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

PhD Thesis

Department of Modern Languages

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Abstract

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

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

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

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

Denjongke has a particularly wide array of copula forms, which mark three evidential values: personal, sensorial and neutral. The present study shows that the semantically oriented category “personal” differs from the more syntactically-oriented Lhasa Tibetan category “egophoric”. It also suggests how egophoricity may have developed in Tibetic languages. Among copulas, an interesting detail is that the sensorial duʔ, which typically functions as an existential, can be used as an equative if the proposition describes something that held in the past.
Relative clauses are a subclass of constituent-modifying clauses, which modify a clausal constituent by a nominalized and genetivized clause. Probably as an influence from Indo-Aryan languages, Denjongke also uses correlative clauses, in which a clause with a question word is linked to another clause with a resumptive demonstrative, which is a coreferential with the question word. Due to Denjongke being a clause-chaining language in which one sentence typically has only one finite verb, the concept of coordination proves elusive on clausal level. Denjongke has a wide variety of adverbial clauses, which are expressed through various constructions, including ten converbs. Simultaneity (expressed with seven constructions) and causality (expressed with eight constructions) are the functions which show the greatest constructional variety.

Two rarely described categories of vocabulary which are addressed in this thesis are ideophones and terms adults use when talking to children. Denjongke ideophones are a semantically, phonologically and morphologically distinct set of words which provide vivid descriptions of sensory experiences. Nonnormative ideophones associate a sequence of phonemes (ClaC2.CloC2) 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.
A descriptive grammar of Denjongke

Descriptive grammar (standard)

Prescriptive grammar (norm)

Foreword in Denjongke

A descriptive grammar of Denjongke

Descriptive

Prescriptive

Grammar

Grammar
ཤི་ཚར་བོ་ལས་ [eitsarbole] > ཞི་ཚུབ་ལས་ [eitsuble]
གུགས་དོན [p’jasö.bodâ:] > གུགས་དོན [p’jasomdâ:]
ཐོང་ཐོོŋ [t’o:teka] > ཐོང་ [t’o:tea]
ཤུགས་ཁིམ་བལྟོག [p’jazenduke] > ཤུགས་ཁིམ་བལྟོག [p’jazyngê] (Tashiding)

ཞེས་བའི་་ཞི་བོས་སོང་བོ་དང་ རྩུས་སོང་མ་དང་ རྩུས་བཞིན་ རྩུས་བཞིན་འདུག་ཀེ་ རྩུས་བཞིན་གེ་ (Tashiding)

དེབ་ འདི་ལོ་འཛམ་བུ་གིང་གི་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ ལོ་སྐད་ ལབ་མཁན་ ལོ་པོ་ཙའི་ ལོ་བོ་ཕྱུར་ཀུ་ལ་ཡོད་ སེ་ ཚ་གོ་

བཅུག་ཀོའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ རྩུས་བོ་ དང་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀི་ སྒྲུབ་འབྲས་ བྲི་བའི་ སྒང་ ང་ལོ་ རོགས་རམ་ ལྷོང་ དང་ ཤེས་རབ་ གནང་མཁན་ ཡར་ དཀོན་མཆོག་ལོ་ ་ིང་ ་བྱ་ ་ཁུ་ ་ལོ་ བལོ་ ་དཀོན་ ་མཁན་ ཡར་ ་དཀོན་ ་མཆོག་ ་ལོ་ ་སིང་ ་ཐག་ ་ཀོ་ ་ལས་ ་ཐུགས་ ་རེ་ ་ཆེ་ ་ཕུལ་

དེབ་ འདིའི་ དོན་ལོ་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་

( Juha Yliniemi)
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1 Introduction

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

1.1 The language and the people

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

1.1.1 Name of the language

The language which is the subject of this thesis has four main names none of which are without problems: Denjongke, Lhoke, Bhutia and Sikkimese.\(^2\) The ISO 639-3 code for the language is ‘sip’, while the glottocode (see glottolog.org) is ‘sikk1242’. The name Denjongke /dɛndʒəŋkɛ/\(^3\) (འབྲས་ལྔོངས་སྐད་ ‘bras-ljongs-skad’ ‘the language of Sikkim’) is chosen as the main title because it is probably the least problematic. The word dendzɔː, 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, keʔ, 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 “Dên-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 ཡབས་ལྔོངས་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 /d/, 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.
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). According to their traditional lore, the Lhophos started to spread to Sikkim and Ha through Chumbi valley (Balikci 2008: 68-70). The Tibetic variety spoken in Sikkim is indeed to a great degree intelligible with the Tibetic varieties of the Chumbi and Ha. However, as the data presented in this thesis were gathered in Sikkim, the geopolitically based term Denjongke, ‘language of Sikkim’, is descriptive of the data.

Another name for the language is Lhoke (བོད་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, along with his notes on verb forms and historical phonology, indeed give preliminary evidence that the Tibetic variety

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4 The language spoken in Chumbi is in Lachung (North Sikkim) called *te’umbo: ke*? (གཡུང་བའི་ 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.
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 *ə* vs *ø*: so that only *ø*: is used. The same feature also
spoken in the Chumbi valley could be linguistically considered to be the same language or part of the same dialectal continuum as Denjongke.

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

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

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. pjia) whereas Central Tibetan exemplifies a merged pronunciation (e.g. tɕi). 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. ṭa ‘hair’ (Central Tibetan, r causes retroflexivization).

Throughout the thesis, WD refers to written Denjongke and WT to Written Tibetan.
name for Dzongkha. Moreover, Genetti (1986: 387) lists “Lhoke” as a Western Bodic
language, separate from the South Bodish language “Danjongka” (most likely referring to the
same language as Denjongke here). Walsh also lists (1905: 4) “Lho-yū” as the “Sikhimese”
and “Tromowo”10 word for Bhutan, in constrast to the Tibetan word བུད་ཡུལ་ ‘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”11 is an alternative name for “Lhomi” (Nepal,
Vesalainen [2016: 2]), and “Lhoke” and “Loket” are given as alternative names for “Lhowa”
(Nepal, the Ethnologue [Simons & Fennig 2017]).

Within Sikkim, the typically used exonym for Denjongke, when speaking either English or
Nepali, is Bhutia/Bhotia (Nepali भोटिया bhoṭiā/bhoṭiā).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 bhot ‘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 unifying 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
“Bhotia”, 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

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

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10 Tibetic variety spoken in the Chumbi valley (of China) situated between Sikkim and Bhutan.
11 I once heard a Lhomi speaker refer to his language as [l̥okɛʔ].
12 The Census of India 2011 reports that there are 229,954 speakers of “Bhotia” in India and lists
speakers in all the Indian states except Jharkhand, Odisha and Telangana. States with more than a thousand “Bhotia”
speakers are Jammu and Kashmir (107451), Arunachal Pradesh (62458), Sikkim (41889), Uttarkand (9287), West Bengal
(4293) and Himachal Pradesh (12). 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.
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 “Bhotia” language, she
retorted, “Which Bhutia? There are many Bhutias.” It turned out that the lady was a Sherpa, a member of a
smaller “Bhutia” group, who may be wary of others “hijacking” their identity term.
In addition to the four terms mentioned above, the highlanders of Lachung call their own language jàːkɛʔ (WD ཡར་སྐད་) ‘up(ber) language’ and the Denjongke varieties spoken in lower altitudes màːkɛʔ (WD མར་སྐད་) ‘low(er) language’.

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

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

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

Table 1.1. Summary of language names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of language</th>
<th>Brief description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denjongke [dɛndʒɔŋkɛʔ]</td>
<td>‘language of Sikkim’ Pan-Tibetan endonym geopolitically limited to Sikkim (used when speaking Tibetan and Denjongke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhoke [lokeʔ]</td>
<td>‘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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhutia [bʰutia/bʰotia]</td>
<td>‘person or language related to Tibet’ Term used with non-Tibetic language communities in Sikkim (used when speaking Nepali and English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkimese</td>
<td>‘language of Sikkim’ Anglo-centric somewhat obsolete and politically incorrect endonym (used to be used when speaking English)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language name</th>
<th>Speaker name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denjongke</td>
<td>Denjongpo/Denjongpa (lit. ‘Sikkim-dweller’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhoke</td>
<td>Lhopo (‘southener’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhutia</td>
<td>Bhutia (‘person/people of Tibetan origin’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkimese</td>
<td>Sikkimese (obsolete as a reference to Denjongke/Denjongpos only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Establishing the number of Denjongke speakers is complicated by at least four factors. The first is that competence in Denjongke and ethnic identity associated with the language coincide to a diminishing degree, i.e. increasing numbers of Denjongpos, especially among children and young people, do not speak Denjongke. The State Socio-Economic Census of 2006 (as cited in Tsichudarpo 2018: 46) lists 49,837 ethnic Bhutias (presumably meaning “Denjongpos”), comprising 8.57% of the population of Sikkim. However, the speakers of the language are much fewer than those who identify with the group ethnically.

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

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17 A similar result was reported for Lepchas and Limbus, which were both more often referred to as the mother tongue (6% and 4% respectively) than as a language of spoken competence (5% and 3% respectively).
Shafer’s (1955) language names present some difficulty because four terms (those in bold above) could potentially refer to the subject of the present study, two of them listed as Central Bodish and two as South Bodish languages. However, considering Shafer’s (1955: 101) criteria of distinguishing Central Bodish from South Bodish (“[c]haracterized by the shift of [WT] -r- to -y-”) it becomes clear that the language described in this thesis is identified as Sikkimese and/or Dandźongka of the South Bodish unit in Shafer’s work. The terms “Lhoskad (Lhoke)” and “Sikkim” under Central Tibetan remain somewhat mysterious. The term “Dandźongka” may refer to the same language as Sikkimese, or it may represent another Tibetic variety, possibly Dzongkha. According to Bradley’s (2002: 75) grouping, Denjongke is a Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibetan/Bodic language, see Figure 1.2. Bradley’s Western Tibetan corresponds, in his own words, “mainly to Shafer’s Bodic group” (2002: 75).

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

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 རོ་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 =eo and also provides a glossed text sample from Bhaichung Tschudarpo’s novel Richhi (an edited version of which can be found in Appendix 1). Yliniemi (2017) describes Denjongke copulas and evidentiality (chapter 7 of the present thesis is an updated version of Yliniemi 2017).

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

1.1.5 Origins of the people

In terms of modern historical research, the origins of the Sikkimese Denjongpos/Lhapos 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 བྲེལ་ཁམས་པ་ Mdo-khams-pa may refer to origin in Amdo and Kham areas of Tibet (Mullard 2011: 206).

The most famous story of origin describes the descent of twelve prestigious Tibeto-Sikkimese tribes. A detailed account of their migration narrative is given in Mullard (2011: 36). This paragraph presents a brief summary. According to oral history, the twelve tribes are descended from Prince Guru Tashi, who started migrating southwards from the Kham Minyak region in Tibet in the 13th century. Guru Tashi’s son Gye Bumsa (WD དགའ་བུམ་གསགས་ gyad-'bum-gsags [kʼ e 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

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

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

Denjongpos have historically had a close relationship with the Lepchas. This relationship is said to originate from Gye Bumsa’s time. After receiving a male heir, Gye Bumsa returned grateful to Sikkim and made an alliance with the Lepcha bongthing Thekongtek. In the accompanying ritual the territorial deities of Sikkim, the most formidable of these the mountain Kangchendzönga, were invoked as witnesses of the covenant. This alliance is still annually commemorated in the Pang Lhabsol ritual (‘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 nam-rgyal) who reigned 1642-167021 (Mullard 2011: 5). In Denjongke and Tibetan, this agreement is known as lho mon tsong gsum /lo mɛ̀n tsɔː súm/ ‘Lhopo Lepcha 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.

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 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 and then extensively by Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo, both as Text Book Officers of the Government of Sikkim.

More recently, other types of literature have appeared. In 1996, Bhaichung Tsichudarro published the first Denjongke novel called richhi ‘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

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

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 དབོ་ལྟའི་བསྟན་ལྔོངས་ (da-lto’i ’bras-ljongs ‘Sikkim today’), which is a four-page compendium of news translated from English. This newspaper was published 1993-2008. After a silence of 10 years, the first new issue is expected to be released in the autumn 2018.

Currently, the Bhutia Language Website Development Committee (བོད་ལྟ་ཊི་ཡ་སྐད་རིགས་ལན་ཚོགས་) is preparing for the launching of a website which describes the Denjongke/Bhutia language and the culture of the people who speak it. The internet-address of the website will be www.hellobhutia.com.

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

1.1.7 Religion

According to the State Socio-Economic Census 2006 (as cited in Tsichudarpo 2018:46), the great majority (97.79%) of Denjongke speakers are Tibetan Buddhist. Other religions having adherents among the community are Christianity (1.19%), Hinduism (1 %) and Islam (0.02%). The main sects of Tibetan Buddhism followed in Sikkim are Nyingmapa and Kagyu, which are distinct from the Gelukpa sect led by the Dalai Lama.

Sikkim is known in Denjongke and Tibetan as བཞི རྒྱལ་བུ (sders rgyal bu) ‘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. Moreover, Sikkim is viewed by many Denjongpos as a paradise on earth whose fate foretells the fate of the whole world (Captain Yongda 2016). For a more detailed description of religion among the Denjongpos, refer especially to Balikci (2008) but also to Yliniemi (2018).

1.1.8 The honorific system and social relations

Similarly to many other Tibetic languages, Denjongke uses an honorific system to give linguistic expression to social hierarchy. A central feature of the honorific system is the division of many nouns, personal pronouns and verbs into two groups, the “ordinary” words known as ciṅke? རིག་ ’language of the simple’ or p(l)ke? རིག་ ’common speech’ and the honorific words known as ci:so རི་ ‘honorific’. 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

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.
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) སྒོད་ག་ དབུ།?
    teːøʔ  k’aː  gjuʔ?
2SG.L where go
‘Where are you going?’

(1.2) ཤོག་གནོད་ ཁྱུན་ དབྱུད་ (དབལ་)
    lɛŋɡèʔ  k’ana  te’om-bo  nāː:-do  (bo)?
PRN.HON where go.HON-2INF do.HON-IPFV (EQU,NE,Q)
‘Where are you going?’

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

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

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

http://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status (consulted 13 Feb 2018)
description: “The child-bearng 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Safe</th>
<th>Language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely endangered</td>
<td>Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severely endangered</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critically endangered</td>
<td>The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extinct</td>
<td>There are no speakers left</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 བྱ༹ སྐལ་ b’yakay /p’jake:/ ‘chicken-bringing’25) was released. Currently, the Bhutia Literary Association (BLA) is preparing web site, which contains cultural and linguistic information about the Denjongpos and Denjongke.

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

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

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

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

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

Denjongke has a rich array of simple and complex copulas which mark the basic evidential distinctions of personal, sensorial and neutral. The copulas also mark evidentiality as auxiliaries in periphrastic constructions with various tense, aspect and modal values. The use of personal evidentials is more semantic and less restricted by the requirement for the 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 thesis. I begin by outlining which language varieties are covered by the present research (§1.2.1). The theoretical background is then addressed in §1.2.2 and the types of spoken and written data in §1.2.3. This is followed by a discussion on methodology and software (§1.2.4) and technical descriptions of equipment used in recording (§1.2.5). Section §1.2.6 introduces conventions used in linguistic examples. The following section §1.2.7 gives details of choices made in using the Denjongke script. Conventions of transliteration are introduced in §1.2.8. The last section §1.2.9 describes how the data and discussion are organized in the remaining chapters.

#### 1.2.1 Dialects and the language described here

As far as I understand, Denjongke varieties spoken all over Sikkim are mutually fairly easily understandable, although some variance occurs in phonology and lexicon. As an example of difference in the phoneme inventory, the consultant from Ralang (West Sikkim) merges /z/ and /dz/ into one phoneme /dz/. As another example of a merger, /ãː/ and /õː/, which are distinguished in West Sikkim merge into /õː/ in the East and the North. These features signal the geographic area the speaker comes from but are not, to my knowledge, functionally of much import, because the resulting homonymy is rare. A conspicuous morphological point of
variance is the conditional marker, which is /no/ or /nu/ in East and North Sikkim but /ne/ in 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.

Table 1.4. Some linguistic differences between Tashiding and Lachung

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Tashiding</th>
<th>Lachung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘after’</td>
<td>gjaIÓN</td>
<td>cY:le (same as in Dzongkha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘flower’</td>
<td>m Jongdo?</td>
<td>m:to? (Central Tibetan pronunciation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tradition’</td>
<td>lükso:</td>
<td>lükso/:lökso:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘coral’</td>
<td>p’jurdo</td>
<td>teuru (Central Tibetan pronunciation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other morpheme

|plural   | =tsu       | =tso (Central Tibetan pronunciation ) |
|         |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 jão:ke? བོན་ཡར་སྐད་ ‘language of the highlands’, which is the description of some Lachenpas and Lachungpas of their own language, but må:ke? སྐྱོར་ཡར་སྐད་‘language of the lowlands’, a word used by some higlanders of those living at lower altitudes and in more southern locations.27

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/ ( nga 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

28 For a defense of the monolingual method, see Everett (2001).
and KT) were competent in English. Some of the language material of the ongoing descriptive project of Denjongke will be archived, (preliminarily in FINCLARIN’s language bank). The following types of spoken data have been used in the analysis and examples:

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

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

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

Table 1.5. Consultants and types of data

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

29 https://kitwiki.csc.fi/twiki/bin/view/FinCLARIN/KielipankkiFrontpage
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/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JDF</td>
<td>m. 40+</td>
<td>Tashiding</td>
<td>Axe story; famous pedagogic story of a farmer who lost an axe and regained it with the help of a water-god (3:52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JDG</td>
<td>m. 70+</td>
<td>Tashiding</td>
<td>Field notes of unrecorded elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAB</td>
<td>m. 30+</td>
<td>Tashiding</td>
<td>BLA 7, recorded formal talk in a meeting (28:54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NB</td>
<td>m. 30+</td>
<td>Tashiding</td>
<td>Recordings of elicitation sessions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| PAD   | m. ? | Tashiding | 1) Bet story; a story sent in a whatsapp group about a bet between a crafty peddler and an intelligent farmer (17:10)  
2) Tashiding story; story of one clan living in Tashiding (3:00) |
| PED   | f. 30+ | Tashiding | Life story (16:21) |
| PT    | m. 30+ | Tashiding | Kitchen discussion, free discussion between up to six people (three recordings altogether 1:44:09) |
| PTA   | f. 60+ | Tashiding | Kitchen discussion, see PT |
| PTM   | f. 60+ | Tashiding | Kitchen discussion, see PT |
| PTW   | f. 30+ | Tashiding | Kitchen discussion, see PT |
| RB    | m. 20+ | Tashiding | 1) Pear story (1:50)  
2) Butcher story (2:04) |
| RBM   | f. 60+ | Tashiding | 1) Roof discussion; free discussion between four relatives on the roof (4:34)  
2) Story of my son (1:27) |
| RS    | m 60+ | Tashiding | 1) Driver joke (2:38)  
2) Pupil joke (3:00)  
3) Language situation; monologue on the language situation from Denjongpo perspective (14:12)  
4) Bee story; a story on a competition between a bumble bee and balsam flower (3:24)  
5) Song intro; recording of a song with introduction (4:38)  
6) (In)auspicious days; an exposition on astrology (15:07)  
7) Intro to duetto; recording of a song with introduction (4:38)  
8) Animal song intro; recording of a song with introduction (8:32)  
9) On songs; introduction to types of songs in general (2:00) |
| SM    | m. 50+ | Tashiding | Kitchen discussion, see under PT |
| SN    | f. 50+ | Tashiding | Kitchen discussion, see under PT |
| UT    | m. 30+ | Tashiding | 1) Recorded elicitation session  
2) Proverb; recorded proverbs with explanations  
3) Riddle; recorded riddles with explanations |
| UTR   | m. 20+ | Tashiding | Plains story; personal story of living in the plains of India (6:57) |
| UU    | m. 40+ | Tashiding | Deer story; folkstory of a deer, given fully in the appendix (1:36) |
| YB    | m. 20+ | Tashiding | Restaurant discussion; recorded discussion of several people in a restaurant (including the author) |
| TB    | m. 40+ | Ralang | 1) Story of two bulls (2:33)  
2) Story of the Buddha (1:43)  
3) Phone call; telephone conversation with a brother who |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td>m. 30+</td>
<td>Barapathing</td>
<td>BB discussion, see KL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBP</td>
<td>m. 70+</td>
<td>Barapathing</td>
<td>BB discussion, see KL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP</td>
<td>m. 30+</td>
<td>Barapathing</td>
<td>BB discussion, see KL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KL</td>
<td>m. 40+</td>
<td>Barapathing</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KT</td>
<td>m. 60+</td>
<td>Bermeok</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YR</td>
<td>m. 40+</td>
<td>Kewsing</td>
<td>1) Canteen video; pedagogical exposition prompted by questions (22:24) 2) Boys’ and girls’ clothing; an exposition prompted by a question (3:26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CY</td>
<td>m. 70+</td>
<td>Pemayantse</td>
<td>1) Structured video interview conducted by KN (1:20:17) 2) Monologue before interview (12:58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGD</td>
<td>m. 50+</td>
<td>Barphung</td>
<td>1) Monologue exposition of wedding customs (28:19) 2) Cave story; story of Sikkimese caves (5:21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>m. ?</td>
<td>Martam</td>
<td>Kitchen discussion, see KN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KN</td>
<td>m. 20+</td>
<td>Martam</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNA</td>
<td>m. 70+</td>
<td>Martam</td>
<td>Kitchen discussion, see KN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNM</td>
<td>f. 60+</td>
<td>Martam</td>
<td>Kitchen discussion, see KN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNU</td>
<td>m. ?</td>
<td>Martam</td>
<td>Kitchen discussion, see KN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT</td>
<td>m. 30+</td>
<td>Martam</td>
<td>Kitchen discussion, see KN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DR</td>
<td>m. 70+</td>
<td>Phodong</td>
<td>Discussion with KL, a free discussion between two people (33:45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUN</td>
<td>m. 30+</td>
<td>Lachung</td>
<td>Recorded elicitation session (1:43:18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>f. 60+</td>
<td>Lachung</td>
<td>1) Intro to Lachung; a monologue which introduces life in the northern village of Lachung (5:07)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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) |
1.2.3.2 Literary data

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

Works by Bhaichung Tsichudarpo (WD བྷའི་ཅུང་ཚེས་བཅུ་དར་པོ bha ’i-cung tshes -bcu-dar-po):

2) A play called རྣམ་རྨོག ཉ བོ tnam -rtog /námtoʔ/ ‘superstition’, 42 pages, see Tsichudarpo (1997).

Work by Karma Lobsang Bhutia (ཀརྨ་ བྔོ་བཟང་བྷོའི་ yak-mar blo-bzang bho-Ti-ya):


31 This is the first and, thus far, the only Denjongke novel.
Work by Sonam Gyatso Dokhangba (བསྔོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་རྔོ་ཁང་བྔོ་ bsod-nams rgya-mtsho rdo-khang-bo):

7) A description of Denjongpo marriage customs བསར་ཕུང་ལིང་དམ་འགྔོ་ལིས་ sbar-phung ling-dam 'gro-lis /barpʰuŋ lîŋdam dölï/ ‘the custom of Barfung-Lingdam’ (English name: Sikkimese marriage custom and rites), 143 pages, see Dokhangba (2001). In example clauses this work is referred to simply as sbar-phung.

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


A “compilation” by Tshering Thendup Bhutia བཞི་རིང་དྔོན་གྲུབ་ 'bras-ljongs '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 བཀྲ་ཤིས་འབྲས་ལྔོངས་པྔོ bkra-shis 'bras-ljong-po), Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo (WD པད་མ་རིག་འཛིན་སྟག་ཅུང་དར་པྔོ pad-ma rig-'dzin stag-cung-dar-po) and Bhaichung Tsichudarpo (WD ང་ལྡོ་ཅུང་ཚེས་བཅུ་ 'da-lto'i 'bras-ljong 'bha'i-cung tshes-beu-dar-po):

13) Annual magazine of the newspaper ད་ལྟའི་འབྲས་ལྔོངས་ 'Sikkim today’) from year 2003.

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

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

32 I do not know whether the compilers resort to already existing sources in Denjongke, translate from existing Tibetan materials or compose themselves.
At an initial stage of research, i.e. during my MA-thesis writing, I used the Toolbox software for storing data. Later, during my PhD research, I shifted to FieldWorks Language Explorer –software, which among other things enables lexicon building, text collection, interlinearization and concordance searches of the data, the last of which proved particularly helpful for this thesis. I first collected elicited data, partly for language learning, and then moved to collecting natural data from various genres of speech. The first recordings were short stories. Later, other types of spoken data were added. The main task was transcribing and translating texts with native speakers. After having acquired some competence in the language, I was myself able to do the initial transcription, which was then checked and supplemented with native speakers. In addition to working with transcribed texts, I listened to untranscribed recordings to spot various constructions and morphemes.

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

1.2.5 Equipment

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

1.2.6 Linguistic examples

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

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

(1.3) ཉ་རུང་ ང་ཅའི་ཀི་ university (Eng.)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{t‘aruŋ nət奋战 juniv}:s\text{iti lep ma-tsʰu-kʰen be:\ }} \\
&\text{still 1PL.Gen=Gen university(Eng.) arrive NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE} \\
&\text{ná.} \\
&\text{TAG.ASR} \\
&\text{‘(It) hasn’t yet been able to reach our university (level), I tell you.’ (DR discussion with KL) }
\end{align*}
\]

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

---

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.
word, see (1.4), where the Nepali word *pani* ‘also’ is adapted to Denjongke pronunciation as *pun* in (1.4). Morphemess addressed in the discussion are typically given in bold, see *pun* in (1.4).

(1.4) འྲིས་ཐོབ་ཀྱིཝ་དྲུག་པོ་ (Nep.) ལྷེ་རྩེའི་

\[\text{ātsi ro:ram } \text{pun } p\text{'ja-ɛ=lo}=ki\]

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) *juniv:siiti* 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) འཁྲུག་སྨྲུལ་ཀྱིཝ་འབྲུག་

\[\text{sà-tsʰa } \text{du-}\text{ke } pʰ	ext{ka.}
\]

eat-CMPL SEN-IN half

‘(It) has eaten half (I saw).’ (PL interview)

(1.6) བདེན་འཇཱི་ཟླ་ཤེད་མ་བྱུས་བྱེ་ིཝ་

\[\text{tʰɛp}=\text{di } \text{kʰ:teʰɛ}: \text{ma-jà-ge } \text{lāp-o } \text{i}.
\]

book=DEMPH expensive NEG-DO-HORT say-2INF EQU.PER

‘Let’s not make (the price of) the book expensive, I said.’ (KL BLA 12)

1.2.7 Written Denjongke

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

1.2.7.1 Introduction to written Denjongke

The most important WD innovation to the Tibetan writing system is the application of the *tsha-lag* སྙིང་ཧོང་ (as *‘ in §) to letters with which it cannot occur in Classical Tibetan. One reason for this innovation was that some of the historical labial-palatal sequences, for instance /pj/ and /mj/, which in Lhasa Tibetan have merged into /tɕ/ and /ɲ/ respectively, are in Denjongke pronounced as sequences /pj/ /mj/ and written ʈ and ɲ 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 Krishna, and /pr/, as in Pradhan, are now written as ʈ and ɲ respectively because ʈ and ɲ without a *tsha-lag* are pronounced as a retroflex /ʈ/. Another innovation in WD is word-breaks (see any example clause). The non-standardized character of the written language is also seen

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 *pani*, 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 =jãːki.

35 *ki* is a loan from Nepali, see §16.2.3.

36 Also known as སྣ་རགས་སྲིང་ཧོང་ sgra-rtags tsha-lag.
in that some words are spelled in various ways by different authors, and sometimes by the same author, e.g. བཤེགས་, བཤེགས་ and བཤེགས་ for lēm ‘good’.37

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

1.2.7.2 Word breaks

Monosyllabic clause-medial clitics =jâ: ‘too, even’, =râ: (anaphoric emphatic), =to (contrastive emphatic) and clause-final clitics eo (attention marker), lat(‘) (honofific), =se/si (quotative), =lo (reportative) are written together with the word they follow, e.g. ར་ =nâ: ‘I too’. An exception is the demonstrative-emphatic clitic =di, which is, following the novel Richhi, written separately. The reason why =di/=di is written separately by Tsichudarpo and other authors is probably that the demonstrative uses, which would naturally occur with a word-break, are not always easy to tell apart from emphatic cliticized uses. Cliticized monosyllabic postpositions are written together with the previous word, while disyllabic longer versions are written separately, དི་==sãː ‘until home/house’, དི་==tsa ‘at home/house’. Serialized verbs are written separately, e.g. སེ་ བོ་ ‘is doing (lit. carry come-NF)’. Interrogative copulas ར་/ར་ ‘is doing (hon.)’.

Similarly to Tsichudarpo, double case marking, or case stacking, is written together, e.g. locative following a genitive བི་==na ‘in the mouth’ (occurs also as simply locative བི་==na). Serialized verbs are written separately, e.g. བོ་ སྟེ་ ཙ་ ‘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

37 According to an emerging standard, the correct spelling at present is བཤེགས་ which retains the etymological connection to the related form བཤེགས་ ‘(be) good’.
dropped in some constructions, e.g. *kjap-to (=ib/ib?) ‘is doing’, *kjap-o (=ib/ib?) ‘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).

1.2.7.3 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 be?) or to VERB-m (with verbs ending in a the velar nasal and followed by the equative be? or ì?). The abbreviated form is represented in an experimental way in the Denjongke script by omitting vowel marking from the infinitive marker -po and representing the consonant value (either -b or -m) in the previous syllable (changing བ་ into ས་ because བ་ does not occur syllable-finally), e.g. ལཁ་ བ་ འཕགས་པ་ ‘killed’ vs. ལཁ་ བ་ འཕགས་པ་ ‘killed’, ལཁ་ བ་ འཕགས་པ་ vs. ལཁ་ བ་ འཕགས་པ་ ‘did (hon.)’. Although I have not seen the abbreviated forms of verbs normalized by -po/bo in written Denjongke, the same orthographic principle is used in words such as tsim རེདམ་ ‘game’ (Richhi 37) and p’usim གྲུ་སིངམ་ ‘younger sister’ (Richhi 142) to show the historical origin of the word.

1.2.7.4 Phonological writing

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

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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) གྲིམ་ན་ ལྔོག་ཚར་བྔོ་ ཨིན་ནམ? 
   \( kʰim=na \ lɔk-tsʰaː-bo \ in-nam? \) 
   house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER-ATTQ
   ‘I wonder whether (he) has returned home.’ (Richhi 24)

b) གྲིམ་ན་ ལྔོག་ཚོའུ་ ཨིན་ནམ? 
   \( kʰim=na \ lɔk-tsʰo-u \ ɲám? \) 
   house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER.ATTQ
   ‘I wonder whether (he) has returned home.’ (KN e)

The spelling innovations in (1.8b) are མེ་ instead of ཚར་ to represent colloquial pronunciation -tsʰou and ཨི instead of ཨིན་ to represent the colloquial pronunciation ɲám.

Another phonologically based innovation is to write the final syllable of many nouns as it is heard pronounced in Denjongke (-pu/bu) and not as it occurs in Written Tibetan (-po/bo), e.g. the word lǿmpu ‘minister’ is here written as བྨོན་པུ་ blon-pu rather than as བྨོན་པོ་ blon-po.39

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 ɲātei=gi [we.GEN=GEN] is represented as སྣ་ཅའི་ཀི་ nga-ca’i-ki, although in written language the simple genitival expression སྣ་ 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 ʼ, which occurs on bilabial and velar stops and bilabial nasals in written Denjongke but not in Tibetan, is represented by an inverted apostrophe ʼ, e.g. མི རྒྱུལ་ རིག་ རྒྱུལ་ k’rak’rok ‘sound of

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39 However, if the word occurs in a written source, I follow the original spelling.
a dysfunctional body’. 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. མོང་‘finish’ vs. མོང་‘endure’; མ་ɲོང་‘sound of a dysfunctional body’ vs. བཀྲ་ཤིས་‘prosperity’.

Table 1.6. The Wylie system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>མ</th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>མ</th>
<th>kha</th>
<th>མ</th>
<th>ga</th>
<th>མ</th>
<th>nga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ས</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>nya</td>
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<tr>
<td>ས</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>tha</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ས</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>pha</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>ma</td>
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<td>ས</td>
<td>tsa</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>tsha</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>dza</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ས</td>
<td>zha</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>za</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>’a</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>ya</td>
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<td>ས</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>sha</td>
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<td>sa</td>
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<td>ས</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and postposition complement clauses) (§13), complement clauses (§14) and adverbial clauses (§15). Chapter 16 on discourse phenomena describes the use of discourse-oriented clitics, tags and particles and also addresses other discourse-related topics. Finally, §17 provides notes on vocabulary from some typologically and culturally interesting semantic domains.

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

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

2.1 Introduction

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

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

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

2.2 Consonants

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dento-alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alv.</th>
<th>Alv.-pal.</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plosive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;breathy&quot;</td>
<td>pʼ</td>
<td>tʼ</td>
<td>tʼ</td>
<td>kʼ</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>t će</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>t će</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>Z</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;breathy&quot;</td>
<td>tsʼ</td>
<td>t će</td>
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<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
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<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>c</td>
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<td>h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>z</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n̥</td>
<td>n̥</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>m̥</td>
<td>n̥</td>
<td>n̥</td>
<td>n̥</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>l̥</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rhotic</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>r̥</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Central approximant</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

All consonants, except the glottal /ʔ/, occur word-initially\(^{41}\). 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/ 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.\(^{42}\) 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.\(^{43}\) The prominence of aspiration, however, is diminished word-medially. Many words which alone have an aspirated initial are as second member of a compound pronounced as unaspirated or with reduced aspiration. Nevertheless, one can still hear word-medial aspirates, especially in words pronounced in isolation. There may be dialectal variation in the

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\(^{41}\) The glottal stop, however, occurs word-initially phonetically.

\(^{42}\) Similarly Watters (2002) on five other Tibetic languages spoken in the Southern Himalayas.

\(^{43}\) The slightly aspirated breathy consonants become voiced word-medially, e.g. /uʔ/ ‘six’, /tʔuɾu/ [tʰuɾu] ‘sixteen’ (lit. ‘ten-six’).
realization of word-medial aspiration. For instance, the word /kʰatʰuʔ/ ‘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 kʼɛːtɕɛː and kʼɛːtɕʰɛː, both meaning ‘important’ but using different adjectivizing suffixes.

Figure 2.1. Wave forms from kʼɛːtɕɛː (top) and kʼɛːtɕʰɛː (bottom)

In word-final position, only the voiceless unaspirated /p/, /k/ and /ʔ/ occur, /p/ mostly realized as unreleased [p’] 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. /kʰedi/ [kʰɛ̃di] mkhal-ril ‘kidney’, /pʼõːbu/ [pʼo ̃̀ːβʊ] 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/ 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 [ⁿgok] is voiced throughout, but the second word, written here as [gkə], has a period of weak voicing (shown by the wave form and pitch) followed by a voiceless release. Watters (2002: 4) reports similar “prevoiced” stops in Sherpa (Solu Khumbu) and other Tibetic languages.
Plosives and affricates are now presented according to the place of articulation beginning from bilabial and moving backwards in the articulatory tract. Description of phonemes and allophones is followed by minimal/analogous sets, which illustrate that the sounds in question differentiate meaning. Plosives and affricates do not usually occur as geminates. The exceptions are mentioned in the discussion below.

**Bilabial plosives**


/pʼ/ voiceless unreleased bilabial plosive; utterance-finally: /hap/ [ʰe̞p] ‘bark (v.)’, /iːp/ [iːpʰ] ‘hide (intr.)’


/φ/ voiceless bilabial fricative; inter-vocally with some speakers: /dʒpʰuʔ? [dʒuːpʰʔ] (RB)~[dʒʰkʰpʰuʔ?] ʒʰ ‘cave’


/β/ voiced bilabial fricative; inter-vocally preceding vowels other than /a/, in variation with /b/: /pʼɔːbu/ [pʼɔːbʊ]~[pʼɔːbʊ] ʒʰ ‘donkey’, /rйте/ [ʔɪjɪʔe] ʒʰ ‘tortoise’

/w/ voiced labio-velar approximant; inter-vocally preceding /a/: /tʼiba/ [tʼiːbʊ] ʒʰ ‘question’, /nába/ [næbʊ] ʒʰ ‘hell’ 44; the nominalizer /-po~bo/ is intervocally variously realized as [-bo~βo~wo].


/pʰu/ ʒʰ ‘skin hair’ /pjak/ ʒʰ ‘peel’ /pa:/ ʒʰ ‘kindle’

/pʰu/ ʒʰ ‘blow’ /pjak/ ʒʰ ‘sweep’ /pʰaː/ ʒʰ ‘expand’

/bu/ ʒʰ ‘middle’ /bjak/ ʒʰ ‘come close’ /ba/ ʒʰ ‘hide’

/pʼu/ ʒʰ ‘boy’ /pʼjaʔ/ ʒʰ ‘rock’ /pʼaː/ ʒʰ ‘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 beʔ (-po beʔ) merges into -bbeʔ, e.g. jø-po beʔ (WD བི་བེ་ yod-po sbad) > jebbəʔ (WD བི་བེ་ yodb-sbad).

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44 Although [w] can be shown to be an allophone of /b/, the transcription in example clauses follows a more phonetic writing tʼiwa ‘question’ and jìwa ‘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/, /t'/ /t', which are alveolar).


[tʃ] voiceless dental fricative; word-medially, with some speakers: /tʰaːtʰaʔ/ [tʰɐ́ːθɐʔ] ཐ་ཏག་ ‘back of neck’


/tsʼ/ [tsʼ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated dento-alveolar laminal affricate followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /tsʼa/ [tsʼɐ́] ‘make-up’

/tsa/ .POS ‘vein’

/tsʰa/ .POS ‘salt’

/dza/ སྜྷ ‘rainbow’ (also /dza/ [TB] and /za/ [RB])

/tsʼa/ .POS ‘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.

[r] voiced alveolar flap; inter-vocally in /teuqup/ [teuqup] རྡོང་ ‘sixteen’, and also in /da beʔ/ རྡ་ ‘abbreviated to /dɛ/ [dɛː]–[rɛː] རྡ་ ‘to be similar’.
/t̺/ [t̺] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated postalveolar apical plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /t̺uʔ/ [t̺uʔ] ལྷ ‘six’, /t̺o:pa/ [t̺o:pa] བར ‘morning’
/tak/ རེ་ ‘(be) hard’
/tʰap/ རེ་ ‘act’
/qak/ རེ་ ‘join’
/tʰak/ རེ་ ‘get well’

Alveolo-palatal affricates
/ʈʰ/ [ʈʰ] voiceless aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and medially: /ʈʰaʔ/ [ʈʰaʔ] ལྷ ‘hand (h.)’, /tsʰatʃu/ [tsʰatʃu] ལྷ ‘hot spring’
/ʈʰ/ [ʈʰ] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate followed by breathy voice; word-initially /ʈʰaʔ/ [ʈʰaʔ] ལྷ ‘tea’, /ʈʰum/ [ʈʰum] ལྷ ‘lady, madam’
/z/ [ʐ] voiced alveolo-palatal fricative; inter-vocally: /sőtʃə/ [sőtʃə] ོ། ‘tea (hon.)’

Velar stops
The sequence [velar stop] + /j/ does not occur preceding front vowels /i/, /e/, /e/ /y/ and /o/. 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].

[c] voiceless unaspirated palatal plosive; word-initially and medially following /j/ and /i/: /kjojju/ [cjojju?] ɣbā ɣbā ‘crooked’, /kJuʔ/ [cjuʔ?] ɣbā ɣbā ‘vomit’, /ki/ [ci] ɣbā ɣbā ‘be born’


/g/  [g] voiced velar plosive; word-initially, word-medially in other contexts than intervocally: /ga/ [gə] ɣbā ‘gazette’, /kʰ występ/ [kʰすこと] ɣbā ɣbā ‘you (h.)’


/k'/  [k'] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated velar plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /k'an/ [k'ən] ɣbā ɣbā ‘what’, /k'olaʔ/ [k'əlaʔ] ɣbā ɣbā ‘clothes’

[c'] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated palatal plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially following /j/ and /i/: /k'ʃoː/ [k'ʃoː] ɣbā ɣbā ‘village’, /k'iː/ [c'iː] ɣbā ɣbā ‘(big) knife’

/keː/  [keː] ‘bring’

/ka/  [ka] ɣbā ɣbā ‘order’

/kom/  [kom] ɣbā ɣbā ‘thirst’

/kʰeː/  [kʰeː] ‘tax’

/kʰa/  [kʰa] ɣbā ɣbā ‘mouth’

/kʰom/  [kʰom] ɣbā ɣbā ‘dry (intr.)’

/geː/  [geː] ‘cross’

/ga/  [ga] ɣbā ɣbā ‘ginger’

/gom/  [gom] ɣbā ɣbā ‘door’

/kʰeː/  [kʰeː] ‘separate’

/k'ə/  [k'ə] ɣbā ɣbā ‘what, where’

/k'om/  [k'om] ɣbā ɣbā ‘gain experience’

The velar stop does not typically occur as a geminate although my data has two exceptions, t'ukky (CY)/t'ukke (PT) ‘fixed, not moving’ and te'ukke?’ ‘Nepali language’ (CY).46

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

/kʰʔ/  [kʰʔ] ɣbā ɣbā ‘difference’

/kʰek/  [kʰek]~[kʰʔʔ] ɣbā ɣbā ‘freeze’

/kʰe/  [kʰe] ɣbā ɣbā ‘profit’

/tsʰʔ/  [tsʰʔʔ] ɣbā ɣbā ‘offering’

/kʰaʔ/ [kʰuʔ] ɣbā ɣbā ‘liquid, soup’

/tsʰo/  [tsʰo] ɣbā ɣbā ‘lake’

/kʰaʔ/ [kʰuʔ] ɣbā ɣbā ‘mouth’

45 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.”

46 Other consultants pronounced this word without gemination as te’ukke?.

47 Historically, the contrast between /ʔ/ [ʔ] and /k/ [k’]~[ʔ] derives from differing WT finals, WT -g > /k/ [k’]~[ʔ], WT -d /ʔ/ [ʔ], WT -s sometimes /ʔ/ [ʔ].
Word-initially, the glottal stop phonetically contrasts with the high register [h] and the low register [ʔ]. 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’.

/ám/ [ʔém] བསྒྲ ‘mother’
/háp/ [háp] བསྟག་ཏུ ‘to bark’
/â:m/ [ʔhê:m] བསྟག་ལུག་ ‘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. A glottal stop coda works analogously to long vowel codas in that it allows, unlike short syllables, a three-way contrast /iʔ/, /eʔ/, /eʔ/.

/dzeʔ/ [dzeʔ]~[dzeʔ]~[dzɛ] བསྟག་ ‘element’
/dzeʔ/ [dzeʔ]~[dzeʔ]~[dzɛ] བསྟག་ལུག་ ‘leprosy’
/ziʔ, (dziʔ) [ziʔ]~[ziʔ]~[zi] བསྟག་ལུག་ ‘leopard’

Within back vowels, the presence of a glottal stop, similarly to vowel length, raises vowel quality, e.g. /lò/ [lê] ‘year’ vs. /lôʔ/ [lôʔ] བསྟག་ལུག་ ‘light’ (vrt. /ko/ [kê] བསྟག་ ‘dig’ vs. /ko:/ [kô:] བསྟག་ ‘throw’) and /lu/ [lû] བསྟག་ ‘song’ vs. /lûʔ/ [lûʔ] བསྟག་ ‘sheep’ (vrt. /ku/ [kû] བསྟག་ ‘body’ vs. /ku:/ [kû:] བསྟག་ ‘ladle for pouring rice flour dough’). The same phenomena is also seen within different pronunciations of words with -kʔ variation at the coda: one consultant pronounced /gok/ བསྟག་ ‘to crawl’ both as [gâk] (F1 550 Hz) and as [gûʔ] (F1 400 Hz).

A phonetic glottal stop often occurs accompanying an utterance-fnal nasalized vowel, e.g. /sâŋ/ [sê:] བསྟག་ ‘incense’. At least in the speech of consultant TB, the glottal distinction between /tâʔ/ བསྟག་ ‘tiger’ and /ta/ ‘horse’ is neutralized when a case marker is added, i.e. /taʔ=lo/ [tê=lê] བསྟག་ ‘to the tiger’ and /ta/ [tê=lô] བསྟག་ ‘to the horse’ become indistinguishable.

2.2.1.2 Fricatives and central approximants

Denjongke has five fricatives /s, z, ʃ, z, h/ and one central approximant /j/. The voiceless fricatives /s, ʃ/ 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

48 In WT/WD, [ʔ], [h] and [ʕ] correspond to ʔ, ʂ, and ə respectively.
49 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”.
50 Similar observation on the interrelatedness of the glottal stop and length in Tibetan spoken in Nangchen has been made by Causenbaum (1989: 29).
51 Some of my consultants, such as TB from Ralang, systematically pronounce /z/ as /dz/, thus having one phoneme less than the others. I am uncertain whether the lack of /dz/ vs. /z/ distinction is compensated elsewhere in phonology.
initial [ʔ]. Low register initial vowels, on the other hand, have an intrinsic initial [ɦ], which does not contrast with other 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/ [sɔ] ི ‘tooth’, /p’usim/ [p’u̯sɪm] གིསྱི་ ‘younger sister’
/z/ [z] voiced alveolar grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /zo/ [zɔ] གྲ ‘make’, /kuzʔi/ [kúzʔi] ལྱུ་ ‘body (hon)’
/i/ [i] voiced palatal approximant; at least word-initially, in fast speech of some speakers: /zik/ [jik] ར་ ‘put’

/s/ vs. /z/ vs. /ɛ/ vs. /ɔ/
/só/ [sɔ]  ‘tooth’  /sə/ [sə]  ‘eat’
/zo/ [zɔ]  ‘make’  /za:/ [zə]  ‘day, planet’
/ɛo/ [ɛɔ]  ‘dice, gambling’  /cɑ/ [kɑ]  ‘meat’
/zɔ/ [zɔ]  ‘milk (v.)’  /(d)za/ [də]  ‘rainbow’

/s/ vs. /z/  /ɛ/ vs. /ɔ/
/sɪk/ [sɪk]  ‘shiver’  /cɛ/ [kɛ]  ‘know’
/zɪk/ [zɪk]  ‘leopard’  /zɛ/ [zɛ]  ‘have, eat (hon.)’

/j/ vs. /h/
/jáke/ [jækə]  ‘yak meat’
/hakca/ [hakca]  ‘quality of bad(ly cooked) rice’

/j/ vs. /h/ vs. /ʃ/ vs. /r/ vs. /z/ vs. /dʒ/ vs. /dʒ/ vs. /dʒ/ vs. /dʒ/
/jàː/ [jɛː]  ‘again’
/hàː/ [hɛː]  ‘squander’
/ɔː/ [ʃɛː]  ‘lie’
In the word-initial position, /h/ contrasts phonetically with high register prevocalic [ʔ] and the low-register pre-vocalic [ʃ] (see contrastive set under glottal stop).

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

2.2.1.3 Nasals

Denjongke has eight nasals, the voiced /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and the voiceless or preaspirated /n̥/ /ŋ/ /n̪/ /ŋ̪/. The voiceless set is more precisely defined as voiced preceded by voicelessness, [ŋm] [n̥n] [ŋ̪n] and [ŋ̪ŋ]. 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 /p/, which does not occur syllable or word-finally. The voiceless nasals occur only word-initially. There is no contrast between the velar and palatal nasals preceding front vowels; only the palata nasal occurs preceding front vowels. Word-final alveolar /n/ and velar /ŋ/ alternate with a long, nasalized vowel, e.g. /sön/ [sön]~[sɔː] ‘seed’, /tank/ [tɑːŋ]~[tɑː] ɐ́ɲ ’send’52. In continuous speech, nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant, e.g. /in-bo/53 [im-bo] ɐ̀ʃ ’EQU-2INF’.

When speaking fast, some speakers pronounce /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ as [j] and [ŋ] respectively.

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /mi/ [mì] .findViewById ‘human’, /dimiʔ/ [dimiʔ] ʃək ʃ ’key’, / âm/ [ʔɛm] ɾ ʃ ’mother’

/n/ [ŋ] voiced dento-alveolar (laminal) nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /nà/ [ŋː] ɾ ’here’, /zɛnup/ [zɛnup] ɾʃəkʃ ɾ ’three days ago’, /k’ân/ [k’ɛn] ʃ ɾ ’what’


/ŋ/ [ŋ] voiced dental nasal stop; word-initially, medially and finally: /ŋà/ [ŋɛ] ɾ ’I’, /lana/ [lɛŋ] ɾ ’pan’, /tàː/ or /tan/ [tɛn]~[tɛn] ɾ ’send’

/m̥/ [m̥] voiceless bilabial nasal stop: word-initially: /m̥a/ [m̥ː] ɾʃ ’down, low(er)’, /mɛːm/ [mɛːm]^54 ɾʃ ’young woman’


52 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.

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

54 Some pronounce the word [mɛːm].
\( [ɲ] \) voiceless alveolo-palatal nasal stop; word-initially: \( [ɲ\text{-}u] \) 'nasal mucus'.

\( [ŋ] \)\(^{56}\) voiceless velar nasal stop; preceding non-front vowels: \( [ŋ\text{-}a] \) 'invocation', \( [ŋ\text{-}mpu] \)–\( [ŋ\text{-}mpu] \)–\( [ŋ\text{-}ompu] \)–\( [ŋ\text{-}ompu] \) ‘blue-green’.


\( /m/ \text{ vs. } /n/ \text{ vs. } /ɲ/ \text{ vs. } /ŋ/ \) /m/ vs. /ŋ/ /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /m/ vs. /ŋ/ /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /m/ vs. /ŋ/ /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /m/ vs. /ŋ/ /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /n/ vs. /ŋ/

\( /mà/ \) ‘mother’ /mà/ ‘mother’ /nà/ ‘here’ /nà/ ‘here’
\( /ɲà/ \) ‘fish’ /mà/ ‘down, low(er)’ /ŋà/ ‘nose’
\( /ŋà/ \) ‘I’

\( /ɲim/ \) ‘sun, day’ /nàk/ ‘speech’
\( /ɲim/ \) ‘sister-in-law’ /ŋà?/ ‘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 \( [ŋ\text{-}mpu] \)–\( [ŋ\text{-}mpu] \) ‘blue-green’. While some people pronounce the word with a velar nasal \( [ŋ\text{-}mpu] \), others use the alveolo-palatal \( [ɲ\text{-}mpu] \).

\( /ɲ/ \text{ vs. } /ŋ/ \)

\( /ɲou/ \) ‘nasal mucus’
\( /ŋ\text{-}mpu/ \)–\( /ŋ\text{-}mpu/ \)–\( /ŋ\text{-}ompu/ \)–\( /ŋ\text{-}ompu/ \)–\( /ŋ\text{-}ompu/ \) ‘blue-green’

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

(2.1) \( \text{menni} \) ‘perhaps’
\( \text{lèmmno} \) ‘good’ (RS)
\( \text{dunngal} \) ‘suffering’

\(^{55}\) The latter spelling suggests a connection with the word \( \text{ng} \) ‘nose’.

\(^{56}\) Some speakers pronounce /ŋ/ as [h], as in /ŋaru/ ‘morning’.

\(^{57}\) A literary distinction can be made between \( \text{nyin} \) ‘day’ and \( \text{nyim} \) ‘sun’.

\(^{58}\) Disyllabic words are challenging for morphemic analysis, because it is not always clear whether the speakers are aware of the constituent parts of the word.

\(^{59}\) This seems a rare pronunciation of the word and may be connected particularly to the astrological context of good/auspicious and bad/inauspicious stellar positions, the context in which the word was spoken.
(2.2) làm-me? ‘below the road (lit. road-below)’
jién=na ‘at the wedding (lit. wedding=LOC)’
kʰɛŋ-ga ‘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 [sɐ̃́l] when reading but is pronounced as [sɛ̃́ː] in ordinary conversation.


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

/l/ [ɭ] voiced alveolar central approximant; word-medially preceding /l/: /korlɛ/ [kɔ̃ɭɛ] བ་ལས་ ‘about’
/r/ [ɾ] voiced alveolar trill; word-finally: /k ur/ [k’ʊɾ] ཕ་ ‘tent’, /kor/ [k’ɔɾ] ཕ་ ‘theme’
/l/ [ɭ]–[ɾ]–[ɾ] voiceless alveolar fricative, flap or trill, depending on the speaker; word-initially and possible word-medially (I have only one example): /ɾɛ/ [ɾɛ] རི་ ‘tear’, /bəkɾaʔ/ [bɛkɾaʔ] བཀྱོད་ ‘spider’

/l/ vs. /l̥/
/là/ མ ‘pass’ /lə/ མ ‘year’ /lək/ མ ‘return’
/là/ ལེ་ ‘life force’ /lə/ ལེ་ ‘mind’ /lək/ ལེ་ ‘cause to return’
/la/ ལ་ ‘deity’ /lə/ ལ ‘south’ /lək/ ལ ‘lift’

60 Utterance-medially, as in the intervocalic position in the sentence ódilo _ lap go=be? ‘It is to be called _’, /ra/ and /r/ are likely realized with a flap [ɾ].
/lúk/ རུ་ ’drop (intr.); sheep’
/lûk/ རུ་ ’pour’
/l̥uk/ རུག་ ’take apart’

/r/ vs. /r̥/
/r/ ɛː / [ɾɛ̃ː]
/r̥/ ɛː / [ɾ̥ɛ̃́ː]

རལ་ ’be torn’
ɾam

ཧྲལ་ ’tear’
ɾ̥am

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, hence the IPA symbol [ʼ] for “light aspiration” for marking them. Eberhardt & Mehnert (1978: 129-130) have shown a difference in the degree of aspiration between the aspirated (“strong aspiration”) and the historically devoiced plosives and affricates (“less intense aspiration”) in three varieties of Tibetan (Lhasa, Bathang and Derge). Similarly, Watters (2002) describes the “devoiced series” in Dzongkha, Lhomi, Sherpa (Solukhumbu), Dolpo Tibetan and Mugom Tibetan as “voiceless sometimes with slight aspiration and followed usually by breathy voice”, contrasting with “voiceless without aspiration” and “voiceless with heavy aspiration (followed by modal voice)”. Watters (2003) suggests that the consonants with slight aspiration have the feature [+spread], referring to the spread glottis causing the slight but inconsistent aspiration and often breathy vowel quality on the following vowel.

The difference in aspiration between /kʰ/, /kʼ/ and /k/ in Denjongke is shown in Figure 2.3, where the duration of aspiration is 0.8 seconds (/kʰap/ གབ་ ’needle’), 0.6 (/kʼar/ ལར་ ’what?’) seconds and 0.2 seconds (/ka/ ར ’who?’) respectively.

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

/kʰap/ [kʰáp̚] /kʼar/ [kʼaɹ] /ka/ [ka]

Similar difference in aspiration for the bilabial set /pʰ/, /pʼ/, /p/ in /pʰu/ ལྲ ‘fly’, /pʼu/ ལ ‘boy’ and /pu/ ལ ‘pack’ respectively is given in Figure 2.4, where there are again clear differences in the duration of aspiration.

These “devoiced consonants” were historically voiced but have since lost voicing and given rise to tonal constrasts in Tibetic languages. These consonants correspond to the WT (Written Tibetan) characters in the following way: /kʼ/ > ར ར/ > ར ར/ > ར ར/ > ར ར/ > ར ར/ > ར ར/ > ར ར/ > ར.

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.
The aspiration in the breathy set, however, is not consistent, as shown in Figure 2.5, where the same word /kʼɛː/ [kʼɛː] ‘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.

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

Figure 2.6 presents the wave forms of the affricate minimal pair /tsa/ ‘grass’ vs. /tsʼa/ ‘make-up’, first pronounced in isolation and then in the frame di _ be? ‘this is _’.

As shown in Figure 2.6, in isolation /tsʼa/ ‘make-up’ is pronounced longer than /tsa/ ‘grass’, whereas in context the length of the two words is probably indistinguishable. The
breathiness on ts’a is more clearly audible when the word is pronounced in isolation. Because length and breathiness are less distinctive in the sentence frame, pitch difference becomes more central. The pitch traces in the frame clauses in Figure 2.6 indicate that ts’a is pronounced in a considerably lower pitch than tsa.

The historically devoiced consonants are followed by low pitch and breathy voice. Therefore I refer to them as “breathy consonants”. Precedents within Tibetic languages for analyzing breathiness as a consonantal feature are Causemann (1989: 31) and Watters (2003). Alternatively, breathiness could be analyzed as a vocalic or a suprasegmental feature. The benefits or analyzing 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.

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

2.3 Vowels

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eː</td>
<td>oː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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63 Beyer (1992: 27) also refers to the “breathiness” of Lhasa Tibetan reflexes of Old Tibetan voiced initials.
64 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 མ་ and མ་ would be seen as instances of /k/. That would be pedagogically disadvantageous, because for literate Denjongpos breathiness is already associated with certain consonant characters.
65 Voiceless/preaspirated nasals and liquids are always high register. Among sibilants, WT མ་ and མ་ are realized as high register /s/ and /ɕ/ respectively (high pitch, modal voice), and WT མ་ and མ་ as low register /s/ and /ɕ/ respectively (low pitch, some breathiness).
66 The long realization [eː] is in complementary distribution with a short variant which ends in a glottal [eʔ] (e.g. དེེ་ 'leprosy'), i.e. there is no contrast between [eʔ] and [eʔ]. As the glottal stop in [eʔ] in sentential context often elided and causes vowel lengthening instead, [eː] and [eʔ] are phonologically interrelated and thus the short variant is not here represented as a separate phoneme.
Short and long vowels for /y/ and /ø/ are not given separately, because length is not as clearly contrastive in these two vowels as in the other vowels, see §2.3.2 on vowel length.

Figure 2.7. Vowel plot from consultant TB (Ralong)

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 /ø:/, and 3) the relatively big F1 difference between /o/ and /ø:/ . Evidence for considering /ø:/ as a lengthened variant of /o/ rather than the two being unrelated vowels /o:/ and /ø/ respectively is provided by the variant pronunciations of the word /gok/ [gɔk]~[gɔʔ] ‘crawl’. Because vowels followed by a glottal are pronounced analogously in quality to long vowels (see §2.3.1 below), the variation in the pronunciations of /gok/ [gɔk]~[gɔʔ] [Hz] ‘crawl’ suggests that /o/ [ɔ] and /ø:/ [o:] should be considered, analogously to /ok/ [ɔk]~[oʔ], phonologically related so that /o:/ [ɔ] 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. With all the vowels /e:/, /y:/ and /ø:/ such a context is a following glottal stop (for the interrelationship of length and final glottal, see §2.3.2). Moreover, /y:/ and /ø:/ are realized as short allophones when they precede the nasal /n/. However, if the nasal is word-final, the pronunciation varies between [yn]~[y:] and [on]~[ø:], e.g. /dny/ [dnyː]~[dyː] ‘seven’, /lõpøn/ [løpøn]~[løpøː] ‘teacher’.

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 ʁk’ skul) ‘cause to move’ and kow: (WT ʁk’ khol) ‘boil (intr.’. Final n has resulted in vowel fronting followed by a nasal stop or nasalization, e.g. pyn/pyi: (WT ʁk’ spun) ‘brother’ and lõpøn/lõpøː (WT ʁk’ lõpø dpon) ‘teacher’. Final d has resulted in vowel fronting and a final glottal stop, e.g. by: (WT ʁk’ ludd) ‘fertilizer’ and jöʔ (WT ʁk’ yol) ‘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. [yʔ]~[yː]~[yː] ‘fertilizer’ and [joʔ]~[joː]~[joː] ‘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. luʔ [WT ʁk’ lus] ‘remain’ and l’oʔ [WT ʁk’ dos] ‘load’, t’oʔ [WT ʁk’ chos] ‘teaching’), but there are some words in which, similarly to Central Tibetan, the vowel is fronted (e.g. l’uʔ/yl: [WT ʁk’ lus] ‘body’ and the Tibetan-influenced alternative spelling of t’oʔ, t’oʔ [WT ʁk’ 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.
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. təˈpəmi ‘lamp for offering’ (from təˈpəʔ ‘offering’ and mi ‘fire’, the vowel quality o assimilates into y in the compound).
/ø/  [øː] long close-mid front rounded vowel; in other contexts than the ones specified below: /køː/ [køː] ཕོལ་ ‘boil (tr.)’, /røːm/ [røːm] སྐོལ་/འབོལ་ ‘cymbal’

[ø] short close-mid front rounded vowel; when followed by /n/ or /ʔ: /k’on/ [k’ön]–[k’ōn] ཕྱོན་ ‘wear’, /poonp/ [poonp] བོལྦ་ ‘chief’, /teʰøʔ/ [teʰøʔ]–[teʰø(ː)] སྐོལ་ ‘you’

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

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

The back rounded vowels /u/ and /o/ are realized as closer when long ([uː] [oː]), and more open when short ([ʊ] [ɔ]). An initial glottal heightens vowel value similarly to length, e.g. /ló/ [l̪ɔ́] བྱོག་ ‘mind’ vs. /lóʔ/ [l̪óʔ] སྤྱོག་ ‘light’, /gok/ [gɔ̃̀k]–[gòʔ] སྤྱོག་ ‘crawl’ (see also the section on glottal stop in §2.2.1.1 above). The following minimal sets give evidence for vowel quality differences between /i/, /ɛ/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /y/ and /ø/.

/kʰi/ མ ‘dog’ /kiː/ མིབ ‘wrap’
/kʰɛ/ མ ‘profit’ /keː/ མི ‘bring’
/kʰa/ མ ‘mouth’ /kaː/ མ ར ‘split’
/kʰɔ/ མ ‘need’ /koː/ མ ‘throw’
/kʰu/ མ ‘he’ /kuː/ མ ‘laddle for pouring rice flour dough’
/kʰø/ མ ‘boil (intr.)’ /koː/ མ ‘boil (tr.)’
/kʰyː/ (=/kʰui/) མོ ‘his’ /kyː/ མ ‘drive’

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

/siː/ སྨོ་ ‘cool’ /giː/ སྨོ་ ‘go around’ /siːp/ སྨོ་ ‘dew’
/sɛː/ སྨོ་ ‘gold’ /geː/ སྨོ་ ‘fall’ /sɛːm/ སྨོཔ་ ‘bamboo slat wall’
/sɛː/ སྨོ་ ‘clear’ /geː/ སྨ་ ‘win’ /sɛːm/ སྨ་ ‘daughter (hon.)’

Watters (2002: 16), having carried out a phonetic study of five Tibetic languages, calls /ɛ/ and /ɛː/ “problematic” and continues that “it isn’t always clear whether the vowel is /ɛ/ or /ɛː/ in short vowels, and as such whether or not /ɛː/ occurs only in long vowels where it is clearly heard as such.” Van Driem (1998: 66), on the other hand, posits a short /ɛ/, a long /ɛː/ and an always long /ɛː/ for Dzongkha, but comments that the difference between /ɛː/ and /ɛː/ is actually “more often one of timbre [quality] than of length.” Furthermore, Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 35) describes /ɛ/ and /ã/ (same as /ɛː/) as separate phonemes, but then comments on /ɛː/ that when “followed by a consonant (closed syllable), it is pronounced like /ãː/.”
Especially in varieties of Denjongke spoken in East and North Sikkim, /a/ followed by the velar nasal /ŋ/ is pronounced as [o]-[ɔ], hence /taŋ/ བཏང་ ‘send’ is typically pronounced [tʰɒŋ]-[tʰɔŋ] in Tashiding (West Sikkim) but [tʰɔːŋ] in East and North Sikkim. Therefore, in eastern and northern varieties of Denjongke and opposition between /a/ and /o/ seems to neutralize before /ŋ/.

Particularly younger speakers are losing or have lost rounding in front vowels /ø/ and /y/, which are pronounced as [e]~[ɛ] and [i] respectively.

This development is probably affected by the lack of /ø/ and /y/ in Nepali and English. Interestingly, even speakers who clearly use /ø/ and /y/, tend to unround /ø/ when the infinitive marker -po/bo follows, e.g. /tʰøn/ ཐྔོན་ ‘happen’ > [t̪ʰɒn]~[t̪ʰɔn] ཐྔོན་བྔོ་, /døʔ/ [d̪ø̃ʔ] སྔོད་ ‘sit’ > [d̪ɛ̃ʔ] སྔོད་བྔོ་.

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. This development is probably affected by the lack of /ø/ and /y/ in Nepali and English. Interestingly, even speakers who clearly use /ø/ and /y/, tend to unround /ø/ when the infinitive marker -po/bo follows, e.g. /tʰøn/ [t̪ʰø̃ː]~[t̪ʰɔ̃ː] in East and North Sikkim. Therefore, in eastern and northern varieties of Denjongke and opposition between /a/ and /o/ seems to neutralize before /ŋ/.

In the following minimal pairs, showing length contrast for each of the vowels, it is seen that the lengthened /iː/:, /uː/: and /oː:/ are higher in quality than the short counterparts /i/, /u/ and /o/.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vowel length in this word was somewhat inconsistent between different speakers. Some speakers have glottal ending, others do not.
The front rounded vowels /y/ and /ø/ are always long or short ending in a glottal (which varies in pronunciation with length). Short realizations are also possible when /y/ and /ø/ are followed by /n/, either word-finally or syllable-finally. Word-finally, the combination ends in a short vowel followed by a nasal stop or a lengthened nasalized vowel, e.g. /sön/ [sóːn]–[sóː] ‘seed’. Syllable-finally (but word-medially) /n/ assimilates to the following plosive and the vowel is realized as short, e.g. /pøn-pu/ [pøːmpu] ཞྔོན་པུ་ ‘chief’. Although no minimal pairs have been found for /y/ vs. /yː/ or /ø/ vs. /øː/, the following two word pairs illustrate the occurrence of short and long realizations.

/ɕø̃ːn/ ཞྔོན་ ‘ride’ /tʰyn/ ཞྔོན་ ‘fit, suit’
/ɕø̃ːm/ ཞྔོལ མ་ ‘cockroach’ /tɬ’yːp/ ཞྔོན་ ‘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 [Vː] without the glottal (similarly Häsler 1999: 24 for Dege Tibetan). For instance, when pronounced in isolation, words ending in a glottal stop such as /dzɛʔ/ རྫས་ ‘gunpowder’, /dzeʔ/ མཛེ་ ‘leprosy’ and /ziʔ/ སྐིག་ ‘leopard’ have various degrees of length, but in continuous speech they are most of the time realized with a long vowel without the glottal.76

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 /iʔ/, /ɛʔ/, /iːk/ [iːk]–[iːk] and /iː/ (the value of /iː/ 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.

75 See footnote 67 above for historical origin of /y/ and /ø/.
76 Similarly, Causemann (1989: 29) notes that in Nangchen Tibetan glottal endings lengthen the vowel. Mazaudon and Michaelovsky (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).
When a verb-final glottal is followed by verbal suffixes, the vowel may be realized as either short or long, depending on other verb forms with which a contrast needs to be established. If a contrast needs to established with a long (glottal-less) vowel, the glottal stop is dropped without lengthening the vowel (WT below stands for Written Tibetan):

WT shad > /ɕɛʔ/ ‘comb-INF’
WT brjed > /dʑɛʔ/ ‘forget-INF’
WT bshal > /ɕɛʔ/ ‘rinse-INF’
WT mjal > /dʑɛʔ/ ‘meet-INF’

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

WT btag > /tَاʔ/ ‘append-INF’
WT lta > /tَاʔ/ ‘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 /tَاːʔ/ [tَ̪اːʔ] ‘to append’ and /tَاʔ/ [tَ̪اʔ] ‘to watch’, a consultant from Tashiding, without priming, thought that both words were instances of /tَاʔ/ [tَ̪اʔ] ‘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 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. /jew/ (WD ་བྔོ་ byê-bo) ‘differentiation’. The following diphthongs have been found to occur in noun bases: /ou/, /eu/, /iu/, /ai/ and /oi/. Of these /oi/ and /ai/ are relatively rare within word stems, occurring mainly in the words / órg/ [ órg] སྐད་ ‘hey!’ and /ai/ སྐད་ ‘older sister’, /maicam/~/iicam/ སྐད་ 'meat'.

**NB commented:** “We don’t yet have a written form for this word.”

**Final /u/ in a diphthong is traditionally typically written as སྐེ 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 སྐེ ‘u.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>WD</th>
<th>WT</th>
<th>RB</th>
<th>TB</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>TL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42. /dzɛʔ/</td>
<td>bullet</td>
<td>rdzas</td>
<td>rdzas</td>
<td>405-440</td>
<td>550-560</td>
<td>580-600</td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. /dʑɛʔ/</td>
<td>leprosy</td>
<td>mdze</td>
<td>mdze</td>
<td>350-410</td>
<td>370-400</td>
<td>400-430</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. RB /ziʔ/</td>
<td>PT /zik/</td>
<td>/dziʔ/</td>
<td>leopard</td>
<td>zig</td>
<td>zig</td>
<td>330-345</td>
<td>260-350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. /ziː/</td>
<td>to split</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>300-330</td>
<td>260-310</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘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**


/eu/ /t’eu/ འྲེ་‘dust’, /p’jeu/ རུ་‘hurry’, /j’eu/ རུ་‘differentiation’, /kjeu/ རུ་‘rice measuring vessel’


/ai/ /a’i/ སོར་‘older sister’, /ma’cam/~/m’cam/ འབོ་སྐྱིུ་‘bachelorette’

/oi/ /o’i/ [ói]~[ǿi] མེ་‘hey!’

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

/ഉ ར ག/ vs. /ു/ ར ག

/ഉ ར ག/ ‘mole (in skin)’

/ഉ ར ག/ ‘navel’

/ഉ ར ག/ ‘dust’

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

**Genetival diphthongs**

/ei/ /ke-i/ ས ས ས ‘neck’s’, /pe-i/ ས ས ས ‘example’s’

/ai/ /sa-i/ ས ས ས ‘soil’s’, /ra-i/ ས ས ས ‘goat’s’

/oi/ /sø-i/ ས ས ས ‘tooth’s’, /go-i/ ས ས ས ‘head’s’

/ui/ /mø-i/ ས ས ས ‘her’, /k’u-i/ ས ས ས ‘his’

The diphthong /ei/ also occurs in the interjections ādzei ས ས ས (surprise) and kei ས ས (honorary address), and /ai/ occurs in the interjection aijo: ས ས (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 /ɛː/\(^80\) occur as nasalized (and lengthened). Nasalization derives from a historical syllable-final nasal /n/ or /ŋ/. Often a nasalized vowel has an alternative pronunciation with a final /n/ or /ŋ/, although in some cases, where only a nasalized pronunciation exists in spoken language, it is impossible to determine the underlying nasal without reference to the written language. Pronunciations with a nasal stop are probably more usual with literary speakers in careful speech, whereas elsewhere nasalized vowels are used. In some speech varieties especially in North and East Sikkim the difference between /aŋ/~/ãː/ and /oŋ/~/õː/ appears to disappear, because both are pronounced [ɔː]~[øː]. The distinction is, however, held in West Sikkim, for instance in Tashiding.

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\(^79\) The off-glode is pronounced at various degrees of fronting and roundedness between [au] and [ou]. There is no contrast between /au/ and /ou/.

\(^80\) That is, I do not have evidence for a contrast between /ɛː/ and /ɛː/.
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. ɕíŋ 'tree', sɛ́ŋ 'raise' but tãː btsan 'send', tʰõː mahson 'see'. There is a historically oriented functional explanation for this tendency. With /i/ and /ɛ/, the final velar nasal contrasts both historically and synchronically with the dental nasal /n/, e.g. pʼin 'give', sɛ́n sngs 'hear (hon.)'. Such contrast, however, does not occur with the back vowels, because historically a final /n/ has caused vowel fronting /a/ > /ɛ/, /o/ > /ɛ/, /u/ > /y/, e.g. WT æŋ 'gan > Denjongke gen 'responsibility'. Thus, within back vowels nasalization points necessarily towards a historical velar nasal which does not contrast synchronously with a dental nasal (contrast with bilabial m is unproblematic because m is always pronounced as a nasal stop), whereas with front vowels, nasalization is ambiguous between /ŋ/ and /n/.

The phonemic transcription used in this thesis marks nasalization rather than a nasal stop on back vowels /a/ and /o/ where it actually occurs in pronunciation. This practice allows the writing to correspond more clearly to pronunciation. It also does not cause any phonological (or even historical) information to disappear, because with back vowels nasalization is unequivocally tracable 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. tʼuŋ æŋ '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. tʼaŋpu/tʼãːpu dăngpu 'long ago', náŋtsʰi sngts 'the day after tomorrow'.

### 2.4 Syllable structure

The syllable in Denjongke is of the form (C) (G) V (C/V)\(^{82}\). 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 varieties\(^{83}\). The glide /j/ may follow the velar stops /k/, /kʰ/, /g/ and /kʼ/, the bilabial stops /p/, /pʰ/, /b/ and /pʼ/, and the bilabial nasal /m/. All vowels may fill the

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\(^{81}\) An important exception to the fronting rule is kʼan æŋ 'what', which is not pronounced kʼen despite the final nasal.

\(^{82}\) C = consonant, G = glide, V = vowel.

\(^{83}\) However clusters such as /pr/ and /kr/ do occur in loan words (e.g. Nepali names) and ideophones (see §17.1).
mandatory vowel position, either as short or long. The second vowel position in diphthongs is reserved for close vowels /u/ and /i/. The last consonant may be a plosive /p/, /k/, /ʔ/, a nasal /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ 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 /sɛ́ː/ [sɛ́ː] ‘clarify’, reading-style [sal]. The syllable structure is summarized in Table 2.4 and examples of the various syllable patterns are given below. Diphthongs are here analyzed as VV and long vowels as V. The reason for the differing analyses is the difference in distribution: diphthongs do not occur in closed syllables.

### Table 2.4. Syllable structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(C)</th>
<th>(G)</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>(C)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All consonants except /ʔ/</td>
<td>/j/ and marginally /ɾ/ in some speech varieties</td>
<td>All vowels</td>
<td>/p/, /k/, /ʔ/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and marginally /l/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/i/, /u/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Open syllables**

| CGVV | /kjøu/ ཆོས་ ‘rice measuring vessel’ (KN), /p’jøu/ ཆོས་ ‘hurry’ |
| CVV | /jøu/ ས་ ‘up’, /kʰau/~kʰou/ ང་ ‘snow’, /p’øu/ ཀ་ ‘dust’ |
| CV | /lø/ ལ ‘mountain pass’, /sø/ ༼ ‘tooth’, /kʰu:/ ས ‘bread’ |
| V | /y:/ ད་ ‘country’, /ø:/ [fø: ] ཀ ‘eagle’ |
| VV | /ái/ ཨི ‘older sister’, /ɔː/ ~ /ɔː/ ས ‘hey!’ |

**Closed syllables**

| CGVC | /giap/ རྒྱབ་ ‘back’, /mjø:/ ས ‘finish’, /prék/ [p’rēk] ཀ ‘cut (grass)’ (RB), |
| CVC | /k’ur/ རྒྱུར་ ‘tent’, /sák/ ས ‘accumulate’, /t’oːm/ བོ་ ‘trousers’ |
| VC | /ip/ བོ ‘hide’, /ám/ བ ‘mother’, /aːm/ བ ‘ jackal’ |

### 2.5 Segmental phonological processes

#### 2.5.1 Vowel assimilation

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) /tøʔ/ རི ‘offering’, /mi/ ༼ ‘fire’ > /teʰyømi/ [teʰyømy]–[teʰømi] ཁ ‘lamp for offering’

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84 Final -n and -ŋ are often realized as nasalization and vowel lengthening.
85 A more typical pronunciation is p’rēk.
86 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”.
87 WT/WD mchod-me
In (2.3), the height assimilation /ø/ > /y/ is more stable and may hence be considered to have become lexicalized so that speakers are not necessarily aware that the first syllable of /teʰymi/ derives from /teʰøʔ/ ‘offering’. The rounding assimilation [y]~[i] in (2.3) is more subject to variation between different pronunciations of the word and may hence be considered allophonic.

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

(2.4) a) /mü=i/ [mũi]~[mũi]~[mũ:] གུའི་ ‘her’
   b) /oi/ [ói]~[ói] གོ ‘hey!’
   c) /naicam/~/næcam/ གོའི་ ‘bachelorette, young woman’

(2.5) /gjompo/ [gĵompo]~[gjɔmpo]~[ɡ̃mpo] ཐོན་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 /næcam/ is a stabilized fronted pronunciation of /naicam/. As suggested by (2.3-5) the front vowel /i/ is central factor in vowel assimilation.

2.5.2 Elision

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

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

(2.6)  ›q a b e? ›qɛ/›re:
  similar  EQU.NE
  ‘be similar’

(2.7)  ›odi  >  ōi
  ‘that’

(2.8)  ›do di  >  doi
  ‘right this (one)’

(2.9)  ›t’ar iŋ  >  t’eiŋ
  ‘today’
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full form</th>
<th>Abbr. form</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰõː-po ĩ̃́ː</td>
<td>m ĩ́ː</td>
<td>(PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nã̃́ː-bo be?</td>
<td>nã:mbɛʔ</td>
<td>(CY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōm-bo be?</td>
<td>ōm beʔ</td>
<td>(NB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōm-bo be?</td>
<td>sōm beʔ</td>
<td>(DB)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(2.11) ་དང་
nã̃́ː-bo-dãː  >  nã: m-dãː:
do.HON-2INF-CONJ
‘when doing’ (CY)

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

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

(2.13) ར་སྲིད་
ŋà dzøː-tsʰa:  >  ŋà dzøː :sa
1SG  make.mistake-CMPL
‘I (have) made a mistake.’ (JD minimal pair recording)

(2.14) ས་
sà-tsʰa:  >  sà-sa:
eat-CMPL
‘I have eaten’

(2.15) ལ་
tsʰalum  >  sálum (when preceded by a word ending in a vowel).
‘orange’

Voiced plosives may become nasals when followed by a nasalized vowel, e.g. /g/ > /ŋ/ (2.16) and /d/ > /n/ (2.17).
(2.16) སི་བོ་རྒྱུས་དུང་ རོ་ཡི་གེ་ཀུན།

ཨྔོ་འདི་ སང་

that.

GEN
time

‘at that time’

(2.17) a) དབ་/དབ/ /དོ/ > འན་/ནོ/ (at least in Martam, East Sikkim)

‘and’

b) ཀྲ་་དབ་པོ་ ཀྲ་་དབ་་ལྡན་ དང་ ཀྲ་་པོ་་ལོག་

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) མཁྲེན་

lāŋkʰor > lāŋkʰor~lāŋkor

‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High register</th>
<th>Low register</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Modal, stiff or creaky voice on vowel</td>
<td>-Breathy or modal voice on vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-High pitch</td>
<td>-Low pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Voiceless and (strongly) aspirated consonants</td>
<td>-Breathy and voiced consonants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-After initials /p/, /pʰa/, /t/, /tʰ/, /k/, /kʰ/, /tɕ/, /tʰɕ/, /ts/, /tsʰa/, /m̥/, /n̥/, /ɲ̥/, /l̥/, /r̥/, /h/</td>
<td>-After initials /b/, /bʼ/, /d/, /tʼ/, /g/, /kʼ/, /dz/, /tɕʼ/, /z/, /ʑ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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): /N/, /s/, /ʃ/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /l/ and /j/. Because breathiness is not always very prominent with these initials, pitch plays an integral role in disambiguation. 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

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88 This is unlike Lhomi, in which voice quality (modal vs. breathy) is more salient than pitch with sonorant initials (Watters 2003: 253).
higher pitch (although pitch following voiced stops is not as clearly rising). The following sections show how the contrast of high and low pitch is phonetically realized.

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

2.6.1 Monosyllables
After initial tonal analysis with several speakers, I conducted a more systematic analysis of 84 monosyllabic nouns with KN from Upper Martam (East Sikkim). The words were first pronounced in isolation and then in a carrier sentence ődilo _ láp goː ɕɛbɛʔ ‘This has to be said...’. The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrastive pitch within sonorant initials (/má/ སྐོ སྐྱ་ ‘wound’ vs. /mà/ སྐོ སྐྱ་ ‘mother’), plosive initials in open syllable (/ka/ བཀའ་ ‘order’ vs. /k’a/ བཀའ་ ‘what, where’) and closed syllable (/kom/ སྐྱོམ་ ‘thirst’ vs. /gom/ སྐྱོམ་ ‘door’).

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

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

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

Figure 2.9. Pitch traces of /ká/ ‘order’ and /k’a/ ‘what, where’ in isolation and in context (word duration marked with vertical dotted lines) (KN)
Figures 2.9-10, which show that the high register words have a falling pitch and the low register words a rising pitch, are representative of all the words recorded in the tonal study. All the high register words (both open and closed syllables) had a high falling pitch, although with long vowels the pitch was more level than with short ones. Low register words had a low rising pitch, although the pitch following voiced stops was not as clearly rising.

2.6.1.1 Register-internal pitch differences

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

Consultants from Ralang (TB) and Upper Martam (KN) did not have a pitch difference between the words /ŋá/ (WT ལྔ་ rnga) ‘five’ and /ŋá/ (WT རྔ་ rnga) ‘drum’. A consultant from Tashiding (RB), however, pronounced a pitch difference in /ŋá/ ‘five’ (high level) and /ŋá/ ‘drum’ (high falling). This is illustrated in Figure 2.11, presenting isolated pronunciations of /ŋá/ ‘five’, /ŋá/ ‘I’ and /ŋá/ ‘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.

For the same speaker from Tashiding (RB), the words /ta/ ‘horse’ and /taʔ/ ‘tiger’ were segmentally contrastive when the words were pronounced in isolation, [ʈa] ‘horse’, [ʈaʔ] ‘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 ṅà _ taː to ʰ̃̄̀ ‘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 /zìː/ ‘look’ and /zìː/ ‘split’. Both words are pronounced in an honorific imperative construction einh VERB-po nà: resulting in meanings ‘Please look at the tree’ and ‘Please split the tree’ respectively.
Figure 2.14. Pitch contrast with voiced stop initials /zíː/ ‘look’ and /zìː/ ‘split’

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

2.6.1.2 Final glottal and pitch

When pronounced in isolation, words ending in a glottal stop may be pronounced with various lengths, e.g. /kʰaʔ/ [kʰɐʔ]~[kʰɐːʔ] ལུབ་ ‘soup’. In sentential context in the tonal study, the glottal was usually elided and the pitch was falling in both /kʰa/ ‘mouth’ and /kʰaʔ/ ‘soup’. The contrast between /kʰaʔ/ and /kʰa/ became one of length and perhaps also some glottal quality, or creakiness, on the vowel in /kʰaʔ/. With back vowels, there is the additional contrast of vowel quality. The vowel in the open syllable is lower than in the closed, e.g. /ló/ [lɔ] ‘mind’, /lóʔ/ [lɔʔ] (isolation) བྔོ་ (context) བྔོག་ ‘electricity’.

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

Low register glottal ending, however, was pronounced even in context, as can be seen in Figure 2.15. The frame sentence is ódìlo _ làp goće be?’ (ཨྔོ་འདི་ལྔོ་ _ བ་ སྦད།) ‘You are to call this _’. 
The glottal stop of /ŋàʔ/ in Figure 2.15 is seen as a sudden fall in the pitch at the end of the pronunciation of the word. Both words have a rising pitch on the vowel, but the pitch drop signifying the glottal is not seen in /ŋà/ ‘I’.

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

### 2.6.2 Disyllables

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

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

The difference of high and low-tone disyllabic words is illustrated in Figure 2.16 with the words /pømpu/ [pømpʊ] ‘leader’ and /p’ømpu/ [p’ømpʊ] ‘Bön practitioner’.\(^{90}\) The words are first pronounced two times in isolation and then in the same carrier sentence as in Figure 2.16 (location of [pømpʊ]/[p’ømpʊ] in the sentence is marked by the dotted line).

---

\(^{89}\) 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.

\(^{90}\) Whereas the historical nominal suffix -po (often -pu in nominals), by which many nouns have been formed, is typically in nouns pronounced with higher pitch than the previous syllable, the synchronically operational infinitive marker -po/bo following verbs is typically pronounced with lower pitch than the preceding verb stem.
As can be seen in Figure 2.16, the pitch difference of the first and second syllable in the first utterance of [pʼømpu] 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 /pʼømpu/ 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 (/námteʔ/) and /mânteʰu/.

When pronounced in isolation, the low-tone word /mânteʰu/ 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. /námteʔ/, 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 teŋkʰa ཤེ་ན་ is contrasted in identical context with the low tone postposition nâyea སྣ་ཡ་.

(2.19)  a) ཤེ་ན་ རྣམ་མཆོག་ ིར།
           di kʰim teŋkʰa jöʔ.
         this house above EX.PER
         ‘It is on/above the house.’ (KUN e)
Note that with the postpositions in Figure 2.18 the high tone is realized as a high-low sequence and the low tone as low-high sequence. This somewhat contrasts with what was above reported on high and low tone in disyllabic nouns. With nouns, the most important correlate of tone was shown to be the degree of rise from low to high pitch (greater rise with low tone words and lesser rise with high tone words).

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

### 2.7 Stress or tone

I have not found stress to be a useful category for describing Denjongke. Caplow’s (2016) study on disyllabic words in Balti, a toneless variety of Tibetic preserving archaic phonological features, shows that non-verbs (nouns, adjectives, numerals) stress the second syllable and verbs stress the first syllable. Moreover, Caplow (2016: 47) suggests that the transphonologization of stress, whose primary correlate is fundamental frequency\(^{91}\), 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

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\(^{91}\) In Balti, vowel duration was found to be a “weaker and inconsistent” cue for stress while intensity was deemed “not a factor” (Caplow 2016: 47).
tone than stress. Second, the correlates of stress (pitch, intensity, vowel duration, vowel quality) are inconsistently pronounced in disyllabic words, especially when comparing words pronounced in context with those pronounced in isolation.

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

2.8 Morphophonology

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

2.8.1 Verbal suffixes

Some verbal suffixes have two or more forms, depending on which sound the verb root ends in. These forms are summarized in Table 2.7. The form of the suffix following verb roots ending in /ŋ/ (usually pronounced as a lengthened nasalized vowel) cannot be phonologically predicted. Similarly, the form of the nonfinal suffix -ti/di is unpredictable with roots ending in a vowel. The verbs in Table 2.7 have the following meanings: kjap ཕུལ ‘strike, do’, p’jak གནང་‘sweep’, eʔ? རྡོ ‘comb’, p’ja ཕྱུ ‘do, zo རྡོ ‘make’, p’h u རྩོ ‘blow’, tsa: ལྷ ‘come (hum.)’, ts’o: ལྷ ‘feel’, p’h རྩོ ‘offer, lèn རྲོ ‘take’, bom རྩོ ‘grow’, mjò: རྨ་ ‘finish, lò: རྨ་ ‘stand, lâ: རྨ་ ‘be enough’, tâ: རྨ་ ‘send’, nà: རྨ་ ‘give (hon.)’, t’ò: རྨ་ ‘see’.

### Table 2.7. Voicing alternation in verbal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Preceding context</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitizer</td>
<td></td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>kjap-o, p’jak-o, eʔ-po (eʔ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-po/-bo</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>p’ja-u, zo-u, p’h u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>short vowel</td>
<td>-bo/bo/wo</td>
<td>tsa:-bo, ts’o:-bo, p’h:-bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long vowel</td>
<td>-n, -m</td>
<td>lèm:-bo, bom:-bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-bo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-po</td>
<td>mjò:-po, lò:-po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-bo</td>
<td>tâ:-bo, nà:-bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past/perfective</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>-tèe</td>
<td>kjap-tèe, p’hak-tèe, eʔ-tèe (eʔ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tèe/ze</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>-zè</td>
<td>p’ja-zè, zo-zè, bom-zè:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tèe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-zè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-zè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>-tèè:</td>
<td>kjap-tèè:, p’hak-tèè:, eʔ-tèè: (eʔ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tèè/žè:zin</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>-zè/žin</td>
<td>p’ja-žè:, zo-žè:, bom-žè:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tèè:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-žè:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-žè:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>-tô</td>
<td>kjap-tô, p’hak-tô, eʔ-tô (eʔ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to/do</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>-do</td>
<td>p’ja-do, zo-do, lèn-do, bom-do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tô</td>
<td>mjò:-tô, tâ:-tô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-do</td>
<td>tâ:-do, nà:-do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65
Nonfinal -ti/di | voiceless | -ti | kjap-ti, pʰjak-ti, ɕɛʔ-ti (ɕɛʔ)
---|---|---|---
voiced C (except -ŋ) | -di | lɛn-di, bom-di
vowel | -ti | p ja-ti, zo-ti
| -di | pʰy:-di, sà-di
-ŋ | -ti | mjö:-ti, lö:-ti
| -di | tā:-di, lā:-di

As suggested by the word ɕɛʔ ‘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 ɕɛʔ are taʔ བཏགས་ ‘append’ > taː-po and ɕɛʔ ཆེད་ ‘push’ > ɕɛʔ-ti. 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/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless (-po, -teː, ɨɛː; -to)</th>
<th>Voiced (-bo, -ze; -ʑɛː, -do)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰo: བྐེ་ ‘see’</td>
<td>tā: བེ་ ‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lā: ཆེ་ ‘be enough’</td>
<td>nā: སྐེ་ ‘give (hon.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lô: གེ་ ‘stand (up)’</td>
<td>sô: སྐེ་ ‘go,PFV (suppl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjö: གེ་ ‘finish’</td>
<td>ŋā: སྐེ་ ‘come’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominalizer -po occurs in four forms, -o, -u, -po, -bo (phonetically there is a fifth form -βo/wo, which is the realization of /b/ after long vowels). When preceded by root final /p/ or /k/, the bilabial stop is elided from the suffix, e.g. kjap རྐྱབ་ ‘strike’ > kjap-o, pʰjak རྐྱང་ ‘sweep’ > pʰjak-o. Although root final /k/ is utterance-finally typically realized as a glottal stop [ʔ], there is a difference between roots having final /k/ [k]~[ʔ] and those having a final /ʔ/ [ʔ]. Whereas roots ending in /k/ retain the velar stop and delete the bilabial stop from the suffix, roots ending in /ʔ/ have a rather long vowel followed by the full infinitive marker -po, e.g. ʈ’ak རྒུ ‘get well’ > ʈ’ako, taʔ ཆེད་ ‘adorn’ > ta-po. When preceded by a root ending in a short (non-nasalized) vowel, the suffix becomes -u, e.g. p’ja རྒུ ‘do’ > p’ja-u, zo གེ ‘make’ > zo-u. In the case of final /o/, the vowel may also be just lengthened, e.g. zo གེ ‘make’ > zoː. If the vowel is long (usually because of a historical ending in /i/, /I/ or /s/), the nominalizer becomes -bo [bo]~[βo]~[wo], as in tea: གེ ‘come (hum.)’ > tea:bo [teá:bo], tsʰo: འ ‘feel’ > tsʰo:bo [tsʰó:bo]. When preceded by the nasals /m/ and /n/, the suffix occurs as -bo, e.g. bom རིག་ ‘getting big’, l恩 རི རེ ‘lend’ > lɜm-bo ‘taking’. Similarly to other suffixes, final /ŋ/ may obtain either voiceless or voiced suffix, e.g. mjö:po གེ་ ‘finished, finishing’ vs. tā:bo གེ་ ‘sent, sending’.

In verbal suffixes with initial p-, the initial plosive is elided (or alternatively the final plosive in the verb is elided) when the preceding verb root ends in -p or -k, as shown in Table 2.9 with example verbs kjap རྐྱབ་ ‘strike, do’ and pʰjak རྐྱང་ ‘sweep’.
Table 2.9. Consonant elision in verbal suffixes with initial -p

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Preceding context</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitivizer -po/bo/u</td>
<td>-p, -k</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>kjap-o, p'jak-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose/manner -pa</td>
<td>-p, -k</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>kjap-a, p'jak-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional -ateene</td>
<td>-p, -k</td>
<td>-ateene</td>
<td>kjap-ateene, p'jak-ateene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'jak ‘sweep’ homophonous, p'jak-a, see Table 2.10 (and §15.5.1 for purposive/circumstantial marker).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Preceding context</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polar interrogative -ka/ga</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>p'jak-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attenuated interrogative -kam/gam</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>p'jak-am</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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? བཞིན་ ‘need’ > min-go? བཞིན་‘need not’, sà ལྷ་ ‘eat’ > man-za ལྷ་ ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low register</th>
<th>High register</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affirmative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Negated</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’in བཞིན་’give’</td>
<td>mam-bin, mim-bin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’e: བཞིན་’have time to’</td>
<td>man-de:, min-de:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ô: བཞིན་’die (hon.)’</td>
<td>man-dô:, min-dô:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’o བཞིན་’understand’</td>
<td>man-go, min-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sà ལྷ་’eat’</td>
<td>man-za, min-za</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak བཞིན་’carry’</td>
<td>mam-bak, mim-bak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dô: བཞིན་’sit’</td>
<td>man-dô:, min-dô:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go: བཞིན་’need’</td>
<td>man-go:, min-go:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zim བཞིན་’sleep (hon.)’</td>
<td>man-zim, min-zim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zak བཞིན་’put’</td>
<td>man-zak, min-zak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzê: བཞིན་’meet (hon.)’</td>
<td>man-dzê:, min-dzê:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.8.3 Reduction of the genitivized nominalizer
The genitivized infinitivizer -bo: [wɔ:] is by some speakers, and especially in fast speech, reduced to [i], see (2.20-21).

(2.20) a) བཞིན་བ་པོ་
  ci-[wɔ:] gâ:=[di
  say=2INF.GEN time=DEMPH
  ‘when saying’ (KLT)
2.8.4 Agentive case

With the personal pronouns \( \text{ŋà} \) ‘I’, \( kʰu \) ‘he’ and \( mù \) ‘she’ the agentive case can be marked by vowel lengthening and raise of tone from low to high. With \( kʰu \), which is already high tone, the modification reduces to vowel lengthening, \( kʰuː \) ‘LAGT’. With \( \text{ŋà} \) and \( mù \), the tone changes from low to high along with vowel lengthening, \( \text{ŋáː} \) ‘AGT’, \( múː \) ‘she.AGT’. Figure 2.19 illustrates the tonal difference between \( \text{ŋà} \) and \( \text{ŋáː} \). The clause with \( \text{ŋà} \), 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 prenasalization in \( /ŋ/ \). Manual measurements of vowel lengths in \( \text{ŋà} \) and \( \text{ŋáː} \) yielded 0.12 seconds and 0.22 seconds respectively, showing a clear difference in length. The agentivization of \( mù \) ‘she’ functions analogously to \( \text{ŋà} \).

Figure 2.19. \( \text{ŋà} \) vs. \( \text{ŋáː} \): in context (consultant KN)

\[ \text{ŋà: gjal- tsʰen =lo sé- po ʰi:} \]

‘I killed Gyaltshen.’

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

93 An alternative strategy is to use the agentive marker \( =ki/gi \), e.g. \( \text{ŋáː}=gi, kʰu(\)\()=gi, mú(\)\()=gi \).
2.9 Phonemic script
The phonetic/phonemic symbols are from the IPA except for /g/ representing IPA /g/ and /a/ representing IPA /ø/. 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. tāːŋ: ‘send’, tʰāːkʰ: ‘see’) while with other vowels the same historical velar tends to be retained in pronunciation (i.e. cīŋ bāː ‘tree’, sēŋ bāː ‘raise’, tʰuŋ āː ‘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 ūː occurs in various forms: im-bo (with infinitivizer -po/bo), in-do (with imperfective marker -to/do) and iŋ-kʰɛː (with nominalizer -kʰɛː). A nasal which assimilates to a following retroflex is written as n (as in in-ṭo) rather than ū, 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 iŋ-kʰɛːn beʔ is written as such although its pronunciation is typically [iŋ-kʰɛːn beʔ] (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. taː=lo ‘tiger=DAT’ (taʔ ‘tiger’), ēʔ-ɛʔ ‘tell-INF’ ēʔ ‘tell’). Moreover, the glottal in the infinitive marker -ɛʔ? is not written when an auxiliary follows. Although the auxiliary is written separately it is phonologically part of the same utterance with -ɛʔ? 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 sākʰ bzhin is transcribed in literary examples, following spoken pronunciation, as teʔ:/zɛː 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. [ɡka]) or prenasalization (i.e. [ŋɡa]). Moreover, Denjongke was seen to have quite a rich variety of preaspirated consonants, four nasals and two liquids.
This chapter also showed that Denjongke has eight vowels (if long vowels are not counted separately). It was shown that nasalization and length are contrastive in vowels. The relationship of front unrounded vowels proved particularly tricky for analysis, but a three-way distinction in long vowels between long vowels /iː/, /eː/ and /ɛː/ was firmly established. Final glottal, which is pronounced utterance-finally, is realized as length utterance-medially.

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

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

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

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

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

Onomatopoeic words are treated as a subclass of ideophones, which are syntactically adjectives or adverbs but have distinctive phonological, morphological and semantic features, see §17.1.

3.1 Words, affixes and clitics

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

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

94 These morphemes are somewhat analogous to not and n’t in English (see Dixon & Aikhenvald’s 2003: 27).
is as much a grammatical word as the fuller form *sā.te. Another form which occurs both as a monosyllabic clitic and a disyllabic word is the relator noun *tsa/tsakʰa 'at (the root of)'.

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

3.2 Nouns

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

3.2.1 Introduction to nouns

Nouns (from Latin nōmen ‘name’) prototypically refer to physical entities such as objects, living creatures and places but are by extension also used for abstract entities (e.g. hjakʰa ɲɛ̀ŋkʰa ‘summer’, njegkʰa ɲɛ̀ŋkʰa ‘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 -kʰɛ̃ː) has to be added to the verb before attaching the plural marker.

(3.1) sá=i=gi daku=tsu
    ground=GEN=GEN owner=PL
    ‘Land-owners (lit. owner’s of land)’ (BP, BB discussion)

(3.2) tʼizãː náː dêndzôː=na ḍen-kʰen=tsu=lo ódi woka jêbhe=la.
    but here Sikkim=LOC come-NMLZ=PL=DAT that paper EX.NE=HON
    ‘But those who came to Sikkim had that document.’ (CY interview)

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

---

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

96 For an exception to this rule, see example (15.106c).
"Do not look down on people (it is said)." (UU, Deer story 1)

"Doing like that, (they) finished eating." (Ricchi 21)

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

### 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary register</th>
<th>Honorific register</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha</td>
<td>céː</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tee</td>
<td>dza?</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagu?</td>
<td>éː</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaː, kãːpo</td>
<td>éːp</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi:do?</td>
<td>teen</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námteo?</td>
<td>jíːm(šteo?)</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só</td>
<td>šteːm</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làko</td>
<td>teːʔa?</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teːu</td>
<td>teːap</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰim</td>
<td>zimkʰaː</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šam</td>
<td>càptca?</td>
<td>shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to::pa?</td>
<td>sóːtym</td>
<td>vegetables (with rice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’o</td>
<td>náza</td>
<td>clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>min</td>
<td>tsʰen</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ápo</td>
<td>jàːp</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áma</td>
<td>jùm</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’u</td>
<td>sèʔ</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’um</td>
<td>sèːm</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97 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 gaŋŋaʈ ‘crab’. Oriya (kaŋkara ‘crab’) and Tirahi (kaŋgara ‘spider’) also have pronunciations almost identical to Denjongke (Turner 1962-1966).
In other cases, the ordinary and honorific forms resemble each other. First, the honorific form may be a compound where a monosyllabic honorific word, either a noun referring to a body part or a relevant verb, may form a compound with the ordinary form, see Table 3.2. Typically the honorific noun is preposed to the ordinary form, but postposing the honorific word to the ordinary word is also possible (see ke:dzə? ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent use</th>
<th>Honorific with the affix</th>
<th>Ordinary register</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཁཔ་ ‘foot (hon.)’</td>
<td>ཁཔ་ཐབས་ལམ་</td>
<td>དབུ་ ‘shoe’</td>
<td>shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁ་ ‘body (hon.)’</td>
<td>ཁ་སྐུ་གཟུགས་</td>
<td>སྐུ་ ‘body’</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁི་ ‘hand (hon.)’</td>
<td>ཁི་སྐུ་དབང་</td>
<td>དབང་ ‘power’</td>
<td>power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གཉི ‘mind (hon.)’</td>
<td>གཉི་ཐུགས་འགན་</td>
<td>ཐུགས་ ‘mind’</td>
<td>responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གསུང་ ‘say (hon.)’</td>
<td>གསུང་སྐད་</td>
<td>སྐད་ ‘voice’</td>
<td>voice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 3.3. Honorific nouns formed by replacing a syllable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཉ་ ‘pynte’?</td>
<td>ཉ་ ‘kute’?</td>
<td>sibling, relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག ཀ ‘ara’</td>
<td>ག ཀ ‘ze:ra?’</td>
<td>ག ཀ ‘alcohol’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཕ བ ‘pa(h)ip’</td>
<td>ཕ བ ‘sao:(h)ip’</td>
<td>ཕ བ ‘beer container (of bamboo)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཆ ཇ ‘ákar’</td>
<td>ཆ ཇ ‘ze:kar’</td>
<td>ཆ ཇ ‘chilli’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉ ‘dosa’</td>
<td>ཉ ‘zu:sa’</td>
<td>ཉ ‘residence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉ ‘zu:ne’</td>
<td>ཉ ‘kun:’</td>
<td>ཉ ‘image’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉ ‘mike:’</td>
<td>ཉ ‘te:ne:’</td>
<td>ཉ ‘spectacles’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ཤུརམ་ becomes ཤུན ‘prayer’ and -mø: in thun: ‘prayer’).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Example with pʰy: ‘offer (hon.)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-eeʔ</td>
<td>‘to x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>‘to x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bo/ po</td>
<td>‘(the act of) x-ing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kʰʔ:</td>
<td>‘the one x-ing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>‘the place of x-ing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tʰ:</td>
<td>‘the way of x-ing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -eeʔ, -ni and -bo/ po are verbal nouns which refer to the action denoted by the verb, whereas the markers -kʰʔ: , -sa and -tʰ: 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 (-eeʔ, -ni and -bo/ po) and other nominalizers (-kʰʔ: , -sa and -tʰ: ), 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 -tʰ: is that the former participate in tense, aspect and evidentiality-marking auxiliary constructions (e.g. pʰy:-eeʔ beʔ [offer-INF EQU NE] ‘will offer, offers’) whereas the latter do not. Furthermore, infinitives are the forms used in complements clauses (see §14), which is the basic function of infinitives/masdars cross-linguistically (Shagal 2017: 5).

All the markers in Table 3.5 can nominalize a clause. To accommodate uses as clausal nominalizers, I refer to -kʰʔ:, -sa and -tʰ: as nominalizers rather than as “nominal suffixes”.

The general term nominalizer subsumes also infinitives, which are here considered a special

---

99 -ni is close in meaning to -eeʔ but less productive. For more information, see §3.3.6.2 and §8.2.8.

100 The nominalizer -kʰʔ:, on the other hand, participates in the present habitual construction (pʰy:-kʰʔ: beʔ [offer -NMLZ EQU NE] ‘offers’). However, because of its otherwise noun-like semantics, it is not called an infinitive.
class of nominalized forms (i.e. those nominalized forms which nominalize action itself). The three infinitive forms are discussed under verbal suffixes in §3.3.6. The next section describes the nominalizers -kʰɛ̃, -sa and -tãː 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 -kʰɛ̃: (§3.2.4.3), -sa (§3.2.4.4) and tãː (§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 ར་ pa) ‘person having to do with’ (Beyer 1992: 120) and the nominalizer -pa/ba in Classical Tibetan (Beyer 1992: 299). The uses of -po/bo are varied and complex in Denjongke, as shown by the summary of uses in Table 3.5.

Table 3.6 Uses of the suffix -po/bo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Unproductive</th>
<th>Productive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-po</td>
<td>noun, verb</td>
<td>numeral, noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-po/bo</td>
<td></td>
<td>pers. name, place name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).101 Whereas the unproductive uses have generally resisted voicing assimilation (e.g. lũng-po/lünkpo ཀ་ཟེག་ ‘locality, place’), the productive uses are more prone to voicing assimilation (e.g. դོ་-m-bo ‘the act of coming’, see also Table 2.7). As shown by the last row in Table 3.6, in this thesis those uses of -po which are considered lexicalized and unproductive (i.e. when -po is seen attached to other nouns than personal names and place names) are not glossed at all. The productive uses, on the other hand, are glossed according to the specific uses, because this practice is more informative than using the same gloss (for instance “nominalizer”) for all the uses.

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

tṣopo/tsepo ‘debate (noun)’ from WT ར་ rtsod ‘debate (verb)’

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

sāmpo ‘bridge’ from WT རོ་ sam ‘line, continuity’
lünkpo ‘locality, place’ from WT རོ་ 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

101 For similar argumentation for -pa vs. -pa/ba in Purik, see Zemp (2018: 110).
person x’ and with a location the meaning is ‘person who is from location x’. For an associative meaning where -po/bo attaches to a personal noun, consider (3.5).\(^{102}\)

\[(3.5) \text{ཨུ་རྒྱན་ ཚེ་རིང་བྔོ་ ད་རིང་ བྱ༹ས་བ་ སྔོང} \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ugjen} & \text{ts'ériŋ-bo} & \text{t'ariŋ} & \text{p'ina} & \text{hotel} & \text{oupening p'ja-wa}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{PN} \\
\text{PN-ASSOC} \\
\text{today} \\
\text{over.there} \\
\text{hotel(Eng.)} \\
\text{opening(Eng.)} \\
\text{do-PUR}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{go.PFV}
\]

‘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:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{qéndzo-po} & \text{‘Sikkim-dweller; person from qéndzó: (བོས་ལྔོས་ 'bras-ljongs ‘Sikkim’) of Sikkimese Bhutia ethnicity’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{gjar-po} & \text{‘Indian’ from gjagar ‘India’ (WD རྒྱ་གར་ rgya-gar)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{philiŋ-po/} & \text{‘foreigner’ from philiŋ ‘out(side)’ (WD གི་གིང་ phyi-gling)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{tɕʰiliŋ-po} & \text{‘outsider, non-Buddhist’ from WT གི་གིང་ phyi-gling}
\end{array}
\]

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

Some more lexicalized forms may also be characterized as associative:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nāpo} & \text{‘fisherman’ from WT ན་ nya ‘fish’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{eiŋpo} & \text{‘farmer’ from WT བྲང་ zhing ‘field’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nē:po} & \text{‘patient’ from WT ནེ་ nad ‘illness’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nāŋpo} & \text{‘insider, Buddhist’ from WT གི་ nang ‘inside(s)’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{tɕʰipo} & \text{‘outsider, non-Buddhist’ from WT གི་ phyi ‘outside’}
\end{array}
\]

Occasionally the suffix -po/bo also attaches to a verb to mark the agent, e.g. kʰuː zoː-bo [bread make-po] ‘bread maker, baker’, tead dum-bo [iron hit-po] ‘iron-hitter, blacksmith’.

This use of -po/bo overlaps the semantic domain of the nominalizer -kʰɛ́ (§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 -kʰɛ́ 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).

---

\(^{102}\) For the associative use of the largely similar morpheme -pa in the Tibetic language Purik, see Zemp (2018: 112).

\(^{103}\) The variant initials tɕʰi and pʰi derive from two different reflexes of WT གི་ phyi ‘out(side)’, the first corresponding to the typical Central Tibetan pronunciation and the latter (pʰi) to the typical Sikkimese reflex of གི. Yet another alternative pronunciation for the word is tɕʰiriŋ-po. The meaning foreigner may also be expressed by the word tɕʰiga-po (བོས་ལྔོས་ phyi-rgyal-po).
3.2.4.2 Nominal suffix -m(u)

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

Table 3.7. Some masculine-feminine noun pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>WD</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>WD</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʼu</td>
<td>བུ</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
<td>pʼum</td>
<td>བུ་མྔོ</td>
<td>‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>སྐྱ་</td>
<td>‘god’</td>
<td>lamu</td>
<td>སྐྱ་ཞེ</td>
<td>‘goddess’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge:p, ge:po, ge:pu</td>
<td>རྒྱལ་ rgyal</td>
<td>‘king’</td>
<td>ge:m(u)</td>
<td>རྒྱལམ་ rgyalm</td>
<td>‘queen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʼjapu</td>
<td>བྱ༹་ཕྱོ་ b’ya-pho</td>
<td>‘rooster, cockerel’</td>
<td>pʼjam</td>
<td>བྱ༹མ་ b’yam</td>
<td>‘female bird, hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jóku</td>
<td>གྱོག་ཀུ་ gyog-ku</td>
<td>‘servant’</td>
<td>jóm</td>
<td>གྱོག་མ་ gyogm</td>
<td>‘servant (fem.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopøn</td>
<td>གཞིབ་དཔྔོན་ khrab-dpon</td>
<td>‘director, principal (m.)’</td>
<td>gopøm</td>
<td>གཞིབ་དཔྔོནམ་ khrab-dponm</td>
<td>‘director, principal (fem.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lópøn</td>
<td>སོ་དཔྔོན་ slo-dpon</td>
<td>‘teacher (m.)’</td>
<td>lópøm</td>
<td>སོ་དཔྔོནམ་ slo-dponm</td>
<td>‘female teacher’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʼapøn</td>
<td>ཤཁབ་དཔྔོན་ ‘khrab-dpon</td>
<td>‘actor’</td>
<td>tʼapøm</td>
<td>ཤཁབ་དཔྔོནམ་ ‘khrab-dponm</td>
<td>‘actress’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ge:m[u]) or adding -mo/mu to the masculine stem (as with lamu), it is the form -pøn (WT དཔྔོན་ 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 བདེ་འཕུལ་ mchur-pa > D teʰi:p ‘spleen’, WT སྙན་མོ sras-mo > D སྙན་ sə:m ‘daughter (hon.)’. Second, WT -pa, which is retained in Lhasa Tibetan, usually results in -po in Denjongke, e.g. WT དགས་པ་ dgon-pa > D དགས་ gompo ‘monastery’. Third, in Denjongke /p/ in the nominalizer is elided when preceded by a velar stop, WT བཀལ་པ་ lako ‘hand’.

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

3.2.4.3 Nominalizer -kʰɛː:
The nominalizer -kʰɛː can be added to any verb which allows an actor. The combination refers to the person who does the action.
p’ja-kʰː ‘doer’
tøŋ-kʰː ‘the one who shows’
tãː-kʰː ‘sender’

The form -kʰː derives from Classical Tibetan मཁन mกด ‘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 -kʰː expresses the meaning ‘the one who does action x’, in clausal nominalization -kʰː may express the meaning ‘the one which is x-ed’. The use of -kʰː in clausal nominalization is described in §13.2.1 (relative clauses).

3.2.4.4 Nominalizer -sa

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

zak-sa བཱོགས་ ‘place to put something, storage’
do-sa དོ་ ‘place to stay, dwelling’
zu-sa བུགས་ ‘place to stay, dwelling (hon.)’
dzim-sa དིམས་ ‘place to sleep, bedroom (hon.)’
ki-sa ཀི་ ‘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:

v’a:sa རོང་ ‘level place, plain’ (lit. plain-place) (Richhi 60)

3.2.4.5 Nominalizer -tãː

The nominalizer -tãː, deriving from WT སྟངས stãng ‘manner, mode’, turns verbs into nouns with the meaning ‘the manner of x-ing’.

né:-tãː མིང་ ‘situation, condition (lit. dwell-manner)’
kʰa-lap-tãː དབུ་ ‘manner of speaking (lit. mouth-speak-manner)’
p’ja-tãː བྱས་ ‘manner of doing (lit. do-manner)’
tëa:-tãː བི་ ‘composition (lit. be.established-manner)’

3.2.5 Compounding

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

NOUN + NOUN

The semantic relationship of the two nouns that form a compound can be various. For instance, the nouns maybe (close to) synonyms, as in (3.6). The use of two similar nouns to form a new noun reveals the preference in Denjongke for disyllabicity in nouns. This
preference may be motivated by the need to disambiguate nominal lexemes from potentially homonymous monosyllabic verbal lexemes.

(3.6) **lùk-so**: བུ་སྐྱོད་ ‘tradition (lit. tradition-custom)’

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

(3.7) **pʰa-ma, pʰam** རི་, རི་ ‘parents (lit. father-mother)’

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

(3.8) a) **mìk-teʰu** རིག་ཆུ ‘tear (lit. eye-water)’
   b) **teʰu-mi?** རིག་གུག ‘spring (lit. water-eye)’
   c) **bja-neʔ?** འབྱུ་ནད ‘illness of the rainy season (lit. summer-illness or rice-illness)’
   d) **aŋ-s-o-taʔ** ཨ་ཇྔོ་སྟག ‘tiger (lit. grandfather-tiger)’
   e) **álu-kiu** ཨ་ལུ་ཀེའུ ‘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) a) **ám-tcem** མ་རིག་ ‘mother’s younger sister, father’s younger brother’s wife (lit. mother-be.small)’
   b) **ám-bom** མ་སྦྱོམ་ ‘mother’s elder sister, father’s elder brother’s wife (lit. mother-be.big)’
   c) **kʰim-pʰjaʔ** གིམ་ཕྱུ་ ‘broom (lit. house-sweep)’

**VERB + NOUN**

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

(3.10) **tʰuŋ-teʰu** འཐུང་ཆུ ‘drinking water (lit. drink-water)’

### 3.3 Verbs and verbal affixes

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

#### 3.3.1 Defining criteria for verbs

Verbs in Denjongke are words that describe events (e.g. ‘to hit’), processes (e.g. ‘to walk’), states (e.g. ‘to love’, ‘to be long’) and being (e.g. ‘is’, ‘there is’). Basic Denjongke word order is APV (or SOV), and syntactically Denjongke verbs are distinguished from other word classes by their ability to act as the head of the predicate/verb complex, which occurs at the end of the clause. The three major divisions in verbs are stative vs. dynamic verbs, controlled vs. non-controlled verbs and honorific vs. ordinary verbs, see §3.3.2-4.
In his grammar of the Tibeto-Burman language Lahu, Matisoff (1973: 193) uses a criterion for verbhood which, he says, at the time also worked for all studied Tibeto-Burman languages, namely the ability to follow directly the “negative adverb mā”. This criterion also works quite nicely in Denjongke: it is almost exclusively verbs that can be preceded by the perfective negator ma- and imperfective negator mi-. The only problem with this definition is that there are a few adjectives derived from stative verbs that may also take the negating prefix, e.g. ma-tsā:m ‘dirty’ (cf. tsā:po ‘clean’) derived from the verb tsā: ‘be clean’. However, if these adjectives, and I have not found many, are seen as essentially nominalized verbs expressing a property concept, the definition holds.104

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 mè: (cf. positive ū), neutral negated equative mèmb (cf. positive be?), personal negated existential mè? (cf. positive jò?) and sensorial negated existential mindu? (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 së ‘do (verb)’ and p’ja së ‘bird (noun)’, ta së ‘look (verb)’ and ta së ‘horse (noun)’, ga së ‘laugh; like’ (verb) and ga së ‘saddle’/ga së ‘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? ‘trust’, consisting of ló ‘mind’ and te? ‘entrust’, see §4.2.2) or a serial verb construction (e.g. bak õ: ‘bring’ consisting of bak ‘carry’ and õ: ‘come’, see §4.2.3). Complex morphology is revealed by the position of the negative prefix, which occurs between the elements, e.g. ló mi-te? ‘does not trust’, bak mi-õ: ‘does not bring’.

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

Denjongke verbs may be divided into stative and dynamic. Static verbs express time-stable qualities (e.g. ga së ‘love, like’), adjective-like property concepts (e.g. riìn së ‘be long’) and being (e.g. equative ū: së and existential jò? së), whereas dynamic verbs describe events (kjok ‘strike [of a snake]’) and processes (gju së ‘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

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104 The usual nominalizing suffix -po/bo, as seen in the positive form tsâ:po ‘clean’, is often reduced in spoken language to -m when preceded by a nasal vowel/nasal, e.g. sò:-bo be? [go.PVF-NMLZ EQU] > som be? ‘(someone) went’.
105 In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the invariable verb jà: ‘go’ is often used instead of gju and sò:.
may describe situations that hold in the present, as in (3.12-14). (Note that in (3.14) jèbbe? is a reduced pronunciation of jû-po be? [EX-2INF EQU.NE].)

(3.11) te ŋà-tea? taiciin lò(κ) ôm-bo ō.
so 1PL TPN return come-2INF EQU.PER
‘So we came back to Tashiding.’ (DB day trip)

(3.12) kʰu ŋà=lo ga-u ō.
3SGM 1SG=DAT like-2INF EQU.PER
‘He likes me.’ (KT e)

(3.13) di t’ako=di átsi rim-bo be?
this rope=DEMPH a.bit be.long-2INF EQU.NE
‘This rope is a bit too long.’ (KN e)

(3.14) Bill Gates ŋà kʰe=lo njà: ke’p jèbbe?.
Bill Gates=DAT money much EQU.NE
‘Bill Gates has a lot of money.’ (YR e)

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

(3.15) a) mù ŋà=lo ga-tsʰaː.
3SGF 1SG=DAT like-CMPL
‘She has liked me (=accepted my proposal).’ (KT e)

b) lòptsʰëː=di ɕé-tsʰaː.
lesson=DEMPH know-CMPL
‘(I) mastered the lesson (=completed knowing it).’ (KN e)

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

(3.16) ŋà teʔo=lo ga.
1SG 2SG.L=DAT like
‘I like you.’ (KN e)
3.3.3 Controllable and non-controllable verbs

Similarly to other Tibetic languages, and also other Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Sun 1999, Ding 2014: 118.), many Denjongke verbs form phonetically similar pairs in which one of the verbs describes a non-controllable (or non-volitional) action that happens by itself (e.g. tɕʰaʔ ṭogs ‘break [intr.]’) and the other verb describes an equivalent controlled (or volitional) action as caused by someone (tɕaʔ ṭogs ‘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, Häsl 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. dzyːའཛུལ་ ‘enter (controlled)’ and tɕʰyʔཚུད་ ‘enter, end up (non-controlled)’ are both intransitive and tsukབཙུག་ ‘insert (controlled)’ and sùkཟུག་ ‘insert (non-controlled)’ both occur in transitive clauses. Example (5.7) illustrates the transitive use of non-controlled sùk ‘insert, pierce’.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-controlled</th>
<th>Controlled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba: བ་ ‘catch fire, burn’</td>
<td>pa: བ་ ‘set on fire, burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰik སེན་ ‘burn (intr.)’</td>
<td>sék སེན་ ‘burn (tr.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nè: ཤེ་ ‘sleep’</td>
<td>ne: ཤེ་ ‘put to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕʰak ལཅག་ ‘be(come) broken’</td>
<td>tɕak ལཅག་ ‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰap ཕཔ་ ‘come down, descend’</td>
<td>pʰap ཕཔ་ ‘take down, cause to come down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram རམ་ ‘be destroyed’</td>
<td>ram རམ་ ‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eik སིན་ ‘be destroyed’</td>
<td>eik སིན་ ‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰyʔ སྐྱེད་ ‘enter (non-vol.), end up’</td>
<td>dzy: དྭ ‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰom མོ ‘become dry’</td>
<td>kam མོ ‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰà: མ ‘be filled’</td>
<td>kà: མ ‘fill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zu ཡུ ‘melt (intr.)’</td>
<td>zu ཡུ ‘melt (tr.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8. Non-controlled and controlled verb pairs

106 if intransitivity is defined as the lack of an affected patient-like argument.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lô</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>lô</td>
<td>‘raise up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’y?</td>
<td>‘be detached’</td>
<td>p’y?</td>
<td>‘detach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te’e?</td>
<td>‘be cut off’</td>
<td>te’i</td>
<td>‘cut off (e.g. rope, road)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’ik</td>
<td>‘come off’</td>
<td>pik</td>
<td>‘take off, remove’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô:</td>
<td>‘get wet’</td>
<td>bâ:</td>
<td>‘make wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’o:</td>
<td>‘boil (intr.)’</td>
<td>k’o:</td>
<td>‘boil (tr.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’uk</td>
<td>‘be bowed, be bent’</td>
<td>kuk</td>
<td>‘bend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gak</td>
<td>‘stop (intr.)’</td>
<td>kak</td>
<td>‘stop (tr.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’o:</td>
<td>‘be cooked’</td>
<td>ts’o:</td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ö:</td>
<td>‘become a hole’</td>
<td>tö:</td>
<td>‘make a hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’o:</td>
<td>‘be torn’</td>
<td>l’o:</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’jaŋ</td>
<td>‘hang (intr.)’</td>
<td>p’jaŋ</td>
<td>‘hang (tr.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because the term volitionality has been mentioned in the discussion above, a note on the difference between Denjongke and Tournadre & Dorje’s (2003) “Standard Tibetan” is in order. In Denjongke the verbal morphology after the volitional verb ta ‘look’ in ta-u ḍ: ‘I looked’ is identical with the non-volitional t’ō: ‘see’ in t’ō-bo ḍ: ‘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.

107 Here the reflexive form guk ‘bow, bend oneself’ form a triplet of phonologically and semantically similar verbs along with k’uk ‘be bowed, be bent’ and kuk ‘bend’
3.3.4 Ordinary, honorific and humilific verbs

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

### Table 3.9. Ordinary-honorific-humilific triads of verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Humilific</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sà སི།</td>
<td>ʑeː</td>
<td>ɕù</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰuŋ ཐུང་</td>
<td>ʑeː</td>
<td>ɕù</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèn གེན་</td>
<td>ʑeː</td>
<td>ɕù</td>
<td>‘receive, accept’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làp རབ་</td>
<td>sùŋ</td>
<td>ɕù</td>
<td>‘say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʽin བྱིན་</td>
<td>nãː</td>
<td>pʰyː</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôː ཡེ་</td>
<td>tᵉ ʼon</td>
<td>tea</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nãː with the help of the verb nãː ‘grant, give (hon.)’, e.g. kjap རྐྱབས་ > kjap-o nãː རྐྱབས་པྔོ་གནང་‘please do, strike’.

### Table 3.10. Some ordinary-honorific pairs of verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʽja བྱེ།</td>
<td>nãː</td>
<td>ཛུབ་‘do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gju འགྱུ</td>
<td>te ʼon</td>
<td>རྡོ།‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʽin བྱིན་</td>
<td>nãː</td>
<td>ཛུབ་‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sà སི།</td>
<td>zeː</td>
<td>ལེགས་‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰuŋ ཐུང་</td>
<td>zeː</td>
<td>ལེགས་‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta ཡེ།</td>
<td>ziː</td>
<td>སྔིག་‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lôː ལོ།</td>
<td>zâː</td>
<td>ལེགས་‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eeː ཇེ།</td>
<td>kʰɛn</td>
<td>ཡོང་‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nèn ཤེན</td>
<td>sên</td>
<td>མེན་‘listen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṉù ཧུ།</td>
<td>cüm</td>
<td>ེལ་‘weep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak བེ།</td>
<td>nûm</td>
<td>འབུགས་‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki ཀྱི།</td>
<td>(ku)ᵗʰuŋ</td>
<td>ལོགས་‘be born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nêː མིན་</td>
<td>zim</td>
<td>ལེགས་‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nà རོ།</td>
<td>júŋ</td>
<td>མོུ་‘become ill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci སི།</td>
<td>tʼôː</td>
<td>དོན་‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʼjuː མིག་</td>
<td>sìː</td>
<td>ལེགས་‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga ཐུགས་</td>
<td>geː</td>
<td>འབུགས་‘rejoice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to the forms given in Table 3.10, the verbs for eating and drinking also have the hyper-honorific form teʰoʔ ‘eat, drink (hyper-honorific)’, which may be used, for instance, in the presence of high lamas and royalty.

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

(3.18) ར་་དང་བཀོད་པ་་བཀོད་པ་་
sà-ne sà, man-za-ne paʔ
eat-COND eat NEG-eat-COND eat.AO.HUM
‘If you are about to eat, eat. If you are not about to eat, eat it anyway (because I am in position to tell you so).’ (Richhi 65)

As can be seen from Table 3.9 and 3.10, the humilific and honorific verbs have a wider meaning range than the equivalent ordinary verbs, often covering the meaning range of more than one (in the case of the humilific ciu even four) ordinary level verb. For instance, the ordinary verb sà has the meaning ‘eat’, whereas the honorific form ze: র্ম has the meaning range ‘eat, drink, receive, acquire’108. In the same vein, the honorific verb te’on ར་ means both ‘come’ and ‘go’, whereas the ordinary register has separate words dཾ: གྱེ་ ‘come’ and gju གྱེ་ ‘go’. Similarly, the honorific zi: བོད་ means both ‘look’ and ‘see’, when the ordinary register has two separate verbs ta དར་ ‘look’ and tʰo: གོང་ ‘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 མ་ (3.19), humilific ciu ལ་ (3.20) and honorific súŋ ལ་ (3.21), which all have the meaning ‘say’. The speaker of (3.19) is a teacher who speaks to students that could be his children’s age and does not feel the need to show special deference to the person he is referring to in the clause. Examples (3.20) and (3.21), on the other hand, are from a public speech with some distinguished guests in the audience and a referent to be honored (Chief Minister).

(3.19) འོ་ཉེ་ཉེ་ཉེ་ཉེ་ཉེ་ཉེ་ཉེ་ཉེ་ཉེ་ཉེ
tʰep=di kʰo:teʰe: ma-jâ-ge làp-o iː;
book=DEMPH expensive NEG-do-HOR say-2INF EQUI.PER
‘I said (to him): ‘Let’s not make the book expensive.”’ (KL BLA 12)

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

86
(3.20)  

word one-two=INDF chief minister.GEN in.the.presence now 1PL

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)  

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)  

this box=LOC write-RDP-2INF EX.NE

‘There is (something) written in this box...’ (TB e)

(3.23)  

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 ɲɛ̃̀ n ‘listen’.

(3.24)  

beginning=ABL finish-RDP until

‘from the beginning until the end’ (TB e)

(3.25)  

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

109 With nouns, reduplication marks iteration, see §4.1.8.
grouped according to their distribution in the verb complex. 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-cee be? [do-INF EQU.NE] ‘does, will do’. Some suffixes, such as -ce? and -teē:/zē: respectively, form finite constructions only in conjunction with an equative (EQU) or an existential auxiliary (EX). Others, such as tsʰaː, can finish a finite sentence with or without an equative auxiliary, while still others, such as -tee, 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. Note that secondary verbs, 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.

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

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

112 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes that participate in finite constructions113</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-po</td>
<td>infinitive II</td>
<td>§8.1.1, §8.1.4, §8.1.8, §13.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>infinitive III</td>
<td>§8.2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kʰɛː</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
<td>§8.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V- (EQU).</td>
<td>-tsʰaː</td>
<td>completive</td>
<td>§8.1.2, §9.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-to/do</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>§8.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V- <em>EX.</em></td>
<td>-teː/Zeː/zin114</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>§8.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V- <em>EX/EQU.</em></td>
<td>-rap</td>
<td>imminent future</td>
<td>§8.2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V- _</td>
<td>-teʔ/Ze</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>§8.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-t o</td>
<td>probilitative</td>
<td>§8.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-teh</td>
<td>friendly imperative</td>
<td>§11.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>friendly imperative</td>
<td>§11.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>suggestive</td>
<td>§11.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kɛ/ge</td>
<td>hortative</td>
<td>§11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ka/ga</td>
<td>polar interrogative</td>
<td>§11.1.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kam/gam</td>
<td>attenuated interrogat.</td>
<td>§11.1.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-loʔ</td>
<td>exclamative</td>
<td>§11.1.3.4, §11.2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exclusively nonfinal suffixes

| V- _ | -ti/di | nonfinal converb | §15.2 |
| | -pa/ba115 | circumstantial/purposive converb | §15.5.1, §15.8.1 |
| | -(patec)nɛ | conditional converb | §15.6 |
| | -raŋ | concessive converb | §15.7 |
| | -sãː, sonzãː | terminative converb | §15.12 |
| | -sɔndãː/sumdãː | simultaneous converb | §15.3.3.2 |
| | -kap | simultaneous converb | §15.3.3.4 |
| | -dyː | simultaneous converb | §15.3.3.5 |
| | -renkʰa | 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 -ceʔ, -po/bo and -ni

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

113 Some of these forms also participate in non-finite constructions, e.g. the infinitive -ceʔ may form complement clauses, see §14.1.2 and the progressive -teː/Zeː adverbial clauses of manner, see §15.8.3.

114 The form zin is the reading-style pronunciation used by literate speakers, teː and Zeː are spoken variants. In Martam (East Sikkim) teou is used instead of teː/Zeː.

115 This form has developed some finite-looking uses, see §15.8.1.
markers, -ee? and -po are more central and productive, whereas -pi is more marginal and semantically close to -ee?.

The difference between the two main infinitive markers -ee? and -po/bo may be described in terms of spatiotemporal boundedness. Whereas verbal action marked by -po/bo can be characterized as spatiotemporally bounded, -ee? marks unbounded action. Because the infinitive marked by -ee? is unbounded, it is used as a copula subject which refers to action in general (see §14.1.3). Unboundedness or open-endedness of the infinitive marked by -ee? is reflected in the fact that when followed by an auxiliary copula the construction with -ee? results in a future meaning (e.g. ŋ-enter i: [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 (om-bo šā: [come-2INF EQU.PER] ‘came’). The form V-ee? 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 -ee?, in contrast, is a distinctly verbal marker.

While the infinitive marker -po/bo has an etymon in the Classical Tibetan nominalizer -pa/bo (Beyer 1992: 299), the origin of the form -ee? (WD šā ēd) is unknown. The infinitive marker -ee? is used in the finite nonpast construction (§8.2.5) and several non-finite constructions, i.e. noun complement clauses (§13.4.2), postposition complement clauses (§13.5.2), complement clauses (§14.1.3) and in the construction VERB-INF EX (§8.4). In addition, the infinitive -ee? also occurs in short questions such as k’an p’ja-ee? [what do-INF] ‘what to do?’, k’ana gin-ee? [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 -ee? and -po/bo are illustrated in (3.26), which exemplify the present habitual and periphrastic past constructions respectively. The first infinitive -ee? is glossed as simply INF, the second infinitive -po/bo as 2INF and the third infinitive -pi as 3INF.

(3.26)  

(a)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ōdi=lo biko làp-ee be?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘It’s called “biko”.’ (PL interview)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ōdem=di ɲā: t’po-po šā:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>like=DEMPH I hear-INF2 EQU.PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I heard (a thing) like that.’ (KN e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The uses of infinitive III (marked with -pi, written šā nye) somewhat overlap with those of infinitive I (marked with -ee[ʔ]). Sandberg (1895: 40) reports two infinitive forms -she (-eeʔ) and -nyi (-pi) for Denjongke and comments that the former is used in Denjongke spoken in Lhasa Tibetan.

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116 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 e pa, šā gvit, šā rgum, šā rtsis and šā dod in Lhasa Tibetan.
Sikkim and the Tibetan variety spoken in the Tsang region of Tibet\textsuperscript{117}, whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. Sandberg (1895: 40) gives tʰuŋ-ɲi ː t as an alternative for tʰuŋ-ce ː t ‘(I) shall drink’. In my data, which is from Sikkim, -ɲi does not occur as a regular alternative to -ce(t?) but it does occur in quite a few fixed expressions, sometimes overlapping with -ce(t?). For an example of a specific construction where -ɲi is used, consider (3.27).

(3.27) a) བོད་ཀྱི་སུམ་ཅུ་གཤེགས་ཤིན།
te’ a tʰuŋ-ɲi p’ja-u ː t.
tea drink-INF do-2INF EQU.PER
‘I was about to drink tea./I attempted to drink tea/I would like to drink tea.’ (TB e)

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

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

(3.28) ལྱ་ ཆུ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ དགྔོན་པ་ན་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ སྦད།
lám ɕù watɕɛn ɛgjømpa=na zu:-kʰɛn beʔ.
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 -kʰɛː: in the present habitual use, see §8.2.3

3.3.6.3 Completive -tsʰa(ː)
The completive form -tsʰa(ː) (written ὀ tshar) derives from the Classical Tibetan verb ὀ tshar ‘complete’ and denotes a completed action. Cognates of -tsʰaː are used in a sense similar to Denjongke in other Tibetic languages, such as Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016: 222), Dzongkha (Watters 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) ཆུ་ གཡྔོག་ བྱ༹ ༄།
ŋà jó p’ja-tsʰaː.
1SG work do-CMPL
‘I finished the work (or ‘working’).’ (KN e)

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

\textsuperscript{117} Sandberg (1895: 12) reports Sikkimese Bhutias (=Denjongpos/Lhopos) to have originally come from the Tsang region in Tibet.
3.3.6.4 Imperfective -to/do

The imperfective marker -to/do (written བོ་ 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 བོི/be?). The range of uses of the imperfective covers past habitual and progressive, present habitual and progressive, and immediate future. For a present habitual example, see (3.30).

(3.30) བུམ་ ཆུང་བྔོ་ ཆྔོད་སིད་ ལབ་ཏྔོ་ སྦད།
pʼum tɕʰumbo tɕʰokiʔ là-p-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 tɕɛ̃ː/ʑɛ̃ː/ (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 bzhin may mark present participle and bzhin-du gerund. The reading-style pronunciation of the form in Denjongke is zin, a form which also occurs in the spoken language of literate speakers. The forms -tɕɛ̃ː/ʑɛ̃ː are allomorphs, whereas -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) kʰoː tʼatʼo tʼep dok-zin duʔ.
3SG.HON now book read-PROG EX.SEN
‘He is reading now (I see).’ (KN e)

Phonetically, tɕɛ̃ː/ʑɛ̃ː are realised as teen/zen when followed by a dental (i.e. kjap-teen 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 གབས་ 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) kʰu gju-rap beʔ.
3SGM go-IMF EQU.NE
‘He’s about to go.’ (KN e)

For a more detailed treatment, refer to §8.2.7.
3.3.6.7 Past *-tɕɛ/zɛ*

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

\[(3.33) \quad (\text{Sandberg 1895: 42})\]
\[
p'y-a-she \quad \text{‘to do’}  
\text{zhe or che} \quad \text{‘did’}  
\text{zhe song} \quad \text{‘has done’}\]

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

\[(3.34) \quad (\text{Sandberg 1895: 42})\]
\[
\text{ʒā} \quad \text{joʔ} \quad \text{p'ja-ze.}  
\text{1SG.AGT work do-PST} \]
\[\text{‘I worked.’ (KN e)}\]

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

3.3.6.8 Probabilitative *-tɕʰi*

The probabilitative *-tɕʰi*, 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 བོམ/ོམ gro, པོ་ pro (Richhi) and བོམ/ོམ kro, the last of which is used in this thesis to represent spoken examples.\(^{118}\) The probabilitative marker attaches directly to the verb root, constructing a final verb form which signals that the speaker considers it possible or probable that the proposition is true, i.e. the meaning ranges from ‘maybe’ to ‘probably’.

\[(3.35) \quad (\text{Sandberg 1895: 42})\]
\[
t'ɕʰøʔ \quad t'a \quad tsʰo=di \quad \text{ge: mi-tsʰu:-tɕʰi.}  
\text{2SG.L now lake=DEMPH cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB} \]
\[\text{‘Now you probably won’t be able to cross the lake.’ (KT animal story)}\]

For more examples, refer to §8.5.1.

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

The friendly imperative forms *-tɕʰi* (WD བོམ/ོམ chi, although the phonetically less accurate form བོམ/ོམ cig from Central Tibetan is used by many authors) and *-da* (WD བོམ/ོམ da) and the suggestive *-na* (WD བོམ/ོམ na) attach to the verb root. The two first ones have cognates WT བོམ/ོམ shig (phon. -ei) and WT བོམ/ོམ dang (phon. -ta) in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003:

\(^{118}\) The form བོམ/ོམ kro is preferable to བོམ/ོམ gro, because the latter would word-medially typically result in voiced pronunciation. The form བོམ/ོམ kro is also preferable to བོམ/ོམ pro, because the former retains the velar place of articulation suggested by the etymon བོམ/ོམ gro.
244). Denwood (1999: 168) calls these two markers “friendly imperatives”, a term which is also adopted here because the use is similar.

(3.36) a) soup

\[\text{suːp zɛː-po náː-teʰi.}\]

‘Please, have (some) soup.’ (KT discussion with TB)

b) ང་ལྔོ་ ཆུ་ ạtུགས་ཅིག་ གནང་ད།

\[\text{ŋà=lo teʰ u eyːt ey náː-da.}\]

‘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 pʽja-tei with the imperative form pʽja-teʰi. The wave forms of the two forms are given in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Wave forms from nonsensical pʽja-tei and imperative pʽja-teʰi ‘do!’ (KUN)

As seen in Figure 3.1, the prevocalic affrication is more prominent in pʽja-teʰi than in pʽja-tei. I suspect that sometimes, although not in Figure 3.1, the difference to -tei is rather voicelessness, tei. At present, the form is written -teʰi.

The suggestive -na is probably an old conditional form, which, although typically nowadays pronounced as -ne (West Sikkim) or -no/nu (East and North Sikkim), is still often written as WD 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་ ལྔོག་སྟི་ འགྱུ་ན་

\[\text{màlaʔ lòkti giu-na}\]

‘Please go quickly back…’ (Nga’i ’gan 9-10)

For a more detailed description of imperatives, see §11.3.2.
3.3.6.10 Hortative -ke/ge
The hortative form -ke/ge, which is used for first person singular (‘let me’) and plural (‘let us’) exhortation, is cognate with a similarly functioning morpheme in neighbouring Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 235).

(3.38) ὕτεςα? ք’ա: ց’ու? ռան=գի քէ:=տո ջարգե?
1PL what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development
tan-ge=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), -te/ze (past) or -ee(ʔ) (infinitive).

(3.39) a) դེ་ལམ་དེ་སིལི་ཉུ་སེབས་ཀ རེ་？
   di làm=di siliguri lep-ka?
this road=DEMPH TPN arrive-PQ
‘Does this road reach Siliguri?’ (KN e)

b) դེ་ལམ་དེ་སིལི་ཉུ་སེབས་ཀི་？
   di làm=di siliguri lep-kam?
this road=DEMPH TPN arrive-ATTQ
‘Does this road reach Siliguri, I wonder?’ (KN e)

For the full discussion, see §11.1.

3.3.6.12 Exclamative -lo(ʔ)
The marker -loʔ can attach to (monosyllabic) stative verbs. It is the reflex of Written Tibetan སློ las, for which Jäschke (1881: 554) gives the meaning ‘in truth, indeed” and provides the following example: mgon-skyabs rang-las yin ‘He is indeed the helper.’ In Standard Tibetan -loʔ (WD སློ las) 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’ཟེམ་ཀ’ཟེ.da. lè:-loʔ.
how cleaning be.good-EXCLAM
‘How well tidied up!’ (Richhi 45)

119 This word is used specifically for the cleaning done for the annual New Year’s festival Losung.
For more information on -lo?, 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 བློ་ sdi) is cognate with the form བློ་ ste/de (pronounced -di) in Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 296) and bears functional similarity to Lhasa Tibetan subordination marker -ni (ནུས) (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) བློ་ ལྔོང་ འཁྱུ།
then this,GEN before morning rise-NF mouth-hand wash
‘Before that I rise up and wash my face and hands.’ (KT discussion with TB)

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

3.3.6.14 Circumstantial-purposive converb -pa/ba
The circumstantial-purposive converb pa/ba marks an attendant circumstance to the verb in the main clause, see (3.42). 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 ག་/ི་ 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) བློ་ ལྔོང་ འཁྱུ།
then this,GEN before morning rise-NF month-hand wash
‘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) བློ་ ལྔོང་ འཁྱུ།
then this,GEN before morning rise-NF month-hand wash
‘The two of us came to see Bhai.’ (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

120 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 ུྡུ་ ‘drinking’, བློ་ ‘going’, བློ་ ‘coming’, བློ་ 'becoming long', but བློ་/མོ་- བློ་ ‘finishing’, བློ་ ‘rushing’ (see also §2.7.1).
121 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.
examples on the adverbial use, see §15.5.1. (purposive) §15.8.1 (circumstantial). The circumstantial -pa/ba also occurs as a final marker, the use of which I do not fully understand, see the latter part of §15.8.1.

3.3.6.15 Conditional converb -(patec)ne/(batec)ne

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

(3.44) ལྷ་མ་ ར་ མི་ མ། བ། མོ་ འཛོམས་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་
ηάταʔ? naː mi ke:po dzom-batecne...
1PL here human a.lot gather-COND
‘If we gather here as many people…’ (NAB BLA 7)

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

3.3.6.16 Concessive converb -ruŋ

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

(3.45) བྲུལ་ བྲུལ་ སྐྱེན་ སྐྱེན་ སྐྱེན་
tʰuːtsʰotʔ teukteiʔ duŋ-ruŋ
clock.time eleven strike-CONC
‘Although it’s (past) eleven o’clock…’ (Richhi 43)


3.3.6.17 Terminative converbs -sãː and -sonzãː:

The terminative converbs -sãː and -sonzãː: both probably derive from the terminative postposition =sãː: (WD ཡཝ zang). The first part of -sonzãː is probably historically the secondary verb WT song སློང་ ‘go’ (the sibilant in =sãː: becomes voiced after sː). 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.

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122 The form used in the novel Richhi is ར་ na. Sandberg (1895: 56) reports the spoken -ne 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).

123 An alternative origin is WT སློང་ tsang ‘because’, which may be reflected in the causal uses of the terminative construction.
In my data, only the short form *-sā: (WD ལྷ zang) occurs in writing, whereas the spoken language uses both forms *-sā: and *-sonzā:.

3.3.6.18 Simultaneous converb *-sondā/-somdā/-sumdā/-tsubda:

The simultaneous converbal endings *-sondā/-somdā/-sumdā/-tsubda: do not occur in written language. My current hypothesis is that the forms derive from the nominalized/infinitivized form of the secondary verb sō: ‘go (past)’ followed by the conjunct tʼā: ‘and’, sō:-bo tʼā: [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 *-somdā/-sumdā: arise from the reduction of the nominalizer -po/bo to -m, a process which occurs elsewhere in fast speech, e.g. tō:-bo bɛʔ > tō:-m bɛʔ ‘(he) saw’. The form son-dā: could then be a further assimilation of the nasal. Although individual speakers may favour one of the forms *-somdā/*-sumdā:, the data bear some evidence that these three forms may fall within the enunciatory potential of one person.

The forms *sōndā/-somdā/-sumdā: are to be contrasted with the form *-tsubda:, which only occurs in the speech of one elderly speaker from Pemayangtse (West Sikkim). This form derives less likely from the secondary verb sō:. A possible origin of the form is the nominalized completive marker *-tsʰaː-bo=dãː > *tsʰou=dãː > tsub-dãː. These observations are as yet hypotheses. The forms in this dissertation presented as unified converbal suffixes and written with the experimental Denjongke spellings སོང་དང་ song-dang for *-sondā:, སོང་མདོ་ songm-dang for both *-som-dā: and *sum-dā:, and སུབ་དང་ tsub-dang for *tsubda:. These forms code action that at least partly temporally overlaps with the action denoted by the following verb, see (3.47).

(3.47) སྐབས་ བསྔོ་ བྱུས་སྟི་ བདག་ན་ དེགས་སྐབས་
nim eːa:-sumdāː òdeː ei-k'en be?:
sun shine-SIM like.that die-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘When the sun shines, (they) die like that.’ (KT discussion with TB)

For more examples and discussion, see §15.3.3.2.

3.3.6.19 Simultaneity markers *-kap, *-dyː and *-reŋkʰa

The simultaneity markers *-kap (written སཀོ་ skabs), *-dyː (written སུས dus) and *-reŋkʰa124 (written རང་ཁ རང་ kha) derive from Written Tibetan words related to time, WT skabs ‘time, moment’, WT dus ‘time, season’ WT ran ‘be time to’. The last one is further supplemented by the locative suffix *-kʰa. They all attach directly to the verb root, as shown in (3.48-50), although *-kap more typically occurs with a nominalized and genitivized verb.

(3.48) སྐབས་ བསྔོ་ བྱུས་སྟི་ བདག་ན་ བདག་ན་
lāŋkʰor=na nè:po t'u-ti dek-kap...
car=LOC patient pick-NF set.inside=SIM
‘When the patient is being picked up and placed inside the car...’ (Richhi 172)

124 Some speakers pronounce the final vowel long *-reŋkʰa.
(3.49) དེ་ བདེ་་ གཞན་…
     go  t’aypo nà:  òn-dỳ:…
start first here some-SIM
‘When (I) at first came here...’ (KT life story)

(3.50) དེ་ བདེ་་ གཞན་…
     go  t’aypo nà:  òn-dỳ:…
start first here some-SIM
‘When I studied at school...’ (KT life story)

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

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

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

Table 3.12. Simple copulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Sensorial</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>decl.</td>
<td>interr.</td>
<td>decl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EQ</td>
<td>ī/mè?</td>
<td>pā/mèna</td>
<td>bo/mèmbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>नित्य/अंत</td>
<td>स्वाभाविक</td>
<td>(also =pe? अंत)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>jù?/mè?</td>
<td>du?/mindu?</td>
<td>bo/mèmbho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pos./neg.)</td>
<td>अंत/अंत</td>
<td>(jébhé?/mèbhé?)</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>मे/अंत</td>
<td>(अंत/अंत/अंत)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of the copulas is described in §7. Comments in this section are limited to phonology, morphology and etymology. While the personal equative ī: and the existentials du? and jù? have clear Classical Tibetan etymons यी 'yin, दु 'dug and यो 'yod respectively, the origin of

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125 This form is homophonic and homographic (in WD) with the nominalized form mèm-bo used in such expression as mèm-bo be? ‘is/was not’.
126 This is an innovative WD form.
evidently neutral equative be?\(^{227}\) is unclear. Semantically be? is somewhat similar to Lhasa Tibetan དབུ། སྐད་ རེད. Morphologically it resembles the Shigatse evidently neutral copula pieg (Haller 2000: 186), the Lhomi copula bet\(^{228}\) (neg. mem-pet, Vesalainen 2016) and the last syllable of the Kyirong Tibetan (Lende) copula jimbe:], which codes recently acquired generally valid facts (Huber 2000: 157). Moreover, [bet\(\{\)] is found instead of [re\(\{\)] /red/ in some Tsang Tibetan varieties (Tournadre & Jiatso 2001: 82). According to Bielmeier (2000: 121), the Shigatse pieg and Lhomi bet derive from Written Tibetan རེད་ གྱེད ‘make’. The same may be true of Denjongke be?.

The interrogative copula piá very likely derives from a historical interrogated personal copula *in-na, which has productive cognates at least in Dzongkha in-na (van Driem 1998: 367), Shigatse Tibetan ji-na (Haller 2000: 75) and Standard Tibetan jin-na (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 223). The historical affirmative interrogative *in-na has through frequent use been synchronically reduced to piá, while its negative, still productive counterpart mën-(na) leaves the copular origin more transparent (mën is the negation of personal equative ã). It is not at all clear whether na retains high pitch/register which would be expected on the basis of the source form in-na ཞིན་. As long as detailed phonological study on its behaviour is unavailable, I find it instructive to mark the high pitch in order to retain the connection to the source form and thus keep open to discussion the possible phonological/phonetic effects caused by the source. The apparentative equative de:/re:, 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker type</th>
<th>Polarity</th>
<th>Direct polar questions</th>
<th>Att. polar and content questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal equative</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>piá, in-ga</td>
<td>nám in-gam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>mën-a, mën-ga</td>
<td>mën-am, mën-gam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral equative</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>bo, be-ka</td>
<td>be-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>mêmbo, mêmbe-ka</td>
<td>mêmbe-kam (?)(^{229})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is highly likely that Written Denjongke (WD) ཞིན་ སྨན་ 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་ སྨན་ 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 གྲིགས་ grigs

\(^{227}\) I have heard some older speakers in Barapathing, East Sikkim, use the form mé? instead of be?. Similar ambivalence is seen in Grierson (1909: 121), who lists “bá, pä and má” 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 cp smad and the pronunciation given as “má” (Grierson 1909: 123, 125).

\(^{228}\) Lhomi allows for word-final plosive /t/ to be realized. In Denjongke, the dental plosive is reflected in writing cp shad, but the spoken realization of the final plosive is a glottal stop or a lengthened vowel.

\(^{229}\) 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.
‘be alright, suit’, which forms དེ་མཚན་གི་ ‘grigs-ke /ðike/ ‘it’s alright’. Other constructions where the intensifier possibly occurs are the progressive construction -tsʰa-ke (see §8.3.3) and the completive construction tsʰa-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 -kc/ke, see §11.4.

3.4 Adjectives

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

3.4.1 Defining criteria for adjectives

In some languages, there is no separate class of adjectives, which would be distinguishable from verbs and nouns. In Denjongke, however, there are some morphosyntactic criteria for positing a separate class of adjectives. Adjectives are distinguishable from verbs by their ability to appear as copula complements and from nouns by their ability to act more freely as noun modifiers (but see §4.1.2.4 for examples of bare nouns as modifiers of other nouns). Most adjectives are disyllabic 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. lêm ‘good’ < WT legs-mo/legs-po, sá(pu) ‘new’ < WT gsar-po.

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

(3.51) teã-ʔa? རྡེང་དུགས་ ‘beautiful’ (from teã: རེ་ ‘be beautiful’)
teã-teʰiteʰi རྡེང་ཐོད་ ‘beautiful’ (from teã: རེ་ ‘be beautiful’)
dzam-tom དབུས་གཏོད་ ‘easy’ (from dzam དབ་ ‘be easy’)
kʰiːz spoiler-taʔa? སྲེང་ཧོ་བོ ‘quick to anger’ (from kʰiːz spoiler ‘anger’)
gja-teʰaʔa? རྫ་ཀྲོང་ ‘vast’ (from gja ར ‘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’, teʰuŋteʰuŋ ‘small’). Furthermore, gradient adjectives may be distinguished from nouns (and verbs) by the ability to take the superlative suffix -eo?, e.g. zaŋpo ‘good’ > zãː-eo? ‘best’, kʰe:teʰaʔa? ‘important’ > kʰe:teʰi-coʔ ‘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. lêm ‘be good’ > lêm ‘good’, dzam ‘be easy’ > dzampu, dzamtom, dzamtaʔ ‘easy’, riʔ: ‘be long(er)’ > rinju, rinjat ‘long’. Some of the adjectives

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130 This form may be influenced by the frequent Hindi expression тिक हे: ‘it’s alright’.
derived from verbs also take the verbal negator prefix in adjectival negation, e.g. teːaː > ‘be beautiful’ teːaː-taʔ ‘beautiful’ > m-a-teːaː.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) ཡོད་ལ་ ཡོན་ཏོས་ གིས།  
k'adi  dzampu  beʔ?
which   easy   EQU.NE
‘Which (one) is easier?’ (KT e)

b) ཡོད་ལ་ ཡོན་ཏོས་ གིས།  
k'adi  dzam-gam?
which   be.easy-ATTQ
‘Which (one) is easier, I wonder?’ (KT e)

(3.53)  
a) འབྲེལ་ ཞེས་་ སྟེང་ སྟུགས་ དཔེར་ སྟེང་ སྟུགས་ མོས་ དཔེར་ སྟུགས་ སྟུགས་ རྡུ་  
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) ཡོད་ལ་ ཡོན་ཏོས་ གིས།  
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) ཡོད་ལ་ ཡོན་ཏོས་ རྐྱེན་ སྣང་ ནང་ཤ་ལྔོ་ ལེ་ སྦྱོམ།  
di t'ŋu=di  di=l  riŋku  beʔ.
this    pen=DEMPH    this=ABL    long    EQU.NE
‘This pen is longer than this.’ (TB e)

b) ཡོད་ལ་ ཡོན་ཏོས་ རྐྱེན་ སྣང་ ལེ་ སྦྱོམ།  
te'aduŋ=di  átsi  rim-bo  beʔ.
tea-churn=DEMPH   a.bit   be(.too).long   EQU.NE
The tea churn is a bit (too) long. (PT e)

(3.55)  
a) བོད་ རྩོང་ ཚུ་ རྡུ་  
k'jòː  te'wnte'uy=teiʔ?  nàŋcə=lo  nà  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) ཡོད་ལ་ ཡོན་ཏོས་  
ŋà  zuː  te'uy=ce=di  kjap-tiː.
1SG   body   be.small-INF=DEMPH   do-INF
‘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/mà: ‘(be) many’, riŋku > riŋ ‘(be) long’).
The short forms may also occur in contexts where a longer form would usually be expected, see (3.57) employing ɕɛ̀m ‘stupid’, although the longer form cɛ̂mpo is used elsewhere in the same story in identical position.

(3.57) བེ་ ལོས་ ཡི་ 
l’om cɛ̀m=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) རྟོན་ སྐྱེི་ 
teʰa:p bom-tsʰa:
rain grow-CMPL
‘Rain has increased.’ (oh, Tashiding)

(3.59) རྟོན་ སྐྱེི་ སྐྱེི་ 
teʰa:p bom du-ke:
rain big/grow EX.SEN-IN
‘Rain has increased.’ (oh, Tashiding)

After this introduction, the following two sections describe adjective forming suffixes and adjective-modifying suffixes.

### 3.4.2 Adjective-forming suffixes

Denjongke adjectives are formed from stative verb or noun roots. The most frequent adjective-forming suffix is -ʈaʔ, which does not have the “excessive” meaning that its cognate has in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 229). It typically attaches to stative verbs but occasionally also to nouns (e.g. ɲɛ̋ntaʔ ‘pleasant to hear’ from ɲɛ̋ ‘ear [hon.]’). For examples, consider (3.60):
The suffix -po, 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 སོགས་ ‘big’ and riŋku རྒྱུག་ ‘long’ derive from stative verbs, I have not seen short forms of the colour terms such as mà: མཚན་ used as verbs. The short colour terms, however, occur in compounds such as t’o-na? དར་ ‘load-black’ (time of economic oppression of peasants in Sikkimese history).

(3.61)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bom-pu</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>(from bom སོགས་ ‘be big’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riŋ-ku</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
<td>(from riŋ རྒྱུག་ ‘be long’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cim-pu</td>
<td>‘delicious’</td>
<td>(from cim རྒྱུག་ ‘be delicious’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ak-u</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
<td>(from k’ak རིག་ ‘be bitter’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 སོགས་ can be generally used for writing the adjectivizing suffix -ta?.

Sandberg (1895: 32-33) lists te’empo and te’e as ‘great’ and bompo as ‘thick (also ‘loud’)’. Walsh (1905: 4) glosses bompu as ‘big’. 

131 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 སོགས་ can be generally used for writing the adjectivizing suffix -ta?.

132 Sandberg (1895: 32-33) lists te’empo and te’e as ‘great’ and bompo as ‘thick (also ‘loud’)’. Walsh (1905: 4) glosses bompu as ‘big’. 

104
All the words in (3.61) deriving from verbs, can also be adjectivized by -ṭaʔ. A difference between the present description of Denjongke and that of Sandberg (1895) is that the adjectives in Sandberg’s (1895: 71) tsʰaʔo ‘hot’ (here tsʰaʔaʔ?) and Sandberg’s (1895: 69) kʰakpo ‘difficult’ (here kʼakṭaʔ).

The suffix -m(o), which has been used for deriving feminine nouns (see §4.2.6) is also used as an adjective-forming suffix in a few adjectives.

(3.62)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’oː-m</td>
<td>བྱོོ་</td>
<td>‘warm’</td>
<td>(from t’oʔ བོད་ ‘heat’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’oː-m</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>‘cold (of liquid)’</td>
<td>(from k’oʔ བོད་ ‘to be cold’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyː-mo</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>‘common, ordinary’</td>
<td>(from WT བོད་ ‘altogether’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɛ̀-m</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>(from lɛ̀ʔ བོད་ ‘be good’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mà-le-m/mà-le-p</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>‘not good, bad’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(3.63)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰoː-to-teʰiʔaʔ</td>
<td>གཅོད་</td>
<td>‘quick-tempered’</td>
<td>(from kʰoːʔ གཅོད་ ‘anger’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa-teʰiʔaʔ</td>
<td>གཅོད་</td>
<td>‘invaluable’</td>
<td>(from tsa གཙུ་ ‘root, nerve’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzik-teʰiʔaʔ</td>
<td>གཅོད་</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>(from WT གཙུ་ ‘weight, heaviness’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gia-teʰiʔaʔ</td>
<td>གཅོད་</td>
<td>‘vast’</td>
<td>(from gia གཙུ་ ‘extent’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>euk-teʰe</td>
<td>གཅོད་</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
<td>(from euk གཙུ་ ‘strength’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’eː-teʰe</td>
<td>གཅོད་</td>
<td>‘important’</td>
<td>(from k’eː གཙུ་ ‘importance’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nám-teʰe</td>
<td>གཅོད་</td>
<td>‘proud’</td>
<td>(from nám གཙུ་ ‘arrogance’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nám-teʰuŋ</td>
<td>གཅོད་</td>
<td>‘humble’</td>
<td>(from nám གཙུ་ ‘arrogance’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɛ́m-teʰuŋ</td>
<td>གཅོད་</td>
<td>‘humble’</td>
<td>(from sɛ́m གཙུ་ ‘mind’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reduplicated suffix -teʰiteʔi (deriving from WT གཙུ་ che ‘great, big’) forms adjectives from stative verbs:
Specific intensifying suffixes not occurring with other adjectives may be used with the frequent adjectives rimk'u and bompu. The suffix -kʰjam (WD ཁམ་ khyam) is used in Tashiding (West Sikkim) and -pam/kam (WD མམ་/ཀམ་ pam/kam) in Martam (East Sikkim) to form adjectives from stative verbs. The consultants thought that adjectives formed with -kʰjam or -pam/kam, when compared with the ordinary forms with -po, implied a greater degree, see (3.65).

(3.65)  
   a) Tashiding  
   bom-kʰjam སྦྔོམ་ཁམ་ ‘big’ (bigger than bom-pu སྦྔོམ་པུ་)  
   rim-kʰjam བོ་དོན་ ‘long’ (longer than rim-k'u བོ་དོན་)  
   
   b) Martam  
   bompam སྦྔོམ་པམ་ ‘big’ (bigger than bom-pu སྦྔོམ་པུ་)  
   rimkam བོ་དོན་ ‘long’ (longer than rim-k'u བོ་དོན་)  

The derivative suffix -teen/teː: (WT/WD རང་ 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)  
   kʼe:–teː: རང་ ‘important’ (from kʼe: རང་ ‘importance’)  
   pʼuзи-teː: རིག་ཀྔོ་ ‘child-having’ (from pʼuзи རིག་ཀྔོ་ ‘children’)  
   rik(o)-teː: བོ་དོན་ ‘intelligent’ (from rik(o) བོ་དོན་ ‘intellect’)  

(3.67)  
   sim-teː: རང་འོ་ ‘animal’ (from sìm རང་འོ་ ‘mind’)  

Other adjective-forming suffixes are -tom and -ba/wa (which looks like a circumstantial converb, see §15.8.1).
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. dzamːʊː to ‘easy’ is even easier than the alternatives dzampu or dzamʈaʔ ‘easy’.

(3.69)  
dzamːʊː to  тཿ རྐམ་ ‘easy’  (from dzam རྐམ་ ‘be easy’)
siːː-ʈo  འཇིག་ ‘refreshingly cold’  (from siːː འཇིག་ ‘feel cool’)
kʰøː-siːː  རུ་ཕོགས་ ‘chilly’  (from kʰøː རུ་ ‘be cold’)
nak-susuʔ  བསིལ་ ‘dark’  (from nak བསིལ་ ‘black’)
peː-toktoʔ  འདི་འཇིག་ ‘charming’  (origin unknown)
tsʰaː-toktoʔ  ཁྲ་ ‘hot’  (from tsʰa ཁྲ་ ‘heat, hot’)
t’o-tiptip134  རྒྱུད་ ‘warm’  (from t’o རྒྱུད་ ‘heat (v.)’)
kʰøː-taktaʔ  སྲིལ་ ‘cold’  (from kʰøː སྲིལ་ ‘be cold’)
dum-bebeʔ  འདུམ་ ‘short’  (from dum འདུམ་ ‘be short’)

(3.70)  
རྒྱུད་ནམ་ཀྲུང་ ‘fat’  (gjaː རྒྱུད་ ‘be fat’)
ནག་ ‘dark’  (nàk སུག་ ‘black’)
སྟུག་ཕེམ་ ‘thick’  (tuk སྟུག་ ‘be thick’)
སྤྲང་ ‘poor’  (WT སྤྲང་ ‘sprang ‘poor’)

While -taʔ appears to be the most productive adjectival suffix, often two or more alternative adjectival endings may be attached to the same stative verb root, as shown in (3.73).

(3.73)  
zanː-po/zuː--po འཇིག་ ‘good’
cim-pu འཇིག་, cim-taʔ ‘delicious’

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)  
gjaːː-nam  རྒྱུད་ ‘fat’  (gjaː རྒྱུད་ ‘be fat’)
nak-suʔ  སུག་ ‘dark’  (nàk སུག་ ‘black’)
tuk-pʰem/tuk-pʰym  སྟུག་ ‘thick’  (tuk སྟུག་ ‘be thick’)
pjaŋ-ka  སྱར་ ‘poor’  (WT སྤྲང་ ‘sprang ‘poor’)

133 also རུ་ཕོགས་
134 also t’o-tiptip
Reduplication is a frequent strategy for forming adjectives from stative verbs (e.g. dumdum ‘short’ from dum ཆུང་ ‘be short’). These forms also occur as non-reduplicated adjectives with a suffix (e.g. dumta? ཆུང་ ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dum-dum</td>
<td>‘short (vertical)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ap-sap</td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dop-dop</td>
<td>‘slow (of animate being)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ö:toisi-ta?</td>
<td>‘quick to anger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.3 Adjective-modifying suffixes

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

(3.75)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bom-pu</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'ap-say</td>
<td>‘quite big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nöp-sap</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'o-pa?</td>
<td>‘high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-pa?</td>
<td>‘low’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuk-p'em</td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ö:toisi-ta?</td>
<td>‘quick to anger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phonological realization of the diminuative in (3.75) comes from consultant KN. An alternative pronunciation -ey: is suggested by the word གཞིབས་ཚེ་/tshap-če-sus /tsʰap'tešey:/ ‘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 གཞིབས་/tshap-če-sus /tsʰap'tešey:/ However, the form -ey: represents more likely a variant pronunciation than an error, as shown by (3.76) below. The same formative appears to be
used as reduplicated in the quantifier cy:cy: ‘a bit’ (WD shus-shus or shul-shul). It also occurs in the negated perfect construction tsi-cy: mé? [play-trace EX.PER] ‘has not ever played’, see §8.1.4.

(3.76) p’eːla=di qa-cy: ɨː=la.
appearance=DEMPH similar-DIM EQU.PER=HON
‘Their appearance is quite similar.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

(3.77) lâmsikaːtor átsi bom-syː=tei?
type.of.dough.effigy a.bit big-DIM=INDF
‘a rather big lamsika-torma (=dough effigy as offering)’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

The superlative marker -oʔ? (WD shos) intensifies the degree of the adjective. It attaches to the root from which the adjective is derived, e.g. teʰuŋteʰuŋ ‘small’ > teʰuŋ-oʔ ‘the smallest’, teʰam-taʔ ‘agreeable’ > teʰam-oʔ ‘the most agreeable’.

(3.78) p’um p’amo=diː p’um teʰuŋ-oʔ=lo de:
daughter middle.one=DEMPH.AGT daughter small-SUP=DAT like.this
láp-o beʔ.
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 toberpa ‘(in the) morning’ and pʰiruʔ ‘(in the) evening’ are interpreted as adverbs, because their citation forms occur as adverbials without case marking.

(3.79) te diː pínle toberpa lōː-ti kʰa-laʔ kʰju.
then this.GEN before in.the.morning rise-NF mouth-hand wash
‘Before that I rise up and wash my face and hands.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(3.80) pʰiruʔ tʰam-teʔ sàm sà-ti mjöː.
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) ཕྱཱི་རུ་ཀི་ ཞལ་ལག་
pʰiru=kGen meal.HON
‘evening’s meal’ (Richhi 62)

(3.82) ཀུན་ཀུ
óna=gi teʼu
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) དྲོ་པ་ལས་ ཟམ་ ག་རེ་ མེད་མཁན་ སྦད།
ʈʼoːpa=lɛsàmsàmkʼarɛmèːkʰɛn
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. tʼo:pa ‘(in the) morning’ > tʼo:pa=lo ‘in the morning’.

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

(3.84) a) སྨན་པྔོ་ བསྟན་འཛིན་
nɛ́ːmu=rãːmɛ̃µopɛndzĩːtɕʰøʔɲíː=lo
really=AGM perspective doctor Tenzing clock.time two=DAT arrive
‘Doctor Tenzing really arrives at two o’clock.’ (Richhi 31)

b) བོད་ཀུ་
l̥ɛŋ=gi bai=di l̥ɛt̥í=màla=jɔʔ.
PRN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very fast EX.PER
‘His (motor)bike is very fast.’ (NB e)

(3.85) བཀུར་མིང་ སྐུ་ལུང་ སྲུང་ རུ་ལེད གཅོང་ བཀྲུང་ གི་ མི་ང་
k'o:pa=le sâm kʼar mèːkʼen beʔ.
morning.ABL food.HON any NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU-NE.
‘sSince morning there has not been any food.’ (DB trip story)

(3.86) ཡི་ན་
lɛŋe=kì sum-bo náːkʰɛː nɛːmu beʔ.
PRN.HON=AGT say.HON-2NMLZ 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 -pʽja(ti), which attaches to adjectives, see (3.87). The adverbializer -pʽja(ti) derives from the nonfinal converb form of the verb pʽja ‘do’, pʽja-ti, where the converbal ending may be dropped. Similar use of the verb ‘do’ as an adverbializer is reported for Lhasa Tibetan བས་ byas /tsɛ/ (Denwood 1999: 186) and Dzongkha འབད་ ‘bad /be~bä/ (van Driem 1998: 317). Both the short form pʽja and the long form pʽja-ti are in use, as seen in (3.87) and (3.88). The short from -pʽja is written as a suffix, whereas the converbal form pʽja-ti is written separately, reflecting its less grammaticalized status.

(3.87)   Adjective   Adverb  
kʽaly?  ར་ལྟ་ ‘slow’  kʽaly-pʽja, kʽaly pʽja-ti ‘slowly’  
leµ  རེང་ ‘good’  lêm-pʼja, lêm pʼja-ti ‘well’  
dzamteʰiteʰi ཐེག་ ‘soft’  dzamteʰiteʰi-pʼja, dzamteʰiteʰi pʼja-ti ‘softly’

(3.88) de-pʼja kʼaly? kʼaly?  pʼja-ti dzamteʰiteʰi-pʼja kjap be=co=la.  
like.that-ADVZR slow slow do-NF soft-ADVZR speak EQU.NE=AT=HON  
‘(They) speak like that, slowly, softly.’ (RL)

Manner adverbs may also be formed from adjectives by reduplication, e.g. kʼaly? kʼaly? ‘slowly’, which is an alternative to kʼaly-pʼja, although reduplication can also co-occur with the adverbializer -pʼja(-ti), see (3.88). Reduplication is considered an ideophonic feature, see §17.1.

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

Table 3.14. Adverbs of manner related to sleeping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʼô:ke</td>
<td>(sleeping) on one’s back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰabup</td>
<td>(sleeping) on one’s tummy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sîːte</td>
<td>(sleeping) on one’s side</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.15. Other adverbs of manner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pámtei(lo)</td>
<td>བསྟེ་ལེགས་ ‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰalamki</td>
<td>མྱྩེ་ལེགས་ ‘clearly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatokʰa, hatolo</td>
<td>གུན་པོ་, གུན་པོ་ ‘suddenly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The adverb námtei(lo) ‘together’, is closely related to the postposition námpu/námteiʔ ‘with’. In my data, the adverb typically occurs with the dative-locative marker added to the postpositional form but in one instance a form identical with the postposition is used as an adverb.

For examples on the uses of the adverbs of manner, refer to §5.6.3.1.

3.5.2.2 Locative adverbs
Many locative adverbs are formed from nouns by the suffix -kʰa. The form probably derives from WT kha ‘mouth, face, (front) side’ (Jäschke 1881: 34), which, as suggested by the written Denjongke form kʰar ‘mouth, face, (front) side’, is supplemented by the historical locative marker -r. The adverbializer -kʰa is not as productive in forming locative adverbs as -p’ja(ti) is in forming manner adverbs.

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

Some other locative adverbs are listed in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16. Some locative adverbs
| tʰaːnj | ཐག་ཉེ་ | ‘close, near’ |
| tʰaːriŋ | ཐག་རིང་ | ‘far away’ |
| làmtaʔ | ལམ་ཏག་ | ‘above the road’ |
| làmmɛʔ | ལམ་སྨད་ | ‘below the road’ |
| jàː, jàt | བོ་, བོ་ | ‘up(wards)’ |
| òʔ, òte | ཀྱོ་, གོ་ | ‘down(wards)’ |

In addition to forms in Table 3.16, pro-adverbial demonstratives (e.g. nàː ་ ‘here’, tsʰuː-kʰa སྟེ་ཁ ‘on this side, nearer’) and some postpositions (e.g. nāncya བོད་ ‘inside’, paŋkʰa བོད་‘outside’, pʰiloʔ གོ་ ‘outside’, buːna ལྟ་ ‘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.

135 The shorter forms jàː and òʔ are used especially with verbs of motion, e.g. jàː òʔ gju-kʰɛ̃ ‘up down go-NMLZ’ ‘those who go up and down’ (Richhi 158) and jàː also with lóː ‘rise’, e.g. jàː lóː ‘get up’ ‘rise up, stand up’.
Table 3.17. Noun-like temporal adverbs referring to times of day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>нятие, нятие (lo)</td>
<td>‘in the morning’, tomorrow morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/&gt;'pa</td>
<td>‘in the morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesture</td>
<td>‘(in) day-time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གོ་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘(at) noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གོ་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘(at) mid-day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གོ་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘(at) dusk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གོ་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘(in) evening, night (after dark)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གོ་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘(at) midnight’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adverbs referring to times of day may be followed by the spatiotemporal markers -kʰa and/or =lo, e.g. གོ་ནུ་(lo), གོ་ནུ་(khalo) ‘in the morning’, གོ་ནུ་(tsamlo), གོ་ནུ་(tsamkʰa(lo)) ‘at dusk’. Moreover, the form གོ་ནུ་, which does not occur as a noun, can express ‘in the morning’.

Table 3.18. Days and years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>four days ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>three days ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>the day before yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>in 3 days from now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>in 4 days from now</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above-mentioned temporal adverbs, the postpositions གོ་ནུ་‘after(wards)’ and གོ་ནུ་‘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 3.19. Other temporal adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘some days/time ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘this morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘recently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘again, yet, still’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང་ནུ་</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above-mentioned temporal adverbs, the postpositions གོ་ནུ་‘after(wards)’ and གོ་ནུ་‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p’ap’a:na</td>
<td>‘sometimes, now and then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapkap(na)</td>
<td>‘sometimes, now and then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rega(...rega)</td>
<td>‘sometimes...(sometimes)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

#### 3.5.2.4 Quantifying adverbs

Because adverbs were above defined as words which modify other words than nouns, quantifying adverbs can be defined as words which quantitatively modify other words than nouns. Quantitative adverbs can be divided into verb-modifying (Table 3.21), adjective/adverb-modifying (Table 3.22) and numeral-modifying adverbs (Table 3.23). Two adverbs, lêp(ti)\(^{138}\) ‘very (much)’ and átsi(m) ‘a bit’, occur as both verb and adjective modifiers.

### Table 3.21. Verb-modifying quantitative adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lêp(ti)</td>
<td>‘very much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke:p, ke:po(^{139})</td>
<td>‘much, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mànpu, mànpo(^{140})</td>
<td>‘much, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰɛdɛ:</td>
<td>‘considerably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màntsʰo?</td>
<td>‘to great degree, more (than)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pùntsʰo?</td>
<td>‘little, less (than)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰy:cʰ ’</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰy:tʰc’h</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰy:tʰ ’</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átsi(m)</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átem</td>
<td>‘a bit’ (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nùŋnuŋ</td>
<td>‘little, few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tce:/dze:</td>
<td>‘at all’ (+negation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsᵃ(:)lɛ</td>
<td>‘at all’ (+negation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{138}\) This form is often pronounced with markedly high intonation.

\(^{139}\) ke:p is a frequent and versatile quantifying morpheme which can modify a verb/clause or a noun. It also occurs as the second (quantifying) argument of a copula and independently as an indefinite pronominal ‘many’.

\(^{140}\) mànpu/mànpo is in meaning and versatility similar to ke:po, but according to some speakers ke:po is “real” Denjongke and mànpo a loan from Tibetan. The use of the form màñaʔ/màːʔaʔ at least partly overlaps the use of mànpu/mànpo. Because màñaʔ, however, is formed with the adjectival ending -ʔaʔ, it is analyzed as a quantifying adjective. By the same logic, niŋṭaʔ, which at least partly overlaps in function with nùŋnuŋ, is also analyzed as a quantifying adjective.
Table 3.22. Adjective and adverb-modifying adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lèpt(t)i</td>
<td>लेpt(t)i, ‘very much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pemissiki</td>
<td>देpti, फार्मिस, ‘extraordinarily’ (in Martam: pesimpo/pemisipo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’à:mentse?</td>
<td>फार्मिस, ‘limitless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átsi(m)</td>
<td>ऑक(म), ‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.23. Numeral-modifying adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-numeral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halam</td>
<td>फार्मिस, ‘about, approximately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’y:mene</td>
<td>फार्मिस, ‘about, approximately; almost’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de:tei?</td>
<td>ऑक(म), ‘about, this much’ (lit. ‘like.this-one’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-numeral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâktso?</td>
<td>फार्मिस, ‘over, more than’ (lit. more than limit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kortei?</td>
<td>ऑक(म), ‘about’ (literally ‘around-one’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (अण्यकथा, ‘only’).

Table 3.24. Epistemic adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nê:mu(ra)</td>
<td>नेमुरा, ‘really’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mênteene/mênteeno</td>
<td>नेमेनेन, ‘perhaps, maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mënne/mënni</td>
<td>नेमेनि, ‘perhaps, maybe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 फार्मिस which marks directionality ‘in the direction of, towards’ and/or approximateness ‘near, abouts’, thus functioning similarly to the Nepali affix -tira. The directional meaning is illustrated in (3.89) and (3.90).

(3.89) फार्मिस नेमुरा डे:पे:लिस -टाइका जौ?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gari (Nep.)</th>
<th>làm=gi</th>
<th>ऑ:साउ-टाइका</th>
<th>jौ?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>car(Nep.)</td>
<td>road=GEN below-direction EX.PER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘It’s downwards of the car-road.’ (KT discussion with TB)

141 The form mënni is from consultant KN (Martam).
(3.90) \( \text{gjompo}=\text{le} \quad \text{átsi} \quad \text{ja:tsa-teika} \)
monastery=ABL a.bit up-towards
‘a bit upward from the monastery’ (KT discussion with TB)

The approximative meaning (glossed \text{APPR}) is illustrated in (3.91) and (3.92).

(3.91) \( \text{pʰiːtsʰam-tɕika} \quad \text{ལྭ་མཚམས་ཅིག་ཀ་} \) ‘at about dusk, around dusk’,
\( \text{kʽana-tɕika} \quad \text{ག་ན་ཅིག་ཀ་} \) ‘approximately where, whereabouts’.
\( \text{tʼãːpu-tɕika} \quad \text{དང་པུ་ཅིག་ཀ་} \) ‘once long ago’ (lit. long.ago-tɕika)
\( \text{tʼatar-tɕika} \quad \text{ད་ལྟར་ཅིག་ཀ་} \) ‘at around this time, “nowabouts” (lit. now-tɕika)

(3.92) \( \text{ཨྔོ་འདེ་ཅིག་ཀ་ར་ད་བཞག་ཀྔོ་གནང་གེ།} \)
\( \text{óde-tɕika}=\text{ra} \quad \text{t’a zak-o nán-ge.} \) like.that-\text{APPR}=\text{AEMP} \text{HON} \text{HORT}
‘Let’s leave (telling the story) just about like that.’ (DB life story)

In addition to the markers above, the quantifying nominalizer -tsʰʔ 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 2\text{PL} form \( \text{teʰ}:\text{tsu} \) is given in brackets because it is a marginal form not accepted by all speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>( \text{ŋà} )</td>
<td>( \text{ŋàt} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>( \text{teʰ} )</td>
<td>( \text{teʰ}:\text{tsu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-level</td>
<td>( \text{rā}:\text{tsu} )</td>
<td>( \text{rā}:\text{tsu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honorific</td>
<td>( \text{leng}:\text{tsu} )</td>
<td>( \text{leng}:\text{tsu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ordinary</td>
<td>( \text{kʰu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>( \text{mü/mò} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honorific</td>
<td>( \text{kʰo}:\text{tsu} )</td>
<td>( \text{kʰo}:\text{tsu} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first person pronoun is \( \text{ŋà} \) from which the plural form \( \text{ŋàte}:\text{tsu} \) is formed by adding the Classical Tibetan plural marker \( \text{cag} \). According to Beyer (1992: 230), in Classical Tibetan \( \text{cag} \) occurs “only after personal determiners”, an observation that also holds for
Denjongke. Unlike many Tibetic languages such as Old Tibetan (Hill 2010), Balti (Bielman 1985: 76), Amdo (Ebihara undated), Dongwang (Bartee 2007:108), Shigatse (Haller 2000: 50) and Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016: 21), which have an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in first person plural pronouns, Denjongke pronouns do not make a clusivity distinction. The honorific personal pronoun *lenge?* 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 *rãː* ‘self’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Notes on use</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=rãː/=ra</td>
<td>attaches to personal pronouns</td>
<td>‘self’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rãːm:/=rãːmː</td>
<td>used independently</td>
<td>‘oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rãːrãː soːsoː</td>
<td>distributive use, typically co-occurs with a noun, personal pronoun or indefinite pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same form is also used as the the mid-level second person singular pronoun, see §3.6.1. The reflexive =rãː/=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 pronouns occurring in my data are listed in Table 3.27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teiː=ki, teiː (=lo)</td>
<td>‘one to another’ (lit. ‘one to one’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teiː=ki zen (=lo)</td>
<td>‘one to another’ (used in Richhi instead of the first form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰɛntsʰyː</td>
<td>‘each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms from which the reciprocals are formed are the numeral tei? ‘one’ and the demonstrative zen ‘other’ (demonstrativity of zen is defined in opposition to something else determined by the context). The form pʰɛntsʰyː 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 kʽãːpu ‘one full measure of’ may follow *tʰamtɛʔ*, kʰɛːl and tʰaːlɛ ‘all’ to emphasize the meaning

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

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

144 The demonstrative expression *pʰaː tsʰuː* also occurs in Written Tibetan with the meaning ‘thither hither’. The demonstrative expression may be used in a similar sense.
Table 3.28. Indefinite pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰamtɕɛʔ (kʽãːpu)</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɛːl (kʽãːpu)</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʼaːle (kʼãːpu)</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzanɡki</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mānteːeo?</td>
<td>‘most’ (includes the adjectival superlative ending -eo?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mānteːita?</td>
<td>‘most’ (includes the adjectival ending -ta?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʼaːce?</td>
<td>‘some(one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làriʔ</td>
<td>‘some(one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rere</td>
<td>‘each one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riɲ (riɲ)</td>
<td>‘a few (people)’ (lit. one-two)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaːkuteiʔ</td>
<td>‘a few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teiɲi:</td>
<td>‘a few’ (lit. one-two)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làla…làla</td>
<td>‘some…others’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri, -ri (also re)</td>
<td>‘one, each’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 རོ། ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>proximal, ‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>emphatic proximal, ‘this right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó-</td>
<td>distal, ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná:</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰou, pʰi-</td>
<td>‘over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jóu, ji-</td>
<td>‘up (there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móu, mi-</td>
<td>‘down (there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰa(ː)</td>
<td>‘over there, thither, on the other side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰu(ː)</td>
<td>‘here, hither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zen</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

145 This written form given by consultant KUN is surprising in that it suggests pronunciation as tsʼanɡki rather than dzanɡki.
Table 3.30. Derived demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derived object</th>
<th>Derived location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>emphatic proximal</td>
<td>dodi ‘this right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>proximal</td>
<td>di ‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó-</td>
<td>distal</td>
<td>ódi ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nà:</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>nà=di ‘the one here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰou, pʰi-</td>
<td>‘over there’</td>
<td>pʰou=di, pʰidi ‘that over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jòu, ji-</td>
<td>‘up (there)’</td>
<td>jòdi, jìdi ‘that up there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mòu, mi-</td>
<td>‘down (there)’</td>
<td>mòdi, mìdi ‘that down there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰa(ː)</td>
<td>‘further, on the other side’</td>
<td>pʰaː=di ‘the one thither/further’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰu(ː)</td>
<td>‘closer, on this side’</td>
<td>tsʰuː=di ‘the one hither/closer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zen</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
<td>zen=di ‘the other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 pʰi- ‘over there’ are more lexeme-like than the semantically equivalent forms jòu=di and pʰou=na because jì- and pʰi- do not occur independently whereas jòu and pʰou do. The forms pʰidi and pʰina may be considered phonologically reduced, lexicalized variants of pʰou=di and pʰou=na.

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

Table 3.31. Proadverbs of manner and proadjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proadverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dodem</td>
<td>‘like this right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de:, dem, dep</td>
<td>proximal, cataphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óde:, ódem, ódep</td>
<td>distal, anaphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the derivations presented above, the distal ó- can combine with -tsʰøʔ ‘limit, as much as’ to form the quantitative ó-tsʰøʔ/ó-dzoʔ, ‘that much/many’ (cf. k’adzøʔ, ‘how much/many’). Functionally similar words can also be formed from de: and óde:, which combine with the indefiniteness marker =teiʔ to form de:teiʔ ‘this much’ and óde:teiʔ ‘that much’. The form de:teiʔ primarily functions as postnumerical approximating modifier ‘about’, see §4.4, whereas óde:teiʔ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>phonetic</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>k’an, k’ar</code></td>
<td>་ན་, རར</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k’adi</code></td>
<td>རའདེ</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k’ana, k’akʰa</code></td>
<td>ར་ན་, ར་ན ར (ན)</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ka</code></td>
<td>ར</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>nám</code></td>
<td>རམ</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k’ambja</code></td>
<td>རམ་འབྲས</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k’adzø?, k’atsʰø?</code></td>
<td>ར་ན་་, ར་ན་</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k’atem</code></td>
<td>ར་ཤེས</td>
<td>what kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k’ate</code></td>
<td>ར་ཤེ</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k’a.</code></td>
<td>ར</td>
<td>what, where, why (general interrogative, contextually interpreted)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)   སྟོང་ཕྲག་ལུ་དྲུག་གཅིག་འགྱུ་འོང་། [tõː tʰaʔ ṅa ṭuː=teiʔ] gju ó.: thousand five six=INDF go FUT.UNC ‘Some five to six thousand (rupees) will go (to buy it).’ (PD altar room video)

(3.94)   བཤེི་ལྷོ་ཐུན་ཤོ་ཤུ་ཤུ་ཤུ་ཤུ་[t’oː tʰaʔ súm] do.-runɡ dje. 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 རི་ ‘one’, t’anpo རི་པོ ‘first’), are formed from cardinal numbers by adding the nominalizer -po, e.g. súm རི་ནུ་ ‘three’ > súm-po རི་ནུ་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 རྟོག. The numbers from one to twenty (decimal system) are given in Table 3.33.

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146 Derives from k’an ‘what’ and p’ja(‑ti) ‘do(‑NF)’, also occurs as k’amja, and k’ame and in the fuller converbal construction kan p’ja‑ti [what do‑NF].
147 Direction from location can be questioned ར་ན་ ‘from where’.
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. ɲíː tsa- ‘twenty’ but tsa-ʈu- ‘twenty-one’ and tsa-ʈu-ɲíː ‘twenty-nine’, where the dependent form tsa- represents twenty in numbers 21-29. As shown in Table 3.34, many of the dependent forms marking full tens bear phonetic similarity to the corresponding numbers between two and nine (and 50 between 51 and 59 is identical with number five).

| 1 | teiʔ | 11 | teuktεʔ | 21-29 |
| 2 | niː | 12 | teu niː | 31-39 |
| 3 | süm | 13 | teuksum | 41-49 |
| 4 | zi | 14 | teipzi | 51-59 |
| 5 | ɲá | 15 | teu:ya | 61-69 |
| 6 | t’u?/t’uk | 16 | teu:rup | 71-79 |
| 7 | dyn | 17 | teopdyn | 81-89 |
| 8 | geʔ | 18 | teopgeʔ | 91-99 |
| 9 | gu | 19 | teu:gu | 20 nieu(t’amba) | 30-39 | sümteu | t’ukteu | dyn | geteu | gupteu | 21-29 | tsa- | 31-39 | so- | 41-49 | eː- | 51-59 | ɲá- | 61-69 | re- | 71-79 | t’on- | 81-89 | k’ja- | 91-99 | k’o- |

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. nieu འཐོབ་ ‘twenty’ but tsa-teiʔ ལྟོག་ ‘twenty-one’ and tsa-gu ལྟོག་ ‘twenty-nine’, where the dependent form tsa- ལྟོག་ represents twenty in numbers 21-29. As shown in Table 3.34, many of the dependent forms marking full tens bear phonetic similarity to the corresponding numbers between two and nine (and 50 between 51 and 59 is identical with number five).

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

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Examples of numbers from one hundred onwards are given in Table 3.37, which introduces the words tòː(tʰuʔ) ग्सུམ་བཅུ་སྔོ་ ‘thousand’, tʰi न ‘ten thousand’, bum बོམ ‘hundred thousand’ and sája སྒྲ ‘million’.

122
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. süm gja ‘three hundred’), whereas a greater number of hundreds expressed by a disyllabic form occurs after the hundreds (e.g. gja tečːya ‘fifteen hundred’). The form teik təː where the number of thousands comes before the word thousand, is used in referring to years, for instance 1974 gubja dyntʰa təː ‘eightheen hundred, 1800’. The numeral suffix -tʰa ʔ signals completion of a set or an abstract notion represented by a set of numbers, e.g. təː tʰa ʔ süm ‘thousand’, dyntʰa ʔ ləː ‘week’, teq’tʰa ʔ süm ‘full ten, decade’.

For other numerals, consider Table 3.38.

The vigesimal system illustrated in Table 3.39 is build around the number twenty, for which the word kʰɛː ʔ kʰal ‘twenty, score’ is used. The numbers before the next full score are expressed by adding a suitable number to the full score, e.g. fifty-five is ‘two scores and fifteen’. The conjunct t’aː is used in conjoining the complex numerals.

---

149 For kʰɛː, refer to the vigesimal system explained below.
I have not carried out a detailed study on the division of labour of the decimal and vigesimal systems, but 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)  ngə stśoŋ phăr phal kʰɛː tɕiʔ  pʰin-ɕǐː.
1SG thousand score one give-NPST.PER
‘I will give twenty thousand (rupees).’ (TB bulls story)

(3.96)  ādzo ge:po lɔ kʰɛː zi-tʰaʔ.
grandfather old.man year score four-about
‘old grandfather of some eighty years’ (Richhi 78)

(3.97)  a) kʰɛː gāː dom-ti kʰɛː zi tʰaʔ  nā beʔ.
family gather-NF score four and five EQU.NE
‘There are altogether 85 families.’ (Richhi 48)

b) nābga jieu tsa:-geʔ de:teiʔ lori=ki lōpē:
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) 125 150

In 1978 (KT life story)

(3.99) In additional to the nun, all meanings ‘twenty’, a fourth numeral niér 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. niér=gu jóm=gi. ‘The twentieth day is not good.’ (RS astrology)

(3.100) 151

In addition to the jicu, all meanings ‘twenty’, a fourth numeral niér 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. niér=gu jóm=gi. ‘The twentieth day is not good.’ (RS astrology)
’Then I have three children here.’ (KT life story)

’Now it’s ten years since (they/he) got married.’ (KT life story)

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

’those five rupees’ (RS pupil joke)

Numerals referring to 2-9 people may be marked by another collectivizer, the suffix -ga.

The suffix -tsʰøʔ ‘about, some, measure of’ (from WT tshod ‘measure’, which is in meaning very similar to WT 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. 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 བྟར་) ‘according to’, -zin (WT/WD རིན་) ‘likeness, similar to’, and the locative markers -kʰa (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāŋ</td>
<td>‘inside(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʼon</td>
<td>‘meaning, purpose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰap</td>
<td>‘replacement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa</td>
<td>‘root, base’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʼoʔ</td>
<td>‘roof’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor</td>
<td>‘neighborhood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo:</td>
<td>‘side, direction’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giap</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzé:</td>
<td>‘trace, trail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyn</td>
<td>‘front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʼa:</td>
<td>‘(space in) between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̥in</td>
<td>‘earlier (time)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teg</td>
<td>‘top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òd</td>
<td>‘low(er) place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu(ː)</td>
<td>‘middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boloʔ</td>
<td>‘close’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

153 In Dzongkha, the cognate is written སྦུ་ལུགས་.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāŋ-tar, nāŋ-zin</td>
<td>‘according to, similar to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t‘on-zin(gi)</td>
<td>‘according to, in accordance with, in view of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t‘a:) nāmtei?, (t‘a:) nāmpu</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sā:te, =sā:</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèmba</td>
<td>‘except’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèntā (rare)</td>
<td>‘except’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts‘ap=lo, ts‘ama(=lo)</td>
<td>‘instead of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa-k‘a, tsa:=lo, =tsa:</td>
<td>‘at, by, with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t‘on=lo, t‘on=le, t‘onda=lo, t‘onda=le</td>
<td>‘for (the purpose of)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t‘oː=le</td>
<td>‘through, via, on the basis of, by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(=le) giy:ti</td>
<td>‘through, via, by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go:=le</td>
<td>‘from, through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor=lo, kor=le</td>
<td>‘about’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo:=lo/hōː=le, yo:te/hōː:te</td>
<td>‘toward, in the direction of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo:=le/hōː=le</td>
<td>‘from the direction/side of, through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giab=lo, giab=le</td>
<td>‘behind, after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzē:=lo</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kum)dyn-k‘a, (kum)dỹː=lo, kumdỹ</td>
<td>‘in front of, in the presence of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p‘aː=na</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēn=lo, nēn=le, nōma, hen=le, hema</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teŋ-k‘a, teŋ=lo</td>
<td>‘above, on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=gu, gu=lo</td>
<td>‘above, on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>őː=lo, őː=le</td>
<td>‘below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buː=na, buː=lo</td>
<td>‘in the middle of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolo(-k‘a), bolo=lo</td>
<td>‘next to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāŋca(=lo), nāŋ=lo, nāŋ=na</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p‘iloʔ</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paŋk‘a</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (nāŋtar, 154

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154 Occurs in a negated or interrogated clause.
155 This word from Tibetan is mainly used by literate people with monastic training.
156 This form occurs only in data from Martam (East Sikkim). The innovative written form མགུ་ used here suggests an origin with མགྔོ་ ‘head’ and a vowel change from o to u. A cognate form =gu is used in Dzongkha as a “contact locative” (Watters 2018: 200).
157 Experimental spelling reflecting the hypothesized origin go ‘head’ (WD མགྔོ་ mgo).
nàŋzin, t’onzin(gi), námtei?, námpanu, sà:te, =sà:) 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) བོད་ ལྷོ་ གཅིག་གི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་
📍 tei:=ki  gjable
year one=GEN after
‘One year later...’ (SGD wedding customs)

b) བོད་ ལྷོ་ གཅིག་གི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་
ɲım tei?  gjable
day one after
‘after one day...’ (KT animal story)

Example (3.108), on the other hand, illustrates a non-RN postposition. With these postpositions the complement noun is not genitivized.

(3.108) a) བོད་ ལྷོ་ གཅིག་གི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་
ro:=tsu  nàŋpanu
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) བོད་ ལྷོ་ གཅིག་གི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་
ɲım sim gjap...
day three back
‘After three days...’ (TB funeral customs)

(3.110) བོད་ ལྷོ་ གཅིག་གི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་
l’a  ó(d)i  teg...
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).
In (3.112), the grammaticalization of the ablative form of $gjap$ ‘back’ towards being a postposition (cum adverb) $gable$ is signified by the lack of clitic-marking = and the postpositional gloss ‘after’. In (3.111), the dative-locative in $teŋkʰa=lo$ is separately marked, because $=lo$ is an optional emphatic locative element, $teŋkʰa$ itself already meaning ‘above’.

RNs have four features that distinguish them from typical nouns. One feature of grammaticalization towards being a postposition is semantic bleaching, where the meaning of a noun becomes less literal and more abstract (see DeLancey 1997b: 56). For instance, the dative-locative and ablative forms of the word $gjap$ ‘back’, $gjab=lo/gjab=lɛ$ have through frequent use obtained the abstract meaning ‘after, behind’, whereas the literal meaning ‘in the back (of a human or an animal)’ has become to be marked with the less productive locative suffix -$kʰa$, $gjapkʰa$. Another non-noun-like feature of RNs is the ability to have a non-case-marked complement/modifier, whereas noun modifiers are typically genitive marked, e.g. $cåːlo(=ki)$ $teŋkʰa$ [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.

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. $teŋkʰa$, $ten=lo$ ‘on, above’, $dyŋkʰa$, $dyn=lo$ ‘in front of’. Most of the RNs also have independent uses as adverbs, e.g. $ɲɛ̃́nlɛ$ ‘(in) earlier (times)’, $gjablɛ$ ‘afterwards’, $nåŋea$ ‘inside’.

A study of the most frequent RNs in the novel Richhi, $teŋ$ ‘above’ (including forms $teŋkʰa$, $ten=lo$, $ten=gi$, altogether 81 instances) and $nåŋ$ ‘inside’ (including $nåŋea$, $nåŋ=lo$, $nåŋ=le$, $nåŋ=gi$, altogether 74 instances) yields the following result concerning genitive marking:

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158 Written सङ shar in the novel Richhi.
those complements/modifiers which allow short genitive marking through vowel modification (glide or fronting) and do not add an extra syllable are genitive marked, whereas those complements/modifiers for which genitive marking would require adding a syllable (=ki/gi) are not genitive marked. Constructions with the short genitive are illustrated in (3.114-116).

(3.114) གེའི་སྟེང་ལྔོ

นེ: \( tɤŋ=lo \)
1SG.GEN top=DAT
‘on me’ (Richhi 63)

(3.115) ཀྲེང་འདེའི་སྟེང་ལྔོ

kʰõː=tsu=i \( nɤŋ=le \)
3PL=PL=GEN inside=ABL
‘from among them’ (Richhi 45)

(3.116) རྣོབ་གྲྭའི་ནང་གི་རྒྱ་ཁི

lóbdø: \( nɤŋ=gi \) giʔ’i
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) ཀྲེང་འདེའི་སྟེང་ལྔོ

eːːloʔ \( tɤŋ=lo \)
bamboo.wall top=DAT
‘on the bamboo wall’ (Richhi 98)

(3.118) ཀྲེང་འདེའི་སྟེང་ལྔོ

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

(3.119) ཀྲི་ཞེས་སྟེང་ལྔོ

mù=i kʰim \( nɤŋ=gi \) lògiʔ
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 teŋk’a ‘on the cover’, eːːlo=ki teŋ=lo ‘on the bamboo wall’. In two cases, the short genitive form was omitted, ke \( tɤŋ=lo \) ‘on the neck’, bu: \( nɤŋ=gi \) ‘of the middle one’.

The observation made on the basis of the novel Richhi is confirmed by my spoken data. Out of the 714 instances of modifiers/complements for the forms \( nɤŋ=lo, nɤŋ=le \) and \( nɤŋ=gi \) only 9 are marked with the longer genitive form -ki/gi. The other instances where the genitive obtains the longer form are not marked for genitive. On the other hand, those vowel-final complements/modifiers which can occur with short genitive marking are either genitive marked or non-marked, for instance the noun lóbdøa ‘school’, which can occur in short genitive, occurs in my corpus both as non-marked (lóbdøa náŋea) and as genitive (lóbdø: náŋea).
The general principle applies that genitive marking of RN complements is retained unless adding the genitive is phonologically too salient by also adding a syllable. This is a feature that makes RNs less noun-like and more postposition-like. For an illustration, consider (3.120) and (3.121), both used in the same story by the same speaker. The word meaning ‘foot’ has two forms, kā:po and ka:m. With the first one, the (short) genitive is formed by vowel modification, kā:po:, 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) p’iteuŋ159 kā:po: nāgea
bird foot.Gen inside
‘in the bird’s foot’ (PD bet story)

(3.121) p’iteuŋ=gi ka:m teŋkʰa
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) i’a kʰu rubi=teiʔ teŋkʰa=lo pjâ:-diki
now 3SGM climber=INDF on=DAT hang-NF
‘Now, hanging in a climber plant…’ (KTL animal story)

The use of postpositions and postposition phrases as adverbials are further exemplified in §5.6.2.

3.6.9 Discourse connectives
This class of words is termed discourse connectives (similarly Coupe 2007 for Monsen Ao) rather than conjunctions, because the word conjunction suggests the occurrence of coordination, in which two clauses are combined into one sentence. In Denjongke, however, it is not at all clear that the connected clauses would form one sentence, see §12. The term discourse connective applies here both to clause-combining and sentence-combining cohesion-adding words.

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159 Interestingly, the complement of the RN (kā:po:) is genitive marked whereas the nominal modifier of kā:po ‘foot’, p’iteuŋ ‘bird’ remains non-marked. In example (4.22), however, the modifier if genitive-marked. This speaker may have a tendency to avoid two contiguous non-marked modifiers/complements.
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-\textit{tsʰ}ɛʔ ‘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 kʽambjas ‘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. \textit{kei} ‘of neck’, \textit{sái} ‘of ground’) and the otherwise non-occurring final consonant /pʰ/ in \textit{úf} (discomfort). Table 3.43 lists some Denjongke interjections. The order of items follows loosely the order of positive-neutral-negative. The interjections of surprise are neutral in that they may involve either positive or negative emotions.

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160 The first part ‘why’ in this word may be pronounced \textit{kʼamja}, \textit{kʼambja} or \textit{kʼampʼja}, depending on the level of phonological reduction. The last pronunciation \textit{kʼampʼja} suggests a succession of words rather than a single word, because \textit{p} typically only occurs word-initially. The word of speaking \textit{sè} (which may be pronounced \textit{si}) can be replaced by \textit{lap} ‘say’ or \textit{ciu} ‘say (hum.)’, e.g. \textit{kʼamjalap}, \textit{kʼamjacune}. The last syllable, which is a conditional marker, may also take the forms -\textit{no} and -\textit{na}, the latter of which is probably affected by Tibetan spelling, e.g. \textit{kʼamjaseno} (eastern and northern pronunciation), \textit{kʼamjasena} (literary pronunciation).
Table 3.43. Some interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áme:</td>
<td>‘wow’</td>
<td>expressing enthrallment, rapture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lásó</td>
<td>‘okay’</td>
<td>approval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ákʰaː</td>
<td>surprise,  amazement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádzïi</td>
<td>surprise,  amazement, quite similar to ákʰaː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òje,  ðì</td>
<td>‘oh, hey’</td>
<td>used getting someone’s attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>êː, jàː</td>
<td>expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áː</td>
<td>‘hey’,</td>
<td>1) informal address to get someone’s attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘yes’,</td>
<td>2) response to being called (addressed to social/age inferior), like ‘what?’ (honorific laː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làː</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
<td>1) polite response to being called</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘excuse me?’</td>
<td>2) expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said¹⁶¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kei</td>
<td>‘O (address)’</td>
<td>honorific address (e.g. lama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʰa</td>
<td>‘alas’</td>
<td>disappointment (e.g. after a bad shot in a game of carrom or kerembo), loan from Nepali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʰeː</td>
<td>‘oh no’</td>
<td>disapproval, discomfort (e.g. when someone does not answer phone), the response to being tickled (TB 5, 151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ûf</td>
<td>‘phew’</td>
<td>expression of pain or discomfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádziː</td>
<td>pain or fear of pain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á(i)jaː</td>
<td>sadness, response to bad news (KT) (neutral) surprise at information (KUN)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For examples of the interjections, consider §11.2.3.

3.6.11 Discourse particles

Two monosyllabic discourse particles, t’a ‘now’ (WD བར་ da) and te (WD བེ 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) te t’ato te t’a látɛhuy=la te t’a li=ði
   so now so now TPN=DAT so now apple=DEMPH
   ‘So now in Lachung apples…’ (LA intro to Lachung)

As seen in (3.123), t’a and te can be used as fillers, when the speaker is not yet sure what to say. For a more detailed description of t’a and te, refer to §16.4

¹⁶¹ Likely to be frequently heard by a language learner.
3.7 Clitics

Denjongke clitics are here divided into case clitics (§3.7.1), emphatic clitics (§3.7.2), clausal clitics (§3.7.3) and other clitics (§3.7.4).

3.7.1 Case clitics

This section first introduces the case clitics (§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. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case name</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gram./Loc.</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Functions and use described in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agentive</td>
<td>=ki/gi</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>WT gis/kyis/kis/gis/s</td>
<td>§9.1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high pitch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>=ki/gi/i</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>WT kyi/gyi/ki/gi/’i</td>
<td>§3.6.1.2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative-locative</td>
<td>=lo</td>
<td>G and S</td>
<td>WT lo</td>
<td>§9.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>=lɛ</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>WT las</td>
<td>§9.5.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>=na</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>WT nang (?)</td>
<td>§9.5.1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Classical Tibetan ལང་ dang, which functions both as a coordinative (‘and’) and a comitative marker (‘with’) (Beyer 1992: 241, 271; Tournadre 2010: 113), has the reflex t’āː (WD ᾱ) in Denjongke. Denjongke t’āː is most frequently used as a coordinating conjunction, but it also occurs as an optional element together with þampu ‘with’ and ɖau ‘(be) similar’, e.g. ɲà (t’āː) þampu ‘with me’, ka (t’āː) þamtei? ‘with whom’, ɭamu (t’āː) ɖau ‘like a goddess’. The novel Richhi also has an interesting non-coordinating example of t’āː, which resembles the Classical Tibetan “associative” function, see (3.124).^{166}

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

163 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.

164 In agentive personal pronouns ɲàː (vs. ɲa) and müː (vs. mü). In sentential context typically pronounced dàː.

165 The term associative is in this thesis used differently. It refers to the use of suffix -po when it occurs with proper names or place names with the meaning ‘x and his/her associates’ or ‘person from x’ respectively.
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 ’ā:) and comitative constructions (marked with nāmpu).

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 semantically-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. ɲā ’I’, ɲāː =gi ‘I=AGT’, ɲā: ‘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).  

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 -a: (or e:). However, the longer form may also be used with vocally ending nouns, especially in spoken language. The main function of the genitive case is to mark a nominal or a clause as a modifier of a nominal, see §4.1.2.2. Although there is considerable variation as to the voicing/voiceless of -ki/gi in both the agentive and genitive, in the examples of this thesis =gi follows voiced consonants and vowels, whereas =ki follows voiceless consonants, including an underlying glottal stop (e.g. te/oː? ‘you’ > te/oːː=ki [YOU=GEN]).

The dative-locative case can mark nominal P(atient) and R(ecipient) arguments in a clause. It can also mark a nominal adverbial (attached to the noun phrase, §5.6.1.1), an adverbial clause (attached to a verb suffix, §15.5.1, §15.8.3) or a possessor in a possessive clause (§5.4.3). It also functions as an additional marker in locative postpositions (see, for instance, example [3.111]).

The locative case marker =na is almost homophonous with the locative demonstrative ɲàː ‘here’. Its basic function is to mark location within a three dimensional space, whereas the basic function of =lo is to locate an object two-dimensionally. The locative case marks nominal locative adverbials (e.g. kʰim=na ‘in[side] the house’, see §5.6.1.2). Unlike the dative-locative marker, =na may be attached to the short genitive form of a noun, a feature well understandable if =na derives from the relator noun ɲàŋ ‘inside’ (for relator nouns, see §3.6.8).

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167 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 ɲɛ, which prompts a response from the reader to distinguish the form from the nominative. Another way to pronounce the final -s ɲɛ is to produce, in harmony with Tibetan spelling rules, a frontal vowel, e.g. /u/ > /yː/, /ø/ > /aː/, although in Denjongke cognates Written Tibetan final -s ɲɛ do not, most of the time, cause vowel fronting, e.g. WT ɲɛt lus > /luː: ‘remain’.
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: =sā: ‘until’ and =tsa ‘at, by, with’

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

(3.125) phina baːɲa=sā: l̥ɛ p-o EX.
‘I haven’t been able to arrive over there in Bermeok.’ (KT, discussion with TB)

(3.126) tam òdi ʰa’dzo=sā: qença? jō:=kam=la? EX.PER=ATTQ=HON
‘I wonder to what degree that claim is true?’ (CY interview)

(3.127) ñà t’aːɾuŋ õŋmu lôk ma-ð:=sā: do:-ev ů.
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 =sā:, 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.

now until 1SG here school inside=DAT=AEMP 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 =sā: and sâ:te, =sā: is here considered a cliticized form of the postposition sâ:te. There is, however, some fluidity in this criteria, because the locative case marker =na also has a rather synonymic corresponding postposition nânjca/nâŋlo, and thus =na could be argued, in analogy with =sā: and sâ:te, to be a cliticized postposition nânjca/nâŋlo. However, because =na is more frequently used in core argument marking and shows more phonological reduction from its corresponding postposition than =sā:, =na is here analyzed as a case marker (along with a separate postposition nânjca) and =sā/sâ: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

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168 The way of writing བར་གཉའ་ sbar-gnya’ ‘burnt-neck’ derives from Sandberg (1895: 124), who relies on Dr.Waddell.
it does occur with relator nouns, e.g. tenkʰa ‘on, above’, dyenkʰa ‘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) རོ་ཁོར་བ་ རར བ དྲ ཞ ད་ ལྔ ཡྔོད།
\[tobdʒor=\text{tsa}:=\text{di} \text{ gja} \; \eta \; \text{jò?}\]
\[\text{PN}=\text{DEMPH} \; \text{hundred} \; \text{five} \; \text{EX.PER}\]
‘There were five hundred (rupees) with Topjor.’ (UTR, plains story)

b) school ར་ཁ་ར་ ཨྔོ་ན བ ཉི་ ལྔ ཡྔོད།
\[\text{iskul} \; \text{tsak}^b=a \; \text{ra} \; \text{òna?}\]
\[\text{school(Eng.) by=DEMPH there}\]
‘There at the school?’ (KT, discussion with TB)

A further phonological argument for a distinguishing =sãː and =tsaː from cases is that the vowels in =sãː and =tsaː tend to be long whereas all the cases have a short vowel\(^{169}\).

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.\(^{170}\) 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. \(\eta\) ‘I’, \(\dot{\eta}\) : [1SG.GEN] ‘my’, \(\dot{\eta}:=\text{g}t\) [1SG.GEN=GEN] ‘my’. However, double genitive marking is limited to nouns, which end in a vowel and have a modified vowel, rather than the full form =ki, as the genitive marker. Other cases can, similarly, only attach to the short genitive form, e.g. súm-pøː-na [three-ORD.GEN=LOC] ‘in the third one’. Double genitive marking is a feature of the spoken language, whereas in writing single marking is used.

The ablative case =le and dative-locative =lo may attach to the locative marker, as shown in (3.130) and (3.131) respectively.

(3.130) རྟྩིེན་ལས་ཀི་ཁིམ་ན་ལས་ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ཀ་ཡང་མ་སེབས་ཤད་འདིས་
\[\text{Thrinley=} \text{GEN} \; \text{house=} \text{LOC} \; \text{now=} \text{until} \; \text{who=} \text{even} \; \text{NEG}-\text{arrive=} \text{DEMPH.AGT}\]
‘Because no one has so far arrived from Thrinley’s house...’ (Richhi 43)

(3.131) བི་ཁིམ་ན་ལྔ།
\[\text{p}’\text{u}=\text{i} \; \text{kim}=\text{na}=\text{lo}\]
\[\text{boy=} \text{GEN} \; \text{house=} \text{LOC} \text{=DAT}\]
‘In(side) the boy’s house.’ (SGD wedding customs)

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

\(^{169}\) An exception is the special case of agentive, where agentivity is shown by vowel lengthening, see §15.3.6.
\(^{170}\) 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).
\(^{171}\) The spoken form t’ato corresponds to ་པ་ da-lta ‘now’ used in Richhi. The form used in Richhi may be influenced by Written Tibetan.
'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) ལོ་བ་=ན་=ལོ

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 nānga/nānglo/nāngle ‘(from) inside’. However, the fact that the postpositional forms nānga and nānglo 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.

Table 3.45. Emphatic clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=rā:/=ra</td>
<td>anaphoric emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=to</td>
<td>contrastive emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=di</td>
<td>demonstrative-emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ni/ne</td>
<td>topicalizer-emphatic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The anaphoric emphatic =rā: derives from Classical Tibetan त्रि: rang ‘-self, same’ (Beyer 1992: 218), the meaning of which helps understand its cognate’s function in Denjongke, see §16.1.1. The contrastive emphatic =to is most likely a loan of the Nepali contrastive emphatic ta and/or the Hindi contrastive emphatic to, see §16.1.2. The demonstrative-emphatic =di is a grammaticalized form of the proximal demonstrative di ‘this’, see §16.1.3. Likely cognates of the topicalizer-emphatic form =ne/ni have been termed “topicalizer” (Classical Tibetan, Beyer [1992: 275]), “topic marker” (Lhasa Tibetan, Denwood [1999: 103]), “topic particle” (Kyirong Tibetan, Huber [2002: 108]) and “focus marker” (Lamjung Yolmo, Gawne [2013: 487]), see §16.1.4.

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

---

172 Huber (2002: 111) analyzes similarly functioning Kyirong Tibetan form -ta as a reflex of WT ता da ‘now’, for which Jäschke’s (1881) dictionary describes a colloquial emphatic use. In Denjongke, however, the reflex of WT ता da ‘now’, ता, functions as an independent discourse particle which can occur clause-initially, a context in which Kyirong -ta does not occur.
3.7.3 Clausal clitics
Clausal clitics (see Table 3.45), which have scope over the whole preceding clause, attach to the end of the verb complex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=lo</td>
<td>reportative</td>
<td>From Table 3.46 in the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=s(ɛ)</td>
<td>quotative</td>
<td>From Table 3.46 in the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=la</td>
<td>honorific (also attaches to nouns)</td>
<td>From Table 3.46 in the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=eo</td>
<td>attention marker (extended use with nouns)</td>
<td>From Table 3.46 in the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ki</td>
<td>non-commitment marker</td>
<td>From Table 3.46 in the text.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms =lo, =s(ɛ) and =la have recognisable cognates in other Tibetic languages. For instance, the reportative =lo (WT lo) is found in Classical Tibetan (Jäschke 1881: 551-552), Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 405-406), Lamjung Yolmo (Gawne 2015), Lhomi (Vesalainen 2016:189) and Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002: 107). The quotative WT zer and honorific WT lags are also widely attested in Tibetic languages. The honorific =la is listed in Table 3.46 because it also occurs as a clausal clitic but it is more fully introduced below in §3.7.4.3. To my knowledge, anything resembling in form and function the attention marker =eo has not been reported in Tibetic languages. However, at least three Bhutanese, Eastern Bodish languages 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” xo 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 shog, the imperative form for the verb ‘come’, which is also used in hortatives.

The non-commitment marker =ki is a loan from Nepali, where the question marker ki has developed a declarative use expressing the speaker’s non-commitment to and uncertainty about a statement.

The function of clausal clitics is described in §9.2 (=lo and =sɛ) and §16.2 (=la, =eo and =ki/gi).

3.7.4 Other clitics
There are four further morphemes which, because of their transcategorial nature, are analyzed as clitics. These clitics are the plural =tsu (§3.7.4.1), honorific clitics =la(ː) and =tɕʰoː (§3.7.4.2), and the urgentive =móʔ (§3.7.4.3).

3.7.4.1 Plural clitic =tsu
The plural marker =tsu is a clitic which occurs once at the end of the noun phrase after possible modifiers, e.g. t’ɛp=tsu ‘books’, t’ɛp bompu=tsu ‘big books’. Sandberg (1895: 23) does not mention =tsu as a plural marker but instead lists -cha (-teaʔ) and -ts’o (-tʃo) as Denjongke plural markers, giving n yat lam cha ‘dreams’ and gya-mi ts’o ‘Chinese’ as respective examples. The fact that -ts’o 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 -teaʔ (nyi-lam cha) is intriguing because it contrasts with Beyer’s (1992: 230) statement on Classical Tibetan that the plural -teaʔ 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 njâtea? ‘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? derives from the numeral tei? ‘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) sâng=ki sîn-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(ː) and =teʰo:
By attaching one of the honorific clitics =la(ː) (WD lâgs) or =teʰo: to a name or a title the speaker can show respect to the person referred to. The clitic =la(ː) is a frequent general honorific which can be used of people from any social status or age group. In addition to uses attached to nouns, it also occurs as a clause-final honorific (§3.7.3, §16.2.1), independent interjection (§11.2.3) and as the initial element in affirmative answers (see [36] in Appendix one, Excerpt from discussion). It is also used as a lexicalized ending in some names, e.g. bhaila ‘Bhaila’ (bhai is the Nepali word for ‘younger brother’). In uses with nouns, the vowel tends to be long =laː, whereas in clausal uses, it tends to be short =la. As exemplified by (3.135), =la: may be used when addressing people (a) or when referring to them in their absence (b).

(3.135) a) lât’u laː, kʰanup njâtei...
madam=HON the.day.before.yesterday 1PL.GEN
‘Madam, the day before yesterday our…’ (Richhi 8)

b) pâː=laː dâː kʰim=na lôk te’on-di zuː jô?.
father=HON yesterday house=LOC return come.HON-NF stay.HON EX.PER
‘The father came back home yesterday and is (there/at home).’ (Richhi 55)

The less frequent clitic =teʰo: (WD mchog) can be translated as ‘most excellent, honorable’ and is used of people of considerable social status. The morpheme teʰo: is considered a clitic because, similarly to plural =tsu, it attaches to the last word of the noun phrase, whether the last word is the head noun or a modifier.

(3.136) a) ñâjâ sâmö jñâjâ sâmö
   te’ôgeː t’utop nâmge=teʰo:
kìng PN PN-most.excellent
   ‘most excellent king (chogyal) Thutop Namgyal’ (CY interview)
3.7.4.4 Urgetive clitic =moʔ
The urgetive marker =moʔ, 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 urgetive form most likely derives from
WT མྔོད, an emphatic verb of being ‘to be indeed’. Sandberg (1895: 57) reports
møː as an
independent verb, but in my data such uses are not found.

(3.137) ཆེ་ཐུ་བོ་ཐོག་
oh so ask. 2INF do.HON=URG
‘Oh, in that case ask (him), by all means.’ (KT animal story)

For further examples on =moʔ see, §11.3.3.

3.8 Summary remarks
This chapter, the only one focusing on morphology and etymology, introduced Denjongke
word classes, affixes and clitics. The main criteria used in distinguishing clitics from affixes
was transcategoriality, i.e. the ability to attach to words of more than one word class. It was
shown that Denjongke has four major word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) and
eleven minor word classes. Many nouns and verbs can be divided into ordinary and honorific
registers. The discussion on verbs listed 45 phonologically related pairs of controlled vs. non-
controlled verbs. I also provided etymological information on verbal suffixes and gave
introductory examples of each form in clausal context.

Adjectives were shown to be a word class which, although deriving from stative verbs, is
morphologically distinguished from other word classes by a number of adjectivizing suffixes. Adverbs were seen to be a word class which, although partly overlapping with adjectives, are also distinguished from them morphologically and syntactically. Time words such as t’o: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, i.e. relator
nouns were treated as a subclass of postpositions.

The last major section introduced 21 clitics (all monosyllabic), which were divided into
case clitics, two cliticized postpositions, four emphatic clitics, five clausal clitics and five
other clitics (plural, indefinite, urgetive 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). In the following discussion, square brackets are used for marking noun phrases, if the noun phrases are given in clausal context or if noun phrases are embedded within each other in a complex way. If the whole example consists of simply one noun phrase, there are no square brackets. When the noun phrase contains more than one word, the head noun and its equivalent in the English translation are underlined.

Noun with preceding and following modifiers (4.1)

a) ḡin-dû mûm njên kjap-kjap-o=lo
   hindu-i p’un nên 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) ódi p’un ni: de:tei?
   that girl two that.much
   ‘those (as much as) two girls’ (SGD wedding customs)

Pro-form (4.2)

a) kʰu pʰiː-p(o) be?.
   3SGM be.late-2INF EQU.NE
   ‘[He] was late.’ (RS pupil joke)

b) ódi=lo=di k’an láp-to?
   that=DAT=DEMPH what say-IPFV
   ‘[What] is [that] called?’ (PD intro video)

173 The nominalized clause in (4.3a) is analyzed as a complement clause (see §14.1.1) and (4.3b) as a headless relative clause (see §13.2.1.3)
Nominalized clause

(4.3) a) གནས་སྐྔོར་ལེགམ་བྱས་སྟི་ཐག་ཅག་སྐྔོར་ཆུགས་པྔོ་འཐྔོན་བཅུག།
   [nɛ̃́ko lɛ̃́m p'ja-ti nɛ̃́tən kor tsʰu-po] tʰon tɛu?
pilgrimage good do-NF 1PL go.around be.able.to-2INF become cause
‘Let it happen (so) [that (we) will be able to make (this) pilgrimage well].’ (SGD
cave story)

b) མཚམས་ལྔོ་བཞུགས་མཁན་སབ་སྦད་ཉོགས།
   [tsʰam=lo zu:-kʰɛː] kep beʔ āpo=la:
   retreat=DAT sit.HON-NMLZ many EQUI.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

```
{(DEM)
 (GEN.ATTR) (=DEMPH)
 (RC with -kʰɛː)
 (JUXTAPOSITION)}
} NOUN
{(ADJ) (NUM) (QUA) (DEM) (=PL) (=CASE) (=EMPH) (=DEMPH/INDF) (=TOP) (=jã)}
```

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

```
(GEN.ATTR) =
{(NP=GEN)
 (ADV=GEN)
 (PP=GEN)
 (RC with -po or -sa)
 (NCC)}
```

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

The order of noun modifiers is demonstrative + noun + adjective + numeral + quantifier (+
emphatic), see (4.4). Numerals and quantifiers are usually exclusive of each other, but certain
quantifiers, such as tʰamtɛʔ ‘all’ in (4.4) may co-occur with numerals, although the
combination is not very frequent.

(4.4) ཨྔོ་འདི་ཁིམ་གསརབ་གསུམ་ཐམས་ཅད་འདི་ódi kʰim sːaːp súm tʰamtɛʔ=di
   that house new three all=DEMPH
   ‘all those three new houses’ (KN e)

174 ‘too, even, yet’
The following subsections describe prenominal (§4.1.2) and postnominal modifiers (§4.1.3)

4.1.2 Pre-nominal modifiers
A prenominal modifier of a noun phrase can be a demonstrative (§4.1.2.1), genitive attribute (§4.1.2.2), a relative clause with -kʰẽ: (§4.1.2.3) or a juxtaposed nominal (§4.1.2.4).

4.1.2.1 Demonstrative
Distal ódi, proximal di and, less frequently, the emphatic proximal dodi, which can all occur as independent pronouns, do also occur either as prenominal modifiers or postnominal modifiers (for post-nominal uses, see §4.1.3.4). Examples (4.5a) and (4.5b) illustrate prenominal uses of ódi and di respectively (for a postnominal use of dodi, see §4.5.2.3).

(4.5) a) དེ་ཟང་ན་འབྲས་ལྔོངས་ན་འྔོང་མཁན་ཙུ་ལྔོ་ཨྔོ་འདི་ཤྔོག་ཀུ་ཡྔོདབ་སྦད་ལགས།
b>but here Sikkim=LOC come-NMLZ=PL=DAT that paper EX.NE=HON
‘But those who came to Sikkim had [that document].’ (CY interview)

b) ཨྔོ་འདི་ཁིམ་འདི་རྔོ་སྟེང་ཁར་བཟྔོ་བཟྔོ་བྔོ་སྦད།
this house=DEMPH stone on make-RDP-2INF EQU.NE
‘[This house] is built on stones.’ (TB e)

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

(4.6) karma, te’o? [nàː ɲi=lo] jàː=tsaː=sàː ke’: p’in lo.
PN 2SG.L here small.child=DAT up=by=until bring give TAG.Q
‘Karma, you take [the child here] all the way up, okay.’ (Richhi 40)

Other pro-adverbal 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) ཨྔོ་འདི་ སང་གི་ བྔོན་པྔོ་ འདི་ཙུ་[ódi gaŋ=gi lômпу di=tsu]
that time=GEN minister this=PL
‘ministers of that time’ (CY interview)

b) ཨྔོ་འདི་ ལགས་ཤྔོག་གི་ཁིམ་[ódi tɕaː=ki kʰim=di]
that corrugated.iron=GEN house=DEMPH
‘that house of corrugated iron’ (not: ‘house of that corrugated iron’) (KL, BB discussion)
4.1.2.2 Genitive attributes

The genitive-marked noun-modifier may be a noun phrase (4.8), adverb (4.9), postposition phrase (4.10), relative clause (4.12) or a noun complement clause (4.13). In the following illustrative examples, genitive attributes are marked with square brackets.

Noun phrase
(4.8) a) སྨའི་བདེ་

\[
\text{[nê:] ápo}
\]

1SG.GEN father
‘my father’ (DB life story)

b) སྨའི་ཟེར་དྲུག་པོ་ཞིང་གིས།

\[
\text{[[nûtei=gi] qendzoŋ=gi] miri?}
\]

1PL.GEN=GEM Sikkim=GEM people
‘people of our Sikkim’ (NAB BLA 7)

c) སྨའི་རྡེ་སྦྱོར

\[
\text{[nûtei=gi=di] lògju?}
\]

1PL.GEN=GEM=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) སྨ་གུ་

\[
\text{[óna=gi] teʰu}
\]

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

b) སྨ་ཐུམ་གུ་འདི་ཐ་

\[
\text{[tʽariŋ=gi] tsʰoːduː=di}
\]

today=GEM meeting=DEMPH
‘in today’s meeting’ (RD BLA 9)

c) སྨ་གུ་སྨ་བོ་

\[
\text{[nɛ̃́ nlo=gi] lóbqα}
\]

before=GEM school
‘the school before’ / ‘the school of days gone’ (Richhi 44)

d) སྨ་སྒྲ

\[
\text{[òː=gi] mì}
\]

under=GEM human
‘people (who live) down’ (LA birth in Lachung)
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 བྲིས་ khyim) ‘house’.

(4.10) bolokʰa འབྲས་ལྔོངས་ ‘next to’ kʰim bolo=gi བྲིས་ ‘house’  
tejkʰa/teŋ=lo པེབ་/ཡེ་ ‘above’ > kʰim teŋ=gi བྲིས་ ‘house’  
ö:lo/ö:le སྟེང་/ཤེང་ ‘under’ > kʰim ö:gi བྲིས་ ‘house’  
nâŋca/nâŋlo རང་ ‘inside’ > kʰim nâŋ=gi བྲིས་ ‘house’

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) བོལོ་ཁྲིམ་སྟེང་ ‘wheel’.  
[denzö: nàn=gi] tamgyː=tsu  
Sikkim inside=GEN legend=PL  
‘legends within Sikkim’ (SGD cave story)  

b) རོ་ཁྲིམ་ ‘legends’.  
[karmaː] bolo=gi kupkja?  
PN.GEN next.to=GEN seat  
‘the seat next to Karma’ (Richhi 125)

c) དོ་ཁྲིམ་ ‘head’.  
[[p’otsöː] go=ɾ] teŋ=gi mà  
child.GEN head=GEN top=GEN.wound  
‘wound on the child’s head’ (Richhi 3)

Relative clauses and noun complement clauses are discussed in detail in §13. These attribute types are here illustrated just by one example each:

Relative clause
(4.12) དོ་ཁྲིམ་ འབྲས་ལྔོངས་ ‘wheel’.  
[guru rimputeː t’a:pu ts’am zu:-zu-bøː] nē:  
guru Rimpoche long.ago solitary.meditation sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN site  
‘a site [where Guru Rimpoche used to meditate]’ (SGD cave story)

175 Both th written forms འབྲོ་ ‘bo-lo and འབྲོ་ལོག་ ‘bo-log occur in Richhi.
Noun complement clause

(4.13) máko lò súm kjap-o’ lògju?
son-in-law year three do-2INF.GEN story
‘story [that the son-in-law does three years (of work)].’ (SGD wedding customs)

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

(4.14) a) pʼiteuŋ=gi ka:m teŋkʰa
bird=GEN foot on
‘in the bird’s foot’ (PAD bet story)

b) pʼiteuŋ kãːpøː nàŋ sà
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 -kʰɛː;
Noun-modifying relative clauses with the nominalizer -kʰɛː, which do not require (nor allow) genitive marking, are described in §13.2.1. For an introductory example, consider (4.15).

(4.15) teŋkʰa=ki na=lo pjöː jà-kʰɛː] kaŋkara=di
2SG.L=GEN nose=DAT hang EX-NMLZ crab=DEMPH
‘the crab [that was/is hanging from your nose]’ (ma-gsung 33)

4.1.2.4 Juxtaposition
A noun may also be modified by a noun phrase which is placed in juxtaposition to the noun. In these cases, it is sometimes difficult to determine which noun phrase modifies which one. Constructions with juxtaposition are used to refer especially to people and places. Therefore a juxtapositional construction typically contains a personal name or a toponym, which is juxtaposed to another noun phrase. Juxtaposition may be either appositional or non-appositional. In appositional juxtaposition, a noun phrase which modifies a noun has the same referent as the noun it modifies (Haspelmath 1993: 256). In non-appositional juxtaposition, the juxtaposed noun is not co-referential with the modified noun.

4.1.2.4.1 Appositional juxtaposition
An apposition to a personal name may be a title (4.16-17) or a kinship term (4.18). The kinship term typically occurs before the name, although a reverse order is also possible. Some frequent titles are listed in Table 4.1.
A person may also be referred to by two appositional titles:

(4.20) ཏེ་བོ ལྟེེ།
jåːp kæpten
nobleman captain(Eng)
‘Honorable Captain’ (KN CY interview)

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

(4.21) དང་ཐོག་
såŋkøŋ་såŋkøŋ
‘Gangtok town’ / ‘the town of Gangtok’ (YR canteen video)

176 This word is probably a phonologically reduced version of WT རྨ་རི་ yu-rabs ‘nobleman’, which has become homophonous with with jåːp ‘father (hon.)’ (WD རྨ་ yab).
An appositional construction may also consist of two personal pronouns (4.24):

(4.23) རྒན་པྔོ་ འདི་ཙུ་ཀིས་ ཙོང་སྐད་ ཡང་ ཁྔོང་ ལན་རྒྱས་ མཁེན་ སྦད།

(4.24) ༽རྟ་ཟྟ་ི། སྟོད་ལྟེ་ ཚོས་ལས་ ༽བིས་ བན་ བྱ་བོ་ སོ་ སྟོད་ སྦད།

In some instances, appositions lexicalize. For instance, the form ádzota? རྟ་ཟྟ་ ‘tiger’ (TB) deriving from ádzotá ta? ‘grandpa tiger’, is used by some speakers as the main word for referring to the feline.177

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. mì-kʰu ‘eye-water, tear’), whereas the non-appositional juxtaposition combines longer syntagms, which are much longer than what would be expected of a word in Denjongke, into a single concept (e.g. 4.25a). Prosodic phenomena involved in non-appositional juxtaposition, however, remain a subject for further study.

(4.25) a) བོད་གཉིས་ འཇིག་ སྟོད་ལྟེ་ གྲེི་ སྟའུ་ བི ལན་ སྦད།

b) སྤྱི་ སྟོད་ལྟེ་ སྟའུ་ བི ལན་ སྦད།
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c) དབེན་གཏམ་ཡབ་/ཡརབ་སྦྔོམ་པུ་

*dentam jà:pjà:p bompu*
TPN father/nobleman big
‘the great father/nobleman of Dentam’ (CY interview)

d) དབེན་གཏམ་གནས།

*nàtei=gì dëndzö: ge:pu*
1PL 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) བོད་ཀྱིལ་བོད་

*tê‘liŋ kei*
foreign language
‘English language’ (DR discussion with KL)

b) ཤོགས་རིང་ས་གནས།

*tʰaː-rin sán*
‘distance-long region’
‘far-away region’ (Richhi 1)

Some nouns may also modify other nouns without genitivization. Each of the words used in (4.27) also occur independently as noun phrase heads.

(4.27) a) བོད་ཀྱིལ་བོད་

*pʰogja? mi=t̪iʔ*
husband human=INDF
‘a male person’ (nga’i ‘gan 8)

b) ཤོགས་རིང་

*mi gapu*
human elder
‘an elder man’ (KN kitchen discussion)

b) ཤོགས་རིང་

*mi 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.

179 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 keʔ (WD རི་མོ་ དབིན་ཇི་ skad).
4.1.3.1 Adjectival modifiers
A noun-modifying adjective phrase typically occurs postposed to the head noun.

(4.28)  
\[ \text{gā: te\textsuperscript{u}nte\textsuperscript{u}ŋ} \]
\[ \text{hill small 'a small hill' (TB e)} \]

(4.29)  
\[ \text{nēn bompu} \]
\[ \text{wedding big 'big wedding' (DB life story)} \]

The adjective itself may be preceded by a modifier:

(4.30)  
\[ \text{ári [lēp bompu]} \]
\[ \text{paddy.field very.much big 'a very big paddy field' (TB bull story)} \]

(4.31)  
\[ \text{tʰuri? [kʰə:mentse? kʰɛṭa?]} \]
\[ \text{understanding extremely sophisticated 'extremely sophisticated understanding' (CY interview)} \]

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)  
\[ \text{odi te\textsuperscript{u}nte\textsuperscript{u}ŋ kʰi zi-tʰamba} \]
\[ \text{that small dog four-\text{NUM} 'those four small dogs' (TB e)} \]

b)  
\[ \text{kʰi te\textsuperscript{u}nte\textsuperscript{u}ŋ zi-tʰamba di=tṣu} \]
\[ \text{dog small four-\text{NUM} this=\text{PL} 'those/these four small dogs' (PR e)} \]

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 tʰamṭee? ‘all’ can occur with numerals (4.34).

(4.33) a)  
\[ \text{pʰum súm} \]
\[ \text{girl three 'three girls' (KN e)} \]
b) བུམ་ཐེས་པོ་

\(p\text{'um ke:p(o)}\)
girl  many
‘many girls’ (KN e)

(4.34) བུམ་ཐེས་པོ་ཁམ་གསར་གསུམ་ཐམས་ཅད་འདི་

\(\text{ódi } k\text{'im } sa:p \text{ súm } t\text{'amte}=di\)
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) བུམ་ཐེས་པོ་ཁམ་གསར་

\(\text{ád zo } ge:po [lò k\text{'e: zì-t's'o?]}\)
grandfather  old.man  year  score  four-about
‘old grandfather of some eighty years’ (Richhi 78)

(4.36) བུམ་ཐེས་པོ་ཁམ་གསར་

\(nà [kàʔ súm] do:-run jîke}\)
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).\(^{180}\)

(4.37) a) བུམ་ཐེས་པོ་ཁམ་གསར་

\(\text{ódi súm-} t\text{’amba t’ep bompu}\)
that  three-DEMPh  book  big
‘those three big books’ (TB e)

b) བུམ་ཐེས་པོ་ཁམ་གསར་

\(t\text{'ep bompu súm-} t\text{’amba } \text{ódi}\)
book  big  three-DEMPh  that
‘those three big books’ (KUN e)

c) བུམ་ཐེས་པོ་ཁམ་གསར་

\(\text{ódi t’ep bompu súm-} t\text{’amba=di}\)
that  book  big  three-DEMPh  that
‘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 \(k\text{'e: } \text{màŋpo}\ ‘\text{much, a lot}, \text{màŋpo}\ ‘\text{much, a lot}, \text{màŋpo}\ ‘\text{much, a lot}, \text{màŋpo}\ ‘\text{much, a lot} and \(\text{màŋpo}\ ‘\text{little, few}’ (see §3.5.2.4) and the specific numeral \(k\text{’a:pu ‘one full (vessel)}’ (and the variant \(k\text{’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.\(^{180}\)

\(^{180}\) Yet another ordering suggested by one consultant was \(súm-} t\text{’amba } \text{ódi t’ep bompu.}
Table 4.2. Quantifying pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰamtɕɛʔ</td>
<td>‘all, totally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɛːl</td>
<td>‘all, totally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʰaː(le)</td>
<td>‘all, totally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzayki</td>
<td>‘all’ (Lachung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rere</td>
<td>‘each (one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɑntsɛico</td>
<td>‘most’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰaːcɕ</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làriʔ</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làla...(lāla)</td>
<td>‘some...(others)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rɪni(rɪni)</td>
<td>‘a few (of people)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaːkutɕiʔ</td>
<td>‘a few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕiːɲi</td>
<td>‘a few’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4.38)  
\[ tʰa [mɪ tʰamtɕɛʔ] ] halede:.  
now human all be.surprised  
‘Now all the people were amazed.’ (SGD cave story)

(4.39)  
\[ tʰa [ra kʰɛːl] ] paŋkʰa dzaː=lo tʰa:-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)  
1PL.GEN TPN=GEN human all good EX.PER  
‘All people of our Martam are good.’ (KN e)

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

(4.41)  
this all carry come=REP  
‘Bring this all, it was said.’ (KUN e)

(4.42)  
\[ mɪ rere=gi ] kitap nəː pό-u ŋi.  
human each=GEN book(Nep.) 1SG.AGT buy-2INF EQU.PER  
‘I bought each person’s book.’ (KL discussion with DR)

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181 This form uses the superlative suffix -ɕoʔ and hence formally resembles adjectives. It can, however, be used as an independent pronoun ‘most’. On this distributional basis, the word is here listed as a pronoun.
(4.43) མང་ཆེ་ཤྔོས་ བྔོད་པྔོ་ དང་ ཤེར་པྔོ་ཀིས་ གྱོན་བྔོའི་ ལུགས་སྔོལ་ ਊཱེ།

most Tibetan and Sherpa=AGT wear-2INF.GEN tradition EQU.PER

‘(It) is the tradition of most Tibetans and Sherpas to wear (it).’ (sbar-phung 93)

(4.44) a) མི་ ཁ་ཤས་ཅིག་གི་ སྐད་ ਊྔོ་འདེབ་ བྱ༹ས་སྟི་ རྐྱབས་ཤད་ འདི་ རྐྱབས་

human some=INDF=AGT language like.that do-NF speak-INF=DEMPH

‘Some people indeed speak the language like that.’ (KN field notes)

b) གཉེན་མཚན་ ལ་ལ་ཀི

girl.GEN=GEN relative some=AGT=DEMPH

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

(4.45) མི་ ན་རིས་

human some

‘some people’ (CY interview)

(4.46) སུན་་ཞྲོལ་ དཔོན་ ཡོང་ སིང་ རྐྱེད་ འདི་

girl.GEN=GEN relative some=AGT=DEMPH

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

(4.47) ཏི་རུག་ ཀ་ཀུ་ཅིག་

rupee a.few=INDF

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

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

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

(4.48) དབྱང་གིང་གི་ ཡུལ་ ཀེས་པྔོ་

world=GEN place many=INDF=LOC

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

(4.49) གོང་ཤིན་ཨས་ཀྱི་ གྲོམ་པོ་ བོད་ འདི་

now recently speech many happen-2INF EQU.NE

‘Just now, there was a lot of speaking.’ (KL BLA 12)

182 50 paisa is equivalent to 8 ána. One ána is thus 6,25 paisa (1 paisa is a hundredth of a rupee).
Note, however, that in (4.49) *keːpo* could be analyzed two ways, either as modifier of *tàm* (‘[many words] happened’) or as a complement of the verb *tʰon* ‘happen, become’ (‘[words] became [many]’).

(4.50) *phleiŋboː tʼytsʰoʔ nāŋea=lo [teʼuk māŋpo=teiʔ] quk=lo sōː-bo*
foreigner.GEN time inside=DAT Nepali many=INDF Bhutan=DAT so.PST-INF be?
EQU.NE
‘At the time of the foreigners, many Nepalis went to Bhutan.’ (CY interview)

(4.51) *ŋàtaʔ [mi ɲùŋɲuŋ] tʼ-ruŋ ŋàteʔ? pʼja tʼuʔ?*
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 kʼāːpu/kʼõːpu *gang* ‘one full measure of’ derives from WT *gang* ‘full’. While kʼāːpu/kʼõːpu is a frequent and geographically widely used morpheme, the related form *kʼoːm* occurs only once in my data from a consultant from Lachung (the first instance in [4.52]). While kʼāːpu/kʼõːpu occurs as an emphatic modifier of the words meaning ‘all’, i.e. *tʰamtɕɛʔ (kʼãːpu), kʰɛːl (kʼãːpu), tɕʰaːlɛ (kʼãːpu) ‘entirely all’, in the sole example *kʼoːm* modifies an ordinary noun. The head word of kʼāːpu may either occur independently as a quantitative pronoun (the second instance in [4.52]) or as a noun-modifier (4.53).

(4.52) *nêntsɕː kʼoː:m], átec, ái, ádzo, pʼamiy, relatives full elder.brother elder.sister grandfather fatherʼs.relative kʼan-ruŋ jō-patec pʼja-ruŋ [kʼeːle kʼãːpu=gi] taː-ce be?
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)

PRN.HON all full=DAT greetings
‘Greeting to you all.’ (NAB BLA 7)

4.1.3.4 Demonstrative modifiers
Distal *ódi*, proximal *di* and emphatic proximal *dodi* were above shown to occur as prenominal modifiers. They also occurs as postnominal modifiers:

(4.54) *tsʰiktɕɛʔ ódi=na*
poem that=LOC
‘…in that poem…’ (KL BLA 12)
(4.55) ལ་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ འདི་ཙུ་
l̥a tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ di=tsu
‘these small gods’ (SGD wedding customs)

(4.56) འཇུག་ ལུག་ ེེན་
aŋa gə:m òdi
old.lady old.woman that
‘that old lady’ (ma-gsung 6)

(4.57) ཁྱོད་ ལྔོ་ དུམ་
ɲèː tɕʰik dum dodi
1SG.GEN word short this.right.here
‘these short words of mine’ (KT life story)

Other postnominal demonstrative modifiers are pʰou=di/pʰidi ♦ aŋo’aŋdi ‘that over there’
jòu=di/jìdi òŋa’ngi’iʒi’di ‘that up there’ and mòudi/mìdi òŋa’ngi’iʒi’di ‘that down there’. For one example, consider (4.58).

(4.58) འཇིག་ ཡོད་ ལྔོ་
cin pʰidi=lo áru
tree that.over.there=DAT peach
‘that tree over there (has) peach(es)’ (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) མོའི་ ཆུབ་ ངོ་ (ཛུད་) ལྐྱེས་ ལྔོ་
námù òdi [k’jaŋkʰa (kjap) ma-tsʰu-po=di]
camel that counting (do) NEG-be.able.to-2INF =DEM PH
‘those camels, which could not be counted’ (PAD bet story)

A fuller treatment of post-head relative clauses can be found in §13.2.1.2 and §13.2.2.2.

4.1.4 Noun phrase-final clitics
Clitics attach to the noun phrase after the word-level modifiers. The order of the clitics is (=PL) (=CASE) (=AEMP/CEMPH) (=DEM PH) (=TOP) (=jāː ‘even, too, yet’). Examples (4.60-67) provide evidence for this ordering. Typically only one of the clitics =AEMP/CEMPH, =DEM PH, or =TOP occurs in a noun phrase, but some combinations are possible, see (4.64-65). For the complexity of analysing =DEM PH 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=jāː

(4.60) ཞྣ་ རིལ་ ལྔོ་ ཚུ་ མལ་
nùm=tsu=lo=jāː:
mìː=na te’a keː 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)
For children of the present day…” (YR canteen video)

‘I’m now in Mysore (itself).’ (Richhi 56)

‘If (we) say [zunjlu], 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:

‘that indeed’ (YR canteen video)

‘The mind flies here and there restlessly’ (Richhi 86)

The clitic =jãː ‘even, too, yet’ is frequently postposed to =DEMPH, see (4.66).

In my data, jãː also occurs attached to =rãː, see (4.67). However, in all the instances =rãː functions as a simple reflexive (see §6.2) rather than in the more grammaticalized function of =AEMPH (see §16.1.1).
In addition to the emphatic clitics, the attention marker =co, 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, =co retains its clausal feature of being followed by a pause. For more on =co, see §16.2.2.

(4.68) à ฐฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏฏ بصیب

Whereas the emphatic clitics are discussed more in detail in §16, the plural marker is described here.

4.1.5 Plural marker =tsu
The plural marker =tsu is an enclitic, which attaches to the last word of the noun phrase, which may either be a noun, as in (4.69), or a noun modifier, as in (4.70) and (4.71).

(4.69) ठू
  do=tsu
  stone=PL
  ‘stones’

(4.70) ठू ठू
  do bompu=tsu
  stone big=PL
  ‘big stones’

(4.71) ठू ठू ठू
  do bompu di=tsu
  stone big this=PL
  ‘these big stones’

The plural marker is frequently elided when plurality is otherwise obvious from the context. In (4.72) and (4.73), the plural marker is dropped with a numeral and a quantifier respectively, but (4.74) retains the plural marker despite the quantifier.

(4.72) ठू ठू
  p’otso sum
  child three
  ‘three children’
(4.73)  do   ke:p
stone   a.lot
‘a lot of stones’

(4.74)  kʰoŋ=gi  kʰim=na  t’ep=tsu  ke:po  du-ke.
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)  ze: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)  lyː=di=gi  k’an  p’ja-ee?  eī-watee  ṇatea?  rimpute=lo
body=DEMPH=AGT  what  do-INF  say.HUM-COND  1PL  rimpoche=DAT
 gjømpa  gju  teʰu:tsʰ:-ee=tsu
monastery  go  prostrate-INF=PL
‘When it comes to what to do with this body, (we should practise) going to monastery to Rimpoche and doing prostrations and such things.’ (YR canteen video)

Mass nouns such as teʰu ‘water’ may receive plural marking.

(4.77)  di  saːi  be?,  teʰu=tsu  lik  zak-ee=ki.
this  copper.(cauldron)  EQU.INE  water=PL  pour put-INF=GEN
‘This is a copper cauldron, for pouring and keeping water(s).’ (PD outside video)

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

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

(4.78)  gialtʃ’en=tsu
PN=PL
‘Gyalchen and those associated with him’ (KN kitchen discussion)
4.1.6 Definiteness and indefiniteness

Definiteness and indefiniteness may be expressed, respectively, by the demonstrative-emphatic =di and the indefiniteness marker =tei?, 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 =tɕiʔ follows the quantifier ke:po ‘many, a lot’ (4.79), the numeral tei? (4.80), other numbers (4.81) and the plural marker (4.82).

(4.79) dzamlin=gi yː ke:po=tei?=na
world=GEN place many=INDF=LOC
‘in many places in the world’ ('dzam-gling skad-yig 62)

(4.80) sāŋg=ki sūŋ-sum-bo tei?=tei? beʔ.
Buddha=GEN say.HON-RDP-2INF one=INDF EQU.NE
‘This is one (proverb) told by the Buddha.’ (YR canteen video)

(4.81) tô:ʔaʔ ŋa tʰuː=teiʔ gju őː.
thousand five six=INDF go FUT.UNC
‘Some five-six thousand will go (to buy it).’ (PD altar room video)

(4.82) ádzo kʰoː=tsu=teiʔ tsa=le ödępti sën-sën-po jôʔ.
grandfather 3PL=PL=INDF by=ABL like.that hear.HON-RPD EX.PER
‘(they) have heard like that from them grandfathers’ (CY interview)

The indefiniteness marker may be followed by case marking, as in (4.79) and the first instance of =teiʔ in (4.83). In the second instance in (4.83), =teiʔ obtains the meaning ‘some’.

(4.83) bengali=gi sákʔaʔ=tei?=na dɔː-tiki sâm=teiʔ sòu ŋ.
Bengali=GEN restaurant=INDF=LOC sit-NF food=INDF eat.2INF EQU.PER
‘(We) sat in a restaurant owned by Bengalis and ate some food.’ (DB day trip)

In indefinite expressions such as ‘whoever’ and ‘whatever’, which are formed from an interrogative word and a concessive form of the equative ŋ, the indefiniteness marker may occur either attached to the interrogative word (4.84) or the concessive suffix (4.85).

183 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.
4.1.7 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) 𝑘ʰ𝑖’in=na ápo ám kʰjoːm ɖik-ti
house=LOC father mother gift arrange-NF
‘At home, the father (and) mother arranging a gift…’ (SD wedding customs)

Monosyndetic coordination uses the connectors tʽãː ‘and’ for inclusive coordination and jã̀ːɛ ‘or’ for presenting options:

(4.87) _tDœː; ọŋmu tʽãː: karma
PN PN and PN
‘Choden, Wangmo and Karma’ (Richhi 2)

(4.88) /'..snapshot 2sg.Hon=M DAT =lo
1SG=DAT 2sg.M=DAT or 3S.HON=DAT
‘To me, you or him’ (KT discussion with TB)

The connector jãːne ‘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’ 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) ọm jãːne râŋ=gi lý=ki ɛò
milk or own=GEN body=GEN curd
‘milk, or (her) own body’s curd’ (SGD wedding customs)

(4.90) Buddha snapshot=potion t’ẽː=ki nàŋ(_,)a=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) ཨོ་ ཨོ་ ཚར་ རེ་
lò lò tsʰaː re
year year turn one
‘once every year’ (KN c)

(4.92) རི་ཤུག་ བརྒྱ་རེ་ བརྒྱ་རེ་
tiruʔ gja-ri gja-ri
rupee hundred-one hundred-one
‘one hundred and one hundred rupees (=a hundred rupees each)’ (DB day trip)

4.2 The verb complex
This section first introduces the structure of the verb complex (§4.2.1) and then describes complex verbs, namely phrasal verbs (§4.2.2) and serial verbs (§4.2.3). The last section gives examples of various types of combinations of elements in the verb complex (§4.3.4). In the ensuing discussion, “complex verb” refers to verbs consisting of more elements than one verb root (either phrasal verbs or serial verbs) and “verb complex” refers to the verb and all verbal suffixes and auxiliaries accompanying a verb in a clause.

4.2.1 Structure of the verb complex
The structure of Denjongke verb complex is presented in Figure 4.2, using the following abbreviations:

N = Noun in a phrasal verb
NEG = Negator prefix
V1 = Primary verb, may consist of several verb roots forming the semantic core of the serial verb construction, as in (4.99)
RDP = Reduplication of the verb stem, occurs in some constructions
V2 = Secondary verb, which does not belong to the semantic core of the primary verb but which brings nuance to the primary verbal meaning
TAM = Tense/aspect/modality marking suffix (see §8)
AUX = Equative auxiliary (ɨː, ɨʔ) or existential auxiliary (joʔ, duʔ), also in complex, nominalized forms as in (4.135), may occur cliticized as in (4.132)
NMLZ = Nominalizer -kʰɛ̃ː
INF = Infinitive marker -po/bo or -eeʔ
CFC = Clause final clitic(s) =eo, =la, =lo, =se, =ki (see §3.7.3)

Figure 4.2. Structure of the verb complex in declarative mood

(N) (NEG) V1 (-RDP) (NEG) (V2) [ (=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 \((AUX)^{184} - \text{TAM (AUX), -NMLZ AUX or -INF AUX}\). 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 adjacent 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 བྱ༹ས་ ‘do’, \(kjap\) རྐྱབས་ ‘do, strike’, \(tāː\) བཏང་ ‘send, do’, \(tap\) བཏབ་ ‘strike, sow, offer, do’. Phrasal verbs are illustrated in Tables 4.3 (with semantically bleached verbalizers) and 4.4 (with other verbs). Denwood (1999: 109) comments on Lhasa Tibetan that “[s]ometimes it can be difficult to decide whether a given case is better regarded as a phrasal verb or simply as a non-phrasal verb stem+object or subject, the two constructions shade off into one another.” The same is true of Denjongke.

Table 4.3. Some phrasal verbs formed with the verbalizers \(p\)'ja, \(kjap\), \(tāː\): and \(tap\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(p)’etco? (p)'ja</th>
<th>&quot;use&quot; (lit. use do)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jò? (p)'ja</td>
<td>&quot;work&quot; (lit. work do)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(āː): (kjap)</td>
<td>&quot;lie&quot; (lit. lie do/strike)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(daku) (kjap)</td>
<td>&quot;govern&quot; (lit. owner do/strike)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nōːsam) (tāː)</td>
<td>&quot;think&quot; (lit. thought send)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(jārg) (tāː)</td>
<td>&quot;develop, progress&quot; (lit. progress send)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mēlam) (tap)</td>
<td>&quot;pray&quot; (lit. prayer sow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sō) (tap)</td>
<td>&quot;bite&quot; (lit. tooth strike).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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”.

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184 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 =\(p\)e? vs. be?).
Table 4.4. Some other phrasal verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sêm ga</td>
<td>‘rejoice’ (lit. mind rejoice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’jøpo to</td>
<td>‘be hungry’ (lit. ‘stomach be.hungry’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’a kom</td>
<td>‘be thirst’ (lit. mouth dry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go tsuk</td>
<td>‘begin’ (lit. ‘start plant’),’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nö cé</td>
<td>‘know (a person)’ (lit. face know)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèːp zo</td>
<td>‘destroy’ (lit. not-existing make)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 łêp ‘very (much)’ may occur preceding the compound (4.94a) or within it (4.94b).

(4.93)  
\(\text{(a)}\) \(\text{ནོར་བཏབ།} \)  
\(\text{sö tap} \)  
\‘bite!’  
\(\text{(b)}\) \(\text{ནོར་མ་བཏབ།} \)  
\(\text{sö ma-tap} \)  
\‘don’t bite!’

(4.94)  
\(\text{(a)}\) \(\text{མདང་ལེབ་ཨིན།} \)  
\(\text{dãːŋàlɛ̀p sêm ga-u ìː} \)  
\‘yesterday 1SG very.much mind rejoice-2INF EQU.PER  
\‘Yesterday I was very happy.’ (KN e)  
\(\text{(b)}\) \(\text{མདང་སེམས་ལེབ་ཨིན།} \)  
\(\text{dãːŋàsɛ̃́m lɛ̀p ga-u ìː} \)  
\‘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)  
\(\text{(a)}\) \(\text{jö? p’ja/kjap} \)  
\‘work’  
\(\text{(b)}\) \(\text{jàrge tâ/p’ja} \)  
\‘develop (tr.)’  
\(\text{(c)}\) \(\text{ɕúk kjap/p’ja} \)  
\‘exert force’

Some bivalent compounds may be reduced to monovalent ones by using the verb t’on ‘become’;

(4.96)  
\(\text{(a)}\) \(\text{jàrge tâ:} \)  
\‘develop (tr.)’  
\(\text{(b)}\) \(\text{jàrge t’øn} \)  
\‘develop (intr.)’
The verbalizer *p’ja* is commonly used in borrowing verbal expressions from other languages such as English. The following three expressions were used in a public speech (English orthography in square brackets).

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

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

### 4.2.3 Verb serialization

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

\[(4.98)\]

\[\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{p’ja} & \text{kum} & \text{kjap} & \text{sà} & \text{ti} & \\
\text{hen} & \text{stealing} & \text{strike} & \text{eat-NF} & & \\
\text{‘Stealing and eating a hen…’ (KTL animal story)}
\end{array}\]

\[(4.99)\]

\[\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{kʰu} & \text{=} & \text{gi} & \text{ta} & \text{ri} & \text{=} & \text{di} & \text{p’ik} & \text{tʰa} & \text{=} & \text{diki} & \text{te} & \text{ʰu} & \text{nàŋca} \\
\text{3SGM=GEN=GEN axe=DEMPH get.off be.released-NF water inside} & & & & & & & & & & & & \\
\text{fum-bo=lo} & & & & & & & & & & & & \\
\text{fall-2INF=REP} & & & & & & & & & & & & \\
\text{‘His axe, slipping out (of his hand).’ (JDF axe story)}
\end{array}\]

\[(4.100)\]

\[\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{ İn}= & \text{tei} & & \text{tʰu} & \text{bak} & \text{lō} & \text{só} & \text{du} & \text{ke}. \\
\text{jackal=INDF pick carry rise go} & & & & & & & & & & & \\
\text{‘A jackal took it and went away, (I see).’ (PL interview)}
\end{array}\]

\[(4.101)\]

\[\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{ód}= & \text{ra} & \text{tʰa} & \text{ba} & \text{jā} & \text{gju} & \text{be}. \\
\text{like.that=DEMPH be.released carry go go EQU.NE} & & & & & & & & & & \\
\text{‘Like that (they) keep on going free.’ (CY interview)}
\end{array}\]

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.

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185 An analogous process takes place in Nepali with the verbalizer *garnu* ‘do to’.

186 A verb which can occur independently as an ordinary verb participates, when occurring with other verbs, in “serialization”. Further stages of grammaticalization in which the verb no longer functions independently as an ordinary verb are called “auxiliarization” and “morphologization” (see DeLancey 1991: 2). Verbs that have both independent and auxiliary uses, as the secondary verbs here do, can be called “versatile verbs” (Matisoff 1969, 1973, Delancey 1991).

187 According to consultant KUN, an agentive form *tei=ki* would be expected in this clause.
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 mjöː ‘finish’ a verb of motion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Converbal</th>
<th>Serialized</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰik-ti ʰː</td>
<td>kʰik oː</td>
<td>bring, lead (a human or a large animal) (lit. lead come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰik-ti gju</td>
<td>kʰik gju</td>
<td>take, lead away (a human or a large animal) (lit. lead come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak-ti ʰː</td>
<td>bak oː</td>
<td>bring (a thing) (lit. carry come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak-ti gju</td>
<td>bak gju</td>
<td>take away (a thing) (lit. carry go)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lök-ti ʰː</td>
<td>lök oː</td>
<td>return, come back (lit. return come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lök-ti gju</td>
<td>lök gju</td>
<td>go back (lit. return go)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lòː-dí gju</td>
<td>lòː gju</td>
<td>go away (lit. stand go)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-ti mjöː</td>
<td>VERB mjöː</td>
<td>finish doing something (lit. VERB finish)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In negation, the negator occurs in between the verbs, e.g. lök mi-ʰː ‘does not return’, bak ma-ʰː ‘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) ɾaːdöː tʰu-ti bak ʰm-ʰbo beʔ.
basket  pick-NF carry come-2INF EQU.NE
(He) took and brought the box.’ (Class 8 textbook 14)

188 Consultant KN (Martam, East Sikkim) comments that in Tashiding (West Sikkim) jaː gju (lit. go go) is used for ‘go away’ instead of lòː gju.
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 mjõː ‘finish’ which marks completive aspectual information. For instance, the act of bringing (bak ōː) essentially consists of both carrying (bak) and coming (ōː). A special case are synonymic sequences such as t’ëk daː ‘chase away’, where both verbs mean ‘chase’.189

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.190

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189 Note that according to Haspelmath (2016) synonymic verb combinations are not Serial Verb Constructions.
190 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.
there thither look hither look do-PST
‘There (she) looked here and there.’ (UTR plains story)

(4.108) a) བཏོང་མ་སི་ཁུང་བསྡེ་སྙིང་པོ་
tʼa tʰamtɕɛ kʰõː lópta gju-do.
now all 3PL school go-IPFV
‘Now they all go to school.’ (PED life story)

b) ར་ལང་ན་འགྱུ་རྐྱབས་འབག་སྟི་ཀི་
ralãː=na gju kjap bak-tiki òn-di...
TPN=LOC go strike carry-NF come-NF
‘keeping on walking and coming to Ralang’ (PAD Tashiding story)

In (4.108b) the serial construction gju kjap ‘go strike’ may have a stronger association with actual walking than mere gju which typically refers to simply going. Moreover, in (4.108b), gju kjap is followed by a third serial verb, the secondary verb bak, which emphasizes durativity of action, see §8.3.4.

Third, in some cases the last member of the SVC is neither a verbalizer nor does it participate in forming the core lexical meaning of SVC but rather adds tense, aspect and modality related information or other semantic nuance to the SVC in question. These verbs are here termed secondary verbs, referring to the secondary nature of their semantic effect. Secondary verbs are summarized in Table 4.6, where the left-most column divides the verbs according to the construction in which they occur. The notion VERB refers to the primary verb in the construction, while the underscore _ refers to the position of the secondary verb. The full stop in “VERB_” reveals that the sentence may end in the secondary verb root. The asterisk * marks that the secondary verb collocates strongly with the construction in question (but is not completely limited to the construction).

The majority of the secondary verbs inflect like ordinary verbs because they also function as independent non-serialized verbs, i.e. ordinary verbs. The right-most column divides the verbs into clear tense-aspect markers (TA), clear modality markers (M), causative marker (C) and others (O). Delineation between the categories modality (M) and other (O) is by no means simple. The category modal is assigned to those markers which are in linguistics typically treated under the category modality (ability, obligation, permission, possibility).
Table 4.6. Secondary verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constr.</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERB_...</td>
<td>tsʰaː</td>
<td>'complete' [^{191}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB _ EX</td>
<td>do:</td>
<td>sit, stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB _ EX</td>
<td>zak</td>
<td>'put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB _ EX</td>
<td>lôː</td>
<td>'have time to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB ti*</td>
<td>bak</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB ḍ*</td>
<td>sì?</td>
<td>'be possible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB mi *</td>
<td>lê?</td>
<td>'be good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB( to)</td>
<td>ren</td>
<td>'be time to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Like ordinary verb | mjöː | 'finish; experience' | finished or experienced action |
| Like ordinary verb | tsʰuʔ | 'be able' | abilitative |
| Like ordinary verb | eː | 'know' | |
| Like ordinary verb | müm | 'dare' | mental abilitative |
| Like ordinary verb | kʰoʔ | 'have the strength to' | physical abilitative |
| Like ordinary verb | go?[^{192}] | 'need to' | obligation/deontic |
| Like ordinary verb | teʔoʔ | 'be alright' | objective permissive |
| Like ordinary verb | tup | 'deem fitting' | subjective permissive |
| Like ordinary verb | ta | 'look' | tentative or experimental action |
| Like ordinary verb | tɕuk | 'cause' | causative |
| Like ordinary verb | giu | 'go' | translocativity or disappearing, gradual change towards a state |
| Like ordinary verb | p' in | 'give' | benefactive |
| Like ordinary verb | tʰop | 'find, receive' | beneficiary |
| Like ordinary verb | tâː | 'send' | literal sending; semantically bleached verbalizer; non-honorific imperative marker |
| Like ordinary verb | nâː | 'grant' | honorific imperative marker |

As shown by Table 4.6, all tense-aspect markers, with the exception of bak and mjöː, which inflect like an ordinary verb, are unlike ordinary verbs, either being sentence-final markers (tsʰaː; ḍ) or being followed by an existential auxiliary (doː; zak, lôː). Modality markers occur either in specific constructions (lôː; sì?) or behave like ordinary verbs (e.g. tsʰuʔ, eː; go?, teʔoʔ, 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 converbal constructions, e.g. sà-ti mjöː: [eat-NF finish] ‘finish eating’, go-ti p' in [divide-NF give] ‘divide and give’ (or possibly ‘divide for someone’s benefit’).\[^{193}\]

[^191]: tsʰaː is the only grammatical secondary verb which does not occur as a primary verb (having been replaced by mjöː ‘finish’). It, however, has some characteristics of a verb, such as the ability to occur in nominalized constructions, see §8.1.2.

[^192]: Occasionally pronounced koʔ when preceded by a voiceless consonant.

[^193]: It is worth noting that p' in 'give', zak 'put' and mjöː ‘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)’.  

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4.2.3.1 Translocative secondary verb *gju* (past *sŏː*)

In addition to the uses where *gju* དི་ ‘go’ (past *sŏː: བོ་*) 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 *sŏː* occurs with TAM-marking whereas in (4.110) TAM-marking is dropped.

(4.109) \( \text{ɲɨm=t} \, kʰ=\text{tsu=i nòqo=le } \text{p’a pedom=di bjā:} \)
\( \text{day=INDF 3PL=PL=GEN cattle=ABL cow PN=DEMPH disappear} \)
\( \text{go.PFV-2INF EQU.NE} \)
‘One day the cow Pedom disappeared from their cattle.’ (rna-gsung 1)

(4.110) \( \text{önale kʰu bjā: } \text{sŏː:} \)
then 3SGM disappear go.PFV
‘Then he disappeared.’ (KTL animal story)

Whereas in my data the secondary verb *sŏː* is associated with literal going or somewhat metaphorical going, disappearing, Sandberg (1895: 42) reports *sŏː* 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)
\( \text{Kho yige chi } \text{p’i song du’}. \)
he letter INDF write go.PFV EX SEN
‘He has written a letter.’

Although example (4.110) above resembles in form Sandberg’s *zhe song* ‘has done’, the forms differ semantically in that (4.110) involves actual going out of sight whereas Sandberg’s *zhe song* ‘has done’ does not. Formulations such as the one exemplified in (4.111), which do not involve actual going, do not occur in my data nor are they accepted by my consultants. Borderline cases are (4.112) and (4.113), involving the verbs *t’ô*: ‘die (hon.)’ and *ei* ‘die’, which can be conceived as expressing a type of going or disappearing.

(4.112) \( \text{lò kʰɛ: sùm=lo ḫè: } \text{āpo=di te } \text{t’ô: } \text{sŏː:} \)
year score three=DAT 1SG.GEN father=DEMPH then die.HON go
‘At the age of sixty my father then died.’ (DB life story)

194 The more frequent form of the word is *t’i* བ་. The pronunciation *p’i* recorded by Sandberg is here written as * bryster into y*. 

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The borderline status of \(\text{ɕí sṍː} \text{ ze}\) [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) \(\text{ɕí sṍː}\)
\[
\text{ɕí sṍː-ze.}
\]
\[
\text{die go-PST}
\]
\[
'(\text{He}) \text{ died/ (He) went and died.}' (PT e)
\]

b) \(\text{ɕí sṍː}\)
\[
\text{ɕí sṍː-ze.}
\]
\[
\text{die go-PST}
\]
\[
'(\text{He}) \text{ went (there) to die.}' (KN e)
\]

The verb \text{gju} \ (past \text{sṍː}) often forms a SVC with a preceding \text{lō}: ‘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) \(\text{nǿːpo in-ne=to ádzo=gi dem=sāː: láklok}
\]
\[
\text{mischief=EQU-COND=CEMP H grandfather=AGT like.that=until IDEO.NN}
\]
\[
\text{nāː-bo=lc t'ak lō: gju-ce ū.}
\]
\[
\text{do.HON-2INF=ABL be.cured rise go-INF EQU.PER}
\]
\[
'\text{If (this) is (about spiritual) mischief, after the grandfather has done so many (unintelligible) incantations, (the disease) will go and get healed.}' (nam-rtog 17)
\]

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) \(\text{āpa lō=gi=ra lō=gi=ra k'ajem t’on lō:}
\]
\[
\text{father year=AGT=AEMP H year=AGT=AEMP H what.is.it become rise}
\]
\[
\text{gju-k’en be?}
\]
\[
\text{go-NMLZ EQU.NE}
\]
\[
'\text{Father, it’s year by year that (they) go on becoming what’s it (=wrinkled).}' (KNU kitchen discussion)
\]

Some western varieties of Denjongke use \(\text{jāː gju}\) instead of \text{lō: gju} for ‘go away’. Both of the components \(\text{jāː}\) and \(\text{gju}\) mean ‘go’ and can be used independently. The serialization \(\text{jāː gju}\) may be used similarly to \text{lō: gju} as a secondary verbal construction expressing movement towards a state:
(4.117) lò súmt sò:na de-tei? tu:jà: só:-m be?.
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 pʽin ‘give’
Although pʽin 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) jikʰ=gi jìgi sè:-di kʰ=lo jìgi pi: tvu pʽin.
postman=AGT letter choose-NF 3PL=DAT letter two pick give
'The postman, selecting letters, picks two letters and gives to them.' (Richhi 149)

(4.119) karma lò:-ti gom pʰi: pʽin.
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) làla=lo kʰim zo pʽin-do be?.
some=DAT house make give-IPFV EQU.NE
'For some a house is built (by the government)’ (RBM discussion on roof)

(4.121) njàte=kʰ=gi ke? kjap pʽin-do be?, nepali ke?.
1PL=AGT 3PL=GEN language strike give-IPFV EQU.NE Nepali language
'We are speaking their language, Nepali (for their benefit).’ (RS language situation)

(4.122) te ázi=gi=ra duk pʼja-ti njàte=lo aːyːe: tʼa sàm=tsu
then elder.sister=AGT=AEMPH pain do-NF 1PL=DAT a.bit now food=PL
ba? ò: pʼin-do be?.
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 pʽin typically expresses benefactive semantics, it may also be used to emphasize mere recipiency in a context where the action is not (obviously and immediately) beneficial for the recipient:

---

195 This form is surprising because here nominalizer མཁན་ kʰɛn attaches to a noun instead of a verb. The author may have intended to write ངིག་སེལ་མཁན་ jìʔ kʰɛ: ‘letter-bringer, postman’ (this is how another informant wanted to correct the expression).
4.2.3.3 Beneficiary secondary verb *tʰop* ‘find, receive’

Whereas with the secondary verb *pʰin* the actor\(^{196}\) in the clause is the benefactor, by using the secondary verb *tʰop* ‘find, receive’ the speaker takes the opposite viewpoint and sees the actor in the clause as a beneficiary who receives the opportunity denoted by the preceding verb. An apt English translation is ‘get to do’. For examples, consider the affirmative uses in (4.124) and negated uses in (4.125).

(4.124)  
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a) } & \text{ནི་འཁོར་བྱེ་ཤྱོད་འདི་} \ tsøpo \ p’ja=di=p’ja \ te \ n:e:kor \ kjap \ tʰop \ be. \\
& \text{debate do-INF=DEMPH=ADVZR so sightseeing do receive EQU.NE} \\
& \text{‘Because of (participating) the debate (he) got (the opportunity) to do sightseeing.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{b) } & \text{ཐོགས་ཅྱིད་དང་ཁརམ་མཉམ་ཅིག་འཕྱེད་} \ ro=tsu \ t’ãː \ karma \ njamtei? \ pʰɛʔ \ tʰop-o: \ ga:tsʰo: \\
& \text{friend=PL and PN with meet receive-2INF.GEN gladness} \\
& \text{‘the gladness of getting a chance to meet friends and Karma’ (Richhi 67)}
\end{align*}\]

(4.125)  
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a) } & \text{བོད་བོད་བོད་བོན་པ་} \ neː\ ázi \ teʰoʔ \ dok \ ma-tʰop. \\
& \text{1SG.GEN elder.sister doctrine read NEG-receive} \\
& \text{‘My sister didn’t get (a chance) to study.’ (PED life story)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{b) } & \text{ཐོགས་ཐོགས་ཐོགས་ཐོགས་ཐོགས་} \ tizãː \ teʰo=ki \ neː=gi \ minto=di \ dzip \ mi-tʰop=s, \ dzip \\
& \text{but 2SG.L=AGT 1SG.GEN=GEN flower=DEMPH suck NEG-receive=QUO suck mi-tsʰu=s} \ lāp. \\
& \text{NEG-be.able.to=QUO say} \\
& \text{‘(But [s]he) said, you will not get to suck (the nectar from) my flower, (you) cannot suck.’ (RS bee story)}
\end{align*}\]

The use of the secondary verb *tʰop* is close in meaning to abilitative *tsʰuʔ* ‘be able to’. Thus, *tʰop* could be alternatively be said to express “availability” as a modal category (for modal markers, see §8.5)

4.2.3.4 Secondary verb *tǎ*: ‘send’

The secondary verb *tǎ*: ‘send’ can be used in a context which involves quite literal sending (away), see (4.126), or in a more abstract verbalizing use with little meaning change, see (4.127).

---

\(^{196}\) “Actor” here and elsewhere is used as a semantic term that refers to the person/entity initiating or causing action in either an intransitive clause or a transitive clause. I prefer “actor” to “agent” because the latter term may be associated with A argument and agentive case.
(4.126) a) གཞོས་སིད་པ ལགི་གེའི་ལན་བཏང་།
tɕʰɔkiʔ, paː=la=gi  lɛ̀ ʈ'i ʈaː  lo.
Pn father=HON=GEN answer write send tag·q
‘Choki, write and send an answer to the father, ok.’ (Richhi 138)

b) མི་དཀའ་བསྟན་པ་བཏང་ལྔོ།
ódi ɡjapl ɛŋà=lo  kʰim=na=le  ton ʈaː=bo  ţ.
that after 1SG=DAT house=LOC=ABL expel send-2INF EQU.PER
‘After that I was expelled from home.’ (TB life story)

(4.127) a) དྲན་གུས་སུ་ལྡན་བྱས་བཏང་།
nàtɕà=tsu=ɡi  t'ystsʰò  lɛ̀ ɳ ʈ'i ʈytsʰø ʔ  kʰa ɕɛ ʔ  lɛ̃̀ ɲ  tãː-
1PL PRN.HON=PL=GEN time some take SEND-CONC
‘Even if we take some of your time…’ (NAB BLA 7)

b) དེ་ལྡན་བྱས་བཏང་བྔོ་ཉིན་གཅིག་།
di  t'amteeʔ  t'ystsʰò=ki  ton ʈaː  nàtɕà=lo  ɲim ʈeiʔ
this all time=AGT show send 1PL=DAT day one
‘All this time will tell us one day.’ (nga'i ‘gan 20)

c) བསང་བྲ་སྔོང་ལབ་བཏང།
cà  sè-pa  sòː  làp ʈaː=m  beʔ.
meat kill-PUR go.PFV say send-2INF EQU.NE
‘(He) went to kill meat, (she) said.’ (KT animal story)

d) ཆུང་ཆུང་བྱས་བཏང་།
keːɡa  ʈeʰtɕʰuŋ  p'ja  tː=ce  ţ.
sound small do send-INF EQU.PER
‘(It) sends out a small sound.’ (Richhi 4)

e) སྐད་ས་ཞིང་ཞིང་བྱས་བཏང་།
onàle  tɕʰuŋ-di  pəː  mĩn ʈon-di  t'i-u  nâː-ne
then come.HON-NF 1SG.GEN name show-NF ask-2INF do.HON-COND
lãmsãː  làp  p'ïn  tːaː.
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 ʈaː is also used as an additional marker in imperatives, see (4.128).

(4.128) ཁོང་ཡུལ་བཤད་ཀྱི་བཞག།
ótsːoː  tːaː  benda  t'aː  tːaː.
onion and tomato cut send
‘Cut the onions and tomatoes.’ (PT kitchen discussion)
The imperative use of tāː and its honorific (imperative) counterpart nāː ‘grant’ are described in §11.3.

4.2.4 Summarizing examples of the verb complex structure

This section provides summarizing examples of various combinations that the elements in the verb complex may take. The structure of the verb complex is, for the readers’ convenience, repeated in Figure 4.3 below.

Figure 4.3. Structure of the verb complex in declarative mood

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

Negation is more complicated than Figure 4.3 suggests, because in addition to using a negator prefix, negation can also be accomplished by a negated auxiliary copula, see (4.139) below. Negated serialized verbs cannot have more than two verbs in sequence, with the negator in between, see (4.130). The minimal verb complex consisting only of the primary verb, is presented in (4.129), exemplifying a steady-state present construction (see §8.2.1).

(4.129) ང་ ལེས།

V1

ηáː ɕéː;
1SG.AGT know
‘I know (it).’

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

(4.130) མེ་ ཆིང་ཐེག་ ལོགས་ འདི་ལེགས་ བཏང་ དགེགས་པད།

V1 NEG-V2

ɲèː ǽzi tɕʰoʔ qok ma-tʰop.
1SG.GEN elder.sister doctrine read NEG-receive
‘My sister didn’t get (a chance) to study.’ (PED life story)

(4.131) ཆོས་ ལོགས་ དེ་ཐེག་ ལོགས་ འདི་ལེགས་ བཏང་ དགེགས་པད།

V1 V2 AUX

lògju? kʰa sèːjaʔ p’ja-ti ódeː súŋ zaː duʔ.
story mouth clear do-NF like.that say.HON put EX.SEN
‘It has been so said in clear words.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

(4.132) མེ་ སེར་ ལོགས་ འདི་ལེགས་ བཏང་ དགེགས་པད།

N V1 V2=AUX

ŋatei keː=di=lo järge tāː go=peʔ.
1PL.GEN language=DEMPH=DAT progress send be.needed=EQU.NE
‘Our language needs to be developed.’ (KL BLA 12)
Example (4.140) is challenging for the current analysis. The verb complex includes the element jàː giu which was above in §4.2.3.1 introduced as a complex translocative secondary verb but it also includes the durative secondary verb bak/baʔ/ба: ‘carry’ (see §8.3.4). Therefore it seems like in (4.140) there are, according to the present analysis, two secondary

197 An equative auxiliary copula is expected here but the reportative can replace an equative copula, even when it is used as an auxiliary. For more information, see §7.2.5.2.
verbs. The first secondary verb (bak) gives a durative nuance to the primary verb tʰaː: ‘be released, escape’ and that complex construction becomes the primary verb for the secondary verbal construction jáː gju, which further gives translocative nuance to the whole expression.

(4.140) \(\text{Verb phrase}\)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{V1} & \text{V2} & \text{V2} & \text{AUX} \\
\text{tʰaː:} & \text{baʔ} & \text{jáː} & \text{gju} & \text{beʔ} \\
\end{array}
\]
\(\text{like.that=EMPH be.released carry go go EQU.NE}\)
‘Like that (they) keep on going free.’ (CY interview)

4.3 Adjective and adverb phrases

The terms adjective phrase and adverb phrase refer here to a combination of an adjective/adverb and its modifier. The adjective phrase occurs either independently in an attributive/predicative clause or as a modifier following a noun. The adjective phrase consists of an adjective and a possible modifier. The adjective modifier may be an adverb (§4.3.1) or a nominalized clause (§4.3.2). In phrasal adjectives, which are a special case of adjective phrases, the adjective has a pre-modifying noun (§4.3.3). After addressing briefly reduplication (§4.3.4), this section finished with a couple of examples of adverb phrase, which is very similar in function to adjective phrases (§4.3.5).

4.3.1 Quantifying adverb as modifier

The adjective and adverb-modifying adverbs occurring in my data are listed in Table 4.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.7. Adjective and adverb-modifying quantifying adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{lèp}(ti)) &amp; ‘very much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{pemissiki}) &amp; ‘extraordinarily’ (Martam: (\text{pemissipo}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{k’ãːm} \text{nts}) &amp; ‘limitlessly, extremely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{átsi(m)}) &amp; ‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (4.141) shows that the adverbs in Table 4.7 may be used both with adjectives and adverbs of manner, i.e. with or without the adverbializer \(\text{p’ja(-ti)}\).

(4.141) \(\text{Verb phrase}\)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{pemissiki/k’ãːm} & \text{nts}\) & \text{átsi} & \text{lèm(-p’ja)} \\
\text{extraordinarily/extremely/a.bit} & \text{good(-ADVZR)} \\
\text{‘extraordinarily/extremely/a.bit good/well.’ (KN e)} \\
\end{array}
\]

The use of the modifiers is more frequent in adjective attribute clauses, where the adjective occurs independently (4.142), than it is when the adjective modifies a noun (4.143).

Independent uses

4.42 a) \(\text{Verb phrase}\)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ári} & \text{lèp} & \text{bompu} & \text{du-ke.} \\
paddy.field & \text{very.much} & \text{big} & \text{EX.SEN-IN} \\
\text{‘The paddy field is very big (I see).’ (TB bull story)} \\
\end{array}
\]
b) གུང་ཐེ་ ཡོངས་་མཁས་ཞིག།

\(k'\u2010u\ \text{t'\u2010ä:} \ \eta\u2010a\ \text{lêpti}\ \text{te'äm-co\? } \text{t'\u2010ä:}
\)

\[3\text{SGM} \text{ and } 1\text{SG} \text{ very.much agreeable-SUP EQU.PER}
\]

‘He and I are in the very best of terms.’ (KN e)

c) མི་ སེམས་ སྐྱེལ་ དཔེ་ བྱུང་ སྟེགས་ ། རྒྱུ་ སྐྱེས་ བློའི་ བསྐྱར་ ཡེ་ བོད་ ཡི་ གཞི་ དྲུག་ རྗེས་ བློའི་ ལྡོགས་ འདུག་

\(ts'\u2010ik=di\ \text{lêp}\ \text{lêm}\ \text{jö-ce=di}\ \text{p'ja-tiki}
\)

\[\text{word=DEMPH very.much good EX-INF=DEMPH do-NF}
\]

‘Because the words are very good…’ (RS song intro)

d) གུང་ ཐིབ་ སྐྱེལ་ དཔེ་ བྱུང་ སྟེགས་ ། རྒྱུ་ སྐྱེས་ བློའི་ བསྐྱར་ ཡེ་ བོད་ ཡི་ གཞི་ དྲུག་ རྗེས་ བློའི་ ལྡོགས་ འདུག་

\(t'\u2010ä:py:\ \text{süg}\ \text{di=tsu}\ \text{lêp-ra}\ \text{k'æ-te'it\u2010a\? } \text{t'\u2010ä:}
\)

\[\text{long.ago.GEN story this=PL very.much=DEMPH important EQU.PER}
\]

‘These ancient stories are very important.’ (KT animal story)

e) གུང་ ཐིབ་ སྐྱེལ་ དཔེ་ བྱུང་ སྟེགས་ ། རྒྱུ་ སྐྱེས་ བློའི་ བསྐྱར་ ཡེ་ བོད་ ཡི་ གཞི་ དྲུག་ རྗེས་ བློའི་ ལྡོགས་ འདུག་

\(süŋlu\ \text{ʔ}\ \text{ódiː}\ \text{dãː}\ \text{lêm}\ \text{pti=ra}\ \text{ɲ̥ ɛ} \ \text{ドラマ} \ \text{du}\ \text{ʔ}
\)

\[\text{song.HON that.GEN melody very.much=DEMPH pleasant.to.hear EX.SEN}
\]

‘The melody of that song is very pleasant.’ (Richh 90)

f) མི་ སེམས་ སྐྱེལ་ དཔེ་ བྱུང་ སྟེགས་ ། རྒྱུ་ སྐྱེས་ བློའི་ བསྐྱར་ ཡེ་ བོད་ ཡི་ གཞི་ དྲུག་ རྗེས་ བློའི་ ལྡོགས་ འདུག་

\(di\ \text{r'æ:mentzæ? lêm be?}
\)

\[\text{this extremely good EQU.NE}
\]

‘This is extremely good.’ (KL discussion with DR)

g) གུང་ ཐིབ་ སྐྱེལ་ དཔེ་ བྱུང་ སྟེགས་ ། རྒྱུ་ སྐྱེས་ བློའི་ བསྐྱར་ ཡེ་ བོད་ ཡི་ གཞི་ དྲུག་ རྗེས་ བློའི་ ལྡོགས་ འདུག་

\(nátei=gi\ \text{lát\u2010uŋ}\ \text{šé-kën=dì}\ \text{pemisiki lêm, dzik’ta?}
\)

\[\text{1PL.GEN=GEN TPN say-NMLZ=DEMPH extraordinarily good excellent}
\]

‘Our what is called Lachung (is) extraordinarily good, excellent.’ (LA intro to Lachung)

Noun-modifying uses

(4.143) a) མི་ སེམས་ སྐྱེལ་ དཔེ་ བྱུང་ སྟེགས་ ། རྒྱུ་ སྐྱེས་ བློའི་ བསྐྱར་ ཡེ་ བོད་ ཡི་ གཞི་ དྲུག་ རྗེས་ བློའི་ ལྡོགས་ འདུག་

\(ts'\u2010ik lêp \ \text{mándou}
\)

\[\text{word very.much different}
\]

‘very different words’ (DR discussion with KL)

b) གུང་ ཐིབ་ སྐྱེལ་ དཔེ་ བྱུང་ སྟེགས་ ། རྒྱུ་ སྐྱེས་ བློའི་ བསྐྱར་ ཡེ་ བོད་ ཡི་ གཞི་ དྲུག་ རྗེས་ བློའི་ ལྡོགས་ འདུག་

\(t'\u2010urì? \ \text{k'æ:mentzæ? k'æ:ta?}
\)

\[\text{understanding extremely learned}
\]

‘extremely learned way of thinking’ (CY introduction)

c) གུང་ ཐིབ་ སྐྱེལ་ དཔེ་ བྱུང་ སྟེགས་ ། རྒྱུ་ སྐྱེས་ བློའི་ བསྐྱར་ ཡེ་ བོད་ ཡི་ གཞི་ དྲུག་ རྗེས་ བློའི་ ལྡོགས་ འདུག་

\(làmsikaːtor átsi bom-syː=tei?\)

\[\text{type.of.dough.effigy a.bit big-DIM=INDF}
\]

‘a rather big lamsika-torma’ (KN apo, discussion in kitchen)
(4.144) *kʰu tʽāː ɲà lépti  teʰam-co? i.*
3SGM and 1SG very.much agreeable-SUP EQU.PER
‘He and I are in the very best of terms.’ (KN e)

Moreover, using the superlative does not necessitate definiteness\(^{198}\), as shown by the co-occurrence of the superlative with an indefinite marker:

(4.145) *ɲàtei pʼa dzik-co=tei? jò-po=di*
1PL.GEN cow excellent-SUP=INDF EX-2INF=DEMPH
‘our cow which is a most excellent one’ (ma-gsung 2)

In spoken language, the adjective modifier may occur preposed to the noun that the adjective phrase modifies, as shown in (4.146) and (4.147).

research do-INF=DEMPH very.much difficulty hot EQU.NE
‘Doing research is very difficult.’ (YR canteen video)

(4.147) *tʼa yːtso yːtso=na átsi=tei? qoly? qaminqà jòː-kʰεn beʔ.*
now village village=LOC a.bit=INDF tradition various EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘Now, in different villages, the traditions are a bit different.’ (SGD wedding customs)

In an adjective attribute clause with a copula or a change-of-state verb, the adjective modifier may occur before the copula subject which is modified by the adjective phrase:

(4.148) a) *ɲàtei materials tʼa-wateene=di lēp ɲàte? ɲùga?*
1PL.GEN materials(Eng.) look-COND=DEMPH very.much 1PL few
‘If (we) look at our (human?) materials, we are very few.’ (YR canteen video)

---
\(^{198}\) Cf. English definite *the most wanted man* vs. indefinite *a most wanted man.*
b) གང་མན་ཚད་རང་གི་ཏྔོ་འཛིགས་དྲགས་སྦད་ལབ་ལྔོ།


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་ཐོག་སེམས་དགའ་དྲགས་བྱུང་ཞེ།

kʽãːmɛɛʔŋàtɕaʔsɛ̃́mʈaʔtɕuŋ-ʑɛ.

ex-\(2\)PL mind joyful become-PST

‘We became extremely joyful.’ (CY interview)

In (4.148c), the modifier of gata? ‘joyful’ precedes both the experiencer (ŋàtɕaʔ) and the nominal element of the phrasal adverb (sɛ̃́m).

More frequently than as an adjective modifier lɛp occurs as an independent verb-modifying adverb:

(4.149) a) འབག་མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་སྦྔོམ་པུ་

\(tʰaː\)lɛ̃̀priŋ-ʑɛ.

distance very.much be.long-PST

‘The distance became very long.’ (KN e)

b) འབག་མི་ཚུགས་པའི་སྦྔོམ་པུ་

\(ōdi\) gâː=di te lɛp népo keː-ei:

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 (4.150a) and -po/bo (4.150b-c) and (4.151). The clause marked with -po/bo may be either genitivized (4.150b) or not genetivized (4.150c) and (4.151).

(4.150) a) འབག་མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་སྦྔོམ་པུ་

\[bæk\ mi-tsʰu-kʰɛː\] bompu\(^{199}\)

carry NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ big

‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

b) འབག་མི་ཚུགས་པའི་སྦྔོམ་པུ་

\[bæk\ mi-tsʰu-poː\] bompu

carry NEG-be.able.to-2INF.GEN big

‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

\(^{199}\) Consultant KUN would prefer the negator ma- in this construction.
c) རབ་ སི་ོ་མ་ དུ་སྐབས།

[bak mi-tsʰu-po] bompu

carry NEG-be.able.to-2INF big

‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

(4.151) བོད་ཡིག་དེ་བ་ ... རྣམ་གླུ་མི་ དགོས་པོ་ ཆོས་ལོ་ དེ་བ་ སི་མོ་ལྡན་པ།
do NEG-be.able.to-2INF EX-2INF EQU.NE

‘Inside the house it was (so) dark [that it was not possible to recognize who all people were there].’ (rna-gsung 7)

The pro-adverb dem ‘like (it)’ may be used along with nominalization to form a comparative modifier. Note that the verb is reduplicated.

(4.152) བོད་ཡིག་དེ་བ་ ... རྣམ་གླུ་མི་ དགོས་པོ་ ཆོས་ལོ་ དེ་བ་ སི་མོ་ལྡན་པ།
p’e:la=jãː [nim t’āː dau tsʰe:-tsʰe:-po dem] lèm t’āː appearance=also sun and moon shine-RDP-2INF like.it good and beautiful teā:ta?

‘(her) appearance (is) also good and beautiful [like the shining of sun and moon].’

(rna-gsung 3)

4.3.3 Phrasal adjectives

In analogy to phrasal verbs (§4.5.1), an adjective with a preposed noun may be termed a phrasal adjective, see (4.153-157).

(4.153) riko lèm རིག་ཀྔོ་ལེགམ་ ‘intelligent (intellect good)’

riko tsʰa ta? རིག་ཀྔོ་ཆོ་མ་ ‘intelligent (intellect hot)’

sêm t’āː pu སེམས་དཀར་པོ་ ‘honest (mind straight)’

tiŋ rin ku ཚིག་ཅིག་ ‘deep (depth long)’

pu sôp sop ལུ་་བུ་ ‘fluffy with hair (hair fluffy)’

gum riː riː ལུ་་ ‘smooth (of skin) (oil round)’

(4.154) རིག་ཀྔོ་ བེ་མ་ དབང་
toː? [riko lèm] du?.
2SG.L. intellect good EX.SEN

‘You are [intelligent], I see.’ (UT e)

(4.155) རིག་ཀྔོ་ བེ་མ་
ts’o [tiŋ rin ku]
lake depth long

‘[deep] lake’ (KN e)
Ad hoc adjectivals can be formed from nouns by adding to a noun a nominalized existential:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{làko=di} & \quad [\text{pu sòpsop}] \quad tʰõː-\text{po} \quad \text{be}?. \\
\text{hand=DEMPH} & \quad \text{hair} \quad \text{fluffy} \quad \text{see}-\text{INF} \quad \text{EQU.NE}
\end{align*}
\]
‘(She) saw that the hand was [fluffy with hair]’ (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 40)

Ad hoc adjectivals can be formed from nouns by adding to a noun a nominalized existential:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mí s} & \quad \text{ɛ̃́} \quad \text{m} \quad \text{-ɕu} \quad \text{ʔ} \quad \text{mèː} \quad \text{-po} \\
\text{man} & \quad \text{mind} \quad \text{strength} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{EX} \quad \text{-2INF} \quad \text{EQU} \quad \text{NMLZ}
\end{align*}
\]
‘cowardly man’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mí n} & \quad \text{ɛ̀} \quad \text{ː mè} \quad \text{-kʰ} \quad \text{ɛ̃} \quad \text{ː} \quad \text{-kʰ} \quad \text{ɛ̃} \quad \text{-kʰ} \quad \text{ɛ̃} \quad \text{-kʰ} \quad \text{-kʰ} \quad \text{-kʰ} \quad \text{-kʰ} \\
\text{man} & \quad \text{illness} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{EX} \quad \text{NMLZ}
\end{align*}
\]
‘man with no illness, healthy man’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tsʰo tiŋ mèː} & \quad \text{-po} \quad \text{mèː} \quad \text{-kʰ} \quad \text{ɛ̃} \quad \text{ː} \quad \text{-kʰ} \quad \text{-kʰ} \quad \text{-kʰ} \\
\text{lake} & \quad \text{depth} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{EX} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{-2INF} \quad \text{NMLZ}
\end{align*}
\]
‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dàng-pu} & \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{grъ} \quad \text{tɑŋ} \quad \text{rъng} \quad \text{kъu} \quad \text{rъ} \\
\text{long.ago} & \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{monastery.building} \quad \text{old} \quad \text{old} \quad \text{this}=\text{PL}
\end{align*}
\]
‘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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lēb} & \quad \text{sti} \quad \text{t̥aŋ} \quad \text{mē} \quad \text{-po} \\
\text{very} & \quad \text{far.away} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{EX} \quad \text{PER}
\end{align*}
\]
‘It’s not [very far away].’ (Richhi 70)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰoŋ} & \quad \text{gi} \quad \text{di} \\
\text{a.bit} & \quad \text{good-ADVZR} \quad \text{strike-INF} \quad \text{HON}
\end{align*}
\]
‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t’ymene</th>
<th>‘about, approximately; almost’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halam</td>
<td>‘about, approximately’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numeral-modifying quantifiers t’ymene ‘about; almost’ and halam ‘about’ are both preposed to their head word. The quantifier t’ymene, analogously to Nepali dzʰand e, covers both the meanings ‘about’ (4.161a-b) and ‘almost’ (4.161.c). Note the reduced form t’ym in (4.161b). A nominal may intervene between the numeral and its modifier (4.161).

(4.161)  
a) ፣ེ སྟེ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་kilometre འྱི་ལུང་འོ།  
raŋka=le gā:to? sāːte t’ym kilomito sūnteu Ʉː-to.  
TPN=ABL TPN until about kilometer(Eng) thirty come-PROB  
‘It’s probably about thirty kilometres from Ranka to Gangtok.’ (KN e)

b) བྱ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ བཅུ་  
p’ja t’ymin teŋa teu:duː doːtei? lɔːː-to t’a ɹa t’a tik.  
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་ བཅུ་ལྔ།  
t’ymene pʰok-o be?.  
almost hit-2INF EQU.NE  
‘It (=another car) almost hit (us).’ (KUN e)

In the novel Richhi, both of the two instances of the pre-numeral modifier halam are followed by the post-numeral suffix -tsʰo? (see Table 4.9):

(4.162) ཀྲུང་ སྟེ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ བཅུ་ལྔ། འྱི་ལུང་འོ།  
dikʰa lep-ti halam dau geː-tʃʰo? Ʉː-to áj.  
here arrive-NF about month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother  
‘It’s now about some eight months since I came here.’ (Richhi 12)

The post-numeral modifiers are listed in Table 4.9 and illustrated in the same order below the table. The approximative suffix -tsʰo? is described here because it is functionally similar to the word-level numeral modifiers.

Table 4.9. Post-numeral modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dc’tei?</th>
<th>བདེ་ཐེི་</th>
<th>‘about’ (lit. ‘like.that-one’)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laktˢʰo?</td>
<td>ལུགེ་ཐི་</td>
<td>‘over, more than’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantsʰo?</td>
<td>མེང་ཐི་</td>
<td>‘over, more than’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kortei?</td>
<td>མོར་ཐི</td>
<td>‘around, about’ (literally ‘neighborhood-one’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teiku, teuku</td>
<td>ཁིུ་ མི་</td>
<td>‘only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèmb (NEG.VERB)</td>
<td>རིི</td>
<td>‘no more than, only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tsʰo?</td>
<td>མི་</td>
<td>‘about, some, amount of’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(4.163) ནོས་ (Nep.) མཁས་ ནོས་ (Nep.) བུད་ བཉི་ སྐྲ་ ཕ་ བོད་ དོན་ ན་ བོད་ དོན་ ****
g̥an̥ta tɕi? g̥an̥ta niː  dətɕi? guː goː=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 l̥aktsʰøʔ (4.164a) derives from the verb l̥ak ‘be more than’, which can be used also independently (4.164b).

(4.164) a)  རྣམ་ ཈ོ་ འཇིག་ ཞེས་ བུད་ བཿན་ མོ་ མོ་ བོད་ དོན་ ན་ བོད་ དོན་ ****
l̥obdiː=na j̥o? k̥a ipti  l̥o  s̥u̯m  l̥aktsʰøʔ  s̥oː-tsʰaːː.  
school that.GEN=LOC  work  do-NF  year  three  more.than  go.PFV-CMPL  
‘More than three years have gone her working at that school.’ (Richhi 11)

b) རྣམ་ ཈ོ་ འཇིག་ ཞེས་ བུད་ བཿན་ མོ་ མོ་ བོད་ དོན་ ན་ བོད་ དོན་ ****
pʰiːtsʰamkʰøː tɕʰ ʰ u̯ t̥ aːː.  
at.dusk.  GEN  clock.time  six  be.more.than-CMPL  
‘It’s more than six o’clock at dusk.’ (Richhi 92)

(4.165) བོད་ དོན་ ན་ བོད་ དོན་ ****
l̥o tɕiː=(le) m̥aŋtsʰøʔ  
year  one(=ABL)  more  
‘more than one year’ (KN e)

(4.166) a) བོད་ དོན་ ****
tɕu kortɕiʔ  
ten  about  ‘about ten’ (KN e)

b) བོད་ དོན་ ****
gja kortɕiʔ  
hundred  about  ‘about a hundred’ (KN e)

c) བོད་ དོན་ ****
*teuktsʰiʔ kortɕiʔ  
eleven  about

(4.167) བོད་ དོན་ ****
pʰu n̥a tʰuʔ teiku  
boy  five  six  only  ‘only five, six boys’ (PL interview)

The monosyllabic approximative suffix -tsʰøʔ ལོ་ ‘about, some, as much as’, may attach to numerals.
The marker mémbo (nominalized negated existential copula) is followed by a negated verb.
When postposed to numerals, the construction has the meaning ‘no more than, only’:

The formative mémbo also functions as a marker of negated additive adverbial clauses, see §15.9.4.

The specific numeral k’ãːpu ‘one full measure of’ occurs as a numeral modifier in the idiom tõː k’ãːpu ‘all’ (lit. thousand-one.full.measure), illustrated in (4.170).

For the indefinite numeral k’adzøʔ t’:ruŋ ‘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 t’aiʔ ‘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 õː ‘bring’, lit. ‘carry-come’). In the second (and rare) case, the combined verbs are synonymic (t’ek da: ‘chase away’ lit. chase-chase). In the third relationship, the last verb does not belong to the semantic core of the construction but brings semantic nuance to it. Verbs
which bring semantic nuance to the primary verb were termed secondary verbs, which often express tense, aspect and modality-related values.

Quantifying adjective modifiers were shown to be loosely connected with the adjective they modify in that other elements may come in between. It was also shown that adjectives, analogously to phrasal verbs, can occur as phrasal adjectives with nominal premodifiers. The last section illustrated the use of nine numeral modifiers.
5 Basic clause structure

This chapter discusses basic clause structure in Denjongke, focusing on the number and type of NP arguments that verbs may take. The treatment begins with an introduction to concepts and terminology (§5.1). Then the description is divided into intransitive clauses (§5.2), transitive clauses (§5.3), clauses with verbs of being and becoming (§5.4), valency modification (§5.5) and the use of adverbials (§5.6).

5.1 Introduction to concepts and terminology

The terms transitive and intransitive are here used syntactically as referring to the potential number of core argument of a verb. Transitive clauses have two potential core arguments, whereas intransitive clauses have only one argument. Transitive clauses are further divided into monotransitive clauses and ditransitive clauses, the latter having an additional argument expressing the recipient of the action. The discussion on argument structure uses the typologically motivated terms S, A, P, T and R. The term S refers to the sole core argument of an intransitive clause, such as (5.1). Argument S is given in bold.

(5.1) ཁུ་ རྒྱུག་བཞིན་ འདུག་ཀེ།
kʰu gjuk-teen du-ke.
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 gjapl ‘after that’ and the directional gãːto ũ (=lo) ‘to Gangtok’.

(5.2) ཡི་འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ སང་ཏྔོག་(ལྔོ) འྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨི
ódi gjapl ŋà gâ:to?(=lo) ũmb-o ũ.
that after 1SG TPN(=DAT) come-2INF EQU.PER
‘After that I came to Gangtok.’ (TB life story, KN e)

In a transitive clause, argument A is the most important argument for the success of the verbal action (and usually the most agent like argument, hence A), and P is the other argument in a transitive clause (and usually the most patient like argument, hence P), see (5.3) where A is underlined, P is typographically unmarked. Elements in brackets are pragmatically conditioned instances of differential marking of A and P, which is described more in detail below. The differential marking of the P argument was already hinted at by Sandberg (1895: 22) who reports both kʰim (zero-marked) and kʰim=lo (dative-locative-marked) as “accusative” forms of the word for ‘house’.

(5.3) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་ ཀརྨ་(ལྔོ) བསད་པྔོ་ སྦད།
gjaltsʰ ɛn(=g) karma(=lo) sɛ-po be?.
PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) kill-2INF EQU.NE
‘Gyaltshen killed Karma.’ (KN e)

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200 In contrast to the more semantically oriented use of the terms in Hopper & Thompson (1980).
201 The word “potential” refers to the prevalence of zero anaphora, or contextual elision of core arguments, which is described below.
Ditransitive clauses, such as those formed around verbs of giving, have, in addition to A, a recipient-like argument R and a theme-like argument T (Haspelmath 2005), see (5.4), where làla=lo ‘to some’ is R and màn ‘privilege’ T.

(5.4) བཞུང་གིས་ལ་ལ་ལྔོ་མང་(Nep.)བྱིས་དྔོ་སྦད།
\[
\text{government=AGT some=DAT privilege(Nep.) give-IPFV EQU.NE}
\]
‘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 an EA language, because all of the three arguments S, A and P evince split patterns with two ways of marking depending on the context. In intransitive clauses, S argument is usually zero marked, but sometimes the same intransitive verb (which though has to be a controllable verb) may occur either as zero or agentive marked, depending on the context. In transitive clauses, A argument may be agentive or zero marked with the same verb, depending on the context. Lastly, P argument marking is also split between zero-marking and dative-locative marking. Factors that have been identified as conditioning this differential marking are animacy, specificity/identifiability and affectedness of the P argument, which are all exemplified in the discussion below. Because Denjongke does not have a clear EA alignment but allows considerable pragmatic conditioning of argument marking, I use the terms agentive rather than ergative for the A argument.\(^{202}\) For the same reason, non-marked S and P arguments are called zero marked rather than absolutive. The options for clausal argument marking are summarized in Table 5.1, which, however, does not include information on obligatory agentive marking with certain past/perfective verb forms (see §5.3.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argument</th>
<th>Zero-marking</th>
<th>Agentive</th>
<th>Dative-locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(X)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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\(^{202}\) The Denjongke agentive though may be seen as an ergative-in-making, see Coupe (2017).
syntactically-oriented grammatical relations, which are abstractions based on prototypical situations. Dixon (1994: 1) makes a distinction between languages that map semantics directly onto morphosyntax and languages that use an intermediate layer of grammatical relations where arguments are marked according to 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, Namuzzi, Hani, Naxi, Achang, Nusu and Deng languages. Examples of paradigmatic languages are “Chepang, Newari, Kham, Sunwar, and most Tibetan dialects” (LaPolla 1995: 216). Even if it were true that most Tibetic languages have relatively stable paradigmatic ergative systems, Denjongke seems not to be one of them. As will be shown below, Denjongke evinces too much pragmatic conditioning and too little syntactic control, such as obligatory ergative or absolutive marking, for the system to be meaningfully called EA.

Coupe (2017), on the other hand, argues that instead of a syntactically oriented NA and EA patterns for argument marking, many Tibeto-Burman languages evince a pragmatically oriented agentive vs. anti-agentive pattern, a system which Coupe considers is a precursor to NA and EA patterns. Coupe (2017) further notes that the agentive vs. anti-agentive pattern has previously been falsely considered a type of EA system (similarly LaPolla 1995: 214) and lists the following Tibeto-Burman languages as evidence for the prevalence of pragmatic rather than syntactic patterning of clausal arguments: Qiang (LaPolla 2003), Darma (Willis 2011), Meithei (Chelliah 1997, 2009), Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007, 2011), Kurtöp (Hyslop 2010), Yongning Na (Lidz 2011), Singpho (Morey 2012), Sumi (Teo 2012), (Lhasa) Tibetan (Tournadre 1991). Partly inspired by Coupe (2017), the analysis here adopts the term agentive rather than ergative for overt marking of argument A. Although Denjongke is probably one of those Tibeto-Burman languages which in Coupe’s (2017) analysis are in a transitional stage from pragmatic core argument marking to purely syntactic alignment, Denjongke has not yet arrived in the destination.

Analyzing transitivity in Denjongke is complicated because Denjongke, like probably all other Tibetic languages (e.g. Denwood [1999: 191] and Bartee [2007: 117]), excels in zero anaphora where core and peripheral arguments are elided when the speaker deems them sufficiently deducible from the previous context. Therefore it is difficult to make transitivity judgments on verbs based on purely syntactic, distributional criteria at the sentence level. Rather, transitivity of any verb and clause is determined by the potential number of core arguments. Moreover, zero anaphora should be distinguished from argument suppression (Andersen [1987: 285ff] and Andvik [2010: 115]). In zero anaphora, an argument is omitted because it is so central. The argument can be recovered from the context and therefore does not need to be mentioned. In argument suppression, on the other hand, the argument is suppressed because it is not important or identifiable, or in words of Payne (1997: 233), the

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203 Similarly, Watters (2018: 217) characterizes argument marking in Dzongkha, a closely related language, as a “pragmatic marking system that does not distinguish consistently between grammatical and semantic roles.”
identity of the argument “has not been established and need not be established in order for the speaker to achieve his/her communicative goal.” Therefore, suppressing argument A will cause an effect that can be called a “functional passive” (Givon 1984: 164), see §5.5.1.

Making a morphosyntactic distinction between core and peripheral arguments in Denjongke is difficult at least for three reasons: First, arguments P and R (the latter corresponding to “indirect object”) and other, more peripheral arguments such as directionals (e.g. ‘to Gangtok’) may all be marked by dative-locative. Second, arguments typically considered peripheral, such as locationals and directionals may, similarly to P argument, occur zero marked. For instance, if the S argument is dropped, as in (5.5), disambiguation is purely semantic (“a toponym cannot be the goer”) and pragmatic (“[s]he is answering my question concerning person X”).

(5.5) སང་ཏྔོག་ འགྱུ་དྔོ་ སྦད
   gãːto? giu-do be?.
TPN   go-IPFV EQU.NE
‘(He’s) going to Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Thirdly, because of zero anaphora, core arguments may be elided from a clause, whereas peripheral arguments may be retained. The definition for core and peripheral arguments used here is adopted from Andvik’s (2010: 119) description of Tshangla, another Tibeto-Burman language with zero anaphora. A core argument is an argument “which can be omitted only if its reference is recoverable from the discourse context, i.e. under zero anaphora” (“omitting” here excludes argument suppression), whereas a peripheral argument is an argument “which can be omitted even when not recoverable from the discourse context” (Andvik 2010:119).

5.2 Intransitive clauses

The S argument in intransitive clauses is typically unmarked but may also be agentive marked to emphasize identity or agentivity, as will be shown below. For an unmarked S argument, consider (5.6) and (5.7) The S argument is given in bold:

(5.6) ནོདི་ གྱིས་ བོས་ སྒྲུབ་ བོས་ བོད་ ལྟོང་ བཤད་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨིན།
   òdi gjaplɛ ɲɛ̃ː=gĩ nɛʔ ɹak-o ɹ.:
   that after 1SG.GEN=GEN disease get.healed-2INF EQU.PER
‘After that my disease got healed.’ (TB life story)

(5.7) བྱེ་ཐོ་ གཞིང་ གྲུབ་ ཥོ་ སྒྲུབ་ བོས་ བོད་ ལྟོང་ བཤད་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨིན།
   tʃʰi-lop teiktʰo: gubgja guptɕu k’oŋa lɔ=i nàyea
   outside-year one.thousand nine.hundred ninety ninety.five year=GEN inside
   ɲà gãːto? eːqa nàyea sɔː:-bo ɹ.:
   ‘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 nàyea ‘inside’. However, destination and location may also be unmarked, as shown in (5.8) and (5.9) respectively (the latter is a copula clause). In both cases, also the dative-locative =lo can optionally be used. When the destination argument is unmarked, disambiguation of the clause is based on word order and semantics of the argument lexemes.
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) ódi pʼja-somdãː: ódi ámba? tokʰɛː. daku=di dyŋkʰa
that do-SIM that guava pluck.NMLZ owner=DEMPH in.front.of
lep-ti ónalɛ sǒː:bo beʔ.
arrive-NF then go.PFV-2INF EQU.NE
‘As (they) were doing like that, (they) arrived by the guava-picking owner (of the guava tree), and then went away.’ (TB pear story)

The S argument of an intransitive clause, which is typically zero marked, may receive agentive marking for the purpose of emphasizing the identity of the actor, as in (5.11) where the S argument is also shifted to clause-final position. Similar pragmatic use of agentive with intransitive verbs, especially for marking contrastive agency, has been attested in Lhasa Tibetan (Tournadre 1991).

(5.11) ái, ágja te ʼon-ze. lòk te ʼoː=lo
elder.sister elder.brother come.HON-PFV return come.HON=REP
ágja=gi.
elder.brother=AGT
‘Sister, the brother came (back). (He) is said to have come back, the brother.’
(Richhi 53)

5.3 Transitive clauses

In this section, I first present some general comments on the morphosyntax of argument structure in monotransitive clauses and then describe the semantic/pragmatic factors in the split marking of A argument (§5.3.1) and P argument (§5.3.2). This is followed by a discussion on ditransitive clauses with T and R arguments (§5.3.3). Due to zero anaphora it is difficult to find enough examples of transitive clauses with all arguments in place to make trustworthy generalizations. Therefore this section includes quite a few elicited clauses.

Argument marking in monotransitive clauses is very flexible if the arguments are proper names. Consultant KN asserted that all the four different combinations of A and P marking in (5.12) and (5.13) can be used in spoken language. Example (5.12) represents a past/perfective clause, and (5.13) an imperfective one. The A argument may be either agentive or zero
marked while the P argument may be either dative-locative or zero marked. When marking on both arguments is dropped, see (5.12d) and (5.13d), disambiguation of arguments is done through word order, similarly to English.

(5.12)  

a) 
\[
gjaltsʰɛn=gi \quad \text{karma}=lo \quad \text{bɛʔ}.
\]
\[
\text{PN}=\text{AGT} \quad \text{PN}=\text{DAT} \quad \text{kill-2INF} \quad \text{EQU.NE}
\]

‘Gyaltsen killed Karma.’ (KN e)

b) 
\[
gjaltsʰɛn \quad \text{karma}=lo \quad \text{bɛʔ}.
\]

c) 
\[
gjaltsʰɛn=gi \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{bɛʔ}.
\]

d) 
\[
gjaltsʰɛn \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{bɛʔ}.
\]

(5.13)  

a) 
\[
gjaltsʰɛn=gi \quad \text{karma}=lo \quad \text{tip-teen} \quad \text{duʔ}.
\]
\[
\text{PN}=\text{AGT} \quad \text{PN}=\text{DAT} \quad \text{beat-PROG} \quad \text{EX.SEN}
\]

‘Gyaltsen is hitting Karma.’ (KN e)

b) 
\[
gjaltsʰɛn \quad \text{karma}=lo \quad \text{tip-teen} \quad \text{duʔ}.
\]

c) 
\[
gjaltsʰɛn=ki \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{tip-teen} \quad \text{duʔ}.
\]

d) 
\[
gjaltsʰɛn \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{tip-teen} \quad \text{duʔ}.
\]

It is my impression that some speakers who have received formal education in Denjongke writing rules are prone to implement the writing rules, which are to some degree affected by Classical Tibetan, to their grammaticality judgments of spoken language in a prescriptive rather than a descriptive way. Consequently, some of the above forms, especially (5.11d) and (5.12d), may be considered “ungrammatical” (i.e. against the rules of writing) by some speakers. A similar observation was made by Sandberg (1895: 25) about the use of the agentive case:

Where both subject and object occur in any sentence, the subject is put in the agentive case, except where the verb of the sentence is part of the verb “to be”. Rule though this is, it is generally not observed by the uneducated; and therefore we shall not keep to it in our conversational examples to be given hereafter, the nominative being usually heard as in English.”

Sandberg’s word “usually” with reference to the nominative (=zero-marking) leaves open the option that even “the uneducated” occasionally use agentive, suggesting that the use of the agentive was pragmatically conditioned even in Sandberg’s data. Finding natural examples of all the combinations of A and P argument marking would require an extensive corpus which is not available at the moment. This chapter offers some preliminary remarks.

If arguments are marked by pronouns or common nouns, rules for assigning the A argument are somewhat stricter than with proper nouns. In perfective past, as in (5.14a), agentive marking is usually mandatory, although see the natural example (5.17) below where...
a past tense verb with a highly affected P has a zero-marked A argument. 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) 

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{a) } & \quad \text{མདང་ཐོ་} \quad \text{ཁུ་} \quad \text{ལོ་} \\
& \quad \text{dãː ŋáː kʰu(=lo)} \\
& \quad \text{yesterday I.AGT 3SGM(=DAT) beat-2INF EQU.PER} \\
& \quad \text{‘I beat him yesterday.’} \\
\text{b) } & \quad \text{ཐོ་མཐོ་} \quad \text{ཁུ་} \quad \text{ལོ་} \\
& \quad \text{tʰorãː ŋáː kʰu(=lo)} \\
& \quad \text{tomorrow I.AGT 3SGM(=DAT) beat-INF EQU.PER} \\
& \quad \text{‘I’ll beat him tomorrow.’} \\
\text{c) } & \quad \text{ད་ཀོ་} \quad \text{ཁུ་} \quad \text{ལོ་} \\
& \quad \text{tʽato ŋáː kʰu/kʰu=lo} \\
& \quad \text{now 1SG/1SG.AGT 3SGM/3SGM=DAT beat-IPFV EQU.PER} \\
& \quad \text{‘I’m beating him now.’} \\
\end{align*} \]

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).

(5.15) 

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{gjaltsʰen(=gi) } & \quad \text{tʼep tei(=lo) sê:-bo beʔ.} \\
& \quad \text{PN1(=AGT) book one(=DAT) choose-2INF EQU.NE} \\
& \quad \text{‘Gyaltshen chose a book.’} \\
\end{align*} \]

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) 

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{Q: } & \quad \text{མདང་ཐོ་} \quad \text{མཐོ་} \quad \text{ཁུ་} \quad \text{ལོ་} \\
& \quad \text{ágja dãː ŋáːla? man-ze:-po da.} \\
& \quad \text{elder.brother yesterday food.HON NEG-eat.HON-2INF be.similar} \\
& \quad \text{‘It seems the brother (=you) didn’t eat yesterday.’} \\
\end{align*} \]

---

204 Cf. DeLancey’s (1990: 306) observation on Lhasa Tibetan that ergative (here agentive) marking is required in the perfective aspect but is otherwise optional.

205 Similar observation was made by Huber (2002: 75) on Kyirong Tibetan, in which the argument marking system bears close similarity to Denjongke.
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.

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.

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.

The pragmatic nature of agentive marking is further illustrated by comparing (5.20) and (5.21) which employ the same verbal expression nêndzop tâ: ‘oppress (lit. send oppression)’ used by the same person in two instances within the same piece of discourse.
In (5.20), A argument is zero marked and P argument is elided (it is recoverable from the context). In (5.21), on the other hand, argument A is agentive marked. Agentive marking in (5.21) may be motivated both by the overt presence of two arguments (contra 5.20, which has only one overt argument and another one traceable by zero anaphora) and the atypical word order where argument P is topicalized as the first argument.

DeLancey (1990: 306) reports ergative (here agentive) as mandatory in Lhasa Tibetan transitive perfective clauses. Similarly, Takeuchi & Takahashi (1995: 284) report that with perfective verbs “the transitive subject [in Central Tibetan] is almost obligatorily in the ergative case”. In some other Tibetic languages (e.g. Häsl 1999: 98), on the other hand, aspect is reported as insignificant for analysing ergativity/agentivity. In Denjongke, (mono)transitive verbs can be divided into two groups based on the occurrence of the agent marker in past (perfective) clauses, see Table 5.2. Consultant KN reported that the verbs in the first group, when occurring in the periphrastic past construction VERB-2INF EQU have an obligatorily agentive-marked A argument. The past tense A argument of the second group of verbs, on the other hand, may be either zero or agentive marked. A glance at the list reveals that affectedness of the P argument is not a clear conditioning factor as verbs such as sà ‘eat’ and ɕɪk ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agentive obligatory (AGT)</th>
<th>Agentive pragmatically conditioned (AGT/ZERO)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tip</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re: ‘te’</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dck: ‘let’</td>
<td>‘put inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzip: ‘suck’</td>
<td>‘weed (out)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hako: ‘understand’</td>
<td>‘comb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕé: ‘(come to)’</td>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕé: ‘(come to)’</td>
<td>‘sharpen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dze: ‘forget’</td>
<td>‘look, see (hon.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕú: ‘peel’</td>
<td>‘meet’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The A argument of verbs which depict involuntary actions may receive dative-locative marking. This point is here illustrated with three verbs, tʰop ‘receive’, goʔ ‘need to’ and ga ‘love, like’. The A argument with the verb tʰop ‘receive’ can receive either zero, agentive or dative-locative marking. The reason for the possibility of dative marking is probably the semantics that run counter to the syntax: the A argument is actually the most patient-like argument in the clause. The following clauses illustrate agentive, zero and dative-locative marking with tʰop, respectively.

(5.22) mòby=ki pʰo? tʰop-ee jò:-ka?
wife=AGT salary receive-INF EX.PER
‘Does the wife receive salary?’ (BP BB discussion)

(5.23) te kʰō: eː:-ruŋ ma-eː:-ruŋ kʰō: nyː tʰop-o
then 3PL know-CONC NEG-know-CCS 3PL money receive-2INF be?
EQU.NE
‘Now whether they knew (it) or not, they got money.’ (CY interview)

(5.24) kʰō:=lo=jàː dːteːa, qendzoŋ=gi dːteːa=di tʰop-o
3PL=DAT=too authority Sikkim=GEN authority=DEMPH receive-2INF be?
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) nà:/nà=lo/*nà dàː t’ep tɛi? tʰop-o íː.
L.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 nà: could replace nà=lo in 5.26).

(5.26) nà=lo t’ep=di gà:to:=lo tʰop-o íː.
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:

(5.27)  
\[
\text{ŋáː/:ŋà=lo/*ŋà} \quad \text{teʰu} \quad \text{goʔ.}
\]

1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/*1SG water be.needed

‘I need hot water.’ (KN e)

However, with the negative *miŋgoʔ* ‘be not needed’ all three forms, dative-locative, agentive and zero-marking were deemed acceptable.

(5.28)  
\[
\text{ŋáː/:ŋà=lo/ŋà} \quad \text{teʰutsʰɛ̃ː} \quad \text{miŋ-goʔ.}
\]

1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/1SG hot.water NEG-be.needed

‘I don’t need hot water.’ (KT e)

The reason why the non-marked A can occur in a negated clause but not in the affirmed clause may be that negated clauses are lower on the semantic transitivity scale than affirmed clauses.

The third verb that allows dative-locative marking of the A argument is *ga* ‘love, like’. For an example consider the question-answer pair (5.29-31). Note that in the forms volunteered by the consultant, the A argument in the affirmative form is dative-locative marked but the negated form remains unmarked.

(5.29)  
\[
\text{moṭar}^{208} \quad \text{ga-gaʔ?}
\]

pea like-PQ

‘Do you like peas?’ (PED e)

(5.30)  
\[
\text{ŋà=lo} \quad \text{lɛp} \quad \text{ga-u} \quad \text{ʔ.}^{209}
\]

1SG=DAT very.much like-2INF EQU.PER

‘I like (them) very much.’ (PED e)

(5.31)  
\[
\text{ŋà} \quad \text{miŋ-ga.}
\]

1SG NEG-like

‘I don’t like (them).’ (PED e)

---

206 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.

207 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.

208 Loan from Nepali.

209 According to consultant KUN, also zero-marked *ŋà* and agentive-marked *ŋà*: could occur here instead of dative-marked *ŋà=lo*. KUN further noted that dative-marking is not felicitous with the negated clause (5.31).
In conclusion, the marking of argument A is conditioned by the nature of the verb and pragmatics.

5.3.2 Argument P

As shown in examples (5.12-13) above, argument P may be either zero marked or dative-locative marked. This optionality was noticed already by Sandberg (1895: 22), who comments that the accusative form of the word kʰim ‘house’ may be either kʰim (zero-marked) or kʰim=lo (dative-locative-marked). For the existence of two “accusative” forms, Sandberg (1895: 24) offers a functional motivation based on disambiguation: “The accus[ative] case may be expressed by the simple word without the affix lo, where no ambiguity would result as to which were the nominative, especially in imperative sentences.”

In elicitation, consultant KN could not distinguish any difference in meaning between the zero-marking and dative-locative marking in (5.32).

(5.32) a) gjaltsʰen(=gi) karma(=lo) sɛ̃ʔ 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) gjaltsʰen, pʰako=di=lo sɛʔ?
PN pig=DEMPH=DAT kill
‘Gyaltsen, kill the pig.’ (KTL e)

(5.34) gjaltsʰen, pʰako sɛʔ.
PN pig kill
‘Gyaltsen, 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) kʰu(=gi) do tʰoː-po ņ.
3SGM(=AGT) stone see-2INF EQU.PER
‘He saw a stone.’ (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 \textit{do=lo} \textit{stone=DAT} with \textit{kʰõː=lo} \textit{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 \textit{tʰõː ‘see’} are always marked with dative-locative.\footnote{Consultant KN, however, commented that =lo could be omitted in (5.36) and (5.37).} Negation does not appear to affect dative-locative marking of animate P-arguments, see negated (5.38b) which bears dative-locative marking.

However, when the P argument is the negative indefinite pronounal \textit{ka-jà: ‘nobody, not anyone’, no dative-locative marking is needed, because the referent is unidentifiable:}\footnote{According to KN =lo could not be added in (5.38).}
While all human P arguments of the verb \( t\õː \) ‘see’ in the novel Richhi are marked as dative-locative, non-human (or inanimate) P referents of \( t\õː \) ‘see’ are zero marked:

(5.40) \[ \begin{align*} nêː & \text{po:} \; \text{mîŋ} \; tʼäː: \; lôtsʰ? \; t\õː: \; lôː: \; mêː:-po \\ kʰu & \text{tʼetsom} \; sâ-ee \; î. \end{align*} \]

\( 3\text{SGM} \) doubt \( \text{eat-INF} \) \( \text{EQU.PER} \)

‘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) \[ \begin{align*} kʰu & =\text{gi} \; mî=\text{tei}? \; sêp-o \; bê?. \\ 3\text{SGM}=\text{AGT} \; (\text{hu})\text{man}=\text{INDF} \; \text{kill-2INF} \; \text{EQU.}\text{NE} \end{align*} \]

‘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) \[ \begin{align*} kʰu & =\text{gi} \; nêː: \; \text{kompjutər} \; \text{teak-o} \; bê?. \\ 3\text{SGM}=\text{AGT} \; 1\text{SG.}\text{GEN} \; \text{computer(Eng.)} \; \text{break-2INF} \; \text{EQU.}\text{NE} \end{align*} \]

‘He broke my computer.’ (TB e)

b) *\[ \begin{align*} *kʰu & =\text{gi} \; nêː: \; \text{kompjutər}=\text{lo} \; \text{teak-o} \; bê?. \\ *3\text{SGM}=\text{AGT} \; 1\text{SG.}\text{GEN} \; \text{computer}=\text{DAT(Eng.)} \; \text{break-2INF} \; \text{EQU.}\text{NE} \end{align*} \]

Affectedness, however, appears to interact with humanness vs. non-humannness 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) \[ \begin{align*} láŋ & =\text{gi} \; mî \; sê-b-bê?. \\ \text{bull}=\text{AGT} \; \text{human} \; \text{kill-2INF-EQU.}\text{NE} \end{align*} \]

‘A/the bull killed a man.’ (TB e)

\[ \text{212 However, consultant KN accepted using a dative-locative P argument instead of non-marking in (5.39).} \]
b) ཁང་གིས་མི་ལྔོ་བསད་པྔོ་སྦད།
láŋ=gi mí=lo sê-b-be?.
bull=AGT human=DAT kill-2INF=EQU.NE
‘A/the bull killed a man.’ (TB e)

(5.44) a) རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་གང་ལྔོ་བསད་པྔོ་སྦད།
gjaltsʰɛn=gi lá: sê-po be?.
Gyalsthen=AGT bull kill-2INF EQU.NE
‘Gyalsthen killed a bull.’ (TB e)

b) ??རྒྱལ་མཉྐན་གྱིས་གང་ལྔོ་བསད་པྔོ་སྦད།
??gjaltsʰen=gi lá=:lo sê-po be?.
Gyalsthen=AGT bull=DAT kill-2INF EQU.NE

Analysing transitive clauses is complicated by complex predicates, where the predicate already contains an element that looks like a P argument. For an example, consider the complex predicate ka:gjur tãː ‘scold ’ (lit. ‘instruction send’), which seems a semantically unified concept (as suggested by the English translation ‘instruct’) but syntactically looks like a PV sequence. Based on clauses (5.45) and (5.46), it indeed looks like the language system considers kaːgjur a P argument. In (5.45), the bare verb tãː occurs with the zero-marked argument óɲi=diː=tsu ‘the children’, suggesting that in (5.46) kaːgjur is the P argument and the dative-locative kʰu=lo=di a peripheral argument.

(5.45) བཀྲ་ཞིག་ཅིག་གི་ཐོན་ོར་གཞི་གནང་བཅོས་སྦད།
kʰoŋ=gi óɲi di=tsu dordzi=tɕâː=bo náː-m be?.
3PL=AGT child=PL TPN send-2INF do.HON-2INF EQU.NE
‘They sent the children to Darjeeling.’ (CY interview)

(5.46) འོད་ཀྱི་གཉེན་པོ་ལྕགས་བུ་ཐོན་ཐོས་གནང་མཚན་མ་ནི་
te lopon=di=gi kʰu=lo=di átsi=tei? kaːgjur tãː=bo
then teacher=DEMPH=AGT 3SGM=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF instruction send-2INF
beː=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 tãː may also be marked as dative-locative, leaving it undecided whether kaːgjur in kaːgjur tãː ‘scold’ should be considered a P argument or part of the predicate.

(5.47) བཀྲ་ཞིག་གཞི་གནང་མཚན་མ་ནི་ཐོན་ཐོས་གནང་མཚན་མ་ནི་
néːpo: néːtãː: tsʰapteey: jɔː=ce=di: karma=gi
patient.GEN condition serious EX.PER=DEMPH.AGT PN =AGT
néːpo=di=lo dilli tãː=ce pjaːzɛː: jɔː?
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 \( \text{jàrg tā:} \) ‘develop (lit. send progress)’ is zero marked.

(5.48)  
\[ \text{āndê} \text{b'yas'st'i y'n'ai y'uy'ad'di y'yo} \text{thā'ā} \text{dā} \text{tā:} \text{ŋàt'si} \text{ỳː=di} \text{ŋà \text{jàrg} ɛ \text{ʔ} \text{tā:-ce}=di} \text{ŋà} \]  
like.that do-INF our place=DEMPH progress send-INF=DEMPH 1SG  
\[ \text{nó:sa'm=di} \text{tā:-do} \text{be}?. \]  
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)  
\[ \text{ŋàt'si} \text{kɛː=di=lo} \text{ŋà \text{jàrg} ɛʔ} \text{tā:} \text{go}=pe'? . \]  
1PL.GEN language=DEMPH=DAT progress send be.neded=EQU.NE  
‘Our language needs to be developed.’ (KL BLA 12)

In conclusion, P marking is sensitive to animacy, identifiability/specificity and affectedness of the referent. The first two factors may be connected in that human referents are probably more likely to be identifiable than non-human referents.

5.3.3 Ditransitive clauses (T and R argument)
Ditransitive clauses have three arguments A(gent), T(heme) and R(ecipient)/S(ource) (Haspelmath 2005). Haspelmath (2005: 2) introduces three types of alignment in ditransitive (or ditransitive) clause: 1) indirective alignment where T argument of the ditransitive clause aligns with the P argument of the monotransitive clause, leaving R separately marked, 2) neutral alignment where P, T and R are all marked the same way, and 3) secundative alignment where P and R are aligned in opposition to T. As suggested by the discussion at the beginning of the chapter, Denjongke does not fit nicely in any of the three patterns because the marking of P is split between zero-marking, which is also used for argument T, and dative-locative marking, which is also used for argument R.

The order of arguments is ATRV, as in (5.50) or ARTV, as in (5.51), because either T or R may occur after A in the more focal position (see Givon 2001: 270). Occasionally, a topical R or T may also occur before A, see (5.57) further below. In (5.50), the R argument of the main clause, Choki, is already topical information whereas the T argument, letter, is new information and hence focal.

(5.50)  
\[ \text{te'=oki'}? \text{p'il'o}=lo \text{t'ön-di} \text{ōm-bo}: \text{kap}=lo \text{p'o'tso} \]  
PN outside=DAT come.out-NF come-2INF.GEN time=DAT child  
\[ \text{te'i}=ki \text{jigi}=te'i? \text{mù}=lo \text{p'in-zê}: \]  
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་བྷའི་ལགས་ལྔོ་སྨན་བྱིན་བར་འགྱུ་དགྔོས་པད།

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’im ‘give’. The following two examples illustrate ditransitive clauses with agentive-marked argument A. Arguments T and R are zero marked and dative-locative marked, respectively.

(5.52) བཞུང་གིས་ལ་ལ་ལྔོ་མང་(Nep.)བྱིན་དྔོ་སྦད།

The agentive (which resembles an instrumental in that the argument is inanimate) in (5.52) is probably motivated by the inanimacy of the argument because of which its causal relation to the other arguments needs to be stressed. In (5.53), on the other hand, the elder sister’s agency is underlined, as also suggested by the emphatic marker =ra.

Examples (5.54) and (5.55) illustrate zero-marked argument A. In (5.55), argument R is elided because it is recoverable from the context.

(5.53) བཞུང་གིས་ཞི་ཀིས་ར་སྡུག་བྱེས་སྟི་ཤུས་ཤུས་ད་ཟམ་ཙུ་འབག་འོང་བྱིན་དྔོ་སྦད།

The agentive (which resembles an instrumental in that the argument is inanimate) in (5.54) is probably motivated by the inanimacy of the argument because of which its causal relation to the other arguments needs to be stressed. In (5.55), on the other hand, the elder sister’s agency is underlined, as also suggested by the emphatic marker =ra.

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(5.54) བཞུང་གི་ཞི་ཀིས་ར་སྡུག་བྱེས་སྟི་ཤུས་ཤུས་ད་ཟམ་ཙུ་འབག་འོང་བྱིན་དྔོ་སྦད།

(5.55) བཞུང་གིས་ལ་ལ་ལྔོ་མང་(Nep.)བྱིན་དྔོ་སྦད།

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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.
In (5.56), the R argument is zero marked, similarly to directives and locatives (see §5.1).

(5.56)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>te māːdzɛː</th>
<th>te pʽotsoː</th>
<th>kʰa</th>
<th>te pʼin.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then butter</td>
<td>then flour.tea</td>
<td>then child</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Then the butter is given to the child’s mouth.’ (LA birth in Lachung)

The reason why the dative-locative marking can be elided in (5.56) is probably that the R argument is a location/destination rather than a person who can possess the item in an abstract sense. Argument A is here suppressed (not recoverable from the context), the clause becoming a “functional passive” (see §5.5.1).

Example (5.57) illustrates the use of the postposition =tsa: ‘at, by’ used in place of the dative-locative as a marker of the R argument. The T argument is the topic established by the previous context so it occurs here even before A argument.

(5.57)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>te ódi gāː</th>
<th>eoku ódi piːar</th>
<th>sər=ki</th>
<th>kʰöː=tsaː</th>
<th>baʔ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then that.time paper</td>
<td>PR(Eng.) sir(Eng.)=AGT 3SG.HON=at</td>
<td>carry</td>
<td>óndi</td>
<td>come-NF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 pʼin ‘give’ with an agentive A argument (5.58a-b) and the imperfective with a zero-marked A (5.58c).

(5.58)  

a)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dāː</th>
<th>ṇaː</th>
<th>kʰu=lo</th>
<th>tʼep=təiʔ</th>
<th>pʼim-bo</th>
<th>ì.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yesterday 1AGT 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-2INF EQU.PER</td>
<td>‘Yesterday I gave him a book.’ (KN e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tʼorāː</th>
<th>ṇaː</th>
<th>kʰu=lo</th>
<th>tʼep=təiʔ</th>
<th>pʼin-æ</th>
<th>ì.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow 1AGT 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-INF EQU.PER</td>
<td>‘Tomorrow I’ll give him a book.’ (KN e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tʼatə</th>
<th>ṇaː</th>
<th>kʰu=lo</th>
<th>tʼep=təiʔ</th>
<th>pʼin-do</th>
<th>ì.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>now 1SG 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-IPFV EQU.PER</td>
<td>‘Now I’m giving him a book.’ (KN e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

213 Consultant KT would write this word as མར་རྫས་ and pronounce it as t्रøːm, exemplifying a dialectal difference between LA (Lachung, North Sikkim) and KT (Bermeok, South Sikkim).

214 Cooked tsampo-dough mixed with butter.

215 Mixture of butter, tea and flour, has harder texture than tʼom ‘butter-dough’.
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 ནོ་ ‘come out, happen, become, turn out’ and te’uŋ ོེ་ ཤེ ‘become, happen, turn out’, express the related concept of ‘becoming’, (§5.4.5). While this section describes the types of arguments taken by copulas, the evidential semantics of copulas are discussed in more detail in §7. Denjongke copulas are also the subject of Yliniemi (2017).

5.4.1 Equative clause

In a prototypical equative clause two unmarked noun phrases occur as copular arguments. The noun phrase may also be substituted by a nonfinite clause, see (5.60b). In equative clauses, the equative copulas ĩ̃́ː and ɓɛʔ either equate two arguments (5.59) or identify/classify the first argument as a member of a category (5.60). Dryer (2007: 233) calls similar comparative categories "referential" and "non-referential" respectively, whereas Pustet (2003: 29) calls them "identificational" and "ascriptive" respectively.

(5.59) a) རྨི་ལམ་ལབ་མཁན་རྨི་ལམ་སྦད། ɲí lam làp-kʰː ɲí lam=rãː ɓeʔ.
dream say-NMLZ dream=AEMPHEQU.NE
‘A dream is (just) a dream.’ (Richhi 116)

b) མོ་ཐི་མེག་ཉེ་ 3SGF 1SG.GEN wife EQU.PER
‘She is my wife.’ (KN e)

(5.60) a) ཧུག་མ་ཐི་ kʰː: āmdzì ɓeʔ.
3SG.HON doctor EQU.NE
‘He is a doctor’

b) ཁེ་ཤེས་ཟོ་ཤེས་ཧྭ་ཤེས་ཟོ་ཤེས་ཧྭ་ཤེས་ཟོ་ཤེས་ཧྭ་ཤེས་ibn=lo pʰempo p’ja-ɓeʔ ɡewo; jòʔ ıː
one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN work EQU.PER
‘Helping one another is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)

The second argument may be a genitive-marked nominal which identifies the second argument as the possessor of the first argument, see (5.61). This construction is best seen as a case of elision where the possessed item is elided from the second argument.

---

216 This word may also be spelled བོད་ལམ་ gnid-lam, which reflects the pronunciation better.
(5.61)  

(a)  

\[
\text{di \ nê:\ } \hat{\text{i}}. \\
\text{this \ 1SG.GEN \ EQU.PER} \\
\text{‘This is mine.’ (KN e)}
\]

(b)  

\[
k\text{ante}=\text{gi} \quad \text{jigi}: \quad k^d\text{adzâ}: \quad \text{ta-ti} \\
\text{younger.sister(NEP)=AGT letter.GEN address look-NF} \\
\text{\hat{a}i \ te\text{v}=ki \ be\text{=}se \ \hat{\text{l}}\text{ap}-\hat{\text{zê}:} \\
\text{elder.sister \ PN=GEN \ EQU.NE=QUO say-PROG} \\
\text{‘Kanchi looks at the address in the letter and says (it) is elder sister Choki’s.’ (Richhi 139)}
\]

In spoken language, the equative copula is sometimes elided, hence the (round) brackets in the translation of (5.62).

(5.62)  

\[
\text{gâtei \ dêndzâ: \ nûnlo \ pʰuk-\text{te}=\zbar{z}: \ zî \ jô\text{=}k\text{en \ be?}. \quad pʰuk-\text{te}=\zbar{z}: \\
\text{1PL.GEN Sikkim inside cave-great four EX-NMLZ EQU.NE cave-great} \\
\text{tei\text{=}=di \ câr-\text{te}=\zbar{z}: \ be\text{=}pʰu?} \\
\text{one=DEMPH east-direction Bephuk} \\
\text{‘In our Sikkim there are four great caves. One great cave (is) eastern Bephuk.’ (SGD cave story)}
\]

Equative copulas are also used in possessive constructions (§5.4.3), with predicate adjectives (§5.4.4) and, marginally, with locative arguments (§5.4.2).

5.4.2 Existential and locative clauses

Existential clauses have a single unmarked argument which occurs with an existential copula. The three basic existential copulas are the personal jô? (neg. mè?), neutral jèbè?217 and sensorial du? (neg. mindu?). For the semantic differences between them and for examples of more marginal existential copulas, refer to §7.

(5.63)  

\[
k^d\text{u} \quad k^d\text{im}=\text{na \ jô?}. \\
\text{3SGM house=LOC EX.PER} \\
\text{‘He is at home.’ (KT e)}
\]

(5.64)  

\[
d\text{zongu}=\text{lo \ ëndzi} \quad jô\text{=}k\text{e}: \quad jèbè-\text{ka}? \\
\text{TPN=DAT cardamum buy-NMLZ EX.NE-PQ} \\
\text{‘Are there cardamum-buyers in Dzongu?’ (KT e)}
\]

(5.65)  

\[
\text{Q: \ kô \ jêntâ?} \\
\text{ts=a \ t\text{bop-ka}?} \\
\text{salt \ find-PQ} \\
\text{‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)}
\]

\[\text{217 Reduced from jô-po be?, see §7.3.2.1}\]
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) ཁིམ་ན་ རྒན་པྔོ་ ཀ་ཡང་ མད།
   kʰim=na gempo ka=jãː mèʔ.
   house=LOC elder.male who=even NEG.EX.PER
   ‘At home there aren’t any males.’ (Richhi 22)

   b) ཁིམ་ན་ མི་ ཡྔོད་ཀ
   kʰim=na mí jøːʔ-
   house=LOC human EX-PQ
   ‘Is there anyone (lit. human) at home?’ (rna-gsung 5)

(5.67)  a) ཆོས་སིད་ གུང་སེང་ན་ ཁིམ་ན་ ཡྔོད།
   tʃʰøkʰiʔ k’uŋsiŋ=na kʰim=na jøːʔ.
   Choki holiday=LOC house=LOC EX.PER
   ‘Choki is at home during the holiday.’ (Richih 157)

   b) ད་ལྟ་ བྷའི་ལགས་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཡྔོད་ཀ
   tʽato bhaila mɛŋkʰãː=na jøːʔ-
   now PN hospital=LOC EX-PQ
   ‘Is Bhaila now in hospital?’ (Richhi 24)

The locative argument may also occur in the antitopical right dislocated position.

(5.68)  ལ་ ཐིབ་ རང་ རྒྱུས་ རིས་ གཞིས།
   paː=laː=di=jãː duʔ kʰim=na.
   father=HON=DEMPH=too EX.SEN house=LOC
   ‘The father too is at home.’ (Richhi 153)

With frequently used toponyms elision of locative marking is quite frequent:

(5.69)  རུ་ རྒྱུས་ རིས་ མཁྲེད།
   k’u gãːto jãːʔ.
   3SGM TPN EX.PER
   ‘He is (in) Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Similar to equative copulas, existential copula may be elided in spoken language.
Occasionally locative arguments may co-occur with an equative copula. While beʔ is fairly frequent in this use (5.71a), the only context in my data where a locative argument is accompanied by ɨː is telling one’s place of origin (5.71b).

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 =tsaː ‘at, beside’ (5.72b). Using the postposition =tsaː implies that the possessed item is with the speaker at the time of speaking.
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), 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 in Gangtok follows the genitive-marked argument and so separates the purported modifier/adnominal (karma=gi) from its head (t’ep). Because I have no evidence from elsewhere that the constituents of a noun phrase could in prose be separated in this way, I prefer to analyze the genitive-marked possessor as a separate constituent, which functions analogously with cases of locational possession.

If the possessor is marked locationally (i.e. with dative-locative or postposition =tsa=), it can occur as the second argument in constructions where the possessee is topicalized and hence occurs first, see (5.74a) and (5.74b). The genitive-marked possessor, however, cannot occur second in a possessive construction, see (5.74c).

(5.74)  

a) བོད་ཀྱི་ ཡིག་པའི་ སྙིང་ཐུན་ གཞི་ འདོད་/ཐོབ།  

ཨྔོ་འདི་ སྐྱེ་ ཡོད་/འདུག།  

‘He has that thing.’/‘That thing is with him.’ (KUN e)

b) བོད་ཀྱི་ ཡིག་པའི་ སྙིང་ཐུན་ དབྱར་ འདོད་/ཐོབ།  

ཨྔོ་འདི་ སྐྱེ་ ཡོད་/འདུག།  

‘That thing is with him.’ (KUN e)

c) *བོད་ཀྱི་ ཡིག་པའི་ སྙིང་ཐུན་ དབྱར་/ཐོབ།  

*ཨྔོ་འདི་ སྐྱེ་ ཡོད་/འདུག།  

‘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 *lenge*:=*lo* in (5.76) or *teʰ*==*lo* (5.77) is added, the possessor argument switches to agentive.\(^{219}\)

(5.75) ༠༠༠

ηঅ লিঙ্গ: অল্প

ηঅ = লো  রিচি জো?

1SG=DAT  hope EX.PER

‘I have hope.’ (KN e)

(5.76)

ঐ/ঐ বিশিষ্ট লো লিঙ্গ: অল্প

ηঅ/ঐ=গি  লেঞ্জে*: লো  রিচি জো?

1SG/1SG=AGT  PRN.HON=DAT  hope  EX.PER

‘I have hope in you.’ (KN e)

(5.77)

ঐ/ঐ বিশিষ্ট লো লো লিঙ্গ: অল্প

ηঅ/ঐ=গি  তেঁ=লো  লোতে:  জো:  জো.

1SG/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 jো?, neutral jেবে?, sensorial dু?) and the equatives (personal হঃ, neutral bে?) are used in adjectival predication, analogously to the functionally similar forms in Lhasa Tibetan (Chang & Chang 1984: 608, 614-616; Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 119-122). For examples, see (5.78) for existentials and (5.79) for equatives. The semantic differences between the various copulas are addressed in more detail in §7.1.3.

(5.78) a)

বিশিষ্ট: bike ওঁ নেয় জেল্পশন: অল্প

kʰu=i=গি  বাইক=দি  লেপ  মালা?  জো?

3SGM=GEN=GEN  bike(Eng.)=DEMPH  very.much  fast  EX.PER

‘His (motor)bike is very fast.’ (NB e)

b)

আসং বিশিষ্ট: এটি নেয় লগাছনা: হাঁত

অনালে  হিন্দি=দি  লেপ  দিক্টা?  জেবে?

then  हिन्दी=DEMPH  very.excellent  EX.NE

‘Then, (their) Hindi is most excellent.’ (DR discussion with KL)

c)

শূন্য বিশিষ্ট: হাঁত নেয় লগাছনা: দুফ

লোপার=কি  পিন্পো  লেপ্টি  লেম  দু?

X-ray=GEN  essence  very  good  EX.SEN

‘The results of the X-ray look very good.’ (Richhi 29)

(5.79) a)

আসং বিশিষ্ট: এটি নেয় জেল্পশন: হাঁত

অপা=হাকো  গো=পো  কেঁ: তেঁ:  ত.

that  understand  need.to-2INF  important  EQU.PER

‘It is important to understand that.’ (Richhi 7)

\(^{219}\) ηঅ: and ηঅ=গি are two alternative ways to mark 1SG agentive.
As already shown in §3.4.1, property concepts can be expressed, in addition to an adjective accompanied by a copula, also by property concept verbs which inflect like other verbs. The availability of these two options places Denjongke among languages which use “mixed” encoding type for property concepts (Stassen 2013a). For comparative constructions, see §5.6.1.3.2 below.

5.4.5 Clauses of becoming and happening
The verbs *tʰøn* (also *tʰ’en*) དུན་ ‘come out, happen, become, turn out’ and *te’uŋ* སུང་ ‘become, happen, turn out’ are used for expressing ‘becoming’, a meaning related to ‘being’. The first one is both in my spoken and written data much more frequent than the latter one, which may be a loan word from Tibetan literature. The verbs of becoming may occur with a single argument with the meaning ‘happen’, ‘arise’ or even ‘begin (to exist)’:

(5.80) a) སེམས་པ་དུརྱིས་ཀྱིས་ སྒྲུབ་ འཇིག་ བྱུང་རུང་

\( k’ar \ tʰøm-bo \ be’? \)

what happen-PST EQU.NE

‘What happened?’ (TB bull story)

b) དུན་ ཆུ་...

\( ó \ ma-te’uŋ-rug \)

that NEG-become-CONC

‘although that did not happen…’(BLA 6)

c) སེམས་ལྔོ་ འཇིག་ བྱུང་རུང་

\( sɛm=lo \ dzu:na: \ te’uŋ-rug \)

mind=DAT sensation.of.fear arise-CONC

‘despite sensations of fear arising in the mind…’ (Rna-gsung 3)
d) ད་ལྟ་སྔོབ་གྲྭའི་གུང་སེང་ཡང་ཐྔོན་རབ་ཡོད།

\[ \text{t'ato lóbjo: k'uṣṣa=gā: tʰon-rap jō}. \]

now school GEN holiday=too become-INF EX.PER

‘Now also the school’s holiday is about to begin.’ (Richhi 62)

Predicate nominals can be nouns (5.81) or nominalized clauses (5.82). The noun phrases linked with tʰøn in (5.81) and (5.82) are marked with square brackets.

(5.81) བོད་ལྟོས་གནས་ཅིང་བོད་ལྟོས་ཐང་བོད་ལྟོས་ཐང་གིས་བོད་ལྟོས་ཐང་གིས་བོད་ལྟོས་ཐང་

\[
\text{[nepali=gi ke:za=dī] gjagar=gi nāṭa=lo [gjagar=gi ke:za]} \]

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) ལྟོག་གྲོ་གཞི་ནུས་གུས།

\[
\text{[mù:] [tʰap mèː-po]} \text{ tʰom-bo be?}. \]

3SGF.AGT means NEG.EX-2INF become-2INF EQU.NE

‘She became one without means (to do something).’ (Rna-gsung 6)

b) སྨེན་གླེགས་པས་བོད་ལྟོས་ཐང་གིས་མ་་མ་་མ་

\[
\text{k'ɛːsi] [tam=di]} \text{[k'andaː sēn ts'a-po]} \text{ t'uy-ne...} \]

if speech=DEMPH fairy hear.HON be.able.to become-COND

‘If this speech will become such that the fairy can hear it...’ (rna-gsung 12)

For tʰon and t'uy with predicate adjectives, consider the following examples (note that [5.85] has a phrasal adjective with a nominal element):

(5.83) གླེགས་པས་འདི་ནདའི་བོད་ཐང་

\[
\text{lōtʰo=tsu lēm tʰon-e} \text{ be?}, \text{ di ly=kī}. \]

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) བོད་ལྟོས་འདི་ནད་ཐང་གིས་

\[
\text{te ődi lēpo lēm te'uy-e}. \]

so that very good become-PST

‘So that turned out very good.’ (RD BLA)

(5.85) སེམས་དགའ་དངོས་ཀྱི་བོད་ལྟོས་

\[
\text{ŋāte? sēm gāta? t'uy-e}. \]

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’:
5.5 Valency modification

This section describes how valency, i.e. the number of verbal arguments, may be modified in Denjongke. The lexicalized phonological distinction between controlled and non-controlled verbs was already introduced in §3.3.3. The two strategies for valency change are argument suppression\textsuperscript{221}, which decreases the valency of the clause, and causative construction, which increases clausal valency.

5.5.1 Argument suppression

Denjongke lacks a morphosyntactic passive construction marked on the verb which would elide an A argument and raise P in its place. Instead, Denjongke can form a “functional passive” (Givon 1984: 164) by eliding argument A. In (5.87), argument A is suppressed and a peripheral argument ‘from hospital’ is fronted to the initial position typical of the A argument. In this context, it is not important, who within the hospital is the actual giver of the leave of absence. Because the actual giver of the permission cannot be deduced from the previous context and therefore does not fall under zero anaphora, (5.87) exemplifies argument suppression.

\begin{align*}
\text{(5.87) } & \text{སྨན་ཁང་ལས་} & \text{ནད་པྔོ་ལྔོ་} & \text{དགྔོངས་པྔོ་} & \text{བཏང་དྔོ།}\nonumber \\
& \text{m} & \text{ɛ̃́} & \text{n̥kʰãː=} & \text{le} & \text{n̥:po=} & \text{lo} & \text{gompo} & \text{t̀:do.} & \nonumber \\
& \text{hospital=} & \text{ABL} & \text{patient=} & \text{DAT} & \text{leave.of.absence} & \text{send-IPFV} & \nonumber \\
& \text{‘The patient is being discharged from the hospital.’} \text{ (Richhi 172)}
\end{align*}

In (5.88), the complement clause preceding the verb functions as the P argument, whereas A is again dropped. Here the A argument is unidentifiable and therefore (5.88) exemplifies a functional passive construction.

\begin{align*}
\text{(5.88) } & \text{sá=} & \text{lo} & \text{kʰap} & \text{l̥um-ruŋ} & \text{tô:}. & \nonumber \\
& \text{ground=} & \text{DAT} & \text{needle} & \text{drop-CONC} & \text{hear} & \nonumber \\
& \text{‘Even the drop of a needle would be heard.’} \text{ (Richhi 6)}
\end{align*}

In example (5.89), the A argument of the verb tô: ‘see’ is suppressed and the P argument of the equivalent transitive clause occurs zero marked (in a montransitive 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’).\textsuperscript{222}

\textsuperscript{221} Argument suppression is to be distinguished from zero anaphora, see the introduction to this chapter.

\textsuperscript{222} KN, however, commented that the dative-locative =lo could be added to the P argument here.
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) pempa gjuk-o be?
P N run-2INF EQU.NE

'Pempa ran.' (KN e)

(5.91) karma(=gi) pempa(=lo) gjuk teuk-o be?
P N(=AGT) P N(=DAT) run cause-2INF EQU.NE

'Karma made Pempa run.' (KN e)

In elicitation, it was possible to increase the valency of a monotransitive verb. Example (5.92) illustrates a monotransitive clause, which is in (5.93) and (5.94) is changed into a ditransitive one through a causative construction.

(5.92) gjaltsʰ(=gi) pempa(=lo) tip-o be?
P N(=AGT) P N(=DAT) hit-2INF EQU.NE

'Gyaltsen hit Pempa.' (KN e)

(5.93) karma(=gi) gjaltsʰen=lo pempa tip teuk-o be?
P N(=AGT) P N(=DAT) hit cause-2INF EQU.NE

'Karma made Gyaltsen hit Pempa.' (KN e)

(5.94) karma(=gi) gjaltsʰen pempa=lo tip teuk-o be?
P N(=AGT) P N(=DAT) P N=DAT hit cause-2INF EQU.NE

'Karma made Pema hit Gyaltsen.' (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.
5.6 Adverbial modification

Adverbials in a clause may be divided into non-clausal adverbials and clausal adverbials. Whereas clausal adverbials are discussed elsewhere (see §15), this section describes non-clausal adverbials, i.e. case-marked nouns/noun phrases, postposition phrases and adverbs.

5.6.1 Case-marked nouns as adverbials

The grammatical cases agentive and genitive do not participate in forming non-clausal adverbials but spatial cases dative-locative (§5.6.1.1), locative (§5.6.1.2) and ablative (§5.6.1.3) do.

5.6.1.1 Dative-locative =lo

In addition to the patient, recipient and possessor functions, which were described above, the dative-locative also marks adverbials of location and time. For stative, adessive type of location, a case-marker is typically used (5.96), but especially with frequent toponyms case-marking may be dropped (5.97).

(5.96) ድ་དུྱིལ་ གིང་ལྔོ་ ལྗུངས་ཏྔོ? dordjiliŋ=lo k’an zg:=to?
TPN=DAT where live-IPFV
‘Where do you live in Darjeeling?’ (Richhi 13)

(5.97) ཆ་ གི་ལྔོ་ བཞུགས་ཏྔོ. kʰu ga:=to? jə?
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) ཐོ བོི་གཤེག་ འབྲེལ་བ་ དེག་གུ་=lo sɔː=-ze.
to tsʰo:-wa nɔː.tsʰ=lo sɔː=-ze.
food search-PUR forest=DAT go.PFV-PST
‘(He) went to forest to look for food.’ (KT animal story)

223 An exception to this rule is the adverb(ial) t‘alang gi ‘clearly’, which seems to have an agentive/genitive ending.
224 The dative-locative case is both a grammatical and a locative case, see §3.7.1.1.
225 Here the word to ‘cooked rice’ obtains an extended meaning ‘food’. The clause refers to a tiger, a carnivorous predator.
It is my impression that case-marking in directionals is more frequently dropped in spoken language (5.100) than in written language (5.101).

Example (5.102) illustrates the use of =lo for expressing time. The dative-locative is used exclusively with gā: ‘time’ (5.102a, b). The locative =na is more common with tʼytsʰøʔ ‘time’, but =lo is also used (5.102c). Note that in (5.102c) the noun has a preceding complement clause (marked with square brackets).
The dative-locative also occurs as an optional element in temporal adverbs referring to times of the day, such as t’o:pa(lo) ‘in the morning’, t’ariŋ(lo) ‘today’ and pʰiːتسʰam(lo) (see §6.3.3).

The dative-locative functions as an additional (non-obligatory) locative-marker in some relator noun constructions:

(5.103) འ་ ལྗེས་ཤུས་ཤུས་ མེ་ཏྔོག་ ཁིམ་ན་ལྔོ་ བཙུག་ཏྔོ་ ད་ལྟྔོ།
    t’a kʰu rubi?=tei?  teŋkʰa=lo pjäː-tiki
    now 3SG climber=INDF on=DAT hang-NF
    ‘Now, hanging on a climber plant…’ (KT animal story)

(5.104) ག་ ཤུས་ཤུས་ཤུས་ དོན་མ་ བྲལ།
    nàŋ ɕa=lo dèceu nāː-m be?
    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’, dže:lo ‘after’, dynlo ‘before’, teŋlo ‘above, on’, etc. (see §3.6.6). The dative-locative may also attach to circumstantial clause marking progressive tečː/þː/þin (§15.7.3) and purposive -pa/ba (§15.4.1).

The dative-locative-marker also occurs in case-stacking constructions (see §3.7.1.3) following the locative case marker =na, see (5.105). In spoken data, the construction occurs especially with the frequently used word kʰim ‘house’, see (5.105a)

(5.105) a) ད་ ཤུས་ཤུས་ཤུས་ མེ་ཏྔོག་ ཁིམ་ན་ལྔོ་ བཙུག་ཏྔོ་ ད་ལྟྔོ།
    ŋà ɕyː ɕyː mìnto? [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) བྲལ་ ལྗེས་ཤུས་ཤུས་ དོན་མ་ བྲལ།
    [kʰim=na=lo=jāː] mi=tsu ṇamtei? ódem=sā:  kʰa-lap
    house=LOC=DAT=even human=PL with that.much=until mouth-speak mē?,
    NEG.EX.PER
    ‘Even at home, there is not that much talking with people.’ (Richhi 164-165)

Other examples of =na=lo in Richhi are given in (5.106).
5.6.1.2 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) ཞིན་ཐྔོའི་དེབ་ན་ལྔོ།  
    \[ \text{\text{.day-list.Gen book=Loc=Dat}} \]
    ‘in the calender’ (Richhi 7)

b) སྔོབ་གྲྭའི་ན་ལྔོ།  
    \[ \text{\text{school=Loc=Dat}} \]
    ‘inside the school’ (Richhi 31)

c) ཨ་མའི་སེམས་ན་ལྔོ།  
    \[ \text{\text{mother.Gen mind=Loc=Dat}} \]
    ‘in the mother’s mind’ (Richhi 83)

(5.108) དེ་ཟང་འདི་སྐབས་ན་ཁ་ལས་རྐྱབས་ཤད་  
    \[ \text{tʽizãː[\text{\text{day-mouth=Loc=ABL do-INF except write-INF=Gen tradition}}} \]
    \[ \text{mɛ̀\text{\text{bbɛʔ}}} \]
    \[ \text{NEG.EX.NE} \]
    ‘But [at that time], in addition to spoken language, there was no tradition of writing.’ (KL BLA 12)

b) ཨྔོ་འདི་དུས་ཚོད་  
    \[ \text{\text{that time=Loc}} \]
    ‘At that time...’ (PED life story)
5.6.1.3 Ablative =le

The ablative =le marks spatio-temporal adverbials (§5.6.1.3.1) and also the standard of comparison in comparative constructions (§5.6.1.3.2). Because the standard of comparison in comparative constructions is, similarly to locative adverbials, a peripheral NP, comparison is here treated under adverbial modification.

5.6.1.3.1 Spatio-temporal uses

The ablative =le expresses a locative or temporal starting point. With locatives, =le typically expresses direction from a source (5.110), but especially with relator nouns, it is also used for expressing stative location (5.111). The ablative with relator nouns is not separated from the root with the clitic marker = (i.e. giabl instead of giab=le), because the case ending has essentially merged into one word with the relator noun.

(5.110) ཁུ་དྲོ་པ་ཁིམ་ལས་ཐྔོན་བའི་སང་
kʰu ḏt'oːpa kʰim=le tʰom-boː gāː;
3SGM morning house=ABL exit-2INF.GEN time
‘In the morning when he was getting out of the house...’ (RS driver joke)

(5.111) [t'i giable] p'o'otso=tei? ba doː 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) བྱ་སྟི་ཁུ་དུ་ཅིག་ལས་འབྱམ་བཙུག་བཞིན་
ó(di) p'ja-ti kʰu [t'utei=le] bjaːm tsuk-teen du?.
that do-NF 3SGM this.year=ABL beginning plant-PROG EX.SEN
‘Therefore he is beginning from this year (onwards).’ (TB discussion wih KT)

b) ཞཱ་
[t'ariŋ=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) གྱི་ཁྱིམ་ན་ལས་ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ཀ་ཡང་མ་སེབས་ཤད་
[p'inleː=ki kʰim=na=le] t'ato-sā: ka-jāː ma-lepee?=di:
Thrinley=GEN house=LOC=ABL now=until who-even NEG-arrive=DEMPH.AGT
‘Because no one has so far arrived [from Thrinley’s house]...’ (Richhi 43)

(5.114) མ་ཁྱིམ་འབྱམ་བཙུག་བཞིན་མ་སེབས་ཤད་
[t's'o nāŋca=le] lòkti=ra tər'i=tei? te 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་ ཨྔོ་འདི་ སྦྔོམ་པུ་ འདུག།
   \(\text{di=}\text{le} \, \text{odi bompu du?} \)
   \(\text{this=}\text{ABL} \, \text{that big EX.SEN} \)
   ‘That is bigger than this.’ (TB e)

(5.116) འདི་ སྨྱག་ཀུ་ འདི་ འདི་ལས་ རིང་སྦད།
   \(\text{di} \, \text{núku}=\text{di} \, \text{di=}\text{le} \, \text{rinj be}? \)
   \(\text{this} \, \text{pencil=}\text{DEMPH} \, \text{this=}\text{ABL} \, \text{be.long EQU.NE} \)
   ‘This pencil is longer than this.’ (TB e)

(5.117) འདི་ལས་ བྱུང་ཁང་ཉེར་ཉེར་ བྱུང་ཁང་ཉེར་ བྱུང་ཁང་ཉེར་
   \(\text{di=}\text{le} \, \text{lako gjatekita?-p'ja sün} \, \text{top-o-dā} \)
   \(\text{this=}\text{ABL} \, \text{more great-ADVZR} \, \text{observe receive-2INF-CONJ} \)
   ‘when we get to hold (the celebration) in a more grandiose way than this…’ (Richhi 87)

In addition to being a noun, the standard of comparison may be a a subordinate clause, see §15.11.

5.6.2 Postposition phrases as adverbials

Postpositions are listed in Table 5.3. The first four rows list items which do not typically occur with a genitive complement (i.e. nàŋtar, nàŋzin, t’onzin(gi), nàmtci?, nàmpu, sàːte, =sàː). Other rows list postpositions whose complement noun may or may not be genitive marked (i.e. relator nouns). With locative postpositions, the ablative =le may substitute final =lo, especially if source is emphasized (e.g. òːle ‘from below’, tènle ‘from below’) but ablative is in spoken language frequently used also for non-directional stative location. Those ablative forms which are particularly frequently used for stative location are separately given in Table 5.3.
The following examples illustrate the uses of postposition headed phrases as adverbials in the same order as they occur in the table. The example sentences illustrate simple uses with noun phrases. Examples (a) below have the complement noun in citation form, whereas examples (b) have a genitive-marked noun complement, if such forms are used. Some examples have (c), which illustrates an alternative form of the postposition. Most postpositions which are relator nouns are also used as independent adverbial(s), see the next section §5.6.3.

226 Occurs in a negated or interrogated clause.
227 This word from Tibetan is mainly used by literate people with monastic training.
(5.118) a) རྩིམ་ཕྱིམས་དང་འགོ་ལུས་ནང་ལྟར་ཚུགས་ནེ་ང་ལྔོ་ཁིག་སྔོང་།

*ˈIf you are able (to do it) [according to (our) rule(s) and custom(s)], take (me as your wife).’ (song lyrics)

b) གྲོ་དེ་ཀི་ནང་ལྟར་གཡོག་བྱེས་བདའ་འགྱུ་ཀེ།

*‘Let us take and do the work according to that.’ *(KN e)

(5.119)

a) རྩིམ་ཁྔོ་རའི་མནྔོ་དྔོན་བཞིན་ནིན་ན་ཏྔོ་སང་ཏྔོག་མཐྔོ་ཡོན་གྱི་སྨན་ཁང་གང་རུང་གཅིག་ན་ཏྔོབ་པྔོའི་རེ་ཆེ།

*‘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)

b) ཨྷུད་དྲུག་ཀྔོ་ཟང་སྔོབ་གྲྭ་གྲེས།

*‘The school is on [until the sixth session].’ *(Richhi 10)

(5.120) a) རྩིམ་ཁྲིམས་དང་འགོ་ལུས་ནང་ལྟར་ཚུགས་ནེ་ང་ལྔོ་ཁིག་སྔོང་།

*‘Live well with your friends, eh.’ *(TB phone call)

b) གྲོ་དེ་ཀི་ནང་ལྟར་གཡོག་བྱེས་བདའ་འགྱུ་ཀེ།

*‘She works with me at the school, you know.’ *(Richhi 12)

(5.121) a) རྩིམ་ཁྲིམས་དང་འགོ་ལུས་ནང་ལྟར་ཚུགས་ནེ་ང་ལྔོ་ཁིག་སྔོང་།

*‘[Until now], (I) am well.’ *(PED life story)

b) གྲོ་དེ་ཀི་ནང་ལྟར་གཡོག་བྱེས་བདའ་འགྱུ་ཀེ།

*‘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་བའི་གནང་མཁན་མ་ཞིད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་མན་བོག་གཞན་མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་མན་བོག་གཞན་མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་མན་བོག་གཞན་མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་མན

dem nā:-bo nāy-kêː nāː [lōpen=laː=gi mèmbo] zomø
like.that do.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ here teacher=HON=AGT except other
ŋāː keːpo ŋāː ma-t’ôː.228
LAGT many I.AGT NEG-see
‘I have not seen many, [except the teacher] here (=you), doing like that.’ (KL discussion with DR)

b) ཨ་པའི་ཞྣོང་བ་ཆེན་མོ་ཅིང་མ་་ལ་མེད་པ་ལ་མིབ་ཐོབ་པས་ཐོབ་བས།

[āpoː tsʰamalo] teʰː=ɾāː mèmbo zen ka jô??
father.GEN in.place 2SG.L=REFL except other who EX.PER
‘Who is there in place of (your) father [except yourself]?’ (Richhi 84)

(5.123) a) ཨ་པའི་ཞྣོང་བ་ཆེན་མོ་ཅིང་མ་་ལ་མེད་པ་ལ་མིབ་ཐོབ་པས་ཐོབ་བས།

[āpoː tsʰamalo] teʰː=ɾāː mèmbo zen ka jô??
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) ཏ་ཀྲོས་ཀིས་ཚ་བ་མ་ལ་མེད་པ་ལ་མིབ་ཐོབ་པས་ཐོབ་བས།

P[N=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 mëntā: ‘except’ (literally ‘NEG-send’) occurs in an interrogative:

(5.124) ཨ་པའི་ཞྣོང་བ་ཆེན་མོ་ཅིང་མ་་ལ་མེད་པ་ལ་མིབ་ཐོབ་པས་ཐོབ་བས།

[rāː mëntāː] zomø=tsu=gi=jāː tʰop-o nā?
you except other=PL=AGT=too receive-2INF EQU.PER.Q
‘Except you, did others also receive (it)?’ (KN e)

(5.125) a) ཨ་པའི་ཞྣོང་བ་ཆེན་མོ་ཅིང་མ་་ལ་མེད་པ་ལ་མིབ་ཐོབ་པས་ཐོབ་བས།

[jāːp kaptʃen tsəː=le] nāːwa=tei? tʰop-kam?
father.HON Captain(Eng.) at=ABL permission=INDF receive-ATTQ
‘...whether we will get a permission [from Captain Sir]’ (KN, CY interview)

b) ཨ་པའི་ཞྣོང་བ་ཆེན་མོ་ཅིང་མ་་ལ་མེད་པ་ལ་མིབ་ཐོབ་པས་ཐོབ་བས།

[ŋāːtea=ki tsəː=le] di=lo tʰetsʰom mèː-po ʔ.
1PL=GEN by=ABL this=DAT doubt EX-2INF EQU.NE
in-ga=la.
EQU.PER-PQ=HON
‘[From our side], there is no doubt about that, is there.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

228 The repetition of ŋā [1.AGT] here is unnecessary from the perspective of written and polished spoken language.

PN 2SG.L here small.child=DAT up=by=until bring give TAG.Q

‘Karma, you take the child here all the way up, okay.’ (Richhi 40)

(5.126) a) *te [gàtei t’ondale dà: p’am=tsy: t’ondale] lòptà=ra*

so 1PL.GEN for and parents=PL.GEN for school=AEMP

mè=k’en be?.

EX=NMLZ EQU.NE

‘So, [for us and for (our) parents] there wasn’t a school.’ (CY interview)

(5.127) a) *ódi [nè:=gi t’ée:zip t’a: nè:=gi t’ato=i nàmjò: t’ò:le]*

that 1SG.GEN=GEN research and 1SG.GEN now=GEN experience through nà sé-patsene=di

1SG say-COND=DEMPH

‘If I tell that [by my research and by my present experience]...’ (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)

b) *k’òko: nà=y=gi tam=tsu [jìgi: t’ò:lo] t’alamgi sé: t’a?p’ja-tì*

insides.GEN inside=GEN word=PL letter.GEN through clearly clear do-NF hako-zè: jò?

understand-PROG EX.PER

‘Inmost thoughts are [through letter(s)] clearly and unambiguously being understood.’ (Richhi 152)

(5.128) a) *mù=raŋ=gi k’òko:=na sàk-tì za: jò-po:*

3SG=REFL=GEN innards.GEN=LOC accumulate-NF set EX-2INF.GEN

tam=tsu [jìk’ò? giy:ti] karmò: nàmtò=na liik

word=PL writing through PN=GEN ear=LOC pour t’òp-ee=di:

receive-INF=DEMP.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)


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) ལས་གོ་ལས་ཐག་པའི་གོང་ སེམས་དཔའ་ཞིག་མེ་ཐོབ་ མི་སྟེ།

[ɲɪ̃ntakpo: goːle] tʰudzite' cɪ=ɛt=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) ཨིན་ལགས་འགྔོ་ལས་ ཐུགས་རེ་ཆེ་ཞུ་ཤད།

tʰato kʰuː=ɾãː njíː po teiku [kʰasay=gi lóbdoː tʰycən]
now 3SGM=AEMP=HON two-COL only yesterday=GEN school.GEN celebration
korlo] lógu? cε-ɔː=lo
about story tell-PROG=DAT
‘Now only the two of them telling stories [about yesterday’s school celebration]’
(Richhi 99)

b) ཨིན་ལགས་འགྔོ་ལས་ ཐུགས་རེ་ཆེ་ཞུ་ཤད།

tʰariŋ ñá [karzɛː láp-kʰɛŋ=gi sâm dāː márzaː]
today I vegetarian.food say-NMLZ=GEN food and nonvegetarian.food
láp-kʰɛŋ=gi sâm=gi korleː tsʰik tejniː=teiʔ ei-do tʰ.
say-NMLZ=GEN food=GEN about word a.few=INDF say.HON-IPFV EQU.PER
‘Today I will say a few words [about the food called karze and about the food
called marze].’ (DL about food)

(5.131) a) ཞྭ་ རྲུབ་ལས་།

l̥akiʔ tʰãː roː=tsu=i mì [l̥aŋkor ɲ̥ oːlo].
PN and friend=PL=GEN eye car toward
‘Lhaki’s and friends’ eye(s are) toward (the) car.’ (Richhi 68)

b) ཞྭ་ རྲུབ་ལས་།

[kʰim ɲ̥ oːte] gju-do.
house toward go-IPFV
‘(I’m) walking towards the house.’ (TB e)

c) ཞྭ་ རྲུབ་ལས་།

1SG TPN road upper.GEN from.the direction go.IP-FV-PST EQU.PER
‘I went to Gangtok through (=from the direction of) the upper road.’ (KN e)

Note that gjable ‘behind, after’ can be used both spatially (5.132) and temporally (5.133).

(5.132) a) ཞྭ་ རྲུབ་ལས་།

[tʰi ɲ̥ oːle] p’oso=teiʔ ba dʊː duʔ.
chair behind child=INDF hide stay EX.SEN
‘A boy is hiding [behind the chair].’ (PD spatial topography interview)

229 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.
b) ཁ་ ལེ དང་ རྒྱབ་ལྔོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟི་ རས་ དཀར་པྔོའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ།

låde [ge:go=i dynlo] te’ombolekso t‘ā: gjablo] t‘udzite= lāp-ti
some gate=GEN in.front.of welcome and behind thank.you say-NF
re: ka:po: ji:qu t‘in:k’a kjap-ti t‘i-ti pjñ-kê:
cloth white.GEN letter 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) བོད་ ལེ དང་ རྒྱབ་ལྔོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟི་ རས་ དཀར་པྔོའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ།

sofar 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) ཁ་ ལེ དང་ རྒྱབ་ལྔོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟི་ རས་ དཀར་པྔོའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ།

[l’o t’ai=ki gjable] te nën kjap-ec=ki nâtei=gi
year one GEN after so marriage do-INF=GEN 1PL.GEN=GEN
n’ysts’te=tei jà?.
time=INDF EX.PER
‘[One year later] then we have a time for having the wedding.’ (SGD wedding customs)

(5.134) ཁ་ ལེ དང་ རྒྱབ་ལྔོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟི་ རས་ དཀར་པྔོའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ།

day two after=DEMPH yogini PN PN=DEMPH return-NF cave=LOC
n’t’on-ze=lo.
appear-PST=REP
‘[After two days] yogini Asha Lhamo appeared back in the cave, it is said.’ (SGD Sikkim caves)

(5.135) ཁ་ ལེ དང་ རྒྱབ་ལྔོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟི་ རས་ དཀར་པྔོའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ།

[’omo: ts’o=di dyňk’a=lo] óna nâtei paci=n=gi p’my milk.GEN lake=DEMPH in.front.of=DAT there 1PL.GEN bamboo=GEN heap
za: du-ke=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) ཁ་ ལེ དང་ རྒྱབ་ལྔོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟི་ རས་ དཀར་པྔོའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ།

tenzi=gi dyn=lo do bompu=tei du?.
PN=GEN in.front.of stone big=INDF EX.SEN
‘There is a big stone in front of Tenzing’ (KN e)

c) ཁ་ ལེ དང་ རྒྱབ་ལྔོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟི་ རས་ དཀར་པྔོའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ།

3PL elder=PL in.front.of=ABL 1SG=AGT like.that hear-2INF EQU.PER
‘[In the presence of them elders] I heard like that.’ (CY interview)
d) ང་ གུ་རུ་ རིན་པྔོ་ཆེ་ སྐུ་མདུན་ བཅའ་སི་

ngà [guru rimpute’e kumdyː] tea:-di
1SG guru precious.one in.front.of.HON come.HUM-NF
‘I came to the presence of Guru Rimpoche and...’ (CY interview)

(5.136) a) ཆོས་དང་ སང་ བར་ན་ རུམ་ཏེག་ ལྔོད།
màrtam t’a: gā.to? p’a:na] rumte? jо?.
TPN and TPN between TPN EX.PER
‘[Between Martam and Gangtok] there is Rumtek.’ (KN e)

b) ཆོས་དང་ སང་ བར་ན་ རུམ་ཏེག་ ལྔོད།
átan=gi te’oki? t’a: t’ato: te’oki=ki p’a:na] nám t’a:
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) ང་ ཡུན་ ཆོས་ དུལ་ སྐྱེས་ ཁྱེད་ ལྔོ་
t’a jënle ṇà [di=le lò t’u? de:tei? jënle=tei?]
now before 1SG this=ABL year six that.much before=INDF
tea:-ze=la.
come.HUM-PST=HON
‘Now earlier, I came (here) [some six years earlier than now].’ (unknown man on
Bumchu video, see KLT)

b) ཆོས་ སྐྱེས་ བཤེི་ སྲིད་ ཡིག་ སྐྱེན་ ཡྔོད།
[nim ke:po: jënlo] ágia=lo tsi: te:-ti
day many.GEN before elder.brother=DAT count entrust-NF
mjö:-ts’a:.
complete-CMPL
‘[Many days ago], I have completed entrusting (my body and mind) to the brother
(you).’ (Richhi 147)

c) ང་ ཡུན་ ཥྣལ་
nàtea? [ōdi hema]...
1PL that before
‘[Before that] we...’ (DR discussion with KL)

(5.138) a) ང་ ཡུན་ སྐྱེས་ ཁྱེད་ ལྔོ་
girl=DEMPH water above sleep stay EX.SEN-IN
‘The girl is floating (lit. lying) [on the water].’ (TB e)

b) ང་ ཡུན་ སྐྱེས་ ཁྱེད་ ལྔོ་
k’tö: pi:te’u a t’ato [nè:ti: tegylo] do: jö?.
3PL two.of.them now bed.GEN above sit EX.PER
‘The two of them are now sitting [on the bed].’ (Richhi 18)
The relator noun gu(lo) occurs only in data from Martam (East-Sikkim), where the form occurs alongside teŋkʰa/teŋlo. Note in (5.139c) that the cliticized form =gu may also attach to the relator noun ten ‘up’.

(5.139) a) བཞག་ འབལ་ ལགུ་ =gu
[teib230 gulo] zaʔ.
table upon put
‘Put (it) [on the table].’ (KN e)

b) ལུང་ སེར་ བཞག་ འབལ་ ང་ =gu
kʰu [ɲːː=gu] zukteaʔ jõː-bo beʔ.
3SGM ISG.GEN=on finger.pointing arouse-2INF EQU.NE
‘He put blame [on me].’ (KN e)

c) བཞག་ འབལ་ འབལ་ =gu
[palaŋ231 teŋgu]
bed on
‘on the bed’ (KN e)

(5.140) a) རྡོག་ སེར་ ལུང་ སེར་ བཞག་ འབལ་ ང་ =gu
ŋà=lo kʰim mòu jëbbæ? ódi gäː. [gari lám ðːle].
1PL house down EX.NE that time car road below
‘Our house was down (there) at that time, below the car-road.’ (DB life story)

b) Thikadar tʰikadar=tsu tʼytsʰø gäː=lo óna [ramasaŋkʰa=gi ðːle] keːp
thikadar=PL time time=DAT there PN=GEN under many
beʔ 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) སྤེན་ རྡོག་ སེར་ རྡོག་ སེར་ རྡོག་ སེར་ སེར་ སེར་ སེར་ =gu
[mí måːŋpu buːنا] ɲà=lo mik-tsum ma-kjap.
human many in.the.middle ISG=DAT eye-close NEG-do
‘Do not wink at me [in the midst of many people].’ (song lyrics)

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230 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 wente.

231 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 ɲɛːʈʰi (WD དབྱོར་ཁི་ nyal-khri).

232 I am not sure whether this non-genitive form is a mistake or intentional.
b) [\(kʰoː=tsu=i\) \(buːna\)] \(karma=jāː\): \(lākaː\): \(dampēː\): \(bak-ti\)
3PL=PL=GEN in.the.middle PN=too in.hand Tibetan.guitar carry-NF
melody send-PROG EX.PER
'[Among them] Karma too, carrying a Tibetan guitar, is singing a song.’ (Richhi 120)

c) [\(l̥aŋkor\)] \(kʽalyː\) \(kʽalyː\) \(pʽja\)-\(ʑɛ̃ː\):
[\(gãːto\) \(ʔ\) \(ʈ\) \(ʰ\) \(om\), \(d\) \(ɛ\) \(orali\) \(tsʰõː\) \(ʈ\) \(ʰ\) \(om\)]
car slow slow do-INF TPN town TPN market
buːna=le]
tʰøn-di
in.the.middle=ABL come.out-NF
‘Going slowly, the car comes out [from the midst of Gangtok town and Deorali market] and...’ (Richhi 120)

d) [\(mínan\)=\(gi\) \(buː\) \(náŋca\)] [\(mitsʰo\) \(náŋca\), \(buː\) \(náŋca\)]...
multitude=GEN mid inside group.of.people inside mid inside
‘In the midst of the multitude, in the multitude, in the midst...’ (KT discussion with TB)

\(5.142\) a) [\(geːka\) \(boloʔ\)] \(ɲɛː\) \(ʈ\)
window beside bed
‘(There is) a bed beside a window.’ (nga’i ’gan 1)

b) [\(kʰu=i\) \(bololo\)] \(gjatʰãːkʰøː\) ád \(ʑ\) \(o=t\) \(ɕ\) \(i\) \(ʔ\) \(jøː\) \(ʔ\).
3SGM=GEN beside Indian.plains.GEN grandfather=INDF EX.PER
‘Next to him is a grandfather from the plains of India.’ (Richhi 120)

\(5.143\) a) [\(dendzôː\) \(náŋca=lo\)] \(aku\) \(łopo=tsu\) \(nuñμuy=tsu\) \(mèː-kʰen\) \(be=co=la\).
Sikkim inside=DAT uncle Lhopo=PL few=PL EX-NMLZ EQUI.NE=AT=HON
‘[Within Sikkim], Lhpos are not few.’ (KT discussion with TB)

b) [\(jōloː\) \(nâŋlo\)] \(lù=ι\) \(keːda\) \(nte⁸⁴te⁸i\) \(dampēː=na\)
curtain inside song=GEN sound pleasant Tibetan.guitar=LOC
‘[Within the curtain] (there is) a pleasant sound from a Tibetan guitar.’ (Richhi 81)

c) [\(ónaŋ=gi\) \(gjømpo\) \(nâŋna\)]
there=GEN monastery inside
‘within the monastery there’ (DB trip story)
The forms *pʰiloʔ* and *paŋkʰa*, both meaning ‘outside’, were in my natural data used independently as adverbs. Consultant KN, however, affirmed that they are also used as postpositions, as shown by elicited examples (5.144) and (5.145).

(5.144)  
\[ kʰu \ kʰim(=gi) \ pʰiloʔ \ lôː \ dôː \ duʔ. \]
3SGM house(=GEN) outside stand stay EX.SEN
‘He is standing outside the house.’ (KN e)

(5.145)  
\[ kʰu \ kʰim(=gi) \ paŋkʰa \ lôː \ dôː \ duʔ. \]
3SGM house(=GEN) outside stand stay EX.SEN
‘He is standing outside the house.’ (KN e)

5.6.3 Adverbs as adverbials
This section exemplifies how adverbs are used for expressing manner (§5.6.3.1), location (§5.6.3.2), time (§5.6.3.3), quantification (§5.6.3.4) and other meanings (§5.6.3.5).

5.6.3.1 Adverbs of manner
Adverbs of manner, which were introduced and listed in §3.5.2.1, are exemplified in (5.146-149).

(5.146) a)  
\[ tʽato \ kʰôː \ jiː-\text{-}po \ námteilo \ to \ sà-zêː \ jôʔ. \]
now 3PL two-COL together food eat-PROG EX.PER
‘Now the two of them are eating food together.’ (Richhi 20)

b)  
\[ mǐː \ dyŋkʰa \ námteiʔ \ gju \ t'op-o-dâː\ldots\]
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)  
\[ ódi \ tʰimjiː=tsu \ nānɛa \ zi=\text{-}batsene \ tʰalamgi \ zi=\text{-}ee \]
that law.document=PL inside look.HON-COND clearly see.HON-INF
be? ona.
EQU.NE there
‘If (one) looks inside those legal documents, (it) will be clearly seen there’ (CY interview)

(5.148)  
\[ kʰu \ hato{kʰa} \ lôː butcher=gi \ kjadôː \ nānɛa=le \ nānɛa \ dzy=\text{-}diki \]
3SGM suddenly elephant=GEN anus inside=ABL inside enter-NF
‘Suddenly he entered inside from within the the elephant’s anus.’ (KT animal story)

Three adverbs are used for manners of sleeping:
As suggested by examples (5.146-149), adverbs of manner generally tend to occur close to the final verb, see (5.146b), (5.147) and (5.149). Temporal adverbs, on the other hand occur more frequently in clause-initial position or otherwise well before the verb. The manner adverb hatokʰa ‘suddenly’, which has a temporal nuance, is in (5.148) positioned quite far-away from the verb.

5.6.3.2 Locative adverbs
Locative adverbs typically occur in preverbal position (5.150) but may also be fronted if topical (5.151-152).

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.

233 In written language and polished spoken language, the repetition of óna is considered infelicitous.
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)

\[
\begin{align*}
pʰi &\, ru &\, \text{tʰam} &\, \text{sə-ti} &\, mjõ̀ː. \\
\text{at.night all food eat-NF finish} &\text{'At night everyone has finished eating.' (Richhi 4)}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.155)

\[
\begin{align*}
mù &\, \text{tʰariŋ} &\, \text{dzum-məːmeː jòː}, &\, \text{átãː tʰãː man-ɖou}. \\
3SGF today smile-IDEO EX.PER always and NEG-similar &\text{'She is smily today, unlike usually.' (Richhi 148)}
\end{align*}
\]

(5.156)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nà} &\, \text{tʰut} &\, \text{ma-čep}, &\, \text{nàniː}=\text{di} &\, \text{tsʰa nàniː}, &\text{nàniŋ} \\
1SG this.year now NEG-arrive last.year=DEMPH turn two last.year &\text{'This year I didn’t go (there), last year two times, it wasn’t last year, it’s two years ago, I think.' (KT discussion with TB)}
\end{align*}
\]

The different placing of the temporal adverbials in (5.157) and (5.158) is conditioned by topicality.
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)

In (5.158), the topic (kʰu ‘he’) that has arisen from the previous context is fronted and the time adverbial dâː 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 postpositionsɲɛ́nlɲɛ́nl ‘before’ and ɲjablo/ɲjabl ‘behind; after’ are also used as temporal adverbs, see (5.159). Whereasɲɛ́nlɲenle is temporal, ɲjablo/ɲjable can also mark location, see (5.153b) above.

Temporal adverbs t’aruj t’aruj ‘again, yet, still’ and t:ra t:ra ‘again’ express frequency:

Example (5.162) illustrates an indefinite temporal adverb, which occurs in a repetitious bisyndetic construction.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lèp(ti)</td>
<td>‘very much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke:p, ke:po</td>
<td>‘much, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mànpu, mànpo</td>
<td>‘much, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰedé:</td>
<td>‘considerably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màntsʰo?</td>
<td>‘to great degree, more (than)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niúntsaʰ234</td>
<td>‘little, less (than)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é:y:cy:</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é:y:tey:</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é:y’ry</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átsi(m)</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átem</td>
<td>‘a bit’ (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niúngyuŋ</td>
<td>‘little, few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tce:/dze:</td>
<td>‘at all (+negation)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’a:le</td>
<td>‘at all, never’ (+negation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekki</td>
<td>‘at all, anyhow’ (+negation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

234 Also pronounced niúntsaʰ
‘He fell yesterday and hit his head considerably, it is said.’ (Richhi 6)

The quantitative adverb mãntsʰo? ‘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) mão=gi nàtsʰa tʰon-ee? ī: òdi gā:.
Great degree measles=GEN illness become-INF EQUI.PER that time
‘There was a great deal of measles at that time.’ (PED life story)

b) kʰõː ɲ àmpu ka de:-po mãntso?
3RD.HON with who stay-2INF more
‘...who stays with him/her most/more.’ (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)

c) t’ãːpu=gi t’ytsʰo:=le t’insā: mitsʰo? mãntsʰo? jò-po
Long.ago=GEN time=ABL nowadays crowd(s) great degree EX-2INF be?
EQUI.NE
‘Nowadays there are more people than in the earlier times.’ (KUN e)

(5.168) te’uk=lo=di mãntsʰo? t’à: ṇàte? ʃo-ʃe:=lo=di
Nepali=DAT=DEMPH more and 1PL Lhopo-Lepcha=DAT=DEMPH
Nepali 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) kʰa láp tsʰu-po tʰon do: 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) te ṇàte=ki ʃy:cey: ʃe:n do: jò?
than 1PL=AGT a.bit listen stay EX.PER
‘So we have listened to (these songs) a bit.’ (RS song intro)
(5.171) kintsöː cyry
‘a little bit of corn’ (PL interview)

(5.172) kal? átsi tsʰaʔa?
difficulty a.bit hot
‘a bit difficulty’ (TB discussion with KT)

(5.173) t’ato náteʔa? átem p’jeu jô?.
now 1PL a.bit hurry EX.PER
‘Now we are in a bit of a hurry’ (DB day trip)

1PL that time eat-INF very little receive-NPST.PER
‘At that time we got very little to eat.’ (PED life story)

Three adverbs tɕeː, isaːle kánar and bekki hąnjí occur with a negated verb and emphasize the fact that the action denoted by the verb was not done ‘at all’.

(5.175) láː teku=di p’i tɕeː man-za-wa doː du-ke.
bull other=DEMPH fodder all NEG-eat-CIRC stay EX.SEN-IN
‘The other bull stayed without eating any fodder.’ (TB bull story)

(5.176) te di náteʔa? isaːle=ra tʰon mi-siʔ.
then this 1PL all=DEMPH happen NEG-be.possible
‘It is definitely not possible for us to make it happen.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(5.177) ódi tsʰoː tʰo wɔ tʰ-ɛː. bekki ma-neʔ.?
that search look-2INF EQUIPER-?? all NEG-find
‘I searched it (but) did not find it anyhow.’ (KUN e)

The initial syllable of teʰaːle kánar/kánar ‘all’ also occurs in a convverb-looking construction, see (5.178). The verb-looking teʰaː is tentatively glossed as ‘be all’

235 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 peʔ ‘find’ (WT r萘 myed ‘gain, find’) instead of which tʰop ‘find’ is used elsewhere in my data.
The construction (dāː) teʰaː-ti can co-occur with additional quantification:

(5.179) བྱུང་ (དང་) ཆ ལས་ (དང་) ཆ འཚིད་
tʽo (tʽāː) teʰaː-ti
load (and) be.all-NF
‘all the loads’ (KN e)

5.6.3.5 Other adverbs
Other adverbs include the epistemic adverbs nè:mur(ra) མནེ་མུ་(rā) ‘really’ (5.180), mèntene/mènteno མདེ་དེ/མདེ་དེ ‘perhaps, maybe’ (5.181) and mèn/même ‘perhaps, maybe’ (5.182).

(5.180) གུ་ཅག་ མན་ཅེ་ནྔོ ཐྔོ་རངས་  ཉི་མ་ གུ་ཅག་
l̥ɛŋgɛʔ nè:mura tʰorāː te’em-bo nāŋ-ga?
PRN.HON really tomorrow come.HON-2INF do.HON-PQ
‘Are you really coming tomorrow?’ (TB e)

(5.181) མཐོང་ ཞེས་ཤིང་ བོད་ བོད་ དུས་ འྱུར་ 
k’utea? mènteno tʰorāː jima k’utea? endzinie=rā: tʰon
2PL perhaps tomorrow day 2PL engineer(Eng.)=too become ő:-tô.
FUT.UNC-PROB
‘You will perhaps in the coming days become engineers too.’ (KL BLA 12)

(5.182) མཐོང་ ཞེས་ཤིང་ བོད་ བོད་ དུས་ འྱུར་
mèn/même tʰorāː nya martment giu ő:-tô.
maybe tomorrow 1SG TPN go FUT.UNC-PROB
‘Maybe I’ll go to Martam tomorrow.’ (KN e)

The postposition t’onlo ‘for the purpose of’ can be amplified by the reflexive/anaphoric emphatic =rā: to form the epistemic adverb t’onlora: ‘really, truly’, see (5.183).

(5.183) བྱུང་ (དང་) ཆ ལས་ (དང་) ཆ འཚིད་
t’onlo=rā: ñātei le:námko jô:-patenee...
real=AEMPH 1PL.GEN fate EX-COND
‘Really, if it is our fate...’ (Richhi 113)

The restrictive adverb teiku/teuku (ནིཀ་) ‘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).

236 The form mèn/même is from consultant KN (Martam).
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[theme] 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ŋà</td>
<td>ŋàt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>teʔaʔ</td>
<td>kʰutaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(teʔaʔ=tsu sʰaʔ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-level</td>
<td>ṭaʔ</td>
<td>kʰutaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ṭaʔ=tsu sʰaʔ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honorific</td>
<td>lenɡeʔ</td>
<td>kʰutaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lenɡeʔ=tsu sʰaʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>kʰu</td>
<td>kʰòʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰoʔ</td>
<td>kʰoʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honorific</td>
<td>lenɡeʔ=tsu sʰaʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lenɡeʔ=tsu sʰaʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ŋàt, refer to (6.2) and (6.3) respectively.

(6.1) རྡི་པ་ ལྷ་ དེ་བྱ་མེད་ སྣང་།
   ódi-p’ja ŋà đok ma-tsʰu?.
   that-ADVZR 1SG read NEG-be.able.to
   ‘Therefore I could not study.’ (PED life story)

(6.2) དབྱང་ ལྷ་ སྣམ་ བྱམས་ བར་འགྲེལ།
   ŋàt? nà: mî kʰːp o dzom-bateene
   1PL here people a.lot gather-COND
   ‘If we (incl.) gather here as many people…’ (NT BLA 6)

(6.3) བྱང་ སྣང་ གྲྭ་ ཚུ་ ལྷ་ ཚུ་ སྣང་ བར་འགྲེལ།
   dà: kʰaːnuː=lo ŋàt? pʰou jóʔ kjap deː-poː
gàː... time
   yesterday the.day.after.yesterday=DAT 1PL over.there word do sit-2INF
   ‘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 *teʰʔ* is used with close friends, social inferiors and those one despises. The mid-level *rāː*, 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 *lengeʔ* is typically used with social superiors, strangers and anyone to whom the speaker wants to show respect. The same form *lengeʔ* 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). Because *lengeʔ* 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.

Ordinary level second person plural is *kʰutʰaʔ*, as in (6.7). The honorific pronoun *lengeʔ* is the default choice in formal situations, see (6.8). The mid-level *rāː* can also be pluralized, although this use is rare in my data. Note that (6.9) combines the use of *rāː=tsu* and *lengeʔ=tsu*. The use of *lengeʔ=tsu* in (6.9) seems to be a general reference to a group of individuals.

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237 People from the villages of Lachen and Lachung in North Sikkim are reported to have a more direct way of speaking called *kʰariʔ* *kʰatuʔ* ‘direct speech’ which is famous for the lack of honorifics. Lachenpas and Lachungpas may address even strangers by *teʰʔ*, a practice which is considered vulgar by more southern speakers.

238 An indication that *lengeʔ* has wider semantics than 2SG is that once a person whom I addressed with *lengeʔ* did not immediately understand I was referring to him personally.
The plurality of `lenge` can be made explicit by adding the plural marker `=tsu, lenge=tsu` `you (pl.)`:


Plurality may also be made explicit through modifying words, e.g. `lenge` t'amtee `all of you`, `lenge` t'amtee k'ompu/k'ãːpu `all of you`, `lenge` nimpu `the two of you`. The ordinary level k'utea? may be combined with `lenge` into the honorific second person plural k'utea? `lenge`:

(6.11)  k'utea? `lenge`?  t'amtee? k'ãːpu k'om-bô:  daku be?.

The third person singular ordinary pronouns are k'ù for males and mù/mò for females:

(6.12)  k'ù=di  t'a mí dzikta?  be?.

The plurality of `lenge` can be made explicit by adding the plural marker `=tsu, lenge=tsu` `you (pl.)`:


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The third person singular ordinary pronouns are k'ù for males and mù/mò for females:

(6.12)  k'ù=di  t'a mí dzikta?  be?.
The honorific for both of them is the gender-neutral kʰõː (see 6.14), which also functions as a third person plural pronoun (see 6.15). Often the plural kʰõː is supplemented by the plural =tsu for disambiguation, as in (6.16).

(6.14) བོད་ལྟེ་བཅོང་ལྔོ་སང་ཁྔོང་ཏྔོ་ཙུ་ན་རྒྱ་གར་ལས་བྔོད་ལྔོ་བྔོན་བའི་སང་ཁྔོང་ཏྔོ་རླུང་སྒྲུབ་སྟི་བྔོན་བྔོ་ལྔོ།

(6.15) ཁྱོང་ཙུ་ལྔོ་ནེ་པ་ལི་རྐྱབས་ཤད་འཇམ་པུ་སྦད།

(6.16) ཁྱོང་ཙུ་ལྔོ་ནེ་པ་ལི་རྐྱབས་ཤད་འཇམ་པུ་སྦད།

In addition to the plural marker =tsu, another way to make plurality of kʰõː explicit is to add a modifier to the pronoun, e.g. kʰõː tʰamt ɕɛʔ ‘they all’, kʰõː kʰɛːl ɕɭ ‘they all’, kʰõː ɲímpu ‘the two of them’, kʰõː súmpo ‘the three of them’.

As noted above, the pronoun l̥ɛŋgɛʔ may have either second person singular or plural meaning. In addition, l̥ɛŋgɛʔ is used in honorific references to the third person plural, following a noun or a pronoun with third person referent:

(6.17) ནག་བཀའ་མྔོལ་འདི་ཁྔོང་ལན་རྒྱས་ལྔོ་ད་མོ་སྦད་ལགས།

(6.18) ཚོས་པ་ལེགས་གསུམ་བཞིན་གཉིས་་དེ་གཅིག་ལམ་ཁྲུང་ལ་

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 rãː functions as a mid-level second person personal pronoun. Literally rãː means ‘self’ and it is used as an independent reflexive pronoun, as in (6.19), and
as a reflexive enclitic =rãː/=ra on personal pronouns, as in (6.20-23). In spoken language the dependent reflexive form =rãː: tends to be shortened and denasalized to =ra.

(6.19) k’e:teʰi=ta=di ray=gi ke:=di go ni̍nle ēé:
important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know
go:-k’en be?,
be_needed-NMLZ ÊQU.NE
‘The important (thing is) that one has to know one’s own language at first.’ (KL BLA 12)

(6.20) ãː t ep di=gi dzo=239=di ãː ray=gi tʰakpee:-po ē:
I.AGT book this=GEN price=DEMPH I.SG=REFL=AGT decide-2INF ÊQU.PER
‘I decided the price for that book by myself.’ (KL BLA 12)

(6.21) õdi mimāː k’oː=raː: ma-eː:-be?:
that mass(es) 3PL=REFL NEG-know-2INF-EQU.NE
‘The masses themselves didn’t know that.’ (KL BLA 12)

PN 3SG=REFL only bed=LOC
‘Only Choki herself (is) in bed.’ (Richhi 4)

(6.23) t’a teʰ=ray=gi=raː: lêm p’ja-ti sákmo tāː:
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 =rãː//ra (which is a further grammaticalization of the reflexive).

The form rā:mēː//rā:mēː: rāmā ‘oneself’ is also used, at least in Martam (East Sikkim):

(6.24) rā:mēː=gi lō(p)t’u? beː=s.
oneself=GEN student ÊQU.NE=QUO
‘(He) is his own student.’ (AB kitchen discussion)

(6.25) ±a teə=tamteə? ±a teə?
1PL all 1PL oneself=DAT loving do-NPST.PER
‘All of us, we love ourselves.’ (KN e)

239 Also gõː (WD དང) and rin/rĩː (WD རིན་) are used for referring to ‘price’. All speakers do not recognize the word dzo.
Another reflexive form, which may be characterized as distributive because it encompasses all members in a group, is \( \text{rā:ra: soso:} \) ‘each one themselves’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋatō?} & \quad \text{rā:ra: soso=lo} & \text{kōn} & \text{tōn go-ee bo?} \\
\text{1PL} & \quad \text{each.oneself=DAT} & \text{blame} & \text{show be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q} \\
& \quad \text{‘Are we to blame each one ourselves?’ (KN, CY interview)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The reflexive \( =\text{rā/ra} \) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tei:=ki t̪e̪i:=}(=lo) )</td>
<td>‘one to another’ (lit. ‘one to one’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tei:=ki zên}(=lo) )</td>
<td>‘one to another’ (used in Richhi-novel)(^{240})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{pʰentsyː} )</td>
<td>‘each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first is \( \text{tei:=ki t̪e̪i:=}(=lo) \) [one=AGT one(DAT)] ‘one to another, (to) each other’ (lit. ‘one to one’), see (6.27)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k̽ːu: njim-po t̪a o̪di njimtʰe te t̪a, ŋat̪ei im-batsne t̪a} \\
\text{3PL two-Col now that date then now 1PL GEN EQU-COND now} \\
\text{tei:=ki t̪e̪i? zatsʰā. t̪em-bo be? t̪a.} \\
\text{one=AGT one married.couple become-INF EQU.NE now} \\
& \quad \text{‘The two of them, on that day, when it comes to us (=our tradition), become each other’s spouses.’ (SGD wedding customs)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The second one, \( \text{teiki zên=lo} \) [one=AGT other=DAT] ‘one (to) another’, which occurs in the novel Richhi instead of the first construction. The form \( \text{teiki zên=lo} \) is more analogous to English and Nepali constructions, but I have not come across it elsewhere.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tei:=ki zên=lo pʰembo pʰa-ee? giwō j̪o? ŋ.} \\
\text{one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN word EQU.PER} \\
& \quad \text{‘Helping one another is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The third reciprocal pronoun is \( \text{pʰentsyː} \) ‘(to) each other’, which in (6.29) is preceded by the functionally analogous use of the demonstratives \( pʰate tsʰute \) ‘this’ ‘that’.

\(^{240}\) The novel Richhi is the only source where I have come across the construction \( \text{tei:=ki zên}(=lo) \) instead of \( \text{tei:=ki t̪e̪i:=}(=lo) \). 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 \( \text{tei:=ki zên}(=lo) \), i.e. Nepali \( \text{ek arkaa-lai} \) [one another=DAT] ‘to one another’, English \( \text{to one another} \).
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite pronouns</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰamte? (k’ä:pu)</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’öle (k’ä:pu)</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te³a:le (k’ä:pu)</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzaŋki</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’o:m</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mänte=ico?</td>
<td>‘most’ (includes the adjectival superlative ending -co?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mänte=ita?</td>
<td>‘most’ (includes the adjectival ending -ta?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ace?</td>
<td>‘some(one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làri?</td>
<td>‘some(one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rere</td>
<td>‘each one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:kutei?</td>
<td>‘a few, some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tei:ni</td>
<td>‘a couple (of), a few’ (lit. ‘one-two’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ripi (ripi)</td>
<td>‘a couple (of), a few’ (lit. ‘one-two’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làla...làla</td>
<td>‘some…others’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri, -ri (also re)</td>
<td>‘one, each’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tʰamte? and k’öle, 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 te³a:le, k’o:m and mänte=ita? (of which I have only noun-modifying examples), are below illustrated in the same order that they occur in Table 6.3.

(6.30)  བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱི་ལོག་པ་འབྲུག་པའི་ལས་འབོད་བཞི་བོད་

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tʰamte?=ki odem=tei? nò:sam tò:-botce sè-na</th>
<th>all=AGT like.that=INDF thought send-COND say-COND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

‘If all think like that…’ (DR discussion with KL)

241 This written form given by consultant KUN is surprising in that it suggests pronunciation as ts‘aŋki rather than dzaŋki.
Note that in (6.32) màṅteʰ’iko? is followed by an appositional, explanatory noun. As a modifier màṅteʰ’iko? would typically follow the noun.

At that time, only some, because they were doing recitation at monasteries, seemed to be a bit exempted (from labour duty) by the thikadar-rulers.’ (CY interview)
6.38.  

I have heard a few people around Tashiding use that word.' (KN e)

6.39.  

Some call it (=rice kernel) [rɛ]; others call it [bja].' (PL interview)

6.40.  

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 ínam (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 ínam > k’an nám > k’ajem > k’ëm.

6.41.  

1) Murai, (‘puffed rice’ in Nepali) we call that, whatever, /bajoʔ/.' (PL interview)

2) ‘When he had done that whatever, received that whatever, received the axe…’ (JDF axe story)

6.3.2 Indefinite reference with question words

Meanings equivalent to such English indefinite expressions as whoever, anyone, wherever, anywhere, whatever and anything are formed with the help of question words. In affirmative clauses, conveying meanings of the type ‘whoever’, ‘wherever’ and ‘whatever’, the questions word is supplemented with a concessive equative form ŝunu ‘EQU-CONC’, see Table 6.4. Meanings which are semantically the polar opposites of meanings such as ‘someone’,

242 According to consultant KT, this word should be sūjo ཐེ་ཤེ་.
‘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 =jãː ‘even’ and an obligatory negated verb, see Table 6.5.

Table 6.4. Affirmative indefinite reference with question words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Word</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k’an ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>kʼan ī.ruŋ=ɜtʔ</td>
<td>‘whatever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ar(e) ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>kʼar(ɛ) ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>‘whatever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’adi ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>kʼadi ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>‘whichever, whoever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>ɡa ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>‘whoever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nám(lo) ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>nám(lo) ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>‘whenever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ana ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>kʼana ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>‘wherever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’atem ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>kʼatem ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>‘what ever kind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ate p’ja(ti ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>kʼate p’ja(ti ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>‘however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ambja ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>kʼambja ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>‘for whatever reason (“whyever”)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’adzo ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>kʼadzo ī.ruŋ</td>
<td>‘however many’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5. Negated indefinite reference with question words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Word</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k’an(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʼan(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anything (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’amo(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʼamo(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anything (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’adi(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʼadi(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘any(one) (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka(=jãː)</td>
<td>ka(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anyone (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nám(lo)(=jãː)</td>
<td>nám(lo)(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘ever (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ana(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʼana(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anywhere (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ate(m/p)(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʼate(m/p)(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘any kind (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ate p’jati=jang</td>
<td>kʼate p’jati=jang</td>
<td>‘anyhow (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’an p’jati=jang</td>
<td>kʼan p’jati=jang</td>
<td>‘for any reason (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’adzo(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʼadzo(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘any number of (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’and(e)(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʼand(e)(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anything (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’are(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʼare(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anything (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As suggested by Table 6.4 and Table 6.5, the concessive form ī.ruŋ is obligatory in the affirmative constructions, whereas the formative =jãː 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’ar ī.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) kʼan ī.ruŋ=tɛtʔ tʰ-em-bateene

This form also occurs as ɡang-rung, with pronunciation [kʼar.ruŋ].

The shorter form kʼambja=jang: was deemed infelicitous by consultant KN. The clitic =jang: is obligatory.

---

243 This form also occurs as ɡang-rung, with pronunciation [k’ar.ruŋ].
244 The shorter form kʼambja=jang: was deemed infelicitous by consultant KN. The clitic =jang: is obligatory.
However many hundreds and thousands it is, it is more than three thousand.

(KT discussion with TB)

‘noble or fool/poor, whatever (you) are like’

(KT life story)

‘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:

‘All relatives, elder brother, elder sister, grandfather, middle-man whatever (relative) is there’ (LA intro to Lachung)

The negated clauses, both with or without the clitic =jãː are illustrated in (6.47-54).

‘there being no chance of doing anything’ (Richhi 159)

‘In the sky, there aren’t clouds anywhere.’ (Richhi 151)
The general interrogative k’a: ‘what, where, why’ is used as a component of the following expressions which appear to have lexicalized:

(6.55)  
\[ k’a:−jo? \quad \text{‘whatever (there is)’ (lit. what-EX.PER)} \]  
\[ k’a:−ṭop \quad \text{‘wherever’ (lit. where-find)} \]  
\[ k’a-sa-k’a=lo \quad \text{‘wherever’ (lit. what-ground-where=DAT)} \]
These three words are illustrated below. Note that in the written Denjongke sources these expressions are written as one word.

(6.56) 

tsoko k’a:-jo? te’h-fu:=tsu=na lúk-o=le

carbage what-EX.PER water-canal=PL=LOC pour-2INF=ABL

‘when whatever carbage is poured into water canals...’ (Class 8 textbook 23)

(6.57) 

kjak-kim k’a:- póp zo.

faeces-house what-find make

‘Toilets are built wherever (without consideration).’ (Class 8 textbook 23)

(6.58) 

k’asak’alo gju-ruŋ=ra...

wherever go-CONC=AEMPH

‘Wherever (we) go...’ (song lyrics)

6.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic words which define a person, object or location in terms of its spatial relationship to the speaker. Demonstratives may be pronouns, pro-adjectives and pro-adverbs. Denjongke demonstratives occur both independently and as noun modifiers. The roots from which demonstrative expressions are formed are listed in Table 6.6. The roots that usually do not occur independently (except as homonyms having a different meaning) are marked with a hyphen. For instance, the distal marker ó- does not usually occur independently but has to be complemented by another element, e.g. ódi ‘that’, óna ‘there’, ókʰa ‘there’.

Occasionally, and exclusively in spoken language, ó- occurs by itself or with the plural marker =tsu as ó=tsu ‘they’, which is an alternative for the more frequent ódi=tsu ‘they’.

Table 6.6. Demonstrative roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>proximal, ‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>emphatic proximal, ‘this right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó-</td>
<td>distal, ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā:</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰou, pʰi-</td>
<td>‘over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jòu, jì-</td>
<td>‘up (there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múu, mi-</td>
<td>‘down (there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰa(ː)</td>
<td>‘over there, thither, on the other side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰu(ː)</td>
<td>‘here, hither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zen</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nàː ‘here’), dative-locative case marker =lo or the less productive locational suffix -kʰa, see Table 6.7. Reduplication (e.g. pʰoːpʰouna ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Derived object</th>
<th>Derived location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>emphatic proximal</td>
<td>dodi ‘this right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>proximal</td>
<td>di ‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó-</td>
<td>distal</td>
<td>ódi ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nà:</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>nà=di ‘the one here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰou,</td>
<td>‘over there’</td>
<td>pʰou=di, pʰidi ‘that over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰi-</td>
<td>‘up (there)’</td>
<td>jódì, jìdi ‘that up there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mòu,</td>
<td>‘down (there)’</td>
<td>mòdi, mìdi ‘that down there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mì-</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
<td>zen=di ‘the other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives occur as pre-nominal (6.59) and post-nominal (6.60) noun modifiers but are also used independently (6.61). Whereas this section focuses on independent uses, pre-nominal and post-nominal uses as noun-modifiers are more fully discussed in §4.1.2.1 and §4.1.3.4 respectively.

(6.59) བོད་ལ་ནི་དཔོན་ཐོང་བུད། བོད་ལ་དཔོན་ཐོང་བུད་ཀྱི་ཐོང་མཁན་ཇི་བེད་ལ། བོད་ལ་དཔོན་ཐོང་བུད་ཀྱི་ཐོང་མཁན་ཇི་བེད་ལ།
‘But those who came to Sikkim had that document.’ (CY interview)

(6.60) བོད་ལ་དཔོན་ཐོང་བུད་ཀྱི་ཐོང་མཁན་ཇི་བེད་ལ།
‘…in that poem…’ (KL BLA 12)

(6.61) བོད་ལ་དཔོན་ཐོང་བུད་ཀྱི་ཐོང་མཁན་ཇི་བེད་ལ།
‘That is important.’ (KL BLA 12)
Some of the above-mentioned deictic forms are exemplified in (6.62-6.71).

(6.62) འདོདོ་ འདི་ བྔོ་ཙོ་ཙུ་ ཉལ་ས།
\[dodi=d\] \[potso=tsu nê:-sa.\]
this.right.here=DEMPH child=PL sleep-place
‘This right here (is) the children’s sleeping place.’ (PD altar room video)

(6.63) རྐྱབས་ འདི་ཁ་ལས་ ལན་ བྱི༹ན་ དགྔོས་མཁན་
\[te pʰou=le\] \[kjap dikʰa=le\] \[lên p’in go:-kʰèː\]
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་ ཨྔོ་ཁ་ལས་ ,
\[rɛ̀-rɛ\] \[ókʰa=l\]
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 \[nàː\], 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 \textit{place} instead of the deictic here (*‘in the old lady’s here’ > ‘old lady’s place’).

(6.65) a) ང་ འབག་ ཤྔོག་ ཉ།
\[nàː\] \[bak òː=ɲ\]
here carry come TAG.ASR
‘Bring (it) here, eh.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

b) ཡུལ་ ཡུལ་ མོ་ རོལ་ རྐྱབས་ འདི་ཁ་ལས་ ལན་ བྱི༹ན་ དགྔོས་མཁན་
\[nàkʰa=lo\] \[k’ambja òm-bo?\]
here=DAT why come-2INF
‘Why did you come here?’ (rna-gsung 6)

c) ཤྔོན་ འབག་ ཤྔོག་ ཉ།
\[ŋà\] \[t’ariŋ \textit{ána}^{249}=gi nàkʰa=lo=rāː\]
1SG today old.lady=GEN here=DAT=A EMPH stay-3INF
‘Today I will indeed stay in the grandmother’s (=your) place.’ (rna-gsung 7)

In addition to taking a modifier, \[nàː\] itself can function as a modifier meaning ‘the one here’, as shown in (6.66):

(6.66) དཀརྩམ་ རྐྱབས་ འདི་ཁ་ལས་ ལན་ བྱི༹ན་ དགྔོས་མཁན་
\[karma, teʰo? [nàː ójì=lo]\]
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)

---

^{249} In kinship terms, \textit{ána} refers to maternal grandparent’s brother’s wife, see §17.2.
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) \(pʰou=di\) \(cɪŋ\) \(pʰidi=lo\) \(áru\) 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) \(jina\) \(dem\) \(sɪmteː=t\) \(du\).

up.there like.that animal=INDF EX.SEN-IN

‘Up there, there is some type of an animal.’ (UU Deer story)

(6.69) \(nàɲiː\) \(zoɲiː\) \(te\) \(jʊi=na\) \(ŋate\) ədi gɑː…

last.year two.years.ago so up.there=LOC 1PL that time

‘When we were up there last year or the year before…’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

(6.70) \(mó:mou=lo\) \(gɪmʊ=lo\) \(t'ɑː\) \(lɡkʰaː\) \(sό?\) \(keː=du=co\).

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) \(kɪsa\) \(tei-kʰa=lo\), \(ɲɛ̌sa\) \(zɐŋkʰa=lo\).

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dodem</td>
<td>(kɪsa) (tei-kʰa=lo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de:, dem, dep</td>
<td>(kɪsa), (tei-kʰa=lo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óde:, ódem, ódep</td>
<td>(kɪsa), (tei-kʰa=lo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
A further indication that cataphoric reference is accomplished through proximal demonstratives is given by the cataphoric use of the proximal \textit{di} in (6.74).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{di}=j\text{\textbar}a: s\text{\textbar}n-z\text{\textbar}e.  
\item \textit{di} \text{\textbar}=j\text{\textbar}a: s\text{\textbar}n-z\text{\textbar}e.  
\end{itemize}

Denjongke has further two demonstrative roots, \textit{tsʰu(ː)} ‘closer to the speaker, towards the speaker, hither’ and \textit{pʰa(ː)} ‘(further) away from the speaker, thither’, which express both location and direction. They are often combined as \textit{pʰa:tsʰu} ‘hither and thither, here and there’, see (6.29) above. The demonstratives \textit{tsʰu(ː)} and \textit{pʰa(ː)} do not have separate forms which refer to objects/persons. Genitival modifying constructions are used instead, e.g. \textit{tsʰu}=le=gi jun\text{\textbar}ku [closer.to.the.speaker=ABL=GEN pen] ‘the pen that is closer (to me/us)’.

\textbf{6.5 Summary remarks}

This chapter discussed deixis and indirect reference in Denjongke. It was shown that second person pronouns exhibit a three-way distinction in politeness (ordinary vs. mid-level vs. honorific), while third person pronouns have a two-way distinction (ordinary vs. honorific). The difference between masculine and feminine ordinary 3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular forms is neutralized in the honorific register. A typologically interesting pronominal feature was seen to be the fact that Denjongke, unlike many Tibetic languages, does not make a clusivity (exclusive vs. inclusive) distinction in first person plural pronouns.

The section on indefinite reference showed that Denjongke uses question words to express affirmative concepts such as ‘whatever’ and ‘whoever’ and negated concepts such as ‘nothing/not anything’, no one/not anyone’. In the first case (affirmative), the question word is accompanied by a concessive form of the equative copula. In the second case (negated), the question word is accompanied by the clitic \textit{=j\text{\textbar}a} ‘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 \textit{dodi} ‘this right here’ and the less emphatically deictic \textit{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. This “typologically unusual” category (DeLancey 2018: 9), which forms a system with other more typically evidential categories such as the sensorial evidential, has received different responses from linguists. Lapolla and Tournadre (2014: 241) broaden the definition of evidentiality in order to subsume the Lhasa Tibetan category egophoric within the redefined definition of evidentiality. DeLancey (2018), on the other hand, specifically states that “[t]he Tibetic Egophoric category is not part of the evidential system”. Gawne (2013: 152) prefers the term “modality” to “evidentiality” as a cover term for copula distinctions in Yolmo in order to accommodate ego copulas within the same general descriptive category with other copulas. All of the above-mentioned scholars seem to agree that the definition of evidentiality as being simply concerned with information source is not applicable to the category ego(phoric)/personal in Tibetic languages.

Because the copulas function as a system and therefore receive part of their meaning in relation to other copulas, I find it useful to refer to all the copula categories with the same general term. For this pragmatic reason, I here adopt Lapolla and Tournadre’s (2014: 240) definition of evidentiality as “the representation of source and access to information according to the speaker’s perspective and strategy”. This definition subsumes within evidentiality the category ego(phoric)/personal.

7.2 Simple copulas

Simple copulas consist of the basic copula forms, see Table 7.1, and two additional forms, which have copular uses. The two additional forms are the verb őː ‘come’, which has

250 Although I find the term “personal” helpful for describing Denjongke, it needs to be kept in mind that Hill (2012: 391) applies the term “personal” to Lhasa Tibetan, in which the category functions, as will be shown in this chapter, differently from Denjongke.
existential functions (see §7.2.5.1) and the reportative =lo, which may function as a reportative equative by substituting the typical equative copula ḩ: or be? (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 (ĩ̃́ː/mè/du in WD) w̃bo bõ, see §10.1.3.2.

Table 7.1. Basic copulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EQ</td>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>(indu?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḩ/mè?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḩ/mènä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḩ/mènä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EX</td>
<td>ḩ/mè?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḩ/mènä</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (ĩ̃́ː/mè: and be?/mèbe?) 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 ḩ: ḩ/mè (neg. mè: ḩ/mè), 2) the personal existential ḩ/mè? ḩ/mè (neg. mè? mè), 3) the sensorial existential ḩ/mènä ḩ/mènä (neg. mènä mènä), which can also be used, perhaps surprisingly, for past equation/identification, 4) the evidentially neutral be? ḩ/mè (neg. mèbe? ḩ/mè), which is basically equative but also has some existential type of uses, 5) the apparentative ḩ:re:, which is a merger of qa be? ‘be like’, and 6) neutral existential ḩ/mènä ḩ/mènä, which is given in brackets, because it is an abbreviation of the complex copula ḩ/mènä ḩ/mènä, which is introduced later in §7.2.2.1. Whereas the copulas ḩ/mè and be? are clearly distinct from ordinary verbs in that they do not inflect for tense, aspect and mood (e.g. present habitual *du-k’en be?, *be-k’en be?), the personal copulas ḩ: and ḩ/mè can form many of the same constructions as the ordinary verbs (e.g. present habitual ĩ̃́ː/mènä ḩ/mènä, jõ: ke’ k’en be?).

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 ḩ: and ḩ/mè express the speaker’s personal knowledge. The knowledge is considered personal either because the speaker already possesses it (in contrast to recently acquired knowledge marked by sensorial copulas) or because the referent of the proposition is present at the time of speaking (in contrast to neutral copulas, which are used for spatiotemporal grounding). Moreover, in nominalized expressions ending in ḩ: “personalness” may be realized as the speaker’s emotional involvement (see §7.3.2.2). In addition, ḩ: is associated with performing a

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251 This form is homophonic and homographic (in WD) with the nominalized form mèm-bo used in such expression as mèm-bo be? ‘is/was not’. Some writers prefer to write the affirmed form ḩ/mè ‘bo instead of ḩ: bo.

252 This is an innovative WD form deriving from the full disyllabic ḩ: bo.
type of speech act of identification, whereas be? 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. 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 ĭː and joʔ, 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 joʔ). When used as an auxiliary, duʔ has overtones of momentariness (contra continuation implied by joʔ). 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 beʔ, on the other hand, does not refer to a sensory experience as duʔ, and lacks the cognitive assimilation and spatiotemporal proximity implied by ĭː/ joʔ. 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 beʔ. 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 beʔ. When beʔ syntactically overlaps with the sensorial duʔ, the use of beʔ signifies that the proposition is generally asserted without reference to a specific sensory experience. It can be used, for instance, when the speaker and the addressee share the same visual experience at the moment of speech, and, therefore, it would be redundant for the speaker to use an evidential to make explicit how the information was received. According to DeLancey (2018: 17), the basic meaning of Lhasa Tibetan “factual” (analogous to Denjongke “neutral”) “is simply the absence of any specification of source of knowledge”. The same can be said of Denjongke, and thus the term “neutral” is adopted. The term “neutral” should not and cannot be understood as a typological category that could be applied as such to other languages. Its meaning derives from the Denjongle system where neutrality is defined as absence of sensorialness and personalness.

In the following subsections, the copulas marking the three basic evidential distinctions, personal (§7.2.1), sensorial (§7.2.2) and neutral (§7.2.3) are discussed separately. The section on neutral copulas provides summarizing, comparative examples. This is followed by a brief description of the apparentive equative (§7.2.4). The reportative =lo and the verb õː ‘come’, which both have copular uses, are addressed last (§7.2.5).

7.2.1 Personal copulas
The personal knowledge expressed by the personal copulas may mean that 1) the proposition in question is evidentially based on their old, existing knowledge, 2) that the referent of the proposition is spatiotemporally proximate to the speaker or 3) the speaker is emotionally

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253 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).
254 Hein’s (2001 :43) defines Tabo/Spiti Tibetan category “speaker’s unspecified knowledge” very similarly to Denjonke “neutral”.
255 See Hill (2013) for contextual semantics of Lhasa Tibetan.
involved in the event. The last sense has been attested only with īː as the final copula of nominalized constructions. The first two senses are expressed by both personal copulas īː and jòʔ. There is, however, a difference in that īː seems to primarily convey spatiotemporal proximity, whereas jòʔ expresses more clearly both old knowledge and spatiotemporal proximity. The reason for this difference between īː and jòʔ seems to be that the semantics of the personal copulas are affected by the other copulas they evidentially contrast with.

Because jòʔ in its ELPA-functions contrasts with both the sensorial duʔ and the neutral nominalized copula construction jò-po beʔ/جيب, it has developed semantics in opposition to both of these contrastive copulas. The focus on the speaker’s old, already existing (and hence personal) knowledge arises from the opposition to duʔ, which makes reference to a specific, usually recent knowledge-acquiring event. The sense of spatiotemporal proximity (“here and now”), on the other hand, arises from the contrast with the neutral nominalized construction jò-po beʔ/جيب, which is used for spatiotemporal backgrounding (“there and then”, similarly to mere beʔ).

The equative personal copula īː, in contrast, lacks a contrastive sensorial equative (the marginal combinatory sensorial equative induʔ, see §7.3.1, does not contrast with īː in most contexts) and therefore the semantics of īː, focusing on spatiotemporal proximity, are mainly affected by its contrast with the neutral, spatiotemporally backgrounding beʔ. Nevertheless, as shown in §7.2.1.1, a case can be made for īː also making reference to the speaker’s already existing knowledge. In addition to the above three senses, īː is associated with a type of speech act of identification, as is shown in §7.2.3.

### 7.2.1.1 Personal equative īː

In equation, the personal īː contrasts frequently with the neutral beʔ (§7.2.3) and marginally with the sensorial induʔ (§7.2.2). In attributive sentences, īː contrasts with the neutral beʔ, the personal jòʔ (§7.2.1.2), the sensorial duʔ and the neutral jèbbe? (from jò-po beʔ) (§7.3.2.1).

In equative sentences such as (7.1) and (7.2), it is usually not obvious that īː would mark older knowledge than beʔ, because both sentences could be used as soon as the knowledge is gained. The difference is rather characterized in terms of the presence or absence of the referent, the referent being present in (7.1) and absent in (7.2) (see also §7.1.3).

(7.1)  
\[
\text{kʰoŋ}=\text{gi} \quad \text{miŋ} \quad \text{tʃe}\text{riŋ} \quad \text{īː}. \\
\]  
3SG.HON=GEN name Tshering EQU
‘His name is Tshering.’

(7.2)  
\[
\text{kʰoŋ}=\text{gi} \quad \text{miŋ} \quad \text{tʃe}\text{riŋ} \quad \text{beʔ}. \\
\]  
3SG.HON=GEN name Tshering EQU
‘His name is Tshering.’

In attributive sentences such as (7.3) and (7.4), however, the difference of īː and beʔ with reference to integration of knowledge becomes clearer.

(7.3)  
\[
\text{kʰu} \quad \text{gja}:\text{nam} \quad \text{īː}. \\
\]  
3SGM fat EQU.PER
‘He is (a) fat (one).’

(7.4)  
\[
\text{kʰu} \quad \text{gja}:\text{nam} \quad \text{beʔ}. \\
\]  
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.\footnote{256}

The semantic difference between personal ʰi̍́ and neutral ʰɛʔ is also seen when the copula is followed by the (clausal) attention marker =ɕo, which may mark a proposition as attention-worthy either to the speaker or to the addressee (see §16.2.2). When used with the personal copula ʰi̍́, which marks integrated knowledge, =ɕo marks the information in the proposition as attention-worthy to the addressee, not to the speaker. For an example, see (7.5).

\begin{align*}
\text{(7.5) } & ʰkʰoŋ=gi \quad p'u \quad ʰi̍́=ɕo. \\
& \text{1PL} \quad \text{3SG.HON=GEN} \quad \text{son} \quad \text{EQU.PER=AT} \\
& \text{‘I’m actually his son (which you don’t seem to know).’ (PT e)}
\end{align*}

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 ʰɛʔ, on the other hand, =ɕo may mark the proposition attention-worthy either to the speaker (7.6) or to the addressee (7.7).

\begin{align*}
\text{(7.6) } & ʱjá: \quad ʰoni=laː=tsu \quad ʰɛ=ɕo. \\
& \text{Oh} \quad \text{child=HON=PL} \quad \text{EQU.NE=AT} \\
& \text{‘Oh, it’s the children.’ (Richhi 25)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(7.7) } & ˡaːp-kʰɛ́ \quad t’ond=tʰi di \quad ʰɛ=ɕo. \\
& \text{say=NMLZ} \quad \text{meaning=DEMPH} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{EQU.NE=AT} \\
& \text{‘The meaning of the (afore)said is this.’ (JDF axe story)}
\end{align*}

The proposition in (7.6) is accompanied by an exclamation to underline the noteworthy character of the information about the comers’ identity to the speaker. In (7.7), in contrast, the speaker draws, by the use of =ɕo, the addressee’s attention to the fact that he is going to tell the main teaching of his pedagogical story. The fact that with ʰi̍́=ɕo attention-worthiness is addressee-oriented but with ʰɛ=ɕo either speaker or addressee-oriented suggests that ʰi̍́ is a marker of old, already existing knowledge, whereas ʰɛʔ is neutral with respect to when and how the information was acquired.

The copula ʰi̍́ (as also ʰɛʔ) co-occurs with any of the first, second or third person pronouns, see (7.8), showing that the “personal” semantics of ʰi̍́ have not been grammaticalized into a syntactic requirement for the first person to appear with ʰi̍́ 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 ʰi̍́ and ʰɛʔ is discussed in §7.2.3.

\footnote{256 The difference in choosing ʰɛʔ rather than ʰduʔ is addressed in §7.2.3.}
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 བོད་ ‘earlier’ enforces a past interpretation of the sentence with མི་:

(7.9) བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་

3SG=DEMPH earlier anything understand-NEG-understand-NMLZ person=INDF མི་:

EQU.PER

‘Earlier I was a man who didn’t understand anything.’ (KT life-story)

When used with an adjectival argument, as in (7.10) and (7.11), the use of the equative copula མི་: implies that the adjective expresses a defining or identifying characteristic of the nominal it is linked with.

(7.10) བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་

1SG=DEMPH need.to-2INF important EQU.PER

‘It is important to understand that.’ (Richhi 7)

(7.11) བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་

1SG=DEMPH child all=ABL excellent EQU.PER good EQU.PER

‘My child is the most excellent one (lit. excellent from all), a good one.’ (RBM story of my son)

The negative form of མི་: is usually མི་:, but in the constructions given in (7.12) and (7.13), མི་: occurs with the negator prefix མ་-.

(7.12) བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་

red NEG-EQU-2INF do-NF a.bit blue-green ‘not being red, a bit blue-green’ (KN e)

(7.13) བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་

red NEG-EQU-CIRC a.bit blue-green ‘not being red, a bit blue-green’ (KN e)

More examples of མི་: are found in §7.2.3, where མི་: is contrasted with བེ་? and the other copulas. The use of མི་: as the final copula of nominalized constructions is addressed in §7.3.2.2.
7.2.1.2 Personal existential jò?

Similar to üː, the personal existential copula jò? codes the speaker’s already existing knowledge (contra sensorially acquired knowledge marked by du?) and spatiotemporal proximity (contra spatiotemporally backrounding nominalized copulas, e.g. jò-po be?/jèbè?). 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 be?/jèbè? and jò:-k’en be?, which are discussed in §7.3.2.1.

The type of knowledge coded by jò? is illustrated by (§4).

(7.14) kʰu=i=gi baik=di lèpti màla? jò?.
3SGM=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). 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? refers merely to the knowledge state of the speaker, not to any event where the knowledge was gained.

Example (7.15), taken from Bhaichung Tschudarpo’s novel Ricchi, shows how the author of a novel may use personal forms by virtue of having personal knowledge because he has created the characters and the storyline.

(7.15) nùp qøndzon=gi sòmbare mèŋkʰà:=na mèmpo karma jò?
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 jò? is dependent on the context. This is illustrated in (7.16), in which jò? 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).

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257 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.

258 (7.14) kʰu=i=gi baik=di lèpti màla? jò?
he.GEN motorbike-DEF very fast EXPER
‘His motorbike is very fast.’ (Kyirong, Huber 2002: 138)

259 The novel Richhi also quite systematically uses the personal auxiliary construction VERB-po üː rather than the neutral VERB-po be? 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).
Example (7.16) implies either that the speaker is Bill Gate’s friend and so personally knows about his wealth (contra sensorial duʔ) or that Bill Gates is present at the time of speaking (contra neutral jèbbieʔ).

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).

According to van Driem (1998: 136), second person attributive sentences with the Dzongkha copula འཇོ་ (cognate of Denjongke jòʔ) are not allowed. Instead, འདུག་ (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 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.

It is a well-known phenomenon in Tibetic languages that when forming questions speakers do not evidentially base their copula choice on their own knowledge but on the anticipated knowledge of the addressee (cf. Tournadre’s [2008: 296, 300] “rule of anticipation” in Standard Tibetan, see also Hyslop [2014] for the same in non-Tibetic Kurtöp). For Denjongke, this is illustrated in the question and answer pairs (7.19) and (19.20), where the use of the personal copula in the question does not reflect the speaker’s own knowledge state but their estimation of the addressee’s knowledge state.

(7.16) Bill Gates ལ་ ནེས་པ་ མ་ཆེན།

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)

(7.17) དུ་/ཉུ་ རྒྱགས་ནམ་ ནུ་

kʰu/ŋʔaʔ/tʃoʔ gja:nam jòʔ 3SGM/1SG/?2SG.L fat EX.PER

‘He is fat. / I am fat. / ?You are fat.’

(7.19) a) འཇོ་ སུང་ བར་་?

ηám jòʔ-ka?
sugar EX.PER-PQ

‘Is there sugar?’

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7.2.2 Sensorial copula duʔ

The discussion here is divided into existential uses of duʔ (§7.2.2.1), which form the great majority of cases, and past equative uses (§7.2.2.2). The last sections describes the intensifier suffix -kɛ, which may attach to duʔ (§7.2.2.3).

7.2.2.1 Existential uses of duʔ

The use of the sensorial existential duʔ indicates that the proposition is evidentially based on a specific, most often recent or current event that the speaker has sensorially (not necessarily visually) attested. Information expressed through the personal evidentials is also first acquired sensorially, but later with time and/or repeated exposure the knowledge becomes so assimilated that no reference to a specific event needs to be made (similarly Gawne [2013: 203] on Yolmo). Whereas jɔʔ conveys that the speaker’s knowledge state has existed before (“I already know”), duʔ implies that the knowledge was recently acquired (“I came to know”). The neutral beʔ, on the other hand, marks a proposition non-committed as to the type of knowledge. Whereas beʔ is used when the speaker and the addressee share a sensorial experience, duʔ is primarily used when the addressee does not share the sensorial experience with the speaker.

Because duʔ often refers to a recent event where knowledge was acquired, it can gain overtones of “newness” or “mirativity” (DeLancey 1997). The overtones of newness in the cognates of this copula in other Tibetan languages have been reported, among others, by Bielmeier (2000: 104), Denwood (1999: 123), Hongladarom (2007: 29) and Huber (2002: 139). It should be noted, however, that “newness” does not necessarily entail “unexpectedness/surprise” (Zeisler 2000: 40). Hill (2012) argues for the basic meaning of duʔ in Standard Tibetan being sensorial rather than mirative. Although the use of duʔ in Denjongke often implies recently acquired knowledge, Denjongke has a separate attention marker =ɛo that can be attached even to the sensory evidential duʔ (du:=ɛo) to emphasize the...
attention-worthiness (caused by surprise, counterexpectation, sudden realization etc.) of the information either to the speaker or to the addressee (see examples [7.22] and [7.27]). Although duʔ may have some undercurrents of newness, the Denjongke language system does not appear to grammaticalize any “surprise” value with duʔ.

The implied momentariness of duʔ, in contrast to the permanence suggested by jòʔ, is especially seen when the two copulas are used as auxiliaries. In auxiliary uses with the progressive zɛː, both kʰu jòʔ p’ja-zen duʔ ‘He was working’ and kʰu jòʔ p’ja-zê: jòʔ ‘He is working’ could be said in a situation where the speaker does not see the man working at the moment of speech. Choosing the option with duʔ implies that the speaker recently saw the referent working, but is agnostic as to whether the referent is still working at the moment of speech (hence the past translation). The option with jòʔ, however, implies the speaker’s personal knowledge that the action still continues at the time of speech (hence the present translation).

Examples (7.21-34) illustrate the evidential semantics of duʔ. First, consider (7.21), a question where the speaker has to make an estimate of the addressees’ state of knowledge.

(7.21) སངས་འདུག་ཀི།
ŋám du-ka?
sugar EX.SEN-PQ
‘Is there (any) sugar?’

In (7.21), the speaker assumes that the addressee is not in personal possession of the knowledge asked for, i.e. that the addressee may have to look around right then to find out whether there is sugar. In (7.19) above, on the other hand, where the copula jòʔ is used instead of duʔ in the otherwise identical sentence, the speaker assumes that the addressee already has assimilated knowledge on the availability of sugar and can answer the question without searching.

In light of what was said above, example (7.22) seems at first sight anomalous.

(7.22) a) མེད་ནི་སྣེ་ལུགས་འདུག་ཀི།
te′ʔ’ bjav-bo=lo. du-ka?
2SG.L cow disappear-2INF=REP EX.SEN-PQ
‘Your cow is said to have disappeared. Is it (here)?’

b) བདུན་འདུག་ཀེ།
du-ke=eo.
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 =eo in B’s answer expresses the speaker’s surprise, indicated by the old-fashioned exclamation ‘why’ in the translation.260

260 Consultants KT and KUN commented that the question du-ka in (7.22a) has the meaning “Did you find it?”. KT and KUN considered the context of (7.22) strange or surprising.
The contrast of \textit{du}? and \textit{jø̀}? 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) \textit{tsʰa tʰop-ka?}
\textit{salt find-PQ}
‘Is there (any) salt?’

(7.24) \textit{mè?}
\textit{NEG.EX.PER}
‘No, there isn’t.’

(7.25) \textit{mìndu?}
\textit{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 (\textit{mè?} is the negative of \textit{jø̀}?), or (7.25), if he is not sure from the outset but finds out whether there is salt by looking around (\textit{mìndu?} is the negative of \textit{du}?).

In the above examples, \textit{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 \textit{du}? in which the sensory experience happened in more distant past.

(7.26) \textit{kʰõːɲíː-} \textit{mù=}_{i} \textit{kʰim=na \text{lep}-\text{øː} \text{gā:} \text{mù}}
\textit{3PL two-COL 3SG=GEN house=LOC reach-2INF GEN time 3SGF}
‘When the two of them reached the house, she wasn’t

\textit{min-du?}
\textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{du}? and a rare instance of \textit{du}? being used of the first person (see for instance Denwood [1999: 123] for similar examples from Lhasa Tibetan).

(7.27) \textit{dãː ŋàː ŋílam=}_{tɕi} \textit{tʰõː-} \textit{ɕɛ ŋílam=na ŋà}
\textit{yesterday 1SG dream=INDF see-PFV dream=LOC 1SG}
‘Yesterday I saw a dream. In the dream I was
Usually information about oneself is by definition personal, and hence marked by \( \text{i}: \) and \( \text{jô}? \), 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 \( \text{du}? \) can be used when talking about oneself. The copula is here followed by the attention marker \( =\text{eo}, \) 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 \( \text{du}? \) as copula indicates either that the speaker does not expect his addressees to have definite knowledge about the whereabouts of the pillow or that he is speaking to himself.

(7.28)  
\[
gâ³la⁶ sâcg¹ bək̂al⁷, bək̂al⁷ sâcg¹ bək̂al⁷, sâcg¹ bək̂al⁷ bək̂al⁷ bək̂al⁷?
k’al⁷? k’al⁷? dzy⁷, dık̂a⁷ giap ʔ?, kolo, ʔa:bǎo: k’ana \text{du}?? \\
slowly slowly enter here back press EXCLAM pillow where EX.SEN  \\
‘Come in slowly, slowly. Lean (your) back here. Hey, where is the pillow?’  \\
(mam-rtog 21)
\]

In (7.29), a doctor is examining a patient’s X-ray pictures and comments on them:

(7.29)  
\[
lóʔ\text{par}=\text{ki}  níŋpó  lëptí  lëm  \text{du}?.
\]
\[
X\text{-ray}=\text{GEN}  \text{essence}  \text{very.much}  \text{good}  \text{EX.SEN} \\
‘The results of the X-ray look very good.’  \\
(Richhi 29)
\]

In (7.29) the doctor who looks at the X-ray pictures uses \( \text{du}? \) probably either because the addressee(s) cannot see what he sees or cannot interpret what they see as he can. The sensorial \( \text{du}? \) 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 \( \text{be}? \) is more likely used.

Although information coded by \( \text{du}? \) 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)  
\[
pank̂a⁶  ály?  \text{du}?.
\]

outside cat EX.SEN  
‘There’s a cat outside (as I heard it meowing).’

(7.31)  
\[
di  sǎtym  cimpu  \text{du}?.
\]

this curry delicious EX.SEN  
‘This curry is delicious (as I can taste).’
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) uncle=AGT NEG-hear-INF long.ago.GEN old.man=PL=AGT
‘Hasn’t the uncle heard?’ The elders of old (used to say):

“If (your) child is to take a wife, make a kachung-plate.”

So there is indeed an old tradition stating that “kachung” is the sign of

Although the speaker of (7.34) probably has known the information for a long time, he cannot use the personal *jò?* here because that would imply that he was present himself at the time when the tradition was formed. Because it is not possible to gain personal knowledge of such a historically oriented word as “tradition”, the speaker uses sensorial *du?*, which makes reference to the event(s) in which he has gained the information. An alternative for using *du?* would be to background the handing down of information by using one of the evidentially neutral nominalized construction *jò-po be/jebb?* or *jò-k’en 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) ثارitative, may be used for past equation even when the

ñas lóptu? im-bo: kap=lo bhandari=di hàtei=gi tsotei
1SG student EQU.PER-2INF.GEN time=DAT PN=DEMPH 1PL.GEN=GEN chief
lémpu du-ke=co.
minister EX.SEN-INT=AT
‘When I was a student, Bhandari was our Chief Minister, you know.’(KN e)

(7.36) ཡིག, ཆུང་ ཤེས་ མགྲོག་ རྗུད་ ལེགས་ ཕེ་ སྐྱེས་ རྗུད་ ལེགས་ ཚེ་ སྐྱེས་ རྗུད་ སྐེ་ སྐེ་ ཐེ་ སྐེ་ སྐེ་ ཐེ་ སྐེ

pema, te^o? lóptu? im-bo: kap=lo=di hàtei tsotei
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 jo? (jò-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) འེར་, ཡིག་ རྗུད་ ཤེས་ གཅིག་ རྗུད་ ལེགས་ ཚེ་ གཅིག་ ཕེ་ སྐྱེས་ རྗུད་ ཚེ་ སྐྱེས་ རྗུད་ སྐེ་ སྐེ་ ཐེ་ སྐེ

are, nà pêma te^ilo ni:tò: zi=na nà: jò-po: gà:
EXCLAM(Nep.) 1SG earlier year 2000 four=LOC here EX-2INF.GEN time
ódeteika=jà: pawan tsamling=ra du=co.
that.time=too PN PN=AMEPH EX.SEN=AT
‘Wow, when I was earlier here in 2004, at that time too (it) was (the same) Pawan
Chamling (as Chief Minister).’ (KN e)

Similar to present uses, past equative du? marks recently acquired sensory information. It
may be used when expressing information about things and other persons than oneself (7.38a)
but not when the speaker conveys information about oneself (7.38b).

(7.38) a) ལེགས་ ི་ རྗུད་ སྐེ་ ཉོ་ སྐེ་ ཐེ་ སྐེ

pêma i’a te^o? minj pỳnts^o? duk=co.
earlier now 2SG.L name PN EX.SEN=AT
‘But earlier your name was Phuntsö!’ (KN e)

b) *ལེགས་ ི་ རྗུད་ སྐེ་ ཉོ་ སྐེ

*pñenle=ra pê: minj pỳnts^o? du?.
earlier=AMEPH 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་ཀྔོ ཡོ? *mi=di ka du-ko?
human=DEMPH who EX.SEN-2INF

7.2.2.3 **Intensifier -ke**

The sensorial *duʔ* is often accompanied by the suffix *-ke*, which is called here an intensifier. For instance, as an answer to the question *Is there salt?* by using the intensified *-ke* form *mindu-*ke instead of mere *mindu?*, the speaker can emphasize engagement in his/her involvement in the situation. Whereas *mindu?* could be said after just looking around, *mindu-*ke would be appropriate after spending some time moving objects while searching. In addition to personal involvement, the intensifier *-ke* may imply certainty. For instance, according to some of my consultants *du-*ke is considered to carry more certainty than mere *duʔ* when reporting sensory experience. In this respect, it is similar to *-kɛ̃̄/-gɛ̃* in Kyirong Tibetan, which is reported to mark increased assertiveness (Huber 2002: 136).

When being prompted to comment on the difference between (7.40) and (7.41), consultant PTB commented that (7.40) would be more appropriate when the referent of kʰu ‘he’ is no longer present, although *duʔ* may also be used in the referent’s presence.

(7.40) མི་ འདི་ ཀ་ འདུག་ཀེ། mìndu-ke.
3SGM fat EX.SEN-IN
‘He is fat.’

(7.41) མི་ འདི་ ཀ་ འདུག་ ʼོ kʰu gjaː-ta du-ke.
3SGM fat EX.SEN
‘He is fat.’

7.2.3 **Equative neutral beʔ in comparison with other copulas**

The copula *beʔ* is a basically equative but it also syntactically overlaps with existential copulas *jöʔ* and *duʔ* not only in adjectival predication but also in quantified existentials and quantified locatives. The neutral *beʔ* is evidently non-committed unlike the sensorial *duʔ* and the personal copulas *jöʔ* and ʰ. Therefore *beʔ* 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 ʰ vs. *beʔ*. Two things, however, can be said. First, ʰ seems to perform a type of speech act of identifying whereas *beʔ* 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 ʰ: and *beʔ*.

(7.42) a) སྒྱེད་ མི་ རྒྱ་ ཆི? lɛŋge? ka bo?
PRN.HON what EQU.NE.Q
‘Who are you?’
In the above examples, ī 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 ī: 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 īāmdzi be? as an answer to the question in (7.42).

The possibility of choosing between ī: 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 ī: vs. be? with two other consultants, they volunteered comparative sentence pairs (7.44-45) and (7.46-47) respectively (mē: and mēmbé? are the negations of ī: and be? respectively).

(7.44) ལོག་ཕྲུག་མན། 湟ོག་ཕྲུག་མན། 湟ོག་ཕྲུག་མན།
īāmdzi lōptʰu? ī.
1PL student EQU.PER
‘We are students.’ (NB e)

(7.45) ལོག་ཕྲུག་མན། 湟ོག་ཕྲུག་མན། 湟ོག་ཕྲུག་མན།
īāmdzi lōptʰu? be?. īāmdzi dem p’ja mi-le?.
1PL student EQU.NE 1PL such do NEG-be.good
‘We are students. We mustn’t do that.’ (NB e)

(7.46) བོད་ལོག་ཕྲུག་མན།
ī lōptʰu? mē:.
1SG student NEG.EQU.PER
‘I am not a student.’ (YR e)

(7.47) a) བོད་ལོག་ཕྲུག་མན།
te’o? di dök-te’(i).
2SG.L this read-IMP.FRN
‘You, read this!’
Again, in both (7.44) and (7.46) ḳː is used for simple identification of people, whereas the
desire. 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 ḳː in (7.44) and (7.46) identifies certain people by their occupational status (or lack
of it), the use of beʔ in (7.45) and (7.47) focuses on responsibilities and abilities of students in
general.

The above analysis based on the elicited examples is corroborated by the following
example from the novel Richhi:

(7.48)  གཞུང་གི་ གཡྔོག་ རྐྱབས་མཁན་ཏྔོ་ སྦད་ད་ལྟ་ ཡོད་ཐྔོ་རངས་ག་འགྱུ
zun=gi jö? kjap-kʰen=to beʔ. t'ato nà: jò?,
government=GEN work do-NMLZ=CEMPH EQU.NE now here EX.PER
 tʰorãː kʼaː 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 ḳː 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 ḳː and beʔ is that ḳː is
associated with spatiotemporal proximity, with the “here and now”, whereas beʔ is associated
with spatiotemporal distancing, “there and then”. A conditioning factor in choosing between ḳː
and beʔ is the presence or absence of the referent in the clause. Consultant PT (Tashiding,
West Sikkim) preferred the identifying, equative copula ḳː when the person referred to was
present, whereas beʔ was preferred when the referent was absent. This observation is
illustrated in examples (7.49-51) below:

(7.49)  a)  མི་ ཀྲུང་ྱུ་ གླེ་
kʰu gja:nam ḳː.
3SGM fat EQU.PER
‘He’s (a) fat (one).’ (referent present)

b)  མི་ ཀྲུང་ྱུ་ ཁྱེན།
kʰu gja:nam beʔ.
3SGM fat EQU.NE
‘He is fat.’ (referent absent)

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”.

261 Yukawa (2017: 193-194) provides a very similar analysis of the difference between Lhasa Tibetan yin and
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whereas the semantics of using red subsume “a nuance of obligation associated with being a student”.

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Consultant YR, when given the task of describing the difference between the sentences kʰõː ámdʒi̋̆ː and kʰõː ámdʒi̋̆ː bɛʔ ‘he is a doctor’, first commented that in the first sentence the person is alive and in the second one dead, thus just bringing the presence vs. absence distinction to another level and adding temporal distance to spatial distance. Similarly, Chang & Chang (1984: 609) provide an example from Lhasa Tibetan where a boy says about his dead father tʰa tʰi̋̆ː pàpà rɛː ‘Now, this is my father’. As the copula jìː (or yin) would be usually used if the father were alive, Chang & Chang see the choice of rɛː as copula to indicate “emotional distance”. Their analysis appears similar to Häsler’s (1999: 151) description of Derge Tibetan jîn as marking “strong empathy” and rɛː 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 Denjongkè 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 (ĩ̋̆ː), or as someone who does not know the answer (bɛʔ?). For an example, consider (7.52).

(7.52) a) ཡོང་གི་ཕྲུག་སྦད་ག? teʰo? lọpʰu? be-ka? 2SG.L student EQU.NE-Q ‘Are you a student?’

b) ཡོང་གི་ཕྲུག་སྦད་ག? teʰo? lọpʰu? iṅ-ɡa? 2SG.L student EQU.PER-Q ‘You are a student, aren’t you?’

In swiftly transitory attributive situations, as shown in (7.53), jòʔ cannot be used because it suggests that the information in the sentence is old and ingrained. Then, the choice of copulas is narrowed down to duʔ and beʔ.

262 There are also other ways to form questions which are not treated here.
(7.53)  
\(\text{a) }\) \(\text{di k’ola=tsu t’ika be?.}\)
\(\text{this clothing=PL dirty EQU.NE}\)
\(\text{‘These clothes are dirty.’}\)
\(\text{b) }\) \(\text{di k’ola=tsu t’ika du?.}\)
\(\text{this clothing=PL dirty EX.SEN}\)
\(\text{‘These clothes are dirty (I see).’}\)

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, \(\text{be?}\) is used in expressions where the minutes have gone past the hour (7.54), whereas \(\text{du?}\) is used when minutes have not yet reached the full hour (7.55).

(7.54) \(\text{t} \text{w} \text{a} \text{ts} \text{o?} \text{ tei? duŋ-di karma teu be?.}\)
\(\text{clock.time one strike-NF minute ten EQU.NE}\)
\(\text{‘It’s ten past one.’ (DB e)}\)

(7.55) \(\text{t} \text{w} \text{a} \text{ts} \text{o?} \text{ ni: duŋ-ba karma nà du?.}\)
\(\text{clock.time two strike-PUR minute five EX.SEN}\)
\(\text{‘It’s five to two.’ (DB e)}\)

The last two examples (7.56) and (7.57) summarize the evidential differences between the basic declarative copulas by contrasting \(\text{be?}\) with other copulas in locative and attributive use respectively.

(7.56)  
\(\text{a) }\) \(\text{e} \text{i} \text{n}=\text{di}=\text{na do ke:p(o) jò?.}\)
\(\text{‘There are a lot of stones in the field.’}\)
\(\text{b) }\) \(\text{e} \text{i} \text{n}=\text{di}=\text{na do ke:p(o) du?.}\)
\(\text{‘The stones in the field are many.’}\)
\(\text{c) }\) \(\text{e} \text{i} \text{n}=\text{di}=\text{na do ke:p(o) be?.}\)
\(\text{d) }\) \(\text{e} \text{i} \text{n}=\text{di}=\text{na do ke:p(o) ū.}\)
\(\text{field=DEMPH=LOC stone much COP}\)

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 \(\text{be?}\), can be said by someone who has never seen the field before to an accompanying friend who also sees the field. In this case, the sensory evidential \(\text{du?}\) 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 \(\text{jò?}\), 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 beʔ in contrast with the other copulas is illustrated with the adjective gjanam ‘fat’ in (7.57) below.

(7.57)  
| a) | kʰu gja:nam īː. | ‘He is a fat one (as I know).’ |
| b) | kʰu gja:nam jōʔ. | ‘He is fat (as I know).’ |
| c) | kʰu gja:nam duʔ. | ‘He is fat (as I just saw).’ |
| d) | kʰu gja:nam beʔ. | ‘He is fat (as I generally assert).’ |

The first sentence with īː (7.57a) identifies the referent as a member in the class of “fat ones”. The copula duʔ in (7.57c) is used when (or shortly after) meeting the described person for the first time (or after a long time). Whereas duʔ codes knowledge acquired by momentary recent observation, the use of jōʔ in (7.57b) suggests that the statement is based on the speaker’s already existing knowledge. The copula beʔ in (7.57d), on the other hand, is neutral in these respects, implying neither the personalness of jōʔ nor the immediacy and sensorialness of duʔ. With beʔ, the emphasis seems to fall on the information expressed in the sentence rather than on the type of knowledge the speaker purports to have.

### 7.2.4 Apparentive equative ḍɛː/ɾɛː

The appentive equative ḍɛː/ɾɛː merges the apparentive marker ḍa ‘(be) similar’ and the neutral equative beʔ to express the meaning ‘(it) seems to be’. Some informants were not aware that ḍɛː/ɾɛː originates with ḍa beʔ ‘be like’.

(7.58)  
¢ tʿutei? waranasi mēn-dō ḍeː no.  
‘Oh, it does not seem to be in Varanasi this year, eh.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

(7.59)  
ódi k’an mo? ódi tuorist(Eng)=di ḍeː=co.  
‘What’s that? Apparently it’s foreign (I find).’ (KNU kitchen discussion)

For auxiliary uses of the apparentive copula, see §8.5.2.

### 7.2.5 Other forms used as copulas

In addition to the exclusively copular words described above, the verb ō: ‘come’ and the reportative marker =lo may function as copulas.

#### 7.2.5.1 The verb ō: ‘come’ as existential

The verb ō: ‘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.

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263 The speaker seems to use the loan word “tourist” as an adjective. The Denjongke word for “tourist” is dzy:korwo བཏུརོ.  
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As seen in (7.60) and (7.61), both the perfective negator ma- and the imperfective negator mi- may negate the existential use of õː. When õː is negated by ma- in its ordinary verbal uses, the result is phonetically /ma-õː/ > [mõː]. In the existential use, on the other hand, the pronunciation is [maõː], probably to underline the difference to the regular verbal use. With the negator mi- no laryngeal occurs between the negator and the verb õː, /mi-õː/ > [mio ̃ː]. The pronunciation difference between [maõː] and [mio ̃ː] is reflected in WD here as མ་ཧྔོང་ ma-hong and མི་འྔོང་ mi-ong.

I have come across one example of an interrogative existential õː, which in (7.64) occurs alongside the proper existential (personal) copula form jõː.

(7.64) a) ལྟའེ་ ལ་ གཞི་ ལེས་ བརྟགས་?
    tsʰa  jõː-kam?
    salt  EX.PER-ATTQ
    ‘Is there salt, I wonder.’ (KN e)

b) ལྟའེ་ ལ་ གཞི་ བརྟགས་?
    tsʰa  õː-gam?
    salt  come-ATTQ
    ‘Is there salt, I wonder?’ (KN e)

In addition to the typical copula uses, mahô: occurs as an alternative negative 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 jøʔ and duʔ, ō: appears to be evidentially neutral, although more research is needed to established that fact.

(7.65) Q: 湟ཀུ་གཡྔོག་བྱས་བཞིན་འདུག་ཀ?
   \[kʰu \ jóʔ \ p'ja-zen \ du-ka?\]
   3SGM work do-PROG.EX.SEN-PQ
   ‘Is he working?’

(7.66) a) A1: 湟ཀུ་གཡྔོག་བྱས་བྔོ་མེ
   \[kʰu \ jóʔ \ p'ja-u \ mè?\]
   3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.PER
   ‘He’s not working (I know).’

b) A2: 湟ཀུ་གཡྔོག་བྱས་བྔོ་མིན་འདུག།
   \[kʰu \ jóʔ \ p'ja-u \ mindu?\]
   3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.SEN
   ‘He’s not working (I see).’

c) A2: 湟ཀུ་གཡྔོག་བྱས་བྔོ།
   \[kʰu \ jóʔ \ p'ja-u \ ma-hòː\]
   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 an uncertain future auxiliary, see §8.2.6.

7.2.5.2 Reportative =lo as equative substitute
The reportative marker =lo 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) 湟exampleInputEmail Error: File not found.
   \[kʰu \ ámdzi=lo\]
   3SGM doctor=REP
   ‘He’s reportedly a doctor. / He’s a doctor, I hear.’ (YR e)

(7.68) སྣད་ཐུ་ཟོད་ཐུ/ཟྣད་ཐུ
   \[öna \ tsʰa \ jòː=lo/duː=lo\]
   there salt EX.PER=REP/EX.SEN=REP
   ‘There’s reportedly salt in there.’

(7.69) སྣད་ཐུ་ཟོད།
   \[*öna \ tsʰa=lo\]
   there salt= REP

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264 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).

265 For the difference between jòːlo and duːlo see examples (85-86).
The use of the reportative marker =lo with the existential copulas jòʔ and duʔ shifts the evidential anchoring of the copula from the speaker to the person who is the source of information. In other words, “evidential information is retained from the original utterance” (Gawne 2013: 135, see also Tournadre 2008: 295-296). The shifting of evidential anchoring is illustrated in (7.65-66).

(7.70) a) ḡu ḡa=lo duʔ.
    3SGM TPN=DAT EX.SEN
    ‘He’s in Gangtok (I saw him).’

b) ḡu ḡa=lo du=lo.
    3SGM TPN=DAT EX.SEN=REP
    ‘He’s reported to be in Gangtok (they told they saw him).’

(7.71) a) ḡu ḡa=lo jòʔ.
    3SGM TPN=DAT EX.PER
    ‘He’s in Gangtok (I know it well).’

b) ḡu ḡa=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 duʔ reports someone else’s sensory experience. Similarly, in (7.71a) the copula jòʔ implies the speaker’s personal, already existing knowledge, whereas (7.71b) reports a situation where the speaker has been persuaded that the source of his information has personal knowledge. By using duʔ the speaker just claims that at a past point the person in question has been seen to be in Gangtok but that there is no guarantee of the person still being there. The copula jòʔ, on the other hand, indicates more intimate knowledge, possibly based on personal involvement, and includes the claim that the referred person is still in Gangtok at the time of speech. The personal involvement could, for instance, take the form of the speaker having ordered the person in question to go to Gangtok for a few days and having seen him leave in the morning.

The discussion so far has focused on the lone occurrences of the basic copulas ĩ̃́, jòʔ, duʔ, beʔ and bo and the copula substitute =lo. The following section addresses the complex copula constructions.

7.3 Complex copulas

In addition to the basic copulas, Denjongke employs a number of complex copulas in which two basic copulas are combined together, either directly (combinatory copulas) or with the help of nominalization (nominalized copulas). These complex forms fill communicative gaps in the copula system, i.e. they help Denjongke speakers express evidential nuances that cannot be expressed by mere basic copulas, and by using them the speaker can avoid unwanted meanings that are implied by the basic copulas. I first describe the two combinatory copulas (§7.3.1) and then the several nominalized copulas (§7.3.2).
7.3.1 Combinatory copulas *imbe*? and *indu*?

The basic copulas may be directly combined to form the emphatic equative *imbe*? and the infrequent sensorial equative *indu*?. The emphatic equative *imbe*?, which resembles in form the Dzongkha *immä*, often marks the speaker’s agreement with what the addressee has just said. In the same vein, Dzongkha *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) ཐ་ན་འཇུག་ཏེ་མི་འཇུག་མི་བོ? agja=jãː mâːmiː=na=rãː mɛ̀mbo?
big.brother=also army.GEN=LOC=AEMPH NEG.EQU.NE.Q
‘Isn’t the brother also in the army?’

b) ཁྲུལ་གྱི་ཀིལ། ìmbe? mâːmiː=na
army.GEN=LO EQU.EMPH
‘(Yes,) he is indeed in the army.’ (Richhi 56)

(7.73) འཇེག་ལྟ་སྐྱེས་ཐེག་བ་པ སྐྱེས་ཐེག་
*imbe*?, âm raŋ=gi làp-o den be?.
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 *mèm-bo* and the concurring emphatic *imbe*?, although both basically equative copulas, receive a locative argument (for a similar use of *be*?, see §5.4.2).

In addition to the concurring uses, *imbe*? 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) ཀྲུལ་གྱི་ཀིལ། གྲིག་པར་འཇུག་ཏེ་ཐེག་བ། 
*imbe*?, ìmbo? mâːmiː=na=rãː
army.GEN=LOC=AEMPH NEG.EQU.NE.Q
‘You surely are the most skillful of us two.’ (Class 7 textbook 59)

Example (7.75) contrasts the emphatic equative *imbe*? with non-emphatic *be*?. 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.

(7.75) a) ཡིས་གྲིག་པར་འཇུག་ཏེ་ཐེག་བོ་?
di te’bo:=ki pensil *imbe*-ka?
this 2SG.L=GEN pencil(Eng.) EQU.EMPH-PQ
‘Is this indeed your pencil?’ (TB e)

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266 The neutral equative *be*?, however, appears in locatives
267 Pragmatically, however, the very fact that the speaker is asking the question may be seen as an indication that they presume the questioned fact to be the case.
b) འདི་ ཆོད་ཀི་ pencil ་?  
*di teʰo*:=*ki*  
this 2SG.L=GEN pencil(Eng.) EQU.NE-PQ  
‘Is this your pencil?’ (TB e)

Now consider (7.76-78), which exemplify the sensorial equative *indu*?.

(7.76)  
*འདོད་གྱུར་གཙོ་བར་མཁས་དྲགས་ཨིན་འདུག*  
*pñ:v:dup kʰ:ta? indu*?.  
Neydup skillful EQU.SEN  
‘Neydup is skillful (I have experienced).’ (PT e)

(7.77)  
*དངྔོས་གྲུབ་མཁས་དྲགས་ཨིན་འདུག*  
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་ལྦན་ཙམ་ཀླིང་འདི་ང་ཅའི་བྔོན་པྔོ་གཙོ་བྔོ་ཅིག་ཀུ་མན་བར*  
*pawan tsamlin=dì nàtei lómpu tsou teiku mèm-ba*.:268  
Pawan Chamling=DEMPH 1SG GEN minister main only NEG.EQU-CIRC  
‘Pawan Chamling is not only our Prime Minister,  
but he is also a skillful literary figure.’ (KT e)

The copula *indu*? combines some of the meanings of both copulas *i* and *du*?. Whereas *i* 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.269 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*?, *be*?) were acceptable to my consultants.

7.3.2 Nominalized copula constructions

The dichotomy between *i* and *be*? within equative copulas, and *jò*? and *du*? within existential copulas, is neutralized in nominalized copula forms so that only *i* and *jò*? may be nominalized by the markers -*ce*? (I infinitive) -*po*/*bo* (II infinitive), and -*kʰː* (nominalizer) (reasons for distinguishing “infinitive” and “nominalizer” are given in §3.2.3).270 Therefore, the morpheme glosses of nominalized copulas below do not have information on

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268 Consultant PTB (Tashiding) would use here instead of *mèm-bo* a more complex construction involving an adverbializing nonfinal converb, *ma-im-bo p jati* [NEG-EQU-NMLZ do-NF].

269 My consultant’s attempt to translate *indu*? in (7.78) into Nepali was हो रहेछ *ho rahecha*.

270 Garrett (2001: 105) considers these type of contexts, where only ego evidentials (the equivalents of *i* 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 བོད་ ‘dug.'
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 *ți* in the construction *jò:-po ți*. 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 ți* marks the construction as existential.

The nominalized equative expressions are *im-bo be?* (neg. *mèm-bo be?*), *im-bo ți* (neg. *mèm-bo ți*), *iŋ-k'ên be?* (neg. *mèn-k'ên be?*), *iŋ-k'ê: ți* (neg. *mèn-k'ê: ți*), *iː-ee be?* (neg. *mèː-ee be?* [?]) and *iː-ee ți* (neg. *mèː-ee ți* [?]). The existential expressions are *jò:-po be?* (neg. *mèː-po be?*), *jò:-po ți* (neg. *mèː-po ți*), *jò:-k'ên be?* (neg. *mèː-k'ên be?*), *jò:-k'ê: ți* (neg. *mèː-k'ê: ți*), *jò:-ee be?* (neg. *mèː-ee be?* [?]) and *jò:-ee ți* (neg. *mèː-ee ți* [?]). Table 7.2 gives a summary of the different nominalized forms. Hypothetical (negated) forms of which I do not currently have any examples are marked with a question mark in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equat. Ex.</th>
<th>Evid./epist.</th>
<th>Nominalised construction</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td><em>im-bo ți</em></td>
<td><em>mèm-bo ți</em> (?)</td>
<td><em>mèm-bo ți</em> (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>iŋ-k'ê: ți</em></td>
<td><em>mèn-k'ê: ți</em></td>
<td><em>mèn-k'ê: ți</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>iː-ee ți</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-ee ți</em> (?)</td>
<td><em>mèː-ee ți</em> (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td><em>jò:-po ți</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-po ți</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-po ți</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>jò:-k'ê: ți</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-k'ê: ți</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-k'ê: ți</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>jò:-ee ți</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-ee ți</em> (?)</td>
<td><em>mèː-ee ți</em> (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>jò:-po be?</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-po be?</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-po be?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>jèbbɛ?/jòɓɓe?</em></td>
<td><em>mèɓɓe?</em></td>
<td><em>mèɓɓe?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>jò:-k'ên be?</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-k'ên be?</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-k'ên be?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>jò:-ee be?</em></td>
<td><em>mèː-ee be?</em> (?)</td>
<td><em>mèː-ee be?</em> (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most frequently, the nominalized constructions end in the neutral copula *be?*. Constructions ending in the neutral copula *be?* are used by Denjongke speakers to dissociate themselves from the evidential values of *ți*, *jò?* and *du?*. I first give examples of neutral constructions ending in *be?* (§7.3.2.1) and after that personal constructions ending in *ți* (§7.3.2.2). More frequent forms with *-po/po* and *-k'ê:*, are given first and the less frequent forms with *-ee?* last.

### 7.3.2.1 Evidentially neutral constructions (ending in *be?*)

Nominalized copula constructions ending in *be?* 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 *im-bo be?*, *iŋ-k'ên be?* and *iː-ee be?*. 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 *im-bo be?* 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 *nè:mu=râ*: ‘surely, really, certainly’.
She thinks in her mind that it surely is like that.’ (Richhi 119)

For, the negated form, consider (7.80).

(7.80) གཞན་གཞན་དམ་པག་མན་མཁན་སྦད།
འདི་འོད་ཀྱི་མེ་་མེ་འཇོམ་མེ་འཇོམ་སྦད།
that important NEG.EQU-2INF EQU.NE
‘That is not important.’ (KL BLA 12)

In (7.81), íŋ-kʰen be? occurs as part of an even more complex assertive copula expression ʰ_: íŋ-kʰen be? (“it is indeed the case”). Similar to im-bo be? in (7.79), íŋ-kʰen be? 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) གྲྭན་གཞན་གཞན་དམ་པག་མན་མཁན་སྦད།
mits’o? ke’po=lo tem ton-di mì=tsu=i dö: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 great crowd. Indeed, all the arrangement so far

(k’o’dì? t’amte’k? k’o: pì-po: gok’hì:=na)
arrangement all 3PL two-2INF.GEN leading=LOC
had been (successfully) fulfilled under their leadership.’ (Richhi 82)

The negation of íŋ-kʰen be? is mêŋ-kʰen be?:

(7.82) གྲྭན་གཞན་གཞན་དམ་པག་མན་མཁན་སྦད།
t’e:lu mêŋ-kʰen be?.
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 *ŋ-y-k’en be?* and *im-bo be?* as somewhat assertive in meaning, consultant YR commented that the constructions *ŋ-y-k’en be?* and *im-bo be?* are used in debates to make assertions that are true contemporaneously with the speech act. In addition to present assertive uses, *im-bo be?* and *ŋ-y-k’en be?* are compatible with past events/states. In (7.83-84), *im-bo be?* and *ŋ-y-k’en be?* appear to be used quite interchangeably.

(7.83)  

\[ \text{ṅ-y-k’en} \text{ be?} \]  
\( k'\hat{u} \ něnle \ jøː \ t'\hat{o}ku \ im-bo \ \text{be?}. \)  
3SGM before 1SG.GEN friend EQU-2INF EQU.NE  
‘He was my friend before.’ (KT e)

(7.84)  

\[ \text{ṅ-y-k’en} \text{ be?} \]  
\( k'\hat{u} \ jøː \ t'\hat{o}ku \ iŋy-k’en \ \text{be?}. \)  
3SGM 1SG.GEN friend EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE  
‘He was my friend.’ (PT e)

Formally *iː-ee be?*, which occurs only once in my data (see [7.85]) is a nonpast construction (see §8.2.5), which is used for referring to present and future states and events.

(7.85)  

\[ \text{ṅ-y-k’en} \text{ be?} \]  
\( \text{pakṣam minto}=\text{di} \ \text{lēpte} \ \text{tsā}:\text{ta}? \ \text{ṅatea}=\text{gi} \ \text{tsi \ go}:-\text{p} \)  
\[ \text{balsam flower}=\text{DEMPH \ very.much \ clean} \]  
\[ \text{1PL}=\text{AGT \ reckon \ be.needed-2INF} \]  
\[ \text{gjumts’en \ ódi} \ iː-\text{ee} \ \text{be?}. \]  
reason that EQU.PER-INF EQU.NE  
‘That may be the reason why we have to consider balsam flower very clean.’ (RS bhee story)

Yeshe Rinzing Bhutia’s *Bhutia language learning course book* reports that the form *iː-ee be?* “indicates statements about which the speaker is not certain” (Bhutia 2008: 53). Uncertainty certainly is a natural corollary of future. Consultant KUN commented that the use of *iː-ee be?* in (7.85) should rather be translated as “maybe is” than as simply “is”. The form *iː-ee be?* thus presents an interesting case of interplay between tense-aspect and epistemic modality.

7.3.2.1.2 Existential constructions

Examples (7.86-93) illustrate the neutral existential constructions *jō-po be?*, *jōː-k’en be?* and *jōː-ee be?*. First consider the semantically similar forms *jō-po be?* and *jōː-k’en be?* illustrated in (7.86) and (7.87) respectively. (7.86a) and (7.87a) are taken from two folk-stories where the speaker does not want to give the impression, by using the lone copula *jō?*, that he was personally involved in the events of the story, or by using the the sensorial *duī?,* 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)  
\[ \text{ṅ-y-k’en} \text{ be?} \]  
\( k'\hat{o}=\text{tsy}: \ \text{nōː} \text{do}?=\text{na} \ \text{simteen} \ \text{p’a} \ \text{lāŋ} \ \text{rā} \ \text{t’āː} \ \text{lu}? \)  
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
b) རྩེ་ཚོམ་མེད་པོ་སྦད།

t'e.tsom më:-po be?.
doubt NEG.EX-2INF EQU.NE
‘There is no doubt (about that)’ (KLT Bumchu video)

c) མི་ན་རྔོ་རེ་གིང་རྒྱ་གར་ན་འབོང་མཁན་ཙུ་ལྔོ་ཐེ་

mina dardziin gjagar=na ònj-k'en=di=lo ódem coku down TPN India=LOC come-NMLZ=DEMPH=DAT such paper

mèbbe=la.
NEG.EX.NE=HON
‘(Those) who came down to Darjeeling in India did not have such a document.’ (CY interview)

The construction jò:-po be?, which allows the existential meaning to be taken from jò? and the evidential meaning taken from be?, is so common that in spoken language this evidentially neutral existential form (vs. existentials jò? and du? which are evidentially loaded) has merged into jöbbë?/jëbbe? (neg. mèbbë?). The Standard/Lhasa Tibetan (close to) pragmatic equivalent to jöbbë?/jëbbe? is jö:re:, which is etymologically a nominalized construction as suggested by one of the alternative written forms yod.pa.red (Denwood 1999: 119, Hill 2010).271 In Denwood’s (1999: 122) analysis of Lhasa Tibetan, jö:re: “implies no such first hand knowledge [as jò?: and du:], though it does not specifically rule it out.” The same can be said of jò-po be? (or jöbbe?/jëbbe?) in Denjongke. The neutral evidential value of the construction is derived from the last copula be?.

In addition to being used for past events jò-po be? and jò:-k'en be? are also used for present events.272 In these cases, using the simple copula jò? is not desirable, because the information in the sentence is presented as uncontested, general knowledge. The following three examples exemplify the present uses of jò:-po be? (7.88), jò:-k'en be? (7.89) and jëbbe? (7.90), the colloquial equivalent of jò:-po be?.

271 In Lhasa Tibetan, however, there is a current distinction between the historically nominalized form jö:re: and the synchronically nominalized construction jö-bo-re: (Denwood 1999: 119).
272 This is in line with Goldstein, Rimpoche & Phuntshog’s (1991: 58) observation on modern literary Tibetan that the nominalizer-copula sequence sê-pa.red (cf. Denjongke sê-po -po be?) following a verb may get either past or present habitual meaning.
Even at present time there is a tradition saying that the fact that there is a notch in the heel of the human foot is a mark of the demoness at that time having plucked and eaten (that place). ’ (rna-gsung 19-20)

We have many such phases.’ (SG wedding customs)

In the context of (7.90), the consultant KN is telling about his father, who is an overseer of a small monastery. When I asked where the monastery is located, KN continued with a description of the location and ended in (7.90). The copula jèbbe? here marks generally known, uncontested knowledge. It is the location of the monastery that is the topic of the discussion, not whether or not there is a monastery somewhere. Had the original question been whether or not there is a monastery somewhere (potentially contested knowledge), the speaker would have more likely used the personal evidential jò? rather than the neutral jèbbe?.

Examples (7.91) and (7.92) illustrate the difference between jò? and jèbbe?.

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273 This reading-style pronunciation by consultant KT is likely influenced by the spelling, i.e. the final -s fronts the vowel.
Example (7.91) expresses the speaker’s personal knowledge by implying either that the speaker is Bill Gate’s friend or that Bill Gates is present at the time of speaking. In the latter case, the difference between jò? and jëbbe? is similar to the difference between i: and be? in (7.49-51). Example (7.92), on the other hand, is a general statement where the connection to a specific sensory event (contra du?, which refers to a specific instance of finding out) and personal knowledge (contra jò?) are backgronded by using the neutral jëbbe?.

The existential construction jòː-ee be?, occurring nine times, is more frequent in my data than the equative construction ĩ̃́ː-ɕɛbɛʔ. The construction jòː-ee be? resembles in meaning the more frequent present habitual construction jòː-kʰèn be?. Both constructions allow the speaker to express generally holding facts, as in (7.93).

(7.93) a) ‘This is called [bo], a storeroom, this small room, it’s dark there, that one.’

(PD storeroom video)

b) ‘This is called [rapʰu], maize sowing [rapʰu]. There are (or: will be) other (sticks) for herding cows.’ (PL interview)

Based on the decreased certainty implied by the equative nonpast construction ĩː-ee be? (see [7.85]), future research should remain open to the option that in some contexts jòː-ee be? 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 ɨː)

The following two subsections discuss personal constructions ending in the personal copula ɨː, 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 ɨː 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-kʰɛ̃ː ɨː, im-bo ɨː and ɨː-ee ɨː.

First consider the use of íŋ-kʰɛ̃ː ɨː in (7.94).

(7.94) ཁུ་ མེ་ ནད་ལས་ གཉེན་མཙན་ ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན་རུང་ ཁུ་ གེ་ ཞེས་ བྨ་ སོགས་ ཨིན་ རུང་ ཁུ་ ཞེས་ བྨ་ སོགས་ ཚན། kʰu nê: jêntsʰɛ̃ː íŋ-kʰɛ̃ː ɨː ɨː ruŋ kʰu yâ=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...

In (7.94), by using the nominalized construction íŋ-kʰɛ̃ː ɨː rather than just ɨː, the speaker appears to underline the fact that the referent is the speaker’s relative, thus giving rise to the idea of a relative’s obligations (which have been neglected). Using íŋ-kʰɛ̃ː ɨː seems to add some force to the proposition (“he is supposed to be”) compared to the lone ɨː, which just identifies the referent as a relative. The speaker also shows his personal emotional involvement (he is disappointed) by using the personal ɨː rather than the neutral beʔ. In (7.94), the latter clause, which uses the neutral copula beʔ 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 ɨː appears to bear resemblance to its cognate in Drokpa Tibetan, which is described as marking personal engagement (“personliche Engagement”) and inner (e)motion (“innere Regung”) (Kretschmar 1986: 65).

Now consider (7.95) and (7.96) where personal and neutral equatives are contrasted. Nominalized constructions are used because the sentences refer to the past.

(7.95) ཁུ་ མེ་ ནད་ལས་ གཉེན་མཙན་ ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན་ རུང་ ཁུ་ ཞེས་ བྨ་ སོགས་ ཨིན་ རུང་ ཁུ་ ཞེས་ ཚན། kʰu jêle npê: t’oku im-bo ɨː 3SGM before 1SG.GEN friend EQU-2INF EQU.PER ‘He was my friend before.’ (KT e)

(7.96) ཁུ་ མེ་ ནད་ལས་ གཉེན་མཙན་ ཨིན་མཁན་ ཨིན་ རུང་ ཁུ་ ཞེས་ བྨ་ སོགས་ ཨིན་ རུང་ ཁུ་ ཞེས་ ཚན། kʰu jêle npê: t’oku im-bo beʔ. 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-kʰɛ̃ː ɨː and íŋ-kʰɛ̃ː beʔ could also be used in (7.95) and (7.96) instead of im-bo ɨː and im-bo beʔ 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 ɨː 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 im-bo ɨː or íŋ-kʰɛ̃ː ɨː 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),
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 īː (according to some consultants also ín-kʰː īː could be used here), implying emotional involvement (here confusion), calls for an explanation that is given in the following sentence.

(7.99)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mī=di} & \quad \text{nēma} \quad \text{āmdzi} \quad \text{im-bo} \quad \tilde{t}:
\end{align*}
\]
\[\text{man}=\text{DEMPH}\quad \text{before}\quad \text{doctor}\quad \text{EQU-2INF}\quad \text{EQU.PER}\]

‘Earlier this man was a doctor, but now he has become a driver! (I’m confused)’ (KN e)

In the speech of PT from Tashiding (West Sikkim), both īː and ím-bo īː can be used in the present meaning, as shown in (7.100) and (7.101).

(7.100)  
\[
\begin{align*}
kʰ:h & \quad \text{nē}: \quad \text{jā:p} \quad \tilde{t}:
\end{align*}
\]
\[\text{3SG.HON}\quad \text{1SG.GEN}\quad \text{father.HON}\quad \text{EQU.PER}\]

‘He is my father.’ (PT e)

(7.101)  
\[
\begin{align*}
kʰ:h & \quad \text{nē}: \quad \text{jā:p} \quad \text{im-bo} \quad \tilde{t}:
\end{align*}
\]
\[\text{3SG.HON}\quad \text{1SG.GEN}\quad \text{father.HON}\quad \text{EQU-2INF}\quad \text{EQU.PER}\]

‘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 īː) was “more calm”, “more polite”, “nicer” and “making the listener

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274 PT said that using ím-bo in and ím-bo beʔ in (11.95) and (11.96) would have about the same meaning as ín-kʰː in and ín-kʰː beʔ respectively but that the former constructions are not actively used in his speech variety.
feel good”. Another consultant (YR), on the other hand, claimed that only (7.100) and not (7.101) could be used when the father is present.

As pointed above, existential copulas have a clear motivation for forming nominalized evidentially neutral constructions, because both of the existentials jo? and du? are by themselves evidentially loaded. Among the equative copulas ì: and be?, however, it is more challenging to describe the exact difference between the sentences in (7.100).

Some things, however, can be said. All the forms in (7.102) can be used for both past and present events/states, although with ì:, and perhaps also with be?, a past interpretation usually requires a past adverbial. The difference between the personal forms ending in ì: (a, e, f) and the neutral forms ending in be? (b, c, d) as already discussed in §7.1.3, is that the personal forms are concerned with the act of identification whereas the neutral forms leave more room for the consequences of the identification. In existential constructions the nominalizers -po and -kʰ: appear to be used quite interchangeably, but with equatives, -po and -kʰ: 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 im-bo be? (c) instead of be? (b) when they want to emphasize the equative function of ì: (which is backrounded by be?) in contexts where the lone ì: 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).

Nominalized personal equatives can also be formed by the infinitive marker -ee?: 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.

---

(7.102) a) ɛʔ la myá kʰ mók ɡj ɛ mār b ɛʔ. b) ɛʔ la myá kʰ mók ɡj ɛ n b ɛʔ. c) ɛʔ la myá kʰ mók ɡj ɛ b ɛʔ. d) ɛʔ la myá kʰ mók ɡj ɛ n b ɛʔ. e) ɛʔ la myá kʰ mók ɡj ɛ b ɛʔ. f) ɛʔ la myá kʰ mók ɡj ɛ n b ɛʔ.

(7.103) a) myá ɡj ɛk b ɛʔ. b) myá ɡj ɛk b ɛʔ.

---

For eventive/dynamic verbs, the nominalizer/infinitivizer -po/bo has in effect become a past tense marker, e.g. sā-bō ì: > sā-u ì: ‘ate’, but for stative verbs the nominalized form can be used in the present meaning, e.g. ga-bo ì: > ga-u ì: ‘love’. Therefore the copulas side with stative verbs in letting the context be the final arbiter with reference to present vs. past meaning.
7.3.2.2.2 Existential constructions

In personal existential constructions, existentiality is expressed by the nominalized copula แจก-po/j conseils/j conseils-po(?) and the personal evidential value by final ག. For an example on แจก-po ག, consider (7.104).

(7.104) ལེ་ཐོན་དེ་ལ་གནས་ཀྱི་དུས་ཚོད་ལ་ཁ་ཡང་གནས་པ་ཉིན།

EQU-2INF=CEMPH EX-2INF.GEN time=DAT 3SGM=too EX-2INF

ཨེ་བོ་དེ་ཛིང་པོ་ཨླ་བ་ཨ་ཀུ་ལོ་ན་གུང་ཨིན།

1SG there EX-2INF.GEN time=DAT 3SGM=too EX-2INF

‘At the time I was there, he was (there) too.’ (YR e)

In (7.104) the speaker uses the nominalized constructions แจก-po rather than the mere copula แจก? because แจก? 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 ག rather than the neutral བ ཐ ས མ བ ག འདི། ཨིན་ཤྔོ་ ཨིན་ཉ་ ཨ་ཀུ་ རིག་བཟང་ གསུང་བྔོ་ འདི།

EQU-INF=CEMPH EQU.PER TAG.ASR father’s,younger.brother PN

sùm-bo=di.

say.HON-2INF=DEMPH

‘It is indeed (as you say), uncle Rigzang.’ (sbar-phung 88)

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 แจก-po is used instead of mere แจก? because the speaker makes reference to a past point of time. He had the book when his friend was looking for it. Using mere แจก? (or แจก?=co) 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 ག 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 แจก-ee ག: in my data, consider (7.106). In (7.106a), the glide /j/ in the existential is reduced to /h/.
(7.106) a) Beer न्तडु न्तडु न्तडु

\[ \text{biar} \quad \text{he:-ei}=\text{co} \]

beer(Eng.) EX-NPST.PER=AT

‘There’s beer (inside), you know.’ (oh, Tashiding)

b) སྟེན་ཤོ་རངས་ཞུ་ཚོད་དགུ་ལི་ནི་ཡོད་ཤད་

\[ \text{ŋà} \quad \text{tʰorãː} \quad \text{teʰutsʰo} \quad \text{gu}=\text{lo} \quad \text{tʰom}=\text{na} \quad \text{jö:-ce} \quad \text{i} \]

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), jö:-ce ɾi can refer to both currently holding (7.106a) and future states (7.106b). The latter use distinguishes jö:-ce ɾi from jö:-kʰ ɾi: (see §7.3.2.2), which can refer to present but not future states. Although the exact semantics of jö:-ce ɾi: 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 ɾi:-ce ɾi:, emphatic/assertive compared to mere jö. That is, whereas mere jö would convey the meaning ‘there is (I know)’, the nominalized formulation in (7.106a) carries the meaning ‘there certainly is (you will find out if you check)’. Analyzing (7.106a) is made complex, however, by the attention marker =ɕo which by itself may convey the idea of insisting. In (7.106b), on the other hand, the nominalized (nonpast) construction seems to simply mark future.

7.4 Simple copulas compared with some other Tibetic languages

This section briefly compares Denjongke basic copulas to copulas in the better known related languages Dzongkha and Standard/Lhasa Tibetan. A notable difference between the Denjongke copula system and that of Dzongkha (see Table 7.3 below), a closely related language, is the nature of contrast between equative copulas. Dzongkha makes a central contrast between old information (marked by ཨིན་ ‘ing, a cognate of Written Tibetan འིན་ yin, similarly to Denjongke ɾi:) and newly acquired information (marked by ཨིན་པས་ ‘immä) (van Driem 1998: 127). Denjongke, on the other hand, makes a central contrast among equatives between ɾi:, which marks old information and spatiotemporal proximity, and beʔ, which marks evidential neutrality and spatiotemporal distance. Although the Denjongke sensorial equative índuʔ (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.278

Table 7.3. Dzongkha copulas (adapted from van Driem 1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Assimilated (old)</th>
<th>Acquired (new)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>ཨིན་ ‘ing</td>
<td>ཨིན་པས་ ‘immä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>ཨིན་ jö</td>
<td>ཨིན་ du:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

277 Some speakers pronounce [ɾi] for initial /j/. Rounded vowels also tend to get unrounded, especially with younger speakers. As a result of these two changes, jöʰʔ may be pronounced as /heʔ-/feʔ/. The form -eɨː is a reduction of -ce ɾi:

278 I came across the first instance of índuʔ after several years of Denjongke studies. The form does not occur even once in my digitized data, which includes, among other things, the whole novel Richhi.
The difference in the nature of contrast between equatives appears to cause a slight semantic difference in the reflexes of WT ཡིན་ yin between Dzongkha and Denjongke. Dzongkha 'ing essentially marks assimilated/old knowledge because it is contrasted with 'immā marking the newly acquired knowledge. The meaning of Denjongke བོད, 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 beʔ, 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 [jin], 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)

?kho dge.rgan yin.
he teacher COP
‘?He is a teacher.’
‘He (my son) is a teacher.’

(7.108) Denjongke

kʰoː lópø̃ː īː.
3SG.HON teacher EQUI.PER
‘He is a teacher.’

The difference between Standard Tibetan (7.107) and Denjongke (7.108) is that in Denjongke the personal copula īː (cognate of ཡིན་ yin) is freely used without any requirement for the the referent to be closely related to the speaker. In an interesting contrast to Garrett’s (2001: 141-142) discussion, Yukawa’s (2017: 192) discussion of Lhasa Tibetan provides example (7.109) with the following comment “the person denoted by ˉkoŋ 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)

ˉkoŋ `labtua 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 joʔ) as denoting “a state with which the speaker (or the listener in interrogative sentences) feels familiar”. Thus, Yukawa’s description of yin, like my description on Denjongke, implies less syntactic restriction (of the first person) than Garrett’s description of “Standard Tibetan”. Yukawa’s language data, which seems to come from the end of the 1960s.
or the beginning of the 1970s, 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.

Such diachronic change is reported by Hongladarom (2007) for Rgyalthang Tibetan (a variety of Kham Tibetan). According to Hongladarom (2007: 22), Rgyalthang Tibetan folkstories and songs use “egophoric/self” forms in contexts where in everyday speech one expects a non-egophoric form. This suggests that Rgyalthang folkstories preserve an earlier form of the language, in which the current “egophoric/self” forms (somewhat corresponding to “personal” in Denjongke) are less restricted by the syntactic category of person than in the present spoken Rgyalthang.

Moreover, Widmer (2017: 7) notes a similar diachronic change from semantic marking to more syntactic restriction in Bunan (Tibeto-Burman, non-Tibetic):

In the genealect of the oldest speaker generation, which roughly comprises speakers that were born before 1950, set A endings can express epistemic involvement regardless of the semantic role that the speaker assumes. In the genealect of younger speaker generations, set A endings have a narrower range of application and can only express epistemic involvement in contexts in which the speaker is co-referent with the most agent-like participant in the clause.” (emphasis added)

If diachronic change towards more syntactic restriction has happened and perhaps is happening within Tibetic languages, Denjongke, along with Lhasa Tibetan described by Yukawa (2017[1975]), can be characterized as more “archaic” than Garrett’s and Tournadre & Dorje’s (2003) descriptions of “Standard Tibetan”.

Another Tibetic language, in which the cognate of WT འིན་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 Gtshang 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 འིན་yin, whereas Lhasa Tibetan has progressed towards more syntactic control (i.e. the requirement for the first person to occur with egophorics). Gawne (2017: 80) suggests that the split between Yolmo and Kyirong (and Denjongke) from Central dialects is likely to have taken place before increased syntactic control developed in Central Tibetan into “egophoric” in the sense of Tournadre (2008, 2017).

Similarly to Yolmo, Denjongke personal copulas refer to the speaker’s personal knowledge rather than the speaker’s involvement in the event 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 ི, owing to the contrast with the spatiotemporally backgrounding equative བཞི, 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

279 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).

280 Other factors influencing the issue are the age of the consultants, dialectal differences and the researchers ways of describing.

281 However, spatiotemporal proximity of the referent (see §7.2.3) and the speaker’s emotional involvement (see 7.3.2.2) may be viewed as a weak type of speaker-involvement in Denjongke.
restriction of Standard Tibetan with reference to the cognate of the “egophoric” *yin*, are Balti, Purik and Lower Ladakhī/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 *iː* as copula is not syntactically restricted to the first person, the referent in the clause does not need to have an especially close relationship to the speaker, and the speaker’s involvement may be non-existent or very weak.

The development from semantically oriented marking of speaker’s personal knowledge (e.g. Denjongke, Lamjung Yolmo) towards more syntactic control (Lhasa Tibetan) can be seen to arise quite naturally through speaker’s involvement, a notion which has been described as central, for instance, for Shigatse and Themchen Tibetan (Haller 2000:187). First, personal knowledge, which typically coincides with personal involvement, is reinterpreted as personal involvement. Then, personal involvement, which frequently coincides first person syntax (on agent, patient or other constituent), is reinterpreted as a need for the presence of first person syntax. This hypothesis for grammaticalization of WT *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](image)

Note that the three concepts in Figure 7.1 are present in Tournadre’s (2017: 110) latest exposition of the category egophoric as he applies it to Tibetic languages (emphasis mine):

The use of an ‘egophoric’ auxiliary expresses the speaker’s personal knowledge. The speaker is often directly implied involved in the event that is being described (see Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 93), “Egophoric auxiliaries are used with first person occurring overtly, covertly [...] regardless of its function in a given clause (subject, object, indirect object, locative complement)” (Tournadre 2008: 296).

While Tournadre’s (2017: 110) definition describes the synchronic situation of those Tibetic languages which have arrived at the rightmost end of Figure 7.1, the other terms in Figure 7.1 hypothesize the route through which the required first person syntax has arisen. Moreover, Figure 7.1 also suggests that the same grammaticalization cline is synchronously represented by various Tibetic dialects.

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282 According to Tournadre (2017: 111), “[e]gophoric markers are found in Tibet (Ü-Tsang, Tö-Ngari, Kham and Amdo, etc.) but do not generally appear in the Tibetic languages in the southern and Western Himalayas.”
Sometimes the syntactically motivated terms “disjunct” (equivalents of beʔ/duʔ) and “conjunct” (equivalents of ɪː/jøʔ), originating from Hale (1971, 1980), have been used in describing Tibetic copulas (e.g. DeLancey 1990, 1992). However, if applied to Denjongke, these syntactic terms referring to co-reference fail to facilitate an insightful analysis, because the real factors behind copula choice are semantic and pragmatic rather than syntactic. For a thorough criticism of using the concepts of “disjunct” and “conjunct” in describing Standard Tibetan, see Tournadre (2008).

### 7.5 Summary remarks

In this chapter on copulas and evidentiality, it was shown that Denjongke has a particularly wide array of copula forms, which mark three evidential values, personal, sensorial and neutral. The personal evidential is associated with well-integrated knowledge, spatiotemporal proximity of the referent and emotional involvement. The sensorial evidential refers to a sensory experience. Neutral evidentiality refers to the lack of personal and sensorial evidential values. It was shown that these evidential values are expressed through simple copulas and several complex constructions consisting of combinatory copulas and nominalized copulas. An interesting discovery was that the sensorial duʔ, which typically functions as an existential, can be used as an equative if the proposition describes something that held in the past. The last section of the chapter showed that the category “personal” in Denjongke differs from “egophoric” in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003) in that the Denjongke category is more semantically-oriented than the similar category in Standard Tibetan. I also outlined a hypothesis on how the more semantic type of marking, as exemplified by Denjongke, may have grammaticalized into the “egophoric” category that evinces more syntactic control, as exemplified by Standard Tibetan.
8 Tense, aspect and modality

This section describes verbal constructions which are related to tense, aspect and modality. Tense refers to how the action depicted by the verb relates to the time of speaking (e.g. past, present, future) (Timberlake 2007: 304). Aspect refers to the internal structure of the event described by the verb (e.g. progressive, imperfective, perfective) (Comrie 1976: 3). Modality is concerned with the speaker’s judgments about a proposition, for instance certainty, obligation, permissibility and ability (cf. Palmer 2001: 8-10). While this chapter includes cursory remarks on evidentiality, a more detailed discussion on evidentiality is presented in §7 (copulas) and §9 (auxiliaries).

The following discussion is divided into five parts. The first part discusses those forms which describe past events from various aspectual standpoints (§8.1). The second part introduces present habitual and future forms (§8.2). The third part describes forms which mark ongoing action at a past or present time (§8.3). The various TAM-related uses of the possessive-like construction VERB-INF EX are addressed in (§8.4). The final section (§8.5), describes various modal forms expressing the speaker’s assessments on certainty, permissibility, ability and obligation.

8.1 Past, completive and perfect forms

The different past constructions are summarized in Table 8.1. For simplicity, in the table -tɕɛ stands for -tɕɛ/zɛ (past marker) and -po for -po~bo~u (nominalizer). The auxiliary copulas referred to in Table 8.1 are ũ:/beʔ (EQU) and jōʔ/duʔ (EX).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>VERB-tɕɛ</td>
<td>past action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periphrastic past</td>
<td>VERB-po EQU (dynamic verb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB-po EQU (static verb)</td>
<td>past or present state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completive</td>
<td>VERB -tsʰa:</td>
<td>completed action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary verb</td>
<td>VERB mjōː:</td>
<td>having completed/finished or experienced the action marked by the primary verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘finish’</td>
<td>(inflects like an ordinary verb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>VERB(-RDP)-po EX</td>
<td>past action/state with present relevance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resultative</td>
<td>VERB jōʔ</td>
<td>continuity of the results of an action (dynamic verbs), continuity of state (stative. verbs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sensorial</td>
<td>VERB duʔ</td>
<td>sensorially attested (action or its results) present or past action/state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past/present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>VERB zaː: EX</td>
<td>emphasizes the lasting effect of a past action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resultative verb</td>
<td>VERB zak-o EQU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iterative past</td>
<td>VERB-po VERB-kjāː: EQU</td>
<td>itterativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB-po(=lɛ) VERB-teim EQU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1.1 Past forms

Denjongke has two ways of expressing past tense, through the past verbal suffix -tɕɛ/zɛ and through a periphrastic construction VERB-po EQU, where the verb root is nominalized with -po/bo/u and then followed by an equative copula. The equative copula is either ũ:/ or beʔ,
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’, jôʔ ‘exist’) the construction may refer either to present or past states. Therefore the nominalizer/infinitivizer -po/bo is always glossed as an infinitive (2INF) and not as a past marker.

The suffix -tɕɛ/zɛ, on the other hand, is evidentially non-committed and does not need any additional morphology for finishing a sentence. For an example on -tɕɛ/zɛ, consider (8.1) and (8.2):

(8.1) ì: ngà mënga tʰõː-teen óna.
1SG yesterday see-PST there
‘I saw (it) there yesterday.’ (DB trip story)

(8.2) pʰaː te’om-boː gàː=lo gagdza kjap-teen=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 -teen imposes an eventive reading on the usually stative verb ɕéː ‘know’.

(8.3) jim sîm nàŋe=kì k’adzoʔ ɕéː-teen, lêkèʔ k’adzoʔ?
day three within PRN.HON=GEN how.much know-PST Lhoke how.much
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) òdem=di nyàː tʰoː-po ɪː.
like.that=DEMPH I hear-2INF EQU.PER.
‘I heard (a thing) like that.’ (KN e)

(8.5) pʰaː te’om-boː gàː=lo gagdza māŋpu=teiʔ ódepti
over.there come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT obstacle many=INDF like.that
kjap-o beʔ.
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 -teen and -po beʔ in (8.2) and (8.5) respectively, except the fact that -teen remains evidentially neutral by definition and that the periphrastic construction -po beʔ is evidentially neutral by choice, i.e. because the neutral copula beʔ is chosen instead of the personal copula ɪː, which may also occur in this construction. In elicitation, speakers have not been able to describe any
difference between the verbal expressions in sentences such as (8.2) and (8.5). An extensive corpus study of the two forms would undoubtedly bring forth some results, but that type of undertaking is beyond the scope of this grammar.

The periphrastic past construction is also used in an idiomatic way to refer to imminent future:

(8.6) *láso, tʼato já gju-wo*284 ḏː.

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) *màoŋpøː=na keː=di járge? ma-tʰon-na=di kʰɔː=tsu*

future.GEN=LOC language=DEMPH proress NEG-happen-COND=DEMPH 3PL=PL

zi tsuk-o nâː-kʰɛː=di nâː:mɛʔ tʰom-bo beʔ.

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) *guru rimputɕʰɛ=gi ódep ka nâː-nâː-m ḏː.*

Guru Rimpochê=AGT like.that order do.HON=RDP-2INF EQU.PER

‘Guru Rimpochê has said so.’ (CY interview)

(8.9) *ɲɛː nùm saili285=di jen kjap-kjap-o*

1SG.GEN sister.of.a.woman third.daughter=DEMPH wedding do-RDP-2INF

‘My younger sister (who is the third daughter of my parents) is married.’ (PED life story)

Reduplication is more characteristic of the perfect construction VERB-RDP-2INF EX, which is introduced in §8.1.3. It is difficult to say what the exact semantic difference is between periphrastic (reduplicated) past *ka nâː-nâː-m ḏː* and perfect *ka nâː-nâː-m jʊʔ* 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

283 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.

284 Or *gju* [go.NMLZ]

285 This is a loan from Nepali. The equivalent Denjongke expression is *nùm súmpo ‘third sister (of female)’.
clause is underlined by the presence of the contrastive emphatic =to and the conjunction t’izãː: ‘but’ in the following clause.

(8.10) གཉེན་ རྐྱབས་སྟི་ མི་སར་ཏྔོ་ སྔོང་བྔོའི་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨིན་
       wedding do-NF new.person=CEMPH went-2INF.GEN went-2INF EQU.PER
       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-láp[-o be?]), by the prefix mi- (mi-láp[-o be?]) or by negating the final copula (láp-o membe?). The prefix ma- is the most frequent, neutral way of negating a past action, see (8.11).

(8.11) a) རྔ་ཞང་གི་ 
       ázay=gi lóu=di mú: ma-tʰoː.
       maternal.uncle=GEN speech=DEMPH 3SGF.AGT NEG-hear
       ‘She didn’t hear the uncle’s words.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

b) སྔོབ་གྲྭ་ འགྱུ་ མ་ཐྔོབ་པྔོ་ སྦད།
       lóp tʰa gju ma-tʰop-o be?.
       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) སྤྱོད་ དུ་ ག་ ཏེ་ ཤེ་ བ་ ལེགས་ སྤྱོད་ དུ་ སྤྱོད་ བ་
       ódi gā: t’a dik’ā nyː láp-kʰː lêm mi-tʰem-bo be?.
       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) བྲ་ ཐང་ བྲ་
       mi-nūp-o be?.
       NEG-sink-2INF EQU.NE
       ‘(She) does/did not sink (under water).’ (TB comment on a video)

Negating the final copula results in an emphatic type of negation, which is frequently used in the context of persuading. Of the six examples of this construction in my written data, in three the speaker first expresses disagreement with the addressee by the negated interjection mɛː, mɛː: ‘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.

286 An innovative Denjongke spelling inspired by Dzongkha མི་ ‘mind; conversation, speech, talk, word’.
(8.14)  We just came here today to meet (you) ː (8.19) and (8.20).

(8.15)  This practice is usual in story
typically combined to form a twice negated construction. Note that negated construction is followed,

(8.16)  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.

(8.17)  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)  ‘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).
The completive form -tsʰa(ː) derives from the Classical Tibetan verb tshar ‘complete’ and denotes a completed action. The completion of action is illustrated in (8.21) where -tsʰa is contrasted with the past marker -tɕɛ/zɛ. In (8.21a), the speaker completed reading the whole book, while in (8.22b) the speaker finished an act of book-reading but did not necessarily read the book to the end.

(8.21)  

a) བོད་ལྡན་ཁ་ཐོབ་བོད་གཞི་མོད་

\[ \text{dā}: \eta:\ t'ep=tei? \text{dok-tsʰa}. \]

yesterday LAGT book=INDF read-CMPL
‘Yesterday I finished reading a book.’ (NB e)

b) བོད་ལྡན་ཁ་ཐོབ་བོད་གཞི་མོད་

\[ \text{dā}: \eta:\ t'ep=tei? \text{dok-te}. \]

yesterday LAGT book=INDF read-PST
‘Yesterday I did some book-reading.’ (NB e)

Although -tsʰa has grammaticalized into an independent marker of completion that can end a sentence (8.22), it may be followed by an equative copula (8.23) or the existential copula du? (8.24). Moreover, tsʰa resembles an ordinary secondary verb in that it occurs in nominalized periphrastic constructions as -tsʰo-u (8.25).

(8.22) བོད་ལྡན་ཁ་ཐོབ་བོད་གཞི་མོད་

\[ \eta'ei \text{ jà:p} \ 't'ö:-tì \text{ lò ni.-tsʰo? lëp-tsʰa}. \]

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)  
(8.23) a) འདུག་བསྐྱེད་དག ལྗོང་མོ་(8.23) 
"Now he’s become a driver.’ (KN e) 

(8.24)  
(8.24) b) མི་འདུག་ནི་ཁུ་འབྲེལ་(8.24) 
‘He’s arrived.’ (KN e) 

(8.25)  
(8.25) a) ལྟོགས་ཀར་ཤིང་(8.25) 
‘Now everything has arrived by car.’ (RBM discussion on the roof) 

b) ཞེས་འདུགས་ཁུ་ཤིང་(8.25) 
‘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) གུགས་ིས་ཞུགས་(8.25) 
‘Has he returned home, I wonder?’ (Richhi 24) 

d) ནི་ཐེག་དུང་(8.25) 
‘Now then at that time, the time had come for these camels to go carrying loads.’ (PD bet story) 

In (8.26), the completive occurs with the past suffix -ze. The form -tsʰou is tentatively glossed as a secondary verb ‘finish’ without nominalization, because adding the past marker -te/-ze to a nominalized form would be the only such example in my data.

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287 The equivalent word in Denjongke given by consultant YR is རུམ་བཅུལ་མཁན་num-kʰor kyː-kʰ: [oil-wheel drive-NMLZ]. 
288 The original utterance has the verb ending tʰøn-tsʰa bɛʔ [become-CMPL-IN=AT] but the consultant also re-uttered the clause with tʰøn-tsʰa bɛʔ. 
289 This pronunciation represents typical spoken language. Reading-style pronunciation would be lõk-tsʰo-bo.
(8.26) བྔོན་ཚོའུ་ཞེ་

They (They) already went. (KT e)

In one instance in my data, the completive is followed by a morpheme which looks like the imperfective marker -to but which probably is the contrastive emphatic =to (see §16.1.2).

(8.27) བྱག་ལས་བྔོག་སྟེ་ཐལ་ལྔོ་རྔོ་འགིལ་བཏང་སི་ཐྔོ་ལྔོ།

'(You) sent a stone-fall from the precipice towards me and a stone fell on my back, (he said).'</UU
deer story>

For evidential distinctions of the various constructions with -tsʰa(ː), consider §9.1.3.

8.1.3 Secondary verb mjõː: ‘finish, experience’

The verb mjõː བླུ་‘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 བླུ myong ‘experience’. It is likely that after having developed the meaning ‘finish, complete’ mjõː has pushed the earlier verb tsʰaː with a similar meaning ‘complete, finish’ from ordinary verbhood towards becoming a grammatical completive marker. The secondary verb mjõː ‘finish’ differs from the completive morpheme tsʰaː: in that in addition to the serialized construction mjõː can occur in a nonfinal converbal construction (with little difference in meaning) whereas tsʰaː cannot, e.g. sà-ti mjõː: ‘finished eating’, *sà-ti tsʰaː.

The use of mjõː referring to finished action is illustrated by (8.28) and (8.29).

(8.28) ཐམས་ཅད་བྱས་མྱོང་སྦད།

all do finish EQU.NE

'(We) finished doing all.' (DB life story)

(8.29) ཨྔོ་ན་ཐར་བཞེས་མྱོང།

there 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) བྲུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐར་མྱོང་སྦད་ཀུ་ནས་སྤྱོད་པ།

flower all blossom-RDP-INF all 3SGM=AGT suck experience

‘All flowers, all the blossoming ones he had experienced sucking (the nectar out of).’ (RS bee story)
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. In (8.32), the statement has present relevance because the speaker is going to reclaim an old loan.

(8.32) tʼatøː tʽytsʰø ʔ nàŋɕ a=lo tyːlu ódem kjap-kʰ̩ː nàː tʼoː now.GEN season inside=DAT ode like.that strike-NMLZ 1SG.AGT hear ma-mjøː NEG-experience

'At the present time, I have not heard (people) who sing odes like that.’ (KT intro to an ode)

(8.33) dile ődi giablə nà te tʼato nàː jurop po:len láp-sa then that after 1SG so now here Europe Poland say-NMLZ.SPAT nàŋɕ tʼyːku teːŋteŋ=teiʔ námpu teːoð inside 1SG reincarnated.teacher small=INDF with doctrine l̥ap-zőn-pʼja doː-po jʊʔ. teach-PROG-ADVZR stay-2INF EX.PER

'Then after that I have been staying here in Europe, Poland and taught a small tulku (reincarnated Buddhist teacher).’ (RB life story)

(8.34) rodzou ten-tem-bo du-ke. horns show-RDP-2INF EX.SEN-IN

'(Its) horns are out showing (as I see in the picture).’ (KN e)

290 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.”

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(8.35) ་འདི་ སྔོམ་ན་ བྲི་བྲི་འིད་སྦད།

di  dom=na  t'i-ti-u  jebb?.
this  box=LOC  write-RDP-2INF  EX.NE

‘It’s written in this box...’ (TB e)

The perfect construction may be negated in two ways, by simply
negating the final copula (8.36-37) or by a special negative construction VERB-ён: NEG.EX (8.38-39).

(8.36)  

a) ཉ་དེར་བཞིན་གསི་འཕོར་ (basketball) ལྷེ་བོར་ཆེན།

ɲa  t'ato  sā: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) གོ་ཐོ་ཆེན་དུ་དབང་གསུང་ ཕྱོན་འབྲུག་སྐྱོང་།

ödi  teʰ峨ː=gi  nāː-nāː-bo  minduk=ɛo=la.
that  king=AGT  do.HON-RDP-2INF  NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON

‘The king hadn’t done that, you know.’ (CY interview)

c) ཡུར་བྱེད་ལ་ཚད་་ག་མ་འིད་སྦད།

t'ariŋ  sā:te  ᶝaːte?  k'are  eʰi-wa  tcaː-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) མནེ་མུ་  རྔོགས་ཅྱུ༹༹  ང་ལོ་  གན་འདྲེ་  གསུང་ མེད་ཀ

nɛ̃́ːmu  roː=tsu  ᶝaː=lo  k'anːeto  sûm-bo  mèː-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) ཉ་ཁུའི་རར་བུ་བྔོ་ མེད།

ɲa  kʰu=i=tsaː  gju-wo  mè?
1SG 3SGM=GEN=by  go-2INF  NEG.EX.PER

‘I can’t go to his place (e.g. because we are not in good terms).’ Lit. ‘I have no
going to his place.’ (KUN e)

b) ཉ་སིལུགུ་ ལྷེ་བོར་ཆེན།

ɲa  siliguru  gju-wo  mè?
1SG  TPN  go-2INF  NEG.EX.PER

‘I have no going to Siliguri’ (KUN e)

The negated form illustrated in (8.37) is also used for negating progressive, continuous
and imperfective constructions, see §§8.3.

The second way of negating the perfect construction is to use the morpheme -ён, which
etymologically likely derives from WT བུལ། shul ‘trace, remains’. Therefore -ён: is here
tentatively glossed as ‘trace’, which fits the clausal meaning. In the novel Richhi, both the forms šul and shus occur in writing.

(8.38) `ná t’ato sàte basketball tsì-ey: mè?.
1SG now until basketball(Eng.) play-trace NEG.EX.PER
‘I haven’t played basketball so far (in my life).’ (KN e)

letter.GEN=LOC=DAT clear do-NF anything write-trace NEG.EX.SEN
‘Nothing (about the things the reader hopes to find) is written clearly within the letter.’ (Richhi 164)

The construction VERB-ey: NEG.EX is further illustrated in the question-answer-pair (8.40):

(8.40) a) t’ato bhaila k’ate jò??
now PN how EX.PER
‘How is Bhaila now?’

b) t’aruj lèm-p ja t’ak-ey: mè.
yet good-ADVZR be.cured-trace NEG.EX.PER
‘He hasn’t recovered well yet.’ (Richhi 26)

The positive construction VERB-ey: EX is rare in my data. The only instances in my data are the question answer pair (8.41) and clause (8.42) from the novel Richhi.

(8.41) a) rä: nàm=lo=jà: siliguri lep-tec-ga?
2SG.M when=DAT=even TPN arrive-PST-PQ
‘Did you ever go to Siliguri?’ (NAB e)

b) `nà lep-ey: jò?.
1SG arrive-trace EX.PER
‘(Yes) I have gone (there).’ (NAB e)

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291 According to consultant YR, this word could be written dsal-kêol.
292 There is most likely a spelling-mistake here, the right spelling being gsals-drágäs.
293 Morpheme analysis here follows the written form in the novel Richhi, which often has a genitive preceding the locative case. Following this analysis, here three cases are stacked together (GEN=LOC=DAT). An alternative would be to analyse nalo as a postposition meaning ‘inside’. For case-stacking, see §3.7.1.3.
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, jø̀ 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) རྨུད་རྩུད་ཀིས་ན་བཞག་བཞག་ཀྔོ་མེད།
mytsy=ki nà: zak(-zak-o) mè.
others=AGT here set NEG.EX.PER
‘Others have not placed (them) here.’ (KN e)

b) རྨུད་རྩུད་ཀིས་ན་བཞག་བཞག་ཀྔོ་མེད།
mytsy=ki nà: zak(-zak-o) mè.
others=AGT here set NEG.EX.PER
‘Others have not placed (them) here.’ (KN e)

(8.44) a) ལང་སེབས་པོད།
ŋàlep jö̀.
1SG arrive EX.PER
‘I have arrived.’ (KN e)

b) ལང་སེབས་པོད། / མགྲོ་རྩེས་པོད།
ŋàlep mè.ŋà ma-lep.
1SG NEG-arrive 1SG NEG-arrive
‘I haven’t arrived.’ ‘I did not arrive.’ (KN e)

Note that jö̀ may occur in a complex construction, as exemplified by jö̀:ee be? in the irrealis/future in (8.45).

(8.45) བྲོལ་ཡིན་ཁ་ལྟར་མི་ཙུའི་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོ་བོerner
With stative verbs, the meaning focuses on continuity:

\[(8.46)\]

\[\text{mìnto sérpo, márpo, karpo}^{296} \text{ðendзо: nāylo cā: jʊʔ.}\]

'Yellow, red and white flowers are in blossom in Sikkim.' (song lyrics)

According to the consultant KN, (8.46) can be negated by replacing a negated copula for the affirmed one, i.e. cā: mèʔ.

When used in the resultative construction, the verb doʔ ‘sit’ is ambiguous as to dynamic (‘have taken a seat’) or stative reading (‘are sitting’) but nevertheless marks the continuing state of sitting:

\[(8.47)\]

\[\text{kʰõːɲíː-ətʼatˈɲɛ̀ːʈʰiːtɛŋlo duːjʊʔ.}\]

'The two of them are now sitting on the bed.' (Richhi 18)

### 8.1.6 Sensorial resultative/past

The construction VERB duʔ, which is rather infrequent in my data, expresses sensorial resultative and sensorial past meanings. As shown in §7.2.2 and §9.1.2, sensoriality refers to the fact the speaker bases a proposition on a sensorial experience, typically visual. The difference to a similar construction with jʊʔ is that whereas jʊʔ implies that the resulted state continues at the time of speech, duʔ only makes reference to an event where knowledge was gained and remains uncommitted as to whether the state is still ongoing. A construction with duʔ only implies that the state-of-affairs held at the time of observing. In examples (8.48-52), where the time of observing coincides with the time of speaking, the construction is resultative, i.e. marking a state achieved by the verbal action.

\[(8.48)\]

\[\text{tˈariŋ miːlaʔ zi dzom duʔ.}\]

‘Four people have/are gathered today, I see.’ (PTB e)

According to consultant KN, (8.48) cannot be negated by just replacing the affirmed existential with a negated one. Negation strategy is adopted from the perfect construction (see §8.1.3):

\[(8.49)\]

a) \[\text{tˈariŋ miːlaʔ zi dzom-bo minduʔ.}\]

‘The four people haven’t gathered today, I see.’ (KN e)

The copula may, however, be negated in a construction with (pʰa)gɛ ‘except’, see (8.50). The meaning corresponds to English more than accompanied by a negated verb or the English only followed by an affirmative verb.

\[^{296}\text{The colour words in this song occur in disyllabic Tibetan-style forms instead of the typical monosyllabic Denjongke form (séːp, máːp, kaːp) probably for poetic and rhythmic reasons.}\]
For another example of resultative use, consider (8.51) with an affirmed (a) and a negated (b) clause.

(8.51)  

(a) སོགས་བྱུང་ ལུ་ སོགས་བྱུང་
\[ t’so=na dza sük sô: du? \]
\[ \text{lake=LOC rainbow touch go.PFV EX.SEN} \]

‘A rainbow is touching (or: has come and touched) the lake.’ (DB, describing a picture)

(b) སོགས་བྱུང་ ལུ་ སོགས་བྱུང་
\[ t’so=na dza sük(-o) mindu? \]
\[ \text{lake=LOC rainbow touch(-2INF) NEG.EX.SEN} \]

‘There is no rainbow touching the lake.’ (KN e)

Note that in the negated version (8.51b) the secondary verb sô: is elided and the main verb may occur with the nominalizer or without.

The knowledge on which the statement with the construction VERB du? is based can be gained either through direct observation of the verbal event, as in (8.48-51) above
de297, or through observing the results of past action, as in (8.52).

(8.52)  

\[ dâ: kʰaːnuː=lo ṭâca pʰou jô? \]
\[ \text{yesterday the.day.before.yesterday=DAT 1PL over.there work} \]
\[ kjap deː-poː gâ: à=m=tei? tʰu bak lô: sô: du-ke.} \]
\[ \text{do stay-2INF.GEN time jackal=INDF pick carry rise go.PFV EX.SEN-IN} \]

‘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-ke 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

\[ 297 \text{Strictly speaking, in (8.51a) the speaker does not claim to have seen the movement of the rainbow onto the lake (as suggested by the verb ‘go’). The speaker claims to see or have seen the state resulting from the movement of the rainbow onto the lake.} \]

\[ 298 \text{According to consultant KT, the lack of agentive and overt patient argument in this clause makes the jackal appear to be, on the clausal level, the patient and not the doer of the action. The context, however, makes clear that the jackal is the agent and a hen the patient.} \]
connection of sensorial and inferential in Lhasa Tibetan and several other languages, see Hill (2017).

In contrast to (8.48-52), where the sensory experience coincides with the time of speaking or is a recent one, example (8.53) illustrates a reference to a past sensory event. The speaker describes an act by a historical figure about whom he has gained knowledge from a written document or by word of mouth. As in the previous example, in (8.53) the use of duʔ is not based on direct evidence of the depicted action but on written or spoken secondhand reports.

(8.53) 

\[ \text{kʰoŋ=gi mɛ̃́lam de: tap-o nā: du-ke.} \]
\[ \text{3SG.HON=AGT prayer like.this sown-2INF do.HON EX.SEN-IN} \]
\[ \text{‘He prayed this kind of prayer.’ (KLT Bumchu video)} \]

According to consultant KN, (8.53) can be negated by replacing the affirmative existential with a negated one:

(8.54) 

\[ \text{kʰoŋ=gi mɛ̃́lam de: tap-o nā: mindu-ke.} \]
\[ \text{3SG.HON=AGT prayer such sown-2INF do.HON NEG.EX.SEN-IN} \]
\[ \text{‘He did not pray such a prayer.’ (KN e)} \]

The auxiliary duʔ may also be used as a story-telling technique, where the speaker invites the addressee(s) to become part of the scene by observing events in real time, see (8.55).

(8.55) 

\[ \text{lāmsā: goʔ onclick ɕoktei=k i kʰu=lo jā: bak sōː} \]
\[ \text{immediately vulture come-NF wing=AGT 3SGM=DAT up carry go.PFV} \]
\[ \text{duʔ. EX.SEN} \]
\[ \text{‘Immediately a vulture came and carried (or: comes and carries) him up in his wings.’ (RB butcher story)} \]

As suggested by uses in (8.51), (8.52) and (8.55), the construction VERB duʔ is particularly common with (the suppletive) verb sōː: ‘went’.

8.1.7 Resultative secondary verb zak

The secondary verb zak/zaʔ (often zaʔ) ‘set, place, put’ (WD གུམ་ཐེག་), 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).\(^{299}\) 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) 

\[ \text{gom pʰi zaʔ.} \]
\[ \text{door open put} \]
\[ \text{‘Leave/keep the door open.’ (PT e)} \]

\(^{299}\) This frequent construction resembles the Nepali verbal forms supplemented by hālnu and rākhnu ‘put’, e.g. bhan-i-rākh-nu [say-LNK-put-INF] ‘to say’.

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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) *(lò)gju? kʰa sèːta? p’ja-ti óːe:* súŋ zaː du?.

story mouth clear do-NF like.that say.HON put EX.SEN
‘It has been so said in clear words.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

(8.58) *ŋàtɕi kʰim-tɕʰɛː nāːzaː joʔ?*

1PL.GEN house-great give.HON put EX.PER
‘(He) has given (us) our Khimchen-building.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(8.59) *paŋkʰale k’iʔ300 kjaːp 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) *teiː=di tāː zak-o ʔi:, 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) *kʰaŋ=gi nā=lo teʰaːka ʔdi tāː 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) *pe=na teʰoːlōːty sūm zo zaː:-zaː: joʔ?*

example=LOC Buddha.body three build put-RDP EX.PER
‘For instance, (he) has built three Buddha-bodies.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Like many other complex verbal expressions, the construction VERB zak EX likely derives from converbal construction from which the converb morpheme has been dropped:

(8.63) *mēmpa: sūŋ-di zaː joʔ?*

doctor.AGT say.HON-NF out EX.PER
‘The doctor has said...’ (lit. ‘The doctor has by saying placed’) (Richhi 167)

300 This word refers to a sticking glue-like sap from a certain tree.
8.1.8 Iterative past

Iterativity and intensity can be marked with two constructions which are both sound symbolic in that iterativity in meaning corresponds to iterativity of form.

8.1.8.1 Iterative with -kjä:

The first construction, *VERB-po VERB-kjä: EQU/p’ja*, is formed with the help of =kjä:, which is an alternative form of the more frequent =jä: ‘too, even, again’. The construction may occur in a finite clause (followed by an equative auxiliary), see (8.64-65), or in an adverbial clause followed by the verb/adverbializer *p’ja ‘do’*, see (8.66). In (8.64), the meaning is clearly iterative. In (8.65) the action is not iterative but extends over a long period. In (8.66), it is not clear whether the action is continuous or consists of intermittent bursts.

(8.64) བུ་སིང་ལགས་གཉིས་པྔོའི་སྐྔོར་ལྔོ་མ་ཀིས་ནང་་ནང་ཀང་ིན།

* ’The mother has been keeping on asking me about the second sister.’ (Richhi 27)*

(8.65) སྨན་རེག་ཀྔོ་ལས་གཉིད་ཁུག་པྔོ་ཁུག་ཀང་ིན།

* ‘After the medicine took effect, (he) has slept and slept.’ (rnam-rtog 32)*

(8.66) ཆུ་བྔོ་ཆུ་ཀང་བྱེས་ཁའི་ན་ཆུ་ཐིག་ཡང་མ་འཐུང་།

* ‘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་བྔོ་ཤི་ཀང་སྦད།

* ‘People died and died.’ (KN e)*

8.1.8.2 Iterative with -teim

The second construction with which iterativity and intensity may be marked is *VERB-po(=le) VERB-teim EQU*. The formative -teim is of unknown origin and is in (8.68-69) preliminarily glossed simply as a nominalizer. 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).

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301 A possible origin is the progressive form -ʑɛn/teen, which has been nominalized with -po/bo, which 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 pʼja.

(8.69) མུ་ཉུ་ཉག་རྐྱབས་པྔོ་རྐྱབས་ཅིམ་བྱ༹ས་བྔོ་སྦད།
\[\text{3SGF force strike-2INF strike-NMLZ.FEM do-2INF EQU.NE} \]
‘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 sṍː ‘we went’. One of Sandberg’s (1895: 42) examples of the past indefinite is “He has written a letter: Kho yige chi pʼi song du’”, corresponding to kʰu jìgi tɕiʔ pʼi sõː duʔ [he letter=INDF write went EX.SEN]. According to Sandberg (1895), the verb ei ‘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 ei-sʰaː ‘has died’ and periphrastic past ei-ɕí̃ː/b ɛʔ. The form ei sõː-ʑɛ (presumably corresponding to Sandberg’s shi song zhe) was reported by consultant KN to have a purposive meaning equivalent to ei-wa sóːʑɛ ‘went to die’. The form ei sóː duʔ, on the other hand, was reported by consultant TB to be a curse-like wish, probably something in the effect ‘let him die’. For past tense of pʼja ‘do’, Sandberg (1895: 49) lists “Zhe song”, a form which seems to combine the Central Tibetan tɕɛ ‘do’ with the secondary verb sṍː ‘went’. In my data, pʼja employs the same past forms as other verbs, e.g. the perfective past pʼja-ʑɛ, periphrastic past form pʼja-ᵊ̃ː/b ɛʔ, and the completive pʼja-tsʰaː. It is noteworthy that Sandberg does not record the completive form -tsʰaː at all, suggesting that this form may be a later development.

8.2 Present habitual and future forms

There are four forms with which to express general facts holding in the present and three forms to express future, see Table 8.2.

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302 The language variety recorded by Sandberg (1895) has /pʼi/ ‘write’ for what most speakers nowadays have /ʈ’i/. I have heard that the form /pʼi/, which is more faithful than /ʈ’i/ to the general tendency of Denjongke to correspond WT /br/ with /py/, is still used in East Sikkim around Rhenock.
Table 8.2. Present habitual and future constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>steady-state present</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>present habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple present</td>
<td>VERB beʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present habitual I</td>
<td>VERB-kʰɛ̃ EQU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present habitual II</td>
<td>STATIVE.VERB-po EQU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonpast</td>
<td>VERB-ɛɛ EQU</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncertain future</td>
<td>VERB őː</td>
<td>be about to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imminent future</td>
<td>VERB-rap EQU/EX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present and future forms are here discussed in the same order as they occur in Table 8.2. In addition to the productive forms presented in Table 8.2, some infinitival constructions are formed with -ɲi/ɲɛ, which resembles the Dzongkha infinitive -ni (van Driem 1998: 338). These infinitival constructions are discussed in §8.2.8. The imperfective -to/do, which is introduced in §8.3.1 below, may also express immediate future.

8.2.1 Steady state present
In the steady state present tense, a bare verb root expresses an ongoing state. 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།
ŋáːɕéː.
1SG.AGT know
‘I know (it).’

(8.71) བོད་བོད་
ŋà tɕʰøː=lo ga.
1SG 2SG.L=DAT like
‘I like you.’ (KN e)

(8.72) མོང་མོང་མོང་
nòː-kjaʔ? kjako=di=lo dzuga làp.
cattle-excrement excrement=DEMPH=DAT cow-dung say
‘Cow-dung, dung is called /dzuga/.’ (PL interview)

(8.73) a) བསྟན་འཛིན་
tenziŋ=gi pʰak-ea sà-ga?
Tenzing=AGT pig-meat eat-PQ
‘Does Tenzing eat pork?’ (PT e)

303 The name “steady state present” for this category is adopted from Van Driem’s (1998: 195) description of the analogous category in Dzongkha.
b) མདོ་
   སེ་
   འེ་
   ‘Yes, he does.’ (lit. ‘eats’) (PT e)

The steady state present is negated by the prefix mi-, see (8.74).

(8.74) མི་ལབ་
    དི་=ལོ  
    བེ་-ཆེཾ?  
    མི་-ལབ་.
    དི་=ལོ  
    བེ་-ཆེཾ?  
    མི་-ལབ་.
    ‘That is not called [be:ce?]’. (PL interview)

Alternative ways to say approximately the same thing as (8.71) are (8.75) and (8.76).

(8.75) ཨ་
    དེ་=ལོ  
    བ་--duty.
    དི་=ལོ  
    བ་--duty.
    ‘I like you.’ (KN e)

(8.76) ཨ་
    དེ་=ལོ  
    བ་-INF  
    བ་-INF  
    ‘I like you.’ (KN e)

8.2.2 Simple present
The verb root may be followed by the evidentially neutral equative beʔ (or the cliticized variant =peʔ) to form a construction which is mainly used for present habitual meanings (8.77-79) but which, with an appropriate adverbial, may also express future events (8.80-81).

(8.77) དི་
    བེ་=EQU.
    དི་
    བེ་=EQU.
    ‘The mountain is visible.’ (TB e)

(8.78) a) རུ་
    རུ་
    རུ་
    ‘Does he work?’ (KN e)

b) རུ་
    རུ་
    རུ་
    ‘He does not work.’ (KN e)

(8.79) ལེ་
    ལེ་
    ལེ་
    ‘(They) go free just like that.’ (CY interview)
(8.80) the.day.after.tomorrow morning clock.time ten=DAT X-ray do-NF
look-HORT ISG.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) kʰu tʰorãː badzar gju bɛʔ.
3SGM tomorrow market go EQU.NE
‘He will go to the market tomorrow.’

Example (8.82) contrasts simple present and steady state present forms respectively. According to consultant PT, (8.82a) could be said if the speaker has just seen Tenzing eat pork, whereas (8.82b) implies old knowledge about Tenzing’s pork-eating habit.

(8.82) a) tɛnziŋ=gi pʰak-ea sà be?.
Tenzing=AGT pig-meat eat EQU.NE
‘Tenzing eats pork.’ (PT e)

b) tɛnziŋ=gi pʰak-ea sà.
Tenzing=AGT pig-meat eat EQU.NE
‘Tenzing eats pork.’ (PT e)

The simple present construction is negated by the prefix mi-.

(8.83) kʼamjasi=k ʰatei? ʰa bombai=lo ʰo: mi-ʰo(p)=pɛʔ.
because this.year ISG TPN=DAT come NEG-receive=EQU.NE
‘Because this year I have no chance to come to Bombay.’ (Richhi 147)

(8.84) tʼarin=gi tʼaktec=:di tʼat=de mi-tsʰu be?:
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) ʰo=idí=t=di te ʰo idí kʼajem mi-láp-kʼen be?:
that=DAT=DEMPH so that what.is.it NEG-say=NMLZ EQU.NE
‘It’s not called that, whatever.’ (PL interview)
If (we) talk about lamas, (they) live at monastery. (YR interview)

The important thing is that one has to know one’s own language at first. (KL BLA 12)

But at that time the king didn’t have any power. (CY interview)

Our literature hasn’t so far been able to reach university-level, eh. (DR discussion w/ KL)

(They) do not come descending from the sky. (NAB BLA 7)

‘They did not know that.’ (CY interview)

According to consultant YR, the Denjongke words for literature and and university are bstan-bcos and gtsug-lag slob-khang respectively.

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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)  ཏི་ཐལ་ བྱུང་ ཡཉེད་ སྐྱེ བཤད་ ཧོ་ཐོ་འོོ་ བོ སྒོ་འོོ་ སྐྱས་ རྒྱལ་པུ་ སྐྱས་ ཆུས་ མི་

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)  མ་ ཤེ་ སྐྱེ རིང་  ནི།

(8.91)  བཤད་ ཡོད་ སྐྱེ ཚུ་ སྡིང་

‘This rope is a bit (too) long.’ (KN e)
(8.92) Bill Gates \( \text{DAT} \) money \text{much} \text{EX,NE}  
'Bill Gates has a lot of money.' (YR e)

(8.93) a) Bill \( \text{DAT} \) money \text{much} \text{EX,NE}  
'Bill Gates has a lot of money.' (YR e)

b) '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 \text{VERB-}e\text{EQU} can refer both to habitually true present facts and future events, hence the name nonpast (glossed \text{NPST}). The personal form \text{VERB-}i\text{EQU} is often abbreviated to \text{VERB-}i\text{EQU} (see 8.101). Present habitual uses, which resemble in meaning the present habitual form \text{VERB-}k\text{EQU}, are illustrated in (8.94-96).

(8.94) \text{VERB-}i\text{EQU}  
'\text{It's called "biko."}' (PL interview)

(8.95) \text{VERB-}i\text{EQU}  
'I live in Tashiding.' (JD life story)

(8.96) \text{VERB-}i\text{EQU}  
'(My eyes) have a burning sensation at night.' (TB discussion)

\[305\] 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 \text{do-}to \text{i\text{EQU}} (for the imperfective, see §8.3.1).
The nonpast construction may also function as a type of historical present, as shown by example (8.97) from a folkstory. The final equative is replaced by the reportative =lo, which may also replace pure equative copulas (see §7.2.5.2).

(8.97) བདག་བསམ་བདེ་ནམ་ཤར་འོང་གམ་ལབ་སྟི་འགྱིམ་སོད་ཤེ་ལོ།
\[\text{te paksam=di nām cā: őŋ-gam láp-ti gim} \]
so balsam(flower)=DEMPH when blossom come-ATTQ say-NF stare
\[\text{do:-ce=lo.} \]
stay-INF=REP

‘Then he sat (lit. sits) observing when the balsam flower would blossom, so the story goes.’ (RS bee story)

The nonpast form can express what the speaker just did or is doing:

(8.98) བོད་ཀུ་དཔོན་ཤེ་ཟཱ་ིེད་ཡུ་སོད་ཤེ་ལོ།
\[\text{nā ódem kʰepartēimi=di mē? cu-ce ŋiː} \]
1SG such special=DEMPH NEG.EX.PER say.HUM-INF EQU.PER

‘I am not that special, I submit.’ (CY interview)

For future uses, consider (8.99-101).

(8.99) འོ་ཐེ་ནེ་ཞིང་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་ཐོག་ཤེ་ལོ།
\[\text{e: t'ene t'orā: nā nā: ba do-ce ŋiː} \]
o then tomorrow 1SG here hide sit-INF EQU.PER

‘O, in that case tomorrow I’ll sit hiding here.’ (KT animal story)

(8.100) ད་ཐོག་རངས་ཅན་གནངས་ཚེ་ཡུརམ་སེ་བྔོ་ལས་འབལ་དགྔོས་ཤེ་སྦད།
\[\text{tʰa tʰorā: nāŋtsʰi jū m ki-u=le be} \]
now tomorrow day.after.tomorrow weed grow-2INF=ABL uproot
\[\text{go-ce be?} \]
be.NEED-INF EQU.NE

‘Some time later when weed has grown, (it) will need to be weeded out.’ (PL interview)

(8.101) བུད་ཀུན་མེང་ཞེས་རྒྱུས་ི་
\[\text{öna kjap-ein la}^{306} \]
there strike-NPST.PER okay
‘I’ll throw (the ball) there, okay?’ (oh, Tashiding)

Similar to the present habitual construction VERB-kʰē: EQU, the nonpast construction may be used for historical present, see (8.102), where the speaker tells about his childhood.

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306 The typical Denjongke pronunciation is lo (the pronunciation here follows Nepali from which the morpheme is borrowed).
'Then (we) would like that always hold discussions about ancient Sikkim and about the Guru’s hidden land.' (CY interview)

The nonpast construction can be negated in three ways. In the first, the negator prefix mi-attaches to the verb root and no TAME-markers follow (8.103). In the second construction, the same prefix is used but is supplemented with infinitive and equative morphemes (8.104). The third construction negates the final auxiliary (8.105). Analogously with negation in periphrastic past constructions, the last construction (with negated auxiliary) is less frequent and here preliminarily considered an emphatic negating construction.

(8.103) འདེ་རང་ཨིན་ན་ཏོག་ཐོན་ཤེ་ཅག་ཅུའི་རང་གི་བར་ན་གཅིག་གིས་གཞན་ལོག་བྔོ་རང་གཏད་ཤད་མན་སྦད་ཨིན་ནམ་གོགས་ཀུ་ཅུའི་

(8.104) ད་འདི་ཐོག་འདི་...གར་ས་...ཏི་རུག་བརྱ་ཐམ་བ་འདི་བྱིན་ཤད་མན་སྦད།

(8.105) a) བོད་ཡི་མི་དྲུག་པར་ལ་འོད་བུད་དགག་ེ་པ་དེ་བ་དི་པའི་ཐོན་ཤེ་ད་གསལ་ཞིག་བཅས་ཞིག་ཐོན་ཤེ་སྐྱེ་ཐོན་ཤེ་སྐྱེ་ཐོན་ཤེ་

b) ད་འདི་དྲུག...གཅོད་...ཐོག་བདེ་ནུས་ཐོག་བདེ་ནུས་

307 These type of double genitives, which are frequent in spoken language, do not occur in written Denjongke, where mere རྡོ་རྗེ་ t'ay. is used instead.
The three negating constructions are summarized in (8.106).

(8.106) a) མིན་འགྱུ་ཤད་ སྦད། (Nep.) བ་ཛར་ (Nep.)

\( kʰu \ tʰorǎ: \text{badzar} \ mig-gju. \)

3SGM tomorrow market NEG-go

‘He will not go to the market tomorrow.’ (KN e)

b) མིན་འགྱུ་ཤད་ སྦད། (Nep.) བ་ཛར་ (Nep.)

\( kʰu \ tʰorǎ: \text{badzar} \ mig-gju-ec \ beʔ. \)

3SGM tomorrow market NEG-GO-INF EQU.NE

‘He will not go to the market tomorrow.’ (KN e)

c) མིན་འགྱུ་ཤད་ སྦད། (Nep.) བ་ཛར་ (Nep.)

\( kʰu \ tʰorǎ: \text{badzar} \ gju-ec \ mɛmbɛʔ. \)

3SGM tomorrow market go-INF NEG.EQU.NE

‘He will not go to the market tomorrow.’ (KN)

Consultant KN commented that the forms \( gju-ec \ mɛmbɛʔ \) (negating the final copula) and \( mig-gju \ beʔ \) in (8.106) (using negator \( mi- \) but adding the infinitive followed by positive copula) implied less certainty than the mere \( mig-gju \). Future research is needed to fully understand the semantic differences between the different negated future forms.

8.2.6 Uncertain future VERB \( õː \):

In the uncertain future construction, the main verb is followed by the secondary verb \( õː \) ‘come’, which functions as an auxiliary. It can refer to quite unlikely events, such as (8.107), or to very probable events, such as (8.108). When invited to comment on the difference between the nonpast construction (see §8.2.4) and the uncertain future construction, the consultants said that the event referred to by the nonpast form is more fixed, whereas the uncertain future form leaves more room for contingencies.

(8.107) མན་རྒྱུག། སིལ་ འྔོང་།

\( maŋ-gju. \ dì: \ õː. \)

NEG-run fall FUT.UNC

‘Don’t run. (You)’ll fall.’ (NB e)

(8.108) མིན་ གན་ གན་ ནིང་ ཐང་ བསྐོ གྲོག་ དགྲུས་ མཁྱེན་ འྔོང་།

\( mɛ̃n \ k’an \ k’an \ pö: \ \text{go:-po} \ tʰorǎ: \ t’i \ p’in \ õː. \)

medicine what what buy be.needed-2INF tomorrow write give FUT.UNC

‘Tomorrow I’ll write for you what medicines you have to buy.’ (Richhi 29)

(8.109) འོག་ མཚོའི་ བླ་ གྲོམ་ སྒོ་ འྔོང་།

\( gjamtsʰøː \ tʰu \ kʰom \ sìʔ \ õː. \)

ocean,GEN water dry(intr.) be.possible FUT.UNC

‘It will be possible for the water of the oceans to dry up.’ (song lyrics)
The expression of uncertainty in this construction may be made more explicit by adding the probabilitative -tö to form the construction VERB öː-tö, see §8.5.1.

8.2.7 Imminent future
The imminent future suffix -rap is appended to the verb root. It codes something that, in the speaker’s opinion, is going to happen in the imminent future (glossed IMF). This form may be followed by either an equative or an existential copula, as shown in (8.111-113), or even by the verb tʰon 'come/go out, happen, become’, see (8.114).

(8.111) 
\[ kʰu \quad gju-\text{rap} \quad ñiː/bɛʔ/\text{jø̃ː}/\text{du}ʔ. \]
3SGM go-IMF EQU.PER/EQU.NE/EX.PER/EX.SEN
‘He’s about to go.’ (KN e)

(8.112) 
\[ pʰir=ki \quad tɕʰutʰo? \quad ge? \quad duŋ-\text{rap} \quad be?. \]
night=GEN clock.time eight hit-IMF EQU.NE
‘It’s about to strike eight o’clock at night.’ (Richhi 108)

(8.113) 
\[ ñɛːl \quad ðːtʰaː=ki \quad tʰytʰo? \quad \text{lep-\text{rap}} \quad jøː. \]
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) 
\[ ñà=lo \quad lɛpti \quad tɕʰoː-\text{rap} \quad tʰom-bo \quad be?. \]
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 do ‘sit, live’, as in (8.115b).

(8.115) a) 
\[ tɕʰutʰo? \quad zi \quad duŋ-\text{rap}=lo \quad pʰiʔ \quad sɛː-ti \]
clock.time four hit-IMF=DAT sleep kill-NF
‘(He) wakes up when it’s about to strike four (and)…’ (Richhi 124)

b) 
\[ eːr-\text{rap} \quad dɔː-\text{po}: \quad \text{kap} \quad nāˈʃaː=lo... \]
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:
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) 

*te'utsʰø?  ge?  duŋ-rap mindu?.

‘It is not (even) close to eight o’clock.’ (KN e)

### 8.2.8 Tense, aspect and modality with the infinitive -\text{n}\text{i}

Sandberg (1895: 40) reports two infinitive forms -\text{s}he (-\text{ɛɛʔ}) and -\text{nyi} (-\text{n}\text{i}) for Denjongke and comments that the former is used in Denjongke spoken in Sikkim and the Tibetan variety spoken in the Tsang region of Tibet\[^{308}\], whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. In my data, the infinitive -\text{n}\text{i} is used in a variety of idiomatic constructions some of which also occur with the infinitive -\text{ɛɛʔ}(). Because the uses of -\text{n}\text{i} seem more idiomatically productive than constructions with the more productive infinitive -\text{ɛɛʔ}?, all the uses are described here under separate headings.

The uses of -\text{n}\text{i} 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 -\text{n}\text{i} in future constructions such as (8.118) implies more uncertainty than the use of the regular nonpast construction \text{VERB}-\text{ɛɛ} EQU.

(8.118) 

* nga  ona  t'orà:  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 -\text{n}\text{i} cannot function as a replacement of the infinitive -\text{ɛɛʔ}() in the nonpast construction gju-ɛɛ ī: ‘will go’ (b).

(8.119) 

* nga  ona  gju-ni  ī.

now 1SG  go-3INF  EQU.PER

\[^{308}\] Sandberg (1895: 12) reports Sikkimese Bhutias (=Denjongpos/Lhopos) to have originally come from the Tsang region in Tibet.
The infinitive -ɲi may also express uncertain future, or resemblance, in conjunction with the demonstrative proadverb dem ‘like (it)’ (the infinitive -eɛ also occurs in this construction).

(8.120) pʼin-ɲi dem du-ke.
   give-3INF like.that EX.SEN-IN
   ‘It looks like (we) are to give (our daughter in marriage).’ (SGD wedding customs)

8.2.8.2 Inability
Another irrealis use of -ɲi is the possessive-type-of construction which expresses inability. The infinitive -ɕɛʔ also occurs in this construction (§8.4).

(8.121) te di den-gam min-den-gam di tʼa ɲa ců-ɲi
then this be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ this now 1SG say.HUM-3INF mê?
NEG.EX.PER
‘Now whether this story is true or not, I cannot tell.’ (RS bee story)

(8.122) ɲa=lo di ců-ɲi mê?
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 pʼja ‘do’, the infinitive -ɲi forms a construction which expresses what the speaker attempts/attempted to do or is/was hoping to do but has not been able to realize thus far.

(8.123) teʼa ɲou-ɲi pʼja-u ī.
te 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)

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 nóː ‘think’:

(8.125) ɲa pʼou simkʰarka teː-ɲi nóː-wa te kʰoi dze:
1SG over.there TPN come.HUM-3INF think-CIRC so where(Nep.) at.all
NEG-have.time EXCLAM
‘When I’ve been thinking to come to Simkharka, but how, I do not have time at all, eh.’ (KT discussion)
8.2.8.4 Future-oriented questions
Another mode of presentation where the verbal action has not taken place are future-oriented questions.

(8.126) ཨྱི་རང་ཐུན་གཞི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཉེ་ཤེས་རི་གུང་ཟུང་ཐེག་?
t’a de:=rā: kʰim=na zak-ti teiku k’an dık-ɲi jō-po?
now like=EMPH house=LOC set-NF only what be.alright-3INF EX-2INF
“How could it be alright to leave (the patient) at home like that?” (mam-rtog 18)

(8.127) ཨི་ནང་ཐུན་གཞི་རྡེ་ཤེས་རི་ཉེ་ཤེས་རི་གུང་ཟུང་ཐེག་?
t’a tsʰoː te’on go:-ce mên-nam?
now elder.sister’s.husband go.HON be.necessary-3INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ
zen ka gju-ɲi=sté.
other who go-3INF=QUO
‘Now, doesn’t the brother-in-law need to go? Who else (but him) is to go, I ask?’
(mam-rtog 30)

In example (8.128), the question functions as complement of dļau ‘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) ཀརྨ་ཐ་རིང་ཞེན་་ད་པོ་ཉེ་ཤེས་རི་གུང་ཟུང་ཐེག་?
karma t’ariŋ k’an p’ja-ɲi k’an mam-bja-ɲi dļau tʰon-zè:
PN today what do-3INF what NEG-do-3INF like become-PROG
jò?:
EX.PER
‘Karma is becoming today as someone who does not know what to do and what not to do.’(Richhi 93)

In the interrogative construction in (8.129), the uses of -ɲi (a) and -ce? (b) overlap syntactically.

(8.129) a) རྒྱུ་ཤེས་?
gju-ɲi-ga?
go-3INF-PQ
‘Are you going?’ (UTR e)

b) རྒྱུ་ཤེས་? (from: རྒྱུ་ཤེས་?)
gju-ce? (from: gju-ce-ga?)
go-INF.PQ go-INF-PQ
‘Are you going?’ (UTR e)

8.2.8.5 Request and suggestion
Another context for -ɲi are urgent requests (8.130) and suggestions (8.131). The request construction with the urgentive -møʔ, according to consultant KN, is used in Tashiding (West Sikkim) but not, for instance, in Martam (East Sikkim).

309 This kinship term also has other meanings, see §17.2.1.
(8.130) ངོ་རྩོལ།

འཐུང་ཉེ་མྔོད།

drink-INF=URG

‘Drink, by all means!’ (KN e)

In (8.131), the construction VERB-ɲi EQU functions as a suggestion rather than a statement about future. The speaker has first inquired whether the addressee has any plans for the coming holiday, and upon hearing that there are no definite plans, he continues with:

(8.131) བྔོམ་བུ་ལྔོ་  བྔོན་ཉེ་  སྦད་།  ཕར་ཆྱུ༹༹ར་  ལྟ་ཤད་  ལེབ་སྟི་  ལེམ་  ཡྔོད།

Bombay=DAT come.HON-3INF EQU.NE thither hither watch-INF very good jòː.

EX.PER

‘There is (this option of) coming to Bombay. Doing sightseeing here and there is very good.’ (Richhi 101)

Example (8.131) presents a clear point of difference with infinitive -ɕɛʔ. Using -ɕɛʔ instead of -ɲi in (8.131) would result in a typical and frequent future construction meaning ‘(s)he will go to Bombay’.

8.2.8.6 Future conditional

The infinitive -ɲi also occurs in the future conditional construction VERB-ɲi EX-COND.

(8.132) གྱུན་ ཆེན་པོ་ དེ་ ཆོས་ གསུངས་ སྐད་ གང་ གསུངས་ གྱུན་ སྐད་

doctor=HON patient get.well-3INF EX-COND physician.AGT where lead-NF

söː:  súŋ-ruŋ kʰik-ti gju-ɕɛ ɪː;.

go.IMP say.HON-COND lead-NF go-INF EQU.PER

‘Doctor, if the patient is to get well, (I) will take (him) wherever the doctor tells (me) to.’ (Richhi 169)

(8.133) ལྷོ་ སྦོམ་བུ་ ཨྲི་ དེ་ དེ་ ཁང་ མཚན་ སྐབས་ ཡོང་ སྐབས་ དུང་ ཡོང་

south world=DEMPH bliss-enjoyment perfection=TOP EX-2INF.GEN=GEN

òdem  tsʰuː-ɲi  jòː-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) བྲུ་ སྦོམ་བུ་ ཨྲི་ བཤེན་ སྙོམ་ བཤེན་ སྙོམ་ བཤེན་ སྙོམ་ བཤེན་ སྙོམ་ བཤེན་ སྙོམ་ བཤེན་

medicine this=PL.AGT help-3INF like become-COND sleep a.lot sleep-INF ɪː.

EQU.PER

‘If these medicines turn out like helping (him), (he) will sleep a lot.’ (ram-rtog 32)
8.2.8.7 Other uses of -ɲi
Iterativity and excessiveness can be expressed by postposing to VERB-ɲi the same verb again as a type of reduplication:

(8.135) te kʰu=lo ɲim teʰameʔ óde=ra ka őm-bo kʰö: boto
so 3SGM=DAT day every like.that=AEMP who come-2INF 3PL beating
rek-ɲi ɲim teʰameʔ:lo tei:ki ő: duŋ-ɲi duŋ dö:-pö: kap
feel-NF day every=DAT one=AGT come hit-3INF hit stay-2INF.GEN time
nàŋca=lo...
inside=DAT
‘So when daily like that anyone who came beat him up, and as he received beating after beating from anyone who came...’ (KT animal story)

The infinitive -ɲi also occurred in the following construction, where -ɲi appears to refer to a presently holding fact. Together with the discourse particle te ‘so’, the reading is causal.

(8.136) làkkʰɛ ɛ̃m jɑː-ɲi te őte kʰik gju-do beʔ, teʰiɡe:lo,
handicraft good EX-3INF so down lead go-IPFV EQU.NE foreign=DAT
‘Because (their) handicrafts are good, (they) are taken down abroad.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

8.3 Imperfective, progressive and continuous forms
Denjongke has several partly overlapping ways of expressing the idea that action denoted by the verb is ongoing at the time of speech or, in the case of the imperfective, was ongoing at a past time, see Table 8.3. The terms progressive and continuous are very similar in meaning. The difference of progressive and continuous categories here, however, is based on the properties described for these categories in Denjongke, not on the semantics of the English terms. Different names for similar semantically similar construction are needed in order to refer to the constructions unambiguously.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>VERB-to/do (EQU)</td>
<td>past habitual or ongoing action/state present habitual or ongoing action/state immediate future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>VERB do: EX</td>
<td>past, present, or future ongoing action/state (with atelic verbs, e.g. ‘stand’) past, present or future resultative (with telic verbs, e.g. ‘arrive’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB do: (+normal inflection)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>VERB-teɛː/ʒɛː EX</td>
<td>past or present ongoing action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alterphoric</td>
<td>VERB-teŋuŋe/zunjge (Tashiding)</td>
<td>perceived ongoing action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>VERB-teŋuŋe/zunjge (Martam)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durative</td>
<td>VERB bak(-ti)</td>
<td>emphasizes durativity of the action</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.3.1 Imperfective

The imperfective -to/do may refer to past habitual, past ongoing, present habitual, present ongoing or immediate future actions/states. Habitual uses, which seem more frequent than others in my data, are illustrated by examples (8.137) and (8.138).[^310]

(8.137) དཔའ་མི་གཏད་ སྟྔོན་ མ་བཅུག་ཤད་ཀི་ དྔོན་དག་ལས་ འདེ་ བྱ༹ས་སྟི་ཀི་ འང་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ སྦད།

"All loads are carried by cars. People don’t have to go by foot." (RBM discussion on roof)

(8.138) བྔོ་མི་གཏད་ སྟྔོན་ མ་བཅུག་ཤད་ཀི་ དྔོན་དག་ལས་ འདེ་ བྱ༹ས་སྟི་ཀི་ འང་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ སྦད།

"Before in the time of the landlords… they used to pay a lot of taxes." (CY interview)

In (8.139), the imperfective is used, perhaps surprisingly, for a past telic action (telling a lie). With this strategy of vivid storytelling, the speaker tells the story as if it were happening at the moment of speaking.

(8.139) བྔོ་མི་གཏད་ སྟྔོན་ མ་བཅུག་ཤད་ཀི་ དྔོན་དག་ལས་ འདེ་ བྱ༹ས་སྟི་ཀི་ འང་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ སྦད།

"In order that it wouldn’t be shown that he didn’t believe (the story), he tells as a lie (like this):" (PD story)

The rare nominalized copula construction *in-k’en be’* in (8.139) appears to underline the nonhabitual (hence the identifying *in-k’en be’* instead of the spatiotemporally backgounding *be’*) and past meaning (hence spatiotemporally backgounding nominalized *in-k’en be’* rather than mere personal *be’*).[^311]

The following two clauses exemplify present habitual uses of the imperfective. Example (8.140) occurred in the same piece of discourse as (8.137) above. In the context, an elderly speaker compares the old style of living in her village to the present one.

(8.140) དཔའ་མི་གཏད་ སྟྔོན་ མ་བཅུག་ཤད་ཀི་ དྔོན་དག་ལས་ འདེ་ བྱ༹ས་སྟི་ཀི་ འང་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ སྦད།

"All loads are carried by cars. People don’t have to go by foot." (RBM discussion on the roof)

[^310]: 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.

[^311]: For identification and spatiotemporal backgounding, see §7 on copulas and evidentiality.
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)
\text{teʔo?} \quad \text{k’a: gju-do=s?}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 2SG.L where go-IPFV=QUO
  \item ‘Where are you going (he said)?’ (KT animal story)
\end{itemize}

(8.143)
\text{t’ato teʰutsʰø? tei:=to duy-do.}
\begin{itemize}
  \item now clock-time one=CEMPH hit-IPFV
  \item ‘It’s one o’clock now (lit. it’s striking one o’clock now).’ (Richhi 124)
\end{itemize}

For an immediate future use of -to/doi, consider (8.144).

(8.144)
\text{kanteʰ312 teʔo? gju-zɛ: p’ja, ɣà ðon-do.}
\begin{itemize}
  \item younger.sister 2SG.L go-PROG do 1SG come-IPFV
  \item ‘You go on, sister, I’m coming.’ (Richhi 53)
\end{itemize}

The affirmative imperfective form has two corresponding negated forms. In past habitual use the construction is negated by prefixing the negator prefix \text{ma-} to the verb, see (8.140) above. In the present ongoing use, the negation strategy is borrowed from the non-reduplicated perfect construction (8.145b). In Tashiding (West Sikkim), it is also possible to use a third negated form, the imperfective followed by a negated existential (8.145c).

(8.145)
a) \text{kʰu jò? p’ja-do beʔ.}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 3SGM work do-IPFV EQU.NE
  \item ‘He is working.’ (KN e)
\end{itemize}

b) \text{kʰu jò? p’ja-u mèbbeʔ.}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.NE
  \item ‘He is not working.’ (KN e)
\end{itemize}

c) Tashiding, West Sikkim
\text{kʰu jò? p’ja-do mèbbeʔ.}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 3SGM work do-IPFV NEG.EX.NE
  \item ‘He is not working.’ (KN e)
\end{itemize}

312 A loan word from Nepali.
For negating the affirmative question in (8.146), several functionally roughly equivalent options are possible, see (8.147). In (147a), the negated form derives formally from the affirmed imperfective form. The negated forms (147b) and (147c) build on the non-reduplicated perfect form. Construction (147d) uses the typical past periphrastic question construction VERB-po ja put replaces the perfective negator ma-, which would occur in a past construction, with the imperfective negator mi-.

(8.146) ཆོས་ དབིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ་ ཉ།
te'=ø? indzi ke? kjap-to ja?
2SG.L English language strike-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
‘Do you speak English?’ (NAB e)

(8.147) a) ཆོས་ དབིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ མི་རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ་ ཉ།
te'=ø? indzi ke? mi-kjap-to ja?
2SG.L English language NEG-strike-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
‘Don’t you speak English?’ (NAB e)

b) ཆོས་ དབིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ སྤྱོད་པྔོ་ མེད་ཀ་
te'=ø? indzi ke? kjap-o mè:-ka?
2SG.L English language strike-2INF NEG.EX.PER-PQ
‘Don’t you speak English?’ (NAB e)

c) ཆོས་ དབིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ སྤྱོད་པྔོ་ མེད་པོ?
te'=ø? indzi ke? kjap-o mè-po?
2SG.L English language strike-2INF NEG.EX.PER-2INF
‘Don’t you speak English?’ (NAB e)

d) ཆོས་ དབིན་ཇི་ སྐད་ སྤྱོད་པྔོ་ མེད་པྔོ་
te'=ø? indzi ke? mi-kjap-o ja?
2SG.L English language NEG-strike-2INF EQU.PER.Q
‘Don’t you speak English?/Did you not speak English?’ (NAB e)

8.3.2 Continuous

The continuity of an action or its results can be expressed by the verb do? ‘sit, stay’ in two type of constructions. In the first, the secondary verb do? is followed by an existential auxiliary (personal jò?, sensorial du? or neutral jàpo be?). In the second, less grammaticalized use, do? ‘sit, stay’-postposed to a verb inflects like an ordinary verb, allowing nominalized/infinitivized forms. The more grammaticalized and probably more frequent uses in the existential auxiliary are first described in (8.148-161). Uses with typical verb inflection are exemplified in (8.162-163).

With atelic expressions, which have no natural end-point, the continuous construction marks actions and states which are ongoing. In (8.148) and (8.149), the action/state is ongoing at the time of speech, whereas in (8.150) the action was ongoing at an imaginary past time.

(8.148) ོུ་ ནཱིན་ སྐད་ མོད།
kʰu zim do: du?
3SGM sleep.HON stay EX.SEN
‘He’s sleeping (I see/saw).’ (TB e)
The sun is shining very nicely (I see/feel).’ (TB e)

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 do:, the ordinary verb meaning ‘sit, stay’, in (8.150) occurs following the honorific zu: ‘sit, stay (hon.)’ shows that the use of do: 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).

The WD word is མཐྔོ་རིམ mtho-ri m slob-grwa (YR).
When he arrived at the hospital, Bhaila had regained consciousness and was able to talk a bit. (Richhi 23)

The continuous construction may also be used for future actions/states if the final copula is in the nonpast construction  jóː-ee ˧, see (8.155), contrasting with analogous past (8.156) and present expressions (8.157).

Tomorrow one o’clock I will have gone to town. (BT grammar exposition)

Nine o’clock yesterday I had gone to town. (BT grammar exposition)

I keep on walking now. (TB e)

The continuous construction has most probably developed through the also existing converbal construction VERB-NF doː EX by eliding the converbal marker -ti/di, see (8.158) and (8.159).

Now here we live like that, having established families. (DB life story)

Now here we live like that, having established families. (DB life story)

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).

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314 It is not possible to form a future construction of the other existential copula, sensorial duʔ.
Some, not finding a place to sit, are standing.’ (Richhi 75)

(They) are standing on the road.’ (TB e)

‘Some, not finding a place to sit, are standing.’ (Richhi 75)

‘(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 do? is followed by an existential, do?
may be inflected like a typical verb. In some of the uses, the verb do? has a more grammatical
sense where it underlines continuity of the action, see (8.162). In other uses, the secondary
verb do? is used in a more concrete way with the meaning ‘sit, stay’, see (8.163).

The girl keeps on going (around) acting like a deranged person.’ (KN e)

‘That person keeps on going (around) not wearing clothes properly.’ (KN e)

‘Now, I have come and settled down here from an early age.’ (LA intro to Lachung)

‘Piercing the basket I will stay hiding (there).’ (KTL animal story)

‘Then stay over there your back turned.’ (KTL animal story)

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315 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”.

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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
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sense where it underlines continuity of the action, see (8.162). In other uses, the secondary
verb do? is used in a more concrete way with the meaning ‘sit, stay’, see (8.163).

(8.162) a) 

pʼum=di te̱alte̱ol-pʼja gju de-b=beʔ.

‘The girl keeps on going (around) acting like a deranged person.’ (KN e)

b) 

mi=di pʼjarpʼjor-pʼja gju do:-po beʔ.

‘That person keeps on going (around) not wearing clothes properly.’ (KN e)

c) 

tʼa ē=to te̱uŋṯe̱uŋ=le ēte on-di jàk-ti= de-b=beʔ.

‘Now, I have come and settled down here from an early age.’ (LA intro to Lachung)

(8.163) a) 

gjuŋ pʼuk-tiki ba do:-ce ī:

‘Piercing the basket I will stay hiding (there).’ (KTL animal story)

b) 

dile pʼate gjap ton doʔ.

‘Then stay over there your back turned.’ (KTL animal story)
8.3.3 Progressive VERB-teː/zẽ:zin  EX and VERB-teung/zuŋge

The progressive constructions VERB-teː/zẽ:zin  EX and VERB-teung/zuŋge (in Martam: VERB-teouke) mark the verbal action as ongoing at a specific time determined by the existential copula (in VERB-teː/zẽ:zin  EX) and the context. The form -teː/zẽ: occurs in writing as WD/WT བཞིན bzhin. The reading-style pronunciation is zĩ, a form which also occurs in the spoken language of literate speakers. The historic origin of the form teung/zuŋge is more difficult to determine because I have not come across it in written Denjongke.317

The semantics of the progressive teː/zẽ:zin seem more limited to a certain specific time than the semantics of continuous secondary verb doː, which may include habituality in addition to continuity at a specific point of time. For instance, consultant NAB commented that gju-zin duʔ [go-PROG EX.SEN] refers to an event happening at the time of speaking but gju doː duʔ [go stay EX.SEN] could also refer to habitual action.

8.3.3.1 Progressive VERB-teː/zẽ:zin  EX

The construction ending in the existential jøʔ 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 jøʔ as type of historical present.

(8.164) ཆིག་བྱ་བོར་བཅོས། འདེ་རང་བྱས་བཞིན་འོང་བཞིན་ཡོད།

dː=raː=p’ja  gombo dzː:-kː:  mi re-re ni:-ni:
like.that=EMPHT=ADVZR monastery meet-NMLZ person each-each two-two
p’ja-zẽː  õː-zẽː  jøʔ.
do-PROG come-PROG EX.PER
‘Like that people visiting the monastery are coming each two by two.’ (Richhi 2)

The first instance of -zẽː in (8.164), p’jazː, illustrates an adverbial use without a following auxiliary. In this respect, -teː/zẽ:zin resembles the English progressive form -ing, which occurs both as an adverbial without an auxiliary and as an element in a finite construction followed by an auxiliary.

In (8.165), the use of -teen with lāp ‘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.

316 Dative-locative form =la instead of =lo here is Tibetan influence.
317 Consultant KT specifically stated that -teung/zuŋge is only used in oral, not written language.
‘(He) disappeared, (they) are saying.’ (TB phone call)

The aspect marker -tɕɛ̃/ʑɛ̃/ʑ 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) ཐད་མཚན་ད་ལོ་གན་བྱིས་བཞིན་འདུག?

Gyalsthen now what do-PROG EX.SEN
‘What is Gyaltshen doing now?’ (KN e)

(8.167) a) མ་ད་ལོ་དེབ་སྔོག་བཞིན་འདུག

‘He is now reading a book (I see).’ (KN e)

b) མ་ད་ལོ་དེབ་སྔོག་བཞིན་འདུག

‘He is now reading a book (I see).’ (KN e)

In addition, the nominalized form, however, can be used for what in English are called present perfect continuous meanings:

(8.168) སྐབ་སྒོམ་ཁྱེད་དེ་ཉེར་གཏུ་བུ་བུ་དོན་འོར་གྲེང་བའི་ཞེས་བོད་ཟླ་བུ་ཞི་ཤི་ཕྲོ་པ་ནི་ཐོན་སྲིད་པོ་ན་འབྲེལ་བ་ཆེན་ལྗོང་བའི་སྙིང་བརྒྱ་ལས་ཟུགས་པ་ཞིག་ན།

gatea=di kʰimtɛʰ: di=na teʰlõ niːtɔː teiː=le tsʰokpo
1PL=DEMPH house-greatthis=LOC year 2000 one=ABL meeting
tsʰoː-ʑim-bo j{"=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 -tɕɛ̃/ʑɛ̃/ʑ) meaning, as in (8.169).

(8.169) བདེ་ཕུང་ནུས་ལེའི་ལེགས་བྱིན་ང་བྱུང་ཆུ་ཐོན་འོར་ཕྲོ་པ་ནི་ཐོན་སྲིད་པོ་ན་འབྲེལ་བ་ཆེན་ལྗོང་བའི་སྙིང་བརྒྱ་ལས་ཟུགས་པ་ཞིག་ན།

dâː lenge? ŋa=lo kol kjap-oː gāː ŋa ʰom=lo
yesterday PRN.HON 1SG=DAT call(Eng.) do-2INF.GEN time I marker=DAT
gjʊ-zim-bo ʰiː
go-PROG-2INF EQU.PER
‘When you phoned me yesterday, I was going to town.’ (KN e)

318 For some reason, the consultant used here and in the following example the literary pronunciation instead of the typical oral -teen.
Finally, the progressive occurs in an idiomatic construction followed by the verb *p'ja* ‘do’:

(8.170)  
\[\text{z}u:-t\text{e}^\text{e}: \ p'ja-\text{u} \ \text{n}\text{ā}.\]  
sit-PROG do-2INF do.HON  
‘Please sit (and wait here)’ (lit. ‘Please do sitting’). (oh)

(8.171)  
\[\text{ɕ}^\text{í}ŋ\text{to}-\text{t}^\text{ɕɛ}^\text{ː}: \ p'ja-\text{renk}^\text{a}:\]  
fruit pluck-PROG do-SIM  
‘when (he was) plucking fruit…’ (RB pear story)

(8.172)  
\[\text{n}^\text{ā}: \ \text{denz}^\text{u} \ \text{j}^\text{i}^\text{ɡ}^\text{i}-\text{i}^\text{z}^\text{ɛ}: \ p'ja-\text{ɛ}^\text{i}^\text{̃}^\text{́}:\]  
LAGT invitation letter write-PROG do-INF EQUI.PER  
‘I will be writing an invitation letter.’ (Richhi 42)

The use of the progressive in (8.170) underlines the durative nature of the action. A simple request *zu:-po n\text{ā}:* [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-renk\text{a}:* ‘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 *-t\text{e}^\text{e}:*/z\text{e}:*, WT \text{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\text{on}z\text{in}(=gi)* ‘in accordance with’ (*t\text{on}* ‘purpose’) and *pak\text{o}z\text{in}(=gi)* ‘similarly, in accordance with’ (the origin of the form *pako* is unknown to me at present).

(8.173)  
\[\text{t}^\text{e} \ \text{ó}^\text{d}^\text{i} \ \text{p}'\text{y}:-\text{bo} \ t\text{'on}z\text{in}^\text{gi} \ \text{t}'\text{a} \ \text{ŋ}^\text{a}^\text{t}^\text{e}^\text{a}:^\text{d} \ \text{de}^\text{p} \ \text{t}'\text{e}:-\text{lu}\]  
so that offer-2INF in.accordance now 1PL like.that unoccupied  
sit-COND NEG-be.alright  
‘In accordance with the purpose of giving that (responsibility to us), it is not good if we just stay unoccupied.’ (CY interview)

(8.174)  
\[\text{t}^\text{e} \ \text{ó}^\text{d}^\text{i} \ \text{pako}z\text{in}^\text{gi} \ \text{ŋ}^\text{a}^\text{t}^\text{e}^\text{i} \ \text{l}^\text{ö}^\text{p} \ \text{di}=\text{tsu}-\text{gi}, \ \text{g}^\text{ɛ}^\text{mp} \ \text{di}=\text{tsu}=\text{gi}\]  
so that similarly 1PL.GEN Lhopo this=PL=AGT old.man this=PL=AGT  
t\text{s}^\text{o}^\text{n}^\text{k}^\text{e}=j\text{a}: \ k\text{ʰ}^\text{b}^\text{o} : \ \text{ʃ}^\text{e}^\text{ŋ}^\text{g}^\text{ɛ}^\text{ʔ}^\text{k}^\text{ʰ}^\text{ɛ}^\text{n}^\text{b}\]  
Limbu=also 3PL PRN.HON know.HON EQUI.NE  
‘Similarly to that our Lhopos, the elderly ones, also knew Limbu (language).’ (CY interview)
For more on the postpositions tʼonzin(=gi) and pakozin(=gi), see §3.6.8, §5.6.2 and §15.8.4.3.

Finally, (8.175) records a unique (interrogative) example of a local non-standard construction where an equative auxiliary accompanies the progressive:

(8.175) \[ \text{leŋe? dā: gāto:=na kor-zin} \, \text{be-po}^{319}? \]
\[ \text{PRN.HON yesterday TPN=LOC go.around-PROG EQU.NE-2INF} \]
\[ \text{‘Were you roaming in Gangtok yesterday?’} \] (PL e)

8.3.3.2 Alterphoric progressive VERB-tʃuŋge/zuŋge

The progressive construction VERB-tʃuŋge/zuŋge (also -teŋge/zyŋge, in Martam tʃouge) does not occur in written Denjongke. This construction is probably an abbreviation of the fuller form VERB-teen dukɛ, which also occurs in writing. Because in my data VERB-tʃuŋge/zuŋge 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 -teŋge/zyŋge as alterphoric progressive (PROG.APH). The term alterphoric here simply means that the form is incompatible with first person actors.\(^{320}\) The alterphoric progressive is here illustrated in (8.176-178).

(8.176) \[ \text{dawa nāmge:=gi ke? tʼon-zuŋge} \, \text{jōu.} \]
\[ \text{PN PN=GEN voice become-PROG.APH up} \]
\[ \text{‘Dawa Namgyal’s voice is calling out from up (there).’} \] (PT kitchen discussion)

(8.177) \[ \text{mī=di dikʼa simteč:=di=lo tsʰute} \, \text{tok-tʃouge.} \]
\[ \text{human=DEMPH here animal=DEMPH=DAT hither frighten-PROG.APH} \]
\[ \text{‘The man is frightening the animal here.’} \] (KN photo discussion)

(8.178) \[ \text{di=tsu tʰəra lik-ro: pʼja-tiki kʰo:=lo rō:ram} \, \text{pʼja-zuŋge.} \]
\[ \text{this=PL again pour-help do-NF 3SG.HON=DAT help do-PROG.APH} \]
\[ \text{‘They again, giving help in pouring (in the guavas), are helping him.’} \] (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 tsʰo: bak ‘search carry’. As suggested by all the three examples, the secondary verb bak typically occurs in a nonfinal construction (i.e. followed by -tʰi/di).

\(^{319}\) Attaching -po to the neutral equative beʔ is a marginal phenomenon, see §11.1.2.2. One consultant wanted to replace be-po here with ja-po.

\(^{320}\) The examples in my data have third person actors. Uses with second person actors are left open for future research.

\(^{321}\) One consultant wanted to replace ʦʰɛŋgɛ/ʪuŋgɛ with ʦʰɛŋgɛ ʦʰɛŋɡɛ tʼon-zuŋ du-ke, underlining the fact that the former is probably a reduction of the latter.
Karma, having bought and brought the medicine, arrives. (Richhi 11)

Around dusk at four o'clock Karma and Norbu go Choki's dwelling, having great hopes.' (Richhi 96)

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)

There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria.' (Richhi 107)

He has work to do./ He is about to work.' (KN e)

As a sign of grammaticalization, the genetive or locative marking of the possessor/location in (8.183) has 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).
b) བོད་དང་ལཤད་མིན་འདུག་ལགས།

\text{t'a \ t'e}-\text{ce? \ mindu}=\text{la \ ...}

now \ have.time-INF \ NEG.EX.SEN=HON

‘Now I do not have the time/I haven’t had the time.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(8.185) a) བོད་དང་ལཤད་མིན་འདུག་ཀ

\text{kʰu \ jó? \ p'ja-\text{ce? \ mindu-ka?}}

3SGM \ work \ do-INF \ NEG.EX.SEN-PQ

‘Isn’t he working?’/‘Isn’t he going to work?’ (KN e)

b) བོད་དང་ལཤད་མིན་འདུག་ཀ

\text{kʰu \ jó? \ p'ja-\text{ce? \ mè:-ka?}}^{322}

3SGM \ work \ do-INF \ NEG.EX.PER-PQ

‘Isn’t he working?’/‘Isn’t he going to work?’ (KN e)

The construction \text{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)

\text{དང་པུ་ནོན་ལོག་ཐག་ཅག་རིན་ཐེས་ཤད་ཡོད་མཁན་སྦད་ད།}

\text{tʽa:pu \ pënlo \ ñatea? \ rin \ ze-\text{ce? \ jò:-kʰen \ be? \ t'a.}}

long.ago \ before \ 1PL \ price \ obtain.HON-INF \ EX-NMLZ \ EQU.NE \ now

‘Long ago earlier we had (the custom of) receiving money (for the bride).’ (SGD marriage customs)

(8.187)

\text{ད་ལྟོག་གུ་ཅག་ཐག་ལྔོ་གན་ཙུ་ཤད་ཡོད་?}

\text{t'ato \ k'utea? \ ñatea=lo \ k'an \ eit-\text{ce? \ jò?.}}

now \ you \ 1PL=\text{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)

\text{མྨོ་བུད་ཀི་ཕྱོགས་ཐེབ་ཤད་ཡོད་?}

\text{möby=gi \ p'ho? \ t'op-\text{ce? \ jò:-ka?}}

wife=AGT \ salary \ receive-INF \ EX.PER-PQ

‘Does the wife get a salary?’ (BP BB discussion)

The same construction can also express what the speaker can or cannot do, referring either to ability, as in (8.189-191), or willingness, as in (8.192).

\footnote{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, \text{mè:-ka} is used. On the other hand, if the speaker expects that the addressee needs to check what the case is, \text{minduka} would be used. For further information on evidentiality in questions, see §7.2.1.2 and §7.2.2.1.}
8.189

animal say-NMLZ=DEMPH=even mouth say-INF NEG.EX-CONC thought tā- ce? du-ke.

‘The animal, even though it cannot talk, can think (I see).’ (RB butcher story)

8.190

grandfather=PL=AGT proverb very excellent say-INF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘The grandfathers are able to tell excellent proverbs.’ (KN field notes)

8.191

t ë mò lâte kjap-ce? mè?.

then 3SGF Lhoke speak-INF NEG.EX.PER

‘But she couldn’t speak Lhoke.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

8.192

ë ë k’hù àæ lème k_SENT

1SG 3SGM=GEN=at go-INF NEG.EX.PER

‘I cannot go to his place (because of our bad relationship), Lit. ‘I have no going to his place.’ (KUN e)

The negative form of the verb ôː ‘come’, ma-hôː [mañoː]323, can replace mè?/mindu? as negated existential (see §7.2.5.1):

8.193


that=DEMPH so 1SG.GEN say.HUM-INF NEG-come

‘I cannot tell that.’ (PAD Tashiding story)

8.5 Modality (probability, possibility and necessity)

The term modality in this thesis refers to the speaker’s judgments about a proposition in a very general sense.324 Judgments about the factuality/certainty of the proposition are epictemic modals. Other types of modal judgments which may be made explicit in Denjongke grammar are judgments about obligation, possibility, permissiveness, temporality, morality, ability and trustworthiness/genuineness (pretensive construction). As shown by Table 8.4, the grammatical means for expressing modality distinctions can be divided into one suffix, three complex constructions and eight secondary verbs. Among secondary verbs, the category “modality” is assigned to those markers which are in linguistics typically treated under the category modality (ability, obligation, permission, possibility). For other secondary verbs and introduction to secondary verbs in general, consider §4.2.3.

323 The pronunciation differs from the non-copular negation ma-ôː: > [môː].
324 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Morpheme type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic/certainty</td>
<td>probabilitative</td>
<td>-t\o</td>
<td>‘maybe, probably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apparrentative</td>
<td>(-po) qa (EQU)</td>
<td>‘seem’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>approximative</td>
<td>raːɡju, tʰeːɡju</td>
<td>‘seem’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligation/deontic</td>
<td>go?</td>
<td>न्दौ</td>
<td>‘need to, must’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permission</td>
<td>objective</td>
<td>teʰo?</td>
<td>‘be allowed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subjective</td>
<td>tup</td>
<td>‘deem fit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>ren</td>
<td>न'ौ</td>
<td>‘be time to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(mi-)leʔ325</td>
<td>(प्र)निल्जा</td>
<td>‘be good to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>general</td>
<td>tsʰu?</td>
<td>‘be able to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>physical</td>
<td>kʰo?</td>
<td>‘have strength to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>lo?</td>
<td>‘have time to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>siʔ</td>
<td>तौ</td>
<td>‘be possible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tentativity</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>तौ</td>
<td>‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretension</td>
<td>-dzin tʰap</td>
<td>खुँ खरू</td>
<td>‘pretend to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5.1 Probabilitative -t\o

The probabilitative -t\o attaches directly to the verb root (8.194) or the completive marker -tsʰu (8.195) and is not followed by any tense, aspect or evidentiality markers. The certainty implied by -t\o varies between ‘maybe’ and ‘probably’.

(8.194) श्रोतिकुला वाटीने श्रुतिकुला
rolmo eu-watge ne kʰen-t\o.
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) नान्दिनीस्य श्रृधि तारिखम नान्दिनीस्य
tʰaːriŋ=le teʰon-ce=di:      ae:  kom-tsʰu:-t\o.
far.away=ABL come.HON-INF=DEMPH.AGT mouth.HON thirst-CMPL-PROB
‘Since (you) have come from far away, (you) are perhaps thirsty.’ (rnam-rtog 5)

The probabilitative is negated by the prefix mi-.

(8.196) ने अभ्यस्तस्य छेदन्त: ने श्रुताय श्रुताय निश्चिताय
te làla kʰen-rn̥ di tʰu=lo mi-zA:-t\o.
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)

325 This forms mainly occurs as negated.
The probabilitative co-occurs with personal copulas, see (8.198) and (8.199), but not with neutral (8.200) or sensorial copulas (8.201).

(8.198) *tsʰom in-fo.
mortar EQU-PROB
‘It’s maybe a mortar.’ (TB e)

(8.200) *tsʰom be-fo.
mortar EQU.PER-PROB

(8.201) *lóbdo: jó? k'ë:teː=to mindu-fo.
school.GEN work important=CEMPH NEG.EX-PROB
‘There’s probably no important school work.’ (Richhi 55)

The probabilitative also attaches to auxiliary copulas:

(8.202) t’ymene-ra de:q lak de:tei? sō:-bo in-fo. kʰim
about=AEMP 1,5(Nep.) lakh(Nep.) that.much go.PFV-2INF EQU-PROB house
teo:-po: gā:.
repair-2INF.GEN time
‘Maybe about some 1,5 lakh (rupees) went when repairing the house.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The verb ō: ‘come’ functions as an existential, which often co-occurs with the probabilitative marker:

(8.203) tsʰa ō:-fo.
salt come-PROB
‘There’s probably salt.’ (KN e)

The form ō:-fo may be postposed as an auxiliary to verb roots instead of mere -fo (compare with 8.194):
In the novel Ricchi, -to is six times out of total seven followed by the morpheme ni (spelled both ཆ ni and ཆ 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) ཟ་པ་ བྔམ་བུ་ལྔོ་ མན་བྔོན་པྔོ་ ནི་ ཨིན་ག
hapa bombai=lo man-dzon-to ni in-ga.
‘You perhaps haven’t so far been to Bombay, have you?’ (Richhi 101)

8.5.2 Apparentive qa
The Classical Tibetan verb བཀྲ་ཤིས་ ‘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 -ɛʔ (1. infinitive), -po/bo (2. infinitive) and -to/do (imperfective). For the independent, copular type of uses, consider (8.206) and (8.207).

(8.206) ལ་ དུ་ཅིག་ ད་ མ་སེབས་, ལ་ པོ་ ཕོ་ ལེའི་ ་ ཉིག་, ལ་ པོ་ ཕོ་ ལེའི་ ་ ཉིག་, ལ་ པོ་ ཕོ་ ལེའི་ ་ ཉིག་
ŋà tʽut ɕiʔ tʼa ma-lɛp, nàni=di t‘s=t ni:, nànìni
1SG now NEG-turn two two.year=DEMPH last.year turn two last.year mèbbe, zɔ:niŋ qa.
NEG.EX.NE two.years.ago AP
‘This year I didn’t go (there), last year two times, it wasn’t last year, it’s two years ago, I think.’ (KT)

(8.207) ས་ བོ་ ལེན་ བོ་ ལེན་
kʰɔː=to� qa=s.
3PL=DEMPH gang(Eng.) AP=QUO
‘They seem (like belonging to) one group.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

Uses of qa postposed to a combination of verb and verbal suffix are more frequent than independent copular type of uses. The following examples illustrate the co-occurrence of qa with past action marked by the second infinitive -po/bo/u (8.208-212), future action marked by the first infinitive -ɛʔ (8.213-215) and ongoing action marked by the imperfective -to/do (8.216-220).

326 It would be problematic to name qa a apparentive copula, because it is very frequently followed by an equative copula. The combination qa be?, however, merges into an apparentive equative copula dɛ:/rɛ:, which is discussed in §7.2.4.
Past with -po-infinitive

When preceded by the -po-infinitive form of the verb, the main verbal action in the apparentive construction is typically understood as having taken place in the past, see (8.208-210). Example (8.208b) illustrates the negated construction.

(8.208) a) ཀྱུ་མདང་འོང་བྔོ་འདྲ་སྦད།
kʰu dãː bo da a bɛʔ.
3SGM yesterday come-2INF AP EQU.NE
‘It seems he came yesterday.’ (KUN e)

b) ཀྱུ་མདང་མ་འོང་བྔོ་འདྲ་སྦད།
kʰu dãː ma bo da a bɛʔ.
3SGM yesterday NEG-come-2INF AP EQU.NE
‘It seems he didn’t come yesterday.’ (KUN e)

(8.209) སྨན་འདི་ཐ་ནུབ་ལྔོག་བྔོན་མཐའ་མྔོ་ཐྡེ་སྦད།
nám=di dãː kʰaː.nup lȍk te ’om-bo da.
daughter-in-law=DEMPH yesterday the.day.before.yesterday return come-2INF AP
‘Apparently the daughter-in-law returned yesterday or the day before yesterday.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

(8.210) ཀྱིང་ཚེ་ཙུ་ཀིས་ཐེ་མེ་སྦྱོར་སྦད་ནུབ།
ôdi=lo=di átsi=tai? gô:jâ: nâ:-bo qa be?, ôdi that=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF exemption do.HON-2INF AP EQU.NE that gâː=lo tôkadar=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) ཁྲིང་བོད་ཞིབ་ཡིནོ་ིབཀྲམ་མཁས་པའི་ནང་ཁུལ་མཁབ།
t’ariŋ nâtei mi-tsʰe diː dze kʰa t’amo im-bo qa today 1PL.GEN human-life this.GEN meeting last EQU-NMLZ AP inj-ga?
EQU.PER-PQ
‘It seems like today is our last meeting in this human life, doesn’t it?’ (Richhi 173)
Future with -ee-infinitive
With -ee-infinitive, the apparentive construction refers to apparent future action.

(8.213) རི་ སྐྱེལ་ སྐྱེལ་ ཕེ་ འདེ་ ཞེས་བྱོ་ འདྲ། lò nieu de:tei? t’a ñatei ke:=di jè:-ee qa
year that.much now 1PL GEN language=DEMPH disappear-INF AP
‘Now (in) some twenty years it seems our language will disappear.’ (RL interview)

Ongoing with imperfective
In conjunction with progressive marker the apparentive construction, unsurprisingly, refers to apparent ongoing action. It is noteworthy that the equative copula ū: (neg. më:) may occur in the progressive apperentive construction occurs (8.217) and (8.218).

(8.216) སྨོན་ རེ་ ག་ དུས་ ཆུ་ food.HON fry-IPFV AP EQU.NE
‘(She) is apparently frying food.’ (RS driver joke)
It seems like the dog is today coming to inflict harm on the deer.

Now the two of them are as if going on a post-wedding enjoyment-tour (honeymoon).

In the majority of instances in my data, qa is followed by an equative copula, most often be?, see (8.208a), (8.210), (8.216), (8.219), (8.221) and (8.222), but also with ŋ, see (8.213) and (8.215).

In fast spoken language, qa be? is often abbreviated to qe:/re: as an apparentive copula, refer to §7.2.4.

When -qa is negated by the negator-prefix mi-, the meaning of the form is ‘be different’:

Still (his) language is very different, you know.

‘But (it) was different from how (things were in) in earlier times.’
Because the negation of qa (be?), min-qa (be?), has the meaning ‘be different’, qa 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’.\(^{327}\) Example (8.225) is negated in (8.226).

(8.225) \(kʰu \ dāː \ dām-bo \ qa \ be?\).
3SGM yesterday come-2INF AP EQU.NE
‘He seems to have come yesterday.’ (KN e)

(8.226) \(kʰu \ dāː \ m-ô-ː=b=\text{qe}?.\)
3SGM yesterday NEG-come-2INF=AP.EQU.NE
‘He seems not to have come yesterday.’ (KN e)

In addition to the apparentive uses, qa is used as the base of the adjectives qaː\text{dau}/qaː\text{dou} ‘similar, like’ (neg. man-qaː\text{dau}/man-qaː\text{dou} ‘dissimilar, unlike’), see (8.227), and qaː\text{man}qaː/qaː\text{min}qa ‘different kinds of’, see (8.228).

(8.227) \(pʽum=di \ nòrbu \ qou \ ū=s.\)
girl=DEMPH gem like EQU.PER=QUO
‘The girl is like a gem (it is said).’ (SGD wedding customs)

(8.228) \(təmgʔ \ \text{dəm} \text{nda} \ keːpø \ jöː-kɛn \ be?.\)
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 qaː\text{gju} and tʰɛː\text{gju}

There are further two constructions that resemble in meaning the probabilitative and apparentive forms, qaː\text{gju}/qaː\text{kju} (may also be pronounced raː\text{gju}/raːkju) and tʰɛː\text{gju}, which occur in the same positions as the apparentive qa (be?). The form qaː\text{gju}/qaː\text{kju}, which may include the apparentive qa, is used at least in Ralang and Tashiding in West Sikkim whereas tʰɛː\text{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 probabilitative and apparentative form. Similarly to copulas, the approximative forms may occur independently without other verbal marking.\(^{328}\)

\(^{327}\) English has two options for negating the apparentive seem, ‘He doesn’t seem to have come’ and ‘He seems not to have come’, whereas in Denjongke the negation of the apparentive is possible only analogously to the latter English construction.

\(^{328}\) My data has no examples of the independent use of tʰɛː\text{gju}, but because tʰɛː\text{gju} seems the Martam equivalent of raː\text{gju}, independent uses probably exist.
‘The monthly school fees are around 500 (rupes).’ (TB discussion with KT)

‘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.

‘It’s probably ten to fifteen years since my father died.’ (DB life story)

‘Probably (they) sent (it), (but) I didn’t receive (it).’ (PED life story)

‘Lam Rabgen probably is there too.’ (AB kitchen)

‘So it seems to be like that.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

8.5.4 Permissives teʰo? and tup

The two permissive secondary verbs teʰo? ‘be allowed’ and tup ‘be fitting, be proper’ have partly overlapping semantics. By using the secondary verb teʰo? ‘be allowed, be right’ the speaker evaluates whether something is permissible or not with reference to some moral or other norm. Hence teʰo? may be termed an objective permissive in contrast to subjective permissive tup, which is concerned with ad hoc evaluation by the speaker. The permissives may be negated by either ma- or mi-, the former having a past meaning and the latter a present meaning. According to informant KN, the past form of the affirmative teʰo? is teʰok-o ñ:/be?,

329 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 lópa=gi lá lóbzab gi lópa=gi lâ lópa=gi.
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) ཉེ་བེ་ དེ་མ་ སྐྱོན་ འཇིག་
\(\text{e} \text{ː}-\text{to} \quad \text{dem} \quad \text{p'ja} \quad \text{te} \text{ː} \text{o} \text{?}.
\) seize-PROG like.that do be.allowed
‘It’s like (they) should be caught’ (CY interview)

(8.236) བོད་ གཞན་ ཆིག
\(t \text{u} \quad \text{ko}: \quad \text{mi-} \text{te} \text{ː} \text{o} \text{?}.
\) pick throw NEG-be.allowed
‘It’s not right to throw (it) away (like that).’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

(8.237) ཞེས་གཞན་ དེ་ མ་ སྐྱོན་ ཆིག
\(ŋ\text{ā} \text{c}=\text{ki}=\text{di} \quad \text{kum} \quad \text{kjap} \quad \text{mi-} \text{te} \text{ː} \text{o} \text{?}=s.
\) 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) དཔོ་ དེ་ མ་ སྐྱོན་ ལྒོ་ བན་ སྐྱོན་ རྐྱབས་ འཇིག་ ཆིག
\(r\text{ā}: \quad \text{ne}=\text{tsa}: \quad \text{te} \text{'em-bo} \quad \text{nâ}-\text{ne} \quad \text{te} \text{'em-bo} \quad \text{nâ}:
\) 2SG.L 1SG.GEN=at come.HON-2INF do.hon-COND come-2INF do.HON
\(\text{te} \text{ː} \text{o} \text{?} \text{?}.
\) be.allowed EQU.PER
‘If you come to my place, you can (=are allowed) come.’ (KT phone call)

(8.239) དཔོ་ དེ་ མ་ སྐྱོན་ ཆིག
\(\text{lama} \quad \text{lāp}-\text{ruŋ} \quad \text{lāp} \quad \text{te} \text{ː} \text{o} \quad \text{be}?.
\) 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 \(\text{te} \text{ː} \text{o}? \) ‘be allowed’ makes reference to some objective norm against which an action is evaluated, the secondary verb \(\text{tup} \) ‘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) དཔོ་ དེ་ མ་ སྐྱོན
\(\text{tup}-\text{ka}?\)
\(\text{deem.fitting-PQ}
‘Is (it) fitting/alright?’ (NAB, oh)

(8.241) དཔོ་ དེ་ མ་ སྐྱོན
\(\text{te} \text{ː} \text{o} \text{?}\text{e}: \quad \text{t'utop} \quad \text{nāmge}:=\text{gi} \quad \text{sēm} \quad \text{ma-} \text{tup-o}.
\) king PN PN=AGT listen.HON NEG-be.fitting-2INF
‘King Thutop Namgyal did not seem it fit to obey.’ (CY interview)
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:

(8.244) བམ་ཅག་གིས་སོག་གཅོག་མི་བཏུབ།

\[\text{ŋaːt kʰaːki sόː } \text{tɕɛ̃ʔ mi- } \text{tup}.\]

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 perihrastic past *VERB ren-bo beʔ* and completive *VERB ren-tsʰa:i* do not occur. A nominalized form, however, occurs in the idiom given in (8.247).
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)

sà ren-do
eat be.time.to-IPFV
‘It’s time to eat’

8.5.6 Moral and practical evaluative (mi-)leʔ ‘be (not) good’
The secondary verb (mi-)leʔ, which typically occurs negated, expresses the speaker’s evaluation about the goodness or practicality of a course of action.

(8.249) ὀdì p’ja mi-leʔ.
that do NEG-be-good
‘It is not good to do that.’ (KN, CY interview)

(8.250) såm=di te’o:=ki så mi-leʔ.
food=DEMPH 2SG.L=AGT eat NEG-be.good
‘It is not good for you to eat the food.’ (Rna-gsung 9)

(8.251) te’o: àgja, ze:-po ná-moʔ. já:ne nâtei làka=le
oh.no elder.bother eat.HON-2INF do.HON-URG or 1PL.GEN hand=ABL
ze: mi-leʔ:-po?
eat.HON NEG-be.good-2INF
‘Oh no, brother, please eat, by all means. Or is it not good to eat from our hands?’ (Richhi 20)

In many situation, mi-leʔ is functionally very close to negated permissives mi-teʰ⁰oʔ ‘be not allowed’ and mi-tup ‘deem not fitting’.

8.5.7 General abilititaves tsʰuʔ ‘be able to’ and eː ‘know’
The secondary verbs tsʰuʔ ‘be able to’ (WT རེག་ tshugs) and eː ‘know’ (WT ལེ་ shes) express the speaker’s evaluation about the proposition’s actor’s ability to do something. The form tsʰuʔ is described first, then eː. The abilitative tsʰuʔ may occur as the sentence-final morpheme or be followed by other verbal suffixes. The negated forms are present/future mi-tsʰuʔ (EQU) and past ma-tsʰuʔ (EQU). The affirmative past form is tsʰu-po EQU. In (8.252) and (8.253) tsʰuʔ occurs as sentence-final morpheme.
(8.252) 

*te raː=to kʰa=tʰɛː nā=tʰɛː pʼja? di=tsu=i nā=tʰɛː lɛp*

then 2SG.L=CEMPH deer forest inside cliff this=PL=GEN inside very.much

*giuk tʰu?*

run be.able.to

‘But you, a deer, are able very well to run in the forest and these cliffs.’ (UU deer story)

(8.253)

*odzi-pʼja ɲa qok ma-tʰu?*

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)

*odzi-pʼja ma-tʰu*

*di=ta 330 dau ni: de=tei? te kʰim=na zak tʰu be?*

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)

*odzi=ta pʼu pʼum ka=gi pʼja-run pʼja tʰu ŋiː.*

that=CEMPH boy girl who=AGT do-CONC do be.able.to EQU.PER

‘That (work) can be done by either boys or girls.’ (Lit. ‘Even if a boy or a girl did (it), (they) can do it’. (PL interview)

(8.256)

*tʼariŋ=gi tʰakt ɛ̃=di tʼatar ɛ tʰɛ mì-

*tsʰu bɛʔ.*

today=GEN decision=DEMPH now happen NEG-be.able.to EQU.NE

‘Today’s decision cannot be made right now.’ (BB BB discussion)

The following examples illustrate the nonpast, past and present habitual uses of tʰu? respectively:

(8.257)

*giu tʰu:-ee? ápa?*

where go be.able.to-INF father

‘Where will (we) be able to go, father?’ (AB kitchen discussion)

(8.258)

*ndʒa=lo keri=ki lɔpʰː jɔ? tʼop tʰu-po ŋiː.*

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)

330 Here the contrastive emphatic is pronounced in the Nepali way as ta and not as typical Denjongke to. The written Denjongke, however, has ɲ to. The same happens, with the same speaker, in (8.255).
In addition to uses as primary verb, ēː ‘know’ can be used as a secondary verb marking ability:

(8.260) kʰõː tʰi ma-ɕéː-ruŋ keː=di kjap ɕéː-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) ᒡོ་མ་? ɖðok ɕéː-ka?
read know-PQ
‘Can you read?’ (UT e)

(8.262) དྲུ་མོ? lâː mó ɕéː-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-ɕɛ EX, see §8.4.

8.5.8 Mental abilitative nûm ‘dare, have courage to’
The secondary verb nûm ‘dare, have courage’, which may be characterized as one type of mental ability (alongside, for instance, intellectual ability), typically, and perhaps exclusively, occurs as a negated declarative (8.263) or an interrogative (8.264). I do not have affirmative declarative examples.

(8.263) བོན་མི་ཞུ་?
ŋà ɡju mi-nûm.
1SG go NEG-dare
‘I don’t dare to go.’ (KTL e)

(8.264) ལྷ་བོའི་ནར་གུན་?
biu=di sé? nûm-ka?
snake=DEMPH kill dare-PQ
‘Do you dare to kill the snake?’ (KTL e)

331 .po here represents the Nepali emphatic po.
8.5.9 Physical abilitative $kʰøʔ$ ‘to have the strength to’
The secondary verb $kʰøʔ$ (WD རྣ་ཁྔོད་ khyod) expresses a special case of abilitative, ‘to have the strength to’. This verb collocates especially with the verb bak ‘carry’:

(8.265) $kʰu \, tsʰ=di=na \, diko \, ma-nun \, dem-pʰja \, tsʰ \, pʰam=na$
3SGM life=DEMPH=LOC sin NEG-few such-ADVZR life other.side=LOC
$kʰu \, diko \, ódi \, bak \, kʰøː-ka?$
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 $lõː$ ‘have time to’
The secondary verb $lõː$, 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 $lõː$ ‘stand’, but differs from it syntactically in that whereas $lõː$ ‘stand’ functions like a typical verb, $lõː$ ‘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) $sǿː \, sʑ \, a \, sɕ \, ū \, lõː\, mɛ \, ʔ$. tea.HON have.HUM have.time.to NEG.EX.PER.
‘(We) do not have time to have tea.’ (DB trip story)

(8.267) $tʽat \, ŋà \, áteu=tša:\, \, gju \, lõː\, \, mɛ\, ʔ$. now 1SG elder.brother=at go have.time.to NEG.EX.PER house=LOC work jøː?. EX.PER
‘I have now no time to come to the brother’s (=your) place. I have work at home.’ (YR e)

(8.268) $ŋà \, jøː\, mɛ\, ʔ$. gju lõː jøː?.
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) $ŋà \, tʽatei=le \, õː-ni \, pʰja=sāː \, kʼamoː\, õː\, lõː$. 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 $lõː$ ‘have time to’, expressing the semantic equivalent of English ‘as soon as’, is exemplified in (8.270):
The reason why \( lô: \) ‘have time’ is not used as primary verb is probably that Denjongke has another verb \( t'i: \) ‘have time to’, which can be used independently:

\[ lô: = \text{DAT} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{have.time.to} \quad \text{NEG.EX-2INF} \quad \text{letter write-INF} \quad \text{EQU.PER} \]

‘I’ll write a letter as soon as I arrive in Bombay.’ (Richhi 138)

8.5.11 Deontic modal goʔ ‘be needed, must’

The affirmative form of the deontic modal secondary verb goʔ ‘be needed, must’ indicates that something, in the speaker’s opinion, needs to be done (in affirmative), see (8.272).

\[ \text{te}^\iota:=\text{ki} \quad \text{t}^\iota \quad \text{goʔ.} \]

2SG.L=AGT book write be.necessary

‘You have to write a book/books.’ (YR canteen video)

The construction can be negated in two ways, which bear a semantic difference. Preposing the negator prefix to the secondary verb goʔ has the meaning ‘does not need to’ (8.273), whereas preposing the negator to the primary verb has the meaning ‘must not’ (8.274).

\[ \text{omzd} = \text{PN} \quad \text{sit} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{be.necessary} = \text{AT} \]

second.lama PN sit NEG-be.necessary=AT

‘Omze Samdrup does not need to participate (in the ceremony), you know.’ (LT kitchen discussion)

\[ \text{ŋáː} = \text{1SG.AGT} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{be.necessary} \]

1SG AGT water be.necessary

‘I need water.’ (KN e)
The equative copula be?/=pe? may follow go? (the equative ŋ.: does not occur in this position in my data).

Typically go? is postposed to the verb root, but in some instances it is appended to an infinitival form of the verb:

In addition to the nonpast form exemplified in (8.279), go? may occur in the periphrastic past (8.280) and present habitual construction (8.281):

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’.
8.5.12 Possibility with **siʔ** ‘be possible’

The rather infrequent secondary verb **siʔ** expresses possibility and, as negated, impossibility.

(8.284) 

\[
\text{giams}^t\text{o}: \quad \text{te}^u \quad \text{k}^\text{om} \quad \text{siʔ} \quad \ddot{o}:
\]

sea.gen water become.dry be.possible FUT.UNC

‘It is possible for the water of the ocean(s) to dry up.’ (song lyrics)

Consultant KN commented that **siʔ** does not occur in past constructions, while example (8.285) shows that **siʔ** does occur in the nonpast construction:

(8.285) 

\[
\text{m}^\text{zi} \quad \text{dol}^i\text{ʔ} \quad \text{te}^a \quad \text{p}^\text{ompo} \quad \text{te}^{u}\text{y} \quad \text{si}-\text{ce} \quad \text{be}^?.
\]

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 **siʔ** with **tʰon** ‘happen, become’ and **tsal** ‘at all’:

(8.286) 

\[
\text{te} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{yat}^\text{ca}? \quad \text{tsal}=\text{ra} \quad \text{t}^\text{on} \quad \text{mi}-\text{siʔ}.
\]

so this 1PL at.all=AEMPH happen NEG-be.possible

‘It is definitely not possible for us to make it happen.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(8.287) 

\[
\text{me}: \quad \text{de}:=\text{to} \quad \text{tsal} \quad \text{t}^\text{on} \quad \text{mi}-\text{siʔ}.
\]

no like.that=CEMPH at.all happen NEG-be.possible

‘No, it is not at all possible that that happens.’ (Richhi 116)

8.5.13 Tentativity with *ta* ‘look’

The secondary verb *ta* ‘look’ denotes tentative and experimental action whose outcome is uncertain. Similar use of the verb ‘see’ to mark “tentative aspect” has been reported, for instance, in Tibeto-Burman Lahu (Matisoff 1973) and Galo (Post 2007: 497), the Tai-Kadai language Maonan (Lu 2008: 310) and Indo-Aryan Assamese (Post 2008: 65). I consider, however, tentative modality a better term, because the category is not essentially about time-perspective. The secondary verb *ta* frequently collocates with *‘i* ‘ask’, which denotes an action the result of which is by definition uncertain, see (8.288) and (8.289). Because
experimental action is frequently expressed through a suggestion, the secondary verb ta often occurs in the hortative mood, see (8.289), (8.290) and (8.291) or another type of suggestive construction, see (8.292).

(8.288) རྣ་ ལྟ་ བྱི་ངོ་ ེབ་ ལྟ་ ེྲི།
`te`a`o`? kan hjø: `lap-ti` `t`i ta-u=lo.
2SG.L what disappear say-NF ask look-2INF=REP
‘What of yours disappeared he asked (so the story goes).’ (JDF axe story)

(8.289) ་པྨ་ པྨ་ ནུམ་ ལྟ་ ཤི་ ལུ་ པྨ་ ལྟ་ ེྲི།
`tɕʰøʔkanbjõːlap-ti`tʰi`ta-u=lo.
father mother a.bit=1INF 1PL ask look-HORT
‘Let’s see and ask father and mother.’ (SGD wedding customs)

(8.290) སྨ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ འབྱི་ ལྟ་ ེྲི།
`te`a`zo` `p`in`ta-ge=s` pnè: `mòby=lo.
tea make give look-HORT=QUO 1SG.GEN wife=DAT
‘Let’s look and make tea for my wife.’ (KT e)

(8.291) དྲི་ གཟིགས་ ལྟ་་ ལྟ་ ེྲི།
`ge`po=di=lo lòktɕɛ=ro:`-`kʰa-`lap` `ta-ge-teʰi.
king=DEMPH=DAT again=DEMPH mouth-speak look-HORT-IMP.FRAN
‘Let’s again try and speak (in incantation) to this (spirit) king.’ (rnam-rtog 8)

(8.292) རྣ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ེྲི།
`mènkʰa:`=na kʰik-ti`ton` `ta-ne=co`?
hospital=LOC lead-NF show look-COND=AT
‘What if (we) look (or try) and take and show him at the hospital?’ (rnam-rtog 17)

The honorific equivalent zi: ‘look, see (hon.)’ can also be used in similar function to ta.

(8.293) རྣ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ིུ་ ལྟ་ ེྲི།
`tʰi` zi`-`po` náz-teʰi.
ask look.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRAN
‘Try and ask (him/her).’ (KN e)

8.5.14 Pretensive -dzin `tap
The pretensive is formed by postposing to the verb -dzin `tap, consisting of WT རྩུན 'lie’ and the verbalizer `tap of uncertain etymological origin (possibly WT ཐིབ 'fight, quarrel’).

(8.294) རྡྱི་ རྡོ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ེྲི།
`kʰu` jø? `p`ja-dzin `ta`-`ap-o` be?.
3SGM work do-PRET VBLZ-2INF EQU.NE
‘He pretended he was working.’ (KN e)

When the pretensive is used with a constituent complement clause, the verb occurs twice, the complement being formed from a genitivized infinitive or nominalized form, see (8.295), where `gju-ee=ki [go-INF=GEN] could be replaced by `gju-bo: [go-2INF.INF].
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) tʽizãː nẽːtː=diː p’ja-ti múː ŋà=lo ŋò ee:-runŋ
but situation=DEMPH.AGT do-NF 3SGF.AGT 1SG=DAT face know-CON
[ŋò ma- ee:-pøː] 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 (-sõː) that does not occur in the present description and does not report the completive form which does occur in the present description (-tsʰaː). It was also noted that the infinitive forms -ɕɛʔ and =ɲi syntactically overlap in some constructions but not in others. Furthermore, I described 16 modality-expressing markers, most of them secondary verbs. As an example of modal functions, secondary verbs can express ability from several perspectives, general, mental, physical and temporal.
9 Evidentiality marked by auxiliaries and clitics

This chapter continues the discussion on evidentiality which began in chapter 7 on copulas. Chapter 8 on tense, aspect and modality-marking construction was placed between the two chapters on evidentiality because it is easier to understand the discussion on the evidential uses of copulas and clitics in various constructions after those construction have been introduced. The current chapter widens the discussion on evidentiality into two directions. First, here the discussion on evidential functions of copulas is extended to their auxiliary uses at the end of the verb complex (§9.1). Second, this chapter addresses the evidential clitics, reportative =lo and quotative =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,332 and in dependent clauses evidential contrasts in auxiliaries are neutralized so that only the personal copulas ìː and jø̀ and occur.333 The concessive construction in (9.1) exemplifies an evidentially neutral, dependent construction. In (9.1), ìː cannot be replaced by beʔ.

(9.1) te lejgeː=tsu kʼaː zuː-kʰɛː; ìː-rug... 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 ìː, beʔ, jø̀ and duʔ retain their basic meaning when used as auxiliaries. The use of the personal equative ìː and personal existential jø̀ is associated with 1) well-integrated old knowledge, 2) spatiotemporal proximity and 3) emotional involvement, whereas the neutral auxiliary beʔ is associated with the lack of these three characterizations. The sensorial existential duʔ is associated with sensoriality and momentariness334.

The discussion below first addresses equative auxiliaries (§9.1.1) and then existential auxiliaries (§9.1.2). The final section (§9.1.3) discusses evidentiality of the various completive constructions which involved the completive tsʰa(ː).

9.1.1 Equative copulas ìː and beʔ as auxiliaries

The equatives ìː and beʔ occur in past (VERB-po EQU)335, present habitual (VERB-kʰɛː EQU), imperfective (VERB-do EQU), future (VERB-ce EQU) and nominalized progressive (VERB-zim-bo EQU) constructions. Table 9.1 summarizes these constructions and exemplifies each form with the verb(alizer) kjap ‘do’.

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332 The quotative =se can mark an embedded clause but this embedded clause (a quotation) is not dependent in that it can also occur independently.

333 However, causal clauses with kʼambjas (see §15.4.1) and causal/purposive clauses with làpti (see §15.4.4 and §15.5.3) allow finite constructions and thus also occur with beʔ and duʔ.

334 Momentariness refers to the fact that by using the auxiliary duʔ the speaker claims only to have had a sensory experience but does not necessarily claim that the reported state-of-affairs continues at the time of speaking. In contrast, the personal auxiliary jø̀ typically suggests continuation of the action or its results at the time of speaking.

335 With stative verbs, this structure may also have a present habitual meaning.

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Table 9.1. Structures with equative auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Example of personal</th>
<th>Example of neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past (periphrastic)</td>
<td>VERB-po EQU</td>
<td>kjap-o ɪː</td>
<td>kjap-o ɓe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present habitual</td>
<td>VERB-kʰɛː EQU</td>
<td>kjap-kʰɛː ɪː</td>
<td>kjap-kʰɛn ɓe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>VERB-do (EQU)</td>
<td>kjap-to ɪː</td>
<td>kjap-to ɓe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonpast</td>
<td>VERB-ee EQU</td>
<td>kjap-ee ɪː</td>
<td>kjap-ee ɓe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. prog.</td>
<td>VERB-zim-bo EQU</td>
<td>kjap-zim-bo ɪː</td>
<td>kjap-zim-bo ɓe?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidential meaning of the personal auxiliary ɪː is essentially the same as the meaning of the copula ɪː. By using the auxiliary ɪː, the speaker claims familiarity with the reported situation. Similarly to the copular use of ɓe?, the auxiliary use of ɓe? implies that the speaker distances themself 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 ɓe? with 1st person actor336 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 ɪː, which implies familiarity. People are by default well familiar with their own actions. The examples below illustrate the periphrastic past (9.2), present habitual (9.3), imperfective (9.4) and nonpast contexts (9.5). The nonpast form -ɕɛ ɪː is often, as in (9.6), reduced to -ɕ ɪː in spoken language.

(9.2) tʽep-dì kʼö-teɛː ma-Jà-ge làp-o ɪː.
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) ԡ tʼato kalimponj do-kʰɛː ɪː.
1SG now TPN live-NMLZ EQU.PER
‘I stay now in Kalimpong.’ (TB e)

336 The word actor is here defined in a very loose sense so that it includes experiencers of events such as seeing and hearing.
In (9.3), the present habitual construction with the personal equative (VERB-kʰː; Ŭ) functions similarly to the equative copula ŭ in that it identifies the person as being someone who has the quality which is described by the nominalized verb. Using the neutral auxiliary be? in (9.3) would imply that the identifying function is backgrounded, i.e. VERB-kʰen be? 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.

Example (9.7) shows that the omniscient narrator of a novel is entitled to use the personal form in third person narration.

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.
Examples (9.6-8) show that Denjongke personal forms have wider distribution than the cognate intentional egophoric \textit{pa-yin} in Standard Tibetan. The Standard Tibetan form can only be used with a 1st person subject (Tournadre 2008: 296).

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) 
\begin{align*}
\text{lópø}: & \text{é:}ḍa=lo, \quad \text{é:}ḍa \quad \text{nàngca lópøn} \\
\text{teacher} & \text{Buddhist.institute}=\text{DAT} \quad \text{Buddhist.institute} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{teacher} \\
\text{do.HON-NMLZ} & \text{EQU.PER}=\text{AT} \\
\text{‘The teacher has a teacher’s tenure at the Shedra-institute, within Shedra-institute.’ (KL phone call)}
\end{align*}

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) 
\begin{align*}
\text{tsʰo} & \text{ɲám-to} \quad ìː=ṣ. \\
\text{lake} & \text{weaken-IPFV} \quad \text{EQU.PER}=\text{QUO} \\
\text{‘The lake is getting weaker, (he) said’ (DB day trip)}
\end{align*}

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) 
\begin{align*}
\text{nè:po} & \text{k’alyʔ} \quad \text{k’alyʔ} \quad \text{p’ja-ti} \quad \text{ʃ’embo} \quad \text{sin-ɛ} \quad ìː. \\
\text{patient} & \text{slow} \quad \text{slow} \quad \text{do-NF} \quad \text{consciousness} \quad \text{catch-INF} \quad \text{EQU.PER} \\
\text{‘The patient will slowly, slowly regain consciousness.’ (Richhi 14)}
\end{align*}

Similarly to (9.7) above, the omniscient narrator of (9.12) uses a personal construction, because he is familiar with the characters he has written in the story. I did not find personal forms in the narrative parts of folkstories, which are (typically) not of the storyteller’s own design.

(9.12) 
\begin{align*}
\text{tam diː} & \text{korlo} \quad \text{karma=gi} \quad \text{lépti} \quad \text{nó:sam tᵃː-ɛ} \quad ìː. \\
\text{talk} \quad \text{this.GEN} \quad \text{about} \quad \text{PN=AGT} \quad \text{very.much though} \quad \text{send-INF} \quad \text{EQU.PER} \\
\text{‘Karma thinks a lot about that thing.’ (Richhi 36)}
\end{align*}

\footnote{337 A second difference is that, unlike for Standard Tibetan \textit{VERB-pa-yin}, the action does not have to be intentional in Denjongke for the construction \textit{VERB-po ìː} to be used.}
9.1.1.3 Neutral forms with non-1st person actor

Clauses with non-1st person actors are typically marked with neutral forms, because speakers are less likely to feel familiar with other people’s actions. The past, present habitual, progressive and nonpast constructions are presented in (9.13-16) respectively.

(9.13) ངཱི་ བཀྲ་ ཤིང་ མེ་ བུང་ ཡེ་ དུས།  

\( \text{1SG.GEN elder.brother doctrine a.bit read receive-2INF EQU.NE} \) 

‘My elder brother got (an opportunity) to study a bit.’ (PED life story)

(9.14) ད་ བྲག་ མེ་ ཐད་ དགེས་མ  

\( \text{now work do be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE} \) 

‘Now work needs to be done.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(9.15) ད་ རིང་ ཉེ་ སྦད།  

\( \text{today gather-IPFV EQU.NE} \) 

‘(The ceremony) is taking place today.’ (LT kitchen discussion)

(9.16) དང་ གཡོག་ བྱེས་ དགེས་མ འབྲེལ་ བུ་སིང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ཅེ་ན་ ཡེ་ རང་ སྦད།  

\( \text{yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall sit EX-SIM} \) 

\( \text{younger.sister=HON NEG.EX-COND 3SGM there=EMPH die-INF EQU.NE} \) 

‘Yesterday when our Bhaila was lying fallen after hitting his head, if it wasn’t for the sister, he would have died on the spot.’ (Richhi 12)

It should be kept in mind, however, that there are also other factors than the actor’s personality that affect the choice of auxiliary. Temporal distance in (9.13) and imaginary action (irrealis mood) in (9.16) can result in even the speaker using \( \text{be?} \) of their own actions, as shown in the next section.

9.1.1.4 Neutral forms with 1st person actor:

By using an evidentially neutral form, the speakers distance themselves from the situation depicted by the proposition. Some reasons for distancing are the following: focusing on the consequences of the action rather than the action itself (9.17), historical distance and lack of control (9.18), speaker’s imagined (irrealis) action (9.19-20) and distant, theoretically understood future rather than immediate future (9.21).

According to consultant KN, (9.17) would be appropriate as an answer to the question “How did you get that wound?” . Similar to the copular use of \( \text{be?} \) (see §7.2.3), the use of the auxiliary \( \text{be?} \) backgrounds the event itself and focuses the addressee’s attention on the consequences of the event.

(9.17) གི་ ལྷག་ རྒྱུད་ བྲོ་  

\( \text{1SG fall-2INF EQU.NE} \) 

‘I fell.’ (KN e)

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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) ཆེ་སེ་བྔོ་སྦད།
            onale nga ki-u be?
            then 1SG be.born-2INF EQU.NE
            ‘Then I was born.’ (PED life story)

Denwood (1999: 143) comments that the “other-centred” (contra “self-centred”) Lhasa Tibetan past construction VERB-pa-red, which is somewhat equivalent to the Denjongke construction used in (9.17) and (9.18), “is said to be possible with a first-person subject and is certainly found in writing…, but I have not heard it in spontaneous speech.” This suggests that Denjongke and written language in Lhasa may embody more “archaic” grammar than spoken Lhasa Tibetan.

The following two examples illustrate the use of neutral evidentiality in imagined, irrealis situations. The speaker of (9.19) asked in a telephone conversation, jokingly, the addressee to put a hefty sum of money on his account. After having been pried as to what he would do with the money, the speaker spontaneously answered:

(9.19) ང་བག་སྟི་ གུ་དོ་སྦད།
           nga giu-do be?, t’a: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) ལེན་ཐག་རིང་མཐའ་སྟི་ དྲི་བ་སྦད།
            lenge:=lo p’ate t’iwa nga t’i-ce be?.
            PRN.HON=DAT thither question 1SG ask-INF EQU.NE
            ‘(Let’s imagine) I’ll ask you a question.’ (KN e)

Lastly, (9.21) reports the words of Siddhartha Gautama, who after seeing a dead person realizes that the same fate awaits him, not necessarily in the near future but at some indefinite point.

(9.21) ད་ཐུ་ (Nep.) ཤི་ཤད་སྦད།
            t’a nga puni338 ei-ce be?.
            now 1SG too(Nep.) die-INF EQU.NE
            ‘Now, I too will die (one day).’ (TB story of Buddha)

A clause analogous to (9.21) but said by a very sick person, on the other hand, would likely have the personal auxiliary ì. Proposition (9.21) refers to a theoretical understanding about the reality of death, not to one’s immediate projected fate.

338 The equivalent Denjongke morpheme is =jä:.
9.1.1.5 Evidentiality with complex equative auxiliaries

Occasionally, the final auxiliary is a complex nominalized or infinitival copula. The nominalized copula construction \( \text{in-}k^\prime \text{en be}? \) in (9.22) underlines the nonhabitual (hence \( \text{in-}k^\prime \text{en be}? \) instead of mere \( \text{be}? \)) and past meaning (hence spatiotemporally backgounding nominalized \( \text{in-}k^\prime \text{en be}? \) rather than mere personal \( \text{t} \)) of the clause.

(9.22) \( \text{ló mi-te ton ma-teuk-ce=ki } t^\prime \text{onda=le de:} \)

mind NEG-entrust show NEG-CAUS-INF=GEN purpose=ABL like.this

\( \text{p'ja-tiki ã: dem=tei? kja-p-to ij-k^\prime \text{en be}?.} \)
do-NF lie like=INDF strike-IPFV EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘In order that it wouldn’t be shown that he didn’t believe (the story), he was telling as a lie (like this:).’ (PAD bet story)

In (9.23) the nominalized auxiliary \( \text{im-bo \text{t}} \) makes the past interpretation of verbal action more explicit than if the auxiliary were mere \( \text{t} \), although the temporal interpretation of the verb form is also revealed by the adverb \( \text{ɲɛ̃́} \text{nl} \text{ɛ} \) ‘earlier’. By choosing a personal copula (\( \text{im-bo \text{t}} \)) instead of a neutral one (\( \text{im-bo \text{be}}? \)) the speaker underlines his own involvement in seeing the flowers himself.

(9.23) \( \text{němà nà:to ciŋ minto? teà:tei? t^\prime \text{on-do im-bo} \)

earlier here=CEMPH tree flower beautiful=INDF come.out-IPFV EQU-2INF \( \text{t} \).

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 \( \text{t} \)-\( \text{-ee be}? \).

(9.24) \( \text{di=tsu=gi=di kʰ: } ɲà=lo sè=-ee=ki te'y tâ:-bo} \)

this=PL=AGT=CEMPH 3PL 1SG=DAT kill-INF=GEN means send-2INF \( \text{t} \)-\( \text{-ee be}? \).

EQU-INF EQU.NE

‘These guys, they are plotting to kill me.’ (KT Animal story)

In the context of (9.24), the main protagonist, a marten, has seen a tiger’s tail peeking out from under a basket, making him suspect that the tiger-couple, whom he is visiting, are plotting to kill him. As the simple auxiliaries \( \text{be}? \) and \( \text{t} \) would typically mark an event which happened prior to the time of speaking, the use of the complex copula \( \text{t} \)-\( \text{-ee be}? \) rather than \( \text{be}? \) or \( \text{t} \) shows that the action is ongoing at the time of speaking.

9.1.2 Existential auxiliaries \( \text{jø} \) and \( \text{du} \)

The existentials \( \text{jø} \) and \( \text{du} \) are used as auxiliaries in the constructions given in Table 9.2. The table also includes the non-copula form \( \text{-ke/ge} \), which was earlier shown to occur as an intensifier attached to sensorial \( \text{du} \). (see §7.2.2.3).
The use of personal auxiliary jō? 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 constrast, the speaker bases her proposition on sensory evidence. The interpretation of what the speaker has seen depends on the nature of the event (as coded by tense and aspect markers). If the action is presented as ongoing with progressive or continuous forms, the sensory evidence implied by 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.\footnote{See Hill (2017) for an illuminating study on how sensorial/experiential forms may have inferential semantics.}

In Table 9.2, -ke/ge again occurs as an element that may be appended to du?, but in the completive and progressive forms -ke/ge also occurs independently of du?. The uses without du? (VERB-ts\(^{a}\)ake, VERB-ts\(^{a}\)ouke, VERB-te\(n\)ge/zenge\footnote{This form was probably an abbreviation from VERB-teen duke.}) are hypothesized to be abbreviated forms, which may have originally retained the sensorial meaning but are currently becoming to be used in contexts where there is no sensory evidence. The forms VERB-ts\(^{a}\)ake, VERB-ts\(^{a}\)ouke and VERB-te\(n\)ge/zenge are preliminarily termed alterphoric, because in my data they do not occur with the first person.

The discussion below is divided into personal forms with 1st person actor (§9.1.2.1), personal forms with non-1st person actor (§9.1.2.2), sensorial and neutral forms with non-1st person actor (§9.1.2.3) and sensorial and neutral forms with 1st person actor. Complex evidential auxiliaries are briefly addressed in §9.1.2.5.

### 9.1.2.1 Personal forms with 1st person actor

The speaker is typically well familiar with propositions which have a first person actor. Therefore clauses with a first person actor usually opt for a personal rather than a sensorial or neutral auxiliary (counter-examples are given later). The examples below exemplify perfect (9.25), resultative (9.26), progressive (9.27) and continuous forms (9.28).

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Table 9.2. Constructions with existentials as auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Example with jō?</th>
<th>Example with du?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>completive</td>
<td>VERB-ts(^{a})a((_)) EX</td>
<td>kjap-ts(^{a})a du(ke)</td>
<td>kjap-ts(^{a})a du(ke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB-ts(^{a})ake</td>
<td>kjap-ts(^{a})ake</td>
<td>kjap-ts(^{a})ake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(VERB-ts(^{a})ou EX)\footnote{This form was reported as marginal by consultant KN.}</td>
<td>(kjap-ts(^{a})ou du(ke))</td>
<td>(kjap-ts(^{a})ou du(ke))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB-ts(^{a})ouke</td>
<td>kjap-ts(^{a})ouke</td>
<td>kjap-ts(^{a})ouke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>VERB(VERB)-po/bo EX</td>
<td>kjap(kjap)-o jō?</td>
<td>kjap(kjap)-o du(ke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resultative</td>
<td>VERB EX</td>
<td>kjap jō?</td>
<td>kjap du(ke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>VERB-te(n)e:/z(n)e/zin EX</td>
<td>kjap-te(n)e:jō?</td>
<td>kjap-teen du(ke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB-te(n)ege/zenge\footnote{This form is probably an abbreviation from VERB-teen duke.} (Martam VERB-te(n)ouke)</td>
<td>kjap-te(n)ege</td>
<td>(Martam kjap-te(n)ouke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessivelike</td>
<td>VERB-ee EX</td>
<td>kjap-ee jō?</td>
<td>kjap-ee du(ke)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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(9.25) བཀྲི་བོ་ གླིང་གི་ ལྟོ་ཁྲི་འཛིན་གྱི་ རྣམ་ཐབས་ ཨ་ རིས་ལྟེ་ ཨ་ རིས་ལྟེ་ ཨིན།

ŋàtei pʰamo di=tsu=gì kʰ:mo=gi ádzō kʰ:dzō=tsu
1PL GEN parents this = PL GEN elder. GEN = GEN grandfather forefather = PL
tsa=le ˈdepti sën-sem-po jò.
at=ABL like. that hear. HON-RDP-2INF EX. PER
‘I have heard like that from our parents, elders, grandfathers and forefathers.’
(CY interview)

(9.26) གྲེ་ཉིད་ གོད།
ŋà lep jò.
1SG arrive EX. PER
‘I have arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.27) ཡོང་ རུ་ དང་ སྟེ་ ལྟེ་ འཛིན་ གོད།
tʽato sàːte nà na: wo=:lo zuneap eùːzin jò.
now until 1SG here TPN = DAT government. service do. HUM-PROG EX. PER
‘Until now, I am doing government service in Wok.’ (KT life story)

A complex auxiliary with jò:-ce ū is used in (9.28) to refer to the future.

(9.28) ཡོང་ རུ་ དང་ སྟེ་ ལྟེ་ འཛིན་ གོད།
ŋà tʰorãː tɕʰ ùtʰøʔ gu=lo tʰom=na gu do: jò:-ce ū.
1SG tomorrow clock. time none = DAT town = LOC go stay EX- INF EQU. PER
‘Tomorrow nine o’clock I will have gone to town’ (BT grammar exposition)

In (9.28), evidentiality is marked as personal with ū, whereas jò?, which occurs in an
evidentially neutralized position (du? does not occur with infinitive), only marks the
construction as an existential.

9.1.2.2 Personal forms with non-1st person actor
Personal auxiliary jò? also occurs with non-1st person actors, if the speaker wants to claim
familiarity with the situation. Note that these uses fall outside the purview of Standard
Tibetan egophoric, a category similar to Denjongke personal.

(9.29) འབྲོ་ བུད་ འཛིན་ ཭ེ་ ཡིད་ གོད།
mytsy=ki nà: za: jò.
others=AGT here set EX. PER
‘Others have placed (them) here.’ (RS interview)

(9.30) གྲིང་ བོད་ བོད་ དང་ སྟེ། ཡིད་ ཨ་ རིས་ ཨིན།
mìnto sérpo, márpo, karpo dëndzö: nán=lo cá: 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) བཀྲི་ བོ་ གླིང་ སེ་ བོད་ འཛིན་ གོད།
1PL GEN house-great give. HON set EX. PER
‘(He) has given (us) our Khimchen-building.’ (NAB BLA 7)
In the novel Richhi, the omniscient narrator is entitled to use the personal forms in third person narration:

\[(9.33)\] 

\[t'ato k'ò: \ jì:-pò \ jìmtei=lo \ to \ sà-zê: \ jò.\]

‘Now the two of them are eating rice/food together.’ (Richhi 20)

\[(9.34)\] 

\[k'ò: \ jì:-tée \ t'ato jìtʰi: \ təylo \ dò: \ jò.\]

‘The two of them are now sitting on the bed.’ (Richhi 18)

Example (9.35) illustrates the use of the personal form with the reportative =lo. The speaker reports the words of a guard at a sacred lake. Similar to (9.10) above, by using the personal auxiliary, the speaker reports the guard’s (and not his own) familiarity with the proposition.

\[(9.35)\] 

\[pà=lo \ sàm \ mam-ʰi:=-s \ súŋ \ za: \ jò:=-lo.\]

‘It has been said, do not give food to the fish, I heard.’ (DB trip story)

9.1.2.3 Sensorial and neutral forms with non-1st person actor

Sensorial and neutral forms are quite typically used with non-1st person actors because it is rarer to claim familiarity (marked by the personal forms) with propositions concerning other people. I first describe the use of sensorial forms and then neutral forms. Using the evidential auxiliary duʔ usually implies a recent or current sensorial experience by the speaker, see (9.36), where a doctor comments on the x-ray pictures in front of him.

\[(9.36)\] 

\[t'a \ lêm \ \text{nəm-tsʰə} \ duʔ.\]

‘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.

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342 WD equivalent མཐོ་རིམ་སྔོབ་གྲྭ་ mtho-rim slob-grwa ‘high-level school’. 
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 toil, the reference to a specific sensory event is clear. In examples (9.39) and (9.40), on the other hand, duʔ do not seem to refer to a specific sensory experience but generally to what people can be heard to say.

The sensoriality marked by duʔ may refer to indirect evidence (inference) rather than direct evidence. Example (9.41) is a comment by a farmer, who has lost a hen the previous night. Half of the eaten hen has been found in the forest. The likely culprit is a jackal. The sensory experience implied by duʔ is not that of the action itself depicted by the verb but of a result of that action (half of a ripped hen in the forest). Example (9.41) shows that the sensorial marker can with a past telic action express inferential semantics, i.e. the sensorial implies seeing the results of an action, not the action itself.

As with the copula duʔ, the sensoriality implied by the auxiliary duʔ does not have to be visual but may be gained through other senses, as shown illustrated by (9.42), which is based on gustatory evidence.
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)

\[\text{When he arrived at the hospital, Bhaila had regained consciousness and was able to talk a bit.} \]  
\[\text{(Richhi 23)} \]

The neutral existential auxiliaries \(jõpo\) be\(jõbe\) and \(jõ-k\'en\) be? are used when the speaker wants to background sensoriality and personality (or familiarity), i.e. put full emphasis on the content of the proposition without revealing how he received the information.

(9.44)

\[\text{(Something) is written in this box...} \]  
\[\text{(TB e)} \]

(9.45)

\[\text{All who live there are purely Lhopos of Sikkim.} \]  
\[\text{(CY Interview)} \]

(9.46)

\[\text{Sange Tsomdenden (=Shakyamuni Buddha) has said so.} \]  
\[\text{(YR canteen video)} \]

In (9.48), it would not be desirable to use the personal auxiliary \(jõ\) 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)\[ t'a \ k'u \ rubi=tei? \ tenk'a=lo \ pjäŋ-tiki \ k'alo \ ómtcuŋ \]

now 3SGM creeper=INDF on=DAT hang-NF what.is.it swinging

\( pjäŋ-zin \ jê-po \ beʔ. \)

hang-PROG EX-2INF EQUI.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)\[ t'a \ neː \ lok=di \ k'adzo? \ k'odaʔ-po \ ñä: \ kjap \ du?\]

now my Lhoke=DEMPH how.much understandable 1SG.AGT strike EX.SEN

‘Now how understandable Lhoke did I speak?’ (PAD bet story)

(9.50)\[ t'a \ ágia, \ raŋ=gi=ra \ t'u:sam \ ze:po \ ñä: \]

now elder.brother 2SG.M.=AGT=AEMPH through.HON have.HON-2INF do.HON

ñä \ k'adzo=sä: \ gato-ti \ do: \ duʔ. \ ñä:=gi \ k'adzo? \ sä:te \]

1SG how.much=until rejoice-NF live EX.SEN 1SG=AGT how.much until

ágia=lo \ riteʰi \ tap-ti \ do: \ duʔ. \]

elder.brother=DAT hope sow-NF stay EX.SEN

‘Now brother, you think for yourself how happy I am, how I’ve put my hope in the brother (=you).’ (Richhi 146)

Like the sensorial copula (see §7.2.2), the sensorial auxiliary may also be used in special circumstances where the speakers seem himself/herself, for instance, in a dream on a video-recording:

(9.51)\[ nilam=di=na \ ñä \ futbol \ tsi zen \ duʔ. \]

dream=DEMPH=LOC 1SG football(Eng.) play-PROG EX.SEN

‘In the dream I was playing football.’ (KT e)

By using a neutral auxiliary with first person actor, the speaker creates distance towards his own action, see (9.52), where the actions is non-voluntary (mistake).\[343\]

\[343\] 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”.

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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) བོག་རེ་སྟེང་གི་དཀར་ཡོལ་ འདི་ཀིས་གཅག་ཀྔོ་སྦད།
   teoktsi  təŋ=gi  kafoː=di  náː=gi  teak-ø  be?.
   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) བོག་རེ་སྟེང་གི་དཀར་ཡོལ་ འདི་ཀིས་གཅག་ཀྔོ་སྦད།
   teoktsi  təŋ=gi  kafoː=di  náː=gi  teak-ø ŋ.
   table  top=GEN  cup=DEMPH  1SG=AGT  break-2INF  EQU.NE
   ‘It was I who broke the cup that was on the table (just now).’ (KT e)

9.1.2.5 Evidentiality with complex existential auxiliaries

In my data, only one construction with an existential auxiliary, the existential/possessive-like construction VERB-INF EX (see §8.4), occurs with a complex copula. In the construction VERB-INF EX, the final existential auxiliary can occur in the complex evidentially neutral forms jø-po be?, see (9.54) and jø-kʰen be?, see (9.55). The first construction conveys a past meaning and the second one a present habitual meaning.

(9.54) འེལ་ཙུ་ཀིས་ཁ་གཏམ་ལེབ་རྫིགས་དྲགས་ལབ་སྦད།
   nɛːmu=ɾãː  tɛndːe  lɛː-ne  t’âː  tagziː  taktɛː  ta-ce
   really=AEMP  omen  good-evil  and  criteria.of.study  investigation  look-INF
   jø-po  be?.
   EX 2INF  EQU.NE
   ‘There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria.’ (Richhi 107)

(9.55) འབྲོ་འཛོལ་བོག་རེ་སྟེང་གི་དཀར་ཡོལ་ འདི་ཀིས་གཅག་ཀྔོ་སྦད།
   ádzoo=tsu=gi  k’atam  lɛp  dziktaʔ  lʌp-ceʔ  jøː-kʰen be?.
   grandfather=PL=AGT  proverb  very  excellent  say-INF  EX-NMLZ  EQU.NE
   ‘The grandfathers have most excellent proverbs to tell.’ / ‘The grandfathers are able to tell most excellent proverbs.’ (KN field notes)

The investigation mentioned in (9.54) refers to inauspicious omens which have just taken place, an uneven number of orange pieces and a broken curd bowl.

9.1.3 Evidentiality with the completive -tsʰa(ː)

The completive marker -tsʰa(ː) deserves a separate treatment, because it forms several constructions with other morphemes (see Table 9.3) and occurs in a construction to which the heretofore used evidential terms personal, sensorial and neutral seem inapplicable. The new category is tentatively termed “alterphoric” (glossed APH) and described below.
As suggested by Table 9.3, \(-tsʰa(ː)\) may occur alone as the final marker or be followed by one of the following formatives: equative copula (\(iː/bɛʔ\)), existential copula \(duʔ\) or the morpheme \(-ke\). Moreover, \(-tsʰa\) forms constructions both without nominalization and with \(-po/bo/u\) and \(-kʰɛ\). The evidentiality of the constructions ending in an equative auxiliary copula depends on the copula, as outlined above in this chapter (\(iː\) personal and \(beʔ\) neutral). The discussion here focuses on the other forms, which do not use equative copulas as auxiliaries. For examples on the equative auxiliaries in conjunction with the completive \(-tsʰa(ː)\), refer to §8.1.2.

With completive \(-tsʰa(ː)\) (henceforth just \(-tsʰa\) within the text), the typical contrast with the personal \(jʊʔ\) and sensorial \(duʔ\) is neutralized in that the personal auxiliary does not occur postposed to \(-tsʰa\). In the completive construction, however, the sensorial evidential contrasts with neutral evidentiality (i.e. lack of evidential marking) implied by the lone \(-tsʰa\). As evidentially neutral, the lone \(-tsʰa\) occurs both with 1SG (9.56) and non-1st person actors (9.57). The forms \(-ke\) and \(du(ke)\), on the other hand, typically occur only with non-1st person actors (9.58-9.61), and possibly in highly marked contexts with 1SG (no examples in my data but perhaps allowable when seeing oneself in a dream or on a video).

(9.56) ང་འོང་ཚར།
\(ŋ\dot{a} \, ön-tsʰaː\).
1SG come-CMPL
‘I’ve arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.57) དུ་འོང་ཚར།
\(kʰu \, ön-tsʰaː\).
3SGM come-CMPL
‘He’s arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.58) ས་འོང་ཆེར།
\(ŋ\dot{a} \, ön-tsʰa.ke\).
1SG come-CMPL.APH
‘I’ve arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.59) ས་འོང་ཆེར། རང་གི།
\(ŋ\dot{a} \, ön-tsʰa \, du(-ke)\).
1SG come-CMPL EX.SEN(-IN)
‘I’ve arrived.’ (KN e)
The difference between -tsʰa and -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) ཨ་ཞིག་བཚོའི་དོན་པར་འདུག་།
        དེ་ལེམ་ཐོན-tsʰa་du¿.
now good become-CMPL EX.SEN-IN
‘Now (the patient) has turned out well.’ (Richhi 29)

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) Facebook344 ར་ཞིག་གི་གཉིས་
        feisbuk=na ő:-tsʰouk=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) དམ་ལགས། དཔོན་ཐོན་མགོ་ལེབ་གཏོགས་ཚར་འདུག་།
        ám-la:, p’otsō: go lép 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)

(9.66) ལེཀེའི་ཁུངས་ལྷན་མཚན་ལ་ཁུངས་སྟོན་ཚོད་སེབས་ཚར།
        lenge¿ kʰadóð:=di lép cɛn-tsʰake=gø.
PRN.HON face==DEMPH very.much get.thin-CMPL.APH=AT
‘Your face has become very slim.’ (KN e)

344 According to consultant YR, the WD equivalent is ཁྲོ་ཐོན་ gdong-deb [face-book].
Commenting on the difference between \textit{du(-ke)} and \textit{-ke}, 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) \textit{kʰu őn-tsʰa du(-ke).} 
\begin{tabular}{ll}
3SGM & come-CMPL EX.SEN(-IN) \\
\end{tabular} 
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘He’s come (I saw him).’
\end{tabular}

b) \textit{kʰu őn-tsʰa ke.} 
\begin{tabular}{ll}
3SGM & come-CMPL.APH \\
\end{tabular} 
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘He’s come (I didn’t necessarily see him).’
\end{tabular}

KT’s observation is supported by the examples above in that the proposition with \textit{du}, (9.65), is based on a visual experience, while in examples with \textit{-ke} (9.66) is based on the speaker’s own visual evidence but (9.67) is likely based on a story the speaker has heard (furthermore, he could not see Tshothang Uncles thought’s).

Further evidence that action marked with \textit{tsʰa-ke} does not have to be sensorially attested is provided in (9.69), where (9.69a) presents a question posed on the telephone and (9.69b) a comment after the phone call. The comment (9.69b) is evidentially based on a report heard on the telephone, not on sensorially (most likely visually) witnessing the event or its results.

(9.69) a) \textit{pʰou lep-tsʰo-u ñá?} 
\begin{tabular}{ll}
over.there & reach-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER.Q \\
\end{tabular} 
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘Has he arrived over there?’ (KN phone call 3)
\end{tabular}

b) \textit{pʰou lep-tsʰake.} 
\begin{tabular}{ll}
over.there & reach-CMPL.APH \\
\end{tabular} 
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘He’s arrived over there.’ (KN conversation)
\end{tabular}

The form \textit{VERB-tsʰa-ke} may have originated as an abbreviated version of \textit{VERB-tsʰa du-ke}. This is suggested by the fact that, in contrast to \textit{-tsʰa du(ke)}, I have not come accross \textit{-tsʰa-ke} in written Denjongke. I hypothesize that while the abbreviated form \textit{-tsʰa-ke} originally retained the sensory meaning from the full form \textit{-tsʰa duke} (and hence even synchronously \textit{-tsʰa-ke} does not occur with 1st person actors), the lack of \textit{du}? in the construction is currently being reinterpreted as innecessity of sensoriality (hence 9.69b). Because \textit{-tsʰa-ke} does not occur with first person actors (association with the first person could be called “egophoric”) and because it does not seem to be necessitate sensoriality, I tentatively name it “alterphoric”,

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a term that suggests not much else than that the category is disassociated with the first person. Further research is needed to clarify the semantics of -du(ke) vs. -ke.

A distinction similar to that between completive -du(ke) and -ke can possibly be posited between the progressive forms -teen du(ke) and teun-ge, see §8.3.3.2. The latter form, which does not occur in written Denjongke may be a spoken reduction of the former. At present, however, I do not have adequate evidence to show an evidential distinction (sensorial vs. alterphoric) between the two progressive forms.

9.2 Evidentiality marked by clitics

Evidentiality concerns source and access to information (see the definition in §7.1). Therefore, the reportative (§9.2.1) and quotative markers (§9.2.2), which are both used for referring to information gained from another person than the speaker, fall under the purview of evidentiality.

9.2.1 Reportative =lo

The use of =lo in a clause implies that the speaker presents the proposition as originating with someone else. This section briefly illustrates the declarative (§9.2.1.1), interrogative (§9.2.1.2) and imperative uses of =lo (§9.2.1.3).

9.2.1.1 Declarative use

Examples (9.70-72) illustrate the typical declarative uses of the reportative.

(9.70) བའི་བོ་ཤྟོ་བ་ལྡེ་པས།
ápo ˈtʰːtsʰːaː=lo.
father die,HON-PRF=REP
‘(His) father has died, he says.’ (BP BB discussion)

(9.71) གོ་བོ་ དྲང་བཀོད་སྒྲིག་བྱེད།
dàː=le tsʰoː-b(o) be=lo. feisbuk=na
yesterday=ABL gather-2INF EQU.NE=REP facebook=LOC
ˈtʰːtsʰou=lo.
come-CMPL.2INF.APH=REP
‘(The meeting) started yesterday, I hear. It’s come on Facebook, I hear.’ (LT kitchen discussion)

(9.72) གོ་ལྟར་ སྱིན་ཧོ་བསྐེལ་བོ་ཤྟོ་བ་ལྡེ།
tˈaːpu lāːbu=teiʔ dep làm nānca 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) ᖃ, ᖃེ མོ་ནུ་ཞི་མ་, བདེར་ མྱ་ོད་ བོ་ མ་ མ་འོ་ དེ་
\(\text{ɛ̃́ː, } \text{ɲèː} \text{lāko teiku}=lo, \text{ɲèː} \text{kā:po jòː}=\text{eo lap.}\)
\(\text{eh, 1SG.GEN hand only=REP 1SG.GEN foot EX.PER=AT say}\)
\(\text{‘(I thought) I had only hands, (but) I have also feet, I realize.’ (KT animal story)}\)

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) བྔོན་ཤ་
\(\text{tɕ́'øn-sa}=lo?\)
\(\text{come.HON-FUT.Q=REP}\)
\(\text{‘Shall we go, I was asked.’ / ‘Will you go, I was asked.’ (oh, Tashiding)}\)

The speaker of (9.74), taking cover from rain, has just heard a friend offer a car ride. He conveys the invitation to his friends in another room by shouting.

### 9.2.1.3 Imperative use

In addition to declaratives and interrogatives, the reportative is used in imperatives, a feature which is rarely exemplified in Tibetic languages (exception: Gawne 2015) and which places Denjongke within a typological minority. Aikhenvald (2004: 250) states that “[a]n overwhelming majority of languages with evidentials do not use them at all in imperative clauses.” Example (9.75), illustrating the imperative use, was spoken to me by my host TB, who had just visited the kitchen and was conveying an invitation from his wife.

(9.75) བྔོན་ཤ་
\(\text{sòu ze:pa te mentors}=lo.\)
\(\text{food eat.HON-SUP come.HON-2INF grant=REP}\)
\(\text{‘Please come to eat, (she) says.’ (TB, oh)}\)

The reportative \(=lo\) in Denjongke is pronounced as unstressed with a low pitch. However, Denjongke also has a segmentally identical tag question lo, a loan of the frequent Nepali tag la. The tag question, which is pronounced with rising intonation, is often used in syntactic contexts identical with the reportative, as in (9.76).
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.

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 (honourific) 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) lõp=gi tʰu=di=aɲ=lo
pupil=DEMPH=AGT weep=PROG=ABL NEG-find=QUO say-2INF=REP
‘Weeping, the pupil says “I didn’t find (it)”, (so the story goes).’ (RS pupil joke)

(9.79) pʽusim=laː, tʽariŋ=le ɲà=lo ágıa=lo süm-bo
younger.sister=HON say=AGT today=ABL 1SG=DAT elder.brother=QUO say.HON-2INF
‘Sister, from today, please call me brother, okay.’ (Richhi 133)

345 In Denjongke authors’ works, the quotative can be seen either written separately or attached to the previous word (the same author may use both ways of writing). In the spoken examples here, I have written the quotative separately. Examples from written sources follow original conventions.
Note that in (9.78) =s marks a quotation within the story/discourse, whereas the reportative =lo, which follows, is a type of metacomment on the story, meaning something like “so the story goes”.

The complementizer may occur in a different clause than the verb of saying/writing:

(9.80) te'oki?, pa:la:=gi figi: lën ɬ'i tā: lo. t'utei? ɲātea?
PN father=GEN letter GEN answer write TAG Q this.year 1PL
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. 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) k'utea=lo sāmpo zan'ta? já-pate(n) e nā=le ɬō te nājēa=le
2PL=DAT thought good EX-COND here=ABL down inside=ABL
come.HON be.able.to=EQU NE TAG.ASR=QUO say-NF say.HON-2INF=REP
‘Then (someone) says (lit. said) “if you have good intentions, you can indeed go down from inside here” (so the story goes).’ (SGD Wedding customs)

If the context reveals with whom a saying or opinion originated, the quotative can appear as the final marker without any words of saying. In (9.82), the speaker is explaining the rationale for an old marriage custom. The quotative refers the proposition back to ancestors.

(9.82) p'um=di nörbu ɬou ɬ=s.
girl=DEMPH gem like EQU PER=QUO
‘The girl is like a gem (it is said).’ (SGD wedding customs)

In some uses of =s(ɛ), the speaker appears to quote themselves, see (9.83-85). In (9.83), the speaker responds to the question “Where are the children?”. Looking around, he is surprised to find out that the children who were there just a moment ago are nowhere to be seen. By using the quotative in (9.83), the speaker appears to repeat, and thus quote, his own earlier thought.

(9.83) t'ato nā: ɬo: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) ཆོས་ལོང་མེད་གྲེལ་པོ་མེད་པས་བུ་མ།
ཐོ་ནས་མེད་གྲེལ་པོ་མེད་པས་བུ་མ།
there EX.PER=QUO where go.PFV-2INF EQU.ATTQ
‘There (it) was. Where did it go, I wonder?’ (YR e)

When the addressee does not hear or believe what the speaker has said, the speaker may use =se as a forceful restatement of his/her case with a peremptory tone and possibly showing irritation:

(9.85) a) དེ་ཞེས་ནས་(ཞེས་)
ཐོ་=s(ཞེས་)
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) ལེ་ནོར་འོག་ནས་མེད་
ཐེ་ཐམས་ཅིག་ལོ་ཞེས་བུ་མ་
now NEG-have.HON=REP=QUO
‘He’s not having (drinks) now, I heard him say.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

(9.87) དེ་ཐེགས་ཐེགས་གཞི་ཟུར་ནོར་འོག་ནས་མེད་པོ་མེད་པས་རྒྱུ་མ་
ཐྱེ་ཐམས་ཅིག་ལོ་སུ་ཞེས་བུ་མ་
so 3SG.HON=AGT=DEMPH NEG-go=DEMPH go=REP=QUO=HON
‘He says (cf. =se) 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 =se as ‘him say’. The semantic nuances of =se 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 forms 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 -tsʰaː gave preliminary evidence for the category “alterphoric”, which refers to disassociation with the first person. The reportative marker was shown to occur in declarative, interrogative and imperative uses, the last one of which is typologically rare (Aikhenvald 2004: 250). Finally, it
was also seen that, in addition to prototypical uses, the quotative can refer to speaker’s own earlier thoughts or speech, possibly conveying counterexpectation or annoyance.
10 Negation

While negation strategies for individual constructions have been discussed under relevant headings, this chapter summarizes negation patterns in Denjongke. A few words on the terminology of the ensuing discussion are in order. I will use the terms symmetric and asymmetric negation deriving from Miestamo (2000, 2003, 2005). In a symmetrically negated construction, the negated clause differs from the corresponding affirmative clause by nothing else than adding a negator morpheme. An example of this can be taken from English: the affirmative clause I’m going there is negated by adding the negator morpheme not, as in I’m not going there. No other modifications take place.

Asymmetry in negation, on the other hand, may be viewed from two perspectives, as constructional asymmetry or paradigmatic asymmetry. In constructional asymmetry, a negated statement differs from the affirmative clause also by some other modification(s) than the adding of a negator. As an example Miestamo (2005: 3) gives the Finnish sentence nuku-n [sleep-1SG] ‘I sleep.’/’I’m sleeping’, which is negated as e-n nuku [NEG-1SG sleep.CNG] ‘I do not sleep’/’I’m not sleeping.’ Here negating is more complex than merely adding a negator morpheme: the negative auxiliary takes personal inflection and the inflected verb of the affirmative clause occurs in non-finite form.

Paradigmatic asymmetry in negation means that negative forms in the verbal paradigm do not have one-to-one correspondence to the affirmative forms. For instance, one negated form may correspond to more than one affirmed form, or the other way round.

The treatment is divided, taking inspiration from Miestamo’s (2016) questionnaire for describing the negation system of a language, into clausal negation (§10.1), non-clausal negation (§10.2.), and, finally, notes on other aspects on negation (§10.3).

10.1 Clausal negation

Denjongke accomplishes clausal negation through the negating prefixes ma- and mi-, which attach to the verb, and through negative forms of the copulas working either as pure copulas or as auxiliaries. The negators are summarized in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1. Clausal negation formatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Copulas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>mèː *** *** (affirm. bɛʔ *** ***)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mè ? *** *** (affirm. jòʔ *** ***)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mèmbɛʔ *** *** *** *** (affirm. bɛʔ *** ***)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minduʔ *** *** *** *** (affirm. duʔ *** ***)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mèmbo *** *** *** *** (affirm. bo *** ***)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mèna *** *** *** *** (affirm. ḋa *** ***)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the perfective negator ma- the verb has either past or imperative meaning, e.g. man-doʔ \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\* ‘did not, do not sit’. With the imperfective negator mi- the meaning is present habitual or future oriented, e.g. min-doʔ \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\* ‘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) བདེ་བུ་དུག་ཐག་པ་དེ་བུ་དུག་ཐག་བཞི་

nō:-kjaʔ, kjako=di=lo dzuga lāp.
cattle-excrement excrement=DEMPH=DAT cow-dung say
‘Cow-dung, dung is called /dzuga/.’ (PL interview)

b) བདེ་བུ་དུག་ཐག་བཞི་

di=lo be:-eeʔ mi-lāp.
this=DAT uproot-INF NEG-say
‘That is not called [be:eeʔ]’. (PL interview)

(10.2) བདེ་བུ་དུག་ཐག་པ་དེ་བུ་དུག་ཐག་བཞི་

t’ato nātea k’are cu-wa tea:-bo mēːː. t’e:lo
now 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EQU.REAL just.like.that
nātea t’ariŋ nā: sər=tsa: dze:-wa tea:-bo ūː.
1PL today here sir=by meet.HON-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER
‘Now we didn’t come to ask for anything. We just came here today to meet (you) Sir.’ (NAB BLA 7)

In serial verbs, the negator occurs before the last verb\(^{347}\), as shown by the affirmative and negated pair in (10.3).

(10.3)  

a) བདེ་བུ་དུག་ཐག་བཞི་

t’u ko:-bo ūː.
pick throw.away-2INF EQU.PER
‘(He) picked and threw (it) away’. (KN e)

b) བདེ་བུ་དུག་ཐག་བཞི་

t’u ma-ko.
pick NEG-throw.away
‘Do not pick and throw (it) away.’ (KN e)

The correspondence of affirmed and negated constructions in standard negation is summarized in Table 10.2, where EQU = ū/beʔ, NEG.EQU = mēː/mēmba, EX = jōʔ/duʔ? and NEG.EX = mēː/minduʔ? (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.

\(^{347}\) Negated serial verbs do not have more than two verbs.
Table 10.2. Negation of declarative final forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constr.</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Negated</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>state</td>
<td>làp beʔ</td>
<td>‘is called, says’</td>
<td>mi-làp</td>
<td>‘is not called’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simp. prs</td>
<td>làp beʔ</td>
<td>‘says’</td>
<td>mi-làp beʔ</td>
<td>‘does not say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>làp-to (EQU)</td>
<td>‘used to say, is saying’</td>
<td>ma-làp-to (EQU)</td>
<td>‘used not to say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>làp doː EX</td>
<td>‘is saying’</td>
<td>làp-o NEG.EX</td>
<td>‘is not saying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>làp-tce EX</td>
<td>‘is saying’</td>
<td>làp-o EQU</td>
<td>‘did not say (emphatic)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periphr. PST</td>
<td>làp-o EQU</td>
<td>‘said’</td>
<td>làp-o NEG.EQU</td>
<td>‘did not say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>làp-tce</td>
<td>‘said’</td>
<td>mà-lap(-o EQU)</td>
<td>‘will not say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>làp-tsʰəː</td>
<td>‘has said’</td>
<td>làp-làp-o</td>
<td>‘has not said’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>làp-làp-o EX</td>
<td>‘has not said’</td>
<td>làp-làp-o NEG.EX</td>
<td>‘has not said’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>làp jòʔ</td>
<td>‘has said’</td>
<td>làp mèʔ</td>
<td>‘has not said’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN,PST/SEN,RES</td>
<td>làp duʔ</td>
<td>‘said’</td>
<td>làp mindu</td>
<td>‘did not say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>làp-ee EQU</td>
<td>‘will say’</td>
<td>làp-ee NEG.EQU</td>
<td>‘will not say (emphatic)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT,UNC</td>
<td>làp őː</td>
<td>‘will say’</td>
<td>mi-lap(-e EQU)</td>
<td>‘will not say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.like</td>
<td>làp-ee EX</td>
<td>‘has/had...to say’</td>
<td>làp-ee NEG.EX</td>
<td>‘has/had not (anything) to say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB,PRS</td>
<td>làp-kʰː EQU</td>
<td>‘said, says’</td>
<td>ma-làp-kʰː EQU</td>
<td>‘didn’t say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mi-làp-kʰː EQU</td>
<td>‘doesn’t say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mi-làp-o EQU</td>
<td>‘does not say, used not to say’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 10.5, there is a slightly smaller number of affirmative constructions (15) than negated construction (17), showing paradigmatic asymmetry. Further asymmetry is evident in that:

1) Negation of the imperfective is split into symmetric negation, which is used for the past habitual use (ma-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 negated form (làp-o NEG.EX) for these constructions are not derived from the any of the three progressive type of constructions but from the non-reduplicated perfect construction (làpo EX). In this respect, Denjongke works analogously to Indo-Aryan Nepali, which uses same negation strategy for perfect and present continuous.

3) The same negated construction ma-làp(o EQU) corresponds to three affirmed forms, the periphrastic past (-po EQU), past (-tceʔ) and the completive (-tsʰəː).

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.

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349 In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the construction làpto mèʔ is also used.
5) The uncertain future (VERB ḡ.) form is negated by the same construction (mi-làp[-eEQU]) as the nonpast construction (-eEQU).

6) The affirmed perfect construction has two corresponding negated constructions, one of them involving a morpheme not occurring anywhere else in the negation system (-eEQU, etymologically probably སུ་ལུ་shul ‘trace’).

7) The habitual present form (-kʰEQU) is typically negated by symmetric constructions formed with ma- and mi-, but occasionally a symmetric negation of the periphrastic past form with mi- (mi-VERB-po EQU) functions analogously (see the last row in Table 10.2).

Table 10.3 summarizes the types of finite clause negation in terms of two types of symmetry. The first is constructional symmetry, which tells whether the negated form in question is formed simple by adding a negator morpheme to an affirmative form (symmetric) or by other means (asymmetric). The second type of symmetry value marked in Table 10.3 expresses the relationship of the negated form to its functionally equivalent affirmative form. If the negated counterpart of a certain affirmative construction is formed from the affirmative construction itself negation is symmetrically related to the affirmative form. If the negated form is based on another affirmative construction the relationship is asymmetric. For instance, the relationship between the affirmative past form làptɕɛ and its negated form ma-làp-o beʔ is asymmetric, because the negated form is formed/borrowed from the affirmative periphrastic past form làp-o beʔ. As seen in Table 10.3 constructional symmetry and relational symmetry may have opposite values. For instance, the negated construction ma-làp-o beʔ is constructionally symmetric because it is formed from the affirmative form làp-o beʔ by simple adding a negator morpheme. However, ma-làp-o beʔ is also the negated equivalent of the affirmative completive form làp-tsʰaː, with which the relationship is asymmetric because the negated form is not formed from the completive but borrowed from another construction.

In Table 10.3, S refers to symmetry and AS to asymmetry. The use of brackets in “(S)” means symmetry if the final TAME-marking is present (i.e. mà-làp-o ĕ: is symmetric negation of làp-o ĕ: while the shorter form mà-lap is not).
Table 10.3. (A)symmetry in finite negated constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constr.</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negated</th>
<th>Constructional symmetry</th>
<th>Relational symmetry of neg. and affirm. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>state</td>
<td>làp</td>
<td>mi-làp</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simp. prs</td>
<td>làp beʔ</td>
<td>mi-làpb eʔ</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>làp-to (EQU)</td>
<td>ma-làp-to (EQU)</td>
<td>mi-làp-to (EQU)</td>
<td>làp-o NEG.EX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>làp da: EX</td>
<td>làp-o NEG.EX</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>làp-teen EX</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periphr. PST</td>
<td>làpo EQU</td>
<td>làp-o NEG.EQU</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>làp-tec</td>
<td>mà-làp(-o EQU)</td>
<td>(S)</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPLM</td>
<td>làp-tə'ʔa:</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>(làp-)làp-o EX</td>
<td>(làp-)làp-o NEG.EX</td>
<td>làp-ɛʔ: NEG.EX</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>làp jòʔ?</td>
<td>làp mèʔ?</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN.PST/SEN.RES</td>
<td>làp duʔ</td>
<td>làp mindu</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>làp-ɛʔ EQU</td>
<td>làpɛECH NEG.EQU</td>
<td>mi-làp(-ɛECH EQU)</td>
<td>(S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>làp-ce EQU</td>
<td>làpɛEC EQU</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT.UNC</td>
<td>làp œː</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.like</td>
<td>làp-ɛECH EX</td>
<td>làp-ɛECH NEG.EQU</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB. PRS</td>
<td>làp-kɛʔ: EQU</td>
<td>ma-làp-kɛʔ: EQU</td>
<td>mi-làp-kɛʔ: EQU</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mi-làp-o EQU</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A deeper discourse-oriented analysis of negation may reveal further complexities, perhaps a complex network of relations between affirmative and negated forms similar to Contini-Morava’s (1989) description of Swahili negation.

10.1.2 Negation in copular clauses

This section summarizes negation in copulas, which may be divided into simple copulas, combined copulas and nominalized copulas, which were already introduced in §7. As shown in Table 10.1 above, negated forms of simple copulas seem to historically derive from symmetric constructions, where the negator prefix attaches a positive copula. Thus, negation in copulas may be termed historically symmetric (because the negated copula was formed by adding a negator prefix) but synchronically asymmetric (because the process is no longer transparent or productive). The combinatory copulas, emphatic ímbɛʔ and sensorial equative índuʔ (see §7.3.1), do not have distinct negated forms. The form mëmbɛʔ negates both the neutral equative beʔ and the emphatic ímbɛʔ. No negated form for índuʔ has been attested in natural speech or elicitation, and the hypothetical form *mënduʔ 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:

350 In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the construction làpto mèʔ is also used.
351 Croft (1991) has put forward a hypothetical cycle according to which standard negation evolves from negation in existentials (see also Veselinova 2014).
The negated forms of nominalized copulas are given in Table 10.4. The nominalizers are -po/bo (2. infinitive), -kʰː (nominalizer) and -eeʔ (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 iː (neg. mɛʔ) or jøː (neg. mɛ̃). The final, evidentiality marking copula is either personal iː or neutral beʔ. 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 mɛm-bo iː, the felicity of which he doubted.

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. iː-ee mɛmbeʔ instead of mɛː-ee beʔ, and jøː-po mɛmbeʔ instead of mɛː-po beʔ). 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. ī-ee ī: > ī-ee mē:. The only form that he was not certain about was the form jō-ee mē:, which he said he had not heard used. Negation of complex copulas leaves much to be investigated.

10.1.3 Negation in non-declarative clauses
Negation in non-declarative clauses is here addressed in two parts, non-copular clauses (§10.1.3.1) and copular clauses (§10.1.3.2)

10.1.3.1 Negation in interrogative, imperative, hortative and optative
The negation in imperative, hortative and optative moods is accomplished by adding the prefix ma- to the affirmative form, i.e. non-declarative negation in symmetrical, see Table 10.5. In imperative and hortative moods, the negator is prefixed to the verb root, while in the optative mood the negator occurs between the verb root and optative marker. Negation is not applicable to the exclamative mood (see §11.2).

Table 10.5. Negation of non-declarative non-copular clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>lp(-tegi)</td>
<td>‘say!’</td>
<td>ma-lp(-tegi)</td>
<td>‘do not say’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>lp-ke</td>
<td>‘let me/us say’</td>
<td>ma-lp-ke</td>
<td>‘let us/me not say’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>lp-teuk</td>
<td>‘let (her) say’</td>
<td>lp ma-teuk</td>
<td>‘let (her) not say’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negation of interrogated clauses is summarized in Table 10.6, where the glosses are simplified. As in Table 10.3, constructional symmetry (S) refers to the fact that the negation is accomplished by simple adding a negator morpheme to an affirmative form (in any tense-aspect category). Constructional asymmetry (AS) refers to all other cases. Relationally symmetric are those negated forms which are derived from the temporally and aspectually corresponding affirmative form. Relational asymmetry refers to negated forms which are formed on the basis of another (non-corresponding) affirmative form. For a more detailed description of tense, aspect and modality expressed by the forms in Table 10, refer to §8, and for question formation, see §11. The forms in Table 10.6 mostly reflect consultant KN’s language. As a general rule, it seems that questions negated by the negated interrogative equative auxiliaries mēmbō, mēna, mēŋ-ga and the affirmative interrogative in-ga are in effect like tag questions, whereas questions negated by other means are normal non-tag questions.

Table 10.6. Negation of interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>state</td>
<td>kjap-ka</td>
<td>‘does he do’</td>
<td>mē-kjap-ka</td>
<td>‘does he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simp. pres</td>
<td>kjap be-ka</td>
<td>‘does he do’</td>
<td>kjap mēmbē-ka</td>
<td>‘does he not do’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPV</td>
<td>kjap-to-ka</td>
<td>‘is he doing’</td>
<td>mē-kjap-ka (mē-kjap-to-kam)</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-to nā</td>
<td>‘is he doing’</td>
<td>mē-kjap nā (mē-kjap-to nā/bo)</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-to mēnō</td>
<td>‘he is doing, isn’t he’</td>
<td>mē-kjap-to mēnō</td>
<td>‘he is not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-to mēnō</td>
<td>‘he is not doing, is he’</td>
<td>mē-kjap-to mēnō</td>
<td>‘he is not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-to in-ga</td>
<td>‘he is doing, isn’t he’</td>
<td>kjap-to mēng-ga,</td>
<td>‘he is not doing, is he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

352 The Nepali equivalent offered by KN was bandaicha, hoina
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kjap-to bo</th>
<th>‘is he doing (I wonder)’</th>
<th>ma-kjap-to bo (alternative question)</th>
<th>‘whether he is not doing or...’</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-to mèmbo</td>
<td>‘he is doing, isn’s he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-to mèmbo</td>
<td>‘he is not doing, is he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap-to be-ka</td>
<td>‘is he doing’</td>
<td>kjap-to mèmbe-ka</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-o mè:-po</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-o mè:-ka</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-o nù/bo</td>
<td>‘is he not doing, did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>kjap-teen jò:-ka/du-ka</td>
<td>‘is he doing’</td>
<td>kjap-o mè:ka/</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mindu-ka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-teen jò:-po</td>
<td>‘is he doing’</td>
<td>kjap-teen mè:-po/</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-teen du-ko</td>
<td></td>
<td>mindu-ko</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>kjap do: jò:-ka/du-ka</td>
<td>‘is he doing’</td>
<td>kjap-o mè:-ka</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-o mindu-ka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap do:-p mè:-ka</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>kjap do:-p mè:-po/</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>minduka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap do: jò:-po</td>
<td>‘is he doing’</td>
<td>kjap do:-p mè:-po/</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap do: du-ko</td>
<td></td>
<td>kjap do:-p mè:-po/</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>minduko</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per. PST</td>
<td>kjap-o nà</td>
<td>‘did he do’</td>
<td>ma-kjap-o nà</td>
<td>‘did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap nà</td>
<td>‘did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-o mèna</td>
<td>‘he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-o mèn-gà</td>
<td>‘he didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-o mèna</td>
<td>‘he did not do, did he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-o mèn-gà</td>
<td>‘he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap-o bo</td>
<td>‘did he do (I wonder)’</td>
<td>ma-kjap-o bo</td>
<td>‘did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-o mèmbo</td>
<td>‘he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-o mèmbo</td>
<td>‘he didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-o mèn-gà</td>
<td>‘he did not do, did he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-o mèn-gà</td>
<td>‘he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap-o*533</td>
<td>‘did he do’</td>
<td>ma-kjap-o</td>
<td>‘did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap nà</td>
<td>‘did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>kjap-tee nà/bo</td>
<td>‘did he do’</td>
<td>ma-kjap nà</td>
<td>‘did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-tee mènà</td>
<td>‘he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*533 Essential for this form and the corresponding negation is raised pitch.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>klap-tea-ka</th>
<th>klap-tea</th>
<th>klap-tee-ka</th>
<th>ma-klap ná</th>
<th>‘he did, didn’t he’</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>AS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>klap-tsʰa: ná</td>
<td>klap-tsʰo-u ná</td>
<td>ma-klap-o ná</td>
<td>‘did he not do’, ‘has he not done’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘he has said, hasn’t he’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>klap-tsʰa: bo</td>
<td>klap-tsʰo-u bo</td>
<td>ma-klap-o bo</td>
<td>‘did he not do’, ‘has he not done’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘he has said, hasn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>(klap-)klap-o jó:-ka</td>
<td>(klap-)klap-o mè:-ka, (klap-)klap-o mindu-ka</td>
<td>‘has he not said’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(klap-)klap-o jó-po, (klap-)klap-o duko</td>
<td>(klap-)klap-o mè:-po, (klap-)klap-o mindu-ko</td>
<td>‘has he not said’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>klap-ey: jó:-ka, klap-ey: duka</td>
<td>klap-ey: mè:-ka, klap-ey: mindu-ka</td>
<td>‘has he not said’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>klap-ey: jó-po, klap-ey: duko</td>
<td>klap-ey: mè:-po, klap-ey: mindu-ko</td>
<td>‘has he not said’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>klap jó:-ka</td>
<td>‘has he said’</td>
<td>klap mè:-ka</td>
<td>‘has he not said’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN.PST</td>
<td>klap du-ka</td>
<td>‘did he do’</td>
<td>klap mindu-ka</td>
<td>‘did he not do’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN.RES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>klap mindu-ko</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>klap-ée ná</td>
<td>(klap-ee)</td>
<td>mi-klap ná</td>
<td>‘will he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mi-klap-ka</td>
<td>‘will he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>klap-ée mèna</td>
<td>‘he will do, won’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>klap-ée bo</td>
<td>‘will he do’</td>
<td>mi-klap-ka</td>
<td>‘will he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>klap-ée mèmbi</td>
<td>‘he will do, won’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT.UNC</td>
<td>klap óny:ga</td>
<td>‘will he do’</td>
<td>mi-klap-ka(m)</td>
<td>‘will he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.like</td>
<td>klap-ée jó:-ka, klap-ee du-ka</td>
<td>‘has he to do’</td>
<td>klap-ée mè:-ka, klap-ee mindu-ka</td>
<td>‘he has not to do’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>klap-ée jó-po, klap-ée du-ko</td>
<td>‘has he to do’</td>
<td>klap-ée mè:-po, klap-ée mindu-ko</td>
<td>‘he has not to do’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB. PRS</td>
<td>klap-kʰ: naï</td>
<td>‘is he the one doing’</td>
<td>ma-klap-kʰ: naï</td>
<td>‘is he (the one) not doing’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mi-klap-kʰ: naï</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>klap-kʰ: mèna</td>
<td>‘he is (the one)’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

354 This may also be a statement.
355 The addition of -m makes form an attenuated questioned. The attenuation in the negated question is functionally similar to uncertainty implied by ó: in the affirmative question.
Table 10.6 underlines the richness and complexity of question formation in Denjongke. For clausal examples of some of the negated questions, refer to §11. The semantic nuances of question formation in Denjongke leave a lot to be covered by further research.

### 10.1.3.2 Negation of interrogative copulas

My data has no examples of imperative, hortative or optative forms of the copulas. Verbs of becoming tʰøn ‘come out, happen, become’ and te’uŋ ‘become’, on the other hand, are used in the optative form, tʰøn ma-te’uŋ, te’uŋ ma-te’uŋ ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q type</th>
<th>Affirmed</th>
<th>Negated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>suffix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>neg. cop.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>neg. cop.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Affirmed**
  - *īŋ-ga* ‘is (it)’ (tag)
  - *īŋ-gam* ‘I wonder whether (it) is’
  - *nā* ‘is (it)’
  - *bdām* ‘I wonder whether (it) is’
  - *bča* ‘is it’
  - *bo* ‘is (it I wonder)’

- **Negated**
  - *mɛ̀n-ga* ‘isn’t (it)’ (tag)
  - *mɛ̀n-gam* ‘I wonder whether (it) is not’
  - *mɛ̀na* ‘isn’t (it)’
  - *mɛ̀nbɛ́-ka?* ‘is (it) not’
  - *mɛ̀mbə-na?* ‘is (it) not’

#### Table 10.8. Negation of interrogated existential copulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Per</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jō(·)-ka</td>
<td>‘is (there)’</td>
<td>mɛ́(·)-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jō(·)-kam</td>
<td>‘I wonder whether (there) is’</td>
<td>mɛ́(·)-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du-ka</td>
<td>‘is (there)’</td>
<td>mindu-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 10.7 and Table 10.8, both equative and existential copulas may be interrogated with the the suffix -ka/ga and its attenuated counterpart -kam/gam, whereas only equative interrogatives have separate negated forms (mɛ̀na, mɛ̀nam, mɛ̀mbə). The attenuated forms occur only in the personal copulas ĭ: and jōʔ, which represent diachronically older forms, tracing back to Classical Tibetan.
10.1.4 Negation in subordinate clauses

Negation of those adverbial clauses for which I have data on negation is summarized in Table 10.10. The negation of copulas differs from other verbs in that copulas are negated by replacing the affirmative copula by the negated copula.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Construct. symmetry</th>
<th>Relational symmetry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ne/no</td>
<td>conditional</td>
<td>kجاب-ne</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-ne</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-runج</td>
<td>concession</td>
<td>kجاب-runج</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-runج</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-تی</td>
<td>nonfinal</td>
<td>kجاب-تی</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-تی</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa(r)</td>
<td>circumstance</td>
<td>kجاب-أ</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-أ</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-podâ:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kجاب-o-دَأ:</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-o-دَأ:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sondâ:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kجاب-sondâ:</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-sondâ:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-somdâ:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kجاب-somdâ:</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-somdâ:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kap</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kجاب-أ:</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-أ:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dy:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kجاب-دُ:</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-دُ:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rengk’a</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kجاب-رَنْجل-أ</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-رَنْجل-أ</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’a:pu</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kجاب-pْا:پْع</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-pْا:پْع</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sâ:,</td>
<td>terminative</td>
<td>kجاب-sَنْذَأ:</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-sَنْذَأ:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sonzâ:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ée دَی:</td>
<td>causal</td>
<td>kجاب-ٍيُنَآ=دَی:</td>
<td>مَا-جاب-ٍيُنَآ=دَی:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown by Table 10.10, negation in non-finite clauses is constructionally mostly symmetric, showing asymmetry in only two constructions (simultaneous گَا: and p’a:pu). Two constructions (nonfinal and simultaneous -tsubdâ:) show paradigmatic asymmetry in deriving the negated form from another construction. Simultaneous constructions with گَا: 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 گَا: ‘time’ differs from the functionally equivalent affirmative construction by dropping the nominalizer -پْو and the simultaneous construction formed by p’a:pu ‘in between’ differs from its functionally equivalent affirmative form by eliding reduplication.

10.2 Non-clausal negation

10.2.1 Negative replies

While Denjongke has no word corresponding to English no, one word negative replies are possible with the negated copulas. Negated existentials mیندعتَ and مِذَ can function as one-word replies to questions relating to existence and location.

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356 Speakers literate in Tibetan also use the form -نا, a loan from Classical Tibetan.
Q: རུ་ཞིང་།
  \(tsʰa\) \(tʰop-ka\)?
  salt find-PQ
  ‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)

A: རུ་ཞིང་།
mìndu/\(mɛ\).\n  NEG.EX.SEN/ NEG.EX.PER
  ‘There is not.’ (KN e)

The negated equative \(mɛ\) 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) ཚུན་བི་བསྐེར་བྱེད་ལ།
mɛ:\n  \(tʰariŋ\) ze:-p(o) \(mɛː=lo\).\n  NEG.EQU.PER today eat.HON-2INF NEG.EX.PER=REP
  ‘No, (he) is not eating today, I hear.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

An affirmative and a negated question differ with respect to whether they allow a one word negated answer. In an affirmative question (10.7a), a negative reply with a mere negated copula was deemed infelicitous (10.7c). A negated verb is needed in addition (10.7b).

(10.7) a) Q: འཕྱིར་ ཁེ་དགེར་བྱེད་་རྟེ་?
  \(dãː\) \(tsʰɛ\)riŋ=lo \(pʰɛ\)-po \(ná\)?
  yesterday PN=DAT meet-2INF EQU.PER.Q
  ‘Did you meet Tshering yesterday?’ (KN e)

b) A1: ཚུན་ དེ་
  mɛ:\n  \(ma-pʰɛ\).\n  NEG.EQU.PER NEG-meet
  ‘No, (I) didn’t meet.’ (KN e)

c) A2: *\(mɛ\):
  *\(mɛ\):
  NEG.EQU.PER
  ‘No.’ (KN e)

In a negated question, on the other hand, a reply with a mere negative existential copula was deemed felicitous:

(10.8) Q: འཕྱིར་ ཁེ་དགེར་བྱེད་་རྟེ་?
  \(dãː\) \(tsʰɛ\)riŋ=lo \(pʰɛ\)-po \(mɛŋ\)-ga?
  yesterday PN=DAT meet-2INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
  ‘Didn’t you meet Tshering yesterday?’ (KN e)
10.2.2 Negative indefinites and quantifiers

Negative indefinites with meanings such as ‘nobody’, ‘never’, and ‘nothing’ are formed by adding \( =jā \) ‘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, \( k’anːɛ \) and \( k’arɛ \) \( ^{357} \) ‘(not) anything’, do not function as interrogatives at all but only occur in negated statements, see (10.10) and (10.13).

(10.9)  
\[
\text{ge:pu}=\text{lo } \text{ōdi } \text{gā: } \text{ō:te’a } \text{k’ar}=jā: \text{ mè: } \text{kʰen } \text{beʔ.}  
\]
\( \text{king=LOC } \text{that time } \text{power } \text{what=even EX-NMLZ EQU.NE} \)  
‘At that time the king didn’t have any power.’ (CY interview)

(10.10)  
\[
\text{i’izā: } \text{k’adi}=jā: \text{ k’anːɛ: } \text{lāp } \text{mi-tsʰuʔ.}  
\]
\( \text{but which.AGT=even anything say NEG-be.able.to} \)  
‘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)  
\[
\text{ājo: } \text{ɲeŋ-kʰtʰ: } \text{mi=di } \text{cyːtɛʔ } \text{m-o}=\text{ɛo.}  
\]
\( \text{EXCLAM listen.NMLZ human=DEMPH a.little NEG-come=AT} \)  
‘O my goodness, it wasn’t a few people who came to listen.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(10.12)  
\[
\text{ām mamma, } \text{cyːtɛʔ } \text{mɛʔ.}  
\]
\( \text{EXCLAM(Nep.) a.little NEG.EQU.PER} \)  
‘O my goodness, it’s not a few (stray dogs that we have here).’ (PL interview)

(10.13)  
\[
\text{tcʰo}=\text{ki } \text{man-bja-u } \text{k’arɛ } \text{mɛʔ.}  
\]
\( \text{2SG.L=AGT NEG-do-2INF anything NEG.EQU.PER} \)  
‘There is not anything you haven’t done.’ (‘dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 45)  

\( ^{357} \text{ k’arɛ } \) may be a shortened form of \( k’anːɛ. \) The retroflex /q/ alternates with /ɾ/ also elsewhere.
10.2.3 Negation of adjectives
Adjectives are negated either through a negator prefix attached to the adjective, see Table 10.10, or through a nominalized negative copula following the property concept word, see Table 10.11.

Table 10.10. Adjectives negated by a prefix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lèm</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'eú-ta(TB)</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tså:tə(KT)</td>
<td>clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəmåpo</td>
<td>similar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>true</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lèm, ma-lèp</td>
<td>ugly, not beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-teo(TB)</td>
<td>dirty, unclean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-tsåm(KT)</td>
<td>dissimilar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-demåpo</td>
<td>untrue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
ku-k₃u₃₃k₃k₃       ku-k₃u₃₃k₃k₃
ku-te'ù₃u-po        ku-te'ù₃u-po
happens be.able-2INF happens NEG-be.able-2INF
‘possible’           ‘impossible’

When an adjective is negated through a nominalized negative existential copula (mè:-kʰɛː or mè:-po), the adjectival suffix (e.g. -taʔ, -tekʰɛː), 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no'ta?</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèm-eiku-tekʰɛː</td>
<td>courageous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cùk-tekʰɛː</td>
<td>strong (lit. strength big)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top-tekʰɛː</td>
<td>(lit. strength big)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blunt, not sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coward, not courageous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>weak, not strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[358] There is no other, non-derived form meaning ‘bad’.

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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)’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>min-ḍa</td>
<td>[NEG-be.similar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-teik-o</td>
<td>[NEG-one-NMLZ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa man-ḍa</td>
<td>[be.similar NEG-be.similar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa min-ḍa</td>
<td>[be.similar NEG-be.similar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-ḍa gun-ḍa</td>
<td>[NEG-be.similar nine-be.similar]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For an example of the negated idiom man-ḍa gun-ḍa, 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.

### 10.3 Other aspects of negation

This section provides a note on negation in complex clauses (§10.3.1) and describes two idiomatic constructions involving negation, the negated restrictive -ma (§10.3.2) and the variety marking idiom NEG-VERB gu-VERB (§10.3.3).
10.3.1 A note on negation in complex clauses
The negated connector *mi-tsʰɛʔ* (NEG-stop) ‘not only, in addition’ functions both as a clause connector and a more loose discourse connector, see §12.2 and §15.9.1. There are no forms corresponding to English *neither...nor*, but the same function is covered by using the connector *jā*: ‘and, again’ and a negated verb in both clauses, see §12.3.

A functional approximation of English subordinate clauses with *lest* can be formed by *mɛ̃ː* 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)  

 máko=di k’ana jê-po, kole=s, máko mɛ̃ː.  

groom=DEMPH where EX-2INF where=QUO groom perhaps  

‘Where is the groom? Where? Lest the groom be blind.’ (SGD wedding customs)

In (10.21), *mɛ̃ː*ni, 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)  


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, *mɛ̃ː*ni 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 *teiku* ‘only’ used with an affirmative existential. Consultant KN commented that =*ma* in (10.22) could be replaced by the marker *pʰaːge* or *maːge* and retain the same meaning.

(10.22)  

 1PL people few-(no.)more.than NEG.EX-CON 1PL do be.able.to  

‘Although we aren’t more than a few, we can do (it).’ (KN e)

(10.23)  

 now a.bit-(no.)more.than EX.PER it all drink  

‘Now there isn’t more than a bit, drink it all.’ (mam-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: ཆེཿ  ངའི་ཅྱ༹་ཏྔོ་བདུན་མ་  མིན་འདུག་། ཨ་རྒྱ་ཀི་ཤྰྔོ་  ག་ཆྱ༹ྔོད་  ࠲་དུག?

Oh.no 1SG.GEN=at=CEMPH seven-(no.)more.than NEG.EX.SEN ágja=gi=ɾ'adzo?  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: ང་རྒྱ་ཀི་ཤྰྔོ་ཡང་  བདུན་མ་  མིན་འདུག །’  "

1SG.GEN=at=DAT=even seven-(no.)more.than NEG.EX.SEN ‘I too haven’s (any) more than seven.’

(10.25) A: ཕིབ་ ཅེཿ སྤུན་ཅྱུ༹༹་ ཁིམ་ན་ ལྔོག་སྟི་ འགྱུ་བར་  ད་ ཉིན་ གཅིག་ མན་བྔོ་ མེད།

PN sibling=PL house=LOC return=NF go=PUR now day one NEG.EQU.NE ‘It is no more than one day and Choki will return (her) sibling’s house.’ (Richhi 136)

A similar meaning may be expressed by mèmbø accompanied by a negated verb:

(10.26) ཕིབ་ ཅེཿ ཚུ་དེ་ སྤུན་ཅྱུ༹༹་ ཁིམ་ན་ ལྔོག་སྟི་ འགྱུ་བར་  ད་ ཉིན་ གཅིག་ མན་བྔོ་ མེད།

PN sibling=PL house=LOC return=NF go=PUR now day one NEG.EQU.NE ‘It is no more than one day and Choki will return (her) sibling’s house.’ (Richhi 136)

10.3.3 Variety marking idiom NEG-VERB gu-VERB

The negated construction NEG-VERB gu-VERB marks undefined variety, an apt translation often being ‘doing various kinds of’. The formative gu means nine, rendering a literal translation ‘not doing nine doing’. In the novel Richhi, the construction always collocates with the verb nó or nóːsam tãː, which both mean ‘think’, see (10.27)

(10.27) ཕིབ་ ཅེཿ ཚུ་དེ་ སྤུན་ཅྱུ༹༹་ ཁིམ་ན་ ལྔོག་སྟི་ འགྱུ་བར་  ད་ ཉིན་ གཅིག་ མན་བྔོ་ མེད།

PN sibling=PL house=LOC return=NF go=PUR now day one NEG.EQU.NE ‘That night Karma thinks many various kinds of thoughts.’ (Richhi 171)
10.4 Summary remarks

This chapter provided a summary on features related to negation. Special emphasis was given to the concept of symmetry and asymmetry, which was addressed from two perspectives, constructional and relational. It was shown that some negated tense-aspect constructions do not have a distinct negated form but borrow the negation strategy from another construction, leading into less negated forms than affirmative forms. This tendency, however, is counterbalanced by that fact that some affirmative constructions can be negated in more than one way, leading into more negated forms than affirmative forms. For instance, past and nonpast constructions have, in addition to the ordinary negated construction (formed by the negator prefix), also an emphatic negated form (formed by negating the final auxiliary copula).

Negation of questions was found to be highly complex and deserving of further study. Adjectives are negated in two ways the first of which resembles verbal negation (negator prefix) and the other one nominal privative constructions (negated and nominalized existential).
11 Non-declarative clauses

While other chapters of this thesis discuss mainly declarative sentences, this chapter focuses on non-declarative sentence moods: interrogative (§11.1), exclamative (§11.2), imperative (§11.3), hortative (§11.4) and optative (§11.5). The bulk of the discussion addresses interrogatives, which show a wide variety of constructions, while the other clause types receive less attention. The imperative is concerned with second person commands and requests, hortative first person suggestions and optative third person wishes.

11.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative clauses in Denjongke consist of polar questions, content questions, alternative questions and tag questions.\(^{359}\) Polar interrogatives, also known as yes/no-questions, question whether something is the case, or in the negative whether something is not the case. Although ideally a polar question expects a “yes” or a “no” as an answer, there is a range of replying possibilities in between, for instance ‘most likely’, ‘maybe’ or ‘hardly’. Content questions, on the other hand, employ wh-words such as ‘who’, ‘where’ and ‘why’. Through content questions, also known as “constituent interrogatives” and “information questions” (König & Siemund 2007: 291), the speaker seeks information the type of which is revealed by a wh-word in the clause, for instance ‘who’ for identity, ‘where’ for location and ‘why’ for reason. Alternative questions present the addressee with two alternatives and seek information as to which is the case, for instance ‘Would you like to have apples or oranges?”. Tag questions in Denjongke are combinations of an equative copula with the polar interrogative (in-\(ga\), be-\(ka\)), which are appended to the end of the clause to make a declarative clause an interrogative. At the same time, tag questions raise expectations about the answer (König & Siemund 2007: 296).

Denjongke interrogative markers are briefly introduced in Table 11.1. Their use is exemplified in the following sections. Formally interrogative markers can be divided into interrogative suffixes and interrogative equative copulas. Existential copulas do not have separate interrogative forms but they are interrogated by the same question suffixes -\(ka/ga\) as the other verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Polarity</th>
<th>Direct questions</th>
<th>polar</th>
<th>Attenuated polar and content questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Vs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(ka/ga) (ཀ/ན)</td>
<td>-(ka/ga) (ཀ/ན)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal equative</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>(ɲ) (ཨིན)</td>
<td>(ɲ) (ཨིན) (ཨིནམ)</td>
<td>(ɲ) (ཨིན) (ཨིནམ) (ཨིན) (ནམ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>(མ) (ཨིན)</td>
<td>(m) (ཨིན)</td>
<td>(m) (ཨིན) (ནམ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral equative</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>(bo) (ཨིན)</td>
<td>(bo) (ཨིན)</td>
<td>(bo) (ཨིན) (ནམ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>(མ) (ཨིན)</td>
<td>(m) (ཨིན)</td>
<td>(m) (ཨིན) (ནམ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{359}\) It is possible to make a difference between the concept of question (pragmatic act) and interrogation (grammatical category) so that what functions as a question is not necessarily an instance of grammatical interrogation. This thesis, however, does not take into account such a distinction.

\(^{360}\) Both these forms occur in Denjongke writing. I am using the simpler form \(ɲ\), although it does not represent high register implied by the initial of the source form (ཨིན). Note that the form suggested to me for writing the attenuated form \(ɲ\) \(ཨིན\) \(ནམ\) has a superscript which implies high register.

\(^{361}\) The form \(ɲ\) \(ཨིན\) most likely derives from the interrogated personal copula in-\(n\)am (in WD both \(ཡིན\) \(ནམ\) and \(ཡིན\) \(ནམ\) are used), which is still productive in both polar and content questions.
As shown in Figure 11.1, the interrogative suffixes, which can attach to the verb root or verbal suffixes, are -ka/ga\(^{362}\) and its attenuated counterpart -kam/gam. The attenuated question suffix -kam/gam (along with the attenuated interrogative copula pám) 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).\(^{363}\) 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 à, 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 njá (neg. mën-a), its attenuated counterpart pám (neg. mënam) and evidentially neutral bo (neg. mêmbo). While the interrogative copula njá is used in polar questions, its attenuated counterpart pám occurs in both polar and content questions, and is the preferred choice in interrogative complement clauses. The interrogative bo, similarly to declarative be? (§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 -lo?, which will illustrated in §11.1.3.4.

In addition to the separate interrogative forms, copulas can be interrogated, similar to other verbs, by the suffixes -ka/ga and -kam/gam, as shown in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2. Negating copulas with -ka/ga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula type</th>
<th>Polarity</th>
<th>Direct polar questions</th>
<th>Attenuated polar and content questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal equative</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>iŋ-ga</td>
<td>iŋ-gam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>mëŋ-ga</td>
<td>mëŋ-gam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral equative</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>bē-ka</td>
<td>bē-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>mēmbe-ka</td>
<td>mēmbe-kam (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per. ex.</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>jõ-ka</td>
<td>jõ-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>mē-kα</td>
<td>mē-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. ex.</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>du-ka</td>
<td>du-kam(^{363})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>mindu-ka</td>
<td>mindu-kam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown by Tables 11.1 and 11.2, the equative copulas have two types of interrogated forms, the separate interrogative copulas njá (neg. mën-a), pám (neg. mënam) and bo, and the regularly formed corresponding iŋ-ga (neg. mëŋ-ga), iŋ-gam (mëŋ-gam), bē-ka (neg. mēmbe-ka), and bē-kam (neg. mēmbe-kam). The existional copulas have only the regular interrogated forms with -ka/ga and -kam/gam.

Sandberg (1895: 47) reports -na as an interrogative morpheme and gives the example Chhō ām chi t’ong-che-na ‘Did you see a silver fox’, which is given in edited version in (11.1).

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\(^{362}\) The phonetic output tends to be /g/ when preceded by voiced sounds and /k/ when preceded by voiceless sounds.

\(^{363}\) Consultant KL translated the clause k’ana sō:-bo pám? [where went-PST EQU.PER.Q] Where did (he) go, I wonder? into Nepali as kahā ga-yo hōlā [where go-PST.3SG COP.PROB.3SG] ‘Where might he have gone?’ using the Nepali dubitative copula hōlā to correspond to Denjongke pám.

\(^{364}\) I do not currently have examples of this negated form but its existence can be hypothesized on the basis of the positive form bē-kam.

\(^{365}\) I have heard the forms du-kam and mindu-kam in use but I have no example sentences of them.
(11.1) Sandberg (1895: 47) (edited transcription, WD and glossing mine)

Do you see the silver fox.

In my data, however, -na does not occur as a question marker outside the copula forms in-
nâ(m), mën-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 (ho: (§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 jâ (often phonetically reduced to jà) but also by other markers, which occur both in polar questions and content questions: the attenuated interrogative suffix -kam/gam, the attenuated interrogative copula nám (often reduced to jâm) and the interrogative copula/auxiliary bo (neg. mêmbo). The polar uses of these markers are discussed in §11.1.1.2 (-ka/ga and jâ), §11.1.1.3 (-kam/gam and nâm) and §11.1.1.4 (bo). The last section under polar questions (§11.1.1.5) describes a further interrogative marker à, 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) ґཧ གྷཧ: ґཧ: ґཧ?

gapo=tsa:  jê-po?
elder.man=at  EQU.PER-2INF
‘Does sir (=you) have ( that)?’. (DR discussion with KL)
(11.3) དེ་ཚེ་མ་བཙུག་ཀྔོ འེངས་ནས་སོགས་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་དེ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་བཅོམ་པ་མ་བཙུག་ཀྔོ ཡོང་སྐར་འགྱུར་ལོ།

\[ tʽitsi \quad ma-tsuk-o? \]
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\(^{366}\)). For comparison, see example (11.5) where the nominalizer reduces to -o (hence duk-o).\(^{367}\)

(11.4) Sandberg (1895: 73) (WD, phonological transcription and glossing mine)

\[ \begin{align*}
  & \text{kelas} \quad \text{phous} \quad \text{shoe} \quad \text{EX} \quad \text{SEN}-2\text{INF} \\
  & \text{2SG.L} \quad \text{sell-NMLZ} \\
  & \text{‘Have you any boots to sell?’}
\end{align*} \]

(11.5) བཀའ་བྔོན་སྤུང་ན་འདེམ་འདུག་ཀྔོ

\[ kalimpoŋ=na \quad \text{dem} \quad \text{duk-o}? \]
TPN=LOC such EX.SEN-2INF
‘Are there such (things) in Kalimpong?’ (KN photo discussion)

Because the nominalizer does not in my data attach to the sensorial du? in other contexts than questions,\(^{368}\) it is possible that the suffix -po/bo/o is in conjunction with du? becoming in effect a question marker.

11.1.1.2 Polar questions with -ka/ga and jā

The polar question markers -ka/ga and jā differ from each other in that jā, 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.

---

\(^{366}\) 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.

\(^{367}\) Sandberg reports also words with the sequence /kp/ which in current Denjongke have been reduced to /k/, e.g. Sandberg’s (1895: 33) reports nāk-po ‘black’ whereas my data has nāku ‘black’.

\(^{368}\) In other contexts with nominalization, the evidential distinction between personal existential jā? and sensorial du? is neutralized so that only jā? occurs as nominalized with -po/bo (jā-po).
(11.6) a) ཆོད་སྟ་རེ་འདི་གཉའི་?  
   te’ö? ta:ri di ja?  
   2SG.L axe this EQU.PER.Q  
   ‘Is your axe this one?’ (JDF axe story)  

b) ཆོད་སྟ་རེ་འདི།  
   te’ö? ta:ri di t.  
   2SG.L axe this EQU.PER  
   ‘Your axe is this (one).’ (KN c)  

(11.7) ཆོད་སྔོབ་ཕྲུག་སད་ཀ?  
   te’ö? lóp’u? be-ka?  
   2SG.L student EQU.NE-PQ  
   ‘Are you a student?’  

(11.8) ཆོད་?  
   te’ a jò-ka?  
   tea EX.PER-PQ  
   ‘Is there tea?’ (Barapathing discussion)  

However, when copulas function as auxiliaries, they are often elided in interrogatives. This results in ja and -ka/ga occurring in syntactically analogous environments, as shown in (11.9) and (11.10) respectively. Example (11.10b) shows that with the imperfective -to/do the auxiliary is optional even in the declarative form, hence be? in brackets.  

(11.9) a) གོ་ཐོ་ སྐད་ན་ གཡོག་ རྐྱབས་ཏོ?  
   lenge? jò? kjap-to ja?  
   PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q  
   ‘Are you working?’ (KN c)  

(11.10) a) དབྱེ་དར་མ་ གཡོག་ ལེས་འཐྱེ?  
   dzâ:dar lêm t’on-do-ga?  
   training good happen-IPFV-PQ  
   ‘Is the training turning out good.’ (Richhi 69)  

b) དབྱེ་དར་མ་ ལེས་འཐྱེ (beʔ)?  
   dzâ:dar lêm t’on-do (beʔ).  
   training good happen-IPFV (EQU.NE)  
   ‘The training is turning out good.’ (KN c)  

Based on the distribution of -ka/ga and ja with copulas (ja 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 ja, whereas in (11.10a) the copula is elided. The syntactically overlapping and non-overlapping contexts of -ka/ga and ja are described in more detail later in this section.  

Both -ka (11.11) and ja (11.12) may be postposed to a verb root:
(11.11) a) ὅπως ἀρχάετε; 
ηᾶ: láp-ka?
LAGT say-PQ
‘Shall I tell?’ (KN e)

b) ἀφῇ, ἀρχάετε ἄγαθα; 
ἀϊ, ῥᾶ: mi-tsʰiŋ-ka?
elder.sister 2SG.M NEG-get.angry-PQ
‘Sister, won’t you get angry?’ (Richhi 41)

(11.12) ἐστὶ; λυτά; 
súk kjap pá?
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) ὅτι δὲ ἔργον ἔργον ἔργον ἔργον; 
móbyː=ki pʰo? tʰop-ɛe jò:-ka?
wife=AGT salary receive-INF EX.PER-PQ
‘Does (your) wife get salary?’ (Bp BB discussion)

Figure 11.3. Intonation in polar question (11.13) with -ka/ga

(11.14) ἔδειξα ἃπείροσί; ἔδειξα ἃπείροσί; 
ló te:-tee-ga? ji-tei p’ja-ze-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 -te as in Figure 11.4, illustrating that while the pitch on declarative -zę is
lower than the previous word p’ja ‘do’, the pitch on the interrogative -ze is higher than on p’ja.

then 1PL like.that=INDF ending do-PST ‘So at that point we ended.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Figure 11.5. Intonation in declarative (11.15), cf. Figure 11.3

Intonation in polar questions with the interrogative copula nj 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) t’ato tsʰo:-to nj?
now gather-IPFV EQU.PQ ‘Are (they) gathering now.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

Figure 11.6. Intonation in polar question (11.16) with nj

(11.17) teʰo? fon tā:-bo nj?
2SG.L phone(Eng.) send-2INF EQU.PQ ‘Did you call?’ (KN e)

Figure 11.7. Intonation in polar question (11.17) with nj
The interrogative suffix -ka/ga does not have a negated form, but the interrogative copula ɲá has the specific negated form mèn-a, which functions very similarly to the regularly formed mèn-ga. In my data, mèn-a is more frequent than mèn-ga, the use of which is limited to consultant KN.

Example (11.18) illustrates an independent copular use of mèna, while (11.19) provides auxiliary uses. For mèn-ga, consider (11.20).

(11.18) སུམ སུམ བཤབས་དགྔོས་ཤད་ད་སྦད། mɛ̃ː, zi zi three three do be.needed-INF EQU.NE NEG.EQU.PER four four mèn-a?
NEG.EQU.PER-Q
‘Three of each needs to be made. No, isn’t (it) four each.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

(11.19) a) རང་ཁྔོང་ཁ་བས་གས་ཏཾོ་མེན་ན། ལབ་པྔོ་ལྔོ ləː kʰõː tʃa sák-to mèn-a làp-o=lo.
2SG.L anger accumulate-IPFV NEG.EQU.PER-Q say-2INF=REP
‘Aren’t you getting angry, he said (so the story goes).’ (PD bet story)

b) ཡ་དར་ན་བཞི་མན་ན། ལཤད་པར་ལས་འགྱུ་དགྔོས་ཤད་མན་བྔོ jàː tʻa njː-ece mèn-a?
Neg.EQU.NE.Q
‘Well, now shan’t we go to sleep. Don’t we need to go early in the morning?’ (Richhi 67)

c) ད་ཉིན་ཐོན་པོ་ཐོན་པོ་མེན་ན། tʻa njːtca? njː-po gompo eː-ece mèn-a.
now 1PL two-COL leave ask-INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
‘Aren’t the two of us taking a leave.’ (Richhi 28)

(11.20) a) ད་མཇུ་མཁྱེན་མེན་ག་?
kʰu ámdzi mèn-ga?
3SGM doctor NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
‘Isn’t he a doctor (assuming he is)?’ (KN e)

b) བོད་ཆེས་ཐོམ་ཁྱེར་མཁྱེན་མེན་ག་?
daː tsʰerin po=po mèn-ga?
yesterday PN meet-2INF NEG.EQU.PER-PQ
‘You met Tshering yesterday, didn’t you?’ (KN e)

In addition to interrogative uses, ɲá also occurs as a frequently used tag in declarative and imperative clauses. This tag, which has likely developed from a tag question that has lost its interrogative force, adds assertive force to a statement or a request/command. Declarative instances of ɲá are postposed to the equative and existential copulas (11.21b), whereas interrogative ɲá can only replace an equative copula (11.21a). The clause given as A2 (11.21c) is infelicitous as an answer (i.e. a declarative clause), because this construction with
ɲá is by definition a question. The declarative uses of ɲá, which are here termed assertive tags, are treated in more detail in §16.3.1.

(11.21) a) Q: ལན་རྒྱས་ གཡོག་ རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ་ ཉ? 
\[ \text{PN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q} \]
‘Are you working?’ (KN e)

b) A1: ནག་ གཡོག་ རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ་ ཉ? 
\[ \text{1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER.TAG.ASR} \]
‘I am indeed working.’ (KN e)

c) A2: *ɲག་ གཡོག་ རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ? 
\[ \text{1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q} \]

Although -ka/ga\(^{369}\) is a suffix and ɲá a copula, they have partly overlapping distributions. Distributions overlap when ka/ga and ɲá are postposed to a verb root, imperfective marker -to/do, future-marking infinitive -ɕɛ and marginally to the past marker -tɕɛ, of which I have only one interrogative example with ɲá and several with -ka/ga. Overlapping uses of -ka/ga and ɲá are here described first and distinctive uses after that.

**Verb root**

When -ka/ga attaches to a bare affirmative verb stem, the action refers to immediate future, as in (11.22a), or is a general fact, as in (11.22b).

(11.22) a) ནག་ འགྱུ་ཀ? 
\[ \etaá gju-ga? \]
\[ \text{1SG go-PQ} \]
‘Shall I go?’

b) ཆོས་ ལམ་ ཧི་ལེན་ ཕོ་ བེི་སེ་ལི་གུ་རི་ སེབས་ཀ? 
\[ \text{this road=DEMPH TPN reach-PQ} \]
‘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) སེལ་ ག་ ེེ་ སོ་ བོ་ སྲེ་ སེབས་ཀ? 
\[ \text{NEG-say-PQ} \]
‘Aren’t you telling (it) to Rabden?’ (KN e)

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\(^{370}\) Another consultant preferred the perfective form of the suppletive verb here, ηά sõː-ga སོ་ བོ་?
The interrogative copula ɲá may sometimes attach directly to the verb root, as shown in (11.25). In these cases, the corresponding declarative also has a copula, see (11.25b). Consultant KN commented that -ka/ga instead of ɲá would not be acceptable in (11.25a), although -ka/ga was acceptable in (11.22) above. The difference may be caused by lexical semantics of the verbs.

(11.24)  tʰoː ki?  teʰoː=lo  pʰe-pa  dʰ-ː ee  tʰ:  lɔːp-o:  lɔːɡju?
 PN  2SG.L=DAT  meet-PUR  come-INF  EQU.PER  say-2INF.GEN  story

(11.25)  a)  sùk  kjap  ɲá?
 pain  do  EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Does it hurt?’ (KN e)

 b)  sùk  kjap=(p)e?  ɲá?
 pain  do=EQU.NE
 ‘It hurts.’ (KN e)

Both -ka/ga and ɲá may occur with deontic modality marker teʰo? ‘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 teʰo: ‘be allowed’.

(11.26)  nà  nàː  do:  teʰo:  ɲá?
 1SG  here  sit  be.allowed  EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Can I sit here?’ (GB e)

(11.27)  nà  nàː  do:  teʰo:-ga?
 1SG  here  sit  be.allowed-PQ
 ‘Can I sit here?’ (GB e)

Similarly to -ka/ga in (11.23), ɲá may be postposed to a negated verb stem, see (11.28) and (11.29). Both examples feature the imperfective negator mi-, because ma- does not occur in my data in this context.

(11.28)  teʰo?  dordzi liŋ  miŋ-gju  ɲá?
 2SG.L  TPN  NEG-go  EQU.PER.Q
 ‘Are you not going to Darjeeling?’ (KN e)
Imperfective
Both -ka/ga and à occur postposed to the imperfective marker -to/do.

Example (11.32) below provides a further comparative example, showing that there may be semantic differences in the choice between à and -ka/ga, although this is the only contrastive example I have to show as evidence.

Past
Both -ka/ga and à occur with the past marker -těc 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 à in this construction (11.35). In colloquial language, VERB-těc-ka often merges into VERB-těa, see (11.34).

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371 The Denjongke term for ‘football’ given by consultant YR is མཆོད་རཾྱིབས་ kāːtsipoli.
(11.33) Now, did you believe this story of mine, did you trust it? (PAD bet story)

(11.34) Did you sit in the recent meeting? (oh, Barapathing)

(11.35) Did you/(s)he/they say (it)? (KN e)

One of the reasons why the use of pá in (11.35) may be marginal is that the past marker -tec in the declarative cannot take a copular auxiliary, unlike the imperfective -lo/do (í/be?) and the periphrastic past -po í/be?. Consequently, it is not clear whether pá 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 (pá replaces copula) and declarative uses (pá occurs after copula).

Nonpast

Both -ka/ga and pá may interrogate the periphrastic nonpast form VERB-ee í/be?, which marks both habitual present facts and future actions, see (11.36-38). Similarly to the past construction -tec-ka, which is abbreviated to -tea, the future -ee-ka is often reduced to -ea in spoken language, see (11.37).

(11.36) Does the wife receive salary? (BP BB discussion)

(11.37) Shall we play a game again? (PT kitchen discussion)

(11.38) Will he work? (TB e)

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372 One consultant wanted to correct this question into mòbyː=ki pʰo? tʰop-EE-ka?.

373 is an innovative Denjongke spelling, which represents the merged pronunciation -ee-ka > -ea.
Distinctive uses

The examples above illustrated the use of -ka/ga and ná in identical environments. What follows describes the distinctive uses of the two markers, beginning with copular questions. The fact that the interrogative equative copula ná simply replaces the corresponding declarative copula was already illustrated in (11.6) above. Being an equative, ná is not used for interrogating the existentials copulas jø̀ː and duʔ. The suffix -ka/ga, on the other hand, co-occurs with both equative and existential copulas. This leaves two copula forms interrogated with the suffix -ka/ga, inj-ga and be-ka, which roughly correspond to the equative interrogative copula ná. The form inj-ga, however, has developed uses that set it semantically apart from ná. The interrogative inj-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 inj-ga as a non-tag question the speaker is predisposed to believe that the questioned claim is true.

(11.39) འབྲུག་ཐོབ་ དེ་ཨིན་ག? jārg? goːe be?, inj-ga? development be.needed-INF EQU.NE EQU.PER-PQ ‘Development is needed, isn’t it?’ (KL BLA 12)

(11.40) ཆེ་ཨིན་ག་ལགས བ? ẽ́ː, inj-ga=la. oh EQU.PER-PQ=HON ‘Oh, is it so?’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

(11.41) ཆེ་ཨིན་ག་ཨིན་ག? teʰo? lóptʰu? inj-ga? 2SG.L student EQU.PER-Q ‘Are you a student (I think you are)?’ (YR e)

By using the evidentially neutral equative beʔ 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) ཆེ་ཨིན་ག་ཨིན་ག? teʰo? lóptʰu? be-ka? 2SG.L student EQU.NE-PQ ‘Are you a student?’ (YR e)

The semantic difference of inj-ga in (11.41) and be-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 inj-ga and ‘I do not know’ for be-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 jøːː-ka and du-ka as will be pointed out a few paragraphs below.

Example (11.43), where ná is used instead of be-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 ẽː (focusing on the identification),

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whereas in (11.42) the anticipated answer has the neutral equative *be*? (focusing on the consequences of identification). For the difference of *l* and *be*?, refer to §7.2.3.

(11.43)  
\[ \begin{align*}  
  \text{te}{^\text{b}o} & \quad \text{lóp}{^\text{t}u} \quad \text{ţú} \quad \text{ţá} \quad \text{ţu} \quad \text{ţá} \quad \text{ţá} \quad \text{ţu} \quad \text{ţá} \quad \text{ţu} \\
  \text{2SG.L} & \quad \text{student} & \quad \text{EQU.PQ} \\
  \text{‘Are you a student?’ (YR e)} 
\end{align*} \]

The interrogative *be-ka* is also used as a tag question (but not as often as *in̈-ga*), as shown in (11.44).

(11.44)  
\[ \begin{align*}  
  \text{t’iza: k’õ=dii} & \quad \text{raŋ-ke} \quad \text{ŋátei} \quad \text{loke=dii} \quad \text{k’oŋ=gi} \\
  \text{but} & \quad \text{3PL=DEMPH} \quad \text{own-language} \quad \text{1PL.GEN} \quad \text{Lhoke=DEMPH} \quad \text{3PL=AGT} \\
  \text{mi-k’em-bo} & \quad \text{be=làa} \quad \text{mi-k’em-k’en} \\
  \text{NEG-know.HON-2INF} & \quad \text{EQU.NE=HON} \quad \text{NEG-know.HON} \quad \text{be}?, \quad \text{be-ka}=\text{la}? \quad \text{EQU.NE} \quad \text{EQU.NE-POQ=HON} \\
  \text{‘But they don’t know our own language Lhoke, don’t know, isn’t it (so)?} \quad \text{(YR canteen video)} 
\end{align*} \]

It also occurs with nominalized copulas in ordinary (non-tag) questions:

(11.45)  
\[ \begin{align*}  
  \text{dzongu}=\text{lo} \quad \text{lendzi} \quad \text{jo}^{-\text{k’è}b}: \quad \text{jëbbe-ka} \quad ? \\
  \text{TPN=DAT} \quad \text{cardamum buy-NMLZ} \quad \text{EX-NE-POQ} \\
  \text{‘Are there cardamum-buyers in Dzongu?’ (KT e)} 
\end{align*} \]

The interrogator *be-ka* also occurs as an auxiliary. Consequently, although -*ka/ga* cannot directly attach to nominalized verbs like the interrogative copula *ţá* 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 *be*? 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 *ţá* being more frequent (11.47).

(11.46)  
\[ \begin{align*}  
  \text{k’u} \quad \text{ён-бо} \quad \text{be-ka}? \\
  \text{3SGM} \quad \text{come-2INF} \quad \text{EQU.NE-POQ} \\
  \text{‘Did he come?’/‘He came, eh. (KN e)} 
\end{align*} \]

(11.47)  
\[ \begin{align*}  
  \text{k’u} \quad \text{ён-бо} \quad \text{ţá}? \\
  \text{3SGM} \quad \text{come-2INF} \quad \text{EQU.PER.Q} \\
  \text{‘Did he come?’ (KN e)} 
\end{align*} \]
Only -ka/ga (and not pa) 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) ཡོད་ཀ? 
    te’ a jø̀:-ka? 
    tea EX.PER-PQ 
    ‘Is there tea?’ (oh, Barapathing)

(11.49) འགྱུ་ཤད་ དགྔོན་པྔོ་ བཞུགས་སྔོ་ འདུག་ཀ་ལགས 
    pʰou=ra gju-ee? gjompo zu:so du-ka=la? 
    over.there=AEMP go-INF monastery residence.HON EX.SEN-PQ=HON 
    ‘Is there a residence to go at the monastery?’ (KN kitchen discussion)

My data includes one elicited counter-example to considering =ka/ga as an exclusively polar question marker. In (11.50), -ka/ga occurs in a content question, although the interrogative can also be formed by omitting -ka/ga.

(11.50) རང འོད་ཀ?
    kʰu nám ón-do-ga? 
    3SGM when come-IPVF-PQ 
    ‘When is he coming?’ (KN e)

Two further constructions in which pa and -ka/ga have differing distributions are the periphrastic past construction -po be/’, which is negated in differing ways by pa and -ka/ga, as already shown in (11.46-47) above, and the perfect -tsʰa(ː), which in my data is interrogated with pa 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) ལུགས་ སི་ལི་ གུ་རི་ སེབས་ དགྱོན་པ? 
    siliguri lep-tsʰa: pa? 
    TPN arrive-CMPL EQU.PER.Q 
    ‘Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?’ (KT phone call 3)

(11.52) ལུགས་ སི་ལི་ གུ་རི་ སེབས་ དགྱོན་པ? 
    siliguri lep-tsʰake pa? 
    TPN arrive-CMPL.APH EQU.PER.Q 
    ‘Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?’ (KT e)

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374 Declarative pa may, however, be postposed existentials to form jò: pa and du: pa.
Finally, I have one elicited example where \( \text{ɲá} \) co-occurs with the nominalized existential \textit{duk-o}, which could, with rising intonation, form a question by itself without \textit{ɲá}, see (11.54). It may be that here \textit{ɲá} is used as an assertive tag rather than as a question marker (see §16.3.1 for uses of \textit{ɲá} as an assertive tag).

\[
\text{(11.54)} \quad \text{ཁུ་ལུག་འདུག་ཀྔོ་ɲབ؟} \\
\text{kʰu Óna duk-o ɲá?} \\
\text{3SGM there EQU.SEN-2INF EQU.PER.Q} \\
\text{‘Is he there (I think he is)?’ (KT e)}
\]

In conclusion, \textit{ɲá} is a polar equative interrogative copula which historically originated as an interrogated copula \textit{ín-na} and synchronically forms a question by replacing the corresponding declarative copula (which may function as an auxiliary). The polar question suffix -\textit{ka/ga}, on the other hand, is a non-copular question marker which attaches to copulas but still has an overlapping distribution with \textit{ɲá} when occurring with verb roots, the imperfective \textit{-to/do}, periphrastic future -\textit{ɛɛ/ɨ/e?} and marginally past form -\textit{teɛ}.

### 11.1.1.3 Simple polar questions with the attenuated markers \textit{-kam/gam} and \textit{ɲám}

The attenuated interrogative markers \textit{-kam/gam} and \textit{ɲám} mainly occur in alternative questions but occasionally also in simple polar questions, as illustrated for \textit{-kam/gam} in (11.55) and (11.56). The only verbal suffix that \textit{-kam/gam} attaches to in my data is the imperfective \textit{-to/do},.

\[
\text{(11.55)} \quad \text{ཁུད་པར་གྲོའི་ཡོད་ཏྔོ་gam?} \\
\text{kʰɛ par átsi jø̃ː-to-gam?} \\
\text{difference a.bit EQU.PER-IPFV-ATTQ} \\
\text{‘Is there perhaps a bit difference?’ (KN e)}
\]

\[
\text{(11.56)} \quad \text{མེན་ནོ་མི་བཞེས་མཁན་ལགས། ལེས་ཏྔོ་ése?} \\
\text{mɛn ni ági=di=lo pʼum ze jø̃ː-to-gam. mɛnni} \\
\text{perhaps big.brother=DEMPH=DAT girl another EQU.PER-ATTQ perhaps} \\
\text{ɲɛ̃́ njiap-kjap-o in-do-gam.} \\
\text{wedding do-do-2INF EQU.PER-IPFV-ATTQ} \\
\text{‘I wonder whether the big brother perhaps has another girl. I wonder whether he has perhaps gotten married.’ (Richhi 130)}
\]

The use of \textit{ɲám} in a polar question I illustrated in (11.57).

\[
\text{(11.57)} \quad \text{ལ་ཁ་ལ་ི་མི་མི་འི་ི་མི་བཞེས་མཁན་ལགས། ལེས་ཏྔོ་ɲམ?} \\
\text{dem dem mi-ze-kʰɛ=la. ze-to ɲám?} \\
\text{such such NEG-drink.HON-NMLZ=HON have.HON-IPFV EQU.ATTQ} \\
\text{‘He doesn’t drink such and such things. (Or) does he perhaps drink?’ (SM kitchen discussion)}
\]
Because (11.57) is structurally not a typical alternative interrogative, it is here grouped among simple polar questions. Semantically, however, (11.57) resembles an alternative question in that the question is preceded by negated speculation about the state of affairs. For more typical polar alternative questions with -kam/gam and nám, refer to §11.1.3.1.

The negated form of nám, ménam, 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) 
\[ t'a \ tso: \ te' \ o\ n \ go:-ee \ mèn-am? \]  
now son.in.law go.HON be.needed-INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ another who 
go-3INF =QUO 
‘Now shouldn’t the son-in-law go? Who else is to go (I ask)?’ (rnam-rtog 30)

(11.59) 
\[ t'a \ nám, \ p'embo: \ boŋ'ĩgbo=lo \ teiku \ ōđem \ sā'te \ lōt'e:-ee \]  
now daughter-in-law Bon.priest Lepcha.priest=DAT only such until trust-INF 
mam-bjā-ne \ t'ak-ce \ mèn-am? 
NEG-do-COND be.alright-INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ 
‘Now, daughter-in-law, wouldn’t it be better not to put your trust only in Bon priests and bongthings?’ (rnam-rtog 32)

The negated question ménam may be followed by the affirmative tag question inga, see (11.60), where it is challenging to translate a tag questions following a negated question into English. Interestingly, Bhaicung Tsichudarpo, the author of the play rnam-rtog, from which examples (11.58-60) are taken, uses the question mark only after examples such as (11.60), which have a tag question, but not with tagless (11.58) and (11.59).

(11.60) 
\[ t'ato \ lāko \ di: \ teñlo \ kjap-ce \ mèn-am \ iŋ-ga? \]  
now hand this.GEN on do-INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ EQU.PER-PQ 
‘Now isn’t it done on this hand, or what?’ (rnam-rtog 27)

11.1.1.4 Polar questions with the interrogative copula bo

The third affirmative interrogative copula, apart from ná (neg. mè-na) and nám (neg. mè-na), 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) 
\[ lò \ ts'ame? \ te'em-bo \ nā:-do \ bo? \]  
year every come.HON-2INF do.HON-IPFV EQU.NE.Q 
‘Do you come (here) every year?’ (Bumchu-video)

375 WD རཱོ་: ban-bon refers to ‘Buddhist and Bon priests’ while WD ཕོངུ་: bong-thing(-bo) denotes a ‘male ritual specialist of the Lepchas’ (Balikci 2008: 378)
b) ལྟོག་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་

Did it hurt? (NB e)

The negated form mēmbo is in effect similar to English negative tag question following an affirmed clause, i.e. the speaker suspects that the affirmative is the case.

(11.62) a) མཐོང་ མཐོང་ སོད་ རྗེབས་མན་བྔོ

Are they coming, the children?/ ‘They are coming, aren’t they, the children?’

(11.63) b) འོ་པ། འོ་ལ་ འགྱུ་ དགྨོས་ཤད་

‘(We) have to leave early in the morning, don’t we.’ (TB phone call 2)

While the negated equative mēŋ-ga is used alongside the more frequent specific negated equative mēna (at least by one of my consultants), I do not currently have examples of evidentially neutral mēmbe-ka, which would be a form analogous to personal mēŋ-ga.

11.1.1.5 Polar interrogatives with á (Lachung)
The polar interrogative á (or á-), which does not occur in the southern and western varieties of Denjongke is used at least in the village of Lachung in North Sikkim. This formative is placed before the verb.

(11.63) ཐོད་ གོ་ དོ་ ཁོད་ རྐྱབས་མན་

‘Is (it) like that?’ (KUN e)

(11.64) ཐོད་ རྐྱབས་མན་

‘Does he say like that?’ (KUN e)

Yukawa (2017: 191, 194) reports that a similar interrogative marker a (WD ∫) in Lhasa Tibetan may precede yόo (cognate with jό?) and yin (cognate with ∫) but not ree (functionally quite similar to be?). Yukawa’s translation for questions with a includes the frame ‘I wonder whether’. A similar question marker a is also reported for Dongwang Tibetan (Bartee [2007: 412]). Moreover, a pre-verbal vocalic element for polar questions (prefix ∫-) is found in the Tibetan variety spoken in Brag-g.yab (Schwieger [1989: 50]).

11.1.1.6 Summary on polar questions
In conclusion, polar questions can be formed by four interrogative morphemes (excluding á, which is specific to Lachung) and also by mere intonation. These five options are illustrated in (11.65). Three of the interrogative morphemes, ē, nā, nām 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) Քུ་ གཉེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ ཨ?  
\[ k'h \, n\text{ën} \, kjap-o \, n\text{ā}? \] 
3SGM wedding do-2INF EQU.PER.Q  
‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)

b) Քུ་ གཉེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ གྱ?  
\[ k'h \, n\text{ën} \, kjap-o \, n\text{ā}m? \] 
3SGM wedding do-2INF EQU.ATTQ  
‘I wonder if he got married?’ (KN e)

c) Քུ་ གཉེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ ཚ?  
\[ k'h \, n\text{ën} \, kjap-o \, bo? \] 
3SGM wedding do-2INF EQU.NE.Q  
‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)

d) Քུ་ གཉེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ ཚ?  
\[ k'h \, n\text{ën} \, kjap-o \, b\text{ɛ}-k\text{ā}? \] 
3SGM wedding do-2INF EQU.NE-PQ  
‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)

e) Քུ་ གཉེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ ཚ?  
\[ k'h \, n\text{ën} \, kjap-o \, b\text{ɛʔ}? \]  
(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 (ĩː for nā 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 nām in (11.66b) and bo in (11.66c).

(11.66) a) ཡི་ རྐུ་ ཚ?  
\[ di \, k'an \, b\text{ɛʔ}? \]  
this what EQU.NE  
‘What is this?’ (KN e)

b) ཡི་ རྐུ་ ཚ?  
\[ di \, k'an \, n\text{ām} \]  
this what EQU.ATTQ  
‘I wonder what this is?’ (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 ñám (§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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question words</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k’an, k’ar</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’adi</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ana</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñám</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’am-p’ja</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’adzø, k’atsʰø</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’atem</td>
<td>what kind of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ate</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11.67) མ་ན་ཐོབ་?  
k’an ná:-do?  
what do.HON-IPFV  
‘What (are you) doing?’ (TB e)

(11.68) མ་ མ་འདི་ བྔོ |  
kʰu k’adi bo?  
3SGM which EQU.NE.Q  
‘sWhich one is he?’ (TB e)

(11.69) མ་ མ་འདི་ བྔོ |  
ỳ:=di k’ana ñám?  
place=DEMPH where EQU.ATTQ  
‘Where is that place?’ (AB kitchen discussion)

(11.70) མ་ མ་འདི་ བྔོ |  
p’ōtsaː=gi t’a áp ám=lo ma-ta-ne ka ta-ee?  
child=AGT now father mother=DAT NEG-look-COND who look-INF  
‘If children won’t care for (their) father and mother, who will care?’ (PED life story)

376 This form consists of k’an ‘what’ supplemented by the adverbializer -p’ja(ti). The word also occurs as k’ambja and k’amja, and in the fuller converbal construction kan p’ja-ti [what do+NF].
The answer to k’atem ‘what kind’ tends to be an adjective, whereas the answer to k’ate ‘how’ tends to be an adverb. The adverbial nature of k’ate ‘how’ is revealed by the indefinite form k’ate p’jati ĭrugu ‘however’, which in opposition to k’atem ĭrugu ‘whatever kind’, includes the adverbializing converb p’jati (see §6.3.2).

The uses of k’atem ‘what kind’ and k’ate ‘how’ overlap when asking how people are doing:

(11.76) a) ས་ལྟ་ བྷའི་ལགས་ ག་ལྟེམ་ ཡོད་ ལགས
   t’ato bhaila k’atem jòː=la?
   now PN what.kind.of EX.PER=HON
   ‘How is Bhaila now?’ (Richhi 10)
b) “དགོས་ ལྟོ་པའི་ལགས་ ག་ལྟེ་ ཡྔོད?”
\[ t'ato bhaila \, k'ate jö?\]
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) \[ \text{k'a: go-s.} \]
2SG.L where go-IPFV=QUO
‘Where are you going (he said)?’ (KT animal story)

(11.78) \[ \text{like.that rain strike-COND car why/what wash} \]
‘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 \( \text{nám, -kam/gam} \) and \( \text{bo} \) occur both in polar questions and in content questions. Content questions, however, can also be formed without these final question markers. With existential copulas \( \text{jø̀} \) and \( \text{du} \), content questions usually have the copula nominalized with \( -\text{po} \):

(11.79) \[ \text{where EX.PER-2INF} \]
‘Where is (he)? (SG wedding customs)

(11.80) \[ \text{EX.SEN-2INF} \]
‘How hot is it?’ (TB phone call)

Bare copulas are also sometimes used:

(11.81) \[ \text{PN news what EQU.PER} \]
‘What news are there, Lhaki?’ (Richhi 69)

(11.82) \[ \text{elder.brother=GEN=AT how.many EX.SEN} \]
‘And how many does the big brother (=you) have?’ (Richhi 99)
Some Denjongke-speaking communities also allow -po to be appended to the neutral equative be?

(11.83)  
\[
\text{དེབ་ འདི་ཀི་ འཛོ་
\text{ང་ཚོད་ སྦད་པྔོ}
\text{tʽɛp=di=gi
dzoː
\text{kʽadzø?
be-po?
book=DEMPH=GEN price how.many EQU-NE-INF}}
\]

‘What is the price of this book?’ (KT e)

Other communities prefer an assimilated nominalized form, be-go (note that the preferred word for ‘price’ also changes):

(11.84)  
\[
\text{དེབ་ འདི་ཀི
\text{ང་གོང་
\text{ག་ཚོད་ སྦད་གྔོ}
\text{tʼɛp=di=g
gõː
kʽadzøʔ
tɛ-be-}
\text{go?}
\text{book=DEMPH=GEN price how.many EQU-NE-INF}}
\]

‘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 be-po and be-go are replaced by mere bo. Interrogative clause is the only context where be? occurs as nominalized with -po in my data. This nominalized use of be? in interrogatives is probably triggered by analogy with the existential nominalized forms jə-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 past377 (11.87):

(11.85)  
\[
\text{ན་ བྔོ
\text{ན་སི་ཀི་ ཉིམ་ ག་ཚོད་ ལང་ཚར}
\text{nàː
tɕʼøn-diki
dikim kʽadzøʔ
lãː-tsʰaː?}
\]

‘How many days is it since you came here?’ (oh, Tashiding)

(11.86)  
\[
\text{ཆོས་ ག་ཚོད་ སྔོག་ཅེ}
\text{tɕʰoʔ
kʽadzøʔ
ɖok-tɕɛ?}
\]

‘How much did (s)he study?’ (BP BB discussion)

(11.87)  
\[
\text{ཏེ་སྔོབ་དཔྔོན་ མཉམ་པུ་ འདི་
\text{ག་ན་ མ}
\text{lópøn=di
kʼana
dʑɛ-po?}
\]

‘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.

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377 In the interrogative, however, the form is not periphrastic because the copula is dropped.
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 -ke/ge, see §12.3.3.2.

(11.88) งัง་གར་བྱེ་སོག་བཞིན་གྔོ?  
ηά:  k’ar p’ja-zun-go?  
LAGT what do-PROG-Q  
‘What I am doing?’ (KN e)

I suspect that (11.88) is a spoken abbreviated version of the fuller form (11.89).

(11.89) งང་གར་བྱེ་སོག་བཞིན་ནུ་གོ?  
ηά:  k’ar p’ja-zen duk-o?  
LAGT what do-PROG EX.SEN-2INF  
‘What I am doing?’ (KN e)

Note that the auxiliary used with first person actor in (11.89) is a sensorial, because the speaker anticipates the addressee to answer using the sensorial auxiliary.

11.1.2.3 Content questions with -kam/gam and ɲáմ
In addition to polar alternative interrogatives (and marginally simply polar interrogatives), the attenuated markers -kam/gam and ɲáմ occur in content questions. Example (11.90) gives an example of a content interrogative with ɲá mâ in a complement clause:

(11.90) དེ་ཟང་མོའི་ཡིག་ལན་ད་རུང་ཟང་མ་སེབས་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཆོན་གན་  
t’izãː mù=i jiglè: t’aruŋ=sà: ma-lep-o: gjumtsʰː: k’an  
but 3SGF=GEN letter.answer still=until NEG-arrive-2INF.GEN reason what  
ɲá mâ nò:-zê: ɲà=i tsʰo=na só:-di sèm=na tam  
EQU.ATQ think-PROG fish=GEN lake=LOC go.IPFV-NF mind=LOC saying  
keːpo t’en-eə  
’a.lot remember-INF EQU.PER  
‘Thinking what might be the reason for the letter-answer having not arrived he goes to the fish pond and reminisces in his mind many words.’ (Richhi 151)

The following two examples illustrate independent (non-complement) content questions with ɲá mâ:
(11.91) How many interval come.

Example (11.93) exemplifies the use of -kam/gam in a content question with a question word:

(11.93) 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 pám. 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) ‘Why did (they) do that?’ (KN, CY interview).

Figure 11.9. Intonation in content question (11.94) with pám

11.1.2.4 Content questions with bo
The evidentially neutral interrogative equative bo alternates with its declarative counterpart be? in content questions. Examples (11.95) and (11.96) further illustrate the overlap of bo and be? respectively in analogous complement clauses.

(11.95) ‘So when it comes to what this is, it is my meat.’ (KT animal story)
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)  kʰu ka bo?
3SGM who EQU.NE.Q
‘Who is he?’ (KN e)

(11.98)  te ranipul ke:tsa: doː-ee bo?
so TPN who.GEN=at sit-INF EQU.NE.Q
‘So with whom will (she) stay in Ranipool?’ (KN kitchen discussion)

In interrogative periphrastic future constructions (I infinitive followed by an equative copula), bo may be elided, as seen in (11.99), where the latter of two almost identical clauses has no copula.

now 2SG.L how get.well-INF EQU.NE.Q PN now 2SG.L how tʼak-ee??
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 be? is born out by the fact that bo, similarly to be? (and unlike pà), occurs in locative uses:

(11.100)  ón-diki mi: syn-kʰen=di kʼana bo lap-ø:
come-NF fire kindle-NMLZ=DEMPH where EQU.NE.Q say-2INF.GEN
‘…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, pàm and the interrogative copula bo but also with the direct marker -ka/ga (with existential copulas) and the more marginal suffix -lo?. The interrogative copula pà does not occur in alternative questions in my data.
11.1.3.1 Alternative questions with -kam/gam and ŋám

Example (11.101) illustrates the use of an attenuated question markers ŋám and -kam/gam in a context where, having been asked about the whereabouts of a person named Bhaila, the speaker comments:

(11.101) ཕྲིན་ལས་ལྔོ་དྲིས་ལྟ་གེ། ཁིམ་ན་ལྔག་ཚར་བྔོ་NSURL ཨིན་ནམ
thrinley=DAT ask look-HOR house=DAT return-CMPL-2INF
ŋám? mëyk/åː=na do jò:-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 ŋám 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 ŋám in a typical alternative question, where the same interrogating morpheme occurs in both clauses.

(11.102) སྒྲུབ་ཆེན་སྙམ་གན་སྙམ་མི་ཤེས།
 Dupchen.ceremony EQU.ATTQ what EQU.ATTQ NEG-know
‘I do not know whether it is a Dupchen (ceremony) or what.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

Interestingly, (11.102) combines a polar question (first) and a content question (second). The interrogative occurs as a complement clause, i.e. as an argument of another clause. With complement interrogatives, the whole clause does not function as a question unless the superordinate clause forms a question as well.

In independent interrogative clauses, the use of attenuated question markers instead of the more direct question markers -ka/ga and ŋám seems to imply more politeness. In complement clauses, on the other hand, -kam/gam and ŋám appear to completely displace -ka/ga and ŋám 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) མིན་པའི་དེ་ལ་དེ་ལ་ཡི་དེ་ལ་ཡི་
 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) དཔེ་དཔེ་དཔེ་དཔེ་དཔེ་
 tsopo=di mjò-ts’o-u ŋám ma-mjò:-p ŋám?
debate=DEMPH finish-CMPL-2INF ATTQ NEG-finish-2INF ATTQ
‘Has the debate ended or not, I wonder?’ (AB kitchen discussion)
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 ɲám always occurs two times in alternative questions. The interrogative suffix -kam/gam (along with the more direct -ka/ga), on the other hand, may be repeated, as shown in (11.105), or not repeated, as shown in (11.106).

11.1.3.2 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) अकु ल्लानस् इपु नु त् राजग्रामवः, जुम्लाः सक्रि?”
\[\text{ágja=la}=\text{co, te’om-bo nːe-e bo zu-e} \]
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) ིན་ རི་ འོ་ ཅུ་ ཡོ་ རཱ་ ཚུ་ ལཱ་ བྔོ
\[\text{di kʰi bo ály? bo?} \]
this dog EQU.NE.Q cat EQU.NE.Q
‘Is it a dog or a cat?’ (KN e)

(11.108) འདི་ ཁི་ བྔོ་ ཨ་ ལུས་ བྔོ
\[\text{tʽari cǎnu nː jő-po bo ò: lɔː sɔː-bo?} \]
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 nː ‘here’ and in the second part on the syllable lɔː: from lɔː: sɔː-=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) སྐྱོང་ ཁྲུ་ སྤེན་ གྲུ་ སྤེན
\[\text{te’o? p’u ga-ga p’um ga?} \]
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) ངི་ ཀྱི་ བྲེག་ གྲུ་ སྤེན་ ནེད
\[\text{t’aríŋ kʰimda? jó-ka mè??} \]
today house.owner EX.PER-PQ NEG.EX.PER
‘Is the house-owner at home today or not?’ (KT animal story)

(11.111) སྐྱོང་ བྲེག་ གྲུ་ སྤེན་ ནེད
\[\text{kʰe: tei? du-ka mindu??} \]
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 -lo?
The marginal bisyndetic alternative question marker -lo? only occurs in my data twice, both times as a complement clause, see (11.112) and (11.113). The latter one is spoken by a balsam flower to an overly confident bumble bee in a folk story.

(11.112) འཐུང་ལྔོད་ མ་འཐུང་ལྔོད་ ལྟ་ཆི།
drink-Q NEG-drink-Q look-IMP.FR.
‘Look whether (the cow) drank it or not.’ (TB e)

(11.113) དེ་ནེ་ འཇིབ་ལྔོད་ མན་འཇིབ་ལྔོད་ ལྟ་གེ་ སེ་ལབ་པྔོ་ལྔོ།
tʽɛ̊nd-zi̊p-lo? man-dzi̊p-lo? ta-ge=ståp-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 -lo? is found in Standard Tibetan, where it occurs as a question marker (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 230). The morpheme -lo? 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. laː tʰiː [HON-EQU.PER] ‘yes it is so’). The tag questions are the interrogated copulas íŋ-ga and bɛ-ka, and the Nepali loan lo. Examples (11.114) and (11.115) exemplify íŋ-ga:

(11.114) ཨིན་ནུ་དེ་ལྟེེས་པ་ཐུབ་མི་ཐུབ་མི་ནེ་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན།
tʼatot’a:ราม=ra jɛːbe=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) རི་ཐེ་མི་ཐུབ་མི་ཐུབ་དེ་རྒྱས་མཁན་ཐུབ་དེ་རྒྱས་མཁན་ཐུབ་
tʼep=di pɛː=tǝs: mɛː-ktʰ en 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:
“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.

‘I’m going now, okay?’ (oh, Martam)

‘Please stay here, okay (while I go away for a while)?’ (oh, TB)

‘This is my number, eh.’ (KT phone call)

‘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 [loː].
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) \(\begin{array}{l}
\text{raŋ\=gi} \quad \text{n\=én=lo}\?
\end{array}\)

\(\text{you=GEN} \quad \text{wedding=REP}\)

‘(Are you saying/Did you say) it’s your wedding?’ (KN oh, phone call)

(11.122) \(\begin{array}{l}
\text{tsʰoː-ɛɛ=di} \quad \text{nəm=le=lo}\?
\end{array}\)

\(\text{gather-INF=DEMPH} \quad \text{when=ABL=REP}\)

‘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).
11.1.6 Exclamative questions with (h)ó:
The formative (h)ó, which is most likely a borrowing of the Nepali equative copula ho, also occurs in equative polar questions where it replaces both the copula and the question marker and has the meaning ‘is it true that, is it so that’, see (11.123-125). Because (h)ó: also occurs as a non-interrogatory exclamative tag (see §16.3.2) it has an air of exclamativity. This exclamativity is reflected also in the interrogative, hence the gloss as exclamative question (EXCLAM.Q). Because clauses with (h)ó: here are treated as basically interrogative but having exclamative nuance, they are discussed here under interrogation (§11.1) rather than under exclamation (§11.2).

(11.123) ṭsampo duŋ-kʰɛn=di ó?:
flour beat-NMLZ=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q
‘Is (it) the one who beat the flour.’ (PT e)

(11.124) A: tʰu-se direct ḷkʰu-kʰɛn=di=lo ra qa be?,
this.year direct TPN=DAT=AEMPHT be.similar EQU.NE
óde: lāp-zengo. like.that say-PROG.APHT
‘This year it looks like it’s going to be directly in Dorjiden.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

B: ḷu-kʰɛn=di ó?:
tsøpo=di ó?:
debate=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q
‘You mean the debate?’ (KN kitchen discussion)

(11.125) a) ṭsɛmu-rã: ó?:
rɛ:mu=rã: ó?:
really=AEMPHT TAG.EXCLAM
‘Really, is it?’ (Richhi 99)

b) ḷu-kʰɛn=di ḷkʰu-kʰɛn=di=lo qe mɛŋkʰǎ:=na kʰik-ti t’ak-ee
patient such serious-EXCLAM hospital=LOC lead-NF get.well-INF
jə:=se ó?:
EX.PER=QUO EXCLAM.Q
‘Is it so that taken to the hospital in such a serious condition the patient is to get well?’ (rnam-rtog 17)

The quotative =se 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 -loʔ, which typically collocates with specific other words described below (§11.2.1), by non-interrogatory use of the interrogated copula be-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 -loʔ

The exclamative suffix -loʔ 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 loʔ occurs in genuine questions, in Denjongke the formative is used in exclamative rhetorical question. The use of -loʔ is illustrated in (11.126-129) with examples of cim ‘be tasty’ (cimpu/cimtaʔ ‘tasty’), lɛʔ ‘be good’ (cf. lɛm ‘good’), dzik ‘be excellent’ (cf. dziktaʔ ‘excellent) and ga ‘rejoice’ (gataʔ ‘happy’). In exclamative clauses -loʔ collocates with a question word (11.126-127) or forms an idiomatic succession with the reportative =lo (11.128).

(11.126) བཀྲ་ཞིང་ིབས་ཁོར་ན་, གཟིང་! སྐྱུ་།
k’amøː cim-loʔ bo, óje, p’ja-ca!
what.GEN be.tasty-EXCLAM EQU.NE.Q oh chicken-meat
‘How tasty it is, oh, chicken-meat. (Richhi 89)

(11.127) ཆོས་ཀྱིས་ཐུབ་པའི་ིབས་ཁོར་
k’at_em k’c:da: lì:-loʔ!
what.kind cleaning be.good- EXCLAM
‘How well tidied up!’ (Richhi 45)

(11.128) གོ་ མི་ཐོམ་ཁྲིམ་ཐོམ་སུ་
mi=di dzik-loʔ=lo³78!
(hu)man=DEMPH excellent-EXCLAM=REP
‘How great that man is!’ (KT e)

In example (11.129), -loʔ does not occur with a question word or the reportative =lo but is followed by the demonstrative òdem ‘such, like that’. Here -loʔ, 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) གལ་-loʔ òdemøː kʰimzi ko:-di
rejoice-EXCLAM such.GEN home throw.away-NF
‘forsaking such a happy home…’ (nga’i ‘gan 14)

The form -loʔ is also used in alternative questions, see §11.1.3.4. For etymological information on -loʔ, see §3.3.6.12.

³78 With consultant KT, -loʔ typically collocates with =lo (or). The reportative =lo is segmentally homophonous with the tag lo. Further exploration is needed to find out for certain which one is used here.
11.2.2 Exclamative use of the interrogated copula *be-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) 
\[ \text{\texttt{j'a=di ɕimpu be-ka!}} \]
\text{tea=DEMPH delicious EQU,NE-PQ}

‘Isn’t this tea good!’ / ‘How good this tea is!’ (KT e)

(11.131) 
Company ʑà=lo fon tà:-do be-ka
\text{kompani ŋà=lo fon tãː-do be-ka}

a) ‘Does the company keep on phoning me?’ (question)
b) ‘How the company keeps on phoning me!’ (exclamation) (KN e)

11.2.3 Interjections

An illustrative list of Denjongke interjections, which occurred in §3.6.10, is reproduced in Table 11.3. Some of the interjections are exemplified below the table.

Table 11.3. Some interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áme:</td>
<td>རེ་</td>
<td>‘wow’ expressing enthrallment, rapture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lásə</td>
<td>བ་སྔོགས་</td>
<td>‘okay’ approval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ák(ʰ)aː</td>
<td>ཨ་ཁ་</td>
<td>surprise, amazement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádzə</td>
<td>ཨ་ཛཻ་</td>
<td>surprise, amazement, quite similar to ákʰaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ójə; ói</td>
<td>ཨུ་, ཨུ</td>
<td>‘oh, hey’ used for getting someone’s attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éː jàː</td>
<td>ཨེ, ཨི</td>
<td>expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áː</td>
<td>ཨ་</td>
<td>1. informal address to get someone’s attention 2. response to being called (addressed to social/age inferior), like ‘what?’ (honorific laː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làː</td>
<td>ཨ་ལགས་</td>
<td>‘yes’ ‘excuse me?’ 1. polite response to being called 2. expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kei</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>‘O (address)’ honorific address (e.g. lama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teːka</td>
<td>ཨ་</td>
<td>‘alas’ disappointment (e.g. bad shot in a game of kerembot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teːkeː</td>
<td>ཨ་</td>
<td>‘oh no’ disapproval, discomfort (e.g. when someone does not answer phone), the response to being tickled (TB 5, 151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úf</td>
<td>ཨུལ་</td>
<td>expression of pain or discomfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádziː</td>
<td>ཨ་ཛི་</td>
<td>1) (unpleasant) surprise, 2) fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áijo; á(i)jaː</td>
<td>ཨུ་ཡུ་, ཨུ་</td>
<td>pain of fear of pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhoː</td>
<td>ཨྔོ་ཧྔོ་</td>
<td>expressing sadness, response to bad news</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

379 Likely to be frequently heard by a language learner.
Wow, how good it is.' (KT e)

‘Alright, in that case please go.’ (Richhi 17)

‘How tasty it is, oh, chicken-meat. (Richhi 89)

‘Hey, is anyone at home?’ (rna-gsung 5)

‘O, it’s there. I heard it (only) now.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

‘Karma!’

‘Yes, what did you say?’ (Richhi 15)

‘Oh no, let’s not go to (his) home.’ (reaction to suggestion) (Richhi 24)
b) བོད་སྐད་སྦྱོར་ཁྲིད་པ་ལྟར།

\[
\text{ādzi}, \text{ mē: ám=la:!}
\]

Oh, no NEG.EQU.PER mother=HON

‘Oh no, no mother.’ (Richhi 34)

(11.139)

ཐེ་འ།

darn

‘Darn! (after an unsuccessful strike in a game of kerembot)’ (oh, Tashiding)

(11.140)

ཐུབ་སྒོས་འདུས་ཆོས་འཛིན་ཁུལ་

\[
\text{uf, k’amo: tsʰepo tsʰik-lo? bo!}
\]

Phew what.Gen heat hot-EXCLAM EQU.NE

‘Phew, how scorching the heat is!’ (nga’i ’gan 15)

(11.141)

ཐེ་འདུས་ཤྲིད་པ་དེ་བོ་བོ་མ། "ནང་ན་"

\[
\text{ādetsʰika bhal=ki kʰyŋka? ája: ája!:}
\]

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)

ཐེ་འདུས་ཀྱི་ཀྲུང་བུ་ཤུགས་ཐེ་འདུས་

\[
\text{āijo: yā, kʰap=di mi-kjap áijo!:}
\]

Ouch 1SG needle=DEMPH NEG-strike ouch

‘Ouch, do not inject the needle, ouch.’ (rnam-rtog 28)

11.3 Imperative

Sentences in imperative mood convey commands and requests. Imperatives in Denjongke can be expressed by using the bare verb root (§11.3.1) or by imperative suffixes -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)

ལྡེན་བཞིན་ཐུབ་སྐད་སྦྱར་ཁྲིད་པ།

\[
\text{lāso ágia, zim-pa te’ō:}
\]

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)

ཅ་ེན་ཀྲུང་ཐུབ་སྦྱར་ཁྲིད་པ།

\[
\text{kʰa tsum doʔ. ma-lap no.}
\]

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 nā: is illustrated in (11.145) and (11.146). The negative prefix attaches to the honorific verb nā: ‘do (hon.), grant’.

(11.145) བོད་ལྡན་ སྤུ་- དགེ་ བོད་ སྤུ་- དགེ་ སྤུ་- བོད་ སྤུ་- དགེ
   tʽa(r)ug súm-bo nā.: again say.HON-2INF do.HON
   ‘Please say it again.’ (TB e)

(11.146) བོད་ལྡན་ སྤུ་- དགེ
   te’em-bo ma-nā.: 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) བོད་ལྡན་ སྤུ་- དགེ
   te lópta=tsu nāyea pel-bo nā:
   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 tǎ: (ordinary) and the root appended with nā: or nā (honorific). The secondary verb (or verbalizer) tǎ: ‘send’ also sometimes accompanies the verb root in imperative in my data:

(11.148) བོད་ལྡན་ སྤུ་- དགེ
   kʼutea? kʼajem pʼja tǎ: ótsō: dā: benda tʼa: tǎ:
   2PL what.is.that do send onion and tomato slice send
   ‘You, do what’s that, slice onions and tomatos.’ (PT kitchen)

Sandberg’s (1895: 42) more polite form, where the verb nā: ‘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) བོད་ལྡན་ སྤུ་- དགེ
   vrō: jô-ne nā=lo sūp nā: see EX-COND 1SG=DAT say.HON do.HON
   ‘If you see, please tell me.’ (rna-gsung 6)

11.3.2 Imperative suffixes -teʰi, -da, -na
While the bare verb root can function as an imperative, the imperative mood may also be marked unambiguously by the suffixes -teʰi, -da and -na. Using -teʰi 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 -*teʰi* and -*da*, which are illustrated in (11.150) and (11.151). Example (11.150), taken from the novel Richhi, presents a doctor’a polite instruction to a nurse:

(11.150) ནད་པྔོའི་  སྨན་ཡིག་ཅྱུ༹༹་  ཐམས་ཅད་  འདི་ཁར་  བསྣམ་  བྔོན་བྔོ་  གནང་ཆེ།
patient.GEN prescription=PL all here carry.HON come.HON-2INF
*do.HON-IMP.FRN
‘Please bring all the patients prescriptions here.’ (Richhi 169)

(11.151) ང་ལྔོ་  ཆུ་  ཤུས་ཅིག་  གནང་ད།
*1SG=DAT water a.bit give.HON-IMP.FRN
‘Please give me a bit of water.’ (nam-rtog 26)

Although the use of imperative suffixes in negated imperatives is rare in my data, at least -*teʰi* occurs in a negated imperative:

(11.152) ཀན་ཆི, ག་ལུས་ ག་ལུས་ མ་བྱ༹ས་ཆེ།
youngest.daughter slow slowly NEG-do-IMP.FRN
*Kanchi, do not do (it) slowly.’ (Richhi 107)

The suggestive -*na* (glossed SUG), on the other hand, softens down the tone of the imperative towards a suggestion and thus make a request/command more polite than using the bare verb root or one of the other suffixes. The use of -*na* is illustrated in (11.153) and (11.154) by sentences from the novel Richhi and the play nga’i ’gan, respectively. In the first example, -*na* is used in an honorific verbal expression and in the second with an ordinary verb root, showing that -*na* does not directly participate in the honorific system, where the use of one honorific (e.g. an honorific noun) in good style requires the use of other honorifics (e.g. an honorific verb).

(11.153) བུ་སིང་ལུགས
younger.sister=HON yesterday
*gom-bo nāː-kʰː  Calling鲑鱼
*teiku:  turn one
*sünl u t’ariŋ=lo tsʰaː tɕi
*do.HON-NMLZ song.HON today=DAT turn one
gom-bo nāː-na.
sing.HON-2INF do.HON-SUG
‘Sister, would you perhaps like to sing today once the song that you (lit. sister) sang alone yesterday.’ (Ricchi 90)
The suggestive -na differs from friendly imperatives -teʰi and -da in that -na attaches to the imperfective root of the verb gju (gju-na ‘go, what about going’), where as -teʰi and -da: attach to the suppletive perfective form sṍː of the same verb (e.g. sṍː-teʰi ‘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 nā: 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 ēoʔ ‘come! (direct)’ and te’on ‘please come! (hon.)’.

(11.155) a) ཁྲ་བུ་བུ། སྐྱེད་
nā: te’em-bo nā:.
here come.HON-2INF do.HON
‘Please come here.’ (polite)

b) ཁྲ་བུ་བུ། སྐྱེད་
nā: te’em-bo nā:-teʰi.
here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRNN
‘Please come here.’ (polite, friendly)

c) ཁྲ་བུ་བུ། སྐྱེད་
nā: te’em-bo nā:-da.
here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRNN
‘Please come here.’ (polite, friendly)

d) ཁྲ་བུ་བུ། སྐྱེད་
nā: te’em-bo nā:-na.
here come.HON-2INF do.HON-SUG
‘If you would please come here.’ (polite, suggestive)

Imperatives may be supplemented with the exclamative tags pā and inam⁵, which add nuance to the command. Whereas pā 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 pā, 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.

---

³⁸⁰ The form inam is segmentable as in-(n)am [EQU.PER-ATTQ], whereas the form pā has merged into a unit from the historical segments in-(n)a [EQU.PER-PQ].
(11.156) *sèm-bo nā: nā.*
listen.HON do.HON TAG.ASR
‘Please listen (to me), will you.’ (PB discussion with TB)

(11.157) *átści džokai p’ja ín-(n)am!*
a.bit saving(Nep.) do EQU.PER-ATTQ store set EQU.PER-ATTQ
‘Save a bit (money), I tell you! Set (it) aside, I tell you!’ (TB phone call)

The pitch trace from (11.157) is presented in Figure 11.15, showing the rising pitch on ínam.

Figure 11.15. Rising intonation with ínam in imperative (11.157)

\[ \text{átści džokai p’ja i-nam} \quad t’ek za ínam \]

In some language varieties, the forms *ina* (Bermeok) and *no* (Martam) as used for nā/ína:

(11.158) *gja’tʰa dì=tsu súp íno.*
hatch this=PL close TAG.ASR
‘Close the hatches, will you.’ (KT animal story)

(11.159) *kʰa tsum do? ma-lāp no.*
mouth closed sit NEG-speak TAG.ASR
‘Be silent. Don’t speak, eh.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

11.3.3 Urgentive =*mo?*

The enclitic =*mo?* (pronounced also as =*me?*) can be added to imperatives, hortatives and optatives to make a plea more urgent. Within imperatives =*mo?* may attach to the suggestive -*na* but not to the friendly imperatives -te’i and -*da*. Rather than forming a sentence mood of its own, =*mo?* may be seen as a modifier of the imperative, hortative and optative moods. One consultant commented that =*mo?* may be used when all other verbal persuasion resources have been exhausted. Because =*mo?* may attach to several elements it is not analysed as a suffix but as an enclitic. The following examples illustrate the use of =*mo?* appended to verb root (11.160-162), imperative -*na* (11.163), hortative -ke’ge (11.164) and infinitive -*pi* (11.165-166). The use with optative -te’u? 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) སྣོན་ེ་ རུ་བུ་སྐྱེབས།
ེ་,  tuberculosis ཐེ་ སྐྱེབས་ ཐེ་ སྐྱེབས།
oh then ask.2INF do.HON=URG
‘Oh, then ask (him), by all means.’ (KT animal story)

(11.161) པུག་ ནུལ་ སྐྱེབས་ ཡོད།
nā:  kʰōː=lo  hako-ga  làp  tʰi  ta=moʔ.
here 3SG.HON=DAT understand-PQ say ask look=URG
‘Ask him here, by all means, whether he knows (the story I am about to tell).’
(JDF discussion on the roof)

(11.162) སྙིང་ ལྷུས་ དབྱིང་།
ze:kar  ze:=meʔ.
chilli.HON  eat.HON=URG
‘Go ahead and take chilli.’ (PTM kitchen discussion)

Of the imperative forms, =moʔ may attach at least to the suggestive imperative -na:

(11.163) དབྱིང་ ལྷུས་ དབྱིང་།
sām  sā-na=moʔ.
food eat-IMP.SUG=URG
‘Please eat!’ (PT e)

In (11.164), a line from a contemporary Denjongke song, the urgency marker is appended to hortative -ge:

(11.164) སྣོན་ སྲུང་ ཇོ་ཞེ་ ལྷུས་ ལྷུས་ དབྱིང་།
nāteʔa  tʰamteʔ  tempo=di  lēm-p’ja  zuŋ-ge=moʔ.
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 =moʔ 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) ཆ་ ཞེས་ དབྱིང་།
sā-ni=moʔ.
eat-3INF -URG
‘Eat, by all means.’ (KN e)

(11.166) སྣོན་ སྲུང་ དབྱིང་།
tʰun-ni=moʔ.
drink-3INF -URG
‘Drink, by all means.’ (KN e)
11.4 Hortative -ke/ge

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 -ke/ge 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) $lang

ŋà  bak-e.
1SG carry-HORT
‘Let me carry (it).’ (GB oh)

(11.168) $lang

ŋàte?  k’a:  tsu?  ran=gi  ke:=lo  jàrge?
1PL what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development tan=ge=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 -teʰi in (11.169).

(11.169) $lang

ge:po=di=lo  lòkt=ra:  k’a-lap  ta-ge-teʰi.
k=DEMPH=DAT again=EMPH 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) $lang

lën=ge?  sò:za  ze:-ke=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) $lang

me:  laki?  t’ato  te’a  ma-t’uŋ-ge.
NEG.EQU.PER PN now tea NEG-drink-HORT
‘No Lhaki, let’s not drink tea now.’ (Richhi 17)

(11.172) $lang

t’ep=di  k’o:teʰ:  ma-jà-ge³⁸¹  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)

³⁸¹ The verb p’ja ‘do’ is usually reduced to jà when a negator is prefixed.
11.5 Optative with ṭeuʔ?

Optative mood expresses hopes about desirable future. The optative is formed by the causative secondary verb ṭeuʔ? '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 =moʔ to mark urgency (see §11.3.3).

(11.173) टे नाँचा टे उत्तरार्ड भक्तजनक हामिल भक्तजनक
t'ene ñedm jò; ñà=lo=jà; t'op ṭeu=mo:.=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) टे नाँचा बैठने अक्षरण छान्ते स्मृतिकरण छान्ते घटी नाँचा बैठने
jèː=gi boddèipà:ti=na kʰu ñà: teu? lāp-ñì ñà 1SG.GEN=GEN birthday.party(Eng.)=LOC 3SGM come cause say-NF 1SG fon p'jā-u ìː.
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) टे नाँचा बैठने अक्षरण छान्ते स्मृतिकरण छान्ते घटी नाँचा बैठने
‘All of them like that made obstacles so the king could not come back here to Sikkim.’ (CY interview)

Usually the optative and causative uses of ṭeuʔ/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: teuʔ?). Thus, in the absence of tense and aspect marking, the context is the arbiter between optative and causative reading of ṭeuʔ?

(11.176) टे नाँचा बैठने अक्षरण छान्ते स्मृतिकरण छान्ते घटी नाँचा बैठने
te nānča dzy: lāp lōk p'etsa nānča=lo t’om=di nānča
so inside enter QUO back sack inside=DAT bear=DEMPH inside
dzy: teuʔ.
enter CAUS
’So, saying “enter in” (he) caused the bear to go back inside the sack.’ (KT animal story)
11.6 Summary remarks

This chapter described non-declarative clauses, i.e. interrogatives, exclamatives, imperatives, hortatives and optatives. The main focus was on interrogatives, which form a complex system. Polar questions can be formed either by polar question markers or by intonation without segmental interrogation markers. Polar interrogatives include the suffix -ka/ga and several interrogative copulas (formed either with -ka/ga or by other means). Attenuated interrogating morphemes are used for softening down questions by making them resemble speaker’s speech to themselves. Attenuated question markers are also used in content questions, which, however, do not necessarily require any other interrogatory marking than the question word. Some more marginal question marking morphemes were also described.

Interjections were shown to be a special case of exclamatives, which also include the formally interrogated copula be-ka and the suffix -loʔ (which has an interrogating cognate in Standard Tibetan [Tournadre & Dorje 2003]). The various imperative constructions express such semantic nuances as directness, politeness, friendliness, suggestiveness and urgency. The hortative marker occurs both with singular (‘let me do’) and plural first person (‘let us do’). Lastly, it was shown that optative clauses are formed by postposing the causative secondary verb stem to the primary verb.
12 Connecting finite clauses

The discussion on clause combining is divided into four chapters. Connections between finite clauses are described in this chapter. The following three chapters address constituent-modifying clauses (§13), 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.383

The reason why coordination in Haspelmath’s (2007: 1) definition is not a prominent feature of Denjongke is that Denjongke is a clause-chaining language. Longacre (2007: 375) divides languages into co-ranking languages such as English, in which it is possible to have several verbs “of the same rank” within one sentence, and chaining languages such as many New Guinean languages, in which it is not possible to have more than one final verb form in a sentence. Denjongke is one of the chaining languages in which only the last verb in a sentence is finite and previous, dependent verbs within the same sentence are not “of the same type” as the final verb. This means that Denjongke uses a structurally different strategy for describing situations which in English are expressed through coordination. For instance, consider the Denjongke equivalent of the English clause ‘Go today and stay home tomorrow’:

(12.1) ད་རིང་ འགྱུ་སྟི་ ཐྔོ་རངས་ ཁིམ་ན་ སྔོད།

‘Go today and stay home tomorrow.’ (Richhi 59)

Although the Denjongke and its English translation in (12.1) are semantically equivalent, they differ structurally in two important respects. First, English uses verb forms of the same type, whereas Denjongke uses two different verb forms, nonfinal converbal form marked with

382 Constituent-modifying clauses represent clause combining in that the constituent which is modified is an argument in another clause.
383 Payne’s (1997: 443) definition of coordination as “linking two clauses of equal grammatical status” leaves open whether the linking results in a new entity. Thus Payne’s definition would perhaps subsume looser connections under coordination than the ones allowed in Haspelmath’s (2007: 1) definition.
384 One consultant would have preferred the perfective form of the verb sòː to imperfective gju in the nonfinal clause.
-ti/di and the verb root, which functions as an imperative. Second, English uses the conjunction ‘and’, whereas Denjongke sentence lacks a conjunction because the nonfinal verb form can convey analogous semantics to the English conjunction ‘and’. In summary, (12.1) is structurally not an instance of coordination but of subordination/dependency although it is functionally analogous to an English coordinated sentence.

However, while finite clauses in Denjongke cannot be coordinated by t’ãː ‘and’, nominalized clauses can:

(12.2) 

[ trò b thop-o] t’ãː: [tʰuŋ ma-thop-o:] lògjuʔ màŋpu
duʔ.

‘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’ãː ‘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’izãː ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connector</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʼizãː</td>
<td>‘but’</td>
<td>དེ་ཟང་ ‘but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŷĩːruŋ</td>
<td>‘but, however’</td>
<td>ཨིན་རུང་ ‘but, however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inajãː</td>
<td>‘but, however’</td>
<td>ཨིན་ན་ཡང་ ‘but, however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indâ:jãː</td>
<td>‘but, however’</td>
<td>ཨིན་དང་ཡང་ ‘but, however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŷĩːjãː</td>
<td>‘but, however’</td>
<td>ཨིན་ཡང་ ‘but, however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>żɛ̃ːmɛ̃ŋ</td>
<td>‘otherwise, (then) again’</td>
<td>ཨྔོ་འདི་ལས་ཏྔོ་ ‘otherwise, (then) again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jã̀ː</td>
<td>‘and, (then) again’</td>
<td>ཨྔོ་ ‘and, (then) again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jã̀ːn ɛ̃ŋ</td>
<td>‘or’</td>
<td>ཨྔོ་ ‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jã̀ːm ɛ̃ŋ</td>
<td>‘or in other case, otherwise’,</td>
<td>ཨྔོ་ ‘or in other case, otherwise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-tsʰɛʔ</td>
<td>‘not only (but also); moreover’</td>
<td>མི་ཚད་ ‘not only (but also); moreover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʼambjas</td>
<td>‘because, this is for the reason that’,</td>
<td>གན་བས་སེ་ ‘because, this is for the reason that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dil</td>
<td>‘then (temporal sequence)’</td>
<td>ཁྔོ ‘then (temporal sequence)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʼene</td>
<td>‘then, in that case (logical consequence)’</td>
<td>ཡང་ ‘then, in that case (logical consequence)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŷĩː to</td>
<td>‘rather’</td>
<td>ཨྔོ ‘rather’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tʼizãː: ‘but’ and ŷĩːruŋ ‘but, however’. The contrastive connector tʼizãː is of unknown etymological origin. In written Denjongke, tʼizãː occurs, depending on the author and possibly the context, either as a sentence-initial marker (following ་།, the closest equivalent to full stop in written Denjongke), as in (12.3), or as a sentence-medial marker (without ་།), as in (12.4).

(12.3) མི་མི་ལོག་པ་ དེ་ཟང་ གཉིད་རང་ མི་ཁུགས།
| tëoki? ɲë:-bo: | ɲë:-bo | བཟང་ | tʼizãː: piː:=rãː: |
| lie.down-2INF.GEN | lie.down-2INF | EQU.PER | but sleep=AEMPH |
| mi-kʰuʔ. | NEG-sleep | ‘Choki keeps lying down but does not fall asleep.’ (Richhi 58)

(12.4) ཤིས་པའོ་ ན་འོ་ བཟང་ ཁྔོ་རང་ མན་བྔོན།
| mãŋpu ʈʰamce? dzom-ze | tʼizãː | gozde | kʰu=rãː: | man-dzön. |
| multitude | all | gather-PST | but leader | SGM=REFL | NEG-come |
| ‘All the people gathered but the leader himself did not come.’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 135)

In (12.3), the actor (Choki) is elided in the second clause, suggesting coordination, where the clauses belong to the same sentence. However, argument elision is frequent even in

385 The first part ‘why’ in this word may be pronounced kʼamja, kʼambja or kʼampʼja, depending on the level of phonological reduction. The last pronunciation kʼampʼja suggests a succession of words rather than a single word, because pʼ typically only occurs word-initially. The verb of speaking sê (also si) can be replaced by làp ‘say’ or ciu ‘say (hum.)’, e.g. kʼamjalapn, kʼamjacun. 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. kʼamjasen (eastern and northern pronunciation), kʼamjasena (literary pronunciation).
independent clauses, and therefore this argument for the presence of coordination is not fully persuasive. Of all the connectors, t’izāː 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 ʰɪ.n(i) (or ʰɪ.uk) ‘but, however’ is the concessive form of the equative ʰɪ, 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) ⁴kʰu ɲeː ɲɛnt’kʰɛː ʰɪŋ-kʰɛː ʰɪ. ʰɪ-ruŋ ⁴kʰu ɲa=lo
3SG 1SG.GEN relative EQU-NMLZ EQU.PER EQU-CONC 3SGM 1SG=DAT
lönɡa mi-kljap beʔ.
care NEG-do EQU-NE
‘He is (supposed to be) my relative. However/but, he doesn’t look after me.’ (KT e)

(12.6) r’a-m-t’ ɻɒ: t’akjo ɻa ɻeː mɛ. ʰɪ-ruŋ t’akjo ɻeːjoː:
all 3PL now work now NEG.EX.PER EQU-CONC now 3PL education
lën-zin jɔː?
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 ʰɪnajāː; ʰɪndājāː; ʰɪjāː are used for contrastive cohesion. These forms begin with the equative copula ʰɪ and end in the clitic =jāː ‘too, even, yet, still’. The difference is what, or whether anything, occurs in between. In ʰɪnajāː, the copula occurs with the literary conditional form ʰɪn-ⁿa (which also occurs in Central Tibetan), see (12.7) and (12.8). In ʰɪndājāː, the intervening element is the conjunctive ʰɪaː ‘and’, conveying the meaning ‘it is so and yet’, see (12.9). The last form ʰɪjāː has no intervening element, conveying the equivalent of English ‘it is so yet’, see (12.10).

(12.7) keː=ði t’a lèm ʰɪp’jaː-ti jàp-ceː=to ʰ{o}dɛm=to
language=DEMPH now good do-NF teach-INF=CEMPH like.that=CEMPH
mɛː-ʳk’en beʔ. ʰɪnajāː ʰədi ɡàː=gi t’a gempo diː=tsu=gi
NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU-NE however that time=GEN now elder this=PL=AGT
keːdzguna ʰədo, ʰən’ทย=ði mi-k’en=ʳk’en beʔ.
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 \textit{tʼizā}: and \textit{inajā}:, co-occur.

(12.8) te ŏdi p'ja-ti nātei ke? ey:tey? ódepti nāmtē'ā?
so that do-NF 1PL.GEN language a.bit like.that decline

sō:-bo ū.: \textit{tʼizā}: \textit{inajā}: t'ato lōpta=di nāyęa
go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER but however now school=DEMPH inside

jō:-ee? kjap-tiki òdep ke:po=to lāk bak da: ma-sō:
EX-INF do-NF like.that much=DEMPH 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) lōn=to k'andē: mē?: \textit{indājā}: dik'a nātea? lēm=rā:
message=DEMPH any NEG.EX.PER however here 1PL good=AEMPH
du:=se lāp nā:
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) t'atawa: nātea? p'entsʰy: pʰa: dze:
nowadays 1PL mutual thither meet.HON hither meet.HON
mē:-pe: cē: tsʰo ma-tsʰu?: t'jā: nē:
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 \textit{ zen} ‘other’. These forms are \textit{zen}-\textit{zen}/\textit{zene}/\textit{zone} (12.11-12), \textit{zem}:en (12.13), \textit{zē:mene} (12.14). The ending -\textit{ne} in \textit{zenne} and \textit{zene}/\textit{zone}, which probably represents a reduced pronunciation of \textit{zenne}, may be etymologically a conditional form\footnote{As the conditional marker attaches only to verbs, \textit{zen}-\textit{ne} may represent a reduction of the more complex \textit{zē:-me-ne} [other-NEG.EQU.PER-COND].} or possibly the topicalizer =\textit{ne}. The other two forms supplement \textit{zen} with the negated equative \textit{mē}:, which may occur alone, as in \textit{zem}:en (12.13) or in the conditional form, as in \textit{zē:mene} (12.14).
The following three connectors build on the word *jä*: ‘again, and’, an independent form related to the clitic =*jä*: ‘too, even, yet, still’. The connector *jä*: occasionally occurs alone to mark that the information presented in the clause is somehow added to the information in the previous clause (12.15).

12.11.
```
han this
you know
previous clause (12.15).
mark that the infor
related to the
(12.13)
(12.12)
(12.11)
The following three connectors build on the word..."
```

12.12.
```
tʰap mè-ne tsuku sā-ciŋ=gi, zone 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.
```
mù=ri godze kjokju ōdi: p’ja-ti mi zen=tsu:
3SGF=AEMPH.GEN leader crooked that.GEN do-NF human other=PL.AGT
if word=AEMPH dakini.AGT listen.HON be.able.to-2INF become-COND
k’an=do: sàʔ=ʔa tā: p’im-bo nà:di kjop-ne kjop
dakini.AGT copper-rope send give-2INF do.HON-NF protect-COND protect
be.able.to FUT.UNC otherwise she.demon 3SGF=GEN mouth=ABL
k’utea=lo màlep p’ja-ne...
again king.GEN=AGT 2PL=DAT bad do-COND
Again, if the king did bad things to you… (CY interview)
```

The following three connectors build on the word *jä*: ‘again, and*, an independent form related to the clitic =*jä*: ‘too, even, yet, still’. The connector *jä*: 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.
```
jä: ge:py=gi k’utea=lo màlep p’ja-ne...
again king.GEN=AGT 2PL=DAT bad do-COND
Again, if the king did bad things to you… (CY interview)
```

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The connector jà: 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 mene, a conditional form of a negated equative (12.18-19). When used with negated verbs in both clauses, the connector jà:ne expresses meanings corresponding to English nor (which marks additional negated information), see (12.17).

(12.16) teke: ågia ze:po nà:mo?. jà:ne nâtei làka=le oh.no elder.bother eat.HON-2INF do.HON=URG or 1PL.GEN hand=ABL


(12.18) nâtea? eì-ne mi eì-tsub=le làlo mi lìm sónam 1PL die-COND human die-CMPL.2INF=ABL some human good merit good EX-COND=DEMPH human=DAT human-body receive or.in.other.case animal or bug say rotate 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) ka:m te’ak-te’ak-o jò-patsene jà:mene cèmpo=rà: foot be.broken-RDP-2INF EX-COND or.in.other.case stupid=DEMPH jò-patsene nâtei p’un k’ate p’in-ee=s? EX-COND 1PL.GEN girl how give-INF =QUO

The negated form of the verb ts’he? ɛn ‘stop, break off, discontinue’, mi-ts’he?, 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.
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 mitsʰɛʔ may also occur sentence-initially following a demonstrative:

‘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)

A possible origin of mitsʰɛʔ as a nonfinal form mi-tsʰɛ-ti(ki) is suggested by (12.22), which is the only recorded instance of a negated nonfinal verb 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’.

For the causality marking connector kʼambjasene (and its variants), refer to §15.4.1. The connector dile ‘then’ connects finite clauses. It expresses temporal sequence:

‘I finished (studying at) the Higher Institute of Nyingmapa studies. Then, after finishing studies at the Higher institute of Nyingmapa studies…’ (RB life story)
The connector t’ene ‘then, in that case’ has two main functions. It expresses a logical consequence of what was said before and it also denotes a change in the speaker. In other words, the speaker reacts to something that another person has said. By denoting that the speaker has changed t’ene helps the listener to track who is speaking in a story. The connector t’ene 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 te ‘so’ to form te t’ene or t’ene te ‘so then, so in that case’, see (12.26)

then 2SG.L here while stay
‘In that case, stay a while here.’ (KT animal story)

(12.25) a) དེ་ནེ་ རྟོ་ སྔོད། t’ene tʼorä: yā nā: ba doːce ĭː.
oh then tomorrow 1SG here hide sit-INF EQU.PER
‘O, in that case I’ll sit hiding here tomorrow.’ (KT animal story)

b) དེ་ནེ་ རྟོ་ སྔོད། àsso t’ene te’m-bo nā:
alright then go.HON-2INF do.HON
‘Alright, in that case please (feel free to) go.’ (Richhi 17)

(12.26) a) དེ་ནེ་ རྟོ་ སྔོད། te t’ene p’otso: pʰam=tsu=lo t’arini=rā: teʰadi pʰyː-ge,
so then child.GEN parent=PL=DAT today=AEMPH letter.HON offer-HORT
in-ga?
EQU.PER-PQ
‘So then let’s today offer a letter to the children’s parent, shan’t we.’ (Richhi 20)

b) དེ་ནེ་ རྟོ་ སྔོད། t’ene teṭo?=ki taːri=dì di ja?
t’ene teṭo?=ki taːri=dì di ja?
then so 2SG.L=GEN axe=DEMPH this EQU.PER.Q
‘So then is this your axe?’ (JDF axe story)

Occasionally, t’ene may precede the verb:

(12.27) དེ་ནེ་ རྟོ་ སྔོད། ta l’okti=ra t’ene ta-ge.
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’ene, all marking a change in speaker within a dialogue. In spoken data, 16 out of 18 clauses with t’ene imply a speaker change. The two exceptions are given in (12.28) and (12.29) respectively. In the narrative example (12.28) t’ene 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.
The other example, (12.29), is from a monologue, where 't’ene introduces a new item in a lengthy list.

The last monosyndetic connector is ódi=le=to (that=ABL=CEMPHE) ‘rather’, see (12.30) and (12.31).

12.3 Bisyndetic connectors
Bisyndetic constructions are formed by using the same conjunction twice, once at the beginning of the first clause and another time at the beginning of the second clause. Table 12.2 lists bisyndetic connectors.
Table 12.2. Bisyndetic clause connectors

| =jā: ...=jā: | ‘both…and’ (lit. even…even) |
| =jā: NEG.VERB...=jā: NEG.VERB | ‘either…and’ (lit. or…or) |

Preposing jā: ‘too’ to two clauses results in the meaning ‘both…and’, see (12.32).

(12.32)  

\[
jā: \quad kʰu=rā: \quad sā-u \quad be? \quad jā: \quad mī=lo \quad sā \quad tēuk-o
\]

both 3SGM=REFL eat-2INF EQU.NE and human=DAT eat cause-2INF EQU.NE

‘He both ate himself and fed (other) people.’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 135)

When both connectors in =jā:...=jā: are followed by a negated verb, the meaning becomes ‘neither…nor’, see (12.33), where the speaker explains the meaning of the word ‘ḍiŋ’ mediocre’:

(12.33)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rap}=jā: & \quad mēʔ. \\
tʰama= jā: & \quad mēʔ. \\
\text{supreme}=\text{even} & \quad \text{NEG.EX.PER} \\
\text{last}=\text{even} & \quad \text{NEG.EX.PER}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(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)  

\[
jā:ne \quad jik-len \quad \text{man-di-u-p’ja} \quad mū=rā: \quad dikʰa \quad ən-do
\]

or letter-answer NEG-write-2INF-ADVZR 3SGF=REFL here come-IPFV

\[
pām, \quad jā:ne \quad mū: \quad ɲā=lo \quad gokor=to \quad tā:- bo
\]

EQU.PER.ATTQ or 3SGF.AGT 1SG=DAT deception=CEMPH send-2INF

\[
mēŋ-gam?
\]

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’izā: “but, however”) whereas others are looser cohesion-adding connectors (e.g. t’en ‘then, in that case’, which typically implies that the speaker has just changed). Denjongke was shown to have both monosyndetic and bisyndetic connectors.

387 The monosyndetic form jā:ne ən ʒ ‘or’ is used in the coordination of noun phrases, see §4.1.7.
13 Constituent-modifying clauses

This chapter continues the discussion on clause combining by dealing with constituent-modifying clauses. As detailed in the introduction (§13.1), constituent-modifying clauses can be divided into relative clauses (§13.2), correlative clauses (§13.3), noun-modifying infinitive clauses (§13.4), noun complement clauses (§13.5) and postposition complement clauses (§13.6).

13.1 Introduction

Thompson et al (2007: 238) divide subordinate clauses into three categories: 1) complement clauses, which function like noun phrases, 2) relative clauses, which modify nouns, and 3) adverbial clauses, which modify the verb complex or the entire clause. The same division, with one modification, is followed in this thesis. Complement clauses and adverbial clauses 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 -ɕɛʔ (ʔ) and -po/bo and the nominalizers -kʰɛː and -sa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituent-modifying clauses</th>
<th>Noun-modifying clauses</th>
<th>Relative clauses</th>
<th>No genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-kʰɛː:</td>
<td>Genitive-marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-po/bo + GEN</td>
<td>-sa + GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun complement clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td>-po/bo + GEN</td>
<td>-ɛɛ + GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postposition-modifying clauses/ postposition complement clauses</td>
<td>-po/bo + GEN</td>
<td>-ɛɛ + GEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ཨོ་མི་ཁོ་ནོ་ཏོ་་ཞིག་པའི་ཞིག

[tʰamtɕɛ=ki nò: tʰu-po:] tɛp
all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF GEN book
‘book [that everybody can buy]’ (KN e)

Clausal complement clause

(13.2) ཚིག་འཇིག་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི་ཞིག་ལེགས་ཐེག་ཆེ་ རྗེ་

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) \quad \text{དེབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀིས་ ཉྔོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ རི་ཆི་}
\[
[\text{tʼep=di} \quad \text{tʼamtse=ki} \quad \text{po:} \quad \text{tsʰu-po:}] \quad \text{ritoʰi}
\]
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) \quad \text{དེབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀིས་ ཉྔོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ དྔོན་ལྔོ་}
\[
[\text{tʼep=di} \quad \text{tʼamtse=ki} \quad \text{po:} \quad \text{tsʰu-po:}] \quad \text{tʼonlo}
\]
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) \quad \text{དེབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀིས་ ཉྔོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ དྔོན་ལྔོ་}
\[
[\text{tʼep=di} \quad \text{tʼamtse=ki} \quad \text{po:} \quad \text{tsʰu-ɛɛ=ki}] \quad \text{tʼonlo}
\]
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)

In many languages, verb forms which modify nouns are termed participles. In Tibeto-Burman languages, however, participles and nominalizers tend to merge together, i.e. the same form may be used for both noun modification and argument nominalization (e.g. Chantyal nominalizer -\(wa\) in Noonan [1997: 375-377]). If the decision between an analysis as participle or nominalizer is made based on the primary function, which is the main criteria used by many typologists (Shagal 2016: 31-32), it may be argued that the markers \(-po/bo\) and \(-sa\) are nominalizers, because their citation forms are used for nominalizing clausal arguments whereas their noun-modifying (more participial like) uses have to be further marked for genitive, i.e. the modifying uses are extensions of the uses as clausal arguments. The marker \(-kʰɛ̃\), however, is not genitive marked when functioning as a noun-modifier, and therefore it is not as clear whether noun-modifying or argument nominalizing uses are primary. However, the present productive use of \(-kʰɛ̃\) in derivatisation favours an interpretation as a nominalizer, see §3.2.4.3 (similarly DeLancey 2002 on the cognate of \(-kʰɛ̃\) in Lhasan Tibetan). In summary, all the markers used in constituent modification are here analysed as nominalizers, although when used in nominal modification they may be functionally termed participles (forms with \(-kʰɛ̃\)) or participial constructions (genitivized forms with \(-po\), \(-sa\) and \(-ɛɛ\)).

Constituent-modifying clauses are now discussed in the same order they occur in Table 13.1.

13.2 Relative clauses

Relative clause (henceforth RC) in Denjongke is here defined as an embedded clause which modifies a noun phrase in the main clause and which shares a common argument with the main clause (the shared argument need not be in the same syntactic role in both clauses). 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

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388 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.

389 Sandberg (1895: 38) describes “\(kʰen\)” as participle marker.

390 See Andvik (2010: 238) for a similar definition of RC in Tshangla.
of modifying an argument in the main clause, the complement clause is one of the arguments of the main clause. As a sign of modifying function, the pre-head relativizing nominalizer -po is genetivized as -po:, whereas clausal complement clause marking -po is not genitivized. The second feature in the definition of an RC, the requirement for a common argument between the RC and the main clause, on the other hand, excludes from the definition noun complement clauses (§13.5) and postposition complement clauses (§13.6).

Denjongke employs two basic strategies for forming RCs. One is the typically Tibeto-Burman strategy of appending a nominalized clause to a noun. The other option is the typically Indo-Aryan strategy of having an RC with a relative pronoun followed by the main clause with a presumptive demonstrative. 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 -kʰɛː, and more rarely through the spatial nominalizer -sa and the quantitative nominalizer -tsʰɛʔ (“as much as is x-ed”). RCs usually precede the head noun but may occasionally also follow it. Pre-head RCs formed with -po/bo and -sa are marked as noun modifiers through genetivization. Post-head RCs are generally not genitivized and thus function syntactically as appositions. RCs with -kʰɛː are not genitivized even in pre-head position.

Table 13.2 summarizes the various forms that pre-head RCs take with -po/bo, -kʰɛː and -sa. The empty cells represent forms that do not occur in my data (but could, perhaps, be possible).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Temporal/aspectual function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kʰɛː</td>
<td>-po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-kʰɛː</td>
<td>VERB-po:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB jôː-kʰɛː</td>
<td>VERB jô-po:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-RDP-po:</td>
<td>iterativity, habitualness (past or present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERR(-ti) zaː jô-po:</td>
<td>resultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-zin p’ja-kʰɛː</td>
<td>VERB-zin-po:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-zin jô-po:</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-zin doː jô-po: (+time word)</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-(ti) doː jô-po: (+time word)</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-INF mèː-po:</td>
<td>future (‘which will not be x-ed’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 13.2, -kʰɛː, -po and -sa all may attach directly to the verb, forming a construction the temporal perspective of which is determined by the context. Temporal and aspectual values can be explicitly expressed by various constructions ending in the

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391 This is a subcase of Payne’s (1997: 437) “pronoun retention” strategy of forming RCs.
392 This construction employs a combination of the progressive marker -zin and the verb p’ja ‘do’, see (13.12).
nominalized (genetivized) existential auxiliary joʔ. The infinitivizer -po/bo occurs in the
greatest number of constructions, e.g. progressive VERB-zin (doː) joʔ-po:, perfect VERB-RDP-
po:, and resultatives VERB joʔ-po: (expressing, however, progressivity with stative verbs such
as doʔ ‘sit, stay’) and VERB zaː joʔ-po:.

The head word of an RC is usually a noun, but may also be a personal pronoun (13.6) or a
demonstrative such as òdi (13.7-8) or òdem-teiʔ ‘one like that’ (13.9).\footnote{The demonstrative adjective/adverbial òdem ‘like that, such’ is here nominalized with a strategy similar to English strategy for the expression ‘one like that’, i.e. employing the word for ‘one’, teiʔ, which also functions as an indefinite marker.} Note that the
personal pronoun in (13.6) refers to second person plural. In Kham (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal),
for instance, “the referent of the subject relative clause is always 3RD person” (Watters 2002:
201). In (13.7), the nominalized form làp-kʰɛː does double duty as a complementizer to the
clause on its left and as a nominalized modifier to the head pronoun on its right.

\begin{align*}
(13.6) & \text{क्षमा अपना भ्रमण करने अनुसार ऐसे देखनें जीने वाले जीने} \\
& \text{[sɛŋ-kʰɛː]} \text{.} \\
& \text{listen.HON-NMLZ PRN.HON=PL=DAT greeting=QUO} \\
& \text{‘Greetings to you, [who listen] (I say).’ (KT animal story)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(13.7) & \text{हृदयः नीने करनें देखे उसका हृदयः नीने करनें अभावको लेखिका नीने करनें} \\
& \text{[teɾuk=lo=di} \text{ māntša?} \text{. dā:} \text{ nāʈea?} \text{.} \text{lo-mčː=lo=di} \\
& \text{Nepali=DAT=DEMPH more and 1PL Lhopo-Lepcha=DAT=DEMPH} \\
& \text{piŋtsʰiʔ} \text{. làp-kʰɛː]} \text{.} \text{òdi teʔoːɡɛː=gi nāː-nāː-bo minduːk=co=la.} \\
& \text{less say-NMLZ that king=AGT do-RDP-2INF NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON} \\
& \text{‘The king did not do that (thing) [which is to say more (was to be given) to the} \\
& \text{Nepali and less to the Lhopes and Lepchas].’ (CY interview)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(13.8) & \text{हाँले मेरे सहायक से मेरे सहायक से मेरे सहायक से मेरे सहायक से मेरे सहायक से मेरे सहायक से मेरे सहायक से मेरे} \\
& \text{[hale} \text{ t’oː-kʰɛːn=tˈsu]} \text{.} \text{ò(di} \text{ di=tsu tʰamtecʔ} \text{.} \text{t’appu} \\
& \text{before die.HON-NMLZ=PL that this=PL all long.ago} \\
& \text{eːm nāː-ti} \text{ t’oː-m beʔ.} \\
& \text{measles fall.ill-NF die.HON-2INF EQU.NE} \\
& \text{‘Those [who died earlier] all died long ago falling ill with measles.’ (PED life story)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(13.9) & \text{निन तेːमे वाले वाले वाले वाले वाले वाले वाले वाले वाले वाले वाले वाले वाले} \\
& \text{[nin teːmeʔ} \text{. mālep=ro} \text{ mālep teuko nāː-di doː-kʰɛː]} \text{.} \\
& \text{day ceaseless bad=AE MPH bad only do.HON-NF stay-NMLZ} \\
& \text{òdem=teiʔ=jàː} \text{.} \text{jʊʔ.} \\
& \text{like.that=INDF=100 EX.PER} \\
& \text{‘There are also those of such kind [who live committing only bad (deeds) upon bad} \\
& \text{(deeds) every day].’ (SS Proverb explanation)}
\end{align*}

The following sections present a separate treatment for RC formed by kʰɛː, -po/bo, and -sa
respectively.

\subsection{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 (§13.2.1.2). 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.\(^{394}\) 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 \(ka.(=ki)=jā\): ‘whoever’, it may also form an internally headed RC (§13.2.1.3). The term pre-head RC used here means that the RC precedes the head noun. Thus “pre-head RC” corresponds in meaning to “post-headed RC” used by some authors.

### 13.2.1.1 Pre-head RCs

Typically the nominalizer \(-kʰɛː\): 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).

\(^{394}\) 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.”
Example (13.14) shows that a genitive modifier (here $ɛɔ=i$) occurs closer to the head noun than the RC, which modifies the same head noun.

(13.14) $\text{karma}=\text{lo} \cdot \text{kʰɛ̃}: \text{ɕò}=i \text{ gila}$

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 $\text{kʰɛ̃}$ is used for a patient argument is with verbs of saying (låp ‘say’, sùŋ ‘say [hon.]’, sè ‘say, be called’), referring to what items are ‘called’:

(13.15) $\text{kʰoŋ}=\text{gi} \cdot \text{jìgi} \cdot \text{ʈʰɛ} \cdot \text{i-} \text{kʰɛ̃ː}$

3SG.HON=AGT letter write-NMLZ board=INDF request.HON-NF

‘He requested for a board [on which to write letters] and…’ (KT 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) $\text{kʰoŋ}=\text{gi} \cdot \text{jìgi} \cdot \text{ʈʰɛ} \cdot \text{i-} \text{kʰɛ̃ː}$

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 $\text{kʰɛ̃}$ 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 $\text{kʰɛ̃}$ only allow the relativization of the highest ranking member of the relativization accessibility hierarchy, the subject (Keenan & Comrie 1972). Note that the adjectival modifiers in (13.17) and (13.18) occur closer to the head than the RC.

(13.17) $\text{ō} \text{lám} \cdot \text{te} \cdot \text{ŋtceuŋ} \cdot \text{ŋu}=\text{gj}: _{\text{co}}$

there road small go-NMLZ EX.PER=AT

‘There’s a small road [that goes there], you know.’ (TB discussion with KT)

(13.18) $\text{mi} \cdot \text{zën} \cdot \text{doli} \cdot \text{e}=\text{kʰɛ̃ː}=\text{tei} \cdot \text{p’a}=\text{mi} \cdot \text{zo}=\text{ti}$

man another custom know-NMLZ=INDF mediator make-NF

‘Another man [who knows the (wedding) customs] is made a mediator and….’ (sbar-phung)
13.2.1.3 Headless RCs
The clause nominalized with -\(k^h\varepsilon\): typically describes an animate, usually human, referent (‘the one who does x’). Because the animate referent is presumed, -\(k^h\varepsilon\): naturally forms headless relative clauses which “themselves refer to the noun that they modify” (Payne 1997: 433). Typically the implied head noun is the actor in the RC (13.20-23), but other semantic roles are also possible, as shown by examples of patient (13.24-25) and oblique (13.26).

Implied head noun as RC actor

(13.20) \(ts^kam=lo\) zu:-\(k^h\varepsilon\] \(ke:p\) be? \(\tilde{\alpha}no=la\):
retreat=DAT sit.HON-NMLZ many EQU.NE grandmother=HON
‘[Those who sit in (meditation) retreat] are many, grandmother.’ (PTB SM kitchen)

(13.21) \(t'iz\tilde{a}:\) [\(n\tilde{a}:\) \(\tilde{d}en\tilde{d}o:\) =na \(\tilde{\alpha}n-k^h\varepsilon\en=tsu=lo\)] \(\tilde{\alpha}di\)\(^{395}\) \(\tilde{\alpha}ku\) jèbbe=la.
but here Sikkim=LOC come-NMLZ=PL=DAT that paper EX.NE=HON
‘But [the ones who came here to Sikkim] had that paper.’ (CY interview)

(13.22) \(n\tilde{e}:po\) kumdy\tilde{d}=lo zu:-\(k^h\varepsilon\y=gi\] \(\tilde{l}\tilde{m} n\tilde{a}:\)-di zi:
patient.GEN in.front.of=DAT stay.HON-NMLZ=AGT good do.HON-NF look
\(\tilde{g}\tilde{o}\):
\(\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\):
be.nEEDED TAG.ASR
‘[The one who stays with the patient] needs to look after him well, eh.’
(mam-rtog 28-29)

(13.23) \(m\tilde{e}:pt\tilde{a}:\) \(t'\tilde{a}:\) du? \(p^ok-ti\) do:-\(k^h\varepsilon\en=tsu=\tilde{i}\] \(\tilde{e}\tilde{p}\tilde{t}\tilde{e}\) e\(u\)-\(ne\)
one.who.has.not and suffering fall-NF sit-NMLZ=PL=GEN service do.HON-
COND
\(p^h\varepsilon:j\tilde{a}\): \(t^{\prime}op-\tilde{e}\) \(\tilde{j}\).
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)

\(^{395}\) Note that the complement clause is here, similarly to correlative clauses (see §13.3), followed by a demonstrative. The difference of (13.21) to correlative clauses is that, unlike in correlative clauses, the modifying clause does not have a questions word which is coreferential with the demonstrative.
Implied head noun as RC patient  
(13.24) 

\[ \text{Implied head noun as RC patient} \]

\[ [t'apon \ lap-kʰɛː=tei?] \ jòbbe?. \]

performer say-NMLZ=INDF EX.NE

‘There’s [someone who is called [t'apô:]].’ (SGD wedding customs)

Implied head noun as RC oblique  
(13.25) 

\[ \text{Implied head noun as RC oblique} \]

\[ [\text{grandfather=}HON=AGT \ word \ give.HON-NMLZ=DEMPH I.AGT \ accept-INF} \]

\[ \text{Thrinley=}HON \ yesterday \ story \ tell-NMLZ=DEMPH \ \text{EQU.NE-PQ} \]

‘Is (she) [the one about whom Thrinley told the story yesterday]?’ (Richhi 49)

The argument roles taken by the clauses with \(-kʰɛː\): in the main clauses above are equative copula subject (13.20), dative-locative-marked possessor in a possessive/locative sentence with existential copula (13.21), A ctor argument (13.22), genitive modifier of a P(atient) argument (13.23), the only argument of an existential copula (13.24), unmarked P(atient) argument (13.25), copula complement\(^{396}\) (13.26). Complement marking \(-kʰɛː\): can occur in various cases, as shown by the dative-locative in (13.21), agentive in (13.22) and genitive in (13.23).

The nominalized forms of the verbs of saying \(làp-kʰɛː\), \(súŋ-kʰɛː\): and \(sɛ̃́kʰɛː\: \) express the meaning “the one which is called”. These forms derive from the productive verbs \(làp \ ‘say’\) and \(súŋ \ ‘say (hon.)’\), whereas \(sɛ̃́\) in my data is used only in the nominalized construction \(sɛ̃́-kʰɛː\: \) and as the quotative \(=s(e)\sim s(i)\).

(13.27) 

\[ [t'ɑ? \ lap-kʰɛː:] \ námlo \ man-za \ go?. \]

poison say-NMLZ ever NEG-eat be.needed

‘One should never eat [(the thing) called poison].’ (KN e)

(13.28) 

\[ [mala? \ mɛŋkʰ广电=na \ kʰik \ te'ōn \ súŋ-kʰɛː:] \ nā: \ p'usim \]

quickly hospital=LOC lead go-HON say.HON-NMLZ here younger.sister

\[ \text{be}=co. \]

\[ \text{EQU.NE}=\text{AT} \]

‘[(The one) who told (us) “take (him) quickly to hospital”] is the sister here.’ (Richhi 12)

\(^{396}\) The terms copula subject and copula complement are from Dixon (2010b). Copula subject is the first argument and complement the second argument of a copula.
13.2.1.4 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 §8.1.5), as shown in (13.30).

(13.30) [mi ka:=ki=jãː nàː òŋ-kʰɛː] kʰu=lo=jãː.  
human who=AGT=even -NMLZ 3SGM=DAT=even beat TAG.ASR  
‘[Whosoever person comes here] even beat him, eh.’ (KT animal story)

13.2.2 Relativization by -po/bo
The II infinitive marker -po/bo can form both pre-head and post-head RCs. Pre-head clauses are typically marked as noun modifiers by genitivization, although with reduplicated roots genetivization seems optional, see (13.32) and (13.35) below. Post-head clauses are generally not genetivized but their end is marked by the demonstrative-emphatic =di or the plural marker =tsu. Similarly to Lhasa Tibetan, -po/bo is generally used when the “head noun is coreferential with a non-actor NP in the RC” (DeLancey 1999: 234). The actor role is typically marked by the nominalizer -kʰɛː, 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 -kʰɛː, 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 (mi=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) tʰaːpu peː’ údzø podzo t’yeṣ’=aː le jàːn budis jà:ne  
long.ago my grandfather forefather time=ABL 1SG Buddhist(Eng.) or  
nàː po: te’=ki nànje=le òm-bo:] mi=tei? ī.  
insider.GEN teaching=GEN inside=DAT.come-2INF.GEN human=INDF EQUI.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.

397 The use of =jãː 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 =jãː here).
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) བྲ་མཐོང་པོའི་མི་ འགྱུ་མཐོང་པོའྱི་མི་
[sa ma-mjö:-po:] mí sà,
eat NEG-experience-2INF GEN human eat
neu=tai? p'oka sàm,
snot=INDF taste food
[gju ma-mjö:-po:] mí gju.
go NEG-experience-2INF GEN human go
t'empa là: sàm
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.

(13.35) བྲ་མཐོང་པོའྱི་མི་ འགྱུ་མཐོང་པོའྱི་
[tsʰám ʑuː-ʑu-po:] logu be? t’a in-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)

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) བྲ་མཐོང་པོའྱི་མི་ འགྱུ་མཐོང་པོའྱི་
[tsʰam zu:-zu-po:] nè: tsà:tsà:
meditation sit HON-RDP-2INF GEN site purely
‘(it’s) a site [that is purely for sitting in meditation]’ (SM kitchen)

---
398 The plural form =tso in the northern village of Lachung resembles the Central Tibetan plural form =tsʰo.
(13.37) guru rimpute long.ago meditation sit.[HON-RDP-2INF.GEN] site
‘it’s a [site where Guru Rimpoche used to meditate long ago]’ (SGD cave story)

(13.38) ‘Scratching a bit, tear a hole below this [lower stomach, [where the foot is].’ (spoken by a marten from within a dead elephant’s body to a tiger outside) (KT animal story)

Head noun as copula subject of an existential RC
In (13.39), the head noun is the copula subject of the existential RC, and the RC modifies the copula subject of the existential main clause (in which the existential is elided).

(13.39) yesterday the.day.before yesterday place one-at [HON-RDP-2INF.GEN] human=DEMPH
‘The [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-o in (13.41) occurs in the genitive not to mark relativization but to make the form amenable to agentive marking.

(13.40) mangalsutra neck.append INF EX-COND
‘For instance, if there is (the tradition of) tying the mangalsutra-necklace on a Hindu girl [who has been married]…’ (sbar-phung ling-dam ‘gro-lis 88)

(13.41) some.time.ago earthquake strike-RDP-2INF.GEN=AGT
‘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 ōdi.

(13.42) namu ōdi [k'jan'k'a (kjap) ma-tsʰu-po=di] p'iteuŋ=gi camel that counting (do) NEG-be.able.to-2INF =DEMPH bird=GEN ka:m teŋk'a kimi=di k'i:-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) diː p'ja=sãː ɲèː kʰokøː t'aiː ñaŋ=gi tam=tsʰu [ɲː.za? this.AGT do=TERM lsg.GEN innards.GEN inside=GEN word=PL day.and.night t'āː dau ke:po=sāː sāk-ti zaː jöː-po=di] t'ariŋ and month many=until accumulate-NF set EX-2INF=DEMPH today jigi diː=na cē-to ɨː letter this.GEN=LOC tell-IPFV EQUI.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) teʰu [k'o:-tiki ren-ren-k0] water boil-NF make.cool-RDP-2INF ‘water [that is boiled and made cool]’ (TB e)

In (13.45), the post-head RC occurs in the genitive because the RC is part of a pre-head adjectival modifier of the noun t’ubdē:

(13.45) bhaila=gi lőp̥par [kjap-kjap-o:] t’ubdē: k’atem jö:-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)

Consultant KUN commented that in his language variety ren-ren-k0 would require the patient argument t’a? ‘heat’, which expresses what is being cooled, [k'o:-tiki t’a? ren-ren-k0].
One motivation for placing the nominalized (and reduplicated) verb after the noun in (13.45) probably is that if the nominalized verb would be placed before the noun (bhaila=ki kjap-kjap-o: 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 homophonic agentive marker.

Lastly, (13.46) illustrates a post-head RC without a final =di, ending in the construction t‘ãːɖau ‘(be) similar, resemble’. Note that another, pre-head locative RC, modifying the noun ne: ‘site’, is embedded within the RC which modifies p’jado ‘feather’.

(13.46) karmøː sɛ̃́ːm p’jado [lúŋ=gi bak-o dem [teʰ-a:-søː]] neː; PN;GEN mind feather air=AGT carry-2INF like alight-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN site mɛː:-po t‘ãː dau.
NEG.EX-2INF and similar
‘Karma’s mind resembles a feather [which, like carried by the wind, is without place [in which to alight.]’] (Richhi 172)

Summarizing the examples above, RCs formed with -po/bo may occur preceding their head noun or following the head noun. Moreover, the RC head noun (or common argument) may occur at least in the following roles in the RC: actor, patient, locative, copula subject of an existential clause. In the main clause, the head noun may occur at least in the following roles: actor, patient, copula complement in equative clause, complement of a locative postposition and copula subject of an existential clause. RCs nominalized with -po/bo can express various temporal and aspectual distinctions listed in Table 13.2 above.

13.2.3 Spatial nominalizer -sa
The construction VERB-sa can roughly be translated as ‘a place where x is or can be done’, x representing the verb to which the nominalizer -sa is attached. In my data, constructions nominalized with -sa occur in pre-head and headless clauses.

13.2.3.1 Pre-head RCs
All the headed constructions occur preceding the headword and are genitivized. Based on my current corpus, RCs with -sa are more frequent in writing than in speech. A rare example of a headed RC with -sa from spoken data is (13.47). In spoken language, nominalizations with -po/bo and -kʰɛːː, 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.

mee2INF EQU.NE=HON
‘On the road [that he came], he met a poor 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 ton ‘show’.

(13.48) ʦʰoːdɛʔ pʰyː-soː: zo:m ton-zê: feast.substances offer-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN tub show-PROG ‘showing the tub [where feast substances can be offered]’ (Richhi 1)

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 gãːtoʔ mɛ̃́ŋkʰãː=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) ʦʰɛʔ tʰamtɕɛʔ rãːrãːsøː pʽum=øː nɛ̀ːpo ʑak-søː kʰimmik=na... TPN hospital=LOC all each.oneself GEN sit-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN place seek-NF do: jôʔ. sit EX.EXPER ‘All people are sitting, each having sought their own place [where to sit].’ (Richhi 75)

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’.

(13.49) tʃoːdzɛʔ pʰyː-søː: zo:m ton-zê: feast.substances offer-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN tub show-PROG ‘showing the tub [where feast substances can be offered]’ (Richhi 1)
(13.53) 

```
kʰòː kʰ'aliʔ p'ja-ti [kʰu=rãː nè:-so:] zimtɛuŋ=gi gom
```

he.AGT slowly do-NF 3SGM=REFL sleep-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN bedroom=GEN door

pʰiː-ti

open-NF

‘Slowly he opens the door of the bedroom [where he himself had been sleeping (or sleeps)] and...’ (Richhi 22)

In (13.54), the head noun cáːloʔ ‘bamboo wall’ is a genitivized modifier of the postposition teŋlo ‘on’.

(13.54)  

```
karma=gi [do:gar tʰap-søː] cáːlo=ki tɛŋ=lo... t'i-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)  

```
gokʰøː sùː teiː=lo [nà só-søː] 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’, do-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)  

```
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)
13.2.4 Quantifying nominalizer -tsʰɛʔ

The quantifying nominalizer -tsʰɛʔ, which derives from WT tshad ‘limit, degree’ is rather rare in my data. It attaches directly to a verb root and forms a post-head RC with the meaning ‘as much as is -ed’ or ‘the (full) extent of -ing’. The RC is postposed to a noun which it modifies. Note that in the English translation 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) རྡོལམ་མཐོང་བྱེད་པར་ཐེགས་ཅད་ལེགམ་མི་ཐོན།

_ྡོལམ་ཅི་ར་: _[tʰoŋ-ʦʰɛʔ]_ kʽãːpu tʰamtɕɛʔ_ lɛ̀m mi-tʰøn.

PN=GEN=AEMPH EQU.PER=QUO say-NMLZ=DAT come-NF good-NOM-BE

‘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 -ʦʰɛʔ may be followed by additional quantifying modifiers, the most typical of which, based on examples (13.60) and (13.61), is kʼaːpu tʼamteeʔ ‘totally all’.

(13.60) དབང་པོ་ལྡོན་བསྟན་པོ་ིན་ཐེགས་ཅད་ལེགམ་

_te a_ [pʼuŋ-ʦʰɛʔ] kʼaːpu tʼamteeʔ_ lɛ̀m mi-tʰøn.

PN=GEN=AEMPH EQU.PER=QUO say-NMLZ=DAT come-NF good-NOM-BE

‘[The full extent of] all tea(s) [to be drunk] do not turn out good.’ (KN e)

(13.61) སྨི་བྱེད་པར་ཐེགས་ཅད་ལེགམ་

_jɔˀ_ [pʼuŋ-ʦʰɛʔ] kʼaːpu tʼamteeʔ_ lɛ̀m kʼaː tʰon-ceʔ?

PN=GEN=AEMPH EQU.PER=QUO say-NMLZ=DAT come-NF 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
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 coreferential with the whole first clause and not just the question word are analyzed as complement clauses, see §14.2.3.

13.4 Noun complement clauses

Noun complement clauses are a special case of complementation. The clause complementing a noun is typically nominalized and genitivized. Typically nominalization is accomplished by the infinitive marker -po/bo (§13.4.1), although the infinitive marker -eeʔ is also used (§13.4.2). However, the noun complement clause may also be a finite clause which is followed by a nominalized verb of saying, which functions as a complementizer (§13.4.3). Only rarely is a noun complement clause formed by attaching the genitive clitic directly to the finite clause (§13.4.4).

13.4.1 Nominalization with -po/bo
The nominalized and genitivized complement clauses resemble in form relative clauses. The only difference to relative clauses, however, is that the noun to which a complement is appended is not an argument within the complement clause. The head noun of a relative clause, on the other hand, is an argument within the relative clause. For instance, the
complementized noun ṭ’im ‘law’ in (13.66) is not an argument in the complement clause lāte=a-jā: p’ine=ʔ mē_-po: ‘(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) lāte=a-jā: p’ine=ʔ mē_-po: ṭ’im ōdem=teiʔ zo-tiki ōdem kiduʔ wages=too give-INF EX-2INF.GEN law such=INDF make-NF such suffering du: tā_-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) kʰu [tʰøm-bo:] təʔ p’ja-zin jô-po beʔ. 3SGM exit-2INF.GEN means do-PROG EX-2INF EQU.NE

‘He was searching a way [of getting out].’ (KT animal story)

(13.68) làla=lo [mako lò sum kjap-øː] lògjuʔ jø̀-po bɛʔ. some=DAT son-in-law year three do-2INF.GEN story EX-2INF EQU.NE

‘Some have a story [that the son-in-law does three years (of work service with in-laws)].’ (SGD wedding customs)

(13.69) ñà [di: tsa=le tiru k’a-dotiʔ ñà lèm-bo:] t’ap p’ja-ce 1SG this.GEN at=ABL rupee some 1SG take-2INF.GEN means do-INF ñ=s. EQU.PER=QUO

‘I’ll find a means [to take from this one a few rupees], he said.’ (PAD bet story)

(13.70) ōdem p’im-bo:] lûksøː jô_-k’en beʔ. like.That give-2INF.GEN tradition EX-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘There’s a tradition [of giving (something) like that].’ (SGD wedding customs)

(13.71) òdì ma-né_-po:] giaments=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) kʰi àu àu=lo hap-øː] keʔ dog woof woof=DAT bark-2INF.GEN sound
the sound [of a dog barking woof woof]’ (Richhi 1)
(13.73) \text{[plaːriŋ sáːnː=le tʰuŋ pʰuː-zin jøː-poː;} keː-da pʰuː\]
\text{far.away region=ABL conch blow-PROG EX-2INF.GEN sound toot}
\text{‘the sound [of a conch being blown from a far-away region], toot’ (Richhi 1)}

Time adverbial words often receive a complement clause:

(13.74) \text{tʰaːriŋ sán ɛː=tɛ tʰuŋ pʰuː-ʑ in jøː-pøː}
\text{far.away region=ABL conch blow-PROG EX-2INF.GEN sound toot}
\text{‘Then at the time [(that she) looked (at it)], she was amazed.’ (PAD Tashiding story)}

(13.75) \text{nã̃ːt ɕʰãː=tsaː tɕaː-pøː}
\text{bethrothal=at come.HON-2INF.GEN date=DEMPH}
\text{‘(on) the day [when coming to the bethrothal]’ (SGD wedding customs)}

(13.76) \text{tsʰoː-du tsʰoː-poː: tsʰamtsʰi ʃep-to.}
\text{meeting gather-2INF.GEN moment arrive-IPFV}
\text{‘The moment [when the meeting is held] is arriving.’ (Richhi 43)}

(13.77) \text{ɖɛ nd ʑõː lòk tɕ ʰøm-bøː: gãː=lo...}
\text{Sikkim return come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT}
\text{‘at the time [when coming back to Sikkim]’ (CY interview)}

Example (13.78) presents an exception to the description presented above: a genitivized complement clause occurs in post-head position. Note that there is a relative clause (kʰim=na ʃep løː mèː-po karma tsa=le ɖøː jøː-poː:) within the complement clause.

(13.78) \text{tɕoːki=ki riteʰi [kʰim=na ʃep løː mèː-po karma tsa=le ɖøː:}
\text{PN=GEN hope house=LOC arrive have.time EX-2INF PN.GEN by=ABL come}
\text{jøː-poː: jigi tʰop-øː:]}.
\text{‘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 mèː ‘not perhaps’, a grammaticalized conditional form of a negated equative. By using mèː, 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’.

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13.4.2 Nominalization with -ee?

Noun complement clauses may also be formed by genitive-marked -ee-infinitive clauses, although these type of clauses are less frequent than those nominalized by -po/bo.

(13.80) *If you do [what do-marked] [enjoyment of doing what]?* Lit. ‘You have enjoyment [of doing what]?’ (TB e)

(13.81) *He gave us [advice (and) advice which helped].’ (or ‘[helpful] advice’, or ‘advice in order to help] (NAB BLA 7)

(13.82) *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 -kʰɛː, 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.
The aspectual choices for these types of complement 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nè̂nle, pè̂nlo</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giâble, giâblo</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàŋle, nàŋlo, nàŋca</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’onlo, t’onle, t’ondale, t’ondalo</td>
<td>‘for the purpose of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor, korle, korlo</td>
<td>‘about’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13.5.1 Genitivized -po-infinitive

The order of presentation here follows the order of postpositions in Table 13.3.

(13.88) The fact that tsʰa(ː) is nominalized shows that Denjongke grammar treats tsʰa(ː) in this construction like a secondary verb meaning ‘finish’ rather than as a fully grammaticalized completive marker.

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As shown by the progressive form in (13.92b), the nominalized verbal construction may be complex.

13.5.2 Bare -ce-infinitive
The postposition complement clause may also be a non-nominalized infinitive clause marked by -ce?.

(13.93) ཐམས་ཅད་ཀིས་འདི་ལས་འཁབ་དཔྔོན་དང་འཁབ་དཔྔོནམ་ཀ་ཀ་ལྔོ་གསེས་དགྔོས་ཤད་བྔོ་འདིའི་སྐྔོར་ལྔོ་ང་ཅག་གཉིས་པྔོས་

‘In order for [all to understand]’ (DR discussion with KL)

(13.94) ཐེ་ར་བའི་གནད་ཞིའི་བོད་ལེགས་པ་གཙུག་བོད་ལས་སེམས་དཔོན་ལྡན་ཀ་ཀ་ལྔོ་གསེས་དགྔོས་ཤད་བྔོ་

‘About [esteeming and furthering (the cause of) one’s own tradition]...’ (sbar-phung 92-93)

(13.95) འདི་ལས་འཁབ་དཔྔོན་དང་འཁབ་དཔྔོནམ་ཀ་ཀ་ལྔོ་གསེས་དགྔོས་ཤད་བྔོ་འདིའི་སྐྔོར་ལྔོ་ང་ཅག་གཉིས་པྔོས་

‘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 བོད་ཁང་).
however future.life inside=DAT=too own.language=DEMPH how serve
be.needed EQU.NE.Q this.GEN about 1SG thought send-PROG EX.PER
‘However, I’m thinking about [how I should serve (the cause of) my mother tongue also in the future].’ (KT life story)

The first clause in both (13.96) and (13.97) could function as an independent question but is here linked with the second clause with the help of the resumptive proximal demonstrative di, which is coreferential with the whole interrogative clause. The second clause could also occur independently. Example (13.96) comes from the novel Richhi, where the writer signals the linking relationship achieved by juxtaposition and resumptive demonstrative by leaving out the equivalent of the full stop (।), which would normally occur at sentence boundary.

13.6 Summary remarks

This chapter described “constituent-modifying clauses”, a term which covers all clauses that modify a single word. The modified word can be a noun (relative clauses and noun complement clauses) or a postposition (postposition complement clauses). The modifying clause is nominalized and typically genetivized. Genetivization does not take place in post-head RCs or if the modifying clause is nominalized with -kʰɛ̃ː. It was also shown that reduplicated verb roots are treated distinctly in that they do not require nominalization (but can occur nominalized). All the relativizing nominalizers -kʰɛ̃ː, -po/bo, and -sa were seen to occur in headed RCs and two of them, -kʰɛ̃ː and -sa, also in headless RCs. The nominalizer -kʰɛ̃ː was seen to have a marginal internally-headed use. Moreover, this chapter showed that correlative clauses, which are probably Indo-Aryan influence (see Genetti1992: 408), are functionally similar but formally dissimilar to RCs. Correlative clauses, while not demanding nominalization and genetivization, require a question word in the first and a resumptive demonstrative in the second clause. Finally, I defined the difference between relative clauses and noun complement clauses in the following way: the noun to which a complement is appended is not an argument within the complement clause, but the head noun of a relative clause is an argument within the relative clause.
14 Complement clauses

This chapter continues the discussion on clause combining and subordinate clauses. Complement clauses are clauses that function as an argument of another clause (Noonan 2007: 52). They can be either non-finite or finite (or sentence-like). The following subsections discuss non-finite complement clauses (§14.1), finite complement clauses (§14.2) and complementation in indirect speech (§14.3).

14.1 Non-finite complement clauses

In my data, non-finite complement clauses may be marked by the elements listed in Table 14.1:

Table 14.1. Elements forming complement clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>II infinitive marker -po/bο</td>
<td>§14.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I infinitive marker -ɕɛʔ</td>
<td>§14.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>progressive marker -tɕɛ̃ /ʑɛ̃ /ʑ</td>
<td>§14.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>postposition kor ‘about’ heading a postposition complement clause (§14.1.4))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Headless relative clauses marked by -kʰɛː and -sa resemble complement clauses, but because headless clauses with -kʰɛː and -sa imply a referent that is modified (person who does with -kʰɛː, 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: རྨ་ ‘see [hon.]’, sɛn ཡིག་ ‘hear [hon.]’, dzɛ: བྱུང་ ‘meet [hon]’). Although I do not have examples of the honorific verbs, it is safe to assume that that they behave analogously to the ordinary verbs.
Table 14.2. Verb types receiving a complement clause with -po/bo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Verb Examples</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Being:</td>
<td>ìː བོ་ (equative), jò?ཤད་, du? རུང་ (existential); collocate with all types of verbs; structurally receive a complement clause, but functionally the combination marks tense/aspect/modality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Change of state:</td>
<td>tʰøn རུས ‘come out, become, happen’, tʰuŋ རུང་ ‘become’, zo རུང་ ‘make (into)’, ìː པོ་ ‘be (equ.)’ jø̀ རུང་ ‘be (ex.)’; collocate with go:-po [be.needed-2INF] and tsʰu:-po [be.able.to-2INF]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Perception:</td>
<td>tʰõː མཐུང་ ‘see’, tʰoː རུང་ ‘hear’; collocate with all types of verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Mental activity:</td>
<td>hako རུ་ ‘know, understand’, t’en sin རུ་ ‘remember’, nó: རུ་ ‘think’; hako and t’en sin collocate with all types of verbs, nó: collocates with go:-po རུ་ [be.needed-2INF]401</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Meeting402:</td>
<td>pʰɛʔ རུ ‘meet’, tʰuk རུ ‘touch, meet, face’; pʰɛʔ collocates with jò:-po རུ་ [EX-2INF], tʰuk collocates with go:-po རུ་ [be.needed-2INF]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Speaking and writing:</td>
<td>t’i རུ ‘write’, cɛʔ རུ ‘tell’; collocate with go:-po [be.needed-2INF]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ñà di:-bo ìː?be?.

1SG fall-2INF EQU.PER/EQU.NE

‘I fell.’ (KN e)

b) t’ariŋ sàːte nàteâd k’are eù-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).

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401 Even more often nó: collocates with go? without the nominalizer, e.g. p’ja go? nó [do be.needed think] ‘think that one has to do’.

402 Covers concrete (pʰɛʔ) and metaphorical (tʰuk) meeting.
Verbs of perception

(14.2) a) གུར་ཤིང་བཤུ་བཞིན་ཟ་བཞིན་ེད་པ།
\[\text{tʰon do: du?}\]
a.bit mouth speak be.able.to-2INF become stay EX.SEN
‘He has become [able to talk a bit].’ (Richhi 23)

b) རིན་ཡང་ེད་མནན་སི་སྔོད་དགྔོས་པ།
\[\text{ʊ̃ːjãː kʰu [kʰõːʈʰo=di nén-di do: goː-po]}\]
however 3SGM anger=DEMPH suppress-NF stay be.needed-2INF
\[\text{tʰøn-bo be?}\]
become-2INF EQU.NE
‘However, he became [obliged to keep his anger suppressed].’ (Class 7 textbook 61)

c) དེ་ཟང་ན་ེད་པསྔས་བསམ་ེད་པ།
\[\text{tʽizãː di = na [tʰuːsam ʑeː-ʑeː-p(o) tʰøn]}\]
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) ས་དེ་ནེ གསར་བཅས་ཀ་ལྟེ་རྐྱབས་སྟི་ཨ་ཅིའི་གཉེན་རྐྱབས་པ།
time always khacung-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 khacung-plate]?’ (sbar-phung lingdam ’gro-lis 90)

e) ཞྫྱེ་ཞྱིིན་ཐོན་པ་དེ་བཞིན་ཀུན་སྐྱོང་ལྷག་ཐག་ུས་ཐུགས་པ།
\[\text{k’di:sì? tam=di [k’aŋdo: sɛn tsʰu-po] t’uŋ-ne...}\]
if speech=DEMPH fairy.AGT hear.HON be.able.to become-COND
‘If this speech will become [such that the fairy can hear it…]’ (rna-gsung 12)

Verbs of perception

(14.3) a) དུང་པོ བཤུ་བཞིན་ེད་པ།
\[\text{[k’ursiŋ ɕú-ʑɛ̃ːsà-ʑɛ̃ːjè-po] tʰøː-po be?}\]
sugar.cane peel-PROG eat-PROG EX-2INF see-2INF EQU.NE
‘(He) saw (him) [peeling and eating sugarcane].’ (KTL animal story)

b) ཆུ་ོང་། དུང་པོ བཤུ་བཞིན་ེད་པ།
\[\text{t’yː t’iŋzãː [p’u=tsu=gi sɛː=gi n̥a:t’a? lokaʔ jà:ne]}\]
time nowadays boy=PL=AGT gold=GEN necklace locket(Eng.) or
\[\text{jut’a=i lokaʔ taː-po] ziː-teʔ-ka?}\]
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) ンドソガ わざ ゆうげん やり ゆうげん マジマク やる る うげ

\[\text{nyātei pʰamo kude: di=tsu=gi ódep ka nâ:-bo} \]  tʰo:-po

1PL.GEN parents elder this=PL=AGT like:that order do.HON-2INF hear:2INF

\[\text{EQU} \]

‘I heard [these parents and elders of ours say like that].’ (CY interview)

**Verbs of mental activity**

(14.4) a) か も か も か も も

\[\text{ám lók [ep-o] hako-ti} \]

mother return arrive-2INF know-NF

‘finding out [that the mother has returned]’ (Richhi 32)

b) か も か も か も も

\[\text{teʰoki? pámtei? k’jo? khap-khap-o t’amtei?] t’ensin} \]

PN with chatting do-RDP-2INF all remember

‘(He) remembers [all the discussions with Choki]’ (Richhi 116)

c) か も か も か も も

\[\text{teʰa:}=ki ápo ám pêlopynte:á ázi pʰisim=tsu} \]

2SG.L=GEN father mother male:relatives elder:sister younger:sister=PL

\[\text{nintʰup mikte: lá:na=gi pʰi:-zé: do: go:-po} \]

all:day tear arm=AGT wipe:PROG stay be:needed-2INF 2SG.L=AGT think tsʰa-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) か も か も か も も

\[\text{ódı tsʰoka [kantei t’á: ʃadzi? tsʰonkʰa:=le teini jö: bak-ti} \]

that time PN and PN market=ABL sugar(Nep.) buy carry-NF

\[\text{lók-zé: jö:-po} \]

return-PROG EX-2INF meet

‘At that time (they) met [Kanchi and Lhadzi returning from the market, carrying sugar (they) had bought].’ (Richhi 40)

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403 The complement clause here could alternatively be analysed as an NP with a following post-head RC, that is \[\text{kantei t’á: ʃadzi? [tsʰonkʰa:=le teini jö: bak-ti lók-zé: jö:-po]} \]. 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 pʰeʔ? ‘meet’ is typically, although not exclusively, marked with the dative-locative =lo or postposition pámtei? ‘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).
Verbs of writing and speaking

14.6 a) ཨིན་པྔོ་ ལྔོ་ དགྔོས་པྔོ་ དང་ ངེ་ གི་ དགྔོས་པྔོ་ མེད།
   [mēn k'an k'an po: go:-po] t'orā: t'i p'in ˙:.
   medicine what what buy be.needed-2INF tomorrow write give FUT.UNC
   ‘Tomorrow (I) will write for you [what medicines need to be bought].’ (Richhi 29)

b) རི་ དང་པུ་ ལེབ་ དང་པུ་ དགྔོས་པྔོ་ ལབ་མཁན་ དགོན་དག་ ཨྔོ་འདི་ སྦད་ཤྔོ།
   [mī t'ãːpu lèp t'ãːpu go:-po] làp-kʰãː t'ondaʔ ódi
   human honest very.much honest be.needed-2INF say-NMLZ reason that be=co.
   EQUI.NE=AT
   ‘The reason for saying [the person has to be honest, very honest] is that.’ (SGD wedding customs)

Clauses marked by -po-infinitive are also used as arguments in copular clauses of quantification (14.7), attribution (14.8) and existence (14.9). As suggested by the examples below, the nominalized verb is typically goʔ ‘be needed’.

14.7 བསམ་འཆར་ བཏང་ དགྔོས་པྔོ་ ལྡི་ གལ་ཅན་ ཨིན་པྔོ་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ རྨ་ སྦད།
   [sámteʔaː tāː go:-po=di] k'ẽ:teʔ im-bo
   plan send be.needed-2INF=DEMPH important EQUI.PER-2INF 1PL=AGT
   hako beʔ.
   understand EQUI.NE
   ‘We understand [that it is important [that (we) have to do planning].’ (sbar-phung 92-93)

14.8 རེ་ སྭ སྲིད་ ཐེ་ སྲིད་ བཏབ་ སྟི་ སྔོད་ སྔོད་ བའི་ སྔོན་ ལོ་ རེ་ ཐག་ ཆད་ དགྔོས་པྔོ་ ཐུ
   riteʔa tap-ti do:-do:-po: nāŋlo [ritʰaːtɕʰi tap-ti døː go:-po]
   hope sow-NF sit-RDP-2INF.GEN inside be.disappointed be.needed-2INF
   t'uk.
   meet
   ‘In the midst of keeping on hoping, he is faced with [having to be disappointed].’
   (Richhi 116)
Finally, nominalized \textit{goʔ ‘be needed’} collocates with \textit{k’ːteʰi} in a construction which may be characterized either as verbless attribution or a verbal use of the adjective \textit{k’ːteʰi ‘important’}:

(14.10) \[ tʰuriʔ náː goː-po \] k’ːteʰi.

\text{insight do.HON be.needed-2INF (be.)important}

\text{‘[Applying insight] is important.’ (sbar-phung 90)}

14.1.2 Complement clauses with \textit{-ee}-infinitive

A complement clause may also be formed by an infinitive marked by \textit{-ɕɛʔ}. An infinitive marked by \textit{-ɕɛʔ}, which typically refers to an action in a more abstract way than \textit{-po/bo}, occurs at least as the copula subject (14.11) and as a patient of the verb \textit{p’ja ‘do’} (14.12).

(14.11) a) \( raŋ-ke? \ hjàː-ee=di \) pura màlec pʰi.

\text{own-language disappear=INF=DEMPH very(Nep.) bad EQU.NE}

\text{‘(It) is very bad [that the mother tongue disappears].’ (YR canteen video)}

b) \[ tee=ki \ zen=lo \ pʰempo \ p’ja-ɕɛʔ \] gewö: jóʔ ū.

\text{one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN work EQU.PER}

\text{‘[Helping one another] is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)}

(14.12) a) \( pʰate \ tsʰute \ p’in-ɕɛʔ \) p’ja-ge.

\text{thither hither give-INF do-HORT}

\text{‘Let us do [giving mutually (to each other)].’ (PD bet story)}

b) \( diː \ tʰon=lo \ yà \) \[ tʰimkʰãː \ nàŋ=lo \ gju \ goː-ɕɛʔ \]

\text{this.GEN purpose=DAT 1SG court.of.law inside=DAT go be.needed-INF}

\text{p’ja-do ū.}

\text{do-IPFV EQU.PER}

\text{‘Therefore I’m thinking (lit. doing) [that (I) need to go to the court (with this case)].’ (Class 7 textbook 61)}

14.1.3 Complement clauses with progressive \textit{-teː/zëː/zin}

The progressive form of the verb can act as a complement of sensory verbs.

(14.13) \[ pʰaːktʰa \ mi \ k’jo? \ kjap-zin \] tʰōː=peʔ.

\text{over.there human chatting do-PROG see=EQU.NE}

\text{‘It is visible (to me) [that there are people chatting over there].’ (KN e)}

14.1.4 Postposition clause with \textit{kor ‘about’} as a clausal complement

The postposition \textit{kor ‘about’} together with its complement clause may functions as a clausal complement:
14.2 Finite (clause-like) complement clauses

Finite, or clause-like complement clauses are such clauses which could occur independently. They may occur without a complementizer (§14.2.1) or with a complementizer (§14.2.2). Moreover, the finite complement clause may occur with a resumptive demonstrative (§14.2.3).

14.2.1 Finite complement clauses without complementizer

Finite complement clauses may be either declarative (§14.2.1.1) or interrogative (§14.2.1.2).

14.2.1.1 Declarative complement

Declarative complement clauses without a complementizer are frequent with the verb nóː ‘think’, see (14.15) and (14.16), but also occur with other verbs, see (14.17).

(14.15) [tʼatɔ soː-te kʰoŋ=gi dzamlɪŋ nàŋca=lo dzuːl=kʰoːjoː=ki now until 3SG.HON=AGT world inside=DAT miracles servant=AGT lóː-m=tsu=gi nûː-zin jòː-po. kʰoːjɔː=ki sén-zin disciple=PL=AGT do.HON-PROG EX-2INF.GEN about all=agt hear.HON-jò-to. EX-PROB

‘All are probably hearing [about (the fact) that his servants, disciples are doing miracles in the world until now].’ (KT life story)

(14.16) [lû=tɕiʔ tʼi goʔ] nóː-ti song=INDF write be.needed think-NF

‘Thinking [(that) I have to write a song]...’ (nga’i ’gan 11)

(14.17) [kʼalj=ː-p’ja zaʔ] ma-eː-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) [tʼoːm-bo nà] ma-tbõː.

come-2INF EQU.PER.PQ NEG-see

‘I did not see [whether he came].’ (DB’ wife, oh)
(14.19) བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ གཤེག་བོད་ དེ་ལེབ་མནྔོ་ནེ
\[\text{dɛŋ-gam} \text{ min-dɛŋ-gam} \] te lèp nöː-ne=di
be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ so much think-COND=DEMPH
‘so when carefully (lit. a lot) thinking [whether it is true or not]…’ (CY interview)

(14.20) མིའི་སེམས་ན་གན་གན་ཡྔོད་ཀ་ཀིས་ལབ་ཚུགས་པ།
\[\text{mí: sɛ̃́m=na kʽan kʽan jø̀} \] ka-ki làp tsʰu-po?
human.GEN mind=LOC what EX.PER who=AGT say be.able.to-2INF
‘Who can tell [what all is within the human mind]?’ (Richhi 2)

(14.21) མིང་གནོན་གནོན་གཉིས་དོན་?
\[\text{ṭʰinlē kʼana sôː-bo} \] ka=gi hako?
Thrinley where go.PFV-2INF who=AGT know
‘Who knows [where Thrinley has gone]?’ (Richhi 6)

(14.22) ལྷུག་སྟི་བྔོན་དྔོ་མིན་སེ་མ་གསུང་བར་བྔོན་བྔོ་སྦད།
\[\text{lòk-ti t}ʼoːn-do ŋ=\] ma-sûm-ba
return-NF come.HON-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO NEG-say.HON-CIRC
te ōm-bo ʔ. go.HON-2INF EQU.PER
‘(He) left without saying [that he is coming back].’ (Richhi 98)

Note that (14.20-22) resemble correlative clauses in that they, like correlative clauses, have a question word in the first clause (see §13.3). The difference, however, is that the complement clauses are not followed by a resumptive demonstrative in the main clause.

Both the declarative and interrogative examples of complement clauses without a complementizer are rather short, suggesting that complement clauses without a complementizer may on average be shorter than those with a complementizer. The presence of a complementizer naturally aids in processing the clause and thus could allow longer complements.

14.2.2 Finite complement clauses with complementizer
The main complementizers are =sɛ and làpti, which both derive from verbs of saying (see §14.2.2.1). The more marginal complementizer kĩ is loan from Nepali (see §14.2.2.2).

14.2.2.1 Complementizers =sɛ and làpti
The complementizers =s(ɛ)/s(i) and làpti\(^404\) can occur independently or as a combination =sɛ làpt(i). Finite complement clauses with a complementizer occur especially with verbs of speaking, writing, thinking and knowing.

(14.23) ལྷུག་སྟི་ཞེས་ཞེས་པ་མ་གཟུགས་པར་ི་ན་་
\[\text{lòk-ti t}ʼe\text{ ōm-bo ŋ=} \] ma-sûm-ba
return-NF come.HON-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO NEG-say.HON-CIRC
te ōm-bo ʔ. go.HON-2INF EQU.PER
‘(He) left without saying [that he is coming back].’ (Richhi 98)

\(^{404}\) The nonfinal converbal form làpt-i functions analogously with the Nepali complementizer bhan-era ‘say-NF’.
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 ɪ̃́ː) 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.

(14.24) འོ་ ལྔོ་ རྒྱབ་མ་ ལྔོག་ འྔོང་ཤད་ ཨིན།

‘Then when asked [why you were late]…’ (RS pupil joke)

(14.25) འོ་ ལྔོ་ རྒྱབ་མ་ ལྔོག་ འྔོང་ཤད་ ཨིན།

‘(He) says [that (they) can come from inside], so the story goes.’ (SGD wedding customs)

(14.26) འོ་ ལྔོ་ རྒྱབ་མ་ ལྔོག་ འྔོང་ཤད་ ཨིན།

‘(He) asked her [whether (she) had warmed water], so the story goes.’ (RS driver joke)
(14.29) ठै पो लोय अध्ययन का कन्फ्रेंस के लिए आये थे।

Examples (14.27-29) above already exemplify sentences where the complement follows the main clause. Sentences (14.30-32) below are analogous in the order of clauses in the sentence but differ in that the main clause has another filler-word taking the place where complement clause would occur if it were embedded. The filler-word makes the main clause syntactically complete.

(14.30) ठै पो लोय अध्ययन का कन्फ्रेंस के लिए आये थे।

In (14.30), the main clause *mù=lo k’ande: làp-ce mè?* could occur independently, because the filler word *k’ande*: fills the position where an embedded complement clause would occur.

For two more examples, consider (14.31) and (14.32).

(14.31) ठै पो लोय अध्ययन का कन्फ्रेंस के लिए आये थे।

(14.32) ठै पो लोय अध्ययन का कन्फ्रेंस के लिए आये थे।

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.

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405 The filler-word is somewhat analogous to *that* in English *that*-complement clauses, although in English the filler-word has grammaticalized into a complementizer. In present English, a better analogy is the clause *I know the fact* [*that* *x*], where the *fact* functions as a filler that makes the main clause syntactically complete even without the complement clause.
The motivation for placing the complement clause after the main clause in (14.31) and (14.32) is probably that this order is easier to process when the complement is long.

The last two examples illustrate two alternative strategies for making a complement clause for the noun riteʰi ‘hope’. The first involves a finite clause with the complementizer làp-ti whereas the second uses a non-finite strategy, genitivized -po-in infinitive.


Come=QUO say-NF

‘Choki hopes every day [that a letter would come from Karma].’ (Richhi 138)


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:

(14.35) tsʼerig=gi làp-o be? [ki kʰu: nàmlo â: mi-kjap].

PN=AGT say-2INF EQU.NE COMP 3SGM.AGT ever lie NEG-strike

‘Tshering said [that he never lies].’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 136)

14.2.3 Complement clauses with a resumptive demonstrative
These clauses differ from correlative clauses (see §13.3) in that the resumptive demonstrative is not coreferent with the question word in the first clause (as is the case in a correlative clause) but with the first clause as a whole. The complement clause is given in brackets and the resumptive demonstrative is underlined.

(14.36) [nè: pʼum=di=lo só tsʰu=pe? mi-tsʰuʔ] ódi kʼon=gi my girl=DEMPH=DAT care be.able.to=EQU.NE NEG-be.able.to that 3PL=AGT ta-ce=ki tʼonk=di see-INF=GEN for.purpose.of=DEMPH

‘For the purpose of seeing (the fact) [whether or not he will be able to care for their (lit. my) daughter] they...’ (SGD wedding customs)

(14.37) go tʼappo nāte=ki [teitsʰo? làp-kʰen=di kʼan bo] beginning at.first 1PL=AGT community say-NMLZ=DEMPH what EQU.NE.Q ódi hako go:p=po kʼe: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 (14.36) and (14.37) resemble clauses (14.30-32) in having a filler-word in the main clause which is coreferent with the whole complement clause. There are, however, three differences. First, the order of the clauses is different, in (14.30-32) [main clause + complement clause] and (14.36-37) [complement clause + main clause]. Second, in (14.36-37) the filler-word is a demonstrative whereas (14.30-32) use other filler-words. Third, the complement clauses in (14.30-32) have a complementizer whereas the ones in (14.36-37) do not.

14.3 Summary remarks
This chapter described complement clauses, which occur in non-finite and finite forms. Non-finite complement clauses can be formed by infinitives -po and -ceʔ, the progressive marker -teː/žeː/zin and postposition korlo ‘about’. It was shown that finite complement clauses can be formed with or without a complementizer. Constructions without the complementizer occur both in the declarative and the interrogative. Complement clauses with a complementizer seem longer on average than those without the complementizer, suggesting that the presence of the complementizer aids processing and enables longer clauses. Denjongke was seen to have two main complementizers, which can be used indendently or together, and a third form borrowed from Nepali. The last section introduced complement clauses with a resumptive pronoun, which differ from correlative clauses in that the resumptive demonstrative is coreferent with the whole complement clause, not one word in the complement clause (as in correlative clauses).
15 Adverbial clauses

This chapter discusses adverbial clauses. The other types of subordinate clauses are treated in §13 (constituent complement clauses, including relative clauses) and §14 (clausal complement clauses). Adverbial clauses modify the verb complex or the entire clause (Thompson et al. 2007: 238). The treatment begins with an introduction in which the various constructions used in adverbial clauses are categorized according to form into four types (form-to-function ordering) (§15.1). In the actual discussion after that, the various constructions are described under functionally motivated headings (function-to-form ordering). The functional headings are the following: nonfinal clauses (§15.2), temporal clauses (§15.3), causal clauses (§15.4), purposive clauses (§15.5), conditional clauses (§15.6), concessive clauses (§15.7), circumstance and manner clauses (§15.8), additive clauses (§15.9), substitutive clauses (§15.10), comparative clauses (§15.11) and various uses of the terminative converb (§15.12).

15.1 Introduction to forms

The types of formal marking used in adverbial clauses are converb, postposition with accompanying modifying clause, noun with accompanying modifying clause and other types of marking respectively, see Tables 15.1-4. Note that the form kap (WD རོ་བོ skabs) occurs both as a converb (-kap) attached directly to the verb root and as a noun (kap ‘time’) with a nominalized and genetivized complement clause.

Table 15.1. Converbal endings used in adverbial clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ti/di</td>
<td>nonfinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa/ba</td>
<td>circumstantial-purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(patee)ne</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ruŋ</td>
<td>concessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sondãː, -sodãː</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tsubdãː</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kap</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dy:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-renkʰa</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sãː, -sonzãː</td>
<td>terminative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15.2. Postpositions heading adverbial clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāne, nānlo</td>
<td>‘inside’, circumstantial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’onlo</td>
<td>‘for the purpose of’, purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giable</td>
<td>‘after’, anterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jenle</td>
<td>‘before’, posterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāntar, nānzin</td>
<td>‘according to’, comparative manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’onzin(gi)</td>
<td>‘in accordance with, in view of’, comparative manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’a:pu</td>
<td>‘in between’, simultaneous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15.3. Nouns heading adverbial clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ken</td>
<td>‘cause, condition’, causal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gâ:</td>
<td>‘time’, simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap</td>
<td>‘time’, simultaneous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15.4. Other constructions used in adverbial clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=ki/gi (agentive)</td>
<td>causal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=le (ablative)</td>
<td>anterior (temporal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-po-dāː(^{406})</td>
<td>2INF-CONJ, simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’amjasene</td>
<td>connector ‘because’, causal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mits’e?</td>
<td>connector ‘in addition’ (lit. ‘not stopping’), additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëmo</td>
<td>connector ‘except (+negation in the following main clause)’, negated additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lòː më:po</td>
<td>‘no sooner…than’, ‘as soon as’, immediate anteriority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-po tsamgi</td>
<td>‘as soon as’, immediate anteriority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làpti</td>
<td>nonfinal converb of làp ‘say’, purpose and causality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teː:/zìː:/zin</td>
<td>progressive marker, circumstance/manner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -(pate)ne/-(bate)ne, the concessive converb marked by -run, the simultaneous converbs marked by -podāː, -sondāː/sonmāː, -tsubdāː, -kap, -dy: and -reŋkʰa respectively, and the terminative converb marked by -sonzāː, see Table 15.1. These converbs occur at various levels of specialization. For instance, the nonfinal one is, in Nedjalkov’s (1995: 106-110) terms, “contextual” in that its meaning is context-dependent, whereas the conditional and concessive converbs are highly “specialized” in that their basic meaning is invariable.

### 15.2 Nonfinal -ti/di

The most basic function of the nonfinal converb marker -ti/di is to indicate that another verb is following, i.e. that the sentence is not complete. Therefore -ti/di is here glossed merely as nonfinal (NF).\(^{407}\) 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

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\(^{406}\) This form, along with -sondāː, -sonmāː and -tsubdāː: often occurs in a reduced pronunciation without nasализation on the final vowel, -podā(ː), sonda(ː), -somda(ː) and -tsubdā(ː). The forms given here reflect a more conservative pronunciation

\(^{407}\) See Watters (2018) for the same glossing for the cognate category in Dzongkha and DeLancey (1991: 3) for the same glossing of a functionally equivalent category in Lhasa Tibetan.
a nonspecific verb of motion, for instance gju (WD གུ) ‘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) ཐེ་ ཆོས་ ཀྲུང་ སྐྱེ་ ཐོབ་ བཐུ་ སྒྲ་ ཡོད་ ལས།

\( te \ di: \ \text{pinle} \ \text{t'o:pa} \ \text{lö:-ti}^{408} \ \text{kʰa-la?} \ \text{k'ju}. \)

then this GEN before morning rise-NF mouth-hand wash

‘Before that I rise up and wash my face and hands.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The clause-chaining construction in (15.1) may be described as dependent in that it is followed by another verb form.\(^{409}\) On the other hand, the clause-chaining uses of \(-ti/di\) are not clearly subordinate in the sense that they would modify the matrix clause. Hence the clause-chaining uses have been termed “cosubordinate”, see Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 453-454) for a general discussion and Watters (forthcoming) for application to the related language Dzongkha. More complex clause-chaining with \(-ti/di\) is illustrated in (15.2) with four instances (given in bold), each having an anterior function where the verbal action marked by the nonfinal marker temporally precedes the action marked by the following verb. Note that the whole example (15.2) forms a simultaneous clause ending in kap ‘time’ (see §15.3.3.4), and that there is also a manner clause marked by the progressive ze: (see §15.8.3) and a complement clause ending in -po-infinite (see §14.1.1). All the cosubordinate/subordinate clauses are marked with square brackets.

(15.2) དེ་ ཕང་པོ་ རལ་ རབ་ ང་ མི་ སྒན་ བཞིན་ དང་ བཟུ་ མིན་ སྐབས་ བཞིན་ རྒྱུ་ ཡོད་ རླུ་ ལོར།

\( p'o:ts' \ \text{tâ:ta}=\text{tei?} \ \text{do-pʰuŋ} \ \text{ten}=\text{lo} \ \text{lüm-di} \ \text{go}=\text{le} \ \text{k'ja?} \)

child middle.size=INDF stone-pile top=DAT fall-NF head=ABL blood

\( t'o\-\text{zê}: \ \text{jô-po} \ \text{tö:-ti} \ \text{ápʰi} \ \text{nâŋ}=\text{le} \ \text{tora} \)

come.out-PROG EX-2INF see-NF breast.pocket inside=ABL handkerchief

\( t'u\-\text{ti} \) \text{tora}=\text{gi} \ \text{k'ja?} \ \text{pʰi}: \ \text{p'ín-zê}: \ \text{pʰa:pa}: \ \text{lêu-dì}: \ \text{do}: \)

pick-NF handkerchief=AGT blood wipe give-PROG lap.LOC take-NF stay

\( jô-po: \ \text{kap} \)

EX-2INF GEN time

‘When she saw that a middle-size child had fallen off a stone-pile and blood was coming out of his head, she picked a handkerchief from her breast-pocket and, wiping out blood with the handkerchief, took (him) into (her) lap…’ (Richhi 2)

In addition to anterior sequence, the verbal action marked by \(-ti/di\) may be simultaneous to the verbal action that follows. In these cases, the converb may be seen as an adverbial modifier to the accompanying action, a more typically converbal function than clause chaining illustrated in (15.2). The converbal construction itself does not suggest a difference between sequential and modifying relationship (similarly Genetti 2005: 50 for Dolakhā Newar). The context, which to a high degree consists of verb choice, determines the interpretation. While example (15.3) is ambiguous between anterior/consequentive (“having sat down”) and simultaneous reading (“sitting”), in the examples in (15.4-6) the simultaneous

\(^{408}\) 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 \(tun\-di\) ‘drinking’, \(sô:-di\) ‘going’, \(ôn\-di\) ‘coming’, riṇdi ‘becoming long’, but mjön\-ti/mjô\-ti ‘finishing’, \(tśô:-ti\) ‘rushing’ (see also §2.8.1).

\(^{409}\) For a defence for allowing conversbs to mark clause-chaining (contra Haspelmath 1995), see Genetti (2005).
reading is preferable. The nonfinal converbs in (15.4-6) modify/specify the general verbs gju ‘go’ and ta ‘look’ by specifying manners of going and looking.

(15.3) ལ་སིད་ ཐང་ས་ རྒྱ་ཁིའི་ སྟེང་ལྔོ་ སྔོད་སྟི་ ཇ་ འཐུང་བཞིན་ འདུག་།
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) ཏེ་ ཨྔོ་འདེ ལྟ་ཟང་
pʰaːtsʰuː mìk gīr-di ta-sā:
thither-hither eye stare-NF look = TERM
‘When/as (she) looks intently here and there....’ (Richhi 98)410

(15.5) གས་ཀྱུ་ནད་ རང་ས་ མ་མཐྔོང་པྔོ་ འདེམ་ བཟུར་སི་ འགྱུ་བྔོ་ སྦད།
ŋà=lo=to tʰãː-sãː ma-tʰ-ː-po dem zuː-ː di gjuː
1SG=DAT=CEMPH see-COND NEG-see-INF like.it avoid-NF go.2INF be. EQU.NE
‘Although (he) saw me (he) walked avoiding me, as if not seeing (me).’ (nga’i ‘gan Richhi 23)

(15.6) a) འགྱུ་ན་ ཟིག་སྟི་ འགྱུ་
mɛ̃́ŋkʰãː=na kʰik-ti gju-ne
hospital=LOC lead-NF go-COND
‘If (he) is taken to the hospital...’ (rnam-rtog 7)

b) ཆ་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཁིག་སྟི་ འགྱུ་
te ŏdetsika t’a yámó di=tsu t’o? bak-ti gju-waː=gi,
then that.time now camel these=PL load carry-NF go.2INF GEN=GEN
gju-ːce=ki t’yɛsʔo? lep-tsʰa-kʰɛn be?.
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 verb, 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).

410 The construction ta=sā: is analogous to Nepali her-e-samma [look-PFV-until] ‘when looking, as far as one can see’.
These facts suggest that Denjongke is developing a switch-reference system, which has already been described for the Tibetic languages Shigatse Tibetan (Haller 2009) and Dzongkha (Watters forthcoming). However, example (15.7) provides an exception to the rule that -ti/di presumes an unchanged actor. This example, I suspect, may be somewhat confusing to the hearer, because the changed actor of the last clause is not explicitly mentioned.

(15.7) འབ་འདི་ས་བྱས་གྱོང་ན་གང་འཚོལ་འབག་འཚོལ་སྔོང་སི་གྱོང་གཅིག་ན་གང་འདི་འཛོ་འདི་སྟྔོང་ཕྲག་གཅིག་ལབ་པྔོ་སྦད།

ódi-p’ja kʰu k’joː=na làː tsʰaː: bak tsʰaː: bak sóː-di
that-ADVZR 3SGM village=LOC bull search carry search carry go.PVF-NF
k’joː teiː=na làː teʰa teiʔ t’op-di làː=di dzøː=di
village one=LOC bull pair one find-NF bull=DEMPH price=DEMPH
töːpaʔ kʰiː teiʔ làp-o beʔ.

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 verb construction is typically used for expressing how long the results of a previous action have existed:

(15.8) dikʰa lép-ti halam dau geːtsʰaʔ làː-to ágja.
here arrive-NF about month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother
‘It’s about some eight months since I arrived here, brother.’ (Richhi 12)

In spoken language, -ti/di is often accompanied by the marker -ki/gi, which looks like a genitive or an agentive, see (15.9). This form almost never occurs in written language, although the novel Richhi has one instance written རྩ་-ki (bshad-sti-ki [sêti] ‘saying’), suggesting that the author considers the marker a genitive (ཀི་-ki) rather than an agentive (ཀི་-kis).

(15.9) kʰu=gi ódi làː=di=lo töːtʰaʔ kʰiː teiʔ niː p’in-diki kʰu
3SGM=AGT that bull=DEMPH=DAT thousand score one two give-NF 3SGM
làː=di póː-ti kʰiʔ ôm-bo beʔ.
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 verb may be followed by the dative-locative =lo when the clause expresses manner of doing:

(15.10) rup-ti=lo raprup p’ja-ge.
join.together-NF=DAT together do-HORT
‘Let’s join and do it together.’ (LT e)
The nonfinal marker does not co-occur with the negative prefixes, *ma-verb-ti, *mi-verb-ti. Negation is accomplished in a strategy identical with the circumstantial converb, ma-verb-pa. This is quite natural, because when an anterior action is negated, it in effect becomes a manner or circumstance for the following action. For instance, when the eating in I ate and came is negated, it becomes a manner or circumstance of coming, I came without eating. For examples on negating the circumstantial converb -pa/ba, refer to §15.8.1. There is, however, a circumlocution of the unacceptable form *ma-verb-ti which combines nominalization and the nonfinal form of the verbalizer p'ja ‘do’. In (15.11), in order to avoid the infelicitous *ma-verb-ti, the speaker nominalizes the expression as man-zak-o and assigns the nonfinal marking to the following verbalizer. A functionally equivalent alternative would be to use the negated circumstantial converb man-verb-(p)ta.

(15.11) a) 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) quietly quietly moment one thither hither NEG-budge-2INF
p'ja-ti do: ná.
sit TAG.ASR
‘Quietly, quietly, sit a while without budging, will you.’ (rm-nrtog 28)

In my written data, the nonfinal marker does not occur with copulas. Consultant KN, however, commented that while using -ti/di is perfectly acceptable with the existential jò?, see (15.12), its use with the equative ñ: is limited to uses in ritual language of incantations, see (15.13), where the translation is tentative.\(^{412}\)

(15.12) self=GEN language=DEMPH lovable EX-NF self=GEN language strike-INF
be?.
EQU.NE
‘(One’s) own language being lovable, (he) speaks (his) own language.’ (YR canteen)

(15.13) now this=ABL EQU-NF do-CONC very.beginning=DAT world
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)

\(^{411}\) I have one recorded exception, see mi-tsʰe-tiki in example (12.22). Moreover, consultant KN commented that he has heard some people use forms mi-kjap-iti(ki) or ma-kjap-iti(ki) but he considers them incorrect forms.

\(^{412}\) However, I have some initial evidence that some speakers may accept a wider use of in-di.
15.3 Temporal clauses
Temporal clauses are divided into anterior, posterior and simultaneous clauses, based on the temporal relationship between the subordinate and main clause. Anterior clauses mark verbal action that happens before the following main verb. It was already shown in §15.2 that nonfinal clauses are typically interpreted as anterior. Anterior constructions described here, however, mark anteriority more explicitly than the nonfinal converb, which may also have simultaneous uses expressing manner, as described above. Posterior constructions, or ‘before’-clauses, mark action that happened after the action presented by the verb in the following main clause. Simultaneous constructions, on the other hand, mark actions that are at least partly simultaneous with the following verb.

15.3.1 Anterior clauses
General anteriority can be marked by two constructions. The first construction is formed by the ablative marker =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 gجابلɛ ‘after’ or dʑɛː(lo) ‘after’ (§15.3.1.2). In addition, two construction (VERB-lõː mèː-po and VERB-po tsamgi) express immediate anteriority, which corresponds to the expressions “as soon as” and “no sooner than” (§15.3.1.3).

15.3.1.1 Anteriority with ablative =lɛ
The ablative marker =lɛ may be combined to -po-infinitive (15.14), the completive -tsʰa(ː) (15.15) or its nominalized form -tsʰa-u/tsʰo-u (15.16) to mark an action that precedes the action coded by the following main clause. Of these forms, the first and the last occur both in the spoken language and the novel Richhi, whereas the form tsʰa=lɛ has been only attested in the spoken language.

15.3.1.2 Anteriority with postposition gجابلɛ dʑɛː(lo)

(15.14)
 ámb tʰ=po=le yatea? kʰim=na do=-ce? tā=-tsʰa:.
mother die-2INF=ABL 1PL house=LOC live-INF leave-CMPL
‘After mum died, we stopped living in (our) house.’ (Richhi 133)

(15.15) Ḹliaŋ-toma jòu=le dōktʰum kjap-tsʰa=le taː=di pʼja=le ôte
suddenly up=ABL kick do-CMPL=ABL tiger=DEMPH cliff=ABL down
l̥um-di ei-u İ.
fall-NF die-2INF EQU.PER
‘As a result of (him) having given a kick from above, the tiger fell off the cliff and died.’ (KT animal story)

(15.16) ñatea? miː lỳː lèn-di ʰ=-tsʰo-u=le tê=ki
1PL human.GEN body take-NF come-CMPL-2INF=ABL one=AGT
zen=lo pʰembo: jọ̀: pʼja-ee=di=ràː giu İ:
another=DAT help.GEN work do-INF=DEMPH=AEMPHER merit EQU.PER
‘Since we have come to take a human body, it is helping one another that is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)

The construction with the nominalized completive form is realized in spoken language in various reduced forms, depending on the language community. The following forms occur in my data: -tsʰou=le, -tsub=le, -tsʰoː=le and -soː=le. The last two are phonologically
conditioned variants given by the same speaker. The form -tsub=le was said by a consultant to be a reduced form of tsʰa-u=le (< tsʰa-wo=le). For examples, consider (15.17-19). The form -tsub=le is here illustrated by two examples (15.18-19) by two different consultants from different locations (Bermeok and Lingdum) to show that the form is not restricted to one locational variety of Denjongke:

(15.17) "Having climbed up from Tarku, there’s a house below the road there." (KT discussion with TB)

(15.18) "If we die, after a human dies, if someone is a person of good luck…” (KT discussion with TB)

(15.19) "Meanwhile it grows. Then a little after having grown, after two or three weeks it then has to be dug." (PL interview)

The forms -tsʰoːlɛ, see (15.20), and -soːlɛ, see (15.21), were conditioned in the speech of consultant SGD so that the reduced form -soːle occurred when the verb had an initial affricate413 (e.g. tsʰãː-soː=lɛ ‘after completing’, tea-soː=le ‘after coming’), whereas the fuller form -tsʰoːlɛ occurred otherwise (e.g. mjõː-tsʰoː=le ‘after finishing’, ɖik-tsʰoː=le ‘after arranging’). The reduced pronunciation illustrates the tendency to reduce or elide the second aspirated sound in a word, especially if the second aspiration occurs in a verbal suffix.

(15.20) ‘After the incantation is finished, ceremonial scarves are then offered.’ (SGD wedding customs)

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413 Consultant RS has -soːle also with initial aspirated lateral /ɾ/, e.g. ɬep-soː=le (RS) vs. ɬep-tsʰoː=le ‘after arriving’ (SGD).
15.3.1.2 Anteriority with the postpositions *gjable* ‘after’ and *dzː(lo) ‘after’

Anterior constructions are also formed by attaching the postposition *gjable*/*gjable* ‘after’ or *dzː(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 *mjṍː ‘finish’. Note that in (15.23) the nominalizer attaches to the completive marker -tsʰaː.

15.22

*dile* [dentzoŋ eː:da te⁹:o? dok mjṍː-po: *gjable*] ɲà ɡà:to?

then Sikkim institute doctrine read finish-2INF.GEN after 1SG TPN


‘Then, [after finishing studies at the the (Buddhist) institute,] I lived working at a Buddhist library in Gangtok.’ (RB life story)

15.23

[mělam tap mjṍː-tsʰa-wøː *gjable*] kʰo: nǐ:-po: gömpo

prayer sow finish-CMPL-2INF.GEN after 3PL two-COL AGT monastery

dorwa sā?

going.around accumulate

‘[After finishing prayer,] the two of them accumulate monastery circumambulations.’ (Richhi 2)

15.24

*[te⁹:o? eː-ti mjṍː:-sum *gjable]*...

doctrine tell-NF finish-go.PVF.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 -sumdāː (see §15.3.3.2) is here used as the sole verbal marker. Consultant KN commented that *gjable* here is probably rather a clause initial adverb (see the second translation option) than an anteriority marking relator noun.

The postposition *dzː(lo) ‘after’* is used by some speakers alongside *gjable*. According to some speakers *dzː(lo) is more Central Tibetan than Denjongke.*

15.25

*[tsʰədː: t’ytsʰɔ? sò:-bo: *dzːlo]* [aki=ki te⁹:oki=lo

considerable time go.PVF-2INF after PN=AGT PN=DAT

‘[After considerable time has passed], Lhaki (says) to Choki…’ (Richhi 28)
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 lõ̀ː mèːpo, consisting of the modal secondary verb lõ̀ː 'havetime to' (see §8.5.9) and the negated existential in -po-infinitive mèː-po.

The second and less frequent construction is VERB-po tsamgi, which is based on WD tsam 'barely'.

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.

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414 homophonous with lòː ‘stand’
415 The use of the genitive here is surprising, perhaps a mistake. The speaker is referring to a group of five people one of whom he is himself.
15.3.2 Posterior clauses with postposition pn̂elo ‘before’
Posterior constructions with the postposition pn̂elo (also pn̂elo and heno) ‘before’ (i.e. ‘before’-clauses) mark action that happened after the action presented by the verb in the following main clause. This means that the order of the actions in the sentence is contrary to the real life temporal sequence. Similarly to constituent-modifying clauses (relative clause, noun complement clause and postposition complement clause), the complement of pn̂elo is a genitivized -po-infinitive, see (15.31-33). Note that the posterior clause in (15.33) has an embedded nonfinal clause (mu: jigi eik-ti).

When the event in the main clause has already taken place, the posterior clause is negated, see (15.34) and (15.35). The negated verb may occur non-nominalized (15.34) or nominalized (15.35-36).
15.35 *My father said (so) [before he died].* (Richhi 116)

15.36 *[before coming to Sikkim]...* (KLT Bumchu story)

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERB-po-da:</td>
<td>nominalizer -po/bo and temporal extension of coordinator tʽãː ‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-somdá:</td>
<td>sõː-bo [go.PFV-2INF] + tʽãː ‘and’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-somdã:</td>
<td>sõː-bo [go.PFV-2INF] + tʽãː ‘and’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-sumdã:</td>
<td>sõː-bo [go.PFV-2INF] + tʽãː ‘and’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-masbdã: (CY)</td>
<td>tsʰo-u [CMPL-2INF] + tʽãː ‘and’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-pø: gãː</td>
<td>WT (ὲ) run ‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-kap</td>
<td>WT ལེགས་ skabs ‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-dỳ:</td>
<td>WT དུས‘time, season’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-rey-kʰa</td>
<td>WT རན ‘be time to’ + spatial suffix kʰa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-ló: mɛːpo</td>
<td>secondary verb WT བོ ‘have time to’ + NEG.EX-2INF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-RDP p’a:pu</td>
<td>WD སྐྱེས་ bar-po ‘in between, while (negated ‘while not’)’ (from WT སྐྱེས་ bar ‘between, middle’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\(^{416}\)

Similar to other simultaneous constructions, the use of VERB-po-dā: (sometimes reduced to VERB-m-dā:) implies at least partial temporal overlap between two actions/states:

(15.38) \(\text{t’ato} \ [\text{rawā}: \text{t’om}=\text{gi} \ \text{ātsi}=\text{tei}? \ \text{mòu} \ \text{ōte} \ \text{te’em-bo-dā:} \] \) barphug now TPN town=GEN a.bit=INDF down down go,HON-2INF-CONJ TPN liŋdam láp-kʰː; \(\text{ōna} \ \text{k’jo}=\text{tei}? \ \text{jà}: \text{k’en} \ \text{be}?, \) 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) \(\text{t’ik} \ \text{te’uts’o?} \ \text{teu:ni:} \ [\text{lp-s-o-dā:] \] \) lólica gijate’u=tsu ke:po te:ta?

 exactly clock.time twelve arrive-2INF-CONJ again Indian=PL many stick ba? \(\text{òn-di} \ [\text{l’ok} \ \text{t’om}=\text{di}=\text{lo} \ \text{t’eqi} \ \text{tip-tip-o-dā:] \] \) t’om carry come-NF again bear=DEMPH=DAT suddenly hit-RDP-2INF-CONJ bear mòu=le dzu:-tí \[\text{ke?} \ \text{có:-bo-dā:] \] mì \ \text{t’amtee?} \ 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) \(\text{ďi}=\text{tsu} \ \text{t’amtec?} \ \text{tsa}=\text{le} \ \text{t’a}: \ \text{ŋatei} \ \text{tsa}=\text{le} \ \text{do-m-bo-dā:] \] \) tiru?

di=tsu all by=ABL and 1PL,GEN by=ABL combine-2INF-CONJ rupee tò:põe? \ \text{teu-t’amba} \ \text{t’en} \ \text{be}?,
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-ô:-b-dā: in (15.41) is an abbreviation of ma-ôm-bo-dā: [NEG-come-2INF-CONJ].

\(^{416}\) Sandberg (1895: 49) reports the similar form -pa tang, as in Ngā minda kyap-pa tang, mi sum hlum song zhe ‘On my firing the gun, three men fell.’
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’à: also occurs in the non-temporal conjunctive meaning:

(15.43) k’joː kjap-o t’àː ārùr=gi da
chatting do-2INF and hurly-burly=GEN sound
‘the sound of chatting and hurly-burly’ (ram-tog 24)

15.3.3.2 Simultaneous converb markers -søndãː/-sømdãː/-sumdãː/-tsøbdãː:
The use of the converbal markers -søndãː/-sømdãː/-sumdãː/-tsøbdãː, which I have only come accross in spoken language, suggests that the converbal action is at least partly simultaneous with the action marked by the verb in the following clause. For hypotheses of the origin of these forms, which do not occur as such in written Denjongke, see §3.3.6.18. The four forms are illustrated in (15.44-47). The construction is negated by the prefix ma(n)-, see (15.45).

(15.44) [roː=di ŋù-xœː=le jàː-søndãː] te k’u...
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) lùŋ man-ðik-sømdãː t’a ŋà nàː-tiki lù-b=be?.
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) nim cā:-sømdãː  ödeː ci-k’en be?.
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) t’a ódepti [k’jap’ta: l’ép tə:-tsədbə:]417 te ódi p’ja-ti n̜âtei
now like that spreading much send-SIM so that do-NF IPL.GEN
ke’? cływéy ódepti n̜âmte’a? sò:-bo ū. language a bit like that decline go.PFV-2INF EQUI.VERB
‘Now, [when (the Nepali language) was much promoted], for that reason our language went a bit into a decline.’ (CY interview)

The fact that -tsədbə: is in (15.47) followed by a causal construction suggests that although a causative interpretation is at times possible, the basic meaning of -tsədbə: and the related forms -sɔ́ndə:/somdə:/-sumdə: 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):418 ‘time’ is postposed to genitivized -po-infinitive to mark simultaneity, a typical noun complement construction (see §13.4). Phonetically gãː is frequently reduced to [ŋə:].

(15.48) karma [tə′o:’=ki p’um dem təp-ə: gãː] jên ma-kjap-ne
PN 2SG.1=AGT girl such receive-2INF.GEN time wedding NEG-do-COND
k’o:po ki ū.: regret be.born FUT.UNC
‘Karma, [when you are getting such a girl], if you do not marry (her), you will regret.’ (Richhi 94)

In (15.48), the construction with VERB-po: gãː and the following clause have the same actor. Example (15.49), on the other hand, shows that the construction also occur when the actor switches.

(15.49) [’onale ódi t’orä:=tei? daku=di sò:-bo: gãː] ū then that tomorrow=INDF owner=DEMPH go.PFV-2INF.GEN time that là: tsuko=di p’i t’umtə=ʔ sà-ti l’ép qà:-ti do:
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)

417 This unclear form could either be a reduced version of tə:-tsəar-bo ū:a: (cf. VERB-tsəar-bo=le > VERB-tsəub=le) or have the ablative secondary verb tsəub ‘be able to’, ū:a: tsəu-po-dà: > ū:a: tsəub-dà:. In the latter case, example (15.47) would be an instance of simultaneous construction -po-dà:, see §15.3.3.1. Strictly speaking, also -tsədbə: and -sɔ́ndə:/somdə:/-sumdə: are here analyzed as phonologically reduced -po-dà: constructions of old secondary verbs tsəar ‘finish’ and sò:- ’go.PFV’.

418 This word may also be directly postposed to demonstratives, nouns and adjectives, e.g. ódi gãː:(=lo) ‘that time’, p’jaby: gãː ‘when being child’, te’umtə=ŋ gãː ‘when being small’.
The expression may be supplemented by the dative-locative (15.50) or ablative marker (15.51):

(15.50) 绛་ རེ་བའི་ སང་ལྔོ་ འགག་ཆ་ རྐྱབས་ཅེ་ལགས།

[pʰaː tɕʼøm-bøː gãː=lo] gakdza kjap-tee=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) རང་གཉིས་པྔོས་ ཇ་ འཐུང་སི་ མ་མྔོང་ སང་ལས་ ཀཱན་ཆི་ དང་ ལ་མཛེས་ཀིས་ ཁྔོང་ གཉིས་པྔོ་ལྔོ་ ཞལ་ལག་ འབག་སྟི་ སེབས།

[kʰõːɲíː-potɕʼa tʼung-di ma-mjõː gãː=le] kantehi
3PL two-COL tea drink-NF NEG-finish time=ABL youngests.daugther(Nep.)
‘[When the two of them haven’t (yet) finish drinking tea], Kanchi and Lhadze arrive,
bringing food to the two of them.’ (Richhi 19)

(15.52) བྔོན་བའི་ སྐབས་ ནང་ཤ་ལྔོ་

[dordzilin sõ:-sõː gãː=di]
TPN go.PFV-RDP time=DEMPH
‘[When I was going to Darjeeling]...’ (UTR plains story)

The reduplication in (15.52) probably emphasizes that the verbal action in the following clause happened on the way to a location (“when I was going”) and not after the speaker had reached the location (“when I went”).

15.3.3.4 Simultaneity with kap ‘time’
Another simultaneity marker deriving from WT word for time (WT རྒྱ་ skabs), kap, can be postposed to a genitivized -po-infinitive (15.53-54) and progressive forms (15.55) of the verb, or to their combination (15.56). The word kap may head the time adverbial by itself or be followed by case or postpositional marking. Unlike gã:, which collocates with the dative-locative =lo, kap frequently collocates with the postposition naŋça ‘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) བྔོན་བའི་ སྐབས་ ཉང་ཤ་ལྔོ་

[teʼom-bo: kap naŋça=lo]
come.HON-2INF.GEN time inside=DAT
‘[When coming]...’ (KT phone call)


(15.54) '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) '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) 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) 'Darn! What an obstacle (just) [when I’m finishing medical studies].’ (Richhi 116)

(15.58) The construction is negated by ma-.

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15.3.3.5 Simultaneous converb -dy:
The simultaneous converb marker -dy: (derives from ?y t’y: ‘time, period’) is attached directly to the verb root. This use is less frequent in my data than the other simultaneous constructions.

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When receiving a human body...' (Richhi 74)
15.3.3.6 Simultaneous converb -renkʰa
The third construction based on the WT for ‘time’ (WT წმ. ran ‘[it is] time’) is the converb formed with the suffix -renkʰa, which combines the secondary verb ren ‘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) წმ-ჰენკჰა დო ჰენკჰა ნიძე მოჩა
[ đồ-renkʰa] ge:p ो-დო დემ ो:
come-SIM  king come-PROG like come
‘[When coming], it comes like a king is coming.’ (UT riddle)

(15.66) წმ-ჰენკჰა დო ჰენკჰა სიუზა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ბეჰიმხიძე მენა ჰენკჰა ბეჰიმხიძე
[ te ჰოკ-ჰენკჰა=დი] ჰამკჰა=ლე ჰე ჰანდი: ჰიტ-ევ მე-პა-კი
then return-SIM=DEMPH road=ABL then any find-INF NEG.EX-CIRC=AGT kʰu=gi bja:m gjom-diki...
3SGM=AGT fly gather-NF
‘[Then when returning], as there wasn’t anything to be found on the road, he collected flies (and)...’ (KT)

The construction VERB-renkʰa is negated by the negator prefix ma-, ma-VERB-renkʰa.

(15.67) ა ჰენკჰა სა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა თილჰამიკოლა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა
3SGM 3SGM=AEMPH.GEN=GEN here thought inside fruit pick-PROG p’ja-renkʰa] [ ôte ma-p’o:-renkʰa].
do-SIM down NEG-see-SIM
‘[When he was picking fruit into his basket here] (and) [when he did not see down]...’ (RB pear story)

In the novel Richhi, the construction VERB-renkʰa occurs only once, see (15.68). In addition, წმ-ran [ren] is once in Richhi used without the suffix -kʰa, see (15.69).

(15.68) პჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა ჰენკჰა
[ სტო:  ᴽe-ჰერენკჰა]  t’a k’amos: mání giâ-ve??
EXCLAM grandfather die-time now what.GEN prayers extend-INF
‘Oh heck, [when the grandpa (=you) is dying], what’s (the use of) saying prayers?’
(Richhi 79)

(15.69) ტ’ა ჰე-ჰერენ-ვო.
now die-time=IMPFV
‘Now it’s (my) time to die.’ (Richhi 79)

15.3.3.7 Simultaneity with p’ap’u ‘in between’
The formative420 p’ap’u 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:

419 According to consultant KN, this word is a loan from Tibetan.

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(15.70) ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགས་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགs་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགs་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགs་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགs་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགs་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ལེགs་ཐུབ་ཐུb 15.70)  

stay-RDP between 1PL all agree-NF stay-HORT EQU.PER-ATTQ  

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)  

NEG-die between all agree-NF one=AGT other=DAT help do-NF  

pʰɛmbøː jöː=tsu p’ja-ge. 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 =sãː ‘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 kʼamjasen ‘because’ (§15.4.1)  
2) clause employing the noun gjumtsë: ‘reason, cause’ (WD ངག་མཚན་rgyu-mtshan) (§15.4.2)  
3) construction based on the word ken ‘cause, condition’ (WD མཐེན་rkyen) (§15.4.3)  
4) converbal form làp-ti [say-NF] ‘saying, having said’ (§15.4.4)  
5) ablative construction with a copula (which with other verbs marks anteriority) (§15.4.5)  
6) agentive marking (§15.4.6)  
7) the converbal form p’ja-ti(ki) [do-NF] ‘doing, having done’ (§15.4.7)  
8) circumstantial converb which is used causally (§15.4.8)

15.4.1 Causality with connector kʼamjasen ‘because’

The connector kʼamjasen ‘because’ has a clausal origin as kʼamjā sē-ne [why say-COND] ‘if said why’. Three facts suggest that the speakers are still aware of the clausal origin of kʼamjasen. First, the speakers may change the verb of saying used in the connector (kʼamjasen/kʼamjalapne/kʼamjacone, using sē/si ‘say’, làp ‘say’ and eū ‘say.HUM’ respectively), Second, Denjongke authors may write the form both separately as kʼamjasen and separately kʼamjā sene. Third, kʼamjasen may be interrupted by other elements:

I am hesitant to call p’a:pu a postposition because it does not occur with nouns in my data.

Nepali has analogous kinabhane ‘because’, which consists of kina ‘why’ and bhan-e ‘say-PFV’

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Typically *k’amjasene* is used as a word-like connector/conjunction meaning ‘because’, see (15.73-75). Causal clauses with *k’amjasene* are finite.

(15.74) *k’ámjasene* may also occur as the sole reason marker (see §15.4.6):
Chodzi is ashamed, because she has slept covering (herself) in the same blanket with an unknown person.’ (Richhi 131)

15.4.2 Causality with gjumtsʰɛ̃ː ‘reason’
Causality/reason may also be expressed by a simple juxtaposition of a complement clause headed by the word gjumtsʰɛ̃ː ‘reason’ and a clause that explains what the reason is. Both examples (15.78) and (15.79) have the demonstrative-emphatic =di following gjumtsʰɛ̃ː, suggesting that the emphatic may be obligatory or preferred in this construction.

(15.78)།རྒྱུ་མཚན་འདི་མི་ཐམས་ཅིན་འདི་མི་ནི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡང་རྒྱལ་པུའི་དུས་ཚོད་སང་།
[odi ma-nê:-po: gjumtsʰɛ̃ː=di] [mi kʰac⍰=ki=jâː]
that NEG-abide-2INF.GEN reason=DEMPH human some=AGT=too
g️py⍰: t'ytsʰo? gâ⍰: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)།ྲེད་པའི་རྒྱུམ་མཚན་གན་བྱེ་སི་ན་བུ་མའི་གཉེན་ཚན་ཙུ་སྔོན་མ་འདེམ་།
[mèː-po⍰=ki gjumtsʰɛ̃ː=di] [néma dem=tei?]
NEG.EX-2INF.GEN=GEN reason=DEMPH earlier like.that=INDF
t'om-bo=lo.]
happen-2INF=REP
’[The reason why it is not there (is)] [(that) it happened like long ago.]’ (PAD story on Tashiding)

The second clause, which defines the reason, may also be introduced with k’amjasene ‘because’ (note that =di is not obligatory here).

(15.80)།རྒྱུམ་མཚན་སྐད་འདེར་དུ་གཙོ་ཆུང་གི་སྙེང་སྐྱོང་དིང་མཐོང་ད་དང་ཐུབ་དཔེར་འདེར་གཞི་ནི།
[mèː-po: gjumtsʰɛ̃ː] [k’amjasine p’umo: jüntsʰɛ̃ː=tsu=lo]
NEG.EX-2INF.GEN reason because girl.GEN relative=PL=DAT
t’andze⍰: dîk goː.-po: t’ónda? ni: jô-po beʔ?]
present.HON arrange be.needed-2INF.GEN purpose two EX-2INF EQU.NE
’[The reason why it is not there (is)] [because there are two purposes for having to arrange a present to the girls’ relatives].’ (sbar-phung 15)

Spoken language often resorts to longer expressions than mere k’amjasine to accompany gjumtsʰɛ̃ː ‘reason’.
In (15.81), *gjumtsʰ* is followed by a second reference to telling the story (*ɕɛ* ‘say.HUM’ restates what was expressed by *ɕ* ‘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*...*sūŋ-betena*.

In yet another construction, *gjumtsʰ* ‘reason’ co-occurs with the dummy verb *p’ja* ‘do’ in a simultaneous construction which is interpreted as expressing reason.

### 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 རྒྱུ་མཚན) 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).

(15.82) 

(15.83)

a) 

(15.84) 

\[di\quad \text{nāŋ}^{422} \quad \text{miri}\quad \text{k’jâ} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{nē} \quad \text{po} \quad \text{ken}=\text{le} \ldots\]

\[\text{this.} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{people} \quad \text{countless} \quad \text{reside} \quad \text{cause}=\text{ABL}\]

\[\text{[Because countless people reside(d) in it (=Sikkim)]} \ldots\]

(15.84) 

\[^{422}\text{In spoken language, the case marker } \text{=} \text{na (WD } \ddot{\text{a}} \text{)} \text{or a disyllabic postposition } \text{nāŋca} \text{=} \text{nā} \text{lo} \text{ (\=x̂} \ddot{\text{a}} \text{=} \text{x̂} \ddot{\text{e}} \text{)} \text{is typically used instead of this written short postpositional form } \ddot{\text{a}} \text{=} \text{nang}.\]

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In spoken language, the construction with *ken* occurred mainly in the speech of consultant KT.

### 15.4.4 Causality with nonfinal verb *làp-ti* ‘saying’

Reason can also be expressed by the nonfinal verb *làp-ti* ‘saying’, which refers to the mental process of rationalization by the actor of the clause.

(15.85) [tɕʰø náŋtsʰi lòk-to=lo *làp-ti*] pʰ-pa òm-bo

2SG.L the.day.after.tomorrow return-IPFV=REP say-NF meet-PUR come-2INF

EQU.PER

’(I) came to meet you [because (lit. “saying”) it is said you are leaving the day after tomorrow].’ (Richhi 93)

The same form can also be used as a purposive, see §15.5.3.

### 15.4.5 Causality with ablative *=lɛ*

In addition to anteriority (§15.3.1.1), the ablative marker *=lɛ* may mark causality. The causal uses seem to be more frequent with stative verbs, see (15.86) and (15.87), although they also occur with dynamic verbs, see (15.88). In my data, *=lɛ* attaches either to the completive marker *-tsʰa(ː)*, as in (15.86) or *-po*-infinitive, as in (15.87-15.88). With copulas, due to their stative nature, the usually anterior construction *-tsʰa=le* is reinterpreted to express reason, see (15.86), where the full completive form *-tsʰaː* is reduced to *-sa*.

(15.86) [mí t’á.pu *in-sa=le*] te tʰamtɕɛʔ ɕɛ̃́ː

human honest EQU-CMPL=ABL then all tell-2INF=REP

’[Because he was an honest man], then told everything.’ (JDF axe story)

(15.87) [lùŋma mʰøːsì=diː k’jãː *bo=le*]...

wind chilly=DEMPH.AGT be.cold-2INF=ABL

’[Because the chilly wind made them feel cold]…’ (Richhi 118)

(15.88) [kʰon=gi t’ytsʰô t’arug *ma-[lep-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 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 *=diː* (WD ནོས ’dis) attaches to -ce-infinitive form of the verb.
In the second construction, which is mainly used in literary language, the formative -pe/be: (WD རོ་འབུ། 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)

/ea sā-wo: lō:cu jō.-pe:/

meat eat-2INF,GEN habit EX-2INF,AGT

‘[Because (she) had the habit of eating meat]...’ (rna-gsung 8)

(15.92)

/di: gioble kʰô:=tstpī tʰoːta? sā=lo

this,GEN after 3PL=PL very.much high ground=DAT

lep-tsʰu-be:]

demo: nó? ma-tsʰu-po-dā:...

arrive-CMPL-2INF,AGT she.demonAGT reach NEG-be.able.to-2INF-CONJ

‘[Since they after that arrived in a very high place], the she-demon could not reach (them) and...’ (rna-gsung 17)

With verbs of saying, the use of -pe/be: is rather sequential than causal (although a line in a conversation can be seen as causing the next line by the other speaker).

(15.93)

/milarepa=gi lām=lo de:ti cuː-be:]

PN=AGT lama=DAT like.this say.HUM-2INF,AGT answer=DAT lama,AGT
de: süm-bo be?,

like.this say.HUM-2INF EQUI.NE

‘[When Milarepa had said like that to the lama], the lama answered like this:’ (mi-la ras-pa 3)

The spoken language prefers phonologically more complex forms than mere vowel modification for marking causation. There are two potential reasons. First, vowel length, such as the one that is suggested by the reading pronunciation of written འཇིག ‘dis [di:], is not such a prominent feature of spoken Denjongke as to be the only phonological clue of causation on sentence level. Second, agentive marking is more central in written language than in spoken
language. In spoken language, the agentive form of the deictic emphatic is expressed more explicitly with =ki, see (15.94-95).

(15.94) [nepali=gi ke:da=di giagar=gi nàyea=lo giagar=gi
Nepali=GEN language.HON=DEMPH India=GEN inside=DAT India=GEN
ke:daʔ tʰon go:ce=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) [ŋàtɕi=ri kjap-ɕɛ=di=gj]

‘...[because (they) spoke our language]’ (RL interview)

Example (15.96) illustrates a rarer agentive form of which I have only one example

(15.96) [denri-wa-teen=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 -teen, 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 -teen.

15.4.7 Causality through nonfinal converb pʼjati(ki) ‘doing’
In spoken causal clauses, it is more usual to use the nonfinal converb pʼja-ti(ki) ‘doing’ than it is to use the agentive (see §15.4.6). The converb typically occurs following -ee-infinitive accompanied by =di, see (15.97), but occasionally directly following the infinitive, see (15.98).

(15.97) [tsʰik=di lɛp lɛm jɔ:-ce=di pʼja-tikí]
word=DEMPH very.much good EX-INF=DEMPH do-NF
‘Because the words are very good...’ (RS song intro)

(15.98) [zu=ì nàyea=lo jɔ:-ce pʼja-tikí]
bow=GEN inside=DAT EX-INF do-NF
‘[because (it) is inside the bow]...’ (RS bee story)

The nonfinal form pʼja-ti(ki) and its reduced form pʼja also attach to nouns (15.99) and pronouns (15.100):

423 Another phonologically more explicit construction is the one with converb pʼjati(ki), see §15.4.7.
(15.99) [tʼizːː  nɛ̃́ːtãː=diː:  pʼja-ti]...
but condition=DEMPH.AGT do-NF
‘[Because of the condition (of hers)]...’ (Richhi 171)

(15.100) a) ódi  pʼja
b) ódi  pʼja-ti
c) ódi  pʼja-tikí
that do-NF
‘Because of that...’

15.4.8 Causal uses of the circumstantial-purposive converb
In certain contexts, such as (15.101) and (15.102), the circumstancial converb can be interpreted as expressing reason/causality:

(15.101) [mòb̀y=di  lɛ̀  ma-jà-wa] ei-u  beʔ.
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) [ŋà  gjuk  jàː-ja-wa] lɛp  kʼjop  toː-tsʰaː.
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 tʼønlo ‘for the purpose of’, and 3) the nonfinal converb làp-tí ‘saying’. Purpose and reason are naturally related concepts, as supported by the fact that the converb làp-tí is used for expressing both.

15.5.1 Purpose with circumstantial-purposive converb -pa/ba
The uses of the converb -pa/ba can be roughly divided into affirmed purposive uses and negated circumstantial uses. 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 tʼop ‘receive’ (15.105). Note that the purposive may be followed by dative-locative case-marking, see (15.104) and (15.105).

424 However, see exceptions in §15.8.1.
In spoken language, the converbal marker may be dropped if context allows. According to consultant KN, all the forms (15.106) are possible for a purposive construction.

(15.106)  a) ɲà sè sòː-ze ($('#')) go-PUR=DAT
          b) ɲà sè -pa sòː-ze $('#') go-PUR=DAT
          c) ɲà sè =lo sòː-ze $('#') go-PUR=DAT
          d) ɲà sè -pa =lo sòː-ze $('#') go-PUR=DAT

‘I kill -PUR =DAT go.PFV-PST ‘(I) went fishing.’ Lit. ‘(I) went [to kill fish].’ (KN e)

Another example of a mere verb root as purposive is (15.107).

(15.107)  öldep college ɗuk dzāː'

‘Like that I went [for college training].’ (CY interview)

Similarly, Sandberg (1895: 66) gives the example clause Ngā chhö tá ong che ‘I have come to see you’, where the mere verb root is used purposively. The clause is given in edited form in (15.108).

(15.108)  Sandberg (1895: 66) (WD, transcription and glosses mine)

‘I have come to see you’

The actor of the converbal clause with -pa/ba is always the same as that of the main clause. If the actor is different, a construction with the complementizer làpti is used, see §15.5.3.
15.5.2 Purpose with the postposition t’onle/t’onlo

Purpose clauses can also be formed by adding a complement clause to the relator noun t’onle/t’onlo (also t’ondār/t’ondale/t’ondalo) ‘for the purpose of, in order to; because’, deriving from the noun t’on(da)’ ‘meaning, sense; purpose; reason’. The complement clause may either be a genitivized -po-infinitive-clause (15.109) or a clause with -cee-infinitive, either with genitive marking (15.110) or without further marking (15.111).

(15.109) [t'amtec=ki rite'i kā=-wo: t'ono] lō? ei-ce ɨ.
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) [sō:za te'aptse=k=tsu [t'à-ee=ki t'ondal] dzø-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) kʰu [paksam cîŋ=gi mìnto? dzɛ-ee? t'ondalo] sá
3SGM balsam tree=GEN flower suck-INF for.purpose.of ground
ô:le tsʰà: zo-tiki gu: do:-ee=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) ápo=di=jãː gompo lën-di kʰim=na=ràs jò? [p'unːo: father=DEMPH=too leave take-NF house=LOC=DEMPH EX.PER girl.GEN
jîn kjap-o: t'ono].
wedding do-2INF.GEN for.purpose.of
‘The father, having taken a leave-of-absence, is also at home, in order to marry (his) daughter.’ (Richhi 157)

The reason why the purpose clause in (15.112) is postposed to the main clause is probably that it would be difficult to process such a long clause if it were placed between the topical actor ápo ‘father’ and the patient gompo ‘leave-of-absence’ in the main clause. The dependence of the purpose clause is signalled by the lack of the sentence boudary marker ་ in Denjongke writing.

15.5.3 Purpose with nonfinal converb làpti ‘saying’

In addition to forming causal clauses (see §15.4.4) and functioning as a complementizer (see §14.2.2.1), the nonfinal form of the verb làp ‘say’ may also form purpose clauses by attaching to declarative (15.113), optative (15.114) and hortative verb forms (15.115). Example

425 Similar to Nepali purposives with bhanera-constructions (bhan-era [say-CPTCP]).
(15.113) is a comment by a house-owner about the purpose of the 40-centimeter-high threshold. Example (15.114), on the other hand, was an answer to the question, what is the purpose of heaping earth at the feet of maize stalks.

(15.113)  
a) དི་ ང་ བེད་ ནུས་ ཤེག་ སྐེན་ ལེ་ ལུས་ སྐུ་ ཡུལ་  ལིབ་ ལོང་ སྐུ་ དེས་ ཞེས་  འཛུལ་  

dì t’a [kʰi ályː=tsu nájæa dzyː-øjː: láp-ti] t’a:pyː  
this now dog cat=PL inside enter-NPST.PER say-NF long.ago.GEN  
mi=gi dem dzo-u ñː=s.  
human=AGT like.that build-2INF EQUI.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) ལིབ་ ལེ་ ལུས་ སྐུ་ ཡུལ་  

dódì=dì [kintsõː lɛ̀ mõtʰøn ɕɛ ĩː làp-ti].  
that=DEMPH maize good become-INF EQUI.PER say-NF  
‘That (is done) [so that the maize will turn out good].’ Lit. It’s done [saying that the maize will turn out good].’ (PL interview)

Negated purpose clauses are formed by negating the optative construction by prefixing -ma to the secondary verb. For an affirmative and negated counterparts, see (15.114a-b).

(15.114)  
a) འབུར་་ དི་ སྐེན་ ལེ་ ལུས་ སྐུ་ ཡུལ་  ལིབ་ ལོང་ སྐུ་ དེས་ ཞེས་  

my=GEN birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM cause say-NF 1SG  
fon p’ją-u ñː.  
phone(Eng.) do-2INF EQUI.PER  
‘I phoned (him) [so that he would come to my birthday party].’  
(literally: ‘[Saying let him come to my birthday party,] I phoned.’) (KN e)

b) འབུར་་ དི་ སྐེན་ ལེ་ ལུས་ སྐུ་ ཡུལ་  

my=GEN birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM come NEG-cause say-NF 1SG  
fon p’jà-u ñː.  
phone(Eng.) do-2INF EQUI.PER  
‘I phoned (him) [so that he would not come to my birthday party].’  
(literally: ‘[Saying let him not come to my birthday party,] I phoned.’) (KN e)

(15.115) སྲེུ་ རི་ དུ་ རུ འབུར་་ དི་ སྐེན་ ལེ་ ལུས་ སྐུ་ ཡུལ་  

ñà nòrbyː=tså: giu-æg láp-ti sòː-bo ñː.  
1SG PN.GEN=at go-HORT say-NF go.PFV-PST EQUI.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 -(pate)ne, which may be accompanied by the optional initial word k‘esi? ‘if’.\(^{426}\) I am not aware of any meaning difference between the shorter form -ne and the longer form -pate-ne. The relator noun təŋle ‘(from) upon’ may also be used in a conditional sense, see (15.133). The conditional marker attaches to the verb root (which may be a final auxiliary copula) or the completive -tsʰa(ː). In (15.116), the conditional attaches to the simple verb root and, typically of this construction, obtains a present/future reading. In (15.117), on the other hand, the conditional is postposed to the final auxiliary copula, a construction which allows referring to the past. As a general rule, those TAME\(^{427}\)-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) ཞ་ ཁམ་གཅིག་ བྱི༹ན་ནེ་ གཏམ་ ཆིག་གཅིག་ ལབ་འྔོང་།
meat mouthful one give-COND speech word one speak FUT.UNC
‘[If (you) give one mouthful of meat], (I) will give one word of speech.’ (rangsung 8)

b) བཀྲ་ གཅིག་ བྱི༹ན་ནེ་ གཏམ་ ཆིག་གཅིག་ ལབ་འྔོང་།
[k’esi? mû=i tsa=le k’atæː tʰop-ne] teʰo=ki=jà:
if 3SG=GEN at=ABL address receive-COND 2SG.L=AGT=too
mû=lo teʰo=ki k’atæː p’in.
3SG=DAT 2SG.L=GEN address give
‘[If (you) get an address from her], you also give her your address.’ (Richhi 95)

(15.117) བཀྲ་ གཅིག་ བྱི༹ན་ནེ་ གཏམ་ ཆིག་གཅིག་ ལབ་འྔོང་།
[k’esi? nàte=ki di=na nórt’ːyː: có:-bo im-bate-ne] nàte=ki?
if 1PL=AGT this=LOC mistake slip-2INF EQU-COND 1PL
tʰud’gõːda? cu-e æ ː iː.
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 iː and jɔː and not to neutral beʔ and sensorial duʔ, e.g. *be-(pate)ne, *duk-(ate)ne. Thus evidential distinctions are neutralized with the conditional.

The optional k’esi? ‘if’ is not strictly initial in that other elements may precede, i.e. a term of address and a temporal adverbial in (15.118).

(15.118) བཀྲ་ གཅིག་ བྱི༹ན་ནེ་ གཏམ་ ཆིག་གཅིག་ ལབ་འྔོང་།
[graya k’usinj kap=na k’esi? bombai=lo òm-bate-ne]
elder.bother holiday time=LOC if TPN=DAT come-COND
par=tsu nà=rãː bak lep ’ː.
picture=PL 1SG=AEMPH carry arrive FUT.UNC
‘Brother, [if I come to Bombay during the holiday], I will arrive bringing the pictures myself.’ (Richhi 108)

\(^{426}\) k’esi? functions quite analogously to the optional Nepali jedi ‘if’.

\(^{427}\) Tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality

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The conditional marker may attach to the completive marker -tsʰa, allowing an aspectual value to be expressed within a conditional clause. In (15.119), -tsʰa is preposed to the longer form -pateene and in (15.120) to the short form -ne.

(15.119) tʽizãː kʽan pʽja-ɕɛʔ [mi=lo tʽytsʰø=ki=rãː partsĩː] but what do-INF human=DAT time=AGT=AEMPH obstacle

tap-tsʰa-wateene)

SOW-CMPL-COND

‘But what to do, [if times throw an obstacle at a person]?’ (Richhi 59)

(15.120) tʼa ó te gutor te njã sôː gju=to làp-zin [te now that so gutor-offering 1SG go.PFV go=CEMPH say-PROG so má-ten-tsʰa-ne] kʽan pʼja-ɕɛʔ?? NEG-listen-CMPL-COND what do-INF

‘Now, so when I tell him to go to the gutor-offering either with me or alone, [so if (he) does not listen], what to do?’428 (AB kitchen discussion)

The conditional construction is negated by ma-, which may reduce to m- with vowel initial roots:

(15.121) a) [baʔ m(a)-d:-ne] mïtsy=lo ma-lâp carry NEG-come-COND other=DAT NEG-say

‘[If it is not brought], don’t tell (it) to others.’ (KNA kitchen)

b) [tʼa loke ma-kʰem-bateene] 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 sê/si ‘say’ follows:

(15.122) nâ:teʰa: nîmtsʰi [tʼa máko lô ni: mi-kjap si-ne] ɲâ:teʔa

on the day of the engagement, [now if the groom says (he) is not going to work for two years (in the bride’s home)], we have to ask for the groom’s gift.’ (SGD wedding customs)

In the following two clauses the completive conditional form bom-tsʰa-ne ‘if (one) grows’ is used for prospective future.

428 The translation ‘either with me or alone’ derives from the apposed forms sôː and gju. The first, sôː:, 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.
I suggest two hypothetical motivations for using the completive conditional form to convey an essentially anterior future meaning in (15.123) and (15.124). The first is that there may be a division of function between the completive anterior construction tsʰa=lɛ, which is restricted to past and habitual uses, and the completive conditional construction tsʰa-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-tsʰa-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).

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(15.123) [tˈizːaː giːble bom-tsʰa-ne] kˈar tˈoŋ-gam õdi ŋatcaʔ hako but after grow-CMPL-COND what happen-ATTQ that 1PL know mi-tsʰuʔ.
NEG-be.able.to

‘[But afterward if/when he has grown], what will happen, that we cannot know.’ (PED life story)


a.bit grow-PROG go-CNJ grow-CMPL-COND then a.bit know-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘When (he) goes about growing, [when/if he has grown], he will understand a bit.’

(SM kitchen discussion)

(15.125) dːá: ŋatce bhaila=kɪ go tok-ti ɖiː doː jɔː-kap
yesterday 1PL GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall stay EX-SIM
[pˈusim=laː mɛː-pateːn] ʰkʊ ɒnə=rǎː ɛi-ɛɛ beʔ.
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) ]|[ádzə boŋtʰin=gi ɛɛː=lo nɛn-dɪ tˈarʊŋ
grandfather Lepcha.priest=GEN mouth.HON=DAT listen-NF still
kʰim=na zak-ne] kˈan tˈoŋ tˈoŋ ka=gi ḥap
house=LOC leave-CNND what happen happen who=AGT say
tsʰa-poʔ?
be.able.to-2INF

‘[If we had listened grandfather bonthing’s words and left (the patient) still at home], who can tell, what all would have happened.’ (ram-rtog 31)

The conditional marker may be followed by the demonstrative-emphatic =di.

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429 In English, it is more natural to talk about such an everyday occurrence as the growing of a child with the temporal expression ‘when’.
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)

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.

In fast speech, the full conditional form -pateene may be reduced to -patee (15.130) or even -pa, represented by the allophonic variant -a in (15.131).

In (15.131), context helps the addressee interpret the abbreviated form man-ḍik-a as a conditional rather than the homophonous circumstantial-purposive converbal form. First, man-ḍik-a forms a logical pair with the full conditional form ḍik-atene in the previous clause. Second, the short form is accompanied by k’ɛ:si? ‘if’, which helps to disambiguate the clause as conditional.

In addition to the typical converbal uses illustrated above, the conditional form -ne is used in an idiomatic construction with the secondary verb ta ‘look’ and the attention marker =co to form questions/suggestions presenting an alternative course of action.
What if we look and take and show him at the hospital?’ (nam-tog 17)

‘[If (you) eat the medicine well], perhaps you will not die.’ (KN e)

In (15.135), the time reference is present and in (15.136) hypothetical future.

In that case, you (pl.) go [wherever you go]. I’ll not go with you (pl.).’ (Richhi 80)

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 -(patee)ne, my data has no examples of -ruŋ attached to the completive marker -tsʰa. The time reference in concessive clauses of the form VERB-ruŋ has to be deduced from the context. In (15.134), the verbal action marked by -ruŋ has already taken place.

In (15.135), the time reference is present and in (15.136) hypothetical future.
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-rug [what do-CONC] ‘whatever (he) do(es)’, ka t:-rung [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’:

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) [sà-kʰɛ̃ː jô:-rug] [mê:-rug] tʰytsʰoː=na sàm zo zaʔ.
eat-NMLZ EX-CONC NEG.EX-CONC time=LOC food make put
‘[Whether there are eaters] (or) [not], have the food prepared in time.’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 135)

The initial k’ɛːsiʔ, which occurs with the conditional marker -(pateene)ne, can also be used with -rug with the meaning ‘even if’. The uses with -rug, however, seem rare. The only example in my data is (15.139).

(15.139) k’ɛːsiʔ t’ato=sàː=gi yàtei lè:rim dìː=na nòrtyː k’an
if now=until=GEN 1PL.GEN program this.GEN=LOC mistake what
happen-CONC
‘[Even if some mistakes (may) have taken place in the program so far]…’ (Richhi 86)

The verb root to which the concessive marker -rug 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) The copula concessive form ṭi:-ruŋ has further developed into a contrastive conjunction ‘but, however’, see §12.2.

15.8 Clauses of circumstance and manner

Denjongke uses several constructions for forming adverbial clauses which express an attendant circumstance or manner associated with the main verb. The constructions described here are formed around the circumstantial converb marker -pa/ba (§15.8.1), the postposition nàŋ/naŋ ‘inside’ (§15.8.2), progressive marker -teen/zen (§15.8.3), the word kʰa=lo ‘mouth=DAT’ (§15.8.4), comparative manner markers dem ‘like (it)’, nàŋtar(gi) ‘according to’, nàŋzin ‘according to, similar to’ and t’onzin(gi) ‘in accordance with’ (§15.8.5), and genitivized -po-infinitive (§15.8.6). These markers and the constructions associated with them are addressed in the following subsections.

15.8.1 Circumstantial-purposive converb -pa/ba

The circumstantial-purposive converb -pa/ba can mark both attendant circumstance to the action in the following main verb (mainly in negated clauses) and purpose (in affirmative clauses mainly with verbs of motion). The purposive uses are described in §15.5.1 above. While affirmative circumstantial uses do exist in my data, the majority of affirmative uses of -pa/ba are purposive. All negated uses, whether occurring with verbs of motion or not, are by necessity circumstantial (e.g. I came here without eating), because purposive uses are highly unlikely (e.g. I came here in order not to eat).

Examples (15.141-142) illustrate the rare affirmative circumstantial uses of -pa/ba. Note that in (15.141) the converb, which typically occurs before the main clause, is postposed to the main clause. In (15.142), the reduplication of the verb root likely confirms the circumstantial (instead of purposive) interpretation.

(15.141) क’न ज्ञान अधि के? [dikʰa zu:-pa]?
what happen-INF here stay.HON-CIRC
‘What (undesirable) will happen [by staying here]?’ (Richhi 38)

(15.142) ज्ञान अधि के?
what happen-INF here stay.HON-CIRC
‘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) བོད་པོ་ ར་ཞེས་ མཐུན་པོ་ དེ་ བོད་པོ་ དེ་ བོད་པོ་
[sóː=di ɲàt ɕa=ki ma-teː:-pa] t e kʰøː=lo tsʰe tʰaː.
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) འདི་ ལུགས་ བཞུགས་ བཞུགས་ བཞུགས་
now moment one NEG-budge-CIRC sit.HON TAG.ASR
‘Now sit a while [without budging], will you.’ (rnam-rtog 28)

c) བོད་པོ་ ར་ཞེས་ མཐུན་པོ་ དེ་ བོད་པོ་ དེ་ བོད་པོ་
te ɲàt=ki=di [tsʰik=di lɛ´tɕɛː pa] [ɕɛː=ɕɛː]
so 1PL=AGT DEMPH word=DEMPH very frightening NEG-do-CIRC anger
ma-loː:-pa] ɲàtei tsʰik=di jenta=ti nenta?-p’ja eːtɕɛʔ
NEG-make.rise-CIRC 1PL.GEN word=DEMPH soft soft-ADVZR say.HUM-INF
zomo mi=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) བོད་པོ་ ར་ཞེས་ མཐུན་པོ་ དེ་ བོད་པོ་ དེ་ བོད་པོ་
t’izãː tam=di=tsu t’ato=sãː [nèː k’a=lé ma-tʰom-ba]⁴³⁰
but word=DEMPH=PL now=until 1SG.GEN mouth=ABL NEG-come.out-CIRC
sɛm=na=ràː ryː:-di lùː-po ñː.
mind=LOC=AEMP rot-NF remain-2INF EQUI.PER
‘But [without getting out of (my) mouth] these words have until now remained rotting in my mind.’ (Richhi 143)

As already pointed out in §15.2, an alternative to the simple negation (15.144) is the periphrastic construction (15.145).

(15.144) བོད་པོ་ ར་ཞེས་ མཐུན་པོ་
[màː=lo t 적용 ma-lúk-a]
butter=DAT water NEG-pour-CIRC
‘[without pouring water into the butter]’ (KN e)

(15.145) བོད་པོ་ ར་ཞེས་ མཐུན་པོ་
[màː=lo t 적용 ma-lúk-o p’ja-ti]
butter=DAT water NEG-pour-2INF do-NF
‘[without pouring water into the butter]’ (LA birth in Lachung)

⁴³⁰ Here and elsewhere it is not always clear whether certain words, like t’ato=sãː here, belong to the subordinate clause or are part of the main clause.
Converb marked with -pa/ba may also express how much time is left until something happens, see (15.146). The gloss purposive may fit this future-oriented context better than circumstantial.

(15.146) མེ་འཁྔོར་འགྱུ་བར་ད་རུང་མིན་ཁོའོ་འགྱུ་བར་ད་རུང་
train go-PUR yet clock.time three-about EX.SEN
‘There’s still some three hours [before the train goes] (I see).’/ ‘[In order for the train to go], there’s still three hours’ (Richhi 125)

The negated -pa/ba may express how much time has passed since something happened, see (15.147). This form also functions as the negated functional equivalent of the affirmative nonfinal construction (VERB-ti), see (15.8) above.

(15.147) མེ་འཁྔོར་ལྔོ་ཡི་གེ་མན་བྲི་བར་ད་རིང་
[múː karma=lo jìgi man-di-wa] dou zi jak-to
3SGF.AGT PN=DAT letter NEG-write-CIRC month four exceed-IPFV
‘It’s today (being) more than four months [since she wrote a letter to Karma].’
(Richhi 161)

In clock-times, -pa/ba expresses how many minutes are left before the full hour, see (15.148), whereas the nonfinal form -ti/di, faithful to its tendency to mark anteriority, expresses how many minutes have gone since the last full hour, see (15.149).

(15.148) དོག ཡིི་ཐུག བཅུ་ལྔོ་སེབས་ཚར་ཀེ
[teʰuʃʰo? zi dum-ba] karmo t'ea=lo lóbdga t'oa:
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) དོག ཡིི་ཐུག བཅུ་ལྔོ་སེབས་ཚར་ཀེ
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 ì: and the existential jò?: For examples, refer to (15.150) and (15.151) respectively. The use of of -pa especially in (15.150a) deserves further research.

(15.150) a) ཆུང་ སང་ མུ་ཀྲུང་ གྲྭ་ དེ་ གྷི་རུང་
ážaː kantea bjö:-bo=lo=s
maternal.uncle youngest.male(Nep.) disappear-2INF=REP=QUO
im-pa, tʰo:-tə?.
EQU-CIRC hear-PST.PQ
‘Uncle is said to have disappeared, did you hear?’ (translation tentative) (TB phone call)
b) Do the spirit king create the (spirit) king. I wonder if the description given above and in the description.

mè: t'atei ádzgo=gi ge:po=di=lo lèpti eːlèː; NEG.EQU.PER recently grandfather=AGT king=DEMPH=DAT a.lot incantation nàː:ze. mènni ódiː pʰen-do-gam. [mém-ba] do.HON-PST perhaps that.AGT help-IPFV-ATTQ NEG.EQU-CIRC mén diː pʰen-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-rtoṅ 31)

(15.151) a) རྜྷ་བྲུས་གྲོང་འགྲོ་བྲོས་པོ་ཤིན་པོ་འཕྲོད་བརྐོན་བཟའ་མི་གཞིས་ཀིས་ཁིམ་ཚེས་སྐྱུའུ་ཤིག་སེབས་པར་སིད་པྔོ་མ་བྱུང་རུང་བྱས་ཐབས་གན་ཡང་མ་ཐུབ་པྔོ་སྦད།

[b) རྜྷ་བྲུས་གྲོང་འགྲོ་བྲོས་པོ་ཤིན་པོ་འཕྲོད་བརྐོན་བཟའ་མི་གཞིས་ཀིས་ཁིམ་ཚེས་སྐྱུའུ་ཤིག་སེབས་པར་སིད་པྔོ་མ་བྱུང་རུང་བྱས་ཐབས་གན་ཡང་མ་ཐུབ་པྔོ་སྦད།

In a 12th class text book called བསྐྲ་བྲུས་བོ་བྲོས་པོ་ཤིན་པོ་འཕྲོད་བཟའ་མི་གཞིས་ཀིས་ཁིམ་ཚེས་སྐྱུའུ་ཤིག་སེབས་པར་སིད་པྔོ་མ་བྱུང་རུང་བྱས་ཐབས་གན་ཡང་མ་ཐུབ་པྔོ་སྦད། '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. མཚོ་ཞེན་སེ:ེ =lo tɕʰon [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) རྜྷ་བྲུས་གྲོང་འགྲོ་བྲོས་པོ་ཤིན་པོ་འཕྲོད་བརྐོན་བཟའ་མི་གཞིས་ཀིས་ཁིམ་ཚེས་སྐྱུའུ་ཤིག་སེབས་པར་སིད་པྔོ་མ་བྱུང་རུང་བྱས་ཐབས་གན་ཡང་མ་ཐུབ་པྔོ་སྦད།

In addition to dependent uses listed above, -pa/ba sometimes occurs as the final verb form, see (15.153-158). The glosses are tentative (and hence accompanied by a question mark), because the semantics of these constructions need further study. In the context of (15.153), six people are going to be divided into three pairs for working. One of the six says to the one who is responsible for dividing the pairs:
(15.153) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ དང་ ང་མཉམ་ཅིག་ གཡོག་ རྐྱབས་པ།
PΝ and 1SG together work do-CIRC
‘Gyaltsen and I (are to) work together.’ (?) (KN e)

(15.154) བཀའ་བྔོན་སྤུང་ན་ ཡྔོད་པོ།
ŋà=ni ădzɔ t’ariŋ k’adzɔ? p’a:=lo te’oŋ-gam
1SG=TOP grandfather today how.much interval=DAT come.HON-ATTQ
nō:-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) བཀའ་བྔོན་སྤུང་ན་ ཡྔོད་པོ།
ŋà dikʰa kalimpoŋ jø̃ː−pa.
1SG here TPN EX-CIRC
‘I’m here in Kalimpong.’ (?) (TB phone call)

(15.156) བཀའ་བྔོན་སྤུང་ན་ ཡྔོད་པོ།
ŋà pʰou simkʰarka teaː−ni nō:-wa te k’oi
1SG over.there TPN come.HUM-INF think-CIRC then where(Nep.)
dzeː min-deː hou
at.all NEG-have.time EXCLAM
‘I’ve been thinking to come to Simkharka, but how, I do not have the time, eh.’ (?) (KT discussion)

(15.157) བཀའ་བྔོན་སྤུང་ན་ ཡྔོད་པོ།
ágja ágja ŋa qendzɔː=le lôk-ti ĺep
elder.brother elder.brother 1SG Sikkim=ABL return-NF arrive
lòː mèː−po jigi guː guː−pa.
have.time.to EX−2INF letter wait wait-CIRC
‘Brother, brother, as soon as (or: since) I arrived back from Sikkim, I have been waiting and waiting a letter.’ (?) (Richhi 146)

(15.158) བཀའ་བྔོན་སྤུང་ན་ ཡྔོད་པོ།
ŋà jigdːòː=teiʔ zo zak jøː−pa.
1SG sentence=INDF make put EX-CIRC
‘I have made one sentence (in writing)’ (?) (KN e)

Consultant KN commented that the form jøː−pa, as used in (15.159b), cannot be found in books, suggesting that clause-final -pa is mainly an oral construction.

(15.159) a) བཀའ་བྔོན་སྤུང་ན་ ཡྔོད་པོ།
lögeʔ t’ato kalimpoŋ=na jøː−po?
PRN.HON now TPN=LOC EX.PER−2INF
‘Are you now is Kalimpong?’

431 KN’s Nepali translation was maile euṭa sentence bana-e-ko chu ta [1SG.ERG one sentence build-PFV-NMLZ EX.NPST.1SG.CEMP].
15.8.2 Circumstantial construction with postposition nāŋca/nāŋlo ‘inside’
The postposition nāŋca/nāŋlo/nāŋle 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) བྲ་ནིན་ཞེས་་བཞིན་དུས་བཞིན་ན་ཞིབ་བརྱས་བཞིན་ནས་ཐུབ་མོ་ཤེག་བཞིན་དུས་མོ་ཤེག་མེད།

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) བྲོན་པོ་མེར་ལྡུན་སྐྱུན་ཀྱུང་ཙུའི་སྐུ་མདུན་སྐུ་མདུན་ལྔོ་ཁྲི་སྐུ་མདུན་ལྔོ་བཅར།

like.that=AEMPH do-PROG chatting do-2INF GEN inside evening=GEN
te’uṣʰɔʔ? ge? duŋ-rap beʔ?
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 -tɛː/zː/zin
The progressive marker -tɛː/zː/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) སྲེལ་བདེ་ཁྱབ་འདི་མོ་གནས་ཀྱི་དུས་ཀྱི་དུས་ཀྱི་མཚན་རྩེ་་

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) ཞིན་ལོག - “བཞུགས་” བཞུགས་ལེགས་ཞེས་་བཞུགས་ལེགས་པར་

t’няl [lā: lāp-zː=lo] kʰoː=tsu=i kumdţiː=lo tea:.
Thrinley yes say-PROG=DAT 3PL=GEN in.presence.HON=DAT come.HUM
‘Thrinley, [saying yes], comes to their presence.’ (Richhi 25)

432 The progressive form does not modify nouns and cannot therefore be termed a participle.
The progressive frequently co-occurs with verbs of motion (especially giu ‘go’), providing a manner or attendant circumstance of literal going, as in (15.165), or metaphorical going, that is, changing, as in (15.166).

(15.165) སྨན་ཁང་ན་སེབས། བྷའི་ལགས་ག་ན་ཡོད་ཀམ་འཚོལ་བཞིན་སྔོང་བས

‘(They) disappeared, [from (the midst of) practicing and practicing retreat in that cave], it is told.’ (SGD cave story)

The circumstantial/manner use of the progressive is negated by the prefix ma-.

(15.166) བས་བས་བཞིན་ཕྱུགས་སྐད། མ་ཤེས་རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ?\n
‘Why do you, [not knowing the language], why speak Nepali?’ (CY interview)

15.8.4 Circumstantial clauses with $kʰa=lo$

Circumstantial clauses can also be formed using the the dative-locative form of the word $kʰa$ ‘mouth’, preceded by genitivized -po-infinitive. The meaning is close to both simultaneous and causal clauses, as suggested by the gloss ‘as/when/since’.

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433 Here the written form བཅད་ bcad (suggesting pronunciation as $tʃɛʔ$), which is considered “correct”, does not correspond to the actual pronunciation $tʃɛː$.

434 For a similar use of the nonfinal -ti/di, consider examples (15.3-6) above.

435 བས་ bas [be:] is a Central Tibetan clause connector which does not occur in my spoken data.
Further research is needed in order to find out whether this use of kʰa=lo is limited to collocating with the negated existential mè?, which occurs in both (15.169) and (15.170). The dative-locative form kʰa=lo also marks additive meaning (§15.9.3), and the suffix -kʰa is used in locative adverbs (§3.5.2.2).

### 15.8.5 Comparative manner

Comparative manner can be expressed with a nominalized construction involving one of the following words: demonstrative pro-adverb dem ‘like (it)’ (§15.8.5.1) or one of the postpositions nàntar(gi) ‘according to’, nànzin ‘according to, similar to’ (§15.8.5.2) or t’onzin(gi) ‘in accordance with’ (§15.8.5.3).

#### 15.8.5.1 Comparative manner with dem

The verb preceding dem ‘like (it)’ is typically a -po-infinite (without genetivization), see (15.171) and (15.172), but the imperfective form also occurs in this position, see (15.173).

(15.169) नाटै जुल्ले केमिं नारे राने नाटै जुल्ले चेवै लार जुलै?

(yà-ri=tsa: me:-po: kʰa=lo nà rà:=lo k’ate

1SG-AEMP GENER=with NEG.EX-2INF GENER mouth=DAT I 2SG.M=DAT how

p’in-ce bo?
give-INF EQU.Q

‘As/when/since I do not have myself, how could I give to you?’ (KN e)

(15.170) नाटै जुल्ले केमिं नारे राने नाटै जुल्ले चेवै लार जुलै?

(yà=lo gjunor k’ar me:-po: kʰa=lo nà:nentsʰे?

1SG=DAT riches any NEG.EX-2INF GENER mouth=DAT relatives

pà:

renounce

‘As/when/since I didn’t have any riches, my relatives renounced me. (Class 7 textbook 10)

In line with its function as a proadverb of manner, dem may be followed by manner adverbializer p’ja(tí):
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) [kʰoː zi tsuk-o nàŋtargi=di] nàte? t'amtee=ki
3PL foundation sow-2INF according.to=DEMPH 1PL all=AGT
dake=-di
make.effort-NF
 '[Similarly/in accordance to them having laid the foundation], we, making effort…’ (KL BLA 12)

(15.176) [lāmaː sūm-bo nàŋzin]...
lama.AGT say.HON-2INF according.to
‘[According to what the lama had said]…’ (mi-la ras-po 6)

(15.177) [lēngeː=ki p'oː-po nàŋtar] t'ariŋ nā: tēː-bo
PRN.HON=AGT invite-2INF according.to today here come.HUM-2INF
īː.
EQU.PER
‘I came here today [on the basis of you having invited (me)].’ (KN e)

15.8.5.3 Comparative manner with t'onzin(gi)
A clause headed by the postposition t'onzin(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) [t'ariŋ=gi ts'ō:dyː=na kamo t'amtee? nāː t'onzin]
today=GEN meeting.GEN=LOC discussion decision do.HON in.accordance.with
t'amtee=ki rāːrāːsōː: t'uːgen eːː zeː:
all=AGT each.oneself.GEN responsibility.HON mouth.HON eat.HON
nāː=be: t'udzitēː eːː-ee īː.
do-2INF.AGT thank.you say.HUM-INF EQU.PER
‘I offer thanks because (you) all have taken the responsibilities [in accordance with the decision we took in today’s meeting.]’ (Richhi 51)
A postpositional phrase headed by *t’onzin* may be supplemented by the adverbializer *-p’ja(t)*, which forms adverbials of manner (see §3.5.2.1):

(15.182)  
\[dile \ \textit{p’umu}=jà: \ [\textit{ima}: \ \textit{k’an} \ \textit{ka} \ \textit{nà:-bo}: \ \textit{t’onzin]}-p’ja \ \textit{do:-po} \ \textit{be}?.
\]

‘Then the daughter did (lit. stayed/sat/abided) according to what the mother had ordered.’

(‘dres-ljongs gsung-gtam, class 12, 39)

### 15.8.6 Genitivized *-po*-infinitive

A genitivized *-po*-infinitive may, although infrequently, form an adverbial clause of circumstance/manner:

(15.183)  
\[\textit{láp-ce?} \ \textit{zak-ce?} \ \textit{mè:-po:} \ \textit{mì:} \ \textit{k’im}=na \ \textit{gju-ce?} \ \textit{nò} \ \textit{ts’a-wa}.
\]

‘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 *mits’e?* ‘in addition, not stopping’ (§15.9.1), *ten’lo* ‘on, above’ (§15.9.2) or *k’a=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 mēmbo, which is followed by a negated or an interrogated clause (§15.9.4).

15.9.1 Additive with mitsʰeʔ?
Additive clauses can be formed by postposing mitsʰeʔ? ‘in addition, not stopping’ to the bare -po-ininitiative form of the verb. The additive clause precedes the main clause:

(15.184)  འདི་བདུན་ལུབ་མོ། འཕྲོ་བུ་ཧོ་བོ འཕྲོ་བུ་ཧོ་ འཕྲོ་བུ་ཧོ་ འཕྲོ་བུ་ཧོ་ འཕྲོ་བུ་ཧོ་ འཕྲོ་བུ་ཧོ་ འཕྲོ་བུ་ཧོ་ 
   di dau tsyndy: mam-bja-ne [t’on=jā: min-dup-o mitsʰeʔ?] 
   this like effort NEG-do-COND purpose=too NEG-fulfil-2INF NEG-stop 
   duŋŋal bompu mjô.-ce 
   difficulty big experience-INF EQU.PER
‘If (we) do not make effort like that [it is not only that (our) purpose will not be fulfilled] (but) that (we) have to go through big trouble.’ (Class 7 textbook 5)

The form mi-tsʰeʔ 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)  དུག་བསལ་ཤོས་པ་མིང་ཤེས་མི་དྲུག་བསལ་སྣ་འདི་ཨིན། 
   aná ge:m=di [lëpti lò ge:-ti udu:ta?] 
   old.lady=DEMPH very.much year become.old-NF out.of.breath 
   t’on jö-po t’ato=râ: eï-rap dem jö-po: tɛŋlo 
   become EX-2INF now=DEMPH die-IMF like.it EX-2INF.GEN upon 
   ga=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)  དུག་བསལ་ཤོས་པ་མིང་ཤེས་མི་དྲུག་བསལ་སྣ་འདི་ཨིན། 
   nyå: t’arin=to [lè:de: k’ā: sà-wo: kʰa=lo] biar 
   I.AGT today=CEMPH plate full eat-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT beer(Eng) 
   botr do tuŋ-bo 
   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 mēmbo
The form mēmbo, which is a somewhat grammaticalized form of the negated interrogative equative mēm-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), mēmbo 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.
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) t’izãː dolma demo: p’um=di=lo sôŋkor t’ā: gjapkor p’ja-ti
but PN like.GEN girl=DEMPH=DAT care and support do-NF
rangī za:da zo-ti t’ā:p’u=na [t’ā:]=ri tēŋka miŋtam
own=GEN spouse make-NF end=LOC 2SG.L=DEMPH.GEN above fame
mâmpo t’ā: p’jark’a t’ō:=-ee? mèmbo] zen tē:ko=ki misisikoː坏 and disgrace hear-INF except other 2SG.L=GEN ridiculous.GEN
miŋtam bompu k’an t’ō:? reputation big what receive
‘But having cared for and supported a girl like Dolma and having made her your spouse, what other grandly ridiculous reputation can you get, [except of (or: in addition to) hearing at the end disrepute and disgrace (directed) at yourself]?’ (nga’i ‘gan 4)

15.10 Substitute clauses with tsʰaplo
Substitute 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) [k’h=lo p’im-bo: tsʰaplo] di nỳ=:di mi:lo
3SGM=DAT give-2INF.GEN in.place.of this money=DEMPH 3SGF=DAT p’iŋ-ge.
give-HORT
‘Let’s give this money to her [instead of giving (it) to him].’ (KN e)

15.11 Comparative clauses with =le (lako=EMPH)
Comparative clauses can be formed by attaching the ablative =le, 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) 

\[ gaːto=lo \ \ doː-po=le \ \ námtsi=lo \ \ giu-wɔ \ \ ʃɔk. \]

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) 

\[ gjaltsʰ=lo \ \ p’im-bo=le \ \ lako=to \ \ karma=lo \ \ p’im-bo \ \ ʃɔk. \]

PN = DAT give-2INF =ABL more=CEMPH PN = DAT give-2INF be.better

‘It is better rather to give to Karma [than to give to Gyaltshen].’ (KN e)

(15.191)  

\[ nàtʃa=di \ \ [kʰon=gi \ \ ʃi-u \ \ nà:-sonzãː=di=le] \]

1 PL = DEMPH 3 SG. HON = AGT write-2INF do. HON-TERM = DEMPH =ABL

\[ l̥ako=di \ \ miŋ-go\, \ \ be.\]. \]

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 =le (lako) with nouns, see §5.6.1.3.2.

15.12 Various functions of the terminative converbs -sãː and -sonzãː:

The terminative verb has two markers, -sãː and -sonzãː, which both probably derive form the postposition =sãː(te) as ‘until’. The longer form -sonzãː is most probably a historical combination of the secondary verb sãː (WD sõː song) and the postposition =sãː. 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 =sãː with nominals, (i.e. clearly expresses the semantics of ‘until’) is illustrated as negated in (15.192) and affirmed in (15.193).

(15.192)  

\[ yà \ \ t’arʊŋ \ [øjmu \ lɔk \ \ ma-ðː:-sãː:] \ \ doː-ːe \ \ ʃi. \]

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)  

\[ dzàːdar \ mjùː-mjòː:-sãːː] \ \ te’a \ \ tsampaː \ \ gen \ \ te’oki=lo. \]

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 =sãː occurs in a negative form. In (15.193), on the other hand, the speaker is waiting for an ongoing activity to stop from happening and therefore an affirmed, reduplicated verb form is used.

Frequently, =sãː expresses simultaneity:
When I went there, he was not there. (KL e)

[When I saw Gjaltshen], (he) escaped. (TB e)

[When (we) arrived in Pelling], it (was) very difficult for us (to find a place) to eat.’ (DB bl 7)

[When/as (she) looks intently here and there], (she) sees Norbu going along the road toward (his) home, and....’ (Richhi 98)

The terminative may be followed by the conditional marker:

[If I look (at it)] this place is beautiful.’ (KN e) 

A verbal construction with =sãː can also express reason:

The construction ta=sãː is analogous to Nepali her-e-samma [look-PFV-until] ‘when looking, as far as one can see’.

The speaker KN himself volunteered a translation into Nepali with the simultaneous construction her-da-k'eri.
(15.200) [karma=gi man-za-sãː] te'øki=ki=jãː min-za.
Pn=agt neg-eat-term pn=agt=too neg-eat
‘[Because Karma does not eat], Choki does not eat either.’ (Richhi 20)

(15.201) [ŋáː tɛ p=di ḏok-ɛʔ go tsuk-sãː] ɲèː=gi
friend arrive-nf read neg-receive
‘[Because I had started to read the book], my friend, having arrived, could not read (it).’ (KNe)

With verbs of speaking, the meaning may approximate ‘according to, as far as (someone) says’:

(15.202) [kʰu làp-sãː] kʰu gàː to? õː-ɛ=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.’ (KNe)

In some contexts, the meaning may be concessive, as illustrated by (15.203), where the speaker offers an excuse for being late.

(15.203) ɛ̀ tətʰe tɛŋˈtöː maŋə tətʰe tɛŋˈtöː maŋə
[ŋà tatei=lo õː-ni p’ja-sãː] k’amo: õː lò:
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 -sonzãː. 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 sãː(tɛ) until. Example (15.204) occurs in the book sbar-phung ‘sgro-lis, where the form is written sà, suggesting an origin in WT sè‹ song ‘because’, although the clause does not express reason.

(15.204) ɜ̀ ɬəŋˈtöː maŋə tətʰe tɛŋˈtöː maŋə
[mì làla=gi làp-sonzãː] pèn=gi taː=di pàːdèː
human some=agt say-term marriage=gen sign=demph apron ḏː=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)
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 -sumzãː raises the question of different etymology from the typical form -sonzãː:

In (15.208) and (15.209), the construction expresses reason:

The terminative -sonzãː may be followed by the demonstrative-emphatic =di, which functions as a type of nominalizer, see (15.210), where the ablative-marked terminative clause occurs as a comparative complement of lako ‘more, (in) excess’.
‘We do not need (anything) more than the extent that he has written.’ (KL discussion with DR)

Both the short form -sāː and the long form -sonzāː occur in spoken language, although the long form is more frequent. The novel Richhi does not have any examples of the typical spoken form -sonzāː, see (15.211), but instead uses the shorter form -sāː, see (15.212). The negation of in-sonzāː is mē:-sonzāː.

‘[Because of that]...’ (CY interview)

‘[Because of this]... ’ (Richhi 60)

In written language, the demonstrative in (15.212) is marked as an agentive/instrumental. I suspect that in spoken language, the contrast with the non-marked and agentive-marked demonstrative is non-existent, especially because the difference is only in vowel length, a feature which is contrastive but does not bear much functional load. For the time being, however, even the spoken form in (15.211) is here marked as agentive.

15.13 Summary remarks

This lengthy chapter described the variety of constructions used in forming adverbial clauses, which were organized under eleven main functional headings: nonfinal, temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, concessive, circumstantial, additive, substitutive, comparative and terminative. The constructions used in forming adverbial clauses were seen to include ten converbs, seven postpositional clauses, three noun-headed clauses and ten other constructions. Some of the markers, such as the terminative converb, were shown to occur in a variety of uses and thus to be highly context sensitive, whereas other markers, such as the concessive and conditional markers, were seen to have specialized uses. The circumstantial-purposive marker showed an interesting polarity-related division: affirmative uses tend to be purposive and negated uses circumstantial, although in one literary source these forms were seen to function differently. Simultaneity (expressed with seven constructions) and causality (expressed with eight constructions) were seen to be the functions which showed the greatest constructional variety, both leaving room for further research.

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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

| =rãː/=ra | =xɛ/xɛ | anaphoric emphatic |
| =to | =t | contrastive emphatic |
| =di | =dɛ | demonstrative-emphatic |
| =ni/ne | =n | topicalizer-emphatic |

As exemplified in (16.1), emphatic clitics in a noun phrase occur after case-marking.

(16.1) གསུམ་པར་གནོད་པའི་དོན་གཉིས་ཀ་བཤིས་པ་ནི།

language.HON three like.time=ABL=AEMPH EX.PER say.HON=PROG
du?.

‘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\(^{438}\)) can add general emphasis to almost any clausal element. The marker =rã: also has similar anaphoric potential as its etymon xɛ: rang ‘-self, same’ in Classical Tibetan. Beyer (1992: 218) offers the following description of nominals followed by rang in Classical Tibetan: “These reflexives specify the scope of the nominal as limited to an entity or set of entities already stated or implied in the preceding text.” In line with that description, Denjongke =rã: is often, although not exclusively, used in contexts where the referent to which =rã: is appended has already been mentioned in the discourse and has thus been activated in the speaker’s mind. Topical continuity in the English translations below is often conveyed by ‘indeed’. Because of its anaphoric potential, =rã: sits naturally together with anaphoric demonstratives describing referents that are already given, e.g. ódi=ra ‘that

\(^{438}\) In spoken language, the emphatic =rã: tends to become shortened and denasalized =ra, although consultant KN commented that both nasalized and non-nasalized forms are heard.
indeed’, $\text{ódem}=\text{ra}$ ‘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 $=\text{ra}$.

(16.2)

A: དུ་ཅིག་ རྔོ་རེ་གདན་ལྔོ།
tʼutɕiʔ  dordʑidɛː=:lo.
this.year TPN=DAT
‘This year (it’s going to be) in Dorjeden.’

B: དུ་ཅིག་ direct རྔོ་རེ་གདན་ལྔོ་ར་ འདྲད (=འདྲ་ སྦད)།
tʼutɕiʔ  dairekt  dordʑidɛː=:lo=\text{ra}  dɛʔ.
this.year direct(Eng.) TPN=DAT=AEMPH AP,EQU.NE
‘This year it indeed seems to be in Dorjeden.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

In (16.3), the emphatic demonstrative adverb $\text{óde}=\text{ra}$ ‘just like that’ makes anaphoric reference to the previous clause in the same sentence:

(16.3)

ནི་ཐོན་བཙུན་ཐོས་པོ་ཞིབ་མིང་ཐོམ་སྐྱེལ།
tʼa ɲɛ̃́ ma kʼar jø̀-po  ódeː=\text{ra}  zaː:  goʔ.
now earlier what EQU-2INF like.that=AEMPH set be.needed
‘What was before, needs to be preserved just as it is/was.’ (CY interview)

As shown in §6, the form $\text{rā} \text{rang}$ is also used as a second person singular pronoun and a reflexive marker. Example (16.4) shows that the emphatic $=\text{rā}$ 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་བྱུས་དགྱེས་ང་རང་གིས་  རང་ཐག་བཅད་མི་ཆྱུ༢༣།
ŋáː kʼan pʼja goʔ ŋà-raŋ=gi=rãː tʰak-ɕɛʔ
do be.needed 1SG-REFL=AGT=AEMPH decide
NEG-be.able.to
‘I cannot decide all by myself what I should do.’ (Richhi 112)

The emphatic $=\text{rā}$ 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, $=\text{rā}$: attaches to an adjective (16.5), postposition (16.6) and a question word (16.7).

(16.5)

ངོན་ལྕེས་ཐེག་མཁན་ཐེན།
tʼato sâːte=to  ɫɛm=\text{ra}  jɔʔ.
now until=CEMP  good=AEMPH EX.PER
‘We are well until now.’ (PED life story)
Then (you) children also go with him.’ (Richhi 15)

'Then (you) children also go with him.’ (Richhi 15)

'The emphatic =rãː/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.

'Again, good and bad are the same.’ (PED life story)

'Now that farmer too was rather clever.’ (PAD bet story)

The following examples exemplify the use of =rãː/ra in conjunction with verbs. The emphatic occurs attached to -ee-infinite marking a clausal complement (16.11), to the first part of the phrasal verb ha-ko ‘know’ (16.12), to -po-infinite in the periphrastic past construction (16.13) and directly to the verb root (16.14-15).
(16.12)  གཞི་རུ་ཀི་ཆུ་ཚོད་བརྒྱད་བརྡུངས་བྔོ་ཧ་རང་མ་གྔོ།

night=GEN clock.time eight strike-2INF know=EMPH NEG-know
‘(They) did not even know that it was already eight o’clock.’ (Richhi 14)

(16.13)  གཞི་རུ་ཀི་ནུ་ཚོད་ཏེ་དྨོ་ནུ་Hamilton སྦད་མཁེན་མཁེན་བྔོ་ཅུ་ཤེས་

pleng=:tsu=gi kʰem-bo=: daku be?,
PRN.HON=PL=AGT know.HON-2INF.OWNER EQU.NE
kʰen-kʰem-bo-ra be?.
know.HON-RDP-2INF-EMPH EQU.NE
‘You are possessors of (this) knowledge, you indeed know.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(16.14)  གཞི་རུ་ཀི་ནུ་ཚོད་ཏེ་དྨོ་ནུ་Hamilton སྦད་མཁེན་མཁེན་བྔོ་ཅུ་ཤེས་

di taːri di=ra tʰ=ra làp.
this axe this=EMPH EQU=EMPH say
‘This axe is indeed the one, he said.’ (JDF axe story)

(16.15)  གཞི་རུ་ཀི་ནུ་ཚོད་ཏེ་དྨོ་ནུ་Hamilton སྦད་མཁེན་མཁེན་བྔོ་ཅུ་ཤེས་

nʰ:po dem sàːte lýː eː-ːoː kʰandːeː man-bja-wa
patient like.that until body lose.control-RDP anything NEG-do-CIRC
team zak-o be=ra.
idle set-2INF EQU=EMPH
‘Patient who has such a weak body is placed here idle without anything done.’
(rnam-rtog 6)

Finally, =rãː is also used in ”copy verb constructions” (see Ozerov & Daudey [2017] and
Konnerth [2014: 586])440, 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)  གཞི་རུ་ཀི་ནུ་ཚོད་ཏེ་དྨོ་ནུ་Hamilton སྦད་མཁེན་མཁེན་བྔོ་ཅུ་ཤེས་

kʰik-ti gju=ra gju-eː;
lead-NF go=EMPH go-NPST.PER
‘I will surely take (you as my wife)’ (song lyrics)

(16.17)  གཞི་རུ་ཀི་ནུ་ཚོད་ཏེ་དྨོ་ནུ་Hamilton སྦད་མཁེན་མཁེན་བྔོ་ཅུ་ཤེས་

tʰuwa jȯː-soː noː=lo intemínteį? miː kʰim
smoke EX-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN direction=DAT necessarily human.GEN house
jȯː=raː jȯː-po da=se nóː-ːɛː
EX=EMPH 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)

439 The meaning of the first part of the compound ha-ko ‘know’ is unknown.
440 Ozerov & Daudey (2017: 53) define a copy verb construction as [VERBAL_STEM=DISCOURSE_CLITIC
FINAL_VERB]
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) *ma-bak=rã:*  
\[ \text{bak be?} \]  
\[ \text{NEG-carry=AEMPH carry EQUI.NE} \]  
‘There is no way of not carrying/It has to be carried.’ (KN e)

b) A: *ɕánu=to tʼa tso po kjap-a gju go-ee be?*  
\[ \text{PN=DEMPH now debate do-PUR go be needed-INF EQUI.NE} \]  
‘Now Shanu has to go to the debate.’

B: *kʰu la=ǐː=la.*  
\[ \text{3SG HON=EQUI.PER HON then 3SG.HON=AGT=DEMPH NEG-go=AEMPH} \]  
\[ \text{gju=lo=si=la.} \]  
\[ \text{go=REP=QUO=HON} \]  
‘He, yes. He says (cf. =sɛ) he heard (cf. =lo) he has no way of not going.’ (AB kitchen discussion; all instances of ‘he’ in the translation have the same referent)

When the negator is prefixed to the second verb, the main verbal action is negated and focus is on the absoluteness of inability of the verbal action to happen, see (16.20). In my data, the negator in this position is always *mi*-

(16.20) *dĩ tʰoː=rã:*  
\[ \text{mi-tʰoː:-bo be?} \]  
\[ \text{this see=AEMPH NEG-see-2INF EQUI.NE} \]  
‘There’s absolutely no seeing this (unclear photocopy).’ (RL oh)

(16.21) *oði nàŋca tʼon-ra mi-tʰoː-kʰen be=s.*  
\[ \text{that within happen-AEMPH NEG-happen-NMLZ EQUI.NE=QUO} \]  
‘Within that, there is no way of that happening.’ (CY interview)

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441 \(rðo:\) is a dialectal variant of \(rãː\).
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) \[ \text{TPN TPN} \quad \text{inside=DAT Nepali say-NMLZ EX-AEMPHEX.NE} \]
\[ \text{‘There is absolutely no Nepalis in Lachen and Lachung.’ (CY interview)} \]

(16.24) a) \[ \text{TPN TPN} \quad \text{inside=DAT Nepali say-NMLZ EX-AEMPHEX.NE} \]
\[ \text{‘there absolutely is not’ (TB e)} \]

b) \[ \text{TPN TPN} \quad \text{inside=DAT Nepali say-NMLZ EX-AEMPHEX.NE} \]
\[ \text{‘there absolutely is not’ (TB e)} \]

16.1.2 Contrastive emphatic =to

The contrastive emphatic =to differs from the general and potentially anaphoric emphatic =rā: 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) \[ \text{TPN TPN} \quad \text{inside=DAT Nepali say-NMLZ EX-AEMPHEX.NE} \]
\[ \text{‘(W)e are well until now (but I do not know about the future).’ (PED life story)} \]

In (16.26), speaker A presents an assumption (in the form of a question) which contrasts with what speaker B knows: lama Kaching cannot be the proctor because he is abroad.

(16.26) A: \[ \text{TPN TPN} \quad \text{inside=DAT Nepali say-NMLZ EX-AEMPHEX.NE} \]
\[ \text{‘Is the proctor lama Kaching? (Or) which lama is it?’} \]

442 The use of the indefinite marker/numeral =tei? after the interrogative copula here is surprising.
In (16.27), the speaker contrasts a man with his wife. The contrast is reflected by “but” in the English translation.

(16.27) གྲེན་པའི་མ་འཕྲེ་ད་, ཁྲིམས་དྲགས་སྦད།
        gem te ma-pʰe?, gap=to dzikta? be? 443
elderly.lady so NEG-meet elder.man=CEMPH excellent EQU.NE
‘I haven’t met the lady, but the man is excellent.’ (KL BB discussion)

In (16.28), those who do not know the language of their ethnic community are contrasted with those who do.

(16.28) རང་གི་སྐད་མ་ཤེས་ནེ་ཏྔོ་གཞག་དྲགས་སྦད།
        ray=gi keʔ ma-eː-ne=to k’aktaʔ be=co.
own=GEN language NEG-know-COND=CEMPH difficult EQU.NE=AT
‘If one doesn’t know one’s language, it will be difficult, you know.’ (oh, Whatsapp)

The use of the contrastive emphatic may also convey disapproval, as in (16.29):

(16.29) ཆེའ་ཆེན་ཐེག་མ་ཤེས་ནེ་ཏྔོ་མ་ཤེས་ནེ།
        dem sā.te=to ma-sūŋ=møʔ.
lake.that until=CEMPH NEG-say.HON=URG
‘Please do not by all means go that far in speaking.’ (Richhi 20)

Now consider (16.30), which has two instances of =to.

(16.30) འཐོན་ཕྱོག་མ་གསུང་མོའི་ཁིམ་ན་མན་འགྱུ།
        ádzi:, kʰim=na=to man-gju-ge. làp-ceʔ zak-ceʔ?
oh.no home=LOC=CEMPH NEG-go-HOR say-INF put-INF
mèː-poː miː kʰim=na gju-capeʔ ṅo tsʰa-waː.
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.’

443 The words gem and gap can refer to people of advanced years or to younger people who are shown respect.
In (16.30), person B has suggested that she and person A should go to see a boy named Bhaila in his home. Person A expresses her disapproval/disagreement in (16.30) by using the contrastive marker =to, followed by the reason for disagreement. Person B, in turn, uses the contrastive emphatic with the adverbial ‘now’ (t’ar=to) in order to claim that the circumstances at the time are, contrary to what person A thinks, conducive to the action she has suggested. The latter instance of =to is accompanied by the clause-final attention marker =ɕo, which underlines the attention-worthiness of the proposition caused by the contrast.

The contrastive emphatic quite frequently collocates with the conditional form of the verb:

(16.31) ཁྔོང་ཙུ་ནེ་ཛིད་འདི་མ་རྐྱབས་ནེ་ཏྔོ་ང་ཅའི་བྔོན་པྔོ་འདི་དགྔོངསམ་ཁེལ་ཤད་སྦད།

‘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) འདི་ིː=ɕɛʔ ལྷ་ དེ་ཟང་

‘That might indeed be the case but...’ (PT e)

Finally, =to occurs in an negated emphatic copy verb construction VERB=to NEG-VERB (for copy verbs, see Ozerov & Daudey 2017):

(16.33) དེ་ཟང་

‘They do not at all fill up (mutterings of prayer)’ (TB discussion with PB)

16.1.3 Demonstrative-emphatic =di

In addition to the demonstrative uses discussed in §6.4, the proximal di ‘this’ has been grammaticalized into demonstrative-emphatic

=di, which does not have referential function

444 The term “demonstrative” refers both to the origin of the emphatic marker and to its present, more demonstrative-like uses. The term “emphatic” underlines the fact that the marker has developed discourse-
but brings emphasis to the element it is postposed to. The use of the demonstrative-emphatic
is prevalent in spoken language, sometimes occurring several times in one clause. It co-occurs
with the prenominal modifying demonstratives ódi (16.34) and di (16.35).

(16.34) ལེགས་ནི་ འདི་ མི་ འདི་ཀི་ རྒྱུ་ འདི་ གན་འདྲེ་ མེད་མཁན་ སྦད།

ódi mɪ=di=gi

that man=DEMPH=GEN

giu=di

possessions=DEMPH

k’and’e: mè:-ken

be?.

EQU.NE

‘That man didn’t have any possessions.’ (JDF axe story)

(16.35) འདི་ དེབ་ འདི་ འཛོ་ ག་ཚོད་ བྔོ སྦད།

di t’ep=di dzo: k’adzø? bo?

this book=DEMPH price how.much EQU.NE.Q

‘How much is the price of this book?’ (KT e)

In (16.36a), =di functions as a specifier which signifies that one referent is chosen from
among others. In (16.36b) without the emphatic, on the other hand, the (topic) selection had
already been established.

(16.36) a) ཀྲོ་ འདི་ ཡིང་ཝིན།

kʰu=di ámdzi ʰ:i.

3SGM=DEMPH doctor EQU.PER

‘He is a doctor.’ (YR e)

b) ཀྲོ་ ཡིང་ཝིན།

kʰu ámdzi ʰ:i.

3SGM doctor EQU.PER

‘He is a doctor.’ (YR e)

Sandberg (1895: 21) notes that “[o]rdinarily di follows its noun; but where any singling out
of the noun is desired we have one di placed before and another di after the word.” Similarly,
Zeisler (2011: 278) observes that in the Kenhat dialect of Ladakhi the “definiteness
marker” -de co-occurs with prenominal demonstratives and can even be postposed directly to
to the proximal /i/ hdi ‘this’ and distal /a/ ha ‘that’ to form /iɾɛ/ hdi-de and /aɾɛ/ 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.445 Example (16.37) illustrates the use of the demonstrative-emphatic with a

445 Similar extended, non-referential, emphatic use of the demonstrative se ‘it’ occurs in Finnic languages
(Grüntzal 2015: 277, Kittilä & Yurayong (forthcoming). Grüntzal (2015: 280), for instance, describes the non-
referential use of se in Veps (Finnic) as an “unspecific focus particle”. Moreover, in Classical Greek (e.g.
proper noun and a demonstrative pronoun, and example (16.38) exemplifies a use with a personal pronoun.

(16.37) པོ་སྟོན་བཞིན་ འདི་ རང་ རྟེན་ ལོངས་ འདི་ ལེབ་མེད་ སེབས་སྟི་ འྦྱང་བྔོ།

A demonstrative-based marker =di may occur either before the plural marker (16.42) or after it (16.43).

Examples (16.39-41) further illustrate that =di may attach to postnominal demonstrative modifiers òdi, di and dodi respectively.

Example (16.39) illustrates the use of =di to modify a postnominal demonstrative modifier.

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”.

558
Apart from positioning, a further formal difference between *di* in (16.42) and =*di* in (16.43) is that the vowel in pre-plural *di* tends to be somewhat longer than in the emphatic post-plural =*di*, suggesting that the pre-plural *di* begins a new phonological word whereas post-plural =*di* is a clitic attached to the previous word. Differing distribution and phonology suggest a possible difference of meaning. I am, however, not aware of such a difference. Nevertheless, to reflect the different positioning and phonology, the pre-plural variant *di* is in this thesis written as a separate word and glossed as a proximal demonstrative ‘this’, whereas the post-plural variant is written as a clitic glossed as an emphatic =DEMPH.

Furthermore, *di/=di* may occur on both sides of the plural marker, as in (16.44), or two times with an intervening case-marker, see (16.45).

The first instance of =*di* (preceding the plural marker) in (16.44) and (16.45) functionally covers the fields of demonstrativity and definiteness. The second use (following the plural marker) adds further emphasis on the noun phrase. However, with a singular instance of *di/=di* in a noun phrase, the position of the morpheme in relation to the plural marker is not necessarily a trustworthy indication of its function as either demonstrative/definiteness marker or an emphatic. This is illustrated by the following examples, in which both the post-plural =*di* (16.46) and pre-plural =*di* (16.47-48) occur with an already definite nominal, a personal pronoun (16.46-47) or a demonstrative (16.48).  

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446 Somewhat analogously, the Finnish plural demonstrative *ne* ‘they’ has grammaticalized into a plural emphatic which may attach to the homophonic demonstrative, *ne=ne* ‘they-DEMPH’ (personal knowledge).
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. 

(16.46) \( kʰõː=tsu=di... \)  
3PL=PL=DEMPH  
‘They...’ (UTR plains story) 

(16.47) \( kʰõː=di=tsu... \)  
3PL this=PL  
‘They...’ (CY interview) 

(16.48) \( ó(d)i =tsu... \)  
that this=PL  
‘They...’ (PED life story) 

It also attaches to postpositions: 

(16.50) \( ñàj=pAMP=di \)  
1SG with=DEMPH  
‘With me’ (RS animal song intro) 

In (16.51) the first instance of =di occurs as a type of substantivizer/nominalizer attached to an adjective: 

(16.51) \( k'ɛːt=qa=di \)  
important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know  
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) \( p'jaɛ=di \)  
own-language=DEMPH use do-INF=DEMPH be.ashamed  
‘(They) are ashamed to use (their) own language.’ (KL BLA discussion 12)
Other adverbial clauses to which =di can attach are the anterior construction shown in (16.53) and the nonfinal construction in (16.54).

(16.53) ལོ།ོ།ཆོས་གྲྭའི་ཀི་མདུན་ཁར་སེབས་ཚོའོ་ལས་འདི་lóbɖøː=gt  di
school.GEN=GEN in.front.of'arrive-CMPL.2INF=ABL=DEMPH
‘After arriving in front of the school…’ (RS pupil joke)

(16.54) ཕྱོད་པའི་ཀི་མདུན་ཁར་སེབས་ཚོའོ་ལས་འདི་tɕʰu=l̥alan=di
what.disappear say-NF ask.look-2INF=REP

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 tɕʰon-diki would be used in place of tɕʰon-diki=di.

Moreover, =di can be added to -po-in infinitive forms:

(16.55) ལྟོག་ཆོས་གྲྭའི་ཀི་མདུན་ཁར་སེབས་ཚོའོ་ལས་འདི་ŋātca=lo=di
1PL=DAT=DEMPH permission give-2INF=DEMPH=DAT bottom.of.heart.GEN
p’im-bo=lo=di
through.thank.you you say.HUM-NPST.PER=HON
gːle tʰudzite’e ɛù-ɛː=la.
‘I thank you from the bottom of (my/our) heart for giving us the the permission.’ (CY interview)

The emphatic =di makes nominalized verbal constructions more conducive to nominal operations such as case-marking. In (16.55), for instance, adding the dative-locative case-marker directly to the nominalized form (p’im-bo=lo) would result in a form that sounds like a typical past reportative construction often heard in stories (=lo is both a dative-locative and a reportative marker). An intervening =di thus functions as a disambiguator. Especially in written language, the agentive form of =di attached to -ee-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 =rā:, which typically emphasizes already activated referents but similar to =di and =to both of with 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) ཆོད་ལྔོ་ སེང་ གཉིས་ དུས་ འཕྲ་ ཚོས་ ཐོག་ མཐུན་ བྱུང་ བོ འ་ དེ།
\[ \text{t} \text{e}^\circ = \text{lo} \ \text{ápo} \ne \ \text{mè}\] 
2SG.L=DAT father=TOP NEG.EX.PER father.GEN instead 2SG.L=REFL except
\[ \text{zen \ ka \ jò} ?? \]
other who EX.PER
‘You don’t have a father. Who is there in place of your father except yourself?’
(Richhi 83)

(16.57) ཁརྨ, ཆོད་ ང་ ལྔོ་ ལེན་ བར་ མ་ ལག་ སྤྱོད་ ། ད་ ང་ ནེ་
\[ \text{karma} \ \text{t} \text{e}^\circ \? \ \text{ŋà}=\text{lo} \ \text{l} \text{ɛ̀} \ \text{mà} \ \text{ʔ} \ \text{ɕ} \ \text{ó} \ \text{ʔ} \ . \ \text{tʽa} \ \text{ŋà} = \text{n} \ \text{ɛ} \]
Karma 2SG.L 1SG=DAT take-PUR quick come.IMP now 1SG=TOP
\[ \text{ɲ̥ ɛ} \ \text{tsʰu} \ \text{ʔ} . \ \text{tʽa} \ \text{ŋáː} \ \text{kʽan} \ \text{pʽja} - \text{ɕɛʔ} , \ \text{ɲ} \ \text{èː}=\text{tsaː} \ \text{tʰaplam} \]
trap=LOC enter-IMF become-CMPL trap-rope break-NMLZ now 2SG.L.except
\[ \text{ʒɛ} \ \text{n} \ \text{ka=gi=jãː} \ \text{mi-tˢʰu} ? \ . \ \text{karma} \ \text{zen \ ka=gi=jãː} : \]
other who=AGT=even NEG-be.able.to Karma other who=AGT=even 2SG.L.except
\[ \text{mi-tˢʰu} ? \ . \ \text{tʼa} \ \text{ŋà} : \ \text{kʼan \ pʼja-cei} ? \ \text{nè}=\text{tsa} : \ \text{tʰaplam} \ \text{zen} = \text{ne} \]
NEG-be.able.to now 1AGT what do-INF 1SG.GEN=at means other=TOP
\[ \text{ŋà} \ \text{ʒɛ} \ \text{n} \ \text{ka=me} ? . \ \text{kʼe:si} ? \ \text{côktsʰip \ jò}=\text{to} \ \text{nám}=\text{le} \ \text{pʰu}=\text{di} \]
any=even NEG.EX.PER if wing EX.PER-COND=CEMPH sky=ABL.fly-NF

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) ཁརྨ, ཆོད་ ང་ ལྔོ་ ལེན་ བར་ མ་ ལག་ སྤྱོད་ ། ད་ ང་ ནེ་
\[ \text{karma} , \ \text{t} \text{e}^\circ \? \ \text{ŋà}=\text{lo} \ \text{l} \text{ɛ̀} \ \text{mà} \ \text{ʔ} \ \text{ɕ} \ \text{ó} \ \text{ʔ} \ . \ \text{t’a} \ \text{ŋà}=\text{ne} \]
Karma 2SG.L 1SG=DAT take-PUR quick come.IMP now 1SG=TOP
\[ \text{ɲ̥ ɛ} \ \text{tsʰu} \ \text{ʔ} . \ \text{tʽa} \ \text{ŋáː} \ \text{kʽan} \ \text{pʽja} - \text{ɕɛʔ} , \ \text{ɲ} \ \text{èː}=\text{tsaː} \ \text{tʰaplam} \]
trap=LOC enter-IMF become-CMPL trap-rope break-NMLZ now 2SG.L.except
\[ \text{ŋà} \ \text{ʒɛ} \ \text{n} \ \text{ka=gi=jãː} \ \text{mi-tˢʰu} ? . \ \text{karma} , \ \text{ŋà} \ \text{ʒɛ} \ \text{n} \ \text{ka=gi=jãː} : \]
other who=AGT=even NEG-be.able.to Karma other who=AGT=even 2SG.L.except
\[ \text{mi-tˢʰu} ? . \ \text{t’a} \ \text{ŋà} : \ \text{kʼan \ pʼja-cei} ? \ \text{nè}=\text{tsa} : \ \text{tʰaplam} \ \text{zen} = \text{ne} \]
NEG-be.able.to now 1AGT what do-INF 1SG.GEN=at means other=TOP
\[ \text{ŋà} \ \text{ʒɛ} \ \text{n} \ \text{ka=me} ? . \ \text{kʼe:si} ? \ \text{côktsʰip \ jò}=\text{to} \ \text{nám}=\text{le} \ \text{pʰu}=\text{di} \]
any=even NEG.EX.PER if wing EX.PER-COND=CEMPH sky=ABL.fly-NF
The first use \( =ne \) (\( \text{ḥà}=ne \)) in (16.58), topicalizes the speaker’s own situation. The second use \( (t'aplám \text{ zen}=ne) \) introduces a new topic, i.e. ways of escaping the present situation. The third use \( (\text{ṭdi}=ne) \), 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 \( =ne \) are better described as an simply emphatics rather than as topicalizers. For an examples, consider (16.59), with two instances of \( =ni \).

(16.59) Karma \( =ne \) t'á\( =ne \) bom-ts'\( a\)\( =ne \) nè\( =lo \) tató\( =ne \) p'\( ja-k\)\( čè \).
Karma 2SG.I now=TOP become.big=CMPL patient=DAT care do-NMLZ mèm\( mó=ne \) t'\( on-ts'\( a\)\( =ne \).
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 \( =ne \) can be used contrastively very similarly to \( =to \), see (16.60) and (16.61). Note that in (16.60) \( =ne \) attaches to a pronominal expression which signifies topic continuation rather than new topic. The function of \( =di \) is rather to bring into focus the contrast between the past and the present. In (16.61), the contrast is reflected as \( \text{but} \) in the translation.

(16.60) te \( =ni \) \( t'\)\( o\)\( =ne \) \( ti\)\( n\)\( z\)\( a\)\( =ne \) \( \text{mùn-u-k} \)\( e\)\( =ne \) \( =t\).
so that=PL=TOP nowadays NEG.EX.SEN-EN say.HUM-INF EQU.PER
‘Those are not there nowadays, I submit.’ (CY interview)

(16.61) de:ts'\( i\)ka k':\( si\)\( =ne \) nè\( =ne \) mèm\( po\)\( =ne \) dzâ\( =ne \) dar m\( jì\)\( m\)\( jò\)\( =po \) in-ne
at.that.time if my doctor.GEN training finish-RDP-2INF EQU-COND m\( ù\)\( =lo \) t'\( ato-r\)\( a\)\( =ne \) n'\( è\)\( n \)\( k\)\( j\)\( a\)p t'\( o\)\( =ne \) \( =t\).
dzâ\( =ne \) dar ma-m\( jò \)\( =ne \).
3SGF=DAT now=AEMPH marriage do be.allowed EQU.PER training NEG-finish gâ\( =le \)\( =ne \) min\( =q\)\( ì\)\( k\).
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:
Lastly, =ne is used in clauses which define, see (16.63) and (16.64). The emphatic functions as the drawer of the addressee’s attention before the definition is given. In these use, =di could be used instead of =ne. In an attempt to reflect the Denjongke structure, the English translations are somewhat cumbersome.

(16.63) 

(gum lu) lam-ta-ne t’a nepali ke=le=ne loggit 

‘If talking of folksong(s), as for Nepali language, (it’s called) [loggit].’ (RS on songs)

(16.64) 

k’jo t’a-k’=ne p’õ:bu jò?. 

‘As for carriers of wheat, there were donkeys.’ (PD bet story)

16.2 Clause-final clitics

Clause-final clitics are listed in Table 16.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=lo</td>
<td>reportative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=se/si/s</td>
<td>quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=la</td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=co</td>
<td>attention marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ki/gi</td>
<td>non-commitment marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reportative =lo and quotative =se were discussed under treatment of evidentiality in §9. This section addresses the remaining clausal clitics =la (§16.2.1), =co (§16.2.2) and =ki/gi (§16.2.3),

16.2.1 Honorific =la

By placing the honorific enclitic at the very end of the clause, the speaker shows respect to the hearer. The honorific occurs after other clausal clitics (16.65) and tags (16.66):

(16.65) a) 

dogom=di p’tok-o=lo=la. 

‘...the stone hit, so the story goes.’ (UU deer story)

b) 

t’e:a:-po ʔ=s=la. 

‘...descended, so the story goes.’ (PAD bet story)

16.66)

(k’jo t’a-k’=ne p’õ:bu jò?)

‘As for carriers of wheat, there were donkeys.’ (PD bet story)
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 =eo

The uses of the attention marker =eo are more fully described in Yliniemi (2016). This section provides a brief summary. The presence of the attention marker, which may be either speaker or addressee-oriented, indicates that something is brought to the forefront of the speaker’s or the addressee’s attention. The attention marker =eo occurs in declarative uses postposed to a verb and in interrogative uses postposed to other parts of speech (verbless uses). The attention in verbal uses, which resemble the notion “mirativity”, is either speaker or addressee-oriented, whereas verbless uses, which resemble the notion “contrastive focus”, are always addressee-oriented. When occurring with copulas, the function of =eo as either speaker or addressee-oriented is partly dependent on the evidentiality of the copulas. With other verbs, the orientation of =eo is dependent on other contextual factors.

A typologically interesting feature is that the same marker =eo has both speaker-oriented uses (marking the proposition as newsworthy to the speaker) and addressee-oriented uses (marking the proposition as newsworthy to the addressee). The following two examples illustrate a speaker-oriented use (16.67) and an addressee-oriented use (16.68) of =eo attached to the equative copula be?. Speaker vs. addressee-orientation is contextually determined.

(16.67) འོ་ གཞི་་་་ དང་ མེ་ =tsu be=eo.
o child=HON=PL EQU. NE=AT
‘O, it’s the children.’ (Richhi 25)
(16.68) \[ \text{The meaning of the (afore)said is this.} \] (JDF axe story)

In (16.67), the speaker expresses the newsworthiness of the information for herself (as also suggested by the use of the interjection jáː). In (16.68), on the other hand, the speaker is carrying out a pedagogical monologue and wants, by using =eo, to direct his addressees’ attention to the significance of the story he has just told.

A frequent context for using =eo is when the speakers provide information that they think is contrary to what the addressees believe:

(16.69) A: འདི་ཉར་ར་སྦད་ཟླ་བྔོ་བཅུ་པའི་ཀི།

\[ \text{It’s on the 20-29, of the tenth month.} \] (KNA kitchen discussion)

B: ཨྔོ་འདི་ཟླ་བྔོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ན་ཨིན།

\[ \text{It’s not the tenth month, you know. It’s the twelfth.} \] (AB kitchen discussion)

Although many uses of =eo resemble clauses which in other languages have been termed “mirative,” example (16.70) shows that uses of =eo are not determined in terms of newness to “overall knowledge structure” (DeLancey’s [1997: 33] description of mirativity) but in terms of attention-worthiness of the proposition.

(16.70) རི་ང་ གཤེར་ཐམས་ཅད་ཅིག་།

\[ \text{Do I have only hands? I have also feet, I see, (he) said.} \] (KT animal story)

In (16.70), the information that he has feet is definitely not new to the speaker’s “overall knowledge structure”. Rather, this old piece of information is particularly useful, and thus attention-worthy, in the situation the speaker is in (hence ‘I see’ in the translation). The speaker, a marten, is stuck in glue and has tried to get out of the trouble by using his feet. When his feet are stuck in glue, he comes up, with sad consequences, with a new realization of further limbs. Counter-arguments for subsuming the uses of =eo under “mirativity” are presented in Yliniemi (2016).

Verbless uses of =eo are topic-switching questions that direct the addressee’s attention to a new item. The topic-switching question may be translated ‘(and/but) what about…?’. When occurring within the clause, as in (16.71), the attention marker is followed by a pause (in harmony with its use as a clause-final clitic).

447 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).
567

(16.71) nòrden teʰ=ki=ɛo, t’aːto=sà: tei-tsʰo:=lo pʰempo: jò? k’an
PN 2SG.1=AGT=AT now=until community=DAT benefit.GEN work what
k’an p’ja-ze?
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 =ɛo can also form an independent topic-switching question, as illustrated by (16.72), where the speaker shifts the topic from himself to the addressees.

(16.72) nò mèmpo: dzà:dar p’ja-do i: te p’usim=tsu=ɛo?
1SG physician.GEN training do-IPFV EQU.PER then younger.sister=PL=AT
‘I’m doing physician’s training. And what about the sisters then?’ (Richhi 127)

Also verbal uses can be used for announcing new topics:

(16.73) ɲàteə? ðændʒonpa=di i:=ɛo=la. ðændʒonpa=di tʰyiŋtʰuŋ
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)

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 =ɛo has both clausal “mirative” like uses and phrasal “contrastive focus” like uses, highlighting the similarity (i.e. directing attention) between the concepts mirative and contrastive focus.

16.2.3 Non-commitment marker =ki/gi
The final marker =ki/gi is a loan from Nepali, where ki is used as a question particle, conjunction ‘or’ and also as a very frequent clause-final marker. I have not yet fully understood the meaning of this marker in Nepali or, by extension, in Denjongke. Preliminarly, I name it, in harmony to its other uses in Nepali, a non-commitment marker (glossed NC).

(16.75) ɲà: láp-ce=ki t’ontsʰe:=di=ra ódi be::ki.
1.AGT say-INF=GEN subject=DEMPH=DEMPH that EQU.NE=NC
‘The subject of my talking is just that.’ (KL BLA 12)
(16.76) ཐེ་ཙི་ རོགས་རམ་པུ་ནི་ (Nepali) སྤོ་བྱ་མ།

\[
\text{âtsi ro:ram pun p'ja-ɛɛ=lo=gi}.
\]

a.bit help also(Nep.) do-INF=REP=NC

‘(He) is also going to help us, I hear.’ (TB discussion with KT)

(16.77) ལང་ཅག་ ན་ལས་ ཏ་རིག་ (Nepali) བཅུ་བདུན་ལྔོ་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨིན་གི་ལགས།

\[
\text{ŋàt ɕaʔ nàː=lo=ɕɛ tarp=lo sō:-bo iŋ=gi=la}.
\]

1PL here=ABL date(Nep.) seventeen=DAT go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER=NC=HON

‘We went from here on the seventeenth.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

Note that the homophonous \textit{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 \textit{ɲá} and exclamative tag \textit{(h)oː} 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 \textit{ɲá} and \textit{(h)oː}, see §11.1.1.2 and §11.1.6 respectively. The tag \textit{ɲá} adds assertive nuance (§16.3.1) and \textit{(h)oː} exclamative nuance to the proposition (§16.3.2).

16.3.1 Assertive tag \textit{ɲá}

The form \textit{ɲá} was in §11.1 shown to be an interrogated form of the personal copula \textit{ĩ̃ː}. This form has, however, also grammaticalized into a non-interrogatory assertive tag which may attach even to copulas. The tag \textit{ɲá} (along with its dialectal variants \textit{ino} and \textit{no}) occurs in declarative and imperative clauses. The phonological status of \textit{ɲá} (both the copulas and tag) is open for more detailed research. For now, I have retained high pitch marking on the vowel to preserve connection to the source form \textit{ĩ̃ː na}. By using the assertive tag the speaker, rather than seeking a response from the addressee, adds exclamative force or nuance to the statement or command, as if adding the equivalent of English ‘I (certainly) tell you’ or ‘indeed’.

Example (16.78) illustrates the use of an interrogative \textit{ɲá} in a question (a) and the exclamative \textit{ɲá} in the answer to the same question (b):

(16.78) a) རྩོ་ནས་ གཞོ་ནས་ ཉི་?\n
\[
\text{leŋge? jö? kjap-to ɲá?}
\]

PRN,HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER,Q

‘Are you working?’ (KN e)

b) ཝི་ནས་ གཞོ་ནས་ ཉི་?\n
\[
\text{ŋā jö? kjap-to ɨ: ɲá.}
\]

1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER.TAG,ASR

‘I am indeed working.’ (KN e)

For two further examples of \textit{ɲá} and \textit{ino} appended to copulas, consider (16.79) and (16.80) respectively (the assertive force is suggested in the translation by \textit{I tell you}).
child excellent EQU.PER TAG.ASR
‘(The) child is excellent, I tell you. (SN kitchen discussion)

(16.80) mi lɛ̀ mdu: ino. kʰu=di tʽa mi dzikta?
person good EX.SEN TAG.ASR 3SGM=DEMPH now person excellent be.
EQU.NE
‘(The) man is good, I tell you. Now he’s a great guy.’ (KT discussion with TB)

In (16.81), the assertive tag is appended to a reportative form.

(16.81) ódi pʰar ɛ ɡõː ápo ɕí - kʰɛn=di=gi=ra ádzø
that TPN father die-NMLZ-DEMPH=AGT=AEMPH grandfather
lópø̃ː=lo ɕɛ̃́ - po=lo no.
teacher=DAT say-2INF=REP TAG.ASR
‘It was Paramgang Father who (just) died that is said to have said that to Grandpa
teacher, I tell you’. (KNM kitchen discussion)

For an example of ɲá attached to an imperative, consider (16.82), which contains two
imperatives. The speaker attaches ɲá to his second, emphatic appeal.

now finish-RDP-GEN word=GEN story void NEG-tell
tʽak - tʽak - ø: mā kjo: - ne sù: lótɛ=ɾaː kjap - ɛʔ ɨ:,
heal-RDP.2INF.EN wound repeat-COND pain again=AEMPH strike-INF EQU.PER
ɨ − lóɡju? ma-ɛʔ ɲá tʽo: - tɛ - gam őŋmu?
now story NEG-tell TAG.ASR hear-PST-ATTQ PN
‘Now do not in vain tell finished stories. If you repeat old wounds, it hurts again.
Now do not tell (this) story, I tell you, did you hear me, Wangmu?’ (nga’i ’gan 19)

In instructions, the tag ɲá may emphasize the obligation of the addressees:

(16.83) tʽizãː ɕɛ̀ : ː lɛptí sùŋ teuk go: ɲá
but mouth.HON very.much guard cause be.needed TAG.ASR
‘But the (patient) should be made to guard his mouth (from wrong food), I tell you.’
(mam-rtog 24)

Consultant YR commented on (16.83) that if the tag ɲá 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, ɲá 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:

(16.84) འོ་ང་ ང་ཅག་ ལོ་སྐད་ སབ་ དགྔོས་པད།
\text{tomorrow} \text{PL} \text{Lhoke} \text{learn be.needed=EQU.NE} \text{'}Tomorrow we have to learn Lhoke.’ (YR e)

(16.85) འོ་རངས་ ལན་རྒྱས་ བོན་ རང་ཀ་ སབ་གྲྭ་ན་ འགྱུ་ དགྔོས་ ཉ།
\text{tomorrow} \text{PRN.HON} \text{there} \text{TPN school=LOC go be.needed} \text{TAG.ASR} \text{'}Tomorrow you need to go there to Ranka school, I tell you.’ (YR e)

A further example of the addressee’s obligation is provided by (16.86).

(16.86) ངའི་ སྒྲུང་ ࠱ི་ལེའི་ འདི་ལོག་ རྒྱུ་ དྔོགས་ ཉ།
\text{1SG=GEN story=DEMPH=DAT believe NEG-believe-COND you=AGT 1SG=DAT} \text{iruk} \text{gja-tʰamba} \text{pʽin go:} \text{ná.}
\text{rupee hundred=NUM give be.needed TAG.ASR} \text{'}If you do not believe this story of mine, you have to pay me, I tell you, a hundred rupees.’ (PD bet story)

Declarative \text{ná} is often pronounced with a rise in intonation, as in Figure 16.1, which provides the pitch trace from (16.87) and in Figure 16.2, which provides the pitch trace of (16.88). In the latter clause (16.88), the pitch on \text{ná} is particularly high, and the clause triggered a response from the interlocutor, who said \text{lai} ‘yes’ (comes from WD \text{ལགས་ཨིན་ lags-in}).

(16.87) ངའི་ཀི་ ད་ བོ་ ཡིད་ མ་ ཞུ་ དགྔོས་ ཉ།
\text{1SG=} \text{now} \text{father mother say.HUM-IPFV EQU.NE TAG.ASR} \text{'}My father and mother used to say (like that), I tell you.’ (CY interview)

Figure 16.1. Rising intonation on \text{ná} in (16.87)
'(It) hasn’t yet been able to reach our university (level), I tell you.' (DR discussion with KL)

Figure 16.2. Rising intonation on \( \text{ná} \) in (16.88)

However, pitch is not always raised with declarative \( \text{ná} \). Figures 16.3 and 16.4, providing the pitch trace from (16.89) and (16.90) respectively illustrate a falling pitch pattern on \( \text{ná} \). Further research is needed in order to determine whether raised pitch is more likely to evoke a response from the addressee than low pitch.

Figure 16.3. Falling intonation on \( \text{ná} \) in (16.89)

Figure 16.4. Falling intonation on \( \text{ná} \) in (16.90)
In the imperative, tags tend to have a pitch level which is raised from the previous context, see Figure 16.5 presenting the pitch trace from (16.91).

(16.91) giumk ‘sakum ‘ce ‘pañ ɲá.
    śem-bo nā: ɲá.
    listen.HON-2INF give.HON TAG.ASR
    ‘Please listen, eh.’ (PB discussion with TB)

Figure 16.5. Slightly raised intonation with ɲá in (16.91)

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 (16.92) (h)o: is used in a declarative and in (16.93) in an imperative clause.

(16.92) karmapa: sòdep kja:as-pa te‘a tsajédorzi kjo-bo
    Karmapa.GEN prayer recite-TERM all Thaye.Dorje recite-2INF
    làp-o=lo ho:
    say-2INF=REP TAG.EXCLAM
    ‘When reciting Karmapa’s prayer, he is said to have read all Thaye Dorje(‘s text), eh.’ (KNM kitchen discussion)

(16.93) t‘a ma-lap ho:
    now NEG-say TAG.EXCLAM
    ‘Now don’t speak, eh. (KNM kitchen discussion)

Example (16.94) provides a corresponding use from Nepali (Hutt & Subedi [1999: 249], Romanization mine):

(16.94) Nepali (Hutt & Subedi [1999: 249])
    hijo maile tapāi aspatāl jā-na lāg-e-ko dekh-e-ko
    yesterday I.AGT you.HON hospital go.INF begin-PFV-NMLZ see-PFV-NMLZ
    thiē, ho.
    COP.PST.1SG COP.EQ.NPST.3SG
    ‘I saw you going to the hospital, eh.’

In (16.95) the motivation for using (h)ó: was reported to be irritation of not being, at first, heard by the addressee.
Another context is emphasizing disagreement:

(16.96) mɛ̀mbɛ̩d  ꚞ:  
NEG.EQU.NE TAG.EXCLAM  
’(It) is not (that), eh.’ (PT, oh)

With the tag (h)oː the pitch is usually raised from the previous context, but the rise may be marginal, as shown in Figure 16.6, which presents the pitch trace of (16.97).

(16.97) kʰõː tɕʰu kjap-tɕɛ ꚞ:  
3PL Nepali=AEMPH speak-PST TAG.EXCLAM  
’It was Nepali they spoke, eh.’ (CY interview)

Figure 16.6. Intonation with the tag (h)o:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰõː tɕʰu} & \quad \text{ra} \\
\text{kjap-tɕɛ} & \quad \text{glyph}\\
\end{align*}
\]

16.4 Discourse particles t’a and te

The particle t’a ‘now’ is sometimes used, similarly to the fuller form t’ato ‘now’, to refer to the present time, see (16.98), where the short form t’a and and the long form t’ato appear both to be time-referential.

(16.98) t’a nён kjap-tiki t’ato lō teu-t’amba làː-ʦʰːaː.  
now wedding do-NF now year ten-NUM arrive-CPML  
’Now it’s ten years since (they/he) got married.’ (KT life story)

Typically, however, t’a is used somewhat similarly to the English now in clauses such as Now, I’ve got something to tell you, where now has a discourse function rather than a referential function referring to the present time. In (16.99), discourse-functional t’a co-occurs with time-referential t’ato ‘now’.

(16.99) te t’ato te t’a làːtʰun=lə  te t’a li=di  
so now so now TPN=DAT so now apple=D EMPH  
’So now in Lachung apples…’ (LA intro to Lachung)
The particle *t’a* can occur clause-initially (16.100), medially (16.101) and finally (16.102). In spoken language, the particle may also occur more than once in a clause, see (16.102).

(16.100) 彼の行動は、
*t’a* mi t’amtɕeʔ haledː.
now human all be.surprised
‘Now (=as a result) all the people were amazed.’ (SGD cave story)

(16.101) 現在、彼は
*te*ʔo? *t’a* t’sʔo=di ge: mi-tʂʰuː-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)

(16.102) 彼は、彼の
*t’a* ōdiɲimtsʰiɲuŋɛntsʰː mako=di t’amtɕe=lo ɲo tɔn.
now that date relative son-in-law=DEMPH all=DAT face show
beINF EQU NE 448
‘Now on that day the groom has to be shown to all relatives.’ (SGD wedding customs)

The particle *te* 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*, *moreover*. Just like *t’a*, the particle *te* occurs clause initially, medially and finally, and may occur more than once. For an initial use, see (16.103), and for medial and final uses, consider (16.104), which has two instances of *te* in one clause.

(16.103) 彼が、彼を
*te* ōdi tegkʰa=lo kʰoː=ra lómpu sɛː-di kɔ?
then that above=DAT 3PL=DEMPH minister choose-NF appoint
‘Then in addition it was they who chose and appointed a minister.’ (CY interview)

(16.104) 彼の、彼の
*ōdi tsʰeː=di* te jɔŋ cáptː: be=ʊo te.
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 *te* may indicate topic change:

---

448 There is probably a mistake in word order here, the right order being: *t’a* ōdiɲimtsʰi mako=diɲuŋɛntsʰː t’amtɕe=lo ɲo tɔn goːce be? t’a.

449 In such uses as *So, what do you think of my new jacket?*, which are not closely connected to what was said before.
Among us ten, he and I are the closest. So/then, when does the sisters’ school’s holiday start?’ (Richhi 100)

Recapitulation

Recapitulation (see Genetti 2005: 49) refers to a technique in story-telling, where the speaker repeats what was said in the previous (finite) clause. The repeated form is typically presented in the nonfinal converbal construction. The following examples come from a story of a trip the speaker had made on the previous day. The recapitulated parts are given in bold.

(16.106) *They* did a bit shopping. Having done shopping, *(they)* bought shoes to a child. *(They)* bought shoes.’ (DB trip story)

Right-dislocation

Typically Denjongke clauses end in a verb but occasionally clausal arguments occur postposed to the verb. In spontaneous spoken language right-dislocation is a frequently used way for speakers to correct themselves and add information that helps the addressee to disambiguate the clause. The right-dislocated element may be a core argument, as in (16.108) or a peripheral argument, as in (16.109). The dislocated element may but is not always preceded by a pause. The dislocated elements are given in bold.

(16.108) ‘I live there at the monastery in a place called Tshukal.’ (JD life story)

\footnote{Denjongke script has ꔼ[po], which is probably a cliticized form of the interrogative equative bo (cf. declarative equative beʔ=puʔ).}
Right-dislocation finds even written expression in the novel Richhi. Example (16.110) presents three consecutive instances.

(16.110)  a) sà-ne sà, man-za-ne pa? làp-o t’ãː dâu
    eat-COND eat NEG-eat-COND eat.AO.HUM say-2INF and similar
    t’en-zê: jòð 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) di pim sûm-po k’atê to-êe bo? lò sûm=le
    this day three-COL how contain-INF EQU.NE.Q year three=ABL
    lâktsʰo? tʰoː-zê: karma=lo t’ato.
    more.than feel-PROG PN=DAT now
    ‘How to endure these three days, feeling like more than three years for Karma?’ (Richhi)

c) teʰokiʔ mèː-ruŋ dzāːdar=to p’jaː-zê: pim teʰameʔ kʰoː=tsu:
    PN EX-CONC training=CEMPH do-PROG day every 3PL=PL.AGT
    ‘Although Choki is not there, they are practising every day.’ (Richhi 65)

16.7 A note on intonation and discourse

The pitch at the end of an affirmative statement may rise as a sign that the speaker is about to continue the discourse, as shown Figure 16.7 representing the pitch trace from (16.111), the first sentence of a story.

(16.111) t’ãːpu-tëika k’jóːː=tei=na mi=teiʔ jòː-k’en be?
    long.ago-APPR village=INDF=LOC human=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
    ‘Long ago there was a man in one village.’ (TB bull story)
Figure 16.7. Sentence-final rise in intonation in anticipation of continuation (16.111)

\[
\text{t'ā: -}pu\tht\text{-}tei\tht\text{-}ka\quad \text{k'jò\tht=}tei=na\quad \text{mi\tht=}tei?\tht\text{jò}\tht\text{-}kʰ\tht\text{en}\tht\text{be?}. 
\]

Figure 16.7 can be contrasted with Figure 16.8, which presents the non-rising intonation of (16.112), the second sentence in the same story:

(16.112) \[ \begin{align*} 
\text{ódi} & \quad \text{mi=di}=gi \\
\text{ári} & \quad \text{bompu}=tei? \\
\text{jò}: & \quad \text{kʰ}\text{en}\text{ be?}. 
\end{align*} \]

That human=AEMPH=GEN paddy.field big=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘That man had a large paddy field.’ (TB bull story)

Figure 16.8. No sentence final rise in intonation (16.112)

\[
\text{ó \tht}di\text{ mi=di}\tht=gi\quad \text{á-ri}\quad \text{bom}\tht=pu\tht=tei?\quad \text{jò}:\quad \text{kʰ}\text{en}\text{ be?}. 
\]

16.8 Summary remarks

This chapter described discourse phenomena, with an emphasis on emphatic clitics, clause-final clitics and non-interrogative tags. It was shown that Denjongke has four emphatic clitics which bring differing but partly overlapping semantic nuance to emphasis. For instance, the anaphoric emphatic =–rãː typically highlights a topical referent which has already been mentioned (hence the term anaphoric). The demonstrative-emphatic =di has developed from a proximal demonstrative into a non-referential marker the meaning of which subsumes definiteness but goes beyond it (demonstratives and personal pronouns can be marked with =di). Therefore =di was not named a definiteness marker, although that term is used for cognate morphemes in related languages.

The attention marker =eːo, which does not seem to have reported cognates in other Tibetic languages, was shown to resemble the category mirative but also to be distinct from it. It was also shown that the tags pá and (h)osexual, which are also used for interrogation, have developed non-interrogative uses: pá can bring assertive and (h)osexual exclamative nuance to a declarative proposition. The uses of the non-commitment marker ki borrowed from Nepali remain a fertile ground for future research (in both Nepali and Denjongke).
17 Notes on lexicon

This chapter describes vocabulary from five semantic domains which show particularly rich variety, such as ideophones (§17.1), or are otherwise crosslinguistically or culturally interesting, such as kinship terms (§17.2), names (§17.3), colours (§17.4) and language used with small children (§17.5).

17.1 Ideophones

In this section, I first introduce the concept of ideophones (§17.1.1). This is followed by description of various types of ideophones. Semantically ideophones are grouped into nonnormative ideophones (§17.1.2) and those ideophones for which normativity is not an issue (§17.1.3-5). Those ideophones for which normativity is not an issue are morphologically divided into reduplicating (§17.1.3) and near reduplicating words. The near reduplicating words are further divided into those which change a vowel quality (§17.1.4) and those which change the initial consonant (§17.1.5). A somewhat distinct group are onomatopoeic ideophones (§17.1.6). There are also ideophonic, reduplicated suffixes, which can vividify adjectives (§17.1.6).

17.1.1 Introduction

Ideophones (or ideophonic adjectives and adverbs) in Denjongke are words which behave syntactically as adjectives and/or adverbs but are morphologically, phonologically and semantically distinct from other adjectives and adverbs. The morphologically distinct characteristics are reduplication, near reduplication and rhyming. The phonological distinctness consists of consonantal phenomena not attested in non-ideophones. Semantically, ideophones are more vivid representations of sensory experiences than non-ideophonic descriptions. Onomatopoeia is considered here to fall within the description “vivid”, and thus onomatopoeic words are considered a subclass of ideophones (see §17.1.6). Other ideophones, however, are not as clearly connected with onomatopoeia, i.e. mimicking sounds.

The term ideophone was first introduced from within Bantu linguistics by Doke (1935: 118), who defined an ideophone as “a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, color, smell, action, state, or intensity.” A more recent definition is provided by Dingemanse (2011:25): “Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory imagery”. Dingemanse adds to Doke’s definition the idea of “markedness” of ideophones. This means that ideophones stand out from the rest of the language by their phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Ideophones are theoretically interesting because they fall under sound symbolism, a concept that challenges one of the basic tenets of structuralist linguistics, the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign (Nuckolls 1999: 226). In Denjongke, ideophone are syntactically adjectives and/or adverbs but they have morphological, phonological and semantic characteristics which set the, apart from other word classes.451

Ideophones employ reduplication, as in tsʰumtsʰum ཕུམ་ཐུམ་ ‘opening and closing or being on and off intermittantly’, or near-reduplication by vowel change, as in barbur ཀ་བར་ ‘with bulges’, or near reduplication by initial consonant change (rhyming), as in k’atepmatep ལེ་ཐེས་་ ‘in one way or another, at any cost’. Ideophones are also often phonologically marked in that they employ syllable-initial consonant clusters that are otherwise non-existent in the vocabulary452, for instance /kr/ in kraıro ↑onomatopoeic words.

451 For the analogous category “expressives” in the closely related language Dzongkha, see Watters (2018: 297).
452 Except for some foreign loan words.
praprop (see Table 17.9 for meanings). Moreover, syllable-final /l/, which typically simply causes vowel fronting, and /r/, which often simply causes vowel lengthening, are pronounced in ideophones, i.e. te'alte'ol kʰalsimsims, gargor kʰalsimsims (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 kʰalsimsims is a more vivid representation of ‘short’ than the non-reduplicated counterpart dumta? kʰalsimsims.

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) ལེགས་ཐང་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ སྦད།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi}= & \text{di} & \text{te'apte'op} & \text{be}?, \\
\text{human}= & \text{DEMPH IDEO.NN} & \text{EQU.NE}
\end{align*}
\]

‘That man is reprehensible.’ (KN e)

b) ལེགས་ཐང་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ སྦད།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sàm}= & \text{di} & \text{te'apte'op} & \text{man-za.} \\
\text{food}= & \text{DEMPH IDEO.NN} & \text{NEG-eat}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Do not eat the food inconsiderately.’ (KN e)

The ambiguity of ideophones with respect adjective vs. adverb distinction is further illustrated by (17.2), where sàbzap kʰalsimsims ‘careful(ly)’ is in (a) used alone adverbially and in (b) with the adverbializer p’ja ti kʰalsimsims, which turn adjectives into adverbs.

(17.2)  a) ལེགས་ཐང་ དབྱེ་ན་ སྦད།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sàbzap} & \text{ do}?. \\
\text{careful sit}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Remain careful(ly).’ (KN e)

b) ལེགས་ཐང་ དབྱེ་ན་ སྦད།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sàbzap} & \text{ p’ja-ti do}?. \\
\text{careful do-NF sit}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Remain careful(ly).’ (KN e)

Ideophones can even be used like nouns, as shown by (17.3) and (17.4). In both examples, (a) presents an adjectival/adverbial use of an ideophone and (b) a noun-like use of the same word.

(17.3)  a) ལེགས་ཐང་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཐང་ སྦད།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi}= & \text{tsu} & \text{t’amtce}? & \text{kʰusimsim} & \text{jò}?. \\
\text{human}= & \text{PL all} & \text{silent(ly)} & \text{EX.PER}
\end{align*}
\]

‘All the people are silent(ly).’ (Richhi 84)
b) ད་ལྟ་ ཆྱུད་ལྡན་ ཉགན་པོ་ སྔོ་ལེ ལྲབ་ཧྲིབ་ འཐོན་ཆྱུར།  

\textit{t’ato dzinge:=na kʰusimsim jò?}:  
\text{now class=LOC silence EX.PER}  
‘Now there is silence in the classroom.’ (Richhi 6)

(17.4)  

\begin{enumerate}
\item a) ད་ལྟ་ ཆྱུད་ལྡན་ ཉགན་པོ་ སྔོ་ལེ ལྲབ་ཧྲིབ་ འཐོན་ཆྱུར།  
\textit{t’ato tsʰedé: niomp sole raprip tʰon-ts’a}:  
\text{now considerably evening dusk dim become-CMPL}  
‘It has become considerably dim with evening dusk.’ (Richhi 40)

\item b) བཅོམ་ ལྟོགས་ སྔོ་་རོ།  
\textit{ŋàt ɕ aʔ r̥ aprip=na l̥ ɛ p-o ŭ}:  
\text{1PL dim(ness)=LOC arrive-2INF EQU.PER}  
‘We arrived at dusk.’ (KT e)
\end{enumerate}

In (17.3b), \textit{kʰusimsim} དྭིནྭིནྭིནྭ is used like an abstract noun ‘silence’ as a copula subject in a locative clause, and in (17.4b), on the other hand, \textit{raprip} ལྲབ་ཧྲྲིབ་ 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) བོས་ ཤོད་ ཡོམ་ཡོམ་, བར་ ཁྱུག་ཁྱུག་, བཞིན་ རྒྱུན།  
\textit{teː jöjmom, p’ar kʰjukʰjuk, õ? tsʰetseʔ}:  
\text{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 Ideophones expressing nonnormativity

The phonological sequence \textit{C1aC2.C1oC2}\footnote{With reduplicated disyllabic words such as \textit{k’abzì k’obzì}, \textit{C1aC2.C1oC2}} (where \textit{C} is a consonant and the numbers indicate that the same consonant is repeated in the second syllable) is in Denjongke associated with a quality or state of affairs that deviates from some type of norm. For instance, the word \textit{rakrok} ཨྭིནྭིནྭིནྭ refers to tree trunks and roads which are not smooth/level (the norm) but bulgy/bumpy. 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 \textit{k’abzì k’obzì} ལྭིནྭིནྭིནྭ (Barapathing) and \textit{k’abzì k’odun/hapzi hodun} ལྭིནྭིནྭིནྭ ལྭིནྭིནྭ (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideophone</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pappop</td>
<td>བབ་བྔོབ་</td>
<td>'having mixed big and small inappropriately'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjarpjor</td>
<td>བྱར་བྱར་བྔོར་</td>
<td>'onomatopoeic for a disturbing sound of pouring liquid’ (e.g. diarrhea or pouring water from a container to another)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praprop</td>
<td>བབ་བྔོབ་</td>
<td>'in only slight resemblance of how something should be done, badly done'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰjarpʰjor</td>
<td>ཆལ་ཆྔོལ་</td>
<td>'clothes not appropriately worn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʰarteʰor</td>
<td>དར་དོར་</td>
<td>‘with bulges of fat (of a fat person)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzardzor</td>
<td>བཱ་བྔོབ་</td>
<td>‘inappropriately prepared (of food)’ (e.g. mixing items not to be mixed or cooking unhygienically)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babbop</td>
<td>བབ་བྔོབ་</td>
<td>‘tasteless (of tea or millet-beer)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjarbjor</td>
<td>ཆལ་ཆྔོལ་</td>
<td>‘occurring as an assortment of small items of various sizes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjākmjok</td>
<td>བྱ་བྱེ་བྱེ་</td>
<td>‘non-essential enough to be able to be given away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰamtʰom</td>
<td>ཆབ་ཆྔོབ་</td>
<td>‘non-essential enough to be able to be given away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰaptsʰop</td>
<td>ཆབ་ཆྔོབ་</td>
<td>‘with bulges, not smooth (of a road, floor plank, of a stone-wall in which some stones are loose), also raja raja p’ja དཔ་དཔ་རྣ་རྣ ‘make uneven with bulges’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰaptsʰor</td>
<td>ཋབ་དབྱེ་</td>
<td>‘softness of leaves and hay in the forest’ (KT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̥ akrok, r̥ aprop</td>
<td>བྱ་ཡ་བྱ་ཡ་བྱ་</td>
<td>‘uncontrolled walk of a drunk person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰalpʰol</td>
<td>ཆབ་ཆྔོབ་</td>
<td>‘speak around the real subject’ (also used of dog’s sound) (KL 5, 230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̥ ajakʰr̥ oj</td>
<td>བྱ་ཡ་བྱ་ཡ་བྱ་</td>
<td>‘bulgy (of a tree)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰapkʰop</td>
<td>བཱ་བྔོབ་</td>
<td>‘with bulges (of a hilly horizon, figure of land)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰjakʰkʰop, giagjok (KN)</td>
<td>བཱ་བྔོབ་</td>
<td>‘abnormal (of walking of a drunk or sick person)” (KN e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰjaŋkʰjop</td>
<td>བཱ་བྔོབ་</td>
<td>‘walking here and there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰjakʰkʰop (KL)</td>
<td>བཱ་བྔོབ་</td>
<td>‘weak (of walking style or sick animal)” (KL 5, 230) (e.g. the walk of a drunken man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapgop</td>
<td>བྱ་བྱོ་བྱོ་</td>
<td>‘out of usual shape (of a tree trunk with bulges, of something drawn or written inappropriately)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gargor</td>
<td>བྱ་བྱོ་བྱོ་</td>
<td>‘uncontrolled walk of a drunk person’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

454 Consultant KN uses sápsop instead of cápcop for this meaning.
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)  

\[ \text{lam}=\text{di} \text{ rakrok} \text{ be?} \quad \text{N=DEMPH} \text{ IDEO.NN} \quad \text{EQU.} \]  

‘The road is rough.’

\[ \text{ein}=\text{di} \text{ gapgop} \text{ be?} \quad \text{N=DEMPH} \text{ IDEO.NN} \quad \text{EQU.} \]  

‘The tree is bulgy.’

\[ \text{mi}=\text{di} \text{ babbop} \text{ be?} \quad \text{N=DEMPH} \text{ IDEO.NN} \quad \text{EQU.} \]  

‘The man is bulgy.’

\[ \text{ri}=\text{di} \text{ k’apk’op} \text{ be?} \quad \text{N=DEMPH} \text{ IDEO.NN} \quad \text{EQU.} \]  

‘The mountain-range is curvy.’

\[ \text{N}=\text{DEMPH} \quad \text{IDEO.NN} \quad \text{EQU.} \]  

(17.7)  

\[ \text{do} \quad \text{pappop} \quad \text{man-za.} \]  

\[ \text{stone IDEO.NN NEG-place} \]  

‘Do not place the stones in a disorderly manner.’ (DB e)

(17.8)  

\[ \text{a) } \text{ði}=\text{di} \text{ kjako \ pjarpor \ təː-zen \ du?} \]  

\[ \text{baby=DEMPH} \quad \text{faeces IDEO.NN send-PROG EX.SEN} \]  

‘The child has an explosive diarrhoea.’ (KT e)

\[ \text{b) } \text{tɕʰu \ pjarpor \ mə-jaː.} \]  

\[ \text{water IDEO.NN NEG-do} \]  

‘Do not make disturbing sound with water.’ (KN e)

(17.9)  

\[ \text{di} \quad \text{ei}=\text{di}=\text{na} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{praprop \ keːp \ du?}. \]  

\[ \text{this field=DEMPH=LOC} \quad \text{stone IDEO.NN a.lot EX.SEN} \]  

‘This field is loaded with (small) stones.’ (KT e)

(17.10)  

\[ \text{p’um}=\text{di}=\text{gi} \quad \text{k’ola \ pjarpor/teʰartʰor/dzardzor \ k’on.} \]  

\[ \text{girl=DEMPH=AGT} \quad \text{clothes IDEO.NN} \quad \text{wear} \]  

‘That girl does not wear clothes properly (e.g. buttons attached in wrong places).’ (KN e)

\[ \text{N}=\text{DEMPH} \quad \text{IDEO.NN} \quad \text{EQU.} \]

---

455 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 k’apk’op originates as a nonnormative description of something else and is then extended to hills.
(17.11) བུམ་ འདི་ཀིས་ ཟམ་ འབྱར་འབྱེེར་ བཟྔོ་བྔོ་ སྦད།

pʽum=di=gi sâm bjarbjor zo-u be?.
girl=DEMPH=AGT food IDEO.NN make-2INF EQU.NE
‘The girl prepared the food in an inappropriate (i.e. unhygienic) way.’ (KN e)

(17.12) མྱེ་ཐོས་ཆུ་ཐོས།
teʼa=di mjâkmjok be?.
millet.beer=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
‘This tea is tasteless.’ (KN e)

(17.13) a) ཕྱབ་སྤོད་ཚོམ།
tʰamtʰom tʰon-tsʰaː:
IDEO.NN become-CPML
‘(He) has become unable to work.’ (KT e)

b) ནེ་གུལ་བྱོད་སྦད།
lɛ̀ p tʰamtʰom gju-di
very.much IDEO.NN walk-NF
‘walking very difficultly’ (KN e)

(17.14) དི་རི་མྱོང་ ཐོས་ཅོས་ འདུག།
di rimo tsʰaptsʰop du?.
this picture IDEO.NN EX.SEN
‘These pictures are placed haphazardly.’ (KN e)

(17.15) ང་མིང་ སྤོད་ཚོར་ ཐྦོས་པྔོ་ ཡོད་ནེ
ŋà tsʰartsʰor tʰoː-bo ū.
1SG IDEO.NN hear-2INF EQU.PER
‘I heard an unrecognizable sound (and was afraid).’ (KL e)

(17.16) དུས་ོ་ཉེ་ ནངས་ བི་སོས།
tʼaŋ tʼin sârsor pʼja-boː qa
clang-clang IDEO.NN do-2INF.GEN sound
‘the sound of noise-making, clang clang.’ (Richhi 30)

(17.17) གུ་ཅའི་ རར་ གཡོག་ ལག་ལྔོག་ ཡྔོད་ནེ
kʼutei=tsaː jò? làdkok jàː-ne ŋà=lo lôn tãː.
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) དུ་ཐུ་ འདི་ཀིས་ ཟམ།
tu=di làlpop be?.
water=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.PER
‘The water is lukewarm.’ (KT e)

456 According to consultant KUN ‘paret′or’ used in place of tsʰaptsʰop could convey the same meaning.
457 The nonnormativity here probably consists of the fact that the speaker does not recognize what or who made
the sound.
(17.19) དོ་ རཀོ་ རང་ སྐོོ་ རྒོོ་ ཁོད་ བྷེ།
*do* rayrho du-ke.
stone IDEO.NN EX.SEN-IN
‘There are (big) stones here and there (and everywhere).’ (KN e)

(17.20) a) རྨ་ རང་ ཐོབ་ གེས་ རྨ་ ཁོད་ བྷེ།
k’im raprop ke:p du-ke.
house IDEO.NN a.lot EX.SEN-IN
‘There are a lot of (inappropriately) small houses, I see/saw.’ (KN e)

b) སྐྱོོ་ རང་ ཐོབ་ གེས་ རྨ་ ཁོད་ ལེན།
ŋáː raprop-p’ja t’i-m iː.
I.AGT IDEO.NN-ADVZR write-2INF EX.SEN
‘I wrote it haphazardly.’ (KN e)

(17.21) རྨ་ ཐོབ་ ཁོད་ དྲུ་ རྨ་ ཁོད་ ལེན།
p’um=di te=al’eol=p’ja gju de¬be?458.
girl=DEMPH IDEO.NN-ADVZR go stay.2INF=EQU.NE
‘The girl keeps going (around) out of her mind.’ (KN e)

(17.22) a) མི་ རྨ་ འཇིི་ དི ཥེ་ རྨ་ འཇིི་ ངེ།
mí=di te’aopte’op be?.
human=DEMPH IDEO-NN EQU. NE
‘That man is reprehensible.’ (KN e)

b) སྨ་ རྨ་ འཇིི་ དི ཥེ་ རྨ་ འཇིི་ ངེ།
sàm=di te’aopte’op man-za.
food=DEMPH IDEO-NN NEG-eat
‘Do not eat food inconsiderately.’ (KN e)

(17.23) བུམ་ འདི་ ཐབས་ ངུ་ རྨ་ ཁོད་ ལེན།
bìu=di nàːts:Čapeop=na459 nè: do: du?.
snake=DEMPH IDEO.NN=LOC lie stay EX.SEN
‘The snake is lying in the undergrowth of the forest.’ (KT e)

(17.24) བོད་ མདོ་ བོད་ མོད།
jàrjor k’an làp-o?
IDEO.NN what say-2INF
‘What did you say in unclear mutter?’ (KL e)

(17.25) ཐོབ་ ཁོད་ བཤེི་ བཤེི་ འཇིི་ དི ཡུལ་ ངེ།
mí=di te’āː:关闭-di jàrjor=lo gju-zouke.
human=DEMPH millet.beer drink-NF IDEO.NN =DAT go-PROG.SEN
‘The man has drunk beer and walks in halting steps, I see/saw.’ (KN e)

458 This form comes from either gju do-po be? འོ་ ཡོ་ རྡོ་ ཙེ རྡོ or gju do: jù-po be? འོ་ ཡོ་ རྡོ་ ཙེ རྡོ.
459 It is not obvious how this idephone referring to the undergrowth in the forest is “non-normative”. Perhaps soft undergrowth is not considered stable walking-ground.
(17.26) ཤིང་ འདི་ སྦད། \(585\)
\(e\mathbb{I}=\) di \(kjakkjok\) \(be?\).
\(tree=\) DEMPH IEO.NN EQU.NE
‘The tree is bulgy (and not straight).’ (KN e)

(17.27) ༽ུགས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཁྱེན་ སྦད། \(17.26\)
\(zu? \ tʰamtee\) \(krakrok\) \(tʰon-diki\)…
body all IEO.NN become-NF
‘All (my) body has become wrecked…’ (KN e)

(17.28) a) འདི་ སྦད། \(17.27\)
\(ləm=\) di \(k'jakkjok\) \(be\?)
\(road=\) DEMPH IEO.NN EQU.NE
‘The road is curvy.’ (KT e)

b) དཔོན་ ཕྱེད་ ཀྲྱེད་ སྦད། \(17.29\)
\(raːzipo\) \(ləm=lo\) \(k'jakkjok=lo\) \(gju-zen\) \(du\?)
drunkard road=DAT IEO.NN=DAT go-IMPF EX.SEN
‘A drunkard is walking here and there on the road.’ (KUN e)

(17.29) བྱང་ སྦད། \(17.28\)
\(mí=\) di \(k'japk'jop-p'ja\) \(gju-zen\) \(du\?)
human=DEMPH IEO.NN-AVDZR go-PROG EX.SEN
‘The man is walking feebly (like a sick person).’ (KT e)

(17.30) a) འདི་ སྦད། \(17.29\)
\(nə=\) di \(k'jark'jor\) \(be\?)
cow=DEMPH IEO.NN EQU.NE
‘The cow is weak/sick’. (KT e)

b) སྦད། \(17.30\)
\(ádzo\) \(t'arìn sɔːteː\) \(zɛ'-p\) \(de\?\)
grandfather today millet beer.HON drink.HON-2INF APP.EQU.NE
‘Grandfather seems to have drunk beer today, walking a bit unsteadily stepping here and there.’ (KL e)

(17.31) ི་སྦད། \(17.30\)
\(jìgi \ gapgop=lo\) \(k'an \ t'i-u?\)
letter IEO.NN=DAT what write-2INF
‘What did you write in such shapeless strokes?’ (KN e)

585
(17.32) \( t'o' ? \) \( k'\text{abzik}'\text{obi} \)?
2SG.L IDEO.NN do-NF where go-IPFV
‘Where are you going in such a hurry?’ (KL e)

(17.33) a) \( g\text{om h\text{arhor}=lo} \) \( p'\text{hi}=\text{ti} \) \( n\text{āyæa} \) \( ð=\text{tä}:-\text{ze} \).
door IDEO.NN=DAT open-NF inside come send-PST
‘(He) opened the door and came in uninvited.’ (KN e)

b) \( k'\text{u} \) \( p'\text{hïtu} \) \( \text{h\text{arhor-p'}j\text{a}} \) \( \text{hup-ti=un} \).
3SGM gruel IDEO.NN=ADVZR slurp-PROG EX.SEN
‘He is slurping his gruel inconsiderately fast.’ (KN e)

The ideophone \textit{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) seem to have a negative context, but (c) and (d) present positive or neutral evaluations.

(17.34) a) \( m\text{i}=\text{di} \) \( k'\text{a}=\text{le} \) \( k'\text{jaktsʰi} \) \( \text{dakdok tʰon-tsʰa} \).
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) \( p'\text{ja}-\text{ca} \) \( \text{dakdok}=\text{lo} \) \( \text{sakʰa} \) \( \text{ko}: \) \( \text{za}: \) \( \text{du} \).
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) \( k'\text{an}\text{ə}: \) \( \text{doma} \) \( \text{dakdok}=\text{lo} \) \( \text{ta}: \) \( \text{do}: \) \( \text{du} \).
cucumber fruit IDEO.NN=DAT attach stay EX.SEN
‘Cucumbers are growing abundantly.’

d) \( o'\text{ni} \) \( \text{dakdok ke:p(o)} \) \( \text{du} \).
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. \textit{tʰaptsʰap} tʰap-tʰap ‘restless, hurried’), which are neutral with respect to normativity. Other ideophones which are neutral with respect to normativity are near-reduplicated words with a change in vowel (e.g. \textit{b\text{arbur} b\text{arbur} ‘bulgy’}, see §17.1.4), near-reduplicated words with a change in initial consonant (e.g. \textit{k'atep\text{mat}ep} k\text{atep\text{mat}ep ‘one way or another, at any cost’}, see §17.1.5) and onomatopoeic words, which are considered a subclass of ideophones (e.g. \textit{kukurikãː} k\text{ukurikãː ‘cock-a-doodle-}

\textsuperscript{466} Consultant KL gave the Nepali equivalent \textit{lad\text{dai} pa\text{r\text{dai}}}. 586
do’; 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideophone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sàbzap</td>
<td>‘carefully’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l̥aplap</td>
<td>‘flicker (n.), show unsteady light’ (of a light bulb and fire), also <em>l̥aplap p’ja</em> ‘flicker (v.)’ (see also <em>pjā l̥aplap</em> in Table 17.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰumtsʰum</td>
<td>‘open and close or be on and off intermittently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰaktʰak</td>
<td>‘clearly (of reading)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te²øpte²op</td>
<td>‘right texture for chewing (of meat and some vegetables)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giophjøp</td>
<td>‘hastily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapdap</td>
<td>‘texture of (a bit too wet) rice that sticks to ladle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰaptsʰap</td>
<td>‘restless, (overly) quick in action’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l̥ɛpl̥ɛp</td>
<td>‘of scanty meat of a lean animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóppøp</td>
<td>‘soft, such that can be depressed with a finger (e.g. meat, skin)’ (opposite of *takta? ‘hard’) (KT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burbur</td>
<td>‘bulging’ (TB 4, 186) from bur ‘spring up’, *teʰu bur-ee? ‘springing up of water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̥riprip</td>
<td>‘dim(ly)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ukk’uk</td>
<td>‘moving up and down (e.g. nodding head or moving finger)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰaktʰak</td>
<td>‘clear (at least of reading from memory)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(17.35) *khrul la ba rya nyön-thug-lha*  
\[\text{takjø: } \text{sàbzap } p’ja=ee=ki \text{ ló’ta?}
\]
looking after carefully do=INF=GEN decision  
‘decision to look after carefully’ (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam, for class 12, 13)

(17.36) *k’i k’a ḍen rya k’a ḍen rya rya ngezum jin*  
\[\text{k’u=i á:bu? } \text{t’ò:}=di=jà: \text{tsʰumtsʰum } jò-po \text{ be?}.
\]
3SGM=GEN bottom \[461\] hole=DEMPH=too on.and.off EX-2INF EQU.NE  
‘Even his anus was palpitating (with fear).’ (rna-gsung 33)

(17.37) *khrul la bu gön*  
\[\text{giophjøp } ò-ee t’i.}
\]
hastrily come-INF EQU.PER  
‘(I)’ll come hastily.’ (DB e)

(17.38) *khrul la bu gön*  
\[\text{lò?’=di l̥aplap }^{462} \text{ be?}.
\]
light=DEMPH flickering EQU.NE  
‘The light is flickering.’ (KN e)

---

461 This word may refer both to the front side (genitals) and the back side (buttock) of the anatomical bottom.  
462 This ideophone is also used for expressing paleness of colour, see §17.4.2.
(17.39) Now the patient has regained consciousness and has come to dimly recognize human faces.’ (Richhi 168)

(17.40) ‘nodding (his) head’ (mthun-gsgril 17)

(17.41) ‘He reads the scripture very clearly from memory.’ (KN e)

Fully reduplicated ideophones also occur in phrasal constructions with a preceding monosyllabic element which may be either a noun or a verb, see Table 17.3. Some of the prefixed elements such as pja (meaning unclear) in pja-laplap ‘eating greedily’ seem tightly connected to the ideophonic suffix, whereas other elements, such as re:po ‘hair’ in re:po siŋziŋ ‘entangled hair’ form a looser ideophonic syntagm which may be intervened by other words, see (17.46).

Table 17.3. Complex ideophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideophone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jë-laplap</td>
<td>‘seeing unclearly as if alternately disappearing and appearing’ (KN), combining jë: ‘disappear’ with laplap ‘flicker (n.), show unsteady light’ (of a light bulb and fire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pja-laplap (KN)</td>
<td>‘eating greedily, impatient behavior in front of food consisting of stretching hands here and there to taste various dishes (typical of children)’ (latter written form from Dras-ljong gsung-gtam 45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-sópsop</td>
<td>‘fluffy with hair (of skin), also associated with leanness’, pu ‘skin hair’ (Dras-ljong gsung-gtam 40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋum-ri:ri: ŋum-tä:tä: (KNA)</td>
<td>‘smooth (of skin), also associated with fatness’, ŋum ‘oil’ (Dras-ljong gsung-gtam 40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰøː-síːsiː</td>
<td>‘chilly, cold’, kʰøː ‘chill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hampo eːːco</td>
<td>‘loads of mold’, hampo ‘mold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re:po siŋziŋ</td>
<td>‘tangled hair’, re:po ‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go dzokdzok</td>
<td>‘bowing, nodding, bending (of human, of trees in wind)’, go ‘head’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

463 Here, there is a mismatch with pronunciation and suggested Denjongke spelling: KN pronounced pja instead of p’ja.
Many reduplicated adjectives could be added to this category on the basis of the formal criteria of reduplication.

17.1.4 Near-reduplicated ideophones

Some near-reduplicated ideophones are listed in Table 17.4 and some of them are illustrated below. Only the vowel changes between the two syllables of the ideophone. In the examples in my data, the second vowel is typically a high vowel (/i/ or /u/) and always higher than the first vowel.
Table 17.4. Near-replicated ideophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ideophone</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raprip</td>
<td>‘dim, dimness’ rapripna</td>
<td>(17.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barbur</td>
<td>‘knotty, buckled, with bulges, uneven when it should be even’</td>
<td>(KN,KL 5, 230), collocates at least with lúk ‘cast (of metal), pour’, barbur luk-tsʰa-ke ‘it has been cast bulgy (not even)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damdum</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>(17.49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làblep</td>
<td>‘in small pieces (of wood)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gragrik</td>
<td>‘uneven (of unpleasant texture of meat in the mouth, of the tactile feeling of non-smooth, rough stone surface)’</td>
<td>(KT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaklek</td>
<td></td>
<td>(17.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šakta šekta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rakruk</td>
<td>‘(small) stones (the size of goat poo) here and there’ (cf. do ranrang ‘big stones here and there’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzardzir</td>
<td>‘texture of ground that has been watered enough to resemble dough (but not wet enough to become mud)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súmsum</td>
<td>‘disorganized, unfolded (of clothes)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te’akte’ik</td>
<td>‘having sucked in water (e.g. marshy land)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mârmur</td>
<td>‘indistinctive muttering of words’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰamtsʰum</td>
<td>‘distressed mental state, mental state after hearing or experiencing something unpleasant’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰaptsʰup</td>
<td>‘nervous’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰamtʰum,</td>
<td>‘of a drowsy person’s eyes’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰameitʰumei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ง་ཅག་ རྲབ་ཧིབ་ན་ སེབས་པོ་ ཆོི།
ŋàt ɕa r̥ aprip=na l̥ ēm o ŋ.
1PL  dim(ness)=LOC  arrive-2INF  EQU.PER
‘We arrived at dusk.’ (KT e)

(17.49) དཔར་བུར་ བླུག་བླུག་ ེན མོ།
barbur lúk-luk-o mɛ̀mbə?
dented pour-RDP-2INF NEQ.EQU.NE.Q
‘Hasn’t (this vessel) been dented?’ (KL e)

(17.50) a) ཞབས་ འདམ་ ཆོང་ བཞག།
śíŋ damdum tok-ti zə?
tree short put.cut-3NF
‘Leave the tree cut in small pieces’ (KN e)

b) བྲེག་ མུ་ ཉོན་ འོག་ བཞག།
eaptən damdum pja-ee?
ritual short do-INF
‘make a short (religious) ritual’ (KN phone call)
Boil the rice and serve (lit. cause to be eaten) the food wet and soft.’ (mam-rtog 25)

‘The (small) stones right here are numerous.’ (KN e)

‘chatting among themselves in indistinct mutter…’ (mthun-sgril 9)

‘Today I’m very distressed.’ (KL e)

‘Do not leave the clothes disorganized (not folded)’ (KN e)

‘In the neighbourhood of a piece of marshy land’ (rna-sung 30)

‘in a nervous state of mind’ (KT e)

‘Collect and bring such small pieces of wood.’ (KN e)

‘Today my eyes are drowsy…’ (KN e)
The partly reduplicated ideophonic construction *kʼotip kʼoruŋ / kʼorum kʼotip*, whose etymology and literal meaning are unknown to me, is an intensified quantifier approximating the meaning 'so many/much, crammed with'.

(17.60) a) *tʼariŋ óna mì kʼotip kʼorum õː-tʼaːke.*
   today there human very.many very.many come-CMPL.APHT today so many people came there.’ (KUN e, imitating speech of Tashiding)

b) *tʼariŋ sèu kʼorum kʼotip tãː-tʼaː.*
   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 *kʼatɛp* ḳʼep ‘how’ functions as base for the ideophone *kʼatɛpmatɛp* ḳʼepɛp, which has a rhyming but independently nonsensical second part -matep.

Table 17.5. Rhyming ideophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>kʼatepmatep</em></th>
<th>ḳʼepɛp</th>
<th>‘(able to do) one way or another’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>intɛmintɛʔ</em></td>
<td>ḳʼepɛp</td>
<td>‘at any cost, necessarily’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rhyming ideophones are exemplified in (17.61-63). Example (17.61) was an apology for mistakes in telling a folk-story.

(17.61) *diː pʼja-ti nà=di teʰapɛtəp kʼatepmatep ɾː-ruŋ*
   this.AGT do-NF 1SG=DEMPH IDEO.NN in.whatever.way EQU.PER-CONC
   ‘Therefore I here offer to you this story, although it is a spontaneous approximation (of the real thing)’ (KT animal story)

(17.62) *giamoː lō nà kʼatepmatep-pʼja nà loki teaː-eː.*
   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) *iːruŋ nà gāːto? intɛmintɛʔ iʼa gju goː-kʼen be?*
   but 1SG TPN necessarily now go be.necessary-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) འབྲག་ཐོམ་པའི་སྐད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་སྐད།

₇акъ:₇ п’їтун=тсыё=ткэ tǝrap-тǝrip
forest small.bird=PL=GEN sound tweet-tweet
‘sound of the forest birds tweet tweet’ (Richhi 1)

(17.65) རུས་རུས་ན་གནས་ལས་དུང་ཕུ་བཞིན་ཡོད་པའི་སྐད་ས་བུ་འུ་

p’ә:риң sәнә:=ke т’ңу p’у-зин jә-po: ke:da p’u:
far.away region=ABL conch blow-PROG EX-2INF sound toot
‘the sound [of a conch being blown from a far-away region], toot’ (Richhi 1)

(17.66) གཞི་མོ་ཞོག་མོ་ཞོག་མོ་ཞོག

p’jап приң bo:-po: ke? kukurikә:
cockerel call-2INF sound cuck.a.doodle.doo
‘the sound of a rooster calling: cuck-o-doodle-do’ (Richhi 1)

(17.67) ཁི་གི་ཞིག་ཞིག་ཞིག་ཞིག

tиж тиж дун-po: ke:da
clang clang hit-2INF.GEN sound
‘the sound of clanging clang clang’ (Richhi 1)

(17.68) རྣ་མ་སིར་སིར་སིར་རྐྱབས་པོ་

lунма сиr сиr сиr kjап-o-дә:
wind whoosh whoosh whoosh do-2INF-CONJ
‘When the wind goes whoosh whoosh whoosh…’ (KT animal story)

(17.69) རྣ་མ་སིར་སིར་སིར་རྐྱབས་པོ་

к’и ау ау=ло hop-o: ke?
dog woof=DAT bark-2INF.GEN sound
‘the sound of a dog barking woof woof’ (Richhi 1)

(17.70) རྣ་མ་སིར་སིར་སིར་རྐྱབས་པོ་

k’u лоsа? k’екк’екk(=lo) kjап bak-ti gju do: jο?.
3SGM cough cough.cough.(=DAT) do carry-NF go stay EX.PER
‘He keeps on walking around coughing cough-cough.’ (KN e)

Note that in (17.65) and (17.66) the onomatopoeic word is marked with dative-locative case, suggesting that the syntax treats the onomatopoeic word as an adverb.

An onomatopoeic word may co-occur with another ideophone, as in (17.71), where onomatopoeic t’әŋt’иŋ elaborates on the nonnormative ideophone sәrәsor, which is used like a nominal.

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For an example of onomatopoeia in quoted speech, consider (17.72).

(17.72) བོད་ལྷག་ཡིན་དེ་ལྷག་ཡིན་དེ་ལྷག་ཡིན་དེ་ལྷག་ཡིན་

te mó=dì hehe lap-tiki hihi lap-tí ga-u=lo.
so 3SGF=DEM PH hahaha say-NF hehe say-NF laugh-2INF=REP
‘So she laughed saying hahaha, 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) བོད་ལྷག་ཡིན་དེ་ལྷག་ཡིན་དེ་ལྷག་ཡིན་དེ་ལྷག་ཡིན་
	tsʰam-tɕʰetɕʰ ek sòrsor tsʰetɕʰetɕʰ ek sòrsor
all scratch.of.a match sound.of.fire scratch.of.a match sound.of.fire
	tsʰaːtsʰaː.
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 -tʃiŋtiŋ (WD འིང་ིང་ or འིང་ིང་), -sːsiː (WD སི་སི་, སི་སི་པ་བསིལ་བསིལ་), -riːriː (WD རི་རི་, རི་ལི་) and -tʃʰoːtʃʰoː (WD རྨོང་རྨོང་).

For instance, the ordinary colour word maːpu/maːpu 'red' may be formed into máːtiŋtiŋ (དམར་ཏིང་ཏིང་), máːsiːsiː (དམར་སི་སི་) and máːriːriː (དམར་རི་རི་) ‘(bright) red’ to bring intensity and vividness to description.

(17.74) བོད་ལྷག་ཡིན་དེ་ལྷག་ཡིན་དེ་ལྷག་ཡིན་དེ་ལྷག་ཡིན་

tʃʰokʰi? nə tsʰa-ti pʰinlo mǐ tːà: pimøː t'øː=diː də:
PN face be.hot-NF before fire and sun GEN heat=DEM PH.AGT face
má:-riːi: tʃylø t'ato p'jaea=i tam=diː:
red-IDEO above now chicken.meat GEN word=DEM PH.AGT
lɛpti=ra má:-riːi: t'øːn.
very.much=AEMP 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 བཞག་ ‘smile’. One of them is -riːi: རི་, the other two, -mɛːmɛ (or -mɛrmɛ) གྲོ་མོ་ and -veeek གྲོ་མོ་. I have not come across other words than dzum which use the latter two suffixes.
(17.75) a) dzum-ri:ri: ‘smilingly’
   b) dzum-me:me: ‘smiling secretly’
   c) dzum-eekex464 ‘smiling very widely’

For -mèːmèː in clausal content, consider (17.76).

(17.76) मྔོ་ ད་རིང་ འཇྱུ༹༹མ་ མེར་མེར་ཡྔོད་ ਆ་ཏང་ དང་ མན་འདྲ་བྔོ།
   ‘She is smily today, unlike usually.’ (Richhi 148)

Another stem with which the suffix -ri:ri: occurs in my data is síː བསིལ་ ‘be cool’, from
which the adjective síːʈaʔབསིལ་དྲགས་‘cool (positive evaluation)’ is derived. The form síː-ri:ri:
(17.77) makes the description vivid, perhaps evoking memories of feeling the cool mid-day
wind.

(17.77) རླུང་ གསིལ་རི་རི་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་དང་
   ‘when the wind goes whoosh…’ (KT animal story)

The suffix -tõːtõː occurs in several other adjectives/adverbs than the colour terms:

(17.78) a) hãː ལོ་ ‘feel loneliness’ > hãːtõːtõː ‘feeling of loneliness’
   b) dzam ཤེས་ ‘be easy’ > dzamtõːtõː ‘easy, easily’ (cf. dzamʈaʔ)
   c) ɲ̥ ɛ རུལ་ ‘be sweet to hear’ > ɲ̥ ɛntõːtõː ‘soft(ly) (of speaking)’ (cf. ɲ̥ ɛnʈaʔ)

For clausal uses consider the following:

(17.79) རྡོ་=ཉེི་ མ་-ཉེི-པ་ དེ་=ར། སྨོཚ ད་ོ་
   ‘…without meeting a friend, feeling lonely like this…’ (PAD bet story)

(17.80) བོེ་བོ ལེ་ ‘Speak easily.’ (KN e)

(17.81) བོེ་བོ ལེ་ ‘Speak softly.’ (KN e)

464 This expression used in a song made by a speaker from Tashiding, but consultant KN (Martam) does not
recognize the form.
17.2 Kinship terminology

Denjongke kinship terminology is presented here under generational headings with comments in between. Many kinship terms begin with á, reflecting the historical prefix a-, which occurs in many Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 2003:105). The description is divided between consanguineal relatives (one’s own blood-relatives and their spouses), see §17.2.1, and relatives through marriage (in-laws), see §17.2.2.

17.2.1 Consanguineal relatives and their spouses

Kinship terms for the ego’s grandparents’ generation and beyond are given in Table 17.6. Terms for consanguineal (related by blood) relatives are given first, followed by terms for relevant affinal relatives (consanguineal relatives’ spouses). Note that the paternal vs. maternal distinction in Table 17.6 is based on a difference in affinal terms, while the consanguineal terms are invariant.

Table 17.6. Ego’s grandparents’ generation and beyond

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>ádzo བོད་པུ།</td>
<td>wife: áño bompu བོད་པུ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>áño བོད་པུ།</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>great-grandfather</td>
<td>te’odzo ཉུབ་པ།</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>great-grandmother</td>
<td>nòno ཉུབ་པ།</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forefather</td>
<td>pʰadzo བོད་པ།</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paternal grandparent’s elder brother</td>
<td>ádzo bompu བོད་པུ།</td>
<td>wife: áño bompu བོད་པུ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal grandparent’s elder brother</td>
<td>ádzo bompu བོད་པུ།</td>
<td>wife: ána bompu བོད་པུ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paternal grandparent’s younger brother</td>
<td>ádzo te’uṃte’uŋ བོད་པུ།</td>
<td>wife: áño te’uṃte’uŋ བོད་པུ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal grandparent’s younger brother</td>
<td>ádzo te’uṃte’uŋ བོད་པུ།</td>
<td>wife: ána te’uṃte’uŋ བོད་པུ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparent’s elder sister</td>
<td>áño bompu བོད་པུ།</td>
<td>husband: ádzo བོད་པུ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparent’s younger sister</td>
<td>áño te’uṃte’uŋ བོད་པུ།</td>
<td>husband: ádzo བོད་པུ།</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 áño 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.
When a kinship term does not express birth order, e.g. áni ‘father’s sister’, it may be supplemented by the attributes gɛmpo ‘old one’, tɕʰuŋgo/tɕʰumbo/tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ ‘small one’, pʽamo ‘middle-one’ and the Nepali terms maili (fem.) / maila (masc.) ‘second in birth’, saili (fem.) / saila (masc.) ‘third in birth’, kaili (fem.) / kaila (masc.) ‘fourth in birth’. For instance, father’s eldest sister may be called áni gɛmpo, father’s youngest sister áni tɕʰuŋtɕʰuŋ, and father’s second sister áni maili. According to a consultant from Tashiding, in families where two or more brothers have sexual relations with the same woman, the children may address their legal father as áku ‘father’s younger brother’ instead of ápo ‘father’.

Table 17.9 presents terms for (typically) one’s own generation.

As can be seen in Table 17.9, maternal uncle’s son has, in addition to the typical áteu, ágja ‘elder brother’ and pynlo ‘younger brother’ the alternative terms ázã: teʰuŋteʰuŋ and ázã: teʰuŋteʰuŋ, which literally mean ‘small (maternal) uncle’. In the same

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465 Consultant KT (Bermeok) accepts áku, which is the term for mother’s younger sister’s husband, as an alternative term for tsʰo: both for father’s sister’s husband. Consultant TB (Ralang), however, accepts only tsʰo: here.
vein, consultant KT (Bermeok) noted that in some communities maternal uncle’s daughter may be called མ་ཅིག་ \(\text{màt s\text{i\text{ʔ}}} \). Often circumlocutions are used in referring to husband and wife. Husband may be called རྡུག་ སྐད་ མི་ ཀྱིམ་ ཁ་པོ་ ‘father of the house’ and wife རྡུག་ སྐད་ མི་ ཀྱིམ་ ཁྱིམ་ བོ་ ‘mother of the house’ or \(\text{bjaru} \) ‘friend (hon.)’. The term \(\text{p\text{ʰam}}\) 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 \(\text{phubo} \) ‘older brother of a man’, \(\text{nubo} \) ‘younger brother of a man’, \(\text{phumo} \) ‘older sister of a woman’ and \(\text{numo} \) ‘younger sister of a woman’ (Beyer 1992: 158). In Denjongke these distinctions based on ego’s gender are reduced to one pair: \(\text{nim} \) ‘younger sister of a woman’ and \(\text{p\’usim} \) ‘younger sister of a man’.

Consequently, a man can address a woman younger than himself by saying

\[
\text{p\’usim}=\text{la}=\text{ki}
\]

\[
\text{nim}=\text{tsu}…
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{younger.sister.of.a.man}= & \text{HON} \text{GEN} \\
\text{younger.sister.of.a.woman}= & \text{PL}
\end{align*}

‘Sister’s (=your) little sisters…’ (Richhi 37)

Relatives (typically) younger than the ego are given in Table 17.10.

| Relative Type | Denomination | Gender
|---------------|--------------|-------|
| son | \(\text{p\’u} \) སྐད་ (hon.) | wife: \(\text{nám} \) རྡུག་མོ་
| daughter | \(\text{p\’um} \) སྐད་ (hon.) | husband: \(\text{màko} \) རྡུག་མོ་
| child | \(\text{p\’otso} \) སྐད་, སྐད་ (hon.) |
| grandson, cousin’s son, nephew | \(\text{t} \) \(\text{spa} \) སྐད་ (hon.) | wife: \(\text{nám} \) རྡུག་མོ་
| granddaughter | \(\text{t} \) \(\text{sam} \) | husband: \(\text{màko} \) རྡུག་མོ་
| niece, cousin’s daughter | \(\text{t} \) \(\text{sam} \) | husband: \(\text{màko} \) རྡུག་མོ། དལ། རྡུག་མོ་
| male descendant | \(\text{jâp\’ju} \) སྐད་ (hon.) | wife: \(\text{nám} \) རྡུག་མོ་
| female descendant | \(\text{jâm} \) སྐད་ | husband: \(\text{màko} \) རྡུག་མོ།

Parents call their children either by name or by endearing terms such as \(\text{bhai}\text{teu} \) (combining the Nepali word for younger brother \(\text{bhāi} \) and the Denjongke word \(\text{t} \) \(\text{spa} \) ‘small’), \(\text{sēmla} \): (honorific word for daughter followed by the honorific marker \(=\text{la} \)), \(\text{p\’oteu} \) ‘small child’ and \(\text{bahinila} \): (Nepali for ‘younger sister’ followed by the honorific marker). The word \(\text{bhai}\text{teu} \) 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.

\(\text{466} \) Consultant KT (from Bermeok) commented that in his speech variety \(\text{t} \) \(\text{spa} \) is used both for grandson and granddaughter and that \(\text{t} \) \(\text{sam} \), the word here given for ‘granddaughter’, only has the meaning ‘niece’.

\(\text{467} \) The terms \(\text{jâp\’ju} \) and \(\text{jâm} \) come from consultant TB (Ralang). Consultant KT (Bermeok), on the other hand, used the term \(\text{t} \) \(\text{spa} \) for male and female descendant beyond the grandchildren’s generation.
### Table 17.11. Terms for addressing strangers of various ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| young child (appr. 0-6 years, male or female) | óñi བྨཿ་ | *(óñi བྨཿ་)*
| child (0-15 years, male or female)     | p’jaby: ཧྲུལྲི | *(p’jaby: ཧྲུལྲི)*
| child, underaged (appr. 0-18 years, male or female) | p’otso བྲུ་ | *(p’otso བྲུ་)*
| female younger than oneself (said by man) | p’usim མུ་ི/མུ་ི | *(p’usim མུ་ི/མུ་ི)*
| female younger than oneself (said by woman) | nûm རུ | *(nûm རུ)*
| male younger than oneself             | pynlo མུན་ | *(pynlo མུན་)*
| female slightly older than oneself    | ázi བྲ, བི | *(ázi བྲ, བི)*
| male slightly older than oneself      | áteu བྲ, བུ | *(áteu བྲ, བུ)*
| female approximately one’s mother’s age | ápi བྲ, བོ | *(ápi བྲ, བོ)*
| male approximately one’s father’s age  | áku བྲ | *(áku བྲ)*
| female approximately one’s grandmother’s age | ápo བྲ | *(ápo བྲ)*
| male approximately one’s grandfather’s age | ádzo བྲ | *(ádzo བྲ)*
| nun                                  | ánila: བྲོ་ | *(ánila: བྲོ་)*
| monk                                 | lám(a)la: བྲོ་ | *(lám(a)la: བྲོ་)*

The term བྲོ་ལྡ་ jà:pla: *(ja:p ‘father (hon.)’, la: honorific suffix/enlitic)*, which at least in Tashiding may be used for monks, is used for referring to male persons of considerable social standing. The terms óñi བྨཿ་ and p’jaby: ཧྲུལྲི 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| father-in-law                       | ápo k’jo:p བྲ་ སྔོམ་ | *(ápo k’jo:p བྲ་ སྔོམ་)*
| mother-in-law                       | ám gjum བྲ་ སྔོམ་ | *(ám gjum བྲ་ སྔོམ་)*
| grandfather-in-law                  | ádzo k’jo:p བྲ་ སྔོམ་ | *(ádzo k’jo:p བྲ་ སྔོམ་)*
| grandmother-in-law                  | ápo gjum བྲ་ སྔོམ་ | *(ápo gjum བྲ་ སྔོམ་)*
| wife’s older sister                 | ázi gjum བྲྲ་ སྔོམ་ | *(ázi gjum བྲྲ་ སྔོམ་)*
| husband: tsʰo: བྲ | *(tsʰo: བྲ)*
| wife’s younger sister                | nîm བྲྲ་ | *(nîm བྲྲ་)*
| husband: pynlo བྲ, áteu བྲ | *(pynlo བྲ, áteu བྲ)*
| wife’s older brother                | áteu k’jo:p བྲ་ སྔོམ་ | *(áteu k’jo:p བྲ་ སྔོམ་)*
| wife: ázi (gjum) བྲྲ་ *(gjum)* | *(wife: ázi (gjum) བྲྲ་)*
| wife’s younger brother              | kipu བྲྲ་, སྔོམ་ | *(kipu བྲྲ་, སྔོམ་)*
| wife: nûm རུ, nám འབྲ | *(wife: nûm རུ, nám འབྲ)*

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, nîm ‘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. གྲོ་ སྨྲ། གྲོ་ སྨྲ། 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 tsʰo: cannot be supplemented by k’jo:p (*tsʰo: 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. pʰurba tserrat, jîm(a) tserrat, dawa námge, karma kuŋγa, pasan ɬanu, sónam ɬoma. The first name is often, for instance in pʰurba tserrat and jîm(a) tserrat, 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

| za: dou     | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ | ‘Monday’ (Moon) | > | dawa     | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ |
| za: miŋmar  | རྣམ་ཀྲ་ཤིས་ | ‘Tuesday’ (Mars) | > | miŋma    | རྣམ་ཀྲ་ཤིས་ |
| za: ɬako    | རྣམ་སྒྲུབ་  | ‘Wednesday’ (Mercury) | > | ɬakpa    | རྣམ་སྒྲུབ་ |
| za: pʰurbo  | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ | ‘Thursday’ (Jupiter) | > | pʰurba   | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ |
| za: pasːa   | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ | ‘Friday’ (Venus) | > | pasan    | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ |
| za: pɛːmbo  | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ | ‘Saturday’ (Saturn) | > | pɛːmbo  | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ |
| za: jîm     | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ | ‘Sunday’ (Sun) | > | jîm(a)   | རྣམ་གཟའ་བྲེལ་ |

Some names are exclusively feminine and others exclusively masculine, while still others are used as names for both genders, see Table 17.14.

Table 17.14. Names according to gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male names</th>
<th>Female names</th>
<th>Neutral names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paljor</td>
<td>dikiʔ</td>
<td>dawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wealth’</td>
<td>‘bliss and delight’</td>
<td>‘moon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qdaːl</td>
<td>ɬoma</td>
<td>jiːma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘conquerer of enemy’</td>
<td>‘Tara, saviouress’</td>
<td>‘sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobdzor</td>
<td>kipa</td>
<td>tsʰɛːʔoː:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘strength and wealth’</td>
<td>‘delight’</td>
<td>‘life empowerment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzikdal</td>
<td>ɬoːkiʔ</td>
<td>pema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘imperishable’</td>
<td>‘delight in dharma’</td>
<td>‘lotus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɔːbzaj</td>
<td>ɬamu</td>
<td>tsʰɛːʔiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘good mind’</td>
<td>‘goddess’</td>
<td>‘long life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dordzi</td>
<td>kiːdːon</td>
<td>karma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thunderbolt sceptre’</td>
<td>‘delight-builder’</td>
<td>‘action’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobge:</td>
<td>kilamu</td>
<td>ɬaːi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘king of strength’</td>
<td>‘goddess of delight’</td>
<td>‘good luck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öngel</td>
<td>ɬā(d)ze:/ɬāndː泽</td>
<td>rinziŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘conquest’</td>
<td>‘divine substance’</td>
<td>‘precious’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰynsʰoʔ?</td>
<td>jāŋkiʔ</td>
<td>all names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘abundance’</td>
<td>‘prosperous delight’</td>
<td>based on week days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námge:</td>
<td>jɑŋtːeː:</td>
<td>‘prosperous one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘all-victorious’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

608 I have heard this name being reduced to pʰurtsʰiŋ by people who use it often to refer to their relative.
As a last name in official documents, Denjongpos may use the pan-Tibetan term for “Sikkim-dwellers”, སི་ཁོལ་བoler་/སི་ཁོལ་བoler་ Denjongpa/Denjongpo (also written as Denzongpa), the generic word འབྲས་ལྔོངས་པ་/འབྲས་ལྔོངས་པོ་ Denjongpa/Denjongpo (also written as Denzongpa), the generic word བྲེ་ཧོ་ཡ་ Bhutia, which is an exonym used for all Tibetan-related groups in the Southern Himalayas, or a clan name such as སྟག་ཅུང་དར་པྔོ་ Takchungdarpo or མི་མུ་དགུ་པྔོ་ Tsichudarpo.\(^{469}\) 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic colour terms</th>
<th>Denotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máːp(u)</td>
<td>བ།པ་, བ་པོ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>séːp(u)</td>
<td>སཏེ་པ་, སཏེ་པོ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaːp(u)</td>
<td>ཀན་པ་, ཀན་པོ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāku</td>
<td>གན་པ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̥ompu/n̥ompu/hompu</td>
<td>ཕོན་པོ་, ཕོན་པོ་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ཕོན་པོ་ n̥ompu/ŋ̥ompu. For instance, in common parlance ཕོན་པོ་ n̥ompu/ŋ̥ompu 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 བང་ཁུ་ dʑaŋku and མཐིང་ཁ་ tʰiŋkʰa respectively, but these terms, especially མཐིང་ཁ་ tʰiŋkʰa, are not as widely used as the other simple colour terms.

There are also compound expressions, which often employ one of the generic terms for colour, ཆོས་ do, གནམ་མཐོང་ tʃʰendo and གྲུས་ kja, see Table 17.16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Some compound colour terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāmdo? གནམ་མཐོང་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰoendo?  མཚོ་མཐོང་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolom kja?  དོ་ལོ་མ་མཐོང་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʼotʰeː kja?  བུ་ཚུ་མཐོང་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰalum kja?  སུ་ལུམ་མཐོང་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Genitive constructions may also be used: nāmkʰeː do? གནམ་མཁའི་ ‘colour of the sky’ (KN e), dolom kja? དོ་ལོ་མ་ ‘colour of the eggplant’ (KN e).

17.4.1 Clear colours
When describing the clearest, most distinctive specimens of each of the basic colours, the colour term may be supplemented by several reduplicated ideophonic suffixes which, based on elicitation with consultant KN, appear to be (close to) synonymic. KN reported the following suffixes as being used with clear specimens of basic colours: -tõːtõː རྔོང་རྔོང་, -tãːtãː སང་སང་, -tʼiŋtʼiŋ དིང་དིང་ (also -tiŋtiŋ ཁིའ་ཁིའ་), -riːriː རི་རི་ (in some communities, such as Bermeok also -ruru རུ་རུ་), -siːsiː སི་སི་, -huːhuː རུ་རུ་. As shown in Table 17.17, in the ideophonic

\(^{469}\) Romanizations of clan names used here are those used by some Denjongpo authors themselves.
expressions the colour term ka:p(u) བཀོད་པ་ white can be replaced by kja བཀྲ་ ‘(pale) colour’. e.g. kjatintiŋ བཀྲ་ཏིང་ ‘clean white’.

Table 17.17. Colours terms with ideophonic suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Colour Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sêːtõːtõː, sêːtãːtãː, sêːtiŋtiŋ, sêːriːriː, sêːsiːsiː, sêːhuːhuː</td>
<td>bright yellow, very yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàːtõːtõː, nàːtãːtãː, nàːtiŋtiŋ, nàːriːriː, nàːsiːsiː, nàːhuːhuː</td>
<td>totally black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màiːtõːtõː, màiːtãːtãː, màiːtiŋtiŋ, màiːriːriː, màiːsiːsiː, màiːhuːhuː</td>
<td>bright red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjatõːtõː, kjatãːtãː, kjatintiŋ, kjarìːriː, kjasìːsiː</td>
<td>clean white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàːtõːtõː, nàːtãːtãː, nàːtiŋtiŋ, nàːriːriː, nàːsiːsiː, nàːhuːhuː</td>
<td>totally black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàːtõːtõː, nàːtãːtãː, nàːtiŋtiŋ, nàːriːriː, nàːsiːsiː, nàːhuːhuː</td>
<td>totally black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sêːtõːtõː, sêːtãːtãː, sêːtiŋtiŋ, sêːriːriː, sêːsiːsiː, sêːhuːhuː</td>
<td>bright yellow, very yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàːtõːtõː, nàːtãːtãː, nàːtiŋtiŋ, nàːriːriː, nàːsiːsiː, nàːhuːhuː</td>
<td>totally black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàːtõːtõː, nàːtãːtãː, nàːtiŋtiŋ, nàːriːriː, nàːsiːsiː, nàːhuːhuː</td>
<td>totally black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that kjahuːhuː ‘clean white’ is absent from Table 17.17. The reason is that its meaning was described as ‘the (pale almost colourless) colour of the desert’. Although nàːhuːhuː basically describes a totally black colour, it may extend to metaphorical uses which should not be taken literally:

(17.83) tariŋ şim=di k’amja nàːhuːhuː: be=eo?
‘Why is the sky (lit. day/sun) pitch-black today?’

(17.84) k’amja t’ariŋ tɕʰøː=ki döː=di nàːhuːhuː: be=eo?
‘Why is your face today black (of anger)?’

The term nàːkʰokʰoʔ ཡོ་ཁོ་ཁོ་ was reported by KN to be synonymous with nàːhuːhuː ཡོ་ཁོ་.

In addition to the terms in Table 17.17, clear specimens of colours may be emphasized by the use of t’anggi དང་གི་ and t’iŋgi དིང་གི་, which appear to be genitivized forms of two of the forms from Table 17.13, e.g. máːt’anggi དམར་དང་གི་ ‘clear red’. For a clausal example, consider (17.85).

(17.85) k’ou kjap-ti yː ‘t’mee=ʔ kja? t’iŋki t’òːns’ake.
‘Having snowed, all the surroundings became clean-white.’ (KN e)

Of the ideophonic suffixes listed above, at least -tiŋtiŋ ཉིམ་ and -tøːtøː ཥེ་ཏེ་ can also be used with other adjectives than colours, e.g. dzamtìntìntìntìntìntì ‘very easy’.

17.4.2 Pale colours
The forms -lop or -sa løksy: 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Colour Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kjalop</td>
<td>pale colour, colourless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màːlop</td>
<td>pale red, pink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sêːlop</td>
<td>pale yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̥olop</td>
<td>pale blue/green</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In Martam (consultant KN), the colour term is followed by a more complex construction -sa lòksyː, see Table 17.19.

Table 17.19. Pale colours with -sa lòksyː: (Martam)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máːsa lòksyː</td>
<td>pale red, pink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>séːsa lòksyː</td>
<td>pale yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posa lòksyː</td>
<td>pale blue/green</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Martam mere lòksyː can be added to complex colour terms which end in the word kjaʔ (pale) colour’, e.g. dolom=gi kja lòksyː ‘pale/light purple/violet’ (lit. eggplant’s colour lòksyː). The construction COLOUR l̥apl̥ap may also be used for referring to pale colours, quite similarly to construction COLOUR-sa lòksyː, e.g. máː l̥apl̥ap དམར་ལབ་ལབ་ ‘pale/light red’, séː l̥apl̥ap སེར་ལབ་ལབ་ ‘pale/light yellow’. Moreover, kjalemlém དཀག་ཚེ་ཤིག་refers to pale/light grey.

17.4.3 Dark colours
In Martam (consultant KN) dark colours are refered to with the construction -naʔ lòksyː, which suggests that black nàʔ l̀ is mixed to the colour in question, see Table 17.20.

Table 17.20. Dark colours with -naʔ lòksyː: (Martam)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máːnaʔ lòksyː</td>
<td>dark red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>séːnaʔ lòksyː</td>
<td>dark yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posa lòksyː</td>
<td>dark blue/green</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An alternative longer construction to máːnaʔ lòksyː is máː teŋkʰa nàksa lòksyː: བྲག་ཐེུང་ རབ་ཐུག་ (lit. ‘above red black’-sa lòksyː).

17.4.4 Other colour terms
Mixed colours can be expressed with the formative -tʰa ཤུང་ ‘variegated (colour)’. In Tashiding (consultant DB), the expression kaːp tashiʔ ཀཀ་ཤུང་ རེ་ཞིག་ refers to basically white but mixed with other colours. In Martam (consultant KN), on the other hand, kaːtʰa ཀཀ་ རག་ or kaːtʰatʰa ཀཀ་ རག་ འབུ་refer to white colour occurring on a backround of other colour(s). For instance, the expression kaːp teŋkʰa ɲ̥o tʰa གེ་ཐུང་ རེ་ཞུང་ རེ་ཞིག་ ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nàːmuʔ</td>
<td>dark (but not black)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máːmuʔ</td>
<td>brown (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjazáʔ</td>
<td>bright-coloured, clear colour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjamiʔ</td>
<td>colourless, pale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tāː བར་ ‘send’, lúk བྲུག་ ‘pour’, p’ja བར་
‘do’, kjap གཞི་ ‘strike’, sà གས་ ‘eat’ and ze: གྷེ་ ‘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 (e'yê, ā`lā, màmam, buŋbuŋ, tea:tea, bulubulu). The words referring to animals òmba ‘cow (child talk)’, lèːleːla ‘goat (child talk)’ and te’idzi ‘pig (child talk)’ are the same as the words addressed to these animals when prompting them to move.

Table 17.22. Child talk vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Child talk</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eːp tāː</td>
<td>eːː-eyə tāː; íː tāː; eyl tāː (KN), te'ulu ëk (TB)</td>
<td>urinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjako tāː</td>
<td>ēː tāː; ā`lā tāː</td>
<td>defecate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sā, e`lāʔ ze:</td>
<td>màmam ze:</td>
<td>eat food, rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te’a ze:</td>
<td>ēː ze:</td>
<td>have tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēː, zim</td>
<td>nēːneː p'ja, zimzim p’ja</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āː</td>
<td>buŋ(buŋ) p’ja</td>
<td>fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giu</td>
<td>tea:tea: p’ja (PT), pʰaː (KN)</td>
<td>walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'ue kjap</td>
<td>bulubulu p’ja</td>
<td>wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ákar</td>
<td>áka</td>
<td>chilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paijā</td>
<td></td>
<td>spank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰen tāː</td>
<td>puk tāː</td>
<td>fart (verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰaʔaʔ</td>
<td>átsʰaː; átaː; hɛːhɛː</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ika</td>
<td>haka, teitec, áteʰi(teʰi), teʰiteʰi (KN)</td>
<td>dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʰiteʰi</td>
<td>ásisi</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nò</td>
<td>òmba (cf. öm ‘milk’)</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>lèːla, lèːleː</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰako</td>
<td>te’idzi</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öm</td>
<td>bubu (KN)</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ēːpa (KN)</td>
<td>sweet (of taste)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some words in Table 17.22 code adult’s empathy towards children. One sign of empathy is phonetic assimilation to what the child would likely produce in attempting to say the “grown-up” version of the word: ákar ‘chilli’ is simplified to akaː; teʰiteʰi ‘beautiful’ to ásisi and tsʰaʔaʔ ‘hot’ to átaː. The word for cow, òmba, likely derives from öm bak ‘carry milk’, thus coding empathy in that the word is linked with the child’s existing experience of drinking milk. The word buŋbuŋ presents onomatopoeically and empathetically 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) རྫེ་ སྐུ་ གཏོང
óni eyː tāː.
child wee send
‘Child, go wee-wee.’ (PTB 5, 39)

(17.87) རྫེ་ ཆེ་ མདོ
óni ēː p’ja.
child poo do
‘Child, go poo-poo.’ (PTB 5, 39)
(17.88) mamam ze:.
food.CHT have.hon
‘Please eat some food/rice.’

(17.89) e: ze:
etea.CHT have.hon
‘Please have some tea.’

(17.90) buŋbuŋ p'ja-ee be?.
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) òni tea: tea: p'ja.
child walking.CHT do
‘Child, walk.’ (PTB 5, 39)

(17.92) k'o'la? ásisi be?.
clothes beautiful.CHT EQU.NE.
‘(Your) clothes are beautiful.’ (KT)

(17.93) t'a puk tā:-ts'a:.
now fart.CHT send-CMPL
‘Now you let out a fart.’ (KN e)

(17.94) bubu r'us.
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) kukʰɛ̃ p'ja
apologise.CHT (?) do
‘Be sorry/Apologise!’ (TB, PT)
17.6 Summary remarks

This chapter presented Denjongke vocabulary from five different domains: ideophones, kinship terms, names, colour terms and vocabulary used when talking to children. A major part of the discussion addressed ideophones which occur in wide array and which have not been, to my knowledge, addressed in detail in other Tibetic languages than Dzongkha (see “expressives” in Watters [2018]). 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 kjo:p ‘male in-law’ and gjum ‘female in-law’. Two exceptions were the terms for ego’s wife’s younger sister (nim) and wife’s younger brother (kipu), which are expressed by dedicated terms not occurring among incosanguineal relatives. This, naturally, raises the question on the significance of these in-laws in Bhutia/Denjongpo culture.

This chapter further showed that Denjongke first names are strongly associated with astrology (names based on week day names based on planets) and Buddhism. Moreover, it was shown that Denjongke has five commonly used basic colour terms, with the same word being used for blue and green (although there exists a more literary dedicated word for green). Clear colours, pale colours and dark colours were shown to be expressed with specific constructions. Terms expressing clear colours were seen to excell in the use of reduplicated ideophonic suffixes. The last section introduced some vocabulary used by adults when they talk to children. It was shown that the vocabulary used when talking to children reflects adults’ empathy toward children in terms of children’s enunciatory ability and life-experiences.
Appendix 1: Text excerpts

This section provides some interlinearized and translated examples of various language genres with notes on the specific characteristics of each genre. The genres represented are proverbs (1), riddles (2), folkstory (3), novel (4) and conversation (5).

Proverbs

Proverbs excel in scanty expression where interpretation may be highly dependent on collocation and word order rather than grammatical marking. In ordinary prose, the verb ta would in (1) below in both clauses occur in nonfinal converbal form ta-ti. Proverbs typically consist of two lines which say analogous or somehow opposite things in parallel constructions, using partly the same words.

(1) མི་ལྟ་གཡོག་བྱས། བྱ་ལྟ་ཆུ་མ་འཐུང་།
   mi ta jóʔ p’ja, p’ja ta teʔu ma-tʰuŋ.
   human look work do hen look water NEG-drink
   ‘Looking (for an example) at people, do your work. Looking at the hen (for an example), do not drink water.’ (KN)

(2) མི་རྒས་ལྔོ་གཏམ་, དང་རྒས་ལྔོ་ཤ།
   mi ge:=lo tam, lá: ge:=lo cá.
   human (be.)old=DAT word bull (be.)old=DAT meat
   ‘Old (hu)man has sayings, old bull has meat.’ (KN)

(3) ར་ཤ་ཟ་བའི་སང་ལེ་ལབ། ར་རིན་ལྟ་བའི་སང་མིག་ལྷུག་ལྷུག།
   ra-ɕa sà-wøː gāː teə ɬapɬap, ra-rì: ta-wøː gā
goose-meat eat-2INF GEN time tongue lick lick
goat-meat look-2INF GEN time
   mik ɬukɬuk
eyes wide open
   ‘When eating goose-meat, tongue goes lick-lick. When looking at the goat-price the eyes go wide open (in surprise).’ (KN)

(4) མི་མནྔོ་རིགས་མི་གཅིག། བྱ་སྤུ་རིགས་མི་གཅིག།
   mi nóriʔ mi-teiʔ, p’ja pu-riʔ mi-teiʔ.
   human thought-kind NEG-one bird feather-kind NEG-one
   ‘People’s ways of thinking are various. Bird’s feathers are various.’ (SS)

(5) ཨ་ཀར་མེད་ནེ་བོམ་མིན་ཟ། མོ་བུད་མེད་ནེ་ག་མི་ཆགས།
   ákar mè̇-ne sam min-za. möhyʔ mè̇-ne lá mi-teʔaʔ.
   chilly NEG.EX-COND food NEG-eat wife NEG.EX-COND enjoy NEG-enjoy
   ‘Without chilli, there is no eating. Without a wife, there is no enjoyment.’ (KN)
(6) མི་ ཁམ་- གཏོང་ རྫས་ དེ་ བོད་ མི་ དམིགས་

It is easy to climb to a tree with many branches. It is easy to speak to a man of understanding.' (UT)

(7) ལམ་ འཇོག་ ལྔོག་སྔོ་ རྫས། ཁ་ འཇོག་ ལྔོག་སྔོ་ མེད།

‘If one errs in road, there is returning. If one errs in speech, there is no returning.’ (UT)

(8) མི་ ཁམ་- གཏོང་ རྫས་ དེ་ བོད་ མི་ དམིགས་

‘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) ང་ མིན་དགྔོས། ལམ་ བོད་ཉེ་ འགྱུ་བ་ ཐྔོག་མ་ མི

‘When eating countryside rice for rice, no curry is needed. When walking on a level road, no (walking) stick is needed.’ (UT)

(10) མི་ ཁམ་- གཏོང་ རྫས་ དེ་ བོད་ མི་ དམིགས་

‘To kill fleas, no axe is needed. To kill flea-eggs, no hammer is needed.’ (UT)

(11) མི་ ཁམ་- གཏོང་ རྫས་ དེ་ བོད་ མི་ དམིགས་

‘If there is speaking manner, mouth’s caution. If there is walking manner, feet’s caution.’ (UT)
(12) དྲག་ཀོ་ ཨིན་ནེ་ བྱིན་ དགོས་ མནྔོ། ཞེན་པྔོ་ ཨིན་ནེ་ སྐུལ་ དགོས་ མནྔོ།

If (someone) is a nobleman, think that (you) have to give (him). If (someone) is a fool, think that (you) have to use (him). (UT)

(13) ཞེནམ་ལྔོ་ ཁིག་ཤད་ ਒ི། ལྔོ་ བྱིན་ཤད་ ਒ི། བྱིན་ཤད་ ਒ི།

‘Don’t say to a foolish woman “I will take (you as my wife)”, don’t say to the poor “I will give”.’ (UT)

(14) ཟྔོའུ་ ཁ་ཤ་ ཟ། བརྡུང་བྔོ་ ར་ བརྡུང་།

‘Deer ate the food, goat bore the beating.’ (UT)

(15) ཞེན་པྔོ་ ཁྔོ་ནེ་ གཅིག་ སྐལ་ སྤང་། དྲག་ཀྔོ་ ཁྔོ་ནེ་ གཉིས་ སྐལ་ ཐྔོབ།

‘If a fool gets angry, do not give (even) one gift. If a nobleman gets angry, (he) shall receive two gifts.’ (UT)

(16) ཞེན་ལྔོ་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ ཨ་མ་ གྱོན་ མ་རེ། ཕྔོ་ལྔོ་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ ཨ་པ་ གཏམ་ མ་རེ།

‘The rich are not able to be born. The poor are not able to die (properly).’ (UT)

(17) བྱིན་ བརྡུན་ རྐྱབས་ ཕྱུག་ རྐྱབས་ བརྡུན་ རེ་ མི་ཚུགས། བྱིན་ བརྡུན་ རྐྱབས་ བརྡུན་ རེ་ མི་ཚུགས།

‘A girl of fifteen (years), do not count on mummy clothing (you). A boy of fifteen (years), do not count on father’s advice (but make your own decisions).’ (UT)

(18) དགོན་པའི་ ཁི་ རྔོ་གྔོམ་ རྐྱབས་ ཀྱེ། བྱིན་ སྐལ་ ཐྨ་ འོ། བྱིན་ སྐལ་ ཐྨ་ འོ།

‘If you stone the monastery’s dog, it will hit the lama’s mind.’ (UT)
‘If one’s own goal is achieved, it does not matter even though the means is bad.’ / ‘The end justifies the means.’ (KL)

‘An inexperienced eater eats and thinks a taste of snot is food. An inexperienced walker walks and thinks a threshold is a mountain pass.’

This WD form given by consultant KL may correspond to dictionary form རླུག་ ‘style, fashion, custom’.
Riddles

(1) གྲུ་ཐོབ་ཁྲིམས་སྟེར་བཅ་ལེ། ཡོང་སྟི་གྱེ་ཤེས་པའི་སྟབས

\[ p^{\text{ilo}} = \text{le} \quad k^{\text{ola}} \quad m^{\text{-k'є}} \] \[ n^{\text{a} = \text{le} \quad t^{\text{uni}} \quad m^{\text{-k'є}} \] outside=ABL clothes NEG.EX-NMLZ inside=ABL heart NEG.EX.PER

‘Outside no clothes, inside no heart.’

answer: འེ

do

stone

‘stone’ (JDG)

(2) གྲུ་ཐོབ་ཁྲིམས་སྟེར་བཅ་ལེ། ཡོང་སྟི་གྱེ་ཤེས་པའི་སྟབས

\[ u^{?} \quad m^{\text{e?}} \quad k^{\text{a}(p^o)} \quad m^{\text{e?}} \quad d^{\text{zamlij}} \quad k^{\text{or-di}} \quad l^{\text{on}} \] breath NEG.EX.PER foot NEG.EX.PER world go.around-NF message \[ k^{\text{e?}-k^{\text{є}}}. \] bring-NMLZ

‘(It) has no breath and no feet (but) going around the world (it) brings messages.’

answer: སོ་

jigi

letter

‘letter’ (JDG)

(3) གྲུ་ཐོབ་ཁྲིམས་སྟེར་བཅ་ལེ། ཡོང་སྟི་གྱེ་ཤེས་པའི་སྟབས

\[ t^{\text{’olu}} \quad l^{\text{-ti}} \quad t^{\text{’u}j^{\text{to}}} \quad n^{\text{a} = \text{le} \quad l^{\text{ako}} \quad k^{\text{ja}p-o} \quad k^{\text{’an} \quad b^{\text{e}?}} \] 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: ཐོ་

tögu?

k’om-bo or \[ p^{\text{ylun}} / p^{\text{yduŋ}} \]

short wear-2INF sleeve

‘putting on a shirt’ ‘sleeve’

(4) གྲུ་ཐོབ་ཁྲིམས་སྟེར་བཅ་ལེ། ཡོང་སྟི་གྱེ་ཤེས་པའི་སྟབས

\[ m^{\text{i=d}i} \quad m^{\text{ila?}} \quad s^{\text{ùm}} \quad k^{\text{era} \quad t^{\text{ei}?}} \quad d^{\text{i} \quad k^{\text{’an} \quad b^{\text{e}?}} \] human=DEMPH person three belt one this what EQU.NE

‘Three people, one belt. What is it?’

Answer: གྲུ་ཐོབ་ཁྲིམས་སྟེར་བཅ་ལེ། ཡོང་སྟི་གྱེ་ཤེས་པའི་སྟབས

\[ a^{\text{ra}?} \quad t^{\text{en-tem-bo}} \quad o r \quad a^{\text{ra}?} \quad t^{\text{eak-ve?}} \] 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.
It extends a khada-scarf from India to Tibet.

‘water’ (JDG)

‘to fish’ (JDG)

‘A full bowl of liquid butter extends over the world’.

‘As much as it eats, it deficates.’ (JDG)

‘blowing the gyaling-trumpet’  ‘blowing the flute’
(10) མེད་ རྒྱུན་རྒྱུས།

ལ། དངོས་པོ་བེད།

‘The mother a demon, the daughter an angel, what is it?’

answer: ཤིས།

tshelum

‘tshelum plant’ (a plant with thorns but sweet fruit)

(11) མེད་ རྒྱུན་རྒྱུས།

ལ། དངོས་པོ་བེད།

‘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: སུག་ཀྱོ་

kjako tâː-ce?

‘defecating’ (UT)

(12) མེད་ རྒྱུན་རྒྱུས།

ལ། དངོས་པོ་བེད།

‘When the gunpowder of a leather gun is shot toward the ground, it hits the nose. What is it?’

answer: ཞེས།

pʰen

‘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(ɛ), as shown by the first line of the story, can also mark that the speaker is repeating what has been said by others.

(1) མི་ལྔོ་ཞེན་མཐྔོང་མ་བསགས་སེ།
   mi=lo cêntʰoː ma-sâː=s.
   ‘Do not heap contempt on people, it is said.’

(2) མི་ལྔོ་ཞེན་མཐྔོང་བསགས་ཀ་ཅེ་ནེ་ན།
   mi=lo cêntʰoː sâː=tsɛ ɛ tʰaŋ pu a=tʰøn ɛ kʰa=ra=d(ɛ)m tʰøn=ɕɛ
   human=DAT contempt gather=COND deer=AEMPB become-INF ɬ=s.
   EQU.PER=QUO
   ‘If (you) heap contempt on people, you will end up like the deer.’

(3) ཁ་ཤ་འདི་ཁུའི་ཀི་འདེམ་སྣ་གུ་འདེབ་སུམ་སུམ་བྔོ་ཡྔོད་ལྔོ།
   kʰa=di kʰu=i=gi dem ɲaku dep sùm-sum-bo jàː=lo.
   deer=DEMPB 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) དོགྱེ་འདི་གན་སུམ་བྔོ་སི་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་དང་པུ་གང་བུ་གཅིག་འདེབ་ལམ་ནང་ཤ་འགྱུ་དྔོ་ལྔོ།
   ódi kʽan sùm-bo sì-betsene tʽaŋpu lâː bu=tei? dep làm
   that what shrink-2INF say-COND long.ago elephant=INDF like.it road nānɛa giu-do=lo, pʽja? nānɛa=le.
   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) ལྔོ་བའི་ངན་འདི་ཀི་སང་འདི་གང་བུ་འདི་ཀི་རྒྱབ་ལས་རྒྱབ་ལས་རྒྱབ་ལས་ འདི་ཁ་ཤ་འདི་ལྔོང་སི་དཱག་ལྔོ་རྔོ་གྔོམ་ འདི་ཕྲུག་ཀྔོ་
   gju-wøː gâː=di làː bu=di=gi giapkʰa jou pʽjaː=di=le
   go-2INF.GEN time=DEMPB elephant=DEMPB=GEN in.back up cliff=DEMPB=ABL ɬ=tei? ɬ=ba? ɬ=on-di ɬ=tʽaːglo dogom=di
   down stone=INDF fall carry come-NF EXCLAM stone=DEMPB 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) གྷྲེ་ཐོས་འདི་ཐར་བསྐུམ་འདི་ཐབས་ཐད་མ་འདི་འོ་དེ་འདི་ཀི་
   dogom=di pʰok-sa=le=di giable giable=di kʼaca=di ɬ=on-do=lo.
   stone=DEMP hit-CMPL=ABL after after=DEMP deer=DEMP come-IPFV=REP
   ‘Stone having hit, afterwards, afterwards a deer is coming (so the story goes).’
So the elephant looked at the deer and said like this:

‘Hey, you...what is this?’

A stone was sent down falling from the cliff and it hit my back (so the story goes).

‘So you (are) a deer, (you) are very well able to run in the forest and in these cliffs.’

‘What kind is the one who displaced and made the stone fall on me?’

---

471 This form is typically pronounced ɲa.
472 The last syllable is unclear on recording. The nominalizer -kʰɛ̃ː was an educated guess by a consultant.
(14) དེ་ཟང་རྔོག་མཁན་བདི་དུད་མ་གཅིག་འདུག་ལྔོ་ལགས་porcupine.

\[ \text{t'izâ: do lok dī-k'en=dī p'idim=tei? du=:lo=la,} \]

but stone remove fall-NMLZ=DEMPH porcupine=INDF EX.SEN=REP=HON

po:kjupain.

porcupine(Eng.).

‘But the one who displaced the stone and made it fall is (I see) a porcupine (so the story goes).’

(15) དེ་ རྔོ་ལྔོ།

\[ \text{te k'u k'aea=dì lāp-o=lo} \]

so 3SGM deer=DEMPH say-2INF=REP

‘So he, the deer, says (so the story goes):’

(16) དེ་ཟང་རྔོག་མཁན་བདི་དུད་མ་གཅིག་འདུག་ལྔོ་ལགས་porcupine.

\[ \text{ji=}na \text{ dem simte=}=\text{tei? du-ke.} \]

up=LOC such animal=INDF EX.SEN-INV

‘There is such an animal up there.’

(17) དེ་ཟང་རྔོག་མཁན་བདི་དུད་མ་གཅིག་འདུག་ལྔོ་ལགས་porcupine.

\[ \text{zu? tsā: royna} \text{ dodem=tei? du-ke.} \]

body thorn here.and.there right.like.this=INDF EX.SEN-INV

‘It is one with body covered with thorns like this.’

(18) དེ་ཟང་རྔོག་མཁན་བདི་དུད་མ་གཅིག་འདུག་ལྔོ་ལགས་porcupine.

\[ \text{ōdi=gi dep tō: kok-sa=le=dī do=dī dī: ba?} \]

that=AGT like.that hole dig-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH stone=DEMPH fall carry

\[ \text{ōŋ-diki, k'atslo, pē.} \text{ā, gjaŋk'a p'ok-o be=:s.} \]

come-NF how=DAT 1SG.GEN in.back hit-2INF EQU.NE=QUO

‘That one like that dug a hole and (as a result) a stone fell and came and, how, hit my
(probably should be: your) back (so the story goes)’

(19) དེ་ཟང་རྔོག་མཁན་བདི་དུད་མ་གཅིག་འདུག་ལྔོ་ལགས་porcupine.

\[ \text{te lā:bu=dì lāp-o=lo} \]

so elephant=DEMPH say-2INF=REP

‘So the elephants said (so the story goes):’

(20) དེ་ཟང་རྔོག་མཁན་བདི་དུད་མ་གཅིག་འདུག་ལྔོ་ལགས་porcupine.

\[ \text{k'u=lo dik'a pē: dynj'a kuk=s.} \]

3SGM=DAT here 1SG.GEN in.front.of call=QUO

‘Call him here in front of me, (he) said’

(21) དེ་ཟང་རྔོག་མཁན་བདི་དུད་མ་གཅིག་འདུག་ལྔོ་ལགས་porcupine.

\[ \text{k'u k'an p'ja-ti do=dì tā:-bo?} \]

3SGM what do-NF stone=DEMPH send-2INF

‘Why did he send the stone?’

\[ \text{\footnotesize 473 This should be} \text{ \text{ཚེ} \text{ \text{ི} \text{ \text{'your'} as the speaker is the deer.}} \]
(22) ཨེ་ གང་བུ་ འདི་ ལབ་པོ་ལྔོ་

te làːbu=di làp-o=lo.

so elephant=DEMPH say-2INF=REP

‘So the elephant said (so the story goes):’

(23) ཡང་ ཡ་ལྟེ་ བྱེ་གུ་ འཛེག་ སྟི་ ཡྔོའུ་ ཁུའི་ ར་ འགྱུ་ དགྔོས་ ཡྔོ་ཁའི་ འདི་ཀིས་ ཤོག་ ལབ་བཞིན་གེ་ སྐྱེ་བྱེ་ ༥

rā:= jāte p’jaː nānea dzeːk-ti jōu k’u=i=tsaː gju go?

2SG.M up cliff inside climb-NF up 3SGM=GEN=at go be.necessary

jōkʰoː=di=ki eːō? làp-dzynge=s làp-san=le.

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) ཨེ་ གང་བུ་ འདི་ ལབ་པོ་ལྔོ་

lã̃́ːbu=diŋà ját ɛlã̃́ːbu=di

elephant=DEMPH 1SG up=CEMPH go NEG-be.able.to

‘Elephant (said): I am not able to go up.’

(25) ཨེ་ གང་བུ་ འདི་ ལབ་པོ་ལྔོ་

ŋà kʰu=i dyŋkʰa ɡju mi- tsʰuʔ.

1SG 3SGM=GEN in.front.of go NEG-be.able.to

‘I am not able to go in front of him.’

(26) ཨེ་ གང་བུ་ འདི་ ལབ་པོ་ལྔོ་

kʰu=lo=di ò?, òt eːō=tsaː làp-sa=le=di te

3SGM=DAT=DEMPH down down come.IMP=QUO say-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH so
kʰaca=di=gi

deer=DEMPH=AGT

‘When he had said “Come down, down”, so the deer (said):’

(27) ཨེ་ གང་བུ་ འདི་ ལབ་པོ་ལྔོ་

tse tāː=to dem zuʔ bomtseuŋ, rāː dem zuʔ bomtseuŋ, k’u

EXCLAM 2SG.M=CEMPH such body size 2SG.M such body size 3SGM
dem p’imaː=teiʔ dyŋkʰa ɡju mi-tsʰu-kʰːː=jaː làp-ti

such small=INDF in.front.of go NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ=even say-NF

insol p’jaː=la=lo, cét’ōː sāk-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).’
‘Having heaped contempt on that elephant, when, not believing, he said darn, his nose shrunk and stayed (like that) (so the story goes).’

‘This is a short Sikkimese story.’ (UTU)
Excerpt from the Novel Richhi

The novel Richhi by Bhaichung Tsichudarpo, published in 1996, remains the only existing Denjongke novel. Below is an excerpt from the novel (p. 12-13). The excerpt is slightly modified from Yliniemi (2016a).

Excerpt from the Novel Richhi

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Choden=AGT tea.HON make-NF all=DAT carry=PROG=DAT bowl
Choden makes tea, brings it to everyone and puts snacks in a basket in their

Now as they sit together

Enjoying tea and snacks they are really like members

As (they) are talking, Karma says

To Lhaki: "She works together with me at the school.

That's it.

The expression ódiː=to is a challenging to understand and translate in this context. It can be said, for instance, with hindsight to a child, who without heeding a warning, experiences the unpleasant outcome.
དམང་ང་ཅའི་བྷའི་ལགས་ཀི་མགྔོ་བཏྔོག་སྟི་འགིལ་སྔོད་ཡོད་སྐབས་

Yesterdays when Bhaila fell and hit his head, if it wasn't for the sister, he would have died on the spot.

འཁིག་བྔོན་གསུང་མཁན་ན་བུ་སིང་ལགས་ལྔོ་ཡོད། ཨ་མས་ངྔོ་མ་ཤེས་ཤྔོ།

Mother! Yesterday when Bhaila fell it was the sister here who took him to her lap, wiped the blood, and said: 'Mother, take her quickly to the hospital!' Did the mother recognise her?

Aha, the child
“ señā grā ལྡེ་ ོད་མ་ ཤུགས་་?”  sdréi bar-j

lōbdā diː=na=rā.⁴⁷⁵ te’aːle? nāː-do?  āmoː:  lēn=lo

school this.GEN =LOC=EMPH work do.HON-IPFV mother.GEN answer=LOC

works here at the school?” Choki’s reply to Mother:

 PN=AGT HON-EQU.PER 1SG school this=LOC=EMPH work do-IPFV EQU.PER

“That is true. I work at the school.

dikʰaː  lep-ti t’a dau geː-tsʰo? lāː-to.

here arrive-NF now month eight-about reach-IPFV

It is now some eight months since I arrived here.”

“ señā grā ཉ་ དམ་ ལམ་ ལུགས་་?” sdréi dngon

di-k’a ka t’aː pānte? k’aːna zuː-to?”  āmoː: t’ilwa.

here who and with where stay.HON-IPFV mother.GEN question

“With whom and where do you live here?” the mother asks.

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

jum=lo gum gjompʰoː=tsaː: jāː p t’aː.

father.HON and mother.HON=AT live.HON EX.PER-PQ

What about your father and mother, are (they) alive?”

PN TPN=DAT TPN monastery=by father.HON and

Choki: “In Darjeeling by the Ghoom monastery. Father and

jum piːte’ a zuː: jōː.

mother.HON both live.HON EX.PER

mother are both alive.”

⁴⁷⁵ Or lōbdā diː=na=rā: [school this.GEN=LOC=EMPH]. The use of di ‘this’ is here not deictic in that the speaker is not at the school when speaking. The meaning is ‘the school’ rather than ‘this school’.
Excerpt from discussion

The following text is an excerpt from an unstructured discussion between six family members four of whom (marked K, B, T and F) are involved in the discussion excerpt. The recording was done in my absence by consultant KN, one of the family members. The representation of the discussion is simplified in that at times several people spoke at the same time and more than one line of discussion was ongoing.

(8) K ཤ་རེ་ད་རེ་ཤ་ནུ་ན་ཡོད་པྔོ་བྔོ་འྔོག་ལྔོང་སྔོང་བྔོ
‘Is Shanu these days here or has he gone away down (from the mountains).’

(9) B ཤ་ནུ་མྔོའུ་སྦད།ཤ་ར་ན་སི་བཀའ་ཆྔོས་ལས་ཨིན
‘Shanu is down. (He) is at (Buddhist) teaching in Varanasi.’

(10) Tཁྔོང་འྔོང་སྔོད་པྔོད་པ་མན་བྔོ་
‘They have come too, haven’t they, the children?’

(11) Bཁྔོང་ཉེ་ཉིད་…བུད་མ་…ཚུ་བུད་དཔོན་པ་རྐྱབས་དགྔོས་པདྨོ།
‘They have to participate, what’s that, a debate, you know.’

(12) Tམན་ཕ་ལས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཙུ་བྔོད་པ་མན་བྔོ
‘No, from over there Gyaltshen and his associates are there, aren’t they?’

(13) B ཉེ་བཀལ་ཐོབ་འོགས་ཀྱི་ཡིད་ཆེན་པོ་
Oh, Gyaltshen is there.

(14) T ལེ་དགོའུ་ཤཱ་ཚུ་གྱི་ཡི་གྱེ་བུད་ཐོབ་
‘He is allowed to come to the gutor-offering meeting, in fact.’
(15) B བོ་ ཆུ་ གཙོ་ སྒྲུབ་ དངོས་ ལེགས།

i'itsi    nà: \[\text{fate}^\text{a}:=\text{lo} \quad \text{sô}::-\text{sà}::-\text{ni}\]
\text{a.few.days.ago here worship=}\text{DAT go.PFV-TERM-TOP}

nöts\text{h}^\text{a}-\text{u}=\text{lo}=\text{ki}.

\text{be.ashamed=}\text{2INF=}\text{REP=}\text{NC}

‘A few days ago when (I told him) go to the worship ceremony, he said he was
ashamed.’

(16) དངོས་ འབྲགོད་ ལྔོ་ གྱུར་ ལྔོ་ སྔོང་ འགྱུ་ བྱུང་ ནོ་ དེ་ བོ་ ཆུ་ གཙོ་ སྒྲུབ་

tʽitsi    nàː    \[\text{l̥at}    \text{ɕ}    \text{ʰ}    \text{øː}=\text{lo}
\text{a.few.days.ago here worship=}\text{DAT go.}
\text{PFV-TERM-TOP}
\]

ŋòtsʰo    -u =lo=ki.

be.ashamed=\text{2INF}=\text{REP}=\text{NC}

‘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?’

(17) F ཆུ་ ལགས་ ཨིན་ ལགས། དགུ་ ཨིན་ བྱུང་ སྐྱོང་ དགས་ ཤད་ སེ་ འདི་ བྱུང་ དགས་

kʰu    \[\text{lā}=\text{ĩ̃́ː}=\text{la}.
\text{now} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{3SGM HON=EQU.PER=}\text{HON so} \quad \text{3SG.HON=}\text{AGT=}\text{DEMPH}
\text{NEG-go=}\text{AEMPH}
\text{go=}\text{REP=}\text{QUO=}\text{HON}
\]

‘Now Shanu has to go to participate in the debate.’

(18) B རྔོད་ བྱུང་ ཕྱེ་ ཐྨ་ བྱུང་ དགས་ གནས་ ཡང་ རྤེ་ སྐྱོང་ རེ་ གནས་ ཡང་ རྤེ་ སྐྱོང་

tsøpo    \[\text{p'ja}=\text{di} \quad \text{p'ja} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{nê:kor} \quad \text{kjap} \quad \text{t'op} \quad \text{be}？
\text{debate do-INF=DEMPH do so sightseeing do find} \quad \text{EQU.NE}
\]

‘Because of debating, (he) gets to do sightseeing.’

(19) F ང་ ལྔོ་ རྒྱའི་ ཕྱེ་ ཐྨ་ བྱུང་ ཕྱེ་ ཐྨ་ བྱུང་ སྐྱོང་ རེ་ གནས་ ཡང་ རྤེ་ སྐྱོང་

zenne    \[\text{mi-t'op}-kʰ \text{en} \quad \text{be no.}
\text{otherwise NEG-find-NMLZ} \quad \text{EQU.NE} \quad \text{TAG.ASR}
\]

‘Otherwise (it) is not available, I tell you.’

(20) B la=be?

HON=EQU.NE

‘Yes, it is (so).’

\[^{476}\text{For clarification of meaning, see the footnote under example (15.120).}\]
(22) "Otherwise Dorjeden and Varanasi…"

(23) "Because of the expenses for us, father, even if (one) says he’s going, where could (one) go, father."

(24) "Even Sikkim’s sights (we) are not able to tour."

(25) "Now because of that (i.e. the debate) (he gets to) do sightseeing to great extent, everything."

(26) "Yes, it is (so)."

(27) "(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) ‘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)
(30) K བོད་ལྡ་ རྣམ་ཤིས་ ལྟར་ནི་ དྲོ་རྔོན་ ཡི་སུ་ སེང་ ལོ།

_пёлд_ кʰɔː=то waranasi гju-еэ be?

before 3SG=CEMPH TPN go-INF EQU.NE

‘Before (going to Dorjeden) he goes to Varanasi.’

(31) B བོད་ལྡ་ རྣམ་ཤིས་ ལྟར་ནི་ དྲོ་རྔོན་ ཡི་སུ་ སེང་ ལོ།

waranasi ۆ: tsopo. mۆu kjaп-ce lagi be=si.

TPN come debate down do-INF for(Nep.) EQU.NE=QUO

‘The debate is probably in Varanasi. It is in order to do it down there, I tell.’

(32) K བོད་ལྡ་ རྣམ་ཤིས་ ལྟར་ནི་ དྲོ་རྔོན་ ཡི་སུ་ སེང་ ལོ།

ɛ̃́, tʽutɕiʔ waranasi mён-do qe: no (= qa be no).

oh this.year TPN NEG.EQU-IPFV EQU.AP TAG.ASR AP EQU.NE TAG.ASR

‘Oh, it does not seem to be in Varanasi this year, I tell you.’

(33) T བོད་ལྡ་ རྣམ་ཤིས་ ལྟར་ནི་ དྲོ་རྔོན་ ཡི་སུ་ སེང་ ལོ།

tʽutɕiʔ dordzidìː=lo.

this.year TPN=DAT

‘This year in Dorjeden.’

(34) K བོད་ལྡ་ རྣམ་ཤིས་ ལྟར་ནི་ དྲོ་རྔོན་ ཡི་སུ་ སེང་ ལོ།

iʔ; tʼutei? waranasi mён-do qe: no (= qa be no).

oh this.year TPN NEG.EQU-IPFV EQU.AP like.that say-PROG.APH

‘This year (it) seems to be directly in Dorjeden. So (they) are saying.’

(35) F བོད་ལྡ་ རྣམ་ཤིས་ ལྟར་ནི་ དྲོ་རྔོན་ ཡི་སུ་ སེང་ ལོ།

tsopo=di ő
debate=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q

‘The debate?’

(36) T བོད་ལྡ་ རྣམ་ཤིས་ ལྟར་ནི་ དྲོ་རྔོན་ ཡི་སུ་ སེང་ ལོ།

la-ϙː=la

HON-EQU=HON

‘Yes.’

(37) F བོད་ལྡ་ རྣམ་ཤིས་ ལྟར་ནི་ དྲོ་རྔོན་ ཡི་སུ་ སེང་ ལོ།

iʔ; in-ga.
oh EQU.PER-PQ

‘Oh, is (it) really (so)?’

(38) B བོད་ལྡ་ རྣམ་ཤིས་ ལྟར་ནི་ དྲོ་རྔོན་ ཡི་སུ་ སེང་ ལོ།

tʼutei? waranasi làp qa.

this.year TPN say AP

‘This year it’s in Varanasi (they) seem to say.’
‘I wonder what (they) said earlier, when the empowerment ceremony is in there.’

‘Yes, yes.’

‘(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonological reduction and modification</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERB-po may be abbreviated to VERB-b (with verbs ending in the glottal stop or p and followed by the equative beʔ) or to VERB-m (with verbs ending in the velar nasal and followed by the equative beʔ or Ʉ).</td>
<td>§1.2.7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In spoken language WD -al and -ar, which are occasionally pronounced in careful and spelling-style speech as /al/ and /ar/ respectively, are pronounced as /ɛː/ and /aː/ respectively.</td>
<td>§2.2.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written progressive marker བཞིན་ bzhin, which is pronounced /zin/ in spelling-style pronunciation, becomes /zɛː/~/tɛː:/ in typical spoken language (but /tɛou/ in Martam).</td>
<td>§3.3.6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The written conditional form ་ na corresponds to spoken forms /ne~/<del>no</del>/~nu/ (depending on locality)</td>
<td>§3.3.6.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The frequent anaphoric emphatic clitic གཉིས་ rang tends to occur as short and denasalized =ra in spoken language.</td>
<td>§6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The frequently-used complex copula རྣ་ jø̀-po bɛʔ (neg. mèː-po bɛʔ) is in spoken language reduced to jø̀bb ɛʔ/jɛ̀bb ɛʔ (neg. mɛ̀bb ɛʔ).</td>
<td>§7.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The nominalized completive form ཆེར་བྔོ་ལས་ tshar bo las, suggesting the spelling-style pronunciation tsʰar-bo-le, is in spoken language, depending on the consultant and phonological environment, reduced to -tsʰo-u=le, -tsu-b=le, -tsʰo:=-le or -so:-le.</td>
<td>§15.3.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most probably because of influence fromWritten Tibetan, many nouns that in pronunciation end in -pu are written as ནོ po by many writers (e.g. pømpu ནོ་བོ་ dpon-po).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written ནོ bo, when following short vowels, reduces to -u in pronunciation (e.g. ཉོ སྲ་ bo &gt; dau/dou ‘month’, ཨ༔ བོ སྲ་ ita-bo in &gt; ta-u Ʉ: ‘I looked’).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphosyntactic reduction (possibly also phonological reduction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The often used written form of the interrogative copula བོ in-nam, suggesting a bimorphemic interpretation, merges in spoken language to monosyllabic/monomorphemic näm.</td>
<td>§3.3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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. teŋ=lo &gt; teŋ ‘on, above’.</td>
<td>§3.6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In spoken language, genitive-marking may be dropped from noun modifiers.</td>
<td>§4.1.2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 /k’ənɛm/~/k’əm/ is an abbreviation of the written གན་ཨིན་ནམ་ gan in-nam.  
§6.3.1

The apperentive construction qa be?, which corresponds to written ཆ་ ཚཀ་‘dra sbad and occurs as such in slower speech, is often in faster speech reduced to qa:re.  
§8.5.2

The non-past construction -ee ʰ: (WD ཆ་shad in) often reduces to -ei/ɛin, which does not have a strictly corresponding written form.  
§9.1.1.1

Past interrogative construction -tee-ka and future interrogative construction -ee-ka in spoken language often reduce to -tea and -ea respectively. To my knowledge, the reduced forms do not have standardized written equivalents.  
§11.1.2

In spoken language purpose-marking converbal marker -pa/ba (WD ཆ(ς)/ς(ς)) may be dropped.  
§15.5.1

The simultaneous converbal endings -sondãː/-sodãː/-sumdãː/-tsubda: used in spoken language probably derive from the longer construction  sǒ:-bo t’ãː [go.PFV-2INF and].  
§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 -ti/di is often accompanied by the marker -ki/gi, which looks like a genitive or an agentive.  
§15.2

Whereas in written language causality may be expressed through agentive marking by the grapheme -sh -s, which suggests a lengthened vowel in spelling-style pronunciation, spoken language uses additional morphosyntax for the same purpose, i.e. the emphatic =di and the nonfinal converb p’jat(ki).  
§15.4.6,  
§15.4.7

Double/marking of genitive is frequent in spoken language and almost nonexistent in written language.  
§3.7.1.3

Both the terminative endings -sà: and -sonzà: occur in spoken language but only the short -sà: in written language.  
§3.3.6.18

Morphosyntactic flexibility

In spoken language, the head noun of a noun phrase may occur between the adjective modifier and adjective.  
§4.3.1

Agentive-marking in spoken language seems more pragmatically conditioned than in written language, which tends to be affected by prescriptive rules inherited from Classical Tibetan.  
§5.3

The morphologically dependent distal demonstrative form o- ‘that’ is occasionally in spoken language used independently  
§6.4

Frequency of discourse-related morphemes and phenomena

Unlike in written language, the use of the demonstrative-emphatic =di is prevalent in spoken language, sometimes occurring several times in one clause.  
§16.1.3

Discourse particles t’a and te are more frequent in spoken than in written  
§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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influence of Nepali and English rather than Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code-mixing with Nepali/English and Nepali/English loan words are more frequent in spoken than in written language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short vowel</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
<th>Long vowel</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>iː ‘die’</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>2175</td>
<td>iː ‘night’</td>
<td>phiː.ru ‘night’</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>2337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰi ‘dog’</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>2178</td>
<td>kː ‘bind’</td>
<td>siː.p ‘dew’</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>2565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mí ‘man’</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>2199</td>
<td>mː ‘spit’</td>
<td>dzː.eː ‘to spit’</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>2327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pʰi ‘open’</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>2292</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>238</td>
<td>2423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>2299</td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td></td>
<td>271</td>
<td>2413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eː</td>
<td>geː ‘fall’</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>2322</td>
<td>geː ‘win’</td>
<td></td>
<td>471</td>
<td>2303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gep ‘bag’</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>beː.p ‘frog’</td>
<td></td>
<td>626</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deː ‘ghost’</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>2119</td>
<td>geː.p ‘king’</td>
<td></td>
<td>455</td>
<td>2146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ǹmo ‘left’</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>2147</td>
<td>sheː ‘rinse’</td>
<td></td>
<td>461</td>
<td>2271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pepo ‘leech’</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>503</td>
<td>2159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>2104</td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td></td>
<td>570</td>
<td>2371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aː</td>
<td>aː ‘tail’</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>1640</td>
<td>aː ‘tail? ‘again’</td>
<td></td>
<td>713</td>
<td>1626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t’sai ‘grass’</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>teː.a: ‘thing’</td>
<td></td>
<td>855</td>
<td>1576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰa ‘mouth’</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>maː.p ‘red’</td>
<td></td>
<td>686</td>
<td>1314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰa? ‘soup’</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>1629</td>
<td>kaː.p ‘whit’e</td>
<td></td>
<td>769</td>
<td>1498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ǹ ‘I’</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>teː.aːp ‘rain’</td>
<td></td>
<td>832</td>
<td>1401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ǹpo ‘father’</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>771</td>
<td>1434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>1587</td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td></td>
<td>771</td>
<td>1434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː</td>
<td>oː ‘throw’</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>1093</td>
<td>oː ‘throw’</td>
<td></td>
<td>386</td>
<td>791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p’jo ‘pour’</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>1245</td>
<td>p’joː ‘escape’</td>
<td></td>
<td>411</td>
<td>1072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsho ‘lake’</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>tshoː ‘father’s sister’s husband’</td>
<td></td>
<td>414</td>
<td>892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do ‘stone’</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>1156</td>
<td>doː ‘touch’</td>
<td></td>
<td>394</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>1158</td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td></td>
<td>401</td>
<td>928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uː</td>
<td>uː ‘fly’</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>1221</td>
<td>uː ‘fly’</td>
<td></td>
<td>317</td>
<td>960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khù ‘he’</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>khù ‘he’</td>
<td></td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chu ‘water’</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>chu ‘water’</td>
<td></td>
<td>330</td>
<td>1044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tũp ‘be alright’</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>1137</td>
<td>tũp ‘be alright’</td>
<td></td>
<td>297</td>
<td>2278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>1050</td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td></td>
<td>310</td>
<td>2319</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

630
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>øː</th>
<th>ɕ</th>
<th>øːm 'cockroach'</th>
<th>sǿːna 'soot'</th>
<th>øːlaʔ 'raven'</th>
<th>sǿːza 'tea (hon.)'</th>
<th>average:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>448</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2125</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>2066</td>
<td>2025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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་ ཐྔོབ་པའི་ ཡི་གེ།

University of Helsinki ལས་ བྔོན་མཁན་ ལྔོ་སྐད་ན་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ བྱུས་ མཁན་ Juha Yliniemi ལགས་ རགས་ རྐྱབས་སྟི་ ངས་ བཤད་ ཡྔོད་པའི་ ལྔོ་སྐད་ཀི་ recording་ སྟུ་ དང་ ངས་ བཤད་ ཡྔོད་པའི་ ཚིག་ དང་ ཚིག་སྒྲུབ་ཙུ་ ཁྔོང་གི་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་གྱི་ རྔོམ་བྲི་ཙུའི་ ཐྔོབ་ གནང་བ་ ལྔོ་ འཛམ་བུ་གིང་གི་ མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ལྔོ་ སྟྔོན་ཤད་ཀི་ གནང་བ་ དྔོ་ བྱིན།

རེ་ལེ་ ལྔོ་ རགས་ རྐྱབས་སྟི་ ང་ཀིས་ ལབ་ ཡྔོད་པའི་ ལྔོ་སྐད་ཀི་ recording་ སྟུ་ Juha Yliniemi ལཐུ་ དང་ ང་ཀིས་ ལབ་ ཡྔོད་པའི་ ཨིན་ (video-recording) དུགས་ ཐུགས་ བཅུག་ཀའི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ཕུལ་དྔོ་ ཨིན།

ང་ཀིས་ ལབ་ ཡྔོད་པྔོ་ ཚིག་ཙུ་ དང་ ཚིག་སྒྲུབ་ཙུ་ ཉམས་ཞིབ་ གནང་བའི་ སང་ འཛམ་བུ་གིང་ མི་ དྔོ་ གནང་ཤད་ཀི་ གནང་བ་ ངས་ ཕུལ་དྔོ་ ཨིན།

གཤོག་ཀུ་ འདི་ན་ ཡྔོད་མཁན་ ཚིག་ཙུའི་ དྔོན་དག་ འདི་ ང་ལྔོ་ གསལ་དྲགས་ བྱུས་སྟི་ ཁ་སྐད་ན་ བཤད་ ཡྔོད།

ཚེ་གངས: ______________________

མཚན: ______________________

དགུང་ལྔ: ______________________

སེས་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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