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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 aclusivity 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 =*eo* 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 *du?*, which typically functions as an existential, can be used as an equative if the proposition describes something that held in the past.

Relative clauses are a subclass of constituent-modifying clauses, which modify a clausal constituent by a nominalized and 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.

ཕོན་བཟོང་ (Foreword in Denjongke)

རང་གིས་ ཕྱག་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དེབ་ འདི་གི་ མིང་ དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ སྐད་ན་ ”A descriptive grammar of Denjongke” (ཡང་ བོ་ ”འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རྩོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ བཅུ་ལྷོད་ འགྲེལ་བཟོད་ཅན་གྱི་ གཞུང་”) ལེ་ ལྷ་དོ་ ཨིན། འདི་ མིང་གི་ དོན་དག་ ངས་ བ་ ཆོག་ གཅིག་གཉིས་ གཅིག་ ལུལ་ལྷོ་ གསལ་ཤད་ ཨིན། འགོ་ དང་པོ་ནི་ དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ སྐད་ཀྱི་ grammar ལལ་མཁན་ ཆོག་ འདི་ བར་བར་ བ་ རྩོ་སྐད་ན་ ལུལ་ལྷོག་ ལེ་ སྐད་སྐྱར་ འུས་ཅུང་ ངས་ བོ་ ཡོད་པའི་ དེབ་ འདི་ རྩོ་ཡིག་ ལུལ་ལྷོག་ མན། རྩུ་མཚན་ འདི་ ལུལ་ལྷོག་ ལལ་མཁན་ རང་ཤ་ བོ་སྐད་ཀི་ བོ་སྐོལ་ དང་ དག་ཆ་ལོ་ འགྲེལ་ཤད་ རྩུབས་ འོང་ དེ་ཟང་ དེབ་ འདི་ ལ་སྐད་ཀི་ ལུགས་སྐོལ་ཅུ་ལོ་ འགྲེལ་ཤད་ རྩུབས་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་ བོ་བོ་པོ་ ཨིན། ཨོ་འདི་ འུས་སྤྱོ་ དེབ་ འདི་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དཔའི་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ཅུ་ རང་ལས་ ལ་ཤས་ བོ་སྐད་ཀི་ བོ་སྐོལ་ལོ་ ལྷ་སྤྱོ་ ཨོ་ཅེ་ མ་མཚུངས་པོ་ འདམ་ ཆོར་ འོང་གོ།

གཉིས་པོ་ འདི་ནི་ དེབ་ འདིའི་ མིང་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ descriptive ལལ་མཁན་ ཆོག་ འདིའི་ དོན་དག་ ཉ་གོ་ དགོས་ཤད་ སྤང། Descriptive ལེ་མཁན་གི་ རྩོག་ཕྱོགས་ འདི་ prescriptive ཨིན། Prescriptive grammar ལལ་མཁན་ འདི་ སྐད་ ག་ལྷོ་ བོ་ དགོས་པོ་ དང་ ལལ་ དགོས་པོ་ འདི་ ཚད་གཞི་ (standard) བཟོ་བའི་ དོན་ལོ་ བོ་ ཡོད། ངས་ བོ་ ཡོད་པའི་ དེབ་ འདི་ prescriptive grammar མན་བའི་ རྩོན་གྱིས་ རྩོ་སྐད་ འདི་ ག་ལྷོ་ རྩུབས་ དགོས་པོ་ དང་ བོ་ དགོས་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་ བོ་བོ་པོ་ མན། འདིའི་ དོན་ལོ་ སྤོབ་གྲུའི་ སྤོབ་དེབ་ཅུ་ ཐོབ་ཤད་ ཡོད། རང་གི་ ཕྱག་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དེབ་ འདི་ descriptive grammar ཨིན་པའི་ རྩོན་གྱིས་ ངས་ དེབ་ འདིའི་ རང་ཤ་ མང་ཆེ་བ་ མི་ སྐྱས་མོ་གིས་ རྩུབས་མཁན་ ལ་སྐད་ འདི་ འགྲེལ་ཤད་ རྩུབས་ ཡོད།

ལ་སྐད་ དང་ བོ་སྐད་ན་ རྩུད་པར་ ཐོག་གོ་ལས་ ལ་སྐད་ན་ རྩུབས་རྩུབས་པའི་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ཅུ་ རྩོ་ཡིག་ན་ བོ་རན་ལར་ ངས་ བར་ བར་ན་ རྩོན་ལས་ ཡིག་ཐོག་ལོ་ བོ་ས་ མེད་པའི་ ཆོག་ཅུ་ཡང་ བོ་ དགོས་པོ་ ཐུག་གོ་ ཨིན། ཨོ་འདམ་ ཆོག་ཅུ་ བོ་བའི་ སྐད་ རྩོམ་པ་པོ་ གཞན་ཅུ་གིས་ བོ་སྐད་མིན་འདུ་ འོང་གོ། རྩོམ་པ་པོ་ གཞན་ཅུའི་ དེབ་ཅུ་ན་ཡང་ ཆོག་ གཅིག་གི་ བོ་སྐོལ་ གཉིས་ གསུམ་ མཐོང་ ཡོད། གལ་སྤྱད་ ངའི་ དེབ་ཀྱི་ དཔའི་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་ ཐོན་ས་ ཡང་ནི་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ འདི་ རྩོམ་པ་པོ་ གཞན་གྱི་ དེབ་ན་ ཡོད་ནི་ ངས་ རྩོ་ཡིག་གིས་ དག་ཆ་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ལས་ ལེན་པོ་ ཨིན། དཔེ་ཆ་ བཞག་ནི་ དཔའི་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ འདི་ ལྷའི་ཅུང་ ཆོས་ བཅུ་དར་པའི་ རེ་ཆེ་ ལལ་མཁན་ རྩུམ་ཐར་ ཨིན་ནི་ ངས་ཡང་ རེ་ཆེན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ དག་ཆ་ རང་ལྷར་ བོ་པོ་ ཨིན། བོ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐད་ཀྱི་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ གིས་པོ་ ཡོད་པའི་ རྩོན་གྱིས་ དེབ་ འདི་ན་ ཆོག་ གཅིག་གི་ བོ་སྐོལ་ གཉིས་ གསུམ་ ཐོབ་ རྩུགས་ (དཔེར་ན་ ལེགས་, ལེམ་, ལྷེམ།)

གལ་སྤྱད་ དཔའི་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་ འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ འདི་ ལ་སྐད་ ཨིན་ནི་ ངས་ རྩོ་ཡིག་ཡང་ ལ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ རང་ལྷར་ བོ་ བཞག་ ཡོད། དཔེ་ཆ་ བཞག་ནི་ བོ་སྐད་ན་ ”འོང་ཚར་བོ་ལས་” བོ་ཅུང་ ལ་སྐད་ན་ འཐོན་པའི་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ཅུའི་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ བོ་སྐད་ན་ རྩོན་པའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ངས་ བོ་སྐད་ཀི་ ལུགས་སྐོལ་ མ་སྐྱང་བ་ ”འོང་ཚུ་ལས་” བོ་པོ་ ཨིན། གཞན་ དཔེ་ཆ་ འོག་ལོ་ བོ་ བཞག་ ཡོད།

བོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ བོ་སྐོལ་ རང་ལྷར་ བོ་ ཡོད་པོ་		དེབ་ འདི་ན་ ལ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ རང་ལྷར་ བོ་ ཡོད་པོ་
ཁ/མ [kʰo]/[mò]	>	ལུ/ལུ [kʰu]/[mù]
བློམ་པོ་ [bompo]	>	བློམ་ལུ་ [bompu]
ད་ལྷ་ [t'ata]	>	ད་ལྷོ་ [t'ato]
ལྷུགས་ན་ [tsʰu:na]	>	ལྷུགས་ནི་ [tsʰu:nɛ] / ལྷུགས་ནོ་ [tsʰu:no]
གིས་པོ་ [kɛ:po]	>	གིས་བ་ [kɛ:p] / གིས་པོ་ [kɛ:po]
གནང་བོ་ སྤད་ [nánɣo bɛʔ]	>	གནང་མ་ སྤད་ [ná:m bɛʔ] / གནང་བོ་ སྤད་ [ná:bo bɛʔ]
འཛོག་ཚར་བོ་ལས་ [dzɛktsʰarbole]	>	འཛོག་ཚུ་ལས་ [dzɛktsʰoule]
ལྷོང་ཚར་བོ་ལས་ [mjòŋtsʰarbole]	>	ལྷོང་ཚའོ་ལས་ [mjò:tsʰo:lɛ]
ཤི་ཚར་བོ་ལས་ [ɛitsʰarbole]	>	ཤི་ལྷུབ་ལས་ [ɛitsubɛ]
འུས་སོང་བོ་དང་ [p'jasɔ:bodā:]	>	འུས་སོང་མ་དང་ [p'jasomdā:]
ཐོས་ཅེ་ཀ་? [tʰo:teeka]	>	ཐོས་ཅ? [tʰo:tea]
འུས་བཞིན་ འདུག་གི་ [p'jazɛnduke]	>	འུས་བཞིན་གི་ [p'jazɣŋɛ] (Tashiding)

དེས་ འདི་ ལྟ་ འཇམ་བྱ་མྱེད་གི་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ ལྟ་སྐད་ ལ་བ་མཁན་ ལྟ་པོ་ཅའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ ལེ་བ་ ལྟ་གུ་ ཡོད་ སེ་ ཉ་གོ་
བརྩལ་གོའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཅིག་གུ་ མན་བ་ འབས་ལྗོངས་ན་ ལྟ་སྐད་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་བའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཕན་ཐོགས་ཆེ་བྲགས་ འཐོན་ བརྩལ་
སེ་ ལ་བ་ལྟ་ ངའི་ རི་ཆེ་ ཡོད།

དེས་ འདིའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ ལྟ་ས་པོ་ དང་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ ལྷུ་བ་འབས་ གི་བའི་ སྐད་ ང་ལོ་ རོགས་རམ་ གནང་མཁན་ ཨ་ཁུ་
ལྟ་པོ་ ལྟ་རྒྱས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ དང་ ཤེས་རབ་ གནང་མཁན་ ཡར་ དཀོན་མཆོག་ལོ་ ལྟེང་ ཐག་གོ་ལས་ ལྟགས་རྩེ་ཆེ་ ལུལ་བཞིན་
ངའི་ གཏམ་ འདུམ་འདུམ་ འདི་ འདེ་ཅིག་ན་ བཞག་ཏོ་ ཨོན། ལྟགས་རྩེ་ཆེ།

ཡུ་ཏ་ ཡུད་ལི་ཉེ་མི་
(Juha Yliniemi)

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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	diminutive	QUO	quotative
EGO	ego(phoric)	REFL	reflexive pronoun
EMPH	emphatic	REP	reportative
EQU	equative	SEN	sensorial
EX	existential	SG	singular
EXPER	experiential	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 (Denjongpos¹), 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” /dɛndzɔŋkɛʔ/³ (འབྲས་ལྷོངས་སྐད་ ‘bras-ljongs-skad ‘the language of Sikkim’) is chosen as the main title because it is probably the least problematic. The word *dɛŋdzɔ*ː, 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.

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་ལྷོངས་སྐད་ ‘bras-ljongs-skad. The simpler spelling “Denjongke” is used here for two reasons. First, the simpler form for the initial is already used by many speakers of the language in Sikkim. Second, the actual pronunciation of the postalveolar apical initial /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 (Balicki 2008: 68-70). The Tibetic variety spoken in Sikkim is indeed to a great degree intelligible with the Tibetic varieties of the Chumbi and Ha.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” (ལོ་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 forms⁷ and historical

⁴ The language spoken in Chumbi is in Lachung (North Sikkim) called *te’umbø: kə?* (ཐུང་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 (WD⁹ མ་སངས་ཀྱུང་འདུས་བདུད་ *ma-sangs khyung-‘dus/bdud*), who is said to reside near the point where the borders of Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan join (Balicki 2008: 73). Other Tibetic groups that have later come to Sikkim from Tibet or Nepal do not share this ritual characteristic. The ritual and linguistic similarity between Tibetic groups in Sikkim, Chumbi and Ha lead Balicki (2008: 73) to hypothesize that earlier in history these areas “were perhaps once populated by a somewhat homogenised Lhopo population.” Balicki (2008: 73) further offers the interesting observation that during the Tibetan refugee crisis of 1959, the Chogyal (religious king) welcomed asylum seekers from Chumbi into Sikkim as “Sikkimese” whereas other refugees were assigned the outsider status “Tibetans.” Because of the historical and linguistic unity of Sikkim

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 *ã*: vs *õ*: so that only *õ*: 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 *ã*: and *õ*:). 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. *tɛa*). 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.

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 contrast to the Tibetan word འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ *’brug-yul* ‘Bhutan’. Due to the association of the term “Lhoke” with Dzongkha, it was recommended by Khenpo Lha Tshering (2016), the principal of Higher Institute of Nyingmapa Studies in Gangtok, that the term “Denjongke” be used rather than “Lhoke.” Cognates of the term “Lhoke” are also used for other Tibetic languages: “Lhoket” 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

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 [lɔkɛʔ].

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” (Balicki 2008: 11). The term “Lhoke” ‘south(ern) language’, on the other hand, may be seen to represent a Tibeto-centric vision which underspecifies the language as being spoken “somewhere” south of Tibet. The term “Denjongke” has essentially the same meaning as the Anglo-centric “Sikkimese” but escapes colonial overtones and is linguistically opaque enough not to cause offense among the other ethno-linguistic groups.

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

To summarize, the main language name chosen for this 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.

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	[dɛndzɔŋkɛʔ]	‘language of Sikkim’	Pan-Tibetan endonym geopolitically limited to Sikkim (used when speaking Tibetan and Denjongke)
Lhoke	[lɔkɛʔ]	‘south(ern) language’	Somewhat vague Tibeto-centric endonym with potential to cover language varieties spoken in a larger area than present Sikkim (used when speaking Denjongke)
Bhutia	[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 (‘southerner’)
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 Tschudharpo 2018: 46) lists 49,837 ethnic Bhutias (presumably meaning “Denjongpos”), comprising 8.57% of the population of Sikkim. However, the speakers of the language are much fewer than those who identify with the group ethnically.

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

of whom 12,800 are reported to live in the Chumbi valley. The rest are presumably assigned to India and Bhutan.

The fourth reason for difficulty in counting the number of speakers is that in a language endangerment situation (such as the one exemplified by Denjongke) ethnic Denjongpos' language competence occurs on a continuum from almost no knowledge to great fluency. It is difficult to define how much of a language a person needs to speak/understand to be considered a speaker of a language. Turin (2011) reports an interesting statistic from the first modern linguistic survey of Sikkim, conducted among secondary school students, stating that while 10% of the interviewees reported Bhutia as their mother tongue, only 7% claimed an ability to speak the language.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
Dandzongka
East Bodish unit
Tshangla branch
Rgyarong branch
Gurung branch
West Himalayish section
West Central Himalayish section
East Himalayish section
Newarish
Digarish
Midzuish
Hrusish
Dhimalish
Miśingish
Dzorgaish

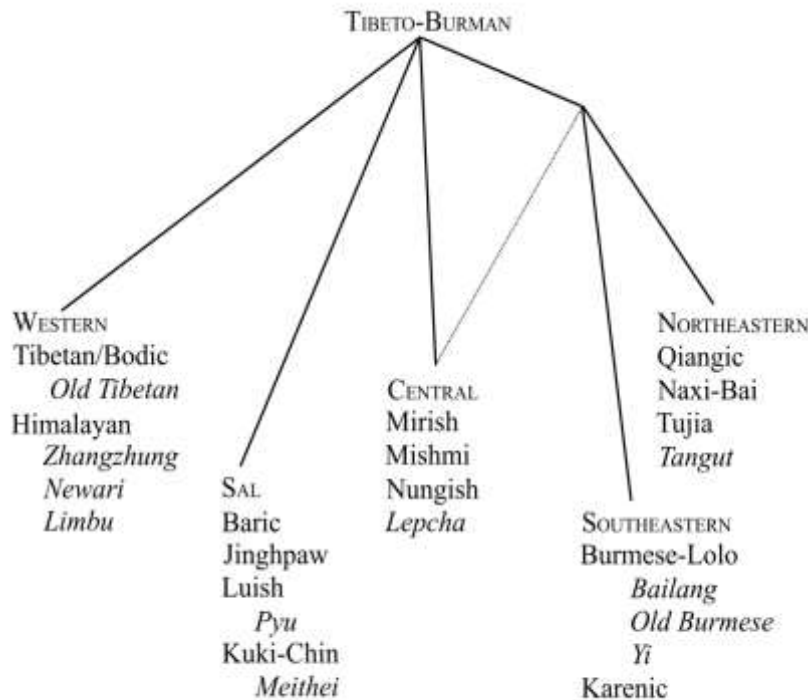
Shafer's (1955) language names present some difficulty because four terms (those in bold above) could potentially refer to the subject of the present study, two of them listed as Central Bodish and two as South Bodish languages. However, considering Shafer's (1955: 101) criteria of

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]haracterized by the shift of [WT] -r- to -y-”) it becomes clear that the language described in this grammar is identified as Sikkimese and/or Dandzongka of the South Bodish unit in Shafer’s work. The terms “Lhoskad (Lhoke)” and “Sikkim” under Central Tibetan remain somewhat mysterious.¹⁸ The term “Dandzongka” may refer to the same language as Sikkimese, or it may represent another Tibetic variety, possibly Dzongkha.

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

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



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

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

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 Lepcha¹⁹ words and phrases.

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

Walsh (1905) provides a 34-page vocabulary list of the Tromowa language (WT 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) describes the functions of Denjongke attention marker =*co* and also provides a glossed text sample from Bhaichung Tsichudarpa’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.

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 གཡེ་བུམ་ས་གཤམ་གཤམ་ *gyad 'bum-gsags* [k'ε bumsa(?)] 'one who has accumulated the strength of a hundred thousand') is said to have settled in the Chumbi valley while three other sons settled in Ha and Paro valleys of the present Bhutan. While living in Chumbi valley, Gye Bumsa and his barren wife went to Sikkim to seek the blessing of a male descendant from the Lepcha bongthing²⁰ 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་ལ་གསལ་པ་ *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 1642-1670²¹ (Mullard 2011: 5). In Denjongke and Tibetan, this agreement is known as ལྷོ་མོན་ཙོང་གཤམ་ *lho mon tsong gsum* /*lo mèn tsō: sūm*/ '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.

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* རྒྱལ་མཚན་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ 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་ལྷན་ ལ་ལྷན་པ་ and then extensively by *Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo* པད་མ་ རིག་འཛིན་ ལྷན་ཅུང་དར་པོ་, both as Text Book Officers of the Government of Sikkim.

More recently, other types of literature have appeared. In 1996, *Bhaichung Tsichudarpa* ལྷའི་ཅུང་ ཆེས་བཅུ་དར་པོ་ (the then Text Book Officer, Government of Sikkim) published the first Denjongke novel called *richhi* རེ་ཆེ་ ‘hope’, and several authors have produced, among other things, poetry, proverbs and plays. At present, there are some 30 authors who have produced Denjongke literature (Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo, personal communication). A daily Denjongke radio programme has been broadcast since the 1960s, first from Kurseong (West Bengal) and later from Gangtok All India Radio station. Dictionaries have been produced by 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 *da-lto'i 'bras-ljongs* ད་ལྷའི་ འབྲས་ལྷུང་ས་ (‘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 (རྒྱལ་མཚན་ ལྷན་ཅུང་ས་ དྲ་ལྷུང་ས་ ལྷན་ཆོག་ས་) 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 Tsichudarpa 2018:46), the great majority (97,79%) of Denjongke speakers are Tibetan Buddhist. Other religions having adherents among the community are Christianity (1,19%), Hinduism (1 %) and Islam (0,02%). The main sects of Tibetan Buddhism followed in Sikkim are Nyingmapa and Kagyupa, which are distinct from the Gelukpa sect led by the Dalai Lama.

Sikkim is known in Denjongke and Tibetan as *bey*: (WD བྱེ་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 *ḡeḡke?* ཞེན་སྐད་ ‘language of the simple’ or *p^hε(l)ke?* ཕལ་སྐད་ ‘common language’ and the honorific words known as *ḡe:so* ཞེས་ ‘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 southerners, on the other hand, may seem too slow and wordy in the ears of the Lachenpas and Lachungpas. A consultant from Lachen commented that the speech of the southern Denjongke speakers 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) མོད་ག་འགྱ?
tε^hø? *k’a:* *gju?*
 2SG.L where go
 ‘Where are you going?’

- (1.2) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ག་ན་བྱོན་པ་གནང་དོ་(པོ)?
ḡeḡε? *k’ana* *tε’øm-bo* *nā:-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

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 (Balicki 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 EGIDS²⁴ 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 countryside, 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

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་སྐལ་ *b’ya-skyel* /p’jake:/ ‘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, *ge?* ‘eight’ is written བརྒྱད་ *brgyad* and *ó:* ‘authority’ is written དབང་ *dbang*. Time will tell to what degree revitalization efforts will be able to counteract the strong tendency to lose speakers among children.

1.1.11 Central linguistic features

This sections provides an overview of the central linguistic features of Denjongke. In the present analysis, Denjongke has 43 consonants and eight vowels (or 13 if lengthened vowels are counted

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, /ã:/ and /õ:/, which are distinguished in West Sikkim merge into /õ:/ in the East and the North. These features signal the geographic area the speaker comes from but are not, to my knowledge, functionally of much import, because the resulting homonymy is rare. A conspicuous morphological point of variance is the conditional marker, which is /no/ or /nu/ in East and North Sikkim but /nɛ/ 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.

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/ (ཁྱ་ 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’	<i>gjablə</i>	<i>ɛyːlə</i> (the same as in Dzongkha)
‘flower’	<i>mintoʔ</i>	<i>mèːtoʔ</i> (Central Tibetan pronunciation)
‘tradition’	<i>lùksøː</i>	<i>lòksoː/lòːsoː</i>
‘coral’	<i>pˈjuru</i>	<i>tɛuru</i> (Central Tibetan pronunciation)
Other morpheme		
plural	= <i>tsu</i>	= <i>tso</i> (Central Tibetan pronunciation)
pre-verbal negation particle <i>á</i> (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 *jàːkɛʔ* ཡར་སྐད་ ‘language of the highlands’, which is the description of some Lachenpas and Lachungpas of their own language, but *màːkɛʔ* 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 Tschudarpa, whose works make up approximately 90% of the digitized written data (134 pages and 56,474 words according to MS-Word). As a result, Tschudarpa’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

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 bank²⁹). The following types of spoken data have been used in the analysis and examples:

²⁸ For a defense of the monolingual method, see Everett (2001).

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

- 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 Raptan Denjongpo's 2021 short film *གནིད་ལམ་* *gnyid-lam* /nɪlam/ '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

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 Tsichudarpa 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 Tsichudarpa (WD ལྷོ་ཁྱུང་ རྩེ་ཐུང་པ་པ་ *bha 'i-cung tshes-bcu-dar-po*):

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

Work by Karma Lobsang Bhutia (WD ཀལ་མ་ ལོ་བཟང་ ལྷོ་ཁྱུང་ *kar-ma blo-bzang bho-Ti-ya*):

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

6) A collection of folk-stories and moral teachings རྩ་གསུང་ དང་ གཏམ་བཤད *rna-gsung dang gtam-bhad* /násuŋ t'ã: tamæʔ/ '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་ རྩ་མཚོ་ རྩོ་ཁང་པོ་ *bsod-nams rgya-mtsho rdo-khang-bo*):

7) A description of Denjongpo marriage customs སྤར་ཕུང་ ལིང་དམ་ འགྲོ་ལེས་ *sbar-phung ling-dam 'gro-lis* /barpʰuŋ liŋdam doliʔ/ 'the custom of Barfung-Lingdam' (English name: Sikkimese marriage custom and rites), 143 pages, see Dokhangba (2001). In example clauses this work is referred to simply as *sbar-phung*.

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

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

A "compilation" by Tshering Thendup Bhutia (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་ རྩེ་གི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ལུན་གསལ་ སློན་མེ་ བཟུགས་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 compilation³² of Tashi Denjongpo (WD བཟླ་ཤིས་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་པོ་ *bkra-shis 'bras-ljongs-po*), Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo (WD པད་མ་ རིག་འཛིན་ ལྷག་ཅུང་དར་པོ་ *pad-ma rig- 'dzin stag-cung-dar-po*) and Bhaichung Tsichudarpa (WD ལྷའི་ཅུང་ ཆོས་བཟུང་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 ལུས་རྟགས་ དང་ བོ་ཚུམ་ འཛིན་གྲུལ་ དགྲུ་ལས་ མཐོ་སློབ་ བར་གྱི་ དོན་ལོ་ *sum-rtags dang bri-rtom 'dzin-gyal dgu-las mtho-slob bar-gyi don-lo*.

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

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 words³³ 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).

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་ཅུང་ང་ཅའི་གི་ ཡུ་ནི་མ་སི་ནི་ (university) སྒྲེབས་མ་ཚུགས་མཁན་ ཟླ་ ཉ།
t'aruŋ ŋətei=gi junivə:siti lɛp ma-tsʰu-kʰɛn bɛ:
 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 *pani* ‘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་ཙི་ རོ་རམ་རམ་ སུ་ནི་ (Nep.) བྱས་ཤང་ལོ་གི།
*átʃi ro:ram pun p'ja-ɛɛ=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) *junivə:siti* is glossed as ‘university(Eng.)’. Within the English translation the following items are given in brackets: 1) Elements which are not explicitly expressed by Denjongke but are required by English grammar, see (it) in (1.5), 2) elements which are suggested by Denjongke but not as explicitly stated as in English, see (I saw) in (1.5), 3) elements that help the reader understand the context and meaning of the clause better, see (the price of) in (1.6).

- (1.5) ཟ་ཚར་ འདུག་གི་ རྩོད་ཀྱ།
*sà-tsʰa du-ke pʰɛka.*³⁶
 eat-CMPL SEN-IN half
 ‘(It) has eaten half (I saw).’ (PL interview)

- (1.6) དེ་བ་ འདི་ གོང་ཆེན་ མ་བྱས་གི་ ལ་བ་ལོ་ མིན།
t'ɛp=di k'õ:teʰɛ: ma-jà-gɛ ləp-o ȩ.
 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 ག), 2) in the phonemic script

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 *pani* ‘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 *=jã:*.

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-ke*) 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 འ in འུ) 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 འུ and འུ 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 ཀྲ and རྲ respectively because ཀ and ར without a *tsha-lag* are pronounced as a retroflex /ɽ/. 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་, ལེན་ and ལེམ་ for *lèṃ* ‘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).

³⁷ Also known as སྒར་རྟལ་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), ཏྲ་ =*to* (contrastive emphatic) and clause-final clitics ཤོ་ =*eo* (attention marker), ལགས་ *la*(:) (honorific), མེ་ =*se/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 Tschudarpo and other authors is probably that the demonstrative uses, which would naturally occur with a word-break, are not always easy to tell apart from emphatic cliticized uses. Cliticized monosyllabic postpositions are written together with the previous word, while disyllabic longer versions are written separately, ཁྱིམ་ཟང་ *kʰim=sã*: ‘until home/house’, ཁྱིམ་ ཟང་སྟེ་ *kʰim sã:te* ‘until home/house’, ཁྱིམ་ ཟུང་(ར་) *kʰim=tsa*: ‘at home/house’, ཁྱིམ་ ཟུང་ལ་ *kʰim tsakʰa* ‘at home/house’.

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

Following the common practice of Denjongke authors, the final auxiliary copulas are here written separately from the preceding part of the verb complex, e.g. གནང་བོ་ ཟླ་ *ná:-bo be?* ‘did (hon.)’, གནང་བཞིན་ འདྲག་ *ná:-zen du?* ‘is doing (hon.)’. In addition to the orthographic tradition, there is also a morphosyntactic rationale for this practice. Although the final auxiliaries are phonologically closely related to the verb complex, their distribution makes them less integrated with the verb than the verbal suffixes. For instance, final auxiliaries may be dropped in some constructions, e.g. *kjap-to* (*i:/be?*) ‘is doing’, *kjap-o* (*i:/be?*) ‘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་ རྒྱལ་མཁན་ཏྲ་ ཟླ།
zuj=gi jó? kjap-kʰen=to be?
 government=GEN work do-NMLZ=CEMPH EQU.NE
 ‘(I) am a government employee.’ (KT e)
- b) ལྷམ་རྒྱལ་ལྷ་གིས་ མཁྱེན་བའི་ བདག་ཀྱི་ ཟླ་, མཁྱེན་མཁྱེན་བོ་ར་ ཟླ།
lɛŋge:=tsu=gi kʰem-bø: daku be?
 PRN.HON=PL=AGT know.HON-2INF.GEN owner EQU.NE
kʰɛŋ-kʰem-bo-ra be?
 know.HON-RDP-AEMPH EQU.NE
 ‘You are possessors of (this) knowledge, (you) indeed know.’ (CY interview)
- c) ཞིན་གད་ཏྲ་ ཞིན་ཉ་ ཨ་ཀུ་ རིག་བཟང་ གསུང་བོ་ འདི།
i:-ɛɛ=to i: ná áku rigzã:
 EQU-INF=CEMPH EQU.PER TAG.ASR father’s.younger.brother PN
súm-bo=di.
 say.HON-2INF=DEMPH
 ‘It is indeed as Uncle Rigzang says.’ (sbar-phung 88)

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

1.2.7.3 Syllable merging

In spoken language, the nominalized verb VERB-*po* may be abbreviated to VERB-*b* (with verbs ending in glottal stop or *p* and followed by the equative *bɛ?*) or to VERB-*m* (with verbs ending in a the velar nasal and followed by the equative *bɛ?* or *ĩ:*). The abbreviated form is represented in an experimental way in the Denjongke script by omitting vowel marking from the infinitive marker -*po* བོ and representing the consonant value (either -*b* or -*m*) in the previous syllable (changing བ་ into བ་ because བ་ does not occur syllable-finally), e.g. བསད་བོ་ཟད་ *sé-po bɛ?* ‘killed’ vs. བསད་བ་ཟད་ *séb-bɛ?* ‘killed’; གནང་བོ་ཟད་ *ná:-bo bɛ?* vs. གནང་བ་ཟད་ *ná:m-bɛ?* ‘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* རྩེད་མ་ (*rtsedm*) ‘game’ (Richhi 37) and *p’usim* བྱ་སྒྲིང་མ་ (*p’usingm*) ‘younger sister’ (Richhi 142) to show the historical origin of the word.

1.2.7.4 Phonological writing

The conventions of writing Denjongke in this 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་ཆར་བོ་ཞིན་ནམ་?
kʰim=na lək-tsʰa:-bo in-nam?
 house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER-ATTQ
 ‘I wonder whether (he) has returned home.’ (Richhi 24)
- b) ཁྱིམ་ན་ལོག་ཆཱཱ་ ལྷམ་?
kʰim=na lok-tsʰo-u nám?
 house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER.ATTQ
 ‘I wonder whether (he) has returned home.’ (KN e)

The spelling innovations in (1.8b) are ཆཱཱ་ instead of ཆར་བོ་ to represent colloquial pronunciation -*tsʰou* and ལྷམ་ instead of ཞིན་ནམ་ to represent the colloquial pronunciation *nám*.

Another phonologically based innovation is to write the final syllable of many nouns as it is heard pronounced in Denjongke (-*pu/bu*) and not as it occurs in Written Tibetan (-*po/bo*), e.g. the

³⁹ The auxiliary in བསད་བ་ཟད་ *séb-bɛ?* is written without a word-break because the last consonant of the nominalized verb (*p*) and the first consonant of the auxiliary (*b*) merge into an indivisible /bb/ [b:].

word *lõmpu* ‘minister’ is here written as ལྷམ་པུ *blon-pu* rather than as ལྷམ་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 across in literature is the double genitive, which is prevalent in spoken Denjongke, e.g. the spoken form *ɲàtɕi=gi* [we.GEN=GEN] is represented as ང་ཅེ་གི་ *nga-ca’i-ki*, although in written language the simple genitival expression ང་ཅེ་ *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* ལ་, which occurs on bilabial and velar stops and bilabial nasals in written Denjongke but not in Tibetan, is represented by an inverted apostrophe ‘, e.g. མྱོང་ *m’yong* ‘finish’, ཀྲཀ་རཀ་ *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* [mjõ:] ‘finish’ vs. མྱོང་ *myong* [nõ:] ‘endure’; ཀྲཀ་རཀ་ *k’rak’rok* [krakrok] ‘sound of a dysfunctional body’ vs. བཀྲ་ཤིས་ *bkra-shis* [tɕæi] ‘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
ཅ	tsa	ཆ	tsha	ཇ	dza	ཉ	wa
ཞ	zha	མ	za	ཙ	’a	ཛ	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

⁴⁰ However, if the word occurs in a written source, I follow the original spelling.

⁴¹ *Tsha-lag* also occurs with ཤ་ resulting in ཤ་ཤ་ *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/ [ʔépo] ཨ་པོ་ ‘father’.

2.2 Consonants

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

Table 2.1. Consonant phonemes in Denjongke

		Bilabial	Dento-alveolar	Post-alv.	Alv.-pal.	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	Voiceless unaspirated	p	t	t̚		k	ʔ
	Voiceless aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	t̪ ^h		k ^h	
	Voiced	b	d	d̪		g	
	"breathy"	p ^ʰ	t ^ʰ	t̪ ^ʰ		k ^ʰ	
Affricate	Voiceless unaspirated		ts		tɕ		
	Voiceless aspirated		ts ^h		tɕ ^h		
	Voiced		dʒ		dʒ̥		
	"breathy"		ts ^ʰ		tɕ ^ʰ		
Fricative	Voiceless		s		ɕ		h
	Voiced		z		ʒ̥		
Nasal	Voiced	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
	Voiceless	m̥	n̥		ɲ̥	ŋ̥	
Lateral	Voiced		l				
	Voiceless		l̥				
Rhotic	Voiced		r				
	Voiceless		r̥				
Central approximant					j		

All consonants, except the glottal /ʔ/, occur word-initially⁴². 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.

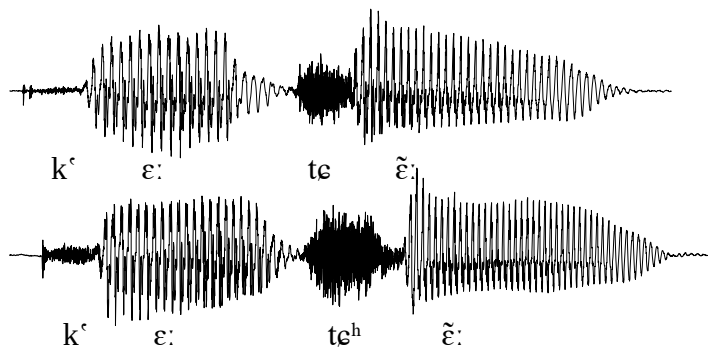
⁴² The glottal stop, however, occurs word-initially phonetically.

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. /t̪ʰuʔ/ ཅུག 'six', /t̪ʰeudup/ [t̪eudup] ཅུག་ཅུག '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 [kʰétʰuʔ] by consultant KN from Martam (East Sikkim) and [kʰétuʔ] by TB from Ralang (South Sikkim). Figure 2.1 illustrates aspiration difference in word-medial affricates by providing wave forms from KN’s pronunciation of *kʰɛ:tẽ:* and *kʰɛ:tẽʰɛ:*, both meaning ‘important’ but using different adjektivizing suffixes.

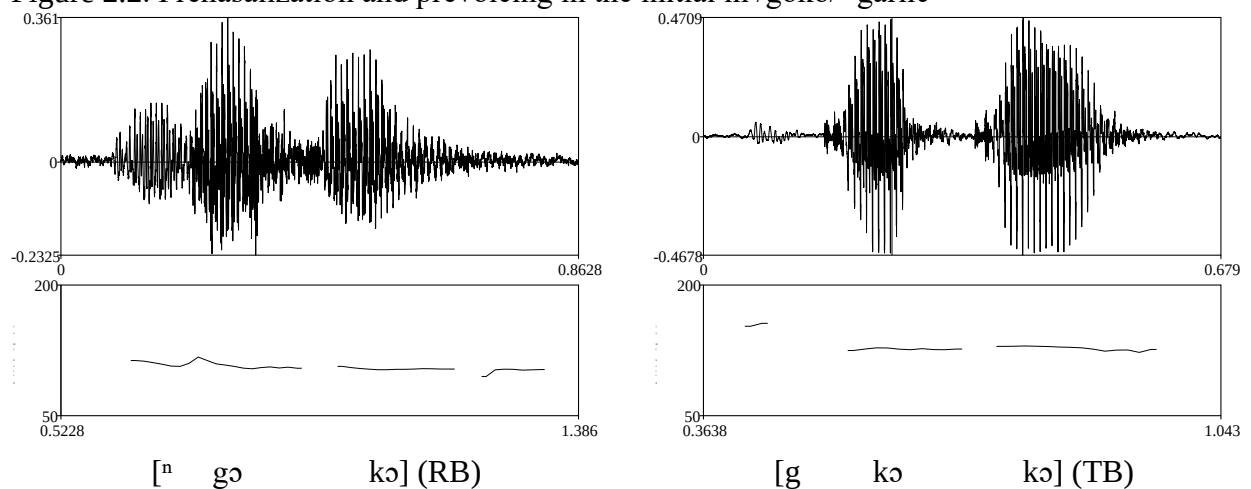
Figure 2.1. Wave forms from *kʰɛ:tẽ:* (top) and *kʰɛ:tẽʰɛ:* (bottom)



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

Voiced stops fricativize word-medially with some speakers, e.g. /kʰɛdi/ [kʰéd̪i] མཁལ་རིལ་ *mkhal-ril* ‘kidney’, /pʰõ:bu/ [pʰõ̤:βu] ཐོང་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’



As can be seen in Figure 2.2, the prenasalized onset of [n̪gɔkɔ] 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 Tibetan languages.

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

Bilabial plosives

- /p/ [p] voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive; word-initially, word-medially and word-finally utterance-medially: /pa:/ [pé:] ཟར་ ‘kindle’, /ápo/ [ʔépo] ཨ་པོ་ ‘father’, /hap sék^hɛ:/ [hép sɛk^hɛ:] ཧྲལ་ སེ་མཁན་ ‘(the word) called [hɛp] (‘to bark’)’
- [p̚] voiceless unreleased bilabial plosive; utterance-finally: /hap/ [hép̚] ཧྲལ་ ‘bark (v.)’, /íp/ [íp̚] ཞིབ་ ‘hide (intr.)’
- /p^h/ [p^h] voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /p^hjak/ [p^hjak̚]~[p^hjak̚ʔ] འཕྱག་ ‘sweep’, /k^himp^hjaʔ/ [k^himp^hjaʔ] རྒྱུ་འཕྱག་ ‘broom’
- [ɸ] voiceless bilabial fricative; inter-vocally with some speakers: /ɸup^huʔ/ [ɸup̚ʔ] (RB)~[ɸùk̚p^huʔ] ལྷག་ཕུག་ (TB) ‘cave’
- /b/ [b] voiced bilabial plosive; word-initially, word-medially following nasal, and also inter-vocally in variation with [β]: /bu/ [bù] ལྷུ་ ‘middle’, /ám̥biʔ/ [ʔém̥biʔ] ཨ་མ་བི་ ‘mango’, /p̚õ:bu/ [p̚õ:βu]~[p̚õ:bu] རོང་བུ་ ‘donkey’
- [β] voiced bilabial fricative; inter-vocally preceding vowels other than /a/, in variation with /b/: /p̚õ:bu/ [p̚õ:βu]~[p̚õ:bu] རོང་བུ་ ‘donkey’, /r̥y̥bɛ/ [r̥y̥βɛ] རྩལ་ལྷལ་ ‘tortoise’
- [w] voiced labio-velar approximant; inter-vocally preceding /a/: /t̚iba/ [t̚iwa] ཧྲིབ་ ‘question’, /jába/ [jɛwa] ཇུལ་ལ་ ‘hell’⁴⁵; the nominalizer /-po~bo/ is intervocally variously realized as [-bo~βo~wo]
- /p̚/ [p̚] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated bilabial plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /p̚a/ [p̚ɛ:] བ་ ‘cow’, /p̚o:/ [p̚õ:] བོ་ ‘call’

/pu/ ལྷུ་ ‘skin hair’	/pjak/ འཕྱག་ ‘peel’	/pa:/ ཟར་ ‘kindle’
/p ^h u/ ལྷུ་ ‘blow’	/p ^h jak/ འཕྱག་ ‘sweep’	/p ^h a:/ བར་ ‘expand’
/bu/ ལྷུ་ ‘middle’	/bjak/ ལྷག་ ‘come close’	/ba/ ལྷ(ལ)་ ‘hide’
/p̚u/ ལྷུ་ ‘boy’	/p̚jaʔ/ ལྷག་ ‘rock’	/p̚a:/ བར་ ‘interval’

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

⁴⁵ Although [w] can be shown to be an allophone of /b/, the transcription in example clauses follows a more phonetic writing *t̚iwa* ‘question’ and *jáwa* ‘hell’ because the phonetic writing was deemed to better result in correct pronunciation.

Dento-alveolar plosives and affricates

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

- /t/ [t̪] voiceless unaspirated dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /ta/ [t̪ə] ཏ་ ‘horse’, /pitoʔ/ [pít̪oʔ] དུའི་ཏྲག་ ‘hip’
- /tʰ/ [t̪ʰ] voiceless aspirated dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /tʰo/ [t̪ʰó] ལྷ་ ‘list’, /tʰuŋtʰuŋ/ [t̪ʰúŋt̪ʰuŋ] ལྷང་ལྷང་ ‘short’
- [θ] voiceless dental fricative; word-medially, with some speakers: /tʰa:tʰaʔ/ [t̪ʰé:θəʔ] ཐ་ཏྲག་ ‘back of neck’
- /d/ [d̪] voiced dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /da/ [d̪ə] མདའ་ ‘arrow’, /gadun/ [gəd̪uŋ] ལྷ་རྩུང་ ‘mortar’
- /t̪ʰ/ [t̪ʰ̥] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated dento-alveolar plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /t̪ʰa/ [t̪ʰ̥ə] ཇ་ ‘now’, /t̪ʰom/ [t̪ʰ̥əm] ཇམ་ ‘bear’

/ta/ ཏ་ ‘look’	/tɛk/ ལྷེགས་ ‘place up, keep’
/tʰa/ མཐའ་ ‘end’	/tʰak/ འཇག་ ‘grind’
/da/ མདའ་ ‘arrow’	/dɛk/ རྟེག་ ‘place inside’
/t̪ʰa/ ཇ་ ‘now’	/t̪ʰɛk/ ཇེག་ ‘chase away’

- /ts/ [t̪s̪] voiceless unaspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /tsi/ [t̪s̪í] ལྷུས་ ‘astrology’, /nè:tso/ [nè:t̪s̪o] རྩ་ཙ་ ‘parrot’
- /tsʰ/ [t̪s̪ʰ] voiceless aspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /tsʰo/ [t̪s̪ʰó] མཚ་ ‘lake’, /nè:tsʰo/ [nè:t̪s̪ʰo] ངལ་འཚ་ ‘rest’
- /dz/ [d̪z̪] voiced dento-alveolar laminal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /dzin/ [d̪z̪iŋ] འཇིང་ ‘fight’, /dzabridzobri/ [d̪z̪əbr̪id̪z̪obri] འཇའ་རི་འཇའ་རི་ ‘uneven (of landscape)’, /kʰadzøʔ/ [kʰəd̪z̪øʔ] ལ་ཚད་ ‘how many’
- /ts̪ʰ/ [t̪s̪ʰ̥] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /ts̪ʰa/ [t̪s̪ʰ̥ə] ཇེ་ ‘make-up’

- /tsa/ ཙ་ ‘vein’
- /tsʰa/ ཙ་ ‘salt’
- /dza/ འཇའ་ ‘rainbow’ (also /dza/ [TB] and /za/ [RB])
- /ts̪ʰa/ ཇེ་ ‘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.

- /ɭ/ [ɭ̪] voiceless unaspirated postalveolar apical plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /takʈaʔ/ [t̪ək̪ʰəʔ] གྲག་པས་ ‘hard’, /tsʰaʈaʔ/ [t̪s̪ʰək̪ʰəʔ] རྩ་པས་ ‘hot’
- /ɭʰ/ [ɭ̪ʰ] voiceless aspirated postalveolar apical plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /ɭʰom/ [ɭ̪ʰóm] ལྷམ་ ‘town’, /sátʰa/ [sét̪ʰə] ས་ཁ་ ‘map’
- /ɖ/ [ɖ̪] voiced postalveolar apical plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /ɖik/ [ɖ̪ik] ལྷིག་ ‘arrange’, /pʰoɖaŋ/ [p̪ʰóɖ̪ə:] ཐོ་བང་ ‘palace’

- [r] voiced alveolar flap; intervocalically in /teudup/ [teúrup] བཅུ་དྲུག་ ‘sixteen’, and also in /da beʔ/ འདྲ་ཟུན་ abbreviated to /dɛ:/ [dɛ:]~[rɛ:] འདྲན་ ‘to be similar’.
- /t̚/ [t̚] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated postalveolar apical plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /t̚uʔ/ [t̚ùʔ] སྤྱུག་ ‘six’, /t̚o:pa/ [t̚ò:pa] ལྷ་མོ་ ‘morning’

- /tak/ གྲག་ ‘(be) hard’
- /tʰap/ འཁྲབ་ ‘act’
- /ɖak/ ལྷག་ ‘join’
- /t̚ak/ འཁྲུག་ ‘get well’

Alveolo-palatal affricates

- /tɕ/ [tɕ] voiceless unaspirated alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /tɕɛ/ [tɕɛ] རྩ་ ‘tongue’, /sòtɕaʔ/ [sòtɕɐʔ] མོ་ཅག་ ‘nettle’
- /tɕʰ/ [tɕʰ] voiceless aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /tɕʰaʔ/ [tɕʰɐʔ] ཡུག་ ‘hand (h.)’, /tsʰatɕʰu/ [tsʰétɕʰu] མཚུ་ ‘hot spring’
- /dz/ [dz] voiced alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and word-medially: /dzɪp/ [dzɪp] འཛིན་ ‘suck’, /ádzo/ [ʔédzo] བེ་ཚེ་ ‘grandfather’
- /tɕ̥/ [tɕ̥] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate followed by breathy voice: word-initially /tɕ̥a/ [tɕ̥ɛ] ི་ ‘tea’, /tɕ̥um/ [tɕ̥ùm] ལུ་མ་ ‘lady, madam’
- [z] voiced alveolo-palatal fricative; inter-vocalically: /sò:tɕ̥a/ [sò:zɐ] གཞོན་པ་ ‘tea (hon.)’

- /tɕak/ བཅག་ ‘break (tr.)’
- /tɕʰak/ མག་ ‘break (int.)’
- /dzɔʔ/ ལྷགས་ ‘tongue (h)’
- /tɕ̥ako/ རྩག་ཞོ་ ‘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/ [kɛ] བཀའ་ ‘word, order’, /áku/ [ʔéku] བཤུ་ ‘father’s younger brother’, /ókɕɛʔ/ [ʔókɕɛʔ] མོ་གཤན་ ‘to draw (water)’, /tiruk súmgja/ [tírok súmgjæ] ‘three hundred rupees’
- [k̚]~[ʔ] utterance-finally: /zik/ [zìk̚]~[zìʔ] གཞིག་ ‘leopard’
- [c] voiceless unaspirated palatal plosive; word-initially and word-medially when followed by /j/ or /i/: /kjokjuʔ/ [cjóɕjuʔ] རྒྱུག་ལྷག་ ‘crooked’, /kjuʔ/ [cjúʔ]~[cjúʔ] ལྷུག་ ‘vomit’, /ki/ [cí] ལྷུ་ ‘be born’
- /kʰ/ [kʰ] voiceless aspirated velar plosive; word-initially and word-medially when not followed by /j/ or /i/: /kʰa/ [kʰɛ] ར་ ‘mouth’, /ókʰa/ [ʔókʰɐ] མོ་ཁར་ ‘there’

- [c^h] voiceless aspirated palatal plosive; word-initially and word-medially when followed by /j/ or /i/: /k^hjaʔ/ [c^hjǎʔ] ལྷག་ ‘blood’, /p^hik^hjaʔ/ [p^hṽc^hjǎpʔ] རི་ཁྲུང་ ‘rice-sifting plate’, /k^hi/ [c^hṽ] ཐུ་ ‘dog’
- /g/ [g] voiced velar plosive; word-initially and word-medially in other contexts than inter-vocally or when followed by /j/ or /i/: /ga/ [gɛ] ལྷག་ ‘ginger’, /lɛŋgɛʔ/ [lɛŋgɛʔ] ལྷག་ལྷག་ ‘you (h.)’
- [ɟ] voiced palatal plosive; word-initially and medially when followed by /j/ or /i/: /gjuk/ [ɟjʊk] ལྷག་ ‘run’⁴⁶, /p^ho:gjaʔ/ [p^hó:ɟjɛʔ] ལྷག་ལྷག་ ‘husband’, /gim/ [ɟim] ལྷག་ ‘gaze’
- [ɣ] voiced velar fricative; word-medially inter-vocally: /rigõ:/ [ɣṽṽõ:] རི་ཁྲུང་ ‘rabbit’, /tɕ^higɛ:/ [tɕ^hṽigɛ:] ཐུ་ ‘foreign’
- /k^ʰ/ [k^ʰ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated velar plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /k^ʰan/ [k^ʰǎn] ལྷག་ ‘what’, /k^ʰolaʔ/ [k^ʰṽləʔ] ལྷག་ལྷག་ ‘clothes’
- [c^ʰ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated palatal plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially when followed by /j/ or /i/: /k^ʰjõ:/ [c^ʰṽjõ:] ལྷག་ ‘village’, /k^ʰi/ [c^ʰṽ] ཐུ་ (big) knife’

/kɛ:/ ལྷག་ ‘bring’	/ka/ ལྷག་ ‘order’	/kom/ ལྷག་ ‘thirst’
/k ^h ɛ:/ ལྷག་ ‘tax’	/k ^h a/ ལྷག་ ‘mouth’	/k ^h om/ ལྷག་ ‘dry (intr.)’
/gɛ:/ ལྷག་ ‘cross’	/ga/ ལྷག་ ‘ginger’	/gom/ ལྷག་ ‘door’
/k ^ʰ ɛ:/ ལྷག་ ‘separate’	/k ^ʰ a:/ ལྷག་ ‘what, where’	/k ^ʰ om/ ལྷག་ ‘gain experience’

The velar stop does not typically occur as a geminate although my data has two exceptions, *t^hukky* (CY)/*t^hukke* (PT) ‘fixed, not moving’ and *tɕ^hukkeʔ* ‘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^ʰ]~[ʔ].⁴⁸

/k ^h ɛʔ/ [k ^h ɛʔ] ལྷག་ ‘difference’	/k ^h aʔ/[k ^h ɛʔ] ལྷག་ ‘liquid, soup’
/k ^h ɛk/ [k ^h ɛk ^ʰ]~[k ^h ɛʔ] ལྷག་ ‘freeze’	/k ^h a/ [k ^h ɛ] ལྷག་ ‘mouth’
/k ^h ɛ/ [k ^h ɛ] ལྷག་ ‘profit’	
/ts ^h oʔ/ [ts ^h óʔ] ལྷག་ ‘offering’	
/ts ^h o/ [ts ^h ó] ལྷག་ ‘lake’	

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 *tɕ^hukeʔ*.

⁴⁸ Historically, the contrast between /ʔ/ [ʔ] and /k/ [k^ʰ]~[ʔ] derives from differing WT finals, WT -g > /k/ [k^ʰ]~[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]	མཁ་	‘mother’
/háp/ [hépʰ]	ཉན་	‘to bark’
/à:m/ [hè:m]	འཇ་	‘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 /dzeʔ/ ‘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/.

/dzeʔ/ [dzèʔ]~[dzè:ʔ]~[dzè:]	རྩ་	‘element’
/dzeʔ/ [dzèʔ]~[dzè:ʔ]~[dzè:]	མཛེ་	‘leprosy’
/ziʔ, (dziʔ)/ ⁵² [zìʔ]~[zì:ʔ]~[zì:]	གཟིག་	‘leopard’

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

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

2.2.1.2 Fricatives and central approximants

Denjongke has five fricatives /s, z, ɕ, ʒ, h/ and one central approximant /j/. The voiceless fricatives /s, ɕ/ and the central approximant /j/ occur in both high and low register and thus give evidence for tonal contrasts in Denjongke (see §2.6). Voiced sibilants occur only in the low register. In high register /h/ contrasts with initial vowels, which have intrinsic phonetic initial [ʔ]. Low register initial vowels, on the other hand, have an intrinsic initial [ɦ], which does not contrast with other

⁴⁹ In WT/WD, [ʔ], [h] and [ɦ] correspond to ཨ, ཏ and འ respectively.

⁵⁰ Because Lhasa Tibetan similarly has /h/ 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/ [sɔ́] སྔ ‘tooth’, /pʰusim/ [pʰüsɪm] ལུ་ཐྱིང་མ་ ‘younger sister’
/z/	[z]	voiced alveolar grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /zo/ [zɔ́] བཟོ ‘make’, /kuzuʔ/ [kúzuʔ] རྒྱ་གཟུགས་ ‘body (hon)’
/ɕ/	[ɕ]	voiceless alveolo-palatal grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /ɕó/ [ɕɔ́] ཨྲོ ‘dice’, /ɕò/[ɕɔ̀] ཨྲོ ‘curd’, /sɔ́:ɕip/ [sɔ́:ɕipʰ]~[sɔ́:zipʰ] གསོལ་ཞིབ་ ‘snacks’
/ʐ/	[ʐ]	voiceless alveolo-palatal grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /zak/ [ʐək] བཞག་ ‘put’, /áʐā:/ [ʔé:ʐé:] ཇམ་ཁང་ ‘maternal uncle’
	[j]	voiced palatal approximant; at least word-initially, in fast speech of some speakers: /zak/ [jək] བཞག་ ‘put’
/h/	[h]	voiceless laryngeal fricative; word-initially: /hap/ [hépʰ] ཉམ་ ‘bark’, /hup/ [húpʰ] ཏུབ་ ‘mouthful’
	[ɦ]	voiced laryngeal fricative; inter-vocally: /màhi/ [mèɦɪ] མ་ཉེ་ ‘buffalo’, /pahip/ [péhɪp] བ་ཉེབ་ ‘container for millet beer’
/j/	[j]	voiced palatal approximant; preceding non-front vowels: /jáʔ/ [jéʔ] གཡལ་ ‘yak’, /jòu/ [jɔ̀u] ཡུ་ ‘up’
	[ɦ]	voiced laryngeal fricative; preceding front vowels: /jìgi/ [hìgi] ཡི་གེ་ ‘letter’, /jòʔ/~jèʔ/ [jòʔ]~[jèʔ]~[hèʔ] ཡོད་ ‘exist’

/s/ vs. /z/ vs. /ɕ/ vs. /ʐ/

/só/	སྔ	‘tooth’	/sà/	ཟ	‘eat’
/zo/	བཟོ	‘make’	/za:/	གཟུགས	‘day, planet’
/ɕò/	ཨྲོ	‘dice, gambling’	/ɕá/	སྤ	‘meat’
/zo/	བཞོ	‘milk (v.)’	/(d)za/	འཇའ	‘rainbow’

/s/ vs. /z/

/sík/	གསིག་	‘shiver’
/zik/	གཟིག་	‘leopard’

/ɕ/ vs. /ʐ/

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

/j/ vs. /h/

/jákea/	གཡལ་གྲ་	‘yak meat’
/hakea/	ཉག་གྲ་	‘quality of bad(ly cooked) rice’

/j/ vs. /h/ vs. /ŋ/ vs. /r/ vs. /ʐ/ vs. /dz/

/já:/	[jé:]	ཡང་	‘again’
/hā:/	[hé:]	ཉང་	‘squander’
/ā:/	[ɦé:]	འང་	‘lie’
/rā:/	[ré:]	རང་	‘self’
/zaŋ/	[ʐé:]	བཞུངས་	‘get up (hon.)’
/dzaŋ/	[dzé:]	སྦྱང་	‘study’

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

One consultant (TB, Ralang) pronounced the word /òtɛ/ [ɦòtɛ] རྒྱ་ལྷོ་ ‘down(hill)’ as [wètɛ], giving some evidence for the phoneme /w/ in 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 /ṃ/ /ṅ/ /ɳ/ /ṇ/. The voiceless set is more precisely defined as voiced preceded by voicelessness, [ṃṃ] [ṅṅ] [ɳɳ] and [ṇṇ]. Some speakers do not pronounce the voiceless nasals, instead uttering them identically with high register voiced nasals. The voiced nasals occur syllable and word-initially, medially and finally, except for /ɲ/, which does not occur syllable or word-finally. The voiceless nasals occur only word-initially. There is no contrast between the velar and palatal nasals preceding front vowels; only the palatal nasal occurs preceding front vowels. Word-final alveolar /n/ and velar /ŋ/ alternate with a long, nasalized vowel, e.g. /són/ [són]~[sǝ́:] སྒོ་ ‘seed’, /tan/ [tán]~[tǎ́:] བཏང་ ‘send’⁵³. In continuous speech, nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant, e.g. /ín-bo/⁵⁴ [ím-bo] ཞིན་བོ་ ‘EQU-2INF’. When speaking fast, some speakers pronounce /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ as [j] and [ɟ] respectively.

/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /mí/ [mí] མི་ ‘human’, /dimiʔ/ [dìmiʔ] རྒྱ་མིག་ ‘key’, /ám/ [ʔém] མཁ་ ‘mother’
/n/	[n]	voiced dento-alveolar (laminal) nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /nà:/ [nè:] ན་ ‘here’, /zɛ:nup/ [zè:nup] བཞེས་རུང་ ‘three days ago’, /k’an/ [k’ɛn] གན་ ‘what?’
/ɲ/	[ɲ]	voiced alveolo-palatal nasal stop; word-initially and medially: /ɲà/ [ɲè] ཉ་ ‘fish’, /là:ɲa/ [lè:ɲɛ] ལག་ངར་ ‘upper arm’
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	voiced dental nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /ɲà/ [ɲè] ང་ ‘I’, /laŋa/ [léŋɛ] ལྷ་ང་ ‘pan’, /tā:/ or /tan/ [tɛŋ]~[tǎ́:] བཏང་ ‘send’
/ṃ/	[ṃ]	voiceless bilabial nasal stop: word-initially: /ṃa/ [ṃé] ལྷ་ང་ ‘down, low(er)’, /ṃɛ:ɕam/ [ṃé:ɕɛm] ⁵⁵ མཁ་གཤམ་ ‘young woman’
/ṅ/	[ṅ]	voiceless dento-alveolar (laminal) nasal stop, word-initially: /ṅa(guʔ)/ [ṅé(guʔ)] ལྷ་ (གྲུ) ‘nose’, /ṅɛ:gum/ [ṅé:gum] ལྷ་གུམ་ ‘nose ridge’
/ɳ/	[ɳ]	voiceless alveolo-palatal nasal stop; word-initially: /ɳou/ [ɳóu] ལྷོ་ལྷ་, ལྷོ་ལྷ་ ⁵⁶ ‘nasal mucus’
/ṇ/	[ṇ] ⁵⁷	voiceless velar nasal stop; word-initially preceding non-front vowels: /ṇaʔ/ [ṇéʔ] ལྷ་ལྷ་ ‘invocation’, /ṇɔmpu/~ṇɔmpu/ [ṇómpu]~[ṇómpu]~[hómpu] ལྷ་ལྷ་ ‘blue-green’
	[ɲ]	voiceless palatal nasal stop; word-initially preceding front vowels: /ɲim/ [ɲím] ལྷ་མེད་ ‘sister-in-law’, /ɲy:naʔ/ [ɲý:neʔ] ལྷ་ལྷ་ ‘sweat’

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 [ṃɛiɕɛm].

⁵⁶ The latter spelling suggests a connection with the word ལྷ་ ‘nose’.

⁵⁷ Some speakers pronounce /ŋ/ as [h], as in /ɲaru/ [ɲarɔ]~[harɔ] ‘morning’.

/m/ vs. /n/ vs. /ɲ/ vs. /ŋ/	/m/ vs. /ɱ/	/n/ vs. /ɲ/
/mà/ མ་ ‘mother’	/mà/ མ་ ‘mother’	/nà:/ ན་ ‘here’
/nà:/ ན་ ‘here’	/má/ མ་ ‘wound’	/ná/ ན་ ‘ear’
/ɲà/ ཉ་ ‘fish’	/ma/ དམའ་ ‘down, low(er)’	/na/ ན་ ‘nose’
/ŋà/ ང་ ‘I’		

/ɲ/ vs. /ɳ/	/ŋ/ vs. /ɲ/
/ɲim/ ཉིམ་ ‘sun, day’ ⁵⁸	/ŋàk/ [ɲàʔ] ངག་ ‘speech’
/ɳim/ ཉིདམ་ ‘sister-in-law’	/ŋaʔ/ [ɲáʔ] རྒྱལ་ ‘invocation’

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

/ɲ/ vs. /ɳ/
/ɲou/ [ɲóu] ཉོལ་, ཉོལ་ ‘nasal mucus’
/ŋɔmpu/~/ɲɔmpu/ [ɲómpu]~/[ɲómpu]~/[hómpu] རྒྱལ་ལུ་ ‘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) <i>mènni</i>	མན་ནི་	‘perhaps’
<i>lèmmo</i>	ལེགས་མོ་	‘good’ (RS) ⁶⁰
<i>duɲɲal</i>	སྤྲུག་བསྐུལ་	‘suffering’
(2.2) <i>làṃ-mɛʔ</i>	ལམ་མུད་	‘below the road (lit. road-below)’
<i>ɲén=na</i>	གཉན་ན་	‘at the wedding (lit. wedding=LOC)’
<i>kʰɛŋ-ŋa/kʰɛŋ-ga</i>	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 [sé:] in ordinary conversation.

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

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

- /r/ [ɽ] voiced alveolar central fricative; utterance-initially: /ra/ [ɽè] ར་ ‘goat’, /ri/ [ɽì] རི་ ‘hill’⁶¹
 [ɽ] voiced alveolar central approximant; word-medially preceding /l/: /korlɛ/ [kóɽlɛ] རྒྱལ་ལས་ ‘about’
 [r] voiced alveolar flap; word-medially: /ára/ [ʔéɽeʔ] ཇམ་རྒྱལ་ ‘liquor’, /dumra/ [dùmrɛ] ལྷུ་ར་ ‘garden’
 [r] voiced alveolar trill; word-finally: /kʰur/ [kʰùr] ལུར་ ‘tent’, /kor/ [kór] རྒྱལ་ ‘theme’
 /r̥/ [ɽ̥]~[ɽ̥]~[ɽ̥] voiceless alveolar fricative, flap or trill, depending on the speaker; word-initially and possibly word-medially (I have only one example): /ɽɛ/ [ɽ̥é:] ལྷ་ ‘tear’, /bakɽaʔ/ [bèkʰrɛʔ] ལབ་ལྷ་གྲག་ ‘spider’

/l/ vs. /l̥/

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

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

/r/ vs. /r̥/

/ɽɛ:/ [ɽ̥é:] ལྷ་ ‘be torn’	/ram/ རམ་ ‘be broken’
/ɽɛ/ [ɽ̥é:] ལྷ་ ‘tear’	/ɽam/ ལྷམ་ ‘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 [ʰ] for “light aspiration” for marking them. Eberhardt & Mehnert (1978: 129-130) have shown a difference in the degree of aspiration between the aspirated (“strong aspiration”) and the historically devoiced plosives and affricates (“less intense aspiration”) in three varieties of Tibetan

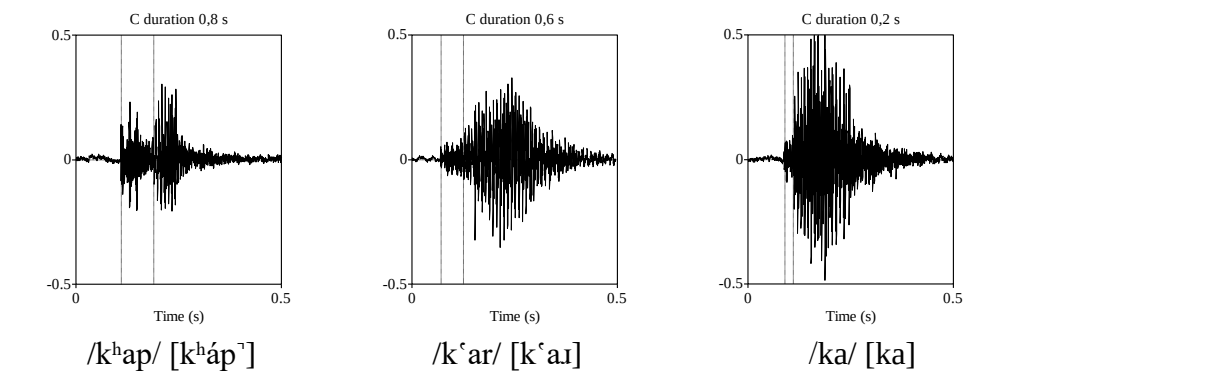
⁶¹ Utterance-medially, as in the intervocalic position in the sentence *ódilo _ lap goeɛ bɛʔ* ‘It is to be called _’, /ra/ and /ri/ are likely realized with a flap [ɽ].

⁶² These “devoiced consonants” were historically voiced but have since lost voicing and given rise to tonal contrasts in Tibetic languages. These consonants correspond to the WT (Written Tibetan) characters in the following way: /kʰ/ > ཀ, /tɕʰ/ > ཅ, /tʰ/ > ཇ, /pʰ/ > ཇ, /tsʰ/ > ཇ.

(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.

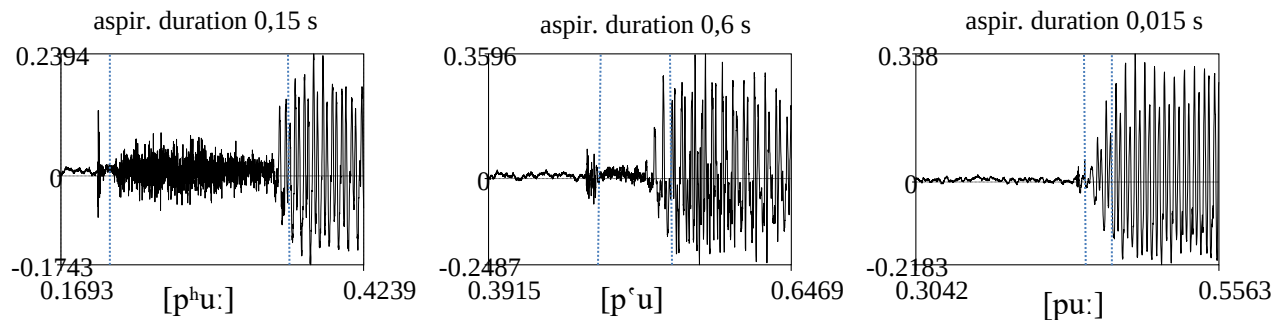
The difference in aspiration between /k^h/, /k'/ and /k/ in Denjongke is shown in Figure 2.3, where the duration of aspiration is 0,8 seconds (/k^hap/ ཁལ་ ‘needle’), 0,6 (/k'ar/ ཁར་ ‘what?’) seconds and 0,2 seconds (/ka/ ཀ་ ‘who?’) respectively.

Figure 2.3. Initial consonant duration in /k^hap/ ‘needle’, /k'ar/ ‘what?’ and /ka/ ‘who?’



Similar difference in aspiration for the bilabial set /p^h/, /p'/, /p/ in /p^hu:/ རལུ་ ‘fly’, /p'u/ རུ་ ‘boy’ and /pu:/ རུ་ ‘pack’ respectively is given in Figure 2.4, where there are again clear differences in the duration of aspiration.

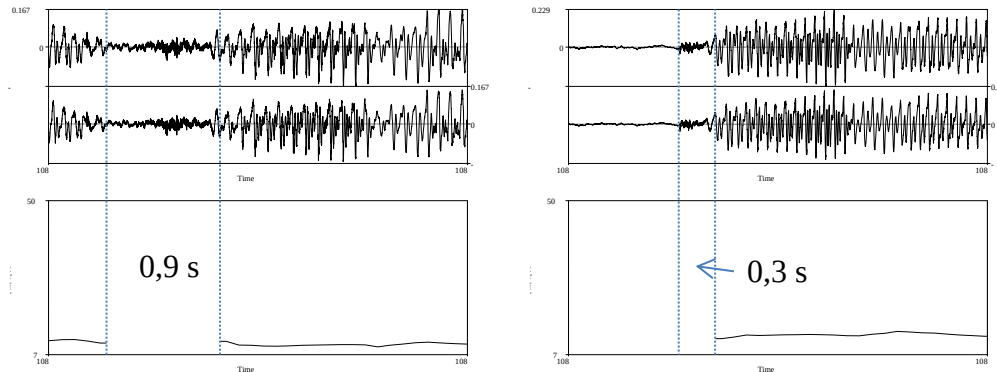
Figure 2.4. Consonant duration in /p^hu:/ ‘fly’, /p'u/ ‘boy’ and /pu:/ ‘pack’ (RB)



The aspiration in the breathy set, however, is not consistent, as shown in Figure 2.5, where the same word /k'ɛ:/ [k'ɛ:] ཀྱལ་ ‘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.

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.

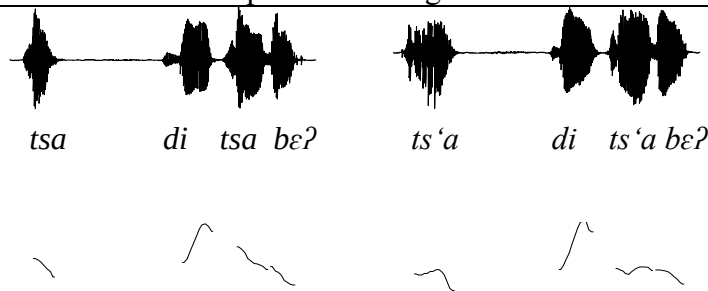
Figure 2.5. Two pronunciations (in context) of the word /kʰɛ:/ [kʰɛ:] ‘line, order’ (SG)



In Figure 2.5, the aspiration in the second pronunciation of /kʰɛ:/ [kʰɛ:] 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 /kʰɛ:/ [kʰɛ:] ‘line, order’, one instance had more aspiration than the other two, overlapping with /kʰɛ:/ [kʰɛ:] རྩལ་ ‘tax’ in duration of aspiration.

Figure 2.6 presents the wave forms of the affricate minimal pair /tsa/ ཇ་ ‘grass’ vs. /tsʰa/ ཇ་ ‘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 /tsʰa/ ‘make-up’ (TB)



As shown in Figure 2.6, in isolation /tsʰa/ ‘make-up’ is pronounced longer than /tsa/ ‘grass’, whereas in context the length of the two words is probably indistinguishable. The breathiness on *tsʰa* 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 *tsʰa* 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 of analyzing

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	i:	y:			u	u:
	e: ⁶⁷	ø:			o	o:
ɛ	ɛ:					
			a	a:		

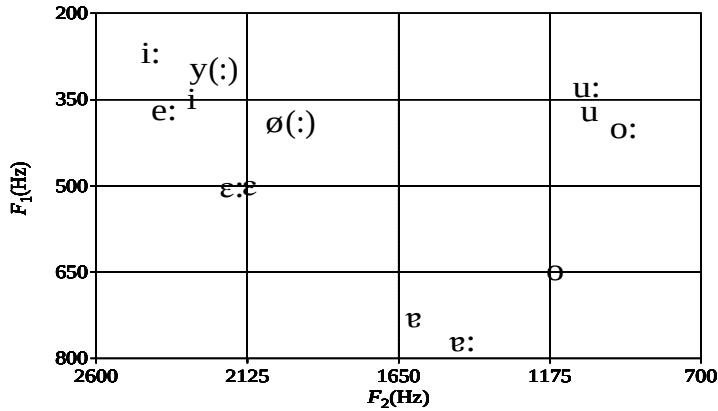
Figure 2.7 below gives consultant TB's vowel plot based on the average value of manual F1 and F2 measurements from four to six different words per vowel value (except *u:* had only two example words). The words along with the measuring results are given in Appendix 3. Short and long vowels for /y/ and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

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 Ⴄ and Ⴄ 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 Ⴌ and Ⴌ are realized as high register /s/ and /ɬ/ respectively (high pitch, modal voice), and WT Ⴌ and Ⴌ as low register /s/ and /ɬ/ respectively (low pitch, some breathiness).

⁶⁷ The long realization [e:] is in complementary distribution with a short variant which ends in a glottal [eʔ] (e.g. *dzeʔ* ႤႬႬ 'leprosy'), i.e. there is no contrast between [e:] and [eʔ]. As the glottal stop in [eʔ] is in sentential context often elided and causes vowel lengthening instead, [e:] and [eʔ] are phonologically interrelated and thus the short variant is not here represented as a separate phoneme.

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] གོག་ ‘crawl’ suggests that /o/ [ɔ] and /o:/ [o:] should be considered, analogously to /ok/ [ɔk]~[oʔ], phonologically related so that /o:/ [o:] is the lengthened variant of /o/ [ɔ]. Lengthening, however, is accompanied by a considerable change in vowel height.

2.3.1 Phonetic descriptions and contrastive sets for vowel qualities

The following list describes the various vowel values and their allophones in Denjongke. Note that /e:/, /y:/ and /ø:/ are marked as intrinsically long vowels, which have short allophones in specific contexts.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 [ɲn]~[ɲ̃:] and [øŋ]~[ø̃:], e.g. /dyn/ [d̥ɲn]~[d̥ɲ̃:] ངུན་ ‘seven’, /lópøŋ/ [lópøŋ]~[lópø̃:] ལོཔ་པོ་མ་གྲོ་མ་ ‘teacher’

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 སྐུ་ *skul*) ‘cause to move’ and *kʰø*: (WT ཁོ་ *khol*) ‘boil (intr.)’. Final *n* has resulted in vowel fronting followed by a nasal stop or nasalization, e.g. *pyn*/p̃ỹ: (WT སྐྱ་ *spun*) ‘brother’ and *lópøŋ*/lópø̃: (WT ལོཔ་པོ་མ་གྲོ་མ་ *slob-dpon*) ‘teacher’. Final *d* has resulted in vowel fronting and a final glottal stop, e.g. *ly*? (WT ལུ་ *lud*) ‘fertilizer’ and *jø*? (WT ཡོ་ *yod*) ‘exist’. The resulting vowel can be pronounced with various degrees of length and in utterance-medial position the glottal is typically omitted and the vowel sound lengthened, e.g. [l̥ỹʔ]~[l̥ỹ:]~[l̥ỹ:] ‘fertilizer’ and [j̥øʔ]~[j̥ø:]~[j̥ø:] ‘exist’. The reflexes of historical *u* and *o* followed by *s* are more irregular. Typically the final sibilant has not caused vowel fronting (e.g. *lù*? [WT ལུ་ *lus*] ‘remain’ and *tʰo*? [WT ཅོ་ *dos*] ‘load’, *teʰo*? [WT ཅོ་ *chos*] ‘teaching’), but there are some words in which, similarly to Central Tibetan, the vowel is fronted (e.g. *l̥ỹʔ*/l̥ỹ: [WT ལུ་ *lus*] ‘body’ and the Tibetan-influenced alternative spelling of *teʰo*?, *teʰø*? [WT ཅོ་ *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/ [kʰɪ] ཁྱི ‘dog’, /kʰim/ [kʰɪm] ཁྱིམ་ ‘house’, /si/ [sɪ] སྤྲོ ‘receive’
- /i:/ [i:] long close front unrounded vowel: /ki:/ [kɪ:] ཇུག་ལམ་ ‘wrap’, /sí:/ [sɪ:] བསྐྱེད་ ‘cool’
- /e:/ [e:] long close-mid front unrounded vowel: /sé:/ [sɛ:] གསེར་ ‘gold’, /sé:p/ [sɛ:p] སེར་བ་ ‘yellow’, /ge:/ [gɛ:] འགྱེལ་ ‘fall’
- /ɛ/ [ɛ](~[ɛ]) short open-mid front unrounded vowel: /kɛ/ [kɛ] སྐྱེ ‘neck’, /sém/ [sɛm] སེམས་ ‘mind’
- /ɛ:/ [ɛ:](~[ɛ]) long open-mid front unrounded vowel: /sé:/ [sɛ:] གསེལ་ ‘clear’, /gɛ:p/ [gɛ:p] རྒྱལ་པོ་ ‘king’
- /a/ [ɐ] short near-open central unrounded vowel; when not preceding palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /kʰa/ [kʰɐ] ཁ་ ‘mouth’, /ra/ [rɐ] ར་ ‘goat’
- [æ](~[ɐ]) fronted near-open front unrounded vowel; following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /pʰja/ [pʰjæ] ཕྱ་ ‘chicken’, /tɕʰa/ [tɕʰæ] ཅེ་ ‘tea’, /ɲà/ [ɲɐ] ཉ་ ‘fish’
- /a:/ [ɛ:] long near-open central unrounded vowel; when not preceding palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /pʰa:/ [pʰɛ:] བར་ ‘interval’, /pʰa:m/ [pʰɛ:m] ཕྱམ་(?) ‘hug’ (TB)
- [æ:](~[ɐ:]) long near-open front unrounded vowel; following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /ɲá:ɕiŋ/ [ɲæ:ɕiŋ] གཉམ་ཤིང་ ‘yoke’, /tɕʰa:lɛʔ/ [tɕʰæ:lɛʔ] ཐུག་ལམ་ ‘work (hon.)’; however, nasalization seems to counteract the fronting, /ázã:/ [ɛzã:] ཇམ་ཁ་ ‘maternal uncle’
- /u/ [ʊ] short near-close back rounded vowel; when not following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /ku/ [kʊ] ལྷ་ ‘body’, /pʰum/ [pʰʊm] ཕུམ་ ‘girl’
- [ʊ] short close central rounded vowel; following palatal and alveolo-palatal consonants: /gjuk/ [jju̯k] ལྷུག་ ‘run’, /tɕu/ [tɕʊ] ཅུ་ ‘ten’
- /u:/ [u:] long close back rounded vowel; when not following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /ku:/ [kú:] ལུ་ ‘ladle for pouring rice flour dough’, /pʰu:/ [pʰú:] ཕུ་ ‘fly’
- [ʊ:] long close central rounded vowel; following palatal and alveolo-palatal consonants: /dzu:/ [dzu̯:] འཇུས་ ‘be afraid’, /jù:/ [jù:] རྩ་ ‘weed out’
- /o/ [ɔ] short open-mid back rounded vowel; elsewhere: /tʰom/ [tʰɔ̯m] ཅོམ་ ‘bear’, /ko/ [kɔ] ཁོ་ ‘dig’
- /o:/ [o:] long close-mid back rounded vowel: /tʰo:m/ [tʰɔ̯:m] ཅོམས་ ‘trousers’, /ko:/ [kó:] ཁོས་ ‘throw (away)’
- /y/ [y:] long close front rounded vowel; when not followed by /n/ or /ʔ/: /ky:/ [ký:] ལྷུའ་ ‘drive’, /pʰy:/ [pʰý:] ཕུའ་ ‘offer’
- [y] short close front rounded vowel; when followed by /n/ or /ʔ/⁶⁹: /dyn/ [dɪ̯n]~[dý:] བདུན་ ‘seven’, /pynlo/ [pɪ̯nlo] ཕྱུན་ལོ་ ‘younger brother’, /l̥yʔ/ [l̥ɪ̯ʔ]~[l̥ý:] ལུན་ ‘fertilizer’
- /ø/ [ø:] long close-mid front rounded vowel; when not followed by /n/ or /ʔ/: /kø:/ [kó:] ལོ་ ‘boil (tr.)’, /rø:m/ [rø:m] རོལ་མ་/རོལ་མ་ ‘cymbal’
- [ø] short close-mid front rounded vowel; when followed by /n/ or /ʔ/: /kʰøn/ [kʰɔ̯n]~[kʰø:] ལྷོན་ ‘wear’, /pønpu/ [pɔ̯mpu] རོན་པུ་ ‘chief’, /tɕʰøʔ/ [tɕʰɔ̯ʔ]~[tɕʰó(:)] ཅོན་ ‘you’

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

The back rounded vowels /u/ and /o/ are realized as closer when long ([u:] [o:]), and more open when short ([ʊ] [ɔ]). A final glottal heightens vowel value similarly to length, e.g. /ló/ [lɔ̌] ལྷོ་ ‘mind’ vs. /lóʔ/ [lɔ̌ʔ] ལྷོ་ ‘light’, /gok/ [gɔ̌k]~[gɔ̌ʔ] གོག་ ‘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/, /ε/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /y/ and /ø/.

/k ^{hi} / ཁྱི་ ‘dog’	/ki:/ ཁྱིགས་ ‘wrap’
/k ^{hε} / ཁྱི་ ‘profit’	/kε:/ ཁྱིལ་ ‘bring’
/k ^{ha} / ཁ་ ‘mouth’	/ka:/ ཀླ་ (?) ‘split’
/k ^{ho} / མཁོ་ ‘need’	/ko:/ ཀོས་ ‘throw’
/k ^{hu} / ཁུ་ ‘he’	/ku:/ ཀུའུ་ ‘laddle for pouring rice flour dough’
/k ^{hø} / འཁོལ་ ‘boil (intr.)’	/kø:/ ཁོལ་ ‘boil (tr.)’
/k ^{hy} / (=k ^{hui}) ཁྱི་ ‘his’	/ky:/ ཁྱིལ་ ‘drive’

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

/s ⁱ / བསིལ་ ‘cool’	/gi:/ འགྱིར་ ‘go around’	/s ⁱ :p/ ཟེལ་ ‘dew’
/sé:/ བསེར་ ‘gold’	/ge:/ འགྱེལ་ ‘fall’	/sé:m/ བསེར་མ་ ‘bamboo slat wall’
/sé:/ བསེལ་ ‘clear’	/gε:/ གྱིལ་ ‘win’	/sé:m/ བསེལ་མ་ ‘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 [tɛŋ]~[tɔ̌:] in Tashiding (West Sikkim) but [tɔ̌:]~[tɔ̌:] in East and North Sikkim. Therefore, in eastern and northern varieties of Denjongke and opposition between /a/ and /o/ seems to neutralize before /ŋ/.

⁷⁰ Watters (2002: 16), having carried out a phonetic study of five Tibetan languages, calls /e/ and /ε/ “problematic” and continues that “it isn’t always clear whether the vowel is /e/ or /ε/ in short vowels, and as such whether or not /ε/ occurs only in long vowels where it is clearly heard as such.” Van Driem (1998: 66), on the other hand, posits a short /e/, a long /e:/ and an always long /ε:/ for Dzongkha, but comments that the difference between /e/ and /ε:/ is actually “more often one of timbre [=quality] than of length.” Furthermore, Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 35) describes /e/ and /ä/ (same as /ε/) 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. /t^høn/ [t^hõ:]~[t^hón] རྟོག་ ‘happen’ > [t^hém-bo] རྟོག་པོ་, /døʔ/ [dõʔ] ལྟོ་ ‘sit’ > [dè(:)pɔ] ལྟོ་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 /i:/, /u:/ and /o:/ 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]	སྤྱི་	‘trouble, envy’	/ki/	ཆྱི་	‘be born’ ⁷⁴
/sí:/	[sí:]	བསེལ་	‘(feel) cool’	/ki:/	དྲུགས་	‘wrap’

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

/ɛ/

/kɛ/	སྤྱི་	‘neck’	/k ^h ɛ[tʰaʔ/	ཁེ་དྲགས་	‘cheap’	/gɛp/	ཆྱིབ་	‘bag’
/kɛ:/	སྤྱིལ་	‘bring’	/k ^h ɛ:[tʰaʔ/	ཁེ་ལས་དྲགས་	‘skilful’	/gɛ:p/	ཆྱིལ་བ་	‘king’

/a/

/ka/	བཀའ་	‘order’	/p ^h a/	བ་	‘cow’	/p ^h am/	པམ་	‘parents’
/ka:/	ཀླ་ (?)	‘split’	/p ^h a:/	བར་	‘interval’	/p ^h a:m/	པམ་	‘hug’ (TB)

/u/

/k ^h u/	[k ^h ó]	ཁུ་	‘he’	/p ^h u/	[p ^h ó]	པུ་	‘blow’	/zu/	[zò]	བུ་	‘melt’
/k ^h u:/	[k ^h ú:]	ཁུ་	‘bread’	/p ^h u:/	[p ^h ú:]	པུ་	‘fly’	/zu: (?) ⁷⁵	[zù:]	བུགས་	‘to sit (hon.)’

/o/

/t ^h om/	[t ^h òm]	རྟོ་	‘bear’	/ts ^h o/	[ts ^h ó~ts ^h ó]	མཚོ་	‘lake’
/t ^h o:m/	[t ^h ò:m]	རྟོ་མ་	‘trousers’	/ts ^h o:/	[ts ^h ó:]	མཚོ་པོ་	‘aunt’s husband’

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

⁷² This is in line with Hildebrandt’s (2005:24) observation that Manange words in isolation had longer vowel values than when pronounced medially in a context.

⁷³ In Diñri Tibetan (Herrmann 1989: 21) and Drokpa Tibetan (Kretschmar 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/ [kó] ཀོ ‘dig’
 /ko:/ [kó:] ཀོ་ ‘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. /són/ [són]~[só:] ‘seed’. Syllable-finally (but word-medially) /n/ assimilates to the following plosive and the vowel is realized as short, e.g. /pøn-pu/ [póm̥pu] 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/ ཇོན་ ‘ride’ /t^hyn/ མཐུན་ ‘fit, suit’
 /çø:m/ ཇོལ་མ་ ‘cockroach’ /t^hy:p/ ཇིལ་པ་ ‘small bell’

The glottal stop affects length. Utterance-finally the sequence /Vʔ/ is usually realized with various vowel lengths that end in a glottal stop. In sentence-medial context, however, /Vʔ/ is usually realised as [V:] without the glottal (similarly Häslér 1999: 24 for Dege Tibetan). For instance, when pronounced in isolation, words ending in a glottal stop such as /dzɛʔ/ ཇལ་ ‘gunpowder’, /dzeʔ/ ཇེ་ ‘leprosy’ and /ziʔ/ ཇཱིག་ ‘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/	<i>bullet</i>	rdzas	rdzas	405- 440	550- 560	580- 600	565
43. /dzeʔ/	<i>leprosy</i>	mdze	mdze		350- 410	370- 400	400- 430
44. RB /ziʔ/, PT /zik/ TB /dziʔ/	<i>leopard</i>	gzig	gzig	330- 345	260- 350	380	
47. /zi:/	<i>to split</i>	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 be established with a long (glottal-less) vowel, the glottal stop is dropped without lengthening the vowel (WT below stands for Written Tibetan):

WT <i>shad</i> > /ɕɛʔ/, /ɕɛ-ɕɛʔ/ ‘comb-INF’	WT <i>brjed</i> > /dzɛʔ/, /dzɛ-ɕɛʔ/ ‘forget-INF’
WT <i>bshal</i> > /ɕɛ:/, /ɕɛ:-ɕɛʔ/ ‘rinse-INF’	WT <i>mjal</i> > /dzɛ:/, /dzɛ:-ɕɛʔ/ ‘meet-INF’

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

WT <i>btag</i> > /taʔ/, /ta:-ɕɛʔ/ ‘append-INF’
WT <i>lta</i> > /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 /ta:ɕɛʔ/ [tʰɛ:ɕɛʔ] འདྲེས་ ‘to append’ and /taɕɛʔ/ [tʰɛɕɛʔ] ལྟ་ ‘to watch’ a consultant from Tashiding, without priming, thought that both words were instances of /taɕɛʔ/ [tʰɛɕɛʔ] ‘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 དེེ་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]~[ói] ཨོ་ ‘hey!’ and /ái/ ཨོ་ ‘older sister’, /maicam/~mɛ:cam/ མཱ་ཇ་ཤར་མ་ ‘bachelorette’ respectively. The alternative pronunciation in the last of these words suggests what may have happened to erstwhile /ai/ sequences within word stems.

Word stem-internal diphthongs

/ou/~au/ ⁸⁰	/lóu/~láu/ ལླ་མོ་ ‘lungs’, /rou/~rau/ ར་མོ་ ‘fence’, /jòu/ ཡུ་ ‘up’, /mòu/ མཱ་ ‘down’
/ɛu/	/tʰɛu/ རུ་ ‘dust’, /pʰjɛu/ རུ་ ‘hurry’, /jèu/ དེེ་བོ་ ‘differentiation’, /kjɛu/ རུ་ ‘rice measuring vessel’
/iu/	/liu/ ལུ་ ‘phase’, /biu/ རུ་ ‘snake’, /piu/ རུ་ ‘monkey’, /diu/ རུ་ ‘bullet’
/ai/	/ái/ ཨོ་ ‘older sister’, /maicam/~mɛ:cam/ མཱ་ཇ་ཤར་མ་ ‘bachelorette’
/oi/	/ói/ [ói]~[ói] ཨོ་ ‘hey!’

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 རུ་ *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 མེལ་ ‘mole (in skin)’	tiu རྩུ་, རྩེ་ལ་ ‘navel’
mòu མཱུ་ ‘down’	t ^h ɛu ཐེལ་, ཐེ་ལ་ ‘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/ རྒྱེ་འི་ ‘neck’s’, /pɛ-i/ དཔེ་འི་ ‘example’s’
/ai/	/sa-i/ སའི་ ‘soil’s’, /ra-i/ རའི་ ‘goat’s’
/oi/	/só-i/ སོ་འི་ ‘tooth’s’, /go-i/ མགོ་འི་ ‘head’s’
/ui/	/mù-i/ མུ་འི་ ‘her’, /k ^h u-i/ ཁུ་འི་ ‘his’

The diphthong /ɛi/ also occurs in the interjections *ádzei* འདྲེ་ (surprise) and *kɛi* རྩེ་ (honorific address), and /ai/ occurs in the interjection *aijo* ཞེ་ཡོ་ (discomfort), underlining the phonologically distinct character of interjections.

2.3.4 Nasalization

Distinguishing between nasalization and nasal stops is challenging in Denjongke. All monophthong vowels except /e:/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/~/ã:/ and /oŋ/~/õ:/ appears to disappear, because both are pronounced [õ:]~/[ã:]. The distinction is, however, held in West Sikkim, for instance in Tashiding.

/p'in/	[p'ĩ:]~[p'ɪn]	ཕྱིན་	‘give’
/séŋ/	[sɛ̃:]~[séŋ]	སེང་	‘elevate’
/tã:/	[tɛ̃:]~[tɛŋ]	བཏང་	‘send’
/k'un/	[k'ũ:]~[k'ʊŋ]	གུང་	‘roof’
/ô:/	[õ:]	དབང་	‘empowerment’
/pyn/	[pý:]~[pɪn]	ཕུན་	‘brother’
/k'øn/	[k'õ:]~[k'ʊŋ]	ཕྱིན་	‘wear (clothes)’

A final velar nasal /ŋ/ seems to be more often preserved in pronunciation when it follows front vowels /i/ and /ɛ/ than when it follows back vowels /a/ and /o/, e.g. *éiŋ* རྩེང་ ‘tree’, *séŋ* སེང་ ‘raise’ but *tã* བཏང་ ‘send’, *t^hõ* མཐོང་ ‘see’. There is a historically oriented functional explanation for

⁸¹ That is, I do not have evidence for a contrast between /ẽ:/ and /ẽ:/.

this tendency. With /i/ and /ε/, the final velar nasal contrasts both historically and synchronically with the dental nasal /n/, e.g. *p'in* རྩོན་ 'give', *s'en* གསན་ 'hear (hon.)'. Such contrast, however, does not occur with the back vowels, because historically a final /n/ has caused vowel fronting /a/ > /ε/, /o/ > /ø/, /u/ > /y/, e.g. WT འགན་ '*gan*' > Denjongke *gen* '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. *t'uŋ* འཇུང་ 'drink'.

Although word-finally a historical velar nasal following /a/ and /o/ is pronounced as a nasalized vowel, at the end of the first syllable of disyllabic words the velar nasal is often pronounced and thus also represented in the phonemic script, e.g. *t'anpu*/t'ã:pu ཏང་ཕུ 'long ago', *nánjts'i* གན་རྩེ་མོ་ '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 [ɾ], which occurs rarely and not in all Denjongke varieties⁸⁴. The glide /j/ may follow the velar stops /k/, /kʰ/, /g/ and /kʰ/, the bilabial stops /p/, /pʰ/, /b/ and /pʰ/, 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* /sé:/ [sé:] 'clarify', reading-style [sal]. The syllable structure is summarized in Table 2.4 and examples of the various syllable patterns are given below. Diphthongs are here analyzed as VV and long vowels as V. The reason for the differing analyses is the difference in distribution: diphthongs do not occur in closed syllables.

⁸² An important exception to the fronting rule is *k'an* གན་ 'what', which is not pronounced *k'en* 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/ ཀྲེད་ ‘rice measuring vessel’ (KN), /pʲɛu/ ཐྱེད་ ‘hurry’
CGV	/kja/ རྩ་ ‘hair’, /pʲja/ ཐུས་ ‘do’, /bja/ རྩ་ ‘rice’, /pʲjo/ རྩོས་ ‘escape’
CVV	/jəu/ ཡུ་ ‘up’, /kʰau/ ~ /kʰou/ ལ་ཙ་ ‘snow’, /tʰɛu/ ཐུ་ ‘dust’
CV	/lə/ ལ་ ‘mountain pass’, /só/ ས་ ‘tooth’, /kʰu:/ ལུ་ ‘bread’
V	/ý:/ ཡུལ་ ‘country’, /ø:/ [fɪø:] རྩ་ (?) ‘eagle’
VV	/ái/ ཡའི་ ‘older sister’, /ói/ ~ /ói/ ཡའི་ ‘hey!’

Closed syllables

CGVC	/gʲap/ རྩ་ ‘back’, /mjõ:/ རྩོ་ ‘finish’, /prɛk/ [pɹɛk] ⁸⁶ རྩ་ ‘cut (grass)’ (RB),
CVC	/kʰur/ ལུར་ ‘tent’, /sák/ ལས་ལས་ ‘accumulate’, /tʰo:m/ རྩ་མ་ ‘trousers’
VC	/ip/ ཡི་ ‘hide’, /ám/ ཡམ་ ‘mother’, /à:m/ ལམ་ ‘jackal’

2.5 Segmental phonological processes

2.5.1 Vowel assimilation⁸⁷

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

(2.3) /tɛʰøʔ/ མཚན་ ‘offering’, /mi/ མ་ ‘fire’ > /tɛʰými/ [tɛʰými]~[tɛʰými]⁸⁸ མཚན་མ་ ‘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 /tɛʰými/ derives from /tɛʰøʔ/ ‘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).

⁸⁶ A more typical pronunciation is *pjek*.

⁸⁷ Vowel assimilation/harmony in Tibetic languages has been addressed by several researchers (Sprigg 1961, 1980, Miller 1966, Haller 2012). Hari (1979: 28) comments on Lhasa Tibetan that vowel analysis is complicated by “extensive and intricate processes of vowel height approximation in polysyllabic words.”

⁸⁸ WT/WD *mchod-me*

- (2.4) a) /mù=i/ [mùì]~[mỳì]~[mỳ:] མུའི་ ‘her’
 b) /oi/ [ói]~[ói] ཨོའི་ ‘hey!’
 c) /maɛam/~ /m̥ɛ:ɛam/ མཱཱ་ཅམ་ ‘bachelorette, young woman’

- (2.5) /gjɔmpo/ [gjòmpo]~[gjòmpo]~[gòmpo] དགྲོན་པོ་ ‘monastery’

In example (2.4a), the genitive marker =i is attached to a base ending in *u*. The first vowel /u/ determines rounding whereas the latter vowel /i/ determines frontness for the resulting long vowel [y:]. The variants in (2.4c) represent pronunciations in different localities, suggesting that /m̥ɛ:ɛam/ is a stabilized fronted pronunciation of /maɛam/. 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 constructions may be elided. In fast speech, final vowels are often elided, e.g. the reportative marker =se/si frequently becomes =s and the attention marker =eo is realized as =e. The long vowel in /ma-œ: tɛ/ is dropped to form the idiom /maɛtɛ/ ‘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་ཟད་
da be? > *dɛ:/rɛ:*
 similar EQU.NE
 ‘be similar’

- (2.7) ཨོ་འདི་
ódi > *ói*
 ‘that’

- (2.8) འདྲ་འདི་
dodi > *doi*
 ‘right this (one)’

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

- (2.10) ཀ་གིས་ ལའ་མོ་
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
<i>tʰõ:-po í:</i> མཐོང་པོ་ ཡིན་ > [tʰõ:m í:] (PL)		
<i>nǎ:-bo bɛ?</i> གནང་བོ་ ཡིན་ > [nǎ:m bɛ?] (CY)		
<i>òm-bo bɛ?</i> འོང་བོ་ ཟད་ > [òm bɛ?] (NB)		
<i>só:-bo bɛ?</i> སོང་བོ་ ཟད་ > [sóm bɛ?] (DB)		

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

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

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

In intervocalic position /ts^h/ is often simplified to /s/.

- (2.13) ང་ འཇོལ་ཚར་
ɲà dzø:-ts^ha: > *ɲà dzø:-sa*
 1SG make.mistake-CMPL
 ‘I (have) made a mistake.’ (JD minimal pair recording)

- (2.14) ཟ་ཚར་
sà-ts^ha: > *sà-sa:*
 eat-CMPL
 ‘I have eaten’

- (2.15) ཚ་ལུམ་
ts^halum > *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) མོ་འདི་འོ་ སྐར་
ódi: gǎ: > *ódi ŋǎ:*
 that.GEN time
 ‘at that time’

- (2.17) a) དང་
t'ã:/dã:/dõ: > *nà/nò* (at least in Martam, East Sikkim)
 ‘and’
- b) ལམ་ དཔལ་ལྷན་ དང་ ལམ་ བུ་ལག་
lám palden nò lám p'ula?
 lama PN and lama PN
 ‘lama Palden and lama Pulak’ (LT, KN kitchen)

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

- (2.18) ལམ་འཁོར་
lánk^hor > *lan^kor~lánkor*
 ‘taxi’

For regular morphophonemic alternation refer to §2.8 below.

2.6 Register, pitch and tone

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

Table 2.6. Features of high and low register

High register	Low register
-Modal, stiff or creaky voice on vowel	-Breathy or modal voice on vowel
-High pitch	-Low pitch
-Voiceless and (strongly) aspirated consonants	-Breathy and voiced consonants
-After initials /p/, /p ^h /, /t/, /t ^h /, /k/, /k ^h /, /tɕ/, /tɕ ^h /, /ts/, /ts ^h /, /m̥/, /n̥/, /ŋ̊/, /l̥/, /r̥/, /h/	-After initials /b/, /p ^ɕ /, /d/, /t ^ɕ /, /g/, /k ^ɕ /, /dz/, /tɕ ^ɕ /, /dʒ/, /ts ^ɕ /, /z/, /ʒ/, /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/, /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).

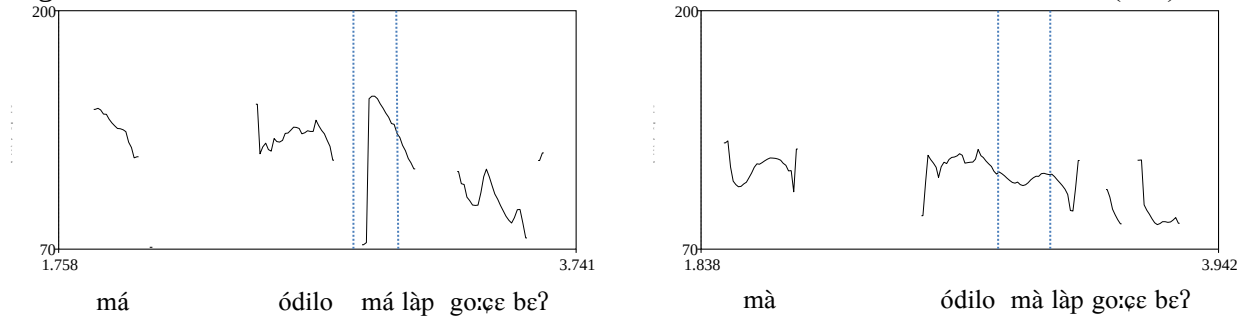
⁸⁹ This is unlike Lhomi, in which voice quality (modal vs. breathy) is more salient than pitch with sonorant initials (Watters 2003: 253).

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 disyllabic words.

2.6.1 Monosyllables

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

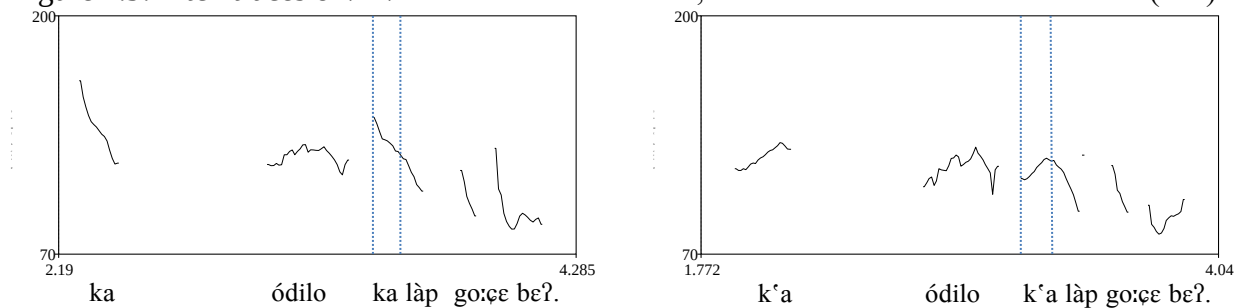
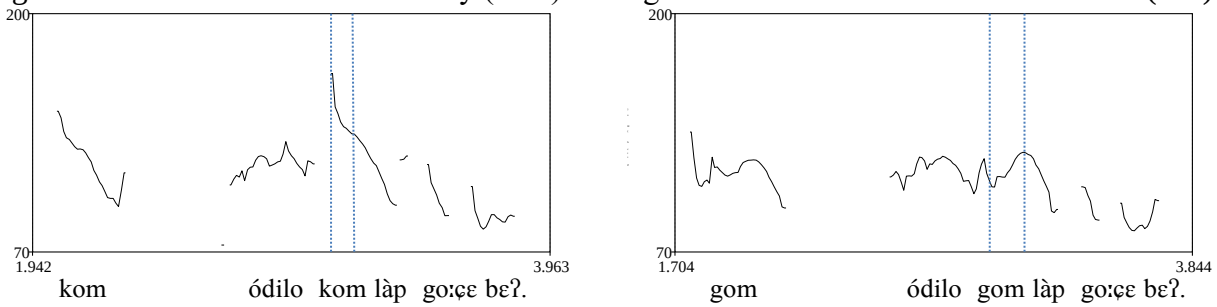


Figure 2.10. Pitch traces of /kom/ ‘dry (verb)’ and /gom/ ‘door’ in isolation and in context (KN)



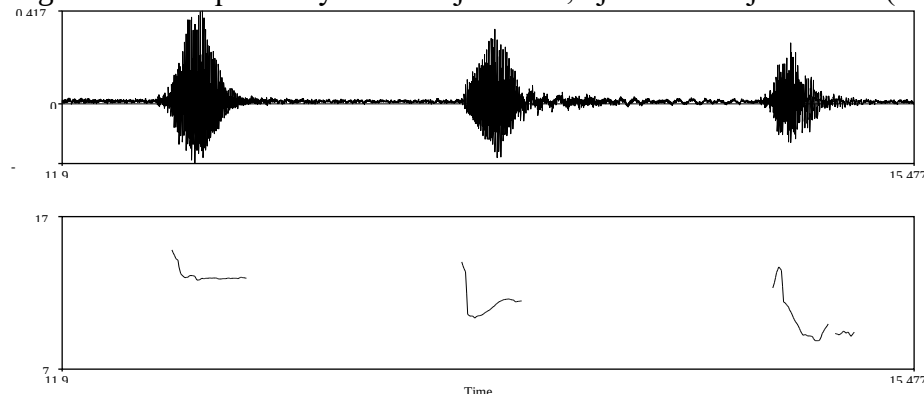
Figures 2.9-10, which show that the high register words have a falling pitch and the low register words a rising pitch, are representative of all the words recorded in the tonal study. All the high register words (both open and closed syllables) had a high falling pitch, although with long vowels the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

2.6.1.1 Register-internal pitch differences

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

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

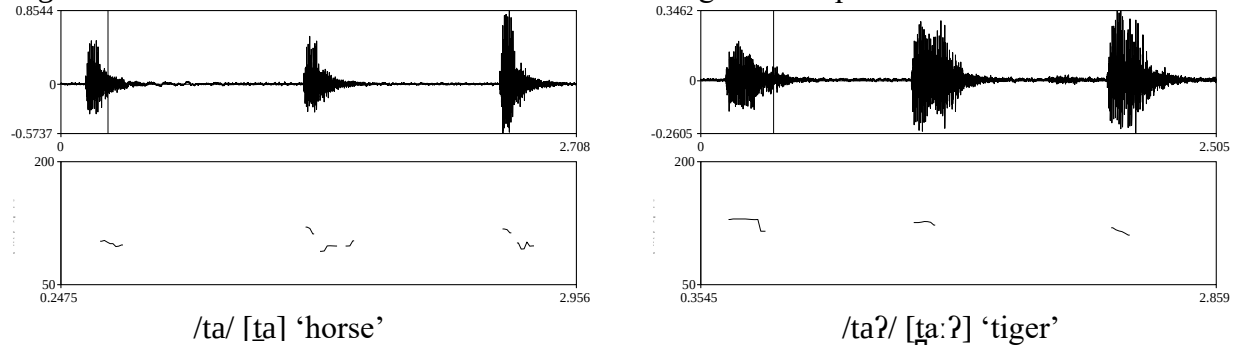
Figure 2.11. Sequentially uttered /ŋá/ ‘five’, /ŋà/ ‘I’ and /ŋâ/ ‘drum’ (RB)



For the same speaker from Tashiding (RB), the words /ta/ 𑄧𑄭𑄰 ‘horse’ and /taʔ/ 𑄧𑄭𑄰𑄭𑄰 ‘tiger’ were segmentally contrastive when the words were pronounced in isolation, [ta] ‘horse’, [taʔ] ‘tiger’.

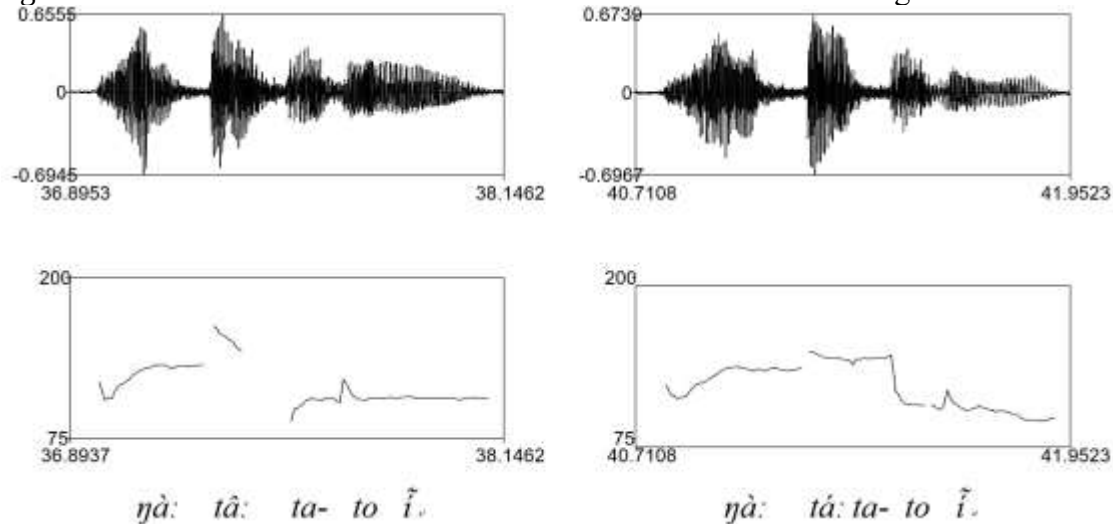
This can be seen in Figure 2.12 where /taʔ/ is pronounced longer than /ta/ (the words are pronounced three times on the recording).

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



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

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



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

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

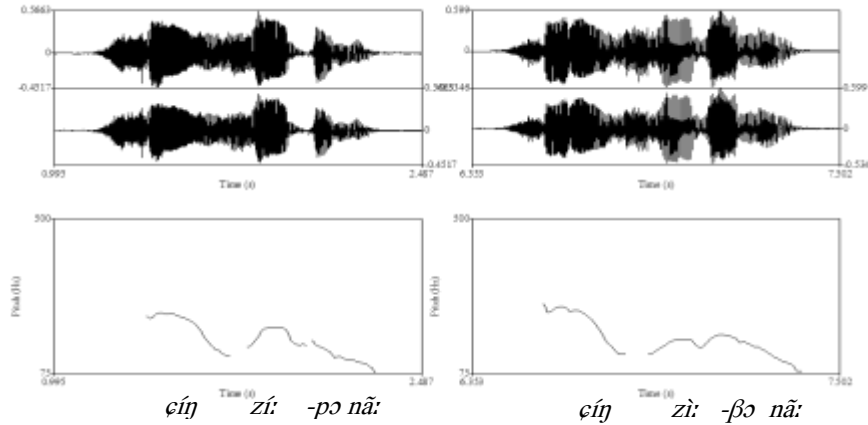


Figure 2.14 shows that /zɪ:/ ‘look’ is pronounced with higher and basically level pitch whereas /zì:/ ‘split’, analogously to typical low register words, is pronounced with a lower lightly rising pitch. Thus, this word pair appears to exemplify a high vs. low register split within the low register. There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

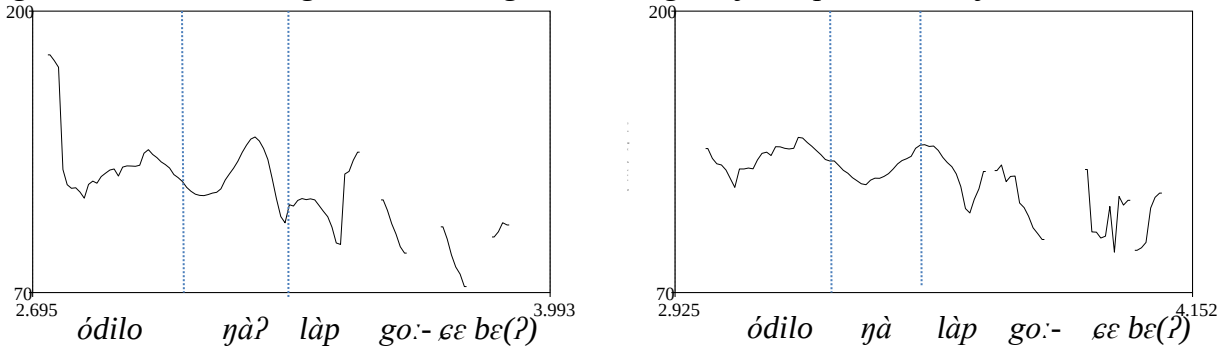
2.6.1.2 Final glottal and pitch

When pronounced in isolation, words ending in a glottal stop may be pronounced with various lengths, e.g. /kʰaʔ/ [kʰeʔ]~[kʰe:ʔ] ལག་ ‘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. /lɔ/ [lɔ̌] ལྡོ་ ‘mind’, /lɔʔ/ [lɔ̌ʔ] (isolation) [lɔ̌:] (context) ལྡོ་ ‘electricity’.

In comparative recordings with KN (Martam), a high register word with a glottal ending (e.g. /ŋaʔ/ ལྷག་ ‘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 _ lâp go:ɛɛ bɛ?* (ཨོ་དི་ལོ་_ ལཔ་ གོ་ཡེ་ བེ་) ‘You are to call this _’.

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



The glottal stop of /ɲàʔ/ (*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 /ɲàʔ/ ‘speech’ to the non-glottal ending in /ɲà/ (*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/tone⁹⁰ 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.

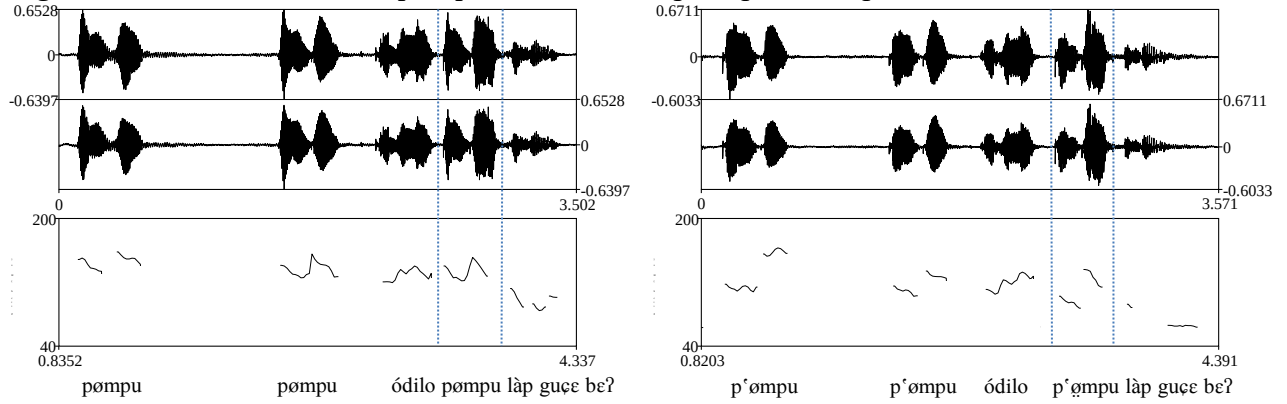
No consistent difference in the absolute pitch height of the second syllable of high vs. low-tone words was perceived. In some cases, the second syllable of a low-tone word was higher than the second syllable of a high-tone word. Consequently, the contrastive factors between high and low-tone words were 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 /pɔ̌mpu/ [pɔ̌mpu] དཔོན་པོ་ ‘leader’ and /pʰɔ̌mpu/ [pʰɔ̌mpu] 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 [pɔ̌mpu]/[pʰɔ̌mpu] in the sentence is marked by the dotted line).

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.

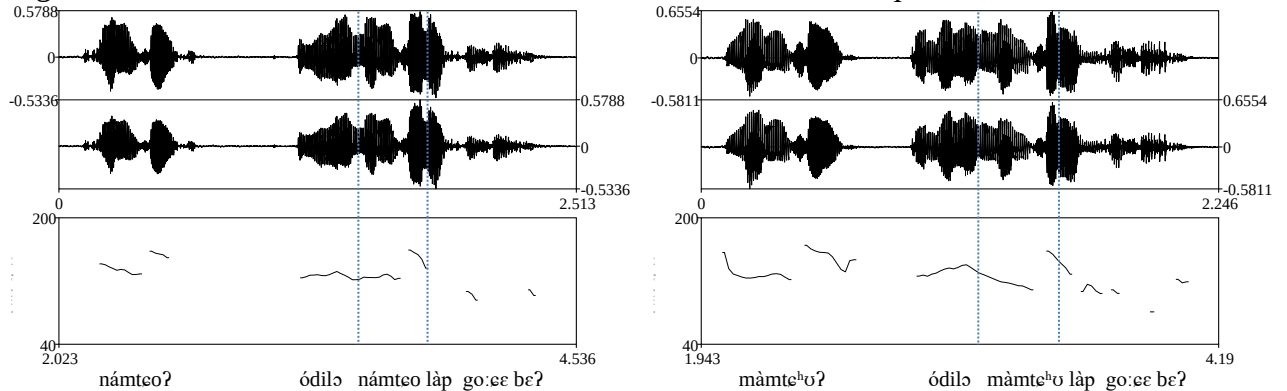
Figure 2.16. Pitch contrast in /pømpu/ ‘leader’ and /p’ømpu/ ‘Bön practitioner’



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

Figure 2.17 illustrates the pitch difference in high and low-tone words with sonorant initials (/námtɛʔ/ རྩམ་མཚོག་ ‘ear’ and /màmtɛʰu/ མམ་ཁུ་ ‘lower lip’).

Figure 2.17. Pitch contrast in /námtɛʔ/ ‘ear’ and /màmtɛʰu/ ‘lower lip’

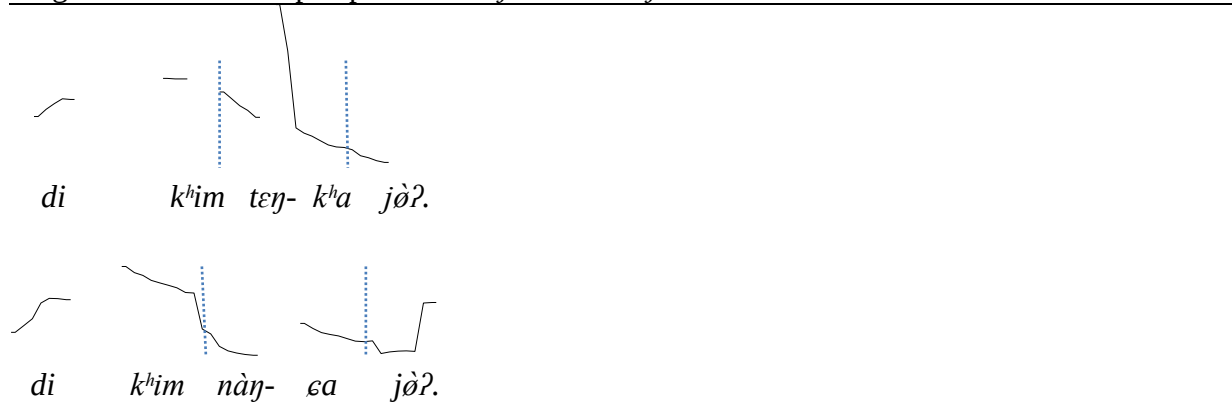


When pronounced in isolation, the low-tone word /màmtɛʰu/ has a rising pitch on the vowel of the first syllable. In context, however, the first syllable becomes falling, presumably because the syllable, which is voiced throughout, has to reach a lower level of pitch compared to equivalent high-tone word (cf. /námtɛʔ/, 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* རྩང་ཁ(ར) is contrasted in identical context with the low tone postposition *nàŋɛa* རྩང་ཤ་.

- (2.19) a) འདི་ ཁྱིམ་ རྩེང་ཁར་ ཡོད།
di kʰim tʰɛŋkʰa jøʔ.
 this house above EX.PER
 ‘It is on/above the house.’ (KUN e)
- b) འདི་ ཁྱིམ་ རང་ག་ ཡོད།
di kʰim nəŋɛa jøʔ.
 this house inside EX.PER
 ‘It is inside the house.’ (KUN e)

Figure 2.18. Pitch in postpositions *tʰɛŋkʰa* and *nəŋɛa*



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

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

2.7 Stress or tone

I have not found stress to be a useful category for describing Denjongke. Caplow's (2016) study on disyllabic words in Balti, a toneless variety of Tibetan preserving archaic phonological features, shows that non-verbs (nouns, adjectives, numerals) stress the second syllable and verbs stress the first syllable. Moreover, Caplow (2016: 47) suggests that the transphonologization of stress, whose

primary correlate is fundamental frequency⁹², 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* རྒྱལ་ ‘strike, do’, *p^hjak* འཕྱལ་ ‘sweep’, *ɛɛʔ* རྒྱལ་ ‘comb’, *p^hja* རྒྱལ་ ‘do, zo བཟོ་ ‘make’, *p^hu* རྒྱལ་ ‘blow’, *tɛa* བཅའ་ ‘come (hum.)’, *ts^ho* མཚན་ ‘feel’, *p^hy* རྒྱལ་ ‘offer’, *lèn* ལེན་ ‘take’, *bom* རྩམ་ ‘grow’, *mjō* རྩམ་ ‘finish’, *lō* ལོ་ ‘stand’, *lā* ལཱ་ ‘be enough’, *tā* བཏང་ ‘send’, *nā* གནང་ ‘give (hon.)’, *t^hō* མཐོང་ ‘see’.

Table 2.7. Voicing alternation in verbal suffixes

Suffix	Preceding context	Form	Examples
Infinitivizer <i>-po/-bo</i>	voiceless	-o	<i>kjap-o, p^hjak-o, ɛɛ-po (ɛɛʔ)</i>
	short vowel	-u	<i>p^hja-u, zo-u, p^hu:</i>
	long vowel	-bo/βo/wo	<i>tɛa:-bo, ts^ho:-bo, p^hy:-bo</i>
	-n, -m	-bo	<i>lèm-bo, bom-bo</i>
	-ŋ	-po -bo	<i>mjō:-po, lō:-po tā:-bo, nā:-bo</i>
Past/perfective <i>-tɛɛ/ɛɛ</i>	voiceless	-tɛɛ	<i>kjap-tɛɛ, p^hjak-tɛɛ, ɛɛ-tɛɛ (ɛɛʔ)</i>
	voiced	-ɛɛ	<i>p^hja-ɛɛ, zo-ɛɛ, lèn-ɛɛ, bom-ɛɛ</i>
	-ŋ	-tɛɛ -ɛɛ	<i>t^hō:-tɛɛ, lō:-tɛɛ tā:-ɛɛ, nā:-ɛɛ</i>

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).

Progressive -tɛɛ:/zɛ:/zin	voiceless	-tɛɛ:	kjap-tɛɛ:, pʰjak-tɛɛ:, ɛ́-tɛɛ: (ɛɛʔ)
	voiced	-zɛ:/zin	pʰja-zɛ:, zo-zɛ:, lèn-zɛ:, bom-zɛ:
	-ŋ	-tɛɛ: -zɛ:	tʰõ:-tɛɛ:, lǒ:-tɛɛ: tã:-zɛ:, nã:-zɛ:
Imperfective -to/do	voiceless	-to	kjap-to, pʰjak-to, ɛ́-to (ɛɛʔ)
	voiced	-do	pʰja-do, zo-do, lèn-do, bom-do
	-ŋ	-to -do	mjõ:-to, lǎ:-to tã:-do, nã:-do
Nonfinal -ti/di	voiceless	-ti	kjap-ti, pʰjak-ti, ɛ́-ti (ɛɛʔ)
	voiced C (except -ŋ)	-di	lèn-di, bom-di
	vowel	-ti -di	pʰja-ti, zo-ti pʰy:-di, sà-di
	-ŋ	-ti -di	mjõ:-ti, lǒ:-ti tã:-di, lǎ:-di

As suggested by the word ɛ́ʔ ‘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 ɛ́ʔ are *taʔ* བཏགས་ ‘append’ > *ta:-po* and *éʔ* ཞེད་ ‘push’ > *é-tɛɛn*. As further seen in Table 2.7, verb roots ending in /ŋ/ may have either a voiceless or a voiced onset in the suffix. The correct form has to be learnt by heart. Table 2.8 presents the correct suffix forms for some common verbs ending in -ŋ.

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

Voiceless (-po, -tɛɛ, tɛɛ:, -to)	Voiced (-bo, -zɛ, -zɛ:, do)	
tʰõ: མཐོང་ ‘see’	tã: བཏང་ ‘send’	tʰuŋ འཐུང་ ‘drink’
lǎ: ལངས་ ‘be enough’	nã: གནང་ ‘give (hon.)’	tsõ: བཙོང་ ‘sell’
lǒ: རྩང་ ‘stand (up)’	sõ: རྩང་ ‘go.PFV (suppl.)’	súŋ གསུང་ ‘say (hon.)’
mjõ: ལྷོང་ ‘finish’	õ: རྩང་ ‘come’	tʰã: གུངས་ ‘carry (hon.)’

The nominalizer -po occurs in four forms, -o, -u, -po, -bo (phonetically there is a fifth form -bo/wo, which is the realization of /b/ after long vowels). When preceded by root final /p/ or /k/, the bilabial stop is elided from the suffix, e.g. *kjap* རྩུགས་ ‘strike’ > *kjap-o*, *pʰjak* འཐུག་ ‘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. *tʰak* དྲག་ ‘get well’ > *tʰak-o*, *taʔ* བཏགས་ ‘adorn’ > *ta:-po*. When preceded by a root ending in a short (non-nasalized) vowel, the suffix becomes -u, e.g. *pʰja* ལྷོ་ ‘do’ > *pʰja-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 *tɛa:* བཅར་ ‘come (hum.)’ > *tɛa:-bo* [tɛá:βo], *tsʰo:* མེད་ ‘feel’ > *tsʰo:-bo* [tsʰó:βo]. When preceded by the nasals /m/ and /n/, the suffix occurs as -bo, e.g. *bom* སྒྲོམ་ > *bom-bo* ‘getting big’, *lèn* ལེན་ > *lèn-bo* ‘taking’. Similarly to other suffixes, final /ŋ/ may obtain either voiceless or voiced suffix, e.g. *mjõ:-po* ལྷོང་པོ་ ‘finished, finishing’ vs. *tã:-bo* བཏང་བོ་ ‘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* རྒྱལ་ ‘strike, do’ and *p^hjak* འཕྱལ་ ‘sweep’.

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

Suffix	Preceding context	Form	Example
Infinitivizer <i>-po/bo/u</i>	<i>-p, -k</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>kjap-o, p^hjak-o</i>
Purpose/manner <i>-pa</i>	<i>-p, -k</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>kjap-a, p^hjak-a</i>
Conditional <i>-patɕenɛ</i>	<i>-p, -k</i>	<i>-atɕenɛ</i>	<i>kjap-atɕenɛ, p^hjak-atɕenɛ</i>

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

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

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

2.8.2 Negating prefixes

The negating prefixes are *ma*- (perfective) and *mi*- (imperfective). With verb roots in the low register, a nasal occurs between the negator and verb root, e.g. *go?* དགོས་ ‘need’ > *miŋ-go?* 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
<i>p’in</i> བྱིན་ ‘give’	<i>mam-bin, mim-bin</i>	<i>pik</i> བཀྲ་ ‘pull out’	<i>ma-pik, mi-pik</i>
<i>t’ɛ:</i> དལ་ ‘have time to’	<i>man-dɛ:, min-dɛ:</i>	<i>tek</i> རྒྱལ་ ‘place up’	<i>ma-tɛk, mi-tɛk</i>
<i>l’ð:</i> སྤངས་ ‘die (hon.)’	<i>man-qð:, min-qð:</i>	<i>t^huŋ</i> བྱུང་ ‘shine (hon.)’	<i>ma-t^huŋ, mi-t^huŋ</i>
<i>k’o</i> ཞུ་ ‘understand’	<i>maŋ-go, miŋ-go</i>	<i>k^hø:</i> ཁོང་ ‘boil (intr.)’	<i>ma-k^hø:, mi-k^hø:</i>
<i>sà</i> ཟ་ ‘eat’	<i>man-za, min-za</i>	<i>só</i> གས་ ‘tend’	<i>ma-só, mi-só</i>
<i>bak</i> འབག་ ‘carry’	<i>mam-bak, mim-bak</i>	<i>pã:</i> ཟུང་ ‘forsake’	<i>ma-paŋ, mi-paŋ</i>
<i>dø?</i> ལྗོད་ ‘sit’	<i>man-dø?, min-dø?</i>	<i>tøn</i> འདོན་ ‘take out’	<i>ma-tøn, mi-tøn</i>
<i>go?</i> དགོས་ ‘need’	<i>maŋ-go?, miŋ-go?</i>	<i>kok</i> རྒྱལ་ ‘dig’	<i>ma-kok, mi-kok</i>
<i>zim</i> གཟུགས་ ‘sleep (hon.)’	<i>man-zim, min-zim</i>	<i>sák</i> བསགས་ ‘accumulate’	<i>ma-sak, mi-sák</i>
<i>zak</i> འབག་ ‘put’	<i>man-zak, min-zak</i>	<i>ɛá:</i> ཤར་ ‘shine’	<i>ma-ɛa:, mi-ɛá:</i>
<i>dzɛ:</i> མཇུག་ ‘meet (hon.)’	<i>man-dzɛ:, min-dzɛ:</i>	<i>tea:</i> བཅར་ ‘come (hum.)’	<i>ma-tea:, mi-tea:</i>

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

2.8.3 Reduction of the genitivized infinitivizer

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

- (2.20) a) ལྟའི་སྐད་ འདི་
œ̀ù=wø: *gã:=di*
 say=2INF.GEN time=DEMPH
 ‘when saying’ (KLT)

- b) ལྟའི་⁹³སྐད་ འདི་
œ̀ù=i *gã:=di*
 say=2INF.GEN time=DEMPH
 ‘when saying’ (KLT)

- (2.21) a) ལྟའི་སྐད་
ta-wø: *gã:*
 look-2INF.GEN time
 ‘when looking’ (SD)

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

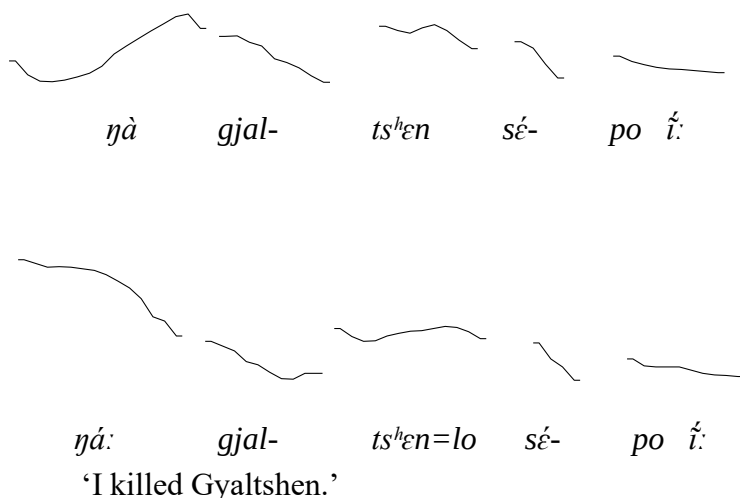
2.8.4 Agentive case

With the personal pronouns *ŋà* ‘I’, *kʰu* ‘he’ and *mù* ‘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:* ‘I.AGT’. With *ŋà* and *mù*, the tone changes from low to high along with vowel lengthening, *ŋá:* ‘I.AGT’, *mú:* ‘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*.

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)



2.9 Phonemic script

The phonetic/phonemic symbols are from the IPA except for /g/ representing IPA /g/ and /a/ representing IPA /ə/. When italicized in example sentences, /a/ becomes /a/. Two major issues related to the phonological script were how to treat nasals/nasalization and the glottal stop. For reasons given in §2.3.4, final nasal stops and nasalized vowels are in the examples written as they are actually pronounced. That is, the historical velar nasal following back vowels /a/ and /o/ is phonemically written as nasalization (i.e. *tã:* བཏང་ ‘send’, *tʰõ:* མཐོང་ ‘see’) while with other vowels the same historical velar tends to be retained in pronunciation (i.e. *ɛíŋ* རྩོང་ ‘tree’, *séŋ* རྩོང་ ‘raise’, *tʰuŋ* རྩུང་ ‘drink’). Similarly, lexeme-internal nasals and nasalized vowels are represented as actually pronounced. This means that verb root preceding a suffix may be written in various ways, depending on the suffix with which the root assimilates, i.e. the equative copula *ɿ:* occurs in various forms: *ím-bo* (with infinitivizer *-po/bo*), *ín-do* (with imperfective marker *-to/do*) and *íŋ-kʰɛ:* (with nominalizer *-kʰɛ:*). 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 bɛ?* is written as such although its pronunciation is typically [íŋ-kʰɛm bɛ?] (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’ (*ta?* ‘tiger’), *ɛé-ɛɛ?* ‘tell-INF’ *ɛé?* (‘tell’). Moreover, the glottal in the infinitive marker *-ɛɛ(?)* is not

written when an auxiliary follows. Although the auxiliary is written separately it is phonologically part of the same utterance with -*εε(?)* 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 *tε̃:/zε̃:* 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 /i:/, /e:/ and /ε:/ 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).

suggesting that the phonologically reduced form =sã: is as much a grammatical word as the fuller form sã:te. Another form which occurs both as a monosyllabic clitic and a disyllabic word is the relator noun =tsa:/tsak^{ha} ‘at (the root of)’.

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

3.2 Nouns

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

3.2.1 Introduction to nouns

Nouns (from Latin *nōmen* ‘name’) prototypically refer to physical entities such as objects, living creatures and places but are by extension also used for abstract entities (e.g. *bjak^{ha}* འབྲུག་ ‘summer’, *jèŋk^{ha}* ཞེན་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 -k^hẽ:) 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་ མོ་འདི་ ཤོག་གུ་ ཡོད་པ་ཟུང་ལགས།
t’izã: ná: d̥endzõ:=na òŋ-k^hẽn=tsu=lo ódi ɛóku 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)

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

- (3.4) འདི་རང་ ལུས་བཞིན་ལོ་ ཟམ་ ཟ་ བྱོང་།
de:=rã: *pʼja-zẽ:=lo* *sàm sà mjõ:*
 like-that=AEMPH do-PROG=DAT food eat finish
 ‘Doing like that, (they) finished eating.’ (Ricchi 21)

Most Denjongke nouns are mono- or disyllabic. Nouns containing more than two syllables are likely some type of compounds, such as *bjam-ka:-riŋ* ‘mosquito’ (lit. ‘fly-foot-long’), although exceptions exist, e.g. *kaŋkara* ‘crab’.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་	<i>go</i>	དབུ་	<i>ú</i>	head
ཁ་	<i>kha</i>	ཞལ་	<i>ɛɛ:</i>	mouth
ཐུ་	<i>tɛɛ</i>	ལྷགས་	<i>dzaʔ</i>	tongue
ལྷ་གྲག་	<i>ŋaguʔ</i>	ཤངས་	<i>ɛá:</i>	nose
རྒྱུ་མེ་, རྒྱུ་པོ་	<i>ka:m, kã:po</i>	ཞབས་	<i>ɛàp</i>	foot
མིག་རྩྭ་	<i>mì:doʔ</i>	ཟུན་	<i>tɛɛn</i>	eye
ནུ་མེ་	<i>námteoʔ</i>	སྟན་(ལྷག་)	<i>ɲén(tɛoʔ)</i>	ear
སོ་	<i>só</i>	ཚམས་	<i>tsʰɛm</i>	tooth
ལག་ཤོ་	<i>lako</i>	ཕྱག་	<i>tɛʰaʔ</i>	hand
ཐུ་	<i>tɛʰu</i>	ཆབ་	<i>tɛʰap</i>	water

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 *gaŋgaṭa* ‘crab’. Oriya (*kaŋkaṭa* ‘crab’) and Tirahi (*kaŋgara* ‘spider’) also have pronunciations almost identical to Denjongke (Turner 1962-1966).

ཁྱིམ་	<i>kʰim</i>	གཟེམ་ཁང་	<i>zimkʰã:</i>	house
ལྗང་	<i>lam</i>	འབས་ཅག་	<i>ɛ̀aptɛaʔ</i>	shoe
སྒྲུགས་པ་	<i>to:paʔ</i>	གསོལ་དྲུམ་	<i>só:tym</i>	vegetables (with rice)
གོས་	<i>k'o</i>	ན་བཟའ་	<i>nàza</i>	clothes
མིང་	<i>mìŋ</i>	མཚན་	<i>tsʰen</i>	name
ཨ་བོ་	<i>ápo</i>	ཡབ་	<i>jà:p</i>	father
ཨ་མ་	<i>áma</i>	ཡུམ་	<i>jùm</i>	mother
བུ་	<i>p'u</i>	སྲས་	<i>séʔ</i>	son
བུ་མ་	<i>p'um</i>	སྲས་མ་	<i>sé:m</i>	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* རྒྱལ་སྐད་ ‘language’ in Table 3.2). Simple compounding is a common strategy when the ordinary noun is monosyllabic and thus the resulting form does not exceed two syllables.

Table 3.2. Honorific nouns formed by compounding

Independent use	Honorific with the affix	Ordinary register	Gloss
འབས་ <i>ɛ̀ap</i> ‘foot (hon.)’	འབས་ལྗང་ <i>ɛ̀aplam</i>	ལྗང་ <i>lam</i>	shoe
	འབས་བསྐྱོར་ <i>ɛ̀apkor</i>	བསྐྱོར་ <i>kor</i>	tour
སྐྱུ་ <i>ku</i> ‘body (hon.)’	སྐྱུ་གཟུགས་ <i>kuzuʔ</i>	གཟུགས་ <i>zuʔ</i>	body
	སྐྱུ་དབང་ <i>kuõ:</i>	དབང་ <i>õ:</i>	power
བྱུག་ <i>tɛʰaʔ</i> ‘hand (hon.)’	བྱུག་དངུལ་ <i>tɛʰani:</i>	དངུལ་ <i>ny:</i>	money
	བྱུག་ལས་ <i>tɛʰa:lɛʔ</i>	གཡོག་ <i>jóʔ</i> , ལས་ <i>lɛʔ</i>	work, deed
ལྗང་ <i>dzaʔ</i> ‘tongue (hon.)’	རྒྱལ་སྐད་ <i>kɛ:dzaʔ</i> ⁹⁹	རྒྱལ་ <i>kɛʔ</i>	language
ཐུགས་ <i>tʰuʔ</i> ‘mind (hon.)’	ཐུགས་འགན་ <i>tʰugen</i>	འགན་ <i>gen</i>	responsibility
འལ་ <i>ɛ̀ɛ:</i> ‘face (hon.)’	འལ་གདོང་ <i>ɛ̀ɛ:dõ:</i>	གདོང་ <i>dõ:</i>	face
གསོལ་ <i>só:</i> ‘offer (hon.)’	གསོལ་ཇ་ <i>só:za</i>	ཇ་ <i>tɛ'a</i>	tea
བཞས་ <i>ze:</i> ‘eat, have (hon.)’	བཞས་ཐུར་ <i>ze.tʰum</i>	ཐུར་ <i>tʰum</i>	spoon
གསུང་ <i>súnŋ</i> ‘say (hon.)’	གསུང་རྒྱལ་ <i>súnkɛʔ</i>	རྒྱལ་ <i>kɛʔ</i>	voice

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

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
<i>pynte^he?</i>	ཕྱུན་མཆེད་	<i>kute^he?</i>	སྐུ་མཆེད་	sibling, relative
<i>ára?</i>	ཨ་རག་	<i>ze:ra?</i>	བཞེས་རག་	alcohol
<i>pa(h)ip</i>	པ་ཉིབ་	<i>só:(h)ip</i>	གསོལ་ཉིབ་	beer container (of bamboo)
<i>ákar</i>	ཨ་ཀར་	<i>ze:kar</i>	བཞེས་ཀར་	chilli
<i>døsa</i>	ཐོད་ས་	<i>zu:sa</i>	བཞུགས་ས་	residence
<i>zu:nẽ:</i>	གཟུགས་བརྟན་	<i>kunẽ:</i>	སྐུ་བརྟན་	image
<i>mikẽ:</i>	མིག་ཤེལ་	<i>tẽẽẽ:</i>	ཕྱུན་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 མོན་ *smon* becomes *mẽ-* in *mélam* ‘prayer’ and *-mõ:* in *thumõ:* ‘prayer [hon.]’).

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

Ordinary		Honorific		Gloss
<i>mélam</i>	མོན་ལམ་	<i>thumõ:</i>	ཐུགས་མོན་	prayer, wish
<i>èambu</i>	ཞུ་བ་	<i>úza</i>	དབུ་བ་	hat
<i>éoku</i>	ཤོག་ཀུ་	<i>te^haco?</i>	ཕྱག་ཤོག་	paper
<i>kajø</i>	དཀར་ཡེལ་	<i>ẽ:kar</i>	ཞེལ་དཀར་	cup
<i>tsampo</i>	ཅམ་པོ་	<i>só:tsam</i>	གསོལ་ཅམ་	tsampa
<i>dø:po</i>	འདོད་པོ་	<i>t^hudø?</i>	ཐུགས་འདོད་	wish, desire
<i>pete^ha</i>	དཔེ་ཆ་	<i>te^hape</i>	ཕྱག་དཔེ་	book
<i>júku</i>	ཇུ་གུ་	<i>te^hqju?</i>	ཕྱག་ཇུག་	pen
<i>kajø:</i>	དཀར་ཡེལ་	<i>ẽ:ka(r)</i>	ཞེལ་དཀར་	cup, bowl
<i>qomo?</i>	ཕྱོ་མོ་	<i>ze:qo</i>	བཞེས་ཕྱོ་	bamboo straw

3.2.3 Deriving nouns from verbs

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

Table 3.5. Nominalizing markers

Infinitive		Example with <i>p^{hy}</i>: ‘offer (hon.)’	
<i>-ceɛʔ</i>	‘to x’	<i>p^{hy}:-ceɛʔ</i>	‘to offer’
<i>-ɲi</i>	‘to x’	<i>p^{hy}:-ɲi</i>	‘to offer’ ¹⁰⁰
<i>-po/bo</i>	‘(the act of) x-ing’	<i>p^{hy}:-bo</i>	‘(the act of) offering’
Nominalizer			
<i>-k^hẽ:</i>	‘the one x-ing’	<i>p^{hy}:-k^hẽ:</i>	‘the one offering’
<i>-sa</i>	‘the place of x-ing’	<i>p^{hy}:-sa</i>	‘place of offering’
<i>-tã:</i>	‘the way of x-ing’	<i>p^{hy}:-tã:</i>	‘way of offering’

All the markers in Table 3.5 are highly productive in that they can be added to almost any verb. Semantically, the forms ending in *-ceɛʔ*, *-ɲi* and *-po/bo* are verbal nouns which refer to the action denoted by the verb, whereas the markers *-k^hẽ:*, *-sa* and *-tã:* 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 (*-ceɛʔ*, *-ɲi* and *-po/bo*) and other nominalizers (*-k^hẽ:*, *-sa* and *-tã:*), 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 *-tã:* is that the former participate in tense, aspect and evidentiality-marking auxiliary constructions (e.g. *p^{hy}:-ceɛ 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/masdar cross-linguistically (Shagal 2017: 5).

All the markers in Table 3.5 can nominalize a clause. To accommodate uses as clausal nominalizers, I refer to *-k^hẽ:*, *-sa* and *-tã:* 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 *-k^hẽ:*, *-sa* and *-tã:* and other nominal suffixes.

3.2.4 Nominal suffixes

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

3.2.4.1 Nominal suffix *-po/bo*

The suffix *-po/bo* is related to the nominal suffix *-pa* (WT ⇐ *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.

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

¹⁰¹ The nominalizer *-k^hẽ:*, on the other hand, participates in the present habitual construction (*p^{hy}:-k^hẽn 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	<i>-po</i>	<i>-po/bo</i>				
Attaches to	noun, verb (rare)	verb	numeral		noun	
					pers. name	place name
Glossing	not glossed	II infinitive	collective	ordinal	associative	associative

As suggested by Table 3.6, a distinction should be made between historical, unproductive uses (*-po*) and synchronic, productive uses (*-po/bo*).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. *òŋ-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/tsəpo ‘debate (noun)’ from WT རྩོད་ *rtsod* ‘debate (verb)’

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

sàmpo ‘bridge’ from WT མཐ་ *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) ཡུ་རྒྱལ་ ཆོ་རིང་པོ་ ད་རིང་ བེ་ན་ ཉི་ཁེལ་ མཱ་ཁུ་བེ་ནིང་ (hotel opening) བྱས་པ་ མང་?
úgjen tsʰerij-bo tʰarin pʰina hoʔel oupeniŋ pʰja-wa
 PN PN-ASSOC today over.there hotel(Eng.) opening(Eng.) do-PUR
só:?
 go.PFV

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

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

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).

<i>dɛndzɔŋ-po</i>	‘Sikkim-dweller; person of Sikkimese Bhutia ethnicity’	from <i>dɛndzɔ̃</i> : (འབྲས་ལྷོངས་ <i>bras-ljongs</i> ‘Sikkim’)
<i>gɟagar-bo</i>	‘Indian’	from <i>gɟagar</i> ‘India’ (WD རྒྱ་གར་ <i>rgya-gar</i>)
<i>pʰiliŋ-po/</i>	‘foreigner’	from <i>pʰiliŋ</i> ‘out(side)’ (WD ཕྱི་གློང་ <i>ph‘yi-gling</i>)
<i>tɛʰiliŋ-po</i> ¹⁰⁴		from <i>tɛʰiliŋ</i> ‘out(side)’ (WD ཕྱི་གློང་ <i>phyi-gling</i>)

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

Some more lexicalized forms may also be characterized as associative:

<i>nàpo</i>	‘fisherman’	from WT ཉ་ <i>nya</i> ‘fish’
<i>ɕiŋpo</i>	‘farmer’	from WT ཞིང་ <i>zhing</i> ‘field’
<i>nɛ̃:po</i>	‘patient’	from WT ནད་ <i>nad</i> ‘illness’
<i>nàŋpo</i>	‘insider, Buddhist’	from WT ནང་ <i>nang</i> ‘inside(s)’
<i>tɛʰipo</i>	‘outsider, non-Buddhist’	from WT ཕྱི་ <i>phyi</i> ‘outside’

Occasionally the suffix *-po/bo* also attaches to a verb to mark the agent, e.g. *kʰu: zo:-bo* [bread make-*po*] ‘bread maker, baker’, *tɛaʔ dum-bo* [iron hit-*po*] ‘iron-hitter, blacksmith’. This use of *-po/bo* overlaps the semantic domain of the nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃:* (§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 *-kʰɛ̃:* 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* > *rø:m* ‘cymbal’.

¹⁰⁴ The variant initials *tɛʰi* 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 *tɛʰiriŋ-po*. The meaning ‘foreigner’ may also be expressed by the word *tɛʰigɛ:-po* (ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ *phyi-rgyal-po*).

Table 3.7. Some masculine-feminine noun pairs

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

In Table 3.7, the last three words differ from other feminine words in that rather than replacing *-po/pu* with *-mo/mu* (as with *gɛ:m[u]*) or adding *-mo/mu* to the masculine stem (as with *lamu*), it is the form *-pøŋ* (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 *tɛʰi:p* ‘spleen’, WT སྲས་མོ་ *sras-mo* > D སྲས་མ་ *sɛ:m* ‘daughter (hon.)’. Second, WT *-pa*, which is retained in Lhasa Tibetan, usually results in *-po* in Denjongke, e.g. WT དགོན་པ་ *dgon-pa* > D དགོན་པོ་ *gømpo* ‘monastery’. Third, in Denjongke /p/ in the nominalizer is elided when preceded by a velar stop, WT ལག་པ་ *lag-pa* > D ལག་གོ་ *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. *dʒɛ:* ‘meet (hon.)’ > *dʒɛ:kʰa* མཇེལ་ཁ་ ‘meeting’. However, *-kʰa* does not seem synchronically as productive a marker as *-po*, *-m(u)*, *-kʰɛ:*, *-sa* and *-tã:*.

3.2.4.3 Nominalizer *-kʰɛ:*

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

p'ja-kʰɛ: བྱས་མཁན་ ‘doer’
tøŋ-kʰɛ: ལྟོན་མཁན་ ‘the one who shows’
tã:-kʰɛ: བཏང་མཁན་ ‘sender’

The form *-kʰɛ:* 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 *-kʰɛ:* expresses the meaning ‘the one who does action x’, in clausal nominalization *-kʰɛ:* may express the meaning ‘the one which is x-ed’. The use of *-kʰɛ:* 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.

<i>zak-sa</i>	བཞག་ས་	‘place to put something, storage’
<i>dø-sa</i>	ཐོད་ས་	‘place to stay, dwelling’
<i>zu.-sa</i>	བཞག་ས་	‘place to stay, dwelling (hon.)’
<i>dzim-sa</i>	གཟིམ་ས་	‘place to sleep, bedroom (hon.)’
<i>ki-sa</i>	རྒྱུ་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:

tʰa:sa ཐང་ས་ ‘level place, plain’ (lit. plain-place) (Richhi 60)

3.2.4.5 Nominalizer *-tã:*

The nominalizer *-tã:*, deriving from WT ལྷངས་ *stang* ‘manner, mode’, turns verbs into nouns with the meaning ‘the manner of x-ing’.

<i>né:-tã:</i>	གནས་ལྷངས་	‘situation, condition (lit. dwell-manner)’
<i>kʰa-lap-tã:</i>	ཁ་ལའ་ལྷངས་	‘manner of speaking (lit. mouth-speak-manner)’
<i>pʼja-tã:</i>	བྱས་ལྷངས་	‘manner of doing (lit. do-manner)’
<i>tɛʰa:-tã:</i>	ཆགས་ལྷངས་	‘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-sø:* ལུགས་སྒོལ་ ‘tradition (lit. tradition-custom)’

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

(3.7) *p^ha-ma, p^ham* ཕ་མ་, མ་མ་ ‘parents (lit. father-mother)’

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

- (3.8) a) *mik-tɕ^hu* མིག་ཁྱ་ ‘tear (lit. eye-water)’
 b) *tɕ^hu-miʔ* ཁྱ་མིག་ ‘spring (lit. water-eye)’
 c) *bja-nɛʔ* འབྲ་ནད་ ‘illness of the rainy season (lit. summer-illness or rice-illness)’
 d) *ádzo-taʔ* ཇ་ཇོ་སྟག་ ‘tiger (lit. grandfather-tiger)’
 e) *álu-kiu* ཇ་ལུ་གེའུ་ ‘potato (lit. *alu*-root [*alu* is potato in Nepali])’

NOUN + VERB

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

- (3.9) *ám-teuŋ* ཇ་མ་རྩུང་ ‘mother’s younger sister, father’s younger brother’s wife (lit. mother-be.small)’
ám-bom ཇ་མ་རྩོམ་ ‘mother’s elder sister, father’s elder brother’s wife (lit. mother-be.big)’
k^him-p^hjaʔ 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) *t^huŋ-tɕ^hu* འཇུང་ཁྱ་ ‘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 *má*.” This criterion also works quite nicely in

Denjongke: it is almost exclusively verbs that can be preceded by the perfective negator *ma-* and imperfective negator *mi-*. The only problem with this definition is that there are a few adjectives derived from stative verbs that may also take the negating prefix, e.g. *ma-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 *ĩ:*), neutral negated equative *mẽmbe* (cf. positive *be?*), personal negated existential *mẽ?* (cf. positive *jẽ?*) and sensorial negated existential *mĩndu?* (cf. positive *du?*). All of these negated copulas can, however, be easily seen as derived from positive constructions supplemented by the negators *ma-* and *mi-*.

Verbs are typically monosyllabic, a fact that distinguishes verbs from adjectives (if the monosyllabic property concept words are considered stative verbs, see §3.4.1), which tend to have two or more syllables (although some exceptions exist), but not from nouns, many of which are monosyllabic. In their base forms, many verbs and monosyllabic nouns that have unrelated meanings are homonymous, e.g. *p’ja* ལྟམ་ ‘do (verb)’ and *p’ja* ལྟམ་ ‘bird (noun)’, *ta* ལྟམ་ ‘look (verb)’ and *ta* ལྟམ་ ‘horse (noun)’, *ga* ལྟམ་ ‘laugh; like’ (verb) and *ga* ལྟམ་ ‘saddle’/*ga* ལྟམ་ ‘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 te?* ལྟམ་ ལྟམ་ ‘trust’, consisting of *ló* ‘mind’ and *te?* ‘entrust’, see §4.2.2) or a serial verb construction (e.g. *bak ò:* ལྟམ་ ལྟམ་ ‘bring’ consisting of *bak* ‘carry’ and *ò:* ‘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-te?* ‘does not trust’, *bak mi-ò:* ‘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* ལྟམ་ ‘go, walk’ with the perfective (past and imperative) form *só:* ལྟམ་¹⁰⁶, and *ò:* ལྟམ་ ‘come’ with the imperative form *éó?* ལྟམ་. These two suppletive/irregular forms also occur in serialized constructions such as *bak gju* ‘take’ > *bak só:* ‘take!; took’ and *bak ò:* ‘bring’ > *bak éó?* ‘bring!’.

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

3.3.2 Stative and dynamic verbs

Denjongke verbs may be divided into stative and dynamic. Stative verbs express time-stable qualities (e.g. *ga* ལྟམ་ ‘love, like’), adjective-like property concepts (e.g. *riŋ* ལྟམ་ ‘be long’) and being (e.g. equative *ĩ:* ལྟམ་ and existential *jẽ?* ལྟམ་), whereas dynamic verbs describe events (*kjok* ‘strike [of a snake]’) and processes (*gju* ལྟམ་ ‘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

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. *só:-bo be?* [go.PFV-NMLZ EQU] > *sóm be?* ‘(someone) went’.

¹⁰⁶ In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the invariable verb *jà:* ‘go’ is often used instead of *gju* and *só:*.

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

- (3.11) ཏེ་ང་ཅག་བཀ་ཤིང་ལྷོང་ལོ་མིན།
te nàtɛa? ʈacidiŋ lò(k) òm-bo ɿ̌.
 so 1PL TPN return come-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘So we came back to Tashiding.’ (DB day trip)

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

- (3.13) འདི་ཐག་གོ་འདི་ཨ་ཙེ་རིང་བོ་སྤང།
di tʰako=di átʂi rim-bo bɛ?
 this rope=DEMPH a.bit be.long-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘This rope is a bit too long.’ (KN e)

- (3.14) བླེ་གེ་ལྷོ་མེ་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་དངུལ་གསལ་ཡོད་པ་སྤང།
bil geits=lo nyɿː kɛ:p jèbbɛ?
 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 *ɛɛː* ‘know’ refer to events.

- (3.15) a) ལུ་ང་ལོ་དགའ་ཚར།
mù ŋà=lo gaː-tʂaː.
 3SGF 1SG=DAT like-CMPL
 ‘She has liked me (=accepted my proposal).’ (KT e)
- b) ལྷོ་ཚན་འདི་ཤེས་ཚར།
lóptsʰɛː=di ɛɛː-tʂaː.
 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་ཚོ་ལོ་དགའ།
ŋà tɛʰøː=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. *teʰaʔ* ཅག་ ‘break [intr.]’) and the other verb describes an equivalent controllable (or volitional) action as caused by someone (*teaʔ* ཅཅག་ ‘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*: འཇུལ་ ‘enter (controllable)’ and *tsʰyʔ* ཅུད་ ‘enter, end up (non-controllable)’ are both intransitive¹⁰⁷, and *tsuk* ཅུག་ ‘insert (controllable)’ and *sùk* ཅུག་ ‘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་བ་ འཇོལ་ལྗོ་ ཅུག་གོ་ སྤང།
ŋà rã:=lo ma-tʰõ:-pa dzø:-diki sùk-o beʔ.
 1SG 2SG.M=DAT NEG-see-CIRC err-NF insert-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘I pricked you (with a needle) accidentally, not seeing.’ (KN e)

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

Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 352) comment that Classical Tibetan has more than 200 such verb pairs and add that in Central Tibetan the number has been reduced to “a few dozen.” Bartee (2007: 122-123) found thirteen such pairs in Dongwang Tibetan. Table 3.8 lists 45 such pairs in Denjongke. The disability to occur in the imperative may be used as a test for non-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		
<i>pʼap</i>	པཔ་	‘come down, descend’	<i>pʰap</i>	པཔ་	‘take down, cause to come down’
<i>pʼεʔ</i>	པས་	‘explode (intr.)’	<i>gεʔ</i>	གས་	‘cause to explode’
<i>pʼik</i>	པག་	‘come off’	<i>pik</i>	པག་	‘take off, remove’
<i>pʼok</i>	པག་	‘be dislocated, removed’	<i>pok</i>	པག་	‘dislocate, remove’
<i>pʼyʔ</i>	པད་	‘be detached’	<i>pʰyʔ</i>	པད་	‘detach’
<i>pʼjaŋ</i>	པར་	‘hang (intr.)’	<i>pjaŋ</i>	པར་	‘hang (tr.)’
<i>ba:</i>	འབར་	‘catch fire, burn’	<i>pa:</i>	པར་	‘set on fire, burn’

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

<i>bō:</i>	ཐོང་	‘get wet’	<i>bā:</i>	ཐང་	‘make wet’
<i>bja:</i>	འཐུས་	‘get stuck’	<i>pja:</i>	རཐུ	‘stick’
<i>tʰo:</i>	འཐོར་	‘be scattered’	<i>to:</i>	གཏོར་	‘scatter’
<i>tʰon</i>	ཐོན་	come out	<i>tøn</i>	ཐོན་	take out
<i>tʰø:</i>	རྫོང་	become a hole	<i>tø:</i>	བརྫོལ་	make a hole
<i>dy:</i>	འདུལ་	‘become soft, tame’	<i>ty:</i>	སྐྱུས་	‘tame, soften’
<i>dzak</i>	རླགས་	‘drip’	<i>tsak</i>	ཅན་	‘make drip’
<i>tsʰik</i>	ཚུགས་	‘burn (intr.)’	<i>sék</i>	སྤག་	‘burn (tr.)’
<i>tsʰo:</i>	ཚུས་	‘be cooked’	<i>tso:</i>	བཙུ་	‘cook’
<i>tsʰyʔ</i>	ཚུད་	‘enter (non-vol.), end up’	<i>dzy:</i>	འཛུལ་	‘enter’
<i>sùk</i>	བྲུག་	‘be inserted’	<i>tsuk</i>	བརྩྭག་	‘insert’
<i>só:</i>	སྐྱུས་	‘survive’	<i>só</i>	གསོ་	‘rescue’
<i>lùk</i>	ལུག་	‘slip out from inside’	<i>luk</i>	ལུག་	‘take out from inside’
<i>lō:</i>	ལོང་	‘stand’	<i>lō:</i>	ལོང་	‘raise up’
<i>ram</i>	རམས་	‘be destroyed’	<i>ram</i>	ཏམ་	‘destroy’
<i>re:</i>	རས་	‘be torn’	<i>re:</i>	ཏལ་	‘tear’
<i>lʰuk</i>	འལྷགས་	be mixed	<i>luk</i>	དལྷག་	mix
<i>lʰip</i>	ཁྲིབ་	‘become polluted’	<i>dip</i>	ཁྲིབ་	‘pollute’
<i>lʰō:</i>	ཁྲོངས་	‘die’	<i>lō:</i>	བཏོངས་	‘kill (hon.)’
<i>lʰup</i>	ཁྲུབ་	‘be fulfilled’	<i>dup</i>	འཁྲུབ་	‘achieve’
<i>dok</i>	འདྲོག་	‘become frightened’	<i>tok</i>	དཀྲོག་	‘frighten’
<i>ɛàk</i>	ཞགས་	‘lose taste (of beer)’	<i>ɛák</i>	ཞག་	‘put taste (to beer)’ thicken
<i>ɛik</i>	ཞིག་	‘be destroyed’	<i>ɛik</i>	བཞིག་	‘destroy’
<i>ɛù</i>	ཐུ་	‘melt (intr.)’	<i>zu</i>	བཞུ་	‘melt (tr.)’
<i>ɛy:</i>	ཐུས་	‘be moved’	<i>ɛy:</i>	ཐུས་	‘move’
<i>tɛʰak</i>	ཅན་	‘be(come) broken’	<i>teak</i>	བཅན་	‘break’
<i>tɛʰeʔ</i>	ཅད་	‘be cut off’	<i>teɛʔ</i>	བཅད་	‘cut off (e.g. rope, road)’
<i>tɛʰā:</i>	བྱང་	‘become trained’	<i>dzā:</i>	བྱང་	‘train’
<i>ne:</i>	ཉལ་	‘sleep’	<i>ne:</i>	ཉལ་	‘put to sleep’
<i>jěŋ</i>	ཡངས་	‘be pacified, entertained’	<i>jěŋ</i>	གཡལ་	‘pacify, entertain’
<i>kʰi:</i>	འཁྱུལ་	‘be encircled’	<i>ki</i>	དཀྱི་	‘encircle’
<i>kʰom</i>	ཁོན་	‘become dry’	<i>kam</i>	སྐམ་	‘dry’
<i>kʰuk</i>	ལུག་	‘be drawn, invite oneself’	<i>kuk</i>	ལུག་	‘call, invite’
<i>kʰā:</i>	གང་	‘be filled’	<i>kā:</i>	སྐངས་	‘fill’
<i>kʰō:</i>	གོང་	‘be bent’	<i>kō:</i>	གོང་	‘bend’
<i>kʰuk</i>	ལུག་	‘be bowed, be bent’	<i>kuk</i>	ལུག་	‘bend’
			<i>guk</i>	འལྷགས་	‘bow, bend oneself’ ¹⁰⁸
<i>kʰø:</i>	ཁོལ་	‘boil (intr.)’	<i>kø:</i>	སྐོལ་	‘boil (tr.)’
<i>gak</i>	འགག་	‘stop (intr.)’	<i>kak</i>	བགག་	‘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

¹⁰⁸ Here the reflexive form *guk* ‘bow, bend oneself’ forms a triplet of phonologically and semantically similar verbs along with *kʰuk* ‘be bowed, be bent’ and *kuk* ‘bend’

Denjongke the verbal morphology after the volitional verb *ta* ལྟ་ ‘look’ in *ta-u* ལྟ་ཁྱེད་ ‘I looked’ is identical with the non-volitional *tʰõ:* མཐོང་ ‘see’ in *tʰõ:-bo* མཐོང་བོ་ ‘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 *ɛ̀u* have a wide range of meanings corresponding to several more specific ordinary level verbs.

Table 3.9. Ordinary-honorific-humilific triads of verbs

Ordinary	Honorific	Humilific	Gloss
<i>sà</i> ཟ་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	<i>ɛ̀u</i> ལྱ་	‘eat’
<i>tʰuŋ</i> འཇུང་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	<i>ɛ̀u</i> ལྱ་	‘drink’
<i>lèn</i> ལེན་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	<i>ɛ̀u</i> ལྱ་	‘receive, accept’
<i>láp</i> ལཔ་	<i>súnŋ</i> གསུང་	<i>ɛ̀u</i> ལྱ་	‘say’
<i>p’in</i> ཕྱིན་	<i>ná:</i> གནང་	<i>pʰy:</i> ལུལ་	‘give’
<i>õ:</i> འོང་	<i>te’øn</i> ཕྱོན་	<i>tea:</i> བཅར་	‘come’

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

Table 3.10. Some ordinary-honorific pairs of verbs

Ordinary	Honorific	Gloss
<i>p’in</i> ཕྱིན་	<i>ná:</i> གནང་	‘give’
<i>p’ja</i> ཕྱས་	<i>ná:</i> གནང་	‘do’
<i>bak</i> འབག་	<i>nám</i> བསྐྱམས་	‘carry’
<i>ta</i> ལྟ་	<i>zi:</i> བཞིགས་	‘look’
<i>tʰuŋ</i> འཇུང་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	‘drink’
<i>sà</i> ཟ་	<i>ze:</i> བཞེས་	‘eat’
<i>nà</i> ན་	<i>júnŋ</i> རྩུང་	‘become ill’
<i>lõ:</i> ལོང་	<i>zã:</i> བཞུངས་	‘stand’
<i>ɛ́:</i> ཞེས་	<i>kʰen</i> མཐུན་	‘know’
<i>ɛ́</i> ཞི་	<i>tʰõ:</i> མྱོངས་	‘die’
<i>jè:</i> ཉལ་	<i>zim</i> གཞིམས་	‘sleep’
<i>jèn</i> ཉན་	<i>sén</i> གསན་	‘listen’

<i>ki</i>	ཕྱིས་	<i>(ku)t^huŋ</i>	འབྱུངས་	‘be born’
<i>k^hju:</i>	ཁྱུས་	<i>sí:</i>	བཤིལ་	‘wash’
<i>ga</i>	དགའ་	<i>ge:</i>	དབྱེས་	‘rejoice’
<i>gju</i>	འགྱུ་	<i>tɛ ‘θn</i>	ཕྱོན་	‘go’
<i>ŋù</i>	ཅི་	<i>ɛúm</i>	བུལ་	‘weep’

In addition to the forms given in Table 3.10, the verbs for eating and drinking also have the hyper-honorific form *tɛ^hθ?* ‘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 *pa?* བག་ and *ky?* ཀྱང་ (?), 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 *pa?*/*ky?* is limited to the imperative.

- (3.18) ཟ་ན་ཟ་ མན་ ཟ་ན་ བག་
sà-ne sà, man-za-ne pa?
 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 *ɛù* even four) ordinary level verb. For instance, the ordinary verb ཟ་ *sà* has the meaning ‘eat’, whereas the honorific form *ze:* བཞེས་ has the meaning range ‘eat, drink, receive, acquire’¹⁰⁹. In the same vein, the honorific verb *tɛ ‘θn* ཕྱོན་ means both ‘come’ and ‘go’, whereas the ordinary register has separate words འོ་ རོང་ ‘come’ and *gju* འགྱུ་ ‘go’. Similarly, the honorific *zi:* གཟིགས་ means both ‘look’ and ‘see’, when the ordinary register has two separate verbs *ta* ལྟ་ ‘look’ and *t^hõ:* 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* ལཔ་ (3.19), humilific *ɛù* ལྟ་ (3.20) and honorific *súnŋ* 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).

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་ཕྱེས་གེ་ལབ་པོ་མིན།
t'ɛp=di k'õ:te'hẽ: ma-jà-gɛ làp-o ǎ:.
 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) ཆོག་གཅིག་གཉིས་ཅིག་གཙུག་པོ་ལྷོ་མ་དུ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ལོ་མིན།
ts'ik tei-ní:=tei? tsotei lémpø: kumdyŋk'a t'a ɲàtea?
 word one-two=INDF chief minister.GEN in.the.presence now 1PL
tea:-diki ɛù: ǎ:.
 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་ཨ་འདི་ཡང་གསུང་ནི་ཡོད།
k'õ: ódi=jǎ: 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་ཐོག་ཐོག་ཐོག་ཐོག་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ།
di dɔm=na t'i-ti-u jèbbe?
 this box=LOC write-RDP-2INF EX.NE
 'There is (something) written in this box.' (TB e)
- (3.23) སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཐོག་ཐོག་ཐོག་མཐོང་པོ་སྟེ།
bja:m ɲompu diŋ-diŋ-po t'õ:-po bɛ?
 fly green hover-RDP-2INF see-2INF EQU.NE
 '(He) saw green flies hovering (and hovering over the corpse). (KT animal story)

Reduplication by itself may function as a nominalized construction, as shown by (3.24), where a postposition is postposed to a reduplicated verb stem, and by (3.25), where the reduplicated verb marks a complement clause functioning as an argument of the verb *ɲɛn* 'listen'.¹¹⁰

- (3.24) འགོ་ལས་ སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་ ཟང་ཞེ་
go=lɛ mjõ:-mjõ: sǎ:te
 beginning=ABL finish-RDP until
 'from the beginning until the end' (TB e)

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

- (3.25) ལྷ་གིས་ ལུ་ནི་ (Nep.) རྩོགས་ འདི་ ལ་བ་ལ་བ་ ཉན་ཟླ་གི་
kʰu=gi puni ro:=di lāp-lap nén-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-εε be?* [do-INF EQU.NE] ‘does, will do’. Some suffixes, such as *-εε?* and *-teẽ:/zẽ:* respectively, form finite constructions only in conjunction with an equative (EQU) or an existential auxiliary (EX). Others, such as *tsʰa:*, can finish a finite sentence with or without an equative auxiliary, while still others, such as *-teε*, 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 verbs¹¹³, 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.

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 *be?* and *du?* only occur with the polar question suffix.

¹¹² However, emphatic clitics such as *=rã:*, *=di* and *=jã:* (see §16.1) may follow at least some of these forms. Moreover, the dative-locative *=lo* and ablative *=le* may follow the circumstantial-purposive converb *-pa/ba* and progressive *-teẽ:/zẽ:* 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 constructions¹¹⁴			
V- EQU.	- <i>ce(?)</i>	infinitive I	§8.2.5, §8.4, §13.4.2, §13.5.2, §14.1.2
	- <i>po</i>	infinitive II	§8.1.1, §8.1.4, §8.1.8, §13.2.2
	- <i>ni</i>	infinitive III	§8.2.8
	- <i>k^hẽ:</i>	nominalizer	§8.2.3
V- (EQU).	- <i>ts^ha:</i>	completive	§8.1.2, §9.1.3
	- <i>to/do</i>	imperfective	§8.3.1
V- EX.	- <i>teẽ:/zẽ:/zin¹¹⁵</i>	progressive	§8.3.3
V- EX/EQU.	- <i>rap</i>	imminent future	§8.2.7
V- .	- <i>teẽ/zẽ</i>	past	§8.1.1
	- <i>ʈo</i>	probabilitative	§8.5.1
	- <i>te^hi</i>	friendly imperative	§11.3.2
	- <i>da</i>	friendly imperative	§11.3.2
	- <i>na</i>	suggestive	§11.3.2
	- <i>ke/qẽ</i>	hortative	§11.4
	- <i>ka/ga</i>	polar interrogative	§11.1.1.2
	- <i>kam/gam</i>	attenuated interrogative	§11.1.1.3
	- <i>løʔ</i>	exclamative	§11.1.3.4, §11.2.1
Exclusively nonfinal suffixes			
V- _...	- <i>ti/di</i>	nonfinal converb	§15.2
	- <i>pa/ba¹¹⁶</i>	circumstantial/purposive converb	§15.5.1, §15.8.1
	- <i>(patẽ)ne</i>	conditional converb	§15.6
	- <i>ruŋ</i>	concessive converb	§15.7
	- <i>sã:, -sonzã:</i>	terminative converb	§15.12
	- <i>sondã:/sumdã:</i>	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.2
	- <i>kap</i>	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.4
	- <i>dỹ:</i>	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.5
	- <i>reŋk^ha</i>	simultaneous converb	§15.3.3.6

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

3.3.6.1 Infinitives -*ce?*, -*po/bo* and -*ni*

The present analysis posits three infinitive forms in Denjongke. As was already pointed out in §3.2.3, the term “infinitive” is applied to nominalizing suffixes which refer to the verbal action

¹¹⁴ Some of these forms also participate in non-finite constructions, e.g. the infinitive -*ce?* may form complement clauses, see §14.1.2, and the progressive -*teẽ:/zẽ:* adverbial clauses of manner, see §15.8.3.

¹¹⁵ The form *zin* is the reading-style pronunciation used by literate speakers, *teẽ:* and *zẽ:* are spoken variants. In Martam (East Sikkim) *teou* is used instead of *teẽ:/zẽ:*.

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

itself. The nominalizing suffixes marking more noun-like concepts, i.e. person (*-k^hḡ:*), place (*-sa*) or manner of doing (*-tā:*), are called by the general term nominalizer. Of the infinitive markers, *-ḡḡ?* and *-po* are more central and productive, whereas *-ni* is more marginal and semantically close to *-ḡḡ?*.¹¹⁷

The difference between the two main infinitive markers *-ḡḡ?* and *-po/bo* may be described in terms of spatiotemporal boundedness. Whereas verbal action marked by *-po/bo* can be characterized as spatiotemporally bounded, *-ḡḡ?* marks unbounded action. Because the infinitive marked by *-ḡḡ?* is unbounded, it is used as a copula subject which refers to action in general. Unboundedness or open-endedness of the infinitive marked by *-ḡḡ?* is reflected in the fact that when followed by an auxiliary copula the construction with *-ḡḡ?* results in a future meaning (e.g. *ḡ-ḡḡ ḡ:* [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 (*ḡm-bo ḡ:* [come-2INF EQU.PER] ‘came’). The form *V-ḡḡ?* 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 *-ḡḡ?*, 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 *-ḡḡ?* (WD *ཤད* *shad*) is unknown. The infinitive marker *-ḡḡ?* 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 *-ḡḡ?* also occurs in short questions such as *k’an p’ja-ḡḡ??* [what do-INF] ‘what to do?’, *k’ana gju-ḡḡ??* [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 *-ḡḡ?* and *-po/bo* are illustrated in (3.26), which exemplify the present habitual and periphrastic past constructions respectively. The first infinitive *-ḡḡ?* is glossed as simply INF, the second infinitive *-po/bo* as 2INF and the third infinitive *-ni* as 3INF.

- (3.26) a) མོ་དེ་ལོ་ འབི་གོ་ ལའ་ཤད་ བླ་
ódi=lo biko làp-ḡḡ be?
 that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE
 ‘It’s called “biko” (stick).’ (PL interview)

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*, *བྱི་* *gyi*, *རྒྱ་* *rgyu*, *རྩིས་* *rtsis* and *འདོད་* *dod* in Lhasa Tibetan.

- b) མི་འདྲེན་འདི་ངས་ ཐོས་པོ་ མིན།
ódem=di ŋá: tʰo:-po ǎ̃:
 like.that=DEMPH I hear-2INF EQU.PER.
 ‘I heard (a thing) like that.’ (KN e)

The uses of infinitive III (marked with *-ni*, written ཉེ *nye*) somewhat overlap with those of infinitive I (marked with *-ce[ʔ]*). Sandberg (1895: 40) reports two infinitive forms *-she* (*-ceʔ*) and *-nyi* (*-ni*) for Denjongke and comments that the former is used in Denjongke spoken in Sikkim and the Tibetan variety spoken in the Tsang region of Tibet¹¹⁸, whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. Sandberg (1895: 40) gives *tʰuŋ-ni ǎ̃:* as an alternative for *tʰuŋ-ce ǎ̃:* ‘(I) shall drink’. In my data, which is from Sikkim, *-ni* does not occur as a regular alternative to *-ceʔ* but it does occur in quite a few fixed expressions, sometimes overlapping with *-ceʔ*. For an example of a specific construction where *-ni* is used, consider (3.27).

- (3.27) ཇ་འབྲུང་ཉེ་ ཐུས་པོ་ མིན།
te'a tʰuŋ-ni p'ja-u ǎ̃:
 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 *-ni*, refer to §8.2.8.

3.3.6.2 Nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃:*

The nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃:* is related to Classical Tibetan མཁན་ *mkan*, 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 *-kʰɛ̃:* are found in both Tibetic (e.g. Lhomi, see Vesalainen 2016: 224; Dege Tibetan, see Häslér 1999: 240) and non-Tibetic Himalayan languages (e.g. Tshangla, see Andvik 2010: 238). In Denjongke, the basic function of the nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃:* 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, *-kʰɛ̃:* also occurs as part of the present habitual auxiliary construction:

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

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

3.3.6.3 Completive *-tsʰa(:)*

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

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་བྱས་ཚད།
 ḡà jóʔ p'ja-**tsʰa:**
 1SG work do-CMPL
 'I finished the work (or 'working').' (KN e)

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

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* *í:/beʔ*). The range of uses of the imperfective covers past habitual and progressive, present habitual and progressive, and immediate future. For a present habitual example, see (3.30).

- (3.30) བུ་མ་ཆུང་ལོ་ཆུང་གི་ལའ་ཏོ་ཟད།
 p'um teʰumbo teʰøkiʔ ləp-**to** beʔ.
 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 *-teṣ:/zṣ:/zin* (also *-teou/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 *-teṣ:/zṣ:* are allomorphs, whereas *-teou* 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་ལྟ་ནི་དེ་མཱ་བཞིན་འདུག།
 kʰø: t'ato t'ep dok-**zin** duʔ.
 3SG.HON now book read-PROG EX.SEN
 'She/he is reading a book now (I see).' (KN e)

Phonetically, *-teṣ:/zṣ:* is realised as *-teṣen/zṣen* when followed by a dental (i.e. *kjap-teṣen 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 གཤམ་ *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) ཁྱེ་འགྱུ་རབ་ བློ།
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 *-tɛɛ/zɛ*

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.6.8 Probabilitative *-to*

The probabilitative *-to* derives from Classical Tibetan 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*, རྒོ་ *pro* (Richhi) and རྫོ་ *kro*, the last of which is used in the present work to represent

spoken examples.¹¹⁹ The probabilitive 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) མཚན་དཔེ་མཚོ་འདི་ཀླུ་མེ་ཚུགས་སྒྲོ།
teʰø? *t'a* *tsʰo=di* *ge:* *mi-tsʰu:-to.*
 2SG.L now lake=DEMPH cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB
 ‘Now you probably won’t be able to cross the lake.’ (KT animal story)

For more examples, refer to §8.5.1.

3.3.6.9 Imperative suffixes *-teʰi*, *-da* and *-na*

The friendly imperative forms *-teʰi* (WD ཅེ *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. *-ei*) 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) ལྷུབ་ (soup) བཞེས་པོ་ གནང་ཅི།
su:p *ze:-po* *ná:-teʰi.*
 soup(Eng.) have-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN
 ‘Please, have (some) soup.’ (KT discussion with TB)
- b) ང་ལོ་ ལྷུ་ བྱས་ཅིག་ གནང་ད།
ŋà=lo *teʰu* *ɛý:tey?* *ná:-da.*
 1SG=DAT water a.bit give.HON-IMP.FRN
 ‘Please give me a bit water.’ (rnam-rtog 26)

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

Figure 3.1. Wave forms from nonsensical *p'ja-tei* and imperative *p'ja-teʰi* ‘do!’ (KUN)



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

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

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) མ་ལག་ ལོག་གི་ འགྱུ་ན་
màla? 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་ཅག་གི་ རྒྱུགས་ རང་གི་ རྒྱ་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་གི་མོ།
ɲàtɛa? k'a: ts^hu? raŋ=gi kɛ:=lo jàrgɛ?
 1PL what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development
taŋ-gɛ=s.
 send-HORT=QUO
 ‘Let’s do what we can to develop our own language, I tell.’ (KT life story)

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

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

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

- (3.39) a) འདི་ལམ་ འདི་ སེ་ལི་གུ་རི་ སློབས་ཀ་?
di lām=di siliguri lɛp-ka?
 this road=DEMPH TPN arrive-PQ
 ‘Does this road arrive in Siliguri?’ (KN e)
- b) འདི་ལམ་ འདི་ སེ་ལི་གུ་རི་ སློབས་ཀ་མ?
di lām=di siliguri lɛp-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?*

The marker *-lø?* 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 *-lø?* (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) ཀ་ལྷེམ་ ཀཱ་དར་ ལེགས་ལོས།
k’atɛm k’ɛ:da.¹²⁰ lɛ:-lø?
 how cleaning be.good-EXCLAM
 ‘How well tidied up!’ (Richhi 45)

For more information on *-lø?*, 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་/སྟེ་ *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 *-nu* (ནས་ *nas*) (Denwood 1999: 221). In the most basic sense, the nonfinal converb shows that the sentence is not finished (hence the term “nonfinal”). It typically implies anteriority but the temporal relationship of the actions denoted by the nonfinal and final verbs is determined by the verb and other contextual factors. For an example, refer to (3.41).

- (3.41) ཏེ་ འདི་འི་ སྟོན་ལས་ རྩོ་བ་ ལོང་སྟེ་ ཁ་ལག་ འབྲུ།
te di: nɛnle t’o:pa lɔ̃:-ti¹²¹ kʰa-la? 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.

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 *tʰuy-di* ‘drinking’, *sɔ̃:-di* ‘going’, *ɔ̃n-di* ‘coming’, *rin̥di* ‘becoming long’, but *mjoŋ-ti/mjɔ̃:-ti* ‘finishing’, *tɛʰɔ̃:-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 ར(ར་)/བ(ར་) *pa(r)/ba(r)*, which is a reflex of the Classical/Written Tibetan nominalizer *-pa* followed by the (optional) locative case marker *-r*.

- (3.42) མོས་ ཀམ་ལོ་ ཡི་གེ་ མན་བློ་བར་ ད་རིང་ ཟླ་ལོ་ བཞི་ ཟླ་གྲོ།
mú: karma=lo jigi man-di-wa dou zi lak-to.
 3SGF.AGT PN=DAT letter NEG-write-CIRC month four exceed-IPFV
 ‘It’s now (being) more than four months since she wrote a letter to Karma.’ (lit. ‘Her not writing a letter to Karma is now exceeding four months.’) (Richhi 161)

- (3.43) ད་ཅག་གཉིས་ལོ་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ ལྷ་བར་ བཅར་ལོ་ མིན།
ηàtea? ní:-po bhaila ta-wa tea:-bo í:.
 1PL two-COL PN watch-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘The two of us came to see Bhaila.’ (Richhi 11)

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

The conditional converb in Denjongke is formed by adding *-(patεε)nε* or the allophone *-(batεε)nε* (written བར་ཅེ་ནེ་/བར་ཅེ་ནེ་ *par-ce-ne/bar-ce-ne*) to the verb root or the completive marker *-tsʰa(:)*. The optional part *-patεε* probably derives historically from a combination of *-pa/ba* and WT བྱེད་ *byed* ‘do’. Both the shorter form *-nε* and the longer form *-(patεε)nε* occur both in the written and spoken language. The forms *-nε* 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-øtεεnε* ‘do-COND’), which looks like a genitivized form of *-pa* or *-po*. The conditional converb *-*

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 ར་ *na*. Sandberg (1895: 56) reports the spoken *-nε* 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).

(*pateɛ*)*nɛ*/(*bateɛ*)*nɛ* may be accompanied by the non-mandatory clause-initial *k'ɛ:si?* ‘if’. For an example of the conditional, consider (3.44).

- (3.44) ང་ཅག་ན་མི་ཀམ་པོ་འཛོམས་བཅེ་ནེ་
ɲàtɛa? nà: mí kɛ:po dzom-bateɛnɛ
 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 *-run*

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

- (3.45) ལུ་ཚེ་དྲུག་ཅིག་ བརྒྱུད་ཅིང་
tɛʰutsʰø? tɛuktei? duŋ-run
 clock.time eleven strike-CONC
 ‘Although it’s (past) eleven o’clock...’ (Richhi 43)

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

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

The terminative converbs *-sã:* and *-sonzã:* both probably derive from the terminative postposition =*sã:* (WD ཟང་ *zang*).¹²⁴ The first part of *-sonzã:* is probably historically the secondary verb WT *song* མོང་ ‘go’ (the sibilant in =*sã:* becomes voiced after *sõ:*). 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) མི་འདེམ་ ལུགས་སྒྲིལ་ ཡོད་སྐོང་ཟང་
ódem lùksø: jò:-sonzã:
 like.that custom EX-TERM
 ‘Since there is such a custom...’ (SGD wedding customs)

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

3.3.6.18 Simultaneous converb *-sondã:/sompã:/sumdã:/tsubda:*

The simultaneous converbal endings *-sondã:/sompã:/sumdã:/tsubda:* do not occur in written language. My current hypothesis is that the forms derive from the nominalized/infinativized form of the secondary verb *sõ:* ‘go (past)’ followed by the conjunct *t'ã:* ‘and’, *sõ:-bo t'ã:* [go.PFV-2INF and], a type of simultaneous construction that occurs in both written and spoken Denjongke, see §15.3.3.1. The two forms *-sompã:~sumdã:* arise from the reduction of the nominalizer *-po/bo* to *-m*,

¹²⁴ An alternative origin is WT མཚང་ *tsang* ‘because’, which may be reflected in the causal uses of the terminative construction.

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

The forms *-sondã:/sompdã:/sumdã:* are to be contrasted with the form *-tsubda:*, which only occurred in the speech of one elderly speaker from Pemayangtse (West Sikkim). This form derives less likely from the secondary verb *só:*. A possible origin of the form is the nominalized completive marker **-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 *སང་དང་ song-dang* for *-sondã:*, *སངམ་དང་ songm-dang* for both *-sompdã:* 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་གསལ་སང་དང་ མོ་འདྲེ་གི་མཁན་ སྤང།
nìim ɛ́a:-sumdã: óde: ɛ́i-kʰen 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 *-reŋkʰa*

The simultaneity markers *-kap* (written *སྐབས་ skabs*), *-dỹ:* (written *དུས་ dus*) and *-reŋkʰa*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) རྒྱུ་མཁོ་ན་ནང་ལོ་ འཐུས་མི་ འདེགས་སྐབས་
lánykʰor=na nè:po tʰu-ti dek-kap
 car=LOC patient pick-NF set.inside=SIM
 ‘When the patient is being picked up and placed inside the car...’ (Richhi 172)
- (3.49) འགོ་དང་པོ་ན་ འོང་དུས་
go tʰaŋpo nə: òn-dỹ:
 start first here some-SIM
 ‘When (I) at first came here...’ (KT life story)
- (3.50) ང་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ནང་ག་ ཆོས་ བྱས་རན་ཁར་
ŋà lóbq̄a nàŋɛa tɛʰoʔ pʰja-reŋkʰa
 1SG school inside stydying do-SIM
 ‘When I studied at school...’ (KT life story)

¹²⁵ Some speakers pronounce the final vowel long, *-reŋkʰa:*.

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 a 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).

Morphologically copulas differ from other verbs in that through frequent use interrogative and negating elements have merged into separate forms which do not occur with other verbs, e.g. *mě:* (< **ma-ĩ:*), *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 *jòʔ/mèʔ* and *duʔ/minduʔ* which are formed regularly by the polar quation suffix *-ka/ga*.

Table 3.12. Simple copulas

		Personal		Sensorial	Neutral		
		decl. interr.			Ordinary		Apparentive
					decl.	interr.	
EQ	PRS	<i>ĩ:/mẽ:</i> ཨིན་/མན་	<i>ná/mèna</i> ན་/མན་ན		<i>bɛʔ/mèmbɛʔ</i> ཐང་/མན་ཐང་	<i>bo/mèmbo</i> ¹²⁷ བོ་/མན་བོ་	<i>dɛ:/rɛ:</i> རེད་ ¹²⁸
	PST				(also = <i>pɛʔ</i> ཐང་)		
EX (pos./neg.)		<i>jòʔ/mèʔ</i> ཡོད་/མེད་		<i>duʔ/mìnduʔ</i> འདུག་/མིན་འདུག་	<i>(jèbbɛʔ/mèbbɛʔ)</i> (ཡོད་ཐང་/མེད་ཐང་)		

The use of the copulas is described in §7. Comments in this section are limited to phonology, morphology and etymology. While the personal equative *ĩ:* and the existentials *duʔ* and *jòʔ* have clear Classical Tibetan etymons ཡིན་ *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 *piɛ* (Haller 2000: 186), the Lhomi copula *bet*¹³⁰ (neg. *mem-pet*, Vesalainen 2016) and the last syllable of the Kyirong Tibetan

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 མཐད་ *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 *jimbe*ː, which codes recently acquired generally valid facts (Huber 2000: 157). Moreover, *[be(?)]* is found instead of *[re?]* /red/ in some Tsang Tibetan varieties (Tournadre & Jiatso 2001: 82). According to Bielmeier (2000: 121), the Shigatse *pi* and Lhomi *bet* derive from Written Tibetan བྱེད *byed* ‘make’. The same may be true of Denjongke *be?*. The neutral existential forms *jøbbe?* and *mèbbe?* are phonological reductions of the fuller nominalized forms *jø:-po be?* and *me:-po be?* (see also §7.3.2).

The interrogative copula *ná* 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 *jǐ-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 *ná*, while its negative, still productive counterpart *mèn-(n)a* leaves the copular origin more transparent (*mèn* is the negation of personal equative *í*). It is not at all clear whether *ná* retains high pitch/register which would be expected on the basis of the source form *ín-na* ཞིན་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 *qe:/re*ː, which I have not seen used in Denjongke writing, is a reduction of the fuller form *qa be?* ‘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.	<i>ná, íŋ-ga</i>	ན་/ཞིན་, ཞིན་ག་	<i>nám íŋ-gam</i>	ཞུམ་/ཞིན་མ་/ཞིན་ན་མ་ ཞིན་གམ་
	Neg.	<i>mèn-a, mènŋ-ga</i>	མན་ན་, མན་ག་	<i>mèn-am, mènŋ-gam</i>	མན་ན་མ་, མན་གམ་
Neutral equative	Affirm.	<i>bo, be-ka</i>	བོ་, བླད་ཀ་	<i>be-kam</i>	བླད་ཀམ་
	Neg.	<i>mèmbo, mèmbe-ka</i>	མན་བོ་, མན་བླད་ཀ་	<i>mèmbe-kam (?)</i> ¹³¹	མན་བླད་ཀམ་

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

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

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

¹³² This form may be influenced by the frequent Hindi expression *’hik he*: ‘it’s alright’.

construction *-ts^ha-ke* (see §9.1.3), in both of which the last element may be *-ke* retained from reduced *-du-ke*. The intensifier *-ke*, which occurs with *du?* should not be confused with the homophonous hortative marker *-ke/ge*, 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*, *sá:p(u)* ‘new’ < WT *gsar.po*.

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

(3.51)	<i>teã:-ta?</i>	ཅང་དྲགས་	‘beautiful’	(from <i>teã:</i> ཅང་ ‘be beautiful’)
	<i>teã:-te^{hi}te^{hi}</i>	ཅང་ཆེ་ཆེ་	‘beautiful’	(from <i>teã:</i> ཅང་ ‘be beautiful’)
	<i>dzam-tom</i>	འཇམ་རྟོམ་	‘easy’	(from <i>dzam</i> འཇམ་ ‘be easy’)
	<i>k^hõ:to-te^{hi}ta?</i>	ཁོང་ཁྱོད་ཆེ་དྲགས་	‘quick to anger’	(from <i>k^hõ:to</i> ཁོང་ཁྱོད་ ‘anger’)
	<i>gja-te^{hi}ta?</i>	རྒྱ་ཆེ་དྲགས་	‘vast’	(from <i>gja</i> 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’, *te^hun^hte^hun^h* ‘small’). Furthermore, gradient adjectives may be distinguished from nouns (and verbs) by the ability to take the superlative suffix *-eo?*, e.g. *zanpo* ‘good’ > *zã:-eo?* ‘best’, *k’ε:te^{hi}ta?* ‘important’ > *k’ε:te^{hi}-eo?* ‘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. *lè:* ‘be good’ > *lèm* ‘good’, *dzam* ‘be easy’ > *dzampu*, *dzamtom*, *dzamta?* ‘easy’, *rî:* ‘be long(er)’ > *ri^hku*, *ri^hta?* ‘long’. Some of the adjectives derived from verbs also take the verbal negator prefix in adjectival negation, e.g. *teã:* ‘be beautiful’ > *teã:-ta?* ‘beautiful’ > *ma-teã:m* ‘ugly, not beautiful’.

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

- (3.52) a) ག་འདི་ འཇམ་ཕུ་ ཟད་?
k'adi dzampu bε??
 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) ཏྲ་ ལེབ་ མན་ནེ་ འདི་ བདེན་དྲགས་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།
tε lɛp nɔː-ne=di denʈa? dem=tɛi? 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་ མེན་བདེན་གམ་?
di t'a deŋ-gam min-deŋ-gam?
 this now be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ
 ‘Now is that true or not true?’ (DR discussion with KL)
- (3.54) a) འདི་ ཟུ་གུ་ འདི་ འདི་ལས་ རིང་གུ་ ཟད།
di juːku=di di=lɛ riŋku bε?
 this pen=DEMPH this=ABL long EQU.NE
 ‘This pen is longer than this.’ (TB e)
- b) ི་བཏུང་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙི་ རིང་པོ་ ཟད།
tɛ'aduŋ=di átsi rim-bo bε?
 tea-churn=DEMPH a.bit be(.too).long EQU.NE
 The tea churn is a bit (too) long. (PT e)
- (3.55) a) ཁྱོད་ རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་ གཅིག་ རྩང་ག་ལོ་ ང་ རྩེ་ སྤྱོད།
k'jɔː tɛ'uytɛ'uy=tɛi? nəŋɛa=lo ŋà kiː 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་ རྒྱུད་ཤད་ འདི་ རྩེ་བས་སྤྱི་
ŋà zuː tɛ'uy-ɛɛ=di kjap-ti
 1SG body be.small-INF=DEMPH do-NF
 ‘because my body was small...’ (CY interview)

Adjectival uses of the monosyllabic, verb-like property concept words are rare but do exist, especially in idioms such as (3.56), where the interpretation of each monosyllabic adjective is aided by the presence of the other (*màŋpu* > *màŋ/mǎ*: ‘(be) many’, *riŋku* > *riŋ* ‘(be) long’).

- (3.56) ལོ་མང་ཡུད་ཟེང་འདི་ནང་ག་ལོ་
lò màŋ yʔ 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 *ɕəm* ‘stupid’, although the longer form *ɕèmpo* is used elsewhere in the same story in identical position.

- (3.57) ཇོ་མ་ཞེན་འདི་
tʰom ɕəm=di
 bear stupid=DEMPH
 ‘the stupid bear’ (KT animal story)

In some uses, it is not clear, whether the monosyllabic form is a verb or an adjective, see (3.58) where the form has an unmistakably verbal ending and (3.59), which occurs in a syntactic position where both verbs and adjectives may occur.

- (3.58) ཆར་བ་ གླེང་ཚར།
tɕʰa:p bom-tsʰa:
 rain grow-CMPL
 ‘Rain has increased.’ (oh, Tashiding)

- (3.59) ཆར་བ་ གླེང་འདྲེག་གོ།
tɕʰa: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 *-ta2*, 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. *ŋɛŋta2* ‘pleasant to hear’ from ལྷན་ ‘ear [hon.]’). For examples, consider (3.60):

(3.60)

<i>ma-ta?</i>	དམའ་གཤམ་, དམའ་དགས་	‘low’	(from <i>ma</i> དམའ་ ‘be low’)
<i>tuk-ta?</i>	ལྷག་དགས་	‘thick’	(from <i>tuk</i> ལྷག་ ‘be thick’)
<i>tʰo-ta?</i>	ཐོ་དགས་	‘high’	(from <i>tʰo</i> ཐོ་ ‘be high’)
<i>tʰok-ta?</i>	དོག་སྒྲགས་, དོག་དགས་	‘narrow’	(from <i>tʰok</i> དོག་ ‘be narrow’)
<i>den-ta?</i>	བདེན་དགས་	‘true’	(from <i>den</i> བདེན་ ‘be true’)
<i>tsʰa-ta?</i>	ཚ་སྒྲགས་, ཚ་དགས་	‘hot’	(from <i>tsʰa</i> ཚ་ ‘be hot’)
<i>tsʰik-ta?</i>	འཚོག་སྒྲགས་, འཚོག་དགས་	‘hot (of weather)’	(from <i>tsʰik</i> འཚོག་ ‘burn’)
<i>sá:-ta?</i>	གསང་སྒྲགས་, གསང་དགས་	‘secret’	(from <i>sá:</i> གསང་ ‘keep secret’)
<i>sé:-ta?</i>	གསལ་སྒྲགས་, གསལ་དགས་	‘clear’	(from <i>sé:</i> གསལ་ ‘be clear’)
<i>zã:-ta?</i>	བཟང་དགས་	‘good (of health)’	(from <i>zã:</i> བཟང་ ‘be good/healthy’)
<i>lè:-ta?</i>	ལེགས་དགས་	‘good’	(from <i>lè:</i> ལེགས་ ‘be good’)
<i>riŋ-ta?</i>	རིང་དགས་	‘long’	(from <i>riŋ</i> རིང་ ‘be long’)
<i>ɛim-ta?</i>	ཞིས་དགས་	‘delicious’	(from <i>ɛim</i> ཞིས་ ‘be delicious’)
<i>teã:-ta?</i>	ཅང་སྒྲགས་, ཅང་དགས་ ¹³³	‘beautiful’	(from <i>teã:</i> ཅང་ ‘be beautiful’)
<i>naŋm-ta?</i>	མཉམ་དགས་	‘equal’	(from <i>naŋm</i> མཉམ་ ‘be equal’)
<i>nen-ta?</i>	སྟན་དགས་	‘pleasant to hear’	(from <i>nen</i> སྟན་ ‘ear (hon.)’)
<i>jã:-ta?</i>	ཡངས་སྒྲགས་, ཡངས་དགས་	‘wide’	(from <i>jã:</i> ཡངས་ ‘be wide’)
<i>jàmtsʰen-ta?</i>	ཡ་མཚན་དགས་	‘amazing’	(from <i>jàmtsʰen</i> ཡ་མཚན་ ‘be amazed’)
<i>kjo-ta?</i>	སྟོ་དགས་	‘crooked’	(from <i>kjo</i> སྟོ་ ‘be sad’)
<i>kʼjã:-ta?</i>	གྲང་དགས་	‘cold (of weather)’	(from <i>kʼjã:</i> གྲང་ ‘be cold’)
<i>kʼjuŋ-ta?</i>	གྲུང་དགས་	‘clever’	(from <i>kʼjuŋ</i> གྲུང་ ‘be clever’)
<i>ga-ta?</i>	དགའ་དགས་	‘glad’	(from <i>ga</i> དགའ་ ‘rejoice, like’)
<i>gja:-ta?</i>	རྒྱགས་དགས་	‘fat’	(from <i>gja:</i> 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* རྩམ་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 *tʰo:-na?* དོས་ནག་ ‘load-black’ (time of economic oppression of peasants in Sikkimese history).

(3.61)

<i>bom-pu</i> ¹³⁴	རྩམ་པུ་	‘big’	(from <i>bom</i> རྩམ་ ‘be big’)
<i>riŋ-ku</i>	རིང་ཀུ་	‘long’	(from <i>riŋ</i> རིང་ ‘be long’)
<i>ɛim-pu</i>	ཞིས་པུ་	‘delicious’	(from <i>ɛim</i> ཞིས་ ‘be delicious’)
<i>kʰak-u</i>	ཁག་ཀུ་	‘bitter’	(from <i>kʰak</i> ཁག་ ‘be bitter’)
<i>má:p(u)</i>	དམར་བ་/ དམར་པོ་	‘red’	
<i>sé:p(u)</i>	སེར་བ་/ སེར་པོ་	‘yellow’	

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 **-ta?**.

¹³⁴ Sandberg (1895: 32-33) lists *teʰempo* and *teʰe* as ‘great’ and *bompo* as ‘thick (also ‘loud’)’. Walsh (1905: 4) glosses *bompu* as ‘big’.

<i>nàku</i>	ནག་ཀྱ་	‘black’
<i>nompū/ŋompū</i>	ཕྱོག་པོ་	‘blue/green’
<i>ka:p(u)</i>	དཀར་པོ་/དཀར་པོ་	‘white’

All the words in (3.61) deriving from verbs, can also be adjectivized by *-taʔ*. A difference between the present description of Denjongke and that of Sandberg (1895) is that the adjectives in Sandberg’s description systematically take the ending *-po* (and *-mo* in some cases), whereas *-taʔ* is not mentioned at all as an adjective suffix, e.g. Sandberg’s (1895: 71) *tsʰapo* ‘hot’ (here *tsʰataʔ*) and Sandberg’s (1895: 69) *kʰakpo* ‘difficult’ (here *kʰaktaʔ*).

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

(3.62)			
<i>tʰø:-m</i>	བློ་མ་	‘warm’	(from <i>tʰøʔ</i> རློ་ ‘heat’)
<i>kʰø:-m</i>	ཁྱོད་མ་	‘cold (of liquid)’	(from <i>kʰøʔ</i> ཁྱོད་ ‘to be cold’)
<i>ky:-mo</i>	སྤྲུལ་མ་	‘common, ordinary’	(from WT སྤྲུལ་ <i>skyus</i> ‘altogether’)
<i>lè-m</i>	ལེ་མ་/ལེགས་མ་	‘good’	(from <i>lèʔ</i> ལེགས་ ‘be good’)
<i>mà-le-m/mà-le-p</i>	མ་ལེ་མ་/མ་ལེགས་མ་	‘not good, bad’	

The derivational suffixes *-teʰiʔaʔ* (meaning ‘great, big’, written more traditionally ཆེ་བླ་གས་ *che-drags* and more phonologically ཆེ་བླ་གས་ *chi-drags*), *-teʰe* (meaning ‘great, big’) and *-teʰuŋ* (meaning ‘small’) turn nouns into adjectives:

(3.63)			
<i>tsa-teʰiʔaʔ</i>	རྩ་ཆེ་བླ་གས་	‘invaluable’	(from <i>tsa</i> རྩ་ ‘root, nerve’)
<i>sém-teʰuŋ</i>	སེམས་ཆུང་	‘humble’	(from <i>sém</i> སེམས་ ‘mind’)
<i>dzik-teʰiʔaʔ</i>	ལྗིད་ཆེ་བླ་གས་	‘heavy’	(from WT ལྗིད་ <i>ljid</i> ‘weight, heaviness’)
<i>ɛúk-teʰe</i>	ཤུགས་ཆེན་	‘strong’	(from <i>ɛúk</i> ཤུགས་ ‘strength’)
<i>nàm-teʰe</i>	ཉམས་ཆེན་	‘proud’	(from <i>nàm</i> ཉམས་ ‘arrogance’)
<i>nàm-teʰuŋ</i>	ཉམས་ཆུང་	‘humble’	(from <i>nàm</i> ཉམས་ ‘arrogance’)
<i>kʰõ:to-teʰiʔaʔ</i>	ཁོང་ཁྱོ་ཆེ་བླ་གས་	‘quick-tempered’	(from <i>kʰõ:to</i> ཁོང་ཁྱོ་ ‘anger’)
<i>kʰe:-teʰe</i>	གཤམ་ཆེན་	‘important’	(from <i>kʰe</i> གཤམ་ ‘importance’)
<i>gja-teʰiʔaʔ</i>	རྒྱ་ཆེ་བླ་གས་	‘vast’	(from <i>gja</i> རྒྱ་ ‘extent’)

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

(3.64)

<i>pe:-te^{hi}te^{hi}</i>	དཔེ་ཅི་ཅི་	‘charming (of child)’	(?)
<i>teã:-te^{hi}te^{hi}</i>	ཅང་ཅི་ཅི་	‘beautiful’	(from <i>teã:</i> ཅང་ ‘be beautiful’)
<i>te^{hi}uy-te^{hi}te^{hi}</i>	ཅུང་ཅི་ཅི་	‘small’	(from <i>te^{hi}uy</i> ཅུང་ ‘be small’)
<i>dzam-te^{hi}te^{hi}</i>	འཇམ་ཅི་ཅི་	‘easy’	(from <i>dzam</i> འཇམ་ ‘be easy’)
<i>nɛn-te^{hi}te^{hi}</i>	སྒྲན་ཅི་ཅི་	‘pleasant to hear’	(from <i>nɛn</i> སྒྲན་ ‘ear (hon.)’)
<i>ga-te^{hi}te^{hi}</i>	དག་ཅི་ཅི་	‘glad’	(from <i>ga</i> དག་ ‘rejoice, like’)

Specific intensifying suffixes not occurring with other adjectives may be used with the frequent adjectives *rin^{ku}* and *bom^{pu}*. The suffix *-k^{hi}jam* (WD ལྷམ་ *khyam*) is used in Tashiding (West Sikkim) and *-pam/kam* (WD བཤམ་/ཀམ་ *pam/kam*) in Martam (East Sikkim) to form adjectives from stative verbs. The consultants thought that adjectives formed with *-k^{hi}jam* or *-pam/kam*, when compared with the ordinary forms with *-po*, implied a greater degree, see (3.65).

(3.65) a) Tashiding

<i>bom-k^{hi}jam</i>	བོམ་ལྷམ་	‘big’ (bigger than <i>bom-pu</i> བོམ་པུ་)
<i>rin-k^{hi}jam</i>	རིང་ལྷམ་	‘long’ (longer than <i>rin-ku</i> རིང་ཀུ་)

b) Martam

<i>bompam</i>	བོམ་པམ་	‘big’ (bigger than <i>bom-pu</i> བོམ་པུ་)
<i>rinkam</i>	རིང་ཀམ་	‘long’ (longer than <i>rin-ku</i> རིང་ཀུ་)

The derivative suffix *-tɛn/tɛ̃:* (WT/WD ཅན་ *can*) has the meaning ‘having, bearing’. It attaches to nouns to form adjectives, see (3.66), but has historically also formed nouns, see (3.67).

(3.66)

<i>k’ɛ:-tɛ̃:</i>	གཤམ་ཅན་	‘important’	(from <i>k’ɛ:</i> གཤམ་ ‘importance’)
<i>p’uzi-tɛ̃:</i>	པུ་གཞིས་ཅན་	‘child-having’	(from <i>p’uzi</i> པུ་གཞིས་ ‘children’)
<i>rik(o)-tɛ̃:</i>	རིག་ཞོ་ཅན་	‘intelligent’	(from <i>riko</i> རིག་ཞོ་ ‘intellect’)

(3.67)

<i>sím-tɛ̃:</i>	སེམས་ཅན་	‘animal’	(from <i>sém</i> སེམས་ ‘mind’)

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

(3.68)

<i>ts^{hi}a-tom</i>	ཚ་ཏོམ་	‘hot’	(from <i>ts^{hi}a</i> ཚ་ ‘be hot’)
<i>dzam-tom</i>	འཇམ་ཏོམ་	‘easy’	(from <i>dzam</i> འཇམ་ ‘be easy , soft’)
<i>dzø:-wa</i>	འཇོལ་བ་	‘mistaken, false’	(from <i>dzø:</i> འཇོལ་ ‘err’)
<i>nòr-wa, nòr-wo</i>	ནོར་བ་, ནོར་བོ་	‘mistaken, false’	(from <i>nòr</i> 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. *dzamtō:to* ‘easy’ is even easier than the alternatives *dzampu* or *dzamʈaʔ* ‘easy’.

(3.69)

<i>pe:-toktoʔ</i>	དཔེས་ཏྲོག་ཏྲོག་	‘charming’	(origin unknown)
<i>dum-bebeʔ</i>	འདུམ་བད་བད་	‘short’	(from <i>dum</i> འདུམ་ ‘be short’)
<i>tsʰa-toktoʔ</i>	ཚ་ཏྲོག་ཏྲོག་	‘hot’	(from <i>tsʰa</i> ཚ་ ‘heat, hot’)
<i>sí:-tō:to</i>	བསིལ་རྟོང་རྟོ་	‘refreshingly cold’	(from <i>sí:</i> བསིལ་ ‘feel cool’)
<i>nàk-susuʔ</i>	ནག་སྒྲུག་སྒྲུག་	‘dark’	(from <i>nàk</i> ནག་ ‘black’)
<i>tʰo-tiptip</i> ¹³⁵	རྩོ་འཐེབ་འཐེབ་	‘warm’	(from <i>tʰøʔ</i> རྩོད་ ‘heat (v.)’)
<i>dzam-tō:to</i>	འཇམ་རྟོང་རྟོ་	‘easy’	(from <i>dzam</i> འཇམ་ ‘be easy’)
<i>kʰø:-taktaʔ</i>	ཁྱོལ་ཏྲག་ཏྲག་	‘cold’	(from <i>kʰø:</i> ཁྱོལ་ ‘be cold’)
<i>kʰø:-sí:si:</i>	ཁྱོལ་སིལ་སིལ་ ¹³⁶	‘chilly’	(from <i>kʰø:</i> ཁྱོལ་ ‘be cold’)

(3.70)

རྩོ་བའི་ཁྱོལ་སིལ་སིལ་ རྩུང་མ
tʰo:pø: *kʰø:si:si: lúŋma*
 morning.GEN chilly wind
 ‘morning’s chilly wind’ (Richhi 1)

(3.71)

མི་འདི་འདུམ་བད་བད་ འདུག།
mí=di dumbəbeʔ 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 unknown origin, are *-nam*, *-suʔ*, *-pʰem/pʰym* and *-ka*, see (3.72).

(3.72)

<i>gja:-nam</i>	རྒྱགས་ནམ་	‘fat’	(<i>gja:</i> རྒྱགས་ ‘be fat’)
<i>nàk-suʔ</i>	ནག་སྒྲུག་	‘dark’	(<i>nàk</i> ནག་ ‘black’)
<i>tuk-pʰem/tuk-pʰym</i>	རྒྱག་ཤེམ་	‘thick’	(<i>tuk</i> རྒྱག་ ‘be thick’)
<i>pjaŋ-ka</i>	ཕྱོང་ཀ་	‘poor’	(WT ཕྱང་ 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).

¹³⁵ also *tʰø:tiptip*

¹³⁶ also ཁྱོལ་བསིལ་བསིལ་

(3.73)

zan-po/zã:-po བཟང་པོ་, *zan-ta?/zã:-ta?* བཟང་དགས་ ‘good’
tsʰa-tom ཚ་རྟམ་, *tsʰa-ta?* ཚ་དགས་ ‘hot’
riŋ-ku རིང་ཀུ་, *riŋ-ta?* རིང་དགས་, *riŋ-kʰjam* རིང་ཁྱམ་ ‘long’
teã:-teʰiteʰi ཅང་ཆེ་ཆེ་, *teã:-ta?* ཅང་དགས་ ‘beautiful’
dzam-pu འཇམ་པུ་, *dzam-ta?* འཇམ་དགས་, *dzam-tom* འཇམ་རྟམ་, *dzamtõ:to* འཇམ་རྟང་རྟོ་,
dzam-teʰiteʰi འཇམ་ཆེ་ཆེ་ ‘easy’
ɛim-pu ཞིམ་པུ་, *ɛim-ta?* ཞིམ་དགས་ ‘delicious’
kʰɛ:-teʰiŋa? ཀ་ལ་ཆེ་དགས་, *kʰɛ:-teʰɛ:* ཀ་ལ་ཆེན་, *kʰɛ:-teʰɛ:* ཀ་ལ་ཅན་ ‘important’

Reduplication is a frequent strategy for forming adjectives from stative verbs (e.g. *dumdum* ‘short’ from *dum* འདུམ་ ‘be short’). These forms also occur as non-reduplicated adjectives with a suffix (e.g. *dumta?* འདུམ་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)

<i>dop-dop</i>	ཐོབ་ཐོབ་	‘slow (of animate being)’
<i>dum-dum</i>	འདུམ་འདུམ་	‘short (vertical)’
<i>tʰuŋ-tʰuŋ</i>	ཐུང་ཐུང་	‘short (horizontal)’
<i>sáp-sap</i>	སྒུབ་སྒུབ་	‘thin’
<i>sóp-sop</i>	སོབ་སོབ་	‘soft’
<i>rip-rip</i>	རྩིབ་རྩིབ་	‘dim’
<i>teʰuŋ-teʰuŋ</i>	ཐུང་ཐུང་	‘small’
<i>nòp-nop</i>	ཉོབ་ཉོབ་	‘soft’
<i>jã:-jã:</i>	ཡང་ཡང་	‘light (opp. of heavy)’

3.4.3 Adjective-modifying suffixes

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

(3.75)

<i>bom-pu</i>	ཐོམ་པུ་	‘big’	>	<i>bom-sy:</i>	ཐོམ་ལུལ་	‘quite big’
<i>ŋa-ta?</i>	དམའ་དགས་	‘low’	>	<i>ŋa-sy:</i>	དམའ་ལུལ་	‘quite low’
<i>tʰo-ta?</i>	མཐོ་དགས་	‘high’	>	<i>tʰo-sy:</i>	མཐོ་ལུལ་	‘quite high’
<i>tuk-pʰem</i>	རྩུག་ཕེམ་	‘thick’	>	<i>tuk-sy:</i>	རྩུག་ལུལ་	‘quite thick’
<i>teʰuŋ-teʰuŋ</i>	ཐུང་ཐུང་	‘small’	>	<i>teʰuŋ-sy:</i>	ཐུང་ལུལ་	‘quite small’
<i>nòp-nop</i>	ཉོབ་ཉོབ་	‘soft’	>	<i>nòp-sy:</i>	ཉོབ་ལུལ་	‘quite soft’
<i>kʰõ:totɛʰi-ta?</i>	ཁོང་ཁོ་ཆེ་དགས་	‘quick to anger’	>	<i>kʰõ:totɛʰi-sy:</i>	ཁོང་ཁོ་ཆེ་ལུལ་	‘quite quick to anger’

The phonological realization of the diminutive in (3.75) comes from consultant KN. An alternative pronunciation -ɛy: is suggested by the word ཚབ་ཆེ་ལུས་ *tshap-che-shus* /tsʰaptɛɛy:/ ‘quite

serious (of medical condition)’ in the novel Richhi. When shown this word in Richhi, KN responded by commenting that there is probably an error in the text, the right form being རྩམ་ཆེ་སུས་ *tshap-che-sus* /*tsʰaptɕɛsyː*/. However, the form *-ɛyː* 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 *ཉལ་ཉལ་* *shus-shus* or *ཤུལ་ཤུལ་* *shul-shul*). It also occurs in the negated perfect construction *tsi-ɛyː mɛ̀?* [play-trace EX.PER] ‘has not ever played’, see §8.1.4.

- (3.76) རྩམ་ལག་འདི་འདྲ་ཤུས་ མིན་ལགས།
p'eːla=di qa-ɛyː ȩː=la.
 appearance=DEMPH similar-DIM EQU.PER=HON
 ‘Their appearance is quite similar.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

- (3.77) ལམ་བསེལ་དཀར་གཏོར་ ཨ་ཙེ་ སྤྲུལ་གཅིག་
lamsikaːtor átʂi bom-syː=tɕi?
 type.of.dough.effigy a.bit big-DIM=INDEF
 ‘a rather big lamsika-torma (=dough effigy as offering)’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

The superlative marker *-ɕo?* (WD ཤོས་ *shos*) intensifies the degree of the adjective. It attaches to the root from which the adjective is derived, e.g. *teʰuŋteʰuŋ* ‘small’ > *teʰuŋɕo?* ‘the smallest’, *teʰam-ta?* ‘agreeable’ > *teʰam-ɕo?* ‘the most agreeable’.

- (3.78) བུ་མ་ལོ་འདིས་ བུ་མ་ རྒྱང་ཤོས་ལོ་འདི་ ལབ་པོ་ ཟུང་།
p'um p'amo=diː p'um teʰuŋ-ɕo=lo dɛː
 daughter middle.one=DEMPH.AGT daughter small-SUP=DAT like.this
láp-o bɛ?
 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 *འོ་པ་* *ȩːpa* ‘(in the) morning’ and *ཕུ་རུ་* *pʰiru?* ‘(in the) evening’ are interpreted as adverbs, because their citation forms occur as adverbials without case marking.

- (3.79) ཏེ་འདིའི་ཐོན་ལས་ རྫོང་པ་ རོང་སྤེ་ ཁ་ལག་ འབྲུ།
tɛ di: jénlɛ tʰo:pa lɔ̃:-ti kʰa-la? 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་ཕ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཟས་ ཟ་སྤེ་ མྱོང་།
pʰiru? tʰamtɛɛ? sàm sà-ti mjɔ̃:.
 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་ཕ་གི་ ཞལ་ལག་
pʰiru=gi ɛ̃:la?
 evening.GEN meal.HON
 ‘evening’s meal’ (Richhi 62)

- (3.82) མོ་ན་གི་ ལྷ་
óna=gi tɛʰu
 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) རྫོང་པ་ལས་ ཟས་ ག་རེ་ མེད་མཁན་ སྤང་།
tʰo:pa=le sàm kʰarɛ mè:-kʰɛn bɛ?
 morning.ABL food.HON any NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU-NE.
 ‘Since morning there has not been any food.’ (DB trip story)

Some locational and temporal adverbs may receive optional dative-locative marking, which is also a noun-like quality, e.g. *tʰo:pa* ‘(in the) morning’ > *tʰo:pa=lo* ‘in the morning’.

There is not always a clear distinction between adjectives and adverbs in that adjectives may be used adverbially without modification, as shown by the adverbial (3.84a) and adjectival use (3.84b) of *màla?* མ་ལག་ ‘quick(ly)’. For similar uses of *né:mu* མནེ་མུ་ ‘real(ly)’, consider the adverbial in (3.85) and adjective in (3.86).

- (3.84) a) མ་ལག་ འབྲུ།
màla? gju?
 quickly go
 ‘Go quickly!’ (KN e)

b) ལུང་གི་ བ་ཉིག་ (bike) འདི་ ལེ་བ་སྟེ་ མ་ལག་ ཡོད།
kʰu=i=gi baik=di lèpti m̐la? jò?
 3SGM=GEN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very fast EX.PER
 ‘His (motor)bike is very fast.’ (NB e)

(3.85) མནེ་མུ་རང་ སྟན་པོ་ བསྟན་འཛིན་ རྩ་ཚོད་ གཉིས་ལོ་ སྟེངས།
né:mu=rā: mémpo tendzī: tɛʰuteʰø? ní:=lo lɛp.
 really=AEMPH doctor PN clock.time two=DAT arrive
 ‘Doctor Tenzing really arrives at two o’clock.’ (Richhi 31)

(3.86) ལྟན་རྩལ་གྱིས་ གཞུང་པོ་ གནང་མཁན་ མནེ་མུ་ སྟངས།
lɛŋgɛ:=ki s̐m-bo ná:-kʰɛ: né:mu bɛ?
 PRN.HON=AGT say.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ true/real EQU.NE
 ‘What you said is true.’ (TB e)

Morphological cues for adverbhood are discussed in the next section on adverb derivation (§3.5.2). For ideophones, a special category of adjectives and adverbs, refer to §17.1. For the use of adverbs in clausal context, see §5.6.3.

3.5.2 Adverb derivation and types of adverbs

The following paragraphs introduce manner (§3.5.2.1), locational (§3.5.2.2), temporal (§3.5.2.3), quantifying (§3.5.2.4) and other adverbs (§3.5.2.5). The last section describes the approximative and directional adverbial suffix *-teika* ‘-abouts, around; towards’ (§3.5.2.6).

3.5.2.1 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are typically formed by the adverbializer *-p’ja(ti)* ལྟན་(ཁྱི་), 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 ལྟན་ *byas* /tɕɛ:/ (Denwood 1999: 186) and Dzongkha འབད་ *’bad* /be~bä/ (van Driem 1998: 317). Both the short form *p’ja* and the long form *p’ja-ti* are in use, as seen in (3.87) and (3.88). The short form *-p’ja* is written as a suffix, whereas the converbal form *p’ja-ti* is written separately, reflecting its less grammaticalized status.

(3.87)	<u>Adjective</u>		<u>Adverb</u>	
	<i>k’aly?</i>	ག་ལུས་ ‘slow’	<i>k’aly-p’ja, k’aly p’ja-ti</i>	‘slowly’
	<i>lèm</i>	ལེགས་ ‘good’	<i>lèm-p’ja, lèm p’ja-ti</i>	‘well’
	<i>dzamteʰiteʰi</i>	འཇམ་ཅེ་ཅེ་ ‘soft’	<i>dzamteʰiteʰi-p’ja, dzamteʰiteʰi p’ja-ti</i>	‘softly’

(3.88) འདི་ལྟན་ ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ ལྟན་སྟེ་ འཇམ་ཅེ་ཅེ་ ལྟན་ རྩལ་སྟེ་ སྟངས་ཤོ་ལགས།
de:-p’ja k’aly? k’aly? p’ja-ti dzamteʰiteʰi-p’ja kjap bɛ=ɛo=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. *k'aly?* *k'aly?* ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ ‘slowly’, which is an alternative to *k'aly-p'ja*, although reduplication can also co-occur with the adverbializer *-p'ja(-ti)*, see (3.88). Reduplication is considered an ideophonic feature, see §17.1.

There are also nonderived adverbs of manner which are not marked by *p'ja(ti)*. Tables 3.15 and 3.16 list adverbs of manner related to sleeping and other adverbs of manner respectively.

Table 3.14. Adverbs of manner related to sleeping

<i>k'ò:ke</i>	གོང་སྐྱུལ་	‘(sleeping) on one’s back’
<i>k^habup</i>	ཁ་བུབ་	‘(sleeping) on one’s tummy’
<i>sù:te</i>	བྱུང་སྡེ་	‘(sleeping) on one’s side’

Table 3.15. Other adverbs of manner

<i>námtei(lo)</i>	མཉམ་ཅིག་(ལོ་)	‘together’
<i>t^halamki</i>	ཁ་ལམ་གྱིས་	‘clearly’
<i>hatok^ha, hatolo</i>	དང་ཐོག་ཁར་, དང་ཐོག་ལོ་	‘suddenly’

The adverb *námtei(lo)* མཉམ་ཅིག་(ལོ་) ‘together’, is closely related to the postposition *námpu/námtei?* 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 *-k^ha*. The form probably derives from WT ཁ་ *kha* ‘mouth, face, (front) side’ (Jäschke 1881: 34), which, as suggested by the written Denjongke form ཁར་ *khar* in the novel *Richhi*, is supplemented by the historical locative marker *-r*. The adverbializer *-k^ha* is not as productive in forming locative adverbs as *-p'ja(ti)* is in forming manner adverbs.

<i>gjap</i>	གྱབ་	‘back’	>	<i>gjap-k^ha</i>	‘in the back’
<i>sá</i>	ས་	‘soil’	>	<i>sá-k^ha</i>	‘on the floor, on the ground’
<i>lám</i>	ལམ་	‘road’	>	<i>lám-k^ha</i>	‘on the road/way’

As an indication that *-k^ha* is a derivational suffix rather than an inflectional marker like case, *-k^ha* may be supplemented with the dative-locative marker, e.g. *lám^ha=lo*, *sák^ha=lo*. The form *-k^ha* also converts some verbs into nouns and thus functions as nominalizer, e.g. *dze:* མཇེལ་ ‘meet’ > *dze:-k^ha* ‘meeting, place/occasion to meet’. Sometimes, *-k^ha* appended to a noun does not change the meaning, e.g. *k'jō:* ཁྱོང་ ‘village’ > *k'joŋ-k^ha* ‘village’.

Some other locative adverbs are listed in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16. Some locative adverbs

<i>tʰa:ni</i>	ཐག་ནི་	‘close, near’
<i>tʰa:riŋ</i>	ཐག་རིང་	‘far away’
<i>lām̥taʔ</i>	ལམ་ཏག་	‘above the road’
<i>lām̥m̥eʔ</i>	ལམ་སྐད་	‘below the road’
<i>jà:¹³⁷, jàt̥e</i>	ཡར་, ཡ་སྟེ་	‘up(wards)’
<i>òʔ, òt̥e</i>	འོག་, འོག་སྟེ་	‘down(wards)’

In addition to forms in Table 3.16, pro-adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *nà:* ན་ ‘here’, *tsʰu:kʰa* ཚུ་ཁར་ ‘on this side, nearer’) and some postpositions (e.g. *nàŋeə* ནང་ག་ ‘inside’, *paŋkʰa* བང་ཁར་ ‘outside’, *pʰiloʔ* བྱེ་ལོག་ ‘outside’, *bu:na* ལྷན་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

<i>ŋaru, haru</i>	ཇཱ་རུ་, ཏ་རུ་	‘(in the) morning, tomorrow morning’
<i>tʰo:pa</i>	རྩོ་བ་	‘(in the) morning’
<i>ni̯ma</i>	ཉི་མ་	‘(in) day-time’
<i>ni̯ŋguŋ</i>	ཉིན་གུང་	‘(at) noon’
<i>ni̯mpʰiʔ</i>	ཉིམ་ཕྱིད་	‘(at) mid-day’
<i>pʰi:tsʰam</i>	ཕྱི་མཚམས་	‘(at) dusk’
<i>pʰi(:)ruʔ</i>	ཕྱི་རུ་	‘(in the) evening, night (after dark)’
<i>nùppʰiʔ</i>	རྩུབ་ཕྱིད་	‘(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’, *pʰi:tsʰamlo*, *pʰi:tsʰamkʰa(lo)* ‘at dusk’. Moreover, the form *ŋalo* ཇཱ་ལོ་, which does not occur as a noun, can express ‘in the morning’.

¹³⁷ The shorter forms *jà:* and *òʔ* are used especially with verbs of motion, e.g. *jà: òʔ gju-kʰê:* ཡར་ འོག་ འབྱུ་མཁན་ [up down go-NMLZ] ‘those who go up and down’ (Richhi 158) and *jà: lō:* ཡར་ ལོངས་ ‘rise up, stand up’.

Table 3.18. Days and years

<i>gu.nup</i>	དགུ་ཟླ་བ་	four days ago	<i>gu.nin</i>	དགུ་ཟླ་བ་	‘3rd year before this one’
<i>ze.nup</i>	གཞིས་ཟླ་བ་	three days ago	<i>zo.nin</i> ¹³⁸	གཞི་ཟླ་བ་	‘the year before last year’
<i>kʰanup</i>	ཁ་ཟླ་བ་	the day before yesterday			
<i>dā:</i>	མང་དང་	yesterday	<i>nənin</i> ¹³⁹	ན་ཟླ་བ་	‘last year’
<i>tʰarin</i>	ད་རིང་	today	<i>tʰutei?</i>	དུ་ཅིག་	‘this year’
<i>tʰorā:</i>	ཐོ་རངས་	tomorrow	<i>sā:pø?</i>	སང་མོད་	‘next year’
<i>nəntsi</i>	གནངས་ཆོ་	the day after tomorrow			
<i>ze:tsi</i>	གཞིས་ཆོ་	in 3 days from now	<i>ze:pø?</i>	གཞིས་མོད་	‘2nd year after this one’
<i>gu:tsi</i>	དགུ་ཆོ་	in 4 days from now	<i>gu:pø?</i>	དགུ་མོད་	‘3rd year after this one’

Table 3.19. Other temporal adverbs

<i>kʰatsā:</i>	ཁ་སང་	‘some days/time ago’
<i>tʰitsi</i>	དི་ཅི་	‘recently’
<i>tʰasā:</i>	ད་སང་	‘this morning’
<i>lāmsā:</i>	ལམ་ཟང་	‘suddenly’
<i>tʰato</i>	ད་ལྟ་	‘now’
<i>tʰarun</i>	ད་རུང་	‘again, yet, still’
<i>tə:ra</i>	ཏེ་ར་	‘again’

In addition to the above-mentioned temporal adverbs, the postpositions *gjablε* ཟུང་ལས་ ‘after(wards)’ and *jénle/hale/hema* མྱོན་ལས་/ཏ་ལས་/ཏན་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

<i>pʰa:pʰa:(na)</i>	བར་བར་(ན་)	‘sometimes, now and then’
<i>kapkap(na)</i>	སྐབས་སྐབས་(ན་)	‘sometimes, now and then’
<i>rega:(...rega:)</i>	རེ་འགའ་(...རེ་འགའ་)	‘sometimes(..sometimes)’

For indefinite adverbial expressions corresponding to English *whenever*, *wherever*, *however* and *for whatever reason* (“*whyever*”) refer to §6.3.2. Temporal adverbs are exemplified in §5.6.3.3.

3.5.2.4 Quantifying adverbs

Because adverbs were above defined as words which modify other words than nouns, quantifying adverbs can be defined as words which quantitatively modify other words than nouns. Quantitative adverbs can be divided into verb-modifying (Table 3.21), adjective/adverb-modifying (Table 3.22)

¹³⁸ also *zo:nin*

¹³⁹ also *nəni?* ན་ནིང་

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

Table 3.21. Verb-modifying quantitative adverbs

<i>lèp(ti)</i>	ལེབ་(ཏི་)	‘very much’
<i>kɛ:p, kɛ:po</i> ¹⁴¹	གེས་བ་, གེས་པོ་	‘much, a lot’
<i>màŋpu, màŋpo</i> ¹⁴²	མང་པུ་, མང་པོ་	‘much, a lot’
<i>ts^hedɛː</i>	ཚད་ཅན་	‘considerably’
<i>màŋts^hø?</i>	མང་ཚད་	‘to great degree, more (than)’
<i>ɲùŋts^hø?</i>	ཉུང་ཚད་	‘little, less (than)’
<i>ɛ́yːɛyː</i>	ཤུལ་ཤུལ་	‘a bit’
<i>ɛ́yːtɛyː</i>	ཤུལ་ཅིག་	‘a bit’
<i>ɛ́yry</i>	ཤུལ་རེ་	‘a bit’
<i>át si(m)</i>	ཨ་ཙི་(མ་)	‘a bit’
<i>átɛm</i>	ཨ་ཚེ་(?)	‘a bit’ (rare)
<i>ɲùŋɲun</i>	ཉུང་ཉུང་	‘little, few’
<i>tɛɛː/dzɛː</i>	ཅེ་/འཛོ་	‘at all’ (+negation)
<i>tɕa(:)lə</i>	ཚུ་ལས་	‘at all’ (+negation)

Table 3.22. Adjective and adverb-modifying adverbs

<i>lèp(ti)</i>	ལེབ་(ཏི་)	‘very much’
<i>pɛmissiki</i>	དཔེ་མི་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་	‘extraordinarily’ (in Martam: <i>pɛsimipø:/pemisipo</i>)
<i>k’ãːmɛntɕe?</i>	གང་མན་ཚད་	‘limitless’
<i>át si(m)</i>	ཨ་ཙི་(མ་)	‘a bit’

¹⁴⁰ This form is often pronounced with markedly high intonation.

¹⁴¹ *kɛ:p* is a frequent and versatile quantifying morpheme which can modify a verb/clause or a noun. It also occurs as the second (quantifying) argument of a copula and independently as an indefinite pronominal ‘many’.

¹⁴² *màŋpu/màŋpo* is in meaning and versatility similar to *kɛ:po*, but according to some speakers *kɛ:po* is “real” Denjongke and *màŋpo* a loan from Tibetan. The use of the form *màŋta?*/*mãːta?* at least partly overlaps the use of *màŋpu/màŋpo*. Because *màŋta?*, however, is formed with the adjectival ending *-ta?*, it is analyzed as a quantifying adjective. By the same logic, *ɲùŋta?*, which at least partly overlaps in function with *ɲùŋɲun*, is also analyzed as a quantifying adjective.

Table 3.23. Numeral-modifying adverbs

Pre-numeral		
<i>halam</i>	ཧ་ལམ་	‘about, approximately’
<i>t’y:mene</i>	དུས་མན་ནེ་	‘about, approximately; almost’
<i>de:tei?</i>	འདེ་ཅིག་	‘about, this much’ (lit. ‘like.this-one’)
Post-numeral		
<i>laktsʰø?</i>	ལྷག་ཚེད་	‘over, more than’ (lit. ‘more.than-limit’)
<i>kortei?</i>	སྐོར་ཅིག་	‘about’ (literally ‘around-one’)

For examples of verb-modifying quantitative adverbs, see §5.6.3.4. Adjective/adverb-modifying adverbs and numeral-modifying adverbs are illustrated in §4.3.1 and §4.4 respectively.

3.5.2.5 Other adverbs

Other adverbs include the epistemic adverbs (Table 3.24) and the restrictive evaluative adverb *teiku/teuku* (ག་ཅིག་གྱ་ ‘only’).

Table 3.24. Epistemic adverbs

<i>né:mu(rə)</i>	མན་མུ་(ར་)	‘really’
<i>mèntene/mènteno</i>	མན་ཅེ་ནེ་/མན་ཅེ་ནོ་	‘perhaps, maybe’
<i>mènne/mènni</i> ¹⁴³	མན་ནེ་	‘perhaps, maybe’

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

3.5.2.6 Directional and approximative suffix *-teika* ‘-abouts, around’

Adverbs of time and place may be followed by the suffix *-teika* ཅིག་ག་/ཅིག་ཁར་ which marks directionality ‘in the direction of, towards’ and/or approximateness ‘-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་ རོག་རྩར་ ཅིག་ག་ ཡོད།
gari lām=gi ò:tsa-teika jò?
 car(Nep.) road=GEN below-direction EX.PER
 ‘It’s downwards of the car-road.’ (KT discussion with TB)

- (3.90) དགོན་པོ་ལས་ ཡ་ཙེ་ ཡར་རྩར་ ཅིག་ག་
gjõmpo=le átsi jà:tsa-teika
 monastery=ABL a.bit up-towards
 ‘a bit upward from the monastery’ (KT discussion with TB)

The approximative meaning (glossed APPR) is illustrated in (3.91) and (3.92).

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

- (3.91) *p^{hi}:ts^ham-teika* ཕྱི་མཚམས་ཅིག་ག་ ‘at about dusk, around dusk’,
k’ana-teika ག་ན་ ཅིག་ག་ ‘approximately where, whereabouts’.
t’ã:pu-teika དང་ལུ་ཅིག་ག་ ‘once long ago’ (lit. ‘long.ago-*teika*’)
t’atar-teika ད་ལྟར་ཅིག་ག་ ‘at around this time, ‘?nowabouts’ (lit. ‘now-*teika*’)

- (3.92) མོ་འདྲེ་ཅིག་ག་ར་ ད་ བཞག་གོ་ གནང་གོ།
óde-teika=ra t’a zak-o náη-gε.
 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^hε?* 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 *te^hø=tsu* ཚད་ལྟ་ is given in brackets because it is a marginal form not accepted by all speakers.

Table 3.25. Personal pronouns

			Singular	Plural
1p			<i>ηà</i> ང་	<i>ηàtea?</i> ང་ཅག་
2p	low-level		<i>te^hø?</i> ཚད་	(<i>te^hø:=tsu</i> ཚད་ལྟ་) <i>k’utea?</i> ཁུ་ཅག་
	mid-level		<i>rã:</i> རང་	<i>rã:=tsu</i> རང་ལྟ་
	honorific		<i>ʃenge?</i> ལྷན་རྒྱས་	<i>k’utea ʃenge?</i> ཁུ་ཅག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ <i>ʃenge: (=tsu)</i> ལྷན་རྒྱས་(ལྟ་)
3p	ordinary	masc.	<i>k^hu</i> ལུ་	<i>k^hõ:</i> རྩང་
		fem.	<i>mù/mò</i> ལུ་	
	honorific		<i>k^hõ:</i> རྩང་ <i>k^hõ: ʃenge?</i> རྩང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་	<i>k^hõ: ʃenge: (=tsu)</i> རྩང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ལྟ་

The first person pronoun is *ηà* ང་ from which the plural form *ηàtea?* 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

¹⁴⁴ However, Sandberg (1895: 23) reports *-tea?* 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 *ʎengeʔ* ལེང་ཕུ་ 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
<i>=rã:/=ra</i>	རང་	attaches to personal pronouns	‘-self’
<i>rã:mẽ:/rõ:mẽ:</i>	རང་མཉམ་	used independently	‘oneself’
<i>rã:rã: so:so:</i>	རང་རང་ སྟོ་སྟོ་	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
<i>tei:=ki, tei:(=lo)</i>	གཅིག་གིས་ གཅིག་(ལོ་)	‘one to another’ (lit. ‘one to one’)
<i>tei:=ki zen(=lo)</i>	གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་(ལོ་)	‘one to another’ (used in Richhi instead of the first form)
<i>p^hentsy¹⁴⁶</i>	ཕན་ཚུན་	‘each other’

The forms from which the reciprocals are formed are the numeral *tei?* གཅིག་ ‘one’ and the demonstrative *zen* གཞན་ ‘other’ (demonstrativity of *zen* is defined in opposition to something else determined by the context). The form *p^hentsy¹⁴⁶* 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 *k’ã:pu* ཀ་ཕུ་ ‘one full measure of’ may follow *t^hamtseʔ* ཐམས་ཅད་, *k^hε:le* རེ་ལེ་ and *te^ha:le* ཆ་ལས་ ‘all’ to emphasize the meaning.

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

¹⁴⁶ The demonstrative expression *p^ha: ts^hu:* ཕར་ ཚུར་ ‘thither hither’ may be used in a similar sense.

Table 3.28. Indefinite pronouns

<i>tʰamtɕɛʔ</i> (<i>kʰǎ:pu</i>)	ཐམས་ཅད་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>kʰɛ:lɛ</i> (<i>kʰǎ:pu</i>)	ཁེ་ལེ་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>tɕʰa:lɛ</i> (<i>kʰǎ:pu</i>)	ཆ་ལས་	‘all, everyone’
<i>dzaŋki</i>	ཇོང་གི་ ¹⁴⁷	‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)
<i>màŋtɕʰiɕoʔ</i>	མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་	‘most’ (includes the adjectival superlative ending <i>-ɕoʔ</i>)
<i>màŋtɕʰiʈaʔ</i>	མང་ཆེ་དྲགས་	‘most’ (includes the adjectival ending <i>-ʈaʔ</i>)
<i>kʰaɕɛʔ</i>	ཁ་ཤས་	‘some(one)’
<i>làriʔ</i>	ལ་རིས་	‘some(one)’
<i>rɛrɛ</i>	རེ་རེ་	‘each one’
<i>riɲi</i> (<i>riɲi</i>)	རེ་གཉིས་ (རེ་གཉིས་)	‘a few (people)’ (lit. one-two)
<i>ka:kutɕiʔ</i>	ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་	‘a few’
<i>tɕi:ɲi:</i>	གཅིག་གཉིས་	‘a few’ (lit. one-two)
<i>làla...làla</i>	ལ་ལ་... ལ་ལ་	‘some...others’
<i>ri, -ri</i> (also <i>rɛ</i>)	རེ་	‘one, each’

The independent uses of the indefinite pronouns are described in §6.3.1, whereas uses as noun modifiers are exemplified in §4.1.3.3.

3.6.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic words which define a person, object or location in terms of its spatial relationship to the speaker. Demonstratives may be pronouns, pro-adjectives or pro-adverbs. With *zen* གཞན་ ‘other’, defining takes place negatively with respect to a deictically already determined person, object or location (other = ‘not this/that/here/there’). The roots from which demonstrative expressions are formed are listed in Table 3.29.

Table 3.29. Demonstrative roots

<i>di</i>	འདྲི་	proximal, ‘this’
<i>do-</i>	འདྲོ་	emphatic proximal, ‘this right here’
<i>ó-</i>	ཨོ་	distal, ‘that’
<i>nà:</i>	ན་	‘here’
<i>pʰou, pʰi-</i>	ཤུ་, བི་	‘over there’
<i>jòu, jì-</i>	ཡུ་, ཡི་	‘up (there)’
<i>mòu, mì-</i>	མུ་, མི་	‘down (there)’
<i>pʰa(:)</i>	ཕ(ར་)	‘over there, thither, on the other side’
<i>tsʰu(:)</i>	ཚུ(ར་)	‘here, hither’
<i>zen</i>	གཞན་	‘other’

Table 3.30 presents other demonstratives that derive from the roots of Table 3.29. The list of locative expressions in Table 3.30 is not exhaustive but only presents the forms which I have come across in my present data. Note the intensifying reduplication in locative forms. The first syllable of the reduplicated expressions is typically accompanied by a higher pitch.

¹⁴⁷ This written form given by consultant KUN is surprising in that it suggests pronunciation as *tsʰaŋki* rather than *dzaŋki*.

Table 3.30. Derived demonstratives

Root		Derived object	Derived location
<i>do-</i>	emphatic proximal	<i>dodi</i> ‘this right here’	<i>dodik^ha</i> , <i>dona</i> ‘right here’
<i>di</i>	proximal	<i>di</i> ‘this’	<i>dik^ha</i> ‘here’ (cf. <i>nà:</i> ‘here’)
<i>ó-</i>	distal	<i>ódi</i> ‘that’	<i>óna</i> , <i>ók^ha</i> ‘there’
<i>nà:</i>	‘here’	<i>nà=di</i> ‘the one here’	<i>nàk^ha(=lo)</i> ‘here’
<i>p^hou</i> , <i>p^hi-</i>	‘over there’	<i>p^hou=di</i> , <i>p^hidi</i> ‘that over there’	<i>p^hou=na</i> , <i>p^houk^ha</i> , <i>p^hok^ha</i> , <i>p^hina</i> , <i>p^hik^ha</i> ‘over there’ <i>p^ho:p^hina</i> , <i>p^ho:p^hou=na</i> , <i>p^ho:p^houk^ha</i> ‘way over there’
<i>jòu</i> , <i>jì-</i>	‘up (there)’	<i>jòdi</i> , <i>jìdi</i> ‘that up there’	<i>jina</i> , <i>jòuk^ha</i> ‘up (there)’ <i>jò:jina</i> , <i>jòina</i> ‘way up (there)’
<i>mòu</i> , <i>mì-</i>	‘down (there)’	<i>mòdi</i> , <i>mìdi</i> ‘that down there’	<i>mòu=na</i> , <i>mòuk^ha=lo</i> , <i>mòu=lo</i> , <i>mìna</i> ‘down (there)’ <i>mò:mouk^ha=lo</i> ‘way down (there)’
<i>p^ha(:)</i>	‘further, on the other side’	<i>p^ha:=di</i> ‘the one thither/further’	<i>p^ha:k^ha</i> ‘on the other side, further’
<i>ts^hu(:)</i>	‘closer, on this side’	<i>ts^hu:=di</i> ‘the one hither/closer’	<i>ts^hu:k^ha</i> ‘on this side, nearer’
<i>zen</i>	‘other’	<i>zen=di</i> ‘the other’	<i>zenk^ha(=lo)</i> ‘in another place’

It is a moot point whether some of the forms in Table 3.30 should be considered lexemes or combinations of a root lexeme with a following demonstrative-emphatic clitic =*di* or a case clitic =*na*=*lo*. Forms such as *jìdi* ‘that up there’ and *p^hina* ‘over there’ are more lexeme-like than the semantically equivalent forms *jòu=di* and *p^hou=na* because *jì-* and *p^hi-* do not occur independently whereas *jòu* and *p^hou* do. The forms *p^hidi* and *p^hina* may be considered phonologically reduced, lexicalized variants of *p^hou=di* and *p^hou=na*.

Denjongke also has forms with the double function of proadverb of manner and proadjective, see Table 3.31.

Table 3.31. Proadverbs of manner and proadjectives

<i>dodem</i>	འདྲ་འདྲམ་	‘like this right here’
<i>de:</i> , <i>dem</i> , <i>dep</i>	འདྲེ་, འདྲམ་, འདྲེབ་	proximal, cataphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’
<i>óde:</i> , <i>ódem</i> , <i>ódep</i>	ཨྲ་འདྲེ་, ཨྲ་འདྲམ་, ཨྲ་འདྲེབ་	distal, anaphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’

In addition to the derivations presented above, the distal *ó-* can combine with *-ts^hø?* ‘limit, as much as’ to form the quantitative *ó-ts^hø?*/*ó-dzø?* ཨྲ་ཚེད་ ‘that much/many’ (cf. *k’adzø?* ཀ་ཚེད་ ‘how much/many’). Functionally similar words can also be formed from *de:* and *óde:*, which combine with the indefiniteness marker =*tei?* to form *de:tei?* འདྲེ་ཅེད་ ‘this much’ and *óde:tei?* ཨྲ་འདྲེ་ཅེད་ ‘that much’. The form *de:tei?* primarily functions as postnumeral approximating modifier ‘about’, see §4.4, whereas *óde:tei?* may be used independently or as a noun modifier.

Demonstrative forms are illustrated and further discussed in §6.4.

3.6.6 Question words

Denjongke question words are listed in Table 3.32.

Table 3.32. Question words

<i>k'an, k'ar</i>	གན་, གར་	what
<i>k'adi</i>	ག་འདི་	which
<i>k'ana, k'ak'a</i>	ག་ན་, ག་ཁ(ར་)	where
<i>ka</i>	ཀ་	who
<i>nàm</i>	ན་མ་	when
<i>k'ambja</i> ¹⁴⁸	གན་བྱས་	why
<i>k'adzøʔ, k'ats'øʔ</i>	ག་ཚོད་	how many
<i>k'atəm</i>	ག་ཞེས་	what kind
<i>k'atε</i>	ག་ཞེ་	how
<i>k'a</i> 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 =*teiʔ* expresses the approximative meaning ‘some’.

- (3.93) ལྟང་ཕྱག་ རྩ་ ལྟ་ག་ འབྱ་ འོང་།
 [tõ:tʰaʔ **ŋá** **t'u:=teiʔ**] gju ð̌.
 thousand five six=INDF go come
 ‘Some five to six thousand (rupees) will go (to buy it).’ (PD altar room video)

- (3.94) ང་ རྒྱག་ གསུམ་ རྩོད་ཅུང་ རྒྱུག་གོ།
 ḡà [ɛàʔ **súm**] dø:-ruŋ d̪ikε.
 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 (*teiʔ* གཅིག་ ‘one’, *t'anno* ཏང་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* ལྷུང་ཁོར་. The numbers from one to twenty (decimal system) are given in Table 3.33.

¹⁴⁸ Derives from *k'an* ‘what’ and *p'ja(-ti)* ‘do(-NF)’, also occurs as *k'amja*, and *k'amε* 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	<i>tei?</i>	གཅིག་	11	<i>teuktei?</i>	བརྒྱ་གཅིག་
2	<i>ni:</i>	གཉིས་	12	<i>teu.ni:</i>	བརྒྱ་གཉིས་
3	<i>súm</i>	གསུམ་	13	<i>teuksum</i>	བརྒྱ་གསུམ་
4	<i>zi</i>	བཞི་	14	<i>teipzi</i>	བརྒྱ་བཞི་
5	<i>ŋá</i>	ལྔ་	15	<i>tɛɛ:ŋa</i>	བཙེ་ལྔ་
6	<i>t'uʔ/t'uk</i>	དྲུག་	16	<i>teu.rup</i>	བརྒྱ་དྲུག་
7	<i>dyn</i>	བདཱན་	17	<i>teopdyn</i>	བཙེ་བདཱན་
8	<i>gɛ?</i>	བརྒྱད་	18	<i>teopgɛ?</i>	བཙེ་བརྒྱད་
9	<i>gu</i>	དགུ་	19	<i>teu:gu</i>	བརྒྱ་དགུ་
10	<i>teu(t^hamba)</i>	བརྒྱ་(ཐམ་བ་)	20	<i>ni:teu(t^hamba)</i>	ཉི་ཤུ་(ཐམ་བ་)

In counting numbers between 20 and 99, one morpheme (word) is used for full tens but another morpheme (clitic) is used to refer to the same full tens in the following nine digits, e.g. *ni:teu* ཉི་ཤུ་ ‘twenty’ but *tsa-tei?* ཚ་གཅིག་ ‘twenty-one’ and *tsa-gu* ཚ་དགུ་ ‘twenty-nine’, where the dependent form *tsa-* ཚ་ represents twenty in numbers 21-29. As shown in Table 3.34, many of the dependent forms marking full tens bear phonetic similarity to the corresponding numbers between two and nine (and 50 between 51 and 59 is segmentally identical with number five).

Table 3.34. Two forms for referring to full tens

20	<i>ni:teu</i>	ཉི་ཤུ་	21-29	<i>tsa-</i>	ཚ་
30	<i>súmteu</i>	གསུམ་བརྒྱ་	31-39	<i>so-</i>	སོ་
40	<i>zipteu</i>	བཞི་བརྒྱ་	41-49	<i>ɛɛ-</i>	ཞེ་
50	<i>ŋápteu</i>	ལྔ་བརྒྱ་	51-59	<i>ŋà-</i>	ང་
60	<i>t'ukteu</i>	དྲུག་བརྒྱ་	61-69	<i>rɛ-</i>	རེ་
70	<i>dynteu</i>	བདཱན་བརྒྱ་	71-79	<i>t'øn-</i>	དོན་
80	<i>gɛteu</i>	བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་	81-89	<i>k'ja-</i>	ཀྱ་
90	<i>gupteu</i>	དགུ་བརྒྱ་	91-99	<i>k'o-</i>	གོ་

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

¹⁵⁰ Consultant RL from Lachen counted *ni: tsa-tei?* ‘21’, *ni: tsa-ni:* ‘22’.

Table 3.35. Decimal system numbers 21-60

21	<i>niéu tsa-tei?</i>	ནི་ཤུ་ ཙ་གཅིག་	41	<i>zipteu éè-tei?</i>	བཞི་བར་ ཙ་གཅིག་
22	<i>niéu tsa-ni:</i>	ནི་ཤུ་ ཙ་གཉིས་	42	<i>zipteu éè-ni:</i>	བཞི་བར་ ཙ་གཉིས་
23	<i>niéu tsa-sum</i>	ནི་ཤུ་ ཙ་གསུམ་	43	<i>zipteu éè-súm</i>	བཞི་བར་ ཙ་གསུམ་
24	<i>niéu tsa-zi</i>	ནི་ཤུ་ ཙ་བཞི་	44	<i>zipteu éè-zi</i>	བཞི་བར་ ཙ་བཞི་
25	<i>niéu tsa-ña</i>	ནི་ཤུ་ ཙ་ལྔ་	45	<i>zipteu éè-ña</i>	བཞི་བར་ ཙ་ལྔ་
26	<i>niéu tsa-t'u?</i>	ནི་ཤུ་ ཙ་དྲུག་	46	<i>zipteu éè-t'u?</i>	བཞི་བར་ ཙ་དྲུག་
27	<i>niéu tsa-dyn</i>	ནི་ཤུ་ ཙ་བདུན་	47	<i>zipteu éè-dyn</i>	བཞི་བར་ ཙ་བདུན་
28	<i>niéu tsa-ge?</i>	ནི་ཤུ་ ཙ་བརྒྱད་	48	<i>zipteu éè-ge?</i>	བཞི་བར་ ཙ་བརྒྱད་
29	<i>niéu tsa-gu</i>	ནི་ཤུ་ ཙ་དགུ་	49	<i>zipteu éè-gu</i>	བཞི་བར་ ཙ་དགུ་
30	<i>súmteu</i>	གསུམ་བར་	50	<i>hápteu</i>	ལྔ་བར་
31	<i>súmteu só-tei?</i>	གསུམ་བར་ མོ་གཅིག་	51	<i>hápteu hà-tei?</i>	ལྔ་བར་ ང་གཅིག་
32	<i>súmteu só-ni:</i>	གསུམ་བར་ མོ་གཉིས་	52	<i>hápteu hà-ni:</i>	ལྔ་བར་ ང་གཉིས་
33	<i>súmteu só-sum</i>	གསུམ་བར་ མོ་གསུམ་	53	<i>hápteu hà-sum</i>	ལྔ་བར་ ང་གསུམ་
34	<i>súmteu so-zi</i>	གསུམ་བར་ མོ་བཞི་	54	<i>hápteu hà-zi</i>	ལྔ་བར་ ང་བཞི་
35	<i>súmteu só-ña</i>	གསུམ་བར་ མོ་ལྔ་	55	<i>hápteu hà-ña</i>	ལྔ་བར་ ང་ལྔ་
36	<i>súmteu só-t'u?</i>	གསུམ་བར་ མོ་དྲུག་	56	<i>hápteu hà-t'u?</i>	ལྔ་བར་ ང་དྲུག་
37	<i>súmteu só-dyn</i>	གསུམ་བར་ མོ་བདུན་	57	<i>hápteu hà-dyn</i>	ལྔ་བར་ ང་བདུན་
38	<i>súmteu só-ge?</i>	གསུམ་བར་ མོ་བརྒྱད་	58	<i>hápteu hà-ge?</i>	ལྔ་བར་ ང་བརྒྱད་
39	<i>súmteu só-gu</i>	གསུམ་བར་ མོ་དགུ་	59	<i>hápteu hà-gu</i>	ལྔ་བར་ ང་དགུ་
40	<i>zipteu</i>	བཞི་བར་	60	<i>t'ukteu</i>	དྲུག་བར་

Table 3.36. Decimal system numbers 61-100

61	<i>t'ukteu ré:-tei?</i>	དྲུག་བར་ རེ་གཅིག་	81	<i>geteu k'ja-tei?</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་ གྲུ་གཅིག་
62	<i>t'ukteu ré:-ni:</i>	དྲུག་བར་ རེ་གཉིས་	82	<i>geteu k'ja-ni:</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་ གྲུ་གཉིས་
63	<i>t'ukteu ré:-sum</i>	དྲུག་བར་ རེ་གསུམ་	83	<i>geteu k'ja-sum</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་ གྲུ་གསུམ་
64	<i>t'ukteu ré:-zi</i>	དྲུག་བར་ རེ་བཞི་	84	<i>geteu k'ja-zi</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་ གྲུ་བཞི་
65	<i>t'ukteu ré:-ña</i>	དྲུག་བར་ རེ་ལྔ་	85	<i>geteu k'ja-ña</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་ གྲུ་ལྔ་
66	<i>t'ukteu ré:-t'u?</i>	དྲུག་བར་ རེ་དྲུག་	86	<i>geteu k'ja-t'u?</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་ གྲུ་དྲུག་
67	<i>t'ukteu ré:-dyn</i>	དྲུག་བར་ རེ་བདུན་	87	<i>geteu k'ja-dyn</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་ གྲུ་བདུན་
68	<i>t'ukteu ré:-ge?</i>	དྲུག་བར་ རེ་བརྒྱད་	88	<i>geteu k'ja-ge?</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་ གྲུ་བརྒྱད་
69	<i>t'ukteu ré:-gu</i>	དྲུག་བར་ རེ་དགུ་	89	<i>geteu k'ja-gu</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་ གྲུ་དགུ་
70	<i>dynteu</i>	བདུན་བར་	90	<i>gupteu</i>	དགུ་བར་
71	<i>dynteu t'øn-tei?</i>	བདུན་བར་ རྟོན་གཅིག་	91	<i>gupteu k'o-tei?</i>	དགུ་བར་ གོ་གཅིག་
72	<i>dynteu t'øn-ni:</i>	བདུན་བར་ རྟོན་གཉིས་	92	<i>gupteu k'o-ni:</i>	དགུ་བར་ གོ་གཉིས་
73	<i>dynteu t'øn-súm</i>	བདུན་བར་ རྟོན་གསུམ་	93	<i>gupteu k'o-sum</i>	དགུ་བར་ གོ་གསུམ་
74	<i>dynteu t'øn-zi</i>	བདུན་བར་ རྟོན་བཞི་	94	<i>gupteu k'o-zi</i>	དགུ་བར་ གོ་བཞི་
75	<i>dynteu t'øn-ña</i>	བདུན་བར་ རྟོན་ལྔ་	95	<i>gupteu k'o-ña</i>	དགུ་བར་ གོ་ལྔ་
76	<i>dynteu t'øn-t'u?</i>	བདུན་བར་ རྟོན་དྲུག་	96	<i>gupteu k'o-t'u?</i>	དགུ་བར་ གོ་དྲུག་
77	<i>dynteu t'øn-dyn</i>	བདུན་བར་ རྟོན་བདུན་	97	<i>gupteu k'o-dyn</i>	དགུ་བར་ གོ་བདུན་
78	<i>dynteu t'øn-ge?</i>	བདུན་བར་ རྟོན་བརྒྱད་	98	<i>gupteu k'o-ge?</i>	དགུ་བར་ གོ་བརྒྱད་
79	<i>dynteu t'øn-gu</i>	བདུན་བར་ རྟོན་དགུ་	99	<i>gupteu k'o-gu</i>	དགུ་བར་ གོ་དགུ་
80	<i>geteu</i>	བརྒྱད་བར་	100	<i>teik gja, gja tei?, gja(t'hamba)</i>	གཅིག་ བར་, བར་ གཅིག་, བརྒྱད་ཐམ་པ་

Examples of numbers from one hundred onwards are given in Table 3.37, which introduces the words *tō:(tʰaʔ)* ལྷོང་(ཕྱག་) ‘thousand’, *tʰi* ཁྱི་ ‘ten thousand’, *bum* འབུམ་ ‘hundred thousand’ and *sája* ས་ཡ་ ‘million’.

Table 3.37. Examples of numbers from 100 onwards

100	<i>teik gja, gja teiʔ, gja(tʰamba)</i>	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་, བརྒྱ་གཅིག་, བརྒྱད་ཐམ་པ་
180	<i>gja tʰā: gətɕu</i>	བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་
200	<i>ni: gja, gja ni:</i>	གཉིས་བརྒྱ་, བརྒྱ་གཉིས་
1000	<i>teik tō:, tō:tʰaʔ teiʔ</i>	གཅིག་ལྷོང་, ལྷོང་ཕྱག་གཅིག་
2955	<i>ni: tō: gubgja n̄aptɕu n̄agu</i>	གཉིས་ལྷོང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དང་དགུ་
10,000	<i>teik tʰi, tʰi teiʔ, tō:tʰaʔ tɕu(tʰamba)</i>	གཅིག་ཁྱི་, ཁྱི་གཅིག་, ལྷོང་ཕྱག་བརྒྱ་(ཐམ་པ་)
100,000	<i>bum teiʔ</i>	འབུམ་གཅིག་
160,000	<i>bum teiʔ tʰā: tō:ʈaʔ kʰɛ: s̄um¹⁵¹</i>	འབུམ་གཅིག་དང་ལྷོང་ཕྱག་ཁམ་གསུམ་
1,000,000	<i>sája teiʔ</i>	ས་ཡ་གཅིག་

As shown in Table 3.37, both orders of items were reported acceptable for 100 and 200. My data, however, suggests the following tendency: monosyllabic numbers 1-9 are placed before the hundred (e.g. *s̄um gja* གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ ‘three hundred’), whereas a greater number of hundreds expressed by a disyllabic form occurs after the hundreds (e.g. *gja tɕɛ:ŋa* བརྒྱ་བཙོང་ ‘fifteen hundred’). The form *teik tō:* གཅིག་ལྷོང་, where the number of thousands comes before the word thousand, is used in referring to years, for instance 1974 *teiktō: gubja dyntɕu tʰonzi* གཅིག་ལྷོང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་དུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་བཞི་. The reverse order *tō:tʰaʔ teiʔ* ལྷོང་ཕྱག་གཅིག་ is used for discussing prices, e.g. *tō:tʰaʔ tɕopgɛʔ* ལྷོང་ཕྱག་བཙོང་བརྒྱད་ ‘eighteen hundred, 1800’. The numeral suffix *-tʰaʔ* ཕྱག་ signals completion of a set or an abstract notion represented by a set of numbers, e.g. *tō:tʰaʔ* ལྷོང་ཕྱག་ ‘thousand’, *dyntʰaʔ* དུན་ཕྱག་ ‘week’, *tɕutʰaʔ* བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་ ‘full ten, decade’.

For other numerals, consider Table 3.38.

Table 3.38. Other numeral-related vocabulary

<i>tō: kʰā:pu</i>	ལྷོང་གང་ལུ་	‘all’	<i>ʈopo tō: kʰā:pu</i> ལྷོ་པོ་ལྷོང་གང་ལུ་ ‘all the Lhopos’ (lit. full thousand Lhopos)
<i>pʰiʔ</i>	ཕྱད་	‘half’	<i>s̄um tʰā: pʰiʔ</i> གསུམ་དང་ཕྱད་ ‘three and half’
<i>tɕʰa</i>	ཆ་	‘pair’	<i>lā: tɕʰa teiʔ</i> ལྷང་ཆ་གཅིག་ ‘a pair of bulls’
<i>kʰā:(pu)</i>	གང་ལུ་	‘(one) full’	<i>tɕʰum tsan̄ku kʰā:</i> ལྷུམ་ཙང་ཀུ་གང་ [rice container full] ‘one container of rice’ <i>para kʰā:(pu)</i> པ་ར་གང་(ལུ་) ‘fistful’
<i>do/tʰo</i>	དོ་	‘two’	<i>botor do</i> བོར་དོ་ ‘two bottles’

The vigesimal system illustrated in Table 3.39 is build around the number twenty, for which the word *kʰɛ:* ཁམ་ ‘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 *tʰā:* is used in conjoining the complex numerals.

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

Table 3.39. Examples of the vigesimal number system

20	<i>kʰɛ: tɛi?</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་	score-one
21	<i>kʰɛ: tɛi? (t'ã:) tɛi?</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་(དང་)གཅིག་	score-one (and) one
25	<i>kʰɛ: tɛi? (t'ã:) ŋá</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་(དང་)ལྔ་	score-one (and) five
30	<i>kʰɛ: tɛi? (t'ã:) tɛu(tʰamba)</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་(དང་)བརྒྱ་(ཐམ་པ་)	score-one (and) ten
39	<i>kʰɛ: tɛi? tɛu t'ã: gu</i>	ཁལ་གཅིག་བརྒྱ་དང་དགུ་	score-one ten and nine
40	<i>kʰɛ: nɪ:</i>	ཁལ་གཉིས་	score-two
41	<i>kʰɛ: nɪ: (t'ã:) tɛi?</i>	ཁལ་གཉིས་(དང་)གཅིག་	score-two (and) one
55	<i>kʰɛ: nɪ: t'ã: tɛɛ:ŋa</i>	ཁལ་གཉིས་དང་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་	score-two and fifteen
59	<i>kʰɛ: nɪ: tɛu t'ã: gu</i>	ཁལ་གཉིས་བརྒྱ་དང་དགུ་	score-two ten and nine
60	<i>kʰɛ: súm</i>	ཁལ་གསུམ་	score-three
80	<i>kʰɛ: zi</i>	ཁལ་བཞི་	score-four
100	<i>tɛik gja, gja tɛi?, gja(tʰamba)</i>	གཅིག་བརྒྱ་, བརྒྱ་གཅིག་, བརྒྱ་ཏམ་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་ཕྱག་ཁལ་གཅིག་བྱིན་གད་མིན།
ŋà tɔ:tʰa? kʰɛ: tɛi? p'in-ɛĩ:
 1SG thousand score one give-NPST.PER
 'I will give twenty thousand (rupees).' (TB bulls story)

- (3.96) ཇཱོ་ཀླུ་པོ་ལོ་ཁལ་བཞི་ཚོད་
ádzo gɛ:po lò kʰɛ: zi-tsʰø?
 grandfather old.man year score four-about
 'old grandfather of some eighty years' (Richhi 78)

- (3.97) a) ཁྱལ་ཁང་བསྐྱམས་སྟེ་ཁལ་བཞི་དང་ལྔ་སྟངས།
kʰɛ:gã: dom-ti kʰɛ: zi t'ã: ŋá bɛ?
 family gather-NF score four and five EQU.NE
 'There are altogether 85 families.' (Richhi 48)

- b) ལྔ་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་བྱ་ཙ་བརྒྱ་འདྲེ་ཅིག་སྟོ་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྟོ་བ་དཔོན་ཡོད།
ŋábgya níeu tsa:-gɛ? dɛ:tɛi? ʃori=ki lópɛ:
 five.hundred twenty twenty-eight thus.much Lhopo.people=GEN teacher
jò?
 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་བརྒྱ་དོན་བརྒྱད་ནང་གཤམ་
te^hilo¹⁵² teik-tō: gubgja dynteu t'on-ge? nàŋɛa=lo
 year one-thousand nine.hundred seventy seventy-eight inside=DAT
 ‘In 1978’ (KT life story)

- (3.99) ད་ང་བཟའ་ཚང་འགྲགས་མྱི་སྟོང་ལྔ་དེ་ལོ་གཉིས་ཤུ་རྩ་བདུན་ཚེད་ལང་ཚར་སེ།
t'a ŋà za:ts^hã: dak-ti dø:-ti t'a lò jieu
 now 1SG married.couple bind-NF stay-NF now year twenty
tsapdɿ:-ts^hø? lã:-ts^ha:=s.
 twenty.seven-about reach-CMPL=QUO
 ‘Now it’s about twenty-seven years since I established the tie of matrimony (I tell).’ (KT life story)

- (3.100) ཚེས་གཉིས་ཤུ་འདི་མེ་ལགས།
ts^he: jieu=di mi-lê?
 date twenty=DEMPH NEG-be.good
 ‘The twentieth day is not good.’ (RS astrology)

In addition to the *jieu* ཉེ་ཤུ་, *k^he:* ཁལ་ and *tsa-* ཙ་, all meanings ‘twenty’, a fourth numeral *jèr* ཉེར་ is used for referring to twenty with respect to to dates of the month, i.e. the form is used for the 21-29th days of the month, e.g. *jèr=gu* ཉེར་དགུ་ ‘the twenty ninth day of the month’.¹⁵³

- (3.101) A: ཉེ་རུམ་ཏེག་དགོན་པའི་གི་འདི་ནམ་མོ་, དགོན་པོ་སྤང་གུ་གི?
te rùmtɛ? gjømpø:=gi=di nàm mo, gjømpo jingku=gi?
 so TPN monastery.GEN=GEN=DEMPH when EQU.NE.Q monastery old.=GEN
 ‘So when is the Rumtek monastery’s (ceremony), the old monastery’s?’

- B: འདི་ཉེར་ར་ཟད། ཟུ་བརྒྱ་བའི་གི།
di jèr=ra be?, dou tɛu-pø:=gi.
 this twenties.of.a.month=AEMPH EQU.NE month ten-ORD.GEN=GEN
 ‘It’s in the twenties (of the month), of the tenth month.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

Numerals are typically used as noun modifiers (see §4.1.3.2), although they may also occur independently (see [4.166] in §4.4).

The suffix *-t^hamba* 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

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 *ts^he:* ‘date of the month’ is used for referring to the dates of the month up to the twentieth day, *ts^he: jieu* ‘day twenty’. After that, the specific numeral *jèr* ‘twenties (of a month)’ is used for referring to days 21-29, i.e. *jèrgu* ‘the twenty ninth of the month’. The thirtieth day of the month is *námgã:*, which literally means ‘black moon’.

-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་བྱ་གཞི་གསུམ་ཐམ་པ་ཡོད།
tɛ nɛː=gi nàː pʼapuzi súm-tʰamba jòʔ.
 then 1SG.GEN=GEN here children three-NUM EX.PER
 ‘Then I have three children here.’ (KT life story)

- (3.103) ད་གཉེན་སྐབས་ཉི་ཤེས་དེ་ན་མོ་ལོ་བཅུ་ཐམ་པ་ལང་ཚར།
tʼa nɛ́n kjap-tiki tʼato lò tɛu-tʰamba lǎː-tsʰaː.
 now wedding do-NF now year ten-NUM arrive-CPML
 ‘Now it’s ten years since (they/he) got married.’ (KT life story)

In addition to marking ordinal numbers, *-po/bo* can form collective nouns from numerals, see (3.104) and (3.105), where the noun preceding the numeral reveals what the collective entity consists of. The nominalized numeral signifies that the enumerated elements form one entity. This type of derivative use of *-po/bo* with numerals is here termed collectivizer (glossed COL).

- (3.104) ང་ཅག་གཉིས་པོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བར་བཅར་པོ་ཞིན།
ɲàtɛaʔ ɲíː-po bhaila ta-wa tɛaː-bo ǎː.
 1PL two-COL PN look-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘The two of us came to see Bhaila.’ (Richhi 11)

- (3.105) མོ་འདི་ཏི་རུལ་ལྔ་པོ་འདི་
ódi tiruʔ ɲá-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) **nɛː* *pʼum* *tɛi-ga* *jòʔ.*
nɛː *pʼum* *ɲín-ga* *jòʔ.* ‘I have two daughters.’
nɛː *pʼum* *súm-ga* *jòʔ.* ‘I have three daughters.’
nɛː *pʼum* *zi-ga* *jòʔ.* ‘I have four daughters.’
nɛː *pʼum* *gu-ga* *jòʔ.* ‘I have nine daughters.’ (KN e)
 **nɛː* *pʼum* *tɛu-ga* *jòʔ.*
 1SG.GEN girl NUM-COL EX.PER

The suffix *-tsʰøʔ* མཇུག་ ‘about, some, measure of’ (from WT མཇུག་ *tshod* ‘measure’, which is in meaning very similar to WT མཇུག་ *tshad* ‘measure’) attaches to numerals and marks an inexact amount. For examples, refer to (3.99) above and §4.4 below. The restrictive suffix *-ma*, which attaches to numerals and quantifying words and which is accompanied by a negated existential, is described in §10.3.2.

3.6.8 Postpositions

In Denjongke, words marking various spatio-temporal and abstract relations such as ‘on’, ‘after’ and ‘according to’ are here termed postpositions, which underlines the syntactic fact that the word expressing the relation to the noun occurs after the nominal. Some of the postpositions bear more noun-like characteristics and can be described as relator nouns (RN), whereas for other postpositions such a characterization is less fitting. Thus, RNs are here considered a subcategory of postpositions. RNs are historical nouns which through frequent use in relational contexts have shed some of their noun-like characteristics.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 འཛིན་) ‘likeness, similar to’, and the locative markers *-k^ha* (locative suffix), *=lo* (dative-locative case), *=le* (ablative case) and *=na* (locative case). Although the postpositions in Table 3.41 are analyzed into their constitutive parts, the combinations have through frequent use grammaticalized towards lexicalization.

Table 3.40 Nominal roots used in postpositions listed in Table 3.41

Noun root		Gloss
<i>nəŋ</i>	ནང་	‘inside(s)’
<i>t’əŋ</i>	དོན་	‘meaning, purpose’
<i>ts^hap</i>	ཚབ་	‘replacement’
<i>tsa</i>	ཙ་	‘root, base’
<i>t^hoʔ</i>	ཐོག་	‘roof’
<i>go</i>	གཞི་	‘head’
<i>kor</i>	སྐོར་	‘neighborhood’
<i>ŋo:</i>	དོས་	‘side, direction’
<i>gjaɸ</i>	གྱུ་	‘back’
<i>dze:</i>	རྩེ་	‘trace, trail’
<i>dyn</i>	མདུན་	‘front’
<i>p’a:</i>	བར་	‘(space in) between’
<i>jeŋ</i>	ཕྱིན་	‘earlier (time)’
<i>teŋ</i>	ཏྱུང་	‘top’
<i>òʔ</i>	འོག་	‘low(er) place’
<i>bu(:)</i>	བྱུ་	‘middle’
<i>boloʔ</i>	འབྲི་ལྟག་ ¹⁵⁵	‘close’

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 འབྲི་ལྟག་.

Table 3.41. Postpositions

Postposition		Gloss
<i>nàŋ-tar, nàŋ-zin</i>	ནང་ལྷན་, ནང་བཞིན་	‘according to, similar to’
<i>t’øn-zin(gi)</i>	དོན་བཞིན་(ཁྱིམ་)	‘according to, in accordance with, in view of’
<i>(t’ã:) námtɛi?</i> , <i>(t’ã:) námpu</i>	(དང་) མཉམ་ཅིག་, (དང་) མཉམ་ཐུ་	‘with’
<i>să.te, =să:</i>	ཟད་ཤིང་, ཟད་	‘until’
<i>məmbo</i> ¹⁵⁶	མན་བོ་	‘except’
<i>méntă: (rare)</i>	མན་བཏང་	‘except’
<i>ts^hap=lo, ts^hama(=lo)</i>	ཚབ་ལོ་, ཚབ་མ་(ལོ་)	‘instead of’
<i>tsa-k^ha, tsa:=lo, =tsa:</i>	ཙ་ཁ(ར་), ཙ་ལོ་, ཙ(ར་)	‘at, by, with’
<i>t’øn=lo, t’øn=lɛ,</i> <i>t’ønda=lo, t’ønda=lɛ</i>	དོན་ལོ་, དོན་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལོ་, དོན་དག་ལས་	‘for (the purpose of)’
<i>t^ho:=lɛ</i>	ཐོག་ལས་	‘through, via, on the basis of, by’
<i>(=lɛ) gjy.ti</i>	(ལས་) རྒྱད་རྒྱུ་	‘through, via, by’
<i>go:=lɛ</i>	འགོ་ལས་	‘from, through’
<i>kor=lo, kor=lɛ</i>	སྐོར་ལོ་, སྐོར་ལས་	‘about’
<i>ŋo:=lo/hõ:=lo, ŋo:te/hõ:te</i> <i>ŋo:=lɛ/hõ:=lɛ</i>	དོས་ལོ་, དོས་ཤིང་ དོས་ལས་	‘toward, in the direction of’ ‘from the direction/side of, through’
<i>gjab=lo, gjab=lɛ</i>	རྒྱབ་ལོ་, རྒྱབ་ལས་	‘behind, after’
<i>dzɛ:=lo</i> ¹⁵⁷	རྩིས་ལོ་	‘after’
<i>(kum)dyn-k^ha, (kum)dÿ:=lo,</i> <i>kumdÿ:</i>	(སྐུ་)མདུན་ཁ(ར་), (སྐུ་)མདུན་ལོ་, སྐུ་མདུན་	‘in front of, in the presence of’
<i>p’a:=na</i>	བར་ན་	‘between’
<i>ɲén=lo, ɲén=lɛ, ɲóma,</i> <i>hɛn=lɛ, hɛma</i>	སྔན་ལོ་, སྔན་ལས་, སྔན་མ་, ཉན་ལས་, ཉན་མ་	‘before’
<i>teŋ-k^ha, teŋ=lo</i>	ཉེང་ཁ(ར་), ཉེང་ལོ་	‘above, on’
<i>=gu, gu=lo</i> ¹⁵⁸	མགུ་(ལོ་). ¹⁵⁹	‘above, on’
<i>ò:=lo, ò:=lɛ</i>	འོག་ལོ་, འོག་ལས་	‘below’
<i>bu:=na, bu:=lo</i>	སྤྱན་, སྤྱ་ལོ་	‘in the middle of’
<i>bolo(-k^ha), bolo=lo</i>	འབོ་ལྷག་(ཁར་), འབོ་ལྷག་ལོ་	‘next to’
<i>nàŋɛa(=lo), nàŋ=lo,</i> <i>nàŋ=na</i>	ནང་ག་(ལོ་), ནང་ལོ་, ནང་ན་	‘inside’
<i>p^hilo?</i>	ཕྱི་ལྷག་	‘outside’
<i>paŋk^ha</i>	བང་ཁ(ར་)	‘outside’

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'ənzin(gi)*, *jàmtei?*, *jàmpu*, *sǎ:te*, =*sǎ:*) are postpositions which are not relator nouns whereas the rest are postpositions which are relator nouns. Note that most of the relator nouns have several forms, depending on which locational suffix or case clitic is used in their formation (e.g. *nàŋca/nàŋlo* ‘inside’, *nàŋle* ‘from inside’).

Example (3.107) exemplifies a postposition which is an RN, because it may occur with a genitive-marked nominal complement (3.107a). The construction in (3.107b) can be considered a more grammaticalized use because there is no genitive marking. Note that the RN is in glossing treated like the other (non-RN-like) postpositions and not like a noun, hence the gloss ‘after’ rather than [back=ABL].

- (3.107) a) ལོ་གཅིག་གི་རྒྱབ་ལས་
 lò tɛi:=ki gjaɓlɛ
 year one=GEN after
 ‘one year later’ (SGD wedding customs)

- b) ཉིན་གཅིག་རྒྱབ་ལས་
 ɲim tɛi? gjaɓlɛ
 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) རྒྱལ་ལྷ་མཉམ་པུ་
 ro:=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-phonological factor which conditions whether the complement noun of a relator noun (RN) is genitive marked or not.

Rarely, and exclusively in the spoken language, RNs occur in relational context in their bare monosyllabic root form:

- (3.109) ཉིན་གསུམ་རྒྱབ་
 ɲim súm gɟap
 day three back
 ‘After three days...’ (TB funeral customs)

- (3.110) ད་ མ་འདི་ རྩེང་
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 =*le*, locative suffix -*kʰa*) or genitive marking (=ki/gi).

- (3.111) ཏེ་ མ་འདི་ རྩེང་ཁ་ལོ་
tɛ ódi tɛŋkʰa=lo
 the that above=DAT
 ‘then above (in additional to) that...’ (CY interview)

- (3.112) ལོ་ ལྔ་པ་རྩེད་(གི་) རྩེད་ལས་
lò ŋáptɕu(=gi) gjablɛ
 year fifty(=GEN) after
 ‘after fifty years’ (KN e)

- (3.113) འབྲས་ལྗངས་ རྣང་གི་ གཏམ་རྒྱུས་ཙུ་
dɛndzõ: 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 *gjab* ‘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 *gjab* ‘back’, *gjab=lo/gjab=le*, 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*, *gjabkʰa*. 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. *ལྔ་པ་ལོ་(=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/tɛ̃*: ‘top, upper surface’ rarely occurs outside the relational constructions with additional marking (*tɛŋkʰa/tɛŋ=lo* ‘above’, *tɛŋ=le* ‘from above’, *tɛŋ=gi* ‘of above’).

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. *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo* ‘inside’ also occurs in the ablative form *nàŋ=lɛ* ‘from inside’ and genitive *nàŋ=gi* ‘of the inside’. Another noun-like feature is the ability to have genitive-marked nominal modifiers/complements, e.g. *ɛá:lo=ki tɛŋ=lo* ‘on the bamboo slit wall’. RNs also have adverbial characteristics. The locative adverbial suffix *-kʰa* is used in some RNs in variation with the dative-locative case marker *=lo*, e.g. *tɛŋkʰa*, *tɛŋ=lo* ‘on, above’, *dɛŋkʰa*, *dɛŋ=lo* ‘in front of’. Most of the RNs also have independent uses as adverbs, e.g. *ɲénlɛ* ‘(in) earlier (times)’, *gjablɛ* ‘afterwards’, *nàŋɛa* ‘inside’.

A study of the most frequent RNs in the novel Richhi, *tɛŋ* རྩོད་ ‘above’ (including forms *tɛŋkʰa*, *tɛŋ=lo*, *tɛŋ=gi*, altogether 81 instances) and *nàŋ* རྩོད་ ‘inside’ (including *nàŋɛa*, *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) རྩོད་ རྩོད་ལོ་

ɲɛ: *tɛŋ=lo*
1SG.GEN top=DAT
‘on me’ (Richhi 63)

(3.115) རྩོད་ལོ་ རྩོད་ལོ་

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

(3.116) རྩོད་ལོ་ རྩོད་ལོ་ རྩོད་ལོ་

lóbqø: nàŋ=gi gjaʈʰi
school.GEN inside=GEN chair
‘chair from inside the school’ (Richhi 88)

For the non-genitive-marked constructions in Richhi, consider (3.117-119).

(3.117) རྩོད་ལོ་ རྩོད་ལོ་

ɛá:lo? *tɛŋ=lo*
bamboo.wall top=DAT
‘on the bamboo wall’ (Richhi 98)

(3.118) རྩོད་ལོ་ རྩོད་ལོ་

tsʰokor nàŋ=lo
pond inside=DAT
‘in the pond’ (Richhi 32)

- (3.119) མོའི་ ཁྱིམ་ རང་གི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་
mù=i kʰim nàŋ=gi lògju?
 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* ཁབ་རྒྱ་ རྩེང་ལ་ ‘on the cover’, *ɛ́a:lo=ki tɛŋ=lo* ཤག་ལོག་གི་ རྩེང་ལ་ ‘on the bamboo wall’. In two cases, the short genitive form was omitted, *kɛ tɛŋ=lo* རྩེ་ རྩེང་ལ་ ‘on the neck’, *bu: nàŋ=gi* སྤུ་ རང་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 *nàŋɛa*, *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 nàŋɛa*) and as genitive (*lóbɖø: nàŋɛa*).

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, *kā:po* ཀང་པོ་ and *ka:m* ཀང་མ་. With the first one, the (short) genitive is formed by vowel modification, *kā:pø:*, whereas the latter uses the longer form *=ki/gi*. The word which allows short genitive marking is genitive marked (3.120), but the other word, which would occur with the longer genitive, remains non-marked (3.121).

- (3.120) བྱི་རྩུང་ ཀང་པོའི་ རང་གི་
pʰitsuŋ¹⁶¹ kā:pø: nàŋɛa
 bird foot.GEN inside
 ‘in the bird’s foot’ (PD bet story)

- (3.121) བྱི་རྩུང་གི་ ཀང་མ་ རྩེང་ལ་
pʰitsuŋ=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་ ཁྱ་ རུ་བྱོ་ གཅིག་ རྩེང་ལ་ལོ་ དཔྱད་ཐེ་གི་
tʰa kʰu rubi=teɪ? tɛŋkʰa=lo pjã:-diki
 now 3SGM climber=INDEF 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.

¹⁶¹ Interestingly, the complement of the RN (*kā:pø:*) is genitive marked whereas the nominal modifier of *kā:po* ‘foot’, *pʰitsuŋ* ‘bird’ remains non-marked. In example (4.22), however, the modifier is genitive-marked. This speaker may have a tendency to avoid two contiguous non-marked modifiers/complements.

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

<i>t'izã:</i>	དེ་ཟང་	‘but’
<i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ཨིན་རུང་	‘but, however’, lit. ‘although it is (so)’ [EQU-CONC]
<i>inajã:</i>	ཨིན་ན་ཡང་	‘but, however’, lit. ‘even if it is (so)’ [EQU-COND-still]
<i>indã:jã:</i>	ཨིན་དང་ཡང་	‘but, however’ lit. ‘it is (so) and yet’ [EQU-and-still]
<i>ĩ:jã:</i>	ཨིན་ཡང་	‘but, however’, lit. ‘it is (so) yet’ [EQU-still]
<i>zennε</i>	གཞན་ནེ་	‘otherwise’ lit. [other-COND] or [other-TOP]
<i>zẽ:mene</i>	གཞན་མཁན་ནེ་	‘otherwise’, lit. ‘if there is nothing else’ [other-NEG.EQU-COND]
<i>jã:</i>	ཡང་	‘and, (then) again, still’
<i>jã:nε</i>	ཡང་ནེ་	‘or’
<i>jã:mene</i>	ཡང་མཁན་ནེ་	‘or in other case, otherwise’, lit. ‘and if it is not (so)’ [and-NEG.EQU-COND]
<i>mi-tsʰε?</i>	མི་ཚད་	‘not only (but also); moreover; in addition’, lit. ‘not-stop(ping)’
<i>k'ambrasene</i> ¹⁶²	གན་བྱས་སེ་ནེ་	‘because, this is for the reason that’, lit. ‘if told why’ [why-say-COND]
<i>dile</i>	འདི་ལས་	‘then’ (lit. ‘this=ABL’, probably already lexicalized)
<i>t'ene</i>	དེ་ནས་	‘then, in that case’ (often collocates with <i>tε</i> ‘well, then’, as in <i>tε t'ene</i> ‘well then...’)

All the discourse connectors in Table 3.42 connect finite clauses and therefore, they are described, with two exceptions, in §12, which describes how finite clauses are connected. The first exception is *mi-tsʰε?* ‘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'ambrasene* ‘because’, which is functionally similar to formally-subordinated causal adverbial clauses and is therefore described along with the functionally similar clauses in §15.4.

3.6.10 Interjections

Interjections are words that comprise an utterance in themselves. They are often phonologically distinct (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 57) and usually express the speaker’s spontaneous emotions and reactions to something they have experienced or heard. Interjections usually occur at the beginning of a clause and are often followed by a pause. Phonologically distinctive characteristics of interjections are emphatically long vowels, the use of diphthongs /ɛi/ and /ai/, which do not otherwise occur in word roots (but do occur in the genitive forms, e.g. *kei* རྒྱེ་ཁྲི་ ‘of neck’, *sái* སེ་ཁྲི་ ‘of

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 *láp* ‘say’ or *εù* ‘say (hum.)’, e.g. *k'amjalapne*, *k'amjaεune*. 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'ambraseno* (eastern and northern pronunciation), *k'ambrasena* (literary pronunciation).

ground’) and the otherwise non-occurring final consonant /p^h/ [f] in *úf* ལུཕ་ (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
<i>ámɛ:</i>	ཨ་མེ་	‘wow’	expressing enthrallment, rapture
<i>làso</i>	ལགས་སྒྲི་	‘okay’	approval
<i>ák^(h)a:</i>	ཨ་ཁ་	‘gee, gosh’	surprise, amazement
<i>ádzei</i>	ཨ་ཇེ་	‘gee, gosh’	surprise, amazement, quite similar to <i>ák^ha:</i>
<i>óje, ói</i>	ཨོ་ཡེ་, ཨོ་འི་	‘oh, hey’	used for getting someone’s attention
<i>é:, jà:</i>	ཨེ་, ཡ་	‘oh’	expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going
<i>á:</i>	ཨ་	‘hey’, ‘yes’, ‘what?’	1) informal address to get someone’s attention 2) non-honorific response to being called, addressed to social inferior (corresponds to honorific <i>la:</i> below)
<i>là:</i>	ལགས་	‘yes’ ‘excuse me?’	1) polite response to being called 2) expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said ¹⁶³
<i>kei</i>	ཀྱེ་, ཀྱི་	‘O (voc.)’	honorific address (e.g. ‘O lama’)
<i>tɛ^ha</i>	ཁ་	‘alas’	disappointment (e.g. after a bad shot in a game of carrom or <i>keremboj</i>), loan from Nepali
<i>tɛ^hɛ:</i>	ཁེ་	‘ah, oh no’	disapproval, discomfort (e.g. when someone does not answer phone), the response to being tickled
<i>úf</i>	ལུཕ་	‘phew’	expression of pain or discomfort
<i>ádzi:</i>	ཨ་ཇི་	‘oh no’	1) (unpleasant) surprise, 2) fear
<i>áijo:</i> <i>á(i)ja:</i>	ཨོ་ཡེ་ ཨོ་ཡེ་, ཨོ་ཡ་	‘ouch’	pain or fear of pain
<i>óho:</i>	ཨོ་ཧོ་	‘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, *t’a* ‘now’ (WD ད་ *da*) and *tɛ* (WD ཏེ་ *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) ཏེ་ ད་ལྟ་ ཏེ་ ད་ ལ་ཅུང་ལ་ ཏེ་ ད་ ལྷི་
tɛ t’ato tɛ t’a làtɛ^huŋ=la tɛ t’a lí=di
 so now so now TPN=DAT so now apple=DEMPH
 ‘So now in Lachung apples...’ (LA intro to Lachung)

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

¹⁶⁴ The word “case” derives from Latin *casus* ‘fall(ing)’, a loan from Greek *ptōsis* ‘fall(ing)’ (Haspelmath 2009: 506). Thus, the word suggests a falling away from the standard citation form (Blake 1994: 19).

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 *námpu/námtɛi?* མཉམ་བུ་/མཉམ་ཅིག་ ‘with’ and *qau* འདྲ་ ‘(be) similar’, e.g. *ηà (t’ã:) námpu* ང་ (དང་) མཉམ་བུ་ ‘with me’, *ka (t’ã:) námtɛi?* ཀ་ (དང་) མཉམ་ཅིག་ ‘with whom’, *lamu (t’ã:) qau* ལ་ལུ་ (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་སྤྱིད་ཀྱིས་ མོའི་ ཇམ་རྒྱ་ འདི་ དང་ ལྷ་སྤྱིད་ལོ་ རོ་ཤེས་ འགྲགས་བཞིན་
tɕʰøki=ki m̀= i ágja=di t’ã: ʃaki=lo ηò éé:
 PN=GEN 3SGF=GEN elder.brother=DEMPH with PN=DAT face know
qak-zẽ:
 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 *námpu*).

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. *ηà* ‘I’, *ηá:=gi* ‘I=AGT’, *ηá:* ‘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 vocally ending nouns, especially in spoken language. The main function of the genitive case is to mark a nominal or a clause as a modifier of a nominal, see §4.1.2.2. Although there is considerable variation 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

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 lengthening the vowel in disyllabic words such as *nòrbu* is only part of the reading-style pronunciation, and hence used only by literate speakers, or whether it is also used by non-literate speakers. The reason why the reading-style pronunciation is motivated to lengthen the vowel is that the agentive case in words ending in a vowel may in writing be marked, in addition to full -*ki/gi*, by final letter -*s* ས, which prompts a response from the reader to distinguish the form from the nominative. Another way to pronounce the final -*s* ས 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* མོད་ ‘you’ > *tɕʰøʔ*=*ki* མོད་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 *nà*: ‘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 =*le* 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, =*le* occurs in both nominal (§5.6.1.3) and verbal adverbial uses (see §15.3.1.1). The ablative is also used for comparison, see §5.6.1.3.2 and §15.11.

3.7.1.2 Postpositions or cases: =*sã*: ‘until’ and =*tsa*(:) ‘at, by, with’

The forms =*sã*: ཟད་ ‘until’ and =*tsa*(:) ཟླ་ཅན་ ‘at, by, with’ are problematic for analysis in that they resemble cases. In distribution =*sã*: resembles cases in being able to occur with nouns, adverbs and verbs, see (3.125-127) respectively.

- (3.125) བེ་ན་ འབར་གཉའ་ཟང་ ཟླ་བས་པོ་ མེད།¹⁷⁰
pʰina ba:ŋa=sã: lɛp-o mɛʔ.
 over.there TPN=until arrive-2INF NEG.EX.PER
 ‘I haven’t been able to arrive over there in Bermeok.’ (KT, discussion with TB)

- (3.126) གཏམ་ མོ་འདི་ ག་ཚད་ཟང་ བདེན་དཀའ་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་ལགས་?
tam ódi kʰadzø=sã: dɛŋtaʔ jø:=kam=laʔ
 speech that how.much=until true EX.PER=ATTQ=HON
 ‘I wonder to what degree that claim is true?’ (CY interview)

- (3.127) ང་ ད་ཟུང་ དབང་མོ་ ལོག་ མ་འོང་ཟང་ ལྷོད་ཤད་ མིན་
ŋà tʰaruŋ óŋmu lòk ma-ð:=sã: dø:-ɕɛ ɿ̃.
 1SG still PN return NEG-come=TERM stay-INF EQU.PER
 ‘I’ll still stay until Wangmu comes back.’/ ‘I’ll still stay as long as Wangmo has not come.’
 (Ricchi 28)

The clitic =*sã*:, however, is distinguished from case-markers by the ability to be formed into a full-blown disyllabic postposition, see (3.128), something which does not happen with case-markers.

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

- (3.128) ད་ལྟ་ ཟང་ཞེ་ ང་ ན་ སྒྲོ་བ་ རང་ག་ལོ་རང་ གཡོག་ རྒྱལ་ས་ཁོན་ ཡོད།
t'ato sã:te *ŋà nà: lápt̪a nàŋɕa=lo=rã: jóʔ kjap-z̥ɛ: jòʔ.*
 now until 1SG here school inside=DAT=AEMPH job do-PROG EX.PER
 ‘Until now I have been working here at the school.’ (KT life story)

Because of the presence of two synonymic variant forms =*sã:* and *sã:te*, =*sã:* is here considered a cliticized form of the postposition *sã:te*. There is, however, some fluidity in this criteria, because the locative case marker =*na* also has a rather synonymic corresponding postposition *nàŋɕa/nàŋlo*, and thus =*na* could be argued, in analogy with =*sã:* and *sã:te*, 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/sã:te* as postposition with a longer and shorter form.

The monosyllabic form =*tsa(:)* ‘by, with’, which also resembles a case marker, is here analyzed as a postposition. A formal argument for this analysis is that the derivational locative suffix *-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’, *dɛŋkʰa* ‘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) རྒྱལ་ས་འབྲུར་ རྒྱ་ འདི་ བརྒྱ་ རྩ་ ཡོད།
tobdzor=tsa:=di gja ŋá jòʔ.
 PN=at=DEMPH hundred five EX.PER
 ‘There were five hundred (rupees) with Topjor.’ (UTR, plains story)
- b) རྒྱལ་ཁྱུང་ (school) རྒྱ་ལ་ མོན་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’, *ŋɛ: ɛɛ:* [1SG.GEN] ‘my’, *ŋɛ:=gi ɛɛ:* (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

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་པོའི་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 =*le* and dative-locative =*lo* may attach to the locative marker, as shown in (3.130) and (3.131) respectively.

- (3.130) ཟླ་ལོ་མཁུ་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སླེབས་ཤང་ འདིས་
*tʰinle:=ki kʰim=na=le tʰato*¹⁷³=*sã:* *ka=jã:* *ma-lɛp-ɛɛ=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) སུའི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལོ་
pʰu=i kʰim=na=lo
 boy=GEN house=LOC=DAT
 ‘In(side) the boy’s house’ (SGD wedding customs)

Example (3.132) has the ablative appended to the genitive:

- (3.132) ངའི་ཀི་ ཁྱིམ་ ལྷན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལས་ རྟིང་གྱ་ མིན།
nè:=gi kʰim lɛŋgɛ:=ki=le nɨŋku ȩ:
 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་གྲྲི་ན་ལོ་
lóbqø:=na=lo
 school.GEN=LOC=DAT
 ‘in the school’ (Richhi 31)

An alternative interpretation would be to treat *nalo* and *nale* as reduced postpositions meaning ‘within’ and ‘from within’ respectively, co-existing with the postpositions *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo/nàŋle* ‘(from) inside’. However, the fact that the postpositional forms *nàŋɛa* and *nàŋlo* are more likely than =*na=lo* and =*na=le* to be used alone as simple utterances favours the interpretation of =*na=lo* and =*na=le* 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=le* 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.

¹⁷³ The spoken form *tʰato* 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
= <i>rã</i> :/= <i>ra</i>	རང་/ར་	anaphoric emphatic	§16.1.1
= <i>to</i>	ཏོ་	contrastive emphatic	§16.1.2
= <i>di</i>	འདི་	demonstrative-emphatic	§16.1.3
= <i>ni/nε</i>	ནི་	topicalizer-emphatic	§16.1.4
= <i>jã</i> ·	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 =*nε/ni* ནི་ 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
= <i>lo</i>	ལོ་	reportative	§9.2.1
= <i>s(ε)</i>	སེ་	quotative	§9.2.2
= <i>la</i>	ལགས་	honorific (also attaches to nouns)	§16.2.1 (also §3.7.4.3, §11.2.3)
= <i>εo</i>	ཤོ་	attention marker (extended use with nouns)	§16.2.2
= <i>ki/gi</i>	གི་	non-commitment marker	§16.2.3

The forms =*lo*, =*s(ε)* 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 ཟེ་ *zer* and honorific WT ལགས་ *lags* are also widely attested in Tibetic 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 =*εo* ཤོ་ has not been reported in Tibetic languages. However, at least three Bhutanese, Eastern Bodish languages

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 =*eo*. 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 =*eo*. 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 =*eo*. Nathan W. Hill (personal communication) suspects that =*eo* is derived from Classical Tibetan ཤག་ *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 =se) and §16.2 (=la, =eo 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 =*tei?* (གཅིག་) (§3.7.4.2), the honorific clitics =*la(:)* ལགས་ and =*te^ho*: མཚོག་ (§3.7.4.3), and the urgentive =*mø?* མྱེད་ (§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’ep=tsu* དེབ་ཚུ་ ‘books’, *t’ep bompu=tsu* དེབ་ རྒྱུ་ཚུ་ ‘big books’. Sandberg (1895: 23) does not mention =*tsu* as a plural marker but instead lists *-cha* (*-tea?*) and *-ts’o* (*-ts’ho*) as Denjongke plural markers, giving *nyi-lam cha* ‘dreams’ and *gya-mi ts’o* ‘Chinese’ as respective examples. The fact that *-ts’ho* 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 *-tea?* (*nyi-lam cha*) is intriguing because it contrasts with Beyer’s (1992: 230) statement on Classical Tibetan that the plural *-tea?* occurs “only after personal determiners even in the oldest texts.” In my data, the plural *-tea?* does not occur in any other words than the personal pronouns *ḡàtea?* ‘we’ and *k’utea?* ‘you (pl.)’. The uses of =*tsu* are illustrated and discussed in §4.1.5.

3.7.4.2 Indefiniteness clitic =*tei?*

The indefiniteness clitic =*tei?* (གཅིག་) derives from the numeral *tei?* 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) བངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ གསུང་གསུང་བོ་ གཅིག་ཅིག་ སྤང།
sáŋge:=ki súŋ-sum-bo tei:=tei? be?
 Buddha=GEN say.HON-RDP-2INF one=INDF EQU.NE
 ‘This is one (proverb) told by the Buddha.’ (YR canteen video)

For more examples, refer to §4.1.6.

3.7.4.3 Honorific clitics =*la*(:) and =*tɕʰo*:

By attaching one of the honorific clitics *=la(:)* (WD ལགས་ *lags*) or *=te^ho:* (WD མཚོག་ *mchog*) to a name or a title the speaker can show respect to the person referred to. The clitic *=la(:)* is a frequent general honorific which can be used of people from any social status or age group. In addition to uses attached to nouns, it also occurs as a clause-final honorific (§3.7.3, §16.2.1), independent interjection (§11.2.3) and as the initial element in affirmative answers (see [36] in Appendix one, Excerpt from discussion). It is also used as a lexicalized ending in some names, e.g. *bhaila* ‘Bhaila’ (*bhai* is the Nepali word for ‘younger brother’). In uses with nouns, the vowel tends to be long *=la:*, whereas in clausal uses, it tends to be short *=la*. As exemplified by (3.135), *=la:* may be used when addressing people (a) or when referring to them in their absence (b).

- (3.135) a) ལྷ་མ་ལགས་ ཁ་རྒྱུ་ ང་ཅིང་
team=la:, *k^hanup* *ηàtəi*
 madam=HON the.day.before.yesterday 1PL.GEN
 ‘Madam, the day before yesterday our...’ (Richhi 8)
- b) ང་ལགས་ མདང་ བྱི་ན་ ལྷ་ སྤྱི་མེ་ བཞུགས་ ཡོད།
pa:=la: *dǎ:* *k^him=na* *lòk* *te ‘øn-di* *zu:* *jò?*
 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 =*te^ho*: can be translated as ‘most excellent, honorable’ and is used of people of considerable social status. The morpheme *te^ho*: 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) ཚེས་རྒྱལ་ བཟུངས་ནས་ རྩམ་རྒྱལ་མཆོག།
tɕʰoŋeː tʰutop námgeɭ=teʰoː
king PN PN-most.excellent
‘most excellent king (chogyal) Thutop Namgyal’ (CY interview)
- b) ཧྲེང་ཁར་ སྤྱི་བར་ སྤྲོ་བོ་……གཟའི་ ཡབ་ ཞིང་བཤགས་ མཆོག་གི།
tɛŋkʰa kupar bompu karmøː jà:p ɕiŋeaː=teʰoː=ki
above portrait big PN.GEN father.HON late-most.excellent=GEN
‘Above (there is) a big portrait of Karma’s honorable late father.’ (Richhi 33)

3.7.4.4 Urgetive clitic =mø?

The urgentive marker =*møʔ* མོ་, 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 མོ་ *mod*, an emphatic verb of being ‘to be indeed’. Sandberg (1895: 57) reports *mø:* as an independent verb, but in my data such uses are not found.

- (3.137) མེ་ ཉེ་ ལྷ་མོ་ གནང་མོད།
é:, tɛ ɛ̀ù: nǎ: =møʔ.
 oh so ask. 2INF do.HON=URG
 ‘Oh, in that case ask (him), by all means.’ (KT animal story)

For further examples on =*møʔ* see, §11.3.3.

3.8 Summary remarks

This chapter, the only one focusing on morphology and etymology, introduced Denjongke word classes, affixes and clitics. The main criteria used in distinguishing clitics from affixes was transcategoriality, i.e. the ability to attach to words of more than one word class. It was shown that Denjongke has four major word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) and eleven minor word classes. Many nouns and verbs can be divided into ordinary and honorific registers. The discussion on verbs listed 45 phonologically related pairs of 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 *tʰo:pa* ‘(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) ཉེན་དུའི་བུམ་གཉིན་རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ལ་
hindu-i p'um nén kjap-kjap-o=lo
 Hindu=GEN girl wedding do-RDP-2INF=DAT
 'to a girl of Hindus' who has been married...'/ 'to a married Hindu girl...' (sbar-phung 88)

- b) མོ་འདི་བུམ་གཉིས་འདྲ་ཅིག་
ódi p'um ní: dɛ:tei?
 that girl two that.much
 'those (as much as) two girls' (SGD wedding customs)

Pro-form

- (4.2) a) ལུ་ཕྱིས་པོ་སྤྲོད།
[kʰu] pʰi:-p(o) bɛ?
 3SGM be.late-2INF EQU.NE
 '[He] was late.' (RS pupil joke)

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) མོ་འདི་ལོ་འདི་གན་ལའ་རྟོ?
 [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་སྐྱོར་ལེགས་ཀྱི་ང་ཅག་སྐྱོར་ཚུགས་པོ་འཛོན་བཟུགས།
 [né:ko lém p'ja-ti ηàtea? kor ts^hu-po] t^hon teu?
 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་གསལ་ཕྱང་ཨ་ཉོ་ལགས།
 [ts^ham=lo zu:-k^hê:] kɛ:p bɛ? áno=la:.
 retreat=DAT sit.HON-NMLZ many EQU.NE grandmother=HON
 '[Those who sit in (mediation) retreat] are many, grandmother.' (SM kitchen discussion)

The ensuing discussion focuses on the first option, the type and order of preceding and following modifiers in the noun phrase. The structure of Denjongke noun phrase is summarized in Figure 4.1, which summarizes the order of various constituents. The abbreviation =EMPH covers both =CEMPH and =AEMPH. The notion quantifier (QUA) includes quantifying pronouns and some versatile quantifying adverbs (see §4.1.3.3).

Figure 4.1. Structure of the noun phrase

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{DEM}) \\ (\text{GEN.ATTR}) (= \text{DEMPH}) \\ (\text{RC with } -k^h\tilde{e}:) \\ (\text{JUXTAPOSITION}) \end{array} \right\} \text{NOUN} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{ADJ}) (\text{NUM}) (\text{QUA}) (\text{DEM}) (= \text{PL}) (= \text{CASE}) (= \text{EMPH}) (= \text{DEMPH/INDF}) (= \text{TOP}) (= j\tilde{a}:^{176}) \\ (\text{RC}) \end{array} \right\}$$

Figure 4.2. The structure of the genitive attribute in the noun phrase

$$(\text{GEN.ATTR}) = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{NP=GEN}) \\ (\text{ADV=GEN}) \\ (\text{PP=GEN}) \\ (\text{RC with } -po \text{ or } -sa) \\ (\text{NCC}) \end{array} \right\}$$

(Abbreviations in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 (from left to right): DEM demonstrative, NP=GEN noun phrase in genitive, PP=GEN postpositional phrase in genitive, RC relative clause, NCC noun complement clause, =DEMPH demonstrative-emphatic, INDF=indefiniteness marker, ADJ adjective, NUM numeral, QUA quantifier, EMPH emphatic)

The order of noun modifiers is demonstrative + noun + adjective + numeral + quantifier (+ emphatic), see (4.4). Numerals and quantifiers are usually exclusive of each other, but certain

¹⁷⁶ The additive emphatic 'too, even, yet'

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

- (4.4) ཨོ་འདི་ ཁྱིམ་ གསར་བ་ གསུམ་ ཐ་མ་ཅད་ འདི་
ódi kʰim sá:p súm tʰamtɛɛ=di
 that house new three all=DEMPH
 ‘all those three new houses’ (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 *-kʰɛ*: (§4.1.2.3) or a juxtaposed nominal (§4.1.2.4).

4.1.2.1 Demonstrative

Distal *ódi*, proximal *di* and, less frequently, the emphatic proximal *dodi*, which can all occur as independent pronouns, do also occur either as prenominal modifiers or postnominal modifiers (for 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་ཟང་ན་ འབྲས་ཕྱོངས་ན་ འོང་མཁན་ཙུ་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཤོག་ཀྱི་ ཡོད་བ་ཐང་ལགས།
tʰizā: nà: qɛndzō:=na òŋ-kʰɛn=tsu=lo [ódi ɛ́oku] jɛbbɛ=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)
- b) འདི་ ཁྱིམ་ འདི་ རྩོད་ཁར་ བཅོ་བཅོ་བོ་ ཐང།
[di kʰim=di] do tɛŋkʰa zo-zo-u bɛʔ.
 this house=DEMPH stone on make-RDP-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘[This house] is built on stones.’ (TB e)

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

- (4.6) ཀར་མེད་ མོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ཡར་རྩ་བར་ སྐྱེ་བ་ ཕྱིན་ ལོ།
karma, tɛʰøʔ [nà: óni=lo] jà:=tsa:=sā: kɛ: pʼin lo.
 PN 2SG.L here small.child=DAT up=by=until bring give TAG.Q
 ‘Karma, you take [the child here] all the way up, okay.’ (Richhi 40)

Other pro-adverbial demonstratives, when used as noun modifiers, have to be genitive marked, see §4.1.2.2 below.

When co-occurring with a genitive attribute, the reference of the demonstrative is contextually determined. In (4.7a), the demonstrative modifies the noun which functions as the genitive attribute, whereas in (4.7b) the demonstrative modifies the head noun, not the genitive attribute. The modified word is underlined.

(4.7) a) མ་འདི་ ཟླ་གི་ རྒྱ་པོ་ འདི་ཙུ་

[*ódi gən=gi*] *lóm̥pu di=tsu*
that time=GEN minister this=PL

‘ministers of that time’ (CY interview)

b) མ་འདི་ རྒྱ་ཁྱུང་གི་ ཁྱིམ་ འདི་

ódi tsa:ɛo:=ki kʰim=di
that corrugated.iron=GEN house=DEMPH

‘that house of corrugated iron’ (not: ‘house of that corrugated iron’) (KL, BB discussion)

4.1.2.2 Genitive attributes

The genitive-marked noun modifier may be a noun phrase (4.8), adverb (4.9), postposition phrase (4.10-11), 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) འདི་ ཨ་པོ་

[*ɲè:*] *ápo*
1SG.GEN father

‘my father’ (DB life story)

b) འ་ཅའི་གི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ མི་རིགས་

[*ɲàtɛi=gi*] [*dɛndzɔŋ=gi*] *míri?*
1PL.GEN=GEN Sikkim=GEN people

‘people of our Sikkim’ (NAB BLA 7)

c) འ་ཅའི་གི་ འདི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་

[*ɲàtɛi=gi=di*] *lògju?*
1PL.GEN=GEN=DEMPH story

‘this story of ours’ (YR canteen video)

Note that in (4.8c) the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* intervenes between the noun and its genitive modifier and that the genitive is double marked.

Adverb phrase (independent uses of postpositions are included within adverbs here)

(4.9) a) མ་ན་གི་ རྒྱ་

[*óna=gi*] *tɕʰu*
there=GEN water

‘the water (of) there’ (UTR plains story)

b) ད་རིང་གི་ རྒྱུས་འདུ་ འདི་ན་

[*t'ariŋ=gi*] *tsʰo:du:=di=na*
today=GEN meeting=DEMPH=LOC

‘in today’s meeting’ (RD BLA 9)

- c) རྩོད་ལོ་གི་ རྩོད་གྲྭ་
 [nénlo=gi] lóbqɑ
 before=GEN school
 ‘the school before’ / ‘the school of days gone’ (Richhi 44)
- d) འག་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་ཀྱི་ རྩོ་སྤྲོ་
 [bolo=ki] kɛ-par kʰorlɔː kɛʔ teiku tʰoː.
 beside=GEN sound-picture wheel.GEN sound only hear
 ‘Only the sound from the nearby television is audible.’ (Richhi 5)

In postposition phrases, the genitive marker =ki/gi replaces the last suffix/syllable of the non-case-marked postposition, as shown in (4.10), where the postpositions modify the noun *kʰim* (WD ཁྱིམ་ *khyim*) ‘house’.

- (4.10) *bolokʰa* འབོ་ལོག་ཁར་ ‘next to’ > *kʰim bolo=gi* ཁྱིམ་ འབོ་ལོག་གི་
teŋkʰa/teŋ=lo རྩེང་ཁར་/རྩེང་ལོ་ ‘above’ > *kʰim teŋ=gi* ཁྱིམ་ རྩེང་གི་
ò:lo/ò:le འག་ལོ་/འག་ལས ‘under’ > *kʰim ò:=gi* ཁྱིམ་ འག་གི་
nàŋɕa/nàŋlo རྩང་ཤ(ར་)/རྩང་ལོ་ ‘inside’ > *kʰim naŋ=gi* ཁྱིམ་ རྩང་གི་

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

Postposition phrase

- (4.11) a) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རྩང་གི་ གཤམ་རྒྱུས་ཚུ་
 [dɛndzɔː nàŋ=gi] tamgyː=tsu
 Sikkim inside=GEN legend=PL
 ‘legends within Sikkim’ (SGD cave story)
- b) ཀར་མཐོའི་ འབོ་ལོ་གི་¹⁷⁷ རྩུབ་ཀྱི་
 [karmɔː] bolo=gi] kupkjaʔ
 PN.GEN next.to=GEN seat
 ‘the seat next to Karma’ (Richhi 125)
- c) བོ་ཙོའི་ མགོའི་ རྩེང་གི་ མ་
 [[pʰotsɔː] go=i] teŋ=gi] má
 child.GEN head=GEN top=GEN wound
 ‘wound on the child’s head’ (Richhi 3)

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) ལུ་རུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་ལུ་མཚམས་བཞུགས་བཞུགས་པའི་གནས་
 [guru rimpute^{hɛ} t'ã:pu ts^ham zu:-zu-bø:] né:
 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་རྒྱལས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་
 [máko lò súm kjap-ø:] lòqju?
 son-in-law year three do-2INF.GEN story
 'story [that the son-in-law does three years (of work)].' (SGD wedding customs)

In spoken language, genitive marking is sometimes dropped from noun modifiers. Example (4.14) provides two phrases from the same story referring to the same event. In a) the modifier *p'iteuŋ* 'bird', modifying the noun *ka:m/ka:po* 'foot', occurs with genitive marking but in b) without.

- (4.14) a) ཕྱི་རུང་གི་རྒྱུང་ལྟོ་ལས་
 [p'iteuŋ=gi] ka:m tɛŋk^ha
 bird=GEN foot on
 'in the bird's foot' (PAD bet story)
- b) ཕྱི་རུང་རྒྱུང་པའི་ནང་གི་
 [p'iteuŋ] kã:pø: nàŋɛa
 bird foot.GEN inside
 'in the bird's foot' (PAD bet story)

Leaving out genitive marking is particularly frequent with toponymic modifiers, see §4.1.2.4.2.

4.1.2.3 Relative clause with *-k^hɛ:*

Noun-modifying relative clauses with the nominalizer *-k^hɛ:*, 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་ལྷ་ལོ་དབྱེང་ཡོད་མཁན་ཀང་ཀར་འདི་
 [tɛ^hø:=ki ŋa=lo pjø: jø:-k^hɛ:] 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

<i>kueap</i>	ལྷ་ཁབ་ས་	‘mister’
<i>team, lateam</i>	ལྷ་མ་, ལྷ་མུ་མ	‘mrs’
<i>lopøŋ</i>	སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་	‘teacher (m.)’
<i>lopøŋ</i>	སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་མ་	‘teacher (fem.)’
<i>te^ho:p</i>	ཆོས་བ་/ཆོས་པོ་	‘monk’
<i>k^hempo</i>	མཁན་པོ་	‘doctor of Buddhist studies’

- (4.16) མོ་མ་འདྲ་ བསམ་སྒྲུབ་
ómdze? sámdup
 second.lama PN
 ‘omdze Samdrup’ (LT kitchen discussion)

- (4.17) བཀ་ཤིས་ སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་
taei lopøŋ
 PN teacher
 ‘teacher Tashi’ (oh, Martam)

- (4.18) མ་ཁུ་ ལྷ་ཁེ་ལུང་
áku bhaitcuŋ
 father’s.younger.brother PN
 ‘Uncle Bhaicung’ (KN kitchen discussion)

- (4.19) མ་ཚོ་ མན་ཐེ་གོང་ས་ལང་
ádzo mèn^hekoŋsalā:
 grandfather PN
 ‘grandfather Mon Thekongsalang’ (CY interview)

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

- (4.20) ཡར་བ་¹⁷⁸ ཀའ་ཤེན་ (captain)
jà:p kæptɛn
 nobleman captain(Eng)
 ‘Honorable Captain’ (KN CY interview)

In the following two examples, two appositional nouns refer to the same location. In (4.21), the latter noun clarifies the referent of the toponym by a common noun. In (4.22), the second word specifies a referent from a group of possible referents suggested by the first word (*bɛjyl*).

- (4.21) གང་རྟོག་ ཁྲོམ་
gã:to? tʰom
 TPN town
 ‘Gangtok town’ / ‘the town of Gangtok’ (YR canteen video)

- (4.22) ཟླ་མ་ཡུལ་ འབྲས་མ་རྒྱུད་ས་
bɛjyl dɛmadzõ:
 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་ཇོ་ ཁོང་ཚུ་ གཅིག་ ཚུ་ལས་ མོ་འདྲེབ་ལྟེ་ གསན་གསན་པོ་ ཡོད།
ádzo kʰõ:=tsu=tei? tsa=lɛ ódɛpti sɛn-sém-po jò?
 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) གན་པོ་ འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ རྩོད་སྐད་ཡང་ ཁོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ མཁྱེན་ ཟད།
gɛmpo di=tsu=gi tsonkɛ:=jã: kʰõ: lɛŋgɛ? kʰɛn bɛ?
 elder this=PL=AGT Limbu=too 3PL PRN.HON know.HON EQU.NE
 ‘...these elders, they also knew the Limbu language.’ (CY interview)

In some instances, appositions lexicalize. For instance, the form *ádzota?* ཨ་ཇོ་སྟག་ ‘tiger’ (TB) deriving from *ádzo ta?* ‘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. *mik-teʰu* ‘eye-water, tear’), whereas the non-appositional juxtaposition combines longer syntagms, which are much longer than

¹⁷⁸ This word is probably a phonologically reduced version of WT ཡར་བས་ *ya-rabs* ‘nobleman’, which has become homophonous with *jà:p* ‘father (hon.)’ (WD ཡབ་ *yab*).

¹⁷⁹ A motivation for this grammaticalization may be that *ta?* ཟླ་ག་ is almost homophonous with *ta* ཅ་ ‘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) བ་རམ་གླང་ ཨ་ཇོ་
p^haregõ: ádzo
 TPN grandfather
 ‘Paramgang grandfather’ / ‘Grandfather from/of Paramgang’ (KNA kitchen discussion)
- b) ཞིང་གཤེགས་¹⁸⁰ ལོ་གླིང་ ཨ་ཉི་
ɕiŋɕa? doliŋ áni
 late TPN father’s.sister
 ‘the late aunt of Doling’ (sbar-phung v)
- c) བདེན་གཏམ་ ཡབ་/ཡརབ་ ལྷོ་མ་བུ་
dentam jà:p/jà:p bompū
 TPN father/nobleman big
 ‘the great father/nobleman of Dentam’ (CY interview)
- d) ང་ཅའི་ཀྱི་ འབྲས་ལྷོངས་ རྒྱལ་བུ་
ŋàɕi=gi dɛndzõ: gɛ:pu
 1PL.GEN=GEN Sikkim king
 ‘our king of Sikkim’ (CY interview)

Some adjectives (4.26a) and adverbs (4.26b) precede a noun without genitive marking:

- (4.26) a) ཕྱི་གླིང་ གླང་
tɕ^hiliŋ kɛ[?]181
 foreign language
 ‘English language’ (DR discussion with KL)
- b) ཐགས་རིང་ ས་གནས་
t^ha:-riŋ sáne?
 ‘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.

¹⁸⁰ The Denjongke script here probably reflects the Classical Tibetan spelling, the Denjongke spelling met elsewhere being ཞིང་བཤེགས་ *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, *indzi kɛ?* (WD དབྱིན་ཇི་ གླང་ *dbyin-ji skad*).

- (4.27) a) ཐོ་རྒྱལ་ས་མི་ཅིག་
pʰogja? mi=tɛi?
 husband human=INDEF
 ‘a male person’ (nga’i ’gan 8)
- b) མི་ཀ་པུ་
mí gapu
 human elder
 ‘an elder man’ (KN kitchen discussion)
- b) མི་ ཐོ་རྒྱལ་ས་ ཀ་པུ་
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་ རྒྱང་རྒྱང་
gã: tɛʰuŋtɛʰuŋ
 hill small
 ‘a small hill’ (TB e)
- (4.29) ཀ་ཉེན་ སྒོམ་པུ་
jén bompu
 wedding big
 ‘big wedding’ (DB life story)

The adjective itself may be preceded by a modifier:

- (4.30) ཇ་རི་ ལེབ་ སྒོམ་པུ་
ári [lèp bompu]
 paddy.field very.much big
 ‘a very big paddy field’ (TB bull story)
- (4.31) ཐུགས་རིགས་ གང་མན་ཚད་ མཁས་དྲགས་
tʰuri? [kʰã:mɛntɛ? kʰɛʈaʔ]
 understanding extremely sophisticated
 ‘extremely sophisticated understanding’ (CY interview)

When co-occurring with a numeral modifier, the adjective (phrase) may occur preceding the noun, as shown in (4.32a). However, another consultant wanted to correct the order in (4.32a), after seeing it in writing, to (4.32b).

- (4.32) a) ཨ་འདི་ཚུང་ཚུང་གི་བཞི་ཐམ་པ་
ódi tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ kʰi zi-tʰamba
 that small dog four-NUM
 ‘those four small dogs’ (TB e)
- b) གི་ཚུང་ཚུང་བཞི་ཐམ་པ་འདི་ཙུ་
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 *tʰamtɕɛ* ‘all’ can occur with numerals (4.34).

- (4.33) a) བུ་གསུམ་
pʼum súm
 girl three
 ‘three girls’ (KN e)
- b) བུ་གསུམ་གྱི་མང་པོ་
pʼum kɛ:p(o)
 girl many
 ‘many girls’ (KN e)
- (4.34) ཨ་འདི་གི་མ་གསར་གསུམ་ཐམ་པ་ཙུ་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་ཚོ་ཀླུ་པོ་ལོ་ལྔ་བཞི་ཅེད་
ádzo gɛ:po [lò kʰɛ: zi-tsʰoʔ]
 grandfather old.man year score four-about
 ‘old grandfather of some eighty years’ (Richhi 78)
- (4.36) ང་ཞག་གསུམ་ཟོད་ཅང་གླིག་གོ།
ŋà [ɕàʔ súm] dɕ:-ruŋ dʱikɛ.
 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་དེ་བ་ཐོམ་བུ་
ódi súm-t^hamba t'ep bompu
 that three-NUM book big
 ‘those three big books’ (TB e)
- b) དེ་བ་ཐོམ་བུ་གསུམ་ཐམ་པ་ཨོ་འདི་
t'ep bompu súm-t^hamba ódi
 book big three-NUM that
 ‘those three big books’ (KUN e)
- c) ཨོ་འདི་དེ་བ་ཐོམ་བུ་གསུམ་ཐམ་པ་འདི་
ódi t'ep bompu súm-t^hamba=di
 that book big three-NUM=DEMPH
 ‘those three big books’ (KUN e)

4.1.3.3 Quantifying modifiers

Quantifying modifiers include quantifying pronouns (a subclass of indefinite pronouns, see §3.6.4 and §6.3.1), versatile quantifying adverbs *kɛ:po* ‘much, a lot’, *màŋpo* ‘much, a lot’ and *ɲùŋɲuŋ* ‘little, few’ (see §3.5.2.4) and the specific numeral *k'ā:pu* ‘one full (vessel)’ (and the variant *k'o:m* from Lachung). Quantifying pronouns are listed in Table 4.2 and exemplified after the table. They also occur independently as pronouns, see §6.3.1.

Table 4.2. Quantifying pronouns

<i>t^hamtɛɛ?</i>	ཐམས་ཅད་	‘all, totally’.
<i>k^hɛ:lɛ</i>	ཁེ་ལེ་	‘all, totally’
<i>tɛ^ha:(lɛ)</i>	ཆ་(ལས་)	‘all, totally’
<i>dzaŋki</i>	ཇང་གི་	‘all’ (Lachung)
<i>rɛrɛ</i>	རེ་རེ་	‘each (one)’
<i>màŋtɛiɛo?</i> ¹⁸³	མན་ཆེ་ཤོས་, མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་	‘most’
<i>k^haɛɛ?</i>	ཁ་ཤས་	‘some’
<i>làri?</i>	ལ་རིས་	‘some’
<i>làla...(làla)</i>	ལ་ལ་...(ལ་ལ་)	‘some...(others)’
<i>riɲi (riɲi)</i>	རེ་གཞིས་ (རེ་གཞིས་)	‘a few (of people)’
<i>ka:kutɛi?</i>	ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་	‘a few’
<i>tɛi.ɲi:</i>	གཅིག་གཞིས་	‘a few’

¹⁸² Yet another ordering suggested by one consultant was *súm-t^hamba ódi t'ep bompu*.

¹⁸³ This form uses the superlative suffix *-ɛo?* 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་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཉ་ལས་འདས།
t'a [mí tʰamtɕɛʔ] halɛɛ:
 now human all be.surprised
 'Now all the people were amazed.' (SGD cave story)
- (4.39) ད་ ར་ ཁེ་ལེ་ སྤང་ཁར་ གཞུར་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་ཅའི་ མར་ཉམ་གྱི་ མི་ ཆ་ལས་ ལེགས་ ཡོད།
ŋàtɕi màrtam=gi [mì tɕʰa:lɛ] lɛm jòʔ.
 1PL.GEN TPN=GEN human all good EX.PER
 'All people of our Martam are good.' (KN e)

The use of the quantifying pronoun *dzaŋki* is in my data limited to a few elicited examples from a speaker from Lachung:

- (4.41) འདི་ རང་གི་ འབག་ ཤོག་ལོ།
[di dzaŋki] baʔ ɛó:=lo.
 this all carry come=REP
 'Bring this all, it was said.' (KUN e)
- (4.42) མི་ རེ་རེ་གི་ གེ་ཏུ་ (Nep.) ངས་ ཉོ་བོ་ ཞིན།
[mí rɛɛ=gi] kitap ŋá: ɲò-u ǎ:
 human each=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་ བྱུན་བའི་ ལྷགས་སྒོལ་ ཞིན།
[màŋtɕʰiɛo p'ɔpo t'ǎ: ɛ́ɛɾpo=gi] k'øm-bø: lùksø: ǎ:
 most Tibetan and Sherpa=AGT wear-2INF.GEN tradition EQU.PER
 '(It) is the tradition of most Tibetans and Sherpas to wear (it).' (sbar-phung 93)
- (4.44) a) མི་ ལ་ཤས་ཅིག་གིས་ སྐད་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ བྱས་ཏེ་ རྒྱུ་བས་ཤད་ འདི་ རྒྱུ་བས་བཞིན་གོ།
[mí kʰaɕɛ=tɕi=ki] kɛʔ ódɛp p'ja-ti kjap-ɛɛ=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་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་གི་ དུས་ཚོད་ ལ་ཤས་ ལེན་ བཏང་བྱང་
ŋàtɕaʔ ʃɛŋɛ:=tsu=gi [t'ytɕʰøʔ kʰaɕɛʔ] lɛn tã:-ruŋ
 1PL PRN.HON=PL=GEN time some take send-CONC
 'Even if we take some of your time...' (BLA Namdol)

(4.45) མི་ལ་རིས་

mí *làri?*

human some

‘some people’ (CY interview)

(4.46) བུ་མུའི་གི་གཞེན་མཚན་ལ་ལ་གེས་འདི་

p'umy:=gi [*nénts^hé:* *làla=gi=di*]

girl.GEN=GEN relative some=AGT=EMPH

‘Some(one) of the girl’s relatives (says):’ (SGD wedding customs)

(4.47) མ་ན་གཅིག་ཉིས་ཅིག་, ཉི་རུག་ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་

ána¹⁸⁴ *tei:ni:=tei?*, *tiru?* *ka:kutei?*

currency.unit a.few=INDF rupee a.few

‘a few paisa, a few rupees’ (PD story)

The pronoun *riji* (*riji*) occurs in my data only in independent use, see §6.3.1, but presumably it may also modify a noun.

The versatile quantifying adverbs *ke:po* ‘a lot, many’, *mànpu/mànpa* ‘a lot, many’ and *jùnyun* ‘little, few’, which occur as verb modifiers (see §5.6.3.4), can also be used for noun modification:

(4.48) འཇམ་གླིང་གི་ཡུལ་གས་པོ་གཅིག་ན་

dzamling=gi *y:* *ke:po=tei=na*

world=GEN place many=INDF=LOC

‘in many places in the world’ (‘dzam-gling skad-yig 62)

(4.49) ད་ད་ཅིག་ག་གཏམ་གས་པོ་ཐོན་པོ་སྤྲ།

t'a *t'atei?* [*tam* *ke:po*] *t'om-bo* *be?*

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) *ke:po* could be analyzed two ways, either as modifier of *tam* (‘[many words] happened’) or as a complement of the verb *t'om* ‘happen, become’ (‘[words] became [many]’).

(4.50) ཕྱི་གླིང་བའི་དུས་ཚོད་ནང་ག་ལོ་ཕུགས་མང་པོ་ཅིག་འབྲུག་ལོ་སོང་པོ་སྤྲ།

p^hiliŋbø: *t'yts^hø?* *nàŋɛa=lo* [*tɛ^huk* *mànpa=tei?*] *ɖuk=lo* *só:-bo*

foreigner.GEN time inside=DAT Nepali many=INDF Bhutan=DAT go.PFV-2INF

be?

EQU.NE

‘In the times of the foreigners, many Nepalis went to Bhutan.’ (CY interview)

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་ཅག་མི་ ཉུང་ཉུང་ མིན་ཅང་ ང་ཅག་ བྱས་ ཚུགས།
ŋàtɛa? [mí nùŋɲuŋ] ɿ:-ruŋ ŋàtɛa? p'ja ts'hu?
 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'ā:pu/k'ō:pu* གང་ལུ་ ‘one full measure of’ derives from WT གང་ *gang* ‘full’. While *k'ā:pu/k'ō:pu* is a frequent and geographically widely used morpheme, the related form *k'o:m* གོང་མ་ occurs only once in my data from a consultant from Lachung (the first instance in [4.52]). While *k'ā:pu/k'ō:pu* occurs as an emphatic modifier of the words meaning ‘all’, i.e. *tʰamtɛɛ?* (*k'ā:pu*), *kʰɛ:le* (*k'ā:pu*), *tɛʰa:le* (*k'ā:pu*) ‘entirely all’, in the sole example *k'o:m* modifies an ordinary noun. The head word of *k'ā:pu* may either occur independently as a quantitative pronoun (the second instance in [4.52]) or as a noun modifier (4.53).

- (4.52) གཉེན་མཚན་ གོང་མ་ ཨ་ཅུ་ ཨའི་ ཨ་ཇོ་ བ་མིང་ གན་ཅུང་ ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ བྱས་ཅུང་ ཁེ་ལེ་ གོང་ལུ་གིས་ བདགས་ཤད་ སྒད།
[nɛntsɛː k'o:m], áteu, ái, ádzo, pʰamiŋ,
 relatives full elder.brother elder.sister grandfather father's.relative
k'an-run jò-patɛɛ p'ja-run [kʰɛ:le k'ō:pu=gi] ta:-ɛɛ bɛ?
 what-CONC EX-COND do-CONC entirely full=AGT append-INF EQU.NE
 ‘All relatives, elder brother, elder sister, grandfather, father’s side’s relatives whatever (relative) is there, they all offer (a ceremonial scarf).’ (LA intro to Lachung)

- (4.53) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གང་ལུ་ལོ་ སྐྱ་གཞུགས་ བཟང་བོ།
[ɬɛŋɛɛ? tʰamtɛɛ? k'ā:pu=lo] kuzuzä: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་
tsʰiktɛɛ? ódi=na
 poem that=LOC
 ‘...in that poem...’ (KL BLA 12)
- (4.55) ལྷ་ རྒྱུང་ལྷ་ འདི་ལྷ་
la tɛʰuŋtɛʰuŋ di=tsu
 god small this=PL
 ‘these small gods’ (SGD wedding customs)
- (4.56) ཨ་ན་ གསམ་ ཨོ་འདི་
ána gɛ:m ódi
 old.lady old.woman that
 ‘that old lady’ (rna-gsung 6)

- (4.57) ངའི་ཚིག་ འདྲམ་ འདྲ་འདི་
nè: ts^hik 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^hou=di/p^hidi* མཐུ་འདི་/མི་འདི་ ‘that over there’ *jòu=di/jìdi* ཡུ་འདི་/ཡི་འདི་ ‘that up there’ and *mòu=di/mìdi* མཐུ་འདི་/མི་འདི་ ‘that down there’. For one example, consider (4.58).

- (4.58) ཤིང་ བེ་འདི་ལོ་ བ་རུ་
éiŋ p^hidi=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) ར་མོང་ མོ་འདི་ གུང་ཁ་ (རྒྱབས་) མ་རྒྱལས་པོ་ འདི་
ŋámu ódi [k^hjaŋk^ha (kja) ma-ts^hu-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) རྒྱམ་རྩ་ལོ་ ཡང་ མལ་ན་ ར་ རྒྱལ་ བྱིན།
nùm=tsu=lo=jã: mɛ:=na tɛ‘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) རིང་དུས་ཀྱི་ བླ་བུ་རྩ་ལོ་ འདི་
t‘indy:=gi p‘jaby:=tsu=lo=di
 present=GEN child=PL=DAT=DEMPH
 ‘For children of the present day...’ (YR canteen video)

NOUN=CASE=AEMPH

- (4.62) ང་ད་ལྟ་ མི་སྤྱོད་ལོ་རང་ ཡོད།
ŋà t'ato maisur=lo=rã: jòʔ.
 1SG now TPN=DAT=AEMPH EX.PER
 'I'm now in Mysore (itself).' (Richhi 56)

NOUN=CASE=TOP

- (4.63) གཞུང་གླུ་ ལབ་བ་ཅེ་ནི་ ང་ རྟེན་བ་ལི་ (Nep.) སྐད་ལས་ནི་ འོག་གི་དྲ། (Nep.)
zunlu làp-øtɛɛnɛ t'a nepali kɛ:=lɛ=nɛ loggit.
 folksong say-COND now Nepali language=ABL=TOP folksong(Nep.)
 'If (we) say [zunlu], now (that) is in Nepali language [loggit].' (RS)

It is quite rare for two emphatic clitics to occur contiguously but at least the combinations =AEMPH=DEMPH (4.64) and DEMPH=TOP (4.65) are possible:

NOUN=AEMPH=DEMPH

- (4.64) མོ་འདི་རང་ འདི་
ódi=rã:=di
 that=AEMPH=DEMPH
 'that indeed' (YR canteen video)

NOUN=DEMPH=TOP

- (4.65) སེམས་ འདི་ནི་ གཏན་མེད་ བས་ཚུར་ འཕུར་
sém=di=nɛ tenmeʔ 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) མ་པོ་ འདི་ཡང་
ápo=di=jã:
 father=DEMPH=too
 'also the father'

In my data, *jã:* also occurs attached to =*rã:*, see (4.67). However, in all the instances =*rã:* functions as a simple reflexive (see §6.2) rather than in the more grammaticalized function of =AEMPH (see §16.1.1).

NOUN=REFL= *jã:*

- (4.67) མ་ཆེན་ བཞི་པོ་ ཁོང་རང་ཡང་ ཟས་ བ་ཤད་ ཞིན།
mátɕʰɛ: zi-po kʰõ:=rã:=jã: sàm sà-ɕɛ ǎ:.
 cook four-COL 3PL=REFL=too food eat-INF EQU.PER
 'The four cooks themselves also eat food.' (Richhi 90)

In addition to the emphatic clitics, the attention marker =*eo*, which is a clausal clitic, can also attach to a noun phrase to mark a topic-switching question, see (4.68). Even in its phrasal use, =*eo* retains its clausal feature of being followed by a pause. For more on =*eo*, see §16.2.2.

- (4.68) ང་ ལྷན་པོའི་ སྒྱུང་བཅར་ བྱས་དོ་ མིན། ཉེ་ བུ་མིང་ཚུ་ཤོ་
ŋà mémpøː dzãːdar p'ja-do íː tɛ p'usim=tsu=eo?
 1SG physician.GEN training do-IPFV EQU.PER then younger.sister=PL=AT
 'I'm doing physician's training. And what about the sisters then?' (Richhi 127)

Whereas the emphatic clitics are discussed more in detail in §16.1, 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) ཇོ་ཚུ་
do=tsu
 stone=PL
 'stones'
- (4.70) ཇོ་ མེན་པུ་ཚུ་
do bompü=tsu
 stone big=PL
 'big stones'
- (4.71) ཇོ་ མེན་པུ་ འདི་ཚུ་
do bompü 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་ཙོ་ གཤམ་
p'otso súm
 child three
 'three children'
- (4.73) ཇོ་ གེས་བ་
do kɛːp
 stone a.lot
 'a lot of stones'

- (4.74) ཁོང་གི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ དེ་ལ་ཚུ་ གེས་པོ་ འདུག་གོ།
kʰoŋ=gi kʰim=na t'ɛp=tsu kɛ:po du-kɛ.
 3SG.HON=GEN house=LOC book=PL a.lot EX.SEN-IN
 'There are a lot of books in his house.' (YR e)

In a list of items, a final plural marker has the meaning 'and so on; and such things; et cetera' (cf. WT *la-sog-pa* 'et cetera'), see (4.75).

- (4.75) བཞེས་པོ་ ཚུ་མ་པོ་ཚུ་ བཞག་ས་
ʒe:ro tsampo=tsu zak-sa
 rice.snack flour=PL put-SPAT.NMLZ
 'a place to put zero (traditional snack made by frying strips of thin rice dough on a pan),
 flours and such things' (PD, living room video)

The plural marker =*tsu* can also attach to an infinitive form of a verb:

- (4.76) ལུས་ འདི་གིས་ གན་ བྱས་ཤང་ ལུ་བ་ཅེ་ན་ ང་ཅག་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལོ་ དགོན་པ་ འགྱུ་ ལྷག་འཚལ་ཤང་ཚུ་
ly:=di=gi k'an p'ja-ɛɛ? ɛ̀u-watɛɛ ɲatɛa? rimputɛʰɛ=lo
 body=DEMPH=AGT what do-INF say.HUM-COND 1PL Rimpoche=DAT
gjømpa gju tɛʰa:tsʰɛ:-ɛɛ=tsu
 monastery go prostrate-INF=PL
 'When it comes to what to do with the body, (we should practise) going to monastery to
 Rimpoche and doing prostrations and such things.' (YR canteen video)

Mass nouns such as *tɛʰu* 'water' may receive plural marking.

- (4.77) འདི་ ཟངས་ གླང་, ཚུ་ཚུ་ ལྷག་ བཞག་ཤང་གྱི།
di sã: bɛʔ, tɛʰu=tsu lúk zak-ɛɛ=ki.
 this copper(.cauldron) EQU.NE water=PL pour put-INF=GEN
 'This is a copper cauldron, for pouring and keeping water(s).' (PD outside video)

The plural marking in (4.77) could suggest spatial limitation, iterativity (i.e. the many different occasions when water is poured into the cauldron) or a meaning similar to that in (4.75) 'and such things'.

The plural =*tsu* may also attach to personal names to refer, similarly to the suffix *-po/bo* in §4.2.1, to the person and those associated with him/her.¹⁸⁵

- (4.78) ལྷལ་མཚན་ཚུ་
gjaltsʰɛn=tsu
 PN=PL
 'Gyalchen and those associated with him' (KN kitchen discussion)

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 =*tei*(?)¹⁸⁶, which is homophonous with *tei*? ‘one’, although the vowel quality in the numeral tends to be pronounced longer. The semantic field covered by =*di* extends beyond typical definitions of definiteness because =*di* can also mark noun phrases which are by definition definite, e.g. personal names and personal pronouns. Moreover, the lack of the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* does not equate lack of definiteness, i.e. nouns that are semantically definite are not necessarily marked by =*di*. For a description of the uses of =*di*, see §16.1.3.

The fact that the indefinite marker is distinct from numeral *tei*? ‘one’ is shown by the following examples, where =*tei*(?) follows the quantifier *kɛ:po* ‘many, a lot’ (4.79), the numeral *tei*? (4.80), other numbers (4.81) and the plural marker (4.82).

- (4.79) འཛམ་གླིང་གི་ ཡུལ་ གཤམ་པོ་ གཅིག་ན་
dzamliŋ=gi y: kɛ:po=tei=na
 world=GEN place many=INDF=LOC
 ‘in many places in the world’ (‘dzam-gling skad-yig 62)

- (4.80) བངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ གསུང་གསུང་བོ་ གཅིག་ཅིག་ སྟངས།
sáŋgɛ:=ki súŋ-sum-bo tei:=tei? bɛ?
 Buddha=GEN say.HON-RDP-2INF one=INDF EQU.NE
 ‘This is one (proverb) told by the Buddha.’ (YR canteen video)

- (4.81) ལྟོང་ཁག་ རྩ་ རྩལ་ གཅིག་ འབྱུ་ འོང་།
tõ:tʰa? ŋá tʰu:=tei? gju ð̌:
 thousand five six=INDF go come
 ‘Some five-six thousand will go (to buy it).’ (PD altar room video)

- (4.82) བ་ཙོ་ ཁོང་ཙུ་ གཅིག་ རྩ་ལས་ མོ་འདྲེབ་མྱི་ གསན་གསན་བོ་ ཡོང།
ádzo kʰõ:=tsu=tei? tsa=lɛ ódepti sɛn-sɛn-po jò?
 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 =*tei*? in (4.83). In the second instance in (4.83), =*tei*? obtains the meaning ‘some’.

- (4.83) བོང་ག་ལི་ (Bengali) གི་ ཟ་ཁང་ གཅིག་ན་ རྩོད་མྱི་གི་ ཟམ་ གཅིག་ ཟ་བོ་ མིན།
bengali=gi sàkʰã:=tei=na dɔ:-tiki sàm=tei? sòu ð̌:
 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 *ð̌:*, the indefiniteness marker may occur either attached to the interrogative word (4.84) or the concessive suffix (4.85).

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་མིན་ཅང་
k'arɛ=tei? t̪:ruŋ
 what=INDF EQU-CONC
 ‘whatever’ (KT discussion with TB)

(4.85) གན་མིན་ཅང་གཅིག་ཐོན་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་
k'an t̪:ruŋ=tei? t̪ɛm-batɛɛɛ
 what EQU-CONC=INDF happen-COND
 ‘whatever happens’ (PED life story)

4.1.7 Coordination of noun phrases

Coordination of noun phrases may be “asyndetic” or “monosyndetic” (see Haspelmath 2007: 6). In an asyndetic construction, there is no overt connector but coordination is accomplished through juxtaposition. Mere juxtaposition is especially used with elements which frequently occur together:

(4.86) ཁྱིམ་ན་ཨ་པོ་ཨ་མ་བྱིན་གཞི་
kʰim=na ápo ám kʰjo:m d̪ik-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 *t̪'ã:* ‘and’ for inclusive coordination and *jã:ne* ‘or’ for presenting options:

(4.87) ཇོན་ཐོན་, དབང་མོ་དང་ཀར་མ་
tɕʰødɕ̥:, óŋmu t̪'ã: karma
 PN PN and PN
 ‘Choden, Wangmo and Karma’ (Richhi 2)

(4.88) ང་ལོ་, རང་ལོ་ཡང་ནེ་ཁོང་ལོ་
ŋà=lo, rã:=lo jã:ne kʰõ:=lo
 1SG=DAT 2SG.M=DAT or 3S.HON=DAT
 ‘To me, you or him’ (KT discussion with TB)

The connector *jã:ne* ‘or’ is also frequently used for introducing alternative dictions and therefore in meaning resembles ‘in other words’. In (4.89) the speaker gives an interpretation of an old poetic expression (mother’s body’s curd is the milk from her breasts) and in (4.90) the speaker provides the Denjongke equivalent of an English word.

(4.89) མོ་མ་ཡང་ནེ་རང་གི་ལུས་ཀྱི་ཁོ་
óm jã:ne ràŋ=gi l̪y̜:=ki ɛ̀ò
 milk or own=GEN body=GEN curd
 ‘milk, or (her) own body’s curd’ (SGD wedding customs)

- (4.90) འདུ་བློ་ལྟ་ (Buddhist) ཡང་ན་ རང་པོ་ མཆོག་གི་ རང་ལ་
buddis jã:ne nàŋ-pø: teʰø:=ki nàŋca=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) ཉི་ཅུ་ཀྲ་ བརྒྱ་རེ་ བརྒྱ་རེ་
tiru? 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 (*t̃:*, *bɛʔ*) or existential auxiliary (*jøʔ*, *duʔ*), also in complex, nominalized forms as in (4.135), may occur cliticized as in (4.132)
 NMLZ = Nominalizer *-kʰɛ:*
 INF = Infinitive marker *-po/bo* or *-ɛɛʔ*
 CFC = Clause final clitic(s) *=ɛo*, *=la*, *=lo*, *=sɛ*, *=ki* (see §3.7.3)

Figure 4.2. Structure of the verb complex in declarative mood

(N) (NEG)	V1	(-RDP)	(NEG)	(V2)	((=)AUX) (AUX) -TAM AUX -NMLZ AUX -INF AUX	(=CFC)

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 Denjongke are *p’ja* ལྟམ་ ‘do’, *kjap* ལྟམ་ ‘do, strike’, *tā* འདྲུག་ ‘send, do’, *tap* འདྲུག་ ‘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.

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 =*pe*? vs. *be*?)

Table 4.3. Some phrasal verbs formed with the verbalizers *p'ja*, *kjap*, *tã*: and *tap*

<i>p'etɕø? p'ja</i>	བེད་ལྷོད་ བྱས་	'use' (lit. 'use do')
<i>jó? p'ja</i>	གཡོག་ བྱས་	'work' (lit. 'work do')
<i>ã: kjap</i>	འང་ རྒྱབས་	'lie' (lit. 'lie do/strike')
<i>daku kjap</i>	བདག་ཀྱི་ རྒྱབས་	'govern' (lit. 'owner do/strike')
<i>nó:sam tã:</i>	མཚོ་བསམ་ བཏང་	'think' (lit. 'thought send')
<i>jàrgɛ tã:</i>	ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་	'develop, progress' (lit. 'progress send')
<i>mélam tap</i>	སྒྲིན་ལམ་ བཏབ་	'pray' (lit. 'prayer sow')
<i>só tap</i>	སྐྱ་ 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

<i>sém ga:</i>	སེམས་ དགའ་	'rejoice' (lit. 'mind rejoice')
<i>k'jəpo to:</i>	བྱིད་པོ་ རྒྱགས་	'be hungry' (lit. 'stomach be.hungry')
<i>k'a kom</i>	ཁ་ རྒྱུན་	'be thirsty' (lit. 'mouth dry')
<i>go tsuk</i>	འགོ་ བརྒྱགས་	'begin' (lit. 'start plant'),
<i>ŋò ɛé:</i>	ངོ་ ཤེས་	'know (a person)' (lit. 'face know')
<i>mè:p zo</i>	མེད་ བཟོ་	'destroy' (lit. 'not-existing make')

Phrasal verbs function as units in terms of their prosodic unity, but there is also some syntactic separateness in the components of compound verbs in that intervening elements may occur between them. Example (4.93b) illustrates an intervening negator *ma-*. The adverbial modifier *lèp* ‘very (much)’ may occur preceding the compound (4.94a) or within it (4.94b).

(4.93) a) སྐྱ་ བཏབ།
só tap
tooth strike
‘Bite!’

b) སྐྱ་ མ་བཏབ།
só ma-tap
tooth NEG-strike
‘Don’t bite!’

(4.94) a) མདང་ ང་ ལེབ་ སེམས་ དགའ་བོ་ ཞིན།
dã: ŋà lèp sém ga-u t̃i.
yesterday 1SG very.much mind rejoice-2INF EQU.PER
‘Yesterday I was very happy.’ (KN e)

- b) མདང་ ང་ མེས་ ལེབ་ དགའ་ལོ་ མིན།
dā: *ŋà* *sém* *lèp* *ga-u* *t̚:*
 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་ རྩམ་/རྩམས་ ‘work’
 b) *jàrgɛ tã:/p'ja* ཡར་རྩམ་ བཏང་/ རྩམ་ ‘develop (tr.)’
 c) *ɛúk kjap/p'ja* ཤུགས་ རྩམས་/རྩམ་ ‘exert force’

Some bivalent compounds may be reduced to monovalent ones by using the verb *tʰon* ‘become’:

- (4.96) a) *jàrgɛ tã:* ཡར་རྩམ་ བཏང་ ‘develop (tr.)’
 b) *jàrgɛ tʰon* ཡར་རྩམ་ རྩམ་ ‘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 orthography in square brackets).

- (4.97) a) [changes] *p'ja* ‘make changes’
 b) [follow] *p'ja* ‘follow’
 c) [message pass] *p'ja* ‘pass on a message’ (NAB)

Although most phrasal verbs are transparent in that the speakers are aware of the individual meanings of the composite parts of the verb, some phrasal verbs, such as *hako* (or *ha k'o*) ‘know, understand’ are non-transparent in that speakers are not aware of the meaning of *ha*, although *k'o* has the independent meaning ‘understand’.

4.2.3 Verb serialization

In verb serialization, two to four verb roots, which could occur independently¹⁸⁹, occur adjacent to each other without any intervening morphology, see (4.98-101).

- (4.98) རྩམ་ རྩམས་ ཟ་ཉི་
p'ja kum kjap sà-ti
 hen stealing strike eat-NF
 ‘Stealing and eating a hen...’ (KTL animal story)

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) ལུང་གི་ ལྷ་རེ་ འདི་ བོག་ ཐར་ཐེ་གི་ རུ་ རང་ག་ ལྷ་མ་བོ་ལོ།
kʰu=i=gi ta:ri=di pʰik tʰa:-diki tɕʰu nəŋɕa
 3SGM=GEN=GEN axe=DEMPH get.off be.released-NF water inside
ʃum-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) ལྷ་མ་ གཅིག་ འཐུ་ འབག་ ལོང་ མོང་ འདུག་གོ།
à:m=tɕiʔ¹⁹⁰ tʰu bak lɔː sɔː du-kɛ.
 jackal=INDF pick carry rise go EX.SEN-IN
 ‘A jackal took it and went away, (I see).’ (PL interview)
- (4.101) མོ་འདི་ར་ ཐར་ འབག་ ཡ་ འཐུ་ སྤང།
óɕɛ=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)

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) མོ་འདི་ར་ མི་ཐར་མཁམ་ སྤང།
óɕɛra mi-tʰaː-kʰɛn bɛʔ.
 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 *mjɔː* ‘finish’ a verb of motion.

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
<i>kʰik-ti ò:</i> ཁྱིག་ཏི་ འོ་	<i>kʰik ò:</i> ཁྱིག་ འོ་	bring, lead (a human or a large animal) (lit. lead come)
<i>kʰik-ti gju</i> ཁྱིག་ཏི་ འགྱ་	<i>kʰik gju</i> ཁྱིག་ འགྱ་ (past <i>kʰik sò:</i> ཁྱིག་ སོ་)	take, lead away (a human or a large animal) (lit. lead come)
<i>bak-ti ò:</i> འབག་ཏི་ འོ་	<i>bak ò:</i> འབག་ འོ་	bring (a thing) (lit. carry come)
<i>bak-ti gju</i> འབག་ཏི་ འགྱ་	<i>bak gju</i> འབག་ འགྱ་ (past <i>bak sò:</i> འབག་ སོ་)	take away (a thing) (lit. carry go)
<i>lòk-ti ò:</i> ལོག་ཏི་ འོ་	<i>lòk ò:</i> ལོག་ འོ་	return, come back (lit. return come)
<i>lòk-ti gju</i> ལོག་ཏི་ འགྱ་	<i>lòk gju</i> ལོག་ འགྱ་ (past <i>lòk sò:</i> ལོག་ སོ་)	go back (lit. return go)
<i>lò:-ti gju</i> ལོ་ཏི་ འགྱ་	<i>lò: gju</i> ལོ་ འགྱ་ (past <i>lò: sò:</i> ལོ་ སོ་) ¹⁹¹	go away (lit. stand go)
VERB-ti <i>mjò:</i> མཛོ་ མུང་	VERB <i>mjò:</i> མུང་	finish doing something (lit. VERB finish)

In negation, the negator occurs in between the verbs, e.g. *lòk mi-ò:* ‘does not return’, *bak ma-sò:* ‘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) རམ་དོ་ འཇུ་ཏི་ འབག་ འོ་ལོ་ ཟུང།
rã:dõ: tʰu-ti bak òm-bo bɛ?
 basket pick-NF carry come-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘(He) took and brought the box.’ (Class 8 textbook 14)

- (4.104) རམ་དོ་ འདི་ གན་ ཐུས་ཏི་ འཇུ་ འབག་ཏི་ འོ་དོ་?
rã:dõ:=di kʰan pʰja-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 *mjò:* ‘finish’, which marks completive aspectual information. For instance, the act of bringing (*bak ò:*) essentially consists of

¹⁹¹ Consultant KN (Martam, East Sikkim) comments that in Tashiding (West Sikkim) *jà: gju* (lit. go go) is used for ‘go away’ instead of *lò: gju*.

both carrying (*bak*) and coming (*õ*). A special case are synonymic sequences such as *t'ek da*: དེག་བདེ་ '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་གླི་སྤྲ་འདི་ལོ་རང་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཏི་ག?

nè:=gi duŋ=di=lo rä: jütɕʰe-to-ka?
1SG.GEN=GEN story=DEMPH=DAT 2SG.M believe-IPFV-PQ
'Do you believe my story?' (PAD bet story)

b) ཁའི་སྤྲ་འདི་ལོ་ལེབ་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཕྱས་དགོས་མཁན་སྤྲ།

kʰy: duŋ=di=lo lɛp jütɕʰe p'ja go:-kʰen 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་རྩིགས་དགས་རྩིགས་དགས་སྤྱུ་དོ་སྤྲ།

k'ola? dzikta? dzikta? kɛ:-do bɛ?
clothes excellent excellent bring-IPFV EQU.NE
'(They) bring fine, fine clothes.' (LA, birth in Lachung)

b) འདེབ་སྤྱུ་ཕྱས་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་བར་ང་ཅའི་མི་གིས་འདི་ཡར་རྒྱས་ཅིག་ཀྱང་ལྟ་ལོ་སྤྲ།

t'izã: ɲətɕei 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) མོ་ན་པར་ལྟ་ལྟར་ལྟ་ཕྱས་ཞེ།

óna pʰa: ta tsʰu: ta p'ja-zɛ.
there thither look hither look do-PST
'There (she) looked here and there.' (UTR plains story)

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་ཚེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཁོང་ གློ་བ་ འགྱུ་དོ།
t'ato t'amteε? k'hō: lópta gju-do.
 now all 3PL school go-IPFV
 'Now they all go to school.' (PED life story)

b) ར་ལང་ན་ འགྱུ་ རྒྱལས་ འབག་ལྷོ་གི་ འོང་ཟྱེ་
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_.	<i>tsʰa:</i>	ཚར་	‘complete’ ¹⁹⁴	completive	TA
	<i>õ:</i>	འོང་	‘come’	future	TA
VERB _ EX	<i>dø:</i>	ཞོད་	‘sit, stay’	continuous	TA
	<i>zak</i>	བཞག་	‘put’	resultative	TA
	<i>lõ:</i>	འོང་	‘have time to’	temporal abilitative	M
VERB_ <i>ti</i> *	<i>bak</i>	འབག་	‘carry’	durative	TA
VERB_ <i>õ:</i> *	<i>si?</i>	མིད་	‘be possible’	possibility	M
VERB <i>mi</i> *					
VERB <i>mi</i> *	<i>lè?</i>	ལེགས་	‘be good’	moral or practical evaluative	M
VERB(_to)	<i>rɛn</i>	རན་	‘be time to’	temporal evaluative	M
Like ordinary verb	<i>mjõ:</i>	མྱོང་	‘finish; experience’	finished or experienced action	TA
	<i>tsʰu?</i>	ཚུགས་	‘be able’	abilitative	M
	<i>ɛé:</i>	ཤེས་	‘know’		M
	<i>nùm</i>	ནུམ་	‘dare’	mental abilitative	M
	<i>kʰø?</i>	ཁྱེད་	‘have the strength to’	physical abilitative	M
	<i>go?</i> ¹⁹⁵	དགོས་	‘need to’	obligation/deontic	M
	<i>tɕʰo?</i>	ཚེག་	‘be alright’	objective permissive	M
	<i>tup</i>	བདུབ་	‘deem fitting’	subjective permissive	M
	<i>ta</i>	ན་	‘look’	tentative or experimental action	M
	<i>tɕuk</i>	བཅུག་	‘cause’	causative	C
	<i>gju</i>	འགྱུ་	‘go’	translocativity or disappearing, gradual change towards a state	O
	<i>pʰin</i>	བྱིན་	‘give’	benefactive	O
	<i>tʰop</i>	ཐོབ་	‘find, receive’	beneficiary	O
	<i>tã:</i>	བཏང་	‘send’	literal sending; semantically bleached verbalizer; non-honorific imperative marker	O
	<i>nã:</i>	གནང་	‘grant’	honorific imperative marker	O

As shown by Table 4.6, all tense-aspect markers, with the exception of *bak* and *mjõ:*, which inflect like an ordinary verb, are unlike ordinary verbs, either being sentence-final markers (*tsʰa:*, *õ:*) or being followed by an existential auxiliary (*dø:*, *zak*, *lõ:*). Modality markers occur either in specific constructions (*lõ:*, *si?*) or behave like ordinary verbs (e.g. *tsʰu?*, *ɛé:*, *go?*, *tɕʰo?*, *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

¹⁹⁴ *tsʰa:* is the only grammatical secondary verb which does not occur as a primary verb (having been replaced by *mjõŋ* ‘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 *ko?* when preceded by a voiceless consonant.

converbal constructions, e.g. *sà-ti mjò:* [eat-NF finish] ‘finish eating’, *go-ti p’in* [divide-NF give] ‘divide and give’ (or possibly ‘divide for someone’s benefit’).¹⁹⁶

4.2.3.1 Translocative secondary verb *gju* (past *só:*)

In addition to the uses where *gju* འགྱུ ‘go’ (past *só:* སོ་) belongs to the semantic core of the verbal expression (whether as lone primary verb or a part of a SVC), it is used as a secondary verb which emphasizes translocativity (going away from the speaker) which is already expressed by the primary verb, or gradual change of state. By extension, translocativity may refer to disappearance. In example (4.109) the secondary verb *só:* occurs with TAM-marking whereas in (4.110) TAM-marking is dropped.

- (4.109) ཉེན་གཅིག་ཁོང་ཙུའི་རྒྱ་འབྲོག་ལས་ བ་ བད་ཚྭ་ འདི་ འབྱུང་ སོང་བོ་ ཟུང།
jìim=tei? kʰò:=tsu=i nòqo:=le p’a pedom=di bjā:
 day=INDF 3PL=PL=GEN cattle=ABL cow PN=DEMPH disappear
só:-bo bε?
 go.PFV-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘One day the cow Pedom disappeared from their cattle.’ (rna-gsung 1)

- (4.110) མོ་ན་ལས་ ཁུ་ འབྱུང་ སོང།
ónale kʰu bjā: só:
 then 3SGM disappear go.PFV
 ‘Then he disappeared.’ (KTL animal story)

Whereas in my data the secondary verb *só:* is associated with literal going or somewhat metaphorical going, disappearing, Sandberg (1895: 42) reports *só:* as a more grammaticalized past marker which does not have connection to literal going but may be used in phrases such as (produced in Sandberg’s orthography) *zhe song* ‘has done’, *shi song* ‘died’, *t’ong song zhe* ‘has seen’ and (4.111) (Denjongke script, glossing and emphasis mine, Roman script from Sandberg).

- (4.111) Sandberg (1895: 42)
 ཁོ་ ཡི་གེ་ གཅིག་ རྩོ་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

¹⁹⁶ It is worth noting that *p’in* ‘give’, *zak* ‘put’ and *mjò:* ‘finish’ in compounds are used quite analogously with the equivalent Nepali verbs *dinu* ‘give’, *haalnu/raaknu* ‘put’ and *saknu* ‘finish’, although in Nepali the second verb is not attached to the other root directly but after an intervening connector vowel *-i-*, e.g. *bhan-i-di-nu* [say-LNK-give-INF] ‘to say (for me)’.

¹⁹⁷ The more frequent form of the word is *l’i* རྩོ་. The pronunciation *p’i* recorded by Sandberg is here written as *ལྩོ་*, because the form reflects the change of the WT glide *r* into *y*.

are (4.112) and (4.113), involving the verbs *t̪'õ:* ‘die (hon.)’ and *ɛí* ‘die’, which can be conceived as expressing a type of going or disappearing.

- (4.112) ལོ་ཁྱེ་གསུམ་ལོ་ངའི་ཨ་པོ་འདི་རྟེ་གྲོང་སོང་།
lò kʰɛ: súm=lo nè: ápo=di tɛ t̪'õ: s̃õ:
 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) ལུ་ཤི་སོང་འདུག།
kʰu ɛí s̃õ: du?
 3SGM die go EX.SEN
 ‘He died (I saw). (NB e)

The borderline status of *ɛí s̃õ:* is seen in the fact that upon asking about the felicity of the Sandbergian form *ɛí s̃õ:-ʒɛ* [die go-PST], two of my consultants had varying responses. Whereas consultant PT (Tashiding) acknowledged the semantics suggested by Sandberg, see (4.114a), consultant KN (Martam) gave the clause a purposive reading, see (4.114b)

- (4.114) a) ཤི་སོང་ཞེ།
ɛí s̃õ:-ʒɛ.
 die go-PST
 ‘(He) died./(He) went and died.’ (PT e)
- b) ཤི་སོང་ཞེ།
ɛí s̃õ:-ʒɛ.
 die go-PST
 ‘(He) went (there) to die.’ (KN e)

The verb *gju* (past *s̃õ:*) often forms a SVC with a preceding *lõ:* ‘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་མིན་ན་རྟོ་ཨ་ཇོ་གིས་འདེམ་ཟང་ལག་ལྟག་གནང་བོ་ལས་དྲག་ལོང་འབྱུ་ཤད་མིན།
nó:po ín-ne=to ádzo=gi dem=sã: làklok
 mischief EQU-COND=CEMPH grandfather=AGT like.that=until IDEO.NN
ná:-bo=lɛ t̪'ak lõ: gju-ɛɛ t̪:
 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.’ (nam-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) ཇམ་པ་ ལོ་གིས་ར་ ལོ་གིས་ར་ ག་སྒྱུ་མ་ལན་ རྒྱ་མ་ལན་ སྒྲ།
ápa lò=gi=ra lò=gi=ra k'ajem tʰon lò:
 father year=AGT=AEMPH year=AGT=AEMPH what.is.it become rise
gju-kʰen bɛ?
 go-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘Father, it’s year by year that (they) go on becoming what’s it (=wrinkled).’ (KNU kitchen discussion)

Some western varieties of Denjongke use *jà: gju* instead of *lò: gju* for ‘go away’. Both of the components *jà:* and *gju* mean ‘go’ and can be used independently. The serialization *jà: gju* may be used similarly to *lò: gju* as a secondary verbal construction expressing movement towards a state:

- (4.117) ལོ་ གསུམ་བར་ ལོ་ལྔ་ འདྲེ་ཅིག་ ཐོན་ ཡ་ སོང་མ་ སྒྲ།
lò sùmtɛu só.ŋa dɛ:teiʔ tʰon já: sɔ́:-m bɛ?
 year thirty thirty-five that.much become go go.PFV-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Some thirty-five years went that happening.’ (NT BLA 6)

4.2.3.2 Benefactive secondary verb *p'in* ‘give’

Although *p'in* ཐོན་ ‘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་གེ་ གསེས་སྒྲི་ ཁོ་ལ་ ཡི་གེ་ གཉིས་ འཇུ་བྱོན།
jikʰɛŋ=gi jigi sé:-di kʰõ:=lo jigi ní: 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) ཀ་ར་ ལོང་ལྷོ་ སྒྱུ་ ཐོན་ ཐོན།
karma lò:-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་ ཐོན་དྲོ་ སྒྲ།
làla=lo kʰim zo p'in-do bɛ?
 some=DAT house make give-IPFV EQU.NE
 ‘For some houses are being built (by the government).’ (RBM discussion on roof)

¹⁹⁸ This form is surprising because here nominalizer མཁན་ *-kʰen* attaches to a noun instead of a verb. The author may have intended to write ཡིག་ སྒྱུ་མ་ལན་ *jiʔ kɛ:-kʰɛ:* ‘letter-bringer, postman’ (this is how another informant wanted to correct the expression).

(4.121) ང་ཅག་གིས་ ཁོང་གི་ མྱེད་ཀྱིས་ བྱིན་དོ་ སྤང་, རྟེན་པ་ལེ་ (Nep.) མྱེད།
ŋàtɛa=ki kʰoŋ=gi kɛ? kjap p'in-do bɛ?, nepali kɛ?
 1PL=AGT 3PL=GEN language strike give-IPFV EQU.NE Nepali language
 ‘We are speaking their language, Nepali language (for their benefit).’ (RS language situation)

(4.122) ཉེ་ ཨ་ཞི་གེས་ར་ སྐྱུག་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ འུས་འུས་ ད་ ཟམ་ཙུ་ འབག་ འོང་ བྱིན་དོ་ སྤང་།
tɛ ázi=gi=ra duk p'ja-ti ŋàtɛa=lo ɛy:ɛy: t'a sàm=tsu
 then elder.sister=AGT=AEMPH pain do-NF 1PL=DAT a.bit now food=PL
ba? ɔ̃: p'in-do bɛ?
 carry come give-IPFV EQU.NE
 ‘It was the elder sister who used to toil and bring a bit food (for us).’ (PED life story)

Although the secondary verb *p'in* typically expresses benefactive semantics, it may also be used to emphasize mere reciprocity in a context where the action is not (obviously and immediately) beneficial for the recipient:

(4.123) ངས་ ལུ་ལོ་ ཉེ་ བྱིན་ལོ་ ཞིན།
ŋá: kʰu=lo tip p'im-bo t̃:
 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 actor¹⁹⁹ 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) ཚྱད་ལོ་ བྱས་ཤང་ འདི་ བྱས་ ཉེ་ གནས་སྐོར་ རྒྱལས་ ཐོབ་ སྤང་།
tsəpo p'ja-ɛɛ=di=p'ja tɛ né:kor kjap tʰop bɛ?
 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་ཙུ་ དང་ ཀཱ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ འབྱེད་ ཐོབ་པའི་ དགའ་ཚོར།
ro:=tsu t'ã: karma jámteɪ? pʰɛ? 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)

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) ངེ་སང་མ་ཞི་ཚས་སྟོག་མ་ཐོབ།

nè: *ázi* *te^ho?* *dok* *ma-t^hop*.
1SG.GEN elder.sister doctrine read NEG-receive
'My sister didn't get (a chance) to study.' (PED life story)

b) དེ་སང་ཚད་ཀྱིས་ངེ་གི་མེ་དྲག་འདི་འཛིབ་མེ་ཐོབ་སེ་འཛིབ་མེ་ཚུགས་སེ་ལག།

tizã: *te^hø:=ki* *nè:=gi* *minto=di* *dzip* *mi-t^hop=s*, *dzip*
but 2SG.L=AGT 1SG.GEN=GEN flower=DEMPH suck NEG-receive=QUO suck
mi-ts^hu=s *láp*.
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 *t^hop* is close in meaning to abilitative *ts^hu* 'be able to'. Thus, *t^hop* 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).

(4.126) a) ཚོས་སྟེད་ རྒྱ་ལཱ་གི་ ཡི་གེའི་ ལན་ བྲི་ བཏང་ལོ།

te^høki?, *pa:=la=gi* *lèn* *t'i* *tã:* *lo*.
PN father=HON=GEN answer write send TAG.Q
'Choki, write and send an answer to the father, ok.' (Richhi 138)

b) མོ་འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ལོ་ བྱིན་ན་ལས་ བཏོན་ བཏང་བོ་ མིན།

ódi *gjaple* *ṇà=lo* *k^him=na=lə* *tøn* *tã:-bo* *ĩ.*
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་ཅག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་སྟེ་གི་ ཏུས་ཚད་ ཁ་ཤས་ ལེན་ བཏང་བྱང་།

ṇàtəa? *ʃeŋge:=tsu=gi* *t'yts^hø?* *k^haæ?* *lèn* *tã:-run*
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་ ཏུས་ཚད་ཀྱིས་ བཏོན་བཏང་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ ཉིན་གཅིག་.....།

di *t^hamteə?* *t'yts^hø=ki* *tøn* *tã:* *ṇàtəa=lo* *ṇim* *tei?*
this all time=AGT show send 1PL=DAT day one
'All this time will tell us one day.' (nga'i 'gan 20)

c) ཤ་བསད་པ་སོང་ལའ་བཏང་བོ་སྟེ།

éá sé-pa sò: làp tã:-m be?
 meat kill-PUR go.PFV say send-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘(He) went to kill meat, (she) said.’ (KT animal story)

d) མང་མཁོ་ཆུང་ཆུང་བྱས་བཏང་ཤད་མིན།

ke:qa te^huŋte^huŋ p’ja tã:-εε i:.
 sound small do send-INF EQU.PER
 ‘(It) sends out a small sound.’ (Richhi 4)

e) མོ་ན་བྱོན་ཞིང་ངའི་མེང་བཏོན་ཞིང་དྲི་བོ་གནང་ན་ལམ་སང་ལའ་བྱོན་བཏང་།

ónale te’øŋ-di jè: mìn tøn-di t’i-u ná:-ne
 then come.HON-NF 1SG.GEN name show-NF ask-2INF do.HON-COND
lamsã: làp p’in tã:.
 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 *tã:* is also used as an additional marker in imperatives, see (4.128).

(4.128) མོ་ཙང་དང་འབེན་དྲུ་བྲ་བཏང་།

ótsò: t’ã: benda t’a: tã:.
 onion and tomato cut send

‘Cut the onions and tomatoes.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

The imperative use of *tã:* and its honorific (imperative) counterpart *nã:* ‘grant’ are described in §11.3.

4.2.4 Summarizing examples of the 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) (AUX) -TAM -NMLZ -INF	(=CFC)

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་ བཤཀ

V1
ŋá: *ʎé:*
 1SG.AGT know
 ‘I know (it).’

For other combinations of elements, consider (4.130-139).

(4.130) ངའི་ ཨ་ཞི་ ཆས་ སློག་ མ་ཐོབ།

V1 NEG-V2
ŋè: *ázi* *tɛʰo?* *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་ཤིང་ ཨོ་འདི་ གསུང་ བཞག་ འདུག།

V1 V2 AUX
lògju? *kʰa* *sé:ʈa?* *p’ja-ti* *óɬe:* *súnj* *za:* *du?*
 story mouth clear do-NF like.that say.HON put EX.SEN
 ‘It has been so said in clear words.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

(4.132) ང་ཅའི་ མྱེད་ འདི་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་ དགོས་པ་ད།

N V1 V2=AUX
ŋàtɛi *kɛ:=di=lo* *jàrgɛ* *tũ:* *go=pɛ?*
 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH=DAT progress send be.needed=EQU.NE
 ‘Our language needs to be developed.’ (KL BLA 12)

(4.133) ངས་ གཡོག་ འདི་ བྱས་ རྩེད་ཆར།

V1 V2-TAM
ŋá: *jó?=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 *kʰɛ:* *õ:-ʈo=la.*
 teacher know.HON come-PROB=HON
 ‘(You) perhaps know (that) teacher.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(4.135) འང་ འདེམ་ཅིག་ རྒྱལ་ཏོ་ མིན་མཁན་ ཟུང་།

V1-TAM AUX
ā: dɛm=tɛi? kjap-to iŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?
 lie like=INDF do-IPFV EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘he tells such a lie’ (PAD bet story)

(4.136) ཆོད་ གན་ འབྱུང་ ལཔ་སྟེ་ ཇི་ ལྟ་བོ་ལྟ།

V1 V2-INF =CFC/AUX²⁰⁰
tɕʰø? kan bjö: ləp-ti tʰi 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་ཙ་ ལྟོན་ལྟོན་བོ་ འདུག་གེ།

V1-RDP-INF AUX
rodzou ten-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་ཅའི་ མྱུང་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ མི་འཐོན་གང་ ཟུང་།

N NEG-V1-INF AUX
ŋàtɛi kɛ:=di jàrgɛ? mi-tʰon-ɕɛ bɛ?
 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH development NEG-happen-INF EQU.NE
 ‘Our language will not develop.’ (KL BLA 12)

(4.139) ཏི་ ལུ་ ལྟོ་སྐད་ རྒྱལ་ཏོ་ མེད།

V1-INF AUX
tɛ mù ʃokɛ kjap-ɕɛ? mɛ?
 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/ba?/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.

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.

	[V1	V2]	V2	AUX
<i>ódε=ra</i>	<i>ʔa:</i>	<i>baʔ jà:</i>	<i>gju</i>	<i>bεʔ.</i>
like.that=AEMPH	be.released	carry go	go	EQU.NE
'Like that (they) keep on going free.' (CY interview)				

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).

The adjective and adverb-modifying adverbs occurring in my data are listed in Table 4.7.

<i>lèp(ti)</i>	ལེག་ལྷི་	‘very much’
<i>pemissiki</i>	དཔེ་མི་སྤྲིད་ཀྱི་	‘extraordinarily’ (Martam: <i>pəsimipø:/pəmisipo</i>)
<i>k’ā:mentse?</i>	གང་མཚན་ཚད་	‘limitlessly, extremely’
<i>átsi(m)</i>	ཨ་ཙི་(མ)་	‘a bit’

(4.141) དཔེ་མི་བྲིད་ཀྱི་གཤམ་མན་ཚད་ཨ་ཙི་ལེ་མ་(བྱས་)
pemissiki/k'ã:mentseʔ/atsi lèm(-p'ja)
 extraordinarily/extremely/a.bit good(-ADVZR)
 'extraordinarily/extremely/a.bit good/well.' (KN e)

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c) ལམ་བསེལ་དཀར་གཏོར་ མ་ཙེ་ སྒྲུལ་གཅིག་
lamsika:tor átsi bom-sy:=tei?
 type.of.dough.effigy a.bit big-DIM=INDF
 ‘a rather big lamsika-torma’ (KN apo, discussion in kitchen)

d) དཀའ་ལས་ མ་ཙེ་ ཚ་དགས་
kale? átsi tsʰaʦa?
 difficulty a.bit hot
 ‘rather difficult’ (TB discussion with KT)

Note that the modifier *lèp(ti)* ‘very much’ can modify the superlative form, indicating that the superlative does not necessarily refer to the last instance of a quality before the end of the scale.

(4.144) ཁྱ་དང་ ང་ ལེགས་ཤི་ འཆམ་ཤོས་ མིན།
kʰu tʰã: ŋà lèpti teʰam-ɕo? iː.
 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 definiteness²⁰¹, as shown by the co-occurrence of the superlative with an indefinite marker:

(4.145) ང་ཙའི་ བ་ འཛིག་ཤོས་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདི་
ŋàtɛi pʰa dzik-ɕo=tei? jø-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་ ཐུས་ཤང་ འདི་ ལེགས་ དཀའ་ལས་ ཚ་དགས་ སྒྲང།
tɕe:zip pʰja-ɕɛ=di lèp kale? tsʰaʦa? bɛ?
 research do-INF=DEMPH very.much difficulty hot EQU.NE
 ‘Doing research is very difficult.’ (YR canteen video)

(4.147) ང་ ཡུལ་ཚོ་ ཡུལ་ཚོ་ན་ མ་ཙེ་ཅིག་ འགྲོ་ལས་ འདྲ་མཉན་འདྲ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྒྲང།
tʰa yːtso yːtso=na átsi=tei? doly? ɖaminɖa jø:-kʰɛn bɛ?
 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:

²⁰¹ Cf. English definite *the most wanted man* vs. indefinite *a most wanted man*.

- (4.148) a) ང་ཅའི་མ་ཁི་རི་མྱམས་ (materials) ལྟ་བུ་ཅེ་ནི་འདི་ལེབ་ ང་ཅག་ ལུང་དྲགས་ མིན་ལགས།
ɲàtɕi mətɪəriəls ta-watɕɛnɛ=di lɛp ɲàtɕa? ɲùŋʈa?
 1PL.GEN materials(Eng.) look-COND=DEMPH very.much 1PL few
íː=la.
 EQU.PER=HON
 ‘If (we) look at our (human?) materials, we are very few.’ (YR canteen video)
- b) གང་མན་ཚད་ རང་གི་དྲོ་ འཛིགས་དྲགས་ གླད་ ལབ་ལོ།
k’ā:mɛntɕɛ? raŋ=gi=to dzikʈa? bɛ? ləp=lo.
 extremely 2SG.M=GEN=CEMPH excellent EQU.NE say=REP
 ‘(Story of) yours is extremely great, he said (so the story goes).’ (PAD bet story)
- c) གང་མན་ཚད་ ང་ཅག་ སེམས་ དགའ་དྲགས་ བྱང་ཞེ།
k’ā:mɛntɕɛ? ɲàtɕa? sém gaʈa? tɕ’uŋ-zɛ.
 extremely 1PL mind joyful become-PST
 ‘We became extremely joyful.’ (CY interview)

In (4.148c), the modifier of *gaʈa?* ‘joyful’ precedes both the experiencer (*ɲàtɕa?*) and the nominal element of the phrasal adverb (*sém*).

More frequently than as an adjective modifier *lɛp* occurs as an independent verb-modifying adverb:

- (4.149) a) ཐགས་ ལེབ་ རིང་ཞེ།
tʰa: lɛp riŋ-zɛ.
 distance very.much be.long-PST
 ‘The distance became very long.’ (KN e)
- b) མོ་འདི་ གླད་ འདི་ ཉེ་ ལེབ་ གཞོད་པོ་ སྐྱེལ་གད་ མིན།
ódi gā:=di tɕ lɛp népo kɛ:-ɕíː
 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 *lɛp* 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 *lɛp* as a verb-modifier also explains why other elements may occur between *lɛp* 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 *-kʰɛː*, 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 genitivized as in (4.150c) and (4.151).

(4.150) a) འབག་ མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་ གློ་བུ་

[*bak mi-ts^hu-k^hɛː*] *bompu*²⁰²
 carry NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ big
 ‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

b) འབག་ མི་ཚུགས་པའི་ གློ་བུ་

[*bak mi-ts^hu-poː*] *bompu*
 carry NEG-be.able.to-2INF.GEN big
 ‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

c) འབག་ མི་ཚུགས་པོ་ གློ་བུ་

[*bak mi-ts^hu-po*] *bompu*
 carry NEG-be.able.to-2INF big
 ‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

(4.151) ཁྱིམ་འདིའི་ རང་ལོ་... རྒྱ་ཁྱུག་ཁྱུག་ མི་ཚུ་ ཀ་མི་ནམ་ རོ་འཕྲོད་ གྲུས་ མི་ཚུགས་པོ་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྤང་།

k^him=diː *nàŋ=lo...* *nàksusu?* [*mí=tsu ka nám ɲòt^hø?*]
 house=DEMPH.GEN inside=DAT dark human=PL who EQU.ATTQ recognition
p’ja mi-ts^hu-po] *jò-po be?*
 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 *dem* ‘like (it)’ may be used along with nominalization to form a comparative modifier. Note that the verb is reduplicated.

(4.152) ཁྱོད་ལག་ཡང་ ཉིམ་ དང་ ལྷ་པོ་ ཆོས་ཆོས་པོ་ འདེམ་ ལེགས་ དང་ ཅང་དྲགས་

p’eːla=jãː [*ɲim t’ãː dau ts^hɛː-ts^hɛː-po dem*] *lɛm t’ãː*
 appearance=also sun and moon shine-RDP-2INF like.it good and
teãːʈa?
 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).

²⁰² Consultant KUN would prefer the negator *ma-* in this construction.

(4.153)	<i>riko lèm</i>	རིག་གོ་ ལེགས་	‘intelligent (intellect good)’
	<i>riko tsʰaʈaʔ</i>	རིག་གོ་ ཚ་དགས་	‘intelligent (intellect hot)’
	<i>sém tʼǎ:pu</i>	སེམས་ དང་པོ་	‘honest (mind straight)’
	<i>tiŋ riŋku</i>	གཏིང་ རིང་ཀུ་	‘deep (depth long)’
	<i>pu sópsop</i>	ཕུ་སྒོབ་སྒོབ་	‘fluffy with hair (hair fluffy)’
	<i>ŋum ri:ri:</i>	ལྷུ་མ་ རིལ་རིལ་	‘smooth (of skin) (oil round)’

- (4.154) ཚོད་ རིག་གོ་ 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་གོ་ འདི་ ཕུ་སྒོབ་སྒོབ་ མཐོང་པོ་ སྤང།
lako=di [pu sópsop] tʰø:-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་ ཇམ་མའི་ ཕུག་ ལྷུ་མ་ རིལ་རིལ་ ཡོད།
ŋɛ: ámø: tɕʰaʔ [ŋum ri:ri:] jøʔ.
 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:

<i>mí sém-cuʔ mè:-po</i>	[man mind-strength NEG.EX-2INF]	‘cowardly man’
<i>mí nè: mè:-kʰɛ:</i>	[man illness NEG.EX-NMLZ]	‘man with no illness, healthy man’
<i>tsʰo tiŋ mè:-po/mè:-kʰɛ:</i>	[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) ང་པོ་ཕྱི་ཀི་ གྲ་གག་ རྩིང་ཀུ་ རྩིང་ཀུ་ འདི་ཙུ་
tʼǎ:py:=ki tʼaɛaʔ [ŋiŋku ŋiŋku] di=tsu
 long.ago.GEN=GEN monastery.building old old this=PL
 ‘These [old, old] monastery buildings of long ago’ (DB trip story)

4.3.5 Adverb phrase

Adjectives and adverbs are partly overlapping categories and adverbs are often derived from adjectives. Therefore it is no surprise that the same quantifying modifiers which are used in adjective phrases (see 4.2) can also be used with adverbs to form complex adverb phrases.

- (4.159) ལེབ་ལྷོ་ ཐག་རིང་ མེད།
 [lèpti tʰa:riŋ] mɛʔ.
 very far.away NEG.EX.PER
 ‘It’s not [very far away].’ (Richhi 70)

- (4.160) ཁོང་གི་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙི་ ལེགས་ལྷོས་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ལགས།
 kʰoŋ=gi=di [átsi lèm-pʼja] kjap-ɛɛ=la.
 3PL=AGT=DEMPH a.bit good-ADVZR strike-INF=HON
 ‘They speak (the language) [rather well].’ (RL interview)

4.4 Numeral phrase

The term “numeral phrase” refers to a combination of a numeral and a quantifier which modifies it. Quantifiers may be preposed (Table 4.8) or postposed (Table 4.9) to numerals they modify.

Table 4.8. Pre-numeral modifiers

<i>tʼy:mene</i>	དུས་མན་ནེ་	‘about, approximately; almost’
<i>halam</i>	ཧ་ལམ་	‘about, approximately’

The numeral-modifying quantifiers *tʼy:mene* ‘about, approximately; almost’ and *halam* ‘about, approximately’ are both preposed to their head word. The quantifier *tʼy:mene*, analogously to Nepali *dzʰandʱei*, covers both the meanings ‘about’ (4.161a-b) and ‘almost’ (4.161.c). Note the reduced form *tʼy:min* in (4.161b). A nominal may intervene between the numeral and its modifier (4.161a).

- (4.161) a) རང་ཀ་ལས་ སྒང་རྟག་ ཟག་སྟེ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ kilometer གསུམ་བར་ འོང་གྲོ།
ran̥ka=le gã.toʔ sã.te tʼy:mene kilomiʔ sũmtɕu ɔ̃:-ʈo.
 TPN=ABL TPN until about kilometer(Eng) thirty come-PROB
 ‘It’s probably about thirty kilometers from Ranka to Gangtok.’ (KN e)
- b) ཐུ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ བར་ཐུ་ བར་བྱག་ འདི་ཅིག་ ལང་རྟ་ ཏ་ ཟ་སྟེ་གྲོ།
pʼja tʼy:min tɕɛŋa tɕu.dup dø:teiʔ lɔ̃:-to tʼa sà-tiki.
 hen about fifteen sixteen that much reach-IPFV now eat-NF
 ‘(The number of) chicken (they) have eaten reaches now approximately some fifteen, sixteen.’ (PL interview)
- c) དུས་མན་ནེ་ རྣོག་གོ་ སྒང།
tʼy:mene 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་ སློབ་ཁྱིམ་ ཉ་ལམ་ ཟླ་བོ་ བརྒྱ་ཚེད་ ལང་དྲོ་ ཨ་ཁྱ།
dikʰa ʃɛp-ti halam dau gɛ:-tsʰøʔ lǎ:-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		
<i>dɛ:teiʔ</i>	འདི་ཅིག་	‘about’ (lit. ‘like.that-one’)
<i>ʃaktsʰøʔ</i>	ལྷག་ཚེད་	‘over, more than’
<i>màŋtsʰøʔ</i>	མང་ཚེད་	‘over, more than’
<i>kortɛiʔ</i>	སྒྲིང་ཅིག་	‘around, about’ (literally ‘neighborhood-one’)
<i>tɛiku, tɛuku</i>	(ག)ཅིག་གྱ།	‘only’
<i>mɛmbo (+NEG.VERB)</i>	མན་བོ་	‘no more than, only’
<i>-tsʰøʔ</i>	ཚེད་	‘about, some, amount of’

- (4.163) གཏུ་ཏྲ་ (Nep.) གཅིག་ གཏུ་ཏྲ་ (Nep.) གཉིས་ འདི་ཅིག་ སྐྱག་ དགོས་ལོ།
ghañta tɛiʔ ghañta ni: dɛ:teiʔ 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 *ʃaktsʰøʔ* (4.164a) derives from the verb *ʃak* ‘be more than’, which can be used also independently (4.164b).

- (4.164) a) སློབ་གྲྭ་ ཨོ་འདི་ནི་ན་ གཡོག་ སྐབས་སྟེ་ ལོ་ གསུམ་ ལྷག་ཚེད་ སོང་ཚར།
lóbqɑ ódi:=na jóʔ kjap-ti lò súm ʃaktsʰøʔ sǒ:-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་ ཟུ་ཚེད་ རྩ་ག་ ལྷག་ཚར།
pʰi:tsʰamkʰø: tɛʰutsʰøʔ tʰuk ʃak-tsʰa:.
 at.dusk.GEN clock.time six be.more.than-CMPL
 ‘It’s more than six o’clock at dusk.’ (Richhi 92)
- (4.165) ལོ་ གཅིག་(ལས་) མང་ཚེད་
lò tɛi:(=ɛ) màŋtsʰøʔ
 year one(=ABL) more
 ‘more than one year’ (KN e)

(4.166) a) བརྩ་སྟོར་ཅིག་
teu kortei?
 ten about
 ‘about ten’ (KN e)

b) བརྩ་སྟོར་ཅིག་
gja kortei?
 hundred about
 ‘about a hundred’ (KN e)

c) བརྩ་གཅིག་སྟོར་ཅིག་
**teuktei? kortei?*
 eleven about

(4.167) བུ་ཕྱ་དྲུག་ཅིག་ཀྱི་
p'u ŋá t'u? teiku
 boy five six only
 ‘only five, six boys’ (PL interview)

In addition to being a formative in such words as *laktsʰø?* and *màŋtsʰø?* (‘over, more than’), the monosyllabic approximative suffix *-tsʰø?* ཙྙཾ་ ‘about, some, as much as’, attaches to numerals.

(4.168) a) ཏྲ་འདྲིའི་རྒྱལ་བ་ལས་འབྱུ་གི་ལོ་བཞི་བྲི་ཚོད་ཐོན་པོ་ཨིན།
ta=di: ge.pa=lɛ qu kilo zitʰi-tsʰø? tʰøm-bo
 horse=DEMPH.GEN back=ABL rain kilo 40,000-about come.out-2INF
t̚i:
 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་སྟོང་པས་ཚད།
ŋàtei jà:p t̚õ:-ti lò ní:-tsʰø? lɛp-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) ཀར་མ་བའི་ལོ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་དེང་ལས་ཉིན་གཉིས་མན་པོ་མེད།
karma bombai=lo lòk-ti gju-wa=lo t'ariŋ=lɛ jìm ní: mèmbo
 PN TPN=DAT return-NF go-CIRC=DAT today=ABL day two excep
mè?
 NEG.EX.PER
 ‘Today it is no more than two days to Karma’s going to Bombay.’ (Richhi 92)

The formative *məmbo* also functions as a marker of negated additive adverbial clauses, see §15.9.4.

The specific numeral *k'ā:pu/k'ō:pu* ‘one full measure of’ occurs as a numeral modifier in the idiom *tō: k'ā:pu* ལྔ་གང་སྤྱི་མཉམ་པ་ལྔ་ ‘all’ (lit. thousand-one.full.measure), illustrated in (4.170).

- (4.170) འབྲས་ལྗངས་ཀྱི་མི་རིགས་ ལྔ་གང་སྤྱི་མཉམ་པ་
dendzong=gi mīri? tō: k'ā:pu=lo
 Sikkim=GEN people thousand full.measure.of=DAT
 ‘to all the people of Sikkim’ (NAB BLA 7)

For the indefinite numeral *k'adzø? i:-run* གཞིན་མིན་ཅུང་ ‘however many’, consider §6.3.2.

4.5 Summary remarks

This chapter described how words can be combined into phrases or, in the case of verbs, into a “complex.” It was shown that nouns take both prenominal modifiers, which are typically genitive marked, and postnominal modifiers, which are typically not genitive marked. In clausal context, nouns frequently take up to three clitics, including plural, case and emphatic clitics. The numeral *tei?* ‘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 ō:* ‘bring’, lit. ‘carry-come’). In the second (and rare) case, the combined verbs are synonymic (*t'ek da:* ‘chase away’ lit. ‘chase-chase’). In the third relationship, the last verb does not belong to the semantic core of the construction but brings semantic nuance to it. Verbs which bring semantic nuance to the primary verb were termed secondary verbs, which often express tense, aspect and modality-related values.

Quantifying adjective modifiers were shown to be loosely connected with the adjective they modify in that other elements may come in between. It was also shown that adjectives, analogously to phrasal verbs, can occur as phrasal adjectives with nominal premodifiers. The last section illustrated the use of nine numeral modifiers.

5 Basic clause structure

This chapter discusses basic clause structure in Denjongke, focusing on the number and type of NP arguments that verbs may take. The treatment begins with an introduction to concepts and terminology (§5.1). Then the description is divided into intransitive clauses (§5.2), transitive clauses (§5.3), clauses with verbs of being and becoming (§5.4), valency modification (§5.5) and the use of adverbials (§5.6).

5.1 Introduction to concepts and terminology

The terms “transitive” and “intransitive” are here used syntactically²⁰³ as referring to the potential²⁰⁴ 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) ལུ་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་ འདུག་གོ།
***kʰu** gjuk-tæɛn du-kɛ.*
 3SGM run-PROG EX.SEN-IN
 ‘He’s running.’ (TB e)

In addition to one core argument, an intransitive clause may have some additional, peripheral arguments such as adverbials expressing time, location and manner. Example (5.2) has one core argument S (*ŋà*) and two peripheral arguments, the temporal adverbial *ódi gjaple* ‘after that’ and the directional *gã:toʔ(=lo)* ‘to Gangtok’.

- (5.2) ཨོ་འདི་རྒྱལ་ལས་ ང་རྒྱང་ཉླག་(ལོ་) འོང་བོ་ མིན།
*ódi gjaple **ŋà** gã:toʔ(=lo) òm-bo í:.*
 that after 1SG TPN(=DAT) come-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘After that I came to Gangtok.’ (TB life story, KN e)

In a transitive clause, argument A is the most important argument for the success of the verbal action (and usually the most agent like argument, hence A), and P is the other argument in a transitive clause (and usually the most patient like argument, hence P), see (5.3). 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’.

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) ལྷལ་མཚན་(གྲིས་) ཀམ་(ལོ་) བསད་པོ་ ཟུང།
gjalts^hen(=gi) karma(=lo) sɛ-po bɛ?
 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) བཀའ་གིས་ ལ་ལ་ལོ་ མང་ (Nep.) ཐྱིན་དོ་ ཟུང།
zun=gi làla=lo màŋ p’in-do bɛ?
 government=AGT some=DAT privilege(Nep.) give-IPFV EQU.NE
 ‘The government is giving privileges to some.’ (RBM discussion on the roof)

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).

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. Although Denjongke is probably one of those Tibeto-Burman languages which in

Coupe’s (2017) analysis are in a transitional stage from pragmatic core argument marking to purely syntactic alignment, Denjongke has not yet arrived in the destination.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) སྐད་ཏྲུག་ འགྱུར་ སྐད།
gã:to? gju-do be?
 TPN go-IPFV EQU.NE
 ‘(He’s) going to Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Thirdly, because of zero anaphora, core arguments may be elided from a clause, whereas peripheral arguments may be retained. The definition for core and peripheral arguments used here is adopted from Andvik’s (2010: 119) description of Tshangla, another Tibeto-Burman language with zero anaphora. A core argument is an argument “which can be omitted only if its reference is recoverable from the discourse context, i.e. under zero anaphora” (“omitting” here excludes argument suppression), whereas a peripheral argument is an argument “which can be omitted even when not recoverable from the discourse context” (Andvik 2010:119).

5.2 Intransitive clauses

The S argument in intransitive clauses is typically 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:

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་ རྩལ་ལས་ ངའི་གི་ རད་ རྒྱ་གོ་ ཨིན།

ódi gjaple jè:=gi nè? t'ak-o í.
that after 1SG.GEN=GEN disease get.healed-2INF EQU.PER
'After that my disease got healed.' (TB life story)

(5.7) ཕྱི་ལོ་ གཅིག་ལྷོང་ རྒྱ་བརྒྱ་ རྒྱ་བརྒྱ་ གོ་ཁྲ་ ལོ་འི་ རང་ག་ ང་ རྒྱ་ལྷོག་ བཤད་གྱ་ རང་ག་ སོང་བོ་ ཨིན།

te^{hi}-lo teiktō: gubgja gupteu k'ongá lò=i nàŋɛa
outside-year one.thousand nine.hundred ninety ninety-five year=GEN inside
ŋà gā:to? é:da nàŋɛa sō:-bo í.
1SG TPN Buddhist.institute inside go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER
'In 1995 (of Gregorian calender), I went to the Higher Institute of Nyingmapa Studies in Gangtok.' (RB life story)

In (5.7), the directional/destination is marked as an overtly peripheral argument with the postposition *nàŋɛa* 'inside'. However, destination and location may also be 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་ རྩལ་ལས་ ང་ རྒྱ་ལྷོག་(ལོ་) འོང་བོ་ ཨིན།

ódi gjaple ŋà gā:to?(=lo) òm-bo í.
that after 1SG TPN(=DAT) come-2INF EQU.PER
'After that I came to Gangtok.' (TB life story, KN e)

(5.9) རུ་ རྒྱ་ལྷོག་(ལོ་) ཡོད།

k^{hu} gā:to?(=lo) jò?
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་ འུས་སོང་མ་དང་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཨམ་བག་ གཏོག་མཐན་ བདག་ཀྱ་ འདི་ མདུན་ཁར་ སླེབས་སྟེ་ ཨོ་ན་ལས་ སོང་བོ་ སྤང།

ódi p'ja-somdā: ódi ámba? tok^hé: daku=di dyŋk^{ha}
that do-SIM that guava pluck.NMLZ owner=DEMPH in.front.of
lep-ti ónale sō:-bo bɛ?
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) ཇའི་ ཇ་རྒྱ་ རྩོན་ཞེ་ ལྷག་ རྩོན་ལོ་ ཇ་རྒྱ་གེས།
ái, ágja te 'øɲ-zɛ. lòk tɛ 'øː=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་ ཀམ་ལོ་ བསད་པོ་ སྤང།
gjaltsʰen=gi karma=lo sé-po beʔ.
 PN=AGT PN=DAT kill-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Gyaltshen killed Karma.’ (KN e)

- b) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ ཀམ་ལོ་ བསད་པོ་ སྤང།
gjaltsʰen karma=lo sé-po beʔ.
 c) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ཀམ་ བསད་པོ་ སྤང།
gjaltsʰen=gi karma sé-po beʔ.
 d) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ ཀམ་ བསད་པོ་ སྤང།
gjaltsʰen karma sé-po (beʔ).

- (5.13) a) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ཀམ་ལོ་ ཉིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།
gjaltsʰen=gi karma=lo tip-tɛɛn duʔ.
 PN=AGT PN=DAT beat-PROG EX.SEN
 ‘Gyaltshen is hitting Karma.’ (KN e)

- b) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ ཀམ་ལོ་ ཉིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།
gjaltsʰen karma=lo tip-tɛɛn duʔ.
 c) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ཀམ་ ཉིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།
gjaltsʰen=ki karma tip-tɛɛn duʔ.

- d) ལྷལ་མཚན་ ཀལ་ ཉིབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།
gjalts^hen karma tip-tɕɛn du?

It is my impression that some speakers who have received formal education in Denjongke writing rules are prone to implement the writing rules, which are to some degree affected by Classical Tibetan, to their grammaticality judgments of spoken language in a prescriptive rather than a descriptive way. Consequently, some of the above forms, especially (5.11d) and (5.12d), may be considered “ungrammatical” (i.e. against the rules of writing) by some speakers. A similar observation was made by Sandberg (1895: 25) about the use of the agentive case:

Where both subject and object occur in any sentence, the subject is put in the agentive case, except where the verb of the sentence is part of the verb ‘to be’. Rule though this is, it is generally not observed by the uneducated; and therefore we shall not keep to it in our conversational examples to be given hereafter, the nominative being usually heard as in English.

Sandberg’s word “usually” with reference to the nominative (=zero-marking) leaves open the option that even “the uneducated” occasionally use agentive, suggesting that the use of the agentive was pragmatically conditioned even in Sandberg’s data. Finding natural examples of all the combinations of A and P argument marking would require an extensive corpus which is not available at the moment. This chapter offers some preliminary remarks.

If arguments are marked by pronouns or common nouns, rules for assigning the A argument are somewhat stricter than with proper nouns. In perfective past, as in (5.14a), agentive marking is usually mandatory, although see the natural example (5.17) below where a past tense verb with a highly affected P has a zero-marked A argument.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་ཁྱ་(ལོ་) ཉིབ་པོ་ ཞིན།
dǎ: ɲá: k^hu(=lo) tip-o ȩ̌.
 yesterday I.AGT 3SGM(=DAT) beat-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘I beat him yesterday.’ (KN e)
- b) མོ་རངས་ངས་ཁྱ་(ལོ་) ཉིབ་ཤད་ ཞིན།
t^horǎ: ɲá: k^hu(=lo) tip-ɕɛ ȩ̌.
 tomorrow I.AGT 3SGM(=DAT) beat-INF EQU.PER
 ‘I’ll beat him tomorrow.’ (KN e)
- c) ད་ལྟ་ང/ངས་ཁྱ/ཁྱ་ལོ་ ཉིབ་ཏོ་ ཞིན།
t’ato ɲà/ɲá: k^hu/k^hu=lo tip-to ȩ̌.
 now 1SG/1SG.AGT 3SGM/3SGM=DAT beat-IPFV EQU.PER
 ‘I’m beating him now.’ (KN e)

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) ལྷཱཏ་མཚན་(གྱིས་) དེ་བ་ གཅིག་(ལོ་) གསེས་པོ་ སྤང།
gjalts^hen(=gi) t'ɛp tɕi(=lo) sé:-bo beʔ.
 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: མ་རྒྱ་ མདང་ ཞུ་ལག་ མ་བཞེས་པོ་ འདྲ།
ája dā: ɛɛ: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་ ཟས་ སྤྲོལ་ཁང་ན་རང་ ཟ་བོ་ ཞིན།
ɲá: dā: sàm méŋk^hā:=na=rā: sò-u í:.
 I.AGT yesterday food hospital=LOC=AEMPH eat-2INF EQU.PER
 'I ate yesterday in the hospital.' (Richhi 23)

The use of agentive in the answer in (5.16) is probably pragmatically motivated. The speaker's sister has suspected that the speaker did not eat dinner the previous night. The speaker responds by (5.16), emphasizing his agency in eating the previous night. The fact that the speaker is actually lying may also trigger an increased claim of agency. The lack of agentive marking in the question in (5.16), on the other hand, may be affected by negation and decreased assertiveness marked by the apparentive construction ending in -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་ཅག་ མོ་འདི་ ཟས་ ཟ་བོ་ ཞིན།
ɲàtɕaʔ ódi sàm sò-u í:.
 1PL that food eat-2INF EQU.PER
 'We ate that food.' (DB trip story)

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) ལྷཱ་མཚན་(གྱིས་) ཀམ་(ལོ་) བད་པོ་ འཕྲད་པོ་ ཟུང།
gjalts^hen(=gi) karma(=lo) dā: p^hε-po bε?
 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་ལྷ་ ལྷཱ་མ་ དེ་ཟང་ ང་ཅག་ ལྷོ་པོ་ལྷ་གིས་ མཚན་ལྷ་ ལྷཱ་མ་ མི་ཤེས་ལགས།
lɔkε? kjap t'izā: ηàtea? lɔpo=tsu=gi mɛŋkε? kjap
 Lhoke speak but 1PL Lhopo=PL=AGT Lepcha speak
mi-εé:=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་ བཅག་ལྷ་གི་ ཁོང་ གཞོན་ཚྭ་ བཏང་བོ་ ཨོན་ སེ་ ཉེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ལྷཱ་ལུ་ བཏང་བོ་ ཨོན་ སེ་ འདུག་གོ།
ódi pε zak-tiki k^hō: néndzop tã:-bo í:=s,
 that example set-NF 3SG.HON oppression send-2INF EQU.PER=QUO
tε ódi gε:pu tã:-bo í:=s du-kε?
 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་ཅག་ལོ་ ལྷཱ་ལུ་འི་གི་ འདེམ་ གཞོན་ཚྭ་ གནང་བོ་ ཨོན།
ηàtea=lo gε:py:=gi dem néndzop ná:-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. Hälsler 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 *ɛik* ‘destroy’ fall within the second group. Further research is needed to fully unravel the intricacies of agentive marking.

Table 5.2. Marking of A argument in the past tense of some verbs (consultant KN)

Agentive obligatory (AGT)			Agentive pragmatically conditioned (AGT/ZERO)		
<i>tip</i>	ཏིབ་	‘hit’	<i>bak</i>	འབག་	‘carry’
<i>re:</i>	རེ་	‘tear’	<i>sà</i>	ཟ་	‘eat’
<i>dɛk</i>	ཐེག་	‘put inside’	<i>bɛ?</i>	འབལ་	‘weed (out)’
<i>dzip</i>	འཛིབ་	‘suck’	<i>ɛɛ?</i>	ཤད་	‘comb’
<i>hako</i>	ཏུ་གོ་	‘understand’	<i>ɛik</i>	ཤེགས་	‘destroy’
<i>ɛɛ:</i>	ཤེས་	‘(come to) know’	<i>da:</i>	བདར་	‘sharpen’
<i>ɛɛ:</i>	བཤལ་	‘rinse’	<i>zi:</i>	གཟིགས་	‘look, see (hon.)’
<i>dze:</i>	བརྟེན་	‘forget’	<i>dze:/pʰɛ</i>	མཇལ་/འཕྱད་ (ཕྱིད་)	‘meet’
<i>ɛú</i>	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’, *go?* ‘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) མ་བུ་གྱིས་ ཕོགས་ ཐོབ་ཤང་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་?
mòby=ki pʰo? tʰop-ɛɛ jø:-ka?
 wife=AGT salary receive-INF EX.PER
 ‘Does the wife receive salary?’ (BP BB discussion)

- (5.23) ཏི་ ཁོང་ ཤེས་ཅུང་ མ་ཤེས་ཅུང་ ཁོང་ དངུལ་ ཐོབ་པོ་ ཟླད།
tɛ kʰõ: ɛɛ:-run ma-ɛɛ:-run kʰõ: jɳ: tʰop-o
 then 3PL know-CONC NEG-know-CCS 3PL money receive-2INF
bɛ?
 EQU.NE
 ‘Now whether they knew (it) or not, they got money.’ (CY interview)

- (5.24) ཁོ་ལོ་ཡང་ དབང་ཆ་, འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ དབང་ཆ་ འདི་ ཐོབ་པོ་ ཟུག།
kʰõ:=lo=jã: *õ:teʰa*, *qendzong=gi* *õ:teʰa=di* *tʰop-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་ མིན།
*ŋá:/ŋà=lo/*ŋà* *dã:* *tʰɛp* *tɛiʔ* *tʰop-o* *ĩ:*
 I.AGT/I=DAT/*1SG yesterday book one receive-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘I received a book yesterday.’ (KN e)

When the verb *tʰop* ‘receive’ occurs with a dative-locative-marked adverbial, the clause may have two dative-locative-marked arguments, which are disambiguated semantically and also perhaps by word order (the agentive *ŋá:* could replace *ŋà=lo* in 5.26).

- (5.26) ང་ལོ་ དེབ་ འདི་ ཟང་རྟག་ལོ་ ཐོབ་པོ་ མིན།
ŋà=lo *tʰɛp=di* *gã:to:=lo* *tʰop-o* *ĩ:*
 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 *tʰop* ‘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་ རྩ་ཚན་ དགོས།
*ŋá:/ŋà=lo/*ŋà* *teʰu* *goʔ.*
 1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/*1SG water be.needed
 ‘I need hot water.’ (KN e)

However, with the negated *min-goʔ* ‘be not needed’ all three forms, dative-locative, agentive and zero-marking were deemed acceptable.

- (5.28) ངས་ང་ལོ་/ང་ རྩ་ཚན་ མིན་དགོས།
ŋá:/ŋà=lo/ŋà *teʰutsʰɛ:* *min-goʔ.*
 1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/1SG hot.water NEG-be.needed
 ‘I don’t need hot water.’ (KT e)

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) མོ་ཏར་ དགའ་ཀྱ?
*moʈar*²¹¹ *ga-ga?*
 pea like-PQ
 ‘Do you like peas?’ (PED e)

- (5.30) ང་ལྟ་ ལེབ་ དགའ་བོ་ མིན།
ŋà=lo *lèp* *ga-u* *ĩ:*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 *k^him* ‘house’ may be either *k^him* (zero-marked) or *k^him=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.

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) རྒྱལ་མཚན་(གྲིས་) ཀཾ་(ལོ་) བསད་པོ་ ཟུང།
gjalts^hen(=gi) karma(=lo) sé-po be?
 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) རྒྱལ་མཚན་, ཕག་གོ་ འདི་ལོ་ བསད།
gjalts^hen, p^hako=di=lo sé?
 PN pig=DEMPH=DAT kill
 ‘Gyaltshen, kill the pig.’ (KTL e)

- (5.34) རྒྱལ་མཚན་, ཕག་གོ་ བསད།
gjalts^hen, p^hako sé?
 PN pig kill
 ‘Gyaltshen, do pig-killing.’ (KTL e)

Consultant KTL commented that in (5.33) the P argument (pig) is identifiable in the context. It is a specific pig which most likely is in the speakers presence. In (5.34), on the other hand, the P argument is unidentifiable, unspecific. It should be noted that the clauses differ not only with respect to P marking; (5.33) also has a demonstrative-emphatic =*di* which can mark definiteness. Consultant KTL tended to identify a pragmatic difference in P marking mainly in imperative clauses.

For another case of reported pragmatic difference, consider (5.35) and (5.36).

- (5.35) ལུ་(གིས་) རྩ་མཐོང་པོ་ ཞིན།
k^hu(=gi) do t^hö:-po t̃.
 3SGM(=AGT) stone see-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘He saw a stone.’ (KN e)

- (5.36) ལུ་(གིས་) རྩ་ལོ་ མཐོང་པོ་ ཞིན།
k^hu(=gi) do=lo t^hö:-po t̃.
 3SGM(=AGT) stone=DAT see-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘He saw the stone (of all the things).’ (KN e)

Consultant KN reported that whereas (5.35) would be a fairly neutral statement, the use of the dative-locative in (5.36) implies that the speaker saw a stone and not the other things that were available for seeing. Consultant KUN, on the other hand, considered the dative form with an inanimate object in (5.36) infelicitous. He suggested replacing *do=lo* [stone=DAT] with *k^hö:=lo* [3SG.HON=DAT]. Based on comments from these two consultants, it may be initially summarized that P marking is conditioned by specificity/identifiability and animacy.

The role of animacy in differential P marking is confirmed by data from the novel Richhi, where specific human referents as P arguments of the verb *t^hö:* ‘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་རྟེ་ སློབ་གླུ་འི་ རྒྱ་ལོ་ གཞུང་པོའི་ རེ་ཆེ།
mik jàte lóptø: no:=lo karma=lo tʰõ:-pø: riteʰi.
 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) འུ་གཞིས་ཅན་ བཅས་ཕྱི་ མི་རྟག་གོ་ ཤོར་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ རང་ གཞིས་པོ་ལོ་ མཐོང་སྟེ།
p’uzi-teḗ: pʰam=tsu mîtako ɛ́ó:-zḗ: jøʔ kʰõ:
 children-AZR parents=PL impermanent feel-PROG EX.PER 3PL
ju:-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) མོད་ཀྱི་ ཡ་པོ་ ཡམ་ ཡ་ཡི་ སྐན་བོ་ བར་མོ་ཕྱི་ལོ་ རྟོ་ ངས་ཀྱིས་ མ་མཐོང་།
teʰø:=ki ápo ám ái gempo
 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-jā*: ‘(not) anyone’ (always followed by a negated verb), no dative-locative marking is needed, because the referent is unidentifiable:²¹⁴

- (5.39) མོ་འདེ་ མོད་ཁར་ གཞུང་ རྟེ་ཐོག་ལོ་ གཞིན་ སང་སྟེ་ བར་ཕྱིར་ རྟོ་བའི་ སྒྲང་ ཀྱ་ཡང་ མ་མཐོང་།
ódetsʰika karma hã:to:lo ju:sé:-ti pʰa:-tsʰu:
 at.that.moment PN suddenly wake.up-NF thither-hither
ta-wø: gã: ka-jā: 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

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) བད་པོ་མི་ དང་ ལ་ཚད་ མཐོང་ལང་ མི་པོ་ ལ་ ཐེ་ཚཱ་ ཟ་ཤད་ མིན།
nè:po: mñj t'ā: lòts'he? t'ō: lō: mè:-po
 patient.GEN name and age see have.time.to NEG.EX.PER-2INF
k'hu t'etsom sà-εε í:
 3SGM doubt eat-INF EQU.PER
 'As soon as he sees the patient's name and age, he has doubts.' (Richhi 170)

The difference between dative-locative and zero-marking of P, however cannot be reduced to animacy, because human P referents may also be zero marked if unidentifiable/unspecific (although the P argument in [5.41], according to KN, could also be marked with =lo):

- (5.41) ལུ་གིས་ མི་ གཅིག་ བསད་པོ་ ཟུད།
k'hu=gi mí=tei? sép-o bε?
 3SGM=AGT (hu)man=INDF kill-2INF EQU.NE
 'He killed a (hu)man.' (KTL e)

Affectedness of the P argument also appears to be a factor in dative-locative vs. zero-marking: P arguments which are totally affected and change a state are zero marked whereas less affected P arguments may be locative marked. Dative-locative marking with a totally affected P argument in (5.42b) was considered infelicitous by consultant TB.

- (5.42) a) ལུ་གིས་ དེ་ གོ་མ་ཕྱ་ར་ (computer) གཅག་གོ་ ཟུད།
k'hu=gi jè: kompjutər teak-o bε?
 3SGM=AGT 1SG.GEN computer(Eng.) break-2INF EQU.NE
 'He broke my computer.' (TB e)
- b) *ལུ་གིས་ དེ་ གོ་མ་ཕྱ་ར་ (computer) ལ་ གཅག་གོ་ ཟུད།
 **k'hu=gi jè: kompjutər=lo teak-o bε?*
 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) ལྔ་གིས་ མི་ བསད་བ་ ཟུད།
láj=gi mí sé-b-bε?
 bull=AGT human kill-2INF-EQU.NE
 'A/the bull killed a man.' (TB e)
- b) ལྔ་གིས་ མི་ལ་ བསད་བ་ ཟུད།
láj=gi mí=lo sé-b-bε?
 bull=AGT human=DAT kill-2INF-EQU.NE
 'A/the bull killed a man.' (TB e)

- (5.44) a) ལྷ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ལྷ་བ་ བསད་པོ་ ཟད།
gjalts^hen=gi lǎ: sé-po be?
 Gyalsthen=AGT bull kill-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Gyalsthen killed a bull.’ (TB e)

- b) ??ལྷ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ལྷ་ལོ་ བསད་པོ་ ཟད།
 ??*gjalts^hen=gi lǎ:=lo sé-po be?*
 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 tǎ:* ‘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 *tǎ:* occurs with the zero-marked argument *óni=di:=tsu* ‘the children’, suggesting that in (5.46) *ka:gjur* is the P argument and the dative-locative *k^hu=lo=di* a peripheral argument.

- (5.45) རྒྱ་གཞི་ ཨ་ཉེ་ འདི་ཚུ་ལོ་ རྩོམ་གྱིས་ བཏང་བོ་ གནང་མ་ ཟད།
k^hor=gi óni di=tsu dordziling tǎ:-bo ná:-m be?
 3PL=AGT child this=PL TPN send-2INF do.HON-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘They sent the children to Darjeeling.’ (CY interview)

- (5.46) ཉེ་ ལྷ་པོ་འདི་གིས་ ལྷ་ལོ་ འདི་ ཨ་ཙེ་ཅིག་ བཀའ་འགྱུར་ བཏང་བོ་ ཟད་ལོ་, ཨ་འདི་ ལྷ་ལོ་ འདི་ལོ་།
tə lópøn=di=gi k^hu=lo=di átsi=tei? ka:gjur tǎ:-bo
 then teacher=DEMPH=AGT 3SGM=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF instruction send-2INF
be:=lo, ódi gjammø=di=lo.
 EQU.PER=REP that latter=DEMPH=DAT
 ‘Then the teacher instructed him a bit, the latter one (so the story goes).’ (RS pupil joke)

However, example (5.47) shows that the P argument of the verb *tǎ:* may also be marked as dative-locative, leaving it undecided whether *ka:gjur* in *ka:gjur tǎ:* ‘instruct’ should be considered a P argument or part of the predicate.

- (5.47) རྒྱ་བོའི་ གནད་སྐབས་ ཚབ་ཆེ་ལྷ་ས་ ཡོད་ཤང་ འདིས་ གཞུགས་ རྒྱ་བོ་ འདི་ལོ་ དེ་ལྷི་ བཏང་ཤང་ ལྷ་ས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།
né:pø: né:tǎ: ts^haptææy: jò:æ=di: karma=gi
 patient.GEN condition serious EX.PER=DEMPH.AGT PN=AGT
né:po=di=lo dilli tǎ:-ææ p’ja-zê: jò?
 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 *jàrgæ tǎ:* ‘develop (lit. send progress)’ is zero marked.

- (5.48) འདྲེན་ བྱས་མྱོད་ ང་ཅའི་ ཡུལ་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་ཤང་ འདི་ ང་ མཐོ་བསམ་ འདི་ བཏང་དྱི་ ཟུང།
dep p'ja-ti ñàtei ý:=di jàrgɛ? tã:-ɛɛ=di ñà
 like.that do-NF our place=DEMPH progress send-INF=DEMPH 1SG
nó:sam=di tã:-do be?
 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་ ལྐན་ འདི་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་ དགོས་པུ།
ñàtei kɛ:=di=lo jàrgɛ? tã: go=pɛ?
 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH=DAT progress send be.needed=EQU.NE
 'Our language needs to be developed.' (KL BLA 12)

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་སྒྱུད་ བྱོ་ལག་ལོ་ འཕྲོན་ཞེ་ འོང་བའི་ ལྐབས་ལོ་ བོ་ཙོ་ གཅིག་གིས་ ཡི་གེ་ གཅིག་ མོ་ལོ་ བྱིན་བཞིན་
tɕʰøki? pʰilo=lo tʰon-di òm-bø: kap=lo p'otso
 PN outside=DAT come.out-NF come-2INF.GEN time=DAT child
tɕi=ki jigi=tɕi? mù=lo p'in-zɛ:
 one=AGT letter=INDF 3SGF=DAT give-PROG
 'As Choki is coming outside, a boy gives her a letter (saying)...' (Richhi 8)

In (5.51), on the other hand, argument R, being more focal, comes first.

- (5.51) ང་ རྒྱུ་ལགས་ལོ་ སྐན་ ཕྱིན་བར་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་པ་ད།
ŋà bhaila=lo mén p'im-ba gju go:=pe?
 1SG PN=DAT medicine give-PUR go be.needed-EQU.NE
 'I have to go to give medicine to Bhaila.' (Richhi 34)

In (5.51), the speaker has just requested the addressee to stay in her place while she goes to the hospital to attend the patient Bhaila. Because meeting Bhaila implies a contrast in location (here vs. at the hospital), argument R (Bhaila) is in this context more focal information than argument T (medicine).

In ditransitive clauses A argument is either agentive or zero marked, T argument is zero marked and R argument is typically dative-locative marked but may occasionally also be zero marked or be marked with the postpositional clitic =*tsa*: 'at, by'. It should be remembered that because of zero anaphora and argument suppression none of the arguments is mandatorily overtly present in a clause with a ditransitive verb such as *p'in* 'give'. The following two examples illustrate ditransitive clauses with agentive-marked argument A. Arguments T and R are zero marked and dative-locative marked, respectively.

- (5.52) བཟུང་གིས་ ལ་ལ་ལོ་ མང་ (Nep.) ཕྱིན་དོ་ སྐད།
zun=gi làla=lo màn p'in-do be?
 government=AGT some=DAT privilege(Nep.) give-IPFV EQU.NE
 'The government is giving privileges to some.' (RBM discussion on the roof)

- (5.53) ཉེ་ ཨ་ཞི་གིས་ར་ སྐྱལ་ བྱས་མྱོ་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ འུས་འུས་ ད་ ཟམ་ཙུ་ འབག་ འོང་ ཕྱིན་དོ་ སྐད།
te ázi=ki=ra duk p'ja-ti ŋàtea=lo ɛy:ɛy: t'a
 then elder.sister=AGT=AEMPH pain do-NF 1PL=DAT a.little now
sàm=tsu ba? ɔ: p'in-do be?
 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) ལུ་ བྱི་ལོ་ རྩོ་ ཕྱིན་བཞིན་ འདུག།
k'u k'i=lo to p'in-zen du?
 3SGM dog=DAT cooked.rice give-PROG EX.SEN
 'He's giving the dog rice.' (TB e)

- (5.55) ཏེ་མམ་འདི་ཏེ་བྱ་མ་²¹⁶ བྱིན།
tɛ ám=di tɛ t'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) ཏེ་མར་ཇུས་ཏེ་བོ་ཙེའི་ཁ་ཏེ་བྱིན།
tɛ mà:dʒɛ: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) ཏེ་མ་འདི་སྤང་ཤོག་གུ་མ་འདི་བེ་མར་སར་(PR Sir) གྱིས་ཁོང་རྩར་འབག་འོང་གི་
tɛ ódi gǎ: ɛóku ódi pi:a.r sər=ki kʰõ:=tsa: ba?
 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) མཛད་ངས་ཁྱ་ལ་དེབ་གཅིག་བྱིན་པ་མིན།
dǎ: ɲá: kʰu=lo t'ɛp=teɪ? p'im-bo ǎ:
 yesterday I.AGT 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-2INF EQU.PER
 'Yesterday I gave him a book.' (KN e)
- b) མོ་རངས་ངས་ཁྱ་ལ་དེབ་གཅིག་བྱིན་ཤང་མིན།
tʰorǎ: ɲá: kʰu=lo t'ɛp=teɪ? p'in-ɕɛ ǎ:
 tomorrow I.AGT 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-INF EQU.PER
 'Tomorrow I'll give him a book.' (KN e)

²¹⁶ Consultant KT would write this word as བྱ་མ་ and pronounce it as *t'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 *t'om* ‘butter-dough’.

- c) ད་ལྟ་ ང་ ཁྱ་ལ་ དེ་བ་ གཅིག་ ཕྱིན་དོ་ མིན།
t'ato ŋà kʰu=lo t'ɛp=tei? p'in-do t̃.
 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, *tʰon* (འ)ཟླ་ 'come out, happen, become, turn out' and *tɛ'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 *t̃.* and *bɛ?* 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) རྒྱ་ལམ་²¹⁹ ལ་བ་མ་ལན་ རྒྱ་ལམ་རང་ བྱུང།
nīlam ləp-kʰɛː nīlam=rãː bɛ?
 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་བྱུང་ མིན།
mù nɛː mɔby? t̃.
 3SGF 1SG.GEN wife EQU.PER
 'She is my wife.' (KN e)

- (5.60) a) ཁོང་ མཁ་རྩི་ བྱུང།
kʰõː ámdzi bɛ?
 3SG.HON doctor EQU.NE
 'He is a doctor'

- b) གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལ་ བཅོམ་པ་ བྱེད་པའི་ གཡོག་ མིན།
tei:=ki zen=lo pʰempo p'ja-ɛɛ? gɛwøː jó? t̃.
 one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN work EQU.PER
 'Helping one another is a meritorious act.' (Richhi 5)

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་ མིན།
di nɛː iː.
 this 1SG.GEN EQU.PER
 ‘This is mine.’ (KN e)
- b) ཀུན་ཆེ་གིས་ ཡི་གེའི་ ལ་བྱང་ ལྷ་མྱི་ ཡའི་ ཆོས་སྒྲིད་ཀྱི་ ཟུང་ སེ་ ལ་བ་བཞིན་
kantɕʰi=gi jigiː kʰadzãː ta-ti
 younger.sister(NEP)=AGT letter.GEN address look-NF
ái tɕʰɔki=ki bɛː=sɛ ləp-zɛː
 elder.sister PN=GEN EQU.NE=QUO say-PROG
 ‘Kanchi looks at the address in the letter and says (it) is elder sister Choki’s.’ (Richhi 139)

In spoken language, the equative copula is sometimes elided, hence the (round) brackets in the translation of (5.62).

- (5.62) ང་ཅའི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རང་ལོ་ སྤྱག་ཆེན་ བཞི་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཟུང་། སྤྱག་ཆེན་ གཅིག་ འདི་ ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ ཟས་ཕྱག།
ŋàtɕi dɛndzɔː nàŋlo pʰuk-tɕʰɛː zi jòː-kʰɛn bɛʔ. pʰuk-tɕʰɛː
 1PL.GEN Sikkim inside cave-great four EX-NMLZ EQU.NE cave-great
tɕiː=di ɕár-tɕʰoː bɛːpʰuʔ.
 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 *jòʔ* (neg. *mèʔ*), neutral *jèbbɛʔ* (neg. *mèbbɛʔ*)²²⁰ and sensorial *duʔ* (neg. *minduʔ*). For the semantic differences between them and for examples of more marginal existential copulas, refer to §7.

- (5.63) ལུ་ བྱིན་ན་ ཡོད།
kʰu kʰim=na jòʔ.
 3SGM house=LOC EX.PER
 ‘He is at home.’ (KT e)

²²⁰ Reduced from nominalized construction *jòʔ-po bɛʔ* (neg. *mèː-po bɛʔ*), see §7.3.2.1.2.

- (5.64) རྫོང་གུ་ལོ་ ལེན་ཇི་ ཉོ་མཁན་ ཡོད་པ་སྟེང་གི་?
dzongu=lo lëndzi nò-kʰẽ: jèbbe-ka?
 TPN=DAT cardamum buy-NMLZ EX.NE-PQ
 ‘Are there cardamum-buyers in Dzongu?’ (KT e)

- (5.65) Q: མུ་ ཐོབ་ཀྱི་?
tsʰa tʰop-ka?
 salt find-PQ
 ‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)

A: མེན་འདྲུག་མེད།
mindu?/mè?
 NEG.EX.SEN/NEG.EX.PER
 ‘There is not.’ (KN e)

As shown in the answer in (5.65), even the single argument may be elided if the context allows, thus leaving the existential copula the only obligatory word in an existential clause. Locative clauses are an extension of existential clauses in that they add an adverbial argument which specifies the location of existence. The more topical argument comes first. In (5.66), the locative adverb is topical and therefore comes first. In (5.67), on the other hand, the argument that marks the located object is topical and hence comes first (note that [5.67] also has a temporal adverbial).

- (5.66) a) ཁྱིམ་ན་ གན་པོ་ ཀ་ཡང་ མེད།
kʰim=na gempo ka=jã: mè?
 house=LOC elder.male who=even NEG.EX.PER
 ‘At home there aren’t any males.’ (Richhi 22)
- b) ཁྱིམ་ན་ མི་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་?
kʰim=na mí jò:-ka?
 house=LOC human EX.PER-PQ
 ‘Is there anyone (lit. human) at home?’ (rna-gsung 5)
- (5.67) a) མོལ་གྱི་ རྒྱུ་ལེན་ན་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ཡོད་
teʰøki? kʰuŋsiŋ=na kʰim=na jò?
 Choki holiday=LOC house=LOC EX.PER
 ‘Choki is at home during the holiday.’ (Richih 157)
- b) ད་ལྟ་ བླ་མ་ལགས་ སྤྱི་ཁབ་ན་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་?
tʰato bhaila méŋkʰã:=na jò:-ka?
 now PN hospital=LOC EX.PER-PQ
 ‘Is Bhaila now in hospital?’ (Richhi 24)

The locative argument may also occur in the antitopical right dislocated position.

- (5.68) ཕུ་ལྷ་འདི་ཡང་འདུག་ ཁྱིམ་ན།
pa:=la:=di=jã: du? kʰim=na.
 father=HON=DEMPH=too EX.SEN house=LOC
 ‘The father too is at home.’ (Richhi 153)

With frequently used toponyms elision of locative marking is quite frequent:

- (5.69) ཁུ་གླང་རྟོག་ ཡོད།
kʰu gã:to? jø?
 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་མོ་ ག་ན་?
áɕa ʎamo kʰana?
 PN PN where
 ‘Where (is) Asha Lhamo?’ (SGD cave story)

Occasionally locative arguments may co-occur with an equative copula. While the evidentially neutral *bɛ?* is fairly frequent in this use (5.71a), the only context in my data where a locative argument is accompanied by personal *ĩ:* is telling one’s place of origin (5.71b).

- (5.71) a) ཞེ་, ཞོན་ སྤང།
é:, óna bɛ?
 oh there EQU.NE
 ‘Oh, it is there!’ (SM kitchen discussion)
- b) ངའི་ བ་ཡུལ་ སི་ཉེ་ལོ་ ཞིན།
nè: pʰay: sínɛ=lo ĩ:
 1SG.GEN fatherland Sinye=DAT EQU.PER
 ‘My native place is (in) Sinye.’ (DB life story)

5.4.3 Predicative possession

In predicative possession, the possessor, which accompanies an existential copula, is expressed either by a locational (5.72) or a genitive-marked argument (5.73) (for these and other types of predicate possession, see Stassen 2009). The locational argument is marked either by dative-locative (5.72a) or the cliticized postposition =*tsa:* ‘at, beside’ (5.72b). Using the postposition =*tsa:* implies that the possessed item is with the speaker at the time of speaking.

- (5.72) a) ད་ ང་ལོ་ ཆ་ཀ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང།
tʰa ŋà=lo tɕʰa:ka=tɕi? jø:-kʰɛn bɛ?
 now 1SG=DAT item=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘Now, (let’s imagine) I have a certain item.’ (YR canteen video)

- b) འདི་ ངའི་ རྩ་ ཡོད།
di nɛː=tsaː jɔʔ.
 this 1SG.GEN=at EX.PER
 ‘I have it (with me).’/‘I have it (on me).’ (KN e)

- (5.73) a) མོ་ན་ལས་ ངའི་ མ་ལྷ་ ཡོད།
ónalɛ nɛː átɕu jɔʔ.
 then 1SG.GEN elder.brother EX.PER
 ‘Then I have an elder brother.’ (PED life story)

- b) ཁྱའི་ བོ་ཙ་ གསུམ་ འདུག།
kʰu=i pʼotso súm duʔ.
 3SGM=GEN child three EX.SEN
 ‘He has three children (I see/saw).’ (KN e)

- c) ཀ་མ་གི་ སྐང་རྟག་ལོ་ དེ་བ་ གཞིས་ དང་ རྩ་རྩེ་སྤིང་ལོ་ དེ་བ་ གསུམ་ ཡོད།
karma=gi gã.toː=lo tʼɛp niː tʼãː dordziliŋ=lo tʼɛp súm jɔʔ.
 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 *gã.toː=lo* ‘in Gangtok’ follows the genitive-marked argument and so separates the purported modifier/adnominal (*karma=gi*) from its head (*tʼɛp*). Because I have no evidence from elsewhere that the constituents of a noun phrase could in prose²²¹ 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).

²²¹ In poetic language, however, the usual ordering may be broken, as shown in the example below, where the typical prose ordering *nɛː=gi sém* ‘my mind’ is changed and an adverbial occurs in between.

མེས་ལེ་བུ་ ངའི་ རྩ་ རྩེ་ ཡོད།
sém lɛpti nɛː=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)

(5.74) a) ཨོ་འདི་ ཅ་ལག་ འདི་ ཁོང་ལོ་ ཡོད་འདུག།
ódi tɛala=di kʰø:=lo jøʔ/duʔ.
 that thing=DEMPH 3SG.HON=DAT EX.PER/EX.SEN
 ‘He has that thing.’/‘That thing is with him.’ (KUN e)

b) ཨོ་འདི་ ཅ་ལག་ འདི་ ཁོང་ ཅུ་ འདུག།
ódi tɛala=di kʰø:=tsa: jøʔ/duʔ.
 that thing=DEMPH 3SG.HON=with EX.PER/EX.SEN
 ‘That thing is with him.’ (KUN e)

c) *ཨོ་འདི་ ཅ་ལག་ འདི་ ཁོང་གི་ ཡོད་འདུག།
**ódi tɛala=di kʰoŋ=gi jøʔ/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 *ʎeŋge:=lo* in (5.76) or *tɛʰø:=lo* (5.77) is added, the possessor argument switches to agentive.²²²

(5.75) ང་ལོ་ རི་ཆེ་ ཡོད།
ŋà=lo riteʰi jøʔ.
 1SG=DAT hope EX.PER
 ‘I have hope.’ (KN e)

(5.76) ངས་/ང་གིས་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ལོ་ རི་ཆེ་ ཡོད།
ŋá:/ŋá:=gi ʎeŋge:=lo riteʰi jøʔ.
 1SG.AGT/1SG=AGT PRN.HON=DAT hope EX.PER
 ‘I have hope in you.’ (KN e)

(5.77) ངས་/ང་གིས་ ཚོད་ལོ་ རྩོག་ཏད་ ཡོད་ ཅ།
ŋá:/ŋá:=gi tɛʰø:=lo lóte: jø: ná.
 1SG.AGT/1SG=AGT 2SG.L=DAT trust EX.PER TAG.ASR
 ‘I have trust in you, eh.’ (KN e)

5.4.4 Predicate adjectives

Both the existentials (personal *jøʔ*, neutral *jèbbeʔ*, sensorial *duʔ*) and the equatives (personal *t̃*, 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.

²²² *ŋá:* and *ŋá=gi* are two alternative ways to mark 1SG agentive.

(5.78) a) ལུང་གི་ བ་ཉིག་ (bike) འདི་ ལེབ་ མ་ལག་ ཡོད།

k^hu=i=gi baik=di lèp màla? jò?
 3SGM=GEN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very.much fast EX.PER
 ‘His (motor)bike is very fast.’ (NB e)

b) མོ་ན་ལས་ ཉིན་དི་ འདི་ ལེབ་ རྒྱུགས་དྲགས་ ཡོད་པ་ཟུག།

ónalɛ hindi=di lèp dzikʈa? jèbbe?
 then Hindi=DEMPH very excellent EX.NE
 ‘Then, (their) Hindi is most excellent.’ (DR discussion with KL)

c) སྒོག་པར་གྱི་ སྒྲིང་པོ་ ལེབ་སྒྲི་ ལེས་ འདུག།

lò?par=ki jínpo lèpti lèm du?
 X-ray=GEN essence very good EX.SEN
 ‘The results of the X-ray look very good.’ (Richhi 29)

(5.79) a) མོ་འདི་ ཏ་གོ་ དགོས་པོ་ གཤམ་ཆེན་ མིན།

ódi háko go:-po k'ɛ:tɛʰt̪: t̪:
 that understand need.to-2INF important EQU.PER
 ‘It is important to understand that.’ (Richhi 7)

b) ངའི་ བོ་ཙོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ འཛིགས་དྲགས་ མིན། ལེགས་ མིན།

jè: p'otso tʰamtɛɛ=lɛ dzikʈa? t̪:, lèm t̪:
 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) མོ་འདི་ ལེབ་སྒྲི་ ལེས་ ཟུག།

ódi lèpti lèm bɛ?
 that very good EQU.NE
 ‘That is very good.’

d) འཛམ་གླིང་ འདིའི་ གནས་སྒངས་ མནེ་མུ་རང་ ཡ་མཚོ་དྲགས་²²³ ཟུག།

dzamliŋ di: né:tā: né:mu=rā: jàmtsʰiʈa? bɛ?
 world this.GEN condition really= AEMPH amazing EQU.NE
 ‘The condition of this world is really amazing.’ (Ricchi 136)

As already shown in §3.4.1, property concepts can be expressed, in addition to an adjective accompanied by a copula, also by property concept verbs which inflect like other verbs. The availability of these two options places Denjongke among languages which use “mixed” encoding type for property concepts (Stassen 2013a). For comparative constructions, see §5.6.1.3.2 below.

5.4.5 Clauses of becoming and happening

The verbs *tʰon* (also *tʰen*) (འ)ཞོན་ ‘come out, happen, become, turn out’ and *tɛʰuŋ* ལུང་ ‘become, happen, turn out’ are used for expressing ‘becoming’, a meaning related to ‘being’. The first one

²²³ This is an experimental phonetic spelling of the word. The form usually seen in writing is ཡ་མཚོན་དྲགས་, pronounced *jàmtsʰenʈa?*.

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་ ཟུང་?

k'ar tʰom-bo be?
what happen-PST EQU.NE
‘What happened?’ (TB bull story)

b) མོ་ མ་བྱུང་ཅུང་

ó ma-te'uy-run
that NEG-become-CONC
‘although that did not happen...’ (BLA 6)

c) སེམས་ལོ་ འཇུག་སྒྲུང་ བྱུང་ཅུང་

sém=lo dzu.na: tʰuy-run
mind=DAT sensation.of.fear arise-CONC
‘despite sensations of fear arising in the mind...’ (Rna-gsung 3)

d) ད་ཉི་ སློབ་གྲྭའི་ ཉུང་སངས་ཡང་ ཐོན་རབ་ ཡོད།

t'ato lóbqø: k'unṣiṅ=jā: tʰon-rap jø?
now school.GEN holiday=too become-IMF EX.PER
‘Now also the school’s holiday is about to begin.’ (Richhi 62)

Predicate nominals can be nouns (5.81) or nominalized clauses (5.82). The noun phrases linked with *tʰon* in (5.81) and (5.82) are marked with square brackets.

(5.81) རྟེན་པ་ལི་གི་ སྐད་ལྡགས་ འདི་ རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ རྩང་གཞི་ རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ སྐད་ལྡགས་ ཐོན་ དགོས་ཤིང་ འདི་གིས་

[*nepali=gi ke:dza=di*] *gjagar=gi nàŋɛa=lo* [*gjagar=gi*
Nepali=GEN language.HON=DEMPH India=GEN inside=DAT India=GEN
ke:dza?] *tʰon go:-ɛɛ=di=gi*
language.HON become be.needed=INF=DEMPH=AGT
‘Because the language of the Nepalis was to become within India a(n official) language of India...’ (CY interview)

(5.82) a) མོས་ ཐབས་ མེད་པོ་ ཐོན་པོ་ ཟུང་།

[*mú:*] [*tʰap mè:-po*] *tʰom-bo be?*
3SGF.AGT means NEG.EX-2INF become-2INF EQU.NE
‘She became one without means (to do something).’ (Rna-gsung 6)

b) གལ་ཤིང་ གཏམ་ འདི་ མཁའ་འགྲོས་ གསན་ ཚུགས་པོ་ བྱུང་ན་

k'ɛ:si? [*tam=di*] [*kʰando: sén tsʰu-po*] *te'uy-ne*
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)

For *tʰon* and *tɛ'uy* with predicate adjectives, consider the following examples (note that [5.85] has a phrasal adjective with a nominal element):

- (5.83) ལོ་ཐོག་ཕྱི་ལོ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་
lòtʰo=tsu lèm tʰon-ɛɛ bɛʔ, di ly:=ki.
 crop=PL good become-INF EQU.NE this fertilizer=AGT
 ‘The crops will turn out good, with the help of this fertilizer.’ (PD cow shed video)

- (5.84) ཏེ་ཨོ་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་
tɛ ódi lèpo lèm tɛ'uy-zɛ.
 so that very good become-PST
 ‘So that turned out very good.’ (RD BLA)

- (5.85) ང་ཅག་སེམས་དགའ་བྱུང་བུ་
ŋàtɛaʔ sém gaʔaʔ tɛ'uy-zɛ.
 1PL mind joyful become-PST
 ‘We became happy.’ (KN, CY interview)

With an ablative adverbial, the verb *tʰon* can also have the more concrete meaning ‘exit, go/come out’:

- (5.86) a) ལུ་རྩོ་བ་ཁྱིམ་ལས་ཐོན་པའི་སྐད་
kʰu tʰo:pa kʰim=lɛ tʰom-bø: gǎ:
 3SGM morning house=ABL EXIT-2INF.GEN time
 ‘When he left home in the morning...’ (RS driver joke)
- b) ཏེ་ང་མྱིས་ཁྱེད་ (school) ལས་ བཤུ་ལས་ ཐོན་པའི་སྐད་ དེ་
tɛ ŋà iskol=lɛ paŋkʰa tʰem-bo bɛʔ tʰa.
 so 1SG school(Eng.)=ABL outside exit-2INF EQU.NE now
 ‘So at that point I left school (permanently).’ (PED life story)

5.5 Valency modification

This section describes how valency, i.e. the number of verbal arguments, may be modified in Denjongke. The lexicalized phonological distinction between controllable and non-controllable verbs was already introduced in §3.3.3. The two strategies for valency change are argument suppression²²⁴, 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

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) མཉམ་ཁང་ལས་ རྟ་པོ་ལོ་ དགོངས་པོ་ བཏང་དྲོ།
méŋkʰã:=lə nɛ:po=lo gampo 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་ ལུམ་རུང་ ཐོས།
sá=lo kʰap lum-run 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་ སྒྲོང་མཁན་ འགྲལ་པོ་ཚུས་ ལྟ་བུའི་ སྒང་ལོ་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ བཟའ་ཚང་ འདྲ་བོ་ མཐོང་།
ŋámtɕi? dø:-kʰɛ: dy:po=tsu: ta-wø: gã:=lo kʰõ: ɲi:-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 *teu?* ‘cause, put into’.

- (5.90) ཐེམ་པ་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཐོས།
pɛmpa gjuk-o bɛ?.
 PN run-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Pempa ran.’ (KN e)
- (5.91) ཀར་ཀུམ་པ་ ཐེམ་པ་(ལོ་) རྒྱལ་པོ་ བཅུག་པོ་ ཐོས།
karma(=gi) pɛmpa(=lo) gjuk teuk-o bɛ?.
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) run cause-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Karma made Pempa run.’ (KN e)

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) ལྷལ་མཚན་(གྲིས་) ཟེན་པ་(ལོ་) ཏིབ་པོ་ ཟླད།
gjalts^hen(=gi) pempa(=lo) tip-o be?
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) hit-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Gyaltshen hit Pempa.’ (KN e)

- (5.93) ཀ་ལྷ་(གྲིས་) ལྷལ་མཚན་ལོ་ ཟེན་པ་ ཏིབ་ བཅུག་ལོ་ ཟླད།
*karma(=gi) gjalts^hen=lo pempa tip **teuk-o** be?*
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) PN hit cause-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Karma made Gyaltshen hit Pempa.’ (KN e)

- (5.94) ཀ་ལྷ་(གྲིས་) ལྷལ་མཚན་ ཟེན་པ་ལོ་ ཏིབ་ བཅུག་ལོ་ ཟླད།
*karma(=gi) gjalts^hen pempa=lo tip **teuk-o** be?*
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) PN=DAT hit cause-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Karma made Pema hit Gyaltshen.’ (KN e)

The A argument of the original bivalent clause of (5.92) is in the causative clause (5.93) marked as dative-locative, whereas the optionally dative-locative-marked P argument of (5.92) occurs in (5.93) as obligatorily zero marked. Example (5.94) shows that word order does not play a role in deciding who hit whom; the argument marked with dative-locative is the actor. Despite (5.93) and (5.94) were accepted in elicitation, I suspect that in actual language use such formulations are almost non-existent. Clauses such as (5.95), which elide the original P argument, are probably more common.

- (5.95) ཀ་ལྷ་(གྲིས་) ལྷལ་མཚན་(ལོ་) ཏིབ་ བཅུག་ལོ་ ཟླད།
*karma(=gi) gjalts^hen(=lo) tip **teuk-o** be?*
 PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) hit cause-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Karma made Gyaltshen hit (someone).’ (KN e)

The causative secondary verb *teu?* 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 adverbials²²⁶ but spatial cases dative-locative²²⁷ (§5.6.1.1), locative (§5.6.1.2) and ablative (§5.6.1.3) do.

5.6.1.1 Dative-locative =lo

In addition to the patient, recipient and possessor functions, which were described above, the dative-locative also marks adverbials of location and time. For stative, adessive type of location, a case-marker is typically used (5.96), but especially with frequent toponyms case-marking may be dropped (5.97). In the examples, discussed items are given in bold, and adverbials longer than one word are given in square brackets.

- (5.96) རྡོ་རྗེ་སྒྲིང་ལོ་ག་ན་བཞུགས་ཏི་?
dorjiliŋ=lo k'ana zu:-to?
 TPN=DAT where live-IPFV
 ‘Where do you live in Darjeeling?’ (Richhi 13)

- (5.97) ཁུ་སྒང་ཏྲོག་ཡོད།
kʰu gā:to? jø?
 3SGM TPN EX.PER
 ‘He is in Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Allative type of goal-oriented directional meanings can be expressed with =lo (5.98), but non-cased-marked directionals seem to be more frequent with toponyms (5.99).

- (5.98) a) ལྷོ་འཚོལ་བ་ནགས་ཚན་ལོ་སྒང་ཞེ།
to tsʰø:-wa nà:tsẽ:=lo sɔ́:-ʒɛ.
 food²²⁸ search-PUR forest=DAT go.PFV-PST
 ‘(He) went to forest to look for food.’ (KT animal story)

- b) བོམ་བེ་ལོ་སྒྲིང་ལོ་མི་རྒྱུགས་ལོ།
bombai=lo lɛp mi-tsʰu:=lo.
 TPN=DAT arrive NEG-be.able.to=REP
 ‘He cannot arrive in Bombai, I hear.’ (Richhi 138)

- (5.99) a) མོ་འདི་རྒྱལ་ལས་ང་སྒང་ཏྲོག་འོང་བ་ཨིན།
ódi gjaple ŋà gā:to? òm-bo í:
 that after 1SG TPN come-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘After that I came to Gangtok.’ (TB life story)

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) ཀམ་སེ་ལི་གུརི་ འགྱུ་མཁན་ བོ་སེ་ན་ འཇུ་ལ་ སློང་ ཡོད།
karma sīliguri gju-kʰɛ: bosɪ=na dzy: dø: jø?
 PN TPN go-NMLZ bus=LOC enter stay EX.PER
 ‘Karma has entered a bus going to Siliguri’ (Richhi 120)

It is my impression that case-marking in directionals is more frequently dropped in spoken language (5.100) than in written language (5.101).

- (5.100) ད་ ཡུལ་སློང་ འགྱུ་སོང་མ་དང་
tʼa y:kor gju-somda
 now tour go-SIM
 ‘Now, when going on a tour...’ (DB day trip)

- (5.101) ལ་ལོ་ ཡུལ་ སློང་ལོ་ འགྱུ་མཁན།
lalo y:kor=lo gju-kʰɛ:
 some tour=DAT go-NMLZ
 ‘some (of them are) tour-goers’ (Richhi 120)

Example (5.102) illustrates the use of =lo for expressing time. The dative-locative is used exclusively with *gã:* ‘time’ (5.102a, b). The locative =na is more common with *tʼytsʰø?* ‘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་ མོ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ མ་ཅི་ཅིག་ དགོངས་ཡངས་ གནང་བོ་ འདྲ་ སྤང་, མོ་འདི་ སྤང་ ཁྱི་ཀ་དར་ (thikadar) ཚུ་གེས།
tʼa ódi=lo=di átsi=tɛi? gõ:jã: ná:-bo qa
 now that=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF exemption grant-2INF be.similar
bɛ?, [ódi **gã:=lo**] tʰikadar=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་ ལ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ ཡང་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ དུས་ཚད་ སྤང་ལོ་
mí kʰaɛɛ=ki=jã: [gɛ:py: tʼytsʰø? gã:=lo]
 human some=AGT=too king.GEN time time=DAT
 ‘[At the time of the king], some people also...’ (CY interview)

- c) ང་ མོ་ན་ ཡོད་པའི་ དུས་ཚད་ལོ་ ཁྱེ་ཡང་ ཡོད་པོ་ མིན།
[ŋà óna jò-pø: tʼytsʰø:=lo] kʰu=jã: jò-po í.
 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 *tʼo:pa(lo)* ‘in the morning’, *tʼariŋ(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) ང་ཁྱེ་རྩ་བྱོ་གཅིག་སྒྲིབ་ལ་ལྷོ་དབྱེང་སྒྲི་གི་
t'a k'hu [rubi? =tei? teŋk'a=lo] pjã:-tiki
 now 3SGM climber=INDF on=DAT hang-NF
 'Now, hanging [on a climber plant]...' (KT animal story)

(5.104) ང་ཅའི་མེ་དབང་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བུ་གྱིས་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཨོ་འདི་ནང་གི་ལོ་འདྲན་གྱི་གནང་བོ་སྤང།
ŋàtei míwã: tɕʰøgel tɕʰimpu=lo p'ey: gɛ:pu=gi [tɛndɛ: ódi
 1PL sovereign king great.one=DAT Nepal king=GEN ceremony that
nàŋɕa=lo] dɛnɕu nã:-m bɛ?
 inside=DAT invitation do.HON-2INF EQU.NE
 '...our ruler, His Sovereign Majesty the King, was invited [in that ceremony] by the king of Nepal.' (CY interview)

Furthermore, =lo, along with the ablative =le (e.g. *gjable* 'after'), occurs in relator nouns such as *gjablo* 'after', *dzɛ:lo* 'after', *dynlo* 'before', *teŋlo* 'above, on', etc. (see §3.6.8). The dative-locative may also attach to circumstantial clause marking progressive -*tɕɛ:/zɛ:/zin* (§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་དྲོག་བྱིས་ན་ལོ་བཙུག་རྟོ་ད་ལྟོ།
ŋà ɛy:ɛy: minto? kʰim=na=lo tsuk-to t'ato.
 1SG a.bit flower house=LOC=DAT plant-IPFV now
 'I'm planting a bit flowers at home now.' (PED life story)

b) བྱིས་ན་ལོ་ཡང་མེ་ཚུ་མ་ཉམ་ཅིག་ཨོ་འདྲེམ་ཟང་ལ་ལབ་མེད།
kʰim=na=lo=jã: mí=tsu námtei? ódem=sã: kʰa-lap
 house=LOC=DAT=even human=PL with that.much=until mouth-speak
mɛ?
 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) ཉེན་ཐོའི་དེབ་ན་ལོ་
[nintʰo=i t'ɛp=na=lo]
 day-list.GEN book=LOC=DAT
 '[in the calender]' (Richhi 7)

b) སློབ་གླིང་ན་ལོ་

lóbqø: =na=lo

school.GEN=LOC=DAT

‘inside the school’ (Richhi 31)

c) ཇམ་མཐོང་གི་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་ རྫིའི་ལགས་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཡོད་ཀྱེ་

t'ato bhaila méŋkʰã: =na jø:-ka?

now PN hospital=LOC EX.PER-PQ

‘Is Bhaila now in the hospital?’ (Richhi 24)

b) ཉེ་མ་ གཅིག་ འདྲ་ཅིག་ ཉེ་མ་ན་ སྐྱམ།

jìm tci? dø:tci? jìm=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་ འགྱུར་ ཅིན།

ŋà tʰom=na gju-do t̃:

1SG town=LOC go-IPFV EQU.PER

‘I’m going to town/market.’ (KN e)

(5.109) a) དེ་ཟང་ ཡོ་འདི་ སྐབས་ན་ ཁ་ལས་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ མན་བོ་ བྲི་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ལྷགས་སྒྲོལ་ མེད་བ་ཟད།

t'izã: [ódi kap=na] kʰa=lɛ kjap-ɛɛ? mèm-bo t'i-ɛɛ=ki lùksø:

but that time=LOC mouth=ABL do-INF except write-INF=GEN tradition

mèbbe?

NEG.EX.NE

‘But [at that time], in addition to spoken language, there was no tradition of writing.’

(KL BLA 12)

b) ཡོ་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 *=le* expresses a locative or temporal starting point. With locatives, *=le* typically expresses direction from a source (5.110), but especially with relator nouns, it is also used for expressing stative location (5.111). The ablative with relator nouns is not separated from the root with the clitic marker = (i.e. *gjable* instead of *gjab=le*), because the case ending has essentially merged into one word with the relator noun.

- (5.110) ལུ་ ལྷོ་པ་ ཁྱིམ་ལས་ ཐོན་བཞིན་ སྤང་
kʰu tʰo:pa kʰim=le tʰom-bø: 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) ཁྱི་ ལྷོ་པ་ལས་ བོ་ཙོ་ གཅིག་ སྤྱོད་ འདུག།
[tʰi gjable] pʰotso=tei? ba dø: du?
 chair behind child=INDF hide stay EX.SEN
 ‘A boy is hiding [behind the chair].’ (PD spatial topography interview)

Examples in (5.112) illustrate the use of *=le* as a temporal starting point.

- (5.112) a) ཙོ་(འདི་) བྱམ་སྟེ་ ལུ་ ལྷོ་པ་ལས་ འབྱམ་ བཅུག་བཞིན་ འདུག།
ó(di) pʰja-ti kʰu tʰutei=le bja:m tsuk-tæen du?
 that do-NF 3SGM this.year=ABL beginning plant-PROG EX.SEN
 ‘Therefore he is beginning from this year (onwards).’ (TB discussion with KT)
- b) ད་རིང་ལས་
tʰariŋ=le
 today=ABL
 ‘from today’ (SGD wedding customs)

Similarly to the dative-locative *=lo*, *=le* can attach to the locative case marker *=na*, see (5.113). The meaning is comparable to a relator noun construction such as the one in (5.114).

- (5.113) ཐྲིན་ལེ་གྱི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སླེབས་ཤིང་ འདིས་
[tʰinle:=ki kʰim=na=le] tʰato=sã: ka-jã: ma-lɛp-ɛɛ? =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་ རང་ཤ་ལས་ ལོག་སྟེ་ར་ ལྷོ་པ་ གཅིག་ ཏེ་ འཐུ་ འོང་བོ་ལོ།
[tsʰo nəŋɛa=le] lõkti=ra ta:ri=tei? tɛ tʰu òm-bo=lo.
 lake inside=ABL again=AEMPH axe=INDF so pick come-2INF=REP
 ‘So again (he) came [from within the lake] having picked up an axe.’ (JDF axe story)

5.6.1.3.2 Comparative uses

In comparative constructions, the standard of comparison is marked by the ablative case (=le), while the quality compared is expressed by an adjective (5.115), a stative verb (5.116) or an adverb (5.117). In Stassen’s (2013b) classification, this type of comparative construction is termed “locational” and, further, “from-comparative.” Denjongke has no separate comparative adjectival form. The standard of comparison may be presented, depending on topicalization, either before the comparee (5.115) or after the comparee (5.116). The quantifier *lako* ‘more (than), (in) excess’ may be used in addition to the ablative, see (5.117).

- (5.115) འདི་ལས་ མོ་འདི་ མཐོང་བུ་ འདྲག།
di=le ódi bompu du?
 this=ABL that big EX.SEN
 ‘That is bigger than this.’ (TB e)

- (5.116) འདི་ ལྷག་ཀྱི་ འདི་ འདི་ལས་ རིང་ ཟད།
di núku=di di=le rin be?
 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་བླགས་ བྱས་ ཟུང་ རྩོལ་པོ་ ཏང་
di=le lako gjate^{hi}ta?-p’ja súŋ tʰop-o-dǎ:
 this=ABL more great-ADVZR observe receive-2INF-CONJ
 ‘when we get to hold (the celebration) in a more grandiose way than this...’ (Richhi 87)

In addition to being a noun, the standard of comparison may be a subordinate clause, see §15.11.

5.6.2 Postposition phrases as adverbials

Postpositions are listed in Table 5.3. The first four rows list items which do not typically occur with a genitive complement (i.e. *nàŋtar*, *nàŋzin*, *t’oŋzin(gi)*, *námtei?*, *námpu*, *sǎ:te*, =*sǎ:*). 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 =*le*. While the ablative forms are used especially to express source (e.g. *ò:le* ‘from below’, *teŋle* ‘from above’), some ablative forms are in spoken language also frequently used for non-directional stative location (e.g. *ò:le* ‘below’). Those ablative forms which are particularly frequently used for stative location are listed as separate morphemes in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Postpositions

Postposition		Gloss
<i>nəŋtar, nəŋzin</i>	ནང་ལྟར་, ནང་བཞིན་	‘according to, similar to’
<i>t’ənzin(gi)</i>	དོན་བཞིན་(ཁྱིམ་)	‘according to, in accordance with, in view of’
<i>(t’ă:) námtei?</i> , <i>(t’ă:) námput</i>	(དང་) མཉམ་ཅིག་, (དང་) མཉམ་པུ་	‘with’
<i>să:te, =să:</i>	ཟད་ཟླེ་, ཟད་	‘until’
<i>məmbo</i> ²²⁹	མན་བོ་	‘except’
<i>mèntă:</i>	མན་བཏང་	‘except’
<i>tsʰaplo, tsʰama(lo)</i>	ཚབ་ལོ་, ཚབ་མ་ལོ་	‘instead of’
<i>tsakʰa, tsa:lo, =tsa:</i>	ཙམ་(ར་), ཙམ་ལོ་, ཙམ་(ར་)	‘at, by, with’
<i>t’ənlə, t’ənlə,</i> <i>t’əndalo, t’əndalə</i>	དོན་ལོ་, དོན་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལོ་, དོན་དག་ལས་	‘for (the purpose of)’
<i>tʰo:lə</i>	ཐོག་ལས་	‘through, via, on the basis of, by’
<i>(=lə) gjy:ti</i>	(ལས་) རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་	‘through, via, by’
<i>go:lə</i>	འགོ་ལས་	‘from, through’
<i>korlo, korlə</i>	སྐོར་ལོ་, སྐོར་ལས་	‘about’
<i>ŋo:lo/hō:lo, ŋo:te/hō:te</i> <i>ŋo:lə/hō:lə</i>	ངོས་ལོ་, ངོས་ལྟེ་ ངོས་ལས་	‘toward, in the direction of’ ‘from the direction/side of, through’
<i>gjablo, gjablə</i>	རྒྱབ་ལོ་, རྒྱབ་ལས་	‘behind, after’
<i>dze:lo</i> ²³⁰	རྗེས་ལོ་	‘after’
<i>(kum)dynkʰa, (kum)dÿ:lo,</i> <i>kumdÿ:</i>	(སྐུ་)མདུན་ཁ(ར་), (སྐུ་)མདུན་ལོ་, སྐུ་མདུན་	‘in front of, in the presence of (<i>kum-</i> is honorific prefix)’
<i>p’a:na</i>	བར་ན་	‘between’
<i>nénlo, nénle, nóma,</i> <i>henle, hema</i>	སྔན་ལོ་, སྔན་ལས་, སྔན་མ་, ཉན་ལས་, ཉན་མ་	‘before’
<i>teŋkʰa, teŋlo</i>	ཉང་ཁ(ར་), ཉང་ལོ་	‘above, on’
<i>=gu, gulo</i>	མགུ་(ལོ་)	‘above, on’
<i>ò:lo, ò:lə</i>	འོག་ལོ་, འོག་ལས་	‘below’
<i>bu:na, bu:lo</i>	བླ་ན་, བླ་ལོ་	‘in the middle of’
<i>bolo(-kʰa), bololo</i>	འབོ་ལོ་(ལར་), འབོ་ལོ་ལོ་	‘next to’
<i>nàŋca(lo), nəŋlo, nəŋna</i>	ནང་ག་(ལོ་), ནང་ལོ་, ནང་ན་	‘inside’
<i>pʰilo?</i>	ཕྱི་ལོག་	‘outside’
<i>paŋkʰa</i>	བང་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

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) ཁྱིམ་ས་ དང་ འགོ་ལུས་ རང་ལྟར་ ཚུགས་ནི་ ང་ལོ་ བྱིན་ སོང་།

[*tʰim t'ā: doly? nàɲtar*] *tsʰu:-nɛ* *ɲà=lo* *kʰik sɔ̃:*

rule and custom according.to be.able.to-COND 1SG=DAT lead go.PFV

‘If you are able (to do it) [according to (our) rule(s) and custom(s)], take me (as your wife).’ (song lyrics)

- b) ཨོ་འདི་གི་ རང་ལྟར་ ང་ཅག་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ བདའ་ འགྱུ་གོ།

[*ódi=gi nàɲtar*] *ɲàtɛa? jó? 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་ མཐོ་བསམ་ཚུ་, འཆར་གཞི་ དང་ རེ་ཆེ་ཚུ་ མི་ལམ་ རང་བཞིན་ མི་འཐོན་གཤམ།

t'ato sàɲ=gi *ɲè:* *nó:sam=tsu* *tɛʰa:zi* *t'ā: riteʰi=tsu* [*ɲilam*

now until=GEN 1SG.GEN thought=PL plan and hope=PL dream

nàɲzin] *mi-tʰøɲ-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་ མཐོ་དོན་བཞིན་ ཞིན་ན་ཏོ་ སྒར་ཏོག་ མཐོ་ཡོན་གྱི་ སྒར་ཁང་ གང་ཅུང་ གཅིག་ན་ ཐོབ་བའི་ རེ་ཆེ།

[*kʰu=ri nó t'ønzin*] *ín-nɛ=to* *gã:to?*

3SGM=AEMPH.GEN thought in.accordance.with EQU-COND=CEMPH TPN

tʰojøɲ=gi *ménkʰā:=na* *k'ā:ruɲ=tɛi=na* *tʰop-ø:* *riteʰi.*

university=GEN hospital=LOC any=INDF=LOC receive-2INF.GEN hope

‘When it comes to what is [according to his own thinking], (he has) a hope to receive (employment) in any university hospital in Gangtok.’ (Richhi 161)

- (5.120) a) རོགས་ཚུ་ མཉམ་བུ་ ལེགས་བྱས་ རྒྱུ་ ཞིན་ནམ།

[*ro:=tsu* *ɲàmpu*] *lèm-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་ བྱག་ལས་ གནང་དོ་ ཞིན་གྱི།

kʰõ: [*ɲà t'ā: ɲámtei=rā:*] *lóbdɑ=na* *tɛʰa:lɛ?* *ná:-do*

3SG.HON 1SG and with=AEMPH school=LOC work.HON do.HON

í:=ɛo.

EQU.PER=AT

‘She works [with me] at the school, you know.’ (Richhi 12)

- (5.121) a) ད་ལྟོ་བར་མྱོད་ཉི་ལེགས་པ་ ཡོད།
 [t'ato sã:te=to] ləm=ra jøʔ.
 now until=CEMPH good=AEMPH EX.PER
 ' [Until now], (I) am well. ' (PED life story)
- b) བྱམ་དྲུག་ཀོ་བར་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ ཚེགས།
 [tʰyn t'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་བོ་གནང་མཁན་ན་ སློབ་དཔོན་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ མན་བོ་གཞན་མོ་ངས་ ཀེས་བོ་ངས་མ་ཐོང་།
dem ná:-bo nány-k^hê: nà: [lópɛn=la:=gi mèmbo] zømø
 like.that do.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ here teacher=HON=AGT except other
*ŋá: kɛ:po ŋá: ma-t^hõ:.*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་བའི་ཚབ་ལོ་ཚད་རང་མན་བོ་གཞན་ཀྱི་ཡོད་?
ápø: ts^haplo [tɛ^hø:=rã: mèmbo] zɛn ka jò??
 father.GEN in.place 2SG.L=REFL except other who EX.PER
 ‘Who is there in place of (your) father [except yourself]?’ (Richhi 84)
- (5.123) a) ཨ་བའི་ཚབ་ལོ་ཚད་རང་མན་བོ་གཞན་ཀྱི་ཡོད་?
[ápø: ts^haplo] tɛ^hø:=rã: mèmbo zɛn ka jò??
 father.GEN in.place 2SG.L=REFL except other who EX.PER
 ‘Who is there [in place of (your) father] except yourself?’ (Richhi 84)
- b) བླ་མེས་ཀྱིས་ཚབ་མ་ལོ་ད་རིང་གཤམ་གྱི་བས་པ་ང་འོང་བོ་མིན།
[taci=ki ts^hamalo] t^harin jó? kjap-a ŋà òm-bo î:.
 PN=GEN in.place today work do-PUR 1SG come-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘I came today to work [in place of Tashi].’ (KN e)

- (5.123) a) ཇམ་པའི་ཚབ་མ་ཚོད་རང་མན་པོ་གཞན་ཀྱི་ཡོད་?
 [ápø: tsʰaplo] tɕʰø: =rã: mèmbo zen ka jòʔ?
 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) བཟླ་ཤིས་ཀྱིས་ཚབ་མ་ལོ་ད་རིང་གཡོག་རྒྱབས་པ་ང་འོང་པོ་ཞིན།
 [tʰæi=ki tsʰamalo] tʼariŋ jóʔ kjap-a ŋà òm-bo ɿ̌.
 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་གཞིན་མ་ཐུ་གིས་ཡང་ཐོབ་པ་ནི?
 [rã: mɛntã:] zomø=tsu=gi=jã: tʰop-o ná?
 you except other=PL=AGT=too receive-2INF EQU.PER.Q
 ‘[Except you], did others also receive (it)?’ (KN e)

²³¹ The repetition of *há*:[I.AGT] here is unnecessary from the perspective of written and polished spoken language.

(5.125) a) ཡར་བ་ ཀཔ་ཏེན་ (captain) རྩ་ལས་ གནང་བ་ གཅིག་ ཐོབ་ཀྱི་?
 [jà:p kæptɛn tsa:=lɛ] nǎ:wa=tɛi? 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་ཅག་གི་ རྩ་ལས་ འདི་ལོ་ ཐེ་ཚམ་ མེད་པོ་ སྤང་ མིན་ག་ལགས།
 [ɣàtɛa=ki tsa:=lɛ] di=lo tʰɛtsʰom mè:-po bɛ?
 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་ ཚད་ ན་ ཨོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ཡར་ཙ་ཟང་ སྐྱེ་ ཕྱིན་ ལོ།
 karma, tɛʰø? nǎ: óni=lo [jà:=tsa:=sǎ:] 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) ཉེ་ ང་ཅའི་ དོན་དག་ལས་ ངང་ བམ་ཅུའི་ དོན་དག་ལས་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ར་ མེད་མཁན་ སྤང་།
 te [ɣàtɛi t'øndalɛ dǎ: pʰam=tsy: t'øndalɛ] lópɬa=ra
 so 1PL.GEN for and parents=PL.GEN for school=AEMPH
 mè:-kʰɛn bɛ?
 EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘So, [for us and for (our) parents] there wasn’t a school.’ (CY interview)

(5.127) a) ཨོ་འདི་ ངའི་གི་ དབྱུང་ཞིབ་ ངང་ ངའི་གི་ ད་སྟེའི་ ཉམས་ཐྱོང་ ཐོག་ལས་ ང་ སེ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ འདི་
 ódi [ɲɛ:=gi tɛ:zip t'ǎ: ɲɛ:=gi t'ato=i ɲàmjõ: tʰo:lɛ]
 that 1SG.GEN=GEN research and 1SG.GEN=GEN now=GEN experience through
 ɲà sé-patsenɛ=di
 1SG say-COND=DEMPH
 ‘If I tell that [by my research and my present experience]...’ (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)

b) ཁོག་ཀོའི་ ནང་གི་ གཏམ་ཅུ་ ཡི་གེའི་ ཐོག་ལོ་ ཁ་ལམ་གྱིས་ གསལ་བྲགས་ བྱས་མྱེ་ ཉ་གོ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།
 kʰokø: nàŋ=gi tam=tsu [jìgi: tʰo:lo] tʰalamgi sé:ɬa? p'ja-ti
 insides.GEN inside=GEN word=PL letter.GEN through clearly clear do-NF
 hako-zɛ: jò?
 understand-PROG EX.PER
 ‘Inmost thoughts are [through letter(s)] clearly and unambiguously being understood.’
 (Richhi 152)

- (5.128) a) མོ་རང་གི་ཁོག་གི་ན་བསགས་མྱོ་བཞག་ཡོད་པའི་གཏམ་ཚུ་ཡིག་ཐོག་རྒྱུ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཀཱམ་འི་ནམ་ཙག་ན་བྱགས་ཐོབ་ཤང་འདིས།
mù=raŋ=gi kʰokø:=na sák-ti za: jò-pø:
 3SGF=REFL=GEN innards.GEN=LOC accumulate-NF set EX-2INF.GEN
tam=tsu [jiktʰo? gjy:ti] karmø: námteo=na lùk
 word=PL writing through PN=GEN ear=LOC pour
tʰop-εε=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་ན་ཟང་བོམ་བེ་ལས་རྒྱུ་མེད་སྐད་དོག་སྐད་དོག་ལས་རྒྱུ་མེད་ཐོམ་བླ་རེ་བྲི་བྲི་བོ་སྐད་
jìgi: kʰateã: ta-sã: [bombai=lε gjy:ti] gã:to?, [gã:to=lε
 letter.GEN address look-TERM TPN=ABL via PN TPN=ABL
gjy:ti] sòmbarε tʼi-ti=u bε?
 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་སྤྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་བྱ་ཤང་མིན་ལགས།
[nintʰakpø: go:lε] tʰudziteʰε εù-εĩ:=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་གཞིས་པོ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་ཁ་སང་གི་སློབ་གྲྲའི་དུས་སྟོན་སྟོར་ལོ་ལྷུས་བཤང་བཞིན་ལོ་
tʼato kʰu=rã: ní:-po teiku [kʰasaŋ=gi lóbqø: tʼy:tøn
 now 3SGM=AEMPH two-COL only yesterday=GEN school.GEN celebration
korlo] lógju? εé-zé:=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་ལ་བ་མཁན་གྱི་ཟས་དང་དམར་ཟས་ལ་བ་མཁན་གྱི་ཟས་གྱི་ཀོར་ལས་ཆོག་གཞིག་གཞིས་ཅིག་བྱ་དོ་མིན།
tʼariŋ ná [karze: làp-kʰεŋ=gi sàm dǎ: márze:
 today I vegetarian.food say-NMLZ=GEN food and nonvegetarian.food
làp-kʰεŋ-gi sàm=gi korle] tsʰik tejni:=tei? εù-do t̃i. 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)

²³² According to consultant KUN, the words *karze:* (lit. white-food) and *márze:* (lit. red-food) refer to the colour of milk/eggs-whites and meat/blood respectively.

- (5.131) a) ལྷ་ཁྱི་དང་རོགས་ཅའི་མིག་ལྔ་ལས་འཕྲུ་བའི་ཆོས་ལོ།
lʌki? t'ã: ro:=tsu=i mik [lʌŋkor ŋo:lo].
 PN and friend=PL=GEN eye car toward
 ‘Lhaki’s and friends’ eye(s are) [toward (the) car].’ (Richhi 68)
- b) བྱིས་པོ་ཞི་ཏེ་འགྲུ་དོ།
[kʰim ŋo:tɛ] gju-do.
 house toward go-IPFV
 ‘(I’m) walking [towards the house].’ (TB e)
- c) ང་གླང་རྟོག་ལམ་སྤྲོད་མའི་ཐོག་ནས་སངས་པོ་མཇུག།
ŋà gǎ.to? [là̃m tømø: ŋo:tɛ] sô:-bo i:.
 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)

- (5.132) a) ཁྱི་ རྩལ་ལས་ བོ་ཙོ་ གཅིག་ ཟླ་ རྩོད་ འདུག།
 [tʰi **gjablɛ**] p'otso=tei?ba dø: du?
 chair behind child=INDF hide stay EX.SEN
 'A boy is hiding [behind the chair].' (PD spatial topography interview)
- b) ལ་ལས་ རྩལ་སྒྲོའི་ མདུན་ལོ་ རྩོན་བོ་ ལེགས་སོ" དང་ རྩལ་ལོ་ "བྱགས་ཆེ" ལལ་སྟེ་ རས་ དཀར་པོའི་ རྩེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ་
 རྩལ་སྟེ་ བྱི་སྟེ་ དཔྱད་མཁན།
 lâlɛ [ge:go=i dynlo] tɛ'ømbolkso t'ã: [**gjablo**] tʰudziteʰɛ ləp-ti
 some gate=GEN in.front.of welcome and behind thank.you say-NF
 re: ka:pø: jì:du tʰiŋkʰa kjap-ti t'i-ti pjaŋ-kʰɛ:
 cloth white.GEN letter azure do-NF write-NF hang-NMLZ
 'Some (are those who) write and hang [in front of the gate] "welcome" and [behind
 (it)] "thank you" in blue letters on white cloth.' (Richhi 71)
- (5.133) a) ཏེ་ ཉམ་ གཅིག་ རྩལ་ལས་ ང་ ཤ་ སྒྱིམ་བ་ བདའ་བ་ འོང་ཤང་ ཡིན་ ཉ།
 tɛ [nìm tei? **gjablɛ**] ŋà éá kimba da:-wa ò:-ɛi: ná.
 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་ རྩལ་ལས་ ཏེ་ གཉེན་ རྩལ་ཤང་གྱི་ ང་ཅའི་གི་ རུས་རྩོད་ གཅིག་ ཡོད།
 [lò tei:=ki **gjablɛ**] tɛ nén kjap-ɛɛ=ki ŋàtei=gi
 year one=GEN after so marriage do-INF=GEN 1PL.GEN=GEN
 t'ytsʰø:=tei? jò?
 time=INDF EX.PER
 '[One year later] we have then a time for having the wedding.' (SGD wedding customs)

- (5.134) ཉེས་གཉིས་རྗེས་ལ་འདི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཨ་ཤ་ལྷ་མོ་འདི་ལྷག་མྱེ་བྱུག་ཀླག་ན་ཐོན་ཞེས།
 [ɲim ɲi: **dze:lo=di**] ná:dzor áca ʃamo=di lók-ti p'jaku=na
 day two after=DEMPH yogini PN PN=DEMPH return-NF cave=LOC
tʰon-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) ཚོ་མའི་མཚོ་འདི་མདུན་ཁ་ལོ་ཚོན་ང་ཅའི་བ་ཤིང་གི་ཕུང་བཞག་འདུག་གེ་ས།
 [ómø: tsʰo=di **dyɲkʰa=lo**] óna ɲàtɛi paɛiɲ=gi pʰuɲ
 milk.GEN lake=DEMPH in.front.of=DAT there 1PL.GEN bamboo=GEN heap za:
du-kɛ=s.
 set EX.SEN-IN=QUO
 ‘[In front of the lake of milk], there was placed a heap of our bamboos (it is said).’
 (SGD cave story)

- b) བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱི་མདུན་ལོ་དོ་སྟོན་ཕུ་གཅིག་འདུག།
 [tɛnziɲ=gi **dyn=lo**] do bompu=tɛi? du?
 PN=GEN in.front.of stone big=INDF EX.SEN
 ‘There is a big stone [in front of Tenzing].’ (KN e)

- c) ཁོང་ཆུ་བོ་ཚུ་སྐྱེ་མདུན་ལས་ང་གིས་ཨ་འདེབ་མྱེ་ཐོས་པ་ཨིན།
 [kʰõ: gɛmpo=tsu **kumdɿ:=lɛ**] ɲá:=gi ódɛpti tʰo:-po ǎ:
 3PL elder=PL in.front.of=ABL 1SG=AGT like.that hear-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘[In the presence of them elders] I heard like that.’ (CY interview)

- d) ང་གུ་བྱ་བ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐྱེ་མདུན་བཅའ་ལྡེ་
 ɲà [guru rimputɛʰɛ **kumdɿ:**] tɛa:-di
 1SG guru precious.one in.front.of.HON come.HUM-NF
 ‘I came [to the presence of Guru Rimpoche] and...’ (CY interview)

- (5.136) a) མར་ཏམ་དང་སྐང་རྟོག་བར་ན་རུམ་རྟོག་ཡོད།
 [màrtam t'ǎ: gǎ:to? **p'a:na**] rumte? jò?
 TPN and TPN between TPN EX.PER
 ‘[Between Martam and Gangtok] there is Rumtek.’ (KN e)

- b) ཨ་ཏང་གི་ཆོས་སྐྱིད་དང་ད་ལྟའི་ཆོས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་བར་ན་གནས་དང་སའི་བྱང་པར།
 [átanɲ=gi tɛʰøki? t'ǎ: t'atø: tɛʰøki=ki **p'a:na**] nám t'ǎ:
 always=GEN PN and now.GEN PN=GEN between sky and
sá=i kʰepar.
 earth=GEN difference
 ‘(There is) a difference of heaven and earth [between the usual Choki and the Choki of today].’ (Richhi 157)

- (5.137) a) ད་ སྔན་ལས་ ང་ འདི་ལས་ ལོ་ རྒྱ་ འདི་ཅིག་ སྔན་ལས་ཅིག་ བཅར་ཞེ་ལགས།
t'a nɛnlɛ ɲà [di=lɛ lò t'u? dɛ:tei? nɛnlɛ=tei?]
 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་ གས་པོའི་ སྔན་ལོ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ལོ་ ཅེས་ བཏང་ཕྱི་ རྒྱུང་ཆར།
[ɲim kɛ:pø: nɛnlo] áɟja=lo tsi: tɛ:-ti
 day many.GEN before elder.brother=DAT count entrust-NF
mjò:-tsʰa:.
 complete-CMPL
 ‘[Many days ago], I have completed entrusting (my body and mind) to the brother (=you).’ (Richhi 147)

- c) ང་ཅག་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཉན་མ་
ɲàtɕa? [ódi hɛma]
 1PL that before
 ‘[Before that] we...’ (DR discussion with KL)

- (5.138) a) ལམ་ འདི་ ཟུ་ རྩེང་ཁར་ ཉལ་ རྩོད་ འདུག་གོ།
p'um=di [tɕʰu tɛɲkʰa] 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་ ང་ལྟ་ ཉལ་ཁྲིའི་ རྩེང་ལོ་ རྩོད་ ཡོད།
kʰõ: ɲi:tɕʰa t'ato [ɲè:tʰi: tɛɲlo] dø: jòʔ.
 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 *tɛɲkʰa/tɛɲlo*. Note in (5.139c) that the cliticized form =*gu* may also attach to the relator noun *tɛɲ* ‘up’.

- (5.139) a) རེ་བལ་ མགུ་ལོ་ བཞག།
[tɛibl²³³ 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 *tɕente*.

b) ལུ་ངའི་མག་འཛུབ་བྱས་(?)སྒྲོང་བོ་སྤང།

kʰu [nè:=**gu**] *zuktɛaʔ* /ð:-bo *bɛʔ*.
3SGM 1SG.GEN=on finger.pointing arouse-2INF EQU.NE
'He put blame [on me].' (KN e)

c) བ་ལང་སྒྲོང་མག་

[*palan*²³⁴ ***tɛngu***]
bed on
'on the bed' (KN e)

(5.140) a) ང་ཅག་ཁྱིམ་མཚུ་ཡོད་པ་སྤང་མོ་འདི་སྤང་ག་རེ་ལམ་འོག་ལས།

*ɳàtɛaʔ*²³⁵ *kʰim* *mòu* *jèbbɛʔ* *ódi* *gã:*, [*gari làm* ***ò:lɛ***].
1PL house down EX.NE that time car road below
'Our house was down (there) at that time, [below the car-road].' (DB life story)

b) ཁྱིམ་ཁྲའ་ (Thikadar) ལུ་དུས་ཚོད་སྤང་ལོ་མོན་ར་མ་སང་ཁ་ (Ramasanhkha)གི་འོག་ལས་ཀེས་པོ་སྤང་མི་ལྷུ།

tʰikadar=tsu *t'ytsʰøʔ* *gã:=lo* *óna* [*ramasanjʰa=gi* ***ò:lɛ***] *kɛ:p*
thikadar=PL time time=DAT there PN=GEN under many
bɛʔ *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་ལུ་སྒྱུ་ན་ང་ལོ་མིག་བཙུམ་མ་རྒྱབས།

[*mí* *mànpu* ***bu:na***] *ɳà=lo* *mik-tsum* *ma-kjap*.
human many in.the.middle 1SG=DAT eye-close NEG-do
'Do not wink at me [in the midst of many people].' (song lyrics)

b) རོང་ཕྱི་སྒྱུ་ན་ཀམ་ཡང་ལག་ཀར་སྒྱ་སྟན་འབག་སྟེ་སྒྱ་དབྱངས་བརྟང་བཞིན་ཡོད།

[*kʰò:=tsu=i* ***bu:na***] *karma=jã:* *làka:* *ɖamɳɛ:* *bak-ti*
3PL=PL=GEN in.the.middle PN=too in.hand Tibetan.guitar carry-NF
lújã: *tã:-zɛ:* *jòʔ*.
melody send-PROG EX.PER

'[Among them] Karma too, carrying a Tibetan guitar, is singing a song.' (Richhi 120)

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 *nè:tʰi* (WD ཉལ་ཁྱི *nyal-khri*).

²³⁵ I am not sure whether this non-genitive form is a mistake or intentional.

- (5.144) ལུ་བྱིས་(བྱི་) ཕྱོ་ལྷག་ ལོང་ རྒྱུ་ འདུག།
kʰu kʰim(=gi) pʰilo? lɔː dɔː du?
 3SGM house(=GEN) outside stand stay EX.SEN
 ‘He is standing outside the house.’ (KN e)

- (5.145) ལུ་བྱིས་(བྱི་) བང་ཁར་ ལོང་ རྒྱུ་ འདུག།
kʰu kʰim(=gi) pʰaŋkʰa lɔː dɔː du?
 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་ ལྟོ་ ཟ་བཞིན་ ཡོད།
t'ato kʰɔː nɪː-po námteilo to sà-zɛː jø?
 now 3PL two-COL together food eat-PROG EX.PER
 ‘Now the two of them are eating food together.’ (Richhi 20)

- b) མིའི་ མཇུན་ཁར་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ འགྱུ་ ཐོབ་པོ་ ངང་
mɪː dɣŋkʰa námteɪ? gju tʰop-o-däː
 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་ བྲིམས་ཡིག་ཚུ་ རང་ག་ གཞིགས་བ་ཅེ་ན་ ཁྲ་ལམ་གྱིས་ གཞིགས་གད་ ལྷང་ ཨོ་ན།
ódi tʰimjiː=tsu nàŋɛa ziː-batsɛnɛ tʰalamgi ziː-ɛɛ
 that law.document=PL inside look.HON-COND clearly see.HON-INF
bɛ? óna.
 EQU.NE there
 ‘If (one) looks inside those legal documents, (it) will be clearly seen there’ (CY interview)

- (5.148) ལུ་ ཏང་ཐོག་ཁར་ ལྷང་བྱ་ཆེ་གྱི་ སྐྱུག་དོང་ རང་ག་ལས་ རང་ག་ འཇུལ་ཕྱི་ཀི་
kʰu hatokʰa láːbuteʰɛ=gi kjadɔː nàŋɛa=lɛ nàŋɛa 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) ལུ་ གོང་སྐྱུལ་/ཁ་བུབ་/ཟུར་སྟེ་ ཏལ་ རྒྱུ་ འདུག།
kʰu kʰɔːkɛ/kʰabup/sùːtɛ nɛː dɔː du?
 3SGM on.back/on.tummy/on.side sleep stay EX.SEN
 ‘He’s is sleeping on (his) back/on (his) stomach/on (his) side.’ (KN e)

As suggested by examples (5.146-149), adverbs of manner generally tend to occur close to the final verb, see (5.146b), (5.147) and (5.149). Temporal adverbs, on the other hand occur more frequently in clause-initial position or otherwise well before the verb. The manner adverb *hatok^ha* ‘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) ལྷ་ཤ་ རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ལོ་ ས་ཁར་ ཀོས་ བཞག་ འདུག།
p'ja-εa dakdok=lo sák^ha ko: za: du?
 chicken-meat IDEO.NN ground throw set EX.SEN
 ‘Chicken meat has been thrown on the ground in small pieces, I see/saw.’ (KN e)

- (5.151) ཐག་རིང་ལོ་ ཏུ་བ་ མཐོང་པོ་ལས་ མིའི་ སེམས་ ལེབ་ དགའ་ལྷི་
th'a:riŋ=lo t'uwa t^hõ:-po=le mù=i sé^m lèp 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་ འཛོལ་མཚུ་ལས་ ལམ་སྐྱད་ མོ་ན་ བྱིམ་ མོ་ན་ ཡོད།
tarku=le ja: dze^k-ts^ho-u=le làmme? óna k^him óna²³⁶
 TPN=ABL up climb-CMPL-2INF =ABL below.road there house there
jò?
 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) མིའི་ སེམས་ ལེབ་ དགའ་ལྷི་ མ་ལག་ མ་ལག་ འོག་ལོ་ བབ།
mù=i sé^m lèp ga-ti màla? màla? 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་ཅུང་ དང་ སངས་རྒྱལ་ ལྷ་ལོ་ རྒྱུ་ལྷི་
l̥ateuŋ t'ã: sánge? gjablo dø:-ti
 PN and PN at.the.back sit-NF
 ‘Lhachung and Sange, sitting in the back and...’ (Richhi 51)

²³⁶ In written language and polished spoken language, the repetition of *óna* is considered infelicitous.

c) ལུ་འདི་ ཡུ་ རྒྱུ་ཁར་ མོང་ལྷི་

kʰu=di jòu tɛŋkʰa sɔ̌:-di
 3SGM=DEMPH up above go.PFV-NF
 ‘He went up above and...’ (KT animal story)

d) ང་ འག་ལས་ ལུ་དོ་ མིན་ལགས།

ŋà ɔ̌:=lɛ ɛù-do t̃:=la.
 1SG down=ABL speak.HUM-IPFV EQU.PER=HON
 ‘I speak from down (here).’ (KT phone call)

e) ཀེན་ཙོང་ འདི་ ཟུ་ན་ བཞག།

kintsɔ̌:=di bu.na zaʔ.
 maize=DEMPH in.the.middle set
 ‘The maize is put in the middle.’ (PL interview)

g) ཏེ་ རང་ག་ འཇུལ་ ལག།

tɛ nàŋɛa 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) ལྱི་ལྱ་ བཅས་ཅད་ ཟས་ ཟ་ཞི་ ལྱོང་།

pʰiruʔ tʰamtɛʔ sàm sà-ti mjɔ̌:
 at.night all food eat-NF finish
 ‘At night everyone has finished eating.’ (Richhi 4)

(5.155) མོ་ ད་རིང་ འཇུམ་ མེར་མེར་ ཡོད་, ཨ་ཏང་ དང་ མན་འདྲ་བོ།

mù tʰariŋ dzum-mè:me: jòʔ, átã: tʰã: man-qou.
 3SGF today smile-IDEO EX.PER always and NEG-similar
 ‘She is smily today, unlike usually.’ (Richhi 148)

(5.156) ང་ ཏུ་ཅིག་ ད་ མ་སྒྲེབས་, ན་ནིང་ འདི་ ཚར་ གཞིས་, ན་ནིང་ མེད་པ་སྒྲད་, གཞོས་ནིང་ འད།

ŋà tʰutɛiʔ tʰa ma-lɛp, nàŋt̃:=di tsʰa: ɲi:, nàniŋ
 1SG this.year now NEG-arrive last.year=DEMPH turn two last.year
mébbe, zə:ɲiŋ qa.
 NEG.EX.NE two.years.ago AP

‘This year I didn’t go (there), last year two times, it wasn’t last year, it’s two years ago, I think.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The different placing of the temporal adverbials in (5.157) and (5.158) is conditioned by topicality.

- (5.157) མདང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ མགོ་ བཏོག་མྱི་ འགྲེལ་ རྩོད་ ཡོད་སྐབས་ ཐུ་མེད་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ཅེན་ ཁོ་ ཨོན་རང་ གི་ཤད་ སྟེ།
dā: *ɲàtci* *bhaila=ki* *go* *tok-ti* *qi:* *dø:* *jø:-kap*
 yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall stay EX-SIM
p'usim=la: *mè:-patɛɛnɛ* *kʰu* *óna=rã:* *ɛí-ɛɛ* *bɛ?*
 younger.sister=HON NEG.EX-COND 3SGM there=AEMPH die-INF EQU.NE
 ‘Yesterday when our Bhaila was lying fallen after hitting his head, if it wasn’t for the sister, he would have died on the spot.’ (Richhi 12)

- (5.158) ཁོ་ མདང་ འགྲེལ་མྱི་ མགོ་ ཚད་ལྡན་ གཏོག་གོ་ལོ།
kʰu *dā:* *ge:-di* *go* *tsʰedɛ:* *tok-o=lo.*
 3SGM yesterday fall-NF head considerably hit-2INF=REP
 ‘He fell and hit his head quite badly yesterday, they say.’ (Richhi 6)

In (5.158), the topic (*kʰu* ‘he’) that has arisen from the previous context is fronted and the time adverbial *dā:* occurs within the comment/focus part which provides new information about the topic. In (5.157), on the other hand, the topic established by the previous context is *p'usim* ‘younger sister’ and the proposition (5.157) draws attention to what happened the previous day in relation to the younger sister.

The postpositions *ɲénlo/ɲénlo* ‘before’ and *gjablo/gjable* ‘behind; after’ are also used as temporal adverbs, see (5.159). Whereas *ɲénlo/ɲénle* is temporal, *gjablo/gjable* can also mark location, see (5.153b) above.

- (5.159) a) ཤིང་ འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ཨ་ཅི་ རིང་ཤད་ ཞིན།
ɛíŋ=di *gjable* *átsi* *riŋ-ɛɛ* *í:*
 tree=DEMPH afterwards a.bit be.long-INF EQU.PER
 ‘Later this tree will grow a bit.’ (KN e)

- b) ལུ་ རྩོན་ལས་ ངའི་ གྲོགས་ཀྱི་ ཞིན་བོ་ སྟེ།
kʰu *ɲénle* *ɲè:* *t'oku* *ím-bo* *bɛ?*
 3SGM earlier 1SG.GEN friend EQU-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Earlier he was my friend.’ (KT e)

Temporal adverbs *t'arun* ད་རུང་ ‘again, yet, still’ and *tɛ:ra* ཉེ་ར་ ‘again’ express frequency:

- (5.160) ད་ ཨོན་ལས་ ད་ ད་རུང་ འགྲོ་ལས་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྟེ།
t'a *ónale* *t'a* *t'arun* *doly=tei?* *jø:-kʰen* *bɛ?*
 now then now still custom=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘Now then there is still another custom.’ (SGD wedding customs)

- (5.161) རྩེད་མ་ ཉེ་ར་ རྩེད་གྲི?
tsim tɛ:ra tsi:-ɛa?
 game again play-INF.PQ
 ‘Shall (we) play the game again?’ (PT kitchen discussion)

Example (5.162) illustrates an indefinite temporal adverb, which occurs in a repetitious bisyndetic construction.

- (5.162) རེ་འགྲའ་ མལ་ན་ ཉལ་, རེ་འགྲའ་ རྩང་སྟི་ བར་ཚུར་ འགྲ།
rega: mɛ:=na nɛ:, rega: lɔ̃:-ti pʰa: tsʰu: gju.
 sometimes bed=LOC sleep sometimes rise-NF thither hither go
 ‘At times (he) lies on the bed, at times (he) rises up and walks to and fro.’
 (Richhi 117)

5.6.3.4 Verb-modifying quantitative adverbs

Quantifying adverbs, which are summarized in Table 5.4 (see also §3.5.2.4), modify the verb or the whole clause. Each of the forms are exemplified after the table.

Table 5.4. Verb-modifying quantitative adverbs

<i>lɛp(ti)</i>	ལེབ་(སྟི་)	‘very much’
<i>kɛ:p, kɛ:po</i>	གེས་བ་, གེས་པོ་	‘much, a lot’
<i>màŋpu, màŋpo</i>	མང་བུ་, མང་པོ་	‘much, a lot’
<i>tsʰɛdɛ:</i>	ཚད་ལྡན་	‘considerably’
<i>màŋtsʰɔ?</i>	མང་ཚད་	‘to great degree, more (than)’
<i>nùŋtsʰɔ?</i> ²³⁷	ལྲང་ཚད་	‘little, less (than)’
<i>ɛy:ɛy:</i>	ཤུག་ཤུག་	‘a bit’
<i>ɛy:tey:</i>	ཤུག་ཅིག་	‘a bit’
<i>ɛy:ry</i>	ཤུག་རེ་	‘a bit’
<i>átsi(m)</i>	ཨ་ཙི་(མ་)	‘a bit’
<i>átem</i>	ཨ་ཞེས་ (?)	‘a bit’ (rare)
<i>nùŋnun</i>	ལྲང་ལྲང་	‘little, few’
<i>tɛ:/dze:</i>	ཅེ་/འཛེ་	‘at all’ (+negation)
<i>tsa(:)le</i>	ཚུ་ལས་	‘at all, never’ (+negation)
<i>bekki</i>	ནད་གི་	‘at all, anyhow’ (+negation) (Lachung)

- (5.163) བདེན་གས་ མིན་བདེན་གས་ ཉེ་ ལེབ་ མཚོན་ འདི་
deŋ-gam min-deŋ-gam tɛ lɛp 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)

²³⁷ Also pronounced *nùŋtsʰi?*

- (5.164) གེས་བ་ བཤད་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཟུང་ ད་ མིན་ག་ལགས།
kɛ:p ɛ́ɛ-pø: lògju bɛ? t'a iŋ-ga=la.
 a.lot tell-2INF.GEN story EQU.NE now EQU.PER-PQ=HON
 ‘Now (it) is a much told story, isn’t it?’ (PT kitchen)
- (5.165) ཏེ་ གསན་མཁན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་སྤོ་ལོ་ ད་ མང་ལུ་ ལུ་ཤད་ གན་འདྲེ་ མེད།
tɛ séŋ-kʰɛ: ʃɛŋgɛ:=tsu=lo t'a máŋpu ɛ̀ù-ɛɛ kʼandɛ:
 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) ལོ་ མདང་ འབྲེལ་ཕྱི་ མགོ་ ཚད་ལུན་ གཏོག་གོ་ལོ།
kʰu dā: ge:-di go tsʰedɛ: tok-o=lo.
 3SGM yesterday fall-NF head considerably hit-2INF=REP
 ‘He fell yesterday and hit his head quite badly, it is said.’ (Richhi 6)

The quantitative adverb *màŋtsʰø?* ‘to great degree, more (than)’ expresses a great degree or majority of cases, see (5.167). Often an idea of comparison is involved and, hence, ‘more’ may be used in translation, see (b) and (c).

- (5.167) a) མང་ཚད་ ཤེད་མའི་གི་ ན་ཚ་ ཐོན་ཤད་ མིན་ མོ་འདི་ སྤང་།
màŋtsʰø? ɛ́ɛ.mø:=gi nàtsʰa tʰon-ɛɛ? í: ódi gǎ:.
 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) ལོང་ མཉམ་ལུ་ ཀ་ སྤོད་པོ་ མང་ཚད་
kʰõ: nàmpu ka dɛ:-po màŋtsʰø?
 3RD.HON with who stay-2INF more
 ‘...who stays with him/her most/more.’ (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)
- c) དང་ལུ་གྱི་ དུས་ཚད་ལས་ དེང་སང་ མི་ཚགས་ མང་ཚད་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྤང་།
tʼā:pu=gi tʼytsʰø:=le tʼinsā: mitsʰo? màŋtsʰø? jò-po
 long.ago=GEN time=ABL nowadays crowd(s) great.degree EX-2INF
bɛ?
 EQU.NE
 ‘Nowadays there are more people than in the earlier times.’ (KUN e)
- (5.168) ལྷགས་ལོ་ འདི་ མང་ཚད་ དང་ ང་ཅག་ ལྷ་མོན་ལོ་ འདི་ ལུང་ཚད་ ལབ་མཁན་ མོ་འདི་ ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ གནང་གནང་བོ་ མིན་འདུག་ཤོ་ལགས།
tɛʰuk=lo=di máŋtsʰø? tʼā: nàtɛa? ʃø-mɛ:=lo=di
 Nepali=DAT=DEMPH more and 1PL Lhopo-Lepcha=DAT=DEMPH
jùŋtsʰi? làp-kʰɛ: ódi tɛʰøgɛ:=gi nǎ:-nǎ:-bo minduk=ɛo=la.
 less say-NMLZ that king=AGT do.HON-RDP-2INF NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON
 ‘The king did not do that (thing) which is to say more (was to be given) to the Nepali and less to the Lhopos and Lepchas.’ (CY interview)

- (5.169) གུས་གུས་ཁ་ལས་ཚུགས་པོ་འཛོན་ཚོང་འདུག།
ɛy:ey: kʰa ləp tsʰu-po tʰon dɔ: 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) ཉེ་ང་ཅག་གིས་གུས་ཅིག་ཉན་ཚོང་ཡོད།
tɛ ɲatɕa=ki ɛy:tey: ɲən dɔ: jø?
 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་ནང་པོ་གུས་རེ་ངན་བོ་བྱམ་མྱེ་
t'ato nə:po ɛyry t'empo sɣn-di
 now patient a.bit memory awaken-NF
 ‘Now the patient has regained consciousness a bit (and)...’ (Richhi 168)
- (5.172) འདི་ཐག་གོ་འདི་ཨ་ཙེ་རིང་བོ་སྤང།
di tʰako=di átsi rim-bo be?
 this rope=DEMPH a.bit be.long-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘This rope is a bit (too) long.’ (KN e)
- (5.173) ད་ལྟ་ང་ཅག་ཨ་ལྷེས་བྱུ་ཡོད།
t'ato ɲatɕa? átem p'jeu jø?
 now 1PL a.bit hurry EX.PER
 ‘Now we are in a bit of a hurry’ (DB day trip)
- (5.174) ང་ཅག་ཨ་འདི་སྤང་བ་ཤང་ལེབ་ཁུང་ཁུང་ཐོབ་ཤང་ཨིན།
ɲatɕa? ódi gā: sà-ɕɛ? lɛp ɲuŋɲuŋ 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 *tæ:*, *tɜ:lɛ* and *bækki* occur with a negated verb and emphasize the fact that the action denoted by the verb was not done ‘at all’.

- (5.175) ལྷང་གཞུག་གོ་འདི་བྱོ་ཅེ་མན་ཟ་བ་ ལྷོང་འདུག་གོ།
l̥á: teuku=di p'i tɛɛ: 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) ཉེ་འདི་ང་ཅག་རྩ་ལས་ར་འཛོན་མི་མིན།
tɛ di ɣàtɛa? tsɑ:lɛ=ra tʰøŋ 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) མོ་འདི་ འཚོལ་ ལྟ་བུ་ མིན་མད་(?) ཅད་གི་ མ་རྟེད།
*ódi tsʰø: ta-wo t̪i:-mɛ. bɛkki ma-ŋe?*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) ཇོས་ (དང་) ལྟ་ལྟེ་
tʰo? (tʰā:) tɕʰa:-ti
 load (and) be.all-NF
 ‘all the loads’ (KN e)

The construction (*dā:*) *tɕʰa:-ti* can co-occur with additional quantification:

- (5.179) དེབ་ (དང་) ལྟ་ལྟེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་
tʰɛp (tʰā:) tɕʰa:-ti tʰamɕɛ?
 book (and) be.all-NF all
 ‘all the books entirely’ (KN e)

5.6.3.5 Other adverbs

Other adverbs include the epistemic adverbs *nɛ:mu(rə)* མནེ་མུ་(ར་) ‘really’ (5.180), *mɛntɕɛnɛ/mɛntɕɛno* མན་ཅེ་ནེ་/མན་ཅེ་ནོ་ ‘perhaps, maybe’ (5.181) and *mɛnnɛ/mɛnni*²³⁹ མན་ནེ་ ‘perhaps, maybe’ (5.182).

- (5.180) ལྟན་རྒྱས་ མནེ་མུ་ར་ ཐོ་རངས་ རྩོན་བོ་ གནང་ག་?
lɛŋɣɛ? nɛ:mura tʰorā: tɕʰɛm-bo nán-ga?
 PRN.HON really tomorrow come.HON-2INF do.HON-PQ
 ‘Are you really coming tomorrow?’ (TB e)
- (5.181) ལྷ་ཅག་ མན་ཅེ་ནོ་ ཐོ་རངས་ ཉི་མ་ ལྷ་ཅག་ མན་ཅི་ནི་ཨར་ (engineer) ཡང་ ཐོན་ འོང་གོ།
kʰutɕa? mɛntɕɛno tʰorā: ɲima kʰutɕa? ɛndziniər=jā: tʰon
 2PL perhaps tomorrow day 2PL engineer(Eng.)=too become
ō:-to.
 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་གོ།
mɛnni tʰorā: ɲà mǎrtam gju ō:-to.
 maybe tomorrow 1SG TPN go come-PROB
 ‘Maybe I’ll go to Martam tomorrow.’ (KN e)

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 *ŋe?* ‘find’ (WT རྟེན *rnyed* ‘gain, find’) instead of which *tʰop* ‘find’ is used elsewhere in my data.

²³⁹ The form *mɛnni* is from consultant KN (Martam).

The postposition *t'ənlɔ* ཇོན་ལོ་ 'for the purpose of' can be amplified by the reflexive/anaphoric emphatic =*rǎ:* to form the epistemic adverb *t'ənlɔrǎ:* 'really, truly', see (5.183).

- (5.183) ཇོན་ལོ་རང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལས་ གནས་སློ་ ཡོད་པར་ཅེ་ན་
t'ənlɔ=rǎ: *ŋàtɛi* *lɛ:námko* *jò:-patɛɛɛ*
 real=AEMPH 1PL.GEN fate EX-COND
 'Really, if it is our fate...' (Richhi 113)

The restrictive adverb *teiku/teuku* (ག)ཅིག་ཀྱི་ '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་ སྒྲུབ་སྟེ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ ཉ་གོ།
kʰu *lòk* *ʃɛp-ti* *teiku hako*.
 3SGM return arrive-NF only understand
 'He understands (it) only upon returning.' (Richhi 26)
- b) དེ་ལོ་ ཁས་ སྐྱེལ་བ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ འོང་བོ་ ཞིན་
t'ɛ:lu *kʰa:* *kɛ:-wa* *teiku òm-bo* *í:*.
 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) ཏུ་བོའི་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ ཁོ་གིས་ ང་ལྟ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ ཉ་གོ་བོ་ ཞིན།
ŋù-wø: *gjumtsʰɛ:* *kʰu=gi* *t'ato teiku hako-wo* *í:*.
 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) ཕ་ རྩ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་
p'u *ŋá* *t'u?* *teiku*
 boy five six only
 'only five-six boys' (PL interview on farming)
- (5.187) ལྷ་མ་ ཚས་འཕེལ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་
lám *tɛʰøpɛl* *teiku*
 lama PN only
 'only lama Chopel' (LT kitchen discussion)

5.7 Summary remarks

This chapter showed that simple categorizing of Denjongke as either nominative-accusative or absolutive-ergative is not feasible, because argument marking of A and P is to a considerable degree conditioned by pragmatics and lexical choices. Therefore case-marking for the A argument was called agentive, a semantically-oriented term, rather than ergative. It was shown that the sole

argument of intransitive clauses may be agentive marked for emphatic purposes, while the marking of A argument in transitive clauses shows signs of both syntactic control (some verbs require agentive-marking in the past tense) and pragmatic control (e.g. A arguments with and without agentive-marking are offered in elicitation). The marking of P argument was seen to be sensitive to animacy, identifiability/specificity and affectedness. Moreover, this chapter showed that alignment of ditransitive clauses does not clearly fit any of Haspelmath's (2005) alignment types (indirective alignment, neutral alignment and secundative alignment), because the marking of P argument is split between zero-marking (also used for T[heme] argument in ditransitive clauses) and dative-locative-marking (also used for marking R[ecipient] argument).

It was shown that valency modification can be accomplished through valency decreasing argument suppression (resulting in "functional passive," see Givon [1984: 164]), and valency increasing causative constructions. Adverbial modification (not including adverbial clauses) is accomplished through case-marked noun phrases, postposition phrases and adverbs. Comparative clauses accomplished by the ablative can be categorized as "locational" and further as "from-comparative" (Stassen 2013b).

6 Deixis and reference

This chapter addresses issues related to deixis and reference in Denjongke. Deixis refers to the way in which context helps to determine the referent of a linguistic expression (Levinson 1983: 54). For instance, the referent of the personal pronouns *I*, *you*, and *she* is determined by the context. Similarly, the referent of spatial terms such as *here* and *there* is revealed by the context. The term “reference” covers “definite” (e.g. *he*) and “indefinite” (e.g. *someone*) ways of referring to people and objects. The treatment is divided into personal pronouns (or personal deixis) (§6.1), reflexives and reciprocals (§6.2), indefinite reference (§6.3) and demonstratives (§6.4)

6.1 Personal pronouns

The use of the personal pronouns is described here. For ease of reference, the forms already introduced in §3.6.1 are reproduced in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Personal pronouns

			Singular	Plural
1p			<i>ŋà</i> ང་	<i>ŋàtea?</i> ང་ཅག་
2p	low-level		<i>tɛʰø?</i> ཚོད་	(<i>tɛʰø</i> := <i>tsu</i> ཚོད་ཚུ་) <i>k'utea?</i> ཁྱ་ཅག་
	mid-level		<i>rã:</i> རང་	<i>rã</i> := <i>tsu</i> རང་ཚུ་
	honorific		<i>ʃenge?</i> ལྷན་རྒྱས་	<i>k'utea ʃenge?</i> ཁྱ་ཅག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ <i>ʃenge</i> :(= <i>tsu</i>) ལྷན་རྒྱས་(ཚུ་)
3p	ordinary	masc.	<i>kʰu</i> རུ་	<i>kʰõ:</i> རོང་
		fem.	<i>mù/mò</i> མུ་	
	honorific		<i>kʰõ:</i> རོང་ <i>kʰõ: ʃenge?</i> རོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་	<i>kʰõ: ʃenge</i> :(= <i>tsu</i>) རོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་(ཚུ་)

The first person plural form does not take stance as to whether the addressee is included in the “we” or excluded from it (see §3.6.1). The use of *ŋà* is illustrated in (6.1). For inclusive and exclusive uses of *ŋàtea?*, refer to (6.2) and (6.3) respectively.

- (6.1) མ་འདི་བྱས་²⁴⁰ ང་ རྒྱལ་ མ་ཚུགས།
ódi-p'ja ŋà dok ma-tsʰu?
 that-ADVZR 1SG read NEG-be.able.to
 ‘Therefore I could not study.’ (PED life story)

- (6.2) ང་ཅག་ ན་ མི་ གསལ་པོ་ འཚོམ་བ་ཅེ་ནི་
ŋàtea? nà: mí kɛ:po dzom-batɛnɛ
 1PL here people a.lot gather-COND
 ‘If we (incl.) gather here as many people...’ (NT BLA 6)

²⁴⁰ Some Denjongke authors prefer the written form མ་འདིས་ བྱས་, which suggests that the demonstrative is in agentive form [that.AGT-ADVZR]. In spoken pronunciation, however, I have found no evidence for a longer vowel or other signs of agentive marking. Therefore, the form is here written without agentive marking.

(6.3) མདང་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ང་ཅག་པོ་གཞི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་

dã: *kʰa.nu:=lo* *ŋàtea?* *pʰou* *jó?* *kjap* *de:-pø:*
 yesterday the.day.after.yesterday=DAT 1PL over.there word do sit-2INF
gã:
 time

‘A few days ago when we (excl.) were working over there...’ (PL interview)

Second person singular may be referred to on three levels. The familiar level *teʰø?* 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 *ŋenge?* is typically used with social superiors, strangers and anyone to whom the speaker wants to show respect. The same form *ŋenge?* 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 *ŋenge?* 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), *ŋenge?* ‘you (hon.)/honorific pronoun’ occurs with the honorific noun *tsʰen* ‘name (hon.)’ whereas *rã:* ‘you’ is accompanied by the ordinary noun *mìŋ* ‘name’.

(6.4) མདང་མེང་གར་གར་བོ?

teʰø? *mìŋ* *kʰar/kʰan* *bo?*
 2SG.L name what EQU.NE.Q
 ‘What’s your name?’

(6.5) རང་གི་མེང་གར་བོ?

raŋ=gi *mìŋ* *kʰan* *bo?*
 2SG.M=GEN name what EQU.NE.Q
 ‘What is your name?’ (JWD book p. 115)

(6.6) ལྷན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མཚན་ལོ་གར་བོ་ལྷན་དོ་ལགས་?

ŋenge:=ki *tsʰen=lo* *kʰan* *εù-bo* *nã:-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 *kʰutea?*, as in (6.7). The honorific pronoun *ŋenge?* is the default choice in formal situations, see (6.8). The mid-level *rã:* can also be pluralized, although

²⁴¹ People from the villages of Lachen and Lachung in North Sikkim are reported to have a more direct way of speaking called *kʰari?* *kʰatu?* ཁ་རིགས་ ཁ་བྱུག་ ‘direct speech’ which is famous for the lack of honorifics. Lachenpas and Lachungpas may address even strangers by *teʰø?*, a practice which is considered vulgar by more southern speakers.

²⁴² An indication that *ŋenge?* has wider semantics than 2SG is that once a person whom I addressed with *ŋenge?* 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 *ʃɛŋgɛ:=tsu*. The use of *ʃɛŋgɛ:=tsu* in (6.9) seems to be a general reference to a group of individuals.

(6.7) གུ་ཅག་ལོ་བསམ་པོ་བཟང་དགས་ ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ནེ་

k'utɕa=lo sámbo zã:ʈa? jò-patɕɛ(ne)

2PL=DAT intention good EX-COND

‘If you have good intentions...’ (SGD wedding customs)

(6.8) ང་ཅའི་སྐད་འདི་འདེབ་ ཚུ་ཟླེ་གི་ ད་ལྟ་ སློབ་དཔོན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ ཕྱག་ལས་ ག་ཚོད་ བཞེས་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང་ མིན་ག་ལགས།

ɣàtɕi kɛ:=di dɛp tsom-diki t'ato lópɕon

1PL.GEN language=DEMPH like.that compose-NF now teacher

ʃɛŋgɛ:=gi tɕʰa:lɛ? k'adzɔ? ze: jò:-kʰɛn bɛ?

PRN.HON=AGT work.HON how.much eat/obtain.HON EX-NMLZ EQU.NE

ɪŋ-ga=la.

EQU.PER-PQ=HON

‘Making compositions in our language like that, you teachers have done so much work, haven’t you?’ (RD BLA 9)

(6.9) ཨ་ཀུ་རང་ཚུ་འདེམ་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་གིས་ ཕྱགས་བསམ་ མངའ་ དགོས་པོ་ གལ་ཆེ།

áku rã:=tsu dɛm ʃɛŋgɛ:=tsu=gi tʰu:sam

father’s.younger.brother 2SG.M=PL like.that PRN.HON=PL=AGT thought.HON

ɣá: 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 *ʃɛŋgɛ?* can be made explicit by adding the plural marker *=tsu*, *ʃɛŋgɛ:=tsu* ‘you (pl.)’:

(6.10) གསན་མཁན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ བཏུ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས།

séŋ-kʰɛ: ʃɛŋgɛ:=tsu=lo ʈaɕidile?

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. *ʃɛŋgɛ? tʰamtɕɛ?* ‘all of you’, *ʃɛŋgɛ? tʰamtɕɛ? k'ompu/k'ã:pu* ‘all of you’, *ʃɛŋgɛ? nímpu* ‘the two of you’. The ordinary level *k'utɕa?* may be combined with *ʃɛŋgɛ?* into the honorific second person plural *k'utɕa? ʃɛŋgɛ?*:

(6.11) གུ་ཅག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གོང་བུ་ མཁྱེན་བའི་ བདག་ཀྱི་ སྤང།

k'utɕa? ʃɛŋgɛ? tʰamtɕɛ? k'õ:pu kʰɛm-bɔ: daku bɛ?

you PRN.HON all entire know.HON-2INF.GEN owner EQU.NE

‘All of you are possessors of (this) knowledge.’ (NT BLA7)

The third person singular ordinary pronouns are *kʰu* for males and *mù/mò* for females:

- (6.12) ལུ་འདི་ད་མི་ཐུགས་དྲགས་སྟེ།
kʰu=di t'a mí dzikʈa? bɛ?
 3SGM=DEMPH now person excellent EQU.NE
 'He is a great guy.' (KT discussion with TB)

- (6.13) ལུ་ལྟོ་སྐད་ལེགས་ཀྱངས་བད་ཀྱི?
mù ʃokɛ lɛm 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་ཕུ་མིན་ལོ་བེ་ལོ་ཙ་ན་གྱ་གར་ལས་བོད་ལོ་བྱོན་བའི་སྐར་ཁོང་ཏྲོ་རྒྱུ་བྱུ་བྱེ་བྱོན་བོ་ལོ།
t'ã:pu ín-(n)o berotɕana gjagar=le p'ø:=lo tɛ'øm-bø: gã:
 long.agoEQU-COND PN India=ABL Tibet=DAT come.HON-2INF time
kʰõ:=to lúnj dʊp-ti tɛ'øm-bo=lo.
 3SG.HON=CEMPH air achieve-NF come.HON-2INF=REP
 'If it's the ancient times (we consider), when Berocana came from India to Tibet, he came through air, it is said.' (KL BB discussion)

- (6.15) ད་ལྟོ་ང་ཅག་ཁོང་ལོ་ག་ཉེས་ཕྱས་ལྟོ་ལྟོ།
t'ato ɲàtɕa? kʰõ:=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་ཕུ་ལོ་ནི་བ་ལི་ཀྱངས་གད་འཇམ་ཕུ་སྟེ།
kʰõ:=tsu=lo nepali kjap-ɕɛ? dzampu bɛ?
 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: tʰamtɕɛ* 'they all', *kʰõ: kʰɛ:le* 'they all', *kʰõ: jím(pu)* 'the two of them', *kʰõ: súmpo* 'the three of them'.

As noted above, the pronoun *ʃɛɲɕɛ?* may have either second person singular or plural meaning. In addition, *ʃɛɲɕɛ?* is used in honorific references to the third person plural, following a noun or a pronoun with third person referent:

- (6.17) ང་གིས་ ལུ་ལྷོ་བོ་ བཀའ་མོལ་ འདི་ ཁོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ལོ་ ང་ ཐུགས་ཕན་ གསོལ་བ་ཅེ་ནི་
ŋá:=gi èù-zo-u kamø=di kʰõ: lɛŋgɛ:=lo t'a
 1SG=AGT say.HUM-RDP-2INF discussion=DEMPH 3PL PRN.HON=DAT now
tʰupõ: sɔː-patsɛnɛ
 benefit.HON offer-COND
 ‘Now if what I say offers some benefit to them...’ (CY interview)
- (6.18) ང་ཅའི་ ལཱ་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ལུ་ ལོག་སྟེ་ ང་འབྲིན་ཇི་ མི་ཤེས་མཁན་ སྤང་ལགས།
ŋàtɛi lám lɛŋgɛ:=tsu lòkti índzi mi-ɛé:-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་བླགས་ འདི་ རང་གི་ སྒྲ་ འདི་ འགོ་ ཐོན་ལས་ ཤེས་ ངགོས་མཁན་ སྤང།
k'ɛ:tɛʰiʈa=di raŋ=gi kɛː=di go jɛnlɛ ɛé:
 important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know
go:-kʰɛn bɛ?
 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་ མིན།
ŋá: t'ɛp di=gi dzo²⁴³=di ŋà=raŋ=gi tʰaktɛɛ:-po t̃ː.
 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) མོ་འདི་ མི་དམངས་ ཁོང་རང་ མ་ཤེས་བ་སྤང།
ódi mímã: kʰõ:=rã: ma-ɛé:-b-bɛ?
 that mass(es) 3PL=REFL NEG-know-2INF-EQU.NE
 ‘The masses themselves didn’t know that.’ (KL BLA 12)
- (6.22) ཆོས་སྒྲིང་ མོ་རང་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་ མལ་ན།
tɛʰøki? mù=rã: tɛiku mèː=na.
 PN 3SGF=REFL only bed=LOC
 ‘Only Choki herself (is) in bed.’ (Richhi 4)

²⁴³ Also *gõ:* (WD གོང་) and *rin/rĩ:* (WD རིན་) are used for referring to ‘price’. All speakers do not recognize the word *dzo*.

- (6.23) ང་ ཚོ་རང་གིས་རང་ ལྷན་ གྱི་སྒྲི་ བསམ་སྒྲོ་ བཏང་།
t'a tɛʰø=raŋ=gi=rã: ləm 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:mẽ:/rõ:mẽ:* རང་མན་ 'oneself' is also used, at least in Martam (East Sikkim):

- (6.24) རང་མན་གྱིས་ སློབ་ཕྱག་ གླེང་ ལ།
rõ:mɛŋ=gi ló(p)tʰu? bɛ:=s.
 oneself=GEN student EQU.NE=QUO
 '(He) is his own student.' (AB kitchen discussion)

- (6.25) ང་ཅག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རང་མན་ལོ་ བཅེ་དྲགས་ གྱིས་ཤང་ ཞིན།
ŋàtɛa? tʰamteɛ? ŋàtɛa? rã:mẽ:=lo tɛɛtʰa? p'ja-ɛi:.
 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་ཅག་ རང་རང་ སོ་སོ་ལོ་ སྒྱོན་ སྒྱོན་ དགོས་ཤང་ བོ?
ŋàtɛa? rã:rã:soso=lo kɔn tɔn go:-ɛɛ bo?
 1PL each.oneself=DAT blame show be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q
 'Are we to blame each one ourselves?' (KN, CY interview)

The reflexive =*rã:/=ra* can also attach to other forms than personal pronouns. Then it functions as an anaphoric emphatic, see §16.1.1.

Three reciprocal pronominals occur in my data, see Table 6.2 (see Nedyalkov [2007: 12] for the basic difference between pronominal and verbal reciprocals).

Table 6.2. Reciprocal pronouns

Form		Gloss
<i>tei:=ki tei:(=lo)</i>	གཅིག་གིས་ གཅིག་(ལོ་)	'one to another' (lit. 'one to one')
<i>tei:=ki zen(=lo)</i>	གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་(ལོ་)	'one to another' (used in Richhi-novel) ²⁴⁴
<i>pʰentsɿ:</i>	ཕན་ཚུན་	'each other'

²⁴⁴ The novel Richhi is the only source where I have come across the construction *tei:=ki zen(=lo)* instead of *tei:=ki tei:(=lo)*. The reason may be either that the deviant construction is used in the novel's author's dialect area or that the construction is influenced by Nepali and/or English which both have reciprocal constructions analogous to *tei:=ki zen(=lo)*, i.e. Nepali *ek arkaa-lai* [one another=DAT] 'to one another', English *to one another*.

The first is *tei:=ki tei:(=lo)* [one=AGT one=(DAT)] ‘one to another, (to) each other’ (lit. ‘one to one’), see (6.27)

- (6.27) ཁོ་གཉིས་པོ་དང་ཨོ་འདི་ཉིས་ཆོས་ཏེ་ད་ང་ཅའི་མིན་བ་ཅེ་ནི་ད་གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་བཟའ་ཚང་ཐོན་པོ་སྤང་ད།
kʰø: ním-po t'a ódi nìmtsʰɛ tɛ t'a, ɣàtei ím-batsɛnɛ t'a
 3PL two-COL now that date then now 1PL.GEN EQU-COND now
tei:=ki tei? zatsʰǎ: tʰɛm-bo bɛ? t'a.
 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 *teiki zen=lo* [one=AGT other=DAT] ‘one (to) another’, which occurs in the novel Richhi instead of the first construction. I have not come across *teiki zen=lo* elsewhere in my data.

- (6.28) གཅིག་གིས་གཞན་ལོ་ཕན་པོ་བྱས་ཤང་དགེ་བའི་གཡོག་མིན།
tei:=ki zen=lo pʰembo pʰja-ɛɛ? giwø jó? í:.
 one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN word EQU.PER
 ‘Helping one another is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)

The third reciprocal pronoun is *pʰentsy:* ཕན་ཚུན་ ‘(to) each other’, which in (6.29) is preceded by the functionally analogous use of the demonstratives *pʰatɛ tsʰutɛ* ཕ་ཁྱེ་ཚུ་ཁྱེ་ ‘thither hither’.

- (6.29) ང་ཅག་གཉིས་ཕ་ཁྱེ་ཚུ་ཁྱེ་ཕན་ཚུན་སྤང་ག་རུང་གཅིག་བཤད་གེ་ས།
ɣàtɛa? ní: pʰatɛ tsʰutɛ pʰentsy: duŋ kʰǎ:ruŋ=tei? ɛɛ-gɛ=s.
 1PL two thither hither each.other story any=INDF tell-HORT=QUO
 ‘Let the two of us tell back and forth to each other one story whatever.’ (PAD bet story)

6.3 Indefinite reference

The discussion on indefinite reference is divided into indefinite pronouns (§6.3.1) and indefinite expressions formed by question words (§6.3.2).

6.3.1 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are words that refer to people, objects or places without exactly specifying the referent, see Table 6.3. Indefinite pronouns also function as quantifiers which modify nouns, see §4.1.3.3.

Table 6.3. Indefinite pronouns

<i>tʰamtɛɛ?</i> (<i>k'ā:pu</i>)	ཐམས་ཅད་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>kʰɛ:lɛ</i> (<i>k'ā:pu</i>)	ཁོ་ལེ་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>tɛʰa:lɛ</i> (<i>k'ā:pu</i>)	ཆ་ལས་ (གང་ལུ་)	‘all, everyone’
<i>dzaŋki</i>	ཇོང་གི་ ²⁴⁵	‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)
<i>k'o:m</i>	གོང་མ་	‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)
<i>màŋtɛʰiɛo?</i>	མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་	‘most’ (includes the adjectival superlative ending <i>-ɛo?</i>)
<i>màŋtɛʰiɛa?</i>	མང་ཆེ་དྲགས་	‘most’ (includes the adjectival ending <i>-ɛa?</i>)
<i>kʰaɛɛ?</i>	ཁ་ཤས་	‘some(one)’
<i>làri?</i>	ལ་རིས་	‘some(one)’
<i>rɛrɛ</i>	རེ་རེ་	‘each one’
<i>ka:kutei?</i>	ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་	‘a few, some’
<i>tɛi.ni:</i>	གཅིག་གཉིས་	‘a couple (of), a few’ (lit. ‘one-two’)
<i>riɲi</i> (<i>riɲi</i>)	རེ་གཉིས་ (རེ་གཉིས་)	‘a couple (of), a few’ (lit. ‘one-two’)
<i>làla...làla</i>	ལ་ལ་ ལ་ལ་	‘some...others’
<i>ri, -ri</i> (also <i>rɛ</i>)	རེ་	‘one, each’

As shown by Table 6.3, several forms correspond to meaning ‘all, everyone’ and ‘a bit’. The variants represent some dialectal variation. The most frequent items for ‘all, everyone’ are *tʰamtɛɛ?* and *kʰɛ:lɛ*, the first of which seems to be more frequent in West Sikkim and the latter in East and North Sikkim, although both are readily understood all over Sikkim. The form *dzaŋki* and *k'o:m* are from Lachung.

The independent uses of indefinite pronouns, except for *tɛʰa:lɛ*, *k'o:m* and *màŋtɛʰiɛa?* (of which I have only noun-modifying examples), are below illustrated in the same order that they occur in Table 6.3.

- (6.30) ཐམས་ཅད་ མོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ མཛོ་བསམ་ བཏང་བོ་ཅེ་ སེ་ན་
tʰamtɛɛ=ki ódem=tɛi? nó:sam tō:-botɛɛ sé-na
 all=AGT like.that=INDF thought send-COND say-COND
 ‘If all think like that...’ (DR discussion with KL)

- (6.31) རྒྱ་ འདི་ རྟོན་དག་ ཁོ་ལེ་ གང་ལུ་ མཛོ་བསམ་ བཏང་ཟྱི་
kɛ:=di t'ɔnda? kʰɛ:lɛ k'ō:po nó:sam tã:-di
 language=DEMPH significance everyone entirely though send-NF
 ‘...everyone thinking about the significance of (our) language...’ (KL BLA 12)

Note that in (6.32) *màŋtɛʰiɛo?* is followed by an appositional, explanatory noun. As a modifier *màŋtɛʰiɛo?* would typically follow the noun.

- (6.32) མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་ འདི་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ རྣང་གི་ གཏམ་རྒྱུ་ཙུ་ འདི་
màŋtɛʰiɛo=di dɛndzō: nàŋ=gi tamgy:='tsu=di
 most=DEMPH Sikkim inside=GEN legend=PL=DEMPH
 ‘Most of (them), legends within Sikkim...’ (SGD wedding customs)

²⁴⁵ This written form given by consultant KUN is surprising in that it suggests pronunciation as *ts'ənki* rather than *dzaŋki*.

- (6.33) མོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ཡང་ ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ ལྷ་བཞིན་གོ་ལགས།
ódem=tei=jă: 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་རིས་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་ འདི་ དགོན་པར་ བཀའ་ཚེས་ན་ བཞུགས་ཤང་ འདིའི་ ལྷ་བས་ལྷོ་ ད་ མོ་འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ མ་ཅི་ཅིག་ དགོངས་ཡངས་ གནང་བོ་
 འདྲ་ སྒྲ་, མོ་འདི་ སྒྲ་ལོ་ འདི་, ཁྱི་ཀ་དར་ (thikadar) ཅུ་ཀྱིས།
tʼa làri? teiku=di gjømpa kateʰø=na zu:-ɕɛ=di
 now some only=DEMPH monastery recitation=LOC sit.HON-INF=DEMPH
kjap-ti tʼa ódi=lo=di átsi=tei? gō.jă: ná:-bo qa
 do-NF now that=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF excuse do.HON-2INF be.similar
be?, ódi gă:=lo tʰikadar=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་ མིན་ཅི་ མིན་ཅི་ སྒྲ་ རེ་རེ་ བཤད་ དགོས།
ră: tʼă: ŋà ínteimentci dɯŋ rɛrɛ ɕé? go?
 2SG.L and 1SG necessarily story each.one tell be.needed
 ‘You and I have to, by any means, tell a story each.’ (PAD bet story)
- (6.36) རྩ་ ལྷག་ ཀྱ་ཀྱ་ཅིག་ གཏོག་ནེ་ གིག་གོ།
ŋá tʼu? ka:kutei? tok-nɛ tʼikɛ.
 five six a.few pluck be.alright
 ‘If (you) pluck five-six, a few (oranges), it will suffice.’ (KN e)
- (6.37) ལྷོ་འལགས་ཀྱིས་ བས་ཀྱུར་ ཁ་ བཤེག་ལྷོ་ གཅིག་ གཅིས་ ལྷོ་བཞིན་ མ་མ་ལོ་ ལབ།
bhaila=ki biskut kʰa ɕik-ti tei:ɲi: pʼja-zɛ: áma=lo lɔp
 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) བཀྱ་ཤིས་ལྷོང་ ཁ་ལྷག་ རེ་གཅིས་ རེ་ཉིས་ཅིག་གིས་ ང་ ཚོག་ མོ་འདི་ བེད་སྦྱོང་ ལྷོ་བོ་ ཐོས།
tɕeidin kʰatu? riɲi riɲi=tei=ki ŋà tsʰik ódi pʼɛtɕø? pʼja-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་ འབྲོ་ ལབ།
lɔla rɛ: lɔp, lɔla bja lɔp
 some rice.kernel say some rice.kernel say
 ‘Some call it (=rice kernel) [rɛ], others call it [bja].’ (PL interview)

- (6.40) ཟམ་ ཨ་འདི་གི་ གོང་ འདི་ལོ་ ཉི་ཅུ་ག་ བརྒྱ་རེ་ བརྒྱ་རེ་, ཟམ་ རེ་ལོ་ ཉི་ཅུ་ག་ བརྒྱ་རེ་ ཟངས།
 sàm ódi=gi gō:=di=lo tiru? gja-ri gja-ri,
 food that=GEN price=DEMPH=DAT rupee hundred-each hundred-each
 sàm ri=lo tiru? gja-ri bε?
 food each=DAT rupee hundred-each EQU.NE
 ‘The price of that food was hundred hundred each, a hundred rupees per one (portion of food).’ (DB trip story)

A phonologically reduced form of the question *k'an inam* (reading-style pronunciation)/*k'an nám* (spoken pronunciation) ‘What is it?’ is used as a frequent conversation filler, which signals that the speaker does not remember a word, see (6.41). Therefore the form can be considered an indefinite pronoun. Different stages of reduction are attested in spoken language: *k'an inam* > *k'an nám* > *k'ajem* > *k'aem* > *k'em*.

- (6.41) a) ཟུ་རེ་ འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་ ཉེ་ ཨ་འདི་ གན་སྐྱམ་ ལ་བ་ཉོ་ ཟངས་, ཅ་ཡོག་²⁴⁶
 murai di=lo=di ṅatεa? tε ódi k'ajem làp-to
 puffed.rice(Nep.) this=DAT=DEMPH 1PL so that what.is.it say-IPFV
 bε?, bajo?
 EQU.NE puffed.rice
 ‘Murai, (“puffed rice” in Nepali), well we call that, whatever, /bajo?/.’ (PL interview)
- b) ཉེ་ ཁུ་གིས་ ཨ་ན་ གན་སྐྱམ་ བྱས་ལྷི་གི་ ཨ་འདི་ གན་སྐྱམ་ ཐོབ་ཚ་ལས་ འདི་ ཟུ་རེ་ ཐོབ་ཚ་ལས་
 tε k'u=gi óna k'ajem p'ja-tiki, ódi k'ajem
 so 3SGM=AGT there what.is.it do-NF that what.is.it
 t^hop-sa-lε=di, ta:ri t^hop-sa=lε
 receive-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH axe receive-CMPL=ABL
 ‘When he had done that whatever, received that whatever, received the axe...’ (JDF axe story)

6.3.2 Indefinite reference with question words

Meanings equivalent to such English indefinite expressions as *whoever*, *anyone*, *wherever*, *anywhere*, *whatever* and *anything* are formed with the help of question words. In affirmative clauses, conveying meanings of the type ‘whoever’, ‘wherever’ and ‘whatever’, the question word is supplemented with a concessive equative form *ĩ:-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.

²⁴⁶ According to consultant KT, this word should be *sàjo* ཟས་གཡོ་.

Table 6.4. Affirmative indefinite reference with question words

<i>k'an i:ruŋ</i> ²⁴⁷	གན་མིན་རུང་	'whatever'
<i>k'ar(ε) i:ruŋ</i>	ག་(རེ་)མིན་རུང་	'whatever'
<i>k'adi i:ruŋ</i>	ག་འདི་མིན་རུང་	'whichever, whoever'
<i>ka i:ruŋ</i>	ཀ་མིན་རུང་	'whoever'
<i>nàm(lo) i:ruŋ</i>	ནམ་(ལོ་)མིན་རུང་	'whenever'
<i>k'ana i:ruŋ</i>	ག་ན་མིན་རུང་	'wherever'
<i>k'atem i:ruŋ</i>	ག་ཞུམ་མིན་རུང་	'what ever kind'
<i>k'ate p'ja(ti i:ruŋ)</i>	ག་ཞེ་བྱས་(ཞི་མིན་)རུང་	'however'
<i>k'ambja i:ruŋ</i>	གན་བྱས་མིན་རུང་	'for whatever reason ("whyever")'
<i>k'adzø? i:ruŋ</i>	ག་ཚོད་མིན་རུང་	'however many'

Table 6.5. Negated indefinite reference with question words

<i>k'an(=jã:)</i>	གན་(ཡང་)	'anything (+neg)'
<i>k'amo(=jã:)</i>	གན་མོ་(ཡང་)	'anything (+neg)'
<i>k'adi(=jã:)</i>	ག་འདི་(ཡང་)	'any(one) (+neg)'
<i>ka(=jã:)</i>	ཀ་(ཡང་)	'anyone (+neg)'
<i>nàm(lo)(=jã:)</i>	ནམ་(ལོ་)(ཡང་)	'ever (+neg)'
<i>k'ana(=jã:)</i>	ག་ན་(ཡང་)	'anywhere (+neg)'
<i>k'ate(m/p)(=jã:)</i>	ག་ཞུམ་(ཡང་)	'any kind (+neg)'
<i>k'ate p'jati=jã:</i>	ག་ཞེ་བྱས་ཞི་ཡང་	'anyhow (+neg)'
<i>k'an p'jati=jã:</i> ²⁴⁸	གན་བྱས་ཞི་ཡང་	'for any reason (+neg)'
<i>k'adzø(=jã:)</i>	ག་ཚོད་(ཡང་)	'any number of (+neg)'
<i>k'andε(=jã:)</i>	གན་འདྲེ་(ཡང་)	'anything (+neg)'
<i>k'arε(=jã:)</i>	ག་རེ་(ཡང་)	'anything (+neg)'

As suggested by Table 6.4 and Table 6.5, the concessive form *i: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'are* also participates in the affirmative construction *k'are i: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་མིན་རུང་གཅིག་ཐོན་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་
k'an i:ruŋ=tei? *tʰem-batεεε*
 what EQU-CONC=INDF happen-COND
 'whatever (might) happen(s)' (PED life story)

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་མིན་ཅུང་སྟོང་ཕྱག་གསུམ་ལྷག་གོ་ཡོད།
gja t'ã: tð: k'adzø=ra í:-ruŋ tð:ʈʰaʔ súm
 hundred and thousand how.many=AEMPH EQU-CONC thousand three
ʎako jøʔ.
 in.excess EX.PER
 'However many hundreds and thousands it is, it is more than three thousand.' (KT discussion with TB)

- (6.44) དྲག་གོ་ཞེན་པོ་ག་ལྟེམ་ར་མིན་ཅུང་།
t'ako ɛ̀ɛmpo k'atɛm=ra í:-ruŋ
 noble fool/poor how=AEMPH EQU-CONC
 'noble or fool/poor, whatever (you) are like' (KT life story)

- (6.45) ལྷམ་ར་ལྷུང་རྩུང་²⁴⁹ག་ཞེ་བྱས་ཅུང་བྱས་ཚུགས་ཐང།
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་གོང་མ་ཨ་ཙུ་ཨའི་ཨ་ཇོ་པ་མིང་གན་ཅུང་ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་བྱས་ཅུང་ཁེ་ལེ་གོང་བུ་གིས་བདགས་ཤད་ཐང།
jéntsʰɛ: k'o:m, áteu, ái, ádzo, pʰamiŋ,
 relatives all elder.brother elder.sister grandfather father's.relatives
k'an-ruŋ jø-patɛɛ p'ja-ruŋ kʰɛ:lɛ k'õ:pu=gi ta:-ɛɛ 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)

²⁴⁹ WD for this word is adopted from Dokhangba (2001). Other WD forms I have been suggested are མི་ཅི་ *mi-ci*, མི་ཙུས་ *mi-tsus* and མི་ཙུ་ *mi-tsu*. The form from Dokhangba (2001) is chosen for use here because it corresponds most clearly with the spoken output *mýtsyʔ*.

²⁵⁰ *k'anɛ:* or *karɛ* could also be used here instead of *k'an=jã:* (KUN).

- (6.48) གནམ་ལོ་ ལུང་ལོ་ གན་ མེད་
*nám=lo hunpo k'ana mè?*²⁵¹
 sky=DAT cloud where NEG.EX.PER
 ‘In the sky, there aren’t clouds anywhere.’ (Richhi 151)
- (6.49) དེ་ཟང་ ག་འདིས་ཡང་ གན་འདྲེ་ ལབ་ མི་ཚུགས།
t'izã: k'adi=jã: k'andɛ: ləp mi-tsʰu?
 but which.one=even anything say NEG-be.able.to
 ‘But anyone was not able to say anything.’ (Richhi 53)
- (6.50) སེམས་ཅན་ གན་འདྲེ་ཡང་ མ་བསང་ དགོས།
*símtɛɛ: k'andɛ:=jã: ma-sé go?*²⁵²
 animal any=even NEG-kill be.needed
 ‘One mustn’t kill any animal.’ (YR canteen video)
- (6.51) a) འདེམ་ གོ་སྐབས་ ང་ཅག་ རྣམ་ཡང་ མི་ཐོབ་བད།
dɛm k'okap ɳàtɛa? 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་ཅག་ དམ་ཚུས་ བོ་ཙཱོ་ མ་ལེགས་བོ་ དང་ རྩོད་གས་ རྣམ་ལོ་ཡང་ མཐོ་བསམ་ མི་བཏང་།
ɳàtɛa? pʰam=tsu p'otso=lo mələp t'ã: kjoʈa? 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་སྤེམ་ཡང་ ཉེས་ གཅིག་ན་ སི་ལི་གཱ་རི་ སྤོབས་ མི་ཚུགས།
mí k'atɛm=jã: ɲim tɛi:=na siliguri lɛp mi-tsʰu?
 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་ ཆ་ལུམ་ ག་ཚོད་ཡང་ མེད།
ɲè:=tsa: tsʰalum k'adzɔ=jã: mè?
 1SG.GEN=at orange how.many=even NEG.EX.PER
 ‘I do not not have any number of oranges.’ (KN e)

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 ĩ:ruŋ* could here replace *k'andɛ:=jã:* (KUN).

- (6.54) འདི་གན་ཤྱི་ཡང་ཤྱི་མི་ཚུགས།
di k'an p'ja-ti=jã: p'ja mi-tshu?
 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:-jɔ?* 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་གོ་ག་ཡོད་ཚུ་གཡུར་ཚུའི་ན་རྒྱགས་གོ་ལས་
tsoko k'a:-jɔ? tɕʰu-ju:=tsu=na lúk-o=lɛ
 cabbage what-EX.PER water-canal=PL=LOC pour-2INF=ABL
 'when whatever cabbage is poured into water canals...' (Class 8 textbook 23)

- (6.57) རྒྱག་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-run=ra
 wherever go-CONC=AEMPH
 'Wherever (we) go...' (song lyrics)

6.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic words which define a person, object or location in terms of its spatial relationship to the speaker. Demonstratives may be pronouns, pro-adjectives and pro-adverbs. Denjongke demonstratives occur both independently and as noun modifiers. The roots from which demonstrative expressions are formed are listed in Table 6.6. The roots that usually do not occur independently (except as homonyms having a different meaning) are marked with a hyphen. For instance, the distal marker *ó-* does not usually occur independently but has to be complemented by another element, e.g. *ódi* 'that', *óna* 'there', *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

<i>di</i>	འདྲི་	proximal, ‘this’
<i>do-</i>	འདྲོ་	emphatic proximal, ‘this right here’
<i>ó-</i>	ཨ་	distal, ‘that’
<i>nà:</i>	ན་	‘here’
<i>p^hou, p^hi-</i>	ཕྱུ་	‘over there’
<i>jòu, jì-</i>	ཡུ་, ཡི་	‘up (there)’
<i>mòu, mì-</i>	མུ་, མི་	‘down (there)’
<i>p^ha(:)</i>	ཕ(ར་)	‘further, thither, on the other side’
<i>ts^hu(:)</i>	ཚུ(ར་)	‘closer, hither, on this side’
<i>zen</i>	གཞན་	‘other’

The difference between the proximal *di* and the emphatic proximal *do-* is that whereas both can be accompanied by pointing to an object in the speaker’s proximity, the deictic force is stronger in the emphatic *do-* (i.e. the speaker is more likely to actually point at something). The more general proximal *di* has further grammaticalized into an emphatic particle that has lost its referential function, see §16.1.3. For a comment on the use of proximal =*di* as a definiteness marker, refer to §4.1.6.

More demonstratives may be derived from the roots of Table 6.6. Demonstrative pronouns are formed by combining a demonstrative root with the proximal *di*, e.g. *ódi* ‘that’. Demonstrative proadverbs of location are formed by supplementing the roots by the locative case marker =*na* (probably deriving from *nà:* ‘here’), dative-locative case marker =*lo* or the less productive locational suffix *-k^ha*, see Table 6.7. Reduplication (e.g. *p^ho:p^houna* ‘way over there’) functions as an ideophonic strategy to imply further distance. The list of locative expressions in Table 6.7 is not exhaustive but only presents the forms which I have come across in my present data.

Table 6.7. Derived demonstratives

Root		Derived object	Derived location
<i>do-</i>	emphatic proximal	<i>dodi</i> ‘this right here’	<i>dodik^ha, dona</i> ‘right here’
<i>di</i>	proximal	<i>di</i> ‘this’	<i>dik^ha</i> ‘here’
<i>ó-</i>	distal	<i>ódi</i> ‘that’	<i>óna, ók^ha</i> ‘there’
<i>nà:</i>	‘here’	<i>nà=di</i> ‘the one here’	<i>nàk^ha(lo)</i> ‘here’
<i>p^hou, p^hi-</i>	‘over there’	<i>p^hou=di, p^hidi</i> ‘that over there’	<i>p^hou=na, p^houk^ha, p^hok^ha, p^hina, p^hik^ha</i> ‘over there’ <i>p^ho:p^hina, p^ho:p^hou=na, p^ho:p^houk^ha</i> ‘way over there’
<i>jòu, jì-</i>	‘up (there)’	<i>jòdi, jìdi</i> ‘that up there’	<i>jìna, jòu=k^ha</i> ‘up (there)’ <i>jò:jina, jòina</i> ‘way up (there)’
<i>mòu, mì-</i>	‘down (there)’	<i>mòdi, mìdi</i> ‘that down there’	<i>mòuna, mòuk^halo, mòu=lo, mìnà</i> ‘down (there)’ <i>mò:mouk^halo</i> ‘way down (there)’
<i>zen</i>	‘other’	<i>zen=di</i> ‘the other’	<i>zenk^ha(=lo)</i> ‘in another place’
<i>p^ha(:)</i> ²⁵³	‘further, thither, on the other side’	<i>p^ha:=di</i> ‘the one thither/further’	<i>p^ha:k^ha</i> ‘on the other side, further’
<i>ts^hu(:)</i>	‘closer, hither, on this side’	<i>ts^hu:=di</i> ‘the one hither/closer’	<i>ts^hu:k^ha</i> ‘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་ཙུ་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ རྩོག་ཀྱི་ ཡོད་པ་ལྟགས།
t'izã: nà: qɛndzõ:=na òŋ-k^hen=tsu=lo ódi ɛóku 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) རྩོགས་བཅད་ ཨོ་འདི་ན་
ts^hiktɛɛ? ódi=na
 poem that=LOC
 ‘...in that poem...’ (KL BLA 12)

- (6.61) ཨོ་འདི་ གལ་ཆེ་བླགས་ ལྟགས།
ódi k'ɛ:ɛ^hɪta? bɛ?
 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).

²⁵³ According to consultant KN, forms derived from *p^ha:* and *ts^hu:* are marginal, not used by all Denjongke speaking communities.

- (6.62) འདྲ་འདི་ འདི་ བོ་ཙོ་ཙུ་ ཉལ་ས།
dodi=di potso=tsu jè:-sa.
 this.right.here=DEMPH child=PL sleep-place
 ‘This right here (is) the children’s sleeping place.’ (PD altar room video)
- (6.63) ཉེ་ བོ་ཁུ་ལས་ རྒྱབས་ འདི་ཁ་ལས་ ལན་ བྱོན་ དགོས་མཁན་
tɛ pʰou=lɛ kjap dikʰa=lɛ lèn p'in go:-kʰɛ.
 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་ ཙོ་ཁ་ལས་, གཅིག་ འདི་ཁ་ལས་ འགྱུ་མ་དང་
rè-rɛ ókʰa=lɛ, tɛiʔ dikʰa=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(kʰalo)* ‘here’. Example (a) has bare *nà:*, whereas in (b) and (c) the form is complemented by two additional locative elements to form *nàkʰalo*. Example (c) is interesting in that the deictic form *nàkʰalo* 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་ རྒྱག་ ཉ།
nà: bak ɛó: ná
 here carry come TAG.ASR
 ‘Bring (it) here, eh.’ (PT kitchen discussion)
- b) ན་ཁ་ལོ་ གན་བྱས་ འོང་བོ?
nàkʰa=lo kʰambja òm-bo?
 here=DAT why come-2INF
 ‘Why did you come here?’ (rna-gsung 6)
- c) ང་ ད་རིང་ ཙོ་ན་གི་ ན་ཁ་ལོ་ རང་ རྒྱུད་ཉ།
ɲà tʰariŋ ána²⁵⁴=gi nàkʰa=lo=rã: dø:-ni.
 1SG today old.lady=GEN here=DAT=AEMPH stay-3INF
 ‘Today I will indeed stay in the grandmother’s (=your) place.’ (rna-gsung 7)

In addition to taking a modifier, *nà:* itself can function as a modifier meaning ‘the one here’, as shown in (6.66):

²⁵⁴ In kinship terms, *ána* refers to maternal grandparent’s brother’s wife, see §17.2.

- (6.66) ཀརྲ་, ཚད་ ན་ ཡོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ཡར་རྩ་བར་ སྐྱེ་ལ་ བྱིན་ ལོ།
karma, tɕʰøʔ [nà: óni=lo] jà:=tsa:=sǎ: 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) སྐྱེ་ལོ་ འདི་ ཤིང་ སྐྱེ་ལོ་ལོ་ ཨ་རུ་
pʰou=di ɕiŋ 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་ འདེས་ སེམས་ཅན་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།
jina dem símtɕɛ:=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་མེད་ གཞི་མེད་ ཉེ་ ཡོ་ཡི་ན་ ང་ཅག་ ཡོ་འདི་ སྒང་...
nàpɿ: zø:pɿ: tɕ jòi=na nàtɕaʔ ódi gǎ:...
 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) མོ་མོ་ལོ་ དགོན་པོ་ ངང་ ལྷ་ཁང་ སྐགས་ གེས་པོ་ འདུག་ ཤོ།
mò:mou=lo gjompo t'ǎ: lqkʰǎ: 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) སྐྱེ་ས་ གཅིག་ཁ་ལོ་, ཉེ་ས་ གཞན་ཁ་ལོ།
kisa tɕi-kʰa=lo, nɛsa 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

<i>dodem</i>	འདྲ་འདྲེས་	‘like this right here’
<i>de:</i> , <i>dem</i> , <i>dep</i>	འདྲེ་, འདྲེས་, འདྲེབ་	proximal, cataphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’
<i>óde:</i> , <i>ódem</i> , <i>ódep</i>	ཨོ་འདྲེ་, ཨོ་འདྲེས་, ཨོ་འདྲེབ་	distal, anaphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’

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་ མོན་ལམ་ འདྲེ་ བཏབ་པོ་ གནང་ འདུག་གོ།
kʰoŋ=gi mélam dɛ: tap-o ná: 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་འདྲེ་ ལབ་ མི་ཚག་མཁན་ ཟླ།
ŋàtɕa=ki ódɛ: lɔp mi-tɕʰo-kʰɛn bɛ?
 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་ འདྲེ་ཡང་ གསུང་ཞེ། འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ནང་ག་ ལྷོ་པོ་ མི་རིགས་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཀླུ་ཙང་ (culture) སྐད་ འདྲེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ རྗེགས་ ཐོས་ ཟླ།
kʰɔ: di=jã: súŋ-zɛ. qɛndzɔ: nàŋɕa ʃopo míri=tsu=lo
 3SG.HON this=even say.HON-PST Sikkim within Lhopo people=PL=DAT
jò:-kʰɛ: kaltɕə kɛ:=di tʰamtɕɛ=le dzik-ɕo? bɛ?
 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.

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 *ǝ:* ‘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 *ǝ:* or *bɛ?* (see §7.2.5.2). In Table 7.1, affirmative and negated forms are separated by a slash. Table 7.1 lists only unanalyzable interrogative copulas. Copulas may also be interrogated with the regular polar question marker *-ka/ga* (*íŋ-ga*, *mèŋ-ga*, *bɛ-ka*, *mèmbe-ka*, *jò:-ka*, *mè:-ka*, *du-ka*, *mìndu-ka*, *qɛ:-ka*, see §10.1.3.2).

Table 7.1. Basic copulas

		Personal		Sensorial	Neutral		
		decl. interr.			Ordinary		Apparentive
					decl.	interr.	
EQ	PRS	<i>ĩ:/mê:</i> ཨིན་མན་	<i>ná/mèna</i> ན་མན་ན	<i>(índu?)</i> (ཨིན་འདུག་)	<i>bɛʔ/mèmbeʔ</i> ཐང་མན་ཐང་	<i>bo/mèmbo</i> བོ་མན་བོ་ ²⁵⁶	<i>qɛ:/rɛ:</i> འདད་ ²⁵⁷
	PST						
EX (pos./neg.)		<i>jòʔ/mèʔ</i> ཡོད་མེད་		<i>duʔ/mìnduʔ</i> འདུག་མིན་འདུག་	<i>(jèbbeʔ/mèbbeʔ)</i> (ཡོད་པ་ཐང་མེད་པ་ཐང་)		

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 (*ǝ:/mɛ:* and *bɛ?/mèmbe?*) have separate interrogative forms. The existential copulas, on the other hand, are interrogated by the regular polar question marker *-ka/ga*, e.g. *duka/mìnduka*.

The six basic declarative copulas are 1) the personal equative *ǝ:* ǝṽ (neg. *mɛ:* ṽṽ), 2) the personal existential *jò?* ṽṽṽ (neg. *mè?* ṽṽṽ), 3) the sensorial existential *du?* ṽṽṽṽ (neg. *mìndu?* ṽṽṽṽṽṽ), which can also be used, perhaps surprisingly, for past equation/identification, 4) the evidentially neutral *bɛ?* ṽṽṽ (neg. *mèmbe?* ṽṽṽṽṽṽ), which is basically equative but also has some existential type of uses, 5) the apparentive *qɛ:/rɛ:*, which is a merger of *qɛ bɛ?* ‘be like’, and 6) neutral existential *jèbbe?*, which is given in brackets, because it is an abbreviation of the complex copula *jòpo bɛ?*, which is introduced later in §7.3.2.1.2. The sensorial equative *índu?* 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 *du?* and *bɛ?* are clearly distinct from ordinary verbs in that they do not inflect for tense, aspect and mood (e.g. present habitual **du-kʰen bɛ?*, **bɛ-kʰen bɛ?*), the personal copulas *ǝ:* and *jò?* can form many of the same constructions as the ordinary verbs (e.g. present habitual *íŋ-kʰen bɛ?*, *jò:-kʰen bɛ?*).

This chapter focuses on declarative forms, with an emphasis on evidentiality. Interrogative forms are covered in the general discussion on interrogation in §11.1. Rather than describing each evidential category within the copulas by comparing them to some purported typological category established on the basis of other languages, it is useful to describe the evidentiality of each copula with reference to the other copulas within the system. The meaning of the copulas are defined as a system, with reference to each other. The personal copulas *ǝ:* and *jò?* express the speaker’s personal

²⁵⁶ This form is homophonic and homographic (in WD) with the nominalized form *mèm-bo* used in such expression as *mèm-bo bɛ?* ‘is/was not’. Some writers prefer to write the affirmed form ṽṽ ‘bo instead of ṽṽ bo.

²⁵⁷ This is an innovative WD form deriving from the full disyllabic ṽṽ ṽṽṽ.

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 *ĩ*, “personalness” may be realized as the speaker’s emotional involvement (see §7.3.2.2). In addition, *ĩ* 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 *ĩ* and *jòʔ*, which are based on the speaker’s already existing knowledge, the basically existential copula *duʔ* refers to a specific event where the knowledge was sensorially acquired (similarly Gawne’s [2013: 164] perceptual for Yolmo). When used for present occurrences, *duʔ* has overtones of newness (contra oldness implied by *jòʔ*). When used as an auxiliary, *duʔ* has overtones of momentariness (contra continuation implied by *jòʔ*). The term “sensorial,” earlier used by Tournadre & Jiatso (2001: 78), was chosen as a category name, because it is the shortest way to refer to sensory experiences. Alternative terms are “sensory evidential” (Hill 2012: 389), “testimonial” (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 110) and “perceptual” (Gawne 2013: 163).

The neutral, basically equative copula *bɛʔ*, on the other hand, does not refer to a sensory experience as *duʔ*, and lacks the cognitive assimilation and spatiotemporal proximity implied by *ĩ*/*jòʔ*.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 Denjongke system where neutrality is defined as absence of sensorialness and personalness.

In the following subsections, the copulas marking the three basic evidential distinctions, personal (§7.2.1), sensorial (§7.2.2) and neutral (§7.2.3) are discussed separately. The section on neutral copulas provides summarizing, comparative examples. This is followed by a brief

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 Denjongke “neutral.”

²⁶⁰ See Hill (2013) for contextual semantics of Lhasa Tibetan.

description of the apparentive equative (§7.2.4). The reportative =*lo* and the verb *ō*: ‘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 *ī*: as the final copula of nominalized constructions. The first two senses are expressed by both personal copulas *ī*: and *jò?*. There is, however, a difference in that *ī*: seems to primarily convey spatiotemporal proximity, whereas *jò?* expresses more clearly both old knowledge and spatiotemporal proximity. The reason for this difference between *ī*: and *jò?* seems to be that the semantics of the personal copulas are affected by the other copulas they evidentially contrast with.

Because *jò?* in its ELPA-functions contrasts with both the sensorial *du?* and the neutral nominalized copula construction *jò-po bε?*/*jèbbe*, it has developed semantics in opposition to both of these contrastive copulas. The focus on the speaker’s old, already existing (and hence personal) knowledge arises from the opposition to *du?*, which makes reference to a specific, usually recent knowledge-acquiring event. The sense of spatiotemporal proximity (“here and now”), on the other hand, arises from the contrast with the neutral nominalized construction *jò-po bε?*/*jèbbe*, which is used for spatiotemporal backgrounding (“there and then,” similarly to mere *bε?*).

The equative personal copula *ī*:, in contrast, lacks a contrastive sensorial equative (the marginal combinatory sensorial equative *indu?*, see §7.3.1, does not contrast with *ī*: in most contexts) and therefore the semantics of *ī*:, focusing on spatiotemporal proximity, are mainly affected by its contrast with the neutral, spatiotemporally backgrounding *bε?*. Nevertheless, as shown in §7.2.1.1, a case can be made for *ī*: also making reference to the speaker’s already existing knowledge. In addition to the above three senses, *ī*: is associated with a type of speech act of identification, as shown in §7.2.3.

7.2.1.1 Personal equative *ī*:

In equation, the personal *ī*: contrasts frequently with the neutral *bε?* (§7.2.3) and marginally with the sensorial *indu?* (§7.2.2). In attributive sentences, *ī*: contrasts with the neutral *bε?*, the personal *jò?* (§7.2.1.2), the sensorial *du?* and the neutral *jèbbe?* (from *jò-po bε?*) (§7.3.2.1.2).

In equative sentences such as (7.1) and (7.2), it is usually not obvious that *ī*: would mark older knowledge than *bε?*, 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)	<i>k^hoŋ=gi</i>	<i>mìŋ</i>	<i>ts^heriŋ</i>	<i>ī</i> :	ཁོང་གི་མིང་ཚེ་རིང་ཨིན།
(7.2)	<i>k^hoŋ=gi</i>	<i>mìŋ</i>	<i>ts^heriŋ</i>	<i>bε?</i>	ཁོང་གི་མིང་ཚེ་རིང་ཟེད།
	3SG.HON=GEN	name	PN	EQU	
	‘His name is Tshering.’				

In attributive sentences such as (7.3) and (7.4), however, the difference of *ī*: and *bε?* with reference to integration of knowledge becomes clearer.

(7.3) ལུ་རྒྱལ་མ་ལོ་ཞིན།
kʰu gja:nam t̚i.
 3SGM fat EQU.PER
 ‘He is (a) fat (one).’

(7.4) ལུ་རྒྱལ་མ་ལོ་ཟད།
kʰu gja:nam 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 *t̚i* and neutral *bɛʔ* is also seen when the copula is followed by the (clausal) attention marker =*ɛo*, which may mark a proposition as attention-worthy either to the speaker or to the addressee (see §16.2.2). When used with the personal copula *t̚i*, which marks integrated knowledge, =*ɛo* marks the information in the proposition as attention-worthy to the addressee, not to the speaker. For an example, see (7.5).

(7.5) ང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་བུ་ཞིན་གོ།
ŋà kʰoŋ=gi pʰu t̚i=ɛo.
 1PL 3SG.HON=GEN son EQU.PER=AT
 ‘I’m actually his son (which you don’t seem to know).’ (PT e)

In (7.5), Person A and B are talking about a certain man. The man who is the topic of the discussion is actually A’s father. In the course of the conversation, A has reason to believe that B is not aware of this fact. To counter this false assumption, A uses the attention marker to communicate to the addressee that he (the speaker) knows that what he is saying is probably unexpected and newsworthy, and hence attention-worthy, to the addressee.

With *bɛʔ*, on the other hand, =*ɛo* may mark the proposition attention-worthy either to the speaker (7.6) or to the addressee (7.7).

(7.6) ལྟོ་ཨ་ཉེ་ལགས་ཚུ་ཟད་གོ།
já:, óni=la:=tsu bɛ=ɛo.
 Oh child=HON=PL EQU.NE=AT
 ‘Oh, it’s the children.’ (Richhi 25)

(7.7) ལའ་མཐུན་དོན་དག་འདི་ཨ་འདི་ཟད་གོ།
làp-kʰɛ: tʰonda=di ódi bɛ=ɛo.
 say-NMLZ meaning=DEMPH that EQU.NE=AT
 ‘The meaning of the (afore)said is this.’ (JDF axe story)

The proposition in (7.6) is accompanied by an exclamation to underline the noteworthy character of the information about the comers’ identity to the speaker. In (7.7), in contrast, the

²⁶¹ The difference in choosing *bɛʔ* rather than *duʔ* is addressed in §7.2.3.

speaker draws, by the use of $=\epsilon o$, the addressee’s attention to the fact that he is going to tell the main teaching of his pedagogical story. The fact that with $\acute{i}:=\epsilon o$ attention-worthiness is addressee-oriented but with $b\epsilon?$ either speaker or addressee-oriented suggests that $\acute{i}:$ is a marker of old, already existing knowledge, whereas $b\epsilon?$ is neutral with respect to when and how the information was acquired.

The copula $\acute{i}:$ (as also $b\epsilon?$) co-occurs with any of the first, second or third person pronouns, see (7.8), showing that the “personal” semantics of $\acute{i}:$ have not been grammaticalized into a syntactic requirement for the first person to appear with $\acute{i}:$ 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 $\acute{i}:$ and $b\epsilon?$ is discussed in §7.2.3.

- (7.8) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ ཁྱེད་པོ་ ཡིན་པ་།
kʰə̌:/lɛŋgɛʔ/ŋə *mémpo* *í:/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 $\acute{j}énle$ ‘earlier’ enforces a past interpretation of the sentence with $\acute{i}:$

- (7.9) ང་ འདི་ རྩོན་ལས་ གན་འདི་ ཉ་མ་གོ་མཁན་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཡིན།
ŋə=di *jénle* *kʰandɛ:* *ha-maŋ-go-kʰɛ:* *mí=tɛiʔ*
 1SG=DEMPH earlier anything understand-NEG-understand-NMLZ person=INDF
í:.
 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 $\acute{i}:$ implies that the adjective expresses a defining or identifying characteristic of the nominal it is linked with.

- (7.10) ཡོ་འདི་ ཉ་གོ་ དགོས་པོ་ གཤམ་ཆེན་ ཡིན།
ódi *háko* *go:-po* *kʰɛ:tɛʰí:* *í:*.
 that understand need.to-2INF important EQU.PER
 ‘It is important to understand that.’ (Richhi 7)

- (7.11) ངའི་ བོ་ཙོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ འཛོགས་དྲགས་ ཡིན། ལགས་ ཡིན།
jɛ: *pʰotso* *tʰamtɛɛ=le* *dzikʰaʔ* *í:*, *lɛm* *í:*.
 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 $\acute{i}:$ is $m\acute{e}:$, except in the circumstantial construction (see §15.8.1), where $\acute{i}:$ 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་ལུ་ མ་ཨིན་བ་ ཨ་ཙི་ སྒྲན་ལུ་
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་ལུ་ མ་ཨིན་བོ་ སྒྲན་ལུ་ ཨ་ཙི་ སྒྲན་ལུ་
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 *í:* are found in §7.2.3, where *í:* is contrasted with *bε?* and the other copulas. The use of *í:* as the final copula of nominalized constructions is addressed in §7.3.2.2.

7.2.1.2 Personal existential *jò?*

Similar to *í:*, the personal existential copula *jò?*²⁶² codes the speaker’s already existing knowledge (contra sensorially acquired knowledge marked by *du?*) and spatiotemporal proximity (contra spatiotemporally backgrounding nominalized copulas, e.g. *jò-po bε?/jèbbε?*). The use of *jò?* usually also entails that the situation depicted in the sentence continues to exist at the moment of speech (contra *du?* which reports an observation at a particular moment). The personal *jò?* 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 *du?* 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 *jò?*, they use the nominalized constructions *jò-po bε?/jèbbε?* and *jò:-k^hen bε?*, which are discussed in §7.3.2.1.

The type of knowledge coded by *jò?* is illustrated by (7.14).

(7.14) ལུང་གི་ བ་རྟིག་ (bike) འདི་ ལེབ་སྟོ་ མ་ལག་ ཡོད།
k^hu=i=gi baik=di lèpti màla? jò?
 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 *du?* would be chosen. In Kyirong Tibetan, a sentence equivalent to (7.14) and a cognate of *jò?* 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, *jò?* expresses the knowledge state of the speaker but does not reveal how the knowledge was gained.

²⁶² The copula *jò?* is pronounced by most children and young adults as *jè?*, without rounding in the vowel. Rounding in front vowels, in general, seems to be disappearing.

²⁶³ *k^hō:* *pā^hkpà:-de ts^hē:mè: jo:bā jō:*
 he.GEN motorbike-DEF very fast EXPER
 ‘His motorbike is very fast.’ (Kyirong, Huber 2002: 138)

Example (7.15), taken from Bhaichung Tsihudarpo'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) ལྷན་ཁག་སྤངས་ཀྱི་ སྐྱེ་ ལྷན་ཁང་ན་ སྐྱེ་པོ་ ཀ་མ་ ཡོད།
nùp d̥endzɔŋ=gi sòmbarɛ méŋkʰã:=na mémpo karma jòʔ.
 west Sikkim=GEN TPN hospital=LOC doctor PN EX.PER
 'It is in West Sikkim's Sombare hospital that doctor Karma is.' (Richhi 161)

The exact semantic interpretation of *jòʔ* is dependent on the context. This is illustrated in (7.16), in which *jòʔ* may convey either personal knowledge gained through metaphorical proximity to the referent (friendship) or personal knowledge gained by literal proximity (being in the referent's presence).

- (7.16) བློ་གཞིན་མེ་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་ དངུལ་ ཀེ་པོ་ ཡོད།
bil gɛits=lo nyː kɛːp jòʔ.
 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 *jòʔ* is not a typical choice for a simple, second person attributive sentence, perhaps because it would seem arrogant to claim ingrained personal knowledge about another person's qualities to their face, see (7.17).

- (7.17) ལུ་ང་/?ཚད་ ལྷགས་ནམ་ ཡོད།
kʰu/ŋà/?tɕʰøʔ gjaːnam jòʔ.
 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་ *jò* (cognate of Denjongke *jòʔ*) are not allowed. Instead, འདྲུག་ *duː* (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 *jòʔ* may be followed by the attention marker =*ɕo* to emphasize the addressee's counterexpectation and, hence, the newsworthiness of the claim for the addressee. All the other

²⁶⁴ The novel *Richhi* also quite systematically uses the personal auxiliary construction VERB-*po* *ĩ*: rather than the neutral VERB-*po* *beʔ* for third person referents' past actions within the author's omniscient narration. Using the cognate form VERB-*pa-yin* is infelicitous in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 206).

copulas, in different contexts, can more freely link the second person with an adjectival attribute. This is shown in (7.18). For semantic differences between the copulas in (7.18), see the discussion under example (7.52) below.

- (7.18) ཚོད་ རྒྱལ་ལ་ཞུ་ ཡིན་འདྲེན་ཟུང་།
tɕʰøʔ gja:nam i:/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) ངལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི?
ŋám jøː-kaʔ
 sugar EX.PER-PQ
 ‘Is there sugar?’

- b) ཡོད།
jøʔ.
 EX.PER
 ‘Yes, there is.’

- (7.20) a) ཆ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཆ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ བོ་ཙོ་ ག་ཚོད་ ཡོད་པེ?
tɕʰero=ki/tɕʰero=lo p’otso k’adzøʔ jøː-poʔ
 friend=GEN/friend=DAT child how.many EX.PER-2INF
 ‘How many children does the friend (=you) have?’

- b) ངའི་(གྱི་)/ང་ལོ་ བུ་གསུམ་ ཡོད།
nèː(=gi)/ŋà=lo p’um súm jøʔ.
 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 *jøʔ* 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 *jøʔ* 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 *du?*

The discussion here is divided into existential uses of *du?* (§7.2.2.1), which form the great majority of cases, and past equative uses (§7.2.2.2). The last sections describes the intensifier suffix *-ke*, which may attach to *du?* (§7.2.2.3).

7.2.2.1 Existential uses of *du?*

The use of the sensorial existential *du?* indicates that the proposition is evidentially based on a specific, most often recent or current event that the speaker has sensorially (not necessarily visually) attested. Information expressed through the personal evidentials is also first acquired sensorially, but later with time and/or repeated exposure the knowledge becomes so assimilated that no reference to a specific event needs to be made (similarly Gawne [2013: 203] on Yolmo). Whereas *jø?* conveys that the speaker's knowledge state has existed before ("I already know"), *du?* implies that the knowledge was recently acquired ("I came to know"). The neutral *be?*, on the other hand, marks a proposition non-committed as to the type of knowledge. Whereas *be?* is used when the speaker and the addressee share a sensorial experience, *du?* is primarily used when the addressee does not share the sensorial experience with the speaker.

Because *du?* often refers to a recent event where knowledge was acquired, it can gain overtones of "newness" or "mirativity" (DeLancey 1997). The overtones of newness in the cognates of this copula in other Tibetic languages have been reported, among others, by Bielmeier (2000: 104), Denwood (1999: 123), Hongladarom (2007: 29) and Huber (2002: 139). It should be noted, however, that "newness" does not necessarily entail "unexpectedness/surprise" (Zeisler 2000: 40). Hill (2012) argues for the basic meaning of *du?* in Standard Tibetan being sensorial rather than mirative. Although the use of *du?* in Denjongke often implies recently acquired knowledge, Denjongke has a separate attention marker *=εo* that can be attached even to the sensory evidential *du?* (*du:=εo*) to emphasize the attention-worthiness (caused by surprise, counterexpectation, sudden realization etc.) of the information either to the speaker or to the addressee (see examples [7.22] and [7.27]). Although *du?* may have some undercurrents of newness, the Denjongke language system does not appear to grammaticalize any "surprise" value with *du?*.

The implied momentariness of *du?*, in contrast to the permanence suggested by *jø?*, is especially seen when the two copulas are used as auxiliaries. In auxiliary uses with the progressive *-zε:*, both *k^hu jó? p'ja-zεn du?* 'He was working' and *k^hu jó? p'ja-zε: jø?* 'He is working' could be said in a situation where the speaker does not see the man working at the moment of speech. Choosing the option with *du?* implies that the speaker recently saw the referent working, but is agnostic as to whether the referent is still working at the moment of speech (hence the past translation). The option with *jø?*, however, implies the speaker's personal knowledge that the action still continues at the time of speech (hence the present translation).

Examples (7.21-34) illustrate the evidential semantics of *du?*. First, consider (7.21), a question where the speaker has to make an estimate of the addressees' state of knowledge.

- (7.21) ངཅུ་འདུག་ཀྱི་?
ɲám du-ka?
sugar EX.SEN-PQ
'Is there (any) sugar?'

In (7.21), the speaker assumes that the addressee is not in personal possession of the knowledge asked for, i.e. that the addressee may have to look around right then to find out whether there is sugar. In (7.19) above, on the other hand, where the copula *jø?* is used instead of *du?* in the

otherwise identical sentence, the speaker assumes that the addressee already has assimilated knowledge on the availability of sugar and can answer the question without searching.

In light of what was said above, example (7.22) seems at first sight anomalous.

- (7.22) a) ཚོད་ རྩོད་པོ་ལྟོ འདུག་ཀྱང་?
teʰøʔ 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་ཤོ།
du-ke=ɛo.
 EX.SEN-IN=AT
 ‘Why, it is indeed.’ (TB e)

In (7.22), the first speaker has found a cow that he brings to the second speaker. When making an estimate of the addressee’s state of knowledge, speaker A in (7.22) would perhaps be expected to use the personal copula, because the addressee is supposed to have personal, integrated knowledge about his cows. The focus here, however, seems to fall on the specific sensory experience of identifying the cow, not on the existing knowledge state. The attention marker =*ɛo* in B’s answer expresses the speaker’s surprise, indicated by the old-fashioned exclamation ‘why’ in the translation.²⁶⁵

The contrast of *duʔ* and *jøʔ* 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) ཚཱ་ ཐོབ་ཀྱང་?
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 *jøʔ*), 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*).

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་བྱིམ་ན་སློབས་པའི་སྐར་མ་
kʰõ: *ni:-po* *mù=i* *kʰim=na* *lep-ø:* *gã:* *mù*
 3PL two-COL 3SGF=GEN house=LOC reach-2INF.GEN time 3SGF
 'When the two of them reached the house, she wasn't
- བྱིམ་ན་ མིན་འདུག།
kʰim=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) མངའ་ངེད་ཀྱི་ཁོང་གཉིད་ལམ་གཅིག་མཐོང་ཅེ། གཉིད་ལམ་ན་ང་
dã: *ŋà:* *ŋilam=tei?* *tʰõ:-tɛɛ.* *ŋilam=na* *ŋà*
 yesterday 1SG.AGT dream=INDF see-PFV dream=LOC 1SG
 'Yesterday I saw a dream. In the dream I was
- མཉེན་ཁང་ན་ འདུག་གོ།
mɛŋkʰã:=na ***du:=ɛo.***
 hospital=LOC EX.SEN=AT
 in the hospital!' (YR e)

Usually information about oneself is by definition personal, and hence marked by *ĩ:* and *jø?*, but here the speaker has observed himself in a dream. When waking up from a dream, the dreamer gets an outsider's perspective into their own life. Therefore, the sensorial evidential *du?* can be used when talking about oneself. The copula is here followed by the attention marker =*ɛo*, which indicates that the information was, and perhaps still is at the moment of speaking, surprising to the speaker.

In (7.28), the speaker is helping another person sit inside a car. The choice of *du?* as copula indicates either that the speaker does not expect his addressees to have definite knowledge about the whereabouts of the pillow or that he is speaking to himself.

²⁶⁶ See, for instance, Denwood (1999: 123) for similar examples from Lhasa Tibetan.

- (7.28) ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ འཇུལ་, འདི་ཁར་ ཐུབ་ ཞེད་, ཀོ་ལོ་ ཟུམ་འཕོལ་ ག་ན་ འདུག་?
k'aly? k'aly? dzy:, dik'a gjap é?, kolo ŋa:bə: 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) སྒོག་པར་གྱི་ སྒྱིང་པོ་ ལེགས་ལྟ་ ལེས་ འདུག།
ló?par=gi ŋiŋpo 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 *bə?* 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) བར་ཁར་ ཨ་ལུས་ འདུག།
paŋk'a: ály? du?
 outside cat EX.SEN
 'There's a cat outside (as I heard it meowing).'
- (7.31) འདི་ གསོལ་གྱུ་མས་ ཞིན་པོ་ འདུག།
di só:tym éimpu du?
 this curry delicious EX.SEN
 'This curry is delicious (as I can taste).'
- (7.32) འདི་ གསོལ་གྱུ་མས་ཀྱི་ ཇིན་ ཞིན་པོ་ འདུག།
di só:tym=gi t'im éimpu du?
 this curry=GEN smell delicious EX.SEN
 'The smell of this curry is delicious.'
- (7.33) འདི་ གྱི་ འདི་ རྩ་ཆ་ལྟ་ འདུག།
di k'i=di ŋəʈa? du?
 this big.knife=DEMPH sharp EX.SEN
 'This (big) knife is sharp (as I can feel).' (PD)

Example (7.34) presents a problem for anchoring *du?* to the speaker's specific sensory experience. The information has been heard from other people or read from books.

- (7.34) ཨ་ཁུ་གིས་ མ་གསན་བོ? དང་པོའི་ མཉན་པོ་ཚུ་གིས་
áku=gi ma-sém-bo? t'aypø: gempo=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་ཙཱ་ ད་ མོ་བུད་ ལེན་ཤང་ མཉན་ནེ་ ག་ཚུང་ བརྩང་”
p'otso t'a mòby? lèn-εε? ín-nε k'atεuŋ duŋ
 child now wife take-INF EQU.PER-COND metal.ornament hit
 “If (your) child is to take a wife, make a kachung-plate.”

ཏི་ ག་ཚུང་ ལ་བ་མྱེ་ གཉེན་གྱི་ ཏྲགས་ བུ་མོ་གིས་
te k'atεuŋ làp-ti jén=gi ta? 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་ཤང་ ཅིག་ དང་བུའི་ ལུང་བསྟན་ ཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།
ta:-εε=tei? tanpy: lùntɛ:=tei? du:=εo.
 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 *jø?* here because that would imply that he was present himself at the time when the tradition was formed. Because it is not possible to gain personal knowledge of such a historically oriented word as “tradition,” the speaker uses sensorial *du?*, which makes reference to the event(s) in which he has gained the information. An alternative for using *du?* would be to background the handing down of information by using one of the evidentially neutral nominalized construction *jø-po be/jebbe?* or *jø:-kʰen be?*, the first of which is used analogously to (7.34) in (7.87).

7.2.2.2 Past equative uses of *du?*

In addition to existential uses, *du?* can be used for equative clauses that refer to situations that held in the past, see (7.35) for a declarative and (7.36) for an interrogative example.

- (7.35) ང་ སློབ་ཐུག་ མཉན་བའི་ སྐབས་ལོ་ ལྷན་ཏ་རི་ འདི་ ང་ཅའི་གི་ གཙོ་བྱི་ སློན་བུ་ འདུག་གོ་ཤོ།
ŋà lóptʰu? ím-bø: kap=lo bhandari=di ŋàtei=gi tsotɛi
 1SG student EQU.PER-2INF.GEN time=DAT PN=DEMPH 1PL.GEN=GEN chief
lémpu du-kε=εo.
 minister EX.SEN-INT=AT
 ‘When I was a student, Bhandari was our Chief Minister, you know.’ (KN e)

- (7.36) ཡང་མ་, མོད་ སློབ་ཐུག་ མཉན་བའི་ སྐབས་ལོ་ འདི་ ང་ཅའི་ གཙོ་བྱི་ སློན་བུ་ འདི་ ཀ་ བོ?
pema, teʰø? lóptʰu? ím-bø: kap=lo=di ŋàtei tsotɛi
 PN 2SG.L student EQU-2INF time=DAT=DEMPH 1PL.GEN chief
lémpu=di ka du-ko?
 minister=DEMPH who EX.SEN-2INF
 ‘Pema, when you were student, who was our Chief Minister?’ (YR e)

According to consultant YR, using the sensorial *du?* in (7.36) implies that the same chief minister is no longer in power, whereas using the personal *jø?* (*jø-po/jè-po*) would leave open the possibility that the same chief minister is still in power. Example (7.37), however, suggests that *du?*, at least in the declarative, may be used for past equation even when the situation still holds in the present. In (7.37), a person who has been outside Sikkim for some ten years reacts to news about the name of the current Chief Minister:

- (7.37) ཨ་རེ་, ང་ གྲོ་མ་ བྱི་ལོ་ གཉིས་སྟོང་ བཞིན་ ན་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐར་ མ་འདྲེ་ཅིག་ཁ་ཡང་ བ་ཕན་ ཅམ་གླིང་ར་ འདུག་གོ།
are, *ŋà néma tɛʰilo ní:tõ: zi=na nà: jø-pø: gǎ:*
 EXCLAM(Nep.) 1SG earlier year 2000 four=LOC here EX-2INF.GEN time
ódetɛika=jǎ: pawan tsamliŋ=ra du:=ɛo.
 that.time=too PN PN=AEMPH EX.SEN=AT
 ‘Wow, when I was earlier here in 2004, at that time too (it) was (the same) Pawan Chamling (as Chief Minister), you know.’ (KN e)

Similar to present uses, past equative *du?* marks recently acquired sensory information. It may be used when expressing information about things and other persons than oneself (7.38a) but not when the speaker conveys information about oneself (7.38b).

- (7.38) a) གྲོ་མ་ ང་ རྩོད་ མིང་ ཕུན་ཚགས་ འདུག་གོ།
néma t'a tɛʰø? mɪŋ pʰyntsʰo? duk=ɛo.
 earlier now 2SG.L name PN EX.SEN=AT
 ‘But earlier your name was Phuntso!’ (KN e)
- b) *གྲོ་ལས་ར་ ངའི་ མིང་ ཕུན་ཚགས་ འདུག་གོ།
**jénɛ=ra jɛ: mɪŋ pʰyntsʰo? du?*
 earlier=AEMPH 1SG.GEN name PN EX.SEN
 (KN e)

Note that *du?* cannot be used for present identification/equation, as shown by (7.39), a faulty attempt to communicate ‘who is the man (now over there)?’.

- (7.39) *མི་ འདི་ ཀ་ འདུག་གོ?
**mi=di ka du-ko?*
 human=DEMPH who EX.SEN-2INF

7.2.2.3 Intensifier -kɛ

The sensorial *du?* 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 *mindu-kɛ* instead of mere *mindu?*, the speaker can emphasize his/her engagement or involvement in the situation. Whereas *mindu?* could be said after just looking around, *mindu-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 *du?* when reporting sensory experience. In this respect, it is similar to *-ké/-gě:* in Kyirong Tibetan, which is reported to mark increased assertiveness (Huber 2002: 136).

When being prompted to comment on the difference between (7.40) and (7.41), consultant PTB commented that (7.40) would be more appropriate when the referent of *kʰu* ‘he’ is no longer present, although *du?* may also be used in the referent’s presence.

(7.40) ཁྱེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷན་པོ།
kʰu gja:ta? du?
 3SGM fat EX.SEN
 ‘He is fat.’

(7.41) ཁྱེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་གེ།
kʰu gja:ta? du-kɛ.
 3SGM fat EX.SEN-IN
 ‘He is fat.’

7.2.3 Equative neutral *bɛ?* in comparison with other copulas

The copula *bɛ?* is basically equative but it also syntactically overlaps with existential copulas *jø?* and *du?* not only in adjectival predication but also in quantified existentials and quantified locatives. The neutral *bɛ?* is evidentially non-committed unlike the sensorial *du?* and the personal copulas *jø?* and *í:*. Therefore *bɛ?* can be used in many contexts as a matter-of-fact generally asserting variant of the other copulas.

Probably the most difficult task in analyzing Denjongke copulas is to identify exactly what is the difference between equative sentences which differ only in the choice of copula *í:* vs. *bɛ?*. Two things, however, can be said. First, *í:* seems to perform a type of speech act of identifying, whereas *bɛ?* takes the identification for granted and leaves room for the implications of this identification. For a very similar characterization of difference of *yin* and *ree* in Lhasa Tibetan, see Yukawa (2017: 193-194). For an example, consider the two questions-answer pairs in (7.42) and (7.43), which were volunteered by one of my consultants, when I was trying to tease out the difference between *í:* and *bɛ?*.

(7.42) a) ལྷན་པོ་ཀ་ བོ?
lɛŋgɛ? ka bo?
 PRN.HON what EQU.NE.Q
 ‘Who are you?’

b) ང་ ཨམ་རྩི་ ཨིན།
ŋà ámdzi í:
 1SG doctor EQU.PER
 ‘I’m a doctor.’

(7.43) a) ལྷན་པོ་ གན་ འཕྲོ་ལྟན་ བོ?
lɛŋgɛ? kʰan pʰja-kʰɛn bo?
 PRN.HON what do-NMLZ EQU.NE.Q
 ‘What do you do (for living)?’

- b) ང་མ་ཇི་ཟད།
 ཇà ámdzi be?
 1SG doctor EQU.NE
 ‘I’m a doctor.’ (TB)

In the above examples, *í:* is used in the answer to the question concerning identity (7.42), and *be?* is used when the question relates to doing (7.43). This implies that *í:* is more concerned with the act of identifying itself, as if performing a type of speech act of identifying, whereas *be?* 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 *ཇà ámdzi be?* as an answer to the question in (7.42).

The possibility of choosing between *í:* and *be?* to convey different evidential nuances about the same situation shows, similarly to Lhasa Tibetan (Hill 2013: 50), that there is no strict epistemological hierarchy among the copulas within which the speaker would have to choose the one considered to carry the highest degree of certainty.

When bringing up this same topic of *í:* vs. *be?* with two other consultants, they volunteered comparative sentence pairs (7.44-45) and (7.46-47) respectively (*mě:* and *měmbe?* are the negations of *í:* and *be?* respectively).

- (7.44) ང་ཅག་སློབ་ཕྱག་མི།
 ཇàtɕa? lóptʰu? í:
 1PL student EQU.PER
 ‘We are students.’ (NB e)

- (7.45) ང་ཅག་སློབ་ཕྱག་ཟད།ང་ཅག་འདེམ་བྱས་མི་ལགས།
 ཇàtɕa? lóptʰu? be? ཇàtɕa? dɛm pʼja mi-le?
 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་ཕྱག་མན།
 ཇà lóptʰu? mē:
 1SG student NEG.EQU.PER
 ‘I am not a student.’ (YR e)

- (7.47) a) ཚད་འདི་སློག་ཆི།
 tɕʰø? di dɔk-tɕʰ(i).
 2SG.L this read-IMP.FRN
 ‘You, read this!’

- b) ང་སློབ་ཕྱག་མན་ཟད།ང་དབྱིན་ཇི་སློག་མི་ཤས།
 ཇà lóptʰu? mēm-be? ཇà índzi dɔk mi-ɛɛ:
 1SG student NEG-EQU.NE I English read NEG-know
 ‘I’m not a student. I can’t read English.’ (YR e)

Again, in both (7.44) and (7.46) *í:* is used for simple identification of people, whereas in the use of *be?* 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 *ĩ:* in (7.44) and (7.46) identifies certain people by their occupational status (or lack of it), the use of *bɛ?* 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་གཞིག་རྒྱལ་མཁན་ཏོ་སྤང་ད་ལྟ་ན་ཡོད་ཐོ་རངས་ག་འགྱུ་
zun=gi jó? kjap-kʰɛn=to bɛ? t'ato ná: jò?
 government=GEN work do-NMLZ=CEMPH EQU.NE now here EX.PER
tʰorã: k'a: gju.
 tomorrow where go
 'I'm a government employee. Now I'm here, tomorrow (who knows) where (I) go.'
 (Richhi 95)

In (7.48), the speaker, rather than telling the addressee new information about his identity (in that case *ĩ:* 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 *ĩ:* and *bɛ?* is that *ĩ:* is associated with spatiotemporal proximity, with the “here and now,” whereas *bɛ?* is associated with spatiotemporal distancing, “there and then.” A conditioning factor in choosing between *ĩ:* and *bɛ?* is the presence or absence of the referent in the clause. Consultant PT (Tashiding, West Sikkim) preferred the identifying, equative copula *ĩ:* when the person referred to was present, whereas *bɛ?* was preferred when the referent was absent. This observation is illustrated in examples (7.49-51) below:

- (7.49) a) ཁུ་རྒྱལ་མཁན་ཞིན།
kʰu gja:nam ĩ:.
 3SGM fat EQU.PER
 ‘He’s (a) fat (one).’ (referent present)
- b) ཁུ་རྒྱལ་མཁན་སྤང།
kʰu gja:nam bɛ?.
 3SGM fat EQU.NE
 ‘He is fat.’ (referent absent)
- (7.50) a) ཁོང་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞིན།
kʰõ: tɕʰigɛ:bo ĩ:.
 3SG.HON foreigner EQU.PER
 ‘He’s a foreigner.’ (referent present)

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་ བྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཟླ།
kʰõ: tɕʰigɛ:bo bɛ?
 3SG.HON foreigner EQU.NE
 ‘He’s a foreigner.’ (referent in photo)

- (7.51) a) འདི་ ཁོང་གི་ ཁྱིམ་ ཡིན།
di kʰoŋ=gi kʰim ʔ̃.
 this 3SG.HON=GEN house EQU.PER
 ‘This is his house.’ (owner present)

- b) འདི་ ཁོང་གི་ ཁྱིམ་ ཟླ།
di kʰoŋ=gi kʰim bɛ?
 this 3SG.HON=GEN house EQU.NE
 ‘This is his house.’ (owner absent)

Consultant YR, when given the task of describing the difference between the sentences *kʰõ: ámdzi ʔ̃:* and *kʰõ: ámdzi bɛ?* ‘he is a doctor’, first commented that in the first sentence the person is alive and in the second one dead, thus just bringing the presence vs. absence distinction to another level and adding temporal distance to spatial distance. Similarly, Chang & Chang (1984: 609) provide an example from Lhasa Tibetan where a boy says about his dead father *tʰa tì ŋɛ: pápá rɛ:* ‘Now, this is my father’. As the copula *jì:* (or *yin*) would be usually used if the father were alive, Chang & Chang see the choice of *rɛ:* as copula to indicate “emotional distance.” Their analysis appears similar to Häslér’s (1999: 151) description of Derge Tibetan *jín* as marking “strong empathy” and *rɛ:* marking “weak empathy” and Kretschmar’s (1986: 65) “die innere Regung des Sprechers” (the speaker’s inner emotion).

It was already shown in (7.19) and (7.23-25) above that in questions Denjongke speakers make estimates about their addressee’s state of knowledge. In questions relating to identity, however, copula choice may also be conditioned by whether the questioner wants to present themselves as someone who already knows or at least has a hypothesis of the answer (*ʔ̃:*), or as someone who does not know the answer (*bɛ?*). For an example, consider (7.52).²⁶⁸

- (7.52) a) ཚོད་ སློབ་ཕྱག་ ཟླ་ག་?
tɕʰø? lóptʰu? bɛ-ka?
 2SG.L student EQU.NE-Q
 ‘Are you a student?’
- b) ཚོད་ སློབ་ཕྱག་ ཡིན་ག་?
tɕʰø? lòptʰu? ʔ̃ŋ-ga?
 2SG.L student EQU.PER-Q
 ‘You are a student, aren’t you?’

In swiftly transitory attributive situations, as shown in (7.53), *jø?* cannot be used because it suggests that the information in the sentence is old and ingrained. Then, the choice of copulas is narrowed down to *du?* and *bɛ?*.

- (7.53) a) འདི་ གོས་ལག་ཚུ་ དྲིག་ཀྱང་ ཟླ།
di kʰola=tsu ʔ̃ʼika bɛ?
 this clothing=PL dirty EQU.NE
 ‘These clothes are dirty.’

²⁶⁸ There are also other ways to form questions which are not treated here but in §11.1.

- b) འདི་ གོས་ལག་ལྷོ་ དྲིག་ཀྱི་ འདུག།
di k'ola=tsu t'ika du?
 this clothing=PL dirty EX.SEN
 'These clothes are dirty (I see).'

One context for saying (7.53a) rather than (7.53b) is when the sensory experience where the knowledge acquired is shared by the speaker and the addressee. In these cases, there is no need to base one's assertion with an evidential.

In clock-times, *bɛ?* is used in expressions where the minutes have gone past the hour (7.54), whereas *du?* is used when minutes have not yet reached the full hour (7.55).

- (7.54) ལྷོ་མཇུག་ གཅིག་ བརྒྱུ་ལྷོ་ ཀམ་ བརྒྱ་ སྟེང་།
tɛʰutsʰø? tɛi? duŋ-di karma tɛu bɛ?
 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) ལྷོ་མཇུག་ གཅིག་ བརྒྱུ་བ་ ཀམ་ རྩ་ འདུག།
tɛʰutsʰø? ni: duŋ-ba karma na du?
 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 *bɛ?* with other copulas in locative and attributive use respectively.

- (7.56) a) ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྩོ་ གེས་པོ་ ཡོད། *ɛiŋ=di=na do kɛ:p(o) jø?*
 b) ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྩོ་ གེས་པོ་ འདུག། *ɛiŋ=di=na do kɛ:p(o) du?*
 'There are a lot of stones in the field.'
 c) ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྩོ་ གེས་པོ་ སྟེང་། *ɛiŋ=di=na do kɛ:p(o) bɛ?*
 d) ཞིང་ འདི་ན་ རྩོ་ གེས་པོ་ མིན། *ɛiŋ=di=na do kɛ:p(o) t̃i:*
 field=DEMPH=LOC stone much COP
 'The stones in the field are many.'

Whereas (7.56a) could be said by the owner of a field, who has old, personal knowledge about his field, (7.56b) would be said by someone who has just seen the field for the first time (or after a very long time) as a comment to someone else who does/did not share the same experience. Example (7.56c), in contrast, featuring the general neutral copula *bɛ?*, can be said by someone who has never seen the field before to an accompanying friend who also sees the field. In this case, the sensory evidential *du?* is not needed, because the knowledge is mutual (they both see the field). Furthermore, (7.56c) could also be said in a situation where the speaker has knowledge about the field from before (old knowledge) but wants to, for some reason, distance himself from the epistemically more committed copula *jø?*, which would imply personalness of knowledge. Example (7.56d), using the personal equative, is somewhat marginal in that it seems rarer than options (a-c). Moreover, consultants' felicity judgments diverged with regard to (7.56d). It was

rejected as infelicitous by consultant KT and KUN but readily accepted by DB and YR. The semantic difference between (7.56c) and (7.56d) is probably similar to the difference described for examples (7.44-47).

The attributive use of *be?* in contrast with the other copulas is illustrated with the adjective *gjanam* ‘fat’ in (7.57) below.

- (7.57) a) ལུ་རྒྱགས་ནམ་ མིན། *kʰu gja:nam iː.* ‘He is a fat one (as I know).’
 b) ལུ་རྒྱགས་ནམ་ ཡོད། *kʰu gja:nam jø?* ‘He is fat (as I know).’
 c) ལུ་རྒྱགས་ནམ་ འདྲག། *kʰu gja:nam du?* ‘He is fat (as I just saw).’
 d) ལུ་རྒྱགས་ནམ་ ཟད། *kʰu gja:nam be?* ‘He is fat (as I generally assert).’

The first sentence with *iː* (7.57a) identifies the referent as a member in the class of “fat ones.” The copula *du?* in (7.57c) is used when (or shortly after) meeting the described person for the first time (or after a long time). Whereas *du?* codes knowledge acquired by momentary recent observation, the use of *jø?* in (7.57b) suggests that the statement is based on the speaker’s already existing knowledge. The copula *be?* in (7.57d), on the other hand, is neutral in these respects, implying neither the personalness of *jø?* nor the immediacy and sensorialness of *du?*. With *be?*, 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 Apparentive equative *qɛ:/rɛ:*

The appentive equative *qɛ:/rɛ:* merges the apparentive marker *qa* ‘(be) similar’ and the neutral equative *be?* to express the meaning ‘(it) seems to be’. Some informants were not aware that *qɛ:/rɛ:* originates with *qa be?* ‘be like’.

- (7.58) མོ་དུ་ཅིག་ལ་ར་ན་སེ་མན་དོ་འདྲ་ (འདྲ་ ཟད་) མོ།
é:, tʰutɛi? waranasi mèn-do qɛ: no.
 oh this.year TPN NEG.EQU-IPFV AP.EQU.NE TAG.ASR
 ‘Oh, it does not seem to be in Varanasi this year, eh.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

- (7.59) མོ་འདི་གན་མོ་མོ་འདི་ཁྱ་ཨ་རྒྱལ་ཏ་ (tourist)²⁶⁹ འདི་འདྲ་ཤོ་ (=འདྲ་ ཟད་ཤོ།)
ódi kʰan mo? ódi tuərist(Eng)=di qɛ:=ɛo.
 that what EQU.NE.Q that foreign=DEMPH AP.EQU.NE=AT
 ‘What’s that? Apparently it’s foreign (I find).’ (KNU kitchen discussion)

For auxiliary uses of the apparentive copula, see §8.5.2.

7.2.5 Other forms used as copulas

In addition to the exclusively copular words describes above, the verb *ɔː* ‘come’ and the reportative marker *=lo* may function as copulas.

²⁶⁹ The speaker seems to use the loan word “tourist” as an adjective. The Denjongke word for “tourist” is *dy:korwo* འབྲུལ་སྒྱུར་པ་.

7.2.5.1 The verb *ô:* ‘come’ as existential

The verb *ô:* ‘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) མ་འདི་ ཉེ་ ངའི་ ལུ་གང་ མ་ཉོང་།
ódi tɛ jɛ: ɛ̀ù-ɛɛ ma-hõ:
 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་ལྟོ་ ད་ འཇམ་མཐོང་ན་ མི་འོང་གྲོ་, དེ་ནི་སྐྱེ་ལ་ (dinosaurs).
t'ato t'a dzamliŋna mi-ô:-to, dainoso:s.
 now now world NEG-come-PROB dinosaurs(Eng.)
 ‘Nowadays (they) aren’t there in the world, dinosaurs.’ (KN e)

- (7.62) Q: མུ་ འདུག་ཀྱང་/ཡོད་ཀྱང་?
tsʰa du-ka/jò:-ka?
 salt EX.SEN-Q/EX.PER.-Q
 ‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)

- (7.63) a) A1: མུ་ མ་ཉོང་།
tsʰa ma-hõ:
 salt NEG-come
 ‘There isn’t (any) salt.’ (KN e)

- b) A2: མུ་ འོང་གྲོ་།
tsʰa ô:-to.
 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 *ô:*. When *ô:* is negated by *ma-* in its ordinary verbal uses, the result is phonetically /ma-ô:/ > [mõ:]. In the existential use, on the other hand, the pronunciation is [maɦõ:], probably to underline the difference to the regular verbal use. With the negator *mi-* no laryngeal occurs between the negator and the verb *ô:*, /mi-ô:/ > [miõ:]. The pronunciation difference between [maɦõ:] and [miõ:] is reflected in WD here as མ་ཉོང་ *ma-hong* and མི་འོང་ *mi-ong* respectively.

I have come across one example of an interrogative existential *ô:*, which in (7.64) occurs alongside the proper existential (personal) copula form *jò?*.

- (7.64) a) མུ་ ཡོད་ཀྱང་མ་?
tsʰa jò:-kam?
 salt EX.PER-ATTQ
 ‘Is there salt, I wonder.’ (KN e)

- b) མ་ རྩ་གམ?
tsʰa ðɣ-gam?
 salt come-ATTQ
 ‘Is there salt, I wonder?’ (KN e)

In addition to the typical copula uses, *mahō*: occurs as an alternative negated auxiliary to the personal *mè?* and sensorial *mindu?*, as shown in (7.66), which presents three alternative answers to question (7.65). In contrast to *jò?* and *du?*, *ō*: appears to be evidentially neutral, although more research is needed to established that fact.

- (7.65) Q: ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་བཞིན་འདུག་ཀ?
kʰu jó? p'ja-zɛn du-ka?
 3SGM work do-PROG EX.SEN-PQ
 ‘Is he working?’
- (7.66) a) A1: ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་བ་མེད།
kʰu jó? p'ja-u mè?
 3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.PER
 ‘He’s not working (I know).’
- b) A2: ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་བ་མིན་འདུག།
kʰu jó? p'ja-u mindu?
 3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.SEN
 ‘He’s not working (I see).’
- c) A3: ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་བ་མ་རྟོ་།
kʰu jó? p'ja-u ma-hō:
 3SGM work do-2INF NEG-come
 ‘He’s not working.’

In addition to the uses as an ordinary verb and a copula, *ō*: 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) ལུ་ཨམ་རྩེ་ལོ།
kʰu ámdzi=lo.
 3SGM doctor=REP
 ‘He’s reportedly a doctor. / He’s a doctor, I hear.’ (YR e)

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) མོ་ན་ མུ་ ཡོད་ལོ་/འདྲག་ལོ་
*óna tsʰa jò:=lo/du:=lo.*²⁷¹
 there salt EX.PER=REP/EX.SEN=REP
 ‘There’s reportedly salt in there.’

(7.69) *མོ་ན་ མུ་ལོ་
 **óna tsʰa=lo*
 there salt= REP

The use of the reportative marker =*lo* with the existential copulas *jò?* and *du?* shifts the evidential anchoring of the copula from the speaker to the person who is the source of information. In other words, “evidential information is retained from the 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) ཁྱ་ སང་རྟོག་ན་ འདྲག།
kʰu gã:to:=lo du?
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.SEN
 ‘He’s in Gangtok (I saw him).’

b) ཁྱ་ སང་རྟོག་ན་ འདྲག་ལོ་
kʰu gã:to:=lo du:=lo.
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.SEN=REP
 ‘He’s reported to be in Gangtok (they told they saw him).’

(7.71) a) ཁྱ་ སང་རྟོག་ན་ ཡོད།
kʰu gã:to:=lo jò?
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.PER
 ‘He’s in Gangtok (I know it well).’

b) ཁྱ་ སང་རྟོག་ན་ ཡོད་ལོ་
kʰu gã:to:=lo jò:=lo.
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.PER=REP
 ‘He’s reported to be in Gangtok (they know it well).’

Whereas in (7.70a) it is the speaker himself who saw the person under discussion, in (7.70b) the copula *du?* reports someone else’s sensory experience. Similarly, in (7.71a) the 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 *du?* (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 *jò?* in (7.71a-b), on the other hand, suggests

²⁷¹ For the difference between *jò: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 (*i:*, *jò?*, *du?*, *bɛ?*, *bo* and *dɛ:*) and two other monosyllabic forms with copular functions (*õ:* 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 *ímbe?* and *ínu?*

The basic copulas may be directly combined to form the emphatic equative *ímbe?* and the infrequent sensorial equative *ínu?*. The emphatic equative *ímbe?*, which resembles in form the Dzongkha མིན་པས་ *'immä*, often marks the speaker's agreement with what the addressee has just said. In the same vein, Dzongkha མིན་པས་ *'immä* can be used to “politely punctuate someone else's narrative” (1998: 127) and “is found primarily in clauses of agreement” (Watters 2018: 342). In examples (7.72) and (7.73), the speaker concurs with somebody else's statement.

- (7.72) a) ཨ་རྒྱལ་དང་དམག་མིའི་ན་རང་མན་པོ་
ágja=jǎ: *má:mi:=na=rǎ:* *mèmbo?*
 elder.brother=also army.GEN=LOC=AEMPH NEG.EQU.NE.Q
 ‘Isn't the brother also in the army?’

- b) དམག་མིའི་ན་ མིན་ཟད།
má:mi:=na ímbe?
 army.GEN=LO EQU.EMPH
 ‘(Yes,) he is indeed in the army.’ (Richhi 56)

- (7.73) མིན་ཟད། ཨ་མ་རང་གིས་ལའ་པོ་བདེན་ཟད།
ímbe? *ám* *raŋ=gi* *láp-o* *den* *bɛ?*
 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 *mèmbo* and the concurring emphatic *ímbe?*, although both basically equative copulas, receive a locative argument (for a similar use of *bɛ?*, see §5.4.2).

In addition to the concurring uses, *ímbe?* can be used for emphatic effect without an explicit previous statement with which to concur, see (7.74) and (7.75). The speaker of (7.74) is a smart farmer who flatters an over-confident peddler into beginning a story-telling competition:

- (7.74) ང་ཅག་གཞིས་ནང་ལས་མཁས་ཤོས་འདི་རང་མིན་ཟད།
ŋàtɕa? ɲi: nàŋ=lɛ kʰɛ:-ɛo=di rã: ímbɛ?
 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 *ímbɛ?* with non-emphatic *bɛ?*. 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་ཚད་ཀྱི་བཅ་སིལ་ (pencil) མིན་ཟད་ཀྱི?
di tɕʰø:=ki pensil ímbɛ-ka?
 this 2SG.L=GEN pencil(Eng.) EQU.EMPH-PQ
 ‘Is this indeed your pencil?’ (TB e)
- b) འདི་ཚད་ཀྱི་བཅ་སིལ་ (pencil) ཟད་ཀྱི?
di tɕʰø:=ki pensil bɛ-ka?
 this 2SG.L=GEN pencil(Eng.) EQU.NE-PQ
 ‘Is this your pencil?’ (TB e)

Now consider (7.76-78), which exemplify the sensorial equative *índu?*.

- (7.76) དངོས་གུབ་མཁས་དགས་མིན་འདུག།
ny:dup kʰɛ:ta? índu?
 Neydup skillful EQU.SEN
 ‘Neydup is skillful (I have experienced).’ (PT e)
- (7.77) ངའི་རྒྱས་འདི་ཡང་ལྷོ་སྐད་རྒྱབས་མཁན་མིན་འདུག་གོ།
ɲɛ: ro:=di=jã: lɔkɛ kjap-kʰɛ: índu=ɛo.
 1SG.GEN friend=DEMPH=too Lhoke strike-NMLZ EQU.SEN=AT
 ‘Why, my friend (=you) too is a Lhoke speaker, I see.’ (YR e)
- (7.78) པ་ལྷན་ཅམ་ཁྲིང་འདི་ང་ཅའི་ལྷོ་སྐད་གཙོ་བོ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་མན་བར་
*pawan tsamliŋ=di ɲàtɕi lómpu tsou teiku 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་མིན་འདུག།
mí jìgri? kʰɛ:ta?=tei? índu?
 person literature skillful=INDEF EQU.SEN
 but he is also a skillfull literary figure.’ (KT e)

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 *indu?* combines some of the meanings of both copulas *ĩ:* and *du?*. Whereas *ĩ:* marks the equative function, *du?* implies that there was a past personal sensory experience where this knowledge was gained. In (7.78), for instance, the speaker both identifies Mr. PC as a skilful writer and implies that he has had the sensorial experience of reading Mr. PC's writings.²⁷⁴ The difference between *indu?* and the equative use of *du?* (see §7.2.2.2) is that *indu?* is used for present identification (based on past sensorial experience) and *du?* for past identification.

Apart from *imbe?* and *indu?*, no other combinations of basic copulas (e.g. **bedu?*, **dube?*, **beĩ:*) were acceptable to my consultants.

7.3.2 Nominalized copula constructions

The dichotomy between *ĩ:* and *be?* within equative copulas, and *jò?* and *du?* within existential copulas, is neutralized in nominalized copula forms so that only *ĩ:* and *jò?* may be nominalized by the markers *-εε?* (I infinitive) *-po/bo* (II infinitive) and *-k^hε:* (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. *im-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. *be?* in the construction *im-bo be?* and *ĩ:* in the construction *jò:-po ĩ:*. The nominalized part of the construction only marks the equative vs. existential dichotomy, e.g. *im-bo* in *im-bo be?* marks the construction as equative and *jò:-po* in *jò:-po ĩ:* marks the construction as existential.

The nominalized equative expressions are *im-bo be?* (neg. *mè-m-bo be?*), *im-bo ĩ:* (neg. *mè-m-bo ĩ:*), *iy-k^hen be?* (neg. *mè-η-k^hen be?*), *iy-k^hε: ĩ:* (neg. *mè-η-k^hε: ĩ:*), *ĩ:-εε be?* (neg. *mè:-εε be?* [?]) and *ĩ:-εε ĩ:* (neg. *mè:-εε ĩ:* [?]). The existential expressions are *jò:-po be?* (neg. *mè:-po be?*), *jò:-po ĩ:* (neg. *mè:-po ĩ:*), *jò:-k^hen be?* (neg. *mè:-k^hen be?*), *jò:-k^hε: ĩ:* (neg. *mè:-k^hε: ĩ:*), *jò:-εε be?* (neg. *mè:-εε be?* [?]) and *jò:-εε ĩ:* (neg. *mè:-εε ĩ:* [?]). 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.

²⁷⁴ My consultant's attempt to translate *indu?* 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 *ĩ:* and *jò?*) can appear, as evidence for his view that ego evidentiality is not coded lexically in the copulas, but is a “pragmatic property” caused by the absence of other, overt evidentials such as *འདྲག་* ‘*dug*’.

Table 7.2. Nominalized copulas

Equ./ Ex.	Evid./epist.	Nominalized construction			
		Affirmative	Negated		
Equat ·	Personal	<i>ím-bo í:</i>	ཨིན་བོ་ ཨིན་	<i>mèm-bo í: (?)</i>	མན་བོ་ ཨིན་ (?)
		<i>íη-kʰē: í:</i>	ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན་	<i>mèη-kʰē: í:</i>	མན་མཁན་ ཨིན་
		<i>í:-εε í:</i>	ཨིན་གང་ ཨིན་	<i>mē:-εε í: (?)</i>	མན་གང་ ཨིན་ (?)
	Neutral or assertive	<i>ím-bo bε?</i>	ཨིན་བོ་ ཟླད་	<i>mèm-bo bε?</i>	མན་བོ་ ཟླད་
		<i>íη-kʰen bε?</i>	ཨིན་མཁན་ ཟླད་	<i>mèη-kʰen bε?</i>	མན་མཁན་ ཟླད་
		<i>í:-εε bε?</i>	ཨིན་གང་ ཟླད་	<i>mē:-εε bε? (?)</i>	མན་གང་ ཟླད་ (?)
Exist.	Personal	<i>jò:-po í:</i>	ཡིད་བོ་ ཨིན་	<i>mè:-po í:</i>	མིད་བོ་ ཨིན་
		<i>jò:-kʰē: í:</i>	ཡིད་མཁན་ ཨིན་	<i>mè:-kʰē: í:</i>	མིད་མཁན་ ཨིན་
		<i>jò:-εε í:</i>	ཡིད་གང་ ཨིན་	<i>mè:-εε í: (?)</i>	མིད་གང་ ཨིན་ (?)
	Neutral	<i>jò:-po bε?</i>	ཡིད་བོ་ ཟླད་	<i>mè:-po bε?</i>	མིད་བོ་ ཟླད་
		<i>jèbbe?/jòbbe?</i>	ཡིད་བ་ཟླད་	<i>mèbbe?</i>	མིད་བ་ཟླད་
		<i>jò:-kʰen bε?</i>	ཡིད་མཁན་ ཟླད་	<i>mè:-kʰen bε?</i>	མིད་མཁན་ ཟླད་
		<i>jò:-εε bε?</i>	ཡིད་གང་ ཟླད་	<i>mè:-εε bε? (?)</i>	མིད་གང་ ཟླད་ (?)

Most frequently, the nominalized constructions end in the neutral copula *bε?*. Constructions ending in the neutral copula *bε?* are used by Denjongke speakers to dissociate themselves from the evidential values of *í:*, *jò?* and *du?*. I first give examples of neutral constructions ending in *bε?* (§7.3.2.1) and after that personal constructions ending in *í:* (§7.3.2.2). More frequent forms with *-po/po* and *-kʰē:* are given first and the less frequent forms with *-εε?* last.

7.3.2.1 Evidentially neutral constructions (ending in *bε?*)

Nominalized copula constructions ending in *bε?* 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 bε?*, *íη-kʰen bε?* and *í:-εε bε?*. The first two may refer to both present and past states of being, whereas the last one is used for future and present uncertain states of being. In (7.79), the use of *ím-bo bε?* 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=rā:* 'surely, really, certainly'.

- (7.79) མོའི་སེམས་ན་འདྲེ་མནོ་གང་ཨིན་མནེ་ལྷ་རང་ཨིན་བོ་སྤྱད།
mù=i sém=na dε: nó:-εε í: né:mu=rā: ím-bo
 3SGF=GEN mind=LOC like think-INF EQU.PER real=AEMPH EQU-2INF
bε?
 EQU.NE
 'She thinks in her mind like this: (it) really is (like that).' (Richhi 119)

For, the negated form, consider (7.80).

- (7.80) མོ་འདི་གལ་ཆེ་བླགས་མན་བོ་སྤང།
ódi k'ɛ: tɕʰiŋa? mèm-bo bɛ?
 that important NEG.EQU-2INF EQU.NE
 'That is not important.' (KL BLA 12)

In (7.81), *íŋ-kʰen bɛ?* occurs as part of an even more complex assertive copula expression *ĩ: íŋ-kʰen bɛ?* ("it is indeed the case"). Similar to *ím-bo bɛ?* in (7.79), *íŋ-kʰen bɛ?* 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་ཀེས་པོ་ལོ་སྤྲུམ་སྤྱོད་མེད་མེད་འདྲི་ཡིང་།
mítsʰo? kɛ.po=lo tɛm tɔn-di mí=tsu=i dɔ:ji?
 crowd a.lot=DAT show show-NF human=PL=GEN desires
 '(They were) able to capture people's deepest desires while acting in front of a

འཕྱོག་ཚུགས་མཁན། མིན་མིན་མཁན་སྤང་ད་མ་ཟེ་ཟེ་གི་
pʰjok tsʰu:-kʰɛ: ɿ: íŋ-kʰen bɛ?, t'ato ǎ:=gi
 snatch can-NMLZ EQU.PER EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE now until=GEN
 great crowd. Yes indeed, all the arrangement so far

གོ་སྤྱོད་མཁན་ཅད་ཁོང་གཉིས་པའི་འགོ་འཁྱེད་ན་
k'odɿ? tʰamtɛɛ? kʰɔ: nɿ:-pø: gokʰi:=na
 arrangement all 3PL two-2INF.GEN leading=LOC
 had been (successfully) fulfilled under their

སྤྱོད་ཡོད་པོ།
dup jò-po.
 fulfil EX-2INF
 leadership.' (Richhi 82)

The negation of *íŋ-kʰen bɛ?* is *mèŋ-kʰen bɛ?*:

- (7.82) དེ་ལོ་མན་མཁན་སྤང།
t'ɛ:lu mèŋ-kʰen bɛ?
 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-kʰen bɛ?* and *ím-bo bɛ?* as somewhat assertive in meaning, consultant YR commented that the constructions *íŋ-kʰen bɛ?* and *ím-bo bɛ?* are used in debates to make assertions that are true contemporaneously with the speech act.

In addition to present assertive uses, *ím-bo bɛ?* and *íŋ-kʰen bɛ?* are compatible with past events/states. In (7.83-84), *ím-bo bɛ?* and *íŋ-kʰen bɛ?* appear to be used quite interchangeably.

(7.83) ལུ་ ཟློན་ལས་ ངའི་ ཟློགས་ཀྱི་ མིན་བོ་ ཟུང།
kʰu nɛ̃nɛ nɛː tʰoku ím-bo bɛʔ.
 3SGM before 1SG.GEN friend EQU-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘He was my friend before.’ (KT e)

(7.84) ལུ་ ངའི་ ཟློགས་ཀྱི་ མིན་མཁན་ ཟུང།
kʰu nɛː tʰoku íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ.
 3SGM 1SG.GEN friend EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘He was my friend.’ (PT e)

Formally *íː-ɛɛ 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་དྲོག་ འདི་ ལེབ་ལྷི་ ཙང་དྲགས་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ ཚེ་ དགོས་བ་ ཟུ་མཚན་ མོ་འདི་ མིན་ཤང་ ཟུང།
paksam minto=di lɛ̃ptɛ tsãːjaʔ ŋàtɛa=gi tsi goː-p
 balsam flower=DEMPH very.much clean 1PL=AGT reckon be.needed-2INF
gjumtsʰɛn ódi íː-ɛɛ 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 *íː-ɛɛ 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 *íː-ɛɛ bɛʔ* in (7.85) should rather be translated as “maybe is” than as simply “is.” The form *íː-ɛɛ 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 *jò-po bɛʔ*, *jòː-kʰɛn bɛʔ* and *jòː-ɛɛ bɛʔ*. First consider the semantically similar forms *jò-po bɛʔ* and *jòː-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 *jòʔ*, 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་ཕྱི་ རྒྱ་འབྲོག་ན་ སེམས་ཅན་ བ་ ཟུང་ ར་ དང་ ལུག་
kʰõː=tsyː nòːdɔʔ=na símteɛː pʼa láː rà tʼãː 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་སྟགས་ ཀེས་བོ་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཟུང།
làsoː kɛːp jòː-po bɛʔ.
 etc a.lot EX-2INF EQU.NE
 sheep etc.’ (rna-gsung 1)

b) མེ་ཚེ་མ་ མེད་པོ་ བཤད།

tʰɛtsʰom mɛː-po beʔ.

doubt NEG.EX-2INF EQU.NE

‘There is no doubt (about that).’ (KLT Bumchu video)

c) མི་ན་ རྩོམ་གྱི་ རྒྱ་གར་ན་ འོང་མཁན་ཚུ་ལོ་ མོ་འདེམ་ ཤོག་ཀྱི་ མེད་བ་ཕྱད་ལགས།

mɪna dardziling gjagar=na ɔŋ-kʰɛn=di=lo ɔdɛm ɛóku
down TPN India=LOC come-NMLZ=DEMPH=DAT such paper
mɛbbɛ=la.

NEG.EX.NE=HON

‘(Those) who came down to Darjeeling in India did not have such a document.’

(CY interview)

(7.87) a) དང་པོ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་ ཁྱེད་ གཅིག་ན་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ བཤད།

t'ä:pu-tɛika k'jɔː=tɛi=na mɪ=tɛiʔ jøː-kʰɛn beʔ.
long.ago-APPR village=INDF=LOC man= INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘In a bygone time, there was a man in one village.’

b) དེ་བ་ འདི་ ངའི་ ཚུར་ མེད་མཁན་ བཤད།

t'ɛp=di jɛː=tsaː mɛː-kʰɛn beʔ.

book=DEMPH 1SG.GEN=at NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘I do not have that book.’ (KL BLA 12)

The construction *jøː-po beʔ*, which allows the existential meaning to be taken from *jøʔ* and the evidential meaning taken from *beʔ*, is so common that in spoken language this evidentially neutral existential form (vs. existentials *jøʔ* and *duʔ* which are evidentially loaded) has merged into *jøbbɛʔ/jèbbɛʔ* (neg. *mɛbbɛʔ*). The Standard/Lhasa Tibetan (close to) pragmatic equivalent to *jøbbɛʔ/jèbbɛʔ* is *jò:re*, which is etymologically a nominalized construction as suggested by one of the alternative written forms *yod.pa.red* (Denwood 1999: 119, Hill 2010).²⁷⁶ In Denwood’s (1999: 122) analysis of Lhasa Tibetan, *jò:re*: “implies no such first hand knowledge [as *jøː* and *duː*], though it does not specifically rule it out.” The same can be said of *jø-po beʔ* (or *jøbbɛʔ/jèbbɛʔ*) in Denjongke. The neutral evidential value of the construction is derived from the last copula *beʔ*.

In addition to being used for past events *jø-po beʔ* and *jøː-kʰɛn beʔ* are also used for present events.²⁷⁷ In these cases, using the simple copula *jøʔ* is not desirable, because the information in the sentence is presented as uncontested, general knowledge. The following three examples exemplify the present uses of *jøː-po beʔ* (7.88), *jøː-kʰɛn beʔ* (7.89) and *jèbbɛʔ* (7.90), the colloquial equivalent of *jøː-po beʔ*.

²⁷⁶ In Lhasa Tibetan, however, there is a current distinction between the historically nominalized form *jò:re*: and the synchronically nominalized construction *jø-bo-re*: (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 འཇེད་ -*pa-red* (cf. Denjongke མོ་ བཤད་ -*po beʔ*) following a verb may obtain either past or present habitual meaning.

- (7.88) ཏུས་ ད་རིང་ཡང་ ང་ཅག་ མི་ཚུའི་ ཀླང་པའི་ ཟེལ་ལོ་
t'y: t'ariŋ=jã: ηâtea? 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་རྒྱུང་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདི་ ཏུས་ མོ་འདིའི་ རྩལ་ས་ འདྲེ་མོས་
jèkjõ: jø-po=di t'y: ódi: kap qemø.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་བའི་ རུལ་ མིན་ སེ་ ལལ་བའི་
pok-ti sà-sa-wø: éy: í:=sɛ ləp-ø:
 pluck-NF eat-RDP-2INF.GEN trace EQU.PER=QUO say-2INF.GEN
 at that time having plucked and

ལུགས་སྟེལ་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཟླ།
lùksø: jø-po bæ?
 tradition EX-2INF EQU.NE
 eaten (that place).' (rna-gsung 19-20)

- (7.89) ང་ཅིའི་ ལུ་ མོ་འདེམ་ ཀེས་པོ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཟླ།
ηâtei liu ódem kɛ:po jø:-k'en bæ?
 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-bæ?* (7.90) comes from my discussion with one consultant.

- (7.90) མོ་ན་ དགོན་པོ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་པ་ཟླ།
óna gjømpo=tɛi? jèbbæ?
 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 *jèbbæ?* 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

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 *jø?* rather than the neutral *jèbbε?*.

Examples (7.91) and (7.92) illustrate the difference between *jø?* and *jèbbε?*.

- (7.91) བླཱ་གེ་ལྷན་མེ་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་ ཏུལ་ ཀེས་བ་ ཡོད།
bil gɛits=lo ny: kɛ:p jø?
 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) བླཱ་གེ་ལྷན་མེ་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་ ཏུལ་ ཀེས་བ་ ཡོད་པ་ཟླ།
bil gɛits=lo ny: kɛ:p jèbbε?
 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 *jø?* and *jèbbε?* is similar to the difference between *ĩ:* and *bε?* in (7.49-51). Example (7.92), on the other hand, is a general statement where the connection to a specific sensory event (contra *du?*) and personal knowledge (contra *jø?*) are backgrounded by using the neutral *jèbbε?*.

The existential construction *jø:-εε bε?*, occurring nine times, is more frequent in my data than the equative construction *ĩ:-εε bε?*. The construction *jø:-εε bε?* resembles in meaning the more frequent present habitual construction *jø:-k^{hen} bε?*. Both constructions allow the speaker to express generally holding facts, as in (7.93).

- (7.93) a) འདི་ལོ་འདི་ འབོ་ ལྷན་ལོ་ཐུམ་ (storeroom) ཀོ་ཐ་ རུང་རུང་ འདི་ལོ་ རྒྱ་ཁུ་ ཡོད་ཤད་ ཟླ་ འདི་ལོ་།
di=lo=di bo:, isto:rum, koʎ^ha tɕ^hunʈɕun
 this=DAT=DEMPH storeroom storeroom (Eng.) room(Nep.) small
di=lo nàksu jø:-εε bε? di=lo.
 this=DAT dark EX-INF EQU.NE DEMPH=DAT
 ‘This (is called) [bo], a storeroom, this small room, it’s dark there, that one.’
 (PD storeroom video)

- b) འདི་ལོ་ འདི་ ར་ཕུ་ ལ་བ་ཤད་ ཟླ་, ཀེན་ཚོང་ བཅུག་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ར་ཕུ་ རོ་ ལྷ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ གཞོན་མོ་ར་ ཡོད་ཤད་ ཟླ།
di=lo=di rap^hu làp-εε bε?, kintsô:
 this=DAT=DEMPH maize.sowing.stick say-INF EQU.NE maize
tsuk-εε=ki rap^hu. nò: ta-εε=gi zømø=ra
 plant-INF=GEN maize.sowing.stick cow look-INF=GEN other=AEMPH
jø:-εε bε?
 EX=INF EQU.NE
 ‘This is called [rap^hu], maize sowing [rap^hu]. There are (or: will be) other (sticks) for herding cows.’ (PL interview)

Based on the decreased certainty implied by the equative nonpast construction *ĩ:-εε bε?* (see [7.85]), future research should remain open to the option that in some contexts *jø:-εε bε?* may mark uncertainty, although such an interpretation does not seem to fit the sentences in (7.93).

7.3.2.2 Personal constructions (ending in *í:*)

The following two subsections discuss personal constructions ending in the personal copula *í:*, again first describing equatives (§7.3.2.2.1) and then existentials (§7.3.2.2.2). Thus far, I have found no examples of nominalized constructions ending in *í:* in naturally occurring texts, either spoken or written. Therefore, all of the examples below are elicited. A fuller description of personal nominalized copulas would require natural examples from an extensive corpus.

7.3.2.2.1 Equative constructions

The equative personal nominalized copulas illustrated here are *íŋ-kʰɛ: í:*, *ím-bo í:* and *í:-εε í:*. First consider the use of *íŋ-kʰɛ: í:* in (7.94).

- (7.94) ལུ་ ངའི་ གཉེན་མཆན་ མིན་མཁན་ མིན། མིན་ཅུང་ ལུ་ ང་ལོ་
kʰu nɛ: nɛntsʰɛ: íŋ-kʰɛ: í: í: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
 ལོ་ཀ་ལྟ་ མི་རྒྱུས་ ཟད།
lòkta mi-kja(p) bɛ?
 care NEG-do EQU.NE
 after me.’ (KT e)

In (7.94), by using the emphatic nominalized construction *íŋ-kʰɛ: í:* rather than just *í:*, 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 *í:* 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 *í:* rather than neutral *bɛ?*. The latter clause of (7.94), which uses the neutral copula *bɛ?* 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 *í:* appears to bear resemblance to its cognate in Drokpa Tibetan, which is described as marking personal engagement (“personliche Engagement”) and inner (e)motion (“innere Regung”) (Kretschmar 1986: 65).

Now consider (7.95) and (7.96) where personal and neutral equatives are contrasted. Nominalized constructions are used because the sentences refer to the past.

- (7.95) ལུ་ རྒྱུན་ལས་ ངའི་ རྒྱགས་ཀྱི་ མིན་པོ་ མིན།
kʰu nɛnlɛ nɛ: tʰoku ím-bo í:
 3SGM before 1SG.GEN friend EQU-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘He was my friend before.’ (KT e)
- (7.96) ལུ་ རྒྱུན་ལས་ ངའི་ རྒྱགས་ཀྱི་ མིན་པོ་ ཟད།
kʰu nɛnlɛ nɛ: tʰoku ím-bo bɛ?
 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: í̃:* and *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?* could also be used in (7.95) and (7.96) instead of *ím-bo í̃:* and *ím-bo bɛ?* 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 *í̃:* 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 í̃:* or *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: í̃:* in (7.95) could thus be either emotional involvement of the speaker or the presence of the referent.

Consultant PT, commenting on sentences (7.97) and (7.98),

- (7.97) ལུ་ ངའི་ རྒྱལ་ལྷན་ ཞིན་མཁན་ ཞིན།
kʰu jɛ̃: tʰoku íŋ-kʰɛ̃: í̃: ²⁷⁹
 3SGM 1SG.GEN friend EQU-NMLZ EQU.PER
 ‘He was my friend.’ (PT e)

- (7.98) ལུ་ ངའི་ རྒྱལ་ལྷན་ ཞིན་མཁན་ ཟུང།
kʰu jɛ̃: tʰoku íŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?
 3SGM 1SG.GEN friend EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘He was my friend.’ (PT e)

said that whereas in (7.98) the relationship is totally over, the personal evidential in (7.97) suggests that there is some continuation of the relationship in the form of perhaps seeing now and then. Thus, the use of the personal evidential seems to suggest some type of present personal relevance, or spatiotemporal foregrounding, for the speaker.

The speaker’s current emotion is again the driving force in the use of the personal copula in (7.99). This time the emotion is confusion. The speaker’s established belief is challenged by some new information. The use of the personal construction *ím-bo í̃:* (according to some consultants also *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: í̃:* could be used here), implying emotional involvement, calls for an explanation that is given in the following sentence.

- (7.99) མི་ འདི་ རྒྱ་མ་ ཡམ་རྒྱུ་ ཞིན་པ་ ཞིན།
mí=di jéma ámdzi ím-bo í̃:
 man= DEMPH before doctor EQU-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘Earlier this man was a doctor,
 ད་ལྟོ་ཉི་ འཁོར་ལོ་ ལྷན་མཁན་ རྩོམ་ཚུ་གོ།
tʰato=to kʰorlo ky:-kʰɛ̃: tʰon-tsʰake=ɛo.
 now=CEMPH wheel drive- NMLZ become-PFV.APH=AT
 but now he has become a driver! (I’m confused)’ (KN e)

In the speech of PT from Tashiding (West Sikkim), both *í̃:* and *ím-bo í̃:* can be used in the present meaning, as shown in (7.100) and (7.101).

²⁷⁹ PT said that using *ím-bo í̃:* and *ím-bo bɛ?* in (11.95) and (11.96) would have about the same meaning as *íŋ-kʰɛ̃: í̃:* and *íŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?* respectively but that the former constructions are not actively used in his speech variety.

(7.100) ཁོང་ ངའི་ ཡབ་ ཞིན།
kʰõ: *nè:* *jà:p* *ĩ:*
 3SG.HON 1SG.GEN father.HON EQU.PER
 ‘He is my father.’ (PT e)

(7.101) ཁོང་ ངའི་ ཡབ་ ཞིན་པོ་ ཞིན།
kʰõ: *nè:* *jà:p* *ím-bo* *ĩ:*
 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* *ĩ:*) 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 *jø?* and *du?* are by themselves evidentially loaded. Among the equative copulas *ĩ:* and *bɛ?*, however, it is more challenging to describe the exact difference between the sentences in (7.100).

(7.102)	a)	ངའི་ ཇལ་འདི་ ཞམ་ཇི་ ཞིན།	<i>nè:</i>	<i>ápo=di</i>	<i>ámdzi</i>	<i>ĩ:</i>
	b)	ངའི་ ཇལ་འདི་ ཞམ་ཇི་ ཟད།	<i>nè:</i>	<i>ápo=di</i>	<i>ámdzi</i>	<i>bɛ?</i>
	c)	ངའི་ ཇལ་འདི་ ཞམ་ཇི་ ཞིན་པོ་ ཟད།	<i>nè:</i>	<i>ápo=di</i>	<i>ámdzi</i>	<i>ím-bo bɛ?</i>
	d)	ངའི་ ཇལ་འདི་ ཞམ་ཇི་ ཞིན་མཁན་ ཟད།	<i>nè:</i>	<i>ápo=di</i>	<i>ámdzi</i>	<i>ij-kʰen bɛ?</i>
	e)	ངའི་ ཇལ་འདི་ ཞམ་ཇི་ ཞིན་པོ་ ཞིན།	<i>nè:</i>	<i>ápo=di</i>	<i>ámdzi</i>	<i>ím-bo</i> <i>ĩ:</i>
	f)	ངའི་ ཇལ་འདི་ ཞམ་ཇི་ ཞིན་མཁན་ ཞིན།	<i>nè:</i>	<i>ápo=di</i>	<i>ámdzi</i>	<i>ij-kʰẽ:</i> <i>ĩ:</i>
			my	father=DEMPH	doctor	EQU
			‘My father is/was a doctor.’			

Some things, however, can be said. All the forms in (7.102) can be used for both past and present events/states, although with *ĩ:*, and perhaps also with *bɛ?*, a past interpretation usually requires a past adverbial. The difference between the personal forms ending in *ĩ:* (a, e, f) and the neutral forms ending in *bɛ?* (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 *-kʰẽ:* appear to be used quite interchangeably, but with equatives, *-po* and *-kʰẽ:* 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 bɛ?* (c) instead of *bɛ?* (b) when they want to emphasize the equative function of *ĩ:* (which is backgrounded by *bɛ?*) in contexts where the lone *ĩ:* 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 *-εε?*. 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) མཉའ་མཉའ་ ལམ་ ཞིན་ནེ་ ཞིན་ཤང་ ཞིན།
mýtsy? lám ín-ne í:-εε í:
 other lama EQU-COND EQU-INF EQU.PER
 ‘If the other (one) is a lama, (he) is (or: will be) indeed a lama.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

- b) ཞིན་ཤང་རྟོ་ ཞིན་ཉ་ མ་གུ་ རིག་བཟང་ གཞུང་ལོ་ འདི།
í:-εε=to í: ná áku rigzã:
 EQU-INF=CEMPH EQU.PER TAG.ASR father’s.younger.brother PN
súm-bo=di.
 say.HON-2INF=DEMPH
 ‘It is indeed, 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 *jò-po/jò-kʰɛ:/jò:-εε(?)* and the personal evidential value by final *í:*. For an example on *jò-po í:*, consider (7.104).

- (7.104) ང་ མོན་ ཡོང་པའི་ ཏུས་ཚོང་ལོ་ ཁུ་ཡང་ ཡོང་པོ་ ཞིན།
ŋà óna jò-pø: t'ytsʰø:=lo kʰu=jã: jò-po
 1SG there EX-2INF.GEN time=DAT 3SGM=too EX-2INF
í:
 EQU.PER
 ‘At the time I was there, he was (there) too.’ (YR e)

In (7.104) the speaker uses the nominalized construction *jò-po* rather than the mere copula *jò?* because *jò?* typically implies that the described situation persists at the moment of speech. The event referred to in (7.104), however, happened in the past and the speaker does not want to imply its present actuality. On the other hand, the personal copula *í:* rather than the neutral *bε?* is chosen as the final auxiliary because the speaker was personally present at the referred time.

(7.105) is another example of a personal existential construction. Here *jò:-kʰɛ: í:=εo* could be used in place of *jò-po í:=εo*.

²⁸⁰ For eventive/dynamic verbs, the infinitivizer *-po/bo* has in effect become a past tense marker, e.g. *sà-bo í:* > *sà-u í:* ‘ate’, but for stative verbs the nominalized form can be used in the present meaning, e.g. *ga-bo í:* > *ga-u í:* ‘love’. Therefore the copulas side with stative verbs in letting the context be the final arbiter with reference to present vs. past interpretation.

- (7.105) མི, དེ་བུ་ འདི་ ངའི་ རྩ་ ཡོད་པོ་ མིན་གྱི།
é: *t'ɛp=di=to* *ɲɛ:=tsa:* ***jò-po*** *í:=ɛo.*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 *jò-po* is used instead of mere *jò?* because the speaker makes reference to a past point of time. He had the book when his friend was looking for it. Using mere *jò?* (or *jò:=ɛo*) would put the emphasis on having the book presently (“I have the book”), whereas the nominalized form enables to convey the past-oriented meaning equivalent to English “I would have had the book (if you had asked me).” The personal final copula *í:* in (7.105) most likely signifies the fact that the speaker had the personal experience (and thus personal knowledge) of possessing the book at the time when the addressee was looking for it.

For the only two examples of existential *jò:-ɛɛ í:* in my data, consider (7.106). In (7.106a), the glide /j/ in the existential is reduced to /h/.

- (7.106) a) བེ་མར་ (beer) ཡོད་ཤད་ མིན་གྱི།
biər ***ɦɛ:-ɛiŋ=ɛo.***²⁸²
 beer(Eng.) EX-NPST.PER=AT
 ‘There’s beer (inside), you know.’ (oh, Tashiding)
- b) ང་ མོ་རངས་ རྩ་མཛོད་ དགྲ་ལོ་ ཁྲོམ་ན་ ཡོད་ཤད་ མིན།
ɲà *tʰorã:* *tɕʰutsʰø?* *gu:=lo* *tʰom=na* ***jò:-ɛɛ*** *í:*
 1SG tomorrow clock.time nine=DAT town=LOC EX-INF EQU.PER
 ‘I’ll be at town tomorrow nine o’clock.’ (KN e)

As shown by (7.106), *jò:-ɛɛ í:* can refer to both currently holding (7.106a) and future states (7.106b). The latter use distinguishes *jò:-ɛɛ í:* from *jò:-kʰɛ́: í:*, which can refer to present but not future states. Although the exact semantics of *jò:-ɛɛ í:* are difficult to pinpoint based on the scarce current data, my hypothesis is that in the use such as the one in (7.106a), which refers to a state that holds at the time of speaking, the meaning is, analogously to the equative *í:-ɛɛ í:*, emphatic/assertive compared to mere *jò?*. That is, whereas mere *jò?* would convey the meaning ‘there is (I know)’, the nominalized formulation in (7.106a) carries the meaning ‘there certainly is (you will find out if you check)’. Analyzing (7.106a) is made complex, however, by the attention marker =*ɛo* which by itself may convey the idea of insisting. In (7.106b), on the other hand, the nominalized (nonpast) construction seems to simply mark future.

²⁸¹ As already shown in (7.5), with the personal copula *í:* the attention-worthiness marked by =*ɛo* 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, /jò?/ may be pronounced as /ɦe?~ɦɛ?/. The form -*ɛĩ:* is a reduction of -*ɛɛ í:*.

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 ཡིན་ *'ing*, a cognate of Written Tibetan ཡིན་ *yin*, similarly to Denjongke འི་) and newly acquired information (marked by ཡིན་པས་ *'immä*) (van Driem 1998: 127). Denjongke, on the other hand, makes a central contrast among equatives between འི་, which marks old information and spatiotemporal proximity, and *bɛ?*, which marks evidential neutrality and spatiotemporal distance. Although the Denjongke sensorial equative *indu?* (see §7.3.1) bears some functional similarity to Dzongkha *'immä*, the Denjongke marker is too marginal to be considered to correspond to the frequently used *'immä*.²⁸³

Table 7.3. Dzongkha copulas (adapted from van Driem 1998)

	Assimilated (old)	Acquired (new)
Equative	ཡིན་ <i>'ing</i>	ཡིན་པས་ <i>'immä</i>
Existential	ཡོད་ <i>jö</i>	འདུག་ <i>du:</i>

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 འི་, 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 *bɛ?*, 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)

ཁོ་ དགེ་རྒན་ ཡིན།
?kho dge.rgan yin.
 he teacher COP
 ‘?He is a teacher.’
 ‘He (my son) is a teacher.’

²⁸³ I came across the first instance of *indu?* after several years of Denjongke studies. The form does not occur even once in my digitized data, which includes, among other things, the whole novel Richhi.

- (7.108) Denjongke
 ཁོང་ ལོཔ་ཐོ་ ཡིན།
kʰõ: lópθ: i:.
 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 *i:* (cognate of ཡིན *yin*) is freely used without any requirement for the referent to be closely related to the speaker. In an interesting contrast to Garrett’s (2001: 141-142) description, Yukawa’s (2017: 192) discussion of Lhasa Tibetan provides example (7.109) with the following comment “the person denoted by *koŋ* is often a family member or a close friend, but the essential meaning here is that the speaker feels familiar with the fact that the person is a student.”

- (7.109) Lhasa Tibetan (Yukawa 2017: 192)
 ཁོང་ ལོཔ་ཐོ་ ཡིན།
koŋ labtuu yin.
 he/she student is
 ‘He is a student.’

Yukawa’s gloss of (7.109) does not suggest a semantic restriction resembling that posed by Garrett (2001: 141-142). Instead, Yukawa (2017: 194) defines *yin* and *jod* (cognate of Denjongke *jø?*) 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 1970s²⁸⁴, 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 Rgyalthag Tibetan (a variety of Kham Tibetan). According to Hongladarom (2007: 22), Rgyalthag Tibetan folkstories and songs use “egophoric/self” forms in contexts where in everyday speech one expects a non-egophoric form. This suggests that Rgyalthag 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 Rgyalthag.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

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 event²⁸⁷ 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 *bə?*, 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

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 —> Speaker's involvement —> 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 7.1²⁸⁸, 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 *beʔ/duʔ*) and "conjunct" (equivalents of *ĩ:/jəʔ*), 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

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 is presented in §7 (copulas) and §9 (auxiliaries).

The following discussion is divided into five parts. The first part discusses those forms which describe past events from various aspectual standpoints (§8.1). The second part introduces present habitual and future forms (§8.2). The third part describes forms which mark ongoing action at a past or present time (§8.3). The various TAM-related uses of the possessive-like construction VERB-INF EX are addressed in (§8.4). The final section (§8.5), describes various modal forms expressing the speaker's assessments on certainty, permissibility, ability and obligation.

8.1 Past, completive and perfect forms

The different past constructions are summarized in Table 8.1. For simplicity, in the table *-tεε* stands for *-tεε/zε* (past marker) and *-po* for *-po/bo/u* (infinitivizer). The auxiliary copulas referred to in Table 8.1 are equatives *ĩ:* and *bε?* (EQU) and existentials *jò?*, *du?* and (less frequently) *jèbbe?* (EX).

Table 8.1. Past constructions

Name	Form	Function
past	VERB- <i>tεε</i>	past action
periphrastic past	VERB- <i>po</i> EQU (<i>dynamic verb</i>)	past or present state
	VERB- <i>po</i> EQU (<i>stative verb</i>)	
completive	VERB - <i>ts^ha:</i>	completed action
secondary verb 'finish'	VERB <i>mjô:</i> (inflects like an ordinary verb)	having completed/finished or experienced the action marked by the primary verb
perfect	VERB(-RDP)- <i>po</i> EX	past action/state with present relevance
resultative	VERB <i>jò?</i>	continuity of the results of an action (dynamic verbs), continuity of state (stative verbs)
sensorial past/present	VERB <i>du?</i>	sensorially attested (action or its results) present or past action/state
secondary resultative verb	VERB <i>za:</i> EX VERB <i>zak-o</i> EQU	emphasizes the lasting effect of a past action
iterative past	VERB- <i>po</i> VERB- <i>kjã:</i> EQU VERB- <i>po(=lε)</i> VERB- <i>teim</i> EQU	iterativity

8.1.1 Past forms

Denjongke has two ways of expressing past tense, through the past verbal suffix *-tεε/zε* and through a periphrastic construction VERB-*po* EQU, where the verb root is infinitivized with *-po/bo/u* and then

followed by an equative copula. The equative copula is either *í:* or *bɛ?*, depending on how the speaker presents the situation evidentially (see §9). As shown in Table 8.1, the meaning of the periphrastic past construction is dependent on the nature of the verb. With a stative verb (e.g. *ga* ‘love’, *jò?* ‘exist’), the construction may refer either to present or past states. Therefore the nominalizer/infinitivizer *-po/bo/u* is always glossed as an infinitive (2INF) and not as a past marker.

The suffix *-tɛɛ/zɛ*, on the other hand, is evidentially non-committed and does not need any additional morphology for finishing a sentence. For an example on *-tɛɛ/zɛ*, consider (8.1) and (8.2):

(8.1) ང་ མདང་ རྩོམ་ མོ་ན།

ŋà dā: tʰõ:-tɛɛ óna.
1SG yesterday see-PST there
‘I saw (it) yesterday, there.’ (DB trip story)

(8.2) ཕར་ ཐྱོན་བའི་ སྐང་ལོ་ འགག་ཆ་ རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ལགས།

pʰa: tɛ'øm-bø: gã:=lo gagdza kjap-tɛɛ=la.
over.there come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT obstacle do-PST=HON
‘When (he/we) came over there, (they) obstructed him.’ (CY interview)

In (8.3), the use of *-tɛɛ* imposes an eventive reading on the usually stative verb *ɛé:* ‘know’.

(8.3) ཉིན་ གསུམ་ རང་ག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ ག་ཚོད་ ཤེས་ཅེ་, ལྷ་སྐད་ ག་ཚོད་ ཤེས་ཅེ?

jim sum nàŋca lɛŋɛ:=ki k'adzø? ɛé:-tɛɛ, lɛkɛ? k'adzø?
day three within PRN.HON=AGT how.much know-PST Lhoke how.much
ɛé:-tɛɛ?
know-PST

‘In (these) three days, how much did you come to know (=learn)? How much Lhoke did (you) come to know? (YB restaurant discussion)

For the periphrastic past construction, consider (8.4) and (8.5).

(8.4) མོ་འདེམ་ འདི་ ངས་ རྩོམ་པོ་ ཞིན།

ódem=di ŋá: tʰo:-po í:
like.that=DEMPH I.AGT hear-2INF EQU.PER.
‘I heard (a thing) like that.’ (KN e)

(8.5) ཕར་ ཐྱོན་བའི་ སྐང་ལོ་ འགག་ཆ་ མང་ལུ་ཅིག་ མོ་འདེམ་གྱི་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ སྐད།

pʰa: tɛ'øm-bø: gã:=lo gagdza mənpu=tɛi? ódepti
over.there come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT obstacle many=INDF like.that
kjap-o bɛ?
do-2INF EQU.NE

‘When (he/we) came over there, (they) obstructed him in many ways.’ (CY interview)

Note that example (8.5) comes from the same speaker and piece of discourse as (8.2) and refers to the same situation. I am not aware of any other semantic difference between *-tɛɛ* and *-po bɛ?* in (8.2) and (8.5) respectively, except the fact that *-tɛɛ* remains evidentially neutral by definition and

that the periphrastic construction *-po be?* is evidentially neutral *by choice*, i.e. because the neutral copula *be?* is chosen instead of the personal copula *í.*, which may also occur in this construction. In elicitation, speakers have not been able to describe any 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་སྒྲོ་ ད་ལྟ་ ང་ འགྲུ་བོ་ ཞིན།
*lâso, t'ato ηà gju-wo*²⁹⁰ *í.*
 okay now 1SG go-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘Okay, I’m going now (lit. I went).’ (rnam-rtog 29)

Furthermore, it can also be used for irrealis reference in the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

- (8.7) མ་འོངས་པའི་ན་ གླེང་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ མ་ཐོན་ན་ འདི་ ཁོང་ཙུ་ གཞི་ བཅུག་གོ་ གནང་མཁན་ འདི་ ལྷང་མེད་ ཐོན་བོ་ ཟུད།
màonpø:=na ke:=di jàrgə? ma-tʰøŋ-na=di kʰõ:=tsu
 future.GEN=LOC language=DEMPH proress NEG-happen-COND=DEMPH 3PL=PL
zi tsuk-o nǎ:-kʰẽ:=di nǎ:mè? tʰøm-bo be?
 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་ ཡོ་འདེབ་ བཀའ་ གནང་གནང་མ་ ཞིན།
guru rimputeʰɛ=gi ódɛp ka nǎ:-nǎ:-m í.
 Guru Rimpoche=AGT like.that order do.HON-RDP-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘Guru Rimpoche has said so.’ (CY interview)

- (8.9) ངའི་ རྒྱམ་ སྒྲི་ལི་ (Nep.) འདི་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ ཞིན།
*ɲè: nùm saili*²⁹¹ *=di ɲén kjap-kjap-o*
 1SG.GEN sister.of.a.woman third.daughter=DEMPH wedding do-RDP-2INF
í.
 EQU.PER
 ‘My younger sister (who is the third daughter of my parents) is married.’ (PED life story)

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 *gju*: [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 ná:-ná:-m í:* and perfect *ka ná:-ná:-m jò?* forms.

The full nominalized form may also be reduplicated with the first instance in genitive case to add emphatic force to the statement, as shown in (8.10), where the emphatic nature of the clause is underlined by the presence of the contrastive emphatic =*to* and the conjunction *t'izā:* ‘but’ in the following clause.

- (8.10) གཞེན་ རྒྱལ་མཁྱི་ མི་སར་རྟོ་ སང་བོའི་ སང་བོ་ མིན་ དེ་ཟང་
jén kjap-ti mīsa:=to sǒ:-bθ: sǒ:-bo í:
 wedding do-NF new.person=CEMPH go.PFV-2INF.GEN go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER
t'izā:...
 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 bε?*]), by the prefix *mi-* (e.g. *mi-lap[-o bε?*) or by negating the final copula (e.g. *làp-o mεmbε?*). The prefix *ma-* is the most frequent, neutral way of negating a past action, see (8.11).

- (8.11) a) མ་ཁང་གི་ རྒྱུ་²⁹² འདི་ ཟུམ་ མ་ཐོས།
ázay=gi lóu=di mú: ma-tʰo:
 maternal.uncle=GEN speech=DEMPH 3SGF.AGT NEG-hear
 ‘She didn’t hear the uncle’s words.’ (SN kitchen discussion)
- b) སློབ་གྲྭ་ འགྱུ་ མ་ཐོབ་པོ་ ཟུང།
lópta gju ma-tʰop-o bε?
 school go NEG-receive-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘(She) did not get to go to school.’ (PED life story)

Using the imperfective negator seems to force a past or present imperfective/continuous meaning on the clause, see (8.12) and (8.13). This construction is rare in my data,

- (8.12) མོ་འདི་ སྐར་ ཇ་ འདི་ཁར་ དུལ་ ལམ་མཁམ་ ལེགས་ མི་ཐོན་བོ་ ཟུང།
ódi gā: t’a dikʰa ny: làp-kʰɛ: lèm mi-tʰem-bo bε?
 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་རྒྱལ་བོ་ ཟུང།
mi-nùp-o bε?
 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

²⁹² An innovative Denjongke spelling inspired by Dzongkha སྒོ་ ‘mind; conversation, speech, talk, word’.

speaker first expresses disagreement with the addressee by the negated interjection *mě:*, *mě:* ‘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་ མེང་གཏམ་གྱི་ ཉོན་ལོ་ ང་གིས་ གཡོག་ འདི་ བྱས་པོ་ མན།
mě:, *mě:*, *je:* *mìntam=gi* *t'ønlo* *ŋá:=gi*
 NEG.EQU.PER NEG.EQU.PER 1SG.GEN reputation=GEN for.purpose.of 1SG=AGT
jó:=di *p'ja-u* *mě:*.
 work=DEMPH do-2INF NEG.EQU.PER
 ‘No, No, I didn’t do that thing for my reputation.’ (nga’i ’gan 4)

- (8.15) ལྷལ་མཚན་ ང་གིས་ ཚོད་ལོ་ ཉོན་མེད་ བདག་མེད་གྱི་ གཏམ་ བཤད་པོ་ མན།
gjalts'en *ŋá:=gi* *tə'θ:=lo* *t'ønme?* *da:me:=ki* *tam* *ɕé-po*
 PN 1SG=AGT 2SG.L=DAT vain void=GEN word tell-2INF
mě:.
 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) ང་ལྟོ་ ང་ཅག་ ག་རེ་ ལྷལ་ བཅར་པོ་ མན། དེ་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ ང་རིང་ ན་ སར་ (Sir) རྩར་ མཇལ་བ་ བཅར་པོ་ མིན།
t'ato *ŋàtəa?* *k'arə* *εù-wa* *təa:-bo* *mě:*. *t'ε:lo*
 now 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EQU.NE just.like.that
ŋàtəa? *t'ariŋ* *nà:* *sər=tsa:* *dze:-wa* *təa:-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་སྦྱང་ འདི་ ང་རང་ གཅིག་ཀྱས་ བྲི་བོ་ མན། ཨ་བ་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ བྲི་རོགས་ གནང་བོ་ མིན།
nā:dzō:=di *ŋà=rā:* *təiku* *t'i-u* *mě:*.
 exercise=DEMPH 1SG=REFL only write-2INF NEG.EQU.PER
ápa=la:=ki=jā: *t'i-ro?* *nā:-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་ལྟ་ ཟད་མེ་ གཙུ་མེ་ སློན་པོ་མཆོག་གིས་ ང་ཅག་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ ལྷོ་པོ་ མི་རིགས་ལོ་ མ་གནང་བོ་ མན་ཟང་།
t'ato sã:te tsotei lèmpu=te^{ho}:=ki ñàtea? dɛndzɔŋ=gi ʃopo
 now until chief minster=honorable=AGT 1PL Sikkim=GEN Lhopo
míri=lo ma-ná:-bo mèmbe?, kɛ:po ná: za: jò?
 people=DAT NEG-give.HON-2INF NEG.EQU.NE a.lot give.HON put EX.PER
 'It is not that until now the Chief Minister has not given to us Lhopo people, (he) has given a lot.' (NAB BLA 7)

In addition to the aforementioned past constructions, past meaning can also be conveyed, if the context allows, by bare verb roots. This practice is usual in story-telling, as exemplified in (8.19) and (8.20).

- (8.19) ཏེ་ མོ་ན་ལས་ ང་ཅག་ ངལ་འཚོ་ རྒྱབས།
te ónale ñàtea? jè:ts^{ho}: kjap.
 so then 1PL resting do
 'Then we rested.' (DB trip story)

- (8.20) བླ་ཤག་ བཟོ།
t'aɛa? 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 *-ts^{ha}(:)* derives from the Classical Tibetan verb ཚར་ *tshar* 'complete' and denotes a completed action. The completion of action is illustrated in (8.21) where *-ts^{ha}:* is contrasted with the past marker *-tɛɛ*. 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་ དེས་ གཅིག་ རྒྱོག་ཚར།
dã: ñá: t'ɛp=teɪ? dɔk-ts^{ha}:
 yesterday I.AGT book=INDF read-CMPL
 'Yesterday I finished reading a book.' (NB e)
- b) མདང་ ངས་ དེས་ གཅིག་ རྒྱོག་ཅེ།
dã: ñá: t'ɛp=teɪ? dɔk-tɛɛ.
 yesterday I.AGT book=INDF read-PST
 'Yesterday I did some book-reading.' (NB e)

Although *-ts^{ha}(:)* 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 *du?* (8.24). Moreover, *ts^{ha}(:)* resembles an ordinary secondary verb in that it occurs in nominalized periphrastic constructions as *-ts^{ho}-u* (8.25).

- (8.22) ང་ཅའི་ཡབ་ གྲོངས་སྟེ་ ལོ་གཉིས་ཚད་ སླེབས་ཚད།
ŋàtɛi jà:p t'õ:-ti lò nɪ:-tsʰø? lɛp-tsʰa.
 1PL.GEN father.HON die.HON-NF year two-about reach-CMPL
 ‘Some two years have passed since our father passed away.’ (Richhi 35)
- (8.23) ད་ལྟ་ ད་ རྩི་བར་ (driver)²⁹³ ཐོན་ཚར་ སྤང།
*t'ato t'a draivər tʰon-tsʰa: bɛʔ.*²⁹⁴
 now then driver(Eng.) become-CMPL EQU.NE
 ‘Now he’s become a driver.’ (KN e)
- (8.24) ལུ་ འོང་ཚར་ འདུག་གོ།
kʰu òn-tsʰa du-kɛ.
 3SGM come-CMPL EX.SEN-IN
 ‘He’s arrived.’ (KN e)
- (8.25) a) ད་ལྟ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ག་རི་ སླེབས་ཚུ་ སྤང།
t'ato tʰamtɛʔ gari lɛp-tsʰo-u bɛʔ.
 now all car reach-CMPL-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Now everything has arrived by car.’ (RBM discussion on the roof)
- b) དེ་ཟང་ ང་ཅའི་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྒང་ ད་ མི་བསུག་ ལབ་སྟེ་ བཞག་སྟེ་གི་ འདི་ ལོ་ བསུ་ཐམ་བ་ ལང་ཚུ་ སྤང།
t'izã: ŋàtɛi=di ódi gã: t'a mi-tɛu? làp-ti
 but 1PL.GEN=DEMPH that time now NEG-insert say-NF
zak-tiki=di lò tɛu-tʰamba lã:-tsʰo-u
 leave.aside-NF=DEMPH year ten-NUM come.up.to-COMPL-2INF
bɛʔ.
 EQU.NE
 ‘But at that time our (parents) said (we) do not put (you to school) and leaving (me outside school) I reached (the age of) ten years.’ (PED life story)
- c) ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོག་ཚར་ འོ་ མིན་ནམ་?
*kʰim=na lòk-tsʰo-u nám?*²⁹⁵
 house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.ATTQ
 ‘Has he returned home, I wonder?’ (Richhi 24)

²⁹³ The equivalent word in Denjongke given by consultant YR is ལྷུ་འཁོར་ བསྐྱལ་མཁན་ *num-kʰor ky:-kʰɛ:* [oil-wheel drive-NMLZ].

²⁹⁴ The original utterance has the verb ending *tʰon-tsʰa-kɛ=ɛo* [become-CMPL-IN=AT] but the consultant also re-uttered the clause with *tʰon-tsʰa bɛʔ*.

²⁹⁵ This pronunciation represents typical spoken language. Reading-style pronunciation would be *lòk-tsʰa:-bo*.

- d) ཏེ་མ་འདེ་ཅིག་ཁར་ད་ ར་མོ་འདི་ཙུ་དོན་འབག་སྟེ་འབྱུ་བའི་གི་, འབྱུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ཏུས་ཚད་ སྟེ་བས་ཚར་མཁན་ སྟེ།
tɛ ódɛtɛika t'a ŋámo di=tsu t'o? bak-ti
 then that.time now camel these=PL load carry-NF
gju-wø:=gi, gju-ɛɛ=ki t'ytshø? lɛp-tsʰa-kʰɛn bɛ?
 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 *-tɛɛ/zɛ* to a nominalized form would be the only such example in my data.

- (8.26) ཕྱོན་ཚུ་ཞེ།
tɛ'ʈɒn 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) ཕྱག་ལས་ འོག་སྟེ་ ང་ལོ་ རྩོ་ འགྲེལ་ བཏང་སྟེ་ ངའི་ རྒྱབ་ཁར་ རྩོ་ གཅིག་ སྟེ་ག་ཚར་རྟོ་ལོ།
p'ja:=lɛ òtɛ ŋà=lo do dɪ: tã:-di nɛ: gjaɲkʰa
 precipice=ABL down 1SG=DAT stone fall send-NF 1SG.GEN back
do=tɛi? 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(:)*, consider §9.1.3.

8.1.3 Secondary verb *mjõ:* 'finish, experience'

The verb *mjõ:* ལྟོ་ '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 ལྟོ་ *myong* 'experience'. It is likely that after having developed the meaning 'finish, complete' *mjõ:* has pushed the earlier verb *tsʰa:* with a similar meaning 'complete, finish' from ordinary verbhood towards becoming a grammatical completive marker. The secondary verb *mjõ:* 'finish' differs from the completive morpheme *tsʰa:* in that in addition to the serialized construction *mjõ:* can occur in a nonfinal converbial construction (with little difference in meaning) whereas *tsʰa:* cannot, e.g. *sà-ti mjõ:* 'finished eating', **sà-ti tsʰa:*.

The use of *mjõ:* referring to finished action is illustrated by (8.28) and (8.29).

- (8.28) བཅས་ཅད་ ཏུས་ ལྟོ་ སྟེ།
tʰamtɛɛ? p'ja mjõ: bɛ?
 all do finish EQU.NE
 '(We) finished doing all.' (DB life story)

- (8.29) ཨ་ན་སྐྱེ་ཡན་བཞེས་ཐྱིང་།
óna kujð: ze: mjò:.
 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) མི་དྲོག་ཐམས་ཅད་གར་གར་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྱི་གིས་འཛིབ་ཐྱིང་།
minto t^hamtæ? éá:-ca-p t^hamtæ? k^hu=gi dzip mjò:.
 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་གི་ལོ་བསྟོན་གྱི་ཨ་འདེམ་རྒྱུ་ལས་མཁན་ངས་ཐོས་མ་ཐྱིང་།
t'atø: t'yts^hø? nàŋca=lo ty:lu ódɛm kjap-k^hɛ: ŋá: t^ho:
 now.GEN season inside=DAT ode like.that strike-NMLZ 1SG.AGT hear
ma-mjò:.
 NEG-experience
 ‘At the present time, I have not heard (people) who sing odes like that.’ (KT intro to an ode)

8.1.4 Perfect

In the perfect construction VERB(-RDP)-*po/bo* EX the verb is usually reduplicated (8.32) but occasionally non-reduplicated (8.33). By using the perfect construction, Denjongke speakers suggest that the action/state or its results continue until the time of speaking and have present relevance.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་ཨ་འདེབ་ཞིང་ལས་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་གི་ཨ་འདེབ་ཕྱ་ཀྱ་ཕྱ་ཀྱ་ཡོད་པའི་སྐར་རང་གི་ཨ་པ་གིས་ངའི་ཨ་པའི་རྩ་ལས་ཏི་རུག་
 བདུན་བརྒྱ་ཐམས་པ་འབག་སྤང་སྤང་བོ་ཡོད་པེ་ལཔ་པོ་ལོ།
nè: ápo=di ódɛp ɛiŋ-lɛ: kjap-tiki ódɛp p^hjuku p^hjuku
 1SG.GEN father=DEMPH like.that field-work do-NF like.that rich rich
p^hjuku jò-pø: gã: raŋ=gi ápa=gi nè: ápø: tsa=lɛ
 rich EX-2INF.GEN time 2SG.M=GEN father=AGT 1SG.GEN father.GEN at=ABL
tiru? dyntɛu-t^hamba bak-sõ:-sõ:-bo jò:=s làp-o=lo.
 rupee seventy-NUM carry-go-RDP-2INF EX.PER=QUO say-2INF=REP
 ‘At that time when my father got rich, very rich doing work in the fields, your father took (in loan) seventy rupees from my father, (he) said, so the story goes.’ (PD betting story)

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་ མོ་འདི་ རྒྱལ་ལས་ ང་ ཉི་ ད་ལྟ་ ན་ ཡུ་རོལ་ བོ་ལེན་ (Europe Poland) ལས་ས་ ནང་ག་ ང་ སྤུལ་སྤྱུ་ རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་ གཅིག་ མཉམ་
བུ་ ཆོས་ སྤྲལ་བཞིན་ བྱས་ རྒྱུང་བོ་ ཡོད།

dile ódi gjablɛ ɲà tɛ t'ato nà: jurop po:ɛn làp-sa
then that after 1SG so now here Europe Poland say-NMLZ.SPAT
nàŋɛa ɲà t'y:ku tɛʰuŋtɛuŋ=tɛi? námpu tɛʰo?
inside 1SG reincarnated.teacher small=INDF with doctrine
lap-zin-p'ja dɔ:-po jò?
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་ཙ་ ལྷོན་ལྷོན་བོ་ འདུག་གོ།

rodzou ten-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་ ལྷོན་ན་ ཐི་བྱི་བོ་ ཡོད་པ་སྤད།

di dɔm=na t'i-fi-u jèbbɛ?
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-*ɛy*: NEG.EX (8.38-39).

- (8.36) a) ང་ ད་ལྟ་ ཟང་ལྟེ་ བས་ཀེཌ་བོ་ (basketball) རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་བོ་ མེད།

ɲà t'ato sã:te basketbol tsi-tsi-u mè?
1SG now until basketball play-RDP-2INF NEG EX.PER
'I haven't played basketball so far (in my life).' (KN e)

- b) མོ་འདི་ ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གི་ གནང་གནང་བོ་ མེན་འདུག་གོ་ལགས།

ódi tɛʰɔgɛ:=gi ná:-ná:-bo minduk=ɛo=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་ལྟེ་ ང་ཅག་ ག་རེ་ རྒྱ་བ་ བཅར་བོ་ མེད།

t'arin sã:te ɲàtɛa? k'arɛ ɛù-wa tɛa:-bo mè?
today until 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EX.PER
'Until today we haven't come to ask for anything.' (KN e)

- d) མཉེ་མུ་ རོགས་ཚུས་ ང་ལོ་ གན་འདྲེ་ གསུང་བོ་ མེད་ཀ་?

né:mu ro:=tsu ɲà=lo k'andɛ: 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་ཁྱི་ཚུ་འགྱུ་བ་མེད།
ŋà kʰu=i=tsa: gju-wo mɛʔ.
 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་བ་མེད།
ŋà siliguru gju-wo mɛʔ.
 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 *-ɛy:*, which etymologically likely derives from WT ལུ *shul* ‘trace, remains’. Therefore *-ɛy:* is here tentatively glossed as ‘trace’, which fits the clausal meaning. In the novel Richhi, both the forms ལུ *shul* and ལུ *shus* occur in writing.

- (8.38) ང་ད་ལྟ་བུ་བར་སྟེ་བླ་མ་གཏེ་སློལ་ (basketball) རྟོག་ལུ་མེད།
ŋà t'ato sā:tɛ basketbol tsi:-ɛy: mɛʔ.
 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་གེ་ནི་ན་ལོ་གསལ་བྲགས་²⁹⁷ ལྷོ་སྟེ་གན་འདྲེ་བྲི་ལུ་མེན་འདུག།
jigi:=na=lo²⁹⁸ sé:ʈaʔ p'ja-ti k'anɣɛ: t'i-ɛy: 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-*ɛy:* NEG.EX is further illustrated in the question-answer-pair (8.40):

- (8.40) a) ད་ལྟ་སྟེ་ལགས་ག་སྟེ་ཡོད་?
t'ato bhaila k'atɛ jòʔʔ
 now PN how EX.PER
 ‘How is Bhaila now?’

²⁹⁷ There is most likely a spelling-mistake here, the right spelling being གསལ་བྲགས་.

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་ལེས་ བྱས་ དག་ཤིང་ མེད།
t'arun ləm-p'ja t'ak-ey: mɛ?
 yet good-ADVZR be.cured-trace NEG.EX.PER
 'He hasn't recovered well yet.' (Richhi 26)

The positive construction VERB-*ey*: EX is rare in my data. The only instances in my data are the question answer pair (8.41) and clause (8.42) from the novel Richhi.

- (8.41) a) རང་ རྣམ་ལོ་ཡང་ སེ་ལི་གུ་རི་ སླེབས་ཅེ་ཀ?
rã: nàm=lo=jã: s'iliguri lɛp-tɛɛ-ga?
 2SG.M when=DAT=even TPN arrive-PST-PQ
 'Did you ever go to Siliguri?' (NAB e)

- b) ང་ སླེབས་ཤིང་ ཡོད།
ŋà lɛp-ey: jò?
 1SG arrive-trace EX.PER
 '(Yes) I have gone (there).' (NAB e)

- (8.42) རྣམ་པོ་འི་ གནས་སྤངས་ ཚབ་ཆེ་ཤིང་ ཡོད་ཤད་ འདིས་ ཀཱ་ཀིས་ རྣམ་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ དེ་ལྷི་ བཏང་ཤད་ བྱས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།
nè:pø: né:tã: ts^haptɛɛ-ey:²⁹⁹ jò:-ɛɛ=di: karma=gi
 patient.GEN condition become.severe-trace EX-INF=DEMPH.AGT PN=AGT
nè:po=di=lo dilli tã:-ɛɛ? p'ja-zɛ: jò?
 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, *jò?* 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) མྱུང་མྱུང་གྱིས་³⁰⁰ ར་ བཞག་ ཡོད།
my'tsy=ki nà: za: jò?
 others=AGT here set EX.PER
 'Others have placed (them) here.' (RS language situation)

²⁹⁹ Consultant KN (Martam) suspected that there might be a mistake here because in his language variety *-sy:* would be used here instead of *-ey:* as a diminutive 'a bit serious'.

³⁰⁰ Some spell this word མི་མྱུང་ instead of མྱུང་མྱུང་.

- b) ལྷན་ཅུང་གིས་ན་བཞག་(བཞག་གོ་)མེད།
my'tsy=ki nà: zak(-zak-o) mè?
 others=AGT here set(-RDP-2INF) NEG.EX.PER
 ‘Others have not placed (them) here.’ (KN e)

- (8.44) a) ང་སླེབས་ཡོད།
ŋà lɛp jø?
 1SG arrive EX.PER
 ‘I have arrived.’ (KN e)

- b) ང་སླེབས་མེད། / ང་མ་སླེབས།
ŋà lɛp mè? ŋà ma-lɛp.
 1SG arrive EX.PER 1SG NEG-arrive
 ‘I haven’t arrived.’ ‘I did not arrive.’ (KN e)

Note that *jø?* may occur in a complex construction, as exemplified by *jø:εε bε?* in the irrealis/future in (8.45).

- (8.45) མོ་འདིའི་ལ་སྐྱས་མན་ན་ང་གིས་ནོར་འཕུལ་རྟོ་བྱས་ཡོད་ཤད་སྟེ།
ódi: kʰate mèn-ne ŋá:=gi nòrtʰy:=to p'ja
 that.GEN speaking.manner NEG.EQU-COND 1SG=AGT mistake=CEMPH do
jø:-εε bε?
 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་དྲོག་སེར་པོ་དམར་པོ་དཀར་པོ་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ནང་ལོ་ཤར་ཡོད།
minto sérpo, márpo, karmo³⁰¹ dɛndzõ: nàŋlo éá: jø?
 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. *éá: mè?*.

When used in the resultative construction, the verb *dø?* ‘sit’ is ambiguous as to dynamic (‘have taken a seat’) or stative reading (‘are sitting’) but nevertheless marks the continuing state of sitting:

- (8.47) ཁོང་གཉིས་ཆ་ད་ལྟ་ཉལ་ཁྱིའི་སྟེང་ལོ་སྡོད་ཡོད།
kʰõ: ní:-tea t'ato jnè:tʰi: tɛŋlo dø: jø?
 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 *du?*, which is rather infrequent in my data, expresses sensorial resultative and sensorial past meanings. As shown in §7.2.2 and §9.1.2, sensoriality refers to the fact the speaker bases a proposition on a sensorial experience, typically visual. The difference to a similar construction with *jò?* is that whereas *jò?* implies that the resulted state continues at the time of speech, *du?* only makes reference to an event where knowledge was gained and remains uncommitted as to whether the state is still ongoing. A construction with *du?* only implies that the state-of-affairs held at the time of observing. In examples (8.48-52), where the time of observing coincides with the time of speaking, the construction is resultative, i.e. marking a state achieved by the verbal action.

- (8.48) ད་རིང་མི་ལག་བཞི་འཛོམས་འདུག།
t'ariŋ mila? zi dzom du?
 today person four gather EX.SEN
 'Four people have/are gathered today, I see.' (PTB e)

According to consultant KN, (8.48) cannot be negated by just replacing the affirmed existential with a negated one. Negation strategy is adopted from the perfect construction (see §8.1.4):

- (8.49) ད་རིང་མི་ལག་བཞི་འཛོམས་པོ་མེན་འདུག།
t'ariŋ mila? zi dzom-bo mнду?
 today person four gather-2INF NEG.EX.SEN
 'The four people haven't gathered today, I see.' (KN e)

The copula may, however, be negated in a construction with *(p^ha)gε* '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་(མ་)གེ་འཛོམས་པོ་མེན་འདུག།
t'ariŋ mila? zi (p^ha)gε dzom mнду?
 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་བྱག་སྤང་འདུག།
ts'o=na dza sùk só: du?
 lake=LOC rainbow pierce go.PFV EX.SEN
 'A rainbow is touching (or: has come and touched) the lake.' (DB, describing a picture)

- b) མཚོན་ འཇམ་ ཟུག་(ཀྱི) མེན་འདུག།
tsʰo=na dza sùk(-o) mindu?
 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 *só:* is elided and the main verb may occur with the nominalizer or without.

The knowledge on which the statement with the construction VERB *du?* is based can be gained either through direct observation of the verbal event, as in (8.48-51) above³⁰², or through observing the results of past action, as in (8.52).

- (8.52) མདང་ ཁ་རྒྱབ་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ རྩུ་གཡོག་ རྒྱབ་ས་ རྩུ་གཡོག་ འཇམ་ རྩུ་གཡོག་ རྩུ་གཡོག་ རྩུ་གཡོག་
dā: kʰa.nu:=lo ŋætɕa? pʰou jó?
 yesterday the.day.before.yesterday=DAT 1PL over.there work
kjap de:-pə: gã: à:m=teɪ?³⁰³ tʰu bak lõ: só: du-kɛ.
 do stay-2INF.GEN time jackal=INDF pick carry rise go.PFV EX.SEN-IN
 ‘The other day, when we were working over there, a jackal came and carried (the hen) away.’ (PL interview)

The use of the sensorial *du-kɛ* in (8.52) is based on visible evidence of the event’s results (a dead, half-eaten hen in the forest), not the event itself. That is, the evidence against the jackal is only circumstantial, not direct. Here it is worth noting that although some linguists (e.g. Hengeveld & Olberz 2012: 495, DeLancey 2012: 540) underline the fundamental difference between direct perception and indirect perception (or inference from the results of an action), Denjongke uses the sensorial *du?* for reporting both direct evidence of seeing an action and indirect evidence of seeing the results of an action. In both cases, something is sensorially perceived, and thus both instances can be marked with the sensorial *du?*. For the close connection of sensorial and inferential in Lhasa Tibetan and several other languages, see Hill (2017).

In contrast to (8.48-52), where the sensory experience coincides with the time of speaking or is a recent one, example (8.53) illustrates a reference to a past sensory event. The speaker describes an act by a historical figure about whom he has gained knowledge from a written document or by word of mouth. As in the previous example, in (8.53) the use of *du?* is not based on direct evidence of the depicted action but on written or spoken secondhand reports.

- (8.53) ཁོང་གིས་ རྩུ་གཡོག་ འདྲེ་ བཏབ་པོ་ གནང་ འདུག་གེ།
kʰoŋ=gi mɛlam de: tap-o ná: du-kɛ.
 3SG.HON=AGT prayer like.this sow-2INF do.HON EX.SEN-IN
 ‘He prayed like this.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

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་ མོན་ལམ་ འདྲེ་ བཏབ་པོ་ གནང་ འདུག།
kʰoŋ=gi mɛlam dɛ: tap-o nã: mɪndu-ke.
 3SG.HON=AGT prayer such sow-2INF do.HON NEG.EX.SEN-IN
 ‘He did not pray such a prayer.’ (KN e)

The auxiliary *du?* may also be used as a story-telling technique, where the speaker invites the addressee(s) to become part of the scene by observing events in real time, see (8.55).

- (8.55) ལམ་སང་ རྒྱུ་ འོང་ཕྱི་གི་ གཤོག་རྩི་གིས་ བྱ་ལོ་ ཡར་ འབག་ སོང་ འདུག།
lamsã: gø? òn-diki ɛóktei=gi kʰu=lo jà: bak sǝ:
 immediately vulture come-NF wing=AGT 3SGM=DAT up carry go.PFV
du?
 EX.SEN
 ‘Immediately a vulture came and carried (or: comes and carries) him up in his wings.’
 (RB butcher story)

As suggested by uses in (8.51), (8.52) and (8.55), the construction VERB *du?* is particularly common with the suppletive verb *sǝ:* ‘went’.

8.1.7 Resultative secondary verb *zak*

The secondary verb *zak/za?* (often *za:*) ‘set, place, put’ (WD བཞག), which also occurs as a primary verb, may follow a primary verb to emphasize the resulting state and lasting effect caused by an action, as illustrated by the imperative construction in (8.56).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) མོན་ བྱ་ བཞག།
gom pʰi za?
 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་ ལ་ གསལ་བླགས་ བྱས་ཕྱི་ མོ་འདྲེ་ གསུངས་ བཞག་ འདུག།
lògju? kʰa sɛ:ta? pʰja-ti ódɛ: súŋ za: du?
 story mouth clear do-NF like.that say.HON put EX.SEN
 ‘It has been so said in clear words.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

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་ཅའི་ ཁྱིམ་ཆེན་ གནང་ བཞག་ ཡོད།
ŋàtɛi kʰim-teʰɛː nǎː zaː jòʔ.
 1PL.GEN house-great give.HON put EX.PER
 ‘(He) has given (us) our Khimchen-building.’ (NAB BLA 7)
- (8.59) བང་ཁ་ལས་ གྱིག་ རྒྱབས་ བཞག་གོ་ ཟླ།
paŋkʰalɛ kʰiʔ³⁰⁵ kjap zak-o beʔ.
 outside=ABL sticking.sap do put-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘From outside (they) left (it) smeared with glue-like sap (from a tree).’ (KT animal story)
- (8.60) གཅིག་ འདི་ བཏང་ བཞག་གོ་ མིན་ བང་ཁ།
tɛiː=di tǎː zak-o ʔiː, 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་ མོ་འདི་ བཏང་ མན་བཞག་གོ་ ཟླ།
kʰoŋ=gi ŋà=lo teʰaːka ódi tǎː man-zak-o beʔ.
 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་སྤྱལ་ གསུམ་ བཅོ་ བཞག་བཞག་ ཡོད།
pɛ=na teʰoːlõːty súm zo zaː-záː jòʔ.
 example=LOC Buddha.body three build put-RDP EX.PER
 ‘For instance, (he) has built three Buddha-bodies.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Like many other complex verbal expressions, the construction VERB *zak* EX likely derives from converbial construction from which the converb morpheme has been dropped:

- (8.63) ལྷན་བས་ གསུང་ལྷི་ བཞག་ ཡོད།
mémpaː súŋ-di zaː jòʔ.
 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 *-kjǎː*

The first construction, VERB-*po* VERB-*kjǎː* EQU/*pʼja*, is formed with the help of *=kjǎː*, which is an alternative form of the more frequent additive clitic *=jáː* ‘too, even, again’. The construction may

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) ལྷ་མེད་ལགས་གཉིས་པའི་སྒྲོ་ལ་ཨ་མ་གཉིས་ང་ལ་དྲི་བོ་གནང་བོ་གནང་གུང་ཞིན།
p'usim=la: jɪ:pø: korlo áma=gi ŋà=lo t'iwa
 younger.sister=HON two-ORD.GEN about mother=AGT 1SG=DAT question
ná:-bo náŋ=kjã: í:
 give.HON-2INF give.HON-again EQU.PER
 'The mother has been keeping on asking me about the second sister.' (Richhi 27)

- (8.65) ལྷ་ན་རྟེན་གྱི་ལས་གཉིད་ལྷག་པོ་ལྷག་གུང་ཞིན།
mén rɛk-o=lɛ jɪ:kʰu:-po kʰu:-kjã: í:
 medicine contact-2INF=ABL sleep-2INF sleep-again EQU.PER
 'After the medicine took effect, (he) has slept and slept.' (rnam-rtog 32)

- (8.66) དུ་བོ་དུ་གུང་བྱས་ཁདི་ན་ཚུ་ཐེག་ཡང་མ་འཐུང་།
ŋù-bo ŋù=kjã:=p'ja kʰa=i=na tɛʰutʰik=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་བོ་ཤི་གུང་སྟེ།
mí ɛí-u ɛí-kjõ: bɛʔ.
 human die die-again EQU.NE
 'People died and died.' (KN e)

8.1.8.2 Iterative with *-teim*

The second construction with which iterativity and intensity may be marked is VERB-*po*(=*lɛ*) VERB-*teim* EQU. The formative *-teim* 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 undergoers (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་ཞིང་གི་ཤི་བོ་ལས་ཤི་ཅིན་སྟེ།
kʰõ: tʰamtɛʔ ɛí-tiki ɛí-u=lɛ ɛí-teim bɛʔ.
 3PL all die-NF die-2INF=ABL die-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'They all died and died.' (PB discussion with TB)

³⁰⁶ A possible origin of *-teim* is nominalization of the progressive form *-zen/teen* (*teem-bo*) where the nominalizer has reduced to *-m*.

Whereas in (8.68) *-teim* is followed by an equative copula, (8.69) shows that the nominalized construction ending in *-teim* may also be followed by the verbalizer *p'ja*.

- (8.69) ལུ་ ལུ་གྲག་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ ལུ་གྲག་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ ལུ་གྲག་
 mù úŋa? *kjap-o kjap-teim p'ja-u bɛ?*
 3SGF force strike-2INF strike-NMLZ.FEM do-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘She kept on forcing (one to do something).’ (KT e)

8.1.9 Note on the Sandberg’s (1895) past forms

The old variety of Denjongke recorded in Sandberg (1895) employs forms I have not come across in my data. One of these forms is the “past indefinite” tense formed with the help of the secondary verb *sõ*: ‘went’. One of Sandberg’s (1895: 42) examples of the past indefinite is “He has written a letter: *Kho yige chi p'i song du*,” corresponding to *kʰu jigi tci? p'i³⁰⁷ sõ: du?* [he letter=INDF write went EX.SEN]. According to Sandberg (1895: 42), the verb *ɛi* ‘die’ “always forms the past tense with *song*.” He gives the examples *shi song* ‘he died’, *shi song zhe* ‘has (quite) died, is dead’ and *shi song du* ‘did die (emphatic)’. In my data, however, these forms are supplanted by the completive *ɛi-tsʰa*: ‘has died’ and periphrastic past *ɛi-u i:/bɛ?*. The form *ɛi sõ:-zɛ* (presumably corresponding to Sandberg’s *shi song zhe*) was reported by consultant KN to have a purposive meaning equivalent to *ɛi-wa sɔ:zɛ* ‘went to die’. The form *ɛi sõ: du?*, on the other hand, was reported by consultant TB to be a curse-like wish, probably something in the effect ‘let him die’. For past tense of *p'ja* ‘do’, Sandberg (1895: 49) lists *Zhe song*, a form which seems to combine the Central Tibetan *tɛɛ* ‘do’ with the secondary verb *sõ*: ‘went’. In my data, *p'ja* employs the same past forms as other verbs, e.g. the perfective past *p'ja-zɛ*, periphrastic past form *p'ja-u i:/bɛ?*, and the completive *p'ja-tsʰa*. It is noteworthy that Sandberg does not record the completive form *-tsʰa(:)* at all, suggesting that this form may be a later development.

8.2 Present habitual and future forms

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 <i>bɛ?</i>	
present habitual I	VERB- <i>kʰɛ</i> : EQU	
present habitual II	STATIVE.VERB- <i>po</i> EQU	
nonpast	VERB- <i>ɛɛ</i> EQU	future
future	VERB <i>õ:</i>	
imminent future	VERB- <i>rap</i> EQU/EX	‘be about to’

³⁰⁷ The language variety recorded by Sandberg (1895) has /p'i/ ‘write’ for what most speakers nowadays have /t'i/. I have heard that the form /p'i/, which is more faithful than /t'i/ to the general tendency of Denjongke to correspond WT /br/ with /py/, is still used in East Sikkim around Rhenock.

The present and future forms are here discussed in the same order as they occur in Table 8.2. In addition to the productive forms presented in Table 8.2, some infinitival constructions are formed with *-ni/ɲe*, 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།

ɲá: ɛ́:

1SG.AGT know

‘I know (it).’

(8.71) ང་ ཚོད་ལོ་ ཉག།

ɲà tɛʰø:=lo ga.

1SG 2SG.L=DAT like

‘I like you.’ (KN e)

(8.72) རོ་སྐྱག་, སྐྱག་གོ་ འདི་ལོ་ འཇུ་ག་ ལག།

nò:-kja?, kjako=di=lo dzuga làp.

cattle-excrement excrement=DEMPH=DAT cow-dung say

‘Cow-dung, dung is called /dzuga/.’ (PL interview)

(8.73) a) བཟླ་མ་འཛིན་གྱིས་ སྐག་ག་ བ་ག་?

tenziɲ=gi pʰak-ɛa 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་ལག་

di=lo bɛ:-ɛɛ? mi-làp.

this=DAT uproot-INF NEG-say

‘That is not called [bɛ:ɛɛ?].’ (PL interview)

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).

- (8.76) ང་ཚད་ལོ་དགའ་བོ་ཨོན།
ŋà tɕʰøː=lo ga-u iː.
 1SG 2SG.L=DAT like-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘I like you.’ (KN e)

8.2.2 Simple present

The verb root may be followed by the evidentially neutral equative *bε?* (or the cliticized variant *=pe?*) 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 *ná* (historically *in-na*), see later example (11.12) and also Table 10.6.

- (8.77) གངས་ མཐོང་པད།
k'ã: *tʰõ:=pɛ?*
 snow-mountain see=EQU.NE
 ‘The mountain is visible.’ (TB e)
- (8.78) a) ལུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ རྒྱ་ཀ་?
kʰu jó? p'ja bɛ-ka?
 3SGM work do EQU.NE-PQ
 ‘Does he work?’ (KN e)
- b) ལུ་ གཡོག་ མིན་བྱས་ རྒྱ།
kʰu jó? mim-bja bɛ?
 3SGM work NEG-do EQU.NE
 ‘He does not work.’ (KN e)
- (8.79) ཨོ་འདྲེ་ར་ ཐར་ འབག་ ཡ་ འབྱུ་ རྒྱ།
ódera tʰa: ba? ja: gju bɛ?
 like that realease carry go go EQU.NE
 ‘(They) go free just like that.’ (CY interview)

- (8.80) གནངས་ཆོ་ གྲོ་པར་ ཚུ་ཚེད་ བཅུ་ལོ་ གློག་པར་ རྒྱབས་སྒྲི་ ལྷ་གེ་ ངའི་ སེམས་ན་ ང་ བླ་ཡར་ འབྱུ་ སྤྲ།
nántsʰi t'o:pa tɛʰutsʰø? tɛu=lo lóʔpar kjap-ti
 the.day.after.tomorrow morning clock.time ten=DAT X-ray do-NF
ta-gɛ. jɛ: sém=na t'a tʰak jà: gju bɛʔ.
 look-HORT 1SG.GEN mind=LOC now get.well go go EQU.NE
 'Let's take an X-ray at ten o'clock in the morning of the day after tomorrow and look. In my opinion, he'll get better now.' (Richhi 27)

- (8.81) ལུ་ རྩོ་རངས་ བ་ཇར་ (Nep.) འབྱུ་ སྤྲ།
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) བཟླན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ སྐག་ག་ བ་ སྤྲ།
tenziŋ=gi pʰak-ɛa sà bɛʔ.
 Tenzing=AGT pig-meat eat EQU.NE
 'Tenzing eats pork.' (PT e)
- b) བཟླན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ སྐག་ག་ བ།
tenziŋ=gi pʰak-ɛa sà.
 Tenzing=AGT pig-meat eat
 'Tenzing eats pork.' (PT e)

The simple present construction is negated by the prefix *mi-*.

- (8.83) གན་ཕྱིས་སེན་ ཏུ་ཅིག་ ང་ བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ འོང་ མེ་ཐོབ་པར་
k'amjasine t'utei? ɲà bombai=lo ɔ̃: 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) ང་རིང་གི་ ཐག་གཅད་ འདི་ ང་ལྟ་རེ་ ཐོན་ མེ་ཚུགས་ སྤྲ།
t'ariŋ=gi tʰaktɛ:=di t'atare 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་ ཉི་ ཨོ་འདི་ གན་སྐྱུ་མི་ལ་བ་མཁན་ ཟུང།
ódi=lo=di te ódi k'ajem mi-làp-k'en be?
 that=DAT=DEMPH so that what.is.it NEG-say-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'It's not called that, whatever.' (PL interview)
- b) ལམ་ ལུ་བ་ཅེ་ནི་ དགོན་པ་ན་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ ཟུང།
lám lù-watεεε gjømpa=na zu:-k'en be?
 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་བླགས་ འདི་ རང་གི་ སྒྲ་ འདི་ འགོ་ སྒྲ་ལས་ ཤེས་ དགོས་མཁན་ ཟུང།
k'ε:te^hɿa=di ran=gi kε:=di go jénle é:
 important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know
go:-k'en be?
 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་ཟང་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ཨོ་འདི་ སྒྲ་ དབང་ཆ་ ག་ཡང་ མེད་མཁན་ ཟུང།
t'izã: gε:pu=lo ódi gã: ó:te^ha k'a:=jã: mē:-k'en be?
 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-k^hε: í:/làp-k^hen be?* 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་ཅིའི་གི་ ལྷུ་རི་ཙོང་ (literature) ད་རུང་ ང་ཅིའི་ ཡུ་ནི་སྐ་སི་ནི་ (university) སྒྲེབས་ མ་ཚུགས་མཁན་ ཟུང། ཀྱ
ɲàtei=gi literarigi³⁰⁹ t'aruɲ ɲàtei junivəsiti
 1PL.GEN=GEN literature(Eng.) yet 1PL.GEN university(Eng.)
lɛp ma-ts^hu-k'en bε: 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)

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 university are བསྐྱུ་བཙོས་ *bstan-bcos* and གཙུག་ལག་ *gtsug-lag slob-khang* respectively.

- b) རྣམ་མཁའ་ལས་ བབ་སྟེ་ མ་འོང་མཁན་ ཟད།
nàmk'a:=lɛ p'ap-ti m(a)-òŋ-k'hɛn bɛ?
 sky=ABL descend-NF NEG-come-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘(They) do not come descending from the sky.’ (NAB BLA 7)

- (8.88) a) རྣམ་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ མོ་འདི་ མི་ཁྱེན་མཁན་ ཟད།
k'hô: ʃɛŋgɛ? ódi mi-k'hɛŋ-k'hɛn bɛ?
 3PL PRN.HON that NEG-know.HON-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘They did not know that.’ (CY interview)

- b) མོ་འདི་ལོ་ མོ་འདི་ གན་སྟུང་ མི་ལབ་མཁན་ ཟད། མོ་འདི་ལོ་ འབི་གོ་ ལབ་ཤང་ ཟད།
ódi=lo=di tɛ ódi k'ajɛm mi-làp-k'hɛn bɛ?
 that=DAT=DEMPH so that what.is.it NEG-say-NMLZ EQU.NE
ódi=lo biko làp-ɛɛ bɛ?
 that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE
 ‘It’s not called that, whatever. It is called ‘biko’.’ (PL interview)

- c) མོ་འདི་ སྐར་ ༥ ཕྱི་ཁྱིང་ གཞུང་ འདི་ རྩོ་ འཛམ་བུ་ཁྱིང་ རང་ག་ འུགས་ཅན་ ཟད། བྱས་སང་ཟང་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ལོ་ཡང་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ གཞུང་ མི་ཚྭ་གས་ མཁན་ ཟད།
ódi gã: t'a p'hiliŋ zuŋ=di ʃo dzambuliŋ nàŋɛa
 that time now foreign government=DEMPH south continent inside
ɛúktɛɛ: bɛ? p'jasonzã: gɛ:pu=lo=jã: gɛ:pu súŋ
 powerful EQU.NE therefore king=DAT=even king say.HON
mi-ts'u-k'hɛn bɛ?
 NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘At that time the foreign (=British) government was strong outside Sikkim. Therefore the king couldn’t even be called a king.’ (CY interview)

A counter example to this basic pattern is (8.89), where the perfective negator *ma-* is used for an action that generally holds in the present.

- (8.89) ཇ་རིང་ ཁྱོངས་ནི་ རོ་རངས་ འདི་ ཉེ་ ང་ཅའི་གི་ མོ་འདི་ སྐུ་ལུར་ མོ་འདི་ མ་བཏོན་མཁན་ ཟད།
t'ariŋ t'ô:-no t'orã:=di tɛ ŋàtɛi=gi ódi kupur=di
 today die-COND tomorrow=DEMPH so 1PL.GEN=GEN that body=DEMPH
ma-təŋ-k'hɛn bɛ?
 NEG-take.out EQU.NE
 ‘If (someone) dies today, tomorrow that body of ours is not taken out.’ (LA funerals)

Example (8.89), however, was spoken by a lady from Lachung, an area in North Sikkim which is dialectically somewhat different from more southern and western varieties. One consultant commented that the negator *mi-* should be used in the context of (8.89).

8.2.4 Present habitual II

As already discussed in §5.1, stative verbs (to which copulas are included), when nominalized by *-po/bo/u* and followed by an equative auxiliary, may refer, depending on the context, to present habitual state (8.90-92) or past state (8.93).

- (8.90) ལུ་ང་ལོ་དགའ་བོ་མིན།
kʰu ŋà=lo ga-u í.
 3SGM 1SG=DAT like-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘He likes me.’ (KT e)
- (8.91) འདི་ཐག་གོ་འདི་ཨ་ཙི་རིང་བོ་སྤང།
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) བླེ་གོ་ཞུ་མེ་ (Bill Gates) ལོ་དངུལ་ཀེས་པ་ཡོད་པ་སྤང།
bil geits=lo ny: kɛ:p jɛb-bɛʔ.
 Bill Gates=DAT money much EX.NE
 ‘Bill Gates has a lot of money.’ (YR e)
- (8.93) a) ད་ཅིང་ཚད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ལོ་དཔྱང་ཡོད་མཐན་ཀང་ཀ་ར་འདི་ཀང་ཀ་ར་གི་བོ་ཙེ་མིན་བོ་སྤང།
t'ateĩ: tɛʰø:=ki ŋa=lo pjð: jø:-kʰɛ: 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་ལོ་འདི་ཨ་མ་རྩི་མིན་བོ་སྤང།
ɲè: 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-*ɛɛ* EQU can refer both to habitually true present facts and future events, hence the name nonpast (glossed NPST). The personal form -*ɛɛ* *í:* is often abbreviated to -*ɛĩ:/-ɛiŋ* (see 8.101). Present habitual uses, which resemble in meaning the present habitual form VERB-*kʰɛ:* EQU, are illustrated in (8.94-96).

- (8.94) མོ་དེ་ལོ་འབོ་གོ་ལམ་ཤད་སྤང།
ódi=lo biko làp-ɛɛ bɛʔ.
 that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE
 ‘It’s called “biko”.’ (PL interview)

- (8.95) ང་བཟ་ཤིང་ན་ཚོང་ཤང་ཞིན།
*ŋà tæidiŋ=na dɔː-ɛɛ ʔiː*³¹¹
 1SG TPN=LOC live-INF EQU.PER
 ‘I live in Tashiding.’ (JD life story)
- (8.96) ཟེག་ཤང་ཞིན་ལེ་བྱི་བ།
sék-ɛiː=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-*kʰɛ*: 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་ལའ་བྱི་འབྱེམ་ཚོང་ཤང་ལོ།
tɛ paksam=di nàm ɛáː ɔŋ-gam ləp-ti gim
 so balsam(flower)=DEMPH when blossom come-ATTQ say-NF stare
dɔː-ɛɛ=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) ཉེ་དང་ཕུའི་ཀི་³¹² འབྲས་ཚོངས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་དང་གུ་ཅ་ཐས་གནས་འདི་ཀི་སྐོར་གཞི་ནང་ཤ་ལོ་ཨ་འདེབ་མྱི་བཀའ་མོལ་ཨ་ཏང་ར་གནང་ཤང་ཞིན།
tɛ tʼaŋpyː=gi dɛndzɔŋ=gi kor tʼăː guru bɛnɛ=di=gi korzi
 then long.ago=GEN Sikkim=GEN about and guru hidden.land=DEMPH=GEN about
nəŋɛa=lo ódepti kamø átăː-ra năː=ɛɛ ʔiː
 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:

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 *dɔː-to ʔiː*: (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་ *tʼă.pyiː* is used instead.

- (8.99) ང་ མ་འདེས་ ཁྱད་པར་ཆེས་ལུ་ འདི་ མེད་ ལུ་ཤད་ མིན།
ŋà ódem kʰɛpartɛʰimpu=di mɛʔ ɛ̀ù-ɛɛ íː.
 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) མེ་ དེ་ནས་ ཐོ་རངས་ ང་ ན་ མ་ མྱོད་ཤད་ མིན།
éː tʰenɛ tʰorãː ŋà nàː ba dɔː-ɛɛ íː.
 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་ གནངས་ཆེ་ ཡུར་མ་ སྐྱེ་བོ་ལས་ འབལ་ དགོས་ཤད་ མྱད།
tʰa tʰorãː nánɿtsʰi jùːm ki-u=lɛ bɛː
 now tomorrow day.after.tomorrow weed grow-2INF=ABL uproot
goː-ɛɛ bɛʔ.
 be.needed-INF EQU.NE
 ‘Some time later when weed has grown, (it) will need to be weeded out.’ (PL interview)
- (8.102) མོ་ན་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ མིན་ ལོ།
óna kjap-ɛiŋ la³¹³.
 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) ཏེ་ ཅམ་ ཁ་གཏིང་ ལབ་སྟེ་ ཅིག་ཀྱ་ འདི་ མིན་སྐྱིགས་ལགས།
tɛ team kʰa=gi làp-ti tɛiku=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་གནང་ཚར་ནོ་ ང་ཅའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ མི་ཐོན་ཤད་ མྱད།
sémneʔ ma-náː-tʰa-no ŋàtɛi kɛː=di jàrgɛʔ
 mind.pain NEG-do.HON-CMPL-COND 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH development
mi-tʰon-ɛɛ bɛʔ.
 NEG-happen-INF EQU.NE
 ‘If we do not have pang of conscience, our language will not develop.’ (KL BLA 12)

³¹³ The typical Denjongke pronunciation is *lo* (the pronunciation here follows Nepali from which the morpheme is borrowed).

- (8.105) a) འདི་རང་ ཡིན་ན་ཏྲོ་ ང་ཅག་ཚུ་ རང་གི་ བར་ན་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ རྫོ་རང་ གཏང་ཤད་ མན་ཟད་ ཡིན་ན་མ་ གོགས་ཀྱི་ཚུ།
dɛː=rãː in-(n)ɛ=to ɲàtɕa=tsu raŋ=gi p'aːna
 like.that=AEMPH EQU-COND=CEMPH 1PL=PL self=GEN in.between
tɕiː=ki zɛn=lo ló=rãː tɛː-ɛɛ mèmbeʔ ín-(n)am
 one=AG other=DAT mind=AEMPH entrust-INF NEG.EQU.NE EQU.PER-ATTQ
t'oku=tsu.
 friend=PL
 'In that case, there is no trust among us between each other, is there, friends.' (mthun-sgril 4)

- b) ད་ འདི་ ང་ལོ་ འདི་, གར་ས་, ཏི་རུག་ བརྒྱ་ཐམ་བ་ འདི་ རྩོན་ཤད་ མན་ཟད།
t'a=di ɲà=lo=di, k'arsa, tiru? gja-tʰamba=di
 now=DEMPH 1SG=DAT=DEMPH what.to.say rupee hundred-NUM=DEMPH
p'in-ɛɛ mèmbeʔ.
 give-INF NEG.EQU.NE
 'Now he won't give me, what's that, a hundred rupees.' (PD bet story)

The three three negating constructions are summarized in (8.106).

- (8.106) a) རྩ་ རོ་རངས་ བ་ཇར་ (Nep.) མིན་འགྱུ།
kʰu tʰorãː badzar miŋ-gju.
 3SGM tomorrow market NEG-go
 'He will not go to the market tomorrow.' (KN e)
- b) རྩ་ རོ་རངས་ བ་ཇར་ (Nep.) མིན་འགྱུ་ཤད་ ཟད།
kʰu tʰorãː badzar miŋ-gju-ɛɛ beʔ.
 3SGM tomorrow market NEG-GO-INF EQU.NE
 'He will not go to the market tomorrow.' (KN e)
- c) རྩ་ རོ་རངས་ བ་ཇར་ (Nep.) འགྱུ་ཤད་ མན་ཟད།
kʰu tʰorãː badzar gju-ɛɛ mèmbeʔ.
 3SGM tomorrow market go-INF NEG.EQU.NE
 'He will not go to the market tomorrow.' (KN)

Consultant KN commented that the forms *gjuɛɛ mèmbeʔ* (negating the final copula) and *miŋ-gjuɛɛ i/beʔ* 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 negated nonpast forms.

8.2.6 Future with secondary verb འོ་ 'come'

In the future construction, the main verb is followed by the secondary verb འོ་ 'come', which functions as an auxiliary. It can refer to quite unlikely events, such as (8.107), or to very probable events, such as (8.108). When invited to comment on the difference between the nonpast construction (see §8.2.5) 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) མན་རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་ འོང་།
man-gju? *qi:* *ô:*
 NEG-run fall come
 ‘Don’t run. (You)’ll fall.’ (NB e)
- (8.108) མེན་ གན་ གན་ ཉ་ དགོས་པ་ རོ་རངས་ བྱི་ བྱིན་ འོང་།
mén k'an k'an nò: go:-po t'horã: t'i p'in ô:
 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་ རྒྱ་ ལོ་ རྒྱུ་ འོང་།
gjamts'ø: tɕʰu k'om sí? ô:
 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) ལྗོངས་པ་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱུ་ གཅིག་ འབྱུ་ འོང་།
tô:t'a? ŋá t'u:=tɕi? gju ô:
 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 probabilitive *-to* to form the construction VERB *ô:-to*, see §8.5.1.

8.2.7 Imminent future

The imminent future suffix *-rap* is appended to the verb root. It codes something that, in the speaker’s opinion, is going to happen in the imminent future (glossed IMF). This form may be followed by either an equative or an existential copula, as shown in (8.111-113), or even by the verb *t'ʰon* རྒྱུ་ ‘come/go out, happen, become’, see (8.114).

- (8.111) རྒྱ་ འབྱུ་རབ་ ཡིན་/མེན་/ཡོད་/འདུག།
kʰu gju-rap t̪:/bɛʔ/jøʔ/du?
 3SGM go-IMF EQU.PER/EQU.NE/EX.PER/EX.SEN
 ‘He’s about to go.’ (KN e)

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) རྩོུ་ཀི་ རྩོུ་ཀི་ བརྒྱད་ བརྒྱད་རབ་ རྩོུ་
p^hiru=ki tɛ^huts^hø? gɛ? duŋ-rap bɛ?
 night=GEN clock.time eight hit-IMF EQU.NE
 ‘It’s about to strike eight o’clock at night.’ (Richhi 108)
- (8.113) རྩོུ་ལཱ་ དང་ དར་ བཏགས་ཀྱི་ རྩོུ་ཀི་ རྩོུ་ལཱ་ རྩོུ་
ɛɛ:lɛ: t’ã: t’a: ta:=ki t’yts^hø? lɛp-rap jø?
 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་རྩོུ་ ལཱ་ལྟེ་ རྩོུ་ལཱ་ རྩོུ་ལྟེ་ རྩོུ་
ŋà=to lɛpti tɛ^hø:-rap t^hom-bo bɛ?
 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 *dø?* ‘sit, live’, as in (8.115b).

- (8.115) a) རྩོུ་ཀི་ བཞི་ བརྒྱད་རབ་ལྟེ་ གཞི་ བསད་ལྟེ་
tɛ^huts^hø? zi duŋ-rap=lo ɲi? sé:-ti
 clock.time four hit-IMF=DAT sleep kill-NF
 ‘(He) wakes up when it’s about to strike four (and)...’ (Richhi 124)
- b) རྩོུ་ལཱ་ རྩོུ་ལཱ་ རྩོུ་ལཱ་ རྩོུ་ལཱ་
ɛí-rap dø:-pø: kap nàŋɛa=lo
 die-IMF stay-2INF.GEN time inside=DAT
 ‘At the moment when he was about to die...’ (KT animal story)

The imminence of the action may be stressed by reduplication:

- (8.116) ང་ རྩོུ་ལཱ་ རྩོུ་ལཱ་ རྩོུ་ལཱ་
ŋà t^huŋ-rap t^huŋ-rap jø?
 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) རྩོུ་ཀི་ བརྒྱད་ བརྒྱད་རབ་ རྩོུ་ཀི་
tɛ^huts^hø? gɛ? duŋ-rap mindu?
 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 *-ni*

Sandberg (1895: 40) reports two infinitive forms *-she* (*-εεʔ*) and *-nyi* (*-ni*) for Denjongke and comments that the former is used in Denjongke spoken in Sikkim and the Tibetan variety spoken in the Tsang region of Tibet³¹⁵, whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. In my data, the infinitive *-ni* is used in a variety of idiomatic constructions some of which also occur with the infinitive *-εεʔ*. Because the uses of *-ni* seem more idiomatic than constructions with the more productive infinitive *-εεʔ*, all the uses are described here under separate headings.

The uses of *-ni* 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 *-ni* in future constructions such as (8.118) implies more uncertainty than the use of the regular nonpast construction VERB-*εε* EQU.

- (8.118) ང་ཨ་ན་ཐོ་རངས་འགྱུ་ནི།
ŋà óna tʰorã: gju-ni.
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 *-ni* cannot function as a replacement of the infinitive *-εεʔ* in the nonpast construction *gju-εε í:* ‘will go’ (b).

- (8.119) *ང་ ང་འགྱུ་ནི་ཨིན།
**t'a ŋà gju-ni í:*
now 1SG go-3INF EQU.PER

The infinitive *-ni* may also express uncertain future, or resemblance, in conjunction with the demonstrative proadverb *dεm* ‘like (it)’ (the infinitive *-εεʔ* also occurs in this construction).

- (8.120) ཐོན་ནི་འདེམ་འདུག་གེ།
p'in-ni dεm du-kε.
give-3INF like.that EX.SEN-IN
‘It looks like (we) are to give (our daughter in marriage).’ (SGD wedding customs)

8.2.8.2 Inability

Another irrealis use of *-ni* is the possessive-type-of construction which expresses inability. The infinitive *-εεʔ* also occurs in an analogous construction (see §8.4).

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་ ཟུ་ཉེ་ མེད།
tɛ di dɛŋ-gam min-dɛŋ-gam di t'a ŋà ɛ̀ù-ni
 then this be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ this now 1SG say.HUM-3INF
mè?

NEG.EX.PER

‘Now whether this story is true or not, I cannot tell.’ (RS bee story)

- (8.122) ང་ལོ་འདི་ཁྱི་ཉེ་ མེད།
ŋà=lo di ɛ̀ù-ni mè?
 1SG=DAT this say.HUM-3INF NEG.EX.PER
 ‘It’s not mine to tell (=I do not know).’ (PD interview)

8.2.8.3 Unrealized planned activity

Followed by the verb *p’ja* ‘do’, the infinitive *-ni* forms a construction which expresses what the speaker attempts/attempted to do or is/was hoping to do but has not been able to realize thus far. The *-ɛɛ*-infinitive could replace *-ni* in this construction without any or much change in meaning.

- (8.123) ཇ་ འཐུང་ཉེ་ བྱས་པོ་ མིན།
tɛ'a tʰuŋ-ni p'ja-u ɛ̃.
 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་ མིན།
ŋà jó? p'ja-ni p'ja-u ɛ̃.
 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་ སྤྱི་ སིམ་ཁར་ཀ་ བཅར་ཉེ་ མཚོ་བ་ ཏེ་ ཁོ་ལི་ (Nep.) རྩོ་ མིན་དལ་ རྟོན།
ŋà p'hou simk'arka tea:-ni nó:-wa tɛ k'hoi dʒɛ:
 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་ འདི་རང་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ བཞག་སྟེ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ གན་ སྒྲིག་ཉེ་ ཡོད་པོ་?
t'a dɛ:=rã: k'im=na zak-ti tɛiku k'an dik-ni jø-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) ང་ཚོ་ཕྱི་དགོས་ཤང་མན་ནམ། གཞན་ཀ་ འགྱུ་ཉེ་སེ།
t'a ts'ho: te'øŋ go:-εε mèn-nam?
 now elder.sister's.husband³¹⁶ go.HON be.needed-3INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ
zen ka gju-ni=sé.
 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 *qau* '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) ཀ་མ་ ང་རིང་ གན་ བྱས་ ཉེ་ གན་ མ་བྱས་ཉེ་ འདྲ་བོ་ འཛོན་བཞིན་ ཡོད།
karma t'ariŋ k'an p'ja-ni k'an mam-bja-ni qau t'øŋ-zẽ:
 PN today what do-3INF what NEG-do-3INF like become-PROG
jø?
 EX.PER
 'Karma is becoming today as someone who does not know what to do and what not to do.' (Richhi 93)

In the interrogative construction in (8.129), the uses of *-ni* (a) and *-εε?* (b) overlap syntactically.

- (8.129) a) འགྱུ་ཉེ་ག?
gju-ni-ga?
 go-3INF-PQ
 'Are you going?' (UTR e)
- b) འགྱུ་ག?
gju-εa? (from: *gju-εε-ga?*)
 go-INF.PQ go-INF-PQ
 'Are you going?' (UTR e)

8.2.8.5 Request and suggestion

Another context for *-ni* are urgent requests (8.130) and suggestions (8.131). The request construction with the urgentive *-mø?*, according to consultant KN, is used in Tashiding (West Sikkim) but not, for instance, in Martam (East Sikkim).

- (8.130) འཐུང་ཉེ་མོད།
t'uŋ-ni=mø?
 drink-3INF=URG
 'Drink, by all means!' (KN e)

In (8.131), the construction VERB-*ni* EQU functions as a suggestion rather than a statement about future. The speaker has first inquired whether the addressee has any plans for the coming holiday, and upon hearing that there are no definite plans, he continues with:

³¹⁶ This kinship term also has other meanings, see §17.2.1.

(8.131) བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ བྱོན་ཏེ་ སྤང་། བར་རྒྱུར་ ལྷ་ཤང་ ལེ་བ་སྟེ་ ལེམ་ ཡོད།

bombai=lo te'θn-ni beʔ. pʰa: tsʰu: ta-εε lèpti lèṃ
 Bombay=DAT come.HON-3INF EQU.NE thither hither watch-INF very good
jòʔ.

EX.PER

‘There is (this option of) coming to Bombay. Doing sightseeing here and there is very good.’ (Richhi 101)

Example (8.131) presents a clear point of difference with infinitive *-εεʔ*. Using *-εεʔ* instead of *-ni* in (8.131) would result in a typical and frequent future construction meaning ‘(s)he will go to Bombay’.

8.2.8.6 Future conditional

The infinitive *-ni* also occurs in the future conditional construction VERB-*ni* EX-COND.

(8.132) ཁྲ་ལགས་, རན་པོ་ དྲག་ཏེ་ ཡོད་ན་ སྤན་བས་ ག་ན་ འབྱིགས་སྟེ་ སོང་ གསུང་ ཅུང་ འབྱིགས་སྟེ་ འགྲུ་ཤང་ ཞིན།

qa:=la: nè:po t'a:-ni jò:-ne mémpa: k'ana kʰik-ti
 doctor=HON patient get.well-3INF EX-COND physician.AGT where lead-NF
só: súṅ-runṅ kʰik-ti gju-εε í:.

go.IMP say.HON-CONC lead-NF go-INF EQU.PER

‘Doctor, if the patient is to get well, (I) will take (him) wherever the doctor tells (me) to.’ (Richhi 169)

(8.133) ལྷ་ འཇམ་བུ་སྒྲིང་ འདི་ བདེ་སྦྱིང་ བུན་ལུམ་ཚྭས་ནེ་ ཡོད་པའི་ཀི་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ རྒྱལས་ཏེ་ ཡོད་ནེ་

lo dzambuliṅ=di di-ki pʰynsumtsʰo:=ni jò:-pø:-gi
 south world=DEMPH bliss-enjoyment perfection=TOP EX-2INF.GEN=GEN

ódem tsʰu:-ni jò:-ne
 like.that be.able.to-3INF EX-COND

‘If it can bring bliss and perfection to the world...’ (CY interview)

Conditionality can be combined with the use of *tem/dem* ‘like (it)’ to form a construction which is, in the realis-irrealis continuum, even further away from a realis assertion of a happened fact than a bare conditional.

(8.134) སྤན་ འདི་ཚུས་ བན་ཏེ་ ལྷེམ་ ཐོན་ན་ གཉིང་ ལེ་བ་སྟེ་ ལྷག་ཤང་ ཞིན།

mén di=tsu: pʰen-ni tem tʰon-ne níʔ lèpti kʰuk-εε
 medicine this=PL.AGT help-3INF like become-COND sleep a.lot sleep-INF
í:.

EQU.PER

‘If these medicines turn out like helping (him), (he) will sleep a lot.’ (rnam-rtog 32)

8.2.8.7 Other uses of *-ni*

Iterativity and excessiveness can be expressed by postposing to VERB-*ni* the same verb again as a type of reduplication:

- (8.135) ཏེ་ཁྱེ་ལྟེ་ཆ་མེད་ཨ་འདེ་ར་ཀ་འོང་བོ་ཁོང་འབོ་སྟོ་རེག་སྟེ་ཏེ་ཆ་མེད་ལོ་གཅིག་གིས་འོང་བརྟུང་ཏེ་བརྟུང་སྟོང་བའི་
སྐབས་ནང་གཞི་
tɛ kʰu=lo jɪm tɛʰameʔ ódɛ=ra ka òm-bo kʰð: boto
 so 3SGM=DAT day every like.that=AEMPH who come-2INF 3PL beating
rɛk-ti jɪm tɛʰame:=lo tɛi:=ki ð̃: duŋ-ji duŋ dø:-pø: kap
 feel-NF day every=DAT one=AGT come hit-3INF hit stay-2INF.GEN time
nàŋɕa=lo
 inside=DAT
 ‘So when daily like that anyone who came beat him up, and as he received every day
 beating after beating from anyone who came...’ (KT animal story)

The infinitive *-ji* also occurred in the following construction, where *-ji* appears to refer to a presently holding fact. Together with the discourse particle *tɛ* ‘so’, the reading is causal.

- (8.136) ལག་བྱེར་ལེགས་ཡོད་ཏེ་ཏེ་འོག་སྟེ་བྱིག་འགྱུར་ཁྱད་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ལོ།
lakkʰɛl lɛm jø:-ji tɛ òtɛ kʰik gju-do bɛʔ, tɛʰigɛ:=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- <i>to/do</i> (EQU)	past habitual or ongoing action/state, present habitual or ongoing action/state, immediate future
continuous	VERB <i>dø:</i> EX VERB <i>dø:</i> (+normal inflection)	past, present, or future ongoing action/state (with atelic verbs, e.g. ‘stand’), past, present or future resultative (with telic verbs, e.g. ‘arrive’)
progressive	VERB- <i>tcɛ̃:/zɛ̃:</i> EX	past or present ongoing action
alterphoric progressive	VERB- <i>tcuŋɛ/zunɛ</i> (Tashiding) VERB- <i>tcouŋɛ/zunɛ</i> (Martam)	perceived ongoing action
durative	VERB <i>bak(-ti)</i>	emphasizes durativity of the action

8.3.1 Imperfective

The imperfective *-to/do* may refer to past habitual, past ongoing, present habitual, present ongoing or immediate future actions/states.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་རྒྱུ་ལྟར་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད།
tʰamtɛɛ? gari mɛː-kʰɛː, tʰamtɛɛ? ka:m tsuk-ti gju-do bɛ?
 all car(Nep.) NEG.EX-NMLZ all foot plant-NF go-IPFV EQU.NE
 ‘All were without car, everybody used to go by foot.’ (RBM discussion on roof)

- (8.138) རོན་མ་ལཱ་ལྟ་ (landlord) གྱི་དུས་ཚོད་སྤྱོད་ལོ་... འདི་ཚུ་གི་བྱ་ལ་མང་ཚོད་བཏབ་ཏོ་སྤྱོད་ལགས།
nóma landlo:d-gi tʼytsʰø? gãː=lo... di=tsu=gi kʰɛː mántsʰø?
 before landlord(Eng.) era time=DAT this=PL=AGT tax a.lot
tap-to bɛ=la.
 SOW-IPFV EQU.NE=HON
 ‘Before in the time of the landlords... they used to pay a lot of taxes.’ (CY interview)

In (8.139), the imperfective is used, perhaps surprisingly, for a past telic action (telling a lie). With this strategy of vivid storytelling, the speaker appears to bring the addressees in the middle of the action within the story.

- (8.139) རྫོམ་གཏང་སྟོན་མ་བཅུག་གད་ཀྱི་དོན་དག་ལས་འདི་བྱས་ཏེ་གི་འང་འདེམ་གཅིག་རྒྱབས་ཏོ་མིན་མཁན་སྤྱོད།
ló-mi-tɛ tɔn ma-tɕuk-ɛɛ=ki tʼɔnda=lɛ dɛː
 mind-NEG-entrust show NEG-CAUS-INF=GEN purpose=ABL like.this
pʼja-tiki ǎː dɛm=tɛi? kjap-to iŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?
 do-NF lie like=INDF strike-IPFV EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘In order that it wouldn’t be shown that he didn’t believe (the story), he’s telling as a lie like this:’ (PD story)

For the evidential implications of using the nominalized copula construction *iŋ-kʰɛn bɛ?* 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) བུ་མ་ཆུང་ལོ་ཆུང་གི་ལུང་ལོ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད།
pʼum tɕʰumbo tɕʰøki? ləp-to bɛ?
 girl small.one PN say-IPFV EQU.NE
 ‘(My) youngest daughter is called Choki.’ (DB life story)

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) ངོས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ག་རི་ འབག་ འོང་དོ་ སྤང་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཀངས་ བཅུག་ཞི་ འབྱ་ མན་དགོས་ཏི་ སྤང་།
t'o? t'amteε? gari bak òn-do bε? mí t'amteε? ka:m
 load all car carry come-IPFV EQU.NE people all foot
tsuk-ti gju maŋ-go:-to bε?
 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་འབྱུང་ མེ?
tε'hø? k'a: gju-do=s?
 2SG.L where go-IPFV=QUO
 'Where are you going (he said)?' (KT animal story)
- (8.143) ད་ལྟ་ ཚུ་ཚོད་ གཅིག་ཏི་ བརྒྱུང་དོ།
t'ato tε'huts'hø? tci:=to duŋ-do.
 now clock-time one=CEMPH hit-IPFV
 'It's one o'clock now (lit. it's striking one o'clock now).' (Richhi 124)

For an immediate future use of *-to/do*, consider (8.144).

- (8.144) ལྐན་ཆེ་ ཚོད་ འབྱ་བཞིན་ བྱས་ ང་ འོང་དོ།
kante'hi³¹⁸ tε'hø? gju-zε: 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 illustrated 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) ལུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་དོ་ སྤང་།
k'hu jó? p'ja-do bε?
 3SGM work do-IPFV EQU.NE
 'He is working.' (KN e)

³¹⁸ A loan word from Nepali.

- b) ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་པོ་མེད་པ་སྟེ།
kʰu jó? pʼja-u mɛ̀bbe?
 3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.NE
 ‘He is not working.’ (KN e)

- c) Tashiding, West Sikkim
 ལུ་གཡོག་བྱས་དོ་མེད་པ་སྟེ།
kʰu jó? pʼja-do mɛ̀bbe?
 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 periphrastic question construction VERB-*po ja* 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་རྟོ་ཉ?
tɕʰø? indzi kɛ? kjap-to ja?
 2SG.L English language strike-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Do you speak English?’ (NAB e)

- (8.147) a) ཚོད་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་མི་རྒྱབས་རྟོ་ཉ?
tɕʰø? indzi kɛ? mi-kjap-to ja?
 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་ཀ?
tɕʰø? indzi kɛ? 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?
tɕʰø? indzi kɛ? 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་ཉ?
tɕʰø? indzi kɛ? mi-kjap-o ja?
 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 *dø?* ‘sit, stay’ in two type of constructions. In the first, the secondary verb *dø?* is followed by an existential auxiliary (personal

jə?, sensorial *du?* or neutral *jəpo be?*). In the second, less grammaticalized use, *də?* ‘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 imaginary) past time.

- (8.148) ལུ་གཞིམ་ རྫོང་ འདུག།
kʰu zim də: du?
 3SGM sleep.HON stay EX.SEN
 ‘He’s sleeping (I see/saw).’ (TB e)

- (8.149) ཉིམ་ ལེབ་ ལེགམ་ ཤར་ རྫོང་ འདུག།
nìm lèp lèm ɛ́a: də: du?
 sun very.much good shine stay EX.SEN
 ‘The sun is shining very nicely (I see/feel).’ (TB e)

- (8.150) རྒྱལ་བའི་ སྔ་བྱང་ ཨོ་འདི་ རྟེན་ལོ་ རྟེན་པས་པའི་ རྒྱང་ ཨོ་ན་ རྒྱལ་བའི་ སྔ་བྱང་ རྒྱང་ག་ མཐའ་སྐོར་ལོ་ ཨོ་ན་ རྒྱལ་བའི་ རྩམ་གཅིག་ རྒྱ་ ཤད་བཞིན་
 ཤད་བཞིན་ བཞུགས་ རྫོང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང།
ge:pə: pʰoqã: ódi tẽ:=lo lɛp-ə: gã: óna ge:pə:
 king.GEN palace that top=DAT arrive-2INF.GEN time there king.GEN
pʰo:qã: nəŋɛa tʰa:kor=lo óna ge:pə: pʼum tɛi? kja
 palace inside surrounding=DAT there king.GEN girl one hair
ɛ́ɛ-teɛ: ɛ́ɛ-teɛ: zu: də: jə:-kʰen be?
 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 *də:*, the ordinary verb meaning ‘sit, stay’, in (8.150) occurs following the honorific *zu:* ‘sit, stay (hon.)’ shows that the use of *də:* is grammatical rather than lexical. Lexically, one honorific form collocates with other honorific forms and thus the use of the honorific *zu:* would evoke the use of other lexical honorifics.

With telic expressions, which have a natural end point, the meaning is resultative, i.e. highlighting the ongoing state accomplished through the verbal action, see (8.151-154).

- (8.151) རྒྱུ་རྒྱུད་པའི་ རྒྱང་ འབྲང་ རྫོང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང།
myttsy-ri ke? bjã: də: jə:-kʰen be?
 other-EMPH.GEN language disappear stay EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘The language of others has disappeared’ (RS interview)

- (8.152) ཁོང་ འོང་ རྫོང་ ཡོད་པོ་ མན་པོ་ བོ་ཙཱ་ཙཱ་?
kʰõ: õ: də: jə:-p(o) mèmbo, pʼotso=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) དཔེན་གྱི་ལོ་ལྟེ་ (college level)³¹⁹ རང་གི་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ ང་ཅའི་ སྐད་རིགས་ སྐབས་ རྒྱུ་ ཡོད།
pɛ=na kolidz lɛvəl nəŋɛa ɳàtɛa=lo ɳàtɛi
 example=LOC college(Eng.) level(Eng.) inside 1PL=DAT 1PL.GEN
kɛri? lɛp dɔː jò?
 language arrive stay EX.PER
 ‘For instance, our language has reached college level.’ (NAB BLA 7)

- (8.154) ཁོ་སྤྱོད་ཁང་ན་སྐབས་པའི་སྐད་རྟེན་ལགས་དྲན་བོ་ཟེན་ཟེ་ཤུག་ཤུག་ཁ་ལ་ལ་ཚུགས་པོ་འཛན་ཚྱོད་འདུག།
kʰu ménɣkʰā:=na lɛp-øː gāː bhaila tʰembo sìn-di
 3SGM hospital=LOC arrive=2INF.GEN time PN consciousness awaken-NF
ɛyːɛyː kʰa-làp tsʰu-po tʰon dɔː du?
 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 *jòː-ɛɛ tʰi*, see (8.155), contrasting with analogous past (8.156) and present expressions (8.157).³²⁰

- (8.155) ང་མོ་རངས་ཚུ་ཚྱོད་དགུ་ལོ་ཁོ་མ་ན་འགྱུ་ཚྱོད་ཡོད་ཤད་མིན།
ɳà tʰorāː tɛʰutsʰø? gu=lo tʰom=na gju dɔː jòː-ɛɛ tʰi.
 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་ཚུ་ཚྱོད་དགུ་ལོ་ཁོ་མ་ན་འགྱུ་ཚྱོད་ཡོད།
ɳà dāː tɛʰutsʰø guː=lo tʰom=lo gjuː dɔː jò?
 1SG yesterday clock.time nine=DAT town=LOC go stay EX.PER
 ‘Nine o’clock yesterday I had gone to town.’ (BT grammar exposition)

- (8.157) ང་ད་ལྟ་འགྱུ་ཚྱོད་ཡོད།
ɳà tʰato gjuː dɔː jò?
 1SG now go stay EQU.PER
 ‘I keep on walking now.’ (TB e)

The continuous construction has most probably developed through the also existing converbal construction VERB-NF *dɔː* EX by eliding the converbial marker *-ti/di*, see (8.158) and (8.159).

- (8.158) ད་ལྟེ་ཁང་བཅུག་ཞིང་ད་འདེབ་ཚྱོད་ཡོད་ལ་ཅག་ན།
tʰa kʰɛːgāː tsuk-ti tʰa dɛp dɔː jò?, ɳàtɛa? nəː.
 now family plant-NF now like.that stay EX.PER 1PL here
 ‘Now here we live like that, having established families.’ (DB life story)

³¹⁹ The WD word is མཐོ་རིམ་སྐབས་གྲུ་ *mtho-rim slob-grwa* (YR).

³²⁰ It is not possible to form a future construction of the other existential copula, sensorial *du?*.

- (8.159) མོ་ཐུང་གཞུག་གོ་འདི་བྱོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཟ་སྟེ་ལེག་འགྲངས་སྟེ་ཐོད་འདུག།
 ó lǎ: tsuko=di p'i t^hamtεε? sà-ti lèp
 that bull other=DEMPH fodder all eat-NF very.much
 dǎ:-ti dθ: du?
 be.satisfied-NF stay EX.SEN
 'The other bull ate all the fodder and stayed very satisfied.' (TB bull story)

At least some verbs may occur in both a converbal (8.160) and continuous constructions (8.161).

- (8.160) ལ་ལས་ ཐོད་ས་ མ་ཐོབ་བར་ འོང་སྟེ་ ཐོད་ ཡོད།
 làla dōsa ma-t^hop-(p)a lǒ:-ti dθ: jò?
 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་ འོང་ ཐོད་ འདུག།
 làmk^ha lǒ: dθ: du?
 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 *dθ?* is followed by an existential, *dθ?* may be inflected like a typical verb. In some of the uses, the verb *dθ?* has a more grammatical sense where it underlines continuity of the action, see (8.162). In other uses, the secondary verb *dθ?* is used in a more concrete way with the meaning 'sit, stay', see (8.163).

- (8.162) a) བུ་མ་ འདི་ ཆལ་ཆོལ་ བྱས་ འགྱུ་ ཐོད་བ་ ཐད།
 p'um=di te^halte^hol-p'ja gju dε-b=bε?
 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་ བྱར་ཐོར་ བྱས་ འགྱུ་ ཐོད་པོ་ ཐད།
 mí=di p^hjarp^hjor-p'ja gju dθ:-po bε?
 human=DEMPH IDEO.NN-ADVZR go stay-2INF EQU.NE
 'That person keeps on going (around) not wearing clothes properly.' (KN e)
- c) ད་ ང་ཉི་ རྒྱང་རྒྱང་ལས་ ན་ འོག་སྟེ་ འོང་ཞི་ བཞག་སྟེ་ ཐོད་ ཐོད་བ་ཐད།
 t'a ηà=to te^hun^hteun^h=lε nà: òtε òn-di jàk-ti³²¹ dθ:
 now 1SG=CEMPH small=ABL here down come-NF set-NF stay

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."

dε-b=bε?

sit-2INF=EQU.NE

‘Now, I have come and settled down here from an early age.’ (LA intro to Lachung)

(8.163) a) ལྷུང་ཕུག་ཉི་ཀི་ཐ་ རྩོད་གད་ ཞིན།

gjuŋ pʰuk-tiki ba dθ:-εε ʔ̃.

basket pierce-NF hide stay-INF EQU.PER

‘Piercing the basket I will stay hiding (there).’ (KTL animal story)

b) འདི་ལས་ བ་ཉེ་ ལྷུང་ རྩོད་ རྩོད།

dilε pʰatε gjap tθn dθ?

then over.there back show stay

‘Then stay over there your back turned.’ (KTL animal story)

c) ང་ ལོ་ བཅུ་ ཟང་ཉེ་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྗེ་དང་ དགོན་པའི་ སྦྱོར་གྱི་ ནང་ལ་ ཆོས་ ལྷུང་ རྩོད་པ་ ཞིན།

ŋá lò teu sã:te taeidiŋ gjompθ: lóbda nàŋ=la³²² tεʰo?

I year ten until TPN monastery.GEN school inside=DAT doctrine

pʼja dθ:-po ʔ̃.

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 *dθ?* is followed by a grammatical use.

8.3.3 Progressive VERB-*tε̃:/zε̃:/zin* EX and VERB-*tcunγε/zunγε*

The progressive constructions VERB-*tε̃:/zε̃:/zin* EX and VERB-*tcunγε/zunγε* (in Martam: VERB-*teouke*) mark the verbal action as ongoing at a specific time determined by the existential copula and the context. The form -*tε̃:/zε̃:* 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 *tcunγε/zunγε* is more difficult to determine because I have not come across it in written Denjongke.³²³

The semantics of the progressive *tε̃:/zε̃:/zin* seem more limited to a certain specific time than the semantics of continuous secondary verb *dθ:*, which may include habituality in addition to continuity at a specific point of time. For instance, consultant NAB commented that *gju-zin du?* [go-PROG EX.SEN] refers to an event happening at the time of speaking but *gju dθ: du?* [go stay EX.SEN] could also refer to habitual action.

8.3.3.1 Progressive VERB-*tε̃:/zε̃:/zin* EX

The construction ending in the existential *jθ?* 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 *jθ?* as if to invite the readers to observe a real-time event.

³²² Dative-locative form =*la* instead of =*lo* here is Tibetan influence.

³²³ Consultant KT specifically stated that -*tcunγε/zunγε* is only used in oral, not written language.

- (8.164) འདི་རང་ བྱས་ དགོན་པོ་ མཇུག་མཁུན་ མི་ རེ་རེ་ གཉིས་གཉིས་ བྱས་བཞིན་ འོང་བཞིན་ ཡོད།
dε:=rã:=p'ja gømpo dze:-kʰɛ: mí rε-rε nɪ:-nɪ:
 like.that=AEMPH=ADVZR monastery meet-NMLZ person each-each two-two
p'ja-zɛ: ɔ̃:-zɛ: jø?
 do-PROG come-PROG EX.PER
 'Like that, people visiting the monastery are coming each two by two.' (Richhi 2)

The first instance of *-zɛ:* in (8.164), *p'jazɛ:*, illustrates an adverbial use without a following auxiliary. In this respect, *-tɛɛ:/zɛ:/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 *-tɛɛn* with *láp* 'say' marks the continuing factuality of a proposition heard earlier (he disappeared) rather than the fact that a third person is speaking at the same time as the speaker and the addressee of (8.165) are speaking.

- (8.165) འབྱུང་བོ་ མིན་ ལབ་བཞིན་ འདུག།
bjõ:-bo t̃: lãp-tɛɛn du?
 disappear-2INF EQU.PER say-PROG EX.SEN
 '(He) disappeared, (they) are saying.' (TB phone call)

The aspect marker *-tɛɛ:/zɛ:/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་ལྟོ་ གན་ བྱས་བཞིན་ འདུག?
gjaltsʰen t'ato k'an p'ja-zɛn du??
 Gyalsthen now what do-PROG EX.SEN
 'What is Gyalsthen doing now?' (KN e)

- (8.167) a) ཁོང་ ད་ལྟོ་ དེབ་ རྒྱུག་བཞིན་བོ་ འདུག།
kʰõ: t'ato t'ɛp ɬok-zim-bo³²⁴ du?
 3SG.HON now book read-PROG-2INF EX.SEN
 'He is now reading a book (I see).' (KN e)

- b) ཁོང་ ད་ལྟོ་ དེབ་ རྒྱུག་བཞིན་ འདུག།
kʰõ: t'ato t'ɛp ɬok-zin du?
 3sg.HON now book read-PROG EX.SEN
 'He is now reading a book (I see).' (KN e)

In addition, the nominalized form, however, can be used for what in English are called present perfect continuous meanings:

³²⁴ For some reason, the consultant used here and in the following example the literary pronunciation instead of the typical oral *-tɛɛn*.

- (8.168) ང་ཅག་ ཁྱིམ་ཆེན་ འདི་ན་ ཕྱི་ལོ་ གཉིས་ལྔ་ལྔ་ གཅིག་ལས་ རྩིས་པོ་ རྩིས་བཞིན་བོ་ ཡོད་ལགས།
ŋàtɛa=di kʰimtɛʰɛː di=na tɛʰilo ɲiːtõː tɛiː=lɛ tsʰokpo
 1PL=DEMPH house-greatthis=LOC year 2000 one=ABL meeting
tsʰoː-zim-bo jòː=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 *-tɛʰɛː/zɛʰɛː/zin*) meaning, as shown in (8.169).

- (8.169) མདང་ ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ ང་ལོ་ གྲོ་ལ་ (call) རྒྱལ་ས་འདི་ སྤང་ ང་ ཁྱོད་ལོ་ འགྲུ་བཞིན་བོ་ ཞིན།
dãː lɛŋgɛʔ ŋà=lo kol kjap-øː gãː ɲà tʰom=lo
 yesterday PRN.HON 1SG=DAT call(Eng.) do-2INF.GEN time I marker=DAT
gju-zim-bo ʔiː.
 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་བོ་ གནང་།
zuː-tɛʰɛː p’ja-u nãː.
 sit-PROG do-2INF do.HON
 ‘Please sit (and wait here)’ Lit. ‘Please do sitting’. (oh)
- (8.171) ཤིང་རྩོག་ གཏོག་བཞིན་ བྱས་རན་ལར་
ɕintoʔ tok-tɛʰɛː p’ja-rɛŋkʰa
 fruit pluck-PROG do-SIM
 ‘when (he was) plucking fruit...’ (RB pear story)
- (8.172) ངས་ གདན་ཁུས་ ཡི་གེ་ བྲི་བཞིན་ བྱས་ཤད་ ཞིན།
ɲáː denzu ʝigi tʰi-zɛʰɛː p’ja-ɕɛ ʔiː.
 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 nãː* [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-rɛŋkʰa*: ‘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 *-tɛʰɛː/zɛʰɛː*, 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'ənzin(=gi) ‘in accordance with, in view of’ (*t'ən* ‘purpose’) and *pakozin(=gi)* ‘similarly, in accordance with’ (the origin of the form *pako* is unknown to me at present).

- (8.173) ཏེ་ཨ་འདི་ཕུལ་བོ་དོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ང་ ང་ཅག་ འདེབ་ དེ་ལོ་ རྩོད་ནེ་ མིན་གྱིག་གོ།
tɛ ódi pʰy:-bo t'ənzɪŋgi t'a ɣàtɕa? dɛp t'ɛ:lu
 so that offer-2INF in.accordance now 1PL like.that unoccupied
dø:-nɛ min-dike.
 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) ཏེ་ ཨ་འདི་ དཔག་གོ་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ང་ཅའི་ རྩོ་བོ་ འདི་ཙུ་གེས་, གན་བོ་ འདི་ཙུ་གེས་ ཙེང་སྐད་ཡང་ ཁོང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ མཐུན་ སྤང།
tɛ ódi pakozɪŋgi ɣàtɕi ʃopo di=tsu-gi, gɛmpo di=tsu=gi
 so that similarly 1PL.GEN Lhopo this=PL=AGT old.man this=PL=AGT
tsɔŋkɛ:=jã: kʰð: ʃɛŋɣɛ? kʰɛn bɛ?
 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'ənzin(=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) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ མདང་ སྐད་རྟག་ན་ སྐོར་བཞིན་ སྤང་པོ་?
ʃɛŋɣɛ? dã: ɣãto:=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 *bɛ?* is a marginal phenomenon, see §11.1.2.2. One consultant wanted to replace *bɛ-po* here with *jø-po*.

8.3.3.2 Alterphoric progressive VERB-*tɕuŋɣɛ/zuŋɣɛ*

The progressive construction VERB-*tɕuŋɣɛ/zuŋɣɛ* (also -*tɕyŋɣɛ/zyŋɣɛ*, in Martam *tɕouɣɛ*) does not occur in written Denjongke. This construction is probably an abbreviation of the fuller form VERB-*tɕɛn duke*, which also occurs in writing. Because in my data VERB-*tɕuŋɣɛ/zuŋɣɛ* 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 -*tɕuŋɣɛ/zuŋɣɛ* 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).

³²⁵ The examples in my data have third person actors. Uses with second person actors are left open for future research.

(8.176) ལྷ་བ་ རྣམས་ཀྱི་ ལྷ་ བོན་བཞིན་གེ་ ཡོད།³²⁶
dawa námge:=gi ke? tʰon-zyngɛ 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་ལྟ་ རྩོམ་ འགྲོག་ཅོད་གོ།
mí=di dikʰa símteɛ:=di=lo tsʰute ʈok-teouge.
 human=DEMPH here animal=DEMPH=DAT hither frighten-PROG.APH
 ‘The man is frightening this animal here.’ (KN photo discussion)

(8.178) འདི་ཙུ་ ཏེ་ར་ ལྷག་རྒྱས་ ལྷ་སྟེ་གི་ ཁོང་ལྟ་ རྒྱས་རམ་ ལྷ་ས་བཞིན་གོ།
di=tsu tɛ:ra lúk-ro: pʼja-tiki kʰõ:=lo rò:ram pʼja-zyngɛ.
 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) ཀར་ ལྷན་ རིལ་བུ་ ཉན་ འབག་སྟེ་ ལྷག་ ལྷེབས།
karma mén ri:bu ɲò: bak-ti lòk ʈep.
 PN medicine tablet buy carry-NF return arrive
 ‘Karma, having bought and brought the medicine, arrives back. (Richhi 11)

(8.180) ལྷ་མཚམས་ ལྷ་ཚོང་ བཞི་ལྟ་ ཀར་ ཏར་ རྩོམ་ ལྷ་ས་ སང་ རེ་ཆེ་ ལྷ་ས་ བཏབ་ འབག་སྟེ།
pʰi:tsʰam tɛʰutsʰø? zi=lo karma tʼã: nòrbu tɛʰøki? dɔsa
 dusk clock.time four=DAT PN and PN PN dwelling
só: riteʰi bompu tap bak-ti.
 went hope big sow carry-NF
 ‘Around dusk at four o’clock Karma and Norbu go to Choki’s dwelling, having great hopes.’ (Richhi 96)

³²⁶ One consultant wanted to replace བོན་བཞིན་གེ་ *tʰon-zyng-ge* with བོན་བཞིན་ འདུག་གེ་ *tʰon-zen du-ke*, underlining the fact that the former is probably a reduction of the latter.

- (8.181) མོ་འདི་བྱས་ ཁུ་ ཁྱོད་ན་ སྤང་ འཚོ་ལ་ འབག་ འཚོ་ལ་ འབག་ སྤང་ཞི་ ཁྱོད་ གཅིག་ན་ སྤང་ ཆ་གཅིག་ ཐོབ་ལྟེ་
ódi-p'ja k'u k'jō:=na lá: tsʰo: bak tsʰo: bak
 that-ADVZR 3SGM village=LOC bull search carry search carry
só:-di k'jō:=tei=na lá: teʰa=tei? tʰop-ti
 go.PFV-NF village=INDF=LOC bull pair=INDF find-NF
 ‘Therefore going to village(s) keeping on searching and searching for bull(s) and finding
 a pair of bulls in one village he...’ (TB bull story)

8.4 Tense, aspect and modality with the construction VERB-INF EX

The construction VERB-INF EX resembles an existential clause (8.182) or a locative/possessive clause (8.183) where a verbal action in infinitive occurs in place of a located/possessed noun.

- (8.182) མན་མུ་རང་ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ ལེགས་ངན་ དང་ རྟག་གཞིའི་ བརྟག་དབྱང་ ལྟ་ཤད་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྤང།
né.mu=rā: tɛndɛ: lè:-jɛ: t'ā: tagzi: taktɛ?
 really=AEMPH omen good-evil and criteria.of.study investigation
ta-ɛɛ? jò-po be?
 look-INF EX. 2INF EQU.NE
 ‘There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria.’ (Richhi 107)

- (8.183) ཁུ་ལོ་/ཁུ་འི་/ཁུ་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཤད་ ཡོད་འདུག།
kʰu=lo/kʰu=i/kʰu jó? p'ja-ɛɛ? jò?/du?
 3SGM=DAT/3SGM=GEN/3SGM work do-INF EX.PER/EX.SEN
 ‘He has work to do./ He is about to work.’ (KN e)

As a sign of grammaticalization, the genitive or locative marking of the possessor/location in (8.183) has become optional.

The construction is negated by replacing an affirmative copula by a negated one. For negated declaratives, consider (8.184) and for negated interrogatives, see (8.185).

- (8.184) a) ང་ མོ་རངས་ གཡོག་ བྱས་ཤད་ མེད།
ŋà tʰorā: jó? p'ja-ɛɛ? mɛ?
 1SG tomorrow work do-INF NEG.EX
 ‘I’ll not work tomorrow’/‘I have no work to do tomorrow.’ (KN e)
- b) ད་ དལ་ཤད་ མིན་འདུག་ལགས།
t'a t'ɛ:-ɛɛ? mɪndu:=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་ཤད་ མིན་འདུག་ཀྱ་?
kʰu jó? p'ja-ɛɛ? mɪndu-ka?
 3SGM work do-INF NEG.EX.SEN-PQ
 ‘Isn’t he working?’/‘Isn’t he going to work?’ (KN e)

- b) ཁུ་གཡོག་ བྱས་ཤང་ མེད་ཀྱི?
*kʰu jó? pʼja-ɕɛ? mɛː-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་ཕུ་ རྩོན་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ རིན་ བཞེས་ཤང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང་ ད།
tʼã:pu jénlo ηàtɕa? rìn zeː-ɕɛ? jòː-kʰɛn bɛ? tʼa.
 long.ago before 1PL price obtain.HON-INF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE now
 ‘Long ago earlier we had (the custom of) receiving money (for the bride).’ (SGD marriage customs)

- (8.187) ད་ལྟོ་ ཁྱ་ཅག་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ གན་ ལུ་ཤང་ ཡོད་?
tʼato kʼutɕa? ηàtɕa=lo kʼan ɕù-ɕɛ? 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) མོ་བྱང་གྱིས་ རོགས་ ཐོབ་ཤང་ ཡོད་ཀྱི?
mòby=gi pʰo? tʰop-ɕɛ? jòː-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་ ལཔ་མཁན་ འདི་ཡང་ ཁ་ ལཔ་ཤང་ མེད་རུང་ མཚོ་བསམ་ བཏང་ཤང་ འདུག་གོ།
símtɕɛː ləp-kʰɛn=di=jãː kʰa ləp-ɕɛ? mɛː-run nóːsam
 animal say-NMLZ=DEMPH=even mouth say-INF NEG.EX-CONC thought
tãː-ɕɛ? du-kɛ.
 send-INF EX.SEN-IN
 ‘The animal, even though it cannot talk, can think (I see).’ (RB butcher story)

³²⁷ The difference between (8.185a) and (8.185b) lies in what the speaker expects the addressee’s level of knowledge to be. If the addressee is supposed to have personal knowledge, *mɛː-ka* is used. On the other hand, if the speaker expects that the addressee needs to check what the case is, *minduka* would be used. For further information on evidentiality in questions, see §7.2.1.2 and §7.2.2.1.

(8.190) མ་ཚོ་ཚུ་གིས་ ཁ་གཏམ་ ལེབ་ རྒྱུགས་དྲགས་ ལབ་ཤང་ ཡོང་མཁན་ ཟུང།
ádzo=tsu=gi kʰatam lèp dzikʰa? làp-εε? jò:-kʰen bε?
 grandfather=PL=AGT proverb very excellent say-INF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘The grandfathers have most excellent proverbs to tell.’ / ‘The grandfathers are able to tell most excellent proverbs.’ (KN field notes)

(8.191) ཉེ་ ཟུ་ རྩོ་སྐད་ རྒྱབས་ཤང་ མེད།
tɛ mù ʎokɛ kjap-εε? mɛ?
 well 3SGF Lhoke speak-INF NEG.EX.PER
 ‘Well, she cannot speak Lhoke.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

(8.192) ང་ ལྷའི་ རྩུ་ འགྱུ་ཤང་ མེད།
ŋà kʰu=i=tsa: gju-εε? mɛ?
 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 *ò:* ‘come’, *ma-hò:* [maɦõ:]³²⁸, can replace *mɛ?*/*mindu?* as negated existential (see §7.2.5.1):

(8.193) མོ་འདི་ འདི་ ཉེ་ ངའི་ ལྷུ་ཤང་ མ་འོང་།
ódi=di tɛ jè: ɛ̀ù-εε? ma-hò:
 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 epistemic modals. Other types of modal judgments which may be made explicit in Denjongke grammar are judgments about obligation, possibility, permissiveness, temporality, morality, ability and trustworthiness/genuineness (pretensive construction). As shown by Table 8.4, the grammatical means for expressing modality distinctions can be divided into one suffix, three complex constructions and eight secondary verbs. Among secondary verbs, the category “modality” is assigned to those markers which are in linguistics typically treated under the category modality (ability, obligation, permission, possibility). For other secondary verbs and introduction to secondary verbs in general, see §4.2.3.

³²⁸ The pronunciation differs from the non-copular negation *ma-ò:* > [mõ:].

³²⁹ This definition is inspired by Palmer’s (2001: 8) characterization of epistemic and evidential modalities as expressing the speaker’s judgments about a proposition.

Table 8.4. Modality markers

Function		Form		Meaning	Morpheme type
Epistemic/ certainty	probabilitative	<i>-to</i>	མོ་, མོ་, མོ་	‘maybe, probably’	suffix
	apparentive	<i>(-po) qa</i> (EQU)	འདྲ་	‘seem’	complex constr.
	approximative	<i>ra:gju, tʰɛ:gju</i>	?	‘seem’	
Obligation/ deontic		<i>goʔ</i>	དགོས་	‘need to, must’	secondary verb
Permission	objective	<i>tɛʰoʔ</i>	ཚུགས་	‘be allowed’	
	subjective	<i>tup</i>	བདུབ་	‘deem fit’	
Evaluation	temporal	<i>rɛn</i>	རན་	‘be time to’	
	practical/moral	<i>(mi-)lɛʔ³³⁰</i>	(མི་)ལགས་	‘be good to’	
Ability	general	<i>tsʰuʔ</i>	ཚུགས་	‘be able to’	
		<i>ɛɛː</i>	ཤིས་	‘know (how to)’	
	physical	<i>kʰøʔ</i>	ཁྱེད་	‘have strength to’	
	temporal	<i>lōː</i>	ལོང་	‘have time to’	
Possibility		<i>síʔ</i>	ཤིད་	‘be possible’	
Tentativity		<i>ta</i>	ནྟ་	‘look’	
Pretension		<i>-dzin tʰap</i>	རྩོན་ བབ་	‘pretend to’	complex constr.

8.5.1 Probabilitative *-to*

The probabilitative *-to* 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 *-to* varies between ‘maybe’ and ‘probably’.

(8.194) རོལ་མོ་ རུ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ མཆིན་གྲོ།

rolmo ɛ̀u-watɛnɛ kʰɛn-to.

cymbal say.HON-COND know-PROB

‘If (I) say [rolmo] (you) probably know (what it is).’/‘(You) probably know (what is a) [rolmo].’ (YR canteen video)

(8.195) ཐག་རིང་ལས་ ཐོན་ཤང་འདིས་ རལ་ སྐྱམ་ཆར་གྲོ།

tʰa:riŋ=lɛ tɛʰɔn-ɛɛ=diː ɛɛː kom-tsʰaː-to.

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-*.

³³⁰ This form mainly occurs as negated.

(8.196) ཏེ་ལ་ལ་ མཁྱེན་ཅང་ འདི་ ལྷགས་ལོ་ མི་བཞག་གོ།
te lala kʰen-run di tʰu:=lo mi-za:-to.
 then some know.HON-CONC this mind.HON=DAT NEG-set-PROB
 ‘Then although some (may) know (the story), (they) may not have committed it to memory.’ (PAD bet story)

(8.197) ཚོད་ ལ་ མཚོ་ འདི་ སྐལ་ མི་ཚུགས་གོ།
teʰø? tʰa tsʰo=di ge: mi-tsʰu:-to.
 2SG.L now lake=DEMPH cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB
 ‘Now you probably won’t be able to cross the lake.’ (KT animal story)

The probabilitive co-occurs with personal copulas, see (8.198) and (8.199), but not with neutral (8.200) or sensorial copulas (8.201).

(8.198) ཚམ་ མིན་གོ།
tsʰom ín-to.
 mortar EQU-PROB
 ‘It’s maybe a mortar.’ (TB e)

(8.199) སློབ་གྲུའི་ གཡོག་ གལ་ཅན་ཏྲ་ མེད་གོ?
lóbqø: jó? kʰe:teɛ:=to mè:-to.
 school.GEN work important=CEMPH NEG.EX-PROB
 ‘There’s probably no important school work.’ (Richhi 55)

(8.200) *ཚམ་ སྤང་གོ།
**tsʰom bɛ-to.*
 mortar EQU.PER-PROB

(8.201) *སློབ་གྲུའི་ གཡོག་ གལ་ཅན་ཏྲ་ མིན་འདུག་གོ
**lóbqø: jó? kʰe:teɛ:=to mĩndu:-to.*
 school.GEN work important=CEMPH NEG.EX-PROB

The probabilitive also attaches to auxiliary copulas:

(8.202) ཏུས་མན་ནེ་ར་ 1,50000 འདེ་ཅིག་ མང་བོ་ མིན་གོ་ བཅོས་བའི་ སྤང་།
tʰy:mɛnɛ=ra dɛ:d lak de:teɪ? sǒ:-bo ín-to, kʰim
 about=AEMPH 1,5(Nep.) lakh(Nep.) that.much go.PFV-2INF EQU-PROB house
teo:-pø: gã:.
 repair-2INF.GEN time
 ‘Maybe about some 1,5 lakh (rupees) went when repairing the house.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The verb *ò:* ‘come’ functions as an existential, which often co-occurs with the probabilitive marker:

- (8.203) མོ་འོང་གོ།
tsʰa ɔ̌:-to.
 salt come-PROB
 ‘There’s probably salt.’ (KN e)

The form *ɔ̌:-to* may be postposed as an auxiliary to verb roots instead of mere *-to* (compare with 8.194):

- (8.204) སློབ་དཔོན་ མཐུན་ འོང་གོ་ལགས།
lópɕ̌: kʰɛn ɔ̌:-to=la.
 teacher know.HON come-PROB=HON
 ‘(You) perhaps know (that) teacher.’ (KT discussion with TB)

In the novel *Ricchi*, *-to* is six times out of total seven followed by the morpheme *ni* (spelled both རྟེ *ni* and རྟེ *ne*), which is probably a loan of the Nepali discourse-oriented attention marker *ni* (see Yliniemi 2016b), rather than a cognate of the Classical Tibetan topicalizer *-ni* (see Beyer 1992: 275-278). This collocation may be typical of Denjongke spoken in Yanggang, the native place of the author. The rest of my data has dozens of examples of *-to* 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) ཏ་པ་ བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ མན་བྱོན་ཐོ་ རྟེ་ མེན་ག?
hapa bombai=lo man-dzøn-to ni iŋ-ga.
 now Bombay=DAT NEG-come.HON-PROB AT(Nep.) EQU.PER-PQ
 ‘You perhaps haven’t so far been to Bombay, have you?’ (Richhi 101)

8.5.2 Apparentive *qa*

The Classical Tibetan verb འདྲ་ *qa* ‘be similar’ (see Beyer 1992: 254) also occurs in Denjongke as a marker which expresses what, in the speaker’s opinion, apparently is the case, hence the term “apparentive” and the gloss “AP.” The apparentive occurs independently without other verbal elements and also postposed to the verbal suffixes *-ɛɛ(?)* (1. infinitive), *-po/bo* (2. infinitive) and *-to/do* (imperfective). It would be problematic to name *qa* 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་ ཏུ་ཅིག་ ང་ མ་སློབས་, ན་ནིང་ འདི་ ཚ་ གཞིས་, ན་ནིང་ མེདབ་སྒྲ་, གཞོས་ནིང་ འདྲ།
ŋà t’utɛi? t’a ma-lɛp, nàniŋ=di tsʰa nɪ:, nàniŋ
 1SG this.year now NEG-arrive last.year=DEMPH turn two last.year
mébbe, zø:niŋ qa.
 NEG.EX.NE two.years.ago AP
 ‘This year I didn’t go (there), last year two times, it wasn’t last year, it’s two years ago, I think.’ (KT)

³³¹ The combination *qa be?*, however, merges into an apparentive equative copula *qɛ:/rɛ:*, which is discussed in §7.2.4.

(8.207) ཁོང་གི་གེང་ (gang) འདྲ་ལོ།

kʰõ:=to *geŋ* *qa=s.*

3PL=CEMPH gang(Eng.) AP=QUO

‘They seem (to belong to) one group.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

Uses of *qa* postposed to a combination of verb and verbal suffix are more frequent than independent copular type of uses. The following examples illustrate the co-occurrence of *qa* with past action marked by the second infinitive *-po/bo/u* (8.208-212), future action marked by the first infinitive *-εεʔ* (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་བོ་འདྲ་ལོ།

kʰu *dã:* *ò-m-bo* *qa beʔ.*

3SGM yesterday come-2INF AP EQU.NE

‘It seems he came yesterday.’ (KUN e)

b) ཁུ་མདང་མ་འོང་བོ་འདྲ་ལོ།

kʰu *dã:* *ma-ò-m-bo* *qa beʔ.*

3SGM yesterday NEG-come-2INF AP EQU.NE

‘It seems he didn’t come yesterday.’ (KUN e)

(8.209) མནའམ་འདི་མདང་ཁ་རྒྱབ་ལོག་ཐོན་བོ་འདྲ།

nám=di *dã:* *kʰa:nup* *lòk* *tc’øm-bo*

daughter-in-law=DEMPH yesterday the.day.before.yesterday return come-2INF

qa.

AP

‘Apparently the daughter-in-law returned yesterday or the day before yesterday.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

(8.210) མོ་འདི་ལ་འདི་ཨ་ཅི་ཅིག་དགོངས་ཡངས་གནང་བོ་འདྲ་ལོ། མོ་འདི་སྤང་ལ་བློ་ག་དར་ (thikadar) ཟུ་གིས།

ódi=lo=di *átsi=tcɛiʔ* *gõ:jã:* *nã:-bo* *qa beʔ,* *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) ང་རིང་ ང་ཅའི་ མི་ཚོ་ འདིའི་ མངལ་ཁ་ མཐའ་མོ་ མིན་ག་ འདྲ་ མིན་ག་ ཨ་གྱུ།
t'ariŋ ɣàtɛi mɪ-tsʰɛ diː dzɛːkʰa tʰamo ím-bo qa
 today 1PL.GEN human-life this.GEN meeting last EQU-NMLZ AP
ín-ga?
 EQU.PER-PQ
 'It seems like today is our last meeting in this human life, doesn't it?' (Richhi 173)

- (8.212) ལུ་ གཡོག་ འདི་ མི་བྱས་བོ་ འདྲ།
kʰu jóː=di mi-jò-u qa.
 3SGM work=DEMPH NEG-do-2INF AP
 'Apparently he's not doing the work.' (KN e)

Future with -*ɛɛ*-infinitive

With -*ɛɛ*-infinitive, the apparentive construction refers to apparent future action. In (8.215), the sequence *qa be?* merges into the apparentive copula *qɛ?* (also *qɛː/rɛː/rɛ?*).

- (8.213) ང་ ལོ་ ཉི་ཤུ་ འདི་ཅིག་ ང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྷན་ འདི་ ཡལ་ཤད་ འདྲ་ མིན་ལགས།
lò nɿɛu dɛːtɛi? t'a ɣàtɛi kɛː=di jɛː-ɛɛ qa
 year twenty that.much now 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH disappear-INF AP
íː=la.
 EQU.PER=HON
 'Now it seems that (in) some twenty years our language will disappear.' (RL interview)

- (8.214) དེ་ནས་ ང་ཅག་ གཉིས་ཀའི་ མཐོ་དོན་ མིན་ འབྲུབ་ཤད་ འདྲ་ མིན་ག་ ཨ་གྱུ།
t'ɛnɛ ɣàtɛa? nɿː-køː nóðɔː min-qup-ɛɛ qa ín-ga
 then 1PL two-COL.GEN purpose NEG-fulfil-INF AP EQU.PER-PQ
ágja.
 elder.brother
 'Then it seems the purpose of the two of us will not be fulfilled, doesn't it brother.' (Richhi 99)

- (8.215) མི་ དོན་ཏོ་ ར་ནི་ལྷུ་ལོ་ རྩོད་ཤད་ འདྲ། (=འདྲ་ རྩོད།)
ɛː, t'ɔn=to ranipul=lo dɔː-ɛɛ qɛ?
 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)

Ongoing with imperfective

In conjunction with progressive marker, the apparentive construction, unsurprisingly, refers to apparent ongoing action. It is noteworthy that the equative copula *íː* (neg. *mɛː*) may occur in the progressive apparentive construction, as shown in (8.217) and (8.218).

- (8.216) ཞལ་ལག་ རྩོད་ འདྲ་ ཟད།
ɛɛːlaʔ ɲó-do qa beʔ.
 food.HON fry-IPFV AP EQU.NE
 ‘(She) is apparently frying food.’ (RS driver joke)
- (8.217) མོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ མིན་དོ་ འདྲ།
óðem=tɛiʔ ín-do qa.
 like.that=INDF EQU-IPFV AP
 ‘It seems to be like that.’ (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)
- (8.218) མན་དོ་ འདྲ།
mɛn-do qa.
 NEG.EQU-PROG AP
 ‘It seems not to be (so).’ (KNM kitchen discussion)
- (8.219) ད་རིང་ ཁྱི་ འདི་ཀེས་ ལྷ་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ གནོད་པོ་ བསྐྱེལ་བ་ འོང་དོ་ འདྲ་ ཟད།
t'ariŋ kʰi=di=gi ɛáu=di=lo nó:po kɛ:-wa òn-do
 today dog=DEMPH=AGT deer=DEMPH=DAT harm bring-PUR come-PROG
qa beʔ.
 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་ རོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ ཡུལ་ ཐག་རིང་ལོ་ གཉེན་ རྩིང་ལྷིང་ གནས་སྐོར་ (ཉི་ནི་ཐུན) ལོ་ འབྲུ་དོ་ འདྲ་བོ་ ཡོད།
t'ato kʰò: ní:-po yí: tʰa:riŋ=lo nɛ́n dʒɛː=ki ki:-ki:
 now 3PL two-COL place far.away=DAT marriage after=GEN enjoyment-RDP
né.kor (hanimun=lo) gju-do qa-u jòʔ.
 sighseeing.tour honeymoon(Eng.)=DAT go-IPFV AP-2INF EX.PER
 ‘Now the two of them are as if going on a post-wedding enjoyment-tour (honeymoon).’
 (Richhi 129)

In the majority of instances in my data, *qa* is followed by an equative copula, most often *beʔ*, see (8.208), (8.210), (8.216), (8.219), (8.221) and (8.222), but also with *tí*; see (8.213).

Through frequent use, the combination *qa beʔ* has merged into an apparentive equative copula *qɛ:/qɛʔ/re:/reʔ*, see also §7.2.4. Some of my consultants were not aware that *qɛ:/re:* is related to *qa beʔ*. The apparentive copula is often accompanied by the attention marker *=ɛo*, which marks attention-worthy, often new information (see §16.2.2 and Yliniemi 2016a). The co-occurrence 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) མོ་འདི་ སྐར་ ཉི་ཉི་ འདྲད་ཤོ། (=འདྲ་སྐར་ཤོ།)
ódi gǎ: ɲò:-ɲò: rɛː=ɛo.
 that time buy-buy AP.EQU.NE=AT
 ‘(They) had apparently bought (those) at that time (I found out).’ (TB discussion with KT)

- (8.222) ཨ་འདི་གན་མོ་ ཨ་འདི་ཁྱ་མ་རྩེས་ཀྱི་ (tourist) འདི་ འདྲད་ཤོ་ (=འདྲ་ སྒྲུ་ཤོ་)
ódi k'an mo? ódi tuərist=di qɛː=ɛo.
 that what EQU.NE.Q that foreign(Eng.)=DEMPH AP.EQU.NE=AT
 ‘What’s that? Apparently it’s foreign (I find).’ (KNU kitchen discussion)

When *-da* is negated by the negator-prefix *mi-*, the meaning of the form is ‘be different’:

- (8.223) ད་རུང་ར་ལེག་ཁ་ མིན་འདྲ་ཤོ་ལགས།
t'aruŋ=ra lɛp kʰa min-da=ɛo=la.
 still=AEMPH very.much mouth NEG-AP=AT=HON
 ‘Still (his) language is very different, you know.’ (PTB apa kitchen)
- (8.224) དེ་ཟང་དང་ཕྱ་འདེམ་ མིན་འདྲ་ སྒྲུ།
t'izaː t'āːpu dɛm min-da 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 *da* (*bɛʔ*), *min-da* (*bɛʔ*), has the meaning ‘be different’, *da* itself cannot be negated and retain the meaning ‘does not seem’. Rather, the associated verb needs to be negated, quite analogously to the English expression ‘seems not to’.³³² Example (8.225) is negated in (8.226).

- (8.225) ཁྱ་མདང་ འོང་བོ་ འདྲ་ སྒྲུ།
kʰu dāː òm-bo da bɛʔ.
 3SGM yesterday come-2INF AP EQU.NE
 ‘He seems to have come yesterday.’ (KN e)

- (8.226) ཁྱ་མདང་ མ་འོང་བོ་ འདྲད་ (འདྲ་སྒྲུ།)
kʰu dāː m-òːb=qɛʔ.
 3SGM yesterday NEG-come-2INF=AP.EQU.NE
 ‘He seems not to have come yesterday.’ (KN e)

In addition to the apperentive uses, *da* is used as the base of the adjectives *qau/qou* ‘similar, like’ (neg. *man-qau/man-qou* ‘dissimilar, unlike’), see (8.227), and *da:mandau/da:minqa* ‘different kinds of’, see (8.228).

- (8.227) ལུ་མ་འདི་ རྩོ་བུ་ འདྲུ་ མིན་ སེ།
p'um=di nòrbu qou íː=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 apperentive *seem*, ‘He doesn’t seem to have come’ and ‘He seems not to have come’, whereas in Denjongke the negation of the apperentive is possible only analogously to the latter English construction.

- (8.228) གཏམ་རྒྱུ་ འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་ གེས་པོ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང།
tamgy? daminda ke:po jò:-kʰen be?
 legend different.kinds.of a.lot EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘There are a lot different types of legends.’ (SGD cave story)

8.5.3 Approximatives *da:gju* and *tʰe:gju*

There are further two constructions that resemble in meaning the probabilitive and apperentive forms, *da:gju/da:kju* (may also be pronounced *ra:gju/ra:kju*, written tentatively as འདྲ་འགྱུ) and *tʰe:gju* (written tentatively as རེ་འགྱུ), which occur in the same positions as the apperentive *da* (*be?*). The form *da:gju/da:kju*, which may include the apperentive *da*, is used at least in Ralang and Tashiding in West Sikkim, whereas *tʰe:gju* is used in Martam, East Sikkim. The two forms are here, inspired by the use in (8.229), tentatively glossed as ‘approximative’ (APPR). However, the meaning is in many instances indistinguishable from the probabilitive and apperentive forms. Similarly to copulas, the approximative forms may occur independently without other verbal marking:³³³

- (8.229) ཟླ་བོ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ མྱེས་ཀྱིས་ (school) གྱི་ རྩི་ (fee) རྩ་བརྒྱ་ འདྲ་འགྱུ་ལགས།
*dou=lo=to iskul=gi pʰi: ṇábgja ra:kju=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) མོ་ན་ བཅོ་ དགོས་ ཤད་ འདྲ་འགྱུ།
óna dzo go:=eε ra:kju.
 there build be.needed=INF APPR
 ‘It appears (we) have to build (it) there.’ (TB discussion with KL)

The following examples illustrate the use of the approximative in auxiliary position. Examples (8.231-233) illustrate uses postposed to a nominalized verb, and (8.234) a use with the progressive.

- (8.231) ངའི་ མཁ་ གིངས་སྟེ་ ཏ་ ལོ་ བརྒྱ་ བཅོ་ལྷ་ ལངས་ འདྲ་འགྱུ།
nè: ám tʰò:-ti tʰa lò tɕu tɕɛŋa ləm
 1SG.GEN mother die.HON-NF now year ten fifteen reach.2INF
da:gju.
 APPR
 ‘It’s probably ten to fifteen years since my father died.’ (DB life story)

- (8.232) བཏང་བོ་ འདྲ་འགྱུ་, ང་ མ་ཐོབ་བོ་ སྤང།
tā:-bo da:(k)ju, ṇà ma-tʰob=be?
 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 *tʰe:gju*, but because *tʰe:gju* seems the Martam equivalent of *ra:gju*, 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 *lópɕa=gi lá* ལོཔཅ་གི་ ལ་.

(8.233) ལམ་ རབ་རྒྱལ་ འདི་ཡང་ ཡོད་ཏོ་ ཡོད་པོ་ བེ་འགྱུ།
lám rabge:=di=jǎ: jò:=to jθ-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) ཏེ་ མོ་འདེ་ མིན་དོ་ བེ་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 *tɛʰo?* and *tup*

The two permissive secondary verbs *tɛʰo?* ‘be allowed’ and *tup* ‘deem fitting, deem proper’ have partly overlapping semantics. By using the secondary verb *tɛʰo?* ‘be allowed, be right’ the speaker evaluates whether something is permissible or not with reference to some moral or other norm. Hence *tɛʰo?* 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 *tɛʰo?* is *tɛʰok-o ǎ:/bɛ?*, 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) འགེ་དོ་ འདེམ་ བྱས་ ཆོག།
ɛ́ɛ:-to dem pʰja tɛʰo?
 seize-PROG like.that do be.allowed
 ‘it’s like (they) should be caught’ (CY interview)

(8.236) འཐུ་ ཀོས་ མི་ཆོག།
tʰu ko: mi-tɛʰo?
 pick throw NEG-be.allowed
 ‘It’s not right to throw (it) away (like that).’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

(8.237) ང་ཅག་གིས་ འདི་ རྒྱལ་ རྒྱབས་ མི་ཆོག་ བེ།
ŋàtɛa=ki=dɪ kum kjap mi-tɛʰo:=s.
 1PL=AGT=DEMPH stealing do NEG=be.allowed=QUO
 ‘We are not allowed to steal.’ (YR canteen video)

The affirmative form may be followed by an equative copula (in my data, the negated form is not followed by an equative):

(8.238) རང་ ངའི་ རྩ་ རྩོན་པོ་ གནང་ནི་ རྩོན་པོ་ གནང་ རྩོན་ ཞིན།

rã: *ɲɛ:=tsa:* *tɛ'ɛm-bo* *nã:-nɛ* *tɛ'ɛm-bo* *nã:*
2SG.L 1SG.GEN=at come.HON-2INF do.hon-COND come-2INF do.HON
tɛ'o ***ĩ:***

be.allowed EQU.PER

'If you come to my place, you can (=are allowed) come.' (KT phone call)

(8.239) ལ་མ་ ལབ་རྩལ་ ལབ་ རྩོན་ རྩལ།

lāma lāp-run lāp tɛ'o bɛ?
lama say-CONC say be.allowed EQU.NE

'It's alright to call (it) [lama].' Lit. 'Even if you call (it) a lama, it's alright.' (KNA kitchen discussion)

Whereas *tɛ'o?* 'be allowed' makes reference to some objective norm against which an action is evaluated, the secondary verb *tup* 'deem fitting' expresses a more subjective evaluation of the appropriateness of an action, see (8.240-242). In (8.240), an M.C. is asking a festival crowd whether they enjoy the program.

(8.240) བཏུབ་ཀྱི་

tup-ka?

deem.fitting-PQ

'Is (it) fitting/alright?' (NAB, oh)

(8.241) རྩོན་ཐུག་ མཐུ་སྟོབས་ རྩོན་ཐུག་གིས་ གསན་ མ་བཏུབ་པོ།

tɛ'θgɛ: *tʰutop* *námge:=gi* *sɛn* ***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) གཤམ་སྲིད་... རང་ རྩ་ གནང་སྲིད་ འདུ་སྟོ་ རྩོན་ མ་བཏུབ་ནི་ ངས་ ཁམ་རྩ་ རྩོན་ བཏུབ་ ཞིན་ མེ་ ལབ་པོ་ལོ།

kʰɛ:si ... *rã:=tsa:* *nã:-diki* *du-ti* ***p'in*** ***ma-tup-nɛ*** *ɲá:*
if 2SG.L=at give-NF collect-NF give NEG-deem.fitting-COND 1SG.AGT

kʰamte'u *kɛ:=ɛĩ:=s* *lāp-o=lo.*
court.case bring=NPST.PER=QUO say-2INF=REP

'If...(I) having asked you and collected, you do not deem it fit to give, I will take this case to court.' (SD bet story)

Although in (8.240-242) a human agent makes the evaluation, *tup* may also occur in contexts without a human agent, as if fate is personified:

- (8.243) ལྷམ་ ཚེས་ཐེལ་ རྒྱལ་མ་ཟེ་ནེ་ ཐོ་རྟོ་ (photo) རྩོ་ ཐོན་ མ་བཏུབ་པོ་ལོ་ བེ།
lám tɕʰøpʰel kjap=sã:=nɛ pʰoʈo (Eng.) dʒɛ: 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 *tɕʰoʈoʔ*, 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 *tɕʰoʈoʔ* in (8.237) towards moral obligation. The generally valid statement in (8.244) is negated by *mi-* and the past statement in (8.243) by *ma-*.

- (8.244) ང་ཅག་གིས་ སློག་ གཙོད་ མི་བཏུབ།
ŋàtɕa=ki só: tɕɛʔ mi-tup.
 1PL=AGT life cut NEG-be.fitting
 ‘We shouldn’t take life.’ (YR canteen video)

8.5.5 Temporal evaluative *ren* ‘be time to’

By using the secondary verb *ren* ‘be time to’ the speaker expresses that in their evaluation a time for the verbal action (denoted by the primary verb) has come. The verb *ren* differs from other secondary verbs in that it does not occur as a primary verb, and even as a secondary verb it has a very limited distribution. It either occurs as the final marker in the clause, see (8.245) or is followed by the imperfective marker *-to* (8.246). Other constructions, such as the periphrastic past **VERB ren-bo bɛʔ* and completive **VERB ren-tsʰa:* do not occur. A nominalized form, however, occurs in the idiom given in (8.247).

- (8.245) ད་ལྟོ་ ཁོང་ ཐོབས་ རན།
tʰato kʰõ: lɛp ren.
 now 3SG.HON arrive be.time.to
 ‘Now it’s time for him to come.’ (KUN e)
- (8.246) མོམ་ ཁོལ་ རན་རྟོ་ མ་ལག་ ལྟ་ཆེ།
óm kʰõ: ren-to. mǎlaʔ 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་ རྩོད་ རན་པོ་ལས་ ད་ འདེམ་ གན་ བྱས་པོ་ མིན།
gju ren dõ: ren-po=lɛ tʰa dem kʰan pʰja-u t̃: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 *ren*. His imperfective marker, however, has a voiced initial (*-do*) in contrast to *-to* in my data.

(8.248) Sandberg (1895: 74) (WD, transcription and glossing mine)

ཟ་རན་དོ།
sà ren-do
 eat be.time.to-IPFV
 ‘It’s time to eat’

8.5.6 Moral and practical evaluative (*mi-*)*le?* ‘be (not) good’

The secondary verb (*mi-*)*le?*, which typically occurs negated, expresses the speaker’s evaluation about the goodness or practicality of a course of action.

(8.249) ཨོ་འདི་བྱས་མི་ལགས།
ódi p’ja mi-le?
 that do NEG-be.good
 ‘It is not good to do that.’ (KN, CY interview)

(8.250) ཟས་འདི་ཚོད་གིས་ཟ་མི་ལགས།
sàm=di tɛʰø:=ki sà mi-le?
 food=DEMPH 2SG.L=AGT eat NEG-be.good
 ‘It is not good for you to eat the food.’ (Rna-gsung 9)

(8.251) ཆེ་ཨ་རྒྱ་བཞེས་པོ་གནང་མོད། ཡང་ན་ང་ཅི་ལག་ཀ་ལས་བཞེས་མི་ལགས་པོ་?
tɛʰɛ: àgja, ze:-po ná:-mø? jǎ:ne nàtɛi làka=lɛ
 oh.no elder.bother eat.HON-2INF do.HON-URG or 1PL.GEN hand=ABL
ze: mi-lɛ:-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-le?* is functionally very close to negated permissives *mi-tɛʰo?* ‘be not allowed’ and *mi-tup* ‘deem not fitting’.

8.5.7 General abilitatives *tsʰu?* ‘be able to’ and *ɛɛ:* ‘know’

The secondary verbs *tsʰu?* ‘be able to’ (WT ཚུགས་ *tshugs*) and *ɛɛ:* ‘know’ (WT ཤེས་ *shes*) express the speaker’s evaluation about the proposition’s actor’s ability to do something. The form *tsʰu?* is described first, then *ɛɛ:*. The abilitative *tsʰu?* may occur as the sentence-final morpheme or be followed by other verbal suffixes. The negated forms are present/future *mi-tsʰu?* (EQU) and past *ma-tsʰu?* (EQU). The affirmative past form is *tsʰu-po* EQU. In (8.252) and (8.253) *tsʰu?* occurs as sentence-final morpheme.

(8.252) ཏེ་རང་ཏྲ་ཁ་ཤ་ནགས་ཅན་ནང་ཤ་བྱག་འདི་ཚུའི་ནང་ཤ་ལེབ་རྒྱག་ཚུགས།
tɛ rǎ:=to kʰaɕa nà:tsɛ: nàŋɕa p’ja? di=tsu=i nàŋɕa lɛp
 then 2SG.L=CEMPH deer forest inside cliff this=PL=GEN inside very.much
gju:k tsʰu?
 run be.able.to
 ‘But you, a deer, are able very well to run in the forest and cliffs.’ (UU deer story)

- (8.253) མོ་འདི་བྱས་ ང་ གློག་ མ་ཚུགས།
ódi-p'ja ŋà ɖok ma-ts'u?
 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་རྟ་ ཟླ་ལོ་ གཉིས་ འདི་ཅིག་ ཏེ་ བྱིས་ན་ བཞག་ ཚུགས་ ཟླ།
di=ta³³⁵ dau ní: dɛ:tei? tɛ kʰim=na zak ts'u bɛ?
 this=CEMPH month two that.much then house=LOC set be.able.to EQU.NE
 'It can then be placed inside the house for some two months.' (PL interview)

- (8.255) མོ་འདི་རྟ་ བུ་ བུས་ གཞིས་ བྱས་ཅང་ བྱས་ ཚུགས་ མིན།
ódi=ta p'u p'um ka=gi p'ja-ruŋ p'ja ts'u í:
 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) ང་རིང་གི་ ཐག་གཅང་ འདི་ ང་ཉ་ཅེ་ ཐོན་ མི་ཚུགས་ ཟླ།
t'ariŋ=gi t'hakteɛ:=di t'atare tʰen mi-ts'u bɛ?
 today=GEN decision=DEMPH now happen NEG-be.able.to EQU.NE
 'Today's decision cannot be made right now.' (BB BB discussion)

The following examples illustrate the nonpast, past and present habitual uses of *ts'u* respectively:

- (8.257) ག་ན་ འགྱུ་ ཚུགས་ཤང་ མ་པ་?
k'ana gju ts'u:-ɛɛ? ápa?
 where go be.able.to-INF father
 'Where will (we) be able to go, father?' (AB kitchen discussion)
- (8.258) ང་ལོ་ ལྷན་རིགས་ཀྱི་ སློབ་དཔོན་ གཡོག་ ཐོབ་ ཚུགས་པོ་ མིན།
ŋà=lo keri=ki lópɔ: jó? tʰop ts'u-po í:
 1SG=DAT language=GEN teacher work receive be.able.to-2INF EQU.PER
 'I was able to get a job as a language teacher.' (KT life story)

³³⁵ Here the contrastive emphatic is pronounced in the Nepali way as *ta* and not as typical Denjongke *to*. The written Denjongke, however, has ཏེ *to*. The same happens, with the same speaker, in (8.255).

- (8.259) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་གནས་འདི་ལྟ་སྐྱོད་མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་གྱི།
dɛndzɔŋ=gi nɛː=di po kor
 Sikkim=GEN sacred.site=DEMPH EMPH(Nep.) go.round
mi-tsʰu-kʰɛn bɛʔ.
 NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘(He) is not able to visit even the sacred sites of Sikkim.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

In addition to uses as primary verb, *ɛɛː* ‘know’ can be used as a secondary verb marking ability:

- (8.260) ཁོང་གི་མ་ཤེས་ཅུང་སྐད་འདི་རྒྱལ་ས་ཤེས་ཏོ་ལགས་ཨོ་འདི་སྐད་།
kʰõː tʰi ma-ɛɛː-run kɛː=di kjap ɛɛː-to=la, ódi gãː.
 3PL write NEG-know-CONC language=DEMPH strike know-IPFV=HON that time
 ‘Although they could not write, (they) could speak the language, at that time.’ (RL interview)
- (8.261) གློག་ཤེས་ཀྱི།
ɖok ɛɛː-ka?
 read know-PQ
 ‘Can (you) read?’ (UT e)
- (8.262) ལྔ་མོ་ཤེས་ཀམ་?
láː mó ɛɛː-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 is understood from the context (the question), *nùm* can be used independently.

- (8.263) ང་འགྱུ་མི་རུམ།
ŋà gju mi-nùm.
 1SG go NEG-dare
 ‘I don’t dare to go.’ (KTL e)
- (8.264) a) རྩོུ་འདི་བསད་རུམ་ཀྱི།
biu=di sɛʔ nùm-ka?
 snake=DEMPH kill dare-PQ
 ‘Do (you) dare to kill the snake?’ (KTL e)

³³⁶ ལྟ་ here represents the Nepali emphatic *po*.

- b) ངས་ ལྷན།
ŋá: nùm.
 1SG.AGT dare
 ‘I (do) dare.’ (KUN e)

8.5.9 Physical abilitative *kʰø?* ‘to have the strength to’

The secondary verb *kʰø?* (WD ལྷོད་ *kyod*) expresses a special case of abilitative, ‘to have the strength to’. This verb collocates especially with the verb *bak* ‘carry’:

- (8.265) ལུ་ ཚེ་ འདི་ན་ ཟླེག་གོ་ མ་ལུན་ འདེམ་ གྲས་ ཚེ་ བཅ་ན་ ལུ་ ཟླེག་གོ་ མོ་འདི་ འབག་ ལྷོད་ཀྱི་?
kʰu tsʰɛ=di=na diko ma-ɲun dɛm-pʼja tsʰɛ pʰam=na
 3SGM life=DEMPH=LOC sin NEG-few such-ADVZR life other.side=LOC
kʰu diko ódi bak kʰø:-ka?
 3SGM sin that carry have.strength-PQ
 ‘Because of so many sins in this life, will he be able to carry that sin in the coming life?’
 (KN e)

8.5.10 Temporal abilitative *lõ:* ‘have time to’

The secondary verb *lõ:*, 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 *lõ:* ‘stand’, but differs from it syntactically in that whereas *lõ:* ‘stand’ functions like a typical verb, *lõ:* ‘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་ ལྷ་ལོང་ མེད།
só:za ɛù lõ: mɛʔ.
 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་ཙུ་ ཟུར་ འགྱུ་ ལོང་ མེད། ལྷིམ་ན་ གཡོག་ ཡོད།
tʼato ŋà áteu=tsa: gju lõ: mɛʔ. kʰim=na jóʔ
 now 1SG elder.brother=at go have.time.to NEG.EX.PER house=LOC work
jòʔ.
 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 jóʔ mɛʔ. gju lõ: jòʔ.
 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་དེ་ ལྷན་ཟང་ གན་མའི་ འོང་མང་ འདུག་གོ?
ŋà t'atɛi=lɛ ɔ̃:-ni p'ja=sã: k'amø: ɔ̃: lɔ̃:
 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 *lɔ̃:* 'have time to', expressing the semantic equivalent of English 'as soon as', is exemplified in (8.270):

- (8.270) བོ་མ་བེ་ལ་ སྒྲེབས་མང་ མེད་པ་ ཡི་གེ་ བྲི་གད་ ཨིན་
bombai=lo lɛp lɔ̃: mɛ:-po jigi t'i-ɛɛ ĩ.
 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 *lɔ̃:* '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-de:=lo.
 NEG-have.time=REP
 '(He) does not have time, (they) heard (him say).' (KNA kitchen discussion)

8.5.11 Deontic modal *go?* 'be needed, must'

The affirmative form of the deontic modal secondary verb *go?* 'be needed, must' indicates that something, in the speaker's opinion, needs to be done (in affirmative), see (8.272).

- (8.272) ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ དེབ་ བྲི་ དགོས།
tɛ'hø:=ki t'ɛp t'i go?
 2SG.L=AGT book write be.needed
 'You have to write a book/books.' (YR canteen video)

The construction can be negated in two ways, which bear a semantic difference. Preposing the negator prefix to the secondary verb *go?* has the meaning 'does not need to' (8.273), whereas preposing the negator to the primary verb has the meaning 'must not' (8.274).

- (8.273) ཨོམ་མཇོད་ བསམ་གྲུབ་ སྔོད་ མིན་དགོས་གོ།
ómdze? sámɖup dɔ̃: miŋ-go:=ɛo.
 second.lama PN sit NEG-be.needed=AT
 'Omze Samdrup does not need to participate (in the ceremony), you know.' (LT kitchen discussion)

- (8.274) ང་ཅག་གིས་ སྔོག་ མ་བསད་ དགོས།
ŋàtɛa=ki sók ma-sɛ go?
 1PL=AGT life NEG-kill be.needed
 'We mustn't take life.' (YR canteen video)

The form can also be used as an independent primary verb (i.e. without a preceding verb) with the meaning ‘need to have’ (the various forms of the S argument in these clauses are commented in §5.3.1):

- (8.275) ངས་/ང་ལོ་/*ང་ རྩ་ དགོས།
*ŋá:/ŋà=lo/*ŋà* *tɕʰu* *go?*
 1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/*1SG water be.needed
 ‘I need water.’ (KN e)

- (8.276) ངས་/ང་ལོ་/ང་ རྩ་ཚན་ མིན་དགོས།
ŋá:/ŋà=lo/ŋà *tɕʰutsʰɛː* *miŋ-go?*
 1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/1SG hot.water NEG-be.needed
 ‘I don’t need hot water.’ (KT e)

The equative copula *bɛʔ/=pɛʔ* may follow *goʔ* (the equative *íː* does not occur in this position in my data).

- (8.277) ཡ་རྩ་ དགོངས་པོ་ རྩ་ དགོས་པ།
ágya *gom(po)* *ɛ̀ù* *goː=pɛʔ.*
 elder.brother permission request be.needed-EQU.NE
 ‘Brother, I need to request permission (to leave).’ (Richhi 70)

- (8.278) ཡོ་འདེན་ རྩ་ མིན་དགོས་ ཟླ་ཤོ།
ódɛm *ɛ̀ù* *min-goʔ* *bɛ=ɛo.*
 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་ ཉེ་ར་ རྩ་ ཕུལ་གྲ་ དགོས་གྲ་ ཟླ།
tʰabra=na *tɕːra* *tɕʰu* *pʰyː-ɛɛ* *goː-ɛɛ* *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) ལྷོ་གར་ན་ འགན་ ལེན་མཁན་ཅུའི་ རང་ལས་ ལྷོ་བ་དཔོན་ ལྷན་གྱིས་ཅུ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ ལྷ་རང་ མ་དགོས་པོ་ ཟུང།
dø:gar=na gen lèŋ-kʰen=tsu=i nàŋ=lɛ lópøŋ
 play=LOC responsibility take-NMLZ=PL=GEN inside=ABL teacher
lɛŋgɛ:=tsu=lo=to ɛ̀u=rã: maŋ-go:-po be?
 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་ གཞོག་ བྱས་ དགོས་མཁན་ ཟུང།
t’a jó? p’ja go:-kʰen be?
 now work do be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘Now work needs to be done.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Denjongke does not have an exact equivalent of the English verb ‘want’. Resembling semantics, however, may be expressed through a combination of the deontic modal and the verb *no* ‘think’:

- (8.282) མོས་ ཀམ་ མཉམ་པོ་ ལ་ ལཔ་ དགོས་ མཐོ་རུང་
múl: karma nàmpu kʰa-lap go? nó-run
 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་ མཐོ་བོ་ ཞིན།
gju go? nó-u í:.
 go be.needed think-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘(I) wanted to go.’ Lit. ‘(I) though (I) must go.’ (TB e)

8.5.12 Possibility with *sí?* ‘be possible’

The rather infrequent secondary verb *sí?* expresses possibility and, as negated, impossibility.

- (8.284) ལྷ་མཚོའི་ ལྷ་ ལོ་མ་ སྤོང་ འོང་།
gjamtsʰø: tɛʰu kʰom sí? ô:.
 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 *sí?* does not occur in past constructions, while example (8.285) shows that *sí?* does occur in the nonpast construction:

- (8.285) མ་གཞི་ འགྲོ་ལས་ ཆ་སྟོན་པོ་ ལྷང་སྤོང་གད་ ཟུང།
màzi doli? tɛʰa jómpo tɛʰuŋ sí:-ɛɛ be?
 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 *sí?* with *tʰon* ‘happen, become’ and *tsalɛ* ‘at all’:

(8.286) ཉེ་འདི་ང་ཅག་སྟེང་ལས་ར་འཛོན་མི་བྲིད།
tɛ di ɲàtɛa? tsalɛ=ra tʰon mi-si?
 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་འདི་རྟོ་སྟེང་ལས་འཛོན་མི་བྲིད།
mɛ: dɛ:=to tsalɛ tʰon mi-si?
 no like.that=CEMPH at.all happen NEG-be.possible
 ‘No, it is not at all possible that that happens.’ (Richhi 116)

8.5.13 Tentativity with *ta* ‘look’

The secondary verb *ta* ‘look’ denotes tentative and experimental action whose outcome is uncertain. Similar use of the verb ‘see’ to mark “tentative aspect” has been reported, for instance, in Tibeto-Burman Lahu (Matisoff 1973) and Galo (Post 2007: 497), the Tai-Kadai language Maonan (Lu 2008: 310) and Indo-Aryan Assamese (Post 2008: 65). I consider, however, tentative modality a better term, because the category is not essentially about time-perspective. The secondary verb *ta* frequently collocates with *tʰi* ‘ask’, which denotes an action 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་འབྱང་ལབ་ཉི་འི་ལྟ་བོ་ལོ།
tɛʰø? kan bjø: ləp-ti tʰi ta-u=lo.
 2SG.L what disappear say-NF ask look-2INF=REP
 ‘What of yours disappeared (he) asked (so the story goes).’ (JDF axe story)

(8.289) ཇ་པོ་ཇ་མ་ལོ་ཇ་ཙེ་ཅག་ང་ཅག་འི་ལྟ་གོ།
ápo áma=lo átsi=tɛi? ɲàtɛa? tʰi 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་བཙོ་བྱོན་ལྟ་གོ་སེ་ངའི་མ་བྱང་ལོ།
tɛ’a zo p’in ta-gɛ=s ɲè: 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་ལྟ་ཅན་རང་ཁ་ལབ་ལྟ་གོ་ཆོ།
gɛ:po=di=lo lòktɛ=rã: kʰa-lap ta-gɛ-tɛʰi.
 king=DEMPH=DAT again=AEMPH mouth-speak look-HORT-IMP.FRN
 ‘Let’s again try and speak (in incantation) to this (spirit) king.’ (rnam-rtog 8)

- (8.292) མཉམ་ཁང་ན་ བྱིན་མྱོ་ ལྷན་ ལྷན་གྱི་
méŋkʰā:=na kʰik-ti tɔn ta-ne=ɛo?
 hospital=LOC lead-NF show look-COND=AT
 ‘What if (we) look (or try) and take and show him at the hospital?’ (nam-rtog 17)

The honorific equivalent *zi*: ‘look, see (hon.)’ can also be used in similar function to *ta*.

- (8.293) ཇི་ གཞིགས་པོ་ གནང་ཆེ།
tʰi zi:-po ná:-teʰi.
 ask look.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN
 ‘Try and ask (him/her).’ (KN e)

8.5.14 Pretensive -*dzin tʰap*

The pretensive is formed by postposing to the verb -*dzin tʰap*, consisting of WT རྩུན་ *rdzun* ‘lie’ and the verbalizer *tʰap* of uncertain etymological origin (possibly WT འཐབ་ ‘*thab* ‘fight, quarrel’).

- (8.294) ལུ་ གཞིགས་ བྱས་རྩུན་ ཐབ་པོ་ སྤང།
kʰu jó? pʼja-dzin tʰap-o bɛ?
 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-ɛɛ=ki* [go-INF=GEN] could be replaced by *gju-bø*: [go-2INF.GEN].

- (8.295) ལུ་ ར་ལས་ འགྲུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ འགྲུ་རྩུན་ ཐབ་པོ་ སྤང།
kʰu [ná:=lɛ gju-ɛɛ=ki] gju-dzin tʰap-o bɛ?
 3SGM here=ABL go-INF =GEN go-PRET VBLZ-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘He pretended he was going from here.’ (KN e)

The pretensive form, which attaches directly to the verb root, is a grammaticalization of the complex verb *dzin tʰap* ‘pretend’, which occurs with a nominalized complement (complement given in square brackets):

- (8.296) དེ་ཟང་ གནད་སྐངས་ འདིས་ བྱས་མྱོ་ མས་ ང་ལ་ ངོ་ ཤེས་རུང་ ངོ་ མ་ཤེས་པའི་ ལྷན་ ཐབ་པོ་ འད།
tʰizā: né:tā:=di: pʼja-ti mú: ŋà=lo ŋò ɛé:-run
 but situation=DEMPH.AGT do-NF 3SGF.AGT 1SG=DAT face know-CON
 [ŋò ma- ɛé:-pø:] *dzin tʰap-o qa.*
 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 (-sō:) that does not occur in the present description. Second, Sandberg does not report the completive form which does occur in the present description (-ts^ha:). It was also noted that the infinitive forms -εε? and =ni syntactically overlap in some constructions but not in others. Furthermore, I described 16 modality-expressing markers, most of them secondary verbs. As an example of modal functions, secondary verbs can express ability from several perspectives: general, mental, physical and temporal.

9 Evidentiality marked by auxiliaries and clitics

This chapter continues the discussion on evidentiality which began in chapter 7 on copulas. Chapter 8 on tense, aspect and modality-marking construction was placed between the two chapters on evidentiality because it is easier to understand the discussion on the evidential uses of copulas and clitics in various constructions after those construction have been introduced. The current chapter widens the discussion on evidentiality into two directions. First, here the discussion on evidential functions of copulas is extended to their auxiliary uses at the end of the verb complex (§9.1). Second, this chapter addresses the evidential clitics, reportative =*lo* and quotative =*se* (§9.2). For a definition of evidentiality, see §7.1.

The description in this chapter concerns only finite main clauses. Reportative and quotative markers do not occur in dependent clauses,³³⁷ and in dependent clauses evidential contrasts in auxiliaries are neutralized so that only the personal copulas *ĩ:* and *jò?* (and not neutral *bɛ?* and sensorial *du?*) occur.³³⁸ The concessive construction in (9.1) exemplifies an evidentially neutral, dependent construction. In (9.1), *ĩ:* cannot be replaced by *bɛ?*.

- (9.1) ཏེ་ལྷན་གྱིས་ལྷོ་ག་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ མིན་ཅུང་
te ʃɛŋgɛː=tsu k'aː zuː-kʰɛː ɪː-run
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 *ĩ:*, *bɛ?*, *jò?* and *du?* retain their basic meaning when used as auxiliaries. The use of the personal equative *ĩ:* and personal existential *jò?* is associated with 1) well-integrated old knowledge, 2) spatiotemporal proximity and 3) emotional involvement, whereas the neutral auxiliary *bɛ?* is associated with the lack of these three characterizations. The sensorial existential *du?* is associated with sensoriality and momentariness³³⁹.

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 *ĩ:* and *bɛ?* as auxiliaries

The equatives *ĩ:* and *bɛ?* occur in past (VERB-*po* EQU)³⁴⁰, present habitual (VERB-*kʰɛː* EQU), imperfective (VERB-*do* [EQU]), future (VERB-*ɛɛ* EQU) and nominalized progressive (VERB-*zim-bo* EQU) constructions. Table 9.1 summarizes these constructions and exemplifies each form with the verb(alizer) *kjap* 'strike, do'.

³³⁷ The quotative =*se* 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'ambjasene* (see §15.4.1) and causal/purposive clauses with *lapti* (see §15.4.4 and §15.5.3) allow finite constructions and thus also occur with *bɛ?* and *du?*.

³³⁹ Momentariness refers to the fact that by using the auxiliary *du?* the speaker claims only to have had a sensory experience but does not necessarily claim that the reported state-of-affairs continues at the time of speaking. In contrast, the personal auxiliary *jò?* typically suggests continuation of the action or its results at the time of speaking.

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- <i>po</i> EQU	<i>kjap-o ǎ:</i>	<i>kjap-o bε?</i>
present habitual	VERB- <i>kʰẽ:</i> EQU	<i>kjap-kʰẽ: ǎ:</i>	<i>kjap-kʰẽn bε?</i>
imperfective	VERB- <i>do</i> (EQU)	<i>kjap-to ǎ:</i>	<i>kjap-to bε?</i>
nonpast	VERB- <i>εε</i> EQU	<i>kjap-εε ǎ:</i>	<i>kjap-εε bε?</i>
nom. prog.	VERB- <i>zim-bo</i> EQU	<i>kjap-zim-bo ǎ:</i>	<i>kjap-zim-bo bε?</i>

The evidential meaning of the personal auxiliary *ǎ:* is essentially the same as the meaning of the copula *ǎ:*. By using the auxiliary *ǎ:* the speaker claims familiarity with the reported situation. Similarly to the copular use of *bε?*, by using the auxiliary *bε?* 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 *bε?* with 1st person actor³⁴¹ 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 *ǎ:*, which implies familiarity. People are by default well familiar with their own actions. The examples below illustrate the periphrastic past (9.2), present habitual (9.3), imperfective (9.4) and nonpast contexts (9.5). The nonpast form -*εε ǎ:* is often, as in (9.6), reduced to -*εǎ:* in spoken language.

- (9.2) དེས་ འདི་ གོང་ཆེན་ མ་བྱས་གེ་ ལབ་བོ་ ཞིན།
t'εp=di k'õ:tεʰẽ: ma-jà-gε ləp-o ǎ:
 book=DEMPH expensive NEG-do-HORT say-2INF EQU.PER
 'Let's not make (the price of) the book expensive, I said.' (KL BLA 12)

- (9.3) ང་ ད་ལྟ་ བཀའ་ཐོན་སྤང་ རྒྱུང་མཁན་ ཞིན།
ŋà t'ato kalimpon ɖø:-kʰẽ: ǎ:
 1SG now TPN live-NMLZ EQU.PER
 'I stay now in Kalimpong.' (TB e)

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) འདི་ཁྱ་བཞིན་ལས་ ངའི་ ཚིག་ འདུམ་ འདྲ་འདི་ ན་ བཞག་རྟོ་ མིན་སེ།
de: ɛ̀ù:-zin=lɛ nɛ: tsʰik dum dodɪ nà:
 like.that say.HUM-PROG=ABL 1SG.GEN word short this.right.here here
zak-to ɿ̌:=s.
 put-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO
 ‘Having said that, I hereby end these few words of mine.’ (KTL life story)

- (9.5) གན་བྱས་སེན་ ཁྱ་ལོ་ ངས་ བསད་ཤད་ མིན།
k'amjasine kʰu=lo ŋá: sɛ́-ɛ̌ɿ̌.
 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-*kʰɛ̌: ɿ̌:*) functions similarly to the equative copula *ɿ̌:* in that it identifies the person as being someone who has the quality which is described by the nominalized verb. Using the neutral auxiliary *bɛ?* in (9.3) would imply that the identifying function is backgrounded, i.e. VERB-*kʰɛ̌n bɛ?* puts more emphasis on verbal action than on identifying (see also the discussion in §7.2.3).

9.1.1.2 Personal forms with non-1st person actor

The use of personal forms with non-1st person actors in Denjongke is more frequent and semantically and syntactically less limited than the use of the equivalent egophoric forms in Standard Tibetan (see §7.4). The three examples (9.6-8) illustrate the past construction. In (9.6), the speaker reminds the addressees of something that they have just said. By using the personal form in (9.6) the speaker probably emphasizes the fact that he himself just recently heard his conversation partners utter the words referred to.

- (9.6) ད་ཅི(ག)་ ལུ་ཅག་ ལའ་ལོ་ མིན་གྱོ་ མིན་ག།
t'atei? k'utea? làp-o ɿ̌:=eo 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) ཏུ་བོའི་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ ཁོ་གིས་ ང་ལྟ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ ཏུ་གོ་བོ་ མིན།
ŋù-wø: gjumtsʰɛ̌: kʰu=gi t'ato tɛiku hako-wo ɿ̌.
 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) ཇམ་རྒྱུ་ཀར་མཁེ་བཏང་བོ་ཞིན།
áqja karma=gi tã:-bo í:.
 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་གི་སློབ་དཔོན་གནང་མཁན་ཞིན་གྱི།
lópø: é:qa=lo, é:qa nàŋea lópøn
 teacher Buddhist.institute=DAT Buddhist.institute inside teacher
náng-kʰẽ: í:=eo.
 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་དྲོ་ཞིན་སྟེ།
tsʰo jà-m-to í:=s.
 lake weaken-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO
 ‘The lake is getting weaker, (he) said’ (DB day trip)

In (9.11), the doctor who has just examined an unconscious patient has the authority to claim such familiarity with the situation as to use the personal nonpast form:

- (9.11) རད་བོ་གཡས་གཡས་བྱས་ཏི་དཔེ་ཐོ་ཟེན་གང་ཞིན།
nè:po kʼaly? kʼaly? pʼja-ti tʼembo sìn-ee í:.
 patient slow slow do-NF consciousness catch-INF EQU.PER
 ‘The patient will slowly, slowly regain consciousness.’ (Richhi 14)

Similarly to (9.7) above, the omniscient narrator of (9.12) uses a personal construction, because he is familiar with the characters he has written in the story. I did not find personal forms in the narrative parts of folkstories, which are (typically) not of the storyteller’s own design.

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 í:* to be used.

- (9.12) གཏམ་ འདི་འི་ སྐོར་ལ་ ཀུན་གྱིས་ ལེ་བ་སྟེ་ མཚོ་བསམ་ བཏང་ཤད་ མིན།
tam di: korlo karma=gi lèpti nó:sam tã:-εε 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་ཕུ་ ཚེས་ ཨ་ཙཱ་ སྒྲིག་ ཐོབ་པོ་ སྤང།
nè: átœu tœ’o? átsi dok t’op-o bε?
 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་ གཞོག་ བྱས་ དགོས་མཁན་ སྤང།
t’a jó? p’ja go:-k’œn bε?
 now work do be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘Now work needs to be done.’ (NAB BLA 7)

- (9.15) ད་རིང་ ཚོགས་རྩི་ སྤང།
t’ariŋ ts’o:-do bε?
 today gather-IPFV EQU.NE
 ‘(The ceremony) is taking place today.’ (LT kitchen discussion)

- (9.16) མདང་ ང་ཙའི་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ མགོ་ བརྟག་སྟེ་ འབྲེལ་ རྒྱུད་ ཡོད་སྐབས་ བྱ་ཐིང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ཅེན་ ཁོ་ མོ་ན་རང་ ཤི་ཤད་ སྤང།
dã: yàtsi bhaila=ki go tok-ti qi: dœ: jœ:-kap
 yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall sit EX-SIM
p’usim=la: mè:-patœne k’hu óna=rã: œt-εε bε?
 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 *bε?* 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 *bε?* (see §7.2.3), the use of the auxiliary *bε?* backgrounds the event itself and focuses the addressee’s attention on the consequences of the event.

- (9.17) ང་ འགྲིལ་བོ་ སྒྲ།
 ηà **qi:-bo** **bɛ?**
 1SG fall-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘I fell.’ (KN e)

Spatiotemporal backgrounding may also be used about distant events that happened to oneself, as in (9.18), where the speaker is telling the birth order of her siblings. Lack of control may also be a factor in using the evidentially neutral auxiliary.

- (9.18) མོ་ན་ལས་ ང་ སྐྱེ་བོ་ སྒྲ།
 ónalɛ ηà **ki-u** **bɛ?**
 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་ སྒྲ་, ཐག་རིང་ སྐོར་ འབག་ཞིང་
 ηà **gju-do** **bɛ?**, *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) ལྟན་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ས་སྟེ་ གི་བ་ ང་ གི་གད་ སྒྲ།
 lɛŋgɛ:=lo *pʰatɛ* *tʰiwa* ηà **tʰi-ɛɛ** **bɛ?**
 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་ ལུ་ནི་ (Nep.) ཞི་ཤད་ སྐད།
t'a ŋà puni³⁴³ ɛ́t-ɛɛ bɛ?
 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 *í:*. 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-kʰen bɛ?* in (9.22) underlines the nonhabitual (hence *ín-kʰen bɛ?* instead of mere *bɛ?*) and irrealis/past meaning (hence spatiotemporally backgrounding nominalized *ín-kʰen bɛ?* rather than mere personal *í:*) of the clause.

- (9.22) ལོ་མི་གཏང་ ལྟོན་ མ་བཅུག་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དོན་དག་ལས་ འདི་ ལྷན་གྱི་ འང་ འདེམ་ཅིག་ རྒྱལས་ཏྲོ་ ཡིན་མཁན་ སྐད།
ló mi-te tøn ma-tɕuk-ɛɛ=ki t'onda=lɛ de:
 mind NEG-entrust show NEG-CAUS-INF=GEN purpose=ABL like.this
p'ja-tiki ǎ: dem=tei? kjap-to íŋ-kʰen bɛ?
 do-NF lie like=INDF strike-IPFV EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'In order that it wouldn't be shown that he didn't believe (the story), he was telling (it) as a lie like this.' (PAD bet story)

In (9.23) the nominalized auxiliary *ím-bo í:* makes the past interpretation of verbal action more explicit than if the auxiliary were mere *í:*, although the temporal interpretation of the verb form is also revealed by the adverb *jénle* 'earlier'. By choosing a personal copula (*ím-bo í:*) instead of a neutral one (*ím-bo bɛ?*) the speaker underlines his own involvement in seeing the flowers himself.

- (9.23) ལྟོན་མ་ ན་ཏྲོ་ ཤིང་ མེ་ཏྲོག་ ཙང་དགས་ གཅིག་ ཐོན་དོ་ ཡིན་པོ་ ཡིན།
jéma nà:=to ɛ́ŋ minto? tɛ̃:ʈa=tei? tʰon-do ím-bo
 earlier here=CEMPH tree flower beautiful=INDF come.out-IPFV EQU-2INF
í:
 EQU.PER
 'Earlier beautiful tree flowers used to blossom here.' (KN e)

Example (9.24) combines a typical past tense nominalization with a neutral nonpast copular construction *í:-ɛɛ bɛ?*.

- (9.24) འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ འདི་ ང་ལོ་ བསད་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ལྷན་ བཏང་བོ་ ཡིན་ཤད་ སྐད།
di=tsu=gi=di kʰõ: ŋà=lo sɛ:-ɛɛ=ki tɛ'y tã:-bo
 this=PL=AGT=DEMPH 3PL 1SG=DAT kill-INF=GEN means send-2INF
í:-ɛɛ bɛ?
 EQU-INF EQU.NE
 'These guys, they are probably plotting to kill me.' (KT Animal story)

³⁴³ The equivalent Denjongke morpheme is =jǎ:.

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 *be?* and *ĩ:* would typically mark an event which happened prior to the time of speaking, the use of the complex copula *ĩ:-εε be?* rather than *be?* or *ĩ:* shows that the action is ongoing at the time of speaking. Based on the copular use of *ĩ:-εε be?* in example (7.85) above and its context here, the auxiliary use in (9.24) probably also indicates uncertainty.

9.1.2 Existentials *jò?* and *du?* as auxiliaries

The existentials *jò?* and *du?* are used as auxiliaries in the constructions given in Table 9.2. The table also includes the non-copula form *-ke/ge*, which was earlier shown to occur as an intensifier attached to sensorial *du?* (see §7.2.2.3).

Table 9.2. Constructions with existentials as auxiliaries

Name	Form	Example with <i>jò?</i>	Example with <i>du?</i>
completive	VERB- <i>ts^ha</i> (<i>:</i>) EX VERB- <i>ts^hake</i> (VERB- <i>ts^hou</i> EX) ³⁴⁴ VERB- <i>ts^houke</i>		<i>kjap-ts^ha du(ke)</i> <i>kjap-ts^hake</i> (<i>kjap-ts^hou du[ke]</i>) <i>kjap-ts^houke</i>
perfect	VERB(VERB)- <i>po/bo</i> EX	<i>kjap(kjap)-o jò?</i>	<i>kjap(kjap)-o du(ke)</i>
resultative	VERB EX	<i>kjap jò?</i>	<i>kjap du(ke)</i>
progressive	VERB- <i>tεē:/zē:/zin</i> EX VERB- <i>tεunγε/zunγε</i> ³⁴⁵ (Martam VERB- <i>tεouke</i>)	<i>kjap-tεē: jò?</i>	<i>kjap-tεen du(ke)</i> <i>kjap-tεunγε</i> (Martam <i>kjap-tεouke</i>)
continuous	VERB- <i>dø:</i> EX	<i>kjap-dø: jò?</i>	<i>kjap-dø: du(ke)</i>
possessive-like	VERB- <i>εε</i> EX	<i>kjap-εε jò?</i>	<i>kjap-εε du(ke)</i>

The use of personal auxiliary *jò?* implies the speaker's personal acquaintance/familiarity with the proposition. It also stresses the present relevance of a past action or suggests that the action is still ongoing at a reference time, which is usually the time of speaking. By using *du?*, in contrast, the speaker bases her proposition on sensory evidence. The interpretation of what the speaker has seen depends on the nature of the event (as coded by tense and aspect markers). If the action is presented as ongoing with progressive or continuous forms, the sensory evidence implied by *du?* most likely refers to seeing the action itself. If the action has been completed earlier, as suggested by the completive and perfect forms, the sensory evidence implied by *du?* refers to some result of the action rather than the action itself.³⁴⁶

In Table 9.2, *-ke/ge* occurs as an element that may be appended to *du?*, but in the completive and progressive forms *-ke/ge* also occurs independently of *du?*. The uses without *du?* (VERB-*ts^hake*, VERB-*ts^houke*, VERB-*tεunγε/zunγε*) are hypothesized to be abbreviated forms, which may have originally retained the sensorial meaning but are currently, because of the absence of *du?*, becoming to be used in contexts where there is no sensory evidence. The forms VERB-*ts^hake*, VERB-*ts^houke*

³⁴⁴ This form was reported as marginal by consultant KN.

³⁴⁵ This form is probably an abbreviation from VERB-*tεen duke*.

³⁴⁶ See Hill (2017) for an illuminating study on how sensorial/experiential forms may have inferential semantics.

and VERB-*tɕɛŋgɛ/zɛŋgɛ* 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་ཅའི་པ་མོ་འདི་ཚུ་གི་གོང་མའི་གི་ཨ་ཙྰ་གོང་ཙྰ་ཚུ་རྩ་ལས་ཨ་འདེབ་མྱི་གསན་གསན་བོ་ཡིད།
ŋàtɕei pʰamo di=tsu=gi k'õ:mø:=gi ádzo k'õ:dzo=tsu
 1PL.GEN parents this=PL=GEN elder.GEN=GEN grandfather forefather=PL
tɕa=lɛ ódɛpti sɛn-sɛm-po jòʔ.
 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་སྒྲབས་ཡིད།
ŋà lep jòʔ.
 1SG arrive EX.PER
 'I have arrived.' (KN e)

- (9.27) ང་ལྟ་ཟང་མྱེ་ང་ན་ལྟག་ལོ་(?)གཞུང་ཞབས་ལུ་བཞིན་ཡིད།
t'ato sã:tɛ ŋà nà: wo:=lo zuŋɕap ɛù:-zin jòʔ.
 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 *jòʔ:-ɕɛ t̃:* is used in (9.28) to refer to the future.

- (9.28) ང་མོ་རངས་ཚུ་ཚོད་དགུ་ལོ་སྟོན་ན་འགྱུ་སྒྲོད་ཡིད་ཤད་ཨིན།
ŋà tʰorã: tɕʰutsʰøʔ gu=lo tʰom=na gju dɔ: jòʔ:-ɕɛ t̃.
 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 *t̃:*, whereas *jòʔ*, 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 *jòʔ* 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) མྱུང་མྱུང་གྱིས་ན་བཞག་ཡོད།
my'tsy=ki nà: za: jò?
 others=AGThere set EX.PER
 ‘Others have placed (them) here.’ (RS interview)
- (9.30) མེ་ཉྩ་ག་མེ་ལོ་དཀར་ལོ་འབྲས་ལྗངས་ནང་ལོ་ཤར་ཡོད།
minto sérpo, márpo, karmo dɛndzõ: nàŋ=lo ɛá: jò?
 flower yellow red white Sikkim inside=DAT blossom EX.PER
 ‘Yellow, red and white flowers are in blossom in Sikkim.’ (PTB song lyrics)
- (9.31) ང་ཅའི་བྱིམ་ཆེན་གནང་བཞག་ཡོད།
ŋàtɛi k'im-te'ɛ: ná: za: jò?
 1PL.GEN house-great give.HON set EX.PER
 ‘(He) has given (us) our Khimchen-building.’ (NAB BLA 7)
- (9.32) དཔེ་ན་གོ་ལི་ཇི་ལེ་ལྷ་ལ་ (college level)³⁴⁷ ནང་ག་ང་ཅག་ལོ་ང་ཅིག་སྐད་རིགས་སྒྲིབས་ཐོང་ཡོད།
pɛ=na kolidz levəl nàŋɛa ŋàtɛa=lo ŋàtɛi kɛri?
 example=LOC college(Eng.) level(Eng.) inside 1PL=DAT 1PL.GEN language
ʃɛp dɔ: jò?
 arrive stay EX.PER
 ‘For instance, our language has reached college level.’ (NAB BLA 7)

In the novel Richhi, the omniscient narrator is entitled to use the personal forms in third person narration:

- (9.33) ད་ལྟ་ཁོང་གཉིས་པོ་མཉམ་ཅིག་ལོ་སྟོ་བ་བཞིན་ཡོད།
t'ato k'õ: ní:-po námtɛi=lo to sà-zɛ: jò?
 now 3PL two-COL together=DAT cooked.rice eat-PROG EX.PER
 ‘Now the two of them are eating rice/food together.’ (Richhi 20)
- (9.34) ཁོང་གཉིས་ཆ་ད་ལྟ་ཉལ་བྲིའི་སྟེང་ལོ་སྟོ་ཡོད།
k'õ: ní:-tɛa t'ato nɛ:t'i: tɛŋlo dɔ: jò?
 3PL two-pair now bed.GEN on sit EX.PER
 ‘The two of them are now sitting on the bed.’ (Richhi 18)

Example (9.35) illustrates the use of the personal form with the reportative =*lo*. The speaker reports the words of a guard at a sacred lake. Similar to (9.10) above, by using the personal auxiliary, the speaker reports the guard’s (and not his own) familiarity with the proposition.

³⁴⁷ WD equivalent མཐོ་རིམ་ སྒོ་བ་གྲ་ *mtho-rim slob-grwa* ‘high-level school’.

- (9.35) ཉ་ལོ་ ཟས་ མ་བྱིན་ སེ་ གསུང་ བཞག་ ཡོད་ལོ།
nà=lo sàm mam-bi:=s súŋ za: jø:=lo.
 fish=DAT food NEG-give=QUO say.HON set EX.PER=REP
 ‘It has been said, do not give food to the fish, I heard.’ (DB trip story)

9.1.2.3 Sensorial and neutral forms with non-1st person actor

Sensorial and neutral forms are quite typically used with non-1st person actors because it is rarer to claim familiarity (marked by the personal forms) with propositions concerning other people. I first describe the use of sensorial forms and then neutral forms. Using the evidential auxiliary *du?* usually implies a recent or current sensorial experience by the speaker, see (9.36), where a doctor comments on the x-ray pictures in front of him.

- (9.36) ད་ ལྷམ་ འཛོན་ཚར་ འདུག།
t'a lèm tʰon-tsʰa du?
 now good become-CMPL EX.SEN
 ‘Now (the patient) has turned out well.’ (Richhi 29)

The sensory event, however, may also have taken place a long time ago, as in (9.37), where an elderly speaker reports what he saw decades ago.

- (9.37) ཉེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ སྐང་ལོ་ ཡུལ་ཁའི་གི་ འཛོན་བདག་ འདི་ཚུ་ཡང་ དགོན་པ་ ཨོ་འདེབ་སྟེ་ ལྷོ་རིགས་ མན་རིགས་ ཚང་རིགས་ བྱས་སྟེ་གི་ ཡུགས་རིགས་ འདི་ཚུ་ཡང་ ཨོ་འདེབ་སྟེ་ བཅར་བཞིན་ འདུག།
te ódi gā:=lo y:kʰø:=gi dzinda? di=tsu=jã: gjompa ódepti
 so that time=DAT village.GEN=GEN sponsor this=PL=too monastery like.that
lori? mēri? tsō:ri? p'ja-tiki tɕʰuri? di=tsu=jã: ódepti tɕa:-zɛn
 Lhopos Lepchas Limbus do-NF Nepali this=PL=too like.that come.HUM-PROG
du?
 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, *du?* do not seem to refer to a specific sensory experience but generally to what people can be heard to say.

- (9.38) ད་ཅི་ལས་ སྐབ་པོ་ ན་བོ་ ཨོན་ ལའ་བཞིན་ འདུག།
t'ateile súpo nà-u ǎ: ləp-tɛɛn du?
 recently stomach fall.ill-2INF EQU.PER say-PROG EX.SEN
 ‘He is saying his stomach has become ill lately.’ (Richhi 98)

- (9.39) འདི་ལོ་ ད་ རོ་བུལ་ (bowl) ལའ་བཞིན་ འདུག་ ད།
di=lo t'a boul ləp-tɛɛn du? t'a.
 this=DAT now bowl(Eng.) say-PROG EX.SEN now
 ‘Now this is called [bowl].’ (PL interview)

- (9.40) ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལ་གསལ་བྲགས་བྱས་ཤིང་ཨོ་འདྲེ་གསུང་བཞག་འདུག།
lògju? kʰa sé:ʈa? pʰja-ti ódɛ: súŋ za: du?
 story mouth clear do-NF like.that say.HON set EX.SEN
 ‘It has been so said in clear words.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

The sensoriality marked by *du?* may refer to indirect evidence (inference) rather than direct evidence. Example (9.41) is a comment by a farmer, who has lost a hen the previous night. Half of the eaten hen has been found in the forest. The likely culprit is a jackal. The sensory experience implied by *du?* is not that of the action itself depicted by the verb but of a result of that action (half of a ripped hen in the forest). Example (9.41) shows that the sensorial marker can with a past telic action express inferential semantics, i.e. the sensorial implies seeing the results of an action, not the action itself.

- (9.41) ཟ་ཚར་འདུག་གེ་ཕྱིད་ཀྱ།
sà-tsʰa: du-kɛ pʰɛka.
 eat-CMPL SEN-IN half
 ‘(It) has eaten half (I saw).’ (PL interview)

As with the copula *du?*, the sensoriality implied by the auxiliary *du?* does not have to be visual but may be gained through other senses, as shown illustrated by (9.42), which is based on gustatory evidence.

- (9.42) ཡབ་དགོས་པད, ཡབ་དགོས་པད, འཚོས་ཚར་འདུག།
pʰap go:=pɛ?, pʰap go:=pɛ?, tsʰo:-tsʰa:
 take.down be.needed=EQU.NE take.down be.needed=EQU.NE be.cooked-CMPL
du?
 EX.SEN
 ‘(It) needs to be taken down, (it) needs to be taken down, (it)’s cooked.’ (Richhi 89)

It was shown above that an omniscient narrator can use personal forms when talking about characters (s)he has designed. The omniscient narrator may also invite the reader/hearer to take the viewpoint of one of the story’s characters by using the sensorial form. In the continuous(-resultative) construction in (9.43), the reader of the novel Richhi is invited to view “in real time” the scene from the perspective of the protagonist who enters a hospital room:

- (9.43) ཁོ་སྒྲོ་ཁང་ན་སྐབས་པའི་སྐང་སྒྲིའི་ལགས་བྲན་པོ་ཟེན་སྤྱི་ཤུས་ཤུས་ལ་ལབ་ཚུགས་པོ་འཛོན་སྤྱོད་འདུག།
kʰu mɛŋkʰã:=na ʈɛp-ø: gã: bhaila tʰembo sin-di
 3SGM hospital=LOC arrive-2INF.GEN time PN consciousness awaken-NF
ɛy:ɛy: kʰa-làp tsʰu-po tʰon dɔ: du?
 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 *jòpo be/jèbbe* and *jò:-kʰen be?* are used when the speaker wants to background sensoriality and personality (or familiarity), i.e. put full emphasis on the content of the proposition without revealing how they received the information.

- (9.44) འདི་ སློམ་ན་ བི་བི་པོ་ ཡོད་པ་སྟེ།
di dɔm=na tʰi-ti-u jèbbe?
 this box=LOC write-RDP-2INF EX.NE
 ‘(Something) is written in this box.’ (TB e)
- (9.45) ཡོ་ན་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལྷོ་པོ་ ཅང་ཅང་ ལྟོད་ ཡོད་པ་སྟེ།
óna tʰamtɛɛ? dɛndzɔː ʎopo tsãːtsãː dɔː jèbbe?
 there all Sikkim Lhopo purely live EX.NE
 ‘All who live there are purely Lhopos of Sikkim.’ (CY Interview)
- (9.46) སངས་རྒྱལ་ བཙུན་ལྷ་འདས་ ཡོ་འདི་ གསུངས་ བཞག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྟེ།
sánge tsoṃdendɛː ódi súŋ zaː jòː-kʰen bɛ?
 PN PN that say.HON set EX.PER-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘Sange Tsomdenden (=Shakyamuni Buddha) has said so.’ (YR canteen video)
- (9.47) ལྷོ་རྒྱལ་འདི་ སྐད་ འབྱེད་ ལྟོད་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྟེ།
myʈsy-ri kɛ? bjãː dɔː jòː-kʰen bɛ?
 other-EMPH.GEN language disappear stay EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘The language of other’s has disappeared.’ (RS language situation)

In (9.48), it would not be desirable to use the personal auxiliary *jò?* because it would imply that the action were still ongoing at the time of speaking. The neutral form allows the progressive action a reasonable ending point before the time of speaking.

- (9.48) ད་ ལུ་ རྩ་བྱེ་ གཅིག་ རྩེད་ཁ་ལོ་ དཔྱད་སྡི་གི་ ག་ལོ་ ཡོ་མཁན་ དཔྱད་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྟེ།
tʰa kʰu rubi=tei? tɛŋkʰa=lo pjaŋ-tiki kʰalo ómtɕuŋ
 now 3SGM creeper=INDF on=DAT hang-NF what.is.it swinging
pjaŋ-zin jè-po bɛ?
 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་བཤ་ ལྟོད་པོ་ ངས་ རྒྱབས་ འདུག།
tʰa jèː ʎokɛ=di kʰadzɔ? kʰodaʈɔpo ŋáː kjap du??
 now my Lhoke=DEMPH how.much understandable 1SG.AGT strike EX.SEN
 ‘Now how understandable Lhoke did I speak?’ (PAD bet story)

- (9.50) ད་ ཨ་རྒྱ, རང་གིས་རང་ སྐྱུགས་བསམ་ བཞེས་པོ་ གནང་ ང་ ག་ཚོད་ཟང་ དགའ་སྤྱོད་ལྟེ་ སྤོད་ འདུག། ང་གིས་ ག་ཚོད་ ཟང་སྤེ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ལོ་ རི་ཆེ་
བཏབ་སྤེ་ སྤོད་ འདུག།
t'a ágja, raŋ=gi=ra t'u.sam ze:-po ná:
now elder.brother 2SG.M=AGT=AEMPH though.HON have.HON-2INF do.HON
ŋà k'adzø=sã: gafo-ti dɔ: du? ŋá:=gi k'adzø? sã:te
1SG how.much=until rejoice-NF live EX.SEN 1SG=AGT how.much until
àgja=lo rite'hi tap-ti dɔ: du?
elder.brother=DAT hope sow-NF stay EX.SEN
'Now brother, you think for yourself how happy I am, how I've put my hope in the brother
(=you).' (Richhi 146)

Like the sensorial copula (see §7.2.2), the sensorial auxiliary may also be used in special circumstances, such as seeing oneself in a dream or on a video-recording:

- (9.51) གཤིད་ལམ་ འདི་ན་ ང་ སྤྱན་རླབས་ (football) རྩོམ་བཞིན་ འདུག།
ñilam=di=na ŋà futbol tsi-zen du?
dream=DEMPH=LOC 1SG football(Eng.) play-PROG EX.SEN
'In the dream I was playing football.' (KT e)

By using a neutral auxiliary with first person actor, the speaker creates distance towards his own action, see (9.52), where the actions is non-voluntary (mistake).³⁴⁸

- (9.52) མོ་འདིའི་ ཁ་སྐྱེས་ མན་ན་ ང་གིས་ རྩོམ་འཇུག་ཏུ་ བྱས་ ཡོད་ཤད་ སྤང།
ódi: k'atε mèn-ne ŋá:=gi nòrt'hy:=to p'ja
that.GEN speaking.manner NEG.EQU-COND 1SG=AGT mistake=CEMPH do
jɔ:-εε bε?
EX-INF EQU.NE
'If he does not have speaking manners, I will have made a mistake.' (Nga'i 'gan 13)

Example (9.53) shows that the speaker may create distance to an action which happened a long time ago by using the neutral copula, see (9.53a). In (9.53b), on the other hand, the breaking of the cup has taken place just a while ago.

- (9.53) a) ཅོག་རྩེ་ རྩེད་གི་ དཀར་ཡོལ་ འདི་ ང་གིས་ གཅག་གོ་ སྤང།
teoktsi tɛŋ=gi kajø:=di ŋá:=gi tɕak-o bε?
table top=GEN cup=DEMPH 1SG=AGT break-2INF EQU.NE
'It was I who broke the cup that was on the table (long time ago).' (KT e)
- b) ཅོག་རྩེ་ རྩེད་གི་ དཀར་ཡོལ་ འདི་ ང་གིས་ གཅག་གོ་ མཉན།
teoktsi tɛŋ=gi kajø:=di ŋá:=gi tɕak-o t̥.
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)

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 *jò-po bε?* (9.54) and *jò:-k^hen bε?* (9.55). The first construction conveys a past meaning and the second one a present habitual meaning.

- (9.54) མན་མུ་རང་ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ ལེགས་ངན་ ངང་ རྟག་གཞིའི་ བརྟག་དབྱང་ ལྷ་ཤང་ ཡོང་པོ་ སྤང།
né:mu=rã: tendε: lε:-jε: t'ã: tagzi: taktεε? ta-εε
 really=AEMPH omen good-evil and criteria.of.study investigation look-INF
jò-po bε?
 EX. 2INF EQU.NE
 ‘There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria.’ (Richhi 107)

- (9.55) ཨ་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཀུན་ ལ་གཏམ་ ལེབ་ རྩོགས་དྲགས་ ལབ་ཤང་ ཡོང་མཁན་ སྤང།
ádzo=tsu=gi k^hatam lèp dzikʈa? làp-εε? jò:-k^hen bε?
 grandfather=PL=AGT proverb very excellent say-INF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘The grandfathers have most excellent proverbs to tell.’ / ‘The grandfathers are able to tell most excellent proverbs.’ (KN field notes)

The investigation mentioned in (9.54) refers to inauspicious omens which have just taken place, an uneven number of orange pieces and a broken curd bowl.

9.1.3 Evidentiality with the completive *-ts^ha(:)*

The completive marker *-ts^ha(:)* deserves a separate treatment, because it forms several constructions with other morphemes (see Table 9.3) and occurs in a construction to which the heretofore used evidential terms personal, sensorial and neutral seem inapplicable. The new category is tentatively termed “alterphoric” (glossed APH) and described below.

Table 9.3. Constructions with the completive *-ts^ha(:)*

Construction	Evidentiality
VERB- <i>ts^ha:</i>	neutral
VERB- <i>ts^ha</i> EQU	personal/neutral
VERB- <i>ts^ho-u</i> EQU	personal/neutral
VERB- <i>ts^ha-k^hen</i> EQU	personal/neutral
VERB- <i>ts^ha du(kε)</i>	sensorial
VERB- <i>ts^ho-u du?</i>	sensorial
VERB- <i>ts^ha-kε</i>	alterphoric
VERB- <i>ts^ho-u-kε</i>	alterphoric

As suggested by Table 9.3, *-ts^ha(:)* may occur alone as the final marker or be followed by one of the following formatives: equative copula (*ĩ:/bε?*), existential copula *du?* or the morpheme *-kε*. Moreover, *-ts^ha* forms constructions both without nominalization and with *-po/bo/u* and *-k^hẽ*. The evidentiality of the constructions ending in an equative auxiliary copula depends on the copula, as outlined above in this chapter (*ĩ:* personal and *bε?* neutral). The discussion here focuses on the other

forms, which do not use equative copulas as auxiliaries. For examples on the equative auxiliaries in conjunction with the completive *-ts^ha(:)*, refer to §8.1.2.

With completive *-ts^ha(:)* (henceforth just *-ts^ha* within the text), the typical contrast with the personal *jəʔ* and sensorial *duʔ* is neutralized in that the personal auxiliary does not occur postposed to *-ts^ha*. In the completive construction, however, the sensorial evidential contrasts with neutral evidentiality (i.e. lack of evidential marking) implied by the lone *-ts^ha*. As evidentially neutral, the lone *-ts^ha* occurs both with 1SG (9.56) and non-1st person actors (9.57). The sensorial form *-ts^ha du(kɛ)* and the alterphoric form *-ts^hake*, 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 *-ts^hake* 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 *-ts^ha 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་ རྩེ་ཚུ།
ŋà òn-ts^ha:.
 1SG come-CMPL
 ‘I’ve arrived.’ (KN e)

- (9.57) ཁུ་ རྩེ་ཚུ།
k^hu òn-ts^ha:.
 3SGM come-CMPL
 ‘He’s arrived.’ (KN e)

- (9.58) a) ་་ རྩེ་ཚུ་གེ།
?ŋà òn-ts^hake.
 1SG come-CMPL.APH
 ‘?I’ve arrived.’ (KN e)

- b) ཡ་, ང་ མི་ཁྱེད་ཚུ་གེ་ཤོ།
jaʔ, ŋà mik^hu:-ts^hake=ɛo
 oh 1SG fall.asleep-CMPL.APH=AT
 ‘Oh, I fell asleep (I realize).’ (Short film *Dream*)

- (9.59) ་་ རྩེ་ཚུ་ འདུག་གེ།
?ŋà òn-ts^ha du(-kɛ).
 1SG come-CMPL EX.SEN(-IN)
 ‘?I’ve arrived.’ (KN e)

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) ལུ་འོང་ཚ་གེ།
kʰu òn-tsʰake.
 3SGM come-CMPL.APH
 ‘He’s arrived.’ (KN e)

- (9.61) ལུ་འོང་ཚར་ འདུག་གེ།
kʰu òn-tsʰa du-ke.
 3SGM come-CMPL EX.SEN-IN
 ‘He’s arrived.’ (KN e)

The difference between *-tsʰa* and *-tsʰa du(ke)* is that *-tsʰa du(ke)*, 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) ཇ་ལྷེམ་ འཛོན་ཚར་ འདུག།
tʰa ləm tʰon-tsʰa du?
 now good become-CMPL EX.SEN
 ‘Now (the patient) has turned out well.’ (Richhi 29)

- (9.63) ཇ་ཅའི་ ཡབ་ གོངས་སྟེ་ ལ་ གཉིས་ཚད་ སླབས་ཚར།
ηàtɛi jà:p tʰɔ:-ti lò nɿ:-tsʰø? lɛp-tsʰa.
 1PL.GEN father.HON die.HON-NF year two-about reach-CMPL
 ‘Now about two years have passed since our father passed away.’ (Richhi 35)

The completive marker occurs both as non-nominalized *-tsʰa* and nominalized *-tsʰou*. I am not aware of a semantic difference between these two forms. The nominalized form is illustrated in (9.64).

- (9.64) བེ་ཞུས་བྱག་ (facebook)³⁵⁰ ཇ་ འོང་ཚུ་གེ་ལོ།
fɛisbuk=na ð:-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(ke)* as in (9.65) or *-ke* 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) མམ་ལགས་, བོ་ཙའི་ མགོ་ ལེབ་ གཏོགས་ཚར་ འདུག།
ám-la:, pʰotsø: go lɛp tok-tsʰa du?
 mother-HON child.GEN head very.much hit-CMPL EX.SEN
 ‘Mum, the child’s head has been severely hit.’ (Richhi 3)

³⁵⁰ According to consultant YR, the WD equivalent is གདོང་དེབ་ *gdong-deb* [face-book].

- (9.66) ལྟན་རྒྱལ་ཁ་གདོང་འདི་ལེག་ཞེན་ཚ་གེ་ཤོ།
lɛŋgɛʔ kʰadɔː=di lɛp ɛ̀ɛn-tsʰakɛ=ɛo.
 PRN.HON face==DEMPH very.much get.thin-CMPL.APH=AT
 ‘Your face has become very slim, you know.’ (KN e)
- (9.67) ཚེ་ཐང་ཨ་ཁ་འདི་རྒྱལ་པེ་འདི་ལོ་མན་འཕ་འོང་དྲོ་མཚན་བསམ་གཏང་ཚ་གེ།
tsʰotʰãː ázãː=di tɛʰumpeː=di=lo nám òn-do
 TPN maternal.uncle=DEMPH PN=DEMPH=DAT daughter-in-law come-IPFV
ĩː nóːsam tãː-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) ལུ་འོང་ཚར་འདུག་གེ།
kʰu òn-tsʰa du(-kɛ).
 3SGM come-CMPL EX.SEN(-IN)
 ‘He’s come (I saw him).’
- b) ལུ་འོང་ཚ་གེ།
kʰu òn-tsʰakɛ.
 3SGM come-CMPL.APH
 ‘He’s come (I didn’t necessarily see him).’

KT’s observation is supported by the examples above in that the proposition with *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) ཕྱི་ཁྱེ་བསམ་ཚར་པོ་ཉ་
pʰou ʔɛp-tsʰo-u naʔ
 over.there reach-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Has he arrived over there?’ (KN phone call 3)
- b) ཕྱི་ཁྱེ་བསམ་ཚ་གེ།
pʰou ʔɛp-tsʰakɛ.
 over.there reach-CMPL.APH
 ‘He’s arrived over there.’ (KN conversation)

The form VERB-*ts^ha-kɛ* may have originated as an abbreviated version of VERB-*ts^ha du-kɛ*. This is suggested by the fact that, in contrast to *-ts^ha du(kɛ)*, I have not come across *-ts^ha-kɛ* in written Denjongke. I hypothesize that while the abbreviated form *-ts^ha-kɛ* originally retained the sensory meaning from the full form *-ts^ha duke* (and hence even synchronously *-ts^ha-kɛ* does not occur with 1st person actors), the lack of *du?* in the construction is currently being reinterpreted as unnecessary of sensoriality (hence 9.69b). Because *-ts^ha-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 *-duke* vs. *-kɛ*.

A distinction similar to that between completive *-du(kɛ)* and *-kɛ* can possibly be posited between the progressive forms *-tɛɛn du(kɛ)* and *tɛuŋ-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) ཇམ་པོ་ རྒྱུ་ཚུ་ལྟེན་པུ།
ápo t̚ʰo:-ts^ha:=lo.
 father die.HON-PRF=REP
 ‘(His) father has died, (he) says.’ (BP BB discussion)

- (9.71) མཇུག་ལཱ་ ཆོག་པོ་ སྤང་ལྟེན་པུ། (facebook) རྒྱ་ རྒྱུ་ཚུ་ལྟེན་པུ།
dã:=lɛ ts^ho:-b(o) bɛ=lo. fɛisbuk=na
 yesterday=ABL gather-2INF EQU.NE=REP facebook=LOC
ô:-ts^houkɛ=lo.
 come-CMPL.2INF.APH=REP
 ‘(The meeting) started yesterday, I hear. It’s come on Facebook, I hear.’ (LT kitchen discussion)

- (9.72) དང་ཕ་ལྔ་ལྔ་གཅིག་འདྲེན་ལམ་ནང་གི་འགྲུ་དོ་ལོ།
t'ã:pu lá:bu=tei? dəp ləm nəŋɛa 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) མི་, ངའི་ལག་གོ་ཅིག་ཀྱང་མི་, ངའི་རྒྱ་པོ་ཡང་གོ་ལག།
é:, nè: lako teiku=lo, nè: kã:po jø:=ɛo ləp.
 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) ལྱོན་གཤམ་?
tɛ'øŋ-ɛa=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.

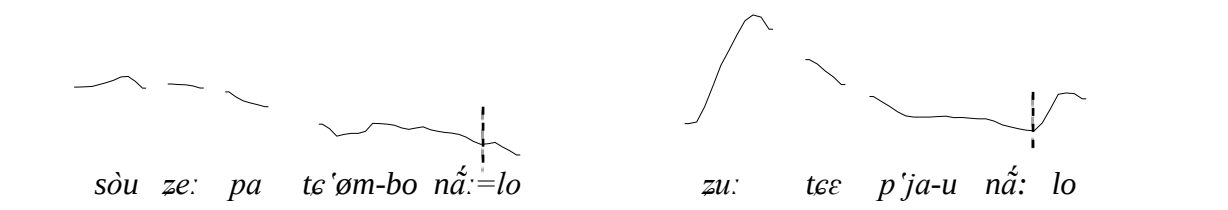
- (9.75) ཟོའུ་ཇེ་པ་ ཅེ་ཐོམ་བོ་ རྒྱ་ལོ་
sòu ze:-pa te'øm-bo ná: =lo.
 food eat.HON-SUP come.HON-2INF grant=REP
 'Please come to eat, (she) says.' (TB, oh)

The reportative =*lo* in Denjongke is pronounced as unstressed with a low pitch. However, Denjongke also has a segmentally identical tag question *lo*, a loan of the frequent Nepali tag *la*. The tag question, which is pronounced with rising intonation, may be used in syntactic contexts identical with the reportative, as shown by (9.76), which is syntactically analogous to (9.75)

- (9.76) ཟུ་ཅེ་པ་ ཅེ་ཐོམ་བོ་ རྒྱ་ལོ་
zu:-tɛɛ: p'ja-u ná: 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)



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.

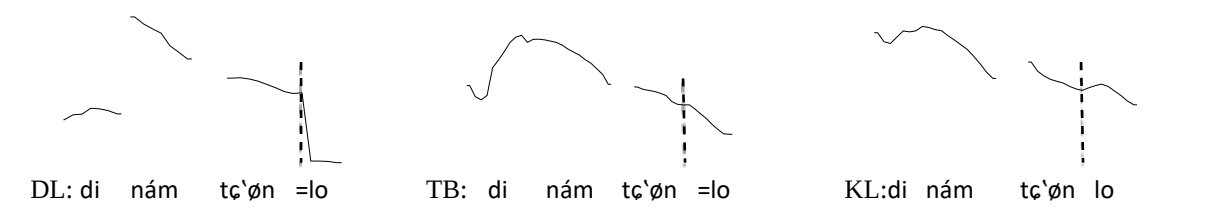
- (9.77) འདི་ བསྐྱམས་ ཟོན་ལོ་
di nám te'øn =lo.
 this carry.HON go.HON=REP
 'Please take this away.' (BBP BB discussion)

Example (9.77) occurs on an audio-recording which was recorded over a lunch. The speaker, DL, an elderly gentleman, hands over a dish to someone else, saying (9.77). When I played this recording to consultant KT (male, 60 years), he commented that the speaker is an old person who

speaks in a polite, humble way. KT contrasted this non-stressed, low pitch use of =*lo* with the tag question *lo*, which is pronounced with rising intonation. KT commented that whereas the man on the recording used =*lo* to make a polite request, using the tag question *lo* with rising intonation would suggest insisting.

I played (9.77) from the recording to two more consultants, TB (male, 40 years) and KL (male, 45-50 years). TB viewed (9.77) as an instance of reportative =*lo* instead of the tag question *lo*. He, however, was not aware of the extended indirect use of =*lo* but rather just commented that the speaker of (9.77) speaks as if transmitting some else's request onwards. Consultant KL, on the other hand, did not recognize (9.77) as an instance of the reportative =*lo* at all but considered it an instance of the tag question *lo*, which he specifically said comes from Nepali. I asked both TB and KL to repeat on recording what they thought DL had said on the original recording. Figure 9.2 presents the pitch traces from the original recording with TB's and KL's repetitions of it. A difference on the last syllable is obvious between TB and KL.

Figure 9.2. Pitch trace of original (9.71) and TB's and KL's repetitions of it respectively



Whereas DL's original recording and TB's repetition of it have a low intonation pattern typical of the reportative =*lo*, KL produces a rise in intonation typical of the tag question, albeit in an attenuated way, probably because on the original recording there is no rise at all. My hypothesis, based on the facts mentioned above, is that Denjongke reportative has developed an extended use marking indirectness/politeness. This extended use appears to be limited to certain conversational contexts (KT specifically mentioned handing over items to other people) and possibly to certain dialectal areas. However, because of bilinguality of most Denjongke speakers in Nepali and the ubiquity of the Nepali tag question *la*, even those uses of =*lo* which are extensions of the reportative marker, and hence a language-internal development, are currently being reinterpreted as cases of the borrowed tag question *lo*.

In conclusion, the Denjongke reportative =*lo* can be used in declarative, interrogative and imperative moods. I drew attention to two rare uses that, to my knowledge, have not been reported in related languages. One is the declarative use in which the speaker reports their own earlier proposition/thought rather than someone else's proposition. In the second extended function, =*lo* in (honorific) imperatives/requests is used as an indirectness/politeness marker. The request is presented as if it originated with someone else to attenuate its force. This indirect use appears to be currently reinterpreted as the tag question *lo* borrowed from Nepali.

9.2.2 Quotative =s(ɛ)

The quotative marker is an enclitic that is appended to the end of a clause. Its basic meaning is to indicate that someone is being quoted. The quotation may come from a person other than the speaker, or the speaker may quote something that they themselves said earlier. Typically, =sɛ functions as a complementizer for verbs of saying and writing, as shown in (9.78) and (9.79).

- (9.78) ལྷོ་བྱུག་ འདི་ཀིས་ ཅུ་བཞིན་ལས་ར་ མ་ཐོབ་ སེ་ ལབ་པོ་ལྟོ་³⁵¹
lópʰu=di=gi ɣùː-zin=lɛ=ra ma-tʰop=s làp-o=lo.
 pupil=DEMPH=AGT weep-PROG=ABL=AEMPH NEG-find=QUO say-2INF=REP
 ‘Weeping, the pupil says “I didn’t find (it),” (so the story goes).’ (RS pupil joke)

- (9.79) ལུ་སྤྱིང་ལགས་, ད་རིང་ལས་ ང་ལོ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ སེ་ གསུངས་པོ་ གནང་ལོ།
pʼusim=laː, tʼariŋ=lɛ ɣà=lo ágja=s súm-bo
 younger.sister=HON today=ABL 1SG=DAT elder.brother=QUO say.HON-2INF
náː 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་སྦྱིད་, ལྷ་ལྷ་གི་ ཡི་གེའི་ ལན་ བློ་ བཏང་ལོ། ཅུ་ཅིག་ ང་ཅག་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ མི་སྤྱོད་སེ།
tɕʰøkiʔ, paːlaː=gi jigiː lèn tʼi tãː lo. tʼuteiʔ ɣàtɕaʔ
 PN father=GEN letter.GEN answer write send TAG.Q this.year 1PL
ɳámɕiʔ ágja mi-ʃɛp=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) ལུ་ཅག་ལོ་ བསམ་པོ་ བཟང་དྲགས་ ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་(ནེ་) ན་ལས་ འོག་མེ་ ནང་ག་ལས་ སྤྱོད་ རྒྱལ་ས་པད་ ཉ་ སེ་ ལབ་མྱོ་ གསུང་པོ་ལྟོ།
kʼutɕa=lo sámbo zaŋʈaʔ jò-patɕɛ(ne) nàː=lɛ òtɕ nàŋɕa=lɛ
 2PL=DAT thought good EX-COND here=ABL down inside=ABL
tɕʰən tsʰu=pe ɳá=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.

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) ལུས་འདི་ནོར་བུ་འདྲ་བ་ཞིན་སེ།
p'um=di nòrbu dɔu t̚:=s.
 girl=DEMPH gem like EQU.PER=QUO
 ‘The girl is like a gem (it is said).’ (SGD wedding customs)

In some uses of =s(ɛ), 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་ཚོ་ན་ཡོད་སེ།
t'ato nà: jò:=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) མོ་ན་ཡོད་སེ། ག་སངས་སྐྱམ་?
óna jò:=s(ɛ). k'a: sò:-bo nám?
 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 =sɛ as a forceful restatement of their case with a peremptory tone and possibly showing irritation:

- (9.85) ཡོད་སེ་ (ཡོད་)
jò:=sɛ (jò?).
 EX.PER=QUO (EX.PER)
 ‘(Yes) there is, I tell you.’ (PTB e)

The quotative can occur postposed to the reportative, see (9.86) and (9.87).

- (9.86) ད་མེན་བཞེས་ལོ་སེ།
t'a min-ze:=lo=s.
 now NEG-have.HON=REP=QUO
 ‘He’s not having (drinks) now, I heard him say.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

- (9.87) ཉེ་ཁོང་གིས་འདི་མན་འགྱ་རང་འགྱ་ལོ་སེ་ལགས།
tɛ kʰoŋ=gi=di maŋ-gju=rò: gju=lo=sɪ=la.
 so 3SG.HON=AGT=DEMPH NEG-go=DEMPH go=REP=QUO=HON
 ‘He says (cf. =sɛ) he heard (cf. =lo) he has no way of not going.’ (AB kitchen discussion; all instances of ‘he’ in the translation have the same referent)

Whereas *=lo* refers more generally to the fact that the speaker has heard something from others, the quotative seems to make more clear reference to a specific speech act. In the preliminary translations in (9.86) and (9.87), *=lo* is translated as ‘I heard’ and *=s(ε)* as ‘him say’. The semantic nuances of *=sε* and its relationship to the reportative *=lo* deserve further study.

9.3 Summary remarks

This chapter described evidentiality marked by copula auxiliaries and two clitics (reportative and quotative). The focus was on describing the less typical combinations of evidential value and person marking, i.e. personal forms with non-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 *-ts^ha(:)* gave preliminary evidence for the category “alterphoric,” which refers to disassociation with the first person. The reportative marker was shown to occur in declarative, interrogative and imperative uses, the last one of which is typologically rare (Aikhenvald 2004: 250). Finally, it was also seen that, in addition to prototypical uses, the quotative can refer to speaker’s own earlier thoughts or speech, possibly conveying counterexpectation or annoyance.

10 Negation

While negation strategies for individual constructions have been discussed under relevant headings, this chapter summarizes negation patterns in Denjongke. A few words on the terminology of the ensuing discussion are in order. I will use the terms “symmetric and asymmetric negation” deriving from Miestamo (2000, 2003, 2005). In a symmetrically negated construction, the negated clause differs from the corresponding affirmative clause by nothing else than adding a negator morpheme. An example of this can be taken from English: the affirmative clause *I’m going there* is negated by adding the negator morpheme *not*, as in *I’m not going there*. No other modifications take place.

Asymmetry in negation, on the other hand, may be viewed from two perspectives, as constructional asymmetry or paradigmatic asymmetry. In constructional asymmetry, a negated statement differs from the affirmative clause also by some other modification(s) than the adding of a negator. As an example Miestamo (2005: 3) gives the Finnish sentence *nuku-n [sleep-1SG] ‘I sleep.’/‘I’m sleeping’*, which is negated as *e-n nuku [NEG-1SG sleep.CNG] ‘I do not sleep’/‘I’m not sleeping.’* Here negating is more complex than merely adding a negator morpheme: the 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་ <i>mi-</i>		imperfective (present, future)
	མ་ <i>ma-</i>		perfective (past, imperative)
Copulas	<i>mê</i> མན་	(affirm. ཁྱེད་མན་)	personal equative
	<i>mèmbè?</i> མན་ཟླ་	(affirm. <i>bè?</i> ཟླ་)	neutral equative
	<i>mè?</i> མན་	(affirm. <i>jò?</i> མན་)	personal existential
	<i>mìndu?</i> མན་འདྲག་	(affirm. <i>du?</i> འདྲག་)	sensorial
	<i>mèmbø</i> མན་པོ་	(affirm. <i>bo</i> པོ་)	interrogated equative neutral
	<i>mèna</i> མན་ན་	(affirm. <i>na</i> ན་)	interrogated equative personal

With the perfective negator *ma-*, the verb has either past or imperative meaning, e.g. *man-dø?* མན་ཟླ་ ‘did not sit, do not sit!’. With the imperfective negator *mi-*, the meaning is present habitual or future oriented, e.g. *min-dø?* མན་ཟླ་ ‘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) ཚོ་ལྷ་མོ་, ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ འདི་ལྷ་ འདྲ་ག་ ལག་
nò:-kja?, *kjako=di=lo* *dzuga* *làp.*
 cattle-excrement excrement=DEMPH=DAT cow-dung say
 ‘Cow-dung, dung is called /dzuga/.’ (PL interview)
- b) འདི་ལྷ་ འབལ་ཤད་ མི་ལག་
di=lo *bɛ:-ɛɛ?* *mi-làp.*
 this=DAT uproot-INF NEG-say
 ‘That is not called [bɛ:ɛɛ?].’ (PL interview)
- (10.2) ད་ལྟ་ ང་ཅག་ ག་རེ་ བྱ་བ་ བཅར་བ་ མཐོག་ དེ་ལྟ་ ང་ཅག་ ད་རིང་ ན་ སར་ (Sir) རྩེ་ མཇལ་བ་ བཅར་བ་ མཐོག་
t'ato *ɲàtea?* *k'arɛ* *ɛ̀ù-wa* *tea:-bo* *mɛ̃:* *t'ɛ:lo*
 now 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EQU.NE just.like.that
ɲàtea? *t'arin* *nà:* *sər=tsa: dʒɛ:-wa* *tea:-bo* *ĩ:*
 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 verb³⁵³, as shown by the affirmative and negated pair in (10.3).

- (10.3) a) འཐུ་ གོས་བ་ མཐོག་
tʰu *ko:-bo* *ĩ:*
 pick throw.away-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘(He) picked and threw (it) away’. (KN e)
- b) འཐུ་ མ་གོས་
tʰu *ma-ko.*
 pick NEG-throw.away
 ‘Do not pick and throw (it) away.’ (KN e)

The correspondance of affirmed and negated constructions in standard negation is summarized in Table 10.2, where EQU = *ĩ/bɛ?*, NEG.EQU = *mɛ̃:/mɛ̃mbɛ*, EX = *jòʔ/du?* and NEG.EX = *mèʔ/mindu?*

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	<i>láp</i>	‘is called, says’	<i>mi-láp</i>	‘is not called’
simp. prs	<i>láp bɛ?</i>	‘says’	<i>mi-láp bɛ?</i>	‘does not say’
IPFV	<i>láp-to</i> (EQU)	‘used to say, is saying’	<i>ma-láp-to</i> (EQU)	‘used not to say, is not saying’
			<i>mi-láp-to</i> (EQU) ³⁵⁴	
			<i>láp-o</i> NEG.EX ³⁵⁵	
CONT	<i>láp dɔ:</i> EX	‘is saying’	<i>láp-o</i> NEG.EQU	‘did not say (emphatic)’
PROG	<i>láp-tɛɛn</i> EX	‘is saying’		
periphr. PST	<i>láp-o</i> EQU	‘said’		
PST	<i>láp-tɛɛ</i>	‘said’	<i>mà-láp(-o</i> EQU)	‘did not say’
CMPL	<i>láp-tsʰa:</i>	‘has said’		
PRF	<i>láp-láp-o</i> EX	‘has said’	<i>láp-láp-o</i> NEG.EX	‘has not said’
			<i>láp-ɛy:</i> NEG.EX	‘has not said’
RES	<i>láp jò?</i>	‘has said’	<i>láp mè?</i>	‘has not said’
SEN.PST/ SEN.RES	<i>láp du?</i>	‘said’	<i>láp mĩndu</i>	‘did not say’
			<i>láp-o mĩndu</i>	‘did not say’
NPST	<i>láp-ɛɛ</i> EQU	‘will say’	<i>láp-ɛɛ</i> NEG.EQU	‘will not say (emphatic)’
			<i>mi-láp(-ɛɛ</i> EQU)	‘will not say’
FUT	<i>láp ɔ̀:</i>	‘will say’		
poss.like	<i>láp-ɛɛ</i> EX	‘has/had...to say’	<i>láp-ɛɛ</i> NEG.EX	‘has/had not (anything) to say’
HAB. PRS	<i>láp-kʰɛ:</i> EQU	‘said, says’	<i>ma-láp-kʰɛ:</i> EQU	‘didn’t say’
			<i>mi-láp-kʰɛ:</i> EQU	‘doesn’t say’
			<i>mi-láp-o</i> EQU	‘does not say, used not to say’

As seen in Table 10.5, there is a slightly smaller number of affirmative constructions (15) than negated construction (17), showing paradigmatic asymmetry. Further asymmetry is evident in that:

³⁵⁴ I 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 *láp-to mè?* 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 (*làp-o* 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 (*-tsʰa:*).

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 *ɔ̃:*) 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 (*-ɛy:*, etymologically probably *ṣar* *shul* ‘trace’).

7) The habitual present form (*-kʰɛ:* 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 relationship of the negated form to its functionally equivalent affirmative form. If the negated counterpart of a certain affirmative construction is formed from the affirmative construction itself, negation is symmetrically related to the affirmative form. If the negated form is based on another affirmative construction, the relationship is asymmetric. For instance, the relationship between the affirmative past form *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-tsʰa:*, 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 ɛ̃:* is symmetric negation of *làp-o ɛ̃:*, while the shorter form *mà-lap* is not).

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	<i>láp</i>	<i>mi-láp</i>	S	S
simp. prs	<i>láp bε?</i>	<i>mi-láp bε?</i>	S	S
IPFV	<i>láp-to</i> (EQU)	<i>ma-láp-to</i> (EQU)	S	S
		<i>mi-láp-to</i> (EQU)		
		<i>láp-o</i> NEG.EX ³⁵⁷	AS	AS
CONT	<i>láp dō:</i> EX			AS
PROG	<i>láp-tεn</i> EX			AS
periphr. PST	<i>láp-o</i> EQU	<i>láp-o</i> NEG.EQU	AS	S
PST	<i>láp-tεε</i>	<i>mà-láp(-o</i> EQU)	(S)	S
CMPL	<i>láp-ts^ha:</i>			AS
PRF	<i>(láp-)láp-o</i> EX	<i>(láp-)láp-o</i> NEG.EX	AS	S
		<i>láp-εy:</i> NEG.EX	AS	AS
RES	<i>láp jò?</i>	<i>láp mè?</i>	AS	S
SEN.PST/ SEN.RES	<i>láp du?</i>	<i>láp mĩndu</i>	AS	S
		<i>láp-o mĩndu</i>	AS	AS
NPST	<i>láp-εε</i> EQU	<i>láp-εε</i> NEG.EQU	AS	S
		<i>mĩ-láp(-εε</i> EQU)	(S)	(S)
FUT	<i>láp ǝ:</i>			AS
poss.like	<i>láp-εε</i> EX	<i>láp-εε</i> NEG.EX	AS	S
HAB. PRS	<i>láp-k^hẽ:</i> EQU	<i>ma-láp-k^hẽ:</i> EQU	S	S
		<i>mi-láp-k^hẽ:</i> EQU		
		<i>mi-láp-o</i> EQU	S	AS

A deeper discourse-oriented analysis of negation may reveal further complexities, perhaps a complex network of relations between affirmative and negated forms similar to Contini-Morava's (1989) description of Swahili negation.

10.1.2 Negation in copular clauses

This section summarizes negation in copulas, which may be divided into simple copulas, combined copulas and nominalized copulas, which were already introduced in §7. As shown in Table 10.1 above, negated forms of simple copulas seem to historically derive from symmetric constructions, where the negator prefix attaches 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 *ĩmbε?* and sensorial equative *ĩndu?* (see §7.3.1), do not have distinct negated forms. The form *mẽmbε?* negates both the neutral equative *bε?* and the emphatic *ĩmbε?*. No

³⁵⁷ In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the construction *lápto mè?* 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 *indu?* has been attested in natural speech or elicitation, and the hypothetical form **mèndu?* was rejected in elicitation.

I am aware of only one construction, the circumstantial adverbial, where a negator prefix attached to a copula is used instead of a negated copula:

- (10.4) a) ལུ་མི་ ཅང་དྲགས་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ མ་ཞིན་བ་ རིག་ཅན་ཡང་ ཞིན།
kʰu mi tɕãːʈaʔ tɕiku ma-ím-ba riktɕen=jãː ʔ̃.
 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) ལྔ་ན་ འདི་ མི་ མ་ཞིན་བ་ འདྲེ་མོ་ འཛིག་ལྷ་ རུང་བོ་ གཅིག་ ཞིན།
ána=di mí ma-ím-ba dɛmo dziksu runpo=tɕiʔ ʔ̃.
 old.lady=DEMPH human NEG-EQU.PER-CIRC demoness PN PN=INDF
 EQU.PER
 ‘The old lady, not being a human, is one demoness Dziku Rungpo.’ (rna-gsung 10)

The negated forms of nominalized copulas are given in Table 10.4. The nominalizers are *-po/bo* (2. infinitive), *-kʰɛː* (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 *ʔ̃* (neg. *mɛː*) or *jəʔ* (neg. *mɛʔ*). The final, evidentiality marking copula is either personal *ʔ̃* or neutral *bɛʔ*. The forms given with a question mark do not occur in my data. However, consultant KUN commented that he has heard all of them used, with the exception of *mèm-bo ʔ̃*, the felicity of which he doubted.

Table 10.4. Nominalized copulas

Equ./ Ex.	Evid./epist.	Nominalized construction		
		Affirmative	Negated	
Equat .	Personal	<i>ím-bo ʔ̃</i>	ཞིན་བོ་ ཞིན་	<i>mèm-bo ʔ̃</i> (?) མན་བོ་ ཞིན་ (?)
		<i>íŋ-kʰɛː ʔ̃</i>	ཞིན་མཁན་ ཞིན་	<i>mèŋ-kʰɛː ʔ̃</i> མན་མཁན་ ཞིན་
		<i>ʔ̃-ɕɛ ʔ̃</i>	ཞིན་གད་ ཞིན་	<i>mɛː-ɕɛ ʔ̃</i> (?) མན་གད་ ཞིན་ (?)
	Neutral or assertive	<i>ím-bo bɛʔ</i>	ཞིན་བོ་ ཟད་	<i>mèm-bo bɛʔ</i> མན་བོ་ ཟད་
		<i>íŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ</i>	ཞིན་མཁན་ ཟད་	<i>mèŋ-kʰɛn bɛʔ</i> མན་མཁན་ ཟད་
		<i>ʔ̃-ɕɛ bɛʔ</i>	ཞིན་གད་ ཟད་	<i>mɛː-ɕɛ bɛʔ</i> (?) མན་གད་ ཟད་ (?)
Exist.	Personal	<i>jəʔ-po ʔ̃</i>	ཡོད་བོ་ ཞིན་	<i>mɛː-po ʔ̃</i> མད་བོ་ ཞིན་
		<i>jəʔ-kʰɛː ʔ̃</i>	ཡོད་མཁན་ ཞིན་	<i>mɛː-kʰɛː ʔ̃</i> མད་མཁན་ ཞིན་
		<i>jəʔ-ɕɛ ʔ̃</i>	ཡོད་གད་ ཞིན་	<i>mɛː-ɕɛ ʔ̃</i> (?) མད་གད་ ཞིན་ (?)
	Neutral	<i>jəʔ-po bɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་བོ་ ཟད་	<i>mɛː-po bɛʔ</i> མད་བོ་ ཟད་
		<i>jəbbɛʔ/jəbbɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་བ་ ཟད་	<i>mɛbbɛʔ</i> མད་བ་ ཟད་
		<i>jəʔ-kʰɛn bɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་མཁན་ ཟད་	<i>mɛː-kʰɛn bɛʔ</i> མད་མཁན་ ཟད་
		<i>jəʔ-ɕɛ bɛʔ</i>	ཡོད་གད་ ཟད་	<i>mɛː-ɕɛ bɛʔ</i> (?) མད་གད་ ཟད་ (?)

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. *ĩ:-εε mêmbe?* instead of *mè:-εε be?*, and *jò-po mêmbe?* instead of *mè:-po be?*). 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. *ĩ:-εε ĩ: > ĩ:-εε mē̃:*. The only form that he was not certain about was the form *jò:-εε mē̃:*, which he said he had not heard used. Negation of complex copulas leaves much to be investigated.

10.1.3 Negation in non-declarative clauses

Negation in non-declarative clauses is here addressed in two parts, non-copular clauses (§10.1.3.1) and copular clauses (§10.1.3.2)

10.1.3.1 Negation in interrogative, imperative, hortative and optative

Negation in imperative, hortative and optative moods is accomplished by adding the prefix *ma-* to the affirmative form, i.e. non-declarative negation in symmetrical, see Table 10.5. In imperative and hortative moods, the negator is prefixed to the verb root, while in the optative mood the negator occurs between the verb root and optative marker. Negation is not applicable to the exclamative mood (see §11.2).

Table 10.5. Negation of non-declarative non-copular clauses

IMP	<i>lâp(-te^{hi})</i>	‘say!’	<i>ma-lâp(-te^{hi})</i>	‘do not say’	symmetric
HORT	<i>lâp-ke</i>	‘let me/us say’	<i>ma-lâp-ke</i>	‘let us/me not say’	
OPT	<i>lâp-teuk</i>	‘let (her) say’	<i>lâp ma-teuk</i>	‘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 *mêmbo*, *mèn-a*, *mèn-ga* and the affirmative interrogative *ín-ga* are in effect like tag questions, whereas questions negated by other means are normal non-tag questions.

Table 10.6. Negation of interrogatives

Constr	Affirm.	Gloss	Negated	Gloss	Constr. symm.	Relation. symm.
state	<i>kjap-ka</i>	‘does he do’	<i>mi-kjap-ka</i>	‘does he not do’	S	S
simp. prs	<i>kjap be-ka</i>	‘does he do’	<i>kjap mèmbe-ka</i>	‘does he not do’	AS	S
	<i>kjap ná</i>	‘does he do’	<i>mi-kjap ná</i>	‘does he not do’	S	S
			<i>kjap mènna</i>	‘he does, doesn’t he’	AS	S
IPFV	<i>kjap-to-ka</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>mi-kjap-ka</i> (<i>mi-kjap-to-ka</i>)	‘does he not do’ ‘is he not doing’	S	AS S
	<i>kjap-to ná</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>ma-kjap ná</i> (<i>ma-kjap-to ná/bo</i>)	‘is he not doing’	AS S	AS S
			<i>kjap-to mènna</i> ³⁵⁹	‘he is doing, isn’t he’	AS	S
			<i>ma-kjap-to mènna</i>	‘he is not doing, is he’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-to íŋ-ga</i>	‘he is doing, isn’t he’	<i>kjap-to mènŋ-ga,</i>	‘he is doing, isn’t he’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-to bo</i>	‘is he doing (I wonder)’	<i>ma-kjap-to bo</i> (<i>alternative question</i>)	‘whether he is not doing or...’	S	S
			<i>kjap-to mèmbo</i>	‘he is doing, isn’t he’	AS	S
			<i>ma-kjap-to mèmbo</i>	‘he is not doing, is he’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-to be-ka</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-to mèmbe-ka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	S
			<i>kjap-o mè:-po</i> <i>kjap-o mindu-ko</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
			<i>kjap-o mè:-ka</i> <i>kjap-o mindu-ka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
			<i>ma-kjap-o ná</i> <i>ma-kjap-o bo</i>	‘is he not doing, did he not do’	S	AS
PROG	<i>kjap-tɛɛn jò:-ka, kjap-tɛɛn du-ka</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-o mè:ka</i> <i>kjap-o mindu-ka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
	<i>kjap-tɛɛn jò-po, kjap-tɛɛn du-ko</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-tɛɛn mè:-po</i> <i>kjap-tɛɛn mindu-ko</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	S
			<i>kjap-o mè:-po</i> <i>kjap-o mindu-ko</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
CONT	<i>kjap dɔ: jò:-ka, kjap dɔ: du-ka</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-o mè:-ka</i> <i>kjap-o mindu-ka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
			<i>kjap dɔ:-p mè:-ka</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS

³⁵⁹ The Nepali equivalent offered by KN was *gar-dai-cha, hoina* [do-PROG-NPST.3SG EQU.NPST.NEG.3SG]

			<i>kjap dø:-p mĩndu-ka</i>			
	<i>kjap dø: jø-po</i> <i>kjap dø: du-ko</i>	‘is he doing’	<i>kjap-o mèn:-po</i> <i>kjap-o mĩndu-ko</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
			<i>kjap dø:-p mèn:-po</i> <i>kjap dø:-p mĩndu-ko</i>	‘is he not doing’	AS	AS
periphr. PST	<i>kjap-o ná</i>	‘did he do’	<i>ma-kjap-o ná</i>	‘did he not do’	S	S
			<i>ma-kjap ná</i>	‘did he not do’	AS	AS
			<i>kjap-o mènna</i> <i>kjap-o mènŋ-ga</i>	‘he did, didn’t he’	AS AS	S AS
			<i>ma-kjap(-o) mènna</i> <i>ma-kjap(-o) mènŋ-ga</i>	‘he did not do, did he’	AS AS	S AS
	<i>kjap-o bo</i>	‘did he do (I wonder)’	<i>ma-kjap-o bo</i>	‘did he not do’	S	S
			<i>kjap-o mèmbo</i>	‘he did, didn’t he’	AS	S
			<i>ma-kjap(-o) mèmbo</i>	‘he did not do, did he’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-o³⁶⁰</i>	‘did he do’	<i>ma-kjap-o</i>	‘did he not do’	S	S
PST	<i>kjap-tɛɛ ná,</i> <i>*kjap-tɛɛ bo</i>	‘did he do’	<i>ma-kjap ná</i>	‘did he not do’	AS	AS
			<i>kjap-tɛɛ mènna</i>	‘he did, didn’t he’	AS	S
			<i>kjap-tɛɛ mèmbo</i>	‘he did, didn’t he’	AS	AS
	<i>kjap-tɛɛ-ka</i> <i>kjap-tɛa</i>	‘did he do’	<i>ma-kjap ná</i>	‘did he not do’	AS	AS
CMPL	<i>kjap-ts^ha: ná</i>	‘has he done’	<i>ma-kjap-o ná</i>	‘did he not do’, ‘has he not done’	S	AS
	<i>kjap-ts^ho-u ná</i>		<i>kjap-ts^ho-u mènna</i>	‘he has done, hasn’t he’	AS	S
	<i>kjap-ts^ha: bo</i>	‘has he done’	<i>ma-kjap-o bo</i>	‘did he not do’, ‘has he not done’	S	AS
	<i>kjap-ts^ho-u bo</i>		<i>kjap-ts^ho-u mèmbo</i>	‘he has done, hasn’t he’	AS	S
PRF	<i>(kjap-)kjap-o jø:-ka, (kjap-)kjapo du-ka</i>	‘has he done’	<i>(kjap-)kjap-o mèn:-ka, (kjap-)kjap-o mĩndu-ka</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S

³⁶⁰ Essential for this form and the corresponding negation is raised pitch at the end.

	<i>(kja)p-kja)p-o jò-po, (kja)p-kja)p-o duko</i>	‘has he done’	<i>(kja)p-kja)p-o mè:-po, (kja)p-kja)p-o mindu-ko</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S
	<i>kja)p-ey: jò:-ka, kja)p-ey: du-ka</i>	‘has he done’	<i>kja)p-ey: mè:-ka, kja)p-ey: mindu-ka</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S
	<i>kja)p-ey: jò-po, kja)p-ey: du-ko</i>	‘has he done’	<i>kja)p-ey: mè:-po, kja)p-ey: mindu-ko</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S
RES	<i>kja)p jò:-ka</i>	‘has he done’	<i>kja)p mè:-ka</i>	‘has he not done’	AS	S
SEN.PST SEN.RES	<i>kja)p du-ka</i>	‘did he do’	<i>kja)p mindu-ka kja)p mindu-ko</i>	‘did he not do’	AS	S
NPST	<i>kja)p-εε já (kja)p-εα)</i>	‘will he do’	<i>mi-kja)p já³⁶¹</i>	‘will he not do’	AS	AS
			<i>mi-kja)p-ka</i>	‘will he not do’	S	AS
			<i>kja)p-εε mènna</i>	‘he will do, won’t he’	AS	S
	<i>kja)p-εε bo</i>	‘will he do’	<i>mi-kja)p-ka</i>	‘will he not do’	S	AS
			<i>kja)p-εε mèmbo</i>	‘he will do, won’t he’	AS	S
FUT	<i>kja)p òη-ga</i>	‘will he do’	<i>mi-kja)p-ka(m)³⁶²</i>	‘will he not do’	S	AS
poss.like	<i>kja)p-εε jò:-ka, kja)p-εε du-ka</i>	‘has he to do’	<i>kja)p-εε mè:-ka, kja)p-εε mindu-ka</i>	‘he has not to do’	AS	S
	<i>kja)p-εε jò-po, kja)p-εε du-ko</i>	‘has he to do’	<i>kja)p-εε mè:-po, kja)p-εε mindu-ko</i>	‘he has not to do’	AS	S
HAB. PRS	<i>kja)p-k^hē: já</i>	‘is he the one doing’	<i>ma-kja)p-k^hē: já mi-kja)p-k^hē: já</i>	‘is he (the one) not doing’	S	S
			<i>kja)p-k^hē: mènna kja)p-k^hē: mènη-ga</i>	‘he is (the one) doing, isn’t he’	AS	S
			<i>ma-kja)p-k^hē: mènna, ma-kja)p-k^hē: mènη-ga, mi-kja)p-k^hē: mènna, mi-kja)p-k^hē: mènη-ga</i>	‘he is not (the one) doing, is he’	AS AS AS AS	S AS S AS
	<i>kja)p-k^hen bo</i>	‘is he the one doing (I wonder)’	<i>ma-kja)p-k^hen bo</i>	‘is he (the one) not doing’	S	S
			<i>kja)p-k^hē: mèmbo</i>	‘he is (the one) doing, isn’t he’	AS	S

³⁶¹ This may also be a statement.

³⁶² The addition of *-m* makes the form an attenuated question.

			<i>ma-kjap-k^hɛ̃:</i> <i>mèmbo</i> <i>mi-kjap-k^hɛ̃:</i> <i>mèmbo</i>	‘he is not (the one) doing, is he’	AS	S
			<i>mi-kjap-o bo</i>	‘does he not do’, ‘is he not doing’	S	AS

Table 10.6 underlines the richness and complexity of question formation in Denjongke. For clausal examples of some of the negated questions, refer to 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 *t^høŋ* ‘come out, happen, become’ and *tɛ ‘uŋ* ‘become’, on the other hand, are used in the optative form, *t^høŋ ma-tɛu?*, *tɛ ‘uŋ ma-tɛu?* ‘let not be/become’. The non-declarative forms of proper copulas consist of interrogatives, which are given in Tables 10.7 (equative copulas) and 10.8 (existential copulas).

Table 10.7. Negation of interrogated equative copulas

	Q type	Affirmed		Negated	
P E R	suffix	<i>iŋ-ga</i>	‘is (it)’ (tag)	<i>mènŋ-ga</i>	‘isn’t (it)’ (tag)
		<i>iŋ-gam</i>	‘I wonder whether (it) is’	<i>mènŋ-gam</i>	‘I wonder whether (it) is not’
R	neg. cop.	<i>ɲá</i>	‘is (it)’	<i>mèna</i>	‘isn’t (it)’ (tag)
		<i>ɲám</i>	‘I wonder whether (it) is’	<i>mènam</i>	‘I wonder whether (it) is not’
N E	suffix	<i>bɛ-ka</i>	‘is it’	<i>mèmbɛ-ka</i>	‘is (it) not’
	neg. cop.	<i>bo</i>	‘is (it, I wonder)’	<i>mèmbo</i>	‘isn’t (it, I wonder)’ (tag)

Table 10.8. Negation of interrogated existential copulas

	Affirmative		Negated	
Per	<i>jø(:)-ka</i>	‘is (there)’	<i>mè(:)-ka</i>	‘is (there) not’
	<i>jø(:)-kam</i>	‘I wonder whether (there) is’	<i>mè(:)-kam</i>	‘I wonder whether (there) is not’
Sen	<i>du-ka</i>	‘is (there)’	<i>mindu-ka</i>	‘is (there) not’

As seen in Table 10.7 and Table 10.8, both equative and existential copulas may be interrogated with the suffix *-ka/ga* and its attenuated counterpart *-kam/gam*, whereas only equative interrogatives have separate negated forms (*mèna*, *mènam*, *mèmbo*). The attenuated forms occur only in the personal copulas *ĩ:* and *jø?*, 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.

Table 10.9. Negation of nonfinal forms

Form	Function	Affirmative	Negative	Constructional symmetry	Relational symmetry
<i>-nε/no</i> ³⁶³	conditional	<i>kjap-nε</i>	<i>ma-kjap-nε</i>	S	S
<i>-run</i>	concession	<i>kjap-run</i>	<i>ma-kjap-run</i>	S	S
<i>-ti</i>	nonfinal	<i>kjap-ti</i>	<i>ma-kjap-a</i>	S	AS
<i>-pa(r)</i>	circumstance	<i>kjap-a</i>			S
<i>-podā:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-o-dā:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-o-dā:</i>	S	S
<i>-tsubdā:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-tsubdā:</i>			AS
<i>-sondā:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-sondā:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-sondā:</i>	S	S
<i>-sompā:</i>		<i>kjap-sompā:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-sompā:</i>		
<i>-kap</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-kap</i> <i>kjapø: kap</i>	<i>ma-kjap-kap</i> <i>ma-kjapø: kap</i>	S	S
<i>-dy:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-dy:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-dy:</i>	S	S
<i>-reŋk^ha</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-reŋk^ha</i>	<i>ma-kjap-reŋk^ha</i>	S	S
<i>gā:</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-ø: gā:</i>	<i>ma-kjap gā:</i>	AS	AS
<i>p'a:pu</i>	simultaneous	<i>kjap-kjap</i> <i>p'a:pu</i>	<i>ma-kjap p'a:pu</i>	AS	AS
<i>-sā:, sonzā:</i>	terminative	<i>kjap-sonzā:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-sonzā:</i>	S	S
<i>-εε=di:</i>	causal	<i>kjap-εε=di:</i>	<i>ma-kjap-εε=di:</i>	S	S

As shown by Table 10.10, negation in non-finite clauses is constructionally mostly symmetric, showing asymmetry in only two constructions (simultaneous *gā:* and *p'a:pu*). Two constructions (nonfinal and simultaneous *-tsubdā:*) show paradigmatic asymmetry in deriving the negated form from another construction. Simultaneous constructions with *gā:* and *p'a:pu* evince a peculiar paradigmatic asymmetry in having a unique negated construction which is not derived from any affirmative construction. The simultaneous construction formed with *gā:* ‘time’ differs from the functionally equivalent affirmative construction by dropping the nominalizer *-po* and the simultaneous construction formed by *p'a:pu* ‘in between’ differs from its functionally equivalent affirmative form by eliding reduplication.

10.2 Non-clausal negation

10.2.1 Negated replies

While Denjongke has no word corresponding to English *no*, one word negated replies are possible with the negated copulas. Negated existentials *mindu?* and *mè?* can function as one-word replies to questions relating to existence and location.

- (10.5) Q: མ་ རྩ་ལྟོ་
ts^ha t^hop-ka?
 salt find-PQ
 ‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)

³⁶³ Speakers literate in Tibetan also use the form *-na*, a loan from Classical Tibetan.

A: མིན་འདྲག་མེད།

mindu?/mè?

NEG.EX.SEN/ NEG.EX.PER

‘There is not.’ (KN e)

The negated equative *mè:* is used in the meaning ‘it is not as you are saying’ for contending with what the speaker’s interlocutor has said. Typically, however, the form is not used totally independently but is followed by a further negated verb form.

(10.6) མན་ད་རིང་བཞེས་པོ་མེད་ལོ།

mè:, *t’ariŋ* *ze:-p(o)* ***mè:=lo.***

NEG.EQU.PER today eat.HON-2INF NEG.EX.PER=REP

‘No, (he) is not eating today, I hear.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

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: མདང་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་འཕྱད་པོ་ཉ་?

dã: *ts’eriŋ=lo* *p^hε-po* *na?*

yesterday PN=DAT meet-2INF EQU.PER.Q

‘Did you meet Tshering yesterday?’ (KN e)

b) A1: མན་མ་ཕྱེད།

mè:, ***ma-p^hε?***

NEG.EQU.PER NEG-meet

‘No, (I) didn’t meet.’ (KN e)

c) A2: *མན།

****mè:***.

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: མདང་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་འཕྱད་པོ་མན་ག་?

dã: *ts’eriŋ=lo* *p^hε-po* *mèŋ-ga?*

yesterday PN=DAT meet-2INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ

‘Didn’t you meet Tshering yesterday?’ (KN e)

A1: མན་(མ་འཕྱེད་)

mè: (***ma-p^hε?***).

NEG.EQU.PER NEG-meet

‘No (I did not meet).’ (KN e)

A2: མན་(ན་)
mě: (*ɲá*).
 NEG.EQU.PER TAG.ASR
 ‘No (indeed). (KN e)

10.2.2 Negative indefinites and quantifiers

Negative indefinites with meanings such as ‘nobody’, ‘never’, and ‘nothing’ are formed by 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’andɛ:* and *k’are*³⁶⁴ ‘(not) anything’, do not function as interrogatives at all but only occur in negated statements, see (10.10) and (10.13).

- (10.9) ལྷ་པོ་ལོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ལྷ་ཁ་ དབང་ཆ་ ག་ཡང་ མེད་མཁན་ ལྷ།
gɛ:pu=lo ódi gã: ǒ:te^ha k’a:=jã: mɛ:-k^hɛn bɛ?
 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་འདྲེ་ ལབ་ མི་ཚུགས།
t’izã: k’adi:=jã: k’andɛ: ləp mi-ts^hu?
 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་ ལྷས་ཅིག་ མ་འོང་གྲོ།
ájo: ɲɛŋ-k^hɛ: mí=di ɛý:tey? m-ǒ:=ɛo.
 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་ ལྷས་ཅིག་ མེད།
ámmamma, ɛý:tey? mɛ?
 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་ལྷས་བོ་ ག་རེ་ མེད།
te^hø:=ki mam-bja-u k’are mɛ?
 2SG.L=AGT NEG-do-2INF anything NEG.EQU.PER
 ‘There is not anything you haven’t done.’ (’dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 45)

³⁶⁴ *k’are* is probably a shortened form of *k’andɛ:*. The retroflex /d/ alternates with /r/ also elsewhere.

- (10.14) ང་ ང་ འདེམ་ མ་ཉུང་ དངུལ་ ཕྱོན་ཟི་གི་
t'a ηà dɛm ma-puŋ nyː 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	
<i>lɛm</i>	good	<i>mà-lɛm, mà-lɛp</i> ³⁶⁵	bad
<i>tɛðːʈaʔ</i> (TB), <i>tɛãːʈaʔ</i> (KT)	beautiful	<i>ma-tɛom</i> (TB) <i>ma-tɛãːpo</i> (KT)	ugly, not beautiful
<i>tsãːʈaʔ</i>	clean	<i>ma-tsãːm</i>	dirty, unclean
<i>ɖau</i>	similar	<i>man-ɖau</i>	dissimilar
<i>dɛmpo</i>	true	<i>man-dɛmpo</i>	untrue

As seen in Table 10.10, adjectives are mainly negated by the perfective negator prefix *ma-*. The imperfective *mi-* may be used when forming future-oriented ad-hoc adjectives from verbs through nominalization, as shown in (10.15).

- (10.15) Positive Negative
 བྱུང་ རྒྱགས་པོ་ བྱུང་ མི་རྒྱགས་པོ་
tɛ'uy tsʰu-po tɛ'uy 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 (*mèː-kʰɛː* or *mèː-po*), the adjectival suffix (e.g. *-ʈaʔ*, *-tɛʰɛː*), which occurs in the positive form, is dropped and the resulting form, which is negated, is rather a noun describing a quality (e.g. sharpness, strength) than an adjective. This way of negating adjectives seems more productive than prefixing a negator, which has become more lexicalized. A few examples are given in Table 10.11.

Table 10.11. Adjectives negated by a negated copula

Positive		Negative	
<i>ŋøʈaʔ</i> རྫོ་དགས་	sharp	<i>ŋø mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</i> རྫོ་མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་	blunt, not sharp
<i>sém-ɕúkteʰɛː</i> ཤེམས་ཤུགས་ཆེན་	courageous	<i>sém-ɕúk mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</i> ཤེམས་ཤུགས་མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་	coward, not courageous,
<i>ɕúk-tɛʰɛː</i> ཤུགས་ཆེན་ <i>top-tɛʰɛː</i> ལྷོབས་ཆེན་	strong (lit. strength big)	<i>ɕúk mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</i> ཤུགས་མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་ <i>top mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</i> ལྷོབས་མེད་མཁན་/མེད་པོ་	weak, not strong

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)’

<i>min-qa</i>	མིན་འདྲ་	[NEG-be.similar]	‘different’
<i>ma-taik-o</i>	མ་གཅིག་གོ་	[NEG-one-NMLZ]	‘different, not one’
<i>qa man-qa</i>	འདྲ་མཉམ་འདྲ་	[be.similar NEG-be.similar]	‘different kinds of’
<i>qa min-qa</i>	འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་	[be.similar NEG-be.similar]	‘different kinds of’
<i>man-qa gun-qa</i>	མཉམ་འདྲ་ དྲུག་འདྲ་	[NEG-be.similar nine-be.similar]	‘different kinds of’

- (10.16) དེ་ཟང་ དང་ཕུ་ འདེམ་ མིན་འདྲ་ སྟེ།
t'iza: t'ã:pu dem min-qa be?
 but long.ago like.that NEG-be.similar EQU.NE
 ‘But it is different from how (it was) long ago.’ (DB trip story)

- (10.17) མི་ འདི་ མ་གཅིག་གོ་ ལཔ་སྟེ།
mí=di ma-taik-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་ཚོ་ན་ ཡ་ཅི་ཅིག་ འགྲོ་ལེས་ འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྟེ།
t'a ý:tso ý:tso=na átsi=tei? qoly? qaminqa jø:-kʰen be?
 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-qa gun-qa*, refer to §10.3.3 below.

10.2.4 Privatives

Privative (or abessive) meanings (cf. English *without* N, *N-less*, *un-N*) are expressed through negated existential copulas, see (10.19). This strategy is identical with negating certain adjectives, see Table 10.11 above.

- (10.19) ང་རང་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་ འདེབ་ ཡུལ་སྟོན་ འབག་སྟེ་ རི་ལུང་ མེད་པོ་ འབྱམ་ འབག་སྟེ་ འབྱུ་ རྫོང་ ཡོད།
ŋà=rã: teuku dep ý:kor bak-ti ri-luŋ mè:-po kʰjam
 1SG=AEMPH only like.this tour carry-NF hill.valley EX-2INF roam
bak-ti gju dø: jø?
 carry-NF go sit EX.PER
 ‘Like this I’m travelling alone, without a place (to stay) in the hills or valleys, roaming around.’ (PAD bet story)

Clausal privatives (cf. ‘without doing’) are expressed through negated circumstantial converb or through the construction NEG-VERB-*po p’ja(ti)*, see §15.8.1.

10.3 Other aspects of negation

This section provides a note on negation in complex clauses (§10.3.1) and describes two idiomatic constructions involving negation, the negated restrictive *-ma* (§10.3.2) and the variety marking idiom NEG-VERB *gu*-VERB (§10.3.3).

10.3.1 A note on negation in complex clauses

The negated connector *mi-tsʰɛ?* (NEG-stop) ‘not only, in addition’ functions both as a clause connector and a more loose discourse connector, see §12.2 and §15.9.1. There are no forms corresponding to English *neither...nor*, but the same function is covered by using either the independent connector *jǎ:* ‘and, again’ or its cliticized form *=jǎ:* with a negated verb in both clauses, see §12.3.

A functional approximation of English subordinate clauses with *lest* can be formed by *mènne/mènni*, which was in §3.5.2.5 introduced as an epistemic adverb meaning ‘maybe, perhaps’. The form *mèn(n)ɛ/mèn(n)i* likely derives from the conditional form of the negated personal equative *mě:* and thus seems to have an air of negation similar to English *lest*. In (10.20), the relatives of a bride insist on seeing the prospective groom, lest they be deceived.

- (10.20) མག་གོ་འདི་ག་ན་ཡོད་པོ་, གོ་ལས་སེ། མག་གོ་མན་ནེ་མིག་ན་ཞུ་རང་ འོང་།
máko=di k'ana jè-po, kolɛ=s. máko mèn(ɛ)
 groom=DEMPH where EX-2INF where=QUO groom perhaps
mik-ɛa:zou=rõ: õ:
 eye-lame=AEMPH come
 ‘Where is the groom? Where? Lest the groom be blind.’ (SGD wedding customs)

In (10.21), *mènni*, in combination with the preceding conditional construction and following negated verb, forms a functional approximation of the English imperative followed by a *lest*-clause.

- (10.21) ཏུག་མན་ཟ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་མན་ནེ་ཆོད་མི་གི།
t'u? man-za-itɛɛnè mènni tɛʰø? mi-ɛí.
 poison NEG-eat-COND perhaps 2SG.L NEG-die
 ‘If (you) do not eat poison, perhaps you will not die.’/ ‘Don’t eat poison, lest you die.’
 (KN e)

Note that while English *lest* co-occurs with an affirmed verb, *mènni* 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 *tciku* ‘only’ used with an affirmative existential. Consultant KN commented that *=ma* in (10.22) could be replaced by the marker *pʰa:ge* or *ma:ge* and retain the same meaning.

- (10.22) ང་ཅག་མི་ ཉུང་ཉུང་མ་ མེད་ཅུང་ ང་ཅག་ བྱས་ ཚྱུགས།
ηàtea? mí jùnjnuŋ-ma mɛː-run ηàtea? p'ja tsʰu?
 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་ ཤུམ་ཅིག་མ་ མེད་, འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འཐུང་།
t'a ɛyːteyː-ma mɛ?, di tʰamtɛɛ? tʰuŋ.
 now a.bit-(no.)more.than EX.PER it all drink
 ‘Now there isn’t more than a bit, drink it all.’ (rnam-rtog 20)

In the novel *Richhi* and the audio-play *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: ཆེ་ འདི་ཙ་ཏོ་ བདུན་མ་ མེན་འདུག། ཨ་ཏྲཱ་གེ་ལྷོ་ ག་ཚོད་ འདུག?
teʰɛː jɛː=tsaː=to dyn-ma mɪndu?
 Oh.no 1SG.GEN=at=CEMPH seven-(no.)more.than NEG.EX.SEN
ágja=gi=ɛo kʰadzø? du??
 elder.brother=GEN=AT how.may EX.SEN
 ‘Oh no, I have no more than seven (pieces of orange). And what about the brother, how many do (you) have?’ (Ricchi 99)

- B: འདི་ཙ་ཨོ་ཡང་ བདུན་མ་ མེན་འདུག།
jɛː tsa=lo=jãː dyn-ma mɪndu?
 1SG.GEN at=DAT=even seven-(no.)more.than NEG.EX.SEN
 ‘I too haven’t (any) more than seven.’

- (10.25) A: ལྷན་ འདི་ མན་རྫོགས་ཀྱི་ ཨ་ཏྲཱ།
mén=di man-dzoː-kam ágja?
 medicine=DEMPH NEG-be.finished-ATTQ elder.brother
 ‘Isn’t the medicine finished, brother?’

- B: ད་ ཤུམ་ཅིག་མ་ མེན་འདུག། རྫོགས་རབ་ ཐང་།
t'a ɛyːteyː-ma mɪndu? dzoː-rap bɛ?
 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 *mɛmbo* accompanied by a negated verb:

- (10.26) ཚོམ་གྱི་དུས་ཅི་ཤིང་བཞིན་པའི་ཁྲིམ་པ་ལྟ་བུར་ ད་ ཉིན་ གཅིག་ མག་པོ་ མེད།
tɕʰøki? pyn=tsu kʰim=na lòk-ti gju-wa t'a nìm tei? mèmbo
 PN sibling=PL house=LOC return-NF go-PUR now day one NEG.EQU.NE
mè?
 NEG.EX.PER
 ‘It is no more than one day and Choki will return to (her) sibling’s house.’ (Richhi 136)

10.3.3 Variety marking idiom NEG-VERB *qu*-VERB

The negated construction NEG-VERB *gu*-VERB marks undefined variety, an apt translation often being ‘doing various kinds of’. The formative *gu* means nine, rendering a literal translation ‘not doing nine doing’. In the novel *Richhi*, the construction always collocates with the verb *nó* or *nó:sam tã:*, which both mean ‘think’, see (10.27)

- (10.27) མོ་འདི་ནི་ ལུ་ཆེ་ གཟུ་གེས་ མཚོ་བསམ་ མི་བཏང་ དགུ་བཏང་ གེས་པོ་ བཏང་ཤང་ མིན།
ódi: nupts^{hi} karma=gi nó:sam mi-tā: gu-tā: kɛ:po tā:-ɛɛ
 that.GEN night.time PN=AGT thought NEG-send nine-send a.lot send-INF
í:
 EQU.PER
 ‘That night Karma thinks many various kinds of thoughts.’ (Richhi 171)

- (10.28) མན་འདྲ་ དགུ་འདྲ་
man-qa gun-qa
 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*).

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 questions	polar	Attenuated questions	polar and content
All Vs	-	<i>-ka/ga</i>	ཀ་ག་	<i>-kam/gam</i>	ཀམ་གམ་
Personal equative	Affirm.	<i>ná</i>	ན་ཨིན་ན་ ³⁶⁷	<i>nam</i> ³⁶⁸	ནམ་ཨིནམ་/ཨིན་ནམ་
	Neg.	<i>mèna</i>	མན་ན་	<i>mènam</i>	མན་ནམ་
Neutral equative	Affirm.	<i>bo</i>	(འ)བོ་		
	Neg.	<i>mèmbo</i>	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 *nam*) 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 *ná* (neg. *mèn-a*), its attenuated counterpart *nam* (neg. *mènam*) and evidentially neutral *bo* (neg. *mèmbo*). While the interrogative copula *ná* is used in polar questions, its attenuated counterpart *nam* occurs in both polar and content questions, and is the preferred choice in interrogative complement clauses. The interrogative *bo*, similarly to declarative *bə?* (§5.4.2), may in addition to equation also be used for location, e.g. *k'ana bo?* [where EQU.NE.Q] 'Where is (it)?'. The marker *bo* occurs in polar, content and alternative questions. Finally, there is a marginal alternative question marker *-lə?*, which will be illustrated in §11.1.3.4.

In addition to the separate interrogative forms, copulas can be interrogated, similar to other verbs, by the suffixes *-ka/ga* and *-kam/gam*, as shown in Table 11.2.

³⁶⁷ Both these forms occur in Denjongke writing. I am using the simpler form *ná*, although it does not represent high register implied by the initial of the source form (ཨིན་ན་). Note that the form suggested to me for writing the attenuated form *nam* ནམ་ has a superscript which implies high register.

³⁶⁸ The form *nam* most likely derives from the interrogated personal copula *ín-(n)am* (in WD both ཨིན་ནམ་ and ཨིནམ་ 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 *k'ana s̥:-bo nam?* [where go.PFV-PST EQU.PER.Q] 'Where did (he) go, I wonder?' into Nepali as *kahā ga-yo holā* [where go-PST.3SG COP.PROB.3SG] 'Where might he have gone?', using the Nepali dubitative copula *holā* to correspond to Denjongke *nam*.

Table 11.2. Negating copulas with *-ka/ga*

Copula type	Polarity	Direct polar questions		Attenuated polar and content questions	
Personal equative	Affirm.	<i>ín-ga</i>	ཨིན་ག་	<i>ín-gam</i>	ཨིན་གམ་
	Neg.	<i>mèn-ga</i>	མན་ག་	<i>mèn-gam</i>	མན་གམ་
Neutral equative	Affirm.	<i>bɛ-ka</i>	ཐང་ག་	<i>bɛ-kam</i>	ཐང་གམ་
	Neg.	<i>mèmbɛ-ka</i>	མན་ཐང་ག་	<i>mèmbɛ-kam (?)</i> ³⁷¹	མན་ཐང་གམ་ (?)
Per. ex.	Affirm.	<i>jò:-ka</i>	ཡོད་ག་	<i>jò:-kam</i>	ཡོད་གམ་
	Neg.	<i>mè:-ka</i>	མེད་ག་	<i>mè:-kam</i>	མེད་གམ་
Sen. ex.	Affirm.	<i>du-ka</i>	འདུག་ག་	<i>du-kam</i> ³⁷²	འདུག་གམ་
	Neg.	<i>mindu-ka</i>	མིན་འདུག་ག་	<i>mìndu-kam</i>	མིན་འདུག་གམ་

As shown by Tables 11.1 and 11.2, the equative copulas have two types of interrogated forms, the separate interrogative copulas *iná* (neg. *mèna*), *ínám* (neg. *mènam*) and *bo*, and the regularly formed corresponding *ín-ga* (neg. *mèn-ga*), *ín-gam* (*mèn-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་ ལྷ་མ་ གཅིག་ མཐོང་ཅེ་ན་?
tɕʰø? à:m=tɕi? tʰõ:-tɕɛ-na?
 2SG.L fox=INDF see-PST-PQ
 ‘Did you see the silver fox.’

In my data, however, *-na* does not occur as a question marker outside the copula forms *ín-na(m)* > *iná(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 *iná* (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 *ínám* (often reduced to *jám*) and the interrogative copula/auxiliary *bo* (neg. *mèmbɔ*). The polar uses of these markers are discussed in §11.1.1.2 (*-ka/ga* and *iná*), §11.1.1.3 (*-kam/gam* and *ínám*) and §11.1.1.4 (*bo*). The last section under

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.

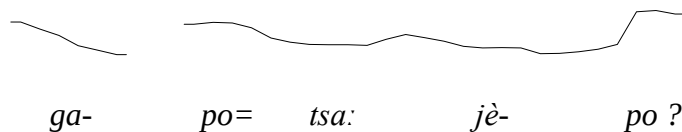
polar questions (§11.1.1.5) describes a further interrogative marker *á*, which is used in Lachung. Section §11.1.1.6 provides a summary on polar questions.

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.

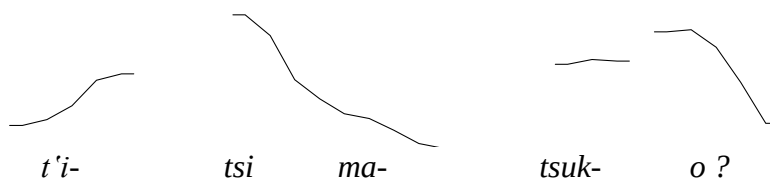
- (11.2) གཤམ་རྩ་ཡོད་པོ?
gapo=tsa: jè-po?
 elder.man=at EQU.PER-2INF
 ‘Does sir (=you) have (that)?’ (DR discussion with KL)

Figure 11.1. Intonation in polar question (11.2)



- (11.3) དེ་ཙམ་མ་བཅུག་ཤི?
t'itsi ma-tsuk-o?
 a.few.days.ago NEG-set-2INF
 ‘(You) haven’t put (it there) lately?’ (TB telephone call)

Figure 11.2. Intonation in polar question (11.3)



Sandberg (1895: 73) reports the polar question *chhö ts'ongkhen hlam du' bo?*, which is given in edited form as (11.4). As suggested by the glossing in (11.4), I assume that Sandberg’s final morpheme is the nominalizer/infinitivizer *-po/bo*, which does not assimilate to the underlying velar in *duk/du?* (hence *du-bo*³⁷³). For comparison, see example (11.5) where the nominalizer reduces to *-o* (hence *duk-o*).³⁷⁴

³⁷³ I would have expected *-po* instead of *-bo* because final glottal (such as the one in *du?*) is in my data followed by voiceless sounds.

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 *naku* ‘black’.

- (11.4) Sandberg (1895: 73) (WD, phonological transcription and glossing mine)

ཆོད་འཛོང་མཁན་ ལྷ་མ་ འདུག་པོ་

teʰøʔ tsʰoŋ-kʰɛː ʎam du-boʔ

2SG.L sell-NMLZ shoe EX.SEN-2INF

‘Have you any boots to sell?’

- (11.5) བཀའ་ཚོན་སྤང་ན་ འདེམ་ འདུག་གོ་

kalimponɣ=na dem duk-oʔ

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་ ལྷ་རེ་ འདི་ ཉ་

teʰøʔ ta:ri di ɲáʔ

2SG.L axe this EQU.PER.Q

‘Is your axe this (one)?’ (JDF axe story)

- b) ཆོད་ ལྷ་རེ་ འདི་ མིན།

teʰøʔ ta:ri di íː.

2SG.L axe this EQU.PER

‘Your axe is this (one).’ (KN e)

- (11.7) ཆོད་ སློབ་ཕྱག་ སྤང་ག་

teʰøʔ lóptʰuʔ bɛ-kaʔ

2SG.L student EQU.NE-PQ

‘Are you a student?’

- (11.8) ཇ་ ཡོད་ག་

teʰa ʝòː-kaʔ

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

³⁷⁵ In other contexts with nominalization, the evidential distinction between personal existential *ʝòʔ* and sensorial *duʔ* is neutralized so that only *ʝòʔ* occurs as nominalized with *-po/bo* (*ʝò-po*).

(11.10) respectively. Example (11.10b) shows that with the imperfective *-to/do* the auxiliary is optional even in the declarative form, hence *bɛ?* in brackets.

- (11.9) ལྟན་རྒྱས་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་ཏི་ ཉ?
lɛŋgɛ? jɔ? kjap-to na?
 PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Are you working?’ (KN e)

- (11.10) a) སྤང་བདར་ ལེམ་ འཕྱོད་ཏི་ ག?
dzã:dar lɛm tʰon-do-ga?
 training good happen-IPFV-PQ
 ‘Is the training turning out good.’ (Richhi 69)

- b) སྤང་བདར་ ལེམ་ འཕྱོད་ཏི་ (ཐད)?
dzã:dar lɛm tʰon-do (bɛ?).
 training good happen-IPFV (EQU.NE)
 ‘The training is turning out good.’ (KN e)

Based on the distribution of *-ka/ga* and *na* with copulas (*na* 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 *na*, whereas in (11.10a) the copula is elided. The syntactically overlapping and non-overlapping contexts of *-ka/ga* and *na* are described in more detail later in this section.

Both *-ka* (11.11) and *na* (11.12) may be postposed to a verb root:

- (11.11) a) ངས་ ལའ་ག?
na: ləp-ka?
 I.AGT say-PQ
 ‘Shall I tell?’ (KN e)

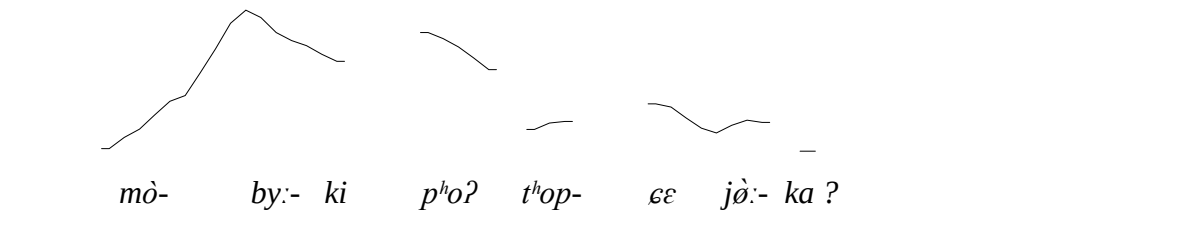
- b) མའི་, རང་ མི་ཚོང་ ག?
ái, rã: mi-tsʰiŋ-ka?
 elder.sister 2SG.M NEG-get.angry-PQ
 ‘Sister, won’t you get angry?’ (Richhi 41)

- (11.12) ཟུག་ རྒྱབས་ ཉ?
sùk kjap na?
 pain strike EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Is it hurting?’ (TB e)

The intonation in polar interrogatives with *-ka/ga* rises at the end of the clause, however not on final *-ka/ga* but on the penultimate syllable, as seen in Figure 11.3, which gives the pitch trace from (11.13), and in Figure (11.4), which provides the pitch trace from (11.14).

- (11.13) མ་བུད་ཀྱིས་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་
mòby:=ki pʰoʔ tʰop-ɛɛ jø:-ka?
 wife=AGT salary receive-INF EX.PER-PQ
 ‘Does (your) wife get salary?’ (Bp BB discussion)

Figure 11.3. Intonation in polar question (11.13) with *-ka/ga*



- (11.14) ལོ་གཏོང་ཅེ་ག་? ཡིད་ཆེས་ བྱས་ཞེ་ག་?
ló tɛ:-tɛɛ-ga? jì-tɛi p'ja-zɛ-ga?
 mind entrust-PST-PQ faith do-PST-PQ
 ‘Did you trust? Did you believe?’ (PAD bet story)

Figure 11.4. Intonation in polar question (11.14) with *-ka/ga*

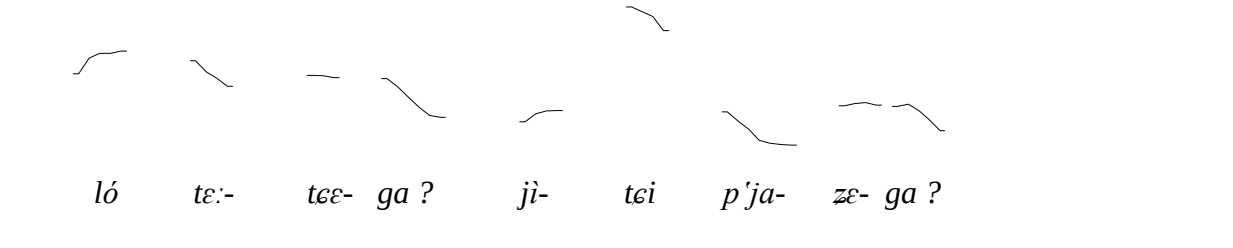
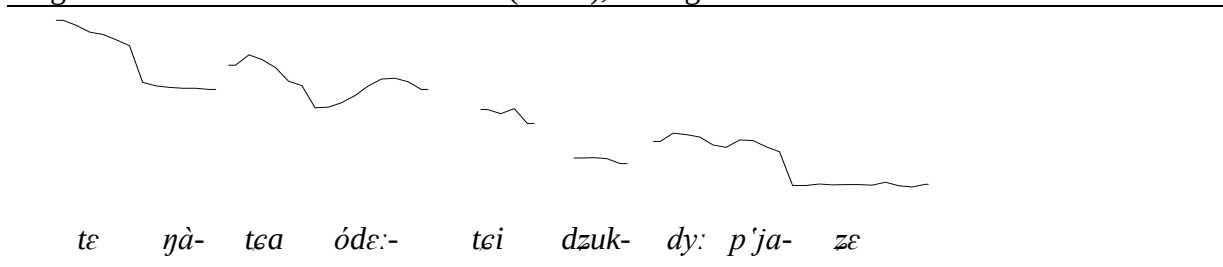


Figure 11.5 presents the pitch trace from (11.15), which is a declarative clause with the same past suffix *-tɛɛ* as in Figure 11.4, illustrating that while the pitch on declarative *-zɛ* is lower than the previous word *p'ja* ‘do’, the pitch on the interrogative *-zɛ* is higher than on *p'ja*.

- (11.15) ཏེ་ ང་ཅག་ མོ་འདྲེ་ཅིག་ མཇུག་བསྐྱུད་ བྱས་ཞེ།
tɛ ηàtɛaʔ ódɛ:=tɛiʔ dzuk-dy: p'ja-zɛ.
 then 1PL like.that=INDE ending do-PST
 ‘So at that point we ended.’ (NAB BLA 7)

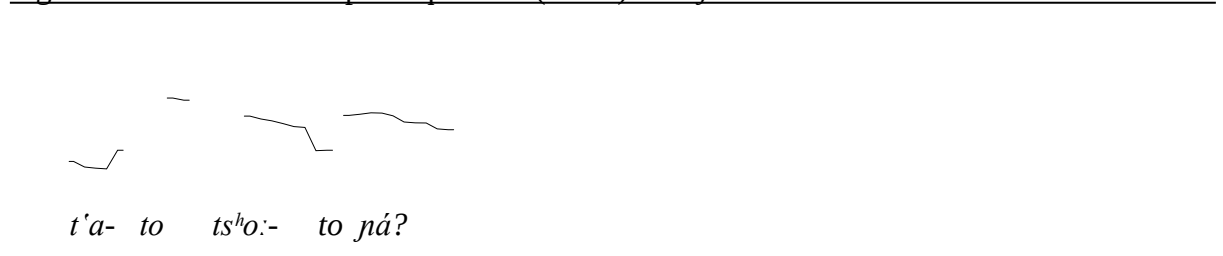
Figure 11.5. Intonation in declarative (11.15), cf. Figure 11.3



Intonation in polar questions with the interrogative copula *ná* is exemplified in Figures 11.6 and 11.7, which give the pitch traces from (11.16) and (11.17) respectively. In Figure 11.5, the decrease in the pitch trace at the end of syllable *tsʰo:* is caused by background noise. The pitch in both clauses has a slight rise on the penultimate syllable, thus resembling interrogative intonation with *-ka/ga*.

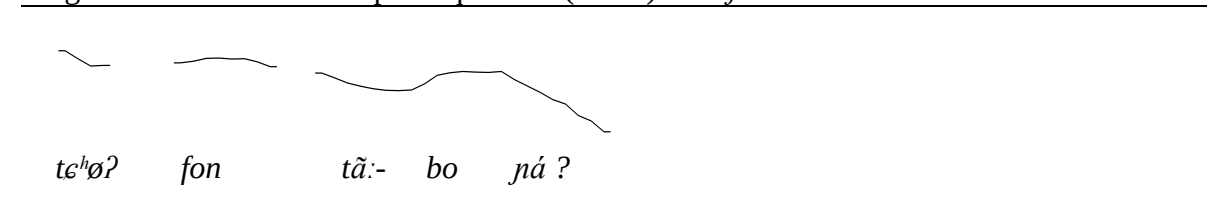
- (11.16) ད་ལྟོ་སྐྱེས་ཏི་ཉི་
t'ato tsʰo:-to ná?
 now gather-IPFV EQU.PQ
 'Are (they) gathering now.' (KN kitchen discussion)

Figure 11.6. Intonation in polar question (11.16) with *ná*



- (11.17) མཆོད་ཐོན་ (phone) བཏང་བོ་ཉི་
tɕʰø? fon tã:-bo ná?
 2SG.L phone(Eng.) send-2INF EQU.PQ
 'Did you call?' (KN e)

Figure 11.7. Intonation in polar question (11.17) with *ná*



The interrogative suffix *-ka/ga* does not have a negated form, but the interrogative copula *ná* has the specific negated form *mèn-a*, which functions very similarly to the regularly formed *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་ རྒྱབས་ དགོས་ཤང་ སྒད། མན་, བཞི་ བཞི་ མན་ན།
súm súm kjap go:-εε be? mɛ̃:, zi zi
 three three do be.needed-INF EQU.NE NEG.EQU.PER four four
mɛ̃n-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་ཁྱ་ བསགས་ཏྲ་ མེན་ན་ ལའ་པོ་ལོ།
rã: kʰõ:ʈa sák-to mɛ̃n-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་ཤང་ མན་ན་, རྩ་བར་ རྩ་ལས་ འབྱུ་ དགོས་ཤང་ མན་པོ་
jà: t’a jnɛ:-εε mɛ̃n-a? t’o:pa t’ole gju go:-εε
 well now sleep-INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ morning early go be.needed-INF
mɛ̃mbo?
 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་ཅག་ གཉིས་པོ་ དགོངས་པོ་ ལྷ་ཤང་ མན་ན།
t’a ηàtɛa? ní:-po gompò ɛ̀u-εε mɛ̃n-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) ལྷ་ ཡམ་རྩི་ མན་ག་?
kʰu ámdzi mɛ̃n-ga?
 3SGM doctor NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
 ‘Isn’t he a doctor (assuming he is)?’ (KN e)

b) མདང་ ཆོ་རིང་ འབྲུད་པོ་ མན་ག་?
dã: tsʰerij pʰɛ-po mɛ̃n-ga?
 yesterday PN meet-2INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
 ‘You met Tshering yesterday, didn’t you?’ (KN e)

In addition to interrogative uses, *ná* also occurs as a frequently used tag in declarative and imperative clauses. This tag, which has likely developed from a tag question that has lost its interrogative force, adds assertive force to a statement or a request/command. Declarative instances of *ná* are postposed to the equative and existential copulas (11.21b), whereas interrogative *ná* can only replace an equative copula (11.21a). The clause given as A2 (11.21c) is infelicitous as an answer (i.e. a declarative clause), because this construction with *ná* is by definition a question. The declarative uses of *ná*, which are here termed assertive tags, are treated in more detail in §16.3.1.

(11.21) a) Q: ལྷན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ན་?
lɛŋgɛʔ jɔʔ kjap-to ná?
 PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Are you working?’ (KN e)

b) A1: ང་གྱི་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ན་?
ŋà jɔʔ kjap-to í: ná.
 1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER TAG.ASR
 ‘I am indeed working.’ (KN e)

c) A2: *ང་གྱི་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ན་?
**ŋà jɔʔ kjap-to ná?*
 1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q

Although *-ka/ga*³⁷⁶ is a suffix and *ná* a copula, they have partly overlapping distributions. Distributions overlap when *ka/ga* and *ná* are postposed to a verb root, imperfective marker *-to/do*, future-marking infinitive *-εε* and marginally to the past marker *-tεε*, of which I have only one interrogative example with *ná* and several with *-ka/ga*. Overlapping uses of *-ka/ga* and *ná* are here described first and distinctive uses after that.

Verb root

When *-ka/ga* attaches to a bare affirmative verb stem, the action refers to immediate future, as in (11.22a), or is a general fact, as in (11.22b).

(11.22) a) ང་འགྱུ་ལྷན་?
*ŋà gju-ga?*³⁷⁷
 1SG go-PQ
 ‘Shall I go?’

b) འདི་ལམ་འདི་སེམས་ལྷན་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་?
di ləm=di siliguri lɛp-ka?
 this road=DEMPH TPN reach-PQ
 ‘Does this road lead to Siliguri?’ (KN e)

Negated verb stems in polar questions with *-ka/ga* are future-oriented (or general facts) when negated by the imperfective negator *mi-*, see (11.23), and past-oriented when negated by the perfective negator *ma-*, see (11.24).

(11.23) ཚོད་ཀྱིས་རབ་ལྷན་ལོ་མེ་ལྷན་?
tɛʰø:=ki rabden=lo mi-làp-ka?
 2SG.L=AGT PN=DAT NEG-say-PQ
 ‘Aren’t you telling (it) to Rabden?’ (KN e)

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 sɔ:-ga* ང་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་?

- (11.24) མོས་ཕྱིན་ཆོད་ལོ་ འཕྲུག་པར་ འོང་གད་ མིན་ ལའ་བའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཐོས་ཅེ, མ་འོང་ག་?
tɕʰøki? *tɕʰø:=lo* *pʰɛ-pa* *ð̌:-ɛɛ* *ĩ:* *láp-ø:* *lògju?*
 PN 2SG.L=DAT meet-PUR come-INF EQU.PER say-2INF.GEN story
tʰo:-tɕɛ, ma-ðɛ-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 *na* 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 *na* 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་ རྒྱལ་ན?
sùk kjap na?
 pain do EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Does it hurt?’ (KN e)

- b) ཟུག་ རྒྱལ་བད།
sùk kjap=(p)ɛ?
 pain do=EQU.NE
 ‘It hurts.’ (KN e)

Both *-ka/ga* and *na* may occur with deontic modality marker *tɕʰo?* ‘be allowed’, see (11.26) and (11.27). I am not aware of any semantic difference between the two clauses. The equative interrogative copula *bo* also occurs in analogous contexts, following *tɕʰo:* ‘be allowed’.

- (11.26) ང་ན་ རྒྱུད་ མོག་ ཉ?
ŋà nà: dø: tɕʰo: na?
 1SG here sit be.allowed EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Can I sit here?’ (GB e)

- (11.27) ང་ན་ རྒྱུད་ མོག་ག་?
ŋà nà: dø: tɕʰo:-ga?
 1SG here sit be.allowed-PQ
 ‘Can I sit here?’ (GB e)

Similarly to *-ka/ga* in (11.23), *na* 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་ རྩོམ་གྱིང་ མིན་འགྱུ་ ཉ?
tɕʰø? *dordziliŋ miŋ-gju na?*
 2SG.L TPN NEG-go EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Are you not going to Darjeeling?’ (KN e)

- (11.29) འདི་ ལམ་ འདི་ ཁི་ལི་གུ་རི་ ཁི་སྒྲེབས་ ཉ?
di lām=di siliguri mi-l̥ɛp n̥á?
 this road=DEMPH TPN NEG-arrive EQU.PER.Q
 Doesn't this road lead to Siliguri? (KN e)

Imperfective

Both *-ka/ga* and *n̥á* occur postposed to the imperfective marker *-to/do*.

- (11.30) ལྷུང་བདར་ ལེམ་ འཕྱོར་དོ་ ག?
dzā:dar lēm tʰon-do-ga?
 training good happen-IPFV-PQ
 'Is the training turning out good.' (Richhi 69)

- (11.31) Q: ད་ལྟ་ ཚགས་ཏོ་ ཉ?
t'ato tsʰo:-to n̥á?
 now gather-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
 'Are (they) gathering now?' (KN kitchen discussion)

A: ཚགས་ཏོ་ སྒད།
tsʰo:-to bɛ?
 gather-IPFV EQU.NE
 '(Yes they) are gathering.' (LT kitchen discussion)

Example (11.32) below provides a further comparative example, showing that there is a semantic differences in the choice between *n̥á* and *-ka/ga* in some contexts, although this is the only contrastive example I have to show as evidence.

- (11.32) a) ལྷན་ཁྱེས་ ཕུ་སྒོལ་ (football)³⁷⁸ རྩོད་པོ་ གནང་དོ་ ཉ?
l̥ɛŋgɛ? futbol tsi:-bo n̥á:-do n̥á?
 PRN.HON football(Eng.) play-2INF DO.HON-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
 'Are you playing football (right now)?' (TB e)
- b) ལྷན་ཁྱེས་ ཕུ་སྒོལ་ (football) རྩོད་པོ་ གནང་དོ་ག?
l̥ɛŋgɛ? futbol tsi:-bo n̥á:-do-ga?
 PRN.HON football(Eng.) play-2INF do.HON-IPFV-PQ
 'Do you (habitually) play football?' (TB e)

Past

Both *-ka/ga* and *n̥á* occur with the past marker *-tɛɛ* in my data, although there are several examples of *-ka/ga*, two of which are given in (11.33-34), but only one elicited example of *n̥á* in this construction (11.35). In colloquial language, *VERB-tɛɛ-ka* often merges into *VERB-tɛa*, see (11.34).

³⁷⁸ The Denjongke term for 'football' given by consultant YR is ཀླ་རྩོད་པོ་ *kā:-tsi-poli* 'foot-play-ball'.

(11.33) ང་རང་གི་ངའི་སྤྱད་འདི་ལོ་སྒྲིག་ཏུ་བེ་ལྷ་ཡིང་ཆེས་བྱས་ཞེ་ག?
t'a raŋ=gi nɛː duŋ=di=lo lóteː-tɛɛ-ga, jìtɛʰi p'ja-zɛ-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) ང་ཅིག་གི་མི་རིང་ (meeting) ན་བཞུགས་ཅ?
t'atei=ki mi.tiŋ=na zuː-tɛa?
 recent=GEN meeting(Eng.)=LOC sit.HON-PST.PQ
 'Did you sit in the recent meeting?' (oh, Barapathing)

(11.35) ལམ་ཅེ་ན?
làp-tɛɛ ná?
 say-PST EQU.PER.Q
 'Did you/(s)he/they say (it)? (KN e)

One of the reasons why the use of *ná* in (11.35) may be marginal is that the past marker *-tɛɛ* in the declarative cannot take a copular auxiliary, unlike the imperfective *-to/do* (*í:/bɛ?*) and the periphrastic past *-po í:/bɛ?*. Consequently, it is not clear whether *ná* in clauses such as (11.35) is interrogative or declarative (at least in the segmental level). In imperfective and periphrastic past clauses, on the other hand, the occurrence of the copula auxiliary disambiguates between interrogative (*ná* replaces copula) and declarative uses (*ná* occurs after copula).

Nonpast

Both *-ka/ga* and *ná* may interrogate the periphrastic nonpast form VERB-*ɛɛ í:/bɛ?*, which marks both habitual present facts and future actions, see (11.36-38). Similarly to the past construction *-tɛɛ-ka*, which is abbreviated to *-tɛa*, the future *-ɛɛ-ka* is often reduced to *-ɛa* in spoken language, see (11.37).

(11.36) མོ་བྱད་ཀྱིས་ སྒྲུག་ ཐོབ་ཤད་ཀ?
*mobyː=ki pʰo? tʰop-ɛɛ-ka?*³⁷⁹
 wife=AGT salary receive-INF-PQ
 'Does the wife receive salary?' (BP BB discussion)

(11.37) རྩེད་མ་ ཉེ་ར་ རྩེད་ཤ?³⁸⁰
tsim tɛːra tsiː-ɛa?
 game again play-INF.PQ
 'Shall we play a game again?' (PT kitchen discussion)

(11.38) ལུ་གཡོག་ བྱས་ཤད་ ཉ?
kʰu jó? p'ja-ɛɛ ná?
 3SGM work do-INF EQU.PER.Q
 'Will he work?' (TB e)

³⁷⁹ One consultant wanted to correct this question into *mobyː=ki pʰo? tʰop-ɛɛ jòː-ka?*.

³⁸⁰ ཤ is an innovative Denjongke spelling, which represents the merged pronunciation *-ɛɛ-ka > -ɛa*.

Distinctive uses

The examples above illustrated the use of *-ka/ga* and *na* in identical environments. What follows describes the distinctive uses of the two markers, beginning with copular questions. The fact that the interrogative equative copula *na* simply replaces the corresponding declarative copula was already illustrated in (11.6) above. Being an equative, *na* is not used for interrogating the existentials copulas *jə?* and *du?*. This leaves two copula forms interrogated with the suffix *-ka/ga*, *íŋ-ga* (neg. *mêŋ-ga*) and *bɛ-ka* (neg. *mêmbɛ-ka*), which roughly correspond to the equative interrogative copula *na*. The form *íŋ-ga*, however, has developed uses that set it semantically apart from *na*. 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་རྒྱལ་ དགོས་ཤད་ ཟུང་ མིན་ག?
jàrgɛ? goː-ɛɛ bɛ?, íŋ-ga?
 development be.needed-INF EQU.NE EQU.PER-PQ
 ‘Development is needed, isn’t it?’ (KL BLA 12)

- (11.40) མི་ མིན་ག་ལགས?
é:, íŋ-ga=la.
 oh EQU.PER-PQ=HON
 ‘Oh, is it so?’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

- (11.41) ཚོད་ གློ་ལྷག་ མིན་ག?
tɛʰø? lóptʰu? íŋ-ga?
 2SG.L student EQU.PER-Q
 ‘Are you a student (I think you are)?’ (YR e)

By using the evidentially neutral equative *bɛ?* in a polar question, on the other hand, the speaker does not reveal their preconceptions about the answer, see (11.42), contrasting with (11.41).

- (11.42) ཚོད་ གློ་ལྷག་ ཟུང་ག?
tɛʰø? lóptʰu? 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 *jəː-ka* and *du-ka*, as will be pointed out a few paragraphs below.

Example (11.43), where *na* 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 *í:* (focusing on the identification), whereas in (11.42) the anticipated answer has the neutral equative *bɛ?* (focusing on the consequences of identification). For the difference of *í:* and *bɛ?*, refer to §7.2.3.

- (11.43) ཚོད་སློབ་ལུག་ཉི?
tɕʰø? *lópʈʰu?* *ɲá?*
 2SG.L student EQU.PQ
 ‘Are you a student?’ (YR e)

The interrogative *bɛ-ka* is also used as a tag question (but not as often as *íŋ-ga*), as shown in (11.44).

- (11.44) དེ་ཟང་ཁོང་འདི་རང་སྐད་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྟོ་སྐད་ འདི་ ཁོང་གིས་ མི་མཁྱེན་པོ་ ཟུང་ལགས་, མི་མཁྱེན་མཁན་ ཟུང་, ཟུང་ག་ལགས་?
t'iza: kʰõ:=di *raŋ-ke?* *ɲàtɕi* *ʃokɛ=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.
bɛ?, *bɛ-ka=la?*
 EQU.NE EQU.NE-PQ=HON
 ‘But they don’t know our own language Lhoke, don’t know, isn’t it (so)?
 (YR canteen video)

It also occurs with nominalized copulas in ordinary non-tag questions, as shown in (11.45), where *jèbbɛ-ka* is a reduction of *jò-po bɛ-ka*:

- (11.45) ཚོང་གུ་ལོ་ ལེན་རྩི་ ཉོ་མཁན་ ཡོད་ཟུང་ག་?
dzongu=lo lèndzi *ɲò:-kʰɛ:* *jèbbɛ-ka?*
 TPN=DAT cardamum buy-NMLZ EX.NE-PQ
 ‘Are there cardamum-buyers in Dzongu?’ (KT e)

The interrogator *bɛ-ka* also occurs as an auxiliary. Consequently, although *-ka/ga* cannot directly attach to nominalized verbs like the interrogative copula *ɲá* can, *-ka/ga* may interrogate the periphrastic past construction VERB-2INF EQU by attaching to the final copula, see (11.46). Consultant KN reported that (11.46) may either be a question or an exclamation (for more on the use of *bɛ?* in exclamation, see §11.2.2), without difference in intonation. It appears that this constructions for interrogating the periphrastic past is rather infrequent, construction with *ɲá* being more frequent (11.47).

- (11.46) ལུ་ འོང་པོ་ ཟུང་ག་?
kʰu *òm-bo* *bɛ-ka?*
 3SGM come-2INF EQU.NE-PQ
 ‘Did he come?’/‘He came, eh. (KN e)

(11.47) ལུ་འོང་མོ་ཉི?

kʰu òm-bo ná?
3SGM come-2INF EQU.PER.Q
'Did he come?' (KN e)

Only *-ka/ga* (and not *ná*³⁸¹) occurs as an interrogator with existential copulas *jò?* and *du?*, forming *jò:-ka* and *du-ka*, as exemplified in (11.48) and (11.49). The choice of copula between *jò?* and *du?* in existential questions depends on whether the speaker thinks the addressee has personal information of the questioned fact or not. When addressee's personal information is presupposed and hence anticipated in the answer, the copula in the question is *jò?*, otherwise *du?*.

(11.48) ཇེ་ཡོད་ཀྱི?

te'a jò:-ka?
tea EX.PER-PQ
'Is there tea?' (oh, Barapathing)

(11.49) རོའུ་ར་འབྲུ་ཤང་དགོན་པོ་བཞུགས་སོ་འདུག་ཀྱི་ལགས་?

pʰou=ra gju-εε? gjømpo zu:so du-ka=la?
over.there=AEMPH go-INF monastery residence.HON EX.SEN-PQ=HON
'Is there a residence to go at the monastery 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) ལུ་ནམ་འོང་དོག་?

kʰu nàm òn-do-ga?
3SGM when come-IPVF-PQ
'When is he coming?' (KN e)

Two further constructions in which *ná* and *-ka/ga* have differing distributions are the periphrastic past construction *-po be/í:*, which is negated in differing ways by *ná* and *-ka/ga*, as already shown in (11.46-47) above, and the perfect *-tsʰa(:)*, which in my data is interrogated with *ná* 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་སློབས་ཆར་ཉི?

siliguri lep-tsʰa: ná?
TPN arrive-CMPL EQU.PER.Q
'Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?' (KT phone call 3)

³⁸¹ However, declarative *ná* (see §16.3.1) may be postposed to existentials to form *jò: ná* and *du: ná*.

(11.52) སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སློབ་སློག་ཆ་གོ་ ཉ་?

siliguri *ʃep-tsʰake* *ɲá?*
TPN arrive-CMPL.APH EQU.PER.Q
'Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?' (KT e)

(11.53) སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སློབ་སློག་ཆ་འཁྱེད་ ཉ་?

siliguri *ʃep-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) ལུ་ ཨོན་ན་ འདུག་གོ་ 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 *-εε í/bε?* and (marginally) past form *-tεε*.

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) ལྷན་པར་ ཨོ་ཙི་ ཡོད་ཉོ་གས་?

kʰepar *átsi* *jò:-to-gam?*
difference a.bit EQU.PER-IPFV-ATTQ
'Is there perhaps a bit difference?' (KN e)

(11.56) མཚན་ན་ ཨོ་ལྷ་ འདི་ལོ་ ལུ་ གཞན་ ཡོད་ཉོ་གས། མཚན་ན་ གཞན་ ལྷ་བས་ལྷ་བས་པོ་ ཨོན་དོ་ གས།

mènni *ágja=di=lo* *p'um zen* *jò:-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) འདེམ་ འདེམ་ མི་བཞེས་མཁན་ལགས། བཞེས་ཏི་ ལྷ་མ་?

dɛm dɛm mi-ze:-kʰɛ:=la. ze:-to nám?

such such NEG-drink.HON-NMLZ=HON have.HON-IPFV EQU.ATTQ

‘He doesn’t drink such and such things. (Or) does he perhaps drink?’ (SM kitchen discussion)

Because (11.57) is structurally not a typical alternative interrogative, it is here grouped among simple polar questions. Semantically, however, (11.57) resembles an alternative question in that the question is preceded by negated speculation about the state of affairs. For more typical uses where *-kam/gam* and *nám* form polar alternative questions, refer to §11.1.3.1.

The negated form of *nám*, *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་ ཆོ་བོ་ བྱོན་ དགོས་ཤད་ མན་ནམ། གཞན་ ག་ འགྱུ་ཉེ་སེ།

t’a ts’o: tɛ’θn go:-ɛɛ mèn-am? zen ka

now son.in.law go.HON be.needed-INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ another who

gju-ni=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་ མན་འ་མོ་, བན་བོན་ འབོང་ཐང་བོ་ལོ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཟང་ཏེ་ རྫོ་ གཏད་ཤད་ མ་བྱས་ན་ དྲག་ཤད་ མན་ནམ།

t’a nám, p’embõ: bonʈʰiŋbo=lo³⁸² tɛiku ódem sá:te lóte:-ɛɛ

now daughter-in-law Bon.priest Lepcha.priest=DAT only such until trust-INF

mam-bja-ne t’ak-ɛɛ 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 *iŋga*, see (11.60). Interestingly, Bhaicung Tsihudarpo, 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་ལྷ་ ལག་གོ་ འདིའི་ ལྷེང་ལོ་ རྒྱབས་ཤད་ མན་ནམ་ ཨིན་ག་?

t’ato làko di: tɛŋlo kjap-ɛɛ mèn-am iŋ-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་ཐང་(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 *ná* (neg. *mè-na*) and *nám* (neg. *mè-nam*), is *bo* (neg. *mèmbo*), which, like *nám*, 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་ཆ་མཇུག་བྱེད་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་པ་ནི་ནི་ཅི་ཡིན་པ་?

lò ts'ame? tɛ'ɛm-bo ná:-do bo?
year every come.HON-2INF do.HON-IPFV EQU.NE.Q
'Do you come (here) every year?' (Bumchu-video)

b) ཟུག་ཀྱེད་པ་ནི་ནི་ཅི་ཡིན་པ་?

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) ཁོང་ཁོང་གི་ཕ་མ་མཇུག་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་པ་ནི་ནི་ཅི་ཡིན་པ་?

kʰõ: õ: dõ: jò:-p mèmbo, p'otso=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) རྩ་ལོ་ཤིང་གི་ཕ་མ་མཇུག་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་པ་ནི་ནི་ཅི་ཡིན་པ་?

t'o:pa t'olɛ gju go:-ɛɛ 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 *mèη-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 *mèη-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) མི་འདྲེན་པ་ནི་ནི་ཅི་ཡིན་པ་?

ódɛm=to á í:?
like.that=CEMPH PQ EQU.PER
'Is (it) like that?' (KUN e)

(11.64) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མི་འདྲེན་པ་ནི་ནི་ཅི་ཡིན་པ་?

kʰu ódɛ: 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 *ĩ:*) 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 *a*⁵³ 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, *ná*, *nám* 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) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ལྷོ་ཉི་མ་?

<i>kʰu</i>	<i>nén</i>	<i>kjap-o</i>	<i>ná?</i>
3SGM	wedding	do-2INF	EQU.PER.Q
'Did he get married?' (KN e)			

b) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་?

<i>kʰu</i>	<i>nén</i>	<i>kjap-o</i>	<i>nám?</i>
3SGM	wedding	do-2INF	EQU.ATTQ
'I wonder if he got married?' (KN e)			

c) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ལྷོ་བོ་ཉི་མ་?

<i>kʰu</i>	<i>nén</i>	<i>kjap-o</i>	<i>bo?</i>
3SGM	wedding	do-2INF	EQU.NE.Q
'Did he get married?' (KN e)			

d) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ལྷོ་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་?

<i>kʰu</i>	<i>nén</i>	<i>kjap-o</i>	<i>bɛ-ka?</i>
3SGM	wedding	do-2INF	EQU.NE-PQ
'Did he get married?' (KN e)			

e) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ལྷོ་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་?

<i>kʰu</i>	<i>nén</i>	<i>kjap-o</i>	<i>bɛ??</i>	(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 (*ĩ:* for *ná* 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 *ńám* in (11.66b) and *bo* in (11.66c).

(11.66) a) འདི་གན་ཕྱད་?

di k'an be??

this what EQU.NE

‘What is this?’ (KN e)

b) འདི་གན་སྟུམ་?

di k'an ńám

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 *ńám* (§11.1.2.3) and content questions with *bo* (§11.1.2.4).

11.1.2.1 Question words

Table 11.2 lists Denjonke question words, which are illustrated in sentential context after the table.

Table 11.2. Question words

<i>k'an, k'ar</i>	གན་, གར་	what
<i>k'adi</i>	ག་འདི་	which
<i>k'ana, k'ak'a</i>	ག་ན་, ག་ཁ(ར)་	where
<i>ka</i>	ཀ་	who
<i>ńám</i>	ནམ་	when
<i>k'ambja</i> ³⁸³	གན་བྱུམ་	why
<i>k'adzø?, k'ats'ø?</i>	ག་ཚོད་	how many
<i>k'atem</i>	ག་རྟེན་	what kind of
<i>k'ate</i>	ག་རྟེ་	how

(11.67) གན་གནང་དོ་?

k'an ná:-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'ame*.

(11.68) ལུ་ག་འདི་བོ?

kʰu kʼadi bo?

3SGM which EQU.NE.Q

‘Which one is he?’ (TB e)

(11.69) ཡུལ་འདི་ག་ན་སྐྱམ་?

y̌:=di kʼana nám?

place=DEMPH where EQU.ATTQ

‘Where is that place, I wonder?’ (AB kitchen discussion)

(11.70) བོ་ཚ་གིས་ད་ཙམ་ཙམ་ལོ་མ་སྟ་ནེ་ག་སྟ་གད་?

pʼotsa:=gi tʼa áp ám=lo ma-ta-ne ka ta-εε?

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) མོ་འདི་ན་མ་བོ་ལགས་? ལོ་གཉིས་ཉ་ལས་?

ódi nàm bo=la? lò nì: halε?

that when EQU.NE.Q=HON year two before

‘When was that? Two years ago?’ (RS [in]auspicious days)

(11.72) གན་བྱས་འདེབ་བྱི་སྟེ་འོང་བོ?

kʼambja dəp 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་ཅང་ཉི་མ་ག་ཚད་སྟོང་གད་?

tʼarun̄ jìim kʼadzø? dø:-εε??

still day how.many stay-INF

‘How many days will (you) still stay (here)?’ (oh, Tashiding)

The answer to *kʼatəm* ‘what kind’ tends to be an adjective, whereas the answer to *kʼatε* ‘how’ tends to be an adverb. The adverbial nature of *kʼatε* ‘how’ is revealed by the indefinite form *kʼatε pʼjati Ì:run̄* ‘however’, which in opposition to *kʼatəm Ì:run̄* ‘whatever kind’, includes the adverbializing converb *pʼjati* (see §6.3.2).

(11.74) དེ་ཟང་མོ་རང་ཉོ་ལམ་བྱས་མ་ཤེས་བོ། གཞན་ལོ་ག་ཉེ་སྐབ་བྱིན་ཚུགས་གད་?

tʼizã: mù=rã:=to lèm-pʼja ma-εé:-po. zen=lo kʼatε lap

but 3SGF=REFL=CEMPH good-ADVZR NEG-know-2INF other=DAT how teach

pʼin tsʰu:-εε??

give be.able.to-INF

‘But she herself does not know (it) well. How to be able to teach other(s)?’ (Richhi 65)

(11.75) a) ནད་པ་ལོ་ ཞལ་ལག་ ག་ལྟེན་ བཞེས་ བསྐྱུག་ཏོ?
nɛ:po=lo ɛɛ:la? k'atɛm ze: tɛuk-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་ལྟེན་ གཞིན་པོ་ གནང་བོ?
k'atɛm zim-bo nã:-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་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ ག་ལྟེན་ ཡོད་ ལགས?
t'ato bhaila k'atɛm jò:=la?
 now PN what.kind.of EX.PER=HON
 'How is Bhaila now?' (Richhi 10)

b) ད་ལྟ་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ ག་ལྟེན་ ཡོད་?
t'ato bhaila k'atɛ jò??
 now PN how EX.PER
 'How is Bhaila now?' (Richhi 25)

The word *k'ama* is used, at least in riddles, similarly to *k'an bo/mo* 'What is it?'. In addition to the above questions words, the form *k'a:* is used as a more general, contextually decipherable question word with a meaning covering 'what', 'where' and 'why', see (11.77) and (11.78).

(11.77) ཆོད་ ག་ འགྱུ་དོ་སྒེ
tɛʰø? k'a: gju-do=s.
 2SG.L where go-IPFV=QUO
 'Where are you going (he said)?' (KT animal story)

(11.78) འདྲེན་ ཆར་བ་ རྒྱུ་བ་ཞེ་ ག་རི་ ག་ འགྱུ?
dɛp tɛʰa:p kjap-nɛ gari k'a: 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 *jám*, *-kam/gam* and *bo* occur both in polar questions and in content questions. Content questions, however, can also be formed without these final question markers. With existential copulas *jò?* and *du?*, content questions usually have the copula nominalized with *-po*:

(11.79) གན་ཡོད་པོ?
k'ana jè-po?
 where EX.PER-2INF
 'Where is (he)? (SG wedding customs)

(11.80) ཚད་པོ་གཞེས་འདུག་གོ?
ts'ɛpo 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་ཁྱིད་གནས་ཚུལ་གན་ཡོད་?
lɛki? nɛ:ts'hy: k'an jò??
 PN news what EQU.PER
 'What news are there, Lhaki?' (Richhi 69)

(11.82) མ་བྱ་གཞོན་གཞོན་འདུག་?
áqja=gi=ɛo k'adzø? du??
 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 *bɛ?*:

(11.83) དེ་ལ་འདི་གི་འཛོ་གཞོན་ཐང་པོ?
t'ɛp=di=gi dzo: k'adzø? bɛ-po?
 book=DEMPH=GEN price how.many EQU.NE-2INF
 'What is the price of this book?' (KT e)

Other communities prefer an assimilated nominalized form, *bɛ-go* (note that the preferred word for 'price' also changes):

(11.84) དེ་ལ་འདི་གི་གོང་གཞོན་ཐང་གོ?
t'ɛp=di=gi gɔ: k'adzø? bɛ-go?
 book=DEMPH=GEN price how.many EQU.NE-2INF
 'What is the price of this book?' (PT e)

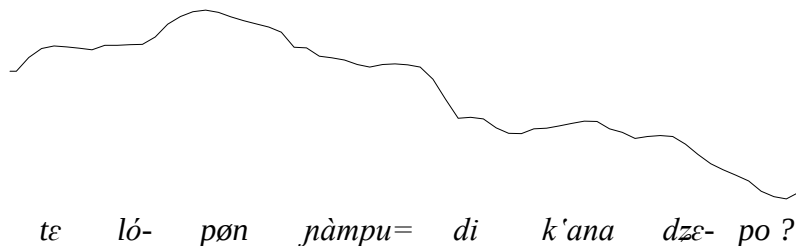
Yet other communities, however, prefer the use of the interrogative copula *bo* in contexts such as (11.83-84), i.e. the forms *bɛ-po* and *bɛ-go* are replaced by mere *bo*. Interrogative clause is the only context where *bɛ?* occurs as nominalized with *-po* in my data. This nominalized use of *bɛ?* in interrogatives is probably triggered by analogy with the existential nominalized forms *jò-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 past³⁸⁴ (11.87):

- (11.85) ན་བྱ་ཕྱི་ཀི་ཉིམ་ག་ཚད་ལང་ཚར་?
nà: tɛ'øŋ-diki jìm k'adzø? lā:-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) ཚས་ག་ཚད་སློག་ཅེ?
tɛʰo? k'adzø? dɔk-tɛɛ?
 studies how.many read-PST
 'How much did (s)he study?' (BP BB discussion)
- (11.87) ཉེ་སློབ་དཔོན་མཉམ་ཁྱེད་འདི་ག་ན་མཇལ་བོ?
tɛ lópøŋ nàmpu=di k'ana dzɛ:-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)



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).

³⁸⁴ In the interrogative, however, the form is not periphrastic because the copula is dropped.

- (11.89) ངས་ གར་ བྱས་བཞིན་ 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 *ŋám*

In addition to polar alternative interrogatives (and marginally simply polar interrogatives), the attenuated markers *-kam/gam* and *ŋám* occur in content questions. Example (11.90) gives an example of a content interrogative with *ŋám* in a complement clause:

- (11.90) དེ་ཟང་ མོའི་ ཡིག་ལན་ ད་རུང་ཟང་ མ་སྒྲེབས་པའི་ ཟུ་མཚན་ གན་ ཨིན་ནམ་ མཚན་བཞིན་ ཉའི་ མཚན་ སོང་ཟྱི་ སེམས་ན་ གཏམ་ ཀེས་པོ་ གན་
 ཤད་ ཨིན།
t'izã: mù=i jìglɛ: t'aruŋ=sã: ma-ʃɛp-ø: gjumtsʰɛ: k'an
 but 3SGF=GEN letter.answer still=until NEG-arrive-2INF.GEN reason what
ŋám *nó:-zɛ: ɲà=i tsʰo=na sɔ́:-di sém=na tam*
 EQU.ATTQ think-PROG fish=GEN lake=LOC go.IPFV-NF mind=LOC saying
kɛ:po ʈ'ɛn-ɛɛ ʈ̣i:.
 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 *ŋám*:

- (11.91) ག་ཚད་བར་ ཐོན་ དགོས་ཤད་ ཨིན་ནམ་?
k'adzø? p'a: tɛ'øŋ go:-ɛɛ ɲám?
 how.many interval come.HON be.needed-INF EQU.ATTQ
 'What time shall I come, I wonder?' (Richhi 57)
- (11.92) མོ་འདི་ ག་ཞེས་ བྱས་ཏི་ བཞག་ དགོས་ཤད་ ལྷན་ ཡར་བུ་གི་ ཚོར་སྤང་ རང་ག་ལོ?
ódi k'atɛp p'ja-ti za? go:-ɛɛ ɲám jà:pu=gi
 that how do-NF set be.needed-INF EQU.ATTQ nobleman=GEN
tsʰo:na: nàŋɛa=lo?
 feeling inside=DAT
 'How should it be preserved in Sir's opinion, I wonder?' (KN, CY interview)

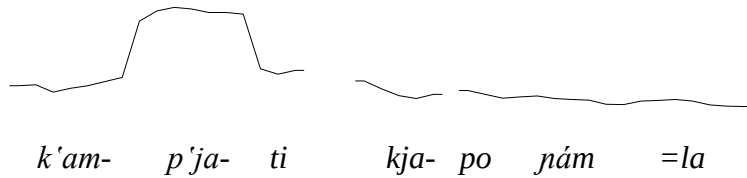
Example (11.93) exemplifies the use of *-kam/gam* in a content question with a question word:

- (11.93) གཏམ་ མོ་འདི་ ག་ཚད་ཟང་ བདེན་དགས་ ཡོད་ཀྱང་ལགས་?
tam ódi k'adzø=sã: ɖɛŋʈa? jø:-kam=la?
 saying that how.much=until true EX.PER-ATTQ=HON
 'To what degree is that word true, I wonder?' (KN, CY interview)

Figure 11.9 below presents the intonation contour in content question (11.94) with the attenuated copular interrogative *nám*. The stress is on the wh-word, which has a raised pitch. No rise in pitch is observable at the end of the clause.

- (11.94) གན་བྱས་ཏི་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ ལྷན་?
k'am-p'jati kjap-o nám=la?
 why do-2INF EQU.ATTQ=HON
 'Why did (they) do that?' (KN, CY interview).

Figure 11.9. Intonation in content question (11.94) with *nám*



11.1.2.4 Content questions with *bo*

The evidentially neutral interrogative equative *bo* alternates with its declarative counterpart *bɛ?* in content questions. Examples (11.95) and (11.96) further illustrate the overlap of *bo* and *bɛ?* respectively in analogous complement clauses.

- (11.95) ཏེ་ འདི་ གན་ བོ་ སེ་ནེ་ ཏེ་ ངའི་ འདི་ ཤ་ ཞིན་སེ།
te di k'an bo sé-ne te nɛ:=di ɕá t̚ɕ=s.
 so this what EQU.NE.Q say-COND then 1SG.GEN=DEMPH meat EQU.PER=QUO
 'So when it comes to what this is, it is my meat.' (KT animal story)

- (11.96) གན་བྱས་ ཞོ་འདི་ ཐོན་པོ་ སྒྲ་ སེ་ནེ་ ཁོང་ བློ་ག་དང་ (thikadar) ལྷོ་ལོ་ དབང་ཆ་ ཡོད་པ་སྒྲ།
k'amja ódi tʰəm-bo bɛ? sí-ne kʰõ: t̚ʰikadar=tsu=lo
 why that happen-2INF EQU.NE say-COND 3PL thikadar=PL=DAT
õ:tɕʰa jèbbɛ?
 power EX.NE
 'When it comes to the reason why that happened, they, the thikadars, had power.'
 (CY interview)

Examples (11.97) and (11.98) exemplify copular and auxiliary uses of *bo* respectively.

- (11.97) ལུ་ ཀ་ བོ་
kʰu ka bo?
 3SGM who EQU.NE.Q
 'Who is he?' (KN e)

(11.98) ཉེ་ར་ནི་ལྷུ་ལ་ཀའི་ཅར་ རྫོད་ཤད་ བོ?

tɛ ranipul kɛ:=tsa: dθ:-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་ རྫོད་ ག་རྩེ་རྩེ་ བླ་ཤད་ བོ? རྫོད་ ག་རྩེ་རྩེ་ བླ་ཤད་

t'a tɛʰθ? k'ateti t'ak-ɛɛ bo? tɛʰθki? t'a tɛʰθ? k'ateti

now 2SG.L how get.well-INF EQU.NE.Q PN now 2SG.L how

t'ak-ɛɛ??

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 *bɛ?* is born out by the fact that *bo*, similarly to *bɛ?* (and unlike *ɲá*), occurs in locative uses:

(11.100) འོང་ཕྱི་གི་ མེ་ ཟུན་མཁན་ འདི་ ག་ན་ བོ་ ལའ་བའི་ ཏུ་མཛོད་ རང་ཤ་

òn-diki mi: sɣn-kʰɛn=di k'ana bo làp-θ:

come-NF fire kindle-NMLZ=EMPH where EQU.NE.Q say-2INF.GEN

t'ytsʰθ? 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 *-lθ?*. 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) ཐྲིན་ལས་ལོ་ ཏུ་གོ་ བྱིས་ན་ ལྟོ་ཚར་བོ་ ཞིན་ནམ་? ལྷན་ཁང་ན་རང་ རྫོད་ ཡོད་ཀམ་?

tʰinɛ=lo t'i ta-gɛ. kʰim=na lòk-tsʰo-u

Thrinley=DAT ask look-HOR house=DAT return-CMPL-2INF

ɲám? méŋkʰĩ:=na dθ: jθ:-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 *jám* 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 *jám* in a typical alternative question, where the same interrogating morpheme occurs in both clauses.

- (11.102) ལྷུའུ་ཆེན་སྐུ་གན་སྐུ་མི་ཤེས།
dupte^hé: *jám* *k'an* *jám* *mi-éé:*
 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)

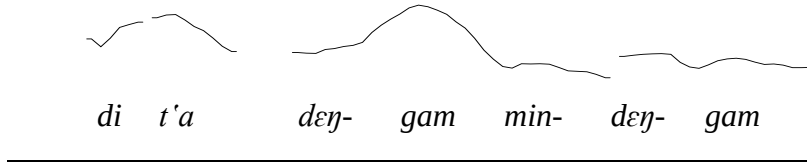
Interestingly, (11.102) combines a polar question (first) and a content question (second). The interrogative clauses occurs as a complement clause, i.e. as an argument of another clause (‘I do not know...’). With complement interrogatives, the whole clause does not function as a question unless the superordinate 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 *já* seems to imply more politeness. In complement clauses, on the other hand, *-kam/gam* and *jám* appear to completely displace *-ka/ga* and *já* 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་གས་མིན་བདེན་གས་?
di t'a deŋ-gam min-deŋ-gam?
 this now be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ
 ‘Now is that true or not true, I wonder?’ (DR discussion with KL)
- b) ཚྱུ་པོ་འདི་ཐུང་ཚར་བོ་སྐུ་མ་ཐུང་བ་སྐུ་?
tsəpo=di mjò:-ts^ho-u jáma-mjò:-p jáma?
 debate=DEMPH finish-CMPL-2INF ATTQ NEG-finish-2INF ATTQ
 ‘Has the debate ended or not, I wonder?’ (AB kitchen discussion)
- (11.104) a) མིན་གས་མན་གས་ད་ང་མི་ཤེས།
íŋ-gam mēŋ-gam t'a ŋà mi-éé:
 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་སྐུ་མོ་སྐུ་གཟིགས་བཞག་སྟེ་
t'a de: p^ho jáma mò jáma zi: zak-ti
 now like.that male EQU.ATT female EQU.ATT see.HON set-NF
 ‘Now like that it is seen whether it is a male or a female (and)...’ (SGD wedding customs)

In alternative questions, the interrogative morpheme at the end of the first alternative has a raised pitch in anticipation of the second alternative. For a pitch trace of (11.103a), consider Figure 11.9.

Figure 11.9. Intonation in alternative question (11.103a) with *-gam*.



As seen in the example above, the interrogative copula *jám* 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་ ཐྱིན་མཁན་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་མེད་ཀྱི་ མི་ཤེས།
t'a t'ijzã: óðem p'ij-k^hẽ: jò:-kam mè:-kam
 now nowadays such give-NMLZ EX.PER-ATTQ NEG.EX.PER-ATTQ
mi-éé:
 NEG-know
 'Now I don't know whether there are such givers nowadays.' (LA Intro to Lachung)

- (11.106) ཡར་བ་ ཀཔ་དེན་ (captain) རྩ་ལས་ གནང་བ་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་མེད་ ལའ་ཉི་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ གན་སྐྱུ་ གཅིག་
jà:p kæpten tsa=lɛ ná:wa jò:-kam mè?
 nobleman captain(Eng.) at=ABL permission EQU.PER-ATTQ NEG.EX.PER
làp-ti óðem k'ajɛm=tɛi?
 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་ཤོ་ ཐྱིན་བོ་ གནང་ཤད་བོ་, བཞུགས་ཤད་བོ་?
ágja=la:=ɛo, tɛ'øm-bo ná:-ɛɛ bo zu:-ɛɛ
 elder.brother=HON=AT go.HON-2INF do.HON-INF EQU.NE.Q sit.HON-INF
bo?
 EQU.NE.Q
 'Now what about the big brother, are you going or staying?' (Richhi 28)

b) འདི་ ཁྱི་ བོ་ ཇ་ལུས་ བོ་?

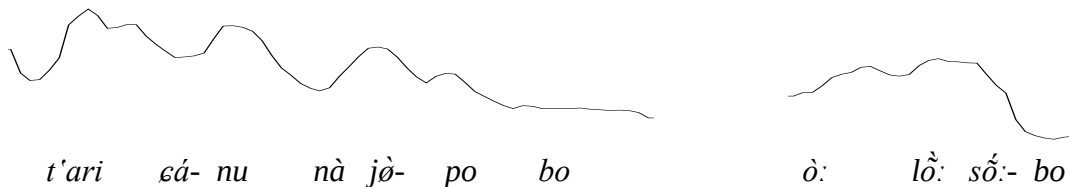
di kʰi bo ály? bo?
 this dog EQU.NE.Q cat EQU.NE.Q
 ‘Is it a dog or a cat?’ (KN e)

(11.108) ད་རེ་ ཤ་ནུ་ ན་ ཡོད་པོ་ བོ་ འོག་ རྩང་སྤང་བོ་?

t'ari éánu ná: jò-po bo ò: lǒ sǒ:-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 *lǒ:* from *lǒ: sǒ:-bo*.

Figure 11.10. Intonation in alternative question (11.108) with *bo*



11.1.3.3 Alternative questions with *-ka/ga*

The polar question marker *-ka/ga* is used for asking more direct alternative questions than the attenuated marker *-kam/gam*. The question marker typically occurs only once after the affirmed verb and is not repeated after the negative:

(11.109) ཚོད་ ལུ་ དགའ་ག་ ལུས་ དགའ་?

teʰø? 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་ཀྱི་ མེད་?

t'arin kʰimda? jò:-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) ལས་ གཅིག་ རྒྱ་ག་ མིན་འདུག་?

kʰɛ: tɛi? du-ka mindu??
 score one EX.SEN-PQ NEG.EX.SEN
 ‘Is there twenty or (is there) not?’ (KT discussion with TB)

11.1.3.4 Alternative questions with *-lɔʔ*

The marginal bisyndetic alternative question marker *-lɔʔ* only occurs in my data twice, both times as a complement clause 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) འབྲུང་ལོད་ མ་འབྲུང་ལོད་ ལྷ་ཆེ།
tʰuŋ-lɔʔ ma-tʰuŋ-lɔʔ ta-tɛʰi.
 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་ ལྷ་གེ་ སེ་ ལབ་བོ་ལོ།
tʰɛnɛ dzip-lɔʔ man-dzip-lɔʔ ta-gɛ=s ləp-o=lo
 then suck-Q NEG-suck-Q look-HORT=QUO say-2INF=REP
 ‘Then, let’s see (whether you will) suck or not (nectar from me), it said.’ (RS bee story)

A cognate of *-lɔʔ* is found in Standard Tibetan, where it occurs as a question marker (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 230). The morpheme *-lɔʔ* is also used in exclamation, see §11.2.1.

11.1.4 Tag questions

Denjongke uses interrogated equative copulas as tag questions, which are separate utterances, often preceded by a pause. By tag questions the speaker invites the addressee to listen attentively. Often a tag question also manages to trigger some type of verbal response from addressee (e.g. *la-ĩ*: [HON-EQU.PER] ‘yes, it is so’). The tag questions described here are the interrogated copulas *íŋ-ga* and *bɛ-ka*, and the Nepali loan *lo*. In addition, the negated copulas *mɛmbo*, *mɛna* 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་ལྟོ་ ད་ རང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ར་ ཡོད་པ་ཟླ་ཤོ་ ཞིན་ག་ལགས་?
tʰato tʰa rã: námtɛi=ra jɛbbɛ=ɛo, 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) དེས་ འདི་ ངའི་ རུས་ མེད་མཁན་ ཟླ་ ཞིན་ག་?
tʰɛp=di jɛ:=tsa: mɛ:-kʰɛn bɛ?, 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)

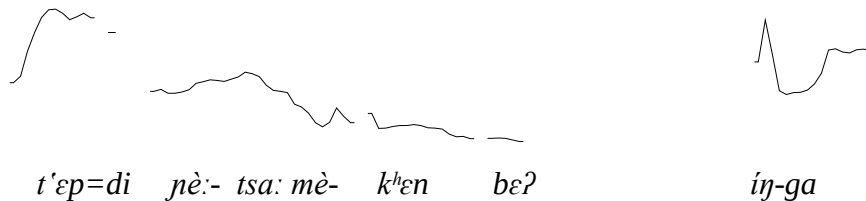
In (11.114), speaker looks for a spoken confirmation of his preconceived idea, so the sentence is also pragmatically a request for information. In (11.115), on the other hand, the speaker, by using the tag question, is not trying to confirm the truth value of the clause but rather just aiming at keeping the addressee engaged in listening.

For the less frequent copular tag question *bɛ-ka* consider:

- (11.116) དེ་ཟང་ཁོང་འདི་རང་སྐད་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྟོ་སྐད་ འདི་ཁོང་གིས་ མི་མཁྱེན་པོ་ ཟུང་ལགས་, མི་མཁྱེན་མཁྱེན་ ཟུང་, ཟུང་ཀ་ལགས་?
t'iza: kʰø:=di ran-ke? ηàtei lɔkɛ=di kʰoŋ=gi
 but 3PL=DEMPH own-language 1PL.GEN Lhoke=DEMPH 3PL=AGT
mi-kʰem-bo bɛ:=la, mi-kʰeŋ-kʰen
 NEG-know.HON-2INF EQU.NE=HON NEG-know.HON-NMLZ
bɛ?, bɛ-ka=la?
 EQU.NE=HON EQU.NE-PQ=HON
 ‘But they don’t know their own language, our Lhoke, they don’t know, isn’t it (so)?
 (YR canteen video)

A tag question is typically pronounced with a raised pitch. Figure 11.11 illustrates the intonation rise on the tag question *íŋ-ga* from (11.115).

Figure 11.11. Intonation with tag question *íŋga* in (11.115)

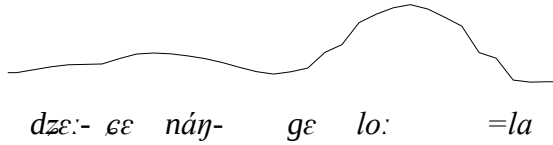


Another tag question, *lo*, is a loan of the frequent Nepali tag question *la*. Using *lo* in requests or orders is polite because the speaker requests for the addressee’s compliance rather than takes it for granted.

- (11.117) ང་ འགྱུ་ ལྟོ
ηà gju lo.
 1SG go TAG.Q
 ‘I’m going now, okay?’ (oh, Martam)
- (11.118) བཞུགས་བཞིན་ ལྟོ་པོ་ གནང་ ལྟོ
zu:teẽ: p’ja-u nǎ: lo.
 sitting do-2INF do.HON TAG.Q
 ‘Please stay here, okay (while I go away for a while)?’ (oh, TB)
- (11.119) ངའི་ རྒྱ་བར་ (number) འདི་ མིན་ ལྟོ་ལགས།
nɛ: nambər di i: lo:=la
 1SG.GEN number(Eng.) this EQU.PER TAG.Q=HON
 ‘This is my number, eh.’ (KT phone call)
- (11.120) མཇུག་གི་ གནང་གི་ ལྟོ་ལགས།
dʒɛ:-ɕɛ náy-ge lo:=la.
 meet.HON-INF do.HON-HORT TAG.Q=HON
 ‘So, let’s keep on meeting, okay?’ (KT phone call)

The tag question marker *lo* is pronounced with raised pitch, as shown in Figure 11.12, which presents the pitch trace from (11.120). When *lo* is followed by the honorific clitic *=la*, as in Figure 11.12, the vowel is lengthened to [lo:].

Figure 11.12. Intonation with tag question *lo* in (11.120)



11.1.5 Questions with the reportative *=lo*

Interrogatives may be marked by the reportative *=lo*, which can replace equative copulas (see §7.2.5.2). Examples (11.121) and (11.122), which were used during a phone call, exemplify a polar interrogative and a content interrogative respectively. While the exact context for the utterances is unclear, (11.121) appears to ascertain that the wedding mentioned in the phone call (hence the reportative) was indeed the addressee's own wedding. The use of *=lo* in (11.122) is more difficult to decipher. The use of the reportative perhaps indicates that the date of the gathering mentioned in the clause is announced by someone else than the addressee, ultimately presumably by an astrologer who determines an auspicious date.

- (11.121) རང་གི་གཞེན་ལོ?
raŋ=gi jén=lo?
 you=GEN wedding=REP
 '(Are you saying/Did you say) it's your wedding?' (KN oh, phone call)

- (11.122) ཚུགས་གང་འདི་ནམ་ལས་ལོ?
tsʰo:-εε=di nàm=lε=lo?
 gather-INF=DEMPH when=ABL=REP
 'When is the gathering together (according to them)?' (KN oh, phone call)

Intonation in (11.121) and (11.122) follows the pattern already established above. The polar interrogative (Figure 11.13) has a rising pitch and the content interrogative a low pitch at the end of the utterance (Figure 11.14).

Figure 11.13. Rising intonation with *lo* in polar question (11.121)

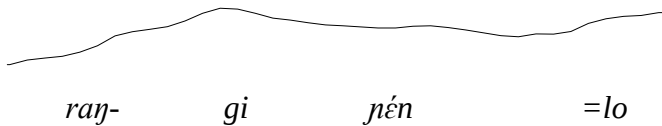
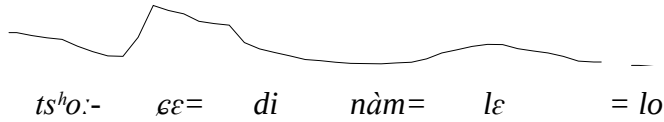


Figure 11.14. Low intonation with *lo* in content question (11.122)



11.1.6 Exclamative questions with *(h)ó:*

The formative *(h)ó:*, which is most likely a borrowing of the Nepali equative copula *ho*, also occurs in equative polar questions where it replaces both the copula and the question marker and has the meaning ‘is it true that, is it so that’, see (11.123-125). Because *(h)ó:* also occurs as a non-interrogatory exclamative tag (see §16.3.2), it has an air of exclamation. This exclamation is reflected also in the interrogative, hence the gloss as exclamative question (EXCLAM.Q). Because clauses with *(h)ó:* here are treated as basically interrogative but having exclamative nuance, they are discussed here under interrogation (§11.1) rather than under exclamation (§11.2).

(11.123) ཙམ་པོ་བརྒྱུ་མཁན་འདི་ཨོ?

tsampo duy-kʰɛn=di ó:?
 flour beat-NMLZ=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q
 ‘Is (it) the one who beat the flour.’ (PT e)

(11.124) A: དུ་ཅིག་ཤེསླེགས་ (direct) རྩ་ཇ་གདན་ལོར་འདྲ་ཟད། ཨོ་འདྲེ་ལམ་བཞིན་གྱ།

tʰutɕi? dairekt dordzidɛː=lo=ra ɖa be?
 this.year direct TPN=DAT=AEMPH be.similar EQU.NE
ódeː ləp-zɛŋge.
 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: རྩ་པོ་འདི་ཨོ?

tsəpo=di ó:?
 debate=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q
 ‘You mean the debate?’ (KN kitchen discussion)

(11.125) a) མནེ་མུ་རཱ་ ཨོ?

nɛːmu=rãː ó:?
 really=AEMPH TAG.EXCLAM
 ‘Really, is it?’ (Richhi 99)

- b) ནད་པོ་འདྲེན་ཆབ་ཆེ་ཡོད་སྟེ་སྨན་ཁང་ན་བྱིས་ཉི་དྲག་གད་ཡོད་སེ་ཨོ།
nè:po dem tsʰaptɕɛ-løʔ ménkʰã:=na kʰik-ti tʰak-ɕɛ
 patient such serious-EXCLAM hospital=LOC lead-NF get.well-INF
jò:=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 *ɕim* ‘be tasty’ (cf. *ɕimpu/ɕimʈaʔ* ‘tasty’), *lèʔ* ‘be good’ (cf. *lèm* ‘good’), *dzik* ‘be excellent’ (cf. *dzikʈaʔ* ‘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་ ཞིས་ལོས་ བོ, ཨོ་ཡེ། བྱ་ག།
kʰamø: ɕim-løʔ bo, ójɛ, pʰja-ɕa!
 what.GEN be.tasty-EXCLAM EQU.NE.Q oh chicken-meat
 ‘How tasty it is, oh, chicken-meat!’ (Richhi 89)

- (11.127) ག་སྟེན་ གད་དར་ ལེགས་ལོས།
kʰatɛm kʰɛ:da: lè:-løʔ!
 what.kind cleaning be.good- EXCLAM
 ‘How well tidied up!’ (Richhi 45)

- (11.128) མི་འདི་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་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 *ódem* ‘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་ལོ་མ་ ཨོ་འདེམ་མའི་ བྱིམ་གཞིས་ གོས་ཟྱེ་
ga:-løʔ ódemø: kʰimzi ko:-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་བུ་ ཟུང་གྲ།
tɛ’a=di ɛ̀ɪmpu bɛ-ka!
 tea=DEMPH delicious EQU.NE-PQ
 ‘Isn’t this tea good!’ / ‘How good this tea is!’ (KT e)

- (11.131) གོ་མ་པ་ནི་ (Company) ང་ཨོ་ ལྷན་ (phone) བཏང་དྲོ་ ཟུང་གྲ་?/!
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.

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
<i>ámɛ:</i>	ཨ་མེ་	‘wow’	expressing enthrallment, rapture
<i>làsɔ</i>	ལགས་སྟོ་	‘okay’	approval
<i>ák^(h)a:</i>	ཨ་ཁ་	‘gee, gosh’	surprise, amazement
<i>ádzei</i>	ཨ་ཇེ་	‘gee, gosh’	surprise, amazement, quite similar to <i>ák^ha:</i>
<i>ójɛ, ói</i>	ཨོ་ཡེ་	‘oh, hey’	used for getting someone’s attention
<i>é:, já:</i>	ཨེ་, ཡ་	‘oh’	expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going
<i>á:</i>	ཨ་	‘hey’, ‘yes’, ‘what?’	1) informal address to get someone’s attention 2) non-honorific response to being called, addressed to social inferiors (corresponds to honorific <i>la:</i> below)
<i>là:</i>	ལགས་	‘yes’ ‘excuse me?’	1) polite response to being called 2) expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said
<i>kei</i>	ཀྱེ་, ཀྱི་	‘O (voc.)’	honorific address (e.g. ‘O lama’)
<i>tɛ^ha</i>	ཆ་	‘alas’	disappointment (e.g. after a bad shot in a game of carrom or <i>keremboj</i>), loan from Nepali
<i>tɛ^hɛ:</i>	ཆེ་	‘ah, oh no’	disapproval, discomfort (e.g. when someone does not answer phone), the response to being tickled
<i>úf</i>	ལྷུ་ཕ་	‘phew’	expression of pain or discomfort
<i>ádzi:</i>	ཨ་ཇེ་	‘oh no’	1) (unpleasant) surprise, 2) fear
<i>áijo:</i>	ཨོ་ཡེ་	‘ouch’	pain or fear of pain
<i>á(i)ja:</i>	ཨོ་ཡེ་, ཨ་ཡ་		
<i>óho:</i>	ཨོ་ཧོ་	‘oh no’, ‘gosh’	sadness, response to bad news (KT) (neutral) surprise at information (KUN)

- (11.132) ཨ་མེ་ ལགས་སྟོ་ལོ་
ámɛ: lɛ:-lɔ:=lo!
 wow be.good-EXCLAM=REP
 ‘Wow, how good it is.’ (KT e)

- (11.133) ལགས་སྟོ་ དེ་ནས་ ཐྱོན་བོ་ གནང་།
làsɔ, t'ɛnɛ tɛ'ɔm-bo ná:
 alright then go.HON-2INF do.HON
 ‘Alright, in that case please go.’ (Richhi 17)

- (11.134) a) གན་མོ་ ཞི་མ་ལོ་ རྩ་, ཨོ་ཡེ་ ལྷ་གི།
k'amɔ: ɛim-lɔ? bo, ójɛ, p'ja-ɛa!
 what.GEN be.tasty-EXCLAM EQU.NE.Q oh chicken-meat
 ‘How tasty it is, oh, chicken-meat. (Richhi 89)

b) ཨ་ཡི! བྱིས་ན་ མི་ཡོད་ཀྱ?
óje:, kʰim=na mí jø:-ka?
 hey house=LOC human EX.PER-PQ
 ‘Hey, is anyone at home?’ (rna-gsung 5)

(11.135) ཨེ ཨ་ན་ ཐང་། ང་ ཏ་ལྟོ་ ཐོས་པོ་ ཨིན།
é: óna bε?. ηà t'ato tʰo:-po í.
 o there EQU.NE 1SG now hear-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘O, it’s there. I heard it (only) now.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

(11.136) ཐིན་ལས། ཨྱ་ ཐིན་ལས།
tʰinle, á: tʰinle!
 PN hey PN
 ‘Thrinley, hey Thrinley!’ (Richhi 24)

(11.137) a) ཀར།
karma!
 PN
 ‘Karma!’

b) ལགས། གན་ གསུང་བོ?
la:, k'an súm-bo?
 yes what say.HON-2INF
 ‘Yes, what did you say?’ (Richhi 15)

(11.138) a) ཨྱ་ཇི! བྱིས་ན་ཏོ་ མན་འགྱུག།
ádzi:, kʰim=na=to maŋ-gju-ke!
 oh.no house=LOC=CEMPH NEG-go-HORT
 ‘Oh no, let’s not go to (his) home.’ (reaction to suggestion) (Richhi 24)

b) ཨྱ་ཇི! མན་ མམ་ལགས།
ádzi:, mē: ám=la:!
 oh.no NEG.EQU.PER mother=HON
 ‘Oh no, no mother.’ (Richhi 34)

(11.139) ཆ།
teʰa!
 darn
 ‘Darn! (after an unsuccessful strike in a game of kerembot)’ (oh, Tashiding)

(11.140) ལྷས་ གན་མའི་ ཆང་བོ་ འཚོག་ཡོད་བོ།
uf, k'amø: tsʰεpo tsʰik-lø? bo!
 phew what.GEN heat hot-EXCLAM EQU.NE.Q
 ‘Phew, how scorching the heat is!’ (nga’i ’gan 15)

- (11.141) མོ་འདི་ ཚོང་ཁར་ ལྷོ་ལགས་ཀྱི་ ལྷན་སྐད། "ཨ་ཡ! ཨ་ཡ!
ódetshika bhaila=ki khyŋke? ája: ája:!
 at.that.time PN=GEN sound.of.moaning ouch ouch
 'At that time, Bhaila's sound of moaning (goes) ouch, ouch. (Richhi 14)

- (11.142) ཨི་ཡ་ ང, ཁབ་ འདི་ མི་ རྒྱབས་ ཨི་ཡ!
ájjo: ŋà, kʰap=di mi-kjap ájjo:!
 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 *-teʰi*, *-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་པོ་, ཨ་རྒྱ་ གཞིམས་པར་ བྱོན།
làso ágja, zim-pa te'õ:.
 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་ བཅུ་མ་ རྩོད། མ་ལབ་ རོ།
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 ná:* is illustrated in (11.145) and (11.146). The negator prefix attaches to the honorific verb *ná:* 'do (hon.), grant'.

- (11.145) ད་རུང་ གསུང་བོ་ གནང་།
t'a(r)uŋ súm-bo ná:.
 again say.HON-2INF do.HON
 'Please say it again.' (TB e)

- (11.146) བྱོན་བོ་ མ་གནང་།
te'em-bo ma-ná:.
 come/go-2INF NEG-do.HON
 'Please do not come/go.' (TB e)

Using the bare verb root for imperative causes ambiguity on the clausal level (which context usually disambiguates on the discourse level), because final suffixes and auxiliaries are often elided in declarative clauses, as shown in (11.147).

- (11.147) དེ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལྗང་ནང་གི་སློབ་པོ་གནང་།
te lópt̪a=tsu nàŋɕa pɛl-bo náː.
 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 *tāː* (ordinary) and the root appended with *nāː* or *pa* (honorific). The secondary verb (or verbalizer) *tāː* ‘send’ also sometimes accompanies the verb root in imperative in my data:

- (11.148) ཁྱེད་ཅག་གན་སྒྲུ་བྱས་བཏང་། མོ་ཙོང་དང་འབྲེན་དུ་བྱ་བཏང་།
kʼutɕa? kʼajɛm pʼja tāː. ótsõː dāː bɛnda tʼaː tāː.
 2PL what.is.that do send onionand tomato slice send
 ‘You, do what’s that, slice onions and tomatos.’ (PT kitchen)

Sandberg’s (1895: 42) more polite form, where the verb *nāː* ‘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་།
tʰõː jòː-ne ŋà=lo súŋ náː.
 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’s polite instruction to a nurse:

- (11.150) ནད་པོའི་སློབ་ཡིག་ལྗང་ཐམས་ཅད་འདི་ཁར་བསྒྲུ་བྱོན་པོ་གནང་ཆེ།
nè:pøː ménjiː=tsu tʰamtɕɛ? dikʰa nám tɕʰøm-bo
 patient.GEN prescription=PL all here carry.HON come.HON-2INF
nāː-tɕʰi.
 do.HON-IMP.FRN
 ‘Please bring all the patient’s prescriptions here.’ (Richhi 169)

- (11.151) ང་ལྟ་ཕྱུ་ཤུལ་ཅིག་གནང་ད།
 ṇà=lo tɕʰu ɕyːtɕi? nǎː-da.
 1SG=DAT water a.bit give.HON-IMP.FRN
 ‘Please give me a bit of water.’ (rnam-rtoḡ 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) ཀམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལྷན་པ་མ་ཕྱི་མོ།
 kanteʰi kʼaly? kʼaly? 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 *ngaʼi ʼgan*, 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་མིང་ལགས་མདང་བུ་མིང་རང་ཅིག་ཀྱས་བསྐྱོན་བོ་གནང་མཁན་གསུང་གླུ་ད་རིང་ལོ་ཚར་གཅིག་བསྐྱོན་བོ་གནང་ན།
 pʼusimla, dǎː pʼusim=rǎː tɕikuː
 younger.sister=HON yesterday younger.sister=AEMPH only.AGT
 gø̃m-bo nǎː-kʰɛː súnlu tʼariŋ=lo tsʰaː tɕi?
 sing.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ song.HON today=DAT turn one
 gø̃m-bo nǎː-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) མོ་ཤེས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་རིན་འཛིན་ཚད་ནང་ལས་མ་ལག་ལྟོ་སྤྱོད་འགྱུར་དོན་དག་མེད་པའི་གཏམ་གས་པོ་མ་བཤད་པར།
 óɕe:kukʰɛː rindzĩː, tɕʰø? nàŋ=lɛ màla? lòkti gju-na tʼònda?
 please PN 2SG.L inside=ABL quick again go-SUG meaning
 mèː-pøː tam kɛːpo ma-ɕé-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.’ (Ngaʼi ʼgan 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 *-daː* attach to the suppletive perfective form *sóː* of the same verb (e.g. *sóː-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 *nǎː* 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 *εóʔ* ‘come! (direct)’ and *tεʔon* ‘please come! (hon.)’.

- (11.155) a) ན་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ གནང་།
ná: tεʔem-bo ná:.
 here come.HON-2INF do.HON
 ‘Please come here.’ (polite)
- b) ན་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ གནང་ཆེ།
ná: tεʔem-bo ná:-tεʔhi.
 here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN
 ‘Please come here.’ (polite, friendly)
- c) ན་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ གནང་དང་།
ná: tεʔem-bo ná:-da.
 here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN
 ‘Please come here.’ (polite, friendly)
- d) ན་ ཕྱིན་པོ་ གནང་ན།
ná: tεʔem-bo ná:-na.
 here come.HON-2INF do.HON-SUG
 ‘What if you would please come here.’ (polite, suggestive)

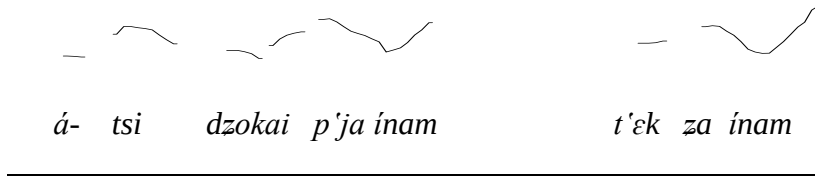
Imperatives may be supplemented with the exclamative tags *na* and *inam*³⁸⁶, which add nuance to the command. Whereas *na* is considered friendly, *inam* is usually spoken by a person of a greater social standing than the addressee and has an air of obligation. Example (11.156), illustrating *na*, was spoken by a younger person to an elder one, whereas (11.157), illustrating *inam*, was spoken on the telephone by an older brother to a younger brother who was working in the Indian capital Delhi.

- (11.156) གསན་པོ་ གནང་ ཉ།
sém-bo ná: na.
 listen.HON do.HON TAG.ASR
 ‘Please listen (to me), will you.’ (PB discussion with TB)
- (11.157) ཨ་ཙི་ ངོ་ཀེ་ (Nep.) བྱས་ མིན་ནམ། དེག་ བཞག་ མིན་ནམ།
átsi dzokai pʼja ín-(n)am! tʼek 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 *inam*.

³⁸⁶ The form *inam* is segmentable as *ín-(n)am* [EQU.PER-ATTQ], whereas the form *na* 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)



In some language varieties, the forms *ino* (Bermeok) and *no* (Martam) as used for *já/ína*:

- (11.158) ལྷ་ཁ་ (??) འདི་ཙུ་སུབ་ཨན་ནོ།
gjaɬʰa di=tsu súp íno.
 hatch this=PL close TAG.ASR
 ‘Close the hatches, will you.’ (KT animal story)

- (11.159) ལ་བརྩམ་ རྩོད། མ་ལབ་ རོ།
kʰa tsum døʔ. ma-làp no.
 mouth closed sit NEG-speak TAG.ASR
 ‘Be silent. Don’t speak, eh.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

11.3.3 Urgentive =*møʔ*

The enclitic =*møʔ* (pronounced also as =*meʔ*) can be added to imperatives, hortatives and optatives to make a plea more urgent. Within imperatives =*møʔ* may attach to the verb root and suggestive *-na* but not to the friendly imperatives *-teʰi* and *-da*. Rather than forming a sentence mood of its own, =*møʔ* may be seen as a modifier of the imperative, hortative and optative moods. One consultant commented that =*møʔ* may be used when all other verbal persuasion resources have been exhausted. Because =*møʔ* may attach to several elements it is not analyzed as a suffix but as an enclitic. The following examples illustrate the use of =*møʔ* appended to verb root (11.160-162), imperative *-na* (11.163), hortative *-ke/gɛ* (11.164) and infinitive *-ɲi* (11.165-166). The use with optative *-tcuʔ* 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) ཨ་ ཏེ་ ལུ་ཐོ་ གནང་མོད།
é:, tɛ ɛ̀ù: ná: =møʔ.
 oh then ask.2INF do.HON=URG
 ‘Oh, then ask (him), by all means.’ (KT animal story)

- (11.161) ར་ སང་ལོ་ ཏེ་གོ་ག་ ལབ་ རི་ ལྷ་མོད།
nà: kʰõ: =lo hako-ga làp tʰi ta =møʔ.
 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)

- (11.162) བཞིས་ཀར་ བཞིས་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) ཟས་ 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 *-gε*:

- (11.164) ང་ཅག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ བསྐྱན་པོ་ འདི་ ལེགས་བྱས་ གཟུངས་གེ་མོད།
ɲàtɕa? tʰamtɕε? tɛmpo=di lɛm-pʼja zuŋ-gε=mø?
 1PL all teaching=DEMPH well-ADVZR preserve-HORT=URG
 ‘Let us all, by all means, memorize this teaching.’ (song lyrics)

Consultant KN also reported that *=mø?* is used, especially in Tashiding (not the consultant’s native place), in the following idiomatic expressions that employ the infinitive form *-ni*, see (11.165-166).

- (11.165) ཟ་ཉེ་མོད།
sà-ni=mø?
 eat-3INF=URG
 ‘Eat, by all means.’ (KN e)
- (11.166) འཐུང་ཉེ་མོད།
tʰuŋ-ni=mø?
 drink-3INF=URG
 ‘Drink, by all means.’ (KN e)

11.4 Hortative *-kε/gε*

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 *-kε/gε* is appended directly to the verb root. Note that in (11.167) the velar is elided because the preceding verb root also ends in a velar.

- (11.167) ང་ འབག་གེ།
ɲà bak-ε.
 1SG carry-HORT
 ‘Let me carry (it).’ (GB oh)

- (11.168) འ་ཅག་གི་ ཚུགས་ རང་གི་ སྐད་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་གོ་ལེ།
jàtɛa? k'a: tsʰu? raŋ=gi kɛ:=lo jàrgɛ?
 1PL what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development
taŋ-gɛ=s.
 send-HORT=QUO
 ‘Let’s do what we can to develop our own language.’ (KT life story)

The friendly imperative suffixes may be appended to the hortative, as exemplified by *-tɕʰi* in (11.169).

- (11.169) རྒྱལ་པོ་ འདི་ལོ་ ལོག་ཅན་རང་ ཁ་ལའ་ ལྟ་གོ་ཆེ།
gɛ:po=di=lo lòktɕɛ=rã: kʰa-lap ta-gɛ-tɕʰi.
 king=DEMPH=DAT again=AEMPH mouth-speak look-HORT-IMP.FRN
 ‘Let’s try and speak again to this (spirit) king.’ (rnam-rtog 8)

Although the hortative is mainly used in the first person, I heard the second person plural address (11.170) in Martam (East Sikkim). The overheard clause has two optional translations.

- (11.170) ལྟ་རྒྱས་ གསོལ་ང་ བཞེས་གོ་ལགས།
lɛŋgɛ? sɔ: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་ ལྟ་སྦྱང་ ད་ལྟ་ ར་ མ་འཐུང་གོ།
mɛ: lɛki? t'ato tɛ'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) དེ་བ་ འདི་ གོང་ཆེན་ མ་བྱས་གོ་ ལའ་པོ་ ཞིན།
t'ɛp=di k'ɔ:teʰɛ: ma-jà-gɛ³⁸⁷ làp-o i:.
 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 *tɕu?*

Optative mood expresses hopes about desirable future. The optative is formed by the causative secondary verb *tɕu?* བཟུག་ ‘cause’ (see §5.5.2.), which attaches to the verb root without tense, aspect and modality marking. For an example, consider (11.173), which also employs *=mø?* to mark urgency (see §11.3.3).

³⁸⁷ The verb *p'ja* ‘do’ is usually reduced to *jà* when a negator is prefixed.

- (11.173) དེ་ནས་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ གཞོག་ ང་ཨོ་ཡང་ ཐོབ་ བཅུག་མོད་སྟེ།
t'ene ódem jó? na=lo=jã: t'op teu=mø:=s.
 then such work 1SG=DAT=even receive cause=URG=QUO
 'Then, by all means, let me also get such work, he said.' (KTL animal story)

The optative construction may be used in purposive adverbial clauses, see affirmative (11.174) and negated (11.175), which is negated by prefixing *ma-* to the secondary verb.

- (11.174) ངའི་ཀི་ བུ་དེའི་ བ་རྟེ་ (birthday party) ན་ ཁྱ་ འོང་ བཅུག་ ལ་བ་སྟེ་ ང་ རྩོན་ ཐུས་པོ་ ཨིན།
nè:=gi bəððəipa:ti=na k'hu ð: teu? làp-ti na
 1SG.GEN=GEN birthday.party(Eng.)=LOC 3SGM come cause say-NF 1SG
fon p'ja-u i:.
 phone(Eng.) do-2INF EQU.PER
 'I phoned (him) so that he would come to my birthday party.'
 (literally: 'Saying let him come to my birthday party, I phoned.') (KN e)

- (11.175) ཁོང་ འདི་ཚུ་ཀིས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཚས་རྒྱལ་ ན་ རང་ག་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལོག་ རྩོན་ མ་བཅུག་ བེ་མཁན་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ཁོང་ འགག་
 མ་ རྒྱབས་པོ་ ཟླ།
k'ð:=di=tsu=gi t'amteε=ki t'εøge: nà: nàŋεa qendzō lək
 3PL=DEMPH=PL=AGT all=AGT king here inside Sikkim return
t'εøn mà-teu? sé-k'εn=di ódεp kjap-ti k'ð:
 come.HON NEG-cause say-NMLZ=DEMPH like.that do-NF 3PL
gagdza kjab-bε?
 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 *teu?*/*teuk* can be distinguished by the presence/absence of tense/aspect/modality/evidentiality (TAME) marking: the optative is not followed by TAME markers whereas the causative is. In causative (11.176), however, the periphrastic past construction is elided because it is retrievable from the context (*dzy: teuk-o be? > dzy: teu?*). Thus, in the absence of tense and aspect marking, the context is the arbiter between optative and causative reading of *teu?*.

- (11.176) ཏི་ རང་ག་ འཇུལ་ ལ་བ་ ལོག་ ཐེང་ཙ་ རང་ག་ལོ་ རོམ་ འདི་ རང་ག་ འཇུལ་ བཅུག།
te nàŋεa dzy: làp lək p'εtsa nàŋεa=lo t'om=di nàŋεa
 so inside enter QUO back sack inside=DAT bear=DEMPH inside
dzy: teu?
 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 *bε-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་ འགྲུ་ཉི་ གོ་རངས་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ རྒྱུད།
*t'ariŋ gju-ti t'orã: kʰim=na døʔ.*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,

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 *so:* 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’ā:* ‘and’, nominalized clauses can:

- (12.2) ཟམ་ ཟ་ མ་ཐོབ་པོ་ དང་ འཐུང་ མ་ཐོབ་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུ་ མང་པོ་ འདུག།
 [sàm sà ma-thop-o] t’ā: [tʰuŋ ma-tʰop-ø:] lògju? màŋpu
 food eat NEG-find-2INF and drink NEG-find-2INF.GEN story a.lot
 du?
 EX.SEN
 ‘There are a lot of stories [that (people) haven’t found food to eat] and [haven’t found (anything) to drink].’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 134)

There are other connectors than *t’ā:* ‘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’izā:* ‘but, however’, for instance, is at times used like a coordinating conjunction. The connector *t’ene* ‘then, in that case’, on the other hand, is hardly a coordinating conjunction because it typically implies, in addition to a semantic/logical connection, that the speaker has changed.

12.2 Monosyndetic connectors

Table 12.1 lists monosyndetic connectors, which have a single connector.

Table 12.1. Monosyndetic clause connectors

<i>t'izǎ:</i>	དེ་ཟང་	‘but’
<i>ĩ:ruŋ</i>	ཨིན་ཅང་	‘but, however’, lit. ‘although it is (so)’ [EQU-CONC]
<i>inajǎ:</i>	ཨིན་ན་ཡང་	‘but, however’, lit. ‘even if it is (so)’ [EQU-COND-even]
<i>indǎ:jǎ:</i>	ཨིན་དང་ཡང་	‘but, however’ lit. ‘it is (so) and yet’ [EQU-and-even]
<i>ĩ:jǎ:</i>	ཨིན་ཡང་	‘but, however’, lit. ‘it is (so) yet’ [EQU-even]
<i>zɛnne/zɛne/zøne</i>	གཞན་ནེ་	‘otherwise’ lit. [other-COND] or [other-TOP]
<i>zɛ:mɛne</i>	གཞན་མན་ནེ་	‘otherwise’, lit. ‘if (it) is not elsehow’ [other-NEG.EQU-COND]
<i>jǎ:</i>	ཡང་	‘and, (then) again’
<i>jǎ:ne</i>	ཡང་ནེ་	‘or’
<i>jǎ:mɛne</i>	ཡང་མན་ནེ་	‘or in other case, otherwise’, lit. ‘and if it is not (so)’ [and-NEG.EQU-COND]
<i>mi-tsʰɛ?</i>	མི་ཚད་	‘not only (but also); moreover; in addition’, lit. ‘not-stop(ping)’
<i>k'ambjasɛne</i> ³⁹¹	གན་བྱས་སེ་ནེ་	‘because, this is for the reason that’, lit. ‘if told why’
<i>dile</i>	འདི་ལས་	‘then (temporal sequence)’ (lit. ‘this=ABL’, but because of frequent use should probably be considered a lexeme)
<i>t'ɛne</i>	དེ་ནས་, དེ་ནས་	‘then, in that case (logical consequence)’ (often collocates with <i>tɛ</i> ‘well, then’, as in <i>tɛ t'ɛne</i> ‘well then...’)
<i>ódi=lɛ=to</i>	ཨོ་འདི་ལས་ཏྲོ་	‘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'izǎ:* ‘but’ and *ĩ:ruŋ* ‘but, however’. The contrastive connector *t'izǎ:* is of unknown etymological origin. In written Denjongke, *t'izǎ:* occurs, depending on the author and possibly the context, either as a sentence-initial marker (following ག, the closest equivalent to full stop in written Denjongke), as in (12.3), or as a sentence-medial marker (without ག), as in (12.4).

- (12.3) ཚོས་སྤྱད་ ཉལ་བའི་ ཉལ་བོ་ ཨིན། དེ་ཟང་ གཞིན་རང་ མི་བྱགས།
teʰɔki? jɛ:-bø: jɛ:-bo ĩ: t'izǎ: nɪ:=rǎ:
 PN lie.down-2INF.GEN lie.down-2INF EQU.PER but sleep=AEMPH
mi-kʰu?
 NEG-sleep
 ‘Choki keeps lying down but does not fall asleep.’ (Richhi 58)

- (12.4) དམངས་པོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འཇོམས་ཞེ་ དེ་ཟང་ འགོ་རྗེ་ ཁོ་རང་ མན་བྱོན།
máŋpu tʰamtɛɛ? dzom-zɛ t'izǎ: godzɛ kʰu=rǎ: man-dzɔn.
 multitude all gather-PST but leader 3SGM=REFL NEG-come
 ‘All the people gathered but the leader himself did not come.’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 135)

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 *láp* ‘say’ or *eu* ‘say (hum.)’, e.g. *k'amjalapne*, *k'amjasune*. The last syllable, which is a conditional marker, may also take the forms *-no* and *-na*, the latter of which is probably affected by Tibetan spelling, e.g. *k'amjaseno* (eastern and northern pronunciation), *k'amjasena* (literary pronunciation).

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'izā:* 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 *ī:run* (or *ī:-run*) ‘but, however’ is the concessive form of the equative *ī:*, which through frequent use may be considered to have lexicalized. It is not clear, whether (12.5) and (12.6) should be considered to consist of one sentence or two sentences.

- (12.5) ལུ་ ངའི་ གཞིན་མཚན་ མིན་མཁན་ མིན། མིན་ཅུང་ ལུ་ ང་ལོ་ ལོག་ལྷ་ མི་རྒྱབས་ གྲང།
kʰu jè: jéntsʰé: iŋ-kʰé: ī: ī:-run kʰu ŋà=lo
 3SGM 1SG.GEN relative EQU-NMLZ EQU.PER EQU-CONC 3SGM 1SG=DAT
lòkta mi-kjap be?
 care NEG-do EQU.NE
 ‘He is (supposed to be) my relative. However/but, he doesn't look after me.’ (KT e)

- (12.6) ཐམས་ཅད་ ཁོང་ ང་ལྟོག་ལོག་ ང་ མེད། མིན་ཅུང་ ང་ལྟོག་ ཁོང་ ཤེས་ཡོན་ ལེན་བཞིན་ ཡོད།
tʰamtɛ? kʰò: t'ato jó? t'a mè? ī:-run t'ato kʰò: éé:jò:
 all 3PL now work now NEG.EX.PER EQU-CONC now 3PL education
lén-zin jò?
 take-PROG EX.PER
 ‘All of them are jobless now. However/but, they are now taking education.’ (KT life story)

Three additional, more complex forms *ínajā:*, *índā:jā:*, *ī:jā:* are used for contrastive cohesion. These forms begin with the equative copula *ī:* and end in the clitic *=jā:* ‘too, even, yet, still’. The difference is what, or whether anything, occurs in between. In *ínajā:*, the copula occurs with the literary conditional form *ín-(n)a* (which also occurs in Central Tibetan), see (12.7) and (12.8). In *índā:jā:*, the intervening element is the conjunctive *t'ā:* ‘and’, conveying the meaning ‘it is so and yet’, see (12.9). The last form *ī:jā:* has no intervening element, conveying the equivalent of English ‘it is so yet’, see (12.10).

- (12.7) མོ་འདེབ་ བྱས་བའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ ཉི་ མོ་ རང་ག་ལོ་ ང་ཅའི་ སྐད་ འདི་ ང་ ལེགས་ བྱས་ལྷི་ སྐབ་ཤད་ཉི་ མོ་འདེབ་ཉི་ མེད་མཁན་ གྲང། མིན་ན་ཡང་
 མོ་འདི་ སྐད་གི་ ང་ ཆན་བོ་ འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ སྐད་ལྡགས་ གཞན་མོ་ བྱུགས་སྐད་ འདི་ མི་མཁྱེན་མཁན་ གྲང།
ódep p'ja-wø: gā:=di te ó nàŋɛa=lo ŋàtei
 like.that do-2INF.GEN time=DEMPH so that inside=DAT 1PL.GEN
ke:=di t'a lèṃ p'ja-ti lap-ɛɛ=to ódem=to
 language=DEMPH now good do-NF teach-INF =CEMPH like.that=CEMPH
mè:-kʰen be? ínajā: ódi gā:=gi t'a gɛmpo di=tsu=gi
 NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU.NE however that time=GEN now elder this=PL=AGT
ke:dza? zømø, tɛʰuke=di mi-kʰeŋ-kʰen be?
 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'izā:* and *ínajā:*, co-occur.

- (12.8) ཏེ་ཨ་འདི་བྱས་སྟེ་ང་ཅའི་སྐད་ཤུག་ཅིག་ཨ་འདི་སྟེ་ཉམས་ཆག་སྐད་བོ་ཨིན། དེ་ཟང་ཨིན་ན་ཡང་ད་སྟོ་སློབ་གྲྭ་འདི་ནང་ག་ཡོད་ཤད་
རྒྱབས་སྟེ་གེ་ཨ་འདི་གེས་པོ་ཏེ་སྐད་འབག་འདྲའ་མ་སྐང་།

te ódi p'ja-ti ñàtɛi kɛ? ɛ́y:ɛy? ódɛpti nàmɛʰa?

so that do-NF 1PL.GEN language a.bit like.that decline

sɔ̃:-bo í:. t'izā: ínajā: t'ato lópɬa=di nàɲɛa
go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER but however now school=DEMPH inside

jò:-ɛɛ? kjap-tiki ódɛp kɛ:po=to lák bak da: ma-sɔ̃:.

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་ཏེ་གན་འདྲེ་མེད། ཨིན་དང་ཡང་འདི་ཁར་ང་ཅག་ལྷམ་རང་འདུག་མེ་ལམ་གནང་།

lòn=to k'andɛ: mɛʔ. índā:jā: dikʰa ñàtɛa? ləm=rā:

message=CEMPH any NEG.EX.PER however here 1PL good=AEMPH

du:=sɛ lāp ná:.

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་སྟོ་བར་ང་ཅག་ཕན་ཚུན་ཕར་མཇལ་ཚུར་མཇལ་མེད་པས་ཞལ་འཛོ་མ་ཚུགས། ཨིན་ཡང་ངའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ལྟ་སྟེད་

t'atawa: ñàtɛa? pʰentsʰj̃: pʰa: dzɛ: tsʰu: dzɛ:

nowadays 1PL mutual thither meet.HON hither meet.HON

mè:-pɛ: ɛ̀ɛ: tsʰo ma-tsʰu? í:jā: nɛ:

NEG.EX-2INF.AGT face recover NEG-be.able.to however 1SG.GEN

ro:m laki

female.friend PN

‘These days, because we have not met each other here and there (I) could not recognize (him). However, my friend Lhaki...’ (Richhi 46)

Still other contrastive connectors are built around the word *zen* ‘other’. These forms are *zenne/zene/zøne* (12.11-12), *zɛ:men* (12.13), *zɛ:menɛ* (12.14). The ending *-ne* in *zenne* and *zene/zøne*, which probably represents a reduced pronunciation of *zenne*, may be etymologically a conditional form³⁹² or possibly the topicalizer *=ne*. The other two forms supplement *zen* with the negated equative *mɛ:*, which may occur alone, as in *zɛ:men* (12.13) or in the conditional form, as in *zɛ:menɛ* (12.14).

³⁹² As the conditional marker attaches only to verbs, *zen-ne* may represent a reduction of the more complex *zen mɛn-ne* [other NEG.EQU.PER-COND].

- (12.11) རྩོད་པོ་ བྱས་ཤང་ འདིས་ བྱས་ ཏེ་ གནས་སྐོར་ རྒྱལས་ ཐོབ་ གླང། གཞན་ནེ་ མི་ཐོབ་མཁན་ གླང།
tsəpo p'ja-εε=di=p'ja tε né:kor kjap tʰop bε? zenne
 debate do-INF =DEMPH=ADVZR so sightseeing do receive EQU.NE otherwise
mi-tʰop-kʰen bε no.
 NEG-find-NMLZ EQU.NE TAG.ASR
 ‘Because of (participating) the debate (he) gets to do sightseeing. Otherwise it is not available, eh. (KNA kitchen discussion)
- (12.12) ཐབས་ མེད་ནེ་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་ ར་ཤང་ མིན་ གི་, གཞན་ནེ་ མིན་ཟ།
tʰap mɛ:-nɛ tɛuku sà-εiŋ=gi, zɔnɛ 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་རྩེ་ རྩོ་རྩོ་ མོ་འདིས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ མི་ གཞན་ཚུས་ མཐོང་སར་ མོ་རང་ རྩོན་ཅན་ མཐོང་པོ་ མན་བོ་ གཞན་ མན་ཏོ་ མོ་ལོ་ རྩོན་ མེད་ཤོ།
mù=ri godzɛ kjokju ódi: p'ja-ti mí zen=tsu:
 3SGF=AEMPH.GEN leader crooked that.GEN do-NF human other=PL.AGT
tʰõ:-sa mù=rã: kɔntɛɛ: tʰõ:-po mɛmbo zɛ:mɛn=to
 see-NMLZ.SPAT 3SGF=AEMPH guilty see-2INF except otherwise=CEMPH
mù=lo kɔn mɛ:-εo.
 3SGF=DAT blame NEG.EX.PER=AT
 ‘She has become the culprit in the eyes of other people for no other reason than this crooked leader of hers. Otherwise, she is not to be blamed for anything, you know. (nga’i ’gan 4)
- (12.14) གལ་སྲིད་ གཏམ་འདི་ མཁའ་འགྲོས་ གསན་ རྩྱགས་པོ་ རྩུང་ན་ མཁའ་འགྲོས་ ཟངས་ཐག་ བཏང་ བྱིན་བོ་ གནང་ཕྱི་ རྩྱབས་ན་ རྩྱབས་ རྩྱགས་འོང་།
 གཞན་ མན་ན་ འདྲེ་མོ་ མོའི་ ཁ་ལས་ མཐར་མཁན་ རྩྱགས་ཐོག་ འགྲུབ་པོ་ཚུ་ལས་ མི་འོང་།
k'ε:si? tam=di kʰando: sɛn tsʰu-po tɛ'uy-ne
 if word=DEMPH dakini.AGT listen.HON be.able.to-2INF become-COND
kʰando: sã:tʰa? tã: p'im-bo nã:-di kjop-nɛ kjop
 dakini.AGT copper-rope send give-2INF do.HON-NF protect-COND protect
tsʰu õ: zɛ:mɛnɛ qɛmo mù=i kʰa=lɛ
 be.able.to come otherwise she.demon 3SGF=GEN mouth=ABL
tʰa:-kʰɛ: tɛa:so? dʊp-o=tsu=lɛ mi-õ:
 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 *jã:* ‘again, and’, an independent form related to the clitic *=jã:* ‘too, even, yet, still’. The connector *jã:* occasionally occurs alone to mark that the information presented in the clause is somehow added to the information in the previous clause (12.15).

- (12.15) ཡང་ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ཀུན་གྱིས་ ལྷ་ཅག་ལོ་ མ་ལེགས་ ལྷས་ནི་
jā: *gɛ:py:=gi* *k'utɛa=lo* *màlɛp* *p'ja-ne*
 again king.GEN=AGT 2PL=DAT bad do-COND
 'Again, if the king did bad things to you...' (CY interview)

The connector *jā:* may be supplemented, similarly to the connectors presented above, by *-ne*, 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 *jā:ne* expresses meanings corresponding to English *nor* (which marks additional negated information), see (12.17).

- (12.16) ཆེ་མ་རྒྱུ་ བཞེས་པོ་ གནང་མོད། ཡང་ན་ ང་ཅིའི་ ལག་ཀ་ལས་ བཞེས་ མི་ལེགས་པོ་?
tɛʰɛ: *àgja* *zɛ:-po* *ná:=mø?* *jā:ne* *ɲàtɕi* *làka=lɛ*
 oh.no elder.bother eat.HON-2INF do.HON=URG or 1PL.GEN hand=ABL
zɛ: *mi-lɛ:-po?*
 eat.HON NEG-be.good-2INF
 'Oh no, brother, please eat, by all means. Or is it not good to eat from our hands?' (Richhi 20)

- (12.17) ང་ཅག་ནི་ ས་ཐག་ རིང་པོ་ལས་ མཐོ་མེད་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཐོས་ཤང་ མིན་འདུག། ཡང་ན་ བར་ཚུར་ མིའི་ འགྲུལ་ཡང་ མེད།
ɲàtɛa=ne *sátʰa?* *rim-bo=lɛ* *nóme?* *lògju?* *tʰo:-ɛɛ?*
 1PL=TOP distance be.long-2INF=ABL thoughtless story hear-INF
mìndu? *jā:ne* *pʰa:* *tsʰu:* *mí:* *ɕy:=jā:* *mè?*
 NEG.EX.SEN or thither hither human.GEN travel=too NEG.EX.PER
 'We do not hear thoughtless stories from far away. Nor are there people traveling here and there.' (rnam-rtog 4)

- (12.18) ང་ཅག་ ཤི་ནི་ མི་ ཤི་རྒྱུ་ལས་ ལ་ལོ་ མི་ ལེགས་ བསོད་ནམས་ བཟང་པོ་ ཡོད་ནི་ འདི་ མི་ལོ་ མི་ལུས་ ཐོབ་ ཡང་མན་ནི་ སེམས་ཅན་ ཡང་ནི་ འབྱ་
 ལས་ འཁོར།
ɲàtɛa? *ɛí-ne* *mí* *ɛí-tsub=lɛ* *làlo* *mí* *lèm* *sónam*
 1PL die-COND human die-CMPL.2INF=ABL some human good merit
zanpo *jò:-ne=di* *mí=lo* *mí-ly:* *tʰop* *jā:mɛnɛ*
 good EX-COND=DEMPH human=DAT human-body receive or.in.other.case
símtɛɛ: *jā:ne* *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) ཀངས་ཆག་ཆག་གོ་ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ནི་ཡང་མན་ནི་ཞེན་པོ་རང་ཡོད་པ་ཅེ་ནི་ང་ཅའི་བུ་མ་ག་ལྟེ་བྱིན་གད་སེ?
ka:m teʰak-teʰak-o jò-patsenē jā.menē ɛ̀empo=rā:
 foot be.broken-RDP-2INF EX-COND or.in.other.case stupid=AEMPH
jò-patsenē ṇàtci p'um k'ate p'in-ɛ̀e=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 *tsʰe?* ཚད 'stop, break off, discontinue', *mi-tsʰe?*, is used as a conjunction meaning 'not only (but also); moreover; in addition'. It can be used either as a looser connector, which does not combine two clauses into one sentence but provides logical cohesion (akin to English 'moreover, furthermore'), see (12.20), or it can be used with a nominalized and thus subordinated construction. The subordinated use is described later under adverbial clauses, see §15.9.1.

- (12.20) འདི་མན་ན་དིང་སང་གི་བུ་མ་གཉེན་རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ཚུས་པང་གདན་བཀའ་མི་ཏུ་བཤམ་མེད་པང་གདན་འདི་ལུས་ཀྱི་གོས་ཆས་ཅིག་ཨིན་
 བའི་ལྷང་ཁར་མང་ཆེ་ཤོས་བོད་པོ་དང་ཤར་པོ་གིས་བྱིན་བའི་ལུགས་སྟོན་ཨིན།
di mèn-ne t'inzan=gi p'um jén kjap-kjap-o=tsu:
 this NEG.EX-COND nowadays=GEN girl marriage do-RDP-2INF=PL.AGT
pā:dē: kap mi-tup. mitsʰe? pā:dē:=di lỳ:=ki
 apron cover NEG-deem.fitting moreover apron=DEMPH body=GEN
k'ø:teʰe?=tei? im-bø: teŋkʰa màŋteʰieo? p'øpo t'ā: ɛ̀erpo=gi
 clothing=INDF EQU-2INF.GEN above most Tibetan and Sherpa=AGT
k'øm-bø: lùksø: í:
 wear-2INF.GEN tradition EQU.PER
 'Otherwise, married girls nowadays do not want to wear pangden-apron. Moreover, in
 addition to pangden-apron being a clothing for the body, most Tibetans and Sherpas have
 a tradition of wearing (it).' (sbar-phung 93)

The connector *mitsʰe?* may also occur sentence-initially following a demonstrative:

- (12.21) འདི་མེ་ཚད་ངས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཚོ་འདི་ནང་གསལ་
di mitsʰe? jè:=gi mí-tsʰe=di nàŋɛa=lo
 this in.addition 1SG.GEN=GEN human-life=DEMPH inside=DAT
 'In addition to this, in my life...' (KT life story)

A possible origin of *mitsʰe?* as a nonfinal form *mi-tsʰe-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) བླ་མ་ལྟེ་འགྲོ་བའི་སྐོར་གྱི་མེ་ཆེན་གྱི་འཇུག་ཆུང་གི་སྐོར་
bɛjyl dɛmadzɔŋ=gi korzi=na mi-tsʰɛ-tiki ŋà tɛʰuŋtɛʰuŋ 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 *kʼambjasɛnɛ* (and its variants), refer to §15.4.1.
 The connector *dilɛ* ‘then’ connects finite clauses. It expresses temporal sequence:

- (12.23) ང་འགྲོ་བའི་སྐོར་གྱི་མེ་ཆེན་གྱི་འཇུག་ཆུང་གི་སྐོར་གྱི་མེ་ཆེན་གྱི་འཇུག་ཆུང་གི་སྐོར་
ŋà dɛndzɔ: ɛɛ:da tʰarteim-po ɿ̃. dile dɛndzɔ: ɛɛ:da
 1SG Sikkim institute reach.end-2INF EQU.PER then Sikkim institute
tɛʰo? dɔk mjɔ:-pɔ: 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 *tʼɛnɛ* ‘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 *tʼɛnɛ* is used the speaker typically reacts to something that another person has said. By suggesting that the speaker has changed *tʼɛnɛ* helps the listener to track who is speaking in a story. The connector *tʼɛnɛ* 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 tʼɛnɛ* or *tʼɛnɛ tɛ* ‘so then, so in that case’, see (12.26)

- (12.24) དེ་ནས་ཆེད་ན་འབྲུང་བེན་སྒྲོན།
tʼɛnɛ tɛʰɔ? nə: buŋtʰɛ: dɔ?
 then 2SG.L here while stay
 ‘In that case, stay a while here.’ (KT animal story)

- (12.25) a) ཞེ་དེ་ནས་ཐོ་རངས་འཇུག་ཆུང་གི་སྐོར་
ɛ: tʼɛnɛ tʰorã: ŋà nə: ba dɔ:-ɛɛ ɿ̃.
 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་བྱོན་པོ་གནང་།
laso tʼɛnɛ tɛʰɔm-bo nə:.
 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་ཙོ་འི་ བཅ་ཚུ་ལོ་ ད་རིང་རང་ ཕྱག་བེ་ ཕུལ་གེ་ མིན་ག
tɛ t'ɛnɛ p'otsø: *pʰam=tsu=lo* *t'ariŋ=rã:* *tɛʰaɖi* *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་ ཉི་ ཆོད་ཀྱི་ ལྷ་རེ་ འདི་ འདི་ཉི་
t'ɛnɛ tɛ tɛʰø:=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་ ལྷ་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) ཉི་ ལོག་སྟེ་ར་ དེ་ནས་ དེ་ནས་ དེ་ནས་ ལོག་སྟེ་ར་ ལོག་སྟེ་ར་ ཚུ་ རང་ག་ འཇུལ་བོ་ལོ
tɛ lòkti=ra, *t'ɛnɛ t'ɛnɛ t'ɛnɛ lòkti=ra* *lòkti=ra* *tɛʰu* *nàŋɕa*
 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.

- (12.29) མིན་ཏ་ན་ག་རྒྱལ་ ལེ་མེལ་ (international level) རང་ག་ ག་རྩེབ་རྩི་ ཏེ་ མིག་སེ་པོ་ལྷུས་ (expose) བྱས་ དགོས་ཤང་ བོ་ མིན་ག་?
 དེ་ནས་ མིས་གོ་ལར་ (scholar) ལུ་ ག་རྩེབ་རྩི་ མེལ་ཀམ་ (welcome) བྱས་ དགོས་ཤང་ བོ་?
infənæənəl levl nəŋca k'atepti tɛ ikspous p'ja
 international(Eng.) level(Eng.) inside how so expose(Eng.) do
go:-ɛɛ bo, iŋ-ga? t'ɛnɛ skolar=tsu k'ateptɛ
 be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q EQU.PER-PQ then scholar(Eng.)=PL how
wɛlkam p'ja go:-ɛɛ bo?
 welcome(Eng.) do be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q
 ‘(We have to think) how to expose our language to the international level, isn’t it? Then,
 how to welcome (international) scholars?’ (DR discussion with KL)

The last monosyndetic connector is *ódi=lɛ=to* (that=ABL=CEMPH) ‘rather’, see (12.30) and (12.31).

- (12.30) མོ་ འདི་ཏྲ་ གཏན་གཏན་ བད་ རྩོད་ མི་ཚུགས། མོ་འདི་ལས་ཏྲ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་གེ་ ཁ་བྱང་ ང་ལོ་ གནང་ན།
óde:=to tentɛː daʈø? mi-tsʰu? ódi=lɛ=to
 like.that=CEMPH certain communicate NEG-be.able.to that=ABL=CEMPH
ágja=gi k'ateãː ŋà=lo náː.
 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) ཚོད་ ད་ མཚོ་ འདི་ གལ་ མི་ཚུགས་གྲོ། མོ་འདི་ལས་ཏྲ་ ངའི་ རྒྱབ་ཁར་ ཚོད་ ཚོན་ལྷེ་གེ་ ཤོག།
teʰø? t'a tsʰo=di gɛː mi-tsʰuː-ʈo. ódi=lɛ=to nɛː
 2SG.L now lake=DEMPH cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB that=ABL=CEMPH my
gjakʰa teʰø? ɛən-diki ɛó?
 in.back 2SG.L ride-NF come
 ‘Now, you probably cannot (by yourself) cross the lake. Rather, you come and ride on my
 back.’ (KT animal story)

12.3 Bisyndetic connectors

Bisyndetic constructions are formed by using the same conjunction twice, once in each clause. Table 12.2 lists bisyndetic connectors.

Table 12.2. Bisyndetic clause connectors

<i>jãː...jãː</i> or <i>=jãː...=jãː</i> (=) <i>jãː</i> NEG.VERB... (=) <i>jãː</i> NEG.VERB	ཡང་...ཡང་	‘both...and’ (lit. also...also, even...even) ‘neither...nor’
<i>jãːnɛ...jãːnɛ</i> ³⁹³	ཡང་ནི་...ཡང་ནི་	‘either...or’ (lit. or...or)

When (=)*jãː* is followed by an affirmative verb in both clauses, the meaning is ‘both...and’, see (12.32).

³⁹³ The monosyndetic form *jãːnɛ* ཡང་ནི་ ‘or’ is used in the coordination of noun phrases, see §4.1.7.

(12.32) ཡང་ཁོ་རང་ཟ་བོ་ཟང་ཡང་མི་ལོ་ཟ་བཅུག་གོ་ཟང་།

jā: *kʰu=rã:* *sà-u* *bɛ?* *jā:* *mí=lo* *sà* *tɕuk-o*
both 3SGM=REFL eat-2INF EQU.NE and human=DAT eat cause-2INF
bɛ?

EQU.NE

‘He both ate himself and fed (other) people.’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 135)

When (=)*jā*...(=)*jā:* 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 ‘*dij*’ mediocre’:

(12.33) རབ་ཡང་མེད་, མཐའ་མ་ཡང་མེད།

rap=jā: *mè?*, *tʰama=jā:* *mè?*
supreme=even NEG.EX.PER last=even NEG.EX.PER

‘(It) is neither first-class nor last (in quality).’ (KN e)

Clause-initial use of *jā:ne* ‘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་གྱི་བོ་བྱས་མོ་རང་འདི་ཁར་འོང་དོ་སྟམ། ཡང་ན་མོས་ང་ལོ་མགོ་སྐོར་རྟོ་བཏང་བོ་མན་གམ་?

jā:ne jik-len *man-qi-u-p’ja* *mù=rã:* *dikʰa òn-do*
or letter-answer NEG-write-2INF-ADVZR 3SGF=REFL here come-IPFV
nám, *jā:ne* *mú:* *ŋà=lo* *gokor=to* *tã:-bo*
EQU.PER.ATTQ or 3SGF.AGT 1SG=DAT deception=CEMPH send-2INF
mèŋ-gam?

NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ

‘I wonder whether she is coming here herself without answering (my) letter or whether she is perhaps not deceiving me.’ (Richhi 149)

12.4 Summary remarks

This chapter described clausal connectors and how finite clauses are connected through them. It was shown that some clausal connectors may facilitate coordination-like linking (particularly *t’izã:* ‘but, however’) whereas others are looser cohesion-adding connectors (e.g. *t’ene* ‘then, in that case’, which typically implies that the speaker has just changed). Denjongke was shown to have both monosyndetic and bisyndetic connectors.

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 *-kʰɛː*, however, are not genitive marked). The nominalizing suffixes in Table 13.1 are the infinitive markers *-ɛɛ(?)* and *-po/bo* and the nominalizers *-kʰɛː* and *-sa*.

Table 13.1. Constituent-modifying clauses

Constituent-modifying clauses	Noun-modifying clauses	Relative clauses	<i>-kʰɛː</i>	No genitive
			<i>-po/bo</i> + GEN	Genitive-marked
			<i>-sa</i> + GEN	
	Noun complement clauses	<i>-po/bo</i> + GEN		
		<i>-ɛɛ</i> + GEN		
		Postposition-modifying clauses/ postposition complement clauses	<i>-po/bo</i> + GEN	
<i>-ɛɛ</i> + GEN				

Relative clauses and complement clauses are distinguished by a syntactic criterion: in relative clauses, the modified noun functions as an argument (whether core or peripheral) in the modifying clause whereas in complement clauses it does not. The modifying clause types are introduced in examples (13.1-5). A fuller discussion follows. The RCs and complement clauses are given in brackets. The head noun phrase of the RCs, noun complement clauses and postposition complement clauses is underlined.

Relative clause

- (13.1) བསམ་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉ་ རྒྱལ་པའི་ རེབ་
 [tʰamtɕɛ=ki nɔː tsʰu-pøː] tʰɛp
 all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF.GEN book
 'book [that everybody can buy]' (KN e)

Clausal complement clause

- (13.2) དབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ འདི་ བྱས་ཀྱི།
t'ɛp=di [*tʰamtɛ=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) དབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ རི་ཆེ་
[t'ɛp=di *tʰamtɛ=ki* *ɲò:* *tsʰu-pø:]* *ritɕʰi*
 book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF.GEN hope
 'hope [that everybody can buy the book].' (KN e)

Postposition complement clause with -po + genitive

- (13.4) དབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ རོན་ལོ་
[t'ɛp=di *tʰamtɛ=ki* *ɲò:* *tsʰu-pø:]* *t'ɔnlo*
 book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF.GEN for.the purpose.of
 'For the purpose [that everybody can buy the book]' (KN e)

Postposition complement clause with -ɛɛ + genitive

- (13.5) དབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ རོན་ལོ་
[t'ɛp=di *tʰamtɛ=ki* *ɲò:* *tsʰu:-ɛɛ=ki]* *t'ɔnlo*
 book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-INF=GEN for.the purpose.of
 'For the purpose [that everybody can buy the book]' (KN e)

In many languages, verb forms which modify nouns are termed participles. In Tibeto-Burman languages, however, participles and nominalizers tend to merge together, i.e. the same form may be used for both noun modification and argument nominalization (e.g. Chantyal nominalizer *-wa* in Noonan [1997: 375-377]). If the decision between an analysis as participle or nominalizer is made based on the primary function, which is the main criteria used by many typologists (Shagal 2016: 31-32), it may be argued that the markers *-po/bo* and *-sa* are nominalizers³⁹⁴, 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 *-kʰɛ:*, 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 *-kʰɛ:* in derivatization favours an interpretation as a nominalizer, see §3.2.4.3 (similarly DeLancey 2002 on the cognate of *-kʰɛ:* 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 *-kʰɛ:*) or participial constructions (genitivized forms with *-po*, *-sa* and *-ɛɛʔ*).

Constituent-modifying clauses are now discussed in the same order they occur in Table 13.1.

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 genitivized as *-pø:*, whereas clausal complement clause marking *-po* is not genitivized. The second feature in the definition of an RC, the requirement for a common argument between the RC and the main clause, on the other hand, excludes from the definition noun complement clauses (§13.4) 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 *-k^hẽ:*, and more rarely through the spatial nominalizer *-sa* and the quantitative nominalizer *-ts^hε?* (“as much as is x-ed”). RCs usually precede the head noun but may occasionally also follow it. Pre-head RCs formed with *-po/bo* and *-sa* are marked as noun modifiers through genitivization. Post-head RCs are generally not genitivized and thus function syntactically as appositions. RCs with *-k^hẽ:* are not genitivized even in pre-head position.

Table 13.2 summarizes the various forms that pre-head RCs take with *-po/bo*, *-k^hẽ:* and *-sa*. The empty cells represent forms that do not occur in my data (but could, perhaps, be possible).

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^hẽ:	-po	-sa	Temporal/aspectual function
VERB-k ^h ẽ:	VERB-pø:	VERB-sø:	neutral (although unlikely future)
VERB jø:-k ^h ẽ:	VERB jø-pø:		resultative (dynamic verbs), progressive (stative verbs)
	VERB-RDP-pø:		iterativity, habitualness (past or present)
	VERR(-ti) za: jø-pø:		resultative
VERB-zin p'ja-k ^h ẽ: ³⁹⁸	VERR-zin-pø:		progressive
	VERB-zin jø-pø:		progressive
	VERB-zin dø: jø-pø: (+time word)		progressive
	VERB-(ti) dø: jø-pø: (+time word)		progressive
	VERB-INF mè:-pø:		future ('which will not be x-ed')

As seen in Table 13.2, -k^hẽ:, -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 jø?. The infinitivizer -po/bo occurs in the greatest number of constructions, e.g. progressive VERB-zin (dø:) jø-pø:, perfect VERB-RDP-pø:, and resultatives VERB jø-pø: (expressing, however, progressivity with stative verbs such as dø? 'sit, stay') and VERB za: jø-pø:.

The head word of an RC is usually a noun, but may also be a personal pronoun (13.6) or a demonstrative such as di 'this' (13.7), ódi 'that' (13.8) or ódem=tei? '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 lāp-k^hẽ: does double duty as a complementizer to the clause on its left and as a nominalized modifier to the head pronoun on its right.

- (13.6) གསན་མཁན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་སེ།
 [sɛŋ-k^hẽ:] lɛŋgɛ:=tsu=lo tɕɛideɛ:=s.
 listen.HON-NMLZ PRN.HON=PL=DAT greeting=QUO
 'Greetings to you, [who listen] (I say).' (KT animal story)

- (13.7) ན་ལས་ འོང་མཁན་ འདི་ཚུ་ནི་ ད་ ལྷོ་ཁྱད་ རྒྱབས་དུས་
 [nà=lɛ ð:-k^hẽ:] di=tsu=to t'a lɔkɛ kjap-dỹ:
 here=ABL come-NMLZ this=PL=CEMPH now Lhoke strike-SIM
 'But now when those [who come from here] speak Lhoke...' (RL e)

³⁹⁸ This construction employs a combination of the progressive marker -zin and the verb p'ja 'do', see (13.12).

³⁹⁹ The demonstrative adjective/adverbial ódem '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', tei?, which also functions as an indefinite marker.

- (13.8) ལྷགས་ལོ་ འདི་ མང་ཚོ་ ངང་ ང་ཅག་ ལྷ་མོན་ལོ་ འདི་ ལྷང་ཚོ་ ལ་བ་མཁན་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཚས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ གནང་གནང་བོ་ མིན་འདུག་ཤོ་ལགས།
 [tɕʰuk=lo=di mántsʰø? dǎ: ɣàtɕa? l̥ø-mɛː=lo=di
 Nepali=DAT=DEMPH more and 1PL Lhopo-Lepcha=DAT=DEMPH
 nùntsʰi? l̥ap-kʰɛː] ódi tɕʰøgeː=gi náː-nǎː-bo m̥induk=ɕo=la.
 less say-NMLZ that king=AGT do-RDP-2INF NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON
 ‘The king did not do that (thing) [which is to say more (was to be given) to the Nepali and less to the Lhopos and Lepchas].’ (CY interview)
- (13.9) ཉེན་ ཆད་མེད་ མ་ལེ་རོ་ མ་ལེ་ རྒྱག་གོ་ གནང་ཟྱི་ རྣམས་ལྷ་ཨོ་འདེམ་ཅིག་ཡང་ ཡོད།
 [ɲin tɕʰeme? m̥alɛp=ro m̥alɛp tɕuko náː-di d̥øː-kʰɛː]
 day ceaseless bad=AEMPH bad only do.HON-NF stay-NMLZ
 ódem=tɕi=jǎː j̥ø?
 like.that=INDF=too EX.PER
 ‘There are also those of such kind [who live committing only bad (deeds) upon bad (deeds) every day].’ (SS Proverb explanation)

The following sections present a separate treatment for RCs formed by *kʰɛː*, *-po/bo*, and *-sa* respectively.

13.2.1 Relativization by *-kʰɛː*

The nominalizer *-kʰɛː* 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 *-kʰɛː* is the most usual nominalizer when the head noun is coreferential with the actor/agent in the RC. However, as shown below, *-kʰɛː* may also occur with patient and locative arguments. The construction with *-kʰɛː* is in itself neutral with respect to time-reference, which has to be deduced from the context.⁴⁰⁰ The RC with the nominalizer *-kʰɛː* 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 *kaː(=ki)=jǎː* ‘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 *-kʰɛː* 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 *-kʰɛː* may be either animate (13.10) or inanimate (13.11).

- (13.10) ཚོད་ཀྱི་ ལྷ་ལོ་ དབྱང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ གང་ག་ར་ འདི་ གང་ག་ར་གི་ བོ་ཙོ་ མིན་བོ་ སྤང།
 [tɕʰøː=ki ɲa=lo pj̥øː j̥øː-kʰɛː] kaŋkara=di kaŋkara=gi pʰotso
 2SG.L=GEN nose=DAT hang EX-NMLZ crab=DEMPH crab=GEN child
 ím-bo bɛ?
 EQU-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘The crab [that was hanging from your nose] was a baby crab.’ (rna-gsung 33)

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) ལུ་ནང་གི་ ལུ་མ་མཁན་ འདི་ ལུ་རེ་ འདི་
 [tɕʰu nəŋɕa lum-kʰɛn=di] ta:ri=di
 water inside fall-NMLZ=DEMPH axe=DEMPH
 ‘the axe [that fell into the water]’ (JDF roof discussion)

Note that in (13.11) the demonstrative-emphatic =di occurs two times, both after the RC and after the head noun.

Example (13.12) illustrates a specific construction with the verb *p’ja* ‘do’, enabling explicit progressive marking:

- (13.12) ལུ་བཞིན་ ལུ་མ་མཁན་ ལོ་ཙེ་ འདི་ལོ་
 [ɣù-zin p’ja-kʰɛ:] p’otso=di=lo
 weep-PROG do-NMLZ child=DEMPH=DAT
 ‘to the child, [who was weeping]’ (RS pupil joke)

Head noun as RC patient

The head noun may also be a patient argument in the RC.

- (13.13) ལུ་མ་མཁན་ ལུ་མ་མཁན་ ལུ་
 [p’umtɕʰu=na lú-kʰɛ:] tɕʰu
 Bumchu.festival=LOC pour-NMLZ water
 ‘Water [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) ཀལ་ལོ་ ལུ་མ་མཁན་ ལུ་མ་མཁན་ ལུ་ལོ་
 [karma=lo kɛ:-ɕɛ p’ja-kʰɛ:] ɕò=i gila
 PN=DAT bring-INF do-NMLZ curd=GEN glass
 ‘the glass of curd [that is (being) brought to Karma]’ (Richhi 106)

A frequent context in which an RC with *-kʰɛ:* is used for a patient argument is with verbs of saying (*láp* ‘say’, *súnj* ‘say [hon.]’, *sé* ‘say, be called’), referring to what items are ‘called’:

- (13.15) རི་ཆེ་ ལུ་མ་མཁན་ དེ་བ་ ལུ་མ་མཁན་ ལུ་ ཡོད་པོ་?
 [riteʰi láp-kʰɛ:] t’ɛp ɕɛŋgɛ:=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) ཁོང་གིས་ ཡི་གེ་ བྲི་མཁན་ བང་ལེབ་ གཅིག་ གནང་ཟྱེ་
kʰoŋ=gi [jigi tʰi-*kʰɛː*] *pãːlep=tei?* *nãː-di*
 3SG.HON=AGT letter write-NMLZ board=INDF request.HON-NF
 ‘He requested for a board [on which to write letters] and...’ (KT e)

13.2.1.2 Post-head RCs

RCs marked by *-kʰɛː* 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 *-kʰɛː* 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) ཡོ་ལམ་ རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ འགྲུ་མཁན་ ཡོད་ཤོ།
ó *làŋ* *tɕʰuŋtɕuŋ* [gju-*kʰɛː*] jòː=ɛo.
 there road small go-NMLZ EX.PER=AT
 ‘There’s a small road [that goes there], you know.’ (TB discussion with KT)

- (13.18) མི་གཞན་ འགྲོ་ལས་ ཤེས་མཁན་ཅིག་ བར་མི་ བཟོས་སྟེ།
mí *zen* [doli? ɛèː-*kʰɛː*]=tei? *pʼaːmi* *zo-ti*
 man another custom know-NMLZ=INDF mediator make-NF
 ‘Another man [who knows the (wedding) customs] is made a mediator and....’ (sbar-phung)

- (13.19) ཏེ་ ཡོན་ འདི་ ཡོ་འདི་ རོག་ཀའི་ བར་མི་ འོང་མཁན་ འདི་ ཕྱག་ཕྱུ་ ཁས་ལན་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་གི་
te *óna=di* *ódi* [pʰokøː *pʼaːmi* *òŋ-kʰɛː=di*]
 so there=DEMPH that groom.side.GEN mediator come-NMLZ=DEMPH
tɕʰaːpʰyː *kʰɛːlɛː* *kjap-tiki*
 prostration incantation do-NF
 ‘So there the one [who comes as the groom’s mediator] does prostrations and incantation (and)...’ (SGD wedding customs)

13.2.1.3 Headless RCs

The clause nominalized with *-kʰɛː* typically describes an animate, usually human, referent (‘the one who does x’). Because the animate referent is presumed, *-kʰɛː* 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་ གེས་བ་ སྤང་ ཡོ་ཉོ་ལགས།
[tsʰam=lo zuː-kʰɛː] *kɛːp* *bɛ?* *áŋo=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་ ཤོག་ཀྱི་ ཡོད་པ་ཟླ་ལགས།
t'izā: [nà: dɛndzō:=na ɔŋ-kʰɛn=tsu=lo] ódi⁴⁰¹ ɛóku jèbbɛ=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་ ལྷ་མདུན་ལོ་ བཞུགས་མཁན་གྱིས་ ལམ་ གནང་ཟི་ གཟིགས་ དགོས་ན།
[nɛ:pø kumdɣ̃:=lo zu:-kʰɛŋ=gi] lɛm ná:-di zi:
 patient.GEN in.front.of=DAT stay.HON-NMLZ=AGT good do.HON-NF look
go: ná.
 be.needed TAG.ASR
 ‘[The one who stays with the patient] needs to look after him well, eh.’
 (rnam-rtog 28-29)
- (13.23) མེད་པཅན་ དང་ ལྷག་ ཤོག་ལྷི་ ཟློང་མཁན་ཚུའི་ ཞབས་ཁྱི་ ལྷ་ན་ བན་ཡོན་ ཐོབ་ཤད་ ཡིན།
[mè:ptɛɛ: t'ā: du? pʰok-ti dɔ:-kʰɛn=tsu=i] ɛàptɛi
 one.who.has.not and suffering fall-NF sit-NMLZ=PL=GEN service
ɛù-nɛ pʰɛ:jɔ̃: tʰop-ɛɛ ĩ.
 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) མ་ཇོ་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ བཀའ་ གནང་མཁན་ འདི་ ངས་ ལས་ ལེན་ཤད་ ཡིན།
[ádzo=la:=gi ka ná:-kʰɛn=di] ŋá: kʰɛ:lɛn-ɛɛ
 grandfather=HON=AGT word give.HON-NMLZ=DEMPH I.AGT accept-INF
ĩ.
 EQU.PER
 ‘I accept [what the grandfather (=you) is saying].’ (Richhi 49)

Implied head noun as RC oblique

- (13.25) ཐིན་ལས་ཀྱིས་ མདང་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ བཤད་མཁན་ འདི་ ཟླ་ཀྱི་
[tʰinle=ki dā: lògju? ɛɛ-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 *-kʰɛ:* 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 complement⁴⁰² (13.25). Complement marking *-kʰɛ:* can

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-kʰɛː*, *sé-kʰɛː* and *súŋ-kʰɛː* frequently form headless RCs. The forms *làp* and *súŋ* occur as productive verbs, whereas *sé* in my data is used only in the nominalized construction *sé-kʰɛː* and as the quotative =s(ɛ)~s(i). The non-honorific forms *làp-kʰɛː* and *sé-kʰɛː* tend to follow a noun and express the meaning “the one which is called” (13.26-27),

- (13.26) a) འཁྲབ་དཔྱོད་ ལབ་མཁན་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་པ་སྟེ།
 [tʰapɔn làp-kʰɛː=teɪ?] jòbbeʔ.
 performer say-NMLZ=INDF EX.NE
 ‘There’s [someone who is called [tʰapɔː]].’ (SGD wedding customs)

- b) དུག་ ལབ་མཁན་ ནམ་ལོ་ མན་བ་ དགོས།
 [tʰuʔ làp-kʰɛː] 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་ཅའི་གི་ ལ་རྒྱུ་ སེ་མཁན་ འདི་ དཔེ་མི་སྤྱད་གི་ ལེགས།
 [ɣàtɛi=gi làtɕʰuŋ sé-kʰɛn=dɪ] pɛmisiki ləm.
 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-kʰɛː* 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་ མན་མུ་རང་ བདེན་ ཐག་ཚད་ སྟེ།
 la-ĩ:, [áku: súŋ-kʰɛː] né:mu=rã: dɛn
 HON-EQU.PER father’s.younger.brother.AGT say.HON-NMLZ really-AEMPH true
 tʰa:teʰøʔ beʔ.
 decision EQU.NE
 ‘Yes, [what the uncle is saying] is indeed the right decision.’ (rnam-rtog 40)

- (13.29) མ་ལག་ སྐྱམ་ཁང་ན་ འབྱུག་ རྩོན་ གསུང་མཁན་ ན་ ལུ་སྤོང་ སྐད་ཤོ།
 [màlaʔ mɛŋkʰãː=na kʰik tɕʰon súŋ-kʰɛː] nà: pʰusim
 quickly hospital=LOC lead go-HON say.HON-NMLZ here younger.sister
 be=ɛo.
 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)=jãː* ‘whoever’ (see §6.3.2), as shown in (13.30).

- (13.30) མི་ ཀ་ཀིས་ཡང་ ན་ འོང་མཁན་ ལུ་ལོ་ཡང་ བརྒྱུད་ ཉ།
 [mí ka:=ki=jã: nà: òŋ-kʰɛ:] kʰu=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 genitivization seems optional, see (13.32) and (13.35) below. Post-head clauses are generally not genitivized but their end is marked by the demonstrative-emphatic *=di* or the plural marker *=tsu*. Similarly to Lhasa Tibetan, *-po/bo* is generally used when the “head noun is coreferential with a non-actor NP in the RC” (DeLancey 1999: 234). The actor role is typically marked by the nominalizer *-kʰɛ:*, although it also occurs in other roles. The ensuing discussion addresses pre-head and post-head RCs marked with *-po/bo*.

13.2.2.1 Pre-head RCs

The majority of RCs occur before the head noun. The examples here are categorized according to the semantic role that the head word takes in the RC.

Head noun as RC actor

Although RC actor role is typically marked with *-kʰɛ:*, the nominalizer *-po/bo* may also suffix to RC verbs where the modified noun is in the actor role. In (13.31), the head noun (*mí=tei?*) 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་ལུ་ ངའི་ ཨ་ཇོ་ བོ་ཇོ་ རུས་ཚོང་ལས་ ང་ ལུ་རྟེན་ (Buddhist) ཡང་ན་ ནང་བའི་ ཚས་ཀྱི་ ནང་ཤ་ལོ་ འོང་བའི་ མི་ གཅིག་ མིན།
 t'ã:pu jè: ádzo podzo t'ytsʰø:=lɛ ŋà [budis já:nɛ
 long.ago my grandfather forefather time=ABL 1SG Buddhist(Eng.) or
 nã:pø: tɕʰø:=ki nãŋɛa=lo òm-bø:] mí=tei? i:
 insider.GEN teaching=GEN inside=DAT come-2INF.GEN human=INDF EQU.PER
 ‘From bygone times of my grandfathers and forefathers, I am a man [who came within the Buddhist or insiders’ religion].’ (KT life story)

In (13.32), the head noun functions again as the actor of the RC. Note that the reduplicated verb stem is not genitivized.

- (13.32) ཉི་ ང་ཅའི་ ཡུལ་ལོ་ རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་པོ་ བོད་པོ་ འདི་ཚོ་
 tɛ [ŋàtɕi y:=lo dø:-dø:-po] p'øbo di=tso⁴⁰⁴
 then 1PL.GEN place=DAT stay-RDP-2INF Tibetan DEMPH=PL
 ‘Then the Tibetans [who live in our place]...’ (LA Intro to Lachung)

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་མྱོང་པའི་མི་ཟ་, ལྷན་གཅིག་ ལྷན་གྱི་ ཟ་མ་མྱོང་པའི་མི་ ལྷན་, ཐེན་པ་ ལ་ བསམ།
 [sà ma-mjõ:-pø:] mí sà,
 eat NEG-experience-2INF.GEN human eat
 j̥eu=tei? pʰjoka sàm,
 snot=INDF taste food
 [gju ma-mjõ:-pø:] mí gju,
 go NEG-experience-2INF.GEN human go
 tʰempa là: sám
 threshold pass think
 ‘A man [who is not acquainted with eating] eats and finds the taste of snot (like) food. A man [who is not acquainted with walking] walks and thinks a threshold is a mountain pass.’ (UT proverb)

Head noun as RC patient

In the following two examples, the head noun functions as the P(atient) argument of the RC. Note that the reduplicated stem in (13.35) is not genitivized.

- (13.34) གེས་པོ་ བཤད་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཟུང་ ང་ མིན་ག་ལགས།
 [kɛ:p ɛɛ-pø:] lɔgju be? t'a iŋ-ga=la.
 a.lot tell-2INF.GEN story EQU.NE now EQU.PER-PQ=HON
 ‘Now (it) is a story [that is much told], isn’t it.’ (PT kitchen)
- (13.35) མོ་འདི་ བོ་ཙ་ཙུ་ ཐོབ་ཐོབ་པོ་ མེ་ལྷལ་ (medal) ལུ་ ཟུང་།
 ódi [p'otsa=tsu tʰop-tʰop-o] medal=tsu be?
 that child=PL receive-RDP-2INF medal=PL EQU.NE
 ‘Those are medals [that the children have received].’ (PD altar room video)

Head noun as RC locative argument

In the three examples below, the head noun is semantically the locative argument of the RC, expressing where the action denoted by the nominalized verb took or takes place. In (13.36) and (13.37), the RC functions as the copula complement in a copular clause where both the copula subject and copula itself are elided. In (13.38), the RC modifies a noun which functions as a complement of a locative postposition.

- (13.36) མཚམས་ བཞུགས་བཞུགས་པའི་ གནས་ ཙང་ཙང་།
 [tsʰam zu:-zu-pø:] nɛ: tsã:tsã:
 seclusion sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN site purely
 ‘(it’s) a site [that is purely for sitting in solitary meditation]’ (SM kitchen)

- (13.37) གུ་རུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་ཕྱི་མཚམས་བཞུགས་བཞུགས་པའི་གནས་
 [guru rimpute^{he} t'ã:pu ts'am zu:-zu-pø:] né:
 guru Rimpoché long.ago seclusion sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN site
 '(it's) a site [where Guru Rimpoché used to sit in solitary meditation long ago]' (SGD cave story)

- (13.38) འདིའི་ལག་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པའི་པོ་རུམ་འོག་ལས་མོན་ཤུལ་ཉྱལ་སྤྱི་གི་དོང་བརྟོན།
 di: [làko jò-pø:] p'otεum ò:le óna εý: hok-tiki t'õ:
 this.GEN hand EX-2INF.GEN lower.stomach below there a.bit scratch-NF hole
 tøn.
 tear
 'Scratching a bit, tear a hole below this lower stomach, [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་རུབ་ཡུལ་གཅིག་ཁར་ཡོད་པའི་མི་འདི་ད་རིང་ཡུལ་གཞན་ལོ།
 [dã: k'ha:nup y: tci-k'ha jò-pø:] mi=di
 yesterday the.day.before.yesterday place one-at EX-2INF.GEN human=DEMPH
 t'ariŋ y: zen=lo
 today place another=DAT
 'The man [that was in one place the other day] (is) in another place today.' (Richhi 136)

13.2.2.2 Post-head RCs

RCs that occur after the head noun are less frequent in my data than those preceding the head. Unlike pre-head RCs, post-head RCs with *-po/bo* do not require genitive marking. Instead, they are typically marked by a final demonstrative-emphatic =*di*, see (13.42). Case marking of the noun phrase occurs after the post-head RC, see (13.40) and (13.41). Note that the reduplicated verb *kjap-kjap-ø* in (13.41) occurs in the genitive not to mark relativization but to make the form amenable to agentive marking.

- (13.40) དཔེན་ཉིན་དུའི་བུམ་གཉེན་རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ལོ་མང་སྐལ་སྤྱི་ཏྲ་བཏགས་ཤང་ཡོད་ནེ་
 pε=na hindu=i p'um [nén kjap-kjap-o]=lo
 example=LOC Hindu=GEN girl wedding do-RDP-2INF =DAT
 mangalsutra ta:-εε? jò:-nε
 mangalsutra.necklace(Nep.) append-INF EX-COND
 'For instance, if there is (the tradition of) tying the mangalsutra-necklace on a Hindu girl [who has been married]...' (sbar-phung 88)

- (13.41) མོན་དང་ཕུ་ཉ་ལས་ཁ་ཚང་ས་གཡོས་རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པའི་གེས་ཨ་ཉེས་ཅིག་རྩ་བ་ཉམ་འདུག་གོ།
óna t'ã:pu hale k'hatsã: sáiy? [kjap-kjap-ø:] =qi
 there long.ago before some.time.ago earthquake strike-RDP-2INF.GEN=AGT
átəm=tei? tsawa ram du-ke.
 a.bit=INDF foundation destroy EX.SEN-IN
 'There before some time ago an earthquake, [which struck], destroyed the foundation a
 bit (I saw).' (DB day trip)

Post-head RCs seem more appositive in nature than pre-head RCs and can convey meanings similar to English unrestricted RCs. In (13.42), the post-head relative clause presents information that the speaker already knows. There are no other camels to be contrasted with than the ones mentioned in the RC. Therefore, the post-head RC here is more descriptive of the content of the head noun than it is restrictive of its reference, hence the English translation with a comma. The head noun is the patient argument in the main clause. The RC occurs after the demonstrative modifier *ódi*.

- (13.42) ར་མོང་ཨོ་འདི་གྲང་ཁ་(རྒྱབས་)མ་རྒྱལས་པོ་འདི་བྱི་བྱང་གི་རྒྱང་ཁར་སྐད་མི་འདི་དཀྱིགས་མྱི་
ñámu ódi [k'janɣkʰa (kjap) ma-tsʰu-po=di] p'iteuŋ=gi
 camel that counting (do) NEG-be.able.to-2INF=DEMPH bird=GEN
ka:m teŋkʰa kimi=di ki:-ti
 foot on thread=DEMPH tie-NF
 'those camels, [which could not be counted], being tied by a thread to the bird's feet...' (PAD bet story)

Example (13.43) presents another post-head RC that is more descriptive/appositive than restrictive:

- (13.43) འདིས་བྱས་ཟང་དའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་གཏམ་ཚུ་ཉིན་ཞག་དང་ཟླ་བོ་གས་པོ་ཟང་བསགས་མྱི་བཞག་ཡོད་པོ་འདི་ད་རིང་ཡི་གེ་
 འདིའི་ན་བཤད་ཏི་མིན།
di: p'ja=sã: jnè: kʰokø: nàŋ=gi tam=tsu [ni:za?
 this.AGT do=TERM 1SG.GEN innards.GEN inside=GEN word=PL day.and.night
t'ã: dau kɛ:po=sã: sák-ti za: jò-po=di] t'ariŋ
 and month many=until accumulate-NF set EX-2INF=DEMPH today
jigi di:=na ɛé-to í:.
 letter this.GEN=LOC tell-IPFV EQU.PER
 'Therefore I'm telling (you) today (my) inmost words, [which have been stored
 accumulating day and night for many months].' (Richhi 143)

Example (13.44) illustrates a complex post-head RC with two clauses:

- (13.44) ལྷ་སྐྱ་ཕྱི་ཀྱི་རྩེ་རྩེ་གོ་
tɕʰu [kø:-tiki ɽɛŋ-ɽɛŋ-ko]⁴⁰⁵
 water boil-NF make.cool-RDP-2INF
 ‘water [that is boiled and made cool]’ (TB e)

In (13.45), the post-head RC occurs in the genitive because the RC is part of a pre-head adjectival modifier of the noun *tʰubdɛ:*

- (13.45) ལྷ་སྐྱ་ལགས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིག་པར་རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པའི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་ག་ལྟམ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་མ་
bhaila=gi ló?par [kɽap-kɽap-ø:] *tʰubdɛ:* *kʰatɛm jø:-kam?*
 PN=GEN X-ray do-RDP-2INF.GEN result how EX.PER-ATTQ
 ‘What is the result of the X-ray [that was made] of Bhaila (I wonder)?’ (Richhi 29)

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 kɽap-kɽap-ø: ló?par*), Bhaila would easily be interpreted as the actor who takes the X-ray, with the genitive =*ki* taken, when the text is read aloud, as the homophonous agentive marker.

Lastly, (13.46) illustrates a post-head RC without a final =*di*, ending in the construction *tʰã: ɽau* ‘(be) similar, resemble’. Note that another, pre-head locative RC, modifying the noun *nɛ:* ‘site’, is embedded within the RC which modifies *pʰjaɽo* ‘feather’.

- (13.46) ཀ་རྩའི་སེམས་བྱས་སྒྲོ་རྒྱུ་གིས་འབག་གོ་འདེམ་ཆགས་སའི་གནས་མེད་པོ་དང་འདྲ་བོ།
karmø: sém pʰjaɽo [lúŋ=gi bak-o *dɛm* [tɕʰa:-sø:] *nɛ:*
 PN.GEN mind feather air=AGT carry-2INF like alight-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN site
mè:-po] *tʰã: ɽau.*
 NEG.EX-2INF and similar
 ‘Karma’s mind resembles a feather [which, like carried by the wind, is without place [in which to alight.]]’ (Richhi 172)

Summarizing the examples above, RCs formed with *-po/bo* may occur preceding their head noun or following the head noun. Moreover, the RC head noun (or common argument) may occur at least in the following roles in the RC: actor, patient, locative 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 existential clause. RCs nominalized with *-po/bo* can express various temporal and aspectual distinctions listed in Table 13.2 above.

13.2.3 Spatial nominalizer -sa

The construction VERB-*sa* can roughly be translated as ‘a place where x is or can be done’, x representing the verb to which the nominalizer *-sa* is attached. In my data, constructions nominalized with *-sa* occur in pre-head and headless clauses.

⁴⁰⁵ Consultant KUN commented that in his language variety *ɽɛŋ-ɽɛŋ-ko* would require the patient argument *tʰø?* ‘heat’, which expresses what is being cooled, [kø:-tiki *tʰø?* ɽɛŋ-ɽɛŋ-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 *-kʰɛː*, which can both be used when the head noun has a locative function in the RC, are used in place of written constructions with *-sa*.

- (13.47) ལུ་ འོང་སའི་ ལམ་ཁ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་ མི་... ཉམ་ཚུང་ གཅིག་ མཉམ་བུ་ འཕྱད་པོ་ སྤང་ལགས།
 [kʰu ɔ̌ː-səː] lām-kʰa-teika mí... ɲàmteʰuŋ=tei? ɲàmpu
 3SGM come-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN road-at-about human humble=INDF with
 pʰɛ-po bɛ=la.
 meet-2INF EQU.NE=HON
 ‘On the road [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 *zo:m* ‘tub’ functions as the patient of the main clause verb *tøn* ‘show’.

- (13.48) ཚལ་སྤུ་ ལུ་སའི་ གཞོང་བོ་ སྟོན་བཞིན་
 [tsʰoːdze? pʰyː-səː] zo:m tøn-zɛː
 feast.substances offer-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN tub show-PROG
 ‘showing the tub [where feast substances are offered]’ (Richhi 1)

- (13.49) མི་ཚུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རང་རང་ སོ་སོའི་ སྤྱོད་སའི་ ས་གནས་ འཛམ་གླི་ སྤྱད་ ཡོད།
 mí=tsu tʰamtɛ? rã:rã.so:səː [døː-səː] sáne? tsʰøː-ti
 human=PL all each.oneself.GEN sit-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN place seek-NF
 døː jò?
 sit EX.PER
 ‘All people are sitting, each having sought their own place [where to sit].’ (Richhi 75)

Head noun as MC locative adverbial

In the following two examples, the head noun functions as a locative argument in the main clause. The locative expression *gã:to? méŋkʰãː=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) སྤྱང་རྟོག་ སྟོན་ཁང་ན་ ལུ་སྤྱི་ རན་པོ་ བཞག་སའི་ བྱི་མིག་ན་
 gã:to? méŋkʰãː=na [pʰum=øː nɛːpo zak-səː] kʰimmik=na
 TPN hospital=LOC girl=GEN patient set-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN room=LOC
 ‘In Gangtok hospital, in the room [where female patient are placed]...’ (Richhi 166)

- (13.51) མོ་རྒྱལ་པ་བཞིན་ ཅུ་སྐད་ འོང་སའི་ རྒྱལ་ལོ་ སྒྲེབ་སྐབས།
 mù gjuk-zɛ: [ɣù-kɛ? ɔ̃:-sɔ:] tɕʰo:=lo lɛp-kap
 3SGF run-PROG cry-sound come-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN direction=DAT arrive-SIM
 ‘When she arrives running to the direction [from which the sound of crying comes]...’
 (Richhi 2)

For some reason, in (13.52), the RC is not genetivized. The form *làpsa* also occurs as a headless RC, see §13.2.3.2

- (13.52) ཆེ་ཆེ་བོ་ ལམ་ས་ རྩུ་ལ་ རྣང་ག་ སྤང་ལོ།
 [tɕʰɛtɕʰɛbo làp-sa] ȳ: nàŋɛa bɛ:=lo.
 TPN say-NMLZ.SPAT place inside EQU.NE=REP
 ‘It’s in a place [(that is) called Chechebo], it was said.’ (PD Tashiding story)

Head noun as a genitive attribute in MC

In (13.53), the RC head word *zimtɕuŋ* ‘bedroom’ is a genitival modifier of another noun, *gom* ‘door’.

- (13.53) ཁོས་ ག་ལུས་ བྱིས་སྤྱི་ ཁོ་རང་ ཉལ་སའི་ གཞིན་ཐུང་གི་ སྤོམ་ བྱིས་སྤྱི་
 kʰú: kʰaly? pʰja-ti [kʰu=rã: ɲɛ:-sɔ:] zimtɕuŋ=gi gom
 he.AGT slowly do-NF 3SGM=REFL sleep-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN bedroom=GEN door
 pʰi:-ti
 open-NF
 ‘Slowly he opens the door of the bedroom [where he himself had been sleeping (or sleeps)]
 (and)...’ (Richhi 22)

In (13.54), the head noun *ɛá:lo?* ‘bamboo wall’ is a genitivized modifier of the postposition *tɛŋlo* ‘on’.

- (13.54) ཀ་མ་གེས་ སྒྲོས་གར་ འབྲབ་སའི་ ཤག་ལོག་གི་ སྤྱོད་ལོ་... བྲི་སྤྱི་
 karma=gi [dɔ:gar tʰap-sɔ:] ɛá:lo=ki tɛŋ=lo... tʰi-ti
 PN=AGT play act-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN bamboo.wall=GEN top=DAT write-NF
 ‘Karma writes... on the wall [of the place where the play is going to be acted] (and)...’
 (Richhi 71)

Head noun as the only argument of an existential in the MC

The head noun of an RC formed with *-sa* may function as the only argument in an existential clause (although the existential copula is elided in the below example).

- (13.55) སྒོ་ཁྲི་ ཟུར་ ཅིག་ལོ་ ཉ་ གསོ་སའི་ མཚོ་འཁོར།
 gokʰø: sù: tɕi:=lo [ɲà só-sɔ:] tsʰokor
 doorway.GEN side one=DAT fish keep.alive-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN pond
 ‘on one side of the doorway, (there is) a pond [where fish are kept]’ (Richhi 32)

I have no examples of post-head RCs with *-sa*.

13.2.3.2 Headless RCs

Because of its nominal origin (*sá* ‘ground’) the nominalizer *-sa* can be used as a headless relative clause, which itself refers to the noun it modifies (definition from Payne 1997: 328). Therefore, when *-sa* is used in a headless RC, the English translations below express the implied head noun by the word *place*. Many headless uses of *-sa* may be considered already lexicalized or close to being lexicalized. The forms which should likely be considered lexicalized because of their frequency include words such as *zak-sa* ‘place to put something, storage’, *dø-sa* ‘place to stay, dwelling’, *zu:-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) ལྷ་ཅིག་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་
p'um=tei? p'ja-ti p'iru? [ka t^hop-sa] gju-εε? mi-lè?
 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) ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་
t^ha.rin [mí-dy: k^hi-dy: mè:-sa] dø:-ne
 far.away human-travel dog-travel EX-NMLZ.SPAT live-COND
 'If one lives far away [in a place where there is no roaming of either people or dogs]...' (nga'i 'gan 5)
- (13.58) ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་ ལྷ་མོ་
ɲà [ò? 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 $-ts^h\epsilon$?

The quantifying nominalizer *-tsʰeʔ*, which derives from WT *ʃad* *tʃad* ‘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་ནི་ལྷོ་མ་ བྱས་སྟེ་ འོ་བ་དབྱུང་ མ་བྱས་བར་ སྟོན་ ཡོད་ཚད་ སྟོལ་མ་གེ་རང་ ཨིན་མེ་ ལ་བ་མཁན་ ཟུང།
ódi=nε lèm p'ja-ti zip-tɛɛ? man-bja-wa kɔn [jɔː-tʰɛʔ]
 that=TOP good do-NF research NEG-do-CIRC blame EX-limit
dɔlma=ki=rãː ɿː=sɛ ləp-kʰen bɛʔ.
 PN=GEN=AEMPH EQU.PER=QUO say-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘Without investigating that well, (they) say that [as much as there is] fault (it) is Drolma’s.’
 (nga’i ’gan 11)

The RC formed with $-ts^h\epsilon\eta$ may be followed by additional quantifying modifiers, the most typical of which, based on examples (13.60) and (13.61), is $k'\tilde{a}:pu\ t^hamt\epsilon\eta$ ‘totally all’.

- (13.60) ཇ་ འབྲུང་ཚད་ གང་ལུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ལེགས་ མི་ཐོན།
te'a [**tʰuŋ-tsʰe?**] k'ã:pu tʰamtɛɛ? ləm mi-tʰon.
 tea drink-limit full all good NEG-become
 ‘[The full extent of] all tea(s) [to be drunk] do not turn out good.’ (KN e)
- (13.61) གཡོག་ བྱས་ཚད་ གང་ལུ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ལེགས་ ག་ ཐོན་ཤད་?
jó? [**pʰja-tsʰe?**] k'ã:pu tʰamtɛɛ? ləm k'a: tʰon-ɛɛ??
 work do-limit full all good how become-INF
 ‘How could [the full extent of] all the work [(one) does] turn out good.’ (KUN e)

13.3 Correlative clauses

Correlative clauses consist of two clauses with a common argument marked in the first clause by a question word and in the second clause by a coreferential resumptive demonstrative. The interrogative pronoun occurs in a truly question-like construction, but the presence of the resumptive demonstrative in the following clause distinguishes correlative clauses from indirect question clauses. The term “correlative (or co-relative)” refers to the clauses being “essentially coordinated, rather than one being embedded within the other” (Dixon 2010b: 356). The first clause in each of the examples (13.62-65) could occur as an independent question. The question word in the following examples is given in bold and the presumptive pronoun is underlined.

- (13.62) ད་ ཐོན་མ་ གར་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨོ་འདྲེ་ར་ བཞག་ དགོས།
 [t'a néma **k'ar** jò-po] [óde=ra zak go?]
 now earlier what EX-2INF like.that=AEMPH set be.needed
 ‘Whatever was before, has to be preserved like that.’ (CY interview)
- (13.63) ག་ཚོད་ བཟོ་ ཨོ་འདྲེ་ མ་ལང་མཁན་ སྤང།
 [**k'adzø?** zo] [óde: ma-lõ:-kʰen bɛ?]
 how.may make like.that NEG-be.enough-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘However many are made, that’ s not enough.’ (DR discussion with KL)
- (13.64) དེ་ནས་ བོ་ཙོའི་ ཕམ་ཚུ་ ཀ་ཀ་ལོ་ གདན་ ལུ་ དགོས་པོ་ ཨོ་འདྲི་ཚུའི་ མཚན་ཐོ་ ཅེག་ བཟོ་ལོ།
 [t'ɛnɛ p'otsø: pʰam=tsu **ka-ka=lo** dɛnɛu go:-po]
 then child.GEN parent=PL who-RDP=DAT invite be.needed-2INF
 [ódi=tsu=i tsʰen-tʰo=tɛi? 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་འདྲི་ སྤང་ གན་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདྲི་ ད་ དིང་སང་ མེན་འདུག།
 [ódi gã: **k'an** jò-po[=di] t'a t'ijzã: mĩndu?]
 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 -*εε?* 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 *l'im* ‘law’ in (13.66) is not an argument in the complement clause *láte^a=jã: p'inεε? mè:-pø:* ‘(that) even wages are not given’. Rather, the complement clause explains what the law is about. The complemented noun is underlined and the complement clause is given in square brackets.

- (13.66) ལྷ་ཆ་ཡང་ བྱིན་ཤད་ མེད་པའི་ བྱིན་པ་ ཨོ་འདྲེན་ཅིག་ བཟོ་སྟེ་གི་ ཨོ་འདྲེན་ སྟོང་སྟག་ སྟག་ བཏང་བོ་ མིན།
 [láte^a=jã: p'inεε? mè:-pø:] l'im ódem=tei? zo-tiki ódem kidu?
 wages=too give-INF EX-2INF.GEN law such=INDF make-NF such suffering
 du: tã:-bo i:.
 misery send-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘(They) even made such a rule [that even wages are not to be given] and (thus) caused such pain and suffering.’ (KN, CY interview)

- (13.67) ལུ་ ཐོན་པའི་ ལུས་ ལྷས་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྟེ།
 k^hu [t^høm-bø:] te'y? p'ja-zin jò-po bæ?
 3SGM exit-2INF.GEN means do-PROG EX-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘He was searching a way [of getting out].’ (KT animal story)

- (13.68) ལ་ལ་ལོ་ མག་གོ་ ལོ་ གསུམ་ རྒྱབས་པའི་ ལོ་རྒྱུས་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྟེ།
 làla=lo [máko lò súm kjap-ø:] lògju? jò-po bæ?
 some=DAT son-in-law year three do-2INF.GEN story EX-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Some have the narrative [that the son-in-law does three years (of work service with in-laws)].’ (SGD wedding customs)

- (13.69) ང་འདི་མུ་ལས་ཏི་རུག་གང་དོ་ཅིག་ང་ལེན་བའི་ཐབས་བྱས་ཤང་མིན་ལ།
 ηà [di: tsa=lɛ tiru? k'ã:dotɛi? ηà ləm-bø:] t^hap p'ja-εε
 1SG this.GEN at=ABL rupee some 1SG take-2INF.GEN means do-INF
 ǿ:=s.

EQU.PER=QUO

'I'll find a way [to take from this one a few rupees], he said.' (PAD bet story)

- (13.70) མོ་འདེམ་བྱིན་བའི་ལུག་གསོལ་ཡོད་མཐན་སྟངས།
 [ódem p'im-bø:] lùksø: jò:-k^hen bɛ?.
 like.that give-2INF.GEN tradition EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'There's a tradition [of giving (something) like that].' (SGD wedding customs)

- (13.71) མོ་འདི་མ་གནས་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་འདི་
 [ódi ma-né:-pø:] gjumts^hɛ:=di
 that NEG-reside-2INF.GEN reason=DEMPH
 'The reason [why that (condition) did not remain]' (CY interview)

In the novel Richhi, the author may use either a temporally neutral form (13.72) or a progressive form (13.73) to refer to events that are taking place at the time of speaking/writing/reading.

- (13.72) ཁྱི་འ་ཁུ་འ་ཁུ་ལོ་ཏུ་བའི་སྟངས།
 [k^hi àu àu=lo hap-ø:] kɛ?
 dog woof woof=DAT bark-2INF.GEN sound
 'the sound [of a dog barking woof woof]' (Richhi 1)

- (13.73) ཐག་ཅིང་ས་གནས་ལས་དྲུང་ཕུ་བཞིན་ཡོད་པའི་སྟངས་སྟེ་བྱ་བ་དེ་ལྟར་
 t^ha:riŋ sánɛ:=lɛ [t'uŋ p^hu:-zin jò-pø:] kɛ:da 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)

Time adverbial words often receive a complement clause:

- (13.74) ཏི་གཞིགས་པའི་དུས་ཚོད་ན་ཁོང་ཏུ་ཐང་ཆང་།
 tɛ [zi:-pø:] t'yts^hø:=na k^hõ: hatã:tɛ^hø?
 then look.HON-2INF.GEN time=LOC 3SG.HON be.amazed
 'Then at the time [(that she) looked (at it)], she was amazed.' (PAD Tashiding story)

- (13.75) མནང་ཆང་རྩུ་བཅར་པའི་ཉིམ་ཆོས་
 [nã:tɛ^hã:=tsa: tɛa:-pø:] nìmts^hi=di
 bethrotal=at come.HON-2INF.GEN date=DEMPH
 '(on) the day [when coming to the bethrotal]' (SGD wedding customs)

- (13.76) ཚོགས་འདུ་ ཚོགས་པའི་ མཚམས་ཚེ་ སླེབས་ཏོ་
 [ts^ho:du ts^ho:-pø:] ts^hamts^hi l̥ep-to.
 meeting gather-2INF.GEN moment arrive-IPFV
 ‘The moment [when the meeting is held] is arriving.’ (Richhi 43)

- (13.77) འབྲས་སྒྲོངས་ ལོག་ ཐོན་པའི་ སྤང་ལོ་
 [d̥endzõ: l̥òk t̥e ‘øm-bø:] gã:=lo
 Sikkim return come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT
 ‘...at the time [when coming back to Sikkim]...’ (CY interview)

Example (13.78) presents an exception to the description presented above: a genitivized complement clause occurs in post-head position. Note that there is a relative clause (*k^him=na l̥ep l̥õ: mè:-po karma tsa=l̥e ò: j̥ø-pø:*) within the complement clause.

- (13.78) ཚོམ་སྒྲིད་ཀྱི་ རེ་ཆེ་ བྱིས་ན་ སླེབས་ལང་ མེད་པོ་ ཀུན་འཛིན་ལས་ འོང་ ཡོད་པའི་ ཡི་གེ་ སློགས་ཐོབ་པའི།
 t̥e^høki=ki r̥ite^hi [k^him=na l̥ep l̥õ: mè:-po karmø: tsa=l̥e ò:
 PN=GEN hope house=LOC arrive have.time EX-2INF PN.GEN at=ABL come
 j̥ø-pø: j̥ìgi t^hop-ø:].
 EX-2INF letter receive-2INF.GEN
 ‘Choki (has) a hope [(of) finding, as soon as she arrives home, a letter that has come from Karma].’ (Richhi 151)

The reason for the exceptional constituent order in (13.78) is likely that it is easier to process a long RC after its head noun rather than before it (for the effect of processing on grammar, see Hawkins 2004). Significantly, (13.78) occurs in a piece of writing, giving an air of standardization to this unorthodox-looking construction.

The complement clause may start with *mène* ‘not perhaps’, a grammaticalized conditional form of a negated equative. By using *mène*, the content of the hope is expressed with an air of negation, i.e. ‘a hope that Karma comes’ becomes in form more like ‘a hope that Karma would not perhaps come’.

- (13.79) མོ་ལོ་ ད་རུང་རང་ རེ་ཆེ་ ཡོད་, མན་ན་ཏོ་ ཨ་ཁྱུ་ ཀུན་ལས་ ལོག་གོའི་ ཐོན་ལོ་ ཏུས་ཅིག་ མོ་ལོ་ འབྲེད་པར་ འོང་བའི།
 mù=lo t‘arun=rã: r̥ite^hi j̥ø? [mène=to áqja
 3SGF=DAT still=AEMPH hope EX.PER not.perhaps=CEMPH elder.brother
 karma: l̥òk-ø: j̥énlo t‘ut̥ei? mù=lo p^he-pa
 PN.AGT return-2INF.GEN before this.year 3SGF=DAT meet-PUR
 òm-bø:]
 come-2INF.GEN
 ‘She still has a hope [that perhaps brother Karma will come to meet her this year before he returns].’ (Richhi 119)

13.4.2 Nominalization with -εε?

Noun complement clauses may also be formed by genitive-marked -εε-infinitive clauses, although these type of clauses are less frequent than those nominalized by -po/bo.

(13.80) ལྷན་ཀྱས་གན་བྱས་པོ་གནང་ཤད་ཀྱི་དགའ་ཚེར་ཡོད་པོ?

lɛŋgɛ? [k'an p'ja-u nã:-ɛɛ=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 enjoyment [of doing what]?’ (TB e)

(13.81) རང་ལོ་མན་པོ་ད་གཞན་ལོ་གཉེན་མི་རྒྱལ་ཤད་ཀྱི་དམ་བཅའ་

[rã:=lo mèmbo t'a zɛn=lo jɛn mi-kjap-ɛɛ=ki] *t'amtɛa*
2SG.M=DAT except now another=DAT marriage NEG-do-INF=GEN promise
‘promise [to now not marry anyone else except you]’ (Richhi 143)

(13.82) ཁོང་གིས་ང་ཅག་ལོ་ལེགས་བྱས་རྒྱལ་མཁས་རམ་ལུས་ཤད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་སློབ་བཀའ་སློབ་གནང་ཞེ།

kʰoŋ=gi ŋàtɛa=lo lèm-p'ja [ro:ram pʰy:-ɛɛ=ki] kalop kalop
3SG.HON=AGT 1PL=DAT good-ADVZR help offer-INF=GEN advice advice
nã:-zɛ.

give.HON-PST

‘He gave us well advice (and) advice [which helped].’ (or ‘[helpful] advice’, or ‘advice [in order to help]’) (NAB BLA 7)

(13.83) མ་ཚེན་གྱི་གཡོག་འདི་ཟམ་གཙོ་ཚས་བ་ཕྱ་ལོ་ཞབས་བྱི་བྱ་ཤད་ཀྱི་གཡོག་ཡིན།

màtɕʰɛ:=gi jó:=di [sàm tso, tɕʰo:p=tsu=lo ɛàptɛi ɛù-ɛɛ=ki]
cook=GEN work=DEMPH food prepare monk=PL=DAT service do.HUM-INF=GEN
jóp í.

work EQU.PER

‘The work of the cook (at the monastery) is work [of preparing food and serving the monks]. (TB life in gumpa)

13.4.3 Finite clause with a complementizer

Although noun complement clauses are typically nominalized, also finite clauses may complement nouns if followed by a complementizer, see (13.84) and (13.85), where a nominalized form a verb of saying functions as a complementizer. The complementizer is nominalized either by *-kʰɛ:*, 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་བླ་ལུ་ལེ་བླ་ལུ་དགོས་པོ་ལམ་མཁན་དོན་དག་ཨོ་འདི་སྣང་གོ།

[mí t'ã:pu lèp t'ã:pu go:-po làp-kʰɛ:] *t'ɔnda? ódi*
human honest very.much honest be.needed-2INF say-NMLZ reason that
bɛ=ɛo.

EQU.NE=AT

‘The reason [why a man needs to be honest, very honest], is that, you know.’ (JDF axe story)

- (13.85) མན་མུ་ཚས་སྐད་ཀྱིས་ ཚས་ལ་ ལའ་ལྷོ་ བཅས་ཤོར་བོ་ མིན་ལ་ ལའ་པའི་ ལ་རྒྱས་ ཐོས་ཅེ།
né:mu [*tɕʰø:ki=ki tɕʰø:=lo lɛ̃pti sɛ̃m ɛ́o:-bo t̃:=lo*
 really PN=AGT 2SG.L=DAT very.much mind lose.control-2INF EQU.PER=REP
làp-ø:] lògju? tʰo:-tɕɛ.
 say-2INF.GEN story hear-PST
 ‘Truly, I heard the story [that Choki is said to have really fallen for you].’ (Richhi 94)

- (13.86) ཁོས་ མི་ལ་ རྟགས་རམ་ གནང་ དགོས་ བཅས་མན་ མཉམས་ ག་རེ་ མན་བྱང་བོ་ སྤང།
kʰú: [*mí=lo ro:ram ná: go? sé-kʰɛ:] nó:sam k'are*
 he.AGT human=DAT help give.HON be.needed say-NMLZ thought any
man-dzum-bo be?
 NEG-become-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘A thought [that people should be helped] did not at all come to (his) mind.’ (Class 7 textbook 52)

13.4.4 Genitive-marked finite clause

Lastly, a non-nominalized genitive-marked clause may also occasionally complement a noun:

- (13.87) ད་ ཁོང་ དེབ་ འདི་ ག་སྒྲམ་ ཡོད་ དང་ མེད་ཀྱི་ གཏམ་ རང་ག་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་ མ་སོང་མཁན་ སྤང།
t'a [*kʰõ: t'ɛp=di k'atɛm jò? t'õ: mè:=ki*
 now 3SG.HON book=DEMPH how EX.PER and NEG.EX.PER=GEN
tam nàŋɛa=di nàtɛa? ma-sóŋ-kʰɛn be?
 speech inside=DEMPH 1PL NEG-go.PFV-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘Now we didn’t go into speaking (lit. word/speech) [what his book was like or not like].’
 (KL BLA 12)

13.5 Postposition complement clauses

Postpositions may take three types of complement clauses. The first is marked by a genitivized *-po-* infinitive (§13.5.1). The second is marked by the bare non-genitivized *-ɛɛ-* infinitive (§13.5.2). The third option is a sentence-like complement clause with a resumptive demonstrative in the following clause (§13.5.3). The aspectual choices for these types of clauses are the same as those given for RCs in Table 13.2. Table 13.3 lists some postpositions that can take a nominalized and genitivized clause as a complement.

Table 13.3. Some postpositions which take complement clauses

<i>jénle, jénlo</i>	ཕྱིན་ལས་, ཕྱིན་ལོ་	‘before’
<i>gable, gablo</i>	རྒྱབ་ལས་, རྒྱབ་ལོ་	‘after’
<i>nàŋle, nàŋlo, nàŋɛa</i>	ནང་ལས་, རང་ལོ་, རང་ག་	‘inside’
<i>t'ønlo, t'ønle, t'øndale, t'øndalo</i>	དོན་ལོ་, དོན་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལས་, དོན་དག་ལོ་	‘for the purpose of’
<i>kor, korle, korlo</i>	སྒོར་, སྒོར་ལས་, སྒོར་ལོ་	‘about’

13.5.1 Genitivized *-po-* infinitive

The order of presentation here follows the order of postpositions in Table 13.3.

- (13.88) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ལོ་མན་བྱོན་བའི་ཕྱིན་ལས་ འདི་
 [dɛndzo:=lo man-dzom-bø:] nɛnlɛ=di
 Sikkim=DAT NEG-come.HON-2INF.GEN before=DEMPH
 ‘before [coming to Sikkim]...’ (KLT Bhumchu video)
- (13.89) རྩ་མ་མཚན་ ཐོས་ཚར་བའི་ རྒྱལ་ལས་
 [námtɕo? tʰo:-tsʰa:-wø:]⁴⁰⁶ giablɛ
 ear hear-CMPL/finish-2INF after
 ‘after [having heard with (own) ears]...’ (KL BLA 12)
- (13.90) ཨོ་འདིས་ གྱུས་ རྒྱལས་སྟེ་ སྔད་ སྔད་བའི་ རྟངས་ལས་ ཚད་ལྡན་ ཕྱིས་ཚར།
 ódi: [kʼjo? kjap-ti dø:-dø-pø:] nàŋ=lɛ tsʰɛdɛ:
 that.AGT chatting do-NF sit-RDP-2INF.GEN inside=ABL considerable
 pʰi:-tsʰa:.
 be.late-CMPL
 ‘Thus, as [(they) sit (and sit) chatting] it becomes quite late.’ (lit. ‘within sitting’) (Richhi 110)
- (13.91) a) ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ རེ་ཆེ་ བསྐང་བའི་ རྟན་ལོ་
 [tʰamtɕɛ=ki ritɕʰi kã:-bø:] tʼɔnlɔ
 all=GEN hope fill-2INF.GEN for.purpose.of
 ‘In order [to fulfil the hope of all]...’ (Richhi 75-76)
- b) ཞིན་ཅུང་ཡང་ གཏུམ་ དམ་དྲགས་ གཉིས་, དམ་དྲགས་ གཉིས་ཅིག་ ང་ བྱ་ཅག་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ ཚོགས་པོ་ གསར་བའི་གི་ སྐྱ་མདུན་ལོ་ མན་
 བཞག་ཀྱི་ རྟན་ལོ་ མ་ཚུགས་པོ་ འདེམ་ཅིག་ ཚོར་ཞེ།
 í:ruŋ=jã: [tam tʼamɕa? ní:, tʼamɕa? ní:=tɕi? ŋà kʼutɕa lɛŋgɛ?
 however=still word tight two tight two=INDF 1SG 2PL PRN.HON
 tsʰokpo sá:py:=gi kumdɣ̃:=lo man-zak-ø:] tʼɔn=lo
 association new.GEN=GEN in.front.of=DAT NEG-set-2INF.GEN purpose=DAT
 ma-tsʰu-po dɛm=tɕi? 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) ངས་ ཚུགས་བའི་ སྐྱོར་...
 [ŋá: tsʰu-pø:] kor
 I.AGT be.able.to-2INF.GEN about
 ‘about [what I am able (to do)]’ (Richhi 36)

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.

- b) ད་ཕྱི་ཟླ་ལྷན་ཁྲིམས་ལྷན་ཁྲིམས་ རྒྱ་ལྷན་ འཁོར་གཡོག་གི་ སློབ་མ་ཙུ་གི་ རྒྱ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ སློབ་ལོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ གསན་
བཞིན་ ཡོད་ཟླ།
[t'ato sã:te kʰoŋ=gi dzamliŋ nàŋɛa=lo dzuʰul kʰo:jo:=ki
now until 3SG.HON=GEN world inside=DAT miracles servant=AGT
lɔ:m=tsu=gi ná:-zin jò-pø:] korlo tʰamtɛɛ=ki
disciple=PL=AGT do.HON-PROG EX-2INF.GEN about all=AGT
sɛn-zin jò:-to.
hear.HON-PROG EX-PROB
'All are probably hearing about [(the fact) that his servants, disciples are doing miracles
in the world].' (KT life story)

As shown by the progressive form in (13.92b), the nominalized verbal construction in the complement clause may be complex.

13.5.2 Bare -ɛɛ-infinitive

The postposition complement clause may also be a non-nominalized infinitive clause marked by -ɛɛ?

- (13.93) ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཉ་གོ་ཤད་ དོན་དག་ལས་
[tʰamtɛɛ=ki hako=ɛɛ?] t'øndalɛ
all=AGT understand for.the.purpose.of
'in order for [all to understand]' (DR discussion with KL)
- (13.94) རང་རང་ སོ་སོའི་ ལུགས་སློལ་ ཅེ་ཤད་ དང་ འདི་ཙུ་ ཡར་སྐྱོད་ བཏང་ཤད་ སློབ་ལོ་
[rã:rã:so:sø: lùksø: tsi-ɛɛ? t'ã: di=tsu jà:kɛ: tã:-ɛɛ?]
each.oneself.GEN tradition esteem-INF and this=PL increase send-INF
kor=lo
about=DAT
'about [esteeming and furthering (the cause of) one's own tradition]...'
(sbar-phung 92-93)
- (13.95) མོ་འདི་ འདི་ཅིག་ལོ་ ཁྲིམས་ལྷན་ རྒྱ་ལྷན་
[ódi de:tei=lo t'i-ɛɛ?] nàŋɛa=lo
that that.much=DAT write-INF inside=DAT
'Within [writing that (dictionary) to that extent]...' (DR discussion with KL)

13.5.3 Sentence-like complement

Finally, a postposition complement can be a sentence-like clause (i.e. the form could occur independently) followed by a resumptive demonstrative (in genitive), which is coreferential with the whole previous clause. In my data, this may happen with the postposition *korlo* 'about' (WD སློབ་ལོ་).

- (13.96) འདི་ལས་ འཁྲབ་དཔོན་ དང་ འཁྲབ་དཔོན་མ་ ཀ་ཀ་ལོ་ གསེས་ དགོས་ཤང་བོ་ འདིའི་ སྐར་ལོ་ ང་ཅག་ གཉིས་པོས་ གྱུས་བསྐྱུན་ རྒྱབས་ཀྱི།
 [dile tʰapθ̌: tʰã: tʰapθ̌m ka-ka=lo sɛ: go:-ɛɛ bo]
 then actor and actress who-RDP=DAT choose be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q
 di: korlo ηàtea? ní:-po: kʼjotyn kjap-ke.
 this.GEN about 1PL two-COL.AGT discussion do-HORT
 ‘Then let the two of us discuss about [who all should be chosen as actors and actresses.]’
 (Richhi 41)
- (13.97) མིན་ཟིང་ ཆོ་མག་ རང་གཞི་ཡང་ རང་སྐད་ འདི་ ག་རྩེ་ ཞབས་ཞུ་ དགོས་ཤང་ བོ་ འདིའི་ སྐར་ལོ་ ང་ བསམ་སྒྲོ་ བཏང་བཞིན་ ཡོད།
 í:-run [tsʰima? nàŋɛa=lo=jã: ran-ke:=di kʼatɛ ɛàpɛù
 however future.life inside=DAT=too own.language=DEMPH how serve
 go:-ɛɛ bo] di: korlo ηà sámlo tã:-zin jò?
 be.needed EQU.NE.Q this.GEN about 1SG thought send-PROG EX.PER
 ‘However, I’m thinking about [how I should serve (the cause of) my mother tongue also
 in the future].’ (KT life story)

The first clause in both (13.96) and (13.97) could function as an independent question but is here linked with the second clause with the help of the resumptive proximal demonstrative *di*, which is coreferential with the whole interrogative clause. The second clause could also occur independently. Example (13.96) comes from the novel Richhi, where the writer signals the linking relationship achieved by juxtaposition and resumptive demonstrative by leaving out the equivalent of the full stop (.), which would normally occur at sentence boundary.

13.6 Summary remarks

This chapter described “constituent-modifying clauses,” a term which covers all clauses that modify a single word. The modified word can be a noun (relative clauses and noun complement clauses) or a postposition (postposition complement clauses). The modifying clause is nominalized and typically genitivized. Genitivization does not take place in post-head RCs or if the modifying clause is nominalized with *-kʰɛ̃:*. Moreover, genitivization is not mandatory when the verb root is reduplicated. All the relativizing nominalizers *-kʰɛ̃:*, *-po/bo*, and *-sa* were seen to occur in headed RCs and two of them, *-kʰɛ̃:* and *-sa*, also in headless RCs. The nominalizer *-kʰɛ̃:* was seen to have a marginal internally-headed use. Moreover, this chapter showed that correlative clauses, which are probably Indo-Aryan influence (see Genetti 1992: 408), are functionally similar but formally dissimilar to RCs. Correlative clauses, while not demanding nominalization and 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 <i>-po/bo</i> (§14.1.1) |
| 2) I infinitive marker <i>-εεʔ</i> (§14.1.2) |
| 3) progressive marker <i>-tε̃:/zε̃:/zin</i> (§14.1.3) |
| 4) postposition <i>kor</i> ‘about’ heading a postposition complement clause (§14.1.4)) |
-

Headless relative clauses marked by *-kʰε̃:* and *-sa* resemble complement clauses, but because headless clauses with *-kʰε̃:* and *-sa* imply a referent that is modified (person who does with *-kʰε̃:*, and place where something is done with *-sa*), they are categorized as relative clauses, see §13. The infinitives in Table 14.1 may occur with or without demonstrative-emphatic *=di*. Infinitival complement clauses typically occur as copula subjects. The four types of complement clause are described in the following subsections in the same order they occur in Table 14.1.

14.1.1 Complement clauses with *-po*-infinitive

In my data, complement clauses marked by *-po*-infinitive occur as the copula subject or the copula complement of change-of-state verbs and copulas, or as the P argument of other types of verbs listed in Table 14.2 (where “collocate” means “in my data typically co-occurs”). The verbs listed in Table 14.2 do not include the honorific equivalents of certain verbs (*zi:* གཟིགས་ ‘see [hon.]’, *sén* གསལ་ ‘hear [hon.]’, *dze:* མཇུག་ ‘meet [hon.]’). Although I do not have examples of the honorific verbs, it is safe to assume that they behave analogously to the ordinary verbs.

Table 14.2. Verb types receiving a complement clause with *-po/bo*

a) Being:	<i>í:</i> ‘be’, <i>be?</i> ‘equative’, <i>jò?</i> ‘existential’, <i>du?</i> ‘collocate with all types of verbs; structurally receive a complement clause, but functionally the combination marks tense/aspect/modality’
b) Change of state:	<i>tʰon</i> ‘come out, become, happen’, <i>te</i> ‘become’, <i>zo</i> ‘make (into)’, <i>í:</i> ‘be (equ.)’ <i>jò?</i> ‘be (ex.)’; collocate with <i>go:-po</i> [be.needed-2INF] and <i>tsʰu-po</i> [be.able.to-2INF]
c) Perception:	<i>tʰo:</i> ‘see’, <i>tʰo:</i> ‘hear’; collocate with all types of verbs
d) Mental activity:	<i>hako</i> ‘know, understand’, <i>tʰensin</i> ‘remember’, <i>nó:</i> ‘think’; <i>hako</i> and <i>tʰensin</i> ; collocate with all types of verbs, except <i>nó:</i> , which collocates with <i>go:-po</i> [be.needed-2INF] ⁴⁰⁷
e) Meeting ⁴⁰⁸ :	<i>pʰe?</i> ‘meet’, <i>tʰuk</i> ‘touch, meet, face’; <i>pʰe?</i> collocates with <i>jò-po</i> [EX-2INF], <i>tʰuk</i> collocates with <i>go:po</i> [be.needed-2INF]
f) Speaking and writing:	<i>tʰi</i> ‘write’, <i>é?</i> ‘tell’; collocate with <i>go:-po</i> [be.needed-2INF]

As seen in the list above, the verb *go?* ‘be needed’ occurs frequently as the verb which is heading the complement clause. The complement clauses with the various types of verbs are now exemplified in the same order they occur in the list above.

Verbs of being

(14.1) a) *ɛ* ‘I fell.’ (KN e)

ɲà dɪ:-bo í:/be?
1SG fall-2INF EQU.PER/EQU.NE
‘I fell.’ (KN e)

b) *tʰarɪŋ sǎ:te ɲàtea? kʰare* ‘Until today we haven’t come to ask for anything.’ (KN e)

tʰarɪŋ sǎ:te ɲàtea? kʰare *ɛ̀u-wa tea:-bo mè?*
today until 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EX.PER
‘Until today we haven’t come to ask for anything.’ (KN e)

As shown by (14.1), both the equative and existential copulas occur postposed to clauses marked by *-po*. Because these constructions look formally like the complement constructions described below, they are briefly mentioned here. Since the function of the combination, however, has become more grammatical (the construction in [14.1a] marks past tense and the one in [14.1b] perfect aspect), a fuller description is presented in §8.1.1. and §8.1.4 respectively.

Verbs of change of state

Note that the demonstrative pro-adverb *dem* is used alongside nominalization to introduce comparison, see (14.2c).

⁴⁰⁷ Even more often *nó:* collocates with *go?* without the nominalizer, e.g. *pʰja go? nó* [do be.needed think] ‘think that one has to do’.

⁴⁰⁸ Covers concrete (*pʰe?*) and metaphorical (*tʰuk*) meeting.

(14.2) a) གུས་གུས་ཁ་ལབ་ ཚུགས་པོ་ འཛན་ རྩོད་ འདུག།
 [ɛy:ɛy: kʰa làp tsʰu-po] tʰon dø: du?
 a.bit mouth speak be.able.to-2INF become stay EX.SEN
 ‘He has become [able to talk a bit].’ (Richhi 23)

b) མིན་ཡང་ ཁོས་ ཁོང་ཁྱོ་ འདི་ མནན་མྱི་ རྩོད་ དགོས་པོ་ ཐོན་པོ་ སྤང།
 í.jã: kʰu [kʰõ:ʈʰo=di nén-di dø: go:-po]
 however 3SGM anger=DEMPH suppress-NF stay be.needed-2INF
 tʰom-bo be?
 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] tʰon
 but this=LOC thought.HON have.HON-RDP-2INF like.it become
 ma-tsʰu?
 NEG-be.able.to
 ‘But it could not turn out [as (good as he had) thought].’ (CY interview)

d) ཉེ་ དེ་ནས་ གསར་བཅོག་ ག་ལྟེ་ རྒྱབས་ལྟེ་ ང་ཅིའི་ གཉེན་ རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ བུམ་ཚུ་ཀིས་ དུས་ གཏན་རྒྱང་ ག་ཅུང་ བཏགས་ ཚུགས་པོ་ བཅོ་
 བྱད་?
 te t'ene sá:teo? k'ate kjap-ti [ɲàtei jén kjap-kjap-o p'um=tsu=gi
 so then reform how do-NF 1PL.GEN marriage do-RDP-2INF girl=PL=AGT
 t'y: teɲkjã: k'ateuɲ ta? tsʰu-po] zo-ɛɛ??
 time always khachung-plate append be.able.to-2INF make-INF
 ‘So then how to do a reform to make [our married girls to be able to always wear the khachung-plate?].’ (sbar-phung 90)

e) གལ་ཤིང་ གཏམ་ འདི་ མཁའ་འགྲོས་ གསན་ ཚུགས་པོ་ བྱང་ན་
 k'ɛ:si? tam=di [kʰando: sén tsʰu-po] te'uɲ-ne...
 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་ སྤང།
 [k'urɕiɲ ɕú-zɛ: sà-zɛ: jè-po] tʰõ:-po be?
 sugarcane peel-PROG eat-PROG EX-2INF see-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘(He) saw (him) [peeling and eating sugarcane].’ (KTL animal story)

- b) དུས་དྲི་མང་བུ་ཚུ་གིས་གསེར་གྱི་ཉག་ཐག་ “ལོ་གེར་” ཡང་ན་གཡུ་མའི་ལོ་གེར་བདག་སོ་གཟིགས་ཅེག་
t'y: t'inyã: [p'u=tsu=gi sé:=gi nà:tʰa? lokeʈ jã:nɛ
 time nowadays boy=PL=AGT gold=GEN necklace locket(Eng.) or
jútʰa=i lokeʈ ta:-po] zi:-tɛɛ-ka?
 spotted.turquoise=GEN locket(Eng.) append-2INF see.HON-PST-PQ
 ‘Have you nowadays seen [boys wear a locket-necklace of gold or a locket-necklace
 of spotted turquoise?]' (sbar-phung 90)

- c) ང་ཅའི་པ་མོ་སྐྱ་བུ་མེས་འདི་ཚུ་གིས་ཨོ་འདེབ་བཀའ་གནང་བོ་ཐོས་པོ་མིན།
[ɣàtɛi pʰamo kuɖe: di=tsu=gi ódɛp ka ná:-bo] tʰo:-po
 1PL.GEN parents elder this=PL=AGT like.that order do.HON-2INF hear-2INF
ĩ.
 EQU.PER
 ‘I heard [these parents and elders of ours say like that].’ (CY interview)

Verbs of mental activity

(14.4) a) ཨ་མ་ལག་སློབས་པོ་དྲ་གོ་ཞི་

[ám lòk ʃɛp-o] hako-ti
 mother return arrive-2INF know-NF
 ‘finding out [that the mother has returned]’ (Richhi 32)

- b) མོས་སྦྱང་མཉམ་ཅིག་གྱིས་རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་དན་ཟེན།

[tɛʰøki? námtɛi? kʼjo? kjap-kjap-o tʰamtɛɛ?] tʼensin
 PN with chatting do-RDP-2INF all remember
 ‘(He) remembers [all the discussions with Choki]’ (Richhi 116)

- c) ཚོད་ཀྱི་ཨ་པོ་ཨ་མ་ཟླ་ལོ་སྦུན་ཆ་ཨ་ཞེ་བུ་བྱིང་ཚུ་ཉེན་ཐུབ་མེག་ཚུ་ལག་ཏུ་གིས་བྱི་བཞིན་ཚོད་དགོས་པོ་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་མཚོ་ཚུགས་པོ་.....།

[tɛʰø:=ki ápo ám pélopyntɛʰa ázi pʼusim=tsu
 2SG.L=GEN father mother male.relative elder.sister younger.sister=PL
nintʰup mikteʰu là:na=gi pʰi:-zɛ: dø: go:-po] tɛʰø=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་ཚད་ལང་ཀན་ཆེ་དང་ལྷ་མཇོས་ཚད་ལང་ལས་ཅི་ནི་ཉོས་འབག་སྟེ་ལྷག་བཞིན་ཡོད་པོ་འབྱེད།
ódi tsʰøka [kantei t'ã: ʎadzi? tsʰoŋkʰã:=le teini ɲò: bak-ti
 that time PN and PN market=ABL sugar(Nep.) buy carry-NF
*lòk-zê: jò-po] pʰe?*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་སྤྲོ་སྤྲོ་པའི་ནང་ལོ་རེ་ཐག་ཆད་དགོས་པོ་ཐུག།
rite^{hi} tap-ti dø:-dø:-pø: nàŋlo [ritʰa:teʰe? 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) ལྷན་གན་གན་ཉི་དགོས་པོ་ཐོ་རངས་བྲི་བྱིན་འོང།
[mén k'an k'an ɲò: go:-po] tʰorã: tʰi p'in ò:.
 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་བྱ་ལེབ་དྲང་བྱ་དགོས་པོ་ལབ་མཁན་དོན་དག་ཨོ་འདི་སྤྲོ་གྲོ།
[mí t'ã:pu lèp t'ã:pu go:-po] làp-kʰê: t'onda? ódi
 human honest very.much honest be.needed-2INF say-NMLZ reason that
bɛ=ɛo.
 EQU.NE=AT
 ‘The reason for saying [the person has to be honest, very honest] is that, 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 *go?* ‘be needed’.

⁴⁰⁹ The complement clause here could alternatively be analyzed as an NP with a following post-head RC, that is [*kantei t'ã: ʎadzi? [tsʰoŋkʰã:=le teini ɲò: bak-ti lòk-zê: jò-po]*]. Two facts suggests that an analysis as a complement clause is better: 1) In the novel Richhi, where the example is from, the NP expressing the patient of the verb *pʰe?* ‘meet’ is typically, although not exclusively, marked with the dative-locative *=lo* or postposition *ɲámtei?* ‘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་ ཡོ་འདི་ ཚོད་ ཞིན།
 [k^hu=lo go:-**po**=rã:] ódi-ts^hø? í:.
 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་ གེ་ གལ་ཅན་ ཞིན་པོ་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ ཉ་གོ་ ཟུང།
 [[sámte^ha: tã: go:-**po**=di] k’ɛ:teɛ: ím-**bo**] ηàtɛa=gi
 plan send be.needed-2INF =DEMPH important EQU.PER-2INF 1PL=AGT
 hako bɛ?.
 understand EQU.NE
 ‘We understand [that it is important [that (we) have to do planning].’ (sbar-phung 92-93)
- (14.9) ཀ་ལོ་ ལྟ་ཞི་ འབྱས་ དགོས་པོ་ ངང་ རོ་ཆ་ དགོས་པོ་ མེད།
 [ka=lo ta-ti dzu: go:-**po** t’ã: ηò ts^ha go:-**po**]
 who=DAT look-NF fear be.needed-2INF and face be.hot be.needed-2INF
 mɛ?.
 NEG.EX.PER
 ‘There isn’t [necessity to look at someone and feel afraid or ashamed].’ (Richhi 129)

Finally, nominalized *go?* ‘be needed’ collocates with *k’ɛ:te^hi* in a construction which may be characterized either as verbless attribution or a verbal use of the adjective *k’ɛ:te^hi* ‘important’:

- (14.10) ཐུགས་རིག་ གནང་ དགོད་པོ་ གལ་ཆེ།
 [t^huri? ná: go:-**po**] k’ɛ:te^hi.
 insight do.HON be.needed-2INF (be.)important
 ‘[Applying insight] is important.’ (sbar-phung 90)

14.1.2 Complement clauses with -ɛɛ?

A complement clause may also be formed by an infinitive marked by -ɛɛ?. An infinitive marked by -ɛɛ?, 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་ འབྱང་ཤང་ འདི་ ལུ་ར་ (Nep.) མ་ལེགས་ ཟུང།
 [raŋ-kɛ? bjã:-**ɛɛ**=di] pura màlɛp bɛ?.
 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་ བཅ་པོ་ ཐུས་ཤང་ དགེ་བའི་ གཡོག་ ཞིན།
 [tɛi:=ki zen=lo p^hɛmpo p’ja-**ɛɛ**?] gɛwø: jó? í:.
 one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN work EQU.PER
 ‘[Helping one another] is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)

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་ཉི་ཚད་ལོ་རང་མི་མིན་མཁོ་སྟེ་དེ་ལོ་ལས་སྟེ་ལ་བ་ཅིག་ཀྱང་འོང་བོ་མིན་
ŋà=to tɛʰø:=lo [rã:-mi ǎ:] nó:-ti t'ɛ:lu kʰa:
 1SG=CEMPH 2SG.L=DAT own-human EQU.PER think-NF just.like.that message
kɛ:-wa tɛiku òm-bo ǎ:
 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) ཟུ་གཅིག་བྲི་དགོས་མཁོ་སྟེ་
[lú=teiʔ t'i goʔ] nó:-ti
 song=INDF write be.needed think-NF
 ‘Thinking [(that I) have to write a song]...’ (nga’i ’gan 11)

- (14.17) ག་ལྟས་ཏུ་བཞག་མ་ཤེས་པོ་?
[k'aly:-p'ja zaʔ] ma-ɛé:-po?
 slow-ADVZR set NEG-know-2INF
 ‘Did you not know (enough) [to place it (there) slowly].’ (Richhi 106)

14.2.1.2 Interrogative complement

Interrogative clauses functioning as indirect questions occur as complements in the same form in which they would occur as independent questions.

- (14.18) འོང་བོ་ཉི་མ་མཐོང་།
[ò-m-bo ná] ma-tʰõ:.
 come-2INF EQU.PER.PQ NEG-see
 ‘I did not see [whether he came].’ (DB’ wife, oh)
- (14.19) བདེན་གས་མིན་བདེན་གས་ཏེ་ལེ་བ་མཁོ་ནི་
[dɛŋ-gam min-dɛŋ-gam] tɛ lɛp 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་གན་གན་ཡོད་ཀ་གིས་ལའ་ཚུགས་པོ།
[mí: sé-m=na k'an k'an jòʔ] 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) ཐུན་ལས་ག་ན་སོང་བོ་ཀ་གིས་ཏུ་ཀོ་
[tʰinɛ k'ana sò:-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་ བཟུམས་ཟློ་ བཞག་ མི་ལགས་ལོ་
 [kʰokθ:=na kʰan jø-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 *lapti*, 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 *lapti*

The complementizers =sɛ/s(i) and *lapti*⁴¹⁰ can occur independently or as a combination =sɛ *lapti*. Finite complement clauses with a complementizer occur especially with verbs of speaking, writing, thinking and knowing.

- (14.23) ལོག་ཏྱི་ བྱོན་དོ་ མིན་པེ་ མ་གསུང་བར་ བྱོན་བོ་ སྟངས།
 [lòk-ti tɛʼøŋ-do t̃:=s] ma-súm-ba
 return-NF come.HON-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO NEG-say.HON-CIRC
 tɛʼøm-bo bɛʔ.
 go.HON-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘(He) left without saying [that he is coming back].’ (Richhi 98)

- (14.24) ཏེ་ ཚོད་ འདི་ གན་བྱས་ བྱོ་པོ་ ལབ་ཏྱི་ ཇི་སང་ཟང་
 tɛ [tɛʰθ:=di kʰamja pʰi:-po lapti] tʰi-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་ བྱོན་ ཚྱུགས་པད་ ཉ་ སེ་ ལབ་ཏྱི་ གསུང་བོ་ལོ།
 [nàŋɛa=lɛ tɛʼøŋ tsʰu=pɛ nɔ=s lapti]
 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)

⁴¹⁰ The nonfinal converbal form *lapti* functions analogously with the Nepali complementizer *bhan-era* ‘say-NF’.

- (14.26) རྒྱ་སྒྲིག་མ་ལའ་ཞི་མོ་འདི་ལོ་དྲི་བོ་ལོ།
 [tɕʰu sɔː-ʒɛ-gam=s ləp-ti] mɔ̃=di=lo tʰi-u=lo.
 water warm-PST-ATTQ=QUO say-NF 3SGF=DEMPH=DAT ask-2INF=REP
 ‘(He) asked her [whether (she) had warmed water], so the story goes.’ (RS driver joke)

The fact that the honorific form is used in the complement clause shows that (14.23) does not exemplify direct quotation. If the complement were a direct quotation, a non-honorific word choice (*lòk-ti òn-do í:*) would be expected, i.e. speakers are not expected to use honorifics when referring to themselves. As a result, the use of honorifics can be used as a test for determining directness vs. indirectness of speech.

According to consultant KN, a complementizer is not needed when the actor of the main clause and the quoted person is the speaker (14.27). If the quoted person is someone else than the speaker (14.28) or if the actor of the main clause is someone else than the speaker (14.29), a complementizer is used. Note that the second clause in (14.27) is functionally a complement clause although the two clauses are, in the absence of the complementizer, formally juxtaposed finite clauses.

- (14.27) ང་དམ་བཅའ་བྱས་ཤད་མིན་ང་ལོ་རྒྱབ་མ་ལོག་འོང་ཤད་མིན།
 ηà tʰamtɕa? pʰja-ɛɛ í: [ηà ló gjabma lòk ò̃:-ɛɛ
 1SG promise do-INF EQU.PER 1SG year following return come-INF
 í:].
 EQU.PER
 ‘I promise [I come back the following year].’ (KN e)

- (14.28) རྒྱ་དམ་བཅའ་བྱས་པོ་མིན་ང་ལོ་རྒྱབ་མ་ལོག་འོང་ཤད་མིན་ལའ་ཞི།
 kʰu tʰamtɕa? pʰja-u í: [ηà ló gjabma lòk
 3SGM promise do-2INF EQU.PER 1SG year following return
 ò̃:-ɛɛ í: ləp-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) ཆོད་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་མར་གཏམ་ལས་འོང་བོ་མིན་ལའ་ཞི།
 tɕʰø:(=lo) jìtɕʰɛ? jò:-ka [ηà màrtam=lɛ òm-bo í: ləp-ti].
 2SG.L(=DAT) faith EX.PER-PQ 1SG TPN=ABL come-2INF EQU.PER say-NF
 ‘Do you believe [that I came from Martam]?’ (KN e)

Examples (14.27-29) above already exemplify sentences where the complement follows the main clause. Sentences (14.30-31) 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

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 as 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) མོ་ལོ་གན་འདྲེ་ལ་འདྲ་མེད་ད་ལྟ་ཟང་མའི་ཡི་གེ་སླེབས་ཡོད་ལ་གླི།
mù=lo k'andɛ: làp-ɛɛ mè? [t'ato=sã: mù=i jìgi lɛp
 3SGF=DAT anything say-INF EX.PER now=until 3SGF=GEN letter arrive
jò? làp-ti].
 EX.PER say-NF
 'She cannot tell it at all [that her letter (=letter to her) has arrived].' (Ricchi 139)

In (14.30), the main clause *mù=lo k'andɛ: làp-ɛɛ mè?* could occur independently, because the filler word *k'andɛ:* fills the position where an embedded complement clause would occur.

For another example, consider (14.31).

- (14.31) དེ་ཟང་གཏམ་འདི་ཚས་སྒྲིང་ལོ་ལ་འདྲ་མེད། ལྟའི་ལགས་ད་རིང་སླན་ཁང་ལས་དགོངས་པོ་ཐོབ་ཏེ་ཨིན་ལ་གླི།
t'izã: tam=di tɕʰøki=lo làp-ɛɛ mè? [bhaila t'ariŋ méŋkʰã:=lɛ
 but word=DEMPH PN=DAT say-INF EX.PER PN today hospital=ABL
gompo tʰop-to t̃: làp-ti].
 permission receive-IPFV EQU.PER say-NF
 'But Choki does not know this fact [that Bhaila is getting a permission to leave the hospital today].' (Richhi 30)

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 *riteʰi* '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) ཚས་སྒྲིང་ཉིན་ཚད་མེད་རེ་ཆེ་བཏང་བཞིན་ཡོད་ཀླའི་ཙ་ལས་ཡི་གེ་སླེབས་འོང་སེ་ལ་གླི།
tɕʰøki? jìim tɕʰame? riteʰi tap-zɛ: jò? [karmø: tsa=lɛ jìgi lɛp
 PN day every hope sow-PROG EX.PER Karma.GEN at=ABL letter arrive
ô:=s làp-ti].
 come=QUO say-NF
 'Choki hopes every day [that a letter would come from Karma].' (Richhi 138)

- (14.33) ད་ང་ནི་ཨ་ཁྱ་རང་མཉམ་ཅིག་འཕྱོད་ཐོབ་པའི་རེ་ཆེ་མེད།
t'a ŋà=ni [ágja rã: jámtɕi? pʰɛ? tʰop-ø:] riteʰi
 now 1SG=TOP elder.brother 2SG.M with meet receive-2INF.GEN hope
mè?.
 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་སྤང་གི་ཁོས་ནམ་ལོ་འང་མི་རྒྱལ་ལ།
tsʰeriŋ=gi làp-o bɛʔ [ki kʰu: nàmlo ǎ: 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་རྒྱལ་པ་དང་མི་རྒྱལ་མོ་འདི་ཁོང་གིས་ལྟ་ཤད་ཀྱི་དོན་ལས་འདི་
[ɲè: pʰum=di=lo só tsʰu=pɛʔ mi-tsʰuʔ] ódi kʰoŋ=gi
 my girl=DEMPH=DAT care be able.to=EQU.NE NEG-be.able.to that 3PL=AGT
ta-ɛɛ=ki tʰonɛ=di
 see-INF=GEN for.purpose.of=DEMPH
 ‘For the purpose of seeing (the fact) [whether or not he will be able to care for their (lit. my) daughter] they...’ (SGD wedding customs)
- (14.36) འགོ་དང་བོ་ང་ཅག་གིས་སྤྱི་ཚུགས་ལབ་མཁན་འདི་གན་བོ་མོ་འདི་ཉ་གོ་དགོས་པོ་གལ་ཆེན་ཨིན།
go tʰaŋpo ɲàtɕa=ki [teitsʰoʔ làp-kʰɛn=di kʰan bo]
 beginning at.first 1PL=AGT community say-NMLZ=DEMPH what EQU.NE.Q
ódi hako go:-po kʰɛ:teʰi: i:.
 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 *-ɛɛʔ*, the progressive marker *-teɛ:/zɛ:/zin* and postposition *korlo* ‘about’. It was shown that finite complement clauses can be formed with or without a complementizer. Constructions without the complementizer occur both in the declarative and the interrogative. Complement clauses with a complementizer seem

longer on average than those without the complementizer, suggesting that the presence of the complementizer aids processing and enables longer clauses. Denjongke was seen to have two main complementizers, which can be used independently or together, and a third form borrowed from Nepali. The last section introduced complement clauses with a resumptive pronoun, which differ from correlative clauses in that the resumptive demonstrative is coreferent with the whole complement clause, not one word in the complement clause (as in correlative clauses).

15 Adverbial clauses

This chapter discusses adverbial clauses. The other types of subordinate clauses are treated in §13 (constituent complement clauses, including relative clauses) and §14 (clausal complement clauses). Adverbial clauses modify the verb complex or the entire clause (Thompson et al 2007: 238). The treatment begins with an introduction in which the various constructions used in adverbial clauses are categorized according to form into four types (form-to-function ordering) (§15.1). In the actual discussion after that, the various constructions are described under functionally motivated headings (function-to-form ordering). The functional headings are the following: nonfinal clauses (§15.2), temporal clauses (§15.3), causal clauses (§15.4), purposive clauses (§15.5), conditional clauses (§15.6), concessive clauses (§15.7), circumstance and manner clauses (§15.8), additive clauses (§15.9), substitutive clauses (§15.10), comparative clauses (§15.11) and various uses of the terminative converb (§15.12).

15.1 Introduction to forms

The types of formal marking used in adverbial clauses are converb, postposition with accompanying modifying clause, noun with accompanying modifying clause and other types of marking respectively, see Tables 15.1-4. Note that the form *kap* (WD སྐབས་ *skabs*) occurs both as a converb (-*kap*) attached directly to the verb root and as a noun (*kap* ‘time’) with a nominalized and genitivized complement clause.

Table 15.1. Converbial endings used in adverbial clauses

- <i>ti/di</i>	ཉི་ཁྱི་	nonfinal
- <i>pa/ba</i>	བ(ར་)/བ(ར་)	circumstantial-purposive
-(<i>pateɛ</i>) <i>nɛ</i>	(པར་ཅེ་)ནེ	conditional
- <i>run</i>	རུང་	concessive
- <i>sondã</i> ·, - <i>somdã</i> ·	སོང་དང་, སོངས་དང་	simultaneous
- <i>tsubdã</i> ·	ཚུབ་དང་	simultaneous
- <i>kap</i>	སྐབས་	simultaneous
- <i>dy</i> ·	དུས་	simultaneous
- <i>renk^ha</i>	རན་ཁར་	simultaneous
- <i>sã</i> ·, - <i>sonzã</i> ·	ཟང་, སོང་ཟང་	terminative

Table 15.2. Postpositions heading adverbial clauses

<i>nàŋɛa</i> , <i>nàŋlo</i>	ནང་ག་, ནང་ལོ་	‘inside’, circumstantial
<i>t’ønlo</i>	དོན་ལོ་	‘for the purpose of’, purposive
<i>gjablɛ</i>	རྒྱབ་ལས་	‘after’, anterior
<i>nénlɛ</i>	ཐོན་ལས་	‘before’, posterior
<i>nàŋtar</i> , <i>nàŋzin</i>	ནང་ལྟར་, ནང་བཞིན་	‘according to’, comparative manner
<i>t’ønzin(gi)</i>	དོན་བཞིན་(གྱིས་)	‘in accordance with, in view of’, comparative manner
<i>p’a:pu</i>	བར་པོ་	‘in between’, simultaneous

Table 15.3. Nouns heading adverbial clauses

<i>ken</i>	ཀེན་	‘cause, condition’, causal
<i>gã:</i>	མྱད་	‘time’, simultaneous
<i>kap</i>	མྱལ་	‘time’, simultaneous

Table 15.4. Other constructions used in adverbial clauses

= <i>ki/gi</i> (agentive)	-ཀེ་	causal
= <i>le</i> (ablative)	-ལས་	anterior (temporal)
- <i>po-dã</i> . ⁴¹²	པོ་དང་	2INF-CONJ, simultaneous
<i>k'amjasene</i>	གན་ལྟུང་སེ་ནེ་	connector ‘because’, causal
<i>mits^he?</i>	མི་ཚད་	connector ‘in addition’ (lit. ‘not stopping’), additive
<i>mèmbo</i>	མན་བོ་	connector ‘except (+negation in the following main clause)’, negated additive
<i>lò: mè:po</i>	ལོང་མེད་པོ་	‘no sooner...than’, ‘as soon as’, immediate anteriority
- <i>po tsamgi</i>	པོ་ཙམ་གྱིས་	‘as soon as’, immediate anteriority
<i>làpti</i>	ལཔ་ལྟེ་	nonfinal converb of <i>làp</i> ‘say’, purpose and causality
<i>tẽ : /zẽ : /zin</i>	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 *-(patɛ)ne/- (batɛ)ne*, the concessive converb marked by *-run*, the simultaneous converbs marked by *-podã:*, *-sondã:/sompdã:*, *-tsubdã:*, *-kap*, *-dy:* and *-reŋk^ha* 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.

⁴¹² This form, along with *-sondã:*, *-sompdã:* and *-tsubdã:* often occurs in a reduced pronunciation without nasalization on the final vowel, *-poda(:)*, *sonda(:)*, *-sompda(:)* and *-tsubda(:)*. The forms given here reflect a more conservative pronunciation

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) ཏེ་འདིའི་ཐོན་ལས་ རྩོམ་ རྩོམ་མེ་ ཁ་ལག་ འགྱུ།
*tɛ di: jénɛ tʰo:pa lɔ:-ti*⁴¹⁴ *kʰa-la? 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) བོ་ཙོ་ ཏང་ཏང་ཅིག་ རྩོམ་ལས་ ལྷུ་མེ་ མགོ་ལས་ བྱག་ ཐོན་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པ་ མཐོང་མྱོད་ ཡང་ལས་ ཏྲོ་རས་ འབྱུ་མྱོད་ ཏྲོ་རས་ཀྱིས་
 བྱག་ བྱིས་ ཐོན་བཞིན་ ཡང་ལས་ ལེན་མྱོད་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐབས།
pʼotso tã:tã:=tei? do-pʰuŋ tɛŋ=lo lum-di go=lɛ kʰja?
 child middle.size=INDEF stone-pile top=DAT fall-NF head=ABL blood
tʰon-zɛ: jø-po tʰɔ:-ti ámpʰi nàŋ=lɛ tora
 come.out-PROG EX-2INF see-NF breast.pocket inside=ABL handkerchief
tʰu-ti tora=gi kʰja? pʰi: pʼin-zɛ: pʰa:pa: lèn-di dɔ:
 pick-NF handkerchief=AGT blood wipe give-PROG lap.LOC take-NF stay
jø-pø: kap
 EX-2INF.GEN time
 ‘When she saw that a middle-size child had fallen off a stone-pile and blood was coming out of his head, she picked a handkerchief from her breast-pocket and, wiping out blood with the handkerchief, took (him) into (her) lap...’ (Richhi 2)

The first converb (*lum-di* ‘having fallen’) in (15.2) forms a chain with another verb (*kʰja? tʰon* ‘bleed’). Both verbs in the chain express what happened to the same referent, a child in the story.

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’, *sɔ:-di* ‘going’, *ɔn-di* ‘coming’, *riŋ-di* ‘becoming long’, but *mjòŋ-ti/mjò:-ti* ‘finishing’, *tɛʰɔ:-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 (*tʰõ:-ti* ‘having seen’, *tʰu-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 *zẽ:* (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་ཁྱི་ཐང་ལ་ རྒྱ་ཁྱི་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་
lʰaki? tʰã:sa gjaʈʰi: tɛŋ=lo dõ:-ti tɛ'a tʰuŋ-zɛn du?
 PN flat.place chair.GEN top=DAT sit-NF tea drink-PROG EX.SEN
 ‘Sitting on a chair in a flat place Lhaki drinks tea.’/‘Having sat down on a chair in a flat place, Lhaki is drinking tea.’ (Richhi 60)

- (15.4) ལྷ་ཁྱི་ཐང་ལ་ རྒྱ་ཁྱི་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་
pʰa:tsʰu: mɪk gir-di ta-sã:
 thither-hither eye stare-NF look=TERM
 ‘When/as (she) looks intently here and there...’ (Richhi 98)⁴¹⁶

- (15.5) ལྷ་ཁྱི་ཐང་ལ་ རྒྱ་ཁྱི་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་
ŋà=lo=to tʰõ:-ruŋ ma-tʰõ:-po dem zu:-di gju:
 1SG=DAT=CEMPH see-CONC NEG-see-2INF like.it avoid-NF go.2INF
bɛ?
 EQU.NE
 ‘Although (he) saw me (he) walked avoiding me, as if not seeing (me).’
 (nga’i ’gan 16)

- (15.6) a) ལྷ་ཁྱི་ཐང་ལ་ རྒྱ་ཁྱི་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལ་
mɛŋkʰã:=na kʰik-ti gju-nɛ
 hospital=LOC lead-NF go-COND
 ‘If (he) is taken to the hospital...’ (rnam-rtog 7)

⁴¹⁶ The construction *ta=sã:* is analogous to Nepali *her-e-samma* [look-PFV-until] ‘when looking, as far as one can see’.

- b) ཏེ་ཨ་འདེ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་དུས་ཚོད་ འདི་ཙུ་ ཇོས་ འབག་ལྷོ་ འབྱུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ ཇུས་ཚོད་ ལྷོ་བས་ཚར་མཁན་ སྤང།
tɛ ódɛtɛika t'a ŋámo di=tsu t'o? bak-ti gju-wø:=gi,
 then that.time now camel these=PL load carry-NF go-2INF.GEN=GEN
gju-ɛɛ=ki t'ytshø? lɛp-tsʰa-kʰɛn bɛ?
 go-INF=GEN time arrive-CMPL-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'Now then at that time, the time had come for these camels to go [carrying loads].' (PD bet story)

Whereas in (15.3), the converbal form expresses an attendant circumstance to the finite verb, in (15.4) and (15.5) the converb, rather than joining two clauses, functionally forms a complex predicate with the main verb. These types of constructions, in which the latter verb is typically a verb of motion, have given rise to serial verb constructions by dropping the converbal marker. The clauses in (15.6) exemplify such forms where the converbal ending could be dropped, *kʰik-ti gju* > *kʰik gju* 'bring (a human or a large animal)', *bak-ti gju* > *bak gju* 'take away (a thing)'. For more details on serial verbs, see §4.2.3.

When the converb marked by *-ti/di* is used, the actor of the converbal clause and the main clause are usually the same. Indeed, by using the nonfinal converb, the speaker typically indicates that the following verb has the same actor as the converbal clause. In contexts where the actor switches, one of the simultaneous constructions is typically used (see §15.3.3). 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) ཨ་འདི་བྱས་ ལྷོ་ ཁྱོད་ན་ ལྷང་ འཚོས་ འབག་ འཚོས་ འབག་ སྤང་ལྷོ་ ཁྱོད་ གཅིག་ན་ ལྷང་ ཆ་ གཅིག་ ཐོབ་ལྷོ་ ལྷང་ འདི་ འཚོ་ འདི་ ལྷོད་ཕྱག་
 ལས་ གཅིག་ ལ་བ་པོ་ སྤང།
ódi-p'ja kʰu k'jõ:=na lá: tsʰø: bak tsʰø: bak só:-di
 that-ADVZR 3SGM village=LOC bull search carry search carry go.PFV-NF
k'jõ: tɛi:=na lá: tɛʰa tɛi? tʰop-ti lá:=di dzo:=di
 village one=LOC bull pair one find-NF bull=DEMPH price=DEMPH
tõ:tʰa? kʰɛ: tɛi? làp-o bɛ?
 thousand score one say-2INF EQU.PER
 'Therefore he went into villages searching and searching and in one village he found a pair of bulls and (the seller) said the price was 20,000 rupees.' (TB bull story)

The nonfinal converb construction is typically used for expressing how long the results of a previous action have existed:

- (15.8) འདི་ཁར་ ལྷོ་བས་ལྷོ་ ཏེ་ལམ་ ལྷོ་བོ་ བརྒྱད་ཚོད་ ལང་ཏེ་ ཨ་ལྷོ།
dikʰa lɛp-ti halam dau gɛ:-tsʰø? lá:-to ágja.
 here arrive-NF about month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother
 'It's about some eight months since I arrived here, brother.' (Richhi 12)

In spoken language, *-ti/di* is often accompanied by the marker *-ki/gi* (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 ཀེ་ *-ki* (བཤད་ཟི་ཀེ་ *bshad-sti-ki* [ɛ́ɛtiki] ‘saying’), suggesting that the author considers the marker a genitive (ཀེ་ *-ki*) rather than an agentive (ཀེས་ *-kis*).

- (15.9) ལུ་གིས་ ཨོ་འདི་ གླང་ འདི་ལོ་ ལྷོང་ཕྱག་ ལལ་ གཅིག་ གཉིས་ ཕྱོན་ཕྱེ་གི་ ལུ་ གླང་ འདི་ ཉོ་སྟོ་ བྱིག་ འོང་བོ་ སྤང།
kʰu=gi ódi láː=di=lo tðːtʰa? kʰɛː tɛi? niː pʰin-diki kʰu
 3SGM=AGT that bull=DEMPH=DAT thousand score one two give-NF 3SGM
láː=di nòː-ti kʰi? òm-bo bɛ?
 bull=DEMPH buy-NF lead come-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘Giving 22,000 for the bull, he bought the bull and brought it (home).’ (TB bull story)

The nonfinal converb may be followed by the dative-locative *=lo* when the clause expresses manner of doing:

- (15.10) ལུ་སྟོ་ལོ་ རབ་ལུས་ བྱས་གོ།
rup-ti=lo raprup pʰja-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 *pʰja* ‘do’. In (15.11), in order to avoid the infelicitous **ma-VERB-ti*, the speaker nominalizes the expression as *man-zak-o* and assigns the nonfinal marking to the following verbalizer. A functionally equivalent alternative would be to use the negated circumstantial converb *man-VERB-(p)a*.

- (15.11) a) སེར་ལྷོ་མ་, ཚོད་ མ་ཉོག་ ཅེ་ མན་བཞག་གོ་ བྱས་ཟི་ འཛིབ་མཁན་ མིན།
séːbjam, tɛʰθ? mínto? tɛɛː man-zak-o pʰja-ti dzip-kʰɛː ʔː.
 bumble.bee 2SG.L flower at.all NEG-leave-2INF do-NF suck-NMLZ EQU.PER
 ‘Bumble bee, you are one who sucks flowers without leaving any aside.’ (RS bee story)
- b) ཅམ་ ཅམ་ འབྲང་ཐེན་ ཅིག་ སར་ རྩར་ མ་བྱེད་པོ་ བྱས་ཟི་ རྩོད་ མིན་ན།
tɛam tɛam buntʰɛː tɛi? pʰaː tsʰuː ma-pʰɛ-po
 quietly quietly moment one thither hither NEG-budge-2INF
pʰja-ti dθː náj.
 do-NF sit TAG.ASR
 ‘Quietly, quietly, sit a while without budging, will you.’ (rnam-rtog 28)

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 *jòʔ*, see (15.12), its use with the equative *t̃* is limited to uses in ritual language of incantations, see (15.13), where the translation is tentative.⁴¹⁸

- (15.12) རང་གི་སྐད་འདི་བཟོ་བྱུང་ལས་ ཡོད་མེད་ རང་གི་སྐད་ རྒྱལ་སྐད་ སྤྱད།
raŋ=gi ke:=di tɕɛʈaʔ jò-ti raŋ-gi keʔ 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་ མིན་ཟླ་ འུ་རུང་ དང་ ཐོག་མོ་ཉིད་ལོ་ འཛམ་གྲུ་གིས་ འདིའི་ ན་ གནས་ འཁོར་ལོ་ རྩེ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་ བྱང་ཕུབ།
t'a di=lɛ ín-di p'ja-run t'a:tʰomɔni:=lo dzambuliŋ
 now this=ABL EQU-NF do-CONC very.beginning=DAT world
di:=na nám kʰorlo tsɛ-gɛ:=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 *-tsʰa:* (§15.3.1.1). The second construction expressing general anteriority employs the postposition *gjablɛ* ‘after’ or *dze:(lo)* ‘after’ (§15.3.1.2). In addition, two constructions (VERB-*lõ*: *mè:-po* and VERB-*po tsamgi*) express immediate anteriority, which corresponds to the expressions “as soon as” and “no sooner than” (§15.3.1.3).

15.3.1.1 Anteriority with ablative *=lɛ*

The ablative marker *=lɛ* may be combined to *-po*-infinitive (15.14), the completive *-tsʰa:(.)* (15.15) or its infinitivized form *-tsʰa-u/tsʰo-u* (15.16) to mark an action that precedes the action coded by

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 *ts^ha=lɛ* has been only attested in the spoken language.

- (15.14) མཐ་ རྒྱུངས་པོ་ལས་ ང་ཅག་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ རྒྱུང་ཤང་ བཏང་ཚར།
ám t̪'õ:-po=lɛ nàtɛa? kʰim=na dø:-ɛɛ? tã:-ts^ha:.
 mother die-2INF=ABL 1PL house=LOC live-INF leave-CMPL
 ‘After mum died, we stopped living in (our) house.’ (Richhi 133)
- (15.15) ཏང་རྟོ་མ་ ཡུའུ་ལས་ རྒྱུ་ཐུམ་ རྒྱུངས་ཚར་ལས་ ལྷག་ འདི་ སྤྱག་ལས་ འག་ལྷེ་ ལྷུ་ཕྱི་ ཤི་བོ་ མིན།
hã:toma jòu=lɛ doktʰum kjap-ts^ha=lɛ ta:=di p'ja:=lɛ òtɛ
 suddenly up=ABL kick do-CMPL=ABL tiger=DEMPH cliff=ABL down
lum-di ɛí-u í:.
 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་ཕྱི་ འོང་ཚར་བོ་ལས་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ བན་བོའི་ གཡོག་ སྤྱས་ཤང་ འདི་རང་ དགོ་བ་ མིན།
nàtɛa? mí: lý: lèn-di ò:-ts^ho-u=lɛ tɛi:=ki
 1PL human.GEN body take-NF come-CMPL-2INF=ABL one=AGT
zen=lo pʰembø: jó? p'ja-ɛɛ=di=rã: giu í:.
 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: *-ts^hou=lɛ*, *-tsub=lɛ*, *-ts^ho:=lɛ* and *-so:=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 *ts^ha-u=lɛ* (< *ts^ha-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་ འཛོག་ཚུའུ་ལས་ ལམ་ལྷང་ མོ་ན་ ཁྱིམ་ མོ་ན་ ཡང།
tarku=lɛ jà: dzɛk-ts^ho-u=lɛ lām-mɛ? óna kʰim óna jò?
 TPN=ABL up climb-CMPL-2INF=ABL road-below there house there EX.PER
 ‘Having climbed up from Tarku, there’s a house below the road there.’ (KT discussion with TB)

- (15.18) ང་ཅག་གི་ནི་མི་གི་ཚུབ་ལས་ལ་མོ་མི་ལེགས་བསོད་ནམས་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་ནི་འདི་
ŋàtɛaʔ ɛí-nɛ mí ɛí-tsub=lɛ làlo mí lɛm sónam
 1PL die-COND human die-CMPL.2INF=ABL some human good merit
zanpo jò:-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་བོ་སྤང་དྲ་སྐྱེ་ཚུབ་ལས་ཨ་ཙོ་ཚུབ་ལས་ཏེ་, ཏེ་ཏེ་ (Nep.) གཞིས་གསུམ་ཚུབ་ལས་དྲ་འདི་ལོ་ལྷོ་དགོས་ཤང་སྤང་
p'a:=di ki-u bɛʔ. t'a ki:-tsub=lɛ átsi gjaple
 interval=DEMPH grow-2INF EQU.NE now grow-CMPL.2INF=ABL a.bit after
tɛ, hapta ní: súm gjaple t'a di=lo ko: go:-ɛɛ 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 *-tsʰo:lɛ*, see (15.20), and *-so:lɛ*, see (15.21), were conditioned in the speech of consultant SGD so that the reduced form *-so:lɛ* occurred when the verb had an initial affricate⁴¹⁹ (e.g. *tsʰã:-so:=lɛ* ‘after completing’, *tɛa:-so:=lɛ* ‘after coming’), whereas the fuller form *-tsʰo:lɛ* occurred otherwise (e.g. *mjõ:-tsʰo:=lɛ* ‘after finishing’, *dik-tsʰo:=lɛ* ‘after arranging’). The variant pronunciations *-tsʰo:lɛ* and *-so:lɛ* 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) ལས་ལེན་ཚུང་ཚོའ་ལས་དྲ་འབའ་དར་བཏགས་ཤང་སྤང་
kʰɛ:lɛ: mjõ:-tsʰo:=lɛ t'a bada ta:-ɛɛ 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་བྱིས་ན་བཅར་ཚོའ་ལས་འདི་བུའི་ཀི་ཡབ་དང་ཡུ་མ་འདི་གིས་
p'umy: kʰim=na tɛa:-so:=lɛ=di p'u-i-gi
 girl.GEN house=LOC come.HUM-CMPL.2INF=ABL=DEMPH boy=GEN=GEN
jà:p t'ã: jùma=di=gi
 father.HON and mother.HON=DEMPH=AGT
 ‘Having come to the girl’s house, the boy’s father and mother...’ (SGD wedding customs)

15.3.1.2 Anteriority with the postpositions *gjable* ‘after’ and *dzɛ:(lo)* ‘after’

Anterior constructions are also formed by attaching the postposition *gjablo/gjable* ‘after’ or *dzɛ:(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 *mjõ:* ‘finish’. Note that in (15.23) the nominalizer attaches to the completive marker *-tsʰa:*.

⁴¹⁹ Consultant RS has *-so:lɛ* also with initial aspirated lateral /l/, e.g. *lep-so:=lɛ* (RS) vs. *lep-tsʰo:=lɛ* ‘after arriving’ (SGD).

- (15.22) འདི་ལས་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ བཤད་གྱི་ ཆས་ སྒྲིགས་ རྒྱུ་བའི་ རྒྱུ་ལས་ ང་ སྒྲུང་དྲི་ག་ དཔེར་བཞིན་ ལྷ་ཁང་ རྣང་ག་ གཡོག་ བྱས་བཞིན་པོ་ བྱས་ རྒྱུ་
པོ་ ཞིན།

dile [dʱendzɔŋ ɛ́:da tɕʰoʔ dɔk mjò:-pø: **gjablɛ**] *ŋà gā:toʔ*

then Sikkim institute doctrine read finish-2INF.GEN after 1SG TPN

pɛrdzøʔ [akʰā: nàŋɕa jóʔ pʼja-zin-po-pʼja dø:-po i:.

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) སྒྲིན་ལས་ བཏུབ་ རྒྱུ་ཆར་བའི་ རྒྱུ་ལོ་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོས་ དགོན་པོ་ སྒྲོར་བ་ བསགས།

[*mélam tap mjò:-tsʰa-wø:* **gjablo**] *kʰð: ní:-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) ཆས་ བཤད་ལྷི་ རྒྱུ་སོངས་ རྒྱུ་ལས་

[*tɕʰoʔ ɛ́-ti mjò:-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 *-sumdā:* (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་ལྡན་ ཏུས་ཆོད་ སོང་བའི་ རྒྱུ་ལོ་ ལྷ་སྒྱིད་ཀྱིས་ ཆས་སྒྱིད་ལོ་

[*tsʰedɛ:* tʼytsʰøʔ sɔ́:-bø: **dzɛ:lo**] *laki=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་ རྒྱུ་

[*dɛ:=ra nìm y:riŋ námpu 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 *lò: mè:po*, consisting of the modal secondary verb *lò:*⁴²⁰ ‘have time to’ (see §8.5.10) and the negated existential in *-po*-infinitive *mè:-po*.

- (15.27) ཉེ་ང་ཅའི་བོ་ཙ་ཙུ་མཐོང་ཡང་མེད་པོ་བོ་ཙ་ཙུ་ང་ཅག་ལོ་བོས་པ་འོང་ཅེ།
tɛ [ɲàtɛi⁴²¹ p'otso=tsu tʰõ: lò: mè:-po] p'otso ɲá
 so 1PL.GEN child=PL see have.time.to NEG.EX-2INF child five
ɲàtɛa=lo p'o:-pa ò:-tɛɛ.
 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) མ་རྒྱ་མ་རྒྱ་ང་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ལོག་སྟེ་སྒྲིབས་ཡང་མེད་པོ་ཡི་གེ་སྒྲག་སྒྲག་པར།
ágja ágja [ɲà qɛndzõ:=lɛ lòk-ti ʃɛp lò:
 elder.brother elder.brother 1SG Sikkim=ABL return-NF arrive have.time.to
mè:-po] jìgi gu: gu:-pa.
 EX-2INF letter wait wait-CIRC
 ‘Brother, brother, [as soon as (or: since) I arrived back from Sikkim], I have been waiting
 and waiting a letter.’ (Richhi 146)

The second and less frequent construction is VERB-*po tsamgi*, which is based on WD ཅམ་ *tsam* ‘barely’.

- (15.29) ལྷགས་འདི་ཡང་ག་རྒྱེབ་འ་ཉ་གིས་ལབ་པོ་ཅམ་གིས་སྤྱད་པའི་བྱར་ཁར་ཁ་གིས་ལག་གོ་སེན་མོ་གིས་དྲོང་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་གི་
ta:=di=jã: k'atɛp [à:nja=gi làp-o tsamgi] súpø:
 tiger=DEMPH=too how marten=AGT say-2INF as.soon.as belly.GEN
sù.kʰa kʰa=gi làko símo=gi t'õ: pʰuk-tiki
 corner mouth=AGT hand nail=AGT hole pierce-NF
 ‘Somehow the tiger too, [as soon as the marten had said (so)], pierced a hole in the corner
 of the (elephant’s) side with (his) mouth and hand nails, (and)...’ (KT animal story)
- (15.30) མཐོང་པོ་ཅམ་གྱིས་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་སེམས་ལོ་འདི་འདྲེ་མོ་རང་སྤང་ལེ་མཐོ་བོ་མི་ཚད་
[tʰõ:-po tsamgi] rã:zingi sém=lo=di qɛmo=rã:
 see-2INF as.soon.as by.itself mind=DAT=DEMPH she.demon=AEMPH
bɛ:=sɛ nó:-bo mi-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 *jnënle* ‘before’

Posterior constructions with the postposition *jnënle* ‘before’ (also *jnënlo* and *henle*) 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

⁴²⁰ homophonous with *lò:* ‘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 *jénle* is a genitivized *-po*-infinitive, see (15.31-33). Note that the posterior clause in (15.33) has an embedded nonfinal clause (*mú: jìgi éik-ti*).

- (15.31) ལྷ་ཁོ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སུ་
 [dzā:dar go tsuk-θ: jénlo] laki=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་མཇུག་ལྟར་ ལཱ་ལྟོ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སུ་ རྒྱལ་མཚན།
 [t'izā: lú jè-m-bθ: jénlo] tɛʰθ:=lo tam=tɛi? làp-a
 but song listen-2INF.GEN before 2SG.L=DAT word=INDF say-PUR
 òm-bo t̃: gjaltsʰen.
 come-2INF EQU.PER PN
 ‘[But before listening to (your) song], I have come to tell you a message, Gyaltsen.’
 (nga'i 'gan 24)
- (15.33) མོས་ ཡི་གེ་ བཞིག་ལྟེ་ སྐྱོགས་ཀྱི་ སྐབས་སུ་ མོ་ལྟོ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ མཚན་ གསུམ་ ལྟར།
 [mú: jìgi éik-ti dɔk-θ: jénlo] tʰopθ: tɛŋkʰa tsʰa:
 3SGF.AGT letter break-NF read-2INF.GEN before forehead.GEN above turn
 súm dza:
 three stick
 ‘[Before she opens and reads the letter], (she) touches (her) forehead three times (with the letter).’ (Richhi 141)
- When the event in the main clause has already taken place, the posterior clause is negated, see (15.34-36). The negated verb may occur non-nominalized (15.34) or nominalized (15.35-36).
- (15.34) ལྷ་ཁོ་ (Paul) གཤེན་ མ་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་ ལཱ་ལྟོ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ མཚན་ རྒྱུ་ཚུགས།
 [pol jén ma-kjap jénle] jè: ám=di t'õ:-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་ཀེས་ མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་སྐབས་ ལཱ་ལྟོ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ མཚན་ རྒྱུ་ཚུགས།
 jè: ápa=gi [man-qõ:-pθ: jénlo] súm-bo
 1SG.GEN father=AGT NEG-die.HON-2INF.GEN before say.HON-2INF
 ná:-di za: jò?
 do.HON-NF set EX.PER
 ‘My father said (so) [before he died].’ (Richhi 116)
- (15.36) འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ལོ་ མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་ ལཱ་ལྟོ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ མཚན་ རྒྱུ་ཚུགས།
 [qendzo:=lo man-dzø-m-bθ: jénle=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 *-εε*-infinitive:

- (15.37) འདི་ཁ་ར་ འོང་གི་ ལྷན་ལས་
 [dik^ha=ra ō:-εε=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- <i>po-dā</i> :	nominalizer <i>-po/bo</i> and temporal extension of coordinator <i>t'ā</i> : ‘and’
VERB- <i>sondā</i> :	<i>sō</i> :- <i>bo</i> [go.PFV-2INF] + <i>t'ā</i> : ‘and’ (?)
VERB- <i>somdā</i> :	<i>sō</i> :- <i>bo</i> [go.PFV-2INF] + <i>t'ā</i> : ‘and’ (?)
VERB- <i>sumdā</i> :	<i>sō</i> :- <i>bo</i> [go.PFV-2INF] + <i>t'ā</i> : ‘and’ (?)
VERB- <i>tsubdā</i> : (CY)	<i>ts^ho-u</i> [CMPL-2INF] + <i>t'ā</i> : ‘and’ (?)
VERB- <i>pø</i> : <i>gā</i> :	WT སྐར་ sgang ‘time’
VERB- <i>kap</i>	WT སྐབས་ skabs ‘time’
VERB- <i>dÿ</i> :	WT དུས་ dus ‘time, season’
VERB- <i>rɛŋ-k^ha</i>	WT རྟན་ ran ‘be time to’ + spatial suffix <i>k^ha</i>
VERB <i>lō</i> : <i>mè</i> :- <i>po</i>	secondary verb WT རྟོང་ long ‘have time to’ + NEG.EX-2INF
VERB-RDP <i>p'a:pu</i> NEG-VERB <i>p'a:pu</i>	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-dā*:⁴²²

Similar to other simultaneous constructions, the use of VERB-*po-dā*: (may be reduced to VERB-*m-dā*.) implies at least partial temporal overlap between two actions/states:

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) ང་ལྟ་ར་བང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ཨ་ཙཱིག་མཉུ་འོག་ལྷོ་བྱོམ་བོ་དང་ཐུར་ཐུང་ལིང་དམ་ལའ་མཁན་ཨོན་གྱིང་གཅིག་ཡོད་མཁན་ཐུང།
t'ato [rawā: tʰom=gi átsi=tei? mōu òtɛ te'em-bo-dā:] barfun
 now TPN town=GEN a.bit=INDF down down go.HON-2INF -CONJ TPN
liṅdam lāp-kʰɛ: óna k'jo:=tei? jò:-kʰɛn bɛ?
 TPN say-NMLZ there village=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'Now when (one) comes a bit down of the town of Rabang, there is a village there called Barphung Lingdam.' (SGD wedding customs)

Usually constructions with *-dā:* signify a switch in the actor referent, as seen in (15.39), where each instance of *-po-dā:* 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) ཁྱིམ་ཚུ་ཚེད་བཅུ་གཉིས་སྒྲིབས་བོ་དང་ལོག་ཐུ་ཙུ་གས་པོ་ཉེ་ཏག་འབག་འད་ཐུ་ལོག་དོམ་འདི་ལོ་ཐེངས་གཉིས་ཉིབ་ཉིབ་བོ་དང་དོམ་མཉུ་ལས་འཇུས་ལྟེ་སྐད་ཤོར་བོ་དང་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱོས་ཡ་བོ།
[tʰik teʰutsʰø? tɕu:ɲi: lɛp-o-dā:] lòk gjatɕʰu=tsu kɛ:po tɛ:ta?
 exactly clock.time twelve arrive-2INF-CONJ again Indian=PL many stick
ba? òn-di [lòk t'om=di=lo tʰɛŋki tip-tip-o-dā:] t'om
 carry come-NF again bear=DEMPH=DAT suddenly hit-RDP-2INF-CONJ bear
mōu=lɛ dzu:-ti [kɛ? ɛó:-bo-dā:] mí tʰamtɕɛ? 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-dā:* in the novel Richhi. The clauses are functional passives, so actor switching or retaining is not applicable in this sentence.

- (15.40) འདི་ཙུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཙ་ལས་དང་ང་ཙེ་ཙ་ལས་བསྐྱེམས་པོ་དང་ཉི་ཙུག་སྟོང་པྱག་བཅུ་ཐམ་པ་འཛོན་ཐུང།
[di=tsu tʰamtɕɛ? tsa=lɛ t'ā: ɲàtɕi tsa=lɛ dom-bo-dā:] tiru?
 this=PL all by=ABL and 1PL.GEN at=ABL combine-2INF-CONJ rupee
t̪ō:tʰa? tɕu-tʰamba tʰon bɛ?
 thousand ten-NUM become EQU.NE
 '[When combining from them all and from us], it comes to ten thousand rupees.' (Richhi 48)

The construction is negated by the prefix *ma-*. The form *m-ò:-b-dā:* in (15.41) is an abbreviation of *ma-ò-m-bo-dā:* [NEG-come-2INF-CONJ].

- (15.41) ཁུ་མ་འོང་བོ་དང་ང་གཡོག་འདི་བྱས་ཐྱོང་ཆར།
[kʰu m-ò:-b-dā:] ɲà jó:=di p'ja mjò:-tsʰa:.
 3SGM NEG-come-2INF-CONJ 1SG work=DEMPH do finish-CMPL
 'I finished the work [before he came]. ' (KN e)

- (15.42) འཚོས་ཀ་གིས་ མ་རྩུགས་པ་རྩུགས་པ་དང་
 [kʰɛ:ga=gi ma-tsʰu:-tsʰu-p-dã:]
 strength=AGT NEG-be.able.to-RDP-2INF-CONJ
 ‘[when I wasn’t able to do (those things) with (my) strength]...’ (CY interview)

Note that the negated simultaneous construction in (15.41) becomes, in effect, a temporal ‘before’-clause. Negated simultaneous constructions are used in many languages, which do not have a morpheme meaning ‘before’, to express ‘before’-clauses (Thompson et al 2007: 248).

In addition to the grammaticalized temporal use, -*po t’ã:* also occurs in the non-temporal conjunctive meaning:

- (15.43) གྱོས་ རྒྱུགས་པོ་ དང་ འར་ བུར་གྱི་ སྒྲ།
 k’joʔ kjap-o t’ã: àrur=gi qa
 chatting do-2INF and hurly-burly=GEN sound
 ‘the sound of chatting and hurly-burly’ (rnam-tog 24)

15.3.3.2 Simultaneous converb markers -*sondã:/sompã:/sumdã:/tsubdã:*

The use of the converbal markers -*sondã:/sompã:/sumdã:/tsubdã:*, which I have only come across in spoken language, suggests that the converbal action is at least partly simultaneous with the action marked by the verb in the following clause. For hypotheses of the origin of these forms, which do not occur as such in written Denjongke, see §3.3.6.18. The four forms are illustrated in (15.44-47). The construction is negated by the prefix *ma(n)-*, see (15.45).

- (15.44) རོགས་ འདི་ ཅུ་བཞིན་ལས་ ཡ་སོང་དང་ ཉེ་ ལུ་
 [ro:=di nyù-zẽ:=le jà:-sondã:] tɛ kʰu
 friend=DEMPH weep-PROG=ABL go-SIM so 3SGM
 ‘[When (his) friend goes away weeping], he...’ (RS pupil joke)

This simultaneous construction may, depending on the context, also express reason:

- (15.45) རྒྱུ་ མན་གྱི་གས་སོང་མ་དང་ ད་ ང་ ན་ཉི་ཀི་ ལུས་པོ་ སྤང།
 [lúnj man-ɖik-sompã:] t’a nà nà:-tiki lù-b=bɛʔ.
 air NEG-be.fitting-SIM now 1SG be.ill-NF remain-2INF=EQU.NE
 ‘[Since the air was not fitting (for me)], I was left ailing.’ (PED life story)

Sometimes both a simultaneous and causative interpretations are possible:

- (15.46) ཉི་མ་ ཤར་སོང་མ་དང་ མོ་འདི་ ཤི་མཐན་ སྤང།
 [nim ɛá:-sumdã:] ódɛ: ɛí-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 p’ja-ti* ‘because of that’ (lit. ‘that doing’).

- (15.47) ད་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ལྷི་ ལྷུབ་བསྐྱགས་ ལེབ་ བཏང་ རྒྱགས་པོ་དང་ ཉེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ལྷུབ་ལྷི་ ང་ཅའི་ སྐད་ ལྷུལ་ཅིག་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ལྷི་ ཉམས་ཆག་ སོང་བོ་ ཨོན།
*t'a ódepti [kʰjapqɑː lèp tãː-tsubdãː]*⁴²³ *tɛ ódi p'ja-ti ɣàtɕi*
 now like.that spreading much send-SIM so that do-NF 1PL.GEN
kɛ? ɛyːtɛy? ódepti ɲàmteʰa? sɔː-bo ʔiː.
 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 *-tsubdaː* is in (15.47) followed by a causal construction suggest that although a causative interpretation is at times possible, the basic meaning of *-tsubdãː* and the related forms *-sondãː/somdãː/sumdãː* is simultaneous.

15.3.3.3 Simultaneity with *gãː* ‘time’

The next four simultaneous constructions use an explicit word referring to time. The word *gãː(=lo)*:⁴²⁴ ‘(at the) time’ is postposed to genitivized *-po*-infinitive to mark simultaneity, a typical noun complement construction (see §13.4). Phonetically *gãː* is frequently reduced to *[ɣãː]*.

- (15.48) ཀ་མ་ ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ ལུས་ འདེམ་ ཐོབ་པའི་ སྐར་ གཉེན་ མ་རྒྱལས་ན་ རྒྱབ་ལོ་ འགྱུར་བོ་ སྐྱེས་ འོང་།
karma [tɛʰøː=ki p'um dɛm tʰop-øː gãː] ɲén ma-kjap-nɛ
 PN 2SG.L=AGT girl such receive-2INF.GEN time wedding NEG-do-COND
k'øːpo ki ɔː.
 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-*pøː* *gãː* 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) ཨོ་ན་ལས་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཐོ་རངས་ཅིག་ བདག་གྲུ་ འདི་ སོང་བའི་ སྐར་ ཨོ་ སྐར་ རྒྱག་གོ་ འདི་ ལྷོ་ ཐོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཟ་སྟེ་ ལེབ་ འགྲངས་ལྷི་ རྒྱུད་ འདུག།
[ónalɛ ódi tʰorãː=tɕi? daku=di sɔː-bøː gãː] ó
 then that tomorrow=INDF owner=DEMPH go.PFV-2INF.GEN time that
lãː tsuko=di p'i tʰamteɛ? sà-ti lèp qãː-ti døː
 bull other=DEMPH fodder all eat-NF very.much be.satisfied-NF sit
du?
 EX.SEN
 ‘Then, the following day, at a time when the owner had gone away, the other bull ate all the fodder and appeared very satisfied.’ (TB bull story)

The expression may be supplemented by the dative-locative (15.50) or ablative marker (15.51):

⁴²³ The form *tãː-tsubdãː* could either be a reduced version of *tãː-tsʰar-bo t'ãː* (cf. VERB-*tsʰar-bo*=*lɛ* > VERB-*tsʰub*=*lɛ*) or have the abilitative secondary verb *tsʰu* ‘be able to’, *tãː tsʰu-po-dãː* > *tãː tsʰub-dãː*. In the latter case, example (15.47) would be an instance of simultaneous construction *-po-dãː*; see §15.3.3.1.

⁴²⁴ This word may also be directly postposed to demonstratives, nouns and adjectives, e.g. *ódi gãː(=lo)* ‘that time’, *p'jabyː gãː* ‘when being child’, *tɛʰuɲtɛʰuɲ gãː* ‘when being small’.

(15.50) ལང་ རྩོན་བའི་ སྐང་ལོ་ འགག་ཆ་ རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ལགས།

[*pʰa:* *tɛ'øm-bø:* *gã:=lo*] *gakdza* *kjap-tɛɛ=la.*
over.there come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT obstruction do-PST=HON
'[When (he) came over there], (they) obstructed (him).'
(CY interview)

(15.51) ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོས་ ཇ་ འཐུང་ཁྱི་ མ་ཐུང་ སྐང་ལས་ ཀུན་ཆེ་ ཉང་ ལྷ་མཛོས་ཀྱིས་ ཁོང་ གཉིས་པོ་ལོ་ རལ་ལག་ འབག་སྟེ་ སྟེབས།

[*kʰõ:* *ní:-po* *tɛ'a* *tʰuŋ-di* *ma-mjõ:* *gã:=lɛ*] *kantɛʰi*
3PL two-COL tea drink-NF NEG-finish time=ABL youngest.daughter(Nep.)
t'ã: *ladzi=ki* *kʰõ:* *ní:-po=lo* *ɛɛ:laʔ* *bak-ti* *lɛp.*
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) རྩོལ་ཐྱིང་ སོང་སོང་ སྐང་ འདི་

[*dordziliŋ* *sõ:-sõ:* *gã:=di*]
TPN go.PFV-RDP time=DEMPH
'[When I was going to Darjeeling]...' (UTR plains story)

The reduplication in (15.52) probably emphasizes that the verbal action in the following clause happened on the way to a location ("when I was going") and not after the speaker had reached the location ("when I went").

15.3.3.4 Simultaneity with *kap* 'time'

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 *nàŋɛa* '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) རྩོན་བའི་ སྐབས་ རང་ག་ལོ་

[*tɛ'øm-bø:* *kap* *nàŋɛa=lo*]
come.HON-2INF.GEN time inside=DAT
'[When coming]...' (KT phone call)

- (15.54) ཏེ་ཨ་འདི་དོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ལུ་འདི་དག་གསེར་ཁྱིམ་འགསོལ་པོ་བཞུགས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ལོ་ངའི་མི་དབང་ཚས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་ལོ་བལ་ཡུལ་རྒྱལ་ལུ་གིས་དེན་འབྲེལ་ཨ་འདི་ནང་ག་ལོ་གདན་ཞུ་གནང་མ་སྟེ།

te ódi t'ønzɪŋgi [*p'ey:=gi gɛ:pu=di t'a sé:tʰinásol pʰou*
so that according Nepal=GEN king=DEMPH now enthronement over.there

zu:-pø: **kapsu=lo]** *ɳàtɛi mɪwǎ: tɕʰøgɛl tɕʰimpu=lo p'ey:*
sit.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT 1PL.GEN ruler king great.one=DAT Nepal
gɛ:pu=gi tɛndɛ: *ódi nàŋɛa=lo dɛnɛu nǎ:-m bɛ?*
king=AGT ceremony that inside=DAT invitation give.HON-2INF EQU.NE

‘So in accordance to that, [now when the King of Nepal was having coronation over there], our ruler, the great king, was invited in that ceremony by the king of Nepal.’ (CY interview)

- (15.55) ལུ་ག་རྩེ་བང་ཁར་ཐོན་གད་མཐོན་བསམ་བཏང་བཞིན་སྐབས་ནང་ག་ལོ་ཏེ་སྟག་འོང་བོ་ཏ་གོ་སྟེ་གི་ལུ་ཐོན་བའི་བྱས་བྱས་བཞིན་ཡོད་པོ་སྟེ།

[*kʰu k'atɛ? paŋkʰa tʰon-ɛɛ? nó:sam tǎ:-zin kap nàŋɛa=lo]* *te*
3SGM how outside come.out-INF thought send-PROG time inside=DAT then
ta? òm-bo hako-tiki kʰu tʰom-bø: tɕ'y? p'ja-zin
tiger come-2INF know-NF 3SGM come.out-2INF.GEN plot do-PROG
jò-po bɛ?

EX-2INF EQU.NE

‘When he was thinking how to get out, he, having found out that a tiger had come, was scheming to get out.’ (KT animal story)

- (15.56) གསོལ་ཇ་གསོལ་ཞིབ་ཟ་བཞིན་པའི་སྐབས་མཐེ་སྤྱ་རང་བྱིམ་

[*só:za só:ɛip sà-zɛ:-pø:* **kap]**
tea.HON snacks eat-PROG-NMNZ.GEN time

‘[as (they) are/were enjoying tea and snacks]...’ (Richhi 12)

In written language, however, *kap* may be directly postposed to the verb root (in Richhi *kap* occurs both with non-nominalized and nominalized verbs). The form directly attached to the verb root is here considered a converbal ending and glossed as simultaneous (SIM).

- (15.57) ཨ་ཇི་ངའི་སྟན་པོའི་སྤྱད་བདར་ཚྱོད་སྐབས་ལོ་འདེམ་ག་མའི་བར་ཆད་བོ།

ádzi:, [jɛ: mémpø: dzǎ:dar mjǒ:-kap=lo] *dɛm k'amø: p'a:tɛɛ?*
darn 1SG.GEN doctor training finish=SIM=DAT such what.GEN obstale
bo.

EQU.NE.Q

‘Darn! What an obstacle (just) [when I’m finishing medical studies]!’ (Richhi 116)

- (15.58) རྩངས་འཁོར་ན་ནང་པོ་འབྱས་ཕྱི་འདེགས་སྐབས་སྟན་པོ་ཀམ་

[*lǎŋkʰor=na nɛ:po tʰu-ti dɛk-kap]* *mém̐po karma*
car=LOC patient pick-NF set.inside=SIM doctor PN

‘[When the patient is being picked up and placed inside the car], doctor Karma...’ (Richhi 172)

The construction is negated by *ma-*.

- (15.59) ད་ཅིག་ཆར་བ་ མ་རྒྱལ་པ་(པའི་) སྐབས་ རང་ ག་ན་ ཡོད་པོ?
 [t'atei? tɛʰa:p ma-kjap(-pø:) kap] rã: k'ana jè-po?
 earlier.today rain NEG-strike(-2INF.GEN) time 2SG.M where EX.PER-2INF
 'Where were you [earlier today when it was not raining]?' (KN e)

15.3.3.5 Simultaneous converb marker *-dy:*

The simultaneous converb marker *-dy:* (derives from ཏུ་ *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་ཉི་ ད་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ རྒྱལ་ཏུ་
 [nà:=lɛ òŋ-kʰɛ: di=tsu=to t'a lɔkɛ 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) འགོ་ དང་པོ་ ང་ འོང་ཏུ་
 [go t'anpo nà: òn-dy:]
 start first here some-SIM
 '[When (I) at first came here]...' (KT life story)

In the novel Richhi, *-dy:* occurs only once, in a poem:

- (15.62) མི་ལུས་ རོབ་ཏུ་
 [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 *kapsu*, which also occurs in (15.54) above as the variant *kapsu*.

- (15.63) ལོ་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ སྐབས་ཏུ་ སྐབས་ལོ་ ང་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ བཤད་གྲ་ རང་ག་ ཆོས་ བྱས་ རྒྱུ་ལོ་ མིན།
 [lò tɕø:ŋa lɛp-dy: kapsu] ŋà dɛndzõ: ɛ́:ɖa nàŋɕa
 year fifteen reach-SIM time 1SG Sikkim Buddhist.institute inside
 tɕʰo? p'ja dø:-po t̚.
 doctrine do sit-2INF EQU.PER
 '[When I reached fifteen years (of age)], I stayed at Gangtok Shedra studying.' (RB life story)

Negation is accomplished by the prefix *ma-* and genetivization is optional.

- (15.64) མདང་ང་སྐང་རྟག་འགྱུ་མ་ཐོབ་(པའི་)དུས་ང་ལེབ་སེམས་སྟོ་ལོ་མིན།
 [dã: ηà gã:to? gju ma-tʰop(-ø)-d̥y:] ηà lèp sém
 yesterday 1SG TPN go NEG-receive(-2INF.GEN)-SIM I very.much mind
 kjo-u i:
 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 -*reŋkʰa*

The fourth construction based on a WT word for ‘time’ (WT རན *ran* ‘[it is] time’) is the converb formed with the suffix -*reŋkʰa*, which combines the secondary verb *ren* ‘be time to’ with the locational/temporal derivative suffix -*kʰa* (which some speakers reduce to -*ka*). For uses of *ren* as a secondary verb, see §8.5.5.

- (15.65) འོང་རན་ཁར་རྒྱལ་བ་འོང་དོ་འདེམ་འོང་།
 [ô:-reŋkʰa] gɛ:p òn-do dem ô:
 come-SIM king come-PROG like come
 ‘[When coming], it comes like a king is coming.’ (UT riddle)
- (15.66) ཏེ་ལྷག་རན་ཁར་འདི་ལམ་ཁ་ལས་གན་འདྲེ་ཐོབ་ཤང་མེད་པ་གིས་བྱ་གིས་སྦྱངས་འགྱུ་ཐེ་གི་
 [tɛ lòk-reŋkʰa=di] làmkʰa=lɛ tɛ kʰandɛ: 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-*reŋkʰa* is negated by the negator prefix *ma-*, *ma*-VERB-*reŋkʰa*.

- (15.67) བྱ་བྱ་རའི་གི་ན་སྐང་བ་ནང་ག་ཤིང་རྟག་གཏོག་བཞིན་བྱས་རན་ཁར་འོག་ཆེ་མ་མཐོང་རན་ཁར་
 [kʰu kʰu-ri-gi nà: ŋawa⁴²⁵ nàŋɛa ɛiŋto? tok-tɛɛ:
 3SGM 3SGM=AEMPH.GEN=GEN here thought inside fruit pick-PROG
 pʰja-reŋkʰa] [ôtɛ ma-tʰô:-reŋkʰa]
 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-*reŋkʰa* occurs only once, see (15.68). In addition, *ran* [rɛn] is once in Richhi used without the suffix -*kʰa*, see (15.69).

⁴²⁵ According to consultant KN, this word is code-switching from Tibetan.

- (15.68) ཆེ་ཨ་ཇོ་ཤི་རན་ལར་ད་གན་མའི་མ་ཁི་བརྒྱུངས་ཤད་?
tɕʰɛ: [ádzo **ɕi-reŋkʰa**] *t'a k'amø: mànì gjã:-ɕɛ?*
 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་རྟེ།
t'a ɕi-ren=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 formative⁴²⁶ *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) རྩོད་ རྩོད་ བར་པོ་ ང་ཅག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ མཐུན་ཞི་ རྩོད་གེ་ ཡིན་ནམ་ གོགས་གུ་ཙུ་.....།
 [dø:-dø: **p'a:pu**] *ɳàtɕa? tʰamtɕɛ? tʰyn-di dø:-kɛ ín-am*
 stay-RDP between 1PL all agree-NF stay-HORT EQU.PER-ATTQ
t'oku=tsu.
 friend=PL
 '[While being alive,] let us live agreeably, eh, friends.' (mthun-sgril 5)

In the negated construction, the non-reduplicated verb root is preceded by the negator prefix *ma-*. In its original context, example (15.71) directly follows (15.70), adding a negated perspective ('while we are not dead') to the affirmed perspective ('while we are alive').

- (15.71) མ་ཤི་ བར་པོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ མཐུན་ཞི་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལོ་ རོགས་ རམ་མདའ་ བྱས་ཏི་ ཕན་བོའི་ གཡོག་ཙུ་ བྱས་གོ།
 [ma-ɕi **p'a:pu**] *tʰamtɕɛ? tʰyn-di tɕi:=ki zɛn=lo ro:ramda: p'ja-ti*
 NEG-die between all agree-NF one=AGT other=DAT help do-NF
pʰembø: jó:=tsu p'ja-gɛ.
 benefit.GEN work=PL do-HORT
 '[While not dead,] let us all agree, help each other and do beneficial works.' (mthun-sgril 5)

15.4 Causal clauses

This section describes eight reason-marking constructions. The terminative =*sã*: 'until', which may also express reason, is not discussed here but in §15.12. The constructions described here are the following:

- 1) finite clause marked by the connector *k'amjasɛne* 'because' (§15.4.1)
- 2) clause employing the noun *gjumtsʰɛ*: 'reason, cause' (WD རྒྱུ་མཚན་ *rgyu-mtshan*) (§15.4.2)

⁴²⁶ I am hesitant to call *p'a:pu* a postposition because it does not occur with nouns in my data.

- (15.75) མོ་དུ་ཅིག་ བོ་མ་བེ་ལོ་ སྒྲེབས་ མི་རྒྱལ་སྒྲོ་གན་བྱས་སེ་ན་ ཨ་བོའི་ བཀའ་ དོན་བཞིན་ མི་སྲུང་ལོ་ འགྱུ་ དགོས།
mù t'utei? bombai=lo lɛp mi-ts^hu:=lo. [k'amjasenɛ ápø:
 3SGF this.year TPN=DAT arrive NEG-be.able.to=REP because father.GEN
ka t'onzin màisur=lo gju go?
 order according TPN=DAT go be.needed
 'She cannot come to Bombay this year, we hear, [because (she) has to, according to the father's word, go to Mysore].' (Richhi 150)

Longer form of the conditional (see §15.6) may also be used:

- (15.76) ང་ཡང་ ཟླ་བོ་ ཞིན་ ལ་བ་བོ་ལྟ་གན་བྱས་ སེ་བེ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ལུ་ བེ་ས་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཉི་རུག་ ལུ་བོ་ འདི་ ལྷུ་རུང་
ŋà=jă: p^{hi}:-po t̃: làp-o=lo. [k'amja sí-betsenɛ k^hu
 1SG=too be.late-2INF EQU.PER say-2INF=REP why say-COND 3SGM
paisa=di ódi tiru? ŋá-po=di lum-run]
 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'amjasenɛ* 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་ཆ་བཞིན་ ཡོད། གན་བྱས་སེ་ན་ རྩོན་ལོ་ ངོ་ མ་ཤེས་བའི་ མི་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ན་ག་ཤལ་ གཅིག་ བཀའ་བློ་ ཉལ་ཤད་ འདིས།
tɕ^hødzi ŋòts^ha-zɛ: jò? k'amjasenɛ ŋò ma-ɕe:-pø:
 PN be.ashamed-PROG EX.PER because face NEG-know-2INF.GEN
mí námtei? nagaɕel(?) tɕi? kap-ti jɛ:-ɕɛ=di.
 human with blanket one cover-NF sleep-INF=DEMPH.AGT
 'Chodzi is ashamed, because she has slept covering (herself) in the same blanket with an unknown person.' (Richhi 131)

15.4.2 Causality with *gjumts^hɛ:* 'reason'

Causality/reason may also be expressed by a simple juxtaposition of a complement clause headed by the word *gjumts^hɛ:* 'reason' and a clause that explains what the reason is. Both examples (15.78) and (15.79) have the demonstrative-emphatic =*di* following *gjumts^hɛ:*, suggesting that the emphatic may be obligatory or preferred in this construction.

- (15.78) ཨོ་འདི་ མ་གནས་བའི་ ལྷུ་མཚན་ འདི་ མི་ ལ་ཤས་གེ་ཡང་ ལྷལ་སྤའི་ དུས་ཚད་ སྒར་ལོ་
[ódi ma-né:-pø: gjumts^hɛ:=di] [mí k^haɕɛ=ki=jă:
 that NEG-abide-2INF.GEN reason=DEMPH human some=AGT=too
gɛ:py: t'yts^hø? gã:=lo]
 king.GEN time.period time=DAT
 '[The reason why (the situation) did not remain (was)] [(that) in the days of the king...]' (CY interview)

- (15.79) མེད་པའི་གི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ འདི་ སྡོན་མ་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ ཐོན་བོ་ལོ།
 [mè:-pø:=**ki** **gjumts^hé:=di**] [jéma dɛm=teɪ?
 NEG.EX-2INF.GEN=GEN reason=DEMPH earlier like.that=INDF
 t^høm-bo=lo.]
 happen-2INF=REP
 ‘[The reason why it is not there (is)] [(that) it happened like long ago.]’ (PAD story on Tashiding)

The second clause, which defines the reason, may also be introduced with *k’amjasine* ‘because’ (note that =*di* is not obligatory here).

- (15.80) མེད་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ གན་བྱ་མི་ན་ ལུ་མའི་ གཞེན་ཚན་ཚུ་ལོ་ ཕྱག་མཇལ་ སྒྲིག་ དགོས་པའི་ རྟོན་དག་ གཉིས་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྤང།
 [mè:-pø: **gjumts^hé:**] [**k’amjasine** p’umø: jénts^hé:=tsu=lo
 NEG.EX-2INF.GEN reason because girl.GEN relative=PL=DAT
 tɛ^handzɛ: dɪk go:-pø: t’ønda? jɪ: jò-po bɛ?].
 present.HON arrange be.needed-2INF.GEN purpose two EX-2INF EQU.NE
 ‘[The reason why it is not there (is)] [because there are two purposes for having to arrange a present to the girls’ relatives].’ (sbar-phung 15)

Spoken language often resorts to longer expressions than mere *k’amjasine* to accompany *gjumts^hé:* ‘reason’.

- (15.81) འདི་ ང་ ལོ་རྒྱུ་ བཤད་ དགོས་པའི་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ འདི་ གན་བྱས་ ལྟུ་པོ་ མིན་ གསུང་བེ་ཅེ་ན་ འདི་ན་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྟོ་སྐད་ འདི་ སྤང་གོ་ལགས།
 [di ŋà lògju? ɛ́ɛ? go:-pø: **gjumts^hé:=di**] [**k’amja**
 this 1SG story tell be.needed-2INF.GEN reason=DEMPH why
 ɛ̀ù: i: súŋ-betɛna di=na ŋàtɛi lɔkɛ=di
 tell.HUM.2INF EQU.PER say.HON-COND this=LOC 1PL.GEN Lhoke=DEMPH
 bɛ=ɛo=la].
 EQU.NE=AT=HON
 ‘If I am to tell the reason why I had to tell this story, why I told it, (it’s because) in it is our Lhoke (=Denjongke language), you know.’ (PAD bet story)

In (15.81), *gjumts^hé:* is followed by a second reference to telling the story (*ɛ̀ù* ‘say.HUM’ restates what was expressed by *ɛ́ɛ?* ‘tell’ in the previous clause). In addition, *k’amjasine*, which has grammaticalized from a conditional clause (meaning ‘if (I) tell why’) into a connector word, is replaced by a more explicitly conditional clause *k’amja...súŋ-betɛna*.

In yet another construction, *gjumts^hé:* ‘reason’ co-occurs with the dummy verb *p’ja* ‘do’ in a simultaneous construction which is interpreted as expressing reason.

- (15.82) ཉེ་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ མོ་འདི་ བྱས་མོང་དང་ འདི་
 [tɛ **gjumts^hé:** ódi p’ja-sondã:=di]
 so reason that do-SIM=DEMPH
 ‘[So for that reason]...’ Lit. ‘[Because of the doing of that reason]...’ (PAD Tashiding story)

15.4.3 Causality with *ken* ‘cause, condition’

Another way to express reason/causation through a dependent clause is to append the word *ken* ‘cause, condition’ (WT རྟེན *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་ཀིས་ བློ་ མ་ཚུགས་པའི་ རྟེན་གྱིས་ ཏང་ཐོག་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ན་ རི་ཀོ་རྒྱང་ (recording) ནང་ག་ལོ་ ཚོག་ མ་མཚུངས་པོ་ ཞིན་ནོ་
 [ŋá:=gi t'i ma-ts^hu-pø: kɛŋ=gi] hato? sã:te nà:
 1SG=AGT write NEG-be.able.to-2INF.GEN cause=AGT suddenly until here
 reko:diŋ nàŋɛa=lo ts^hik ma-ts^huŋ-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་ བྱིས་མགོ་ ཨམ་ འདི་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ བྱིས་ན་ ཡོད་པའི་ རྟེན་གྱིས་
 [t'izã: k^himgo ám=di tɛuku k^him=na jø-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་ གུངས་མང་ གནས་པའི་ རྟེན་ལས་
 [di: nàŋ⁴²⁸ míri? k'jã.me? 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 *ken* occurred mainly in the speech of consultant KT.

15.4.4 Causality with nonfinal converb *láp-ti* ‘saying’

Reason can also be expressed by the nonfinal converb *láp-ti* ‘saying’, which refers to the mental process of rationalization by the actor of the clause.

- (15.85) ཚོད་ གནངས་ཚེ་ འོག་རྟོ་ལོ་ ལཔ་སྟེ་ འབྱེད་པར་ འོང་བོ་ ཞིན།
 [tɛ^hø? náŋts^hi lòk-to=lo láp-ti] p^hɛ-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 =*le*

In addition to anteriority (§15.3.1.1), the ablative marker =*le* 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

⁴²⁸ In spoken language, the case marker =*na* (WD ན་) or a disyllabic postposition *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo* (ནང་ག་/ནང་ལོ་) is typically used instead of this written short postpositional form ནང་ *nang*.

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 $=le$ naturally obtains causative instead of anterior meaning (cf. 15.3.1.1). In my data, $=le$ attaches either to the completive marker $-ts^ha(:)$, as in (15.86) or $-po$ -infinitive, as in (15.87-15.88). With copulas, due to their stative nature, the usually anterior construction $-ts^ha=le$ is reinterpreted to express reason, see (15.86), where the full completive form $-ts^ha:$ is reduced to $-sa$.

- (15.86) མི་དྲང་པུ་ ཨིན་ཚར་ལས་ ཉེ་ བཅས་ཅད་ བཤད་པོ་ལོ།
 [mí t'ä:pu ín-sa=le] tɛ tʰamtɛɛ? ɛɛ-po=lo.
 human honest EQU-CMPL=ABL then all tell-2INF=REP
 ‘[Because he was an honest man], he then told everything.’ (JDF axe story)

- (15.87) ལྷུང་མ་ རྩལ་ བསིལ་ བསིལ་འདིས་ གྱུངས་བོ་ལས་
 [lɯŋma kʰø:si:si:=di: kʰjã:-bo=le]
 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་སློབས་བོ་ལས་
 [kʰoŋ=gi tʰytsʰø? tʰaruŋ ma-ʎep-o=le]
 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 instrument of the verbal action. In clausal use, it is the verbal action, or the whole clause, that is seen as the causer of another verbal action. In the first construction, the agentive-marked demonstrative-emphatic $=di:$ (WD འདིས་ ‘dis) attaches to $-ɛɛ$ -infinitive form of the verb.

- (15.89) མྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་བུར་ ཀྱི་ཡང་ མ་སློབས་ཤད་ འདིས་
 [tʰinle=gi kʰim=na=le tʰato=sã: ka=jã: ma-ʎep-ɛɛ=di:]
 Thrinley=GEN house=LOC=ABL now=until who=even NEG-arrive-INF=DEMPH.AGT
 ‘[Because nobody has so far arrived from Thrinley’s house]...’ (Richhi 43)

- (15.90) མདང་ ངའི་ ཨ་ཕ་ གཞིམ་ཁང་ལས་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ ལོན་བར་ ཐྱོན་ཤད་ འདིས་ ད་རིང་ ང་ཅག་ ཁྱིམ་ན་ ལོན་སྟེ་ འགྱུར་ ཨིན།
 [dã: nɛ: ágja zimkʰã:=le sã:te ŋàtea=lo lòk
 yesterday 1SG.GEN elder.brother house.HON=ABL direct 1PL=DAT return
 lɛm-ba tɛʰon-ɛɛ=di:] tʰariŋ ŋàtea? kʰim=na lók-ti
 take-PUR come.HON-INF=DEMPH.AGT today 1PL house=LOC return-NF
 gju-do i:.
 go-PROGEQU.PER
 ‘[Because my brother came yesterday directly from home to take us back], we are going back home today.’ (Richhi 59)

In the second construction, which is mainly used in literary language, the formative *-pɛ:/bɛ:* (WD བས་/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་བའི་ལོང་ཤོར་ཡོད་པས་

[*ɕá sà-wø: lɔ̃:ɕu jò:-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་ཙུ་ལེབ་སྟེ་མཐོ་དྲགས་ས་ལོ་སྟེ་བས་ཚར་བས་འདྲེ་མོས་བརྟོས་མ་ཚུགས་པོ་དང་

[*di: gjablɛ kʰɔ̃:=tsu lɛ̃pti tʰoʈa? sá=lo*

this.GEN after 3PL=PL very.much high ground=DAT

[*ɕep-tsʰa-bɛ:*] *ɕɛmo: jɔʈ? 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་བ་ཀིས་ལྷ་མ་ལོ་འདྲེ་སྟེ་ཁྱ་བས་ལན་ལོ་ལྷ་མས་འདྲེ་གསུང་བོ་སྟེ།

[*milarepa=gi lám=lo dɛ:ti ɕù-bɛ:*] *lɛn=lo láma:*

PN=AGT lama=DAT like.this say.HUM-2INF.AGT answer=DAT lama.AGT

dɛ: súm-bo bɛ?

like.this say.HON-2INF EQU.NE

‘[When Milarepa had said like that to the lama], the lama answered like this.’ (mi-la ras-pa 3)

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) རྟེན་པ་ལི་གེ་སྐད་ལྡགས་འདི་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ནང་ག་ལོ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྐད་ལྡགས་ཐོན་དགོས་ཤད་འདི་གེས་

[*nepali=gi kɛ:dza=di gjagar=gi nàŋɕa=lo gjagar=gi*

Nepali=GEN language.HON=DEMPH India=GEN inside=DAT India=GEN

kɛ:dza? tʰɔn go:-ɕɛ=di=gi]

language.HON become be.needed=INF=DEMPH=AGT

‘[Because the language of the Nepalis was to become within India a(n official) language of India...]’ (CY interview)

- (15.95) ང་ཅའི་རི་སྐད་རྒྱལ་སྐད་འདི་གིས་
 [ɣàtɛi=ri kɛʔ kjap-ɛɛ=di=gi]
 1PL.GEN=AEMPH.GEN language strike-INF=DEMPH=AGT
 ‘...[because (they) spoke our language]...’ (RL interview)

Example (15.96) illustrates a rarer agentive form of which I have only one example

- (15.96) བདེན་རེ་བ་ཅན་གྱིས་
 [denri-wa-tɛɛn=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 *-tɛɛn*, 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 *-tɛɛn*.

15.4.7 Causality through nonfinal converb *p’ja-ti(ki)* ‘doing’

In spoken causal clauses, it is more usual to use the nonfinal converb *p’ja-ti(ki)* ‘doing’ than it is to use the agentive (see §15.4.6). The converb typically occurs following *-ɛɛ*-infinitive accompanied by *=di*, see (15.97), but occasionally directly following the infinitive, see (15.98).

- (15.97) ཚིག་འདི་ལེ་ལེ་ལེ་ལེ་ཡོད་ཤད་འདི་བྱས་ཤིག་
 [tsʰik=di lɛp lɛm jø:-ɛɛ=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་གཞི་ཡོད་ཤད་བྱས་ཤིག་
 [zu=i nənɣa=lo jø-ɛɛ? 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་སྒྲངས་འདིས་བྱས་ཤིག་
 [t’izā: né:tā:=di: p’ja-ti]
 but condition=DEMPH.AGT do-NF
 ‘[Because of the condition (of hers)]...’ (Richhi 171)

- (15.100) ཨ་འདི་བྱས་(ཤིག་)
 a) ódi p’ja
 b) ódi p’ja-ti
 c) ódi p’ja-tiki
 that do-NF
 ‘Because of that...’

15.4.8 Causal uses of the circumstantial-purposive converb

In certain contexts, such as (15.101) and (15.102), the circumstantial converb can be interpreted as expressing reason/causality:

- (15.101) མ་བུད་འདི་ལེགས་མ་བྱས་པ་གི་པོ་སྐད།
 [mòby=di lèm **ma-jà-wa** ɛt-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་རྒྱལ་ཡ་ཡ་བ་ལེབ་བྱོད་བ་རྩོགས་ཆར།
 [ɲà gjuk **jà:-ja-wa** lèp kʼjop 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 *tʼonlo* ‘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་གླའི་ལགས་རྩ་བར་བཅར་བོ་ཞིན།
 [ɲàteaʔ ɲi:-po [bhaila **ta-wa** tea:-bo t̪i:.
 1PL two-COL PN watch-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘The two of us came [to see Bhaila].’ (Richhi 11)

- (15.104) སེར་བའི་གདམས་ངག་སྐབ་པ་ལོ་ཞག་བདུན་ལས་སྟག་གོ་མ་དགོས།
 [sé:wə: damɲaʔ **dup-a=lo** ɛàʔ dyn=lɛ ʃako 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)

⁴²⁹ However, see exceptions in §15.8.1.

- (15.105) རང་ཡུལ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ རྩོན་བ་ལོ་ བན་ཐོགས་ ཐོབ་རྒྱལ་ས་ལན་ སྤང།
 [rãː-yː jàrgɛ? tʰom-ba=lo] pʰento? tʰop tsʰu-kʰɛn
 own-place progress become-PUR=DAT help receive be.able.to-NMLZ
 bɛ?
 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) *nà sɛ?* sɔ̌ː-zɛ ʅ་བསད་སྤང་ཞེ།
 b) *nà sɛ -pa* sɔ̌ː-zɛ ʅ་བསད་བ་སྤང་ཞེ།
 c) *nà sɛ =lo* sɔ̌ː-zɛ ʅ་བསད་ལོ་སྤང་ཞེ།
 d) *nà sɛ -pa =lo* sɔ̌ː-zɛ ʅ་བསད་བ་ལོ་སྤང་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) མོ་འདྲེབ་ ཀོ་ལི་ཇི་ (college) སྤྱང་སྤང་བོ་ མིན།
 ódɛp [kolite dzãː] sɔ̌ː-bo iː.
 like.that college(Eng.) train go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘Like that I went [for college training].’ (CY interview)

Similarly, Sandberg (1895: 66) gives the example clause *Ngá chhō tá ong che* ‘I have come to see you’, where the mere verb root is used purposively. The clause is given in edited form in (15.108).

- (15.108) Sandberg (1895: 66) (WD, transcription and glosses mine)
 ང་ མོད་ ལྟ་ འོང་ཅེ།
nà tɛʰø? ta ɔ̌ː-tɛɛ.
 1SG 2SG.L look come-PST
 ‘I have come to see you’

The actor of the converbal clause with *-pa/ba* is always the same as that of the main clause. If the actor is different, a construction with the complementizer *lapti* is used, see §15.5.3.

15.5.2 Purpose with the postposition *tʰonle/tʰonlo*

Purpose clauses can also be formed by adding a complement clause to the relator noun *tʰonle/tʰonlo* (also *tʰonda?/tʰondale/tʰondalo*) ‘for the purpose of, in order to; because’, deriving from the noun *tʰon(da?)* ‘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་ཆེ་བསྐང་བའི་དོན་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཤི་ཤད་མིན།
 [tʰamtɕɛ=ki riteʰi kã:-wø: tʰonlo] lóʔ ɛí-ɛɛ í:
 all=GEN hope fill-2INF.GEN for.purpose.of light die-INF EQU.PER
 ‘[In order to fulfil the hope of all (of seeing the performance)], the light goes out.’
 (Richhi 75-76)

(15.110) གསོལ་ཇ་ཆབ་ཚན་ཚུ་དངས་ཤད་ཀྱི་དོན་དག་བཟོ་བ།
 [sʰɔ:za: tɕʰaptsɛ:=tsu tʰã:-ɛɛ=ki tʰondaʔ] 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་དབག་བསམ་མེ་དོག་འཛིབ་ཤད་དོན་དག་ལས་ས་འོག་ལས་ཆང་བཟོ་སྟེ་གི་སྟུག་སྟོང་ཤད་ལོ་སེ།
 kʰu [paksam ɛíŋ=gi mintoʔ dzip-ɛɛʔ tʰondalɛ] sá
 3SGM balsam tree=GEN flower suck-INF for.purpose.of ground
 ɔ:=le tsʰã: zo-tiki gu: dʰɔ:-ɛɛ=lo=s.
 below=ABL nest make-NF wait sit-INF=REP=QUO
 ‘[In order to suck (nectar from) balsam tree’s flower], he makes a nest underground
 and sits waiting (so the story goes).’ (RS bee story)

In (15.112), the purpose clause is postposed to the main clause, resulting in a clause that ends in a postposition rather than a verb.

(15.112) ཇམ་ལོ་འདི་ཡང་དགོངས་པོ་ལེན་སྟེ་བྱིན་ན་རང་ཡོད་བུ་མའི་གཉེན་རྒྱལས་པའི་དོན་ལོ།
 ápo=di=jã: gompo lɛn-di kʰim=na=rã: jòʔ [pʰumø:
 father=DEMPH=too leave take-NF house=LOC=AEMPH EX.PER girl.GEN
 jɛn kjap-ø: tʰonlo].
 wedding do-2INF.GEN for.purpose.of
 ‘The father, having taken a leave-of-absence, is also at home, [in order to marry (his)
 daughter].’ (Richhi 157)

The reason why the purpose clause in (15.112) is postposed to the main clause is probably that it would be difficult to process such a long clause if it were placed between the topical actor *ápo* ‘father’ and the patient *gompo* ‘leave-of-absence’ in the main clause. The dependence of the purpose clause is signalled by the lack of the sentence boundary marker | in Denjongke writing.

15.5.3 Purpose with nonfinal converb *lapti* ‘saying’

In addition to forming causal clauses (see §15.4.4) and functioning as a complementizer (see §14.2.2.1), the nonfinal form of the verb *láp* ‘say’ may also form purpose clauses by attaching to declarative (15.113), optative (15.114) and hortative verb forms (15.115).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.

⁴³⁰ Similar to Nepali purposives with *bhanera*-constructions (bhan-era [say-CPTCP]).

- (15.113) a) འདི་ད་ ཁྱི་ ཡ་ལུས་ཚུ་ རང་ག་ འཛུལ་གད་ ཞིན་ ལབ་ལྷི་ དང་བའི་ མི་གིས་ འདེམ་ བཟོ་བོ་ ཞིན་ལ།
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 dem dzo-u í:=s.
 human=AGT like.that build-2INF EQU.PER=QUO
 'Now people long ago built this like this [so that dogs and cats would not enter inside]. (Lit. 'People long ago built this like this [saying that dogs and cats will enter inside].') (PD living room video)
- b) མོ་འདི་ འདི་ ཀེན་ཚོང་ ལེགས་ ཐོན་གད་ ཞིན་ ལབ་ལྷི།
ódi=di [kintsõ: lèm tʰon-ɕɛ í: 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་ བྲང་དེའི་ པ་ཀི་ (birthday party) ན་ ཁུ་ འོང་བརྩུག་ ལབ་ལྷི་ ང་ རྒྱ་ན་ ལྷས་བོ་ ཞིན།
[ɲè:-gi bəððɛipa:ʈi=na kʰu ò: teu? làp-ti] ɲà
 my=GEN birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM come cause say-NF 1SG
fon p'ja-u í:
 phone(Eng.) do-2INF EQU.PER
 'I phoned (him) [so that he would come to my birthday party].'
 (literally: '[Saying let him come to my birthday party], I phoned (him).') (KN e)
- b) ངའི་གི་ བྲང་དེའི་ པ་ཀི་ (birthday party) ན་ ཁུ་ འོང་བརྩུག་ ལབ་ལྷི་ ང་ རྒྱ་ན་ ལྷས་བོ་ ཞིན།
[ɲè:-gi bəððɛipa:ʈi=na kʰu ò: ma-teu? làp-ti] ɲà
 my=GEN birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM come NEG-cause say-NF 1SG
fon p'ja-u í:
 phone(Eng.) do-2INF EQU.PER
 'I phoned (him) [so that he would not come to my birthday party].'
 (literally: '[Saying let him not come to my birthday party], I phoned (him).') (KN e)

In (15.115), *làp-ti* forms a purpose clause in conjunction with the hortative form *-ke/ge*.

- (15.115) ང་ རྒྱ་ན་བའི་ཙར་ འབྱུག་ ལབ་ལྷི་ མོང་བོ་ ཞིན།
ɲà [nòrby:=tsa: gju-ge làp-ti] sò:-bo í:
 1SG PN.GEN=at go-HORT say-NF go.PFV-PST EQU.PER
 'I went [in order to go to Norbu's place]. Lit. 'I went [saying let me go to Norbu's place]. (Richhi 110)

15.6 Conditional clauses

A conditional clause is formed by an obligatory final converb *-(patεε)ne* (also *-batεεne*), which may be accompanied by the optional initial word *k'ε:si?* 'if'.⁴³¹ I am not aware of any meaning difference between the shorter form *-ne* and the longer form *-patεεne*. The relator noun *teŋle* '(from) upon' may also be used in a conditional sense, see (15.133). The conditional marker attaches to the verb root (which may be a final auxiliary copula) or the completive *-ts^ha(:)*. 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 TAME⁴³²-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་ ལམ་གཅིག་ བྱིན་ནེ་ གཏམ་ ཆེག་གཅིག་ ལ་བ་འོང་།
 [ɛ́á k^ham tei? p'in-ne] tam ts^hik tei? l̥ap ǝ̃.
 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་ཤིང་ མིའི་ཚ་ལས་ ལ་བྱང་ ཐོབ་ན་ ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ མ་ལོ་ ཆོད་ཀྱི་ ལ་བྱང་ བྱིན།
 [k'ε:si? mù=i tsa=l̥e k^hateǎ: t^hop-ne] te^hǝ̃:=ki=jǎ:
 if 3SGF=GEN at=ABL address receive-COND 2SG.L=AGT=too
 mù=lo te^hǝ̃:=ki k^hateǎ: 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་ཤིང་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ འདི་ན་ རྟོག་འབྲུལ་ ཤོར་བོ་ མིན་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ང་ཅག་ ཐུགས་བདེན་ དགོངས་དག་ ཟུ་ཤད་ མིན།
 [k'ε:si? η̥atεa=ki di=na nór^hy: ɛ́ó:-bo ím-batεεne] η̥atεa?
 if 1PL=AGT this=LOC mistake slip-2INF EQU-COND 1PL
 t^hud̥ɛ̃:gō:da? ɛ̀ù-εε ǎ̃.
 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 *ǎ̃:* and *jǝ?* and not to neutral *bε?* and sensorial *du?*, e.g. **bε-(patεε)ne*, **duk-(atεε)ne*. Thus evidential distinctions are neutralized with the conditional.

The optional *k'ε:si?* 'if' is not strictly initial in that other elements may precede, i.e. a term of address and a temporal adverbial in (15.118).

⁴³¹ *k'ε:si?* functions quite analogously to the optional Nepali *jedi* 'if'.

⁴³² Tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality

- (15.118) ཇམ་རྩུ་གྲུང་མེད་སྐབས་ན་གཤམ་མིན་པོ་མ་བེ་ལོ་འོང་བར་ཅེ་ན་བར་ཚུ་ང་རང་འབག་སློབས་འོང་།
á gja [k'uɣsin kap=na k'ɛ:si? bombai=lo òm-batɛnɛ]
 elder.bother holiday time=LOC if TPN=DAT come-COND
par=tsu ɲà=rã: bak lɛp ò:
 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 *-ts^ha*, allowing an aspectual value to be expressed within a conditional clause. In (15.119), *-ts^ha* is preposed to the longer form *-patɛnɛ* and in (15.120) to the short form *-nɛ*.

- (15.119) དེ་ཟང་གན་ལྟོ་ཤད་.....མི་ལོ་དུས་ཚད་ཀྱིས་རང་བར་བཅིངས་བཏབ་ཚ་བར་ཅེ་ན།
t'izã: k'an p'ja-ɛɛ? [mí=lo t'ytshø=ki=rã: partsĩ:
 but what do-INF human=DAT time=AGT=AEMPH obstacle
tap-ts^ha-watɛnɛ?
 sow-CMPL-COND
 'But what to do, [if times have thrown an obstacle at a person]?' (Richhi 59)

- (15.120) ད་ཙམ་ཏེ་དགྲ་གཏོར་ང་སོང་འགྱུ་རྟོ་ལལ་བཞིན་ཏེ་མ་ཉན་ཚར་ནེ་གན་ལྟོ་ཤད་?
t'a ó tɛ gutor ɲà só: gju=to làp-zin [tɛ
 now that so gutor-offering 1SG go.PFV go=CEMPH say-PROG so
mà-pen-ts^ha-nɛ k'an p'ja-ɛɛ?
 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 initial roots:

- (15.121) a) འབག་མ་འོང་ནེ་སྤྱད་ཚུང་ལོ་མ་ལག།
[ba? m(a)-ò:-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་ལྟོ་སྤྱད་མ་མཆོད་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་
[t'a lɔkɛ ma-k^hem-batɛnɛ]
 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:

⁴³³ The translation 'either with me or alone' derives from the apposed forms *só:* and *gju*. The first, *só:*, is a command to the second person, whereas the second form, *gju*, is used as a hortative 'let's go', which includes both the speaker and the addressee.

- (15.122) མནང་ཆང་ ཉིམ་ཚེས་ ཇ་ མག་གོ་ ལོ་ གཉིས་ མི་རྒྱལས་ བེ་ནེ་ ང་ཅག་ མག་གོ་འི་གི་ ཟུང་ ཇི་ ཇགོས་ཤང་ ཟུང་།
nã:te^hã: *jìmts^hi* [*t'a máko lò ní: mi-kjap sí-ne*] *ηàtea?*
 engagement date now groom year two NEG-do say-COND 1PL
mákø:=gi ke? t'i go:-εε bε?
 groom.GEN=GEN gain ask be.needed-INF EQU.NE
 ‘On the day of the engagement, [now if the groom says (he) is not going to work for two years (in the bride’s home)], we have to ask for the groom’s gift.’ (SGD wedding customs)

In the following two clauses the completive conditional form *bom-ts^ha-ne* ‘if (one) grows’ is used for prospective future.

- (15.123) དེ་ཟང་ རྒྱལ་ལས་ ཟློམ་ཚར་ནེ་ གར་ ཐོན་གམ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ང་ཅག་ ཏ་གོ་ མི་རྒྱལས།
[t'izã: gjable bom-ts^ha-ne] *k'ar t^høŋ-gam ódi ηàtea? hako*
 but after grow-CMPL-COND what happen-ATTQ that 1PL know
mi-ts^hu?
 NEG-.be.able.to
 ‘[But afterward if/when⁴³⁴ (he) has grown], what will happen, that we cannot know.’ (PED life story)
- (15.124) ཨ་ཙི་ ཟློམ་བཞིན་ འགྱུ་དང་, ཟློམ་ཚར་ནེ་ ཉི་ ཨ་ཙི་ ཏ་གོ་མཁན་ ཟུང་།
átsi bom-zẽ: gju-dã:, [bom-ts^ha-ne] tε átsi hako-k^hen bε?
 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 *ts^ha=le*, which is restricted to past and habitual uses, and the completive conditional construction *ts^ha-ne*, which covers future anterior uses. The second is that the past uncertainty of a child to survive into adulthood has been encoded in the grammar as uncertainty implied by the conditional. If the latter is true, *bom-ts^ha-ne* 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)

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) མདང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ མགོ་ བརྟག་མྱི་ འགྲིལ་ རྩོད་ ཡོད་སྐབས་ འུ་སྤང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ཅེན་ ཁོ་ མོ་ན་རང་ གི་གད་ སྤང།
dā: ηàtɛi bhaila=ki go tok-ti dɪ: dø: jò:-kap
 yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall stay EX-SIM
[p'usim=la: mè:-patɛnɛ] kʰu óna=rã: ɛi-ɛɛ bɛ?
 younger.sister=HON NEG.EX-COND 3SGM there=EMPH die-INF EQU.NE
 ‘Yesterday when our Bhaila was lying fallen after hitting his head, [if it wasn’t for the sister], he would have died on the spot.’ (Richhi 12)

- (15.126) ཨ་ཙོ་ འཛོང་ཐེང་གི་ ཞལ་ལོ་ ཉན་ཟྱི་ ང་རུང་ བྱིམ་ན་ བཞག་ན་ གན་ ཐོན་ ཐོན་ ཀྱིས་ ལལ་ ཚུགས་པོ་
[ádzo bonʰiŋ=gi ɛɛ:=lo nèn-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) ཉེ་ ལལ་ མཐོ་ནེ་ འདི་ བདེན་དྲགས་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།
[tɛ lɛp nó:-nɛ=di] dɛŋta? dɛm=tɛi? du-kɛ.
 then very.much think-COND=DEMPH true such=INDEF EX.SEN-IN
 ‘[If (I) think hard (about it)], (it) looks like it’s true.’ (CY interview)

- (15.128) སང་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ གན་ ལྷོ་ ལལ་པ་ཅེནེ་ འདི་
[sáŋgɛ:=ki k'an ɛù-do làp-atɛnɛ=di]
 Buddha=AGT what say.HUM-IPFV say-COND=DEMPH
 ‘[If (we) talk (about) what the Buddha is saying]...’ (YR canteen video)

While (15.128) exemplifies a frequent use where the conditional form of a verb of speaking introduces a new topic for discussion, (15.129) provides a metacomment on the discourse.

- (15.129) ང་ མཐོ་མུ་ ལྷ་པ་ཅེནེ་ ཉེ་ མ་གོ་ འདི་ བྱིག་མྱི་ ཁ་ཆང་ ཉམ་ཆོས་ ལྷོན་ དགོས་ ལལ་མྱི་ ཡོད་པ་སྤང།
[t'a né:mu ɛù-watsɛnɛ] tɛ máko=di kʰik-ti
 now real(ly) say-COND then son-in-law=DEMPH lead-NF
kʰatɛʰã: nìmtsʰi tøn go:=s làp-ti jòbbe?
 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 *-patɛnɛ* may be reduced to *-patɛ* (15.130) or even *-pa*, represented by the allophonic variant *-a* in (15.131).

- (15.130) གཏམ་ག་ཉེ་བཤད་དགོས་ལའ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ང་ཅག་གིས་
 [tam=tsu k'atε éé? go? làp-atεε] ηàtea=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་ཅིས་པའི་རྩ་འགྲུ་ཉི་ཀེ་ཅིས་སྒྲིག་ཀ་ཅེ་ནེ་ང་མནང་ཆང་སྐྱེལ་ཚག་ཐང་། གལ་སྲིད་ཅིས་མན་སྒྲིག་ཀ་
 t'a tsi:pø:=tsa: gju-tiki [tsi? d̪ik-atsenε] t'a nã:tε^hã kε:
 now astrologer.GEN=at go-NF astrology fit-COND now bethrotal bring
 (t)ε^(h)o bε? [k'ε:si? tsi? man-d̪ik-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-d̪ik-a* as a conditional rather than the homophonous circumstantial-purposive converbial form. First, *man-d̪ik-a* forms a logical pair with the full conditional form *d̪ik-atsenε* in the previous clause. Second, the short form is accompanied by *k'ε:si?* ‘if’, which helps to disambiguate the clause as conditional.

In addition to the typical converbial uses illustrated above, the conditional form *-nε* is used in an idiomatic construction with the secondary verb *ta* ‘look’ and the attention marker *=εo* to form questions/suggestions presenting an alternative course of action.

- (15.132) མཉན་ཁང་ན་བྱིག་ཉི་སྟོན་ཉེ་ན་ཤོ?
 ménk^hã:=na k^hik-ti tøn ta-nε=εo?
 hospital=LOC lead-NF show look-COND=AT
 ‘What if (we) try to take (him) and show (him) at the hospital?’ (mnam-tog 17)

The relator noun *teŋle* ‘(from) upon’ is once in my data used in a conditional sense:

- (15.133) མཉན་འདི་ལེགས་བྱས་ཉི་ཟ་བའི་སྤྱང་ལས་མན་ནེ་ཚད་མི་ཤི།
 [mén=di lêm p'ja-ti sà-wø: teŋle] mènni tε^hø? mi-εí.
 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 *-(patεε)nε*, my data has no examples of *-ruŋ* attached to the completive marker *-ts^ha*. 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) མུ་ཚོད་ བཅུ་གཅིག་ བརྒྱད་ས་རུང་ བློན་ལས་ཀྱི་ བྱིས་ན་ལས་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ ཀ་ཡང་ མ་སློབས་ཤད་ འདིས་
 [tɛ^huts^hø? tɛuktei? duŋ-ruŋ] t^hinle:=ki k^him=na=le t'ato=sã:
 clock.time eleven strike-CONC PN=GEN house=LOC=ABL now=until
 ka=jã: ma-ŋɛp-ɛɛ=di:
 who=even NEG-arrive-INF=DEMPH.AGT
 ‘[Although it’s (past) eleven o’clock], nobody has so far arrived from Thrinley’s house.
 Therefore...’ (Richhi 43)

In (15.135), the time reference is present and in (15.136) hypothetical future.

- (15.135) མིའི་ གཟུགས་ བོམ་བེ་ལོ་ ཡོད་རུང་ སེམས་ འདིས་ འཛམ་གླིང་ བསྐོར་བ་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ ཡོད།
 [mɪ: zu? bombai=lo jò:-ruŋ] sém=di: dzamliŋ korwa
 human.GEN body TPN=DAT EX-CONC mind=DEMPH.AGT world roaming
 kjap-zê: jò?
 do-PROG EX.PER
 ‘[Although (his) human body is in Bombay], his mind is travelling around the world.’
 (Richhi 135)
- (15.136) འདེམ་ ཞིན་ན་ཏྱ་ གོ་ཅག་རང་ ག་ན་ འབྱུ་རུང་ སྤང་ ང་ གོ་ཅག་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ མིན་འབྱུ།
 dɛm in-(n)ɛ=to k'utea=rã: [k'ana gju-ruŋ] sô:. ŋà
 like.that EQU-COND=CEMPH 2PL=AEMPH where go-CONC go.PFV 1SG
 k'utea? jámtei? 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-run* [what do-CONC] ‘whatever (he) do(es)’, *ka t̃:-run* [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) ཏྱ་ སྤང་ ཤེས་རུང་ མ་ཤེས་རུང་ སྤང་ དུལ་ ཐོབ་པོ་ སྤྲད།
 tɛ [k^hô: éé:-ruŋ] [ma-éé:-ruŋ] k^hô: jɣý: t^hop-o bɛ?
 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་ ཏུས་ཚོད་ན་ ཟ་མ་ བཟོ་ བཞག།
 [sà-k^hê: jò:-ruŋ] [mè:-ruŋ] t'yts^hø:=na sàm zo za?
 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'ε:si?*, which occurs in conditional clauses, can also be used with *-runj* with the meaning ‘even if’. The uses with *-runj*, however, seem rare. The only example in my data is (15.139).

- (15.139) གལ་མེད་ ད་ལྟ་ཟང་གི་ ང་ཅའི་ ལས་རིམ་ འདིའི་ན་ རྟོག་འཕུལ་ གན་ འཛོན་ཅུང་
[k'ε:si? t'ato=sã:=gi ηàtɛi lè:rim di:=na nòrtʰy: k'an
 if now=until=GEN 1PL.GEN program this.GEN=LOC mistake what
tʰon-runj]
 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 *-runj* 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) ཉི་ ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ལྟུ་ ག་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ ཞིན་ཅུང་ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ ལྷོགས་ བཞི་ མཚམས་ བརྒྱད་ན་, ལྷོགས་ ག་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ ཞིན་ཅུང་ ང་ཅག་
 ག་ ལྷོགས་ རང་གི་ སྐད་ལོ་ ཡར་རྒྱལ་ བཏང་གེ་སྟེ།
[tɛ ʎɛŋgɛ:=tsu k'a: zu:-kʰɛ: í:-runj] [dɛndzõ: tɛʰo: zi so
 PRN.HON=PL where live.HON-NMLZ EQU-CONC Sikkim direction four
tsʰam gɛ:=na tɛʰo: k'a: zu:-kʰɛ: í:-runj] ηàtɛa?
 border eight=LOC direction where live.HON-NMLZ EQU-CONC 1PL
k'a: tsʰu? raŋ=gi kɛ:=lo jàrgɛ taŋ-gɛ=s.
 what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development send-HORT=QUO
 ‘[So wherever you live], [wherever you live in the four directions and eight borders of Sikkim], let’s develop, however we can, our own language.’ (KT life story)

The copula concessive form *í:-runj* 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 *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo* ‘inside’ (§15.8.2), progressive marker *-tɛɛn/zen* (§15.8.3), the word *kʰa=lo* ‘mouth=DAT’ (§15.8.4), comparative manner markers *dɛm* ‘like (it)’, *nàŋtar(gi)* ‘according to’, *nàŋzin* ‘according to, similar to’ and *tʰonzin(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 described in §15.5.1 above. While affirmative circumstantial uses do exist in my data, the majority of affirmative uses of *-pa/ba* are purposive. All negated uses, whether occurring with verbs of motion or not, are by necessity

circumstantial (e.g. *I came here without eating*), because purposive uses are highly unlikely (e.g. *I came here in order not to eat*).

Examples (15.141-142) illustrate the rare affirmative circumstantial uses of *-pa/ba*. Note that in (15.141) the converb, which typically occurs before the main clause, is postposed to the main clause. In (15.142), the reduplication of the verb root favours the circumstantial rather than purposive interpretation.

- (15.141) གན་ ཐོན་ཤང་ འདི་ཁར་ བཞུགས་པར།
k'an tʰɔn-ɛɛʔ [dikʰa zu:-pa]ʔ
 what happen-INF here stay.HON-CIRC
 ‘What (undesirable) will happen [by staying here]?’ (Richhi 38)

- (15.142) ང་གིས་ ལུའི་ མིང་ འདི་ བཟུང་བཟུང་པ་ རྟོག་པོ་ ཟུག།
ŋá:=gi [kʰu=i mɪŋ=di dʒɛ:-dʒɛ:-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) མྱོག་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ མ་གཙོང་པ་ ཉེ་ ཁོང་ལྟ་ ཆོ་ བར།
[sɔ:=di ŋàtɛa=ki ma-tɛɛ:-pa] tɛ kʰɔ:=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་ འབྲང་ འཐེན་ཅིག་ མ་བྱོད་པར་ བཞུགས་ཏེ་
t'a buntʰɛ: tɛiʔ [ma-pʰɛ-pa] zu: ɲá.
 now moment one NEG-budge-CIRC sit.HON TAG.ASR
 ‘Now sit a while [without budging], will you.’ (nam-rtog 28)
- c) ཉེ་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ འདི་ ཆོག་ འདི་ ལེབ་ འབྲས་བླགས་ མ་བྱས་པ་ ཞེད་ལྷང་ མ་སྦྱང་པ་ ང་ཅའི་ ཆོག་ འདི་ ལྷན་བླགས་ ལྷན་བླགས་ བྱས་
 ལུ་ཤང་ གཞོན་མོ་ མི་ཚུ་ལྟ།
tɛ ŋàtɛa=ki=di [tsʰik=di lɛp dzukʰaʔ ma-jà-wa] [ɛɛnã:
 so 1PL=AGT=DEMPH word=DEMPH very frightening NEG-do-CIRC anger
ma-ló:-pa] ŋàtɛi tsʰik=di ɲɛŋʈaʔ ɲɛŋʈaʔ-pʰja ɛù-ɛɛʔ
 NEG-make.rise-CIRC 1PL.GEN word=DEMPH soft soft-ADVZR say.HUM-INF
zɔmɔ mí=tsu=lo.
 other human=PL=DAT
 ‘So we, [not making our words very frightening] (and) [not arousing anger], are to speak in soft, soft words to other people.’ (YR canteen video)

- d) དེ་ཟང་གཏམ་འདི་ཙུ་ལྟ་ཟང་ངའི་ཁ་ལས་མ་འཐོན་བར་སེམས་ནང་རང་རྩལ་ཕྱི་ལྷན་པོ་མིན།
*t'izã: tam=di=tsu t'ato=sã: [nè: kʰa=lɛ ma-tʰəm-ba]*⁴³⁵
 but word=DEMPH=PL now=until 1SG.GEN mouth=ABL NEG-come.out-CIRC
sém=na=rã: ry:-di lù:-po ĭ.
 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་ཚུ་མ་བྲལ་ཀྱི།
[mà:=lo tɕʰu ma-lúk-a]
 butter=DAT water NEG-pour-CIRC
 ‘[without pouring water into the butter]’ (KN e)
- (15.145) མར་ལོ་ཚུ་མ་བྲལ་གྱི་བྱས་ཏི།
[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་འགྲུ་བར་ད་རུང་ཚུ་ཚོད་གསུམ་ཚོད་འདུག།
[mìnkʰor gju-wa] t'aruŋ tɕʰutsʰø? súm-tsʰø? 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) མས་ཀམ་ལོ་ཡི་གེ་མན་ཐི་བར་ད་རིང་ཟླ་བོ་བཞི་ལྷག་དོ།
[mú: karma=lo jìgi man-qì-wa] dou zi lak-to.
 3SGF.AGT PN=DAT letter NEG-write-CIRC month four exceed-IPFV
 ‘It’s today (being) more than four months [since she wrote a letter to Karma].’ (Richhi 161)

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) མུ་ཚད་བཞི་བརྒྱུ་བར་ཀླར་མོ་བཅུ་ལོ་སྒྲོལ་གྱི་ལ།
 [tɕʰutsʰø? zi **dum-ba**] karmo tɕu=lo lóbqɑ tʰø:.
 clock.time four strike-PUR minute ten=DAT school finish
 ‘The school finishes at ten to four (o’clock).’ Lit. ‘The school finishes at ten minutes [to strike four o’clock].’ (Richhi 43)

- (15.149) མུ་ཚད་དགུ་བརྒྱུ་ཐེ་ཀམ་བཅུ་ལྔ་སྒྲོལ་ཚ་ག།
 [tɕʰutsʰø? gu **duŋ-di**] karma tɕɛ:ŋɑ lɛp-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 *t̃:* and the existential *jò?*. For examples, refer to (15.150) and (15.151) respectively. The use of *-pa* especially in (15.150a) deserves further research.

- (15.150) a) ཨ་ཁད་ཀན་ཅ་འབྱུང་བོ་ལོ་སེ་མིན་བ་ཐོས་ཅ་
 ázǎ: kantɛɑ bjð:-bo=lo=s
 maternal.uncle youngest.male(Nep.) disappear-2INF=REP=QUO
ím-pa, tʰo:-tɛɑ?.
 EQU-CIRC hear-PST.PQ
 ‘Uncle is said to have disappeared, did you hear?’ (translation tentative) (TB phone call)

- b) མན་ད་ཅེ་ཨ་ཐོགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ལོ་ལེབ་སྟེ་ཞལ་ལན་གནང་ཞེ་མན་ན་ཨོ་འདིས་ཕན་དོ་གམ། མན་བ་སྒྲན་འདིས་ཕན་དོ་གམ་?
 mɛ̃: tʰatɛi ádzɔ=gi gɛ:po=di=lo lɛpti ɛ̃:lé:
 NEG.EQU.PER recently grandfather=AGT king=DEMPH=DAT a.lot incantation
 ná:-zɛ. mɛ̃nni ódi: pʰɛn-do-gam. [mɛ̃m-ba]
 do.HON-PST perhaps that.AGT help-IPFV-ATTQ NEG.EQU-CIRC
 mén di: pʰɛn-do-gam?
 medicine this.AGT help-IPFV-ATTQ
 ‘No, the grandfather just made many incantations to the (spirit) king. I wonder if that would perhaps help. [In case not], I wonder whether this medicine will help.’ (rnam-rtog 31)

- (15.151) a) མུད་མུད་ན་སྒྲོལ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཁྲོལ་འགྲོ་ན་ཡོད་བ་
 [mýtsy? ná: lópɔn=gi tɕʰipqo=na **jò:-pa**]
 other(s) here teacher=GEN=GEN car.HON=LOC EX-CIRC
 ‘[The others being in the car of the teacher here]...’ (KL BB discussion)

b) ལྷ་རྒྱལ་མཁའ་མེད་པ་ ངས་ ལྷ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཟླ།

[lɑ: kjap-kʰɛ: mɛ:-pa] ŋɑ: lɑ: kjap-o bɛ?

field do-NMLZ NEG.EX-CIRC I.AGT field do-2INF EQU.NE

‘[As there was no plougher], I ploughed (the fields).’ (DB life story)

In a 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. བསྐལ་པོ་ བྱོན་ *si:=lo te’øŋ* [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) ཞོ་ལག་ བཟའ་མི་ གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ ཁྱིམ་ཆས་ སྤྱིན་ ཅིག་ སྒྲེབས་པར་ སྦྱིད་པོ་ མ་བྱང་རུང་ བྱས་ཐབས་ གན་ཡང་ མ་ཐོབ་པོ་ ཟླ།

ɔ:la? za:mi ni:=gi [kʰimtsʰɛ biu=tei? **lep-a** kipu

crow householder two=AGT neighbor snake=INDF arrive-CIRC enjoyment

man-dzuŋ-run p’ja-tap k’an=jä: ma-tʰop-o bɛ?

NEG-become-CONC do-means what=even NEG-find-2INF EQU.NE

‘[As a snake arrived (to live) as a neighbour], although the crow couple was not happy, (they) could not find means to interfere anyhow.’ (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 13)

In addition to dependent uses listed above, *-pa/ba* sometimes occurs as the final verb form, see (15.153-158). The glosses are tentative (and hence accompanied by a question mark), because the semantics of these constructions need further study. In the context of (15.153), six people are going to be divided into three pairs for working. One of the six says to the one who is responsible for dividing the pairs:

(15.153) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ དང་ ང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ གཞོལ་ རྒྱལས་པ།

gjaltsʰen t’ä: ŋà námtei? jó? **kjap-a.**

PN and 1SG together work do-CIRC

‘Gyaltshen and I (are to) work together.’ (?) (KN e)

(15.154) ང་ནི་ ཇ་ཇོ་ ད་རིང་ ག་ཚོད་ བར་ལོ་ བྱོན་གས་ མཐོ་སྡོ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་བས།

ŋà=ni ádzo t’ariŋ k’adzø? p’a:=lo te’øŋ-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་སྐྱོན་སྤང་ ཡོད་པ།
ηà dikʰa kalimpon η jò:-pa.
 1SG here TPN EX-CIRC
 ‘I’m here in Kalimpong.’ (?) (TB phone call)
- (15.156) ང་ རྒྱ་ མིམ་ཁར་ཀ་ བཅར་ཉེ་ མཚོ་བ་ ཉེ་ ཁི་ རྩོ་ མིན་དལ་ ཉོན།
ηà pʰou simkʰarka tea:-pi nò:-wa tɛ kʰoi
 1SG over.there TPN come.HUM-INF think-CIRC then where(Nep.)
dze: min-de: 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་རྒྱ་ ཨ་རྒྱ་ ང་ འབྲས་ཕྱོད་ལས་ འོག་ཏི་ སྤེབས་འོང་ མེད་པོ་ ཡི་གེ་ སྐྱུག་ སྐྱུག་པར།
ágja ágja ηà qɛndzɔ:=lɛ lòk-ti lɛp
 elder.brother elder.brother 1SG Sikkim=ABL return-NF arrive
lò: mè:-po jìgi gu: gu:-pa.
 have.time.to EX-2INF letter wait wait-CIRC
 ‘Brother, brother, as soon as (or: since) I arrived back from Sikkim, I have been waiting and waiting a letter.’ (?) (Richhi 146)
- (15.158) ང་ ཡིག་སྐད་ གཅིག་ བཅོ་ བཞག་ ཡོད་པ།
ηà jìgdɔ:=tei? zo zak jò:-pa.
 1SG sentence=INDF make put EX-CIRC
 ‘I have made one sentence (in writing)’⁴³⁶ (?) (KN e)

Consultant KN commented that the form *jò:-pa*, as used in (15.159b), cannot be found in books, suggesting that clause-final *-pa* is mainly an oral construction.

- (15.159) a) ཕྱི་རྒྱས་ ད་མྱོ་ བཀའ་སྐྱོན་སྤང་ན་ ཡོད་པོ?
lɛŋɛ? tʼato kalimpon=na jò-po?
 PRN.HON now TPN=LOC EX.PER-2INF
 ‘Are you now is Kalimpong?’
- b) ང་ ད་མྱོ་ བཀའ་སྐྱོན་སྤང་ན་ར་ ཡོད་པ།
ηà tʼato kalimpon=na=ra jò:-pa.
 1SG now TPN=LOC=AEMPH EX-CIRC
 ‘I’m now indeed in Kalimpong.’ (?) (KN e)

The finite-looking uses of *-pa* need more investigation.

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 *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo* ‘inside’

The postposition *nàŋɛa/nàŋlo/nàŋle* preceded by a genitivized infinitive can be used for forming circumstantial adverbial clauses roughly corresponding to the English clauses with ‘as’, (e.g. *As they were drinking tea...*). The novel Richhi has twelve examples of this construction and in all of them the nominalized verb is reduplicated.

- (15.160) འདེམ་གས་པོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་བའི་ནང་ལོ་ཁོ་གཞིང་ཞིམ་དྲགས་ཁྱལ།
 [dɛm kɛ:po nɔː-noː-wɔː nàŋlo] kʰu niʔ ɛimʈaʔ 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) འདེ་རང་ཤུག་བཞིན་གྱིས་རྒྱལས་རྒྱལས་བའི་ནང་ལོ་ཕྱི་རུ་གི་ཚུ་ཚོད་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱུ་རབ་ཟླ།
 [dɛː=rãː pʼja-zɛː kʼjoʔ kjap-kjap-ɔː 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 *-tɛɛː/zɛː/zin*

The progressive marker *-tɛɛː/zɛː/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་པར་འགྱུ་ཚུར་འགྱུ་ཤུག་བཞིན་དུས་ཚོད་ཨ་ཙཱ་སྟལ།
 múː [pʰaː gju tsʰuː gju pʼja-zɛː] tʼytsʰøʔ átsi kyː.
 3SGF.AGT thither go hither go do-PROG time a.bit cause.to move
 ‘She spends a bit time [going here and there].’ (Richhi 44)
- (15.163) ཐྲིན་ལས་ - “ལགས་,” ལབ་བཞིན་ལོ་ཁོང་ཚུའི་སྐྱེ་མཁུན་ལོ་བཅར།
 tʰinle [làː ləp-zɛː=lo] kʰɔː=tsu=i kumdɿː=lo tɛaː.
 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་ཀུ་ཨོ་འདི་ནང་གི་མཚམས་བཅད་བཞིན་བཅད་བཞིན་ལས་འབྱོར་བོ་ལྟ།⁴³⁷
 [tʼaku ódi nàŋɛa tsʰam tsʰɛː-zin tsʰɛː-zin=lɛ] bjãː-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)

⁴³⁷ Here the written form བཅད་ *bcad* (suggesting pronunciation as *tɛɛʔ*), which is considered “correct,” does not correspond to the actual pronunciation *tsʰɛː*.

The progressive frequently co-occurs with verbs of motion (especially *gju* ‘go’), providing a manner or attendant circumstance of literal going⁴³⁸, as in (15.165), or metaphorical going, that is, changing, as in (15.166).

- (15.165) མཉུ་ཁང་ན་ སྒྲུབ་སྒྲུབ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་
ménkʰā:=na lɛp-ti [bhaila kʰana jò:-kam tsʰø:-zɛ:]
 hospital=LOC arrive-NF PN where EX.PER-ATTQ search-PROG
*só:-bɛ.*⁴³⁹
 go.PFV-when
 ‘(They) arrive at the hospital and as (they) go [searching where Bhaila is]...’
 (Richhi 10)

- (15.166) མ་ཙེ་ མོ་མོ་མོ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་
 [átsi **bom-zɛ:**] *gju:-dā:*
 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) ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་
 [kʰjoʔ kjap-zɛ: kjap-zɛ:] *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) ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ ལྟེ་ལྟེ་
kʰutɛa=di kʰamja [kɛʔ ma-ɛɛ:-tɛɛ:] tɛʰukeʔ kʰam 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’.

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་ རྩ་མེད་པའི་ ཁ་ལོ་ རང་ལོ་ ག་ལྟེ་ བྱིན་གད་ བོ?
 [ŋà-ri=tsa: mè:-pø: kʰa=lo] ŋá rǎ:=lo kʰatɛ
 1SG-AEMPH.GEN=at NEG.EX-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT I 2SG.M=DAT how
 pʼin-ɛɛ 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་ རྩ་མེད་ ག་རེ་ མེད་པའི་ ཁ་ལོ་ ཉེ་བོ་ ག་ཉེན་ཚན་ སྤངས།
 [ŋà=lo gjunor kʰarɛ mè:-pø: kʰa=lo] nù:nentsʰɛ:
 1SG=DAT riches any NEG.EX-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT relatives
 pǎ:
 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 *tʼonzin(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) མོ་འདི་ མཉེན་མུ་རང་ ཚད་ཀྱིས་ ལ་བ་པོ་ འདེམ་ ལ་བ་ལྟེ་ ལྟོ་དགས་ སྤང།
 ódi né:mu=ra [tɛʰø:=ki làp-o dɛm] lɛpti 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་ཏྲ་ མཐོང་རུང་ མ་མཐོང་པོ་ འདེམ་ བཟུང་ཞི་ འགྱུ་བོ་ སྤང།
 ŋà=lo=to tʰõ:-ruŋ [ma-tʰõ:-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) འོང་རན་ཁར་ ལྷ་ལའ་ འོང་དོ་ འདེམ་ འོང་།
 ô:-reŋkʰa [gɛ:p òn-**do** **dɛm**] ô:.
 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་ ལའ་ འདེམ་ ལྷ་ལོ་ འདེམ་ ལྷ་ལོ་ ལའ་ མན་དགོས་པོ་ ཟླད།
 [t’ariŋ ləp dɛm, ɛ̀-**bo** **dɛm** p’ja-ti] ləp
 today say like.it say.HUM-2INF like.it do-NF say
 maŋ-go:-b-bɛ?
 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)/nàŋzin*

The postpositions *nàŋtar(gi)* and *nàŋzin* ‘according to, similarly to’ may head adverbial clauses of manner which include an idea of comparison. Note that (15.175) and (15.177) are functionally close to causal clauses.

- (15.175) ཁོང་ གཞི་ བཅུག་གོ་ རང་ལྷ་ཁོས་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ འདྲ་སྒྲུལ་ཟྱེ་
 [kʰõ: zi tsuk-o **nàŋtargi=di**] ŋàtɛa? tʰamtɛɛ=ki
 3PL foundation sow-2INF according.to=DEMPH 1PL all=AGT
 qakɛ:-di
 make.effort-NF
 ‘[Similarly/in accordance to them having laid the foundation], we all, making effort...’
 (KL BLA 12)
- (15.176) ལྷ་མས་ གསུང་པོ་ རང་བཞིན་
 [láma: súm-bo **nàŋzin**]
 lama.AGT say.HON-2INF according.to
 ‘[According to what the lama had said]...’ (mi-la ras-po 6)
- (15.177) ལྷ་ན་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ བོས་པོ་ རང་ལྷ་ར་ ད་རིང་ ར་ བཅའ་པོ་ མིན།
 [lɛŋgɛ:=ki p’o:-po **nàŋtar**] t’ariŋ nà: tɛa:-bo
 PRN.HON=AGT invite-2INF according.to today here come.HUM-2INF
 t̚i:
 EQU.PER
 ‘I came here today [on the basis of you having invited (me)].’ (KN e)

15.8.5.3 Comparative manner with *t’ənzin(gi)*

A clause headed by the postposition *t’ənzin(gi)* ‘in accordance with’ can be postposed to the verb root (15.178), bare *-po*-infinitive (15.179), genitivized *-po*-infinitive (15.180) or a correlative clause (15.181).

- (15.178) དེ་རིང་གི་ཚོགས་འདུའི་ན་ བཀའ་ཚོལ་ ཐག་བཅད་ གནང་ རྟོན་བཞིན་ ཐམས་ཅད་གྱིས་ རང་རང་ སོ་སོའི་ ཐུགས་འགན་ ཞལ་
བཞེས་ གནང་བས་ ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ ཟུ་ཤད་ ཡིན།
[*t'ariŋ=gi ts'o:dy:=na kamø t'a:teɛ? ná: t'ønzin*]
today=GEN meeting.GEN=LOC discussion decision do.HON in.accordance.with
t'amteɛ=ki rã:rã:só:sø: t'u:gen ɛɛ: ze:
all=AGT each.oneself.GEN responsibility.HON mouth.HON eat.HON
ná:-be: t'udzite^hɛ ɛù-ɛɛ í.
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) ཉེ་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཐུས་པོ་ རྟོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ད་ ང་ཅག་ འདེབ་ དེ་ལུ་ རྟོན་ནེ་ མིན་སྒྲིག་གེ།
te [ódi p'hy:-bo t'ønzin] t'a ηàtea? dəp t'ɛ:lu dø:-ne
so that offer-2INF in.view.of now 1PL like.that idle stay-COND
mìn-qike.
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་ ཡོའུ་ དམ་བཅའ་ བཞེས་པའི་ རྟོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་
[*k'oh=gi jòu t'amtea? ze:-pø: t'ønzin]*
3SG.HON=AGT up vow accept.HON-2INF.GEN in.accordance.with
'[in accordance with the vow he had taken up (there)]' (LT Bumchu)

- (15.181) གུ་རུ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གིས་ གན་ གསུང་གསུང་བོ་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨོ་འདི་ རྟོན་བཞིན་གྱིས་ ཐུགས་བསམ་ བཞེས་སྟེ་གི་ ཐུག་ལས་ གནན་དོ་ ཟླ།
[*guru rimpute^h=gi k'an súŋ-sum-bo jò-po ódi*
guru Rimpoche=AGT what say.HON-RDP-2INF EX-2INF that
t'ønzin] *t'u:sam ze:-tiki te^ha:lɛ? ná:-do be?*
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་ ཐུ་མོས་ཀྱང་ ཨ་མས་ གན་ བཀའ་ གནང་བའི་ རྟོན་བཞིན་ ཐུས་ རྟོན་པོ་ ཟླ།
dile p'umu=jã: [áma: k'an ka ná:-bø:
then girl=too mother.AGT what order give.HON-2INF.GEN
t'ønzin]-p'ja dø:-po be?
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)

15.8.6 Genitivized *-po*-infinitive

A genitivized *-po*-infinitive may, although infrequently, form an adverbial clause of circumstance/manner:

- (15.183) ལམ་གྲག་བཞག་གྲག་མེད་པའི་མིའི་བྱིམ་ན་འགྱུ་གྲག་ངོ་ཚ་བར།
 [làp-ɛɛ? zak-ɛɛ? mɛ:-pø:] mí: kʰim=na gju-ɛɛ? ɲò
 say-INF set-INF EX-2INF.GEN human.GEN house=LOC go-INF face
 tsʰa-wa.
 be.hot-CIRC
 ‘It’s shameful to go to a man’s house [without anything to say or give].’
 (Ricchi 24)

15.9 Additive clauses

Affirmative additive clauses can be formed by postposing to a *-po*-infinitive form one of the forms *mitsʰɛ?* ‘in addition, not stopping’ (§15.9.1), *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 *mɛmbo*, which is followed by a negated or an interrogated clause (§15.9.4).

15.9.1 Additive with *mitsʰɛ?*

Additive clauses can be formed by postposing *mitsʰɛ?* ‘in addition, not stopping’ to the bare *-po*-infinitive form of the verb. The additive clause precedes the main clause:

- (15.184) འདི་འདྲ་བོ་བཙོན་འགྲུལ་མན་བྱས་ན་དོན་ཡང་མིན་འགྲུབ་པོ་མི་ཚད་སྟག་བསྐལ་སྟོན་པོ་ཚྱོད་གྲག་ཨིན།
 di dau tsyndy: mam-bja-ne [tʰøn=jä: min-ɖup-o mi-tsʰɛ?]
 this like effort NEG-do-COND purpose=too NEG-fulfil-2INF NEG-stop
 dunɣal bompu mjô:-ɛɛ i:
 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-tsʰɛ?* 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) ཡ་ན་ ལྷ་མ་ འདི་ ལེ་བ་ལྷི་ ལོ་ལྷ་ལྷི་ འུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ལྷ་
ána gɛ:m=di [lèpti lò gɛ:-ti ùdu:ta?
 old.lady old.lady=DEMPH very.much year become.old-NF out.of.breath
tʰøn jò-po t'ato=rã: ci-rap dɛm jò-pø: 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) ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་
ŋá: t'ariŋ=to [lè:de: k'ã: sà-wø: kʰa=lo] biər
 I.AGT today=CEMPH plate full eat-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT beer(Eng)
botr do tʰuŋ-bo ȩ:.
 bottle two drink-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘Today, [in addition to eating a full plate], I drank two bottles of beer.’ (KN e)

15.9.4 Negated additive with *mèmbo*

The form *mèmbo*, which is a somewhat grammaticalized form of the negated interrogative equative *mèm-bo* [NEG.EQU.NE.Q], can form an additive construction, if followed by a negated or (rhetorical) interrogated main clause. When followed by a negated declarative clause, as in (15.187), *mèmbo* forms a type of negated additive, telling that the verbal action of the main clause did/does/will not happen in addition to the action in the subordinate first clause.

- (15.187) རྩ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་ རྩ་ལྷ་
t'izã: ódi kap=na [kʰa=lɛ kjap-ɛɛ? mèmbo] t'i-ɛɛ=ki
 but that time=LOC mouth=ABL do-INF except write-INF=GEN
lùksø: mèbbe?
 tradition NEG.EX.NE
 ‘But at that time, [in addition to spoken language], there was no tradition of writing.’
 (KL BLA 12)

When the main clause is a rhetorical question, as in (15.188), the assumed answer is negative, i.e. the action in the main interrogated clause will not happen in addition to the action in the dependent clause marked with *mèmbo*.

- (15.188) དེ་ཟང་སྒྲོལ་མ་ འདི་མའི་ ལུ་མ་ འདི་ལོ་ ཟོན་སྒྲོར་ དང་ ལུ་མ་སྒྲོར་ ལུ་མ་སྒྲོ་ རང་གི་ བཟའ་ཟླ་ བཟོ་སྒྲི་ མཐའ་ལུག་ན་ ཚད་རའི་ ལྷེང་ཁར་ མིང་གཏམ་ ངན་བོ་ དང་ འཕྲུར་ཁ་ ཐོས་ཤད་ མན་བོ་ གཞན་ ཚད་ཀྱིས་ མི་སྤྱད་ བེག་གོའི་ མིང་གཏམ་ ཐོས་བོ་ གན་ ཐོབ་.....
t'izã: dɔlma dɛmø: p'um=di=lo sòŋkor t'ã: gjapkor p'ja-ti
 but PN like.GEN girl=DEMPH=DAT care and support do-NF
ran̄gi za:da zo-ti tʰa:pʰu=na [tɕʰø:=ri tɛŋkʰa m̄ŋtam
 own=GEN spouse make-NF end=LOC 2SG.L=AEMPH.GEN above fame
ŋɛmpo t'ã: pʰjarkʰa tʰo:-ɕɛ? mɛmbo] zɛn tɕʰø:=ki m̄isisikø:
 bad and disgrace hear-INF except other 2SG.L=GEN ridiculous.GEN
m̄ŋtam 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) ལུ་ལོ་ ཕྱིན་བའི་ ཚབ་ལོ་ འདི་ དདུལ་ འདི་ ལུ་ལོ་མཚན་ལོ་ ཕྱིན་གོ།
[kʰu=lo p'im-bo: tsʰaplo] di ŋy: =di mù=lo
 3SGM=DAT give-2INF.GEN in.place.of this money=DEMPH 3SGF=DAT
p'iy-gɛ.
 give-HORT
 'Let's give this money to her [instead of giving (it) to him].' (KN e)

15.11 Comparative clauses with *=lɛ* (*lako*=EMPH)

Comparative clauses can be formed by attaching the ablative *=lɛ*, optionally followed by *lako* 'more, (in) excess, rather', to a nominalized verb form. In (15.190) and (15.191), nominalization is accomplished by *-po*-infinitive and the demonstrative-emphatic *=di* respectively. The word *lako* may be followed by an emphatic, see *=to* in (15.190b) and *=di* in (15.191).

- (15.190) a) སྒང་རྟོག་ལོ་ རྒྱུ་བོ་ལས་ གན་མ་རྩེ་ལོ་ འབྲུ་བོ་ དྲག།
[ga:to:=lo dɔ:-po=lɛ] námtsi=lo gju-wo t'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) ལུ་ལོ་མཚན་ལོ་ ཕྱིན་བོ་ལས་ ལྷུག་གོ་རྟོ་ གན་ལོ་ ཕྱིན་བོ་ དྲག།
[gjaltsʰɛn=lo p'im-bo=lɛ] lako=to karma=lo p'im-bo t'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 Gyaltsen].' (KN e)

- (15.191) འདི་ཁོང་གིས་ གི་མོ་གནང་སྒྲིབ་པ་འདི་ལས་ ལྷག་གོ་འདི་མིན་དགོས་པ་སྟེ།
ŋàtɛa=di [*kʰon=gi* *tʰi-u* ***nã:-sonzã:=di=lɛ***]
 1PL=DEMPH 3SG.HON=AGT write-2INF do.HON-TERM=DEMPH=ABL
lako=di *miŋ-go?* *bɛ?*
 excess=DEMPH be.needed EQU.NE
 ‘We do not need (anything) more [than the extent that he has written].’ (KL discussion with DR)

For uses of the comparative construction =*lɛ* (*lako*) with nouns, see §5.6.1.3.2.

15.12 Various functions of the terminative converbs **-sã:** and **-sonzã:**

The terminative converb has two markers, **-sã:** and **-sonzã:**, which both probably derive from the postposition =*sã:(tɛ)* ཟད་(ཏེ) ‘until’. The longer form **-sonzã:** is most probably a historical combination of the secondary verb *sõ:* (WD སོང་ *song*) and the postposition =*sã:*. The general meaning of both converbs may be approximated by the English expression *as far as*, although, as will be seen, the forms have considerable interpretive freedom, expressing meanings such as terminative, simultaneous and causal.

The terminative use, which most resembles the postpositional use of =*sã:* with nominals, (i.e. clearly expresses the semantics of ‘until’) is illustrated as negated in (15.192) and affirmed in (15.193).

- (15.192) འདི་ད་ཅུང་དབང་མོ་ལྷག་མ་འོང་བར་ ལྷོད་གང་མིན་
ŋà tʰaruŋ [*óŋmu lòk* ***ma-õ:-sã:***] *dø:-ɛɛ* *t̃:*
 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) ལྷོད་བདེན་ ལྷོད་ལྷོད་ ཟད་ ཇ་ ཅམ་པོའི་ འགན་ ཆོས་སྦྱིད་ལོ།
[dzã:dar mjõ:-mjõ:-sã:] *tɛʰa tsampø: gen* *tɛʰøki=lo.*
 training finish-RDP-TERM tea tsampa responsibility PN=DAT
 ‘[Until the training is finished], Choki (has) the responsibility for tea and snacks.’
 (Richhi 52)

In (15.192), the speaker is waiting for something that has not yet happened. Therefore the verb with =*sã:* occurs 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, =*sã:* expresses simultaneity:

- (15.194) འདི་ མོ་ན་ སྒྲིབ་པ་ ལྷོད་ མོ་ན་ མིན་འདུག།
[ŋà óna sõ:-sã:] *kʰu* *óna mĩndu?*
 1SG there go.PFV-TERM 3SGM there NEG.EX.SEN
 ‘[When I went there], he was not there.’ (KL e)

- (15.195) བད་དེ་ ང་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལོ་ མཐོང་བཅང་ ལུ་ རྩོམ་ ཡ་པོ་ མིན།
 [dã: ηà gjalts^hen=lo t^hõ:-sõ:] k^hu p'jo? jà:-bo t̃.
 yesterday 1SG PN=DAT see-TERM 3SGM escape go-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘[Yesterday when/as I saw Gjaltshen], (he) escaped.’ (TB e)
- (15.196) བད་ཐིག་ ཐོག་མཐའ་ ང་ ང་ཅག་ ཟམ་ ཟ་ཤད་ ལེབ་ གག་དྲུགས།
 [peliŋ lɛp-sã:] t'a ηàtea? sàm sà-ɛɛ? lɛp k'akɬa?
 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) ཏི་ ང་ཅག་ ཀླུ་ཚད་ རྩོུ་གྲུ་མ་ (culture program) བཏོན་གེ་ ལབ་བཅང་ ང་ཅག་ལོ་ མྱིས་ཏི་མི་ཇི་ (stage) མིན་འདུག།
 te [ηàtea? kalteə prougram tøŋ-gɛ ləp-sã:]
 then 1PL culture(Eng.) program(Eng.) take.out-HORT say=TERM
 ηàtea=lo steidz mindu?
 1PL=DAT stage(Eng.) NEG.EX.SEN
 ‘Then [when we say let’s hold a cultural program], we do not have a stage.’ (NAB BLA 7)
- (15.198) བར་ཚུར་ མིག་ འགྱུར་ཐི་ ལྷ་བཅང་ རྣོར་བུ་རྟོ་ ལམ་ རྒྱགས་ཐི་ བྱིས་ངོས་ལོ་ འགྲུ་བོ་ མཐོང་ཐི་
 [p^ha: ts^hu: mik gir-di ta-sã:] nòrbu=to làm ɛùk-ti
 thither hither eye stare-NF look=TERM PN=CEMPH road enter-NF
 k^him ηo:=lo gju: t^hõ:-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་ ལྷ་བཅང་ནེ་ ཡུལ་ འདི་ ཅང་དྲགས་ འདུག།
 [ηà ta=sã:-nɛ] y̌:=di teã:ɬa? du?
 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) ཀལ་ཀིས་ མན་བ་བཅང་ ཚོས་སྤྱིད་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ མན་བ།
 [karma=gi man-za-sã:] te^høki=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)

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-k^heri*.

- (15.201) ངས་ དེབ་ འདི་ སློག་ཤང་ འགོ་ བཅུག་ཟང་ ངའི་ཀི་ རྟགས་ ལེབ་ཉི་ སློག་ མ་ཐོབ།
 [ɲá: tɛp=di dɔk-ɛɛ? go tsuk-sã:] ɲè:=gi
 I.AGT book=DEMPH read-INF beginning insert-TERM 1SG.GEN=GEN
 ro? lɛp-ti dɔk ma-tʰop.
 friend arrive-NF read NEG-receive
 ‘[Because I had started to read the book], my friend, having arrived, could not read (it).’ (KN e)

With verbs of speaking, the meaning may approximate ‘according to, as far as (someone) says’:

- (15.202) ཁུ་ ལབ་ཟང་ ཁུ་ སྒྲང་རྟོག་ འོང་ཤང་ལོ།
 [kʰu làp-sã:] kʰu gã:to? ɔ̃:-ɛɛ=lo.
 3SGM say-TERM 3SGM TPN come-INF=REP
 ‘[As far as he says], he is coming to Gangtok, I heard.’/ ‘[According to what he says], he’s coming to Gangtok, I heard.’ (KN e)

In some contexts, the meaning may be concessive, as illustrated by (15.203), where the speaker offers an excuse for being late.

- (15.203) ང་ ད་ཅི་ལེ་ འོང་ངེ་ བྱས་ཟང་ གན་མའི་ འོང་ལོང་ འདུག་གོ།
 [ɲà t’atei=lɛ ɔ̃:-ɲi p’ja-sã:] k’amø: ɔ̃: lɔ̃:
 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:(te) until*. Example (15.204) occurs in the book *sbar-phung ling-dam* ‘sgro-lis, where the form is written *སང་ཙང་ song tsang*, suggesting an origin in WT *ཙང་ tsang* ‘because’, although the clause does not express reason.

- (15.204) མི་ ལ་ལ་གིས་ ལབ་སོང་ཙང་ གཞེན་གྱི་ རྟགས་ འདི་ བང་གདན་ མིན་ལོ།
 [mí làla=gi làp-sonzã:] ɲén=gi ta:=di pã:dɛ:
 human some=AGT say-TERM marriage=GEN sign=DEMPH apron
 t̃:=lo.
 EQU.PER=REP
 ‘[As far as some people say], the sign of marriage is the pangden apron, I hear.’/
 ‘[According to what some people say], I’ve heard, the sign of marriage is the pangden apron.’ (*sbar-phung* 89)

- (15.205) དེ་ཟང་ མོ་འདི་ འགག་ཆ་ འདི་ ངས་ ལྷུ་མ་ མཐོང་སྤང་ཟང་ བདེན་གམ་ མེན་བདེན་གམ་ ཉེ་ ལེ་ མཚན་ཉེ་ འདི་ བདེན་དྲགས་ འདེམ་
གཅིག་ འདྲག་གོ།
t'izã: ódi gagdza=di [ɣá: gjapma tʰõ:-sonzã:] deŋ-gam but
 that obstacle=DEMPH I.AGT after see-TERM be.true-ATTQ
min-deŋ-gam tɛ lɛp nó:-nɛ=di deŋta? dɛm=tɛi?
 NEG-be.true-ATTQ so much think-COND=DEMPH true like=INDF
duke.
 EX.SEN-IN
 ‘But that obstacle, [as far as I see it (now) afterwards], if considering carefully whether
 it was true or not, it seemed to be true.’ (CY interview)

For simultaneous/anterior use, consider (15.206), and for a clearer simultaneous use, see (15.207), where the differing pronunciation *-sumzã:* raises the question of different etymology from the typical form *-sonzã:*.

- (15.206) ཁྱི་སྤང་ཟང་ ཉེ་ ལྷུ་ ལབ་ཐོ་ལོ་
[tʰi-sonzã:] tɛ kʰú: ləp-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་སྤང་ཟང་ གཅིག་གོ་ འདི་ ཏུ་བཞིན་ འོང་བཞིན་གེ་ལོ།
[òn-sumzã:] tɛuku=di ɣù-zin òn-tɛuŋɛ=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་ མཚན་སྤྱི་སྤང་ཟང་ ལུ་ཅག་ དགོངས་ཁྲེལ་ མ་གནང་སྟེ།
[di man-ɖik-sonzã:] kʰutɛa? gomtʰi: ma-nã:=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) མོ་འདེམ་ ལྷུ་གས་སྟོལ་ ཡོང་སྤང་ཟང་ མག་གོ་ འདི་ མིན་ཅིག་ མེན་ཅིག་ ལ་ཆང་ཆོས་ བྱིག་ལྷོ་ ལྷོན་ དགོས་མཁན་ ལྷང་།
[ódɛm lùksø: jò:-sonzã:] máko=di ínteimintɛi?
 like.that tradition EX-TERM son-in-law=DEMPH necessarily
kʰatɛʰã:-tsʰi kʰik-tiki tɔn go:-kʰɛn bɛ?
 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 *mě:-sonzã:*.

- (15.210) ཨ་འདིས་ མིན་སྐང་ཟང་
 [ódi: ín-sonzã:]
 that.AGT EQU-TERM
 ‘[Because of that]...’ (CY interview)

- (15.211) འདིས་ མིན་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

= <i>rã</i> :/= <i>ra</i>	རང་/ར་	anaphoric emphatic
= <i>to</i>	ཏོ་	contrastive emphatic
= <i>di</i>	འདི་	demonstrative-emphatic
= <i>ni/ne</i>	ནི་	topicalizer-emphatic
= <i>jã</i> :	ཡང་	additive emphatic

As exemplified in (16.1), emphatic clitics in a noun phrase occur after case-marking.

- (16.1) ལྷན་ལྷགས་ ལྷུ་མ་ འདི་ མོ་འདི་ ལྷང་ལས་རང་ ཡོད་ ལྷུངས་བཞིན་ འདུག།
ke:dza? *súm de:* *ódi* *gã:=le=ra* *jò?* *sún=zen*
 language.HON three like.that that time=ABL=AEMPH EX.PER say.HON=PROG
du?
 EX.SEN
 ‘From just that time there were thus three languages, (they) say.’ (CY interview)

In the following sections, the emphatic clitics are discussed in the same order they occur in Table 16.1.

16.1.1 Anaphoric emphatic =*rã*:

The emphatic clitic =*rã*: (or =*ra*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

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', *ódem=ra* 'indeed like that'. Example (16.2) shows a use of the emphatic, where the referent to which the emphatic is attached has already been mentioned. A group of people are discussing where a certain ceremony is going to be held. One person has suggested Varanasi but person B has objected. Then, person A in (16.2) suggests the right location, Dorjeden, to which B concurs and marks the location, now the new topic of discussion, with the emphatic =*ra*.

- (16.2) A: དུ་ཅིག་ རྩ་ཆེ་གདན་ལོ།
t'utei? *dordzidẽ:=lo*.
 this.year TPN=DAT
 'This year (it's) in Dorjeden.'

B: དུ་ཅིག་ དེ་རྩེགས་⁴⁴³ (direct) རྩ་ཆེ་གདན་ལོ་ར་ འདྲད་ (=འདྲ་ སྤང།)
t'utei? *dairekt* *dordzidẽ:=lo=ra* *qẽ?*
 this.year direct(Eng.) TPN=DAT=AEMPH AP.EQU.NE
 'This year (it) indeed seems to be directly in Dorjeden.' (KN kitchen discussion)

In (16.3), the emphatic demonstrative adverb *óde=ra* 'just like that' makes anaphoric reference to the previous clause in the same sentence:

- (16.3) ད་ རྩ་ཆེ་མ་གར་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཨོ་འདྲེ་ར་ བཞག་ དགོས།
t'a néma k'ar jò-po óde:=ra za: go?
 now earlier what EQU-2INF like.that=AEMPH set be.needed
 'What was before, needs to be preserved just as it is/was.' (CY interview)

As shown in §6, the form 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་ འུས་ དགོས་ ང་རང་གིས་ རང་ ཐག་བཅད་ མི་ཚུགས།
ŋá: k'an p'ja go? ŋà-ran=gi=rã: t'ak-çẽ?
 I.AGT what do be.needed 1SG-REFL=AGT=AEMPH decide
mi-ts'u?
 NEG-be.able.to
 'I cannot decide all by myself what I should do.' (Richhi 112)

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་ཟང་སྟེ་ཉི་ལག་མ་ར་ ཡོད།
t'ato sã:te=to lèm=ra jò?
 now until=CEMPH good=AEMPH EX.PER
 'We are well until now.' (PED life story)
- (16.6) དེ་ནས་ མོ་ཉི་ཙུ་ཡང་ ཁོ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་རང་ བྱོན།
t'enε óni=tsu=jã: k'u námtci=rã: tε'øn.
 then children=PL=too 3SGM with=AEMPH go.HON
 'Then (you) children also go with him.' (Richhi 15)
- (16.7) ལེ་ལྷལ་ (level) གར་ར་ མིན་རུང་
levl k'ar=ra í:-run
 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 *tei?* 'one' with =*ra*, obtaining the meaning '(one and) the same'. In (16.10), the emphatic attaches to =*tei?*, which functions as an indefinite marker.

- (16.8) མོ་འདི་ གསུམ་ར་ འགྲུ་གད་ མིན་, ལུས་ ངག་ ཡིག་ གསུམ་ ལབ་སྟེ་གི་
ódi súm=ra gju-εí:, lỳ? ηà? jì? súm làp-tiki
 that three=AEMPH go-NPST.PER body words mind three say-NF
 'those three go (within that), (those) called body, words (and) mind.' (YR canteen video)
- (16.9) ལོག་ ལག་མ་ མ་ལེག་ ལབ་མཁུ་ གཅིག་ར་ མིན།
lòk lèm màlep làp-k'ε: tci:=ra í:.
 again good bad say-NMLZ one=AEMPH EQU.PER
 'Again, good and bad are one and the same.' (PED life story)
- (16.10) ཉེ་ མོ་འདི་ ཁོང་པོ་ འདི་ཡང་ མ་ཙེ་ མཚོ་རིགས་ཆེ་དགས་ གཅིག་ར་ ཡོད་མཁུ་ ཟུང།
tε ódi εìŋpo=di=jã: átsi nórite'it'a?=tei=ra
 so that field.labourer=DEMPH=also a.bit clever=INDF=AEMPH
jò:-k'εn bε?
 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 -*εε*-infinitive marking a clausal complement (16.11), to the first part of the

phrasal verb *ha-ko* ‘know’ (16.12), to *-po*-infinitive in the periphrastic past construction (16.13) and directly to the verb root (16.14-15).

(16.11) ངའི་ ལའ་ཤད་རང་ འདི་ མིན།

nè: làp-εε=rǎ: di ǐ:
my say-INF=AEMPH this EQU.PER
‘What I have to say is this:’ (Nga’i ’gan 10)

(16.12) མྱེ་ཐུ་གི་ ཟུ་ཚོད་ བརྒྱད་ བརྒྱུ་ལོ་ ཉ་རང་ མ་གོ།

p^hiru=ki tɕ^huts^hø? gɛ? duŋ-po ha=rā: maŋ-go.
night=GEN clock.time eight strike-2INF know⁴⁴⁴=AEMPH NEG-know
‘(They) did not even know that it was already eight o’clock..’ (Richhi 14)

(16.13) ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་གིས་ མཁྱེན་བའི་ འདག་ལུ་ སྤད་ མཁྱེན་མཁྱེན་པོ་ར་ སྤད།

lɛŋgɛ:=tsu=gi k^hem-bø: daku bɛ?,
PRN.HON=PL=AGT know.HON-2INF.GEN owner EQU.NE
k^hɛŋ-k^hem-bo-ra bɛ?
know.HON-RDP-2INF-AEMPH EQU.NE
‘You are possessors of (this) knowledge, (you) indeed know.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(16.14) འདི་ ལྷ་རེ་ འདི་ར་ མིན་ར་ ལའ།

di ta:ri di=ra ǐ:=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་ ཤོར་ཤོར་ གན་འདྲེ་ མ་ཕྱས་བར་ ཅམ་ བཞག་གོ་ སྤད་ར།

nè.po dem sā:te lỳ: ɛó:-ɛó: k’andɛ: man-bja-wa
patient like.that until body lose.control-RDP anything NEG-do-CIRC
team zak-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.’
(mnam-rtog 6)

Finally, *=rā:* 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་ཁྱི་ འགྱ་ར་ འགྱ་ཤད་ མིན།

k^hik-ti gju=ra gju-ɛǐ:
lead-NF go-AEMPH go-NPST.PER
‘I will surely take (you as my wife)’ (song lyrics)

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) ཏུ་བ་ ཡོད་སའི་ ངོས་ལོ་ ཡིན་ཅིག་ ཡིན་ཅིག་ མིའི་ ཁྱེད་ ཡོད་རང་ ཡོད་པོ་ འདྲ་ བེ་ མཚོ་བཞིན་
t'uwa jø:-sø: ηo:=lo intɛimentɛi? mɪ: kʰim
 smoke EX-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN direction=DAT necessarily human.GEN house
jø:=rã: jø-po qa=se nɔ:-zɛ:
 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་ཀླད་ ཐོག་མ་ མཁྱེན་རང་ མཁྱེན་རང་ མཁྱེན་པོ་བ་ ཡིན།
tɛ ʎokɛ tʰoma kʰɛn=rã: kʰɛn=rã:
 so Lhoke beginning know.HON=AEMPH know.HON=AEMPH
kʰɛm-po=ra ɿ̃.
 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་ སྟངས།
ma-bak=rã: bak bɛ?
 NEG-carry=AEMPH carry EQU.NE
 ‘There is no way of not carrying/It has to be carried.’ (KN e)
- b) A: ཤ་ལུ་ཏྲ་ ད་ ཚོད་པོ་ རྒྱབས་པ་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་ཤད་ སྟངས།
ɛánu=to t'a tsɔpo kjap-a gju go:-ɛɛ bɛ?
 PN=DEMPH now debate do-PUR go be.needed-INF EQU.NE
 ‘Now Shanu has to go to the debate.’

- B: ལུ་ ལགས་ཡིན་ལགས། ཏེ་ ཁོང་གིས་ འདི་ མཚན་འགྱུ་རང་ འགྱུ་ལོ་ བེ་ ལགས།
kʰu la-ɿ̃=la. tɛ kʰoŋ=gi=di maŋ-gju-rõ.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-*.

⁴⁴⁶ =rõ: is a dialectal variant of =rã:.

(16.20) འདི་ མཐོང་རང་ མི་མཐོང་བོ་ ཟླད།

di tʰõ:=rã: mi-tʰõ:-bo bɛ?

this see=AEMPH NEG-see-2INF EQU.NE

‘There’s absolutely no seeing this (unclear photocopy).’ (RL oh)

(16.21) མི་འདི་ རང་གི་ ཐོན་རང་ མི་ཐོན་མཁན་ ཟླད་སེ།

ódi nàŋɕa tʰon-ra mi-tʰon-kʰen 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) ལེ་མོ་མོ་ མཉམ་པུ་ མཉམ་ར་ མི་མཉམ་མཁན་

zomθ námpu jám-ra mi-jám-kʰɛ:

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་ རང་གི་ལོ་ རྒྱལ་མ་ སེ་མཁན་ ཡོད་རང་ མེད་པ་ཟླད།

lâteʰɛ: lâteʰun nàŋɕa=lo tɛʰuk sí-kʰɛ: jò:-ra mɛbbɛ?

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་ ཟླད།

jò:=rã: mɛ:(-kʰen bɛ?).

EX=AEMPH NEG.EX(-NMLZ EQU.NE)

‘there absolutely is not’ (TB e)

b) མེད་རང་ མེད་མཁན་ ཟླད།

mɛ:=rã: mɛ:(-kʰen bɛ?).

NEG.EX=AEMPH NEG.EX(-NMLZ EQU.NE)

‘there absolutely is not’ (TB e)

16.1.2 Contrastive emphatic =to

The contrastive emphatic =to differs from the general and potentially anaphoric emphatic =rã: in that =to introduces an air of contrast to emphasis. In (16.25), for instance, the use of =to with the adverbial ‘until now’ suggests that the speaker makes a contrast between the past and the unknown future: thus far life has been good, but she does not know about the future.

(16.25) ཇ་ཚྭ་ ཟང་ལྷོ་རྟོ་ ལེགས་ར་ ཡོད།

t'ato sã:tɛ=to lɛm=ra jò?

now until=CEMPH good=AEMPH EX.PER

‘(We) are well until now (but I do not know about the future).’ (PED life story)

(16.30) A: ལྷ་མི་ བྱིས་ན་རྟོ་ མན་འགྱུ་གོ། ལ་བ་ཤད་ བཞག་ཤད་ མེད་པའི་ མིའི་ བྱིས་ན་ འགྱུ་ཤད་ རྩ་ཆ་བར།
ádzi:, kʰim=na=to man-gju-gɛ. làp-ɛɛ? zak-ɛɛ?
 oh.no home=LOC=CEMPH NEG-go-HOR say-INF put-INF
mè:-pø: mí: kʰim=na gju-ɛɛ? ηò tsʰa-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་རྟོ་ བྱད་ མེད་ཤོ། ང་ཅག་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ལོ་ ལྷ་བར་ འོང་བོ་ མིན་སེ་ ལ་བ་ཆོག་ མིན་ཤོ།
tʼarɛ=to kʰɛ: mè:=ɛo. ηàtɛa?
 now=CEMPH difference NEG.EQU.PER=AT 1PL
bhaila=lo ta-wa òm-bo í:=sɛ làp tɕʰo?
 PN=DAT see-PUR come-2INF EQU.PER=QUO say be.allowed
í:=ɛo.
 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’ (*tʼarɛ=to*) in order to claim that the circumstances at the time are, contrary to what person A thinks, conducive to the action she has suggested. The latter instance of =to is accompanied by the clause-final attention marker =ɛo, which underlines the attention-worthiness of the proposition caused by the contrast.

The contrastive emphatic quite frequently collocates with the conditional form of the verb:

(16.31) ཁོང་ཚུ་ནི་ རྩེ་འདི་ མ་རྒྱབས་ནི་ རྟོ་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྷོན་པོ་ འདི་ དགོངས་མ་ ཁྲེལ་ཤད་ སྤང།
kʰõ:=tsu=nɛ dzɛi di ma-kjap-nɛ=to ηàtɛi lómpu=di
 3PL=PL=TOP oh.no this NEG-do-COND=CEMPH 1PL.GEN minister=DEMPH
gomtʰi:-ɛɛ? bɛ?
 get.angry-INF EQU.NE
 ‘They (said): Oh no, if we do not do this, our minister will get angry.’
 (CY interview)

The contrastive emphatic may occur in the middle of a complex copula construction to convey the meaning ‘although it is the case that’:

(16.32) མོ་འདི་ མིན་ཤད་རྟོ་ མིན་(སོ་ མིན་) དེ་ཟང་
ódi í:-ɛɛ=to ím(-bo í:) tʼizǎ:
 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):

and distal /a/ *ha* ‘that’ to form /ire/ *hdi-de* and /are/ *ha-de* respectively. A similar use of the “definite article” *-de* occurs in Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002: 70).

Although the semantic range of *=di* in Denjongke subsumes functions which in other languages have been characterized as “definiteness,” its uses go beyond definiteness. Such categories as proper nouns, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns are by definition definite, as suggested by the fact that the English definite article does not co-occur with them. The Denjongke *=di*, however, may be postposed to all the three above-mentioned categories and also to others.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་ ལྷོ་ འཛམ་གུ་ཐིང་ན་ ཡུལ་ ག་འདི་ ཇང་ མིན་འདྲ་, འདི་ འདི་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ གནས་ རྩ་ཆེན་པོ་ མིན་ལ།
qendzõ:=di lo dzambuliŋ=na y: k'adi t'ã: minḍa,
 Sikkim=DEMPH south continent=LOC region which and unlike
di=di lèpti né: tsa:te'impō í:=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་ཟང་ ང་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདེམ་ ཟང་སྟེ་ བྱིད་པར་ཅན་ འདི་ མེད་ ལྷ་ཤད་ མིན།
t'izã: ŋà=di ódem sã:te k'eparteĩ:=di mè? ɛù-ɛɛ
 but 1SG=DEMPH like.that until special=DEMPH NEG.EX. say.HUM-INF
í:.
 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) ཇ་ ཇོམ་ ཨོ་འདི་ འདི་ ལེབ་ར་ ལྷོགས་སྟེ་ ཨོ་ན་ ཐེབས་སྟེ་ འོང་བ།
t'a t'om ódi=di lèp=ra to:-ti óna lep-ti
 now bear that=DEMPH very.much=AEMPH be.hungry-NF there arrive-NF
òm-bo.
 come-2INF
 ‘Now that bear arrived there very hungry.’ (KT animal story)
- (16.40) དེབ་ འདི་ འདི་
t'ep di=di
 book this=DEMPH
 ‘this book (holding the book in hand)’ (SGD wedding customs)

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) འདྲ་འདི་འདི་ བོ་ཙོ་ཙུ་ ཉལ་ས།

dodi=di *potso=tsu* *ne:-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་ཙུ་གིས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ ཚས་རྒྱལ་ ན་ ནང་ག་ འབྲས་ལྗངས་ ལྷག་ བྱན་ མ་བཅུག་ སེ་མཁན་ འདི་ ཨོ་འདེབ་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ཁོང་ འགག་ཆ་ རྒྱབས་བོ་ སྤང་ལགས།

kʰõ: *di=tsu=gi* *tʰamtɛɛ=ki* *tɛʰøge:* *nà:* *nàŋɕa* *qɛndzõ* *lòk*

3PL this=PL=AGT all=AGT king here inside Sikkim return

tɛʼøŋ *mà-tɕu?* *sɛ-kʰɛn=di* *ódɛp* *kjap-ti* *kʰõ:*

come.HON NEG-cause say-NMLZ=DEMPH like.that do-NF 3PL

gagdza *kjab-bɛ?*

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) ཏེ་ ཁོང་ཙུ་ འདི་ ཨོ་ ལྷ་མཁན་ སྤང།

tɛ *kʰõ:=tsu=di* *mò* *ta-kʰɛn* *bɛ?*

so 3PL=PL=DEMPH divination look-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘They were (lit. are) diviners.’ (UT plains story)

Apart from positioning, a further formal difference between *di* in (16.42) and *=di* in (16.43) is that the vowel in pre-plural *di* tends to be somewhat longer than in the emphatic post-plural *=di*, suggesting that the pre-plural *di* begins a new phonological word whereas post-plural *=di* is a clitic attached to the previous word. Differing distribution and phonology suggest a possible difference of meaning. I am, however, not aware of such a difference. Nevertheless, to reflect the different positioning and phonology, the pre-plural variant *di* is in this 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) ཚེགས་བཅད་ འདི་ཙུ་ འདི་

tsʰiktɛɛ? *di=tsu=di*

poem this=PL=DEMPH

‘These poems’ (KL BLA 12)

(16.45) ལས་ལན་ གནང་མཁན་ མི་ འདི་གིས་ འདི་

kʰɛ:lɛ: *ná:-kʰɛ:* *mí* *di=gi=di*

incantation do.HON-NMLZ human this=AGT=DEMPH

‘The person who does the incantation (will)...’ (SGD wedding customs)

The first instance of =*di* 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) ཁོ་ཚུ་འདི་
kʰõː=tsu=di
 3PL=PL=DEMPH
 ‘They...’ (UTR plains story)

(16.47) ཁོ་འདི་ཚུ་
kʰõː di=tsu
 3PL this=PL
 ‘They...’ (CY interview)

(16.48) མོ་འདི་འདི་ཚུ་
ó(d)i di=tsu
 that this=PL
 ‘They...’ (PED life story)

The demonstrative-emphatic can intervene between a noun and its genitive modifier, as shown in (16.49), where =*di* seems to bring emphasis on the possessor.

(16.49) ང་ཅའི་གི་འདི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་
ŋàtɕi=gi=di lògju?
 1PL.GEN=GEN=DEMPH story
 ‘our story’ (YR canteen video)

It also attaches to postpositions:

(16.50) ང་མཉམ་ལུ་འདི་
ŋà námpu=di
 1SG with=DEMPH
 ‘With me’ (RS animal song intro)

In (16.51), the first instance of =*di* occurs as a type of substantivizer/nominalizer attached to an adjective:

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་དྲགས་ འདི་ རབག་གི་ སྐད་ འདི་ འགོ་ ཐོན་ལས་ ཤེས་ དགོས་མཁན་ ཟུང་།
k'ε:te^hiʈa=di *raŋ=gi* *kε:=di* *go* *nénle cé:*
 important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know
go:-k^hen *bε?*
 be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'The important (thing) is to first know one's own language.' (KL BLA 12)

Moreover, =*di* attaches to verb forms. Co-occurrence with an infinitive is exemplified in (16.52).

- (16.52) རང་སྐད་ འདི་ བེད་སྟོད་ ཐུས་ཤད་ འདི་ ང་ཆ།
raŋ-kε:=di *p'εteø?* *p'ja-εε=di* *ŋòts^ha:*
 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་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་ མདུན་ཁར་ སླེབས་ཆོའ་ལས་ འདི་
lóbqø:=gi *dyŋk^ha:* *ʃep-so:=le=di*
 school.GEN=GEN in.front.of arrive-CMPL.2INF=ABL=DEMPH
 'After arriving in front of the school...' (RS pupil joke)

- (16.54) རྒྱ་ལྷ་ གཅིག་ ཐུན་ཕྱི་ཀྱི་ འདི་ ཏེ་ ཆོད་ གན་ འབྱང་ གན་ འབྱང་ ལབ་སྟེ་ཀྱི་ ཇི་ ལྟ་བོ་ལོ།
te^hu-ʃa=tei? *te'øŋ-diki=di* “*te* *te^hø?* *k'an* *bjō:*,
 water-god=INDF come.HON-NF=DEMPH so 2SG.L what disappear
k'an *bjō:*” *làp-tiki* *t'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 *te'øŋ-di* would be used in place of *te'øŋ-di=ki=di*.

Moreover, =*di* can be added to *-po*-infinitive forms:

- (16.55) ང་ཅག་ལོ་ འདི་ གནང་བ་ ཕྱོག་བོ་ འདི་ལོ་ སྟོང་ཐག་བའི་ འགོ་ལས་ ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ ཟུ་ཤད་ ཡིན་ལགས།
ŋàtea=lo=di *nǎ:wa* *p'im-bo=di=lo* *nint^hakpø:*
 1PL=DAT=DEMPH permission give-2INF=DEMPH=DAT bottom.of.heart.GEN
go:le *t^hudzite^hε* *εù-εĩ:=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 *-εε*-infinitive marks causation, see §15.4.6.

16.1.4 Topicalizer-emphatic *=ni/ne*

The topicalizer-emphatic *=ni/ne* is typically used for activating new referents in discourse. In this way, it is dissimilar to the emphatic *=rã:*, which typically emphasizes already activated referents but similar to *=di* and *=to* both of which it semantically overlaps. In some of its uses *=ne* 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 *=ne* 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 *=ne* is illustrated in (16.56) and (16.57).

- (16.56) ཚད་ལོ་ ཨ་པོ་ནི་ མེད་, ཨ་པའི་ ཚབ་ལོ་ ཚད་རང་ མན་བོ་ གཞན་ ཀ་ ཡོད་?
te^hø:=lo ápo=ne mè? *ápo:* *ts^haplo te^hø:=rã:* *mèmbo*
 2SG.L=DAT father=TOP NEG.EX.PER father.GEN instead 2SG.L=REFL except
zen 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་, ཚད་ ག་ན་ སོང་བོ? འགྱུ་དོ་ ཨིན་ མ་ལབ་པར། ང་ཅག་ནི་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ སེམས་སྟུག་ ལྷོད་ ཡོད།
karma te^hø? k'ana só:-bo? gju-do í: *ma-làp-a. ηàtea=ne*
 Karma 2SG.L where go.PFV-PST go-IPFV EQU.PER NEG-say-CIRC 1PL=TOP
lèpti sémdu? 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 *=ne* and occurs as the topic of the next sentence. In (16.57), the use of *=ne* signifies a topic-switch from the addressee to the speaker (and her reference group).

Example (16.58), presents a longer stretch of text in order to illustrate three instances of *=ne* in context. In the example, a girl threatened by an undesirable marriage is talking in her head to her hoped-for groom (sadly, in vain).

(16.58) ཀམ་མཆོད་དཔལ་ལེན་བར་མ་ལག་ཤོག། ད་དེ་

karma, tɛʰøʔ ηà=lo ləm-ba màlaʔ ɛóʔ. t'a ηà=nɛ
PN 2SG.L 1SG=DAT take-PUR quick come.IMP now 1SG=TOP

རྟེན་ཟུན་རབ་འཛིན་ཚར། རྟེན་ཐག་བཅད་མཁན་ད་ཆོད་མན་བོ་

ɲɛ=na sɣn-rap tʰøn-tsʰa:. ɲɛ-tʰaʔ tɛɛ:-kʰɛ: t'a tɛʰøʔ mèmbo
trap=LOC enter-IMF become-CMPL trap-rope break-NMLZ now 2SG.L except

བཞན་གཤེས་ཡང་མི་ཚུགས། ཀམ་གཞན་གཤེས་ཡང་

zen ka=gi=jã: mi-tsʰuʔ. karma, zen ka=gi=jã:
other who=AGT=even NEG-be.able.to PN other who=AGT=even

མི་ཚུགས། ད་དེ་གན་བྱས་ཤད་དེ་ཅང་ཐབས་ལམ་གཞན་ནེ་

mi-tsʰuʔ. t'a ηá: k'an p'ja-ɛɛʔ, ɲè:=tsa: tʰaplam zen=nɛ
NEG-be.able.to now I.AGT what do-INF 1SG.GEN=at means other=TOP

གན་འདྲེ་ཡང་མེད། གལ་ཤིང་ཤོག་ཆོབ་ཡོད་ན་རྟོ་གན་མ་ལས་

k'andɛ:=jã: meʔ. k'ɛ:siʔ ɛóktsʰip jò:-nɛ=to nám=lɛ
any=even NEG.EX.PER if wing EX.PER-COND=CEMPH sky=ABL

འཕར་ཤི་འོང་ཆོག་མིན། མོ་འདི་ནེ་དཔལ་ཤོག་ཆོབ་མེད།

pʰu:-di ò: tɛʰo í:. ódi=nɛ ηà=lo ɛóktsʰip 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 (ηà=nɛ) in (16.58), topicalizes the speaker's own situation. The second use (tʰaplam zen=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) ཀམ་མཆོད་དེ་ནེ་ཐོན་ཚར། རད་པ་ལོ་ལྷ་སྟོན་བྱས་མཁན་སྤན་བོ་ནེ་འཛིན་ཚར།

karma tɛʰøʔ t'a=nɛ bom-tsʰa:. nɛ:pa=lo tatøʔ p'ja-kʰɛ:
Karma 2SG.L now=TOP become.big=CMPL patient=DAT care do-NMLZ

mémbo=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་ཨ་འདི་ཚུ་ནི་དིང་སང་མེན་འདུག་གེ་བྱ་ཤད་ཨིན།

tɛ ódi=tsu=nɛ t'ɪnzã: mɪndu-kɛ ɛ̀u-ɛɛ ɪ̃.
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་ཚེས་ཁར་གཤམ་མེད་པའི་སྒྲུབ་བཅར་གྱི་ཚུ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་ལྟ་བུར་གཞུགས་ཆོག་ཨིན། སྒྲུབ་བཅར་མ་གྱིང་སྒྲུབ་ལས་ནི་མེན་གྱིགས།

de:tsʰika k'ɛ:si? jɛ: mémpø: dzã:dar mjõ:-mjõ:-po in-nɛ
at.that.time if my doctor.GEN training finish-RDP-2INF EQU-COND
mù=lo t'ato=rã: jén kjap tɕʰo? ɪ̃: dzã:dar ma-mjõ:
3SGF=DAT now=AEMPH marriage do be.allowed EQU.PER training NEG-finish
gã:=lɛ=nɛ min-qik.
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་པའི་སྒྲུབ་བཅར་གྱི་པར་ལོ་གསལ་བའི་མེད།

t'a jɛ: dzã:dar mjõ:-pa=lo kɛ:po=nɛ mɛ?
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་གྱི་ལལ་པ་ཅེ་ནི་ད་ནི་པ་ལི་སྐད་ལས་ནི་ལྷག་གི་ཏེ། (Nep.)

zunlu lãp-ɕtɛnɛ t'a nepali kɛ:=lɛ=nɛ loggit
folksong say-COND now Nepali language=ABL=TOP folksong(Nep.)
'If talking of folksong(s), as for Nepali language, [loggit] (is the word).' (RS on songs)

(16.64) གྱི་དངས་མཁན་ནི་བོང་བྱ་ཡིན།

k'jo t'ã:-kʰɛ:=nɛ p'õ:bu jø?
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) མ་རྒྱལ་དམག་མི་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) ལུ་མི་ཅང་དྲགས་ཅིག་ཀྱི་མ་ཞིན་བ་རིག་ཅན་ཡང་ཞིན།

kʰu *mí* *teã:ta?* *teiku* *ma-im-ba* *rikteɛn=jã:* *t̪i:*
 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་འདྲེམ་ཟང་ཁ་ལབ་མེད།

kʰim=na=lo=jã: *mí=tsu* *ɲámteɪ?* *ódem=sã:* *kʰa-lap*
 house=LOC=DAT=even human=PL with that.much=until mouth-speak
mè?
 NEG.EX.PER

‘Even at home, there is not that much talking with people.’ (Richhi 164-165)

(16.68) མདང་ད་ཅག་ཚུ་ཁྱེད་དང་ཉང་པའི་ཤུགས་ན་བྱ་སྤང་ལགས་ལོ་ཤུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཡང་ཁྱ་མ་ཚུགས།

dã: *ɲátɛa=tsu* *pʰjeu tʰã:* *há:pø:* *ɛúk=na* *pʰusim=la:=lo*
 Yesterday 1PL=PL hurry and shock.GEN strength=LOC little.sister=HON=DAT
tʰudziteʰɛ=jã: *ɛù* *ma-tsʰu?*
 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) ཀར་ཀེས་མན་བ་ཟང་ཆོས་སྐྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཡང་མིན་བ།

karma=gi *man-za-sã:* *teʰøki=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 $=j\tilde{a}$: in affirmative clauses in my data are typically additive, comparative clauses are an exception, because comparison is by nature scalar. The use of $=j\tilde{a}$: in (16.70) implies that Gyaltsen is so tall that the option that someone else would be taller is less likely.

- (16.70) ཀ་མ་ འདི་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལས་ཡང་ རིང་གྱུ་ འདྲག།
karma=di gjalts^hen=lε=j $\tilde{a}$: riŋku du?
 PN=DEMPH PN=ABL=even long EX.SEN
 'Karma is even taller than Gyaltsen (I see).' (KN e)

In addition to the additive and scalar uses described in this section, $=j\tilde{a}$: 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, $=j\tilde{a}$: is used for forming negated indefinite expression such as '(not) anything', '(not) anyone' and '(not) anywhere', see §6.3.2. Second, the enclitic $=j\tilde{a}$: and independent $j\tilde{a}$: 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
$=sε/si/s$	སེ་	quotative
$=la$	ལགས་	honorific
$=εo$	ཤོ་	attention marker
$=ki/gi$	གི་	non-commitment marker

Reportative $=lo$ and quotative $=sε$ were discussed under treatment of evidentiality in §9. This section addresses the remaining clausal clitics $=la$ (§16.2.1), $=εo$ (§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) རྩ་གོམ་ འདི་ བོག་གོ་ལོ་ལགས།
dogom=di p^hok-o=lo=la.
 stone=DEMPH hit-2INF=REP=HON
 '...the stone hit, so the story goes.' (UU deer story)
- b) ཚགས་པོ་ ཞིན་ སེ་ ལགས།
tε^ha:-po t̃:=s=la.
 descend-2INF EQU.PER=QUO=HON
 '...descended, so the story goes.' (PAD bet story)

c) མིན་བཞིས་ཤོ་ལགས།
min=ze:=eo=la.
 NEG=have.HON=AT=HON
 ‘(he) doesn’t drink (it), you know.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

d) འདེམ་ ཡོད་ཀྱི་ལགས།
dɛm jø:=gi=la
 like.it EX.PER=NC=HON
 ‘...(it) is like it.’ (KL BLA 12)

(16.72) a) ད་ཚོ་ ད་ རང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ར་ ཡོད་བ་ཐུང་གོ་ མིན་ག་ལགས་?
t’ato t’a rã: námtɛi=ra jèbbɛ=eɔ, 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་ཤད་ གནང་གི་ ལོ་ལགས།
dze:-ɛɛ? náŋ-gɛ lo=la.
 meet.HON-INF do.HON-HORT TAG.Q=HON
 ‘Let’s meet, okay.’ (KTL phone call)

The clitic *=la*: (typically pronounced with a longer vowel) is also used in forming honorific nouns referring to persons, see §3.7.4.3.

16.2.2 Attention marker = *eɔ*

The uses of the attention marker *=eɔ* 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 *=eɔ* 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 *=eɔ* as either speaker or addressee-oriented is partly dependent on the evidentiality of the copulas. With other verbs, the orientation of *=eɔ* is dependent on other contextual factors.

A typologically interesting feature is that the same marker *=eɔ* 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 *=eɔ* attached to the equative copula *be?*. Speaker vs. addressee-orientation is contextually determined.

(16.73) ལྟོ་ མོ་ཉི་ལགས་ཚུ་ ཐུང་གོ།
já:, óni=la:=tsu be=eɔ.
 o child=HON=PL EQU.NE=AT
 ‘O, it’s the children.’ (Richhi 25)

- (16.74) ལབ་མཁུན་ རྟོན་དག་ འདི་ མོ་འདི་ ཟུང་གོ།
làp-k'hê: t'ønda=di ódi bε=εo.
 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:*). In (16.74), on the other hand, the speaker is carrying out a pedagogical monologue and wants, by using *=εo*, to direct his addressees' attention to the significance of the story he has just told.

A frequent context for using *=εo* is when the speakers provide information that they think is contrary to what the addressees believe:

- (16.75) A: འདི་ ཉར་ར་ ཟུང་, ཟླ་པོ་ བརྩ་བའི་ཀི།
di jèr=(r)a bε?, dou teu-pø:=gi.
 this twenties.of.month.days=AEMPH EQU.NE month ten-2INF.GEN=GEN
 'It's on the 20-29, of the tenth month.' (KNA kitchen discussion)

- B: མོ་འདི་ ཟླ་པོ་ བརྩ་བའི་ཀི་ མན་གྱི་ བརྩ་གཉིས་ན་ མིན།
ódi dou teu-pø:=gi mē:=εo. teu:ni:=na í.
 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 *=εo* resemble clauses which in other languages have been termed “mirative”⁴⁵², example (16.76) shows that uses of *=εo* 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) མི་, དའི་ ལག་གོ་ ཅིག་ཀྱང་ ལོ་, དའི་ ཀླུང་པོ་ ཡོད་ཤོ་ ལབ།
é:, jè: làko teiku=lo, jè: kã:po jò:=εo làp.
 eh, 1SG.GEN hand only=REP 1SG.GEN foot EX.PER=AT say
 '(I thought) I had only hands, (but) I have also feet (I realize).' (KT animal story)

In (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 *=εo* under “mirativity” are presented in Yliniemi (2016a).

Verbless uses of *=εo* 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

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) མོ་ན་མཉམ་ཆོད་ཀྱིས་ ཤོ་ད་ལྟ་ཟུང་ ཟස་ཆོག་ལོ་ བན་བོའི་ གཞོལ་ གན་གན་ བྱས་ཞེ་
nòrden tɕʰø:=ki=ɕo, t'ato=sã: tɕi-tsʰo:=lo pʰempø: jó? k'an
 PN 2SG.L=AGT=AT now=until community=DAT benefit.GEN work what
k'an p'ja-zɕ?
 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་ ཟུན་བོའི་ ཟུང་བན་ བྱས་དྲོ་ མིན། ཉི་ བུ་ཟུང་ཙུ་ཤོ་
ŋà mémpø: dzã.dar p'ja-do í: tɕ 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་ཅག་ འབྲས་ལྗངས་པ་ འདི་ མིན་ཤོ་ལགས། འབྲས་ལྗངས་པ་ འདི་ ཟུང་ཟུང་ བྱས་ཟස་ ནམ་ལོ་ མི་ལག་
ŋàtɕa? dɛndzɔŋpa=di í:=ɕo=la. dɛndzɔŋpa=di tʰuŋtʰuŋ
 1PL Denjongpa=DEMPH EQU.PER=AT=HON Denjongpa=DEMPH short
p'ja-ti nàmlo mi-làp.
 do-NF ever NEG-say
 'We, on the other hand, are Denjongpas. The Denjongpas never say (their name) in short.'
 (oh, Tashiding)
- (16.80) ཉི་མི་ལོ་ ང་ཅའི་ མ་ཁུ་ ལྟོ་པ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་ཤོ་ལགས།
timi=lo ŋàtɕi áku lɔpo=tɕi? jø:=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་ཤད་ཀྱི་ རྟོན་མཚན་ འདི་ར་ ཨོ་འདི་ ཟུང་གོ།
ŋá: làp-εε=ki t'ɔnts^hɛ:=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་ཙེ་ རོགས་རམ་ སུ་ནི་ (Nepali) བྱས་ཤད་ལོ་གོ།
átsi ro:ram pun p'ja-εε=lo=gi.
 a.bit help also(Nep.) do-INF=REP=NC
 '(He) is also going to help (us), I hear.' (TB discussion with KT)

(16.83) ང་ཅག་ ན་ལས་ ཏ་རིག་ (Nepali) བཟུ་བདུན་ལོ་ སང་ལོ་ ཡིན་གྱི་ལགས།
ŋàtea? nà:=le ta:rik tɛopdɣ̃:=lo só:-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 *ŋá* 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 *ŋá* and (*h*)*o*:, see §11.1.1.2 and §11.1.6 respectively. The tag *ŋá* adds assertive nuance (§16.3.1) and (*h*)*o*: exclamative nuance to the proposition (§16.3.2).

16.3.1 Assertive tag *ŋá*

The form *ŋá* was in §11.1 shown to be an interrogated form of the personal copula *ĩ*:. This form has, however, also grammaticalized into a non-interrogatory assertive tag which may attach even to copulas. The tag *ŋá* (along with its dialectal variants *ino* and *no*) occurs in declarative and imperative clauses. The phonological status of *ŋá* (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 *in-na* ཡིན་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 *ŋá* in a question (a) and the exclamative *ŋá* in the answer to the same question (b):

(16.84) a) ལྷན་ཁྱས་ གཡོག་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ཉ?
lɛŋge? jó? kjap-to ŋá?
 PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
 'Are you working?' (KN e)

- b) ང་གཡོག་རྒྱབས་དྲོ་མིན་གྱི།
ŋà jóʔ kjap-to ɿ: ná.
 1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER TAG.ASR
 ‘I am indeed working.’ (KN e)

For two further examples of *ná* and *ino* appended to copulas, consider (16.85) and (16.86) respectively (the assertive force is suggested in the translation by *I tell you*).

- (16.85) བོ་ཙོ་དྲིགས་དྲགས་མིན་གྱི།
p'otso dzikʈaʔ ɿ: ná.
 child excellent EQU.PER TAG.ASR
 ‘(The) child is excellent, I tell you. (SN kitchen discussion)

- (16.86) མི་ལེགས་འདུག་མི་ནོ། ལུ་འདི་མི་དྲིགས་དྲགས་སྒྲ།
mí lêm du: ino. kʰu=di t'a mí dzikʈaʔ
 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) མོ་འདི་བ་རམ་སྒྲར་ཨ་པོ་གི་མཁན་འདི་གིས་ར་ཨ་ཙོ་སྒྲོབ་དཔོན་ལོ་བཤད་བོ་ལོ་ནོ།
ódi pʰaregõ: ápo ɛi-kʰɛn=di=gi=ra ádzo
 that TPN father die-NMLZ-DEMPH=AGT=AEMPH grandfather

lópø:=lo ɛé-po=lo no.
 teacher=DAT say-2INF=REP TAG.ASR
 ‘It was Paramgang Father who (just) died that is said to have said that to Grandpa teacher, I tell you’. (KNM kitchen discussion)

For an example of *ná* attached to an imperative, consider (16.88), which contains two imperatives. The speaker attaches *ná* to his second, emphatic appeal.

- (16.88) ང་ཚུང་ཚུང་པའི་གཏམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བདག་མེད་མ་བཤད། དྲག་དྲག་གི་མི་སྒྲོར་ན་ཟུག་ལོག་ཅན་རང་རྒྱབས་ཤད་མིན་ད་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མ་བཤད་ཉ་ཐོས་ཅེ་གས་དབང་མོ།
t'a mjõ:-mjõ:-pø: tam=gi lògjuʔ da:mèʔ ma-ɛɛʔ.
 now finish-RDP-2INF.GEN word=GEN story void NEG-tell
t'ak-t'ak-ø: má kjo:-nɛ sù: lòtɛɛ=rã: kjap-ɛɛ ɿ:,
 heal-RDP. 2INF.EN wound repeat-COND pain again=AEMPH strike-INF EQU.PER
t'a lògjuʔ ma-ɛéʔ ná. tʰo:-tɛɛ-gam óŋmuʔ
 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)

In instructions, the tag *ná* may emphasize the obligation of the addressees:

- (16.89) དེ་ཟང་ཞལ་ལེབ་སྟེ་སྤང་བཅུག་དགོས་ཀྱི།
t'izã: ɛɛ: lɛ̃pti súŋ tɕuk go: ná.
 but mouth.HON very.much guard cause be.needed TAG.ASR
 'But the (patient) should be made to guard his mouth (from wrong food), I tell you.' (rnam-rtog 24)

Consultant YR commented on (16.89) that if the tag *ná* were to be replaced by the equative copula *=pe?*, the sentence would turn from an instruction given to others to a declaration which the speaker herself would be obliged to observe. That is, *ná* marks what “you have to do” whereas *=pe?* 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) མོ་རངས་ང་ཅག་སྟོ་སྒྲ་སྤབ་དགོས་པད།
tʰorã: ɣàtɕa? ʃokɛ? ʃap go:=pe?
 tomorrow 1PL Lhoke learn be.needed=EQU.NE
 ‘Tomorrow we have to learn Lhoke.’ (YR e)

- (16.91) མོ་རངས་ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཨོན་རང་ཀྱི་སྤབ་བྲུ་ན་འགྱུ་དགོས་ཀྱི།
tʰorã: ʃɛŋɕɛ? óna ranka lóbɕa=na gju go: ná.
 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)

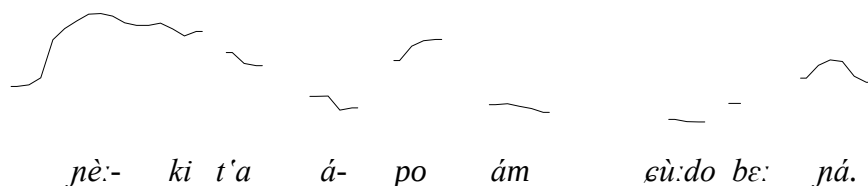
A further example of the addressee’s obligation is provided by (16.92).

- (16.92) ངའི་སྤང་འདི་ལོ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་ནེ་རང་གིས་ང་ལོ་ཉི་ཟླ་བཅུ་ཐམས་པ་བྱིན་དགོས་ཀྱི།
ɲɛ: ɕuŋ=di=lo ʃi: ma-tɕʰɛ-ne raŋ=gi ɲà=lo
 1SG.GEN story=DEMPH=DAT believe NEG-believe-COND you=AGT 1SG=DAT
tiruk gja-tʰamba p'in go: ná.
 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 *ná* 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 *ná* is particularly high, and the clause triggered a response from the interlocutor, who said *lai* ‘yes’ (comes from WD ལགས་ཨོན་ *lags-in*).

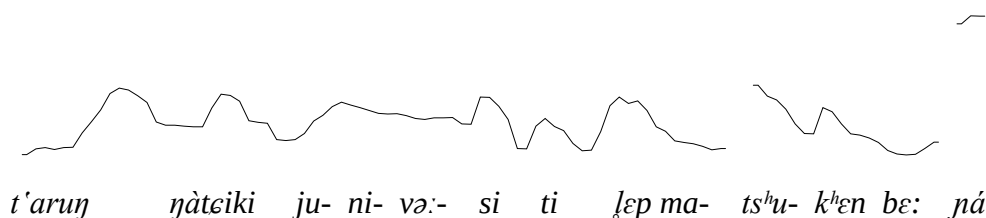
- (16.93) ངའི་ཀྱི་ད་ཨ་པོ་མཁ་བྱུང་སྤང་ཀྱི།
ɲɛ:=gi t'a ápo ám ɛù-do bɛ: ná.
 1SG.GEN=GEN now father mother say.HUM-IPFV EQU.NE TAG.ASR
 ‘My father and mother used to say (like that), I tell you.’ (CY interview)

Figure 16.1. Rising intonation on *ná* in (16.93)



- (16.94) ད་རུང་ང་ཅའི་གི་ཟུ་ནི་མ་སི་ཏི་ (university) ཟླབས་མ་ཚུགས་མཁན་ སྟང་ ག།
t'aruŋ ŋàtɛi=gi junivə:siti lɛp ma-ts^hu-k^hɛn bɛ:
 yet 1PL.GEN=GEN university(Eng.) arrive NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE
ná.
 TAG.ASR
 '(It) hasn't yet been able to reach our university (level), I tell you.' (DR discussion with KL)

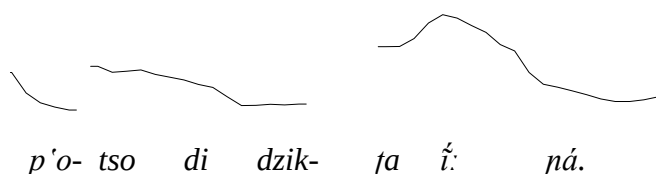
Figure 16.2. Rising intonation on *ná* in (16.94)



However, pitch is not always raised with declarative *ná*. Figures 16.3 and 16.4, providing the pitch trace from (16.95) and (16.96) respectively illustrate a falling pitch pattern on *ná*.

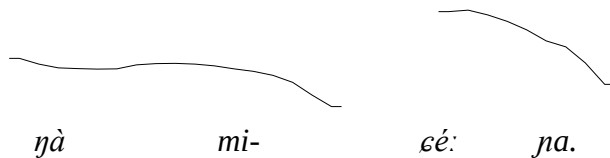
- (16.95) བོ་ཙོ་འདི་ རྩེགས་དྲགས་ ཞིན་ ག།
p'o-tso=di dzikʈaʔ ʈi: ná.
 child=DEMPH excellent EQU.PER TAG.ASR
 'That child is excellent, I tell you.' (KL phone call)

Figure 16.3. Falling intonation on *ná* in (16.95)



- (16.96) ང་མི་ཤེས་ ཉ།
ŋà mi-ɛ́ɛ: ɲá.
 1SG NEG-know TAG.ASR
 ‘I don’t know, I tell you.’ (PTW kitchen discussion)

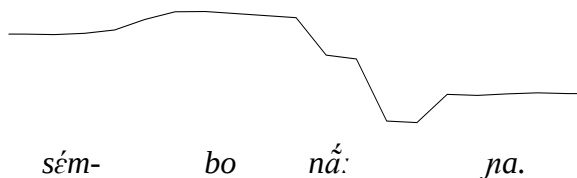
Figure 16.4. Falling intonation on *ɲá* in (16.96)



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) གསམ་བོ་གནང་ ཉ།
sém-bo ná: 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)



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) ཀམ་པའི་གསོལ་འདེབས་ སྒྱུར་ཟང་ ལྷ་ མཐའ་གཡེས་དྲི་རྩེ་ སྒྱུར་བོ་ ལབ་བོ་ལོ་ ཉི།
karmapə: sódɛp kjo:-sã: tɛ^ha t^hajɛdordzi 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་ ཉི།
t^ha 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 tapāī aspatāl jā-na lāg-e-ko dekh-e-ko
 yesterday I.AGT you.HON hospital go.INF begin-PFV-NMLZ see-PFV-NMLZ
thiē, ho.
 COP.PST.1SG COP.EQ.NPST.3SG
 ‘I saw you going to the hospital, eh.’

In (16.101) 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་ འགྱུར་དྲི་ སྒྱུར་ ཉི།
bangalor gju-do be? ó:.
 TPN go-IPFV EQU.NE TAG.EXCLAM
 ‘(She) is going to Bangalore, eh.’ (PT phone call, within kitchen discussion)

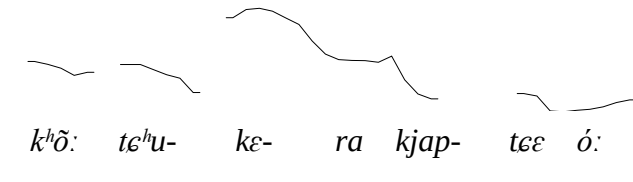
Another context is emphasizing disagreement:

- (16.102) མན་སྒྱུར་ ཉི།
mèmbɛ? 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་ ཕྱགས་སྒྱུར་ར་ སྒྱུབས་ཅེ་ ཉི།
k^hõ: tɛ^hukɛ=ra kjap-tɛɛ ó:.
 3PL Nepali=AEMPH speak-PST TAG.EXCLAM
 ‘It was Nepali they spoke, eh.’ (CY interview)

Figure 16.6. Intonation with the tag *(h)o*:



16.4 Discourse particles *t'a* and *tɛ*

The particle *t'a* 'now' is a reduction of the fuller form *t'ato* 'now'. Whereas the full form has time-referential lexical content, *t'a* is used somewhat similarly to the English *now* in clauses such as *Now, I've got something to tell you*, where *now* has a discourse function rather than a time-referential function. In line with their distinctive functions, *t'a* and *t'ato* 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་ལྟ་ལོ་བརྩ་ཐམས་པ་ལང་ཚད།
t'a jén kjap-tiki t'ato lò tɕu-tʰamba lǎ:-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) ཉེ་ད་ལྟ་ཉེ་ད་ལ་རུང་ལ་ཉེ་ད་ལྷི་འདི་
tɛ t'ato tɛ t'a làtɕʰuŋ=la tɛ t'a lí=di
 so now so now TPN=DAT so now apple=DEMPH
 'So now in Lachung apples...' (LA intro to Lachung)

The particle *t'a* can occur clause-initially (16.106), 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་ཉ་ལས་འདས།
t'a mí tʰamtɕɛ? halɛde:
 now human all be.surprised
 'Now (=as a result) all the people were amazed.' (SGD cave story)

- (16.107) ཚད་ད་མཚོ་འདི་བཀལ་མི་རྩུགས་གྲོ།
tɕʰø? t'a tsʰo=di gɛ: mi-tsʰu:-to.
 2SG.L now lake=DEMPH cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB
 'Now you probably won't be able to cross the lake.' (KT animal story)

- (16.108) ད་ཨ་དི་ ཉེམ་ཨི་ ཉེམ་གཉེན་མཚན་ མག་གོ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ ང་ ལྷོན་ དགོས་ཤད་ སྤང་ ད།
t'a ódi jìmts^{hi} jù:nents^hɛ: máko=di t^hamtɛɛ=lo ɣò tøn
 now that date relative son-in-law=DEMPH all=DAT face show
go:-ɛɛ bɛ? 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་ ཨ་འདི་ རྟེན་ཁ་ལོ་ ཁོང་ར་ རྫོན་བུ་ གཤེས་མྱེ་ བཀོད།
tɛ ódi tɛŋk^ha=lo k^hõ:=ra lómpu sé:-di kø?
 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) ཨ་འདི་ ཨོས་ འདི་ ཏེ་ ཡུ་ འབས་གཏན་ སྤང་གོ་ ཏེ།
ódi ts^he:=di tɛ jòu ɛàptɛ: bɛ=ɛo tɛ.
 that date=DEMPH so up ritual EQU.NE=AT so
 ‘so then on that day there is a ritual’ (SN kitchen discussion)

The use of *tɛ* may also indicate topic change:

- (16.111) ང་ཅག་ མི་ལག་ བརྩུ་པོའི་ རང་ལས་ ཁོ་ དང་ ང་ ལེབ་སྟེ་ འཆམ་ཤོས་ ཞིན། ཏེ་བུ་སྤང་ཚུའི་ སློབ་གྲུའི་ གྲུང་སང་ རྣམ་ལས་ འཛོན་ཤད་པོ་?
ɣàtɛa? mɪla? tɛu-pø: nàŋ=lɛ k^hu t'ã: ɣà lèpti
 1PL person ten-2INF.GEN inside=ABL 3SGM and I very.much
tɛ^ham-ɛo? ɛ: tɛ p'usim=tsu=i lóbqø:
 agreeable-SUP EQU.PER so younger.sister=PL=GEN school.GEN
k'unjsiŋ nàm=lɛ t^høn-ɛɛ=po⁴⁵⁵?
 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

⁴⁵³ There is probably a mistake in word order here, the right order being: *t'a ódi jìmts^{hi} máko=di jù:nents^hɛ: t^hamtɛɛ=lo ɣò tøn go:-ɛɛ bɛ? 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 རྩོ་ [po], which is probably a cliticized form of the interrogative equative *bo* (cf. declarative equative *bɛ?/=pɛ?*).

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) ལུ་ལུ་ ཉལ་ཅ་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ སྤང་། ཉལ་ཅ་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཡོ་ན་ ཡོ་ཉེ་ལོ་ ལྷམ་ གཅིག་ ཉོ། ལྷམ་ ཉོ།
ɛyːɛyː nòptɕa kjap-o bɛʔ. nòptɕa kjap-ti óna
 a.bit shopping do-2INF EQU.NE shopping do-NF there
óni=lo lam=tɕiʔ nòː. lam nòː.
 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) ཉི་ཨར་ (tyre) རྒྱང་མ་ ཐར་ཕྱི་ རྒྱང་མ་ གང་། རྒྱང་མ་ གང་ཕྱི་ ཡོ་ན་ལས་
taiər=di lúnma tʰaː-di lúnma kʼāː. lúnma kʼāː-di ònale
 tyre(Eng)=DEMPH air escape-NF air fill air fill-NF then
 ‘As air had escaped from a tyre, we filled air (to the tyre). Having filled (the tyre with)
 air, (we) then...’ (DB trip story)

16.6 Right-dislocation

Typically Denjongke clauses end in a verb but occasionally clausal arguments occur postposed to the verb. In spontaneous spoken language, right-dislocation is a frequently used way for speakers to correct themselves and add information that helps the addressee to disambiguate the clause. The right-dislocated element may be a core argument, as in (16.114) 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) ཡོ་ན་ དགོན་པ་ན་ རྩ་ཀླུ་ ལལ་མཁན་ ཡུལ་ན་ རྩོད་གད་ ཡིན་ ང་།
óna gjompa=na tshukal làp-kʰɛː yː=na dɔː-ɕɛ ɿː nà.
 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་འགྲུ་མཁན་ སྤང་ བློ་ཉི་ རང་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་ བག་ ལལ་པོ་ ངང་ འདྲ་བོ་ འཛོན་བཞིན་ ཡོད་ ཀམ་ལོ།
sà-nɛ sà, man-za-nɛ paʔ làp-o tʼāː ɖau
 eat-COND eat NEG-eat-COND eat.AO.HUM say-2INF and similar
tʰøn-zɛː jòʔ karma=lo.
 become-PROG EX.PER PN=DAT
 ‘It is happening to Karma as it says (in the proverb): “If you are about to eat, eat. If you are not about to eat, eat (anyway because you have to).”’ (Richhi 65)

b) འདི་ ཉིན་ གསུམ་པོ་ ག་ཉི་ གཏོགས་ཤད་བོ་, ལོ་ གསུམ་ལས་ ལྷག་ཆོད་ ཆོར་བཞིན་ ཀམ་ལོ་ ད་ལྟེ།
di nìim sùim-po k'ate to:-εε bo? lò sùim=lε
 this day three-COL how contain-INF EQU.NE.Q year three=ABL
laktsʰø? tsʰo:-zẽ: 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) ཆས་སྒྱིད་ མེད་རུང་ སྤང་བདར་ཏོ་ བྱས་བཞིན་ ཉིན་ ཆད་མེད་ ཁོང་ཚུས།
teʰøki? mè:-run dzã:dar=to p'ja-zẽ: nìim teʰame? kʰo:=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་ཕུ་ཅིག་ཁར་ གྲོང་ གཅིག་ན་ མི་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང།
t'ã:pu-teika k'jõ:=tei=na mí=tei? jò:-kʰen bε?
 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)

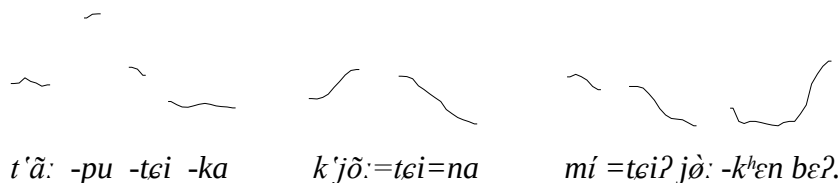
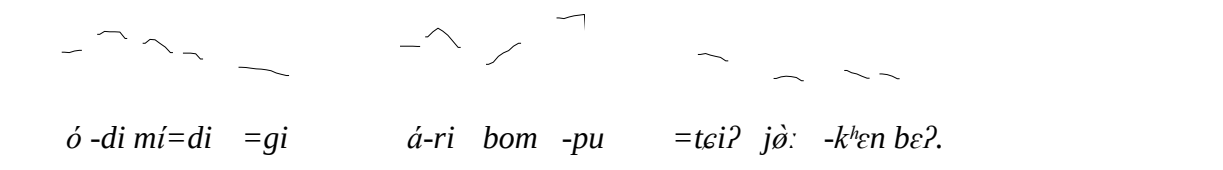


Figure 16.7 can be contrasted with Figure 16.8, which presents the non-rising intonation of (16.118), the second sentence in the same story:

(16.118) ཡོད་པའི་ མི་ འདི་གི་ ཡ་རི་ སྤང་ཕུ་ གཅིག་ ཡོད་མཁན་ སྤང།
ódi mí=di=gi ári bompu=tei? jò:-kʰen bε?
 that human=AEMPH=GEN paddy.field big=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'That man had a large paddy field.' (TB bull story)

Figure 16.8. No sentence final rise in intonation (16.118)



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 =*ɛo*, 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 *ná* and (*h*)*o*:, which are also used for interrogation, have developed non-interrogative uses: *ná* can bring assertive and (*h*)*o*: exclamative nuance to a declarative proposition. The uses of the non-commitment marker *ki* borrowed from Nepali remain a fertile ground for future research (in both Nepali and Denjongke).

17 Notes on lexicon

This chapter describes vocabulary from five semantic domains which show particularly rich variety, such as ideophones (§17.1), or are otherwise crosslinguistically or culturally interesting, such as kinship terms (§17.2), names (§17.3), colours (§17.4) and vocabulary used with small children (§17.5).

17.1 Ideophones

In this section, I first introduce the concept of ideophones (§17.1.1). This is followed by 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 *ts^humts^hum* ཚུམ་ཚུམ་ ‘opening and closing or being on and off intermittently’, or near-reduplication by vowel change, as in *barbur* འབར་འབར་ ‘with bulges’, or near reduplication by initial consonant change (rhyming), as in *k’atepmatep* ཀ་ཉླེབ་མ་ཉླེབ་ ‘in one way or another, at any cost’. Ideophones are also often phonologically marked in that they employ

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 vocabulary⁴⁵⁷, for instance /kr/ in *krakrok* ཀྣ་ཀྣ་ ‘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. *te^halte^hol* ཅལ་ཅལ་, *gargor* གག་གག་ (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* འདྲུམ་འདྲུམ་ is a more vivid representation of ‘short’ than the non-reduplicated counterpart *dumʈaʔ* འདྲུམ་རྩལ་.

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་ཆབ་ ཟླ།
mí=di te^hapte^hop bɛʔ.
 human=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
 ‘That man is reprehensible.’ (KN e)
- b) ཟས་འདི་ ཆབ་ཆབ་ མན་ཟ།
sàm=di te^hapte^hop 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* ཐྱལ་ཞིེ, which turn adjectives into adverbs .

- (17.2) a) ཟབ་ཟབ་ ཟླ།
sàbzap døʔ.
 careful sit
 ‘Remain careful(ly).’ (KN e)
- b) ཟབ་ཟབ་ ཐྱལ་ཞིེ་ ཟླ།
sàbzap p’ja-ti døʔ.
 careful do-NF sit
 ‘Remain careful(ly).’ (KN e)

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་ ལྷ་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་ ཡོད།
mí=tsu tʰamtɕɛ? kʰusimsim jø?
 human=PL all silent(ly) EX.PER
 ‘All the people are silent(ly).’ (Richhi 84)
- b) ད་ན་ འཛིན་གྲུ་ན་ ལྷ་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་ ཡོད།
tʰato dʒiŋɛ:=na kʰusimsim jø?
 now class=LOC silence EX.PER
 ‘Now there is silence in the classroom.’ (Richhi 6)
- (17.4) a) ད་ན་ ཚད་ལྡན་ ཉན་པོ་ སྤལ་ཉི་འཛོམ་ཚད།
tʰato tsʰɛdɛ: nòmpo sòlɛ raprip tʰon-tsʰa:.
 now considerably evening dusk dim become-CMPL
 ‘It has become considerably dim with evening dusk.’ (Richhi 40)
- b) ང་ཅག་ ཉི་མ་ཉི་མ་ སྤལ་པོ་ མིན།
ŋàtɕa? raprip=na lɛp-o ʔ̥.
 1PL dim(ness)=LOC arrive-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘We arrived at dusk.’ (KT e)

In (17.3b), *kʰusimsim* ལྷ་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་ is used like an abstract noun ‘silence’ as a copula subject in a locative clause, and in (17.4b), on the other hand, *raprip* ཉི་མ་ཉི་མ་ receives locative marking, which is typical of nouns, and the meaning becomes ‘in the dimness, at dusk’.

Consider, furthermore, the riddle in (17.5), which uses three ideophones. Each ideophone is used like an abstract noun in a copulaless locative clause. The Denjongke writing and translation are preliminary.

- (17.5) ལྷ་སྐྱ་ ཡོ་མ་ཡོ་མ་, བར་ ལྷ་སྐྱ་ལྷ་སྐྱ་, འོག་ ཚད་ཚད།
tɛ: jòmjom, pʰar kʰjukʰjuk, ɔ? tsʰɛtɕɛ?
 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

⁴⁵⁸ With reduplicated disyllabic words such as *kʰabzi kʰobzi*, *C1aC2.C3V3 C1oC2.C3V3*.

word *ṛakrok* རྩ་རྩོག་ refers to tree trunks and roads which are not smooth/level (the norm) but bulgy/bumby. Some nonnormative ideophones are listed in Table 17.1 and exemplified after the table. The words in Table 17.1 are from consultants KL (Barapathing, East Sikkim) and KN from Martam (East Sikkim). The expressions have some local variation, as shown by the alternatives *k'abzi k'obzi* ཀ་བ་ཅི་ ཀ་པ་ཅི་ (Barapathing) and *k'abzi k'odun/hapzi hodun* ཀ་བ་ཅི་ ཀྱི་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

<i>pappop</i>	པ་བ་པ་བ་	‘having mixed big and small inappropriately’
<i>pjarpjor</i>	ཕྱར་ཕྱར་	‘onomatopoeic for a disturbing sound of pouring liquid’ (e.g. diarrhea or pouring water from a container to another)
<i>praprop</i>	པྱ་བ་པྱ་བ་	‘in only slight resemblance of how something should be done, badly done’
<i>p^hjarp^hjor</i> <i>te^harte^hor</i> <i>dzardzor</i>	འཕྱར་འཕྱར་ ཕྱར་ཕྱར་ འཕྱར་འཕྱར་	‘clothes not appropriately worn’
<i>babbop</i>	འབབ་འབབ་	‘with bulges of fat (of a fat person)’
<i>bjarbjor</i>	འབྱར་འབྱར་	‘inappropriately prepared (of food)’ (e.g. mixing items not to be mixed or cooking unhygienically)
<i>mjàkmjok</i>	མྱ་ག་མྱ་ག་	‘tasteless (of tea or millet-beer)’
<i>t^hamt^hom</i>	ཐམ་ཐམ་	‘not being able to function properly (of people)’
<i>dakdok</i>	དྲག་དྲག་	‘occurring as an assortment of small items of various sizes’
<i>ts^hapts^hop</i>	ཆབ་ཆབ་	‘placed in an unorganized way’ (e.g. pictures on the wall)
<i>ts^harts^hor</i>	ཆར་ཆར་	‘unknown sound (in the forest)’ (KL)
<i>sàrsor</i>	ཟར་ཟར་	‘unpleasant, unclear sound (also human voice can have this quality during a cold)’ (KL, KN)
<i>làklok</i>	ལག་ལོག་	‘unimportant enough to be able to be given away’
<i>làplop</i>	ལཔ་ལོཔ་	‘lukewarm (not hot, not cold)’
<i>raṅroṅ</i>	རང་རྩང་	‘here and there (of big stones/rocks in the soil)’
<i>ṛakrok, ṛaprop</i>	རྩ་རྩོག་, རྩ་རྩོཔ་	‘with bulges, not smooth (of a road, floor plank, of a stone-wall in which some stones are loose), also <i>ṛaja ṛuja p’ja</i> རྩ་ཡ་ རྩ་ཡ་ བྱས་ ‘make uneven with bulges’
<i>te^halte^hol</i>	ཆལ་ཆོལ་	‘doing this and that without completing anything, of foolish behavior (“like a mad person” [KN])’
<i>te^hapte^hop</i>	ཆབ་ཆོབ་	‘in a careless and inconsiderate way (e.g. eating, of a person)’
<i>εápeop</i> (KT) <i>sápsop</i> (KN)	ཤབ་ཤོབ་ སབ་སོབ་	‘softness of leaves and hay in the forest’
<i>ṇàrṇor</i>	ཉར་ཉོར་	‘speak around the real subject’ (also used of dog’s sound) (KL)
<i>jàrjor</i>	ཡར་ཡོར་	‘uncontrolled walk of a drunk person’
<i>kjakkjok</i>	གྱག་གྱོག་	‘bulgy (of a tree)’
<i>krakrok</i>	ཀྲག་ཀྲོག་	‘onomatopoeic for sounds coming from a wrecked body’
<i>k^hapk^hop</i>	ཁབ་ཁོབ་	‘with bulges (of a hilly horizon, figure of land)’

<i>kʰjakkʰjok</i> , <i>gjagjok</i> (KN)	ལྷན་ལྷན་	‘abnormal (of walking of a drunk or sick person)’ (KN)
<i>kʰjapkʰjop</i>	ལྷན་ལྷན་	‘walking here and there’
<i>kʰjarkʰjor</i>	ལྷན་ལྷན་	‘weak (of walking style or sick animal)’ (e.g. the walk of a drunken man) (KL)
<i>gapgop</i> <i>gaptagopta?</i> <i>gapʈagopta?</i>	འགའ་འགོལ་, འགའ་དྲགས་ འགོལ་དྲགས་	‘out of usual shape (of a tree trunk with bulges, of something drawn or written inappropriately)’
<i>gargor</i>	འགར་འགོར་	‘mistaken forms in writing, bad hand-writing’ (KL)
<i>kʰabzi kʰobzi</i> (KL) <i>kʰabzi kʰodun</i> (KN) <i>hapzi hodun</i> (LT)	གཤམ་ཞི་གཤམ་ཞི་ གཤམ་ཞི་གོ་རྒྱུངས་ ཏམ་ཞི་ཏོ་རྒྱུངས་	‘do something fast and inattentive of surroundings’ (e.g. with <i>gju</i> ‘walk’ > <i>kʰabzi kʰobzi gju</i> ‘rush’ and with <i>sà</i> ‘eat’ > <i>hapzi hodun(lo) sà</i> ‘gulp’)
<i>harhor</i>	ཏར་ཏར་	‘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) *lám=di* *ʁakrok* *bɛ?* ལམ་ འདི་ ལྷན་ལྷན་ ཟུང། ‘The road is rough.’
ɛ́ŋ=di *gapgop* *bɛ?* ཤིང་ འདི་ གཤམ་ཞི་ ཟུང། ‘The tree is bulgy.’
mí=di *babbop* *bɛ?* མི་ འདི་ གཤམ་ཞི་ ཟུང། ‘The man is bulgy.’
ri=di *kʰapkʰop* *bɛ?* རི་ འདི་ ལམ་ལོབ་ ཟུང། ‘The mountain-range is curvy.’⁴⁵⁹
N=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE

- (17.7) རྩོ་ བཟ་ཕོབ་ མན་བཞག།
do *pappop* *man-za*.
stone IDEO.NN NEG-place
‘Do not place the stones in a disorderly manner.’ (DB e)

- (17.8) a) མོ་ཉི་ འདི་ སྐྱུག་གོ་ ཕྱར་ཕྱར་ བཏང་བཞིན་ འདུག།
óni=di *kjako* *pjarpjor* *tã:-zen* *du?*.
baby=DEMPH faeces IDEO.NN send-PROG EX.SEN
‘The child has an explosive diarrhoea.’ (KT e)

- b) རྩུ་ ཕྱར་ཕྱར་ མ་ཕྱས།
tɕʰu *pjarpjor* *ma-jà*.
water IDEO.NN NEG-do
‘Do not make disturbing sound with water.’ (KN e)

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.

- (17.16) ངང་དྲིང་ ཟར་ཟོར་ འཁྱུ་བའི་ ལྷ།
t'əŋt'in sàrsor p'ja-bø: ɖa
 clang-clang IDEO.NN do-2INF.GEN sound
 'the sound of noise-making, clang clang.' (Richhi 30)
- (17.17) ལྷ་ཅའི་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་
k'utɕi=tsa: jɔʔ làklok jò:-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) ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་
tɕʰu=di làplop bɛʔ.
 water=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.PER
 'The water is lukewarm.' (KT e)
- (17.19) ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་
do raproŋ du-kɛ.
 stone IDEO.NN EX.SEN-IN
 'There are (big) stones here and there (and everywhere).' (KN e)
- (17.20) a) ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་
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) ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་
ŋá: raprop-p'ja t'i-u t̃:.
 I.AGT IDEO.NN-ADVZR write-2INF EX.SEN
 'I wrote it haphazardly.' (KN e)
- (17.21) ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་
p'um=di tɕʰalteʰol-p'ja gju dɛ-b=bɛʔ⁴⁶².
 girl=DEMPH IDEO.NN-ADVZR go stay.2INF=EQU.NE
 'The girl keeps going (around) out of her mind.' (KN e)
- (17.22) a) ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་
mí=di tɕʰapteʰop bɛʔ.
 human=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
 'That man is reprehensible.' (KN e)

⁴⁶² This form comes from either *gju dɔ:-po bɛʔ* ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ or *gju dɔ: jò-po bɛʔ* ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་.

b) ཟས་ འདི་ ཆབ་ཆོབ་ མན་ཟ།
sàm=di tɕʰapteʰop man-za.
 food=DEMPH IDEO-NN NEG-eat
 ‘Do not eat food inconsiderately.’ (KN e)

(17.23) ཟྱོ་ཁྱ་ འདི་ རྟགས་ཅན་ ཤལ་ཤོབ་ན་ ཉལ་ རྩོད་ འདུག།
biu=di nà:tsɛ: ɕápeop=na⁴⁶³ jè: dɕ: du?
 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?
jàrpor kʰan làp-o?
 IDEO.NN what say-2INF
 ‘What did you say in unclear mutter?’ (KL e)

(17.25) མི་ འདི་ ཆང་ འཐུང་ལྷི་ ཡར་ཡོར་ལོ་ འགྱ་བཞིན་ག།
mí=di tɕʰã: tʰuŋ-di járjor=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་ གྲག་ལྷོག་ སྒད།
ɕíŋ=di kʲakkjok bɛ?
 tree=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
 ‘The tree is bulgy (and not straight).’ (KN e)

(17.27) གཟུགས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གྲག་ལྷོག་ ཐོན་ལྷི་གི་
zu? tʰamteɛ? krakrok tʰon-diki
 body all IDEO.NN become-NF
 ‘All (my) body has become wrecked...’ (KN e)

(17.28) a) ལམ་ འདི་ ལྷག་ལྷོག་ སྒད།
lám=di kʰjakkʰjok bɛ?
 road=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
 ‘The road is curvy.’ (KT e)

b) ར་བཞི་ལོ་ ལམ་ལོ་ ལྷག་ལྷོག་ལོ་ འགྱ་བཞིན་ འདུག།
ra:zipo lám=lo kʰjakkʰjok=lo gju-zɛn du?
 drunkard road=DAT IDEO.NN=DAT go-IMPF EX.SEN
 ‘A drunkard is walking here and there on the road.’ (KUN e)

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) མི་འདི་བྱ་བ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ འགྲུ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

mí=di kʰjapkʰjop-pʼja gju-zɛn du?
human=DEMPH IDEO.NN-AVDZR go-PROG EX.SEN
'The man is walking feebly (like a sick person).' (KT e)

(17.30) a) མོ་འདི་བྱ་བ་ལྟོ་ སྐྱེ།

nò:=di kʰjarkʰjor bɛ?
cow=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
'The cow is weak/sick'. (KT e)

b) ཨ་ཙོ་ད་རིང་གསོལ་ཆང་བཞེས་པོ་ འདྲད་ (=འདྲ་ སྐྱེ)། འབས་ཨ་ཙོ་པར་ཚུར་བྱ་བ་ལྟོ་ རྒྱལ་སྟེ་ ཕྱོག་དོ།

ádzo tʼariŋ sɔːtɛʰõː zeː-p dɛ?
grandfather today millet.beer.HON drink.HON-2INF APP.EQU.NE
ɛàp átsi pʰaː tsʰuː kʰjarkʰjor kjap-ti tɛʼɔn-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་འགོ་ལོ་གན་དེ་བོ་

jìgi gapgop=lo kʼan tʼi-u?
letter IDEO.NN=DAT what write-2INF
'What did you write in such shapeless strokes?' (KN e)

(17.32) ཆོད་གལ་ཞི་གོ་ཞི་རྒྱལ་སྟེ་གན་འགྲུ་དོ་

tɛʰø? kʼabzikʼobzi⁴⁶⁴ kjap-ti kʼana gju-do?
2SG.L IDEO.NN do-NF where go-IPFV
'Where are you going in such a hurry?' (KL e)

(17.33) a) སྒོ་མ་ཏར་ཏར་ལོ་ཕྱི་སྟེ་ནང་ག་འོང་བཏང་ཞེ།

gom harhor=lo pʰiː-ti ŋàŋɕa ɔː tãː-zɛ.
door IDEO.NN=DAT open-NF inside come send-PST
'(He) opened the door and came in uninvited.' (KN e)

b) ལུ་ཕྱི་ཐུག་ཏར་ཏར་ལོ་ ལུ་བཞིན་ འདུག།

kʰu pʰitu? harhor-pʼja hup-tɕɛn du?
3SGM gruel IDEO.NN-ADVZR slurp-PROG EX.SEN
'He is slurping his gruel inconsiderately fast.' (KN e)

The ideophone *dakdok* 'occurring as an assortment of small items of various sizes' is exceptional in that it is not inherently negatively evaluated. In (17.34), (a) and (b) seems to have a negative context, but (c) and (d) present positive or neutral evaluations.

⁴⁶⁴ Consultant KL gave the Nepali equivalent *laḍḍai paḍḍai*.

(17.34) a) མི་འདི་ལ་ལས་ བྱ་ཚུག་ རྩ་ལྷོ་ བྱ་ལྷོ་ བྱ་ལྷོ་

mí=di kʰa=lɛ kʰjaksʰi? dakdok tʰøn-tsʰa:.
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་ རྩ་ལྷོ་ལོ་ ས་ཁར་ ཀོས་ བཞག་ འདུག།

p'ja-ɕa dakdok=lo sákʰa ko: za: du?.
chicken-meat IDEO.NN ground throw set EX.SEN
'Chicken meat has been thrown on the ground in small pieces, I see/saw.' (KN e)

c) ག་ཉོན་ རྩ་ལྷོ་མ་ རྩ་ལྷོ་ལོ་ བཏགས་ རྩོད་ འདུག།

k'ən̥: doma dakdok=lo ta: dø: du?.
cucumber fruit IDEO.NN=DAT attach stay EX.SEN
'Cucumbers are growing abundantly.'

d) ཨོ་ཉེ་ རྩ་ལྷོ་ ཀེ་ཤ་ལོ་ འདུག།

óni dakdok kɛ:p(o) du?.
child IDEO.NN a.lot EX.SEN
'There are a lot of children (of various sizes), I see/saw.' (KN e)

17.1.3 Fully reduplicated ideophones

This section describes fully reduplicated ideophones (e.g. *tsʰaptsʰap* རྩ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ '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་འབར་ 'bulgy', see §17.1.4), near-reduplicated words with a change in initial consonant (rhyming ideophones, e.g. *k'atɛpmatɛp* ག་ཉེ་མ་ཉེ་ 'one way or another, at any cost', see §17.1.5) and onomatopoeic words, which are considered a subclass of ideophones (e.g. *kukurikā:* 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.

Table 17.2. Fully reduplicated ideophones

<i>sàbzap</i>	ཟབ་ཟབ་	‘careful(ly)’
<i>laplap</i>	ལྷབ་ལྷབ་	‘flicker (n.), show unsteady light’ (of a light bulb and fire), also <i>laplap p’ja</i> ‘flicker (v.)’ (see also <i>pja laplap</i> in Table 17.3)
<i>ts^humts^hum</i>	ཚུམ་ཚུམ་	‘open and close or be on and off intermittently’
<i>t^hakt^hak</i>	ཐག་ཐག་	‘clearly (of reading)’
<i>te^hopte^hop</i>	ཚོབ་ཚོབ་	‘right texture for chewing (of meat and some vegetables)’
<i>gjopgjop</i>	མགྱོབ་མགྱོབ་	‘hastily’
<i>dapdap</i>	འདྲབ་འདྲབ་	‘texture of (a bit too wet) rice that sticks to ladle’
<i>ts^hapts^hap</i>	འཚབ་འཚབ་	‘restless, (overly) quick in action’ <i>ts^hapts^hap p’ja</i> ‘be hurried, restless’ (TB e)
<i>leplep</i>	ལྷེབ་ལྷེབ་	‘of scanty meat of a lean animal’
<i>nòpnop</i>	ཉོབ་ཉོབ་	‘soft, such that can be depressed with a finger (e.g. meat, skin)’ (opposite of <i>takta?</i> ‘hard’) (KT)
<i>burbur</i>	འབྱར་འབྱར་	‘bulging’ (TB)’ from <i>bur</i> ‘spring up’, <i>te^hu bur-εε?</i> ‘springing up of water’
<i>riprip</i>	རྩིབ་རྩིབ་	‘dim(ly)’
<i>k’ukk’uk</i>	གུག་གུག་	‘moving up and down (e.g. nodding head or moving finger)’
<i>t^hakt^hak</i>	ཐག་ཐག་	‘clear (at least of reading from memory)’

- (17.35) ལྟ་རྟོངས་ ཟབ་ཟབ་ འཇུག་གི་ གྲོ་ཐག་
takjō: sàpzap p’ja=εε=ki lóth’a?
 looking.after carefully do=INF=GEN decision
 ‘decision to look after carefully’ (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam, for class 12, 13)

- (17.36) ཁོའི་ མང་བྱག་ རྩོད་ འདི་ཡང་ ཚུམ་ཚུམ་ འཇུག་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པོ་ སྤང་།
k^hu=i á:bu? t’ō:=di=jā: ts^humts^hum jò-po bε?
 3SGM=GEN bottom⁴⁶⁵ 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་གྲ་ ཞིན།
gjopgjop ō:-εε ĭ:.
 hastily come-INF EQU.PER
 ‘(I)’ll come hastily.’ (DB e)

- (17.38) གློག་ འདི་ ལྷབ་ལྷབ་ སྤང་།
lò?=di laplap⁴⁶⁶ bε?
 light=DEMPH flickering EQU.NE
 ‘The light is flickering.’ (KN e)

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) དུ་མ་ནད་པོ་ཤུག་རེ་བྱུག་པོ་ཟུག་ཟླ་མི་ངོ་ཉི་ཉི་ལོ་ངོ་ཤེས་པོ་ཟང་འཕྲན་ཟླ་དྲ་ཡོད།
t'ato nè:po ɛ̀yry t'empo sɿn-di mi-ŋo ɾiprip=lo
 now patient a.bit memory awaken-NF human-face dim=DAT
ŋò ɛ́é:-po=sã: tʰon dø: jòʔ.
 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་ཕྱི་བཞིན་
go k'ukk'uk p'ja-zɛ:
 head up.and.down do-PROG
 ‘nodding (his) head’ (mthun-sgril 17)

- (17.41) ཁུ་དཔེ་ཆ་འདི་ལེ་ཐག་ཐག་གཟུངས་འདུག་གོ།
kʰu petɛʰa=di lɛp 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-laplap* ‘eating greedily’ seem tightly connected to the ideophonic suffix, whereas other elements, such as *rɛ:po* ‘hair’ in *rɛ:po siŋziŋ* ‘entangled hair’ form a looser ideophonic syntagm which may be intervened by other words, see (17.46).

Table 17.3. Complex ideophones

<i>jɛ:-laplap</i> (also <i>jɛ:-dapdap</i>)	ཡལ་ལྷ་ལྷ་	‘seeing unclearly as if alternately disappearing and appearing’ (KN), combining <i>jɛ:</i> ‘disappear’ with <i>laplap</i> ‘flicker (n.), show unsteady light’ (of a light bulb and fire)’
<i>pja-laplap</i> (KN) <i>p'ja(?)-lɛplɛp</i>	ཕྱིས་ལྷ་ལྷ་ ⁴⁶⁷ ཕྱིག་ལེ་ལེ་	‘eating greedily, impatient behavior in front of food consisting of stretching hands here and there to taste various dishes (typical of children)’ (latter written form from <i>Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam</i> 45)
<i>pu-sópsop</i>	ཕུ་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་	‘fluffy with hair (of skin), also associated with leanness’, <i>pu</i> ‘skin hair’ (<i>Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam</i> 40)
<i>num-ri:ri:</i> <i>num-tã:tã:</i> (KNA)	སུམ་རིལ་རིལ་ སུམ་བཏང་བཏང་	‘smooth (of skin), also associated with fatness’, <i>num</i> ‘oil’ (<i>Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam</i> 40)
<i>kʰø:-sí:si:</i>	ཁྱོལ་བསལ་བསལ་	‘chilly, cold’, <i>kʰø:</i> ‘chill’
<i>hampo ɛ̀ð:ɛ̀ð</i>	ཏམ་པོ་ཞྭ་ཞྭ་	‘loads of mold’, <i>hampo</i> ‘mold’
<i>rɛ:po siŋziŋ</i>	རལ་པོ་ཟིང་ཟིང་	‘tangled hair’, <i>rɛ:po</i> ‘hair’
<i>go dzokdzok</i>	མགོ་འཛོག་འཛོག་	‘bowing, nodding, bending (of human, of trees in wind)’, <i>go</i> ‘head’

⁴⁶⁷ Here, there is a mismatch with pronunciation and suggested Denjongke spelling: KN pronounced *pja* instead of *p'ja*.

- (17.42) བོ་ཙོ་ ཐུས་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་ མ་ཐུས།
p'otso pjalaplap ma-jà.
 child impatient.eating.manner NEG-do
 'Child, do not eat greedily.' (KN e)
- (17.43) ཡལ་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་ མཐོང་མ་ སྟང།
jè:-laplap tʰõ:-m bɛʔ.
 disappear-intermittent see-2INF EQU.PER
 '(I) saw (it) unclearly.' (KN e)
- (17.44) ལག་གོ་ འདི་ སྟུ་སྟོབ་སྟོབ་ མཐོང་པོ་ སྟང།
lako=di pu-sópsop tʰõ:-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) རྒྱང་མ་ སྟོལ་ བསིལ་ བསིལ་འདིས་ གུངས་བོ་ལས་
lúŋma kʰø:-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་ སྟུ་ ཏམ་པོ་ ཞྩལ་ཞྩལ་ ངང་ རལ་པོ་ གནམ་ལོ་ ཟེང་ཟེང་པོ།
go=i kja hampo ɛθ:ɛθ: t'ã: rɛ:po nám=lo sɪŋziŋ-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) མ་ཙོ་ བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ མགོ་ འཛིག་འཛིག་ ཐུས་བཞིན་
ádzo tendziŋ=gi go dzok-dzok p'ja-zɛ:
 grandfather PN=AGT head nod-nod do-PROG
 'grandfather Tenzing, nodding his head...' (KT e)

Many reduplicated adjectives could be added to this category on the basis of the formal criteria of reduplication.

17.1.4 Near-reduplicated ideophones 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 connected⁴⁶⁸, future research should find out whether the ideophonic sequence *C1aC2.C1uC2* should also be described as nonnormative.

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

<i>raprip</i>	རྩྭ་རྩྭ་	‘dim, dimness’ <i>rapripna</i>
<i>barbur</i>	འབར་འབར་	‘knotty, buckled, with bulges, uneven when it should be even’ (KN, KL), collocates at least with ལྷག་ <i>lúk</i> ‘cast (of metal), pour’, <i>barbur lúk-ts^ha-ke</i> ‘it has been cast bulgy (not even)’
<i>damdum</i>	འདམ་འདམ་	‘short’
<i>làblep</i>	ལམ་ལམ་	‘in small pieces (of wood)’
<i>gragrik</i>	འགྲག་འགྲག་	‘uneven (of unpleasant texture of meat in the mouth, of the tactile feeling of non-smooth, rough stone surface)’ (KT)
<i>laklek</i> <i>lakta lekta</i>	ལྷག་ལྷག་	‘mud-like, too wet texture of boiled rice or dough’ (may also refer to a thick texture of paint) (YR, KN)
<i>rakruk</i>	རག་རུག་	‘(small) stones (the size of goat poo) here and there’ (cf. <i>do ranron</i> ‘big stones here and there’)
<i>dzardzir</i>	འདར་འདར་	‘texture of ground that has been watered enough to resemble dough (but not wet enough to become mud)’
<i>sámsum</i>	སམ་སམ་	‘disorganized, unfolded (of clothes)’
<i>tə‘akte‘ik</i>	ཐག་ཐིག་	‘having sucked in water (e.g. marshy land)’
<i>màrmur</i>	མར་མུར་	‘indistinctive muttering of words’
<i>ts^hamts^hum</i>	ཚམ་ཚུམ་	‘distressed mental state, mental state after hearing or experiencing something unpleasant’
<i>ts^hapts^hup</i>	ཚབ་ཚུབ་	‘nervous’
<i>t^hamt^hum,</i> <i>t^hamεit^humεi</i>	ཐམ་ཐུམ་, ཐམ་ཤི་ཐུམ་ཤི་	‘of a drowsy person’s eyes’

The examples below first exemplify those uses which occur independently and then those which strongly collocate with a noun to which they are postposed.

- (17.48) ང་ཅག་ རྩྭ་རྩྭ་ན་ སྐབས་སྔ་ ཞིན།
ηàtea? raprip=na lep-o í:
 1PL dim(ness)=LOC arrive-2INF EQU.PER
 ‘We arrived at dusk.’ (KT e)

- (17.49) འབར་འབར་ ལྷག་ལྷག་གོ་ མན་བོ་?
barbur lúk-luk-o mèmbo?
 dented pour-RDP-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q
 ‘Hasn’t (this vessel) been dented?’ (KL e)

- (17.50) a) ཤིང་ འདམ་འདམ་ གཏོག་མྱི་ བཞག།
éiη damdum tok-ti za?
 tree short cut-NF put
 ‘Leave the tree cut in small pieces’ (KN e)

- b) ཞབས་རྟེན་ འདམ་འདུམ་ ལྷན་ཤད་
ɛáptɛn damdum p'ja-ɛɛʔ
 ritual short do-INF
 ‘make a short (religious) ritual’ (KN phone call)

- (17.51) ཞལ་ལག་འདི་ ལྷག་ལྷེག་ གསོན་འཇམ་ བཀོལ་ཕྱི་ བཞེས་བཅུག།
ɛè:la=di laklek sóndzam kə:-di ze: teuʔ.
 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) རྩ་ འདྲ་འདི་ རག་རྩག་ 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་ཕུར་ལོ་ གྲྲིས་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་
kʰò:-ri: p'a:=na màrmur=lo k'joʔ kjap-zɛ:
 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་ཕྱི་
t'ariŋ ŋà lèp tsʰamtsʰum tʰon-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་སྤུམ་ 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་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ ཡོད་སའི་ ཐག་ཉེ་ གཅིག་ལོ་
sáteʰa tɛʰu tɛ'agdʒik jò-sə: tʰa:ni=tɛi=lo
 land water having.sucked.in.water EX-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN near=INDF=DAT
 ‘In the neighbourhood of a piece of marshy land’ (rna-sung 30)

- (17.57) སེམས་ ཚབ་ཚུབ་
sém tsʰaptsʰup
 mind nervous
 ‘in a nervous state of mind’ (KT e)

(17.58) ཤིང་ མ་འདེམ་ ལབ་ལེབ་ འགྱུ་མ་ འབག་ ཤོག།
ɛiŋ ódɛm ləblɛp gjom ba? ɛóʔ.
 tree like.that small.pieces gather carry come
 ‘Collect and bring such small pieces of wood.’ (KN e)

(17.59) ད་རིང་ ང་ མིག་དོག་ ཐམ་སིད་ཐམ་སིད་ རྒྱབས་སྡེ་
t'ariŋ ŋà mɪ:doʔ tʰamsitʰumsi? kjap-ti
 today 1SG eye drowsy do-NF
 ‘Today my eyes are drowsy (and)...’ (KN e)

The partly reduplicated ideophonic construction *k'jotip k'jorun / k'jorum k'jotip*, whose etymology and literal meaning are unknown to me, is an intensified quantifier approximating the meaning ‘so many/much, crammed with’.

(17.60) a) ད་རིང་ མ་ན་ མི་ རྒྱ་ཉིབ་ རྒྱ་ཐུང་ འོང་ཚ་ག།
t'ariŋ óna mí k'jotip k'jorum ɔ̃:-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་ ཟེར་པོ་ རྒྱ་ཐུམ་ རྒྱ་ཉིབ་ བཏང་ཚ་ག།
t'ariŋ sɛu k'jorum k'jotip tã:-tsʰa:.
 today hail very.much very.much send-CMPL
 ‘Today it hailed heavily.’ (KUN e, imitating speech of Tashiding)

17.1.5 Rhyming ideophones

In rhyming ideophones, reduplication is accompanied by a change in the initial consonant of the reduplicated syllable, while the rest of the syllable is fully reduplicated. The change of consonant in the second syllable results in an independently meaningless syllable. For instance, the word *k'atɛp* ག་རྒྱེབ་ ‘how’ functions as base for the ideophone *k'atɛpmatɛp* ག་རྒྱེབ་མ་རྒྱེབ་, which has a rhyming but independently nonsensical second part *-matɛp*.

Table 17.5. Rhyming ideophones

<i>k'atɛpmatɛp</i>	ག་རྒྱེབ་མ་རྒྱེབ་	‘(able to do) one way or another, somehow’
<i>inteimintɛiʔ</i>	ཞིན་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་ ཐུས་སྡེ་ ང་ འདི་ ཆབ་ཚབ་ ག་རྒྱེབ་མ་རྒྱེབ་ ཞིན་ཐུང་ ན་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་ཚུ་ལོ་ གསུང་ འདི་ ཕུལ་དོ་ ཞིན།
di: p'ja-ti ŋà=di tɕʰaptɕʰop k'atɛmatɛp ɿ:-run
 this.AGT do-NF 1SG=DEMPH IDEO.NN in.whatever.way EQU.PER-CONC
nà: ʎɛŋgɛ:=tsu=lo súŋ=di pʰy:-do ɿ:.
 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)

- (17.62) ལྷོ་མའི་ལོ་ ང་ ག་ལྟེན་ མ་ལྟེན་ ལྷོ་ ང་ ལོག་ བཅར་ཤད་ ལོན།
gjamø: lò nə k'atɛpmatɛp-p'ja nə lòk tɛa:-ɛĩ:
 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) ལོན་ཅུང་ ང་ ལྷོ་ལྟེན་ ལོན་ཅིག་ མན་ཅིག་ ང་ འགྱུ་ དགོས་མཁན་ ལྷོ།
ĩ:ruŋ nə gã.to? ɪnteimintɛi t'a gju go:-kʰɛn bɛ?
 but 1SG TPN necessarily now go be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE
 'But now I necessarily have to go to Gangtok' (RS [in]auspicious days)

17.1.6 Onomatopoeic ideophones

Onomatopoeic ideophones differ from other ideophones in that they more clearly mimic real sounds and are often appositional. Like with other ideophones, reduplication is typical of onomatopoeic words. Whereas other ideophones are syntactically adjectives or adverbs, onomatopoeic words often fall outside the basic clause structure. For instance, in (17.64-70) the onomatopoeic words given in bold are appositional elaborations of the underlined nouns. Note that example (17.68) evokes not necessarily only the sound but also the feeling of the wind.

- (17.64) རྒྱལ་ཚལ་ རྩོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ཅ་རབ་ ཅི་རིབ་
nà:tsɛ: p'iteuŋ=tsu=i kɛ? tɛarap-tɛirip
 forest small.bird=PL=GEN sound tweet-tweet
 'sound of the forest birds, tweet tweet' (Richhi 1)
- (17.65) ཐག་རིང་ ས་གནས་ལས་ གྲུང་ ལུ་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ ལུ་ལྷོ་
tʰa:riŋ sánɛ:=lɛ t'uŋ pʰu:-zin jò-pø: kɛ:da 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) ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ འཁོད་པའི་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་
p'japu bø:-pø: kɛ? kukurikā:
 rooster call-2INF.GEN sound cuck.a.doodle.doo
 'the sound of a rooster calling, cuck-o-doodle-do' (Richhi 1)
- (17.67) རྩོ་ལྷོ་ བརྒྱུང་པའི་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
tɪŋ tɪŋ duŋ-pø: kɛ:da
 clang clang hit-2INF.GEN sound
 'the sound of clanging, clang clang' (Richhi 1)
- (17.68) ལྷོ་མ་ ལོར་ ལོར་ ལོར་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
lúnma sír sír sír kjap-o-dā:
 wind whoosh whoosh whoosh do-2INF-CONJ
 'When the wind goes whoosh whoosh whoosh...' (KT animal story)

- (17.69) ཁྱི་འཁྱུ་འཁྱུ་ལོ་ཧྲུ་བའི་སྐད་
kʰi àu àu=lo hap-ø: kɛ?
 dog woof woof=DAT bark-2INF.GEN sound
 ‘the sound of a dog barking, woof woof’ (Richhi 1)

- (17.70) ལུ་སྒྲོ་བསགས་ཁེག་ཁེག་(ལོ་) རྒྱབས་འབག་སྟེ་འགྲུ་ཚྭ་ད་ ཡོད།
kʰu lósa? kʰekkʰek(=lo) kjap bak-ti gju dɔ: jø?
 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་དྲིང་ཟར་ཟོར་བྱས་བའི་སྐྱ་
tʼaŋtʼiŋ sàrsor pʼja-wø: qa
 clang-clang IDEO.NN do-2INF.GEN sound
 ‘the sound of noise-making, clang clang.’ (Richhi 30)

For an example of onomatopoeia in quoted speech, consider (17.72).

- (17.72) ཉེ་མ་འདི་ཉེ་ཉེ་ལ་སྟེ་གི་ཉེ་ཉེ་ལ་སྟེ་དགའ་བོ་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་ཆོག་ཆོག་ཟོར་ཟོར་ཆོག་ཆོག་ཟོར་ཟོར་ཅང་ཅང་།
tʰamtɛ? tsʰektsʰek sòrsor tsʰektsʰek 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 ཉིང་ཉིང་ or དྲིང་དྲིང་), *-si:si:* (WD སེ་སེ་, བསེལ་བསེལ་?), *-ri:ri:* (WD རེ་རེ་, རེལ་རེལ་?) and *-tõ:tõ:* (WD རྟོང་རྟོང་). For instance, the ordinary colour word *ma:p/ma:pu* དམར་བུ་/དམར་པུ་ ‘red’ may be formed into *má:tiŋtiŋ* (དམར་ཉིང་ཉིང་), *má:si:si:* (དམར་སེ་སེ་), *má:ri:ri:* (དམར་རེ་རེ་) and *má:tõ:tõ:* (དམར་རྟོང་རྟོང་) ‘(bright) red’ to bring intensity and vividness to description.

- (17.74) ཚས་མྱེད་ ངོ་ ཚ་མྱེ་ ཐོན་ལོ་ མེ་ ངང་ ཉེ་མའི་ རྩོད་འདིས་ གདོང་ ངམར་རི་རི་ རྩོང་ལོ་ ང་ལྷ་ བྱ་ཤའི་ གཏམ་ འདིས་ ལེབ་མྱེ་ རང་ ངམར་རི་རི་
འཛོན།
tɕʰɔki? *ŋò* *tsʰa-ti* *ɲénlo* *mì* *t'ǎ:* *ɲimø:* *t'ø:=di:* *dõ:*
 PN face be.hot-NF before fire and sun.GEN heat=DEMPH.AGT face
má:-ri:ri: *tɛŋlo* *t'ato* *p'jaɕa=i* *tam=di:*
 red-IDEO above now chicken.meat=GEN word=DEMPH.AGT
lèpti=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* འཇུམ་ 'smile'. One of them is *-ri:ri:* རི་རི་, the other two, *-mè:mè* (or *-mermer*) 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:* འཇུམ་རི་རི་ 'smilingly'
 b) *dzum-me:me:* འཇུམ་མེར་མེར་ 'smiling secretly'
 c) *dzum-ɕɛkɕɛk*⁴⁶⁹ འཇུམ་ཤེག་ཤེག་ 'smiling very widely'

For *-mè:mè:* in clausal content, consider (17.76).

- (17.76) མོ་ ང་རིང་ འཇུམ་ མེར་མེར་ ཡོད་ ཨ་ཏང་ ངང་ མན་འདྲ་བོ།
mù *t'ariŋ* *dzum-mè:me:* *jò?*, *átǎ:* *t'ǎ:* *man-dou*
 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:* བསེལ་ 'be cool', from which the adjective *sí:ta?* བསེལ་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) རྒྱང་ གསེལ་རི་རི་ རྒྱབས་པོ་དང་
lúnj *sí:-ri:ri:* *kjap-o-dǎ:*
 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) *hǎ:* ཉང་ 'feel loneliness' > *hǎ:tõ:tõ:* 'feeling of loneliness'
 b) *dzam* འཇམ་ 'be easy' > *dzamtõ:tõ:* 'easy, easily' (cf. *dzamta?*)
 c) *ɲen* ལྷན་ 'be sweet to hear' > *ɲentõ:tõ:* 'soft(ly) (of speaking)' (cf. *ɲentata?*)

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) རྒྱལ་ལ་གཅིག་མ་འཕྲད་པ་ འདྲི་རང་ ཉང་ཉོང་ཉོང་ བྱས་སྟེ་གི་
ro:=tei? *ma-p^he-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་) འཇམ་ཉོང་ཉོང་ ལག་
(k^a) dzam-tõ:tõ: *làp.*
 mouth easy-IDEO speak
 ‘Speak easily.’ (KN e)
- (17.81) (སྐད་) ལྷན་ཉོང་ཉོང་ ལག་
(kɛ) ɲen-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	<i>ádzo</i> ၵၢၢ	
grandmother	<i>áno</i> ၵၢၢ	
great-grandfather	<i>te'odzo</i> ၵၢၢ	
great-grandmother	<i>nòno</i> ၵၢၢ	
forefather	<i>p^hadzo</i> ၵၢၢ	
paternal grandparent's elder brother	<i>ádzo bompu</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ	wife: <i>áno bompu</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ
maternal grandparent's elder brother	<i>ádzo bompu</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ	wife: <i>ána bompu</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ
paternal grandparent's younger brother	<i>ádzo te^hunte^hun</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ	wife: <i>áno te^hunte^hun</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ
maternal grandparent's younger brother	<i>ádzo te^hunte^hun</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ	wife: <i>ána te^hunte^hun</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ
grandparent's elder sister	<i>áno bompu</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ	husband: <i>ádzo</i> ၵၢၢ
grandparent's younger sister	<i>áno te^hunte^hun</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ	husband: <i>ádzo</i> ၵၢၢ

As shown in Table 17.6, no distinction is made between maternal and paternal grandparents. Neither is there a difference in terms between one's grandfather's and grandmother's siblings (hence "grandparent" in Table 17.6). Among grandparents' siblings' spouses, however, a distinction is made based on whether the grandparent is patrilineal or matrilineal, hence *áno* and *ána* respectively.

Whereas matrilineal and patrilineal terms are identical in the ego's grandparents' generation, ego's parent's siblings have different matrilineal and patrilineal terms, see Table 17.7 and 17.8. On the mother's side, an age distinction (elder or younger) occurs with sisters but not with brothers. On the father's side, on the other hand, an age distinction is made between brothers but not sisters.

Table 17.7. Matrilineal parents' generation

mother	<i>ám</i> ၵၢၢ, <i>áma</i> ၵၢၢ, <i>jùm</i> ၵၢၢ (hon.)	
mother's brother	<i>ázã</i> , <i>ázõ</i> ၵၢၢ	wife: <i>áni</i> ၵၢၢ, ၵၢၢ
mother's elder sister	<i>ámbom</i> ၵၢၢ	husband: <i>ába bompu</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ, <i>ápo bompu</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ
mother's younger sister	<i>ámtēun</i> ၵၢၢ	husband: <i>áku</i> ၵၢၢ

Table 17.8. Patrilineal parents' generation

father	<i>ápo</i> ၵၢၢ, <i>jà.p</i> ၵၢၢ (hon.)	
father's elder brother	<i>ápo bompu</i> ၵၢၢ ၵၢၢ	wife: <i>ámbom</i> ၵၢၢ
father's younger brother	<i>áku</i> ၵၢၢ	wife: <i>ámtēun</i> ၵၢၢ
father's sister	<i>áni</i> ၵၢၢ	husband: <i>ts^ho</i> : ၵၢၢ (<i>áku</i> ၵၢၢ) ⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁷⁰ Consultant KT (Bermeok) accepts *áku*, which is used for mother's younger sister's husband, as an alternative term for *ts^ho*:. Consultant TB (Ralang), however, accepts only *ts^ho*: here.

When a kinship term does not express birth order, e.g. *ápi* ‘father’s sister’, it may be supplemented by the attributes *gempo* ‘old one’, *te^hungo/te^humbo/te^hunte^hun* ‘small one’, *p’amo* ‘middle-one’ and the Nepali terms *maili* (fem.) / *maila* (masc.) ‘second in birth’, *saili* (fem.) / *saila* (masc.) ‘third in birth’, *kaili* (fem.) / *kaila* (masc.) ‘fourth in birth’. For instance, father’s eldest sister may be called *ápi gempo*, father’s youngest sister *ápi te^hunte^hun* and father’s second sister *ápi maili*. According to a consultant from Tashiding, in families where two or more brothers have sexual relations with the same woman, the children may address their legal father as *aku* ‘father’s younger brother’ instead of *ápo* ‘father’.

Table 17.9 presents terms for (typically) one’s own generation.

Table 17.9. Ego’s own generation

elder brother, elder male cousin	<i>áteu</i> ཇ་རུ, <i>ágja</i> ཇ་རྒྱ	wife: <i>mâtei?</i> མ་ཅིག་
younger brother, younger male cousin	<i>pynlo</i> རྒྱ་ལོ	wife: <i>nám</i> མནའམ་
elder sister, elder female cousin	<i>ázi</i> ཇ་ཞི, <i>ái</i> ཇ་འི, ཇ་ཡི	husband: <i>ts’ho</i> ཚོ་པོ
younger sister of a man, younger female cousin of a man	<i>p’usim</i> རྒྱ་བྲིམ་	husband: <i>álo</i> ཇ་ལོ
younger sister of a woman, younger cousin of a woman	<i>nùm</i> རུམ་	husband: <i>álo</i> ཇ་ལོ
mother’s brother’s daughter	<i>ápi</i> ཇ་ཉི	husband: <i>ts’ho</i> ཚོ་པོ
husband	<i>p’ogja?</i> ཐོ་རྒྱལ་	
wife	<i>mòby?</i> མོ་བྱ་	
maternal uncle’s son	<i>áteu</i> ཇ་རུ, <i>ágja</i> ཇ་རྒྱ, <i>ázã</i> : <i>te^hunte^hun</i> ཇ་འདྲ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ, <i>ápi</i> ཇ་ཉི <i>ěã</i> : <i>te^hun</i> འདྲ་རྒྱ་	wife: <i>mâtei?</i> མ་ཅིག་,
guardian brother	<i>p’ami</i> པ་མི	

As can be seen in Table 17.9, maternal uncle’s son has, in addition to the typical ཇ་རུ *áteu*, ཇ་རྒྱ *ágja* ‘elder brother’ and རྒྱ་ལོ *pynlo* ‘younger brother’, the alternative terms ཇ་འདྲ་རྒྱ་ *ázã*: *te^hunte^hun* and འདྲ་རྒྱ་ *ěã*: *te^hun*, 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་ *mâtei?*. Often circumlocutions are used in referring to husband and wife. Husband may be called རྒྱུ་མ་པོ་ *k’im ápo* ‘father of the house’ and wife རྒྱུ་མ་མ་ *k’im ám* ‘mother of the house’ or *bjaru?* ‘friend (hon.)’. The term པ་མི *p’ami* refers to a girl’s brother who functions as her guardian until she is married.

Classical Tibetan makes several distinctions in kinship terminology based on the gender of the ego, resulting in such forms as *phubo* ‘older brother of a man’, *nubo* ‘younger brother of a man’, *phumo* ‘older sister of a woman’ and *numo* ‘younger sister of a woman’ (Beyer 1992: 158). In Denjongke these distinctions based on ego’s gender are reduced to one pair: *nùm* ‘younger sister of a woman’ and *p’usim* ‘younger sister of a man’. Consequently, a man can address a woman younger than himself by saying

(17.82) ལྷ་མོ་ལགས་ཀྱི་ ལྷ་མོ་

p'usim=la:=ki

younger.sister.of.a.man=HON=GEN

‘Sister’s (=your) little sisters...’ (Richhi 37)

nùm=tsu

younger.sister.of.a.woman=PL

Relatives (typically) younger than the ego are given in Table 17.10.

Table 17.10. Generations younger than ego

son	<i>p'u</i> ལྷ་, <i>sé?</i> ལྷ་ (hon.)	wife: <i>nám</i> མ་ལྷ་
daughter	<i>p'um</i> ལྷ་, <i>sé:m</i> ལྷ་ (hon.)	husband: <i>màko</i> མ་ལྷ་
child	<i>p'otso</i> ལྷ་, <i>óni</i> ལྷ་	
grandson, cousin’s son, nephew	<i>ts^hap^hju?</i> ལྷ་	wife: <i>nám</i> མ་ལྷ་
granddaughter	<i>ts^ham</i> ⁴⁷¹ ལྷ་	husband: <i>màko</i> མ་ལྷ་
niece, cousin’s daughter	<i>ts^ham</i> ལྷ་	husband: <i>màko</i> མ་ལྷ་, <i>álo</i> ལྷ་
male descendant	<i>jàp^hju?</i> ⁴⁷² ལྷ་	wife: <i>nám</i> མ་ལྷ་
female descendant	<i>jàm</i> ལྷ་	husband: <i>màko</i> མ་ལྷ་

Parents call their children either by name or by endearing terms such as *bhaiteuŋ* (combining the Nepali word for younger brother *bhāi* and the Denjongke word *te^huŋ* ‘small’), *sém^hla:* (honorific word for daughter followed by the honorific marker =*la:*), *p’oteuŋ* ‘small child’ and *bahinila:* (Nepali for ‘younger sister’ followed by the honorific marker). The word *bhaiteuŋ* 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.

⁴⁷¹ Consultant KT (from Bermeok) commented that in his speech variety *ts^hap^hju?* is used both for grandson and granddaughter and that *ts^ham*, the word here given for ‘granddaughter’, only has the meaning ‘niece’.

⁴⁷² The terms *jàp^hju?* and *jàm* come from consultant TB (Ralang). Consultant KT (Bermeok), on the other hand, used the term *ts^hap^hju?* for male and female descendant beyond the grandchildren’s generation.

Table 17.11. Terms for addressing strangers of various ages

young child (appr. 0-6 years, male or female)	<i>óni</i> ཨ་ནི་
child (0-15 years, male or female)	<i>p'jaby</i> ཐུ་བུ་
child, underaged (appr. 0-18 years, male or female)	<i>p'otso</i> ཐོ་ཙོ་
female younger than oneself (said by man)	<i>p'usim</i> ཐུ་ཕིམ་/ཐུ་ཕིམ་མ་
female younger than oneself (said by woman)	<i>nùm</i> ནུམ་
male younger than oneself	<i>pynlo</i> ཐུན་ལོ་
female slightly older than oneself	<i>ázi</i> ཨ་ཞི་, <i>ái</i> ཨ་འི་
male slightly older than oneself	<i>átɕu</i> ཨ་ཅུ་, <i>ágja</i> ཨ་གུ་
female approximately one's mother's age	<i>áni</i> ཨ་ནི་, <i>ámteuŋ</i> ཨ་མ་ཅུང་, <i>ám̥la</i> ཨ་མ་ལགས་
male approximately one's father's age	<i>áku</i> ཨ་ཁུ་
female approximately one's grandmother's age	<i>áno</i> ཨ་ནོ་
male approximately one's grandfather's age	<i>ádzo</i> ཨ་ཙོ་
nun	<i>án̥la</i> ཨ་ནི་ལགས་
monk	<i>lám(a)la</i> ལྷ་མ་ལགས་, <i>jà:pla</i> ཡར་བ་ལགས་

The term ཡར་བ་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 *óni* ཨ་ནི་ and *p'jaby* ཐུ་བུ་ are also used by elderly people to refer to reasonably young adults, probably in an endearing way.

17.2.2 One's spouses relatives

The closest of ego's in-laws are listed in Table 17.12.

Table 17.12. Spouses relatives

father-in-law	<i>ápo k'jo:p</i> ཨ་པོ་ ཁྱེས་བ་	
mother-in-law	<i>ám gjum</i> ཨ་མ་ རྒྱུག་མ་	
grandfather-in-law	<i>ádzo k'jo:p</i> ཨ་ཙོ་ ཁྱེས་བ་	
grandmother-in-law	<i>áno gjum</i> ཨ་ནོ་ རྒྱུག་མ་	
wife's older sister	<i>ázi gjum</i> ཨ་ཞི་ རྒྱུག་མ་	husband: <i>tsʰo</i> ཙོ་
wife's younger sister	<i>jim</i> རྟིང་མ་	husband: <i>pynlo</i> ཐུན་ལོ་, <i>átɕu</i> ཨ་ཅུ་
wife's older brother	<i>átɕu k'jo:p</i> ཨ་ཅུ་ ཁྱེས་བ་	wife: <i>ázi (gjum)</i> ཨ་ཞི་ (རྒྱུག་མ་)
wife's younger brother	<i>kipu</i> ཀིཔུ་, ཡུད་པོ་	wife: <i>nùm</i> ནུམ་, <i>nám</i> མནའ་མ་

As can be seen in Table 17.12, the terms *k'jo:p* 'male in-law' and *gjum* 'female in-law' are used in forming affinal relational terms from consanguineal ones. There are, however, two notable exceptions, *jim* 'wife's younger sister' and *kipu* 'wife's younger brother', the two exclusively affinal relational terms which are not used for consanguineal relatives. Other terms referring to the relatives of one's spouse are generally formed in the same way as one's own relatives and supplemented by *k'jo:p* for male and *gjum* for female relatives, e.g. ཨ་བ་ རྒྱུག་པུ་ ཁྱེས་བ་ *ába bompu k'jo:p* 'wife's mother's elder sister's husband, wife's father's elder brother'. However, there are a few

exceptions. The word *ts^ho:* cannot be supplemented by *k'jo:p* (**ts^ho:* *k'jo:p*), thus making its meaning by definition ambiguous between one's own (parent's) elder sister's husband and one's wife's (parent's) elder sister's husband.

17.3 Names

Denjongpo personal names typically consist of two parts, both usually disyllabic, e.g. *p^hurba ts^heriŋ*⁴⁷³, *nìm(a) ts^heriŋ*, *dawa námge:*, *karma kuŋŋa*, *pasan̄ lamu*, *sónam dōma*. The first name is often, for instance in *p^hurba ts^heriŋ* and *nìm(a) ts^heriŋ*, derived from the day of the week the child was born. The names derived from week days/planets are given in Table 17.13.

Table 17.13. Names associated with days of the week

<i>za: dou</i>	གཟའ་ ཟླ་པོ་	‘Monday’ (Moon)	>	<i>dawa</i>	ཟླ་པ་
<i>za: mīŋmar</i>	གཟའ་ མིག་དམར་	‘Tuesday’ (Mars)	>	<i>mīŋma</i>	མིག་དམར་
<i>za: lako</i>	གཟའ་ ལྷ་ག་ཀོ་	‘Wednesday’ (Mercury)	>	<i>lakpa</i>	ལྷ་ག་པ་
<i>za: p^hurbo</i>	གཟའ་ སྤར་པོ་	‘Thursday’ (Jupiter)	>	<i>p^hurba</i>	སྤར་པ་
<i>za: pasā:</i>	གཟའ་ པ་སངས་	‘Friday’ (Venus)	>	<i>pasan̄</i>	པ་སངས་
<i>za: pempo</i>	གཟའ་ སྤེན་པོ་	‘Saturday’ (Saturn)	>	<i>pempa</i>	སྤེན་པ་
<i>za: nìm</i>	གཟའ་ ཉིན་	‘Sunday’ (Sun)	>	<i>nìm(a)</i>	ཉིན་/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.

⁴⁷³ I have heard this name being reduced to *p^hurts^hiŋ* by people who use it often to refer to their relative.

Table 17.14. Names according to gender

Male names		Female names		Neutral names	
<i>paljor</i>	དཔལ་འབྱོར་ 'wealth'	<i>diki?</i>	བདེ་སྐྱིད་ 'bliss and delight'	<i>dawa</i>	ཟླ་བ་ 'moon'
<i>daqul</i>	དགའ་འདུལ་ 'conquerer of enemy'	<i>qoma</i>	སྒྲོལ་མ་ 'Tara, saviouress'	<i>jima</i>	ཉི་མ་ 'sun'
<i>tobdzor</i>	སྒྲོབས་འབྱོར་ 'strength and wealth'	<i>kipa</i>	སྐྱིད་པ་ 'delight'	<i>ts^hεð:</i>	ཚེ་དབང་ 'life empowerment'
<i>dzikdal</i>	འཛིག་བྲལ་ 'imperishable'	<i>te^høki?</i>	ཚོས་སྐྱིད་ 'delight in dharma'	<i>pema</i>	པད་མ་ 'lotus'
<i>lòbzang</i>	ལྡོ་བཟང་ 'good mind'	<i>lamu</i>	ལྷ་མུ་ 'goddess'	<i>ts^herij</i>	ཚེ་རིང་ 'long life'
<i>dordzi</i>	རྩ་རྩེ་ 'thunderbolt sceptre'	<i>kiqon</i>	སྐྱིད་སྒྲོན་ 'delight-builder'	<i>karma</i>	ཀའ་མ་ 'action'
<i>tobge:</i>	སྒྲོབས་རྒྱལ་ 'king of strength'	<i>kilamu</i>	སྐྱིད་ལྷ་མུ་ 'goddess of delight'	<i>taci</i>	བཀྲ་ཤིས་ 'good luck'
<i>óngel</i>	དབང་རྒྱལ་ 'conquest'	<i>lá(d)ze:/ lándze:</i>	ལྷ་ཇས་ 'divine substance'	<i>rinziñ</i>	རིན་འཛིན་ 'precious'
<i>p^hynts^ho?</i> , <i>pynts^ho?</i>	ཕུན་ཚུགས་ 'abundance'	<i>jánki?</i>	གཡང་སྐྱིད་ 'prosperous delight'	all names based on week days	
<i>námge:</i>	རྩམས་རྒྱལ་ 'all-victorious'	<i>jántē:</i>	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 ལྷ་ཁྱེ་ཡ་ Bhutia, which is an exonym used for all Tibetan-related groups in the Southern Himalayas, or a clan name such as ལྷག་ཅུང་དར་པོ་ Takchungdarpo or ཚེས་བཟུ་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

<i>má:p(u)</i>	དམར་པ་, དམར་པོ་	red
<i>sé:p(u)</i>	སེར་པ་, སེར་པོ་	yellow
<i>ka:p(u)</i>	དཀར་པ་, དཀར་པོ་	white
<i>nàku</i>	ནག་ཀྱུ་	black
<i>ñompu/ñompu/hompu</i>	སྒྲོན་པོ་	blue/green

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 རྩམ་པོ་ *jompū/ḡompū*. For instance, in common parlance རྩམ་པོ་ *jompū/ḡompū* 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་ *dzanḡku* and མཐེང་ཁ་ *tʰiŋkʰa* respectively, but these terms, especially མཐེང་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*, མཚན་མདོག་ *tsʰendoʔ* and ཀླ་ *kjaʔ*, see Table 17.16.

Table 17.16. Some compound colour terms

<i>námdoʔ</i>	གནམ་མདོག་	sky-blue (lit. sky-colour)
<i>tsʰodoʔ</i>	མཚན་མདོག་	lake-blue (lit. lake-colour)
<i>dolom kjaʔ</i>	རྩ་ལོམ་ ཀླ་	violet (lit. eggplant-colour)
<i>kʰotʰeu kjaʔ</i>	གོ་ཐེའུ་ ཀླ་	grey (lit. ash-colour)
<i>tsʰalum kjaʔ</i>	ཚ་ལུམ་ ཀླ་	orange (lit. orange-colour)

Genitive constructions may also be used: *námkʰe: doʔ* གནམ་མཁའི་ མདོག་ ‘colour of the sky’ (KN e), *dolomki kjaʔ* རྩ་ལོམ་གྱི་ ཀླ་ ‘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: *-tō:tō:* ཉང་ཉང་, *-tā:tā:* ཉང་ཉང་, *-tʰiŋtʰiŋ* ཉིང་ཉིང་ (also *-tiŋtiŋ* ཉིང་ཉིང་), *-ri:ri:* རི་རི་ (in some communities, such as Bermeok also *-ruru* རུ་རུ་), *-si:si:* སེ་སེ་ and *-hu:hu:* ལུ་ལུ་. As shown in Table 17.17, in the ideophonic expressions the colour term *ka:p(u)* དཀར་པོ་ white can be replaced by *kja* ཀླ་ ‘(pale) colour’. e.g. *kjatiŋtiŋ* ཀླ་ཉིང་ཉིང་ ‘clean white’.

Table 17.17. Colours terms with ideophonic suffixes

<i>sé:tō:tō:, sé:tā:tā:, sé:tiŋtiŋ, sé:ri:ri:, sé:si:si:, sé:hu:hu:</i>	bright yellow, very yellow
<i>nà:tō:tō:, nà:tā:tā:, nà:tiŋtiŋ, nà:ri:ri:, nà:si:si:, nà:hu:hu:</i>	totally black
<i>má:tō:tō:, má:tā:tā:, má:tiŋtiŋ, má:ri:ri:, má:si:si:, má:hu:hu:</i>	bright red
<i>kjatō:tō:, kjatā:tā:, kjatiŋtiŋ, kjari:ri:, kjasi:si:</i>	clean white
<i>ḡotō:tō:, ḡotā:tā:, ḡotiŋtiŋ, ḡori:ri:, ḡosi:si:, ḡohu:hu:</i>	bright blue/green

Note that *kjahu:hu:* ‘clean white’ is absent from Table 17.17. The reason is that its meaning was described as ‘the (pale almost colourless) colour of the desert’. Although *nà:hu:hu:* basically describes a totally black colour, it may extend to metaphorical uses which should not be taken literally:

(17.83) ད་རིང་ ཉིམ་ འདི་ གན་མུ་ རྩམ་པོ་ སྤང་ཤོ་?

tʰariŋ jìṃ=di kʰamja nà:hu:hu: 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་མུ་མ་ ད་རིང་ ཆེད་ཀྱི་ གདོང་ འདི་ རྒྱ་ཁྱ་ལྟ་ སྤང་གོ?
k'amja t'ariŋ tɛʰø:=ki dõ:=di nà:hu:hu: bɛ=ɛo?
 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:kʰokʰo?* རྒྱ་ཁྱ་ལྟ་ was reported by KN to be synonymic with *nà:hu:hu:* རྒྱ་ཁྱ་ལྟ་.

In addition to the terms in Table 17.17, clear specimens of colours may be emphasized by the use of *t'angi* དང་གི་ and *t'inggi* དིང་གི་, which appear to be genitivized forms of two of the forms from Table 17.13, e.g. *má: t'angi* དམར་ དང་གི་ 'clear red'. For a clausal example, consider (17.85).

- (17.85) ལ་བོ་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ཡུལ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གྲག་ དིང་གི་ ཐོན་ཚར་ཀླ
k'ou kjap-ti y: tʰamtɛɛ? kja? t'ingki tʰon-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 *-tingtiŋ* ཉིང་ཉིང་ and *-tõ:tõ:* ཉོང་ཉོང་ can also be used with other adjectives than colours, e.g. *dzamtingtiŋ*, *dzamtõ:tõ:* 'very easy'.

17.4.2 Pale colours

The forms *-lop* or *-sa lõksy:* are used for referring to pale colour terms. In Tashiding (consultant DB), the suffix *-lop* is added to the colour term, see Table 17.18.

Table 17.18. Pale colours with *-lop* (Tashiding)

<i>kjalop</i>	ཀླ་ལོཔ་	pale colour, colourless
<i>má:lop</i>	དམར་ལོཔ་	pale red, pink
<i>sé:lop</i>	སེར་ལོཔ་	pale yellow
<i>ɲolop</i>	ཞོ་ལོཔ་	pale blue/green

In Martam (consultant KN), the colour term is followed by a more complex construction *-sa lõksy:* ས་ ལོག་སྟལ་, see Table 17.19.

Table 17.19. Pale colours with *-sa lõksy:* (Martam)

<i>má:sa lõksy:</i>	དམར་ས་ ལོག་སྟལ་	pale red, pink
<i>sé:sa lõksy:</i>	སེར་ས་ ལོག་སྟལ་	pale yellow
<i>ɲosa lõksy:</i>	ཞོ་ས་ ལོག་སྟལ་	pale blue/green

In Martam mere *lõksy:* can be added to complex colour terms which end in the word *kja?* '(pale) colour', e.g. *dolom=gi kja lõksy:* 'pale/light purple/violet' (lit. eggplant's colour *lõksy:*). The construction COLOUR *laplap* may also be used for referring to pale colours, quite similarly to construction COLOUR-*sa lõksy:*, e.g. *má: laplap* དམར་ལྷབ་ལྷབ་ 'pale/light red', *sé: laplap* སེར་ལྷབ་ལྷབ་ 'pale/light yellow'. Moreover, *kjalɛmɛm* ཀླ་ལེམ་ལེམ་ refers to pale/light grey.

17.4.3 Dark colours

In Martam (consultant KN) dark colours are referred to with the construction *-na? lòksy:* ནག་ལྷག་སྤུལ་, which suggests that black *nà? ནག་* is mixed to the colour in question, see Table 17.20.

Table 17.20. Dark colours with *-na? lòksy:* (Martam)

<i>má:na? lòksy:</i>	དམར་ནག་ལྷག་སྤུལ་	dark red
<i>sé:na? lòksy:</i>	སེར་ནག་ལྷག་སྤུལ་	dark yellow
<i>jona? lòksy:</i>	ཐོང་ནག་ལྷག་སྤུལ་	dark blue/green

An alternative longer construction to *má:na? lòksy:* is *má: teŋkʰa nàksa lòksy:* དམར་ རྩེང་ཁར་ ནག་ས་ ལྷག་སྤུལ་ (lit. ‘above red black’-sa lòksy:).

17.4.4 Other colour terms

Mixed colours can be expressed with the formative *-tʰa ཁྲ་* ‘variegated (colour)’. In Tashiding (consultant DB), the expression *ka:p tashi?* དཀར་བ་ ཁྲ་ཤིག་ refers to basically white but mixed with other colours. In Martam (consultant KN), on the other hand, *ka:tʰa* དཀར་ཁྲ་ or *ka:tʰatʰa* དཀར་ཁྲ་ཁྲ་ refer to white colour occurring on a background of other colour(s). For instance, the expression *ka:p teŋkʰa ŋotʰa* དཀར་བ་ རྩེང་ཁར་ ཐོང་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 colour terms from Tashiding (consultant DB)

<i>nà:mu?</i>	ནག་མྱུག་	dark (but not black)
<i>má:mu?</i>	དམར་མྱུག་	brown (?)
<i>kjazã:</i>	ཀླག་སངས་	bright-coloured, clear colour
<i>kjami?</i>	ཀླག་མེད་	colourless, pale

17.5 Vocabulary used with small children

Some words are specifically used when talking to small children. The words I am aware are listed in Table 17.22 (with equivalent ordinary words given, if known) and some of them exemplified below. The verbs used in Table 17.22 are *tã:* ཏང་ ‘send’, *lúk* ལུག་ ‘pour’, *p’ja* ལྷན་ ‘do’, *kjap* རྩུབས་ ‘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 (*éyéy*, *á?á?*, *màmam*, *buŋbuŋ*, *tea:tea*, *bulubulu*). The words referring to animals *òmba* ‘cow (child talk)’, *lè:lɛ:/lɛ:la* ‘goat (child talk)’ and *tɛ’idzi* ‘pig (child talk)’ are the same as the words addressed to these animals when prompting them to move.

Table 17.22. Child talk vocabulary

Ordinary	Child talk	Gloss
<i>ɛ̀é:p tã:</i>	<i>ɛ́y:~ɛ́yɛy tã:, íɛ tã:, ɛ́yl tã:</i> (KN), <i>tɛʰulu lúk</i> (TB)	urinate
<i>kjako tã:</i>	<i>ɛ́: tã:, áʔãʔ tã:</i>	defecate
<i>to sà, ɛ̀èlaʔ ze:</i>	<i>màmam ze:</i>	eat food, rice
<i>tɛʰa ze:</i>	<i>ɛ̀: ze:</i>	have tea
<i>jè:, zim</i>	<i>jè:jɛ: pʰja, zimzim pʰja</i>	sleep
<i>dɪ:</i>	<i>bun(bun) pʰja</i>	fall
<i>gju</i>	<i>tɛa:tɛa: pʰja</i> (PT), <i>pʰa:</i> (KN)	walk
<i>tɛʰuɛɛ kjap</i>	<i>bulubulu pʰja</i>	wash
<i>ákar</i>	<i>áka:</i>	chilli
	<i>paija:</i>	spank
<i>pʰɛn tã:</i>	<i>puk tã:</i>	fart (verb)
<i>tsʰaʔaʔ</i>	<i>átshʰa:, áta:, hɛ:hɪ:</i>	hot
<i>ʔʰika</i>	<i>haka, tɛitɛɛ, áteʰi(tɛʰi), tɛʰiteʰi</i> (KN)	dirty
<i>tɛã:tɛʰiteʰi</i>	<i>ásisi</i>	beautiful
<i>nò</i>	<i>òmba</i> (cf. <i>óm</i> ‘milk’)	cow
<i>ra</i>	<i>lè:la, lè:le:</i>	goat
<i>pʰako</i>	<i>tɛʰidzi</i>	pig
<i>óm</i>	<i>bubu</i> (KN)	milk
	<i>è:pa</i> (KN)	sweet (of taste)

Some words in Table 17.22 code adult’s empathy towards children. One sign of empathy is phonetic assimilation to what the child would likely produce in attempting to say the “grown-up” version of the word: *ákar* ‘chilli’ is simplified to *aka:*, *tɛã:tɛʰiteʰi* ‘beautiful’ to *ásisi* and *tsʰaʔaʔ* ‘hot’ to *áta:*. The word for cow, *òmba*, likely derives from *óm bak* ‘carry milk’, thus coding empathy in that the word is linked with the child’s existing experience of drinking milk. The word *bunbun* presents onomatopoeically and emphatically what will happen to a child if (s)he falls.

Some of the words from Table 17.22 are illustrated in (17.86-94). In the glosses, CHT refers to “child talk.”

- (17.86) མ་ཉི་ལྷ་བཏང་།
óni ɛ́y: tã:
 child wee send
 ‘Child, go wee-wee.’ (PTB 5, 39)

- (17.87) མ་ཉི་ཞང་བཏང་།
óni ɛ́: pʰja.
 child poo do
 ‘Child, go poo-poo.’ (PTB 5, 39)

- (17.88) མ་མམ་ཆེ་བཏང་།
màmam ze:
 food.CHT have.hon
 ‘Please eat some food/rice.’

(17.89) འེ་བཞིས།
ɛː zeː.
 tea.CHT have.hon
 ‘Please have some tea.’

(17.90) འབྲུང་འབྲུང་བྱས་ཤད་སྟེ།
buŋbuŋ pʼja-ɛɛ beʔ.
 falling.CHT do-INF EQU.NE
 ‘(You) will fall (and hurt yourself).’

The reduplicated word *tea:tea* in (17.91) refers to the unstable walk of small children who are still struggling not to fall. The word *tea:* is also the humilific form for ‘come’ in ordinary language (for explanation of the term “humilific,” see §3.3.4). Adults may repeat *tea: tea: tea: tea:* to a child who is just learning to walk.

(17.91) མོ་ཉི་བཅའ་བཅའ་བྱས།
óni tea:tea: pʼja.
 child walking.CHT do
 ‘Child, walk.’ (PTB 5, 39)

(17.92) གོས་ལག་མ་སི་སི་སྟེ།
kʼolaʔ ásisi beʔ.
 clothes beautiful.CHT EQU.NE.
 ‘(Your) clothes are beautiful.’ (KT)

(17.93) ད་སྟག་བཏང་ཚད།
tʼa puk tã:-tsʰaː.
 now fart.CHT send-CMPL
 ‘Now (you) let out a fart.’ (KN e)

(17.94) འབྲུ་འབྲུ་འབྲུང་།
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) སྐྱ་མཁྱེན་བྱས་ (?)
kukʰɛː pʼja
 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 ideophones was seen to be nonnormative ideophones, which associate a certain sequence of phonemes (*C1aC2.C1oC2*) with nonnormativity (e.g. walking like a drunkard instead of walking normally).

Within kinship terms, it was shown that terms for ego’s spouse’s relatives are formed from the same terms that are used for ego’s own relatives by adding in the end *k’jo:p* ‘male in-law’ and *gjum* ‘female in-law’. Two exceptions were the terms for ego’s wife’s younger sister (*ɲim*) and wife’s younger brother (*kipu*), which are expressed by dedicated terms not occurring among incosanguineal relatives. This, naturally, raises the question on the significance of these in-laws in Bhutia/Denjongpo culture.

This chapter further showed that Denjongke first names are strongly associated with astrology (names based on 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.

- (6) ཤིང་ཞག་ཅན་ལོ་འཛོག་འཛོལ་མི་ག་བ་ཅན་ལོ་ལག་འཛོལ།
éiŋ éàga-téé:=lo dʒek dzo-ti, mí
 tree branch-ADJZR=DAT climb be.comfortable-NF human
k'o-wa-téé:=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་ལག་སོ་ཡོད། ལ་འཛོལ་ན་ལག་སོ་མེད།
lám dzø:-na lòkso jò?. kʰa dzø:-na lòkso mè?
 road err-COND returning EX.PER mouth err-COND returning NEG.EX.PER
 'If one errs in road, there is returning. If one errs in speech, there is no returning.' (UT)
- (8) མི་འབྱུང་ལ་བྱུང་, ར་འབྱུང་ཚུ་ལ་འབྱུང་།
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) ལྟ་འབྲུ་ལྟ་བ་བ་ལྟ་བ་མིན་དགོས། ལམ་མེ་ཉེ་འགྲུ་བ་ཉླ་མ་མིན་དགོས།
to bja.to sà-wa topa? miŋ-go?. làm pʰi:ne: gju-wa to:ma?
 rice countryside.rice eat-PUR curry NEG-needed road level go-PUR stick
miŋ-go?
 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) ཁྱི་ཤིག་བསད་བ་ལྟ་བ་མིན་དགོས། སྐྱ་མ་བསད་བ་ཐོ་བོ་མིན་དགོས།
kiɕik sé-pa ta:ri miŋ-go?. sóma sé-pa tʰo:
 black.flea kill-PUR axe NEG-be.needed flea.egg kill-PUR hammer
miŋ-go?
 NEG-be.needed
 'To kill fleas, no axe is needed. To kill flea-eggs, no hammer is needed.' (UT)
- (11) ལག་སྟངས་ཡོད་ན་ལའི་ཟོན། འགྲུ་སྟངས་ཡོད་ན་ཀླང་པའི་ཟོན།
làp-tā: jò:-nɛ kʰa=i sòn, gju-tā: jò:-nɛ
 speak-manner EX-COND mouth=GEN caution walk-manner EX-COND
kā:pø: sòn.
 foot.GEN caution
 'If there is speaking manner, mouth's caution. If there is walking manner, feet's caution.' (UT)

- (18) དགོན་པའི་བྱི་རྩོག་ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་མའི་སྤྱན་ལོ་ཕྱག་ཤད་ སྤང།
gjømpø: kʰi dogom kjap-ne lámø: tʰu:=lo pʰok-εε
 monastery.GEN dog stone strike-COND lama.GEN mind.HON=DAT hit-INF
bε?
 EQU.NE
 ‘If you stone the monastery’s dog, it will hit the lama’s mind.’ (UT)
- (19) རང་དོན་ འགྲུབ་ནི་ཆ་ལྟས་⁴⁷⁵ ངན་རྒྱུ་ བྱེད་པར་ མེད།
rā:dõ: dʊp-ne tɕʰaly? jɛn-run kʰɛpar mɛ?
 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་ཕྱོང་པའི་མི་ ཟ་ རྟེན་ གཅིག་ ཕྱོག་ཀ་ ཟམ། ། འགྲུ་ མ་ཕྱོང་པའི་མི་ འགྲུ་ ཐེམ་པ་ ལ་ བསམ།
sà ma-mjõ:-pø: mí sà, jɛu=tei? pʰjoka sàm
 eat NEG-experience-NMLZ.GEN human eat snot=INDF taste food
gju ma-mjõ:-pø: mí gju, tʰempa 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.’

⁴⁷⁵ This WD form given by consultant KL may correspond to dictionary form ཆ་ལྟས་ ‘style, fashion, custom’.

Riddles

- (1) སྒྲོ་ལོ་ལས་ གོས་ལག་ མེད་མཁན་, ནང་ག་ལས་ ཏུ་སྒྲིང་ མེད་མཁན།
p^hilo=le k'ola mè:-k^hɛː nàŋɛa=le t'unij mè:-k^hɛː
 outside=ABL clothes NEG.EX-NMLZ inside=ABL heart NEG.EX.PER
 'Outside no clothes, inside no heart.'

answer: རྩ།
do
 stone
 'stone' (JDG)

- (2) དབུགས་ མེད། ཀླང་(པོ་) མེད། འཇམ་གླིང་ སྐོར་ཕྱི་ ལོན་ སྒྲུལ་མཁན།
ú? mè?, kã:(po) mè?. dzamliŋ kor-di lòn
 breath NEG.EX.PER foot NEG.EX.PER world go.around-NF message
kɛ:-k^hɛː.
 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) རྩོ་ལས་ རོང་སྒྲི་ ཏུང་ཏྲོག་ ནང་ག་ ལག་ཀོ་ རྒྱབས་པོ། གན་ ཐང་?
t'oːle lòː-ti t'unto? nàŋɛa làko kjap-o. k'an bɛ??
 early rise-NF tea.churn inside hand strike-2INF what EQU.NE
 'Rising early, putting hand in a tea-churn. What is (it)?' (JDG)

answer: རྩོད་གོས་ རྒྱན་པོ། ཐུ་ལུང་།
tø:gu? k'om-bo or p^hylun/p^hydun
 short wear-2INF sleeve
 'putting on a shirt' 'sleeve'

- (4) མི་ འདི་ མི་ལག་ གསུམ་, སྟེ་རགས་ གཅིག། འདི་ གན་ཐང་?
mí=di míla? súm, kera tɕi? di k'an bɛ??
 human=DEMPH person three belt one this what EQU.NE
 'Three people, one belt. What is it?'

Answer: ཇ་རག་ བཏོན་བཏོན་པོ། ཇ་རག་ གཅག་ཤད།
ára? tɛn-tɛm-bo or ára? tɕak-ɕɛ?
 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) གྲུ་ལས་ བོད་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ལ་དར་ བཏགས་ བཏང་བོ།
gja=le p'ø? sã:te kʰada ta: tã:-bo
 India=ABL Tibet until scarf append send-2INF
 'It extends a khada-scarf from India to Tibet.'

answer: ལྷ།
tɛʰu
 water
 'water' (JDG)

- (6) ཐག་གོ་ རིང་ཁྱམ་, བཞེས་སྟོ་ ཞིམ་བྲ།
tʰoko riŋkʰjam, ɛɛ:go? ɛɪmpu
 rope long food tasty
 'Long rope, tasty food.'

answer: ཉ་ བསད་ཤང།
ɲà sɛ-ɛɛ?
 fish kill-INF
 'to fish' (JDG)

- (7) མར་ཁུ་ སྤར་བོ་ གང་གིས་ འཇམ་སྒྲིང་ ཁྱབ་བོ།
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།
ɲim
 sun
 'sun' (JDG)

- (8) ག་ཚད་ ཟ་བོ་ ཨ་ཚད་ སྐྱག་གོ་ བཏང་མཁན།
k'adzø? sò-u, ódzø? kjako tã:-kʰɛ:.
 how.much eat-2INF that.much faeces send-NMLZ
 'As much as it eats, that much it defecates.' (JDG)

answer: རང་འཐག།
rã:tʰa?
 mill
 'mill' (JDG)

- (9) ཏེ་ཏག་ བེ་ཉེ་ གཅིག་ རྩེང་ཁར་ བྱི་ཚུང་ འུག་གིས་ རྩ་ རྩལས་པོ།
tɛ:ta? pʰi.je:=tɛi? tɛŋkʰa pʰitɕuŋ tʰu:=ki lú kjap-o
 stick horizontal=INDF on small.bird six=AGT song do-2INF
 ‘On a horizontal stick six birds are singing.’

answer: རྩ་ལྷིང་ ལུ། *gjaliŋ* *pʰu* or *límbu* *pʰu*
 gyaling.trumpet blow flute blow
 ‘blowing the gyaling-trumpet’ ‘blowing the flute’

- (10) ཇམ་ སྤུན་མོ་, ལུམ་ མཁའ་འགྲོ་, གན་ འདུག་?
ám símo, pʰum kʰandʉ, kʰan du??
 mother cannibal.demoness daughter dakini what EX.SEN
 ‘The mother a demon, the daughter an angel, what is (it)?’

answer: རྩ་ལུམ། *tsʰɛ:lum*
 tshelum-plant
 ‘tshelum plant’ (a plant with thorns but sweet fruit)

- (11) འགྱུ་རན་ཁར་ ཏྲ་ འདེམ་ རྩུགས། རྩོད་རན་ཁར་ རྩུན་ཅན་ འདེམ་ རྩོད། འོང་རན་ཁར་ རྩུལ་ འོང་དོ་ འདེམ་ འོང་། འདི་ གན་ བོ་?
gju-rɛŋkʰa ta dem gjuk. dø:-rɛŋkʰa kyntɕɛ: dem dø?. ð̌:-rɛŋkʰa ge:p
 go-SIM horse like run sit-SIM thief like sit come-SIM king
òŋ-do dem ð̌:. di kʰan 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: རྩུག་ཏོ་ བཏང་གད། *kjako tã:-ɕɛ?*
 faeces send-INF
 ‘defecating’ (UT)

- (12) ཀོམ་པའི་ མེ་མདའ་ རྩུང་གི་ རྩལ་ ས་ལོ་ རྩལས་རན་ཁར་ རྩ་གུ་ རྩེང་ཁར་ བོག། འདི་ གན་ བོ་?
kompø: minda lún=gi dzɛ? sá=lo kjap-rɛŋkʰa
 leather.GEN gun air=GEN bullet ground=DAT strike-SIM
ŋagu tɛŋkʰa pʰok. di kʰan bo?
 nose on hit this what EQU.NE.Q
 ‘When the gunpowder of a leather gun is shot toward the ground, it hits the nose. What is it?’

answer: བན། *pʰɛn*
 fart
 ‘fart’ (UT)

Folkstory

Folstories are often pedagogic discourses about animals. Frequent use of the reportative =*lo*, typical of folk tales, reveals that the speaker has heard the story from others. The use of the reportative is in the story below typically translated as ‘(so the story goes)’ (the brackets indicate that Denjongke is not as explicit as the English equivalent). The quotative =*s(ε)*, as shown by the first line of the story, can also mark that the speaker is repeating what has been said by others.

- (1) མི་ལོ་ ཞེན་མཐོང་ མ་བསགས་ སེ།
mí=lo ὲɛntʰõ: ma-sá:=s.
 human=DAT contempt NEG-gather=QUO
 ‘Do not heap contempt on people, it is said.’
- (2) མི་ལོ་ ཞེན་མཐོང་ བསགས་ཀ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ལ་ཤ་ར་ འདེམ་ ཐོན་ཤང་ ཨིན་ སེ།
mílo ὲɛntʰõ: sák-ɛtsɛnɛ kʰaɛa=ra (dɛ)m tʰøŋ-ɛɛ
 human=DAT contempt gather-COND deer=AEMPH like become-INF
t̚:=s.
 EQU.PER=QUO
 ‘If (you) heap contempt on people, (you) will end up like the deer.’
- (3) ལ་ཤ་ འདི་ ལུའི་ཀི་ འདེམ་ ལྷ་གུ་ འདེབ་ ལུམ་ལུམ་བོ་ ཡོང་ལོ།
kʰaɛa=di kʰu=i=gi dem ŋaku dɛp súm-sum-bo jò:=lo.
 deer=DEMPH 3SGM=GEN=GEN like.that nose like.that shrink-RDP-2INF EX.PER=REP
 ‘The deer, its nose is shrunken like that, it is said.’
- (4) ཨོ་འདི་ གན་ ལུམ་བོ་ སི་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ དང་བུ་ སྒང་བུ་ གཅིག་ འདེབ་ ལམ་ རང་ཤ་ འགྱུ་དོ་ལོ་, ལུག་ རང་ཤ་ལས།
ódi kʰan súm-bo sí-betsɛnɛ tʰaŋpu lá:bu=tei? dɛp làm
 that what shrink-2INF say-COND long.ago elephant=INDF like.it road
nàŋɛa gju-do=lo, pʰja? 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་ སྒང་ འདི་ སྒང་བུ་ འདི་ཀི་ ལུབ་ལར་ ཡོལ་ ལུག་ འདི་ལས་ འོག་ལྷེ་ རོ་གོས་ གཅིག་ འགྲེལ་བ་ འོང་ལྷེ་ དྲུག་ལོ་ རོ་གོས་ འདི་ ཐོག་གོ་ལོ་ལས།
gju-wø: gǎ:=di lá:bu=di=gi gjapkʰa jòu pʰja:=di=lɛ
 go-2INF.GEN time=DEMPH elephant=DEMPH=GEN in.back up cliff=DEMPH=ABL
òtɛ dogom=tei? q̥i: ba? òn-di tʰa:glo dogom=di
 down stone=INDF fall carry come-NF EXCLAM stone=DEMPH
pʰok-o=lo=la.
 hit-2INF=REP=HON
 ‘When going, a stone came down falling from the cliff and, slam, the stone hit the elephant’s back (so the story goes).’
- (6) རོ་གོས་ འདི་ ཐོག་ཚར་ལས་ འདི་ ལུབ་ལས་ ལུབ་ལས་ འདི་ ལ་ཤ་ འདི་ འོང་དོ་ལོ།
dogom=di pʰok-sa=lɛ=di gjable gjable=di kʰaɛa=di òn-do=lo.
 stone=DEMPH hit-CMPL=ABL after after=DEMPH deer=DEMPH come-IPFV=REP
 ‘Stone having hit, afterwards, afterwards the deer is coming (so the story goes).’

- (7) ཉེ་ཁ་ཤ་འདི་ལོ་སྒྲུབ་བྱ་འདི་འདྲེན་ལྷ་བཞག་ལམ་པོ་ལོ།
tɛ kʰaɕa=di=lo lǎ:bu=di dep ta za: ləp-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་རྟོ་འདི་གན་བོ་མི་ན་?
ó i rǎ:=to, di kʰa: bo ín-a⁴⁷⁶?
 Oh 2SG.M=CEMPH this what EQU.NE.Q EQU.PER-Q
 ‘Hey, you, what is this?’
- (9) བྱག་ལམ་འ་སྟེ་ང་ལོ་རྩོ་འགྲིལ་བཏང་ཕྱི་ངའི་རྒྱབ་ཁར་རྩོ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་ཚར་རྟོ་ལོ།
pʼja:=lɛ òtɛ ŋà=lo do qi: tǎ:-di nɛ: gjapkʰa do=tei?
 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་ལམ་པོ་ལོ་སྒྲུབ་བྱ་གིས་ལགས།
kʰaɕa=di=lo ləp-o=lo lǎ:bu=gi=la.
 deer=DEMPH=DAT say-2INF=REP elephant=AGT=HON
 ‘The elephant said (this) to the deer.’
- (11) ཉེ་རང་རྟོ་ཁ་ཤ་ནགས་ཚན་ནང་ག་བྱག་འདི་ཚུའི་ནང་ག་ལེབ་རྒྱག་ཚུགས།
tɛ rǎ:=to kʰaɕa, nà:tsɛ: nàŋɕa, pʼja? di=tsu=i nàŋɕa
 so 2SG.M=CEMPH deer forest inside precipise this=PL=GEN inside
lɛp gjuk tsʰu?
 very.much run be.able.to
 ‘So you (are) a deer, (you) are very well able to run in the forest and in these cliffs.’
- (12) རང་ཡོད་རྒྱགས་སང་ཕྱི་རྒྱ་སང་ཆེ།
rǎ: jòu gjuk só:-di ta só:-tɕʰi.
 2SG.M up run go.PFV-NF look go.PFV-IMP.FRN
 ‘You go running up to look.’
- (13) ག་རྩེན་གཅིག་འདྲུག་གེ་འདི་ང་ལོ་རྩོ་རྩོག་འགྲིལ་མཁན་འདི་ལམ་མཁན་?
kʰatem=tei? du-kɛ di ŋà=lo do lok qi:-kʰɛn=di
 how=INDF EX.SEN-IN this 1SG=DAT stone remove fall-NMLZ=DEMPH
ləp-kʰɛ:?⁴⁷⁷
 say-NMLZ
 ‘What kind is the one who displaced and made the stone fall on me?’

⁴⁷⁶ This form is typically pronounced *na*.

⁴⁷⁷ The last syllable is unclear on recording. The nominalizer *-kʰɛ:* was an educated guess by a consultant.

- (14) དེ་ཟང་རྩོ་སྟག་ འབྲེལ་མཐུན་ འདི་ རྩོ་དུད་མ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་ལོ་ལགས་, སྟུ་བུ་ན་ (porcupine).
t'izã: do lok di:-k'en=di p'idim=tei? du:=lo=la,
 but stone remove fall-NMLZ=DEMPH porcupine=INDF EX.SEN=REP=HON
po:kjupain.
 porcupine(Eng.).
 'But the one who displaced the stone and made it fall turn out to be a porcupine (so the story goes).'
- (15) ཉེ་ ལུ་ ལ་ག་ འདི་ ལ་བ་ལོ་ལོ།
te k'u k'aca=di lap-o=lo
 so 3SGM deer=DEMPH say-2INF=REP
 'So he, the deer, says (so the story goes):'
- (16) ཡི་ན་ འདེམ་ སེམས་ཅན་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།
ji=na dem simteɛ:=tei? du-ke.
 up=LOC such animal=INDF EX.SEN-IN
 'There is such an animal up there.'
- (17) གཟུགས་ རྩང་ རྩང་རྩང་ འདྲ་འདེམ་ གཅིག་ འདུག་གོ།
zu? tsã: roŋroŋ dodem=tei? du-ke.
 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་ འདབ་ རྩོ་ རྟག་ཆར་ལས་ འདི་ རྩོ་ འདི་ འབྲེལ་ འབག་ འོང་ལྷེ་གི་, ག་སྟེ་ལོ་, ངའི་ རྒྱབ་ཁར་ རོག་གོ་ སྤང་སྟེ།
ódi=gi dep t'õ: kok-sa=lɛ=di do=di di: ba?
 that=AGT like.that hole dig-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH stone=DEMPH fall carry
òŋ-diki, k'atelo, jè:⁴⁷⁸ gjapk'a p'ok-o bɛ:=s.
 come-NF how=DAT 1SG.GEN in.back hit-2INF EQU.NE=QUO
 'That one like that dug a hole and (as a result) a stone fell and came and, how, hit my (probably should be: your) back (so the story goes).'
- (19) ཉེ་ རྩང་བུ་ འདི་ ལ་བ་ལོ་ལོ།
te lá:bu=di lap-o=lo
 so elephant=DEMPH say-2INF=REP
 'So the elephants said (so the story goes):'
- (20) ལུ་ལོ་ འདི་ཁར་ ངའི་ མདུན་ཁར་ ལུག་ སྟེ།
k'u=lo dik'a jè: dynk'a kuk=s.
 3SGM=DAT here 1SG.GEN in.front.of call=QUO
 'Call him here in front of me, (he) said'

⁴⁷⁸ This should be ཆོད་(ཁྱི) 'your' as the speaker is the deer.

- (21) ལུ་གན་ཕྱི་མེ་རྩ་འདི་བཏང་བོ?

kʰu kʰan pʰja-ti do=di tã:-bo?
3SGM what do-NF stone=DEMPH send-2INF
'Why did he send the stone?'

- (22) ཏེ་ཐང་བུ་འདི་ལ་བ་པོ་ལོ་

tɛ lã:bu=di lãp-o=lo.
so elephant=DEMPH say-2INF=REP
'So the elephant said (so the story goes):'

- (23) རང་ཡ་མེ་ཕྱག་ནང་ག་འཛོལ་མེ་ལུ་ཁྱུ་དགོས་ཡོ་ཁའི་འདི་གིས་ཤོག་ལ་བ་བཞིན་གེ་སེ་ལ་བ་ཚར་ལས།

rã: jãtɛ pʰja? nãncɛ dzɛk-ti jòu kʰu=i=tsa: gju go?
2SG.M up cliff inside climb-NF up 3SGM=GEN=at go be.needed
jòkʰɔ:=di=ki ɛó? lãp-dzyngɛ=s lãp-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) ཐང་བུ་འདི་ང་ཡ་མེ་ཏོ་འགྱུ་མི་ཚུགས།

lã:bu=di nã jãtɛ=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་ལུ་མ་དུན་ཁར་འགྱུ་མི་ཚུགས།

nã 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) ལུ་ལོ་འདི་འོག་འོག་མེ་ཤོག་སེ་ལ་བ་ཚར་ལས་འདི་ཏེ་ཁ་ག་འདི་གིས་

kʰu=lo=di ɔ?, ɔtɛ ɛó:=s lãp-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) ཅི་, རང་ཏོ་འདེམ་གཟུགས་ཐོམ་མུང་, རང་འདེམ་གཟུགས་ཐོམ་མུང་, ལུ་འདེམ་བྱི་མག་གཅིག་མ་དུན་ཁར་འགྱུ་མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་ཡང་ལ་བ་མེ་
མིན་སྒྲུབ་ (insult) བྱི་བོ་ལོ་ལགས།

tsei rã:=to dem zu? bomtɕuŋ, rã: dem zu? bomtɕuŋ, kʰu
EXCLAM 2SG.M=CEMPH such body size 2SG.M suck body size 3SGM
dem pʰima=tei? dyŋkʰa gju mi-tsʰu-kʰɛ:=jã: lãp-ti
such small=INDF in.front.of go NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ=even say-NF
insol pʰja-u=lo=la, ɛɛntʰɔ: sák-o=lo.
insult(Eng.) do-2INF=REP=HON contempt gather-2INF=REP

““Wow, you (are) of such a body-size, you (are) of such a body-size, but still you are not able to go in front of such a small one as he,” insulted, heaped contempt (on him) (so the story goes).’

- (28) ཞེན་མཐོང་བསགས་ཚར་ལས་ཁྱ་གིས་འདི་ཨོ་དེ་ཨོ་ལེ་ལྷ་རྟ་ (elephant) རྟེང་ཁར་, སྒང་བུ་ རྟེང་ཁར་ ཞེན་མཐོང་བསགས་ཚར་ལས་ ཡིག་མ་ཆས་པ་ རྟེན་ལའ་བའི་སྒང་ ཏེ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྒྲ་གྲ་ འདི་འདྲེན་སྒྲ་མེ་སྒྲ་བོ་ལོ་ལགས།

ɛ̀ɛntʰõ: *sák-sa=lɛ* *kʰu=gi=di* *ódi* *elifənt* *tɛŋkʰa,*
 contempt gather-CMPL=ABL 3SGM=GEN=DEMPH that elephant(Eng.) on
lǎ:bu *tɛŋkʰa* *ɛ̀ɛntʰõ:* *sák-sa=lɛ,* *jì?* *ma-tɛʰi-pa* *tɛʰi:*
 elephant on contempt gather-CMPL=ABL believe NEG-believe-CIRC EXCLAM
làpø: *gǎ:* *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་གཞུང་གཏམ་ཆུང་ཆུང་གཅིག་འདི་ཨོན་ལགས།

di *dɛndzɔŋ=gi* *súŋtam* *tɛʰuŋtɛuŋ=tɛi?* *di* *í:=la.*
 this Sikkim=GEN story small=INDF this EQU.PER=HON
 ‘This is a short Sikkimese story.’ (UTU)

Excerpt from the Novel Richhi

The novel Richhi by Bhaichung Tsichudarpa, published in 1996, remains the only existing Denjongke novel. Below is an excerpt from the novel (p. 12-13). The excerpt is slightly modified from Yliniemi (2016a).

ཚས་སྒྲོན་གྱིས་ གསོལ་ཇ་ བཟོ་དྲི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ དྲངས་བཞིན་ལོ་ བེ་ལུང་

tɕʰødʑɛː=gi sɔːza zoː-ti tʰamtɕɛ=lo tʰã-zɛː=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་ སྒྲེང་ལོ་ སྒྲ་ན་ བཞག།

nəŋ=gi sɔːcip tɕente tɕŋlo bu=na za? tʰato kʰõː=tsu námtɕi?

inside=GEN snacks table on middle=LOC put now 3PL=PL with

midst on the table.

ད་ལྟ་ ཁོང་ཚུ་ མཉམ་ཅིག་

tʰato kʰõː=tsu námtɕi?

now 3PL=PL with

Now as they sit together

སྒྲོན་གྱི་ གསོལ་ཇ་ གསོལ་ཞིབ་ ཟ་བཞིན་བའི་ སྐབས་ མཉེ་སྒྲ་རང་ ཁྱིམ་

døː-ti sɔːza sɔːcip sà-zɛː-pøː kap néːmu=rãː kʰim

sit-NF tea.HON snacks eat-PROG-NMNZ.GEN time really=AEMPH home

enjoying tea and snacks they are really like members

གཅིག་གི་ བཟའ་ཚང་ འདྲ་བོ།

tɕiː=ki zaːtsʰãː ɕau.

one=GEN family.members like

of one household.

གྱོས་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ རྒྱབས་བཞིན་ ཀམ་ཀེས་

kʰjo? kjap-zɛː kjap-zɛː karma=gi

talk do-PROG do-PROG PN=AGT

As (they) keep on talking, Karma says

ལྷ་སྒྲིང་ལོ་ “ན་ འུ་སྒྲིང་ལགས་ ག་ན་ བཞགས་མཁན་ བོ?”

lɕi=lo, nəː pʰusim=laː kʰana zuː-kʰen bo?

PN=DAT here younger.sister=HON where live.HON-NMNZ EQU.NE.Q

to Lhaki, “Where does the sister here live?”

ལྷ་སྒྲིང་ - “ཁོང་ ང་ དང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་རང་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ན་ ཕྱག་ལས་ གནང་དོ་

lɕi? – kʰõː nə tʰãː námtɕi=rãː lóbɕa=na tɕʰaːlɛ? náː-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་ཤོ།

ĩː=ɛo.

EQU.PER=AT

དོ་རྩེ་ སྒྲིང་ལོ་ བཞགས་མཁན་ ཨིན།

dordziliŋ=lo zuː-kʰɛː ĩː

TPN=DAT live-NMLZ EQU.PER

(She) lives in Darjeeling.

འདི་ཁར་ སྒྲོབས་སྒྱེ་ ཏ་ལམ་

dikʰa lɕɛp-ti hálam

here arrive-NF about

(She) came here about some

ཟླ་བོ་བརྒྱད་ཚྲོད་ལང་དོ་ཨ་ཟླ་”

dou ge:-tsʰø? lǎ:-to ágja.
month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother
eight months ago, brother. ”

ཀུམ་ - “ཨ་འདིས་དྲི།
*Karma – ódi:=to*⁴⁷⁹.
PN that.AGT=CEMPH
Karma: “That’s it.

མདང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ཀྱི་ མགོ་ བརྟག་མྱི་ འབྲེལ་ སྤོང་ ཡོད་སྐབས་

dǎ: ηàtɕi bhaila-ki go tok-ti dɿ: dø: jò:-kap
yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall sit EX-SIM
Yesterday when our Bhaila was lying fallen after hitting his head,

བྱ་སྤང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ ཅེན་ ཁོང་ ཨོན་རང་ གི་ཤད་ སྤང།

p’usim=la: mè:-patɕɛɛ kʰò: óna=rǎ: ɛí-ɛɛ? bɛ?. dǎ:
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་ཅག་སྤྱི་ ཕྱི་ དང་ ཉལ་པའི་ རྒྱགས་ན་ བྱ་སྤང་ལགས་ལོ་

ηàtɕa=tsu p’jeu t’ǎ: hǎ:pø: ɛúk=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

ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཡང་ ལྷ་མ་ཚུགས།”

tʰudzɕɕʰɛ=jǎ: ɛù ma-tsʰu?
thank.you=even say.HUM NEG-can
to say thank you to the sister.

“ཨ་མ་ལགས་! མདང་ ང་ཅའི་ ལྷའི་ལགས་

ám=la: dǎ: ηàtɕi Bhaila
mother=HON yesterday we.GEN PN
“Mother! Yesterday when our Bhaila had fallen it

འབྲེལ་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྤང་ སང་པར་ ལེན་སྤྱི་ ལྷག་ ཕྱིས་བཞིན་

ge: jò-pø: gǎ: pʰǎ:pa: lèn-di kʰja? pʰi:-zɛ:
fall EX-2INF.GEN time lap.DAT take-NF blood wipe-PROG
was the sister here who took him to her lap, wiped the blood,

ཨ་མའི་ སང་པར་ ལྷའི་ལགས་ གཏང་བཞིན་ ཨ་མ་ལགས་! མ་ལགས་ སྤོང་ཁང་ན་

ámø: pʰǎ:pa: Bhaila tɛ:-zɛ: ám=la:, màla? ménkʰǎ:=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

འབྲེལ་ ཕྱིན་ གསུང་མཁན་ ན་ བྱ་སྤང་ སྤང་གོ།

kʰik tɛ’øɲ súŋ-kʰɛ: nà: p’usim bɛ=ɛo.
take go.HON say-NMLZ here little.sister EQU.NE=AT
to the hospital!’

ཨ་མས་ རོ་

áma: ηò
mother.AGT face
Did the mother

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་གམ་?" ཇམ་མ་ - “མི་དྲི་ངས་ ངོ་ མ་གཤམ་གྱི། མདང་
kʰen-ʒɛ-gam? *ama – āhā: ɣò ma-ɛé:-ɛo. dǎ:*
 know.HON-PST-ATTQ mother aha face NEG-know-AT yesterday
 recognise her?" Mother: “No, I didn’t recognise her. Yesterday in the

བྱེད་ ཆབ་ཚུབ་ན་ མོ་འདེམ་ ལྟ་ཡོང་རང་ མེད། ཡུ་! མོ་ཉི་
pʼjɛu tsʰaptsʰup=na ódɛm ta lǒ:=rǎ: mèʔ. já: óni
 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་ ལུག་ལས་ གནང་དོ?" ཇམ་མའི་ ལན་ལོ་
lóbqɑ di:=na=rǎ: tɛʰa:lɛʔ ná:-do? ámø: lɛn=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,

ཆོམ་སྒྱིད་ཀྱིས་ - “ལགས་ མིན། ང་ སློབ་གྲྭ་ འདིའི་ན་རང་ གཡོག་ ལྱབས་དོ་ མིན།
tɛʰøki-ki – là-í: ɣà lóptɑ di:=na=rǎ: jóʔ kjap-to í:
 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་མྱི་ ད་ ཟླ་ལོ་ བརྒྱད་ཚད་ ལངས་དོ།”
dikʰa: lɛp-ti tʼa dau ɣɛ:-tsʰøʔ lǎ:-to.
 here arrive-NF now month eight-about reach-IPFV
 It is now some eight months since I arrived here.”

“འདི་ཁར་ ཀ་ དང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ག་ན་ བཞུགས་དོ?" ཇམ་མའི་ འི་བ།
di-kʰa ka tʼǎ: námtɛiʔ kʼana zu:-to? ámø: tʼiwa.
 here who and with where stay.HON-IPFV mother.GEN question
 “With whom (and) where do you live here?" (is) the mother’s question.

ཆོམ་སྒྱིད་ - “སློབ་དཔོན་ བཞུགས་ཤག་ ན་ རྫོང་དོ་ མིན། ང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ ངའི་ ལུམ་
tɛʰøkiʔ – lópøŋ zu:ɛa:=na dø:-to í: ɣà námtɛiʔ nɛ: nùm
 PN teacher room=LOC stay-IPFV EQU.PER 1SG with 1SG.GEN younger.sister
 Choke: “I am staying in the teachers’ quarters. And I have my two little sisters

གཉིས་ཡང་ ཡོད་ལགས།” ཇམ་མས་ - “དོ་རྗེ་ སྤང་ལོ་ ག་ན་ བཞུགས་དོ?
ni:=jǎ: jò:=la:. *áma: – dordziliŋ=lo kʼana 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་གྱི་ བཞུགས་ ཡོད་ཀ?"
jà:p tʼǎ: jùm=ɛo zu: jò:-ka?
 father.HON and mother.HON=AT live.HON EX.PER-PQ
 What about your father and mother, are (they) alive?"

ཚས་མྱེད་ - “དོ་རྩེ་ མྱེད་ལོ་ གུམ་ དགོན་པོའི་ཙན།

tɕʰøkiʔ – dordziliŋ=lo gum gjømpø:=tsa:

PN TPN=DAT TPN monastery=by

Choki: “In Darjeeling by the Ghoom monastery.

ཡབ་ དང་ ཡུམ་ གཉིས་ཆ་

jà:p tʰã: jùm ní:tɕʰa

father.HON and mother.HON both

Father and mother are both

བཞུགས་ ཡོད།”

zu: jøʔ.

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་རུ་ན་ ཡོད་པོ་ བོ་ འག་ མོང་སོང་ བོ?
t'ari éanu nà: jò-po bo ò? lǝ: sǝ:-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་རུ་ མཐུ་ སྤང་། སྤང་ན་སི་ བཀའ་ཚུ་ལས་ ཨིན།
éanu mòu bε?. waranasi kʰateʰθ:=lε ȩ̌.⁴⁸⁰
 PN down EQU.NE TPN teaching=ABL EQU.PER
 'Shanu is down. (He) is at (Buddhist) teaching in Varanasi.'

- (10) T ཁོང་ འོང་ རྒྱུ་ ཡོད་པ་ མན་པོ་, བོ་ཙྱ་ཙྱ?
kʰθ: òn dθ: jθ:-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་ ཉེ་ འདི་... གན་ལོ་... རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་སྤྱོད་ གཞི་སྤྱོད་པ་དེ་གོ།
kʰθ: tε=di... k'anlo... tsθ? kjap go:=pε=εo.
 3PL so=DEMPH what.is.it debate do be.needed=EQU.NE=AT
 'They have to participate, what's that, a debate, you know.'

- (12) T མན་ སྤང་ལས་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཙྱ་ ཡོད་པ་ མན་པོ་?
mε̌:, pʰa:=lε gjaltsʰen=tsu jθ:-p mèmbo?
 NEG.EQU.PER over.there=ABL PN=PL EX-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q
 'No, from over there Gyaltsen and his associates are there, aren't they?'

- (13) B ཨི་ རྒྱུ་མཚན་ ཡོད།
é: gjaltsʰen jθ?
 oh PN EX.PER
 Oh, Gyaltsen is there.

- (14) T ཉེ་ དགུ་གཏོར་ ཚུ་སྤྱོད་ འོང་ ཚུ་ སྤང་གོ་, ལྷས་ཀྱི།
tε gutor tsʰokpa θ̌: tεʰo bε=εo, 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.'

⁴⁸⁰ The use of the personal equative *ȩ̌* in a locative clause here is surprising and worthy of deeper investigation.

- (15) B དེ་ཙམ་ན་ ལྷ་མཚན་ལོ་ སང་ཟང་ནི་ རོ་ཚུ་ལོ་གྲོ།
t'itsi nà: ʎatɕʰø:=lo sɔ̌:-sã:-ni
 a.few.days.ago here worship=DAT go.PFV-TERM-TOP
ŋòtsʰo-u=lo=ki.
 be.ashamed=2INF=REP=NC
 'A few days ago when (I told him) go to the worship ceremony, he said he was ashamed.'
- (16) ད་ ང་ ཨོ་ ཉེ་ དགུ་གཏོར་ ང་ སང་ འབྲུ་ཏོ་ ལབ་བཞིན་ ཉེ་ མ་ཉན་ཚར་ བེ་ གན་ བྱས་ཤད་?
t'a ŋà ó tɛ gutor ŋà sɔ̌: gju=to làp-zin tɛ
 now 1SG DISTAL so gutor-offering 1SG go.PFV go=CEMPH say-PROG so
mà-ŋen-tsʰa-nɛ k'an p'ja-ɛɛ??
 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་ཅུ་ཏོ་ ད་ ཚྱང་བོ་ རྒྱབས་པ་ འབྲུ་ དགོས་ཤད་ ཟད།
ɛ́ánu=to t'a tsɔpo kjap-a gju go:-ɛɛ bɛ?
 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། ཉེ་ ཁོང་གིས་ འདི་ མན་འབྲུ་རང་ འབྲུ་ལོ་ སེ་ ལགས།
kʰu là=í:=la. tɛ kʰoŋ=gi=di man-gju=rɔ̌:
 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 ཚྱང་བོ་ བྱས་ཤད་ འདི་ བྱས་ ཉེ་ གནས་སྒོར་ རྒྱབས་ ཐོབ་ ཟད།
tsɔpo p'ja-ɛɛ=di p'ja tɛ né:kor kjap tʰop bɛ?
 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་ ཟད་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་ཟད།
la=bɛ?
 HON=EQU.NE
 'Yes, it is (so).'

⁴⁸¹ For clarification of meaning, see the footnote in example (15.120).

- (22) F གཞན་དོ་ རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ མ་ར་ན་སི་ཅུ།
zen=to dordzidê: waranasi=tsu
 other=CEMPH TPN TPN=PL
 ‘Otherwise Dorjeden and Varanasi...’
- (23) B ང་ཅའི་ ཁར་ཚ་གིས་ ཨ་པ་ འགྱ་བཞིན་ ལབ་ནེ་ ག་ན་ འགྱ་ ཚུགས་ཤད་ ཨ་པ་?
ηàtɛi kʰartsa=gi ápa gju-zin⁴⁸² làp-nɛ kʰana gju
 1PL.GEN expenses(Nep.)=AGT father go-PROG say-COND where go
tsʰu:-ɛɛ? ápa.
 be.able.to-INF father
 ‘Because of the expenses for us, father, even if (one) says (he’s) going, where could (one) go, father.’
- (24) F འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ གནས་ འདི་ བོ་ སྐར་ མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་ ཟད།
qendzɔŋ=gi né:=di=po kor mi-tsʰu-kʰɛn bɛ?
 TPN=GEN site=DEMPH=even(Nep.) make.tour NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE
 ‘Even Sikkim’s sights (we) are not able to tour.’
- (25) ང་ ཨ་འདིས་ བྱགས་ བྱས་ཕྱི་ གནས་སྐར་ རྒྱབས་, ཁེ་ལེ།
tʰa ódi: ɛúk pʰja-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་ཟད།
la=bɛ?
 HON=EQU.NE
 ‘Yes, it is (so).’
- (27) ཕྱོན་ (phone) རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ ལབ་ཅེ།
pʰon kjap-tɛɛ làp-tɛɛ.
 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) ཚད་བོ་ འདི་ བྱང་ཚུ་ ལྷ་མ་ མ་ཐྱོང་བ་ ལྷ་མ་?
tsəpo=di mjô:-tsʰou nám ma-mjô:-p nám?
 debate=DEMPH finish-CMPL.2INF EQU.ATTQ NEG-finish-2INF EQU.ATTQ
 ‘I wonder whether the debate has ended or not.’ (i.e. having heard some of the contents of the phone call, the speaker still did not know whether the debate had ended)

⁴⁸² Although this excerpt was transcribed with KN, I consider it possible that *gju-zin* here should, in fact, be transcribed as *gju-ɛi*: [go-NPST.PER].

- (38) B དུ་ཅིག་ལ་ར་ན་སི་ལ་བ་ འདྲ།
t'utei? waranasi làp qa.
 this.year TPN say AP
 'This year it's in Varanasi (they) seem to say.'
- (39) གློ་ལ་ལ་ འདི་ རྒྱ་མ་ཅིག་ལ་ལ་ བ་སྟེ་ དབང་ ཡོད་ལ་ ས།
nénle=di nàm nám=tɛi=lɛ pʰatɛ ɔ̃:
 earlier=DEMPH when EQU.ATTQ=INDF=ABL over.there empowerment
jò:=lo=se.
 EX.PER=REP=QUO
 'I wonder what (they) said earlier, when the empowerment ceremony is in there.'
- (40) F ཡོད་ ཡོད་
ɔ̃: ɔ̃:
 yes yes
 'Yes, yes.'
- (41) B མདང་ ལུ་ འདི་ལར་ གློ་ (phone) རྒྱ་བས་ཅེ་ ལ་བ་ཅེ།
dɔ̃: kʰu dikʰa fon kjap-tɛɛ làp-tɛɛ.
 yesterday 3SGM here phone do-PST say-PST
 '(Somebody) told (me) that he phoned here yesterday.'

Appendix 2: Differences between spoken and written language

Differences between spoken and written language were discussed throughout the grammar. Table 1 below provides a summary of the differences and refers to sections in the grammar where the differences are more fully illustrated and discussed. The headings in Table 1 describe the ways in which spoken language differs from written language. Spoken language is associated with phonological reduction and modification, morphosyntactic reduction (and possibly accompanying phonological reduction), semantic reduction (one example), morphosyntactic expansion, morphosyntactic flexibility, frequency of discourse-related constructions, and influence from Nepali and English (as opposed to influence from Literary Tibetan in written language).

Table 1. How spoken language differs from written language

Phonological reduction and modification	
VERB- <i>po</i> may be abbreviated to VERB- <i>b</i> (with verbs ending in the glottal stop or <i>p</i> and followed by the equative <i>bɛʔ</i>) or to VERB- <i>m</i> (with verbs ending in the velar nasal and followed by the equative <i>bɛʔ</i> or <i>ĩ:</i>).	§1.2.7.3
In spoken language WD <i>-al</i> and <i>-ar</i> , which are occasionally pronounced in careful and spelling-style speech as /a/ and /a/ respectively, are pronounced as /ɛ:/ and /a:/ respectively.	§2.2.1.4
Written progressive marker བཞིན་ <i>bzhin</i> , which is pronounced /zin/ in spelling-style pronunciation, becomes /zɛ:/~ /tɛ:/ in typical spoken language (but /tɛou/ in Martam).	§3.3.6.5
The written conditional form ན་ <i>na</i> corresponds to spoken forms /nɛ:/~ /no:/~ /nu/ (depending on locality)	§3.3.6.15
The frequent anaphoric emphatic clitic རང་ <i>rang</i> tends to occur as short and denasalized = <i>ra</i> in spoken language.	§6.2
The frequently-used complex copula ཞེ་པོ་ ཟླ་ <i>jò-po bɛʔ</i> (neg. <i>mè:-po bɛʔ</i>) is in spoken language reduced to <i>jòbbeʔ/jèbbeʔ</i> (neg. <i>mèbbeʔ</i>).	§7.3.2.1
The nominalized completive form མཚན་པོ་ལས་ <i>tshar-bo-las</i> , suggesting the spelling-style pronunciation <i>tsʰar-bo-lɛ</i> , is in spoken language, depending on the consultant and phonological environment, reduced to <i>-tsʰo-u=lɛ</i> , <i>-tsu-b=lɛ</i> , <i>-tsʰo:=lɛ</i> or <i>-so:=lɛ</i> .	§15.3.1.1
Most probably because of influence from Written Tibetan, many nouns that in pronunciation end in <i>-pu</i> are written as པོ་ <i>po</i> by many writers (e.g. <i>pømpu</i> དཔོན་པོ་ <i>dpon-po</i>).	
Written བོ་ <i>bo</i> , when following short vowels, reduces to <i>-u</i> in pronunciation (e.g. ཟླ་བོ་ <i>zla-bo</i> > <i>dau/dou</i> ‘month’, ཞེ་པོ་ ཞེ་ <i>lta-bo in</i> > <i>ta-u</i> <i>ĩ:</i> ‘I looked’).	
Morphosyntactic reduction (possibly also phonological reduction)	
The often used written form of the interrogative copula ཞིན་ནམ་ <i>in-nam</i> , suggesting a bimorphemic interpretation, merges in spoken language to monosyllabic and monomorphemic <i>nám</i> .	§3.3.7

Relator nouns, which are in spoken language always followed by a case-marker, are occasionally in spoken language used without a case-marker, e.g. <i>tɛŋ=lo</i> > <i>tɛŋ</i> ‘on, above’.	§3.6.8
In spoken language, genitive-marking may be dropped from noun modifiers.	§4.1.2.2
In equative and locational clauses in spoken language, the copula may be elided.	§5.4.1 and §5.4.2
Case-marking in directionals seems more frequently dropped in spoken language than in written language.	§5.6.1.1
The frequent spoken filler-question /kʰaŋam/~kʰaŋem/~kʰaem/~kʰem/ is an abbreviation of the written གན་ མིན་ནམ་ <i>gan in-nam</i> .	§6.3.1
The apparentive construction <i>qa be?</i> , which corresponds to written འདྲ་ ཟད་ <i>dra sbad</i> and occurs as such in slower speech, is often in faster speech reduced to <i>qe:/re:</i> .	§8.5.2
The non-past construction - <i>ɕɛ ʔ</i> : (WD ཤད་ མིན་ <i>shad in</i>) often reduces to - <i>ɕi:/eiŋ</i> , which does not have a strictly corresponding written form.	§9.1.1.1
Past interrogative construction - <i>tɕɛ-ka</i> and future interrogative construction - <i>ɕɛ-ka</i> in spoken language often reduce to - <i>tɕa</i> and - <i>ɕa</i> respectively. To my knowledge, the reduced forms do not have standardized written equivalents.	§11.1.1.2
In spoken language purpose-marking converbal marker - <i>pa/ba</i> (WD འ[ར]/འ[ར]) may be dropped.	§15.5.1
The simultaneous converbal endings - <i>sondā:/sōmdā:/sumdā:</i> used in spoken language probably derive from the longer construction <i>sō:-bo tʰā:</i> [go.PFV-2INF and] and the simultaneous converbal ending <i>tsubda:</i> possibly derives from <i>tsʰa:-bo tʰā:</i> [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
Morphosyntactic expansion	
In spoken language, unlike in writing, the nonfinal converbal ending - <i>ti/di</i> is often accompanied by the marker - <i>ki/gi</i> , which looks like a genitive or an agentive.	§15.2
Whereas in written language causality may be expressed through agentive marking by the grapheme -ས་ -s, which suggests a lengthened vowel in spelling-style pronunciation, spoken language uses additional morphosyntax for the same purpose, i.e. the emphatic = <i>di</i> and the nonfinal converb <i>pʰjati(ki)</i> .	§15.4.6, §15.4.7
Double/markings of genitive is frequent in spoken language and almost non-existent in written language.	§3.7.1.3
Both the terminative endings - <i>sā:</i> and - <i>sonzā:</i> occur in spoken language but only the short - <i>sā:</i> 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 <i>o-</i> ‘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 = <i>di</i> is prevalent in spoken language, sometimes occurring several times in one clause.	§16.1.3
Discourse particles <i>t’a</i> and <i>tε</i> are more frequent in spoken than in written 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	<i>ɛi</i> ‘die’	388	2175	i:	<i>phi:ru</i> ‘night’	287	2337
	<i>k^{hi}</i> ‘dog’	386	2309		<i>ki:</i> ‘bind’	268	2565
	<i>mi</i> ‘man’	256	2419		<i>si:p</i> ‘dew’	291	2327
	<i>p^{hi}</i> ‘open’	368	2292		<i>dzi:ɛɛ?</i> ‘to split’	238	2423
	Average:	350	2299		Average:	271	2413
ɛ	<i>kɛ</i> ‘neck’	471	2322	ɛ:	<i>gɛ:</i> win	471	2303
	<i>gɛp</i> ‘bag’	501	2018		<i>bɛ:p</i> frog	626	1914
	<i>ɖɛ</i> ‘ghost’	493	2119		<i>gɛ:p</i> king	455	2146
	<i>ɛmmo</i> ‘left’	506	2147		<i>shɛ:</i> rinse	461	2271
	<i>pɛpo</i> ‘leech’	524	1912		Average:	503	2159
a	<i>tsa</i> ‘grass’	676	1640	a:	<i>t^ha:tei?</i> ‘again’	713	1626
	<i>t^hatei?</i> ‘recently’	701	1627		<i>tɛ^ha:ka</i> ‘thing’	855	1576
	<i>k^ha</i> ‘mouth’	746	1450		<i>ma:p</i> ‘red’	686	1314
	<i>k^ha?</i> ‘soup’	793	1629		<i>ka:p</i> ‘whit’e	769	1498
	<i>ɲà</i> ‘I’	747	1480		<i>tɛ^ha:p</i> ‘rain’	832	1401
o	<i>ápo</i> ‘father’	711	1292	o:	Average:	771	1434
	Average:	729	1587		<i>ko:</i> ‘throw’	386	791
	<i>ko</i> ‘dig’	644	1093		<i>p^hjo:</i> ‘escape’	411	1072
	<i>p^hjo</i> ‘pour’	645	1245		<i>tsho:</i> ‘father’s	414	892
	<i>tsho</i> ‘lake’	701	1136		sister’s husband’		
u	<i>do</i> ‘stone’	598	1156	u:	<i>do:</i> ‘touch’	394	957
	Average:	647	1158		Average:	401	928
	<i>súpo</i> ‘stomach’	376	1221		<i>phu:</i> ‘fly’	317	960
	<i>khu</i> ‘he’	333	894		<i>dzu:</i> ‘be afraid’	343	1128
	<i>chu</i> ‘water’	377	948		Average:	330	1044
	<i>tup</i> ‘be alright’	397	1137	y:	<i>ky:ɛɛ?</i> ‘drive’	310	2319
	Average:	371	1050		<i>ɖoly?</i> ‘custom’	311	2326
					<i>dyn</i> ‘seven’	323	2165

					y: 'place'	242	2303
					average:	297	2278
				ø:	ɕø:m 'cockroach'	448	2125
					só:na 'soot'	401	1946
					ó:laʔ 'raven'	373	1962
					só: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་ ཏྲགས་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ངས་ University of Helsinki་ལས་ བྱོན་མཁན་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ན་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ བྱས་
མཁན་ Juha Yliniemi་ལོ་ ང་ཀེས་ ལབ་ ཡོད་པའི་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ recording་ཚུ་ དང་ ངས་ བཤད་ ཡོད་པའི་
ཆོག་ དང་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ཚུ་ ཁོང་གི་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ ཚུམ་བེ་ཚུའི་ ཐོག་ལས་ ལྷོ་ འཇམ་བུ་སྒྲིང་གི་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་
ལྷོན་ཤད་ཀྱི་ གནང་བ་ ལུལ་དོ་ ཡིན།



འོག་ལོ་ ཏྲགས་ རྒྱབས་སྟེ་ ང་ཀེས་ ལབ་ ཡོད་པའི་ ལྷོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ recording་ཚུ་ Juha Yliniemi་ལོ་ ཅིག་ཀྱི་ མན་
པོ་ གཞན་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ གནང་མཁན་ མི་ཚུ་ དང་ དོ་སྒྲུང་ ཡོད་མཁན་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ གསན་པོ་ གནང་ཤད་,
སྒྲོག་གོ་ གནང་ཤད་ དང་ (video-recording) གཟིགས་པོ་ གནང་ཤད་ཀྱི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཐོབ་ ཚུགས་ བཅུག་ཀའི་
གནང་བ་ ངས་ ལུལ་དོ་ ཡིན།



ང་ཀེས་ ལབ་ ཡོད་པོ་ ཆོག་ཚུ་ དང་ ཆོག་སྐྱབ་ཚུ་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ ཚུམ་བེ་ཚུའི་ རང་ཤ་ ཐོན་པའི་ སྐང་



ངའི་ མིང་ ཐམས་ཅད་ བེ་པོ་ གནང་ཤད་ཀྱི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ལུལ་དོ་ ཡིན།



ངའི་ མིང་ཡིག་ (initials) ཅིག་ཀྱི་ བེ་པོ་ གནང་ཤད་ཀྱི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ལུལ་དོ་ ཡིན།



ངའི་ མིང་ ཡང་ན་ མིང་ཡིག་ བེ་ མི་ལེགས།

ཤོག་ཀྱི་ འདི་ན་ ཡོད་མཁན་ ཆོག་ཚུའི་ དོན་དག་ འདི་ ང་ལོ་ གསལ་བྲགས་ བྱས་སྟེ་ ཁ་སྐད་ན་ བཤད་ ཡོད།

ཆོ་གངས་: _____

མཚན་: _____

དགུང་ལོ་: _____

སྐུས་ས་: _____

Letter of permission

I _____ by ticking (the box) below grant permission to Juha Yliniemi from the University of Helsinki, who carries out research on Lhoke, to make known the words and sentences recorded from me to all people in the world through his research writing.

☐

By ticking (the box) below, I grant permission to make available the recordings of my speech for the purpose of listening, reading and watching (video-recordings) not only to Juha Yliniemi but also to other researchers and anyone who is interested.

☐

When words and sentences spoken by me occur in research writings

☐

I give the permission to use my full name.

☐

I give the permission to use my initials only.

☐

my name or initials should not be used.

The contents of this letter have been clearly explained to me in spoken language.

Date: _____

Name: _____

Age: _____

Birth place: _____

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