབས་པོ་ ཧ་གོ་སྟེ་

[*ám* *lòk* *ɭɛp-o*] ***hako-ti***
mother return arrive-2INF know-NF
'finding out [that the mother has returned]' (Richhi 32)

b) ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ གྱུས་ རྒྱབས་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ དྲན་ཞེན།

[*tɕʰøkiʔ* *ɲámtɕiʔ* *k'joʔ* *kjap-kjap-o* *tʰamtɕɛʔ*] ***t'ɛnsin***
PN with chatting do-RDP-2INF all remember
'(He) remembers [all the discussions with Choki]' (Richhi 116)

c) ཆོད་ཀྱི་ ཨ་པོ་ ཨམ་ སྤྲེ་ལོ་ སྤུན་ཆ་ ཨ་ཞེ་ བུ་སྲིང་ཚུ་ ཉིན་ཐུབ་ མིག་ཆུ་ ལག་ཏུ་ཀྱིས་ ཕྱི་བཞིན་ སྡོད་ དགོས་པོ་ ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ མནོ་ ཚུགས་པོ……།

[*tɕʰø:=ki* *ápo* *ám* *pélopyntɕʰa* *ázi* *p'usim=tsu*
2SG.L=GEN father mother male.relatives elder.sister younger.sister=PL
ɲintʰup *mìktɕʰu* *là:ɲa=gi* *pʰi:-zɛ̃:* *dø:* *go:-po*] *tɕʰø=ki* ***nó:***
all.day tear arm=AGT wipe-PROG stay be.needed-2INF 2SG.L=AGT think
tsʰu-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་ གན་ཆེ་ དང་ ལྷ་མཛེས་ ཚོང་ཁང་ལས་ ཅི་ནི་ ངོས་ འབག་སྟེ་ ལོག་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ འཕྲེད།

        ódi   *tsʰøka*   [*kantɕi*   *t'ã:*   *ɭadziʔ*   *tsʰoŋkʰã:=lɛ*   *tɕini*   *ɲò:*   *bak-ti*
        that   time   PN   and   PN   market=ABL   sugar(Nep.)   buy   carry-NF
        lòk-zɛ̃:   *jø̀-po*]   *pʰɛʔ.*[409]
        return-PROG   EX-2INF   meet
        'At that time (they) met [Kanchi and Lhadzi returning from the market, carrying sugar (they) had bought].' (Richhi 40)

  b) རེ་ཆེ་ བཏབ་སྟེ་ སྡོད་སྡོད་པའི་ ནང་ལོ་ རེ་ཐག་ ཆད་ དགོས་པོ་ ཐུག།

        ritɕʰi   *tap-ti*   *dø:-dø:-pø:*   *nàŋlo*   [*ritʰa:tɕʰɛʔ*   *go:-po*]
        hope   sow-NF   sit-RDP-2INF.GEN   inside   be.disappointed   be.needed-2INF
        tʰuk.
        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) སྨན་ གན་ གན་ ཉོ་ དགོས་པོ་ ཐོ་རངས་ བྲི་ བྱིན་ འོང་།

        [*mɛ́n*   *k'an*   *k'an*   *ɲò:*   *go:-po*]   *tʰorã:*   *ʈ'i*   *p'in*   *ò̃:.*
        medicine   what   what   buy   be.needed-2INF   tomorrow   write   give   come
        'Tomorrow (I) will write for you [what medicines need to be bought].' (Richhi 29)

  b) མི་ དྲང་པུ་ ལེབ་ དྲང་པུ་ དགོས་པོ་ ལབ་མཁན་ དོན་དག་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྡད་ཤོ།

        [*mí*   *ʈ'ã:pu*   *lèp*   *ʈ'ã:pu*   *go:-po*]   *làp-kʰɛ̃:*   *t'øndaʔ*   *ódi*
        human   honest   very.much   honest   be.needed-2INF   say-NMLZ   reason   that
        bɛ=ɕo.
        EQU.NE=AT
        'The reason for saying [the person has to be honest, very honest] is that, you know.' (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 *goʔ* 'be needed' .

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[409] The complement clause here could alternatively be analyzed as an NP with a following post-head RC, that is [*kantɕi t'ã: ɭadziʔ* [*tsʰoŋkʰã:=lɛ tɕini ɲò: bak-ti lòk-zɛ̃: jø̀-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 *pʰɛʔ* 'meet' is typically, although not exclusively, marked with the dative-locative =*lo* or postposition *ɲámtɕiʔ* '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).

(14.7) ཁོ་ལོ་ དགོས་པོ་རང་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཚོད་ ཨིན།

      [*kʰu=lo*   *go:-**po**=rã:*]   *ódi-tsʰøʔ*   *ĩ́:.*

      3SGM=DAT   be.needed-2INF=AEMPH that-as.much.as EQU.PER

      '[What he needs] is that much.' (Richhi 102)

(14.8) བསམ་འཆར་ བཏང་ དགོས་པོ་ དི་ གལ་ཆན་ ཨིན་པོ་ ང་ཚག་གིས་ ཧ་གོ་ བེད།

      [[*sámtɕʰa: tã: go:-**po**=di*]   *k'ɛ:tɕɛ̃:*   *ím-**bo***]   *ŋàtɕa=gi*

      plan   send be.needed-2INF=DEMPH important EQU.PER-2INF   1PL=AGT

      hako   *bɛʔ.*

      understand EQU.NE

      'We understand [that it is important [that (we) have to do planning].' (sbar-phung 92-93)

(14.9) ག་ལོ་ ལྟ་སྟེ་ འཇིགས་ དགོས་པོ་ དང་ ངོ་ཚ་ དགོས་པོ་ མེད།

      [*ka=lo*   *ta-ti*   *dzu:* *go:-**po***   *t'ã:* *ŋò*   *tsʰa*   *go:-**po***]

      who=DAT look-NF fear be.needed-2INF and face be.hot be.needed-2INF

      mèʔ.

      NEG.EX.PER

      'There isn't [necessity to look at someone and feel afraid or ashamed].' (Richhi 129)

Finally, nominalized *goʔ* 'be needed' collocates with *k'ɛ:tɕʰi* in a construction which may be characterized either as verbless attribution or a verbal use of the adjective *k'ɛ:tɕʰi* 'important':

(14.10) ཕུགས་རིག་ གནང་ དགོད་པོ་ གལ་ཆེ།

       [*tʰuriʔ nã̌:   go:-**po***]   *k'ɛ:tɕʰi.*

       insight do.HON be.needed-2INF (be.)important

       '[Applying insight] is important.' (sbar-phung 90)

14.1.2 Complement clauses with *-ɕɛ-*infinitive
A complement clause may also be formed by an infinitive marked by *-ɕɛʔ*. An infinitive marked by *-ɕɛʔ*, 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་ འབྱོང་ཤད་ འདི་ པུ་ར (Nep.) མ་ལེགས་ བེད།

         [*raŋ-kɛʔ*   *bjã:-**ɕɛ**=di*]   *pura*   *màlɛp*   *bɛʔ.*

         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་ ཕན་པོ་ བྱས་ཤད་ དགེ་བའི་ གཡོག་ ཨིན།

         [*tɕi:=ki*   *ʑɛn=lo*   *pʰɛmpo p'ja-**ɕɛʔ***]   *gɛwø:*   *jóʔ ĩ́:.*

         one=AGT other=DAT help   do-INF   merit.GEN   work EQU.PER

         '[Helping one another] is a meritorious act.' (Richhi 5)

(14.12) a) པ་སྟེ་ ཚུ་སྟེ་ བྱིན་ཁད་ བྱོས་གི།

[*pʰatɛ tsʰutɛ p'in-ɕɛʔ*] *p'ja-gɛ.*
thither hither give-INF do-HORT
'Let us do [giving mutually (to each other)].' (PD bet story)

b) འདིའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ང་ ཁྲིམས་ཁང་ ནང་ལོ་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་ཁད་ བྱོས་དོ་ ཨིན།

di: t'øn=lo ŋà [tʰimkʰã: nàŋ=lo gju go:-ɕɛʔ]
this.GEN purpose=DAT 1SG court.of.law inside=DAT go be.needed-INF
p'ja-do ĩ:.
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 *-tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/zin*

The progressive form of the verb can act as a complement of sensory verbs.

(14.13) པ་ཁར་ མི་ བྱོས་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ མཐོང་པད།

[*pʰa:kʰa mí k'joʔ kjap-zin*] *tʰõ:=pɛʔ.*
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 functions as a clausal complement:

(14.14) ད་སྟོ་ བར་སྟེ་ ཁོང་གི་ འཛམ་གླིང་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་ འཁོར་གཡོག་གིས, སློབ་མ་ཚུ་གིས་ གནང་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐོར་ལོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ གསན་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ།

[*t'ato sã:tɛ kʰoŋ=gi dzamliŋ nàŋɕa=lo dzutʰul kʰo:jo:=ki*
now until 3SG.HON=GEN world inside=DAT miracles servant=AGT
ló:m=tsu=gi nã̌:-zin jở-pø: korlo] tʰamtɕɛ=ki sén-zin
disciple=PL=AGT do.HON-PROG EX-2INF.GEN about all=agt hear.HON-
jở-ʈo.
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་དོ་ ཆོང་ལོ་ རང་མི་ ཨིན་ མནོ་སྟེ་ དེ་ལོ་ ལས་ སྐྱེལ་བ་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ འོང་བོ་ ཨིན་

    ŋà=to   *tɕʰøː=lo*   [*rã̀:-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   *tɕiku 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) གླུ་ གཅིག་ བྲི་དགོས་ མནོ་སྟེ་

    [*lú=tɕiʔ*   *ʈ'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་ལུས་ བྱུས་ བཞག་ མ་ཤེས་པོ?

    [*k'aly:-p'ja*   *zaʔ*]   **ma-ɕé:-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་ན་ མ་མཐོང་།

    [*òm-bo*   *ɲá*]   *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་ དེ་ ལེབ་ མནོ་ནེ་

    [*dɛŋ-gam*   *min-dɛŋ-gam*]   *tɛ lèp nó:-nɛ=di*

    be.true-ATTQ   NEG-be.true-ATTQ   so much think-COND=DEMPH

    'so if (I) carefully (lit. a lot) think [whether it is true or not]…' (CY interview)

(14.20) མིའི་ སེམས་ན་ ག་ན་ག་ན་ ཡོད་ ག་གིས་ ལབ་ ཚུགས་པོ།

    [*mí:*   *sém=na*   *k'an k'an jø̀ʔ*]   *ka=gi*   *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) ཕྲིན་ལས་ ག་ན་ སོང་པོ་ ག་གིས་ ཧ་གོ?

    [*tʰinlɛ*   *k'ana*   *ső:-bo*]   *ka=gi*   *hako?*

    PN   where go.PFV-2INF   who=AGT know

    'Who knows [where Thrinley has gone]?' (Richhi 6)

(14.22) ཁོག་ཀའི་ན་ གན་ ཡོད་པོ་ བསྐུམས་སྟེ་ བཞག་ མི་ལེགས་ལོ་

[kʰokø:=na   k'an jȍ-po]   dam-di zak   mi-lè:=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)*[410] 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་ ཕྱིན་དོ་ ཨིན་སེ་ མ་གསུང་བར་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ སྲད་

[lȍk-ti   tɕ'øn-do   ǐ:=s]   ma-súm-ba
return-NF   come.HON-IPFV   EQU.PER=QUO NEG-say.HON-CIRC
tɕ'øm-bo   bɛʔ.
go.HON-2INF   EQU.PER
'(He) left without saying [that he is coming back].' (Richhi 98)

(14.24) དེ་ ཚོད་ འདི་ གན་ཕྱུས་ ཕྱིར་པོ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ དྲི་སོང་ཟང་

tɛ   [tɕʰø:=di   k'amja pʰi:-po   **làp-ti**] ʈ'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) ནང་ཤ་ལས་ ཕྱིན་ ཚུགས་པད་ ཉ་ སེ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ གསུང་པོ་ལོ།

[nàŋɕa=lɛ   tɕ'øn   tsʰu=pɛ   ɲá=s   **làp-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 indeed come from inside], so the story goes.' (SGD wedding customs)

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[410] The nonfinal converbal form *làp-ti* functions analogously with the Nepali complementizer *bhan-era* 'say-NF'.

(14.26) ཆུ་ སྲོ་ཞེ་གཨ་ སེ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ མོ་ འདི་ལོ་ དྲི་བོ་ལོ།

[tɕʰu   sóː-ʑɛ-gam=s   làp-ti]   mòː=di=lo   ʈʼiu=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 ǐː) 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་ཡད་ ཡིན་ ང་ ལོ་ རྒྱབ་མ་ ལོག་ འོང་ཡད་ ཡིན།

ŋà   tʼamtɕaʔ   pʼja-ɕɛ   ǐː   [ŋà   ló   gjabma   lòk   ǒː-ɕɛ
1SG   promise   do-INF   EQU.PER   1SG   year   following   return   come-INF
ǐː].
EQU.PER
'I promise [I come back the following year].' (KN e)

(14.28) ཁུ་ དམ་བཅའ་ བྱས་པོ་ ཡིན་ ང་ ལོ་ རྒྱབ་མ་ ལོག་ འོང་ཡད་ ཡིན་ ལབ་སྟེ།

kʰu   tʼamtɕaʔ   pʼja-u   ǐː   [ŋà   ló   gjabma   lòk
3SGM   promise   do-2INF   EQU.PER   1SG   year   following   return
ǒː-ɕɛ   ǐː   làp-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) ཁྱོད་ ཡིད་ཆེས་ ཡོད་ཀ་ ང་ མར་གཏམ་ལས་ འོང་པོ་ ཡིན་ ལབ་སྟེ།

tɕʰøː(=lo)   jìtɕʰɛʔ   jǒː-ka   [ŋà   màrtam=lɛ òm-bo   ǐː   làp-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 (14.30-31) 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.[411] Therefore what follows in the next clause is not in the same way required by the syntax as with

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[411] 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 are a filler that makes the main clause syntactically complete even without the complement clause.

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) ཚོ་ལོ་ གན་འདྲེ་ ལབ་ཁད་ མེད་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ མོའི་ ཡི་གི་ སླེབས་ ཡོད་ ལབ་སྟེ།

        mù=lo   <u>*kʼanɖɛ:*</u>   *làp-ɕɛ*   *mèʔ*   [*tʼato=sã:*   *mù=i*   *jìgi*   *l̥ɛp*
        3SGF=DAT anything   say-INF   EX.PER   now=until   3SGF=GEN letter arrive
        jɵ̀ʔ   **_làp-ti_**].
        EX.PER   say-NF
        'She cannot tell <u>it</u> at all [that her letter (=letter to her) has arrived].' (Ricchi 139)

In (14.30), the main clause *mù=lo kʼanɖɛ: làp-ɕɛ mèʔ* could occur independently, because the filler word *kʼanɖɛ:* fills the position where an embedded complement clause would occur.
    For another example, consider (14.31).

(14.31) དེ་ཟང་ གཏམ་ འདི་ ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ལོ་ ལབ་ཁད་ མེད་ བྷའི་ལགས་ ད་རིང་ སྨན་ཁང་ལས་ དགོངས་པོ་ ཐོབ་ཏོ་ ཨིན་ ལབ་སྟེ།
        tʼizã: <u>*tam=di*</u>   *tɕʰøki=lo*   *làp-ɕɛ*   *mèʔ*   [*bhaila*   *tʼariŋ*   *mɛ́ŋkʰã:=lɛ*
        but   word=DEMPH   PN=DAT   say-INF EX.PER   PN   today   hospital=ABL
        gompo   *tʰop-to*   *ĩ̀:*   **_làp-ti_**].
        permission receive-IPFV   EQU.PER say-NF
        'But Choki does not know this <u>fact</u> [that Bhaila is getting a permission to leave the hospital today].' (Richhi 30)

The motivation for placing the complement clause after the main clause in (14.30) and (14.31) is probably that this order is easier to process when the complement is long.
    The last two examples below illustrate two alternative strategies for making a complement clause for the noun *ritɕʰi* 'hope'. The first, (14.32), involves a finite clause with the complementizer *làp-ti* whereas the second, (14.33), uses a non-finite strategy, genitivized *-po*-infinitive.

(14.32) ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ ཉིན་ཆད་མེད་ རེ་ཚེ་ བཏང་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ ཀརྨའི་ ཙ་ལས་ ཡི་གི་ སླེབས་ འོང་སེ་ ལབ་སྟེ།
        tɕʰøkiʔ   *ɲìm*   *tɕʰameʔ*   <u>*ritɕʰi*</u> *tap-zɛ̃:*   *jɵ̀ʔ*   [*karmø:*   *tsa=lɛ*   *jìgi*   *l̥ɛp*
        PN   day   every   hope sow-PROG EX.PER   Karma.GEN at=ABL   letter arrive
        ò̃:=s   **_làp-ti_**].
        come=QUO say-NF
        'Choki hopes every day [that a letter would come from Karma].' (Richhi 138)

(14.33) ད་ ང་ནེ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ རང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ འཕྲད་ ཐོབ་པའི་ རེ་ཚེ་ མེད།
        tʼa   *ŋà=ni*   [*ágja*   *rã:*   *ɲámtɕiʔ*   *pʰɛʔ*   *tʰop-ø:*]   <u>*ritɕʰi*</u>
        now   1SG=TOP   elder.brother 2SG.M   with   meet receive-2INF.GEN hope
        mèʔ.
        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 Denjongle grammar and spelling textbook:

(14.34) ཚེ་རིང་གིས་ ལབ་པོ་ བྱད་ཀི་ ཁོས་ ནམ་ལོ་ འང་ མི་རྒྱབས།

ཚེ་rin=gi làp-o bɛʔ [ki kʰuː nàmlo ǎː 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.

(14.35) ངའི་ བུམ་ འདི་ལོ་ གསོ་ ཚུགས་པད་ མི་ཚུགས་ ཁོ་འདི་ ཁོང་གིས་ ལྟ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དོན་ལས་ འདི་

[ɲèː pʼum=di=lo só tsʰu=pɛʔ mi-tsʰuʔ] <u>ódi</u> kʰoŋ=gi
my girl=DEMPH=DAT care be able.to=EQU.NE NEG-be.able.to that 3PL=AGT
ta-ɕɛ=ki tʼønlɛ=di
see-INF=GEN for.purpose.of=DEMPH
'For the purpose of seeing (<u>the fact</u>) [whether or not he will be able to care for their (lit. my) daughter] they...' (SGD wedding customs)

(14.36) འགོ་ དང་པོ་ ང་ཚག་གིས་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ ལབ་མཁན་ འདི་ གན་ བོ, ཁོ་འདི་ ཧ་གོ་ དགོས་པོ་ གལ་ཆེན་ ཨིན།

go tʼaŋpo ŋàtɕa=ki [tɕitsʰoʔ làp-kʰɛn=di kʼan bo]
beginning at.first 1PL=AGT community say-NMLZ=DEMPH what EQU.NE.Q
<u>ódi</u> hako goː-po kʼɛːtɕʰĩː ĩ̃ː.
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 (14.35) and (14.36) resemble clauses (14.30-31) 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 (14.30-31) [main clause + complement clause] and (14.35-36) [complement clause + main clause]. Second, in (14.35-36) the filler-word is a demonstrative whereas (14.30-31) use other filler-words. Third, the complement clauses in (14.30-31) have a complementizer whereas the ones in (14.35-36) 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 infinitive markers *-po* and *-ɕɛʔ*, the progressive marker *-tɕɛ̃ː/zɛ̃ː/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 procressing 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 genetivized complement clause.

Table 15.1. Converbal endings used in adverbial clauses

-ti/di	སྟེ་/སྟི་	nonfinal
-pa/ba	པ(ར)/བ(ར)	circumstantial-purposive
-(patɕɛ)nɛ	(པར་ཅེ་)ནེ	conditional
-ruŋ	རུང་	concessive
-sondã:, -somdã:,	སོང་དང་, སོངམ་དང་	simultaneous
-tsubdã:	ཚུབ་དང་	simultaneous
-kap	སྐབས་	simultaneous
-dy:	དུས་	simultaneous
-rɛnkʰa	རན་ཁར་	simultaneous
-sã:, -sonzã:	ཟང་, སོང་ཟང་	terminative

Table 15.2. Postpositions heading adverbial clauses

nàŋɕa, nàŋlo	ནང་ཤ་, ནང་ལོ་	'inside', circumstantial
t'ønlo	དོན་ལོ་	'for the purpose of', purposive
gjablɛ	རྒྱབ་ལས་	'after', anterior
ɲénlɛ	སྔོན་ལས་	'before', posterior
nàŋtar, nàŋzin	ནང་ལྟར་, ནང་བཞིན་	'according to', comparative manner
t'ønzin(gi)	དོན་བཞིན་(གྱིས་)	'in accordance with, in view of', comparative manner
p'a:pu	བར་པོ་	'in between', simultaneous

Table 15.3. Nouns heading adverbial clauses

kɛn	ཀྱེན་	'cause, condition', causal
gã:	སྐྱང་	'time', simultaneous
kap	སྐབས་	'time', simultaneous

Table 15.4. Other constructions used in adverbial clauses

=*ki/gi* (agentive)	-(ཀྱི)ས་	causal
=*lɛ* (ablative)	-ལས་	anterior (temporal)
-*po-dã:*[412]	པོ་དང་	2INF-CONJ, simultaneous
kʼamjasɛnɛ	གན་རྒྱས་མེ་ནེ་	connector 'because', causal
mitsʰɛʔ	མེ་ཚད་	connector 'in addition' (lit. 'not stopping'), additive
mèmbo	མན་པོ་	connector 'except (+negation in the following main clause)', negated additive
lỗ: mè:po	ལོང་ མེད་པོ་	'no sooner…than', 'as soon as', immediate anteriority
-*po tsamgi*	པོ་ ཚམ་གྱིས་	'as soon as', immediate anteriority
làpti	ལབ་སྟེ་	nonfinal converb of *làp* 'say', purpose and causality
tɕɛ̃ : /zɛ̃ : /zin	བཞིན་	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 *-(patɕɛ)nɛ/-(batɕɛ)nɛ*, the concessive converb marked by *-ruŋ*, the simultaneous converbs marked by *-podã:*, *-sondã:/somdã:*, *-tsubdã:, -kap, -dy:* and *-rɛŋkʰa* 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.

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[412] This form, along with *-sondã:, -somdã:* and *-tsubdã:* often occurs in a reduced pronunciation without nasalization on the final vowel, *-poda(:), sonda(:), -somda(:) and -tsubda(:)*. The forms given here reflect a more conservative pronunciation

15.2 Nonfinal converb marker *-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).[413] 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 a nonspecific verb of motion, for instance *gju* (WD འགྱུ་) '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) དེ་ འདིའི་ སྔོན་ལས་ དྲོ་པ་ ལོང་སྟེ་ ཁ་ལག་ འཁྲུ།

   tɛ   di: ɲɛ́nlɛ   ʈ'o:pa lŏ̀:-ti[414] kʰa-laʔ   kʰju.
   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.[415] 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 (2018) for application to the related language Dzongkha. More complex clause-chaining with *-ti/di* is illustrated in (15.2) with four instances of the nonfinal converb, each given in bold.

(15.2) པོ་ཚོ་ ཏུང་ཏུང་ཅིག་ རྡོ་ཕུང་ སྟེང་ལས་ ལྷུམ་སྟེ་ མགོ་ལས་ ཁྲག་ ཐོན་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ མཐོང་སྟེ་ ཨམ་ཕྱེད་ ནང་ལས་ ཏོ་རས་ འཐུ་སྟེ་ ཏོ་རས་ཀྱིས་ ཁྲག་ ཕྱིས་ བྱིན་བཞིན་ པང་པར་ ལེན་སྟེ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐབས།

   p'otso tã:tã:=tɕiʔ   do-pʰuŋ   tɛŋ=lo   ʝum-di go=lɛ   kʰjaʔ
   child   middle.size=INDF   stone-pile top=DAT fall-NF head=ABL blood
   tʰøn-zɛ̃:   jɘ̀-po   tʰõ̀:-ti ámpʰi   nàŋ=lɛ   tora
   come.out-PROG   EX-2INF see-NF   breast.pocket   inside=ABL handkerchief
   tʰu-ti *tora=gi   kʰjaʔ   pʰi: p'in-zɛ̃:   pʰa:pa: lèn-di dø:*
   pick-NF   handkerchief=AGT   blood   wipe give-PROG   lap.LOC take-NF stay
   jɸ-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)

The first converb (*ʝum-di* 'having fallen') in (15.2) forms a chain with another verb (*kʰjaʔ tʰøn* 'bleed'). Both verbs in the chain express what happened to the same referent, a child in the story.

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[413] 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.

[414] 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 *tʰuŋ-di* 'drinking', *sɔ́:-di* 'going', *òn-di* 'coming', *riŋ-di* 'becoming long', but *mjòŋ-ti/mjõ̀:-ti* 'finishing', *tɕʰõ̀:-ti* 'rushing' (see also §2.8.1).

[415] For a defence for allowing converbs to mark clause-chaining (contra Haspelmath 1995), see Genetti (2005).

This clause-chain, then, becomes the complement of the first of three nonfinal verbs ($t^h\tilde{o}$:-*ti* 'having seen', t^hu-*ti* 'having picked up', *lèn-di* 'having taken'), which describe three consecutive actions of another person, a certain lady in the story. Note that in addition to the nonfinal clauses there are also other dependent clauses in (15.1). The whole example forms a simultaneous clause ending in *kap* 'time' (see §15.3.3.4), and there is also a manner clause marked by the progressive *ʑɛ̃:* (see §15.8.3) and a complement clause ending in *-po*-infinitive (see §14.1.1).

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 reading is preferable. The nonfinal converbs in (15.4-6) modify the general verbs *gju* 'go' and *ta* 'look' by specifying manners of going and looking.

(15.3) ལྷ་སྐྱིད་ ཐང་ས་ རྒྱ་ཁྲིའི་ སྟེང་ལོ་ སྡོད་སྟེ་ ང་ འཐུང་བཞིན་ འདུག།

        ḷaki? $t^h\tilde{a}$:*sa*   *gjaʈʰi:*   *tɛŋ=lo*   **dø:-ti**   *tɕ'a* $t^hu\eta$-*ʑɛn*   *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་ འགྱུར་སྟེ་ ལྟ་ཟང

        $p^h a$:*tsʰu:*   *mìk*   **gir-di**   *ta-sã:*

        thither-hither   eye   stare-NF   look=TERM

        'When/as (she) looks intently here and there...' (Richhi 98)[416]

(15.5) ང་ལོ་ཏོ་ མཐོང་རུང་ མ་མཐོང་པོ་ འདེམ་ བཟུར་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་པོ་ སྤད།

        ŋà=lo=to $t^h\tilde{o}$:-*ruŋ*   *ma-*$t^h\tilde{o}$:-*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 16)

(15.6) a) སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཁྲིག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་ན་

          mɛ́ŋkʰã:=na   **kʰik-ti**   *gju-nɛ*

          hospital=LOC   lead-NF   go-COND

          'If (he) is taken to the hospital…' (rnam-rtog 7)

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[416] The construction *ta=sã:* is analogous to Nepali *her-e-samma* [look-PFV-until] 'when looking, as far as one can see'.

b) དེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ཚིག་ཀ་ ད་ ང་མོང་ འདི་ཚུ་ དོས་ འབག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་བའི་གི་, འགྱུ་འད་ཀྱི་ དུས་ཚོད་ སྲེབས་ཚར་མཁན་ སྲད།

tɛ	*ódɛtɕika*	*t'a*	*ŋámo*	*di=tsu*	*t'oʔ*	**bak-ti**	*gju-wø̀:=gi,*

then that.time   now   camel   these=PL   load   carry-NF   go-2INF.GEN=GEN

gju-ɕɛ=ki   *t'ytsʰøʔ*   *ɭɛp-tsʰa-kʰɛn*   *bɛʔ.*
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). 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་འདི་བྱས་ ཁུ་ གྱོང་ན་ གླང་ འཚོལ་ འབག་ འཚོལ་ འབག་ སོང་སྟེ་ གྱོང་ གཉིས་ན་ གླང་ ཆ་ གཉིག་ ཐོབ་སྟེ་ གླང་ འདི་ འཛོ་ འདི་ སྟོང་ཕྲག་ ཁལ་ གཉིག་ ལབ་པོ་ སྲད།

ódi-p'ja   *kʰu*   *k'jõ̀:=na*   *lã̀:*   *tsʰø̀:*   *bak*   *tsʰø̀:*   *bak*   **sõ̀:-di**
that-ADVZR   3SGM   village=LOC   bull   search   carry   search   carry   go.PFV-NF

k'jõ̀:   *tɕi:=na*   *lã̀:*   *tɕʰa*   *tɕiʔ*   **tʰop-ti**   *lã̀:=di*   *dzo:=di*
village   one=LOC   bull   pair   one   find-NF   bull=DEMPH   price=DEMPH

tõ̀:ʈʰaʔ   *kʰɛ̀:*   *tɕiʔ*   *làp-o*   *bɛʔ.*
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་ཁར་ སྲེབས་སྟེ་ ད་ལམ་ ཟླ་པོ་ བརྒྱད་ཚོད་ ལང་ཏོ་ ཨ་ཅུ།

dikʰa **ɭɛp-ti**   *halam*   *dau*   *gɛ̀:-tsʰøʔ*   *lã̀:-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* (or *=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་སྟི་ཀི་ *bshad-sti-ki* [ɕɛ́tiki] 'saying'), suggesting that the author considers the marker a genitive (ཀི་ -*ki*) rather than an agentive (ཀིས་ -*kis*).

(15.9) ཁུ་གིས་ ཚོ་འདི་ གླང་ འདི་ལོ་ སྟོང་ཕྲག་ ཁལ་ གཅིག་ གཉིས་ བྱིན་སྟི་ཀི་ ཁུ་ གླང་ འདི་ ཉོ་སྟི་ ཁྱི་ �འོང་པོ་ སྨད།

kʰu=gi	*ódi*	*lǎ̃:=di=lo*		*tõ:ʈʰaʔ*	*kʰɛ:*	*tɕiʔ*	*ɲí:*	**p'in-diki**	*kʰu*
3SGM=AGT	that	bull=DEMPH=DAT		thousand	score	one	two	give-NF	3SGM
lǎ̃:=di	*ɲò:-ti*	*kʰiʔ*	*òm-bo*	*bɛʔ.*					
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) རུབ་སྟི་ལོ་ རབ་རུབ་ བྱས་ག།

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 negator prefixes, **ma*-VERB-*ti, *mi*-VERB-*ti*[417]. Negation is accomplished by 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 did not eat and came > 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) མེར་སྦྱམ, ཚོད་ མེ་ཏོག་ ཙེ་ མན་བཞག་ཨོ་ བྱས་སྟི་ འཇིབ་མཁན་ ཨིན།

sé:bjam,   *tɕʰøʔ míntoʔ*   *tɕɛ:* **man-zak-o**   *p'ja-ti*   *dʑip-kʰɛ̃:*   *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) ཙམ་ ཙམ་ འབྱུང་ཐེན་ ཅིག་ པར་ ཚུར་ མ་བྱོད་པོ་ བྱས་སྟི་ སྡོད་ ཨིན་ན།

tɕam   *tɕam*   *buntʰɛ̃:*   *tɕiʔ*   *pʰa:*   *tsʰu:*   **ma-pʰɛ-po**
quietly   quietly   moment   one   thither   hither   NEG-budge-2INF
***p'ja-ti*   *dø:*   *ɲá.*
do-NF   sit   TAG.ASR
'Quietly, quietly, sit a while without budging, will you.' (rnam-rtog 28)

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[417] I have one recorded exception, see *mi-tsʰɛ-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.

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 *jə̀ʔ*, see (15.12), its use with the equative *ĩ́ː* is limited to uses in ritual language of incantations, see (15.13), where the translation is tentative.[418]

(15.12) རང་གི་ སྐད་ འདི་ བརྗེ་དགའ� ཡོད་སྟེ་ རང་གི་ སྐད་ རྒྱབས་པད་ བྱད།

      raŋ=gi   *kɛː=di*   *tɕɛʈaʔ*   ***jə̀-ti***   *raŋ-gi*   *kɛʔ*   *kjap-ɕɛ*

      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་ ཨིན་སྟེ་ བྱུ་རུང་ དང་ ཐོག་མོ་ཉིད་ལོ་ འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་ འདིའི་ ན་ གནམ་ འཁོར་ལོ་ རྩེ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་ གུང་ཕུབ།

      t'a   *di=lɛ*   ***ín-di***   *p'ja-ruŋ*   *t'aːtʰomoɲiː=lo*   *dzambuliŋ*

      now this=ABL   EQU-NF do-CONC   very.beginning=DAT   world

      diː=na   *nám kʰorlo* *tsɛ-gɛː=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)

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 *=lɛ,* which can attach to *-po*-infinitive or the completive marker *-tsʰaː* (§15.3.1.1). The second construction expressing general anteriority employs the postposition *gjablɛ* 'after' or *dzɛː(lo)* 'after' (§15.3.1.2). In addition, two constructions (VERB-*lõː mèː-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 *=lɛ*

The ablative marker *=lɛ* may be combined to *-po*-infinitive (15.14), the completive *-tsʰa(ː)* (15.15) or its infinitivized form *-tsʰa-u/tsʰo-u* (15.16) to mark an action that precedes the action coded by

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[418] However, I have some initial evidence that some speakers may accept a wider use of *ín-di*.

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 *tsʰa=lɛ* has been only attested in the spoken language.

(15.14) ཨམ་ གྲོངས་པོ་ལས་ ང་ཅག་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ སྡོད་ཀྱད་ བཏང་ཚར།

ám **ʈ'õ̀ː-po=lɛ** ŋàtɕaʔ kʰim=na dø̀ː-ɕɛʔ tã̀ː-tsʰaː.
mother die-2INF=ABL 1PL house=LOC live-INF leave-CMPL
'After mum died, we stopped living in (our) house.' (Richhi 133)

(15.15) ཧ་ཏོ་མ་ ཡོཉུ་ལས་ རྡོག་ཐུམ་ རྒྱབས་ཚར་ལས་ སྟག་ འདི་ བྲག་ལས་ འོག་ལྷེ་ ལྷུམ་སྟེ་ ཤི་བོ་ ཨིན།

hã̀ːtoma jòu=lɛ doktʰum **kjap-tsʰa=lɛ** taː=di p'jaː=lɛ òtɕ
suddenly up=ABL kick do-CMPL=ABL tiger=DEMPH cliff=ABL down
ɭum-di ɕí-u ĩ́ː.
fall-NF die-2INF EQU.PER
'After/since (he) had given a kick from above, the tiger fell off the cliff and died.' (KT animal story)

(15.16) ང་ཅག་ མིའི་ ལུས་ ལེན་སྟེ་ འོང་ཚར་པོ་ལས་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ ཕན་པོའི་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཀྱད་ འདི་རང་ དགེ་བ་ ཨིན།

ŋàtɕaʔ míː lỳː lèn-di **ò̃ː-tsʰo-u=lɛ** tɕiː=ki
1PL human.GEN body take-NF come-CMPL-2INF=ABL one=AGT
ʑɛn=lo pʰɛmbø̀ː jóʔ p'ja-ɕɛ=di=rã̀ː giu ĩ́ː.
another=DAT help.GEN work do-INF=DEMPH=AEMPH merit EQU.PER
'After/since we have come to take a human body, it is helping one another that is a meritorious act.' (Richhi 5)

As shown by the options in the English translation of (15.15) and (15.16) ("after/since"), in some contexts the use of the ablative may suggest a causal rather than simply anterior reading. Causal interpretation of ablative marked clauses is particularly typical of stative verbs, see §15.4.5.

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: *-tsʰou=lɛ, -tsub=lɛ, -tsʰoː=lɛ* and *-soː=lɛ*. The last two are phonologically conditioned variants given by the same speaker. The form *-tsub=lɛ* was said by a consultant to be a reduced form of *tsʰa-u=lɛ* (< *tsʰa-wo=lɛ*). For examples, consider (15.17-19). The form *-tsub=lɛ* 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་ འཛེག་ཚུ་ལས་ ལམ་སྨད་ ཨོ་ན་ ཁྱིམ་ ཨོ་ན་ ཡོད།

tarku=lɛ jàː **dzɛk-tsʰo-u=lɛ** làm-mɛʔ óna kʰim óna jø̀ʔ.
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་ཚག་ཤི་ན་ མི་ ཤི་ཚུབ་ལས་ ལ་ལོ་ མི་ ལེགམ་ བསོད་ནམས་ བཟང་པོ་ ཡོད་ན་ འདི་

ŋàtɕaʔ ɕí-nɛ   mí   **ɕí-tsub=lɛ**   làlo mí   lὲm sónam
1PL   die-COND human die-CMPL.2INF=ABL   some human good merit
zaŋpo jø̀ː-nɛ=di
good   EX-COND=DEMPH
'If we die, after a human dies, if someone is a person of good fortune…' (KT discussion
with TB)

(15.19) བར་ འདི་ སྐྱེ་པོ་ སྐྱེད་ ད་ སྐྱེ་ཚུབ་ལས་ ཨ་ཚི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ དེ་, ཧབ་ཏ་ (Nep.) གཉིས་ གསུམ་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ད་ འདི་ལོ་ ཀོ་ དགོས་ཁད་ སྐྱེད།

p'aː=di   ki-u   bɛʔ.   t'a **kiː-tsub=lɛ**   átsi gjaplɛ
interval=DEMPH grow-2INF EQU.NE now grow-CMPL.2INF=ABL a.bit after
tɛ, hapta ɲíː súm gjaplɛ t'a diː=lo koː goː-ɕɛ   bɛʔ.
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 *-tsʰoːlɛ*, see (15.20), and *-soːlɛ,* see (15.21), were conditioned in the speech of
consultant SGD so that the reduced form *-soːlɛ* occurred when the verb had an initial affricate[419]
(e.g. *tsʰã̀ː-soː=lɛ* 'after completing'*, tɕaː-soː=lɛ* 'after coming'), whereas the fuller form *-tsʰoːlɛ*
occurred otherwise (e.g. *mjõ̀ː-tsʰoː=lɛ* 'after finishing'*, ɖik-tsʰoː=lɛ* 'after arranging'). The variant
pronunciations *-tsʰoːlɛ* and *-soːlɛ* illustrate the tendency of Denjongke to reduce or elide the second
aspirated sound in a word, especially if the second aspiration occurs in a verbal suffix.

(15.20) ཁས་ལེན་ སྐྱོང་ཚོའི་ལས་ ད་ འབའ་དར་ བཏགས་ཁད་ སྐྱེད།

k'ʰɛːlɛ̃ː **mjõ̀ː-tsʰoː=lɛ**   t'a bada   taː-ɕɛ   bɛʔ.
incantation finish-CMPL.2INF=ABL   now silk.scarf append-INF EQU.NE
'After the incantation is finished, ceremonial scarves are now offered.' (SGD wedding
customs)

(15.21) བུ་མའི་ ཁྲིམ་ན་ བཅར་ཚོའི་ལས་ འདི་ བུའི་གི་ ཡབ་ དང་ ཡུམ་ འདི་གིས་

p'umyː kʰim=na   **tɕaː-soː=lɛ=di**   p'u-i-gi
girl.GEN house=LOC come.HUM-CMPL.2INF=ABL=DEMPH boy=GEN=GEN
jàːp   t'ã̀ː   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 *gjablɛ* 'after' and *dzɛː(lo)* 'after'
Anterior constructions are also formed by attaching the postposition *gjablo/gjablɛ* 'after' or *dzɛː(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 *mjõ̀ː* 'finish'. Note that in (15.23) the
nominalizer attaches to the completive marker *-tsʰaː*.

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[419] Consultant RS has *-soːlɛ* also with initial aspirated lateral /l̥/, e.g. *l̥ɛp-soː=lɛ* (RS) vs. *l̥ɛp-tsʰoː=lɛ* 'after arriving'
(SGD).

(15.22) འདི་ལས་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ བཤད་གྲྭ་ ཆོས་ སློགས་ སྐྱོང་པའི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ སྐྱང་ཏོག་ དཔེར་བཙོང་ ལྷ་ཁང་ ནང་ག གཡོག ཕྱས་བཞིན་པོ་ ཕྱ་ སྡོད་ པོ་ ཨིན།

dilɛ [*ɖɛndzɔŋ* *ɕɛ́:da* *tɕʰoʔ* *ɖok mjṍ:-pø:* **gjablɛ**] *ŋà gã:toʔ*
then Sikkim institute doctrine read finish-2INF.GEN after 1SG TPN
pɛrdzøʔ ɭakʰã: nàŋɕa jóʔ p'ja-zin-po-p'ja dø:-po ĩ̀:.
library shrine inside word do-PROG-2INF-ADVZR live-2INF EQU.PER
'Then, [after finishing studies at the (Buddhist) institute,] I lived working at a Buddhist library in Gangtok.' (RB life story)

(15.23) སྨོན་ལམ་ བཏབ་ སྐྱོང་ཚར་པའི་ རྒྱབ་ལོ་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོས་ དགོན་པོ་ སྐོར་བ་ བསགས།

[*mɛ́lam tap mjṍ:-tsʰa-wø:* **gjablo**] *kʰṍ: ɲí:-po: gømpo*
prayer sow finish-CMPL-2INF.GEN after 3PL two-COL.AGT monastery
korwa sáʔ.
going.around accumulate
'[After finishing prayer,] the two of them accumulate monastery circumambulations.' (Richhi 2)

(15.24) ཆོས་ བཤད་སྟེ་ སྐྱོང་སོངས་ རྒྱབ་ལས་

[*tɕʰoʔ ɕɛ́-ti mjṍ:-sum* **gjablɛ**]
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 *gjablɛ* here is probably rather a clause initial adverb (see the second translation option) than an anteriority marking relator noun.

The postposition *dzɛ:(lo)* 'after' is used by some speakers alongside *gjablɛ*. According to some of my consultants, *dzɛ:(lo)* is more Central Tibetan than Denjongke.

(15.25) ཆད་ཕྱུན་ དུས་ཚོད་ སོང་བའི་ རྗེས་ལོ་ ལྷ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱིས་ ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ལོ་

[*tsʰɛdẽ̀: t'ytsʰøʔ sṍ:-bø:* **dzɛ:lo**] *ɭaki=ki tɕʰøki=lo*
considerable time go.PFV-2INF after PN=AGT PN=DAT
'[After considerable time has passed], Lhaki (says) to Choki…' (Richhi 28)

(15.26) འདི་རང་ ཉིན་ ཡུན་རིང་ མཉམ་པོ་ བཞུགས་པའི་ རྗེས་

[*dɛ:=ra ɲìm ỹ:riŋ ɲámpu zu:-pø:* **dzɛ:**]
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 *lòʼː mèːpo*, consisting of the modal secondary verb *lòʼː*[420] 'have time to' (see §8.5.10) and the negated existential in *-po*-infinitive *mèː-po*.

(15.27) དེ་ ང་ཚའི་ བོ་ཚོ་ཚུ་ མཐོང་ ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ བོ་ཚོ་ ལྔ་ ང་ཚག་ལོ་ བོས་པ་ འོང་ཆེ།

te [ŋàtɕi[421] p'otso=tsu **tʰõː lòʼː** **mèː-po**] p'otso ŋá
so 1PL.GEN child=PL see have.time.to NEG.EX-2INF child five
ŋàtɕa=lo p'oː-pa õʼː-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) ཨ་རྒྱ, ཨ་རྒྱ་ ང་ འབྲས་ལྗོང་ལས་ ལོག་སྟེ་ སླེབས་ལོང་ མེད་པོ་ ཡི་གེ་ སྒུག་ སྒུག་པར།

ágja ágja [ŋà ɖɛndzõ ̀ː=lɛ lòk-ti **ḷɛp lòʼː**
elder.brother elder.brother 1SG Sikkim=ABL return-NF arrive have.time.to
mèː-po] jìgi guː guː-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 ཚམ *tsam* 'barely'.

(15.29) སྟག་ས་ འདི་ཡང་ ག་ལྟེབ་ འ་ནྱ་ཀིས་ ལབ་པོ་ ཚམ་གྱིས་ ཁུས་པའི་ ཟུར་ཁར་ ཁ་ཀིས་ ལག་ཀོ་ སེན་མོ་ཀིས་ དོང་ ཕུག་སྟེ་ཀི།

taː=di=jã ̀ː k'atɛp [à ̀ːnja=gi làp-**o tsamgi**] súpø ̀ː
tiger=DEMPH=too how marten=AGT say-2INF as.soon.as belly.GEN
sù ̀ːkʰa kʰa=gi làko símo=gi t'õ ̀ː 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)

(15.30) མཐོང་པོ་ ཚམ་གྱིས་ རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ སེམས་ལོ་ འདི་ འདྲེ་མོ་ རང་ སྡུད་ སེ་ མནོ་པོ་ མི་ཚང་

[**tʰõ ̀ː-po tsamgi**] rã ̀ːʑingi sém=lo=di ɖɛmo=rã ̀ː
see-2INF as.soon.as by.itself mind=DAT=DEMPH she.demon=AEMPH
bɛ ̀ː=sɛ nóː-bo mi-tsʰɛʔ
EQU.NE=QUO think-2INF NEG-stop
'[As soon as (she) saw (her)], (she) automatically thought that (this) is indeed a she-demon and moreover…' (rna-gsung 5)

15.3.2 Posterior clauses with postposition *ɲénlɛ* 'before'

Posterior constructions with the postposition *ɲénlɛ* 'before' (also *ɲénlo* and *hɛnlɛ*) 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

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[420] homophonous with *lòʼː* 'stand'
[421] 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.

constituent-modifying clauses (relative clause, noun complement clause and postposition complement clause), the complement of *pénlɛ* is a genitivized *-po*-infinitive, see (15.31-33). Note that the posterior clause in (15.33) has an embedded nonfinal clause (*mú: jìgi ɕík-ti*).

(15.31) སྦྱང་བརྡར་འགོ་བཙུགས་ཀོའི་སྔོན་ལོ་ལྷ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱིས་རོགས་ཚུ་ལོ་

[*dzã̀:dar go   tsuk-**ø:**   **pénlo**]   ḷaki=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་གླུ་ཉན་པའི་སྔོན་ལོ་ཆོད་ལོ་གཏམ་གཅིག་ལབ་པར་ འོང་པོ་ཨིན་རྒྱལ་མཚན།

[*t'izã̀: lú ɲèm-**bø:**   **pénlo**] tɕʰø:=lo tam=tɕiʔ làp-a
but   song listen-2INF.GEN before   2SG.L=DAT word=INDF   say-PUR
òm-bo   ĭ: gjaltsʰɛn.
come-2INF EQU.PER   PN
'[But before listening to (your) song], I have come to tell you a message, Gyaltshen.' (nga'i 'gan 24)

(15.33) མོས་ཡི་གེ་བཞིག་སྟེ་བགྲོགས་ཀོའི་སྔོན་ལོ་ཐོད་པའི་སྟེང་ཁར་ཚར་གསུམ་སྦྱར།

[*mú: jìgi ɕík-ti   ḍok-**ø:**   **pénlo**] tʰøpø: tɕŋkʰa 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 (15.34-36). The negated verb may occur non-nominalized (15.34) or nominalized (15.35-36).

(15.34) པོལ་ (Paul) གཉེན་མ་རྒྱབས་སྔོན་ལས་ངའི་ཨམ་འདི་གྲོང་ཚར།

[*pol ɲén   **ma-kjap** **pénlɛ**] ɲè: ám=di   ʈ'õ̀:-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་པའི་སྔོན་ལོ་གསུང་པོ་གནང་སྟེ་བཞག་ཡོད།

*ɲè: ápa=gi   [**man-ḍõ̀:-pø:**   **pénlo**] súm-bo
1SG.GEN father=AGT   NEG-die.HON-2INF.GEN   before   say.HON-2INF
nã̌:-di   za: jø̀ʔ.
do.HON-NF set   EX.PER
'My father said (so) [before he died].' (Richhi 116)

(15.36) འབྱས་སྟོངས་ལོ་མན་བྱོན་པའི་སྔོན་ལས་འདི་

[*ḍɛndzo:=lo **man-dzøm-bø:**   **pénlɛ**=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 genetivized *-ɕɛ*-infinitive:

(15.37) འདི་ཁར་ འོང་ཤད་ཀི་ ཧེན་ལས་

       [dikʰa=ra   **ò̝:-ɕɛ=ki**   hɛnlɛ]

       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-*po-dã:*	nominalizer *-po/bo* and temporal extension of coordinator *t'ã:* 'and'
VERB-*sondã:* VERB-*somdã:* VERB-*sumdã:* VERB-*tsubdã:* (CY)	*ső̝:-bo* [go.PFV-2INF] + *t'ã:* 'and' (?) *ső̝:-bo* [go.PFV-2INF] + *t'ã:* 'and' (?) *ső̝:-bo* [go.PFV-2INF] + *t'ã:* 'and' (?) *tsʰo-u* [CMPL-2INF] + *t'ã:* 'and' (?)
VERB-*pø: gã:*	WT (བ)སྐང་ *sgang* 'time'
VERB-*kap*	WT སྐབས་ *skabs* 'time'
VERB-*dỹ:*	WT དུས་ *dus* 'time, season'
VERB-*rɛŋ-kʰa*	WT རན་ *ran* 'be time to' + spatial suffix *kʰa*
VERB *lõ: mè:-po*	secondary verb WT ལོང་ *long* 'have time to' + NEG.EX-2INF
VERB-RDP *p'a:pu* NEG-VERB *p'a:pu*	WD བར་པོ་ *bar-po* 'in between, while (negated 'while not')' (from WT བར་ *bar* '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:*[422]

Similar to other simultaneous constructions, the use of VERB-*po-dã:* (may be reduced to VERB-*m-dã:*) implies at least partial temporal overlap between two actions/states:

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[422] 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.'

(15.38) ད་ལྟོ་ར་བང་ཁྲོམ་གྱི་ཨ་ཙི་ཅིག་ མོའུ་འོག་སྟེ་ ཁྲོམ་པོ་དང་ སྤར་ཕུང་ ལིང་དམ་ ལབ་མཁན་ ཨོ་ན་ གྱོང་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྲད།

[t'ato [rawã: tʰom=gi átsi=tɕiʔ mòu òtɛ **tɕ'ɛm-bo-dã:**] barfuŋ
now TPN town=GEN a.bit=INDF down down go.HON-2INF -CONJ TPN
lìŋdam làp-kʰɛ̃: óna k'jo:=tɕiʔ jɵ̀:-kʰɛn bɛʔ.
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) ཁྲིག་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ བཅུ་གཉིས་ སླེབས་པོ་དང་ ལོག་ རྒྱ་ཚུ་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཏེ་ཏག་ འབག་ འོང་སྟེ་ ལོག་ དོམ་ འདི་ལོ་ ཐེངས་ཀིས་ ཊིབ་ཊིབ་པོ་དང་ དོམ་ མོའུ་ལས་ འཇུགས་སྟེ་ སྐད་ ཕོར་པོ་དང་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ བྲོས་ ཡ་པོ།

[tʰik tɕʰutsʰɵʔ tɕu:ɲi: **ḷɛp-o-dã:**] lòk gjatɕʰu=tsu kɛ:po tɛ:taʔ
exactly clock.time twelve arrive-2INF-CONJ again Indian=PL many stick
baʔ 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=lɛ dzu:-**ti** [kɛʔ **ɕó:-bo-dã:**] mí tʰamtɕɛʔ 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་ ཚ་ལས་ དང་ ང་ཚའི་ ཚ་ལས་ བསྡོམས་པོ་ དང་ ཊི་རུག་ སྟོང་ཕྲག་ བཅུ་ ཐམ་པ་ འབྱོན་ སྲད།

[di=tsu tʰamtɕɛʔ tsa=lɛ t'ã: ŋàtɕi tsa=lɛ **dom-bo-dã:**] tiruʔ
this=PL all by=ABL and 1PL.GEN at=ABL combine-2INF-CONJ rupee
ʈõ:tʰaʔ tɕu-tʰamba tʰɵn bɛʔ.
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-ò̃:-b-dã:* in (15.41) is an abbreviation of *ma-òm-bo-dã:* [NEG-come-2INF-CONJ].

(15.41) ཁུ་ མ་འོང་པོ་དང་ ང་ གཡོག་ འདི་ བྱས་ སྐྱོང་ཚར།

[kʰu **m-ò̃:-b-dã:**] ŋà jó:=di p'ja mjõ̀:-tsʰa:.
3SGM NEG-come-2INF-CONJ 1SG work=DEMPH do finish-CMPL
'I finished the work [before he came]. ' (KN e)

541

(15.42) འབོས་ཀ་ཀིས་མ་ཚུགས་པ་ཚུགས་པ་དང་

   [*kʰɛ:ga=gi* ***ma-tsʰuː-tsʰu-p-dãː***]

   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 tʼãː* also occurs in the non-temporal conjunctive meaning:

(15.43) ཀྱོ་རྒྱབས་པོ་དང་འར་ཤུར་གྱི་སྒྲ།

   kʼjoʔ *kjap-**o** **tʼãː** *àrùr=gi* *ɖa*

   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 *-sondãː/somdãː/sumdãː/tsubdãː*

The use of the converbal markers *-sondãː/somdãː/sumdãː/tsubdãː*, which I have only come accross 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་ང་བཞིན་ལས་ཡ་སོང་དང་དེ་ཁུ་

   [*roː=di*   *ŋù-zɛ̃ː=lɛ* ***jàː-sondãː***] *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) རླུང་མན་སྐྱགས་སོང་མ་དང་ད་ང་ན་སྟེ་ཀི་ལུས་པོ་སྡད།

   [*lúŋ* ***man-ɖik-somdãː***] *tʼa* *ŋà* *nàː-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) ཉིམ་ཤར་སོང་མ་དང་ཨོ་འདི་ཤི་མཁན་སྡད།

   [*ɲìm* ***ɕáː-sumdãː***] *ódɛː* *ɕí-kʰɛn* *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 pʼja-ti* 'because of that' (lit. 'that doing').

(15.47) ད་ ཚོ་འདེ་སྟེ་ ཁྱབ་བརྐྱགས་ ལེབ་ བཏང་ ཚུགས་པོ་དང་ དེ་ ཚོ་འདི་ ཕྱས་སྟེ་ ང་ཚའི་ སྐད་ ཡུལ་ཅིག་ ཚོ་འདེ་སྟེ་ ཉམས་ཆག་ སོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

    t'a   ódɛpti [*kʰjapɖa:* *lèp* **tã:-tsubdã:**][423] *tɛ* *ódi* *p'ja-ti* *ɲàtɕi*

    now like.that spreading much send-SIM   so that do-NF 1PL.GEN

    kɛʔ   *ɕý:tɕyʔ* *ódɛpti* *ɲàmtɕʰaʔ* *ső:-bo*   *i̋:.*

    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:/somdã:/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):*[424] '(at the) time' is postposed to genitivized *-po*-infinitive to mark simultaneity, a typical noun complement construction (see §13.4). Phonetically *gã:* is frequently reduced to [*ŋã:*].

(15.48) གཀྲ་ ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ བུམ་ འདེའ་ ཐོབ་པའི་ སྐང་ གཉེན་ མ་རྒྱབས་ན་ རྒྱབ་ལོ་ འགྱོད་པོ་ སྐྱེས་ འོང་།

    karma [*tɕʰø:=ki* *p'um dɛm* **tʰop-ø:**   **gã:**] *ɲén*   *ma-kjap-nɛ*

    PN   2SG.L=AGT girl such receive-2INF.GEN time wedding NEG-do-COND

    k'ø:po *ki*   *ő̃:.*

    regret be.born come

    '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 can also occur when the actor switches.

(15.49) ཚོན་ལས་ ཚོ་འདི་ ཐོ་རངས་ཅིག་ བདག་ཀུ་ འདི་ སོང་པའི་ སྐང་ ཚོ་ སྐང་ ཚུག་ཀོ་ འདི་ ཕྱི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཟ་སྟེ་ ལེབ་ འགྱངས་སྟེ་ སྡོད་ འདུག།

    [*ónalɛ*   *ódi* *tʰorã:=tɕiʔ*   *daku=di*   **ső̃:-bø:**   **gã:**] *ó*

    then   that tomorrow=INDF owner=DEMPH go.PFV-2INF.GEN time that

    lã̋: *tsuko=di* *p'i*   *tʰamtɕɛʔ* *sà-ti* *lèp*   *ɖã:-ti*   *dø:*

    bull other=DEMPH fodder all   eat-NF very.much be.satisfied-NF sit

    duʔ.

    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)

  The expression may be supplemented by the dative-locative (15.50) or ablative marker (15.51):

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[423] The form *tã:-tsubdã:* could either be a reduced version of *tã:-tsʰar-bo t'ã:* (cf. VERB-*tsʰar-bo=lɛ* > VERB-*tsʰub=lɛ*) or have the abilitative secondary verb *tsʰuʔ* '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.

[424] 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', *tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ gã:* 'when being small'.

(15.50) པར་ཕྱིན་པའི་ སྐང་ལོ་ འགགག་ཆ་ རྒྱབས་ཆེ་ལགས།

    [*pʰa:*   ***tɕˈøm-bø:***   ***gã:=lo***]   *gakdza*   *kjap-tɕɛ=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་ འཐུང་སྟེ་ མ་ཚྭང་ སྐང་ལས་ ཀུན་ཆེ་ དང་ ལྷ་མཛེས་ཀྱིས་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ལོ་ ཞལ་ལག་ འབག་སྟེ་ ས�}ྟེབས།

    [*kʰõ:* *ɲí:-po* *tɕˈa* *tʰuŋ-di*   ***ma-mjõ̀:***   ***gã:=lɛ***]   *kantɕʰi*
    3PL two-COL tea drink-NF   NEG-finish time=ABL youngest.daughter(Nep.)
    tˈã: *ɭadzi=ki*   *kʰõ:* *ɲí:-po=lo*   *ɕè:laʔ*   *bak-ti* *ɭɛp.*
    and   PN=AGT   3PL two-COL=DAT food.HON   carry-NF arrive
    '[When the two of them haven't (yet) finished 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 may also be dropped if the verb root is reduplicated:

(15.52) རྡོ་རྗེ་སྐྱིང་ སོང་སོང་ སྐང་ འདི་

    [*dordziliŋ*   ***sṍ:-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'

The second simultaneity marker deriving from a WT word for 'time' is *kap* (WT སྐབས་ *skabs*), which 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 *nàŋɕa* '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) ཕྱིན་པའི་ སྐབས་ ནང་ཤ་ལོ་

    [***tɕˈøm-bø:***   *kap* *nàŋɕa=lo*]
    come.HON-2INF.GEN   time inside=DAT
    '[When coming]...' (KT phone call)

(15.54) དེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ དོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ རྒྱལ་པུ་ འདི་ ད་ གསེར་ཁྲི་མཆན་གསོལ་ པོའི་ བཞུགས་པའི་ སྐབས་སུ་ལོ་ ང་ཚའི་ མི་དབང་ ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ ཆེན་པོ་ལོ་ བལ་ཡུལ་ རྒྱལ་པུ་ཀིས་ ཏེན་འཁྲིལ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ནང་ཤ་ལོ་ གདན་ཞུ་ གནངས་ སྲད།

tɛ ódi t'ønziŋgi [p'ɛy:=gi gɛ:pu=di t'a sé:ʈʰiŋásol pʰou
so that according Nepal=GEN king=DEMPH now enthronement over.there
zu:-pø: kapsu=lo] *ŋàtɕi míwã: tɕʰøgɛl tɕʰimpu=lo p'ɛy:*
sit.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT 1PL.GEN ruler king great.one=DAT Nepal
gɛ:pu=gi tɛnɖẽ: ódi nàŋɕa=lo dɛnɕu nã̌:-m bɛʔ.
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) ཁུ་ ག་�་ པ²dང་ཁར་ ཐོན་ཆད་ མ་ཐོ་བསམ་ བཏང་བཞིན་ སྐབས་ ནང་ཤ་ལོ་ དེ་ སྟག་ ༼ོང་པོ་ ཧ་གོ་སྟེ་ཀི་ ཁུ་ ཐོན་པའི་ རྒྱས་ བྱས་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྲད།

[*kʰu k'atɛʔ paŋkʰa tʰøn-ɕɛʔ nó:sam **tã:-zin kap nàŋɕa=lo**] tɛ*
3SGM how outside come.out-INF thought send-PROG time inside=DAT then
taʔ òm-bo hako-tiki kʰu tʰøm-bø: tɕ'yʔ p'ja-zin
tiger come-2INF know-NF 3SGM come.out-2INF.GEN plot do-PROG
jǿ-po bɛʔ.
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་ཞིལ་ ཟ་བཞིན་པའི་ སྐབས་ མཐེ་ཤུ་རང་ ཁྲིམ་

[*sǿ:za sǿ:ɕip **sà-zẽ̌:-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! དའི་ སྨན་པའི་ སྦྱང་བརྟར་ ྄ྱོང་སྐབས་ལོ་ འདེམ་ ག་ཨའི་ བར་ཆད་པོ།

*ádzi:, [nè: mémpø: dzã:dar **mjǿ̃:-kap=lo**] dɛm k'amø: p'a:tɕɛʔ*
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) རླངས་འཁོར་ན་ ནད་པོ་ འཐུས་སྟེ་ འདེགས་སྐབས་ སྨན་པོ་ ཀ²

[*láŋkʰor=na nɛ̀: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)

545

The construction is negated by *ma-*.

(15.59) ད་ཅིག་ ཆརབ་ མ་རྒྱབས་(པའི་) སྐབས་ རང་ ག་ན་ ཡོད་པོ?

    [*t'atɕiʔ*   *tɕʰaːp*   **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 marker -*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་མཁན་ འདི་ཚུ་ཏོ་ ད་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ རྒྱབས་དུས་

    [*nà:=lɛ*   *òŋ-kʰẽ̂:*   *di=tsu=to*   *t'a*   *ļokɛ*   **kjap-dy:**]
    here=ABL   come-NMLZ   this=PL=CEMPH   now   Lhoke   do-SIM
    '[But now when those who come from here speak Lhoke]...' (RL interview)

(15.61) འགྲོ་ དང་པོ་ ན་ འོང་དུས་

    [*go*   *t'aŋpo*   *nà:*   **òn-dy:**]
    start   first   here   some-SIM
    '[When (I) at first came here]...' (KT life story)

In the novel Richhi, -*dỹ:* occurs only once, in a poem:

(15.62) མི་ལུས་ ཐོབ་དུས་

    [*mí-ly:*   **tʰop-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 *kapso*, which also occurs in (15.54) above as the variant *kapsu*.

(15.63) ལོ་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ སླེབས་དུས་ སྐབས་སོ་ ང་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ བཀའ་གྱུ་ ནང་ག་ ཆོས་ བྱས་ སྡོད་པོ་ ཨིན།

    [*lò*   *tɕø:ŋa*   **ļep-dy:**   **kapso**]   *ŋà*   *ɖɛndzõ:*   *ɕé:ɖa*   *nàŋɛa*
    year   fifteen   reach-SIM   time   1SG   Sikkim   Buddhist.institute   inside
    tɕʰoʔ   *p'ja*   *dø:-po*   *ĩ́:.*
    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) ཁ་སང་ང་སྒང་ཏོག་འགྱུ་མ་ཐོབ་(པའི་)དུས་ང་ལེབ་སེམས་སྐྱོ་པོ་ཨིན།

      [*dã:*   *ŋà*   *gã:toʔ*   *gju*   **ma-tʰop(-ø:)-dỹ:**]   *ŋà lèp*   *sém*

      yesterday 1SG   TPN   go   NEG-receive(-2INF.GEN)-SIM   I   very.much   mind

      kjo-u   *ĩ́:.*

      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 marker -*rɛŋkʰa*

The fourth construction based on a WT word for 'time' (WT རན་ *ran* '[it is] time') is the converb formed with the suffix -*rɛŋkʰa*, which combines the secondary verb *rɛn* 'be time to' with the locational/temporal derivative suffix -*kʰa* (which some speakers reduce to -*ka*). For uses of *rɛn* as a secondary verb, see §8.5.5.

(15.65) འོང་རན་ཁར་རྒྱལཔ་འོང་དོ་འདྲམ་འོང་།

      [**ȭ̀:-rɛŋkʰa**] *gɛ:p* *òn-do*   *dɛm*   *ȭ̀:.*

      come-SIM   king   come-PROG like   come

      '[When coming], it comes like a king is coming.' (UT riddle)

(15.66) དེ་ལོག་རན་ཁར་འདི་ལམཁ་ལས་གན་འདི་ཐོབ་ཕད་མེད་པ་གིས་ཁུ་གིས་སྦྲང་མ་འགྱོམ་དི་ཀི་

      [*tɛ*   **lòk-rɛŋkʰa**=*di*]   *làmkʰa*=*lɛ*   *tɛ*   *kʼanɖɛ:*   *tʰop-ɛɛ*   *mè:-pa*=*gi*

      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 (for eating), he collected flies (and)...' (KT)

The construction VERB-*rɛŋkʰa* is negated by the negator prefix *ma-*, *ma*-VERB-*rɛŋkʰa*.

(15.67) ཁུ་ཁུ་རའི་གི་ན་སྣང་བ་ནང་ཤ་ཤིང་ཏོག་གཏོག་བཞིན་ཕྱུས་རན་ཁར་ལོག་སྟེ་མ་མཐོང་རན་ཁར་

      [*kʰu*   *kʰu-ri-gi*   *nà:*   *ŋawa[425]*   *nàŋɛa*   *ɕíŋtoʔ*   *tok-tɕɛ̃:*

      3SGM   3SGM=AEMPH.GEN=GEN   here   thought   inside   fruit   pick-PROG

      pʼja-rɛŋkʰa]   [*òtɛ*   **ma-tʰȭ:-rɛŋkʰa**]

      do-SIM   down   NEG-see-SIM

      '[When he was here in his thoughts picking fruit] (and) [when he did not see down]...' (RB pear story)

In the novel Richhi, the construction VERB-*rɛŋkʰa* occurs only once, see (15.68). In addition, རན་ *ran* [rɛn] is once in Richhi used without the suffix -*kʰa*, see (15.69).

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[425] According to consultant KN, this word is code-switching from Tibetan.

(15.68) ཚེ༔ ཨ་ཙོ་ ཤི་རན་ཁར་ ད་ གན་མོའི་ མ་ཎི་ བརྒྱངས་ཤད?

tɕʰɛː [*ádzo* **ɕí-rɛŋkʰa**] *t'a* *k'amø:* *màni* *gjã:-ɛɛʔʔ*
EXCLAM grandfather die-SIM 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་ཏོ།

t'a **ɕí-rɛn**=*to.*
now die-be.time=IMPFV
'Now it's (my) time to die.' (Richhi 79)

15.3.3.7 Simultaneity with *p'a:pu* 'in between'

The formative[426] *p'a: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:

(15.70) སྡོད་ སྡོད་ བར་པོ་ ང་ཚག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ མཐུན་སྟེ་ སྡོད་གེ་ ཨིན་ནམ་ གྲོགས་ཀུ་ཚུ·····།

[**dø:-dø:** **p'a:pu**] *ŋàtɕaʔ* *tʰamtɕɛʔ* *tʰyn-di* *dø:-kɛ* *ín-am*
stay-RDP between 1PL all agree-NF stay-HORT EQU.PER-ATTQ
ʈ'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་པོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ མཐུན་སྟེ་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ རོགས་ རམ་མདའ་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ཕན་པོའི་ གཡོག་ཚུ་ བྱས་གེ།

[**ma-ɕí** **p'a:pu**] *tʰamtɕɛʔ* *tʰyn-di* *tɕi:=ki* *zɛn=lo* *ro:ramda:* *p'ja-ti*
NEG-die between all agree-NF one=AGT other=DAT help do-NF
pʰɛmbø: *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'amjasɛnɛ* 'because' (§15.4.1)
2) clause employing the noun *gjumtsʰɛ̃:* 'reason, cause' (WD རྒྱ་མཚན་ *rgyu-mtshan*) (§15.4.2)

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[426] I am hesitant to call *p'a:pu* a postposition because it does not occur with nouns in my data.

3) construction based on the word *kɛn* 'cause, condition' (WD རྐྱེན་ *rkyen*) (§15.4.3)

4) converbal form *làp-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 *pʼja-ti(ki)* [do-NF] 'doing, having done' (§15.4.7)

8) circumstantial-purposive converb which is used causally (§15.4.8)

15.4.1 Causality with connector *kʼamjasɛnɛ* 'because'

The connector *kʼamjasɛnɛ* 'because' has a clausal origin as *kʼamja sέ-nɛ* [why say-COND] 'if said why'.[427] Three facts suggest that the speakers are still aware of the clausal origin of *kʼamjasɛnɛ*. First, the speakers may change the verb of saying used in the connector (*kʼamjasɛnɛ/kʼamjalapnɛ/kʼamjaɕunɛ*, using *sέ/sí* 'say', *làp* 'say' and *ɕù* 'say.HUM' respectively), Second, Denjongke authors may write the form jointly as *kʼamjasɛnɛ* or separately as *kʼamja sɛnɛ*. Third, *kʼamjasinɛ* may be interrupted by other elements:

(15.72) བློ་ཕམ་སྟེ་ གན་བྲུས་ཕམ་པོ་ སི་ནེ་

      ló   *pʰam-di*   **kʼamja** *pʰam-bo*   *sí-nɛ*

      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 *kʼamjasɛnɛ* is used as a word-like connector/conjunction meaning 'because', see (15.73-75). Causal clauses with *kʼamjasɛnɛ* are finite.

(15.73) དེ་ སློབ་དཔོན་ འདི་ཀིས་ ཁུ་ལོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙི་ཅིག་ བཀའ་འགྱུར་ བཏང་པོ་ སྲད་ལོ་, ཨོ་འདི་ རྒྱ་མོའི་ འདི་ལོ་ གན་བྲུས་ཨེ་ནེ་ དངུལ་ འཕྱུར་པོ་ སྲད་ གོ།

      tɛ   *lópøn=di=gi*   *kʰu=lo=di*   *átsi=tɕiʔ*   *ka:gjur*   *tã:-bo*

      then   teacher=DEMPH=AGT   3SGM=DAT=DEMPH   a.bit=indf   instruction send-2INF

      bɛ:=lo,   *ódi*   *gjammø=di=lo*   [**kʼamjasinɛ**   *nʏ́:*   *tʰu:*

      EQU.NE=REP   that   latter=DEMPH=DAT   because   money   pick.2INF

      bɛ=ɕo.]

      EQU.NE=AT

      'Then the teacher instructed him a bit, the latter one, [because (he) had taken the money, you know].' (RS pupil joke)

(15.74) དུ་ཅིག་ ཨ་ཙི་ ལེགས་ ཐོན་ཞེ་ གན་བྲུས་ཨེ་ནེ་ ཁོང་གིས་ ང་ལོ་ གསོལ་རས་ གནང་པོ་ ཨིན་གི་ལགས།

      tʼutɕiʔ   *átsi*   *lὲm*   *tʰøn-zɛ*   [**kʼamjasɛnɛ**   *kʰoŋ=gi*   *ŋà=lo*

      this.year   a.bit   good   become-PST   because   3SG.HON=AGT   1SG=DAT

      sø̀:ra nã̌:-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)

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[427] Nepali has analogous *kinabhane* 'because', which consists of *kina* 'why' and *bhan-e* 'say-PFV'.

(15.75) ཨོ་ དུ་ཚིག །བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ སྐེབས་ མི་ཚུགས་ལོ། གན་ཕུས་སེ་ན་ ཨ་པོའི་ བཀའ་ དོན་བཞིན་ མེ་སུར་ལོ་ འགྱུ་ དགོས།

mù   t'utɕiʔ   bombai=lo ļɛp   mi-tsʰuː=lo.   [k'amjasɛnɛ   ápøː
3SGF this.year   TPN=DAT   arrive NEG-be.able.to=REP because   father.GEN
ka   t'ønʑin   màisur=lo gju   goʔ].
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་ ཨིན་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ། གན་ཕུས་ སི་བེ་ཙེ་ནེ་ ཁུ་ པཻ་ས་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཏི་རུག་ ལྔ་པོ་ འདི་ ལྷུམ་རུང་

ŋà=jã̀ː   pʰiː-po   t̀ː   làp-o=lo.   [k'amja sí-bɛtsɛnɛ   kʰu
1SG=too   be.late-2INF EQU.PER say-2INF =REP   why   say-COND 3SGM
paisa=di   ódi   tiruʔ   ŋá-po=di   ļum-ruŋ]
money(Nep.)=DEMPH   that   rupee   five-COL=DEMPH   fall-CONC

'I too am late, (he) says, [because although his money, those five rupees fell]...' (RS pupil joke)

In addition to occurring independently as a causal marker, *k'amjasɛnɛ* 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) ཆོས་མཛེས་ ངོ་ཚ་བཞིན་ ཡོད། གན་ཕུས་སེ་ན་ སྟོན་ལོ་ ངོ་ མ་ཤེས་པའི་ མི་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ན་ག་ཕལ་ གཅིག་ བཀབ་སྟེ་ ཉལ་ཡད་ འདིས།

tɕʰødzi   ŋòtsʰa-zɛ̀ː   jø̀ʔ   k'amjasɛnɛ   ŋò   ma-ɕeː-pøː
PN   be.ashamed-PROG   EX.PER because   face NEG-know-2INF.GEN
mí   ɲámtɕiʔ nagaɕɛl(?) tɕiʔ   kap-ti   ɲɛ̀ː-ɕɛ=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 *gjumtsʰɛ̃ː* 'reason'

Causality/reason may also be expressed by a simple juxtaposition of a complement clause headed by the word *gjumtsʰɛ̃ː* 'reason' and a clause that explains what the reason is. Both examples (15.78) and (15.79) have the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* following *gjumtsʰɛ̃ː*, suggesting that the emphatic may be obligatory or preferred in this construction.

(15.78) ཨོ་འདི་ མ་གནས་པའི་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ འདི་ མི་ ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཡང་ རྒྱལ་པོའི་ དུས་ཚོད་ སྐབས་ལོ།

[ódi ma-nɛ́ː-pøː   gjumtsʰɛ̃ː=di]   [mí   kʰaɕɛ=ki=jã̀ː
that NEG-abide-2INF.GEN   reason=DEMPH   human some=AGT=too
gɛːpyː   t'ytsʰøʔ   gã̀ː=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)

550

(15.79) མེད་པའི་ཀི་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ འདི་ སྔོན་མ་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ ཐོན་པོ་ལོ།

[mè:-pø:=**ki** **gjumtsʰɛ̃:**=di] [ɲɛ́ma dɛm=tɕiʔ
NEG.EX-2INF.GEN=GEN reason=DEMPH earlier like.that=INDF
tʰøm-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 *kʼamjasɛnɛ* 'because' (note that =*di* is not obligatory here).

(15.80) མེད་པའི་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ གན་བྱི་སི་ན་ བུ་མའི་ གཉེན་ཚན་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཕུག་མཛལ་ སྐྲིག་ དགོས་པའི་ དོན་དག་ གཉིས་ ཡོད་པོ་ བྲད།

[mè:-**pø:** **gjumtsʰɛ̃:**] [**kʼamjasinɛ** pʼumø: ɲɛ́ntsʰɛ̃:=tsu=lo
NEG.EX-2INF.GEN reason because girl.GEN relative=PL=DAT
tɕʰandzɛ: ɖik go:-pø: tʼøndaʔ ɲí: jø̀-po bɛʔ].
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 *kʼamjasinɛ* to accompany *gjumtsʰɛ̃:* 'reason'.

(15.81) འདི་ ང་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ བཤད་ དགོས་པའི་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ འདི་ གན་བྱུས་ ཞུ་པོ་ ཨིན་ གསུང་བེ་ཆེ་ན་ འདི་ན་ ང་ཚའི་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ འདི་ བྲད་ཕོ་ལགས།

[di ŋà lògjuʔ ɕɛ́ʔ go:-**pø:** **gjumtsʰɛ̃:**=di] [**kʼamja**
this 1SG story tell be.needed-2INF.GEN reason=DEMPH why
ɕù: **í:** **súŋ-bɛtɕɛna** di=na ŋàtɕi ɭokɛ=di
tell.HUM.2INF EQU.PER say.HON-COND this=LOC 1PL.GEN Lhoke=DEMPH
bɛ=ɕo=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), you know.' (PAD bet story)

In (15.81), *gjumtsʰɛ̃:* is followed by a second reference to telling the story (*ɕù* 'say.HUM' restates what was expressed by *ɕɛ́ʔ* 'tell' in the previous clause). In addition, *kʼamjasinɛ*, which has grammaticalized from a conditional clause (meaning 'if (I) tell why') into a connector word, is replaced by a more explicitly conditional clause *kʼamja...súŋ-bɛtɕɛna*.

In yet another construction, *gjumtsʰɛ̃:* 'reason' co-occurs with the dummy verb *pʼja* 'do' in a simultaneous construction which is interpreted as expressing reason.

(15.82) དེ་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ ཨོ་འདི་ བྱས་སོང་དང་ འདི་

[tɛ **gjumtsʰɛ̃:** ódi **pʼja-sondã:**=di]
so reason that do-SIM=DEMPH
'[So for that reason]...' Lit. '[Because of the doing of that reason]...' (PAD Tashiding story)

551

15.4.3 Causality with *kɛn* 'cause, condition'

Another way to express reason/causation through a dependent clause is to append the word *kɛn* 'cause, condition' (WT རྐྱེན་ *rkyen*) followed by agentive/instrumental or ablative marking to the nominalized and genitivized 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་ རྐྱེན་གྱིས་ ཏུང་ཐོག་ རང་སྟེ་ ན་ རི་ཀོ་ཌིང་ (recording) ནང་ག་ལོ་ ཚིག་ མ་མཚུངས་པོ་ ཨིན་ནོ་

    [*ŋá:=gi*   *ʈ'i*   *ma-tsʰu-pø:*   **kɛŋ=gi**]   *hatoʔ*   *sã:tɛ nà:*
    1SG=AGT   write   NEG-be.able.to-2INF.GEN   cause=AGT suddenly   until here
    reko:diŋ   *nàŋɕa=lo*   *tsʰik ma-tsʰuŋ-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་ ཁྲིམ་མགོ་ ཨམ་ འདི་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ ཁྲིམ་ན་ ཡོད་པའི་ རྐྱེན་གྱིས་

    [*ʈ'izã:*   *kʰimgo*   *ám=di*   *tɕuku*   *kʰim=na*   *jɔ̀-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་ གྲངས་མེད་ གནས་པའི་ རྐྱེན་ལས་

    [*di:*   *nàŋ*[428]   *míriʔ*   *k'jã:meʔ*   *né:-pø:*   **kɛn=lɛ**]
    this.GEN   inside   people   countless   reside-2INF.GEN   cause=ABL
    '[Because countless people reside(d) in it (=Sikkim)]...' (da-lto'i 'bras-ljongs 1)

    In spoken language, the construction with *kɛn* occurred mainly in the speech of consultant KT.

15.4.4 Causality with nonfinal converb *làp-ti* 'saying'

Reason can also be expressed by the nonfinal converb *làp-ti* 'saying', which refers to the mental process of rationalization by the actor of the clause.

(15.85) ཆོད་ གནངས་ཚེ་ ལོག་ཏོ་ལོ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ འཕྱེད་པར་ འོང་པོ་ ཨིན།

    [*tɕʰøʔ*   *náŋtsʰi*   *lòk-to=lo*   **làp-ti**]   *pʰɛ-pa*   *òm-bo*
    2SG.L   the.day.after.tomorrow return-IPFV=REP   say-NF   meet-PUR   come-2INF
    í:.
    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

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[428] In spoken language, the case marker =*na* (WD ན་) or a disyllabic postposition *nàŋɕa/nàŋlo* (ནང་ཆ་/ནང་ལོ་) is typically used instead of this written short postpositional form ནང་ *nang*.

dynamic verbs, especially when they are negated, see (15.88). When negated, even eventive/dynamic verbs cannot obtain a sequential meaning because there is no action to place into sequence with other actions. Therefore negated action marked with =lɛ naturally obtains causative instead of anterior meaning (cf. 15.3.1.1). 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་པུ་ ཨེན་ཚར་ལས་ དེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ བཤད་པོ་ལོ།

        [mí   ʈʼã:pu   **ín-sa=lɛ**]   tɛ   tʰamtɕɛʔ ɕɛ́-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) རླུང་མ་ ཁྱོལ་ བསིལ་ བསིལ་འདིས་ གྱང་པོ་ལས་

        [lúŋma   kʰø:si:si:=di: **k'jã:-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་རུང་ མ་སླེབས་པོ་ལས་

        [kʰoŋ=gi   tʼytsʰøʔ tʼaruŋ   **ma-ɭɛp-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 action or is the intrument 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་ ʼdis) attaches to -ɕɛ-infinitive form of the verb.

(15.89) ཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སླེབས་ཤད་ འདིས་

        [tʰinlɛ=gi   kʰim=na=lɛ   tʼato=sã: ka=jã: **ma-ɭɛp-ɕɛ=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་ ངའི་ ཨ་ཇོ་ གཟིམ་ཁང་ལས་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ང་ཚག་ལོ་ ལོག་ ལེན་པར་ བྱོན་ཤད་ འདིས་ ད་རིང་ ང་ཚག་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་དོ་ ཨིན།

        [dã: ɲè: ágja   zimkʰã:=lɛ   sã̀:tɛ   ŋàtɕa=lo lòk
        yesterday 1SG.GEN elder.brother house.HON=ABL direct 1PL=DAT return
        lɛ̀m-ba   **tɕʼøn-ɕɛ=di:**]   tʼariŋ   ŋàtɕaʔ kʰim=na   lók-ti
        take-PUR   come.HON-INF=DEMPH.AGT today   1PL   house=LOC return-NF
        gju-do   ĩ̌:.
        go-PROG EQU.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 *-pɛ:/bɛ:* (WD པས་/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་ཚོར་ཡོད་པས་

      [*ɕá   sà-wø: lŏ̀:ɕu jŏ̀:-**pɛ:**]*
      meat eat-2INF.GEN   habit EX-2INF.AGT
      '[Because (she) had the habit of eating meat]...' (rna-gsung 8)

(15.92) འདིའི་རྒྱབ་ལས་ཁོང་ཚུ་ལེབ་སྟེ་མཐོ་དྲགས་ས་ལོ་སླེབས་ཚར་བས་འདི་མོས་བརྩོས་མ་ཚུགས་པོ་དང་

      [*di: gjablɛ   kʰõ̀:=tsu lὲpti   tʰoʈaʔ sá=lo*
      this.GEN after   3PL=PL   very.much high   ground=DAT
      *ḷɛp-tsʰa-**ɲɔ́:**]*   *ɖɛmo: ɲɔ́ʔ 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 *-pɛ:/bɛ:* 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་གིས་བླ་མ་ལོ་འདི་སྟེ་ཞུ་བས་ལན་ལོ་བླ་མས་འདི་གསུང་པོ་སྨྲ་

      [*mìlarɛpa=gi lám=lo   dɛ:ti   ɕù-**bɛ:**]*   *lὲn=lo   láma:*
      PN=AGT   lama=DAT like.this say.HUM-2INF.AGT answer=DAT lama.AGT
      dɛ: súm-bo   bɛʔ.
      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)

Spoken Denjongke prefers phonologically more complex forms than mere vowel modification for marking causation. 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. In spoken language, the agentive form of the deictic emphatic is expressed more explicitly with *=ki*, see (15.94-95). Moreover, agentive marking is more central in written language than in spoken language, which typically uses other constructions, such as *p'jati(ki)* described in the next section, for expressing causation.

(15.94) ནེ་པ་ལི་གི་སྐད་ཡིག་འདི་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ནང་ཁ་ལོ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ཐོན་དགོས་ཡད་འདི་གིས་

      [*nɛpali=gi   kɛ:dza=di   gjagar=gi nàŋɕa=lo   gjagar=gi*
      Nepali=GEN   language.HON=DEMPH India=GEN inside=DAT   India=GEN
      *kɛ:dzaʔ   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་ཚའི་རེ་ སྐད་ རྒྱབས་ཁད་ འདི་ཀྱིས་

        [ŋàtɕi=ri   kɛʔ   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་

        [dɛnri-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'jati(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) ཚིག་ འདི་ ལེབ་ ལེགས་ ཡོད་ཁད་ འདི་ བྱས་སྟེ་ཀི་

        [tsʰik=di   lèp   lɛ̀m   jɤ̀ː-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) གཞུའི་ ནང་ག་ལོ་ ཡོད་ཁད་ བྱས་སྟེ་ཀི་

        [ʑu=i   nàŋɕa=lo   jɤ̀-ɕɛʔ   **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):

(15.99) དེ་ཟང་ གནད་སྣངས་ འདིས་ བྱས་སྟེ་

        [t'izã̀ː   né̀ːtã̀ː=diː   **p'ja-ti**]

        but   condition=DEMPH.AGT   do-NF

        '[Because of the condition (of hers)]...' (Richhi 171)

(15.100) ཨོ་འདི་ བྱས་(སྟེ་ཀི་)

        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 circumstancial converb can be interpreted as expressing reason/causality:

(15.101)   མོ་བྱུད་འདི་ ལེགས་ མ་བྱུས་བ་ ཤི་པོ་ བྲད།

         [*mòbɣ=di*   *lèm*   ***ma-jà-wa***]   *ɕí-u*   *bɛʔ.*

         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་ རྒྱུག་ ཡ་ཡ་བ་ ལེབ་ གྱོངབ་ སྟྲོགས་ཚར།

         [*ŋà*   *gjuk*   ***jà:-ja-wa***]   *lèp*   *k'jop*   *to:-tsʰa:.*

         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 marker *-pa/ba*

The uses of the converb *-pa/ba* can be roughly divided into affirmed purposive uses and negated circumstantial uses. [429] 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 *goʔ* be 'needed' (15.1104) and *tʰop* 'receive' (15.105). Note that the purposive may be followed by dative-locative case-marking, see (15.104) and (15.105).

(15.103)   ང་ཅག་ གཉིས་པོ་ བྷའི་ལགས་ ལྟ་བར་ བཅར་པོ་ ཨིན།

         ŋàtɕaʔ   *ɲí:-po*   [*bhaila* ***ta-wa***]   *tɕa:-bo*   *ǐ:.*

         1PL   two-COL   PN   watch-PUR come.HUM-2INF   EQU.PER

         'The two of us came [to see Bhaila].' (Richhi 11)

(15.104)   སེར་པའི་ གདམས་ངག་ སྒྲུབ་པ་པོ་ ཞག་ བདུན་ལས་ ལྷག་ཀོ་ མ་དགོས།

         [*sé:wø: damŋaʔ*   ***ɖup-a=lo***]   *ɕàʔ*   *dyn=lɛ*   *ḽako maŋ-goʔ.*

         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)

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[429] However, see exceptions in §15.8.1.

(15.105) རང་ཡུལ་ཡར་རྒྱས་ཐོན་པ་ལོ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཐོབ་ཚུགས་མཁན་ སྲིད།

[*rã̀ː-yː   jàrgɛʔ   **tʰøm-ba=lo**]   pʰɛntoʔ tʰop   tsʰu-kʰɛn
own-place progress   become-PUR=DAT   help   receive be.able.to-NMLZ
bɛʔ.
EQU.NE
'It is 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) *ɲà   séʔ   sṍː-zɛ*   ཉ་ བསད་ སོང་ཞེ།
           b) *ɲà   sé   -pa   sṍː-zɛ*   ཉ་ བསད་པ་ སོང་ཞེ།
           c) *ɲà   sé   =lo sṍː-zɛ*   ཉ་ བསད་ལོ་ སོང་ཞེ།
           d) *ɲà   sé   -pa   =lo sṍː-zɛ*   ཉ་ བསད་པ་ལོ་ སོང་ཞེ།
              fish   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)   ཚོ་འདེབ་ཀོ་ལི་ཊེ་ (college) སྩང་ སོང་བོ་ ཨིན།
           *ódɛp   [kolitɛ   **dzã̀ː**]   sṍː-bo   ǐ́ː.*
           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 chhö 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་ ཆོད་ ཤ་ འོང་ཆེ།
           ŋà   tɕʰøʔ   ta   ò̀ː-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 *làpti* is used, see §15.5.3.

15.5.2 Purpose with the postposition *tˈønlɛ/tˈønlo*

Purpose clauses can also be formed by adding a complement clause to the relator noun *tˈønlɛ/tˈønlo* (also *tˈøndaʔ/tˈøndalɛ/tˈøndalo*) 'for the purpose of, in order to; because', deriving from the noun *tˈøn(daʔ)* 'meaning, sense; purpose; reason'. The complement clause may either be a genitivized *-po*-infinitive-clause (15.109) or a clause with *-ɛɛ*-infinitive, either with genitive marking (15.110) or without further marking (15.111).

(15.109)　ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ རེ་ཚེ་ བསྐང་བའི་ དོན་ལོ་ སྒྲོག་ ཤི་ཤད་ ཨིན།

[*tʰamtɕɛ=ki　ritɕʰi　kã:-**wø:**　**t'ønlo**]　lóʔ　ɕí-ɕɛ　ǐ̀:.
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་ཆེན་ཚུ་ དྲངས་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དོན་དག་ བཟོ་བོ།

[*sø:za:　tɕʰaptsẽ:=tsu　　ʈ'ã:-**ɕɛ=ki**　**t'øndaʔ**]　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)　ཁུ་ དཔག་བསམ་ ཤེ་དོག་ འཛིབ་ཤད་ དོན་དག་ལས་ ས་ འོག་ལས་ ཚང་ བཟོ་སྟེ་གི་ སྒུག་ སྡོད་ཤད་ལོ་ས།

kʰu　[*paksam ɕíŋ=gi　mìntoʔ dzip-**ɕɛʔ**　**t'øndalɛ**]　sá
3SGM　　balsam tree=GEN　flower suck-INF　for.purpose.of　ground
ò:=lɛ　　tsʰã: zo-tiki　gu: dø:-ɕɛ=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)　ཨ་པོ་ འདི་ཡང་ དགོངས་པོ་ ལེན་སྟེ་ ཁྱིམ་ན་རང་ ཡོད་ བུ་མའི་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་པའི་ དོན་ལོ།

ápo=di=jã:　　gompo lèn-di kʰim=na=rã:　jò̀ʔ　[*p'umø:*
father=DEMPH=too leave　take-NF house=LOC=AEMPH EX.PER girl.GEN
ɲɛ́n　　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 boudary 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 *làp* 'say' may also form purpose clauses by attaching to
declarative (15.113), optative (15.114) and hortative verb forms (15.115).[430] Example (15.113a) is
a comment by a house-owner about the purpose of the 40-centimeter-high threshold. Example
(15.113b), on the other hand, was an answer to the question, what is the purpose of heaping earth
at the feet of maize stalks.

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[430] Similar to Nepali purposives with *bhanera*-constructions (bhan-era [say-CPTCP]).

(15.113) a) འདི་ད་ཁྱི་ཨ་ལུས་ཚུ་ནང་ཤ་འཛུལ་ཤད་ཨིན་ལབ་སྟེ་དང་པའི་མི་གིས་འདེམ་བཟོ་པོ་ཨིན་ནོ།

di   t'a   [kʰi   ály:=tsu   nàŋɕa   dzy:-ɕĩ: **làp-ti**]   t'ã:py:
this now   dog   cat=PL   inside enter-NPST.PER say-NF   long.ago.GEN

mí=gi   dɛm   dzo-u   í̀:=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་གིན་ཚོང་ལེགས་ཐོན་ཤད་ཨིན་ལབ་སྟེ།

ódi=di   [kintsõ: lɛ̀m   tʰøn-ɕɛ   í̀:   **làp-ti**].
that=DEMPH   maize   good become-INF   EQU.PER   say-NF

'That (is done) [so that the maize will turn out good].' Lit. That (is 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 affirmative and negated counterparts, see (15.114a-b).

(15.114) a) ངའི་གི་བྲད་དེའི་པ་ཏི་ (birthday party) ན་ཁྱུ་འོང་བཅུག་ལབ་སྟེ་ང་ཕོན་བྱས་པོ་ཨིན།

[ŋὲ:-gi   bəðδɕipa:ʈi=na   kʰu   ò̀:   **tɕuʔ   làp-ti**]   ŋà
my=GEN   birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM come cause say-NF   1SG

fon   p'ja-u   í̀:.
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 (him).') (KN e)

b) ངའི་གི་བྲད་དེའི་པ་ཏི་ (birthday party) ན་ཁྱུ་འོང་བཅུག་ལབ་སྟེ་ང་ཕོན་བྱས་པོ་ཨིན།

[ŋὲ:-gi   bəðδɕipa:ʈi=na   kʰu   ò̀:   **ma-tɕuʔ   làp-ti**]   ŋà
my=GEN   birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM come NEG-cause say-NF   1SG

fon   p'ja-u   í̀:.
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 (him).') (KN e)

In (15.115), *làp-ti* forms a purpose clause in conjunction with the hortative form *-kɛ/gɛ*.

(15.115) ང་ནོར་བུའི་ཚར་འགྱུ་གི་ལབ་སྟེ་སོང་པོ་ཨིན།

ŋà   [nòrby:=tsa: gju-**gɛ**   **làp-ti**]   sò̀:-bo   í̀:.
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 *-(patɕɛ)nɛ* (also *-batɕɛnɛ),* which may be accompanied by the optional initial word *k'ɛːsiʔ* 'if'.[431] I am not aware of any meaning difference between the shorter form *-nɛ* and the longer form *-patɕɛnɛ.* The relator noun *tɛŋlɛ* '(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 *-tsʰa(ː).* 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[432]-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་ བྱིན་ནེ་ གཏམ་ ཚིག་གཅིག་ ལབ་འོང་།

      [ɕá   kʰam   tɕiʔ   **p'in-nɛ**]   tam   tsʰik tɕiʔ làp   ồː.
      meat mouthful one give-COND speech word one   speak   come
      '[If (you) give one mouthful of meat], (I) will give one word of speech.' (rna-gsung 8)

    b) གལ་སྲིད་ མོའི་ཚ་ལས་ ཁ་བྱང་ ཐོབ་ན་ ཆེད་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ མོ་ལོ་ ཆེད་ཀྱི་ ཁ་བྱང་ བྱིན།

      [**k'ɛːsiʔ** mù=i   tsa=lɛ   kʰatɕã: **tʰop-nɛ**]   tɕʰøː=ki=jã:
      if   3SGF=GEN   at=ABL   address receive-COND 2SG.L=AGT=too
      mù=lo   tɕʰøː=ki   kʰatɕã: 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་ ནོར་འཁྲུལ་ ཕོར་པོ་ ཨིན་པ་ཆེ་ནེ་ ང་ཚག་ ཐུགས་བདེན་ དགོངས་དག་ ཞུ་ཡད་ ཨིན།

    [**k'ɛːsiʔ** ŋàtɕa=ki   di=na   nórʈʰy: **ɕóː-bo**   **ím-batɕɛnɛ**]   ŋàtɕaʔ
    if   1PL=AGT   this=LOC   mistake slip-2INF EQU-COND   1PL
    tʰudẽːgõːdaʔ ɕù-ɕɛ   íː.
    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 *íː* and *jồʔ* and not to neutral *bɛʔ* and sensorial *duʔ,* e.g. **bɛ-(patɕɛ)nɛ, *duk-(atɕɛ)nɛ.* Thus evidential distinctions are neutralized with the conditional.

    The optional *k'ɛːsiʔ* 'if' is not strictly initial in that other elements may precede, i.e. a term of address and a temporal adverbial in (15.118).

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[431] *k'ɛːsiʔ* functions quite analogously to the optional Nepali *jedi* 'if'.
[432] Tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality

(15.118)　ཨ་རྒྱ་ གུང་སེང་ སྐབས་ན་ གལ་སྲིད་ བོམ་བེའི་ལོ་ འོང་བར་ཆེ་ན་ པར་ཚུ་ ང་རང་ འབག་ སླེབས་འོང་།

　　　　ágja　　　　　[*kʼuŋsiŋ kap=na*　　**kʼɛːsiʔ**　*bombai=lo*　**òm-batɕɛnɛ**]
　　　　elder.bother　holiday time=LOC　if　　TPN=DAT　　come-COND
　　　　par=tsu　　*ŋà=rã̀ː*　　*bak ḷɛp*　　*ồ̀ː.*
　　　　picture=PL　1SG=AEMPH　carry arrive　come
　　　　'Brother, [if I come to Bombay during the holiday], I will arrive bringing the pictures myself.' (Richhi 108)

The conditional marker may attach to the completive marker *-tsʰa*, allowing an aspectual value to be expressed within a conditional clause. In (15.119), *-tsʰa* is preposed to the longer form *-patɕɛnɛ* and in (15.120) to the short form *-nɛ*.

(15.119)　དེ་རིང་ གན་ བྱས་ཁད་······ མི་ལོ་ དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་རང་ པར་བཅིངས་ བཏབ་ཚར་བར་ཆེ་ན།

　　　　tʼizã̀ː kʼan pʼja-ɕɛʔ,　　[*mí=lo*　　*tʼytsʰø=ki=rã̀ː*　　*partsĩ̀ː*
　　　　but　what do-INF　　　human=DAT　time=AGT=AEMPH　obstacle
　　　　tap-tsʰa-watɕɛnɛ]*?*
　　　　SOW-CMPL-COND
　　　　'But what to do, [if times have thrown an obstacle at a person]?' (Richhi 59)

(15.120)　ད་ ཨོ་ དེ་ དགུ་གཏོར་ ང་ སོང་ འགྱུ་ཏོ་ ལབ་བཞིན་ དེ་ མ་ཉན་ཚར་ ནེ་ གན་ བྱས་ཁད?

　　　　tʼa ó tɛ gutor　　　　*ŋà sồ̀ː*　　*gju=to làp-ʑin*　　[*tɛ*
　　　　now that so gutor-offering　1SG go.PFV　go=CEMPH say-PROG　so
　　　　mà-ɲɛn-tsʰa-nɛ]　*kʼan pʼja-ɕɛʔ?*
　　　　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) hasn't listened (to me)], what to do?'[433] (AB kitchen discussion)

The conditional construction is negated by *ma-*, which may reduce to *m-* with vowel intial roots:

(15.121)　a) འབག་ མ་འོང་ནེ་ རྐྱང་རྐྱང་ལོ་ མ་ལབ།

　　　　[**baʔ m(a)-ồ̀ː-nɛ**]　*mýtsy=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་ཆེ་ནེ་

　　　　[*tʼa ḷokɛ*　　**ma-kʰɛm-batɕɛnɛ**]
　　　　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:

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[433] The translation 'either with me or alone' derives from the apposed forms *sồ̀ː* and *gju*. The first, *sồ̀ː*, 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.

(15.122) ཨནད་ཆང་ ཉིམ་ཚེས་ ད་ མག་ཀོ་ ལོ་ གཉིས་ མི་རྒྱབས་ སེ་ནེ་ ང་ཚག་ མག་ཀོའི་ཀི་ སྐྱེད་ དི་ དགོས་ཡད་ ཡིན།

nǎ:tɕʰã: *ɲìmtsʰi*   [*t'a máko   lò   ɲí: **mi-kjap sí-nɛ***]   *ŋàtɕaʔ*
engagement   date   now groom year two NEG-do say-COND 1PL
mákø:=gi   *keʔ*   *t'i*   *go:-ɕɛ*   *bɛʔ.*
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-tsʰa-nɛ* 'if (one) grows' is used for prospective future.

(15.123) དེ་ཟང་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ སྦོམ་ཚར་ནེ་ གར་ ཐོན་གམ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ང་ཚག་ དུ་གོ་ མི་ཚུགས།

[*t'izã: gjablɛ **bom-tsʰa-nɛ***]   *k'ar tʰøŋ-gam   ódi ŋàtɕaʔ hako*
but   after   grow-CMPL-COND   what happen-ATTQ that 1PL   know
mi-tsʰuʔ.
NEG-.be.able.to

'[But afterward if/when[434] (he) has grown], what will happen, that we cannot know.' (PED life story)

(15.124) ཨ་ཚི་ སྦོམ་བཞིན་ འགྱུ་དང་, སྦོམ་ཚར་ནེ་ དེ་ ཨ་ཚི་ དུ་གོ་མཁན་ ཡིན།

átsi bom-zɛ̃:   gju-dã:, [***bom-tsʰa-nɛ***]   *tɛ átsi hako-kʰɛn   bɛʔ.*
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 understands 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 *tsʰa=lɛ*, which is restricted to past and habitual uses, and the completive conditional construction *tsʰa-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-tsʰa-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)

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[434] In English, it is more natural to talk about such an everyday occurrence as the growing of a child with the temporal expression 'when'.

(15.125)   ཨ་དང་ ང་ཚའི་ རྒྱུའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ མགོ་ བཏོག་སྟེ་ འགྱེལ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་སྐབས་ བུ་ཞིང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ཆེ་ན་ ཁོ་ ཨོན་རང་ ཤི་ཤད་ སྲད།

     dã: ŋàtɕi bhaila=ki go tok-ti ɖi: dø: jɤ̀:-kap
     yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall stay EX-SIM
     [*p'usim=la: **mè:-patɕɛnɛ***] *kʰu óna=rã: ɕí-ɕɛ bɛʔ*.
     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་ཇོ་ འབོང་ཐིང་གི་ ཞལ་ལོ་ ཉན་སྟེ་ ད་རུང་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ བཞག་ན་ གན་ ཐོན་ ཐོན་ ག་གིས་ ལབ་ ཚུགས་པོ?

     [*ádzo boŋtʰiŋ=gi ɕɛ̀:=lo ɲèn-di t'aruŋ*
     grandfather Lepcha.priest=GEN mouth.HON=DAT listen-NF still
     *kʰim=na **zak-nɛ***] *k'an tʰøn tʰøn ka=gi làp*
     house=LOC leave-COND what happen happen who=AGT say
     tsʰu-po?
     be.able.to-2INF
     '[If we had listened to 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*.

(15.127)   དེ་ ལེབ་ མཚོ་ནེ་ འདི་ བདེན་དྲགས་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།

     [*tɛ lèp **nó:-nɛ=di***] *dɛɳtaʔ dɛm=tɕiʔ 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)

(15.128)   སང་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ གན་ ཞུ་དོ་ ལབ་པ་ཆེ་ནེ་ འདི་

     [*sáŋgɛ:=ki k'an ɕù-do **làp-atɕɛnɛ=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་ མནེ་མུ་ ཞུ་བ་ཆེ་ནེ་ དེ་ མ་གོ་ འདི་ ཁྲིག་སྟེ་ ཁ་ཆང་ ཉིམ་ཚིས་ སྟོན་ དགོས་ལབ་སྟེ་ ཡོད་བ་སྲད།

     [*t'a né:mu **ɕù-watsɛnɛ***] *tɛ máko=di kʰik-ti*
     now real(ly) say-COND then son-in-law=DEMPH lead-NF
     kʰatɕʰã: ɲìmtsʰi tøn go:=s làp-ti jɤ̀bbɛʔ.
     Khachang-ceremony date show be.needed=QUO say-NF EX.NE
     '[If (we) speak the truth], then 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 *-patɕɛnɛ* may be reduced to *-patɕɛ* (15.130) or even *-pa,* represented by the allophonic varient *-a* in (15.131).

(15.130)   གཏམ་ག་ལྟེ་བཤད་དགོས་ལབ་པ་ཅེ་ནེ་ང་ཚག་གིས་

[*tam=tsu   k'atɛ   ɕɛ́ʔ   goʔ   **làp-atɕɛ**] *ŋàtɕa=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་ རྩིས་པའི་ རྩར་ འགྱུ་སྟེ་ཀི་ རྩིས་ སྦྱིག་ག་ཅེ་ནེ་ ད་ མནའ་ཆང་ སྐྱེལ་ ཆོག་ སྲིད་ གསལ་སྲིད་ རྩིས་ མན་སྦྱིག་ག་

*t'a   tsi:pø:=tsa: ɟju-tiki   [tsiʔ   **ɖik-atsɛnɛ**] t'a   nǎ̃:tɕʰã   kɛ:*
now   astrologer.GEN=at   go-NF   astrology   fit-COND   now   bethrotal   bring
*(t)ɕ(ʰ)o   bɛʔ.   [**k'ɛ:siʔ** tsiʔ   **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], bethrotal can be arranged. [If the astrological calculations do not fit]...' (SGD wedding customs)

In (15.131), the 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:siʔ* 'if', which helps to disambiguate the clause as conditional.

In addition to the typical converbal uses illustrated above, the conditional form *-nɛ* is used in an idiomatic construction with the secondary verb *ta* 'look' and the attention marker *=ɕo* to form questions/suggestions presenting an alternative course of action.

(15.132)   སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཁྲིག་སྟེ་ སྟོན་ ལྟ་ན་ཧོ?

*méŋkʰã:=na   kʰik-ti   tøn   **ta-nɛ=ɕo**?*
hospital=LOC   lead-NF   show   look-COND=AT
'What if (we) try to take (him) and show (him) at the hospital?' (rnam-tog 17)

The relator noun *tɛŋlɛ* '(from) upon' is once in my data used in a conditional sense:

(15.133)   སྨན་ འདི་ ལེགས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ཟ་བའི་ སྟེང་ལས་ མན་ནེ་ ཆོད་ མི་ཤི།

[*mɛ́n=di   lɛ̀m   p'ja-ti   sà-wø: **tɛŋlɛ**] mɛ̀nni   tɕʰøʔ mi-ɕí.*
medicine=DEMPH   good   do-NF   eat-2INF.GEN   upon   perhaps   2SG.L NEG-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 *-(patɕɛ)nɛ*, 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) རྒྱ་ཚོད་བཅུ་གཅིག་བརྡུངས་རུང་ ཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་བཟུང་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སླེབས་ཤད་ འདིས་

[tɕʰutsʰøʔ   tɕuktɕiʔ **duŋ-ruŋ**]   tʰinlɛ:=ki   kʰim=na=lɛ   t'ato=sã:
clock.time eleven strike-CONC   PN=GEN   house=LOC=ABL   now=until
ka=jã: ma-l̥ɛp-ɕɛ=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་ གཟུགས་ བོམ་བེའ་ལོ་ ཡོད་རུང་ སེམས་ འདིས་ འཛམ་གླིང་ བསྐོར་བ་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།

[mí: zuʔ bombai=lo   **jò:-ruŋ**]   sém=di: dzamliŋ korwa
human.GEN body TPN=DAT   EX-CONC   mind=DEMPH.AGT   world   roaming
kjap-zɛ̃:   jòʔ.
do-PROG   EX.PER
'[Although (his) human body is in Bombay], his mind is travelling around the world.'
(Richhi 135)

(15.136) འདིས་ ཨིན་ན་ཏོ་ གོ་ཚག་རང་ གན་ འགྱུ་རུང་ སོང་ ང་ གོ་ཚག་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ མིན་འགྱུ།

dɛm   ín-(n)ɛ=to   k'utɕa=rã: [**k'ana gju-ruŋ**]   sṍ:.   ŋà
like.that EQU-COND=CEMPH   2PL=AEMPH   where   go-CONC   go.PFV 1SG
k'utɕaʔ ɲámtɕiʔ 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 ĩ́:-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) དེ་ ཁོང་ ཤེས་རུང་ མ་ཤེས་རུང་ ཁོང་ དངུལ་ ཐོབ་པོ་ སྲད།

tɛ [kʰõ: **ɕé:-ruŋ**]   [**ma-ɕé:ruŋ**]   kʰõ: 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་རུང་ མེད་རུང་ དུས་ཚོད་ན་ ཟམ་བཟོ་ བཞག།

[sà-kʰɛ̃:   **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'ɛːsiʔ*, which occurs in conditional clauses, 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་ཚའི་ ལས་རིམ་ འདིའི་ན་ ནོར་འཁྲུལ་ གན་ འཐོན་རུང

[***k'ɛːsiʔ*** *t'ato=sãː=gi*   *ŋàtɕi*   *lɛ̀ːrim*   *diː=na*   *nòrt^hy:* *k'an*
if   now=until=GEN   1PL.GEN program this.GEN=LOC mistake what
t^høn-ruŋ]
happen-CONC
'[Even if some mistakes (may) have taken place in this program of ours 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) དེ་ སྔན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ ག་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ ཨིན་རུང་ འབྲས་སྗོངས་ ཕྱོགས་ བཞི་ མཚམས་ བརྒྱད་ན་, ཕྱོགས་ ག་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ ཨིན་རུང་ ང་ཚག་ ག་ ཚུགས་ རང་གི་ སྐད་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་གི་སོ།

[*tɛ ḷeŋgɛː=tsu*   ***k'aː***   ***zuː-k^hɛː***   ***í̃ː-ruŋ***]   [*ɖendzõː tɕ^hoː*   *zi*   so
PRN.HON=PL   where   live.HON-NMLZ EQU-CONC Sikkim direction four
ts^ham   *gɛː=na*   *tɕ^hoː*   ***k'aː***   ***zuː-k^hɛ̃ː***   ***í̃ː-ruŋ***]   *ŋàtɕaʔ*
border eight=LOC direction where   live.HON-NMLZ EQU-CONC 1PL
k'aː *ts^huʔ*   *raŋ=gi*   *kɛː=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 *í̃ː-ruŋ* has further developed into a contrastive connective '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 *-tɕɛn/zɛn* (§15.8.3), the word *k^ha=lo* 'mouth=DAT' (§15.8.4), comparative manner markers *dɛm* 'like (it)', *nàŋtar(gi)* 'according to', *nàŋzin* 'according to, similar to' and *t'ønzin(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 marker *-pa/ba*
The circumstantial-purposive converb marker *-pa/ba* can mark both attendant circumstance to the action in the following main verb (mainly in negated clauses) and purpose (in affirmative clauses and mainly in conjunction with verbs of motion). The purposive uses are decribed 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 favours the circumstantial rather than purposive interpretation.

(15.141)   གན་ ཐོན་ཁད་ འདི་ཁར་ བཞུགས་པར།
    k'an tʰøn-ɕɛʔ [*dikʰa zu:-pa*]*?*
    what happen-INF here stay.HON-CIRC
    'What (undesirable) will happen [by staying here]?' (Richhi 38)

(15.142)   ང་གིས་ ཁུའི་ མིང་ འདི་ བརྗེད་བརྗེད་པ་ སྡོད་པོ་ བྱད།
    ŋá:=gi [*kʰu=i mìŋ=di* **dzɛ:-dzɛ:-pa**] *dɛ:-po* *bɛʔ.*
    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) སྲོག་ འདི་ ང་ཚག་གིས་ མ་གཙད་པ་ དེ་ ཁོང་ལོ་ ཚེ་ ཐར།
     [*só:=di* *ŋàtɕa=ki* **ma-tɕɛ:-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་ འབུང་ འཐེན་ཅིག་ མ་འཕྱད་པར་ བཞུགས་ཏུ་
     t'a buntʰɛ̃: tɕiʔ [**ma-pʰɛ-pa**] *zu:* *ɲá.*
     now moment one NEG-budge-CIRC sit.HON TAG.ASR
     'Now sit a while [without budging], will you.' (rnam-rtog 28)

    c) དེ་ ང་ཚག་གིས་ འདི་ ཚིག་ འདི་ ལེབ་ འཛུས་དགས་ མ་བྱས་པ་ ཞེད་སྣང་ མ་སྐྱེད་པ་ ང་ཚའི་ ཚིག་ འདི་ སྙན་དགས་ སྙན་དགས་ བྱོས་ ཞུ་གད་ གཞན་མོ་ མི་ཚུ་ལོ།
     tɛ ŋàtɕa=ki=di [*tsʰik=di* *lɛ̀p dzukʈaʔ* **ma-jà-wa**] [*ɕɛ̀nã:*
     so 1PL=AGT=DEMPH word=DEMPH very frightening NEG-do-CIRC anger
     ma-ló:-pa] *ŋàtɕi tsʰik=di* *ɲ̥enʈaʔ ɲ̥enʈaʔ-p'ja ɕù-ɕɛʔ*
     NEG-make.rise-CIRC 1PL.GEN word=DEMPH soft soft-ADVZR say.HUM-INF
     zømø 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་ཟུང་ གཏུམ་ འདི་ཚུ་ ད་སྟ་ཟུང་ འབའི་ ཁ་ལས་ མ་འཐོན་བར་ སེམས་ནང་རང་ རུལ་སྟེ་ ལུས་པོ་ ཨིན།

t'izã: tam=di=tsu   t'ato=sã: [ɲè: kʰa=lɛ   **ma-tʰɵm-ba**][435]
but   word=DEMPH=PL   now=until   1SG.GEN mouth=ABL NEG-come.out-CIRC
sɛ́m=na=rã: ry̆:-di   lù:-po   ĭ́:.
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
nonfinal construction (15.145).

(15.144)   མར་ལོ་ ཆུ་ མ་བླུག་ཀ་
            [*mà:=lo   tɕʰu   **ma-lúk-a**]
            butter=DAT water   NEG-pour-CIRC
            '[without pouring water into the butter]' (KN e)

(15.145)   མར་ལོ་ ཆུ་ མ་བླུག་ཀོ་ བྱས་སྟེ་
            [*mà:=lo   tɕʰu   **ma-lúk-o**   p'ja-ti*]
            butter=DAT water   NEG-pour-2INF   do-NF
            '[without pouring water into the butter]' (LA birth in Lachung)

Converb marked with *-pa/ba* may also express how much time is left until something happens,
see (15.146). The gloss purposive fits this future-oriented context better than circumstantial.

(15.146)   མེ་འཁོར་ འགྱུ་བར་ ད་རུང་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ གསུམ་ཙོད་ འདུག
            [*mìnkʰor   **gju-wa**]   t'aruŋ   tɕʰutsʰɵ?   súm-tsʰɵ?   du?.
            train   go-PUR   still   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 some 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་ གཀར་ལོ་ ཡི་གེ་ མན་བྲི་བར་ ད་རིང་ ཟླ་པོ་ བཞི་ ལྷག་ཏོ།
            [*mú: karma=lo jìgi **man-ɖi-wa**]   dou   zi   ḷak-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)

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[435] Here and elsewhere it is not always clear whether certain words, like *t'ato=sã:* here, belong to the subordinate
clause or are part of the main clause.

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) ཆུ་ཚོད་ བཞི་ བརྡུང་བར་ སྐར་མོ་ བཅུ་ལོ་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ གྲོལ།

[tɕʰutsʰøʔ ʑi **dum-ba**] karmo tɕu=lo lóbʈa ʈʼøː.
clock.time four strike-PUR minute ten=DAT school finish
'The chool finishes at ten to four (o'clock).' Lit. 'The school finishes at ten minutes [to strike four o'clock].' (Richhi 43)

(15.149) ཆུ་ཚོད་ དགུ་ བརྡུང་སྟེ་ གཀྲ་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ སླེབས་ཚ་ཀི།

[tɕʰutsʰøʔ gu **duŋ-di**] karma tɕɛːŋa ʈɛp-tsʰakɛ.
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 * t̃ː* and the existential *jə̀ʔ*. For examples, refer to (15.150) and (15.151) respectively. The use of of *-pa* especially in (15.150a) deserves further research.

(15.150) a) ཨ་ཞང་ གཞན་ཚ་ འབྲོང་པོ་ལོ་ མེ་ ཡིན་པ, ཐོས་ཚ?

ázã̀ː kantɕa bjõ̀ː-bo=lo=s
maternal.uncle youngest.male(Nep.) disappear-2INF=REP=QUO
ím-pa, tʰoː-tɕaʔ.
EQU-CIRC hear-PST.PQ
'Uncle is said to have disappeared, did you hear?' (translation tentative) (TB phone call)

b) མན་ ད་ཅེ་ ཨ་རྫོ་གིས་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ ཞལ་ལས་ གནང་ཞེ། མན་ན་ ཨོ་འདིས་ ཕན་དོ་ གམ། མན་པ་ སྨན་འདིས་ ཕན་དོ་ གམ?

mɛ̀ː̃ tʼatɕi ádzo=gi gɛ̀ːpo=di=lo lɛ̀pti ɕɛ̀ːlɛ̃ː
NEG.EQU.PER recently grandfather=AGT king=DEMPH=DAT a.lot incantation
nã̀ː-zɛ. mènni ódiː pʰɛn-do-gam. [**mɛ̀m-ba**]
do.HON-PST perhaps that.AGT help-IPFV-ATTQ NEG.EQU-CIRC
mɛ́n diː 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) རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་ ན་ སློབ་དཔོན་ གྱི་གྱི་ འཆིབ་འགྲོན་ ཡོད་པ་

[mýtsyʔ nàː lópøn=gi=gi tɕʰipʈo=na **jə̀ː-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) ཨླ་ རྒྱབས་མཁན་ མེད་པ་ ངས་ ཨླ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ ཡིནད།

[*là: kjap-kʰɛ̀: **mè:-pa**] *ŋá: *là: *kjap-o *bɛʔ.*
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 12th 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. བཞལ་ལོ་ ཕྱིན་ *sí:=lo tɕʼøn* [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) ཨོ་ལག་ བཟའ་མི་ གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ ཁྱིམ་ཚེས་ སྦྲུལ་ ཅིག་ སླེབས་པར་ སྐྱིད་པོ་ མ་བྱུང་རུང་ བྱས་ཐབས་ གན་ཡང་ མ་ཐོབ་པོ་ ཡིནད།
ø:laʔ za:mi *ɲí:=gi* [*kʰimtsʰɛ* *biu=tɕiʔ* **ɭɛp-a**] *kipu*
crow householder two=AGT neighbor snake=INDF arrive-CIRC enjoyment
man-dzuŋ-ruŋ *pʼja-tap* *kʼan=jã:* *ma-tʰop-o* *bɛʔ.*
NEG-become-CONC do-means what=even NEG-find-2INF EQU.NE
'[As a snake arrived (to live) as a neigbour], 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) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ དང་ ང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་པ།
gjaltsʰɛn *tʼã:* *ŋà* *ɲámtɕiʔ* *jóʔ* **kjap-a**.
PN and 1SG together work do-CIRC
'Gyaltshen and I (are to) work together.' (?) (KN e)

(15.154) ང་ནེ་ ཨ་ཛོ་ དེ་རིང་ ག་ཚོད་ བར་ལོ་ ཕྱིན་གམ་ མནོ་སྟེ་ ལྟ་ལྟ་བར།
ŋà=ni *ádzo* *tʼariŋ* *kʼadzøʔ* *pʼa:=lo* *tɕʼøŋ-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་བློན་སྤུང་ཡོད་པ།

ŋà　　dikʰa kalimpoŋ　**jò̀ː-pa**.
1SG　here　TPN　　　EX-CIRC
'I'm here in Kalimpong.' (?) (TB phone call)

(15.156)　　　ང་ཕོའུ་སིམ་ཁར་ཀ་བཙར་ཉེ་མནོ་བ་ཏེ་ཁི་ཌྌ་མེན་དལ་ཆོའུ།

ŋà　　pʰou　　simkʰarka tɕaː-ɲi　　　　**nó̀ː-wa**　tɛ　　kʰoi
1SG　over.there　TPN　　　come.HUM-INF　　think-CIRC　then　where(Nep.)
dzɛː　min-dɛː　　　　hou
at.all　NEG-have.time　EXCLAM
'I've been thinking to come to Simkharka, but how, I don't have time at all, eh.' (?)
(KT discussion)

(15.157)　　　ཨ་ཇྱ, ཨ་ཇྱ་ང་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ལས་ལོག་སྟེ་སླེབས་ལོང་མེད་པོ་ཡི་གེ་སྒུག་སྒུག་པར།

ágja　　　　ágja　　　　ŋà　　ɖɛndzõ̀ː=lɛ　lò̀k-ti　　ḽɛp
elder.brother elder.brother 1SG　Sikkim=ABL　return-NF　arrive
lõ̀ː　　　mè̀ː-po　　jìgi　　**guː guː-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་ལྗོང་གཅིག་བཟོ་བཞག་ཡོད་པ།

ŋà　　jìgdõ̀ː=tɕiʔ　　zo　zak　**jò̀ː-pa**.
1SG　sentence=INDF　make put　EX-CIRC
'I have made one sentence (in writing)'[436] (?) (KN e)

Consultant KN commented that the form *jò̀ː-pa*, as used in (15.159b), cannot be found in books, suggesting that clause-final *-pa* is mainly an oral construction.

(15.159)　　a)　ཞུན་རྒྱས་ད་ལྟོ་བཀའ་བློན་སྤུང་ན་ཡོད་པོ?

　　　　ḽɛŋgɛʔ　　　t'ato kalimpoŋ=na jò̀-po?
　　　　PRN.HON　　now　TPN=LOC　　EX.PER-2INF
　　　　'Are you now is Kalimpong?'

　　b)　ང་ད་ལྟོ་བཀའ་བློན་སྤུང་ན་ར་ཡོད་པ།

　　　　ŋà　　t'ato kalimpoŋ=na=ra　**jò̀ː-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.

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[436] KN's Nepali translation was *maile euṭa sentence bana-e-ko chu ta* [1SG.ERG one sentence build-PFV-NMLZ EX.NPST.1SG CEMPH].

15.8.2 Circumstantial construction with postposition *nàŋɕa/nàŋlo* 'inside'

The postposition *nàŋɕa/nàŋlo/nàŋlɛ* 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་ ཀེས་པོ་ མནོ་མནོ་བོའི་ ནང་ལོ་ ཁོ་ གཉིད་ ཞིམ་དགས་ ཁུག།།

    [*dɛm*   *kɛ:po*   **nó:-no:-wø:**   **nàŋlo**]   *kʰu*   *ɲíʔ*   *ɕìmʈaʔ*   *kʰuʔ*.

    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) འདི་རང་ བྱས་བཞིན་ གྱིས་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་བའི་ ནང་ལོ་ ཕྱི་རུ་གི་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ བརྒྱད་ བརྡུང་རབ་ སྲད།

    [*dɛ:=rã:*   *pʼja-zɛ̃:*   *kʼjoʔ*   **kjap-kjap-ø:**   **nàŋlo**]   *pʰiru=gi*

    like.that=AEMPH   do-PROG   chatting   do-do-2INF.GEN   inside   evening=GEN

    tɕʰutsʰøʔ   *gɛʔ*   *duŋ-rap*   *bɛʔ*.

    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 *-tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/zin*

The progressive marker *-tɕɛ̃:/zɛ̃:/zin*, which forms finite constructions with existential auxiliaries, may also be used without the final auxiliary as a dependent adverbial clause marker. 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་ འགྱུ་ ཚུར་ འགྱུ་ བྱས་བཞིན་ དུས་ཚོད་ ཨ་ཙི་ སྐྱལ།

    mú: [*pʰa:*   *gju*   *tsʰu:*   **gju** **pʼja-zɛ̃:**]   *tʼytsʰøʔ*   *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) ཕྲིན་ལས་ - "ལགས," ལབ་བཞིན་ལོ་ ཁོང་ཚུའི་ སྐུ་མདུན་ལོ་ བཅར།

    ʈʰinlɛ   [*là:*   **làp-zɛ̃:=lo**]   *kʰõ:=tsu=i*   *kumdỹ:=lo*   *tɕa:.*

    Thrinley   yes   say-PROG=DAT   3PL=PL=GEN   in.presence.HON=DAT   come.HUM

    'Thrinley, [saying yes], comes to their presence.' (Richhi 25)

(15.164) བྲག་གུ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ནང་ཤ་ མཚམས་ བཅད་བཞིན་ བཅད་བཞིན་ལས་ འབྲོང་པོ་ལོ།[437]

    [*ʈʼaku*   *ódi*   *nàŋɕa*   *tsʰam*   **tsʰɛ:-zin**   **tsʰɛ:-zin=lɛ**]   *bjã:-bo=lo.*

    cave   that   inside   seclusion   do-PROG   do-PROG=ABL   disappear-2INF =REP

    '(She) disappeared, [from (the midst of) practicing and practicing solitary meditation in that cave], it is told.' (SGD cave story)

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[437] Here the written form བཅད་ *bcad* (suggesting pronunciation as *tɕɛʔ*), which is considered "correct," does not correspond to the actual pronunciation *tsʰɛ:*.

The progressive frequently co-occurs with verbs of motion (especially *gju* 'go'), providing a manner or attendant circumstance of literal going[438], as in (15.165), or metaphorical going, that is, changing, as in (15.166).

(15.165) སྨན་ཁང་ན་ སླེབས་སྟེ་ རྩྭའི་ལགས་ གན་ ཡོད་ཀས་ འཚོལ་བཞིན་ སོང་བས་

        méŋkʰã:=na   *ḷɛp-ti*   [*bhaila k'ana*   *jò̀:-kam*   **tsʰɵ:-zɛ̃:**]

        hospital=LOC arrive-NF   PN   where   EX.PER-ATTQ   search-PROG

        sɵ̋:-bɛ:[439]

        go.PFV-when

        '(They) arrive at the hospital and as (they) go [searching where Bhaila is]…'

        (Richhi 10)

(15.166) ཨ་ཚི་ སྦོམ་བཞིན་ འགྱུ་པོ་དང་

        [*átsi* **bom-zɛ̃:**]   *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) གྱོས་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ འགྱུ་པོའི་ སྐབས་

        [*k'joʔ* *kjap-zɛ̃:*   *kjap-zɛ̃:*]   *gju-wø:*   *kap*

        chatting do-PROG   do-PROG   go-2INF.GEN   time

        'When (they) go on chatting and chatting…' (Richhi 130)

The circumstantial/manner use of the progressive is negated by the prefix *ma-*.

(15.168) གུ་ཆག་ འདི་ གན་ཕྱུས་ སྐད་ མ་ཤེས་བཞིན་ ཕྱགས་སྐད་ གལ་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ?

        k'utɕa=di   *k'amja*   [*kɛʔ*   **ma-ɕé:-tɕɛ̃:**]   *tɕʰukɛʔ* *k'am kjap-to?*

        2PL=DEMPH why   language NEG-know-PROG Nepali why strike-IPFV

        'Why do you, [not knowing the (Nepali) language], why (do you) speak Nepali?' (CY interview)

15.8.4 Circumstantial clauses with *kʰa=lo*

Circumstantial clauses can also be formed using the dative-locative form of the word *kʰa* 'mouth', preceded by genitivized -*po*-infinitive. The meaning is close to both simultaneous and causal clauses, as suggested by the gloss 'as/when/since'.

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[438] For a similar use of the nonfinal -*ti/di*, consider examples (15.3-6) above.

[439] བས་ *bas* [bɛ:] is a Central Tibetan clause connector which does not occur in my spoken data.

(15.169) ང་རའི་ རྐྱར་ མེད་པའི་ ཁ་ལོ་ རང་ལོ་ ག་སྟེ་ ཕྱིན་ཤད་ པོ?

[ŋà-ri=tsa: mè:-**pø:** **kʰa=lo**] ŋá rã:=lo k'atɛ
1SG-AEMPH.GEN=at NEG.EX-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT I 2SG.M=DAT how

p'in-ɕɛ 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་ རྒྱུ་ནོར་ ག་རེ་ མེད་པའི་ ཁ་ལོ་ ཉེ་པོ་ གཉེན་ཚན་ སྤང་ས།

[ŋà=lo gjunor k'arɛ mè:-**pø:** **kʰa=lo**] ɲù:ɲɛntsʰɛ̃:
1SG=DAT riches any NEG.EX-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT relatives

pã̀:.
abandon

'[As/when/since I didn't have any riches], (my) relatives abandoned (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 *dɛm* 'like (it)' (§15.8.5.1) or one of the postpositions *nàŋtar(gi)* 'according to', *nàŋzin* 'according to, similar to' (§15.8.5.2) or *t'ønzin(gi)* 'in accordance with' (§15.8.5.3).

15.8.5.1 Comparative manner with *dɛm*

The verb preceding *dɛm* 'like (it)' is typically a *-po*-infinitive (without genetivization), see (15.171) and (15.172), but the imperfective form also occurs in this position, see (15.173).

(15.171) ཨོ་འདི་ མནེ་སྨུ་རང་ ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ ལབ་པོ་ འདེམ་ ལེབ་ཏི་ སྐྱོ་དགས་ སྦད།

ódi nɛ́:mu=ra [tɕʰø:=ki làp-**o** **dɛm**] lɛ̀pti 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་དོ་ མཐོང་རུང་ མ་མཐོང་པོ་ འདེམ་ བཟུར་སྟེ་ འགྱུར་པོ་ སྦད།

ŋà=lo=to tʰõ̀:-ruŋ [ma-tʰõ̀:-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)

(15.173) ཞོང་རན་ཁར་ རྒྱལབ་ ཞོང་དོ་ འདྲེམ་ ཞོང་།

       ǒ:-rɛŋkʰa   [*gɛ:p òn-**do*   *dɛm*] *ǒ:.*

       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, *dɛm* may be followed by manner adverbializer *p'ja(ti)*:

(15.174) ད་རིང་ ལབ་ འདྲེམ་ ཞུ་པོ་ འདྲེམ་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ལབ་ མན་དགོས་པོ་ སྦྲད།

       [*t'ariŋ*   *làp*   *dɛm*,   *ɕù-**bo***   *dɛm*   *p'ja-ti*] *làp*

       today   say like.it   say.HUM-2INF   like.it   do-NF   say

       maŋ-go:-b-bɛʔ.

       NEG-be.needed-2INF-EQU.NE

       'It was not necessary to mention (it) [as we speak (it), as we say (it) today].'

       (NT BLA 6)

15.8.5.2 Comparative manner with *nàŋtar(gi)/nàŋʑin*

The postpositions *nàŋtar(gi)* and *nàŋʑin* '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) ཞོང་ གཞི་ བཙུགག་ཀོ་ ནང་ལྟར་གིས་ འདི་ ང་ཚག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ འདུ་སྐྱེལ་སྟེ་

       [*kʰǒ:* *ʑi*   *tsuk-o*   ***nàŋtargi**=di*]   *ŋàtɕaʔ* *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 all, making effort…'

       (KL BLA 12)

(15.176) བླ་མས་ གསུང་པོ་ ནང་བཞིན་

       [*láma:*   *súm-bo*   ***nàŋʑin***]

       lama.AGT   say.HON-2INF according.to

       '[According to what the lama had said]…' (mi-la ras-po 6)

(15.177) སྤྱན་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ པོས་པོ་ ནང་ལྟར་ ད་རིང་ ན་ བཅའ་པོ་ ཨིན།

       [*ʎeŋgɛ:=ki*   *p'o:-po*   ***nàŋtar***]   *t'ariŋ*   *nà:*   *tɕa:-bo*

       PRN.HON=AGT   invite-2INF   according.to   today   here come.HUM-2INF

       ǐ:.

       EQU.PER

       'I came here today [on the basis of you having invited (me)].' (KN e)

15.8.5.3 Comparative manner with *t'ønʑin(gi)*

A clause headed by the postposition *t'ønʑin(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་ནང་ བཀའ་མོལ་ ཐག་བཅད་ གནང་ དོན་བཞིན་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ རང་རང་ སོ་སོའི་ ཕྱགས་འགན་ ཞལ་ བཞེས་ གནང་བས་ ཕྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ ཞུ་གད་ ཨིན།

[t'ariŋ=gi tsʰoːdyː=na kamø **tʰaːʈɕeʔ nɑ̃ː t'ønzin**]
today=GEN meeting.GEN=LOC discussion decision do.HON in.accordance.with

tʰamtɕɛ=ki rã:rã:sóːsøː tʰuːgen ɕɛ̀ː zeː
all=AGT each.oneself.GEN responsibility.HON mouth.HON eat.HON

nɑ̃̀ː-bɛː tʰudzitɕʰɛ ɕù-ɕɛ ĩ́ː
do-2INF.AGT thank.you say.HUM-INF EQU.PER

'I offer thanks because all (of you) have taken each (your) own responsibility [in accordance with the decision we took in today's meeting.]' (Richhi 51)

(15.179) དེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཕུལ་པོ་ དོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ད་ ང་ཅག་ འདེབ་ དེ་ལྱ་ སྡོད་ནེ་ མིན་སྡིག་གོ།

tɛ [*ódi pʰyː-bo **t'ønziŋgi**] *t'a ŋàtɕaʔ ɖep t'ɛːlu døː-nɛ*
so that offer-2INF in.view.of now 1PL like.that idle stay-COND

mìn-ɖikɛ
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་ ཡོལྱ་ དཀའ་བཅར་ བཞེས་པའི་ དོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་

[*kʰoŋ=gi jòu t'amtɕaʔ **zeː-pøː t'ønziŋgi**]*
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་པོ་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ དོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ཐུགས་བསམ་ བཞེས་སྟི་གི་ ཕྱག་ལས་ གནན་དོ་ སྡད།

[*guru rimputɕʰɛ=gi **k'an súŋ-sum-bo jø̀-po ódi
t'ønziŋgi**] tʰuːsam zeː-tiki tɕʰaːlɛʔ nɑ̃̀ː-do bɛʔ*
guru Rimpoche=AGT what say.HON-RDP-2INF EX-2INF that
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'ønzin* may be supplemented by the adverbializer *-p'ja(ti)*, which forms adverbials of manner (see §3.5.2.1):

(15.182) འདི་ལས་ བུ་མོས་ཀྱང་ ཨ་མས་ གན་ བཀའ་ གནང་བའི་ དོན་བཞིན་ བྱས་ སྡོད་པོ་ སྡད།

dìlɛ p'umu=jã [*áma: k'an ka nɑ̃̀ː-bøː*
then girl=too mother.AGT what order give.HON-2INF.GEN

***t'ønzin**]-**p'ja** døː-po bɛʔ*
according.to-ADVZR stay-2INF EQU.NE

'Then the daughter lived [in a manner that accorded with what the mother had ordered].' ('dres-ljongs gsung-gtam, class 12, 39)

576

15.8.6 Genitivized -*po*-infinitive

A genitivized -*po*-infinitive may, although infrequently, form an adverbial clause of circumstance/manner:

(15.183)   ལབ་གྡ་ བཞག་གྡ་ མེད་པའི་ མིའི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ འགྲུ་གྡ་ ངོ་ཚ་བར།"

        [*làp-ɕɛʔ zak-ɕɛʔ **mὲ:-pø**:*]   *mí:*   *kʰim=na*   *gju-ɕɛʔ*   *ŋò*
        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 *mitsʰɛʔ* 'in addition, not stopping' (§15.9.1), *tɛŋlo* '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 *mὲmbo*, which is followed by a negated or an interrogated clause (§15.9.4).

15.9.1 Additive with *mitsʰɛʔ*

Additive clauses can be formed by postposing *mitsʰɛʔ* '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་ བརྩོན་འགྲུལ་ མན་བྱས་ན་ དོན་ཡང་ མིན་འགྲུབ་པོ་ མི་ཚད་ སྡུག་བསྔལ་ བོམ་པོ་ མྱོང་གྡ་ ཡིན།

        di   *ɖau*   *tsyndy:* *mam-bja-nɛ* [*t'øn=jã:*   *min-ɖup-**o***   ***mi-tsʰɛʔ***]
        this   like   effort   NEG-do-COND purpose=too NEG-fulfil-2INF NEG-stop
        duŋŋal   *bompu* *mjõ̀:-ɕɛ*   *ĩ́:.*
        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) shall go through big trouble.' / 'If (we) do not make effort like that (our) purpose will not be fulfilled and, moreover, (we) shall also go through big trouble.' (Class 7 textbook 5)

    The form *mi-tsʰɛʔ* also occurs as a looser cohesive marker 'moreover, furthermore' following a finite clause, see §12.2.

15.9.2 Additive with *tɛŋlo*

The relator noun *tɛŋlo* 'on, upon, above' can mark additive clauses:

(15.185) ཨ་ན་ རྒས་མ་ འདི་ ལེབ་ཏི་ ལོ་རྒས་ཏི་ ཨུ་སྡུག་དུགས་ ཐོན་ ཡོད་པོ་ ད་རྟོ་རང་ ཤི་རབ་ འདེམ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྟེང་ལོ་ སྣ་འདི་ རིང་ཀུ་

ána   gɛːm=di   [lɛ̀pti   lò   gɛː-ti   ùduːʈaʔ
old.lady old.lady=DEMPH   very.much   year   become.old-NF   out.of.breath
*tʰøn   jø̀-po   t'ato=rã̀ː   ɕí-rap   dɛm   jø̀-**pø̀ː**   **tɛŋlo**]*
become   EX-2INF   now=AEMPH   die-IMF   like.it   EX-2INF.GEN   upon
ŋa=di   riŋku
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 *kʰa=lo*

In addition to circumstance (see §15.8.4), *kʰa=lo* 'mouth=DAT' may express additive meanings:

(15.186) ངས་ ད་རིང་ཏོ་ ལེ་སྟེ་ གང་ ཟ་བའི་ ཁ་ལོ་ བི་ཨར་ (beer) བོ་ཏར་ དོ་ འཐུང་པོ་ ཨིན།

*ŋáː   t'ariŋ=to   [lè:de: k'ã̀:   sà-**wø̀**:   **kʰa=lo**]   biər*
I.AGT   today=CEMPH   plate   full   eat-2INF.GEN   mouth=DAT   beer(Eng)
botr   do   tʰuŋ-bo   ǐ̀ː.
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 *mɛ̀mbo*

The form *mɛ̀mbo*, which is a somewhat grammaticalized form of the negated interrogative equative *mɛ̀m-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), *mɛ̀mbo* 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་ ཚོ་འདི་ སྐབས་ན་ ཁ་ལས་ རྒྱབས་ཕད་ མན་པོ་ བི་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ལུགས་སྲོལ་ མེ་དབ་ཟྲད།

*t'izã̀ː ódi   kap=na   [kʰa=lɛ   kjap-ɕɛʔ   **mɛ̀mbo**] ʈ'i-ɕɛ=ki*
but   that   time=LOC   mouth=ABL   do-INF   except   write-INF=GEN
lùksøː   mɛ̀bbɛʔ.
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 *mɛ̀mbo*.

(15.188) དེ་རིང་སྐྱལ་མ་ འདི་མའི་ བུམ་ འདི་ལོ་ ཚོན་སྐྱོར་ དང་ རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་ ཕུས་སྟེ་ རང་གི་ བཟའ་ཟླ་ བཟོ་སྟེ་ མཐའ་ཕྱུག་ན་ ཚོད་རའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ མེད་
གཏམ་ ངན་པོ་ དང་ འཕྱུར་ཁ་ ཐོས་ཧད་ མན་པོ་ གཞན་ ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ མི་སྲིད་ ཤིག་ཀོའི་ མེད་གཏམ་ སྦོམ་པོ་ གན་ ཐོབ་……།

t'izã: ɖolma dɛmø: p'um=di=lo søŋkor t'ã: gjapkor p'ja-ti
but PN like.GEN girl=DEMPH=DAT care and support do-NF
raŋgi za:da zo-ti tʰa:pʰu=na [tɕʰø:=ri tɛŋkʰa mìŋtam
own=GEN spouse make-NF end=LOC 2SG.L=AEMPH.GEN above fame
*ɲèmpo t'ã: pʰjarkʰa tʰo:-ɕɛʔ **mèmbo**] ʑɛn tɕʰø:=ki mìsisikø:*
bad and disgrace hear-INF except other 2SG.L=GEN ridiculous.GEN
mìŋtam bompu k'an tʰop?
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 for (or: in addition to) hearing at the end disrepute and disgrace (directed) at yourself]?' (nga'i 'gan 4)

15.10 Substitutive clauses with *tsʰaplo*

Substitutive clauses are formed with the help of the relator noun *tsʰaplo/tsʰamalo* 'in place of', which is appended to a genetivized infinitive form:

(15.189) ཁུ་ལོ་ བྱིན་པའི་ ཚབ་ལོ་ འདི་ དངུལ་ འདི་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལོ་ བྱིན་གི།
[*kʰu=lo p'im-**bø:** tsʰaplo*] *di ɲý:=di mù=lo*
3SGM=DAT give-2INF.GEN in.place.of this money=DEMPH 3SGF=DAT
p'iŋ-gɛ.
give-HORT
'Let's give this money to her [instead of giving (it) to him].' (KN e)

15.11 Comparative clauses with *=lɛ* (*ʄako*=EMPH)

Comparative clauses can be formed by attaching the ablative *=lɛ*, optionally followed by *ʄako* '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 *ʄako* may be followed by an emphatic, see *=to* in (15.190b) and *=di* in (15.191).

(15.190) a) སྒང་ཏོག་ལོ་ སྡོད་པོ་ལས་ གནམ་རྩེ་ལོ་ འགྱུ་བོ་ དག།
[*ga:to:=lo **dø:-po=lɛ**]* *námtsi=lo gju-wo ʈ'ak.*
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) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལོ་ བྱིན་པོ་ལས་ ལྷག་ཀོ་ཏོ་ གཀར་ལོ་ བྱིན་པོ་ དག།
[*gjaltsʰɛn=lo **p'im-bo=lɛ**]* ***ʄako=to*** *karma=lo p'im-bo ʈ'ak.*
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 Gyaltshen].' (KN e)

(15.191)　ང་ཚག་ འདི་ ཁོང་གིས་ བྲི་པོ་ གནང་སོང་ཟང་ འདི་ལས་ ལྷག་ཀོ་ འདི་ མིན་དགོས་ སྲད།

ŋàtɕa=di　　　[kʰon=gi　　　ʈʼi-u　　　**nã̀ː-sonzã̀ː=di=lɛ**]
1PL=DEMPH　　3SG.HON=AGT　　write-2INF　do.HON-TERM=DEMPH=ABL
ḷako=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)

For uses of the comparative construction =lɛ (ḷako) with nouns, see §5.6.1.3.2.

15.12 Various functions of the terminative converbs *-sã̀ː* and *-sonzã̀ː*

The terminative converb has two markers, *-sã̀ː* and *-sonzã̀ː*, which both probably derive form the postposition =sã̀ː(tɛ) ཟང་(སྟེ་) 'until'. The longer form *-sonzã̀ː* is most probably a historical combination of the secondary verb *sốː* (WD སོང་ song) and the postposition =sã̀ː. 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 =sã̀ː 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་ སྡོད་ཤད་ ཨིན།

ŋà　t'aruŋ　[óŋmu　lòk　**ma-ổ̀ː-sã̀ː**]　　dø̀ː-ɕɛ　ĩ́ː.
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)　སྦྱང་བཀྱར་ སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་ ཟང་ ཇ་ ཙམ་པའི་ འགན་ ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ལོ།

[dzã̀ːdar **mjổ̀ː-mjõ̀ː-sã̀ː**]　tɕʼa　tsampø:　gɛn　　　tɕʰøki=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 =sã̀ː occurs as negated. 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, =sã̀ː expresses simultaneity:

(15.194)　ང་ ཚོན་ སོང་ཟང་ ཁུ་ ཚོན་ མིན་འདུག

[ŋà　óna　**sốː-sã̀ː**]　　kʰu　óna　mìnduʔ.
1SG　there　go.PFV-TERM　3SGM　there　NEG.EX.SEN
'[When I went there], he was not there.'(KL e)

580

(15.195) མདང་ ང་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལོ་ མཐོང་ཟོང་ ཁུ་ བྲོས་ ཡ་པོ་ ཨིན།

[dã: ŋà gjaltsʰɛn=lo **tʰõ:-sõ:**] kʰu p'joʔ jà:-bo ĩ́:.
yesterday 1SG PN=DAT see-TERM 3SGM escape go-2INF EQU.PER
'[Yesterday when/as I saw Gjaltshen], (he) escaped.' (TB e)

(15.196) པད་གླིང་ སླེབས་ཟོང་ ད་ ང་ཚག་ ཟམ་ ཟ་ཕད་ ལེབ་ གཀག་དྲགས།

[pɛliŋ **ɭɛp-sã:**] t'a ŋàtɕaʔ sàm sà-ɕɛʔ lὲp k'akṭaʔ.
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) དེ་ ང་ཚག་ ཀུལ་ཚོད་ པྲོཕུ་གྲམ་ (culture program) བཏོན་གེ་ ལབ་ཟོང་ ང་ཚག་ལོ་ སྐྱེས་ཏེ་ཨེ་ཇི་ (stage) མིན་འདུག

tɛ [ŋàtɕaʔ kaltɕə prougram tøŋ-gɛ **làp-sã:**]
then 1PL culture(Eng.) program(Eng.) take.out-HORT say=TERM
ŋàtɕa=lo stɕidʑ mìnduʔ.
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) ཕར་ཚུར་ མིག་ འགྱུར་སྟེ་ སྐུ་ཟང་ ནོར་བུ་དོ་ ལམ་ ཤུགས་སྟེ་ ཁྱིམ་ཕོས་ལོ་ འགྱུ་པོ་ མཐོང་སྟེ་

[pʰa: tsʰu: mìk gir-di **ta-sã:**] nòrbu=to làm ɕùk-ti
thither hither eye stare-NF look=TERM PN=CEMPH road enter-NF
kʰim ŋo:=lo gju: tʰõ:-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)[440]

The terminative may be followed by the conditional marker:

(15.199) ང་ སྐུ་ཟང་ནེ་ ཡུལ་ འདི་ ཅང་དྲགས་ འདུག

[ŋà **ta=sã:-nɛ**] ỳ:=di tɕã:ṭaʔ duʔ.
1SG look-TERM-COND place=DEMPH beautiful EX.SEN
'[If I look (at it)] this place is beautiful.'(KN e)[441]

A verbal construction with =sã: can also express reason:

(15.200) གཀྲ་ཀིས་ མན་ཟ་ཟང་ ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ མིན་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)

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[440] The construction *ta=sã:* is analogous to Nepali *her-e-samma* [look-PFV-until] 'when looking, as far as one can see'.
[441] The speaker KN himself volunteered a translation into Nepali with the simultaneous construction *her-da-kʰeri*.

(15.201) ངས་ དེབ་ འདི་ སློག་ཤད་ འགྲོ་ བཅུག་ཟང་ ངའི་ཀི་ རོགས་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ སློག་ མ་ཐོབ།

[ŋá: tɛp=di   ɖok-ɕɛʔ   go   **tsuk-sã:**]   ɲè:=gi
I.AGT book=DEMPH read-INF beginning insert-TERM 1SG.GEN=GEN
roʔ   l̥ɛp-ti   ɖok   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) ཁུ་ ལབ་ཟང་ ཁུ་ སྒང་ཏོག་ འོང་ཤད་ལོ།

[kʰu   **làp-sã:**]   kʰu   gã:toʔ   ò̰:-ɕɛ=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་ཚི་ལེ་ འོང་དེ་ བྱས་ཟང་ གན་མའི་ འོང་ལོང་ འདུག་གོ།

[ŋà   t'atɕi=lɛ   ò̰:-ɲi   **p'ja-sã:**]   k'amø: ò̰:   lò̰:
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 ཚོང་ཚང་ *song tsang*, suggesting an origin in WT ཚང་ *tsang* 'because', although the clause does not express reason.

(15.204) མི་ ལ་ལ་གིས་ ལབ་སོང་ཚང་ གཉེན་གྱི་ རྟགས་ འདི་ པང་གདན་ ཨིན་ལོ།

[mí   làla=gi   **làp-sonzã:**]   ɲén=gi   ta:=di   pã:dẽ:
human some=AGT say-TERM   marriage=GEN sign=DEMPH apron
ĩ́:=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)

582

(15.205) དེ་ཟིང་ ཚོ་འདི་ འབགགས་ཚ་ འདི་ ངས་ རྒྱབ་མ་ མཐོང་སོང་ཟིང་ བདེན་གས་ མིན་བདེན་གས་ དེ་ ལེག་ མནོ་ནེ་ འདི་ བདེན་དྲགས་ འདེས་
གཅིག་ འདུག་གེ།

t'izã: ódi gagdza=di   [ŋá: gjapma **tʰõ̀:-sonzã:**] dɛŋ-gam   but
that obstacle=DEMPH I.AGT after see-TERM   be.true-ATTQ

min-dɛŋ-gam   *tɛ* *lèp*   *nó:-nɛ=di*   *dɛnʈaʔ* *dɛm=tɕiʔ*
NEG-be.true-ATTQ   so much   think-COND=DEMPH   true   like=INDF

dukɛ.
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) ཏེ་སོང་ཟིང་ ཏེ་ ཁུས་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ་

[***tʼi-sonzã:***] *tɛ* *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་སོངས་ཟིང་ གཅིག་གོ་ འདི་ དུ་བཞིན་ འོང་བཞིན་གོ་ལོ།

[***òn-sumzã:***] *tɕuku=di*   *ŋù-zin*   *òn-tɕuŋgɛ=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་སྒྲིག་སོང་ཟིང་ གྱུ་ཚག་ དགོངས་ཁྲིལ་ མ་གནང་སེ།

[*di* **man-ɖik-sonzã:**]   *k'utɕaʔ* *gomʈʰi:*   *ma-nã̀:=s.*
this NEG-match.up-TERM   2PL   be.offended   NEG-do.HON=QUO
'Please don't be offended, [because (the potential spouses) did not match up].' (SGD
wedding customs)

(15.209) ཚོ་འདེས་ ལུགས་སྲོལ་ ཡོད་སོང་ཟིང་ མག་གོ་ འདི་ ཨིན་ཚིག་ མིན་ཚིག་ ཁ་ཆང་ཚེས་ ཁྲིག་སྟེ་ སྟོན་ དགོས་མཁན་ སྦད།

[*ódɛm* *lùksø:*   **jò̀:-sonzã:**] *máko=di*   *íntɕimintɕiʔ*
like.that tradition   EX-TERM   son-in-law=DEMPH necessarily

kʰatɕʰã̀:-tsʰi   *kʰik-tiki* *tøn* *go:-kʰɛn*   *bɛʔ.*
khachang.ceremony-date bring-NF   show be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE
'[Since there is such a tradition], the son-in-law necessarily has to be brought and
shown up on the date of the khachang ceremony.' (SGD wedding customs)

Both the short form *-sã:* and the long form *-sonzã:* occur in spoken language, although the long
form is more frequent. The novel Richhi does not have any examples of the typical spoken

form -*sonzã:*, see (15.210), but instead uses the shorter form -*sã:*, see (15.211). The negation of the copular terminative *ín-sonzã:* is *mё̃:-sonzã:*.

(15.210)　ཚོ་འདིས་ ཨིན་སོང་ཟང་
　　　　　[*ódi:*　**ín-sonzã:**]
　　　　　that.AGT EQU-TERM
　　　　　'[Because of that]...' (CY interview)

(15.211)　འདིས་ ཨིན་ཟང་
　　　　　[*di:*　**ín-zã:**]
　　　　　this.AGT EQU-TERM
　　　　　'[Because of this]... ' (Richhi 60)

In written language, the demonstrative in (15.211) 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 (15.210) is here marked as agentive.

For an example of the terminative marker in a comparative clause, refer to example (15.191).

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

=*rã:*/=*ra*	རང་/ར་	anaphoric emphatic
=*to*	ཏོ་	contrastive emphatic
=*di*	འདི་	demonstrative-emphatic
=*ni/nɛ*	ནེ་	topicalizer-emphatic
=*jã:*	ཡང་	additive emphatic

As examplified in (16.1), emphatic clitics in a noun phrase occur after case-marking.

(16.1) སྐད་ཕྱགས་ གསུམ་ འདེ་ ཨོ་འདེ་ སྐང་ལས་རང་ ཡོད་ གསུངས་བཞིན་ འདུག།

       kɛ:dzaʔ   *súm*   *dɛ:*   **ódi**   **gã:=lɛ=ra**   *jɞ̀ʔ*   *súŋ=ʐɛn*

       language.HON three like.that that   time=ABL=AEMPH   EX.PER   say.HON=PROG

       duʔ.

       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*[442]) 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

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[442] 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.

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 indeed', ódɛm=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: ད་ཚིག་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ལོ།
         t'utɕiʔ   *dordzidɛ̃:=lo.*
         this.year   TPN=DAT
         'This year (it's) in Dorjeden.'

      B: ད་ཚིག་དེ་རེགཏ་[443] (direct) རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ལོ་ར་འདུད་ (=འདུ་ སྲད)།
         t'utɕiʔ   *dairekt*   *dordzidɛ̃:=lo=**ra**   *ɖɛʔ.*
         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 *ódɛ=**ra*** 'just like that' makes anaphoric reference to the previous clause in the same sentence:

(16.3) ད་སྔོན་མ་གར་ཡོད་པོ་ཨོ་འདེ་ར་བཞག་དགོས།
         t'a   *ɲéma*   *k'ar* *jò-po*   *ódɛ:=**ra***   *za:*   *goʔ.*
         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 རང་ *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) ངས་ གན་ བྱ་ དགོས་ ང་རང་གིས་ རང་ ཐག་བཅད་ མི་ཚུགས།
         ŋá: *k'an* *p'ja* *goʔ*   ***ŋà-raŋ=gi=rã:***   *tʰak-ɕɛʔ*
         I.AGT   what do   be.needed   1SG-REFL=AGT=AEMPH   decide
         mi-tsʰuʔ.
         NEG-be.able.to
         'I cannot decide all by myself what I should do.' (Richhi 112)

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[443] The *a-chung* subscript འ is in this word used to suggest that the pronunciation of the coda consonants breaks the conventional Tibetan spelling rules.

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་ལྟོ་ཟུང་སྟེ་ཏོ་ ལེགས་ར་ ཡོད།
     *t'ato sã:tɛ=to   lɛ̀m=**ra**   jə̀ʔ.*
     now until=CEMPH   good=AEMPH EX.PER
     'We are well until now.' (PED life story)

(16.6)   དེ་ནས་ ཨོ་ཉི་ཚུ་ཡང་ ཁོ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་རང་ ཕྱོན།
     *t'ɛnɛ óɲi=tsu=jã: kʰu   ɲámtɕi=**rã:**   tɕ'øn.*
     then children=PL=too 3SGM   with=AEMPH   go.HON
     'Then (you) children also go with him.' (Richhi 15)

(16.7)   ལེ་སྦལ་ (level) གར་ར་ ཨིན་རུང་
     *lɛvl   k'ar=**ra**   ĩ́:-ruŋ*
     level(Eng.) what=AEMPH   EQU-CONC
     'whatever level (it is)' (KL BLA 12)

The emphatic =rã:/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 *tɕiʔ* 'one' with =ra, obtaining the meaning '(one and) the same'. In (16.10), the emphatic attaches to =*tɕiʔ*, which functions as an indefinite marker.

(16.8)   ཨོ་འདི་ གསུམ་ར་ འགྱུ་ཡད་ ཨིན་, ལུས་ ངག་ ཡིག་ གསུམ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ཀི་
     *ódi   súm=**ra**   gju-ɕĩ́:,   lỳʔ ŋàʔ   jìʔ   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་ལེགབ་ ལབ་མཁན་ གཅིག་ར་ ཨིན།
     *lòk   lɛ̀m   màlɛp   làp-kʰɛ̃́:   tɕi:=**ra**   ĩ́:.*
     again   good bad   say-NMLZ one=AEMPH   EQU.PER
     'Again, good and bad are one and the same.' (PED life story)

(16.10)   དེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཞིང་པོ་ འདི་ཡང་ ཨ་ཚི་ མནོ་རིགས་ཆེ་དྲགས་ གཅིག་ར་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྦད།
     *tɛ ódi   ɕìŋpo=di=jã: átsi nóritɕʰiṭaʔ=tɕi=**ra***
     so that   field.labourer=DEMPH=also   a.bit clever=INDF=AEMPH
     jə̀:-kʰɛn   bɛʔ.
     EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE
     'Now that farmer too was rather clever.' (PAD bet story)

The following examples exemplify the use of =rã:/ra in conjunction with verbs. The emphatic occurs attached to -ɕɛ-infinitive marking a clausal complement (16.11), to the first part of the

587

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་གད་རང་ འདི་ ཨིན།།

     ɲè: *làp-ɕɛ=**rã:***   *di*   *ĩ́:.*

     my   say-INF=AEMPH   this   EQU.PER

     'What I have to say is this:' (Nga'i 'gan 10)

(16.12) ཕྱི་རུ་གི་ ཆུ་ཚོད་ བརྒྱད་ བརྡུངས་པོ་ ཧ་རང་ མ་གོ།

     pʰiru=ki   *tɕʰutsʰøʔ*   *gɛʔ*   *duŋ-po*   *ha=**rã:***   *maŋ-go.*

     night=GEN   clock.time   eight   strike-2INF   know[444]=AEMPH   NEG-know

     '(They) did not even know that it was already eight o'clock..' (Richhi 14)

(16.13) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་གིས་ མཁྱེན་པའི་ འདག་ག་ཀྱུ་ སྲད, མཁྱེན་མཁྱེན་པོ་ར་ སྲད།

     ḻɛŋgɛ:=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-2INF-AEMPH   EQU.NE

     'You are possessors of (this) knowledge, (you) indeed know.' (NAB BLA 7)

(16.14) འདི་ སྟ་རེ་ འདི་ར་ ཨིན་ར་ ལབ།

     di   *ta:ri*   *di=**ra***   *ĩ́:=**ra***   *làp.*

     this   axe   this=AEMPH   EQU=AEMPH   say

     'This axe is indeed the one, he said.' (JDF axe story)

(16.15) ནད་པོ་ འདེམ་ཟང་སྟེ་ ལུས་ ཕོར་ཕོར་ གན་འདི་ མ་ཐྲུས་པར་ ཅམ་ བཞག་གོ་ སྲད་ར།

     nè:po   *dɛm*   *sã:tɛ*   *lỳ:*   *ɕó:-ɕó:*   *k'anɖɛ:*   *man-bja-wa*

     patient   like.that   until   body   lose.control-RDP   anything   NEG-do-CIRC

     tɕam   *ʑak-o*   *bɛ=**ra**.*

     just.like.that   set-2INF   EQU.NE=AEMPH

     'Patient who has such a weak body is placed here just like that without anything done.'
     (rnam-rtog 6)

Finally, *=rã:* is also used in "copy verb constructions" (see Ozerov & Daudey [2017] and Konnerth [2014: 586])[445], where the emphatic occurs between reduplicated forms of the same verb in a construction that underlines inevitability. Examples (16.16-18) illustrate affirmative constructions. The last one is a complicated construction with three emphatics.

(16.16) ཁྱིག་སྟེ་ འགྱུར་ འགྱུ་གད་ ཨིན།།

     kʰik-ti   ***gju=ra***   ***gju**-ɕĩ̀:*

     lead-NF   go-AEMPH   go-NPST.PER

     'I will surely take (you as my wife)' (song lyrics)

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[444] The meaning of the first part of the compound *ha-ko* 'know' is unknown.

[445] Ozerov & Daudey (2017: 53) define a copy verb construction as [VERBAL_STEM=DISCOURSE_CLITIC FINAL_VERB]

(16.17) དུ་བ་ཡོད་སའི་ངོས་ལོ་ ཨིན་ཅིག་ མན་ཅིག་ མིའི་ ཁྱིམ་ ཡོད་རང་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདུག་ སེ་ མནོ་བཞིན་

t'uwa   jə̀:-sə: ŋo:=lo   ínʨimɛnʨiʔ mí: kʰim
smoke   EX-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN   direction=DAT necessarily   human.GEN   house
jə̀:=rã̃:   **jə̀-po**   ɖa=sɛ   nó:-zɛ̃:
EX=AEMPH   EX-2INF   AP=QUO   think-PROG
'Thinking that it seems that in the direction where there is smoke there necessarily has to be a house of a human…' (rna-gsung 4)

(16.18) ཏེ་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ ཐོག་མ་ མཁྱེན་རང་ མཁྱེན་རང་ མཁྱེན་པོ་ར་ ཨིན།

te   ɭokɛ   tʰoma   **kʰɛn=rã̃:**   **kʰɛn=rã̃:**
so   Lhoke   beginning   know.HON=AEMPH   know.HON=AEMPH
kʰɛm-po=ra   **ĩ̃́:.**
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་ བྱེད།

ma-bak=rã̃:   **bak**   bɛʔ.
NEG-carry=AEMPH   carry   EQU.NE
'There is no way of not carrying/It has to be carried.' (KN e)

b) A: ཤ་ནུ་ཏོ་ ད་ རྩོད་པོ་ རྒྱབས་པ་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་གད་ བྱེད།

ɕánu=to   t'a   tsøpo   kjap-a   gju   go:-ɕɛ   bɛʔ.
PN=DEMPH   now   debate   do-PUR   go   be.needed-INF   EQU.NE
'Now Shanu has to go to the debate.'

B: ཁུ་ ལགས་ཨིན་ལགས། ཏེ་ ཁོང་གིས་ འདི་ མན་འགྱུ་རང་ འགྱུ་ལོ་ སེ་ ལགས།

kʰu   la-ĩ̃́:=la.   tɛ   kʰoŋ=gi=di   **maŋ-gju-rõ̃:**[446]
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-*.

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[446] =rõ̃: is a dialectal variant of =rã̃:.

(16.20) འདི་ མཐོང་རང་ མི་མཐོང་པོ་ སྱད།

     di   t^hõ:=rã: mi-t^hõ:-bo   bɛʔ.

     this see=AEMPH   NEG-see-2INF   EQU.NE

     'There's absolutely no seeing this (unclear photocopy).' (RL oh)

(16.21) ཚོ་འདི་ ནང་ནུ་ ཐོན་རང་ མི་ཐོན་མཁན་ སྱད་སེ།

     ódi   nàŋɕa   t^høn-ra   mi-t^høŋ-k^hɛn   bɛ=s.

     that within   happen-AEMPH   NEG-happen-NMLZ EQU.NE=QUO

     'Within that, there is no way of (that) happening.' (CY interview)

(16.22) གཞན་ཚོ་ མཉམ་དུ་ མཉམ་ར་ མི་མཉམ་མཁན་

     zømø ɲámpu   ɲám-ra   mi-ɲám-k^hɛ̃:

     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་ཆུང་ ནང་ན་ལོ་ ཕྱུགས་ སེ་མཁན་ ཡོད་རང་ མེད་པ་སྱད།

     làtɕ^hɛ̃:   làtɕ^huŋ   nàŋɕa=lo   tɕ^huk   sí-k^hɛ̃:   jø̀:-ra   mɛ̀bbɛʔ.

     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་མཁན་ སྱད།

       jø̀:=rã: mè:(-k^hɛn   bɛʔ).

       EX=AEMPH   NEG.EX(-NMLZ   EQU.NE)

       'there absolutely is not' (TB e)

     b) མེད་རང་ མེད་མཁན་ སྱད།

       mè:=rã: mè:(-k^hɛn   bɛʔ).

       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་ཙོ་ ཟང་སྟེ་ཏོ་ ལེགས་ར་ ཡོད།

     t'ato sã:tɛ=to   lèm=ra   jø̀ʔ.

     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: ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་པོ་ འདི་ བླམ་ བགའད་ཆིང་ ལབ་ མོ་ ཀ་ གཅིག་ བླམ་ མོ་ གཅིག?

$t\varepsilon^h\phi\underline{t}imbo{=}di$ *lám* *kats^{h}iŋ* *làp* *mò*   *ka=t\varepsilon i?*   *lám*
proctor=DEMPH   lama PN   say   EQU.NE.Q   who=INDF   lama

mò=t\varepsilon i??[447]
EQU.NE.Q=INDF
'Is the proctor lama Kaching? (Or) which lama is it?'

B: བླམ་ བགའད་ཆིང་ཏོ་ མོའུ་ བྱད་, ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ བྱད།

lám *kats^{h}iŋ=to* *mòu*   *b\varepsilon?,*   *t\varepsilon^higel* *b\varepsilon?.*
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) རྒུམས་ དེ་ མ་འཕྱད་, རྒབ་ཏོ་ ཇིགས་དྲགས་ བྱད།

g\varepsilon m   *t\varepsilon* *ma-p^h\varepsilon?,* *gap=to*   *dzik\underline{t}a?*   *b\varepsilon?.*[448]
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་ སྐད་ མ་ཤེས་ནེ་ཏོ་ གཀག་དྲགས་ བྱད་གོ།

raŋ=gi   *k\varepsilon?*   *ma-\varsigma é:-n\varepsilon=to*   *k'ak\underline{t}a?*   *b\varepsilon=\varsigma o.*
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་སྟེ་ཏོ་ མ་གསུང་མོད།

d\varepsilon m   *s\tilde{a}:t\varepsilon=to*   *ma-súŋ=m\phi?.*
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.

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[447] The use of the indefinite marker/numeral *=t\varepsilon i?* after the interrogative copula here is surprising.
[448] The words *g\varepsilon m* and *gap* can refer to people of advanced years or to younger people who are shown respect.

(16.30) A: ཨུ་ཙི! ཁྱིམ་ན་ཏོ་ མན་འགྱུ་གེ། ལབ་ཤད་ བཞག་ཤད་ མེད་པའི་ མིའི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ འགྱུ་ཤད་ ངོ་ཚ་བར།

     *ádzi:, k^him=na=**to** man-gju-gɛ. làp-ɕɛʔ zak-ɕɛʔ*
     oh.no home=LOC=CEMPH NEG-go-HOR say-INF put-INF
     mè:-pø: mí: k^him=na gju-ɕɛʔ ŋò ts^ha-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.'

     B: ད་རེ་ཏོ་ ཁྱད་ མེད་གོ། ང་ཚག་ རྫུའི་ལགས་ལོ། ལྟ་བར་ འོང་པོ་ ཨིན་སེ་ ལབ་ཆོག་ ཨིན་གོ།

     *t'arɛ=**to** k^hɛ: mè:=ɕo. ŋàtɕaʔ*
     now=CEMPH difference NEG.EQU.PER=AT 1PL
     bhaila=lo ta-wa òm-bo í̀:=sɛ làp tɕ^hoʔ
     PN=DAT see-PUR come-2INF EQU.PER=QUO say be.allowed
     í̀:=ɕo.
     EQU.PER=AT
     'But now it doesn't matter, you know. 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'arɛ=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 =*ɕo*, 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་ ཇི་ འདི་ མ་རྐྱབས་ནེ་ ཏོ་ ང་ཚའི་ བློན་པོ་ འདི་ དགོངས་གསུམ་ ཁྲེལ་ཤད་ སྲད།

     *k^hõ:=tsu=nɛ dzei di ma-kjap-nɛ=**to** ŋàtɕi lømpu=di*
     3PL=PL=TOP oh.no this NEG-do-COND=CEMPH 1PL.GEN minister=DEMPH
     gomʈ^hi:-ɕɛʔ bɛʔ.
     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) ཙོ་འདི་ ཨིན་ཤད་ཏོ་ ཨིན་(བོ་ ཨིན་) དེ་ཟང་

     *ódi í̀:-ɕɛ=**to** ím(-bo í̀:) 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་ཏོ་ 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[449] *=di*, which does not have referential function 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 prenominal modifying demonstratives *ódi* (16.34) and *di* (16.35).

(16.34) ཚོ་འདི་ མི་ འདི་གི་ རྒྱུ་ འདི་ གན་འདི་ མེད་མཁན་ སྦད།

     ódi   *mí=**di**=gi*   *gju=**di***   *k'anɖɛ:*   *mè:-kɛn*

     that   man=DEMPH=GEN   possessions=DEMPH anything   NEG.EX-NMLZ

     bɛʔ.

     EQU.NE

     'That man didn't have any possessions.' (JDF axe story)

(16.35) འདི་ དེབ་ འདི་ འཛོ་ ག་ཚོད་ བོ?

     di   *t'ɛp=**di***   *dzo:*   *k'adzøʔ*   *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) ཁུ་ འདི་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན།

         *kʰu=**di***   *ámdzi*   *ǐ:.*

         3SGM=DEMPH doctor   EQU.PER

         'He is a doctor.' (YR e)

     b) ཁུ་ ཨམ་རྗེ་ ཨིན།

         kʰu   *ámdzi*   *ǐ:.*

         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 prenominal demonstratives and can even be postposed directly to to the proximal /i/ *ḥdi* 'this'

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[449] 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-oriented functions which do not naturally fall under the umbrella of categories such as "demonstrative" and "definite."

and distal /a/ *ḥa* 'that' to form /ire/ *ḥdi-de* and /are/ *ḥa-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.[450] Example (16.37) illustrates the use of the demonstrative-emphatic with a proper noun and a demonstrative pronoun, and example (16.38) exemplifies a use with a personal pronoun.

(16.37) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ འདི་ ཕྱོ་ འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་ན་ ཡུལ་ ག་འདི་ དང་ མེན་འདྲ་, འདི་ འདི་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ གནས་ རྩ་ཆེན་པོ་ ཨིན་སེ།

      *ɖɛndzõ:=**di***   *ḷo*   *dzambuliŋ=na*   *ý:*   *kʼadi*   *tʼã:*   *mìnɖa,*
      Sikkim=DEMPH   south   continent=LOC   region   which   and   unlike
      *di=**di***   *lɛ̀pti*   *nɛ́:*   *tsa:tɕʰimpo ȋ:=s.*
      this=DEMPH   very.much   place   invaluable   EQU.PER=QUO
      'Sikkim (is) different from any region in the rest of the world, this is a very precious place.' (CY Interview)

(16.38) དེ་ཟིན་ ང་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ཁྱིད་པར་ཅན་ འདི་ མེད་ ཞུ་ཤད་ ཨིན།

      *tʼizã: ŋà=**di***   *ódɛm*   *sã:tɛ*   *kʰɛpartɕɛ̃:=di*   *mɛ̀ʔ*   *ɕù-ɕɛ*
      but   1SG=DEMPH   like.that   until   special=DEMPH   NEG.EX.   say.HUM-INF
      ȋ:.
      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་ ཨོ་འདི་ འདི་ ལེབ་ར་ ས�͡ogས་སྟེ་ ཨོ་ན་ སྤེབས་སྟེ་ འོང་བོ།

      tʼa   *tʼom*   *ódi=**di***   *lɛ̀p=ra*   *to:-ti*   *óna*   *ḷep-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་

      tʼɛp   *di=**di***
      book   this=DEMPH
      'this book (holding the book in hand)' (SGD wedding customs)

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[450] 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. 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."

(16.41) འདོ་འདི་ འདི་ པོ་ཚོ་ཚུ་ ཉལ་ས།
       *dodi=**di*   *potso=tsu* *ɲɛ̀ː-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* or =*di* may occur either before the plural marker (16.42) or after it (16.43).

(16.42) ཁོང་ འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ ན་ ནང་ཁ་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལོག་ བྱོན་ མ་བཅུག མེ་མཁན་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ཁོང་ འགགས་ཆ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྦད་ལགས།
       kʰõː ***di**=tsu=gi* *tʰamtɕɛ=ki*   *tɕʰøgeː* *nàː* *nàŋɕa* *ɖendzõ* *lòk*
       3PL   this=PL=AGT all=AGT   king   here inside Sikkim return
       tɕʰøn   *mà-tɕuʔ* *sé-kʰɛn=di*   *ódɛp*   *kjap-ti* *kʰõː*
       come.HON NEG-cause say-NMLZ=DEMPH   like.that do-NF   3PL
       gagdza *kjab-bɛʔ.*
       obstacle do.2INF-EQU.NE
       'All of them like that made obstacles so the king would not come back here to Sikkim.'
       (CY interview)

(16.43) དེ་ ཁོང་ཚུ་ འདི་ མོ་ ལྟ་མཁན་ སྦད།
       tɛ *kʰõː=tsu=**di***   *mò*   *ta-kʰɛn*   *bɛʔ.*
       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 grammar 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) ཚིགས་བཅད་ འདི་ཚུ་ འདི་
       tsʰiktɕɛʔ ***di**=tsu=**di***
       poem   this=PL=DEMPH
       'These poems' (KL BLA 12)

(16.45) ཁས་ལན་ གཞུང་མཁན་ མི་ འདི་གིས་ འདི་
       kʰɛːlẽː   *nǎ̀ː-kʰɛ̃ː*   *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* 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).[451]

(16.46) ཁོང་ཚུ་འདི་
        *kʰõ:=tsu=**di***
        3PL=PL=DEMPH
        'They...' (UTR plains story)

(16.47) ཁོང་འདི་ཚུ་
        kʰõ: ***di**=tsu*
        3PL   this=PL
        'They...' (CY interview)

(16.48) ཚོ་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་
        *ŋàtɕi=gi=**di***   *lògjuʔ*
        1PL.GEN=GEN=DEMPH   story
        'our story' (YR canteen video)

It also attaches to postpositions:

(16.50) ང་མཉམ་པུ་འདི་
        ŋà   *ɲámpu=**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:

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[451] 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).

(16.51) གལ་ཆེ་དགས་འདི་ རང་གི་ སྐད་འདི་འགོ་ ཐོན་ལས་ ཤེས་ དགོས་མཁན་ སྲད།

k'ɛ:tɕʰiʈa=**di** raŋ=gi kɛ:=**di** go ɲénlɛ ɕé:
important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know

go:-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-occurrance with an infinitive is exemplified in (16.52).

(16.52) རང་སྐད་ འདི་ བེད་སྤྱོད་ བྱས་ཁད་ འདི་ ང་ཚོ།

raŋ-kɛ:=di p'ɛtɕøʔ p'ja-ɕɛ=**di** ŋòtsʰa:.
own-language=DEMPH use do-INF=DEMPH be.ashamed

'(They) are ashamed to use (their) own language.' (KL BLA discussion 12)

The emphatic =*di* can also attach to the anterior construction shown in (16.53) and the nonfinal construction exemplified in (16.54).

(16.53) སློབ་གྲྭའི་ཀི་ མདུན་ཁར་ སླེབས་ཚོའ་ལས་ འདི་

lóbɖø:=gi dyŋkʰa: ḷɛp-so:=lɛ=**di**
school.GEN=GEN in.front.of arrive-CMPL.2INF=ABL=DEMPH

'After arriving in front of the school…' (RS pupil joke)

(16.54) ཆུ་ལྷ་ གཅིག་ ཕྱོན་ཏྱི་ཀི་ འདི་ དེ་ ཚོད་ གན་ འབྱུང་ གན་ འབྱུང་ ལབ་ཏྱི་ཀི་ ཌི་ ལྟ་པོ་ལོ།

tɕʰu-ḷa=tɕiʔ tɕ'øn-diki=**di** "tɛ tɕʰøʔ k'an bjõ:,
water-god=INDF come.HON-NF=DEMPH so 2SG.L what disappear

k'an bjõ:" làp-tiki ʈ'i ta-u=lo.
what disappear say-NF ask look-2INF=REP

'A water-god came and asked (him): "So 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 *tɕ'øn-di* would be used in place of *tɕ'øn-di=ki=di*.

Moreover, =*di* can be added to -*po*-infinitive forms:

(16.55) ང་ཚག་ལོ་ འདི་ གནང་བ་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ སྙིང་ཐག་པའི་ འགོ་ལས་ ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ ཞུ་ཤད་ ཨིན་ལགས།

ŋàtɕa=lo=di nǎ:wa p'im-bo=**di**=lo ɲintʰakpø:
1PL=DAT=DEMPH permission give-2INF=DEMPH=DAT bottom.of.heart.GEN

go:lɛ tʰudʑitɕʰɛ ɕù-ɕĩ:=la.
through thank.you say.HUM-NPST.PER=HON

'I thank you from the bottom of (my/our) heart for giving us 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 is homophonous with the typical past reportative construction often heard in stories (both dative-locative and reportative are marked with =*lo*). 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 with 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་ ཨ་པོ་ནེ་ མེད, ཨ་པའི་ ཚབ་ལོ་ ཚོད་རང་ མན་པོ་ གཞན་ ག་ ཡོད?

　　　　*tɕʰø:=lo　ápo=**nɛ**　mè?.　　ápø:　　tsʰaplo　tɕʰø:=rã:　　mèmbo*
　　　　2SG.L=DAT father=TOP NEG.EX.PER　father.GEN instead 2SG.L=REFL　except

　　　　ʐɛn　ka　jò??
　　　　other who　EX.PER

　　　　'You don't have a father. Who is there in place of your father except yourself?' (Richhi 83)

(16.57) ཀརྨ, ཚོད་ གན་ སོང་པོ? འགྱུ་དོ་ ཨིན་ མ་ལབ་པར། ང་ཚག་ནེ་ ལེབ་ཏི་ སེམས་སྡུག་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

　　　　*karma　tɕʰø?　k'ana　sö̀:-bo?　gju-do　í:　　ma-làp-a.　ŋàtɕa=**nɛ**
　　　　Karma　2SG.L　where　go.PFV-PST go-IPFV EQU.PER NEG-say-CIRC 1PL=TOP

　　　　lɛ̀pti　　sɛ́mdu? dø:　jò?.
　　　　very.much worry　stay　EX.PER

　　　　'Karma, where did you go, without saying you were going? As for us, we were very worried.' (Richhi 110)

In (16.56) the word *ápo* 'father' is topicalized by =*nɛ* and occurs as the topic of the next sentence. In (16.57), the use of =*nɛ* 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 =*nɛ* 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) གཀརྨ, ཆོད་ ང་ལོ་ ལེན་བར་ མ་ལགྱ་ ཤོག ། ད་ ང་ནེ་

karma, tɕʰøʔ ŋà=lo lɛ̀m-ba màlaʔ ɕóʔ. t'a ŋà=nɛ
PN 2SG.L 1SG=DAT take-PUR quick come.IMP now 1SG=TOP

ཉེ་ན་ ཟུན་རབ་ འཛོན་ཚོར། ཉེ་ཐག་ བཅད་མཁན་ ད་ ཆོད་ མན་བོ་

ɲɛ=na sỳn-rap tʰøn-tsʰaʔ. ɲɛ-tʰaʔ tɕɛ:-kʰɛ̃: t'a tɕʰøʔ mèmbo
trap=LOC enter-IMF become-CMPL trap-rope break-NMLZ now 2SG.L except

བཞན་ ཀ་གིས་ཡང་ མི་ཚུགས། གཀརྨ, གཞན་ ཀ་གིས་ཡང་

zɛn ka=gi=jã: mi-tsʰuʔ. karma, zɛn ka=gi=jã:
other who=AGT=even NEG-be.able.to PN other who=AGT=even

མི་ཚུགས། ད་ ངས་ གན་ བྱས་པད, འདི་ཚར་ ཐབས་ལམ་ གཞན་ནེ་

mi-tsʰuʔ. t'a ŋá: k'an p'ja-ɕɛʔ,ɲè:=tsa: tʰaplam zɛn=nɛ
NEG-be.able.to now I.AGT what do-INF 1SG.GEN=at means other=TOP

གན་འདི་ཡང་ མེད། གལ་སྲིད་ ཤོག་ཚིབ་ ཡོད་ན་ཏོ་ གནམ་ལས་

k'anɖɛ:=jã: meʔ. k'ɛ:siʔ ɕóktsʰip jø̀:-nɛ=to nám=lɛ
any=even NEG.EX.PER if wing EX.PER-COND=CEMPH sky=ABL

འཕུར་སྟེ་ འོང་ཆོག ཨིན། ཨོ་འདི་ནེ་ ང་ལོ་ ཤོག་ཚིབ་ མེད།

pʰu:-di õ̀: tɕʰo ĩ́:. ódi=nɛ ŋà=lo ɕóktsʰip mèʔ.
fly-NF 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 that's the issue [=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 (tʰaplam 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 simply emphatics rather than as topicalizers. For an examples, consider (16.59), with two instances of =ni.

(16.59) གཀརྨ་ ཆོད་ ད་ནེ་ སྟོམས་ཚོར། ནད་པ་ལོ་ ལྟ་སྟོས་ བྱས་མཁན་ སྨན་པོ་ནེ་ འཛོན་ཚོར།

karma tɕʰøʔ t'a=nɛ bom-tsʰa:. nè:pa=lo tatøʔ p'ja-kʰɛ̃:
Karma 2SG.L now=TOP become.big=CMPL patient=DAt care do-NMLZ
mémpo=nɛ tʰøn-tsʰa:.
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) ཏེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ཚུ་ནེ་ དེང་སང་ མིན་འདུག་གི་ ཞུ་ཡོད་ ཨིན།
     *tɛ ódi=tsu=**nɛ**   t'iŋzã: mìndu-kɛ   ɕù-ɕɛ   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) འདི་ཚོང་ཁར་ གལ་སྲིད་ ངའི་ སྨན་པོའི་ སྦྱང་བདར་ ཚྱོང་ཚྱོང་པོ་ ཨིན་ན་ མོ་ལོ་ ད་ལྟ་རང་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་ཚོག་ ཨིན། སྦྱང་བདར་ མ་ཚྱོང་
     སྦྱང་ལས་ནེ་ མིན་སྒྲིགས།
     dɛ:tsʰika   k'ɛ:siʔ ɲè: mémpø: dzã:dar mjõ̀:-mjõ̀:-po   ín-nɛ
     at.that.time if   my   doctor.GEN training finish-RDP-2INF EQU-COND
     mù=lo   t'ato=rã: ɲén   kjap tɕʰoʔ   í: dzã:dar ma-mjõ̀:
     3SGF=DAT now=AEMPH marriage do   be.allowed EQU.PER training NEG-finish
     *gã̀:=lɛ=**nɛ**   min-ɖik.*
     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་ སྦྱང་བདར་ ཚྱོང་པར་ལོ་ གིས་པོ་ནེ་ མེད།
     *t'a ɲè: dzã:dar mjõ̀:-pa=lo   kɛ:po=**nɛ** mèʔ.*
     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 and identify, see (16.63) and (16.64). The emphatic functions as the drawer of the addressee's attention before the definition/identification is given in the next word. 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་ཆེ་ནེ་ ད་ ནེ་པ་ལི་ སྐད་ལས་ནེ་ ལོག་གིཏ་ (Nep.)
     *zuŋlu   làp-øtɕɛnɛ t'a nɛpali kɛ:=lɛ=**nɛ**   loggit*
     folksong   say-COND now Nepali language=ABL=TOP folksong(Nep.)
     'If talking of folksong(s), as for Nepali language, [loggit] (is the word).' (RS on songs)

(16.64) ཀྱོ་ དྲངས་མཁན་ནེ་ བོང་བུ་ ཡོད།
     *k'jo   t'ã̀:-kʰɛ̃̀:=**nɛ**   p'õ̀:bu jø̀ʔ.*
     wheat   carry-NMLZ=TOP donkey EX.PER
     'As for carriers of wheat, donkeys were there.' (PD bet story)

16.1.5 Additive emphatic =*jã:*
The additive emphatic =*jã:* expresses both additive ('also, too; either [neg.]') and scalar meanings ('even'). In affirmed clauses, =*jã:* is typically additive, but in negated clauses it is typically scalar. The definitions for "additive" and "scalar" are adopted from Krifka (1999: 111), according to whom additive uses express "that the predication holds for at least one alternative of the

expression in focus". For instance, in (16.65) the use of *=jã:* implies that someone else, in addition to the brother, is in the army. In (16.66), the additive use of *=jã:* implies that in addition to intelligence there is another positive quality about the referent.

(16.65) ཨ་ཅུ་ཡང་ དམག་མིའི་ ན་རང་ མན་པོ?

       *ágja=**jã:***   *má:mi:=na=rã:*   *mèmbo?*
        elder.brother=also   army.GEN=LOC=AEMPH   NEG.EQU.NE.Q
        'Isn't the brother also in the army?' (Richhi 56)

(16.66) ཁུ་ མི་ ཅང་དྲགས་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ མ་ཨིན་པ་ རིག་ཅན་ཡང་ ཨིན།

       kʰu   *mí*   *tɕã:ʈaʔ*   *tɕiku ma-ím-ba*   *riktɕɛn=**jã:***   *í:̃.*
        3SGM   human   beautiful   only   NEG-EQU.PER-CIRC   intelligent=also   EQU.PER
        'He is not only a handsome person but also intelligent.' (PT e)

Scalar uses, on the other hand, imply "that the predication holds for the expression in focus, and presuppose that this predication is prima facie less likely than the alternative predications" (Krifka 1999: 111). For two examples, both of them negated, consider (16.67) and (16.68). In (16.67) the condition of not talking to people at home is depicted as less likely than not talking to people in other places.

(16.67) ཁྱིམ་ན་ལོ་ཡང་ མི་ཚུ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ཟང་ ཁ་ལབ་ མེད།

       *kʰim=na=lo=**jã:***   *mí=tsu*   *ɲámtɕiʔ* *ódɛm=sã:*   *kʰa-lap*
        house=LOC=DAT=even   human=PL   with   that.much=until   mouth-speak
       mèʔ.
        NEG.EX.PER
        'Even at home, there is not that much talking with people.' (Richhi 164-165)

(16.68) མདང་ ང་ཚག་ཚུ་ མྱོུའུ་ དང་ དྲང་པའི་ ཤུགས་ན་ བུ་སྲིང་ལགས་ལོ་ ཤུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཡང་ ཞུ་མ་ཚུགས།

       dã: *ŋàtɕa=tsu*   *p'jɛu t'ã:*   *hã̂:pø:*   *ɕúk=na*   *p'usim=la:=lo*
        Yesterday   1PL=PL   hurry and   shock.GEN   strength=LOC   little.sister=HON=DAT
       *tʰudʑitɕʰɛ=**jã:***   *ɕù*   *ma-tsʰuʔ.*
        thank.you=even   say.HUM   NEG-can
        'Yesterday in the heat of the hurry and shock we didn't even manage to say thank you to the sister.' (Richhi 12)

Although scalar uses of *=jã:* (glossed as 'even') in my data occur in negated clauses, not all negated clauses with *=jã:* can be characterized as scalar. The use of *=jã:* in (16.69) is best described as negated additive and translated into English as 'either'.

(16.69) ཀརྨ་གིས་ མན་ཟ་ཟང་ ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ མིན་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)

Example (16.69) does not suggest that Choki's not eating is less likely than Karma's not eating. It simply expresses that in addition to Choki there is someone else who does not eat.

Although the uses of =jã: in affirmative clauses in my data are typically additive, comparative clauses are an exception, because comparison is by nature scalar. The use of =jã: in (16.70) implies that Gyaltshen is so tall that the option that someone else would be taller is less likely.

(16.70) ཀརྨ་འདི་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལས་ཡང་ རིང་ཀུ་ འདུག།

       *karma=di gjaltsʰɛn=lɛ=**jã:** riŋku duʔ.*

       PN=DEMPH PN=ABL=even   long EX.SEN

       'Karma is even taller than Gyaltshen (I see).' (KN e)

In addition to the additive and scalar uses described in this section, =jã: occurs in two additional uses, which are described elsewhere in the grammar. First, when attached to a question word and followed by a negated verb, =jã: is used for forming negated indefinite expression such as '(not) anything', '(not) anyone' and '(not) anywhere', see §6.3.2. Second, the enclitic =jã: and independent j̃ã: are used for connecting clauses in both monosyndetic and bisyndetic manner, see §12.2 and §12.3 respectively.

16.2 Clause-final clitics

Clause-final clitics are listed in Table 16.2.

Table 16.2. Clausal clitics

=lo	ལོ་	reportative
=sɛ/si/s	སེ་	quotative
=la	ལགས་	honorific
=ɕo	ཤོ་	attention marker
=ki/gi	གི་	non-commitment marker

Reportative =lo and quotative =sɛ were discussed under treatment of evidentiality in §9. This section addresses the remaining clausal clitics =la (§16.2.1), =ɕo (§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 addressee. The honorific occurs after other clausal clitics (16.71) and tags (16.72):

(16.71) a) རྡོ་གོམ་ འདི་ ཕོག་ཀོ་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་ ཡིན་ སེ་ ལགས།

       *tɕʰa:-po   ĩ:=**s=la.***

       descend-2INF   EQU.PER=QUO=HON

       '...descended, so the story goes.' (PAD bet story)

c) ཨིན་བཞེས་ཕོ་ལགས།

min=ẓeː=ɕo=la.
NEG=have.HON=AT=HON
'(he) doesn't drink (it), you know.'(PT kitchen discussion)

d) འདེམ་ཡོད་ཀི་ལགས།

dɛm   jỏː=gi=la
like.it   EX.PER=NC=HON
'…(it) is like it.'(KL BLA 12)

(16.72) a) ད་སྟྕོ་ད་རང་མཉམ་ཅིག་ར་ཡོདབ་ སྦྲད་ཕོ་ ཨིན་ག་ལགས?

t'ato t'a   rã̀ː   ɲámtɕi=ra   jɛ̀bbɛ=ɕo, íŋ-ga=la?
now now 2SG.L   with=AEMPH EX.NE=AT EQU.PER-PQ=HON
'Now she's with you, you know, isn't she?' (BB BB discussion)

b) མཇལ་ཧྣད་ གཞན་གེ་ ལོ་ལགས།

dẓɛː-ɕɛʔ   náŋ-gɛ   lo=la.
meet.HON-INF   do.HON-HORT   TAG.Q=HON
'Let's meet, okay.' (KTL phone call)

The clitic *=laː* (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 *= ɕo*

The uses of the attention marker *=ɕo* 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 *=ɕo* occurs in declarative uses postposed to a verb and in interrogative uses postposed to other parts of speech (verbless uses). Verbal uses, which resemble the notion "mirativity," are 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 *=ɕo* as either speaker or addressee-oriented is partly dependent on the evidentiality of the copulas. With other verbs, the orientation of *=ɕo* is dependent on other contextual factors.

A typologically interesting feature is that the same marker *=ɕo* 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 (16.73) and an addressee-oriented use (16.74) of *=ɕo* attached to the equative copula *bɛʔ*. Speaker vs. addressee-orientation is contextually determined.

(16.73) ཡྱ! ཨོ་ཉི་ལགས་ཚུ་ སྦད་ཕོ།

já ̀ː, óɲi=laː=tsu   bɛ=ɕo.
o   child=HON=PL   EQU.NE=AT
'O, it's the children.' (Richhi 25)

603

(16.74) ལབ་མཁན་ དོན་དག་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྲད་གོ།

     làp-kʰɛ̃ː   *t'ønda=di*   *ódi*   *bɛ=ɕo.*

     say-NMLZ   meaning=DEMPH that   EQU.NE=AT

     'The meaning of the (afore)said is this.' (JDF axe story)

In (16.73), the speaker expresses the newsworthiness of the information for herself (as also suggested by the use of the interjection *já ː*). In (16.74), on the other hand, the speaker is carrying out a pedagogical monologue and wants, by using =*ɕo*, to directs his addressees' attention to the significance of the story he has just told.

A frequent context for using =*ɕo* is when the speakers provide information that they think is contrary to what the addressees believe:

(16.75) A: འདི་ ཉེར་ར་ སྲད་, ཟླ་བོ་ བཅུ་པའི་གི།

     di   *ɲèr=(r)a*   *bɛʔ,*   *dou*   *tɕu-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: ཨོ་འདི་ ཟླ་བོ་ བཅུ་པའི་གི་ མན་གོ། བཅུ་གཉིས་ན་ ཡིན།

     ódi   *dou*   *tɕu-pøː=gi*   *mɛ̃ː=ɕo.*   *tɕuːɲiː=na*   *ĩ́ː.*

     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 =*ɕo* resemble clauses which in other languages have been termed "mirative"[452], example (16.76) shows that uses of =*ɕo* 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.

(16.76) ཨེ་, ངའི་ ལག་གོ་ ཅིག་གུ་ ལོ་, ངའི་ ཀང་བོ་ ཡོད་རོ་ ལབ།

     ɛ́ː,   *ɲèː*   *làko tɕiku=lo,*   *ɲèː*   *kã ːpo*   *jòː=ɕo*   *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 (16.76), the information that he has feet is not new knowledge to the speaker. Rather, this old piece of information is particularly useful, and thus attention-worthy, in the situation the speaker is in (hence 'I realize' 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 a new realization that he has further limbs. Counter-arguments for subsuming the uses of =*ɕo* under "mirativity" are presented in Yliniemi (2016a).

Verbless uses of =*ɕo* 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

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[452] 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).

within a clause, as in (16.77), the attention marker is followed by a pause (in harmony with its use as a clause-final clitic).

(16.77) ནོར་ལྡན་ ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ ཧོ་ ད་ལྟ་ཙང་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལོ་ ཕན་པོའི་ གཡོག་ གན་གན་ བྱས་ནེ?

      nòrdɛn   tɕʰø:=ki=ɕo,   t'ato=sã: tɕi-tsʰo:=lo   pʰɛmpø: jóʔ 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 *=ɕo* can also form an independent topic-switching question, as illustrated by (16.78), where the speaker shifts the topic from himself to the addressees.

(16.78) ང་ སྨན་པོའི་ སྦྱང་བདར་ བྱས་དོ་ ཨིན། དེ་ བུ་སྲིང་ཚུ་པོ?

      ŋà   mémpø: dzã:dar   p'ja-do ĩ:.   tɛ   p'usim=tsu=ɕo?
      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)

The attention marker *=ɕo* with copulas can be used in a way that is functionally similar to verbless uses in that they also introduce new topics:

(16.79) ང་ཚག་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པ་ འདི་ ཨིན་པོ་ལགས། འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པ་ འདི་ ཐུང་ཐུང་ བྱས་ཐི་ ནམ་ལོ་ མི་ལབ།

      ŋàtɕaʔ   ɖendzoŋpa=di   ĩ:=ɕo=la.   ɖendzoŋpa=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)

(16.80) ཏི་མི་ལོ་ ང་ཚའི་ ཨ་ཁུ་ ལྷོ་པོ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་པོ་ལགས།

      timi=lo   ŋàtɕi   áku   ɭopo=tɕiʔ   jø̀:=ɕo=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 *=ɕo* has both clausal "mirative" like uses and uses which direct the addressee's attention to a clausal constituent, 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).

(16.81) ངས་ལབ་གད་ཀྱི་དོན་མཆན་འདི་ར་ཨོ་འདི་སྲད་ཀི།

 *ŋá: làp-ɕɛ=ki t'øntsʰɛ̃:=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)

(16.82) ཨ་ཚི་རོགས་རམ་ཕུ་ནེ་ (Nepali) བྱས་གད་ལོ་ཀི།

 *átsi ro:ram pun p'ja-ɕɛ=lo=**gi**.*
 a.bit help also(Nep.) do-INF=REP=NC
 '(He) is also going to help (us), I hear.' (TB discussion with KT)

(16.83) ང་ཚག་ན་ལས་ཏ་རིག་ (Nepali) བཅུ་བདུན་ལོ་སོང་པོ་ཨིན་གི་ལགས།

 *ŋàtɕaʔ nà:=lɛ ta:rik tɕopdỹ:=lo ső:-bo íŋ=**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 *ɲá* 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 *ɲá* and *(h)o:*, see §11.1.1.2 and §11.1.6 respectively. The tag *ɲá* adds assertive nuance (§16.3.1) and *(h)o:* exclamative nuance to the proposition (§16.3.2).

16.3.1 Assertive tag *ɲá*

The form *ɲá* was in §11.1 shown to be an interrogated form of the personal copula *ĩ́:*. This form has, however, also grammaticalized into a non-interrogatory assertive tag which may attach even to copulas. The tag *ɲá* (along with its dialectal variants *íno* and *no*) occurs in declarative and imperative clauses. The phonological status of *ɲá* (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* ཨིན་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 (16.84) illustrates the use of an interrogative *ɲá* in a question (a) and the exclamative *ɲá* in the answer to the same question (b):

(16.84) a) ལྱན་རྒྱས་གཡོག་རྒྱབ་ཏོ་ན?

  *ḻɛŋgɛʔ jóʔ kjap-to **ɲá**?*
  PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
  'Are you working?' (KN e)

b) ང་གཡོག་རྐྱབས་ཏོ་ ཨིན་ �

ŋà   jóʔ   kjap-to   ǐ: **ɲá**.
1SG   work   do-IPFV   EQU.PER TAG.ASR
'I am indeed working.' (KN e)

For two further examples of *ɲá* and *ino* appended to copulas, consider (16.85) and (16.86) respectively (the assertive force is suggested in the translation by *I tell you*).

(16.85) བོ་ཚོ་ རྫིགས་དགས་ ཨིན་༠།

p'otso   dziktaʔ   ǐ: **ɲá**.
child   excellent EQU.PER   TAG.ASR
'(The) child is excellent, I tell you. (SN kitchen discussion)

(16.86) མི་ ལེགས་ འདུག་ ཨི་ནོ། ཁུ་ འདི་ མི་ རྫིགས་དགས་ སྦད།

mí   lɛ̀m   du: **íno**.   kʰu=di   t'a   mí   dziktaʔ
person good   EX.SEN TAG.ASR   3SGM=DEMPH now   person excellent
bɛʔ.
EQU.NE
'(The) man is good, I tell you. Now he's a great guy.' (KT discussion with TB)

In (16.87), the assertive tag is appended to a reportative form.

(16.87) ཚོ་འདི་ པ་རམ་སྒང་ ཨ་པོ་ ཤི་མཁན་ འདི་གིས་ར་ ཨ་རྫོ་ སློབ་དཔོན་ལོ་ བཤད་པོ་ལོ་ ནོ།

ódi   pʰarɛgõ: ápo   ɕí-kʰɛn=di=gi=ra   ádzo
that   TPN   father die-NMLZ-DEMPH=AGT=AEMPH grandfather

lópõ̌:=lo   ɕɛ́-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 *ɲá* attached to an imperative, consider (16.88), which contains two imperatives. The speaker attaches *ɲá* to his second, emphatic appeal.

(16.88) ད་ སྨྱོང་སྨྱོང་པའི་ གཏམ་གྱི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ བདག་མེད་ མ་བཤད་ དྲག་དྲག་ཀོའི་ རྨ་ སྨྱིར་ན་ ཟུག་ ལོག་ཚན་རང་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ ཨིན, ད་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ མ་བཤད་ ༠་ ཐོས་ཚེ་གམ་ དབང་མོ།

t'a   mjõ̌:-mjõ̌:-pø: tam=gi   lògjuʔ   da:mèʔ   ma-ɕɛɛʔ.
now   finish-RDP-2INF.GEN word=GEN story   void   NEG-tell
ʈ'ak-ʈ'ak-ø: má   kjo:-nɛ   sù: lòtɕɛ=rã: kjap-ɕɛ   ǐ:,
heal-RDP. 2INF.EN wound repeat-COND pain again=AEMPH strike-INF EQU.PER
t'a   lògjuʔ   ma-ɕɛʔ   **ɲá**.   tʰo:-tɕɛ-gam   óŋmu?
now   story   NEG-tell TAG.ASR   hear-PST-ATTQ   PN
'Now do not in vain speak of things that have been dealt with. If you reopen old, healed wounds, it hurts again. Now do not tell (this) story, I tell you, did you hear me, Wangmu?' (nga'i 'gan 19)

607

In instructions, the tag *ɲá* may emphasize the obligation of the addressees:

(16.89) དེ་ᢱ᠎ང་ ᢙᢙ᠎ᢔ᠎᠎ᢔᢥ᠎᠎ ᢙᢔᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙ

t'izã:	ɕè:	lèpti	súŋ	tɕuk	go:	**ɲá**.
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 (16.89) that if the tag *ɲá* were to be replaced by the equative copula *=pɛʔ*, the sentence would turn from an instruction given to others to a declaration which the speaker herself would be obliged to observe. That is, *ɲá* marks what "you have to do" whereas *=pɛʔ* 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:

(16.90) ᢙᢔᢙᢔ᠎ ᢙᢔ᠎ᢙ ᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙ

tʰorã:	ŋàtɕaʔ	ḷokɛʔ	ḷap	go:=pɛʔ.
tomorrow	1PL	Lhoke	learn	be.needed=EQU.NE

'Tomorrow we have to learn Lhoke.' (YR e)

(16.91) ᢙᢔᢙᢔ᠎ ᢙᢔ᠎ᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙ

tʰorã:	ḷeŋgɛʔ	óna	ranka	lóbḍa=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 (16.92).

(16.92) ᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙ

ɲè:	ḍuŋ=di=lo	jì:	ma-tɕʰɛ-nɛ	raŋ=gi	ŋà=lo
1SG.GEN	story=DEMPH=DAT	believe	NEG-believe-COND	you=AGT	1SG=DAT

tiruk	gja-tʰamba	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 (16.93), and in Figure 16.2, which provides the pitch trace of (16.94). In (16.94), the pitch on *ɲá* is particularly high, and the clause triggered a response from the interlocutor, who said *lai* 'yes' (comes from WD ᢙᢔᢙᢔ *lags-in*).

(16.93) ᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙᢔᢙ

ɲè:=gi	t'a	ápo	ám	ɕù-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 (16.93)
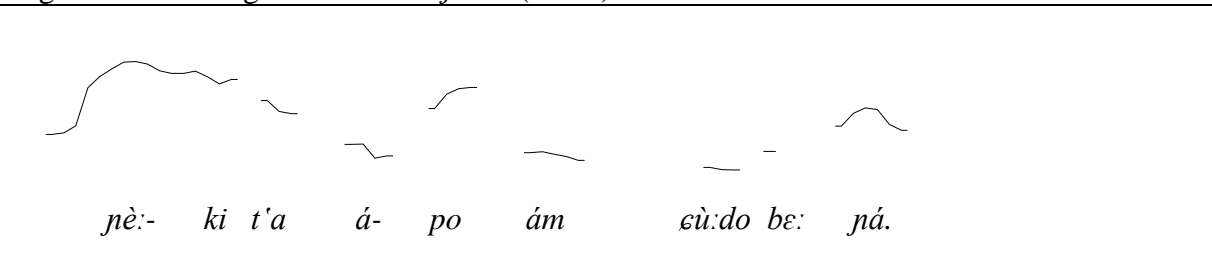
ɲèː- ki tʼa á- po ám ɕùːdo bɛː ɲá.

(16.94) ད་རུང་ ང་ཚོའི་ཀི་ ཉུ་ནི་ཝེ་སི་ཏི (university) སྐེབས་ མ་ཚུགས་མཁན་ སྲིད་ ན|

t'aruŋ ŋàtɕi=gi junivəːsiti ḷɛp ma-tsʰu-kʰɛn bɛː
yet 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)

Figure 16.2. Rising intonation on *ɲá* in (16.94)

t'aruŋ ŋàtɕiki ju- ni- vəː- si ti ḷɛp ma- tsʰu- kʰɛn bɛː ɲá
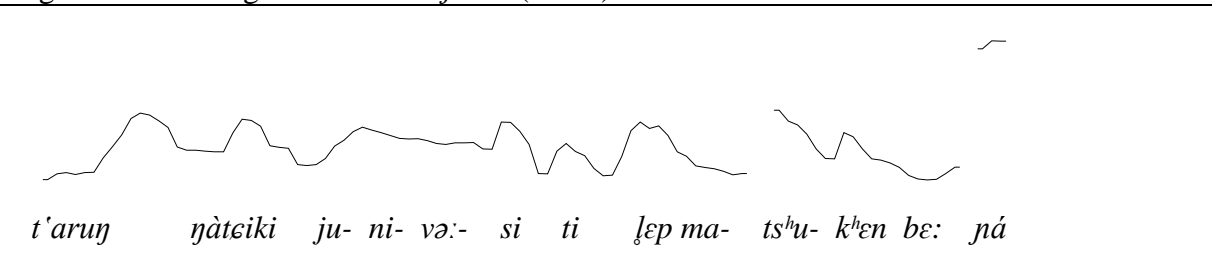
However, pitch is not always raised with declarative *ɲá*. Figures 16.3 and 16.4, providing the pitch trace from (16.95) and (16.96) respectively illustrate a falling pitch pattern on *ɲá*.

(16.95) བོ་ཚོ་ འདི་ རྫིགས་དགས་ ཨིན་ ན|

p'o-tso=di dzikʈaʔ ĩ́ː **ɲá.**
child=DEMPh excellent EQU.PER TAG.ASR

'That child is excellent, I tell you.' (KL phone call)

Figure 16.3. Falling intonation on *ɲá* in (16.95)

p'o- tso di dzik- ʈa ĩ́ː ɲá.
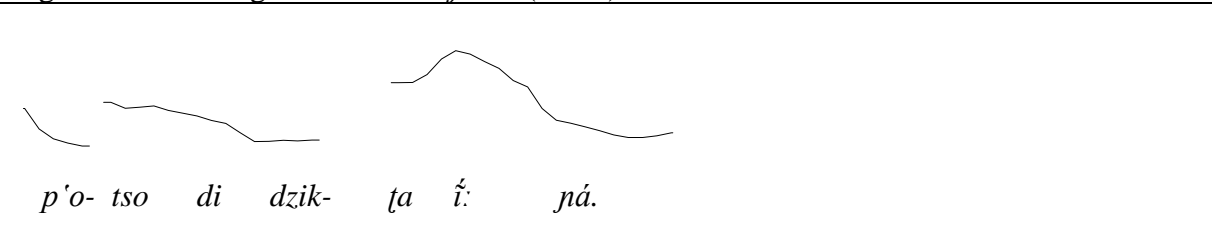
(16.96) ང་ མི་ཤེས་ ཉ།

ŋà   mi-ɕé: **ɲá.**
1SG   NEG-know   TAG.ASR
'I don't know, I tell you.' (PTW kitchen discussion)

Figure 16.4. Falling intonation on ɲá in (16.96)

ŋà   mi-   ɕé: ɲa.
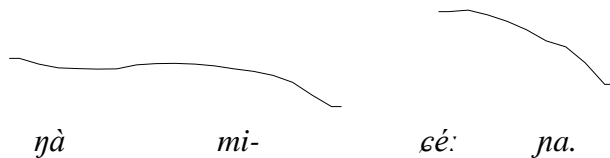
In the imperative, tags tend to have a pitch level which is raised from the previous context, see Figure 16.5 presenting the pitch trace from (16.97).

(16.97) གསན་པོ་ གནང་ ཉ།

sém-bo   nǎ̃:   **ɲá.**
listen.HON-2INF   give.HON   TAG.ASR
'Please listen, eh.' (PB discussion with TB)

Figure 16.5. Slightly raised intonation with ɲá in (16.97)

sém-   bo   nǎ̃:   ɲa.
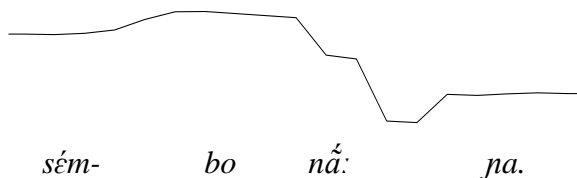
Further research is needed in order to determine whether raised pitch is more likely to evoke a response from the addressee than low pitch.

16.3.2 Exclamative tag *(h)o:*

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 (16.98) *(h)o:* is used in a declarative and in (16.99) in an imperative clause.

(16.98) གཀརྨ་པའི་ གསོལ་འདེབས་ སྐྱོར་ཟད་ ཀྲ་ མཐའ་གཡེས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ སྐྱོར་པོ་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ་ ཧོ།

karmapø: sǿdɛp   kjo:-sã: tɕʰa   tʰajɛdordzi   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)

(16.99) ད་ མ་ལབ་ ཧོ།

*t'a   ma-lap   **ho:**.*
now   NEG-say TAG.EXCLAM
'Now don't speak, eh. (KNM kitchen discussion)

Example (16.100) provides a corresponding use from Nepali (Hutt & Subedi [1999: 249], Romanization mine):

(16.100)   Nepali (Hutt & Subedi [1999: 249])
hijo   maile   tapāĩ   aspatāl jā-na   lāg-e-ko   dekh-e-ko
yesterday   I.AGT   you.HON hospital go.INF begin-PFV-NMLZ   see-PFV-NMLZ
*thiẽ,   **ho**.*
COP.PST.1SG   COP.EQ.NPST.3SG
'I saw you going to the hospital, eh.'

In (16.101) the motivation for using *(h)ó:* was reported to be irritation of not being, at first, heard by the addressee.

(16.101)   བང་ག་ལོར་ འགྱུ་དོ་ བྱད་ འོ།

*baŋgalor   gju-do   bɛʔ   **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:

(16.102)   མན་བྱད་ འོ།

*mɛ̀mbɛʔ   **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 (16.103).

(16.103)   ཁོང་ ཕྱུགས་སྐད་ར་ རྒྱབས་ཙེ་ འོ།

*kʰõ̀:   tɕʰukɛ=ra   kjap-tɕɛ   **ó:**.*
3PL   Nepali=AEMPH   speak-PST   TAG.EXCLAM
'It was Nepali they spoke, eh.' (CY interview)

611

Figure 16.6. Intonation with the tag *(h)o:*

$k^h\tilde{o}$:   *tɕʰu-*   *kɛ-*   *ra kjap-*   *tɕɛ ó:*
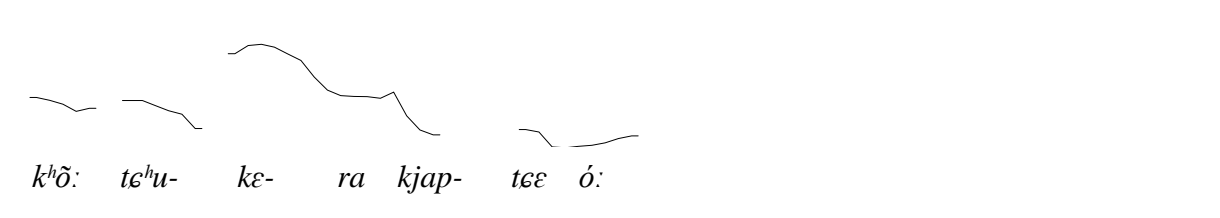
16.4 Discourse particles *tʼa* and *tɛ*

The particle *tʼa* 'now' is a reduction of the fuller form *tʼato* 'now'. Whereas the full form has time-referential lexical content, *tʼa* 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 time-referential function. In line with their distinctive functions, *tʼa* and *tʼato* often co-occur in the same clause, as shown in (16.104) and (16.105). The latter example also illustrates the use of the other discourse particle tɛ, which is discussed below.

(16.104)   ད་གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་གི་ ད་སྟོ་ ལོ་ བཅུ་ཐམས་པ་ ལྷང་ཚར།
            tʼa   *ɲέn*   *kjap-tiki*   *tʼato lò*   *tɕu-tʰamba là̀:-tsʰa:.*
            now   wedding   do-NF   now   year   ten-NUM   arrive-CPML
            'Now it's ten years since (they/he) got married.' (KT life story)

(16.105)   ཏེ་ ད་སྟོ་ ཏེ་ ད་ ལ་ཆུང་ལ་ ཏེ་ ད་ ས�I་ འདི་
            tɛ   *tʼato*   *tɛ*   ***tʼa***   *làtɕʰuŋ=la*   *tɛ*   ***tʼa***   *lí=di*
            so   now   so   now   TPN=DAT   so   now   apple=DEMPH
            'So now in Lachung apples…' (LA intro to Lachung)

The particle *tʼa* can occur clause-initially (16.106), medially (16.107) and finally (16.108). In spoken language, the particle may also occur more than once in a clause, as shown in (16.108).

(16.106)   ད་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཧ་ལས་འདས།
            tʼa   *mí*   *tʰamtɕɛʔ*   *halɛdɛ:.*
            now   human   all   be.surprised
            'Now (=as a result) all the people were amazed.' (SGD cave story)

(16.107)   ཆོད་ ད་ མཚོ་ འདི་ བརྒལ་ མི་ཆུགས་གྲོ།
            tɕʰøʔ   ***tʼa***   *tsʰo=di*   *gɛ:*   *mi-tsʰu:-ʈo.*
            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)

(16.108) ད་ ཨོ་དེ་ ཉིམ་ཚེས་ ཉེའུ་གཉེན་མཚན་ མག་ཀོ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ ངོ་ སྟོན་ དགོས་ཡད་ སྙད་ ད།

    t'a   *ódi*   *ɲìmtsʰi*   *ɲùːɲɛntsʰɛ̃ː*   *máko=di*   *tʰamtɕɛ=lo*   *ŋò*   *tøn*

    now   that   date   relative   son-in-law=DEMPH   all=DAT   face   show

    goː-ɕɛ   *bɛʔ*   *t'a.[453]*

    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*, which was already preliminarily illustrated in (16.105), 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[454], 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 (16.109), and for medial and final uses, consider (16.110), which has two instances of *tɛ* in one clause.

(16.109) ཏེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྟེང་ཁ་ལོ་ ཁོང་ར་ བློན་པུ་ གསེས་སྟེ་ བཀོད།

    tɛ   *ódi*   *tɛŋkʰa=lo*   *kʰõ̀ː=ra*   *lømpu*   *séː-di*   *køʔ.*

    then   that   above=DAT   3PL=AEMPH   minister   choose-NF   appoint

    'Then in addition to that, it was they who chose and appointed minister(s).' (CY interview)

(16.110) ཨོ་འདི་ ཚེས་ འདི་ ཏེ་ ཡོའུ་ ཞབས་གཏན་ སྙད་གོ་ ཏེ།

    ódi   *tsʰeː=di*   *tɛ*   *jòu*   *ɕàptɛ̃ː*   *bɛ=ɕo*   *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 also indicate topic change:

(16.111) ང་ཚག་ མི་ལག་ བཅུ་པོའི་ ནང་ལས་ ཁོ་ དང་ ང་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ འཆམ་སྒོས་ ཨིན། ཏེ་བུ་སྲིང་ཚུའི་ སློབ་གྲྭའི་ གུང་སེང་ ནམ་ལས་ འཐོན་ཡད་པོ?

    ŋàtɕaʔ   *mílaʔ*   *tɕu-pøː*   *nàŋ=lɛ*   *kʰu*   *t'ã̀ː*   *ŋà*   *lɛ̀pti*

    1PL   person   ten-2INF.GEN   inside=ABL   3SGM   and   I   very.much

    tɕʰam-ɕoʔ   *ĩ́ː*   *tɛ*   *p'usim=tsu=i*   *lóbɖøː*

    agreeable-SUP   EQU.PER   so   younger.sister=PL=GEN   school.GEN

    k'uŋsiŋ   *nàm=lɛ*   *tʰøn-ɕɛ=po[455]?*

    holiday   when=ABL   happen-INF=EQU.NE.Q

    'Among us ten, he and I are the closest. So/then, when does the sisters' (=your) 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

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[453] There is probably a mistake in word order here, the right order being: *t'a ódi ɲìmtsʰi máko=di ɲùːɲɛntsʰɛ̃ː tʰamtɕɛ=lo ŋò tøn goːɕɛ bɛʔ t'a.*

[454] In such uses as *So, what do you think of my new jacket?*, which are not closely connected to what was said before.

[455] Denjongke script has པོ [po], which is probably a cliticized form of the interrogative equative *bo* (cf. declarative equative *bɛʔ/=pɛʔ*).

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.

(16.112) ཤུལ་ཤུལ་ ཉོབ་ཚ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྦད། ཉོབ་ཚ་ རྒྱབས་ཏེ་ ཨོ་ན་ ཨོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ལྷམ་ གཅིག་ ཉོ། ལྷམ་ ཉོ།
ɕý:ɕy: ɲòptɕa   kjap-o   bɛʔ.   **ɲòptɕa   kjap-ti**   óna
a.bit   shopping   do-2INF   EQU.NE   shopping   do-NF   there
óɲi=lo   ḷam=tɕiʔ   ɲò:.   **ḷam 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)

(16.113) ཊེ་ཨར་ (tyre) རླུང་མ་ ཐར་ཏེ་ རླུང་མ་ གང་། རླུང་མ་ གང་ཏེ་ ཨོ་ན་ལས་
taiər=di   lúŋma   tʰa:-di   lúŋma   k'ã:.   **lúŋma k'ã:-di**   ònalɛ
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 (16.114) or a peripheral argument, as in (16.115). The dislocated element may be but is not always preceded by a pause. The dislocated elements are given in bold.

(16.114) ཨོ་ན་ དགོན་པ་ན་ ཚུ་ཀལ་ ལབ་མཁན་ ཡུལ་ན་ སྡོད་ཁད་ ཨིན་ ང་།
óna   gjompa=na   tsʰukal   làp-kʰɛ̃:   ỳ:=na   dø:-ɕɛ   ĩ̀:   **ŋà.**
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)

(16.115) ཁོར་ལོ་ མིན་འགྱུ་མཁན་ སྦད་ བྲས་ཏི་ ནང་ག།
kʰorlo   miŋ-gju-kʰɛn   bɛʔ,   **basti   nàŋɕa.**
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 (16.116) presents three consecutive instances.

(16.116) a) ཟ་ན་ ཟ་ མན་ ཟ་ན་ པག་ ལབ་པོ་ དང་ འདུ་པོ་ འཐོན་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ ཀརྨ་ལོ།
sà-nɛ   sà,   man-za-nɛ   paʔ   làp-o   t'ã: ɖau
eat-COND   eat   NEG-eat-COND   eat.AO.HUM   say-2INF   and   similar
tʰøn-zɛ̃:   jø̀ʔ   **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)

614

b) འདི་ ཉིན་ གསུམ་པོ་ ག་ལྟེ་ གཏོགས་ཏད་པོ, ལོ་ གསུམ་ལས་ ལྷག་ཚོད་ ཚོར་བཞིན་ གཀྲ་ལོ་ ད་ལྟ།

di   ɲìm   súm-po   k'atɛ to:-ɕɛ   bo?   lò   súm=lɛ
this   day   three-COL how   contain-INF EQU.NE.Q year three=ABL
*l̥akts^hø?   ts^ho:-zɛ̃:   **karma=lo t'ato.***
more.than   feel-PROG   PN=DAT   now
'How to endure these three days, feeling now like more than three years for Karma?'
(Richhi)

c) ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ མེད་རུང་ སྦྱང་བརྡར་ཏོ་ བྱས་བཞིན་ ཉིན་ ཚད་མེད་ ཁོང་ཚུས།

*tɕ^høki? mè:-ruŋ   dzã:dar=to   p'ja-zɛ̃:   **ɲìm tɕ^hame? k^ho:=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 (16.117), the first sentence of a story.

(16.117)   དང་སུ་ཅིག་ཁར་ གྱོང་ གཅིག་ན་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྦད།

t'ã:pu-tɕika   k'jõ:=tɕi=na   mí=tɕi?   jò:-k^hɛn   bɛ?.
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 (16.117)

t'ã: -pu -tɕi -ka   k'jõ:=tɕi=na   mí =tɕi? jò: -k^hɛn bɛ?.
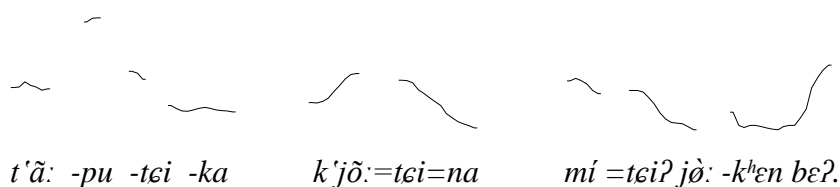
Figure 16.7 can be contrasted with Figure 16.8, which presents the non-rising intonation of (16.118), the second sentence in the same story:

(16.118)   ཨོ་འདི་ མི་ འདི་ཀི་ ཨ་རི་ སྦོམ་པུ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྦད།

ódi   mí=di=gi   ári   bompu=tɕi? jò:-k^hɛn   bɛ?.
that human=AEMPH=GEN   paddy.field big=INDF   EX-NMLZ   EQU.NE
'That man had a large paddy field.' (TB bull story)

615

Figure 16.8. No sentence final rise in intonation (16.118)

ó -di mí=di   =gi   á-ri   bom -pu   =tɕiʔ jɤ̀ː -kʰɛn bɛʔ.
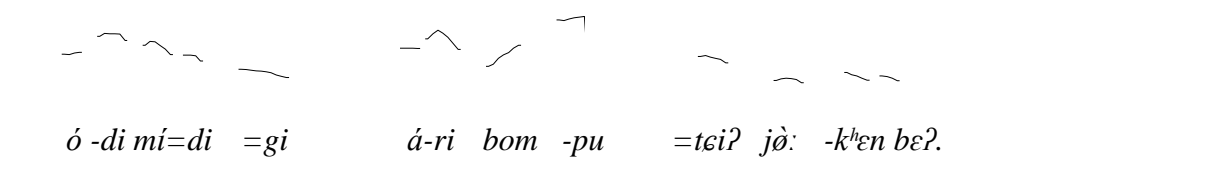
16.8 Summary remarks

This chapter described discourse phenomena, with an emphasis on emphatic clitics, clause-final clitics and non-interrogative tags. It was shown that Denjongke has five emphatic clitics which bring differing but partly overlapping semantic nuance to emphasis. For instance, the anaphoric emphatic =rã: typically highlights a referent which has already been mentioned (hence the term "anaphoric") and thus activated in the addressee's mind. The demonstrative-emphatic =di has developed from a proximal demonstrative into a non-referential marker whose meaning 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 =ɕo, which does not seem to have reported cognates in other Tibetic languages, was shown to have uses resembling both the categories "mirative" and "contrastive focus," underlining the similarity of the two categories (for details, see Yliniemi 2020). It was also shown that the tags ɲá and (h)oː, which are also used for interrogation, have developed non-interrogative uses: ɲá can bring assertive and (h)oː 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).

616

17 Notes on lexicon

This chapter describes vocabulary from five semantic domains which show particularly rich variety, such as idephones (§17.1), or are otherwise crosslinguistically or culturally interesting, such as kinship terms (§17.2), names (§17.3), colours (§17.4) and vocabulary used with small children (§17.5).

17.1 Ideophones

In this section, I first introduce the concept of idephones (§17.1.1). This is followed by a description of the various types of ideophones in Denjongke. 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 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 Dīngemanse (2011:25): "Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory imagery." Dīngemanse 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, ideophones are syntactically adjectives and/or adverbs but they have morphological, phonological and semantic characteristics which set them apart from other word classes.[456]

Ideophones employ reduplication, as in *tsʰumtsʰum* ཚུམ་ཚུམ་ 'opening and closing or being on and off intermittantly', or near-reduplication by vowel change, as in *barbur* འབར་འབུར་ 'with bulges', or near reduplication by initial consonant change (rhyming), as in *kʼatɛpmatɛp* ག་སྟེབ་མ་སྟེབ་ 'in one way or another, at any cost'. Ideophones are also often phonologically marked in that they employ

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[456] For the analogous category "expressives" in the closely related language Dzongkha, see Watters (2018: 297).

syllable-initial consonant clusters that are otherwise non-existent in the vocabulary[457], for instance /kr/ in *krakrok* གྲུག་གྲོག་ 'sound of a dysfunctional body' and /pr/ in *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. *tɕʰaltɕʰol* ཆལ་ཆོལ་, *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་ཊགས་.

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་ ཆབ་ཚོབ་ སྦད།
         mí=di   *tɕʰaptɕʰop*   *bɛʔ.*
         human=DEMPH   IDEO.NN   EQU.NE
         'That man is reprehensible.' (KN e)

         b) ཟམ་ འདི་ ཆབ་ཚོབ་ མན་ཟ།
         sàm=di   *tɕʰaptɕʰop*   *man-za.*
         food=DEMPH   IDEO.NN   NEG-eat
         'Do not eat the food inconsiderately.' (KN e)

The ambiguity of ideophones with respect to 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 *p'jati* བྱས་སྟེ་, which turn adjectives into adverbs .

(17.2)   a) ཟབ་ཟབ་ སྡོད།
         sàbzap   *døʔ.*
         careful   sit
         'Remain careful(ly).' (KN e)

         b) ཟབ་ཟབ་ བྱས་སྟེ་ སྡོད།
         sàbzap   *p'ja-ti*   *døʔ.*
         careful   do-NF   sit
         'Remain careful(ly).' (KN e)

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[457] Except for some foreign loan words.

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་ ཁུ་སིམ་སིམ་ ཡོད།

       *mí=tsu   tʰamtɕɛʔ   **kʰusimsim** jə̀ʔ.*

       human=PL all   silent(ly)   EX.PER

       'All the people are silent(ly).' (Richhi 84)

    b) ད་ལྟ་ འཛིན་གྲྭལ་ན་ ཁུ་ཟིམ་ཟིམ་ ཡོད།

       *t'ato dziŋgɛː=na   **kʰusimsim** jə̀ʔ.*

       now class=LOC   silence   EX.PER

       'Now there is silence in the classroom.' (Richhi 6)

(17.4) a) ད་ལྟ་ ཚད་ཕྱུན་ ཉིན་པོ་ སོ་ལེ་ ཉུབ་ཉིབ་ འབྱུན་ཚར།

       *t'ato tsʰɛdɛ̃ː   ɲə̀mpo sòlɛ **ɽaprip**   tʰøn-tsʰaː.*

       now considerably evening dusk dim   become-CMPL

       'It has become considerably dim with evening dusk.' (Richhi 40)

    b) ང་ཅག་ ཉུབ་ཉིབ་ན་ སླེབས་པོ་ ཨིན།

       *ŋàtɕaʔ **ɽaprip**=na   ḽɛp-o   ĩ́ː.*

       1PL   dim(ness)=LOC arrive-2INF EQU.PER

       'We arrived at dusk.' (KT e)

In (17.3b), *kʰusimsim* ཁུ་སིམ་སིམ་ is used like an abstract noun 'silence' as a copula subject in a locative clause, and in (17.4b), on the other hand, *ɽaprip* ཉུབ་ཉིབ་ 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) སྟེང་ ཡོམ་ཡོམ་, བར་ ཁྱུག་ཁྱུག་, འོག་ ཚད་ཚད།

       *tɛ̃ː   **jòmjom**,   p'ar **kʰjukʰjuk**,   ò?   **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 *C1aC2.C1oC2*[458] (where C is a consonant or a consonant cluster 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

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[458] With reduplicated disyllabic words such as *k'abzi k'obzi, C1aC2.C3V3 C1oC2.C3V3.*

word *ɽakrok* ཐུག་ཐྱོག་ 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 *kʼabzi kʼobzi* གཱབ་ཞི་ གོབ་ཞི་ (Barapathing) and *kʼabzi kʼoduŋ/hapzi hoduŋ* ཐུབ་ཞི་ ཋོ་དུང་ (Martam). The order of presentation is phonetic, beginning with bilabial initials and moving backwards through alveolars, palatals and velars to laryngeal fricative.

Table 17.1. Ideophones expressing nonnormativity

pappop	པབ་པོབ་	'having mixed big and small inappropriately'
pjarpjor	བྱར་བྱོར་	'onomatopoeic for a disturbing sound of pouring liquid' (e.g. diarrhea or pouring water from a container to another)
praprop	ཕྲབ་ཕྲོབ་	'in only slight resemblance of how something should be done, badly done'
pʰjarpʰjor *tɕʰartɕʰor* *dzardzor*	འཕྱར་འཕྱོར་ ཕྱར་ཕྱོར་ འབྱར་འབྱོར་	'clothes not appropriately worn'
babbop	འབབ་འབོབ་	'with bulges of fat (of a fat person)'
bjarbjor	འབྱར་འབྱོར་	'inappropriately prepared (of food)' (e.g. mixing items not to be mixed or cooking unhygienically)
mjàkmjok	ཀྱག་ཀྱོག་	'tasteless (of tea or millet-beer)'
tʰamtʰom	ཐམ་ཐོམ་	'not being able to function properly (of people)'
dakdok	དག་དོག་	'occurring as an assortment of small items of various sizes'
tsʰaptsʰop	ཚབ་ཚོབ་	'placed in an unorganized way' (e.g. pictures on the wall)
tsʰartsʰor	ཚར་ཚོར་	'unknown sound (in the forest)' (KL)
sàrsor	ཟར་ཟོར་	'unpleasant, unclear sound (also human voice can have this quality during a cold)' (KL, KN)
làklok	ལག་ལོག་	'unimportant enough to be able to be given away'
làplop	ལབ་ལོབ་	'lukewarm (not hot, not cold)'
raŋroŋ	རང་རོང་	'here and there (of big stones/rocks in the soil)'
ɽakrok, ɽaprop	ཐུག་ཐུག་, ཐུབ་ཐོབ་	'with bulges, not smooth (of a road, floor plank, of a stone-wall in which some stones are loose), also *ɽaja ɽuja pʼja* ཐུ་ཡ་ ཐུ་ཡ་ བྱས་ 'make uneven with bulges'
tɕʰaltɕʰol	ཆལ་ཆོལ་	'doing this and that without completing anything, of foolish behavior ("like a mad person" [KN])'
tɕʰaptɕʰop	ཆབ་ཆོབ་	'in a careless and inconsiderate way (e.g. eating, of a person)'
ɕápɕop (KT) *sápsop* (KN)	གབ་གོབ་ ཥབ་ཥོབ་	'softness of leaves and hay in the forest'
ɲàrɲor	ཉར་ཉོར་	'speak around the real subject' (also used of dog's sound) (KL)
jàrjor	ཡར་ཡོར་	'uncontrolled walk of a drunk person'
kjakkjok	ཀྱག་ཀྱོག་	'bulgy (of a tree)'
krakrok	གྲག་གྲོག་	'onomatopoeic for sounds coming from a wrecked body'
kʰapkʰop	ཁབ་ཁོབ་	'with bulges (of a hilly horizon, figure of land)'

620

kʰjakkʰjok,	ཁྱག་ཁྱོག་	'abnormal (of walking of a drunk or sick person)' (KN)
gjagjok (KN)		
kʰjapkʰjop	ཁྱབ་ཁྱོབ་	'walking here and there'
kʰjarkʰjor	ཁྱར་ཁྱོར་	'weak (of walking style or sick animal)' (e.g. the walk of a drunken man) (KL)
gapgop	འགབ་འགོབ་,	'out of usual shape (of a tree trunk with bulges, of something drawn or written inappropriately)'
gaptagoptaʔ	འགབ་དགས་	
gapʈagopʈaʔ	འགོབ་དགས་	
gargor	འགར་འགོར་	'mistaken forms in writing, bad hand-writing' (KL)
k'abzi k'obzi (KL)	གབ་ཞེ་ གོབ་ཞེ་	'do something fast and inattentive of surroundings' (e.g. with *gju* 'walk' > *k'abzi k'obzi gju* 'rush' and with *sà* 'eat' > *hapzi hoduŋ(lo) sà* 'gulp')
k'abzi k'oduŋ (KN)	གབ་ཞེ་ གོ་རྡུངས་	
hapzi hoduŋ (LT)	ཧབ་ཞེ་ ཧོ་རྡུངས་	
harhor	ཧར་ཧོར་	'unplanned, fast, haphazard action' (e.g. entering someone's unoccupied house uninvited)

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*   **ɽakrok**   *bɛʔ*   ལམ་ འདི་ ཧྲག་ཁྲོག་ སྦད། 'The road is rough.'

  ɕíŋ=di   **gapgop**   *bɛʔ*   ཤིང་ འདི་ ཀྱབ་ཀྱོབ་ སྦད། 'The tree is bulgy.'

  mí=di   **babbop**   *bɛʔ*   མི་ འདི་ ནབ་ཐོབ་ སྦད། 'The man is bulgy.'

  ri=di   **kʰapkʰop**   *bɛʔ*   རི་ འདི་ ཁབ་ཁོབ་ སྦད། 'The mountain-range is curvy.'[459]

  N=DEMPH   IDEO.NN   EQU.NE

(17.7) རྡོ་ པབ་པོབ་ 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) ཚོ་ཞེ་ འདི་ རྐྱག་ཀོ་ ཕྱར་ཕྱོར་ བཏང་བཞིན་ འདུག།

  óɲi=di   *kjako*   **pjarpjor** *tã:-zɛn*   *duʔ.*

  baby=DEMPH   faeces   IDEO.NN send-PROG EX.SEN

  'The child has an explosive diarrhoea.' (KT e)

  b) ཆུ་ ཕྱར་ཕྱོར་ མ་བྱོས།

  tɕʰu   **pjarpjor** *ma-jà.*

  water   IDEO.NN NEG-do

  'Do not make disturbing sound with water.' (KN e)

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[459] 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. Alternatively, the ideophone may refer to the difficulty of travelling in steep hills.

(17.9) འདི་ ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྡོ་ ཕྲབ་ཕྲོབ་ གཱལབ་ འདུག །
      *di   ɕìŋ=di=na   do   **praprop** kɛːp duʔ.*
      this   field=DEMPH=LOC   stone   IDEO.NN a.lot EX.SEN
      'This field is loaded with (small) stones.' (KT e)

(17.10) བྱུམ་ འདི་ཀིས་ གཱོས་ལག། ཕྱུར་ཕྱོར་/ཕྱུར་ཕྱོར་/འབྱུར་འབྱོར་ གྱོན།
      *p'um=di=gi   k'ola   **phjarpjor/tɕhartɕhor/dzardzor** k'øn.*
      girl=DEMPH=AGT clothes IDEO.NN   wear
      'That girl does not wear clothes properly (e.g. buttons attached in wrong places).'
      (KN e)

(17.11) བྱུམ་ འདི་ཀིས་ ཟམ་ འབྱར་འབྱོར་ བཟོ་བོ་ སྲད །
      *p'um=di=gi   sàm **bjarbjor**   zo-u   bɛʔ.*
      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) ཏ་ འདི་ མྱགཱ་མྱོག་ སྲད །
      *tɕ'aː=di   **mjàkmjok** bɛʔ.*
      millet.beer=DEMPH IDEO.NN   EQU.NE
      'This tea is tasteless.' (KN e)

(17.13) a) ཐམ་ཐོམ་ ཐོན་ཚར །
        thamthom   *thøn-tshaː.*
        IDEO.NN   become-CPML
        '(He) has become unable to work.' (KT e)

      b) ལེབ་ ཐམ་ཐོམ་ འགྱུ་སྟེ་
        *lɛ̀p   **thamthom**   gju-di*
        very.much IDEO.NN   walk-NF
        'walking very difficultly' (KN e)

(17.14) འདི་ རི་མོ་ ཚབ་ཚོབ་ འདུག །
      *di   rimo   **tshaptshop** duʔ.*[460]
      this   picture IDEO.NN   EX.SEN
      'These pictures are placed haphazardly.' (KN e)

(17.15) ང་ ཚར་ཚོར་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཨིན །
      *ŋà   **tshartshor** tho:-bo   ĩ:.*[461]
      1SG   IDEO.NN   hear-2INF EQU.PER
      'I heard an unrecognizable sound (and was afraid).' (KL e)

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[460] According to consultant KUN *tharɛthorɛ* used in place of *tshaptshop* could convey the same meaning.
[461] The nonnormativity here probably consists of the fact that the speaker does not recognize what or who made the sound.

(17.16) དྲང་དིང་ ཟར་ཟོར་ བྱས་པའི་ སྒྲ

      t'aŋt'iŋ   **sàrsor**   *p'ja-bø:*   *ɖa*

      clang-clang   IDEO.NN   do-2INF.GEN   sound

      'the sound of noise-making, clang clang.' (Richhi 30)

(17.17) གྱུ་ཚའི་ རྱུར་ གཡོག་ ལག་ལོག་ ཡོད་ནེ་ ང་ལོ་ ལོན་ བཏང

      k'utɕi=tsa: *jóʔ*   **làklok**   *jɒ̀:-nɛ*   *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) ཆུ་ འདི་ ལབ་ལོབ་ བྱད

      tɕʰu=di   **làplop**   *bɛʔ.*

      water=DEMPH   IDEO.NN   EQU.PER

      'The water is lukewarm.' (KT e)

(17.19) རྡོ་ རང་རོང་ འདུག་གེ

      do   **raŋroŋ**   *du-kɛ.*

      stone   IDEO.NN   EX.SEN-IN

      'There are (big) stones here and there (and everywhere).' (KN e)

(17.20) a) ཁྱིམ་ རབ་རོབ་ གེས་པོ་ འདུག་གེ

        kʰim   **raprop**   *kɛ:p*   *du-kɛ.*

        house   IDEO.NN   a.lot   EX.SEN-IN

        'There are a lot of (inappropriately) small houses, I see/saw.' (KN e)

      b) ངས་ རབ་རོབ་ བྱས་ ཊི་པོ་ ཨིན

        ŋá: **raprop**-*p'ja*   *ʈ'i-u*   *í:.*

        I.AGT   IDEO.NN-ADVZR   write-2INF   EX.SEN

        'I wrote it haphazardly.' (KN e)

(17.21) བུམ་ འདི་ ཆལ་ཆོལ་ བྱས་ འགྱུ་ སྡོད་པོ་ བྱད

      p'um=di   **tɕʰaltɕʰol**-*p'ja*   *gju*   *dɛ-b=bɛʔ*[462].

      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་ ཆབ་ཆོབ་ བྱད

        mí=di   **tɕʰaptɕʰop**   *bɛʔ.*

        human=DEMPH   IDEO-NN   EQU.NE

        'That man is reprehensible.' (KN e)

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[462] This form comes from either *gju dø:-po bɛʔ* འགྱུ་ སྡོད་པོ་ བྱད or *gju dø: jɒ̀-po bɛʔ* འགྱུ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་པོ་ བྱད.

b) ཟམ་འདི་ ཆབ་ཆོབ་ མན་ཟ།

    sàm=di   **tɕʰaptɕʰop** *man-za.*

    food=DEMPH   IDEO-NN   NEG-eat

    'Do not eat food inconsiderately.' (KN e)

(17.23) སྦྲུལ་འདི་ ནགས་ཚན་ ཤབ་ཤོབ་ན་ ཉལ་ སྡོད་ འདུག

    biu=di   *nà:tsɛ̃: * **ɕápɕop=na**[463] *ɲè: 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་ ལབ་པོ?

    ɲàrɲor *k'an làp-o?*

    IDEO.NN what say-2INF

    'What did you say in unclear mutter?' (KL e)

(17.25) མི་ འདི་ ཆང་ འཐུང་སྟེ་ ཡར་ཡོར་ལོ་ འགྱུ་བཞིན་གོ།

    mí=di   *tɕʰã: tʰuŋ-di*   **jàrjor**=*lo*   *gju-zoukɛ.*

    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)

(17.26) ཤིང་ འདི་ ཀྱག་ཀྱོག་ སྦད།

    ɕíŋ=di   **kjakkjok**   *bɛʔ.*

    tree=DEMPH   IDEO.NN   EQU.NE

    'The tree is bulgy (and not straight).' (KN e)

(17.27) གཟུགས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཀྲག་ཀྲོག་ ཐོན་སྟེ་གི་

    zuʔ   tʰamtɕɛʔ **krakrok** *tʰøn-diki*

    body all   IDEO.NN become-NF

    'All (my) body has become wrecked…' (KN e)

(17.28) a) ལམ་ འདི་ ཁྱག་ཁྱོག་ སྦད།

    làm=di   **kʰjakkʰjok** *bɛʔ.*

    road=DEMPH   IDEO.NN   EQU.NE

    'The road is curvy.' (KT e)

b) ར་བཟི་པོ་ ལམ་ལོ་ ཁྱག་ཁྱོག་ལོ་ འགྱུ་བཞིན་ འདུག

    ra:zipo   *làm=lo*   **kʰjakkʰjok**=*lo*   *gju-zɛn*   *duʔ.*

    drunkard road=DAT   IDEO.NN=DAT   go-IMPF   EX.SEN

    'A drunkard is walking here and there on the road.' (KUN e)

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[463] It is not obvious how this ideophone referring to the undergrowth in the forest is "non-normative." Perhaps soft undergrowth is not considered safe or stable walking-ground.

(17.29) ཨེ་འདི་ཁྱབ་ཁྱོབ་བྱས་འགྱུ་བཞིན་འདུག།

      mí=di   **_kʰjapkʰjop_-p'ja**   *gju-zɛn*   *duʔ*.

      human=DEMPH   IDEO.NN-AVDZR   go-PROG   EX.SEN

      'The man is walking feebly (like a sick person).' (KT e)

(17.30) a) ནོ་འདི་ཁྱར་ཁྱོར་སྡད།

         nò:=di   **_kʰjarkʰjor_**   *bɛʔ*.

         cow=DEMPH   IDEO.NN   EQU.NE

         'The cow is weak/sick'. (KT e)

      b) ཨ་ཙོ་ད་རིང་གསོལ་ཆང་བཞེས་པོ་འདུད་ (=འདུ་ སྣང་)། ཞབས་ཨ་ཙི་ཕར་ཚུར་ཁྱར་ཁྱོར་རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ཕྱིན་དོ།

         ádzo   *t'ariŋ*   *sø̀:tɕʰõ̀:*   *ze:-p*   *ɖɛʔ*.

         grandfather   today   millet.beer.HON   drink.HON-2INF   APP.EQU.NE

         ɕàp   *átsi*   *pʰa:*   *tsʰu:*   **_kʰjarkʰjor_**   *kjap-ti*   *tɕ'øn-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་འགབ་འགོབ་ལོ་གན་ཊི་བོ?

      jìgi   **_gapgop_=lo**   *k'an*   *ʈ'i-u?*

      letter   IDEO.NN=DAT   what   write-2INF

      'What did you write in such shapeless strokes?' (KN e)

(17.32) ཆོད་ གབ་ཞེ་ གོབ་ཞེ་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ གན་ འགྱུ་དོ?

      tɕʰøʔ   **_k'abʑik'obʑi_**[464]   *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) སྒོམ་ ཧར་ཧོར་ལོ་ ཕྱི་སྟེ་ ནང་ན་ འོང་ བཏང་ཞེ།

         gom   **_harhor_=lo**   *pʰi:-ti*   *ŋàŋɕa*   *ò̃:*   *tã̀:-zɛ*.

         door   IDEO.NN=DAT   open-NF   inside   come   send-PST

         '(He) opened the door and came in uninvited.' (KN e)

      b) ཁུ་ ཕྱི་ཐུག་ ཧར་ཧོར་ བྱས་ ཧུབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

         kʰu   *pʰituʔ*   **_harhor_-p'ja**   *hup-tɕɛn*   *duʔ*.

         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.

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[464] Consultant KL gave the Nepali equivalent *laɖdai paɽdai*.

(17.34) a) ཨེ་འདི་ཁ་ལས་ཁྱག་ཚིག་ དྲག་དྲོག་ ཐོན་ཚར།

    mí=di   *kʰa=lɛ*   *kʰjaktsʰiʔ*   **dakdok** *tʰøn-tsʰaː.*

    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) བྱ་ཤ་ དྲག་དྲོག་ལོ་ ས་ཁར་ གོས་ བཞག་འདུག།

    p'ja-ɕa   **dakdok=lo** *sákʰa*   *koː*   *ẓaː*   *duʔ.*

    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) གཉེན་ དྲོག་མ་ དྲག་དྲོག་ལོ་ བཏགས་ སྡོད་འདུག།

    k'aɲø̃ː   *doma*   **dakdok=lo** *taː*   *døː*   *duʔ.*

    cucumber   fruit   IDEO.NN=DAT   attach   stay   EX.SEN

    'Cucumbers are growing abundantly.'

  d) ཚོ་ཉེ་ དྲག་དྲོག་ གེས་པོ་ འདུག།

    óɲi   **dakdok** *kɛːp(o)*   *duʔ.*

    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. *tsʰaptsʰap* ཚབ་ཚབ་ 'restless, hurried'), for which normativity is not an issue. That is, full reduplication occurs in both negatively and positively evaluated expressions. Other ideophones which are neutral with respect to normativity are near-reduplicated words with a change in vowel (e.g. *barbur* འབར་འབུར་ 'bulgy', see §17.1.4), near-reduplicated words with a change in initial consonant (rhyming ideophones, e.g. *k'atɛpmatɛp* ག་ཐེབ་མ་ཐེབ་ 'one way or another, at any cost', see §17.1.5) and onomatopoeic words, which are considered a subclass of ideophones (e.g. *kukurikã̃ː* ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་ཀང་ 'cock-a-doodle-doo', see §17.1.6). Some fully reduplicated ideophones are listed in Table 17.2 and exemplified after that in the same order.

626

Table 17.2. Fully reduplicated ideophones

sàbzap	ཟབ་ཟབ་	'careful(ly)'
ḷaplap	སླབ་སླབ་	'flicker (n.), show unsteady light' (of a light bulb and fire)', also *ḷaplap p'ja* 'flicker (v.)' (see also *pja ḷaplap* in Table 17.3)
tsʰumtsʰum	ཚུམ་ཚུམ་	'open and close or be on and off intermittently'
tʰaktʰak	ཐག་ཐག་	'clearly (of reading)'
tɕʰoptɕʰop	ཆོབ་ཆོབ་	'right texture for chewing (of meat and some vegetables)'
gjopgjop	མགྱོབ་མགྱོབ་	'hastily'
dapdap	འདབ་འདབ་	'texture of (a bit too wet) rice that sticks to ladle'
tsʰaptsʰap	འཚབ་འཚབ་	'restless, (overly) quick in action' *tsʰaptsʰap p'ja* 'be hurried, restless' (TB e)
ḷɛplɛp	སླེབ་སླེབ་	'of scanty meat of a lean animal'
ɲòpɲop	ཉོབ་ཉོབ་	'soft, such that can be depressed with a finger (e.g. meat, skin)' (opposite of *ṭakṭaʔ* 'hard') (KT)
burbur	འབུར་འབུར་	'bulging' (TB)' from *bur* 'spring up', *tɕʰu bur-ɕɛʔ* 'springing up of water'
ṛiprip	ཧྲིབ་ཧྲིབ་	'dim(ly)'
k'ukk'uk	གུག་གུག་	'moving up and down (e.g. nodding head or moving finger)'
tʰaktʰak	ཐག་ཐག་	'clear (at least of reading from memory)'

(17.35) ལྟ་སྐྱོངས་ ཟབ་ཟབ་ བྱས་པད་ཀྱི་ བློ་ཐག་

      takjõ: **sàpzap**   *p'ja=ɕɛ=ki*   *lótʰaʔ*

      looking.after   carefully   do=INF=GEN   decision

      'decision to look after carefully' (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam, for class 12, 13)

(17.36) ཁོའི་ ཞང་བྱུག་ དོང་ འདི་ཡང་ ཚུམ་ཚུམ་ བྱས་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྔད།

      kʰu=i   *ã̀:buʔ*   *t'õ̀:=di=jã:*   **tsʰumtsʰum**   *jə̀-po*   *bɛʔ.*

      3SGM=GEN bottom[465] hole=DEMPH=too on.and.off   EX-2INF   EQU.NE

      'Even his anus was palpitating (with fear).' (rna-gsung 33)

(17.37) མགྱོབ་མགྱོབ་ འོང་པད་ ཨིན།

      gjopgjop   *õ̀:-ɕɛ*   *ĩ̀:.*

      hastily   come-INF   EQU.PER

      '(I)'ll come hastily.'(DB e)

(17.38) བློག་ འདི་ སླབ་སླབ་ སྔད།

      lò̀ʔ=di   **ḷaplap**[466]   *bɛʔ.*

      light=DEMPH   flickering   EQU.NE

      'The light is flickering.' (KN e)

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[465] This word may refer both to the front side (genitals) and the back side (buttock) of the anatomical bottom.

[466] This ideophone is also used for expressing paleness of colour, see §17.4.2.

(17.39) ད་ལྟ་ ནད་པོ་ ཤུས་རེ་ དྲན་པོ་ ཐུན་ཐྲི་ མི་ངོ་ ཉིབ་ཉིབ་ལོ་ ངོ་ ཤེས་པོ་ཟང་ འཐོན་ སྡོད་ ཡོད།

    tʻato nὲːpo   ɕỳry ʈʻɛmpo sỳn-di   mí-ŋo   ɻiprip=lo

    now patient a.bit memory awaken-NF human-face   dim=DAT

    ŋò ɕéː-po=sã̀ː   tʰøn   døː jὸʔ.

    face know-2INF=until become stay EX.PER

    'Now the patient has regained consciousness a bit and has come to dimly recognize human faces.' (Richhi 168)

(17.40) མགོ་ གུག་གུག་ བྱས་བཞིན་

    *go   **kʻukkʻuk**   pʻja-zɛ̃̀ː*

    head up.and.down do-PROG

    'nodding (his) head' (mthun-sgril 17)

(17.41) ཁུ་ དཔེ་ཆ་ འདི་ ལེབ་ ཐག་ཐག་ གཟུངས་ འདུག་གོ།

    *kʰu   petɕʰa=di   lὲp   **tʰaktʰak**   zuŋ   du-kɛ.*

    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-ɭaplap* 'eating greedily' seem tightly connected to the ideophonic suffix, whereas other elements, such as *rɛːpo* 'hair' in *rɛːpo siŋziŋ* 'entangled hair' form a looser ideophonic syntagm which may be intervened by other words, see (17.46).

Table 17.3. Complex ideophones

jὲː-ɭaplap (also *jὲː-dapdap*)	ཡལ་ལྟབ་ལྟབ་	'seeing unclearly as if alternately disappearing and appearing' (KN), combining *jὲː* 'disappear' with *ɭaplap* 'flicker (n.), show unsteady light' (of a light bulb and fire)'
pja-ɭaplap (KN) *pʻja(ʔ)-lɛplɛp*	བྱོས་ལྟབ་ལྟབ་[467] བྱག་ལེབ་ལེབ་	'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 *Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam* 45)
pu-sópsop	སྤུ་ས�: ོབ་སྲོབ་	'fluffy with hair (of skin), also associated with leanness', *pu* 'skin hair' (*Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam* 40)
ɳúm-riːriː *ɳum-tã̀ːtã̀ː* (KNA)	སྣུམ་རིལ་རིལ་ སྣུམ་བཏང་བཏང་	'smooth (of skin), also associated with fatness', *ɳum* 'oil' (*Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam* 40)
kʰøː-síːsiː	ཁྱིལ་བསིལ་བསིལ་	'chilly, cold', *kʰøː* 'chill'
hampo ɕὸ̀ːɕø	ཧམ་པོ་ ཞོལ་ཞོལ་	'loads of mold', *hampo* 'mold'
rɛːpo sìŋziŋ	རལ་པོ་ ཟིང་ཟིང་	'tangled hair', *rɛːpo* 'hair'
go dzokdzok	མགོ་ འཛོག་འཛོག་	'bowing, nodding, bending (of human, of trees in wind)', *go* 'head'

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[467] Here, there is a mismatch with pronunciation and suggested Denjongke spelling: KN pronounced *pja* istead of *pʻja*.

(17.42) བོ་ཚོ་ ཐུབས་ལྱབ་ལྱབ་ མ་བྱོས།

p´otso **pjalaplap** ma-jà.
child impatient.eating.manner NEG-do
'Child, do not eat greedily.' (KN e)

(17.43) ཡལ་ལྱབ་ལྱབ་ མཐོང་མ་ བྱུད།

jὲ:-laplap $t^h\tilde{o}$:-m bɛʔ.
disappear-intermittent see-2INF EQU.PER
'(I) saw (it) unclearly. ' (KN e)

(17.44) ལག་ཀོ་ འདི་ སྤུ་སོབ་སོབ་ མཐོང་པོ་ བྱུད།

làko=di **pu-sópsop** $t^h\tilde{o}$:-po bɛʔ.
hand=DEMPH hair-fluffy see-2INF EQU.NE
'(She) saw that the hand was fluffy with hair.' (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 40)

(17.45) རླུང་མ་ ཁྱིལ་ བསིལ་ བསིལ་འདིས་ གྱུངས་པོ་ལས་

lúŋma **kʰø̀:-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) མགོའི་ སྐྲ་ ཧམ་པོ་ ཆོལ་ཆོལ་ དང་ རལ་པོ་ གནམ་ལོ་ ཟིང་ཟིང་པོ།

go=i kja **hampo ɕò:ɕø:** t´ã: rɛ:po nám=lo **sìŋziŋ-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) ཨ་ཇོ་ བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ མགོ་ འཇོག་འཇོག་ བྱས་བཞིན་

ádzo tɛndziŋ=gi **go dzok-dzok** p´ja-zɛ̃:
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 with vowel change

Some near-reduplicated ideophones which change the vowel are listed in Table 17.4 and illustrated below. In the examples in my data, the second vowel is typically a high vowel (/i/ or /u/) and always higher than the first vowel. As seen in Table 17.4, many of the near duplicated ideophones of the form *C1aC2.C1uC2* resemble nonnormative ideophones in that the expressed quality seems to be negatively evaluated. As the vowels *o* and *u* are closely connected[468], future research should find out whether the ideophonic sequence *C1aC2.C1uC2* should also be described as nonnormative.

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[468] For instance, some disyllabic nouns ending in *-po* (པོ་) in writing may be pronounced either as *-po* or *-pu*.

Table 17.4. Near-reduplicated ideophones

ɽaprip	ཧྲུབ་ཧྲིབ་	'dim, dimness' ɽapripna
barbur	འབར་འབུར་	'knotty, buckled, with bulges, uneven when it should be even' (KN, KL), collocates at least with བླུག་ *lúk* 'cast (of metal), pour', *barbur lúk-tsʰa-kɛ* 'it has been cast bulgy (not even)'
damdum	འདམ་འདུམ་	'short'
làblɛp	ལབ་ལེབ་	'in small pieces (of wood)'
gragrik	འགྲོག་འགྲིག་	'uneven (of unpleasant texture of meat in the mouth, of the tactile feeling of non-smooth, rough stone surface)' (KT)
ɭaklɛk ɭakta ɭɛkta	ཥྭག་ཥྗེག་	'mud-like, too wet texture of boiled rice or dough' (may also refer to a thick texture of paint) (YR, KN)
rakruk	རག་རུག་	'(small) stones (the size of goat poo) here and there' (cf. *do raŋroŋ* 'big stones here and there')
dzardzir	འཛར་འཛིར་	'texture of ground that has been watered enough to resemble dough (but not wet enough to become mud)'
sámsum	སམ་སུམ་	'disorganized, unfolded (of clothes)'
tɕ'aktɕ'ik	ཇག་ཇིག་	'having sucked in water (e.g. marshy land)'
màrmur	མར་མུར་	'indistinctive muttering of words'
tsʰamtsʰum	ཚམ་ཚུམ་	'distressed mental state, mental state after hearing or experiencing something unpleasant'
tsʰaptsʰup	ཚབ་ཚུབ་	'nervous'
tʰamtʰum, tʰamɕitʰumɕi	ཐམ་ཐུམ་, ཐམ་ཞི་ཐུམ་ཞི་	'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་ཚག་ ཧྲུབ་ཧྲིབ་ན་ སླེབས་པོ་ ཨིན།
       ŋàtɕaʔ **ɽaprip=na** *ɭɛp-o í:*
       1PL   dim(ness)=LOC   arrive-2INF EQU.PER
       'We arrived at dusk.' (KT e)

(17.49) འབར་འབུར་ བླུག་བླུག་ཀོ་ མན་པོ?
       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་འདུམ་ གཏོག་སྟེ་ བཞག།
       ɕíŋ **damdum** *tok-ti zaʔ.*
       tree short   cut-NF put
       'Leave the tree cut in small pieces' (KN e)

b) ཞབས་རྟེན་ འདམ་འདུམ་ བྱ་ཤད་

   ɕápten **damdum** *p'ja-ɕɛʔ*

   ritual   short   do-INF

   'make a short (religious) ritual' (KN phone call)

(17.51) ཞལ་ལག་འདི་ ལྷག་ལྷེག་ གསོན་འཛམ་ བསྐོལ་སྟེ་ བཞེས་བཅུག།

   ɕɛ̀ːla=di   **ḷaklɛk**   *sóndzam*   *kø̀ː-di*   *ze:*   *tɕuʔ.*

   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.' (rnam-rtog 25)

(17.52) རྡོ་ འདོ་འདི་ རག་རུག་ སྣད།

   do   *do=di*   **rakruk**   *bɛʔ.*

   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་མུར་ལོ་ གྱོས་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་

   kʰõ̀ː-riː   *p'aː=na*   **màrmur=lo**   *k'joʔ*   *kjap-zɛ̃ː*

   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་སྟེ་

   t'ariŋ   *ŋà*   *lɛ̀p*   **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་སུམ་ མན་བཞག།

   k'olaʔ   **sámsum**   *man-zaʔ.*

   clothes disorganized NEG-put

   'Do not leave the clothes disorganized (not folded)' (KN e)

(17.56) ས་ཆ་ ཆུ་ ཇག་ཇིག་ ཡོད་སའི་ ཐག་ཉེ་ གཅིག་ལོ་

   sátɕʰa   *tɕʰu*   **tɕ'agdzik**   *jø̀-søː*   *tʰaːɲi=tɕi=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་

   sɛ́m   **tsʰaptsʰup**

   mind   nervous

   'in a nervous state of mind' (KT e)

(17.58) ཤིང་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ལབ་ལེབ་ འགྲོམ་ འབག་ ཤོག།
  *ɕíŋ ódɛm **làblɛp** gjom baʔ ɕóʔ.*
  tree like.that small.pieces gather carry come
  'Collect and bring such small pieces of wood.' (KN e)

(17.59) ད་རིང་ ང་ མིག་ཏོག་ ཐམ་སིད་ཐུམ་སིད་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་
  *tˈariŋ ŋà mìːdoʔ **tʰamsitʰumsiʔ** kjap-ti*
  today 1SG eye drowsy do-NF
  'Today my eyes are drowsy (and)...' (KN e)

The partly reduplicated ideophonic construction *kˈjotip kˈjoruŋ / kˈjorum kˈjotip*, whose etymology and literal meaning are uknown to me, is an intensified quantifier approximating the meaning 'so many/much, crammed with'.

(17.60) a) ད་རིང་ ཨོ་ན་ མི་ གྱོ་ཏིབ་ གྱོ་རུང་ འོང་ཚ་ཀ།
    *tˈariŋ óna mí **kˈjotip** **kˈjorum** ő̃ː-tsʰakɛ.*
    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་ སེར་པོ་ གྱོ་རུམ་ གྱོ་ཏིབ་ བཏང་ཚར།
    *tˈariŋ sɛ̀u **kˈjorum** **kˈjotip** tã̀ː-tsʰaː.*
    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 *kˈatɛp* ག་སྟེབ་ 'how' functions as base for the ideophone *kˈatɛpmatɛp* ག་སྟེབ་མ་སྟེབ་, which has a rhyming but independently nonsensical second part *-matɛp*.

Table 17.5. Rhyming ideophones

kˈatɛpmatɛp	ག་སྟེབ་མ་སྟེབ་	'(able to do) one way or another, somehow'
íntɕimintɕiʔ	ཨིན་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་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ང་ འདི་ ཆབ་ཚོབ་ ག་སྟེབ་མ་སྟེབ་ ཨིན་རུང་ ན་ སྙན་རྒྱུས་ཚུ་ལོ་ གསུང་ འདི་ ཕུལ་དོ་ ཨིན།
  *diː pˈja-ti ŋà=di **tɕʰaptɕʰop** **kˈatɛmatɛp** í̃ː-ruŋ*
  this.AGT do-NF 1SG=DEMPH IDEO.NN in.whatever.way EQU.PER-CONC
  nà: ḽɛŋɡɛː=tsu=lo súŋ=di pʰyː-do í̃ː.
  here PRN.HON=PL=DAT story=DEMPH offer-IPFV EQU.PER
  'Therefore I here offer to you this story, although it's inadequate and haphazardly made.'
  (KT animal story)

632

(17.62) རྒྱབ་མའི་ ལོ་ ང་ ག་ལྟེབ་ མ་ལྟེབ་ བྱས་ ང་ ལོག་ བཅར་ཤད་ ཨིན།
    gjamø: *lò*   *ŋà*   **k'atɛpmatɛp-p'ja**   *ŋà lòk*   *tɕa:-ɕĩ:.*
    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) ཨིན་རུང་ ང་ སྒང་ཏོག་ ཨིན་ཅིག་ མན་ཅིག་ ད་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་མཁན་ སྦད།
    ĩ:ruŋ   *ŋà*   *gã:to?*   **íntɕimintɕi** *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 eloborations of the underlined nouns. Note that example (17.68) evokes not necessarily only the sound but also the feeling of the wind.

(17.64) དགས་ཚན་ ཕྲི་ཅུང་ཅུའི་ སྐད་ ཙ་རབ་ ཅི་རིབ་
    nà:tsẽ: *p'itɕuŋ=tsu=i*   <u>*kɛ?*</u>   **tɕarap-tɕirip**
    forest   small.bird=PL=GEN   sound   tweet-tweet
    'sound of the forest birds, tweet tweet' (Richhi 1)

(17.65) ཐག་རིང་ ས་གནས་ལས་ དུང་ ཕུ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐད་སྒྲ་ བུའུ་·····།
    tʰa:riŋ   *sánɛ:=lɛ*   *t'uŋ*   *pʰu:-ẓin*   *jø̀-pø:*   <u>*kɛ:ɖa*</u>   **p'u:**
    far.away   region=ABL   conch   blow-PROG EX-2INF.GEN   sound   toot
    'from a far-away region the sound of a conch being blown, toot' (Richhi 1)

(17.66) བྱ་ཕོ་ འབོད་པའི་ སྐད་ ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་ཀཱ་
    p'japu   *bø:-pø:*   <u>*kɛ?*</u>   **kukurikã:**
    rooster   call-2INF.GEN   sound   cuck.a.doodle.doo
    'the sound of a rooster calling, cuck-o-doodle-do' (Richhi 1)

(17.67) ཊིང་ཊིང་ བརྡུང་པའི་ སྐད་སྒྲ་
    tiŋ   **tiŋ**   *duŋ-pø:*   <u>*kɛ:ɖa*</u>
    clang clang   hit-2INF.GEN   sound
    'the sound of clanging, clang clang' (Richhi 1)

(17.68) རླུང་མ་ ཞིར་ ཞིར་ ཞིར་ རྒྱབས་པོ་དང་
    <u>*lúŋma*</u>   **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) ཁྱི་ འའུ་ འའུ་ལོ་ ཧབ་པའི་ སྐད།

     kʰi   **àu**   **àu=lo**   *hap-ø:*   <u>*kɛʔ*</u>

     dog   woof   woof=DAT   bark-2INF.GEN   sound

     'the sound of a dog barking, woof woof' (Richhi 1)

(17.70) ཁུ་ ལྷོ་བསགས་ ཁེག་ཁེག་(ལོ་) རྒྱབས་ འབག་སྟེ་ འགྱུ་སྡོད་ ཡོད།

     kʰu   <u>*lósaʔ*</u>   **kʰɛkkʰɛk(=lo)**   *kjap bak-ti*   *gju*   *dø:*   *jòʔ.*

     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 *tʼaŋtʼiŋ* elaborates on the nonnormative ideophone *sàrsor*, which is used like a nominal.

(17.71) དང་དིང་ ཟར་ཟོར་ བྱས་པའི་ སྒྲ

     tʼaŋtʼiŋ   *sàrsor*   *pʼja-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) དེ་ མོ་ འདི་ ཧེ་ཧེ་ ལབ་སྟེ་ཀི་ ཧི་ཧི་ ལབ་སྟེ་ དགའ་པོ་ལོ།

     tɛ   *mò=di*   **hehe** *làp-tiki* **hihi** *làp-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་ ཚིག་ཚིག་ ཟོར་ཟོར་ ཚིག་ཚིག་ ཟོར་ཟོར་ ཙང་ཙང་།

     tʰamtɕɛʔ   *tsʰɛktsʰɛk*   *sòrsor*   *tsʰɛktsʰɛk*   *sòrsor*

     all   scratch.of.a match   sound.of.fire   scratch.of.a match   sound.of.fire

     tsã:tsã:.

     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 ཏིང་ཏིང་ or དིང་དིང་), *-si:si:* (WD སི་སི་, བསིལ་བསིལ་?), *-ri:ri:* (WD རི་རི་, རིལ་རིལ་?) and *-tõ:tõ:* (WD ཏོང་ཏོང་). For instance, the ordinary colour word *ma:p/ma:pu* དམརབ་/དམར་པུ་ 'red' may be formed into *má:tiŋtiŋ* (དམར་ཏིང་ཏིང་), *má:si:si:* (དམར་སི་སི་), *má:ri:ri:* (དམར་རི་རི་) and *má:tõ:tõ:* (དམར་ཏོང་ཏོང་) '(bright) red' to bring intensity and vividness to description.

(17.74) ཚོས་སྐྱེངས་ ངོ་ ཚ་སྟེ་ སྨྱོན་ལོ་ མེ་ དང་ ཉི་མའི་ དྲོད་འདིས་ གདོང་ དམར་རེ་རེ་ སྟེང་ལོ་ ད་ལྟ་ བྱ་ཁའི་ གཏམ་ འདིས་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ རང་ དམར་རེ་རེ་ འབྱོན།

tɕʰøkiʔ *ŋò* *tsʰa-ti* *ɲénlo* *mì* *t'ã:* *ɲìmø:* *ʈ'ø:=di:* *dõ:*
PN   face be.hot-NF before fire and sun.GEN heat=DEMPH.AGT face
má:-ri:ri: *tɕŋlo* *t'ato* *p'jaɕa=i* *tam=di:*
red-IDEO above now chicken.meat=GEN word=DEMPH.AGT
lɛ̀pti=ra ***mà:-ri:ri:*** *tʰøn.*
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* འཛུམ 'smile'. One of them is *-ri:ri:* རེ་རེ་, the other two, *-mè:mè* (or *-mɛrmɛr*) མེར་མེར་ and *-ɕɛkɕɛk* ཤེག་ཤེག་. I have not come across other words than *dzum* which use the latter two suffixes.

(17.75) a) *dzum-ri:ri:*   འཛུམ་རེ་རེ་   'smilingly'
        b) *dzum-me:me:*   འཛུམ་མེར་མེར་   'smiling secretly'
        c) *dzum-ɕɛkɕɛk*[469]   འཛུམ་ཤེག་ཤེག་   'smiling very widely'

For *-mè:mè:* in clausal content, consider (17.76).

(17.76) མོ་ ད་རིང་ འཛུམ་ མེར་མེར་ ཡོད་ ཨ་ཏང་ དང་ མན་འདྲ་པོ།

mù *t'ariŋ* *dzum-**mè:me:*** *jò̀ʔ,* *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:* བསིལ་ 'be cool', from which the adjective *sí:ʈaʔ* བསིལ་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་ གསིལ་རེ་རེ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་དང་

lúŋ *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:* རྡུང་ 'feel loneliness' > *hã:tõ:tõ:* 'feeling of loneliness'
        b) *dzam* འཇམ་ 'be easy' > *dzamtõ:tõ:* 'easy, easily' (cf. *dzamʈaʔ*)
        c) *ɲɛn* སྙན་ 'be sweet to hear)' > *ɲɛntõ:tõ:* 'soft(ly) (of speaking)' (cf. *ɲɛnʈaʔ*)

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[469] This expression used in a song made by a speaker from Tashiding, but consultant KN (Martam) does not recognize the form.

For clausal uses consider the following:

(17.79) རོགས་གཅིག་མ་འཕྲད་པ་འདི་རང་ཉང་ཏོང་ཏོང་བྱས་སྟེ་ཀི་

ro:=tɕiʔ   ma-pʰɛ-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 that…' (PAD bet story)

(17.80) (ཁ་) འཛམ་ཏོང་ཏོང་ལབ།

(kʰa)   dzam-tõ:tõ: làp.
mouth   easy-IDEO   speak

'Speak easily.' (KN e)

(17.81) (སྐད་) སྙན་ཏོང་ཏོང་ལབ།

(kɛ)   ɲɛn-tõ:tõ: làp.
language   easy-IDEO   speak

'Speak softly.' (KN e)

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	*ádzo* ཨ་ཙོ་	
grandmother	*áɲo* ཨ་ཉོ་	
great-grandfather	*tɕ'odzo* ཏྕེ་ཛོ་	
great-grandmother	*ɲòɲo* ཉོ་ཉོ་	
forefather	*pʰadzo* པ་ཛོ་	
paternal grandparent's elder brother	*ádzo bompu* ཨ་ཙོ་ བོམ་པུ་	wife: *áɲo bompu* ཨ་ཉོ་ བོམ་པུ་
maternal grandparent's elder brother	*ádzo bompu* ཨ་ཙོ་ བོམ་པུ་	wife: *ána bompu* ཨ་ན་ བོམ་པུ་
paternal grandparent's younger brother	*ádzo tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* ཨ་ཙོ་ ཅུང་ཅུང་	wife: *áɲo tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* ཨ་ཉོ་ ཅུང་ཅུང་
maternal grandparent's younger brother	*ádzo tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* ཨ་ཙོ་ ཅུང་ཅུང་	wife: *ána tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* ཨ་ན་ ཅུང་ཅུང་
grandparent's elder sister	*áɲo bompu* ཨ་ཉོ་ བོམ་པུ་	husband: *ádzo* ཨ་ཙོ་
grandparent's younger sister	*áɲo tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* ཨ་ཉོ་ ཅུང་ཅུང་	husband: *ádzo* ཨ་ཙོ་

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 *áɲo* 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	*ám* ཨམ་, *áma* ཨ་མ་, *jùm* ཡུམ་ (hon.)	
mother's brother	*ázã:, ázõ:* ཨ་ཞང་	wife: *áɲi* ཨ་ཉི་, ཨ་ཉེ་
mother's elder sister	*ámbom* ཨམ་བོམ་	husband: *ába bombu* ཨ་བ་ བོམ་པུ་, *ápo bompu* ཨ་པོ་ བོམ་པུ་
mother's younger sister	*ámtɕuŋ* ཨམ་ཅུང་	husband: *áku* ཨ་ཁུ་

Table 17.8. Patrilineal parents' generation

father	*ápo* ཨ་པོ་, *jà:p* ཡབ་ (hon.)	
father's elder brother	*ápo bompu* ཨ་པོ་ བོམ་པུ་	wife: *ámbom* ཨམ་བོམ་
father's younger brother	*áku* ཨ་ཁུ་	wife: *ámtɕuŋ* ཨམ་ཅུང་
father's sister	*áɲi* ཨ་ཉི་	husband: *tsʰo:* ཚོ་བོ་ (*áku* ཨ་ཁུ་)[470]

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[470] Consultant KT (Bermeok) accepts *áku*, which is used for mother's younger sister's husband, as an alternative term for *tsʰo:*. Consultant TB (Ralang), however, accepts only *tsʰo:* here.

When a kinship term does not express birth order, e.g. *áɲi* 'father's sister', it may be supplemented by the attributes *gɛmpo* 'old one', *tɕʰuŋo/tɕʰumbo/tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* 'small one', *pʼamo* '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 *áɲi gɛmpo*, father's youngest sister *áɲi tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* and father's second sister *áɲi 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	*átɕu* ཨ་ཅུ་, *ágja* ཨ་རྒྱ་	wife: *màtɕiʔ* མ་ཅིག
younger brother, younger male cousin	*pynlo* སྤུན་ལོ་	wife: *nám* མནའམ་
elder sister, elder female cousin	*ázi* ཨ་ཞི་, *ái* ཨ་�དི་, ཨི་	husband: *tsʰoː* ཚོ་བོ་
younger sister of a man, younger female cousin of a man	*pʼusim* བུ་ སྲིངམ་	husband: *álo* ཨ་ལོ་
younger sister of a woman, younger cousin of a woman	*nùm* ནུམ་	husband: *álo* ཨ་ལོ་
mother's brother's daughter	*áɲi* ཨ་ཉེ་	husband: *tsʰoː* ཚོ་བོ་
husband	*pʰogjaʔ* ཕོ་རྒྱག	
wife	*mòbyʔ* མོ་བྱུང་	
maternal uncle's son	*átɕu* ཨ་ཅུ་, *ágja* ཨ་རྒྱ་, *ázã̀ː tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* ཨ་ཞང་ ཆུང་ཆུང་, *ɕã̀ːtɕʰuŋ* ཞང་ཆུང་	wife: *màtɕiʔ* མ་ཅིག, *áɲi* ཨ་ཉེ་
guardian brother	*pʰami* ཕ་མེ་	

As can be seen in Table 17.9, maternal uncle's son has, in addition to the typical ཨ་ཅུ་ *átɕu*, ཨ་རྒྱ་ *ágja* 'elder brother' and སྤུན་ལོ་ *pynlo* 'younger brother', the alternative terms ཨ་ཞང་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ *ázã̀ː tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ* and ཞང་ཆུང་ *ɕã̀ːtɕʰuŋ*, which literally mean 'small (maternal) uncle'. In the same vein, consultant KT (Bermeok) noted that in some communities maternal uncle's daughter may be called མ་ཅིག *màtɕiʔ*. Often circumlocutions are used in referring to husband and wife. Husband may be called ཁྱིམ་ ཨ་པོ་ *kʰim ápo* 'father of the house' and wife ཁྱིམ་ ཨམ་ *kʰim ám* 'mother of the house' or *bjaruʔ* 'friend (hon.)'. The term ཕ་མེ་ *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* 'youger sister of a woman' and *pʼusim* 'younger sister of a man'. Consequently, a man can address a woman younger than himself by saying

(17.82) ᠊ᠨ᠊ᠨᠨᠠ (Tibetan script)

    p'usim=laː=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	*p'u* བུ, *séʔ* སྲས (hon.)	wife: *nám* མནའམ
daughter	*p'um* བུམ, *séːm* སྲསམ (hon.)	husband: *màko* མགཀོ
child	*p'otso* བོཙོ, *óɲi* ཨོཉེ	
grandson, cousin's son, nephew	*tsʰapʰjuʔ* ཚཕྱུག	wife: *nám* མནའམ
granddaughter	*tsʰam*[471] ཚམ	husband: *màko* མགཀོ
niece, cousin's daughter	*tsʰam* ཚམ	husband: *màko* མགཀོ, *álo* ཨལོ
male descendant	*jàpʰjuʔ*[472] ཡཕྱུག	wife: *nám* མནའམ
female descendant	*jàm* ཡམ	husband: *màko* མགཀོ

Parents call their children either by name or by endearing terms such as *bhaitɕuŋ* (combining the Nepali word for younger brother *bhāi* and the Denjongke word *tɕʰuŋ* 'small'), *sémlaː* (honorific word for daughter followed by the honorific marker *=laː*), *p'otɕuŋ* 'small child' and *bahinilaː* (Nepali for 'younger sister' followed by the honorific marker). The word *bhaitɕuŋ* 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.

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[471] Consultant KT (from Bermeok) commented that in his speech variety *tsʰapʰjuʔ* is used both for grandson and granddaughter and that *tsʰam*, the word here given for 'granddaughter', only has the meaning 'niece'.

[472] The terms *jàpʰjuʔ* and *jàm* come from consultant TB (Ralang). Consultant KT (Bermeok), on the other hand, used the term *tsʰapjuʔ* 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)	*óɲi* ཚོ་ཉེ་
child (0-15 years, male or female)	*p'jaby:* ཕྲུ་གུས་
child, underaged (appr. 0-18 years, male or female)	*p'otso* ཕོ་ཙོ་
female younger than oneself (said by man)	*p'usim* བུ་སྲིང་/བུ་སྲིངམ་
female younger than oneself (said by woman)	*nùm* ནུམ་
male younger than oneself	*pynlo* སྤུན་ལོ་
female slightly older than oneself	*ázi* ཨ་ཞེ་, *ái* ཨའེ་
male slightly older than oneself	*átɕu* ཨ་ཅུ་, *ágja* ཨ་རྒྱ་
female approximately one's mother's age	*áɲi* ཨ་ཉེ་, *ámtɕuŋ* ཨམ་ཅུང་, *ámla:* ཨམ་ལགས་
male approximately one's father's age	*áku* ཨ་ཁུ་
female approximately one's grandmother's age	*áɲo* ཨ་ནོ་
male approximately one's grandfather's age	*ádzo* ཨ་ཇོ་
nun	*ánila:* ཨ་ནེ་ལགས་
monk	*lám(a)la:* བླམ་ལགས་, *jà:pla:* ཡརབ་ལགས་

The term ཡརབ་ལགས་ *jà:pla:* (for origin, see footnote 178 on page 155), which at least in Tashiding may be used for monks, is used for referring to male persons of considerable social standing. The terms *óɲi* ཚོ་ཉེ་ and *p'jaby:* ཕྲུ་གུས་ 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	*ápo k'jo:p* ཨ་པོ་ གྱོསབ་	
mother-in-law	*ám gjum* ཨམ་ རྒྱུགམ་	
grandfather-in-law	*ádzo k'jo:p* ཨ་ཇོ་ གྱོསབ་	
grandmother-in-law	*áɲo gjum* ཨ་ནོ་ རྒྱུགམ་	
wife's older sister	*ázi gjum* ཨ་ཞེ་ རྒྱུགམ་	husband: *tsʰo:* ཚོཔོ་
wife's younger sister	*ɲim* སྙིངམ་	husband: *pynlo* སྤུན་ལོ་, *átɕu* ཨ་ཅུ་
wife's older brother	*átɕu k'jo:p* ཨ་ཅུ་ གྱོསབ་	wife: *ázi (gjum)* ཨ་ཞེ་ (རྒྱུགམ་)
wife's younger brother	*kipu* གེ་པུ་, གྱུད་པོ་	wife: *nùm* ནུམ་, *nám* མནའཝམ་

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, *ɲim* '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་ བོམཔུ་ གྱོསབ་ *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 *tsʰoː* cannot be supplemented by *kʹjoːp* (**tsʰoː kʹjoːp*), 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. *pʰurba tsʰɛriŋ*[473], *nìm(a) tsʰɛriŋ*, *dawa námgɛː*, *karma kuŋŋa*, *pasaŋ ḷamu*, *sónam ɖoma.* The first name is often, for instance in *pʰurba tsʰɛriŋ* and *nìm(a) tsʰɛriŋ*, 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

zaː dou	གཟའ་ ཟླ་བོ་	'Monday' (Moon)	>	*dawa*	ཟླ་བ་
zaː mìŋmar	གཟའ་ མིག་དམར་	'Tuesday' (Mars)	>	*mìŋma*	མིག་དམར་
zaː ḷako	གཟའ་ ལྷག་གོ་	'Wednesday' (Mercury)	>	*ḷakpa*	ལྷག་པ་
zaː pʰurbo	གཟའ་ ཕུར་བོ་	'Thursday' (Jupiter)	>	*pʰurba*	ཕུར་བ་
zaː pasã̀ː	གཟའ་ པ་སངས་	'Friday' (Venus)	>	*pasaŋ*	པ་སངས་
zaː pɛmpo	གཟའ་ སྤེན་པོ་	'Saturday' (Saturn)	>	*pɛmpa*	སྤེན་པ་
zaː ɲìm	གཟའ་ ཉིམ་	'Sunday' (Sun)	>>	*ɲìm(a)*	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.

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[473] I have heard this name being reduced to *pʰurtsʰiŋ* by people who use it often to refer to their relative.

Table 17.14. Names according to gender

Male names		Female names		Neutral names	
paljor	དཔལ་འབྱོར་ 'wealth'	*diki?*	བདེ་སྐྱིད་ 'bliss and delight'	*dawa*	ཟླ་བ་ 'moon'
ɖaɖul	དགྲ་འདུལ་ 'conquerer of enemy'	*ɖoma*	སྒྲོལ་མ་ 'Tara, saviouress'	*ɲima*	ཉི་མ་ 'sun'
tobdzor	སྟོབས་འབྱོར་ 'strength and wealth'	*kipa*	སྐྱིད་པ་ 'delight'	*tsʰɛõ:*	ཚེ་དབང་ 'life empowerment'
dzikdal	འཇིག་བྲལ་ 'imperishable'	*tɕʰøki?*	ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ 'delight in dharma'	*pema*	པད་མ་ 'lotus'
lòbzaŋ	བློ་བཟང་ 'good mind'	*ḻamu*	ལྷ་མུ་ 'goddess'	*tsʰɛriŋ*	ཚེ་རིང་ 'long life'
dordzi	རྡོ་རྗེ་ 'thunderbolt sceptre'	*kiɖøn*	སྐྱིད་སྟོན་ 'delight-builder'	*karma*	ཀརྨ་ 'action'
tobgɛ:	སྟོབས་རྒྱལ་ 'king of strength'	*kilamu*	སྐྱིད་ལྷ་མུ་ 'goddess of delight'	*ʈaɕi*	བཀྲ་ཤིས་ 'good luck'
óŋgɛl	དབང་རྒྱལ་ 'conquest'	*ḻá(d)ze:/ ḻándze:*	ལྷ་རྫས་ 'divine substance'	*rinziŋ*	རིན་འཛིན་ 'precious'
pʰyntsʰo?, pyntsʰo?	ཕུན་ཚོགས་ 'abundance'	*jáŋki?*	གཡང་སྐྱིད་ 'prosperous delight'	all names based on week days	
námgɛ:	རྣམས་རྒྱལ་ 'all-victorious'	*jáŋtɕɛ̃:*	གཡང་ཅན་ 'prosperous one'		

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་ཉེ་ཡ་ Bhutia, which is an exonym used for all Tibetan-related groups in the Southern Himalayas, or a clan name such as སྟག་ཆུང་དར་པོ་ Takchungdarpo or ཚེས་བཅུ་དར་པོ་ Tsichudarpo.[474] 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

má:p(u)	དམརབ་, དམར་པོ་	red
sé:p(u)	སེརབ་, སེར་པོ་	yellow
ka:p(u)	དཀརབ་, དཀར་པོ་	white
nàku	ནག་ཀུ་	black
ɲ̊ompu/ŋ̊ompu/hompu	སྔོན་པོ་	blue/green

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[474] Romanizations of clan names used here are those used by some Denjongpo authors themselves.

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 སྔོན་པོ་ *ɲompu/ŋompu*. For instance, in common parlance སྔོན་པོ་ *ɲompu/ŋompu* 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་ཁུ་ *dzaŋku* and མཐིང་ཁ་ *tʰiŋkʰa* respectively, but these terms, especially མཐིང་ཁ་ *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་ *tsʰɛndoʔ* and གྱུག་ *kjaʔ*, see Table 17.16.

Table 17.16. Some compound colour terms

námdoʔ	གནམ་མདོག་	sky-blue (lit. sky-colour)
tsʰodoʔ	མཚོ་མདོག་	lake-blue (lit. lake-colour)
dolom kjaʔ	རྫོ་ལོམ་ གྱུག་	violet (lit. eggplant-colour)
k'otʰɛu kjaʔ	གོ་ཐེུ་ གྱུག་	grey (lit. ash-colour)
tsʰalum kjaʔ	ཚ་ལུམ་ གྱུག་	orange (lit.orange-coulour)

Genitive constructions may also be used: *námkʰeː doʔ* གནམ་མཁའི་ མདོག་ 'colour of the sky' (KN e), *dolomki kjaʔ* རྫོ་ལོམ་གྱི་ གྱུག་ 'colour of the eggplant, violet' (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: *-tõːtõː* ཏོང་ཏོང་, *-tãːtãː* ཏང་ཏང་, *-t'iŋt'iŋ* ཏིང་ཏིང་ (also *-tiŋtiŋ* ཏིང་ཏིང་), *-riːriː* རི་རི་ (in some communities, such as Bermeok also *-ruru* རུ་རུ་), *-siːsiː* སི་སི་ and *-huːhuː* ཧུ་ཧུ་. As shown in Table 17.17, in the ideophonic expressions the colour term *ka:p(u)* དཀར་པོ་ white can be replaced by *kja* གྱུག་ '(pale) colour'. e.g. *kjatiŋtiŋ* གྱུག་ཏིང་ཏིང་ 'clean white'.

Table 17.17. Colours terms with ideophonic suffixes

séːtõːtõː, séːtãːtãː, séːtiŋtiŋ, séːriːriː, séːsiːsiː, séːhuːhuː	bright yellow, very yellow
nàːtõːtõː, nàːtãːtãː, nàːtiŋtiŋ, nàːriːriː, nàːsiːsiː, nàːhuːhuː	totally black
máːtõːtõː, máːtãːtãː, máːtiŋtiŋ, máːriːriː, máːsiːsiː, máːhuːhuː	bright red
kjatõːtõː, kjatãːtãː, kjatiŋtiŋ, kjariːriː, kjasiːsiː	clean white
ŋotõːtõː, ŋotãːtãː, ŋotiŋtiŋ, ŋoriːriː, ŋosiːsiː, ŋohuːhuː	bright blue/green

Note that *kjahuːhuː* '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 *nàːhuːhuː* 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་ཕྱས་ ནག་ཏུ་ཏུ་ སྲད་པོ་ ?
         t'ariŋ   ɲìm=di   k'amja   nàːhuːhuː: bɛ=ɛoʔ?
         today   day=DEMPH   why   totally.black   EQU.NE=AT
         'Why is the sky (lit. day/sun) pitch-black today?' (KN e)

(17.84) གན་ཚུལ་ ད་རིང་ ཆེད་ཀྱི་ གདོང་ འདི་ ནག་ཏུ་ཏུ་ སྡད་པོ?

     k'amja   t'ariŋ   tɕʰø:=ki   dõ:=di   nà:hu:hu: bɛ=ɕo?

     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:kʰokʰoʔ* ནག་ཁོ་ཁོག་ was reported by KN to be synonymic with *nà:hu:hu:* ནག་ཏུ་ཏུ་.

    In addition to the terms in Table 17.17, clear specimens of colours may be emphasized by the use of *t'aŋgi* དང་གི་ and *t'iŋgi* དིང་གི་, which appear to be genitivized forms of two of the forms from Table 17.13, e.g. *má: t'aŋgi* དམར་ དང་གི་ 'clear red'. For a clausal example, consider (17.85).

(17.85) ཁ་བོ་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ཡུལ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཀྱག་ དིང་གི་ ཐོན་ཚར་ཀ།

     kʰou   kjap-ti   ý: tʰamtɕɛʔ kjaʔ   t'iŋki   tʰøn-tsʰakɛ.

     snow   strike-NF place all   colour bright become-CMPL.APH

     'Having snowed, all places have become clean-white.' (KN e)

    Of the ideophonic suffixes listed above, at least *-tiŋtiŋ* དིང་དིང་ and *-tõ:tõ:* དོང་དོང་ can also be used with other adjectives than colours, e.g. *dzamtiŋtiŋ, dzamtõ:tõ:* '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)

kjalop	ཀྱག་ལོབ་	pale colour, colourless
má:lop	དམར་ལོབ་	pale red, pink
sé:lop	སེར་ལོབ་	pale yellow
ɲolop	སྦོ་ལོབ་	pale blue/green

    In Martam (consultant KN), the colour term is followed by a more complex construction *-sa lòksy:* ས་ ལོག་སྲུལ་, see Table 17.19.

Table 17.19. Pale colours with *-sa lòksy:* (Martam)

má:sa lòksy:	དམར་ས་ ལོག་སྲུལ་	pale red, pink
sé:sa lòksy:	སེར་ས་ ལོག་སྲུལ་	pale yellow
ɲosa lòksy:	སྦོ་ས་ ལོག་སྲུལ་	pale blue/green

In Martam mere *lòksy:* can be added to complex colour terms which end in the word *kjaʔ* '(pale) colour', e.g. *dolom=gi kja loksy:* 'pale/light purple/violet' (lit. eggplant's colour *lòksy:*). The construction COLOUR *ļapļap* may also be used for referring to pale colours, quite similarly to construction COLOUR-*sa lòksy:*, e.g. *má: ļapļap* དམར་སྲབ་སྲབ་ 'pale/light red', *sé: ļapļap* སེར་སྲབ་སྲབ་ 'pale/light yellow'. Moreover, *kjalɛmlɛm* 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 *-naʔ lòksy:* ནག་ ལོག་སུལ་ , which suggests that black *nàʔ* ནག་ is mixed to the colour in question, see Table 17.20.

Table 17.20. Dark colours with *-naʔ lòksy:* (Martam)

má:naʔ lòksy:	དམར་ནག་ ལོག་སུལ་	dark red
sé:naʔ lòksy:	སེར་ནག་ ལོག་སུལ་	dark yellow
n̥onaʔ lòksy:	སྔོ་ནག་ ལོག་སུལ་	dark blue/green

An alternative longer construction to *má:naʔ lòksy:* is *má: tɛŋkʰa nàksa lòksy:* དམར་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ནག་ས་ ལོག་ སུལ་ (lit. 'above red black'-*sa lòksy:*).

17.4.4 Other colour terms

Mixed colours can be expressed with the formative *-ʈʰa* ཁྲ་ 'variegated (colour)'. In Tashiding (consultant DB), the expression *ka:p ʈashiʔ* དཀར་བ་ ཁྲ་ཤིག་ refers to basically white but mixed with other colours. In Martam (consultant KN), on the other hand, *ka:ʈʰa* དཀར་ཁྲ་ or *ka:ʈʰaʈʰa* དཀར་ཁྲ་ཁྲ་ refer to white colour occurring on a backround of other colour(s). For instance, the expression *ka:p tɛŋkʰa ŋoʈʰa* དཀར་བ་ སྟེང་ཁར་ སྔོ་ཁྲ་ '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 coulour terms from Tashiding (consultant DB)

nà:muʔ	ནག་སྨུག་	dark (but not black)
má:muʔ	དམར་སྨུག་	brown (?)
kjazã:	གྱག་སངས་	bright-coloured, clear colour
kjamiʔ	གྱག་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* བླུག་ 'pour', *p'ja* བྱས་ 'do', *kjap* རྒྱབས་ '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 (*ɕýɕy, ã́ʔã̃ʔ, màmam, buŋbuŋ, tɕa:tɕa, bulubulu*). The words referring to animals *òmba* 'cow (child talk)', *lɛ̀:lɛ:/lɛ:la* 'goat (child talk)' and *tɕ'idʑi* '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
ɕéːp tãː	ɕýː~ɕýɕy tãː, íɕ tãː, ɕýl tãː (KN), tɕʰulu lúk (TB)	urinate
kjako tãː	ɛ̃́ː tãː, ắʔãʔ tãː	defecate
to sà, ɕèlaʔ ʑeː	màmam ʑeː	eat food, rice
tɕʼa ʑeː	ɛ̀ː ʑeː	have tea
ɲèː, zim	ɲèːɲeː pʼja, zimzim pʼja	sleep
ɖiː	buŋ(buŋ) pʼja	fall
gju	tɕaːtɕaː pʼja (PT), pʰaː (KN)	walk
tɕʰuɕɛ kjap	bulubulu pʼja	wash
ákar	ákaː	chilli
	paijaː	spank
pʰɛn tãː	puk tãː	fart (verb)
tsʰaʈaʔ	átsʰaː, átaː, hɛ̰ːhṵː	hot
ʈʼika	haka, tɕitɕɛ, átɕʰi(tɕʰi), tɕʰitɕʰi (KN)	dirty
tɕãːtɕʰitɕʰi	ásisi	beautiful
nò	òmba (cf. óm 'milk')	cow
ra	lɛ̀ːla, lɛ̀ːlɛː	goat
pʰako	tɕʼidzi	pig
óm	bubu (KN)	milk
	ɛ̀ːpa (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 *akaː*, *tɕãːtɕʰitɕʰi* 'beautiful' to *ásisi* and *tsʰaʈaʔ* 'hot' to *átaː*. The word for cow, *ómba*, 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 *buŋbuŋ* presents onomatopoeically and emphathetically 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) ཨོ་ནེ་ ཤུལ་ བཏང་།
      óɲi ɕýː tãː.
      child wee send
      'Child, go wee-wee.' (PTB 5, 39)

(17.87) ཨོ་ནེ་ ཨེང་ བཏང་།
      óɲi ɛ̃́ː pʼja.
      child poo do
      'Child, go poo-poo.' (PTB 5, 39)

(17.88) མ་མམ་ བཞེས།
      màmam   ʑeː.
      food.CHT   have.hon
      'Please eat some food/rice.'

(17.89) ཉེ་ བཞེས།

      ɛ̀:   ze:.
      tea.CHT have.hon
      'Please have some tea.'

(17.90) འབུང་འབུང་ བྱས་ཤད་ སྲད།

      buŋbuŋ   p'ja-ɛɛ bɛʔ.
      falling.CHT   do-INF   EQU.NE
      '(You) will fall (and hurt yourself).'

    The reduplicated word *tɕa:tɕa* in (17.91) refers to the unstable walk of small children who are still struggling not to fall. The word *tɕa:* is also the humilific form for 'come' in ordinary language (for explanation of the term "humilific," see §3.3.4). Adults may repeat *tɕa: tɕa: tɕa: tɕa:* to a child who is just learning to walk.

(17.91) ཨོ་ཉེ་ བཙའ་བཙའ་ བྱས།

      óɲi   tɕa:tɕa: p'ja.
      child walking.CHT   do
      'Child, walk.' (PTB 5, 39)

(17.92) གོས་ལག་ ཨ་སི་སི་ སྲད།

      k'olaʔ   ásisi   bɛʔ.
      clothes   beautiful.CHT EQU.NE.
      ' (Your) clothes are beautiful.' (KT)

(17.93) ད་ ཕུག་ བཏང་ཚར།

      t'a   puk   tã:-tsʰa:.
      now   fart.CHT   send-CMPL
      'Now (you) let out a fart.' (KN e)

(17.94) འབུ་འབུ་ འཐུང་།

      bubu   tʰuŋ.
      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) སྐུ་མཆིན་ བྱས་ (?)

      kukʰɛ̃:   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 Tibetic languages than Dzongkha (see "expressives" in Watters [2018: 271ff]) and in Purik Tibetan (see "dramatizers" in Zemp [2018: 735ff]). 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 idephones 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'joːp* 'male in-law' and *gjum* 'female in-law'. Two exceptions were the terms for ego's wife's younger sister (*ɲim*) and wife's younger brother (*kipu*), which are expressed by dedicated terms not occuring 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 planets/week days) 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 are literary words for sky-blue/azure and green). Clear colours, pale colours and dark colours were shown to be expressed with specific constructions. Terms expressing clear colours were seen to excell 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, riddles, folkstory, novel and conversation.

Proverbs

Proverbs excel in scanty expression where interpretation may be highly dependent on collocation and word order rather than grammatical marking. For instance, the verb *ta* in (1) below would in ordinary prose in both clauses occur in nonfinal converbal form *ta-ti*. Proverbs typically consist of two lines which say analogous or somehow opposite things in parellel constructions, using partly the same words.

(1) ཨེ་ ཐ་ གཡོག་བྱོས། བྱ་ ཐ་ ཆུ་ མ་འཐུང་།
    mí   ta   jóʔ p'ja, p'ja ta   tɕʰu   ma-tʰuŋ.
    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) ཨེ་རྒས་ལོ་ གཏམ། སྒང་ རྒས་ལོ་ ཤ།
    mí   gɛ:=lo   tam, lǎ: gɛ:=lo   ɕá.
    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་ སྐབས་ ལྕེ་ ལྫབ་ལྫབ། ར་རིན་ ལྟ་བའི་ སྐབས་ མིག་ ལྗུག་ལྗུག།
    ra-ɕa   sà-wø: gã: tɕɛ   ḷapḷap, ra-rĩ: ta-wø: gã
    goat-meat eat-2INF.GEN time tongue lick.lick goat-price look-2INF.GEN   time
    mìk   ḷukḷuk.
    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) ཨེ་ མནོ་རིགས་ མི་གཅིག། བྱ་ སྤུ་རིགས་ མི་གཅིག།
    mí   nóriʔ   mi-tɕiʔ,   p'ja pu-riʔ   mi-tɕiʔ.
    human thought-kind NEG-one   bird feather-kind NEG-one
    'People's ways of thinking are various. Bird's feathers are various.' (SS)

(5) ཨ་གར་ མེད་ནེ་ ཟམ་ མིན་ཟ། མོ་བྱད་ མེད་ནེ་ བླ་ མི་ཚགས།
    ákar mè:-nɛ   sàm min-za. mòbyʔ mè:-nɛ   lá   mi-tɕʰaʔ.
    chilly NEG.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་ ཡལ་ག་ཅན་ལོ་ འཛེག་ འཛོ་སྟེ། མི་ ག་བ་ཅན་ལོ་ ལབ་ འཛོ་སྟེ།

 ɕíŋ ɕàga-tɕɛ̃ː=lo   dzɛk dzo-ti,   mí
 tree branch-ADJZR=DAT climb be.comfortable-NF human
 kʼo-wa-tɕɛ̃ː=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་ འཛོལ་ན་ ལོག་སོ་ ཡོད། ཁ་ འཛོལ་ན་ ལོག་སོ་ མེད།

 làm dzø̀ː-na lòkso jø̀ʔ. kʰa dzø̀ː-na lòkso mèʔ.
 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་ འཁྱོམ་ ཁ་ འཁྱོམ་, ར་ འཁྱོམ་ ཚི་ལུ་ འཁྱོམ།

 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) ཊོ་ འབྲུ་ཊོ་ ཟ་བ་ ཊོ་ལ་ མིན་དགོས། ལམ་ ཕི་ཉེ་ འགྱུ་བ་ དོག་ཨ་ མིན་དགོས།

 to bja:to   sà-wa topaʔ miŋ-goʔ. làm pʰiːɲeː gju-wa toːmaʔ
 rice countryside.rice eat-PUR curry NEG-needed road level go-PUR stick
 miŋ-goʔ.
 NEG-needed
 'In order to eat countryside rice for rice, no curry is needed. In order to walk on a level road,
 no (walking) stick is needed.' (UT)

(10) ཁྲི་ཉིག་ བསད་པ་ སྟ་རེ་ མིན་དགོས། སོག་ཨ་ བསད་པ་ ཐོ་ལོ་ མིན་དགོས།

 kiɕik sé-pa taːri miŋ-goʔ.   sóma sé-pa tʰoː
 black.flea kill-PUR axe NEG-be.needed flea.egg kill-PUR hammer
 miŋ-goʔ.
 NEG-be.needed
 'To kill fleas, no axe is needed. To kill flea-eggs, no hammer is needed.' (UT)

(11) ལབ་སྟངས་ ཡོད་ན་ ཁའི་ ཟོན། འགྱུ་སྟངས་ ཡོད་ན་ ཀང་པའི་ ཟོན།

 làp-tã: jø̀ː-nɛ kʰa=i sø̀n, gju-tã: jø̀ː-nɛ
 speak-manner EX-COND mouth=GEN caution walk-manner EX-COND
 kã:pø: sø̀n.
 foot.GEN caution
 'If there is speaking manner, mouth's caution. If there is walking manner, feet's caution.'
 (UT)

(12) དྲག་ཀོ་ ཨིན་ནེ་ བྱིན་ དགོས་ ཨགོ། ཞེན་པོ་ ཨིན་ནེ་ སྐུལ་ དགོས་ ཨགོ།

ţ'ako ín-nɛ p'in go? nó. ɕɛ̀mpo ín-nɛ ky:
nobleman EQU-COND give be.needed think fool EQU-COND cause.to.move

go? 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) ཞེནམ་ལོ་ ཁྱིག་ཤད་ ཨིན་ མ་ལབ། ཕྱོང་ཀ་ ལོ་ བྱིན་ཤད་ ཨིན་ མ་ལབ།

ɕɛ̀:m=lo kʰik-ɕĩ: ma-làp. pjaŋka=lo p'in-ɕĩ: 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) ཟོའུ་ ཁ་ཤ་ ཟ། བརྡུང་པོ་ ར་ བརྡུང་།

sòu kʰaɕa sà, duŋ-bo rà duŋ
food deer eat beat-2INF goat beat

'Deer ate the food, goat bore the beating.' (UT)

(15) ཞེན་པོ་ ཁྱོ་ནེ་ གཅིག་ སྐུལ་ སྤང་། དྲག་ཀོ་ ཁྱོ་ནེ་ གཉིས་ སྐུལ་ ཐོབ།

ɕɛ̀mpo kʰjo:-nɛ tɕi? kɛ: pã:. ţ'ako kʰjo:-nɛ ɲí: kɛ:
fool get.angry-COND one portion forsake nobleman get.angry two portion

tʰop.
find

'If a fool gets angry, give up giving (even) one gift. If a nobleman gets angry, (he) shall receive two gifts.' (UT)

(16) ཕྱུཀུ་ སྐྱེའུ་ མི་ཚུགས། ཕྱོང་ཀ་ ཤིའུ་ མི་ཚུགས།

pʰjuku ki-u mi-tsʰu?. pjaŋka ɕí-u mi-tsʰu?.
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་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ ཨམ་ ཁྱོན་ མ་རི། ཕོ་ལོ་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ ཨཔ་ གཏམ་ མ་རི།

mò=lo tɕɛ:ŋa áma k'øn ma-ri. pʰo=lo tɕɛ: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་ཁྱི་རྡོ་གོམ་རྒྱབས་ནེ་ བླ་མའི་ཐུགས་ལོ་ ཕོག་ཆད་ སྲད།

gjømpø: kʰi dogom kjap-nɛ   lámø: tʰuː=lo   pʰok-ɕɛ
monastery.GEN   dog stone strike-COND   lama.GEN mind.HON=DAT hit-INF
bɛʔ.
EQU.NE
'If you stone the monastery's dog, it will hit the lama's mind.' (UT)

(19) རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ནེ་ ཆ་ལུགས་[475] ངན་རུང་ ཁྱིད་པར་ མེད།

rã:dõ: ɖup-nɛ   tɕʰalyʔ   ɲèn-ruŋ   kʰɛpar   mèʔ.
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་མྱོང་པའི་ མི་ ཟ་ རྣེའུ་ གཅིག་ ཕྱོག་ཀ་ ཟམ། ། འགྱུ་ མ་མྱོང་པའི་ མི་ འགྱུ་ ཐེམ་པ་ ལ་ བསམ།

sà   ma-mjõ̀:-pø: mí sà, ɲ̥ɛu=tɕiʔ pʰjoka sàm
eat   NEG-experience-NMLZ.GEN   human eat snot=INDF taste   food
gju   ma-mjõ̀:-pø: mí   gju, tʰɛmpa   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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[475] This WD form given by consultant KL may correspond to dictionary form ཆ་ལུགས་ 'style, fashion, custom'.

Riddles

(1) ཕྱི་ལོག་ལས་ གོས་ལྭག་ མེད་མཁན་, ནང་ཐ་ལས་ དུ་སྙིང་ མེད་མཁན།
    pʰilo=lɛ   *k'ola*   *mè:-kʰɛ̃:*   *nàŋɛa=lɛ*   *t'uniŋ*   *mè:-kʰɛ̃:*
    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། ཀང་(པོ་) མེད། འཛམ་གླིང་ སྐོར་ཏེ་ ལོན་ སྐྱེལ་མཁན།
    úʔ   *mèʔ,*   *kã:(po)*   *mèʔ.*   *dzamliŋ*   *kor-di*   *lòn*
    breath   NEG.EX.PER   foot   NEG.EX.PER   world   go.around-NF   message
    kɛ:-kʰɛ̃:.
    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) རྡོ་ལས་ ལོང་སྟེ་ དུང་ཏོག་ ནང་ཐ་ ལག་ཀོ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ གན་ སྦད?
    t'o:lɛ   *lõ̀:-ti*   *t'uŋtoʔ*   *nàŋɛa*   *làko*   *kjap-o.*   *k'an*   *bɛʔ?*
    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: སྟོད་གོས་ གྱོན་པོ།   ཕུ་ལུང་།
        tø:guʔ   *k'øm-bo*   or   *pʰyluŋ/pʰyduŋ*
        short   wear-2INF   sleeve
        'putting on a shirt'   'sleeve'

(4) མི་ འདི་ མི་ལག་ གསུམ་, སྐེ་རགས་ གཅིག་ འདི་ གན་ སྦད?
    mí=di   *mílaʔ*   *súm,*   *kera*   *tɕiʔ.*   *di*   *k'an*   *bɛʔ?*
    human=DEMPH   person   three   belt   one   this   what   EQU.NE
    'Three people, one belt. What is it?'

    Answer: ཨ་རག་ བཏོན་བཏོན་པོ།   ཨ་རག་ གཅག་ཁད།
        áraʔ   *tɛn-tɛm-bo*   or   *áraʔ*   *tɕak-ɕɛʔ*
        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) རྒྱ་ལས་བོད་ཟང་སྟེ་ཁ་དར་བཏགས་བཏང་པོ།
     gja=lɛ   p'øʔ sã:tɛ kʰada   ta: tã:-bo
     India=ABL Tibet until scarf   append send-2INF
     'It extends a khada-scarf from India to Tibet.'

     answer: ཆུ།
         tɕʰu
         water
         'water' (JDG)

(6) ཐག་ཀོ་རིང་ཆུམ, བཞེས་སྒོ་ཞིམ་པུ།
     tʰoko   riŋkʰjam,   ɕɛ̀:goʔ   ɕìmpu
     rope   long   food   tasty
     'Long rope, tasty food.'

     answer: ཉ་བསད་ཁད།
         ɲà   sɛ́-ɕɛʔ
         fish   kill-INF
         'to fish' (JDG)

(7) མར་ཁུ་ཕོར་པོ་གང་གིས་འཛམ་གླིང་ཁྱབ་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།
         ɲìm
         sun
         'sun' (JDG)

(8) ག་ཚོད་ཟ་པོ་ཨོ་ཚོད་སྐྱག་ཀོ་བཏང་མཁན།
     k'adzøʔ   sò-u,   ódzøʔ   kjako   tã:-kʰɛ̃̀:.
     how.much eat-2INF   that.much faeces   send-NMLZ
     'As much as it eats, that much it deficates.' (JDG)

     answer: རང་འཐག།
         rã:tʰaʔ
         mill
         'mill' (JDG)

(9) དེ་ཏག་ པེ་ཉེ་ གཅིག་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཕྲི་ཅུང་ དུག་གིས་ གླུ་ རྒྱབས་པོ།

te:taʔ pʰi:ɲe:=tɕiʔ   tɕŋkʰa   pʼitɕuŋ   ʈʼu:=ki   lú   kjap-o
stick horizontal=INDF   on   small.bird   six=AGT   song   do-2INF
'On a horizontal stick six birds are singing.'

    answer: རྒྱ་གླིང་ ཕུ།   གླིང་བུ་ ཕུ།

          gjaliŋ   pʰu   or   límbu   pʰu
          gyaling.trumpet   blow   flute   blow
          'blowing the gyaling-trumpet'   'blowing the flute'

(10) ཨམ་ སྲིན་མོ་, བུམ་ མཁའ་འགྲོ་, གན་ འདུག?

ám   símo,   pʼum   kʰanɖu,   kʼan   duʔʔ
mother   cannibal.demoness   daughter   dakini   what   EX.SEN
'The mother a demon, the daughter an angel, what is (it)?'

    answer: ཚེ་ལུམ།

          tsʰɛ:lum
          tshelum-plant
          'tshelum plant' (a plant with thorns but sweet fruit)

(11) འགྱུ་རན་ཁར་ རྟ་ འདེམ་ རྒྱུགས། སྡོད་རན་ཁར་ རྐུན་ཆན་ འདེམ་ སྡོད། ཤོང་རན་ཁར་ རྒྱལ་པ་ ཤོང་དོ་ འདེམ་ ཤོང་། འདི་ གན་ པོ?

gju-reŋkʰa   ta   dɛm   gjuk.   dø:-reŋkʰa   kyntɕɛ̃:   dɛm   døʔ.   ò:-reŋkʰa   gɛ:p
go-SIM   horse   like   run   sit-SIM   thief   like   sit   come-SIM   king
òŋ-do   dɛm   ò:.   di   kʼan   bo?
come-PROG like   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: རྐྱག་གོ་ བཏང་ཁད།
          kjako   tã:-ɕɛʔ
          faeces   send-INF
          'defecating' (UT)

(12) ཀོམ་པའི་ མེ་མདའ་ རླུང་གི་ རྡས་ ས་ལོ་ རྒྱབས་རན་ཁར་ སྣ་གུ་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཕོག། འདི་ གན་ པོ?

kompø: mìnda   lúŋ=gi   dzɛʔ   sá=lo   kjap-reŋkʰa
leather.GEN   gun   air=GEN   bullet   ground=DAT   strike-SIM
ŋagu tɕŋkʰa   pʰok.   di   kʼan   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: ཕན།
          pʰɛn
          fart
          'fart' (UT)

655

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(ɛ)*, as shown by the first line of the story, can also mark that the speaker is repeating what has been said by others.

(1) ཨེ་ལོ་ ཞེན་མཐོང་ མ་བསགགས་ སེ།

mí=lo ɕènt^hõ: ma-sá:=s.
human=DAT contempt NEG-gather=QUO
'Do not heap contempt on people, it is said.'

(2) ཨེ་ལོ་ ཞེན་མཐོང་ བསགགས་ག་ཙེ་ནེ་ ཁ་ཤ་ར་ འདེམ་ ཐོན་ཤད་ ཨིན་ སེ།

mílo ɕènt^hõ: sák-ɛtsɛnɛ k^haɕa=ra (dɛ)m t^høn-ɛɛ
human=DAT contempt gather-COND deer=AEMPH like become-INF
ǐ:=s.
EQU.PER=QUO
'If (you) heap contempt on people, (you) will end up like the deer.'

(3) ཁ་ཤ་ འདི་ ཁུའི་གི་ འདེམ་ སྣ་གུ་ འདེབ་ སུམ་སུམ་པོ་ ཡོད་ལོ།

k^haɕa=di k^hu=i=gi dɛm ɳaku dɛp súm-sum-bo jø̀:=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་ སུམ་པོ་ སི་བ་ཙེ་ནེ་ དང་པུ་ གླང་པུ་ གཅིག་ འདེབ་ ལམ་ ནང་ན་ འགྱུ་དོ་ལོ, བྱག་ ནང་ན་ལས།

ódi k'an súm-bo sí-bɛtsɛnɛ t'aŋpu lǎ:bu=tɕiʔ dɛp làm
that what shrink-2INF say-COND long.ago elephant=INDF like.it road
nàŋɛa gju-do=lo, p'jaʔ nàŋɛa=lɛ.
inside go-IPFV=REP cliff inside=ABL
'If (I) tell what shrunk it, long ago an elephant was walking on a road like this, on a cliff.'

(5) འགྱུ་བའི་ སྐང་ འདི་ སྐང་བུ་ འདི་གི་ རྒྱབ་ཁར་ ཡོའུ་ བྱག་ འདི་ལས་ ཐོག་སྟེ་ རྡོ་གོམ་ གཅིག་ འགྲིལ་བ་ ཆོང་སྟེ་ དྭག་ལོ་ རྡོ་གོམ་ འདི་ ཕོག་ཀོ་ལོ་ལགས།

gju-wø: gã̀:=di lǎ:bu=di=gi gjapk^ha jòu p'ja:=di=lɛ
go-2INF.GEN time=DEMPH elephant=DEMPH=GEN in.back up cliff=DEMPH=ABL
òtɛ dogom=tɕiʔ ɖi: baʔ òn-di t'a:glo dogom=di
down stone=INDF fall carry come-NF EXCLAM stone=DEMPH
p^hok-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) རྡོ་གོམ་ འདི་ ཕོག་ཚར་ལས་ འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ འདི་ ཁ་ཤ་ འདི་ འོང་དོ་ལོ།

dogom=di p^hok-sa=lɛ=di gjablɛ gjablɛ=di k^haɕa=di òn-do=lo.
stone=DEMPH hit-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH after after=DEMPH deer=DEMPH come-IPFV=REP
'Stone having hit, afterwards, afterwards the deer is coming (so the story goes).'

656

(7) དེ་ཁ་ཤ་འདི་ལོ་སྐྱང་བུ་འདི་འདེབ་ལྟ་བཞག་ལབ་པོ་ལོ།

te kʰaɕa=di=lo   lắ:bu=di   dɛp   ta   za: làp-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) ཨོའི་ རང་ཏོ་ འདི་ གན་ པོ་ ཨི་ན?

ói   rã:=to,   di   k'a: bo   ín-a⁴⁷⁶?
Oh   2SG.M=CEMPH   this what EQU.NE.Q   EQU.PER-Q
'Hey, you, what is this?'

(9) ཕྲུག་ལས་ འ་སྟེ་ ང་ལོ་ རྡོ་ འགྱེལ་ བཏང་སྟེ་ ངའི་ རྒྱབ་ཁར་ རྡོ་ གཅིག་ ཕོག་ཚར་ཏོ་ལོ།

p'ja:=lɛ   òtɛ   ŋà=lo   do   ɖi: tã:-di   ɲè: 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་གིས་ལགས།

kʰaɕa=di=lo   làp-o=lo   lắ:bu=gi=la.
deer=DEMPH=DAT   say-2INF=REP elephant=AGT=HON
'The elephant said (this) to the deer.'

(11) དེ་ རང་ཏོ་ ཁ་ཤ་ ནགས་ཚན་ ནང་ཤ་ ཕྲུག་ འདི་ཚུའི་ ནང་ཤ་ ལེབ་ རྒྱུག་ ཚུགས།

te rã:=to   kʰaɕa,   nà:tsɛ̃:   nàŋɕa,   p'jaʔ   di=tsu=i   nàŋɕa
so 2SG.M=CEMPH   deer   forest   inside   precipice   this=PL=GEN inside
lêp   gjuk   tsʰuʔ.
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་ ཡོའི་ རྒྱུགས་ སོང་སྟེ་ ལྟ་ སོང་ཆེ།

rã: jòu   gjuk   sɔ̃́:-di   ta   sɔ̃́:-tɕʰi.
2SG.M up   run   go.PFV-NF look go.PFV-IMP.FRN
'You go running up to look.'

(13) ག་ཀྲེམ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གེ་ འདི་ ང་ལོ་ རྡོ་ ལྷོག་ འགྱེལ་མཁན་ འདི་ ལབ་མཁན?

k'atɛm=tɕiʔ   du-kɛ   di   ŋà=lo   do   ḷok   ɖi:-kʰɛn=di
how=INDF   EX.SEN-IN this 1SG=DAT stone remove fall-NMLZ=DEMPH
làp-kʰɛ̃:ʔ⁴⁷⁷
say-NMLZ
'What kind is the one who displaced and made the stone fall on me?'

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⁴⁷⁶ This form is typically pronounced ɲa.
⁴⁷⁷ The last syllable is unclear on recording. The nominalizer -kʰɛ̃: was an educated guess by a consultant.

(14) དེ་ཟིང་རྡོ་སྐྱོག་འགྱེལ་མཁན་འདི་ཕྱི་དུངས་གཅིག་འདུག་ལོ་ལགས་, པོ་ཀྱུ་པིན་ (porcupine).

t'izã: do ḷok ɖi:-kʰɛn=di p'idim=tɕiʔ 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 turn out to be a porcupine (so the story goes).'

(15) དེ་ཁུ་ཁ་ཤ་འདི་ལབ་པོ་ལོ།

tɛ kʰu kʰaɕa=di làp-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་གེ།

jì=na dɛm símtɕɛ̃:=tɕiʔ du-kɛ.
up=LOC such animal=INDF EX.SEN-IN
'There is such an animal up there.'

(17) གཟུགས་ཚང་རོང་རོང་འདོ་འདེམ་གཅིག་འདུག་གེ།

zuʔ tsã: roŋroŋ dodɛm=tɕiʔ 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་གིས་འདེབ་དོང་ཀྲོག་ཆར་ལས་འདི་རྡོ་འདི་འགྱེལ་འབབ་�འོང་སྟེ་ཀི་, ག་རྟེ་ལོ་, ངའི་རྒྱབ་ཁར་ཕོག་ཀོ་སྐྱད་སེ།

ódi=gi dɛp t'õ: kok-sa=lɛ=di do=di ɖi: baʔ
that=AGT like.that hole dig-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH stone=DEMPH fall carry
òŋ-diki, k'atɛlo, ɲè.[478] 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) དེ་སྐྱང་བུ་འདི་ལབ་པོ་ལོ།

tɛ lã̀:bu=di làp-o=lo
so elephant=DEMPH say-2INF=REP
'So the elephants said (so the story goes):'

(20) ཁུ་ལོ་འདི་ཁར་ངའི་མདུན་ཁར་ཁུག་ སེ།

kʰu=lo dikʰa ɲè: dyŋkʰa kuk=s.
3SGM=DAT here 1SG.GEN in.front.of call=QUO
'Call him here in front of me, (he) said'

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[478] This should be ཆོད་(ཀྱི་) 'your' as the speaker is the deer.

(21) ཁྱུ་གན་བྱས་སྟེ་རྡོ་འདི་བཏང་པོ?

  kʰu   k'an p'ja-ti   do=di   tã̀:-bo?
  3SGM   what do-NF   stone=DEMPH send-2INF
  'Why did he send the stone?'

(22) དེ་གླང་བུ་འདི་ལབ་པོ་ལོ

  tɛ lã̀:bu=di   làp-o=lo.
  so elephant=DEMPH say-2INF=REP
  'So the elephant said (so the story goes):'

(23) རང་ཡ་སྟེ་བྱག་ནང་ན་འཛེག་སྟེ་ཡོའུ་ཁྱུའི་རྩར་འགྱུ་དགོས་ཡོ་ཁའི་འདི་གིས་ཕྱོག་ལབ་བཞིན་གོ་སེ་ལབ་ཚར་ལས།

  rã̀:   jàtɛ p'jaʔ nànɛa 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?   làp-dzyŋgɛ=s   làp-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) གླང་བུ་འདི་ང་ཡ་སྟེ་ཏོ་འགྱུ་མི་ཚུགས།

  lã̀:bu=di   ŋà   jàtɛ=to   gju mi-tsʰu?.
  elephant=DEMPH   1SG up=CEMPH go   NEG-be.able.to
  'Elephant (said): But I am not able to go up.'

(25) ང་ཁྱུའི་མདུན་ཁར་འགྱུ་མི་ཚུགས།

  ŋà   kʰu=i   dyŋkʰa   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) ཁྱུ་ལོ་འདི་འོག, འོག་སྟེ་ཕྱོག་སེ་ལབ་ཚར་ལས་འདི་ཏེ་ཁ་ཤ་འདི་གིས

  kʰu=lo=di   ò?,   òtɛ   ɛó:=s   làp-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 to him, "Come down, down," then the deer (said):'

(27) ཚོ, རང་ཏོ་འདེམ་གཟུགས་བོམ་ཅུང, རང་འདེམ་གཟུགས་བོམ་ཅུང, ཁྱུ་འདེམ་ཕྱི་མག་གཅིག་མདུན་ཁར་འགྱུ་མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་ཡང་ལབ་སྟེ་ཨིན་སོལ (insult) བྱས་པོ་ལོ་ལགས།

  tsɛi   rã̀:=to   dɛm zu? bomtɛuŋ, rã̀:   dɛm zu? bomtɛuŋ, kʰu
  EXCLAM 2SG.M=CEMPH   such body size   2SG.M suck body size   3SGM
  dɛm p'ima=tɛi?   dyŋkʰa   gju mi-tsʰu-kʰɛ̃:=jã̀:   làp-ti
  such small=INDF   in.front.of go   NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ=even say-NF
  insol   p'ja-u=lo=la,   ɛɛ̀ntʰõ̀:   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).'

659

(28) ཞེན་མཐོང་བསགས་ཆར་ལས་ཁུ་གིས་འདི་, ཨོ་དེ་ཨེ་ལི་ཕནྟ་ (elephant) སྟེང་ཁར་, སྐྱང་བུ་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཞེན་མཐོང་བསགས་ཆར་ལས་ ཡིག་ མ་ཆེས་པ་ རྐྱེ་ ལབ་པའི་ སྐབ་ རྟེ་ ཁུའི་གི་ སྣ་གུ་ འདི་ འདེབ་ སུམ་སྟེ་ སྡོད་པོ་ལོ་ལགས།

ɕὲntʰõ: *sák-sa=lɛ*   *kʰu=gi=di*   *ódi*   *elifənt*   *tɛŋkʰa,*
contempt gather-CMPL=ABL   3SGM=GEN=DEMPH that elephant(Eng.)   on
lǎ:bu   *tɛŋkʰa* *ɕὲntʰõ:* *sák-sa=lɛ,*   *jìʔ*   *ma-tɕʰi-pa*   *tɕʰi:*
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, he, having heaped contempt on that elephant, when (he) did not believe and said "darn", his nose shrunk and stayed like that (so the story goes).'

(29) འདི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ གསུང་གཏམ་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ གཅིག་ འདི་ ཨིན་ལགས།

di   *ɖɛndzoŋ=gi* *súŋtam* *tɕʰuŋtɕuŋ=tɕiʔ*   *di*   *ǐ:=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 Tsichudarpo, published in 1996, remains the only existing Denjongke novel. Below is an excert from the novel (p. 12-13). The excerpt is slightly modified from Yliniemi (2016a).

ཚོས་སྒྲོན་གྱིས་ གསོལ་ཇ་ བཟོ་ཏེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ དྲངས་བཞིན་ལོ་ པེ་ལུང་

teʰɸɖɛ̃ː=gi só:za zoː-ti t'amtɕɛ=lo ʈ'ã-zɛ̃ː=lo pɛːluŋ
PN=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་ཏེ་ སྟེང་ལོ་ བྱུ་ན་ བཞག ། ད་སྟ་ ཁོང་ཚུ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་

nàŋ=gi só:ɕip tɕɛntɛ teŋlo bu=na zaʔ. t'ato kʰõ̃ː=tsu ɲámtɕiʔ
inside=GEN snacks table on middle=LOC put now 3PL=PL with
midst on the table.   Now as they sit together

སྡོད་སྟེ་ གསོལ་ཇ་ གསོལ་ཞིབ་ ཟ་བཞིན་པའི་ སྐབས་ མནེ་སྨུ་རང་ ཁྱིམ་

dø̀ː-ti só:za só:ɕip sà-zɛ̃ː-pø: kap néːmu=rã̀ː 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། གྱོས་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ གཀྲ་གིས་

tɕiː=ki za:tsʰã̀ː ɖau. k'joʔ kjap-zɛ̃ː kjap-zɛ̃ː karma=gi
one=GEN family.members like talk do-PROG do-PROG PN=AGT
of one household.   As (they) keep on talking, Karma says

སྨ་སྨྱེད་ལོ་ "ན་ བུ་སྨིང་ལགས་ གཱ་ན་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ བོ?"

ɭaki=lo, nà: p'usim=laː k'ana zuː-kʰɛn bo?
PN=DAT here younger.sister=HON where live.HON-NMNZ EQU.NE.Q
to Lhaki, "Where does the sister here live?"

སྨ་སྨྱེད་ – "ཁོང་ ང་ དང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་རང་ སློབ་གྲྭན་ ཕུག་ལས་ གནང་དོ་

ɭakiʔ – kʰõ̃ː ŋà t'ã̀: ɲámtɕi=rã̀ː lóbɖa=na tɕʰaːlɛʔ nã̂ː-do
PN 3SG.HON 1SG and with=AEMPH school=LOC work.HON do.HON-IPFV
Lhaki: "She works together with me at the school.

ཨིན་པོ། རྡོ་རྗེ་ སྨྱིང་ལོ་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ ཨིན། འདི་ཡར་ སྤྲེབས་སྟེ་ ཧ་ལམ་

í:=ɕo. dordziliŋ=lo zuː-kʰɛ̃ː í: dikʰa ɭɛp-ti hálam
EQU.PER=AT TPN=DAT live-NMLZ EQU.PER here arrive-NF about
(She) lives in Darjeeling.   (She) came here about some

661

ཟླ་བོ་བརྒྱད་ཚོང་ལང་དོ་ཨ་རྒྱ༔"   གར་མ –   "ཨོ་འདིས་ཏོ།

dou   gɛ:-tsʰøʔ   là̃:-to   ágja.   *Karma –   ódi:=to⁴⁷⁹.*
month   eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother   PN   that.AGT=CEMPH
eight months ago, brother. "   Karma: "That's it.

མདང་ ང་ཚའི་ སྣའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ མགོ་ བཏོག་སྟེ་ འགྱེལ་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་སྐབས༔

dã: ŋàtɕi bhaila-ki   go   tok-ti   ɖi: dø: jø̀:-kap
yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN   head   hit-NF   fall   sit   EX-SIM
Yesterday when our Bhaila was lying fallen after hitting his head,

བུ་སྲིང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ ཆེ་ན་ ཁོང་ ཨོ་ན་རང་ ཤི་ཤད་ རེད༔   མདང་

p'usim=la: mè:-patɕɛnɛ kʰõ: óna=rã: ɕí-ɕɛʔ   bɛʔ.   dã:
little.sister=HON NEG.EX-COND 3SG.HON there=AEMPH die-INF EQU.NE yesterday
if it wasn't for the sister, he would have died on the spot.   Yesterday

ང་ཚག་ཚུ་ སྦྱིའུ་ དང་ ཧྲང་པའི་ ཤུགས་ན་ བུ་སྲིང་ལགས་ལོ

ŋàtɕa=tsu p'jɛu t'ã: hã̃: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

ཕྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཡང་ ཞུ་མ་ཚུགས༔"   "ཨམ་ལགས! མདང་ ང་ཚའི་ སྣའི་ལགས་

tʰudzitɕʰɛ=jã: ɕù   ma-tsʰuʔ.   *ám=la: dã: ŋàtɕi   Bhaila*
thank.you=even   say.HUM NEG-can   mother=HON yesterday we.GEN PN
to say thank you to the sister.   "Mother! Yesterday when our Bhaila had fallen it

འགྱེལ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐབ་ ཕང་པར་ ལེན་སྟེ་ ཁྲག་ ཕྱིས་བཞིན་

ge: jø̀-pø: gã: pʰã:pa: lèn-di   kʰjaʔ   pʰi:-zɛ̃:
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་ ཕང་པར་ སྣའི་ལགས་ གཏད་བཞིན་ ཨམ་ལགས! མ་ལགས་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་

ámø: pʰã:pa: Bhaila   tɛ:-zɛ̃:   ám=la:,   màlaʔ   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

འཁྱིག་ ཕྱིན་ གསུང་མཁན་ ན་ བུ་སྲིང་ སྨད་གོ།   ཨ་མ་ ངོ

kʰik   tɕ'øn   súŋ-kʰɛ̃:   nà: p'usim   bɛ=ɕo.   *áma: ŋò*
take   go.HON   say-NMLZ   here   little.sister EQU.NE=AT   mother.AGT face
to the hospital!'   Did the mother

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⁴⁷⁹ The expression *ódi:=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.

མཁྱེན་ཞེ་གས?" ཨ་མ – "ཨྱེ་ཏྲོ་···ངས་ ངོ་ མ་ཤེས་སོ། མདང་

kʰɛn-zɛ-gam? ama – ãhã: ŋò ma-ɕé:-ɕo. dã:

know.HON-PST-ATTQ mother aha face NEG-know-AT yesterday

recognise her?" Mother: "No, I didn't recognise her. Yesterday in the

དྱེའི་ ཚབ་ཚུབ་ན་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ལྟ་ལྱོང་རང་ མེད། ཡ! ཨོ་ནི

p'jɛu tsʰaptsʰup=na ódɛm ta lỏ̀:=rã: mè?. já: óɲi

hurry nervous=LOC like.that look have.time.to=AEMPH NEG.EX.PER EXCLAM child

midst of nervous hurry there wasn't even time for as much as having a look. Aha, the child

སློབ་གྲྭ་ འདིའི་ ན་རང་ ཕྱག་ལས་ གནང་དོ?" ཨ་མའི་ ལན་ལོ་

lóbɖa di:=na=rã: tɕʰa:lɛ? nä́:-do? ámø: lèn=lo

school this.GEN =LOC=AEMPH work.HON do.HON-IPFV mother.GEN answer=LOC

works here at the school?" As an answer to the mother,

ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱིས – "ལགས་ ཨིན། ང་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ འདིའི་ན་རང་ གཡོག་ རྐྱབས་ཏོ་ ཨིན།

tɕʰøki-ki – là-í̃: ŋà lópʈa di:=na=rã: jó? kjap-to í̃:.

PN=AGT HON-EQU.PER 1SG school this.GEN=LOC=AEMPH work do-IPFV EQU.PER

Choki (says:) "Yes I do. I work at the school.

འདི་ཁར་ སླེབས་སྟེ་ ད་ ཟླ་བོ་ བརྒྱད་ཙོང་ ལངས་ཏོ།"

dikʰa: ɭɛp-ti t'a dau gɛ:-tsʰø? lầ̀:-to.

here arrive-NF now month eight-about reach-IPFV

It is now some eight months since I arrived here."

"འདི་ཁར་ ག་ དང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ག་ན་ བཞུགས་ཏོ?" ཨ་མའི་ དྲི་བ།

di-kʰa ka t'ã: ɲámtɕi? k'ana zu:-to? ámø: ʈ'iwa.

here who and with where stay.HON-IPFV mother.GEN question

"With whom (and) where do you live here?" (is) the mother's question.

ཚོས་སྐྱིད – "སློབ་དཔོན་ བཞུགས་ཁག་ ན་ སྡོད་ཏོ་ ཨིན། ང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ འདི་ ནུམ་

tɕʰøki? – lópøn zu:ɕa:=na dø:-to í̃:. ŋà ɲámtɕi? ɲè: 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 – "རྡོ་རྗེ་ གླིང་ལོ་ ག་ན་ བཞུགས་ཏོ?

ɲí:=jã: jỏ̀:=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་ ཡུམ་ལོ་ བཞུགས་ ཡོད་ཀ?"

jà:p t'ã: jùm=ɕo zu: jỏ̀:-ka?

father.HON and mother.HON=AT live.HON EX.PER-PQ

What about your father and mother, are (they) alive?"

ཚོས་སྐྱིད – "རྡོ་རྗེ་ སྐྱིང་ལོ་ གུམ་ དགོན་པོའི་ཚར། ཡབ་ དང་ ཡུམ་ གཉིས་ཆ་

tɕʰøkiʔ –   dordʑiliŋ=lo   gum   gjømpøː=tsaː   *jàːp   tˈã̀ː   jùm   ɲíːtɕʰa*
PN   TPN=DAT   TPN   monastery=by   father.HON and mother.HON both
Choki: "In Darjeeling by the Ghoom monastery.   Father and mother are both

བཞུགས་ ཡོད།"
zuː   jø̀ʔ.
live.HON   EX.PER
alive."

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་ཤ་ནུ་ན་ ཡོད་པོ་ བོ་ འོག་ ལོང་སོང་ བོ?

    t'ari   ɕánu   nà: jə̀-po   bo   ò?   lõ̀:   sṍ:-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 ཤ་ནུ་ མོའུ་ སྲད། ཝ་ར་ན་སི་ བཀའ་ཆོས་ལས་ ཨིན།

    ɕánu   mòu   bɛ?.   waranasi   kʰatɕʰø̀:=lɛ   ĩ́:.[480]

    PN   down EQU.NE TPN   teaching=ABL EQU.PER

    'Shanu is down. (He) is at (Buddhist) teaching in Varanasi.'

(10) T ཁོང་ འོང་ སྡོད་ ཡོད་པ་ མན་པོ, པོ་ཚོ་ཚུ?

    kʰõ̀:   òn   dø̀:   jə̀:-p   mèmbo,   p'otso=tsu.

    3PL   come stay EX-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q   child=PL

    'They have come, haven't they, the children?'

(11) B ཁོང་ དེ་ འདི་… གན་ལོ་… སྟོད་ རྒྱབས་ དགོས་པད་གོ།

    kʰõ̀:   tɛ=di…   k'anlo…   tsø?   kjap   go:=pɛ=ɕo.

    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་ ཕ་ལས་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཚུ་ ཡོད་པ་ མན་པོ?

    mɛ̃́:,   pʰa:=lɛ   gjaltsʰɛn=tsu   jə̀:-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, arent't they?'

(13) B ཨེ་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ ཡོད།

    ɛ́:   gjaltsʰɛn   jə̀?

    oh   PN   EX.PER

    Oh, Gyaltshen is there.

(14) T དེ་ དགུ་གཏོར་ ཚོགས་ལ་པ་ འོང་ ཚོག་ སྲད་པོ, ཁས་ཏོ།

    tɛ   gutor   tsʰokpa   õ̀:   tɕʰo   bɛ=ɕo,   kʰa: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.'

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[480] The use of the personal equative *ĩ́:* in a locative clause here is surprising and worthy of deeper investigation.

(15) B དེ་ཚེ་ན་ ལྷ་མཆོད་ལོ་ སོང་ཟང་ནེ་ ངོ་ཚའུ་ལོ་ཀི།
  t'itsi   *nà:*   *ḷatɕʰø̇:=lo*   *sǿ:-sã̀:-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་ དེ་ དགུ་གཏོར་ ང་ སོང་ འགྱུ་ཏོ་ ལབ་བཞིན་ དེ་ མ་ཉན་ཚར་ ནེ་ གན་ བྱས་གད?
  t'a *ŋà* *ó* *tɛ* *gutor* *ŋà* *sǿ:* *gju=to* *làp-zin* *tɛ*
  now 1SG DISTAL so gutor-offering 1SG go.PFV go=CEMPH say-PROG so
  mà-ɲɛn-tsʰa-nɛ   *k'an p'ja-ɕɛʔ?*
  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?' [481]

(17) F ཤ་ནུ་ཏོ་ ད་ ཚོད་པོ་ རྒྱབས་ལ་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་གད་ སྲད
  ɕánu=to *t'a* *tsøpo* *kjap-a* *gju* *go:-ɕɛ* *bɛʔ.*
  PN=CEMPH now debate do-PUR go be.needed EQU.NE
  'But Shanu now has to go to participate in the debate.'

(18) B ཁུ་ ལགས་ཨིན་ལགས་ དེ་ ཁོང་གིས་ འདི་ མན་འགྱུ་རང་ འགྱུ་ལོ་ སེ་ ལགས
  kʰu   *là=ĩ̀:=la.*   *tɛ* *kʰoŋ=gi=di*   *maŋ-gju=rõ̀:*
  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་གད་ འདི་ བྱས་ དེ་ གནས་སྐོར་ རྒྱབས་ ཐོབ་ སྲད
  tsøpo *p'ja-ɕɛ=di*   *p'ja* *tɛ* *né:kor* *kjap* *tʰop* *bɛʔ.*
  debate do-INF=DEMPH   do   so sightseeing do find EQU.NE
  'Because of debating, (he) then gets to do sightseeing.'

(20) གཞན་ནེ་ མི་ཐོབ་མཁན་ སྲད་ནོ།
  zɛnnɛ   *mi-tʰop-kʰɛn*   *bɛ*   *no.*
  otherwise NEG-find-NMLZ   EQU.NE TAG.ASR
  'Otherwise (it) is not available, I tell you.'

(21) B ལགས་སྲད
  la=bɛʔ
  HON=EQU.NE
  'Yes, it is (so).'

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[481] For clarification of meaning, see the footnote in example (15.120).

(22) F གཞན་ཏོ་ རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ ཝཱ་ར་ནཱ་སི་ཚུ།

  zɛn=to   dordzidẽ: waranasi=tsu
  other=CEMPH   TPN   TPN=PL
  'Otherwise Dorjeden and Varanasi…'

(23) B ང་ཚའི་ ཁར་ཚ་གིས་ ཨ་པ་ འགྱུ་བཞིན་ ལབ་ནེ་ ག་ན་ འགྱུ་ ཚུགས་ཤད་ ཨ་པ?

  ŋàtɕi   kʰartsa=gi   ápa   gju-zin[482]   *làp-nɛ   k'ana   gju*
  1PL.GEN expenses(Nep.)=AGT father go-PROG   say-COND where   go
  tsʰu:-ɕɛʔ?   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 འཕྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ གནས་ འདི་ པོ་ སྐོར་ མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་ ཨིན།

  dᶻɛndzoŋ=gi   né:=di=po   kor   mi-tsʰu-kʰɛn   bɛʔ.
  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) ད་ ཨོ་འདིས་ ཤུགས་ བྱས་ཏེ་ གནས་སྐོར་ རྒྱབས་, ཁེ་ལེ།

  t'a ódi: ɕúk   p'ja-ti né:kor   kjap, kʰɛ:lɛ.
  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་ཨིན།

  la=bɛʔ
  HON=EQU.NE
  'Yes, it is (so).'

(27) ཕོན་ (phone) རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ ལབ་ཅེ།

  pʰon   kjap-tɕɛ làp-tɕɛ.
  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) རྩོད་པོ་ འདི་ སྨྱོང་ཚོའ་ སྣམ་ མ་སྨྱོང་བ་ སྣམ?

  tsøpo=di   mjõ̀:-tsʰou   ɲám   ma-mjõ̀:-p   ɲám?
  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)

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[482] Although this excerpt was transcribed with KN, I consider it possible that *gju-zin* here should, in fact, be transcribed as *gju-ɕĩ:* [go-NPST.PER].

(29) F ཡ་

    jà:
    aha
    'Aha.'

(30) K སྔོན་ལས་ ཁོང་ཏོ་ ཝ་ར་ན་སི་ འགྱུ་གད་ བྱེད།

    ɲénlɛ   *kʰõ̀:=to*   *waranasi*   *gju-ɕɛ*   *bɛʔ.*
    before   3SG=CEMPH   TPN   go-INF   EQU.NE
    'Before (going to Dorjeden) he will go to Varanasi.'

(31) B ཝ་ར་ན་སི་ འོང་ རྩོད་པོ། མོའུ་ རྒྱབས་གད་ ལ་གི་ (Nep.) བྱེད་སི།

    waranasi   *ò̃:*   *tsøpo.*   *mòu*   *kjap-ɕɛ*   *lagi*   *bɛ=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 ཨེ་ དུ་ཅིག་ ཝ་ར་ན་སི་ མན་དོ་ འདུག་ རོ། (=འདུ་ བྱེད་ རོ།)

    ɛ́:,   *tʼutɕiʔ*   *waranasi*   *mɛ̀n-do*   *ɖɛ:*   *no*   *(= ɖa bɛ*   *no).*
    oh   this.year   TPN   NEG.EQU-IPFV   EQU.AP   TAG.ASR   AP EQU.NE   TAG.ASR
    'Oh, it does not seem to be in Varanasi this year, I tell you.'

(33) T དུ་ཅིག་ རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ལོ།

    tʼutɕiʔ   *dordzidɛ̃:=lo.*
    this.year   TPN=DAT
    'This year in Dorjeden.'

(34) K དུ་ཅིག་ དེ་རེག་ (direct) རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ལོ་ར་ འདུག (=འདུ་ བྱེད།) ཨོ་འདེ་ ལབ་བཞིན་གེ།

    tʼutɕiʔ   *dairekt*   *dordzidɛ̃:=lo=ra*   *ɖɛʔ.*   *ódɛ:*   *làp-tɕyŋgɛ.*
    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 རྩོད་པོ་ འདི་ ཨོ?

    tsøpo=di   *ó*
    debate=DEMPH   EXCLAM.Q
    'The debate?'

(36) T ལགས་ཨིན་ལགས

    la-ĩ́:=la
    HON-EQU=HON
    'Yes.'

(37) F ཨེ་ ཨིན་ག།

    ɛ́:,   *íŋ-ga.*
    oh   EQU.PER-PQ
    'Oh, is (it) really (so)?'

(38) B དུ་ཚིག་ ལྷ་ར་ན་སི་ ལབ་ འདུག།
      t'utɕiʔ   waranasi   làp   ɖa.
      this.year   TPN   say   AP
      'This year it's in Varanasi (they) seem to say.'

(39) སྔོན་ལས་ འདི་ ནམ་ སྣམ་ཚིག་ལས་ པ་སྟེ་ དབང་ ཡོད་ལོ་ སེ།
      ɲénlɛ=di   nàm   ɲám=tɕi=lɛ   pʰatɛ   ò̃ː
      earlier=DEMPH   when   EQU.ATTQ=INDF=ABL   over.there   empowerment
      jə̀ː=lo=se.
      EX.PER=REP=QUO
      'I wonder what (they) said ealier, when the empowerment ceremony is in there.'

(40) F ཨོང་ ཨོང་
      õ̃ː   õ̃ː
      yes   yes
      'Yes, yes.'

(41) B མདང་ ཁུ་ འདི་ཁར་ ཕོན་ (phone) རྒྱབས་ཚེ་ ལབ་ཚེ།
      dõ̃ː   kʰu   dikʰa fon   kjap-tɕɛ   làp-tɕɛ.
      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, morphosyntatic 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

Phonological reduction and modification	
VERB-*po* may be abbreviated to VERB-*b* (with verbs ending in the glottal stop or *p* and followed by the equative *bɛʔ*) or to VERB-*m* (with verbs ending in the velar nasal and followed by the equative *bɛʔ* or *íː*).	§1.2.7.3
In spoken language WD -*al* and -*ar*, which are occasionally pronounced in careful and spelling-style speech as /al/ and /ar/ respectively, are pronounced as /ɛː/ and /aː/ respectively.	§2.2.1.4
Written progressive marker བཞིན་ *bzhin*, which is pronounced /ʑin/ in spelling-style pronunciation, becomes /ʑɛ̃ː/~/tɕɛ̃ː/ in typical spoken language (but /tɕou/ in Martam).	§3.3.6.5
The written conditional form ན་ *na* corresponds to spoken forms /nɛ/~/no/~/nu/ (depending on locality)	§3.3.6.15
The frequent anaphoric emphatic clitic རང་ *rang* tends to occur as short and denasalized =*ra* in spoken language.	§6.2
The frequently-used complex copula ཡོད་པོ་ སྲུད་ *jə̀-po bɛʔ* (neg. *mèː-po bɛʔ*) is in spoken language reduced to *jə̀bbɛʔ/jèbbɛʔ* (neg. *mèbbɛʔ*).	§7.3.2.1
The nominalized completive form ཚར་པོ་ལས་ *tshar-bo-las*, suggesting the spelling-style pronunciation *tsʰar-bo-lɛ,* is in spoken language, depending on the consultant and phonological environment, reduced to -*tsʰo-u=lɛ, -tsu-b=lɛ, -tsʰoː=lɛ* or -*soː=lɛ*.	§15.3.1.1
Most probably because of influence from Written Tibetan, many nouns that in pronunciation end in -*pu* are written as པོ་ *po* by many writers (e.g. *pømpu* དཔོན་པོ་ *dpon-po*).	
Written བོ་ *bo*, when following short vowels, reduces to -*u* in pronunciation (e.g. ཟླ་བོ་ *zla-bo* > dau/dou 'month', ལྟ་བོ་ ཨིན་ *lta-bo in* > *ta-u íː* 'I looked').	
Morphosyntactic reduction (possibly also phonological reduction)	
The often used written form of the interrogative copula ཨིན་ནམ་ *in-nam*, suggesting a bimorphemic interpretation, merges in spoken language to monosyllabic and monomorphemic *ɲám*.	§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. *tɛŋ=lo > tɛŋ* '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 /kˀaɲam/~/kˀajɛm/~/kˀaɛm/~/kˀɛm/ is an abbreviation of the written གན་ཨིན་ནམ *gan in-nam*.	§6.3.1
The apparentive construction *ɖa bɛʔ*, which corresponds to written འདྲ་སྦད་ *'dra sbad* and occurs as such in slower speech, is often in faster speech reduced to *ɖɛː/rɛː*.	§8.5.2
The non-past construction *-ɕɛ t́ː* (WD ཤད་ཨིན་ *shad in*) often reduces to *-ɕĩː/ɕiŋ,* which does not have a strictly corresponding written form.	§9.1.1.1
Past interrogative construction *-tɕɛ-ka* and future interrogative construction *-ɕɛ-ka* in spoken language often reduce to *-tɕa* and *-ɕa* respectively. To my knowledge, the reduced forms do not have standardized written equivalents.	§11.1.1.2
In spoken language purpose-marking converbal marker *-pa/ba* (WD བ[ར]་/བ[ར]་) may be dropped.	§15.5.1
The simultaneous converbal endings *-sondãː/somdãː/sumdãː* used in spoken language probably derive from the longer construction *ső̌ː-bo t'ãː* [go.PFV-2INF and] and the simultaneous converbal ending *tsubdaː* possibly derives from *tsʰaː-bo t'ãː* [finish-2INF and].	§3.3.6.18, §15.3.3.2
Semantic reduction	
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
Morphosyntatic expansion	
In spoken language, unlike in writing, the nonfinal converbal ending *-ti/di* is often accompanied by the marker *-ki/gi*, which looks like a genitive or an agentive.	§15.2
Whereas in written language causality may be expressed through agentive marking by the grapheme -ས་ *-s*, which suggests a lengthened vowel in spelling-style pronunciation, spoken language uses additional morphosyntax for the same purpose, i.e. the emphatic *=di* and the nonfinal converb *p'jati(ki).*	§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 *-sãː* and *-sonzãː* occur in spoken language but only the short *-sãː* in written language.	§3.3.6.17
Morphosyntactic flexibility	
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 *o-* 'that' is occasionally in spoken language used independently	§6.4
Frequency of discourse-related morphemes and phenomena	
Unlike in written language, the use of the demonstrative-emphatic *=di* is prevalent in spoken language, sometimes occurring several times in one clause.	§16.1.3
Discourse particles *t'a* and *tɛ* are more frequent in spoken than in written language because they are used as fillers when the speaker does not know what to say.	§16.4
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
Influence of Nepali and English rather than Tibetan	
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
i	*ɕí* 'die'	388	2175	i:	*phi:ru* 'night'	287	2337
	kʰi 'dog'	386	2309		*ki:* 'bind'	268	2565
	mí 'man'	256	2419		*sì:p* 'dew'	291	2327
	pʰi 'open'	368	2292		*dzi:ɕɛʔ* 'to split'	238	2423
	Average:	**350**	**2299**		**Average:**	**271**	**2413**
				e:	*ge:* 'fall'	391	2441
					ge: 'weigh'	363	2529
					dze: 'place up'	373	2297
					sé:p 'yellow'	353	2218
					Average:	**370**	**2371**
ɛ	*kɛ* 'neck'	471	2322	ɛ:	*gɛ:* win	471	2303
	gɛp 'bag'	501	2018		*bɛ:p* frog	626	1914
	ɖɛ 'ghost'	493	2119		*gɛ:p* king	455	2146
	ɛ́mmo 'left'	506	2147		*shɛ:* rinse	461	2271
	pɛpo 'leech'	524	1912		**Average:**	**503**	**2159**
	Average:	**499**	**2104**				
a	*tsa* 'grass'	676	1640	a:	*tʼa:tɕiʔ* 'again'	713	1626
	tʼatɕiʔ 'recently'	701	1627		*tɕʰa:ka* 'thing'	855	1576
	kʰa 'mouth'	746	1450		*ma:p* 'red'	686	1314
	kʰaʔ 'soup'	793	1629		*ka:p* 'whit'e	769	1498
	ŋà 'I'	747	1480		*tɕʰa:p* 'rain'	832	1401
	ápo 'father'	711	1292		**Average:**	**771**	**1434**
	Average:	**729**	**1587**				
o	*ko* 'dig'	644	1093	o:	*ko:* 'throw'	386	791
	pʼjo 'pour'	645	1245		*pʼjo:* 'escape'	411	1072
	tsho 'lake'	701	1136		*tsho:* 'father's	414	892
	do 'stone'	598	1156		sister's husband'		
	Average:	**647**	**1158**		*do:* 'touch'	394	957
					Average:	**401**	**928**
u	*súpo* 'stomach'	376	1221	u:	*phu:* 'fly'	317	960
	khu 'he'	333	894		*dʐu:* 'be afraid'	343	1128
	chu 'water'	377	948		**Average:**	**330**	**1044**
	tup 'be alright'	397	1137				
	Average:	**371**	**1050**				
				y:	*ky:ɕɛʔ* 'drive'	310	2319
					ɖolyʔ 'custom'	311	2326
					dyn 'seven'	323	2165

					ý: 'place'	242	2303
					average:	**297**	**2278**
				ø:	*ɕø:m* 'cockroach'	448	2125
					sǿ:na 'soot'	401	1946
					ǿ:laʔ 'raven'	373	1962
					sǿ:za 'tea (hon.)'	343	2066
					average:	**391**	**2025**

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.

གནང་བ་ ཐོབ་པའི་ ཡི་གེ།

འོག་ལོ་ རྟགས་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ངས་ University of Helsinki ལས་ ཐོན་མཁན་ སློ་སྐད་ན་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ བྱས་ མཁན་ Juha Yliniemi ལོ་ ང་གིས་ ལབ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སློ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ recording ཚུ་ དང་ ངས་ བཤད་ ཡོད་པའི་ ཚིག་ དང་ ཚིག་སྒྲུབ་ཚུ་ ཁོང་གི ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ རྩོམ་བྲི་ཚུའི་ ཐོག་ལས་ སློ་ འཛོམ་བུ་སྟྲིང་ཀྱི་ མི་ ཐབས་ཅད་ལོ་ སློན་ཁད་ཀྱི་ གནང་བ་ ཕུལ་དོ་ ཨིན།

☐

འོག་ལོ་ རྟགས་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ང་གིས་ ལབ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སློ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ recording ཚུ་ Juha Yliniemi ལོ་ ཅིག་ཀུ་ མན་ པོ་ གཞན་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ གནང་མཁན་ མི་ཚུ་ དང་ དོ་སྫང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ མི་ ཐབས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ གསན་པོ་ གནང་ཁད, སྒྲག་ཀོ་ གནང་ཁད་ དང་ (video-recording) གཟིགས་པོ་ གནང་ཁད་ཀྱི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཐོབ་ ཚོགས་ བཅུག་ཀའི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ཕུལ་དོ་ ཨིན།

☐

ང་གིས་ ལབ་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཚིག་ཚུ་ དང་ ཚིག་སྒྲུབ་ཚུ་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ རྩོམ་བྲི་ཚུའི་ ནང་ད་ ཐོན་པའི་ སྐབ

☐ ངའི་ མིང་ ཐབས་ཅད་ བྲི་པོ་ གནང་ཁད་ཀྱི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ཕུལ་དོ་ ཨིན།
☐ ངའི་ མིང་ཡིག་ (initials) ཅིག་ཀུ་ བྲི་པོ་ གནང་ཁད་ཀྱི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ཕུལ་དོ་ ཨིན།
☐ ངའི་ མིང་ ཡང་ན་ མིང་ཡིག་ བྲི་ མི་ཞིགས།

ཁོག་ཀུ་ འདི་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཚིག་ཚུའི་ དོན་དག་ འདི་ ང་ལོ་ གསལ་དགས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ཁ་སྐད་ན་ བཤད་ ཡོད།

ཚེ་གྲངས:_____

མཚན:_____
དགུང་ལོ: _____
སྐྱེས་ས:_____

675

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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